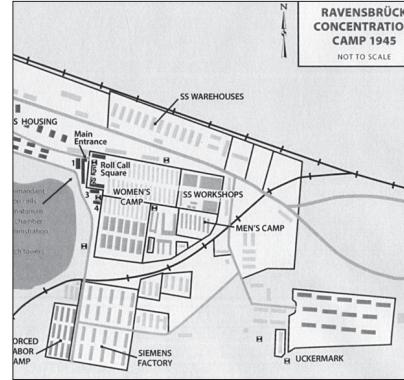


The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933-1945

General Editor Geoffrey P. Megargee



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THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM

Encyclopedia of CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933-1945

VOLUME I

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

Part A

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

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

—Deuteronomy 4:9

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FOREWORD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ELIE WIESEL

Translated from French by Radu Ioanid

PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

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

XXX PREFACE

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

As part of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's mission to inform the public about the

Holocaust and to enhance future scholarship and teaching regarding the Holocaust, we are proud to present this milestone contribution to Holocaust research, with the expectation that it will inform and guide its users for years to come.

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

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

SARA J. BLOOMFIELD, DIRECTOR
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

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

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

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

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

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

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION TO THE SERIES AND VOLUME I

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

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



Prisoners erect the Dove-Elbe Canal, which allowed the SS to ship materials produced at the Neuengamme concentration camp by barge on the Elbe River.

USHMM WS #06030; Courtesy of AG-D

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



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

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

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

Living conditions also reflected certain similarities from one camp or ghetto to another. Most pris-



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

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

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



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

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

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

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

Similarly, we have organized the individual volumes so that the reader can see how the perpetrators administered the sites in each category. This first volume, for example, covers two groups of camps, primarily: first, the early camps that Nazi authorities and police set up on an ad hoc basis in the first year of



"Return of the Fugitive" by Auschwitz survivor Waldemar Nowakowski, nd

USHMM WS #73562; Courtesy of Aleksander Kulisiewicz

Hitler's rule, and second, the concentration camps and their constellations of subcamps that operated under the control of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (Wirtschaftsverwaltungshauptamt, WVHA). Overview essays by Joseph Robert White and Karin Orth open those two main sections; they describe the rise of the early camps and the evolution of the WVHA system, respectively. Within the first section, the camp entries then follow in simple alphabetical order. The second section contains one further subdivision: after the introduction, subsections follow for each of the main concentration camps, within each of which there are essays on that camp's subcamps, in alphabetical order; often there is also an introductory essay on the subcamps as a group. As applied to the series as a whole, this structure, in combination with introductory essays that describe the history and common characteristics of the various categories of camps, provides the reader with an understanding of the system that the individual essays cannot provide alone.

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

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

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

For many other sites, there is hardly any information available, at least that scholars have found so far. Some of the entries answer only a few of the questions we posed—and often incompletely. Often we were unable to find an outside scholar to write about a particular camp; in those instances, we relied on our very capable research assistants to write entries in-house, using mostly secondary sources. Thus,

although we have done our best to be comprehensive, the reader cannot regard this encyclopedia as the final word; instead, it mirrors the state of research at the time when the entries were written. We hope that future scholars will be able to unearth new sources and expand upon our work.

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

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

GEOFFREY P. MEGARTEE

March 2009

READER'S GUIDE TO USING THE ENCYCLOPEDIA

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

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

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

By and large, the contributors did an excellent job in answering these questions, given the limitations of

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INFORMATION ON THE ORGANIZATION OF A TYPICAL CONCENTRATION CAMP

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Schutzhaftlagerführer. They were so familiar to the prisoners that the latter often called them Lagerführer or confused them with the commandant.

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

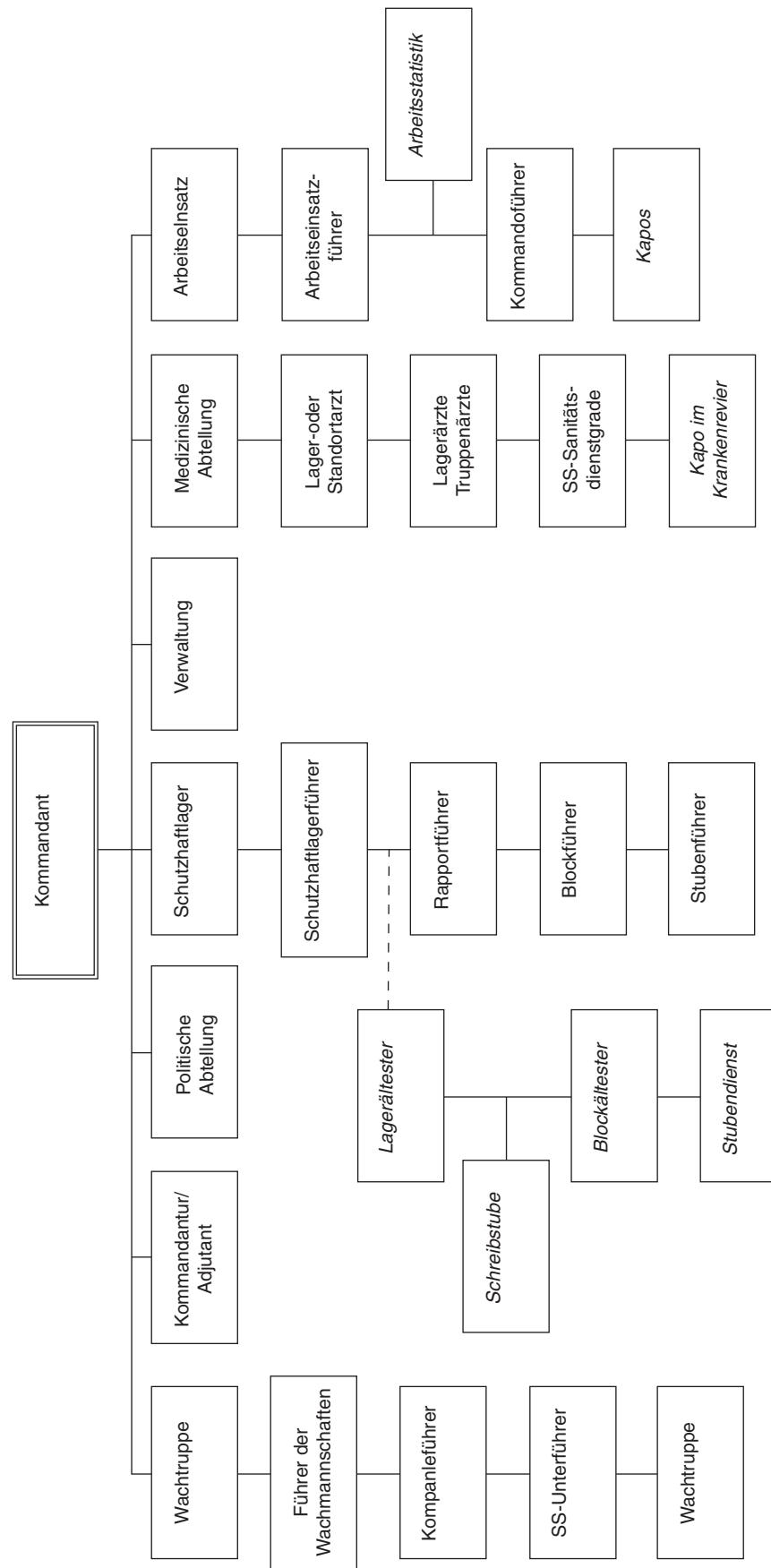
The Medizinische Abteilung administered medical care to SS personnel and, to a much less effective degree, to the prisoners. In the larger camps, it would include one or more doctors, as well as SS medics (Sanitätsdienstgrade).

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

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

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

Organization of a typical concentration camp
SS offices and personnel are in Roman type; prisoner offices and functionaries are in *italics*.



SECTION I

THE EARLY NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONCENTRATION CAMPS



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

INTRODUCTION TO THE EARLY CAMPS

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

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

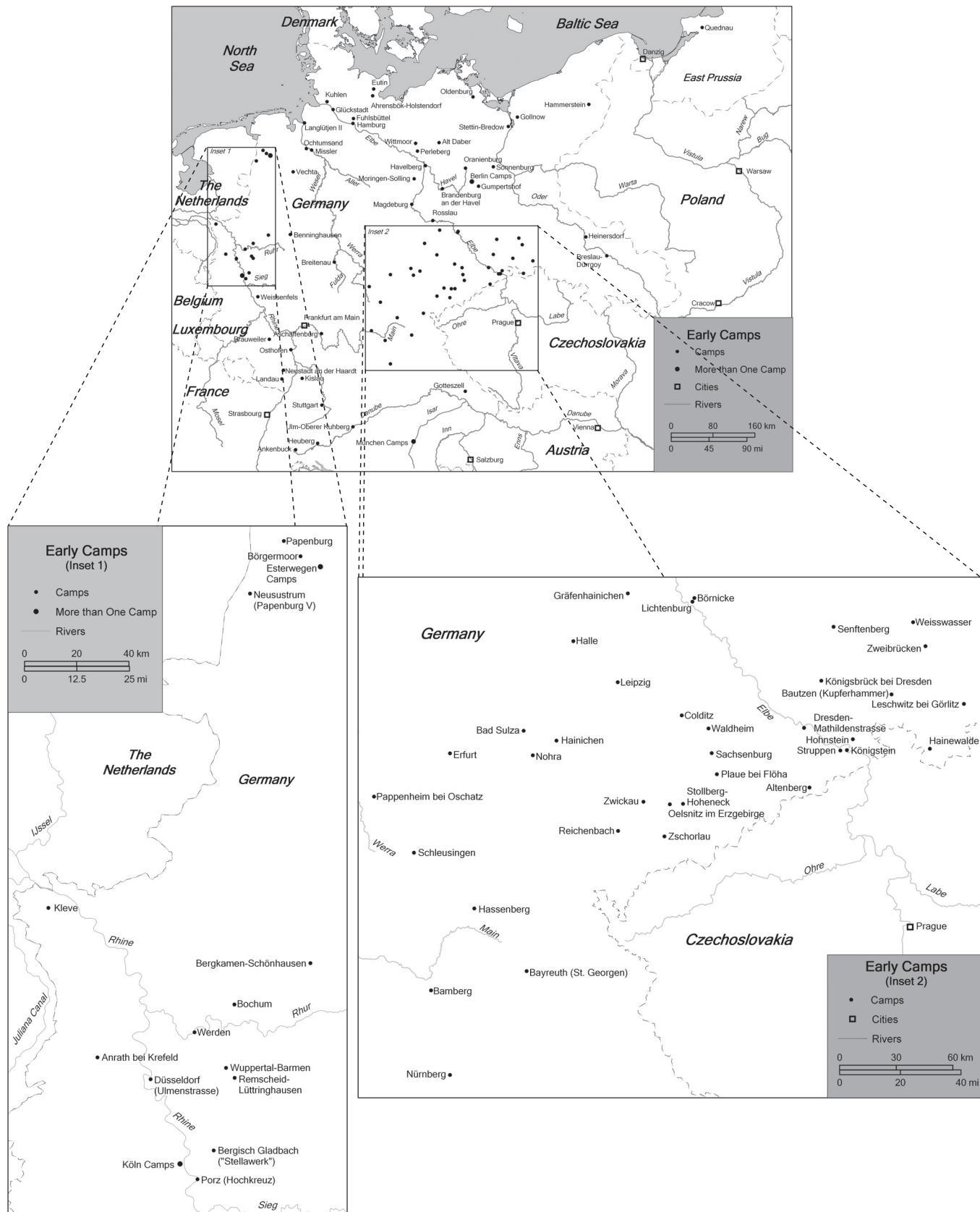
When a backroom deal brought Adolf Hitler to power with Papen as vice-chancellor on January 30, 1933, Nazi Reich Interior Minister Wilhelm Frick inaugurated a crackdown on leftist opposition in advance of the election. Issued on February 4, 1933, the "Reich Presidential Decree for the Protection of the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

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

"PROTECTIVE CUSTODY"

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

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



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

The Nazis transformed the scope and scale of political detention. Creating a perpetual emergency, they seized opponents for unlimited duration and persecuted non-Communists from the start.⁵ In 1933–1934, protective custody did not necessarily preclude legal prosecution but facilitated continued detention in the event of judicial acquittal or sentence completion. By early 1934, the Gestapo exclusively controlled Schutzhaft in Prussia, a monopoly Himmler later extended throughout the Reich. By this time, the regime further broadened the scope of detention, with the creation of police preventive custody (*Vorbeugungshaft*) on November 24, 1933.⁶ This category provided for the indefinite incarceration of criminal recidivists (*Berufsverbrecher*) by the Criminal Police (Kripo). A few common criminals had already entered the camps in 1933, but, thanks to Vorbeugungshaft, many thousands more were detained by the late 1930s. Otto Geigenmüller's legal dissertation (1937), dedicated to Himmler, demonstrated how broadly the Gestapo applied protective custody. Dismissing anyone as a "political dummy or pighead" who denied its "necessity," Geigenmüller observed that it afforded the means to combat groups allegedly detrimental to the "national community."⁷ As Robert Gellately suggests, the elasticity of Schutzhaft and Vorbeugungshaft enabled the police to conduct Nazi social engineering through the limitless expansion of criminal categories.⁸

The number of detainees taken in 1933–1934 is difficult to determine with precision. Caplan estimates that there were some 50,000 detainees in the regime's first months and that the arrests may have exceeded 100,000 by 1934. More conservatively, Johannes Tuchel holds that some 30,000 opponents were dispatched to camps in 1933. In August 1933, the exile paper *Neuer Vorwärts* reckoned that some 80,000 individuals had already been placed in Schutzhaft, of whom up to 45,000 had been sent to concentration camps.⁹ Three factors confound the estimates. First, a person taken into protective custody sometimes spent only hours or a single day in jail before release. Second, former detainees were subject to re-arrest. For example, a BVP official in Bamberg, Georg Banzer, was taken into Schutzhaft three times between March and June 1933.¹⁰ Finally, the SA and SS Hilfspolizei sometimes seized individuals without police authorization.

SITES OF IMPROVISATION

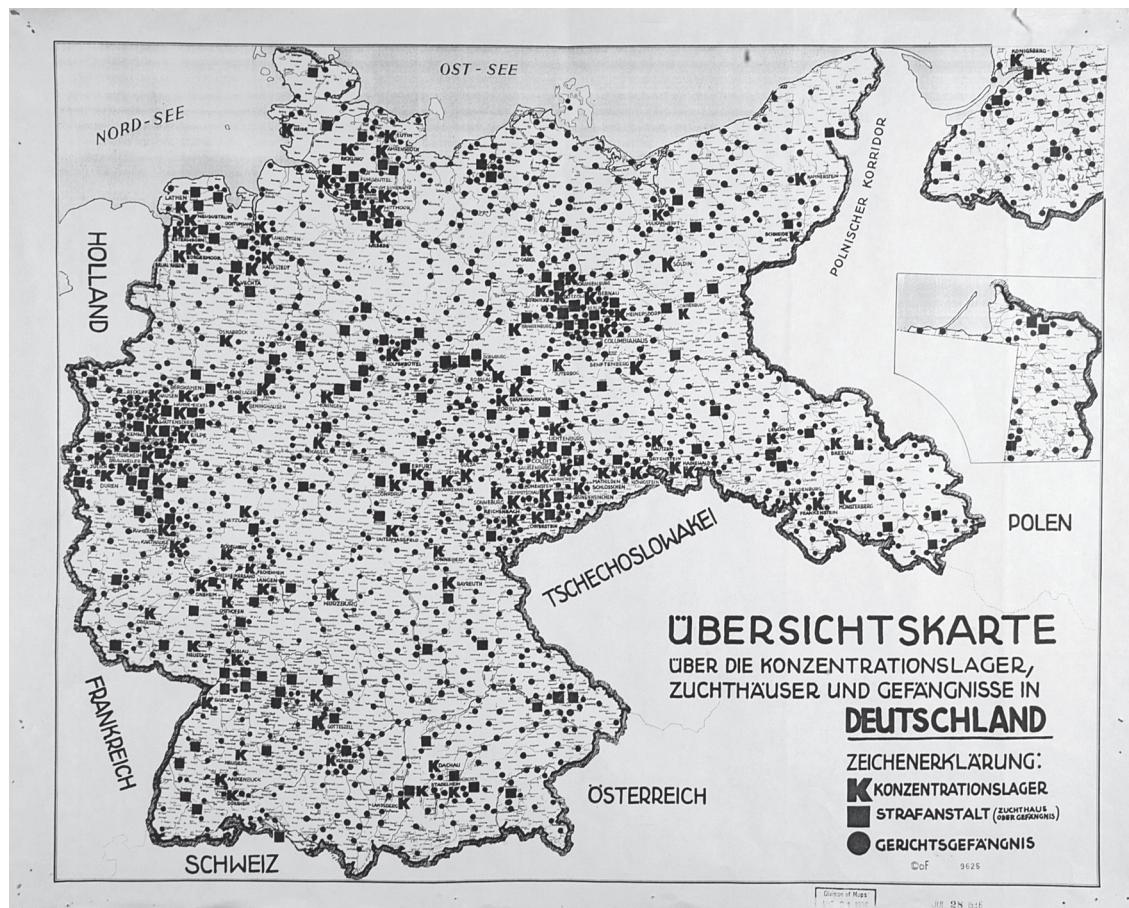
In accordance with Weimar's federal system, which the new regime was then in the process of dismantling, local officials and Nazis founded early camps at state and local, not national, levels. The clustering of detention sites around the industrial

areas of Berlin, Hamburg, the Ruhr, and Saxony underscored that the first targets of persecution were the working-class parties.¹¹ Because some areas seized relatively few opponents, not every state set up camps, only Baden, Bavaria, Oldenburg, Prussia, Saxony, Thuringia, Württemberg, and the Free Cities of Bremen and Hamburg. As the review below of what Tuchel calls the Prussian and Dachau "models" indicates, the patterns of camp establishment and consolidation varied by locality.¹²

Early detention sites fell into three broad categories: protective custody camps (*Schutzhaftlager*), concentration camps (*Konzentrationslager*), and torture sites (*Folterstätten* or *Folterkeller*). The first type consisted of wings or blocks of existing prisons, penitentiaries, and pretrial detention centers, usually separated from common criminals. Practically every local court prison (*Amtsgerichtsgefängnis*) briefly held a few detainees who were then released or removed elsewhere. If a "camp" is defined as a detention site holding 10 prisoners for 10 days, then some entries in this volume indicate that the estimate of 30 Schutzhaftlager is low. Although most closed by the fall of 1933 and the winter of 1934, a few continued to operate for a longer period, most notably the München-Stadelheim prison, which held female detainees until January 1936.¹³ As Nikolaus Wachsmann shows, persecution in prisons did not cease with the disappearance of protective custody sections. Instead, prison conditions noticeably worsened, in line with Nazi propaganda against Weimar's allegedly soft treatment of criminals. By the mid-1930s, the prisons emerged as the central sites for political persecution, as they incarcerated thousands of individuals convicted of trumped-up political offenses.¹⁴

In 1933, most concentration camps were structures pressed into service by bureaucrats and local Nazis on a space-available basis. Except for Papenburg/Emsland and Dachau, the approximately 70 concentration camps established in 1933 generally did not have barbed wire, barracks, and guard towers. Practically any type of structure served for confinement, the foremost being factories bankrupted during the Depression, and institutions and buildings the state already deemed multipurpose, namely, workhouses and, especially in Saxony, castles. Germany's first concentration camp was Nohra, established on March 3 at a school by Thüringian Gauleiter Fritz Sauckel. Stretching the limits of improvisation, the Bremen police, for instance, installed a concentration camp aboard a disused barge at Ochtumsand in September 1933.¹⁵ The camps' heterogeneity extended to the staffs, because the Länder police, SS, and SA supervised most in succession or combination. Occasionally the Stahlhelm and, in one case, the National Socialist Women's Association (NS-Frauenschaft, NSF) oversaw camps. Most early camps closed before the IKL's establishment in July 1934, but many were recycled as detention sites under other authorities in the Nazi era, as, for example, Colditz, which became a notorious Wehrmacht prisoner-of-war (POW) camp. The majority of early camps were not "wild camps" (*wilde Lager*). This misleading term, coined by Diels after 1945 in order to disclaim responsibility for them, implied an absence of governmental oversight.¹⁶ As

6 THE EARLY NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONCENTRATION CAMPS



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

COURTESY OF LC

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

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

THE PRUSSIAN MODEL

In the first months of 1933, the Prussian police arrested over 40,000 opponents, thus posing an urgent incarceration problem. In mid-March, the Prussian Ministry of the Interior

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

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



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

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

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

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

In order to discipline the guards and dissociate himself from the camps, Göring issued four orders in the spring of 1934. First, he suspended the creation of new camps. Second, he obliged the SA and SS staff to become Prussian civil servants.²⁷ Third, he transferred all Papenburg camps except Esterwegen to the Prussian (later Reich) Justice Ministry’s control. Papenburg’s SA thus became Justice Ministry officials who contributed, as Wachsmann observes, to the bureaucracy’s nazification.²⁸ Finally, Göring appointed Himmler Gestapo inspector, which fostered the introduction of the Dachau model to Prussia. The Prussian model exhibited the administrative tensions between conservative bureaucrats and the Nazi formations. By yielding authority over

Prussian camps to Himmler, Göring not only distanced himself from the detention sites he had done much to create but opened the way to camps without bureaucratic or judicial constraint.

THE DACHAU MODEL AND IKL

Characterized by permanent camps outside legal supervision, unsparing brutality toward inmates, and torturous labor, the Dachau model furnished the IKL’s conceptual framework. The March 9, 1933, coup in Bavaria brought about Himmler’s appointment as Munich police president, the first in a series of appointments through which he amalgamated Germany’s police forces. As Bavarian prisons and workhouses filled with detainees, Himmler announced on March 20 that the former munitions factory at Dachau would become Bavaria’s permanent camp for 5,000 prisoners.²⁹ The continued existence of small men’s Schutzhaftlager in northern Bavaria and in Munich’s prisons until the summer and fall of 1933 demonstrated that Dachau’s hegemony did not come about immediately. From its opening on March 22 until April 11, the Bavarian State Police guarded Dachau until the SS assumed control under commandant Hilmar Wäckerle. The next day, April 12, the SS murdered 4 Jewish prisoners from Nürnberg, Dr. Rudolf Benario, Ernst Goldmann, Arthur Kahn, and Erwin Kahn, the first of some 52 deaths recorded at the camp by July 1, 1934.³⁰

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

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

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

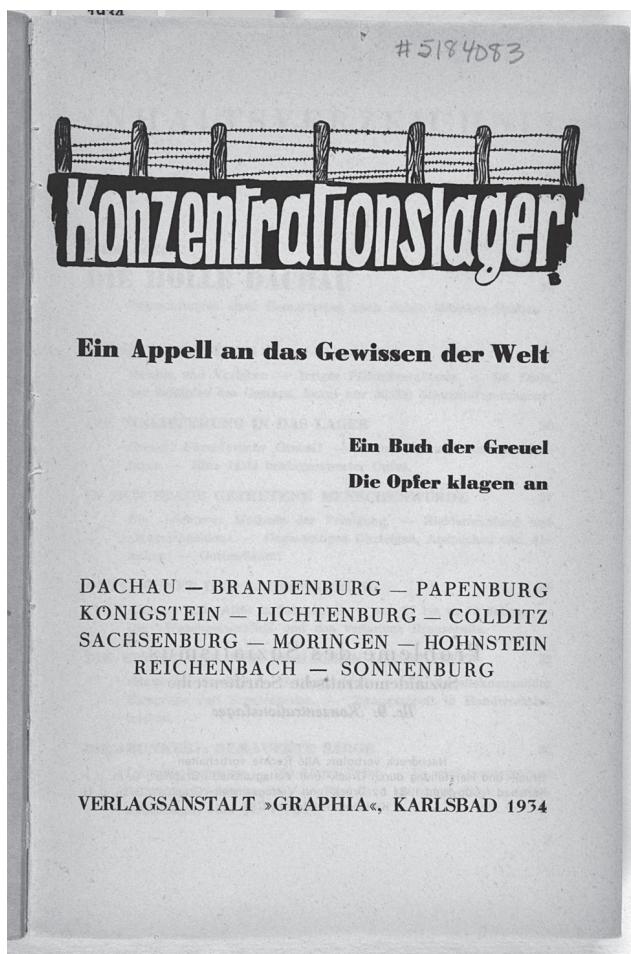
Ravensbrück (1939). Esterwegen's "sale" to the Reich Justice Ministry in 1936–1937 partially offset SS expenditures for Sachsenhausen.³⁴

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

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

THE PRISONERS

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



The title page of *Konzentrationslager*, a compilation of early camp testimonies published by the exiled German Social Democratic Party in Czechoslovakia in 1934.

PUBLISHED IN *KONZENTRATIONSLAGER: EIN APPELL AN DAS GEWISSEN DER WELT*, 1934

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

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

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

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

TREATMENT

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

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

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

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

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

PROTEST, DISSENT, AND ESCAPE

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

of escapes took place in the Saxon camps, where friendly locals helped escapees cross the Czechoslovakian border.⁵⁸

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

Some cultural activities existed in the early camps. For the guards and detainees, they manifested divergent meanings. As part of reeducation, prisoners in camps such as Moringen were expected to attend religious services. In the spring of 1933, the nonbelieving congregants discovered another use for these services—secret meetings—until the first commandant discovered what they were doing.⁶¹ The first camp "library" appeared at Börgermoor, to which prisoner Armin T. Wegner lugged his massive book collection after transfer from Oranienburg in September 1933.⁶² Wegner subsequently opened libraries at other camps where he was dispatched. While the stocking of these libraries with Nazi publications seemingly served reeducational goals, reading gave the detainees something to do. Music likewise assumed multiple meanings. The demand for singing Nazi, nationalist, or antisemitic songs was a ubiquitous feature of reeducation and, for Jews especially, of ritual humiliation. Noncompliance resulted in beatings or worse. But the prisoners also sang Marxist songs such as "The Internationale" ("Die Internationale") and composed their own songs (*Lieder*), the most famous of which was the "Börgermoorlied" (popularly known as the "Moorsoldatenlied"). In a striking fragment of early camp memory, a songbook compiled at Sachsenhausen in 1942 reproduced four songs from Papenburg, brought by Esterwegen detainees when the new camp opened in 1936, and one from Lichtenburg. The Sachsenhausen camp Lied, written by Esterwegen prisoners, referenced the Emsland. From Sachsenhausen, these ballads spread elsewhere in the wartime camps.⁶³

LEGAL INVESTIGATIONS

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

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

Carl von Ossietzky, *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 7, *Briefe und Lebensdokumente*, ed. Bärbel Boldt et al. (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1994); Jules Auguste Sauerwein, *30 Ans à la une* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1962); Karl Schabrod, *Widerstand an Rhein und Ruhr: 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf: Landesvorstand der VVN Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1969); Werner Schäfer, *Konzentrationslager Oranienburg: Das Anti-Braunbuch über das erste deutsche Konzentrationslager [von SA-Sturmbannfuehrer Schaefer, Standarte 208, Lagerkommandant]* (Berlin: Buch- und Tiefdruckgesellschaft mbH., 1934); and Gerhart Seger, *Oranienburg: Erster authentischer Bericht eines aus dem Konzentrationslager geflüchteten*, preface by Heinrich Mann (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934). Press accounts are essential for examining the early camps. Aside from the Nazis' official *VB*, important publications include *ASfM*, *DF*, *DNW*, *GZ*, *MG*, *NV*, *PT*, and *VZ*.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. "Verordnung des Reichspräsidenten zum Schutze des deutschen Volkes," *RGBl* (February 4, 1933), Teil I, p. 35.
2. "Die neue Notverordnung: Endlich ein Anfang zur Vernichtung der roten Mordbanditentums; Todesstrafe für Menschentötung—Zuchthaus für schwere Körperverletzung—Sondergerichte in den bedrohten Gebieten," *VB*, August 11, 1932.
3. "Verordnung des Reichspräsidenten zum Schutz von Volk und Staat," *RGBl* (February 28, 1933), Teil I, p. 83.
4. Jane Caplan, "Political Detention and the Origin of the Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany, 1933–1935/6," in *Nazism, War and Genocide: Essays in Honour of Jeremy Noakes*, ed. Neil Gregor (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2005), pp. 22–41, 30.
5. *VZ*, February 28, 1933, cited in Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager: Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager" 1934–1938* (Boppard am Rhein: Harold Boldt Verlag, 1991), p. 97; and Irmgard Litten, *Beyond Tears*, preface by W. Arnold-Forster (New York: Alliance Book Corporation, 1940).
6. "Gesetz gegen gefährliche Gewohnheitsverbrecher und über Massregeln der Sicherung und Besserung," *RGBl* (November 27, 1933), Teil I, pp. 995–999.
7. Quotations from Otto Geigenmüller, *Die politische Schutzhalt im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland* (Würzburg: Verlag Paul Scheiner, 1937), p. 60.
8. Robert Gellately, "The Prerogatives of Confinement in Germany, 1933–1945: 'Protective Custody' and Other Police Strategies," in *Institutions of Confinement: Hospitals, Asylums, and Prisons in Western Europe and North America, 1500–1950*, ed. Norbert Finzsch and Robert Jütte (New York: Cambridge University Press; Washington, DC: German Historical Institute, 1996), pp. 191–211, especially 203, 207, 209.
9. Caplan, "Political Detention and the Origin of the Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany, 1933–1935/6," p. 23; Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager*, p. 107; "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaltgefange," *NV*, September 27, 1933.
10. *BV*, March 13, 1933; March 23, 1933; June 28, 1933.
11. Übersichtskarte in Paul Prokop, ed., *Lernen Sie das schöne Deutschland kennen: Ein Reiseführer, unentbehrlich für jeden Besucher der Olympiade* (Prague: Prokop, 1936), n.p.;

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- SAPMO-BA, ed., *Tarnschriften 1933 bis 1945* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 1996), ref. 0495.
12. Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager*, pp. 117–120, 143.
 13. Centa Beimler-Herker testimony, quoted in Barbara Distel, “Im Schatten der Helden: Kampf und Überleben von Centa Beimler-Herker und Lina Haag,” *DaHe* 3 (1987): 21–57, 30.
 14. Nikolaus Wachsmann, *Hitler's Prisons: Legal Terror in Nazi Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 374.
 15. NZ, September 13, 1933, as cited in Lothar Wieland, *Die Konzentrationslager Langlütjen II und Ochtrupsand* (Bremerhaven: Wirtschaftsverlag NW, 1992), p. 62.
 16. Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zurich: Interverlag AG, 1949), p. 190.
 17. Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager*, pp. 43–44.
 18. Helmut Bräutigam and Oliver C. Gleich, “Nationalsozialistische Zwangslager im Berlin I: Die ‘wilden’ Konzentrationslager und Folterkellern 1933/34,” *Berlin-Forschung* 2 (1987): 141–178; Hans Dammert testimony, n.d., in USHMMMA, RG 11.001 M.20, Osobyi Archive (Moscow) Records, Fond 1367 Opis 2 Delo 33, 2; hereafter 1367/2/33.
 19. Kantor, “10 Monate in Görings Gefängnissen und Konzentrationslagern,” in *Aus Hitlers Konzentrationslagern*, comp. Kurt Bürger (Moscow and Leningrad: Verlagsgenossenschaft ausländischer Arbeiter in der UdSSR, 1934), p. 13; Roman Praschker, “Brandenburg,” in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opferklagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt “Graphia,” 1934), p. 135.
 20. On Papestrasse, Kantor, “10 Monate in Görings Gefängnissen und Konzentrationslagern,” Bürger, *Aus Hitlers Konzentrationslagern*, p. 17.
 21. RMdI Nr. 25708, July 27, 1933, in BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR, Film 14929, cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 134.
 22. Daluge, PrMdI, June 7, 1933, in NWStA-M Reg. Arnsberg I PA 633, as cited in Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager*, p. 73.
 23. For the division of command at Moringen, see Haus- und Tagesordnungen, NHStA-H, Hann. 180 Hannover 752, 1582–1585, cited in Hans Hesse, “Von der ‘Erziehung’ zur ‘Ausmerzung’: Das Konzentrationslager Moringen 1933–1945,” in *Instrumentarium der Macht: Frühe Konzentrationslager; 1933–1937*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), p. 120.
 24. Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas*, p. 191.
 25. Ludwig Grauert, PrMdI, to Reg. Präs. Osnabrück (Eggers), Nr. II G 1610, Betr.: “Begründung für die Errichtung staatl. KL im Emsland,” June 22, 1933, in NStA-Os, Rep. 430, Dez. 502, Zg. Nr. 11/63, gr. Dok. Bd. 1, Dok. Nr. B/1.11a, in Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefängenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), pp. 59–61.
 26. Polizeimajor Gümbel to Reg. Präs. Osnabrück Eggers, November 15, 1933, NStA-Os, Rep. 430, Dez. 201–204, No. 5/66, No. 18, Gr. Dok. Bd. 1, Dok. No. B/1.61, in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefängenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945*, p. 64; Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas*, pp. 191–194.
 27. Göring Erlass, March 11, 1934, NStA-Os, Rep. 430, Dez. 201–204, Zg. No. 5/66, No. 18, Gr. Dok. Bd. 1, Dok.
 - No. B/1.68, in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefängenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945*, pp. 65–66.
 28. Wachsmann, *Hitler's Prisons*, p. 107; on the continuation of the Emsland plan under the Justice Ministry, see Ministerialrat [Rudolf] Marx, “Die Kultivierung der Emsländischen Moore, eine Kulturaufgabe des Staates,” *DJ* 96:23 (June 8, 1934): 732–734; for photographic evidence, see Walter Talbot, “Die alte SA in der Wachtmannschaft der Strafgefängenenlager im Emsland,” Album Presented to Adolf Hitler, December 25, 1935, LC, Prints and Photographs Division, LOT 11390 (H).
 29. MNN, March 20, 1933, cited in Stanislav Zámečník, “Das frühe Konzentrationslager Dachau,” in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), p. 13; VB, March 21, 1933, cited in Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager*, p. 124.
 30. Paul Husarek, ed., *Die Toten von Dachau: Deutsche und Österreicher; Ein Gedank- und Nachschlagewerk* (Munich: Generalanwaltschaft für die Wiedergutmachung, 1948), pp. 21–28.
 31. For the Dachau order, 778-PS, NCA, III: 550–555; at Esterwegen, Theodor Eicke, “Besondere Lagerordnung für das Gefangen-Barackenlager,” August 1, 1934, countersigned Weibrecht with handwritten corrections, in USHMMMA, RG-11.001 M.20, Osobyi Archive, Fond 1367, Opis 2, Concentration/POW Camps in Germany, Reel 91, pp. 1–10; compare with the published order in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefängenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945*, pp. 85–89; for Dachau’s Prügelbock, Wenzel Rubner, “Dachau im Sommer, 1933,” in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt*, p. 61; for Sachsenburg, Hugo Gräf, “Prügelstrafe,” DNW, March 19, 1936, pp. 353–358.
 32. RMdI, August 1, 1934, in BHStA-(M), MA 106299, 23, as cited in Drobisch and Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, p. 203, table 22.
 33. RMdI/PrMdI, III A 3312 H-23 II/35, Betr.: Fortfall der Reichszuschüsse für Schutzhäftlinge, March 5, 1936, in BHStA-(M) 67403, MA 106300, 90, reproduced in Drobisch and Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, p. 197.
 34. Himmler to RMJ, Kammergerichtsrats Hecker, February 8, 1937, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefängenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945*, pp. 172–173.
 35. P III h. No. 689 (Sachsenburg), Paul Wolff, “Bericht eines ‘Rückwanderers’ über Sachsenburg, 1936,” pp. 1–7, in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series 1, WLA, Section 2, Eyewitness Accounts, Reel 58.
 36. Michael Thad Allen, *The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor, and the Concentration Camps* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), pp. 37–39, 43.
 37. “The Secret Terror,” MG, March 13, 1933; “Growing Reports of a Nazi Terror,” MG, March 13, 1933; “The Nazi Terror Goes On,” MG, March 16, 1933; “German Ambassador and the Nazi Terror,” MG, March 23, 1933.
 38. “Notwehr! Die neue Hassewelle [sic] gegen Deutschland; Wird die ausländische Greuelpropaganda abgestoppt?” BT, March 29, 1933; Johann Baptist Dietrich [JBD], “Ultimatum! Zur Abwehr der Greuelpropaganda,” BT, March 30, 1933.
 39. Jules Auguste Sauerwein, *30 Ans à la une* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1962), pp. 206–208; Elizabeth Fox Howard, *Across*

- Barriers*, intro. by Henry W. Nevinson (London: Friends Service Council, 1941), pp. 89–92; Carl J. Burckhardt, *Meine Danziger Mission: 1937–1939* (1960; repr., Munich: Verlag Georg D.W. Callwey, 1980), pp. 55–62.
40. Fritz Kleine, “Lichtenburg,” in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt*, p. 205.
 41. Martin Schumacher, ed., *M.d.R., die Reichstagsabgeordneten der Weimarer Republik in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus: Politische Verfolgung, Emigration und Ausbürgerung 1933–1945; Eine biographische Dokumentation; Mit einem Forschungsbericht zur Verfolgung deutscher und ausländischer Parlamentarier im nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftsbereich* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1994), p. 33, table 6, “MdR (1919–1933): Haft 1933–1945.”
 42. “Frauen als Geiseln: Der Nazi-Terror schreckt vor nichts zurück,” *PT*, July 5, 1934.
 43. “Oranienburg: Jetzt mit SA gefüllt,” *DF*, July 11, 1934.
 44. Sächsisches Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten, Nr. 4842, summarizing report from Landeskriminalamt, April 12, 1933, SHStA-(D), cited in Drobisch and Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, p. 101.
 45. Entries for June 24, August 1, September 25, 1933, in Stefan Lorant, *I Was Hitler’s Prisoner*, trans. James Cleugh (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1935), pp. 204–206, 279, 317.
 46. Ministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda to RMdI, in BA, R43 II 561, pp. 37–38; BHStA-(M), Reichsstattthalter 384, July 12, 1933; and Runderlass des RMdI, “Bekämpfung des öffentlichen Bettelns,” *RmblV*, all cited in Wolfgang Ayass, *“Asoziale” im Nationalsozialismus* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1995), pp. 20, 22.
 47. “Das erste Konzentrationslager für Bettler in Deutschland,” *VB*, Norddeutsche-Ausg., October 4, 1933.
 48. Vermerk der Lagerführers T[enhaaf] und Erwiderung Böhmkers, September 20, 1933, in LA-Sch-H, Reg. Eutin, A Vd 7, cited in Lawrence D. Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus: Ausgewählte Dokumente zur Geschichte von Eutin; 1918–1945* (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz, 1984), p. 555.
 49. Fritz Ecker, “Die Hölle Dachau: Betrachtungen eines Gemarteten [sic] nach sieben Monaten Dachau,” in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt*, p. 51.
 50. For the overall estimate of deaths, see Martin Broszat and Norbert Frei, eds., *Das Dritte Reich: Ursprünge, Ereignisse, Wirkungen* (Würzburg: Verlag Ploetz Freiburg, 1983), p. 93; Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommandanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005), p. 294n.1254.
 51. For Börgermoor, see Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten: 13 Monate Konzentrationslager* (Zürich: Schweizer Spiegel, 1935), p. 133; Rubner, “Dachau im Sommer, 1933,” p. 64; Eicke, “Besondere Lagerordnung für das Gefangenengen-Barackenlager,” August 1, 1934.
 52. Eugen Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell: The German Concentration Camps and the System behind Them*, trans. Heinz Norden (New York: Berkley Publishing Corp., 1984), pp. 29–39.
 53. Jürgen Matthäus, “Verfolgung, Ausbeutung, Vernichtung: Jüdische Häftlinge im System der Konzentrationslager,” in *Jüdische Häftlinge im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen 1936 bis 1945*, ed. Günter Morsch and Susanne zur Nieden (Berlin: Edition Henrich, 2004), pp. 64–90, 67.
 54. Max Tabaschnik, “Königstein,” in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt*, pp. 94–112; and his son’s report, Werner Tabaschnik, “Ein Kind erzählt vom Dritten Reich,” in ibid., pp. 113–116.
 55. “Ein Rassenschänder,” *DNW*, February 27, 1936, pp. 263–264.
 56. Anon. Jewish account in P III h. No. 684 (Esterwegen), August 1936, in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Reel 9.
 57. On the political rift, SPD accounts by Ecker, “Die Hölle Dachau,” pp. 46–47; and Willi Harder, “Sonnenburg,” in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt*, p. 132; for KPD, see Werner Hirsch, *Sozialdemokratische und kommunistische Arbeiter im Konzentrationslager* (Basel: Prometheus-Verlag, 1934), p. 27.
 58. *Widerstandgruppe Vereinigte Kletter-Abteilung* (Berlin [East]: VVN-Verlag, 1948) and *Von der Jugendburg Hohnstein zum Schutzhaftlager Hohnstein* (Berlin [East]: VVN-Verlag, 1949), excerpted in Walter A. Schmidt, ed., *Damit Deutschland lebt: Ein Quellenwerk über den deutschen antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf, 1933–1945* (Berlin [East]: Kongress-Verlag, 1958), pp. 293–294.
 59. For Börgermoor, see Karl Schabrod, *Widerstand an Rhein und Ruhr: 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf: Landesvorstand der VVN Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1969), p. 42; and Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten*, pp. 238–239, 242; on Esterwegen III, see Franz Holländer statement, Dannenberg, January 5, 1948, NStA-Ol, Best. 140-145 No. 1219, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 280; for Sachsenburg, see “Sachsenburg gegen Hitler,” *NV*, November 26, 1933.
 60. Anon. testimony of Kislaus prisoner, n.d., in USHMM, RG 11.001 M.20, 1367/2/33, p. 10.
 61. NHStA-H, Hann. 180 Hannover 752, 1602, cited in Hans Hesse with Jens-Christian Wagner, *Das frühe KZ Moringen (April–November 1933): . . . ein an sich interessanter psychologischer Versuch . . .* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2003), p. 41.
 62. Max Abraham, *Juda verrecke: Ein Rabbiner im Konzentrationslager*, foreword by K.L. Reiner (Templitz-Schönau: Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1934), pp. 86–87; Lola Landau and Armin T. Wegner, “Welt vorbei:” *Die KZ-Briefe, 1933/1934*, ed. Thomas Hartwig (Berlin: Verlag Das Arsenal, 1999), p. 29.
 63. “Esterwegen,” “Grüne Kolonnen,” “Lichtenburger Lied,” “Moorlied,” “Sachsenhausenlied” (unofficial), “Sachsenhausener Lagerlied” (official), and “Wir sind [die] Moorsoldaten,” reproduced in Günter Morsch and Inge Lammel, eds., *Sachsenhausen-Liederbuch: Originalwiedergabe eines illegalen Häftlingsliederbuches aus dem Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen* (Berlin: Edition Henrich, 1995), n.p.
 64. 785-PS, Franz Gürtner, Unsigned Memorandum for Adolf Hitler on Hohnstein Proceeding (n.d.), *TMWC*, 26: 307–321.
 65. Ernst Fraenkel, *Der Doppelstaat*, ed. with intro. by Alexander von Brünneck (1940; repr., Hamburg: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 2001), p. 49 (introduction).
 66. RMJ, Diensttagebuch, November 13, 1934, cited in Lothar Gruchmann, *Justiz im Dritten Reich: 1933–1940; Anpassung und Unterwerfung in der Ära Gürtner* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1988), p. 365; on the Ossietzky case, see Doc. D 455, “Bericht des Lagerarztes von Esterwegen, 27.8.1934”; Doc. D 504, “Amtsarztliches Gutachten des Kreisarzten von Meppen 632 im Auftrag der Staatspolizei,” July 24, 1935; Doc. D 581, Eicke to RFSS, April 3, 1936; D 590, Heydrich to Göring,

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

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

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

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

70. Gustav Sorge’s Urteil, 8 Ks 1/58, in *Justiz und NS-*

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

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

AHRENSBÖK-HOLSTENDORF

On October 3, 1933, a concentration camp was opened in the community of Ahrensbök, located in the territory of Lübeck, in the Free State of Oldenburg. The concentration camp was set up to relieve the overcrowded prisons of Eutin and Bad Schwartau, which had been turned into “protective custody” camps (Eutin, since March 1933; Bad Schwartau, since June 1933). The concentration camp was situated in the management building (erected in 1883) of an old sugar mill in the village of Holstendorf.¹ The building, located on the periphery of the community center, had been the headquarters of the chemical factory Dr. C. Christ AG since 1908. On November 1, 1932, it was leased by the state government, which turned it into a camp for the Voluntary Labor Service (FAD).² The concentration camp, established by the Regierungspräsident and senior SA leader Johann Heinrich Böhmcker, was to hold between 50 and 70 protective custody prisoners. The intent was to use these prisoners to continue the FAD’s uncompleted road project.³ In December 1933, the concentration camp building in Holstendorf was turned into a state high school, and the prisoners were moved to a closed-down shoe factory in the center of Ahrensbök at 15 Plöner Strasse.⁴ From 1936, the building became the main office of the Genossenschafts-Flachsröste GmbH. This cooperative supported the Nazis’ autarky efforts by replacing the production of cotton with that of linen.⁵ Until the end of the war, 164 forced laborers⁶ were employed here.

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

There were a number of special characteristics of this early concentration camp. To begin with, the immediate cause for the establishment of the Ahrensbök concentration camp at the beginning of October 1933 was the arrest of the people whom the Nazis considered enemies of the community. Also, the establishment of the concentration camp was the result of the Regierungspräsident’s personal initiative. Among other things, it served as a place for the creation of work for unemployed SA men whom Böhmcker appointed as auxiliary police. In order to maintain this “private” army, he arranged for the arrest of

wealthy alleged opponents of the Nazi regime. When, after their release, some of the prisoners took action to recover improper fines, the head of the Oldenburg Gestapo was forced to admonish Böhmcker, and to tell him that protective custody involved security measures, not the imposition of penalties.⁹ In order to use protective custody prisoners as forced laborers and to reduce the costs of the concentration camp, Böhmcker bypassed legal regulations. As a government lawyer informed him on March 19, 1933, neither the Oldenburg Compulsory Law of May 10, 1926, nor the Reich Law for the Imposition of Protective Custody of December 4, 1916, nor the Reich Emergency Decrees allowed for the use of those taken into protective custody for “hostile acts against the state” as forced laborers. To resolve this issue, Böhmcker issued wide-ranging regulations dealing with the use of protective custody prisoners in the Lübeck administrative area. “For health and moral reasons” they were to be engaged in “light cultivation work”—consisting of eight hours of work with regular rations.¹⁰

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

The account for protective custody costs in the ledger at the Eutin State Treasury Department lists the following deposits: on December 22, 1933, compensation from the Reich of 840 Reichsmark (RM); and a supplementary grant on July 10, 1935, of 1,709.99 RM.¹¹ In addition, payments were made by local communities for the completed roadwork. By “supplementary recognition of the district management of the Labor Service District Nordmark,” the prisoners of the “Concentration Camp, Section Ahrensbök” (according to the postmark of camp commandant Theodor Christian Tenhaaf) were registered as participants in the FAD from October 1933.¹² The Lübeck District of the Free State of Oldenburg, which did not even have a population of 50,000, proved to be a testing ground in the persecution of those designated as opponents of the state system long before the Nazis’ assumption of power in the Reich, for, on May 29, 1932, the voters had already brought SA-Oberführer Böhmcker to power by electing him Regierungspräsident. His reign of terror utilized the preliminary work done by democratically controlled state organs such as the judiciary and the police, which long before 1933 had collected information on political opponents, especially left-wing groups.¹³ Within a year, at least 345 inhabitants of the district, including 94 from Ahrensbök and Holstendorf, were taken into protective custody, largely due to activities considered hostile to the state.

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

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

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

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

Jörg Wollenberg
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

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

12. LA-Sch-H, 260, Nr. 17893.
13. LA-Sch-H, Abt. 309, Nr. 22996 (Assembly of left-wing and right-wing organizations from 20.8.1931–1.9.1932).
14. LA-Sch-H, Abt. 352, Nr. 357.

ALT DABER

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

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

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

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ALtenberg

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

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

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

Joseph Robert White

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ANKENBUCK

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTES

1. Sometimes also written "Ankenbuk"; but as the letterhead of the association has it "Ankenbuck," this last version seems to be correct. GLA-K, 309, Zug. 1987/54, Nr. 570.

2. DA, May 11, 1933, p. 3.

3. Lydia Warrel, *Bad Dürrheim: Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Sigmaringen, 1990), p. 262.

ANRATH BEI KREFELD

In early April 1933, the Düsseldorf branch of the Prussian State Police formed a men's "protective custody" camp inside the penal institution at Anrath bei Krefeld, Rhineland Province, Prussia.¹ Prussian Justice Ministry officials and possibly SA served as guards. Together with other Rhine-land prisons such as Köln Klingelpütz, the Anrath camp's establishment came in response to the rapid overflow of ad-

hoc detention facilities in the Düsseldorf area after the March 5, 1933 election. Housed in the empty women's ward, the 700 to 1,000 detainees were primarily Communists and a few Socialists from the Ruhr and Rhineland. Among them were Social Democrat Fritz Strothmann and Communist Willi Dickhut. Arrested on March 1, 1933, Dickhut had already spent four weeks in detention at the Solingen police prison, where he was tortured before being transferred to Anrath.²

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTES

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

BAD SULZA

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

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



Clandestine photograph of the Bad Sulza early camp, 1935.

COURTESY OF UDO WOHLFELD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Udo Wohlfeld
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BAMBERG

With the March 9, 1933, Nazi takeover of Bavaria, the Wilhelmsplatz State Court Prison in Bamberg, Oberfranken, became a “protective custody” camp.¹ Between March and July 1933, it altogether held more than 140 detainees, of whom at least 42 were released. Wilhelmsplatz was one of at least nine small protective custody camps in northern Bavaria, which included the camps of Bayreuth (St. Georgen), Coburg, Hof an der Saale, and Straubing in Oberfranken, and the camps of Aschaffenburg, Hassenberg bei Neustadt, Hassfurt, Schweinfurt, and Würzburg in Unterfranken (after 1935, Mainfranken). According to press reports, Bamberg detained 62 Bavarian People’s Party (BVP) members; at least 42 Communist, Social Democratic, Reichsbanner, and trade union leaders; as many as 7 Jews; 1 Stahlhelm member; 1 Jehovah’s Witness; 1 person who defied the regime’s dairy pricing scheme; and 1 for reasons unknown.² On March 10, the Bamberg Criminal Police arrested 17 Communists and Reichsbanner officials, seizing “on this occasion numerous writings, partly in Russian.”³ By March 22, the Bamberg concentration camp at Wilhelmsplatz held 20 detainees, and by March 27, the population doubled to 40.⁴ Not every leftist remained in custody: secondary school teacher Fritz Reuss, arrested for harboring Marxist sympathies, won release after his colleagues vouched for his classroom conduct and character.⁵ Bamberg also held political prisoners from other towns, including Forchheim, Hassfurt, and Hofheim, who were either in transit to other concentration camps or held as a measure to relieve the overcrowding of small court prisons.

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

Jehovah’s Witnesses also faced early persecution in Bamberg. On April 10, Bamberg’s special commissar, SA-Oberführer Heinrich Hager, banned their public activities, and the police shut down the 28-member meetinghouse,

without making arrests. The new Bavarian interior minister, Adolf Wagner, one of Hitler’s most reliable chieftains, employed special commissars to implement especially radical measures. The Jehovah’s Witness ban exemplified the special commissars’ function in Bavaria’s Nazi synchronization (*Gleichschaltung*). When Otto Prüfer, a Jehovah’s Witness, convened a meeting in defiance of Hager’s decree, the Bamberg Political Police placed him in protective custody on July 18.⁷

Despite Dachau’s foundation on March 21, the first Bamberg transport to the concentration camp only took place in late April. Meanwhile, the Bamberg police dispatched five detainees to the workhouse at Bayreuth (St. Georg). A press release from the state court implied that the first transfer, on March 24, was a disciplinary measure, as the unnamed detainee in question was “an unruly inmate.” Four Communists, Geyer, Keim, Riedel, and Seelmann, were sent to the same workhouse on April 7.⁸

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

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

Bamberg’s leading BVP members also faced Nazi intimidation. The BVP’s paramilitary, the Bavarian Guard (Bayernwacht), was an early target. In connection with the beating death of Wiesheier, an SA man, 20 Bavarian Guardsmen from Gaiganz were taken into protective custody at Bamberg on May 23.¹¹ The July 1933 trial of Wiesheier’s accused assailant, Lorenz Schriefer, caused a local sensation and resulted in a death sentence for Schriefer.¹² BVP county manager Georg

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

On the date of Banzer's third arrest, the Bamberg police also took into custody 16 local and 1 national BVP leaders. Among them were Reichstag member and Prelate Johann Leicht as well as Bavarian parliament member and *Bamberger Volksblatt* director Georg Meixner. From 1920 to 1933, Leicht headed the BVP faction in the Reichstag. After his detention ended on July 5, he continued to serve in the Catholic Church but refrained from politics. Meixner's detention resulted from the publication of articles critical of National Socialism. His arrest prompted an immediate change in the *BV*'s political orientation: on behalf of the publisher, St. Otto Verlag GmbH, the archbishop of Bamberg, Jakobus, published two open letters on June 30, 1933, that professed the paper's loyalty to the new regime and exhorted the detained director to join him in producing a "pure Catholic," that is, allegedly apolitical, paper. Separately, the paper announced that the director forfeited his Landtag (parliament) seat. After his release, Meixner's name continued to appear on the paper's masthead until September 12, 1933.¹⁴ In late June, ties to the BVP resulted in the detention of two Roman Catholic priests, Curate Martin Förtsch from Hohengüßbach and Father Schütz from Burgebrach. Schütz's detention came on Special Commissar Hager's order.¹⁵

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

Primary documentation for this camp begins with the Bamberg prosecutor general's report to the Bavarian State Justice Ministry, March 11, 1933, in the KZ and Haftanstalten collection, in BA-B, SAPMO-DDR, reproduced in Drobisch

and Wieland. The Bamberg press provides numerous reports about Wilhelmsplatz prison. Until July 29, 1933, the *BT* was a National Conservative paper and the official publication for the Bamberg State Court, after which it became the official organ of Oberfranken's Nazi Gauleiter Hans Schemm. Until April 4, 1933, the *BV* was also an official paper of the Bamberg State Court. It remained the local BVP paper until June 30. Finally, the ITS lists the Wilhelmsplatz prison in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:215.

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NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BAUTZEN (KUPFERHAMMER)

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

After its dissolution on June 26, 1933, the police transferred Bautzen's remaining prisoners to the remand jail at Dresden (Mathildenstrasse) and the early SA camp at Hohn-

stein Castle. Released prisoners were temporarily dispatched to the workhouse at Äussere Lauenstrasse 33, which later became Dr.-Maria-Grollmuss-Strasse 1.

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

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

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BAYREUTH (ST. GEORGEN)

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

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

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

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BENNINGHAUSEN

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

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

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

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

Before and after World War II, Benninghausen was the subject of several criminal investigations and proceedings. In 1934, a released Communist prisoner brought a complaint against the camp staff before the Schwelm administrative court. The accuser claimed that the guards had stabbed two

of his comrades. Director Clemens, a Stahlhelm member, disclaimed responsibility for the guards’ actions, and nothing came of the investigation at that time. Between 1947 and 1952, the Paderborn courts tried the 16 Benninghausen guards. A court sentenced the guard Erich Schulte, described as a sadist, to five years in a penitentiary and three years of loss of honor.³ A second defendant, Friedrich König, received two years’ confinement. The specific judgments against other defendants are not available, but most were acquitted or sentenced to short terms of confinement.

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

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

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. *LP*, May 23–24, 1951, as cited in Karin Epkenhans, *Lippstadt, 1933–1945: Darstellung und Dokumentation zur Geschichte der Stadt Lippstadt im Nationalsozialismus* (Lippstadt: Archiv und Museumamt, Stadt Lippstadt, 1995), p. 191.

2. Ibid., July 29–30, 1933, reproduced in Epkenhans, *Lippstadt, 1933–1945*, p. 386.

3. *WP*, August 19, 1947, as cited in Epkenhans, *Lippstadt, 1933–1945*, p. 191.

BERGISCH GLADBACH [AKA STELLAWERK]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Johann Paul
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

asked the mining director in charge, Ernst Fromme, who held him in high respect professionally, to be allowed to use this building as a provisional camp.

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

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

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

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

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

BERGKAMEN-SCHÖNHAUSEN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There is a file on the Bergkamen concentration camp in the NWStA-M. These files are located in the collection "Kreis Unna—Politische Polizei" and were researched for the first time by Martin Litzinger in 2001–2002. These files de-

serve special attention, as they contain the camp's complete prisoner list, which holds important biographical data on each prisoner. There are no other known archival sources on the Bergkamen concentration camp.

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

Martin Litzinger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BERLIN (GENERAL-PAPE-STRASSE)

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

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

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

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

30 THE EARLY NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONCENTRATION CAMPS

There are no reliable sources identifying the prison commander. A publication in 1952 suggests that there were two former military officers, a Captain Weiss and one Major Schneider¹; in addition, a "Commander of the Pape-strasse Military Barracks" by the name of Rossbach² was mentioned. The only additional information to be gained concerned SA-Sturmführer Erich Krause, head of the interrogation office. He was born on January 6, 1905, in Berlin and is accused of being brutal. This accusation was raised in December 1950 when investigations were made by the Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime in the German Democratic Republic. Krause was a member of the guard in the SA prison and was later a member of the protective police. He was also a public servant. Sturmbannführer Fritsch was certainly a member of the guard, as he was responsible for the SA field police depot.

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

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

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

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

Paul Tollmann, a youth, with the help of individual SA men was able to avoid being transported to the Oranienburg concentration camp on the fifth day of his imprisonment. He

was able to hide in a pile of straw, then to escape unrecognized. The escape of a builder is also known.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kurt Schilder
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

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

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

BERLIN-CHARLOTTENBURG (MAIKOWSKI-HAUS)

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

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

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

On January 30, 1933, the SS organized a torchlight procession through the Berlin government district to honor the appointment of Adolf Hitler as Reich chancellor. To demonstrate the new power, on its return march to Charlottenburg, SA-Sturm 33 made a detour along Wallstrasse (later renamed Zillestrasse), one of the strongholds of the Charlottenburg

Communist workers' movement. It came to a shoot-out in which policeman Josef Zauritz and Sturmführer Hans Maikowsky were shot dead.¹

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

The use of the Maikowski House as an early SA concentration camp is documented from April 1933.³ Above all, the SA brought supporters of the workers' parties to Maikowski House. But the reasons for arrest could equally include personal animosity, lust for revenge, adherence to the Jewish religion, or just arbitrariness. According to a statement by Mathilde Gerhardt, there were more than 40 others during her period of custody in the cellar of the former assembly building.⁴ The prisoners were given straw sacks and kept in the cellar of the building, which measured around 600 square meters (6,458 square feet). In the same cellar, there was a room with a torture table where the mistreatment of prisoners took place. In the rooms on the upper levels, belonging to the SA-Standarte, interrogations and torture also took place. For these purposes, a room known as the "Revolution's Museum" was used, which held captured booty such as red flags, photos of leaders of the workers' movement, badges, and clubs.⁵

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

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

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

There were fatalities in the Maikowski House. Walter Harnecker, subdistrict head of the Charlottenburg branch of the German Communist Party (KPD), and Walter Drescher, member of the Communist Homes' Protection Squad (Häuserschutzstaffel), were beaten to death. Communist Youth Front (Jungfront) comrade Hans Schall died from his injuries after they chopped off both his hands.⁹ Walter Chall, a worker, was first interrogated in the Maikowski House and mistreated there. Afterward, during the night of September 22–23, 1933, he was shot by SA men at Tegeler Heide. A criminal investigation by the Berlin state prosecutor into the matter was stopped because of the intervention of Prussian Prime Minister Hermann Göring in June 1934.¹⁰ In their memoirs, former prisoners repeatedly mention the names of Berthold Hell and Helmut Kuhn, leader of SA-Sturm 6/1 (former Sturm 33), as the SA members who were responsible for the severe mistreatment of prisoners.¹¹ SA guards were posted inside the building as well as at the entrance gate. On the basis of witnesses' statements, it is possible to document a 10-month period of existence of the camp, lasting until January 1934.¹²

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

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

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NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

7. Hippe, *Und unsere Fahnen ist rot*, p. 152.

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

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

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

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

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

BERLIN-KÖPENICK

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

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

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

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

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

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

the door of the room. . . . The numerous anti-fascists in the prayer room were forced to conduct military exercises and to march around and simultaneously sing the German national anthem. While doing so, they were mistreated with sticks and rods.⁴

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTES

1. Polizeirevier, 6 Juli 1933, AHM-K, IV 400 Ged, 234; Geheime Staatspolizei, GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 90 P Nr. 71, p. 14; *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitlerterror*, facsimile reproduction of the 1933 original (rept., Frankfurt am Main, 1978), pp. 32, 210–211.

2. Bericht von 22 Juni 1933, AHM-K, 24.4; *Gedenkstätte Köpenicker Blutwoche Juni 1933: Eine Dokumentation; Ausstellungskatalog*, comp. and ed. Claus-Dieter Sprink (Berlin, 1997), pp. 19–20; Heinrich-Wilhelm Wörmann, *Widerstand in Köpenick und Treptow* (Berlin, 1995), pp. 16–17.

3. Landgericht Berlin, Urteil der 4. Grossen Strafkammer in der Strafsache gegen Plötzke und andere (Köpenicker Blutwoche), Berlin (Ost) 1950, p. 190f.

4. Urteil Plötzke, p. 265. [The trial judgment by the Berlin regional court against Plötzke and others is published under case number 1293 in C.F. Rüter, ed., *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen. Sammlung ostdeutscher Strafverfahren wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen* (Amsterdam/Munich, 2004), 6: 255–394.]

5. Preussisches Justizministerium, GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84a Nr. 53357, p. 11.

6. Sprink, *Gedenkstätte Köpenicker Blutwoche*, pp. 19–21; Urteil Plötzke, p. 124; Wörmann, *Widerstand in Köpenick und Treptow*, p. 27.

7. SA-Gruppe Berlin-Brandenburg, Gruppenbefehl 44 vom 13.7.1933, LA-B, A Rep. 244-03 Nr. 45.

8. Sprink, *Gedenkstätte Köpenicker Blutwoche*, pp. 19–22.

9. Abschrift vom 12.7.1933, AHM-K, Nr. 24.1.

10. Abschrift vom 6.7.1933, AHM-K, Nr. 24.1.

11. Ibid.

12. Sprink, *Gedenkstätte Köpenicker Blutwoche*, pp. 50–53.

BERLIN-KREUZBERG (FRIEDRICHSTRASSE NR. 234)

In the summer of 1932, the brothers Hermann and Paul Guthschow put part of their building at Friedrichstrasse 234 at the disposal of the SA-Sturmabteilung III/8. The SA used the

floor under the roof of the apartment and office building, which included several inner rear courtyards, for sports exercises and drills. In January 1933, an additional SA quarters with a kitchen, overnight facilities, and day rooms for more than 30 men were established at this site.¹ From at least the end of March to May 1933, the building acquired a sorry reputation and was referred to as "Blood Fortress" (*Blutburg*) beyond the borders of Berlin.²

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

After the closure of the camp, some rooms at Friedrichstrasse 234 continued to serve as the headquarters of the SA-Sturmbann. The building was demolished in 1956.¹⁴

On the basis of an appeal through the press and the resultant witness statements, a Soviet military tribunal sentenced Kurt Buchmüller to 25 years of imprisonment on January 6, 1947. He was released from prison 7 years later on January 16, 1954.¹⁵

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

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

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NOTES

1. Bauakte Friedrichstrasse 234, in LAB, B Rep. 206 Nr. 5410; Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, p. 33.
2. Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, p. 34.
3. Ibid., pp. 39-40, 90; Theodor Balk, *Ein Gespenst geht um . . .* (Paris: Éd. Combat, 1933), p. 4.
4. Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, p. 61; Ernst Testis, *Das Dritte Reich stellt sich vor . . .* (Prag: Litera, 1933), p. 25.
5. Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, p. 45 Rs; *Angeklagter Hitler: Protokolle, Augenzeugen- und Tatsachenberichte aus den faschistischen Folterhöllen Deutschlands* (Zürich: Moppr-Verlag, 1933), pp. 5-6.
6. Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, pp. 51, 54, 61; *RPWA* 7, (March 1933): 175-176.
7. Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, pp. 148 Rs; Testis, *Das Dritte Reich*, pp. 49-50; Theodor Krämer, *Blut-März 1933: Hakenkreuzbanditentum; Enthüllungen zum Reichstagsbrand* (Luxemburg: Selbstverlag, [1934]), p. 20.

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

9. *Angeklagter Hitler*, p. 9.

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

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

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

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

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

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

BERLIN-KREUZBERG (HEDEMANNSTRASSE)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There were deaths in Hedemannstrasse. Paul Pabst, a Communist laborer, jumped from the third-floor window of Hedemannstrasse 5 on April 23, 1933, and died on the spot.⁹ Communist official Heinz Brandt recalls that “lifeless bodies were taken on a stretcher to be ‘executed’ in the courtyard” and that shots were heard the next moment.¹⁰ Hans Spiro, a

17-year-old worker athlete, was mistreated in Hedemannstrasse in April 1933, and in May of the same year his corpse was pulled from the Spree Canal with his throat cut.¹¹

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

After the war, the General State Attorney’s Office of the German Democratic Republic instituted proceedings against Julius Bergmann for crimes committed at Hedemannstrasse. He was sentenced to death by the Berlin District Court on February 3, 1951, and executed on August 30, 1952.¹²

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

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

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NOTES

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

2. State attorney’s office at Berlin regional court, Proceedings against Schukar and Fors for breach of the peace, “Maikowski-Trial,” LA-B, Rep. 358-01, Nr. 7059, p. 175; Oberstaffelbefehl Nr. 15.1.1933, LA-B, A Rep. 244-03, Nr. 47; Gruppensonderbefehl 24.3.1933, LA-B, A Rep. 244-03, Nr. 47.

3. Generalsekretariat VVN, Forschungsstelle, Ermittlungen und Untersuchungen der Rechtsabteilung zum Zwecke der Einleitung bzw. Durchführung von Strafprozessen und Spruchkammerverfahren wegen Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit, BA, DY 55 V 278/3/199, p. 77.

4. Ibid.

5. Kurt Bürger, *Aus Hitlers Konzentrationslagern* (Moscow: Verlagsgenossenschaft ausländischer Arbeiter in der USSR, 1934), p. 50.

6. Ibid., pp. 49–50; Theodor Balk, *Ein Gespenst geht um . . .* (Paris, 1933–1934), p. 7.

7. Generalsekretariat VVN, Forschungsstelle, Ermittlungen und Untersuchungen BA, DY 55/V278/3/199, Bl. 77.
8. File Julius Bergmann, BA, SA (former BDC) D 0018.
9. Bequest Daluge, GStAPK, VI. HA N1 Nr. 33, Bl. 14.
10. Heinz Brandt, *Ein Traum, der nicht entführbar ist. Mein: Weg zwischen Ost und West* (Munich, 1967), p. 100.
11. RPWA 12 (May 1933): 438; *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror*, Faksimile-Nachdruck des Originals von 1933 (Frankfurt am Main 1978), p. 342.
12. Aufstellung der Personen, die in der SBZ/DDR wegen Kriegsverbrechen/Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit verurteilt wurden, BA, DP/3 2386; Karteikarten der Generalstaatsanwaltschaft zu Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit und Kriegsverbrechen in der SBZ/DDR, BA, DP/3 2410. [The trial judgments against Bergmann are published under case number 1250 in C.F. Rüter, ed., *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen. Sammlung ostdeutscher Strafverfahren wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen* (Amsterdam/Munich, 2004), 5: 609–624.]

BERLIN-PLÖTZENSEE

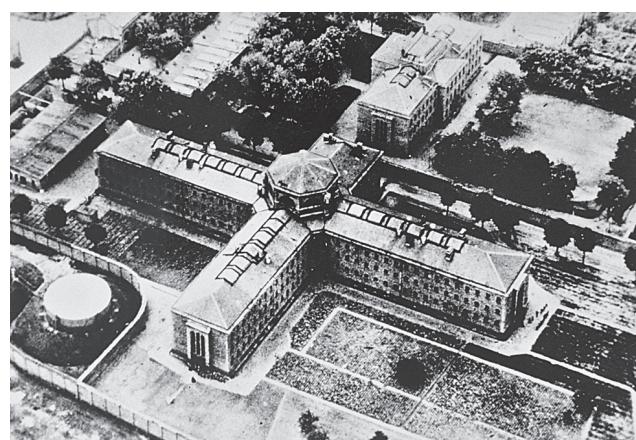
In March 1933, the SA established a “protective custody” camp inside the Berlin-Plötzensee penal institution. On April 3, 1933, 60 SA men accompanied approximately 200 Plötzensee detainees to the new Prussian concentration camp at Sonnenburg.¹ This transfer amounted to approximately four-fifths of the Plötzensee camp’s initial population of 250.² In September 1933, at least two transports of detainees left Plötzensee for the new Brandenburg concentration camp.³ The second September transport included Polish citizen Roman Praschker, Nazi propagandist Kurt Lüdecke, and anarchist Erich Mühsam. According to the *Vossische Zeitung* newspaper, the prison held 350 detainees in October 1933. Under the direction of Oberdirektor Vacano and the supervision of professional warders, Plötzensee continued to hold political detainees until at least 1936. Details of Vacano’s subsequent career are not known. Former Nazis and nationalist prisoners featured prominently among the groups detained at this institution.⁴

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

obtain parcels. Their cell furnishings included tables, retractable beds, desks, and study lamps.⁵

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

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



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

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

Although a German nationalist, the police accused Mahraun of spying on France's behalf. The SA tortured him at the General-Pape-Strasse early camp before sending him to Alexanderplatz. Immediately after his transfer to Plötzensee, Mahraun met the editor in chief of the illegal Communist daily *Rote Fabne*, Alfred Fendrich, who passed the latest rumors about the terror. While in Plötzensee, Mahraun wrote portions of "a dramatic Faust epic." Upon his release, the Gestapo confiscated this intended "protest against the present tyranny." Mahraun's connections in the Reich president's office facilitated his release in September 1933.¹²

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

Among the detainees at Plötzensee in this period was Communist MdR Ernst Torgler. Torgler was the only German defendant in the Reichstag Fire Trial in the fall of 1933. After his acquittal on the charge of high treason, the police placed him in protective custody. He remained briefly at Moabit before the transfer to Plötzensee on January 14, 1934. Torgler was released from custody on December 1, 1936.¹⁶

Between 1933 and 1945, Plötzensee executed 1,574 political opponents. As part of Prussia's Nazi-era restoration of the death penalty, Plötzensee's first criminal executions took place in May 1933. Customarily, German prisons erected gallows on prison grounds before each execution and rang a bell at the time of death. In August and September 1933, Praschker heard the bell ring five times, although Lüdecke recalled only one such occasion.¹⁷ In 1936, in order to restrict unauthorized news, the prison discontinued the practice of striking the bell. In 1937, in response to a Justice

Ministry decree, Plötzensee established a permanent, guillotine-equipped death house, which further increased death penalty secrecy by removing executions from the view of the general inmate population. The institution's first political execution took place on June 14, 1934, with the hanging of Richard Hüttig. Among Plötzensee's wartime victims were members of the Red Orchestra and July 20 resistance groups.

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

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

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

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NOTES

1. BA-A, SAPMO-DDR Zentralparteiarchiv Best. I file 2/3/45, as cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 55.
2. "Strafanstalt Sonnenburg als Konzentrationslager: Vorläufig 250 Gefangene," *DAN*, April 8, 1933.
3. Roman Praschker, "Brandenburg," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), p. 136; Kurt G.W. Lüdecke, *I Knew Hitler: The Story of a Nazi Who Escaped the Blood Purge* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938), p. 693.
4. "Der neue Strafvollzug: Ein Besuch in Plötzensee," *VZ*, October 14, 1933.
5. Ibid.; "German Convicts Must Sing Nazi Songs Now," *DH*, May 19, 1934; Lüdecke, *I Knew Hitler*, pp. 687–688; Artur Mahraun, *Politische Reformation: Vom Werden einer neuen deutschen Ordnung* (Gütersloh: Nachbarschafts-Verlag Artur Mahraun, 1949), p. 110.
6. Praschker, "Brandenburg," pp. 134–138; "Prominent" im Sonnenburger Konzentrationslager," *DAN*, April 12, 1933.
7. Lüdecke, *I Knew Hitler*, p. 687.
8. Ibid., p. 686.
9. Ibid., p. 687.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., pp. 689–690, 692–693.
12. Mahraun, *Politische Reformation*, pp. 94–98, 100, 110–111 (quotations on p. 110); *RF*, July 12, 1932, and February 5, 1933; Lüdecke, *I Knew Hitler*, pp. 689–690.
13. "Greuelpropaganda aus dem Gefängnis," *VB*, January 9, 1934.
14. "German Convicts Must Sing Nazi Songs Now."
15. *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (Sopade)*, 7 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Petra Nettelbeck, 1980), 3:1019.
16. "German Convicts Must Sing Nazi Songs Now."
17. Praschker, "Brandenburg," p. 136; Lüdecke, *I Knew Hitler*, p. 693.

BERLIN-PRENZLAUER BERG [AKA WASSERTURM]

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

The waterworks, which had been built in 1856 and expanded over the course of the following decades, was put out of operation in 1914, as it could no longer accommodate the increasing water requirements of the city. The closure did not mean, however, that the 1.7 hectares (4.2 acres) water tower grounds were left unused. The water tower as well as the caretaker's rooms were used as living quarters. Both of the deep reservoirs as well as Engine Room II served as storage and warehouse space.¹ A recreational park was opened on the grounds for the local population in 1916.² When it was seized by the SA for its purposes in 1933, the water tower area was an inhabited, lively, and popular place for the neighboring population to relax.

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

The prisoners were locked up in the older and larger of the two engine rooms, Engine Room I.⁴ The approximately 1,000 square meters (1,196 square yards) large building originally housed the power plant and boiler. For the most part, it had stood empty since 1914.⁵ Engine Room I was chosen by the SA as a suitable location for a concentration camp since there was sufficient space to accommodate prisoners, conduct interrogations, and carry out torture. In addition, its prominent and central location in the district—the widely visible water tower is the symbol of Prenzlauer Berg—enabled the SA to demonstrate its newly attained position of power and to stir up anxiety within the population.

The exact date upon which the concentration camp was set up cannot be ascertained. Its existence can only be verified for an approximate period of three to three and a half months from March to June 1933.⁶ Due to inadequate sources and the late assessment of the history of the camp, only 19 persons could be identified by name as prisoners. This number offers no basis upon which an estimation of the total number of detained persons might be reached. According to statements by former prisoners, individuals were detained from anywhere between one day and two weeks. Their reports describe

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

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

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

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

Information about the responsible SA members can be gathered from copies of investigation, statement, and indictment reports of District Court VII of the Greater Berlin District and the chief public prosecutor's office of the regional court in the "Water Tower Case" of 1934 and 1935.¹³ The Water Tower Case dealt with a number of crimes committed by the SA on the water tower grounds, such as theft, the accepting of stolen goods, and aiding and abetting the infiltration of the party by Communists. The former concentration camp and the unlawful detentions and grievous bodily injuries perpetrated there were only mentioned in passing and were in no way part of the criminal sentencing. It is therefore most probable that this case was primarily an internal SA purge. It followed the reorganization of the SA and the considerable reduction of its membership in the wake of the "Röhm Putsch" of June 30, 1934.

Nevertheless, records show that Ernst Pfordte was the senior commanding officer of the Prenzlauer camp. He was born on July 30, 1902, and became a member of the SA and the NSDAP in early 1932.¹⁴ Testimony and contemporary witnesses described Pfordte's tendency toward extreme brutality and criminality, which led "to excesses under the influence of alcohol."¹⁵ This was corroborated in further judicial inquiries against Pfordte on charges of bodily harm, which were held in the Berlin Regional Court in August 1934 and September 1935.¹⁶ Also responsible for the events at the water tower was Willi Protsch, head of the Prenzlauer Berg SA Unit

4 of the East Berlin Brigade. No records have survived of the verdicts by the regional court, and the final results of the process remain uncertain. It is a fact, however, that Protsch had been previously convicted before this judicial inquiry, and a second inquiry before the Berlin Regional Court was opened in 1934 to deal with charges of murder and robbery as well as perjury.¹⁷ It would appear that both Protsch, whose SA file ends with the Water Tower Case, and Pfordte, as a result of legal proceedings against him and possible sentencing, were barred from the SA. As for other members of the SA involved in events at the water tower, only names without biographical data or background information could be found.

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

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

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

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NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- Willi, February 9, 1899, p. 39; folder "KZ Wasserturm," VVN-B, district group Prenzlauer Berg, pp. 82, 84.
8. Interview with Karl Ziegler, August 20, 2002.
 9. Folder "KZ Wasserturm," VVN-B, district group Prenzlauer Berg, p. 87.
 10. Ibid., p. 86.
 11. Bezirksverwaltung Prenzlauer Berg, Wasserturm 1916–1952, LA-B, A Rep. 034-08, Nr. 28.
 12. Folder "KZ Wasserturm," VVN-B, district group Prenzlauer Berg, pp. 82, 84, 88.
 13. SA-Akte "Willi Protsch," BA-BL, BDC, SA-P, Protsch, Willi, February 9, 1899.
 14. Ibid., p. 364.
 15. Ibid., p. 38.
 16. Namensregister der Geschäftsstelle 88 des Landgerichts Berlin, BA-BL, A Rep. 358-02, MF 3909, Bd. 503; Ermittlungsverfahrensregister der Geschäftsstelle Js pol b des Landgerichts Berlin, LA-B, A Rep. 358-02, MF 3872, Bd. 169.
 17. Ermittlungsverfahrensregister der Geschäftsstelle Js pol b des Landgerichts Berlin, LA-B, A Rep. 358-02, MF 3872, Bd. 169.
 18. DAN, June 20, 1933.
 19. Umbau des Maschinenhauses I, LA-B, A 6012.
 20. Folder "Wasserturm," BPA.

BERLIN-SPANDAU

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

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

Many of these facilities, with the support or toleration of their operators, served as detention and interrogation sites for political opponents and others out of favor with the government shortly after the National Socialists assumed power. At this time, the organization of the Spandau SA also reflected the infrastructure of terror. The use of existing party structures facilitated the installation of an apparatus to persecute political opponents and groups out of favor with the government that was largely independent and unchecked by the police and judiciary. These facilities were located primarily in

heavily populated areas; it was not concealed from the population when people were there, and it was possible to find out what the SA did with them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No records were kept on the inmates of the unauthorized Spandau concentration camps, so their numbers can only be estimated roughly. During sudden arrest campaigns, it is estimated that dozens of prisoners were arrested and taken together to an SA gathering place. If one assumes the SA terror lasted several months, with varying degrees of intensity, a total

of several thousand prisoners were detained at least briefly (several hours to one day). Prisoners were seldom detained longer than one day in facilities such as Drechsel. Thus, no prisoners were used for slave labor in Spandau.

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

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

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

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

Helmut Bräutigam
trans. Eric Schroeder

BERLIN-TIERGARTEN (UNIVERSUM-LANDESAUSSTELLUNGSPARK)

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

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

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

They were taken to Ulap via the Lehrter Railway Station. There were between 70 and 80 arrested people there, all of whom had been picked up in the same way. Upon entering the room they all had to stand to attention facing front and an order sounded: "stand straight." Any attempt to lean against the wall or to make even a hand movement was answered with a rubber truncheon. Next, the lawyer Joachim was asked how often he had put Nazi members in jail through trials. He answered: "None." The immediate reply was: "You pig. You shit. You're still lying." He was then beaten by one of the Nazis with a rubber truncheon on the mouth and in the face. . . . In the meantime, the lawyer's brother, who is a doctor and does not belong to any party, was also beaten until he collapsed. The same happened to the lawyer Friedländer, whom I know, and to three Jewish doctors, who were told: "we will now give you medical treatment." The lawyer Joachim and the other Jews were then asked how many Christian girls they had slept with. When they replied "none" they were beaten again with rubber truncheons. Another Nazi came and said: "Do you really want to dirty yourself with these pigs?", and he asked: "Who among you are Communists?" The Communists thereupon reported themselves. The two strongest among them were selected and forced to work over the Jews with rubber truncheons. When one of the Communists, who had been beating the attorney J. [Joachim], saw him collapse because of the blows to his head and only continued to hit him on the greatcoat, he was ordered to resume hitting him on the head. When the beating was over, all the Jews were put up against the wall and ordered to sing the German national anthem. They were then taken to another room. After a short period again a number of Communists were summoned and told to take from the Jews any money they had. The money was used to buy food and drink for the

other prisoners. It was said that the Jews were to receive no water. . . . In the meantime, perhaps around 10 a.m., a member of the Reichsbanner was brought in, who had been beaten to a pulp. Water was fetched. But he could no longer lift his head. His clothes were drenched in blood. Even in this situation, several SA commanders came up to him and said: "You dog. You shit. You must get even more. Aren't you dead yet?"¹

The lawyer Günther Joachim had been practicing in Berlin since 1928 and was known as a defense counsel for Social Democrats and Communists. He was arrested by the SA Auxiliary Police on the morning of March 18, 1933. On instructions from the police presidium, he was taken on March 20, 1933, to the state hospital on Scharnhorst Strasse, where he died on March 29 as a result of his injuries. According to the autopsy report, "there were traces of extensive bleedings in the skin and fatty tissue, a watery saturation of the brain and its membranes, heart and kidney modifications as well as a slimy pustulent catarrh of the lungs."² As charges were brought by his brother, Dr. Fritz Joachim, the general state attorney with the Berlin Regional Court opened up criminal investigations. On May 23, 1933, after consultation with Prussian Minister of the Interior Hermann Göring, the investigations were suspended under reference to the amnesty decree of March 21, 1933.³

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

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

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

Irene Mayer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

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

BOCHUM

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

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

The date of dissolution is uncertain. Although one witness maintained that Gibraltar was closed with the opening of Voss’s leadership school, another claimed that it continued to operate until December 1933 or February 1934.⁴ Prisoners not released were dispatched to the Emsland camps at Börgermoor and Esterwegen.

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

Primary documentation for Bochum-Gibraltar begins with Hans Mugrauer, “‘Deutschland erwache’—Rückblick auf die Vorgänge um die Vernichtung der Weimarer Republik,” *GWM* 26: 7 (July 1975): 421–429. In his report, Mugrauer testified about the Nazi assault on the Bochum trade unions. After his release from an undisclosed Bochum torture site, Mugrauer went into Czech and then Swedish exile. Another source, cited by Wagner, are the papers of Franz Vogt, held at the Internationaal Instituut voor sociale Geschiedenis,

Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Vogt was a Social Democratic deputy of the Prussian Landtag (parliament) who, like Mugrauer, went into exile following SA torture. Like Mugrauer, it is not clear whether he was personally imprisoned at Gibraltar. His papers document the Nazi persecution of Bochum’s trade unionists. As cited by Gleising et al., the *BA* published photographs of the Gibraltar camp and of Voss on June 12, 1933.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

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

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

3. Mugrauer, “‘Deutschland erwache,’” p. 423.

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

BÖRGERMOOR [AKA PAPENBURG I]

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

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

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

Kern prepared a violent reception for the Oranienburg transport that arrived on September 13, 1933. The transport consisted of “Jews and bigwigs,” including Friedrich Ebert, son of the Weimar Republic’s first president, Ernst Heilmann, a Social Democratic Party (SPD) Reichstag member, and Armin Wegner, a novelist who protested against the “Jewish Boycott” to Adolf Hitler. In each barrack, the SS made Ebert and Heilmann introduce themselves as “traitors to the Fatherland.” Later Kern forced Heilmann to crawl on all fours and bark like a dog. Because of continuous harassment, Heilmann attempted suicide by advancing upon a guard who shot him in the leg. The SS made Jews hand-clean latrine pits on the Sabbath, Rosh Hashanah, and Yom Kippur. Sally Silbermann, a Jewish detainee from the first transport, publicized the Oranienburg group’s ordeal after release. Embarrassed by the press accounts, the Prussian Ministry of Interior reassigned the Jews and prominent inmates to Lichtenburg on October 17, 1933.³

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

As the singing episode demonstrated, Börgermoor inmates asserted limited autonomy. In late July 1933, they “elected” Karl Schabrod, *Bergische Volksstimme*’s editor, camp spokesman. Despite some Communist–Social Democratic (KPD–SPD) tensions—the camp was 80 percent Communist, and they resented some SPD “bigwigs”—witnesses praised Börgermoor’s strong comradeship. Mutual aid assumed many forms, including French and Esperanto classes. Prisoner initiative emerged foremost in the “Circus Concentrationary” (*Zirkus Konzentrazani*). After the “night of the long bars,” Langhoff, a Düsseldorf actor, secured Fleitmann’s permission to hold the circus. On August 27, 1933, a barker called the audience into the ring. Inside, talented prisoners performed gymnastic and acrobatic exercises, danced the “moor ballet,” impersonated females, shadowboxed, clowned, and sang. The

show culminated in the debut of the “Börgermoorlied.” Anonymously composed, this first concentration camp song electrified the prisoners and SS. Fleitmann banned it two days later because the final stanza and refrain struck a subversive chord: “Thus for us there is no lament / Winter cannot last forever / Someday we will gladly say / Home, you are mine again. [Last refrain:] Then the moor soldiers / will no longer dig with the spades / in the moors!”⁶

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

In October 1933, poor staff discipline, including Fleitmann’s involvement in a barroom brawl the previous August, prompted SS and Prussian Ministry of Interior investigations. Rudolf Diels, chief of the National Headquarters of the Secret State Police (Gestapo), ordered state prosecutor Günther Joel and 50 Berlin police to remove the SS. On November 4, Fleitmann’s “Free Corps,” armed with firearms and hand grenades, shot at Joel’s men while prisoners took cover in the barracks. The rumor that the SS fleetingly considered arming prisoners is unconfirmed. The mutiny ended the next day, when SS-Gruppenführer Fritz Weitzel ordered the Papenburg SS to stand down. The SS left Börgermoor on November 6.⁸

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

Under Obersturmführer Waldemar Schmidt, the SA treated the prisoners properly. On December 22, 1933, Börgermoor’s population declined with the Christmas amnesty of 380 prisoners. Releases continued in the coming months. On April 1, 1934, Neusuhrn’s population arrived in the camp. Börgermoor’s remaining 467 detainees entered Esterwegen II on April 25, 1934.¹⁰

On November 4, 1934, the Meppen civil court fined Fleitmann 150 Reichsmark (RM) because of the bar fight, but the Osnabrück state prosecutor dismissed the judgment after Fleitmann’s appeal to Hitler. Fleitmann remained in the SS but was demoted to Untersturmführer and for a time served on the SS cadre branch staff (Stammabteilung), which amounted to career limbo. Attached to a Luftwaffe construction unit in wartime, Fleitmann died in Soviet captivity on November 14, 1944.¹¹

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

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

Primary documentation for Börgermoor begins with its listing in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:103. Documents from the StA-Osn, Rep. 430 and 495, including the Grauert memorandum and Kern indictment, are reproduced in Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985). Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, cites Fleitmann's BDCPF; Sally Silbermann's testimony in “Schandtaten im Konzentrationslager: Wie Abgeordneter Heilmann misshandelt wurde,” *DF*, October 4, 1933; documents from StA-Osn; and *OsnT*, December 24, 1933. On the police takeover, biased but useful testimony can be found in Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zürich: Interverlag AG, 1949). On the wives' visit, Lya Kralik's testimony is found in Klara Schabrod, “Wie das Lied der Moorsoldaten aus dem Lager geschmuggelt wurde,” in *Widerstand gegen*

Flick und Florian: Düsseldorfer Antifaschisten über ihren Widerstand 1933–1945, ed. Karl Schabrod (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg Verlag, 1978); and Hanne Höttges's testimony is found in Inge Sbosny and Karl Schabrod, *Widerstand in Solingen: Aus dem Leben antifaschistischer Kämpfer* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1975). Börgermoor generated many testimonies; the most useful is Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten: 13 Monate Konzentrationslager; Unpolitischer Tatsachenbericht* (Zürich: Schweizer Spiegel, 1935). The ninth edition contains two illustrations by prisoner Jean Kralik. Additional published testimonies include Max Abraham, *Juda verrecke: Ein Rabbiner im Konzentrationslager* (Templitz-Schönau: Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1934), reproduced in Irene Dieckmann and Klaus Wettig, eds., *Konzentrationslager Oranienburg: Augenzeugenberichte aus dem Jahre 1933* (Berlin: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2003), pp. 119–167; Willi Dickhut, *So war's damals . . . Tatsachenbericht eines Solinger Arbeiters 1926–1948* (Stuttgart: Verlag Neuer Weg, 1979); Lola Landau and Armin T. Wegner, “*Welt vorbei*”: *Die KZ-Briefe, 1933/1934*, ed. Thomas Hartwig (Berlin: Verlag Das Arsenal, 1999); Alfred Lemmnitz, *Beginn und Bilanz: Erinnerungen* (Berlin [East]: Dietz Verlag, 1985); Karl Schabrod, *Widerstand an Rhein und Ruhr, 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf: Landesvorstand der VVN Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1969); Nikolaus Wasser, *Bonner Kommunist und Widerstandskämpfer*, ed. Horst-Pierre Bothien (Bonn: Stadtmuseum, 1999); and Ernst Wasserstrass, “Als Reichsbannermann in den Konzentrationslagern Oranienburg und Börgermoor 1933,” in *Peine unter der NS-Gewaltherrschaft: Zeugnisse des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung im Dritten Reich*, ed. Richard Brennig et al. (Peine: Vereinigung der VVN-Kreisvereinigung Peine, 1970), pp. 62–68. The anonymous testimony, *Als Sozialdemokratischer Arbeiter im Konzentrationslager Papenburg* (Moscow: Verlagsgenossenschaft ausländischer Arbeiter in der UdSSR, 1935), is extensively quoted in Klausch. W. Gengenbach's testimony can be found in USHMM, RG 11.001 M.20 RGVA Fond 1367 Opis 2 Delo 33, Testimonies of Former Prisoners in Concentration Camps, March to October 1933, pp. 17–19. Photographic documentation of Börgermoor is located in Walter Talbot, “Die alte SA in der Wachtmannschaft der Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland,” Album Presented to Adolf Hitler, December 25, 1935, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LOT 11390 (H).

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NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Antifaschisten über ihren Widerstand 1933–1945, ed. Karl Schabrod (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg Verlag, 1978), pp. 88–89.

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

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

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

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

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

BÖRNICKE [ALSO MEISSNERSHOF]

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

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

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

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

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

The general public already had access to information on the conditions in Börnicke. A report headlined "What's Going on in a Concentration Camp" appeared in the Saarland newspaper *Deutsche Freiheit* on June 27, 1933.⁸ This report, written by prisoner Oskar Sander and smuggled out by relatives who had visited him, describes the conditions and torture.⁹ Sander reports:

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

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

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

Following dissolution, the SA continued to use the camps as training facilities.

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

In a letter on August 30, 1933, the Berlin-Brandenburg SA leadership placated Fromm: "On almost all sides it concerned claims and statements which . . . upon finding out the truth always emerged as being considerably different accounts. These matters from the first wild days of the Revolution should not be treated like this."¹⁴ In August 1933, the uncertainty in the population led the Prussian Ministry of the Interior to order an investigation by the Hennigsdorf State Police Office. Its results¹⁵ formed the basis for legal proceedings against Heinrich Krein, who on August 14, 1934, was sentenced to two years and six months in prison for rape by the Fourteenth Grand Criminal Court of the Berlin Regional Court.¹⁶

In 1948, in accordance with the Soviet Military Administration's Order No. 201, the crimes in Börnicke concentration camp became the subject of proceedings at the Potsdam Regional Court. SA members Alex Wendt and Karl Lemke (in absentia), as well as former Communist prisoner Hermann Lausch from Nauen, were convicted of crimes against humanity under Allied Control Council Law No. 10, Articles 1c and 2a.¹⁷ Günther von Rheinbaben, who fled to Lüneburg at the end of the war, was exonerated by the local denazification appeals court in 1948.¹⁸

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

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

The most detailed and meaningful primary sources for Börnicke concentration camp are to be found at the BLHA-(P). The file "Schutzhäftlinge" (BLHA, Rep. 2 A Regierung Potsdam I Pol. No. 1183) contains Potsdam County's administrative council reports to the named higher authorities about the carrying out of protective custody. In addition to information about Börnicke (setup, number of prisoners, closure, and transfer of prisoners to Oranienburg), there is also information about escape attempts by prisoners, the inquiry from the International Nansen Office for Refugees about the whereabouts of the Russian prisoner Palyga, one of the first prisoners at the Börnicke camp, and an administrative council report about the murder of two former SA men near Nauen. The volume *Die politische Lage im Regierungsbezirk 1933* (same inventory, Pol. No. 1171) contains the August 1933 investigative reports from the State Police Office Hennigsdorf about the incidents in the Börnicke camp and Meissnershof subcamp, as well Fromm's letter to the SA-Group Berlin-Brandenburg (Gruppe Berlin-Brandenburg) regarding "Vorfälle im Kreise Osthavelland" and their answer. In these documents, classified secret, the crimes at Börnicke and Meissnershof are described in detail, as well as the motives of the state authorities in proceeding against SA-Standarte 224. The file "KZ Oranienburg" (BLHA, Pr. Br. Rep. 35 G) comprises the manuscript "KZ Börnicke," SED local group reports by named surviving prisoners ("Konzentrationsläre"), as well as reports based on personal experience written in 1946. It is possible that the filing of these recollections in the file "KZ Oranienburg" led to the erroneous assumption that the Börnicke camp originated as a branch of the Oranienburg concentration camp. These reports then served as enquiries into the personal files (VdN) in collection Rep. 401. These files served as evidence of persecution, which formed the basis for the payment of an honorary pension. This compensation was paid by the rural district social insurance where the persecuted lived. The files contain portrayals of the persecutions. At the BA-DH, the personal files are interesting sources, left behind by the Abteilung IX/12 of the MfS and organized by name. The proceedings against Hermann Lausch, a prisoner-turned-murderer, can be found in Bestandsignatur VgM 10166, file 1; against SA man Wendt, in ZA 3327, Obj. 4; against SA man Karl Lemke, in ZB 1375, Obj. 4; and the file on rural district administrator Günther von Rheinbaben, in ZB II 6264 A.6. With respect to organization, the Nazi Party (NSDAP) membership cards supplement the perpetrator biographies. Heinrich Krein's SA personnel file, in the collection of the BDC, provides information about the 1934 internal SA proceedings against him and contains his conviction in the criminal matter of rape. Also in this collection is Harry Rasmussen-Martensen's personnel file, with his personal sheet from November 27, 1934. The 1933 editions of DF and

HE can be found in the newspaper collection of the SSB-PK. An interesting account from the former district water director, one of the prominent Börnicke prisoners, is kept at the Nauen city museum. Published primary sources begin with Bezirksleitung Potsdam der SED—Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der örtlichen Arbeiterbewegung, *Ausgewählte Dokumente und Materialien zum antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf unter Führung der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands in der Provinz Brandenburg, 1933–1939* (Potsdam: Druckerei Märkische Volksstimme, 1978), which includes a document from BLHA on the camp's foundation, two photographs of Meissnershof by Walter Fenz (Documents 84 and 85), and testimony by Johann Langowski (Document 88). Karl Pioch's *Nie im Abseits* (Berlin [East]: Militärverlag der DDR, 1978) contains Kurt Perl's secondhand account. Börnicke is also listed in "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefange," NV, August 27, 1933.

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NOTES

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

BRANDENBURG AN DER HAVEL

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

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

A report on August 24 in the *Brandenburger Anzeiger* headed "Brandenburg Concentration Camp: The First Prisoners Arrive Today" dealt with the arrival of the first 90 inmates. It further reports: "The protective custody prisoners are to be kept busy inside the prison for the time being; this

will give them opportunity to consider in quiet their former actions and statements, to learn discipline and improve their ways."⁷ There were about 1,000 inmates in the camp between September and November 1933.⁸ For the most part, the prisoners were from the Potsdam district but also from the Berlin-Plötzensee prison and from the eastern parts of the Reich.⁹

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

The prison has 12 dormitories each with an area of 160 square meters (191 square yards). There are 12 lavatories which can only be reached from the stair well. The sleeping quarters in the cellar are so damp that bread will be covered in fungus within 12 hours; the air is musty even with open windows. The prisoners are allowed 30 minutes a day of fresh air. . . . The prisoners have to wait to go to the toilet—they can only go when they are accompanied by a guard. . . . There are about 15 buckets in the lavatories which have to suffice for 600 men. . . . The protective custody prisoners sleep on straw sacks which lie on the worm infested floor. Not every protective custody prisoner has a sheet; some only got a towel after weeks. . . . Sometimes the prisoners don't even have cutlery, there is absolutely no soap. . . . In the five weeks to which this report relates the prisoners were only allowed to bathe twice, the second time only after lice were confirmed at Station 2.¹¹

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

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

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



A view of the Brandenburg an der Havel prison, before it became an early camp.

USHMM WS # 58316, COURTESY OF ALWH

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The old prison in Brandenburg was to have an even more somber fate. It was used in 1940 as part of the “euthanasia” program “T4” as a killing center. A total of 9,772 people were murdered there in the autumn of 1940.²⁴

SOURCES An overview of the history of the Brandenburg an der Havel concentration camp is provided in an essay by Volker Bendig, “Von allen Höllen vielleicht die grausamste.” Das

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

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

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NOTES

1. Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 135.
2. Ibid., p. 69; Wolfgang Kusior, *Die Stadt Brandenburg im Jahrhundertrückblick. Streiflichter durch eine bewegte Zeit* (Berlin: Neddermeyer, 2000), p. 46.
3. Volker Bendig, “Von allen Höllen vielleicht die grausamste.” Das Konzentrationslager in Brandenburg an der Havel 1933–1934,” in *Instrumentarium der Macht. Die Geschichte der Konzentrationslager 1933–1945*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), p. 103.
4. Drobisch and Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, p. 69.
5. Bendig, “Von allen Höllen vielleicht die grausamste,” p. 103.
6. Niederschrift über die Magistratssitzung 16.8.1933, ASt-BH, Sig. 21.16.-121, cited in ibid., p. 104.
7. BrAnz, August 24, 1933, cited in ibid.
8. Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager. Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der “Inspektion der Konzentrationslager” 1934–1938* (Boppard am Rhein: Boldt, 1991), p. 103.
9. Bendig, “Von allen Höllen vielleicht die grausamste,” p. 106; Roman Praschker, “Brandenburg,” in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an; Dachau, Brandenburg, Papenburg, Königstein, Lichtenburg, Colditz, Sachsenburg, Moringen, Hohnstein, Reichenbach, Sonnenburg* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt “Graphia,” 1934), pp. 136, 138–139.
10. Drobisch and Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, p. 115.
11. DNW, November 16, 1933, cited in ibid., pp. 109–110.
12. Drobisch and Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, p. 115.
13. DNW, November 16, 1933, cited in ibid., p. 113.
14. Werner Hirsch, *Sozialdemokratie und kommunistische Arbeiter im Konzentrationslager* (Basel, 1934), pp. 15–16.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

22. Ibid., p. 105.

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

24. Ibid., 108.

sorted out. The Düsseldorf administrator forwarded this suggestion to the Höherer Polizeiführer West. But even before these questions could be sorted out—the Cologne police headquarters ultimately allotted the Institute 1.50 Reichsmark (RM) per prisoner per day—the first prisoner transport arrived from Unna on April 15. With this transport, the number of prisoners rose to 260. Additional transports followed. At the end of May 1933, 795 people were being held at the Provincial-Work Institute. Brauweiler had thus become the largest detention center in Rhineland-Westphalia for protective custody prisoners. In October 1933, the number of prisoners held at Brauweiler peaked at 895. Fluctuation of the number of prisoners at the Institute was considerable, with four months being the average term of detention.

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

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

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

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

BRAUWEILER

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

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

Within the penal administrative region of Cologne, Düsseldorf, and Hamm, the Höherer Polizeiführer West was named special commissioner for the allocation of protective custody prisoners. Under the aegis of the Höherer Polizeiführer West, Brauweiler became one of the central detention centers for political opponents of the Nazis from the Ruhr valley and especially from the district of Unna. At the beginning of April 1933, the Höherer Polizeiführer West turned to Ernst Scheidges, director of Brauweiler, with a request to expand the number of prisoners held at the Institute. Scheidges in turn went to his supervisor, the chief of the Düsseldorf government, not only to ask that the additional 60 prisoners be added to the 193 already in Brauweiler, but also to suggest imprisoning an additional 300 in the Institute's jail, and another 300 in its detention center, contingent upon the equipment being made available and the question of costs being

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

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

the former mayor of Cologne and later federal chancellor Konrad Adenauer. The Gestapo Sonderkommandos Kütter and Bethge tortured and murdered people in Brauweiler until shortly before the war ended. Bosse, the director of the Brauweiler Provincial-Work Institute, took his own life in March 1945.

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

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

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BREITENAU

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Many prisoners had the impression that they were employed in a makeshift and somewhat senseless way. One result of this labor practice has survived to this very day (even though without the inscription chiseled at the time: "Built in 1933, the year of the national elevation, by inmates of the concentration camp Breitenau"): in October 1933 (at the time when Breitenau held the most prisoners), the prisoners were required to construct a "memorial in honor of the SS" (at nearby Fuldaberg). But this kind of work was not the main work of the prisoners: As its reports show, the Breitenau insti-

tution profited considerably from the prisoners' labor. The State Work Institution Breitenau, contractually responsible for boarding, lodging, and providing work for the protective custody prisoners, stated in its annual report for the financial year 1933 that 23,027 of the 51,955 workdays were accounted for by the protective custody prisoners. The report emphasized that the prisoners were not recompensed either with wages or in kind for their labor.⁴ In addition to work in the institution—whether in the institution's workshops for the production of matting or in building maintenance work, also done "for the most part with the assistance of the political prisoners in protective custody"—the prisoners worked on the institution's estate or for private farmers, on the construction of roads, and clearing land in Fuldaberg.⁵ Breitenau prisoners were also put to work on strengthening the banks of the river Fulda.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTES

1. The contract was reproduced in several identical copies, for example, HStA-M, 165/3878.
2. HStA-M, 165/3982, vol. 11.
3. HV, July 12, 1933.
4. ALWH, Collection Breitenau. Annual Report of the Breitenau Nursing Home and Aged Home for the Financial Year 1933, sec. 2.
5. Ibid.

6. HStA-M, 165/3878, The Prussian Minister for the Interior to the Government President of Kassel, July 24, 1933, Re: Accommodation of Political Protective Custody Prisoners.

7. HStA-M, 165/3982, vol. 12, The Prussian President Minister Göring to the Inspector of the Gestapo, December 5, 1933.

BRESLAU-DÜRRGOY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTES

1. STP, April 11, 1933.
2. *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitlerterror* (Basel, 1933), p. 322.

3. STP, April 30, 1933.

4. Paul Löbe, *Der Weg war lang: Erinnerungen*, 4th ed. (Berlin: Arani, 1990), pp. 221–222; Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante portas. Es spricht der erste Chef der Gestapo* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1950), p. 263.

5. Bericht Helmut Friese, BA-B, NJ 1033.

6. Bericht Friese; Löbe, *Der Weg war lang*, pp. 222–223; Walter Tausk, *Breslauer Tagebuch 1933–1940* (Berlin: Aufbau-Taschenbuchverlag, 2000), pp. 78, 83; Karol Fiedor, Obóz koncentracyjny we Wrocławiu w 1933 r. (na podstawie pamiętników byłych więźniów), in *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka*, Jg. XXII (1967), Nr. 1–2, pp. 170–190, 183–184.

7. Bericht Friese; Löbe, *Der Weg war lang*, p. 225.

8. Bericht Friese; Fiedor, Obóz koncentracyjny, p. 182.

9. MG, August 3, 1933; Löbe, *Der Weg war lang*, pp. 224, 227–228; Bericht Friese; NV, August 13, 1933.

10. Bericht Friese; Fiedor, Obóz koncentracyjny, p. 181.

11. Bericht Friese.

12. *Braunbuch*, p. 322; Ruth and Max Seydewitz, *Unvergessene Jahre* (Berlin: Buchverlag der Morgen, 1984), pp. 36–37.

13. Bericht Friese; Löbe, *Der Weg war lang*, p. 225.

14. Bericht Friese.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. Löbe, *Der Weg war lang*, p. 229.

18. Diels, *Lucifer ante portas*, pp. 263–264.

19. Löbe, *Der Weg war lang*, p. 230; Bericht Friese.

COLDITZ

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

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

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



A postwar photograph of Colditz Castle, which served as an early camp and a subcamp of Sachsenburg in 1933/1934.

USHMM WS # 63215, COURTESY OF DÖW

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

1. Who watches over us by day and night?
Who is it, who guards our sleep?
The sentry!
He circles us with every step,
He goes with us during the walks,
Whether with or without steps.
The sentry! . . .
4. Who lets you smoke for money?
Who is it who gives you the word?
The sentry!
Who teaches you to turn to the right and the left?
Who praises you, if you succeed?
From whom will you always learn well?
From the sentry! . . .
7. Who leads you inside to the commissar,
If you are finally released?
The sentry!
Who presents you with packets and letters?
Who finally leads you through the gate?
Everyone sing aloud in choir, it is
The sentry!⁴

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

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

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

On three occasions, the guards tortured Meinel. In the first case, SA guard Dietrich slapped him senseless. In the second, he was conducted to the shower room and placed on a stool where a guard, Grünzig, knocked him unconscious. In the third, SS-Mann Kolditz beat him in similar fashion. After discovering that three neighboring prisoners shared his surname, Meinel, whose given name was Paul Otto, devised a ruse to elude additional torture. After disguising his appearance with a haircut, he had his cell mates address him by his middle name. The guards "never found the sought-after Paul Meinel in the camp again!" Meinel was transferred to Sachsenburg on July 29, 1933.⁷

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Primary documentation for Colditz begins with File No. 4842, Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten, in the SHStA-(D), as cited by Drobisch and Wieland. On the Prague delegation's proposed visit in April 1934, the same source cites ZSA-P, Film 16 084, now in BA-BL, Stiftung Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR. Alfred Schrappel's "Der

Posten" is reproduced in Fackler. Eyewitness accounts for Colditz begin with Otto Meinel, "Colditz," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 146–156. The Sopade published this collection of testimonies. A second eyewitness account is Walter Liebing, "Mutiger Widerstand im faschistischen Konzentrationslager Colditz," in *Damit Deutschland lebe: Ein Quellenwerk über den deutschen antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf, 1933–1945*, ed. Walter A. Schmidt (Berlin [East]: Kongress-Verlag, 1958), pp. 273–275. Finally, there is Rolf Helm, *Anwalt des Volkes: Erinnerungen* (Berlin [East]: Dietz, 1978). Colditz was also mentioned in at least two German exile newspaper accounts. See "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefange," *NV*, August 27, 1933; and "Besuch im Lager: Gefangene müssen Komödie spielen," *NV*, October 8, 1933.

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

COLUMBIA-HAUS

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

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camp for prisoners whose court investigations were not yet concluded and who therefore were not yet supposed to be taken to other concentration camps. This was a substation of the Gestapo's house prison (*Hausgefängnis*) in the Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse 8. A transport ran regularly between both detention sites.

The prisoners consisted primarily of political detainees, mostly functionaries of the German Communist Party (KPD), the Social Democratic Party (SPD), and the Socialist Workers' Party (SAP). In total, approximately 10,000 men were held prisoner here through the fall of 1936. On average, more than 400 inmates were kept in the overcrowded prison cells at a time.

The actual number of prisoners who were murdered at Columbia-Haus is not known. Three known murder cases from November 1933 can presumably stand for many others. SS guards murdered Michael Kirzmierczik on November 20, 1933, and attempted to disguise his death as suicide. On November 24, 1933, Communist Erich Thornseifer was tortured with a cane and riding whip so severely that he had to be brought to the state hospital on the same day. He died there on November 26, 1933. On November 27, 1933, the SS murdered Karl Vesper (KPD), a mechanic who had been imprisoned on November 8, 1933. The murder of four Communist top officials—John Schehr, Rudolf Schwarz, Erich Steinfurth, and Eugen Schönhaar—is connected to Columbia-Haus as well. The Gestapo at Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse 8 subjected these men to interrogation and torture multiple times throughout the day. They were murdered in Berlin-Wannsee on the evening of February 1, 1934, during a transport, which supposedly was to bring them from Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse back to Columbia-Haus.

The first commandant of Columbia-Haus (Leiter des Columbiahäuses) on record is Walter Gerlach, who served in this position until December 1, 1934.¹ This man, born in 1896, had belonged to the Nazi Party (NSDAP) since 1930 and was a member of the SS from 1931. An SS-Obersturmbannführer, he was named commandant of Columbia-Haus on August 1, 1934. Dr. Alexander Reiner succeeded him. The only preparation that this dentist—born in 1885, a member of the NSDAP since 1931 and member of the SS since 1932—had before taking over the Columbia concentration camp on December 1, 1934, was a mere eight-day visit to the Dachau concentration camp. In the following year, SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Otto Koch arrived. He was born in Darmstadt in 1897; as of March 1931, he was a member of the NSDAP, and from September 1931, a member of the SS. He served as commandant from April 21, 1935, to April 1, 1936. Heinrich Deubel was the last commandant. He was born in 1890 and joined the SS one year after joining the NSDAP in 1925. Deubel was relieved of his duties on September 22, 1936, because Inspector of the Concentration Camps Theodor Eicke viewed his apparently too lenient treatment of the prisoners as "unsuited" for the camp. Following this, Max Koegel served as commandant until September 1, 1936, without ever being formally appointed to this position. Koegel was born in Füssen in 1895 and first became

part of the NSDAP and SS in 1932. Between July and November 1936, Kurt Eccarius was appointed to the headquarters of the Columbia concentration camp. He was born in 1905 and had been a member of the SS and NSDAP since 1929.² For the commandants of Columbia-Haus, this position was the beginning or intensification of a career that was distinguished above all by the readiness to unscrupulously fight against opponents of the National Socialist system.

The earliest actual information on the social backgrounds of the members of the guard staff is found in the second schedule of responsibilities of the Gestapo from January 1934, in which is cited: "SS-Kommando Gestapo: SS-Brigadeführer Henze; Kommandohaus: Berlin SW 29, Columbiastr. 1/3."³ There is only fragmentary information on this unit. Until the turn of the year 1934–1935, the SS-Bodyguard Regiment Adolf Hitler (SS-Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler) provided the guard staff. In March 1935, supervision was provided by 55 SS men who were housed in the residential building of the prison complex.⁴ This changed on April 1, 1935, when the SS-Guard Force Oranienburg-Columbia (SS-Wachtruppe Oranienburg-Columbia) was created, which shortly thereafter was renamed SS-Guard Formation V Brandenburg (SS-Wachverband V Brandenburg). Their quarters were located in the Oranienburg Castle, while only the members of the headquarters—made up of almost 20 SS men, including some SS-Führer and SS-Unterführer—remained in Columbia-Haus. At the beginning of 1936, 30 members of the SS-Death's Head Formation Brandenburg (SS-TV) were assigned to the headquarters of the Columbia concentration camp.⁵ Many members of the SS guard force later served in leading functions in other concentration camps.

The cover of the May 23, 1935, issue of the *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung*—which was published in exile in Prague—featured the photo of Hans Bächle in full SS uniform next to the headline "The Confession of an SS-Man." Along with a report on the inside were also sensational pictures from Columbia-Haus. Bächle, already a member of the NSDAP in 1931, joined the SS guard force in 1934 and later was sent to Columbia-Haus headquarters. In April 1935 he met with two prisoners, Hausmann and Wiendieck, who were both close colleagues of the former Silesian Gauleiter and Provincial President Helmut Brückner, who was also imprisoned in Columbia-Haus. Hausmann and Wiendieck met each other through Dr. Josef Römer, former head of the Free Corps Oberland and later co-leader of the Uhrig-Römer-Resistance Organization. Bächle told Hausmann, Wiendieck, and Römer that he was prepared to help them escape. The SS man rented a car in which he and two of the prisoners fled from Columbia-Haus and drove to Czechoslovakia on the night of April 20, 1935. Römer stayed behind because he ultimately decided not to flee. The escape was assisted by the fact that on April 18, 1935, Commandant Reiner was relieved of his duties after the murder of two prisoners and because of prevailing uncertainty among the SS guard staff caused by these events.

To make room for the extension of the Tempelhof airport, the Columbia concentration camp was closed on October 1,

1936. The prisoners were taken to the new Sachsenhausen concentration camp located north of Berlin. On November 16, 1936, a teletype message of the Gestapo wrote off the history of Columbia-Haus, stating succinctly, "The Columbia concentration camp in Berlin-Tempelhof was closed on November 5, 1936."⁶ Sachsenhausen is thus documented as the successive camp to Columbia-Haus.

Only very few trials were held for the crimes committed in Columbia-Haus. In 1948 the 10th Grand Criminal Court of the Berlin Regional Court held a hearing against SS guard Karl Pfitzer. He was accused of cruelty toward prisoners. The accused was active as a cook in Columbia-Haus until September 1933, where he abused this position of power, beating defenseless prisoners in the face with a ladle during the serving of meals, stomping on them with his feet, or shoving prisoners' heads against the wall. He received a prison sentence of four years.

In 1964 a preliminary proceeding for murder was pursued by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL). But because both of the accused SS members had in the meantime died, the trial was stopped in the same year.

Another attempted prosecution of the ZdL against the now-dead commandants Alexander Reiner, Karl Koch, Walter Gerlach, and Heinrich Deubel also failed. Further investigations ceased. In addition, there were trials against a few people who had held leading positions for crimes in the other concentration camps. This is how in 1947 Eccarius received a lifelong sentence of forced labor from a Soviet military court for crimes committed in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. After serving this sentence in Siberia, the Coburg Regional Court sentenced him to four years in prison in 1962.

SOURCES This contribution is based on Kurt Schilde, *Vom Columbia-Haus zum Schulenburg: Dokumentation mit Lebensgeschichten von Opfern des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung von 1933 bis 1945 aus dem Bezirk Tempelhof* (Berlin: Henrich, 1987), pp. 41–67; and Johannes Tuchel, *Columbia-Haus: Berliner Konzentrationslager 1933–1936* (Berlin: Edition Henrich, 1990). In addition to these works, Schilde went back to local historical brochures and essays, among others, Emil Ackermann, ed., *Aus der Tempelhofer Geschichte: Naziterror und Widerstand* (Berlin: Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes Westberlin [VVN], Verband der Antifaschisten, 1984); Helmut Bräutigam and Oliver C. Gliech, "Nationalsozialistische Zwangslager in Berlin I: Die 'wilden' Konzentrationslager und Folterkeller 1933/34," in *Berlin-Forschungen II* (Berlin, 1987), pp. 141–178; Laurenz Demps, "Konzentrationslager in Berlin 1933 bis 1945," *Jahrbuch des Märkischen Museums*, Nr. III (1977): 7–19. Biographical information was taken from the published memoirs of former prisoners along with relevant reference works, including, among others, Kurt Hiller, *Schutzhäftling 231* (Neue Weltbühne 1935, Nos. 1–5); Henry Marx, "Als es noch kein Konzentrationslager war . . . Bericht über einen achttägigen Aufenthalt im Columbia-Haus," *Aufbau* (New York, June 17, 1988), pp. 24–25; Stefan Szende, *Zwischen Gewalt und Toleranz. Zeugnisse und Reflektionen eines Sozialisten*, with a foreword by Willy Brandt (Frankfurt am Main: Europäische

Verlagsanstalt, 1975). Important information also came from contemporary texts, such as the *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror* (1933; repr., Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1978); Kurt Bürger, *Aus Hitlers Konzentrationslagern* (Moscow: Verlagsgenossenschaft Ausländischer Arbeiter in der UdSSR, 1934); *Das deutsche Volk klagt an: Hitlers Krieg gegen die Friedenskämpfer in Deutschland; Ein Tatsachenbuch* (Paris: Carrefour, 1936); *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934). In addition to this exile literature, one can include the book by Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager: Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager" 1934–1938* (Boppard am Rhein: H. Boldt, 1991), with which the historical classification in the system of the concentration camp was carried out.

There are no coherent archived written records on the Columbia concentration camp. Still preserved is the "Sisterenkladde" from December 29, 1933, to January 18, 1934, a book that lists all detainees and includes many entries of prisoner names (BA, R 58/742). An exemplary collection of memoirs and reports from prisoners can be found in the WL and in the YVA, Jerusalem, as well as in the GDW-B, in the ABI, and in the VVN-Bda. The archives of the state attorney's offices at the Berlin and Cologne regional courts and the ZdL all contain information on the legal proceedings against the personnel of the Columbia concentration camp. The BDC was also consulted for this project.

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trans. Lynn Wolff

NOTES

1. BA-B, BDC personal files of Gerlach.
2. Ibid., personal files of Eccarius.
3. BA-B, R 56/840, fol. 8.
4. Ibid., NS 19/1472.
5. IfZ, Dc 01.06, 51.
6. ITS, Ordner Allgemeines 6-7a.

DRESDEN (MATHILDENSTRASSE)

In March 1933, the police utilized the remand prison of the Dresden court of appeals at Mathildenstrasse as a "protective custody" camp. An undetermined number of prisoners from the dissolved early camp at Bautzen (Kupferhammer) were transferred to this jail on June 26, 1933. Known as "Mathilde" or the "little Mathilde castle," it functioned as an early camp until 1934.¹

SOURCES This entry follows the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The Mathildenstrasse camp is recorded in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn: BPB, 1999).

As cited in Drobisch and Wieland, primary documentation for this camp includes File No. 4842 in the SHStA-(D), MFAA. The camp is also listed in the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) exile newspaper *NV*, August 27, 1933.

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NOTE

1. "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, August 27, 1933.

DÜSSELDORF (ULMENSTRASSE) [AKA ULMER HÖH]

On February 28, 1933, the remand prison at Ulmenstrasse 95 in Düsseldorf became a "protective custody camp." Called "Ulmer Höh," the camp held approximately 300 prisoners, mainly Communists, Social Democrats, trade unionists, and intellectuals. Although professional policemen originally guarded the prisoners, SS, SA, and Stahlhelm deputies replaced this force after the German national election of March 5, 1933.¹ Responsibility for this camp was given to the Düsseldorf police president, SA-Obergruppenführer Fritz Philip Weitzel, and the leader of the city's SA, Standartenführer Lohbeck. Among the guards was an SS man named ter Heiden.²

Prisoner treatment ranged from strict to arbitrary and brutal. Under police supervision, the prisoners chatted and smoked on their 30-minute morning walk around the prison yard. By contrast, the SS forced them to march military style and took the opportunity to kick and beat them. They also tortured the detainees in two rooms set aside for the purpose. Among the victims was Albert Mainz.³

Wolfgang Langhoff was one of Ulmer Höh's first protective custody detainees. Arrested on the morning after the Reichstag Fire, February 28, 1933, the noted actor and director believed that his case would be resolved in time for that evening's theatrical performance. With 40 others he passed the first four days in a holding cell, in which everyone slept on straw mattresses on the floor. The detainee population quickly swelled to 200 prisoners.⁴

At Ulmenstrasse the SS established a brutal regime. Either from astonishment, uncertainty, or amusement, the police looked on and elected not to intervene as the SS beat or kicked the prisoners. Outraged, Langhoff registered a complaint with Weitzel: "In my name and in the name of the protective custody prisoners of Hall A of the Düsseldorf remand prison, I protest herewith against the inhumane treatment which the SS guards are meting out to us. We are political prisoners and desire to be treated as such. The hygienic condition of our accommodation is impossible. There exists the danger of illness and lousiness. I ask you to order that mistreatment by the SS be stopped immediately."⁵

The SS guards dressed down Langhoff because of the letter and transferred him to a four-person cell. To combat boredom, the group played skat, did deep knee bends, and ran

in place. When the guards went on Sunday leave, the whole cell block took the opportunity to sing. In the distance, a lone guard on duty could be heard barking, "Stop! Enough with the glee club!"⁶

Visiting SS personnel also harassed the prisoners. On May 26, 1933, an SS officer and his driver inspected Langhoff's cell. Langhoff remembered the day as coinciding with the Schlageter Memorial Day, a Nazi holiday. The SS looked at the inmates "as if they were in the zoo." After establishing Langhoff's profession, the officer derided him in obscene language. The SS officer then announced that the prisoners should be "bumped off" at the Düsseldorf torture site, Oberhausen. To his driver, he said, "Here you still don't have the right methods!"⁷

By contrast, Langhoff cultivated a good relationship with an unnamed SA guard. In exchange for cigarettes, the guard sneaked contraband into Ulmer Höh for the prisoners. The smuggled goods included Karl Tucholsky's satire *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles*. Unaware that the new regime had banned this work as unpatriotic, the SA man said: "Yes, yes, that is a nationalist thing, which he [Langhoff] must read!"⁸

The SS tortured Langhoff at Ulmenstrasse. Conducted to a special room, he was presented with a "yellow card" listing the names of associates to be denounced. Refusing to go along, the SS beat him with rubber truncheons and rifle butts. After the first blows, they tried to make him denounce his secretary and, in a typical Nazi allegation against leftist opponents, divulge the whereabouts of hidden weapons. Leaving him alone for 30 minutes to think it over, they beat him again when he still did not cooperate. At some point he lost his bearings and the blows ceased to hurt, he claimed. While Langhoff was recovering in a cell, Weitzel asked him in a mocking tone, "Are you ill? Have you hit yourself?" The compromised SA guard who sneaked in contraband for cigarettes put Langhoff in a cell by himself, brought bedding and water, and later arranged a visit with the police physician, Dr. Simon. The doctor threatened to inform Prussian Ministerpräsident Hermann Göring, the founder of the Gestapo, about the assault. It is not clear whether Simon acted on this threat.⁹

The Stahlhelm also seemingly disapproved of SS methods. After viewing Langhoff's injuries, two Stahlhelm guards offered to photograph him in preparation for a future disciplinary action. Looking at his wounds, one exclaimed, "Here you see the handwriting of the Third Reich!" These guards apparently did not make good their offer.¹⁰

In July 1933, the authorities transferred Langhoff to the early concentration camp at Börgermoor. By late May rumors already circulated at Ulmer Höh about a planned concentration camp in Emsland. Within one month's time, 50 prisoners with experience in the building trades were transported to the moors to build the camps. Before his transfer, a new prisoner told Langhoff about the torture of an artist named "Little Karl." In a cellar elsewhere in Düsseldorf, the SA brutalized



"First Night: The Questioning Continues," illustration by Karl Schwesig (1898–1955), an artist persecuted by the Nazis, who in the late 1930s depicted the Düsseldorf-Ulmenstrasse (Ulmer Höh) camp and the Schlegel Brewery torture site (pictured here) in a series of drawings.

COURTESY OF GALERIE REMMERT UND BARTH, DÜSSELDORF

and humiliated him. This torture included the cutting of a swastika into Little Karl's hair. The artist turned out to be Karl Schwesig, who was imprisoned at Ulmenstrasse in the weeks following Langhoff's transfer.¹¹

A member of Das junge Rheinland artistic group, Schwesig infuriated the Nazis before their takeover with the appearance of *Maskenball* (1932). The painting depicted Reichsbank president Hjalmar Schacht sitting beside a woman wearing a gas mask, with boxer Max Schmeling and others in the background. This well-aimed attack on Nazi warmongering landed him in protective custody on July 11, 1933.¹² For three days, the SA tortured him in the basement of the Schlegel Brauerei, after which he was dispatched to police headquarters. On August 11, 1933, Schwesig was sent to Ulmer Höh to await trial on a spurious treason charge.

Schwesig's *Schlegelkeller* cycle of charcoal drawings, produced in the late 1930s, documented Ulmer Höh during and immediately after the closure of the protective custody camp. One drawing, *Spaziergang*, showed prisoners walking around the yard, with a guard standing in the center. Although the guard's unit is not clearly indicated in the drawing, the prisoners did not march during the exercise period, which contrasted with the SS-imposed routine.¹³ With *Becher und Krug, Ulmer Höh, 1933*, the drawing of a pitcher, cup, and table, Schwesig expressed the monotony and frustration of confinement at Ulmenstrasse. He returned to this theme in the sketch *Zellenkrug Nr. 12 (Ulmer Höh I)*, which shows a pitcher in his cell.¹⁴ During his time at Ulmer Höh, the highly publicized Reichstag Fire Trial took place in Leipzig. Schwesig recounted the prisoners' reaction to news that the principal defendant, Bulgarian Communist leader Georgi Dimitrov, had publicly rebutted Nazi accusations of a Communist plot:

"Dimitrov's words before the court warmed us in winter, even as the heating pipe did nothing to relieve our miserable freezing."¹⁵ After his release from Wuppertal-Bendahl prison in November 1934, Schwesig fled to Belgium. There he organized anti-Nazi art exhibitions, which included the *Schlegelkeller* and *Ulmer Höh* series.

In the summer of 1933, most Ulmenstrasse detainees were dispatched to the cluster of early Prussian concentration camps in Emsland, Börgermoor, and Esterwegen.¹⁶

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The camp is listed in Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus, Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). On Karl Schwesig's imprisonment at this camp, an excellent discussion is Annette Baumeister, "Verfolgung und Widerstand, 1933–1935," in *Karl Schwesig: Leben und Werk*, ed. Herbert Remmert and Peter Barth (Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1984), pp. 57–80.

Primary documentation for Ulmenstrasse starts with Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten: 13 Monate Konzentrationslager*, foreword by Werner Heiduczek (Zürich: Schweizer Spiegel, 1935; repr., Köln: Röderberg, 1988). This memoir was one of the first camp testimonies. Langhoff devoted over 100 pages to Ulmenstrasse. Karl Schwesig's cycle of sketches, *Schlegelkeller*, foreword by Heinrich Mann (Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1983), is another primary source. Although prepared in the late 1930s, *Schlegelkeller* was not published in book form during Schwesig's lifetime. Fortunately, the manuscript was held in the United States for safekeeping during World War II. Some of the *Ulmer Höh* series is documented in Schwesig's *Ausgewählte Werke, 1920–1955: Ausstellung vom 17. September bis 19. November 1988* (Düsseldorf: Galerie Remmert und Barth, 1988). The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum owns Schwesig's nine-drawing series *Rosenmontag*. The ninth graphite in this collection is *Zellenkrug Nr. 12 (Ulmer Höh I)*. As cited by Drobisch and Wieland, another testimony for this camp is the unpublished manuscript of Albert Mainz, "Esterwegen—KZ Lager III."

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NOTES

1. Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten: 13 Monate Konzentrationslager*, foreword by Werner Heiduczek (Zürich: Schweizer Spiegel, 1935; repr., Köln: Röderberg, 1988), pp. 49–50.

2. Ibid., p. 56; Albert Mainz, "Esterwegen—KZ Lager III" (unpub. MSS, n.d.), p. 411, as cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 124.

3. Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten*, p. 64; Mainz, "Esterwegen," p. 411, in Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, p. 124.

4. Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten*, p. 46.

5. Ibid., p. 55.
6. Ibid., pp. 62–63.
7. Ibid., pp. 67–68.
8. Ibid., pp. 69–70.
9. Ibid., pp. 79–87, 92 (quotation on p. 86).
10. Ibid., p. 93.
11. Ibid., pp. 101, 105–107.
12. Vp, July 25, 1933, as cited in Karl Schwesig, *Schlegelkeller* (Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1983), p. 144. *Maskenball* is reproduced as part of the *Volksparole* article.
13. Schwesig's *Spaziergang—eine halbe Stunde Täglich*, 1936, Galerie Remmert und Barth, Düsseldorf, in *ibid.*, drawing 37.
14. Schwesig's *Becher und Krug, Ulmer Höh 1933*, 1938, Galerie Remmert und Barth, Düsseldorf, in Schwesig, *Ausgewählte Werke, 1920–1955: Ausstellung vom 17. September bis 19. November 1988* (Düsseldorf: Galerie Remmert und Barth, 1988), p. 49; Schwesig's *Zellenkrug Nr. 12 (Ulmer Höh I)*, in *Rosenmontag* series, 1938, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection, Washington, DC.
15. Schwesig, "Schlegelkeller-Bericht des Künstlers," in *Schlegelkeller*, p. 112.
16. Mainz, "Esterwegen," n.p., in Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, p. 124.

ERFURT (PETERSBERG AND FELDSTRASSE)

In February 1933, the Erfurt police prison at Petersberg became a "protective custody" camp. Initially holding 44 detainees, Petersberg continued to function as an entry point for the Nazi regime's political opponents until at least November or December 1933. The number of prisoners dispatched from there to early concentration camps increased considerably over time. In slightly rounded figures, 20 percent of the Petersberg population was transferred elsewhere in June (38 of 182); 70 percent in August (137 of 198); and nearly 80 percent in November (203 of 257). The camp was under police direction, but the commander's name is not known.¹

In April 1933, the overcrowding of the Petersberg's police prison prompted the Erfurt State Police Office to establish an early concentration camp at an abandoned metalworks factory located at Feldstrasse 18. The orders came at the behest of Kriminalkommissar Böning. The camp leader was Polizeiwachtmeister Böttcher, and the guards belonged to the SA. Feldstrasse held approximately 120 prisoners, and they were forced to work in gravel pits. The SA removed some prisoners from this camp to be tortured elsewhere. In at least three cases, this maltreatment resulted in the death of the prisoner. First, Communist editor Josef Ries was taken to Blumenthal, a local restaurant, and beaten to death on June 28, 1933. Second, Communist prisoner Heinz Sendhoff was removed to a wooded area and similarly killed on July 8, 1933. And finally, a Jewish prisoner, Waldemar Schapiro (born Chaim Wulf), was brought to the same woods as Sendhoff and murdered on July 15, 1933. Schapiro was a businessman accused of distributing the

Thüringer Volksblatt, an illegal Communist publication. Feldstrasse was dissolved on September 9, 1933, and its remaining prisoners were transferred to the early SS camp at Esterwegen.

Both camps had active underground organizations. At Petersberg, prisoner self-help took the forms of morale strengthening by Communist leader Alfred Neubert, with illicit assistance by the German Communist Party's (KPD) organization Rote Hilfe (Red Help). At Feldstrasse, Communist prisoners entered into dialogue with their erstwhile Social Democratic rivals in order to promote anti-Nazi solidarity.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The Erfurt early camps are listed in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). This compendium also records the deaths of Sendhoff, Ries, and Schapiro.

Primary documentation for this camp consists of Police File No. 10020 located in the THStA-W, Regierung Erfurt, as cited in Drobisch and Wieland. Also available is a Zentrales Parteiaarchiv der Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands file, V 241/7/58, in the BA-BL's collection of former East German papers, SAPMO. Erfurt is also listed in "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhäftlinge," NV, August 27, 1933.

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NOTE

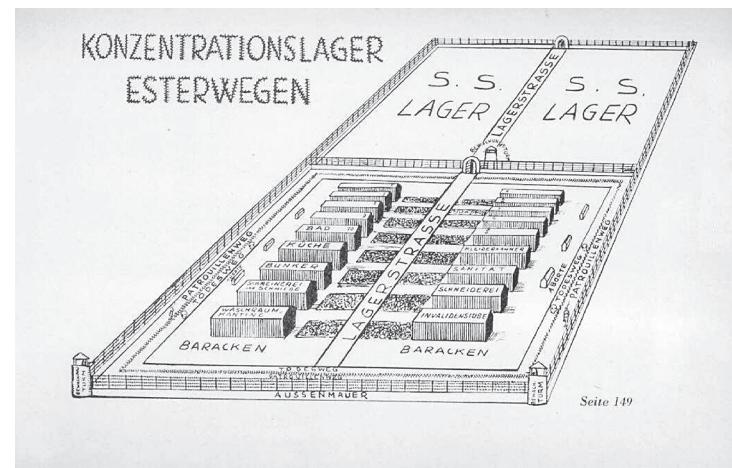
1. The percentages were calculated from statistics for Petersberg police prison, in THStA-W, Regierung Erfurt, File No. 10020, as cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 43.

ESTERWEGEN, IKL

Between June and September 1934, the SS converted the Esterwegen camp at Gemeinde Hümmeling from a Prussian to a Dachau model camp. Erected in August 1933 as two State Concentration Camp Papenburg's (Staatliches Konzentrationslager Papenburg) subcamps, Esterwegen furnished labor for Emsland cultivation. As commandant, Heinrich Himmler appointed Dachau's guard commander, SS-Standartenführer Hans Loritz (Nazi Party [NSDAP] No. 298668, SS No. 4165), on June 29, 1934. Effective August 1, Loritz implemented Inspectorate of Concentration Camps's (IKL) "Special" and "Disciplinary and Punishment" Orders, thus bringing the camp into conformity with Dachau. With the establishment of SS-Guard Formation Ostfriesland (Wachverband Ostfriesland), Esterwegen's remaining SA joined Papenburg's Pionier-Standarte-Emsland in September 1934. In January

A map of Esterwegen concentration camp, sketched by an imprisoned Jehovah's Witness and which appeared in *Das Goldene Zeitalter* [Feb. 15, 1938]. Bisecting the SS and prisoners' camps was "Camp Street," which the SS called Hitler Alley (*Hitlerallee*), but which the prisoners referred to as the "Alley of Sighs" (*Seuferallee*). The labeled prisoners' barracks [left] were set aside for a shower, kitchen, the "bunker," carpenters' and blacksmiths' workshops, washroom/canteen, and [right] a clothing warehouse, sanitation, tailors' shop, and infirmary. An external wall, patrol path, deadline (*Todesweg*), and guard towers surrounded the prisoners' area.

COURTESY OF WATCHTOWER BIBLE & TRACT SOCIETY, BROOKLYN, NY



1935, the SS numbered 368 but increased to 571 by June 1936. On April 1, 1936, Sachsenburg's former commandant, SS-Obersturmbannführer Karl Otto Koch (NSDAP No. 475586, SS No. 14830), became this camp's last commandant, as Lörz assumed command at Dachau. Esterwegen held between 300 and 500 detainees until the summer of 1936, when its population rose to approximately 1,000. Political detainees wore field-gray uniforms with red stripes; criminal recidivists wore blue uniforms with green stripes. Prisoners displayed colored markings on breast and back, red for political, yellow "BV" (Berufsverbrecher) for career criminals, yellow for Jews, and black for Jehovah's Witnesses.¹

The Special Order defined three detention categories, prisoner organization, and camp offenses. The first category consisted of model prisoners, whose obedience, political views, and denunciation of associates theoretically qualified them for release after three weeks. The second was composed of prisoners requiring three months' additional confinement. The SS reserved the third category for incorrigibles: leading politicians, "intellectuals," Jews, "people's enemies," criminal recidivists, and former Nazis. Every barrack formed a company, with SS company leader, "Prisoners' Sergeant," and detainee "Corporal Leader." Camp offenses included political agitation, mutiny, and sabotage.²

SS-Gruppenführer Theodor Eicke's dictum "Tolerance means weakness" framed the penalties. Criticizing the regime or absenting oneself resulted in 25 cane blows before and after 14 days' isolation. Receiving assistance from the German Communist Party's (KPD) Rote Hilfe Deutschlands (RHD) carried the maximum bunker confinement of 42 days. Sabotage incurred punishments ranging from 8 days' isolation to death. Agitation or mutiny resulted in death by hanging or shooting.³

Most detainees cut peat in the wetlands, but Jewish "returnees" and Jehovah's Witnesses underwent what was called "education." Their details consisted of a 40-member "sullage gang" (*Jaucbekolonne*), in which they handled excrement, underwent punitive "sport," and participated in sand-carrying

details, in which they pushed wheelbarrows at a furious pace. On February 12, 1936, after Swiss Nazi leader Wilhelm Gustloff's assassination by a Jew, Jewish detainees endured seven hours of punitive labor and exercises.⁴

Music played a role in prisoner harassment. Anonymously composed, the "Esterwegen Lied" was popular among the SS: "Whether work or sport is forced from us/still a cheerful land always resounds." This song subsequently appeared at Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, and Auschwitz. "Returnee" Paul Stargardt and Jehovah's Witness Arthur Winkler recalled how work details were made to sing. In 1935, political detainees who refused to entertain a visiting army delegation by singing the "Bürgermoorlied" lost four days' noon rations.⁵

In the March 29, 1936, Reichstag "election," most prisoners voted for the NSDAP. Robert Neddermeyer recalled that the camp underground urged their doing so in order to avoid retaliation. The Jehovah's Witnesses was the only group that refused to comply.⁶

From 1935 to 1936, Esterwegen recorded 28 deaths. Listed among the causes of death were 10 shootings and 1 suicide, but not included were prisoners who subsequently died of gunshot wounds, such as Otto Peters, or victims of SS mistreatment, like Louis Schild. The reports also contained evident forgeries. Officially "found dead," Paul Löwy was taken to the forest south of camp and murdered. According to historian Hans-Peter Klausch, five more prisoners died in local hospitals.⁷

Esterwegen's conditions prompted domestic and foreign protests. In July 1935, Father Bernhard Lichtenberg of St. Hedwig's Catholic Church in Berlin-Charlottenberg received a report describing murders at Esterwegen. Affixing his signature to the report, he personally delivered it to the Prussian Ministry of the Interior, where officials rebuffed his additional demand to meet with Hermann Göring. The report reached Eicke and the Gestapo's Dr. Werner Best. Arrested in wartime for sympathizing with Jews, Lichtenberg died en route to Dachau in 1943. In 2005, Yad Vashem named him a Righteous Gentile.⁸

66 THE EARLY NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONCENTRATION CAMPS

The imprisonment at Esterwegen of *Weltbühne* editor and pacifist Carl von Ossietzky galvanized international opinion. Held in this camp from March 1934 to May 1936, Ossietzky contracted tuberculosis, thanks in part to the moor labor for which he was certified by the camp physician. Beginning in 1935, he remained in the infirmary, where Sturmmann Albert Lütkemeyer once threatened his life. In reports to Himmler and Göring, Eicke and Reinhard Heydrich justified Ossietzky's continued detention, despite the greater publicity that arose from his receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in November 1936.⁹

In 1935 and 1936, Corder Catchpool, Carl Burckhardt (International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC]), and a Dutch delegation attempted to visit Ossietzky. As the British Quakers' representative in Germany, Catchpool visited him in June 1935. In October 1935, Loritz granted Burckhardt permission to see Ossietzky only after considerable pressure. As Burckhardt recalled, the prisoner's face was swollen, and his leg was broken. Representing the exiled Zentral-Wuppertal-Komitee, Clara Enthoven, H. van Zutphen, and Father N. Padt asked to see Ossietzky on May 22, 1936, but Koch dismissed their request. On Göring's orders, the police moved him a few days later to Berlin's State Hospital of the Police, Scharnhorststrasse 13, where he remained until his death on May 4, 1938.¹⁰

As Eicke's "exemplary prison camp," Esterwegen was a springboard for IKL careers. After Dachau, Loritz commanded Sachsenhausen from 1940 to 1942. In January 1946, he committed suicide in Allied custody. After a short stint at Sachsenhausen, Koch was Buchenwald's first commandant from 1937 to 1942, then commandant at Lublin-Majdanek in 1942. Following a corruption investigation, the SS executed him in April 1945. Unterscharführer Gustav Sorge was a Papenburg SS guard who returned to Esterwegen from 1934 to April 1936. In October 1958, the regional court Bonn sentenced him to life in a penitentiary plus 15 years for 67 murders and 20 attempted murders, including the Esterwegen deaths of Schild, Friedrich Ravensgaard, and an unnamed detainee. In February 1934, master baker Bernhard Rakers joined Papenburg VI/Oberlangen's SA staff. From 1934 to 1936, he headed Esterwegen's prisoner kitchen, earning the name "slave driver." Becoming Rapportführer at Auschwitz III-Monowitz in 1944 and Lagerführer at Buchenwald/Weimar (Gustloff-Werke) in 1945, he was sentenced to life in a penitentiary plus 15 years for 7 murders in 1953 by the regional court Osnabrück. Known as "Sharpshooter," Lütkemeyer was an Esterwegen guard from 1934 to 1936. At Neuengamme in 1943, he served as Schutzhaftlagerführer. In Neuengamme Case 8, the British executed him on June 26, 1947.¹¹

In June 1936, Eicke ordered Esterwegen's closure. On July 12, the first 50 prisoners departed to construct Sachsenhausen. The remaining 900 prisoners followed by September 5. Although Konstantin Hierl's Reich Labor Service (RAD) contended for the property, the SS sold Esterwegen on September 23 to the Reich Justice Ministry, where it became



A view of the SS camp at Esterwegen, ca. 1935–1936.
USHMM WS # 05129, COURTESY OF BPK

Papenburg's seventh penal camp. The SS applied a portion of the 1.05 million Reichsmark (RM) proceeds to the financing of Sachsenhausen.¹²

Esterwegen held "Night and Fog" prisoners during World War II. Under British military administration after 1945, Esterwegen deployed former Nazis in moor cultivation. The Federal Republic of Germany discontinued this practice in 1950.

Until 2005, when it was scheduled for closure, the Bundeswehr utilized Esterwegen as a military depot. In 1980, it erected a memorial plaque at the site.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the following secondary sources: Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommendanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005); Dirk Lüerssen, "'Moor-soldaten' in Esterwegen, Börgermoor, Neusustrum: Die frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland 1933 bis 1936," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 157–210; Elke Suhr, *Die Emslandlager: Die politische und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Emsländischen Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager 1933–1945* (Bremen: Donat & Temmen, 1985); and Elke Suhr and Werner Bohlt, *Lager im Emsland, 1933–1945: Geschichte und Gedenken* (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg, 1985). On the Prussian and Dachau models, see Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager: Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager," 1934–1938* (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag, 1991). Biographical information on Lichtenberg may be found in Kevin P. Spicer, *Resisting the Third Reich: The Catholic Clergy in Hitler's Berlin* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2004), and at Yad Vashem's (YV) Web site, http://www1.yadvashem.org/righteous/index_righteous.html. Information on the Catchpool mission is available in Karl Zehrer, "Quäkerhilfe für Ossietzky," *Standpunkt* 10 (1984): 289–291. On the Sachsenhausen transfer, see *Damals in Sachsenhausen: Solidarität und Widerstand im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen* (Berlin [East]:

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Primary documentation for Esterwegen begins with its listing in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:102. In draft form with handwritten corrections, Esterwegen's IKL regulations may be found in USHMMMA, RG-11.001 M.20, RGVA, Fond 1367, Opis 2, Concentration/POW Camps in Germany, Reel 91. The BDCPFs of Loritz and Koch are summarized cursorily in French MacLean, *The Camp Men: The SS Officers Who Ran the Nazi Concentration Camp System* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Military History, 1999); and more extensively in Tom Segev, *Soldiers of Evil: The Commandants of the Nazi Concentration Camps*, trans. Haim Watzmann (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1987). On SS guard strength, Drobisch and Wieland cite *Statisches Jahrbuch der Schutzstaffel der NSDAP* (Berlin, 1937). Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, cites Esterwegen death lists in the NStA-Os and the NStA-OI. Lichtenberg's 1935 protest, Best's and Eicke's responses, and excerpts from the Rakers and Sorge judgments are found in Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985). Kosthorst and Walter also reproduce the IKL regulations, which may be compared against the draft available at USHMMMA. Additional information on Sorge and Rakers is found in Fritz Bauer et al., eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen, 1945–1966*, 22 vols. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1968–2005), 10: 347–391 (Rakers, 4 Ks 2/52) and 15: 399–659 (Sorge, 8 Ks 1/58). The Lütkemeyer trial is found in Great Britain, War Office, Judge Advocate General's Office, War Crimes Case Files, Second World War, Public Record Office WO 235/301, USHMMMA, RG 59.016

M, Reel 9, File of Albert Lütkemeyer, Neuengamme Case 8. Based upon interviews with Sachsenhausen prisoners, the camp *Lied* (song), "Esterwegen," is reprinted in Inge Lammel and Günter Hofmeyer, comps., *Lieder aus den faschistischen Konzentrationslagern* (Leipzig: Veb. Friedrich Hofmeister, 1962). The third volume of *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (Sopade)*, 7 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Petra Nettelbeck, 1980), contains valuable information on Esterwegen. On Ossietzky's confinement, see Carl von Ossietzky, *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 7, *Briefe und Lebensdokumente*, ed. Bärbel Boldt, Gerhard Kraiker, Christoph Schottes, and Elke Suhr (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1994), which reproduces documents from the NStA-OI, the NIO, the PAAA, and the IISG. See also Carl J. Burckhardt, *Meine Danziger Mission, 1937–1939*, 3rd ed. (Munich: Verlag Georg D.W. Callwey, 1980). Ossietzky's imprisonment was a cause célèbre in the exile and English press, as can be seen in "Ossietzky in Höchster Gefahr! Morddrohung des Kommandanten von Papenburg," *PT*, June 28, 1935. Published Esterwegen testimonies include Willi Dickhut, *So war's damals... Tatsachenbericht eines Solinger Arbeiters 1926–1948* (Stuttgart: Verlag Neuer Weg, 1979); Alfred Lemmnitz, *Beginn und Bilanz: Erinnerungen* (Berlin [East]: Dietz Verlag, 1985); Robert Neddermeyer, *Es began in Hamburg: Ein deutscher Kommunist erzählt aus seinem Leben*, foreword by Heinz Heitzer (Berlin [East]: Dietz, 1980). Union für Recht und Freiheit, ed., *Der Strafvollzug im III. Reich: Denkschrift und Materialsammlung; Im Anhang: Die Nürnberger Rassengesetze* (Prague: URF, 1936) contains anonymous testimony. Jehovah's Witness accounts, some available in English translation, can be found in "Aus einem deutschen Konzentrationslager (Ein von einem schlichten, jungen Mann geschriebener Bericht—Amtlich beglaubigt)," *GZ*, September 1, 1936, pp. 6–7, 10–11; "Im Konzentrationslager Esterwegen," *GZ*, February 15, 1938, pp. 12–13; Arthur Winkler, "Im Konzentrationslager Esterwegen," *GZ*, March 1, 1938, pp. 12–13. The February 15, 1938, article has an excellent sketch map drawn by a prisoner. The Zentral-Wuppertal-Komitee's report, anonymous Jewish testimony from August 1936, Dr. Fritz Friedländer's 1958 interview with Leo Zimmerman, and Paul Stargardt's statement are found in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series 1, Archives of the WL, Section 2, Eyewitness Accounts, Reel 9. For Esterwegen under Justice authority, see Ernst Walksen, *Warten auf die Freiheit: Zeichnungen und Aquarelle eines Moorsoldaten, 1935–1939*, foreword by Johannes Rau (Wuppertal: P. Hammer, 1984).

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NOTES

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2. Theodor Eicke, “Besondere Lagerordnung für das Gefangenen-Barackenlager,” August 1, 1934, countersigned Weibrecht with handwritten corrections, in USHMM, RG-11.001 M.20, RGVA, Fond 1367, Opis 2, Concentration/POW Camps in Germany, Reel 91, pp. 1–10 (hereafter RM-11.001 M.20, 91/1367/2, with page number); compare with published order in Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), pp. 85–89.

3. Theodor Eicke, “Disziplinar- u. Strafordnung für das Gefangenenlager,” August 1, 1934, countersigned Weibrecht with handwritten corrections, in RM-11.001 M.20, 91/1367/2, pp. 1–6, quotation on p. 1; compare with published order in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 89–94.

4. P III h. No. 684 (Esterwegen), Anonymous Report by Jewish “Returnee,” August 1936; P III h. No. 1076 (Esterwegen), Interview of Leo Zimmermann by Dr. Fritz Friedländer, Melbourne, Australia, December 22, 1958; Unsigned Statement of Paul Stargardt, April 1936, in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series 1, Archives of the WL, Section 2, Eyewitness Accounts, Reel 9 (hereafter *Testaments*, 1/2/9); “Aus einem deutschen Konzentrationslager (Ein von einem schlichten, jungen Mann geschriebener Bericht—Amtlich beglaubigt),” GZ, September 1, 1936), pp. 6–7, 10–11, translated as “From a German Concentration Camp (A Report Written by a Plain Man. Attested by a Notary Public),” *Golden Age*, June 2, 1937, pp. 567–570; Arthur Winkler, “Im Konzentrationslager Esterwegen,” GZ, March 1, 1938, pp. 12–13, translated as “In the Esterwegen Concentration Camp,” *Consolation*, August 10, 1938, pp. 12–15; “Im Konzentrationslager Esterwegen,” GZ, February 15, 1938, pp. 12–13; on the Jauchekolonne and Gustloff incident, see August 1936 Report, *Sopade*, 3: 1010–1011.

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6. Robert Neddermeyer, *Es began in Hamburg: Ein deutscher Kommunist erzählt aus seinem Leben*, foreword by Heinrich Heitzer (Berlin [East]: Dietz, 1980), p. 182; on Jehovah’s Witnesses, August 1936 Report, *Sopade*, 3:1012.

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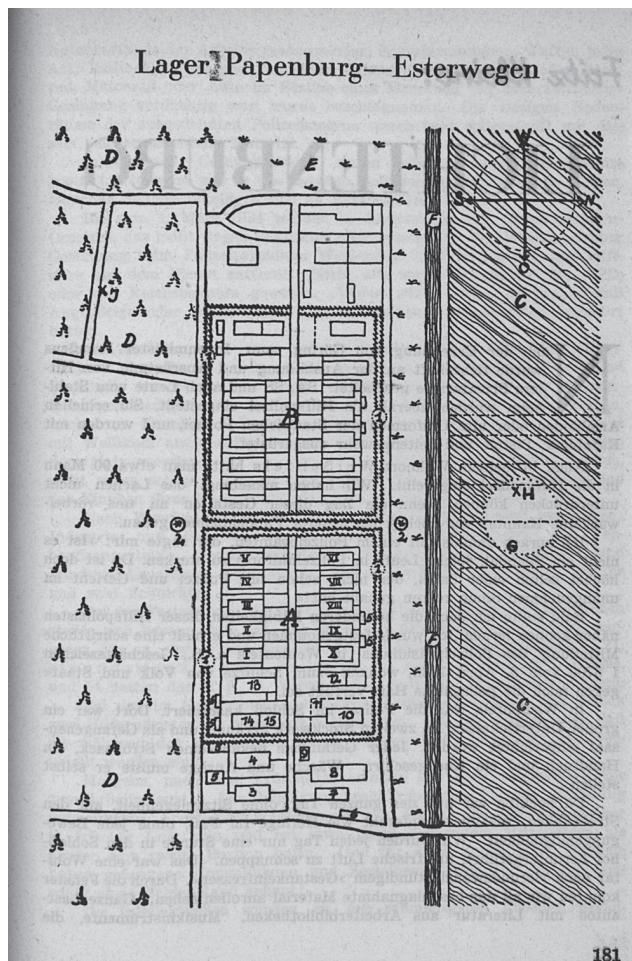
10. Carl J. Burckhardt, *Meine Danziger Mission, 1937–1939*, 3rd ed. (Munich: Verlag Georg D.W. Callwey, 1980), pp. 60–62; Zentral-Wuppertal-Komitee, *Mitteilungen* (Amsterdam, 1936), pp. 9–10, in *Testaments*, 1/2/9.

11. Eicke quotation in Loritz BDCPF, as cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, 293; Loritz and Koch BDCPFs, as cited in Segev, *Soldiers of Evil*, pp. 144, 147, 160–162; Sorge Urteil, 8 Ks 1/58, in Fritz Bauer et al., eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen, 1945–1966*, 22 vols. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1968–2005), 15:415, 418–420; “Urteil gegen Bernhard Rakers vor dem Schwurgericht des Landgerichts Osnabrück (5. Januar–10. Februar 1953) wegen Mordes u.a.” (4 Ks 2/52), excerpted in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 97–98; Confirmation of Death Sentence, June 26, 1947, and Defendant Deposition, 11/4/1946, in Great Britain, War Office, Judge Advocate General’s Office, War Crimes Case Files, Second World War, Public Record Office WO 235/301, USHMM, RG 59.016 M, Reel 9, File of Albert Lütgemeyer, Neuengamme 8 Case, pp. 6, 185.

12. Himmler to Reich Justice Ministry, Kammergerichtsrats Hecker, February 8, 1937, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 172–173.

ESTERWEGEN II [AKA PAPENBURG II]

On August 11, 1933, Esterwegen II, State Concentration Camp Papenburg’s (Staatliches Konzentrationslager Papenburg) second “barracks camp,” admitted 450 Breslau-Dürrgoy prisoners.¹ Erected by Börgermoor Gemeinde Hümmling detainees along the Coastal Canal’s (Küstenkanal’s) southern bank, the subcamp was designed to hold 1,000 inmates who worked in wetlands cultivation. It reached full strength on August 14, after which its adjacent twin, Esterwegen III, began admitting prisoners. Esterwegen III was located to the west of this camp and therefore farther away from the Küstenkanal Bridge, the link between the camps and the moors. Börgermoor was approximately 13 kilometers (8 miles) to the west and north of the canal.² In early August, Papenburg’s



A prisoner's sketch map of Papenburg-Esterwegen II (A) and III (B), as it appeared in 1933. Letter C represents the moors; F is the canal; and H and J indicate the murder sites of Hans Alexander and Otto Eggerstedt. Inside the camp, number 10 is the "bunker" or arrest cells, encircled by a separate fence; number 15 is the infirmary, and numerals I to X indicate prisoner barracks. Numbers 3 and 4 are the cultivation and commandant's offices.

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chief camp commandant, SS-Standartenführer Paul Brinkmann, dispatched three SS officers to Esterwegen II, Sturmführer Heinrich Katzmann (Nazi Party [NSDAP] No. 113151), Sturmführer Ludwig Seehaus, and Sturmführer Emil Faust (NSDAP No. 151165). At first, Katzmann and Seehaus shared command, after which Katzmann directed Esterwegen II and Seehaus headed Esterwegen III. Until he assumed command of Neusustrum in late September 1933, Faust served as Esterwegen II's adjutant but moved freely between the camps. Like Brinkmann and Börgermoor's Sturmhauptführer Wilhelm Fleitmann, SS-Group West's chief (SS-Gruppe West) Obergruppenführer Fritz Weitzel nominated Katzmann, Seehaus, and Faust for Emsland service, according to historian Hans-Peter Klausch. Esterwegen II's brutality contributed to the Prussian Secret State Police Office's (Gestapo) decision to dismiss the SS from Papenburg.³

From November 6 to December 20, 1933, the Prussian police controlled the camp.

Esterwegen II's first tasks were the completion of prisoner accommodations and the construction of Esterwegen III. According to prisoner "A.E.," the daily rations, divided among 1,000 men, consisted of 50 kilograms (110 pounds) of peas, 150 kilograms (330 pounds) of potatoes, and 11 kilograms (24 pounds) of meat.⁴ As Börgermoor detainees contacted Esterwegen II's inmates during work assignments, they organized modest food relief until the guards stopped the practice.⁵ The long distance between Esterwegen II and its work assignments necessitated the use of field trains. Called the "Moor Express," transport like this one continued to operate during the Prussian Justice Ministry's penal camp phase, as can be seen in a photograph album by SA-Mann Walter Talbot from 1935.⁶ According to anonymous testimony from Esterwegen II, a prisoner's daily work quota consisted of digging a ditch 18 meters long, 80 centimeters wide, and 90 centimeters deep (59 feet by 2.6 feet by 3 feet).⁷ Until their reassignment to Lichtenburg on October 17, 1933, Jewish prisoners installed pipes for the camp's water supply and experienced constant abuse.⁸

In the barracks, Katzmann and Faust harangued prisoners. According to Clemens Lessmann, they thrashed a detainee who threatened Adolf Hitler's life.⁹ On August 11, 1933, when a 195-member transport from Altona arrived, they struck leading Reichsbanner (RB) members and leftists with rubber truncheons.¹⁰ When Barracks 7 prisoners assaulted a Nazi informant, Katzmann, Faust, and 12 more SS took revenge in what was called "Italian Night," September 13, 1933, which amounted to all-night clubbings and penal exercises. The alleged ringleader, Fritz Erichsen, was placed in the 32-cell arrest bunker, where he was forced to ingest castor oil, a torture employed by Italian Black Shirts in the early 1920s.¹¹

Three murders took place at Esterwegen II, including the first recorded killing at the Papenburg concentration camp. The cases showed the perpetrators' determination to settle Weimar-era scores and how wetlands cultivation furnished opportunities for killing enemies with few witnesses. The first victim was Jewish prisoner Hans Alexander. On September 2, 1933, Faust told two SS, Willy Kleingünther and Rudolf Podschwadek, to escort him to the moor. The SS shot Alexander and ignored prisoner entreaties to call for an SS field medic. SS-Mann Georg Bonengel then administered a fatal pistol shot.¹²

The second victim was Richard Danisch. Accused of supporting the Polish insurgency in Upper Silesia in the early 1920s, he had already endured 10 days in the arrest cells, thanks to Podschwadek. He subsequently reported to the infirmary, where the camp doctor, Dr. Alfred Zwecker, recommended his urgent transfer to Brandenburg for medical purposes. But citing Danisch's political activities, Papenburg's senior physician, Polizeiobermedizinalrat Grunow, countermanded Zwecker's order. On October 10, Podschwadek and Bonengel, along with SS-Mann Hermann Köster, shot Danisch en route to the wetlands.¹³

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The third victim was Altona's former police president, Otto Eggerstedt. On August 11, Altona's new police president informed Brinkmann of Eggerstedt's imminent arrival and about his previous political activities: "Through personal agitation he [Eggerstedt] has promoted Social Democratic interests with special emphasis throughout the whole province [of Schleswig-Holstein] and has administered his office as police president as an exponent of his party." The Nazis blamed him for Altona's "Bloody Sunday," a July 17, 1932, street battle between the SA and Communists. Upon arrival, Katzmann announced to Eggerstedt, "Well, you are the pig from the Bloody Sunday in Altona." Thus began Eggerstedt's torment in this camp.¹⁴

On October 8 or 9, the first attempt to kill Eggerstedt ended in failure because Scharführer Theodor Groten fired and missed. On Saturday, October 12, Brinkmann visited Esterwegen II, and the staff immediately organized a 300-man detail (Kommando), to which Eggerstedt was specifically summoned, for leveling ground in the forest south of camp. In a departure from routine, the Kommando set off after prisoners had already returned for their regular Saturday afternoon rest. Groten, Kleingünther, and Scharführer Martin Eisenhut conducted Eggerstedt to a worksite away from other prisoners. Groten shot him twice with a carbine, after which Eisenhut fired a point-blank pistol shot. The prisoners' immediate return to camp then put the lie to the Kommando's pretext for entering the forest to begin with. In 1933, the Prussian Justice Ministry investigated Groten and Eisenhut, but State President of Prussia Hermann Göring closed the case. In 1949, the regional court Oldenburg sentenced Groten to life in penitentiary, primarily because of Eggerstedt's murder. Katzmann, however, was not held accountable for this or other killings. In 1951, the regional court Osnabrück sentenced him to four years' imprisonment for 15 counts of "bodily injury," including 11 severe cases.¹⁵

Two escape attempts took place at Esterwegen II. Imprisoned Silesian miners dug a tunnel beneath barracks 9 and 10, but an informant betrayed their plan before it could be implemented. Another Silesian prisoner, Werner Hesse, fled on September 1, 1933, but was rearrested near Hamburg, placed in Esterwegen III, and murdered on September 26.¹⁶

Armed with machine guns, Wilhelmshaven and Osnabrück Municipal Police (Schupo) units arrived at Esterwegen II on November 4, 1933. Although Katzmann locked down the barracks, the SS surrendered without incident on November 6.

From December 20, 1933, to April 30, 1934, SA-Sturmhauptführer Heinrich Remmert became commandant. On December 22, two days after the SA handover, a Christmas amnesty reduced the population by 380 detainees. Under Remmert, the camp entered another violent phase. For mistreating prisoners at Esterwegen, the regional court Osnabrück sentenced him to 15 months' imprisonment in November 1934 and preempted a complete dismissal of the verdict by crediting him with time served in investigative

custody. Remmert subsequently became camp leader at Lichtenburg. Just as Börgermoor's 467 remaining inmates entered the camp on April 25, 1933, Esterwegen II had 373 prisoners.¹⁷

From May to June 1934, SA-Obersturmbannführer Engel commanded Esterwegen II and III. On June 20, 1934, he consolidated the two camps by moving the prisoners to Esterwegen II. Carl von Ossietzky, originally held at Esterwegen III, addressed a letter to his wife on July 13 from Esterwegen II.¹⁸

SOURCES This entry builds upon the careful research by Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommandanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005). Other important secondary sources for Esterwegen II are Dirk Lüerssen, "'Moorsoldaten' in Esterwegen, Börgermoor, Neusuistrum: Die frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland 1933 bis 1936," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 157–210; Elke Suhr, *Die Emslandlager: Die politische und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Emsländischen Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager 1933–1945* (Bremen: Donat & Temmen, 1985); and Elke Suhr and Werner Bohlt, *Lager im Emsland, 1933–1945: Geschichte und Gedenken* (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg, 1985). The new study by Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., "Der Ort des Terrors": *Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager: Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), was published after this entry was completed.

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ESTERWEGEN III [AKA PAPENBURG III]

On August 14, 1933, Esterwegen III in Gemeinde Hümmeling, Emsland, became the third subcamp of the State Concentration Camp Papenburg (Staatliches Konzentrationslager Papenburg). After their camp opened three days earlier and even as it was still being outfitted, Esterwegen II prisoners started building this prisoner “barracks camp.” Under SS-Sturmführer Ludwig Seehaus (Nazi Party [NSDAP] No. 9154, SS No. 705), Esterwegen III admitted detainees when Esterwegen II reached full capacity. Built to Esterwegen II’s west and along the Küstenkanal’s (Coastal Canal’s) southern bank, the camp’s distance from the canal bridge necessitated a longer march than its twin in order to reach Emsland reclamation sites. Violence at Esterwegen III, which resulted in three murders and one suicide, in addition to fights with locals, helped to spur the Prussian Secret State Police (Gestapo) Office’s removal of the Papenburg SS in November 1933.¹



Prisoners wearing disused Prussian police uniforms march at one of the Esterwegen camps, circa 1933.

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In early August, SS-Gruppenführer Fritz Weitzel, head of SS-Group West (Gruppe West), assigned Seehaus, Sturmführer Heinrich Katzmann, and Sturmführer Emil Faust (NSDAP No. 151165) to Esterwegen II. Until Esterwegen III’s opening, Seehaus shared Esterwegen II’s command with Katzmann. According to historian Hans-Peter Klausch, Weitzel nominated these future commandants for Emsland duties, but the evidence concerning Seehaus is circumstantial. Like Weitzel, Seehaus was a Hessian, a locksmith, and an “Old Fighter,” on which basis Klausch argues that Weitzel probably knew of him. Before he became Neusustrum’s commandant on September 27, 1933, Faust was Esterwegen II’s adjutant but played an unofficial role at Esterwegen III.²

Three hundred prisoners arrived the first day, including a 240-man transport from Köln Bonner Wall and others from Silesia. In a development unusual during the SS phase, 5 SA men who were escorting Breslau detainees joined the staff. On August 15, a 150-prisoner transport came from Düsseldorf, and subsequent transports in September originated from Moringen. After completing the camp, the prisoners toiled in the wetlands. As was the case at Esterwegen II, remoteness from work assignments required the use of the “Moor Express,” an open field train running north of the Küstenkanal. Photographic evidence from 1935, taken by SA-Mann Walter Talbot when most Papenburg camps belonged to the Justice Ministry, showed that these trains were commonplace.³

Especially for Jews, “bigwigs,” and prisoners from Hesse, Seehaus imposed a harsh regime. He compelled detainees to wear signs describing their alleged “crimes,” such as “I have shot an SA man!” or “I am a Jew.” With Faust’s input, he established a punishment column that anticipated Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) practices, called the Abteilung z.b.V. (Special Duty Detachment). Under the successive command of SS-Mann Fritz Vogel and Truppführer Hans Leuchter, it consisted of 40 leading leftists and Jews who performed exhausting labor. With pocketknives, the SS carved swastikas onto Abteilung z.b.V. detainees’ heads.⁴

As was the case at Esterwegen II, the staff murdered certain detainees in a bid to settle scores. The first murder took place on September 15, 1933, when Abteilung z.b.V. member Erich Bergmann, a Communist blamed for killing an SA man in 1932, was shot in the moors. On September 26, the SS murdered another Abteilung z.b.V. prisoner, Werner Hesse, a Silesian transferred from Esterwegen II following an escape attempt. An anonymous prisoner from Esterwegen II opined that this succession of two murders in 11 days engendered a grisly competition between the camps’ guards, because Esterwegen II’s second murder followed shortly afterward.⁵

On October 25, 1933, after undergoing torture in the 32 cell arrest bunker, Fritz Böhm hanged himself. Three days later, the SS murdered Alfred Kleindienst. Ordered to carry wood to a cottage, his guards, including an SA man, gunned him down as he did so. After the working parties heard the news and were ordered to sing on the train, they chanted: “On Hümmeling’s fields one finds his corpse, on Hümmeling’s fields one finds his death!” After Seehaus found out about this

protest, he unleashed what Paul Krüger described as “Walpurgis Night,” a nightlong round of beatings and penal exercises.⁶

On August 15, Jewish detainee Alfred Benjamin entered Esterwegen III from Düsseldorf. On behalf of the Committee for Jewish Refugees in Amsterdam, he later described how the prisoners dug 15 cubic meters (530 cubic feet) of earth daily on a starvation diet; suffered rheumatism and other ailments due to cold and polluted marsh water; and slept in unheated barracks during autumn. Except when working in the Abteilung z.b.V., the SS segregated Jews from others. Sick Jews could not secure treatment in the infirmary. On October 17, 1933, Benjamin was one of the 150 “Jews and some Marxist functionaries” that the Prussian Ministry of Interior dispatched to Lichtenburg.⁷

During the police takeover, the Special Duty State Police Group Wecke (Landespolizeigruppe Wecke z.b.V.) arrived at Esterwegen III. Under Walter Wecke’s command, it set up mortars near the perimeter. His group thus came closest to fulfilling Gestapo chief Rudolf Diels’s original proposal for deploying artillery against the SS. Esterwegen III staff did not resist but burned the administration building and camp records before evacuating on November 6, 1933.⁸

Three days after the police removed Seehaus from command, the SS promoted him to Obersturmführer. As an Old Fighter, he earned the Gold Party Badge in 1935 but was released from the SS later that year without explanation. His dismissal from Esterwegen III was the likely reason. Serving with a field police detachment in Belarus, he was shot by partisans on May 20, 1943, and died the following day.⁹

Like Börgermoor, Esterwegen III overwhelmingly rejected the November 12, 1933, National Plebiscite, which took place under the police administration. According to detainee Franz Holländer, approximately 800 prisoners cast “No” ballots, against 34 “Yes.”¹⁰ Unlike Börgermoor, however, the police retaliated by forcing the prisoners to perform penal exercises in the snow. Prisoner Paul Elflein, member of the German Communist Party (KPD), remembered seeing posters supporting the new regime’s “leaving” the League of Nations before the plebiscite.¹¹ After the vote, a policeman accused Elflein’s group of voting against the regime. With tongue in cheek, Elflein denied the charge: “We have not voted No, we say, we have all voted Yes. He said, I was present during the count, in the entire camp only 12 [sic] men voted Yes, and you are already 11, so you will not say to me that you voted Yes. We said, No, everyone voted yes, that the whole concentration camp voted Yes, and therein we expressed in the clearest way the good relationship between *Führer* and people.”¹²

From December 20, 1933, to April 30, 1934, SA-Obersturmführer August Linnemann ran Esterwegen III. Two days after he assumed command, 380 prisoners were released during the Christmas amnesty. On April 25, 1934, Esterwegen III’s population stood at 322.¹³

By March 25, 1934, Carl von Ossietzky entered Esterwegen III, where he was prisoner number 384. Editor of *Welt-*



Gestapo chief Rudolf Diels addresses prisoners to be released from one of the Esterwegen camps, December 22, 1933.
USHMM WS # 79588, COURTESY OF BA

bühne and renowned pacifist, Ossietzky had been in “protective custody” since March 1933 and remained at Esterwegen until May 1936. In contrast to IKL regulations, which strictly curtailed prisoners’ letter-writing privileges, he was able to compose lengthy letters to his wife, Maud, during the SA phase.¹⁴

From May to June 1934, SA-Obersturmbannführer Engel commanded Esterwegen II and III. On June 20, 1934, he merged the camps by moving prisoners to Esterwegen II. From July 1934 to September 1936, when the camp became part of the IKL system, Esterwegen III became SS accommodations.¹⁵

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9. Seehaus BDCPF, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 212–214.
10. Holländer statement, Dannenberg, January 5, 1948, NStA-Ol, Best. 140–145 No. 1219, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 280.
11. Quotation in Paul Elflein, *Immer noch Kommunist? Erinnerungen von Paul Elflein*, ed. Rolf Becker and Claus Bremer (Hamburg: VSA, 1978), p. 89.
12. Ibid., p. 90.
13. EZ, December 23, 1933, reproduced in Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), p. 66; *OsnT*, December 24, 1933; and "Zusammenstellung der Belegstärke und der zur Verfügung gestellten Anzahl politischer Schutzhäftlinge aus den Lagern II u. III Esterwegen in der Zeit vom 1.4.1934 bis 18.8.1934," NStA-Os, Rep. 675 Mep. No. 356, both cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 285.
14. Carl von Ossietzky to Maud von Ossietzky, March 25, 1934, Doc. D 428, reproduced in Bärbel Boldt et al., eds., *Sämtliche Schriften—Carl von Ossietzky*, vol. 7, *Briefe und Lebensdokumente* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1994), p. 550.
15. "Zusammenstellung der Belegstärke," NStA-Os, Rep. 675 Mep. No. 356, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 287; Ossietzky to Maud von Ossietzky, July 13, 1934, Doc. 447,

reproduced in Boldt et al., *Sämtliche Schriften*, p. 571; Alfred Lemmnitz, *Beginn und Bilanz: Erinnerungen* (Berlin [East]: Dietz Verlag, 1985), p. 53; sketch map by anonymous prisoner reproduced in "Im Konzentrationslager Esterwegen," GZ, February 15, 1938, p. 12.

EUTIN

On June 18, 1933, the women's section of Eutin prison in Oldenburg became an early concentration camp.¹ Established by the Landesteil Lübeck (Lübeck region) Regierungspräsident SA-Oberführer Johann Heinrich Böhmcker, the prison had already served as a "protective custody" camp since the Nazi takeover, as indicated by the detention of Social Democratic Landtag (parliament) member Karl Fick between March and September 1933.² Eutin held 10 to 20 male detainees in June 1933, then 43 in September.³ Of 345 detainees taken into custody in Landesteil Lübeck in 1933 and 1934 (Eutin and Ahrensböök-Holstendorf), there were 141 Communists, 46 Social Democrats or Reichsbanner members, 3 union members, 18 so-called asocials, 12 right-wingers, including 5 Nazis, 2 officials held for misconduct, and 2 Jehovah's Witnesses. The police logs did not indicate a reason for arrest or political or religious affiliation for the remaining 121 prisoners.⁴ In late September 1933, Eutin received 19 new inmates classified as "undesirables."⁵ The right-wing prisoners included Witt, a member of Erich Ludendorff's antisemitic Tannenbergbund. Among the three female prisoners, one was held for insulting Adolf Hitler.⁶ A small number of detainees, who were held at Eutin under an agreement between Böhmcker and the Bad Schwartau police, came from the protective custody camp at Bad Schwartau.

Eutin's monthly ration records between April 1933 and March 1934 indicated a prisoner population that ranged from 4 to 37.⁷ These figures are misleading, however, because many detainees were released shortly after paying a "fine," posting bail, or paying detention costs or an "allowance." There was a positive correlation between the imposition of fines and expedited release. For example, Otto Jäde, a Stahlhelm member arrested on June 20, 1933, left detention the next day, after paying a 2,000 Reichsmark (RM) fine. Altogether the protective custody account recorded 7,325 RM in fines, but the dividing line between fines and bail or detention costs was ambiguous.⁸ The financial irregularities prompted a Nazi Party (NSDAP) court investigation of Böhmcker in the mid-1930s. Despite problematic bookkeeping, the court cleared him on the charge of misappropriating camp finances.⁹

Böhmcker was the driving force behind the Landesteil Lübeck camps. Holding the office of Regierungspräsident for the Landesteil since July 1932, he mobilized SA troops as deputy police in order to intimidate the political opposition during the July 1932 national election. As indicated in the *Anzeiger für das Fürstentum Lübeck* (AFL) in July 1933, he held political prisoners in contempt: "From now on all these obstructionists are to be processed ruthlessly, without consideration for position, age, sex, and political attitude. They are to

be viewed as saboteurs of the National Socialist reconstruction and therefore have no place in one national community, which is inspired by the unanimous will to bread and freedom. Their destruction serves people and Fatherland."¹⁰

Böhmcker's protégé SA-Sturmführer Theodor Tenhaaf commanded Eutin and related camps. Tenhaaf joined the NSDAP (member number 177428) and SA in 1929. Imprisoned in 1917 for fencing stolen goods and falsifying records, he allegedly participated in the August 1932 bombing of a Socialist consumers' association in Eutin. Despite accusations by Eutin's mayor Otto Stoffregen, he eluded justice with his patron's protection.¹¹ Joining Tenhaaf's staff on October 2, 1933, was SA-Scharführer Siegfried Beilisch, who served as camp accountant until the dissolution of Eutin.¹² Until early October 1933, Eutin had eight staff members. The administrator of Landesteil Lübeck's protective custody camps was Gerichtsassessor Heinz Seetzen (NSDAP number 2732725). Seetzen advanced to the rank of SS-Standartenführer and in occupied Russia commanded Sonderkommando 10a in Einsatzgruppe D and subsequently Einsatzgruppe B.¹³

Böhmcker used Eutin to settle political scores. Among his rivals and critics was the former mayor and Nationalist Party member Stoffregen, who was arrested on July 25 for "political activity." His release, on August 4, 1933, came after losing a 3,000 RM allowance. The authorities arrested Dr. Genf for allegedly complaining about local government, for which he paid a 50 RM fine. Nazi Ortsgruppenleiter Ontjes got into similar trouble with Böhmcker, but the authorities fully refunded his bail after he apologized.¹⁴

The murder of SS-Mann Karl Radke showed how Weimarer era political feuds carried over into the early Nazi camps. Radke was killed in a street fight with the Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold on November 9, 1931, the eighth anniversary of the Beer Hall Putsch. After the Nazi takeover, the police targeted Reichsbanner members, including youth leader and Social Democratic reporter Adolf Burhke, for arrest and torture. The local press fanned the flames by reminding readers that Radke's killer had gone unpunished for almost two years. On August 24, 1933, after reporting the arrest of three additional suspects, the AFL opined that Radke's murderer possessed "blind, fanatical hatred." On August 20, 1933, Tenhaaf and guard Walter Tiesch (NSDAP member number 113416) thrashed the lead suspect, Ernst L. of Stokkelsdorf, with a whip and rubber truncheon. When another guard offered to shoot him, Tenhaaf and Tiesch replied: "No, first he should go up against the walls, a bullet would be too good for [him]." A policeman threatened to shoot Ernst L. if he talked about this ordeal. After two weeks in Eutin, L. was transferred to Lübeck prison.¹⁵

Beginning on July 19, 1933, the Eutin camp administration assigned detainees to moor clearance at nearby Lindenbruch, a former labor camp for the unemployed. As captured in a photograph, the prisoners marched daily through Eutin on the way to the work site. On July 2, 1933, AFL reported that the prisoners were expected to place an estimated 22 tons of arable soil at the 2.5-hectare (6.2-acre) work site while

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working in "God's free, beautiful Nature." The same article boasted about this assignment's purported role in reeducation, explaining that by working for the national community, "this element" learned to "obey necessity, not their urges." Böhmcker assigned Eutin prisoners to this "light cultivation work" for six hours a day, from 6:00 A.M. to noon, "because of health and moral grounds." Böhmcker directed that the two escorts, Tiesch and "Laborer T.," carry Model 98 rifles with 10 rounds each. Inside the prison, the detainees were expected to perform two additional hours of daily chores. On September 3, 1933, *AFL* announced that the prisoners had restored "2.2 [hectares] of land."¹⁶

Tenhaaf transferred his command from Eutin to Holstendorf on October 3, 1933. As he indicated to Böhmcker on September 20, 1933, the influx of "undesirables" in the previous month necessitated the search for a larger camp. In the meanwhile, he dispatched the prisoners to two road-building assignments at Neukirchen and Nüchel. Communist prisoner Otto Ehler experienced these institutional changes. Already imprisoned on political grounds when the Nazis came to power, he was placed in protective custody at Eutin in June 1933. After toiling at Nüchel, Ehler was finally released with Ahrensböök's closure in May 1934.¹⁷

None of Eutin's prisoners died in protective custody. Böhmcker died of a heart attack in 1944, and Seetzen committed suicide in 1945. Between 1948 and 1950, the Lübeck Landgericht (State Court) tried Tenhaaf, Tiesch, and Beilisch for "crimes against humanity." In 1948, Tiesch received a three-year prison sentence, but he was released after two years. In 1949, the court pronounced Tenhaaf "guilty in eleven cases of crimes against humanity in coincidence with dangerous physical assaults and for aiding and abetting forced confessions." It sentenced him to three and one-half years of penitentiary. In 1950, the court sentenced Beilisch to a short term of confinement.¹⁸

SOURCES This essay is based upon the groundbreaking scholarship of Lawrence D. Stokes. In a series of publications spanning three decades, Stokes has documented the Landesteil Lübeck camps. His articles relating to this camp include: "Adolf Bührke (1908–1978)," *Dem-Gesch: Jahrbuch zu Arbeiterbewegung und Demokratie in Schleswig-Holstein* 3 (1988): 441–446; "Böhmcker, Johann Heinrich Adolf," in *Biographisches Lexikon für Schleswig-Holstein und Lübeck*, ed. Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte und des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde (Neumünster, 1991), vol. 9; "Das Eutiner Schutzhaftlager 1933/34: Zur Geschichte eines 'wildes' Konzentrationslagers," *VfZ* 27: 4 (1979): 570–625; "Konzentrationslager im Spiegel der Provinz presse: Eutin 1933/34," *DaHe* 17 (2001): 60–77; "Das oldenburgische Konzentrationslager in Eutin, Neukirchen und Nüchel, 1933," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus, 1933–1935*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin, 2001), pp. 189–210. These articles have recently been reissued together with several others in Stoke's anthology "*Meine kleine Stadt steht für tausend andere: Studien zur Geschichte von Eutin in Holstein, 1918–1945*" (Eutin, 2004). Also helpful for researching Eutin

is Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin, 1993). This camp is briefly described in Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn, 1999). Helpful background on the transfer from Eutin to Holstendorf may be found in Jörg Wollenberg, "Das Konzentrationslager Ahrensböök-Holstendorf im oldenburgischen Landesteil Lübeck," in Benz and Distel, *Terror ohne System*, pp. 223–250. A listing for Eutin can be found in "Dritte Verordnung zur Änderung der Sechsten Verordnung zur Durchführung des Bundesentschädigungsgesetzes (3. ÄndV-6. DV-BEG), vom 24. November 1982," in *Bundesgesetzblatt*, ed. Bundesminister der Justiz, Teil 1 (1982): 1574.

The primary documentation for Eutin is exceptionally rich. As specified in the notes, Stokes reproduces the most important documents in his *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus: Ausgewählte Dokumente zur Geschichte von Eutin, 1918–1945* (Neumünster, 1984), chap. 5, and refers to other documents in his articles. The following archival collections contain substantial material: LA-Sch-H, NStA-Ol, and ASt-Eu. The LA-Sch-H Bestände are 260 (Landeskasse Eutin and Regierung des Landesteils Lübeck in Eutin), 320 (Kreis Eutin), 352 (Landgericht und Staatsanwaltschaft Lübeck), 355 (Amtsgericht Eutin), and Regierung Eutin. LA-Sch-H 320 contains the testimony of Otto Ehler. LA-Sch-H 352 includes witness testimony by Ernst L. and the trials of Tenhaaf (4a KLs 8/48), Tiesch (14 Ks 11/49), and Beilisch (2 Ks 7/50). LA-Sch-H 355 includes the Eutin prison records. NStA-Ol has two important collections: 205 (Revierabteilung der Ordnungspolizei Bad Schwartau), no. 631, which includes Böhmcker's letter to the Bad Schwartau police, dated June 17, 1933, and 133 (Ministerium der Justiz) has statistical material concerning rations at Eutin prison. The ASt-Eu 2481 (Polizeidienst in der Stadt Eutin) includes a letter from Mayor Stoffregen to Böhmcker, accusing Tenhaaf of the August 1932 bombing. The BDC collections, now available at BA-BL and, in microfilm, at the NARA in Washington, DC, hold personnel files and party cards for Beilisch, Seetzen, Tenhaaf, and Tiesch and Böhmcker's Nazi Party court proceeding. As reproduced or cited by Stokes, important local press accounts on Eutin include *AFL*, March 14, July 2, July 28, August 24, September 3, and September 22, 1933. The *Lübecker Nachrichten*, June 17, 1948, and the *LFP*, May 17, 1949, contain stories about Tiesch's and Tenhaaf's respective convictions. A photograph identified as prisoners marching to Lindenbruch in 1933 appears in Jörg Wollenberg, "So fing es an: Arbeitslose im Arbeitsdienst: Vom Freiwilligen Arbeitsdienst zum Konzentrationslager," in *Ahrensböök: Eine Kleinstadt im Nationalsozialismus; Konzentrationslager—Zwangarbeit—Todesmarsch*, by Wollenberg with Norbert Fick and Lawrence D. Stokes (Bremen, 2000), pp. 64–169. Eutin is listed in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main, 1990), vol. 1:97; and in "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefange," *NV*, August 27, 1933.

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NOTES

1. Eutin Amtgerichtsgefängnis Hauptbücher, 1933–1934, LA-Sch-H, 260 (Landeskasse Eutin) /1704, cited in Lawrence D. Stokes, “Das oldenburgische Konzentrationslager in Eutin, Neukirchen und Nüchel, 1933,” in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus, 1933–1935*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin, 2001), p. 197.
2. AFL, March 14, 1933; Gefangen-Verzeichnis des Gerichtsgefängnis Eutin 1930–1933, no. 520, LA-Sch-H, 355 (Amtsgericht Eutin)/265, reproduced in Lawrence D. Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus: Ausgewählte Dokumente zur Geschichte von Eutin, 1918–1945* (Neumünster, 1984), p. 521; “Aus dem Arbeitsprogramm der Regierung underes Landesteils,” AFL, September 3, 1933, cited in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 527 n.3.
3. Böhmcker to Polizeihauptmann I., Bad Schwartau, June 17, 1933, NStA-OI, 205 (Revierabteilung der Ordnungspolizei Bad Schwartau)/631, file “Schutzhäftlinge—Ausweisung lästiger Ausländer,” in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 525; “Schutzhaft verhängt,” AFL, September 22, 1933, in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 531.
4. Reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 555, these statistics are based primarily upon LA-Sch-H, 355 (Landgericht und Staatsanwaltschaft Lübeck)/265–266, 352/535–537; ASt-Eu, Nr. 1752, “Polizeihäft”; Böhmcker to Polizeihauptmann I., Bad Schwartau, June 17, 1933, NStA-OI, 205/631, file “Schutzhäftlinge—Ausweisung lästiger Ausländer,” reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 567.
5. Vermerk der Lagerführers T[enhaaf] und Erwiderung Böhmckers, September 20, 1933, LA-Sch-H, Reg. Eutin, A Vd 7.
6. Eutin Amtgerichtsgefängnis Hauptbücher 1933/1934, LA-Sch-H, 260/1704, cited in Stokes, “Das Eutiner Schutzhaftlager 1933/34: Zur Geschichte eines ‘wildes’ Konzentrationslagers,” *VfZ* 27:4 (1979): 594, table 1.
7. The protective custody population estimate was derived by dividing the detainees’ ration days by the number of days per month. It is based upon “Bericht des Vorsteher der Gefangen-Anstalt O 4 (Amtsgerichtsgefängnis), Eutin, to Minister der Justiz, Oldenburg, Aug. 14, 1934,” NStA-OI, 133 (Ministerium der Justiz)/592, reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 535. The report separates ration days into “Without Protective Custody” and “With Protective Custody,” which necessitates an initial calculation to isolate detainee daily rations from other prisoners.
8. LA-Sch-H, 260/1704, as cited in Stokes, “Eutiner Schutzhaftlager,” pp. 594–595, table 1.
9. BDC, Oberparteigericht, Böhmcker file, cited in Stokes, “Eutiner Schutzhaftlager,” p. 595.
10. “Bekanntmachung der Regierung Eutin,” AFL, July 28, 1933, reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 538.
11. BDC, BDCPF for Theodor Tenhaaf, reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 568; ASt-Eu, 2481 (Polizeidienst in der Stadt Eutin), Stoffregen to Böhmcker, October 31, 1932, cited in Stokes, “Eutiner Schutzhaftlager,” p. 597.
12. BDC, Central Party card for Siegfried Beilisch, cited in Stokes, “Eutiner Schutzhaftlager,” p. 600, table 5.
13. BDCPF Heinz Seetzen, cited in Stokes, “Das oldenburgische Konzentrationslager,” pp. 193–194.
14. Eutin Amtgerichtsgefängnis Hauptbücher 1933/1934, LA-Sch-H, 260/1704, cited in Stokes, “Eutiner Schutzhaftlager,” p. 594; on Ontjes, BDC, Oberparteigericht, Böhmcker file, cited in ibid., p. 593.
15. “Findet die Bluttat an dem Eutiner SS-Mann Karl Radke doch noch ihre gerechte Sühne?” AFL, August 24, 1933, reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 550; BDC, Central Party card for Walter Tiesch, cited in Stokes, “Eutiner Schutzhaftlager,” p. 600; Vernehmung der Arbeiters Ernst L., Stockelsdorf, March 5, 1946, LA-Sch-H, 352/536, reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, pp. 550–551.
16. Photograph in Jörg Wollenberg, “So fing es an: Arbeitslose im Arbeitsdienst; Vom Freiwilligen Arbeitsdienst zum Konzentrationslager,” in *Ahrensbök: Eine Kleinstadt im Nationalsozialismus; Konzentrationslager—Zwangarbeit—Todesmarsch*, by Wollenberg with Norbert Fick and Lawrence D. Stokes (Bremen, 2000), p. 107; “Tatkräftige Aufbauarbeit der Eutiner Regierung—22 Tonnen Land werden urbar gemacht,” AFL, July 2, 1933, reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 526. Stokes notes that this article reproduced verbatim a Landesteil Lübeck press release, found in Presseamt der Oldenburgischen Regierung/Landesteils Lübeck, June 29, 1933, LA-Sch-H, Reg. Eutin/A XXIII 13, cited in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 526. Böhmcker to Polizeihauptmann I., Bad Schwartau, June 17, 1933, NStA-OI, 205/631, file “Schutzhäftlinge—Ausweisung lästiger Ausländer”; “Aus dem Arbeitsprogramm der Regierung unseres Landesteils,” AFL, September 3, 1933, cited in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 527n.3.
17. LA-Sch-H, Reg. Eutin, A Vd 7, reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 555; Aussagen von Otto Ehlers vor dem Wiedergutmachungsausschuss, Eutin, LA-Sch-H, 320/Eutin, nos. 64, 75, 83 (1945–1946).
18. Trial records for Tiesch (4a KLs 8/48), Tenhaaf (14 Ks 11/49), and Beilisch (2 Ks 7/50), LA-Sch-H 352/535–537, cited in Stokes, “Eutiner Schutzhaftlager,” p. 572; quotation in “Unmensch zu Zuchthaus verurteilt,” LFP, May 17, 1949.

FUHLSBÜTTEL

[AKA HAMBURG-FUHLSBÜTTEL]

As of March 1933 the State Police (Stapo) in Hamburg arrested political opponents of the Nazi regime. Those arrested were either brought to the Wittmoor concentration camp set up in April 1933, held in pretrial custody at the police station, or sent to the Fuhlsbüttel prison.¹

The Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp opened officially on September 4, 1933, as part of a large prison complex, following the formal transfer of command and surveillance to the SS and SA. The camp’s particular function was to persecute and suppress political opponents of the Nazi regime as well as to intimidate the general public.

Initially, the concentration camp fell under the jurisdiction of the Hamburg State Judicial Administration (Landesjustizverwaltung) and Correctional Service (Strafvollzugsbehörde).

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The president of the Correctional Bureau (Strafvollzugsamt) was the direct superior of the camp commander, while the Hamburg minister of justice (Justizsenator) was the highest official in charge of all concentration camp personnel and camp affairs. The extent of administrative involvement with the camp was unique in Nazi Germany. On December 1, 1933, the concentration camp was put under the control of the Stapo. The political police used this concentration camp, on the one hand, as a sort of remand prison, when they intended to bring an accused person before a court and therefore conducted further interrogations. On the other hand, prisoners were kept in this camp for an indefinite period of time as a way of fighting political opponents and rendering them harmless. From the beginning, the Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp was also a torture site of the Stapo.

First and foremost, members of Social Democratic and Communist resistance groups as well as well-known opponents of the Nazi regime from all of northern Germany were interned at Fuhlsbüttel.² From 1934 on the Stapo increasingly arrested Jehovah's Witnesses, whom they also viewed as political opponents, and sent them to the Fuhlsbüttel camp.³ Jews followed from 1935 on after the pronouncement of the Nuremberg Laws.⁴ By 1933, individuals who were not political opponents of the Nazis were also sent to the concentration camp such as those considered "asocials," "community aliens," "harmful to the Volk," "abnormal," and "dangerous." Among others, this group included homosexuals, beggars, and prostitutes.⁵

At first the Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp was solely for men, but from August 1934 on, women were also detained in a special section of the camp.

Ten prisoners died in Fuhlsbüttel in the months from September 1933 to January 1934 alone. They died from torture by the political police and mistreatment by the guards.

One of the murdered individuals was Social Democratic editor Dr. Fritz Solmitz from Lübeck. In March 1933, the Lübeck Gestapo arrested him for being an active anti-Fascist and a Jew, and he was taken publicly through Lübeck in a hay cart. Along with other Gestapo prisoners, Solmitz was transferred to Fuhlsbüttel in May 1933, where he was severely mistreated by the guards. Solmitz secretly kept a diary during his imprisonment by writing on thin cigarette paper and hid these notes in his pocket watch. They have been preserved as a unique document testifying to the inhumanity of the guards. The notes of Solmitz end shortly before September 19, 1933, the day of his violent death.⁶

Terror was a part of the Fuhlsbüttel prisoners' everyday life. The SS guards let their lust for vengeance and their sadism run wild. Beatings with pizzles, whips, rubber truncheons, chair legs, and steel rods were commonly employed to degrade, humiliate, and torture prisoners or to force confessions from them. At night the guards, some under the influence of alcohol, would roam through the stations and beat up prisoners.

The prisoners, in particular those in solitary confinement, could count on being beaten into unconsciousness by the

guards at any time of the day. Prisoners were sometimes put "in irons" for a week with their hands and feet chained together behind their backs.

In the basement of the prison, two "kennels," that is, iron cages, had been installed in the detention cells. A prisoner would be fastened for many days to the iron bars of the cage in the position of a crucifixion, while the guards would beat him repeatedly. Other prisoners would have their arms locked to an iron pole, then be hung at a height of two meters (almost seven feet) or more for many days at a time.

Prisoners were systematically driven to death, and murders were covered up as suicide. The Gauleitung (Nazi Party Province Administration), the State Judicial Administration, and the Stapo all knew of these crimes and helped cover them up.

The systematic terror was supposed to keep prisoners in a constant state of fear and excitement, to humiliate them, to take away their privacy, and to break their will.

Paul Ellerhusen (born in 1897) was appointed camp commandant in September 1933. He was adjutant and confidant to Gauleiter Karl Kaufmann and had been a member of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) and SA since March 1927. As camp commandant he was in charge of the camp administration and the camp employees.

Ellerhusen was considered an alcoholic and a rather idle person, and he treated the prisoners in a rampantly brutal way. At the end of 1934 he was arrested in connection with the "Röhm-Putsch," the murder of SA Chief of Staff Ernst Röhm and others. Gauleiter Kaufmann successfully petitioned Heinrich Himmler for Ellerhusen's release, but he could not resume his position as camp commandant.

Johannes Rode (born in 1889), secretary of the Criminal Police (Kriminalsekretär), who had become a member of the NSDAP in May 1933, succeeded Ellerhusen in July 1934. While Rode, who had worked for the Hamburg police since 1919, prohibited arbitrary cruelty toward prisoners by the guards, he nevertheless claimed the right to bully and beat "protective custody" prisoners as he liked and at his own discretion. He particularly targeted Jews, homosexuals, transvestites, and prostitutes.

By the end of 1933, 80 members of the SS and SA had been employed as guards for the newly set-up Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp. Almost all of them had long been unemployed. Many of them were still young and often poorly educated. Several of them were fanatical supporters of National Socialism and had previously been convicted for participating in violent political battles during the Weimar Republic or other criminal offenses. To them, working in the camp was primarily a continuation of their political struggle.⁷

From August 1934 on, some of the guards at Fuhlsbüttel were women, who worked as employees of the Gestapo in the women's section of the concentration camp. Their behavior toward the prisoners did not differ from that of their male colleagues.

For the "defense against agitation and atrocity propaganda," Heinrich Himmler ordered that the Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp be renamed Police Prison Fuhlsbüttel

(Polizeigefängnis Fuhlsbüttel) in 1936. This did not affect the actual character of the camp nor the composition of its staff. It existed as such until April 1945.

For the hundreds of former persecuted individuals, the names of the male guards at Fuhlsbüttel became synonyms for despotism, cruelty, and blackmail. Many reported to the state attorney's office and testified as witnesses to the cruelty toward prisoners and the extortion of statements from them.

In August 1948, the first guard from Fuhlsbüttel to be tried by a Hamburg court was found guilty of "crimes against humanity" and received a prison sentence. A series of other trials followed. Until 1952 at least 19 former guards of the Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp as well as Commandant Ellershagen were tried and received prison sentences. All of them were pardoned during the 1950s.

The trial against the deputy of Fuhlsbüttel's first commandant, Willi Dusenschön, was conducted in the early 1960s and was the only trial for murder carried out by a Hamburg court against former staff of Fuhlsbüttel. The end of the trial in October 1962 created a stir when the court acquitted Dusenschön. The numerous crimes Dusenschön had committed fell under the statute of limitations.⁸

SOURCES The following secondary sources contain information on the camp: Herbert Diercks, "Fuhlsbüttel—das KZ im Justizgefängnis," in *Die frühen Konzentrationslager in Deutschland*, ed. Karl Giebler, Thomas Lutz, and Silvester Lechner (Bad Boll: Evangelische Akademie 1996), pp. 101–129; Diercks, "Fuhlsbüttel—das Konzentrationslager in der Verantwortung der Hamburger Justiz," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus 1933–1935*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 261–308; *Gedenkbuch "Kola-Fu": Für die Opfer aus dem Konzentrationslager, Gestapogefängnis und KZ-Aussenlager Fuhlsbüttel*, comp. Herbert Diercks (Hamburg: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, 1987). The author's research, which began in 1982, is in tune with Henning Timpke's work: Timpke, ed., *Dokumente zur Gleichschaltung des Landes Hamburg 1933* (1964; repr., Hamburg: Christians, 1983), pp. 227–266; Timpke, "Das KL Fuhlsbüttel," in *Studien zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager*, ed. Martin Broszat (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1970), pp. 11–28.

Because the Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp was administered by the city of Hamburg from 1933 to 1936, the collections of many city authorities (among others, the State Judicial Administration and Police Authorities) in the StA-HH provide extensive sources on the history of this early concentration camp. After the war, British and German courts held the members of the guard staff accountable. The prosecution and trial records are available at the PRO and the StA-HH.

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NOTES

1. Willy Klawe, "Wittmoor—das erste Konzentrationslager Hamburgs," in *Die frühen Konzentrationslager in Deutschland*, ed. Karl Giebler, Thomas Lutz, and Silvester

Lechner (Bad Boll: Evangelische Akademie, 1996), pp. 251–259.

2. Ursel Hochmuth and Gertrud Meyer, *Streiflichter aus dem Hamburger Widerstand 1933–1945: Berichte und Dokumente* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1969).

3. Detlef Garbe, "'Gott mehr gehorchen als den Menschen': Neuzeitliche Christenverfolgung im nationalsozialistischen Hamburg," in *Verachtet—verfolgt—vernichtet: Zu den "vergessenen" Opfern des NS-Regimes*, ed. Projektgruppe für die vergessenen Opfer des NS-Regimes in Hamburg e.V. (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1986), pp. 172–219.

4. Detlef Garbe and Sabine Hofmann, "Jüdische Gefangene in Hamburger Konzentrationslagern," in *Die Juden in Hamburg 1590 bis 1990. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Universität Hamburg zur Ausstellung "Vierhundert Jahre Juden in Hamburg"*, ed. Arno Herzig with Saskia Rohde (Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz, 1991), pp. 545–559.

5. *Verachtet—verfolgt—vernichtet*.

6. Christian Jürgens, *Fritz Solmitz: Kommunalpolitiker, Journalist, Widerstandskämpfer und NS-Verfolgter aus Lübeck* (Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild, 1996).

7. Herbert Diercks, "Die Wachleute des Konzentrationslagers Fuhlsbüttel ab 1948 vor Gericht," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung in Norddeutschland: Die frühen Nachkriegsprozesse*, ed. KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1997), pp. 75–92.

8. Ibid.

GLÜCKSTADT

In March 1933, the Altona police presidium, with support from Gauleiter Hinrich Lohse, established Schleswig-Holstein's first concentration camp at the Glückstadt workhouse. Founded in 1870, the workhouse originally served as Schleswig-Holstein's prison, but its mission was expanded during the Weimar period to include an institution for alcoholics. Joachim Hampe became the director in 1923 and was still in charge during the time of the concentration camp.¹ As a former imperial army officer, he imposed a strict regimen on the institution, as evidenced by two photographs, one of Hampe with his staff, most of whom wore gendarmerie uniforms, a second showing the inmates' spotless sleeping accommodations.² Commanded by SA-Sturmführer Schöning, the guards consisted of six SA men from Sturm 24/213 (Glückstadt). Nazi mayor Wilhelm Vogt oversaw the guards' appointment. The prisoners addressed guards by police, not SA, titles. One guard, Paul Gravert, died of natural causes while on duty. Some 731 political detainees from all parts of Schleswig-Holstein passed through Glückstadt. No prisoners died at this camp. According to the *Glückstädter Fortuna* newspaper, the first 150 detainees arrived in early April 1933.³

Through labor, Nazi ideology, and religious instruction, Glückstadt attempted to reeducate political detainees. The prisoners wove mats, bags, and fishnets or worked on the 50-hectare (124-acre) farm.⁴ A small number were assigned to private contracts. Prisoners were compelled to read Nazi

newspapers and to parrot Nazi positions on Socialist or Communist propaganda. They were also required to participate in Protestant religious services. As part of his reeducation, Communist prisoner Wilhelm Passing painted a portrait of Martin Luther. Undermining the prisoners' reeducation was access to the anti-Nazi publication *Blick in die Zeit*. Prisoner Friedrich Hansen's subscription to this weekly paper, which was still published in Berlin during the Nazi regime's first year, prompted Hampe to query his superiors about appropriate reading material.⁵

Prisoner testimony presented the Glückstadt staff in mixed terms. According to prisoner Waldemar Vogeley, the guards Schulz and Paulsen were "two wonderful people."⁶ Richard Hansen of the exile organization Sopade in Copenhagen reported that prisoners were not harmed, according to information furnished by newly released inmate Friedrich Hansen.⁷ In fact, a small number did suffer maltreatment. On Gestapo orders, Communists were denied a midday meal for three days in August, in retaliation for the alleged vandalism by leftists of the German Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Tempelhof on May 1, 1933. Among the camp's torture victims were Johannes Klünder and Fritz Wollert. Karl Scheer was sexually abused, but the perpetrator's identity is not known.⁸ The camp also had a bunker for close arrest.

Two important events at Glückstadt concerned the food relief of certain prisoners and the November plebiscite. Upon arrival, detainees from Eckernförde received what prisoner Heinrich Reumann called "grub packets."⁹ These parcels included the little smoked fish popular in northern Germany, *Kieler Sprotten*. It is unclear who initiated this effort or precisely when it took place. On November 12, 1933, Glückstadt participated in the Nazi plebiscite. Twenty-four prisoners spoiled their ballots, but there was no retaliation.

According to the *Schleswig-Holsteinische Landeszeitung* newspaper, eleven Elmshorn prisoners were released on August 15, with the remaining 13 from that community dispatched to the Kuhlen concentration camp.¹⁰ Among the Elmshorn prisoners was Ernst Behrens, a Socialist town council member and poet.

Although the majority of Glückstadt's prisoners were released in December 1933, most of those remaining in custody were dispatched to the Papenburg, Esterwegen, and Oranienburg early camps.¹¹ The transfers began in June 1933 but increased greatly during the autumn months. Glückstadt concentration camp was officially dissolved on February 26, 1934, but the institution remained a workhouse throughout the Nazi period. Schöning subsequently headed a forced labor camp for Poles and Eastern workers (*Ostarbeiter*) at this facility during World War II.

SOURCES This entry is based upon the excellent studies by Reimer Möller: "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt: Das Konzentrationslager Glückstadt," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 101–109; "Wider-

stand und Verfolgung in einer agrarisch-kleinstädtischen Region: SPD, KPD, 'Bibelforscher' im Kreis Steinburg, 1933–1945," ZSHG 114 (1989): 125–228; and "KZ Glückstadt," in *Bei uns... 1933–1945*, ed. Klaus-Joachim Lorenzen-Schmidt (Engelbrechtsche Wildnis [Herzhörner Rhin 23]: K.-J. Lorenzen-Schmidt, 1983). According to Möller, the Glückstadt workhouse was torn down at the end of the 1970s. See also Gerhard Paul, with Erich Koch, *Staatlicher Terror und gesellschaftliche Verrohung: Die Gestapo in Schleswig-Holstein* (Hamburg: Ergebnisse Verlag, 1996). Glückstadt is also briefly mentioned in Harald Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933* (Rickling: Landesverein für Innere Mission Schleswig-Holstein, 1988). A commemorative bronze tablet for this camp is reported in Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. I, *Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). Also helpful is Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

As cited by Möller, primary sources for Glückstadt begin with LA-Sch-H, Abteilung 320 Steinburg No. 189. This file includes Hampe's query about Friedrich Hansen's reading material. The order for the camp's dissolution is found in ASt-GI, No. 2048 II. Several photographs are also located in the same archive, as reproduced in Gerhard Köhn, Reimer Möller, and Walter Wilkes, eds., *Alt-Glückstadt in Bildern*, vol. 2 (Glückstadt: n.p., 1984). Unfortunately, this volume does not specify individual photo credits. Richard Hansen's report is found in AdsD-FES Best.-, Emigration Sopade, Folder 48. Möller conducted oral history interviews with Glückstadt detainees, including Heinrich Reumann and Waldemar Vogeley. He also accessed prisoner case files, such as Karl Scheer's, available at the VVN-AH. Additional information on Glückstadt and Director Hampe comes from the GF (December 20, 1923; April 9, December 23, 1933), as cited by Möller and Paul; *LAnz* (December 8, 1933), as cited by Möller; and the SHZ (August 16, December 20, December 27, 1933), as cited by Möller and Jenner. A listing for Glückstadt is found in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:75.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. GF, December 20, 1923, cited by Reimer Möller, "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt: Das Konzentrationslager Glückstadt," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 101–109.

2. These images appear in Gerhard Köhn, Reimer Möller, and Walter Wilkes, eds., *Alt-Glückstadt in Bildern*, vol. 2 (Glückstadt: n.p., 1984), pp. 197, 199.

3. GF, April 9, 1933, cited by Gerhard Paul with Erich Koch, *Staatlicher Terror und gesellschaftliche Verrohung: Die Gestapo in Schleswig-Holstein* (Hamburg: Ergebnisse Verlag, 1996), p. 61.

4. Möller, "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt," p. 103, reproduces a photograph of prisoners weaving mats, from the ASt-GI; the same photograph appears under a different caption in *Alt-Glückstadt in Bildern*, p. 200.

5. Hampe to Steinburg Landrat, October 24, 1933, LA-Sch-H, Abteilung 320 Steinburg No. 189, cited in Reimer Möller, "Widerstand und Verfolgung in einer agrarisch-kleinstädtischen Region: SPD, KPD, 'Bibelforscher' im Kreis Steinburg, 1933–1945," ZSHG 114 (1989): 182–183 n.223.

6. Waldemar Vogeley interview, n.d., cited by Möller, "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt," p. 102.

7. Richard Hansen to Otto Wels, June 23, 1936, AdsD-FES, Bestand: Emigration Sopade, Folder 48, cited by Möller, "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt," p. 105. It is not clear whether Richard and Friedrich Hansen were related; Möller, "Widerstand und Verfolgung in einer agrarisch-kleinstädtischen Region," p. 183.

8. Report on Karl Scheer, VVN-AH, cited by Möller, "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt," pp. 105–106.

9. Heinrich Reumann interview, n.d., cited by Möller, "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt," p. 104.

10. "Elf Entlassungen aus dem Konzentrationslager," SHZ, August 16, 1933, cited in Harald Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kublen 1933* (Rickling: Landesverein für Innere Mission Schleswig-Holstein, 1988), p. 47.

11. GF, December 23, 1933; and SHZ, December 20 and December 27, 1933, both cited by Möller, "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt," p. 107. Also LAnz, December 8, 1933; Steinburg Landrat, Politische Bericherstattung, October 15–December 31, 1933, LA-Sch-H, Abteilung 320 Steinburg No. 189; and Steinburg Landrat, Rundschreiben, n.d., ASt-GI, No. 2038 II, all cited by Möller, "Widerstand und Verfolgung in einer agrarisch-kleinstädtischen Region," p. 174.

ers arrived on April 20, and another 51 prisoners from Stettin were interned in Gollnow on May 5.³ All told, there were around 200 people whose names are known that passed through Gollnow's central prison as protective custody prisoners. As not all departures and arrivals were recorded, however, it is assumed that many more people had been prisoners in Gollnow for longer or shorter periods. The average age of the prisoners was 35, and most were craftsmen and manual laborers.

On April 13, 1933, the *Pommersche Zeitung* newspaper reported the internment of Stettin's Communists in Gollnow and took this opportunity to emphasize the necessity of a Pomeranian concentration camp due to "the increased activity" of the German Communist Party (KPD).⁴ In fact, since the middle of April, a possible location for a Pomeranian concentration camp was intensively being sought. From its initial use, the Gollnow Zentralgefängnis had been considered an interim arrangement.

Nevertheless, the head of the penitentiary endeavored to work out guidelines for the handling of protective custody prisoners in Gollnow, about which the police administration was informed a few days after the prisoners' arrival. According to these guidelines, the police authorities that ordered the arrest of a prisoner could issue visiting passes for immediate relatives. Visitors were allowed twice a month, letters every 10 days. If necessary, the prisoners could also receive dental treatment from the institutional dentist to be paid for by the responsible police administration.⁵

The prisoners were detained in single cells equipped with a mattress and a toilet bucket. They could only communicate with each other upon coming and going to their recreation period. Many of them knew each other from their joint activities in the KPD, Rotfrontkämpferbund, Rote Hilfe Deutschlands (RHD), Revolutionäre Gewerkschaftsopposition, Erwerbslosenstaffeln, Kampfbund gegen Faschismus, and other political groups. Despite the solitary confinement, they found various ways to communicate with and support each other. When the prisoners were forced to listen to a radio broadcast speech by Adolf Hitler on May 1, 1933, they did not stand up at the playing of the national anthem, and they began singing "The Internationale" in the corridors. The prisoners' submitted a written request to the director of the penitentiary asking for a march in the courtyard in honor of May Day, but it was not granted.⁶

A group of prisoners succeeded in producing an illegal newspaper and distributing it among fellow inmates. Two copies existed, and it carried the title "Signal—Organ of the Proletarian Protective Custody Prisoners in Gollnow" (*Fanal—Organ der proletarischen Schutzhaftgefangenen in Gollnow*). During the recreation period, it would be passed around from cell to cell. According to an account from Hans Geffke, one of the publishers, the paper's main concern was to "continue the struggle in the spirit of the party and the antifascist struggle behind prison walls and at the same time to give all comrades instructions on how to behave in solitary confinement."⁷ It reported, for instance, that books and papers could

GOLLNOW

Beginning in March 1933, the *Zentralgefängnis* (central prison), formerly a fortress at Gollnow (later Goleniów, Poland), a small town not far from Stettin (Szczecin), served as an internment center for "protective custody" prisoners from the surrounding area. In April 1933, the prison increasingly assumed regional importance when Stettin Police President Eldor Borck ordered that the prison at Gollnow be used extensively for protective custody prisoners, since local police detention centers were overcrowded. As a result, the president of the Correctional Bureau, Dr. Wilhelm Mosler, declared that he was willing to make 110 spots available in the *Zentralgefängnis* for political prisoners. The total prison capacity amounted to 621 male prisoners. An entire four-story wing of the building, the so-called E-wing or North wing, was now available to the police. The original inmates were subsequently transferred to other prisons.¹ Women taken into protective custody were not held at the *Zentralgefängnis* but rather at the local prison in Gollnow.

On April 11, 1933, the first 40 prisoners were brought by truck from Stettin to Gollnow, and in the coming days, another 33 arrived from Stargard.² Nineteen additional prison-

be officially exchanged through the sentry and also encouraged political discussion with cell neighbors: "It's easy: one writes down a discussion question and gives it to his neighbor at the beginning of free period. During the next free period the other returns his answer and posts a new question. The discussion over the question continues until it is settled." Suggestions for "sample questions" follow, for example, the reasons why massive political protests did not take place when Hitler took power. A tap alphabet for conversation from cell to cell was also developed and explained. In addition, there were tips on dealing with guard personnel and employees.

Judicial officers employed in the penal institution guarded the prisoners. By and large it does not appear that there was much abuse of prisoners at the hands of the guard personnel. Former prisoner Karl Lawonn reported that the officers operated with the motto "Calm in the prison, everything clean, don't bother me and I won't bother you." They were lazy and did not wish to be bothered. SA auxiliary police supported the guards, but they mainly remained in the background.⁸ There were only beatings when the Stettin detectives came to Gollnow to interrogate prisoners. Kurt Groth reported that a prison guard came to help as two Stettin detectives beat him, and he also spoke out against the beating of prisoners.⁹

Nevertheless, there was often harassment. It became worse when the prison newspaper, after a short time in circulation among the cells, fell into the hands of guard personnel while being passed on. All cells were searched, and the prisoners were ordered into the hall of the cell building to be interrogated by the prison police officer. The investigation, however, was unsuccessful: the culprits were not found and did not turn themselves in. As a punishment, visits, letters, and packages were banned for all prisoners; smoking and borrowing books were also forbidden, and all private books were taken away from the prisoners. Many prisoners protested these measures by going on a hunger strike.¹⁰ In order to end the reprisals, Geffke came forward as publisher of the paper one week later. He was put in a completely dark cell, and criminal proceedings were initiated against him.¹¹ On June 1, 1933, the director of the penitentiary lifted the ban on visitors and packages that had been imposed on the protective custody prisoners. Visitor permits would only be allowed in urgent cases with immediate family members, and visits could last no longer than 15 to 20 minutes.¹²

The paper *Fanal* also ended up on the desk of Rudolf Diels, head of the Secret State Police Office (Gestapo), who immediately informed all district presidents (Regierungspräsidenten) about the emergence of the "inflammatory communist newspaper." All heads of prisons and concentration camps should be on their guard against "a revival of communist agitation." Surveillance and control measures were intensified.¹³

In the middle of May 1933, the Gestapo in Berlin announced to the Stettin district presidium the transportation of political protective custody prisoners to the central concentration camp at Sonnenburg. Due to prisons overflowing with protective custody prisoners, the penitentiary directors

had increasingly put pressure on Regierungspräsident Konrad Göppert. On May 22, 1933, he inquired at the Gestapo "when the promised transport of prisoners to Sonnenburg internment camp can be expected, as the overcrowding of prisons in the district has led to conditions that must be described as simply intolerable."¹⁴

A week later Gestapo Chief Diels personally called Regierungspräsident Göppert and requested a list of names of 150 Communist prisoners from Stettin and the surrounding area who could soon be transferred to the Sonnenburg concentration camp. As a result, a transport of "Gollnowers" was prepared. This concentration camp now became the central internment site for political opponents of National Socialism in Pomerania. The penitentiary at Gollnow was, however, still used as a prison and "transit station" for protective custody prisoners beyond June 1933. Most of these prisoners were transferred to the Papenburg and Sonnenburg concentration camps and in some cases to Lichtenburg and Brandenburg.¹⁵

SOURCES Extensive material on the organization of the internment of prisoners at Gollnow can be found in the files of the Stettin district presidium at the APSz, Szczecin Notary, President's Department (APSz, Rejencja Szczecińska, Wydział Prezydialny). At the BA-B there are personal accounts from former Stettin KPD functionaries, some of whom were inmates in the protective custody section at Gollnow Zentralgefängnis. Original publications about the history of the central prison in 1933/34 are not available.

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NOTES

1. APSz, Rejencja Szczecińska, Wydział Prezydialny Nr. 12045, p. 591; ibid., Nr. 12047, p. 17; ibid., Nr. 12041, p. 591.
2. Ibid., Nr. 12047, p. 17; ibid., Nr. 12041, p. 591.
3. BA-B, R 58/2518, pp. 33; APSz, Rejencja Szczecińska, Wydział Prezydialny Nr. 12045, p. 437.
4. PZ, April 13, 1933.
5. APSz, Rejencja Szczecińska, Wydział Prezydialny Nr. 12045, p. 379.
6. Erlebnisbericht Richard Friedel, BA-B, Sgy 30/EA 1586, p. 26.
7. Erlebnisbericht Hans Geffke, BA-B, Sgl/30/1615, pp. 1–10.
8. Erlebnisbericht Karl Lawonn, BA-B, Sgy 30/1070, p. 18; APSz, Rejencja Szczecińska, Wydział Prezydialny Nr. 12045, pp. 543, 619.
9. Erlebnisbericht Kurt Groth, BA-B, Sgy 30/1498, pp. 48–49.
10. Erlebnisbericht Richard Friedel, BA-B, Sgy 30/EA 1586, p. 26; Hans Geffke, BA-B, Sgl/30/1615, pp. 1–3; Karl Lawonn, BA-B, Sgy 30/1070, p. 16.
11. BA-B, R58/2518, p. 67.
12. Ibid., p. 74.
13. APSz, Rejencja Szczecińska, Wydział Prezydialny Nr. 12045, p. 619.
14. Ibid., Nr. 12045, pp. 93, 95.
15. Ibid., Nr. 12045, pp. 101, 159, 963, 985, 999.

GOTTESZELL

When in March 1933 political opponents were arrested in all of the Reich, "approximately 1,700 Communist and Social Democratic functionaries were taken into protective custody in Württemberg between March 10 and 15."¹ These arrests took place on orders from the Württemberg Ministry of the Interior. The Decree of the Reich President for the Protection of People and State (Reichstag Fire Decree), issued on February 28, 1933, provided the legal basis for the arrests. Due to overpopulated prisons, the Ministry of the Interior ordered in mid-March 1933 that an autonomous concentration camp for men be built on the Heuberg in Stetten am kalten Markt (see Early Camp Heuberg), as well as a separate "protective custody section" for females with the same function at the Gotteszell women's prison. One can assume that it was simply not profitable to construct an autonomous camp for the small number of female protective custody prisoners—there were merely 50 to 100 in comparison with the large number of men.

This corresponds to previous knowledge about how female protective custody prisoners were dealt with in other parts of the Reich: in the first years, no autonomous concentration camps were set up for women with the exception of Moringen. Accordingly, women were placed either in separate protective custody sections in prisons similar to that in Gotteszell, which were used as concentration camps, or they were sent to small sections set up separately for female prisoners within already existing concentration camps for men in 1933–1934. The only autonomous early women's concentration camp with a centralized structure was the Moringen provincial workhouse (*Provinzialwerkhaus*) in the region of Hildesheim. As of June 1933, Moringen had become the central women's camp for Prussia and central Germany and later for the entire Reich.

In a letter from the police presidium of Stuttgart, Württemberg State Office of the Criminal Police (Landeskriminalpolizeiamt), dated March 17, 1933, the decision was announced that women, held in protective custody in local prisons since the wave of arrests, were to be transferred to the local branch Weimarstrasse of the Court Prison I Stuttgart (*Gerichtsgefängnis I Stuttgart-Zweigstelle Weimarstrasse*).² In the days following this order, a decision must have been made for the establishment of a concentration camp in the women's prison in Gotteszell. The above-mentioned statement of affairs from mid-July 1933 states: "From the very beginning female prisoners were interned separately from male prisoners. To this end a section was set up in the women's state penitentiary (*Frauenlandestrafanstalt*) in Gotteszell for protective custody."³ One can assume that March 31, 1933, the day when the majority of women were brought by truck from Gerichtsgefängnis I to Gotteszell, marked the opening of the concentration camp. In the case of 30 women, their first date of imprisonment in Gotteszell is known to have been March 31, 1933. Initially there were 50 to 60 women at the Gotteszell concentration camp, but their numbers decreased steadily throughout the year.⁴

In November 1933, six women were still in protective custody at Gotteszell.⁵ The last women were released from this section of Gotteszell on January 21, 1934. Their release brought an end to existence of the concentration camp section of the Gotteszell women's prison.

The Political Police, part of the Württemberg Ministry of the Interior, was responsible for the protective custody section in the Gotteszell prison. Then, on April 28, 1933, orders came for the formation of an autonomous Württemberg Political Police Office within the Ministry of the Interior, which would be responsible for protective custody prisoners. The Ministry of Justice, however, retained its responsibility for the penitentiary.

With regard to this separation between the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Justice, one can assume that the Ministry of the Interior indeed had the authority to imprison and release women but could not directly intervene in the Ministry of Justice's jurisdiction in specific cases dealing with prisoners in jail. This can be concluded from various documents that the Ministry of the Interior addressed to the protective custody camp Heuberg and the Gotteszell penitentiary, which deal with the treatment of protective custody prisoners.⁶

There was a clear arrangement between the Ministries of Justice and of the Interior with regard to financing the camp. The Ministry of the Interior covered the costs of all expenditures for prisoners who were interned in state penitentiaries or local prisons. Included in these costs was the procuring of necessary clothing, medicine, and treatment by dentists or other medical specialists.⁷

In March 1933, Government Councilor (Regierungsrat) Henning was the director of the Gotteszell state penitentiary and therefore also director of the Gotteszell concentration camp. Earlier, he had been director of the Moringen workhouse. Soon, however, he was transferred from this position. His successor as director of the prison and concentration camp was Siebert, a man who kept a tight rein on operations and who did not differentiate between criminal and political prisoners.

During the time of the concentration camp's existence (March 31, 1933, to January 21, 1934), between 60 and 80 women had been imprisoned in Gotteszell. The duration of imprisonment ranged from less than one month to the entire time the prison was in operation. The youngest woman was 20 years old at the time of her incarceration, while the oldest was 54. The reason for this particular age range was involvement in political activities, which all of them had in common.⁸

Of the 39 female prisoners for whom information is available, it can be proven that 21 were members of the German Communist Party (KPD). The same can be assumed for many others. Membership in the KPD was the primary reason for internment. Whereas around 3,000 men in Württemberg alone were arrested in the first months after the National Socialists assumed power, the arrests of women were limited in many cases to those who had held leading positions within political parties, primarily the KPD. Often, married women

had organized resistance with husbands who had been well-known KPD functionaries, and they were arrested at the same time.

In a series of cases the arrest and imprisonment of women served as a way to extort information about the activities or the whereabouts of their husbands. Religious or social grounds for internment in the Gotteszell concentration camp—in the sense of “racial general prevention” (*rassischen Generalprävention*) as formulated by historian Ulrich Herbert—are not known at this time.

Some women lost their jobs because of their time in Gotteszell. Other women suffered for years afterward from health problems that were a result of their imprisonment. Several women emigrated due to their persecution. The evidence shows that 10 women continued to fight actively against the National Socialist state. This led to further persecution in prisons and penitentiaries, in the women’s concentration camps Moringen, Lichtenburg, and Ravensbrück, and, in the case of Gertrud Schlotterbeck and Emmi Ramin, to their execution.

The protective custody section was set up in a separate part of the Gotteszell women’s prison. These premises had previously been used for regular prisoners. In their function as part of the concentration camp they were also divided into spaces for sleeping and “recreation.”

Women were not allowed to work and were therefore not integrated into the employment programs of the prison. Accordingly, these women had to find a way to keep themselves busy on their own. Gertrud Leibbrand stated, “Whoever could sought handicraft from their relatives. Most women knitted. One could not stand being idle all day long. We kept ourselves busy in other ways, of course. For example, I initiated a stenography group. Paula Acker (née Löffler) tried to teach some Spanish to those who were interested. If I’m not mistaken, we also had a group for those interested in literature, however I can’t swear to that.”⁹

The women in Gotteszell chose the song “Thoughts Are Free” (“Die Gedanken sind frei”) as their anthem, to which both Leibbrand and Julius Schätzle attest.

Leibbrand wrote in one of her letters, “We not only sang the song ‘Thoughts are free, who can guess them’ . . . (as Julius Schätzle writes). It was our song and we sang it especially when bad news from outside dampened our spirits. It almost always helped to turn disheartenment into courage.”

On May 1, 1933, the women in Gotteszell sang this song while getting together for a special occasion: a breakfast with somewhat wilted flowers and a piece of red fabric was transformed into a celebration.

After the authorities caught wind of this action, the women were interrogated while the guards looked for the red flag that allegedly had been used. All the prisoners remained silent until Lotte Weidenbach leaped onto the table, lifted her skirt to reveal her petticoat, and shouted: “This is our red flag.” Puzzled, the guards left the room.

SOURCES This contribution on the Gotteszell concentration camp is based on Marcus Kienle’s book *Gotteszell—das frühe Konzentrationslager für Frauen in Württemberg* (Ulm: Verlag Klemm & Oelschläger, 2002) and an article with the same title in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Terror ohne System. Geschichte der Konzentrationslager 1933–1945* (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 65–79.

(Ulm: Verlag Klemm & Oelschläger, 2002) and an article with the same title in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Terror ohne System. Geschichte der Konzentrationslager 1933–1945* (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 65–79.

Former prisoners are quoted directly for the first time after the war in Julius Schätzle, *Stationen zur Hölle: Konzentrationslager in Baden und Württemberg 1933–1945*, ed. Lagergemeinschaft Heuberg-Kuhberg-Welzheim (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1974).

Lina Haag, a former prisoner of Gotteszell, described her experiences there in *Eine Handvoll Staub*, (1985; Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1995).

A few scattered records exist on the concentration camp. A few documents in the records of the RMdI in the BA-B make references to Gotteszell. Further references to most of the prisoners of the Gotteszell concentration camp can be found in the records of post-1945 indemnification of victims of Nazi rule. The original files of the reparations process are located in the StA-S (Bestand: Wü 33) for South Württemberg and in the StA-L (Bestand: EL 350) for North Württemberg.

An important resource are prisoners’ reports from different perspectives, located in the archive of the VVN in Stuttgart and in the archive of the DZOK in Ulm.

The most important references with regard to oral history were provided by Gertrud Leibbrand, who passed away in 2003, in her correspondence with the author during the years 1998–2001.

Marcus Kienle
trans. Lynn Wolff

NOTES

1. BA, R 13/25734, Secret Situation Report of the Württemberg Political Police from July 1, 1933, pp. 22–23.
2. AKr-SH, B137/1.
3. Secret Situation Report of the Württemberg Political Police from July 1, 1933, pp. 22–23; BA, Bestand, R 13, shelf mark 25734.
4. Ibid.
5. Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 58.
6. AKr-SH, B 137/Schutzaft allgemein, p. 39.
7. AKr-RM, A 5 Oberamt Schorndorf 6220 Schutzaft, p. 50.
8. The basis for these statements are the author’s evaluations of the reparations files of those prisoners in the Gotteszell concentration camp known by name.
9. All citations of Gertrud Leibbrand come from letters to the author on August 29, 1998; February 16, 2001; and October 19, 2002.

GRÄFENHAINICHEN

In 1933, the SA formed a “protective custody” camp in Gräfenhainichen, Prussian Saxony.¹ The camp was situated in the abandoned Stolzenberg factory, which was located at a railway crossing. The number of political prisoners and camp personnel is not known. In August 1933, the camp was closed

and the detainees dispatched to the large early concentration camp at Lichtenburg.

SOURCES This entry is based upon Stefanie Endlich et al., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999), which also records a memorial to political opponents held at this camp. Other than the memorial plaque, Endlich does not cite other sources in connection with Gräfenhainichen.

One available primary source for this camp is its listing in the German Social Democratic exile newspaper article "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," NV, August 27, 1933.

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NOTE

1. "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," NV, August 27, 1933.

GREATER NÜRNBERG CAMPS

In March 1933, the directorate of the Bavarian State Police in Nürnberg-Fürth established at least two and possibly three "protective custody" camps in Nürnberg and Fürth, in Gau Central Franconia. The known camps were the Nürnberg pretrial detention center at Fürther Strasse and the "emergency prison" (*Notgefängnis*) at the Polizeidirektion (Police Head Office) in Fürth. The third suspected camp was the Nürnberg Rathauswache (City Hall Guard Post), located at Rathausplatz, then called Adolf-Hitler-Platz. The Nürnberg SA also established at least five torture sites: the SA headquarters at Breitegasse; the Hotel Deutscher Hof at Frauentorgraben 29; Georgenstrasse police station; Nürnberg Castle; and Arbeitersamariterwache (Workers Benevolent Association), Hallplatz 4, an erstwhile emergency aid center.¹ By April 3, 1933, Greater Nürnberg held 978 protective custody prisoners, including local politicians, Jews from Nürnberg and Fürth, and numerous leftists.² In late March 1933, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, then chief of the Munich Political Police, assumed control of the police directorate and, through his newly appointed subordinate SS-Oberführer Johann von Malsen-Ponickau, arranged for the removal of Greater Nürnberg's detainees to Dachau concentration camp. An immediate consequence of Malsen's appointment, noted the *Fürther Anzeiger* newspaper, was the roundup of "50 of the worst Muscovites [Communists]."³ Three major convoys of police wagons departed for Dachau in April 1933.

The Nürnberg pretrial detention center operated under the supervision of Oberregierungsrat Hop. One protective custody prisoner, Willi Gesell, had already been held there for Communist activities beginning on February 20, 1933, well before the Reichstag Fire Decree and the March 9, 1933, Nazi takeover of Bavaria.⁴ Nürnberg's former Socialist mayor Hermann Luppe, prosecutor Dr. Alfred Rosenfelder, physi-

cian Dr. Theodor Katz, Communist youth organizer Dr. Rudolf Benario, and Arthur Kahn were also confined at the pretrial detention center, as well as Staudt, a local Socialist politician, and Riepekoehl, a local editor. Prisoners could read newspapers and books, take walks, and have access to Protestant and Catholic clergy. The detainees shared cells with common criminals but quietly exchanged information among themselves on walks. The police arrested Luppe on March 18, 1933, and brought him to the police barracks at Bärenschanzstrasse, where he was held in an officer's quarters for two days. On March 28, Luppe entered the pretrial detention center, where he remained until his release on April 25, 1933. At the time of his arrest and while in custody, he experienced comparatively decent treatment. According to historian Hermann Hanschel, the claim that Luppe suffered humiliating treatment at the SA's hands at the time of his arrest appears to be apocryphal.⁵ Upon release, the police expelled the Luppes from Nürnberg. They relocated to Berlin, where the former mayor endured further arrests and harassment.

In contrast to the pretrial detention center, the Fürth emergency prison had primitive accommodations and brutal conditions. Two noncommissioned officers, SS-Scharführer Faschingbauer and SS-Scharführer Bräu, were in charge. Further research is needed to establish their career tracks. The detainees included Wilhelm Galsterer, Ernst Goldmann, Anton Hausladen, possibly Hausladen's wife Kunigunde, Karl Pfeiffer, and Richard Schumann. All but possibly Goldmann were Communists. The accommodations, as Pfeiffer recalled, consisted of approximately 25 "field beds" with two prisoners per bed. Galsterer reported that he was tortured while in Fürth. Schumann's ordeal in Nazi custody only started with confinement in this camp. He remained a prisoner in Dachau, Flossenbürg, Neuengamme, and related camps until his liberation in 1945.⁶

Pfeiffer furnished testimony about the Rathauswache camp. Arrested on April 21, he was tortured at the Georgenstrasse police station, then dispatched to the Rathauswache, where he spent four days. On April 25, the Polizeidirektion Nürnberg-Fürth transferred him to the emergency prison with 15 other detainees under SA guard. It is not clear whether the others were also held at the Rathauswache. It is not clear whether Rathauswache was a protective custody camp or a temporary detention site.⁷

Composed of prisoners from both confirmed Nürnberg camps, the first major Dachau transport took place on April 11. The transferred detainees included Benario, Gesell, Goldmann, Katz, Rosenfelder, and Schumann. Because they were Jewish, the SS shot Benario, Kahn, and Katz on the following day. Together with a Jew from Munich, they were the first murder victims recorded at Dachau.⁸ The second transport included Galsterer and Lehrburger. The site of Lehrburger's detention in Nürnberg is not known. The last major transport occurred on April 26 and included the last 96 detainees from Fürth. Among the Fürth prisoners were Anton Hausladen, Pfeiffer, and a Jewish student named Rosenbusch. The SS and SA beat the prisoners on the way to the wagons. En

route to Dachau, Pfeiffer offered Rosenbusch part of an orange, which prompted the Bavarian State Police to strike him. While doing so, they condemned him for showing kindness to a "Jewish pig."⁹

A key figure in Polizeidirektion Nürnberg-Fürth was Kriminalrat Ottomar Otto. A veteran of Bavaria's 1919 counterrevolution against the short-lived "Soviet Republic," he had closely monitored local Communist activity for almost a decade. In the summer of 1933, Otto established a special duty SA-Sturm (SA-Sturm z.b.V.) in order to torture political suspects. Under the successive commands of SA-Sturmbannführer Eugen Korn and SA-Sturmführer "Braun" (a pseudonym assigned by German prosecutors at his postwar trial), SA-Sturm arrested Communists in advance of the September 1933 Nazi Party rally, the first held after the regime's takeover. On August 17–18, Korn's unit murdered Oskar Pfläumer at the Workers Benevolent Association (Arbeitersamariterwache). A Jewish detainee, Schmitz, sustained such severe injuries in the Sturm's hands that he died three days after transfer to Dachau, on August 29, 1933. The Nürnberg Castle was a favorite torture site for Korn's unit. The SA beat victims in its cellar, oblivious to the tourists within earshot. Pfläumer's murder prompted a legal investigation by Bavarian Justice Minister Dr. Hans Frank. Despite strong evidence, Adolf Hitler quashed the legal proceedings against Korn. In spite of Otto's role, the ministry's investigation did not focus upon him. Otto remained with the political police and committed suicide in April 1945. Korn died in 1946. In 1948, Oberlandgericht (Higher State Court) Nürnberg-Fürth tried other members of SA-Sturm, including Braun, but the judgments and sentences are not readily available. On-site research is needed to determine whether any Sturm victims were held at Nürnberg's pretrial detention center.¹⁰

Further research is also needed to ascertain the degree of Franconian Gauleiter Julius Streicher's culpability in the early arrests. Streicher's dispute with Mayor Luppe certainly contributed to the latter's detention. In 1925, Luppe brought a libel action that resulted in the Nazi publisher's brief imprisonment.¹¹ A conflict shortly before the Nazi takeover between Streicher and Nürnberg's SA leader SA-Obergruppenführer Wilhelm Stegmann resulted in Stegmann's dismissal on Hitler's orders. On three occasions in the spring of 1933, the police arrested him on the trumped-up charge of attempting to murder the Franconian Gauleiter. According to historian Eric G. Reiche, the Stegmann dispute may have spurred the Nürnberg SA in 1933 and 1934 to exaggerated displays of loyalty through political violence.¹² Although Streicher later asserted, in a letter to Rudolf Hess on October 12, 1933, that he ordered the SA to avoid anti-Jewish violence for fear of international repercussions, the targeting of prominent Jews during the regime's first months contradicted this claim.¹³ Although Streicher specifically denied in this letter responsibility for the arrest of 50 local Jews, a Jewish prisoner observed in 1934: "Most Jews [at Dachau] had been arrested in Nürnberg and Central Franconia."¹⁴ The same anonymous source listed other Jewish prisoners from Greater Nürnberg at Dachau:

Dr. Hans Max Cohn, Eric Gans, Max Gottlieb, Heinrich Heilbrunn, Siegfried Klein, and Martin Stiebel.¹⁵

SOURCES This essay builds upon the standard history of the early Nazi camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). Helpful information about the Greater Nürnberg camps and torture sites can be found in Hermann Hanschel, *Oberbürgermeister Hermann Luppe: Nürnberger Kommunalpolitik in der Weimarer Republik* (Nürnberg: Selbstverlag des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg, 1977); Eric G. Reiche, "From Spontaneous to Legal Terror: SA, Police, and the Judiciary in Nürnberg, 1933–34," *European Studies Review* 9:2 (1979): 237–264; Hermann Schirmer, *Das andere Nürnberg: Antifaschistischer Widerstand in der Stadt der Reichsparteitage* (Frankfurt am Main: Bibliothek des Widerstandes, 1974); and Heinrich Strauss, *Fürth in der Weltwirtschaftskrise und nationalsozialistischen Machtergreifung: Studien zur politischen, sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung einer deutschen Industriestadt 1928–1933* (Nürnberg: StA-N, 1980). Background about Polizeidirektion Nürnberg-Fürth, Ottomar Otto, and SA-Sturm can be found in Reiche, Strauss, and Martin Faatz, *Vom Staatsschutz zum Gestapo-Terror: Politische Polizei in Bayern in der Endphase der Weimarer Republik und der Anfangsphase der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur* (Würzburg: Echter, 1995). On the murder of Greater Nürnberg Jews at Dachau, see Hans-Günter Richardi, *Schule der Gewalt: Die Anfänge des Konzentrationslagers Dachau 1933–1934; Ein dokumentarischer Bericht* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1983). The standard biography of Julius Streicher is Randall L. Bytwerk, *Julius Streicher: Nazi Editor of the Notorious Anti-Semitic Newspaper Der Stürmer* (1983; repr., New York: Cooper Square, 2001). On the Stegmann-Streicher affair, see Edward N. Peterson, *The Limits of Hitler's Power* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969).

Primary documentation for Greater Nürnberg camps begins with the BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR KZ- und Haftanstalten Collection No. 8, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland. The testimonies of Willi Gesell, Georg Hausladen (the son of Anton and Kunigunde), and Karl Pfeiffer are available in Schirmer, *Das andere Nürnberg*. Helpful testimony about the Nürnberg Untersuchungsgefängnis can be found in the posthumous autobiography of Hermann Luppe, *Mein Leben*, comp. Mella Heinsen-Luppe (Nürnberg: Selbstverlag des Stadtrats zu Nürnberg, 1977). The papers on which it was based are found in Nachlass Luppe, available at the BA-K and ASt-N. Anonymous but valuable testimony about Jewish prisoners from Nürnberg at Dachau can be found in "Als Jude in Dachau," *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934).

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NOTES

- On Breitegasse, Hotel Deutscher Hof, and Nürnberg Castle, see AStALG-NF, KLs 110/49, 250/48, and 287/47, as cited by Eric G. Reiche, "From Spontaneous to Legal Terror: SA, Police, and the Judiciary in Nürnberg, 1933–34," *European Studies Review* 9:2 (1979): 261nn. 8, 13; 263n.61; on Georgenstrasse, see the testimony of Karl Pfeiffer in Her-

mann Schirmer, *Das andere Nürnberg: Antifaschistischer Widerstand in der Stadt der Reichsparteitage* (Frankfurt am Main: Bibliothek des Widerstandes, 1974), p. 105; on Arbeitersamariterwache, see Document 923-D, Correspondence related to Bavarian Justice Ministry's Investigation of Eugen Korn, August 1933 to July 1934, in IMT, *Trial of the Major War Criminals* (Nürnberg: Secretariat of the IMT, 1949), 36:23 (hereafter 923-D, TMWC, with volume and page).

2. BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR KZ- und Haftanstalten Collection No. 8, as cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 45.

3. *FüA*, March 28, 1933 (quotation), and *NBZ*, March 29 and 30, 1933, as cited in Heinrich Strauss, *Fürth in der Weltwirtschaftskrise und nationalsozialistischen Machtergreifung: Studien zur politischen, sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung einer deutschen Industriestadt 1928–1933* (Nürnberg: StA-N, 1980), p. 426.

4. Gesell testimony, in Schirmer, *Das andere Nürnberg*, p. 103.

5. Hermann Luppe, *Mein Leben*, comp. Mella Heinsen-Luppe (Nürnberg: Selbstverlag des Stadtrats zu Nürnberg, 1977), pp. 290–293; Hermann Hanschel, *Oberbürgermeister Hermann Luppe: Nürnberger Kommunalpolitik in der Weimarer Republik* (Nürnberg: Selbstverlag des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg, 1977), p. 328n.27.

6. Testimonies of Pfeiffer and Georg Hausladen and reports about Galsterer and Richard Schumann, in Schirmer, *Das andere Nürnberg*, pp. 106–108, 112–113, 173–174.

7. Pfeiffer testimony, in *ibid.*, p. 106.

8. *NBZ*, April 15, 1933, cited in Strauss, *Fürth in der Weltwirtschaftskrise*, p. 446; "Als Jude in Dachau," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), p. 82.

9. Pfeiffer testimony, in Schirmer, *Das andere Nürnberg*, p. 107.

10. 923-D, in *TMWC*, 36:11–36 (for Otto, 21); for SA-Sturm cases, KLs 110/49, 250/48, and 287/47, as cited by Reiche, "From Spontaneous to Legal Terror," pp. 261nn. 8, 13, 263n.61; on Schmitz, "Als Jude in Dachau," p. 79.

11. BA-K, Nachlasse Luppe Folder 10, pp. 548–549, as cited by Randall L. Bytwerk, *Julius Streicher: Nazi Editor of the Notorious Anti-Semitic Newspaper Der Stürmer* (1983; repr., New York: Cooper Square, 2001), pp. 20–23.

12. Stegmann BDC Personnel File, cited by Edward N. Peterson, *The Limits of Hitler's Power* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 229; Reiche, "From Spontaneous to Legal Terror," p. 238.

13. Streicher to Hess, October 12, 1933, in BDC Streicher Berlin Police File, as cited by Peterson, *The Limits of Hitler's Power*, p. 231.

14. "Als Jude in Dachau," p. 83.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

GUMPERTSHOF

In October 1933, the Merker-Meseritz district administrator established an early concentration camp for itinerant Ger-

mans at Gumpertshof. Anticipating the aggressive campaign later waged against "asocials," Gumpertshof demonstrates that not all early camps were organized for the purpose of political persecution. In a misrepresentation of the concentration camps typical of the Nazi press, the party's official newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, published a photograph of Gumpertshof on October 4, 1933. Titled "The First Concentration Camp for Beggars in Germany," the image shows a staged display of joviality as the guards and the front rank of prisoners smile at each other. In the background, a few inmates avert their eyes or stare at the camera. The prisoners are clad in civilian garb. In the foreground a female prisoner wears a white work smock. The caption reads: "At the instigation of the district administrator of Merker-Meseritz, a concentration camp for beggars and tramps was erected in Gumpertshof near Meseritz, which currently accommodates 50 inmates, for combating the presence of beggars and tramps. Here beggars are employed with agricultural labor, in order to be placed as farm workers after a probationary period."¹

It is not known when this camp was disbanded.

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

The primary documentation for Gumpertshof consists of the *VB* article of October 4, 1933.

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NOTE

1. "Das erste Konzentrationslager für Bettler in Deutschland," *VB*, Norddeutsche-Ausg., 46: 277 (4.10.1933).

HAINEWALDE

On March 27, 1933, the SA established a "protective custody" camp at Hainewalde Castle in Saxony. Initially SA-Sturm III (Dresden), under SA-Sturmführer Ernst Jirka, guarded the camp, but in May this responsibility fell to SA-Standarte 102 (Zittau) under SA-Standartenführer Paul Unterstab. Altogether there were about 150 guards. The camp's commandant was SA-Sturmbannführer Müller, and the adjutant was SA-Sturmbannführer Mittag. On April 12, 1933, the camp held 259 prisoners, but that number subsequently increased to almost 400. In total, approximately 1,000 prisoners passed through the camp. An itemization for Hainewalde revealed that protective custody cost the Saxon government over 130,000 Reichsmark (RM).¹ When the camp was dissolved on August 10, 1933, the remaining prisoners were transferred to larger early concentration camps at Hohnstein Castle and Sachsenburg.

Hainewalde's prisoners consisted mainly of leftists and Jews. About 150 were crammed into one barrack, where the prisoners slept on multitiered bunks with straw mattresses. The prisoners were required to attend Protestant religious services, as well as nightly Nazi indoctrinations. For the latter



Nazi propaganda photo of prisoners and guards at the Hainewalde early camp.

PUBLISHED IN KONZENTRATIONSLAGER: EIN APPELL AN DAS GEWISSEN DER WELT, 1934

purpose, younger and older prisoners were housed separately, on the theory that the young prisoners would be more susceptible to Nazification if isolated from their elders. The SA forced the prisoners to perform penal exercises, conducted torture under the pretext of interrogation, and directed all but the most serious cases of injury or illness to a cellar for warehousing without medical treatment. The SA used an administrative office and a special bunker for interrogations. Prisoners were also compelled to work in woodcutting and latrine details. Jews and intellectuals were singled out for humiliation and brutal treatment.

The outlawed German Social Democratic Party (SPD) continued to assist Hainewalde's prisoners. For example, the Prague-based Socialist newspaper *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung* reproduced the photograph of a Hainewalde detainee. A sympathetic SA guard had smuggled the image out of camp, which revealed a prisoner in terrible condition. Zittau's underground Communist organization also smuggled propaganda into the camp that let the prisoners know their suffering had not been forgotten: "We know that you have remained loyal to the cause of the working classes with unfaltering courage, in spite of all the terror and despite the harassment to which you have been exposed. . . . We know very well—and also the working classes know—what you have suffered. If we send you this greeting despite all difficulties of illegality inside the concentration camp, take it as an avowal of our undivided solidarity with you."²

The camp administration imposed strict conditions for release from custody. On pain of arrest, released prisoners signed a declaration swearing not to discuss conditions in Hainewalde. According to another declaration, dated August 5, 1933, the released detainee promised not to associate again with "Marxist parties." Well-known screenwriter, playwright, and novelist Axel Eggebrecht recalled a rumor that the prisoners would be released on May Day, but it turned out not to have any foundation.³

Eggebrecht was held at Hainewalde from April to May 1933. A resident of Berlin, he was visiting his father in Leipzig at the time of his arrest, March 5, 1933, which coincided with Germany's election day. After a month in jail, he was delivered to Hainewalde. As the prisoners entered the gate, a teacher among them joked that the castle once held the "fa-

vorites" of the Saxon king, August the Strong. A guard then put them through a mindless initiation rite. With the command "Right leg, high!" Eggebrecht raised his leg like a "stork." When the SA next issued the impossible order to raise the left leg as well, he refused to do so, in the gruff language of the barracks. In the exchange that followed, the guard ascertained that Eggebrecht was a World War I veteran. Eggebrecht soon realized, however, that his military service meant little to the guards. Stereotyped as an intellectual, he was ordered to work in a humiliating labor command. "Aha—the scriptwriter from Berlin!" Sturmführer Jirka exclaimed, "I have something extra fine for you—the shit detail!"⁴

Eggebrecht's bunk mate, a Jewish prisoner named Benno Berg, experienced a rare moment of humor after a reeducation session. A Nazi Kreisleiter lectured the detainees on the Jewish threat, quoting the stock phrase, "The Jews are our misfortune." After the speech, he inspected the prisoners and stopped in front of Berg. In response to the Kreisleiter's questions, Berg gave his name and birthplace: "Berg, from Reichenberg, Bohemia." Not realizing that the prisoner was Jewish, the Nazi announced: "A Sudeten national comrade! Bravo! All of you will come to us again!" Eggebrecht added: "The big shot's fat hand struck the 'non-Aryan' appreciatively on the shoulder. 'For myself, you are the model of the true SA man! Heil Hitler!' Hand raised, he strutted away."⁵

Eggebrecht was interrogated but not tortured. In this regard his experience contrasted with other Hainewalde prisoners. Eggebrecht recalled the interrogator's interest in how he had gotten mixed up with the Communists, after growing up in a "good home." His release came through his father's intercession with an influential Saxon official, Professor Apel. Eggebrecht's father wrote him about Apel's interest in his case. Sometime later, his father visited him at the camp. Exclaiming that the conditions were "unworthy" of his son, the father added that he should be patient, because "it won't last much longer!" Several days later, Eggebrecht was released after signing a promise not to circulate "atrocious stories."⁶

In 1948, the Bautzen State Court sentenced 39 guards to penitentiary terms for their role in the maltreatment of Hainewalde prisoners. The trial was conducted under the auspices of the Soviet occupation, but further details are not known.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). See also Mike Schmeitzner, "Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen 1933–1945," in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenhauer Verlag, 2002), pp. 183–199. A listing for Hainewalde can also be found in "Dritte Verordnung zur Änderung der Sechsten Verordnung zur Durchführung des Bundesnachsiedlungsgesetzes (3. ÄndV-6. DV-BEG), vom 24. November 1982," in *Bundesgesetzblatt*, ed. Bundesminister der Justiz, Teil I (1982): 1575. The camp is recorded in Stefanie Endlich,

Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). A very good history of this camp, which unfortunately does not cite primary sources, is found at the Web site “Mahnung gegen Rechts-Städte und Gemeinden in der Zeit von 1933–1945—Zittau,” www.mahnung-gegen-rechts.de/pages/staedte/Zittau/pages/wahlschlager.htm.

Primary documentation for Hainewalde begins with File Nos. 4842 and 4852 in the SHStA-(D), Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland and by Schmeitzner. Additional primary documentation may be found in the AVB-StFA (formerly the SHStA-B), Amtshauptmannschaft Bautzen, No. 7542, as cited in Drobisch and Wieland. An important personal account is Axel Eggebrecht, *Der halbe Weg: Zwischenbilanz einer Epoche* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag GmbH, 1975). Eggebrecht's camp testimony constituted a small portion of his autobiography. As a screenwriter, he faithfully recaptured the guards' poor German. Hainewalde was also mentioned in the National Socialist and exile press. See “Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene,” *NV*, August 27, 1933. As cited in Drobisch and Wieland, it was mentioned in the OlsTZ, March 28, April 15, and August 30, 1933; and an unspecified issue of the *AIZ* (Prague). Photographs of the castle, the latrine and woodcutting details, and certain SA leaders, including Standartenführer Paul Unterstab, and the reproduction of the release document for Fritz Seiler may be found at the “Mahnung gegen Rechts” Web site.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. These figures are listed in AVB-StFA, Amtshauptmannschaft Bautzen, no. 7542, as cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 87.
2. Ibid., pp. 159, 178. Drobisch and Wieland do not cite a date for the *AIZ*. For the Communist message, they cite Heinz Vosske, ed., *Im Kampf bewährt: Erinnerungen deutscher Genossen an den antifaschistischen Widerstand von 1933 bis 1945* (Berlin: Dietz, 1977), p. 193.
3. Erklärung, August 5, 1933, stamped Schutzhaftlager Hainewalde, reproduced in Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, p. 138. Drobisch and Wieland do not cite a provenance or archive for this reproduction. Axel Eggebrecht, *Der halbe Weg: Zwischenbilanz einer Epoche* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag GmbH, 1975), pp. 279, 282.
4. Eggebrecht, *Der halbe Weg*, pp. 275–276.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., pp. 281–282.

HAINICHEN

On April 4, 1933, Amtshauptmann Döbeln ordered the formation of a labor camp in a community and sports center located at Öderanstrasse in Hainichen, Saxony. Ortsgruppenleiter Georg “Zuff” Ziegler was the commandant, and Friedrich Zill

served as his deputy. The guards were from SA-Sturm 5/139, later supplemented by SA-Sturmbann II/148 from Colditz. Despite the nomenclature, Hainichen was an early concentration camp for leftist detainees. Its population fluctuated from an initial 50 prisoners to 144 by April 12, then to nearly 300 before its dissolution on June 13, 1933.

Hainichen prisoners were divided into three arrest categories. These categories depended upon the degree of suspected involvement with leftist political parties: nonmembers, who were supposed to be immediately released; party members, who faced detention for an indefinite period; and party officials, who were considered to be the most serious cases. Although the SA occupied a community center, the prisoners were made to sleep on a garbage heap. After Hainichen's closure, the detainees were dispatched to early concentration camps at Colditz and Sachsenburg.

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

Primary documentation for this camp, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland, consists of File No. 551 in ASt-Lsn. The camp is also listed in the German Social Democratic exile newspaper, *NV*, August 27, 1933.

Joseph Robert White

HALLE (MERSEBURGER UND PARACELCIUSSTRASSE)

In the barracks at Merseburger- und Paracelciusstrasse in Halle, the Prussian police and the Stahlhelm established an early concentration camp in April 1933. Following the camp's dissolution in June 1933, the prisoners were dispatched by rail to another early concentration camp at Lichtenburg. Townspeople in Halle gave the prisoners food on their march to the train station.

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

Primary sources are not available for this camp. Drobisch and Wieland do not cite a specific source for the gifts of food to Halle prisoners.

Joseph Robert White

HAMBURG (STADTHAUS UND UNTERSUCHUNGSGEFÄNGNIS)

In March 1933, the Hamburg “townhouse” (*Stadthaus*) police headquarters at Stadthausbrücke 8–10 and the neighboring remand center at Holstenglacis 3 became “protective custody”

camps. Under 14-year police veteran Kriminalinspektor Peter Kraus, the institutions operated as camps at least through November 1933. Although the total number of detainees is not known, the Stadthaus and Holstenglacis held many Communists, Social Democrats, young leftists, trade unionists, and Jews. Among the Social Democratic detainees were Gustav Dahrendorf and Karl Meitmann. In May and June 1933, according to prisoner Heinrich Braune, there were about 150 prisoners.¹

Instrumental in arresting, interrogating, and guarding the prisoners were the Special Duty Detachments (K.z.b.V.). Established on March 24, 1933, the unit consisted of 310 SS, SA, and Stahlhelm police deputies.² The unit was disbanded on January 4, 1934. Its commander, Polizeioberleutnant Franz Kosa, garnered fulsome praise from Hamburg Gauleiter Karl Kaufmann. In a letter dated July 21, 1933, Kaufmann wrote: "You have dedicated the greatest prudence and sacrifice to the difficult task according to K.z.b.V.'s mission assignment, so that it is actually thanks to your energy and determination, if the Kommando's previous work has contributed to a decisive defeat of Marxism in Hamburg."³

At the Stadthaus, K.z.b.V. tortured certain detainees. One prisoner under interrogation, Gustav Schönherr, died after falling or being pushed out of a five-story window. K.z.b.V. had several interrogation sites within the Stadthaus complex. According to an anonymous prisoner's account that circulated in some Hamburg churches, the Stadthaus had separate rooms for the interrogation of Socialist and Communist prisoners, each outfitted with pictures of the respective parties' heroes. Lenin's portrait decorated the Communists' room.⁴ Another detainee, Albert Peldszus, learned that torture took place "in the second-story room."⁵ His account supported the anonymous prisoner who identified the place as "Room 203." Based on the report of his late comrade Communist Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Matthias Thesen, Fuhlsbüttel detainee Willi Bredel claimed in his novel *Die Prüfung* that the torture site was "the feared Room 103."⁶ Other prisoners recalled that torture took place at K.z.b.V.'s headquarters, located in a building adjacent to the Stadthaus called Grosse Bleichen.

In *Die Prüfung*, Bredel reveals the pattern of torture. The interrogation subject anxiously awaited summons in overcrowded basement cells. The professional police would politely question him about his political activities. After denying the allegations, he would be returned to the cells, only to be summoned by K.z.b.V. K.z.b.V. would conduct him to the special room, make him stand facing the wall, beat him unconscious, and revive him with cold water, all the while berating him as a Communist, leftist sympathizer, or Jew. After this ordeal, he would be transferred to Holstenglacis, pending a decision on his fate. In broad outline, Bredel's novelistic account of the Stadthaus accords with Stadthaus testimonies.⁷

Not every Stadthaus detainee suffered torture, however. Several witnesses, such as Socialist Karl Schmalbruch and Braune, reported hearing about mistreatment or seeing injured prisoners but did not personally experience violent in-

terrogation. It is not clear whether their nonviolent treatment resulted from cooperation or whether the Communists were singled out for special harassment. Nevertheless, many Social Democratic and trade union witnesses reported nonviolent treatment. Twice held at the Stadthaus in 1933, Braune "was treated completely differently" during interrogation. Confined to a "mass cell" with 30 to 45 detainees, Peldszus was not beaten at the Stadthaus but experienced maltreatment later at Fuhlsbüttel. The police detained Peldszus for having a fight with an SA man in the early 1930s, for which he had already served a year's imprisonment. Another Socialist, Ernst Bähr, was delivered to the Stadthaus from the Holstenglacis prison for interrogation in a "cellar room." Although questioned for two hours, he was not harmed. As he explained, "The arrests were not carried out so entirely brutally in the first years of National Socialism as later—the regime was not yet so solidly established." By contrast, prisoners with affiliations to Communist groups such as the Kommunistische Jugendverband (Communist Youth Association) or Kampfbund gegen den Faschismus (Fighting League against Fascism), like Helmut Heins and Herbert Baade, suffered torture.⁸

The Holstenglacis prison functioned as a way station for the early concentration camp at Fuhlsbüttel. The detainees recuperated from wounds suffered at the Stadthaus, shared experiences, and sang songs to combat boredom.⁹ The prison's physician, Schädel, cared for many victims and got into trouble with the Nazis for submitting frank reports about K.z.b.V. activities.¹⁰ Certain detainees remained at Holstenglacis in preparation for show trials, such as Schmalbruch, who was tried in November 1933 as part of the Socialist Workers Youth trial and sentenced to four months' imprisonment.¹¹ The prison also served the purpose of judicial terror. Approximately 1,850 prisoners were executed by gallows and guillotine between 1933 and 1945. The first three executions took place between August 1933 and January 1934.

Among the execution victims taken into custody during the protective custody camp phase was Fiete Schulze, a member of the German Communist Party (KPD) arrested in the spring of 1933. His confinement documented the transformation from protective custody camp to political prison. While at Holstenglacis, he carried on a censored but nevertheless illuminating correspondence with his wife and other relatives. His letters showed that some prisoners could communicate with relatives, receive parcels, and see visitors. The censors let pass Schulze's occasional Stalinist remarks, such as crediting the First Five-Year Plan for transforming the Soviet Union or commenting to his daughter about the "conditions of dying capitalism." The Hanseatic Higher Regional Court condemned Schulze to a triple death sentence plus 240 years, because of his participation in the October 1923 Hamburg Uprising. His execution took place on May 6, 1935.¹²

Information on whether any Hamburg police or K.z.b.V. members faced postwar criminal proceedings in connection with prisoner maltreatment is unavailable.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). Also helpful is Ursula Büttner and Werner Jochmann, *Hamburg auf dem Weg ins Dritte Reich: Entwicklungsjahre, 1931–1933* (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1983). For the Untersuchungsgefängnis's role as execution site, see Andreas Seeger, with Fritz Treichel, "Hinrichtungen in Hamburg und Altona 1933 bis 1944," *Kein abgeschlossenes Kapitel: Hamburg in "Dritten Reich,"* ed. Angelika Ebbinghaus and Karsten Linne (Hamburg: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1997), pp. 319–348. Memorials to victims held at these detention sites between 1933 and 1945 are listed in Ulrike Puvogel, Martin Stankowski with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). For the memorial's documentary background, see Gewerkschaft Öffentliche Dienste, Transport und Verkehr, Bezirksverwaltung Hamburg, ed., *Dokumentation Stadthaus in Hamburg: Gestapo-Hauptquartier von 1933 bis 1943* (Hamburg: ÖTV, 1981). A helpful account about Willi Bredel's novel *Die Prüfung: Roman aus einem Konzentrationslager* (1935; repr., Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1946) is Lilli Bock, *Willi Bredel: Leben und Werk* (Berlin [East]: Volk und Wissen Volkseigner Verlag, 1973).

Primary sources for this camp begin with two documents from StA-HH, as reproduced in Büttner and Jochmann. These papers consist of the regulations governing Nazi police deputies from March 16, 1933, and Kaufmann's letter to Kosa dated July 21, 1933. Prisoner testimonies by Herbert Baade, Ernst Bähr, Heinrich Braune, and Helmut Heins, and testimonial summaries for Albert Peldszus and Karl Schmalbach, can be found in ÖTV, Bezirksverwaltung Hamburg, ed., *Dokumentation Stadthaus in Hamburg*. This collection also reprints the leaflet containing anonymous prisoner testimony, culled from A-Osta-H 461a. Also included are reproductions of the investigative reports that ÖTV conducted in support of the memorial site, as well as photographs of witnesses and Stadthaus blueprints. A useful contemporaneous fictional account of the Stadthaus, the Untersuchungsgefängnis, and Fuhlsbüttel is Willi Bredel's *Die Prüfung*. It was the first novel about Nazi concentration camps. While generally accurate, Bredel erroneously places Fuhlsbüttel officers SA-Brigadeführer Paul Ellernhausen and SS-Sturmführer Willi Dusenschön in charge of K.z.b.V. In Bredel's account, their names and Ellernhausen's rank slightly differ. While Bredel used mostly composite characters for the prisoners in his novel, he reproduced the actual names of the perpetrators, so the inaccuracy in this case reflects problems with secondhand testimony. An excellent collection of prisoner letters from the Holstenglacis prison is Fiete Schulze, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen aus dem Gestapo-Gefängnis in Hamburg*, introduction by Erich Weinert (Berlin [East]: Dietz Verlag, 1959). Weinert unfortunately did not elaborate on the provenance of these letters, other than to report that they were found in Gestapo files.

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NOTES

1. Heinrich Braune testimony reproduced in *Dokumentation Stadthaus in Hamburg: Gestapo-Hauptquartier von 1933 bis 1943*, ed. ÖTV, Bezirksverwaltung Hamburg (Hamburg: ÖTV, 1981), p. 24.
2. Die Polizeibehörde Hamburg, March 16, 1933, Betr.: "Einberufung und Verwendung von Hilfspolizei," Anlage III, in StA-HH, Polizeibehörde Ablieferung 45 Liste 1, No. 310, reproduced in Ursula Büttner and Werner Jochmann, *Hamburg auf dem Weg ins Dritte Reich: Entwicklungsjahre, 1931–1933* (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1983), pp. 139–142.
3. Gauleiter Karl Kaufmann to Polizeioberleutnant Kosa, Betr.: "Kommando zbV," July 21, 1933, in StA-HH, Senatskanzlei Präsidialabteilung 1933 A 94, reproduced in Büttner and Jochmann, *Hamburg auf dem Weg ins Dritte Reich*, p. 143.
4. Streckenbach, Staatspolizei, to Generalstaatsanwalt Drescher, February 7, 1934, Betr.: "Anonymes Rundschreiben über die Behandlung der Schutzhäftlinge," in A-Osta-H 461a, reproduced in ÖTV, *Dokumentation Stadthaus in Hamburg*, Document 3; hereafter "Anonymes Rundschreiben."
5. Summary of Albert Peldszus testimony in ÖTV, *Dokumentation Stadthaus in Hamburg*, p. 15.
6. Willi Bredel, *Die Prüfung: Roman aus einem Konzentrationslager* (1935; repr., Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1946), pp. 5, 42; citations refer to the Aufbau edition.
7. Ibid., pp. 49–62.
8. Quotations from testimonies and testimony summaries for Herbert Baade, Ernst Bähr, Braune, Helmut Heins, Peldszus, and Karl Schmalbruch, in ÖTV, *Dokumentation Stadthaus in Hamburg*, pp. 13, 15–17, 22–24.
9. On singing, see Bredel, *Die Prüfung*, p. 67.
10. "Anonymes Rundschreiben."
11. Schmalbruch summary in ÖTV, *Dokumentation Stadthaus in Hamburg*, p. 14.
12. Letters of July 19, 1933 (to Hedde Schulze), August 26, 1934 (to Wilma Schulze), and March 3, 1935 (to Hedde Schulze), in Fiete Schulze, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen aus dem Gestapo-Gefängnis in Hamburg*, introduction by Erich Weinert (Berlin [East]: Dietz Verlag, 1959), pp. 61–62 (quotation), 86 (quotation), 98.

HAMMERSTEIN

Beginning on June 28, 1933, around 250 "protective custody" prisoners were detained in a former military training area at Hammerstein (later Czarne, Poland), located in the Prussian district of Schneidemühl. The camp at Hammerstein was one of the official concentration camps recognized and financed by the Prussian Ministry of Interior. The property itself belonged to the Prussian Finance Ministry, which in April 1933 had the grounds' suitability as a concentration camp for political prisoners evaluated by the Schneidemühl district presidium. At the site, which also included a military training section, a forest rangers' farm, residential buildings, garages, a retraining center, and vacation lodgings, two empty barracks, each with a capacity for 100 men, were determined suitable for

prisoner accommodation. As a result, the Prussian Finance Ministry made the grounds available to the Interior administration, and the Prussian Ministry of Interior made money available for the expansion. The local government in Schneidemühl, in cooperation with the police, the rural district administrator in Schlochau, the fiscal authorities in Neustettin, and the structural engineering office (*Hochbauamt*) in Schlochau, assumed responsibility for the construction of the camp. Construction contracts were given to local construction workers, some furniture items were extracted from the inventory at the military training camp, and other items were delivered by the Berlin and Königsberg police administration as well as by the Norddeutsche Lloyd supply administration. The expansion of the barracks into a prison camp cost 5,800 Reichsmark (RM). The Schlochau rural district office was responsible for the routine administrative work, while the Schneidemühl police directorate oversaw the economic management of the camp.¹

Citing its proximity to the Polish border, the president of the State Financial Office in Stettin objected to the construction of the concentration camp: "With consideration for the protection of this area in case of complications, in my opinion this site should be kept free of unreliable persons."² The Neustettin headquarters (Kommandantur) also raised serious reservations about filling the camp with Communists, because it felt significantly more exposed to the threat of espionage.³ The Schneidemühl district president, however, supported the building of a concentration camp but did speak out against the suggestion by the Prussian Ministry of Interior to expand the camp's capacity up to 1,000 men. The renovation of more empty barracks would cause a lot of expenses; in addition, they would be difficult to guard due to the tree and shrub population, and the military training courses would no longer be practicable "in a military acceptable manner."⁴

Little is known about the prisoners in Hammerstein. There are only short accounts from two former prisoners, Paul Schulz and Otto Gerdtko.⁵ It can be assumed that most of the prisoners came from the small cities and communities of the Posen-West Prussian borderland and were admitted to Hammerstein on the orders of the rural district police departments (i.e., in most cases the rural district administrator) after they had already spent some time imprisoned in the local police stations or local prisons. Later, prisoners from East Prussia and Pomerania also were interned in the camp. Primarily, the prisoners were Communists and other opponents of National Socialism. The type of work they had to carry out is not known, but as the camp existed for only one and a half months, it is assumed that they primarily took part in construction work. In a report before the camp was opened, the district president drew attention to the fact that although there were enough eating utensils, they were "in a condition requiring cleaning. But in my opinion, the necessary cleaning can be carried out by the prisoners themselves."⁶

The provisional Polizeidirektor of Schneidemühl drew up camp rules for Hammerstein, according to which the prisoners had no right to lodge complaints, and if they tried to

escape, they would be shot immediately. Once a month the prisoners could write a letter to relatives, but receiving visitors was forbidden. The prisoners were prevented from having any direct contact with the outside world. There were different levels of designated penalties for disobeying camp rules. In addition to inflicting certain random punishments during the daily routines, like punitive service (*Strafdienst*), or showing up to report, there were also various detention punishments: mild detention (up to three weeks), in which prisoners were kept in solitary confinement but could use books and writing instruments; medium detention (up to three weeks), in which prisoners were held in uncomfortable conditions with only water and bread; and severe detention (up to 14 days), in which prisoners were kept in a dark cell. On the fourth, eighth, and every third day thereafter the prisoner had a so-called good day, on which he or she received a bed, full rations, and access to fresh air.⁷

There was no systematic murder of prisoners at Hammerstein. Some prisoners, however, did die as a result of torture. Several witnessed the death of the Jewish prisoner Siegmund Salinger, who succumbed as a result of physical abuse at the hands of the SS. Prisoners would also be pulled from their barracks at night and shot while "trying to escape." We also know of the June 30, 1933, murder of Russian revolutionary Wladimir Kotkow, who—along with prisoners Paul Prüfert and Paul Schabe—was murdered by the SS on the way from Hammerstein to Sonnenburg.⁸

In the first two weeks, Polizeileutnant Gieraths ran the camp. He was supposed to train and instruct SS-Sturmführer Furbach and the SS guards. Later, SS-Sturmführer Furbach was named camp commandant, and the camp was handed over to the SS. Up to that point, 10 Polizeiwachtmeister had reinforced the SS guard commando. Later, only SS men were active as guards. Usually they were unemployed men from the area. They were hired on as auxiliary police, under the immediate supervision of the district president, and paid accordingly.⁹ The original plan to use SA personnel as camp guards was dropped on the expressed wish of Kurt Daluge, director of the police department in the Prussian Ministry of Interior, as only the SS should now undertake the guarding of all concentration camps. According to statements from former prisoners, camp commandant Furbach and SS-Truppführer Adrian and Deutsch stood out because of their cruelty. Heinz Adrian's violent outbursts, also known as "re-education methods," even led to protests from the foreign press and resulted in his demotion to a "simple" SS-Scharführer and transfer to Sonnenburg concentration camp.¹⁰

Little is known about everyday life in the camp, but it is doubtful that an independent prisoner culture developed because the camp existed for only a short time, and most of the prisoners did not know each other from earlier political connections.

In the course of the Prussian Ministry of Interior's attempt to centralize the concentration camps, Hammerstein was abandoned. The dissolution of the camp probably took place on August 8, 1933, but in any case before August 14,

1933.¹¹ The prisoners were either released or transferred to the concentration camps at Sonnenburg or Lichtenburg. After dissolving the concentration camp the site was used as a police training ground and as an SA sports school; beginning in 1939, it became a prisoner-of-war camp.¹²

In 1948, supervisor SS-Truppführer Adrian was sentenced to death by the District Court Schwerin German Democratic Republic [GDR] for abusing prisoners. Primarily, however, this concerned prisoner abuses in the Sonnenburg concentration camp, where he later worked.¹³

SOURCES There are both German and Polish essays about Hammerstein concentration camp: Andrea Rudorff, "Anhäufung vaterlandsfeindlicher Elemente: Das Konzentrationslager Hammerstein im Regierungsbezirk Schneidemühl," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus 1933–1935*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 179–185; Andrzej Czarnik, "Hitlerowski obóz koncentracyjny w Czarnej w 1933 r.," in *Zbrodnie hitlerowskie na ziemi koszalińskiej 1933–1945*, ed. Andrzej Czechowicz (Koszalin, 1968), pp. 42–48.

There are additional accounts on Hammerstein in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); and Bogusław Drewniak, *Początki ruchu hitlerowskiego na Pomorzu Zachodnim* (Poznań, 1962).

A comprehensive source base on the construction of the camp is located in the files of the Schneidemühl local government, which are kept in the APP. Occasional notes on Hammerstein can also be found at the BA-B (Sammlung von Häftlingberichten) and in the AAN (Akten des Polnischen Konsulats in Stettin).

Andrea Rudorff
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

- APP, Regierung Schneidemühl, pp. 3, 7, 23, 41, 61.
- Ibid., pp. 28–29.
- Ibid., pp. 30–31.
- Ibid., pp. 32–33, 37–38.
- BA-B, KL/Hafta/Sammlung Nr. 17, KL Hammerstein, Berichte von ehemaligen Häftlingen.
- APP, Regierung Schneidemühl, p. 25.
- Ibid., p. 64.
- BA-DH, KL/Hafta/Sammlung Nr. 17, KL Hammerstein, Reports from former prisoners; AAN, Konsulat der Republik Polen in Stettin, Mikrofilm B-4045, pp. 24–26; Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 129.
- APP, Regierung Schneidemühl, pp. 61ff.
- BA-B, KL/Hafta/Sammlung Nr. 17, KL Hammerstein, Reports from former prisoners; Erich Wiesner, *Man nannte mich Ernst: Erlebnisse und Episoden aus der Geschichte der Arbeiterjugendbewegung*, 4th ed. (Berlin: Verlag Neues Leben, 1978), p. 187.
- APP, Regierung Schneidemühl Nr. 500, p. 91; Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, p. 135.
- APP, Regierung Schneidemühl Nr. 500, p. 93; Czesław Pilichowski, et. al., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich*

1939–45: informator encyklopedyczny, Warszawa 1979, pp. 141–142.

- BA-B, DP 1/SE 3508.

HASSENBERG

The Hassenberg "protective custody" camp existed from April 13 to July 10, 1933. At Hassenberg, opponents of Nazism from the city of Neustadt near Coburg were interned and suppressed. The rural district of Coburg is located on the northern edge of Bavaria. Until 1918 it was an independent duchy in a confederation of three small Thüringen states (Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha). After a plebiscite in 1920, it joined Bavaria. The small city of Neustadt on the edge of the Thüringen Forest, which had approximately 10,000 inhabitants, was rather petit bourgeois and proletarian in contrast to the seat of the duchy Coburg. The majority of the population worked in factories or at home, mostly in the toy and doll industry. They were mostly Protestants in the Thüringen tradition. During the Weimar Republic the workers' parties Social Democratic Party (SPD) and German Communist Party (KPD) played a dominant role in the political and social life in Neustadt.¹

In the process of consolidating political power, the National Socialists there began to persecute political opponents in March 1933. This included SPD and KPD functionaries and their closely allied associations and clubs, others who were out of favor for political reasons, and individual Jews. At first all political opponents were held in the prison or in specially set up rooms in the town hall or the police caserne in Coburg. They were guarded by SA commandos who supposedly severely mistreated some of the prisoners.

By April 1933, the synchronized Neustadt city council started to make plans for its own protective custody camp, most likely because Coburg's capacity to intern political opponents reached its limits. The right place was found in the former women's prison in Hassenberg, about eight kilometers (five miles) from Neustadt. The building in which the camp was established was situated on a hill in the village of Hassenberg (later part of Sonnefeld, Coburg rural district) and was visible from afar. For years the prison had been considered a symbol of the state's power. However, this is only partially in accordance with its history. It was established toward the end of the seventeenth century as the castle of a Franconian nobleman. It had three floors. In the middle of the nineteenth century a fourth floor was added, and from 1870 it was used as a prison for women. From the beginning of the twentieth century, it was used as a textile and toy factory; during World War I, part of it was used as an internment camp for civilian prisoners. In 1933, it was owned by a Neustadt small businessman who produced glass wool and similar products in the building. The top floor remained available to be rented by the town of Neustadt.

The rooms on the top floor were used from the middle of April 1933 by the National Socialists to hold their political opponents. A report by the Neustadt police stated: "On 13

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April, the 13 prisoners from Neustadt held in Coburg in protective custody were transferred to Hassenberg near Coburg. The Neustadt council has rented rooms in the former castle to intern protective custody prisoners. An SA commando from Neustadt near Coburg will guard the protective custody prisoners.² Six of the prisoners were SPD members, five were members of the KPD, and the political affiliations of the remaining prisoners remain unknown. It is not known whether they were subjected to physical or mental torture, but it can be assumed that the common background of the victims and perpetrators kept the mistreatment in check.

An article in the *Coburger Nationalzeitung (CoNZ)* on April 15, 1933, gives an idea of how the National Socialists saw the prison. To some extent they considered the imprisonment of their opponents in Hassenberg like a stay in a sanatorium. "The rooms are in every way suitable for their current use. An SA guard unit from Neustadt takes care of security and order. . . . Perhaps now Messieurs Geuss and his companions can reflect in Hassenberg on how they have sinned against the workers over the last years. Other than for the loss of their freedom, the prisoners are in good shape and even 'Reichsbanner Uncle' (*Reichsbanneronkel*) Bender praises their treatment and their food, which is the same as for the guards."³ Whether the protective custody in Hassenberg really was so harmless, as claimed in the *CoNZ*, cannot be answered.

All in all, probably between 20 and 25 opponents of the Nazis from Neustadt were interned in Hassenberg. They were held for a few weeks. The aim of the National Socialists was to cut them off from political life while the dictatorial National Socialist rule was consolidated. The Hassenberg protective custody camp was dissolved on July 10, 1933. The last 6 prisoners were released with restrictions on where they could live.⁴ A few days earlier, at the beginning of July 1933, those Nazi opponents who were regarded as politically more dangerous had been transferred to the Dachau concentration camp, which had become the main concentration camp for south Germany. Here awaited them a longer, more torturous imprisonment. A few of them were allowed to return home only in December 1933.

Toward the end of the Third Reich, the rooms of the Hassenberg camp were used once again by the Nazis. During the last months of the war in 1944–1945, prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp were held in the attic of the former castle to develop instruments essential to the war effort for the Reich Postal Research Institute (Reichspostforschungsanstalt).⁵

SOURCES Hassenberg was a small camp that was established during the Nazi consolidation of power in the spring of 1933 near the north Bavarian industrial town of Neustadt. Altogether approximately 20 to 25 opponents of the Nazis were held there for a few weeks. Due to its provisional character, few sources on the camp exist.

The following works are worth mentioning: Helmut Scheuerich, *Geschichte der Stadt Neustadt bei Coburg im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert* (Neustadt bei Coburg: Stadt Neustadt, 1989). The author based his work on the material in the ASt-Ne/Co

and knowledgeably depicts the struggles between the Nazis and the workers' parties, the KPD and SPD, at the local level. This analysis benefits from individual archival records in the ASt-Ne/Co, particularly the semimonthly reports of the Neustadt police for the first half of April 1933 and the first of July 1933.

In addition, the *CoNZ* of April 15, 1933, reports about the imprisonment of Nazi opponents from a National Socialist perspective. It mentions the names of two protective custody prisoners.

Information on the history of the building in which the camp was located was obtained from Dr. Hans-Ulrich Hofmann.

Horst Thum
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Details from Dr. Hans-Ulrich Hofmann, Protestant minister in Gnodstadt/Unterfranken. For a long time Hofmann was the local Hassenberg minister and has conducted numerous conversations with his parish about the local history.

2. Halbmonatsbericht der Polizei Neustadt bei Coburg (1. Hälfte April 33), ASt-Ne/Co, XVI G 2 Nr. 2, p. 149.

3. *CoNZ*, April 15, 1933.

4. Halbmonatsbericht der Polizei Neustadt bei Coburg für die Zeit vom 1. bis 15. Juli 1933, ASt-Ne/Co, XVI G 2 Nr. 2, p. 169. This report deals with Rudi Hanft, Emil Luthardt, Hans Sonntag (all KPD), Konrad Köhn, Franz Neubauer, and Robert Kehr (party affiliation unclear).

5. Kurt Höfer, "Frühling in Berlin und Hassenberg. Die Tage zwischen Krieg und Frieden" (unpub. autobiographical MSS). MSS in the possession of Hans-Ulrich Hofmann, Gnodstadt; see note 1.

HAVELBERG

On May 16, 1933, the SA formed an early concentration camp in a vocational secondary school at Havelberg in Potsdam. The approximately 95 prisoners performed forced labor, first on roads and then in the establishment of the early concentration camp Perleberg. The detainees were officially transferred to the latter camp on May 31, 1933.

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

As cited in Drobisch and Wieland, primary documentation for Havelberg can be found in the Regierungsbezirk Potsdam Polizeipräsidium, which is available in the BLHA.

Joseph Robert White

HEINERSDORF

In early April 1933, the former sport school at Heinersdorf Castle in Prussia/Liegnitz was converted into an early

concentration camp. SA personnel guarded leftist political prisoners. On April 6, in a letter addressed to Reich President Paul von Hindenburg, the deputy chair of the Liegnitz committee of the General Federation of German Trade Unions (ADGB), David Grausurt complained about brutal treatment at Heinendorf. Grausurt stated:

It has been reported to us that on the night of the 5th and 6th of April of this year, officials of the SPD and the trade unions, who are in protective custody, were taken from the local police and court prison to the camp of the SA at Heinendorf and maltreated.

Among these cases of ill-treatment, Mr. Israel and the brothers Kurt and Georg Moser are supposed to have suffered particularly severely.

Most honored Mr. President, we politely request that care be taken that such cases not happen again in the future, and that the sternest investigation is ordered in the cases of last night.

Please permit us to assume that you share our view that it is not permissible to maltreat defenseless prisoners in protective custody.¹

Two Czechoslovakian nationals were confined at Heinendorf, which prompted their government to lodge an official complaint.

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

Primary documentation for Heinendorf can be found in the Reichsministerium des Inneren papers at BA-BL (R1501). This collection includes the Grausurt letter, reproduced in Drobisch and Wieland (p. 174).

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. David Grausurt, ADGB, Liegnitz, to Reichspräsident von Hindenburg, April 6, 1933, in BA-BL, R1501 (Reichsministerium des Inneren), Nr. 25727, p. 149, cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 174.

HEUBERG [AKA STETTEN AM KALTEN MARKT]

After the Reichstag election on March 5, 1933, Reich Minister of the Interior Dr. Wilhelm Frick appointed Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Dietrich von Jagow as Reich commissar for the Württemberg police force. Dr. Frick determined that the maintenance of safety and order was no longer guaranteed in the state of Württemberg, where Eugen Bolz, member of the German Center Party (Deutsche Zentrumspartei) was acting as prime minister.

Von Jagow began his service on March 10 by forming an auxiliary police force, drawn primarily from members of the SA and SS as well as members of the Stahlhelm. During the night of March 10 and into the next day, the first statewide wave of arrests began in Württemberg. As can be gathered from a secret situation report of the Württemberg Political Police of July 1933, “approximately 1,700 Communist and Social Democratic functionaries were taken into protective custody in the days from March 10–15, 1933.”¹ Due to the fact that the prisons were overfilled, in mid-March von Jagow gave Stuttgart Police President Rudolf Klaiber the orders to set up a “closed concentration camp for political prisoners” on the military training area Heuberg near Stetten am kalten Markt.

On March 20 and 21, “protective custody” prisoners from most of the local prisons and larger municipal prisons in Württemberg were taken to Heuberg.²

Already by mid-August it was decided that the Heuberg military training area would be reinstated to full military use, and therefore the Heuberg concentration camp was supposed to be closed by the end of the year. This is why those in charge in Stuttgart decided in October 1933 to prepare the fortress of Oberer Kuhberg as a successor concentration camp.

While releasing prisoners before Christmas, the Heuberg camp was permanently vacated over the course of the month of December. During the second half of December, the remaining prisoners from Baden in the Heuberg camp were taken to the Ankenbuck concentration camp (a former state-owned country estate between Bad Dürrheim and Donaueschingen) and Kislaus Castle (near Bad Schönborn in the Karlsruhe area). The remaining 264 prisoners from Württemberg were sent to the Oberer Kuhberg near Ulm. The prisoners in Heuberg came from similar backgrounds as those of other early camps from the time of the “seizure of power.” Since the camp only operated in 1933, political prisoners, especially members of the German Communist Party (KPD) and its affiliated organizations, made up the vast majority of the prisoners. In addition, there were members of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and a few members of other parties, such as the German People’s Party (DVP) and the German Democratic Party (DDP). In 1933 it was for the most part still too early for the internment of Catholic priests. As in other early camps, Jewish prisoners were interned not only because of their beliefs and backgrounds; they were also, always, political prisoners. There are references to imprisoned Jehovah’s Witnesses (“Ernste Bibelforscher”), but no further information about them is available.

There are likewise few references to other groups of prisoners, like Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), beggars, and “asocials.” Various reports mention criminals, but one can assume that their imprisonment at Heuberg was limited to that of singular cases.

In total, between 3,500 and a maximum of 4,000 men from Württemberg, Baden, and Hohenzollern were held prisoner for a certain period of time in the concentration camp. The

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Heuberg camp was thus the largest concentration camp in the Reich at the beginning of the takeover.

The camp was under the control of the Stuttgart police presidium and, from the end of April 1933, was controlled by the independent section "Württemberg Political Police," and thus it was always part of the Württemberg Ministry of Interior and therefore a state-run institution.

The guards were from the Württemberg municipal police and the SA men recruited as auxiliary police, who in many cases only first received any training—and a meager preparation at that—upon deployment to Heuberg on the grounds of the SA Sportschule, where they were housed. Former Polizeioberst Gustav Reich led the camp after its opening but handed over the power to former Major Max Kaufmann after only a few days. In April Nazi Party (NSDAP) Kreisleiter and SA-Führer Karl Gustav Wilhelm Buck became camp commandant.

During the 12 years of National Socialist rule, Buck served as commandant in several camps (Heuberg, Kuhberg, Welzheim, Schirmeck). After the war, he was sentenced to death. The sentence, however, was not carried out, and Buck was released from prison in 1955.

Although there is no written documentation and only very sparse and contradictory information exists, the daily routine in the camp was probably as follows: Wake-up at 5:00 or 6:00 A.M. (probably summer/winter). Afterward, washing at the water troughs in the yard and breakfast. At 6:30 (in winter probably an hour later), departure for work. The way to work has been variously described, which is probably due to the different places of employment. The path to work could be as long as one and a half hours. Prisoners worked primarily in road construction, in clearings, and in building roll-call areas for the military. Sometimes the prisoners came back at noon and received a bowl of soup before marching back to work. Around 5:00 or 6:00 P.M. they washed at the water troughs and had dinner; there was an irregular and not standardized roll call, then afterward leisure time in the living area. Quiet hours began around 9:00 P.M.. The evening roll call was often incalculable; many times no end was in sight. It could happen that the prisoners were made to stand outside in the freezing cold until well into the night or forced to do knee-bends in the snow. The night's sleep was disturbed from time to time by unexpected attacks from the guards.

The work experience in the Heuberg concentration camp varied among prisoners. Many viewed work as a way to escape the boredom of camp life. Those who were physically fit felt that work in the Heuberg concentration camp was a privilege, since there was not enough work for everyone despite propaganda to the contrary. Many prisoners were simply not up to the physically demanding work of laying down streets and clearing trees. For those who were not used to this physical work, it became torturous.

Work was especially used as a means of oppressing and degrading the prisoners of the "celebrity block" (*Prominentenblock*). They were explicitly not permitted to do "meaningful work"; rather, they had to do punitive labor from time to

time. Emptying baskets of pebbles only to recollect the stones, pulling out grass, or splitting wood with dull saws and axes are all examples from the wide range of Sisyphean tasks, which are also known from other early concentration camps. Those in charge used work not only as punishment but also as a way of demonstrating power and humiliating the prisoners.

Cruelty and torture had been part of the everyday life of the Heuberg camp ever since the change in camp leadership from Kaufmann to Buck in mid-April. Roughly two forms of mistreatment can be distinguished at this time: against the body and against the psyche of the prisoners. The body was beaten with wooden clubs and belts and stomped on with police boots. Prisoners were beaten into unconsciousness in the attic or in the "beating cell" (*Schlagzelle*); they were chased up and down the stairs and tortured at the water trough.

The threat of being shot to death led to nervous breakdowns and irreparable psychological damage.

In addition, prisoners were constantly humiliated, which amounted to further psychological attack. The prisoners were made to feel their own powerlessness in order to recognize the power of the rulers. Some prisoners were left with a swastika on their heads after being shorn of their hair; and little swastika-shaped noodles were placed in the soup. A high point of the absolute disregard for any acceptable bounds was illustrated on the occasion when certain prisoners were forced to clean the toilets with toothbrushes.

Violence was exercised unexpectedly and was seldom attributable to a concrete act for which the prisoner could count on a punishment. Many were tortured and humiliated daily and others, virtually not at all. Arbitrariness dominated, and the treatment was often dependent upon the mood of single members of the guard force.

Only one case of murder in the concentration camp has been proven. However, there are clues to a series of other fatalities in the camp. In Heuberg, the death of prisoners was not a clear goal, even if prisoners were threatened daily with death. The murder of Simon Leibowitz, a Communist of Jewish descent, who succumbed to the results of gruesome torture in Heuberg, demonstrated in September 1933 what would later on be the order of the day in other concentration camps.

SOURCES This text is based on Markus Kienle's book *Das Konzentrationslager Heuberg bei Stetten am kalten Markt* (Ulm: Klemm & Oelschläger, 1998) and the author's article of the same title in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Terror ohne System: Geschichte der Konzentrationslager* (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 65–79.

After the end of National Socialism, a few prisoners of the Heuberg concentration camp put their experiences down in writing. Notable above all are Erich Rossmann, the former SPD leader in Württemberg, *Ein Leben für Sozialismus und Demokratie* (Stuttgart: Wunderlich, 1946); Georg Bayer, *Dabei bis zu den Pyramiden von Miramas* (Tübingen, 1979); and Werner Gross, whose life story was written by Joachim Schlör, *In einer Nazi-Welt lässt sich nicht leben: Werner Gross; Lebensgeschichte eines Antifaschisten* (Tübingen: Tübinger Vereinigung für Volkskunde, 1991).

Julius Schätzle, himself a prisoner of Heuberg, wrote an account of the early concentration camps in Württemberg and Baden: Julius Schätzle, *Stationen zur Hölle: Konzentrationslager in Baden und Württemberg 1933–1945* (commissioned by the camp community Heuberg-Kuhberg-Welzheim; repr., 1974). This account is based on testimonies by former prisoners immediately after the end of the war.

A complete inventory of files on the Heuberg concentration camp does not exist. All of the records, which were reviewed for the author's research, are scattered in various archives, of which only a small selection is cited here. A complete index can be found in the author's aforementioned book.

The Heuberg concentration camp is mentioned in the documents of the Reich Ministry of Interior (RMdI) in the BA-B. The "secret situation reports of the Württemberg police," which contain important basic information about the Heuberg concentration camp, are also located there. Further references to the majority of prisoners of the Heuberg concentration camp can be found in the reparations files, which originated after 1945 within the framework of the trial for compensation of those persecuted under National Socialism. The original files of the reparations trial for Südwestwürttemberg are located in the StA-S (holding: Wü 33), and for Nordwürttemberg in the StA-L (holding: EL 350).

The main part of the available files are the records (Oberamtsakten) that were created in 1933 on the level of rural district head offices (Oberämter), which are located in the StA-L and StA-S as well as partly in the archives of the rural districts (Kreisarchive). Besides edicts and decrees of the Ministry of Interior, for which the rural district head offices were the recipients, prisoner lists are still available for a few rural district head offices. These lists, which were written down at the instruction of the Ministry of Interior, contain details on the composition of the prisoners, their times of arrest, and their origin. These details had to be ascertained, and copies remained in the records of the rural district head offices. Prisoner reports of varying character are kept in the VVN archive in Stuttgart and in the archive of the DZOK. A "special edition on Konzentrationslager Heuberg/Kuhberg (Sonderheft Konzentrationslager Heuberg/Kuhberg)" containing additional important information can be found at the ZdL.

Markus Kienle
trans. Lynn Wolff

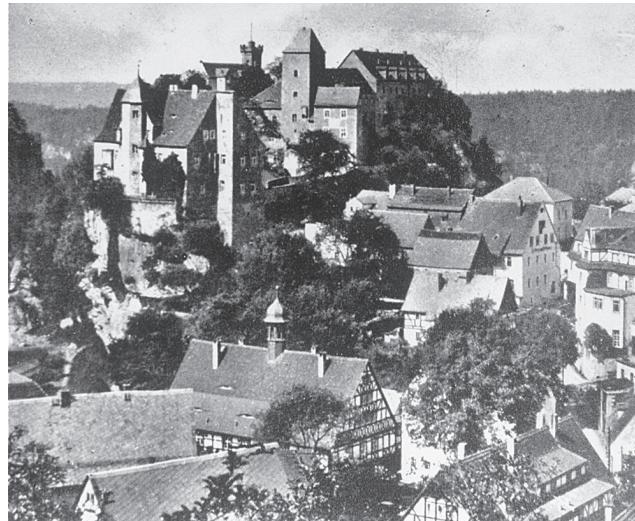
NOTES

1. Secret situation report of the Württemberg Political Police from July 1, Juli 1933, 22/23, BA-P, R 13/255734.

2. AKr-RM, A6 Bü Po.

HOHNSTEIN

On March 14, 1933, the SA established a "protective custody" camp at Hohnstein Castle. Located on a mountain peak in Sächsische Schweiz, the castle had served as a youth hostel during the 1920s. The early camp had 439 detainees on April 12, 1933, and 600 in August 1933. In total, Hohnstein had



Hohnstein concentration camp, 1933–34.
USHMM WS # 63216, COURTESY OF DÖW

5,600 prisoners by August 1934. The predominantly Communist prisoner population also included Social Democrats, Jews, Christians, and intellectuals; a few Czechoslovakian, French, and Polish citizens; and one person of African descent. Approximately 400 teenaged and 109 female detainees were also imprisoned at this camp. In May, June, and August 1933, Hohnstein admitted prisoners from dissolved Saxon camps at Struppen, Königsbrück, Königstein, Bautzen (Kupferhammer), and Hainewalde. Additional detainees came from the Sachsenburg concentration camp and the Bautzen prison complex. Several persons arrested during the Night of the Long Knives entered the camp in June and July 1934. A total of 140 people died at Hohnstein. Among the suicide victims were Emmerich Ambross, Kurt Glaser, Gerhard Schubert, and Pastor Rudolf Stempel. In September 1933, the SA murdered Eugen Frisch, editor of the *Volkszeitung für Vogtland*, during a transport to Hohnstein.¹

SA-Sturmbannführer Rudolf Jähnichen was camp commandant, and his deputy was SA-Sturmbannführer Friedrich. The adjutant was SA-Sturmführer Heinicker. The 90-member guard force included the SA-Sturm 177 from Pirna and the SA-Stürme 5, 14, 22, 23, and 25 from Dresden SA-Standarte 100. The guards devised novel methods to torment detainees, including an apparatus for water torture.² Certain staff members were accused of sexually molesting male and female prisoners.³

The SA forced detainees to perform penal exercises and sing nationalist or Nazi songs. New arrivals were normally held in House IV and put through two weeks of unceasing abuse.⁴ According to an anonymous account, the detainees performed "calisthenics, knee bends, and military exercises: drop, stand up, drop, stand up . . . and in the stomach only a little bit of water and a little piece of bread."⁵ Compounding the prisoners' misery was a shoe shortage, which forced many to exercise in stocking feet. According to Otto Urban,

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imprisoned at Hohnstein from November 1933 to June 1934, "sport" did not cease with initiation, because Sundays were reserved for camp exercise. Neither the physically infirm nor wounded veterans were exempt.⁶

Another anonymous prisoner, identified as a Social Democrat, described a typical day during the camp's early months. At dawn the prisoners gave the Hitler salute and offered a prayer for the Fatherland. After breakfast, they sang the "Horst Wessellied" and exercised. After three hours of work, they ate a noon meal of bread and soup. Twice weekly meat was served with this meal. After completing two more hours of penal exercises, the prisoners had an indoctrination class, with more singing of the "Horst Wessellied." The day closed with the singing of the "Deutschlandlied."⁷

After completing the two-week initiation, Hohnstein inmates performed forced labor. The early detachments hauled sand and wood from nearby forests into the camp or constructed barracks inside the castle.⁸ In order to build roads connecting the castle and town, the camp imported 250 prisoners from Sachsenburg, including Urban, on November 29, 1933.⁹

A few detainees worked or remained inside the camp. These prisoners wore special armbands color-coded by function: foreigners (red), skilled craftsmen (green), camp elders (yellow), the sick (blue), and camp functionaries (white). For security concerns, "Reds" were not permitted on external work details. It is not clear what work they performed. "White" included musicians, canteen attendants, or "staff swings." Otto Urban defined a *swing* as a "boy, cleaner, chamber servant, or however you will call it." "Whites," "Greens," and "Yellows" had the run of the camp, and only high-ranking SA issued orders to "Whites." Hohnstein prisoners all wore a crew cut, except for "Whites." On January 22, 1934, Urban became a swing for Jähnichen, Friedrich, Heinicker, Küchler, Schupp, and Flott.¹⁰

At a given time, Hohnstein held between 25 and 44 female detainees, whose ages ranged from 16 to 60. The women were confined to a single room. Many were hostages taken after their husbands escaped the Reich. Most of the women worked in the camp laundry; two exceptions were Frau Schulz and Eva Knabe, who painted portraits for the camp staff. Hohnstein's lack of female guards contributed to the concerns about sexual misconduct by the staff.¹¹

Hohnstein had two bunkers and a standing cell for close arrest. Located beneath Houses I and IV, the bunkers had low ceilings without fresh air or illumination. Bunker inmates subsisted on bread and water. According to Urban, SA guards Walther and Sauer dispatched a swing, Miede, to a bunker after discovering his notes about Hohnstein guards. In the standing cell, a prisoner could neither lie nor sit down. A 22-year-old woman endured six days' confinement in this cell.¹²

Hohnstein's most prominent visitor was Saxon Gauleiter Martin Mutschmann. In the company of almost 100 dignitaries, he participated in the ritual humiliation of a prisoner, the Saxon Social Democratic minister Liebmann. Mutschmann brought a transcript of Liebmann's address to the Saxon parliament especially for the occasion. The minister was forced

to read it for the Nazis' amusement. After the spectacle ended, the guards beat him.¹³

On June 30, 1934, during the Night of the Long Knives, a small number of right-wing prisoners were sent to Hohnstein. Among them was Saxon Stahlhelm leader Prince Ernst Heinrich of the Wettin family, who was held for five days. After receiving a uniform, he was placed in "honorary custody," presumably because of his title. Upon release, the camp billed the prince 176.50 Reichsmark (RM) for five days' detention.¹⁴

Hohnstein prisoners resisted in several ways. First, the local underground organization, United Climbing Detachment (VKA), quietly exchanged information with and distributed illegal newspapers among Hohnstein prisoners assigned to road details. The police caught VKA members Kurt Bretschneider, Alfred Richter, and Karl Täubrich, however, and placed them in the camp. Second, in the clerk's office, the former editor of the *Dresdener Volkszeitung* (DrVZ), Sieber, sneaked detainees' mail past camp censors. Finally, in the event of a "mass liquidation," certain prisoners planned a mass escape, with the goal of fleeing to the nearby Czechoslovakian border. Although this plan was never implemented, approximately 30 prisoners successfully escaped from Hohnstein.¹⁵ After each flight, the SA imposed two weeks of penal exercises and a smoking ban on the camp's remaining prisoners. In June 1934, Jähnichen discontinued the smoking bans because the collective punishment hurt the canteen, which enjoyed a monopoly on tobacco and alcohol sales.¹⁶

Under the new SS Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL), Hohnstein was closed on August 25, 1934. It is not known where the remaining detainees were dispatched, but Sachsenburg was the most likely destination.

In spring of 1935, the state court of Dresden convicted Jähnichen and 24 others for the torture of Hohnstein detainees. Under pressure from Gauleiter Mutschmann to reduce or dismiss the sentences, Reich Justice Minister Franz Gürtner commented: "Such oriental sadism as these atrocities could find no explanation or excuse, even in the most bitter struggle."¹⁷ In an example of Nazi antisemitism's effect on the German judicial system in the months before the enactment of the Nuremberg Racial Laws, Gürtner proposed the lowering of Jähnichen's prison sentence. He reasoned that Jähnichen's torture of the Jewish prisoner Ambross, who subsequently committed suicide, was excusable because the victim in question was a "race defiler."¹⁸ Gürtner's pleas for punishing the Hohnstein guards fell on deaf ears. Hitler dismissed all Hohnstein-related verdicts and proceedings.¹⁹

Between 1946 and 1949, the Soviet Military Administration and the German Democratic Republic tried 83 Hohnstein guards in four legal proceedings. Most defendants were sentenced to lengthy terms of confinement. The highest-ranking administrators, including Jähnichen, were not among them, although the Soviets executed Heinicker without trial in 1950.²⁰

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Gün-

ther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). A brief entry can be found in Wolfgang Benz, s.v. “Hohnstein (KZ),” in *Enzyklopädie des Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Wolfgang Benz, Hermann Graml, and Hermann Weiss (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1997). See also Klaus Drobisch, “Frühe Konzentrationslager,” in *Die frühen Konzentrationslager in Deutschland; Austausch zum Forschungsstand und zur pädagogischen Praxis in Gedenkstätten*, ed. Karl Giebel, Thomas Lutz, and Silvester Lechner (Bad Böll: Evangelische Akademie, 1996), pp. 41–60. Another helpful source is Mike Schmeitzner, “Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen, 1933–1945,” in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhal (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag, 2002), pp. 183–199. The camp is recorded in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). Guido Fackler, “Des Lagers Stimme”—Musik im KZ: Alltag und Häftlingskultur in den Konzentrationslagern 1933 bis 1936 (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000), believes that Hohnstein may have had a camp orchestra. About Hohnstein Castle, including the protective custody camp, see “Geschichte der Burg Hohnstein,” at Naturfreundehaus, Burg Hohnstein, www.nfh.de/burg/gesch.htm. The most important sources for the Hohnstein trials are Lothar Gruchmann, *Justiz im Dritten Reich, 1933–1940: Anpassung und Unterwerfung in der Ära Gürtner*, 3rd ed. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2001); and Annette Weinke, “Dem ‘Klassengegner’ hingegen? Die Dresdner Prozesse gegen das SA-Wachpersonal des ‘Schutzhalt’-Lagers Hohnstein,” in *Münchner Platz, Dresden: Die Strafjustiz der Diktaturen und der historische Ort*, ed. Norbert Haase and Birgit Sack, with Gerald Hacke (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag, 2001), pp. 153–170. Weinke focuses on the preparations for the Arlet trial.

Primary documentation for Hohnstein begins with the testimony of Otto Urban, “Burg Hohnstein,” in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt “Graphia,” 1934), pp. 217–238. As a swing, Urban was unusually well situated to report on the camp administration. His account revealed the guards’ debauched behavior, one possible source of postwar misconceptions about Nazi perpetrators. A second, anonymous testimony appeared in “SPORT: Wie er in den Sportkommandos der Konzentrationslager getrieben wird . . . Bericht eines jungen Arbeiters über Hohnstein,” in *Lernen Sie das schöne Deutschland kennen: Ein Reiseführer, unentbehrlich für jeden Besucher der Olympiade*, ed. Paul Prokop (Prague: Prokop, 1936). German Communists smuggled this *Tarnschrift* (disguised anti-Nazi publication) into Germany during the 1936 Berlin Olympics. The anonymous Social Democrat’s account was published in World Committee for the Victims of German Fascism, *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror*, foreword by Lord Marley (Basel: Universumbücherei, 1933), pp. 289–290. Another helpful testimony is Prinz Ernst Heinrich von Sachsen’s *Mein Lebensweg vom Königsschloss zum Bauernhof* (Munich: List, 1968). As cited in Drobisch and Wieland, documentation on the Hohnstein population includes File No. 4842 in the SHStA-(D), Ministerium für Aus-

wärtige Angelegenheiten. As cited by Schmeitzner, the August 1933 population figure may be found in File No. 8186, also in SHStA-(D), Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten. On Eugen Frisch’s death, see “Unsere Totenlist! Die Opfer der gemordeten Mörder,” *DF*, July 19, 1934. The Gürtner correspondence can be found in documents 783, 785–788, and 3,791 PS, reproduced in the International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals* (Nürnberg: Secretariat of the IMT, 1949), 26:321–327 and 33:56–63. Useful reports on Hohnstein’s female detainees are Käte Kenta’s articles, “Konzentrationslager für Frauen,” *DNW*, January 23, 1936, pp. 100–104; and “Im Konzentrationslager für Frauen,” *DNW*, February 20, 1936, pp. 236–238. The second is an excerpted brochure, which appears to be a fictional synthesis of eyewitness accounts. The exile weekly magazine, *DNW* published numerous anti-Nazi articles of various political views in the period from April 6, 1933, to August 31, 1939. The VVN published two accounts of resistance at Hohnstein, *Widerstandgruppe Vereinigte Kletter-Abteilung* (Berlin [East]: VVN-Verlag, 1948) and *Von der Jugendburg Hohnstein zum Schutzhaltlager Hohnstein* (Berlin [East]: VVN-Verlag, 1949), which are excerpted in *Damit Deutschland lebe: Ein Quellenwerk über den deutschen antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf, 1933–1945*, ed. Walter A. Schmidt (Berlin [East]: Kongress-Verlag, 1958). Schmidt does not explain whether these sources were primary or secondary. The imprimatur and early publication dates strongly suggest that they were probably written by former Communist detainees. The 21 sentences issued in the Arlet trial (Case No. Az 1 gr 111/48) may be found in *Der Generalstaatsanwalt der DDR, Ministerium der Justiz der DDR*, ed., *Die Haltung der beiden deutschen Staaten zu den Nazi- und Kriegsverbrechen: Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin [East]: Staatsverlag der DDR, 1965). Following East German practice, only the defendants’ first names and last initials are provided. As cited in Weinke, the trial of Hohnstein guard Helmut Haupold is Case No. 1 Ks 35/46. The remaining two trials against Hohnstein defendants, cited by Weinke without case numbers, were *Kurt Stachowski alias Stauk, et al.* (1949), with 30 defendants, and *Felix Sikora, et al.* (1949), with 31 defendants. The Hohnstein camp is listed in “Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaltgefängene,” *NV*, August 27, 1933, which placed the camp population at 600.

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NOTES

1. “Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaltgefängene,” *NV*, (August 27, 1933; Otto Urban, “Burg Hohnstein,” in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt “Graphia,” 1934), pp. 217, 231, 233; “Unsere Totenliste! Die Opfer der gemordeten Mörder,” *DF*, July 19, 1934.

2. Document 785-PS, Franz Gürtner, Unsigned Memorandum for Adolf Hitler on Hohnstein Proceeding (n.d.), in International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals* (Nürnberg: Secretariat of the IMT, 1949), 26:313; hereafter TMWC.

3. Urban, “Burg Hohnstein,” pp. 221, 234; Käte Kenta, “Im Konzentrationslager für Frauen,” *DNW*, February 20, 1936, pp. 236–238.

4. Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," p. 227.
5. "SPORT: Wie er in den Sportkommandos der Konzentrationslager getrieben wird . . . Bericht eines jungen Arbeiters über Hohnstein," in *Lernen Sie das schöne Deutschland kennen: Ein Reiseführer, unentbehrlich für jeden Besucher der Olympiade*, ed. Paul Prokop (Prague: Prokop, 1936), n.p.
6. Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," pp. 223, 228; Document 785-PS, p. 312.
7. World Committee for the Victims of German Fascism, *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror*, foreword by Lord Marley (Basel: Universumbücherei, 1933), pp. 289–290.
8. Ibid., p. 289.
9. Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," pp. 217, 219.
10. Ibid., pp. 219, 221, 223–224.
11. Ibid., pp. 233–235; Käte Kenta, "Konzentrationslager für Frauen," *DNW*, January 23, 1936, pp. 101–102; Kenta, "Im Konzentrationslager für Frauen," p. 236.
12. Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," pp. 220, 227, 230; Kenta, "Konzentrationslager für Frauen," p. 103.
13. Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," pp. 229, 236.
14. Prinz Ernst Heinrich von Sachsen, *Mein Lebensweg vom Königsschloss zum Bauernhof* (Munich: List, 1968), pp. 221, 223–225.
15. *Widerstandgruppe Vereinigte Kletter-Abteilung* (Berlin [East]: VVN-Verlag, 1948), n.p., and *Von der Jugendburg Hohnstein zum Schutzhaftlager Hohnstein* (Berlin [East]: VVN-Verlag, 1949), n.p., excerpted in *Damit Deutschland lebe: Ein Quellenwerk über den deutschen antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf, 1933–1945*, ed. Walter A. Schmidt (Berlin [East]: Kongress-Verlag, 1958), pp. 293–294.
16. Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," pp. 222–223.
17. Document 783-PS, Gürtner to Mutschmann, January 18, 1935, in *TMWC*, 26:301.
18. Document 785-PS, p. 313.
19. Document 3791-PS, Gürtner to Frick, May 14, 1935, in *TMWC*, 33:56–63; Document 787-PS, Gürtner to Hitler, June 18, 1935; Document 786-PS, Kaulbach to Gürtner, November 29, 1935; and Document 788-PS, Meissner to Gürtner, June 25 and September 9, 1935, in *TMWC*, 26: 321–327.
20. For the sentences from the trial of *Paul Arlet, et al.* (Case No. Az 1 gr 111/48), see Der Generalstaatsanwalt der DDR, Ministerium der Justiz der DDR, ed., *Die Haltung der beiden deutschen Staaten zu den Nazi- und Kriegsverbrechen: Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin [East]: Staatsverlag der DDR, 1965), p. 35.

KISLAU

Kislau Castle, which was to become Baden's first concentration camp, is situated about 20 miles north of Karlsruhe. In the eighteenth century it was used as a residence by the bishop of Speyer and, after secularization, as a state prison. On April 23, 1933, the local Nazi daily, *Der Führer*, announced the establishment of a "protective custody" camp for North Baden on the castle grounds, while the manor house continued to be used as a men's workhouse (*Arbeitshaus*), as it was for the previous 50 years. There was a close relationship between the two institutions. This is illustrated by the fact that they

not only shared a common interim administration; they also shared a rather lax division of inmates—for example, political prisoners and inmates of the *Arbeitshaus* labored together at some of Kislau's several workshops. Even the Baden administration had problems differentiating between the two institutions and continued to send political prisoners to Kislau long after the protective custody camp had been closed down. During its existence, the concentration camp remained under the jurisdiction of the Baden Ministry of Interior, even though most other concentration camps at the time came under the control of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL).

Baden's first concentration camp was established as a protective custody camp for political adversaries. However, it also served as a model camp and place of detention, especially for Social Democrats and Communists, whom Gauleiter Robert Wagner regarded as his personal enemies. Wagner used the shooting of two policemen by the Freiburg Social Democrat Christian Nussbaum, who had panicked during a police visit to his home, as the pretext to arrest most members of the regional political Left. On May 16, 1933, seven prominent Social Democrats, among them the country's former ministers Adam Remmle (Interior) and Ludwig Marum (Justice), were brought to Kislau from Karlsruhe, where they were paraded on the back of an open truck. Their journey along the main street of Karlsruhe was met by a howling and hissing mob of spectators. The regional Nazi papers commented that "Das Wandern ist des Müllers Lust" ("Hiking is the Miller's Pleasure"),¹ a quotation from an old German folk song, which alluded to the former profession of Adam Remmle. The few people who protested about this public humiliation, such as Albert Nachmann, a lawyer and former partner of Marum, risked joining their colleagues on the truck. Marum and his comrades made up 7 of the 65 political prisoners who arrived at camp Kislau during May and June 1933. This was roughly the average number of inmates held at the camp at any one time, although in 1937 the total peaked at 173. Due to the camp's limited capacity, several prisoners had to be sent to the Heuberg camp at Württemberg and later even to Dachau. Meanwhile, Kislau also became a transit camp for Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, and others viewed as undesirables by the Nazis, who had served sentences in state prisons and were "being sent into 'protective custody'" at Dachau, Sachsenhausen, or Buchenwald. In December 1934, returning German Foreign Legionnaires were temporarily imprisoned at Kislau as potential French spies and underwent questioning as well as indoctrination for 4 to 12 weeks.² As a result, the former Legionnaires worked alongside the other inmates in the camp's workshops, making baskets, brushes, shoes, and clothing or alternatively working in the kitchens and gardens or farming Kislau's 270 acres. Although the products were of interest to local companies in neighboring Mingoheim and Bruchsal, there is nothing to suggest that any firms or institutions profited from the labor of prisoners. The working day at Kislau lasted from quarter past seven in the morning until bedtime at eight o'clock. Camp inmates had about one and a half hours of spare time. They could write and receive letters once a fortnight and receive visits once a week.



SA and SS personnel take seven SPD prisoners to Kislau concentration camp, in a staged procession along Kaiserstrasse in Karlsruhe, May 16, 1933. Among the prisoners is SPD Reichstag member Ludwig Marum, who was murdered at Kislau on March 29, 1934.
USHMM WS # 04034, COURTESY OF YIVO

from a single family member, a priest, or a local Bruchsal physician. Remmle was even released on parole for several days to attend the funeral of his wife.

Kislau was neither the model camp Nazi propaganda made it out to be nor a camp with a high mortality rate. The only documented death was the murder of Marum on the night of March 29, 1934, on the orders of the Gauleitung. Among the executioners sent by Wagner were the vice-commander of the camp, Karl Sauer, and the leader of the guards, Heinrich Stix. Together they strangled Marum in his cell and then hung him from a window bar to make the murder look like a suicide. Nazi officials claimed that the former minister had suffered from depression, as he could not hope to be released from Kislau.³ However, Marum's family and friends never accepted this version of events and had the corpse secretly examined by a physician who was able to ascertain the real cause of Marum's death. The perpetrators also helped to undermine the official version of events by talking about their crime in public.⁴

On the night of the murder, camp commander Franz Konstantin Mohr (1882–1950) was away on holiday. Mohr, who was a former member of the colonial troops in southwest Africa and who later retired from the police as a captain, seems to have been on bad terms with the SA and SS guards whom he detested for being brutal and primitive. This attitude was

already in evidence at his previous post, Baden's second concentration camp, Ankenbuck. Mohr went to Kislau on June 7, 1933, and stayed there until his move to the Administration of Justice in 1937. For the last two years of this period, he was also director of the workhouse. The reason he gave on his application to the Baden administration for wanting this move was: "I don't want to spend the rest of my youth among the beggars, tramps and Jews imprisoned here."⁵ While some of the prisoners described Mohr as comparatively humane, working relationships between officials and the administration seem to have suffered due to his overbearing behavior.

Commander Mohr's relationship with the 18 SA and SS guards of the concentration camp was tense. However, these Nazi activists were not the only guard personnel at Kislau. At the various work sites, political prisoners normally encountered guards who had worked and even lived at the workhouse for decades. Some of these guards, who were comparatively older, seemed to have been less watchful and turned a blind eye to inmates' dealings in tobacco.⁶ At least one spectacular escape from the camp was documented. In October 1933, the Communist functionary Robert Klausmann not only escaped imprisonment but also managed to flee to France. In reaction to this, the camp commander proposed installing higher fences but could not obtain the necessary resources for such a move.⁷

The Marum murder was brought to court at Karlsruhe in 1948. The main perpetrator, Sauer, received a life sentence, while his two surviving accomplices both served long terms of imprisonment.⁸ Mohr as well as the Kislau guards merely had to undergo denazification.

SOURCES Published literature on the Kislau concentration camp is scarce. Jürgen Stude provides a small chapter on North Baden's concentration camp in his *Geschichte der Juden im Landkreis Karlsruhe* (Karlsruhe, 1990), pp. 185–189, 317–318; Ursula Krause-Schmitt et al. include a cursory article in *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, vol. 5, pt. 1, *Baden-Württemberg I: Regierungsbezirke Karlsruhe und Stuttgart* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), pp. 52–56. *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin, 2002), includes a contribution on KZ Kislau by Angela Borgstedt.

Kislau was subordinated to the Baden Ministry of Interior, the source material of which was nearly completely destroyed at the end of World War II. However, fragments can be detected in other record groups such as the Ministry of State or the Ministry of the Attorney General, which are preserved at the GLA-K (GLA 233/28351; 237/36353 and 508/425–429; 309/4807–4824 as well as 309/Zug. 1987/54). The prisoners' files from Kislau's times as a state prison in the nineteenth century till the end of World War II are deposited in their own record group (521/Zug. 1982/48), and those of the guards can be found among the personal documents of Baden's judicial officers (240/Zug. 1997/38). Further information on them can be obtained from their denazification files (e.g., 465a/51/12/14998; 465a/51/68/664; 465a/51/68/863; 465a/51/69/84). Camp commander Franz K. Mohr's career can be reconstructed from his different personnel files (444/Zug. 1983/65; 465e/1164; 466/12819).

Angela Borgstedt

NOTES

1. *DFü*, May 16, 1933; *DA*, May 17, 1933.
2. GLA-K, 309/Zug. 1987/54, no. 723.
3. "Suicide of the Jew Marum," *DFü*, March 29, 1934, evening edition.
4. GLA-K, 465a/51/69/84; 465a/51/68/664; and 480 EK 7700.
5. Letter by Mohr, dated August 16, 1935, GLA, 466/12819.
6. GLA-K, 240/Zug. 1997/38, nos. 2053–2055.
7. GLA-K, 311/Zug. 1992/15, no. 621.
8. GLA-K, 309/4807–4824. The sentence is partly published in *Ludwig Marum: Briefe aus dem KZ*, ed. Elizabeth Marum-Lunau Kislau and Jörg Schadt, 2nd ed. (1984; Karlsruhe, 1988), pp. 150–158.

KLEVE

On April 1, 1933, the SA and Stahlhelm established a "protective custody" camp in the prison at Kleve near Aachen.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); see also Johannes Tuchel, "Organisationsgeschichte der 'frühen' Konzentrationslager," in *Instrumentarium der Macht: Friibe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1937*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), pp. 9–27.

Primary documentation for Kleve consists of an ITS entry in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:224.

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KÖLN (BONNER WALL)

The detention center at Bonner Wall 114–120 came into being on the grounds of a former prison fortress dating from the second half of the nineteenth century. Originally used as a military detention center, the building had already served as a prison in the 1920s until it was shut down due to economic reasons in 1930.¹ The Bonner Wall was located at the southern edge of the inner city, flanked by a railroad line. The use of the building for the accommodation of political prisoners between 1933 and 1934, however, was not concealed from the population.²

On March 4, 1933, the Cologne police presidium put the Bonner Wall into operation on a "provisional basis."³ The authorization was triggered by the mass arrest of Communist functionaries after the Reichstag Fire. More detention space was evidently needed for housing "protective custody" prisoners after the Cologne prison Klingelpütz (see Early Camps/ Köln (Klingelpütz)) became overcrowded and could no longer take in any political prisoners.

No exact information exists on the number of prisoners and staff at Bonner Wall. While during the 1920s up to 400 people were supposedly interned on the premises, a report from 1936 speaks of 200 detention places.⁴ This corresponded to the capacity of the central fortress building.⁵ The capacity limit appears to have been reached for the first time in mid-April 1933 at the latest. Thus, prisoners from Bonner Wall had to be transferred to out-of-town prisons.⁶ As protective custody prisoners were coming and going during the following months, several hundred men may have passed through the prison.

Generally, prisoners remained incarcerated for several weeks before they were deported to camps such as the Brauweiler workhouse (*Arbeitsanstalt*), the Emsland moor camps, or the Sonnenburg camp.⁷ Some of the prisoners were handed over to courts at the initiation of proceedings or temporarily to the local Gestapo office for interrogation. Thus, the police prison at Bonner Wall served as a kind of assembly camp for the Cologne area. From here, political prisoners were allocated to local institutions and larger, national camps.

In the early months of the Nazi regime, terror in the Cologne area was mainly directed at members of the German Commu-

nist Party (KPD) and its suborganizations. Thus, this group comprised the majority of prisoners at Bonner Wall.⁸ From late June 1933 onward, after the Social Democratic Party (SPD) had been banned, Social Democrats were also incarcerated.⁹ According to eyewitness accounts, the Cologne police also sent several Jewish residents of Cologne, who previously had been victims of antisemitic riots by SA and SS, to the police prison in early April.¹⁰ In exceptional cases, members of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) would also be taken into custody at Bonner Wall for "behavior damaging to the Party."¹¹ There are no indications that female prisoners were interned at Bonner Wall.

Detailed information about the prison staff is lacking. Evidently, the local detention site at Klingelpütz provided personnel to take care of cooking and medical attendance for the prisoners.¹² The Cologne police were in charge of guarding the prisoners; it remains unclear whether the camp received support from the local auxiliary police. The police prison appeared, however, to be accessible to members of the NSDAP and its suborganizations. Evidence suggests that besides the police, members of the SS and the National Socialist Factory Cells Organization (NSBO) delivered and interrogated prisoners at Bonner Wall.¹³

Indeed, the police prison was not a torture site per se, for "detailed interrogations" were generally carried out in the Gestapo office at the Cologne police presidium on Krebsgasse, where most abuses and extortions of statements took place. According to contemporary witnesses, prisoners at Bonner Wall were nevertheless assaulted, primarily by party formations.¹⁴ In view of the high fluctuation of inmates, it is not very likely that a permanent prisoner aid organization came into being. As in many other protective custody sites in 1933, however, it seems that the prisoners at Bonner Wall informed one another about the situation outside the prison walls, talked about their experiences with the police and the party, and coordinated their statements. This was evidently aided by the prison's construction, which allowed some cells to hold 15 prisoners.¹⁵ After Klingelpütz stopped admitting protective custody prisoners in the early fall of 1933, the police prison at Bonner Wall temporarily became the central protective custody site in Cologne. When the camp system was centralized, however, it too was shut down on March 26, 1934. The remaining prisoners were moved to Klingelpütz, where they presumably awaited transfer to pretrial confinement or transportation to other prison sites.¹⁶

After 1945, the State Attorney's Office neither investigated the Bonner Wall police prison's role as a camp for political prisoners nor the reported prisoner abuses. Judicial authorities in Cologne initiated several investigations and conducted trials dealing with police arrests and terror measures after the Nazi seizure of power.¹⁷ They concentrated, however, on events at the Cologne Gestapo office in the former police presidium and did not include Bonner Wall.

SOURCES The police prison at Bonner Wall is mentioned in a general survey of the history of the camps: Klaus Drobisch

and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 74. Various articles about National Socialism in Cologne refer to the prison as well: Carl Dietmar and Werner Jung, *Kleine illustrierte Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, 8th rev. and enlarg. ed. (Cologne: Bachem, 1996), p. 240; Manfred Huiskes, ed. and intro., *Die Wandinschriften des Kölner Gestapogefängnisses im EL-DE-Haus: 1943–1945* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1983), p. 10; Wilfried Viebahn and Walter Kuchta, "Widerstand gegen die Nazidiktatur in Köln," in *Das andere Köln: Demokratische Traditionen seit der Französischen Revolution*, ed. Reinhold Billstein (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1979), pp. 283–361. All references are rather short, at times inaccurate, and rarely exceed a mention of the camp. The most detailed reference is Severin Roeseling, *Das braune Köln: Ein Stadtführer durch die Innenstadt in der NS-Zeit*, ed. NS-Dokumentationszentrum der Stadt Köln (Cologne: Emons, 1999), pp. 80, 82.

The nature of the sources accounts for the few references to Bonner Wall in the secondary literature. Original records exist only from the time of the Weimar Republic: NWHStA-(D), Regierung Köln Nr. 8090; NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/216–219. Since the Cologne district president, the Cologne police presidium, and the local Gestapo office hardly left any relevant documents behind, the prison's role during the Nazi period is poorly documented. The reports of the Cologne Gestapo to the Gestapo (BA-B, R 58) and the reports of the Cologne State Attorney's Office to the Prussian Ministry of Justice—NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 21—also do not explicitly mention the police prison at Bonner Wall. One thus has to rely on selective references in the files of the Cologne general state attorney (NWHStA-(D), Düsseldorf Gerichte Rep. 22), in records of the rural district office (NWHStA-(D), Landratsamt Köln Nr. 365), but primarily in accounts of former protective custody prisoners. Books by former prisoners are relevant sources: Deutsche Kommunistische Partei (DKP)/Ortsgruppe Bergisch Gladbach, ed., *Antifaschisten aus Bergisch Gladbach berichten* (Bergisch Gladbach, 1979). Also testimonies from postwar trials in Cologne: NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231. In addition, there are relevant collections of contemporary witness interviews at the HASk (Best. 1344) and the NS-Dok (Best. Z). Due to the complex situation with regard to sources, it is possible that new material will be discovered in the future. Additional information might possibly be found in the prisoner files of the Cologne penitentiary (NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 132) or in the records of contemporaneous political trials against Communists and Social Democrats.

Thomas Roth
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. For the early history, see NWHStA-(D), Regierung Köln Nr. 8090; NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/216; KöSa, December 3, 1930; HASk, Best. 903/94, p. 114.

2. *WdtB*, July 27, 1933; Deutsche Kommunistische Partei (DKP)/Ortsgruppe Bergisch Gladbach, ed., *Antifaschisten aus Bergisch Gladbach berichten* (Bergisch Gladbach, 1979), p. 41.

3. Amtliche Bekanntmachung vom 04.03.1933, in NS-Dok, NbStPVK.

4. Polizeipräsident Köln an Regierungspräsident Köln vom 20.10.1921 und 6.12.1926, in NWHStA-(D), Regierung Köln Nr. 8090; Strafanstaltsoberdirektor Köln an Generalstaatsanwalt Köln vom 21.10.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 321/875, p. 52.

5. See Bericht vom 12.7.1919, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/216, p. 150.

6. Strafanstaltsvorsteher Trier an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 14.04.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/353, p. 34; HAStK, Best. 1344/118.

7. Staatsanwaltschaftliche Vernehmung des Peter G. vom 09.10.1934, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/16692, p. 78; NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/241, p. 3; Aussage des Ludwig F. vom 09.04.1952, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/460, p. 95; DKP, *Antifaschisten aus Bergisch-Gladbach berichten*, pp. 9, 41, 185. References also in ALVR, Pulheim-Brauweiler 15113 and 15114.

8. See DKP, *Antifaschisten aus Bergisch-Gladbach berichten*, p. 41; and the various references in HAStK, Best. 1344.

9. See the prisoner lists in NWHStA-(D), Landratsamt Köln Nr. 365; and NS-Dok, Z 10029.

10. Statement of Helene F. vom 08.08.1946, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/120, 4R; HAStK, Best. 1344/118.

11. See Strafanzeige des Josef H. vom 27.03.1935, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/1473, p. 1; Gesuch des Friedrich H. an Adolf Hitler vom 18.09.1933 (Abschrift), in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/5004, p. 2; Schreiben des Emil R. an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln vom 12.07.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/2494, p. 1.

12. Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 04.03.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, p. 179; Schreiben des Rechtsanwalts Heribert L. an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln vom 21.04.1934, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/5004, p. 9.

13. DKP, *Antifaschisten aus Bergisch-Gladbach berichten*, p. 185; Schreiben des Emil R. an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln vom 12.07.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/2494, p. 1.

14. See note 13 and NS-Dok, Z 10013.

15. NSDAP-Reichsleitung an Geheimes Staatspolizeiamt, Abt. III vom 16.01.1934, in BA-B, R 58/2047, p. 103; Aussage des Josef B. vom 12.11.1951, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/460, 30R.

16. Amtliche Bekanntmachung vom 26.03.1934, in NS-Dok, NbStPVK.

17. Vgl. NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/229, pp. 275–299, 460–461.

higher police leader in the West (Höherer Polizeiführer im Westen) had been appointed a coordinating position for the Rhineland and Westphalia provinces in October 1932. Not only did he collect data on organizations, personnel, and activities of the leftist workers' movements; he was also, as a February 11, 1933, decree from Prussian Minister of Interior Hermann Göring stipulated, special commissar in charge of allocating protective custody prisoners to individual detention sites. He also attempted to provide unified guidelines for the treatment of prisoners. These special responsibilities were soon rescinded, however, and taken over by the interior administration in June 1933.¹

The use of Klingelpütz as a protective custody prison began on March 1, 1933. On this day the penitentiary reported the admission of 170 "radical left-wing" political prisoners.² After further arrivals, the prison reached its highest occupancy in April 1933 with around 350 prisoners, before leveling off in May and June to an average number of 220, including 10 to 20 women. As an additional 800 to 850 prisoners and detainees were being held at Klingelpütz, and the prison at this time was designed for 975 inmates, constant overcrowding prevailed. The local judiciary administration reacted by moving regular prisoners to the local jails or suspending the sentences of minor offenders, demanding a ban on admittances for further protective custody prisoners or requesting relocation from Klingelpütz to other detention sites.³ Some of the prisoners were also transported to the Brauweiler camp northwest of Cologne.

The protective custody prisoners at Klingelpütz did not come exclusively from the municipal area. A large number came from the cities around the Cologne region. According to several surviving lists of names from the administrative district, the prisoners were almost exclusively members of the German Communist Party (KPD) and its suborganizations, the Communist Youth (Kommunistische Jugend), the Red Labor Union Opposition (Rote Gewerkschaftsopposition), Red Help (Rote Hilfe), or the Fighting League against Fascism (Kampfbund gegen den Faschismus). After the first wave of arrests, ordinary KPD members, members of workers' sports clubs, or representatives of clubs and culture organizations associated with the KPD occasionally were interned.⁴ Members and functionaries of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Free Unions (Freie Gewerkschaften) were in the minority. In the second week of March, however, several prominent Cologne Social Democrats were sent to Klingelpütz. As symbolic figures of the SPD and the "Weimar system," they had previously been arrested and at times been severely abused by SA and SS units. Among them were former Cologne police chief Otto Bauknecht, city councilors Dr. Ernst Fresdorf and Johannes Meerfeld, editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* Hugo Efferoth, and Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Wilhelm Sollmann.⁵ Occasionally, members of the Catholic milieu were also interned. In addition to the politically active university professor Benedikt Schmittmann, several people in leading positions in local authorities or businesses during the Weimar Republic were detained on the basis of usually groundless accusations of corruption.⁶

KÖLN (KLINGELPÜTZ)

The Cologne "Klingelpütz," the central court prison for Cologne since 1838, not only served as a regular penitentiary under the Nazis but also temporarily functioned as a detention site for political "protective custody" prisoners during the period of mass arrests following February 28, 1933.

The Cologne penitentiary's administration and the correctional bureau, which at this time still supervised the penal system in the southern Rhine province, were responsible for accommodating the new prisoners. The police apparatus, however, was not without influence over prison conditions. A

The prison administration incarcerated all prisoners in the C-wing of Klingelpütz, which had been made available by relocating other prisoners and crowding cells with multiple occupants. Prison officials took over supervising the prisoners and in principle were supposed to follow the traditional penitentiary rules.⁷ Due to the increased workload, however, four assistants were hired.⁸ In contrast to other penal institutions, such as in the Düsseldorf district, for instance, neither state police officers nor the auxiliary police had significant influence on conditions in the protective custody wing. Indeed, a security detachment consisting of a regular police officer and eight auxiliary policemen was created at the prison in early March. Yet they were only to be put into action in cases of unrest inside the prison or outside attacks.⁹

Due to the deployment of penal institution officers in the protective custody wing, violent outbursts and harassment of the prisoners appear not to have occurred. At least in the accounts from contemporary witnesses, there are no references to mistreatment.¹⁰ Medical treatment for the prisoners was also ensured at Klingelpütz, while the lack of sanitary conditions can be primarily explained by the old age of the penitentiary.¹¹ Traces of Nazi terror were always present, however, as the local Gestapo consistently brought prisoners to the penitentiary with clearly visible injuries. In addition, the prison sickbay admitted victims of abuse by Nazi Party (NSDAP) units, for example, from the Braunes Haus on Mozartstrasse.¹²

As far as prison conditions allowed, the protective custody prisoners used the time in Klingelpütz to catch up on the situation in the city's workers' quarters with the newly arrived prisoners, evaluated the political situation, and developed strategies for Gestapo interrogations. In early March, around 40 KPD prisoners collectively took action and protested against the unlawful imprisonment and revocation of their voting right for the upcoming Reichstag and local elections with a hunger strike. After talks with the prison administration, however, the strike ended after a few days.¹³

While some of the few "prominent" prisoners were able to leave Klingelpütz after only a short time, most of the remaining prisoners spent several months in protective custody. In the course of the reorganization and centralization of the camp system, prisoners were released in a more systematic way. Thus, the better part of the protective custody prisoners from the Cologne rural district were set free in several waves, beginning in August 1933.¹⁴ In the course of these releases, the protective custody wing at Klingelpütz was gradually emptied. It cannot be determined precisely when it was finally shut down. Yet since a directive from the Prussian Ministry of Interior from October 14, 1933, allowed no further admittance of protective custody prisoners to local penal institutions, it is likely that Klingelpütz was closed in late October or early November 1933.¹⁵ In 1934, the penitentiary still reported one protective custody prisoner, kept there with special permission.¹⁶

The use of Klingelpütz as a protective custody prison was resumed once again toward the end of World War II.¹⁷ As the

Cologne Gestapo required more detention space, it set up its own section for state police prisoners in Wing III of the penitentiary in November 1944. At first it was designated as a "reception center" (*Auffangstelle*) or "auxiliary police prison" (*Polizeihilfsgefängnis*).¹⁸ A state police officer headed the section. At his disposal were several guards and a few prisoners as trustees. The prison administration had no influence on the conditions in the "Gestapo wing" (*Gestapoflügel*). As the other parts of the complex were for the most part unusable after air raids, the administration gave up Klingelpütz and moved most of the regular judicial prisoners to the Siegburg and Rheinbach penitentiaries in November 1944.¹⁹ In contrast, the Cologne Gestapo's mass arrests led to extreme overcrowding in the Gestapo wing. A contemporary witness estimated that on average 500 prisoners were incarcerated here. In November 1944, this number rose to 800 prisoners, so that in some cases up to 14 people shared a single cell. The inmates were designated as "political" or "criminal" prisoners. Reasons for imprisonment were membership in a resistance group, "remarks hostile to the state" (*staatsfeindliche Äußerungen*), "crimes related to the war economy" (*Kriegswirtschaftsverbrechen*), or "gang formation" (*Bandenbildung*). The majority were foreign laborers who were imprisoned on "racial" grounds and often for minor offenses. They awaited further transport to a concentration camp or to the Gestapo office at Elisenstrasse, a major Gestapo execution site since 1944. Until early March 1945, several hundred Klingelpütz prisoners, most of them foreigners, were presumably killed this way. In the Gestapo wing, poor nutrition, catastrophic hygienic conditions, a typhus epidemic, and the physical terror of the guard personnel resulted in several fatalities. At the end of May 1945, the American military authorities found seven bodies in the inner courtyard of the prison, which evidently had been buried there in February 1945.

Similar to inmates of other Cologne camps, prisoners at the Klingelpütz Gestapo wing were evacuated to the right bank of the Rhine as the Allies drew closer. In the first days of March, prisoners still able to walk were transported by foot to the Wipperfürth and Hunswinkel labor education camps in the Upper Bergische region; around 80 prisoners, most of whom were ill with typhus, stayed at Klingelpütz. They were liberated on March 7, 1945.

After the war, there were several preliminary proceedings against members of the guard personnel and the prison physician at Klingelpütz.²⁰ Due to a lack of suspicion or evidence, however, the investigations were discontinued. They focused on a complex of crimes, such as the use of Klingelpütz as an execution site for inmates and Night-and-Fog prisoners, or Gestapo crimes committed during the final period of the war. The internment of protective custody prisoners in 1933, however, remained unmentioned.

SOURCES Several general surveys of camp history and camp memorials make reference to the role of Klingelpütz during the Nazi period: Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie

Verlag, 1993), p. 74; Stefan Kraus, *NS-Unrechtsstätten in Nordrhein-Westfalen: Ein Forschungsbeitrag zum System der Gewalt herrschaft 1933–1945; Lager und Deportationsstätten* (Essen: Klartext, 1999), pp. 73–74; Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, 2nd ed. (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1995), 1: 570–571; Severin Roeseling, *Das braune Köln: Ein Stadtführer durch die Innenstadt in der NS-Zeit*, ed. NS-Dokumentationszentrum der Stadt Köln (Köln: Emons, 1999), pp. 101–102. Also, various contributions on National Socialism in Cologne mention Klingelpütz: Carl Dietmar and Werner Jung, *Kleine illustrierte Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, 8th rev. and enlarg. ed. (Cologne: Bachem, 1996), p. 240; Manfred Huiskes, ed. and intro., *Die Wandinschriften des Kölner Gestapoge fängnisses im EL-DE-Haus: 1943–1945* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1983), p. 11; Adolf Klein, *Köln im Dritten Reich: Stadtgeschichte der Jahre 1933–1945* (Cologne: Greven, 1983), p. 263; Wilfried Viebahn and Walter Kuchta, “Widerstand gegen die Nazidiktatur in Köln,” in *Das andere Köln: Demokratische Traditionen seit der Französischen Revolution*, ed. Reinholt Billstein (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1979), pp. 283–361; *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Köln 1933–1945: Ausstellung HASTK* (Cologne: HASTK, 1974), p. 366. Publications on Cologne judicial history also touch on this topic: Leo Günter, “Vorgeschichte und Geschichte des alten ‘Klingelpütz’ in Köln,” *ZfSV* 11 (1962): 32–45; Adolf Klein, “Strafvollzug in Köln,” in *Rheinische Justiz. Geschichte und Gegenwart; 175 Jahre Oberlandesgericht Köln*, ed. Dieter Laum et al. (Cologne: O. Schmidt, 1994), pp. 503–551. These contain few details and mainly focus on the use of the prison as an execution site for the western German special courts. Its role as a protective custody prison in 1933 is at most touched upon. Additional references to the internment of prisoners at Klingelpütz can be found, however, in biographical studies of former prisoners such as Wilhelm Sollmann or Benedikt Schmittmann. The use of Klingelpütz by the Gestapo, its role as an execution site, and the evacuation marches in 1944–1945 are examined by Gabriele Lotfi, *KZ der Gestapo: Arbeitserziehungslager im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 2000), p. 293; and Bernd-A. Rusinek, *Gesellschaft in der Katastrophe. Terror, Illegalität, Widerstand—Köln 1944/45* (Essen: Klartext, 1989), p. 441. Liberation of the Klingelpütz prisoners is described by Reinholt Billstein and Eberhard Illner, *You Are Now in Cologne, Compliments: Köln 1945 in den Augen der Sieger; Hundert Tage unter amerikanischer Kontrolle* (Cologne: Emons, 1995), p. 52.

Archival sources on the use of Klingelpütz as a protective custody prison are sparse. With regard to numbers of prisoners and their internment, however, there are accumulative files (Sammelakten) from the penitentiary and the Cologne correctional bureau: NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322 and 22/353. The prisoner lists of the Cologne rural district provide information on the political profiles of the prisoners: NWHStA-(D), Landratsamt Köln Nr. 365. Neither the reports of the Cologne Gestapo to the Gestapo in Berlin (in BA-B, R 58) nor the Cologne State Attorney’s Office reports to the Prussian Ministry of Justice—in NWHStA-(D) Gerichte Rep. 21—specifically mention the protective custody prison at Klingelpütz. As far as the perspectives of former prisoners are concerned, there are sparse references in the records of the Cologne postwar trials—NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231—and in a collection of interviews with contempor-

ary witnesses kept by the NS-Dok Cologne, Best. Z. A blend of memoirs, original research, and personal comments are provided by Ekkhard Häussermann, ed., “Die Henker vom Klingelpütz 1933–1945: Aus den Aufzeichnungen und Erinnerungen des Gefängnispfarrers Dr. Johannes Kühler,” KöRS, Nr. 61 (March 13, 1971) to Nr. 112 (May 14, 1971). Additional information might be found through a systematic inspection of the still existing prisoner files from Klingelpütz—NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 132—and by examining political trials of the Nazi period. More documents exist on the history of the Gestapo wing in 1944–1945. They are accessible through two postwar preliminary proceedings—NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/95 and 248/265–266—that specifically dealt with Klingelpütz. In addition, various proceedings on Cologne Gestapo crimes of the final period refer to the Gestapo wing (e.g., NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/492). The PRO, War Office 309/1145, provides information on the evacuations.

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NOTES

1. On the activities of the Höherer Polizeiführer im Westen, see the references in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/353; Landratsamt Siegkreis Nr. 44; Regierung Aachen Nr. 22757, p. 7, and Nr. 23886, p. 11. On the replacement of the Höherer Polizeiführer im Westen, see Rundschreiben der Landespolizei-Inspektion West vom 12.06.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/353, p. 120, and ALVR, Pulheim-Brauweiler Nr. 8228, p. 12.

2. Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 02.03.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, p. 177.

3. See Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 02.03.1933 and Strafvollzugsamt Köln an Preussisches Justizministerium vom 11.05.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, pp. 177, 199, as well as the numerous references in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/353.

4. See the prisoner lists in NWHStA-(D), Landratsamt Köln Nr. 365.

5. See Bericht Sollmann in HASTK, ed., *Wilhelm Sollmann II: Zum hundertsten Geburtstag am 1. April 1981* (Cologne: HASTK, 1981), p. 64; Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Cologne an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 13.03.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, p. 182; for another case, see NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 21/364, p. 57.

6. Ekkhard Häussermann, ed., “Die Henker vom Klingelpütz 1933–1945: Aus den Aufzeichnungen und Erinnerungen des Gefängnispfarrers Dr. Johannes Kühler,” KöRS, Nr. 61 (March 13, 1971) to Nr. 112 (May 14, 1971)—see in this case Nr. 77 (January 4, 1971); NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/15693–15697 and 231/334–335; Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 17.03.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, p. 187.

7. Vermerke des Strafvollzugsamtes Düsseldorf vom 02.04.1933 and 05.04.1933 and Schreiben des Höheren Polizeiführers im Westen vom 05.04.1933, both in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/353, pp. 29, 65, 108; Häussermann, “Die Henker vom Klingelpütz 1933–1945,” Nr. 70 (March 24, 1971) and Nr. 77 (January 4, 1971).

8. Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 02.03.1933 und Verfügung des Strafvollzugsamtes Köln vom 03.03.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, pp. 177–178.

9. Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 15.03.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, p. 185; Vermerk des Oberstrafanstaltsdirektors Köln vom 18.04.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/353, p. 35 as well as the reference in note 7.

10. See also the complaints of the Cologne SS about the supposedly too “mild” prison conditions at the state-run detention sites in the Cologne region: Nachrichtenführer 58. SS-Standarte an SS-Abschnitt V vom 12.06.1933, in BA-B, R 58/3859, p. 6.

11. See, for example, Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 07.03.1933 und 13.03.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, pp. 180, 182.

12. Häussermann, “Die Henker vom Klingelpütz 1933–1945,” Nr. 77 (January 4, 1971); Schreiben des Friedrich H. an Adolf Hitler vom 18.09.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/5004, p. 2; Oberstaatsanwalt Köln an Preussischen Justizminister vom 14.12.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 21/87, p. 2380.

13. Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 07.03.1933 and 09.03.1933, both in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, pp. 180–181.

14. According to references in NWHStA-(D), Landratsamt Köln Nr. 365.

15. The Fernspruch des Landrates Köln vom 31.10.1933, in ibid., also refers to this.

16. Vermerk des Generalstaatsanwalts Köln vom 19.01.1934, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/353, p. 164.

17. Unless otherwise noted, the following details are based on the Ermittlungsakten in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/95, 231/492, 231/522, and primarily 248/265–266. There are slight variations in numbers and dates, depending on the source.

18. Bericht der Gestapo Köln vom 09.11.1944, in NWHStA-(D), RW 34/8, p. 1; Rundverfügung der Gestapo Köln vom 14.11.1944, in NWHStA-(D), RW 34/24. According to Häussermann, “Die Henker vom Klingelpütz 1933–1945,” Nr. 61 (March 13, 1971) to Nr. 112 (May 14, 1971), the Gestapo supposedly already had its own section in Klingelpütz in 1942. This information, which has also been incorporated in some of the literature, cannot be confirmed elsewhere.

19. See also Vermerk vom 02.11.1944 and Bericht des Generalstaatsanwalts Köln vom 30.01.1945, both in BA-B, R 3001/3374, pp. 152–153, 158.

20. See NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/72, 231/95, 231/166, 231/212, 248/265–266, 248/304, 248/334–337. The preliminary proceedings dealing with the crimes of Cologne Gestapo and the executions at Elisenstrasse are not mentioned here.

Aachen from October 1932 until November 1934. In 1933, it served for several months as a detention and torture center for opponents of the Nazi regime. The 1st Company of the Cologne SS (1. SS-Sturm Köln) provided the majority of the guard personnel, who were also housed in the building. The detention facility was under the command of SS-Regiment 58 (Standarte 58), established in April 1933, which belonged to SS-Upper Sector West (Oberabschnitt West) under Gruppenführer Fritz Weitzel (1904–1940). In practice, however, the Braunes Haus was not just a self-contained SS facility; it was also used by other Cologne Nazi groups: in addition to the SS, SA patrols, the Gauleitung’s intelligence service, and the National Socialist Factory Cells Organization (NSBO) also brought in prisoners.¹ At the same time, the Braunes Haus was part and parcel of the police terror system. The Cologne Gestapo had apparently approved of the establishment of a detention and torture center and—from May 1933 at the latest—maintained regular contact through separate liaison officials who came to Mozartstrasse to “hand over” and take back prisoners, examine confessions, and verify information.²

The first references for the use of the Mozartstrasse building as a detention and torture site can be found in March 1933. During the summer months, the Braunes Haus became the center of Nazi terror in Cologne.³ Among the prisoners were numerous functionaries of the German Communist Party (KPD) and its suborganizations; there were also ordinary supporters of the Communists who were apprehended for distributing leaflets or making dissident comments, as well as members of other left-wing oppositional groups. Social Democratic Party (SPD) Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Wilhelm Sollmann was the most prominent victim of the Cologne workers’ movement. He recorded his experiences at Mozartstrasse in a memoir shortly after his release. Together with Hugo Efferoth, editor of the Social Democratic newspaper *Rheinische Zeitung*, he was repeatedly mistreated on March 9, 1933, and subsequently turned over to the Cologne police presidium.⁴

Since various Nazi groups and organizations took part in the arrests and did not always strictly follow political principles, not only political activists or members of the workers’ movement ended up among the prisoners at Mozartstrasse. The SS and party intelligence services also brought ordinary citizens to the Braunes Haus, if they had attracted public attention for “indiscipline” (*Disziplinlosigkeiten*) or “defeatism” (*Miesmacherei*) or were considered Jewish.⁵ In addition, several members of the SA, SS, and NSDAP were brought to Mozartstrasse as punishment for embezzlement or other criminal offenses.⁶

The detainees were interned in a room in the basement that on average held 10 to 20 people.⁷ Generally, political prisoners were incarcerated until they signed a confession concerning their political activities or disclosed information about other dissidents. Afterward, they were released or turned over to the political police. Though most prisoners remained only a few days at the Braunes Haus, some had to spend several weeks in the so-called district cellar (*Gaukeller*). Thus, the Braunes Haus can be considered a combination of

KÖLN [MOZARTSTRASSE] [AKA BRAUNES HAUS]

The so-called Brown House (Braunes Haus), a building at Mozartstrasse 28 in Cologne, accommodated the Nazi Party (NSDAP) Province Administration (Gauleitung) Cologne-

interrogation site, torture site, and early concentration camp. As prisoners were constantly being brought in and transported to other sites, it is probable that the total number of victims reached triple digits. During the interrogations, abuse was common practice and could not even be avoided by confessing quickly. Violence was not only a means of extorting statements about the political opposition; it also aimed at the permanent intimidation and humiliation of dissidents. Thus, the prisoners were exposed to torture both before and after interrogation. Torture often was accompanied by degrading rituals: the SS forced prisoners to put on ridiculous costumes, to sing satirical songs about themselves, to destroy leftist writings or party material, to abuse fellow prisoners, or to jump into a sump where the prisoners' excrement had been poured. The torture did not stop at the physical destruction of political opponents: it led to self-inflicted wounds and attempted suicides among the prisoners who tried to avoid the suffering. At least one person died at Mozartstrasse.⁸ In view of this situation and the fact that prisoners in the basement at Mozartstrasse were constantly subject to surveillance, joint actions or detailed discussions among the prisoners were out of the question. Solidarity, however, manifested itself at certain times, for example, when prisoners helped each other after abuse, shared food, or gave each other moral support. The prisoner Ludwig Jacobsen, who did time at Mozartstrasse from mid-June to mid-July because he was a functionary of the left-wing German Communist Party Opposition (KPO), grew into the role of a trustee and "camp elder." He gave newly arrived prisoners support and assistance in standing up to the terror. The personnel at Mozartstrasse consisted of several SS guards, a rotating torture commando of 3 to 10 SS men, and several men who performed arrests and interrogations. In addition to SS men, NSDAP functionaries took part in interrogations and abuses. Those substantially responsible included SS-Truppführer Josef Balzer (born in 1898) from the staff of SS-Regiment 58. He was both chauffeur and close confidant of Cologne Gauleiter Josef Grohé (1902–1987) and was involved in abuses, as was special duty SS-Sturmführer Arthur Ruhland (born in 1907), who led most of the questionings and stood out due to his exceptional cruelty. Their immediate superior was Adolf Marx (born in 1898), leader of the SS-Regiment and also a Cologne "old fighter," who headed the local SS since 1931 and belonged to the local Nazi elites' inner circle. His office was at Mozartstrasse, and he regularly inspected the detention center.⁹ Gauleiter Josef Grohé resided in the same building. In 1934, he stated in an internal party investigation that he knew nothing about the prisoner abuses in the district cellar. Due to the mere fact that it occurred in the same building, this is highly implausible.¹⁰

Arrests and prisoner abuses ended at Braunes Haus after the Nazi leadership announced the completion of the "national revolution" and prohibited nonstate camps. According to a report from the Cologne district president, the "private" SA and SS prisons were disbanded by the end of July 1933.¹¹ SS-Gruppenführer Weitzel oversaw the official closing of the

detention site on Mozartstrasse; he visited the district cellar in late July (probably on July 27) and ordered the transfer of the remaining prisoners to the political police.¹²

The scale of prisoner abuses at Mozartstrasse, however, led to further investigations. At the behest of the NSDAP Reich Leadership, special duty Reichsinspekteur Wilhelm von Holzschuher examined the extent of the Cologne District leadership's involvement in the terror at the Braunes Haus in late July 1934. In August 1934, an investigation by the Reich Leadership SS (Reichsführung) carried out by a representative in Cologne who interrogated witnesses followed.¹³ Apparently the widespread knowledge in Cologne of the events at Mozartstrasse was the starting point for the proceedings. Not only the victims and members of the workers' movement but also the general public knew about the prisoner abuses; one could clearly hear the screams of the tortured on the streets, and numerous rumors circulated about the Braunes Haus.¹⁴ It was more important for the regime, however, that former or displeased "Party comrades," some of whom had themselves been victims of abuse, turned to the party leadership with complaints or pressed charges.¹⁵

Based on these complaints, investigations were initiated against several Mozartstrasse activists. The consequences, however, were minimal. The State Attorney's Office closed its proceedings. Holzschuher's final report on Mozartstrasse cleared Gauleiter Grohé of any responsibility. Indeed, the central figures at the Gaukeller, Ruhland and Marx, and several other guards were expelled from the SS. At Grohé's urging, however, the NSDAP Party Court abstained from imposing further sanctions. The responsible SS men were honored as "merited" and "unselfish" members of the "movement," while the mistreated "Party comrades" were portrayed as "criminals" who had "crept their way into the Party."¹⁶ As compensation for losing their SS posts, Ruhland and Marx were assigned positions in the party apparatus; Balzer was allowed to continue his career as Gauleiter Grohé's adjutant and in 1942 even took over the provisional leadership of SS-Regiment 58.¹⁷

After 1945, the mistreatment of Mdr Sollmann and the fact that a well-known athlete had been a member of the guard unit at Mozartstrasse both led to judicial proceedings in Cologne.¹⁸ The State Attorney's Office and the Regional Court were able to reconstruct the events in the Braunes Haus; however, they could not identify direct participants, nor could they doubtlessly assign any of the reported abuses to specific perpetrators. The proceedings ended with dismissals and court acquittals.

SOURCES Several general surveys of camp history mention the detention site at Mozartstrasse: Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 74; Stefan Kraus, *NS-Unrechtsstätten in Nordrhein-Westfalen: Ein Forschungsbeitrag zum System der Gewaltherrschaft 1933–1945; Lager und Deportationsstätten* (Essen: Klartext, 1999), p. 65. In addition, studies of local history refer to the camp: Carl Dietmar and Werner Jung, *Kleine illustrierte Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, 8th

rev. and enlarg. ed. (Cologne: Bachem, 1996), p. 240; Manfred Huiskes, ed. and intro., *Die Wandinschriften des Kölner Gestapoefängnisses im EL-DE-Haus: 1943–1945* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1983), p. 10; Adolf Klein, *Köln im Dritten Reich: Stadtgeschichte der Jahre 1933–1945* (Cologne: Greven, 1983), pp. 66–67; Severin Roeseling, *Das braune Köln: Ein Stadtführer durch die Innenstadt in der NS-Zeit*, ed. NS-Dokumentationszentrum der Stadt Köln (Cologne: Emons, 1999), p. 64; Wilfried Viebahn and Walter Kuchta, “Widerstand gegen die Nazidiktatur in Köln,” in *Das andere Köln: Demokratische Traditionen seit der Französischen Revolution*, ed. Reinhold Billstein (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1979), pp. 283–361, here p. 290. The authors usually limit themselves to a few details and refer to the testimony of Wilhelm Sollmann. As Mozartstrasse is seen as the center and symbol of local Nazi terror, it is occasionally misinterpreted in the literature, i.e., some attribute the detention site to the Cologne SA or Gestapo: Helmut Fussbroich, *Gedenktafeln in Köln: Spuren der Stadtgeschichte* (Cologne: Bachem, 1985), pp. 131–132; Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, 2nd ed. (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1995), 1: 572–573.

The sparse documents of the Cologne NSDAP, SA, or SS that remain do not contain any direct references to the detention and torture site on Mozartstrasse. Two testimonies from victims, however, offer rather detailed information. For one, there is a short account by MdR Wilhelm Sollmann, which has been published numerous times. See, for example, Stadt Köln, ed., “... vergessen kann man die Zeit nicht, das ist nicht möglich . . . :” *Kölner erinnern sich an die Jahre 1929–1945; zum 40. Jahrestag des Kriegsendes*, ed. by Horst Matzerath at the HASk (Cologne: HASk, 1985), p. 67; HASk, ed., *Wilhelm Sollmann II: Zum hundertsten Geburtstag am 1. April 1981* (Cologne: HASk, 1981), p. 64; *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Köln 1933–1945: Ausstellung HASk* (Cologne: HASk, 1974), p. 112. Furthermore, there is Ludwig August Jacobsen’s account *So hat es angefangen. Ein Bericht aus den Tagen der “nationalen Erhebung” in Köln* (Cologne: Kölner Volksbl.-Verlag, 1987). Jacobsen delivers not only a solid and differentiated picture of the conditions in the prison and prisoner abuses but also valuable information about his fellow inmates and the personnel at Mozartstrasse. References from other sources confirm the account’s high level of accuracy and credibility. In addition to Jacobsen’s account, postwar documents from the Cologne courts—NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/12 and 231/241—as well as records of contemporaneous preliminary proceedings in the inventory of the Cologne special court—NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112—are available. A trial against a former NSDAP member documented the rumors circulating about Mozartstrasse in Cologne. He had gathered incriminating material on the Cologne Gauleitung and also tried to document the prisoner abuses at Mozartstrasse. In 1936, he was convicted of “spreading horror stories” (*Verbreiten von Gräuelmärchen*) and false accusations; see NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/15166 and 112/16692–16694. A systematic examination of the Cologne special court files might turn up similar finds. More detailed information on the perpetrators can be found in the collections of the former BDC in the BA-B. Information on Josef Grohé’s role can be found in his Spruchgerichtsverfahren (BA-K, Z 42 IV/1806 and 1806b).

Thomas Roth
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

- See numerous references in Ludwig August Jacobsen, *So hat es angefangen. Ein Bericht aus den Tagen der “nationalen Erhebung” in Köln* (Cologne: Kölner Volksbl.-Verlag, 1987); in the NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/1148, 112/5004, and 112/16692; and in the BA-B (former BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur.
- See Jacobsen, *So hat es angefangen*, pp. 22, 26, 50, 66, 129; Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, Stadtverband Köln an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln from 04.06.1949, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/278, p. 722; Statement from Ludwig F. from 09.04.1952 in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/460, p. 95; NSDAP Gauleitung Köln-Aachen an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln from 22.07.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/2494, p. 11; Gauleiter Grohé an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln from 08.10.1934, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/16692, p. 81; Urteil des Sondergerichts Köln from 08.01.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/16693, p. 485; excerpt from report of the Reichsinspekteur z.b.V. Holzschuher an den Stellvertreter des Führers from 01.08.1934 and Gutachten der Reichsführung SS, Abt III Nr. G. 378 [August 1934], in BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur.
- See the references in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/12 and 231/241.
- See Bericht Sollmann in HASk, ed., *Wilhelm Sollmann II: Zum hundertsten Geburtstag am 1. April 1981* (Cologne: HASk, 1981), p. 64.
- See Jacobsen, *So hat es angefangen*, pp. 44, 47–48, 58–59, 77–78, 120.
- See NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/1148, 112/5004, and 112/16692, p. 27; and Berichte in BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur.
- On conditions in the prison and prisoner abuses, see Jacobsen, *So hat es angefangen*; the testimonies in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/241; and Vernehmung des Max Sch. vom 28.07.1933 and Bericht des Christian H. vom 16.10.1933, both in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/1148, pp. 2–3, 20; Schreiben des Friedrich H. an Adolf Hitler vom 18.09.1933 (Abschrift) and Schreiben des Rechtsanwalts Heribert Ley an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln vom 21.04.1934, both in NWHStA-(D) Gerichte Rep. 112/5004, pp. 2, 9; NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/16692, p. 27; Staatsanwaltschaftliche Vernehmung des Peter G. vom 09.10.1934, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/16692, p. 78; Eidesstattliche Erklärung des Walter N., in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/241, p. 2; HASk, Best. 1344 Nr. 185 (Archiv Walter Kuchta/VVN). Part of these records can also be found at the BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur.
- Jacobsen, *So hat es angefangen*, pp. 106, 116–117, 126.
- References to the central roles of Balzer, Ruhland, and Marx in Jacobsen, *So hat es angefangen*; in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/1148, 112/2494, 112/5004, 112/16692, and 231/12; and in BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur. For the past history of the Cologne SS, see the references in the LHRP-Ko, Best. 403/16749, 16750, and 16753.
- Gauleiter Grohé an NSDAP Oberstes Parteigericht vom 03.01.1935, in BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur; NSDAP Gauleitung Köln-Aachen an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln vom 22.07.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/2494, p. 11; Urteil des Sondergerichts Köln vom 08.01.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/16693, p. 485.

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11. Lagebericht des Regierungspräsidenten Köln vom 14.08.1933, in BA-B, R 58/2047, p. 94.
12. Vernehmung des Max Sch. vom 28.7.1933 and Bericht des Christian H. from 16.10.1933, both in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/1148, pp. 2–3, 20; and numerous references in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/5004, and BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur.
13. Excerpts from the Bericht des Reichsinspekteurs z.b.V. Holzschuher an den Stellvertreter des Führers vom 01.08.1934 and Gutachten der Reichsführung SS, Abt III Nr. G. 378 [August 1934], in BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur; NSDAP Gauleitung Köln-Aachen an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln vom 22.07.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/2494, p. 11; Staatsanwaltschaftliche Vernehmung des Emil R. vom 18.09.1934 and Gauleiter Grohé an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln vom 08.10.1934, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/16692, pp. 55, 81; and numerous references in the NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/9455.
14. Jacobsen, *So hat es angefangen*, pp. 84, 120; NS-Dok, Z 1008 and Z 10037.
15. See references in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/1148, 112/5004, 112/9172, 112/9455, 112/15166, and 112/16692–16694.
16. See note 13 as well as Gauleiter Grohé an NSDAP Oberstes Parteigericht vom 03.01.1935 and Bericht der 2. Kammer des Obersten Parteigerichts vom 04.02.1935, both in BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur.
17. References in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/5126 and 112/6177; BA-BL (BDC), SSO, Balzer, Josef.
18. NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/12 and 231/241.

KÖNIGSBRÜCK BEI DRESDEN

On March 22, 1933, the Saxon State Criminal Office ordered the establishment of a labor service camp for “protective custody” prisoners at Königsbrück bei Dresden. Situated in Hostel Stenz, Königsbrück existed until May 28, when the 71 prisoners were transferred to Hohnstein, a larger early concentration camp.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard work on the early Nazi camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The number of prisoners at Königsbrück can be found in Mike Schmeitzner, “Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen, 1933–1945,” in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenhauer Verlag, 2002).

As reproduced in Drobisch and Wieland (p. 48), primary documentation about Königsbrück can be found in the files of the Ministerium für Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten, located in the SHStA-(D).

Joseph Robert White

KÖNIGSTEIN

On March 15, 1933, the Königstein SA converted a workers’ nature retreat on the Elbe River into an early concentration

camp. SA-Sturmführer Erich Rossig headed the camp, and SA-Sturmführer Johannes Delin commanded the guard unit. The number of guards is not known. On April 12, 1933, the camp population stood at approximately 215 prisoners. The prisoners included Communists, Social Democrats, and at least one Jew.

At Königstein, the guards forced the prisoners to conduct demoralizing and debilitating exercises. An anonymous prisoner left an account of this “sport”: “We had to run on the double for three-quarters of an hour, then stood at attention for an hour without stirring, at the same time we were threatened with a revolver and beaten with rubber hoses, horsewhips, and carbines. Then we had to kneel for an hour, head facing the ground. If this drill were carried out sloppily we were kicked in the face and neck, namely with hob-nailed boots. Then we got another hour-long beating. Individuals were beaten half to death.”¹

The five-day ordeal of Max Tabaschnik demonstrated the antisemitism, sadism, and greed of Königstein’s guards. Born in Ukraine on April 20, 1893, Tabaschnik had lived in Germany as a stateless person since 1910. He practiced dentistry in Pirna near Dresden after World War I. On March 25, 1933, the police took him into “protective custody” at Pirna’s Fronfest prison on suspicion of circulating atrocity stories against the regime, a common Nazi allegation against Jews. About protective custody, he observed, “From whom should I be ‘protected,’ or who from me?”²

With other Fronfest prisoners, Tabaschnik was transferred to Königstein on May 5, 1933. The initiates were kicked and verbally abused, but the guard commander ordered Tabaschnik to step forward because he was Jewish. On the first day, while working in the stone quarry an SA guard ordered him to run. Remembering that others had been “shot while attempting to escape,” he stood pat. While working, the guards shouted antisemitic epithets at him: “Isidor, Sahra [sic], garlic, onion!” When the others returned to the camp, Tabaschnik endured “extra training”: “Forward march! Lie down! Stand up! Lie down!” After striking him several times, the guards played a joke, prepared in advance, by presenting him a certificate of permission for emigration to Palestine. The reverse bore Nazi slogans, however: “Germany awake! Perish Juda!”³

Denied food and water, Tabaschnik was returned to the cellar. The guards disrupted his sleep by “pouring water over [his] feet.” Rossig and Delin summoned him to the camp leaders’ office at 10:30 P.M., where they demanded that he surrender the 100 Reichsmark (RM) in his possession. He did so and admitted to having an additional 250 RM at home but refused to let them have it, because he would not leave his wife and 10-year-old son in distress. Rossig nevertheless called Frau Tabaschnik at midnight to demand the money. Returned to the cellar before 2:00 A.M., he was roused three hours later, when Rossig wanted another 20 RM, allegedly in order to pay for the fueling of the quarry truck.⁴

As his involuntary fast entered a second day, Tabaschnik watched the other prisoners eat lunch. A guard kicked him when he attempted to drink some water. By now, his thirst

was all-consuming. In the cellar, the guards made him do 150 deep knee bends. The guard adjutant, Baron von Pose, stood over him, screaming, "Faster! Faster!" He was exhausted after 80 repetitions. Delin exclaimed, "But he still has not licked up our spit!"—at which point the SA made him lick the ground. The camp cook then presented him with his first bread and water in two days, but only to drag out the torture, because the concoction consisted mainly of salt and pepper. When Tabaschnik refused to eat it, the "ruffian" punched and kicked him, forcing him to admit, "That is a rump steak, that is a little piece of apple, that is a glass of beer." Afterward, he was made to sing Russian songs, as the guards danced Russian style. Before this session was over, Rossig and Delin told him, "Either you go to [the early camp at] Sonnenstein . . . or you die. One of the two."⁵

Tabaschnik's third day began with the SA bringing him before a policeman. The SA announced that if he did not pay any more, the policeman would shoot him. Rossig later handed him a pistol so that he could commit suicide. Without food or rest for three days, he pulled the trigger but discovered that this was another joke at his expense, because the firearm was unloaded. Conducted to the quarry, the guards told him, "There is no Sunday for Jews." After lifting heavy stones, he performed penal exercises. Two guards struck him in the chest and put their boots on his head, so that he ended up with "sand in his eyes." When work resumed, he had to load huge stones onto a truck. The guards harangued him when he proved unable to do so.⁶

In camp, the guards gave Tabaschnik a rough-hewn Mohawk. Around his arm they placed a band in Reichsbanner colors—black, red, and gold. Although the publication of his testimony in a Social Democratic compilation suggested that he was a Social Democrat, he never explicitly indicated his political leanings. The Nazis probably labeled him as Reichsbanner because he was Jewish. In another extortion tactic, Delin asked about his business associates. The prisoner mentioned his dental goods supplier, Firma Zahndepot Timmel in Dresden, with which he had enjoyed a standing line of credit for a decade. The testimony never indicated whether the SA contacted the Timmel firm. In the cellar, Tabaschnik attempted suicide by slitting his wrist with a razor blade. The SA stopped the bleeding, but the torture continued. Catching him with some food, Baron von Pose "tore the bowl from my hands and poured out the contents, as if I had committed a terrible crime." The cycle of "quarry—exercise place—quarry—exercise place" began anew on the fourth day.⁷

On his fourth night at Königstein, Tabaschnik's treatment began to change. The guards allowed him to rest undisturbed. On Tuesday morning, the SA sheared off his Mohawk, which he took as a sign of his imminent execution. Summoned to the camp leader's office, Rossig instead prepared him for the visit of his wife and child. The camp leader listed some rationalizations to explain away Tabaschnik's terrible appearance: "Your hair was shaved off—good, in the camp your beard was plaited! Your hand is bandaged—you injured yourself in the quarry! Your clothes are filthy—that's from the work!"⁸

The visit was painful for father and son. Werner Tabaschnik recalled: "I didn't even think that he was our father." Tabaschnik was released on May 10 and sent to recover in a Pirna hospital. Upon release, Rossig returned half of his 100 RM but threatened to kill him if he talked about Königstein. In late March 1934, the Tabaschniks illegally crossed the Czech border.⁹

It is also known that guards stomped Communist prisoner Fritz Gumbert to death. Anonymous prisoner testimonies singled out SA-Mann Bienert and Truppenführer Fuhrmann as especially cruel. An account that ran in the Prague *Sozialdemokrat* alleged that these guards engaged in "sadistic orgies" of torture and sexual abuse.¹⁰

Königstein was dissolved on May 31, 1933. The remaining prisoners were transferred to the larger early camp at Hohenstein. It is not known whether Rossig, Delin, or other camp staff were tried after the war.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard work about the early Nazi camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The camp is listed in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999).

The most important primary documentation for this camp comes from the testimonies of Max and Werner Tabaschnik, which were published in the Social Democratic compilation *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934). Despite the stated place of publication, the book was printed in Prague. A second primary source consists of an anonymous letter by a Königstein prisoner that was secretly smuggled into Germany by the Communist Party. It was published in Paul Prokop, ed., *Lernen Sie das schöne Deutschland kennen: Ein Reiseführer, unentbehrlich für jeden Besucher der Olympiade* (Prague: Prokop, 1936). This ostensible guide to the 1936 Berlin Olympics was a piece of camouflage containing several brief camp testimonies and an accurate map of concentration camps and detention centers. The account originally ran in longer form in World Committee for the Victims of German Fascism, *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror*, foreword by Lord Marley (Basel: Universumbücherei, 1933).

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NOTES

1. "SPORT: Wie er in den 'Sportkommandos' der Konzentrationslager getrieben wird . . . Aus dem Brief eines Gefangenen aus Königstein," in *Lernen Sie das schöne Deutschland kennen: Ein Reiseführer, unentbehrlich für jeden Besucher der Olympiade*, ed. Paul Prokop (Prague: Prokop, 1936), n.p. A longer version of this account with slightly different wording appeared earlier in World Committee for the Victims of German Fascism, *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror*, foreword by Lord Marley (Basel: Universumbücherei, 1933), pp. 290–291.

2. Max Tabaschnik, "Königstein," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 90–94.
3. Ibid., pp. 95–97.
4. Ibid., pp. 97–98.
5. Ibid., pp. 100–101.
6. Ibid., pp. 102–103.
7. Ibid., pp. 104–105, 107.
8. Ibid., pp. 107–108.
9. Ibid., pp. 108–112; Werner Tabaschnik, "Ein Kind erzählt vom Dritten Reich," in *Konzentrationslager*, p. 115.
10. The accounts are reproduced in World Committee, *Braunbuch*, pp. 290–291.

KUHLEN [AKA RICKLING, FALKENRIED, INNERE MISSION]

On July 18, 1933, Segeberg rural district administrator Werner Stier established a small concentration camp outside Rickling (Gemeinde Rickling), at the Landesverein für Innere Mission (State Association for Inner Mission) in Schleswig-Holstein. This camp had several names, including Kuhlen, Rickling, Falkenried, and Innere Mission. Founded in 1875, the Landesverein was a psychiatric and relief institution owned by the Evangelical state church. By the time of the concentration camp's foundation, the Innere Mission had come under the pro-Nazi German Christian movement (Deutsche Christen). In 1933, the Mission's director was Dr. Oskar Ephraim. Intended to relieve overcrowding at Schleswig-Holstein's first early concentration camp at Glückstadt, Kuhlen occupied the Falkenried barracks, one of several barracks established at Innere Mission for work relief during the Great Depression. The first detainees, recalled prisoner Albert Stange, refitted the civilian barracks as a concentration camp, including the digging of post holes for the camp fence.¹ The Innere Mission's deacon, Franz Schuba, handled camp finances through the Mission's estate administration. Mission documents indicated the administrative relationship: "Landesverein für Innere Mission, Detachment Concentration Camp Kuhlen."² The Mission did not issue direct orders to the prisoners, however.

Kuhlen had a mixed SS and SA administration. The commandant was SS-Mann Othmar Walchensteiner. His deputy was Erwin H., an SS trooper from Neumünster. The remaining eight guards, called "camp police," were SA members. The prisoners addressed the guards by police, not SA, titles, such as "Hauptwachtmeister." For a brief period, Innere Mission contributed to the guards' health insurance but ceased to do so after Oberlandjägermeister Denker of the Bad Segeberg police informed the deacon that it was not necessary.³ The Austrian-born Walchensteiner belonged to the Artamanen youth movement. He joined the Nazi Party in 1925 (membership number 1083), but his membership lapsed while he was studying at an Evangelical monastery for the deaconry.⁴ In the early 1930s, he reactivated his party membership. A letter from the Schleswig-Holstein Gauleitung (Nazi Party prov-

ince Administration), dated August 5, 1933, praised his concentration camp work: "How valuable and how necessary is your activity in the interests of the National Socialist State." The Gauleitung suggested that Walchensteiner's name was under consideration for promotion as head of "one of the larger institutions."⁵ This possibility failed to materialize; Walchensteiner headed the Innere Mission's barracks for chronic alcoholics for approximately two years after the concentration camp's closure. In the late 1930s, he served at Sachsenhausen concentration camp and at SS academies at Vogelsang and Krössinsee. After military service from 1939 to 1941, he was promoted to SS-Obersturmbannführer and served with an Einsatzgruppe in the Soviet Union. He was killed near Minsk on December 10, 1943, while holding the post of Gebietskommissar.⁶

In total, Kuhlen held 191 mostly political prisoners. Nearly all originated from Schleswig-Holstein, with the exceptions of 3 prisoners from East Prussia, Sweden, and Switzerland.⁷ No Jewish prisoners were interned in the camp. Of the 191 prisoners, the majority (133) came from Neumünster, Pinneberg, and Segeberg. The prisoners' ages ranged from 18 to 63. Most detainees were Social Democrats and Communists, although at least 2 were held for alleged petty theft and spreading rumors.⁸ On August 31, 1933, the *Schleswig-Holsteinische Landeszeitung* newpaper boasted that with the admission of 13 Communists and 7 Socialists to Kuhlen "a blow" had been struck "against Marxism in Bad Oldesloe" and Altona.⁹ The majority of detainees were imprisoned between 31 and 40 days, but no one remained in the camp for the entire time span. Although there were no deaths recorded, the prisoners suffered maltreatment. Walchensteiner had a reputation for harsh and arbitrary behavior.

The camp population exceeded available space. Although the *Norddeutsche Rundschau* newspaper reported that it could accommodate 60 prisoners when Kuhlen opened, reports in the *Pinneberger Kreisblatt* and the *Schleswig-Holsteinische Landeszeitung* subsequently alleged that space was available for 100 prisoners.¹⁰ As indicated by an Innere Mission report, prepared when Falkenried was still a civilian labor camp, the barracks were originally designed to house 40 people.¹¹ After the first weeks, Kuhlen's population exceeded the Nazi press estimates: the camp had 19 prisoners in July, 102 in August, 141 in September, and 115 in October. The presence of arrest cells contributed to the space shortage. Falkenried also had a library for political reeducation. The camp lacked an infirmary, however. As prisoner Christian Zabel recalled, the sick and healthy shared bedding space. Serious cases were transferred to local hospitals.¹²

The detainees performed agricultural labor for Innere Mission. In total they worked 75,000 hours for the Mission, against an outlay for the camp of slightly more than 9,000 Reichsmark (RM).¹³ Kreis Segeberg paid the Mission for inmate deployment, at a daily rate of 1.50 RM per person per day, but Deacon Schuba unsuccessfully attempted to secure a higher rate. The prisoners worked from 6:30 A.M. to 6:00 P.M.¹⁴ After work, they sang Nazi songs.

On August 21, 1933, the *Pinneberger Kreisblatt* painted a highly idealized picture of detainee labor. Claiming that "the prisoners find themselves in an outstanding food situation," the article cited a "camp administrator" who averred "that educational labor [shows] great early success. By and large the prisoners are polite and willing to work." One "of our Elmshorn prisoners," the *Kreisblatt* continued, a legal counselor, performed kitchen duty before setting off for agricultural labor. In peeling potatoes, "he finds himself in the best society of a former mayor." Former Communist Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Reinhold Jürgensen, depicted in the same article as "the pride of Elmshorn," reported that he "feels well and gladly works in the fresh air."¹⁵

Visitors to this camp included the Elmshorn mayor and the Hamburg Swedish consul. Mayor Krumbeck inspected the prisoners from his town and contrasted the Nazis' alleged humanity with the Communists'. After giving the Hitler greeting, he announced: "Lord God, we Nazis are so humane. Where would we be if the Communists had managed to gain control over the State[?]"¹⁶ Consul Jänsen visited Kuhlen to interview Swedish citizen "P," an unemployed sailor who lived in Trittau. Conversing with the detainees alone in Swedish, Jänsen discovered that P. got into trouble while joking with someone he thought was a friend, who in turn denounced him to the authorities. P. also complained that Walchensteiner threatened that the sailor would "never see his wife again" if he failed to carry out the commandant's orders to the letter.¹⁷

The Kuhlen detainees included the Zabel family, Adolf and sons Herbert and Christian, who entered the camp on August 18, 1933. Accused of being an "intellectual" who flouted Nazi press decrees, the 63-year-old Adolf was compelled to work on the farm. Walchensteiner called Herbert a "Jew and Bolshevik." A World War I veteran with a weak heart, Herbert received permission from Hauptwachtmeister D. not to participate in morning exercises, but Walchensteiner furiously belayed the order. Breaking several of Herbert's teeth, Walchensteiner ordered the same guard to strip Herbert's Iron Cross from his uniform. The commandant similarly maltreated Christian. When Christian replied sarcastically to a question, Walchensteiner flew into a rage. Threatened with the Emsland camps, Christian was escorted off premises at gunpoint. Either Walchensteiner staged this scene or his anger quickly abated, because he suddenly led Christian back to camp and had him returned to quarters.¹⁸

Kuhlen was formally dissolved in October 1933, and the prisoners were transferred to the Emsland camps. In a post-war account, director Ephraim attempted to distance himself from the concentration camp by claiming that he was in Berlin in the fall of 1933, lobbying at the Prussian Ministry of Interior for its dissolution.¹⁹ The Kiel Regional Court tried Erwin H. in 1948 in connection with his Kuhlen activities. Dissatisfied with the court's lenient sentence (one year), the British occupation authorities ordered H.'s retrial, which resulted in a three-year penitentiary sentence. Credited with time served in an Italian camp at war's end, the former camp deputy was released in July 1950.²⁰

SOURCES This essay is based upon three excellent studies by Harald Jenner: *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933* (Rickling: Landesverein für Innere Mission in Schleswig-Holstein, 1988), which contains an extremely helpful statistical abstract of prisoners, in addition to numerous reprinted documents; "Ein Lager im Bereich der Inneren Mission—das KZ Kuhlen," in *Die Frühen Konzentrationslager in Deutschland: Austausch zum Forschungsstand und zur pädagogischen Praxis in Gedenkstätten*, ed. Karl Giebel, Thomas Lutz, and Silvester Lechner (Bad Böll: Evangelische Akademie, 1996), pp. 130–175; and "In Trägerstadt der Inneren Mission: Das Konzentrationslager Kuhlen," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 111–128. Also helpful is the standard study of the early Nazi camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). A listing for Kuhlen may be found in "Dritte Verordnung zur Änderung der Sechsten Verordnung zur Durchführung des Bundesentschädigungsgesetzes (3. ÄndV-6. DV-BEG) vom 24. November 1982," *BGBL.*, ed. Bundesminister der Justiz, Teil I (1982): 1576. Listed under Rickling, the Kuhlen memorial is recorded in Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). The Landesverein für Innere Mission in Schleswig-Holstein has a Web site at www.landesverein.de.

Primary documentation for this camp begins with the ALIM, as cited by Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*. Particularly valuable are the Mission's 1932 report, File DD 410, which furnishes an estimate for Falkenried's accommodations as a "free labor service camp" and the Mission's accounting records. Jenner also reproduces some reports related to this camp from the LA-Sch-H. These include the 1948 proceedings against Erwin H.; Jenner does not cite a case number for this trial. Reproduced as the appendix to this volume is a Swedish consular report from Hamburg to the Berlin embassy, dated September 12, 1933, which is from FMAS-(S). As cited by Jenner, information on Walchensteiner's career may be found in his BDCPF. Jenner reproduces the testimonies of Adolf, Christian, and Herbert Zabel but does not cite an archival source. Christian Zabel's report is dated Neu-münster, November 30, 1933, but it is not clear when or where the other two reports were produced. Press reports for Kuhlen include a Socialist exile article, "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, August 27, 1933, which lists this camp as "Rickling." Jenner reproduces many local press reports from the *HoCu*, October 14 and 17, 1933; *NdtRu*, July 18, 1933; *PiKh*, August 21, September 23, and October 5, 1933; *SHZ*, August 17, 21, 28, and 31, 1933; and *SKTb*, September 7, 1933.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Albert Stange interview, 1987, cited by Harald Jenner, "Ein Lager im Bereich der Inneren Mission—das KZ Kuhlen," in *Die Frühen Konzentrationslager in Deutschland: Austausch*

- zum Forschungstand und zur pädagogischen Praxis in Gedenkstätten*, ed. Karl Giebel, Thomas Lutz, and Silvester Lechner (Bad Böll: Evangelische Akademie, 1996), p. 138.
2. KZ Kuhlen to Blaschenhagen, November 29, 1933, ALIM, reproduced in Harald Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933* (Rickling: Landesverein für Innere Mission in Schleswig-Holstein, 1988), p. 97.
 3. Innere Mission to Denker, September 9, 1933, ALIM, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 84.
 4. Othmar Walchensteiner, BDCPF, cited in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 83.
 5. NSDAP Gauleitung Schleswig-Holstein to Walchensteiner, August 5, 1933, ALIM, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 81.
 6. Walchensteiner BDCPF, cited in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 83.
 7. "Schwedischer Seemann beschimpft SA und kommt ins Konzentrationslager," SHZ, August 21, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 61; Schweizerisches Konsulat, Hamburg, to Frau Emilie S., September 21, 1933, reproduced without archival source in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 63; Alfred Stamer interview, March 11, 1988, cited in Jenner, "Ein Lager im Bereich der Inneren Mission," p. 139.
 8. "Ins Konzentrationslager geschickt," HoCu, October 14, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 57; "Ein Gerüchtemacher ins Konzentrationslager eingeliefert," SHZ, August 17, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 58.
 9. "Ein Schlag gegen den Marxismus in Bad Oldesloe," SHZ, August 31, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 55.
 10. "Konzentrationslager bei Rickling," NdtRu, July 18, 1933; "Besuch im Konzentrationslager Kuhlen," PiKb, August 21, 1933; and "Es ist noch Platz im Konzentrationslager," SHZ, August 28, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, pp. 41, 68, 71.
 11. Innere Mission Bericht, 1932, File DD 410, in ADW-B, as quoted in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 68.
 12. Christian Zabel testimony, November 30, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 75; KZ Kuhlen, Bericht, 32. Woche, über das Konzentrationslager Kuhlen, to Ratzeburg Landrat, LA-Sch-H, Abteilung 320, Ratzeburg, File 1355.
 13. Christian Zabel testimony, November 30, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 75; KZ Kuhlen, Bericht, 32. Woche, über das Konzentrationslager Kuhlen, to Ratzeburg Landrat, LA-Sch-H, Abteilung 320, Ratzeburg, File 1355.
 14. Swedish Consul-General in Hamburg to Embassy in Berlin, September 9, 1933, Royal Swedish Foreign Ministry, Stockholm, as reproduced and translated by Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 119.
 15. "Besuch im Konzentrationslager Kuhlen," PiKb, August 21, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 71.
 16. Ibid.
 17. Swedish Consul-General in Hamburg to Embassy in Berlin, September 9, 1933, Royal Swedish Foreign Ministry, Stockholm, reproduced and translated by Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 119.
 18. Testimonies of Adolf, Christian, and Herbert Zabel, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, pp. 75–77.
 19. Oskar Ephä, "Der Landesverein für Innere Mission in Schleswig-Holstein in der Zeit der Weimarer Republik und des Dritten Reiches," in *Festschrift zur Feier des 100 jährigen Bestehens des Landesvereins am 30. September 1975* (Rickling: Landesverein für Innere Mission in Schleswig-Holstein, 1975), p. 60, cited in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 103.
 20. LA-Sch-H, Abteilung 352 Kiel file 1702, cited in Jenner, "Ein Lager im Bereich der Inneren Mission," p. 157.

LANDAU [AKA SCHUTZHAFTLAGER IN DER LANDAUER FORTKASERNE]

On March 9, 1933, the National Socialists seized power in Bavaria and therewith also in the Bavarian Palatinate. The government, sustained by the Bavarian People's Party (BVP), was removed from office and fled Munich. As in Bavaria, Nazi sympathizers also celebrated this event in the Palatinate with mass rallies on March 10, 1933. Simultaneously, the new rulers began arresting political opponents, primarily members of the German Communist Party (KPD), the Social Democratic Party (SPD), and the Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold (RB). By March 11, 1933, 13 citizens of Landau had been taken into "protective custody" and brought to the local court prison: 9 of these individuals were Communists, 2 were members of the RB, 1 was a Social Democratic city councilor, and 1 was a member of the German Democratic Party (DDP). The latter 2 were Jews.¹

The number of protective custody prisoners increased rapidly as political opponents of the Nazis not only from Landau but also from the entire southern Palatinate and from Speyer were brought to the Landau local court prison. By April 3, 1933, their number had grown to 50 people, and the prison was completely overcrowded. As a result the political leadership in Landau sought out and found a solution to this problem: "When during the days of the National Socialist revolution many protective custody prisoners were delivered to the Landau local court prison, Obersturmbannführer Keim, special commissioner for the Landau district office, agreed with the provisional mayor of Landau that protective custody prisoners had to work."²

In order to enforce this decision, a working place for the Landau prisoners was set up in the second half of March 1933. From this point on, it was referred to as "protective custody camp in the Landau fort barracks" (*Schutzhaftlager in der Landauer Fortkaserne*). The prisoners had to clear away the torn-up cement floor of the military barracks of the fort and prepare the area as a sports field for the SA.³ The city council of Landau, represented by the welfare office, had to provide the necessary tools and aids for the job, as well as suitable work clothes for the prisoners.⁴ Also, the accommodations for prisoners and their guards (SA and SS men), which provided shelter during bad weather, were financed with state funds. In total the costs for the city of Landau amounted to 1,138.53 Reichsmark (RM).⁵

The prisoners working in the Fortkaserne also received their meals there. They were, however, still housed in the Landau local court prison, where the SS picked them up, took them to work, and brought them back in the evenings.⁶

The local press reported extensively about the prisoners' work. On April 11, 1933, and again on May 18, 1933, the *Landauer Anzeiger* reported on the work of approximately 35 to 40 prisoners in an article replete with photographs under the title: "A sports field emerges from the stony desert: the work of the protective custody prisoners in the Landau Fort for the creation of an SA club house with a sports field."⁷ The photographs show the prisoners working, preparing lunch, and having lunch with SA and SS men. The caption reads, "We can see from their happy faces that it tastes good."⁸ Both articles represent Nazi propaganda of that time that intended to play down the situation in the camps. They reveal little truth about the daily life of the prisoners.

Nevertheless, the conditions in the Landau camp still seem to have been bearable in comparison with many other camps. The prisoners received meals from the SA kitchen in addition to their prison rations.⁹ They were also allowed to receive visitors and move around freely with them in a designated area.¹⁰

Only one case of prisoner abuse in the Landau camp is known. In June 1933, an arbitrary action initiated by the SS and later stopped by the district leader took place against Landau's Jews. Jewish citizens were arrested and first brought to the "Schwan" hotel, an SS clubhouse, and then imprisoned in a barrack at the Fortkaserne. The SS men abused the prisoners cruelly: "I was injured, beaten so severely in the Fortkaserne that I had to go to the hospital in Basel, Switzerland, for treatment and was unable to work for a year."¹¹

After the sports field was completed, the protective custody camp was dissolved. On July 15, 1933, the local press reported the release of the last protective custody prisoner.¹² From mid-March 1933 to July 15, 1933, a total of 135 prisoners had been interned at Landau. The length of imprisonment varied greatly and ranged from a few days up to three months.¹³

The authorities had to deal with the camp's funding well into 1935. The city of Landau attempted to get reimbursed for the funds that they had spent on setting up and maintaining the prison. The city argued that neither the local police authorities nor the welfare authorities should have to pay for political protective custody.¹⁴ The Palatinate government in Speyer deferred all responsibility in a countermove: it did not even know of the Landau camp's establishment.¹⁵ In August 1933, the four Jewish prisoners in the protective detention camp received a request for payment from the city of Landau. They were supposed to pay a retroactive allowance for food of 10 RM per day.¹⁶ This form of refunding failed, however, due to the insolvency of the Jewish citizens.¹⁷ Also, SA-Regiment 18 (Standarte 18), which had benefited from the prisoners' work, was not willing to cover the costs, since it supposedly did not have the necessary financial means. In addition, the prisoners' work had been carried out on state property; since that area of land now supposedly possessed a higher value, no financial damage had been inflicted on the city of Landau.¹⁸

SOURCES The Landau protective custody camp has not been extensively researched; references to the camp in literature are correspondingly sparse. The comprehensive work by Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), mentions Landau twice in connection with other early concentration camps. The Landau camp is briefly explored in Ursula Krause-Schmitt, Angelika Arenz-Morch, and Hans Berkessel, "Von 'Schutzhaft' und 'Umerziehung' zur Vernichtung: Zu einigen Aspekten des nationalsozialistischen Lagersystems in Rheinland-Pfalz," in *Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus in Rheinland-Pfalz*, vol. 2, "Für die Aussenwelt seid ihr tot!" ed. Hans-Georg Meyer and Hans Berkessel (Mainz: H. Schmidt, 2000), pp.17–31. The most complete is Rolf Übel, "Das Landauer Schutzhaftlager (März bis Juli 1933)," *Heimatjahrbuch 1989 des Landkreises Südliche Weinstraße*. This essay offers a good overview on the seizure of power in Landau and the development of the camp.

There are only a few sources on Landau. The records of the city welfare office with special reference to "protective detention camp" are located at the ASt-Ld, A II 3062. The thin folder contains documents that deal primarily with the costs and refunding of the camp.

The prisoner book (*Gefangenbuch*) of the Landau penitentiary for the period between January 19, 1932, and April 22, 1936, can be found at the LA-Sp, J 87, No. 4. It contains information on numbers and origin of protective custody prisoners as well as duration of their imprisonment. The records of the trial against Johann Meyer, who was sentenced for crimes against humanity in October 1948, are located in the files of the state attorney's office at the Landau Regional Court (the LA-Sp, J 74, No. 5375). The above-mentioned action against the Jews of Landau prompted the proceedings against Meyer. The interrogation protocols, witness statements, and detailed opinion of the court contain few and partially very contradictory references to the conditions in the camp, particularly with regard to Jewish prisoners.

Contemporaneous press coverage, particularly the *LdAnz*, may also provide additional sources; the propagandistic intention of these articles, however, must always be taken into account.

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trans. Lynn Wolff

NOTES

1. LA-Sp, J 87, No. 4.
2. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Schreiben des SA-Sturmannes II-18, Landau, an die Kreisleitung der NSDAP, 03.02.1934.
3. Ibid.
4. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, various orders and invoices.
5. ASt-Ld A II 3062, Schreiben des Städtischen Wohlfahrtsamtes an das Bezirksamt, 26.05.1933.
6. LA-Sp, J 74, No. 5375, Aussage von Johann Meyer; ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Schreiben des SA-Sturmannes II-18, Landau, an die Kreisleitung der NSDAP, 03.02.1934.
7. "Aus der Steinwüste entsteht ein Sportplatz: Die Arbeiten der Schutzhäftlinge in Landauer Fort zur Herrichtung eines SA-Heims mit Sportplatz," *LdAnz*, May 18, 1933.
8. Ibid. The caption read: "Dass es schmeckt, sehen wir an den fröhlichen Gesichtern."

9. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Schreiben des SA-Sturmbannes II-18, Landau, an die Kreisleitung der NSDAP, 03.02.1934.
10. LA-Sp, J 74, No. 5375, Aussage von Johann Meyer; *LdAnz*, May 18, 1933.
11. LA-Sp, J 74, No. 5375, Schreiben von Sally Dreyfuss an Staatsanwalt Dr. Rebholz, 13.09.1949.
12. DRhPf, July 15, 1933.
13. LA-Sp, J 87, No. 4.
14. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Schreiben des Städtischen Wohlfahrtsamtes an das Bezirksamt, 26.05.1933.
15. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Schreiben der Regierung der Pfalz an den Politischen Polizeikommandeur München, in Abschrift an das Städtische Wohlfahrtsamt Landau, 14.07.1933.
16. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Formbrief des Städtischen Wohlfahrtsamtes betr. Verpflegung im Schutzhaftrager, einzusetzen bei Juden, 16.08.1933.
17. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Schreiben von August Schönfeld an das Bürgermeisteramt Landau, 19.08.1933; Schreiben von Kurt Levy an das Bürgermeisteramt Landau, 19.08.1933.
18. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Schreiben der SA-Standarte 18 an das Städtische Wohlfahrtsamt Landau, 23.06.1934.

LANGLÜTJEN II

In February 1933, Hermann Göring decreed that auxiliaries from the ranks of the so-called national associations would reinforce the regular police.¹ Göring's decree was also implemented in Bremen at the beginning of March. The government assembled the auxiliary police (Hilfspolizei) from the ranks of the SS, SA, and the Stahlhelm, which supported not only the municipal police (Schutzpolizei) but the Criminal Police as well. The Bremerhaven Hilfspolizei, brought into being on March 7 and, like its Bremen counterpart, equipped with rubber truncheons, service weapons, service identification, and armbands (which read "Hilfspolizei"), initially reached a strength of 25 men but grew to over 100 men by the end of April. From this group, which was originally supposed to secure bridges, water- and gasworks, the guards for the Bremen concentration camps Missler, Ochtumsand, and Langlütjen II were assembled. After the SS was found guilty of serious excesses in Missler, they were replaced by the SA in May 1933, which then also provided the guard unit for Ochtumsand and Langlütjen II.

Both the SA and SS, however, had only a supporting function, as the actual penal system was in state hands, those of the Bremen Schutzpolizei. Thus, regular police officials had been assigned as superiors to the SS and SA at every camp, which often led to serious conflicts as the National Socialists, who mostly came from ordinary backgrounds, only unwillingly submitted themselves to police commands, since they considered themselves the victors in the "national" revolution.

When a massive wave of arrests began in the fall of 1933, the new leaders were unprepared for the resulting organizational problems. From the beginning, one question kept coming up: where were the numerous political opponents, suddenly arrested, to be kept? The existing possibilities, which were the police prisons and other detention centers, had quickly exhausted their capacities. Due to the overcrowding, there was constant impro-

visation. On July 11, 1933, Police Senator (Polizeisenator) Theodor Laue announced that he was considering closing the Missler concentration camp and interning the prisoners at another location.² A small number of prisoners were to be kept at the former fort Langlütjen II across from Bremerhaven, while a larger number were to be kept at a yet-to-be-built camp on the embankment of the Ochtum, the Ochtumsand, a small tributary of the Weser on the heights around Bremen. The transportation of the prisoners to both new camps did not take place until several weeks after the resolution had been passed.

As defense against potential attacks from enemy naval forces, between 1869 and 1880 the German imperial navy had built two fortresses, Langlütjen I and II, on the sandbar between the right and left shipping channels of the Weser. Langlütjen II consisted of a gun emplacement and an outer wall that were separated from each other by a roughly 8 meters (26.2 feet) wide by 5 meters (16.4 feet) deep moat. In the middle of the fortress stood the guns: five 280 mm and two 150 mm turrets. Centered around the gun emplacement were several levels of casemates as well as large and small rooms as if predestined to become communal and single cells. When the Bremen senate decided to rent the fort, these rooms were in a state of neglect, as the island had not been used in the Weimar years.³ Indeed, the Bremerhaven Gestapo department had been busy establishing the camp since September 9, 1933; the traces of decay, however, had to be removed by the first prisoners, among whom were several skilled workers who came from Bremen and arrived on the island on September 13 or 14, 1933, accompanied by 10 SA men and several regular police.

Polizeihauptmann Möller, head of the police station at Bremerhaven Kaiserhafen, ran Langlütjen II and twice a week ferried over to the island to check that everything was all right. Under his command were 10 to 12 Schutzpolizei officers who operated shifts on the island in groups of three: after seven days at a time they were relieved and brought back to land with the supply ship. In addition, there were roughly the same number of SA men: they were armed with pistols, carbines, and rubber truncheons and wore a white armband with the inscription "Hilfspolizei." The police officers were in charge of the provisions for the prisoners and the SA, detailing the guards and controlling their schedules, reading the names of prisoners at roll call, and performing the morning exercises with them. Möller emphatically exhorted his police not to tolerate any excesses from the SA. To rule out from the beginning incidents such as those at Missler, the SA was not allowed to enter prisoner cells. These measures had little chance of success, however, for the SA people only reluctantly obeyed the police orders. Möller intervened and issued warnings when after only a short time he received complaints about individual SA men who carelessly performed their duty and conducted themselves defiantly vis-à-vis the police. Through his visits to the island, he received additional information: prisoners, who later characterized him as an upright and respectable officer, came to him and complained about the SA harassment, so that Möller forced the dismissal of the guilty. In this way, by around the end of October 1933, SA men, who had been in the interim newly recruited

from Bremerhaven, replaced almost the complete guard staff from the city of Bremen. With the new guards, there were few excesses worth mentioning in the treatment of inmates.

There are no definite references as to how space within the camp was divided. It can be assumed that guard units were accommodated in a separate living house that no longer exists, while the prisoners stayed in the casemates. As the camp was only designed for a maximum of 50 people, there may have been 7 to 10 rooms, 3 communal cells, and 4 provisional detention cells that served as single cells. These deep, dark, and damp basement rooms were located in the center of the embankment structure, in a narrow passage, rather far down, inaccessible, and difficult to ventilate. They primarily served to isolate those prisoners who refused to give evidence to the Gestapo. Hardly anything is known about the furniture of the cells, but they were probably similar to those on Barge 86 and also limited to the necessities: long tables with several seats and beds with thin straw mattresses arranged on top of each other.

As at Ochtumsand, separate kitchens were set up for prisoners and guard personnel; guards apparently also had a small canteen available to them. There are contradictory statements concerning provisions. They were probably rather modest but not nearly as bad, however, as in the later camps. The prisoners' relatives, who were very well informed of the prisoners' whereabouts, could send them mail and tobacco on a weekly basis. On the occasion of a visit to the island fortress in June 1933, the head of the Bremen Office in Bremerhaven (Bremisches Amt), along with a doctor, became convinced that the prisoners required medical treatment due to the dampness in the cells. In conversations with the Gestapo and others involved, he asserted that regular examinations were necessary.

On November 9 and at Christmas in 1933, the authorities granted amnesties that applied to the prisoners of both Bremen camps. Langlütjen II was closed on January 25, 1934, after only four months in operation. There were three deciding factors: (1) high costs, (2) relatively low numbers of prisoners, and (3) the dependency on the tides, which resulted in constant organizational and administrative problems. From that point on, only the Ochtumsand concentration camp was available for interning Bremen "protective custody" prisoners. This camp, however, was also closed on May 15, 1934. Those who up to that point had not yet been released were transferred to one of the new camps outside of Bremen, to Dachau, or to the Emsland moor camps.

The Bremen concentration camps of 1933 are not to be compared with the several "wild" camps that came into being around the same time and were controlled by the SA and SS; nor are they the equivalent of those camps that were to systematize the terror on the basis of "special regulations." The Bremen camps were stopgaps, improvisations that developed from a lack of space in the first months of the dictatorship. Correspondingly, they still had characteristics from the transitional period: they did not have specific unified camp regulations, and no systematic program of terror was employed. In several areas the principle of chance prevailed.

On March 28, 1951, proceedings were opened before the Bremen Regional Court, which was to deal with the crimes committed "at Bremen and Langlütjen"; those proceedings, however, were soon referred to by the public as the "Missler trial," as the camps Ochtumsand and Langlütjen came up merely in passing.⁴ Only under point 28 of the indictment does the Skrotzky case—the abuse and subsequent suicide of a prisoner on Langlütjen—receive mention. The defendant was a former SA Hilfspolizei officer who in the end was sentenced to eight months in prison (part of which he had already served) for bodily harm on duty concomitant with severe bodily harm in four cases. The remaining sentence was suspended. Those politically responsible for the camp, such as Police Senator Laue, for example, were not called to account.⁵

SOURCES The source base is severely lacking, as several files were destroyed around the end of the war. This primarily refers to Gestapo files, which are of the utmost importance. Relevant material exists only in the StA-Br; there are the attorney's files from the Bremen regional court, which concern the so-called Missler trial. These documents, which are otherwise very informative, remain sparse on the construction of the camp. The former prisoners primarily spoke of their suffered mistreatments after 1945—organizational or infrastructure problems were then of secondary importance. The history of both concentration camps had not been explored until 1992. Up to that date there existed highly contradictory information and rumors. In 1992, the author published the first relevant work: *Die Konzentrationslager Langlütjen und Ochtumsand* (Bremerhaven: Wissenschaftsverlag NW, Verlag für Neue Wissenschaft, 1992).

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trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. On the auxiliary police in Bremen and Bremerhaven, see StA-Br, file "Löblich," 8 KMs 1/51, vol. 1; and ASt-Br, file "Gestapo 1946–47."
2. On the senate's motives, see ZdL, collection "Verschiedenes," Folder 207: Copies from the file "Schutzhalt politischer Gefangener" of the Senatsregistratur Bremen, primarily minutes of the senate meeting on July 18, 1933.
3. See various witness statements in StA-Br, file "Löblich," 8 KMs 1/51, vol. 3.
4. Anklageschrift der Oberstaatsanwaltschaft bei dem Landgericht Bremen v. 26.9.1950, in StA-Br, 8 KMs, 1/51, Bd. 3.
5. See verdict in StA-Br, file "Löblich" 8 KMs 1/51, vol. 2: "Handakten der Staatsanwaltschaft."

LEIPZIG

On March 10, 1933, the Leipzig Police Prison and related facilities became a "protective custody" camp. With the arrest of numerous leftists in Saxony after the promulgation of the Reichstag Fire Decree, the police president of Leipzig also sent detainees to the prison on Beethovenstrasse and to an annex of the police headquarters on Wächterstrasse. On

April 12, 1933, Beethovenstrasse by itself held 191 prisoners. Although the details are sketchy, the Wächterstrasse prisoners worked under SS and SA supervision in the erection of a shooting range. Some may have been held in a pub frequented by the SA. Although Leipzig remained operational as a protective custody camp until at least September 1933, the detainees were transferred to larger camps at Colditz Castle, Hainichen, and Sachsenburg.

The Leipzig detainees included Walter Liebing, Helmut Müller, and Arno Henschel. The three formed what Liebing later characterized as a “resistance group” inside the prison. In nine weeks’ detention in the “Gestapo cellar,” Liebing was subjected to “lengthy interrogations and tortures.” On approximately September 15, 1933, he and his comrades were dispatched to Colditz.¹

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). Drobisch and Wieland do not furnish any details about the SA pub, except that it was an early camp with the Leipzig Police Prison. See also Mike Schmeitzner, “Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen 1933–1945,” in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenhauer Verlag, 2002), pp. 183–199.

Primary documentation for this camp begins with File No. 4842 of the Ministerium für Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten in the SHStA-(D), as cited by Drobisch and Wieland and by Schmeitzner. There is a listing for the Leipzig investigative prison in Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, Ursula Krause-Schmitt, and ITS, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1: 241. A brief personal account of Leipzig can be found in Walter Liebing, “Mutiger Widerstand im faschistischen Konzentrationslager Colditz,” in *Damit Deutschland lebe: Ein Quellenwerk über den deutschen antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf, 1933–1945*, ed. Walter A. Schmidt (Berlin [East]: Kongress-Verlag, 1958).

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. Walter Liebing, “Mutiger Widerstand im faschistischen Konzentrationslager Colditz,” in *Damit Deutschland lebe: Ein Quellenwerk über den deutschen antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf, 1933–1945*, ed. Walter A. Schmidt (Berlin [East]: Kongress-Verlag, 1958), p. 273.

LESCHWITZ BEI GÖRLITZ

[AKA WEINHÜBEL]

As early as March 1933, the Görlitz SA established a so-called private concentration camp in the former town of Leschwitz, on the bend of the Neisse River. Official documents referred to the camp as Weinhübel. It was located in the unused Hossner cloth factory, which, according to Paul Schwerin, had been owned by a Czech. Prior to the establishment of the camp, the so-called Braun Haus (Schützengasse 6) in the cen-

ter of Görlitz had been used for a number of purposes, including torture.

The camp population probably ranged between 1,300 and 2,000. According to contemporary documents, only around 300 prisoners from Görlitz and its surrounding area were permanently held in the camp. This suggests a large fluctuation in the prisoner numbers. The facility was not a large one, with the result that the prisoners were quartered together in confined spaces. They were political opponents of the Nazi regime, Communists (KPD), Social Democrats (SPD), and anti-Fascists without party affiliation.

The SA occupied the Görlitz community center (*Volkshaus*) on Mittelstrasse as well as the trade union center (*Gewerkschaftshaus*) on March 13, 1933. The SPD officials and unionists were arrested and taken to the Leschwitz concentration camp or the police prison. According to Karl Würzburg, on May 2, 1933, 70 members of the leftist parties the KPD and 120 members of the SPD were arrested. Schwerin refers to new arrestees, mostly KPD members from towns to the north and northwest of Görlitz such as Rothenburg, Weisswasser, and Niesky. In a letter dated June 3, 1933, reporting to the president of Liegnitz, there is an accurate list of the camp inmates, including the following information: (1) number; (2) first name and surname; (3) date of birth; (4) residence; (5) location of “protective custody”; and (6) cursory details of the reasons for protective custody. In the relevant files for July 1, 1933, it is recorded that 2 members of the SPD and 2 KPD leaders were taken from Neu-Tschöpeln bei Muskau as protective custody prisoners to the Leschwitz concentration camp.

The concentration camp was under the control of SA-Standarte 19, which had its base at Furtstrasse 3 in Görlitz. It was still located at this address in 1941–1942, the last telephone book to be published before 1949–1950. Memoirs also refer to the SA-Sturm 19. The commander was SA-Truppführer Ernst Krüger from the town of Kohlfurt (Weglincie) to the northeast of Görlitz. He and his wife lived on the first floor of the former factory’s administration building. On the ground floor were the guards’ room and the kitchen, as well as a cobbler’s workshop, where the prisoners repaired the shoes and boots of their oppressors. According to Schwerin, the SA stole the furniture and kitchen utensils from the homes of the prisoners. In February 1938 there was a trial of former Leschwitz guards, in which Krüger and 15 others were called to account.

There was no real productive work in Leschwitz. Ten to 20 prisoners worked on large farms in the area, guarded by the SA. The prisoners who remained in the camp peeled potatoes, swept the yard, worked on Krüger’s vegetable garden, or did other personal jobs for Krüger. A few had to do tasks that were clearly aimed at humiliating the prisoners. For example, sand had to be shifted without any obvious reason for the whole day from one corner of the courtyard to another. According to Alex Horstmann, the leading KPD comrades were not allowed to work on the farms, were not allowed to receive visitors, and were subject to mistreatment and torture.

Schwerin was transferred with his colleagues from the Görlitz police prison to the Leschwitz concentration camp on

June 26, 1933. The Brown rulers helped them along the way, beating them and kicking them. Camp Commandant Krüger was also present with sarcastic jokes and depraved insults. Pictures of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and August Bebel were obtained to mock the prisoners. For the amusement of the SA, the prisoners had to take part in so-called sport. The SA chased them up trees and then made jokes about the apes in the trees. Fritz Pobig has described the interrogation room as the room of a "thousand fears." There was a special rack where the unlucky prisoners were held while they received up to 25 lashes. Especially feared were the gallows. The prisoners were locked into a dark room that held the transmission wheels of the former cloth factory. Here they were forced to stay in confined spaces in the most unusual positions. Otherwise, the prisoners were confined every evening at 8:00 P.M. (work stopped at 6:00 P.M.) to their quarters. Initially the prisoners slept on the concrete floor, then later on, wooden plank beds. According to Schwerin, the Communist prisoners, but not the Social Democrats, had their heads shaved. They were even threatened that their heads would be branded with the hammer and sickle. Concentration camp reports reflect the different treatment of Communist and Social Democratic prisoners. These reports should not be accepted without care. What is certain is that the most famous of Social Democrats in Görlitz, Member of the Reichstag Otto Buchwitz, was held in a special cell in Leschwitz that was half filled with water. Buchwitz escaped, living at first illegally in Berlin and later emigrating to Denmark. However, not all survived—Max Hirschel from Schmiedberg (probably Riesengebirge) died on May 14, 1933, in Leschwitz from mistreatment. A 17-year-old Jewish prisoner and one unknown Czech prisoner were murdered, and two prisoners committed suicide. Those two escaped their mistreatment—one prisoner slashed his wrists while under arrest, and the other hanged himself.

The camp inmates who wanted could go to the usual Sunday services in the local church, about 200 to 300 meters (656 to 984 feet) away, but under the supervision of uniformed SA guards. On other days, guarded by the SA, the prisoners returned from work, singing. Screams could be heard from the camp, which suggested torture. Religious care was only temporary in the Leschwitz concentration camp. According to contemporary reports, Görlitz Superintendent Georg Bornkamm was not impressed. As part of the Deutsche Christen movement, he wanted to bring Christians into the National Socialist fold. He protested against the inhuman terror at Leschwitz.

Krüger was eventually removed from his position as camp commandant because he incarcerated "nonpolitical citizens" in the camp. For example, he arrested a tradesman who he required for his personal use. In a letter dated August 10, 1934, Krüger, looking back, wrote that because of his sudden release from command, he was not in a position to hand over leadership to his successor Sturmführer Langner, in accordance with the regulations. According to Schwerin, Langner did not publicly beat any of the prisoners. The interrogations took place in the factory's former administration building. A Gestapo man from Liegnitz (Legnica) and two SA Truppführ-

ers did the interrogations. Efforts were made not to use particularly brutal forms of torture. Did this have something to do with the imminent end of the camp? Contemporary records show that Leschwitz was dissolved on August 30, 1933, due to the constant and increasingly vocal protests from the local population. The protests reflect the population's civil courage. Nevertheless, there are doubts whether that was the main reason for the closure of the camp. Perhaps the Nazis had plans that extended beyond the region. In any event, the report in the next sentence states that the prisoners were transferred to other concentration camps, mostly to Sonnenburg, Hainewalde, and Hohnstein in the Sächsische Schweiz.

The regional daily press reported relatively extensively in a number of articles on the trial of former personnel at Leschwitz. This was done in rather emotional tones. The former camp commandant Krüger admitted that he had joined the SA and the party in 1929 and was the longest-serving SA man who "looked after the camp."¹ Unlike most of the other guards, he admitted his deeds. On the other hand, he denied the existence of the gallows as alleged by the prisoners or that he buried two prisoners alive. The state prosecutor had argued for lifelong imprisonment. He was sentenced to 15 years. On March 6, 1948, the other guards were sentenced to terms of between 2 months and 8 years. Krüger was stripped of his citizen's rights for life and the others for 10 years. All the convicted were sentenced accordingly. The Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes (VVN) called the people of Görlitz together on March 11, 1948, to a demonstration against the Nazi criminals in the Evangelical Vereinshaus. Former prisoners from Leschwitz, Stadtrat Horstmann and Kleinert spoke at the demonstration. More than a year later, on June 23, 1949, the press reported on another trial of a former member of the guard staff before the Zweite Grosse Strafkammer des Landgerichts Bautzen (Second Major Criminal Division of the State Court of Bautzen) in Görlitz.²

SOURCES A longer version of this essay appears as Roland Otto, "Rache an politischen Gegner und Privatinteressen: Das Konzentrationslager Leschwitz bei Görlitz," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 237–244. An older study by Ernst Kretzschmar, *Widerstandskampf Görlitzer Antifaschisten 1933–1945* (Görlitz, 1973), reproduces the most important extracts from the memoirs and provides a commentary. Kretzschmar puts more emphasis on the SPD resistance than was usual in the early 1970s. A chronicle of documents, which reproduces press and other articles from the archives, is Erich Koksch and Gustav Ohlig, *Chronikdokumentation*, vol. 2, 1918–1945 (Görlitz, 1984). As part of an eight-part series, there is a useful illustrated history of the town in *Görlitz unter dem Hakenkreuz* (n.p., 1982), which deals with the Leschwitz concentration camp. The pictures are reproduced from the city's art collections.

One press article about this camp was published in the Nazi publication *NGA*, May 13, 1933. Press reports on the postwar trials may be found in the *LR*, 1948. Further details are to be found in a collection of newspaper articles compiled in 1948 at the RAG on the themes of justice and the proceedings. Two

other articles were published in 1961 and 1974. In RAG, there are only a few files that deal directly with the Weinhübel (Leschwitz) concentration camp. A few files of the VVN touch on the subject. Memoirs of mostly Communist resistance fighters from the area deal with Leschwitz in more or less detail. Understandably, they are often emotional and reflect the tensions with the Social Democrats. Paul Schwerin's report "Erinnerungen aus meiner 10½-jährigen politischen Inhaftierung" (unpub. MSS, RAG) is more informative. Useful are the still unpublished documents of the Weinhübler local historians Fritz Wünsch and Joachim Morgenstern. See also the files of the RAG, 1188, Konzentrationslager Weinhübel May 13, 1933 to August 11, 1934, Rep. IV, S. 6, Nr. 189, R34; F7.

Roland Otto
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. "Der SA-Schläger vom Lager Leschwitz," *LR*, March 8, 1948.
2. Ibid.

LICHTENBURG

The Lichtenburg concentration camp, a so-called collection camp (*Sammellager*), was established in June 1933 in a Renaissance castle in Prettin an der Elbe, between Wittenberg and Torgau in the then-state of Prussia (province of Saxony, Government District of Merseburg). The camp existed as a camp for males until 1937; the prisoners were transferred in August to Buchenwald. Between December 1937 and May 1938, it functioned as the main women's concentration camp for the whole of Germany. After May 1939 the women were taken to Ravensbrück. In its early period, Lichtenburg was the main concentration camp in central Germany.

Despite sanitation problems that led to the closure of an earlier prison on the site in 1928, the president of the district government and police president in Halle decided in 1933 to use the castle for 1,000 "protective custody" prisoners (*Schutzhäftlinge*). The impetus for the decision stemmed from the Prus-

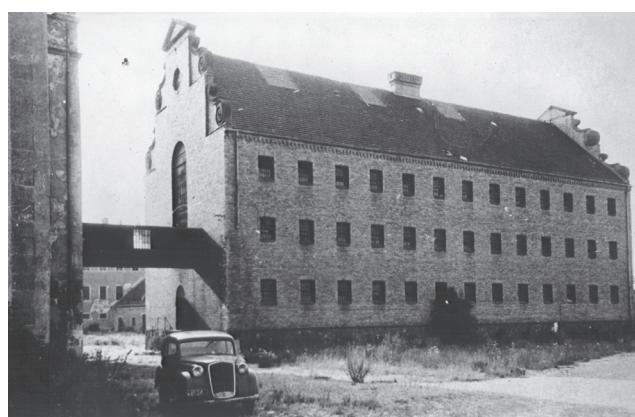
sian Ministry of Interior, which on March 17, 1933, issued an inquiry as to a possible site for a camp that could hold political opponents of the National Socialist regime. At the beginning of June, a prisoner detachment began work to prepare the castle for the prisoners. On July 13, it was announced that the camp had opened. It was overcrowded shortly after it was opened. There were 1,600 prisoners in the castle in July 1933, and in September there were 2,000. A directive of the Merseburg district president on July 7, 1933, stated the following: "The primary function of the Sammellager in Lichtenburg is to hold elements opposed to the state, who in the interests and preservation of state security must be held under arrest for a long period of time."¹

The prisoners were brought to Lichtenburg from a variety of torture sites, police prisons, and judicial prisons—for example, from the police prison in Halle in June; from the Magdeburg barracks camp in the Magdeburg sports stadium Neue Welt in August; from the Emsland camp Börgermoor in the autumn and winter of 1933; from the Sonnenburg concentration camp in March 1934; and from the SS prison in Berlin, Columbia-Haus, in August 1934. Until the summer of 1934, the Lichtenburg concentration camp functioned primarily as a holding camp for prisoners from the early SA camps. For example, inmates from the early Oranienburg concentration camp were brought here after its closure in July 1934. This camp functioned for several years as the second main camp in the eastern section of central Germany.

Initially, the Lichtenburg concentration camp was secured by a regular detachment of the Schutzpolizei (municipal police). These guards were replaced in the middle of August 1933 by an SS detachment under the command of SS-Wachtruppenführer Edgar Entsberger. "We could observe in this unit how quite normal young men developed into sadists, killers and murderers," wrote the former prisoner Walter Kramer, whose memoir is one of the most important witness testimonies on the camp.² In September–October the camp was classified as a state concentration camp and reorganized according to Prussian requirements. These requirements envisaged that prisoners would be treated as if they were in prison. Civilian administration would be separated from the security and control provided by the SS. In reality, this practice failed, as can be seen from the example of Lichtenburg. The civilian camp directors, August Widder and Hans Faust, were no match for the infamous SS-Wachtruppenführer Edgar Entsberger, who was notorious for his brutality. Widder even feared for his life.

SS-Brigadeführer Theodor Eicke was in command of Lichtenburg between May 29 and July 1934. He established a political department (*Politische Abteilung*) and by June 1, 1934, had reorganized Lichtenburg along the lines of the Dachau model, which envisaged an elaborate system of rules, mistreatment, and punishment. In June 1934, Heinrich Himmler transferred control of all civilian camps to the SS; at the same time, he took control of Lichtenburg from the Merseburg district president.

There were five SS commandants of the men's camp between May 1934 and its dissolution in August 1937 (Eicke, Bernhard Schmidt, Otto Reich, Hermann Baranowski, Hans Helwig) and at least five camp directors. The commandants of



A postwar view of the inner court of the Lichtenburg concentration camp.
USHMM WS # 56158, COURTESY OF BA

the women's camp were Günther Tamaschke, until February 1938; Alex Piorkowski, until September 1938; and Max Koegel, until its dissolution in May 1939. In December 1935 there were 359 male SS guards. In July 1936, the SS-Totenkopfsturmbann "Elbe" (Death's Head Battalion Elbe), which was stationed in Lichtenburg, had 538 men. The little Elbe town of Prettin only had a population, on the other hand, of 2,000 inhabitants. The SS wardresses who guarded the female prisoners between 1937 and 1939 were trained for service in Ravensbrück.

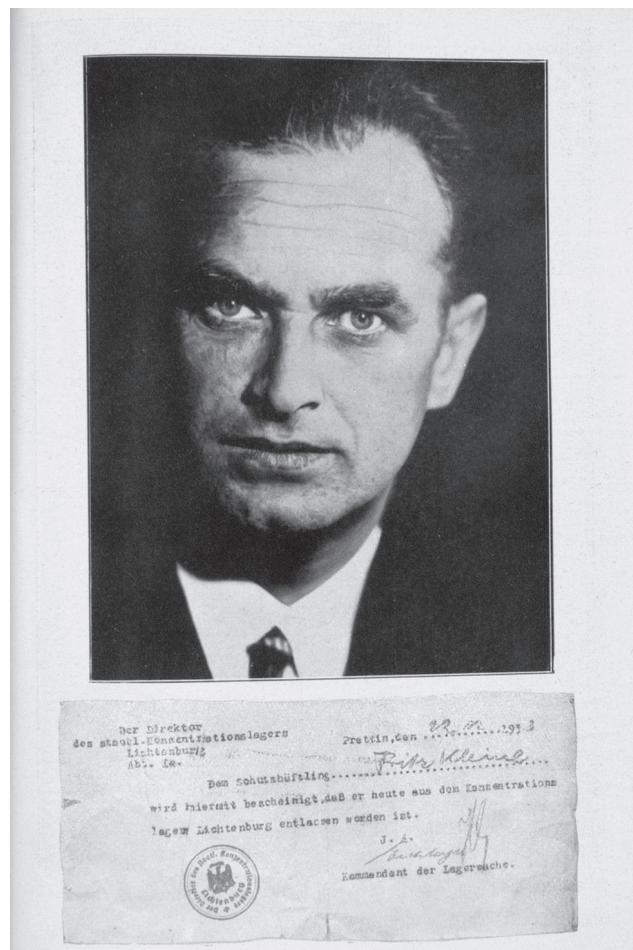
More than 5,000 names of Lichtenburg's male prisoners are known. According to the political conditions, the numbers varied between several hundred and around 2,000. The variations were large.

The men's camp was dissolved on August 18, 1937. Four months after its dissolution, the whole contingent of female prisoners in the Moringen women's concentration camp was transferred to Lichtenburg. The first transport of 200 women arrived in December 15, 1937. Other transports followed, with the last on March 21, 1938. As with the men's camp, the numbers increased rapidly, above the predetermined number of 600. In November 1938 there were 800 women. Other sources say 1,200 women. When the women's camp was dissolved on May 15, there were between 900 and 950 women who were taken in several transports to Ravensbrück. It is estimated that there were 1,400 women in Lichtenburg, all told. The names of 1,115 are known.

If one looks at the reasons why prisoners were held at Lichtenburg, there is a changing picture over the course of the years. It reflects the stages and emphases of persecution by the National Socialist state between 1933 and 1939: in the initial phase the focus was on political opponents, and in later years this was expanded to the persecution of other groups who for various reasons were excluded from the National Socialist "people's community" (*Volksgemeinschaft*).

In the initial phases, the prisoners were almost exclusively opponents of the National Socialist regime, mostly Communists but including Social Democrats and citizens who were active politically but not as part of any political group. A large number were Jewish prisoners. In the autumn and winter of 1933, targeted Jews and intellectuals were taken from the Emsland camps to the Lichtenburg concentration camp. "Unlike as in the prisons 'Aryans' and 'Jews' were differentiated in the camp," according to the Jewish prisoner Ernesto Kroch, who arrived at the Lichtenburg concentration camp in 1936.³ For a while they were separately held under tight security. Between 1937 and 1939, Jewish women were allocated to the most difficult labor detachments. The Lichtenburg concentration camp clearly shows the antisemitic and racial characteristics of early National Socialist terror.

In addition to opponents of the regime, there were other groups who for a time were the majority of the prisoners in the camp. After the "Röhm Putsch" (Night of the Long Knives) of 1934, there were around 60 SA members held in July 1934. In June 1935, after the use of Paragraph 175 was intensified, there were 325 homosexuals registered among 711 prisoners. They especially suffered from mistreatment and



Photograph and release certificate of Lichtenburg prisoner Fritz Kleine, December 22, 1933.

PUBLISHED IN KONZENTRATIONSLAGER: EIN APPEL AN DAS GEWISSEN DER WELT, 1934

discrimination. Other groups were the so-called asocials—beggars, alcoholics, and others who were rounded up because their lifestyles did not conform or because they had prior convictions and were punished with forced labor and taken to concentration camps—and preventive custody prisoners (*Vorbeugungshäftlinge*), people classified as "common criminals" (*Gewohnheitsverbrecher*), or "professional criminals" (*Berufsverbrecher*) who were transferred to concentration camps after they had served their time in prison.

A large proportion of the prisoners were Jehovah's Witnesses (*Ernste Bibelforscher*), who were banned within Germany in 1935. They were a majority of the female prisoners. Most were classified as incorrigible and were held in a special punishment area. Reports relate that they were brutally punished because they refused to give the Hitler salute (*Hitlergruß*) and were not prepared to listen to Hitler's speeches broadcast over the loudspeakers. "They attached fire hoses to the hydrants. In the evening when they demanded that we listen to the speech and when we refused they turned the hydrants on and turned the strong jets of water on us. Station

Four was soon under water, running down the stairs. If the water did not force you outside the door you were forcibly taken out to the court yard. Wet to the skin we had to stand for the duration of the speech in a cold October evening in the court yard. We were given fourteen days' arrest and Station Four was given three weeks' arrest.⁷⁴ Seventy male and 424 female Jehovah's Witnesses were held here. There were also a few female "Gypsies" in Lichtenburg concentration camp.

The female Lichtenburg prisoners included all important prisoner groups in the area under National Socialist control in the years 1937 to 1939, including Austria, which was annexed in March–April 1938.

The building greatly influenced the prison conditions in Lichtenburg: a worn-out, cold, damp structure with hygienic conditions from the Middle Ages, large dormitories in a Renaissance building, and tiny cells in a multifloor prison that had been added in 1872. In 1928 the authorities decided that Prussian criminals could not be held there because the conditions were so poor. The 1937 decision to establish a women's concentration camp there following the transfer of the men to the "modern" Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald camps marks the lack of respect that the National Socialist regime had for its female prisoners in the prewar period.

Everyday prison life was hard. The prisoners were treated with great brutality by the SS. The new arrivals had to undergo a spiteful, humiliating procedure. The men were driven into the castle with cudgels and rifle butts. The women had to stand for hours at roll call. The men and women were threatened with death, told that they would only leave Lichtenburg in a coffin. The castle courtyard, which functioned as the roll-call square and exercise yard, was called by the prisoners the Death Curve (*Todeskurve*). Visits from relatives were permitted in the beginning; they could meet and speak with the prisoners in the courtyard, but they were separated by a 2-meter (6.6-feet) control distance. Later, even letter-writing became difficult. Food was of poor quality and deteriorated during the years, with the result that many prisoners did not have sufficient strength to do their work.

The prisoners were forced to do meaningless work, the sole purpose of which was to humiliate them. For example, there was "drawing water" (*Wasserschöpfen*) done at negative temperatures. On the other hand, the prisoners were caught up in a network of forced labor both inside and outside the institution: working in gravel pits, on farms, on drainage systems, or on community projects such as building city parks or the Prettin training ground; laying gardens in the castle grounds; and building. There was also handicraft work, for example, making wooden slippers, basket weaving, tailoring, shoe making, carpentry, electrical work, and book binding. The prisoners worked inside the camp, cleaning toilets, carrying coal, and doing other general tasks and cleaning work for the guards, the majority of whom were based in the castle.

Overcrowding was the norm. Up to 300 male and 140 female prisoners slept in the halls inside the old castle walls, sometimes under the damaged roofs, sometimes without heating. In the small cells in the Prussian prison, there were be-

tween 3 and 6 prisoners. Sanitary conditions were completely inadequate. For example, in one large dormitory there were two to five toilets, sometimes only a bucket.

As at Dachau, official visitors, National Socialist sympathizers, and foreign journalists were shown a fictitious show camp. Sometimes the SS were depicted as prisoners and the SS accommodations as the prisoners' accommodations. For the prisoners, everyday life was determined by a system of torture and mistreatment: food deprivation, bans on letters, confiscation of spectacles and walking sticks, hour-long roll calls, being bound to posts, beatings, and whippings, some of which took place on a whipping block (from 1938 this punishment was also meted out to women). It has also been reported that prisoners' heads were stuck in excrement. Yet there were cultural activities. There is said to have been a prison library, readings, musical evenings, and even a cabaret.

Part of the castle had been converted to a jail even when the castle was used as a prison. It had cells for special arrest: the Bunker. The prisoners called it the "paint room" (*Färberrei*) because here they were beaten until they were red and blue. "One night a comrade was taken from our dormitory for interrogation. . . . When he returned three days later we scarcely recognized him. He had not eaten for three days and had been in the Bunker. His backside and his back had been beaten so that there was no white skin to be seen. . . . Our comrade often fainted because of the pain. The smell of pus permeated the area."⁷⁵ In the 12 unheated cells there was confinement in darkness (*Dunkel-Arrest*), and there was a standing cell (*Stehzelle*). A particularly brutal torture method that was first applied here was the *Krummschliessen*, where a prisoner's arms were pushed backed under the shoulder blades and held in place with chains; the twisted body was then affixed with rope to the bars of the cell. Murders committed in the Bunker were classified as suicides.

Prettin city registers recorded 14 deaths, including a woman who died as the result of SS mistreatment. There were almost certainly more deaths, including at least one female prisoner who died soon after her release as the result of her treatment in prison; others also died at home after their release, and a Prettin bricklayer was beaten to death by the SS because he had greeted the prisoners on the street with the "Red Front" greeting. Many Lichtenburg prisoners were to die later in Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, and Ravensbrück. Twenty deaths are documented in the archives of the memorial.

In postwar trials, the Lichtenburg concentration camp hardly rated a mention. The SS personnel were transferred to other camps where the conditions were worse. The result was that there were few trials of former Lichtenburg guards that attracted attention. The commandants of the camp died, if they survived the war, without being prosecuted. SS-Truppührer Edgar Entsberger was sentenced to five years' prison in February 1936 for homicide and five counts of physical abuse; the historian Johannes Tuchel suspects that his conviction had something to do with Entsberger's questioning of Hitler's authority. A 1964 proceeding against Entsberger and three other SS men, as well as police members, for the

suspected murder of five Lichtenberg prisoners was halted in 1966, not because there was any doubt as to the deaths but because the prisoners' participation in the acts could not be proven and a charge of accessory to murder was subject to the statute of limitations. In 1948, former SS-Wachmann Martin Schneider and in 1961 former SS-Hauptscharführer Wilhelm Schäfer were sentenced to death. The camp commandant Egon Zill—later based in Ravensbrück, Dachau, Natzweiler, and Flossenbürg—was sentenced in 1955 to life imprisonment but was released early. The camp commandant Heinrich Remmert was sentenced in 1966 to two years' prison for crimes committed in Esterwegen and Lichtenburg. Other proceedings were halted.

SOURCES This essay is based on an extensive article that the author wrote for the second volume of the new series *Geschichte der Konzentrationslager*: Stefanie Endlich, "Die Lichtenburg 1933–1939: Haftort politischer Prominenz und Frauen-KZ," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin, 2002). See also Stefanie Endlich, "Lichtenburg," in *Das Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischer Konzentrationslager*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, Bdz: *Friüle Lager*, (Munich, 2005), pp. 151–159. The first book on the Lichtenburg concentration camp was published in 1987 in Weimar by Klaus Drobisch; it was republished in 1997 without the ideological constraints imposed by the German Democratic Republic: Drobisch, *Konzentrationslager im Schloss Lichtenburg* (1987; repr., Wittenberg, 1997). There are two comprehensive works on the early concentration camps and the Inspektion der Konzentrationslager (IKL) that research the development and role of the Lichtenburg concentration camp: Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin, 1993); and Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager: Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager" 1934–1938* (Boppard am Rhein: Harold Boldt Verlag, 1991). A book on the Jehovah's Witnesses in concentration camps deals extensively with Jehovah's Witnesses in Lichtenburg: Hans Hesse and Jürgen Harder, "Und wenn ich lebenslang in einem KZ bleiben müsste," in *Zeugen Jehovas in Moringen, Lichtenburg und Ravensbrück* (Essen, 2001). About Prettin today and its association with the concentration camp, see the television film by Silke Heinz and Steffen Lüddemann in the MDR-Reihe, "Heimat unterm Hakenkreuz" (November 22, 1999), *Das KZ am Rande der Stadt*.

The AG-L in the Museum Schloss Lichtenburg has collected copies of the most important archival records and has begun to compose a list of prisoners; there is a review of documents that are held in the ASt-Pre and in regional archives. Documents on the development of the concentration camp are primarily held in the LHSA-Me, BA-B (BA-BL and BA-DH), AG-B, AG-R, GDW-B, DIZ-EL, as well as GAZJ. The autobiographical works that should be mentioned are: Lina Haag and Eine Handvoll Staub, *Widerstand einer Frau 1933–1945* (1947; repr., Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1995); Ernesto Kroch, *Exil in der Heimat—Heim ins Exil: Erinnerungen aus Europa und Lateinamerika* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990); Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten* (1935; repr., Berlin and Weimar, 1975); Irmgard Litten, *Eine Mutter*

kämpft gegen Hitler (1940; repr., Frankfurt am Main, 1984); Fritz Kleine, "Lichtenburg," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel, die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: "Graphia," 1934), pp. 182–212.

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NOTES

1. LHSA-Me, Rep. C 48, Tit. Le, Nr. 1189a.
2. In the KZ Lichtenburg. AG-L, G 831, p. 259, original document in AG-B.
3. Ernesto Kroch, *Exil in der Heimat—Heim ins Exil: Erinnerungen aus Europa und Lateinamerika* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), p. 70.
4. Memoirs of Ilse Unterförster, GAZJ.
5. Memoir of Gustav Flohr, Reichstagsabgeordneter der KPD und Mitglied der Internationalen Brigaden, AG-L, 809 G, p. 10.

MAGDEBURG

At the close of May 1933, the SA established an "assembly camp" at Neue Welt Stadium in Magdeburg, Prussia. The republican paramilitary organization Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold (RB), was the stadium's rightful owner. Despite the nomenclature, Neue Welt was an early "protective custody" camp. Formed at the behest of the Magdeburg police president, it was intended to relieve the overcrowded town jail of political detainees. The prisoners from another temporary camp, a gymnasium belonging to the river police, were also dispatched to Neue Welt. Magdeburg held approximately 200 leftist prisoners, including Social Democrats, Communists, trade unionists, and Reichsbanner members.¹

The Magdeburg police president's adjutant, SA-Führer Gabel, held mock court for Neue Welt detainees. In this connection, some prisoners were conducted to nearby Dornburg Castle for torture. They remained in a cellar, into which they had been rushed at gunpoint, until their kangaroo trial. An account by Richard Stuwe, a Dornburg torture victim but not a Neue Welt prisoner, made clear that the prisoners were beaten bloody during their ordeal.²

The authorities dissolved the Magdeburg camp in August 1933, and the prisoners were transferred to Lichtenburg.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); and Martin Schuster, "Die ersten Konzentrationslager in der Region 1933/34," in *Verfolgung, Terror und Widerstand in Sachsen-Anhalt, 1933–1945: Ein Wegweiser für Gedenkstättenbesuche*, ed. Verena Walter (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 45–50. The camp is listed in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999).

Primary documentation consists of eyewitness testimony by Richard Stuwe, which is available in Gerhard Vokoun, Herbert Matthias, Werner Dillmann, eds., *Quellensammlung zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung im Bezirk Magdeburg, part 2, 1917 bis 1945* (Magdeburg: SED, Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der örtlichen Arbeiterbewegung, 1970). According to Drobisch and Wieland, the AG-L also possesses a file, No. 249, on Neue Welt.

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NOTES

- Richard Stuwe testimony in *Volksstimme*, V. October 13, 1952, reproduced in Gerhard Vokoun, Herbert Matthias, Werner Dillmann, eds., *Quellensammlung zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung im Bezirk Magdeburg, part 2, 1917 bis 1945* (Magdeburg: SED, Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der örtlichen Arbeiterbewegung, 1970), p. 62.

- Ibid.

MISSLER (WALSRODER STRASSE) [AKA BREMEN-FINDORF]

To mark the first anniversary of the National Socialists' coming to power, Bremen's mayor, Dr. Markert, presented on March 6, 1934, a "current balance" of persecution and arrest:

From March 6, 1933 through March 5, 1934, a total of around thirty-one thousand new detainees have been processed by the Secret State Police; of these around 4,200 have been dealt with by the executive. Around 950 houses have been searched, around 450 people have been arrested in high treason proceedings, around 260 people brought before court. . . .

A total of 1,305 people have found themselves in "protective custody" from March 6, 1933 through March 5, 1934, and at this time fifty-five people are in protective custody at Ochtumsand concentration camp, five are in prison awaiting trial, thirty-seven are in prison, one person is in the hospital; all told ninety-eight people.¹

These numbers document the extent of persecution during the first year of the Nazi seizure of power. Most of the 1,305 people who found themselves in Bremen "protective custody" passed through the Missler concentration camp. How did it happen that of all places the Missler halls of Norddeutscher Lloyd in Bremen-Findorff—in the middle of the city and situated close to the main train station—were converted into a concentration camp?²

Dr. Markert, appointed head of the Reich Commissariat for Bremen on March 6, 1933, by edict of Nazi Reich Interior Minister Frick gave the office of police chief to SA-Sturmbannführer Theodor Laue on March 8, 1933. Laue, for his part, assigned the police administration to the head of the Criminal Police, Dr. Georg Pott. Thus the names are mentioned of those responsible for the setting up of the Bremen

concentration camp—as a state institution under the superintendence of Police Senator (Polizeisenator) Laue.³

After February 28, 1933, the number of arrests surpassed the capacity of the prisons in Bremen. Like many new leaders in those parts of Germany where concentration camps came into being in the first months after the Nazis' seizure of power, the Bremen police chief was also compelled by March 1933 at the latest to seek out a concentration camp for his numerous protective custody prisoners. On March 31, 1933, the police president delegated the administration and supervision of the prisoners to 40 auxiliary police officials from the ranks of the SS. While the SS took over "looking after" the protective custody prisoners in Missler, beginning on April 13, 1933, the SA administered the confiscated German Communist Party's (KPD) clubhouse and there took on the dirty work of torture in the so-called *Gosselfhaus* of the Gestapo.⁴

The arrest of opponents during the "struggle for power" period initially affected members of the KPD. Already on March 4, 1933, the Bremen police took 40 Communist functionaries into protective custody. Prominent Socialists and unionists soon followed, including Social Democratic Party (SPD) Members of the Reichstag (MdRs) such as Alfred Faust and Bremen state parliament members. The population of Bremen was informed about the arrests in detail, especially about the "reeducation methods" in the Missler concentration camp.⁵

The Missler halls were well known in Bremen. In 1905, Johann Friedrich Missler set up the emigration halls for Norddeutscher Lloyd on the Walsroder Strasse grounds, with four halls for 250 East European emigrants. During World War I, the building was used as a reserve sick bay. In 1919, it served as lodging for the "Freikorps Caspari," which defeated troops of the Bremen Soviet Republic on February 4, 1919.

In August 1932, the four camps of the Volunteer Labor Service (FAD) came into being for members of the Reichsbanner, the Labor Welfare, Wehrwolf, and the Deutsch-Nationaler Handlungsgehilfen-Verband (German National Clerks' Association). In accordance with a senate resolution, the emigrant halls were converted into a concentration camp at the end of March 1933.⁶

The conditions at the Missler concentration camp were not concealed from the Bremen population. In addition to the numerous reports about Missler in both Bremen newspapers, information made its way outside through released prisoners and relatives who had visited. Mothers and wives publicly displayed the bloody laundry of tortured concentration camp prisoners, and some prisoners could inform their relatives about the conditions while on short-term leave due to a death in the family. In addition, the grounds were visible for residents of Bremen-Findorff, who became eye- and ear witnesses to mistreatment. Residents on neighboring streets (Walsroder Strasse and Hemmstrasse) had a direct view from their balconies and windows of events in the camp. At the beginning of May 1933, Laue had to investigate complaints in Missler with a senior public prosecutor. The Polizeisenator felt compelled to replace the SS guard unit with SA people. In

the senate file there is a short note from May 6, 1933: "SS guards relieved, replaced by SA."⁷

The senate's press campaign as well as the numerous warnings and orders published in the daily papers did not have the desired success. On the contrary—with the publications the camp inmates were certain that the resistance would be continued despite all deterrents. The Nazi concept of reeducation did not work. At the beginning of July 1933, the Polizeisenator proposed to dismantle Missler and transfer the prisoners outside of Bremen. On July 11, 1933, the senate protocol records: "in view of continuous communist machinations he (Laue) intends to abolish the concentration camp on Walsroder Strasse and house around fifty especially dangerous prisoners at Fort Langlütjen II. . . . The remaining prisoners will be appropriately enlisted for profitable work at the so-called Ochtumsand."⁸ Only in September 1933, however, was the Bremen concentration camp moved to less accessible outlying districts. Langlütjen II concentration camp was closed on January 25, 1934. The inmates went to Ochtumsand concentration camp, which had been established in September 1933 on a former Norddeutscher Lloyd barge. On May 15, 1934, this concentration camp closed its small holds, in which up to 100 prisoners had been held, guarded, and often abused by 30 SA men.⁹

Laue was put on trial before the Bremen Spruchkammer in January 1949. He was sentenced as a "major activist" (*Grossaktivist*) to four years of special labor and was stripped of 25 percent of his assets. As Laue was given credit for three years and four months in internment, he was able to immediately resume his successful job as a businessman.¹⁰

In March and April of 1951 several Nazi staff stood before the Grand Criminal Court of the Bremen Regional Court. Former members of the guard at Missler were pronounced guilty, sometimes collectively and sometimes individually, of doing bodily harm while on duty; to the extent that they beat with a rubber truncheon or kicked with boots, they were also pronounced guilty of causing severe bodily harm. The regional court proved in the "Missler Trial" that the 15 accused had abused 78 protective custody prisoners. They got off with sentences from six months to two years and six months. Because of time served in internment and labor camps, most of the accused were in this case immediately released as well.¹¹

SOURCES The author's article goes back to an earlier study: "Vom Auswanerlager zum KZ. Zur Geschichte des Bremer Konzentrationslagers Missler," *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte Bremens* 5 (1982): 81–150. A recently updated version appeared under the title "Gleichschaltung, Unterdrückung und Schutzhaft in der roten Hochburg Bremen: Das Konzentrationslager Bremen-Missler," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt. Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 245–273. References to the concentration camp are also in Herbert Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen* (Bremen: Verlag Friedrich Röver, 1985), 4: 102; Inge Marssolek and Rene Ott, *Bremen im Dritten Reich: Anpassung—Widerstand—Verfolgung* (Bremen: Schünemann, 1986), p. 121; Lothar Wieland, *Das KZ Lang-*

lütjen II und Ochtumsand (Bremerhaven: Wirtschaftsverlag NW, Verlag für Neue Wissenschaft, 1992).

The main files are stored in StA-Br, primarily among the files of the Polizeidirektion 4.65/17. On the Gestapo, State Police Office Bremen, for 1933–1934, see 3-D.9, Nr. 86; on the protective detention of political opponents, see the Senatsregister 3–5.1a. On the Missler trials after 1945, see the files of the attorney at the Bremen Regional Court (4.89, 2–8). As for oral sources, I refer to the 30 former concentration camp prisoners who got a chance to speak in the author's 1982 study.

Jörg Wollenberg
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. StA-Br, 3-s 1a, Nr. 27.
2. On the history of the Missler halls, see Jörg Wollenberg, "Vom Freiwilligen Arbeitsdienst zum Konzentrationslager: Zur Geschichte der frühen KZ am Beispiel von Bremen Missler und Ahrensök/OH," *Information zur Schleswig-Holsteinischen Zeitgeschichte* 36 (1999): 16.
3. Herbert Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen* (Bremen: Verlag Friedrich Röver, 1985), 4:102; Inge Marssolek and Rene Ott, *Bremen im Dritten Reich: Anpassung—Widerstand—Verfolgung* (Bremen: Schünemann, 1986), p. 121; Jörg Wollenberg, "Vom Auswanerlager zum KZ: Zur Geschichte des Bremer Konzentrationslagers Missler," *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte Bremens* 5 (1982): 81–150.
4. StA-Br, 4.65/17 (Polizeidirektion).
5. BrN, April 2, April 6, April 29, June 17, 1933; BNZ, July 7, July 23, August 13, 1933.
6. BrN, March 25, 1933; Annegret Waldschmidt, "Der freiwillige Arbeitsdienst in Bremen," *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte Bremens* 5 (1982): 62–80.
7. StA-Br, Senatsregister 1a Nr. 277, 64, Nr.1.
8. StA-Br, Senatsregister 1a Nr. 277.
9. BrN, September 13, 1933.
10. WeKu, January 20–25, 1949.
11. WeKu, April 17, 1951.

MORINGEN-SOLLING (MEN)

On April 8, 1933, the Hannoverian police opened a concentration camp at Moringen, located inside the existing provincial workhouse. Polizeioberleutnant Müller was its first commandant.¹ Situated near the Solling River, northwest of Göttingen in Prussian Hannover, Moringen had successively served as an orphanage, penitentiary, and workhouse between 1738 and 1933. In the summer of 1933, it officially became a state workhouse (*Landeswerkhaus*), while maintaining its role as a detention site for political prisoners. Its correctional inmates (*Korrigenden*), who were criminals, beggars, vagrants, welfare recipients, alcoholics, and prostitutes, performed therapeutic labor. During the Great Depression, the correctional population dwindled. Except for political content and SS violence, the concentration camp, which the Nazis grafted onto Moringen's multiple functions, followed a workhouse model of reeducation.

On March 15, 1933, Oberinspektor Gottschick of Hanover telephoned workhouse Director (Lagerdirektor) Hugo Krack, to inquire about the establishment of a 200-prisoner camp on the premises. Space was immediately available for 4 women and 10 men; indeed, two male detainees entered Moringen in March. Krack relocated the infirmary and the male nurse dorms, originally found in the men's long house, to the women's house, thus opening space in the infirmary for the camp. He announced that the detainees' daily charge would be 1.45 Reichsmark (RM).²

Although the male population averaged 321 detainees per month during its seven-month existence, turnover was rapid. The extant prisoners' medical files reviewed by historian Hans Hesse show that 59 were released after three weeks, 32 after one month, 30 following two months, and 31 after three months.³ Most detainees were Communists. According to Hermann Wenskowski, the first Jehovah's Witness entered Moringen in June 1933.⁴ Unlike male and female correctional inmates, who wore black uniforms, the detainees wore civilian clothing. The political prisoners were strictly segregated from correctional inmates.

Müller and 50 Hannoverian municipal police officers (Schupos) arrived on April 8. Augmenting their force were 30 SA, SS, and Stahlhelm deputies, mostly from Göttingen or Moringen. Patterned after asylum orders, Krack and Müller established the camp's House and Day Regulations (*Haus- und Tagesordnungen*), providing for political reeducation and nonviolent punishment, such as mail restrictions and isolation.⁵ Detainee labor was voluntary. A recurrent source of friction existed between Krack, who assumed the title of camp director, and the four successive commandants, because Krack demanded their deference. The first 100 male detainees arrived from Hannover on April 11.

Prisoners were encouraged to attend religion services in the institutional chapel. Initially few did so, but attendance jumped to 264 by April 30. Müller soon discovered that the prisoners were holding secret political discussions in the chapel.⁶

On May 1, 1933, the National Labor Day, the camp authorities put the detainees on public display and made them listen to Nazi broadcasts. On May 2, the day of the trade union ban, the *Northeimer Beobachter* newspaper boasted that Moringen's "iron discipline" prepared detainees for admission into the Nazi Socialist Factory Cell Organization (NSBO).⁷ By May 31, 300 detainees had been released. Some 177 of the 264 prisoners, or 67 percent, worked in the workhouse or on external projects.⁸

On June 1, the Hannoverian police appointed Polizeihauptmann Stockhofe as the new commandant. On June 3, the first two female detainees arrived at Moringen, thus opening the "women's protective custody detachment" (*Frauenschutzaftabteilung*).

On the evening of June 21, Stockhofe heard prisoners chanting songs of the German Communist Party (KPD). Drawn pistols silenced the detainees, but the guards were unable to stop the ensuing hunger strike. Organized by August

Baumgarte, Johannes Engelke, Kurt Fröse, August Steffens, August Tünnermann, and Viktor Zudrowitz, 28 prisoners protested political reeducation and demanded improvements in food and working conditions.⁹ Stockhofe blamed the incident on the recent arrival of 15 Osnabrück detainees, accustomed, he claimed, to generous quantities of good food.¹⁰ Stockhofe's press blackout did not prevent unofficial news about the strike from spreading beyond Moringen's walls.¹¹

To suppress the strike, Krack moved the women's section to the women's house, segregated the strikers in the emptied room, and ordered them to be deprived of water. For health reasons, Stockhofe and the workhouse physician, Dr. Otto Wolten-Pecksen, initially objected to the latter course. To Polizeimajor Bergin of the Hannoverian Schupo, Krack made clear that the consequences did not bother him: "We must not shrink away from the implementation of this measure, even if it yields around thirty-forty deaths."¹² At 7:00 P.M. on June 24, Stockhofe closed the taps but opened negotiations with the strikers the next day. The protestors felt the immediate effects of Krack's order, as Baumgarte recalled: "It was a hot summer. We had awful thirst. Soon the sanitary facilities also had no more water!"¹³ On June 26, the protest ended with the (unfulfilled) promise of better food. During the strike, Stockhofe, Wolten-Pecksen, and Krack force-fed a weakened detainee.¹⁴

In retaliation for the strike, the Hannoverian police curtailed mail privileges.¹⁵ Parcels were now accepted only on Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. Effective August 1, prisoners could write two, two-page letters monthly to a single addressee on the second and fourth Tuesdays; letters addressed to prisoners were accepted monthly on the first and third Fridays and returned to sender if received on other days. Under the new regulations, prisoners could receive 5 RM monthly and exchange one washing packet per month.¹⁶

On August 1, SS-Sturmführer Otto Cordes assumed command of Moringen. Although Krack had demanded that Bergin replace the Schupo with SS staff during the hunger strike, the handover followed Heinrich Himmler's appointment the previous June as ministerial commissar for deputized police officers of the Secret State Police Office (Gestapo). The guards consisted of 41 SS and SA, including 24 locals. Cordes secured new labor contracts, including rock quarrying and assignments at the German Air Sport League (DLV) and the Töneshof airport, but only 31 percent (117 out of 380) of the detainees worked in August. In collective punishment imposed upon Prussian detainees for the May 1, 1933, Hindenburg Tree incident, Moringen's prisoners were denied noon rations for three days in early August.¹⁷

On September 1, SS-Sturmhauptführer Friedrich Flohr became Moringen's last commandant and imposed a harsher regime. Prisoners had to give the Hitler salute, wear military haircuts, and listen to Nazi broadcasts on a loudspeaker specially ordered in time for the Nürnberg party rally. Under Cordes, the SS tortured detainees in isolation cells, but Flohr restricted beatings to the "joy room" (*Freudenzimmer*), in an unsuccessful attempt to muffle the screams. One prisoner,

Otto Bokelmann, died from torture at Moringen, and a second, August Witte, succumbed due to injuries sustained at police prison Leonhardtstrasse. Krack repeatedly complained to the Hannoverian police about SS violence.¹⁸

From July to October 1933, the Prussian Ministry of Interior and the Moringen staff discussed the camp's future. On June 27, Krack urged the admission of more women, in the expectation that they were easier to control and could provide a niche for the underused facility. On October 12, the Prussian Ministry of Interior dispatched 80 men from Moringen to Papenburg, in exchange for 150 women. On November 1, Moringen became a women's state concentration camp. On November 28, the Ministry of Interior sent the remaining 168 men to Oranienburg, thus closing the men's camp. Krack headed the Moringen women's camp from 1933 to 1938 and remained the workhouse director until 1944. In 1948, he resumed this post until retiring in 1954.¹⁹

Cordes died at St. Mère Église in June 1944.²⁰ In 1948, the Göttingen Court of Assizes sentenced Flohr to six years in a penitentiary for crimes against humanity. The Göttingen Spruchgericht also sentenced him to one and a half years for SS membership. Krack and Wolter-Pecksen testified against him in both proceedings.

SOURCES The standard work about the Moringen men's camp is Hans Hesse, with Jens-Christian Wagner, *Das frühe KZ Moringen (April–November 1933)*: "... ein an sich interessanter psychologischer Versuch ..." (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2003). A helpful overview of the three Moringen camps is Hans Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung': Das Konzentrationslager Moringen 1933–1945," in *Instrumentarium der Macht: Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1937*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), pp. 111–146. A valuable survey of the workhouse is Cornelia Meyer, *Das Werkhaus Moringen: Die Disziplinierung gesellschaftlicher Randgruppen in einer Arbeitsanstalt (1871–1944)* (Moringen: KZ-Gedenkstätte Moringen, 2004). On the Moringen memorial, see Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus, Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). Gedenkstätte Moringen maintains an informative Web site at www.gedenkstaette-moringen.de.

As cited in Hesse's publications, primary sources for this camp begin with the NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1–9 (No. 1 consists of Krack's files on the men's and women's camps); NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1 (Verschiedenes, 1933–34, including Meldungen der Kommandanten des KZ Moringen), No. 3 (Krankenakten der Insassen des KZ Moringen), and No. 4 (Entlassungen); BDCPF for Wolter-Pecksen, Flohr, and Cordes; and the judicial proceedings against Flohr: BA-K, BA Z 38/419, Schwurgerichtsverhandlung gegen Flohr; NHStA-H, 721 Göttingen, Acc. 93/79, No. 58, Gerichtsverfahren gegen Friedrich Flohr; and BA-K, BA Z 42 VII/2164, Entnazifizierungsakte Flohr. Many of the patient

files (Krankenakten) were lost at the end of World War II. The most important prisoner testimony for this camp consists of letters by Hannah Vogt, Moringen's first female detainee, which contain information applicable to the men's camp. Hannah Vogt, *Hoffnung ist ein ewiges Begräbnis: Briefe von Dr. Hannah Vogt aus dem Gerichtsgefängnis Osterode und dem KZ Moringen 1933*, ed. Hans Hesse (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1998). Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, reproduces the memoir of Hermann Wenskowski, "Die antifaschistische Widerstandsbewegung im Harz" (unpub. MSS, Goslar, 1964). The testimonies of prisoner Karl Ebeling and August Baumgarte are located in Gerda Zorn, *Stadt im Widerstand* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1965); and more of Baumgarte's testimony can be found in Zorn, *Widerstand in Hannover: Gegen Reaktion und Faschismus, 1920–1946* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1977). The latter source also reproduces a photograph of Moringen detainees with Schupo guards. An interview with former prisoner Otto Kreikemeier is located in Wolfgang Schäfer, "Schutzhalt" im Konzentrationslager Moringen: Otto Kreikemeier erinnert sich," in *Von der Werkbank zum Computer: Bilder, Berichte und Dokumente zur Sozialgeschichte der Sollinger Holzarbeiter*, ed. Helmut Kassau and Wolfgang Schäfer (Göttingen: Verlag die Werkstatt, 1993), pp. 80–82. Anonymous testimony by witnesses 3A1 (M) and 63 Ge (as encoded by URF) about SS torture can be found in Union für Recht und Freiheit, ed., *Der Strafvollzug im III. Reich: Denkschrift und Materialsammlung; Im Anhang: Die Nürnberger Rasengesetze* (Prague: URF, 1936). On the hunger strike, useful testimony by the wife of prisoner Theodor Gassmann can be found in Dora Gassmann, "Für Frieden und Fortschritt," in *Antifaschistische Reihe*, vol. 2, *Hannoversche Frauen gegen den Faschismus 1933–1945; Lebensberichte, ein Beitrag zur Stadtgeschichte* (Hannover: VVN-Bund der Antifaschisten-Niedersachsen e.V., Kreisvereinigung Hannover, 1982), pp. 40–45. Gassmann's account also reproduces Stockhofe's report to Bergin, dated June 24, 1933.

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NOTES

1. Kommandobefehl, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1570, cited in Hans Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung': Das Konzentrationslager Moringen 1933–1945," in *Instrumentarium der Macht: Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1937*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), pp. 118–119.
2. Krack Memorandum, March 29, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, cited in Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung,'" pp. 114–115.
3. Meldungen der Kommandanten des KZ Moringen, 15.4.–16.11.1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752; and Krankenakten der Insassen des KZ Moringen, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 3, cited in Hans Hesse, with Jens-Christian Wagner, *Das frühe KZ Moringen (April–November 1933)*: "... ein an sich interessanter psychologischer Versuch ..." (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2003), pp. 113–115.
4. August Baumgarte testimony in Gerda Zorn, *Stadt im Widerstand* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1965),

- p. 72; Hermann Wenskowski, "Die antifaschistische Widerstandsbegegnung im Harz," reproduced in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 134.
5. Haus- und Tagesordnungen, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, pp. 1582–1585, cited in Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung,'" p. 120.
 6. Müller Report in NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1602, cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, pp. 41, 47.
 7. Quotation in "Fruchtbringende NSBO-Arbeit in dem Konzentrationslager Moringen," *NB*, May 2, 1933, reproduced in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, pp. 51–52.
 8. NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1626, in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 35.
 9. Hannover Regierungspräsident to PrIM, October 3, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1775, and Stockhofe to Bergin, June 23, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1726, both cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 68.
 10. Stockhofe to Bergin, June 22, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1768, cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 66.
 11. Stockhofe to Bergin, June 23, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1726, cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 74; Theodor Gassmann, "Für Frieden und Fortschritt," in *Antifaschistische Reise*, vol. 2, *Hannoversche Frauen gegen den Faschismus 1933–1945; Lebensberichte, ein Beitrag zur Stadtgeschichte* (Hannover: VVN-Bund der Antifaschisten-Niedersachsen e.V., Kreisvereinigung Hannover, 1982), pp. 40–45, 42.
 12. Quotation in Krack to Bergin, June 24, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, p. 92, quoted in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 68.
 13. Stockhofe to Bergin, June 24, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1769, reproduced in Gassmann, "Für Frieden und Fortschritt," p. 42; quotation from Baumgarte testimony in Gerda Zorn, *Widerstand in Hannover-Gegen Reaktion und Faschismus 1920–1946* (Frankfurt am Main-Röderberg Verlag, 1977), p. 73.
 14. Stockhofe to Bergin, June 25, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, pp. 1770–1771; and NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, 96, both cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, pp. 69–70.
 15. NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1704, cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 72.
 16. Letters of July 19, 1933; July 27, 1933; and August 5, 1933, in Hannah Vogt, *Hoffnung ist ein ewiges Begräbnis: Briefe von Dr. Hannah Vogt aus dem Gerichtsgefängnis Osterode und dem KZ Moringen 1933*, ed. Hans Hesse (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1998), pp. 127, 128, 130.
 17. On labor, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1826, cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 88; Letter of August 5, 1933, in Vogt, *Hoffnung ist ein ewiges Begräbnis*, p. 130.
 18. Flohr to Bergin, September 1, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1937, reproduced in Wolfgang Schäfer, "Schutzhaft" im Konzentrationslager Moringen: Otto Kreikemeier erinnert sich," in *Von der Werkbank zum Computer: Bilder, Berichte und Dokumente zur Sozialgeschichte der Sollinger Holzarbeiter*, ed. Helmut Kassau and Wolfgang Schäfer (Göttingen: Verlag die Werkstatt, 1993), p. 82; Karl Ebeling testimony in Zorn, *Stadt im Widerstand*, p. 33; witnesses 3A1 (M) and 61 Ge in Union für Recht und Freiheit, ed., *Der Strafvollzug im III. Reich: Denkschrift und Materialsammlung; Im Anhang: Die Nürnberger Rassengesetze* (Prague: URF, 1936), pp. 18, 26; testimonies of Hugo Krack, Otto Wolter-Pecksen, Niels-Joachim Krack, and Dr. Tolle in BA-K, BA Z 38/419, Schwurgerichtsverhandlung gegen Flohr; and BA-K, BA Z 42 VII/2164, Entnazifizierungsakte Flohr, cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, pp. 102–106.
 19. NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, pp. 85, 90, 169, cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, pp. 79, 83.
 20. Otto Cordes BDCPF, cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 187.

MORINGEN-SOLLING (WOMEN)

On November 1, 1933, the state workhouse (*Landeswerkhaus*) at Moringen-Solling in Prussian Hannover became a women's concentration camp.¹ Camp Director (Lagerdirektor) Hugo Krack headed the staff, which consisted of the chief overseer, Frau Rehmer, and four unarmed members of the National Socialist Women's Association (NSF).² Although local SS escorted outside details, Moringen was never a camp administered by the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL). Averaging 90 female detainees per month, it held approximately 1,350 women between 1933 and 1938. Peaking at 450 in the fall of 1937, its population consisted of Communists, Social Democrats, regime critics, Jewish "returnees," and most prominently, Jehovah's Witnesses.³ With the introduction of Bavarian and Swabian women in February 1936, Moringen became the only women's camp in the Reich.⁴ In 1937, some criminals and prostitutes entered the camp, instead of the workhouse, where they would have been female "correctional inmates" (*Korrigendeninnen*).⁵ Until 1937, the detainees occupied the second floor of the women's house, then moved to a bigger space in the men's long house. Called the "black maidens" (*schwarze Mädchen*) because of their uniforms, the female correctional inmates lived on the first floor of the women's house. The administration strictly separated the two groups.

Beginning on March 15, 1933, Hannover planned to hold female detainees at Moringen.⁶ The "women's protective custody detachment" (*Frauenschutzhafteilung*) opened on June 3, with the admission of Communists Hannah Vogt and Marie Peix. The female prisoners moved twice that month, first to a larger room in the men's long house infirmary and then to the women's house, while their former quarters were used for the isolation of those men who were conducting hunger strikes.⁷

When Polizeihauptmann Stockhofe was commandant, Krack asserted exclusive control over the women's detachment. Less deferential to him were commandants Sturmführer Otto Cordes (August 1 to 31) and Sturmhauptführer Friedrich Flohr (September 1 to November 28), whose SS guarded the section until November 1, 1933. The SS were strict with the women but—unlike their treatment of male prisoners—stopped short of torture.

On October 3, 1933, Prussian Ministry of Interior officials Janich and Schubotz inquired about the establishment of a 150-prisoner women's camp at Moringen. Since June, Krack had called for expanding the women's detachment. Calculating that detention would create a niche for the underused workhouse, he expected that holding female prisoners would obviate the need for guards and that daily confinement costs could thus be reduced from 1.45 to 1.35 Reichsmark (RM) per prisoner.⁸ On October 12, the Ministry of Interior ordered the transport of 80 men from Moringen to the State Concentration Camp Papenburg (Staatliches Konzentrationslager Papenburg) and dispatched 150 women to the camp. In a bid to secure employment for the camp, Krack offered to establish laundry services for the 4,000 prisoners at Papenburg.⁹ Papenburg's recent command shake-up may explain why he did not receive a response. During the 1933 Christmas amnesty, 102 women were released. When the Prussian Ministry of Interior closed Brauweiler in March 1934, Moringen became the only women's camp in Prussia.

In April 1934, Krack's "Service and House Regulation for the Women's Protective Custody Camp Moringen" prescribed a daily routine, which included work, exercise, and coffee breaks. It also provided for religious services, originally including the observance of Jewish high holidays, and for non-violent punishments, like deprivation of mail. The smoking ban reflected the regime's disapproval of tobacco use by German women. Particularly onerous were collective postal bans because with their husbands often in custody elsewhere and their children with relatives or in institutions, the detainees attempted to hold their families together through correspondence. Rehmer censored the mail, as evidenced by her trademark initial found on prisoners' letters. The library furnished Nazi propaganda, and listening to regime broadcasts was compulsory.¹⁰

On August 19, 1934, the prisoners voted in a Reich plebiscite. According to Elizabeth von Gustedt, a former NSF member imprisoned after the "Night of the Long Knives," only two detainees cast ballots against the regime. In order to avoid prolonging time in custody, Rehmer advised the women to take their families into consideration when voting.¹¹

In the spring of 1935, Elizabeth Fox Howard and her cousin, Marion Fox, of the British Society of Friends' Germany Emergency Committee visited Moringen. They interviewed Milli Beermann, a Jewish woman who appealed for assistance from the American Friends and who subsequently attributed her release to their visit. Howard and Fox also met the other prisoners and commented favorably on the Witnesses' sacrificial attitude.¹²

The women worked, ate, and talked in day rooms. Named after arrest categories or places of origin, the rooms were the Prussian Hall (Preussensaal), the Jews' Hall (Judensaal), the Bavarians' Hall (Bayernsaal), and the Jehovah's Witnesses' Hall (Bibelforschersaal). Although Jews were not supposed to enter the "Aryan" halls, the women often ignored this restriction. The other accommodations were Spartan: the detainees shared two toilets and slept on bunks in a drafty attic.¹³

Lack of privacy, family worries, and boredom took a hard toll. Some women, such as Ilse Rolfe (née Gostynski), volunteered for summertime agricultural work.¹⁴ In order to earn income for family support, many prisoners embroidered handbags, pillows, and other goods in the evenings. The intricate patterns attested to the considerable time on their hands.¹⁵ According to historian Hans Hesse, health records indicated that 77 percent of the prisoners gained weight in custody. This figure reflected Moringen's lack of work and edible, if monotonous, rations.¹⁶

In the winter of 1936–1937, most prisoners worked for the Winter Relief Campaign (WHW). The absence of laundry facilities rendered impossible the cleaning of filthy clothes, and the availability of only two sewing machines slowed repairs. Many donations ended up as fuel for the stove. Detainee Gabriele Herz considered the overseers' mismanagement of WHW goods a scandalous waste.¹⁷

The Jehovah's Witnesses refused to work for the WHW or other activities that supported the Nazis. In November 1936, Krack retaliated by segregating them in a hall and imposing a six-week postal ban. Ironically, the isolation stiffened their resolve and led to an intensification of their Bible studies. Responding to an anguished letter by Hans Thönes, Krack reported that Thönes's mother, Katharina, was well but not permitted to write for shunning WHW work.¹⁸

After Heinrich Himmler visited Moringen on May 27, 1937, the Gestapo prepared for its closure. The desire to integrate women detainees into the IKL system figured in this decision. In transports dated December 15, 1937, February 2, 1938, and March 21, 1938, 514 Moringen women were sent to Lichtenburg.¹⁹ Many of the Jehovah's Witnesses later were sent to Ravensbrück. From 1940 to 1945, Moringen operated as a "Youth Concentration Camp."

Before becoming workhouse director in 1930, Krack was a teacher. A member of the German Democratic Party (DDP) during the Weimar Republic, he joined the Nazi Party (NSDAP) and SA on May 1, 1933. Facilitating the release of some prisoners, he also ordered the sterilization of one detainee and occasionally threatened to denounce released prisoners or their relatives to the Gestapo. The prisoners' files revealed that the former democrat had little difficulty in appropriating Nazi language. Directing the workhouse until its closure in 1944, he served during World War II with the Armaments Detachment (Rüstungskommando) Hannover. Acquitted of Nazi activities by the Göttingen Spruchgericht in 1948, he resumed the directorship until his retirement in 1954. The Federal Republic awarded him the Federal Cross of Merit (*Bundesverdienstkreuz*) for alleged acts of resistance while Lagerdirektor. He died in 1962.²⁰

In 1966, the workhouse became the Lower Saxon State Hospital for Forensic Psychiatry (Niedersächsischen Landeskrankhaus für forensische Psychiatrie). A memorial site was established in 1993.

SOURCES This essay follows the careful scholarship of Hans Hesse, *Das Frauen-KZ Moringen: 1933–1938* (Moringen: Lagergemeinschaft und KZ-Gedenkstätte, 2002); "Von der

'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung'; Das Konzentrationslager Moringen 1933–1945," in *Instrumentarium der Macht: Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1937*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), pp. 111–146; and, with Jens-Christian Wagner, *Das frühe KZ Moringen (April–November 1933)*: "... ein an sich interessanter psychologischer Versuch . . ." (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2003). On Jehovah's Witnesses, Hesse and Jürgen Harder, "... und wenn ich lebenslang in einem KZ bleiben müsste . . .": *Die Zeuginnen Jehovahs in den Frauenkonzentrationslagern Mohringen, Lichtenburg und Ravensbrück* (Essen: Klartext, 2001). Krack's role is reviewed sympathetically in Matthias Kuse, "Zwischen Kooperation und Konflikt: Hugo Krack als Werkhaus- und KZ-Direktor in Moringen," in *Entgrenzte Gewalt: Täterinnen und Täter im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Herbert Diercks (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2002), pp. 80–91; and critically in Hesse, "Bundesverdienstkreuz für einen KZ-Direktor? Eine Entgegnung auf Matthias Kuse von Hans Hesse," in *Zwangarbeit und Gesellschaft: Beiträge zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung in Norddeutschland*, ed. Herbert Diercks (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2004), pp. 163–166. Helpful background information about the workhouse can be found in Cornelia Meyer, *Das Werkhaus Moringen: Die Disziplinierung gesellschaftlicher Randgruppen in einer Arbeitsanstalt (1871–1944)* (Moringen: KZ-Gedenkstätte Moringen, 2004). On the regime's attitude toward female smokers, see Robert N. Proctor, *The Nazi War on Cancer* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999). On the Moringen memorial, see Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus. Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). Gedenkstätte Moringen maintains an informative Web site at www.gedenkstaette-moringen.de.

As cited in Hesse's publications, the primary sources for this camp begin with NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1–9 (including Lagerdirektor files and prisoners' Gesundheitsblätter); and NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 105/96, No. 1–327 (Personalakten, including 133 health reports). As cited by Hesse and Kuse, two files concerning Krack's denazification and the award of the Bundesverdienstkreuz are NHStA-H, 171 Hildesheim, No. 39367, Entnazifizierungsakte Hugo Krack; and BA-K, B 122/38575, Krack file. A partial reproduction of the "Dienst- und Hausordnung für Frauenschutzhaftlager Moringen" and Krack's letter to Hans Thönes may be found in Jutta von Freyberg and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, eds., *Moringen, Lichtenburg, Ravensbrück: Frauen im Konzentrationslager 1933–1945; Lesebuch zur Ausstellung "Frauen im Konzentrationslager: Moringen, Lichtenburg, Ravensbrück 1933–1945"* (Frankfurt: VAS, 1997). On the Society of Friends' visit, see Elizabeth Fox Howard, *Across Barriers*, intro. by Henry W. Nevinson (London: Friends Service Council, 1941). Reports about this camp can also be found in *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (Sopade)*, 1934–1940, 7 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Petra Nettelbeck, Zweitausendeins, 1980). An important memoir recently published in English is Gabriele Herz, *The Women's Camp in Moringen: A Memoir of Imprisonment in Germany, 1936–1937*, ed. and intro. by Jane Caplan, trans. Hildegard Herz and Howard

Hartig (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006). As cited by Caplan in Herz, additional information about the Friends' visit may be found in Milli Beermann letter, November 1, 1935, in FHLA-(L), FCRA Political Prisoners, Correspondence 1933–1938, FCRA/19/1. Centa Beimler-Herker's interviews are found in Barbara Distel, "Im Schatten der Helden: Kampf und Überleben von Centa Beimler-Herker und Lina Haag," *DaHe* 3 (1987): 21–57; and in Hanna Elling, *Frauen im deutschen Widerstand: 1933–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1978); another published testimony is Rita Sprengel, *Der rote Faden: Lebenserinnerungen; Ostpreussen, Weimarer Republik, Ravensbrück, DDR, Die Wende*, ed. Sigrid Jacobbeit, afterword by Wolfgang Jacobbeit (Berlin: Edition Henrich, 1994). For the early history of this camp, see the letters of Hannah Vogt, *Hoffnung ist ein ewiges Begräbnis: Briefe von Dr. Hannah Vogt aus dem Gerichtsgefängnis Osterode und dem KZ Moringen 1933*, ed. Hans Hesse (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1998). Unpublished testimonies about Moringen include P III h 159 (Moringen) Testimony of Ilse Rolfe (née Gostynski), taken by Mrs. Midia Kraus, November 1955, in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series 1, WLA, Section 2, Eyewitness Accounts, at www.tlemea.com/testaments/index.htm. As cited by Hesse, Elizabeth von Gustedt's 70-page diary is found in BA-K, Best. N 1121 Gustedt No. 5, KZ Moringen. Hesse also cites the GAZJ, which contains numerous Jehovah's Witness testimonies.

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NOTES

1. NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, p. 168, cited in Hans Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung': Das Konzentrationslager Moringen 1933–1945," in *Instrumentarium der Macht: Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1937*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), p. 126.
2. NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, p. 189, cited in *ibid.*, p. 127.
3. NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, Nos. 6, 7 (Personalblätter); NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 105/96 (Personalakten); and NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 2 (Belegungsstärke des Direktors), all cited in Hans Hesse, *Das Frauen-KZ Moringen: 1933–1938* (Moringen: Lagergemeinschaft und KZ-Gedenkstätte, 2002), pp. 41–45.
4. Centa Beimler-Herker testimony, November 1976, reproduced in Hanna Elling, *Frauen im deutschen Widerstand: 1933–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1978), p. 107.
5. Sopade, IV (July 1937): 713.
6. Krack memorandum, March 29, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, cited in Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung,'" pp. 114–115.
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10. Dienst- und Hausordnung für das Frauenschutzhaftlager Moringen, April 1934, NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 2, p. 144, cited in Hesse, *Das Frauen-KZ Moringen*, pp. 45–50; partial reproduction of this document in Jutta von Freyberg and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, eds., *Moringen, Lichtenburg, Ravensbrück: Frauen im Konzentrationslager 1933–1945; Lesebuch zur Ausstellung “Frauen im Konzentrationslager: Moringen, Lichtenburg, Ravensbrück 1933–1945”* (Frankfurt: VAS, 1997), p. 19; for Rehmer’s initial, indicating his reading of prisoner mail, Anna Remmy letter, November 7, 1937, reproduced in Hans Hesse and Jürgen Harder, “... und wenn ich lebenslang in einem KZ bleiben müsste . . .”: *Die Zeuginnen Jebovas in den Frauenkonzentrationslagern Moberingen, Lichtenburg und Ravensbrück* (Essen: Klartext, 2001), p. 54; Gabriele Herz, *The Women’s Camp in Moringen: A Memoir of Imprisonment in Germany, 1936–1937*, ed. and intro. by Jane Caplan, trans. Hildegard Herz and Howard Hartig (New York: Bergahn Books, 2006), pp. 92–94.

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15. Photographs of Moringen needlepoint in Freyberg and Krause-Schmitt, *Moringen, Lichtenburg, Ravensbrück*, p. 47.

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MÜNCHEN (ETTSTRASSE)

In March 1933, the police prison at München (Ettstrasse) became a “protective custody” camp. Under Bavarian police, SA, and SS guards, it served as the clearinghouse for München-Stadelheim prison and the neighboring early SS concentration camp at Dachau. The protective custody population, which consisted of Communists, Bavarian People’s Party (BVP) members, monarchists, and journalists, ranged between about 60 and 150 in the spring and summer of 1933. Other sections of the jail held common law prisoners.¹

Ettstrasse’s superintendent, SS-Sturmbannführer Karl Ostberg, exemplified the National Socialist term “Old Fighter.” On March 1, 1933, the official Nazi newspaper, *Völkischer Beobachter* (VB), celebrated his thirteenth anniversary as a party member. His membership number was 1035. Serving in the List Regiment during World War I, the same unit as Adolf Hitler, he participated in right-wing politics immediately following the war. In 1924 these activities resulted in his dismissal as Ettstrasse’s Oberwachtmeister. Originally joining SA-Sturm 1, Neuhausen-München, he became the Sturmführer of Sturm 18 in 1928 and Adjutant of SS-Standarte 1 in September 1930. In a bar fight with Social Democrats at Ramersdorf in December 1930, he sustained a head injury that necessitated a three-week recovery. For the SS, he worked as a public spokesman. In this capacity, he drew criticism from the *Münchner Post*, whose staff subsequently languished in his custody in 1933.²

Ostberg was a fanatical antisemite. Stefan Lorant, a prisoner of Hungarian nationality, the editor of the *Münchner Illustrierte Zeitung* (MIZ), described in his diary the superintendent’s joy in tormenting Jewish prisoners: “Now that he has been made prison superintendent, he thinks himself Lord God Almighty. He is always prancing along the corridor in his SS uniform. Jews, to him, are like a red rag to a bull. He’d like to hang the lot of them.”³

Generational and professional tensions surfaced between the youthful Nazi guards and older Bavarian police. The professional guards treated the detainees with respect and occasional leniency, in contrast to the younger and less disciplined SA and SS. Although the older guards seemingly sympathized with the new regime, they found bewildering the concept of protective custody. Lorant paraphrased a conversation among guards: “If a man does anything wrong, he should come up before the magistrate . . . and either be sentenced or discharged. But to lock people up and never tell them what they’re in the jug [under arrest] for—well, we’ve never heard of such a thing here before.”⁴

At Ettstrasse, the SS tortured prisoners. A case in point was Communist Reichstag deputy Hans Beimler, held at Ettstrasse from April 11 to 25, before transfer to Dachau. In one session, the SS hit him over 60 times with a rubber truncheon, poured water on his face, and then, when he did not dress himself quickly enough, beat him once more. As discussed below, the torture of Dr. Fritz Gerlich sparked an exchange between the Austrian and German press. Lorant was more fortunate. He credited not being tortured to a professional warder's firm refusal to leave him alone with SS interrogators.⁵

Ettstrasse's conditions reflected both the improvised use of this jail as a protective custody camp and the tensions between established and Nazi methods of prisoner treatment. The protective custody ward contained several cell configurations, but all were filthy and most were dark. Some prisoners remained in solitary confinement, while others shared space with two, three, or more detainees. Initially kept in close confinement, the prisoners were finally permitted to pace the corridor outside the cells in April 1933. To combat boredom when not permitted to exercise, some detainees played chess with partners in other cells by shouting the moves to each other. The corridor walks became known as the "bourse" because they afforded opportunities for exchanging information. Only on May 15 were the prisoners permitted to go outside. This privilege, they discovered, had been intended for the amusement of visiting Nazis, who took satisfaction in their misery. Because he was Jewish, a prisoner named Dr. Kahn was not permitted outside his cell.⁶

The better-off detainees augmented prison rations with parcels from home or purchases from the prison canteen. Prisoners who ran out of money depended on Ettstrasse's Spartan and monotonous meals, as Lorant described: "On Monday we have vermicelli soup, on Tuesday potato soup, on Wednesday cabbage soup with dumplings, on Thursday rice soup, on Friday macaroni and *Sauerkraut*, on Saturday pea soup with a piece of stinking sausage, and on Sunday rice soup. . . . Supper is invariably the same every day. Watery soup and bread-crums. Although I always feel ravenous, I have never yet managed that evening meal. I can't stand the smell of it."⁷

Female protective custody inmates occupied a ward one floor below the males. Among them were the wives of Beimler and Lorant. Arrested on April 21, Centa Beimler-Herker was held at Ettstrasse for two days before being dispatched to Stadelheim, where she remained for three years. In the course of transfer to the early women's concentration camp Moringen in January 1936, she was once more incarcerated at Ettstrasse. Niura Lorant was detained at Ettstrasse from May 19 to June 30, 1933. Because the cell had three prisoners and one bed, she slept on a straw mattress on the floor.⁸

Foreign governments and organizations worked on behalf of certain Ettstrasse detainees. Lorant, Walter Tschuppik, and Gerlich were politically moderate or apolitical journalists who were arrested, along with their colleagues, in March 1933. Unlike the Beimlers, who were Communists

and therefore high priority, the non-Communist journalists remained in limbo at Ettstrasse until July 1933. Among the detainees were the publishers and staff of the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten* (MNN), *Süddeutsche Sonntagspost* (SüdS), *Münchner Post* (MP), and MIZ. Arrested on March 14, Stefan Lorant was held at Ettstrasse until July 24, when he joined the journalists, editors, and publishers who had already been dispatched to Stadelheim. The Hungarian government worked tirelessly on his behalf. On September 20, he was sent back to Ettstrasse. The Hungarian efforts bore fruit when, on September 25, Lorant was allowed to return to Budapest.⁹

Tschuppik, editor of the SüdS, was a Czechoslovakian citizen of German nationality who similarly owed his freedom to international protest. An outspoken anti-Nazi, he was arrested on March 9. *Aufruf* (ASfM), a publication of the Prague-based League of Human Rights, pressed the Czechoslovakian government and the German embassy for his release. The publicity may have helped, because he returned to Prague in early November 1933. He then became a contributor to the journal that had agitated for his release.¹⁰

International pressure did not bring about the release of Fritz Gerlich, however. The Austrian newspaper *Vorarlberger Volksblatt* (VorVB) reported on May 19, 1933, that the respected Catholic journalist had *not* been murdered in custody as previously thought but had been blinded in one eye under torture; his other eye had been seriously injured; and he was not permitted contact with his wife. At Ettstrasse, the SS forced him to sign a denial of these allegations, which was published in the VB: "The determination that I am alive corresponds with the truth. It is untrue, however, that I am 'blind in one eye and in danger of losing the other,' 'owing to kicks,' with which my 'eyeglasses were driven into my eyes.' What is more I have never received such a kick and possess complete health and vision in both eyes. My wife has been repeatedly given permission to see and speak with me."¹¹ Gerlich was imprisoned at Ettstrasse and Stadelheim until June 30, 1934, when he was murdered during the "Night of the Long Knives."¹²

Although Ettstrasse remained a holding and interrogation center throughout the Nazi period, its use as a protective custody camp effectively ended in the fall of 1933. It is not known whether any postwar proceedings arose out of the torture of prisoners at this camp.

In the SS, Ostberg rose to the rank of Standartenführer. He died on June 4, 1935.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

For München (Ettstrasse) the most important primary source is the diary of Stefan Lorant, *I Was Hitler's Prisoner*, trans. James Cleugh (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1935). Originally published in English, it was smuggled out of Ettstrasse in two parts, the first by Niura Lorant and the

remainder by Lorant. The Munich edition of the *VB* contains tendentious stories on Superintendent Karl Ostberg and Fritz Gerlich. The SS weekly newspaper *Das Schwarze Korps (SchK)*, contains Ostberg's obituary and the funeral. The biweekly journal *ASfM* documented the efforts on Walter Tschuppik's behalf. Upon release, he published his testimony in the November 15, 1933, issue. Hans Beimler was the first escapee from the Nazi concentration camps and published the first camp testimony, *Im Mörderlager Dachau: Vier Wochen in den Händen der braunen Banditen*, 2nd ed., foreword by N. Riedmüller (1933; repr., Berlin: Militärverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1980). It was originally published in Moscow in 1933. Centa Beimler-Herker's testimony deals briefly with her stints at Ettstrasse, in Hanna Elling, *Frauen im deutschen Widerstand, 1933–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg Verlag, 1978).

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3. Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, p. 142 (entry of May 18, 1933).
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 58–59 (entry of March 22, 1933).
5. Hans Beimler, *Im Mörderlager Dachau: Vier Wochen in den Händen der braunen Banditen*, 2nd ed., foreword by N. Riedmüller (1933; repr., Berlin: Militärverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1980), p. 15; Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, p. 232 (entry of July 6, 1933).
6. Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, pp. 98, 141, 230 (entries of April 24, May 15, July 5, 1933).
7. *Ibid.*, p. 191 (entry of June 16, 1933).
8. Testimony of Centa Beimler-Herker, November 1976, in Hanna Elling, *Frauen im deutschen Widerstand, 1933–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg Verlag, 1978), pp. 105–106; Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, pp. 150, 202 (entries of Niura Lorant, May 19, June 30, 1933); Walter Tschuppik, "Gemartete Frauen," *ASfM* 4: 10 (February 15, 1934): 282.
9. Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, pp. 9, 204–206, 279, 307–311, 316–317 (entries of March 19, June 25, August 1, September 20, 22, and 25, 1933).
10. "Helft Walter Tschuppik!" *Auf 3*: 11 (July 1, 1933): 11–12; "Walter Tschuppik," *ASfM* 3: 16 (September 15, 1933): 13; Walter Tschuppik, "Acht Monate in der Hölle," *ASfM* 4: 4 (November 15, 1933): 104–105.
11. "Der 'erblindete' Gerlich: Die beispiellose Lügenhetze der roten Pest in Österreich," *VB*, June 14–15, 1933, Münchner-Ausg.
12. Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, p. 188 (entry of June 14, 1933); Walter Tschuppik, "Dr. Fritz Gerlich, ermordet in München, am 30. Juni 1934: Ein Ermordeter spricht," *ASfM* 4: 24 (September 15, 1934): 595–596.

MÜNCHEN-STADELHEIM

In March 1933, the Bavarian Justice Ministry and the SA established a "protective custody" camp at the München-Stadelheim prison. The camp held approximately 100 male and female political opponents and hostages. Located near Giesing, Stadelheim was established in 1894. Four years later, overcrowded conditions led to the construction of a southern wing, known even in the Nazi period as the New Building. In addition to the protective custody camp, the Nazis used the prison as a penitentiary and execution center. In Munich, detainees were normally taken into custody at the Ettstrasse police prison and transferred either to Stadelheim or to the early SS concentration camp at Dachau. According to prisoner Hans Beimler, sick or injured Dachau prisoners were temporarily moved to Stadelheim in the spring of 1933. Male detainees were held in both the old and newer buildings.¹

The protective custody inmates shared cells with common criminals and imprisoned Nazis. According to Stefan Lorant, who kept a diary in Ettstrasse and Stadelheim, the male detainees were not allowed to work, except for making "paper bags" in their cells. The cells were designed either for solitary confinement or for three or more prisoners but "[n]ever two." The latter policy was intended to forestall homosexual relations. Rebellious prisoners, such as a Communist who protested a Nazi religious service, were placed in a so-called dark cell. In daytime, prisoners were not permitted to lie down on the beds. Prisoners could borrow books from the prison library, however. According to Dr. Karl Alt, Stadelheim's Lutheran pastor from 1934 to 1945, the authorities removed books offensive to the new regime, including the Old Testament.²

Stadelheim had stern disciplinary regulations. Prisoners were subject to search at any time, and incorrigibles could be placed in chains. Penalties for disobedience ranged from simple warning to "close arrest." On July 29, 1933, Lorant described "A typical day at Stadelheim": "Rise at seven. Place bucket outside cell, fetch wash-basin, breakfast on thin coffee and a piece of bread. Eight-thirty to nine-thirty, exercise in the yard. Lunch at eleven-thirty, consisting of a plate of vegetables, including some potatoes, and a piece of bread. Supper at five-thirty, consisting of soup and a piece of bread. Then the folding bed is let down and we are left in peace for the night."³

Despite the strict regimen, the detainees secretly communicated between cells. The prisoners tapped Morse-coded messages on the walls, which their neighbors then relayed to the intended recipient. Lorant said: "There is not a sound to be heard all through the day. It is like being in a cemetery. But later, after the warder has done his rounds, a sound of knocking begins . . . I cannot yet quite make out what all the raps mean, but some letters are already familiar."⁴

From mid-July until September 1933, Stadelheim held a small number of non-Communist journalists from Munich. Until late August, they were not allowed to communicate with each other, possibly because the regime was building a legal case against them. Among them were Lorant, the editor

of the *Münchner Illustrierte Zeitung* (*MIZ*), Walter Tschuppik, the anti-Nazi editor of the *Süddeutsche Sonntagspost* (*Süds*), and Dr. Fritz Gerlich, who published articles for various Catholic papers. On August 30, the authorities inexplicably placed the journalists together in one cell and released most via München (Ettstrasse) within one month's time.⁵

The case of Munich trade union leader Gustav Schiefer demonstrated the role that chance played in protective custody. Arrested on May 5, 1933, he was briefly detained at Ettstrasse, then sent to Stadelheim. Schiefer attributed his "extraordinarily fortunate circumstance" of neither being transferred to Dachau nor tortured to prison physician Dr. Geisendorfer. The two had known each other for many years, because Schiefer sat on the managing board of the local health insurance fund. Geisendorfer refused to permit Schiefer's interrogation by the Bavarian Political Police no fewer than five times, explaining that the prisoner suffered from an intestinal rupture. Schiefer was released on health grounds on August 25, 1933.⁶

Although the men's camp was closed in the fall of 1933, the women's camp was operational until January 1936. After his release in November 1933, Tschuppik drew public attention to the women confined at Stadelheim, in an article for the Prague human rights journal *Aufruf* (*ASfM*). Among the prisoners were a newspaper editor's secretary, Fräulein Feder-schmidt, and a Jewish legal counsel's wife, Frau Kaiser. To these non-Communist prisoners should be added four Communists not mentioned by Tschuppik—Centa Beimler-Herker, Dora Dressel, Maria Götz, and Emma Stenzer. The exact number of female detainees is not known.⁷

Centa Beimler-Herker was the focus of international attention during her three years at Stadelheim. Her husband, Hans Beimler, fled Dachau in May 1933 and became the first concentration camp escapee. Already detained at Stadelheim, Beimler-Herker was informed that her release was contingent upon her husband's surrender, which effectively made her a hostage. In September 1933, her sister Maxi was arrested and also placed in Stadelheim. Beimler-Herker participated in resistance activities. After hearing about Franz Stenzer's murder at Dachau, she staged a hunger strike with other prisoners in order to agitate for his wife's, Emma Stenzer's, release. The female detainees were permitted to work outside their cells, which facilitated, Beimler-Herker later recalled, "a lively exchange of news" between the male and female camps. As a laundress, she surreptitiously circulated banned political publications among the prisoners. The German exile press took up Beimler-Herker's cause. A visit by an international delegation to Stadelheim resulted in her improved treatment, but further details about this visit are not available. In January 1936, she and her sister were transferred from Stadelheim to the early women's concentration camp at Moringen.⁸

During the "Night of the Long Knives," SA-Stabschef Ernst Röhm was murdered at Stadelheim. On his first day as pastor there, June 30, 1934, Alt saw SS men surrounding the prison. Arriving from Berlin, they carried orders from Hitler to liquidate top SA leaders and certain regime opponents, including Gerlich. According to Alt, when the prison director,

Dr. Robert Koch, protested Stadelheim's use as a killing site, the SS put him on the telephone with Nazi Party secretary Rudolf Hess. Koch summarily dropped his objections. The newly appointed Inspector of Concentration Camps, SS-Brigadeführer Theodor Eicke, shot Röhm in his cell on July 1, after the former SA chief refused Hitler's offer of committing suicide.⁹ Between 1933 and 1945, 1,035 persons were executed at Stadelheim, including numerous political prisoners. Alt described three execution methods: hangings, shootings, and beheadings by guillotine. The most common was hanging by slow strangulation. Perhaps in order to distance himself from personal responsibility for what transpired, Alt attempted to distinguish between Stadelheim and the concentration camps, alleging that "penal institutions had . . . nothing to do with KZ [concentration camp] methods." In the 1930s, the hangings were so commonplace, he recalled, that the authorities dispensed with the customary execution witnesses except for a spiritual adviser.¹⁰

Little is known about the protective custody camp superintendent, Müller, or Stadelheim's director, Koch. Alt described the latter as a "humane" individual concerned about the prisoners' well-being, but his degree of culpability with the early protective custody camp is not clear. Alt's predecessor as Lutheran pastor, Schöbel, was an outspoken Nazi whose sermons stressed the "Aryan" origins of Jesus Christ. Witnesses recalled that two Roman Catholic priests, Fathers Sigisbert and Karl Kinle, treated the prisoners with great consideration.¹¹ It is not known whether postwar legal proceedings were undertaken against any Stadelheim staff.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The camp is recorded in Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). An excellent historical overview of Stadelheim can be found at the Web site Justizvollzug in Bayern," www.justizvollzug-bayern.de/JV/Ueberblick/Geschichte/muehist. A helpful account of Röhm's murder is Charles W. Sydnor Jr., *Soldiers of Destruction: The SS Death's Head Division, 1933–1945* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977). On Centa Beimler-Herker, see Barbara Distel, "Im Schatten der Helden: Kampf und Überleben von Centa Beimler-Herker und Lina Haag," *DaHe* 3 (1987): 21–57.

Primary documentation for München-Stadelheim starts with the diary of Stefan Lorant, *I Was Hitler's Prisoner*, trans. James Cleugh (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1935). Originally published in English, it was smuggled out of München-Ettstrasse in two parts, the first by Stefan's wife, Niura, and the remainder by Lorant. Lorant's comrade Walter Tschuppik published several articles in the biweekly journal of the Liga der Menschenrechte (Prague), *ASfM*, about Stadelheim. The United States entered Gustav Schiefer's statement into

evidence before the IMT at Nürnberg. The first concentration camp escapee, Hans Beimler, was held briefly at Stadelheim. His account, *Im Mörderlager Dachau: Vier Wochen in den Händen der braunen Banditen*, 2nd ed., foreword by N. Riedmüller (1933; repr., Berlin: Militärverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1980), was first published in Moscow. Centa Beimler-Herker's testimony is available in Hanna Elling, *Frauen im deutschen Widerstand, 1933–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg Verlag, 1978). The international protest that attended Beimler-Herker's confinement is available in "Frauen als Geiseln: Der Nazi-Terror schrekt vor nichts zurück," *PT*, July 5, 1934, and *Das deutsche Volk klagt an: Hitlers Krieg gegen die Friedenskämpfer in Deutschland: Ein Tatsachenbuch* (Paris: Éditions du Carrefour, 1936). Another important account of Stadelheim is Karl Alt, *Todeskandidaten: Erlebnisse eines Seelsorger im Gefängnis München-Stadelheim mit zahlreichen im Hitlerreich zum Tode verurteilten Männern und Frauen* (Munich: A. Gross, 1946). Quoting at length prisoners' correspondence and religious poetry, Alt included drawings of Stadelheim during the Nazi years. His intentional or unintentional ignorance of the protective custody camp limits this source's value. According to Drobisch and Wieland, papers relating to Stadelheim may also be found in the AG-D (testimony of Claus Bastian) and the BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR.

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NOTES

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2. Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, pp. 268, 273, 277, 284, 289–291, 303 (entries for July 26 and 27, August 17 and 20, September 5, 1933); Walter Tschuppik, "Gemartete Frauen," *ASfM* 4: 10 (February 15, 1934): 282; Karl Alt, *Todeskandidaten: Erlebnisse eines Seelsorger im Gefängnis München-Stadelheim mit zahlreichen im Hitlerreich zum Tode verurteilten Männern und Frauen* (Munich: A. Gross, 1946), p. 12.
3. Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, pp. 275–277 (entries for July 28 and 29, 1933).
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5. Ibid., pp. 277–278, 296 (entries for July 29, August 30, 1933).
6. Sworn Statement of Gustav Schiefer, November 19, 1945, USA-748, 2277-PS, IMT, *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, 14 November 1945–1 October 1946* (Nuremberg: Secretariat of the IMT, 1947–1949), p. 30.
7. Tschuppik, "Gemartete Frauen," p. 282; Centa Beimler-Herker testimony, November 1976, in Hanna Elling, *Frauen im deutschen Widerstand, 1933–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1978), p. 107.
8. Beimler-Herker testimony, pp. 105–110; Beimler, *Im Mörderlager Dachau*; "Frauen als Geiseln: Der Nazi-Terror schrekt vor nichts zurück," *PT*, July 5, 1934; *Das deutsche Volk klagt an: Hitlers Krieg gegen die Friedenskämpfer in*

Deutschland: Ein Tatsachenbuch (Paris: Éditions du Carrefour, 1936), p. 100.

9. Alt, *Todeskandidaten*, pp. 8–9; Walter Tschuppik, "Dr. Fritz Gerlich, ermordet in München, am 30. Juni 1934: Ein Ermorderter spricht," *ASfM* 4: 24 (September 15, 1934): 595–596.
10. "Justizvollzug in Bayern," www.justizvollzug-bayern.de/JV/Ueberblick/Geschichte/muehist; Alt, *Todeskandidaten*, pp. 10n., 12–13, 35–38, 43, 65, 86.
11. Alt, *Todeskandidaten*, pp. 11, 13; Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, pp. 289–291, 301 (entries for August 17 and 20, September 9, 1933).

NEUSTADT AN DER HAARDT

[AKA RHEINPFALZ]

In Bavaria, and therefore also in the Bavarian Palatinate, the National Socialists seized power on March 9, 1933. The government of the Bavarian People's Party (BVP), led by Dr. Heinrich Held, was removed and fled from the state capital of Munich. As in many parts of the German Reich, this event in the Palatinate was celebrated with large-scale marches, and Swastika flags were hoisted up on public buildings. At the same time as these festivities, the persecution of National Socialism's political opponents began. The new holders of power wanted "in the interest of public safety to take all Communist functionaries and Reichsbanner leaders into protective custody and to perform weapons searches."¹

In the Palatinate Neustadt an der Haardt, those in charge immediately translated this March 10, 1933, order into action: on the same day 32 political opponents were taken into "protective custody."² Some of these prisoners were housed in the local prison on Lindenstrasse; others were delivered directly to the newly established protective custody camp in the former airmen's barracks (*Fliegerkaserne*).³ In these barracks, built by French occupational troops, the camp "Rheinpfalz" had already been in existence since October 1932 as a section of the Volunteer Labor Service (FAD).

Soon, the number of prisoners in the newly created protective custody camp increased rapidly. One week after the establishment of the camp, approximately 200 political prisoners were interned there.⁴ Only a few days later, the press reported that there were between 275 and 300 prisoners in the "protective custody camp Rheinpfalz."⁵ With that, the Neustadt camp was hopelessly overfilled, and a transport of prisoners from Landau was not carried out, due to the overcrowding of the camp.⁶

The prisoners were political opponents of National Socialism, functionaries of the German Communist Party (KPD), the Social Democratic Party (SPD), the Socialist Workers' Party (SAP), and the Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold (RB). They were not only from Neustadt; prisoners were also delivered to the Neustadt camp from all areas of the Palatinate, especially from Kaiserslautern, Pirmasens, and the area of Kusel.⁷

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SA and SS men, who were housed in a block of the larger barrack grounds alongside members of the Labor Service and prisoners, took on the task of guarding the camp.⁸ Approximately 200 SA and SS men, as well as members of the Stahlhelm, participated in ongoing educational and professional training courses. A large number of the SS men came from an SS unit in Ludwigshafen. "Most of the SS men were unemployed and hoped to become employed again through these courses and similar activities."⁹ The participants in these courses were enlisted into guard duty in the prison camp.¹⁰ The SA and SS men were placed under Standartenführer Adam Durein.

The Neustadt camp is particularly relevant to historical research since the first preserved set of concentration camp regulations comes from there. This "camp regulations for political prisoners" from March 18, 1933, regulated the daily routine and lives of the prisoners in the camp. The times for labor service were precisely established. Prisoners older than 50 years, as well as prisoners who were not in proper physical condition, were exempted from labor service. Prisoners who did not work were allowed to spend two hours outside every day. Smoking was prohibited but was promised for good conduct during the time outside. The prisoners could receive visitors on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, for two hours each. Visitors were allowed to bring food, clothing, blankets, and reading material. Political magazines and books with Marxist content were exempt from this allowance. As the representative of the prison camp, Colonel Durein signed the camp regulations.¹¹

In the labor service, the prisoners were deployed in the construction of an airfield near Lachen-Speyerdorf (later part of Neustadt an der Weinstraße)¹² and also in work on the grounds of the barracks themselves, for there was most likely not enough work outside the camp.¹³ Guards frequently used this work to humiliate prisoners. Intellectuals in particular were forced to do this physical work, which they were not accustomed to, and they were mocked in the process.¹⁴ The guards never passed up an opportunity to torture and intimidate the prisoners: "The prisoners had to haul straw into the courtyard and they were then forced, by both pushing and pulling, to move a wagon on which two SA men sat.... Several guards accompanied the transport. In the course of this they shot into the area with a pistol."¹⁵

No specific details exist regarding the provisions of prisoners. The press, however, described the food in typical harmless-sounding propaganda articles as "good home cooking"¹⁶ and "simple yet nourishing and sufficient."¹⁷ The prisoners as well as the SA and SS men who guarded them received their food from the FAD kitchen. This quickly brought the city of Neustadt into financial distress. In a letter to the district office on March 17, 1933, the provisional mayor of Neustadt asked for help, since due to the feeding of prisoners, the financial means of the FAD had been fully used up.¹⁸ On March 22, 1933, the city commissar of Neustadt reported to the Palatinate government in Speyer that the city was 12,800 Reichsmark (RM) in debt due to the provisions for the SS, SA, and prisoners.¹⁹ The

Bavarian Ministry of Interior ultimately took responsibility for the costs of 15,000 RM, which the ministry allocated to the "Rheinpfalz" camp on April 26, 1933.²⁰

Not only harassment and humiliation during work but also physical mistreatment was the order of the day in Neustadt. "Some of the prisoners were severely beaten with rubber truncheons and steel rods by the SA and SS men. These violent acts were carried out by bringing individual prisoners to a separate room where they were randomly beaten by several SA and SS men at the same time."²¹ One prisoner was forced to clean a backed-up toilet with only his bare hands. When he hesitated, an SS man kicked him in the backside and hit him on the head with a rubber truncheon.²² Another guard took his anger out on prisoners by threatening them with a truncheon and forcing them to stand upright and give the "Heil Hitler" greeting and sing National Socialist songs.²³ Another prisoner reported about "running the gauntlet" (*Spiessrutenlauf*): the prisoner had to run through a cordon of SS men, and each one hit the prisoner with a rubber truncheon. Especially notorious for such punishments were the SS men from Ludwigshafen, against whom a trial was carried out after 1945 for crimes against humanity.²⁴

After Nazi Party (NSDAP) Gauleiter of the Palatinate Josef Bürckel visited the camp on March 18 or 19, 1933, and heard the complaints of prisoners, the mistreatment supposedly decreased.²⁵

The most sensational incident in Neustadt occurred on March 16, 1933. Hermann Zahm, the Neustadt RB leader, had particularly aroused the ire of the guard staff because he was suspected of having taken part in an attack on two SA men in February 1933.²⁶ From the first day of his imprisonment, he was beaten with steel rods and rubber truncheons and questioned again and again. Fearing further mistreatment, he jumped out a third-story window after only a few days. He suffered serious injuries to his legs, three dorsal vertebrae, and his head. He received treatment in a hospital for one year and four months, but he remained largely incapable of working.²⁷ Another prisoner attempted to commit suicide by cutting his throat with a razor.²⁸

The Neustadt barracks was supposedly closed in June 1933. After this point in time, prisoners from the Palatinate were taken to the Dachau concentration camp. The barracks were used by the Wehrmacht as of 1936.

SOURCES The most important sources on the protective custody camp in Neustadt an der Haardt are in the LA-Sp and consist primarily of files of the judicial authorities. Probably the most important source are the files of the trial against Eugen Huber et al., guards in the Neustadt concentration camp, for crimes against humanity, located in the files of the State Attorney's Office in the Frankenthal Regional Court under the shelf marked J 72 No. 332 and 378. Additional important information on the Neustadt camp can be found in the files of the Court of Honor against Dr. Rudolf Hammann at the Higher Regional Court Zweibrücken J 71, No. 428. Both files contain extensive statements on the mistreatment of prisoners. One can consult the prisoner book of the local

prison Neustadt (under the shelf marked J 89 No. 1) for information about the numbers of prisoners and their social backgrounds. Other important sources can be found in the extensive collection of the Antifa-Archive of Hermann Morweiser in Ludwigshafen. The camp order of Neustadt, for example, can also be found there.

In addition, there are many articles in contemporaneous newspapers, above all in the *LdAnz* and in the *NSZR*. Downplaying the situation in the camps, they are, however, prime examples of the propaganda at that time as well and thus must be viewed very critically.

There is no monograph on the Neustadt protective custody camp. Hermann Morweiser reports about the camp and on the events surrounding prisoner Zahm in an article in *dt* from October 23, 1981, titled "Deported from the Rheinpfalz Camp to Dachau. The Provisional Concentration Camp in Neustadt Is Virtually Forgotten." The booklet *Neustadt an der Haardt 1933 bis 1945: Das Geheimnis der Versöhnung ist die Erinnerung; Stätten des Leidens, der Verfolgung, des Terrors und Widerstandes*, ed. Eberhard Dittus, Karl Fücks, and Heiko Müller, (Neustadt: Arbeitsstelle Friedensdienst der Evangelischen Kirchen der Pfalz, 1998), mentions the camp as one of many places of pain, persecution, and resistance in Neustadt.

Several additional publications mention the Neustadt camp briefly: for instance, the comprehensive work by Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); Ursula Krause-Schmitt, Angelika Arenz-Morch, and Hans Berkessel, "Von 'Schutzhaf' and 'Umerziehung' zur Vernichtung: Zu einigen Aspekten des nationalsozialistischen Lagersystems in Rheinland-Pfalz," in *Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus in Rheinland-Pfalz*, vol. 2, "Für die Aussenwelt seid ihr tot!," ed. Hans-Georg Meyer and Hans Berkessel (Mainz: H. Schmidt, 2000), pp. 17–31; as well as the regional studies by Heinz Friedel, *Die Machtergreifung in Kaiserslautern, deren Vorgeschichte und ein Vergleich zu Neustadt/Weinstrasse* (Kaiserslautern: Stadtarchiv, 1980); and Gerhard Wunder, *Die Sozialdemokratie in Neustadt an der Weinstraße seit 1832: Zum hundertjährigen Bestehen des Ortsvereins 1875–1985* (Neustadt: Verlag Neue Pfälzer Post, 1985).

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NOTES

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2. LA-Sp, J 89 No. 1, "Amtsgerichtsgefängnis Neustadt, Gefangenengenbuch B," January 2, 1933–April 4, 1941.
3. Antifa-Archive Morweiser, "Schreiben der Polizei Neustadt a.d. Haardt an den Stadtkommissar," March 10, 1933.
4. Antifa-Archive Morweiser, "Schreiben des kommissarischen I. Bürgermeisters Neustadt a.d. Haardt an das Bezirksamt," March 17, 1933.
5. *LdAnz*, March 20, 1933; *NSZR*, March 23, 1933; *LdAnz*, March 30, 1933.
6. *EDR*, March 25, 1933.
7. *LdAnz*, March 30, 1933.
8. Ibid.

9. LA-Sp, J 72 No. 332, "Urteil gegen Eugen Huber u.a. wegen Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit," April 20, 1950.
10. LA-Sp, J 72 No. 378, "Major Schauer an die Regierung der Pfalz in Speyer," April 13, 1933.
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12. *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror* (1933; repr., Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980), p. 293.
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14. *NSZR*, March 23, 1933.
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16. *LdAnz*, March 30, 1933.
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19. LA-Sp, J 72 No. 378, "Schreiben des Stadtkommissars Neustadt a.d. Haardt an die Regierung der Pfalz, Kammer des Innern in Speyer," March 22, 1933.
20. BHStA-(N), MF 67 403, unpaginated.
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22. Ibid.
23. LA-Sp, J 72 No. 378, "Verfahren gegen Jakob Rodian," January 14, 1948.
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25. LA-Sp, J 71 No. 428, "Ehrengerichtsverfahren gegen Dr. Rudolf Hammann," verdict of June 28, 1951.
26. Antifa-Archive Morweiser, article of March 17, 1933.
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28. *LdAnz*, April 13, 1933.

NEUSUSTRUM [AKA PAPENBURG V]

On October 2, 1933, Neusustrum became the fourth and final subcamp of the State Concentration Camp Papenburg (Staatliches Konzentrationslager Papenburg). Commanded by SS-Sturmführer Emil Faust (Nazi Party [NSDAP] No. 151165), this 1,000-man "barracks camp" furnished labor for Emsland cultivation.¹ Unlike Börgermoor and the two Esterwegen subcamps, Neusustrum was situated near the Dutch border, within the Sustrum and west of the Bourtanger Moors. As its numerical designation suggested, the Prussian Ministry of Interior once intended it to be the fifth subcamp. Hermann Göring's state secretary Ludwig Grauert allocated the same financial resources for Neusustrum as for the two Esterwegen camps, 700,000 Reichsmark (RM), because he originally foresaw it being a 2,000-prisoner camp.² The details of Neusustrum's construction are not available, but the task probably belonged to the first inmates. Prisoner Gerd Nixdorf remembered the camp's unfinished state from his arrival at the beginning of October 1933.³ Violence at this and other

Papenburg camps prompted the Prussian Gestapo (Secret State Police Office) to remove the SS in November 1933. Neusustrum heightened the level of violence, as three murders and one suicide took place there in a 10-day period.

On October 2, the first 240 prisoners arrived at the Lathen railway station from Anrath, Brauweiler, Köln (Bonner Wall), and Wuppertal-Barmen. Before they set off on an 11-kilometer (6.8-mile) journey by foot and field train to camp, Faust warned would-be escapees about his staff's shooting prowess.⁴ His outburst was typical. Detainee Josef Hawlas, who entered the camp on October 19, recalled Faust saying to his group: "You pigs, shooting you down is the dearest wish of me and my comrades, the carpenter's shop will make the coffins." He continued: "All of you are very close to St. Peter. If you don't believe it, then you will get out quickly. My comrades shoot well, as you have already learned for yourself."⁵ Faust's last statement alluded to the murders committed en route of Russian inmate Simon Koje on October 10 and of Recklinghausen Communist Wilhelm Wieden on the day of Hawlas's arrival.⁶

Two additional deaths occurred the next day, October 20. Former Polizeimeister Paul Guse committed suicide, after enduring torture and penal exercises. In their rush to cover up their involvement, the SS recorded the time of death as "0715 hours in the afternoon."⁷ At 2:30 P.M., in front of the commandant's headquarters and at Faust's behest, a guard ordered Jewish prisoner Isaak Baruch to run, then shot him as he obeyed. Shortly after these incidents, according to Fritz Schulte, the SS emptied the barracks in a nightlong beating similar to incidents at Börgermoor and the two Esterwegen camps.⁸

New prisoners underwent harsh rituals. According to Nixdorf, Faust announced that his staff would "smack them down." The initiates then ran through a gauntlet of SS ranks and suffered blows "from all sides." According to Peter Meter, the SS chose 10 prisoners from his group of detainees from Cologne's Bonner Wall camp. They made them strip and race, with guard dogs chasing them.⁹

At Neusustrum, music performed the dual roles of prisoner coping and SS harassment. Prisoner Kaufmann composed the camp's song, "Exiled to the Emsland's Far North." In contrast to the "Börgermoorlied," it closed in a more somber tone: "We long for our wives / our joy at home— / we now look again inconsolably; / Freedom when will you return?"¹⁰ The SS employed nationalistic music for reeducation and as an excuse for brutality. Rudolf Nagorr remembered that the prisoners were forced to sing "Oh, Deutschland, hoch in Ehren" on the way into camp. Artur Korn recalled that when the guards demanded a song on return from work, one prisoner was too exhausted to comply. Struck with a "birchwood cudgel," he nearly collapsed but got help from another prisoner, Paul. A detainee shouted, "Comrades, don't let yourselves be provoked. They want a blood bath!" After striking Paul for intervening, the SS ordered him to beat the prisoner with the cudgel. When Paul refused, they thrashed him.¹¹

Like other Papenburg commandants, Faust received his Emsland assignment from SS-Group West (Gruppe West)

chief Gruppenführer Fritz Weitzel. But according to historian Hans-Peter Klausch, he was transferred from his native Koblenz because of his poor disciplinary record. Faust served time in youth prison in 1914 and 1915 for theft and was prone to violent rages. Earning the Iron Cross Second Class in 1918, participating in Free Corps Förster-Löwenfeld from 1919 to 1920, and fighting Communists in the SS in the early 1930s explained why he had not been dismissed earlier. Between the Free Corps and SS stints, he joined the French Foreign Legion from 1920 to 1924. According to Hawlas, the prisoners knew about this detail from Faust's past. In early August 1933, he became Esterwegen II's adjutant and helped to organize the notorious "Special Duty Detachment" (Abteilung z.b.V.) at Esterwegen III. The exact circumstances of Faust's September 27, 1933, appointment as commandant are unclear.¹²

At Neusustrum, medical attention was nonexistent. At Esterwegen II, Faust met Silesian prisoner and medical student "Dr." Albert Thiel. After Neusustrum opened, he arranged for Thiel's release and appointed him camp physician. Thiel's extreme nationalism and brutality—Hawlas called him a "sadist"—made him an SS ally. In 1935, Osnabrück Regional Court (4 J 403/34) sentenced him to five years in a penitentiary and denied him a medical license for his actions at Neusustrum. Unlike other Nazi-era cases against early camp perpetrators, the regime did not quash this verdict because Thiel was a former detainee.¹³

On November 6, 1933, the SS surrendered the camp to the Prussian police. Before doing so, they sabotaged the camp's rations. As was the case at Börgermoor, a rumor circulated of their intention to arm prisoners in preparation for resisting the police. About the takeover, Hawlas exclaimed, "Now the camp is occupied by the police. As a reward therefore the churches hold a service of thanksgiving, because this horde of people is gone!"¹⁴

Faust's violent outbursts continued after Neusustrum. The SS did not take action against him when he assaulted a Krupp director in 1935 but dismissed him in 1936 when his role in the Thiel case came to light. In World War II, he served in France with Organisation Todt (OT), but the Hauptamt SS-Gericht denied his Waffen-SS enlistment in 1944. Arrested by the British in July 1946, Osnabrück Regional Court (4 Js 172/49) sentenced him to life in a penitentiary for crimes against humanity on November 30, 1950. Released in December 1965, he died on April 13, 1966.¹⁵

From December 20, 1933, until April 1934, the SA administered Neusustrum under the command of Hans Giese. On December 22, 1933, 380 prisoners were released because of a Christmas amnesty, including German Communist Party (KPD) prisoner Albert Stasch. Under Giese, the killing of prisoners resumed once more. In early January 1934, the SA shot to death the Schmalkalden *Volkstimme*'s editor Ludwig Pappenheim and Düsseldorf's KPD town councilor August Henning. Neusustrum's closure on April 1, 1934, marked the first step in the Prussian Justice Ministry's establishment of Papenburg penal camps. The "protective custody prisoners"

entered Börgermoor before proceeding with that camp's population to Esterwegen II on April 25.¹⁶

As a penal camp, Neusustrum continued the regime's persecution of outcast groups, including homosexuals convicted under Paragraph 175 and Jehovah's Witnesses.¹⁷ From 1940 to 1945, it held Polish and Jewish penal prisoners.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the careful research by Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommandanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005). Other important secondary sources for Neusustrum are Dirk Lierssen, "Moorsoldaten" in Esterwegen, Börgermoor, Neusustrum: Die frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland 1933 bis 1936," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 157–210; for Neusustrum's closure date, see Willy Perk, *Hölle im Moor: Zur Geschichte der Emslandlager, 1933–1945*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1979); Elke Suhr, *Die Emslandlager: Die politische und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Emsländischen Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager 1933–1945* (Bremen: Donat & Temmen, 1985); and Elke Suhr and Werner Bohlt, *Lager im Emsland, 1933–1945: Geschichte und Gedenken* (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg, 1985). On music in the early camps, the standard work is Guido Fackler, "Des Lagers Stimme"—*Musik im KZ: Alltag und Häftlingskultur in den Konzentrationslagern 1933 bis 1936* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000). On the Papenburg memorial, see Kurt Buck, *Das Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum Emslandlager (DIZ) in Papenburg: Informationen, Hinweise und pädagogische Anregungen für einen Besuch vor Ort* (Papenburg: Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum [DIZ] Emslandlager, 1997). On Neusustrum today, Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus, Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). Information on the plaques may be found at www.diz-emslandlager.de. The new study by Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., "Der Ort des Terrors": *Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 2, *Friße Lager: Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), appeared after this entry was written.

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OsnT, December 24, 1933, and *OZ*, October 25, 1935. Based upon a 1956 interview with prisoner Wilhelm Leder, "Fern verbannt nach Emslands Norden" is reprinted in Inge Lammler and Günter Hofmeyer, comps., *Lieder aus den faschistischen Konzentrationslagern* (Leipzig: Veb. Friedrich Hofmeister, 1962). For "barracks camps" terminology, Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zürich: Interverlag AG, 1949). Josef Hawlas's testimony is found in USHMMMA, RG 11.001 M.20, RGVA, Fond 1367 Opis 2 Delo 33, Testimonies of Former Prisoners in Concentration Camps, March to October 1933, pp. 11–12. Artur Korn's testimony is in *ND*, November 18, 1956, reproduced in Walter A. Schmidt, ed., *Damit Deutschland lebe: Ein Quellenwerk über den deutschen Widerstandskampf, 1933–1945* (Berlin [East]: Kongress-Verlag, 1958). Peter Meter's testimony is excerpted in Perk, *Hölle im Moor*. Gerd Nixdorf's testimony is quoted in VVN-Bund der Antifaschisten, Kreis Herne, ed., *Herne und Wanne-Eickel im Jahre 1933: Machtergreifung, Verfolgung und Widerstand* (Herne: VVN, 1983). Albert Stasch's testimony is reproduced in Irene Hübner, *Unser Widerstand: Deutsche Frauen und Männer berichten über ihren Kampf gegen die Nazis* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1982). Harry Pauly's testimony about Neusustrum's homosexual prisoners is found in Hans-Georg Stümke and Rudi Finkler, *Rosa Winkel, Rosa Listen: Homosexuelle und "Gesundes Volksempfinden" von Auschwitz bis heute* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1981). The testimony of Jehovah's Witness Walter Hamann is located in USHMMMA, RG-32.015, Acc. 1994.A.0071, Walter Hamann Collection, 1992. Ludwig Pappenheim's killing was reported in "Auf der Flucht erschossen," *FZ*, January 10, 1934. Photographic documentation of Neusustrum is located in Walter Talbot, "Die alte SA in der Wachtmannschaft der Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland," Album Presented to Adolf Hitler, December 25, 1935, LC, Prints and Photographs Division, LOT 11390 (H).

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NOTES

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NOHRA

The Nazi Party (NSDAP) received 11.3 percent of the votes in the Thuringia state elections in December 1929. That vote translated into 53 seats in the state parliament. The conservative parties and the NSDAP joined together to form a government. Hitler gave his blessing to the coalition only after Dr. Wilhelm Frick was assured of the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Education. Frick had been a close associate of Hitler since 1923 and was a convinced Nazi and a determined opponent of the Weimar Republic. He took part in the attempted putsch on November 9, 1923, in Munich and from 1927–1928 was leader of the NSDAP parliamentary group in the Reichstag. On January 25, 1930, Frick became the first Nazi minister in one of the German states. During the 15 months as a member of the government, Frick laid the foundations for National Socialism in Thuringia. On April 1, 1931, he was forced to leave the government following a vote of no confidence.

Hitler gained the majority of votes in the presidential elections in March–April 1932 in Thuringia—with 44.3 percent of the votes, he received 8 percent more than his average throughout the rest of the Reich. It seemed for the National Socialists in Thuringia that the time had come to decide their struggle for power. The elections on July 31, 1932, for the



Nohra concentration camp (n.d.), showing the Heimatschule Mitteldeutschland e.V.

COURTESY OF UDO WOHLFELD

sixth Thüringia state parliament gave the NSDAP the breakthrough. They gained 42.5 percent of the votes and 26 of 61 seats. Together with the Thüringian Farmers' Alliance (TLB) they formed a coalition government. Head of government and minister of the interior was Fritz Sauckel. The TLB received a state council (*Staatsrat*), a ministerial office without portfolio. This Nazi-led ministry commenced operations on August 26, 1932. Between August 1932 and March 1933, Sauckel and other members of the government publicly threatened their political opponents over and over again. For instance, Sauckel announced on October 19, 1932: "We might become brutal beyond your imagination." However, there are no direct hints of plans for camps in Thuringia.

By February 1933, the new power structures had been consolidated and were stable. For example, the industrial towns of Suhl and its surroundings and Meiningen in the Thuringia Forest, both areas heavily effected by the world economic crisis, developed from bastions of the workers' parties into Nazi strongholds. Measures taken to repress the Communists and the Social Democrats were easier to push through in Thuringia than in the rest of the Reich.

Following the Prussian model, an auxiliary police (Hilfspolizei) was established in Thuringia on February 28, 1933. It consisted of members of the SA, the SS, and the Stahlhelm. The Hilfspolizei officers were armed with pistols. They continued to wear the uniforms of their respective organizations, but they wore a white armband with the police star for the state of Thuringia on the upper left arm. They were only allowed on duty while under the command of the municipal police (Schutzpolizei) or a gendarmerie post. They had to swear an oath of allegiance and were subordinate to Minister of the Interior Sauckel. In the spring of 1933, the Hilfspolizei was a part of the state police force. There are no details about the number of Hilfspolizei in proportion to the police in Thuringia. All that is known is that 592 SA men served 732 days in supporting the Thuringia police and that 1,185 SS men served 31,758 man-days.

The National Socialists had formed part of the Thuringia government from 1930. Following the Reichstag fire on February 27, 1933, several hundred Communists were quickly arrested. The district and regional court prisons were immediately overcrowded. In order to relieve the situation, the Thuringia Ministry of Interior decided to establish a concentration camp in the military-oriented Homeland School (Heimatschule) Mitteldeutschland e.V. on March 3, 1933. The Heimatschule Mitteldeutschland e.V. was founded in 1928. The first Nazi concentration camp in Germany was based at the former Nohra airfield, 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) from Weimar.

The Heimatschule in Nohra consisted of two buildings that were connected by a low-rise building. The Volunteer Labor Service (FAD) was accommodated in the left building. The ground floor of the building on the right accommodated the school's administration and a large refectory. The first floor was reserved for military sport training camps (*Wehrsportlager*) of the Stahlhelm. The concentration camp was established on the floor above the Wehrsportlager. It was di-

vided into three large rooms, each of which was equipped with straw and blankets. The hygienic conditions were catastrophic, as there were too few toilets and washing facilities. At times, the camp was completely overcrowded. Several Hilfspolizei officers guarded the entrances to the rooms, as the Heimatschule was surrounded neither by barbed wire nor a fence or a wall. It was not isolated from the rest of the world. At first Nohra was referred to as an "assembly camp." The term *concentration camp* is used in relation to Nohra for the first time on March 8, 1933, in a newspaper. The choice of wording had no relevance for the camp's character.

The Thuringia Ministry of Interior was in charge of the guards and camp administration. The guards consisted of Hilfspolizei and selected students from the Heimatschule. They were supported by members of the SA and Stahlhelm. The supervisors of the Heimatschule were also in charge of the Nohra concentration camp guards. The Ministry of Interior established a police station in the school where the prisoners were interrogated. It was from here that the prisoners were transferred to other detention centers or released. The chief of the police station in the Heimatschule Mitteldeutschland—his name is unknown—can be considered the commander of the Nohra concentration camp.

On March 3, 1933, the first day of the camp's existence, 100 prisoners arrived directly from the Weimar Schutzpolizei barracks, via the Weimar regional court prison or from various other regional court prisons. Many of the prisoners came from Thüringian industrial cities, which traditionally counted as "red" bastions. On the second day, the number of prisoners increased to 170. Around March 12, 1933, the camp reached its maximum number of prisoners, 220. In March 1933, a large number of prisoners were released, but on March 31 the camp still held 60 prisoners. The releases were offset by only a few new arrivals. On average, there were 95 prisoners in Nohra.

Nohra exclusively held Communists from the free state of Thüringia. Five of the 10 Thüringia Communist members of the state parliament were interned here: Fritz Gäßler, Richard Eyermann, Rudolf Arnold, Erich Scharf, and Leander Kröber. A large proportion of the Communist city councilors and other Thuringian Communist functionaries, such as the German Communist Party (KPD) local chairmen, the treasurers and the members of the Rot-Front-Kämpfer-Bund (RFKB), and activists of the Rote Hilfe Deutschlands (RHD) were also taken to Nohra. A few women were also held in the Heimatschule for a short period of time.

The prisoners did not work in the Nohra concentration camp. They were locked up in the dormitory during the day. This monotony and isolation was only interrupted by interrogations and the arrival of new prisoners. In the early days of the camp, new prisoners used to arrive every day. The prisoners had no contact with the outside world. In their memoirs, former prisoners mention that they were mistreated by the guards.

"Protective custody" in Thuringia was a form of police-administered protective custody; accordingly, the Communists were prisoners of the police. As a result, they were allowed

to vote in the Reichstag elections. Nohra's inmates voted on March 5 at the same polling station as other Nohra inhabitants. Thus, the KPD gained 172 votes in Nohra, whereas a few months earlier at the local elections in December 1932, it had only received 10 votes.

The Nohra concentration camp was one of the first to be closed; it lasted only until April 12, 1933. By then around 250 people had been interned in the camp.

The remaining 32 prisoners were taken on April 12, 1933, to the Ichtershausen penitentiary near Arnstadt. This prison already had a protective custody section. Therewith, the Nohra concentration camp was dissolved. By September 1933, just about all the former Nohra prisoners had been released from Ichtershausen. A few remained there until the Bad Sulza concentration camp was opened—among them were the two members of the state parliament, Richard Eyermann (Bad Salzungen) and Leander Kröber (Meuselwitz), who received the prisoner numbers 23 and 24 in Bad Sulza.

SOURCES The basis for this article on the Nohra concentration camp is the author's book *das netz: Die Konzentrationslager in Thüringen 1933–1937* (Weimar: Geschichtswerkstatt Weimar/Apolda, 2000). Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland also refer to the Nohra camp in their book *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1945* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

The very few archival files on the Nohra concentration camp are mainly to be found in the THStA-W. Other primary sources are the VdN files in the THStA-W, the TStA-R, TStA-M, the THStA-G, and the BA-B. References can also be found in the smaller city archives.

Udo Wohlfeld
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

OBERFRANKEN AND UNTERFRANKEN CAMPS

Following the March 9, 1933, Nazi takeover of Bavaria, the police established at least 10 small “protective custody” camps in the northern Gaue of Oberfranken and Unterfranken (after 1935: Mainfranken). In Oberfranken, the Coburg local prison, Hof an der Saale state court prison, and Straubing penitentiary became camps, in addition to the Bayreuth (St. Georgen) workhouse, Bamberg Wilhelmsplatz state court prison, and Hassenberg women's prison. In Unterfranken, the Aschaffenburg, Hassfurt, Schweinfurt, and Würzburg local prisons had protective custody camps. Aschaffenburg, Coburg, Hassfurt, Hof, Schweinfurt, Straubing, and Würzburg confined more than 600 detainees in March 1933. According to the Bamberg state prosecutor's memorandum to the Bavarian Justice Ministry, March 11, 1933, Bad Kissingen's local prison may also have held detainees, but additional information is needed to verify this claim.¹

OBERFRANKEN CAMPS

In June 1929, Coburg elected the first Nazi-dominated government in Germany. Since 1930, its mayor was Franz

Schwede, the Bezirksleiter and future Gauleiter of Pomerania. In March 1933, Schwede wasted little time in settling old scores against leftists and others critical of his three-year rule. On March 10, the police dispatched 15 Communists to the prison, together with some members of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). The prisoners included SPD city council members (Dürrkopp, Christian Reichenbecher, Schneider, and Voyé); the business manager of the SPD-affiliated *Coburger Volksblatt*; Reinhold Scheller and several others, for harboring an arms cache at the Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold (RB) headquarters; agricultural officials Voll and Görner; and Jewish physician Dr. Engel, who was tortured in custody. On March 26, two consumer association leaders entered the camp.² When the prison exceeded capacity, Schwede set aside the city hall's “old hostel” for temporary confinement.³ The state hospital admitted several prisoners for the treatment of wounds sustained in custody. By April 5, Coburg prison released most detainees, but 13 were transferred to Hassenberg.⁴ The local prison continued to take in protective custody prisoners, such as cattle dealer Ludwig Goldmaier, a Jew from Lichtenfels arrested on April 19 in a probable case of economic persecution. By mid-May, 14 Coburg citizens went to Dachau, with 12 transported to the camp on May 18.⁵ In a speech before the city council on October 13, 1933, Schwede took responsibility for the arrest of 84 citizens, 34 of whom went to Dachau. Invoking the Nazi slogan “Community benefit before private gain,” he vowed that those not working for or racially fit to belong to the national community would face similar treatment.⁶ In 1935, Hitler honored Schwede's role in the town's nazification by giving him a second surname, “Coburg.” On September 29, 1951, the Coburg Regional Court sentenced Schwede to 10 years' imprisonment, in connection with the March 1933 persecutions. Amnestied in 1956, he died in Coburg on October 9, 1960.⁷

The Hof an der Saale prison held at least 260 detainees between March and June 1933. By March 12, the Hof police had arrested “hundreds” and detained at least 43 Communists and 8 Social Democrats. The Social Democrats included the *Oberfränkische Volkszeitung*'s editors, Döhler and Münchmener, town council member and trade unionist Arthur Mähr, and councilman Fraas. With their editors in custody, the *Oberfränkische Volkszeitung* laid off its 34 employees for one week. SPD Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Hans Seidel entered the camp on March 14, as did two SPD youth leaders.⁸ By March 21, the population swelled to 200, double its capacity, which led the prison to refuse the admittance of 4 Social Democrats from Plauen, Saxony. Arrested for convening “a secret conference” in Hof, Emmerich, Fritsch, Nitzsche, and Steinkamp were dispatched to Grafenwörth, en route to Plauen.⁹ By March 31, Hof had admitted SPD council member Rauh, businessman Hermann Starer, agricultural unionists Drechsel and Weiss, and 5 “foreign Jews, of whom 4 are stateless.”¹⁰ Among those held for a prolonged period were Mähr, who remained in Hof until June 6, and Seidel, whose first detention lasted until April 13.¹¹ Rearrested on June 30, 1933, with other SPD

leaders throughout Bavaria, he was transferred to St. Georgen on July 15 and released on August 29.¹²

In March 1933, the maximum security prison at Straubing held 200 detainees. On account of the massive influx, 50 detainees were housed in the prison gymnasium. Built at the turn of the twentieth century, the penitentiary had also housed a criminal psychiatric ward since 1917.

UNTERFRANKEN CAMPS

Already on March 1, one day after the Reichstag fire, the Aschaffenburg police placed local Communists under surveillance.¹³ Between March and May 1933, the prison held at least 31 political prisoners. On March 9, the police arrested 6 Communists plus 3 Social Democrats. Twelve or more members of the German Communist Party (KPD) and the SPD entered Aschaffenburg in the coming days. Among the political prisoners were Alois Brand, August Büttner, Josef Büttner, Georg Dewald, Fritz Fronoher (briefly), Karl Griesemer, Josef (Seppl) Grimm, Matthias Haab, Xaver Haberl, Otto Kläre, Josef Koch, Valentin Köhler, Josef Kraus, Franz Kuhn, Josef Mensch, Eugen Ostheimer, Friedrich Panocha, Martin Pfarrer, Alfred Richter, Alois Schallenberg, Johann Schwarzmüller, Heinrich Siemen, Jean Stock, and August Volz. After the police banned Stock's SPD paper *Aschaffenburger Volkszeitung*, he entered the camp on March 15. Nine trade union secretaries, arrested by the SA for harboring weapons, were taken to Aschaffenburg on March 20. Released days later because of insufficient evidence, they were Johann Brummer, Otto Dietz, Albert Krimm, Paul Lill, Adam Mantel, Karl Opel, Eugen Ostheimer, Sebastian Rollmann, and Leonard Schäfer.¹⁴ Communist writer Kuhn entered the camp on March 29 and was let out on April 29. In an indication that Weimar custom still prevailed in Aschaffenburg, the authorities permitted political inmates to have family visits.

At least four Aschaffenburg detainees went to Dachau. Dewald was at Dachau from April 24 to May 18, after a brief stay at Würzburg prison. Communist inmates Koch, Richter, and Schallenberg entered Dachau on May 8.¹⁵

On March 12, the Hassfurt prison admitted 15 Communists and Eiserne Front (Iron Front, EF) members. Two local councilmen, Süssmann and Georg Wirth, entered Hassfurt on March 17, but another, Baum, was released. Two Hassfurt prisoners went to Dachau as part of the April 25, 1933, Northern Bavarian transport. By early May, Hassfurt's remaining detainees were sent to Bamberg before dispatch to Dachau.¹⁶

On March 11, 1933, the Schweinfurt prison admitted 40 detainees. Most were Social Democrats, including the mayor, Dr. Merkle, and councilmen Dietz, Goldmann, Groha, and Mauer. On March 24, 3 Jewish prisoners, Arthur Bildstein, Lehmann, and Max Dreyfus, were also taken into protective custody. Because Bildstein and Lehmann were horse dealers and Dreyfus was a banker, their arrests probably involved economic persecution. On May 8, the prison released Dietz, Goldmann, Groha, Mauer, and Merkle, but the June 22 SPD ban led to their rearrest on June 25.¹⁷

On March 10, 1933, the Würzburg prison admitted over 100 detainees. Among them were more than 50 Communists, 9 Social Democrats, RB members, and Bavarian People's Party (BVP) leaders. On March 17, the editor of the Christian Socialist weekly *Neue Völk*, Vitus Heller, became a detainee. The editor of the *Fränkischen Volksblatt (FräV)*, Page, left custody on April 14, but his arrest date is not known. On April 19, a Jewish cattle dealer, Bernhard Goldener, was arrested, on the likely spurious charge of cheating local farmers. The Bamberg Special Court sentenced Siegmund Weissmann to an unspecified term of imprisonment for spreading news about the maltreatment of Jews in Würzburg prison. On May 5, 37 Würzburg detainees, including Communist leader Dr. Kellner, were sent to Dachau.¹⁸

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard work on the early Nazi camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). On arrests in Coburg and on Schwede, see Joachim Albrecht, *Die Avantgarde des "Dritten Reiches": Die Coburger NSDAP während der Weimarer Republik 1922–1933* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2005). Additional information on Coburg's early Nazi government, but not the arrests in 1933, may be found in N.F. Hayward and D.S. Morris, *The First Nazi Town* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988). About Hassenberg, see Horst Thum, "Das Schutzhaftlager Hassenberg bei Neustadt (Coburg)," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), pp. 231–235. The background for Hans Seidel may be found in "Seidel, Hans" s.v., in *MdR: Die Reichstagsabgeordneten der Weimarer Republik in der Zeit der Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Martin Schumacher (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1994). Some background on Straubing, unfortunately not including the protective custody camp, may be found at the Bavarian Justice Ministry Web site at www.justizvollzug-bayern.de. On Aschaffenburg arrests and on Georg Dewald, see Anton Grossmann, "Milieubedingungen von Verfolgung und Widerstand: Am Beispiel ausgewählter Ortsvereine der SPD," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, vol. 5, *Die Parteien KPD, SPD, BVP in Verfolgung und Widerstand*, ed. Martin Broszat and Hartmut Mehringer (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1983), pp. 433–540; and Monika Schmittner, *Verfolgung und Widerstand 1933 bis 1945 am bayerischen Untermain* (Aschaffenburg: Alibri Verlag, 2002). Some information on arrests in Würzburg may be found in Bruno Fries, *Würzburg im Dritten Reich* (Würzburg: Selbstverlag, 1983).

Primary documentation for this camp begins with the Bamberg prosecutor general's report to the Bavarian State Justice Ministry, March 11, 1933, in the KZ and Haftanstalten collection, now in BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR, as reproduced in Drobisch and Wieland. The ITS lists the Aschaffenburg, Bad Kissingen, Hassfurt, Hof an der Saale, Straubing, and Würzburg prisons in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:178, 188, 205, 219, 221. As cited by Thum, a police report mentioning the transfer of Coburg prisoners to Hassenberg is the "Halbmonatsbericht der Polizei Neustadt bei

Coburg (1. Hälfte April 33)," in ASt-Ne/Co, XVI G 2, No. 2, p. 149. As cited by Albrecht, Schwede's order allocating space at Coburg City Hall for detainees (A-7.870), his October 1933 speech before the city council (A-8.074), and his prosecution (Staatsanwaltschaft No. 80) may be found in the ASt-Ne/Co. As cited by Schumacher, Seidel's name appears on an undated Gestapo List, in BA-P, RSHA St. 3/312. Schmittner cites an Aschaffenburg police report of March 1, 1933, which lists many KPD members taken into custody after the takeover. It is found in Sta-Wü, Best. Landesratsamt Asch(affenburg) 2309. As cited by Grossmann, information on Aschaffenburg prisoners sent to Dachau comes from undated reports in the *AschZ* and the file of Alfred Richter, Oberlandesgericht München OJs 44/35. In the period from March to June 1933, the "Fränkische Nachrichten" features in the National Conservative's *BT*, and the BVP's *BV* supplied numerous reports about Northern Bavarian protective custody camps.

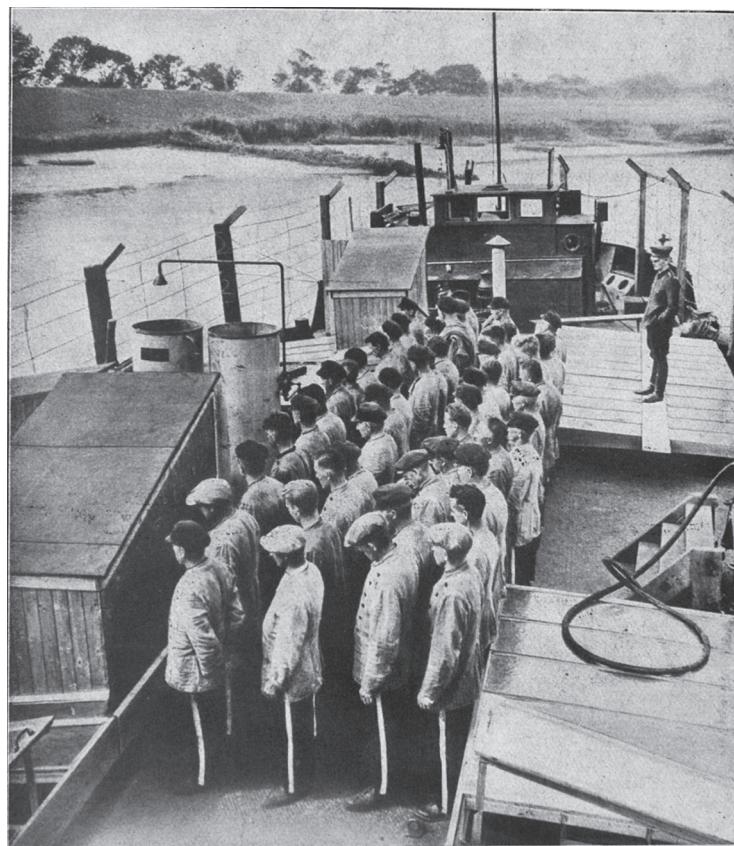
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NOTES

1. Generalstaatsanwalt bei den Oberlandesgerichten Bamberg to Staatsministerium der Justiz, RE: "Schutzhalt," No. 2882, March 11, 1933, KZ and Haftanstalten collection, in BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR, as reproduced in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 44.
2. "Fränkische Nachrichten: In Coburg," *BV*, March 11, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Coburg (In Schutzhalt genommen)," *BV*, March 20, 1933.
3. ASt-Ne/Co, A-7.870 Schwede Order, March 22, 1933, as cited in Joachim Albrecht, *Die Avantgarde des "Dritten Reiches": Die Coburger NSDAP während der Weimarer Republik 1922–1933* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2005), p. 186.
4. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Coburg (Misshandlungen)," *BV*, March 16, 1933; ASt-Ne/Co, XVI G 2 No. 2, "Halbmonatsbericht der Polizei Neustadt bei Coburg (1. Hälfte April 33)," p. 149, as cited in Horst Thum, "Das Schutzhaltlager Hassenberg bei Neustadt (Coburg)," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Freihe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), p. 232.
5. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Lichtenfels (In Schutzhalt genommen)," *BV*, April 20, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Coburg (Ins Konzentrationslager nach Dachau verschickt)," *BT*, May 19, 1933.
6. ASt-Ne/Co, A-8.074 Stadtratsprotokolle, 1931–1934, October 13, 1933, as reproduced in Albrecht, *Avantgarde*, pp. 218–219.
7. ASt-Ne/Co, Staatsanwaltschaft No. 80; and NPC, April 10, 1951, as cited in Albrecht, *Avantgarde*, p. 188.
8. Quotation in "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hunderte von Festnahmen, Hof," *BV*, March 13, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hof (Neue Verhaftungen)," *BV*, March 15, 1933.
9. Quotation in "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hof (Verhaftungen)," *BV*, March 22, 1933.
10. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hof (Verhaftungen)," *BV*, March 27, 1933; quotation in "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hof (Verhaftet)," *BV*, April 1, 1933.
11. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hof (Aus Schutzhalt entlassen)," *BT*, June 7, 1933.
12. BA-P, RSHA St. 3/312, undated Gestapo List, as cited in "Seidel, Hans" s.v., in *MdR: Die Reichstagsabgeordneten der Weimarer Republik in der Zeit der Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Martin Schumacher (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1994).
13. Sta-Wü Best. Landratsamt Asch(affenburg) 2309 "Polizei Bericht No. 918," March 1, 1933, as cited in Monika Schmittner, *Verfolgung und Widerstand 1933 bis 1945 am bayrischen Untermain* (Aschaffenburg: Alibri Verlag, 2002), p. 65.
14. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Aschaffenburg. (Zum Kommissar für das Bezirksamt)," *BT*, March 23, 1933.
15. ABZ (n.d.), and Oberlandesgericht München OJs 44/35 (Richter file), as cited in Anton Grossmann, "Milieubedingungen von Verfolgung und Widerstand: Am Beispiel ausgewählter Ortsvereine der SPD," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, vol. 5, *Die Parteien KPD, SPD, BVP in Verfolgung und Widerstand*, ed. Martin Broszat and Hartmut Mehringer (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1983), p. 530.
16. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hunderte von Festnahmen . . . Hassfurt," *BV*, March 13, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hassfurt (In Schutzhalt genommen)," *BV*, March 18, 1933; "Aus Stadt und Umgebung: Ins Konzentrationslager Dachau verschickt," *BT*, April 26, 1933; "Aus Stadt und Umgebung: Ins Arbeitslager Dachau transportiert," *BT*, May 13, 1933.
17. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Schweinfurt (In Schutzhalt genommen)," *BT*, March 25, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Schweinfurt," *BT*, May 8, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Schweinfurt (In Schutzhalt genommen)," *BT*, June 26, 1933.
18. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Massenverhaftungen in Unterfranken," *BV*, March 11, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Im Zeichen der neuen Zeit," *BT*, March 11, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Würzburg (Kommunistische Brandstifter), Würzburg (Polizeiliche Aktion gegen Kommunisten)," *BV*, March 15, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Würzburg (Neue Kommunisten-Razzia)," *BV*, March 20, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Würzburg (Aus der Schutzhalt entlassen)," *BV*, April 15, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Würzburg (Verhaftet)," *BT*, April 19, 1933; "Bamberger Nachrichten: Tagung des Sondergerichts Bamberg; Vier weitere Fälle," *BV*, May 6, 1933.

OCHTUMSAND

In February 1933, Hermann Göring decreed that auxiliaries from the ranks of the so-called national associations would reinforce the regular police.¹ Göring's decree was also implemented in Bremen at the beginning of March. The government assembled the auxiliary police (Hilfspolizei) from the ranks of the SS, SA, and the Stahlhelm, which supported not only the municipal police (Schutzpolizei) but the Criminal Police as well. The Bremerhaven Hilfspolizei, brought into being on March 7 and, like its Bremen counterpart, equipped with rubber truncheons, service weapons, service identification, and armbands (which read "Hilfspolizei"), initially reached a strength of 25 men but grew to over 100 men by the end of April. From this group, which was originally supposed to secure bridges, water- and gasworks, the guards for the Bremen concentration camps Missler, Ochtumsand, and Langlütjen II were assembled. After the SS was found guilty of serious excesses in Missler, they were replaced by the SA in



Roll call at Ochtumsand concentration camp, 1933.
PUBLISHED IN KONZENTRATIONSLAGER: EIN APPEL AN DAS GEWISSEN DER WELT, 1934

May 1933, which then also provided the guard unit for Ochtumsand and Langlütjen II.

Both the SA and SS, however, had only a supporting function, as the actual penal system was in state hands, those of the Bremen Schutzpolizei. Thus regular police officials had been assigned as superiors to the SS and SA at every camp, which often led to serious conflicts, as the National Socialists, who mostly came from ordinary backgrounds, only unwillingly submitted themselves to police commands, since they considered themselves the victors in the “national” revolution.

When a massive wave of arrests began in the fall of 1933, the new leaders were unprepared for the resulting organizational problems. From the beginning, one question kept coming up: where were the numerous political opponents, suddenly arrested, to be kept? The existing possibilities, which were the police prisons and other detention centers, had quickly exhausted their capacities. Due to the overcrowding, there was constant improvisation. On July 11, 1933, Police Senator (Polizeisezator) Theodor Laue announced that he was considering closing the Missler concentration camp and interning the prisoners at another location.² A small number of prisoners were to be kept at the former fort Langlütjen II across from Bremerhaven, while a larger number were to be kept at a yet-to-be-built camp on the embankment of the Ochtum, the Ochtumsand, a small tributary of the Weser on the heights around Bremen. The transportation of the prisoners to both new camps did not take place until several weeks after the resolution had been passed.

The Ochtumsand concentration camp was improvised to an even greater degree than the Missler camp in that the prisoners were housed on a former barge, No. 86, of Norddeutschen Lloyd, which had washed ashore on the embankment of the Ochtum in the heights of Altenesch.³ The ship, rented from the Bremen senate, had four storage rooms; the two in the middle were for the prisoners, and the ones fore and aft were used by the guards. The prisoners' quarters received only basic necessities: beds pushed together in groups of four, a long table with chairs, and hooks on the wall for hanging clothes. A staircase led to the deck. In both rooms a total of around 100 prisoners could be penned up. As there was no heat, the rooms were cold and damp, corresponding to the seasons. Both groups of prisoners chose a respective room elder in addition to a camp elder as speaker for the collective. Communist municipal council member Hermann Prüser was the first camp elder and simultaneously elder for room one. On deck two kitchens were installed, one each for the guard unit and the prisoners (who also had to provide cooks). According to the kitchen plan, both groups would receive the same food, which was checked once a week by a police doctor.

To prevent escape attempts, a barbed-wire fence as high as a man was installed on the rails of the barge. A small tower on the foredeck superstructure ensured the guard posts a good overview of the entire camp. A shower installation was located midship, with more washing facilities as well as toilets and an equipment shed on land. The way off the ship led over a wooden plank and a tubelike footbridge made from planks

and surrounded by barbed wire. The prisoners had to report at 7:00 A.M. for roll call and exercise, followed by the march to the work sites. Work was interrupted for an hour at midday when the prisoners received a warm meal. Around 5:00 P.M. the work troops returned to the barge. After the evening meal the prisoners had time for diversions, chess playing, or even to read the paper, which may be surprising at first but corresponded perfectly well with the ideas of Laue, who hoped to convince political opponents of the positive aspects of National Socialism.

For the guarding of Ochtumsand, which not only had a higher prisoner capacity than Langlütjen II but also offered prisoners more opportunities to escape simply because of its location, around 30 SA men and 3 policemen were detailed there from the Bremen police directorate. Although there were no written regulations governing the daily routine at Ochtumsand, it was strictly organized and regimented. According to the disciplinary regime, the prisoners had to "stand at attention" at every opportunity, "click their boots," and ask any guard for permission, for example, when they wanted to go to the bathroom. The smallest incident could have terrible consequences, as abuses—despite the presence of the Schutzpolizei—were also the order of the day at Ochtumsand. Most of the excesses happened in the sleeping room of the SA, where—in order to remove the possibility of screaming—a woolen blanket was first thrown over the head of the prisoners who were then dragged across a table and beaten with rubber truncheons.

On November 9 and at Christmas in 1933, the authorities granted amnesties that applied to the prisoners of both Bremen camps. Langlütjen II was closed on January 25, 1934, after only four months in operation. There were three deciding factors: (1) high costs, (2) relatively low numbers of prisoners, and (3) the dependency on the tides, which resulted in constant organizational and administrative problems. From that point on, only the Ochtumsand concentration camp was available for interning Bremen "protective custody" prisoners. This camp, however, was also closed on May 15, 1934. Those who up to that point had not yet been released were transferred to one of the new camps outside of Bremen, to Dachau or to the Emsland moor camps.

The Bremen concentration camps of 1933 are not to be compared with the several "wild" camps that came into being around the same time and were controlled by the SA and SS, nor are they the equivalent of those camps that were to systematize the terror on the basis of "special regulations." The Bremen camps were stopgaps, improvisations that developed from a lack of space in the first months of the dictatorship. Correspondingly, they still had characteristics from the transitional period: they did not have specific unified camp regulations, and no systematic program of terror was employed. In several areas the principle of chance prevailed.

On March 28, 1951, proceedings were opened before the Bremen Regional Court, which was to deal with the crimes committed "at Bremen and Langlütjen" but which, however, was soon referred to by the public as the "Missler trial," as the

camps Ochtumsand and Langlütjen came up merely in passing.⁴ Only under point 28 of the indictment does the Skrotzky case—the abuse and subsequent suicide of a prisoner in Langlütjen—receive mention. The defendant was a former SA Hilfspolizei officer who in the end was sentenced to eight months in prison (part of which he had already served) for bodily harm on duty concomitant with severe bodily harm in four cases. The remaining sentence was suspended. Those politically responsible for the camp, like Police Senator Laue, for example, were not called to account.⁵

SOURCES The source base is severely lacking, as several files were destroyed around the end of the war. This primarily refers to Gestapo files, which are of the utmost importance. Relevant material exists only in the StA-Br; there are the attorney's files from the Bremen Regional Court, which concern the so-called "Missler trial." These documents, which are otherwise very informative, remain sparse on the construction of the camp. The former prisoners primarily spoke of their suffered mistreatments after 1945—organizational or infrastructure problems were then of secondary importance. The history of both concentration camps had not been explored until 1992. Up to that date there existed highly contradictory information and rumors. In 1992, the author published the first relevant work: *Die Konzentrationslager Langlütjen und Ochtumsand* (Bremerhaven: Wissenschaftsverlag NW, Verlag für Neue Wissenschaft, 1992).

Lothar Wieland
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. On the auxiliary police in Bremen and Bremerhaven, see StA-Br, file "Löblich" 8 KMs 1/51, vol. 1, and ASt-Br, file "Gestapo 1946–47."

2. On the senate's motives, see ZdL, collection "Verschiedenes," Folder 207: Copies from the file "Schutzhaft politischer Gefangener" of the Senatsregistratur Bremen, primarily minutes of the senate meeting on July 18, 1933.

3. See the witness statements in StA-Br, file "Löblich" 8 KMs 1/51, vol. 1.

4. Anklageschrift der Oberstaatsanwaltschaft bei dem Landgericht Bremen v. 26.9.1950, StA-Br, 8 KMs 1/51, Bd. 3.

5. See verdict in StA-Br, file "Löblich" 8 KMs 1/51, vol. 2: "Handakten der Staatsanwaltschaft."

OELSNITZ IM ERZGEBIRGE

On March 9, 1933, SA-Standarte 183 in Saxony formed an early camp in the basement of the bank at Oelsnitz/Erzgebirge. The camp was established only a few days after this unit had attacked political opponents on the streets of Oelsnitz. Neither the camp population nor the guard strength is known. Among the victims was Communist Party member Dalmatius Konietzny, whom the SA murdered in the course of interrogation. Konietzny's interrogator was a Nazi against whom he had previously brought a lawsuit for an injury suffered during a bar fight. His murder is an example of the SA's settling of old scores in the early camps. The date of Oelsnitz's dissolution is

not known. On December 7, 1948, the Chemnitz state court in the Soviet Zone of Occupation convicted 12 defendants for the brutal treatment of political prisoners at Oelsnitz. Two, including Edwin Eckhardt, received life sentences, and the remainder were sentenced to various lengths of confinement in penitentiaries or prisons.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard work on the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); additional information on Oelsnitz/Erzgebirge can be found in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). On the Oelsnitz trial, see Der Generalstaatsanwalt der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik/Ministerium der Justiz der DDR, ed., *Die Haltung der beiden deutschen Staaten zu den Nazi- und Kriegsverbrechen: Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin [East]: Staatsverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1965).

Primary sources about Oelsnitz are available at the BA-BL's collection of former East German papers. These documents include reports to the Rote Hilfe Deutschlands (Red Aid of Germany) and the Archiv des Generalstaatsanwalts der DDR, File No. 243-20-1975. The Oelsnitz trial is case number StKs 43/48.

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OLDENBURG

In March 1933, the SA, SS, and Stahlhelm established a "protective custody" camp in the police prison in the city of Oldenburg. Before the camp opened, the SA, SS, and Stahlhelm were publicly deputized as police near the Oldenburg horse market. The first 15 Communist Party detainees were admitted to the camp on the night of March 3; by July, there were 90 prisoners. In August, however, the camp population decreased to 60. The detainees resisted by sneaking illegal manuscripts for publication outside the camp. Oldenburg served as a clearinghouse for the neighboring early concentration camp and prison at Vechta.

SOURCES This entry follows Karl-Ludwig Sommer, "Oldenburgs 'braune' Jahre (1932–1945)," in *Geschichte der Stadt Oldenburg, 1830–1995*, ed. Udo Elerd (Oldenburg: Isensee Verlag, 1996), 2:391–486. See also the standard work on the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

Primary documentation for the Oldenburg early camp, as cited in Sommer, consists of files in the AST-O, Best. 133, 136, 205, and 298. According to Sommer, the OSZ reported on this camp on April 15, June 29, and July 6, 1933. See also the ITS listing in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:100.

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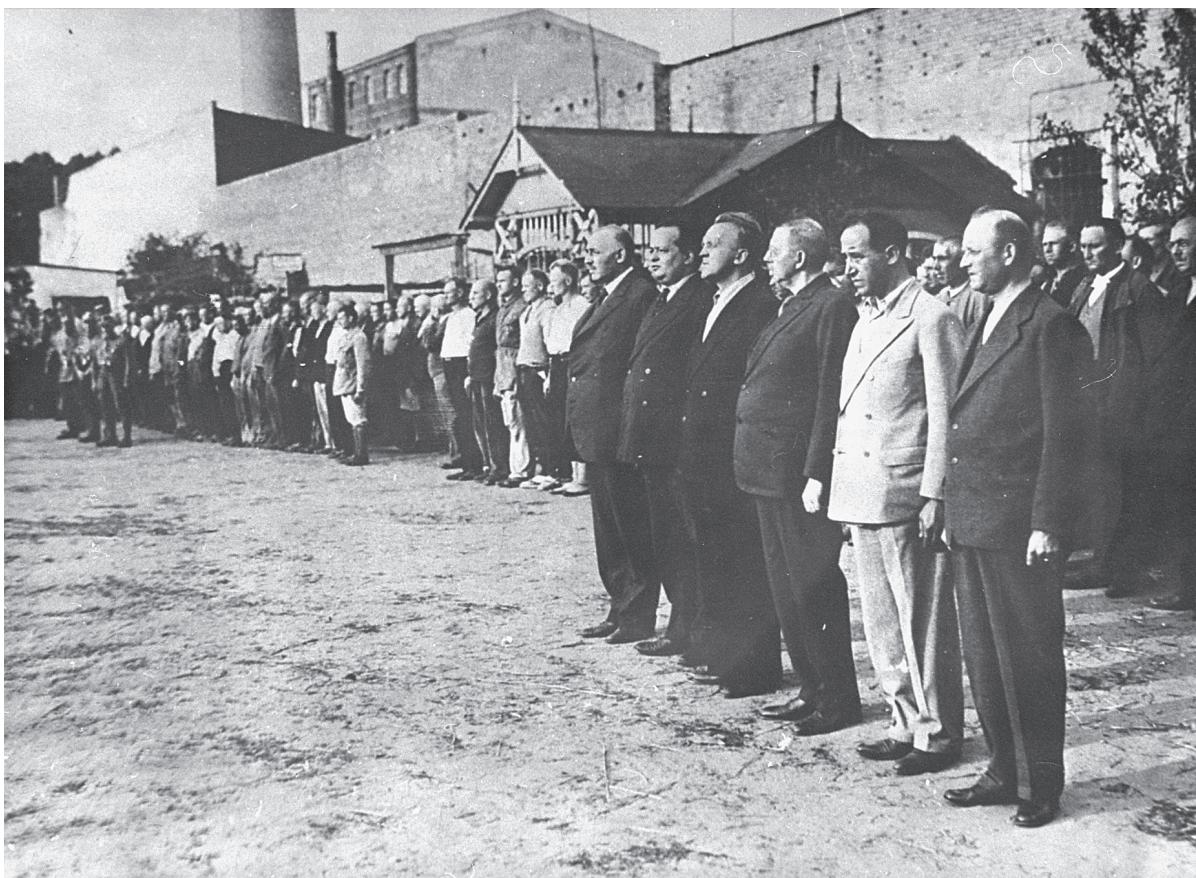
Prisoners bring pails of food into Oranienburg concentration camp with an SA guard outside the wire in the foreground.
USHMM WS #73936, COURTESY OF NARA

ORANIENBURG

The Oranienburg concentration camp was established as one of the first concentration camps on March 21, 1933, overshadowed by the Day of Potsdam. After the "Night of the Long Knives," the SA-run camp was taken over by the SS in July 1934 and dissolved a little later.¹ The Oranienburg concentration camp is not to be confused with the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, which was established by the SS in July 1936 on the edge of the town of Oranienburg.

Initially SA-Regiment 208 (Standarte 208) established the Oranienburg concentration camp without notifying the responsible authorities in Berlin beforehand.² The first inmates were 40 prisoners who were dragged to the small town 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) north of Berlin on the evening of March 21, 1933. The first concentration camp in Prussia was thus situated on the grounds of a former brewery on a main road in Oranienburg. From September 1933, subcamps existed at the Elisenau manor in Blumberg near Bernau and in Börnicke.³

Only a few days after the establishment of the camp, SA-Standartenführer Werner Schulze-Wechsungen transferred control of the camp to the Potsdam district president.⁴ Henceforth the camp as well as the guards were paid from tax money. In total, the German tax payer paid 280,000 Reichsmark (RM) between August 1933 and July 1934 to sustain the camp.⁵ Internment in the camp was initiated not only by the police and party authorities but also by local administrative authorities. Only because of its location in the town, the camp proved to be a "transparent concentration camp."⁶ The town of Oranienburg had the political prisoners perform communal work.⁷ The camp commander, SA-Sturmbannführer Werner Schäfer, compiled an apologetic "Anti-Brown Book" (*Anti-Braunbuch*), in which he characterized allegations about the Oranienburg concentration camp as "atrocious propaganda."⁸ Repeatedly he invited German and foreign journalists to tour the camp.⁹ A radio program "reported" from the



New prisoners stand at attention at Oranienburg, August 10, 1933. Among them are Ernst Heilmann (foreground far left) and beside him Fritz Ebert, the son of the Weimar Republic's first president, Friedrich Ebert.
USHMM WS # 61450, COURTESY OF LYDIA CHAGOLL

concentration camp.¹⁰ The local press wrote extensively about the new institution.¹¹ Also, movie theaters showed propagandistic photos of the new concentration camp.¹²

About 3,000 prisoners were deprived of their liberty in the Oranienburg concentration camp. The number of prisoners varied considerably. It rose rapidly until August 1933, from 97 to 911, but declined by the end of June 1934 to 271. The prisoners were mostly between the ages of 20 and 40, laborers, unemployed, from Berlin and from the area north of Berlin. Many were taken to Oranienburg after the dissolution of smaller Brandenburg concentration camps (including Alt Daber, Börnicke, Havelberg, and Perleberg) in June and July 1933. Prisoners from the concentration camps in Börgermoor, Lichtenburg, and Sonnenburg were interned at Oranienburg in September and October. Most of the inmates were members of the German Communist Party (KPD), the Social Democratic Party (SPD), and smaller left-wing organizations such as the Socialist Workers' Party (SAP) and the German Communist Party Opposition (KPO). It is noteworthy that about 50 Jewish youths were also carried off to the camp from a home dedicated to advanced pedagogical ideas that was operated by the German Jewish Community Association (Deutsch-israelitischer Gemeindebund) in Wolzig. They had been abducted because of "Communist activities."

In addition to mostly working-class prisoners, a few celebrities were held in Oranienburg, including the son of the former Reich president, Friedrich Ebert; the director of the Reich Broadcasting Association (Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft), Dr. Kurt Magnus; the chairman of the Prussian SPD parliamentary group, Ernst Heilmann; the editor in chief of the official KPD organ Rote Fahne, Werner Hirsch; the pacifist writers Kurt Hiller and Armin T. Wegner; and SPD Member of Parliament Gerhart Seger. Seger managed to escape in December 1933, fleeing first to Czechoslovakia and later to the United States of America. His book on the terror in Oranienburg was one of the first books written about the conditions in a concentration camp from firsthand experience.¹³

Usually, the prisoners were held for two or three months in the camp. The main goal for holding the prisoners was to prevent representatives of the workers' movement from being politically active. In principle, the killing of the prisoners was not intended. However, as the prisoners were exposed to the whims of their political opponents, some lost their lives. They became victims of mistreatment, torture, and lack of medical care. At least 16 prisoners, including the writer and anarchist Erich Mühsam, died in Oranienburg.

The guards at Oranienburg were recruited from the ranks of "proven" SA men, many of whom had previously been

unemployed. Their numbers increased from March to summer from 50 to 170 but declined to 74 by June 1934.¹⁴ The camp command was composed of men of petit bourgeois background who were born in the first decade of the twentieth century in agricultural areas and had not participated in World War I. They were active in radical right-wing organizations in the first years of the Weimar Republic and had later joined the Nazi Party (NSDAP).

SA-Standartenführer Schulze-Wechsungen initiated the construction of the Oranienburg concentration camp. A farmer by training, he had joined the NSDAP and SA in 1925. He had a prior conviction for a raid in 1932 on a Berlin allotment settlement, which was mostly used by Communists. The camp commander was Werner Schäfer, a former member of the Free Corps "Olympia" and policeman, who had joined the NSDAP in 1928. At first SA-Sturmbannführer Hans Krüger was in charge of the "interrogation unit" (Vernehmungsabteilung). He was succeeded by SA-Sturmführer Hans Stahlkopf. Both revealed extreme brutality. Stahlkopf had joined the People's Freedom Party (Völkische Freiheitspartei) in 1921 and had been a member of the Free Corps "Rossbach" from 1922 to 1927 and a member of the NSDAP since 1930. Between 1923 and 1931 he earned his living as the manager of a large farm. From May 1933, Stahlkopf was in charge of the Vernehmungsabteilung. Seger characterized him as "a stereotypical sneaky, especially disgraceful sadist."¹⁵ After the Oranienburg concentration camp was dissolved, Stahlkopf became a member of the SS-Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler. In 1935 he committed suicide.

Stahlkopf's predecessor, Krüger, a farmer by training, had joined the right-wing radical organization Wehrwolf in 1925 and the NSDAP in 1930. For unknown reasons he was relieved of all his official duties in October 1933. Having joined the SS in 1938, Krüger was appointed Kommandeur der Sipo und des SD (KdS) for the District of Galicia after the attack on the Soviet Union. Here he significantly participated in the systematic murder of the Jewish civilian population. His career reflects the radicalization of terrorist capacity of the Nazi regime. Krüger was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Münster Schwurgericht in 1968. Dr. Carl Lazar, a Bernau physician and SA functionary who was in charge of the camp's "medical unit" (Sanitätsabteilung), regularly tried to cover up the mistreatment and murders at the Oranienburg concentration camp.

Criminal acts at Oranienburg were ignored by the German judicial authorities. Complaints against guards never resulted in an indictment. Also, after 1945, none of the perpetrators at the Oranienburg concentration camp were brought to justice. Then again, people who during the Nazi period distributed information about the criminal acts committed at the camp were repeatedly sentenced to imprisonment for spreading "atrocity propaganda" by the Berlin Regional Court's Special Court (Sondergericht beim Landgericht Berlin). No one would have dared to criticize the conditions in the camp, which were well known through press coverage, the radio, and rumors.

SOURCES The best overview of the history of the Oranienburg concentration camp is the collection of essays by Günter

Morsch, ed., *Konzentrationslager Oranienburg* (Berlin: Ed. Hentrich, 1994). The essays provide details about various aspects of the concentration camp. Special attention should be paid to the contributions by Klaus Drobisch, "Oranienburg: Eines der ersten Konzentrationslager" and Martin Knop, Hendrik Krause, and Roland Schwarz, "Die Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Oranienburg." A short overview on the topic is to be found in Bernward Dörner, "Ein KZ in der Mitte der Stadt: Oranienburg," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus 1933–1935*, ed. by Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 123–138. An important work for putting the Oranienburg concentration camp into the context of the concentration camp system is Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

The main sources on the history of the Oranienburg concentration camp system are contemporaneous publications that deal with the conditions inside the camp: Gerhart Seger, *Oranienburg: Erster authentischer Bericht eines aus dem Konzentrationslager Geflüchteten* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934); Max Abraham, *Juda verrecke: Ein Rabbiner im Konzentrationslager* (Teplitz-Schönau: Druck- und Verlags-Anstalt, 1934); Werner Hirsch, *Hinter Stacheldraht und Gitter: Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen in den Konzentrationslagern und Gefängnissen Hitlerdeutschlands* (Zürich: Mopr-Verlag, 1934). The most important unpublished sources on the history of the Oranienburg concentration camp only became accessible after German Reunification in 1989–1990. They are held today at the BLHA-(P), Rep. 35 G KZ Oranienburg Rep. 2 A Reg. Potsdam; the GStAPK, Rep. 90 P; and the BA-B, R 3001.

Bernward Dörner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BLHA-(P), Rep. 2 A Reg. Potsdam I Pol Nr. 1192, p. 72.; and Nr. 1193, p. 2.
2. BLHA-(P), Rep. 2 A Reg. Potsdam I Pol Nr. 1193, pp. 2, 7; and Nr. 1192, p. 72.
3. BLHA-(P), Rep. 2 A Reg. Potsdam I Pol Nr. 1183, p. 198.
4. BLHA-(P), Rep. 2 A Reg. Potsdam I Pol Nr. 1191, p. 21.
5. BLHA-(P), Rep. 2 A Reg. Potsdam I Pol Nr. 1193.
6. Winfried Meyer, Günter Morsch, and Roland Schwarz, "Einleitung," in *Konzentrationslager Oranienburg*, ed. Günter Morsch (Berlin: Ed. Hentrich, 1994), p. 9.
7. BA-DH, ZD 9209 A. 13.
8. Werner Schäfer, *Konzentrationslager Oranienburg: Das Anti-Braunbuch über das erste deutsche Konzentrationslager* (Berlin: Buch- und Tiefdruck-Gesellschaft, 1934).
9. Ibid., pp. 106–107; BLHA-(P), ehem. Oranienburg Nr. 8.
10. Gerhart Seger, *Oranienburg: Erster authentischer Bericht eines aus dem Konzentrationslager Geflüchteten* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), p. 29.
11. For example, *OBGZ*, March 29, 1933.
12. Photographs by the Emelka-Filmgesellschaft taken on April 13, 1933, were shown at movie theaters in Berlin and Oranienburg.
13. Seger, *Oranienburg*.
14. BLHA-(P), former Oranienburg Nr. 4 and Nr. 8.
15. Seger, *Oranienburg*, p. 31.

OSTHOFEN

The publication by Dr. Werner Best, a lawyer and National Socialist Member of the Hessen State Parliament, of an article in the autumn of 1931 caused a political scandal. In the article he specified the emergency decrees and proclamations that would be made, should the National Socialists seize power. The smallest infraction against the state authority was to be met with the death penalty. Immediately after he was named state commissar of police—Hessen, at the beginning of March 1933, he put his views into practice and created the Osthofen concentration camp, the first in Hessen. According to an ex post facto decree, dated May 1, 1933, all who were arrested by the police in Hessen for political reasons and “whose imprisonment had lasted more than a week or would last longer than a week” were to be taken to the concentration camp. The Hessen Central Police Office carried the responsibility for sending the prisoners to the concentration camp—that is, the political police, which had been separated from the general police by Best and which was later to be renamed the Gestapo (Secret State Police). There were precise rules governing the length of imprisonment, the prison conditions, and the grounds for arrest.¹ As early as March 13, larger groups were sent to the concentration camp. Orders to take someone into “protective custody” were in the main issued by the district council offices in Hessen.

The first wave of prisoners was composed primarily of Communists. Among the earliest inmates of the Osterhofen concentration camp were leading officials of the Communist Party but also leading Social Democrats, trade unionists, and members of the Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold (RB) and the Eiserne Front (Iron Front, EF). They were followed by Jewish civilians, especially those who were members of left-wing political groups. By August 1933 at the latest, Jews were arrested even if they did not fall under the detention provisions of the Reichstag Fire Decree (Reichstagsbrandverordnung). From the summer of 1933, members of the Center Party, Catholics, Seventh-Day Adventists, Separatists, Jehovah’s Witnesses, and others also increasingly became the target of the persecuting authorities.

Best named the Osthofen SS man Karl d’Angelo, who was also temporary chairman of the local Nazi Party (NSDAP) group, as the “honorary head of the Hessian concentration camp.” Although he was never accused of massive personal involvement in the mistreatment of prisoners, he did nothing to prevent severe violations of human dignity in the Osthofen concentration camp or to put a stop to the daily mistreatment and harassment of prisoners. After the Osthofen camp was dissolved, d’Angelo became head of the protective custody section in the Dachau concentration camp. He was, however, soon demoted by Theodor Eicke and dismissed from the camp guard detail on the basis that he was “as soft as butter” and completely unsuitable for service in a concentration camp.² Despite this, he still had a career in Nazi Germany. He advanced to police president in Cuxhaven and later in Heilbronn. He died, presumably in a motorbike accident, in his Hessian home state on the Rhine.

In the first few months, the guard detail consisted of SS and SA men who had been appointed as auxiliary police as well as

regular auxiliary police from Osthofen, Worms, and the surrounding areas. Former prisoners consistently point to the fact that a number of individual guards were feared for their beatings, and others were more humane. In the autumn of 1933, all the SA men were withdrawn from guard duty. They were replaced with SS men from the special units and guard detachments from Darmstadt and Offenbach. These men were particularly feared in the camp. After 1945, not a single guard was called to account for his actions at the Osthofen concentration camp.

Accommodations and hygienic circumstances in the empty former Jewish paper mill were extremely primitive. At the beginning, the prisoners slept on the bare concrete floor; later they built double wooden bunks as well as tables and benches. As it became colder, they were given a rough woolen blanket, in addition to their straw sacks. In autumn they built chimneys for small wood-fired stoves. These efforts, however, never warmed the drafty, wet, and cold factory hall. Many prisoners suffered from the cold, and some developed kidney and bladder problems, which continued to plague them for the rest of their lives. Despite the miserable conditions, not one prisoner died in Osthofen. Terror and disregard for any human dignity were, however, the order of the day. The Jewish prisoners particularly suffered from mistreatment and indignities. One Jewish prisoner was forced to eat pork on Yom Kippur, the most solemn of Jewish holidays. When at first he refused, he was beaten until he was unconscious.³ Other Jewish prisoners were put on a stand and were insulted and abused by the camp commandant and then chased for hours inside a barbed-wire enclosure. Almost worse than the living conditions was the attention given to hygiene. Only on rare and exceptional occasions were the prisoners given a bit of fluid soap to wash themselves and their clothes. As a rule, they had to wash themselves and their clothes with sand and cold water running from three taps in the open air. Altogether almost 3,000 prisoners, nearly all men, were held in the Osthofen concentration camp until it was closed. On average, the camp housed about 200 inmates at any time during its existence.

At the morning roll call, the prisoners were separated into working groups. They either worked on the camp’s own construction or were allocated to outside detachments. For example, there was a labor detail for construction and decorative work at the “Brown House” in Worms, while others had to clean the blood from the torture cellars of the SA and SS. Local National Socialists, above all Karl d’Angelo, profited from the cheap or unpaid labor. Several prisoners had to work regularly in his printing establishment. This kind of work was only stopped when d’Angelo ran into difficulties with his superiors. Farmers and landowners could also use the prisoners for no charge for their harvesting. Often the work was used as a means solely to humiliate and victimize the prisoners. Jewish prisoners, for example, had to clean the latrine ditches with tins or with their bare hands. The Worms police president Maschmeier, who had been removed by the Nazis, was exposed to the mockery of the local population. He had to sit in the street in front of the concentration camp and grind coffee. Another prisoner, almost 2 meters (6.6 feet) tall, had to

sweep the yard with a broom, the handle of which had been sawn off. And Dr. Carlo Mierendorff, the former Member of Parliament and spokesman for Social Democrat Minister of Interior Wilhelm Leuschner, was forced for days to straighten nails, which his fellow prisoners had to bend.⁴

A few prisoners were able to escape, particularly in the first few months. Prisoners who were the subject of particular suffering or mistreatment by certain guards were slipped into safer outside work details by their fellow inmates. A well-known Jewish lawyer from Mainz escaped in July 1933 with the help of his friends from Mainz and of his fellow prisoners. Even as late as May 1933, he had courageously defended members of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and RB, who had been accused of political "offenses." Also, at the beginning of March 1933, he had published a very detailed and critical newspaper article directed against the Reichstag Fire Decree. After his escape, the camp leadership imposed a ban on mail and visitors.

For detention under aggravated conditions, Camp II was constructed in an empty sawmill in the vicinity of the concentration camp.⁵ Occasionally, this kind of detention was also imposed in the prison of the Osthofen local court. Conditions were much more severe under such a regime. Thus, several prisoners were locked up in a wire enclosure, in the middle of which was the so-called Devil's Wheel. This was a kind of sleeping bench that had been placed on an angle. To add to this harassment, the light burned day and night so that it was impossible to sleep. The food consisted of watery soup and occasionally a small ration of bread.

Following power struggles and a restructure within the police leadership in Hessen, Best was deposed as State Police president in the autumn of 1933. From the end of March 1934, responsibility for ordering that someone be sent to Osthofen concentration camp was exclusively in the hands of Hessian State Minister Philipp Jung and the Hessian State Police Office, which, since December 1933, was formally headed by Heinrich Himmler. According to the state minister's implementation decree of March 28, 1934, as of April, 15, all ordered protective custody measures were suspended unless the State Police Office had ordered their extension.⁶ In practice, this signaled the end of the Osthofen concentration camp. It was one of the last of the early concentration camps to be dissolved in July 1934 as a result of Himmler's centralization program. Until then, the number of protective custody prisoners in Hessen had fallen dramatically. Thus, from May 1, 1934, to August 8, 1934, only 84 persons from the People's State of Hessen remained in protective custody, among whom was Dr. Mierendorff, who was held in the Lichtenburg concentration camp; 2 others were in the Dachau concentration camp, 1 in Börgermoor, and the others in the state police jail in Darmstadt or the Offenbach police jail.

SOURCES In 1946, the state of Rhineland-Palatinate was formed from parts of the former Hessian, Prussian, and Bavarian states. In 1933–1934 Osthofen belonged to the state of Hessen, which included the provinces of Rheinhessen (later Rhineland-Palatinate), Starkenburg, and Oberhessen. The seat of government was Darmstadt. As a result, the relevant files are today in

the HStA-D (Hessen Districts) and the Rheinland-Pfalz LA-Sp (Rhein Hessen Districts). The collections in Darmstadt are in particular (HStD): G 15, Dieburg, G 15, Friedberg, G 15, Alsfeld, G 15, Erbach and G 15, Heppenheim: foremost "Schutzhafte Angelegenheiten" (protective custody issues) and the collections H 5 (Reichsstatthalter-Reich Governor) and G 12A 25/8 (Hessian Police) as well as the collections in Speyer H 51, H 53.

The files of the Worms Police Office, which was responsible for the administration of the Osthofen concentration camp, were almost totally burned during the war. Apparently also destroyed were the files that were kept at the camp itself.

In her novel *The Seventh Cross* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1942), first published in the United States in 1942, Mayence author Anna Seghers erected a literary "memorial" to the Osthofen prisoners. She tells of the escape of seven prisoners from the imaginary Westhofen concentration camp. However, there was never a concentration camp in Westhofen, but there was one in neighboring Osthofen. The story is fictitious but includes much information on everyday life in Nazi Germany, which Seghers obtained while in French exile, where she wrote the novel between 1937 and 1938, from eyewitness reports, newspapers, and information gathered from other exiles. So the story is both "true" and "fictitious."

In 1979 the Röderberg-Verlag Frankfurt published the first set of documents by Paul Grünewald on the Osthofen concentration camp, *KZ Osthofen: Material zur Geschichte eines fast vergessenen Konzentrationslagers*. This was followed by the "Projekt Osthofen" with the title *Osthofen—Erinnern und Vergegenwärtigen*, another set of documents by Angelika Arenz-Morch and Eike Hennig (Frankfurt, 1986). In *Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus in Rheinland-Pfalz*, vol. 2, *Für die Aussenwelt seit ihr tot!* ed. Hans-Georg Meyer and Hans Berkessel (Mayence: Verlag Hermann Schmidt Mainz, 2000), there are further contributions on the Osthofen concentration camp: Angelika Arenz-Morch, "Das Konzentrationslager Osthofen 1933/34" (pp. 32–51); Volker Gallé, "Karl d'Angelo—Lagerleiter des Konzentrationslagers" (pp. 69–79); Heribert Fachinger, "Leben und Alltag in einem frühen Konzentrationslager im Spiegel von Häftlingsberichten und Erinnerungen" (pp. 80–90); and Alexander Stephan, "Authentizität und Fiktion: Das KZ Osthofen und der Roman 'Das siebte Kreuz' von Anna Seghers" (pp. 104–115). Alexander Stephan published *Anna Seghers: Das siebte Kreuz; Welt und Wirkung eines Romans* (Berlin: Aufbau Taschenbuch Verlag, 1997).

Angelika Arenz-Morch
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. HStA-D, G 24/360, Bl. 38.
2. Letter of the SS-Section Rhine to the SS-Administration, dated February 29, 1936, BA-B, former ZSA-P Film Nr. 8681, AN 407369–407370.
3. Ernst P. Katz, "Die Geschichte eines Juden aus Hungen," in *Juden in Hungen*, ed. Arbeitsgemeinschaft "Spuren-suche Hungen" (Hungen, 1990), pp. 40–59.
4. Karl Schreiber, "Schriftliche Erinnerungen im Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand Frankfurt," n.d.
5. HStA-D, G 24/360, Bl. 75.
6. HStA-D, G 15, Friedberg, Q 290, Bl. 16 and 17.

PAPENBURG [AKA EMSLAND]

On August 2, 1933, Papenburg became a Prussian State Concentration Camp (Staatliches Konzentrationslager Papenburg). Intended for reclaiming the vast Ems River wetlands, its four subcamps held 4,000 detainees by October 1933.¹ Papenburg was the senior camp commandant's (Oberlagerkommandant's) headquarters and location of the hospital and railway station. In 1933, the subcamps were Börgermoor (camp I of the complex) (opened July 15), Esterwegen (II) (August 11), Esterwegen (III) (August 14), and Neusustrum (V) (October 2). In early 1934, Brual-Rhede (IV) and Oberlangen (VI) opened as Justice Ministry penal camps. (The apparent misnumbering was intentional.)

The Reich Settlement Law of 1919 spotlighted Emsland cultivation. In 1923, Osnabrück county founded the "Emsland"—Society for the Facilitation of Wasteland Reclamation (Gesellschaft zur Erleichterung der Urbarmachung von Oedlaendereien) and slowly created settlements before the Nazi takeover. In 1933, the new regime greatly expanded these efforts for four reasons. First, new farms theoretically reduced food imports, eased Germany's foreign exchange crisis, and promoted autarky. Second, new peasant settlements lent force to the nebulous "Blood and Soil" ideology. Third, with over 15,000 detainees in the summer of 1933, Prussia wanted to recoup incarceration costs through forced labor. Finally, the Emsland embarrassed Prussia. In 1934, the Prussian Justice Ministry's Rudolf Marx contrasted its "desolate, endless marsh" with the neighboring Dutch Groningen province's "fields, green meadows, and pastures."²

In February 1931, Adolf Hitler listed the "increasing" of arable soil as an immediate economic goal.³ On March 15, 1933, the Reich cabinet noted that hardliners of the German Communist Party (KPD) would "eventually" proceed to "labor camps."⁴ Prussian Prime Minister and Interior Minister Hermann Göring then authorized the Emsland camps. On March 17, his state secretary, Ludwig Grauert, commissioned Osnabrück's county president, Bernhard Eggers, to locate accommodations for 250 to 300 detainees.⁵ On April 4, Eggers was dispatched again to find sites for 3,000 to 5,000 prisoners. On June 22, 1933, 90 Düsseldorf (Ulmenstrasse) inmates arrived to build Börgermoor. On the same day, Grauert outlined the moor cultivation plan, which called for four camps scheduled to open, respectively, on July 15, August 1 and 15, and September 1, 1933. Only Esterwegen II and Neusustrum failed to meet Grauert's timetable. Each camp would hold 1,000 to 2,000 prisoners, 100 prisoners per barrack, and have guard, administration, bathing, and kitchen buildings. A barbed-wire fence and guard towers would enclose them. Signifying their innovative design, Secret State Police Office (Gestapo) chief Rudolf Diels referred to them as "barracks camps."⁶

Papenburg underwent numerous staff changes. On June 7, 1933, the Prussian Interior Ministry's SS-Gruppenführer Kurt Daluge secured Heinrich Himmler's appointment as ministerial commissar for deputized police officers of the Gestapo. Himmler detailed Gruppenführer Fritz Weitzel of SS-Group

West (Gruppe West) to staff Papenburg. As Düsseldorf police president, Weitzel directed Ulmer-Höh, so it was not accidental that Börgermoor's first prisoners came from there. Weitzel named his protégé, Standartenführer Paul Brinkmann, Oberlagerkommandant, and assigned other officers who would become subcamp commandants: Sturmhauptführer Wilhelm Fleitmann (Börgermoor), Sturmführer Heinrich Katzmann (Esterwegen II), Sturmführer Ludwig Seehaus (Esterwegen III), and Sturmführer Emil Faust (Neusustrum). Weitzel did not consider all of them suitable for command, however. According to historian Hans-Peter Klausch, the Papenburg SS commandants came from cities with strong KPD enclaves, had distinguished war records, participated in nationalist-racist organizations, joined the Nazi Party (NSDAP) and SS before 1930, and were enthusiastic street fighters.⁷

In the fall of 1933, 11 suspicious deaths and international publicity concerning the treatment of Jews and "bigwigs" called the SS administration into question. The Prussian Interior Ministry moved 150 Jews and prominent prisoners from Papenburg to Lichtenburg on October 17. In the same month, Himmler directed SS-Court III (Gericht III) in Munich to investigate the camp, but little came of his effort to forestall outside interference.⁸ In November 1949, the regional court Oldenburg trial of Esterwegen II guard Theodor Grotten established Brinkmann's culpability in Otto Eggerstedt's murder.⁹

In October 1933, Diels visited Papenburg. Finding that the SS "move through this region like marauding Swedes in the Thirty Years' War," he sent State Prosecutor Günther Joel with 50 Berlin policemen to seize the complex.¹⁰ Organized as "Free Corps Fleitmann," the Börgermoor SS fired on the police, who retreated, which led Diels to secure Hitler's permission to deploy Reichswehr artillery. Figuring in Hitler's and Göring's decision for removal was the rumor that the SS were arming their prisoners. On November 6, the Prussian police under Polizeioberst Hans Stieler von Heydekamp deposed the SS without firing a shot. For several years, Brinkmann was persona non grata in the SS. He died in 1941. None of the Papenburg SS commandants ran another camp.¹¹

Papenburg's new commandant and office manager, Polizeioberst von dem Knesebeck and Polizeimajor Gümbel, stipulated that future staff consist of 80 percent SA and 20 percent SS and that previous guards never be rehired.¹² Thus when SS-Mann Fritz Kaiser applied for his old post, his request was rejected.¹³ The November 12, 1933, Reich Plebiscite embarrassed the regime because Börgermoor and Esterwegen III detainees overwhelmingly voted against Nazi rule.¹⁴

On December 20, 1933, the SA relieved the police of their responsibilities. Polizeimajor Gotthilf Hoffmann and his adjutant, SA-Obersturmbannführer Engel, commanded 420 SA and 80 SS. On December 22, 1933, 1,500 detainees were released in a "Christmas amnesty." Diels attended the Börgermoor and Esterwegen ceremonies.¹⁵ Except for Börgermoor, the SA were violent overseers: Ludwig Pappenheim's murder at Neusustrum in January 1934 was one of five committed under their administration.¹⁶ On March 11, 1934, Göring

banned the creation of new camps and, in a bid to assert control, demanded that camp guards become state employees.¹⁷

Except for Esterwegen, the Prussian (later Reich) Justice Ministry converted Papenburg into penal camps on April 1, 1934. The penal prisoners included many political convicts and members of outcast groups. Merging party and state functions, it staffed the camps with SA-Pioneer Regiment "Emsland" (Pionier-Standarte-Emsland) under Oranienburg's controversial commandant, SA-Obersturmbannführer Werner Schäfer. At Christmas 1935, SA guard Walter Talbot produced a photographic album for Hitler that represented prisoner labor in the moors. These images roughly accorded with early camp testimonies: prisoners cut peat, removed it by railed handcarts, dispersed sand and granite, and unloaded barges along the Küstenkanal.¹⁸ Under wartime pressure, the Justice Ministry suspended moor cultivation in 1942.

Because Göring appointed Himmler Gestapo inspector on April 20, 1934, the SS reestablished control over Esterwegen. The consolidation of political detainees at Esterwegen took part in two stages, with Neusuistrum's population transferred to Börgermoor on April 1 and Börgermoor's moved to Esterwegen II on April 25. On the latter date, the total "protective custody" population was 1,162.¹⁹ On June 20, 1934, Esterwegen III closed, and its population moved to Esterwegen II. Esterwegen continued as an Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) camp from August 1, 1934, to September 23, 1936. After its closure, the Reich Labor Service (RAD) and Reich Justice Ministry competed for the property. In January 1937, the SS sold it to the Justice Ministry for 1.05 million Reichsmark (RM), using some proceeds to finance Sachsenhausen.²⁰

Papenburg exemplified what Johannes Tuchel calls the failed "Prussian model" of state-run concentration camps. For the Emsland project, it registered modest gains, creating 66 settlements and opening 722 hectares (1,784 acres) to cultivation in 1933 but a negligible proportion of the 1934 reclamation output.

By 1939, Papenburg consisted of 15 camps, of which some became Wehrmacht or Neuengamme subcamps in wartime.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the following secondary sources: Dirk Lüerssen, "'Moorsoldaten' in Esterwegen, Börgermoor, Neusuistrum: Die frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland 1933 bis 1936," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 157–210; Kurt Buck, "Die frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland 1933 bis 1936," in *Die frühen Konzentrationslager in Deutschland; Austausch zum Forschungsstand und zur pädagogischen Praxis in Gedenkstätten*, ed. Karl Giebelner, Thomas Lutz, and Silvester Lechner (Bad Boll: Evangelische Akademie, 1996), pp. 176–184; Elke Suhr, *Die Emslandlager: Die politische und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Emsländischen Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenlager 1933–1945* (Bremen: Donat & Temmen, 1985); and Elke Suhr and Werner Bohlt, *Lager im Emsland, 1933–1945: Geschichte und Gedenken* (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg, 1985). On the Prussian model, see Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager:*

Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager," 1934–1938 (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag, 1991). The standard study of German prisons under the Nazis, Nikolaus Wachsmann, *Hitler's Prisons: Legal Terror in Nazi Germany* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), sets the Justice Ministry phase in context. Essential economic background is found in Christof Haverkamp, *Die Erschließung des Emslandes im 20. Jahrhundert: Als Beispiel staatlicher regionaler Wirtschaftsförderung* (Sögel: Emsländische Landschrift, 1991). As cited in Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), more cultivation statistics for 1933 and 1934 come from Hubert Herzog, "Die grosszügige Siedlungsarbeit des Staates im Emsland," *Jahrbuch des Emsländischen Heimatbundes* 1 (1953): 26–37. A careful collective biography of Papenburg SS commandants is Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommandanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005). On the memorial, see Kurt Buck, *Das Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum Emslandlager (DIZ) in Papenburg: Informationen, Hinweise und pädagogische Anregungen für einen Besuch vor Ort* (Papenburg: Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum [DIZ] Emslandlager, 1997). DIZ maintains a Web site, with brief histories of the 15 camps, at www.diz-emslandlager.de. The new study by Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., "Der Ort des Terrors": *Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager: Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), appeared after this entry was written.

Primary sources for Papenburg begin with its listing in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:103. A recently discovered document sheds light on Hitler's pre-1933 economic goals and is fully reproduced in Ralf Banken, "An der Spitze aller Künste steht die Staatskunst: Das Protokoll der NSDAP-Wirtschaftsbesprechungen Februar/März 1931," in *Die Wirtschaftssteuerung durch Recht im Nationalsozialismus. Studien zur Entwicklung des Wirtschaftsrechts im Interventionsstaat des "Dritten Reichs"*, ed. Johannes Bähr and Ralf Banken (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann GmbH, 2005), pp. 511–557. The Reich cabinet minutes are found in Karl-Heinz Minuth, ed., *Akten der Reichskanzlei: Regierung Hitler 1933–1938*, 2 vols. (Boppard-am-Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag, 1983). Important but biased information on the November 1933 police takeover may be found in Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zürich: Interverlag AG, 1949). The BDCPFs of Brinkmann, Faust, Fleitmann, Katzenbach, and Seehaus, NStA-Os documents, and the Osnt, December 24, 1933, are cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*. Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenlager im Emsland 1933–1945*, reproduce numerous Papenburg documents from the NStA-Os and the BA-K, including Grauert's June 1933 memorandum and the Groten trial. An important policy statement on the Justice Ministry takeover is Ministerialrat [Rudolf] Marx, "Die Kultivierung der Emsländischen Moore, eine Kulturaufgabe des Staates," *Deutsche Justiz: Rechtspflege und Rechtspolitik* 96:23 (June 8, 1934): 732–734. One of the most important prisoner testimonies for the

Papenburg complex is Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten: 13 Monate Konzentrationslager; Unpolitischer Tatsachenbericht* (Zürich: Schweizer Spiegel, 1935). A report on the Pappenheim murder appeared in "Auf der Flucht erschossen," *FZ*, January 10, 1933. USHMMPA, CD # 0430, WS #55152, contains a series of images of Rudolf Diels at Papenburg in December 1933. Valuable if tendentious photographic documentation of moor labor can be found in Walter Talbot, "Die alte SA in der Wachtmannschaft der Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland," Album Presented to Adolf Hitler, December 25, 1935, LC Prints and Photographs Division, LOT 11390 (H).

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NOTES

1. Daluge, Prussian Interior Ministry (PrMdI), to Verwaltungsdirektionen der staatlichen Konzentrationslager in Papenburg (Bez. Osnabrück), in Sonnenburg (Bez. Frankfurt a/O), und in Lichtenburg (Bez. Merseburg), II 1600/4, August 2, 1933, reproduced in Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), p. 57.
2. Ministerialrat [Rudolf] Marx, "Die Kultivierung der Emsländischen Moore, eine Kulturaufgabe des Staates," *Deutsche Justiz: Rechtspflege und Rechtspolitik* 96:23 (June 8, 1934): 732.
3. Ralf Banken, "An der Spitze aller Künste steht die Staatskunst? Das Protokoll der NSDAP-Wirtschaftsbesprechungen Februar/März 1931," in *Die Wirtschaftssteuerung durch Recht im Nationalsozialismus. Studien zur Entwicklung des Wirtschaftsrechts im Interventionsstaat des 'Dritten Reichs'*, ed. Johannes Bähr and Ralf Banken (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann GmbH, 2005), p. 550.
4. Ministerbesprechung vom 15. März 1933, reproduced in Karl-Heinz Minuth, ed., *Akten der Reichskanzlei: Regierung Hitler 1933–1938*, 2 vols. (Boppard-am-Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag, 1983), 1:214.
5. PrMdI to Reg. Präs. Eggers, March 17, 1933, NStA-Os, Rep. 430 Dez. 201-204 5/66 No. 17, cited in Elke Suhr, *Die Emslandlager: Die politische und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der emsländischen Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager, 1933–1945* (Bremen: Donat & Temmen, 1985), p. 231n.26.
6. Ludwig Grauert, PrMdI, to Reg. Präs. Osnabrück, Eggers, No. II G 1610, Betr.: "Begründung für die Errichtung staatl. KL im Emsland," June 22, 1933, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 59–61; quotation in Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zürich: Interverlag AG, 1949), p. 191.
7. Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten: 13 Monate Konzentrationslager; Unpolitischer Tatsachenbericht* (Zürich: Schweizer Spiegel, 1935), pp. 105–106; BDCPFs of Paul Brinkmann, Emil Faust, Wilhelm Fleitmann, Heinrich Katzmüller, and Ludwig Seehaus, cited in Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommandanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005), pp. 21, 28, 51, 64, 128–129, 222.
8. NStA-Os, Rep. 430 Schmieder, Aktenvermerk, October 17, 1933; and SS-Gericht III, München, report in Wilhelm Fleitmann BDCPF, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 51, 98.
9. "Urteil gegen Theodor Groten vor dem Schwurgericht des Landgericht Osnabrück," (9 Ks 25/49), reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 80, 82.
10. Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas*, pp. 192–194; quotation on p. 193.
11. Ibid., p. 193; Brinkmann BDCPF, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 53–59.
12. EZ, November 10, 1933, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 52; Gümbel to Reg. Präs. Osnabrück, November 15, 1933, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, p. 64.
13. Reg. Präs. Osnabrück to SS-Mann Fritz Kaiser with Freiherr v. Oeynhausen, Reg. Präs. Minden i.W., IF 15/24, December 1, 1933, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, p. 65.
14. Langhoff, *Moorsoldaten*, p. 242.
15. EZ, December 23, 1933, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, p. 66; *OsnT*, December 24, 1933, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 285; USHMMPA, CD #0430, Three Photographs of Diels addressing Börgermoor and Esterwegen Prisoners, 12/1933.
16. "Auf der Flucht erschossen," *FZ*, January 10, 1933.
17. Göring to Inspekteur der Geheimen Staatspolizei die nachgeordneten Polizeibehörden, March 11, 1934, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 65–66.
18. Walter Talbot, "Die alte SA in der Wachtmannschaft der Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland," Album Presented to Adolf Hitler, December 25, 1935, LC Prints and Photographs Division LOT 11390 (H).
19. "Zusammenstellung der Belegstärke und der zur Verfügung gestellten Anzahl politischer Schutzhäftlinge aus den Lagern II u. III Esterwegen in der Zeit vom 1.4.1934 bis 18.8.1934," NStA-Os, Rep. 675 Mep. No. 356, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 285.
20. Himmler to Reich Justice Ministry, Kammergerichtsrats Hecker, February 8, 1937, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 172–173.

PAPPENHEIM BEI OSCHATZ

On April 8, 1933, the SA converted a school vacation hostel at Pappenheim bei Oschatz, Saxony, into an early concentration camp. Under the command of SA-Sturmführer Schiemann, approximately 20 SA men guarded between 120 and 150 prisoners at Pappenheim. Conditions were brutal. For example, the guards forced the prisoners to hang from a stake or on beams for hours on end. In another form of torture, the prisoners' hair was shorn by bayonet. A Communist cell was active at Pappenheim but was subsequently suppressed. As in other early camps, church attendance was mandatory, but this requirement afforded the prisoners the opportunity to make furtive contact with the outside world. On May 27, 1933, the camp was disbanded and the prisoners transferred to the much larger Saxon camps at Colditz Castle and Sachsenburg.

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

Primary documentation for this camp, as cited in Drobisch and Wieland, consists mainly of the Kreisleitung Oschatz der Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (SED), ed., *Kampferlebnisse: Persönliche Erinnerungen und biographische Skizzen bewährter Genossen des Kreises Oschatz im Kampf um die Herausbildung einer einheitlichen marxistisch-leninistischen Partei der Arbeiterklasse* (Oschatz, 1976).

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PERLEBERG

At Perleberg in Potsdam, the SA and SS established an early concentration camp in an artillery depot. Prisoners from the then dissolving early camp at Havelberg refitted the structure and became the first inmates. Under the commander, SA-Standartenführer Felix Marnette, Perleberg lasted from May 24 to June 28, 1933, after which the prisoners were dispatched to the much larger concentration camp at Oranienburg. Because of transfers and releases, Perleberg's population fluctuated a great deal, with 95 detainees on May 31, 31 on June 8, and 40 on June 23.

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

As cited in Drobisch and Wieland, primary documentation for Perleberg can be found in the Regierungsbezirk Potsdam Polizeipräsidium, in the BLHA.

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PLAUE BEI FLÖHA

The SA opened an early concentration camp at Plaue bei Flöha on March 8, 1933. The first concentration camp in Saxony and, after Nohra in Thuringia, the second concentration camp in Nazi Germany, Plaue was situated in a workers' gymnasium. Categorized as a "labor service camp," it held 174 "protective custody" detainees by April 12. The SA humiliated prisoners by cutting swastikas into their hair. Most prisoners worked in agriculture, but 40 were reassigned to build the huge early concentration camp at Sachsenburg on April 19. The Plaue camp was dissolved on June 10 and its remaining prisoners transferred to Sachsenburg.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard work on the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). See also Mike Schmeitzner, "Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen, 1933–1945," in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenhauer Verlag, 2002). The camp is listed in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999).

As cited in Drobisch and Wieland and in Schmeitzner, primary documentation about Plaue can be found in the files of the SHStA-(D), Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten.

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PORZ [AKA HOCHKREUZ]

At the instigation of the mayor of the community of Porz (Rheinisch-Bergischer Kreis), an SA "protective custody" camp was established in a former explosives factory at the "Hochkreuz" near the village of Eil in July 1933.¹ The camp was under the command of a "special commissar" (Sonderkommissar), SA-Sturmbannführer Schreiber (Sturmbann III/65) from the district town of Bergisch Gladbach. The guard squad came from Porz, Cologne, and the surrounding district.²

On July 14 and 15, 1933, more than 45 members of the German Communist Party (KPD) and the Social Democratic Party (SPD) were interned in the camp. They were interrogated in an extremely brutal manner in order to find out information about the publishers and distributors of the underground newspaper *Roter Sender*.³ At the end of June, the men were released; proceedings were initiated against 4 of them for high treason. Three of the men were convicted.

One week later, seven more men were interned. The Bergisch Gladbach police had arrested them on suspicion of criminal activities, but as the police had not made progress in their questioning, they decided to have the SA thugs in the camp at Hochkreuz continue the interrogation.

Their torture methods led to numerous other arrests without a court order. Proceedings were initiated against 24 prisoners for high treason and other criminal activities, while the others were released at the beginning of August. At the beginning of August 1933, the camp was shut down by order of the Cologne district president.

Several of the prisoners retracted their confessions and through their lawyers brought charges for bodily harm and extortion. The Cologne State Attorney's Office began proceedings against several SA members. A few were taken into pretrial confinement, but the proceedings were closed in August on higher orders. The records survived World War II and served as the basis for criminal proceedings that led to convictions of several former SA men in 1946–1947.

SOURCES The author's chapter on the Porz camp formed the basis for this article: "Das Schutzhaftlager der SA am Hochkreuz in Porz-Gremberghoven," *Rechtsrheinisches Köln: Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Landeskunde* (ed. Geschichtsverein Rechtsrheinisches Köln e.V.) 8 (1982).

This chapter was based to some extent on several interviews with eyewitnesses but above all on the 1933–1934 Cologne State Attorney's Office records, which are located in the NWHiStA-(D), Best. Rep. 9 Nr. 288–291. The prosecution of the perpetrators after the war was carried out on the basis of these records. During the author's initial research in 1981, however, the corresponding trial records were not available. Photocopies from these files and from the personnel file

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of Hermann Odekoven, Nazi mayor of Porz, as well as the eyewitness interviews are located in the HASk-P, Best. E Nr. 117 and M Nr. 14.

Gebhard Aders
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. The community of Porz—about 13 kilometers (8 miles) southeast of Cologne—was elevated to city in 1951 and in 1975 was incorporated into Cologne.

2. This information is based on the investigation records of the Cologne State Attorney's Office at the NWHStA-(D), Rep. 9 Nr. 288–291.

3. According to witness statements, there was a list with 45 to 65 names, 32 of which could be identified by the author. See HASk-P, Best. E Nr. 117; and Best. M Nr. 14.

1933. It appears that the East Prussian prisoners were assembled here and then transported farther into the Reich. At first the transports went, among other places, to Hammerstein near Schlochau and later mostly to the Emsland moor camps.

SOURCES The basis for this entry is the essay by Wilhelm Matull and Max Sommerfeld, "Der Anteil der ostpreussischen Arbeiterbewegung am Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus," *Jahrbuch der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg* 17 (1967): 164–178. Besides historical findings, this essay also deals with the Social Democrat Matull's experiences in the camp. Further references to Quednau can be found in the book by Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1993); as well as in the two volumes by Fritz Gause, *Geschichte der Stadt Königsberg in Preussen*, 2 vols. (Cologne: Böhlau, 1968, 1971). A few references to the existence of the Quednau camp are also found in Richard Bessel's analysis of the rise of the SA in East Prussia, *Political Violence and the Rise of Nazism: The Storm Troopers in Eastern Germany 1925–1934* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984); and in Christian Tilitzki, *Alltag in Ostpreussen 1940–1945: Die geheimen Lageberichte der Königsberger Justiz 1940–1945* (Leer: Rautenberg, 1991).

Stefanie Schüler-Springorum
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

QUEDNAU

The Quednau Fortress was built between 1872 and 1884 as 1 of 12 large forts of the new belt of fortifications to the north of Königsberg. Supposedly a camp was erected there in January 1933 by the Königsberg police and other agencies in order to house the leaders of the East Prussian Nazi Party (NSDAP) who were to be arrested in the event of an anti-Nazi coup that Kurt von Schleicher was allegedly planning. Between March and June 1933, the camp was used for male opponents of the NSDAP and then was closed in August of the same year.

During the course of the persecution of political opponents, 400 officials of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the German Communist Party (KPD) were arrested in March alone in the district of Königsberg. Entire Königsberg apartment complexes were surrounded, combed through systematically, and thousands of apartments were searched. The prisoners were taken to the police prison, where they were treated relatively well, or to the temporary detention camp at Fort Quednau (Übergangslager Fort Quednau), which was generally considered a "forerunner of a concentration camp" and was guarded by the SA and Stahlhelm. Hardly anything is known about the conditions of the detention. The prisoners were held in the casemates of the fortress, in each of which 8 to 12 men had to sleep on straw. The costs for running the camp of 3,000 Reichsmark (RM) until June 1933 were extremely low, which could indicate a short period of existence or very poor living conditions for the prisoners. Some reports written in exile about the terror in the early camps only mention the name Quednau; others speak in detail about religious services but also about draconian punishment and torture.

Quednau was, however, not a "wild concentration camp" but one of the six state camps officially recognized and financed by the Prussian Ministry of Interior. In June 1933 the district president of Allenstein reported the transfer of 55 prisoners to Quednau; according to a report by the district's Stapo, 47 political opponents were imprisoned here in September

REICHENBACH [AKA LANGENBIELAU]

On March 8, 1933, the Nazi SS established a "transit camp" in the Social Democratic Party (SPD) community center at Reichenbach, Saxony. Despite the nomenclature, Reichenbach was a concentration camp in everything but name. The commandant was Albert Greiner, and the guards came from SS-Standarte 7. The detainees consisted mainly of Social Democrats but also included Communists and at least two Stahlhelm members. The size of the camp population is not known.

Under the pretext of interrogation, the SS tortured the prisoners. These sessions normally took place at night, after the guards' drinking binges. Those who did not cooperate faced an escalating series of punishments: 5 blows for "stuttering," 10 for lying, 15 for "silence," and 20 for "pausing to think." These regulations were posted in the former restaurant where portraits of Marxists Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg continued to hang on the walls. Prisoners who fainted under torture were revived with cold water, and the thrashings began anew. To muffle the screams, the guards held a cushion over the prisoners' faces.¹

Among the Reichenbach perpetrators were Toni Grunwald and Dr. Kassebaum. Grunwald, a former Communist, forced prisoners to inject castor oil, after announcing his intention of relieving their "thirst." The camp physician, Kassebaum, berated detainees for "faking" injuries sustained during interrogation.²

On March 22, one day after Reich President Paul von Hindenburg officially received Hitler's government at Potsdam, the SS celebrated by parading battered SPD members through

the neighboring marketplace. At least two torture victims, Social Democrat Hermann Schencker and Communist leader Albert Janka, died as a result of their injuries. Among the Reichenbach prisoners was SPD Reichstag deputy Erwin Hartsch.³

On May 11, the camp was moved to the nearby foundry at Greizerstrasse. Reichenbach was disbanded in late May or early June 1933, and its detainees were transferred to the early concentration camps at Zwickau, Colditz, and Sachsenburg.

SOURCES This entry follows in part the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The camp is also mentioned in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999).

The one primary source available for this camp is a contemporary report by Colditz and Sachsenburg prisoner Otto Meinel, who gathered secondhand information from transferred Reichenbach prisoners: *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 164–169.

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NOTES

1. *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), p. 165.
2. Ibid., p. 168.
3. Ibid., pp. 166–167.

REMSCHEID-LÜTTRINGHAUSEN

In March 1933, the Gestapo ordered the Lüttringhausen penitentiary at Remscheid in Prussian Düsseldorf to make a wing available for "protective custody" detainees. The prisoners numbered in excess of 100 and consisted mainly of Communists and some Social Democrats. Justice Ministry guards administered the wing, but the supervisor's name is not known.

In 1983, former Communist Reichstag member and Lüttringhausen detainee Willy Spicher described the conditions at this camp. Prisoners subsisted on inadequate rations. Communists faced the additional burden of enforced isolation, as the authorities would not permit them to mail letters or receive visitors. Torture was commonplace. A prison guard conducted Spicher to a police interrogation. After the guard left the room, two policemen tortured him on the pretext of his "hiding a box of dynamite," a common charge that the Nazis leveled against Communists in 1933.¹

At Lüttringhausen, Spicher participated in two protests. The first, a hunger strike, took place because of the communications ban against Communist prisoners. During exercise

times, he organized this strike with other prisoners, but the result is not known. The second strike occurred after one detainee suffered ill treatment at the hands of a guard. As Spicher recalled, "A storm of protest broke out. All the political prisoners thundered against the cell doors. At the time it was labeled a mutiny by the political police."²

As the alleged ringleader of the spontaneous protest, Spicher was placed in a so-called dark cell for an unknown period. Stripped naked, he was unable to stand up or lie down in the pitch-dark cell but rested on his knees. Another prisoner, Social Democrat Emil Hirsch, had just entrusted him with a letter intended for Hirsch's wife. Rather than risk its discovery, Spicher quickly disposed of the letter while proceeding to the dark cell.³

In August 1933, an unknown number of Lüttringhausen detainees were dispatched to the early concentration camp at Wuppertal-Barmen (Kemna). This transport included Hirsch and Spicher.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). A brief but useful history of the protective custody camp can be found in Ernst Hinz, *Jahre in Lüttringhausen: Endstation Wenzelnberg: Berichte von antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfern* (Düsseldorf: VVN-Bund der Antifaschisten, Landesvorstand NRW, [ca. 1983]). This book focuses mainly on the penitentiary's role in the legally sanctioned terror against political opponents between 1933 and 1945. The Nazi-era victims of Lüttringhausen are mentioned in Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999).

Primary documentation for this camp begins with its listing in the ITS, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagerystem*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:140. Hinz reproduces an abbreviated form of Spicher's 1983 interview in the *Ronsdorfer Zeitung* (*RonsZ*).

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NOTES

1. Willy Spicher interview in *Ronsdorfer Zeitung*, October 22, 1983, abbreviated in Ernst Hinz, *Jahre in Lüttringhausen: Endstation Wenzelnberg: Berichte von antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfern* (Düsseldorf: VVN-Bund der Antifaschisten, Landesvorstand NRW, [ca. 1983]), n.p.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

ROSSLAU

On August 30, 1933, the SA converted a Rossau community center owned by a local trade union into a transitional concentration camp for "protective custody" detainees. The camp was established in order to relieve Anhalt's remand

prisons of overcrowding. The first 25 prisoners entered the camp in October. Forty more detainees were subsequently transferred to Rosslau from the early Oranienburg concentration camp, because they hailed from neighboring Dessau. The prisoners consisted of leftist opponents and at least two hostages. Under the commandant, Wachtmeister Otto Marx, 12 to 14 SA guards oversaw the camp. Custody of Rosslau passed to the SS and Gestapo in January 1934.

Rosslau was a site of murder and torture. Communist Party member Franz Wilkus, who was suspected of murdering an SA man, was himself murdered at Rosslau. After the SS takeover, two unidentified Communists were hanged in the presence of the camp population. The prisoners were compelled to sing during the execution. The SS may have appropriated this technique from the torture sessions taking place in this camp, in which the prisoners were made to sing in order to drown out the victims' screams.

As was the case in other early camps, Rosslau prisoners participated in the November 12, 1933, national plebiscite. As the detainees voted, the authorities bent a corner of their ballots so their votes could be singled out for propaganda or retaliation. A sympathetic citizen from Dessau seized this opportunity to display solidarity with the persecutees, by ear-marking her ballot in like manner.

Rosslau became the focus of an international cause célèbre. On December 4, 1933, Social Democratic Party (SPD) Reichstag deputy Gerhart Seger escaped from Oranienburg. In exile, he published one of the first concentration camp testimonies.¹ In retaliation, the Nazis arrested his wife and two-year-old daughter in the same month. They remained in custody at Rosslau until late May 1934. On April 23, 1934, the London *Daily Herald* reported: "A 20 months old baby has been labeled by the Nazis 'Political Prisoner No. 58.' With her mother, 'Political Prisoner No. 57,' she is booked for an indefinite stay at a concentration camp in Rosslau. . . . The baby is Renate Seger, daughter of the exiled Reichstag member, Gerhard [sic] Seger . . . [stated:] 'When people showed sympathy with my wife during her unguarded walks outside the camp with Renate, the governor had them stopped. Now they can only go out accompanied by two warders and a dog.'² Seger's tireless publicity on his family's behalf attracted the attention of Lady Nancy Astor, a Member of Parliament. Astor appealed to the German ambassador in London and secured the Seger family's release.³

After the appointment of SS-Brigadeführer Theodor Eicke as inspector of the concentration camps, Rosslau was closed on July 31, 1934, as part of the effort to consolidate the SS concentration camps. At the time of dissolution, the camp held approximately 18 detainees. It is not clear whether these prisoners were transferred or released.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). Also useful are Klaus Drobisch, "Frühe Konzentrationslager," in *Die frühen Konzentrationslager*

in Deutschland: Austausch zum Forschungsstand und zur pädagogischen Praxis in Gedenkstätten, ed. Karl Giebelner, Thomas Lutz, and Silvester Lechner (Bad Boll: Evangelische Akademie, 1996), pp. 41–60; and Martin Schuster, "Die ersten Konzentrationslager in der Region 1933/34," in *Verfolgung, Terror und Widerstand in Sachsen-Anhalt, 1933–1945: Ein Wegweiser für Gedenkstättenbesuche*, ed. Verena Walter (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 45–50. A listing for Rosslau can be found in "Dritte Verordnung zur Änderung der Sechsten Verordnung zur Durchführung des Bundesentschädigungsgesetzes (3. ÄndV-6. DV-BEG), vom 24. November 1982," in *Bundesgesetzblatt*, ed. Bundesminister der Justiz, Teil I (1982): 1572. The camp is also listed in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbojen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999).

As cited in Drobisch and Wieland, primary documentation for this camp consists of File St 3/226 (on the Seger affair) and various papers from the KZ und Haftanstalten collection. Both of these references can be found in the BABL, SAPMO-DDR. The Rosslau camp was also mentioned in the German and British press, including the *Anh-A*, August 30, 1933; *FZ*, September 1, 1933; *DH* (London), April 23, 1934; and *T-LO*, May 24, 1934. The *Anh-A* and *FZ* articles are cited in Drobisch and Wieland.

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NOTES

1. Gerhart Seger, *Oranienburg: Erster authentischen Bericht eines aus dem Konzentrationslager Geflüchteten*, foreword by Heinrich Mann (Karlsbad: "Graphia" Verlag, 1934).

2. "Baby Labeled 'Political Prisoner No. 58,'" *DH*, April 23, 1934.

3. "Frau Seger Released—Woman MP's Efforts," *T-LO*, May 24, 1934.

SACHSENBURG (AND SUBCAMPS)

On May 2, 1933, the SA formed a "protective custody" camp inside the abandoned Tautenhahn mill in Sachsenburg near the city of Frankenberg. Situated on the Zschopau River, the four-story building required renovation before it could be occupied. This task fell to the SA's first 100 prisoners. By May 30, Sachsenburg had 376 inmates. Its history is divided into two phases, with administration by the SA (1933–1934) and then the SS (1934–1937).¹

Sachsenburg was the largest Saxon camp. Its prisoners were Communists, Social Democrats, Jews, Protestant and Catholic clergy, Jehovah's Witnesses, some nationalists, criminals, and "asocials." The camp's population fluctuated significantly. Between May 1933 and February 1934, it grew with transfers from the dissolved camps at Pappenheim, Zschorlau, Hainewalde, and Zwickau. In August 1933, the population stood at over 1,200 detainees but fell to 750 by November and 456 in December. A year later, in August 1934,



The Sachsenburg early camp, n.d.
PUBLISHED IN *KONZENTRATIONSLAGER: EIN APPEL AN DAS GEWINSEN DER WELT*,
1934.

there were 316 detainees. The population rose to 576 on April 8, 1935, then peaked at 1,305 on October 31, 1935. On March 18, 1936, there were 877 prisoners.²

Sachsenburg's first commandant was SA-Standartenführer Hähnel, commander of SA-Standarte 182 (Flöha). The second commandant was SA-Obersturmbannführer Kleditsch, who relieved Hähnel after the November 1933 plebiscite (see below). By November 1933, 300 SA guarded the camp.³

The SA converted the windowless wool mixing room into an arrest bunker and torture chamber. The interrogation room, under SA-Scharführer Vinne, was used to break "stubborn deniers," in prisoner Otto Meinel's words. Among the tortured victims was Bruno Kiessling, whose death on October 31, 1933, was officially attributed to a lung embolism.⁴

In August 1933, the prisoners composed an unauthorized camp song, "Das Lied von Sachsenburg." Credited variously to prisoners R. Seidel or Rudi Reinwarth, it circulated among the prisoners in an illegal pamphlet. The opening of the song commented on the irony of so many workers trapped in an abandoned mill: "Its machines don't rattle, the wheels stand still, / But you find many working people there." From a Marxist viewpoint, the second stanza resolved the contradiction by claiming ownership of the camp, who "is now the world of the [Marxist] fighting group, who has been imprisoned in battle." A prohibition against singing it on outside detachments came too late to prevent some Frankenberg civilians from learning the lyrics.⁵

On November 12, 1933, the camp participated in the Reich plebiscite. Unlike most camps, the prisoners resisted considerable pressure and rejected the Nazis. Of the 650 eligible prisoners, 516 cast "no" votes in answer to the question of whether they supported the Hitler regime. Detainee treatment worsened considerably thereafter.⁶

From 1933 to 1934, Sachsenburg established five subcamps: Augustusburg (May 1–December 31, 1933), Chemnitz (May 22, 1933–September 4, 1934), Colditz (May 31–August 15, 1934),

Dresden Trachenberge (September 4–October 31, 1934), and Lützelhöhe (officially listed from April 19 to August 16, 1934, but eyewitness testimony indicated activity already in mid-1933). The Augustusburg labor camp had 120 prisoners in the summer of 1933. According to Meinel, Lützelhöhe was an SA housing project subcontracted to the Kell construction firm. Colditz had 31 prisoners in July 1934. The SS closed Chemnitz, Colditz, and Lützelhöhe but opened Trachenberge.⁷

The SS phase began in August 1934, when Inspector of Concentration Camps SS-Gruppenführer Theodor Eicke dispatched special commander "Sachsen" to the camp. By 1936, this guard unit was renamed the 3rd SS-Death's Head Battalion "Sachsen." Eicke's protégé, SS-Sturmbannführer Max Simon, became the first commandant and later headed the guard unit. Between October 1934 and April 1935, Sachsenburg had several commandants: SS-Oberführer Alexander Reiner, SS-Obersturmführer Karl Otto Koch (future Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, and Majdanek commandant), SS-Obersturmbannführer Walter Gerlach, and SS-Standartenführer Bernhard Schmidt. Schmidt held the post until July 1937. Schmidt's first protective detention camp leader was SS-Scharführer Gerhard Weigel, whom the prisoners ironically called "the uncle." Promoted to Untersturmführer by 1936, Weigel became Schmidt's adjutant, and SS-Obersturmbannführer Arthur Rödl was appointed protective detention camp leader. A Nazi Old Fighter, Rödl was Higher SS and Police Leader in Ukraine and South Russia during World War II. Three commanders of prisoner companies were SS-Scharführers König, Plaul, and Kampe.⁸

Schmidt implemented the "Eicke system," which meant rigorous procedure and institutionalized brutality. The service diary recorded the prisoners' routine: wake-up at 5:30 A.M., breakfast at 6:00, roll call by 6:30, labor from 6:35 to 11:30, lunch at noon, labor from 12:30 to 5:00 P.M., evening roll call at 6:00, and lights out at 9:00 P.M. On Sundays, prisoners awoke an hour later, attended a mandatory church service, showered, and played sports in the afternoon. Another characteristic of the Eicke system was careful recordkeeping, which included Labor Service reports. A record from January 19, 1936, showed that 18 inmates were allocated to the "football" detachment, presumably building an SS sports field, but 1 was removed after reporting for medical treatment.⁹

The SS instituted flogging in May 1935 under their new system. According to prisoner Hugo Gräf, the first victim was held over a desk, but the furniture broke under the blows. Schmidt then had inmate carpenters build a wooden stand for use during beatings. At evening roll call, the victim would be fastened against the stand in a leaning position, his arms strapped below and legs trapped in a pillory. Before the first blow commenced, the victim sang, "I am going to climb the mountain over there, that gives me great joy." Two SS took turns lashing the victim with bullwhip or rubber truncheon. With the first blow, the prisoner started singing the "Deutschlandlied." The last was timed to coincide with the anthem's final note, but often the victims passed out beforehand. Many prisoners, such as Helmuth Kademann, received lashes far

exceeding the normal 25. The SS twice imposed a 25-lash punishment on Jewish prisoner Dr. Curt Boas, a World War I army physician. Boas responded, "A German officer can stand anything." Because Sachsenburg lacked an infirmary, the SS regularly dispatched flogging victims to the Chemnitz hospital for treatment. The hospital became an important conduit for information about the camp.¹⁰

Scharführer König commanded the Jewish and Penal Company, for which labor was torture. Originally consisting of criminals and recalcitrant prisoners, this company added at least 40 Jews in the summer of 1935. Deployed to the Zschopau's banks, the prisoners quarried stone, performed demoralizing tasks, and endured penal exercises or "sport." Transferred from Bautzen penitentiary in early 1935, Communist prisoner Walter Janka got into trouble on his first day and was immediately dispatched to the Penal Company. For six weeks, he broke rock with a sledgehammer, at a pace of three swings per minute. Communist prisoner Hugo Gräf, who headed the camp library and bookbindery, secured Janka's transfer to his detachment under false pretenses. Jewish "returnee" Paul Wolff, at Sachsenburg between May and October 1935, recalled that the Jews, mainly returning emigrants and "race defilers," experienced unceasing harassment at the quarry. Intellectuals among the Jews were singled out for "ladling" liquefied manure. At least 2 members of the Jewish company were murdered: Wertheimer, who was arrested due to "race defilement," and Dr. Max Sachs, business editor of the *Dresdner Volkszeitung*.¹¹

Although Eicke ordered commandants on May 24, 1935, to report unusual death cases to the Reich Interior Ministry and to other authorities, the Sachs case demonstrated how easily the camp's commandant could circumvent this directive. According to Wolff, Schmidt warned prisoners not to talk about Sachs's death immediately before a Saxon prosecutor came to the camp to investigate. Wolff dismissed the prosecutor's interviews with the prisoners as a farce. Meanwhile, one of Sachs's former employees, Röbricht, was placed in the Bunker for 42 days in order to prevent his talking about the murder.¹²

Two important events occurred at Sachsenburg in the spring of 1935. First, 10 trombonists from Pastor Georg Walther's Thomaskirche in Leipzig performed Easter hymns near camp, in protest of his imprisonment. As a scare tactic, the Nazis confined them to Sachsenburg until evening. Walther was 1 among 21 Protestant clergymen in Sachsenburg custody until early June 1935. The SS made them quarry stone and subjected them to racist indoctrination. Second, a British Quaker inspected Sachsenburg in late April or early May. After interviewing inmates, he complained to the SS on behalf of one detainee who had been in camp for two years. The SS feebly tried to dismiss this case as an isolated incident.¹³

Sachsenburg's commandants devised elaborate insignia to designate reasons for arrest and prisoner rank. Under the SA, the prisoners wore green jackets and gray pants, but the SS supplied them with blue-and-gray-striped uniforms. All prisoners wore a red triangle, but criminals also bore a green

stripe. Jews wore a yellow star, and homosexuals, a violet triangle. Jewish "returnees" bore red arm- and leg bands. The prisoner hierarchy simulated the military: a company Gefangenfeldwebel (prisoner sergeant) displayed three triangles, foremen two, and valets ("swings") one.¹⁴

In July 1937, Eicke ordered Sachsenburg's dissolution. The remaining 700 prisoners were dispatched to Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald by October 1937. The first Buchenwald transport consisted of 75 skilled workers. The camp staff, including Rödl, was transferred to Buchenwald, while Schmidt became protective detention camp leader at Sachsenhausen and later Dachau. It is not certain whether any guards were tried in connection with their activities at Sachsenburg.¹⁵

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The Sachsenburg subcamps are listed in Gudrun Schwarz, *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1996). Also helpful is Mike Schmeitzner, "Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen, 1933–1945," in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenhauer Verlag, 2002), pp. 183–199. On music in the early camps, the standard work is Guido Fackler, "*Des Lagers Stimme*—Musik im KZ: Alltag und Häftlingskultur in den Konzentrationslagern 1933 bis 1936" (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000). The camp is listed in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). Photographs of the textile mill are available at the Kommunistischer Jugendverband Deutschlands Web site, "Gedenkstätten Arbeiterbewegung und Mahnung gegen Kriege und Unterdrückung," www.gedenkstaetten.kjvd.de/sachsen/sachsen.html. A chronology of the Augustusburg Castle subcamp is available at www.die-sehenswerten-drei.de. Valuable biographical information about Max Sachs may be found in Museum für Geschichte der Stadt Dresden, *Biografische Notizen zu Dresden Strassen und Plätzen, die an Persönlichkeiten aus der Arbeiterbewegung, dem antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf und dem sozialistischen Neuaufbau erinnern* (Dresden: Museum für Geschichte der Stadt Dresden, 1976).

Primary documentation for Sachsenburg begins with BA-K, NS4/Buchenwald, Files 10 (Sachsenburg Quittungsbuch über Postsendungen, 1934–1936), 11 (Dienst-Tagebuch, April 7, 1935–January 18, 1936), 12 (Sachsenburg Allgemeine Anordnungen vorgesetzter Stellen, 1935–1937), 13 (Sachsenburg Dienst-Tagebuch, January 19, 1936–July 27, 1936), and 14 (Sachsenburg Arbeitsdienst-Zettel, 1936–1937), available on microform at the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Especially helpful are the handwritten Dienst-Tagebücher, which contain daily schedules, total camp population, available labor, transfers, and releases. Each page bears the protection detention camp leader's signature. As cited by Drobisch and Wieland, data on camp population and subcamps can be found in SHStA-(D), AH Flöha, No. 3393. As cited by Tuchel, the BDCPF are available for Walter Gerlach, Karl Otto Koch, Bernhard Schmidt, Max

Simon, and Gerhard Weigel. Sachsenburg is listed in ITS, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 2:638. This volume also documents the Augustusbürg and Lützelhöhe subcamps, but the dates for Augustusbürg are inaccurate. For Chemnitz, Colditz, and Dresden-Trachenberge, Drobisch and Wieland cite the ITS, Arolsen, Abteilung Sachsenburg, Files 1 and 12. "Das Lied von Sachsenburg" is reproduced in Fackler, p. 276. Detailed reports on Sachsenburg can be found in *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (Sopade)*, 1934–1940, 7 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Petra Nettelbeck, Zweitausendeins, 1980). Published and unpublished testimonies support many *Sopade* reports. As cited by Drobisch and Wieland and Tuchel, a valuable collection of detainee testimony is Karl Otto, ed., *Das Lied von Sachsenburg: Tausend Kameraden Mann an Mann; Beiträge zur Geschichte des antifaschistischen Widerstandskampfes im Konzentrationslager Sachsenburg*, 2nd ed. (Hainichen: Kreisleitung der SED, 1978). The most important eyewitness testimonies are by Otto Meinel and Otto Urban, available in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934). Detained in Colditz and Sachsenburg, Meinel was released on November 9, 1933, three days before the plebiscite. Before his transfer to Hohnstein, Urban worked in the camp clerical office, a privileged position, between August 1 and November 29, 1933. The testimony of Helmuth Kademann (in camp from February to November 1935) is found in *Das deutsche Volk klagt an: Hitlers Krieg gegen die Friedenskämpfer in Deutschland: Ein Tatsachenbuch* (Paris: Éditions du Carré-four, 1936); and Heinz Pol, "Konzentrationslager," *DNW*, December 19, 1935, pp. 1614–1617. Another important witness is Hugo Gräf, a former Communist Reichstag member, who was confined at Sachsenburg from circa May 1934 to around September 1935. Gräf published several articles in the mid-1930s, including "Prügelstrafe," *DNW*, March 19, 1936, pp. 353–358. Gräf's comrade Walter Janka, who subsequently headed the East German film corporation DEFA, devoted a chapter of his autobiography to Sachsenburg (he was in the camp from circa January to August 1935): *Spuren eines Lebens* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1991). His testimony must be used with caution because the chronology is convoluted; perhaps under the influence of post-war accounts, Janka significantly overestimated the camp's population. The testimony of Paul Wolff (in Sachsenburg from late May to the end of October 1935) may be found in File P III h. No. 689 (Sachsenburg), "Bericht eines 'Rückwanderers' über Sachsenburg, 1936," *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series 1, WLA, Section 2, Eyewitness Accounts, Reel 58. The typewritten copy of Wolff's letter, titled "Summer 1936," came into the Wiener Library's possession in 1957. Composed while the author was in the Netherlands awaiting emigration to Paraguay, it appears to be addressed to the Vorstand of the Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden, Berlin. Wolff's testimony helps to document the Wertheim and Sachs murders. The Wertheim case was published in "Ein Rassenschänder," *DNW*, February 27, 1936, pp. 263–264. A report about the Sachs murder is also found in File P III h. No. 572 (Sachsenburg), "Geheimnisse einer Todesanzeige. Der Fall Sachs," Sept. 25–Oct. 11, 1935, in *Testaments*, 1/2/58. On the Quaker visit and the trombonists' protest, see file P III h. No. 570 (Sachsenburg), "Der verhaftete Posaunenchor. Geistliche im Konzentrationslager,"

1936, in *Testaments*, 1/2/58. Other Nazi and non-Nazi newspaper reports on Sachsenburg can be found in *NV*, August 27, November 26, 1933; *ScbK*, June 12, 1935, September 3, 1936; and *BanZ*, January 12, 1938.

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NOTES

1. Otto Meinel, "Sachsenburg," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 157–158; SHStA-(D), AH Flöha, No. 3393, cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 63.

2. Meinel, "Sachsenburg," p. 157; "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, August 27, 1933; "Sachsenburg gegen Hitler: Sensationelles Wahlergebnis in einem Konzentrationslager," *NV*, November 26, 1933; SHStA-(D), AH Flöha, No. 3393, cited by Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, p. 63; *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (Sopade)*, 1934–1940, 7 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Petra Nettelbeck, Zweitausendeins, 1980), 3 (1936): 1023 (hereafter *Sopade* with volume, year, and page); USHMMA, RG-14.023M, BA-K, NS4/Buchenwald File 11 (Sachsenburg Dienst-Tagebuch, Apr. 7, 1935–Jan. 18, 1936), Apr. 8, 1935, p. 2 (hereafter NS4/Bu with file, date, and page); NS4/Bu 13 (Sachsenburg Dienst-Tagebuch, Jan. 19–July 27, 1936), March 18, 1936, p. 60; ITS, Arolsen, Historische Abteilung, Sachsenburg, File 2, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, p. 204.

3. Meinel, "Sachsenburg," pp. 157, 161; Otto Urban, "In der Schreibstube Sachsenburg," in *Konzentrationslager*, p. 231; "Sachsenburg gegen Hitler," *NV*, November 26, 1933.

4. Meinel, "Sachsenburg," p. 160.

5. *Das Lied von Sachsenburg*, reproduced in Guido Fackler, "Des Lagers Stimme"—Musik im KZ: Alltag und Häflingskultur in den Konzentrationslagern 1933 bis 1936 (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000), p. 276.

6. "Sachsenburg gegen Hitler," *NV*, November 26, 1933; Meinel, "Sachsenburg," p. 163; *Sopade* 3 (1936): 1022.

7. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr. with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 2:638; Arolsen, Historische Abteilung, Sachsenburg, Files 1 and 12, ITS, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, p. 191; Meinel, "Sachsenburg," p. 158.

8. *ScbK*, June 12, 1935; "Saure Wochen, frohe Feste," *ScbK*, September 3, 1936; BDCPF for Walter Gerlach, Karl Otto Koch, Bernhard Schmidt, Max Simon, and Gerhard Weigel, as cited in Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager: Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager," 1934–1938* (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag, 1991), pp. 195, 375, 379, 387, 389–391, 393–394; P III h. No. 569 (Sachsenburg), "Prügellager Sachsenburg," n.d., p. 6, in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series 1, WLA, Section 2, Eyewitness Accounts, Reel 58 (hereafter *Testaments*, 1/2/58).

9. NS4/Bu 11, Apr. 11, June 30, 1935, pp. 5, 60; NS4/Bu 14 (Sachsenburg Arbeitsdienst, 1936–1937), Konzentrationslager Sachsenburg, SS-Oberscharführer vom Arbeitsdienst, Arbeitstrupp Fussball, January 19, 1936, n.p.

10. Hugo Gräf, "Prügelstrafe," *NWB*, March 19, 1936, pp. 356–357; Heinz Pol, "Konzentrationslager," *DNW*, December 19, 1935, pp. 1614–1615; "Aus deutschen Konzentrationslagern . . . Sachsenburg," *BaNZ*, January 12, 1938; *Sopade* 3 (1936): 1022–1023.

11. Alfred Richter, "SS-Karrieren," *DNW*, July 9, 1936, p. 881; P III h. No. 569 (Sachsenburg), "Prügellager Sachsenburg," n.d., p. 6, in *Testaments*, 1/2/58; Walter Janka, *Spuren eines Lebens* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1991), pp. 48, 56–59; P III h. No. 689 (Sachsenburg), Paul Wolff, "Bericht eines 'Rückwanderers' über Sachsenburg, 1936," pp. 3–5, in *Testaments*, 1/2/58; "Ein Rassenschänder," *DNW*, February 27, 1936, pp. 263–264; *Das deutsche Volk klagt an: Hitlers Krieg gegen die Friedenskämpfer in Deutschland: Ein Tatsachenbuch* (Paris: Éditions du Carrefour, 1936), p. 91.

12. NS4/Bu 12 (Sachsenburg Allgemeine Anordnungen vorgesetzter Stellen, 1935–1937), Eicke to KL Commandants, Betr: "Unnatürlichen Todesfällen," May 24, 1935, n.p.; Wolff, "Bericht eines 'Rückwanderers' über Sachsenburg, 1936," pp. 4–5, in *Testaments*, 1/2/58.

13. P III h. No. 570 (Sachsenburg), "Der verhaftete Posauenhörer. Geistliche im Konzentrationslager," ca. 1936, pp. 1–3, in *Testaments*, 1/2/58; *Sopade* 2 (1935): 1293; *Sopade* 4 (1937): 760–707; "Aus deutschen Konzentrationslagern . . . Sachsenburg," *BaNZ*, January 12, 1938.

14. Karl Otto, ed., *Das Lied von Sachsenburg: Tausend Kameraden Mann an Mann; Beiträge zur Geschichte des antifaschistischen Widerstandskampfes im Konzentrationslager Sachsenburg*, 2nd ed. (Hainichen: Kreisleitung der SED, 1978), p. 20, as cited in Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, p. 207; *Sopade* 4 (1937): 705–706.

15. BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR, Dokumentationszentrum der Staatlichen Archivverwaltung, Bestand KZ und Haftstätten, No. 19, cited in Drobisch and Wieland *System*, p. 269; Otto, *Das Lied von Sachsenburg*, p. 24, as cited in Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager*, p. 199.

name is not known. The first detainees included leading leftists and deputies from the Brandenburg Landtag (parliament). On the night of June 25–26, 1933, the police and SA deputies rounded up 265 Communists and Social Democrats. On June 26, the *Potsdamer Tageszeitung* newspaper averred that they were "taken into protective custody for their own security. The operation proceeded without incident."¹ The authorities temporarily dispatched the prisoners to the gymnasium (*Turnhalle*) at Senftenberg's Elementary School I (Volksschule I), where the SA had established a torture site. The police moved most or all female detainees to the prison on June 27 and dispatched at least some male prisoners to the same location before month's end.² It is not known how long the gymnasium at Elementary School I remained a torture site.

The official announcement about the June 25–26 raid sharply contrasted with eyewitness testimony. According to Martha Wölk, the police tore apart families and ransacked homes. She recalled that when her husband, Arthur, inquired about the reason for this—his second—arrest, the police replied, "That you know best and if a question is going to be asked, then we'll do it! You Communists are finally done for."³ In fact, the June raid did not eliminate anti-Nazi activity in Oberspreewald County, because in August 1933 more Communists were arrested after distributing leaflets among SA and SS members.⁴ In addition to Wölk, Senftenberg held Elsa Barufka, Max Birke, Hans Blaczewski, Andreas Dembinski, Christian Fabricus, Anna and Karl Freter, Paul Handke, Robert Harnau, Max Homa, Willi Karich, Reinhold Kaspar, Ernst Kosul, Max and Josef Kowall, town councilor Marianne Seidel, Felix Spiro, Hans Stecklina, Gerhard Tschieter, and August Ulbrich. Seidel, who was pregnant at the time of arrest, was the camp's only murder victim.⁵

Inside the police prison, detainee treatment ranged from tolerable to brutal. A June 1933 photograph of prisoners Fabricus, Harnau, Blaczewski, and Wölk created an impression of domestic tranquility. Seated on benches in the sunshine, the four prisoners peeled potatoes. Harnau was shirtless, and Blaczewski sat with his sleeves rolled up in the front. Over Blaczewski's shoulder, Wölk smiled at the camera. A kitchen knife appeared conspicuously in the foreground. By contrast, a second photograph taken that summer showed Anna Freter behind bars. While she and her husband remained in custody, a "Nazi family" cared for her children. In the image, her face betrayed a desperate look. It is not certain whether the guards took these photographs.⁶

Seidel's murder demonstrated that the torture of inmates begun at the gymnasium continued in the police prison. When Elfriede Dembinski visited the prison, she found her neighbor, Marianne Seidel, in terrible shape. Seidel had a "high fever" and "red spots" on her body. She also suffered great mental anguish. Dembinski recalled: "At night she was not able to listen to the cries of beaten prisoners any more and for that purpose wrapped a blanket around her head." So serious was Seidel's condition that the physician, Dr. Beiche, arranged her release and transfer to a local hospital. Injuries sustained under torture jeopardized Seidel's pregnancy, and she died on July 10, 1933, her second day

SCHLEUSINGEN

In the spring of 1933, the SS and Prussian police opened a "protective custody" camp in the district court prison at Schleusingen, near Erfurt.

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

Primary documentation about this camp is not available except for an entry in the ITS list of German prisons and concentration camps. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, eds., *Das nationalsozialistische Lager-System* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1: 222.

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SENFTENBERG

In March 1933, the police and SA established a "protective custody" camp at the police prison in Senftenberg (Oberspreewald-Lausitz County [Landkreis]), Prussia. The director's

in the hospital. The authorities unsuccessfully attempted to forestall public knowledge of her murder. Armed with truncheons, SA deployed along the streets to obscure the view of the hearse transporting Seidel's body to the town crematory.⁷

SOURCES This essay builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin, 1993). The camp is listed in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn, 1999). Although Endlich categorizes the gymnasium as a protective custody camp, Drobisch and Wieland list it as a torture site.

Primary documentation for Senftenberg may be found in Bezirksleitung Potsdam der SED—Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der örtlichen Arbeiterbewegung, ed., *Ausgewählte Dokumente und Materialien zum antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf unter Führung der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands in der Provinz Brandenburg, 1933–1939* (Potsdam, 1978), vol. 1, which reproduces testimonies by Elfriede Dembinski, Anna Freter, Richard Koal, and Martha Wölk; photographs in the Senftenberg police prison of Hans Blaczewski, Christian Fabricus, Anna Freter, Robert Harnau, and Arthur Wölk (1933); and the article from the *PoT*, June 26, 1933. The volume also contains the Volksgerichtshof judgment against Kurt Uhlich et al., August 23, 1934 (14 J 327/33) and Anklageschrift des Generalstaatsanwaltes beim Kammergericht Berlin, August 28, 1934 (10. O.J. 240/34). The latter is an indictment against Arthur Wölk et al. for the illegal distribution of leaflets. The collection extracted the Wölk and Freter testimonies from *Zum 25. Jahrestag der SED* (Senftenberg, 1971). Senftenberg is listed in the German Social Democratic exile publication *Das Deutsche Volk klagt an: Hitlers Krieg gegen die Friedenskämpfer in Deutschland* (Paris, 1936).

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NOTES

1. "265 Funktionäre der KPD und SPD in Schutzhaft," *PoT*, June 26, 1933, reproduced in Bezirksleitung Potsdam der SED—Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der örtlichen Arbeiterbewegung, ed., *Ausgewählte Dokumente und Materialien zum antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf unter Führung der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands in der Provinz Brandenburg, 1933–1939* (Potsdam, 1978), 1:181.

2. Report by Elfriede Dembinski [n.d.], testimony of Anna Freter, photographs from Senftenberg police prison of Hans Blaczewski, Christian Fabricus, Anna Freter, Robert Harnau, and Arthur Wölk (1933) and Anklageschrift des Generalstaatsanwaltes beim Kammergericht Berlin, August 28, 1934 (10. O.J. 240/34), in Kommission, *Ausgewählte Dokumente*, pp. 182–183, 261; Freter's testimony originally appeared in *Zum 25. Jahrestag der SED* (Senftenberg, 1971), p. 10.

3. Testimony of Martha Wölk in Kommission, *Ausgewählte Dokumente*, p. 181; Wölk's testimony appeared originally in *Zum 25. Jahrestag der SED*, pp. 8–9.

4. Volksgerichtshof Judgment against Kurt Uhlich et al., August 23, 1934, (14 J 327/33), in Kommission, *Ausgewählte Dokumente*, pp. 230–235.

5. Wölk testimony, in Kommission, *Ausgewählte Dokumente*, p. 181.

6. Photographs from Senftenberg police prison of Hans Blaczewski, Christian Fabricus, Anna Freter, Robert Harnau, and Arthur Wölk (1933) and Freter testimony, in Kommission, *Ausgewählte Dokumente*, pp. 182–183.

7. Reports by Dembinski and Richard Koal [n.d.], in Kommission, *Ausgewählte Dokumente*, p. 261.

SONNENBURG

The Sonnenburg concentration camp near Küstrin in Neumark existed from April 3, 1933, until April 23, 1934. It was located in the Sonnenburg penitentiary, which originally had been established in 1832–1833 as a Royal Prussian penitentiary. (After the war, Sonnenburg became the Polish town of Słonik in the county of Gorzow.) The penitentiary was located 600 meters (656 yards) outside of the town on the arterial road leading to Posen (Poznan). In 1931, this relatively large prison, which accommodated 637 inmates and was economically significant for the town, was closed due to catastrophic sanitary conditions. Wilhelm Kube, the local Nazi Party (NSDAP) leader and later Gauleiter of the Gau Kurmark, promised during the 1931 election campaign to reopen the prison as soon as possible. The wave of arrests that followed the Reichstag fire after February 28, 1933, quickly exhausted the capacity of the Berlin prisons and SA cellars. As a result, the former Sonnenburg penitentiary was requisitioned and placed under the control of the Berlin Police Headquarters as a state concentration camp (*Staatliches Konzentrationslager*).

An inspection of the Sonnenburg penitentiary complex by Berlin Correctional Bureau officials on March 23, 1933, revealed that in three wings there was room for 941 prisoners, in both single cells or in dormitory cells, which held 20, 30, and 60 prisoners. Heating and plumbing in part did not function, and water would have to be obtained from the well in the courtyard. The Correctional Bureau provided 900 bed frames and 300 stools free of charge.

The first prisoners, from Berlin, were overwhelmingly functionaries of the German Communist Party (KPD). They arrived on April 4, 1933. Two days later, a group of prominent Nazi opponents was transferred to Sonnenburg, including Carl von Ossietzky, Erich Mühsam, Ernst Scheller, and Hans Litten. The *Sonnenburger Anzeiger* newspaper reported about this event on April 7, 1933: "The prisoners had to march from the railway station to the former penitentiary singing the national anthem and were driven by the rubber truncheons of the Berlin auxiliary police [Hilfspolizei]."¹

The large majority of the prisoners in Sonnenburg were left-wing parliamentarians and intellectuals. A few National Socialists, however, were incarcerated for various reasons; most of these were supporters of Gregor Strasser.

There were only a few Jewish prisoners in Sonnenburg. The only Jewish prisoner to leave a memoir behind, Hans Ullmann, who was imprisoned in Sonnenburg in mid-September 1933



Sonnenburg prisoners pose for a group photograph, June 1933. Second from left in the back row, with his hands crossed, is Carl von Ossietzky.
USHMM WS #62057, COURTESY OF ROSALINDA OSSIETZKY-PALM

with his father and brother on account of “economic espionage,” recalls four other Jewish prisoners. “Only Christian prisoners were sent to Sonnenburg. The Jews went to Papenburg.”²² Many eyewitness accounts unanimously report that the guards particularly targeted Jewish prisoners, especially the three Ullmanns, and mistreated them brutally.

From October 1933 on, several freemasons were supposedly interned in Sonnenburg, including Dr. Leo Müffelmann, the grandmaster of the Symbolic Grand Lodge of Germany (S.G.L.v.D.), who died on August 29, 1934, from the consequences of his internment.

Hans Ullmann also refers to a “head foreman in a brown coal mine who got drunk at a rally instead of listening to the Nazi orator” and an “owner of a basalt quarry in west Germany. Someone had offered him illegal newspapers, he declined the offer as he was not interested but said to the offeror that perhaps this person or that person would be interested. He was denounced to the authorities and arrested. He was a civilized man and said that he would probably go bankrupt.”²³

All in all, far more than 1,000 men were interned and tortured in Sonnenburg. According to Willi Harder, who several times received orders from the Kommandantur to determine the exact number of prisoners, reports that the prison population reached its peak at 1,226 “protective custody”

prisoners.⁴ A criminal police examination report dated November 30, 1933, speaks to “approximately one thousand prisoners.” Due to a significant fluctuation in prisoners during the camp’s year of existence and a lack of archival sources, it remains difficult to determine the exact number of prisoners.

The prisoners, who wore discarded police uniforms, were employed in various ways. In addition to a locksmith’s shop, a blacksmith’s shop, plumber’s shop, and a carpentry, there was a tailor’s workshop with 81 sewing machines, a willow cultivation, and a cane chair manufacture. Other prisoners had to construct a shooting range, which was used to train SS men. In addition, the prisoners undertook other tasks. For example, there were barbers who cut the prisoners’ hair on a regular basis and shaved them twice a week, kitchen hands, and laundry workers. There was also a “toilet paper cutter, who cut old newspapers—discarded by the political police, who had marked selected articles in different colours—into small pieces and distributed them to the various toilets.”⁵

From September 1933 to the closing of the camp in April 1934, a nationwide “regulated camp counseling” (*geregelte Lagerseelsorge*) was conducted in Sonnenburg, which had been initiated by the Committee of the German Protestant Church (Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchenausschuss) in June 1933. The counseling was basically limited to regular church services with mandatory attendance for all prisoners.

All contemporaneous reports published outside Germany in the years 1933 and 1934 unanimously testify that even in comparison with other concentration camps the guards in Sonnenburg were exceptionally brutal and high-handed. The camp quickly became known as "torture hell" (*Folterhölle*) outside Germany. Rudolf Diels, the head of the Gestapo at the time, later on remembered a visit to Sonnenburg:

The appearance of the prisoners was simply indescribable. They were reminiscent of spooks or guises of some demonic dream. Their swollen heads stuck out of their rags like pumpkins; yellow, green and bluish faces that no longer bore any resemblance to human faces. Their bare skin was covered with weals and congealed blood. A shiver ran through my body as if I had seen a ghost. . . . When I asked for Kasper [Wilhelm Kasper, the former treasurer of the KPD parliamentary group in the Prussian Landtag, Kasper Nürnberg (KN)], a creature reported to me; only his smouldering eyes were reminiscent of a once lively and vital man. Notwithstanding I would see worse things, seeing this agonized man was the most shocking experience of that year.⁶

The "dark cell" (*Dunkelzelle*) and the "eastern cellar" (*Ostkeller*) were notorious places, especially for sexual abuse. Harder reports: "Any imaginable form of sadist cruelty was practiced in the Ostkeller. The prisoners were forced to place their genitals on the edge of a table and whereupon those beasts slapped them!"⁷

The guard units were initially composed of SA men from Berlin SA Stürme (companies) I ("Horst Wessel") and 33 ("Mordsturm Maikowski"). From the middle of April they were joined by members of the Police Detachment Wecke (Polizeiabteilung Wecke), named after Polizeimajor Walther Wecke, who in 1933 commanded three large police detachments (which reached regimental strength in May 1933) and operated a large torture chamber in the police garrison Friesenstrasse in Berlin-Kreuzberg. By the end of April, SA members from Frankfurt an der Oder replaced the Berlin SA. According to the testimony of SS-Scharführer Heinz Adrian, 150 SS men from SS-Regiment 27 (Standarte 27), after having received basic training and instructions, replaced first the SA and then the police by the end of August 1933. From then on, they were in charge of security at Sonnenburg. Adrian was sentenced to death by the grand criminal court of the Schwerin regional court on September 29, 1948, and was executed in November 1948 at the Dreibergen penitentiary.

The camp's commanders also reflect the changes in responsibility between the SA, police, and SS: Polizeioberleutnant Gerhard Paessler and his colleagues Leutnant Bark and Oberleutnant Siegmund succeeded SA-Sturmführer Bahr. SS-Truppführer Paul Bruening was appointed camp commander in late summer. In December he was given responsibility for administrative matters, which was withdrawn from Polizeioberinspektors Pelz and Reschke.

Following its dissolution in the spring of 1934, Sonnenburg was converted once again to a penitentiary under the supervision of the Reich Ministry of Justice. Mainly criminals were interned here but still also political prisoners. Later on the inmates included deserters, recalcitrant forced laborers, and following arrests after the so-called Night-and-Fog-Decree of August 8, 1942 ("Nacht-und-Nebel"-Erlass), Norwegians, Danes, Dutch, Belgians, French, and Luxemburgers. Among them were Jean Baptiste Lebas, the postal minister in Leon Blum's government, who died in Sonnenburg on May 10, 1944. Herschel Grynszpan had supposedly been brought to Sonnenburg in the spring of 1944 and remained there until his transfer to the Brandenburg penitentiary in early 1945. Sonnenburg gained notoriety again on the night of January 30–31, 1945, when SS men, before fleeing to the west, shot almost all the remaining prisoners, leaving a huge heap of corpses for the approaching Soviet soldiers. The soldiers buried the dead and erected a memorial with the following inscription: "Here are buried 819 citizens, bestially shot and burned by the Germans when they gave up Sonnenburg. Soldier! Remember and retaliate."

SOURCES The history of the Sonnenburg concentration camp has not been researched in great detail. The only monograph is a history of the camp in Polish: Przemysław Mniuchowski, *Obóz koncentracyjny i wiezienie w Sonnenburgu* (Słońsk) (The Sonnenburg Concentration Camp and Prison) (Warsaw, 1982).

In addition, the Research Group Former Concentration Camp Sonnenburg (Arbeitskreis Ehemaliges KZ Sonnenburg) has published three volumes of source material: *Geschichte und Funktion des KZ Sonnenburg: Sonnenburger Häftlinge: Carl von Ossietzky, Hans Litten, Erich Mühsam, Ernst Schneller*, ed. Arbeitskreis Ehemaliges KZ Sonnenburg, vol. 1 (Berlin: C. Niess, 1987); *Bibliographie zum KZ Sonnenburg: Verzeichnis der Sammlungen des Arbeitskreises: Amtliche Schriftstücke, Erinnerungsberichte, Flugschriften, Presseberichte, wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen, Fotos, Filmdokumente*, ed. Arbeitskreis Ehemaliges KZ Sonnenburg and arranged by Peter Gerlinghoff and Erich Schulz, vol. 2 (Berlin: Ed. Neue Wege, 1992); *Bausteine zu einer Liste der Sonnenburger Häftlinge in der Zeit vom 4. April 1933 bis 23. April 1934*, ed. Arbeitskreis Ehemaliges KZ Sonnenburg and arranged by Peter Gerlinghoff and Erich Schulz, vol. 3 (Berlin: Ed. Neue Wege, 1991).

The most important sources from the 1930s include the eyewitness account of Willi Harder, in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 117–133; a section in the *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror* (1933; repr., Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1980), pp. 285–289; two anonymous reports in the *DNW* on June 21, 1934, and July 5, 1934; "Die Hölle Sonnenburg: Tatsachenbericht von einem deutschem Arbeiter," *AIZ* 12 (1933): 740, 758, 762; and the publication *Folterhölle Sonnenburg: Tatsachen- und Augenzeugenbericht eines ehemaligen Schutzhäftling* (Paris: Mopr-Verlag, 1934).

Also worthy of mention are Irmgard Litten, *A Mother Fights Hitler* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1940); and Kreszentia

Mühsam, *Der Leidensweg Erich Mühsams* (1934; repr., Berlin: Harald-Kater-Verlag, 1994). Litten and Mühsam both devote a chapter to Hans Litten's and Erich Mühsam's imprisonment in Sonnenburg. A few recent publications need to be mentioned: Erwin Nippert, "Die Hölle Sonnenburg," in *Die Maske des Kunsthändlers*, ed. Erwin Nippert (Berlin: Militärverlag der DDR, 1983), pp. 170–203; Hans Ullmann, "Das Konzentrationslager Sonnenburg," *DaHe* 13 (1997): 76–91.

The personal papers of an independent scholar and local resident of the Sonnenburg region, Erich Schulz, at the GStAPK (PK VI. HA N1 Erich Schulz), include a substantial collection of sources on the history of the penitentiary and the Sonnenburg camp. Further sources can be found in the Bestand KL Hafta, Sonnenburg, at the BA-DH.

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NOTES

1. SonA, April 7, 1933.
2. Hans Ullmann, "Das Konzentrationslager Sonnenburg," *DaHe* 13 (1997): 82.
3. Ibid., 83–84.
4. Willi Harder, "Sonnenburg," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), p. 127.
5. Ullmann, "Das Konzentrationslager Sonnenburg," p. 89.
6. Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zürich: Interverlag AG, 1949), p. 256.
7. Harder, "Sonnenburg," pp. 128–129.

STETTIN-BREDOW [AKA VULKANWERFT]

The construction of a concentration camp in the Bredow district of Stettin (today Szczecin-Drzetowo) went back to an initiative of SS-Abschnittsführer Fritz-Karl Engel, who, since September 1933, was also acting police president in Stettin. Officially it served as an additional police detention center for "protective custody" prisoners. The camp, located on the grounds of the Vulkanwerft, which had been closed and torn down in 1928, became a special interrogation and internment site for the Stettin Gestapo and SS. The camp was under the jurisdiction of SS-Sturmführer Dr. Joachim Hoffmann, a Criminal Police employee with the Stettin State Police Office since the fall of 1933.¹

By the end of October 1933, between 25 and 40 male prisoners were permanently interned in the Vulkanwerft camp. Only a few of them were active political opponents of National Socialism, as most political opponents in Stettin had already been arrested in the first months after Hitler took power. Often members of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) or its organizations were imprisoned at Stettin-Bredow.² Various trivial "offenses" could result in being taken into protective custody and being sent to Stettin-Bredow. Some were arrested due to denunciations by company superiors or party

offices, while others had complained to various authorities about administrative measures. Drunks were arrested in pubs and carried off to the camp. Landlords were punished in Stettin-Bredow for supposedly demanding too much rent.³ Several prisoners who found themselves in pretrial confinement for criminal offenses were blackmailed into confessions at Stettin-Bredow—they had been taken there sometimes without consent, sometimes at the instigation of the criminal police.⁴ Several well-off Stettin citizens were brought to the camp with the intention of extorting money and payment in kind in order to finance the camp. At this time the Prussian Ministry of Interior only financed the central state concentration camps (*staatliche Konzentrationslager*), to which Stettin-Bredow did not belong. Thus, independent money sources had to be developed; large sums of money or payment in kind like food items, clothes, or items of furniture were extorted from prisoners; property of prisoners was confiscated, or houses from imprisoned home owners were held, and the rent was taken. In addition, a special fund of 50,000 Reichsmark (RM) was available from the SS district (SS-Abschnitt).⁵

At Stettin-Bredow, prisoners were systematically beaten with whips in a cellar room called the "bunker." The beatings were ordered most often by Hoffmann but also in some cases by Fritz-Karl Engel. The number of blows administered was based on the Berlin Columbia House example of "wind strength" (*Windstärke*): "wind strength 1" indicated 25 and "wind strength 2" 50 double-blows on the naked buttocks. The guard units also carried out numerous individual and collective abuses on their own initiative. The camp had at its disposal its own SS physician, Dr. Wilhelm Seegers; however, he pretended not to notice the prisoners' injuries.⁶

The work the prisoners were forced to do also bordered on torture. While at a jog and under whip lashes, the prisoners had to carry gravel, stones, and other building materials. This work was intended for the expansion of the camp.⁷ Whether there were fatalities in Stettin-Bredow cannot be clarified. The judicial investigations in 1934 and 1950 did not confirm any deaths. Nevertheless, several eyewitnesses and newspapers reported that bodies, with hands and feet tied and weighted down by a stone, were found in the Oder.⁸

An on-site camp leader managed the camp. The first camp leader was SS-Scharführer Bruno Vater, who was relieved at the beginning of November by SS-Obertruppführer Otto Meier. From February 1 through February 28, 1934, SS-Truppführer Karl Salis was camp head, followed by SS-Truppführer Fritz Pleines, who ran the camp until it closed on March 9, 1934. None of them had had careers in police service and had been hired as criminal police employees at the Stettin State Police Office in 1933. About 10 to 12 SS men from Stettin, in most cases unemployed, guarded the camp and were paid out of the camp budget.⁹

Very little is known about everyday life at Stettin-Bredow camp, since the primary sources of information about the camp were trials, which focused on the mistreatment of prisoners rather than on their living conditions.

Apart from isolated cases of refusals to work and verbal protests against their treatment, nothing is known about active prisoner resistance. Several prisoners attempted to inform the police president about abuses whenever he visited the camp. It was not clear to them that he actually knew about the abuses and tolerated or supported them.¹⁰ One prisoner successfully managed to escape from the camp. Nothing is known about the circumstances of the escape or the reaction it caused.¹¹

The cruel treatment of the protective custody prisoners at Stettin-Bredow soon became the talk of the town. Requests for legal counsel from relatives of the prisoners piled up at lawyers' offices in Stettin. The senior state attorney in Stettin, Dr. Reinhard Luther, began investigations into the matter that were, however, hampered by SS authorities.¹²

Stettin District President Konrad Göppert learned about the camp at the end of November 1933 when the Swedish consulate inquired about the whereabouts of a Swedish citizen who was imprisoned at the camp. He demanded an account from Engel about the operation of the camp and submittal of a document of the camp's authorization issued by the Prussian Ministry of Interior. Police President Engel endeavored in Berlin to obtain such permission for running the camp several times but without success.¹³

During a visit to the Stettin-Bredow camp in mid-February, the head of the Secret State Police Office Rudolf Diels did not detect any peculiarities; the camp functioned "like everywhere else." However, the visit had previously been announced. Police President Engel and the guard units considered this visit a confirmation of the legitimacy of their conduct.¹⁴

A few weeks later, high-ranking Stettin police officials took advantage of the absence of the police president, who was on vacation in Austria, to complain to Göppert about the conditions at the Stettin State Police Office and the abuses of prisoners at the Vulkanwerft camp. Göppert sent an investigation committee to the camp and turned to Hermann Göring with the request to take action against the camp. Göring also had a complaint from influential Feldmarschall August von Mackensen, who learned about the mistreatment of prisoners from a former inmate.¹⁵

After a directive from Hermann Göring, Vulkanwerft was closed on March 9, 1934, and a large number of guards as well as Hoffmann were arrested. The Berlin Central State Attorney's Office, headed by Werner von Haacke, brought a case before the Stettin Regional Court against Joachim Hoffmann, Karl Salis, Fritz Pleines and four SS guards for misuse of authority and grievous bodily harm. On April 6, 1934, they were sentenced to several years in prison or penitentiary.¹⁶ The trial caused an international sensation, as even the *New York Times* reported on it.¹⁷

The central state attorney's office initiated further proceedings against Engel in June 1934; however, the evidence did not at first suffice for an indictment. Only after their conviction did the former camp leaders and guard units incriminate him. This case was dismissed at Heinrich Himmler's instigation.¹⁸

After the war, the Flensburg State Attorney's Office became aware of Engel. In 1949 proceedings against him were initiated for crimes against humanity. Over 50 witnesses to the events were found. On May 23, 1950, Engel was sentenced to a total of five years and one month in prison for crimes against humanity, causing grievous bodily harm while on duty, and grave deprivation of liberty. This sentence was reduced on appeal to two years and six months on April 22, 1952, and on June 16, 1952, a plea for clemency for a remittance of the remaining sentence was granted.¹⁹

SOURCES Several authors have written about the Vulkanwerft camp at Stettin-Bredow: Bogusław Drewniak, *Początki ruchu bittrowskiego na Pomorzu Zachodnim* (Poznań, 1962); Robert Thévoz, Hans Branig, and Cécile Lowenthal-Hensel, *Pommern 1934/35 im Spiegel von Gestapo-Lageberichten und Sachakten: Die geheime Staatspolizei in den preussischen Ostrprovinzen 1934–36*, vols. 11–12 (Köln: Grote, 1974); Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); Hans-Gerd Warmann, "Vergangen und vergessen?—Das Schutzhaftlager Bredow," *StBü* 26 (2000): 49–59.

The extensive files of the Prussian Ministry of Justice on the criminal proceeding against Engel from June 1934 are located at the GStAPK. A copy of the sentence from April 6, 1934, against Joachim Hoffmann (and others) is also there. The records of the 1949–1950 trial against Fritz-Karl Engel for crimes against humanity before the Flensburg Regional Court are at the LA-Sch-H.

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NOTES

1. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, pp. 50, 155–156.
2. Ibid., p. 13.
3. Ibid., pp. 35, 42, 52, 56, 88, 150, 226; VLA-G, Rep. 79 Polizeipräsident Stettin Nr. 598, p. 1.
4. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, pp. 38, 57, 65–66, 69, 93–94, 127; LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Aussage Erich Wegner am 4.10.1949, Paul Dost am 1.11.1949.
5. Urteil vom 23.5.1950; Aussagen Carl Weiss am 2.11.1949, Konrad Schmidt am 1.7.1946, Hans Homann am 19.5. and 25.5.1950, Heinrich Vitzdamm am 4.6.1946; Liste Erpresster von Hans Homann (n.d.); GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, pp. 13, 57, 114, 116–117, 137, 181–182, 195; ibid., Nr. 54827, p. 28a; ibid., Rep. 90 P. Nr. 104, pp. 102, 104; APSz, Wydział Prezydialny Nr. 11987, pp. 53, 209; ibid., Nr. 12211, p. 101; PZ, January 14, 1934; AAN, Konsulat der Republik Polen in Stettin Mikrofilm B-4279, p. 303.
6. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826; extensive descriptions in the indictment and sentence in the trial against Joachim Hoffmann and comrades, in addition, pp. 90, 109, 112, 117–118, 121, 145, 147, 173, 178, 182–183, 187, 195, 232, 235; AAN, Konsulat der Republik Polen in Stettin Mikrofilm B-4279, p. 305; LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Aussage Carl Weiss am 2.11.1949.
7. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, p. 53; AAN, Konsulat der Republik Polen in Stettin Mikrofilm B-4279, p. 305.

8. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, pp. 102, 180, 185, 187; LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Aussage Eugen Hoffmann am 26.11.1949, Martha Elze am 5.12.1949; VSS, May 17, 1934; NV, May 27, 1934; Erich Wiesner, *Man nannte mich Ernst: Erlebnisse und Episoden aus der Geschichte der Arbeiterjugendbewegung*, 4th ed. (Berlin: Verlag Neues Leben, 1978), p. 178.

9. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, pp. 34–35, 50–51, 69, 100, 109, 110, 130–131, 134, 157, 234.

10. Ibid., pp. 52, 111, 116, 161; LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Aussage Carl Weiss am 4.10.1949, 2.11.1949 und 21.5.1950; Aussage Fritz-Karl Engel am 21.10.1949; Urteil vom 23.5.1950.

11. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, p. 60.

12. AAN, Konsulat der Republik Polen in Stettin Mikrofilm B-4279, p. 307; GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, p. 128; LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Aussage Carl Struck am 25.10.1949; Aussage Victor Knipp am 16.9.1949; Aussage Günter Joel am 7.10.1949.

13. LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Urteil vom 23.5.1950 und schriftliche Aussage Konrad Göppert am 30.12.1949; GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, pp. 166–167.

14. GStAPK I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, pp. 166–167, 187, 224, 226–227, 231–232; LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Aussage Fritz-Karl Engel am 5.9.1949; Aussage Heinrich Schnitzler am 16.12.1949; Aussage Rudolf Diels am 26.10.1949; PZ, February 16, 1934.

15. Aussage Heinrich Vitzdamm am 13.3.1946; schriftliche Aussage Konrad Göppert am 30.12.1949.

16. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, p. 49.

17. NYT, April 8, 1934.

18. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, p. 148; ibid., Nr. 54827, p. 2.

19. LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Strafakten Fritz-Karl Engel wegen Verbrechens gegen die Menschlichkeit.

Artur Tiermann. The camp was dissolved in May 1933, and the prisoners were transferred to the early concentration camp at Hohnstein Castle.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard work on the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The Struppen early camp is also briefly mentioned in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999).

No primary sources have been found for this camp.

Joseph Robert White

STUTTGART

On March 1, 1933, the barracks at the Stuttgart women's prison became a "protective custody" camp. The present location of this facility is not known. Under the direction of Polizeiwachmeister Nauer, the female detainees received decent treatment. The number of detainees is not known. The most memorable event at Stuttgart took place when an SS officer addressed the detainees. The officer, named Jagow, proclaimed: "The Third Reich has begun, all misery and moaning ends now."¹ The women later invoked these words humorously in order to bolster morale. The camp was dissolved on March 31, 1933, and the detainees were dispatched to the first women's concentration camp, Gotteszell in Schwäbisch Gmünd.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The most detailed information about Stuttgart comes from Julius Schätzle, *Stationen zur Hölle: Konzentrationslager in Baden und Württemberg, 1933–1945*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag GmbH, 1980).

Primary documentation for Stuttgart consists of a file in the BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland. The file number is Zentrales Parteiaarchiv St 10/138/22 a. As also cited by Drobisch and Wieland, another file about this camp is found in the BA-P. It is Reichsministerium des Innern, No. 26,058.

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NOTE

1. Julius Schätzle, *Stationen zur Hölle: Konzentrationslager in Baden und Württemberg, 1933–1945*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag GmbH, 1980), p. 25. Schätzle does not cite the source for this quotation.

STOLLBERG-HOHENECK

In March 1933, the SA established a "protective custody" camp in the Hoheneck penitentiary.

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

The only primary documentation available for Stollberg-Hoheneck is its ITS listing, available in Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, eds., *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:234.

Joseph Robert White

STRUPPEN

In March 1933, the SA converted their leaders' school at the former manor at Struppen, Saxony, into an early concentration camp. Among the detainees was leftist political opponent

ULM-ÖBERER KUHBERG

The Württemberg concentration camp, "Württembergisches Schutzhaftlager, Ulm a.D. (an der Donau)," existed between

November 16, 1933, and July 11, 1935, in Ulm an der Donau, which is located on the border of Württemberg and Bavaria.

The Ulm–Oberer Kuhberg camp was the direct successor to the Heuberg [aka Stetten am kalten Markt], concentration camp, which was closed at the end of 1933 and transferred to Ulm. The camp was located in a purpose-built military building, Fort Oberer Kuhberg.

There were around 600 Württemberg prisoners who were held in the Ulm camp, the “hard core” of political resistance and other opponents of the regime who were deemed incapable of “improvement.”

Both Heuberg and Kuhberg were state concentration camps under the administration, from the end of April 1933, of the Württemberg Ministry of Interior’s Political Police Office. The Ulm camp was an instrument of the political police whose task was defined in the Stuttgart *NS-Kurier* on January 30, 1934, “to research the enemies of the Third Reich, to observe them and if necessary to take immediate ruthless action against them.”

In practice that meant that, until its closure, the Ulm concentration camp was under the authority of the state and not under Theodor Eicke’s authority via the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL). From 1934 on, the Reich assumed about a quarter of the costs of the Ulm concentration camp. The majority of the costs were paid for by the state. The prisoners had to bear a small percentage of the “accommodation costs” (*Unterkunftskosten*).

The first president of the Württemberg Political Police and Chief of the State Concentration Camps was the Württemberg judge and SA-Standartenführer Dr. Hermann Mattheiss (1893–1934), who was shot on July 1, 1934, during the so-called Röhm Putsch. His successor until 1937 was SS-Mann Walther Stahlecker (1900–1942).

From April 1933 on, the former Württemberg professional officer and later engineer Karl Buck (1894–1977) was the commandant of Heuberg and, later, commandant of Ulm–Oberer Kuhberg. He joined the National Socialist Party and the SA in 1931. As a member of the Württemberg Political Police, he was appointed concentration camp commander in 1933 and retained that post until the end of the war. Three months after the closure of Ulm, on October 1, 1935, a new Württemberg state concentration camp was opened in the Police Prison Welzheim. Buck was also the commandant of that camp. From 1941, with the rank of SS-Hauptsturmführer, he was the commandant of the Elsass “security camp” (*Sicherungslager*), which held mostly French political prisoners who were incarcerated by the German occupation authorities.

The prisoners at Heuberg and Ulm have stated that Buck was brutal, but he exercised brutality with a degree of cynicism. He had a basic education, was intelligent, and exercised self-control. His deputy at Ulm is described as primitive and brutal. The deputy, Hermann Eberle (1908–1949) from Württemberg, was an unemployed tradesman who joined the party and the SA in 1931. He was appointed an auxiliary guard in the Heuberg concentration camp. He was Buck’s deputy at Ulm and continued in that role at the Welzheim

concentration camp until Buck’s departure to Schirmeck-Vorbrück at the beginning of 1941. From then until 1945, he was the commandant at Welzheim.

In November 1933, there were 120 guards and 5 administrative personnel in Ulm. With the subsequent reduction in prisoner numbers, the guards’ numbers also declined so that when the camp closed, there were only 29 guards and 3 administrative personnel. Initially the guards were members of the Schutzpolizei (municipal police) and a few SS members. This situation changed following the Röhm Putsch, and in the following months, the guards were absorbed into the SS.

The names and other data of 430 of the approximately 600 prisoners in the Ulm–Oberer Kuhberg concentration camp are known. They were aged between 19 and 71 and were mostly from Württemberg. More than half were from Stuttgart and the other large cities, that is, from areas where industrialization was most advanced and the Socialist workers’ movements’ organizations were most developed.

All the prisoners were classified as “enemies of the National Socialist State,” opposed politically, ideologically, and socially to the regime. This was sufficient reason for arrest. About half the prisoners had connections to the German Communist Party (KPD), and a fifth to the German Social Democratic Party (SPD). Two virulent opponents of the National Socialists from before 1933 were KPD Member of the Landtag Alfred Haag (Schwäbisch Gmünd, 1904–1982) and SPD Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Kurt Schumacher (Stuttgart, 1895–1952). For the National Socialist persecutors, they were the “enticers and manipulators” (*Verführer und Drahtzieher*) of the people and were the target of mistreatment and other special measures in the punishment bunkers in Ulm (particularly Schumacher after 1933).

Of particular political significance, extending beyond Württemberg, was the news that appeared in the press (which was still free) in January 1934 that three Catholic priests who had publicly criticized the National Socialist authorities as part of their pastoral duties had been classified as “Saboteurs of State Order” (*Saboteure der staatlichen Ordnung*) and sent to Ulm.

The prisoners who did not fit into the above-mentioned groups have not been the subject of biographical research. They were not defined as party politicals. However, they represented a political/ideological and social protest potential within the population. The use of racial labels such as “asocial” (*asozial*) or “work shy” (*arbeitsscheu*) appears instead.

What can be stated with certainty is that until 1938 the Jews and “Gypsies” (*Zigeuner*) were not separately classified as “enemies of the national community” (*Feinde der Volksgemeinschaft*). If such people were imprisoned, they were held as members of the SPD or KPD.

Half of the prisoners were held for around three months and the others for between three and nine months. In exceptional cases, such as with Schumacher, prisoners were held from the first to the last day of the Ulm–Oberer Kuhberg concentration camp.

According to surviving prisoners, the prison conditions and everyday life inside Ulm were worse than in Heuberg.

The April 1933 confinement regulations (*Haftordnung*) for Heuberg, which were very similar to those for the Justice Department's prisons consisting of stages of imprisonment (Entry Stage, Stages I to III), were cast aside by the "almighty" Commandant Buck. He determined the day-to-day rules; he interrogated, blackmailed, verbally humiliated, punished, beat, or had others beat the prisoners.

The hallmarks of everyday life were the withdrawal of meager rations, alarms at night, punishment roll calls, military-type abuse, senseless heavy labor, withdrawal of postal privileges and any other beneficial activity, holding fake executions, and torture. The aim of such actions was to have prisoners betray other prisoners or to reveal underground activities so as to arrest those members of the resistance who had not yet been arrested.

But according to the postwar reports of surviving prisoners, what was worst was the site itself, the nightmarish fort with its damp, cold, dark, stinking casemates, in which the prisoners lived and in which were missing nearly all means for personal hygiene.

The psychological survival of the prisoners was made possible by some strong personalities within the prisoner population and because most of the prisoners identified themselves as political opponents to the regime. It was also facilitated through political discussions, conducted in whispers; the singing of Swabian songs or songs from the workers' movement; and games of chess (the figures were made by the prisoners and were rather primitive). The prisoners' solidarity was relatively intact because the prisoners had relatively similar social and intellectual backgrounds, and there was not yet a strong Kapo system.

Those responsible at Ulm were brought to justice after 1945, albeit in a limited way: Buck was arrested in Elsass in 1945 and sentenced to death by a French and a British Military Court for homicides committed in Schirmeck-Vorbrück. In 1953–1954, his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, and he was extradited from France to the German Federal Republic in April 1955 as a war criminal. He was released and lived until his death close to Welzheim. An attempt by former Heuberg, Kuhberg, and Welzheim prisoners to bring him before a court after 1955 was unsuccessful. He could not be charged because of the statute of limitations (it could not be proven that he had committed murder in these camps) and because of the defense that he was "acting in accordance with orders" (*Befehlshofstand*). Eberle was arrested in 1945 and sentenced by a British Military Court to 13 years' imprisonment. He committed suicide while in prison in 1949. Only 1 guard was tried, and that was in 1947. He was sentenced to jail. The other 41 guards were investigated around 1950.

SOURCES Information on this camp can also be found in the following published sources: Haus der Geschichte Baden-Württemberg, ed., "Doch die Freiheit, die kommt wieder": NS-Gegner im Württembergischen Schutzhaftlager Ulm 1933–1935 (Stuttgart, 1994); Erich Kunter, *Weltreise nach Dachau: Ein Tatsachenbericht nach den Erlebnissen des Weltreisenden und ehemaligen politischen Häftlings Max Wittmann*, 2nd ed. (Wildbad, 1947); Silvester Lechner, *Das KZ Oberer Kubberg und die*

NS-Zeit in der Region Ulm/Neu-Ulm (Stuttgart, 1988); Lechner, "Das Konzentrationslager Oberer Kuhberg in Ulm," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus 1933–1935*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin, 2001), pp. 79–103; DZOK e.V., *Mitteilungen*, vols. 1–38 (1983–2002).

There are no complete administration files for the Ulm-Oberer Kuhberg camp. In particular, a list of admissions and releases is missing. The LA-B-W in Stuttgart, Ludwigsburg, and Sigmaringen have some files regarding administration matters during the period of the concentration camp. Files of the "compensation" (*Wiedergutmachung*) after 1945 are also held here but particularly in the archive of the state branch of VVN in Stuttgart. Files on the criminal trial of Karl Buck and other members of the camp staff are mostly held in BA-L (formerly ZdL). Probably the most complete file on the concentration camp history is the Ulm DZOK, but most of the material consists of copies from private collections and provided by prisoners.

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VECHTA

Vechta, a district town in Lower Saxony, lies between Bremen and Osnabrück. Until 1946, it was part of the state of Oldenburg. The Free State Oldenburg (since 1934, Land Oldenburg) had an overwhelmingly Evangelical population and a strong agricultural economy. Next to the Oldenburg area, the state included the distant areas of Lübeck (Eutin) and Birkenfeld until 1937. The National Socialists very early gained greater support here than anywhere else. From 1928, they were represented in the state parliament, and from June 1932, they were able to form a state government on their own.

From as early as March 1933, there was talk of establishing a concentration camp in the Oldenburg district. It was to be based on the Dachau model. It was established in July of that year in a former women's prison in Vechta, which from 1931 had stood empty. It was administered by the Oldenburg Ministry of Interior. At the beginning of August, the camp contained about 60 police prisoners, that is, prisoners in "protective custody." It was envisaged that their numbers could be increased to 100. From August on, those held in protective custody for longer periods of time were taken from the local police cells and jails to Vechta, mostly in group transports via Oldenburg.¹

In the beginning, the protective custody arrest orders were issued by the city magistrates (in Oldenburg, it was mostly the city Police Department, which became subordinate to the Secret State Police Office [Gestapo] once its office had been established) or by the senior administrative officials (comparable to the Prussian rural district administrators). More and more, however, these orders came from the interior minister. From 1935, such orders, first occasionally and from 1936 more frequently, came from the Gestapo, which by 1937 seemed to have become exclusively responsible for them.

Most of the concentration camp inmates were Communists. They came primarily from Oldenburg, Wilhelmshaven-Rüstringen, Delmenhorst, and Nordenham. In addition, there were some Social Democrats, members of the Center Party and the Stahlhelm, and people with no party affiliations. There were also Jews who had fallen into political disfavor. The prisoners were held in one- or two-man cells. According to witnesses, the food was the usual prison food. Occasionally there were special rations. An early inmate recalls, however, that the food was served in small portions (in the morning, two slices of black bread with a tablespoon of watered-down jam; at lunch, a bowl of stew). Forced labor and protective custody went together. The prisoners had to work usually between 10 to 10.5 hours a day. Some of the prisoners had to work on the moors; others had to peel potatoes daily for the whole prison institution.² The protective custody prisoners had a relatively large degree of freedom. In exceptional cases, prisoner conditions were even relaxed. There are documented examples of this. In August 1933, the Communist underground newspaper *Dimitroff* was published in the prison.

The number of prisoners increased from 50 in July to 75 in August, to 90 in September, to 100 in October, and to 113 at the beginning of November. Thereafter, the numbers averaged 80 a month. Following the 1933 Christmas amnesty, the numbers were 20 at the end of December, and in January 1934, 25.³ As the numbers of protective custody prisoners receded in the spring of 1934, the building was used also, from April 1, for prisoners on remand and for convicts. From the spring of 1934, the operation of the Vechta concentration camp gradually wound down. Between July 1933 and July 1934, more than 100 prisoners alone were transferred from the Oldenburg jail to the Vechta concentration camp. From July on, the transfers ceased.⁴

The 113 prisoners in the concentration camp on November 12, 1933, were able to vote (as a separate polling district) in the Reichstag elections and on the referendum on whether Germany should remain in the League of Nations. Of the 88 returned votes for the Reichstag elections, 22 percent were held to be invalid. For the referendum, 7 percent voted "no," while 4.5 percent of the votes were listed as invalid. The election results were even published in the newspapers. Note also that in the referendum on the unification of the offices of Reichs president and Reichs chancellor of August 19, 1934, the "State concentration camp" with its 11 prisoners formed one of the city's seven electoral districts.⁵

The head of the camp was an official from the judiciary, Senior Prison Superintendent Friedrich (Fritz) Fischer (1888–1965). Prisoners, after the war, described him as correct and spoke about him in positive terms. On March 1, 1935, he was transferred as court secretary to the remand prison at Oldenburg. In Vechta, he ensured that the SS guards from Oldenburg and the surrounding area were not permitted to exceed their authority, although there were isolated cases of harassment. The SS was mostly deployed externally. Its only internal function was to lock the prisoners in their cells. When there were visitors, it was the judicial officials who supervised. At the

suggestion of the SS-Standarte 24 in Oldenburg and with the approval of the minister of interior, the SS became responsible for guard duty and were appointed as auxiliary guards. From the summer of 1934—from June, to be precise—they wore disused uniforms of the Oldenburg order police with shoulder pads denoting their function as prison auxiliary guards.⁶

The Gestapo officials, who regularly came to Vechta from Oldenburg for interrogations, were considerably more ruthless and brutal and, at the very least, employed methods of psychological terror. Nonetheless, their interrogation methods were less feared than those of their Bremen colleagues.

So far as is known, only one person died in the concentration camp, namely, a protective custody prisoner who committed suicide after being held in remand.⁷

As judicial official, Fischer remained subordinate to the director of penal institutions in Vechta and thus also to the Oldenburg chief state prosecutor. The concentration camp itself, headed by Fischer as "prison chairman," fell under the Oldenburg minister of interior, however. The responsible police official in the ministry was also head of the Oldenburg Gestapo office, which was formed in November 1933. The Gestapo itself had, however, nothing to do with the concentration camp administration. Its activity was restricted to the interrogation of protective custody and political remand prisoners.

The dissolution of the concentration camp was decided upon no later than February 1935. The six guards (SS men) were given their notice on February 28, and three of them went to work for the judiciary as auxiliary guards. On April 1, 1935, the concentration camp formally ceased to exist, and the building was again used as a normal male prison until 1937, after which it once again became a prison for women.⁸

Notwithstanding that the Vechta concentration camp was situated in a former female prison, it was a camp for men only. According to statements of witnesses, the concentration camp, which existed from July 1933 to the end of March 1935, was not of the worst type, in part due to the moderating influence of its head, Fischer. It is not clear, however, where within the Justice Department Fischer and his assistants received the authority to act.

SOURCES There are four essays on the Vechta concentration camp by Albrecht Eckhardt: "Vechta," in *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager; Dachau, Emslandlager*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), pp. 212–215; "Das Konzentrationslager in Vechta (Oldenburg) 1933–1935," in *Archiv und Geschichte: Festschrift für Friedrich P. Kahnenberg*, ed. Klaus Oldenhage, Hermann Schreyer, and Wolfram Werner (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2000), pp. 700–726; "Das KZ in Vechta 1933–1935: Kurzfassung," in *Nationalsozialismus im Oldenburg Münsterland*, ed. Heimatbund für das Odenburger Münsterland (Cloppenburg, 2000), pp. 89–97; ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, "Das Konzentrationslager in Vechta," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus 1933–1935*, ed. Angelika Königseder (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 211–221. The author first came across a reference to the

establishment of the concentration camp when working on publication of the Oldenburg Gestapo reports. His findings were published as *Gestapo Oldenburg meldet—: Berichte der Geheimen Staatspolizei und des Innenministers aus dem Freistaat und Land Oldenburg, 1933–1936*, collated and commented upon by Albrecht Eckhardt and Katharina Hoffmann (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2002). Those who are interested in the history of the state of Oldenburg to 1946 and the Nazi period should consult the *Geschichte des Landes Oldenburg: Ein Handbuch*, 4th ed., ed. Albrecht Eckhardt in collaboration with Heinrich Schmidt (1987; Oldenburg: H. Holzberg, 1993).

There is only fragmentary material in the archives on the Vechta concentration camp. The prison books for the Oldenburg jail and the Vechta jail, housed in the StA-Ol, provide the most detail about the prisoners (Best. 145-1 Akz. 9/84 Nr. 23, Best. 145-2 Akz. 19/1985 Nr. 2). However, a prisoners' log and lists of the inmates of the Vechta camp are missing. Otherwise, there are only scattered files in the collections of the Ministry of Interior (Best. 136), Ministry of Justice (Best. 133), and others. For the initial period at least, the regional and local newspapers such as the *OSZ* and the *NSLO* or the *OVV* contain important information. The surviving Gestapo reports on the camp for the years 1933–1936 and the reports of the Minister of Interior in Oldenburg to Berlin contain little information (see the publication by Eckhardt and Hoffmann listed above).

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NOTES

1. StA-Ol, Best. 136 Nr. 2897, Bl. 326ff., 514ff.; cf. Best. 133 Nr. 590, Bl. 505.
2. *OSZ*, August 3, 1933 1. Beilage; *OVZ*, August 4, 1933, 3. Blatt, August 10, 1933.
3. *OSZ*, January 25, 1933 1. Beilage S. 2; *OVZ*, January 11, 1934 2. Blatt.
4. StA-Ol, Best. 145-1 Akz. 9/84 Nr. 23; Best. 145-2 Akz. 19/1985 Nr. 2.
5. StA-Ol, Best. 262-11 Nr. 772; Best. 136 Nr. 795; Best. 231-4 Nr. 18; also *OVZ*, November 14, 1933 2. Blatt, August 20, 1934.
6. StA-Ol, Best. 133 Nr. 331, Bl. 617.; Best. 136 Nr. 2884; Best. 205 Nr. 590.
7. StA-Ol, Best. 133 Nr. 387, Bl. 306ff.
8. StA-Ol, Best. 133 Nr. 331, Bl. 692–693, and Nr. 363, Bl. 292–803; Best. 136 Nr. 30190 (Nr. 4677).

WALDHEIM

Between March 18 and May 12, 1933, a section of Waldheim, the largest penitentiary in Saxony, served as a “protective custody” camp. The camp maintained strict discipline. The administration censored the detainees’ letters and refused to permit the discussion of political topics during visits by relatives. A document from 1935 noted that the penitentiary guards included 31 SA. Whether these personnel guarded the early camp in 1933 is not certain but possible.¹ Neither the

number of prisoners nor their destination following the closure of this camp is known. Throughout the Nazi dictatorship, Waldheim held male and female political prisoners who were sentenced to lengthy terms of confinement.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The camp is recorded in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999); see also Bert Pampel, Norbert Haase, and Stiftung Sächsische Gedenkstätten zur Erinnerung an die Opfer Politischer Gewaltherrschaft, *Spuren, Suchen und Erinnern: Gedenkstätten für die Opfer politischer Gewaltherrschaft in Sachsen* (Leipzig: Kiepenheuer, 1996). For an excellent history of the penitentiary during the Nazi period, which unfortunately does not discuss the protective custody camp, see Martin Habicht, *Zuchthaus Waldheim, 1933–1945: Haftbedingungen und antifaschistischer Kampf* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1988). Habicht lists many anti-Nazi resisters among the Waldheim penitentiary population. Nikolaus Wachsmann, *Hitler's Prisoners: Legal Terror in Nazi Germany* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), situates the abysmal treatment of Waldheim prisoners in the overall context of Nazi terror.

Primary documentation for this camp begins with SHStA-(D), Zuchthaus Waldheim, File No. 804, as cited in Habicht. The penitentiary is also listed in Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, Ursula Krause-Schmitt, and ITS, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:236. As cited by Wachsmann, the volume by Union für Recht und Freiheit, eds., *Strafvollzug im III. Reich: Denkschrift und Materialsammlung* (Prague, 1936), includes a contemporary account of conditions in Waldheim.

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NOTE

1. SHStA-(D), Zuchthaus Waldheim, File No. 804, as cited in Martin Habicht, *Zuchthaus Waldheim, 1933–1945: Haftbedingungen und antifaschistischer Kampf* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag 1988), p. 41.

WEISSENFELS

The baroque castle Neu-Augustusburg was constructed between 1660 and 1694 as the residence for the dukes of Sachsen-Weissenfels. Between 1869 and 1920, it was used as a noncommissioned officers’ school. From 1928 to 1945, municipal police squads (Schutzpolizei) were based at the castle. The Weissenfels police president and the criminal investigation unit of the police (Kriminalabteilung) were based in the castle from 1931.

A concentration camp was established in the castle in early March 1933. After a large number of people, mostly functionaries of the German Communist Party (KPD) and the Social

Democratic Party (SPD), had been arrested in the region and local prisons as well as police detention centers were overcrowded, it became necessary to establish a concentration camp. The prisoners were initially interned in a large police classroom on the second floor of the castle. As the numbers of "protective custody" prisoners continued to grow, the camp expanded into the gymnasium. Fritz Kleine, a former prisoner, recalls his internment in the classroom: "We had to squat the whole day on the straw sacks, crammed together like herrings in a can. It was impossible to move. We were taken downstairs into the courtyard only for one hour a day to get a breath of fresh air. That really felt good after having 'eaten the stench' (*Gestankfressen*) for twenty-four hours."¹

Nearly all of the prisoners in Weissenfels had been active in the workers' movement. The camp on average held 180 prisoners, the majority of whom were male and under 40.

Kleine describes everyday life in the camp: "Everyone was given a sack of straw, a towel and cookware. Linen and clothes had to be obtained by the prisoners. . . . There were only two toilets in the camp for two hundred prisoners. They could only be used between 6 A.M. and 7 A.M., 1 P.M. to 2 P.M. and in the evening from 7 P.M. to 8 P.M. The SS ensured that everyone left the toilet as quickly as possible by scattering chlorinated lime on the floor, into the toilet pit and on the toilet seat so that you could not breathe in. It was impossible to stay in there for longer than one minute, even if the next one in line had not urged you to hurry."²

Although it was planned to use the prisoners to reconstruct the gymnasium, they were never forced to do physical work during the camp's existence. After breakfast, however, the prisoners had an opportunity to volunteer for work. "Working had several advantages: one was exempt from cleaning the rooms and the toilets as well as getting water. One could spend the whole day in the fresh air and if there was some food left over at lunch you could be first to get an extra serving. Imprisoned Communists and Social Democrats built a shooting stand for the SS to be able to enjoy these personal freedoms!"³ Those working were also subject to victimization. Above all, "the intellectuals were forced to do the dirtiest work. The SS and SA had a lot of fun watching the school's inspector Benda, the Jewish engineer Lomitzsch, the teacher Gleitsmann, and others, who were not at all accustomed to physical labor, struggle with the toilet barrels (old herring vats), whose contents squirted onto their clothes and faces."⁴

Political indoctrination of the camp inmates was emphasized. Each week there were two hours of lectures on National Socialism, and there were regular radio broadcasts of selected speeches and rallies.

There were several cases of physical mistreatment in the Weissenfels camp. The news spread very quickly among the auxiliary police (Hilfspolizei) when SPD Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Albert Bergholz was brought to the camp. He "had been beaten blue and green by the SA in Zeitz and then been thrown in the Elster River." "Bergholz is here. . . . Two auxiliary policemen even drew their revolvers and forced Bergholz to take a full spittoon in each hand, which he had to carry

around the gymnasium. He was threatened that 'if he spilt a drop he would get a bullet in the stomach' and forced to run in front of the drawn pistols, despite the fact that Bergholz could barely move after the mistreatment he suffered in Zeitz!"⁵

There are no known fatalities in the Weissenfels camp. There was, however, one suicide attempt. "The prisoner Zippe from Berlin, who lived in Zeitz, was so deranged by the miserable, pointless camp life, that he slit his wrists with a razor blade."⁶

The attempted escape by 22-year-old SPD and Reichsbanner member Helmuth Fritz is also known. He had been attacked by Nazi Party (NSDAP) members in 1930 or 1931. Fritz attempted to defend himself with a pocket knife, mortally wounding the Zeitz leader of the Hitlerjugend, Gerhard, by stabbing him in the stomach. Fritz was sentenced to one and a half years' imprisonment because he exceeded appropriate self-defense by killing Gerhard. He was released from prison before the end of his sentence. He was arrested again on March 11, 1933, for the same offense and taken to the Weissenfels camp. Simultaneously a memorial was erected to the Hitlerjugend leader. Fritz, fearful of what could happen on the Sunday that the memorial was to be unveiled, escaped from his work detachment outside the camp. All the remaining prisoners were punished—for a fortnight they were neither allowed to receive visitors nor permitted to smoke. Fritz was caught only a few days later and taken to the Lichtenburg concentration camp.⁷

The guards in Weissenfels were mainly recruited from the SA, SS, and Stahlhelm. The men were mostly between 21 and 35 years old, often unemployed, and predominantly from Weissenfels and the surrounding area. They wore armbands identifying them as auxiliary policemen. They were armed with rifles, pistols, side arms, and rubber batons. Initially, the camp commander was probably Oberleutnant Hennecke. He was later supported by Polizeiobermeister Schmale as his deputy. The prisoners were guarded round the clock by the auxiliary police, escorted to meals and the toilets, and supervised while working. Two of the police officials were permanently stationed in the prisoners' dormitory. Nevertheless, according to Kleine, it was possible for the prisoners to have political discussions, and it is even said that some of the auxiliary police participated in those discussions.⁸

Many of the prisoners were interned in Weissenfels for only a few days. Others were held for weeks or months. From June 1933, there were prisoner transports to the Lichtenburg concentration camp, which opened in the same month. That camp was located near Prettin in what became Sachsen-Anhalt after the war. The Weissenfels camp had served as the regional model for the Lichtenburg camp. A last transport of 60 inmates to the Lichtenburg camp took place on August 12, 1933, while 48 prisoners were released from Weissenfels. The auxiliary police was dissolved, and Police President Neubauer bid them farewell. In the context of these events, the camp was eventually dissolved as well. In isolated cases, the gymnasium of the castle was still used after the camp's closure to intern protective custody prisoners.

SOURCES Extensive information on the Weissenfels camp and the prisoners held there can be found in Ramona Ehret, "Schutzhaft im Schloss Neu-Augustusburg: Das Gefangennassmellager in Weissenfels," in *Instrumentarium der Macht: Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1937*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2003), pp. 239–259. Further details are to be found in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

Fritz Kleine reported in detail about his experience in Schloss Neu-Augustusburg in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 182–188.

During the period of the establishment of the early camps, the Nazis wanted the public to know about protective custody and reeducation measures in order to frighten the population and to prevent the formation of new opposition. For these reasons the local press reported at regular intervals on the Weissenfels camp. Articles were published in the *WeiTb*, MNZ, and the *HaNa* between March and August 1933.

Relevant source material is to be found in the ASt-WsF, HZ 37 Hochbauamt Zeitz/Schloss, Bauliche Unterhaltung 1933–1934, 1936; and in the LHS-A-Ma, Regbez. Merseburg Rep. C 48 Ie Polizeiregistratur Nr. 1189a.

Irene Mayer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Fritz Kleine, "Lichtenburg," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 182–183.

2. Ibid., p. 182.

3. Ibid., p. 183.

4. Ibid., p. 184.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., p. 185.

8. Ibid., p. 183.

WEISSWASSER

In March 1933, the SA established the Weisswasser early concentration camp in an SA hostel in Liegnitz, Prussia.

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

Primary sources are not available for this camp.

Joseph Robert White

WERDEN

In the spring of 1933, the detention center in Werden, Prussian Düsseldorf, became a "protective custody" camp under unknown authority. The camp was dissolved in June 1933.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard work on the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther

Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

Primary documentation for Werden can be found in the BA-BL, Abteilung Potsdam, Film 14929.

Joseph Robert White

WITTMOR

After Hitler took power, the Nazis began to put the police and justice system in Hamburg under their control. At the same time, the number of imprisoned political opponents rapidly increased to 1,750 people between March and May 1933 alone.¹

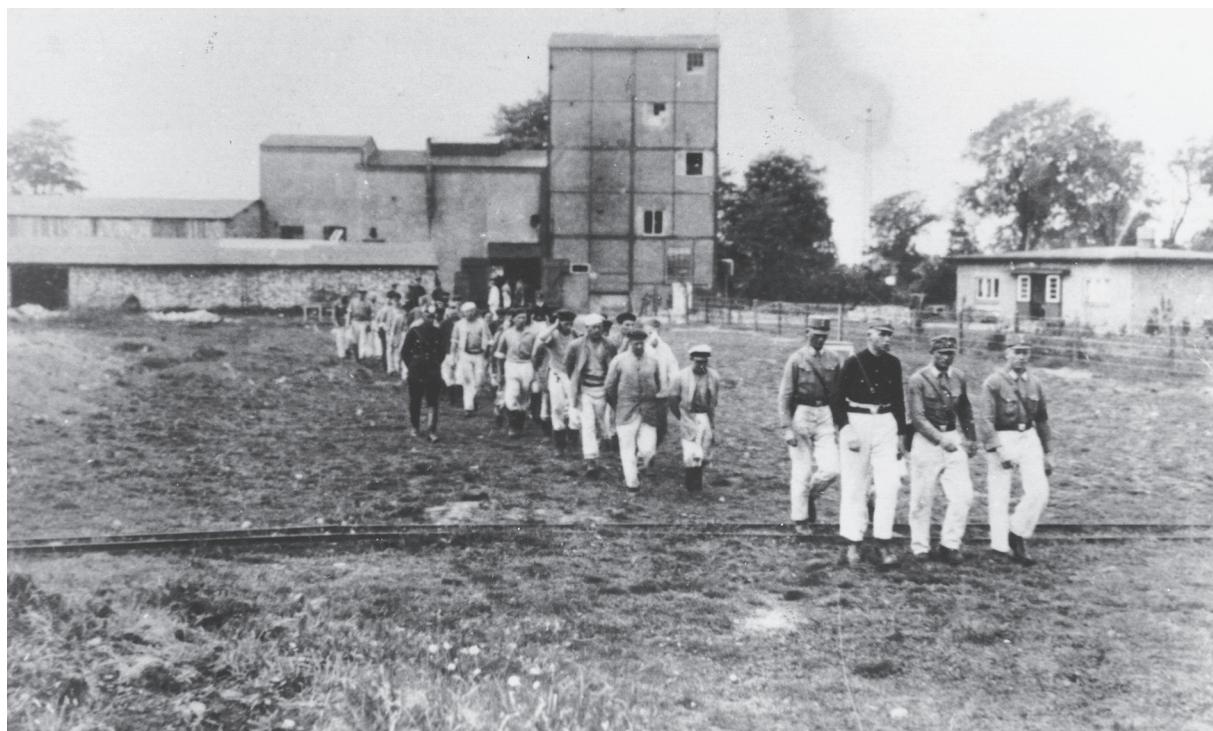
The prisoners held in "protective custody" were initially interned in the Hamburg remand center at Holstenglacis. In view of the constantly growing number of prisoners and the increasing length of imprisonment, the correctional service made an empty building complex on the grounds of the Fuhlsbüttel penal complex available in March 1933. The dreaded Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp later emerged out of this provisional camp.

At the same time, the police president tried to find accommodations for protective custody prisoners that would make it possible for them to be employed in productive agricultural work. The choice fell on the site at Wittmoor. (From a legal point of view, Wittmoor was considered a "protective custody camp." In original documents, however, it is again and again referred to as a "concentration camp for Communists.") A visit to the site revealed that the rooms in the Wittmoor peat factory were adequate for the immediate accommodation of those prisoners currently on hand. For the further accommodation of around 200 people, the interned Communists were supposed to make the necessary preparations.² The construction of the Wittmoor camp was therefore ordered on March 31, 1933.

Wittmoor was initially occupied by 20 prisoners who were watched by a guard unit of 14 police officers. The camp was under the supervision of the police authority. The first inmates were to repair the buildings on the construction site. Occupancy of around 150 prisoners was planned.

In the following months the number of prisoners at Wittmoor steadily increased; already in May, 100 prisoners were accommodated at Wittmoor. The highest occupancy was reached in October 1933 with 140 prisoners, then went down to 110 in October.³

The prisoners were deployed—in addition to the extension and maintenance work on the buildings—in peat extraction and processing: cutting peat, laying it out to dry and piling (curling) it, and processing it into bales or fuel. A witness reports: "During the day we had to meet our quota in the bog or on the bank. In our free time we could go walking outside. I still have a picture from when I had a visitor. In any case I had already had a girlfriend. We still went into the bogs; we could do that, we could receive visitors and the women passed themselves off as fiancées. We could only receive visitors on Sundays. Our camp leader was a police officer and he was really humane. We were



Prisoners at Wittmoor concentration camp, near Hamburg, perform penal exercises under SA supervision, 1933.
USHMM WS #25686, COURTESY OF LUBA WIEN ROSENKRANTZ

after all prisoners, our freedom had been taken; but he recognized us as political prisoners, as was right.”⁴

In the early days of the camp, there were protests from the prisoners:

The food was delivered from the Glasmoor penal institution. This institution, however, was not provided with extra provisions for us, so the kitchen at Glasmoor diluted the soup. They were watery soups with hardly any potatoes and no meat at all. When I then one day also found a dirty washcloth in my food, I went to the commandant with my cup and explained to him that my comrades refused to go back to work. “We’ll stay seated in front of the mess kit (cup) and won’t pick up anything until we get something decent to eat!” At that time that was still possible. Later in any one of the other camps no one would have had the courage to go to the camp commandant at all. The commandant was rather shocked and immediately called the Gestapo. Then a number of officers showed up and there was a meeting in which a representative of camp leadership and the boss of the peat factory participated. In the following days the food became better. For the time being though, we stayed on hunger strike.⁵

In the meantime, the public also learned about life in the Wittmoor camp. The Hamburg newspapers published sev-

eral reports (some with pictures), and Reich Governor Karl Kaufmann visited the camp several times.⁶ The author and Communist Willi Bredel, who was later incarcerated at Fuhlsbüttel and who described that time in his novel *Die Prüfung*, published a short story about one of these visits.

The business of selling the extracted peat was going well. Simultaneously the need for further accommodations increased. In this context and because there was evidently a large demand for the peat that the prisoners had cut, the police authority considered expanding Wittmoor to a size of 400 to 500 men in August 1933. For reasons of time and money, the plan to construct a solid building was discarded, and an extension of the camp with three barracks of approximately 6 meters by 30 meters (19.7 feet by 98.4 feet) for 80 prisoners each was suggested instead.⁷ In order to bring off this extension the police authorities requested 25,000 Reichsmark (RM) from the treasury, explicitly remarking “that the governing mayor has declared that approval is necessary as state security renders the expense essential.”⁸ Neither the monies nor the planned extension came about.

After a visit to Wittmoor in August 1933, Reich Governor Karl Kaufmann ordered the camp to be handed over to the penal authorities since “there was too little beating up there.”

Justice Senator Rothenberger rejected that order for reasons of security and ordered the prisoners to be transferred to Fuhlsbüttel; after that the Wittmoor camp would once again be made available to the police.

On October 18, 1933, Wittmoor was shut down. Due to peat deliveries and cleaning still to be conducted, 30 prisoners remained temporarily on the grounds.

The prisoners of Wittmoor were transferred to Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp. The sudden and, for those responsible, probably surprising closure of Wittmoor and the transfer of the prisoners to the female wing of the Fuhlsbüttel penitentiary presented police authorities with the problem of keeping prior commitments to the tenant of the peat processing factory, as well as fulfilling outstanding delivery agreements, in addition to completely exploiting the remaining materials. For these reasons, the police chief suggested in a letter to the provincial administration dated October 17, 1933, that even after the closing of the camp 30 prisoners should be driven from Fuhlsbüttel to Wittmoor every day in order to process the remaining peat there.⁹

Wittmoor differed from other concentration camps in various ways. With a maximum of 140 inmates, it was a small camp; it was subordinate to the Hamburg police authority and was run by a police officer; and finally, it only existed for a short time. These circumstances prevented Wittmoor from becoming a "typical" concentration camp—that is, it lacked several characteristics of later concentration camps. Thus, the institutionalization of a distinct, sophisticated camp hierarchy was not necessary and in the short time also not possible.

Even if there were only a few victims at Wittmoor itself, this camp was a link in the chain of Nazi instruments of power and played its role here. Even the short time of its existence reflected fundamental aspects of the camp system established later: deterrence—reeducation—exploitation of labor. "Extermination through work" and purely exterminatory measures were reserved for the later camps.

SOURCES The history of Wittmoor concentration camp was reconstructed for the first time in 1983–1984 by a project of the Department of Youth Didactics at the Norderstedt Adult Education Center. Within the framework of this project, "Searching for traces: National Socialist everyday life in Hamburg and its vicinity" ("Spuren suchen: Nationalsozialistischer Alltag in Hamburg und Umgebung"), a research group, including the author, by chance discovered a document about Wittmoor in an exhibition on Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp. As a result, the group conducted interviews with contemporary witnesses and did research in various archives. The results of nearly two years of research were published for the first time in the book by Willy Klawe, "*Im übrigen herrscht Zucht und Ordnung . . .*: Zur Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Wittmoor" (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1987), as well as in Heimatverein des Kreises Segeberg e.V., Kreisgruppe des Schleswig-Holsteinischen Heimatbundes e.V., *Heimatkundliches Jahrbuch für den Kreis Segeberg* (Sülfeld: Heimatverein des Kreises Segeberg, 1987).

In 2001, Klawe published another article on Wittmoor, which basically referred to the data in the first publication and at the same time served as the basis for this essay: "Wittmoor—das erste Konzentrationslager Hamburgs," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus 1933–1935*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Dis-

tel (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2001), pp. 251–259. A few of the former prisoners at Wittmoor have written about their internment in the camp—for instance, Helmuth Warnke in his memoir *Der verratene Traum: Langenborn; das kurze Leben einer Hamburger Arbeitersiedlung*, 2nd ed. (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1995). Hamburg author Heinz Liepmann, who portrayed the Nazi seizure of power in his novel *Das Vaterland: Ein Tatsachenroman aus Deutschland* (Hamburg: Konkret-Literatur-Verlag, 1979), also published an article on Wittmoor: "Ein Alltag im Konzentrationslager [Wittmoor bei Hamburg. Erlebnisbericht. Mit einer Vorbemerkung der Redaktion]," *Weltbühne* 38 (1933): 1179–1182. Author Willi Bredel, who was imprisoned in Fuhlsbüttel as a Communist (his experiences there are depicted in detail in his novel *Die Prüfung*, 4th ed. [1946; repr., Berlin: Aufbauverlag, 1985]), published a short story on Wittmoor under the title "Das missglückte Experiment" (no bibliographical information available). Presumably he himself was never kept there but used one of the scattered articles that appeared on Wittmoor in the Hamburg newspapers as inspiration.

The number of sources on Wittmoor in archives is sparse, which is due not only to its short period of existence but also to the fact that as a small, temporary protective custody camp Wittmoor was not considered especially important. Finally, it was also subordinate to different authorities. Accordingly, the StA-HH primarily holds documents relating to costs and the profitability of the camp operation. The same can be said about the AG-NG. All of the documents and materials that the above-mentioned research group found and used in the framework of its project, as well as a small exhibit, are located in the AST-No, the archive of the community in whose area the grounds of the former Wittmoor camp are located today.

Willy Klawe
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. From Henning Timpke, quoted in Werner Johe, *Neuengamme: Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg*, 2nd ed. (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1981), p. 9.
2. AG-NG, Schreiben der Domänenverwaltung vom 01.04.1933.
3. Henning Timpke, ed., *Dokumente zur Gleichschaltung des Landes Hamburg 1933* (Hamburg: Christians, 1983), p. 266.
4. See the statement of Arthur Stapelfeldt as quoted in Willy Klawe, "*Im übrigen herrscht Zucht und Ordnung . . .*: Zur Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Wittmoor" (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1987), p. 35.
5. See the statement of Helmuth Warnke as quoted in Klawe, *Wittmoor*, p. 44.
6. HHNa, May 26, 1933; HHFb, June 4, 1933; HHTb, June 2, 1933.
7. StA-HH, Baubehörde 1. Hochbauabteilung am 18.08.1933.
8. StA-HH, Polizeibehörde an Finanzdeputation am 22.08.1933.
9. AG-NG.

WUPPERTAL-BARMEN [AKA KEMNA]

The Wuppertal-Barmen concentration camp was established in Wuppertal at the beginning of July 1933. Wuppertal was an industrial metropolis at the southern border of Germany's principal industrial region, the Ruhr Valley. To most locals the camp was known as "Kemna" because it was located in the Wuppertal neighborhood of Kemna. The date of the camp's opening is not precisely known. On July 6, 1933, a representative of the district presidium in Düsseldorf first mentioned the camp in a report addressed to the Prussian minister of interior. The representative requested permission to establish and use the factory building as a concentration camp as 15 prisoners had already been detained there temporarily.

Although the Prussian Ministry of Interior denied the authorization, the district president of Düsseldorf and the provisional police president in Wuppertal considered the Kemna concentration camp a necessary institution. As the records show, Kemna was not a "wild" camp, since it was not created spontaneously or irrespective of the existing administrative structure. Rather, the establishment of the camp was discussed by the responsible authorities, and they supported it at least for a short period of time. The camp was thus an integral part of the evolving Nazi state and fulfilled what was deemed a necessary task, namely, detaining and maltreating political opponents.

The initiative to establish the Kemna concentration camp apparently arose from the SA-Oberführer and Nazi Party (NSDAP) local branch leader in Wuppertal, Willi Veller, who had been the provisional police president in his hometown since the beginning of July 1933.

The camp was established in an abandoned cotton waste factory in Wuppertal. On the first floor of the main building, a guard room, a registry for new prisoners, and a kitchen were installed. The second floor was used as a sleeping and common room for the guards. The other two floors and the other factory buildings at ground level were used as living quarters for the prisoners. A former coal cellar, called "the bunker," was used as a cell. About 200 to 300 prisoners were supposed to be accommodated in these factory buildings. In the fall of 1933, however, there were around 1,000 inmates imprisoned in Kemna. About 4,500 prisoners were interned in the camp at one time or another.

The first commandant of Kemna was SA-Sturmbannführer Hugo Neuhoff. SA-Obersturmbannführer Alfred Hilgers soon replaced him. Hilgers was the decisive personality in the camp and formed its character. He was commandant until December 1933. His successor, SA-Sturmbannführer Wolters, only led the concentration camp for a few weeks until it was closed in January 1934.

Like the commandants, the camp guards were also SA members. About 35 SA men were permanently assigned to the camp. They were on duty in the areas of the barracks, the administration, and the kitchen and were responsible for camp security. For guard duty, the SA men were divided into

three groups of 10 men. Nearly all the SA men came from Wuppertal and were "Old Fighters" of the Nazi movement. The majority of the guard personnel were between 22 and 28 years old and were recruited overwhelmingly from the ranks of workers, skilled laborers, and craftsmen.

The prisoners came from a similar social background as their guards. This can be explained by the fact that in the early days of Nazi rule it was primarily the members of the workers' parties who were persecuted. Many prisoners also came from Wuppertal and were likewise involved in street fights in preceding years with the SA men who were now guarding them. However, some prisoners were brought to Kemna from other cities and regions of the Lower Rhineland. The most prominent prisoners included the former deputy of the Prussian prime minister and welfare minister, Heinrich Hirtsiefer, member of the German Center Party (Deutsche Zentrumspartei); later Rhineland-Palatinate Minister of Labor Wilhelm Bökenkrüger; the editors Oskar Hoffmann and Emil Quitzau, both members of the Social Democratic Party (SPD); German Communist Party (KPD) member and Member of the Reichstag (MdR), Willy Spicher; and several Wuppertal police officers who had monitored the Nazi movement before the "seizure of power."

From the beginning, living conditions in the camp were very poor. Food consisted of thin soup and a few slices of bread. SA men often stole the meat or fish that was actually provided for the prisoners. The hygienic conditions were miserable: most of the prisoners had to sleep on the bare cement floor in the living quarters. Only a little straw was distributed for some insulation. Just shortly before the camp was closed, beds were installed and paillasses were distributed. Buckets in the dormitories were used as latrines. The buckets were small, and they overflowed regularly.

The camp commander and the guards believed that sufficient medical care for the prisoners was not necessary. Practicing physicians, two of whom were SA members, performed rounds of the wards, but the daily medical "care" was under the supervision of an incompetent and brutal SA man. Therefore, as was common in later SS concentration camps, some prisoners took care of other inmates who had fallen ill.

Work in the Kemna concentration camp was torturous. Only a few prisoners were employed "usefully," working in the camp office, in the kitchen, or as skilled laborers, when things had to be repaired. The majority of the prisoners had to exercise in the factory yard, in any kind of weather, or they had to collect stones from the nearby Wupper River and dump them at another place in the river.

As many prisoners reported after the war, they were tortured at every opportunity. Upon their arrival at the camp, they were beaten with cudgels and straps. The torture continued in the receiving room during registration. Eventually, all new prisoners were kicked and struck as they were driven into the dormitories or the bunker. At night, the prisoners were taken away for "interrogation." There, the SA men and sometimes even camp Commandant Hilgers beat the defenseless prisoners. The prisoners then had to undress and lie down on

a table in the SA common room. They were then thrashed until they lost consciousness. After being revived with cold water, they were forced to count the lashes or to sing songs. It is understandable, then, why the guards called their torture chambers "singing cells" (*Singstube*).

Torture was not carried out by the guard detail alone. Every once in a while, the police came to the camp to question the inmates regarding hidden weapons or in an effort to extract the names of KPD members. If the interrogated persons did not provide the information, both the policemen and the SA would beat the prisoners.

During a weapons search action at a sewage plant on August 26, 1933, prisoners were forced to search for weapons in the sludge. A group of onlookers gathered around the prisoners and the guards to watch them working. To drive away the onlookers, the SA fired into the crowd and killed a child. The crime remained unpunished, legal proceedings were discontinued, and the father of the child was paid compensation. No prisoners were killed in Kemna. At least two prisoners, however, died after their release from maltreatment and injuries they had suffered in the camp.

As the killing of the child illustrates, the Kemna concentration camp was relatively well known in Wuppertal. Newspapers also reported about the camp. After a visit of Prussian Crown Prince August Wilhelm to the concentration camp, an article describing the "idyllic camp" appeared in the local coordinated press on September 18, 1933.

When the camp was closed on January 19, 1934, most of the prisoners had already been released. Around 200 prisoners who had been classified as particularly dangerous, however, were taken to the Börgermoor concentration camp, one of the so-called Emsland moor camps.

The first legal investigations began only a few months after Kemna was closed. The Prussian Ministry of Justice authorized the State Attorney's Office in Wuppertal to initiate investigations into the abuses at Kemna. The leading investigating officer, state attorney Gustav Winckler, questioned numerous former prisoners and came to the conclusion in his final report on December 29, 1934, that "many protective custody prisoners had been exposed to serious abuses."

At the same time as the state attorney's investigation, the Supreme Nazi Party Court in Munich carried out its own proceedings against those chiefly responsible at the Kemna camp. On April 1, 1935, the party court acquitted them of the accusations of extreme cruelty. Virtually, this also put an end to the state attorney's proceedings. On February 25, 1936, it was struck down by a Führer Decree.

The Führer Decree, however, only temporarily suppressed judicial reckoning of the atrocities committed in Kemna. After the end of World War II, former Kemna prisoners successfully appealed to have the case reopened. On February 28, 1948, the first German concentration camp trial of the postwar period began at the Wuppertal Regional Court. Twenty-six former guards—among them Hilgers—sat in the defendants' dock. More than 200 witnesses appeared, and during the 43 days of hearings, they reported on 220 different cases of abuse.

On May 15, 1948, the presiding judge, Landgerichtsdirektor Dr. Heineberg, pronounced the judgment: Former camp commandant Hilgers was condemned to death, and four other accused were sentenced to life imprisonment. Some of the other accused received extended imprisonment, and eight men were acquitted. In the ruling of the court, Judge Heineberg spoke of "a torture chamber of the worst kind." Later the death penalty against Hilgers was changed to life imprisonment and finally into a 15-year prison sentence. Shortly before Christmas 1956, Hilgers, the last of the former SA guard staff still imprisoned, was released.

The Kemna concentration camp was representative of the early camps; in these camps, the characteristics of the later concentration camp system could already be recognized. Admittedly, no one was systematically murdered in Kemna. Nevertheless, the camp was rightly referred to as—as the prisoners had named it—the "Hell of Kemna."

SOURCES Hardly anything has been published on the Kemna camp. Besides some local historical studies, there is a memoir by Karl Ibach, *Kemna: Wuppertaler Lager der SA; 1933* (Wuppertal: VVN, 1948).

In 1984, the AST-W published a small volume of source material: *KZ Kemna 1933–1934. Eine Quellendokumentation* (Wuppertal: Stadtarchiv, 1984). Most of the source material is located in the NWHStA-(D) and mostly consists of investigation and trial records.

Jan Erik Schulte
trans. Irene Mayer

ZSCHORLAU

On April 21, 1933, the SS, SA, and Aue police established an early concentration camp in Zschorlau, Saxony. The authorities occupied the grounds of an abandoned factory, Firma August Wellner & Söhne, without paying rent. Although Zschorlau had a capacity for holding approximately 500 detainees, the total population did not exceed 207. Eighty percent of the prisoners were Communists. One prisoner was Jewish. The commandant, SS-Scharführer Robert Philipp Weissmann, was a fanatical National Socialist. The camp administration used Communist Party funds for the procurement of prisoners' eating utensils, clothing, and other supplies. Confined to an industrial waste pit, the prisoners were chained by the legs to prevent escape. Zschorlau's harsh conditions and rough interrogations caused the deaths of Otto Hempel, Paul Höhl, Albert Höhnel, Erich Pilz, and Alfred Schädlich. The camp was disbanded on July 12, 1933, and its prisoners removed to larger early concentration camps at Sachsenburg and Zwickau.

The trial of Weissmann reveals the career pattern of an early camp commandant. Joining the Nazi Party (membership number 147328) and SA on August 1, 1929, and the SS on December 22, 1930, Weissmann expressed early hostility toward Jews and Communists. In the late 1920s he quit a job as store assistant at Firma Nickel und Co., on grounds of its

allegedly “Jewish” character.¹ Weissmann participated in anti-Communist street brawls in the early 1930s. After Zschorlau’s dissolution, he joined the Security Police in 1935. For the mass murder of Jews in the Nowy Targ district in Zakopane, Poland, in 1942 and 1943, the Freiburg state court sentenced him in 1965 to seven years’ imprisonment. He was not held accountable, however, for crimes perpetrated at Zschorlau.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard work on the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); the memorial for the Zschorlau early camp is recorded in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999).

Primary sources about Zschorlau include AKr-A-Sch, Komitee der Antifaschisten Widerstandskämpfer der Kreis Stollberg-Aue-Schwarzenberg, ed., *83 Tage KZ Zschorlau* (Aue, 1978), as cited in Endlich et al. Additional references appear in the SHStA-(D), Kreishauptmannschaft Zwickau, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland. Robert Weissmann’s *Lebenslauf* (curriculum vitae) appears in his trial summary, case number 1 Ks. 1/64, in Irene Sagel-Grande, H.H. Fuchs, and C.F. Rüter, eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen, 1945–1966* (Amsterdam: University Press of Amsterdam, 1979), 21:175–178. A gloss of the Weissmann case is available at the Justiz und NS-Verbrechen Web site at www1.jur.uva.nl/juns/brd/files/brd593.htm.

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NOTE

1. Case 1 Ks. 1/64, Lebenslauf of Robert Weissmann, in Irene Sagel-Grande, H.H. Fuchs, and C.F. Rüter, eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen, 1945–1966* (Amsterdam: University Press of Amsterdam, 1979), 21:176.

ZWEIBRÜCKEN

The penal institution at Zweibrücken, in Bavaria, served from March to June 1933 as a “protective custody” camp under unknown authority. The detainee population fluctuated considerably during these months: there were over 400 prisoners in April, 91 in late May, and approximately 300 by June 30.

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

An ITS listing for Zweibrücken can be found in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:174.

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ZWICKAU

On approximately March 10, 1933, the SA and SS in Zwickau established a “protective custody” camp inside Osterstein Castle, located at Katherinenhof 12. Used as a penitentiary from 1775 to 1962, Osterstein was the second early concentration camp in Saxony, following the establishment of Plaue bei Flöha. On April 12, 1933, the camp held 108 detainees. By August 1, 1933, the population had increased to 275. Overall, some 750 prisoners were held at Zwickau, primarily leftists, Christians, and Jews. Among them was a Social Democratic deputy to the Saxon Diet, Eugen Fritsch.

Zwickau imposed a severe regimen. The diet consisted of thin soups with little nutritional value. For at least one month, the detainees slept in dank cells without light or warmth. Their beds were retractable cots suspended from the walls. As a form of degradation, they had to march in an enclosure in view of the local population.

The SA designated a room in the castle expressly for interrogation and torture. Passersby reported hearing the victims’ agonies from adjacent streets, but the details are not available. Among the victims was Communist official Martin Hoop, who had been held at Zwickau for less than one week. Hoop was shot to death on the night of May 12, 1933. As per convention, the SA blamed his death on an escape attempt.¹ Still other prisoners committed suicide following maltreatment.

The Osterstein protective custody camp was dissolved on February 1, 1934, and its detainees were removed to the early concentration camp at Sachsenburg.

On April 17, 1948, during the Soviet occupation, the Zwickau State Court convicted four Osterstein guards for their activities in 1933. The published record does not specify the charges, their unit, or following German practice, their last names. Convicted were Kurt B., who received life imprisonment; Wilhelm Sp., confined to penitentiary for 15 years; Willi R., sentenced to 6 years in penitentiary; and Kurt K., who was also sentenced to 6 years in penitentiary.²

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). An excellent overview of this camp may be found in Stefanie Endlich et al., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). Osterstein does not have a memorial. See also Mike Schmeitzner, “Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen, 1933–1945,” in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenhauer Verlag, 2002), pp. 183–199.

Primary documentation for Zwickau-Osterstein, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland and Schmeitzner, begins with File No. 4842 in SHStA-(D), Ministerium für Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten. Also available in the same archive is file KH Zwickau, No. 3045/I, concerning the death of Martin Hoop. As cited by Drobisch and Wieland, there

is also survivors' testimony for Zwickau and three other camps in a booklet by Felix Burger (pseud. Kurt R. Grossmann), *Juden in brauner Hölle* (Prague, 1933). During the first years of the Nazi regime, Grossmann interviewed 270 early camp survivors in Prague on behalf of the Liga der Menschenrechte. An overview of the Zwickau proceeding, case number St Ks 25/48, is found in Der Generalstaatsanwalt der DDR, Ministerium der Justiz der DDR, ed., *Die Haltung der beiden deutschen Staaten zu den Nazi- und Kriegsverbrechen: Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin [East]: Staatsverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1965). The Zwickau camp is also listed in the ITS, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1: 233. The Social Democratic

exile press also listed the early camp. See "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, August 27, 1933.

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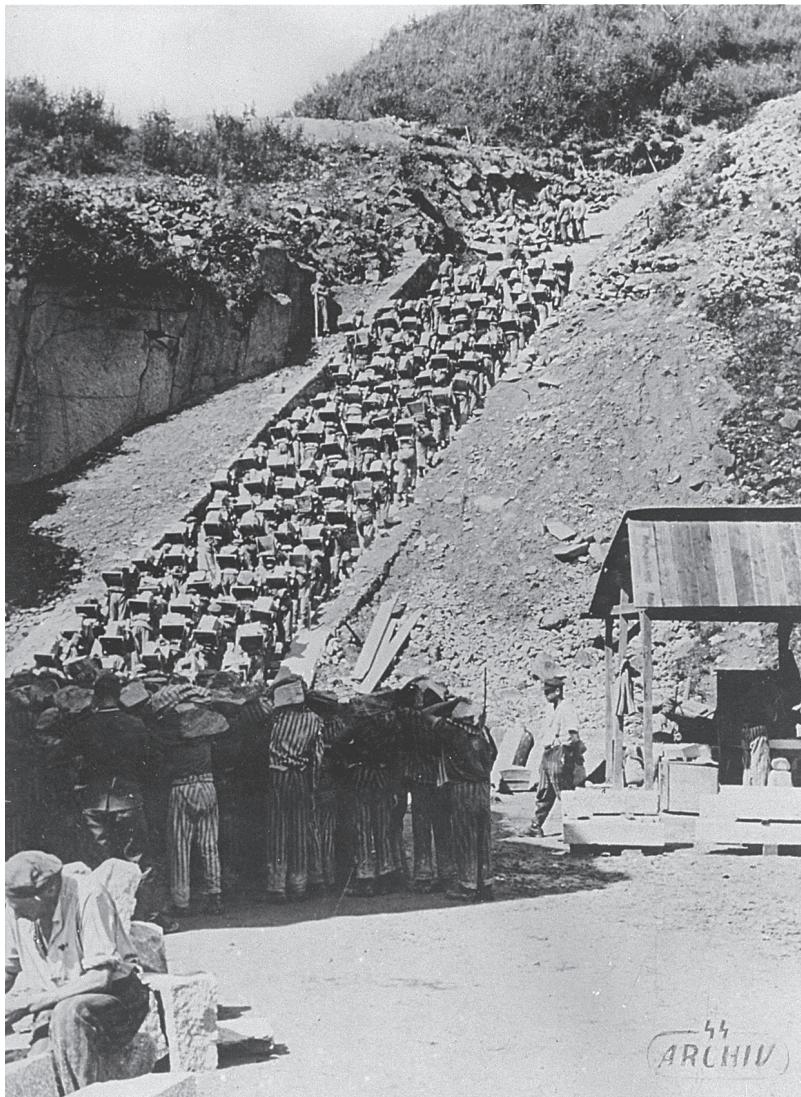
NOTES

1. KH Zwickau, No. 3045/I, SHStA-D, as cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 129.

2. Der Generalstaatsanwalt der DDR, Ministerium der Justiz der DDR, ed., *Die Haltung der beiden deutschen Staaten zu den Nazi- und Kriegsverbrechen: Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin [East]: Staatsverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1965), p. 41.

SECTION II

CAMPS AND SUBCamps UNDER THE SS-INSPECTORATE OF CONCENTRATION CAMPS/ BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION MAIN OFFICE



The "stairs of death" at Mauthausen's Wiener Graben granite quarry, 1942.
USHMM WS # 15622, COURTESY OF AG-M

THE GENESIS AND STRUCTURE OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONCENTRATION CAMPS

FROM POLITICAL PROTECTIVE CUSTODY CAMP TO CONCENTRATION CAMP

During the first year of the National Socialist regime, the National Socialists established a large number of prisons that soon held tens of thousands of prisoners.¹ The prisons were established to terrorize the regime's opponents. The orgy of violence that took place was aimed, first, against the political opponents of the National Socialists. It marked a fundamental break with the Weimar Republic, even though Weimar was marked by a comparatively high level of violence. German and international opinion noted that the violence had escalated to a new level.

In hindsight and in light of the later years of the National Socialist regime, this assessment becomes relative. The terror in 1933–1934 was the consequence of the establishment of an authoritarian dictatorship. It was not necessarily the first step of a plan to establish a comprehensive system of terror and extermination. The camps created in 1933–1934 show little uniformity and were fundamentally different from those that

were established after 1936. The differences relate to the institutional support for the camps, the organizational structures, the persecution methods, the groups targeted for persecution, the prison conditions, and the number of victims. If one wants to grasp this analytically, for this phase the term *concentration camp* has to be discarded. The more appropriate term, which is already used by some researchers, is the term *early camp*.

The appointment of Heinrich Himmler in April 1934 as head of the Prussian Geheimes Staatspolizeiamt (Secret State Police Office, Gestapo) and the murder of Ernst Röhm and the SA leadership in June of that year marked a change: the Bavarian group of the SS leadership under Himmler and Reinhard Heydrich prevailed in their struggle with the rival SA, the newly appointed heads of the states, and Nazi Party provincial chiefs (Gauleiter) for control over the Political Police and the camps. These events formed the basis for Himmler's unification of the Political Police throughout the Reich, as well as the subsequent unification of the existing camps and prisons. In 1933, Theodor Eicke had developed in Dachau,



the earliest SS camp, the model for camp governance. Himmler appointed Eicke as inspector of concentration camps and instructed him either to dissolve the existing camps or to restructure them in accordance with the Dachau model. He also established a subordinate and at first a small administrative office, the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL). This office would in time develop into the central administrative body for all concentration camps: the IKL regulated all matters related to the conditions of concentration camp inmates and ultimately decided on the life or death of the prisoners. The only matters that the IKL did not decide were the admission and the release of prisoners from the concentration camps (although the camps later were places from which most people did not return, prisoners did obtain releases before the war and even sometimes after it began). These decisions rested not with the IKL but with the Political Police.

The period between 1934 and 1936 is marked by the dissolution and reorganization of the existing camps and by

Himmler's efforts to remove the camps from the influence of other authorities. However, this change did not automatically result in the development of the camp system. During this period there was open discussion on whether to dissolve the whole camp system and to hand over the "protective custody" prisoners to the judicial authorities who would integrate them back into the normal prison system. This shows that the establishment phase of the National Socialist regime had come to an end—it had politically isolated its opponents, locked them up, or murdered them. The number of prisoners sank to its low point, as did the number of camps, which had been subordinated by Eicke to the IKL during the reorganization.

That the protective custody camps were retained is the result of a number of fundamental decisions made by Hitler in 1935: using Himmler's model, Hitler decided not only that prisoners would continue to remain under the control of the SS but that the guards would be expanded into a military organization. By the middle of the 1930s there existed five so-



Official portrait of SS-Obergruppenführer Theodor Eicke, the first Inspector of Concentration Camps (1934–1939), taken after he assumed wartime command of the SS-Totenkopfsdivision.
USHMM WS #80530, COURTESY OF NARA

called SS-Death's Head Battalions (*Totenkopfsturmbanne*), which were stationed at the early IKL camps, designated Upper Bavaria (stationed at Dachau), East Friesia (Esterwegen), Elbe (Lichtenburg), Sachsen (Sachsenburg), and Brandenburg (Columbia-Haus).² Hitler also approved Himmler's suggestion that the state finance both the guards and the protective custody camps and that the camp system be removed from the judicial system.³

The consolidation process came to an end in the summer of 1936 with the third Gestapo Law, the appointment of Himmler as chief of the German police, and the consolidation of the Political Police and the Criminal Police (Kripo) under the roof of the Security Police (Sipo). Himmler, with the express support of Hitler, had once again prevailed over the state premiers, the Ministry of Interior, and the Ministry of Justice. From this point on, the traditional authorities lost all influence over the camps. It was only now that the preconditions for a camp system had been created. Within a year, Himmler had dissolved those camps that were already under the control of the IKL. They proved to be too small for his plans. In the summer of 1937, all the camps, with the exception of Dachau, were dissolved or handed over to other institutions (for example, the Gestapo or the judicial authorities). In their place appeared a new type of camp—the National Socialist concentration camp.

Five new concentration camps were established between 1936 and the beginning of the war—Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, and Ravensbrück. Dachau was significantly enlarged during the same period. These concentration camps are to be treated as part of a system, separate from the earlier camps and prisons not only because they were established within the same period and were under the same organizational umbrella of the IKL but because the SS leadership strived to ensure that it was only these camps that were called "concentration camps." There were a number of other factors that made these camps novel: all the camps were structured on the basis of the Dachau model with a uniform administrative and organizational structure. An essential structural element was, first, the separation of the guards and the camp command. Depending on the size of the concentration camp, the guards were divided into several companies, while the camp command split into several subgroups, the so-called departments: the command/adjutant's office, the political department, the protective custody camp, administration, and the camp or station doctor, as well as the guards.⁴ The basic features of this division of the command staff remained in force in all concentration camps until the collapse of the Third Reich.⁵

Second, all the prisoners were subject to the same "camp order," which is characterized by the attempt to systematize terror by standardizing it. Further, the expansion of the concentration camp system after 1936 was closely connected with preparations for war. As an example, one can mention political security aspects such as considering whether to establish a concentration camp in the border areas of the German Reich or in central regions (such as close to the capital city or in areas regarded as politically unstable, such as Thüringen) or

whether to establish a wide net of SS-controlled detention sites. Himmler was also successful in building the armed SS formations into the "nation's second bearer of arms." He had the SS-Death's Head Units, which supplied the concentration camp guards, transformed into a military unit.⁶ The SS leadership merged the SS-Death's Head Battalions into three units. Known from April 1, 1937, as the SS-Totenkopfstandarten (Death's Head Regiments), the units were transferred to the Dachau, Sachsenhausen, and Buchenwald concentration camps as the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Totenkopfstandarten, respectively. In the autumn of 1938, the 4th SS-Totenkopfstandarte Ostmark was sent to the Mauthausen concentration camp.

Another, but decisive, factor that justifies designating the camps established after 1936 as National Socialist concentration camps is the fundamental change in persecution. From the middle of the 1930s the principle of "racial general prevention" (Ulrich Herbert) began to prevail within the Gestapo leadership. The waves of arrests in 1937 and 1938, which were aimed at so-called asocials (and no longer at the regime's political opponents), show that viewing the opposition in saviorist and racial-biological terms had gained hold in the practice of the persecuting authorities.⁷ The number of prisoners in the concentration camps grew considerably in 1937–1938—the result of expanding the definition of those groups seen as a threat to the state and the German Volk and massive arrests of "criminals" and "asocials." They reached a high-water mark with the 1938 November pogrom (*Kristallnacht*). Dragging around 30,000 Jews into concentration camps for six to eight weeks and their barbarous treatment served to increase the pressure on the Jews to emigrate from Germany, while leaving behind their property.⁸

From 1937 to 1938 one has to assume an increase in the exploitation of the concentration camp prisoners. During the first years of National Socialist rule, prisoner labor involved completely senseless tasks or was used to expand the camps. Now the SS used the prisoners for its own economic interests. Oswald Pohl, the SS administrative head, coordinated economic activities, in particular, those of the SS-owned companies such as the Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (German Earth and Stone Works Ltd., DEST) or the Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH (German Equipment Works Ltd., DAW), both of which Himmler ordered formed in this period. In 1938, he offered to supply building materials for the planned National Socialist city building program; the materials were to be produced by concentration camp prisoners. Albert Speer, in his role as general building inspector for the Reich Capital, seized the offer because at this time there was a noticeable shortage of labor in the building sector. The location of new concentration camps was now dependant on whether quarries or clay sites were in the vicinity. The prisoners were to produce the necessary building materials in specially constructed brickworks. However, productivity fell far short of Himmler's promises. The quarries were particularly brutal work detachments where the SS caused the deaths of many people. The waves of arrests in 1937–1938 that had been directed in particular against the so-called asocials,

professional criminals, and the "work-shy" were a "preventative measure to protect the racial community" and to forcibly recruit labor.⁹ Both aims complemented one another.

From 1937 to 1938 there was a fundamental change in the composition of the prisoner population. The SS adapted to the changes by altering the means of camp control: in reaction to the admission of new victim groups, they now began to mark the prisoners. It was only now that the prisoners were categorized according to a uniform scheme and marked with a triangular patch whose color indicated the supposed or actual reason for imprisonment. The systematic categorization of the prisoner groups proved to be an instrument of control. The division of the prisoners into subgroups enabled the SS to shift the terror to the prisoner groups. This was also achieved by transferring defined administration and guard duties to selected prisoners, the so-called prisoner-functionaries.

The transfer of a comprehensive sociobiological and racial concept into the practice of the persecuting authorities proved to be a decisive moment. Not only political opponents of the National Socialist regime were threatened with persecution and imprisonment but also, and even foremost, social groups that for social-hygienic or racial reasons had to be "kept safe." Until its collapse the National Socialist regime followed both goals—the persecution of political as well as "racial" opponents of the state and the racial community. As the camps were transformed into enforcement sites for "racial general prevention" and the composition of the prisoner groups fundamentally changed, a new type of camp arose that was historically unique: the National Socialist concentration camp.

THE FIRST HALF OF THE WAR

The concentration camp system expanded once the war began. During the first half of the war, the IKL opened five new concentration camps: Auschwitz, Neuengamme, Natzweiler, Gross-Rosen, and Majdanek (as well as the concentration camp at Niederhagen near Paderborn and the SS-Special Camp Hinzert in the Hunsrück, which had a special position within the concentration camp system). In less than three years the number of prisoners quadrupled: from around 21,000 in August 1939 to an estimated 70,000 to 80,000 in the spring of 1942.¹⁰

The number of SS guards had also increased considerably: since the end of the 1930s the SS-Death's Head Regiments had gradually lost their importance as a pure concentration camp guard force. In order to have a replacement force for the SS-Special Assignment Troops (SSVT) in case of war, Himmler expanded and militarized the SS-Death's Head Units. Hitler supported this development with a fundamental order. The decree of August 17, 1938, required that the SS and police tasks be redefined and that those of the SS be distinguished from those of the Wehrmacht. The decree (and the supplementary decree of May 18, 1939) enabled the armed SS units, especially the SSVT, to become the "Nation's second bearer of arms."¹¹ The militarization of the SS-Death's Head Units occurred not least because the Wehrmacht was success-

ful in preventing an enlargement of the SSVT. According to a report by Eicke to Himmler, by the middle of 1939, the strength of the Death's Head Units had increased to 22,033 men.¹² If this is correct, then the number of SS guards at this time exceeded the number of concentration camp prisoners.

The expansion and training of the Death's Head Units did not occur solely with the aim of deployment in war. The SS anticipated that after the outbreak of war there would be an increase in the numbers of "enemy elements" within the state and in the conquered countries, which were to be "fought" inside the concentration camps. Simultaneously, with the military training of the Death's Head Units, the reservists were called up and added to the concentration camp guard force.¹³ The so-called reinforcement of the Death's Head Units (also referred to as police reinforcements) essentially consisted of older men from the Allgemeine (General) SS. The call up was based on the "emergency decree" of October 15, 1938.¹⁴ An important stage on the road to a unified "state security corps" (to which, first and foremost, the fusion of police and SS personnel was an essential part) was the dovetailing of the SSVT and Death's Head Units, the pace of which had increased since summer 1938.¹⁵ At the beginning of the war, Himmler gave Eicke, who until this time had been



SS-Gruppenführer Richard Glücks, the second Inspector of Concentration Camps (1939–1945).
USHMM WS #79545, COURTESY OF BA

the inspector of concentration camps and leader of the Death's Head Units, the military command of the SS-Death's Head Regiments, which until now had been based in the concentration camps. In October 1939, these units were merged into one division: the SS-Totenkopf Division.¹⁶

At the commencement of the war, the SS-Death's Head Regiments marched into Poland and later were merged into the SS-Totenkopf Division under Eicke's command. While this was happening, the police reinforcements took over the role of guarding the concentration camp prisoners. At the same time, many SS members who were serving in the concentration camp command offices remained at their posts. The IKL needed them to expand the concentration camp system: they developed into the leadership group of the "SS concentration camps," into a group expert in terror.¹⁷ In the middle of November, Himmler named Richard Glücks as Eicke's successor. He had been Eicke's deputy for many years and was chief of the IKL staff.¹⁸ For the time being, the IKL continued to be subordinate to the SS-Main Office (Hauptamt). In August 1940, when the SS-Main Command Office (Führungshauptamt) was formed, Himmler ordered that IKL be subordinate to this office.¹⁹ The SS Main Command Office had the task of coordinating and organizing the military leadership of the Waffen-SS, so the SS personnel deployed in the concentration camps were now members of the Waffen-SS.²⁰ This bureaucratic restructure had scarcely any practical consequences; it was essentially a matter of form. The IKL remained, as it did before the war, directly responsible to Himmler. Likewise, the authority over admissions to and release from the concentration camps changed in form but not in substance. The Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), which had been formed in September 1939, now had the responsibility. Reinhard Heydrich was appointed chief of the RSHA. It represented the organizational fusion of the Security Police (that is, the Kripo and the Gestapo) and the Security Service (SD) of the SS. It was the core of the planned "state security corps" that came to be under the command of the SS leadership.

Shortly after the outbreak of war, a number of actual or potential National Socialist opponents were placed in protective custody, including those who had been in prison but subsequently released (for example, members of the labor movement or Jews who had not emigrated after their release from concentration camps in 1938–1939). However, for the first time, other groups were taken into custody, such as members of the clergy, those who had previous convictions, those accused of being "work-shy," or those who were suspected of causing "unrest" in the population. The significant increase in prisoner numbers was, however, first and foremost the result of the incarceration of people from countries conquered by the Wehrmacht.

The arrests in Western Europe were primarily directed against resistance groups and saboteurs; in Eastern Europe, they also partially took the form of summary waves of arrests that were aimed to support the implementation of National Socialist population policy as well as the forcible recruitment of labor. From 1940, the non-German prisoners, especially

Poles, constituted a significant percentage of the prisoners; in some concentration camps they constituted the majority of the prisoners during the first half of the war. This tendency steadily grew stronger. Leaving aside the differing developments in the different concentration camps, one can say for the concentration camp system as a whole that during the war the German prisoners became a small minority. The group of "Reich Germans," that is, the German and Austrian prisoners, constituted by the end of the war around 5 to 10 percent of all concentration camp prisoners.

The increasing internationalization of the prisoners fundamentally changed the internal structure of the prisoner groups, possibly to an even greater degree than that which occurred in 1937–1938. The triangle marking system of the prewar period was replaced by a national hierarchy of prisoner groups, based on "racial" criteria. For the most part, the SS gave the so-called Reich German concentration camp prisoners a privileged position (regardless of which triangle they wore) within the system of prisoner-functionaries or a protected position in a work detachment. However, Slavic or Jewish prisoners were subject to exceptional persecution and the worst work detachments.

The outbreak of the war resulted in a worsening of the prisoners' conditions: the SS reduced the food and increased the work as well as the mistreatment. From the first winter of the war, the most common reason for deaths in the concentration camps may have been malnourishment. The reduction in food, the worsening accommodations, and the nonexistent or limited medical care in the concentration camps increased the rate of malnutrition, disease, and epidemics; the death rate increased dramatically, especially in winter.²¹ The effect of this worsening situation was not the same for the different national and social groups. Prisoners in the punishment companies, Jewish concentration camp inmates, Slavic prisoners, and the "Red Spaniards" in Mauthausen/Gusen had the highest death rates. The SS exposed most of the prisoners to conditions that were on the edge of a subsistence level of survival but did not intend their extermination. However, some groups in the first half of the war were the target of a deliberate policy of extermination. The deadly terror of the SS was directed in the first instance against prisoners of Slavic origin as well as Jews.

In the first half of the war, the IKL concentration camps were not an instrument that served primarily to imprison and terrorize the Jewish population. Jews were held in the concentration camps, but their numbers, both relatively and absolutely, were small. The majority of the Jews who came within the German sphere of power during the war were driven into other places of detention, above all, to the numerous ghettos and "forced labor camps for Jews." The concentration camp system was only one element of the National Socialist policy of persecution and extermination. There were other types of camps and forms of terror, especially against the Jews. Within the concentration camp system, the Jewish prisoners, though, were exposed to special, sometimes fatal, harassment.

PLANNED MASS KILLINGS AND PILOT PROJECTS ON LABOR USE

The year 1941 marked a qualitative new level of terror in the concentration camp system. The SS had used the concentration camps since the very beginning to kill particular individuals or prisoner groups; in a few concentration camps the murders in part took on a systematic nature. In the spring of 1941, there occurred the first planned and systematic mass murder throughout the entire concentration camp system.²² The murders are to be regarded not only as typical for individual concentration camps but as typical for all the camps. The first such action was directed against the sick and weakened prisoners, who were increasingly regarded by the SS as a burden in the overcrowded camps. The second action was against Russian prisoners of war (POWs) designated as "Russian commissars." From April 1941 on, a doctor's committee engaged in "euthanasia," a killing organization known as "T4" after its location in 4 Tiergarten Strasse, Berlin, toured the concentration camps to select out the ill and weakened prisoners. T4 was active in at least 10 concentration camps between April 1941 and April 1942. The selected prisoners were killed by carbon monoxide in the "euthanasia institutions" at Bernburg, Sonnenstein, or Hartheim. The camp SS also used the killing actions to have Jewish and politically unwanted prisoners murdered. At least 10,000, possibly between 15,000 and 20,000, prisoners were killed.²³ From the summer of 1941 the murder program, named "14f13" after the IKL file, overlapped with the murder of Soviet prisoners of war.

Himmler had formed an agreement with the Wehrmacht that some Soviet prisoners of war would come under his jurisdiction. Beginning in October 1941, he ordered two large camp complexes established for this purpose: the Waffen-SS prisoner of war camps Majdanek and Birkenau. Both were subordinate to the IKL; Majdanek was an independent concentration camp, while Birkenau was a subcamp of Auschwitz until 1943. In the autumn of 1941, the Wehrmacht handed over to Himmler several tens of thousands of Soviet POWs. They were distributed among the existing concentration camps and the so-called prisoner of war camps (or prisoner of war labor camps), which were now adjunct to all concentration camps. In essence, they were specially fenced off areas of the protective custody camps into which the SS crowded the Soviet soldiers (who were not entered in the camp registers). Apparently, Himmler planned to use them as a labor force if required; de facto, without food, they were left to die.

The soldiers were not only exposed to hunger and epidemics, but it is known that at least in Auschwitz a Gestapo special commission selected the so-called political commissars and shot some of them.²⁴ The majority of the "political commissars" who were killed in the concentration camps came from Wehrmacht camps. A decree of the Armed Forces High Command (OKW) provided that Soviet prisoners of war who were determined to be "commissars" were to be handed over to the SS-Einsatzgruppen or the Einsatzkommandos of the Security Police and the SD. Heydrich's *Einsatzbefehl Nr. 8* of July 17,

1941, set the criteria for determining who were "political commissars" and how they were to be "eliminated" from the POW camps. On July 21, Heydrich determined that they were to be murdered in the nearest concentration camp.²⁵ Mass shootings began in all concentration camps in the late summer of 1941; it is thought that at least 34,000 (possibly more than 45,000) Soviet POWs were victims of the shootings.²⁶

It would be a mistake, however, to view 1941 only from the perspective of planned, mass killings. During the same time period, the foundations were laid for the use of concentration camp prisoners in industry.²⁷ There were only a few "pilot projects" at this early juncture: since the spring of 1941, the IKL had leased a few hundred prisoners from Auschwitz to IG Farben and 300 prisoners from Mauthausen to Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG. Both companies were trying to compensate for a labor shortage by using forced laborers; both initially used the concentration camp inmates exclusively for construction work and unskilled labor. Admittedly, however, the majority of personnel during the first half of the war were not recruited from concentration camp prisoners.

The SS leadership accommodated attempts by the companies to access concentration camp labor so long as the demands did not run contrary to its own interests. Himmler was speculating about material gain: in the case of Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG, on cheaper armaments for the Waffen-SS, and in the case of IG Farben, on urgently required building material for the expansion of the Auschwitz concentration camp. Moreover, the SS did not relinquish control over the prisoners, who continued to be accommodated in the respective main camps and who were guarded by SS men while working.

From the companies' point of view, the cooperation with the SS was anything but smooth. They complained that the daily transport of the prisoners to and from work reduced their output and that the prisoners were inefficiently used because there was a shortage of guards. Complaints about the mistreatment of the prisoners had little effect. After about a year, both companies, independently of one another, suggested that the prisoners should be quartered close to the construction sites. After some initial resistance, the SS agreed with the suggestion.

Cooperation with industry during the first half of the war, when considered in light of the whole concentration camp system, was of only small significance. It was only when the function of the concentration camps changed once again and they came to be seen as a labor reservoir for the armaments industry that the cases outlined here came to be seen as a type of model.

The reorganization of labor utilization that the IKL undertook in the autumn of 1941 was at first not aimed at the war industry but primarily on the extensive plans for settlement "in the east." In the summer of 1941, Himmler had commissioned the Generalplan Ost (General Plan East, GPO), which provided an overall plan for population and settlements in the east. The settlement plans were supplemented by an extensive construction program, the "preliminary peace construction program." Himmler wanted to realize his plans almost exclusively with forced labor: with Soviet POWs, concentration

camp prisoners, Jewish prisoners, and foreign civilian workers. It was for this reason and with a view to the “later settlement of the Danzig-West Prussian Gau” that Himmler, at the end of 1941, decided to place the camp at Stutthof, near Danzig, which had been established at the beginning of the war, under the control of the IKL.²⁸

FORCED LABOR AND GENOCIDE WITHIN THE CONCENTRATION CAMP SYSTEM

Himmler dropped the idea of the “preliminary peace construction program” when it became clear during the winter of 1941–1942 that the war against the Soviet Union would be drawn out. It was replaced with a focus on the armaments sector, whose significance in the eyes of the National Socialist leadership rapidly increased. For reasons of pure power politics, Himmler intended to restructure the concentration camps, which had an apparently inexhaustible supply of labor, into a labor reservoir for the war economy. In the first half of 1942, a number of measures were introduced that were aimed to restructure the concentration camp system. In March, Himmler integrated the IKL into the recently established SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) as Office Group D. In doing so, he was trying to prevent Fritz Sauckel, who had been appointed plenipotentiary general for labor deployment, from seizing control of the concentration camp system. With Pohl’s appointment as head of the WVHA, and the subordination of the IKL under the WVHA, Himmler cemented a long-standing development: Pohl’s constantly increasing influence on the concentration camp system.

Pohl began to restructure his office in order to “mobilize all prisoner labor.”²⁹ Moreover, he began negotiations with the Armaments Ministry and private industry. The plans that were initially pursued for the production of weapons in the concentration camps quickly faltered because the Armaments Ministry feared that Himmler would succeed in expanding the

power of the SS by virtue of its own armaments production. In September 1942, Hitler, Himmler, and Speer agreed that concentration camp prisoners would be leased to armaments firms and would be accommodated in specially constructed subcamps.³⁰ It was only now, in the winter of 1942–1943, that the IKL began to open subcamps on any meaningful scale; in 1944–1945, the numbers increased significantly.

The fundamental decision made in the autumn of 1942 had different consequences for the various concentration camp prisoner groups. The decision meant the death penalty for Jews held in concentration camps within the Reich. A directive was sent to all concentration camp commands at the beginning of October 1942 that Himmler wished “to free the concentration camps within the Reich of Jews.”³¹ At least 1,559 Jewish concentration camp prisoners (1,037 men and 522 women) were deported to Auschwitz, where they were probably murdered.³²

For non-Jewish concentration camp prisoners, the decision meant the implementation of institutionalized forced labor in private or state armaments factories. In order to force the use of prisoner labor, the SS command stopped the two planned mass shootings for 1941. Moreover, they succeeded in significantly increasing the number of concentration camp prisoners. In the winter of 1942–1943, Reich Minister for Justice Otto Thierack handed over to Himmler 12,000 so-called *Sicherungsverwahrte* (“preventive detainees” transferred from the judicial system to the concentration camp system) for, in the express words of the minutes of the meeting between the two, “Vernichtung durch Arbeit” (extermination through work).³³ In addition, large-scale roundups and mass arrest operations took place in the German Reich, largely against Polish and Soviet forced laborers. Within the course of six months, the number of concentration camp inmates almost doubled: from around 110,000 prisoners in September 1942 to 203,000 in April 1943. In August 1943, there were 224,000 prisoners in the concentration camps, and one year later, 524,286.³⁴



The SS-WVHA chief, SS-Obergruppenführer Oswald Pohl (left) and an IG Farben official drink wine at a hunting party for Auschwitz SS officers in late 1944.

USHMM WS #34786, COURTESY OF ANONYMOUS DONOR



The chief of the SS-WVHA Office Group D II (labor allocation), SS-Standartenführer Gerhard Maurer (left), in civilian clothes with an SS officer at the Solahütte retreat near Auschwitz in late 1944.

USHMM WS #34789, COURTESY OF ANONYMOUS DONOR

The intended restructuring of the concentration camp system into a labor reservoir for the war economy did not lighten the lot of the concentration camp inmates; it is true that there are many surviving WVHA directives that aimed to improve the efficiency of the labor deployments and to increase the concentration camp prisoners' productivity. However, a look at the camps shows that most of the directives were not put into practice. Only two directives brought about an improvement: first, the camp SS applied for and actually distributed food supplements for those doing heavy labor; and second, from the autumn of 1942, Himmler allowed food packages to be sent to the concentration camps.

The question of the evolution of the death rate is more difficult to judge. What can be shown is that the WVHA explicitly required the camp doctors and commanders to lower the death rate. Viewed in relation to the entire concentration camp system, the death rate in fact did decline: from 10 percent in the second half of 1942 to 2.8 percent in June 1943.³⁵ However, there are three arguments that can be made against the thesis that this represented a general improvement in conditions.³⁶ First, the absolute number of murdered concentration camp prisoners declined far less than the percentages would suggest, due to the large number of new prisoners entering the camps; second, the numbers given to Himmler about the decline in the death rate were partially falsified (so as to demonstrate to him that his demands had been met); and third, the death rates in the concentration camps partially declined because the SS sent the sick and dying prisoners to the killing centers and murdered them there, without registering them.

The rise in value attributed to the labor force did not increase the survival chances of the concentration camp prisoners. On the contrary, the SS valued the labor force even less because it had a mass supply. The chances of surviving a concentration camp were dependent upon the position one had within a work detachment or within the prisoner hierarchy, which was based on "racial" criteria. The restructuring of the concentration camps into a labor reservoir and the actual use of a large number of the prisoners as forced labor did not result in an improvement in prison conditions but rather in their deterioration.

For only a minority of prisoners at the top of the camps' racial hierarchy, or whose professional qualifications benefited the SS, did this not apply. These groups, mostly the German prisoner-functionaries as well as the slowly emerging group of skilled prisoner laborers, were permitted by the SS to have better working and living conditions. It was these two groups alone that benefited from the so-called bonus system introduced in May 1943 and that promised financial bonuses and improved prison conditions for special achievements.³⁷ However, the idea for such a system did not come from the WVHA but from the industries that were using the concentration camp prisoners.

Moreover, in the second half of the war the concentration camp system was not exclusively characterized by attempts on the part of the SS leadership to enforce the principle of forced

labor. Along with the concentration camps, most of which lay in the Old Reich (Altreich), Auschwitz-Birkenau and Majdanek developed into killing centers during this period. Both of these developments, which had already become apparent in 1941, marked the concentration camp system in the second half of the war: the simultaneity of forced labor and genocide. These factors did not contradict each other because they affected different groups of victims: Jews, on the one hand, and non-Jewish concentration camp prisoners, on the other hand.

The basic features of the history of the Auschwitz II-Birkenau killing center are known. The genocide of European Jews in Auschwitz II-Birkenau began at the beginning of 1942; it took on its systematic form in the summer of 1942.³⁸ At first sporadically—but from July 4, 1942, on a regular basis—SS doctors and members of the command staff selected Jews who had been transported to Auschwitz.³⁹ The majority, probably around 80 percent, were sent directly to their deaths.⁴⁰ Those regarded as "capable of working" were deployed in Auschwitz or one of its numerous subcamps until they were physically no longer capable of working. Himmler stopped the extermination in the late summer of 1944. At least 1.2 million people, of whom around 1 million were Jews, had been murdered by the SS.⁴¹

The history of the Majdanek camp falls into four phases. Polish historians describe the camp as a "multi-functional provisional arrangement" because the camp's function often changed and because it never really got out of the planning stage.⁴² The first period (October 1941 to the middle of 1942) is marked by the construction of the camp; the second (to the end of 1942) is marked by an increase in the number of prisoners (mostly Jews and Poles from the Lublin area but also Polish Jews from the Warsaw and Białystok ghettos).⁴³ Majdanek functioned as a killing center from 1943; the SS also used



SS-Standartenführer Dr. Enno Lolling (*second from left*) attends the handover of the SS troop hospital at Birkenau, September 1, 1944. Lolling headed the SS-WVHA's Office D III (Hygiene). To his right is the Auschwitz camp doctor, Eduard Wirths. To his left are: Auschwitz I commandant, SS-Sturmbannführer Richard Baer; Baer's adjutant, SS-Obersturmführer Karl Höcker; and the head of SS-WVHA Office D I (Personnel), SS-Obersturmbannführer Rudolf Höss.

USHMM WS #34810, COURTESY OF ANONYMOUS DONOR

it as a holding area for Polish and Soviet farmers. While Majdanek was developing into a center of genocide of the Jews, there were attempts to integrate the few remaining Jewish prisoners in the General Government (GG) into the economic empire of the WVHA. Indeed, Pohl was able to take the first steps in this direction, but in the autumn of 1943 the National Socialist leadership decided to murder these Jews. They were shot on November 3–4, 1943. The mass murders took place almost simultaneously in three camps—Poniatowa, Trawniki, and Majdanek. The SS units, which gathered at these camps, killed an estimated 40,000 to 43,000 people. In Majdanek, 17,000 Jews were shot, including the camp's approximate 8,000 Jews as well as others from nearby camps.⁴⁴ Operation Harvest Festival (Aktion Erntefest), the code name for the shootings, is one of the largest mass shootings in the history of the National Socialist extermination of the Jews.

In the last phase of the camp's history, until the evacuation of Majdanek, Pohl attempted to reorganize the use of labor for the DAW factories in the Lublin area. The attempts failed. Majdanek functioned more as a place of execution for Polish civilians and a reception camp for sick and weakened concentration camp prisoners. The number of victims at Majdanek lies between 170,000 and 250,000 people, of whom at least 90,000 were Jews.⁴⁵

A final expansion of the concentration camp system occurred in the summer of 1943. Between July and September 1943, Pohl took over the Jewish ghettos, the Reichskommissar Ostland's so-called forced labor camps for Jews, and the Gestapo prison in Warsaw. In January 1944, he took over the forced labor camp for Jews in Kraków. These camps were turned into the independent concentration camps Riga, Kauen [aka Kaunas], Vaivara, Warschau, and Krakau-Plaszow.⁴⁶ He also established in January 1943, in the occupied Netherlands, the Herzogenbusch concentration camp. From the summer of 1943, the WVHA administered 20 independent main camps.

Little is known about the camps that the WVHA took control over in 1943–1944. They were not converted into concentration camps in the strict sense, except for the Warsaw concentration camp, which Himmler established to remove the traces of the crimes committed in Warsaw. There is only a limited structural similarity with the concentration camps located inside the German Reich if one considers the internal administration and organizational structure, the composition of the prison groups, and the personnel. Herzogenbusch functioned as a transit camp for Jewish prisoners on their way to the killing centers, whereas, because of the murderous nature of the living and working conditions in the Baltic camps, which held Jews almost exclusively, they must perhaps be regarded, at least in part, as killing centers.

THE CONCENTRATION CAMP SYSTEM IN THE LAST YEAR OF THE WAR

The last year of the war was marked by a significant increase in the number of prisoners, as well as the number of newly opened subcamps. Attempts by the National Socialist regime

to ward off the impending defeat by all means possible were accompanied by ever more urgent demands by the war economy for labor, which in turn resulted in a broadening of the scope of arrests. The retreat of German troops was accompanied by roundups and waves of arrests, now also in Western and Northern Europe. The number of prisoners increased to 524,286 in August 1944, and in January 1945, to almost 715,000.⁴⁷

In the spring of 1944, moreover, the demand for labor led the authorities to abandon the principle of keeping the Reich "free of Jews." Himmler exempted some of the Hungarian Jews, who had fallen within the German sphere of control, from immediate extermination and transferred them from Auschwitz to concentration camps in the Reich. Moreover, starting in the summer of 1944, Pohl ordered the concentration camps in the Baltic to be evacuated to the west. As a result of both these events, within a short period of time, several tens of thousands of Jewish prisoners reached the Reich and the concentration camps that existed there. The people who were held in the concentration camps experienced the onset of this dramatic overcrowding as the emergence of a life-threatening chaos in the conditions within the camps. The drastic reduction in resources, which was accompanied by an intensification in mistreatment and an expansion of forced labor, led to a mass mortality that reached previously unknown levels in the concentration camps.

Different types of concentration camps now emerged within the concentration camp system, each of which served a different function: the killing center Auschwitz II-Birkenau, the main concentration camps, and the network of subcamps must be mentioned. Now, there also appeared two completely new forms of concentration camps, which could be called "subterranean factory camps" and "mass mortality camps."

The genocide in Birkenau reached its terrifying climax in the late autumn of 1944: within a few weeks the SS killed 350,000 Hungarian Jews, those held in the "Theresienstadt Family Camp," the prisoners in the "Gypsy Camp," as well as those deported from the Łódź ghetto. However, the might of the SS had its limits. Resistance began to increase in 1944 (for example, the uprising by the Jewish "Special Details"), as did the number of escape attempts. These facts, plus the approach of the Red Army, caused the SS to relocate 70,000 prisoners from Auschwitz to concentration camps in the Old Reich in the second half of 1944.⁴⁸

In the last year of the war, the main concentration camps registered another burst of growth. They increasingly developed into reception and transit camps, that is, into distribution centers for their subcamps. Looking solely at the number of prisoners, the relationship between the main camps and the subcamps gradually turned around. Proportionately and in absolute numbers, the SS held ever more concentration camp inmates in the subcamps.

Beginning in 1944, the number of subcamps rapidly increased; even in the first months of 1945 this trend continued.⁴⁹ State and private armaments firms grabbed at the labor reservoir in the concentration camps to overcome the drastic

shortage in labor. This was so even though their performance, when compared to free workers or even forced laborers, was significantly poorer and even though their productivity remained low. Initial estimates suggest that their output did not reach more than 15 percent of that in private industry.⁵⁰

At least two types of subcamps gained significance because of the large numbers of prisoners they held: the factory camp (*Fabriklager*), on the one hand, and the construction camp (*Baulager*), on the other hand. It is thought that these two types of camps used by far the majority of concentration camp prisoners who were assigned as forced labor. The essential difference between both types of camps is in the type of work done: in the factory camps, the prisoners were primarily used in the production of armaments, whereas in the construction camps, the prisoners were used for construction, excavation, and rubble clearance operations. It would also seem that the death rate mirrored the type of camp: lower in the factory camps than in the construction camps. The distinction between factory and construction camps already points to the fact that in the last year of the war there were a multitude of different subcamps with a large variance in confinement and work conditions. Over and above that, a new structure developed as some subcamps developed into extensive complexes, to combinations of diverse subordinate and satellite camps where often several thousand prisoners were held.

The subterranean factory camps (*Konzentrationslager der Verlagerungsprojekte*) also consisted of a whole complex of subcamps.⁵¹ The origins of these camps can be traced back to 1943. At first they served exclusively the goal of relocating the production and assembly of "revenge weapons" (*Vergeltungswaffen*) to bombproof locations. Himmler agreed to the use of concentration camp prisoners for the gigantic construction projects and ordered the opening of the Buchenwald subcamp Nordhausen ("Dora") in August 1943. The prisoners excavated a gigantic cavern in the Harz where the V weapons were to be produced. Himmler also appointed Hans Kammler, until then head of the Office Group C (Construction) in the WVHA, as special emissary for construction.

The organizational and expertise structure that developed in Dora had only limited similarities with the administrative structures in the existing concentration camps. It developed into a model for the relocation underground of armaments industries, which in 1944 took on immense proportions. Senior management and coordination was under the control of the Armaments Ministry; specially incorporated companies (in the case of Dora, it was the Central Works Ltd. [Mittelwerk GmbH]) were responsible for the entrepreneurial leadership; while the Sonderstab Kammler (Special Staff Kammler) coordinated the extensive construction activities. In addition, many other organizations were involved in the relocation projects, including numerous industrial firms, construction firms, and the Organisation Todt (OT). Half of the estimated 480,000 concentration camp prisoners who were classified by the SS at the end of 1944 as "capable of work" (the total number of prisoners was around 600,000) worked as forced labor for private industries, and the other half were involved in

the Kammlerstab relocation projects and OT construction projects.⁵²

A second new type of concentration camp developed in the last year of the war: the "mass mortality camp."⁵³ By 1944, all main concentration camps (and also in most subcamp complexes) contained "zones of impoverishment" where newly delivered prisoners or severely overworked, sick, or completely weakened prisoners were left to die. The camp SS did not kill here with shootings or poison but through hunger, thirst, epidemics, cold, and the systematic withholding of provisions. Only one of these camps was raised to the status of an independent concentration camp: Bergen-Belsen.

Himmler established Bergen-Belsen in 1943 as a holding camp (*Aufenthaltslager*); he wanted to concentrate certain groups of Jews in one place and use them as bargaining chips, before they were deported to the killing centers, for a possible exchange for German citizens. In fact, such exchanges occurred only on a small scale. Beginning in 1944, a transformation process gradually developed that accelerated rapidly in the second half of the year. Bergen-Belsen became a receiving camp for a constant stream of new transports full of the sick, the dying, and the dead. It developed into a camp for the dying, the infernal destination of the collapsing concentration camp system.

THE EVACUATION OF THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS

The evacuation of the concentration camps took more than a year.⁵⁴ It is marked by monstrous brutality and huge numbers of dead; the "evacuation marches" are indeed correctly called "death marches."

One must not overlook the fact that, despite the chaotic course of the evacuations, they were preceded by detailed planning. The camp commanders worked out the evacuation plans apparently in partial consultation with the responsible Higher SS and Police Leaders (HSSPF) or the Gauleiter and acted accordingly.

There were three stages to the evacuation of the concentration camps: from April to September 1944, from the middle of January to the middle of February 1945, and from the end of March to the end of April 1945. Pohl ordered the evacuation of the Majdanek killing center in the spring of 1944 and of the concentration camps in the Baltic states in the summer of that year. In the autumn of 1944, he ordered the evacuation of the most westerly concentration camps—Herzogenbusch and Natzweiler. The second stage of the evacuation was triggered by the Soviet winter offensive: from the middle of January the SS began marching at least 113,000 concentration camp prisoners in a westerly direction: 58,000 from Auschwitz, 11,000 from Stutthof (a large number of prisoners remained in Stutthof, and it was only in April 1945 that they were "evacuated"), and 44,000 prisoners from Gross-Rosen. At least 24,500 prisoners did not survive the marches; the total is probably higher, as it is not even possible to estimate how many prisoners died on the marches from Gross-

Rosen.⁵⁵ The arrival of the completely weakened, sick, and dying prisoners in the concentration camps inside the German Reich led to a last stage of the escalation.

Up until the end of March 1945, there was still no order to evacuate the remaining concentration camps. The camp SS used this interim period to prepare its own escape and to remove all traces that could provide evidence of the crimes that had been committed in the concentration camps. Moreover, as part of this process, the SS proceeded to kill two groups of concentration camp prisoners: those who, from the SS point of view, would not be able to survive the exertions of the "evacuation march" and those who might prove "dangerous" at the approach of enemy troops.

While these groups were being murdered, the plans for the evacuation of the remaining concentration camps became more concrete and radical. Consideration was now given to murdering all concentration camp prisoners at the approach of Allied troops. Himmler, for tactical reasons, rejected such ideas in March 1945 because he was now attempting to begin negotiations with the Western Powers for a separate peace. He used the Jewish prisoners as hostages and ordered that no more Jews were to be killed. This order had no effect on the reality in the concentration camps.

During this period, Himmler met with Carl J. Burckhardt, the president of the International Committee of the Red Cross, as well as Count Folke Bernadotte, the vice president of the Swedish Red Cross. Himmler agreed to the demands of Bernadotte to gather together all Scandinavian concentration camp prisoners and release them. In fact, the Scandinavian prisoners were relocated to Neuengamme and then taken to Sweden before the end of the war. More than 20,000 concentration camp inmates, including around 8,000 Scandinavians, gained their freedom because of "Operation Bernadotte."⁵⁶

The remaining concentration camps were not dissolved until the beginning of April. Pohl first had Mittelbau (formerly Dora) evacuated, followed by Buchenwald (at least in part). American troops arrived at these two camps on April 11 and 13, respectively, and two days later Bergen-Belsen was surrendered to the British. The surrender of this mass mortality camp is a unique event in the history of the evacuation of the camps; it occurred because of a local cease-fire that was arranged between the Wehrmacht commander and the British chief of staff, Brigadier Taylor-Balfour.⁵⁷ Both feared the spotted fever epidemic that was raging in Bergen-Belsen and the possibility of combat in this infected area. In the end, however, the surrender took place only because Himmler had not given the order to evacuate Bergen-Belsen.

Himmler gave the order to "evacuate" Flossenbürg and Dachau immediately after the Allies had taken Mittelbau, Buchenwald, and Bergen-Belsen. The order included a directive that no prisoner was to be allowed to fall into the hands of the enemy.⁵⁸ In the remaining concentration camps, there then occurred two developments: first, the conclusion of the killing of those prisoners who were not able to march or who were regarded as dangerous, which had been going on since the end of January or the beginning of February (as well as the destruc-

tion of the camp files and removal of all traces of the crimes); second, the removal of all prisoners who were declared capable of marching. There were two routes for the marches: the southern route for the columns from Flossenbürg and Dachau, whose goal was the so-called Alpine Fortress; and the northern route for the prisoners from Neuengamme, Sachsenhausen, Stutthof, and Ravensbrück, who marched in the direction of the Northern Fortress. The division into a northern and southern route was precipitated by the Red Army's major offensive that accelerated the division of Germany into northern and southern halves.

The Alpine Fortress, contrary to National Socialist propaganda, was basically a chimera.⁵⁹ Plans to construct a fortress in the Ötztal Alps were never realized, not even conceptually. It would seem, however, that the Northern Fortress (which was to be not only a collecting point for concentration camp prisoners but also the area where the numerous retreating SS units and Himmler would assemble together) was more than just an illusion.⁶⁰ After the war, a few camp commanders testified that the northern route had a concrete destination. They named Lübeck, Fehmarn, or Sweden. There are also a number of indicators that lead to the conclusion that the first steps were actually being taken to construct a concentration camp in Norway. The SS made great efforts to keep the concentration camp prisoners under their control and to move them north. Allied formations prevented the prisoners from Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück from reaching their goal; the prisoners were liberated while on their way to Schleswig-Holstein.

The prisoners from Neuengamme, on the other hand, were taken via Lübeck to the Neustadt harbor, where at the end of April or the beginning of May they were loaded onto three ships. A short time later, the prisoners from Stutthof also arrived in the Bay of Lübeck. They had been shipped on lighters across the Baltic to Neustadt where they were crammed into ships in the Neustadt harbor; a few were unloaded onto the beach. It should not be assumed, as the prisoners feared, that the SS planned to sink the ships. They lay for another five days in the Bay of Lübeck without any such attempt being made by the SS; in any event, there were many SS men on board the ships. Lack of source material means that it cannot be proven that the ships were to steer in the direction of Fehmarn, Sweden, or Norway, but it is conceivable. However, before the plans of the SS could be realized, whatever they may have been, British fighters on May 3, 1945, bombed the *Thielbek* and *Cap Arcona*, which were lying in the Bay of Lübeck, as well as the *Athen*, which had just returned to the Neustadt harbor. The attack was made because it was thought that they were war ships with German crews. The *Athen* was only slightly hit and remained largely undamaged. The almost 2,000 prisoners in the ship's hold survived. However, the *Cap Arcona* and *Thielbek* caught fire. Only a few hundred prisoners could rescue themselves from the foundering ships and reach what they thought would be the safety of the beach. However, neither they nor the Stutthof prisoners who had been left on the beach survived; they were massacred.

THE VICTIMS—A BALANCE SHEET

The number of Holocaust victims is known: at least 5.29 million—with a maximum of just over 6 million—Jews were murdered.⁶¹ The various forms of death are known: mass shootings; dying of misery in the ghettos, camps, and other places of detention; and murder by poison gas. Almost 3 million Jews were murdered by gas. Around 2 million died in Chelmno and the killing centers of Operation Reinhard (Aktion Reinhard): Sobibór, Treblinka, and Bełżec. More than a million Jews were murdered by Zyklon B in the death camps of the WVHA: at least 1 million in Auschwitz II-Birkenau and at least 50,000 in Majdanek.⁶² In addition, the SS murdered another 40,000 Jews in these concentration camps by means other than gas.⁶³

The number of dead in the concentration camps is less accurately known; until now there have been only old estimates. On the basis of research through 2005, the total number of people killed in the concentration camps of the IKL and the WVHA (including Jews murdered in Auschwitz and Majdanek) ranges from more than 1.8 million to more than 2 million.⁶⁴ The SS probably murdered many more prisoners, however. Only the number of registered deaths is known; beyond that, there are only estimates—and sometimes not even those.

The majority of the concentration camp victims died in the second half of the war. If one excludes the WVHA death camps and focuses solely on the concentration camps, then it must be emphasized that the majority were not murdered directly; they died because of the catastrophic conditions of their confinement. During the last weeks of the war, the death rate reached a terrible climax. At least a third of the more than 700,000 registered concentration camp prisoners in January 1945 died, perhaps even half, on the death marches or in the mass mortality camps; the percentage of Jewish prisoners among the dead was high.⁶⁵

SOURCES Sources on the concentration camps are many and varied, but most of the works that touch on the subject do so only peripherally or focus on particular facilities. This bibliography will only address a few of the specific sources that are not already shown in the notes; readers should also examine the source sections within the entries that interest them.

Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager* was still a work in progress as of this writing, but several volumes have been printed, and they represent some of the best new work in German on the subject. While Eugen Kogon's *The Theory and Practice of Hell: The German Concentration Camps and the System Behind Them* (New York, 1950) is dated, it is still a standard work on the subject. Hermann Kaienburg, *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945* (Opladen, 1996), provides valuable information on the links between the concentration camps and the German economy, while Michael Thad Allen approaches the subject differently, but with no less value, in *The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor, and the Concentration Camps* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2002).

The recent release of the records of the ITS, while coming too late to contribute much to the creation of this volume,

will nevertheless be extremely useful for future volumes in this encyclopedia.

Karin Orth
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. The following contribution is based on Karin Orth, *Das System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager. Eine politische Organisationsgeschichte* (Hamburg, 1999).

2. There was also to be a guard unit for the planned but never realized camp at Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel (Hansa). Martin Broszat, "Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager 1933–1945," in *Anatomie des SS-Staates*, ed. Hans Buchheim et al., 3rd ed. (Munich, 1982), 2: 62.

3. See Ulrich Herbert, Best: *Biographische Studien über Radikalismus, Weltanschauung und Vernunft 1903–1989* (Bonn, 1996), pp. 168–170; Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager: Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager" 1934–1938* (Schriften des Bundesarchivs, 39) (Boppard, 1991), pp. 307–315.

4. For example, see "Zweck und Gliederung der Konzentrationslager" o.D. [prior to 1.9.1939], BA-K, NS 3/391, as well as "Aufgabengebiete in einem Konzentrationslager" o.D., ebd.

5. Occasionally, the sources, or literature, refer to other command staff departments such as "Weltanschauung Education," "Motorpool," or "Judges." However, they were not to be found in all concentration camps. If they did exist, it was most often one person combining more than one function (for example, the adjutant was often the judge; the administration commander was the motor pool commander); or because of the increasing duration of the war, they remained vacant, either temporarily or permanently.

6. See the extensive analysis by Bernd Wegner, *Hitlers politische Soldaten: Die Waffen-SS 1933–1945. Studien zu Leitbild, Struktur und Funktion einer nationalsozialistischen Elite*, 2nd ed. (Paderborn, 1983), pp. 95–105, 112–123.

7. Wolfgang Ayass, "Asoziale" im Nationalsozialismus (Stuttgart, 1995), pp. 139–165; Karl-Léo Terhorst, *Polizeiliche planmäßige Überwachung und polizeiliche Vorbeugungshaft im Dritten Reich. Ein Beitrag zur Rechtsgeschichte vorbeugender Verbrechensbekämpfung* (Studien und Quellen zur Geschichte des deutschen Verfassungsrechts, Reihe A: Studien, 13) (Heidelberg, 1985), pp. 115–130.

8. For the National Socialists' anti-Jewish policies during this period, see the extensive analysis by Saul Friedländer, *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden*, vol. 1, *Die Jahre der Verfolgung 1933–1939* (Munich, 1998), pp. 291–328.

9. Broszat, "Konzentrationslager," 2: 77; Patrick Wagner, "'Vernichtung der Berufsverbrecher': Die vorbeugende Verbrechensbekämpfung der Kriminalpolizei bis 1937," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager. Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998), p. 98.

10. The numbers are from Hermann Kaienburg, "Vernichtung durch Arbeit": *Der Fall Neuengamme. Die Wirtschaftsbestreben der SS und ihre Auswirkungen auf die Existenzbedingungen der KZ-Gefangenen* (Bonn, 1990), p. 229n.9.

11. Wegner, *Soldaten*, pp. 112–123.

12. Charles W. Sydnor, *Soldiers of Destruction. The SS Death's*

- Head Division 1933–1945*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, 1990), p. 34. The Stärkemeldung (strength report) of SS-Totenkopfverbände according to the 1939 budget names 15,496 members; BA-K, NS 3/479, B. 111 f, cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin, 1993), p. 338.
13. Wegner, *Soldaten*, pp. 112–124.
 14. Notdienstverordnung vom 15.10.1938, *Reichsgesetzblatt* 1938, Teil I, p. 1441.
 15. Hans Buchheim, “Die SS—das Herrschaftsinstrument,” in Buchheim et al., *Anatomie*, vol. 1: 101–113; Wegner, *Soldaten*, p. 124.
 16. For the history of the division, see Sydnor, *Soldiers*.
 17. Karin Orth, *Die Konzentrationslager-SS. Sozialstrukturelle Analysen und biographische Studien* (Göttingen, 2000).
 18. Glücks was named on November 18, 1939, but with effect from November 15, 1939. Ernennungsurkunde, BA-BL/BDC, Pa. Glücks, SSO. The head of the SS-Hauptamt, August Heissmeyer, was in command of the IKL during the transitional phase. Broszat, *Konzentrationslager*, p. 83.
 19. Buchheim, “SS,” p. 205; Broszat, “Konzentrationslager,” p. 83.
 20. The term “Waffen-SS” began to be used in the winter of 1939–1940 and replaced the older terms used for armed SS units (i.e., “Verfügungstruppe” or “Totenkopfverbände”). Wegner, *Soldaten*, pp. 127–129.
 21. Falk Pingel, *Häftlinge unter SS-Herrschaft. Widerstand, Selbstbehauptung und Vernichtung im Konzentrationslager* (Historische Perspektiven, 12) (Hamburg, 1978), pp. 81, 259n.73.
 22. For more detail, see Orth, *System*, pp. 113–131.
 23. Numbers from ibid., p. 116.
 24. Danuta Czech, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau 1939–1945* (Reinbek, 1989), p. 143; Pingel, *Häftlinge*, p. 12.
 25. Einsatzbefehl Nr. 8 des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD vom 17.7.1941, printed in Alfred Streim, *Sowjetische Gefangene in Hitlers Vernichtungskrieg. Berichte und Dokumente 1941–1945* (Heidelberg, 1982), pp. 202–211; Einsatzbefehl Nr. 9 des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD vom 21.7.1941, printed in *Die Behandlung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener im “Fall Barbarossa.” Eine Dokumentation* (Heidelberg, Karlsruhe, 1981), p. 322.
 26. Number from Orth, *System*, p. 130.
 27. On the following, see ibid., pp. 142–148.
 28. Brief Himmler an Pohl vom 19.12.1941, BA-BL, NS 3/52. For a more extensive analysis on Stutthof, see Orth, *System*, pp. 69–76, 152–156.
 29. Brief Pohl an Himmler vom 30.4.1942, Dienststelle des Generalinspekteurs in der Britischen Zone für die Spruchgerichte, ed., *Beweisdokumente für die Spruchgerichte in der Britischen Zone* (Hamburg, 1947), G.J. Nr. 110.
 30. For more extensive details, see Ulrich Herbert, “Arbeit und Vernichtung. Ökonomisches Interesse und Pramat der ‘Weltanschauung’ im Nationalsozialismus,” in *Europa und der “Reichseinsatz”: Ausländische Zivilarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ Häftlinge in Deutschland 1938–1945* (Essen, 1991), pp. 406–408.
 31. Runderlass WVHA an die Lagerkommandanten vom 5.10.1942, Nürnberger Dokument PS-3677.
 32. Numbers from Orth, *System*, p. 174.
 33. Protokoll der Besprechung zwischen Thierack und Himmler vom 18.9.1942, *Beweisdokumente für die Spruchgerichte in der britischen Zone*, G.J. Nr. 104.
 34. Numbers from: Broszat, “Konzentrationslager,” p. 131.
 35. Pingel, *Häftlinge*, p. 182.
 36. Miroslav Kárný, “‘Vernichtung durch Arbeit’: Sterblichkeit in den NS-Konzentrationslagern,” in *Sozialpolitik und Judenvernichtung: Gibt es eine Ökonomie der Endlösung?* (Beiträge zur nationalsozialistischen Gesundheits und Sozialpolitik, 5) (Berlin, 1987), pp. 133–158.
 37. Prämienvorschrift Pohls vom 15.5.1943, Nürnberger Dokument NO-400.
 38. Franciszek Piper, “Die Rolle des Lagers Auschwitz bei der Verwirklichung der nationalsozialistischen Ausrottungspolitik. Die doppelte Funktion von Auschwitz als Konzentrationslager und als Zentrum der Judenvernichtung,” in Herbert, Orth, and Dieckmann, *Konzentrationslager*, pp. 392–394; as well as ders., *Die Zahl der Opfer von Auschwitz. Aufgrund der Quellen und der Erträge der Forschung 1945 bis 1990* (Oświęcim, 1993), table D, pp. 144–145.
 39. Czech, *Kalendarium*, pp. 241–243.
 40. For the calculation of the percentage, see Martin Broszat’s explanations in *Rudolf Höss, Kommandant in Auschwitz. Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen des Rudolf Höss*, ed. ders., 13th ed. (Munich, 1992), p. 163n.1.
 41. On the number of the victims and the debate about the numbers, see Piper, *Zahl*.
 42. Tomasz Kranz, “Das KL Lublin—zwischen Planung und Realisierung,” in Herbert, Orth, and Dieckmann, *Konzentrationslager*, p. 381.
 43. Kranz, “KL Lublin,” p. 372.
 44. Yisrael Gutman et al., eds., *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust: Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden*, German ed. (Berlin, 1993), 3: 418; Kranz, “KL Lublin,” p. 377; Raul Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden*, German ed. (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), 3: 559.
 45. Numbers from: Kranz, “KL Lublin,” pp. 373, 380; for a discussion on the number of dead, see p. 380 as well as p. 388nn. 72, 73.
 46. Orth, *System*, pp. 213–221.
 47. Stärkemeldung des WVHA 15.8.1944, Nürnberger Dokument NO-399; Liste der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Belegung vom 1. und 15.1.1945, BA-BL, Slg. Schumacher/329.
 48. Andrzej Strzelecki, *Endphase des KL Auschwitz. Evakuierung, Liquidierung und Befreiung des Lagers*, German ed. (Oświęcim, 1995), pp. 89–92.
 49. At the end of 1943, there were 186 subcamps; in June 1944, there were at least 341; and in January 1945, at least 662. The often-mentioned number of 1,000 or even 1,200 subcamps that are said to have existed at the turn of 1944–1945 is a cumulative number that does not take into account the closure of numerous camps at this time.
 50. Ulrich Herbert, “Das System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager,” in *Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten für die Verfolgten des NS-Regimes: Perspektiven, Kontroversen und internationale Vergleiche*, ed. Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Forschung und Kultur des Landes Brandenburg (Berlin, 1992), p. 25.
 51. For a detailed analysis on the following, see Orth, *System*, pp. 243–255, as well as the literature that is referred to.
 52. Vernehmung Pohl vom 25.8.1947, cited in Herbert, “Arbeit und Vernichtung,” p. 413.

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53. For a detailed analysis on the following, see Orth, *System*, pp. 260–269.
54. Ibid., pp. 270–336.
55. Numbers from ibid., p. 286.
56. Numbers from ibid., p. 304.
57. For a detailed analysis, see Eberhard Kolb, *Bergen Belsen: Geschichte des "Aufenthaltslagers" 1943–1945* (Hannover, 1962), pp. 157–164. The text of the cease-fire agreement is printed on pp. 225–227.
58. For an extensive review of the existence and history of this order, see Stanislav Zámečník, “Kein Häftling darf leben in die Hände des Feindes fallen: Zur Existenz des Himmler-Befehls vom 14./18. April 1945,” *DaHe* 1 (1985): 219–231.
59. Klaus-Dietmar Henke, *Die amerikanische Besetzung Deutschlands* (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte, 27) (Munich, 1995), pp. 937–939.
60. For the following, see Orth, *System*, pp. 328–335.
61. Wolfgang Benz, ed., *Dimension des Völkermords: Die Zahl der jüdischen Opfer des Nationalsozialismus* (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte, 33) (Munich, 1991), p. 17; Hilberg, *Vernichtung*, p. 1299.
62. Numbers from Benz, *Dimension*, p. 19; see also Hilberg, *Vernichtung*, p. 1299; on Auschwitz-Birkenau, see Piper, *Zahl*, p. 202. For an extensive review on issues regarding problems with source material and the public perception of the number of dead in Western and Eastern Europe, see Piper, *Zahl*, pp. 54–100.
63. On Majdanek, see Kranz, “KL Lublin,” pp. 373, 380; for a discussion on the number of dead, see p. 380 as well as p. 388nn.72–73.
64. Numbers from Orth, *System*, pp. 345–347.
65. Broszat, *Konzentrationslager*, p. 132 (a third); Yehuda Bauer, “The Death Marches January–May 1945,” in *The Nazi Holocaust. Historical Articles on the Destruction of European Jews*, ed. Michael R. Marrus (Westport, CT, 1989), 9: 492 (50 percent).

ARBEITSDORF



The light metal foundry erected by Arbeitsdorf prisoners, nd
STIFTUNG AUTOMUSEUM VOLKSWAGEN

ARBEITSDORF MAIN CAMP

The *Arbeitsdorf* (labor village) camp was one of the very first concentration camps created in affiliation with the German armaments industry. It was located on the premises of the Volkswagen corporation's main factory in the Lower Saxon city of Wolfsburg, which, at that time, principally consisted of huts and barracks. The city carried the awkward name Stadt-des-Kraft-durch-Freude-Wagens bei Fallersleben, since the Volkswagen automobile was being marketed by, and was named after, the Nazi Party organization for mass leisure program Kraft durch Freude (Strength through Joy KdF). Arbeitsdorf was, technically, an independent camp under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), but it never became a fully operational main camp. From its creation on April 8, 1942, until its closure late that same year, it maintained close connections to—if not semidependency upon—the Neuengamme main camp in Hamburg, from which it received the majority of its prisoners, SS guards, and managerial personnel, including its camp commandants, Martin Weiss (initially) and Wilhelm Schitli (from September 1, 1942).

Following the frustration of Germany's attempt to achieve a rapid victory over the Soviet Union and the German declaration of war upon the United States, Nazi armaments, economic, and labor policies were submitted to major scrutiny. Early in 1942, Albert Speer was appointed minister of armaments after the deceased Fritz Todt, and Fritz Sauckel, as Generalbevollmächtigter für den Arbeitseinsatz, was made responsible for relieving the Reich's serious manpower deficit by way of recruiting—by various degrees of force—foreign labor from the territories occupied by Germany. In this new situation, the SS expanded its activities into the armaments sector and, according to some scholars such as Hans Mommsen, aimed at building an outright economic empire. In postwar statements that were part of his Nuremberg Tribunal defense efforts, Speer—diminishing his responsibility for the Nazi forced and slave labor programs—vastly exaggerated the role and aggressiveness of the SS. Recent research does not support Speer's contention but instead stresses the reactive and defensive nature of the SS venture into armaments and the priority of Heinrich Himmler's civilian postwar goals. The SS began leasing slave laborers to German industry in order to keep control over the concentration camp system and to stock up capacities for its grand settlement drive in Eastern Europe. Ideas for expanding the SS economic activities had already surfaced in 1940, and plans of opening concentration camps for Jewish slave laborers were close to becoming a reality in early 1941 in the Stadt-des-KdF-Wagens and other major industrial sites but were wrecked by Hitler, who forbade all import of Jewish labor into the Old Reich. The initiatives were, however, primarily on the side of private and state-run enterprises and corresponded to no long-term economic planning or strategy on behalf of the SS.

The decision to establish a concentration camp at the Volkswagenwerk main factory was taken at a meeting that brought together Volkswagen chief executive Ferdinand Porsche, Reichsführer-SS Himmler, and Hitler on January 11, 1942. Porsche, the leading personality in the Volkswagen triumvirate, belonged to the Führer's inner circle and had staged cooperation projects with Himmler and the SS on a number of occasions since the early days of his developing the "People's Car." Thus, at the Volkswagenwerk, special SS units performed the factory police duties. Porsche, an Oberführer of the Allgemeine (General) SS since early 1942, was always short of labor for the expansion of the company that he—in spite of its being owned by the Nazi labor organization Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front)—treated as his own private property. It seems that Porsche, possessing inside information about the approaching change in labor policy, rushed to approach Himmler in order to gain privileged access to the new pool of manpower that was about to be opened: the concentration camp inmates. The company wished to resume the construction of a light alloy foundry that had been halted in the summer of 1940 because it lacked military relevance. To Himmler, Porsche's initiative provided an opportunity to test a model for SS cooperation with industry.

The order (*Führerweisung*) he arranged for Hitler to issue did, however, go too far, as it provided for the foundry to be constructed and run by concentration camp prisoners (*Häftlinge*) under SS responsibility. Thus, Arbeitsdorf would gain permanency, and the SS would take control of a major armaments enterprise with an expanding production of motor vehicles, airplane parts, and small arms. The Arbeitsdorf camp would have been the first concentration camp to be opened at an existing industrial facility outside the concentration camps, but its establishment was delayed by a typhus epidemic in Neuengamme, which caused the main camp to be placed under quarantine and took a heavy toll among the prisoners who had been selected for Arbeitsdorf. Only after the quarantine was lifted on March 31 could the prisoners and replacements leave for Fallersleben. By this time, negotiations had proceeded between Volkswagen, the WVHA, and Speer's Ministry of Armaments, which was not keen on the SS/Volkswagen cooperation. A narrower commission was agreed upon: the SS would provide the manpower for completing the construction of the foundry, but the purpose of the facility would be reviewed once again by military authorities in the meantime. By September 1942, Speer had strengthened his foothold in the Nazi regime so much that he could make the Führer concede in halting anew the Volkswagen foundry project, once again because of its alleged lack of military relevance. The construction of the huge melting and foundry complex, supervised by the leader of the SS department for engineering, SS-Oberführer Hans

Kammler, and company engineers, was completed on time by mid-September, but the plan for equipping it was shelved until further notice. The majority of the prisoners were transferred to Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald by early October, with only a small labor detachment remaining to clear and clean the site. By late 1942, the Arbeitsdorf concentration camp was closed, and the remaining prisoners and SS were transferred to other camps.

After inspection of the building site and future camp location on January 30, 1942, Kammler—whose hope of including the camp in a new system of SS-Baubrigaden (construction brigades) under his command was frustrated—estimated the number of prisoners needed at 800, but the fact that more than 150 SS-Totenkopf guards seem to have been assigned to the camp by mid-April indicates that the envisioned prisoner strength would be 1,500 or more. The number of prisoners probably never exceeded 500, but quantitative information on this camp is scarce, and witness testimony extremely contradictory. A first transport of 100 to 150 prisoners arrived from Neuengamme on April 8, 1942, followed by a larger transport from Sachsenhausen. The prisoners had been trained in construction work on the SS brickyard building sites of these camps. Many nationalities were represented, including a number of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The proportion of German political prisoners who would be available as Kapo and work foremen (*Vorarbeiter*) was rather high, just in case the prisoner population was enlarged. Among the political prisoners were a small number of Jews. Information found in some literature indicating that a large number of Arbeitsdorf prisoners were Sinti and Roma ("Gypsies") is not confirmed.

Arbeitsdorf did not resemble the typical main camp, nor the decentralized subcamps that grew so numerous during the later years of the war. Its prisoners were accommodated in a row of concrete air-raid shelters on the lower level of the unfinished foundry building. Seven standard huts were raised to accommodate the SS guards and offices as well as offices of the civilian companies involved in the construction project; a small number of skilled and "prominent" inmates were also placed in these huts and allowed the "privilege" of access to daylight and fresh air. The security was atypical, as there were no watch towers or barbed-wire fences; the area was surrounded by a chain link fence typical for building sites but guarded by a string of SS guards armed with submachine guns and patrolled by SS dog patrols. Since the concentration camp area was identical with the building site, and was located inside the larger factory compound, a prisoner who attempted to flee from the camp would have to escape the SS factory police who frequently patrolled the outer compound and cross the barbed-wire fence surrounding it. No prisoner is actually known to have attempted to escape.

Slave labor was the sole purpose of the Arbeitsdorf camp. The work involved heavy construction: the laying of concrete floors and roofs, masonry, plumbing, glazing, and so on. A large number of the prisoners were assigned to pushing trolleys with liquid concrete from a centralized cement mixing station;

others functioned as *Träger*, carriers of iron profiles and other heavy materials. Work was conducted under the surveillance of the SS and civilian construction management that represented the German private companies Wiemer und Trachte (Berlin, main contractor), Philip Holzmann (Hannover), Christian Salzmann (Leipzig), and Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Baugewerbe/Bauinnung Osnabrück. Civilian foremen and technicians from these companies were in command of the various groups of prisoners and provided them with instruction, but there were normally no civilian workers at the building site, so it can be considered a model concentration camp enterprise (*KZ-Betrieb*) and obviously was viewed as such by leading SS personalities such as Oswald Pohl.

In the interest of the swift and orderly completion of the project, prisoners' provisions were substantially better than in most concentration camps. Three daily meals were served: breakfast consisted of bread, marmalade, cottage cheese, and ersatz coffee; the noon meal was distributed at the work site and consisted of good and plentiful hot stews, low in fat but rich in protein; and bread, cheese, and cold meat or a hot meal of surplus food from the Volkswagen factory lunch rooms were served in the air-raid shelters after work. Food distribution was, however, neither even nor just, for extra rations were used as awards primarily to the privileged prisoners who performed Kapo and Vorarbeiter jobs or who operated valuable machinery. The majority of the carriers and other prisoners with heavy duties were rarely given extra rations. All testimony underlines, however, the high quality of the food that was delivered by the Volkswagenwerk factory kitchen and the model hygienic conditions. Prisoners who were weak and skinny after the Neuengamme typhus epidemic were even able to regain weight and strength in spite of performing hard work at the building site. For the same reason, morbidity was low, and the medical orderlies who were in charge of the small infirmary (*Revier*), under the surveillance of camp doctor SS-Obersturmbannführer Vetter, mostly were occupied with treating victims of the work accidents that frequently occurred. No deaths were registered at Arbeitsdorf, but survivors' testimonies indicate that some prisoners were transferred to other main camps in order to receive punishment or because they were too weak to go on working.

Clearly, Volkswagen and the subcontracting companies had a common interest in facilitating the project by providing tolerable living and working conditions for the inmates, while the SS wanted this camp to give private companies a taste of exploiting concentration camp slave labor, so that they would enter into similar arrangements in the future. This explains why the prisoners were given new prison uniforms, including underwear, and used leather shoes, instead of wooden clogs, and why clean clothing was handed out twice a week. Considering the large number of inspection visits by SS, political, and business leaders, the inmates had to present themselves as efficient workers; cleanliness clearly constituted an important part of this image.

Even if the productive exploitation of the prisoners was now the centerpiece in Arbeitsdorf and future "industrial"

concentration camps, the established, notorious SS regime of terror, which envisioned work as a form of punishment aiming at breaking the opponents of the Nazi Party, was only slightly modified. Arbeitsdorf prisoners worked from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. with a 30-minute meal break as their only rest period, and they had to perform their work at a speedy pace; there was no walking, only "Running, always running" ("Laufschritt, immer Laufschritt").¹ Civilian foremen, Kapos, and SS overseers would incite them with a flow of curses and insults. There was, however, little beating and brutality on the work site, and according to survivors' testimony, the prisoner-functionaries (*Funktionshäftlinge*)—mostly political prisoners with a labor movement background—generally administered their difficult task with decency, avoiding excess violence and encouraging prisoner solidarity and mutual help. The Porsche hagiography, however, ascribes the low level of violence to an intervention by the leading executive, forbidding public punishments on the work site, but the evidence—recollections of an SS physician who was facing a war crimes sentence—is doubtful. Instead of immediate punishment, the SS men who were in charge of the individual work details reported prisoners whom they suspected of sabotage or slowing down work, as well as anyone they disliked for some reason, to be punished after the end of the working day. One air-raid shelter was fitted with a flogging bench (*Priegelstock*) and various other instruments of torture—as well as with a minuscule prisoners' canteen (*Häftlingskantine*) where prisoners who were allowed to receive money from family outside the camp, or who were awarded bonus vouchers, could buy conserves from a vegetable farm on the Volkswagenwerk premises. For reasons of discretion, punishments were carried out in this air-raid shelter, not in front of civilian personnel and passersby. Apart from floggings, the hideous torture of binding a prisoner's arms behind him and hanging him by his wrists from the ceiling (*Pfahlhängen*) was used to enforce discipline and work eagerness. From what company personnel could see, the camp presented the impression of a quasi-militarily organized work site, where the prisoners (allegedly criminals and Jews) had to work hard but where just treatment would prevail. This was also the picture presented to them in a briefing by camp commandant Weiss on the day the first prisoners arrived.

Unseen by anyone, prisoners spent their off-duty hours in the air-raid shelters, which were rarely inspected by the SS. The low, narrow bunkers were crowded and lacked proper ventilation. Furniture was restricted to two-tier bunk beds with straw mattresses, plank tables, and benches, but at least the prisoners were left largely to themselves. They could visit other bunkers, discuss or engage in barter and black marketeering, even listen to Nazi radio since the so-called People's Radios (*Volksempfänger*) that were part of the original air-raid shelter equipment had not been disconnected. Sleeping was the preferred activity, however, as the work was extremely exhausting. Extra work occurred on Sundays because building materials arriving by rail had to be speedily unloaded that same day. This assignment was voluntary and was rewarded with extra rations, but prisoners who did not volunteer fre-

quently and willingly enough were punished corporally or by being deprived of a meal or an entire day's rations.

The SS's interest in developing Arbeitsdorf into a model for the exploitation of concentration camp labor in industrial enterprises was reflected in the choice of the Neuengamme camp commandant to command Arbeitsdorf simultaneously. SS-Hauptsturmführer Martin Gottfried Weiss had a long career at Dachau behind him, ending as adjutant before he was appointed the first camp commandant of Neuengamme in 1940, when this camp gained the status of a main camp. Weiss was an electronics engineer by profession and combined a strong devotion to Nazi ideology with a "technocratic" approach to prisoner treatment. This balance allowed economic goals to exist alongside the more purely destructive practices that had dominated within the camp system. Weiss spoke the language of business decision-makers at the same time as being popular among the SS rank and file. He did not perform acts of cruelty himself but instigated his men to maintain the system of terror, thus consciously using terror, together with minor improvements and petty material incentives, to "motivate" prisoners. As reward for demonstrating that concentration camp labor could be productive, he was promoted to camp commandant of Dachau on September 1, 1942. SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Schitli, who had been Schutzhaftlagerführer in Neuengamme and Weiss's second in command in Arbeitsdorf, succeeded him as the second and last commandant of the camp.

The Arbeitsdorf concentration camp was a main camp and was probably intended to be expanded well above the level attained; however, it never did obtain the full structure of a main camp during its short existence. Its main historical significance is that it tested a new form of SS cooperation with German industry—which proved successful. Even if the organizational model of Arbeitsdorf remained unique, it provided the SS with experience in dealing with slave labor in a modern profit-oriented production process and thus paved the way for the subcamp system that was to expand vastly during the last two years of World War II. The tolerable prisoners' conditions as compared to other concentration camps must be ascribed to its intended function as a "model camp," meant to impress industrial decision-makers, as well as to the acts of solidarity by its prisoner "self-administration."

SOURCES The Arbeitsdorf camp is referred to in numerous works on the Nazi concentration camp system and on automotive history. This essay is based primarily on the author's research for the book by Hans Mommsen et al., *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf, 1996), pp. 766–799; see the detailed source references in this work. See also Lutz Budrass and Manfred Grieger, "Die Moral der Effizienz: Die Beschäftigung von KZ-Häftlingen am Beispiel des Volkswagenwerks und der Henschel Flugzeug-Werke," *JWg* 34 (1993): 89–136; Klaus-Jörg Siegfried, *Das Leben der Zwangsarbeiter im Volkswagenwerk 1939–1945* (Frankfurt am Main, 1988); Jan-Erik Schulte, *Zwangarbeit und Vernichtung: Das Wirtschaftsmonopol der SS* (Paderborn, 2001), p. 211; Karin Orth, *Das System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentra-*

tionslager (Düsseldorf, 1999), p. 169; and Michael Thad Allen; *The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor, and the Concentration Camps* (Chapel Hill, 2002), pp. 167, 207. Preliminary data on Arbeitsdorf may be found in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990); and Gudrun Schwarz, *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990).

Key documents about the Arbeitsdorf camp have been published by the city archivist of Wolfsburg, Germany: Klaus-Jörg Siegfried, *Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit im Volkswagenwerk 1939–1945* (Frankfurt am Main, 1987), pp. 56, 152. The ASt-WOB and VWA hold original docu-

ments and copies from AG-NG, NHStA-H, BA-B, BA-K, ZdL (now BA-L), and other archives. This material includes survivors' and eyewitness records. Some Arbeitsdorf SS functionaries faced postwar trials for atrocities committed in other camps, such as camp commandant Martin Weiss in the Dachau main trial (available at NARA), but only scanty information can be gained from these trial records about the Arbeitsdorf camp.

Therkel Straede

NOTE

1. Arbeitsdorf survivor Willi Leeuwarden in an interview with Therkel Straede, Munich, September 22, 1989.

AUSCHWITZ



Postwar photograph of the Auschwitz I camp gate, with the sign, "Arbeit Macht Frei"
(Work Will Make You Free).
USHMM WS #00001, COURTESY OF IPN

AUSCHWITZ I MAIN CAMP

The Auschwitz complex of SS concentration camps was the largest and most lethal that the Germans built. In less than five years, the SS and their auxiliaries killed nearly 1.3 million people in the Auschwitz camps. Over 90 percent of the victims were European Jews, and for many people, Auschwitz remains synonymous with the Holocaust itself. The Auschwitz main camp, also known as Auschwitz I, located outside the small Polish city of Oświęcim, was the center of the Auschwitz system.

The camp came into being because of the efforts of Heinrich Himmler's plenipotentiary in Breslau (later Wrocław), the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) for Silesia, SS-Obergruppenführer Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski, together with his deputy, the inspector of the Security Police (Sipo) and

the Security Service (SD) in Breslau, SS-Brigadeführer Arpad Wigand. By December 1939, these two SS leaders wanted to establish a concentration camp for Polish resisters and criminals in Silesia, since the jails in the region were already overcrowded. Eventually they succeeded in persuading Himmler to establish a camp; Himmler issued the order on April 27, 1940, and on May 4, he named SS-Hauptsturmführer Rudolf Höss camp commandant. The camp's initial capacity was to be at least 10,000 inmates.¹

The first prisoners—300 local Polish Jews—arrived shortly thereafter to begin work on the site. By early June, the original fence was complete, and Höss had approved arrangements with the Erfurt firm of J.A. Topf & Sons to build and install the first crematorium. By midsummer, renovation was also



Aerial photograph of the Auschwitz complex, from December 21, 1944. The Allied aerial reconnaissance mission photograph was enhanced and cropped in 1978 by Central Intelligence Agency photo analysts Dino Brugioni and Robert Poirier. Pictured at top is Auschwitz II-Birkenau, to the lower left is Auschwitz I, and to the lower right is the IG Farben chemical complex.

USHMM WS # 91529, COURTESY OF NARA



Post-liberation photograph of the Block 11 execution wall at Auschwitz I.
USHMM WS #14843, COURTESY OF NARA

completed on the building designated Block 11, which housed large holding cells, offices, and interrogation rooms for the Auschwitz camp Political Section and the regional Gestapo, as well as a basement complex serving as a punishment block of torture rooms, darkened cells, and tiny standing cubicles, where prisoners would be crammed in and left to starve. On June 14, 1940, Auschwitz received the first transport of 728 Polish political prisoners. More than 7,800 prisoners were registered in Auschwitz by the end of the year.²

During the camp's first months in operation, Höss received only meager assistance from the SS and virtually no support from other government or military agencies or private companies. The situation changed dramatically, however, when Auschwitz attracted Himmler's attention for its economic and ideological potential. Within a year, plans for the facility were expanded to incorporate construction, industrial production, agriculture—and mass killing.

Meanwhile, the camp's role in terrorizing the inmates remained. Prisoner transports arrived regularly, and by the spring of 1941, Höss had established a firm collaboration with the regional SS and police in carrying out the growing number of killings in Block 11. There, SS camp personnel shot uncounted numbers of Polish hostages and Gestapo detainees, prisoners they never registered or noted in Auschwitz records, after perfunctory trials by Gestapo courts that sat at least monthly in Block 11.

Auschwitz grew steadily. In March 1941, in connection with the recently agreed establishment of the IG Farben project at the neighboring hamlet of Dwory and the preparations for the invasion of the Soviet Union, Himmler ordered Höss to increase the inmate capacity to 30,000. By that spring, the Germans had already registered 15,000 prisoners, and 3,000 had died. All told, between May 1940 and January 1945, approximately 405,000 men, women, and children from every country in Europe and from many lands overseas arrived at Auschwitz I for registration, tattooing (after August 1942), and assignment to one of the other camps in the complex. Of those 405,000, approximately

200,000 perished. The 49 percent mortality rate for registered inmates was much higher than that of the SS concentration camps at Dachau, Sachsenhausen, or Buchenwald and higher even than the death rate at Mauthausen, which by SS classification standards was a harsher concentration camp than either the Auschwitz main camp or Auschwitz II-Birkenau.³

Within the diverse inmate population, different groups occupied different roles and places in the camp hierarchy. Originally, German violent and professional criminals ("greens," in the SS color designation for inmate categories) held the most trusted positions as prisoner-functionaries in Auschwitz: camp elder (*Lagerältester*), block elder (*Blockältester*), room leaders (*Stubendienste*), work overseers (*Kapos*), and work foremen (*Vorarbeiter*). The SS counted on them, as violent criminals, to physically mistreat the inmates under their authority. During 1941, however, Polish political prisoners gradually replaced the German greens as the most numerous inmate functionaries. Until early 1941, the heaviest influx of prisoners into Auschwitz consisted of Poles, followed by German, Austrian, and Western European transfers from other SS concentration camps. These inmates were enemies of the state by Nazi definition—politicals, "asocials," Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, and Protestant and Catholic clergymen. Between July and December 1941, approximately 10,000 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were sent to Auschwitz, and by May 1942, most of these soldiers had been murdered or had died of starvation, disease, and exhaustion. About one-half of all the inmates registered in Auschwitz each year were Jews. The remaining non-Jews were overwhelmingly Poles.

Jews from all over Europe began arriving in Auschwitz on deportation trains in the spring of 1942. Only a fraction of these people survived the on-arrival selections. By mid-1943, all registered Jewish inmates had been moved from the Auschwitz main camp to the Birkenau main camp. Small numbers of "Gypsies" were registered in the Auschwitz main camp in 1942 and then deported en masse to a special compound in Birkenau until their murder in August 1944. "Gypsies," Soviet POWs, and Jews were considered the lowest-ranking inmates. They were the most frequent



Mug shot of Jerzy Gumiński (26596), born March 20, 1923, shot to death at Auschwitz August 14, 1942. Note the triangle on the left breast with "P" for Pole.
USHMM WS # 02708, COURTESY OF APMO



"Roll Call," by Auschwitz prisoner Wincenty Gawron, 1942
USHMM WS # 27942, COURTESY OF APMO

objects of SS and prisoner-functionary abuse and were routinely selected for systematic killing.

In practice, all inmates at Auschwitz had to work. Forced labor was essential to the SS culture of inmate persecution as well as to economic priorities. Inmates worked within the Auschwitz camps in administrative, service, and clerical jobs and in skilled trades and crafts. Outside, they worked on roads, farms, swamps, fish hatcheries, factories, mines, chemical plants, armaments works, utilities, and other industrial concerns. Between June 1940 and January 1945, the SS and the Nazi state cleared in net profit more than 60 million Reichsmark (RM) from the exploitation of Auschwitz inmates.⁴ The inmates received no payment of any kind; the SS, the German state, private industries, and individuals used them as slaves.

In 1943, the number of Auschwitz subcamps near regional industrial and chemical plants multiplied rapidly, and by mid-1944 the Auschwitz main camp served as the SS command and administrative center for a network of more than 30 smaller outside subcamps. The number of private or non-SS concerns using inmate forced labor grew to include IG Farben's coal mining works at Fürstengrube, Janinagrube, and Günthergrube; Siemens-Schuckertwerke AG's electrical components plant; the Reich Railway Rolling Stock Repair Yard; the Oberschlesische Hydrierwerke AG (Upper Silesia Synthetic Gas Works); the Trzebinia oil refinery and reprocessing plant; as well as approximately 150 smaller German firms that subcontracted with the SS for slave laborers in smaller ventures such as textile mills, shoe factories, and retail businesses.

Thousands of men and women perished at slave labor from hunger, dehydration, exposure, disease, and exhaustion. Others were beaten to death by Kapos, killed or maimed in accidents and bombing raids, or shot by SS guards for sport or for minor infractions or while trying to escape. Still others were torn to pieces by SS guard dogs or, at the end of their strength, pulled from ranks by SS doctors and sent back to the Auschwitz main camp or Birkenau to be killed by toxic injection or gas.

The endless stream of new arrivals constantly replenished the supply of victims, and the relentless selections and gassing of exhausted, broken, and enfeebled inmates completed the self-renewing process of exploitation and extermination.

The gas chambers in Auschwitz give the camp its distinctively horrible character in most people's minds. In addition to registered prisoners, the Germans gassed approximately 1.1 million Jews and others (some "Gypsies," physically and/or mentally disabled, and transfers from other concentration camps) who never appeared in the camp's records. Most of these killings took place in Auschwitz II-Birkenau. From early 1942 on, the only Jews who survived arrival and selection to be registered in Auschwitz were those who could work. Gassing in Auschwitz claimed more than 90 percent of the Jewish victims who perished there. Thus, the development of gassing techniques—in an unauthorized experiment—was one of the most important events in the camp's history. At the end of August 1941, while Höss was away on business, his deputy, SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Fritsch, sealed the basement of Block 11 and gassed to death several hundred Soviet POWs with a powerful commercial-grade prussic acid gas, then commonly known as Zyklon B and used in the camps for delousing inmate clothing. When Höss returned to Auschwitz, Fritsch repeated the procedure for him several days later, using more Soviet POWs.⁵ Höss and Fritsch grasped the possibilities and modified the original crematorium in the Auschwitz main camp into the first permanent gas chamber. Later the gassing operations moved to Birkenau.

The task of guarding the Auschwitz main camp, as well as Auschwitz II-Birkenau, Auschwitz III-Monowitz, and all the subcamps, was the responsibility of the SS-Death's Head Guard Battalion (Totenkopfsturmbann) for Auschwitz. This unit grew along with the camp, from 500 guards in late 1940 to 2,000 in July 1942 and over 4,500 in January 1945. It started with a mix of older men from the police, SS reservists, and transfers from the SS guard units in other concentration camps, from the Allgemeine (General) SS, and from Waffen-SS reserve and replacement formations. Later, it received increasing numbers of wounded or older Waffen-SS men from the Russian front. In March 1942, the first SS women guard auxiliaries (Aufseherinnen) arrived to guard the women's compound that had opened in the Auschwitz main camp. Beginning in early 1943, large numbers of young ethnic German SS recruits from Slovakia, Croatia, Hungary, Romania, Estonia, and Latvia began to arrive. Many of these younger SS guards were subsequently called into front-line service with the Waffen-SS, most especially with the SS-Panzer Division "Viking" and the SS-Mountain Division "Nord." And finally, in June 1944, Höss brought in 500 Wehrmacht veterans, gave them SS uniforms, and used them as additional manpower during the extermination of the Hungarian Jews.

Survival in Auschwitz involved obtaining extra food and avoiding physical abuse by the guards and functionaries. This was done by "organizing," which meant stealing or smuggling valuables that could be bartered for food or privileges. Organizing brought physical advantages and also raised an inmate's

stature by proving he had the ability or the connections that could help others survive. The scope and scale of organizing in Auschwitz was so vast as to be unique among all the wartime SS concentration camps, mainly because the luggage and personal effects of gassed Jewish victims provided the inmates with unequaled access to valuables: food and spirits, currency, jewelry, watches and clocks, precious stones, art, medicine, medical supplies and instruments, tools, and hundreds of other items of practical value for survival. Organizing in Auschwitz improved the odds of surviving for thousands. It also strengthened the inmate resistance movement by fostering an underground economy, by providing material support for successful escapes, and by facilitating contacts with the Polish underground outside Auschwitz. Equally important, organizing saved lives and eased suffering by completely corrupting and compromising the SS guard companies and the security at Auschwitz. The scale of bribery involving the SS guards was so great by 1944 that the inmate resistance even procured and smuggled high explosives into Birkenau. The Jewish Sonderkommando used the dynamite in early October 1944 to try to blow up the crematoria and halt the gassings. (The attempt failed, and the SS killed all the inmates involved.)⁶

There were several successful escapes from Auschwitz—dozens, in fact, beginning in June 1940 and continuing to December 1944. The most famous escape was on April 7, 1944, when two Slovak Jews in the Canada Kommando, Rudolf Vrba and Alfred Wetzlar, fled successfully and traveled to Slovakia to inform the Allies about Auschwitz and warn the Hungarian Jews of the SS plans for their extermination. Their report eventually reached President Franklin Roosevelt via the Slovakian underground and through Switzerland.

Approximately 7,000 SS personnel who served at Auschwitz between June 14, 1940, and January 18, 1945, survived the war. Less than 10 percent of those, only about 630, were apprehended and tried after 1945 for their participation in persecution and mass murder. Most of the trials of Auschwitz SS personnel took place in Poland immediately after the war and in West Germany between 1963 and 1976. There were no Auschwitz SS defendants at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials, although Rudolf Höss testified as a witness in the Ernst Kaltenbrunner phase before the International Military Tribunal. The Allies then extradited Höss to Warsaw to face the Polish Supreme National Tribunal, which came into being in January 1946 to try the most important Nazi and SS criminals who committed crimes in Poland. The Tribunal tried Höss between March 11 and 29, 1947, sentenced him to death, and had him hanged in the Auschwitz main camp on April 16, 1947. Sitting in Kraków from November 26 to December 16, 1947, the Supreme National Tribunal then tried 40 members of the Auschwitz SS, including Höss's successor as Auschwitz commandant, Artur Liebehenschel. Liebehenschel and six others were sentenced to death and hanged, six received life sentences, and another seven drew 15-year sentences. In all their postwar Auschwitz trials, the Poles indicted 602 SS men and women from Auschwitz, tried 590, convicted 584, and

sentenced 97 percent of those to prison terms ranging from 6 months to 15 years.

West German courts began investigating crimes committed by Auschwitz SS personnel in 1950. Over the next 30 years, they convened four separate legal proceedings in Frankfurt am Main against a score of Auschwitz SS defendants. The most notable Frankfurt trial took place between December 1963 and August 1965, when 22 former SS defendants were tried, with 17 of them convicted and sentenced to prison—6 to life and 11 to terms ranging from 3 to 20 years. The Auschwitz trials lasting from 1966 to 1968 brought charges against 5 defendants and resulted in 4 convictions. The last Frankfurt trial of Auschwitz SS figures lasted from December 1973 to February 1976 and involved 2 defendants. German prosecutors ultimately dropped both cases because of health and age problems affecting both the defendants and the witnesses. Richard Baer, the last commandant of Auschwitz (May 1944–January 1945), was arrested in 1960 and died in detention in 1963.

The East Germans tried only one senior SS officer from Auschwitz. In 1966, the former SS camp doctor Horst Fischer was tried, convicted, and executed for the selection and gassing of inmates at Auschwitz. In postwar Austria, there were only two trials of Auschwitz SS, both of which ended in acquittals. The Czechs brought three cases against former SS personnel, all of whom they convicted, sentenced to death, and hanged. There was also a British Military Tribunal proceeding in 1945 against the SS administration at the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, at which the main SS defendant was Josef Kramer. Kramer had served at Auschwitz in 1940 as adjutant and deputy commandant and then again in 1944 as commandant in Birkenau. The British tried, convicted, and executed him.

SOURCES In the historical literature in English on Auschwitz, there are a number of excellent studies that include bibliographies, extensive reference material, and suggestions for further reading, as well as citations to documents and archival sources on the Auschwitz main camp. These books include Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, published in association with USHMM, 1994); Debórah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt, *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present* (New York: Norton, 1996); Jean-Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, trans. Peter Moss (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989); Robert Jan van Pelt, *The Case for Auschwitz: Evidence from the David Irving Trial* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002); Sybille Steinbacher, *Auschwitz: A History*, trans. Shaun Whiteside (New York: ECCO, 2005); the massive, copiously annotated and documented work by Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle 1939–1945* (New York: H. Holt, 1995), published for the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum; *Auschwitz: A History in Photographs*, compiled originally and edited by Teresa Świebocka, English edition by Jonathan Webber and Connie Wilsack (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993); Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981); and the English translation of the five-volume history of Auschwitz by Waclaw Dlugoborski and Franciszek

Piper, *Auschwitz 1940–1945: Central Issues in the History of the Camps*, trans. William Brand (Auschwitz: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, in cooperation with the United States Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad, 2000). The standard work on slave labor and industry at Auschwitz is Peter F. Hayes, *Industry and Ideology: I.G. Farben in the Nazi Era*, 2nd ed. (1987; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Important also is the older but still substantial work by Josef Buszko, *Auschwitz: Nazi Extermination Camp*, 2nd ed. (Warsaw: Interpress Publishers, 1985). The classic history of the Holocaust, containing a wealth of information about the Auschwitz camps, remains the magisterial study by Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

Searching through the memoir literature, primary sources, and archives essential to a broader understanding and deeper knowledge of the experiences of both the victims and the perpetrators at Auschwitz, the reader should consult, especially, Rudolf Höss, *Death Dealer: The Memoirs of the SS Kommandant at Auschwitz*, ed. Steven Paskuly and trans. Andrew Pollinger (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1992). This is the most recently edited and revised edition of the extraordinary Höss memoir-autobiography to appear. Among the dozens of published memoirs by inmates, three in particular merit notation. Rudolf Vrba and Alan Bestic's *I Cannot Forgive* (New York: Bantam, 1964) is the account by the most famous escapee of Auschwitz. Primo Levi's *The Drowned and the Saved*, trans. Raymond Rosenthal (New York: Summit Books, 1988) is the last personal reflection left by the most poetic and tragic Auschwitz survivor. And Hermann Langbein's *People in Auschwitz*, trans. Harry Zohn, foreword by Henry Friedlander (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, published in association with USHMM, 2004) is the recently translated classic by a key figure in the Auschwitz inmate resistance. On the Sonderkommando, an important memoir is Filip Müller with Helmut Freitag, *Auschwitz Inferno: The Testimony of a Sonderkommando*, ed. and trans. Susanne Flatauer (London: Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1979). An important compilation of early testimonies by Polish prisoners at Auschwitz is Janusz Nel Siedlecki, Krystyn Olszewski, and Tadeusz Borowski, *We Were in Auschwitz/6643 Janusz Nel Siedlecki; 57817 Krystyn Olszewski; and 119198 Tadeusz Borowski*, trans. Alicia Nitecki (1946; repr., New York: Welcome Rain Publishers, 2000).

The most important archives for the history of Auschwitz are in Poland and Russia. They are the APMO, on the site of the former Auschwitz main camp, which houses the most extensive and complete collection of documents, records, and Auschwitz artifacts in the world. The archive may also be previewed on the World Wide Web at www.auschwitz-muzeum.oswiecim.pl. In addition, and in Warsaw, the IPN houses the postwar trial records of the Supreme National Tribunal and extensive collections of wartime SS documents from Auschwitz. In Moscow, RGVA contains extremely important SS records relating to the construction and expansion of Auschwitz and a mass of individual SS personnel and employee files and Auschwitz prisoner records. Some of these

records are available in microfilm at USHMM in RG 11.001 M.03, Zentralbauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Auschwitz collection. A helpful published compilation of the Auschwitz garrison orders is Norbert Frei et al., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000). Those interested in further study of the archival records, memoir literature, and rapidly expanding field of scholarly and general books about Auschwitz should consult the recent extensive bibliography in Dlugoborski and Piper, *Auschwitz 1940–1945*, 5:235–284.

Charles Sydnor

NOTES

1. The original SS command group assigned to Auschwitz is listed in "Führerstellenbesetzungsplan für den Stab des Inspekteurs der Konzentrationslager mit den Konzentrationslagern," effective June 1, 1940, BA-B, NS 3/438, as cited in Henry Friedlander and Sybil Milton, eds., *Archives of the Holocaust*, vol. 20, *Bundesarchiv of the Federal Republic of Germany, Koblenz and Freiburg* (New York, 1992), Doc. No. 192, p. 497.

2. Regulations for SS guards and prisoners at Auschwitz, as at all other concentration camps, were the same as those originally drafted at Dachau in October 1933 by the then Dachau commandant Theodor Eicke. NARA, RG 238, 778-PS and 1216-PS. The first of these is reprinted in TMWC, 26: 291–297. See Rudolf Höss, *Death Dealer: The Memoirs of the SS Kommandant at Auschwitz*, ed. Steven Paskuly and trans. Andrew Pollinger (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1992), pp. 91–105, 243–250: Höss's account of his SS guard service before Auschwitz and his biographical profile of Theodor Eicke. See Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle 1939–1945* (New York: H.Holt, 1995), entry for Thursday, June 14, 1940.

3. Höss, *Death Dealer*; pp. 124–164. NARA, RG 238, Nuremberg Doc. 1063-A, "Einstufung der Konzentrationslager," a general order issued by Reinhard Heydrich on January 2, 1941. Ten months before construction of Birkenau began, the SS classified the Auschwitz main camp as a less severe concentration camp than Auschwitz II—which is mentioned for the first time in this document from early 1941.

4. NARA, RG 238, NO-1290, "Arbeitseinsatz der KL Häftlinge," an order by Oswald Pohl as Chief of the SS-WVHA to all camp commandants, dated January 22, 1943, prescribing season work hours for inmates in all the camps.

5. Rudolf Vrba and Alan Bestic's *I Cannot Forgive* (New York: Bantam, 1964) is the memoir of one escapee. Höss, *Death Dealer*; pp. 155–157, is the recollection Rudolf Höss recorded.

6. Höss, *Death Dealer*, pp. 38–42. See Filip Müller with Helmut Freitag, *Auschwitz Inferno: The Testimony of a Sonderkommando*, ed. and trans. Susanne Flatauer (London: Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1979): the personal account of an eyewitness and one of only a few survivors of the crematoria corpse-burning detail.

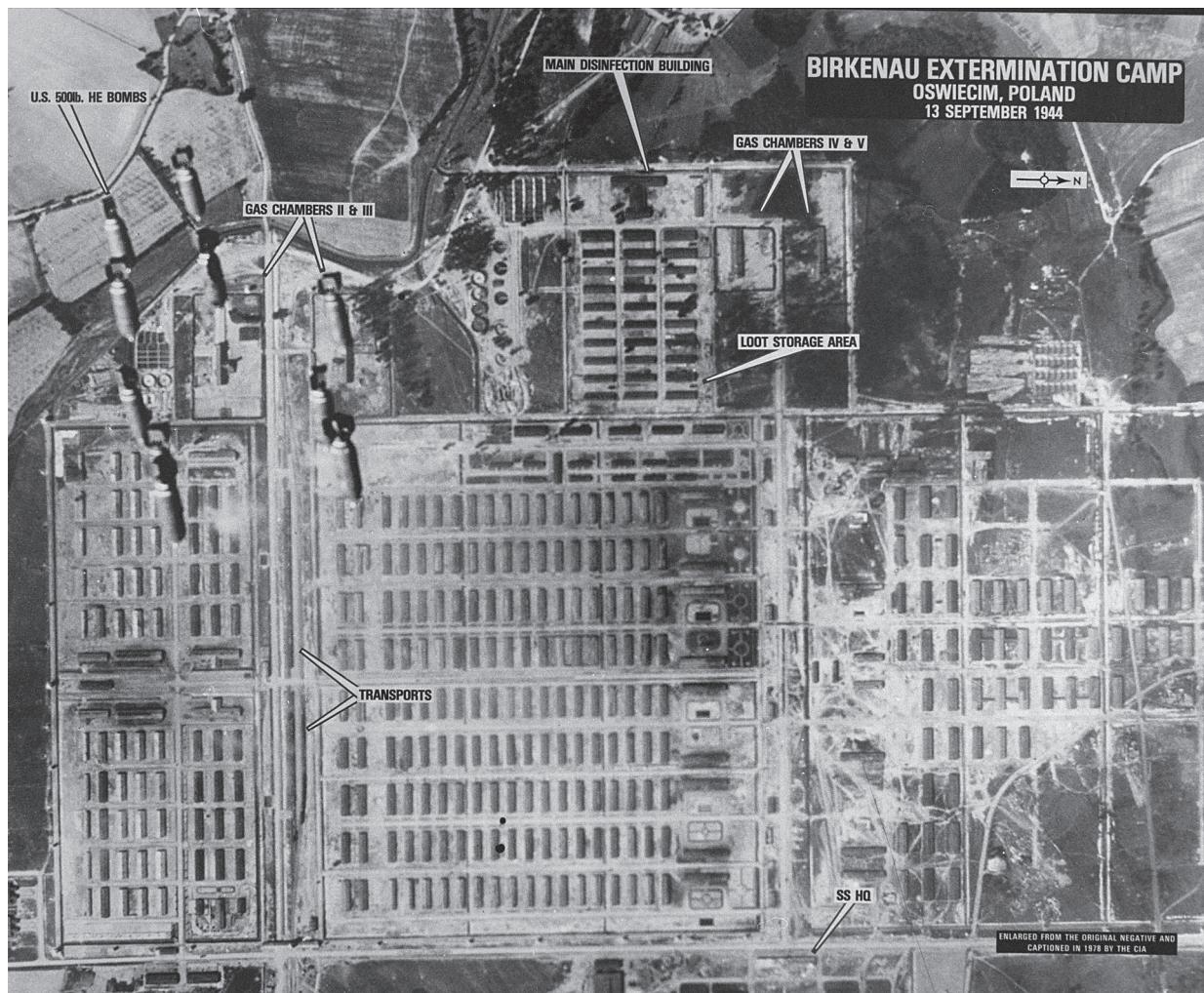
AUSCHWITZ II-BIRKENAU MAIN CAMP

The Birkenau camp (designated Auschwitz II between November 22, 1943, and November 25, 1944) was the largest of the approximately 40 camps and subcamps included in the Auschwitz complex. It was unique in that it combined the function of a killing center, like Treblinka or Belzec, with the aim of contributing directly to the "Final Solution" through the use of gas chambers, with that of a concentration camp. In the last part of its existence it also became a source of manpower for industrial plants deep within the Reich.

The majority of the victims of the Auschwitz complex, presumably about 90 percent, perished at Birkenau—an ap-

proximate total of 1 million people, the decided majority of whom (over 90 percent) were Jews. In addition, a significant portion of the roughly 70,000 Poles who died or were killed in the Auschwitz complex perished at Birkenau, as well as about 20,000 Gypsies, Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), and thousands of prisoners of other nationalities.¹

The idea of establishing a camp in Brzezinka (Birkenau), a village located near the original Auschwitz concentration camp, first came up on March 1, 1941, during Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler's first inspection of Auschwitz, when he



Aerial photograph of Auschwitz II-Birkenau, from a September 13, 1944, Fifteenth Army Air Forces mission against IG Auschwitz enhanced and cropped in 1978 by Central Intelligence Agency photo analysts Dino Brugioni and Robert Poirier. Pictured at top left is a cluster of nine bombs appearing to fall on the camp but actually falling on the IG Farben complex to the east. From left to right are sectors BII, BIII, and the unfinished BIII. At the top are the killing centers and the loot storage complex called "Kanada."

USHMM WS #03198, COURTESY OF NARA

issued a series of orders for the camp's enlargement and for prisoner deployment, including a "camp for one hundred thousand prisoners of war." Himmler subsequently chose the village of Brzezinka, which the German occupation forces renamed Birkenau (The Birch Woods), as the site for the POW camp.²

The camp's first designs and plans originated at the SS-Main Office for Budget and Buildings (HHB), which in February 1942 became part of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). These plans initially provided for a camp with a capacity of 125,000 people, but in October 1941, during preliminary construction, the Germans increased the capacity to 200,000. According to those plans, the camp would eventually consist of four sections, called building sectors (*Bauabschnitte*), numbered BI to BIV: the first sector was to hold 20,000 people, while the other three would hold 60,000 people each. The entire camp was to occupy 175 hectares (432 acres).³

The prisoners performed most of the camp construction. In October 1941, the Germans deployed 10,000 Soviet POWs from the Neuhammer am Quais (later Świętoszów) POW camp and probably from Lamsdorf (later Łambinowice) for this purpose. Temporarily placed in nine assigned and separately fenced barracks of the Auschwitz camp, they were brought daily to the village of Brzezinka, where construction began on sector BI.⁴ Construction continued right up to 1944, using successive drafts of prisoners, and only stopped because of the approach of the Soviet armies, by which time the Germans had progressed as far as section BIII (called "Mexico" by the prisoners). In total, over an area of about 140 hectares (346 acres), the Germans erected about 300 barracks and residential, administrative, and utility buildings, 13 kilometers (8 miles) of drainage ditches, 16 kilometers (10 miles) of barbed-wire fencing, a dozen or so kilometers (7 or more miles) of roads, and—between early 1942 and June 1943—four gas chamber/crematory complexes in their own compound. Adjacent to the killing complex were warehouses that collected the loot amassed from the killing centers' victims. Called "Kanada," because the prisoners imagined Canada as a land of great wealth, the warehouse contents stimulated SS corruption and furnished barter goods for "organizing" by some prisoners.

From March 1, 1942, to November 22, 1943, Birkenau was under the command of SS-Obersturmbannführer Rudolf Höss, along with the rest of the Auschwitz complex. As a result of the reorganization and division of the Auschwitz complex into three separate camps at Himmler's orders in November 1943, Birkenau was renamed Auschwitz II and placed under SS-Sturmbannführer Fritz Hartjenstein. Josef Kramer replaced Hartjenstein on May 8, 1944.⁵ On November 25, 1944, the Germans recombined Auschwitz I and Auschwitz II into one camp called Konzentrationslager Auschwitz, over which the Auschwitz I commandant, SS-Sturmbannführer Richard Baer, took charge.⁶

On September 8, 1944, there were 908 SS guards.⁷

Between 1942 and 1945, the Birkenau administration divided the camp's existing sectors into smaller compounds—

also called camps—each with its own purpose and chain of command. Camp leaders (*Lagerführer*) supervised these compounds through noncommissioned report officers (*Rapportführer*) and block leaders (*Blockführer*). These compounds included separate men's and women's areas, hospital and quarantine camps, transit camps, and "family" camps, one for "Gypsies" and one for the Jews from Theresienstadt. The family camps, where men, women, and children lived in the same compound, were primarily a propaganda tool, as the Germans forced prisoners to write letters painting a false picture of camp conditions.

The mass extermination facilities (gas chambers and crematoria) were a separate complex of buildings generally subordinate to the camp commandant, who was responsible for the progress of the extermination operations, and immediately subordinate to the camp administration's political detachment (Politische Abteilung). After the November 22, 1943, division of Auschwitz into three camps, the garrison senior (Standortälteste) issued Order No. 53/43 entrusting the supervision of the extermination facilities to the commandant of Auschwitz II, who was also the director of Auschwitz Post Command for Special Tasks (Befehlsstelle Auschwitz für besondere Einsätze).⁸

Both during the time when Birkenau was under the Auschwitz commandant and afterward, when it became an individual concentration camp, it was closely associated with the other camps, that is, Auschwitz I and Auschwitz III-Monowitz (which controlled various subcamps). In part this cooperation came about because of Order No. 53/43, in which the Auschwitz garrison senior stipulated that the commandants of these camps work closely together, with the Auschwitz I commandant serving as Auschwitz garrison senior and being officially designated as the senior staff member (Dienstältester) with respect to the other commandants and with powers to resolve disputes.⁹ The Auschwitz I camp continued to house the garrison administration, central employment office, political branch, and headquarters of the garrison physician (Standortarzt), who was the chief of health services in all the camps.

Although the Germans had begun building the Birkenau compound as a POW camp (*Kriegsgefangenenlager*) and continued this designation in building records (letters, plans, and reports) until 1944, the camp never served that function. The Germans gradually decided, while the camp was still being built (by February 1942 at the latest), to change the nature of the camp and to incorporate it into the Auschwitz complex as an integral component. The failure to achieve the expected quick victory over the Soviet Union and the attendant need for labor that the prospect of a long war created, combined with the decision to exterminate the Jews of Europe, set up the conditions that led to Birkenau's further development into a center for extermination and forced labor.

The Soviet POWs whom the Germans had brought in to build the camp were the first victims. Out of the original 10,000 prisoners who arrived in Auschwitz in October 1941,



Jews from Carpathian Ruthenia await selection at the Birkenau railway ramp, May 1944. Prisoners from the Kanada detachment and some SS men stand to the left.
USHMM WS # 77405 COURTESY OF YVA

over 9,000 died in five months, mainly due to the primitive conditions under which they had to live and work while building the Birkenau camp.¹⁰ When the 945 surviving prisoners were transferred to Birkenau on March 1, 1942, the newly formed camp was already a part of the Auschwitz complex, and from that point forward, Jews constituted the vast majority of arriving prisoners. The camp subsequently housed a portion of the approximately 140,000 Poles registered at the Auschwitz complex, about 23,000 "Gypsies," and prisoners of other nationalities.

Immediate death awaited the vast majority of the arriving Jews; out of approximately 1.1 million Jews transported to Birkenau, a maximum of 200,000 were temporarily saved when selected for labor.¹¹ Selections took place either before Jews climbed aboard the trains that brought them to Auschwitz or, more commonly, upon arrival. The exact sequence of events varied somewhat, but typically the Jews selected for death were marched to the extermination compound, ordered to undress (under the pretext of bathing and disinfecting before entering the camp proper), and herded into the gas chamber. Specially trained SS technicians then dumped hydrogen cyanide tablets (Zyklon B) into the chamber. When the prisoners were dead, the chamber was ventilated, and the special detachment (Sonderkommando), made up of other Jewish

prisoners, removed the bodies, cut off women's hair, removed any gold dental work, and burned the corpses in the crematoria.

Birkenau's prisoner population grew steadily with its expansion and the selection of some incoming prisoners for labor. There were approximately 90,000 male and female prisoners living in the camp on August 22, 1944 (including approximately 60,000 registered prisoners marked with camp numbers and about 30,000 unregistered ones; the latter were called "depot prisoners"). Seventy-four percent of the prisoners in Birkenau at that time were Jewish.¹² Those whom the Germans selected for work faced a slower but usually no less certain fate than those who went straight to the gas chambers. A few lucky ones—usually those with connections of some sort—could work in the camp administration, in the kitchens, or in some other relatively easy position indoors. For most prisoners, however, the work was extremely hard and often dangerous; the Nazi aim was "destruction through labor" (*Vernichtung durch Arbeit*). Demolition and construction on the camp itself or other nearby facilities formed a major part of the workload, as did agricultural labor; other prisoners worked in Kanada or in nearby armaments factories (Union, which manufactured fuses, and Zerlegebetriebe, where the prisoners dismantled wrecked aircraft). In any case, the guards and Kapos drove the prisoners

furiously and beat anyone who faltered—often to the point of death. Roll calls at the beginning and end of every day, often lasting for hours, added to the torment and fatigue.

The living conditions further lessened the prisoners' chances for survival. Sleeping arrangements consisted of wooden shelves, with a minimum of straw bedding, on which the prisoners were packed. The camp uniform consisted of a striped shirt and trousers of rough cloth, never changed or washed, stiff with dirt, sweat, and excrement, infested with lice, and completely inadequate to protect against the weather. Wooden shoes were the only footwear. The diet consisted of the lowest-quality food in amounts that could not sustain life; the only hope for survival lay in "organizing" additional food, and such opportunities were scarce. Prisoners that fell sick either got well by themselves or died; there was no medical care to speak of. Prisoners who managed to stay alive, but became too weak to work, were subject to periodic selections: the Germans wanted to make room for new arrivals and were uninterested in feeding "useless eaters."

Birkenau also served as a transit camp and source of prisoner labor for other locations. In 1942 and 1943, it sent prisoners mostly to local subcamps and to the industrial complex of Monowitz. Then, beginning in the spring of 1944, Germany's military and economic situation was so desperate that the SS decided to use concentration camp labor more extensively in hundreds of industrial plants in German-controlled areas and in the Reich proper. To that end, they opened new camps near Auschwitz and shipped thousands of prisoners from Birkenau to other WVHA camps.

Resistance groups existed in all parts of the Auschwitz complex. Their task was to save lives by acquiring additional food, clothing, and medication. Furthermore, these groups documented the crimes and gathered intelligence, through Poles who lived near the camps, for the Polish Government in Exile in London to inform the world concerning the mass murderers committed in the camp. Requests to put pressure on Nazi Germany to stop these crimes were also directed to world public opinion. In the last stage of the existence of the camp it was the clandestine groups that prepared for resistance in case the Germans should attempt to kill the inmates during the camp's possible liquidation.

Resistance groups were mainly organized by nationalities, political ideology, or professions (such as Polish officers). On June 10, 1942, a mutiny took place in the penal company that included about 400 Polish inmates. Unfortunately, only 9 inmates were able to escape, 2 of whom were tracked down. During the mutiny, 13 inmates were shot, 20 were killed during an examination that took place immediately afterward, and about 300 were killed in the gas chambers.

Other forms of resistance included escapes that in most cases served only to save one's life. On June 24, 1944, the Polish inmate Edward Galiński stole an SS uniform and escaped from Birkenau with Mala Zimetbaum. Both were caught and killed after an interrogation in the camp.

In Birkenau, Jews who worked in the Sonderkommando formed a resistance group. On October 7, 1944, during an

attempt to forestall the escape of a group of inmates, they revolted, attacking SS men with hatchets, hammers, and stones. The Sonderkommando mutiny ended with the SS killing the majority of its members (451 people) and the burning down of gas chamber and crematorium IV.

Another resistance activity was the documentation of Nazi crimes by copying (*sporządzanie*) German documents and writing their own observations. The Jews of the Sonderkommando gathered and buried such notes in the ground. Discovered after the war, they constitute a precious source of information regarding the crimes committed at Birkenau. Information was also regularly gathered and preserved by Polish inmates regarding the crimes committed in the camp, its organizational structure, and the perpetrators.

Important information was also delivered by escapees and was published in Poland and abroad during wartime. The most valuable information of this kind was included in the reports of the Pole Jerzy Tabeau and the Jews Alfred Wetzler, Walter Rosenberg (Rudolf Vrba), Arnost Rosin, and Czesław Mordowicz. These reports were presented to the Allied governments, including Britain and the United States, and were published in Washington, DC, in November 1944. These reports led Jewish groups in Britain and the United States to call for bombing the Birkenau killing center or its approaching railways.

With the approach of Soviet forces in January 1945, the Germans decided to evacuate the Auschwitz complex. They had begun dismantling the gas chambers and crematoria in late 1944, in order to remove the industrial fixtures; in January, on the eve of the evacuation, they blew them up. On January 17, 1945, after the inmates' partial evacuation, 15,000 male and female inmates still remained in Birkenau. As in other Auschwitz camps and subcamps the majority were led out of the camp the next day. They were taken by foot to a site about 63 kilometers (39 miles) from Auschwitz, at Loslau (Wodzisław Śląski) and Gleiwitz (Gliwice). Many inmates died during this march, either shot by the guards or from hunger and cold. The survivors were put on open cattle cars and taken to camps in Germany.

During its five-year existence, about 8,000 SS men served at the Auschwitz concentration camp. They all shared responsibility for the death of about 1 million people. Only about 1,000 stood trial after the war. About 800 were turned over by Germany to Poland and were sentenced in Poland. The first one to be sentenced was the camp's founder and first commandant, Rudolf Höss, who was sentenced to death by the Supreme People's Court of Poland and executed on the site of the former camp on April 16, 1947. A second trial took place in Kraków against Auschwitz SS men, including 40 members of the camp administration. On December 22, 1947, 22 were sentenced to death, 6 to life imprisonment, and others to 3 to 15 years in prison. One was acquitted. The remaining SS men who had been delivered to Poland for sentencing were tried in regional, county, and special courts.

Between 1963 and 1976, four trials against Auschwitz SS personnel took place in Frankfurt am Main. Thirty SS men

had to stand trial. Furthermore, SS men from Auschwitz were tried by various Allied courts in a number of postwar trials that dealt with the staff of other concentration camps.

SOURCES The published sources on Auschwitz are legion. Here are some of the most important publications pertaining to Birkenau: Wacław Długoborski and Franciszek Piper, eds., *Auschwitz 1940–1945: Central Issues in the History of the Camp*, 5 vols. (Oświęcim: Auschwitz Birkenau State Museum, 2000); Franciszek Piper and Teresa Świebocka, eds., *Auschwitz: Nazi Death Camp* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz Birkenau State Museum, 1996); Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, published in association with USHMM, 1994); Franciszek Piper, *Die Zahl der Opfer von Auschwitz aufgrund der Quellen und Erträge der Forschung 1945–1990* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz Birkenau State Museum, 1993); Franciszek Piper, *Arbeitseinsatz der Häftlinge aus dem Auschwitz Konzentrationslager* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz Birkenau State Museum, 1995); Jean Claude Pressac, *Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989); Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939–1945* (New York: H. Holt, 1997); Sybille Steinbacher, *Auschwitz: A History* (London: Penguin Books, 2005); Robert Jan van Pelt, *The Case for Auschwitz: Evidence from the Irving Trial* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001); Hermann Langbein, *People in Auschwitz*, trans. Harry Zohn, foreword by Henry Friedlander (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Ernst Klee, *Auschwitz, die NS-Medizin und ihre Opfer* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1997). On the controversy concerning the nonbombing of the Birkenau killing center, see Michael Neufeld and Michael Berenbaum, eds., *The Bombing of Auschwitz: Should the Allies Have Attempted It?* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, published in Association with USHMM, 2003).

During the liquidation of the camp, the SS men destroyed the majority of the documents that dealt with the administration and functioning of the camp. The most important losses are the copies of the transport lists of Jews containing several hundred thousand names; the *Zugangslisten* (acquisition lists) containing the names of numerous new inmates for the years 1940, 1942, 1943, 1944, and 1945; questionnaires and index cards; inmate registration cards; the ledgers of the camp; the card index; and the files containing the death records of inmates for the years 1944–1945. Among the documents that survived by accident or were not destroyed, the most valuable documents (which are available in APMO) are about 70,000 death registration records for a portion of the registered inmates, from July 1941 to December 1943; *Zugangslisten* for the year 1941, containing about 28,000 names; the *Stärkebuch* (strength book) from January to August 1942; the *Hauptbuch* (main book) for the camp of the “Gypsies,” containing about 21,000 names of Roma and Sinti; the death register of Soviet POWs, containing 8,420 names and some inmate numbers; a collection of records of the construction management (*Bauleitung*) of the camp, among others maps and technical documentation of the gas chambers and crematories; the records of the SS-Hygiene Institute, containing names of inmates and the results of laboratory analyses. In addition, APMO houses about 4,000 statements and memories of inmates and numerous trial testimonies; some 10,000 photographs, among

them 4,000 photographs of inmates taken during their registration at the camp and photographs of buildings and objects in the camp during its construction. To the most valuable sources outside of APMO belong the transport lists stored in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, the Czech Republic, Germany, and Norway, which contain the names of Jews deported from these countries; the registers of the names of a part of the Hungarian Jews deported from Hungary to Auschwitz, which are stored today in Hungary; the records of Polish prisons from which Poles were sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp; the records in local German archives regarding the registration, imprisonment, and deportation of “Gypsies” to the Auschwitz camp; records of trials against the SS personnel of the Auschwitz camp; and records of German authorities like WVHA and RSHA related to the administration of Auschwitz. Copies of many of these collections are held at USHMMMA and YVA. USHMMMA also holds microforms of captured German documents from the Soviet Union and Soviet investigation records, which concern the planning, construction, and liberation of Auschwitz II-Birkenau. They include RG 11.001 M.03, *Zentralbauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Auschwitz* collection, copied from RGVA, fond 502 (reels 18 to 71); and RG-22.008, Records relating to Auschwitz and other camps from TsGAMORF, 1940–1945. Music sung by Birkenau prisoners was the subject of a research project by former Polish prisoner Aleksander Tytus Kulisiewicz. The fruits of his work are found in USHMMMA, RG-55.003. A recent addition to USHMMMA is the newly discovered “SS-Auschwitz Album,” Acc. 2007.24. From internal and external evidence, it was apparently arranged by the last adjutant of Auschwitz I, Karl Höcker, and includes images of ranking SS staff and female SS Hilferinnen during moments of recreation at the nearby SS retreat at Solahütte. Featured in this album are photographs of Rudolf Höss, Richard Bär, Josef Kramer, Josef Mengele, and others. Many of the images date from June 1944, which means the creation of this album coincided with the destruction of the Hungarian Jews. The F-B-I and the Auschwitz State Museum have recently published a DVD of the Frankfurt Auschwitz trial (4 Ks 2/63), as *Der Auschwitz Prozess: Tonbandschnitte, Protokolle, Dokumente* (Berlin: Directmedia Publishing, 2004). The U.S. War Refugee Board published the Auschwitz Protocols in November 1944. They are listed as *German Extermination Camps—Auschwitz and Birkenau* (Washington: WRB, 1944); and reprinted in David S. Wyman, ed., *Bombing Auschwitz and the Auschwitz Escapees’ Report*, vol. 12 of *America and the Holocaust*, 13 vols. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), Doc. 1. A helpful published compilation of the Auschwitz garrison orders is Norbert Frei et al., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000). For the testimonies of the Sonderkommando, see *Amidst a Nightmare of Crime, Manuscripts of Members of Sonderkommando* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz Birkenau State Museum, 1973). The first published testimonies on Birkenau appeared in Polish in wartime. They include [Natalia Zarebina], *Obóz śmierci* (Warsaw, 1942), reprinted as *Obóz śmierci: Zbiór relacji z obozu w Oświęcimiu opublikowanych w kraju przez ruch oporu mas pracujących* (London, 1943), trans. as *The Camp of Death* (London, 1943), *The Camp of Disappearing Men: A Story of the Oswiecim Concentration Camp; Based on Reports from the Polish Underground Labor*

Movement; Poland Fights (New York, 1944); *Oświecim, campo de la muerte* (Mexico City, 1944); Zofia Kossak, *W piekle* (Warsaw, 1942), trans. as *In Hell* (London, 1944); and Halina Krahelska, *Oświecim: Pamietnik wieźnia* (Warsaw, 1942). For enhanced and cropped aerial photography of the Birkenau killing center, see Dino Brugioni and Robert Poirier, *The Holocaust Revisited: A Retrospective Analysis of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Extermination Complex* (Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1979).

Franciszek Piper
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, D-AuI-2/1-46 Sterbebücher, contains ca. 70,000 records of death registrations of inmates of different nationalities. D-AuI-3/1/5 Stärkebuch, D-AuI-5/2 Leichenhalle, D-AuI-3/1 Bunkerbuch, D-AuII-3/1 Hauptbücher des Zigeunerlagers.

2. APMO-B, D-AuI-3a, Folder 14, Report of Himmler visit by Heinrich Schwarz of March 17, 1941, Höss trial, 21:33.

3. APMO, Entwurf, HHH betr. KGL Auschwitz, November 1, 1941. Microfilm number 1034; BW 2/2. Lageplan des KGF—Auschwitz OS, October 14, 1941; BW 2/5, Lageplan des KGL BA I, II, III; IV, August 15, 1942.

4. APMO-B, D-AuI-3/1-7646 Index of the Russian Prisoners of War.

5. APMO-B, D-AuI-1 Standortbefehl Nr. 53/43, November 22, 1943.

6. APMO-B, D-AuI-1 Standortbefehl Nr. 29/44, November 25, 1944.

7. APMO-B, Mat. RO, 2:147–151 (Resistance Movement Report of September 8, 1944).

8. APMO-B, D-AuI-1 Standortbefehl Nr. 53/43, November 22, 1943.

9. Ibid.

10. APMO-B, D-AuI-3/1/1, p. 90, Stärkebuch.

11. APMO-B, D-RO/123 Transportlisten (Nuremberg Doc. NOKW-2824).

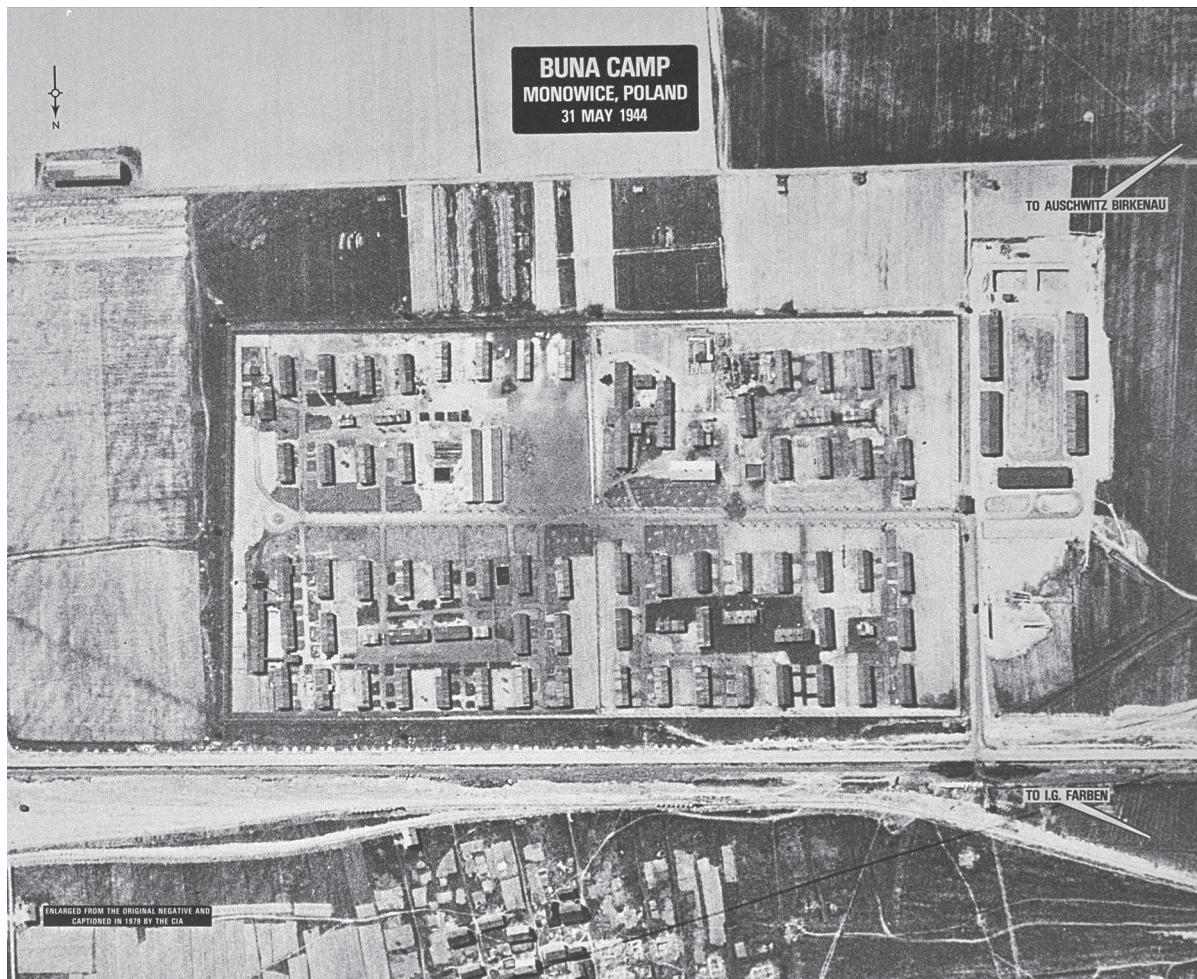
12. APMO-B, D-RO/2:94–115 (Report of the secret military council of the camp).

AUSCHWITZ III-MONOWITZ MAIN CAMP [AKA BUNA]

The Monowitz main camp lay about 6.5 kilometers (4 miles) east of the Auschwitz I main camp, near the Polish town of Monowice. In the neighboring hamlet of Dwory, on a construction site of several square kilometers in area, the German chemical firm IG Farben built a huge chemical complex for the production of synthetic fuels and rubber (*Buna*), starting in April 1941. Besides access to nearby coal mines and convenient transport connections, the availability of thousands of prisoners played an important role in the choice of this site. Leading managers of IG Farben approached Hermann Göring when they learned of SS plans—part of the Germanization policy—to forcibly resettle the Polish inhabitants and deport the Jewish population from Auschwitz and the surrounding villages. On February 18, 1941, the company persuaded

Göring to order Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler to delay the forced migration and to support the building of the Buna plant by providing prisoners from the camp as slave laborers.¹ Himmler issued an order in February 1941 to support the plant's construction, and the following month an agreement was reached between IG Farben and the leadership of the SS. That agreement became a key model for the deployment of concentration camp inmates in the German war industry.

In April 1941, prisoners from the main camp started work as the Buna-Aussenkommando to build the factory for IG Farben. In the beginning, the Buna-Aussenkommando was populated by Polish prisoners; from the spring of 1942 onward, it was reinforced with French Jews. The prisoners had to complete an exhausting march from the main camp to the



Aerial photograph of Auschwitz III-Monowitz, May 31, 1944, enhanced and cropped in 1978 by Central Intelligence Agency photo analysts Dino Brugioni and Robert Poirier.

USHMM WS # 91362, COURTESY OF NARA

construction site and back every day. From the end of July, the 1,000 to 1,300 prisoners in the Aussenkommando were transported by rail to conserve their strength.² On October 21, 1941, IG Farben proposed to the camp administration that the number of prisoners be raised to between 4,000 and 5,000 prisoners and that they be housed on the factory grounds. Due to a lack of SS guards and resources, the camp commandant, Rudolf Höss, was unable to fulfill that request at the time.³ The exact timing of the decision to build a subcamp on the Buna site is subject to debate. It is known that construction began in March 1942.⁴ With 57 living-quarter barracks, 5 wash barracks, and five latrines, the planned dimensions were extraordinarily large for a subcamp.

By the end of October 1942, more than 2,000 prisoners had arrived at Monowitz.⁵ From that point, the camp population grew steadily and, with the introduction of large numbers of Hungarian Jews in the spring and summer of 1944, reached a high point of 11,000.⁶ Inside the subcamp, Staatspolizeileitstelle Kattowitz established a so-called work education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*).⁷ Five blocks separated with barbed wire were used to imprison about 400 to 500 inmates, the goal being to discipline forced laborers who were uncooperative, came to work late, or attempted sabotage. While the administration lay in the hands of the Gestapo, the SS guarded this camp, which existed until the evacuation of Monowitz.

Eventually, more than 90 percent of the inmates of Monowitz were Jews, who came from Germany, Austria, Poland, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Norway, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, and Czechoslovakia. The majority of the non-Jewish inmates were citizens of Poland, the USSR, and Germany. About 1 to 2 percent of the camp's population were "Gypsies" of unknown nationality.⁸ In response to successful escapes in the summer of 1943, the SS transferred many Polish and Czechoslovakian inmates to Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen, where foreign prisoners' chances to survive after escaping were much smaller. Due to the mass deportation of the Hungarian Jews in the spring and summer of 1944, their proportion of the camp population increased markedly.



Street construction detail at IG Auschwitz, 1943–1944.

USHMM WS # 79489, COURTESY OF BA

The inmates of Monowitz were almost exclusively male. The exception was a small group of 10 to 20 women who were forced to work as prostitutes. From at least the summer of 1944 onward, and possibly from the end of 1943, they were placed in a separate block surrounded by barbed wire.

The prisoner-functionaries, such as block elders, prisoner physicians, or overseers, were mainly prisoners from Germany, Austria, or Poland. Besides political or personal links, the decisive factor for their nomination was often the ability to understand orders by the SS in German.

The commander of Auschwitz III-Monowitz was SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Schwarz, who was born in Munich in 1906. By the end of 1931, he had joined the SS (No. 19691) and the Nazi Party (NSDAP) (No. 786871). He started his career in the camp SS in September 1939, first in Dachau and later in Mauthausen. In September 1941, he was assigned to Auschwitz, and he became the commandant of the newly designated Auschwitz III camp on November 22, 1943.⁹ He kept this position until Monowitz was evacuated. On February 1, 1945, he became the commandant of Natzweiler-Struthof.¹⁰

By Himmler's order of November 22, 1943, Auschwitz was partitioned into three administrative units: Auschwitz I (main camp), Auschwitz II (Birkenau), and Auschwitz III (Monowitz and subcamps). From that time onward, the Monowitz headquarters was responsible for the administration of all Auschwitz subcamps.¹¹ In December 1943, the camp, which until then was named Lager Buna, was renamed Arbeitslager (work camp) Monowitz.¹² In November 1944, the administration was reorganized once again. By order of the garrison senior of Auschwitz, the camp at Birkenau was assigned to the main camp, and the "Monowitz work camp" was renamed "Monowitz concentration camp" and became an independent administrative unit.¹³

On November 22, 1943, the guard units Wachkompanie Buna and the 5th Wachkompanie were subordinated to Schwarz.¹⁴ On May 22, 1944, the SS-Totenkopfsturmbataillon (Death's Head Storm Battalion) Auschwitz III was established by Schwarz's order. It was seven companies strong. The 1st Company, under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Paul Heinrich Theodor Müller, was to guard Monowitz, while the other six companies as well as the 8th Company (established later) guarded the subcamps.

The prisoners were exploited by private enterprises and the SS inside and outside the camp as slave laborers. A total of perhaps 100 to 120 prisoners worked inside the camp, in offices, the camp kitchen, the infirmary, and on various maintenance duties. Outside the camp several thousand prisoners had to work for private companies at the construction site. IG Farben put its prisoners to work in its own plant or lent them to subcontractors. The arrangement was profitable for IG Farben since the daily fee the firm paid to the SS per prisoner amounted to roughly one-third less than for labor at the regional wage level. In addition, the firm saved considerable amounts that it normally would have had to spend for such costs as housing, sick benefits, separation compensation,

social welfare, and cultural activities, costs that could amount to approximately 25 percent of the wages of nonprisoner labor. These savings more than compensated the firm for the lower productivity of the emaciated, often diseased camp inmates.

Among the most dangerous details were the excavation Kommando and the transport Kommando, in which the prisoners suffered nearly continuous, brutal beatings. These murderous Kommandos also included the cement Kommandos, in which prisoners had to carry 50-kilogram (110-pound) cement sacks at a run. In other Kommandos, the prisoners had to build underground bunkers or lay cable, carry tree trunks, or even dig up unexploded bombs. The chances of survival were better in the electricians' Kommando, in which 120 to 180 Jewish prisoners were forced to build electrical power systems and switchboards. As the construction of the factory advanced, the job specifications changed. A growing number of prisoners were deployed as skilled laborers. They had to work as mechanics, masons, carpenters, painters, or welders. During 1943, more and more prisoners were put to work in the assembly Kommandos. And starting in 1944, an increasing number

of prisoners worked in production Kommandos, where many of them performed highly skilled work in chemical laboratories, as exemplified by Primo Levi. In the camp administration, prisoners worked as scribes and dealt with correspondence and the camp statistics.

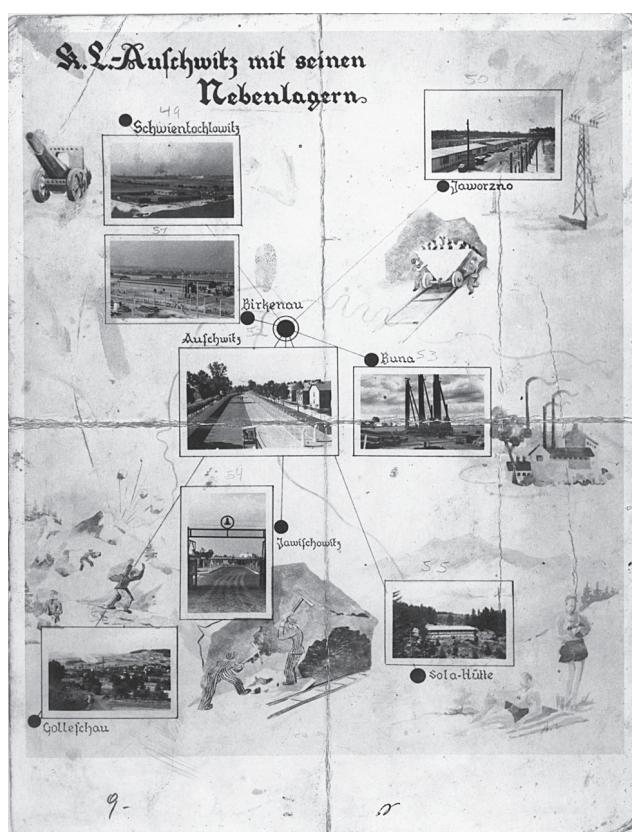
There are no estimates of how many prisoners of the Buna-Aussenkommando died between April 1941 and July 1942. The estimate of the number of prisoners who died and were killed from October 1942 onward, based on survivor accounts, fluctuates between 23,000 and 40,000.¹⁵ Many died at the construction site in work accidents, often because of the absence of safety measures. The majority died of cachexia, as a consequence of malnutrition, overwork, and untreated diseases. At the instigation of IG Farben managers, prisoners were selected for the gas chambers in Birkenau when their work ability decreased and in cases of longer-term diseases or if they became invalids. Routine selections took place in the morning at the gate of the camp when the prisoners marched to work, in the prisoner infirmary, or at the roll-call square. The camp commandant, protective custody camp leader, SS members responsible for labor allocation, the SS camp physician, and according to a surviving prisoner physician, also several civilians from IG Farben all took part in the selections.¹⁶ Selections started in the infirmary as soon as more than 5 percent of the inmates were ill. The average prisoner survived for three to four months in Monowitz.

In the face of everyday destruction, one of the major tasks of the camp resistance was to save lives. To that end, it worked to procure extra food and medication and generally tried to improve the prisoners' situation. It also conducted political education. An international network, mainly consisting of Poles and Jews from Germany and Austria, led the resistance. They took over important posts in the camp administration from which they could gather information and influence developments.

At the IG Farben factory, prisoners approached civilians, forced laborers, and POWs secretly to exchange information. Sabotage prolonged completion of the factory. The electricians' Kommando, for example, successfully caused a short circuit of the turbines during a test run. According to Walter Petzold, a former prisoner, the resistance also prevented IG Farben from starting synthetic fuel production during the so-called Day of National Work on May 1, 1943. Three days earlier, prisoners had caused an explosion of the high-pressure station, and in the vehicle park, prisoners destroyed 50 trucks and tractors through looting.¹⁷

After attempts to escape, the prisoners had to stand for roll calls for many hours as punishment. Prisoners who were captured again faced hanging. The camp inmates were forced to watch the cruel execution scenes.

The first major air raid on factory buildings at Monowitz took place on August 20, 1944, by bombers of the U.S. 15th Air Force. According to Siegfried Pinkus, a prisoner of Monowitz, about 75 inmates were killed, and more than 150 were slightly or severely injured.¹⁸ Nevertheless, many prisoners appreciated the raids, which scared the SS, demolished



"Auschwitz Concentration Camp with Its Subcamps," 1944, depicting Auschwitz I, Auschwitz II-Birkenau, Auschwitz III-Monowitz (called "Buna"), and, clockwise from top: Schwientochlowitz, Jaworzno, Sola-Hütte, Jawischowitz, and Golleschau. Prisoner Myszkowski captioned the images, which were compiled for the Auschwitz photo album by SS-Hauptscharführer Bernhard Walter and SS-Unterscharführer Ernst Hoffmann for presentation to the commandant.

USHMM WS # 25680, COURTESY OF YVA

war production facilities, and brought their liberation closer. Further air raids followed on September 13 as well as on December 18 and 26, 1944, and the last on January 19, 1945.

On January 18, 1945, Monowitz was evacuated. About 800 to 850 sick prisoners, too exhausted to leave, stayed behind. Many of the approximately 10,000 prisoners from Monowitz were forced to go on the death march.¹⁹ Many thousands died from exhaustion, exposure, and starvation or were beaten to death or shot by the SS when unable to continue to march. The death march west went via Mikolów to Gleiwitz, where the surviving prisoners were loaded on open cattle cars and transported to concentration camps in the Reich. Many ended up in Mittelbau, where they were forced to work underground in German rocket production. The prisoners who stayed back in Monowitz were liberated by the 60th Army of the Red Army's First Ukrainian Front on January 27, 1945.

The crimes committed at Monowitz were documented in detail for the first time during the U.S. Military Tribunal at Nürnberg in Case 6 from 1947 to 1948, in which 24 top managers of IG Farben were, among other things, accused of plundering and despoliation and of using the slave labor of civilians, POWs, and concentration camp inmates. Five managers were sentenced to terms of between six and eight years for the exploitation and enslavement of camp inmates at Auschwitz. Ten defendants were acquitted. One defendant was released during the trial proceedings for health reasons. Four of the 13 IG Farben managers who were sentenced as war criminals were released immediately, and the others, before they served their full sentences.

Shortly after World War II, several members of the SS were sentenced to death by Allied Military Tribunals for crimes committed in concentration camps. Among them were the former Lagerführer of Monowitz, SS-Obersturmführer Vinzenz Schöttl, in the Dachau trial of 1945, as well as the former camp physicians of Monowitz, SS-Obersturmführer Friedrich Entrass and SS-Hauptsturmführer Helmuth Vetter, in the Mauthausen trial in 1946. A French Military Tribunal at Rastatt sentenced the former commandant of Monowitz, Schwarz, to death in 1946 for crimes committed at Natzweiler.

Under Allied control, IG Farben was split up into the successor firms Badische Anilin und Sodaefabrik (BASF), Hoechst, Bayer, Casella, and IG Farbenindustrie in Liquidation. Norbert Wollheim was the first survivor to claim compensation in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) against IG Farbenindustrie in Liquidation. The so-called Wollheim-Verfahren began in January 1952 and was finally closed in 1957 with the participation of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany. A private settlement was reached out of court. A sum of 30 billion Deutsche Mark (DM) was paid as compensation for slave labor in the IG Farben factories at Monowitz, Heydebreck, Fürstengrube, and Janinagrube. IG Farbenindustrie in Liquidation was thereby able to insist that compensation was paid voluntarily, without any legal claim by the survivors. Many survivors were not informed in time and therefore failed to meet the application

deadline set in the agreement. The agreement of the Wollheim case became a model for the compensation of former slave laborers in subsequent cases against German industry.

Only a few perpetrators went to trial in the 1950s and 1960s in the FRG and German Democratic Republic (GDR) for crimes committed in Monowitz. Bernhard Rakers, former Kommandoführer and Rapportführer in Monowitz, was accused of murder in several trials from 1950 onward, for shooting prisoners during the death march. The trials, which took place before the Landgericht (state court) Osnabrück, ended with a sentence of lifelong imprisonment. In the GDR, the former SS-Lagerarzt of Monowitz, Horst Fischer, was arrested in June 1965 in Spreenhagen near Frankfurt an der Oder. Before the Supreme Court of the GDR, he was accused of taking part in selections of many thousands of prisoners. Fischer confessed to the crimes, which several witnesses had confirmed, and was sentenced to death on March 25, 1966. He was executed the same year.

In the first Auschwitz trial, which ran from December 1963 to August 1965 before the court in Frankfurt am Main, the former Sanitätsdienstgrad (SDG) of Monowitz, Gerhard Neubert, was released from trial for health reasons. In the second Auschwitz trial in Frankfurt, in 1966, Neubert received a sentence of three and a half years for accessory to murder in 35 selections. In the third Auschwitz trial in Frankfurt, in August 1966, Erich Grönke, Heinrich Bernhard Bonitz, and Josef Windeck were accused of murder. Bonitz, former block elder and Kapo in Monowitz, was sentenced to lifelong imprisonment. The former camp elder of Monowitz, Windeck, was sentenced to lifelong imprisonment for murder in 2 cases and attempted murder in 3 cases. The preliminary proceedings, which were opened by the public prosecutor in Frankfurt, against the former camp elder of the hospital (*Krankenbau*) Stefan Buthner (formerly Budziaszek), in 1966, were closed in 1975 because of the witnesses' contradictory testimonies.

SOURCES The most important studies on the history of the Monowitz concentration camp are by Bernd C. Wagner, *IG Auschwitz: Zwangsarbeit und Vernichtung von Häftlingen des Lagers Monowitz 1941–1945* (Munich, 2000); and Piotr Setkiewicz, *Z dziejów obozów IG Farben Werk Auschwitz 1941–1945* (Oświęcim: Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau, 2006); as well as Setkiewicz's valuable studies in German, "Ausgewählte Probleme aus der Geschichte des IG Werkes Auschwitz," *HvA* 22 (2002): 7–147, and "Häftlingsarbeit im KZ-Auschwitz III-Monowitz: Die Frage der Wirtschaftlichkeit der Arbeit," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*; ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998), 2:584–605. Additional studies on Monowitz include Karl Heinz Roth, "IG Auschwitz: Normalität oder Anomalie eines kapitalistischen Entwicklungssprungs?" *Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* 4:4 (1989): 11–28; Peter Hayes, "Die IG Farben und die Zwangsarbeit von KZ-Häftlingen im Werk Auschwitz," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen, 1996), pp. 129–148; and Joseph Robert White, "IG Auschwitz: The Primacy of Racial Politics" (Ph.D. diss., University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 2000). For a valuable early study

on the infirmary in Monowitz by a former camp physician, see Antoni Makowski, "Organisation, Entwicklung und Tätigkeit des Häftlings-Krankenbaus in Monowitz (KL Auschwitz III)," *HvA* 15 (1975): 113–181. In English one of the first studies on IG Farben's involvement in the exploitation of slave labor is the book of the former chief of the patent and cartel section of the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice, Joseph Borkin, *The Crime and Punishment of IG Farben* (New York, 1979), pp. 111–127; with corrections to Borkin's errors, see the chapter on Auschwitz in Peter Hayes, *Industry and Ideology: IG Farben and the Nazi Era*, 2nd ed. (1987; Cambridge, 2000), pp. 347–368. On the decision to establish Monowitz as the first camp inside an industrial complex, see Shmuel Krakowski, "The Satellite Camps," in *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*, ed. Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum (Bloomington, 1994), pp. 50–60. See also the author's "Die IG Farbenindustrie und der Ausbau des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1941–1942," *Sozial Geschichte: Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* 21:1 (2006): 33–67. On the controversy concerning the role the provision of slave labor played in the decision of IG Farben to build a chemical plant at Monowitz and to install the camp on the factory's premises, see Peter Hayes, "Zur umstrittenen Geschichte der IG Farbenindustrie AG," *GuG* 18 (1992): 405–417; Gottfried Plumpe, "Antwort auf Peter Hayes," *GuG* 18 (1992): 526–532; Thomas Sandkühler and Hans-Walter Schmuhl, "Noch einmal: Die IG Farben und Auschwitz," *GuG* 19 (1993): 259–267; Franciszek Piper, *Arbeitseinsatz der Häftlinge aus dem KL Auschwitz* (Warsaw, 1995), p. 239; Wagner, *IG Auschwitz*, pp. 37–58; and Florian Schmaltz and Karl Heinz Roth, "Neue Dokumente zur Vorgeschichte des IG Farbenwerks Auschwitz-Monowitz," 1999 13 (1998): 100–116. On the Auschwitz trial in Frankfurt am Main, see Florian Schmaltz, "Im Spannungsfeld von Wissenschaft, Politik und Justiz—Das historische Gutachten Jürgen Kuczynskis zur Rolle der IG Farben und des KZ Monowitz im ersten Frankfurter Auschwitz-Prozess," in "Gerichtstag halten über uns selbst . . .". *Geschichte und Wirkung des ersten Frankfurter Auschwitz-Prozesses*, ed. Irmtrud Wojak (Frankfurt am Main, 2001), pp. 117–140. On British prisoners of war as witnesses to the ordeal of Monowitz prisoners, see Joseph Robert White, "'Even in Auschwitz . . . Humanity Could Prevail': British POWs and Jewish Concentration-Camp Inmates at IG Auschwitz, 1943–1945," *HGS* 15:2 (Fall 2001): 266–295; and on U.S. and Soviet bombing raids on IG Farben Auschwitz, see his "Target Auschwitz: Historical and Hypothetical Responses to German Attack," *HGS* 16:1 (Spring 2002): 54–76.

A small but good selection of documents in English translation are in *TWC*, vols. 7–8. For a full documentation of Case 6, in German and English, see NARA, RG 238, M892, Reels 1–113, Records of the *United States of America versus Carl Krauch, et al.* (Case 6), August 14, 1947–July 30, 1948. These sources are completed by documents collected by the prosecution in the series of Nuremberg Industrialists (NI series) in T-301, Reels 1–163, Records of the Office of the United States Chief Council for War Crimes, Nuremberg. The Auschwitz garrison orders have been published in Norbert Frei et al., eds., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000). On SS personnel, see also Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, ed., *Auschwitz in den Augen der SS* (Warsaw, 1997).

Further sources on the development of the IG Farben factory at Auschwitz can be found in the company archives of IG Farben successors Bayer Leverkusen, BASF (Ludwigshafen), and the Hoechst archives. Besides the great collection of testimonies of survivors, the APMO keeps the documents of the SS-Zentralbauleitung Auschwitz with many relevant sources on the development of the construction of the concentration camp at Monowitz. In the BA-BL, the files of the WVHA (NS 3), IG Farbenindustrie (R 8128), and Reichsamt für Wirtschaftsausbau (R 3112) are, among other finds, the most important ones. The first Auschwitz trial at Frankfurt is well documented on DVD: F-B-I and Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, ed., *Der Auschwitz-Prozess* (Berlin, 2004). The files of the following Auschwitz trials are kept by F-B-I. Among the numerous holdings on Monowitz at USHMM is RG 50.042*0032, Oral history interview of Norbert Wollheim, February 18, 1992. For a description of the Buna-Aussenkommando that built the camp in Monowitz, see the famous book by Wiesław Kielar, *Anus Mundi: Five Years in Auschwitz*, trans. Susanne Flatauer (Harmondsworth, 1980). Among the many testimonies and biographies of survivors, a very famous one is Primo Levi's *Survival in Auschwitz: The Nazi Assault on Humanity*, trans. Stuart Woolf (New York, 1996). Recently, the earliest report by Primo Levi and co-author, prisoner physician Leonardo De Benedetti, originally prepared for Soviet investigators and published in an Italian medical journal, has appeared in English. See Levi and De Benedetti, *Auschwitz Report*, ed. Robert S.C. Gordon and trans. Judith Woolf (New York, 2006). Two other impressive and detailed testimonies of survivors are Hans Frankenthal, *The Unwelcome One: Returning Home from Auschwitz*, ed. Andreas Plake, Babette Quinkert, and Florian Schmalz and trans. John A. Broadwin (Evanston, IL, 2002); and Bert B. Linder, *Condemned without Judgment: The Three Lives of a Holocaust Survivor* (New York, 1995). A good description of the Arbeitsserziehungslager inside camp Monowitz was written by the former camp elder, Siegfried Halbreich, *Before—During—After* (New York, 1991).

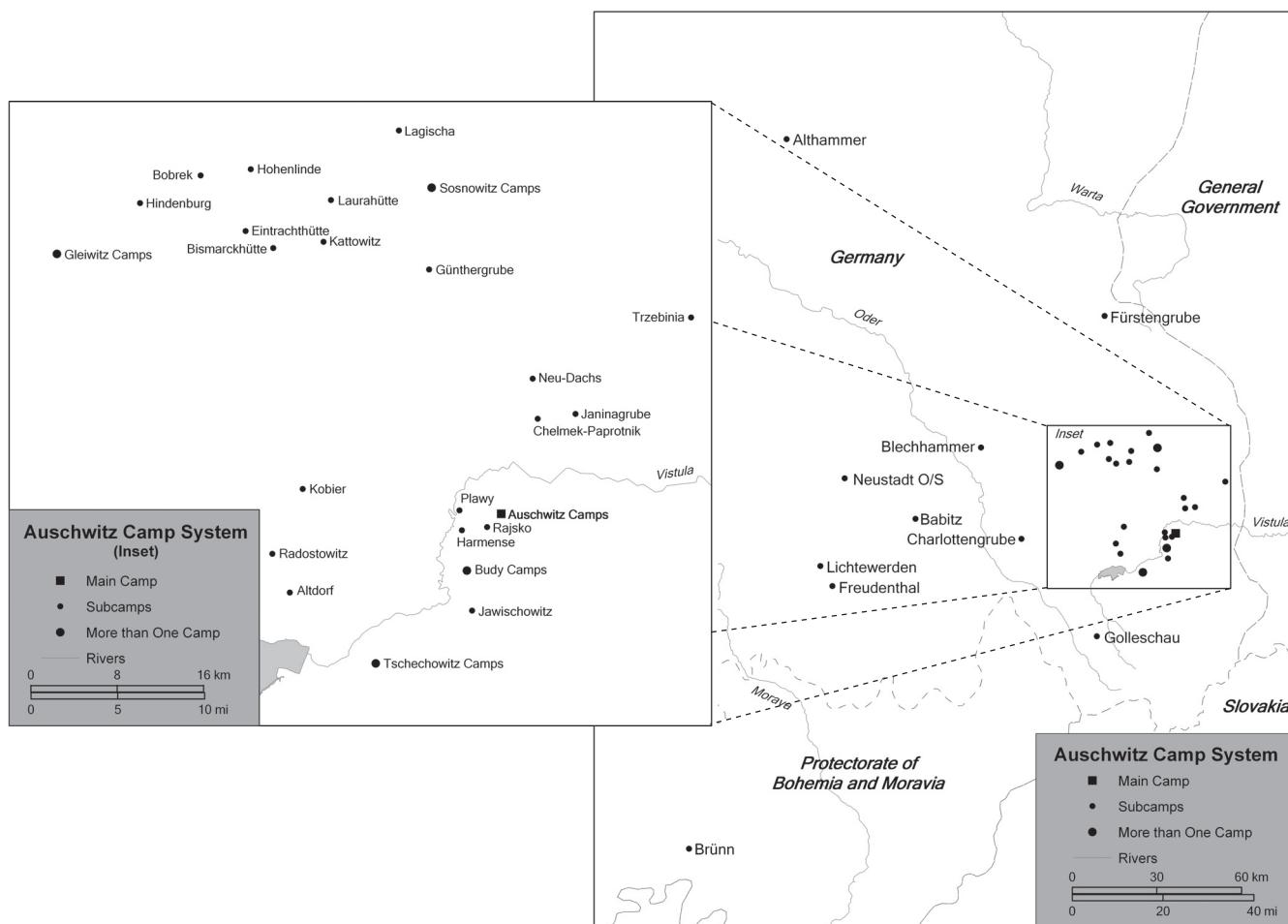
Florian Schmaltz

NOTES

1. NI-1240, Göring to Himmler, February 18, 1941.
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3. APMO, D-AuIII Monowitz/4, Tygodniowe sprawozdania IG Farben, t. 2, p. 104, IG Auschwitz, Wochenbericht Nr. 22, October 27, 1941.
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6. NI-14287, Affidavit of Martin Robbach, January 21, 1948; and Bernd C. Wagner, *IG Auschwitz: Zwangsarbeit und Vernichtung von Häftlingen des Lagers Monowitz 1941–1945* (Munich, 2000), p. 333.
7. APK, RK 2910, p. 19, Mildner (Staatspolizeileitstelle Kattowitz) an den Regierungspräsidenten in Kattowitz, February 11, 1943.

8. APMO, Oświadczenie, t. 6, s 829, Syg. Ośw/Posner/14, p. 6; Wagner, *IG Auschwitz*, p. 105; report on Auschwitz-Monowitz (Buna) by Curt Posner, n.d.
9. Standortbefehl 53/43, signed Liebehenschel, November 22, 1943, in Norbert Frei et al., eds., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle Konzentrationslager Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000), p. 367.
10. BA-BL, SSO Heinrich Schwarz (RuSHA and SSO). See Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, ed., *Auschwitz in den Augen der SS*, (Warsaw, 1997), p. 243.
11. Standortbefehl 53/43, November 22, 1943, in Frei et al., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle*, p. 366.
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16. NI-4830, Affidavit of Dr. Rudolf Vitek [Rudolf Weisskopf], March 3, 1947.
17. F-B-I, Frankfurt am Main, Landgericht Frankfurt am Main, 4 Js 444/59, Vernehmung von Walter Petzold (Berlin) am 10.2.1960, p. 2.
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AUSCHWITZ SUBCAMP SYSTEM



The process of creating subcamps subordinate to the Auschwitz main camp got off to a slow start and then accelerated rapidly as the war economy's demand for labor increased, as was the case with other concentration camp complexes. The first 4 subcamps were formed at industrial plants away from the central camp in 1942. Five more were formed in 1943, and 19 more in 1944, at steelmills, mines, and other industrial plants. Besides the subcamps established at industrial plants, there were also a dozen or so other subcamps established at farms, forestry businesses, and other workplaces. Some of them existed for a short time—sometimes seasonally or for the time that a specific job was being done. They were formed from the very beginning of the main camp's existence.

Auschwitz had a total of about 40 subcamps, including those established at industrial plants. The definite majority of prisoners living in the subcamps (approximately 95 percent, sometimes almost 100 percent) were Jews. That percentage is due partly to the fact that Jews constituted a large part of the Auschwitz population overall (approximately 70 percent in 1944) and partly to the fact that non-Jews were sent to concentration camps in Germany, while until the spring of

1944 Jews were sent to Auschwitz subcamps located on the borderlands between Poland and Germany (under the policy, in effect until the spring of 1944, that the Reich was to be free of Jews).

Until November 21, 1943, the subcamps at industrial plants were under the commander of the Auschwitz main camp. When the Auschwitz camp split into three camps, they were under the commandant of Auschwitz III-Monowitz. SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Schwarz was the commandant of that camp, which oversaw all the Auschwitz subcamps until the camp was disbanded.

Each subcamp was headed by a superintendent (Schutzhaftlagerführer) whom the commandant appointed. He was responsible for keeping the camp premises, facilities, and equipment in proper condition; provisioning the prisoners; scheduling their labor assignments; and overseeing the productivity and proper supervision of the prisoners. Some camp superintendents also held the post of guard company commander.

The subcamp superintendent was aided by a noncommissioned officer (Rapportführer) who was responsible for

conducting roll calls and keeping prisoner population records and who supervised the prisoner block superintendents (Blockführer). An SS man usually held the post of labor assignment superintendent (Arbeitseinsatzführer). There were also the posts of kitchen superintendent and medical orderly (Sanitätsdienstgrad, SDG). The latter supervised the infirmary, also called the camp hospital (*Häftlingskrankenbau*). His supervision over the infirmary was actually administrative in nature: SS orderlies were not qualified to treat prisoners, who were attended to by prisoner doctors. The infirmaries were very meagerly equipped, and the assortment and quantity of medicine brought in from the pharmacy at Auschwitz I was completely inadequate. The SS doctors who visited the subcamps from time to time were not interested in treating the prisoners. All they did was remove chronically ill prisoners and those unfit to work from the subcamps and send them either to the camp hospital at the Buna (Monowitz) subcamp or to Birkenau or directly to the gas chambers to die. Depending on the prisoner population at a subcamp, they would select upward of a dozen to several dozen—or even several hundred prisoners at a time.

The political department (Politische Abteilung) at the central camp at Auschwitz set up subsidiaries at several subcamps. The other subcamps were supervised directly by the political department at the central camp at Auschwitz (SS-Unterscharführer Federnel and SS-Rottenführer Broad). The political department was interested in anything concerning prisoner escapes from camp, forbidden communications between prisoners and the civilian population, distribution of political information among prisoners, sabotage, and other infractions of the rules. The subcamp superintendent dealt with minor breaches of order or discipline.

The prisoners were put to work at outside companies—those that did not belong to the SS—only upon the request of such companies. Any requests by companies seeking the allocation of prisoner labor had to be addressed to the DII office at the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). Before making a final decision on the time, place, and number of prisoner laborers, it considered the camp management's proposition as to lodging and supervision capabilities and the ruling of the proper arms inspectorate as to the urgency and importance of production where prisoners were to be put to work.

WVHA contracts with companies hiring prisoner labor set forth such things as the type of labor and fees to be charged as well as accommodation, food, and clothing conditions. Basically, besides the prisoner labor fees, the company doing the hiring was responsible for all costs associated with accommodation of prisoners outside the concentration camp. Therefore, the companies were required to erect a proper camp near the workplace, including barracks for the prisoners and the SS men, warehouses and kitchens, and to outfit those premises with the proper equipment, furnishings, sanitary facilities, as well as a security fence and watchtowers. On the other hand, the SS authorities covered the costs of feeding and clothing the prisoners and provided prisoner supervision.

Besides SS men, the prisoners were sometimes guarded by soldiers from the military formations for which a specific plant was producing goods or services. For example, the prisoners who were put to work at the Eintrachthütte works manufacturing anti-aircraft guns were guarded by soldiers from the Luftwaffe. The female prisoners who were put to work manufacturing ammunition at the Donnersmarck steelmill (Auschwitz/Hindenburg subcamp) were guarded by Wehrmacht soldiers, just as at the subcamps at Charlottengrube, Sosnowitz, Golleschau, and Laurahütte. At some camps, there were civilian plant guards (Werkschutz) that guarded the prisoners.

Due to the shortage of SS guards, their supervision was chiefly limited to guarding the fences, gates, and passages to prevent prisoner escapes. Work discipline was constantly monitored by prisoners—Kapos (prisoner foremen) and “head laborers” (Vorarbeiter)—and civilian staff were in charge of supervising workmanship.

Prisoners usually worked in detachments of several people, including civilian workers. The practice was either to put several trained prisoners under the supervision of a civilian skilled worker or to assign one or two prisoners to help several workers; the prisoners brought them raw materials, transported finished pieces, cleaned and maintained the machines, and kept the workstations in order. The system, which was a piecework arrangement, doubtless kept the civilian personnel interested in maintaining prisoner discipline and productivity.

In the majority of subcamps, the primary company that took on prisoner labor leased prisoners out to its subcontractors. The number of such companies reached several dozen in the case of the largest subcamps.

As a rule, the prisoners' working conditions were very hard. Although prisoners were put to work in very diverse branches of industry, such as mining, steelmaking, chemicals, and textiles, over half of them labored at various types of construction projects and did mainly heavy construction work: excavating earth, site leveling, and transporting materials. There was little mechanization, and the prisoners had to work quickly and without protective measures.

Prisoners who were put to work directly in manufacturing were somewhat better off: they were not exposed to adverse weather, and the SS men and Kapos tended to be more lenient.

At some subcamps, prisoners were put to work removing unexploded bombs from bombarded industrial plants. Removing unexploded bombs from the local refinery was the main occupation for prisoners at the Auschwitz/Tschechowitz I (*Bombensucherkommando*) subcamp.

Although the subcamps were mainly built in the immediate vicinity of the workplaces, at some subcamps prisoners had to walk several kilometers back and forth every day to work.

The working hours of prisoners laboring in industrial establishments were basically unlimited. The companies regulated both the length of the workday and the prisoners' schedule, and that is why there is such diversity in the system

of labor assignments and working hours. Prisoners were put to work in systems of one, two, or three shifts, and working hours ranged from 8 to 12 hours per day.

Prisoners had only one or two free Sundays a month. Usually, however, as in their free time on weekdays, they did various kinds of work keeping the camp in order, repairing and cleaning clothing, and so on.

Practically speaking, considering their trips back and forth to work, the roll calls that went on and on despite orders to the contrary by higher SS officials, the waits for meals, and other activities, the time for rest was limited to a few hours each day.

Treatment at the different subcamps varied considerably. The nature of the work was a key factor. Work in the open air under constant watch by the SS men and Kapos presented more opportunities for beating and abusing prisoners than work operating machines, where the production process itself set the rhythm and pace to a large extent. The type of civilian supervision was also significant to the prisoners' situation. In general, civilian workers and lower-level supervisors were kinder toward prisoners, while mid- and upper-level supervi-

sors were often just as bad as the SS and Kapos in their mistreatment of prisoners.

Besides beating, the regular replacement of prisoners was designed to be a significant factor in maintaining productivity at the proper level; prisoners who had used up their strength were replaced with stronger ones. At any rate, such rotation was included in the terms and conditions of the agreements between the SS and the companies that took on prisoner labor.

Some companies provided the prisoners with extra food on their own or rewarded prisoners with food for outstanding work. However, bonus vouchers were the most common material incentive—and also the least effective. For the underfed prisoners, the vouchers, which were mainly good for such low-value products as snails in vinegar, rutabaga, camp soup, toiletries, letter paper, thread, and other such odds and ends, had almost no value at all.

SOURCES For information about the subcamp system, readers should refer to the source descriptions for the main camps and for the individual subcamps.

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ALTDORF

The Pless (Pszczyna) Forestry Management Office (Oberforstamt) deployed a 20-prisoner forestry detail at Altdorf (Stara Wieś) from October 1942 to March 1943. The camp was located in the basement of a house. When the subcamp was dissolved, the prisoners, all of whom were Jewish, were transferred elsewhere in the Auschwitz complex. The Oberforstamt Pless established similar camps at Kobier (Kobiór) and Radostowitz (Radostowice). In a special commandant order of November 2, 1942, concerning "offenses with the use of motor vehicles," SS-Obersturmbannführer Rudolf Höss referred to these camps as the "Pless forest detachments" (Plesser Forstkommandos) but did not list them by name.¹

SOURCES This entry is based upon Irena Strzelecka and Piotr Setkiewicz, "The Construction, Expansion and Development of the Camp and Its Branches," in Aleksander Lasik et al., eds., *The Establishment and Organization of the Camp*, vol. 1 of Waclaw Długoborski and Franciszek Piper, eds., *Auschwitz, 1940–1945: Central Issues in the History of the Camp*, trans. William Brand, 5 vols. (Oświęcim: APMO, 2000), p. 130. Strzelecka and Setkiewicz cite Anna Zięba, "Podobóz Altdorf" (unpub. MSS, n.d.), available at APMO. Additional information about Altdorf can be gleaned from "Sub-Camps of Auschwitz Concentration Camp," www.auschwitz-muzeum.oswiecim.pl. This camp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:13.

The forest detachment reference is reproduced in Norbert Frei et al., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000).

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

- Quotation in Rudolf Höss, Kommandantursonderbefehl, Betr.: "Verstöße bei Benutzung von Kraftfahrzeugen," November 2, 1942, reproduced in Norbert Frei et al., eds., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000), p. 192.

ALTHAMMER

The Germans established the Althammer subcamp in the town of Stara Kuźnia (Althammer) in September 1944. The prisoners lived in brick barracks in which the Germans had earlier confined Italian prisoners of war from Badoglio's army. The first group of 30 prisoners arrived at Althammer from Auschwitz in a truck in mid-September 1944.¹ Additional groups arrived later, and the prisoner population rose steadily; the camp held 486 prisoners on January 17, 1945.² The prisoners were almost exclusively Jews primarily from France, Poland, Hungary, and the Netherlands. In addition, there were a few German prisoners, one Pole, and one Gypsy in the subcamp. They served in various positions in the prisoner administration.

SS-Oberscharführer Hans Mirbeth was the subcamp's commandant. Like other subcamps, Althammer was under the administration of Auschwitz III. In this connection, the subcamp was inspected by that camp's commander, SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Schwarz, and by SS-Untersturmführer Dr. Hans König.³ Since there was no Political Branch on site, SS men from the Auschwitz Political Branch would come to the subcamp when prisoners escaped and conduct investigations on the spot. Food and medicine were also brought into the subcamp from Auschwitz.⁴

The job of the first group of 30 prisoners was to enclose the barracks with a double fence of barbed wire and erect four watchtowers at the corners.⁵

The prisoners' chief place of work was the Walter thermal power plant construction site in Stara Kuźnia. To prevent prisoners from escaping, the entire construction site was fenced with barbed wire, and a cordon of guard stations surrounded it as well. The prisoners did such jobs as bricklaying and transport work. A large group of prisoners worked digging sewage ditches, which meant that the prisoners often had to stand in water without rubber boots. Several dozen other prisoners were also put to work building a railway siding. For a time, some prisoners were employed digging up potatoes. As necessary, others were used to unload railroad cars. Still other prisoners were put to work around the camp, in the SS men's kitchen; in the prisoners' kitchen; cleaning the camp rooms, yards, paths, and bathhouse; and building a new kitchen.

Living, working, and sanitary conditions were better than at Birkenau but still extremely unhealthful. The prisoners received food that was inadequate in both quality and quantity. They did not even get the food rations provided for in camp standards.⁶ Also, their clothing was not adapted to the working conditions or the climate; the uniform consisted of a striped suit and wooden shoes. An infirmary was established for the sick and those unable to work, under the supervision of orderly SS-Sturmmann Kisiel. Care was minimal, however, and prisoners who stayed in the infirmary for too long were taken away to the Auschwitz main camp.

Strict discipline prevailed in the camp. The SS treated the prisoners brutally. Even against standing orders to keep roll-call times to a minimum at Althammer, roll calls were often drawn out, and the prisoners were subjected to searches and persecution. If the guards found any contraband on prisoners, especially food, cigarettes, or paper put under their shirts as protection from the wind, they would beat the prisoners with whips or rubber bats. Similar treatment was the norm at the work site as well. There were also instances when the SS men would take prisoners who were too weak to work productively to the forest and shoot them. The subcamp's commandant Mirbeth set the example in tormenting prisoners. Not only did he beat them, but he also murdered them (he shot several prisoners and choked one). The bodies of those who died from abuse and exhaustion were stored in the camp latrine, after which they were taken away to Auschwitz II to be burned.⁷

The Germans shut down the subcamp and evacuated the prisoners in January 1945 due to the approach of the Soviet army. On January 18 or 19, approximately 350 prisoners were led out of the subcamp on foot and escorted to Gliwice (Gleiwitz). From there they were taken to different camps within Germany. Some found themselves in places such as Mittelbau or Bergen-Belsen. On January 25, SS men selected several dozen of the approximately 150 sick people left in the subcamp and escorted them out of the camp in an unknown direction. The rest were left under the supervision of the local Selbstschutz (local paramilitaries). They were liberated by Soviet forces a few days later.

SOURCES Records pertaining to the Althammer camp may be found in the APMO Affidavits Collection, accounts of Mieczysław Francuz, Israel Lejbisz, Joanna Mryka [or Mryki], Jan Juraszczuk and Ludwik Cipa; Fahrbefehle; Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderung; Auschwitz concentration camp staff trial records; SS-Hygiene Institut Records; Nummernbuch.

The following published sources also contain information on Althammer: Franciszek Piper, "Das Nebenlager Althammer," *HvA* 13 (1971): 141–158; Aleksander Droźdzyński, "Mały spokojny obóz," *ZO* 8 (1964).

Franciszek Piper
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia [Affidavits Collection], account of former prisoner Mieczysław Francuz.
2. APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu [Resistance Movement Materials], vol. 3, book 208, p. 212.
3. APMO, Fahrbefehle dated September 22, 1944, and November 18, 1944.
4. APMO, Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderung dated November 22, 1944, in which the "collection of corpses and delivery of medicine" was listed as the purpose of a trip to Althammer and Eintrachthütte.
5. Living and working conditions and prisoner treatment have been depicted based on the accounts of former Althammer subcamp prisoners Mieczysław Francuz and Israel Lejbisz, the memoirs of former Althammer prisoner Aleksander Droźdzyński, as well as the accounts of the following residents of nearby towns and workers who had contact with prisoners: Joanna Mryka [or Mryki], Jan Juraszczuk, and Ludwik Cipa, on file at ANMA.
6. ANMA, Akta SS-Hygiene Institut, segr. 56/531-532 [Records of the SS-Hygiene Institut, File 56/531-532]. Results of a test of a sample of soup from the Althammer subcamp.
7. ANMA, Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderung dated November 22, 1944.

BABITZ

The SS created the Babitz subcamp on the site of the village of Babice, which had been evacuated in April 1941. Prisoners coming in from the Auschwitz concentration camp in labor detachments demolished some of the village buildings, and the material thus acquired was used to build the buildings of

the farm that the SS designated "Wirtschaftshof Babitz." The farm's task was to cultivate the surrounding lands and raise cattle. It was under the charge of Joachim Caesar, the director of all camp farms.¹ Initially, numerous male and female prisoner detachments (Aussenkommandos) from the Auschwitz camp as well as Birkenau bred the animals and did the farming.

The SS established the subcamp in March 1943 with approximately 60 male and 50 female prisoners in the prewar school building and neighboring wooden barracks. The female prisoners lived in the school building, the male prisoners, in the barracks. The building and barracks were surrounded by a barbed-wire fence that was not electrified. At the corners of the fence there were elevated watch platforms where SS men stood guard. The first group of prisoners consisted mostly of Jews from 20 to 30 years old. However, they were killed a short time later (within six weeks), and about 200 Poles, Greek Jews, and Russians were brought in to replace them.²

The female prisoners lived in the classrooms called *sztubas*, from 12 to 40 in a room, depending on the size. They each slept alone on straw-filled mattresses on bunks with three blankets. The building's windows had been partially bricked up or secured with barbed wire. The rooms were cleaned daily, and the prisoners had no hygienic problems, as they had enough cold water from a well in the yard, and they also got warm water in the evening. The rooms were heated in the winter. There were permanent brick toilet facilities outside the building, while a portable wooden toilet was brought into the building at night. There was a dispensary in the building where female prisoners sick with noninfectious diseases could stay. A Russian prisoner took care of patients at the dispensary. Every so often, an orderly (Sanitätsdienstgrad, SDG) would come from the main camp to conduct a sanitary inspection of the prisoners of the Babitz subcamp. The dispensary was supplied with medicine, but in an inadequate amount. In 1944, the woman prisoners who worked raising cows were given medical examinations.³ The school building also had an office for the SS men, as well as for the women prisoners' supervisor (Aufseherin). The mess for SS personnel was located in an addition to the school building.

Food for the prisoners was brought in from the Birkenau camp. They got a meal three times a day: only bitter black coffee in the morning. For lunch they had a soup based on rutabaga, cabbage, or potatoes or sometimes what were called *Pellkartoffeln*, potatoes cooked in their skins. In the evening, there was a piece of bread (250 grams, 8.8 ounces) with some margarine, sometimes a slice of sausage or jam, and coffee.⁴ Because of the nature of the work being done, at this camp it was possible to "appropriate food" in the form of potatoes and sugar beets. The female and male prisoners could also receive food packages from the outside (which were not taken by the guards of prisoner-functionaries here). In the winter, the female prisoners dressed in striped clothing and illegally obtained sweaters; in the summer, they got gray and blue linen dresses as well as aprons. They wore white kerchiefs on their heads.

They got underwear from the Birkenau women's camp, which they would wash on-site during typhus epidemics.

The prisoners from the Babitz subcamp only did work on that farm where they were assigned to respective detachments and specific jobs. Work lasted all day, with a break for lunch, which they ate in their rooms. The male prisoners were divided up into two detachments: one raised and maintained the horses, and the other worked the soil, using horse-drawn farm implements. The hardest work that the female prisoners did was plowing. When the horses were taken away in 1944 for the army's needs, women were harnessed to the plows. When there was slack in the fieldwork, the male prisoners were sent to demolish the still-standing village buildings, dig ditches, and level ground.

The female prisoners were divided up into four labor detachments, each of which had a designated SS man, a detachment commander, who was responsible for the work assigned to the prisoners. They included SS-Unterscharführer Ernst Kalesse (formerly of Mauthausen, he arrived at Auschwitz in February 1942 and stayed until the camp's evacuation in January 1945), SS-Unterscharführer Georg Paul Sauer, and an SS man of Ukrainian origin called Czarny (Blackie) who tormented the Polish women. SS sentries guarded each detachment. The first detachment, numbering 15 women, raised the cows, of which there were 30, plus two bulls. The cows' milk was tested at the SS-Hygiene Institut laboratory in Rajska and transported to the camp dairy. There were 25 women, mainly Ukrainians, in the second detachment. They worked exclusively with the compost and manure, which they heaped in the winter and spread on the fields in the spring and autumn. In the other two detachments, the women worked in the field producing potatoes, rape, cabbage, and beets; in the winter they also pulled down buildings in Babice. Those latter two detachments were the most numerous, with 50 and 90 prisoners, respectively. Besides Poles and Ukrainians, there were also Russians among the female prisoners at Babitz. Women from the Birkenau camp were also sent to work on the land every day.

An SS-Oberscharführer named Rosenoff was the commandant of the Babitz subcamp. SS-Aufseherin Erna Kuck, called Kurką (Chicken) by the prisoners, was the first supervisor; she came to Auschwitz from Ravensbrück in October 1942. She was kindly disposed toward the women and knew how to stand up for them, for which she was dismissed in 1944. After her, that post was filled by Johanna Bormann, who was strict and demanding toward the women.⁵

The location of the Babitz camp facilitated prisoner contacts with the civilian population. Among the Poles living in the vicinity of the subcamp, there was an organized group of women who provided regular help to the prisoners in the form of food, medicine, and news from their families. There were two escapes from the Babitz subcamp. In the summer of 1943, a female prisoner named Lodka escaped successfully. The other one, which two Russian women organized in the summer of 1944, unfortunately failed. They managed to get to Kraków but were caught there, and although they were not

identified as fugitives from Auschwitz (they had removed the camp numbers from their arms), they were put in the Ravensbrück concentration camp.⁶

At the end of July 1944, the female prisoners were moved to the Birkenau women's camp. The male prisoners remained at Babitz until the Auschwitz concentration camp was evacuated on January 17, 1945.

SOURCES Material on this camp may be found in Anna Zięba, "Wirtschaftshof Babitz, Nebenlager beim Gut Babice," *HvA* 11 (1970): 73–87. APMO holds the following records: Zespół Oświadczenia (Collected Affidavits, Accounts of Stanisław Kajtoch, Zofia Knapczyk, Stanisław Kłyczek, Halina Hertig, Tadeusz Jędrysiak, Bolesław Staroń, Anna Zdanowska-Wiśniewska, Zofia Bondyra-Cendrowska, Janina Obtułowicz-Sarnowska, Teresa Wicińska, Anna Kot, Maria Zychowicz); Zespół Opracowania (Collected Studies); and files on Auschwitz concentration camp staff members from 1940 to 1945 (compiled by Dr. Aleksander Lasik).

Helena Kubica
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Auschwitz-Birkenau National Museum Archives (ANMA). Zespół rozkazy komendantury, Commander's headquarters order No. 5/42, December 3, 1942, Docket D-Au I-1/78.
2. ANMA, Zespół Oświadczenia, vol. 29, pp. 5–6, account of former prisoner Bolesław Staroń.
3. Ibid., vol. 47, p. 89, vol. 12, pp. 36–37, vol. 35, pp. 102–109, accounts of former prisoners Anna Zdanowska-Wiśniewska, Zofia Cendrowska, and Janina Sarnowska.
4. Ibid., vol. 47, p. 89, account of former prisoner Anna Zdanowska-Wiśniewska.
5. Ibid., vol. 12, p. 37, vol. 47, p. 90, accounts of former prisoners Zofia Cendrowska and Anna Zdanowska-Wiśniewska.
6. Ibid., vol. 12, pp. 38, 91.

BISMARCKHÜTTE [AKA KÖNIGSHÜTTE]

The SS established an Auschwitz subcamp in September 1944 in Chorzów-Batory (Bismarckhütte), a southern section of the city of Chorzów (Königshütte), at the Bismarckhütte steel mill. Approximately 200 Jewish prisoners, who had been deported originally to Auschwitz from different Nazi-occupied countries, were placed there. At least 45 of them were brought to Bismarckhütte from Auschwitz's Blechhammer subcamp.

Immediately following the subcamp's establishment, prisoners were put to work expanding it and doing all sorts of routine jobs. At the steel mill, which belonged to the Berghütte concern, prisoners apparently began working only in November 1944. They were escorted to work by several armed SS men with dogs; one of the escorts was SS-Unterscharführer Franz Monkos. The prisoners worked in both the steel mill's upper and lower plants, in such jobs as the handling and shipping of different materials, earthmoving, and generally every kind of support job not requiring any particular skills.

Approximately 40 prisoners were put to work in Bismarckhütte's mechanical department, operating the machines. Since before the war, the department's output was reserved for military needs; it made armor plate and parts for anti-aircraft guns. Foremen prisoners kept watch over the inmates at work, and SS men often made inspections. Sometimes they tormented the prisoners, especially during the short dinner break when prisoners were issued a watery soup.

According to surviving minutes of the supervisory board meeting of the Königs-und-Bismarckhütte AG company dated December 8, 1944, the management intended on putting prisoners to work immediately on building a new "Vergüterei" division, which would allow an increase in production of anti-aircraft gun barrels.

No one has been able to determine the subcamp director's name. Bruno Brodniewicz, marked No. 1 of the transport to Auschwitz from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp on May 20, 1940, in a group of 30 criminal prisoners, served as camp elder (*Lagerältester*). The details of the prisoners' living conditions at the Bismarckhütte subcamp are not known. They probably were not much different than those that prevailed throughout the Auschwitz camp complex.

The Bismarckhütte subcamp was shut down on January 18, 1945. SS-Oberscharführer Klemann of Hamburg was the commandant of the evacuation transport headed toward Gleiwitz (Gliwice). In Gleiwitz, the prisoners of the Bismarckhütte subcamp and prisoners from the other Auschwitz subcamps were loaded onto open railroad cars and taken away to the Dora concentration camp, from where they were taken to Niedersachswerfen to work on building a mine tunnel. A few of them lived to see their liberation on May 4, 1945, during an evacuation march toward Hagenow.

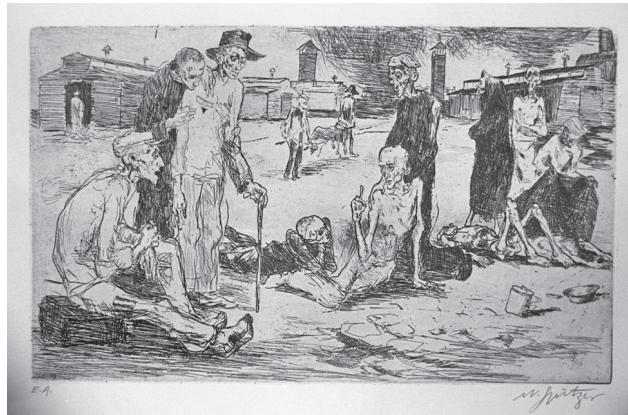
SOURCES Information on the Bismarckhütte subcamp may be found in Irena Strzelecka, "Podobóz 'Bismarcksmarckhütte,'" *ZO* 12 (1970): 145–158 (German version: "Das Nebenlager 'Bismarcksmarckhütte,'" *HvA* 12 [1971]: 145–159).

Relevant archival records may be found in APK or APKat, Berghütte Collection Catalog No. 1497; APMO, Collected Affidavits (accounts by former prisoner Józef Bruner, residents of Chorzów-Batory and neighborhood, including Edmund Belka, Karol Dyla, and Jerzy Dziadz).

Irena Strzelecka
trans. Gerard Majka

BLECHHAMMER

The Germans established a subcamp of Auschwitz on April 1, 1944, when they placed the Jewish forced labor camp near Blechhammer (now Blachownia Śląska) under the command of the Auschwitz III-Monowitz concentration camp.¹ Initially, there were about 3,000 men and around 200 women in the camp; in the following months, over 1,000 Jewish prisoners were sent to the subcamp. A total of approximately 4,500 male and female prisoners from 15 European countries went through the subcamp.² Blechhammer was the second-largest



"Square in Front of the Barracks," by Auschwitz-Blechhammer prisoner Walter Spitzer, circa 1943–1945.
USHMM WS # 27540, COURTESY OF APMO

Auschwitz subcamp, after Monowitz, as far as prisoner population was concerned.

The camp occupied an area of almost 4 hectares (10 acres).³ It was fenced in by a concrete wall almost 4 meters (13 feet) high with concrete watchtowers. The prisoners occupied about 25 living and hospital barracks. The camp also had toilet, washroom, workshop, warehouse, and bathhouse barracks.

The prisoners were guarded by SS men who belonged to the Auschwitz III 7th Guard Company, commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Otto Broßmann and his deputy SS-Untersturmführer Kurt Klipp.⁴

Living conditions at the Blechhammer subcamp were similar to those prevailing in other subcamps of the Auschwitz concentration camp.⁵ The prisoners' wooden barracks were greatly overcrowded; there were about 1.4 square meters (15 square feet) of space per person. The prisoners slept on two- or three-decker bunks. Because there were not enough toilets, washrooms, or bathhouses, the use of those facilities was limited. Camp clothing was also inadequate. Any attempts to augment it illegally met with severe punishments. Walking in wooden shoes was especially onerous for the prisoners. Camp food was also inadequate. Almost all the surviving punishment reports referring to Blechhammer prisoners have to do with illicit food dealing.⁶

The camp hospital was in two barracks and was supervised by SS orderlies, who were in charge of administrative and cleaning work. They treated the patients and prisoner doctors brutally. They would beat sick people waiting to be admitted to the hospital for treatment, then chase them out of the building. Not infrequently, they would also beat the prisoner doctors. The average patient population in the autumn and winter was about 100 people. As in other subcamps, the hospital was where selections took place. Those who were found to be unfit for work or further treatment were taken away to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, which often ended in their being put to death in the gas chamber. Selections were also conducted in the living quarter barracks and on the way back from work.

Approximately 250 prisoners died in the camp over the nine and a half months it existed.⁷ The bodies of dead prisoners were burned in the camp's own crematorium.

The prisoners were put to work building a synthetic gasoline factory owned by Oberschlesische Hydrierwerke AG (Upper Silesia Synthetic Gas Works) in Blechhammer. To the sounds of the camp orchestra, every day SS men would escort them to the work site almost five kilometers (three miles) away and put them under the supervision of civilian workers and prisoner-foremen. The SS men themselves would surround the entire construction site in a cordon until work was over and the prisoners in the respective detachments were counted. They started a search if a prisoner was missing. At that time, they tormented the prisoners, making them do punitive exercises in an attempt to force them to disclose the fugitive's escape route or hiding place.

The prisoners were divided into a few dozen detachments of 100 to 200 persons, which were assigned to the respective construction companies.⁸ The labor the prisoners performed was typical construction work: excavating for foundations, building roads and structures, and transporting building materials. In the latter instance, they used prisoners to pull the wagons instead of horses or tractors. Eight prisoners would be harnessed to a wagon. They used physical coercion to force the hungry and weak prisoners to work. The prisoner-foremen supervising the prisoners during work never parted from their bats, which they put to use often. The prisoners worked all day, from dawn to dusk, for about 10 to 12 hours. They also worked at the construction site every other Sunday. On alternate Sundays, they were put to work at various jobs within the camp.

After the bombing of the Hydrierwerke plant, Jewish prisoners were used to remove duds, during which many of them met with fatal accidents. Prisoners also died in the bombing raids themselves, as they were not allowed to enter the bomb shelters.

Strict discipline prevailed in the camp. Not only were prisoners beaten randomly at work; they were also given what were called "regulation punishments." These included whipping (from 5 to 25 lashes), punitive labor on Sundays, and confinement in a special bunker.⁹ There were also executions by hanging in the camp; that is how the SS would execute prisoners for acts regarded as sabotage, among other offenses.

The Germans began evacuating the prisoners on January 21, 1945, in connection with the Russian winter offensive. Approximately 4,000 prisoners were driven on foot to Gross-Rosen, which was reached 10 days later.¹⁰ Weak prisoners who did not keep up in the march were shot along the way. Prisoners estimate that approximately 800 people were killed on the way. Mass graves of several dozen bodies each were found along the evacuation route after liberation.¹¹

SOURCES APMO contains the following relevant records: Punishment Reports and Orders; Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts of Aron Goldfinger, Luzer Markowicz, Emanuel Luftglas, Aba Szulberg, Gita Brandsztedter-Szulbergowa, Abram Szeftel, Lucjan Radzik, Erwin Lagus, and Carl Demerer;

Kommandanturbefehle KL Auschwitz III; Materials, Catalog Nos. 597, 598, 599; Materials of the camp resistance movement; Nummernbuch; Fahrbefehle; Häftlingspersonalbogen; Prämiencheine. See also Franciszek Piper, "Das Nebenlager Blechhammer," *HvA* 10 (1967): 19–39.

Franciszek Piper
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu/123, vol. 20, list of male transports, Nuremberg Document NO KW 2824.

2. APMO, Nummernbuch; akta SS-Hygiene Institut; Häftlingspersonalbogen; "Arbeitseinsatz" prisoner employment lists.

3. APMO, Neg. No. 10168. Blechhammer. Werkluftschutzplan—Oberschlesische Hydrierwerke.

4. APMO, Kommandanturbefehle KL Auschwitz III, May 22, 1944, and November 11, 1944.

5. Living and working conditions and prisoner treatment have been depicted based on accounts and other stories of former Blechhammer subcamp prisoners in the archives of the APMO: Aron Goldfinger, Luzer Markowicz, Emanuel Luftglas, Aba Szulberg, Gita Brandsztedter-Szulbergowa, Abram Szeftel, Lucjan Radzik, Erwin Lagus, and Carl Demerer.

6. APMO, Punishment Reports and Orders Collection (Strafmeldungen und Strafverfügungen).

7. APMO, Nummernbuch: 248 deaths were noted among Blechhammer subcamp prisoner numbers (176512–179567 and 184349–184891).

8. Some of the company names are listed in the punishment reports. APMO, Punishment Reports and Orders Collection (Strafmeldungen und Strafverfügungen).

9. APMO, Punishment Reports and Orders Collection (Strafmeldungen und Strafverfügungen).

10. APMO, D-AuIII-3a/78 women's employment list dated December 30, 1944 (157 people). Resistance Movement Materials, vol. 3, books 208, 212. Prisoner population on January 17, 1945 (3,858 people).

11. APMO, Sygn. Mat. 597, 598, 599. Reports of exhumations in the towns of Łąka and Prudnik.

BOBREK

Following Allied air raids on its factory in Berlin-Siemensstadt at the beginning of September 1943, Siemens began to plan the relocation of its operations at "Germany's largest electronics factory" (Alan S. Milward) to more secure areas. At the beginning of 1944, the Armaments Ministry planned for the Siemens-Schuckertwerke AG (SSW) to have 100,000 square meters (over 1 million square feet) of space, including 3,000 square meters (32,300 square feet) in a former phosphate factory near Auschwitz.¹

Auschwitz, as an "SS collection camp," was an object of interest in July 1943 for the Siemens Central Factory Administration. The reason for the interest was the "100,000 strong unutilized labor force." In the same month, the SSW had negotiated with the SS-Central Building Administration-Auschwitz on the construction of a "short wave vermin

destruction installation." The aim was to disinfect large quantities of prisoners' clothes by exposing them to short-wave radiation. The installation commenced operation in July 1944 in the collection and laundry center at the main camp.

The phosphate factory had been compulsorily acquired by the Treuhandstelle Ost (Eastern Trust Company). It was now bought by the 37-year-old senior Siemens engineer, Kurt Bundzus, who was in charge of the relocation. The plant was located on the edge of the village of Bobrek, about three kilometers (two miles) to the northeast of the goods railway station at Auschwitz. From there to Birkenau was a distance of eight kilometers (five miles). The site itself had an area of 47,000 square meters (506,000 square feet), the southern boundary of which bordered on the River Weichsel.

In November 1943, Bundzus and three other Siemens employees from Berlin examined the suitability of concentration camp prisoners for work in the factory. They chose 120 prisoners, who were either skilled tradesmen or had business qualifications.²

There was a planned increase in the use of the number of prisoners. A planning program prepared by Bundzus on January 3, 1944, for discussions with the SS-Central Building Administration on the "expansion of the labor camp on the site of the SSW small construction facility—Auschwitz" envisaged the expansion of the subcamp so as to hold 1,000 concentration camp prisoners.³ The first stage of construction was conceived as including an SS guard house, a "kitchen facility for 200 prisoners, including troughs," as well as washing and toilet facilities.

The chosen concentration camp prisoners were mostly Jews. They were transferred to Barracks No. 11 in the camp B IIId for men, known to the prisoners as a "punishment detachment." Barracks No. 13, in which the prisoners who worked in the crematorium were sometimes quartered, and Barracks No. 11 together formed part of the punishment detachment and were separated from other barracks by a wall. The engineer, George Preston, who was 30 in 1944, stated: "We were told that we were not sent there to be punished but to recover. We were to get better food and to wait until Siemens summoned us to work."⁴ The block elder of the punishment detachment was the German Polish prisoner Emil Bednarek. He was convicted as one of the defendants in the post-1945 Frankfurt Auschwitz trial.⁵ The prisoners saw him as an "unpredictable sadist" because, as with the SS, he victimized the prisoners and sometimes beat them to death.⁶ Eight to 12 of the prisoners chosen for Bobrek were the subject of a selection by the SS on January 1, 1944. They are said to have escaped death because they were chosen for the "Siemens Detachment."⁷

Between January and May 1944, the concentration camp prisoners were taken daily by truck from Birkenau to the factory at Bobrek. At first they had to reconstruct the factory and build the subcamp. At the beginning of January 1944, the Siemens Detachment probably had 213 male and 38 female concentration camp prisoners, the latter from the female camp in Birkenau.⁸ Among them were 24 youths aged between 11 and 18.⁹

In May 1944, the prisoners were transferred to the Bobrek subcamp, where, according to the then-43-year-old Nikolaus Rosenberg, "the conditions were somewhat better than in the gypsy camp."¹⁰ Rosenberg had been transferred from the camp where the Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) were held to the Siemens Detachment. "There were five men to a bunk. Each had a straw sack as a base, a pillow filled with straw, and two blankets. In addition, each of us had cutlery, a spoon, and a hand towel, which was terrific as up to now we had had to eat with our hands from a communal, unbelievably filthy trough. We really had no chance to wash at all."¹¹ On the factory grounds, there was probably a vegetable garden from which the prisoners occasionally got extra nourishment.

The Bobrek subcamp was formally administered by Auschwitz III-Monowitz. It was guarded by 20 SS men under the command of SS-Unterscharführer Anton Lukoschek.

The male prisoners were primarily engaged by Siemens in manufacturing machine tools. At bench vices, presses for hand spindles, as well as turning machines, grinding machines, planes, and milling machines, the prisoners manufactured lapping machines and sections for the construction of electric motors and parts for electric switches. According to Bundzus, the prisoners were intended to produce "parts and technical accessories for the mass production of electronic products," but according to the SS, it was possible that the production of parts for night fighters was envisaged.¹² The female prisoners were required for the kitchen, cleaning, and the assembly of tapping machines.

The prisoners worked 10 hours a day. The Siemens workers determined that the youths should work 8 hours a day. The prisoners were trained by Siemens workers from Berlin. According to Rosenberg, who prior to his imprisonment was an engineer in Budapest, "the Siemens-Schuckert-officials were . . . relatively human and treated the Jewish prisoners with good intentions, sometimes closing their eyes when an exhausted prisoner could no longer work. They were well



Auschwitz-Bobrek prisoners work at the Siemens factory on aircraft parts. In the background Engineer Jungdorf converses with a foreman, circa 1944.

USHMM WS #95270, COURTESY OF HENRY SCHWARZBAUM

informed. When a prisoner was mistreated outside the factory by either a female SS warden or a Kapo, the SSW people reported the incident to the proper authority, with the result that the mistreatment ceased. No one was beaten inside the factory.”¹³ Paul Schaffer, who was age 19 in 1944, stated that once he was threatened with a transfer back to Birkenau, when he produced an item that was 10 millimeters (.4 inches) short.¹⁴

The businessman Erich Altmann, who was age 40 in 1944, stated that Siemens workers brought their families to Bobrek. Their deployment was “protection from the front and the bombing. Work was ranked third in priority.... We were warned daily: ‘Allow yourselves time to do the work. Work slowly and precisely, not quickly and imprecisely.’ As everyone had time, private jobs were done.”¹⁵ According to Altmann, the prisoners exchanged or gave for food presents such as “rings, cigarette ends, wallets, combs, metal boxes, watch cases, lighters, arm bands, necklaces, and many other things.”¹⁶

The Bobrek subcamp was dissolved on January 17, 1945. On January 18, 1945, the Bobrek prisoners, together with others from Auschwitz, were forced to march for about 70 kilometers (43 miles) through the cold and the snow to the Gleiwitz II subcamp. Numerous weakened prisoners died or were shot by the SS. When the prisoners who survived the death march arrived in Gleiwitz, a bloody fight started with other inmates for a dry place in a barrack: “The camp was turned into an absolute hellhole; everybody was beating whomever they could with whatever they could find,” describes Gilbert Michlin, at this time almost 19 years old. “Everybody was trying to hold on to or find a little bit of warmth and rest.”¹⁷ From Gleiwitz the male prisoners were transported on January 21 in open coal wagons by rail via Prague to Buchenwald. Some, such as Schaffer, managed to escape. The female prisoners were taken to Mittelbau. Two days after their arrival, they were taken to Bergen-Belsen.

In February 1945, two Siemens Berlin workers arrived at Buchenwald. For Marcel Tuchman, who turned 21 in 1944, and his father, Ignaz, members of the prisoner detachment, their arrival in the catastrophic conditions appeared to be a “miraculous rescue.” Eighty-eight of the 110 to 130 remaining Bobrek prisoners in Buchenwald on February 16, 1945, were taken by train to a station in Berlin and then by subway close to the Sachsenhausen subcamp in Berlin-Siemensstadt.¹⁸

According to Rosenberg, “The Siemens-Schuckert officials noticed our miserable physical condition when we arrived. As a result, they gave us a week of rest before we had to work. This did not help us a lot as we had to spend each day outside where it was very cold. Also the food was inadequate.”¹⁹

On April 3, 1945, the SS transported the Bobrek prisoners to Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where they were deployed in removing rubble from the city of Oranienburg.²⁰ They were transferred back to Siemensstadt on April 13. Siemens at this time was preparing to evacuate its installations to southern Germany. The concentration camp prisoners together with the machines were transported by train via Dresden in the direction of Hof. Their destination was a disused

porcelain factory in Arzberg in the Fichtelgebirge. Here they were to resume production. The transport was stopped at Meiben in Sachsen because the area around Hof had already been liberated by the U.S. Army. The SS took the prisoners back to Berlin and then on to Sachsenhausen. From there, they were forced on a death march in the direction of the Baltic. They were liberated on May 2, 1945, in Crivitz near Schwerin.

SOURCES In 1947 Erich Altmann published his memoirs, *Im Angesicht des Todes: 3 Jahre in deutschen Konzentrationslagern Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Oranienburg* (Luxemburg, 1947). In 2002 Paul Schaffer published *Le soleil voilé* (Paris, 2002), with an introduction by Simone Veil (from 1979 to 1982 the first female president of the European Parliament), who was with Schaffer as a forced laborer in Bobrek. See also Gilbert Michlin, *Of No Interest to the Nation: A Jewish Family in France, 1925–1945*, with an afterword by Zeev Sternhell (Detroit, 2004) and “... warum es lebenswichtig ist, die Erinnerung wachzuhalten.” *Zwangarbeit für Siemens in Auschwitz und Berlin. Dokumentation einer Begegnung mit ehemaligen KZ-Häftlingen*,” ed. Zwangarbeit erinnern e.V., Red.: Thomas Irmer (Berlin: Metropol 2006).

In 1980 Erwin Wittwer, who as head of SSW machine tool production had been many times in Bobrek, privately published his memoirs, *Berufliche Erinnerungen* (1980). He included in his memoirs a series of photographs of the factory and the prisoners at work. In 1995 the head of the AS-M, Wilfried Feldenkirchen, published *Siemens 1918–1945* (Munich, 1995). For the National Socialist period, he referred to sources from the Siemens “Temporary Archive.” Documents on the Bobrek subcamp are held in the Siemens Temporary Archive (Zwischenarchiv), which is not open for independent researchers. In addition to the archives in the Auschwitz Memorial (in the 1990s, documents from the Moscow Archives on the SS-Central Building Administration were made accessible), there are LA-B (denazification proceedings, Hanns Benkert), the HHStA-(W) (Frankfurter Auschwitz Trials), and the BA-B.

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NOTES

1. See the statement by the Siemens senior engineer, Kurt Bundzus, at the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial, in Hermann Langbein, *Der Auschwitz-Prozess: Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt am Main, 1995), 1:65; questioning of Kurt Bundzus, HHStA-(W), 4 Ks 2/63, Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others, 137th day of proceedings, February 18, 1965; Formblatt Verlagerung SSW (Reporting Period 9.9.43–30.5.1944), BA-B, R3/252, bl.6; and Schreiben Beauftragter Verlagerung Elektroindustrie an Treuhandstelle Ost v. 26.11.1943, Betr.: Ausweichplanung Siemens-Schuckert-Werke, LA-B, Entnazifizierungsverfahren Hanns Benkert.

2. See questioning of Ignatz Tuchmann, LA-B, Entnazifizierungsverfahren Hanns Benkert, file “Verhandlungen Hanns Benkert,” Teil 1, pp. iii/10; statement by the Siemens engineer, Kurt Bundzus, at the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial, in Langbein, *Auschwitz-Prozess*, 1:65; statutory declaration by

the Siemens foreman Georg Hanke, dated June 27, 1947, LA-B; and statement by Georg Hanke, HHStA-(W), 4 Ks 2/63, Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others, 137th day of proceedings, February 18, 1965; as well as Erich Altmann, *Im Angesicht des Todes: 3 Jahre in deutschen Konzentrationslagern Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Oranienburg* (Luxemburg, 1947), p. 73; Gilbert Michlin, *Of No Interest to the Nation: A Jewish Family in France, 1925–1945* (Detroit, 2004), p.70; and Erwin Wittwer, *Berufliche Erinnerungen* (1980), p. 39.

3. Programm zur Besprechung mit SS-Zentralbauleitung in Auschwitz zwecks Ausbau des Arbeitslagers auf dem Gelände der Fa. Siemens-Schuckert-Werke AG Kleinbauwerk Betrieb Auschwitz v. 3.1.1944, as well as a handwritten list of iron requirements, April 1944, APMO, Au/BW 1/6/25.

4. Statement by George Preston, cited by Langbein, *Auschwitz-Prozess*, p. 809; see also statements by George Preston and Josef Zimmermann, HHStA-(W), 4 Ks 2/63, Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others, 140th day of proceedings, March 4, 1965.

5. See HHStA-(W), Proceedings 4 Ks 2/63, Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others.

6. See statements by Paul Schaffer, Erich Altmann, George Preston, and others, in Langbein, *Auschwitz-Prozess*, p. 809. See Teresa Cegłowska, "Strafkompanien im KL Auschwitz," *HvA* 17 (1985). See also statement by Pinchas Schwarzbau, March 4, 1965, HHStA-(W), 4 Ks 2/63, Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others, 140th day of proceedings.

7. Altmann, *Angesicht des Todes*, p. 81; see also Schwarzbau and Tuchmann (as well as note 2); and a letter by Leo Schwarzbau, December 18, 1946, LA-B, BPA, IV L—2/6/270/1, Nr. 1708.

8. See also Kitty Hart, *Return to Auschwitz. The Remarkable Story of a Girl Who Survived the Holocaust* (New York, 1982), p. 77.

9. See statutory declaration by Siemens production engineer, Karl Jungtow, June 20, 1947, LA-B, BPA of the SED Berlin, IV L—2/6/270/1, Nr. 1412; as well as Altmann, *Angesicht des Todes*, p. 98. Cf. Franciszek Piper, "Die Ausbeutung der Arbeit der Häftlinge," in *Auschwitz 1940–1945: Studien zur Geschichte des Konzentrations- und Vernichtungslagers Auschwitz*, ed. Franciszek Piper et al. (Auschwitz, 1999), 2:138. On age, see the Siemens transport lists, YVA, GCC 10/25.

10. Tuchmann (see note 2). See statements by Erich Altmann, March 5, 1965, and George Preston, March 4, 1965, HHStA-(W), Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others.

11. Nikolaus Rosenberg, "Zwangsarbeiter für Siemens-Schuckert: Erlebnisse eines Budapester jüdischen Ingenieurs 1944–1945," Wien Library, P.IIIb, No. 116.

12. See statement by Kurt Bundzus, February 18, 1965, HHStA-(W), 4 Ks 2/63, Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others, 137th day of proceedings; also letter by Pohl to Himmler, dated February 22, 1944, Betr.: Einsatz von Häftlingen in der Luftfahrtindustrie, StAN, KV Prosecution Document PS-1584.

13. See Altmann, *Angesicht des Todes*, p. 97; Interrogation of George Preston (see also note 4); statements by Pinchas Schwarzbau, March 4, 1965, and Erich Altmann, March 5, 1945, HHStA-(W), 4 Ks 2/63, Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others, 140th day and 141st day of proceedings.

14. See Paul Schaffer, *Le soleil voilé* (Paris, 2002), p. 108.

15. Altmann, *Angesicht des Todes*, p. 100. Rosenberg also refers to the Siemens employees. See Rosenberg, "Zwangsarbeiter."

16. Altmann, *Angesicht des Todes*, p. 100.

17. Michlin, *Of No Interest to the Nation*, p. 91.

18. See transport lists, "Transport Siemens" (88 prisoners), February 16, 1945, YVA, GCC 10/25; as well as the statement by Karl Jungtow, June 20, 1947, LA-B, BPA, IV L—2/6/270/1, Nr. 1412.

19. Rosenberg, "Zwangsarbeiter."

20. See Michlin, *Of No Interest to the Nation*, p. 98.

BRÜNN

Brünn, a subcamp of Auschwitz that the SS established in the city of Brno (Ger. Brünn) in the protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, was the farthest away from the parent camp at Auschwitz.

Since the records are not complete, it has not been determined who ordered the formation of the Brünn subcamp. However, the prisoners there worked to finish the building belonging to the SS and Police Engineering Academy, where the SS was carrying out experiments with arms and equipment; thus the subcamp's formation probably came about at the order of the highest SS authorities, who were eager to supplement the German army's military equipment.

Fragments of camp records and those of the trial of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss contain references to the existence of the Brünn subcamp, without providing the date when it was formed. Former prisoners recounted, however, that the first transport of 251 prisoners arrived at Brno station on October 2, 1943; the number of prisoners is documented in the list of the Hygiene Institut der Waffen-SS in Auschwitz ("251 Häftlinge nach Brünn kommandiert").¹ From there the prisoners were taken to an unfinished multistory building belonging to the SS and Police Engineering Academy and placed in several already-finished rooms on the building's second floor, which were tightly secured and guarded by German police. A high fence and watchtowers secured the building on the outside.

Most of the prisoners were Poles whom the Germans had brought to Auschwitz concentration camp from various cities such as Katowice, Kraków, Lublin, and Poznań or other concentration camps such as Ravensbrück and Gross-Rosen. Approximately 70 percent of the transport were prisoners who had been at the Auschwitz concentration camp just a few weeks; the rest were prisoners who had been there a few years. The SS eventually returned most of these prisoners to the main Auschwitz camp when they became unfit for work—although from there the camp authorities usually shipped them out to other subcamps—and the Germans shot at least 1 prisoner. At least 20 new prisoners arrived at Brünn, but that influx did not make up the losses: there were only 36 prisoners in Brünn when it closed on January 17, 1945. (The arrival date of that transport could not be established. According to prisoner accounts,

however, toward the end of 1944 a small group of inmates who had been arrested in Warsaw after the outbreak of the armed uprising were transferred from Auschwitz to Brünn.)

Alois Freiseisen, Austrian criminal prisoner (BV) No. 15472, was the camp elder (Lagerältester) until late autumn 1944. Upon his release from camp, Roman Kachel, Polish political prisoner No. 136079, filled that position. Polish political prisoner Dr. Czesław Jaworski, No. 31070, was the subcamp's doctor, while Eugeniusz Niedojadło, Polish political prisoner No. 213, was the nurse. German prisoners served as the labor squad foremen.

Officers from Brno's German police garrison served as the sentries guarding the subcamp.

SS-Hauptscharführer Gerhard Palitzsch, who brought the first prisoner transport to Brünn, was commandant from the day the subcamp was established until early February 1944. SS-Unterscharführer Rieger succeeded him in February 1944. SS-Oberscharführer Walter was the subcamp's third commandant, from the end of February 1944 to January 19, 1945. (Palitzsch was arrested at the Brünn subcamp in February 1944 in connection with the looting of a large amount of property of the people murdered at Auschwitz and his relationship with a female Jewish prisoner. His further fate is unknown, and information on the other camp leaders is unavailable.)²

On their first day in the subcamp, prisoners were already broken up by trade specializations and formed into detachments: carpenters, cabinet makers, bricklayers, glaziers, metalworkers, and electricians. These prisoners did all the interior finishing work in the Academy building. Czech firms did the specialist work, but the names of these companies remain unknown. Prisoner-foremen and the foremen of each firm supervised the prisoners' work.

Prisoners with no trade skills were put to work on earthmoving projects: leveling the site around the building, building an access road, digging sewage ditches, and making breaches in the rock to build ammunition warehouses. Those were the hardest jobs, out in the open, with the supervising foremen terrorizing the prisoners.

Later on, a small group of prisoners were put to work keeping the chemical laboratory equipment, which had been brought in from Kiev, in order. The inventory number stickers on each item attested to that. The goal was to prepare the laboratory to begin work associated with arms production and synthetic fuels, using German personnel.

Several prisoners were also put to work sorting type fonts that had been thoroughly mixed up when the poorly packed print shop had been shipped from Berlin to Brno. The manual printing machine had six printing tables with drawers containing the mixed-up type fonts that had to be arranged in sets according to typeface and size. The prisoners arranged approximately 60 type-font sets so that the print shop could be started up.

In the spring of 1944, a detachment was formed with 20 prisoners who were put to work on the nearby Einhorn estate. The estate belonged to a German officer. The prisoners

worked on erecting outbuildings and repairing farm equipment.

The food rations at the Brünn subcamp were smaller than at the main Auschwitz camp. Since there was no kitchen on site, food was brought in from the Špilberk prison in the city of Brno. Breakfast consisted of only coffee. For dinner, prisoners received one liter of soup made of water with a small amount of barley or potatoes, very rarely with some fat or meat added. Sometimes the soup was thickened with dried beet leaves. Once a week prisoners would additionally get a slice of bread and a piece of horsemeat sausage. Hunger was a constant in the camp.

The illnesses from which prisoners most frequently suffered were starvation, diarrhea, vitamin deficiency ulcerations, and injuries caused by job accidents and beatings by the foremen. Since there was only a dispensary in the subcamp, serious cases of illness had to be sent to the hospital in the city of Brno, but the camp authorities were afraid that prisoners might escape, and therefore they were treated at the Špilberk prison hospital if necessary.

Even though the Germans attempted to enforce a ban on any contact between the Brünn prisoners and Czech civilian workers, bilateral communications were very quickly established. Both the managers as well as the civilian employees of the companies doing the work at the Academy would bring the prisoners food, with the knowledge that hunger was rampant in the subcamp. Likewise, Czech inmates from Špilberk, also working at the Academy, shared their meager food rations with the prisoners. Doctors from Brno hospital also helped the prisoners as much as they could by providing medicine to the subcamp.

The evacuation of the prisoners of the Brünn subcamp began in mid-April 1945. (The exact date of the evacuation of the subcamp could not be established. In their accounts, former inmates describe it as follows: "about four weeks before Germany capitulated"; "early spring 1944"; "toward the end of April 1944.") The Academy personnel evacuated with the prisoners, taking along laboratory equipment and arms. The evacuation train traveled for over a dozen days and only arrived at Traunstein in Upper Austria on April 28, 1945. All the Academy equipment and the prisoners of the Brünn subcamp were transported and housed at a munitions factory near Bergen.³

The prisoners were liberated by American forces on May 3, 1945.

SOURCES The following secondary works contain information on this camp: Czesław Wincenty Jaworski, *Wspomnienia z Oświęcimia/Oświecim—Brno—Monowice* (Warsaw, 1962); Emeryka Iwaszko, "Podobóz Brünn," *ZO* 18 (1983): 223–244; Danuta Czech, *Kalendarz wydarzeń obozowych* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz National Museum Publishing, 1992).

Material on this camp is available in the following APMO records: Proces Hössa (Höss Trial), vol. 21; Proces Załogi Oświęcimskiej, vol. 39; Materiały Ruchu Oporu, vols. III, VII; and accounts of former prisoners Władysław Gazda, Stefan Gregor, Jan Hyla, Florian Jurowski, Józef Kołodziejek, and

Fritz Wendler. See also the testimony of Eugeniusz Niedojadło, "Podobóz Brno—Ucieczka przed Bogerem," *PL* 1 (1966).

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NOTES

1. SS Collection—Hygiene Institute, document group number D. Hyg. Inst./33 binder 20^a p. 626/20^a NI 106118, APMO. The number is also documented in Eugeniusz Niedojadło, "Podobóz Brno: Ucieczka przed Bogerem," *PL* 1 (1966): 109; and the accounts of former prisoners Stefan Gregor and Fritz Wendler, APMO, Declarations Collection, vol. 46, p. 105; vol. 77, p. 168.

2. Niedojadło, "Podobóz Brno," pp. 109–110; and accounts of former prisoners Stefan Gregor, Florian Jurowski, and Józef Kołodziejka, APMO, Declarations Collection, vol. 46, pp. 4–5; vol. 47, p. 74; vol. 48, p. 49.

3. Accounts of Stefan Gregor, Władysław Gazda, Jan Hyla, and Fritz Wendler, APMO, Declarations Collection, vol. 46, p. 109; vol. 75, p. 178; vol. 77, pp. 62, 171.

BUDY

The Budy subcamp operated within the limits of the hamlet of Bór from April 1942 (with a pause in the autumn–winter period of 1942 to 1943) until the Auschwitz concentration camp was evacuated. (The men's subcamp and women's subcamp that were formed later were actually situated within the limits of the hamlet of Bór, while the subcamp's tree nurseries, greenhouse, and part of the farm buildings were in the neighboring village of Budy. However, camp records list both camps under the name Budy.) The Germans expelled the population of both Bór and Budy in March 1941, demolished many of the buildings using prison labor from Auschwitz, and began to set up a centralized farm and prison camp on the land. The first group of 40 male prisoners arrived in April 1942. Labor arrangements varied for the next year or so, but by the spring of 1943 the Germans had established the men's and women's subcamps on a permanent basis.

The men's camp and farm consisted of 19 structures by April 1943, including barns, stables, storehouses for machinery and fertilizer, workshops, and barracks for the SS staff and prisoners; the prisoners' quarters and the tool shop were fenced off from the rest of the compound. Ten watchtowers, where the guards served duty throughout the day, overlooked the camp. This subcamp, like the other Auschwitz agricultural and animal camps, was under the charge of SS-Obersturmbannführer Joachim Caesar, director of Oświęcim camp farms. SS-Oberscharführer Herman Etinger was commandant of the men's camp in Budy, and SS-Unterscharführer Bernhard Glaue succeeded him in April 1943.

The prisoner barracks were heated in the winter, and there was a toilet and sickroom in each. The prisoners slept on three-decker bunks with straw mattresses and blankets. Food was brought in from the Auschwitz II-Birkenau camp daily. In the evening, the prisoners were issued dry provisions for the next day.

The prisoners living in the Budy subcamp were of various nationalities: Poles; Frenchmen; Belgians; Czechs; Russians; a few Germans; Gypsies; and Polish, Czech, and Greek Jews. Prisoners from outside the subcamp who worked in Harmęże, on the fish farm in Pławy, or in the forest in Nazieleńce, also slept in the prisoner barracks.

The prisoners, like those in the main camp, wore striped camp clothing or civilian clothes with squares cut out on the back and a piece of striped cloth or material painted in colored stripes. There were 167 prisoners on April 25, 1943, and 388 a year later on March 23, 1944. Prisoners worked 12 hours a day, from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. They were put to work in the fields (they sowed grain and grew beets for fodder) and also raised pigs, cows, and horses. The attitude of the SS men and foremen toward prisoners, especially Jews, was cruel. They were beaten and killed during work for the slightest offenses. The bodies of those killed were carted in from the work sites in the evening to Budy, and their names were entered in the records with a false cause of death.¹

The SS also established a women's subcamp in Budy with the installation of 200 women, mostly Poles and German prisoner-functionaries, in a separate compound on April 5, 1943. Later there were also Russians, Ukrainians, Yugoslavians, Czechs, and Jews there.² SS-Oberaufseherin Elfriede Runge was the camp commandant.

The prisoners in the women's camp were divided into several detachments depending on the type of work they did. The largest one was the detachment that did farmwork. It ranged in size from 120 to 150 women. Regardless of the weather, the detachment did all kinds of farmwork, from planting vegetables to harvesting them and fertilizing the soil. When there was no fieldwork, they cleaned the ponds, dug ditches, and demolished and dismantled houses in Bór. One detachment was employed making compost. The compost heap was made of layers of sod, manure, and human ashes from the crematorium. Each detachment had its own commander—an SS man—and a foreman. Armed SS men brought the prisoners to the work site and escorted them back to the camp.

Initially, the hygiene and sanitary conditions in camp were appalling. The situation changed for the better upon implementation of an order by Auschwitz concentration camp commandant Rudolf Höss dated May 27, 1943, and because of an inspection of the Budy women's camp by Rapportführer Drechsel.³ Sundays were set aside for delousing and mending clothing and underwear. SS-Aufseherin Elisabeth Hasse, subcamp commandant after Runge, ordered mandatory washing in the camp. For that purpose, instead of dinner, water was heated in the kettles every Saturday, with which the women got to wash themselves. That was the way it remained as long as the Budy women's camp existed. Hasse, born on December 24, 1917, arrived in Auschwitz in October 1942. She was commandant of the female detachments at the Rajska subcamp, then at Budy until 1944. Later, she took the job of Arbeitsdienstführerin at the Birkenau women's camp, a post she held until the camp was evacuated.

The prisoners slept two per bunk, covering themselves with one blanket. The barrack was not heated. Everyone was dressed alike in striped clothing, dark aprons, and white kerchiefs on their heads. Underwear was changed once a month.

Food for the prisoners was prepared on-site. They would get their first meal only around noon at the work site: herbal tea and a portion of bread with some margarine or jam. Upon returning from work in the evening, they would get soup made from rutabaga, rye, and nettles. Dry provisions were supplied by the Birkenau women's camp.

The prisoners could receive packages from outside, although either they did not get them in one piece or the products in them were ruined because they had been held by the prisoner foremen.⁴ When Hasse left in 1944, SS-Aufseherin Johanna Bormann took over as camp commandant. She was a very severe and demanding person who punished every offense by prisoners but also looked after the kitchen, and for that reason the food improved and the prisoners were not robbed by the German prisoner foremen so often. Bormann, born on September 10, 1893, in Brinkenfelde (East Prussia), was a clerk by trade. She had been sent to Auschwitz on May 15, 1943, from Ravensbrück. She was commandant of the Budy women's camp until December 1944. Then she took the job of SS supervisor at the Auschwitz subcamp in Hindenburg (later Zabrze) until the camp was evacuated. She was later sentenced to death for her crimes in the Bergen-Belsen trial.

The prisoners were physically and mentally exhausted by the hard labor, hunger, and beatings. There were even instances of suicide among them.⁵

In the autumn of 1944, the women prisoners were taken away to camps within Germany, while the men were evacuated from the subcamp on January 18, 1945.

Due to the Budy camp's location on the edge of evacuated areas as well as those partially inhabited by Poles, there were frequent communications between the prisoners and the population. Heedless of the consequences (many families were arrested and sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp), people provided the prisoners with various forms of assistance. They would plant food and medicine at prisoner detachment work sites, help prisoners communicate with relatives, give help to runaways, and provide civilian clothes. That is also why at least 10 male and female prisoners escaped from the Budy camp, 9 of them successfully.

SOURCES See Anna Zięba, "Wirtschaftshof Budy," *ZO* 10 (1967): 84–100 (German version: "Wirtschaftshof—Budy," *HvA* 10 [1967]: 67–85).

APMO holds the following relevant records: Oświadczenie [Affidavits], accounts of former prisoners Stanisław Zyguła, Józef Warchał, Ryszard Nalewajko, Raisa Diemczenko (Mendigalevoy District), Stanisława Kowalska, Rużena Smolíková-Maryškova, Wanda Koprowska, Eugenia Kurzelowa, Janina Ślimak, Aniela Koczur Stelmachowa, Eugenia Piwek, Alicja Zarytkiewicz; accounts of the villages (hamlets) of Bór, Budy, NazieLENCE: Anna and Józef Moroń, Maria Cyna, Zofia Wawro, Hermina Czuwaj, Sylwester Marusza. Proces

Hössa, testimony of: Rudolf Höss, Józef Stawowczyk, Ignacy Barcik; Rozkazy Komendantury; Zespół Opracowania Syg. Opr./Lasik/299, files on Auschwitz concentration camp staff members from 1940 to 1945, compiled by Dr. Aleksander Lasik.

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NOTES

1. APMO, Oświadczenie (Affidavits), 69: 4, account of resident of village of NazieLENCE Józef Moroń.

2. Ibid., 22: 139–140, account of former prisoner Wanda Koprowska; 36: 98, 105, accounts of former prisoners Janina Ślimak and Eugenia Kurzelowa.

3. Ibid., Zespół Rozkazy komendantury, commander's headquarters Order No. 19/43, dated May 5, 1943.

4. Ibid., Oświadczenie (Affidavits), vol. 36, account of former prisoner Eugenia Kurzelowa.

5. Ibid., 36: 100, account of former prisoner Janina Ślimak.

CHARLOTTENGRUBE

By 1943, the management of Reichwerke Hermann Göring (RWHG) had already begun negotiations with the administration of the Auschwitz concentration camp about putting prisoners to work in the company's Charlottengrube mine. The two sides reached an agreement on September 19, 1944. At that time, the first transport of 200 Auschwitz prisoners—Jews from Hungary or Romania—was brought to Rydułtowy (Rydultau) and put to work at Charlottengrube. They were placed in a camp for forced laborers or prisoners of war (POWs), which had been in existence for some time, although the name of that camp has not been determined. An additional transport of approximately 600 to 700 prisoners from Auschwitz, including many Slovakian Jews, arrived in Rydułtowy around October 7, 1944. Later on, the SS also began putting prisoners into a camp behind the slag heap at Charlottengrube, on the road heading in the direction of Radoszowa (Radoschau), the northwestern quarter of town. The residents of Rydułtowy called it "Judenlager," "Berlin," or "Lager behind the Heap." Administratively, both sites were part of the same subcamp.

The Charlottengrube subcamp, like other Auschwitz subcamps at industrial plants, was under the command of the Auschwitz III-Monowitz concentration camp. The subcamp commanders were, in turn, SS-Oberscharführer Alfred Tschiessky and Kirchner (also spelled Kirschner or Kürschner). Tschiessky, born January 2, 1896, in Berlin, was a violin maker by profession and in September and October 1944 served as commandant at Charlottengrube; later he belonged to the staff of the Laurahütte subcamp. Kirchner served as commandant from November 1944 to January 1945 and was an extraordinarily zealous SS man. His treatment of the prisoners was brutal, as his punishment reports to the management of Monowitz indicate. The subcamp's staff was the SS guard detachment (Wachkommando) belonging to the Monowitz

concentration camp 8./SS-Totenkopf Wachkompanie (8th Guard Company). There were 54 SS men in the Wachkommando at the beginning of December 1944.

The transports of autumn 1944 were most probably the largest. The rest of the transports brought prisoners into the subcamp chiefly to replace those who had died of hunger and overwork. There were approximately 1,000 to 1,100 prisoners living at the subcamp in mid-October 1944; the population decreased in the following months due to the high death rate. With few exceptions, the prisoners brought to Rydułtowy were Jews. They came from almost every European country occupied by the Third Reich. Many came from Jewish intellectual communities.

Prisoners' living conditions were basically the same in both sections of the Charlottengrube subcamp. The prisoners' food was severely inadequate and no better than at Auschwitz, as regards both quality and quantity. The SS men terrorized the prisoners, who never knew when and for what they would be punished.

According to a surviving report of the Rybnik Bergvieramt (Rybnik District Mining Agency) for the Breslau Oberbergamt (Wroclaw Superior Mining Agency) dated December 11, 1944, approximately 50 percent of the prisoners put to work in the "Eleonora" bed (department I) at the Charlottengrube mine lost their fitness to work in the space of two months.¹ The situation was similar in the other departments. Dr. König, an SS doctor, conducted selections every so often at the camp hospital; prisoners found to be unfit for labor were taken away to the gas chambers at Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Additionally, several hundred prisoners died in the subcamp over its four months of existence. The bodies were buried at the Rydułtowy cemetery or were taken to Birkenau with the prisoners whom König had "selected." Construction began on a small crematorium at the Judenlager in late autumn 1944, but it was never completed.

Most of the prisoners put in the subcamp worked in the local mine, almost half of them underground and the rest on the surface. Representatives of RWHG personally selected prisoners at Auschwitz. Then SS men and Wehrmacht soldiers escorted the prisoners on the way to work at the mine and on the way back to the camp. There was no set limit to the time the prisoners worked underground; it was often prolonged to a dozen hours or more per day. Privileged prisoners, representatives of the mining concern (foremen, overseers, and managers), and SS guards supervised the prisoners constantly. Criminal prisoner foremen and some mine foremen beat and tormented the prisoners every step of the way, sometimes fatally.

In the mine, the prisoners loaded coal into conveyor troughs, moved the troughs, and arranged supporting timbers. Other prisoners transported materials (wood, rails, cables) to the headings, operated the conveyor belts in the galleries, or tidied the galleries. Prisoners had to match the output of the local miners; thus they were forced to maximum exertion. Many prisoners had accidents working underground, and there were also suicides. On the mine's surface, prisoners un-

loaded and transported the materials needed to do the underground work, carted coal onto the railway siding, cleaned the mine grounds, sorted coal, or labored in the mine workshops. A large group of prisoners also worked on the construction of the Charlotte electric power plant. SS men, foremen, Wehrmacht soldiers, and sometimes SA men guarded the prisoners at workstations on the surface. The prisoners were treated inhumanely, as they were underground.

Some groups of prisoners were put to work outside the mine, for tasks like installing water and sewer pipes in the vicinity of the subcamp or at the sawmill owned by the Karl und Reinhold Wieczorek company.

Some prisoners availed themselves of the help of Rydułtowy residents, both employees of Charlottengrube and people not associated with it. Despite the threat of severe punishment, some Rydułtowy residents handed prisoners various food products, above all bread and coffee, or planted them at the prisoners' work sites. Several prisoners managed to escape from Rydułtowy. The fugitives were helped by Poles—mine workers who provided them with civilian clothes or enabled them to leave their work posts illegally. A few prisoners joined miners in acts of sabotage, destroying mine equipment (for instance, they would damage the motors of the shaker conveyors, or the underground rails), so as to impede the Nazi's operation of the mine.

Evacuation of the subcamp began around January 19, 1945. Columns of prisoners under escort by SS men were led out of the subcamp westward. On the way, SS men shot at those who fell behind. After a day's march, the prisoners reached the town of Kreuzendorf (later Krzyżanowice) beyond the Oder River, where they spent the night. Then, for reasons that still have not been determined, they were sent back from there to Rydułtowy and thence to Wodzisław Śląski (Loslau) on about January 22. From Wodzisław, they were taken away to Mauthausen concentration camp in open railway cars.

At Wodzisław, approximately 50 prisoners from Rydułtowy were driven into a railway car in which there were already prisoners being evacuated from Auschwitz concentration camp, among them August Korzuch. After the war, he related the event as follows: "The prisoners who were brought in were dressed in striped denim and looked like skeletons. Their physical and health condition was much worse than that of the prisoners being evacuated from Oświęcim. I do not believe any of them lived to our arrival at Mauthausen. The transport lasted several days. On the way, we would throw the bodies of our companions, dead of emaciation, out of the car. I think it was precisely the bodies of prisoners from Rydułtowy that we were throwing from the car first."²

At the Mauthausen concentration camp, the prisoners were divided into four groups, which were sent to the Gusen II, Ebensee, Melk, and Ebensee Wels II subcamps. Only a few prisoners managed to survive until liberation.

There is no record that either the SS men in charge of Charlottengrube or the managers and foremen of RWHG were punished for their offenses.

SOURCES Information on the Charlottengrube subcamp can be found in Andrzej Strzelecki, "Podobóz Charlottengrube w Rydułtowach, ZO 17 (1985): 41–89 (German version: "Das Nebenlager Charlottengrube in Rydułtowy," HvA 17 [1985]: 41–90). Records pertaining to this camp are held in the following locations: APKat, Charlotte Mine Records, Catalog No. 102; Zespół Okręgowy Urząd Górnictwa w Rybniku (Rybnik District Mining Agency Collection) sygn. 86, 92, 1631, 1654; APMO, microfilm (No. 260) with correspondence (originals in Moscow) between the management of the Charlottengrube subcamp and that of the Monowitz concentration camp; APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts of former prisoners Eugen Michal, Ernest Mlynski, Leopold Mlynski, Koloman Wiener, and others; APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts of residents of Rydułtowy and environs (Stanisław Brückner, Wilhelm Frydrych, Jan Grycman, Henryk Pozimski, and others).

Andrzej Strzelecki
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Report of the Rybnik District Mining Agency of December 11, 1944, in the Katowice National Archives [APKat], OUG Rybnik Catalog No. 1654 book. 393 (copy at APMO).
2. Account of former prisoner August Korzuch, APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, vol. 52, book 139.

CHEŁMEK-PAPROTNIK [AKA CHEŁMEK]

The town of Chełmek lies eight kilometers (five miles) from Oświęcim (Auschwitz) on the Oświęcim-Trzebinia railway line.

The Chełmek subcamp was one of the external detachments of the Auschwitz concentration camp in the Chełmek-Paprotnik area. It was formed in order to clean the ponds from which Chełmek's Bata shoe factory, under German control, was to draw water for industrial purposes. That would considerably decrease the costs of taking water from the Przemsza River, which was farther away from the factory.

Surviving camp records do not provide the exact date on which the detachment was established. It was probably established in October 1942. An order from the Auschwitz concentration camp commander's headquarters dated November 2, 1942, attests to this, as it already mentions the Chełmek detachment.¹ This is also confirmed by entries in the Auschwitz morgue register, in which 10 separate shipments of bodies—47 in total—are shown as arriving from Chełmek between November 7 and December 3, 1942.²

The detachment numbered about 150 prisoners, of whom most were Jews from various countries. That makeup of the detachment is supported by the fact that out of the 47 dead Chełmek detachment prisoners whose numbers were listed in the Auschwitz morgue register, as many as 45 people had been brought by Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) transports, mainly from transit camps for Jews from Belgium, France, the Netherlands, and Yugoslavia. The prisoners who died in the Chełmek detachment, and whose numbers were noted in

the mortuary register, came from the following countries: 6 from Holland, 1 from France, 1 brought in a mixed transport (as of November 7, 1942), 10 from Holland, 2 from Belgium, and 3 from France (as of December 3, 1942).

The prisoners lived in a primitive shed, heated by one small stove in the winter that did little to protect the inhabitants from the harsh weather. The prisoners slept on three-level board beds and never had enough blankets. Next to the shed was the latrine, which could be used only during the day. At night the shed was locked, and a barrel was placed inside for waste. The prisoners emptied it in the morning. They washed outside—over a trough with spigots that supplied water from a nearby ditch—always with cold water and without soap. They took a bath once a week at the Bata factory. The sanitary and hygienic conditions were all the more appalling because the prisoners worked entire days in slime and mud. There was a little pharmacy in the shed, but it was never fully stocked with basic medicines. A room was added onto the shed to accommodate a mortuary.

The prisoners worked on three connected ponds, about one and one-half kilometers (one mile) from the subcamp. The first of them, lying nearest the Bata factory, was where the prisoners worked; they were removing the silt and rushes and clearing tree roots. They reinforced the dike surrounding the pond with silt and mud. They also worked in the nearby Jazdówka quarry, where the stones for reinforcing the dikes were taken.

Food for the prisoners was provided by the Bata factory. The daily food ration consisted of one liter (one quart) of black coffee, one-half liter (one pint) of soup, and a piece of dry bread.

The hard labor and hunger caused a high death rate. Sick and dead prisoners were taken away to Auschwitz, from whence new prisoners were brought in to keep up the detachment's population. As previously mentioned, entries in the camp morgue register attest to prisoner mortality, as 47 bodies were listed in November 1942 as having been brought in from the Chełmek detachment, and 15 were listed on December 3, 1942. That day, 26 sick prisoners were also brought to Auschwitz.³

The hunger caused extraordinary weight loss and psychological breakdowns among the prisoners. One prisoner, the Austrian Ernst Toch (No. 70231), recalls in his report that in a moment of extreme emotional breakdown, he turned to one of the SS men at the work site and asked him to shoot him. The guard said that he would, on the condition that the prisoner made it look like he was attempting to escape. Toch made his way toward the latrine at the edge of the forest adjoining the pond that the prisoners had cleaned out. Then the guard set the dogs on him. They dragged him to the ground and began gnawing at his thighs.

SS-Oberscharführer Josef Schillinger and SS-Unterscharführer Wilhelm Emmerich served as the commanders (Emmerich took over for Schillinger after October 23, 1942, when a Jewish woman who had just arrived from Bergen-Belsen shot both men, Schillinger fatally). There

were six SS men and police dogs that helped them guard the prisoners.

The Chełmek detachment was shut down on December 9, 1942. On that day the prisoners were trucked to Auschwitz. That is proven by a truck transport departure order stating that the detachment's shutdown was the reason for the trip. According to the reports of members of the local population, the prisoners were taken from Chełmek as soon as the frosts began.⁴

The Chełmek subcamp detachment was shut down even though the pond-cleaning work had not been finished. The shutdown was not because of the approaching winter, because if that had been the case, they would have started up the work again in the spring of 1943, and that did not happen.

SOURCES The one published account with information on this camp is Emeryka Iwaszko, "Aussenkommando Chełmek: Kommando zewnętrzne Chełmek," *ZO* 12 (1970): 47–55. The nationalities of the deaths at Chełmek are recorded in Danuta Czech, *Kalendarz wydarzeń obozowych* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz National Museum Publishing, 1992), entries for November 7 and December 3, 1942.

Information on Chełmek can be found in the following records: Proces przeciw członkom załogi obozu oświęcimskiego przed Najwyższym Trybunałem Narodowym w Krakowie, vol. 40; Chełmek—materiały różne—Sygn. D-Au III—/Chełmek.

Emeryka Iwaszko
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Kommandantur Sonderbefehl of November 2, 1942. Staff Members' Trial collection, 40: 17, APMO.

2. Leichenhallebuch—D-Au I-5/4, p. 8, APMO.

3. Trip orders for a car from KL Auschwitz to Chełmek. Fahrbefehl no. 3 of December 3, 1942, D-Au I-4/62, APMO; report of the former prisoner Ernst Toch.

4. Trip orders for a car from Auschwitz to Chełmek—Fahrbefehl no. 9 of December 9, 1942. The destination given was "Chełmek—Einziehung des Arbeitskommandos." D-Au I-4/55, APMO. Witness reports by Rozalia Szymutko, Anna Wanat, and Mieczysław Niedzielski.

EINTRACHTHÜTTE

The Germans established a subcamp of Auschwitz in Zgoda (Eintrachthütte), the southern part of the city of Świętochłowice (Schwientochlowitz) in Upper Silesia, on May 26, 1943.¹ The German arms company Oberschlesische Maschinen- und Waggonfabrik AG (Osmag) of Katowice (Kattowitz) initiated the subcamp's establishment. On May 4, 1943, Director Gömmmer, the company's representative, negotiated with officials from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) branch D II in the matter, at which time they set forth the terms for hiring out prisoners. The terms were confirmed in a letter from WVHA D II to Osmag Werk Eintrachthütte dated May 7, 1943.²

The first group of 30 prisoners was moved from Auschwitz to the Eintrachthütte subcamp in a truck on May 26, 1943. Their job was to prepare the camp for more prisoners.³ The main group of prisoners, numbering 500, arrived from Auschwitz by freight train on June 7, 1943.⁴ More transports followed, so the prisoner population grew steadily; it was approximately 700 in late 1943 and reached a peak of around 1,370 in August 1944.⁵ On January 17, 1945, shortly prior to evacuation, there were 1,297 prisoners in the camp.⁶ Most prisoners were Jews from places such as France, Hungary, Slovakia, Bohemia, Greece, Poland, the Netherlands, and Belgium. In comparison to other subcamps, where Jews definitely predominated, Poles constituted a sizable group, and there were Russian prisoners of war (POWs) as well.

The Eintrachthütte arms works was the prisoners' chief workplace, where they manufactured anti-aircraft guns. Prisoners produced parts on machines (lathes, borers, grinders) and assembled the guns. They also worked maintaining machines and equipment and operating hoists and overhead cranes.⁷

Around 200 to 300 prisoners worked in what was called the Baukommando (construction detachment), knocking down unneeded old factory buildings and cleaning up the site.

When the camp first came into existence, a considerable number of prisoners worked building the barracks, barbed-wire fence, and watchtowers. Some prisoners were regularly employed inside the camp in the kitchen, canteen, infirmary, warehouses, and repair shops, and as barbers, as well as barrack and room foremen.

The SS ran the camp strictly and brutally. Any communications with civilian workers—getting food from them or even speaking to them—was prohibited. Inmates were not allowed to eat, smoke cigarettes, leave their machines, fall asleep, or have any money or valuables with them at the work site. Even for trivial offenses, the SS men and prisoner foremen beat prisoners, often until they lost consciousness and not infrequently to death. There were also instances when the SS men shot prisoners for talking to civilian workers, and they would shoot at prisoners for getting near windows—SS guards would get several days' leave for shooting a prisoner at a window, which qualified as preventing an escape.

Sometimes summary punishments were meted out to prisoners at work or in camp following denunciations by German civilian supervisors. Prisoners were punished in the camp by whipping, food deprivation, or additional labor on free Sundays (alternate Sundays were days off).

The work went on in two shifts, a day and a night one of 12 hours each. Prisoners received no pay for their labor. Only from time to time would the factory issue vouchers worth a few Reichsmark (RM) to the prisoners. One could buy things at the camp canteen with them, but it did not have the most sought-after food products. The prisoners' food was severely inadequate and no different from the typical fare of concentration camp prisoners.

An infirmary was set up in the subcamp for sick prisoners who were incapable of working; it was staffed by prisoner

doctors. But the infirmary lacked basic drugs and equipment. For instance, there was no scalpel to perform any surgical procedures. Simple dental procedures, usually extractions, were performed in the camp dentist's office.

Every so often the SS men would hold prisoner selections on the assembly ground. The weak and injured were pulled out of the ranks and transported to Auschwitz.

Every week several prisoners would die from the exhausting labor, insufficient food, lack of proper medical care, and abuse. Their corpses were taken away to Auschwitz to be cremated.

The fees that the factory paid—6 RM for a day of a skilled worker's labor and 4 RM for that of an unskilled one—were transferred to the national treasury via the SS's bank account.⁸

Even before prisoners arrived at the factory, all the civilian employees had been notified that any communications with prisoners, or giving them food or cigarettes, was strictly forbidden, and they would be sent to a concentration camp themselves or even get the death penalty for violating that order.

In spite of that, Polish workers helped prisoners, especially Poles (although there are also examples of help for Jews and Soviet POWs), by passing along illegal correspondence, secretly supplying them with food and medications, and even providing assistance in escapes. The largest escape was on July 3, 1944, when nine prisoners, one Pole, one Jew, and seven Russians, got out through a tunnel dug under the fence.⁹ The Germans arrested two local residents for aiding the prisoners: Maciński, a Polish pharmacist, who was put into Auschwitz, where he perished, and Magdalena Szymik, a Polish worker who was interrogated at Auschwitz and freed.

Because of the Red Army's rapid advance in January 1945, the camp was shut down, and approximately 1,200 prisoners were evacuated. Everyone able to be evacuated was loaded into freight cars and taken to the Mauthausen concentration camp. Many prisoners died in the course of the four-day trip, which they had to endure standing because of the enormous crowding.

Upon liberation, several dozen prisoners who had been left in the camp were taken to hospitals in Świętochłowice and Katowice.

SOURCES APMO contains the following relevant records: Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts by Fryderyk Skalec, Alfred Panic, Hieronim Kolonko, Jerzy Rogocz, Wiktor Konkol, Zygmunt Gajda, Władysław Rutecki, Leon Witt, Tadeusz Krupa, Alojzy Kleta, Leonard Chłędzyński, Józefa Zintel, Wacław Krzyżyński, Teodor Morys, Erwin Smieja, Alfred Swoboda, and Tomasz Dobiosz; Arbeitseinsatz; Akta Procesu Hössa; Fahrbefehle; Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderung; Meldunki i zarządzenia karne; Kommandantur-Befehle; Akta SS-Hygiene Institut; Nummernbuch; Kartoteka więźniów Mauthausen; Meldeblatt; Telegramy o ucieczkach. Also, Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach APKat holds records in collections BH-2405, -2484, -2511, and -2515. See also Franciszek Piper, "Das Nebenlager Eintrachthütte," HvA 17 (1985): 133–137.

Franciszek Piper
trans. Gerhard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, sygn. D-AuI-3a, account of prisoner labor for May 26–31, 1943; Zespół Oświadczenia (Affidavits Collection), accounts by former Eintrachthütte subcamp prisoners Alfred Panic and Fryderyk Skalec.

2. APKat, BH-2511, pp. 28–29 (microfilm at APMO)—letter from WVHA to Osmag dated May 7, 1943.

3. APMO, Catalog No. D-AuI-3a, monthly employment list of Auschwitz male and female prisoners; Affidavits Collection, accounts by former prisoners Alfred Panic and Fryderyk Skalec.

4. APMO, Catalog No. D-AuI-3a/318, letter from Auschwitz political unit director to various camp offices dated June 5, 1943.

5. APKat, BH-2405, pp. 11, 24–26, statistical reports of the Osmag and Ost-Maschinenbau companies.

6. APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu (Resistance Movement Materials), vol. 3, books 208, 212.

7. Prisoner working and living conditions have been depicted based on the accounts of former prisoners Fryderyk Skalec, Alfred Panic, Hieronim Kolonko, Jerzy Rogocz, Wiktor Konkol, Zygmunt Gajda, Władysław Rutecki, Leon Witt, Tadeusz Krupa, Alojzy Kleta, Leonard Chłędzyński, Józefa Zintel, Wacław Krzyżyński, Teodor Morys, and those of workers Erwin Smieja and Tomasz Dobiosz. ANMA [or APMO], Affidavits Collection.

8. APKat, BH-2511, pp. 28–29, letter from WVHA to Osmag dated May 7, 1943.

9. APMO, Catalog No. AuI-1/334–337, Meldeblatt No. 13 dated July 15, 1944, published by the State Police Unit in Wrocław. The document listed the escaped prisoners' names and descriptions.

FREUDENTHAL

An Auschwitz subcamp was formed in the town of Bruntal (Freudenthal) in the Czech Sudeten Mountains. The fragmentary surviving records do not provide the exact date on which it was established, but it probably came into being in October 1944. The first mention of the Freudenthal camp is in the daily work rolls of female prisoners from the Auschwitz III-Monowitz camp for October 14 to December 30, 1944.¹

The Freudenthal camp was located on the southeastern edge of town, about 198 meters (650 feet) from the train station, on the grounds of the factory belonging to the German company Emmerich Machold.

The camp commandant was an SS man with the rank of SS-Oberscharführer, while the commander of the 21-person guard detachment assigned to guard the camp was SS-Hauptscharführer Paul Ulbort, born on April 13, 1893.² Starting October 1944, he was the chief of the Freudenthal subcamp's guard detachment, which was part of the 8th Guard Company headquartered at Auschwitz III-Monowitz. Three female German SS guards (Aufseherinnen) also belonged to the camp staff. One of them was Erna Bodem, a Sudeten German. Bodem, born in Zwodau on October 10, 1919, was a farm laborer by occupation and entered service in the SS in 1943. After serving as a supervisor at the Lublin concentration

camp, she was at Auschwitz II-Birkenau from late April 1944 until October 10, 1944, before her transfer to the Freudenthal subcamp, where she stayed until May 3, 1945.

Guard duty was served by older soldiers or those unfit to serve on the lines, men from regular army formations who were enlisted into the SS after several weeks of training. They served 24-hour guard duty in shifts in the four guard stations around the camp and at the entrance, reinforced the guards at the factory's main entrance, and also escorted the women to and from work.

The Emmerich Machold textile factory, which did knitting, weaving, and made clothing, had at that time shifted over to war production to meet the Wehrmacht's needs. The women employed there sewed such things as uniforms for German soldiers.

In October 1944, the SS selected a group of 300 female Jewish prisoners, mainly Hungarian and Czech, from the transit camp for Jewish women (Sector BIIc) at Auschwitz II-Birkenau, and sent them to the Freudenthal subcamp.³ The camp population probably remained at a constant level throughout the camp's operation (there were 301 prisoners as of October 19, 1944). The only number that changed was that of the working prisoners and those unfit to work because of sickness or emaciation. For example, on any given workday in October there were from 4 to 5 prisoners unfit for work; in November, that number grew to 11 or 12 persons a day; in December, it rose to 35 or 36 sick women in the camp hospital per day.⁴ We can assume that the number of sick people and those unfit to work grew over the following months as a result of the cold conditions, hunger, and exhausting labor.

The women wore the striped camp clothing they had received in Birkenau prior to being transported to Freudenthal.⁵

The prisoners were liberated on May 6, 1945, by Russian forces.⁶ The entire SS staff probably abandoned the camp several days before the Russians entered. Just after war operations ceased, the Emmerich Machold factory burned; therefore, practically no company records from before May 1945 survived on-site in Bruntal.⁷

Records at the International Tracing Service (ITS) show that the prisoners from the Freudenthal subcamp were also subhired for work by Freudenthaler Getränke GmbH, belonging to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amt W III/2. Getränke specialized in the manufacture of vitamin juices.⁸ The fact that the corporation was hiring Auschwitz concentration camp prisoners from the Freudenthal subcamp was also confirmed by former Auschwitz concentration camp commander Rudolf Höss in his testimony given after the war in Kraków, in which he states: "The Freudenthal camp was located in the Sudeten Mountains. It had been established there for construction purposes, particularly the expansion of a company making vitamin juice for the provisions of forces stationed in Norway. Later, prisoners of that camp were also going to work in the company's factories, which were operated by the SS on its own account.

In my time the camp numbered approximately three hundred prisoners."⁹ However, a study of the records collected at the Auschwitz-Birkenau National Museum Archives does not confirm that statement.

Erna Bodem was tried in Kraków in 1948 and sentenced to four years in prison. There is no record that any of the other camp or industry personnel associated with Freudenthal were prosecuted.

SOURCES There are no published sources on this camp. Primary sources on Freudenthal may be found in APMO (microfilm collection; daily list of occupations of the female inmates at Auschwitz III-Monowitz; collection on the Höss trial; correspondence) and in ITS and its catalog.

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trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, Catalog No. D-Au III-3a/1, p. 342.
2. APMO, Microfilm No. 261/16. Report on the activity of the guard company at the Freudenthal camp dated December 1, 1944, sent to the superior authorities at Monowitz concentration camp, by its commander SS-Hauptscharführer Paul Ulbert.
3. APMO, Correspondence, syg. Kor. IV-3/4672-4676/3620/90, letter to the Museum from the former inmate Magda Kessler, née Klein, dated May 15, 1990.
4. APMO, daily list of occupations, pp. 432–509.
5. APMO, Vol.: IV-3/4672-4676/3620/90, letter by the former inmate Magda Kessler.
6. Ibid.
7. APMO, Vol.: I-8523/92/2669/86, correspondence with historian Dr. Franciszek Spurny of the Regional Museum in Šumperk, dated September 19, 1986.
8. Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Internationaler Suchdienst (Arolsen 1979), p. 18.
9. APMO, Proces Hössa, 21: 41.

FÜRSTENGRUBE

The Fürstengrube subcamp was organized in the summer of 1943 at the Fürstengrube hard coal mine in the town of Wesoła (Wessolla), now part of the city of Mysłowice (Myslowitz), approximately 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) from Auschwitz. The mine, which IG Farbenindustrie AG acquired in February 1941, was to supply hard coal for the IG Farben factory being built in Auschwitz. Besides the old Fürstengrube mine, called the Altanlage, a new mine (Fürstengrube-Neuanlage) had been designed and construction had begun; it was to provide for greater coal output in the future. Coal production at the new mine was anticipated to start in late 1943, so construction was treated as very urgent; however, that plan proved to be unfeasible.¹

In the period before the Auschwitz concentration camp prisoners were sent to work at Fürstengrube, the mine employed Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), Jewish slave laborers, and forced laborers from the USSR, in addition to its regular

staff. Negotiations in July 1943 between Auschwitz Commandant Rudolf Höss and representatives of IG Farbenindustrie AG and Fürstengrube GmbH led to an agreement to build a new camp for approximately 600 prisoners—increasing to 1,200 then to 1,300 later—from Auschwitz.²

Mainly Jews built the new camp; they lived in the mine's forced labor camp for Jews, which was under the so-called Organisation Schmelt; that camp was called Lager Ostland. The Jewish prisoners from that camp were taken away even before the prisoners were moved from the Auschwitz concentration camp. The camp report for August 1943 no longer mentions the number of Jews employed.³ The prisoners moved from Auschwitz then continued the subcamp's construction and expansion.

In early September 1943, the SS began moving prisoners, probably including a few German prisoner foremen, from Auschwitz to the Fürstengrube subcamp, which appears as "Lager Süd" on mine maps. On September 4, 1943, the Auschwitz labor office reported that 129 prisoners were working at the Fürstengrube subcamp; by July 1944 that number had risen to approximately 1,200, 85 to 90 percent of whom were Jews. Polish Jews were the most numerous group, but Jews from Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Greece were also present. Starting in the spring of 1944, there were also several dozen non-Jewish Polish prisoners at Fürstengrube.⁴

For the first three months the subcamp was under the direct charge of Auschwitz headquarters; then after November 22, 1943, under Auschwitz III-Monowitz. Effective May 22, 1944, the 3rd Guard Company of Auschwitz III took charge of the guard duty.⁵ SS-Hauptscharführer Otto Moll was named the subcamp's first commandant; he served in that position until March 1944. SS-Oberscharführer Max Schmidt succeeded Moll until the subcamp was shut down in January 1945. The SS staff at the beginning of 1944 consisted of 47 SS men and grew to 64 at the end of the year.

Prisoners from Auschwitz who went to the Fürstengrube subcamp were mostly put to work extracting coal in the old mine and building the new one.⁶ Prisoners working in the old mine were divided up into three shifts: morning (5:00 A.M. to 1:00 P.M.), day (1:00 P.M. to 9:00 P.M.), and night (9:00 P.M. to 5:00 A.M.). Work at the mine was especially difficult and dangerous because of the low galleries and the abundance of water. Prisoners did not receive the required protective clothing, and they were constantly vulnerable to beatings and abuse from the mine's civilian staff as well as prisoner-foremen. The prisoners building the new mine faced equally brutal and exhausting work. They worked in one shift, a day shift, doing all sorts of construction and assembly jobs in groups of painters, bricklayers, welders, metalworkers, and assemblers. Additionally, when the shifts were over, many of the prisoners then had to work to expand the camp.

Only very sick prisoners were admitted to the camp infirmary. SS doctors conducted periodic selections there and among the other prisoners as well; prisoners who were no

longer able to work were moved to the Birkenau hospital sector (BIIf).⁷ The rotation of prisoners was significant, as new prisoners replaced those who had been selected. For example, from May 8 to 14, 1944, as many as 42 Fürstengrube prisoners entered the hospital sector of Birkenau.⁸

In spite of the hard conditions and fight for survival, despite the beatings and persecution, there were some poor substitutes for cultural life at the subcamp in the form of band concerts and plays.⁹ Some prisoners secretly drew portraits of their fellow inmates.

Only a few escapes and escape attempts from the Fürstengrube subcamp are known. Gabriel Rothkopf, a Polish Jew, escaped during the night of December 18–19, 1943, while returning from work at the old mine.¹⁰ In response, Commandant Moll personally shot a randomly selected group of prisoners in front of their fellows and left their bodies on the assembly ground until the next shift returned.¹¹ Ivan Potekhinin, a Russian prisoner, escaped on April 15, 1944.¹² In the spring of 1944, a group of prisoners dug a tunnel from a barrack, but during an inspection five German Jews were apprehended in it; they were later hanged.¹³ In June 1944, Commandant Schmidt shot a Russian prisoner who intended to escape from the subcamp.¹⁴ In late August 1944, yet another Russian prisoner was shot; he had attempted to escape in a freight car leaving the new mine construction site.¹⁵ The escape attempt of a Polish prisoner named Górewicz, working in the forge, also ended with his execution.¹⁶

Polish miners on the site helped a group of Polish prisoners by smuggling messages, food, and news of the situation on the fronts. However, the camp's political branch got word of the activity, probably in late August 1944. The prisoners were sent to Auschwitz I, and after approximately two months of interrogation, they were brought back to Fürstengrube and hanged on October 10, 1944.¹⁷

In September, November, and December 1944, the Polish and Russian prisoners were moved to the Flossenbürg, Buchenwald, and Mauthausen concentration camps. As of January 17, 1945, 1,283 prisoners, chiefly Jews, remained in the subcamp.¹⁸ On January 19, having burned the camp's records, the SS led approximately 1,000 prisoners out of the camp, headed for Gliwice (Gleiwitz) via Mikołów.¹⁹ Severe cold and icy roads made the march difficult, and SS men killed anyone who fell out. On the evening of January 20, 1945, the Fürstengrube prisoners reached the Gleiwitz II subcamp, where they joined prisoners from Auschwitz III-Monowitz as well as some other subcamps. The next day, January 21, the SS loaded approximately 4,000 prisoners into open railway cars bound for Mauthausen. The authorities at Mauthausen did not accept the transport, however, as the camp was overcrowded, but sent the train on to Mittelbau-Dora, where it arrived on January 28. Out of 4,000 prisoners, only about 3,500 survived the seven-day trip.

On January 27, 1945, at about 4:00 P.M., a dozen or so SS men entered the Fürstengrube subcamp and killed most of the remaining prisoners; some they shot, and some burned to

death when the SS set their barracks on fire. Only the sudden arrival of Soviet troops forced the SS to flee, thus sparing a few of the prisoners. A mine employee who was present afterward reported that they buried 239 bodies.²⁰ About 20 prisoners survived the massacre. One of them, former prisoner Rudolf Ehrlich, testified to these events on May 9, 1945, before the Investigation Commission for German Nazi Crimes at Auschwitz.²¹

In a U.S. Military Court trial in Dachau from November 15 to December 13, 1945, Otto Moll, the first commandant of the Fürstengrube subcamp, was sentenced to death by hanging.²² The sentence was executed on May 28, 1946.

SOURCES The following secondary source contains additional information: Tadeusz Iwaszko, "Podobóz 'Fürstengrube,'" *ZO* 16 (1975): 71–151.

APMO holds materials in the Fürstengrube GmbH collection, as well as accounts of former Fürstengrube subcamp prisoners. Additional material is in APKat, Pszczyna Division, in the Fürstengrube GmbH collection. Also helpful is the account of Leo Klüger, *Lache, denn morgen bist Du tot. Eine Geschichte vom Überleben* (Munich: Piper, 1998).

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in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 40, book 54–55, vol. 50, book 93, vol. 54, book 20, vol. 54, book 36, vol. 60, book 107.

14. Accounts of former prisoners Jan Ławnicki and Jan Skotnicki, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 60, book 108, vol. 57, book 51.

15. Account of former prisoner Jan Skotnicki, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 57, book 88.

16. Account of former prisoner Henryk Kowadło, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 21, book 71.

17. Accounts of former prisoners Jan Skotnicki, Leonard Chłędzyński, Paul Halter, and Józef Łabudek, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 57, book 88, vol. 61, book 54, vol. 54, book 37, vol. 50, book 94.

18. Smuggled message of the Resistance Movement at Auschwitz concentration camp dated January 17, 1945, in APMO, *Materiały Ruchu Oporu*, vol. 3, book 212.

19. Accounts of former prisoners Ludwik Frąszczak, Józef Tabaczyński, and Józef Łabudek, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 41, book 65, vol. 44, book 62, vol. 50, book 95.

20. Account of former mine employee Piotr Olej, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 41, book 59.

21. Record of testimony by former prisoner Rudolf Ehrlich, in APMO, *Proces Hössa*, vol. 1, book 123–128.

22. Rept. of Dachau concentration camp trial, in APMO, Dpr. [trial log] Dachau/1.

NOTES

1. "Fürstengrube GmbH," notes and correspondence, in APMO, Fürstengrube GmbH collection.

2. Note dated July 28, 1943, in APMO, D-AuIII/Fürstengrube/1a, book 46–47.

3. APKat, Pszczyna Division, Fürstengrube GmbH collection, Catalog No. 50.

4. See, for example, account of former prisoner Jan Ławnicki, in APMO, *Oświadczenie* [Affidavits], vol. 60, book 99.

5. Standortbefehl No. 53/43 in APMO, D-AuI-1; Kommandantur-Sonderbefehl KL Auschwitz III dated May 22, 1944, in APMO, D-AuIII-1/63.

6. Account of former prisoner Paul Halter, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 54, book 41–43.

7. Account of former prisoner Ervík Hekš, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 70, book 124.

8. APMO, H-Krankenbau B.II.f K.L.AuII Zugänge von Aussenlagern von 8 Mai 1944 bis 14 Mai 1944, chart, in APMO, D-AuII-5/2, book 28.

9. Accounts of former prisoners Paul Halter and Marian Waliński, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 54, book 35, vol. 40, book 55.

10. Telegram about the escape of prisoner Gabriel Rothkopf dated December 20, 1944, in APMO, IZ-8/Gestapo Lódź/3a, vol. 4, book 547, 548.

11. Accounts of former prisoners Paul Halter, Józef Łabudek and Jan Ławnicki, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 54, book 36, vol. 50, book 94, vol. 60, book 107.

12. Telegram about the escape of prisoner Iwan Potechin, in APMO, D-AuI-1/1a, vol. 2, book 374.

13. Accounts of former prisoners Marian Waliński, Józef Łabudek, Stanisław Łapiński, Paul Halter, and Jan Ławnicki,

GLEIWITZ I

The Gleiwitz Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk (Reich Railways Repair Works, RAW), also called the Wagenwerk, initiated the establishment of the Gleiwitz I subcamp in Gleiwitz (later Gliwice) and financed the subcamp's construction and outfitting. The first prisoner transport was sent to the camp in March 1944. A dozen or so prisoners, mostly carpenters, arrived to prepare the subcamp for subsequent transports. When the first barracks were put up (some of which had most probably been moved from the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp), several dozen Poles, Russians, and Ukrainians were transferred to the subcamp from Auschwitz I. They were largely skilled tradesmen who had been employed until then in the Union-Werke detachment. Because there are no sources, we cannot determine the arrival dates, numbers, or ethnic composition of the other prisoner transports. The only source providing the number of prisoners at the Gleiwitz I subcamp is a list made by the secret prisoner resistance movement organization. Because of it, it is known that at the last roll call on January 17, 1945, there were 1,336 prisoners at the subcamp. We can therefore state that Gleiwitz I was the largest Auschwitz subcamp in Gliwice and was a large subcamp in comparison to other camps in the Auschwitz concentration camp system.

The subcamp's first commandant was SS-Hauptscharführer Otto Moll, born on March 4, 1915, in Hohenschönberg, a gardener by trade and the former chief of the crematoriums and gas chambers at Auschwitz II-Birkenau who had come to Auschwitz in 1941 from the Gusen subcamp at Mauthausen. In May 1944, he resumed that earlier post in order to assist in

the murder of the Hungarian Jews, but he returned to Gleiwitz I in late summer and probably served as commandant until mid-December. His deputies were SS-Oberscharführer Jansen (former muster officer of the Melk subcamp of Mauthausen) and SS-Oberscharführer Richard Stolten (beginning July 17, 1944). The staff included several dozen SS men from the 6th Guard Company of Auschwitz III-Monowitz, as well as SS-Oberscharführer Josef Klehr as SS medical orderly.

The surviving camp records list more detailed information on approximately 250 Gleiwitz I subcamp prisoners, most of whom were Jews who arrived in Auschwitz in 1943–1944 from concentration camps in Lublin-Majdanek and Krakau-Plaszow; from the Drancy and Westerbork transit camps; from the Białystok and Łódź ghettos; and from Bohemia, Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Italy. They underwent selections on the ramp at Birkenau; many of those found fit to work eventually went to the subcamps, including Gleiwitz I. The prisoner foremen were predominantly German.

The prisoners lived in several wooden barracks located about 2 kilometers (1.25 miles) from the Wagenwerk. Separate quarters were assigned to Jews, Poles, Russians, and Ukrainians. Former prisoners stress in their accounts that the food in the subcamp was even worse than what they had received at Birkenau. Many prisoners eventually succumbed to hunger and overwork. Most prisoners worked in small groups scattered throughout the Werkhalle, an enormous repair house approximately 4 hectares (9.9 acres) in area, doing general repairs to freight and tank cars under the direct supervision of civilian foremen and workers. There was a sign on each car specifying the quota of work to be done. Since the quotas were high and the foremen strictly enforced them, the prisoners had to work very strenuously. Initially, all prisoners worked the one day shift, but in the late summer of 1944 a night shift was introduced. Work on each shift lasted 12 hours, sometimes longer. There were even instances when some Werkhalle groups stayed at their workstations for about a week, sleeping in the cars for a few hours each day. Additionally, some prisoners worked in the metal shop, boiler house, and forge, building a road near the Wagenwerk, or at the airport near the brickyard. And for many prisoners, the end of the workday at the Wagenwerk did not mean they were through working. Some of them had to clean the toilet pits or bring stones and turf from several kilometers away to cover the slopes near the subcamp.

Treatment was harsh and capricious. Civilian and prisoner foremen and SS guards and officials alike abused the prisoners, either at the workplace or in the camp. Prisoners who could not keep up the brutal pace or who fell asleep were beaten; some were killed. Moll personally carried out executions, some for a minor breach of regulations, some for no apparent reason at all.

A camp hospital opened at Gleiwitz I only in the autumn of 1944. Up until then, there was only a dispensary, where prisoners could get first aid. Klehr conducted selections of the

sick several times. Prisoners requiring extended treatment were taken away along with the corpses of the dead to Birkenau, where they perished in the gas chambers. Selections were also conducted outside the camp hospital, during roll calls, in the bathhouse, or in the barracks. Moll, Klehr, or the SS doctor from Monowitz decided whether prisoners would live or die. In October 1944, about 50 severely emaciated prisoners were picked during a selection and taken away from the subcamp shortly afterward.

Despite the rigorous control by the SS men and prisoner foremen, illegal contacts did occur at the Wagenwerk between prisoners and the civilian workers employed there. Some workers would secretly hand food to prisoners or leave it at designated spots, most often in the railroad cars. With their collaboration, prisoners could sometimes feign work or even sleep, and in several instances Polish prisoners were able to establish illegal communications with their families. There were also a number of individual prisoner escapes, with or without worker support, some of which were presumably successful, while others resulted in hangings or shootings.

Eleven Russian prisoners escaped without any outside help on the night of August 15, 1944, through a tunnel. Monowitz commander SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Schwarz came to the subcamp with several SS officers from the political branch to conduct an investigation. Shortly afterward, all the Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian prisoners were moved from the Gleiwitz I subcamp to Birkenau and then included in a prisoner transport to Neuengamme. Two of those 11 escaped Russians were captured and brought back to the subcamp. Although they could barely stand due to beating, they had to walk through the subcamp's streets several times with signs on their chests saying: "Hurrah! We are back again." They were hanged during a special assembly, which not only Gleiwitz I subcamp prisoners had to attend but those from neighboring Gleiwitz II as well. Just before his execution, one of the Russians managed to shout out: "Do not forget us, avenge us!"

The Gleiwitz I subcamp was shut down on January 18, 1945. Before escorting the prisoners out of the subcamp, the SS men selected several dozen sick, lame, and extremely emaciated prisoners, whom they led behind the barracks and shot. SS men also shot any prisoners who could not keep up during the evacuation march and threw the bodies into roadside ditches. The route of that death march led through Auschwitz's Blechhammer subcamp. In the early hours of January 21, 1945, the Gleiwitz I prisoners left Blechhammer, and in early February they reached Gross-Rosen. Shortly thereafter a group of about 200 Gleiwitz I prisoners were taken away from Gross-Rosen to Nordhausen. The rest were sent to Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen and their subcamps in different transports.

A small group of Gleiwitz I prisoners, taking advantage of the overall chaos that prevailed at Blechhammer, stayed at that subcamp. Some of them perished when the barracks were



A post war oil painting by Holocaust survivor David Friedmann representing the death march from the Gleiwitz I subcamp to Blechhammer. USHMM#WS 27689. SOURCE UNKNOWN

shelled by SS men; others managed to escape and reach Allied lines.

Otto Moll was sentenced to death at the Dachau trial on December 13, 1945, and later executed.

SOURCES There are several published sources that contain information on Gleiwitz I: Edmund Całka, "Polacy z Gliwickiego w okresie drugiej wojny światowej," ZG 2 (1964): 117–131; Edmund Całka, "Hitlerowskie obozy w Gliwicach i w powiecie," ZG 4 (1966): 121–133; Irena Strzelecka, "Arbeitslager Auschwitz I," ZO 14 (1972): 65–94 (German version: HvA 14 [1973]: 75–106); Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej Strzelecki, "Podobozy oświęcimskie w Gliwicach," ZG 13 (1978): 119–167; Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej Strzelecki, "Zatrudnienie więźniów oświęcimskich w przemyśle Gliwic," ZG 9 (1972): 15–37; Mel Mermelstein, *By Bread Alone. The Story of A-4685* (Los Angeles: Crescent Publications, 1979).

Archival materials may be found in the APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts by former prisoners Emil Heran, Mieczysław Ruzga, Leon Trześniower, Antoni Głogowski, Martin Klein-Viggo, Leon Opatowski, Michał Popczyka, Ryszard Wojtusik, Czesław Niżnik, Melvin Mermelstein, Józef Szymczak, Lew Polakowand, Szulim Zang, and others; as well as accounts of other witnesses such as former forced laborer Helena Chmielewska and Józef Kłos, a longtime employee of today's Rolling Stock Repair Works in Gliwice.

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GLEIWITZ II

In the initial years of World War II, Deutsche Gasrusswerke GmbH of Dortmund, West Germany, began building a carbon black factory in Gleiwitz (later Gliwice). On the company's initiative, two forced labor camps were then established near the factory grounds, one for foreign workers (*Fremdarbeiterlager*), predominantly Poles, and a camp for Jews (*Judenlager*) that appeared in records as armaments camp (*Rüstungslager*)

Degussa, Gleiwitz-Steigern, or as forced labor camp (*Zwangsarbeiterlager*) Degussa, Gleiwitz-Steigern Deutsche Gasrusswerke. There were approximately 600 Jews in the latter camp in 1943, including about 200 each of men and women from Silesia, brought to Gleiwitz in the spring of 1943 from transit camps in Sosnowitz (Sosnowietz) and Gogolin.

On May 3, 1944, the SS took over the Rüstungslager and placed it under Auschwitz III-Monowitz, with the designation Gleiwitz II. At that point there were 245 women in the camp, including approximately 200 Silesian Jews who had arrived in the spring of 1943; shortly after Monowitz took over control of the camp, these women received tattooed prisoner numbers from the general Auschwitz prisoner series. A major women's transport, probably numbering about 100 persons, mostly Hungarian Jews, arrived in the summer of 1944. In November, the population of women prisoners was 371, and that number remained unchanged until evacuation. The population of the men's portion of the camp was 261 Jewish prisoners in May 1944; on January 17, 1945, there were 740.

The entire staff changed with the reorganization. SS-Oberscharführer Becker became the new commandant, with SS-Unterscharführer Lukaszek his deputy. On September 15, 1944, SS-Oberscharführer Konrad Friedrichsen, on detail from the Neu-Dachs subcamp, replaced Becker; then on January 5, 1945, SS-Hauptscharführer Bernhard Rackers, previously the muster officer in Monowitz, took over the post. The subcamp staff consisted of about 70 SS men from the 6th Guard Company of Monowitz.

When Monowitz took over the camp, some of the women prisoners lost heart completely. Two or three days after the female prisoners were tattooed, 18-year-old Bela Londer of Sosnowiec committed suicide, as did teenager Melania Bornenstein a few days after her. Unable to reconcile themselves to the new situation, they jumped out of the fourth floor of the factory building.

The reorganization did not change the nature of the women's work, but discipline tightened, and there were fewer opportunities to communicate with the civilian and forced laborers. The female prisoners worked at the Gasrusswerke in three shifts. A large percentage worked directly in production, that is, in operating the Verdampfer machines that processed anthracite, sulfur, and oil into carbon black. The temperature in the production halls ranged from 60 to 71 degrees Celsius (140 to 160 degrees Fahrenheit), but despite the heat the women worked in overalls tightly buttoned up to their necks. The fumes rising from the boiling oils attacked the eyes and settled in the lungs. Poor lighting and dust made working difficult. The production hall windows were tightly covered at night because of blackout regulations. On average, every prisoner produced about 4 to 5 kilograms (9 to 11 pounds) of carbon black per hour, operating one machine, and in the process also produced several kilograms of oily waste at 299 degrees Celsius (570 degrees Fahrenheit). Several women suffered serious burns

while pouring this waste into a special tank on the factory grounds.

Some of the female prisoners worked in the packing department, where the carbon black was delivered in huge pipes from the production halls. The women weighed and packed the carbon black in large paper sacks. The greasy carbon black, which was hard to wash off, sprinkled down on them the entire time they worked and coated their bodies.

The male prisoners worked on expanding the factory, in machine repair and maintenance, sorting building materials in the factory yard, and at the nearby Borsig Koks-Werke (Borsig Coke Works).

The overall living and working conditions were similar to those prevailing throughout the Auschwitz complex. Civilian foremen, mostly Germans from Dortmund, pushed the workers hard and sometimes beat them. The SS guards and prisoner foremen were, if anything, worse. The prisoners suffered every day from hunger, hard labor, and bad treatment. Friedrichsen was especially strict; he personally searched the women prisoners and had them punished severely if he found them in possession of any food or other contraband.

In the summer of 1944, the prisoners founded an underground organization to keep up the spirits of the despairing women, conduct sabotage, and try to mitigate the civilian foremen's hostile behavior (through such things as intervening with Dr. Schenk, the Gasrusswerke engineering director).

On January 18, 1945, the women and men prisoners were ordered to prepare to leave camp. Several female and male prisoners took advantage of the confusion brought on by the evacuation and escaped, hiding on the factory grounds in such places as sewage pipes.

According to the accounts of former female prisoners, the women and men were evacuated from the subcamp at the same time. A strong escort of SS men commanded by SS-Hauptscharführer Rackers convoyed the columns of prisoners traveling on foot. After about 19 kilometers (12 miles) they stopped the prisoners and drove them into a barn to spend the night, but the terrible crowding made sleep impossible. Due to the approach of the Red Army, the prisoners were turned back toward Gleiwitz the next day and spent another night in the outskirts of the city. On the third day, the prisoners were loaded onto open railway cars for the trip into the Reich.

Former prisoner Anna Moszkowicz describes the conditions. She relates how the prisoners stood packed together the entire trip. The ones who got to be along the walls of the car were considered luckier as they could lean against the wall. At night the prisoners lay down on one another to sleep as best they could. The bread had been completely crushed and there was no water, so they licked the snow off their arms. There was no possibility of attending to bodily functions and many of the women went mad along the way. During a night stop at an unidentified place in Moravia, the local inhabitants rushed to the prisoners' aid. Heedless of the presence of armed SS men, they tried to get food and water to the railway cars. They managed to toss still-hot bread into some of the cars—but there were casualties. When prisoner

Stanisława Müller (a nurse at the subcamp) leaned out of the car for a cup of water for the fainting people, SS-Hauptscharführer Rackers shot her. As the journey continued, few women prisoners managed to escape along the way. After about 10 days, the transport arrived in Oranienburg. The men were sent to Sachsenhausen concentration camp, the women to Ravensbrück and its subcamp at Neustadt-Glewe.

Two of the camp's leaders were put on trial for their crimes. Konrad Friedrichsen, born June 9, 1906, in Hamburg, a merchant by trade, and assigned to the Neu-Dachs subcamp in August 1944, and to Gleiwitz II on September 15, 1944, was tried in 1947 before the Kraków District Court and on January 22, 1948, was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment. Bernhard Rackers, born on March 6, 1905, in Sögel and prior to his assignment to Gleiwitz II a detachment commander and then muster officer at Monowitz, was sentenced to life in prison by a jury in Osnabrück.

SOURCES There are several sources that refer to Gleiwitz II: Edmund Całka, "Oświęcim nad Kłodnicą," NG 11–19 (1962) (series of articles); Edmund Całka, "Polacy z Gliwickiego w okresie drugiej wojny światowej," ZG 2 (1964): 117–131; Edmund Całka, "Hitlerowskie obozy w Gliwicach i w powiecie," ZG 4 (1966): 121–133; Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej Strzelecki, "Zatrudnienie więźniów oświęcimskich w przemyśle Gliwic," ZG 9 (1972): 15–37; Irena Strzelecka, "Arbeitslager Gleiwitz II," ZO 14 (1972): 95–114 (German version: "Arbeitslager Gleiwitz II," HVA 14 [1973]: 107–127); Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej Strzelecki, "Podobozy oświęcimskie w Gliwicach," ZG 13 (1978): 119–167.

Archival records may be found in APKat, Zespół VOH sygn. 8, 780, 1274, 1287/7, 1288; APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts by former female prisoners Anna Markowiecka, Anna Moszkowicz, Judit Csongor Barnabasne (Varga in camp); testimony of former female prisoner Franciszka Zajzman; and trial records of Gleiwitz II SS men.

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GLEIWITZ III

The organization of Auschwitz's Gleiwitz III subcamp started in the spring of 1944. At the end of 1944, the first prisoner transport was brought to a section of the Gleiwitzer Hütte in Gleiwitz (later Gliwice), which the Zieleniewski Works occupied after its evacuation from Kraków, and was put in one of the barracks erected near the former foundry building. Both the Gleiwitzer Hütte and Zieleniewski-Maschinen und Waggonbau GmbH, Kraków, were under the Vereinigte Oberschlesische Hüttenwerke AG concern (Oberhütten or VOH). During World War II, VOH, like other German companies, exploited the cheap manpower of thousands of forced laborers, prisoners of war (POWs), and beginning in mid-1944, Auschwitz concentration camp prisoners as well.

SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Spieker was the commandant of Gleiwitz III until the camp was dissolved. His assistants

were SS-Unterscharführer Moritz and SS-Rottenführer Zahorodny. He had several dozen SS men under him from the Auschwitz III-Monowitz 6th Guard Company. Gleiwitz III, like the other Auschwitz subcamps in Gleiwitz, was inspected by SS officers, Auschwitz representatives, on several occasions, and by Monowitz commander SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Schwarz on September 16, 1944. The "prisoner government" was mainly composed of German criminals who treated their fellow prisoners brutally.

At least three prisoner transports arrived in Gleiwitz III from late July to mid-August 1944. The first consisted mainly of Polish Jews who arrived in Auschwitz on July 27, 1944, from the Pustków labor camp; prisoners from Lublin-Majdanek who arrived in Auschwitz on July 28 or August 6, 1944, made up the second transport. Several dozen Polish prisoners from Monowitz arrived in the subcamp on August 15, as did several dozen prisoners from the Terezin ghetto in the autumn. There were approximately 600 prisoners in the subcamp at the end of October and 609 just before evacuation.

The prisoners lived in a brick barrack with a basement and central heating. Living conditions at Gleiwitz III were better than those in Auschwitz II-Birkenau main camp, but the food was the same, if not worse. Sick prisoners or the bodies of those who had died of starvation were often taken away from the subcamp infirmary to Birkenau.

The SS men's behavior toward prisoners was characterized by brutality and sadism. They would beat prisoners or make them do punitive exercises for the smallest offense, or often for no reason at all. The prisoner foremen generally treated the prisoners as badly as the SS men did.

Camp conditions drove some prisoners to total nervous breakdown or apathy. For example, Libelt, a prisoner from Lvov, who had lost hope of living to see freedom, did not observe the basic rules of caution in assembling machines at the Gleiwitzer Hütte. When a Polish worker pointed this out to him, he replied: "What are you worried about, there will be one Jew less."¹

Some Gleiwitz III prisoners were put to work outside the Gleiwitzer Hütte until the autumn of 1944; later almost all prisoners worked in the steel mill in a separate area occupied by the Zieleniewski Works. Work always lasted 10 to 12 hours per day.

Immediately after the subcamp was established, one of the prisoner commandos was sent daily to the area of the nearby cemetery to do digging and drainage work. Other groups unloaded and loaded building materials at different locations in the city or aircraft parts at the nearby airport. A dozen or so prisoners worked constructing two buildings across from the Friedrich Wilhelm Gymnasium. In the part of the Gleiwitzer Hütte that VOH had given to the Zieleniewski Works, prisoners worked at such places as the railway sidings, where they unloaded machines, equipment, and unfinished parts brought from Kraków, including parts for naval mines. They also repaired the industrial buildings and laid foundations for machines under the direction of civilian foremen. In the last

quarter of 1944, some of the machines were put into operation, and they started manufacturing train wheel assemblies, anti-aircraft gun carriages, naval mines, and shells of various types. (Aerial bomb production was designated by the code names SD-1, SD-70, and SF 76-77 in correspondence.)

After production had started up and prisoners had been trained to work at the machines, they were put to work in various departments of the Works doing such things as operating lathes, drills, borers, millers, planers, benders, and pneumatic hammers. The largest prisoner commandos worked in the machine and assembly shops. Prisoners were also put to work in the forge and the warehouses, installing electrical and sewage lines, paving surfaces between buildings, and building a sewage settling tank. Prisoners were escorted to their respective workstations by SS men and plant guards (*Werkschutz*), who supervised them during work along with German civilian foremen. Some of these supervisors behaved properly toward the prisoners, while others persecuted them. The workers employed at the Zieleniewski Works were told that the prisoners were bandits and that if they gave them any help at all, they would join the prisoners in the subcamp.

Despite these threats, prisoners and some civilian workers cooperated to relieve the prisoners' plight to some extent. Under favorable circumstances prisoners would attempt to "organize" some extra food, and during work they would communicate with friendly Polish workers, foremen, and engineers from Kraków as well as Gleiwitz residents. These outside contacts would secretly provide prisoners with food, cigarettes, and medicine, and sometimes they helped in getting smuggled messages to families and friends. A few prisoners risked escape, but all known attempts ended in failure.

On January 19, 1945, Gleiwitz III was evacuated. SS men escorted the prisoners westward in a column. The march lasted several days. When the prisoners got to the left bank of the Oder River, they were turned back and sent back east via Koźle to the Blechhammer subcamp, which in January 1945 was one of the concentration points for the thousands of prisoners evacuated from the other Auschwitz subcamps at that time. Some of the prisoners from Gleiwitz III were soon added to the columns of prisoners being evacuated toward Gross-Rosen; others were kept at Blechhammer. Several dozen Gleiwitz III prisoners escaped, availing themselves of the general confusion. Some other prisoners lived to see freedom in Blechhammer.

SOURCES Several published sources contain information on Gleiwitz III: Edmund Całka, "Oświęcim nad Kłodnicą," *NG* 11-19 (1962) (series of articles); Edmund Całka, "Polacy z Gliwickiego w okresie drugiej wojny światowej," *ZG* 2 (1964): 117-131; Edmund Całka, "Hitlerowskie obozy w Gliwicach i w powiecie," *ZG* 4 (1966): 121-133; Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej Strzelecki, "Zatrudnienie więźniów oświęcimskich w przemyśle Gliwic," *ZG* 9 (1972): 15-37; Andrzej Strzelecki, "Arbeitslager Gleiwitz III," *ZO* 14 (1972): 115-135 (German version: "Arbeitslager Gleiwitz III," *HvA* 14 [1973]: 129-150); Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej

Strzelecki, "Podobozy oświęcimskie w Gliwicach," ZG 13 (1978): pp. 119–167.

Records pertaining to Gleiwitz III may be found in these repositories: APKat, Zespół VOH sygn. 8, 780, 1274, 1287/7, 1288; APMO, Zespół Oświadczenie, accounts of former prisoners Karol Grot, Oskar Hala, Majer Roth, Samuel Roth, Leon Zygała, and others; accounts of former Zieleniewski Works employees Kazimierz Lipnowski, Czesław Pieczara, Kazimierz Seremet, and others.

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NOTE

1. Account of former prisoner Kazimierz Lipnowski, in APMO, Zespół Oświadczenie (Affidavits Collection), vol. 75, book 37.

GLEIWITZ IV

In June 1944, 80 prisoners from the Auschwitz III-Monowitz concentration camp, mostly Russians and Poles, were placed in a barrack on Wehrmacht land near the Keithkaserne and Schlagetterkaserne barracks in Gleiwitz (later Gliwice). Under the supervision of SS men, the prisoners built a second barrack and fenced in both barracks, after which they were taken back to Monowitz. This is how the Gleiwitz IV subcamp was established.

A transport of approximately 50 prisoners, mainly Jews, arrived from Auschwitz II-Birkenau between August 22 and 24, 1944. In late August and the first half of September, several more transports of Jewish prisoners arrived and were put to work expanding the camp. Some of them had been deported to Auschwitz from the Łódź and Terezin ghettos. According to the account of former prisoner Marian Zelman, there were approximately 700 to 800 prisoners in the subcamp in September 1944; that number dropped to 444 on the eve of evacuation.

SS-Unterscharführer Otto Arthur Lätsch was the commandant of Gleiwitz IV until October 1944, when he became the muster officer, and SS-Oberscharführer Grobert (aka Grubner) took over as commandant. By August 1944, there were 16 SS men in the subcamp staff. That number later grew to several dozen. Some guards wore Wehrmacht uniforms with SS badges; they were probably Wehrmacht drivers who had brought their vehicles in for conversion to a wood-burning propulsion system at the *Holzgas* (wood gas) works next to the subcamp and who had been delegated to the subcamp for that time. Those guards rotated frequently. Guards from the Organisation Todt (OT) also watched prisoners at many work locations, primarily at construction sites.

Most Gleiwitz IV prisoners were put to work expanding the Keithkaserne and Schlagetterkaserne barracks, in the Holzgas shops, and in the port on the Gleiwitz canal. In November or December 1944, many prisoners cleared bombed sites in the city of Gleiwitz of rubble. The Heeresbauverwaltung Gleiwitz, the army's construction office, was probably in

charge of the barrack expansion. Prisoners were put to work in the barracks and the adjoining grounds constructing several buildings and air-raid shelters, cleaning up rubble, and repairing damaged property. At the Holzgas shops, prisoners used special pressurized guns to paint vehicles in military camouflage colors, all the while breathing paint fumes because they lacked proper protective masks. At the port on the Gleiwitz Canal, prisoners built railroad tracks and reloaded various materials, such as vehicles being sent to the Holzgas shops.

The conditions under which Gleiwitz IV prisoners lived were not much different than those in the other Auschwitz subcamps. Clothing and certain foods were brought in from the Auschwitz concentration camp. Meals were often prepared from food that Gleiwitz residents threw away. Because of the combination of hard work and poor nutrition, extreme emaciation became the rule.

The SS behaved brutally toward the prisoners, and Lätsch set the tone. He is known to have shot at least five prisoners—in one case, he shot three men for warming themselves at a fire where a barrel of tar was being heated—and to have beaten many others, sometimes fatally. He also ordered punitive exercises, as in the case of prisoners who had passed information about the camp to local residents; Lätsch sentenced them to several hours of exercise, during which the guards so abused them that several died. His successor, Grobert, was somewhat less cruel, because he wanted to obtain the greatest possible amount of work from the prisoners. During roll calls, the SS men would verbally and physically abuse the prisoners for little or no reason, and both SS and OT men were responsible for killing prisoners at the work sites.

Dr. Nicolaus Sebestyen, a prisoner from Hungary, was in charge of the infirmary, which contained about 20 to 30 sick patients on average. Most of these prisoners were extremely emaciated, sick with colds, suffering from starvation, diarrhea, or ulcerations and injuries. Since there was a shortage of medicine and bandages, the prisoner doctors were unable to provide effective help.

SS doctors came to the subcamp from Auschwitz every few weeks to conduct selections among the prisoners; Lätsch took part in these as well. In all, approximately 200 prisoners were selected as unfit to work and were sent away to the gas chambers at Birkenau. Sometimes the bodies of prisoners who died at the subcamp were sent back with those selected, to be burned in the crematorium.

The prisoners tried to improve the inhuman conditions of their existence in various ways. Ten or so Jewish prisoners from the Łódź ghetto, continuing the underground activity they had begun back in the ghetto, formed a secret organization at the subcamp. Its members helped one another and provided aid to their unorganized comrades. There were also prisoners who risked escape, like Józef Gebala in July or August 1944. Taking advantage of a guard's inattention, he walked away from his workplace, changed into civilian clothing he had prepared in advance, and jumped over the wall around the barracks, getting out to freedom. Others were not

so lucky; one group of Russians and Poles was sent to Birkenau after the Germans learned of their escape plans.

On the night of January 18–19, 1945, the SS evacuated about 380 prisoners from the subcamp; 57 sick prisoners stayed behind, locked in the infirmary. At daybreak, Lätsch, OT foreman Gustav Günther, and several other Nazis set the barrack on fire and shot at the prisoners jumping out the windows. Only prisoners Dąbrowski and Rosenfeld survived, by hiding among their comrades' bodies.

The prisoners evacuated from the subcamp were taken toward the town of Kieferstädtel (later Sośnicowice). Several kilometers later they were turned back to Gleiwitz and then sent to the Blechhammer subcamp; the march lasted two or three days. Along the way, SS men shot about 50 prisoners who could not keep up with their comrades. Several thousand prisoners evacuated from other Auschwitz subcamps were already at Blechhammer. The Red Army was approaching, and there was a great deal of confusion; under those circumstances, several Gleiwitz IV prisoners managed to escape. Some Gleiwitz IV prisoners were evacuated from Blechhammer via Gross-Rosen to the Buchenwald concentration camp, while others lived to see the liberation of Blechhammer.

Lätsch was tried for his crimes after the war. Born on November 26, 1905, in Lichtenberg, and a driver by training, prior to being assigned to Gleiwitz IV he was block commander of Barrack 11 at Auschwitz, where he conducted executions at the Wall of Death. In 1947, the Supreme National Court of Justice in Kraków sentenced him to death.

SOURCES Several publications contain information about Gleiwitz IV: Edmund Całka, "Oświęcim nad Kłodnicą," NG 11–19 (1962) (series of articles); Edmund Całka, "Polacy z Gliwickiego w okresie drugiej wojny światowej," ZG 2 (1964): 117–131; Edmund Całka, "Hitlerowskie obozy w Gliwicach i w powiecie," ZG 4 (1966): 121–133; Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej Strzelecki, "Zatrudnienie więźniów oświęcimskich w przemyśle Gliwic," ZG 9 (1972): 15–37; Andrzej Strzelecki, "Arbeitslager Gleiwitz IV," ZO 14 (1972): 137–154 (German version: "Arbeitslager Gleiwitz IV," HvA 14 [1973]: 151–169); Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej Strzelecki, "Podobozы oświęcimskie w Gliwicach," ZG 13 (1978): 119–167.

The following archival collections contain relevant documents: APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts of former prisoners Aleksander Schimon Fischer, Józef Wrześniowski, Marian Zelman, and others; accounts of Gliwice residents Eugeniusz Franik, Hubert Grziwok, Teofil Jonda, and others.

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GOLLESCHAU

The town of Goleszów (Golleschau) is near the Polish-Czech border, over 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) southwest of Oświęcim (Auschwitz). Before the war broke out, a cement plant was located there, belonging to a company with Austrian capital. In 1939, the factory came under German control, and engineer

Richard Goebel was named director of the Golleschauer Portland-Zement Aktiengesellschaft O/S in 1942. From then on, the SS administered the plant (Ostdeutsche Baustoffwerke GmbH) as part of the W II section in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) hierarchy.

The first Auschwitz prisoners arrived at the Golleschau subcamp in early August 1942;¹ they were mainly skilled workers: bricklayers and carpenters, whose job it was to change the building adjoining the factory production hall into living quarters for the prisoners. It was a three-story building with the kitchen and infirmary on the ground floor; the washrooms and toilets were on the second floor. The prisoners slept on three-decker bunk beds set up in the remaining rooms on the second and third floors.

Several dozen more prisoners were brought to Golleschau in mid-August 1942 and numbered 241 by the end of the month (160 were already working in the cement plant's quarries). Several small transports followed; from May 1943 to the spring of 1944, the camp had an average of 450 to 500 prisoners. In the summer and autumn of 1944, yet more transports arrived, including Hungarian Jews and 298 Jews from the Theresienstadt ghetto and from Łódź.² As a result, in late summer the total camp population exceeded 1,000 prisoners (up to 1,059 in late October 1944);³ it stayed at a similar level until the evacuation.

Surviving records regarding the initial months of the subcamp's existence show that Jews were already the most highly represented ethnic group among the prisoners. For example, we know that on July 10, 1943, out of the 415 prisoners in the camp there were 15 Poles, 4 Germans, and 1 Russian,⁴ while the rest of the prisoners were Jews (mainly Polish, French, Czech, and Greek), among whom part-Jewish residents were sometimes listed (*Juden-Mischlinge*).⁵ Beginning in April 1944, precise figures on the number of Jews in camp started to appear systematically in the reports signed by the Golleschau camp commandant (Lagerführer); the percentage of them at that time was (until January 1945) up to 95 percent.

The prisoners were put to work at the cement plant doing different types of auxiliary work requiring a great deal of physical effort: laying railroad tracks, crushing stone, sifting coal, packing cement in paper sacks (where the air was filled with dust), doing carpentry work, operating the lime-burning furnaces, building a cable railway, and making barrels. A few prisoners were put to work on the subcamp premises: in the kitchen, laundry, and warehouse. The most difficult situation was in the commandos working in the cement plant's four quarries (Steinbruch I–IV), where prisoners were chiefly used to load crushed stone onto freight cars.⁶ As the factory management estimated, "five Jews ought to load three freight-cars during one shift."⁷ In those commandos, an especially great number of accidents occurred as a result of which many injured prisoners were sent back to the camp at Birkenau. Many prisoners also wound up in the infirmary due to brutal beatings by the Kapos; for example, in his report of December 7, 1944, SS orderly (Sanitätsdienstgrad, SDG) Kaufmann said that Kapo Jakob Weissmann had beaten six prisoners who

had to stay in the hospital for many days.⁸ The foremen employed by the cement plant also beat the prisoners;⁹ they harassed and mocked them. One foreman, Paul Czysz, used to say to prisoners that “whether you work or not, you stinking Jews will go to the crematorium and come out the smokestack.”¹⁰

The prisoners were guarded at work by several dozen or so SS men (51 noncommissioned officers and privates in August 1944)¹¹ who initially belonged to the Auschwitz Guard Battalion Third Company and later to the Auschwitz III–Monowitz Battalion Second Company. Besides the SS men, over a dozen armed members of the plant security staff (Werkschutz) also guarded the prisoners.

The subcamp commandants were Erich Picklapp (dismissed from his office because of complaints by the factory management for his “unprofessional treatment of the prisoners”), followed by SS-Oberscharführer Hans Mirbeth and SS-Oberscharführer Horst Czerwinski.¹² Former prisoners remember all three and most of their subordinates as particularly brutal and ruthless. Some of the prisoner-functionaries behaved in similar fashion, especially including Michael Eschmann and Josef Kierspel, the camp elder (*Lagerälteste*) at the Golleschau subcamp. As in the other sections of Auschwitz, Germans were favored when picking prisoner-functionaries and sometimes Poles as well. A dozen or so Mischlinge also played a significant role, of whom several were appointed Kapos.¹³

Due to the hard labor, accidents, beating, malnutrition, and diseases, prisoners quickly lost strength and were sent to the camp infirmary as unfit to work. The infirmary directors were SDG Herbert Scherpe, succeeded by Hans Nierwicki, Franz Woyciechowski, Herbert Jörss, and Hans Kaufmann, who, however, were not very interested in the fate of the patients. A prisoner, Dr. Henryk Rutkowski, was in charge of treatment, aided by the cement plant doctor, Dr. Erwin Paździora,¹⁴ as well as seven doctors and male nurses (all Jews).¹⁵ However, in practice they could rarely help the people under their care, not only because of the insufficient medication and medical instruments but primarily because of the shortage of beds in the ward for bedridden patients.¹⁶ Even Auschwitz’s chief garrison physician, SS-Hauptsturmführer Eduard Wirths, noted with disapprobation in a letter to the SDG at Golleschau that “the prisoners brought here in the latest patient transport were in disastrous condition. . . . When they were asked, the prisoners explained that their bandages had not been changed for 10 days.”¹⁷ In reply, Scherpe provided a series of “objective” reasons for that state of affairs, also explaining that the prisoners were unable to bathe for three weeks because of a breakdown in the water supply system.

The most seriously ill patients were successively taken to the camp hospital at Monowitz or to the BIIf hospital camp at Birkenau, where a significant percentage of them fell victim to selections for the gas chambers. The few surviving transfer lists show that in 1944 alone almost 200 sick prisoners had been taken away from the subcamp. However, the actual fig-

ure must have been considerably higher. The Golleschau subcamp prisoner record book¹⁸ contains 2,348 names, giving rise to the conclusion that since approximately 130 prisoners were killed or died at Golleschau (9 prisoners shot while escaping,¹⁹ 10 dead due to accidents, 4 suicides, 1 “shot,” and 110 who died, probably in the camp infirmary), and about 1,000 were evacuated in January 1945, the rest, being unfit for work, were sent to Monowitz or Birkenau. We also know that in the period from August 4, 1942, through March 26, 1943, the bodies of 82 Golleschau prisoners were stored at the morgue in the main camp, several of whom had been shot in circumstances not explained by the records.²⁰

The Golleschau subcamp prisoners were evacuated in three groups on January 18 and 21, 1945. The first two of them (the largest) were escorted on foot to Wodzisław Śląski, where two transports were formed: one was sent to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, while the other was sent to the Flossenbürg concentration camp. The last group of 100 prisoners was escorted to the Golleschau train station, where four prisoners died. The transport list showed that the transport was en route for nine days, until January 29, when the stationmaster at Zwittau notified Oskar Schindler, the director of a factory at Brüssen-Brünnlitz, that there was a freight car standing on the railway siding full of freezing and starving prisoners. Schindler ordered the freight car to be moved onto factory premises. When the door was opened, it turned out that approximately half the prisoners had already died; over a dozen others died after a few days in camp.²¹

SOURCES Published information on Golleschau can be found in Jerzy Frąckiewicz, “Podobóz Golleschau,” *ZO* 9 (1965): 103–119.

Primary source materials are available in APMO, D-Au III Golleschau/1–14; D-Au I–3a, monthly labor roster of male and female prisoners of Auschwitz concentration camp, vols. 1–8; Zespół Oświadczenia, 33: 102–194 (Ajzyk Szwarc); 40: 16–19 (Michał Kruczek); 15: 21–29 (Issak Grinberg); 5: 679–683 (Paweł Wałach); 5: 683a–685 (Jan Gibiec); 5: 686 (Paweł Staniczek); 5: 687–691.

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NOTES

1. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/4, p. 607, Wochenbericht for August 3–9, 1942, saying that 112 prisoners had been put to work; there was no such reference in the previous report for July 27–August 2, 1942. Former prisoner Michał Kruczek, APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, 40: 17, maintains that the first prisoners came to Golleschau in mid-July 1942.

2. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/12, pp. 72–73, 76–79, 82–84, 98–104.

3. Among them 988 Jews (APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/9, p. 94).

4. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/12, pp. 23–29.

5. There were 11 of them in the camp on December 27, 1943 (*ibid.*, p. 37).

6. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/14, p. 2.

7. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/4, p. 424.
8. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/9, p. 34.
9. One of the foremen beat prisoner Mayer Wolnerman severely and broke his glasses (APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/12, p. 15).
10. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/12, p. 12, report by Golleschau subcamp director dated April 20, 1944.
11. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/10, p. 34.
12. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/3/1, p. 24; D-Au III—Golleschau/13, p. 4. Erich Picklapp is mentioned in prisoner accounts as the camp director, although the source documents do not confirm that information.
13. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/12, p. 115, “Mischling” Kapo’s request to be released from camp and assigned to the Wehrmacht; infirmary director Dr. Rutkowski was also a “Mischling” (see *ibid*, p. 37).
14. APMO, Affidavits Collection, 5: 760, account of Erwin Paździora.
15. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/9, p. 372.
16. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/9, pp. 20–21, report by SDG Kaufmann dated December 23, 1944, saying that the infirmary was overcrowded and could not be enlarged.
17. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/9, p. 319.
18. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/12/2, Kommando Buch. Arbeitskommando Golleschau.
19. Reports have been preserved in the camp hospital records, saying that the bodies of 11 prisoners shot “while attempting to escape” had been delivered; 6 of them were listed in the commando’s record book, which also listed 3 other prisoners whose names had not been listed in the hospital records. That shows that at least 14 fugitives had been shot at Golleschau.
20. APMO, D-Au I—5/1 and 2, morgue record book.
21. Nathan Blumental, *Dokumenty i materiały z czasów okupacji niemieckiej w Polsce* (Records and materials from the time of the German occupation of Poland) (Łódź, 1946), p. 61.

GÜNTHERGRUBE

The Günthergrube subcamp was organized in late January and early February 1944 at the Piast hard coal mine and the new Günthergrube mine under construction in the town of Lędziny (Lendzin), about 24 kilometers (15 miles) from Auschwitz. The mines, which IG Farbenindustrie AG acquired in February 1941, were to supply coal for the IG Farben factory being built in Monowice (Monowitz), near Auschwitz. Administratively, the subcamp came under the command of Auschwitz III-Monowitz.

On January 31, 1944, on the eve of Günthergrube subcamp’s establishment, SS-Hauptscharführer Otto Moll, then commandant of the subcamp at the Fürstengrube mine, conducted a selection at Auschwitz II-Birkenau, and about 300 prisoners were sent to the Günthergrube subcamp.¹ The decided majority, around 95 percent, were Jews from the area of Będzin (Bendsburg), Sosnowiec (Sosnowitz), and Zawiercie, as well as from the Netherlands and France.² There were just a dozen or so non-Jewish prisoners, mainly Germans and Poles. In late 1944, larger transports were sent to the sub-

camp, consisting of Jews deported from Hungary and Jews brought to Auschwitz on July 31, 1944, from the Lublin-Majdanek subcamp in Bliżyn. At this point the population of the Günthergrube subcamp reached about 600 prisoners. There were still 586 prisoners there on January 17, 1945, a few days before it was shut down.³

Beginning on May 22, 1944, approximately 40 SS guards from the Auschwitz III Third Guard Company were assigned to the subcamp.⁴ SS-Unterscharführer Alois Wendelin Frey was the subcamp’s commandant until it shut down in January 1945.⁵

The first prisoners were put into two barracks in an older camp for civilian forced laborers, called the Lager Heimat; the camp was located between the old Piast and the new Günthergrube mine.⁶ A single barbed-wire fence, with watchtowers at the corners, surrounded the rectangular compound. Prisoners only stayed at Lager Heimat for five months, that is, from February to June 1944; at that time some of the prisoners were put to work building a new subcamp near the new Günthergrube mine. The new subcamp, Lager Günther III, was designed exclusively to house concentration camp prisoners.⁷ Brick watchtowers overlooked the square compound from the corners of a 3-meter (10-foot) brick wall. Ten brick barracks were erected inside the camp, including three to house prisoners and one meant to be the prisoners’ hospital. Its construction was not yet finished when the camp was shut down.

The prisoners who worked outside the camp were divided into two basic labor squads: Detachment I and Detachment II. About 120 prisoners from Detachment I worked extracting hard coal in the Piast mine.⁸ Prisoners from Detachment I were also put to work building the new Günthergrube mine, where they worked under the supervision of civilian foremen and were divided into groups according to their jobs. The prisoners assigned to Detachment II worked on the new subcamp; the work primarily included such things as leveling the site, delivering building materials, and bricklaying, electrical, plumbing, and finishing work. Only a small group of prisoners were put to work in the same camp as the prisoner-foremen, in the camp kitchen and prisoners’ hospital.

We know of several prisoners who attempted escape from the Günthergrube subcamp. On March 1, 1944, Szymon Lewenstein, born in Berlin and brought to Auschwitz on August 1, 1943, by a Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) transport from Będzin, escaped when he was outside the camp working with Detachment I.⁹ In April or May 1944, a group of five Jews, most of them from Będzin, planned an escape, but the attempt miscarried (prisoners who survived assume it was because they were betrayed by a civilian foreman or SS man, whom the prisoners supposedly let in on their plans). One night SS guards surrounded the subcamp and conducted an additional roll call with their truck lights beaming. They read out the names of the five prisoners, whom they took to Auschwitz for interrogation. A dozen or so days later they were brought back to the subcamp and hanged on the assembly ground in the presence of the other prisoners, the purpose

being to terrorize the other prisoners and to prevent further escapes.¹⁰

Evacuations began in December 1944 with the removal of the Polish prisoners. The remaining prisoners stayed at Günthergrube until January 18, 1945. The prisoners were sent to work even on the day of evacuation, and only in the evening were preparations for the march hurriedly begun. Approximately 20 sick prisoners were loaded onto a truck and taken away, presumably to the neighboring Fürstengrube subcamp, where they probably then perished in barracks set afire by SS guards.

On the night of January 18, 1945, at about 10:00 P.M., all the remaining prisoners, around 560, were escorted out of camp by 40 SS men. The severe cold and icy roads made the march difficult. At daybreak the next day the Günthergrube prisoners merged with columns of Auschwitz III-Monowitz prisoners near Mikołów (Nikolai) and were sent on to the Gleiwitz III subcamp (the prisoners of that subcamp had also been evacuated that same day). Some of the Günthergrube prisoners had already died during the death march to Gleiwitz III; the survivors, as well as prisoners from other subcamps and the Beuthen (later Bytom) prison, about 2,500 persons in all, were loaded into open railway (coal) cars and shipped off on January 21, 1945. That night the train stopped at the Rzędówka (Egersfeld) train station near Rybnik, approximately 18 kilometers (11 miles) south of Gleiwitz (later Gliwice), and the prisoners were ordered to form a march column that then moved farther westward via Rybnik. SS men shot any prisoners who were unable to get out of the train. After liberation, the bodies of 331 prisoners were found at the Rzędówka train station, Kolonia Rzędówka, and vicinity. Several hundred prisoners also perished in Rybnik, the next locality on the death march route. Approximately 1,000 prisoners died along the 40-kilometer (25-mile) stretch from the Rzędówka train station to Racibórz (Ratibor), which the column of prisoners reached on January 23. It was only about 18 days after they had marched out of Rzędówka station that some of the prisoners of the column, in a state of extreme emaciation and exhaustion, reached Gross-Rosen or its subcamps in the Sudeten Mountains. Of the approximately 2,500 prisoners who left from Gleiwitz III on January 21, about 1,900 died along the march route, among them probably the majority of prisoners from Günthergrube.¹¹

On February 25, 1947, the authorities from Germany's U.S. zone handed over Alois Frey, former Günthergrube commandant, to the Polish government for the crimes he had committed at Auschwitz. On March 30, 1948, the Kraków District Court sentenced him to six years in prison for belonging to the SS and guard service; he was released on February 28, 1953. The only reason he received such a light sentence was because it was difficult to find witnesses. He was tried again in Frankfurt am Main in 1967 and acquitted.

SOURCES The following published sources contain additional information: Tadeusz Iwaszko, "Podobóz 'Günthergrube,'" ZO 12 (1970): 113–143. See also Jan Delowicz, *Śladem*

krwi. Marsz śmierci więźniów oświęcimskich przybyłych do Rzędówki i poprowadzonych na zachód (Katowice: Towarzystwo Opieki nad Oświęcimiem, 1995). On the Gleiwitz transport, see Andrzej Strzelecki, "Arbeitslager Gleiwitz III," ZO 14 (1972): 115–135. On Frey's extradition and trial, see Elżbieta Kobierska-Motas, *Ekstradycja przestępów wojennych do Polski z czterech stref okupacyjnych Niemiec 1945–1950. Część II* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu—Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 1992); and Aleksander Lasik, "Ściganie, sądzenie i karanie członków oświęcimskiej załogi SS. Procedura. Zagadnienie winy i odpowiedzialności," ZO 21 (1995): 189–250.

APMO holds materials in the Günthergrube GmbH collection, as well as accounts of former Günthergrube subcamp prisoners.

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NOTES

1. Accounts of former prisoners Adam Laudon-Dobrzański and Józef Tabaczyński, in APMO, *Oświadczenie [Affidavits]*, vol. 44, book 123; vol. 44, book 67.
2. Account of former prisoner Adam Laudon-Dobrzański, in APMO, *Affidavits*, vol. 44, book 125.
3. Smuggled message of the Resistance Movement at Auschwitz concentration camp, in APMO, *Materiały Ruchu Oporu*, vol. 3, book 212.
4. Kommandantur-Sonderbefehl KL Auschwitz III dated May 22, 1944, in APMO, D-AuIII-1/63.
5. Accounts of former prisoners Adam Schepp, Józef Tabaczyński, Józef Dudziak, and Adam Laudon-Dobrzański, in APMO, *Affidavits*, vol. 31, book 105; vol. 44, books 71, 73; vol. 44, book 118; vol. 44, book 128.
6. Account of former mine worker Józef Gryc, in APMO, *Affidavits*, vol. 44, book 136.
7. Günthergrube notes, Sozialabteilung (Social Department), 7/10/1944, in APMO, D-AuIII/Günthergrube/7, book 14.
8. Lists of prisoners sent to work in the mine, in APMO, D-AuIII-3a/Günthergrube/1.
9. Telegram about the escape of prisoner Szymon Lewenstein, 3/1/1944, in APMO, D-AuI-1/1–278, vol. 2.
10. Accounts of former prisoners Józef Tabaczyński and Adam Laudon-Dobrzański, in APMO, *Affidavits*, vol. 44, book 67; vol. 44, book 129.
11. Account of former prisoner Adam Laudon-Dobrzański, in APMO, *Affidavits*, vol. 44, books 130–131.

HARMENSE

In November 1940, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, mindful of securing the Auschwitz camp and SS interests, decided to create an SS estate around the camp from which the Poles would be driven and where there would be farms for raising food, animals, and fish (because of the large number of ponds in the area); he issued orders to that effect on March 1, 1941.¹ The SS established the first farm in the 39-square-kilometer (15-square-mile) "zone of interest" in

December 1941 on the site of the village of Harmęze (Harmense), which the Germans had evacuated in mid-April. The village land, totaling 286 hectares (707 acres), was incorporated into the farm, along with all the farm equipment and animals.

The Germans first established a poultry farm called, variously, Geflügelfarm, Geflügelzucht, or Geflügelhof Harmense. Initially a work detachment went out from the main camp every day to develop the site; the detachment numbered a dozen or so prisoners with various specialized skills. They demolished the old buildings, leveled the site, and built new facilities with materials salvaged from the old structures or brought from the main camp.²

By September 1941, the Harmense detachment already numbered about 50 prisoners: 6 Germans, among them 4 prisoner foremen, and 44 Poles, some of whom were put to work raising purebred poultry as well as rabbits, nutrias, and fish, while the others expanded the farm. Since the prisoners employed at Harmense had to cover over 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) each way every day, and since winter was approaching and the days were growing shorter, the camp authorities decided to move the detachment to Harmense permanently. The move was carried out on December 8, 1941, and thus the subcamp was established.³

The original group of prisoners, as well as the women prisoners who arrived from Auschwitz II-Birkenau in June 1942, lived in farmhouses and the former schoolhouse. Living conditions varied somewhat from building to building but in general were better than in the main camp. Sanitary arrangements were primitive—most of the buildings had no plumbing—and the bedding was by no means comfortable, but in terms of food, especially, the prisoners were relatively fortunate. Lunch came from the main camp, while breakfast and supper were prepared on-site. The detachment that worked on the fish farm also received an extra ration twice a week: for example, one loaf of bread for eight prisoners plus a piece of horse sausage, jam, or cheese. Most important, the prisoners' work gave them opportunities to "organize" additional food from the farm; similar proclivities on the part of the SS guards made this task somewhat easier.

The farm administration divided the prisoners into four detachments: farm, poultry farm, rabbit farm (which had been moved from the main camp when the prisoners moved permanently to Harmense), and fish farm. One prisoner foreman supervised each detachment. The farm detachment, which had two cows and six horses, transported construction materials, peat for the rabbits, and food and clothing from the main camp, in addition to working the fields.⁴

Work in the fish farming detachment consisted of stocking the ponds and feeding the fish, as well as catching and sorting them. In the winter, the prisoners cleared the snow from the ponds and made air holes in the ice. All fish farming experiments were done in a specially made ichthyological laboratory under the direction of German prisoner Dr. Diethelm Scheer, an ichthyologist by profession. There they tested the soil, water plants, microorganisms, and fish diseases and kept pond

water temperature and soil temperature charts. The laboratory was well equipped with necessary instruments, laboratory glass, and three microscopes.⁵ In 1941, human ashes brought from Crematorium No. 1 at the main camp were dumped into the fishponds.

SS-Oberscharführer Georg Paul Sauer, born October 18, 1911, in the town of Milicz in Lower Silesia, was the commandant of the fish farm, and after he left for the Babitz subcamp, SS-Unterscharführer Rudolf Martin took over the position.⁶

Of the women moved to Harmense in June 1942, some had undergone training in poultry farming earlier, at the Ravensbrück concentration camp. Among them were Poles, Slovak Jews, and Germans. The detachment numbered 50 female prisoners in October 1942, and the population remained the same throughout the subcamp's existence. Some of the women were put to work raising the birds, while the others worked to expand the farm, that is, leveling the terrain, making a fowl run for the chickens, and so on.

At Harmense they raised purebred poultry: chickens (about 2,000), ducks (about 1,000), geese (about 300), and turkeys (about 500). The chickens were mainly raised for their eggs; the farm also included a hatchery that produced 100,000 chicks at a time. Aside from the poultry farming, 11 women prisoners were put to work raising rabbits for their fur and meat. Breeding of partridge, nutria, and pedigree dogs—Great Danes—began in Harmense at the end of 1943.⁷

With such extensive animal breeding, Harmense's male and female prisoners (totaling 106 people on March 23, 1944) were unable to operate the entire farm, so numerous detachments came in to help daily from Auschwitz I and Birkenau.

SS-Unterscharführer Bernhard Glaue, born November 20, 1911, in Diepolz, was the commandant of the subcamp, as well as of the farm, until April 1943. When he was transferred to the Budy subcamp on April 13, SS-Rottenführer Xaver Franz Eidenschinkt became commandant. Marie Rendel was in charge of the women's work. The SS staff included Germans; Volksdeutsche (ethnic Germans) from Slovakia, Bohemia, and Hungary; and in the camp's final phase, convalescent soldiers from the Wehrmacht, who were inducted into the SS after several weeks of training. The camp was frequently inspected by SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr. Joachim Caesar, the commandant of all the Auschwitz camp farms. Himmler also visited the farm on July 17, 1942.

A total of two escapes from the Harmense camp were reported, both organized by Polish prisoners. On May 16, 1942, two male prisoners escaped successfully. Three male prisoners escaped on March 8, 1943, but in that instance, they were all caught and killed.

In the late summer of 1943, the men from Harmense were moved to the nearby subcamp in Budy, from where they continued to walk to work in Harmense under SS escort. The women stayed at Harmense until the camp was evacuated. On January 18, 1945, they and the prisoners from the Birkenau

women's camp were evacuated on foot to Wodzisław Śląski (Loslau), from where they were transported to Bergen-Belsen in cattle cars. The poultry hatchery equipment was also loaded onto carts that day and sent to Ravensbrück with several female prisoners.

There is no record that any of the Harmense camp personnel were tried after the war.

SOURCES Information on Harmense may be found in Anna Zięba, "Geflügelfarm Harmense" Farma hodowlana Harmęże," ZO 11 (1969): 37–67 (German version: Die "Geflügelfarm Harmense," HvA 11 [1970]: 38–72).

Primary sources are available in APMO, Zespół Oświadczenie, accounts by former prisoners Alojzy Drzazga, Danuta Drzazga, Jan Jakub Szegidewicz, Jadwiga Rumianowska, Ryszard Nalewajko, Izidor Kornacki, Aleksander Kalczyński, Antonina Kozubek, Waleria Lang, Karol Lang, and Janina Perun; Zespół Proces Hössa; Zespół Opracowania; files on Auschwitz concentration camp staff members from 1940 to 1945, compiled by Dr. Aleksander Lasik.

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NOTES

1. APMO, Zespół Proces Hössa (Höss Trial Collection), 21: 31–32.
2. APMO, Collection of testimonies, t.33, s.54, statement of former inmate Alojzy Drzazga.
3. APMO, Collection of testimonies, t.86, s.75, statement of former inmate Alojzy Drzazga.
4. APMO, Zespół Oświadczenie, 45: 38–39, account of former prisoner Jan Jakub Szegidewicz.
5. APMO, Collection of testimonies, t.50, s.12, statement of former inmate Aleksander Kalczyński.
6. Ibid., 50: 11.
7. APMO, Collection of testimonies, t.33, s.109–111, statement of former inmate Antonina Kozubek.

HINDENBURG

During World War II, the Donnersmarckhütte steel mill in the city of Hindenburg (later Zabrze) belonged to Vereinigte Oberschlesische Hüttenwerke AG (Oberhütten or VOH), as it had before the war—but by this time the steel mill had converted its output over to military needs. And because so many German workers had been called into the armed forces, the firm brought in forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) to work at the mill.

In early August 1944, approximately 400 female prisoners from the Auschwitz concentration camp were sent to Donnersmarckhütte; 70 male prisoners joined them in the late fall of that year. The barracks allocated to them were located on the steel mill grounds near Foundries 3 and 4.

The subcamp commandant was SS-Unterscharführer Adolf Taube, former muster officer at the Birkenau women's camp, who was especially cruel toward the female prisoners.

One of the female SS overseers was Joanna Bormann, who was previously the commandant of the Babitz subcamp and who was as evil and as cruel as Taube.

Over the subcamp's more than five-month existence, the number of women living there increased to 471. The decided majority of them were Polish Jews selected from among the female prisoners brought to the Auschwitz concentration camp on July 31, 1944, in Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) transports from Radom and Bliżyn, marked with numbers from A-14394 to A-16456. The rest were Czech and Slovak Jews or Gypsies. Most of them came from Jewish intellectual communities and were between 17 and 30 years old.

The subcamp's male Jewish prisoners had been brought to the Auschwitz concentration camp in RSHA transports from the Theresienstadt ghetto camp in early October 1944. They were marked with numbers from B-12997 to B-13065.

Most of the female prisoners were put to work in the steel mill's foundries, manufacturing ammunition, primarily casting bullets, grenade cores, and rings and parts for Luftwaffe weaponry. Several dozen women prisoners worked welding and assembling aerial bomb transport carriages as well as in the machine department, operating the machines and overhead cranes for lifting loads.

SS men and Wehrmacht soldiers escorted the women prisoners to work in the steel mill's respective departments and supervised them during work along with female prisoners serving as foremen. German foremen and skilled workers from Hindenburg also supervised how prisoners did their assigned jobs. Overseer Bormann would come with her dog for inspections to the steel mill departments where the women prisoners worked, as did commandant Taube.

Sunday was also a workday for most of the female prisoners.

According to the accounts of former female prisoners and steel mill employees, Hindenburg subcamp's male prisoners were most probably put to work in the coking plant and Concordia mine.

The living conditions of the Hindenburg subcamp prisoners were similar to those existing at the other camps of the Auschwitz concentration camp system. They lived in wooden barracks, wore camp clothing (stripes), and were limited to a starvation diet. Being Jews, they were not allowed to receive food packages. Sometimes they would receive some food assistance from some of the workers employed at the Hindenburg steel mill who were kindly disposed toward them.

Strict discipline prevailed in the camp, and women prisoners were summarily punished for any small offense or for no reason at all, with punitive exercises, kneeling, and most frequently, beating.

The subcamp was inspected on several occasions by SS men from Auschwitz. They conducted selections among the female prisoners (chiefly in the infirmary), in consequence of which at least several seriously ill women were taken away to Birkenau.

The subcamp was shut down on January 19, 1945. In the evening the women prisoners were escorted on foot to the

Auschwitz Gleiwitz II subcamp, where they were loaded onto coal cars and moved to the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. Due to the enormous overcrowding at that camp, they were not admitted there but were sent to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. The trip took about two weeks, during which the women received little or no food and quenched their thirst with the snow falling into the train cars. Because of the terrible conditions prevailing at Bergen-Belsen in every respect, and the terrific overcrowding and typhus epidemic spreading there, few women lived to see the moment of liberation.

The Hindenburg subcamp male prisoners were also escorted to Gleiwitz II on January 19, 1945. On January 21, they were loaded into open freight cars (along with the prisoners from Gleiwitz II, Bobrek, and Monowitz subcamps who were evacuated there) and sent to the Buchenwald concentration camp.

Joanna Bormann, who also served at the Babitz and Budy subcamps before coming to Hindenburg, was sentenced to death in 1945 in Lüneburg, in the Bergen-Belsen trial, and ultimately executed.

SOURCES Information on the Hindenburg subcamp may be found in Irena Strzelecka, "Podobóz 'Hindenburg,'" ZO 11 (1969): 119–135 (German version: "Das Nebenlager 'Hindenburg,'" HvA 11 [1970]: 129–147).

Archival materials are available in APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts of former female prisoners, including Helena Adler and Berta Szachowska as well as accounts of Zabrze (Donnersmarckhütte) steel mill employees Karol Adamoszek, Wilhelm Fuchs, Eryk Wróblak, and others.

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HOHENLINDE [AKA HUBERTUSHÜTTE]

The Hohenlinde subcamp was established in December 1944 on the initiative of the management of the Hubertus steel mill in the Beuthen (Bytom) suburb of Hohenlinde (Łagiewniki), owned by Berghütte. In the face of a shortage of labor needed to increase arms production, in September of that year the steel mill's management asked the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) to allocate 1,000 prisoners from Auschwitz for work in the mill.

On December 20, 1944, a group of 200 Jewish prisoners brought to Auschwitz in Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) transports in 1943 and 1944 were sent to Łagiewniki (some of them were marked with numbers ranging from 152060 to 199870). Because construction of the subcamp had not yet been completed, they were temporarily placed in a separate section of the camp for foreign laborers (*Fremdarbeiterlager*) and soon moved to barracks that had earlier been occupied by Italian prisoners. The subcamp's population on the eve of liberation was 202 prisoners.

The subcamp's commandant was SS-Unterscharführer Eckhardt, who had about 40 SS men under him.

Until mid-January 1945, the subcamp management evidently did not even consider the possibility of the German army's defeat, nor the impending evacuation, since it was waiting for another transport of 800 prisoners to arrive. This is proven by surviving orders for clothing, wooden shoes, and barracks furnishings that the subcamp management was sending to the steel mill management.

The prisoners were put to work in different sections of the steel mill doing the hardest and dirtiest labor (such as in the coking plant loading coke, loading and unloading gravel, etc.). Most of the prisoners were assigned to construct new buildings where production was to be started up just for the army. Civilian and forced laborers employed in sections where prisoners worked were warned that the prisoners were dangerous criminals and that anyone communicating with them could expect to be sent to Auschwitz.

On the night of January 18–19, 1945, the subcamp management received the order to evacuate. On January 19, SS men marched 202 prisoners from Łagiewniki on foot; only 58 of them reached the Leitmeritz camp in Litoměřice, Bohemia (a subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp) in March 1945. An SS man's report of the evacuation dated March 12, 1945, said: "Departure ensued with 202 prisoners; 144 prisoners died under way, and this was reported periodically to the next state police station."¹

SOURCES Published sources on the Hohenlinde subcamp include Irena Strzelecka, "Podobóz 'Hubertushütte' (Arbeitslager Hohenlinde)," ZO 12 (1970): 159–170 (German version: "Das Nebenlager 'Hubertushütte'" (Arbeitslager Hohenlinde)," HvA 12 [1971]: 161–173).

Archival records on this camp are available in APKat, Zespół Berghütte sygn. 2224; APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts of inhabitants of Łagiewniki and vicinity: Jan Jakiełko (or Jakiełek), Bruno Kruszko (Kruszka), and others.

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NOTE

1. Photocopy of this report in APMO, Sygn. D-Floss/6 różne (nr inwentarza 170052).

JANINAGRUBE [AKA JOHANNAGRUBE, GUTE HOFFNUNGSGRUBE]

The town of Libiąż Mały, which was named Liebenberg during the occupation, was about 18 kilometers (11.2 miles) from Auschwitz and about 6.5 kilometers (4 miles) from the city of Chrzanów (Krenau). Within the limits of Libiąż is the Janina hard coal mine, which changed names three times during the Nazi occupation: Janinagrube, Johannagrube, and Gute Hoffnungsgrube. In 1943, IG Farbenindustrie acquired the mine in order to supply coal to its chemical factory at Monowitz.¹

A camp for British prisoners of war (POWs) occupied a site close to the mine, but the POWs' productivity was low,

so IG Farbenindustrie pressed to have prisoners from Auschwitz sent to the camp. On July 16, 1943, Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss and IG Farbenindustrie representatives Dürrfeld and Düllberg conducted an inspection and determined that 300 Auschwitz prisoners should replace the 150 British POWs initially and that the camp would be expanded to accommodate 900 prisoners by the end of 1943. The British POWs were taken away from Libiąż on August 20, 1943.²

The Auschwitz subcamp Janinagrube was established on September 4, 1943, when the first transport of approximately 300 prisoners arrived. The largest portion of the transport, about 250 people, consisted of Polish Jews brought to Auschwitz on August 27–28, 1943, who received camp numbers in the 140000 to 142000 series.³ Polish and German prisoners also arrived in that transport. Several hundred more prisoners arrived in 1944, although the exact numbers are impossible to determine.

The following table is based on surviving SS-Hygiene Institute records as well as camp resistance materials and shows the following Janinagrube prisoner population at different dates:⁴

Date	Prisoners
Jan. 20, 1944	437
Feb. 29, 1944	597
Nov. 14, 1944	877
Jan. 17, 1945	857

Approximately 80 percent of Janinagrube's prisoners were Jews from France, Italy, Hungary, Czechoslovakia (Theresienstadt), and Poland. The other 20 percent included Poles, Russians, and Germans.

Some 250 prisoners of non-Jewish descent were taken away from Janinagrube in late 1944. They were moved to Monowitz and then to Birkenau, and they departed in evacuation transports. The prisoner population did not change significantly between November 1944 and January 1945, however, which indicates that the SS sent in Jewish prisoners to replace the non-Jews they had evacuated.

One two-level building from the mine's Obieżowa housing camp was included in the subcamp; approximately 400 prisoners lived in it. The subcamp also had three living barracks, with 150 to 200 prisoners in each. The kitchen, camp hospital, washroom, and latrine were in separate barracks. A double row of electrified barbed wire ringed the camp. An SS guardhouse stood next to the gate, and half of the ground floor in the Obieżowa housing camp building, which bordered on the camp fence, was allocated for living quarters for the SS men and their families.

A small group of prisoners, consisting of professional bricklayers, carpenters, and metalworkers, which arrived at Janinagrube in the first transport on September 4, 1943, went to work immediately to expand the subcamp; it was called the camp detachment.

The camp detachment aside, all the other prisoners were assigned to work underground in the Janinagrube mine on September 6, 1943. The prisoners were put to work in the Wiktor (Squad I and II), Aleksander (Squad III and IV), and Zygmunt (Squad V and VI) beds. Some prisoners also worked in the squad that timbered the mine galleries or as help in operating electrical and motorized machines. A few worked on the mine surface at what was called the "yard," sorting the wood for timbering the mine galleries. At a later time, prisoners were also put to work in the machine repair shops and expanding the mine's railway tracks.

The prisoners who worked underground operated in three shifts—6:00 A.M. to 2:00 P.M., 2:00 P.M. to 10:00 P.M., 10:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M.—mining and moving coal. They often stood up to their waist in water or lay in the galleries for hours at a time in places where they could not assume any other position. Their strength faded quickly because of the unhealthy working conditions, the lack of protective clothing or proper food, and abuse by the supervisors. According to prisoner accounts, four to six weeks was the longest one could do mining work, even if one avoided accidents, which were common. Many prisoners suffered a variety of fractures and internal injuries. Losses were very great; most of the prisoners died, and those who did not were often found to be unfit for work during a selection at the subcamp hospital, which was equivalent to the death sentence, in the prisoners' opinion.

In the autumn of 1944, 70 persons were chosen from the Janinagrube prisoners for a detachment called the arms detail (Wehrkommando). They worked at the mine's railroad siding located next to the Leśniowa housing camp. Railway cars loaded with such ammunition as mines, torpedoes, and *Panzerfäuste* (rocket-propelled antitank grenades) were rolled onto the siding, where prisoners reloaded the ammunition onto trucks. The ammunition was hauled to the forest detail (Waldkommando) located in the forest near Libiąż.

During the day, the prisoners received less than 0.25 kilograms (8.8 ounces) of bread, along with some margarine, jam, or sausage (it was always just one supplement of a few grams), approximately 1 quart of black coffee, and the same amount of soup made of potatoes, carrots, or rutabaga. Sometimes noodles or beans were added to the soup; sometimes a piece of meat was added as well. Such food rations, combined with the very hard mining labor, brought on a quick loss of strength and consequent starvation.

The Janinagrube subcamp hospital was in a separate barrack, where there was a hospital room for a dozen or so patients as well as a dispensary and facilities for dental assistance. The chief orderly was SS-Oberscharführer Paul Ludwig, followed by SS-Sturmann Johan Volland. Prisoners Erich Orlik and Walter Loebner, from Czechoslovakia, were the camp doctors.⁵ Due to the large number of sick prisoners, the hospital suffered a constant lack of drugs. Besides illnesses caused by mining accidents, the most frequently encountered diseases were swelling from starvation, tuberculosis, typhus,

ulcerations, phlegmon, and scurvy. Despite their sickness, some prisoners did not report to the hospital because of the selections conducted among patients. Prisoners who were selected were taken to Monowitz or Birkenau by truck transport. Once a week the bodies of dead prisoners were also taken to Auschwitz.

The commandants of the Janinagrube subcamp were SS-Unterscharführer Franz Baumgartner (September 1943 to March 1944), SS-Oberscharführer Herman Kleemann (March to September 1944), and SS-Unterscharführer Rudolf Kamieniczny (September 1944 to January 18, 1945).⁶

The guards were SS men from the Third Guard Company under the Monowitz guard battalion. There was a total of about 50 SS men at the subcamp.

There were 857 prisoners at the last roll call at the Janinagrube subcamp on January 17, 1945. The next day, approximately 800 prisoners were escorted out of the subcamp on a journey on foot to the Gross-Rosen camp. The march lasted about 18 days. According to subcamp doctor Orlík, approximately 200 prisoners reached Gross-Rosen in a state of extreme exhaustion.

Approximately 60 seriously ill prisoners who were not evacuated remained at the Janinagrube subcamp. Beginning with liberation day, January 25, 1945, the people of Libiąż gave help to the surviving prisoners.

SOURCES Information on this camp exists in the following works: Aleksander Lasik, *Załoga SS w KL Auschwitz w latach 1940–1945* (Bydgoszcz, 1994); Emeryka Iwaszko, “Podobóz Janinagrube,” *ZO* 10 (1967): 59–82; Danuta Czech, *Kalendarz wydarzeń obozowych* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz National Museum, 1992), pp. 502–503.

The following records contain material on this camp: The IG Farben Trial (Case VIII: *USA v. Carl Krauch, et al.*), Prosecution Document Books 80 and 81, available in Poland at IPN; the Trial of Gerhard Maurer, vol. 7; records of the Janinagrube mine in Libiąż, vol. 1–16-D-Au III (Janinagrube); and accounts of former Janinagrube prisoners Eugeniusz Ciećkiewicz, Jan Mydlarczyk, Zygmunt Szwajca, and Kazimierz Ślimak.

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NOTES

- NI-10170, in IG Farben Trial, Pros. Doc. Bk., 81: 1.
- Letter of August 11, 1943, from the command of the English prisoners of war to the administration of the Janinagrube mine, NI-10525, in IG Farben Trial, Pros. Doc. Bk., 81: 26.
- Record of the investigation of Janinagrube documents found after the war in the archive of the “Janina” mine, APMO.
- Materials of the camp Resistance Movement, 2: 60; 3: 208; 7: 475; and documents of the SS-Hygiene Institute, Binder 55/170–185 (APMO).
- APMO, Maurer Trial—record group number Dpr. Mau./12^a/, NI 12385, p. 244; NI 11652, p. 261.
- Reports of former Janinagrube prisoners Eugeniusz Ciećkiewicz and Kazimierz Ślimak (APMO).

JAWISCHOWITZ

In the first half of 1942, the German government concern Reichswerke Hermann Göring (RWHG) entered into a contract with the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), under which the Auschwitz concentration camp was to provide 6,000 prisoners to the Brzeszcze-Jawisowice (Jawischowitz) hard coal mine, which they owned. The mine authorities and the management of Auschwitz prepared barracks in which to put the prisoners, and the SS guarded the buildings.

The first transport of 150 Jewish prisoners arrived on August 15, 1942. The subcamp's population grew steadily and reached approximately 2,500 prisoners in mid-1944; 1,988 were there on January 17, 1945. Most of the prisoners were Jews from Poland and Western Europe, while Poles, Russians, and Germans made up most of the others.

Administratively, the Jawischowitz subcamp was under the command of the main camp at Auschwitz until November 22, 1943; after that it came under Auschwitz III-Monowitz.

SS-Unterscharführer Wilhelm Kowol, born May 13, 1904, in Handorf, was the commandant for two years; he also served at Flossenbürg and at Auschwitz and its Trzebinia subcamp. SS-Hauptscharführer Josef Remmle, born in Horgau on March 3, 1903, took Kowol's place in July 1944 and remained in command until the camp shut down; he had already served at Dachau, Auschwitz, and the Eintrachthütte subcamp. Both men were brutal; Kowol would get drunk and shoot at prisoners, and he also participated in selections. As a guard force, the commandants controlled at least 70 SS men at the turn of the year 1943–1944.

Jawischowitz was infamous among Auschwitz prisoners. Working conditions were extremely hard, and mortality was high. The living barracks were overcrowded. The portions of food issued to prisoners were small and low in calories. Ravenous prisoners often searched for food in the camp garbage heaps or picked up scraps thrown away by passersby on the route to work. There were times when they would pick the grass and eat it while waiting at the mine yard for the march out to camp. The SS men beat them for that.

The camp hospital mainly contained prisoners who had been injured on the job, as well as those suffering from starvation, diarrhea, ulcerations, pneumonia, and typhus. Every few weeks or so, SS doctors would conduct selections in the sickroom. Prisoners they found unfit for work—sometimes over a hundred at a time—went to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, where most died in the gas chambers, while others received phenol injections in the heart. SS doctor Horst Fischer usually conducted the selections, and mine director Otto Heine also participated in one. From the end of October 1942 through December 1944, at least 1,800 prisoners were sent back to Auschwitz. New transports replenished the camp population. The bodies of murdered prisoners or those who had died of hunger and overwork were also trucked away, to the crematoriums at Birkenau.

Some prisoners “went to the wires,” meaning they committed suicide by throwing themselves on the subcamp’s electrified fence.

Eighty percent of Jawischowitz prisoners worked in the mine, most of them underground, the rest on the surface. Underground they dug, loaded, and hauled coal; drove and shored up new tunnels; and reclaimed shoring materials from cavingins. Mine employees and prisoner foremen, mostly German, supervised the work; the SS men went below only to make spot inspections. With few exceptions, the German supervisors were hostile toward the prisoners, suspecting them of being averse to work and prone to sabotage. Some of them beat the prisoners under any pretext or without any reason at all. In contrast, almost all the Polish foremen tried to make the work easier for the prisoners, despite the danger of punishment.

Deaths and injuries occurred frequently in the mines, quite aside from the acts that supervisors perpetrated. Cavingins and other accidents were common. Mentally broken prisoners also committed suicide, sometimes by throwing themselves under the locomotives traveling through the galleries. Prisoners often returned to camp with bodies of comrades on their shoulders.

On the surface, in what was called the “yard,” several dozen to well over a hundred prisoners were generally put to work per month unloading and transporting wood, rails, and other materials needed to do the work underground, cleaning the mine grounds, sorting coal, or performing work at similar workstations. Several dozen young Hungarian Jews worked in the sorting plant at Brzeszcze in 1944, including some children under 14 years old.

Most prisoners who worked above ground worked building the Andreas Electric Power Plant in Brzeszcze and expanding various types of mine structures at Jawischowitz. The administration of RWHG had contracted construction work to the following companies: Franz Galehr, Fiebig, Gleitbau Klotz & Co. (Eisenbetonbau Hoch u. Tiefbau) Berlin, Hans-Schmidt (Anschlussgleisbau) Hannover, Hinz und Köhring, Kreuz & Loesch Oppeln, Kurt Hein, Norddeutsche Hoch u. Tiefbau, and Riedel & Sohn (Eisenbeton u. Hochbau) Bielitz. In consultation with the Auschwitz authorities, the mine leased prisoner labor to those companies. Almost all the foregoing companies were under the German Mine and Steelmill Construction Company, Deutsche Bergwerke- und Hüttenbau Gesellschaft (DBHG).

On the surface, besides SS men, the prisoners were supervised by civilian foremen, Wehrmacht soldiers, plant guards (Werkschutz), and members of the volunteer auxiliary guard service (Hilfswachmannschaft). Prisoners were treated so badly at the electric plant construction site that many called the place the “death trap.”

Both inside Jawischowitz as well as at their work sites, prisoners tried to improve their situation as best they could. Some of them “appropriated” blankets, comforters, shoes, and other such items at the subcamp, smuggled them into the mine, and exchanged them with Polish workers for food products, primarily bread, fat, and saccharine. In the winter,

when there was not enough fuel to heat the barracks rooms, prisoners would bring pieces of coal from the mine in their pockets or up their sleeves. Some prisoners put to work in the winter at construction sites tried to protect themselves from the cold and wind by putting on what were called “under-shirts” under their clothes, meaning sheets from paper cement sacks torn in advance. Not infrequently, the SS men would discover these types of illegal action by prisoners and severely punish them.

Prisoner underground units operated at Jawischowitz in 1943 and 1944, headed by several dozen Austrian, German, Polish, and Russian prisoners. Well over 100 prisoners cooperated with them. In consultation with members of underground organizations at Auschwitz and members of the Polish Socialist Party’s combat group operating at Brzeszcze-Jawiszowice, they conducted sabotage operations in the mine, tried to help sick prisoners as well as they could, took care of the young, and prepared escapes. Several prisoners escaped successfully with help from the inhabitants of Brzeszcze, Jawiszowice, and nearby areas, not only Polish Socialist Party (PPS) activists but also members of the Home Army (AK), Polish Workers Party (PPR), Peasant Battalions (B.Ch.), as well as people who did not belong to any underground organizations, despite the risk to their lives. Unsuccessful escapes often led to the deaths of both the escapee and those who rendered assistance.

In the final months of 1944, the SS men sent almost all the Poles as well as some of the Russians and Germans from Jawischowitz to Mauthausen and Buchenwald. The subcamp’s final evacuation was in January 1945; 1,948 prisoners were joined to the prisoner columns evacuated from Birkenau. The SS men shot prisoners who could not keep up with the march. Some of the Jawischowitz subcamp prisoners were sent to Mauthausen and some to Buchenwald and its subcamps.

Josef Remmeli was tried by an Allied court in West Germany and executed. There is no record that Wilhelm Kowol was ever tried.

SOURCES Several publications contain information on Jawischowitz: Natan Żelechower, “Siedem obozów,” *BŻIH* 68 (1968): 5–68; Andrzej Strzelecki, “Podobóz Jawischowitz,” *ZO* 15 (1974): 171–234 (German version: “Das Nebenlager Jawischowitz,” *HvA* 15 [1975]: 183–250); Andrzej Strzelecki and Henryk Świebocki, *Brzeszcze Jawiszowice 1939–1945* (Brzeszcze 1983, commemorative pamphlet); Moshé and Elie Garbarz, *Un survivant Pologne 1913–1929. Paris 1929–1941. Auschwitz-Birkenau. Jawischowitz-Buchenwald 1942–1945* (Paris: Plon, 1984). The book by Andrzej Strzelecki, *Marsz śmierci. Przewodnik po trasie Oświęcim-Wodzisław Śląski* (Katowice: Towarzystwo Opieki nad Oświęcimiem, 1989), pp. 14–17, offers information on the Jawischowitz subcamp and a commemoration of its victims; also see Strzelecki, *The Evacuation, Dismantling and Liberation of the KL Auschwitz* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz State Museum, 2001), pp. 178–181. For survivor accounts, see Henri Moraud, ed., *Jawischowitz une annexe d’Auschwitz* (Paris: Amicale d’Auschwitz, section Jawischowitz, 1985); Erwin R. Tichauer, *Totenkopf und Zebrakleid. Ein Berliner Jude in Auschwitz. Bearbeitet und mit einem Nachwort*

versehen von Jürgen Matthäus (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2000).

The following archival collections contain relevant documents: APMO, Zespół Akta kopalni Brzeszcze; Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts by former prisoners Leon Błoński, Jan Husarek, Józef Czechowski, Kazimierz Misiewicz, Zbigniew Kaźmierczak, Zygmunt Koehler, Jakub Sekuła, Kazimierz Szwemberg, Tomasz Stokłosa, Witold Tokarz, and others; accounts by residents of Brzeszcze-Jawiszowice and vicinity Wincenty Fornal, Emilia Klimczyk, Janina Pytlak-Bałuk, Franciszek Sobik, Leopold Szczepański, Aleksander Zachara, and others.

Andrzej Strzelecki
trans. Gerard Majka

KATTOWITZ

The Gestapo headquarters in Kattowitz (Katowice) deployed 10 Auschwitz prisoners in Special Detachment (Sonderkommando) Kattowitz from January 1944 to January 1945. Located in the capital of *Gau* (Nazi Party province) Ostoberschlesien (Śląsk) at Strasse der SA 49 (after 1945, Ulica Powstańców 31), the headquarters had a small jail. The Sonderkommando erected air-raid shelters and barracks and may also have conducted bomb disposal operations (*Bombenbeseitigung*). The establishment of U.S. air bases in Italy in the fall of 1943 brought southwestern Poland within bombing range, which accounted for the timing of the Sonderkommando's formation, as well as for the much larger detachments performing similar tasks elsewhere at Auschwitz.

SOURCES This entry is based partly upon Irena Strzelecka and Piotr Setkiewicz, "The Construction, Expansion and Development of the Camp and Its Branches," in *The Establishment and Organization of the Camp*, by Aleksander Lasik et al., vol. 1 of *Auschwitz, 1940–1945: Central Issues in the History of the Camp*, ed. Wacław Długoborski and Franciszek Piper, trans. William Brand, 5 vols. (Oświęcim: APMO, 2000), p. 132. Additional information about Sonderkommando Kattowitz can be found at "Sub-Camps of Auschwitz Concentration Camp," www.auschwitz-muzeum.oswiecim.pl. For the address of the Kattowitz Gestapo, and a photograph of the building taken in 1997, see Adolf Diamant, *Gestapocheif Thümmler: Verbrechen in Chemnitz, Kattowitz und Auschwitz; Die steile Karriere eines Handlangers der nationalsozialistischen Morde und Vergehen gegen die Menschlichkeit* (Chemnitz: Heimatland Sachsen, 1999). This camp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 23.

There are no specific primary source collections for this camp.

Joseph Robert White

KOBIER

Kobier was located in a forest complex 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) north of Pszczyna (Pless) and approximately 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) west of Auschwitz. The exact date when

this Auschwitz subcamp was established is uncertain. The name first appears in a dispatch order (*Fabrbefehl*) dated September 23, 1942; a five-ton truck was sent to the village of Kobier (Kobiór) that day to deliver wood to the camp, but it is not known whether there were prisoners there already.¹ The few surviving prisoner accounts say that the subcamp was in existence in the autumn (perhaps as early as October) of 1942 and certainly on December 19, when a truck with supplies for the prisoners was sent to Kobier.² Another probable piece of evidence that a subcamp existed at Kobier is a reference in an order of Auschwitz concentration camp headquarters dated November 2, 1942, which says that trips by SS men to the "Pszczyna forest commandos" (Pless Forest Commandos) were to be treated as trips outside the camp's "Zone of Interest" (*Interessengebiet*).³

In all likelihood, civilian workers hired by the Pszczyna Forest Management Agency (Oberforstamt Pless) appeared in Kobier in autumn 1942; they began building barracks and a fence. The last barrack (for the SS men) was erected only in late January 1943.⁴ The camp was rectangular and approximately 30×40 meters (98×131 feet) in area. It was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence running along cement posts. Make-shift watchtowers were put up at the outside corners of the fence. The first of three barracks inside the camp, to the right of the entrance gate, housed office space for the SS men, as well as the kitchen and food storeroom. Prisoners lived in the barrack opposite the gate; it contained a separate space housing a readily accessible storeroom for the subcamp's equipment. The third barrack, to the left of the entrance gate, also housed prisoners, as well as the infirmary and dentist's office. The barracks had windows; bunk beds, tables, and benches were set up in them. Heat was provided by quite efficient iron stoves, on which the prisoners attempted to dry their wet clothing. There was also a small toilet barrack with a shower near the camp entrance, and a well.⁵

There were approximately 150 prisoners in the camp, mostly Jews, mainly Polish, French, Belgian, and Czech, and several non-Jewish Germans, Poles, and Russians.⁶ The German prisoners assumed the most important functions: the camp elder (Lagerälteste) was Alfred van Hofe, the camp Kapo (Lagerkapo) was Theo and was from Hamburg, and the kitchen Kapo was Rudolf Navratil; a few Poles were also put to work in the camp in relatively easier jobs.

The largest Kommando was named "Woodcutter" (Holzfäller), in which prisoners, mainly Jews, were put to work felling trees in the forest and preparing the trunks for further processing. The wood, especially branches and waste material, was used to burn the bodies of Holocaust victims in ditches and heaps at the Birkenau camp. The tree trunks were taken away to sawmills, where they were made into props to support the ceilings in mines. In the spring and summer of 1943, most of the prisoners were sent to remove trees brought down by wind and frost. The work was organized as follows: first a rectangle was marked out along the existing cuttings and clearings so that the respective guards would be able to see each other. Therefore, the prisoners first had to remove

any branches blocking the line of sight along the sides of the rectangle. Next, the SS men took up positions along the clearings that had been marked out, and the prisoners set about cutting down the trees with saws and axes, removing branches, and carrying the wood to spots from where it could be carted away. Prisoners were also frequently put to work cleaning and repairing forest roads so that carts and trucks could get in.

For several weeks there was also a demolition detachment (Abbruchkommando) of approximately 20 prisoners at Kobier; it was assigned to dismantle old houses and farm buildings in the vicinity. Its major job was to reclaim bricks, which were cleaned of any remaining mortar and stacked in piles. Some prisoners also worked sporadically digging ditches and spreading lime on local meadows.

The subcamp's staff numbered approximately 20 SS men. SS-Unterscharführer Franz Baumgartner held the post of commander.⁷ There are differing accounts about him; some say he behaved decently toward the prisoners, while other witnesses say the opposite, that he mistreated the prisoners and tolerated numerous incidents of his guards shooting prisoners for ostensibly trying to escape.⁸ At least once he took the side of a Polish prisoner who had gotten into a conflict with Lagerältester van Hofe. Taking the opportunity, both Poles and Jews testified that van Hofe had helped SS men arrange prisoner "escapes" to give the SS men a pretext to use their weapons, after which he would drink alcohol with them. Baumgartner then held an inquiry, and the Lagerältester was thus stripped of his function and assigned to a penal company.⁹ How many prisoners fell victim to such provocations is not known; there were presumably at least three of them. The bodies of prisoners who were shot or died in the subcamp were sent to the morgue at the parent camp; the first time was February 11, 1943, when the body of a Soviet prisoner was brought there, and the last time was on June 28. In that period, a total of 21 bodies from Kobier were delivered to the morgue at Auschwitz I, although it is uncertain whether that included all the subcamp's fatalities.¹⁰

The lives of the subcamp's prisoners were not much different than the familiar drill at Auschwitz I or Birkenau. The prisoners worked 6 days a week, often in pouring rain or low temperatures. The food, initially delivered from the parent camp, and later prepared on the premises, was not different in quality than the food issued in other parts of the Auschwitz complex. Similarly, the clothing was bad and worn, especially the uncomfortable footwear that injured the feet. Prisoners who were sick or had been injured at work reported to the dispensary in the evening, where an attempt was made to give them first aid. In more serious cases, a prisoner could be put in the "infirmary," meaning an alcove partitioned off by boards housing bunks where a maximum of nine people could be placed. Treatment basically could not exceed 7 to 10 days, because "bedridden patients" were taken away to Birkenau by the truck that brought food to the subcamp and came to Kobier in those intervals of time.

On Sunday morning the prisoners were sent to bathe under showers (without hot water), and there were system-

atic "louse inspections" (*Lausekontrolle*). The living quarters were also cleaned; the tables and benches were carried out of the barracks and scrubbed using lime. After lunch, the SS men, bored in the isolated camp, sat on benches at the gate and forced prisoners to have boxing matches; the "boxers" were then issued old work gloves. Singing performances enjoyed great success, including those by the especially popular Erich Purm. During the day the prisoners also had the opportunity to repair worn clothing, visit and talk with each other, usually concentrating on ways to get extra food.

There are a few surviving records that provide more detailed information about the operation of the Kobier subcamp; for example, there is a list of furnishings for the prisoners' barracks, itemizing 510 blankets, 20 triple-decker bunks (which means that two or three prisoners had to sleep on one level), 80 enamel bowls (one for every two prisoners), 75 stools, and so on; also surviving are several monthly reports on prisoner activity at the dentist's office, listing the number and type of procedures performed in the summer of 1943.¹¹ It is also known that on March 8, 1943, a prisoner attempted to escape from the Kobier subcamp, Max Franz Schaap, a Dutch Jew. He was caught and put in the basement of Barrack 11 at Auschwitz I; his transfer to the camp hospital was recorded the same day.¹² Also surviving are the prisoner leasing figures of the Oberforstamt Pless camp employment office; in February 1943, the Forest Management Agency paid 5,739 Reichsmark (RM) for 1,913 days' work of prisoners classified as unskilled laborers at 3 RM per day of work (from 64 to 102 prisoners were put to work per day).¹³ In the subsequent months, the number of prisoners hired out by the Forest Management Agency gradually decreased, reaching the level of approximately 53 in August. In the middle of that month, several dozen prisoners were transferred from Kobier to the subcamp at Sosnowiec (Sosnowitz).¹⁴ On August 28, a commando of 26 prisoners went out to work for the last time; therefore, this is presumably the date the camp was disbanded.¹⁵ In his recollections, former prisoner Rudolf Löhr also says that the camp was disbanded at the end of August.¹⁶ The prisoners who still remained in camp at that time were transferred to Auschwitz, and British prisoners of war took their places at the end of the year.

SOURCES The most valuable are the accounts of Rudolf Löhr and Stanisław Łapiński; also a few references in the various subcamp records available at APMO.

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NOTES

1. APMO, D-Au I—4/28.
2. APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, 45: 14, account of Stanisław Łapiński; 53: 202, account of Julia Kumor and Monika Koczar; D-Au I—4/25, Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderungen.
3. APMO, D-Au I—1/77, Kommandantur-Sonderbefehl.
4. APMO, D-Au I—4/47, Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderungen.

5. APMO, Zespół Wspomnienia, 165: 53a, recollection of Rudolf Löhr; Affidavits Collection, 53: 202, account of Julia Kumor and Monika Koczar.
6. APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu, 1: 24, rept. of April 25, 1943; Kobiór—156 prisoners.
7. APMO, D.Hyg.Inst./23, File 17b, p. 687; entry dated June 22, 1943.
8. APMO, The Höss Trial, 16a: 202, testimony of Karol Sperber.
9. APMO, Affidavits Collection, 45: 15, 16 ; 53: 41, accounts of Stanisław Łapiński and Władysław Lewko; D-Au I—3/1, Penal company record book, p. 2, entry of July 20, 1943, stating that Alfred van Hofe had been put in a penal company.
10. APMO, D-Au I—5/2, Morgue record book, pp. 66–161.
11. APMO, D-Au I—4/45, inventory no. 171425, record dated 3/29/43; Monatliche Leistungs- und Personalmeldung des KL Zahnstation. Aussenkommando Kobier, Juli–August 1943.
12. APMO, D-Au I—3/1b, p. 2136, Barrack 11 bunker [underground isolation cell] record book.
13. APMO, D-Au I—3a/370, Monthly labor roster of male and female prisoners of Auschwitz concentration camp, 2: 68a, 3: 137a, 175a, 5: 264a, 298a.
14. APMO, D-Mau—3a/24538, Mauthausen Files, Affidavits Collection, 45: 16, account of Stanisław Łapiński.
15. APMO, D-Au I—3a/370, Monthly labor roster of male and female prisoners of Auschwitz concentration camp, 6: 318a.
16. APMO, Recollections Collection, 165: 68.

LAGISCHA

The town of Łagisza (Lagischa) is approximately 2.5 kilometers (1.6 miles) north of Będzin (Bendsberg) and approximately 40 kilometers (24.9 miles) northwest of Oświęcim (Auschwitz). In 1941, the German company Energie-Versorgung Oberschlesien (EVO) began the site preparation work for the construction of a power plant named “Walter,” with a projected output of 300 megawatts.

After fencing the site of the future project, the “Klotz” and “Haga” companies, using local inhabitants who had been assigned to work for them, started building living barracks for the future staff. Part of the barracks complex was set apart from the rest of the barracks by a double barbed-wire fence running along concrete posts. Several brick barracks were put up inside; some of them were for the camp inhabitants, while some were used as storehouses. Watchtowers were put up along the fence. That is roughly how the camp looked when a group of Jews were put there at the turn of the year from 1941 to 1942; they were presumably sent to Lagischa by the Organisation Schmelt.

Jerzy Frąckiewicz, the author of the only essay on the history of the Lagischa camp, maintains that the Auschwitz concentration camp had taken over control of those Jews, and they had been included in its population, as happened in

the case of Jewish prisoners at the subcamp in Blachownia Śląska (Blechhammer).¹ However, careful study of his arguments shows that such a takeover did not occur. The numerical series issued in the summer of 1943 do not contain a reference to the issue of approximately 100 numbers to prisoners coming from any camp that could be associated with the opening of a new subcamp. The day that Frąckiewicz determined as the founding date for the Lagischa subcamp (June 15, 1943) is probably inaccurate because that was the opening date of another EVO company subcamp at Jaworzno (Neu-Dachs).² However, it is known that on August 13, 1943, SS-Untersturmführer Sell, the chief of the camp employment office, notified the Auschwitz garrison command of the intent to form four new subcamps soon, including a camp at Lagischa.³ According to what he said, there were plans to place 100 prisoners in the camp initially, but their number was to reach the target of 1,000. There were also plans to assign a guard staff to Lagischa, initially with a 1:25 SS-prisoner ratio, later to reach 1:40.

The date the subcamp was formed can be established based on an invoice (*Forderungsnachweis*) that the camp employment office issued to the Lagischa power plant management in September 1943.⁴ It shows that the first 302 prisoners were put to work building the plant on September 10. However, since the previous day had been a Sunday, and September 8 was entered in one of the few surviving records of a Lagischa prisoner as the transfer date, we ought to assume that the subcamp was formed on that day.⁵

The aforementioned invoice and subsequent ones show that the “Walter” power plant paid 4 Reichsmark (RM) for a day’s work by a skilled workman (44 prisoners) and 3 RM for a helper. In October, the number of prisoners put to work was at a level similar to that of September, but it rose to over 500 in early November, which proves that another transport or transports arrived at Lagischa.⁶ But considering the fact that at other Auschwitz subcamps the actual prisoner population was approximately 20 percent greater than the number of those put to work (more or less 10 percent of prisoners worked inside the subcamp, and up to 10 percent were sick), it is probably safe to assume that there were over 600 prisoners in Lagischa in late 1943.

Among the several dozen prisoners with entries surviving in camp records, the most names that appear are those of Polish and French Jews; there were also Poles and Russians in the camp. There is similar information about the ethnic makeup of the Lagischa prisoners in the accounts of former prisoners; Polish laborers and local residents were employed building the power plant.⁷ Former prisoners’ accounts indicate that a Pole, Jerzy Jackowski, held the position of camp elder (Lagerälteste); the kitchen Kapo was Stanisław Łapiński, and the chief of the camp infirmary was a German, Hans Bock.

There were eight barracks inside the camp fence, of which four were used as quarters for the prisoners, one housed the camp infirmary, and the other three served as warehouses and

office and utility space. A large water reservoir, used as a water supply for firefighting, was dug next to the infirmary near the assembly ground. Outside the fence near the gate was the SS guardhouse and living barracks for the SS men.

The prisoners slept on triple-decker bunks with straw mattresses. Meals were initially provided by the kitchen for civilian laborers, which was located on the power plant construction site, and later meals were cooked in facilities on the subcamp premises. The prisoners have described the food as inadequate, and according to their accounts, it was even worse in quality and less in quantity than the food issued in other sections of the Auschwitz concentration camp. The prisoners were put to work at hard physical labor: building a railway siding leading to the site of the future power plant, demolishing houses and farm buildings, digging ditches, and unloading machine parts and building materials. The work lasted 11 hours a day: from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M., with a one-hour lunch break from noon to 1:00 P.M. Dominant among the skilled workers listed in reports by the subcamp and factory management were iron-workers, bricklayers, electricians, and plumbers, which to some extent indicates the nature of the work the prisoners did; but the majority of the prisoners put to work were "helpers" and a group of 50 "apprentices" (it is not clear what their "apprenticeship" was supposed to have consisted of).⁸

As surviving accounts show, the prisoners of the Lagischa subcamp were treated with exceptional cruelty by the SS guards; often they repeatedly describe scenes of prisoner abuse, beating them with bats or rifle butts, chasing them into the firefighting reservoir at the assembly ground, and pushing anyone who tried to get onto the bank back into the water. Witnesses also maintain that many prisoners were shot by the SS men while "trying to escape," although such events have not been verified in any sources. Among the telegrams notifying of prisoner escapes, only one survives, mentioning the successful escape of three Russian prisoners on June 1, 1944: their names, rendered in Polish, were Nikolaus Milajew, Nikolaus Abakumow, and Stefan Staroszczuk. Milajew was caught that same day and delivered to the camp.⁹

The SS men at the Lagischa subcamp were under the command of the Sixth Birkenau Company (put under the commander of Auschwitz III effective November 11, 1943, as the Fifth Company), and later, effective May 22, 1944, they were under the Fifth Company of the newly formed Auschwitz III Guard Battalion. Their company commander was SS-Untersturmführer Bruno Pfütze.¹⁰ The names of 40 SS men who served at the subcamp at various times have been successfully identified, although the amount of guard staff was usually slightly lower and numbered two noncommissioned officers and 30 to 32 privates.

SS-Unterscharführer Horst Czerwinski held the post of camp leader (*Lagerführer*) at the subcamp. When it was closed, he was transferred to Goleszów (Golleschau) on October 1, 1944. SS-Unterscharführer Hans Nierzwicki was the orderly in the camp infirmary, and SS-Rottenführer Hermann Klan and SS-Unterscharführer Hans Pfeuer were in charge of the kitchen.¹¹

As time went on, the camp's population decreased as sick prisoners were sent back to the hospital at the main camp and probably to the hospitals at Monowice (Monowitz) or Birkenau; as is known from reports of the camp resistance, there were 477 prisoners in Lagischa on January 20, 1944, and 499 a month later.¹² Although more prisoner transports probably arrived at the subcamp in the following months, there is no direct evidence that the total camp population approached 1,000, as Frąckiewicz maintains. All we know is that there were 725 prisoners in Lagischa on August 10, 1944, their number probably decreasing to 674 on August 16; 517 on August 25; 217 on September 2; and just 100 on September 5.¹³ Such a great drop in the number of prisoners is probably due to the plans to abandon the construction of the "Walter" power plant, of which the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) officially notified the Auschwitz concentration camp command on September 1, 1944. Six days later, Auschwitz commander SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Schwarz notified the camp administrative units under him of that fact, stating that the SS men from the Lagischa subcamp would be transferred to the newly formed Neustadt camp in Prudnik.¹⁴

The last report on the Lagischa subcamp's population (99 prisoners) is from September 23;¹⁵ there is also a surviving telegram notifying the main camp that two Polish prisoners, Marian Batkowski and Stanisław Oszmaniec, had escaped from the subcamp on that day, which seems to suggest that the camp was closed a short time later.¹⁶ The Lagischa prisoners were transferred to Sosnowiec (Sosnowitz) and later to the Neu-Dachs subcamp at Jaworzno, although some were also sent back to the main camp (Auschwitz I).

In his essay, Jerzy Frąckiewicz maintains that a small group of prisoners guarded by several SS men still remained in the camp until January 1945; there is not a reference to confirm that assumption in any of the records he cites or in any accounts of former prisoners or Lagischa residents.

SOURCES The only published source is Jerzy Frąckiewicz, "Podobóz Lagischa," in *ZO 9* (1965): 55–69.

These records for Lagischa are scattered in many different collections at APMO (particularly see notes 4, 7, and 8). It is also mentioned in dispatch orders (*Fahrbefehle*), penal reports, and files of the SS-Hygiene Institute.

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NOTES

1. Jerzy Frąckiewicz, "Podobóz Lagischa," *ZO 9* (1965): 58–60.

2. APMO, D-Au III—1/Jaworzno, 1: 1.

3. APMO, D-Au III—Monowitz/3a, Correspondence regarding IG Farben, p. 48.

4. APMO, D-Au I—3a/370/5, Monthly labor roster of male and female prisoners of Auschwitz concentration camp, p. 351a.

5. APMO, D-Au I—3a/986–1378, Employment office files, p. 104; file of prisoner Eli Goldfarb.

6. APMO, D-Au I—3a/370/6, Monthly labor roster of male and female prisoners of Auschwitz concentration camp, pp. 361a, 394a; D-Au I—3a/370/7, p. 463a.

7. The most entries regarding prisoners of Lagischa subcamp are in the records of the camp employment office and in the numbers book (*Nummernbuch*). APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia [Affidavits Collection], relations of Zbigniew Tokarski (40: 140, 141); Zbigniew Mroczkowski (46: 42–44); Stanisława Dydak (44: 1–3); Antoni Górecki (44: 4, 5); Stanisław Drygalski (44: 6, 7); Otylia Piaskowska (44: 8, 9); Tadeusz Łapka (44: 10–13); Aniela Gwoździowska, Irena Kubik, Zofia Motoczyńska (44: 14–17).

8. APMO, Microfilm 1900, CHIDK. Fond 502-2-19, pp. 936–957; Microfilm 1898, CHIDK. Fond 502-2-17, pp. 186–206.

9. APMO, D-Au I—1/3, Zespół Telegramy, pp. 447–449.

10. APMO, Sturmbannbefehl No. 147/43 of 9/27/1943; Standortbefehl No. 53/43 of November 22, 1943 (item 12d); Sturmbann-Sonderbefehl of November 24, 1943; and Kommandantur-Sonderbefehl KL Auschwitz III of 5/22/1944 (D-Au III—1/6).

11. APMO, D-Au I—4/2, p. 140, Personalbefehl KL Auschwitz II of December 11, 1943, No. 2/43.

12. APMO, Książka ewidencyjna bloku 20 Auschwitz I, p. 39; Entry regarding prisoner Moszek Reisman, brought from the Lagischa subcamp, December 24, 1943; Zespół Materiały ruchu oporu, 2: 60, 7: 475; Repts. of January 20 and February 22, 1944.

13. APMO, Microfilm 1900, CHIDK. Fond 502-2-19, pp. 936–957; Microfilm 1898, CHIDK. Fond 502-2-17, pp. 186–206.

14. APMO, D-Au III—1/66, Kommandanturbefehl KL Auschwitz III No. 9/44 of September 6, 1944.

15. APMO, Microfilm 1898, CHIDK. Fond 502-2-17, p. 207.

16. APMO, D-Au I—1/3, Meldeblatt, p. 356.

made on April 14, 1944, by the muster officer of Auschwitz III-Monowitz, showing that on that day two prisoners were moved to the Laurahütte subcamp, seems to support that idea.³ The camp definitely did not exist at the beginning of March 1944, as it is not on the list of subcamps in a letter by the SS garrison doctor dated March 8, 1944.⁴ Three Polish prisoners were also moved to the new subcamp in very early April 1944, and several days later a larger group of prisoners joined them in order to get the future subcamp's premises in order and prepare space in one of the production facilities to house prisoners.⁵ Inside that facility there were already three-tier wooden bunks, probably for prisoners in the forced labor camp for Jews that the Germans established in 1941 under the Organisation Schmelt; that camp was shut down before the Laurahütte subcamp was organized at Oberschlesische Gerätebau GmbH.⁶

In May 1944, once the subcamp was ready to house more prisoners, about 150 to 250 Jews were moved from Auschwitz III-Monowitz to Laurahütte. These prisoners had come to Auschwitz from the Netherlands, France, and Belgium; now they went to the new subcamp as slave laborers. Smaller transports of Auschwitz prisoners were also moved in the following months, predominantly Jews of different nationalities, including a transport of approximately 150 Jewish prisoners from Hungary in September 1944.⁷ On January 17, 1945, several days prior to evacuation, there were 937 prisoners in the subcamp, mainly Jews.⁸

The subcamp's management was in the hands of SS men. SS-Oberscharführer Walter Quakernack held the position of commandant throughout the subcamp's existence; SS-Rottenführer Kramm was his deputy.⁹ There were five or six SS men in all. However, the subcamp's guards were not SS men from the Auschwitz garrison but around 40 naval ratings from the coastal anti-aircraft artillery, commanded by Obermaat Adamczyk. Most of the ratings were older.¹⁰

In general, the subcamp was shaped like a triangle, whose northern and eastern side was formed by a wall approximately 3 meters (10 feet) high, topped with barbed wire. The subcamp's first buildings were a large factory hall, where prisoners were quartered, as well as a brick building that contained the camp storehouses. The barrack where the kitchen and secretarial office were set up, as well as the prisoner hospital barrack, was erected only after the prisoners had been brought to the subcamp. Construction of another barrack for prisoners was begun, although it was not completed. There were three watchtowers on the inside corners of the subcamp or on its outside fence, and a guardhouse next to the gate, through which prisoners exited the camp directly into the factory buildings. The entire subcamp formed a completely separate unit within the factory grounds, administered by the subcamp management.

Prisoners put in the Laurahütte subcamp worked directly in manufacturing as well as inside the subcamp. There were the following detachments: electricians, metalworkers, lathe and milling machine operators, draftsmen, painters, transporters (moving raw materials within the plant), and engineers,

LAURAHÜTTE

Laurahütte was organized in late March and early April 1944 at the Oberschlesische Gerätebau GmbH company, which was probably founded in 1941 at the existing Huta Laura (Laurahütte) steel mill in the town of Siemianowice Śląskie (Siemianowitz) near Katowice.¹ The subcamp was approximately 40 kilometers (25 miles) from Auschwitz and was under the administrative command of Auschwitz III-Monowitz. The company belonged to the German Rheinmetall-Borsig AG corporation. Since it was an arms plant, Oberschlesische Gerätebau GmbH was under military supervision. The company manufactured anti-aircraft guns for the navy.

No sources are available to indicate who established this subcamp or precisely when it was established. The earliest record in surviving Auschwitz documents is from April 8, 1944. A German prisoner named Karl Schmied, a cook, was moved from Eintrachthütte to Laurahütte on that day.² Transferring a prisoner with that job suggests that it was exactly at that time that the subcamp was established. A note

as well as detachments for the camp kitchen, infirmary, cleaners, and a secretarial office. Most prisoners worked producing coastal anti-aircraft guns.¹¹

Civilian employees also worked at the company, and both civilian as well as prisoner foremen supervised the prisoners during the manufacturing process; such precision equipment required high-quality work. When they reported prisoners to the subcamp management for any alleged offenses, they directly contributed to the severe punishment imposed on the prisoners. Any little transgression was regarded as sabotage. For instance, one prisoner, a Dutch Jew (Juda Fransman), who was accused of laziness and sabotage, was punished by flogging. Another prisoner, also a Dutch Jew (Max Levy), who was accused of shirking work and feigning illness, was also given the flogging penalty.¹² Prisoners put to work in production initially worked in the daytime, then a night shift was also instituted.

After liberation, former Laurahütte prisoners recalled several escapes from the subcamp, among which one is documented in surviving records: Jan Purgal escaped from the subcamp on the night of August 18, 1944, with another prisoner's help. SS men from the Political Branch conducted an investigation, after which all Polish prisoners were moved to Auschwitz III-Monowitz in early September 1944 and on from there to other concentration camps within the Third Reich.¹³ Two Jewish prisoners also escaped from the subcamp; their final fate is unknown. The Germans used that escape to justify extra suffering for the remaining Jewish prisoners, in the form of a roll call that lasted several hours. The escape of a young Russian prisoner ended tragically; he was caught, interrogated at Auschwitz, and brought back to Laurahütte, where he was hanged on the assembly ground in the presence of all the subcamp's prisoners.¹⁴

Resistance took several forms in this camp. Prisoners who worked in the engineering office were able to move about the factory buildings and availed themselves of that opportunity for a sabotage operation in which they damaged the mechanisms of guns that the plant manufactured. They carried out the sabotage after the final inspection, when the anti-aircraft guns were still on company premises, awaiting shipment by rail. Since civilian employees also worked at the plant, among them many Poles, prisoners had favorable conditions for establishing illegal communications. This had special significance for Jewish prisoners, who did not have the opportunity of receiving food packages and so could not obtain various products that way.¹⁵

Evacuation of the Laurahütte subcamp began on January 23, 1945. On that day, all 937 prisoners were loaded into train cars that had been put on the railway ramp near the plant. The company's civilian personnel were also evacuated on that same train. The prisoners were transported to the Mauthausen concentration camp. A total of 134 prisoners died during the trip, which lasted five days and nights. Several days later at Mauthausen, a group of about 400 prisoners was formed from the Laurahütte transport and sent to the Neuengamme subcamp in Hannover-Mühlenberg-Linden, where they were put

to work at Hanomag and Rheinmetall-Borsig AG, manufacturing anti-aircraft guns. SS-Oberscharführer Walter Quakernack again became commandant of that subcamp. According to the account of former prisoner Arnošt Basch, of the approximately 400 prisoners brought to Hannover-Mühlenberg-Linden, only 254 survived the stay at that subcamp and the death march to the Bergen-Belsen camp.¹⁶

Walter Quakernack was sentenced to death by a British Military Court in Lüneburg in 1946.

SOURCES The following published sources contain additional information: Tadeusz Iwaszko, "Podobóz 'Laurahütte,'" *ZO* 10 (1967): 101–115, which includes a map prepared by the author on p. 102; and Aleksander Lasik, "Ściganie, sądzenie i karanie członków oświetcimskiej załogi SS. Procedura. Zagadnienie winy i odpowiedzialności," *ZO* 21 (1995): 189–250, on the Quakernack trial.

APMO holds fragmentary surviving documents on the Laurahütte subcamp in various collections of Auschwitz concentration camp records, as well as accounts of former Laurahütte subcamp prisoners. An eyewitness account of Jewish forced labor at this factory is Ernest Koenig, *Im Vorhof der Vernichtung. Als Zwangsarbeiter in den Außenlagern von Auschwitz*, ed. with an afterword by Gioia-Olivia Karnagel (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2000).

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trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Circular letter from the SS-WVHA to concentration camp commanders, employment unit re: Ergänzung zum Einheitsaktenplan dated June 9, 1944, Nuremberg Doc. NO-597, in APMO, Proces Maurera, vol. 6, books 99–100.
2. Häftlingspersonalkarte Karl Schmied, in APMO, D-AuIII-3a/46.
3. APMO, D-Au III/Monowitz/5, book 522.
4. Letter from SS-Standortarzt dated March 8, 1944, in APMO, D-AuIII/Golleschau/, books 236 and 237.
5. Account of former prisoner Jan Purgal, in APMO, Oświadczenie [Affidavits], vol. 40, book. 70.
6. Ernest Koenig, *Im Vorhof der Vernichtung. Als Zwangsarbeiter in den Außenlagern von Auschwitz*, ed. with an afterword by Gioia-Olivia Karnagel (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2000), p. 108.
7. Account of former Auschwitz prisoner Arnošt Basch, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 40, books 113, 115.
8. Smuggled message of the Resistance Movement at Auschwitz concentration camp dated January 17, 1945, in APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu, vol. 3, book 212.
9. Accounts of former Auschwitz prisoners Jerzy Kałka and Arnošt Basch, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 37, book 64, vol. 40, book 112.
10. Account of former Auschwitz prisoner Jerzy Kałka, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 37, book 64.
11. Accounts of former Auschwitz prisoners Jerzy Kałka, Jan Purgal, and Arnošt Basch, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 37, book 64, vol. 40, books 70–71, vol. 40, book 113.
12. Juda Fransman's Strafverfügung dated July 5, 1944, in

APMO, D-Au I, II, III-2/301; Max Levy's Strafmeldung dated 6/29/1944, in APMO, D-Au I, II, III-2/299.

13. Accounts of former Auschwitz prisoners Jan Purgal, Jerzy Kałka, and Ryszard Sidowski, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 40, books 71–72, vol. 37, books 64–65, vol. 40, book 105.

14. Accounts of former Auschwitz prisoners Joseph Kupferman, Ryszard Sidowski, and Arnošt Basch, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 40, book 119, vol. 40, book 104, vol. 40, book 113.

15. Accounts of former Auschwitz prisoners Jerzy Kałka and Jan Purgal, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 37, book 64, vol. 40, book 71.

16. Accounts of former Auschwitz prisoners Joseph Kupferman and Arnošt Basch, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 40, book 119, vol. 40, books 84, 113, 116–117.

LICHTEWERDEN

The Lichtewerden subcamp was established on November 11, 1944, at the thread factory in the town of Svetlá (Lichtewerden) near the town of Bruntal (Freudenthal), located in the mountains of northern Moravia.¹ The factory belonged to the Gustav Adolf Buhl und Sohn textile firm, headquartered in Staré Město-under-Sněžník (Mährisch Altstadt). The company also owned a linen spinning mill in the town of Žacléř (Schatzlar), located to the south of the Karkonosze mountain range. Both Buhl und Sohn plants used the labor of Jewish women, among them Poles who had been put in forced labor camps as well as prisoners from the Gross-Rosen and Auschwitz concentration camps, starting in autumn 1944. The Auschwitz prisoners were put to work at the thread factory in Svetlá.²

A selection of Jewish women took place on November 9, 1944, at the Auschwitz II-Birkenau women's camp. A group of 300 women were selected, bathed, given camp numbers that were tattooed on their arms, and then moved to Lichtewerden on November 11. The new subcamp, like others being established at industrial facilities, was under the administrative command of Auschwitz III-Monowitz. According to the accounts of prisoners who were in the selected group, SS men conducted the selection. One of them with the rank of SS-Oberscharführer, later the commandant of the Lichtewerden camp, looked at all the women's hands during the selection and picked those whose hands were tough from work. Polish Jews predominated among the women moved to Lichtewerden, but there were also Czechs and Slovaks selected. That was both the first and the last transport sent to this subcamp. The subcamp's buildings consisted of four wooden barracks painted green, including two accommodation barracks, a kitchen, and a washroom. The accommodation barracks for the prisoners contained three-decker bunks and were divided into rooms called *sztubas* holding 32 women each. There were stoves in the rooms, but the SS staff would beat any prisoners who tried to use them. Instead of striped uniforms, the prisoners wore civilian clothing marked lengthwise down the back with a stripe of red oil paint.

In the washroom, the prisoners could use cold running water; sometimes warm water was even available. They were issued soap in small quantities. The living and sanitary conditions were considerably better here in comparison to the camp at Birkenau.³ A dispensary was also established for the prisoners in camp, as well as an infirmary—a poor substitute for a hospital—where a doctor and a nurse selected from among the prisoners were put to work.

The camp was fenced with barbed wire and had four watchtowers in which SS men kept guard all day through. These were Wehrmacht soldiers who had been removed from service at the front due to their age or incapacity to serve and who were incorporated into the SS after a few weeks of training. Unfortunately, no records have survived about the camp's SS staff. It is known, however, that the staff included 16 SS guards and four women supervisors.⁴ The women called the camp commandant, who was disabled with one eye, "Schnauze," as he used that word most often in his communications with them. The prisoners all described him as a terrible brute and simpleton, and also as a ruthless sadist, who would beat them and threatened to send them back to Birkenau for the smallest offenses or for no reason at all. He always walked with a cane. An SS man by the first name of Martin was his assistant, whom the prisoners described as a harmless elderly man. There were also four women overseers. Three of them, especially one by the first name of Maria, had a very bad reputation. On the other hand, the fourth one, Luiza, was the opposite of the others. She always defended the prisoners against the SS personnel.⁵

The prisoners would leave for work in a tight group under the escort of SS men after the morning roll call. They returned from work the same way. A small group of women worked inside the camp in the kitchen, in the infirmary, or doing cleaning work.

Work at the factory lasted from 6:00 A.M. to 4:00 or 6:00 P.M. In the factory facilities, they worked at the same workstations with Czech female civilian employees from the factory personnel. These civilian workers supervised the prisoners' work but otherwise were prohibited from communicating with them. The camp escort purposely misled the factory staff, saying that the prisoners were common criminals. Therefore, their attitude toward the prisoners was rather indifferent. There were sporadic instances of furtively tossing some food or sometimes a newspaper to the prisoners, especially toward the end of the war, when discipline had slackened among the SS men supervising the prisoners.⁶

Some of the prisoners were put to work on the yarn-winding machinery; others worked in the linen spinning mill, where the labor was especially hard, as the dust hovering in the air made breathing difficult. Those who were put to work weighing and delivering 50-kilogram (110-pound) cotton bales to the respective workstations had equally hard labor. Some prisoners received serious injuries while operating the machines; the camp commandant treated every on-the-job accident as sabotage. There were also instances of hungry, exhausted prisoners fainting at work, as the hunger in the camp kept growing

from month to month. Meals were only issued twice a day in camp: in the morning and in the evening upon returning from work. The prisoners got about one-seventh of a kilogram (one-third of a pound) of bread per day (two loaves per sztuba), plus a cup of unsweetened black coffee, and some soup made of rotten vegetables or potato peels in the evening.⁷ The factory management provided the camp with some food rations for the prisoners working in the factory, but they were stolen by the camp's German personnel.

On May 6, 1945, the entire SS staff left the camp, headed by the commandant. Two days later the Russians entered Lichtewerden, liberating the 300 prisoners in that camp.⁸

SOURCES Primary sources on Lichtewerden may be found in APMO (e.g., a daily list of occupations of the female inmates at Auschwitz III; Syg. D-Au III-Lichtewerden/1; testimonies; correspondence) and at ITS.

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NOTES

1. APMO, Syg. D-Au III—3a/1, k. 432, daily employment list of female prisoners in the subcamps under the Monowitz concentration camp (Oświęcim III).

2. APMO, Syg. K: I-8523/92/2669/86, correspondence with the Okresním Vlastivědném Muzeum v Šumperku, dated September 19, 1986; Syg. D-Au III-Lichtewerden/1, pp. 1–6, list of inmates of the SS-Arbeitslager Lichtewerden (by names and numbers) dated December 23, 1944 (original at the Jewish Museum in Prague).

3. APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, 58: 23–33, 48–55, accounts of former prisoners Celina Hochberger Strauchen and Lola Gimpel née Landmann; 98: 67–68, account of Helena Celta.

4. APMO, daily employment list, pp. 462–509.

5. Testimony of former prisoner Mila Hornik in Natan Blumental, ed., *Dokumenty i materiały. Tom I Obozy* (Łódź: 1946), pp. 49–50; APMO, Collection of testimonies, 98: 68, statement by former inmate Helena Celta.

6. APMO, Testimonies, 58: 49–50, statement of Lola Gimpel; 98: 68, statement of Helena Celta.

7. APMO, Testimonies, 58: 50.

8. APMO, Testimonies, 58: 32, 54; 98: 69.

NEU-DACHS

The Germans established the Neu-Dachs subcamp on June 15, 1943, in Jaworzno. The German company Energie-Versorgung Oberschlesien AG (EVO) initiated the subcamp's establishment in order to put Auschwitz prisoners to work in Jaworzno's hard coal mines and building a thermal power plant.¹ The first group of approximately 100 prisoners arrived in the subcamp on June 15, 1943. Over the next six months, the population grew to about 2,000, and a year later, in January 1945, shortly before evacuation, there were 3,664 prisoners in the subcamp. This was 1,500 more prisoners than the Germans projected when they established the sub-

camp.² That growth came about because EVO kept asking for more prisoners. The decided majority of prisoners were Jews from all over Europe. Poles constituted the majority of the non-Jews.³

The living conditions, clothing, and food in the camp were no different from those at Auschwitz. Prisoners often would not get new clothes in exchange for worn-out clothing. They therefore went about in tattered clothes, and most of them did not have any underwear, socks, or gloves. The mines assigned leather or rubber shoes and overalls to some prisoners who worked in flooded places, but these were never repaired. Prisoners received neither helmets nor rubber capes, which civilian workers had.⁴ Besides the camp food, the mines provided prisoners classified as hard laborers with a bowl of meatless soup during work, to increase work output. For good work, prisoners also received 10 cigarettes each from the mines and companies, plus vouchers worth 1 to 4 Reichsmark (RM) for use in the camp canteen. However, the canteen did not have what the prisoners most needed—food—and the companies distributed the vouchers in small quantities, so there was little real incentive to work harder. The SS authorities kept drawing attention to the small amount of vouchers being allotted and called on the mines and companies to increase them—most likely out of concern for the SS canteen's profits rather than the prisoners' welfare.⁵

The subcamp was an independent administrative and management unit: it had its own kitchen, hospital, clothing warehouses, food warehouses, laundry, workshops, baths, and delousing facilities. Clothes, food (except for bread, which was supplied locally in Jaworzno), medicine, and other materials were provided from the Auschwitz central warehouses.⁶

The subcamp was under the command of Auschwitz I until November 21, 1943, after which it was under Auschwitz III-Monowitz. SS-Obersturmführer Bruno Pfütze was the subcamp commandant.⁷ The guard staff was composed of around 200 to 300 SS men who belonged to the Monowitz 4th Guard Company.⁸

Jaworzno's Rudolfgrube, Dachsgruben, and Friedrich-Augustgrube hard coal mines and the Wilhelm power plant were the prisoners' chief places of work. Prisoners worked in three shifts, with only one Sunday per month off. Prisoners comprised approximately 60 percent of the staff at the Jaworzno mines. The rest of the employees were mainly Polish workers.⁹

The prisoners marched to work under SS escort, fastened to metal bars that they had to hold with their bare hands, even in the coldest weather. To entertain themselves before sending the prisoners underground, the SS men would throw them cigarettes, then set their dogs on them. Thirty prisoners were packed into elevators designed for 8 persons.

Once underground, the prisoners were divided up into groups of several men each and assigned to civilian workers who were responsible for their output. In the mines, the prisoners did almost every job possible: excavating coal, loading it onto carts, conveying it, digging new galleries, deepening

shafts, and so on. For the malnourished prisoners, it was work that exceeded their physical capabilities.

Some prisoners were hired out from EVO, which was the main employer, to various construction companies, large and small. For instance, the Breitenbach-Montanbau company employed several dozen prisoners to build a railroad siding for the Dachs mine. Quite a large group of prisoners worked building the new Richardgrube mine.

After they returned from work, the prisoners were also forced to perform various cleanup jobs in camp.

Brutal discipline was the preferred method for maintaining high output. Some of the German mine foremen would beat prisoners severely—sometimes fatally—for taking a moment's break from work. Especially after meetings of the SA to which most of the foremen belonged, they would go underground and abuse the prisoners on any pretext.¹⁰ Eventually, the subcamp commandant intervened; in a special letter he notified the management of Jaworzno's mines that, regardless of their position, all civilian workers were prohibited from beating prisoners.¹¹

In order to tighten discipline and step up work output, on June 28, 1944, mine inspector Bergmann asked subcamp commandant Pfütze to replace Jewish prisoner foremen with Aryan ones, which, as he stated, brought the desired results.¹²

Besides summary on-the-spot beatings, prisoners also received so-called regulation punishments such as flogging and confinement in a standing cell. A Polish prisoner was locked in the standing cell for 13 nights for having brought into camp a package with food and medicine, which he had secretly received from a prisoner's wife. Juda Kalvo, a Jew, was punished by flogging for having exchanged his two gold teeth for 5 kilograms (11 pounds) of bread.¹³ Long roll calls each morning and evening, which sometimes lasted up to two hours, added to the suffering, especially in winter. If the SS found that someone had escaped, the punitive roll calls could last 12 hours or more.¹⁴

A hospital and dentist's office were set up in the subcamp for the sick and disabled prisoners. There were three wards: internal medicine, surgery, and diarrhea. The Jewish prisoner doctors there wanted to help the patients, but a lack of basic drugs hindered their efforts. They mainly treated people with aspirin and carbon, used disinfectants, and bandaged wounds. The hospital was only intended for those who were less seriously ill; SS doctors (including Horst Fischer from the Monowitz hospital) selected the rest to go to the Auschwitz hospital or straight to the gas chambers.¹⁵ For example, a surviving list of selected prisoners dated January 18, 1944, shows 247 prisoners who were taken away to Birkenau and killed.¹⁶

Some Polish workers took the risk of aiding them by sharing food and helping to organize escapes, some of which were successful. The risks were substantial. Głowacz, a miner from the Rudolf mine, was arrested for supplying bread to the prisoners. He was taken away to the Auschwitz concentration camp and died in a few weeks. The Jewish prisoner who had helped him was tortured to death.

One escape attempt ended tragically when the SS arrested approximately 30 prisoners for treason after they tried to get out of the camp through a tunnel. After an investigation held at the Auschwitz I camp, the SS hanged 19 prisoners at the subcamp on December 6, 1943, and sent 7 to a penal company.¹⁷

The SS began shutting the camp down in January 1945. On January 17, after food from the camp warehouses had been distributed, approximately 3,200 prisoners found to be fit to march were escorted out via Mysłowice toward the Auschwitz subcamp of Blechhammer. The prisoners reached it after three days of marching in severe cold over snow-covered side roads. Many of those who could not keep up with the columns were shot along the way. The prisoners stayed at Blechhammer for one day, after which they were herded to Gross-Rosen, then taken by train to Buchenwald. Russian forces liberated the 400 seriously ill prisoners who remained in camp on January 19, 1945.¹⁸

SOURCES APMO holds the following relevant records: Kaufmännische Direktion EVO Kattowitz (hereinafter Jaworzno); Akta Procesu Hössa; Affidavits Collection, accounts of Adam Budak, Kazimierz Borowiec, Jan Broniowski, Antoni Kartasiński, Antoni Kucharz, Wiktor Pasikowski, Aron Piernat, Zbigniew Tokarski, Józef Tałach, Włodzisław Śmigielski, Stanisław Sadowski, Theodor Weil, and Mieczysław Zięć-Zewski; Fahrbefehl; Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderung; SS-Hygiene Institut; Materials of the camp resistance movement (Mat. RO); Kommandantur-Befehle KL Auschwitz III.

See also Franciszek Piper, "Das Nebenlager Neu-Dachs," HvA 12 (1971): 55–111; Henry Bulawko, *Les yeux de la mort et de l'espérance. Auschwitz-Jaworzno* (Paris: Recherche, 1980); Paul Heller, "Das Außenlager Jaworzno," in *Auschwitz. Zeugnisse und Berichte*, ed. H.-G. Adler, Hermann Langbein, and Ella Lingens-Reiner (Cologne: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1984), pp. 169–171.

Franciszek Piper
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, Kaufmännische Direktion EVO Kattowitz (hereinafter Jaworzno), segr. 1, book 37, letter from EVO to Amtsgruppe D dated June 22, 1943.

2. APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu, vol. 2, book 60; vol. 3, book 212.

3. APMO, Zespół Oświadczenie (Affidavits Collection), accounts of Mieczysław Zięć-Zewski and Wiktor Pasikowski.

4. APMO, Affidavits Collection, accounts by former prisoners Włodzisław Śmigielski and Wiktor Pasikowski, as well as civilian employees of Jaworzno mines: Stanisław Sadowski and Antoni Kartasiński.

5. APMO, KL Auschwitz III, Kommandantur Befehl Nr 6/44.

6. APMO, Affidavits Collection, accounts of former prisoners Mieczysław Zięć-Zewski and Theodor Hennequin.

7. Kommandantur-Sonderbefehl dated May 22, 1944.

8. APMO, Affidavits Collection, accounts of former prisoners Zbigniew Tokarski, Wiktor Pasikowski, Aron Piernat, and Zbigniew Mroczkowski.

9. APMO, Affidavits Collection, account of engineer Jan Broniowski.
10. APMO, Affidavits Collection, account of civilian employee Kazimierz Borowiec.
11. APMO, Jaworzno, File 1, books 198–199.
12. APMO, Jaworzno, File 1, book 260.
13. APMO, Punishment Reports and Orders.
14. APMO, Affidavits Collection, accounts of former prisoners Theodor Hennequin, Augustyn Pietruszko, and Wiktor Pasikowski.
15. APMO, Affidavits Collection, account of former prisoner Theodor Weil.
16. APMO, Jaworzno, File 3, books 144–148, original list of those selected.
17. APMO, Książka bunkra (Bunker Book)—register of prisoners put into the Auschwitz I camp jail contains the names of those arrested.
18. APMO, Affidavits Collection, accounts of former prisoners Wiktor Pasikowski, Aron Piernat, Zbigniew Mroczkowski, and Theodor Hennequin.

NEUSTADT O/S

The Neustadt subcamp was established in September 1944 in the city of Neustadt (Prudnik) on the premises of a textile factory that had been owned by a Jew, Samuel Fränkl, before the war, and was renamed Schlesische Feinweberei AG Neustadt O/S after war broke out.

Like many other Third Reich industrial plants, during the war Schlesische Feinweberei used the forced labor of foreign workers, prisoners of war (POWs), and in 1944 it accessed the reserves of the cheap slave labor of Auschwitz concentration camp prisoners. Negotiations in the business of putting prisoners to work were finalized in September 1944. A surviving order of Auschwitz III-Monowitz commandant SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Schwarz, dated September 6, 1944, proves this; it assigned SS guard staff to the newly forming Neustadt subcamp from the Lagischa subcamp, which was shut down the same day. The first, and last, transport of 400 female Hungarian Jewish prisoners was brought to Schlesische Feinweberei on September 26, 1944.

The women brought from Auschwitz II-Birkenau were placed on the second floor of one of the factory buildings, in space that had previously housed a forced labor camp for Polish Jews. Bars were put on the windows of the rooms allocated for the prisoners, and the building and yard were fenced.

The commandant of Neustadt was SS-Obersturmführer Paul Müller, who had earlier been commandant of the women's camp at Birkenau and had also been the commander of the Monowitz staff prior to his assignment to Neustadt. Max Krause, the Neustadt area Gestapo chief, conducted random inspections on the factory premises. His chief characteristic was his particular sadism; Neustadt residents called him the "devil of Prudnik County."

Even when they arrived at Neustadt, the women were haggard and mentally broken. Hunger, hours of work in the factory, and anxiety over the plight of the loved ones with whom they had been brought to Auschwitz devastated them even more. Dead prisoners were buried in the Jewish cemetery in Neustadt.

The prisoners learned to weave as soon as they arrived at Neustadt, for about two to three weeks. They were then put to work in the weaving plant. Accounts of people who were employed there with the prisoners show that they were so physically exhausted and mentally broken that they did not have the strength to work. The SS men forced them to do so by beating them.

The subcamp was shut down on January 19, 1945, and the women there were evacuated on foot to the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, from where they were then taken to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.

SOURCES Information on the Neustadt subcamp may be found in Irena Strzelecka, "The Neustadt Subcamp," *ZO* 13 (1971): 153–166 (German version: "Das Nebenlager Neustadt," *HvA* 11 [1971]: 159–170).

Original records pertaining to this camp are held at APMO, Affidavits Collection, account of former female prisoner Charlota Karešova, as well as accounts of Prudnik residents and former Schlesische Feinweberei employees Zofia Kałwa, Józef Kanik, Anna Krawczyk, and others.

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trans. Gerard Majka

PLAWY [AKA WIRTSCHAFTSHOF

PLAWY, GUT PLAWY]

The small village of Pławy (Plawy) is approximately 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) south of Brzezinka (Birkenau). In late 1940, pursuant to an agreement between the concentration camp headquarters and the Katowice regency government, a decision was made to form an Auschwitz "zone of interest", within which there were plans to create an SS agricultural and breeding farm upon the personal wish of Heinrich Himmler. Although Plawy was in the center of the planned zone, there were probably no plans yet to establish a separate farm there. On March 8, 1941, all the inhabitants were removed from the village, and most of the homes belonging to them (55) were demolished over the next few months.¹ From 1942 to 1944, farm commandos made up of prisoners brought in from the Auschwitz II-Birkenau camp worked on the land belonging to the village.

In the spring of 1944, one large barrack—a barn—was erected on the site of the future camp as well as two somewhat smaller ones, where cows and horses were later kept. Photographs taken by Allied reconnaissance planes show that no other buildings were put up near them at least until August. Only the photographs of November 29 and December 21, 1944, show more structures on the site, including accommodation barracks for the prisoners and a fence.²

It is hard to ascertain when prisoners were housed in the barracks on a permanent basis. Starting at least in early October 1944, three large commandos worked at Plawy: Sinschkowski (an average of 100 female prisoners), Haseloch (200), and Mokrus (320),³ which were listed in the labor commando records of the women's camp at Birkenau until October 30. At the end of the month, only Mokrus and a Schinkowsky [sic] commando (under Kommandoführer Haseloch) of 200 female prisoners appear in the records. Those commandos are listed in the Birkenau labor roster of female prisoners for the last time on October 30, and on that same day, commando 21—Neuhof Plawy (203 women)⁴—appears in the commando roster for the Auschwitz I women's camp, meaning that from then on, those prisoners were under the command of the women's camp located in the camp extension (Schutzaftlagererweiterung). Also surviving from October 31, 1944, is a document regarding the reorganization of commandos put to work at farm labor, mentioning the creation of the new "Plawy parent camp" (Stammkommando Plawy) numbering 193 prisoners. It was based on a disbanded commando led by SS-Unterscharführer Mokrus (he kept his position). In addition, Marschkommando Plawy (83 female prisoners) was formed out of commandos 9 and 22 and was commanded by SS-Unterscharführer Haseloch. The list also refers to the small 10-person Melker Plawy⁵ commando. Every day from then on, the records of the women's camp employment office listed two commandos working in Plawy—a "parent camp" and a "marching camp"—and the approximate size of both, 260 and 100 women, respectively.⁶ The name of the former would indicate that the prisoners in it were permanently put into Plawy on October 31, while the women from the "marching" commando went back and forth to work from the Auschwitz I women's camp. However, the fact that the commandos were included in the parent camp's population would suggest that there was not a separate subcamp at Plawy yet.

According to the account of former prisoner Anna Tytoniak, the Plawy subcamp was formed on January 3, 1945.⁷ In it were placed approximately 200 women who had previously been at Birkenau, mainly Russian women, as well as prisoner-functionaries: two female German Kapos, a barrack chief (also a German woman), a living quarters chief (a Hungarian Jewish woman), and the commando scribe (a Polish woman).

The subcamp was rectangular in shape, 160 by 140 meters (525 by 460 feet).⁸ It was surrounded by a double barbed-wire fence running along concrete posts. The fence was not electrified, and no watchtowers were put up around the subcamp. Inside, the camp was divided by an inner fence into a living section and a farming section. The former held two accommodation barracks for the women and the men (also separated by a barbed-wire fence). A large barn was erected in the center of the farm area, flanked by a quite large stable and cowshed. Barracks for the sheep, pigs, and geese were built a bit further away, as well as storehouses for the farm tools. There was a small office barrack near the entry gate, where the men's and women's commando scribes worked.

The barrack for the female prisoners was spacious and, compared to the barracks of the Birkenau women's camp, far better furnished; it had windows and electric lighting. The women slept alone on bunk beds and had clean straw mattresses and blankets. The space was heated by two stoves, which were regularly supplied with coal—which was a rarity at Birkenau. The prisoner-functionaries had their own room at one corner of the barrack, furnished with clean bedding and many "luxury" items that the barrack chief and Kapo had obtained at the "Canada" warehouses. A makeshift infirmary was set up in the opposite corner of the barrack, to the left of the entrance. Next to it was a washroom where a large barrel had been installed, filled every day with fresh water from a well that had been dug near the barrack.

The women were dressed in prisoners' stripes and jackets and wore white cloth kerchiefs on their heads. They got up at 6:00 A.M.; they washed and made their beds, then were issued "tea" or "coffee" brought in from the Auschwitz main camp. The women lined up in front of the barrack for roll call. Then some of them left for work in the farm barracks, where they fed and milked the cows (about 100), cleaned the cowshed, and carried out the manure; the others were sent to sift the fodder potatoes and beets that had been put up in mounds of earth and to transport the fodder to the camp. They were issued lunch at the work site. In the evening at approximately 6:00 P.M., the women returned to the subcamp, where they received bread with some margarine and jam after the roll call. The doors were closed for the night from the outside with a sliding bar and padlock. SS men served guard duty around the fence, and in principle they could not enter the camp during that time.

SS-Aufseherin Cichoń was in charge of the women's section of the subcamp. She behaved decently toward the prisoners, as did the SS men who had been assigned to guard them; they were often older men and were clearly frightened at the prospect of the Red Army suddenly arriving.

The male prisoners at Plawy were mainly Russians and Poles; also sent there were several Slovak Jews and Germans, who held Kapo positions and that of barrack chief.⁹ They had been placed in Plawy presumably in the last days of December 1944. The barrack in which they lived was furnished like the women's barrack, with a separate room for the prisoner-functionaries, a makeshift washroom, and a space that was something like a dispensary. Patients with no prognosis of a quick recovery were sent back to the hospital at the main camp.

These Plawy prisoners mainly took care of the horses, of which there were about 70 to 80, and also transported farm produce and milk to the camp dairy, having 25 carts available (each one harnessed with 2 horses). A guard escorted every cart leaving the subcamp. A noncommissioned officer with the rank of SS-Oberscharführer was in charge of the men's camp.

The Plawy subcamp operated for only about three weeks. On the night of January 17–18, 1945, the SS men ordered the prisoners to slaughter the calves and pigs, after which they loaded the meat onto several carts. They loaded feed and hay

for the cows and horses onto the carts that were left. The last roll call was held the following morning at the assembly ground, after which the 138 male¹⁰ and the approximately 200 female prisoners set out westward on foot. The convoy was arranged as follows: the livestock was driven at the head of the column, with the female prisoners following a bit behind, then the carts loaded with the meat and feed, and the male prisoners marching at the end, driving along about 300 geese with them. At Pszczyna, where they stopped for the night, the SS men gave the geese to retreating Wehrmacht soldiers, in return for which they received bread and canned food. The next day the female prisoners reached Wodzisław Śląski. They were evacuated farther westward in freight cars. The male prisoners continued driving the livestock to the town of Zamberg, where the SS men sold the cows to local farmers, and the prisoners were sent to the nearby railroad station, from where they were later taken to Mauthausen.

SOURCES Primary source materials are available at APMO, Labor rosters of female prisoners of Au I and Au II; Zespół Oświadczenia, 49: 153–158, account by Anna Tytoniak, and 67: 218–222, account by Roman Wieszała.

Piotr Setkiewicz
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, D-Au I—3a/1 Segr. 14, report of Heinrich Schwarz dated March 17, 1941, on the progress of the displacement operation; Zespół Oświadczenia (Affidavits Collection), 50: 152–153, account by Józef Świadek; 48: 14, account by Józef Paszek.
2. APMO, Zespół Opracowania (Essays Collection), vol. 64c, aerial photographs, neg. nos. 22379/6 and 22379/11.
3. APMO, D-Au II—3a/18b–30b, labor rosters of female prisoners of Au II concentration camp.
4. APMO, D-Au I—3a/27b, labor rosters of female prisoners of Au I.
5. APMO, D-Au I—Landwirtschaft/67a, 2: 80.
6. APMO, D-Au I—3a/28b and following, labor rosters of female prisoners of Au I.
7. APMO, 49: 153; 48: 198.
8. Calculated on the basis of aerial photograph dated December 21, 1944 (neg. no. 22379/18); APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia (Affidavits Collection), vol. 64c.
9. APMO, Affidavits Collection, 67: 218–222, account by Roman Wieszała.
10. APMO, Zespół Materiały Ruchu Oporu (Resistance Movement Materials Collection), 3: 208, 212.

RADOSTOWITZ

From 1942 to 1943, the Pless Forestry Management Office (Oberforstamt Pless) deployed approximately 20 Auschwitz prisoners on a forest detail at Radostowitz (Radostowice). The camp was located in a barn. All of the prisoners were Jewish. The killing center at Birkenau used the trees felled by this detachment for open-pit cremations, but the Ober-

forstamt suspended logging operations during wintertime. The Oberforstamt Pless established similar camps at Altdorf (Stara Wieś) and Kobier (Kobiór). In a special commandant order of November 2, 1942, concerning “offenses with the use of motor vehicles,” SS-Obersturmbannführer Rudolf Höss referred to these camps as the “Pless forest detachments” (Plesser Forstkommandos) but did not list them by name.¹

SOURCES This entry is based upon Irena Strzelecka and Piotr Setkiewicz, “The Construction, Expansion and Development of the Camp and Its Branches,” in *The Establishment and Organization of the Camp*, by Aleksander Lasik et al., vol. 1 of *Auschwitz, 1940–1945: Central Issues in the History of the Camp*, ed. Wacław Długoborski and Franciszek Piper, trans. William Brand, 5 vols. (Oświęcim: APMO, 2000), pp. 130–131, who cite Anna Zięba, “Podobóz Radostowitz” (unpub. MSS, n.d.), which is available at ANMA. Additional information about Radostowitz can be gleaned from “Sub-Camps of Auschwitz Concentration Camp,” www.auschwitz-muzeum.oswiecim.pl.

The forest detachment reference is reproduced in Norbert Frei et al., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000).

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. Quotation in Rudolf Höss, Kommandantursonderbefehl, Betr.: “Verstöße bei Benutzung von Kraftfahrzeugen,” November 2, 1942, reproduced in Norbert Frei et al., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000), p. 192.

RAJSKO

The establishment of the Auschwitz concentration camp sealed the fate of neighboring localities such as Rajsko (Raisko). The Katowice (Katowice) Relocation Agency (Umwanderer Zentralstelle) made the displacement of the Polish population one of its top priorities. During his first visit to Auschwitz and tour of the camp zone of interest on March 1, 1941, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler ordered camp commandant Rudolf Höss to develop the entire area for agriculture and other uses to serve the Reich. The residents of nearby villages, Rajsko among them, were displaced in line with carrying out that order.

When preparing to create specialized agricultural, breeding, and experimental farms, the SS sent numerous prisoner detachments (including women’s detachments, after a women’s camp had been formed in the spring of 1942) to the site that were put to work doing a variety of jobs including demolition work, repairs, building dikes, cleaning fishponds, site leveling, draining fields, and building the

roads, barracks, and other structures needed to operate the specialized farms. Work in the demolition detachments was especially dangerous; injured and dead prisoners were not infrequently pulled out of heaps of rubble after buildings collapsed on them.

After the population had been displaced from the village of Rajsко, 68 homes and 41 stables were demolished. Approximately 300 female and 150 male prisoners walked to work in Rajsко in 1942. They had to cultivate an area of about 65 hectares (161 acres). Women prisoners were put to work weeding, draining fields, reaping grain, site leveling, plowing, and raising vegetables and flowers. Otto Moll, later the chief of the crematoria at Auschwitz II-Birkenau, was the detachment commander of the gardening detachment that walked to Rajsко to work. Moll was cruel and ruthless; he committed bestial and calculated murders of prisoners, especially Jewish ones, toward whom he was inflamed with particular hate.

The work done by the outside detachments prepared the way for the establishment of subcamps associated with horticulture and breeding in the camp "zone of interest." The women's detachment that had been walking to Rajsко was moved there permanently on June 12, 1943, thus establishing the Rajsко subcamp. The camp stood in the northwest part of the village about 200 meters (656 feet) from the main road running from Auschwitz (Oświęcim) to Brzeszcze. The female prisoners were divided up into two detachments, one for gardening and one for plant breeding.

The SS men who supervised the women at their work were under the command of SS-Obersturmbannführer Joachim Caesar, who had a Ph.D. in agriculture and botany and was the director of the Auschwitz concentration camp farms.

The prisoners of the gardening detachment, mainly Polish and Russian women, raised vegetables for the SS kitchens and army units. Cucumbers initialed with their origin were already being sent to Berlin in April. SS men from the Auschwitz staff also bought Rajsко vegetables. The women also bred and cultivated flowers. According to the testimony of former prisoner Irena Halbreich, Rajsко flowers were famous throughout the Reich. In the summertime, the women worked raising vegetables and grain. In the winter, they shoveled the roads clean, removed snow, protected trees from freezing, and prepared wood for fuel. A large greenhouse and hotbeds was one of their work sites; there they sowed and forced early vegetables, seedlings, and flowers.

Since they were in close contact with SS men, the prisoners who were put to work in horticulture were assured better sanitary and hygienic conditions and a change of underwear, clothing, and shoes. However, their work was hard and was inspected daily. If even one small thing wrong was noticed, the woman at fault was punished by whipping, carrying rocks on holidays, or working in a penal company. The SS often conducted random inspections of the prisoners in the field, during which the prisoners had to take off their clothes, and if any civilian clothing or paper sacks were found under

their dresses to protect them from the cold, they were punished.

The plant breeding research and experimental detachment consisted of a group of prisoners, mainly Polish women, with degrees in biology, horticulture, and chemistry. At Caesar's request, the first group of biologists was sent to Auschwitz from Ravensbrück on May 12, 1942. The detachment's population gradually increased to 150 prisoners. Under the supervision of civilian employees, German and Russian scientists, and agro-engineers, the women worked on raising a plant called the *kok-sagiz*, whose roots contained a rubber-producing substance. Making up for the shortage of natural rubber, the supply of which the Allies had blockaded, had grown into an issue of national importance. The rubber-producing substance the plant yielded was put through laboratory tests in the nearby IG Farbenindustrie plants. The purpose of the experiments was to transplant the plant from Asia to Western Europe and to grow a species of *kok-sagiz* whose roots contained the highest percentage of the rubber-producing substance. Himmler himself was in charge of cultivating this rubber-yielding plant. Scientists and army representatives visited the Rajsко experimental station. Caesar accompanied them and provided any explanations they might need.

Plant breeding was an exceptionally good detachment to be assigned to. Because of the important nature of the work being done for the German government, the prisoners put to work there were treated well. Due to the working conditions and camaraderie among the prisoners, the women could maintain a good level of mental stability and physical condition. They even held impromptu shows and evening discussions on various occasions and holidays. When circumstances permitted, they sent vegetables to the children and others hospitalized in Birkenau, via the prisoners walking from Birkenau to Rajsко to work. But even in this better detachment, there were instances of prisoners dying of typhus.

The Rajsко camp existed until January 18, 1945. On that day, the Rajsко female prisoners were joined with a column of male prisoners evacuated from the Auschwitz main camp.

SOURCES Published sources on the Rajsко camp include M. Dechavassine, "Le kommando Pflanzenzucht à Rajsko," *Zo* 15 (1947): 3–4; Anna Zięba, "The Rajsко Subcamp," *Zo* 9 (1965): 71–102 (German version: Anna Zięba, "Das Nebenlager Rajsko," *HvA* 9 [1966]: 75–108); and Jadwiga Apostoł-Staniszewska, *Echa okupacyjnych lat* (Warsaw, 1973), pp. 322–335.

Archival materials may be found in APMO, Zespół Oświadczenie [Affidavits Collection], accounts of former female prisoners Józefa Kiwałowa, Maria Raczyńska, Zenobia Rządzińska, Stefania Szkutowa, Antonina Kopycińska, Hana Laskowa, Zofia Skurska, Wanda Tarasiewicz, Zofia Pajerska; Zespół Proces Hössa [The Höss Trial collection], testimony of former female prisoner Irena Halbreich.

Irena Strzelecka
trans. Gerard Majka

SOSNOWITZ I

The Germans established a subcamp of Auschwitz in Sosnowiec (Sosnowitz), on occupied Polish lands, in August 1943.

The subcamp was established for the purpose of renovating a large building at 12 Targowa Street in Sosnowiec, which had previously housed the offices of the Central Office of the Jewish Councils of Elders in Eastern Upper Silesia (Zentrale der Jüdischen Ältestenräte in Ost-Oberschlesien), where approximately 1,200 people were employed. One hundred tradesmen-prisoners including bricklayers, painters, cabinetmakers, carpenters, metalworkers, electricians, glaziers, and stove-setters were sent to Sosnowiec in late August 1943 to do renovation work.¹ Most of the prisoners were Poles. Additionally, there were Jews from Poland and France, as well as several Germans who served as prisoner-foremen.

The prisoners were quartered on-site in the building being renovated. Their clothing and food were severely inadequate and not much different from that which the Auschwitz prisoners had. Since there was no infirmary on-site, prisoners were sent to Auschwitz if they became ill. There was also a kitchen on-site, to which food products were brought in from Auschwitz.

Work lasted about 10 to 12 hours daily. SS men and German prisoner-foremen supervised the prisoners at work. The SS men summarily whipped them for any real or alleged transgressions. Sometimes the punishment consisted of summary brutal beating and kicking.²

SS-Rottenführer Lehmann initially served as the subcamp's commandant, followed by SS-Unterscharführer Horst Czerwiński.³ Fifteen SS men supervised the prisoners.⁴

When the amount of work decreased in December 1943, almost half the prisoners were moved to the Lagischa subcamp; the rest were moved in February 1944, and the Sosnowitz camp was shut down.⁵

SOURCES APMO holds the following relevant records: Affidavits Collection, accounts by Edward Spurtacz, Stanisław Łapiński, Januarusz Lengiewicz, and Zbigniew Tokarski; Arbeitseinsatz; Akta Procesu Hössa; Fahrbefehle; Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderung; Mauthausen prisoner files; Resistance Movement Materials; Correspondence on IG Farbenindustrie 9d-1.

See also Franciszek Piper, "Das Nebenlager Sosnowitz (I)," HVA 11 (1970): 89–96.

Franciszek Piper
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, Correspondence on IG Farbenindustrie 9d-1, p. 48, letter from Auschwitz Arbeitseinsatz to Auschwitz Standortverwaltung dated August 13, 1943; Zespół Oświadczeń (Affidavits Collection), account by former prisoner Edward Spurtacz; Files of Mauthausen concentration camp prisoners, files of prisoners Franciszek Szast and Januarusz Lengiewicz.

2. APMO, Affidavits Collection, accounts by former prisoners Edward Spurtacz, Stanisław Łapiński, Januarusz Lengiewicz, and Zbigniew Tokarski.

3. APMO, Affidavits Collection, accounts by former prisoners Edward Spurtacz and Stanisław Łapiński.

4. APMO, Correspondence on IG Farbenindustrie 9d-1, p. 48, letter from Auschwitz Arbeitseinsatz to Auschwitz Standortverwaltung dated August 13, 1943.

5. APMO, Affidavits Collection, account by former prisoner Zbigniew Tokarski; Files of Mauthausen concentration camp prisoners, files of prisoner Franciszek Szast; Materiały Ruchu Oporu (Resistance Movement Materials), vol. 2, book 60, vol. 7, book 475 (subcamp prisoner populations).

SOSNOWITZ II

The Germans established a subcamp of Auschwitz in Sosnowiec (Sosnowitz) in May 1944, at the request of the Ost-Maschinenbau GmbH (Osmag) company. Company representatives held preliminary negotiations in Sosnowiec on March 12 with officials of the employment office at the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) on a plan to put prisoners to work. The terms for hiring out prisoners were set forth in a letter from WVHA DII to the company management dated April 26, 1944.¹ The Sosnowitz II subcamp was under the administrative control of Auschwitz III-Monowitz and was headed by commandant SS-Hauptscharführer Albin Vaupel. Several dozen SS men from the Monowitz 5th Guard Company watched the prisoners and escorted them to and from work. On the factory premises, guard duty was shared among SS men not on the camp guard staff, factory guards, and Wehrmacht soldiers.

The first group of approximately 600 prisoners arrived in the subcamp at the beginning of May 1944. Additional drafts added to that number as time went on. The highest prisoner population was approximately 900, at the end of 1944. The population fell to 863 people on January 17, 1945, after some prisoners were moved to Auschwitz.² This number was approximately 500 people less than the projected population of 1,400.

Ninety-five percent of the prisoners were Jews who had been brought to Auschwitz in late 1943 and early 1944 from Poland, France, Belgium, Italy, Greece, and Yugoslavia. There were also several dozen Poles, Russians, Germans, and French in the subcamp.³

Housing and clothing conditions were no different from those typical for Auschwitz camps. The prisoners slept in wooden barracks on three-decker bunks and wore striped clothes and wooden shoes. Some prisoners received clothes of black cloth instead of stripes. Red crosses were painted on the backs of that clothing, and stripes were painted on the pants along the seams. The food, although inadequate, was somewhat better than at the main camp. During work, in addition to typical camp food, prisoners were rationed the rest of the soup that remained in the plant cafeteria.

The prisoners were put to work in the Ost-Maschinenbau arms plants in Sosnowiec, manufacturing barrels and shells for anti-aircraft guns. Some of the prisoners worked in 12-hour shifts and some in 8-hour ones. For the most part, the prisoners worked as helpers to the civilians who operated the plant's machines: they delivered raw materials to workstations, took out finished products, and cleaned the machines.⁴ Burns and bruises occurred in handling the hot extruded barrels. Only a few prisoners received training and went on to operate the machines themselves.

The discrimination against prisoners as opposed to civilian workers was expressed in situations such as air raids, when civilian personnel went to the bomb shelters, while prisoners had to stay at their workstations under the supervision of prisoner-foremen.

Prisoner treatment on the job was better than at the main camp because of the nature of the work. That does not mean that prisoners were free from persecution and severe punishments. Punitive exercises combined with beating were a common form of punishment; the Germans meted it out for singing badly, low productivity, or being late for roll call.

Under the contract that the company signed with the SS, the company paid 6 Reichsmark (RM) for a day's work by a skilled worker and 4 RM for that of an unskilled laborer to the national treasury, via the SS bank account.

The bodies of the dead were taken to the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp to be cremated.

There were several escapes from the subcamp, mainly by Russians. Three Russians escaped from the factory in the night on September 6, 1944: Hryhorij Sijew, Nikolai Korolkow, and Potapow [Polish spellings], who dressed in civilian clothing that Niklaszyński, a Polish civilian worker, had provided to them and left via the plant gate.⁵ A guard shot the fourth escapee as he was going across the gate. Two other prisoners caught escaping were hanged in the subcamp.

In early December 1944, the non-Jewish prisoners were taken away to the main camp and then to the Mauthausen concentration camp. The Sosnowiec camp was finally shut down and the approximately 863 prisoners evacuated in January 1945. The prisoners were taken on foot to Gleiwitz (later Gliwice), then via Ratibor (Racibórz) to Troppau (Opava), which they reached 12 days later. The escorts shot many prisoners who did not keep up with the march, the weak, and the sick. The survivors were loaded into boxcars in Opava and taken away to Mauthausen; the train journey took 4 days. From Mauthausen some prisoners went on to the Gusen subcamp.

SOURCES APMO holds the following relevant records: Affidavits Collection, accounts by Józef Słoń, Julius Engel, Mario Spizzichino, Augustyn Piotrowski, Hawrili Nikiszin, Stefan Gubała, Edward Ciesielski, Wiktor Bil, Antoni Lis, Władysław Wojciechowski, and Franciszek Depta; Camp Resistance Movement Materials; Meldeblatt; Fahrbefehle.

See also Franciszek Piper, "Das Nebenlager Sosnowitz (II)," HvA 11 (1970): 97–128.

Franciszek Piper
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APKat, Berghütte 2511, books 6–8a (microfilm at APMO), letter from SS-WVHA to Ost-Maschinenbau GmbH dated April 26, 1944.

2. APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu (Resistance Movement Materials), vol. 3, books 208, 212, prisoner population on January 17, 1945.

3. APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia (Affidavits Collection), accounts of former prisoners Julius Engel and Mario Spizzichino.

4. Prisoner living and working conditions have been depicted based on the accounts of former Sosnowiec II subcamp prisoners Józef Słoń, Julius Engel, Mario Spizzichino, and Hawrili Nikiszin, as well as Ost-Maschinenbau GmbH civilian plant employees Stefan Gubała, Edward Ciesielski, Wiktor Bil, Antoni Lis, Władysław Wojciechowski, and Franciszek Depta.

5. APMO, Meldeblatt No. 8, Breslau, October 1, 1944, p. 354, two of the three fugitives were listed in the arrest warrant: Hryhorij Sijew (real name—Hawrili Nikiszin) and Nikolai Korolkow. Hawrili Nikiszin writes more of the escape in his account held at APMO, Affidavits Collection.

TRZEBINIA

The Germans established a subcamp of the Auschwitz concentration camp in August 1944 in Trzebinia, a town located between Auschwitz (Oświęcim) and Kraków, at the request of the German Erdöl Raffinerie Trzebinia GmbH petroleum refinery, which planned to use the inmates' labor. In a letter to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amt D II, dated June 20, 1944, the refinery requested that the SS supply them with 1,000 prisoners.¹ That number was never achieved. The largest prisoner population in Trzebinia was over 800 in September 1944.² These prisoners arrived in August and September 1944 in several truck transports from Auschwitz II-Birkenau.³ Except for seven German prisoner-foremen, they were all Jews, most of them Polish and



Post-liberation view of Auschwitz-Trzebinia from the south.
USHMM WS # 51035, COURTESY OF IPN

Hungarian. There were 120 children aged 14 to 17 among the prisoners.⁴

The prisoners were housed in a camp that originally housed British prisoners of war (POWs), whom the Germans had removed from Trzebinia in early August 1944. Living conditions in the subcamp were very hard. Barracks that had previously housed 200 British POWs now were packed with four times as many prisoners. The food, as was typical of concentration camps, was completely inadequate.

As the SS had been requested, the prisoners were mainly put to work expanding the refinery: in bricklaying work, handling building materials, constructing sewers, and digging drainage ditches. Some prisoners were also put to work expanding the camp. Depending upon the time of year, the work lasted from 8.5 to 11 hours.⁵ For the prisoners' work, the refinery paid the Reich treasury, via the SS, 6 Reichsmark (RM) for a day's work by a skilled worker and 4 RM for that of an unskilled one.⁶ Some prisoners were employed directly by the refinery, but most were subhired from the refinery by various construction and installation companies.

Although the refinery management was aware that the prisoners were not being fed properly, in its monthly reports it continually expressed its displeasure with their low work output, which was rated at between 45 and 60 percent of the free laborers' productivity. One of the measures the management took in order to raise productivity was to replace the Jewish prisoner-foremen with Germans.⁷ In its report for August 1944, the refinery stated that the change contributed to a rise in work output. However, in the very next report for September 1944, the management was again displeased with productivity and stated that "an increase in productivity can be achieved only if the block elders, guards, and prisoner foremen are all relentless in impelling prisoners to work."⁸

In response to that, the SS men and prisoner-foremen tormented the prisoners in a bestial manner in order to force them to expend maximum effort: they beat them with poles, iron bars, rubber cables, and shovel handles; kicked them; and not infrequently killed them. One witness, a Polish worker, saw how Oberkapo Albert Gumprecht put a pole onto the neck of a fallen prisoner and ordered two prisoners to stand on the ends, in consequence of which the prisoner was strangled. After work, the prisoners had to carry the bodies of those who had been murdered back to the camp or, if they did not have the strength, drag them back, pulling them by the arms.⁹

Not only were the prisoners tormented by being driven to labor; they were also abused for the smallest disciplinary transgressions. Accepting any food from the Polish workers was a strictly punishable offense. In one instance, when a prisoner picked up an apple that a worker had thrown to him, the prisoner-foreman killed him with one blow to the head with a pole.¹⁰

Any attempt to obtain additional clothing as protection against the cold was also punished. Once, when a prisoner put some newspaper under his striped clothing to protect himself from the cold, a prisoner-foreman brutally beat and kicked

him. During the beating the prisoner had to take the pieces of newspaper out of his shirt.¹¹

Many prisoners fell ill under such conditions. From October 1944 onward, there were always approximately 50 to 100 prisoners in the camp infirmary.¹² In January 1945, the number of infirmary patients, convalescents, and those treated as outpatients was approximately one-third of the total prisoner population.¹³

In order to raise productivity, sick prisoners were trucked away to Birkenau, and those fit for work were brought in.¹⁴ The bodies of those prisoners who died on the spot from illness, starvation, or mistreatment were taken to Birkenau for cremation at first; then in November 1944 the Germans built a crematorium on-site in Trzebinia. SS men blew it up before leaving the camp in January 1945.¹⁵

Because the Red Army was approaching, the camp was shut down on January 17 or 18, 1945. Some prisoners who were unable to march were loaded into four railway freight cars over which a makeshift roof was put up and taken away. The other prisoners were issued extra clothes and food (bread and margarine) and prodded westward to march on foot in columns. The march took place during severely cold, snowy weather. Anyone who did not keep up with the march, especially on the first leg of the evacuation route from Trzebinia to Auschwitz, was shot. Some of those unable to march were left at the Birkenau camp. The rest marched on to Rybnik, but only half of those who had set out from Trzebinia arrived. In Rybnik they were loaded into open freight cars. Covered with snow, they rode toward Gross-Rosen, where they were not admitted, so they were sent to Sachsenhausen, then were sent to Bergen-Belsen two weeks later.¹⁶

Camp commandant SS-Unterscharführer Wilhelm Kowol, who was in charge of 60 SS men, bears direct responsibility for the crimes committed in Trzebinia. The names of over 20 SS men have been identified, including 3 who were tried in court in Poland after the war.

SOURCES On this subcamp, see Franciszek Piper, "Das Nebenlager Trzebinia," *HaA* 16 (1978): 93–135.

APMO contains the Trzebinia Collection, records on the former Trzebinia subcamp, which includes refinery correspondence with SS officials, refinery reports, invoices for prisoner labor, and records of construction companies that used prisoner labor. In the Affidavits Collection, see also the account of former Trzebinia subcamp prisoner Benjamin Pilicer. From OKBZNwK see Catalog No. Ds. 18/67, records of examinations of Trzebinia refinery civilian employees about the Trzebinia subcamp.

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NOTES

1. APMO, Zespół Trzebinia [Trzebinia Collection], 3/2, book 44.

2. Ibid., book 15, refinery report for September 1944.

3. Ibid., book 47, invoice for prisoner labor dated September 2, 1944.
4. Ibid., books 19–22, 30–40, list of prisoners by name dated August 24, 1944, and list of those newly arrived dated September 17, 1944.
5. Ibid., books 2, 3, 14–15, 29, monthly refinery reports on prisoner employment.
6. Ibid., book 47, invoice for prisoner labor in August 1944.
7. Ibid., book 29, refinery report for August 1944.
8. Ibid., book 29, refinery report for September 1944.
9. OKBZNwK, sygn. [catalog no.] Ds. 18/67, testimony of civilian refinery employee Kazimierz Chrząszcz, May 5, 1969.
10. Ibid., testimony of female civilian employee Czesław Kalisiewicz, April 11, 1969.
11. Ibid., testimony of female civilian employee Maria Matonóg, April 28, 1969.
12. APMO, Trzebinia Collection, 3/2, books 2, 3, 14–15, 29, refinery reports for the period from August to November 1944.
13. APMO, Trzebinia Collection, 3/5, books 1–9, daily reports of subcamp management for January 1945.
14. OKBZNwK, catalog no. Ds. 18/67, testimony of civilian refinery employee Stanisław Pluto.
15. Ibid., testimonies of civilian refinery employees Rudolf Fasko, Erwin Michalik, Stanisław Struzik, and Edward Bucki.
16. APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia [Affidavits Collection], accounts of former prisoner Benjamin Pilicer.

TSCHECHOWITZ (BOMBENSUCHERKOMMANDO)

The Allied air raid on Tschechowitz (Czechowice) on August 20, 1944, was the immediate reason for establishing a subcamp of the Auschwitz concentration camp there. Such places as the Czechowice-Południowe train station, the nearby petroleum refinery owned by Vacuum Oil Company AG, and the brickyard in Bestwina were struck, as well as other sites. Many unexploded bombs remained throughout the bombed area.

Immediately after the raid, the Armaments Inspectorat VIIIb and the Organisation Todt (OT) began to ask that labor be assigned from Auschwitz to the task of repairing the bomb damage and to remove unexploded bombs. The bomb search detachment (Bombensucherkommando) most probably came into being upon the initiative of the Deutsche Reichsbahn Office in Tschechowitz. The first group of approximately 70 prisoners, among them around 60 Germans, was brought to Tschechowitz from the Auschwitz main camp just a few days after the bombing. They were immediately assigned to remove unexploded bombs between the tracks. Three days later, the German prisoners were moved back to the main camp, and approximately 100 Jews from such places as Belgium, Poland, Hungary,

and France were brought in to Tschechowitz to replace them. The SS guards were replaced by guards provided by Tschechowitz's chief of police. Two ordnance technicians were assigned from the Luftwaffe to supervise the work of the prisoners.

The prisoners were quartered in the old beer bottling plant building near the Czechowice-Południowe train station. Before the war, the plant was owned by Henryk Feliks, a Jew, who had been taken away to the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp along with approximately 300 Jewish residents of Tschechowitz. The camp management and guards' rooms were in the building next door, where a restaurant and Feliks's residence had been before the war. The subcamp's commandant was SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Claussen, who had served several functions at the main camp, such as political unit officer and, in 1944, Rapportführer. He conducted executions at the Death Wall and participated in selections.

Because the Czechowice-Dziedzice-Bielsko railway line had to be reopened as quickly as possible, the prisoners worked both day and night shifts. They also worked at the refinery and the other sites in the bombing area. The labor the prisoners did was hard, tiring, and extremely dangerous. In his postwar testimony, Claussen said that the prisoners went through a living hell while removing the unexploded bombs, as they constantly contended with the possibility of sudden death.¹

In the less than three weeks of the subcamp's existence, the prisoners retrieved and disarmed more than 80 unexploded bombs. The subcamp was shut down in early September 1944, and the prisoners there were taken back to the main camp.

Claussen was born in Alton, near Hamburg, on December 16, 1915. He came to Auschwitz from Buchenwald in 1941. In September 1944, he was assigned first to the Italian, then to the Hungarian front. U.S. Military Police arrested him after the war, and he died in prison in Poland in 1948.

SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in Irena Strzelecka and Tadeusz Szymański, "Podoboz Tschechowitz-Bombensucherkommando i Tschechowitz-Vacuum," *ZO* 18 (1983): 187–222 (German version: "Die Nebenlager Tschechowitz-Bombensucherkommando und Tschechowitz-Vacuum," *HvA* 18 [1990]: 189–224).

Original records pertaining to the camp are available in the APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia [Affidavits Collection], accounts of former prisoner Jeno Vamosi and accounts of Czechowice residents.

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NOTE

1. APMO, Zespół Proces załogi [Staff Trial Collection], vol. 78, book 262.

TSCHECHOWITZ

[AKA TSCHECHOWITZ-VACUUM]

In September 1944, the Germans established a second subcamp of the Auschwitz concentration camp in Tschechowitz, the name of which appears in surviving records as Arbeitslager Tschechowitz-Vacuum. It stood on the grounds of the old Przemsza farm on the Czechowice-Dziedzice-Bielsko railway line. A brick stable building was adapted as space for the prisoners.

SS man Knoblik served as the subcamp's commandant. Members of the Organisation Todt (OT) and plant protection (Werkschutz) employees supervised the prisoners during work, as did German policemen brought to Czechowice from Moravská Ostrava. German criminal prisoners comprised what was called the "prisoner government."

The first prisoner transport arrived at the subcamp in the latter half of September 1944. The transport consisted of approximately 300 Polish Jews, whom the Germans selected from prisoners who had arrived in Birkenau from the Łódź ghetto. Slightly more than 300 Czech Jews who had come from the Theresienstadt (Terezín) ghetto to Auschwitz joined the first group on October 9, 1944. Besides those transports, several smaller transports were sent to the subcamp. There were 596 prisoners in the subcamp on November 9, 1944, and 561 on January 17, 1945.

The prisoners' living conditions were essentially the same as those in other Auschwitz subamps. Józef Ogiegło, then a Czechowice resident, stated in his account that just the prisoners' appearance alone showed that they were starving. "The people in the camp looked like shadows," testified Ludwik Rup, whom the Germans employed as a forced laborer in the refinery. Only hunger could force prisoners to collect cabbage and rutabaga leaves from the rubbish heap they passed on the way to work, which was next to the kitchen for forced laborers. Some of the more decent guards would allow the prisoners to collect garbage. Others beat the prisoners or even shot at them for attempting to obtain additional nourishment. For example, an SS man shot a prisoner to death during work for picking up a rutabaga that a civilian worker had thrown to him. Two juvenile prisoners, brothers from the town of Hradec Králové, were beaten so severely by SS men for breaking into a food warehouse that they died shortly thereafter. Prisoners were tormented with punitive exercises and hours of roll calls for the smallest offenses; they were whipped, and prisoners were beaten every day in camp as well as at their workplaces.

At least one prisoner attempted to escape to freedom, counting on the help of Czechowice residents. Although he did manage to get beyond the fence and hide in a sewer near the camp, SS men found him during a search of the area near the camp and shot him to death. Investigations of prisoner escapes were conducted by officials of the Auschwitz I political unit: SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Boger, SS-Unterscharführer Federsel, and SS-Rottenführer Pery Broad.

The prisoners' primary workplace was on the premises of the petroleum refinery. There they were mostly put to work demolishing the ruins of bombed structures; doing bricklaying, concrete work, and earthmoving; and repairing tracks and roads. The prisoners were constantly persecuted by the guards and prisoner-foremen who supervised them while they worked. There were also instances in which the guards shot prisoners who worked too slowly.

In early 1945, the approach of Soviet troops forced the management of Auschwitz to shut down the subcamp. Approximately 450 prisoners left the subcamp under armed escort on January 18, 1945, at about 7:00 P.M. The Germans left several dozen sick prisoners and the bodies of dead ones at the subcamp. On January 20, after two days of marching on the Dziedzice-Goczałkowice-Pszczyna road, the prisoners reached Wodzisław Śląski. Prisoners who could not keep up with their comrades were shot by the guards. Sixteen victims of this death march—Polish and Czech Jews—were buried at Suszce-Lęg near Pszczyna. At the train station in Wodzisław Śląski, Tschechowitz subcamp prisoners encountered thousands of comrades from the Auschwitz main camp, from Birkenau, and from other Auschwitz subamps. The prisoners were loaded onto open coal cars and sent to camps inside Germany. The cars holding Tschechowitz prisoners reached Buchenwald four days later. Of the approximately 450 prisoners who left the subcamp, about 300 were still alive. Some prisoners were kept at Buchenwald, while the rest were sent to its subamps, such as Rehmsdorf near Leipzig. In a letter written just after the war to Erwin Habal, his friend from the subcamp, former prisoner Ctibor Erban recalls that it was "desperately bad" at Rehmsdorf. Prisoners received incredibly small food rations; they had no opportunity to wash or change underwear. Thousands of lice nested in the bunks and blankets. Under such conditions only a few of the prisoners evacuated from Czechowice lived to see liberation.

Almost all the prisoners left at the subcamp also perished. On Sunday, January 21, 1945, at about 1:00 P.M., an armed unit of OT members entered the subcamp. They ordered the prisoners to dig a ditch, ostensibly to bury the bodies of dead prisoners. A few hours later, several SS men or Sicherheitsdienst (SD) members arrived at the subcamp. They ordered the people living in the vicinity of the subcamp to leave their homes and warned them that if they helped escaped prisoners, they would all be shot. Accounts of the events unfolding in the subcamp were provided after the war by former prisoners Erwin Habal and Dr. Josef Weil as well as longtime Czechowice residents Antoni Chrapek, Aleksander Owsiński, and Józef Ogiegło, who observed the events in the subcamp from hiding. When the Nazis entered the camp hospital, they shot each bedridden prisoner in his bunk and ordered the few remaining prisoners who were still on their feet to carry the bodies of their dead comrades out to the ditch in the yard and cover them with straw mattresses. The Nazis then poured flammable liquids on the heap of human bodies and straw mattresses and set it on fire. Several prisoners

managed to slip out of the subcamp and hide nearby, but patrols shot most of them. Probably only Habal and Weil survived, with three friends. After leaving the subcamp, Habal hid in Maria Adamaszkowa's chicken coop. The Polish Ogiegło family took care of the prisoner at the risk of their lives.

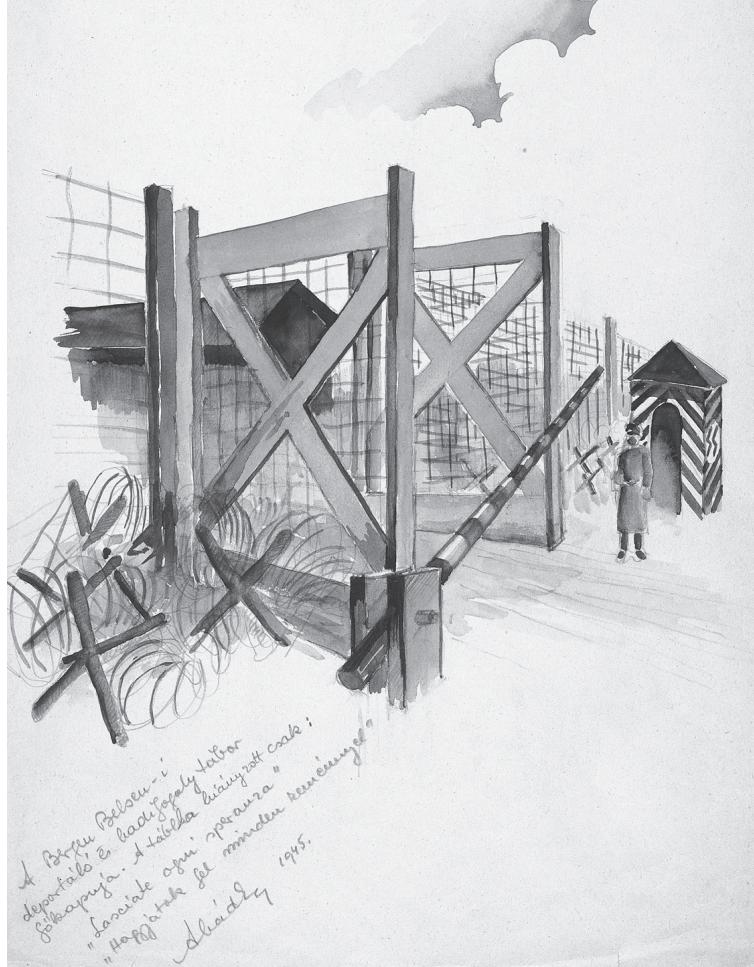
SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in Irena Strzelecka and Tadeusz Szymański, "Podobozy Tschechowitz-Bombensucherkommando i Tschechowitz-Vacuum," *ZO* 18 (1983): 187–222 (German version: "Die Nebenlager Tschechowitz-Bombensucherkommando und Tschechowitz-Vacuum," *HvA* 18 [1990]: 189–224).

Archival sources are available in: APMO, Zespół Oświad-

czenia [Affidavits Collection]; account of former prisoners Ctibor Erban, Pavel Nettl, Erwin Habal, Josef Weil; accounts of residents of Czechowice of that time, including Józef Borończyk, Antoni Chrapek, Józef Ogiegło, and Aleksander Owsiński; Zespół Opracowania [Studies Collection], reports of site inspections of the former subcamp by such organizations as the Jewish Congregation of Bielsko-Biała; Zespół Akta SS-Hygiene Institut [SS-Hygiene Institute Records Collection]; numerical listing of Tschechowitz-Vacuum subcamp prisoners; and the collections of Katowice division of the IPN, testimony of Ludwik Rup (sygn. akt [catalog no.] Ds. 19/66).

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BERGEN-BELSEN



Watercolor and ink drawing of the Bergen-Belsen camp gate by survivor Ervin Abadi, 1945. The marginal comment reads: "The main gate of the deportation camp and POW camp in Bergen-Belsen. The only thing missing from it is a sign: 'Lasciate ogni speranza' 'Abandon all hope' [signed] Abady, 1945." USHMM WS # 36742, courtesy of George Bozoki

BERGEN-BELSEN MAIN CAMP

The “detention camp (*Aufenthaltslager*) Bergen-Belsen,” the official name for the camp, established in the spring of 1943, was to fulfill a very specific function within the National Socialist concentration camp system. It was to function as a transit camp for specific groups of Jewish prisoners who (initially) were excluded from the deportation into the extermination camps. They would be held to be exchanged for Germans interned in Western countries, as more Germans had been interned overseas than had foreigners in countries under German control.

Although the Foreign Affairs Office was involved in the initiative to establish the camp, it was, despite its specific function, nevertheless incorporated into the concentration camp system administered by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), a step that would have fatal results in its development. To establish this assembly camp the SS took over from the Wehrmacht the southern half of the Bergen-Belsen prisoner-of-war (POW) camp and its barracks, located on the edge of the largest military training ground in the German Reich.

It is true that the living conditions at first were better than those in other concentration camps. Those prisoners who were to be exchanged were not to know the true conditions in the National Socialist concentration camps. They were not to be in a position where they could report overseas on the conditions or provide evidence of those conditions by their own physical condition. Nevertheless, the living standards in Bergen-Belsen were somewhat worse than in the internment camps. The substitution of the initial name of the camp, “civilian internment camp (*Zivilinterniertenlager*) Bergen-Belsen” with the name “Aufenthaltslager Bergen-Belsen” on June 29, 1943, was justified on the grounds that a civilian internment camp would in accordance with the Geneva Convention be open for inspection by international commissions.

Even when the exchange prisoners (*Austauschäftlinge*) in Bergen-Belsen were granted “privileges” not available to prisoners in concentration camps—for example, they could take their luggage to Bergen-Belsen and wear their civilian clothing in the camp, and the SS was forbidden directly to mistreat the prisoners physically—the exchange prisoners were subject in many respects to arbitrary acts by the SS, including hour-long roll calls and hunger rations.

The Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) issued guidelines on August 31, 1943, establishing criteria for the relocation of the Jewish prisoners to Bergen-Belsen as follows:

1. Jews who are either related to or have other relations with influential people in hostile overseas countries;
2. Jews who are key to an exchange of Germans either interned overseas or held prisoner overseas;
3. Jews who as hostages can be used to exert either political or economic pressure;
4. Key Jewish personalities.¹

These guidelines determined the social structure of the Aufenthaltslager Bergen-Belsen. Disregarding the so-called prison camp (*Häftlingslager*), a strictly separate area of the camp in which prisoners lived in typical concentration camp conditions, Bergen-Belsen initially held exclusively Jewish prisoners. Until the end of 1944, Jewish prisoners represented the huge majority of the total prisoner population in Bergen-Belsen.

The exchange prisoners were not as a rule individuals. Whole families were deported to Bergen-Belsen with the result that right from the beginning there were a large number of children in all age groups. Men and women were held in separate barracks but could meet each other during the day. Children lived with their mothers in the women’s barracks until they were 15.

The first transport of “exchange prisoners” arrived in Bergen-Belsen in July 1943. However, the planned number of transports only began to arrive from the beginning of 1944. At the end of July 1944, there were around 7,300 prisoners in Bergen-Belsen.

Unlike the other concentration camps, the Bergen-Belsen prisoners did not all live according to the same camp rules. Living conditions varied according to the SS’s view of their legal status and their national origin. They lived in strictly separated parts of the camp.

In the *Sternlager* (so called because the prisoners had to wear the Jewish star) lived the strictly speaking “exchange Jews” (in July 1944 almost 4,400 prisoners) including the Dutch, who had arrived in Bergen-Belsen via the Westerbork transit camp. They were by far the largest group. Even elderly prisoners were forced to do labor in the Sternlager.

Several hundred Jews from neutral countries lived in the *Neutralenlager*, mostly from Spain, Portugal, Argentina, and Turkey. Unlike the other “camps” within Bergen-Belsen, the prisoners here lived in relatively bearable conditions until March 1945. The prisoners in this camp were not assigned to labor detachments.

In the middle of 1943, 2,300 to 2,500 Polish Jews were deported to the so-called special camp (*Sonderlager*). They held provisional papers issued by South American states. They also were not assigned to labor detachments. They were strictly isolated from the other prisoners probably because of their knowledge of massacres committed by the SS in Poland. By the middle of 1944, most of these people, after their citizenship had been examined, were deported to Auschwitz, where they were murdered. Only 350 remained in Bergen-Belsen.

The Hungarian camp (*Ungarnlager*) was established in July 1944 for 1,683 Hungarian Jews (the so-called Kasztner Group). A small group was released to Switzerland in August and a larger group in December 1944, not as part of an exchange of prisoners but as the result of negotiations between the SS and a Zionist aid committee represented by Reszö



Aerial reconnaissance photograph of Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, 1945
USHMM WS # 04162, courtesy of NARA

Kasztner in Budapest. Heinrich Himmler had initiated the negotiations with a goal of making contact with the Western Allies via the release of the Jews with a view to finding a potential partner to negotiate a separate peace. The Hungarian Jewish prisoners in this part of the camp wore, as those in the Sternlager, civilian clothes. They were not forced to work. Shortly after the Kasztner Group was released, a new group of Hungarian Jews was brought into this part of the camp. They were also viewed by the SS as exchange prisoners.

The specific living conditions in the Aufenthaltslager Bergen-Belsen in the beginning made possible an astonishing variety of cultural and religious life, which as a rule was only tolerated by the SS and could only take place in secret. By allowing the prisoners in the Aufenthaltslager their luggage, they were given an important material foundation for a cultural and religious life inside the camp—they could bring in books, paper, pens, and a variety of religious ritual objects. There are known to be 30 diaries secretly written by prisoners in Bergen-Belsen—mostly in the detention camp—that have survived. In addition, more than 100 poems (mostly in Dutch and Polish) written in Bergen-Belsen as well as dozens of drawings drawn in the Aufenthaltslager have survived.

Very few prisoners in the Aufenthaltslager Bergen-Belsen were in fact exchanged. Some 222 Jews were able to leave the camp at the end of June 1944, reaching Palestine in the following months; 136, as the result of a German-American exchange of civilian personnel, reached Switzerland at the end of January 1945. And 1,683 prisoners from the Kasztner Group

and a few hundred Jews from neutral countries were also freed.

The overwhelming majority of the prisoners remained caught between the hope of freedom and the despair of the ever-worsening living conditions in Bergen-Belsen, conditions that deteriorated from the middle of 1944. The hope of exchange meant that in the following months there was no open resistance and, except for the prisoner camp, presumably no attempts to escape.

Beginning in the spring of 1944, the SS began to relocate other groups of prisoners, who had nothing to do with the planned exchange program, to Bergen-Belsen. This turn of events began with a transport of sick prisoners, most no longer capable of working, from the Mittelbau concentration camp at the end of March 1944. They were exactly 1,000 prisoners who were sent to Bergen-Belsen supposedly to recuperate. There was in fact no medical care worthy of the name for these sick prisoners in Bergen-Belsen. In the following months, the SS sent other transports with sick prisoners from other concentration camps to Bergen-Belsen, all of whom suffered a similar fate as those in the first transport from the Mittelbau concentration camp. In the summer of 1944, 200 prisoners in the prisoner camp were murdered by a prisoner whom the SS called the “senior orderly” (*Oberpfleger*). They were murdered with an injection of phenol.

In autumn 1944, a tent camp was built. It bordered on the Aufenthaltslager. Initially, it functioned as a transit camp for transports of females from Poland, who were sent to work in the

armaments industry. In August and September 1944, three work detachments were established not far from Bergen-Belsen in Hambühren, Unterlüß, and Bomlitz. Here also female Bergen-Belsen prisoners had to work in the armaments industry.

At the end of October/beginning of November 1944, the tent camp in Bergen-Belsen held about 8,000 women evacuated from Auschwitz II-Birkenau. After the tents were destroyed by a storm, the prisoners were squeezed into the already overfilled barracks. It was into this so-called small female camp that a transport from Auschwitz holding Anne Frank and her sister Margot was sent. Both died there in March 1945.

In the face of the Red Army advance, concentration camps close to the front began to be evacuated from the autumn of 1944 in a westerly direction in so-called evacuation transports. Bergen-Belsen, due to its geographical position inside the German Reich, became from the end of 1944 more and more a destination for these evacuation transports. To hold the new transports, the camp had to be expanded. In January 1945, the POW hospital in the northern half of the camp complex was dissolved and became part of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Here was the site of the "large women's camp" (*Grosses Frauenlager*).

As a result of this change of role for Bergen-Belsen and the rapid increase in prisoner transports, the camp changed from a detention camp, holding hostages for exchange, into a de facto death camp. With the handover of camp command to Josef Kramer, who had been the commandant of Birkenau and who replaced Adolf Haas on December 1, 1944, this transformation proceeded apace.

The numerous evacuation transports that were directed to Bergen-Belsen from the end of 1944 led to a catastrophic overcrowding in the camp. At the beginning of December 1944, there were around 15,000 prisoners in the camp; on February 1, 1945, approximately 22,000; and 41,250 on March 1, 1945.

In the hastily constructed, completely overcrowded, and mostly unheatable barracks there was often no furniture of any description so that countless prisoners had to lie on the ground. Hunger and illness, which the SS took no serious steps to deal with, determined the life of the prisoners in those areas of the camp where the living conditions had once been bearable. Vermin and diseases such as typhus, dysentery, and tuberculosis caused an ever-increasing number of deaths in the confined spaces where there was a complete lack of hygiene and medical care. In March 1945, alone, more than 18,000 prisoners died in Bergen-Belsen. The hunger reached an unimaginable dimension with the result that in the last weeks before Bergen-Belsen was liberated there are numerous documented cases of cannibalism.

As the Allied troops approached Bergen-Belsen, the SS attempted to remove the thousands of corpses on the camp grounds. Between April 11 and 14, 1945, those prisoners still capable of walking were forced to drag some of the corpses to mass graves. Shortly before, the SS had transported away the exchange Jews (*Austauschjuden*). Three trains evacuated around 8,000 Jews between April 6 and 11, 1945. For hundreds this meant death. One of the trains reached Theresienstadt; the

other two, after roaming around for days, were liberated by U.S. troops near Magdeburg and by Soviet troops near Tröbitz.

The social structure of the prisoners in the camp changed with the numerous prisoner transports that arrived in Bergen-Belsen, especially after the end of 1944. Initially, if one ignores the *Häftlingslager*, Bergen-Belsen held exclusively Jews. From the beginning of the spring of 1944, more and more non-Jews arrived in Bergen-Belsen. At the time the camp was liberated, the camp held prisoners from all groups persecuted by the National Socialists: political prisoners, Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), "asocials," criminals, Jehovah's Witnesses, and homosexuals.

It is true that most of the prisoners were individual prisoners, but Bergen-Belsen was also a family camp. The number of imprisoned children (that is, prisoners under the age of 15) in Bergen-Belsen at various periods is estimated to total around 3,000, the majority of whom were Jewish children with a small group being non-Jewish Polish children or children of Sinti and Roma. Bergen-Belsen was also the destination for evacuation transports of pregnant women from other camps, who gave birth in Bergen-Belsen. Only very few of these children survived. For the orphans who were either alone because of the death of their parents in Bergen-Belsen or arrived in Bergen-Belsen as orphans, orphanages (*Waisenheime*) were set up in special barracks in the Sternlager as well as the Grosses Frauenlager, where prisoners (almost exclusively female) with the approval of the SS looked after the children.

When British soldiers liberated the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp on April 15, 1945, as part of a local cease-fire—both sides wanted to prevent the outbreak of epidemics—there were 55,000 prisoners in the camp. In the last days before liberation, several thousand male prisoners were held in the Lager II, located in part of the barracks on the nearby troop training ground at Bergen-Hohne. On the camp grounds and in the barracks in Bergen-Belsen, the British liberators found thousands of unburied corpses. Despite the efforts of the British—within a few weeks 14,000 emergency hospital beds were erected in the barracks complex on the troop training ground—help came too late for many of the liberated prisoners: in the first 12 weeks after liberation, more than 13,000 prisoners died as a result of the effects of their imprisonment in Bergen-Belsen. The total number of victims in this concentration camp is estimated at 50,000.

That the SS was able to destroy almost all the files of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp before the camp was liberated has made it difficult to determine statistical and biographical information not only on the prisoners but also on the SS personnel in the camp.

As in other concentration camps, there was a high fluctuation of SS personnel in Bergen-Belsen. It is known that there were 435 men and 45 women SS personnel. Most of them were transferred to Bergen-Belsen in two waves: one from the Wewelsburg-Niederhagen concentration camp with the first commandant at Bergen-Belsen, Adolf Haas, when the camp was established, and the second as so-called accompanying personnel (*Begleitpersonal*) with the evacuation transports



Post-liberation view of Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, April-May 1945.

USHMM WS #74356, courtesy of NARA

from concentration camps near the front in the East, some only a few days before Bergen-Belsen was liberated. Female SS personnel in Bergen-Belsen, unlike its subcamps, were only deployed with the arrival of female prisoners from Auschwitz in the winter of 1944–1945.

The specific requirements of the liberation of Bergen-Belsen through a local cease-fire enabled the majority of the SS personnel to withdraw before the camp was taken over by the British Army.

Only around 50 SS men and 20 to 30 SS women remained behind in Bergen-Belsen. They were arrested by the British shortly after the camp was liberated. In the autumn of 1945, 21 of these SS men and 16 of the SS women as well as 11 prisoner-functionaries were tried by a British Military Court in Lüneburg. The commandant Josef Kramer was also tried. Those SS personnel who escaped capture by leaving the camp before it was liberated were not systematically pursued by the British Military government.

As some of the accused had been based in the Auschwitz concentration and death camp, they were tried in Lüneburg for crimes committed there. The Lüneburg “Belsen Trial” is not only one of the earliest war crimes trials but is in fact the first Auschwitz trial.

The court delivered its verdict on November 17, 1945: 11 accused were sentenced to death, 19 received prison terms, and 14 were acquitted. The death sentences were carried out in the middle of December 1945 in Hameln.

In May 1946, a second “Belsen Trial” took place in Celle; 10 defendants were tried, who in the fall of 1945 either were still not situated in British custody or were actually incapable of trial due to illness. Apart from terms of imprisonment, the court issued more death sentences: 4 of the accused were hanged in Hameln in October 1946.

SOURCES The following are some of the most important secondary works on Bergen-Belsen: Jo Reilly, David Cesarani, Tony Kushner, and Colin Richmond, eds., *Belsen in History and Memory* (London: Frank Cass, 1997); Claus Füllberg-Stolberg et al., eds., *Frauen in Konzentrationslagern: Bergen-Belsen, Ravensbrück* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1994); Wolfgang Günther, “Ach, Schwester, ich kann nicht mehr tanzen . . .”: *Sinti und Roma im KZ Bergen-Belsen* (Hannover: Niedersächsischer Verband

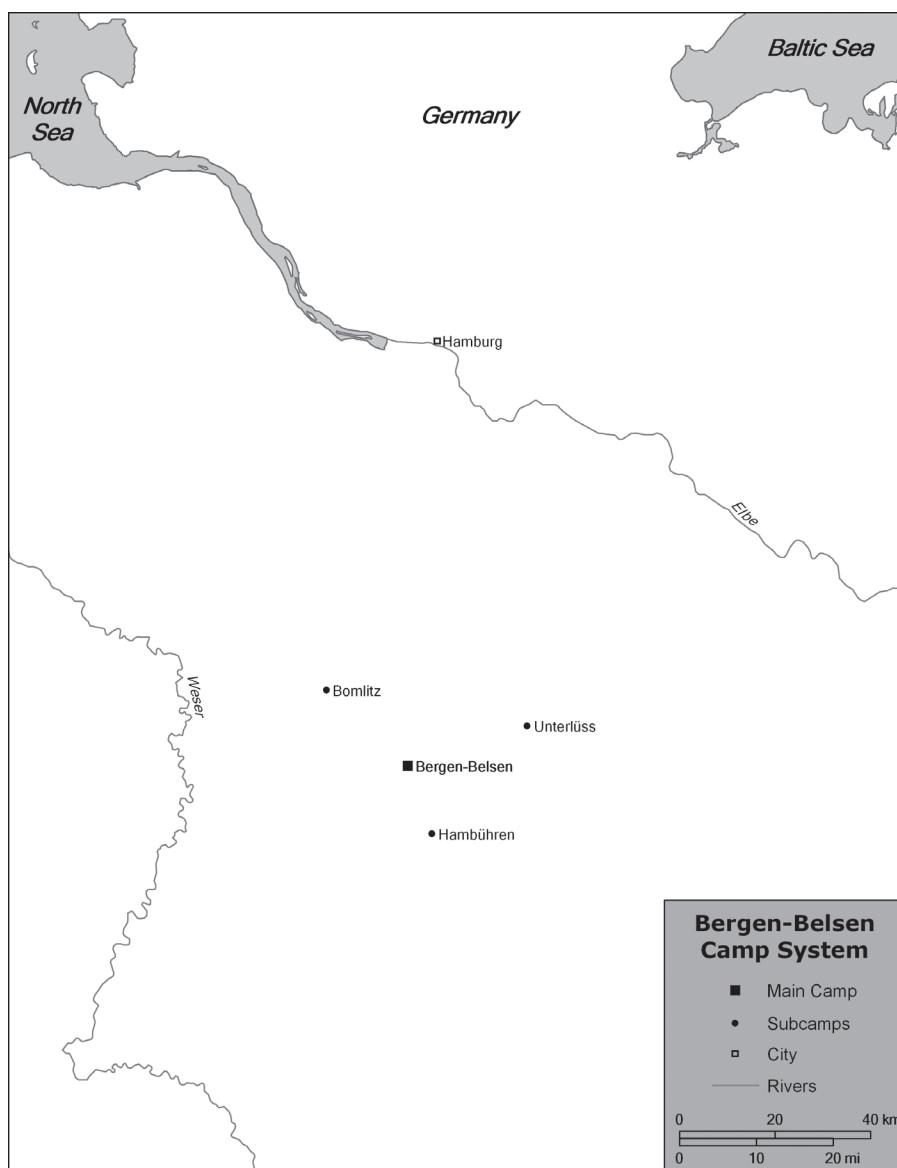
Deutscher Sinti, 1990); Rainer Hoffschmidt and Thomas Rahe, “Homosexuelle Häftlinge im Konzentrationslager—Das Beispiel Bergen-Belsen,” *BGNSVND* 5 (1999): 48–61; Paul Kemp, “The Liberation of Bergen-Belsen Concentration Camp in April 1945: The Testimony of Those Involved,” *IWMR* 5 (1990): 28–41; Eberhard Kolb, *Bergen-Belsen: Geschichte des „Aufenthaltslagers“ 1943–1945* (Hannover: Verlag für Literatur und Zeitgeschehen, 1962); Eberhard Kolb, *Bergen-Belsen vom „Aufenthaltslager“ zum Konzentrationslager 1943–1945*, 5th rev. and expanded ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996); Thomas Rahe, “Kulturelle Aktivitäten jüdischer Häftlinge im Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen,” *MJDJG* 4 (1993): 111–138; Rahe, “Aus ‘rassischen’ Gründen verfolgte Kinder im Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen: Eine erste Skizze,” in *Kinder und Jugendliche als Opfer des Holocaust*, ed. Edgar Bamberger and Annegret Ehmann (Heidelberg: Dokumentations- und Kulturzentrum Deutscher Sinti und Roma, 1995), pp. 129–143; Rahe and Arnold Jürgens, “Zur Statistik des Konzentrationslagers Bergen-Belsen: Quellengrundlagen, methodische Probleme und neue statistische Daten,” *BGNSVND* 3 (1997): 128–148; Rahe, “Jüdische Waisenkinder im Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen,” *DaHe* 14 (1998): 31–49; Rahe, “Zeugen Jehovas im Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen,” in “Am mutigsten waren immer wieder die Zeugen Jehovas”: *Verfolgung und Widerstand der Zeugen Jehovas im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Hans Hesse (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1998), pp. 121–133; Rahe, “Rabbiner im Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen,” *MJDJG* 9 (1998): 121–152; Joanne Reilly, *Belsen: The Liberation of a Concentration Camp* (London: Routledge, 1998); Alexandra-Eileen Wenck, *Zwischen Menschenhandel und “Endlösung”: Das Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2000).

The following archives contain primary source materials on Bergen: Beit Lohamei Haghetaot, Oshrat, Nachlass Josef Weiss (Dossier Josef Weiss Nr. 317); BA-BL, Sammlung Schumacher. Bestand des ehem. BDC; NIOD, Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD (BdS), Den Haag; and PAAA, Abteilung Deutschland, Büro des Staatssekretärs, Büro des Unterstaatssekretärs, Inland II A/B, Inland II g, Politische Abteilung, Rechtsabteilung. The following published works contain primary sources on Bergen-Belsen: Rolf Keller et al., eds., *Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen: Berichte und Dokumente* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995); Raymond Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others (The Belsen Trial)* (London: William Hodge, 1949); G.L. Fréjafon, *Bergen-Belsen, Bagne sanatorium* (Paris: Librairie Valois, 1947); Abel Herzberg, *Zweistromland: Tagebuch aus Bergen-Belsen* (Wittingen: Erev Rav, 1997); Renata Laqueur, *Bergen-Belsen Tagebuch 1944/1945* (Hannover: Fackelträger, 1983); Hanna Lévy-Hass, *Vielelleicht war das alles erst der Anfang: Tagebuch aus dem Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen 1944–1945* (Berlin: Rotbuch Verlag, 1991); Ceija Stojka, *Wir leben im Verborgenen: Erinnerungen einer Rom-Zigeunerin* (Vienna: Picus, 1995).

Thomas Rahe
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Unsigned RSHA decree, August 31, 1943, in NIOD, reprinted in Rolf Keller et al., eds., *Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen: Berichte und Dokumente* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), p. 36.



BOMLITZ [AKA BENEFELD]

The village of Bomlitz is located about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) northwest of Bergen-Belsen, in the rural district of Fallingbostel. The Bergen-Belsen subcamp was in the part of the village called Benefeld, on the so-called Sandberg. For this reason, apart from the common name Bomlitz, this outside detail is also known by the name Benefeld.

Even before 1939, the firm EIBIA & Wolff, Ltd., had established an explosives factory in Bomlitz. This plant consisted of numerous buildings spread across a large wooded area and had its own electric railway for the transport of goods. During the war, EIBIA, including all its factories, became the largest producer of gunpowder in the German Reich, in good part due to the work of thousands of forced laborers.

Source materials on this subcamp are not readily available. However, in the 1979 International Tracing Service (ITS) list

of concentration camps and their outside details under the Reichsführer-SS, it is still true that Bomlitz, like the two other Bergen-Belsen subcamps, Hambühren and Unterlüss, is one of those detachments "for which it was impossible to find out to which concentration camp they reported."¹

Since 1979, Bomlitz's link to the Bergen-Belsen main camp has been confirmed. A first hint was given in the 1950 ITS "Catalogue of Camps and Prisons," in which Bomlitz is named as a Bergen-Belsen detachment. The source for this information came from former inmates. In addition, a survey made by the district of Fallingbostel in 1945 on the use of forced laborers during the war mentions the EIBIA, Ltd., Benefeld. In the survey, "KZ [Konzentrationslager] Belsen" is indicated as the "main labor detail responsible" for prisoners deployed to Bomlitz.²

On September 3, 1944, 600 Jewish women from Poland arrived in Bomlitz from Auschwitz. They were accommodated in wooden barracks with sanitary facilities, and each of them had a place to sleep with a woolen blanket. The camp was surrounded by a high electric fence. Zipora Posluszny-Finkelstein writes about the living conditions: "We arrived in a camp called Bomlitz, where we worked in an arms factory. Compared to Auschwitz, the living conditions at Bomlitz were like paradise. Of course the work was hard, but the cleanliness and the overall living conditions relieved us from the nightmare of Birkenau."³

Only a few, short statements from the prisoners exist that discuss the nature of the forced labor: "In July 1944, I was sent on to Auschwitz, where I stayed for only a short time, until I was transferred to Bomlitz near Hannover. There I worked in an arms factory with 'wet powder.'"⁴ The wet powder was a liquid explosive that the plant produced along with other explosives. In addition to the work inside the factory, the prisoners were deployed outside, for example, laying tracks for the factory railway.

The summary of an interview with one Mrs. K., a saleswoman in the factory canteen, exemplifies how the German population perceived the female prisoners in Bomlitz: "Mrs. K. reported that every morning she could observe from her place of work about two hundred Jewish girls and women marching through Bomlitz in formation. The plant manager, however, forbade her after a few days to look at the Jewish women anymore."⁵

Some women arrived a little later in Bomlitz, directly from Bergen-Belsen. One of these women, Olga Bergmann, was brought from the Łódź ghetto, via Auschwitz, to the so-called tent camp (*Zeltlager*) in Bergen-Belsen, where she worked in the kitchen:

Bergen-Belsen was halfway bearable. There we could rest and did not work. It was a rather beautiful autumn, and the food was not very bad either. One day I was selected to work in a kitchen where I definitely did not want to go to, because I did not want to be separated from my fellow sufferers. But I was told to do so, and the soldier who had chosen me remarked: "My wife was liberated from Russia, way back when, and now I want to do something for someone." So I went to Bomlitz, in the district of Fallingbostel, where there was a gunpowder factory. It did not take long until I had to leave Bomlitz again, because after about four weeks, it was bombed terribly, and I had to return to Bergen-Belsen.

I believe that the time in Bomlitz was actually fairly good for me, because I lived with eighteen girls in one room, who all looked very bad, and I brought them as much as I could from the kitchen. They claimed that this helped them a lot to recover. After four weeks, we returned to Bergen-Belsen. There, I was selected once again, and went to Torgau on the

Elbe river to a weapons factory called "Elsing" [sic], which belonged to the "Basag" [sic] firm.⁶

Apparently, representatives of the firm EIBIA & Wolff picked out female prisoners in Bergen-Belsen to do work in their factories.

On October 15, 1944, all of the female prisoners in Bomlitz were sent to the Bergen-Belsen tent camp, which most of them entered for the first time. With that, the Bomlitz subcamp was dissolved after existing for only six weeks. One can only speculate over the reasons for the camp's closure: perhaps the owners—the Wolff family—did not want to have a concentration camp in the village.

The management of the EIBIA firm never had to stand trial for its deployment of female camp prisoners from Poland. It is true that a report to the British Judge Advocate General of the Second Army reveals that the six directors of EIBIA were kept in custody for a short period of time. It seems, however, that the British Military government did not investigate further.⁷

The EIBIA plant factory buildings were disassembled or otherwise made unusable.

Information about the camp commander and other SS personnel is unavailable. However, Esther Winder mentions in a short report that the SS personnel consisted of men as well as women.⁸

SOURCES Only one essay in German exists that is dedicated exclusively to the three Bergen-Belsen subcamps. In one section the author examines the Bomlitz detachment: Stefanie Plattner, "Schwere Balken und Steine . . . : Die Aussenlager von Bergen-Belsen," in *Frauen in Konzentrationslagern: Bergen-Belsen, Ravensbrück*, ed. Claus Füllberg-Stolberg et al. (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1994), pp. 76–78. Another short work in German on the three subcamps is unpublished: Rolf Keller, "Die Anfänge des 'Frauen-KL' Bergen-Belsen: Das Zeltlager und die Aussenkommandos Bomlitz, Hambühren und Unterlüß" (B-B, unpub. MSS, 1991). There are two publications on the history of the firm EIBIA & Wolff that mention the subcamp Bomlitz: Andrea Hesse, "Prädikat 'Bestbetrieb': Die Eibia GmbH für chemische Produkte in Bomlitz," in *Aspekte der Bomlitzer Lokalgeschichte*, ed. Gemeinde Bomlitz (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1995), 3: 47–51; and Helge Matthiesen, "Geheime Reichssache EIBIA," *WalsZ* (1987): 26. The camp is listed in ITS, "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten (1933–1945)" (Arolsen, unpub. MSS, 1979).

No significant collection of documents on this camp exists. Most of the known published or unpublished sources on the Bomlitz subcamp are available at NHStA-H, YV, and PRO London (WO 309/463 War Crimes). Additional testimonies may be found in Mordekhai Tsanin, ed., *So geschah es: Zeugnisblätter Überlebender des KZ Bergen-Belsen*, trans. from the Hebrew by Gerda Steinfeld, vol. 2 (Tel Aviv, 1995); and in Raimond Reiter, *Frauenalltag im Zweiten Weltkrieg in Niedersachsen: Interviews mit Zeitzeuginnen* (Hannover, 1999).

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NOTES

1. ITS, "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten (1933–1945)" (Arolsen, unpub. MSS, 1979), p. xxxi.
2. Search for foreign nationals, NHStA-H, Han. 80 Lbg. III Acc. no. 672.
3. Zipora Poslusny-Finkelstein, "Auf der Waagschale des Lebens und des Todes," in *So geschah es: Zeugnislätter Überlebender des KZ Bergen-Belsen*, ed. Mordekhai Tsanin, trans. from the Hebrew by Gerda Steinfeld (Tel Aviv, 1995), 2: 204–205.
4. Sworn statement by E.E. Afiki, October 31, 1954, in Tel Aviv, B-B, Lohheide, IRG A1 E.E. Afiki.
5. Testimony of Mrs. K. from Bomlitz, reproduced in Raymond Reiter, *Frauenalltag im Zweiten Weltkrieg in Niedersachsen: Interviews mit Zeitzeuginnen* (Hannover, 1999), p. 25.
6. Testimony of Olga Bergmann, June 1964, YVA, No. 32735, pp. 9–10.
7. Rept. by 309 FSS attached to letter, June 2, 1945, to JAG Second Army, PRO London WO 309/463 War Crimes. Repts. not disclosing war crimes. Part I.
8. Record of Esther Winder, February 13, 1947, YVA, M-1/E-2546 (trans. from Yiddish by Nicholas Yantian for BB); also the record of Bronia Beter, March 15, 1948, YVA, M-1/E-1875 (trans. from Yiddish by Nicholas Yantian for BB).

HAMBÜHREN [AKA HAMBÜHREN-OVELGÖNNE OR WALDESLUST]

The Hambühren subcamp was located about 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) south of Bergen-Belsen in the village Ovelgönne, a part of the Hambühren municipality. The subcamp was a little off the track in a wooded area and was also known as Waldeslust.

The first transport probably arrived in Hambühren on August 23, 1944, with 400 Jewish, predominantly Polish women. The women and girls were from the Łódź ghetto and had spent a few days in Auschwitz before being sent to Hambühren. The transport comprised altogether probably about 1,400 women, most of whom were brought to Bergen-Belsen, or to the Unterlüsse subcamp, while the remaining 400 went directly to Hambühren. According to Estera Brunstein: "We came to a labour camp in Germany. . . . We came and soon found out that we were near Hanover in a small village, which was called Hambühren-Waldeslust. 'Waldeslust' means 'joys of the forest' or 'lust of the forest.' And there were four hundred of us placed in barracks."¹ The camp, which was fenced in with several layers of barbed wire, consisted of eight wooden barracks and two stone houses. Isabelle Choko, at the time 16 years old, describes the lodgings in her memoirs as follows: "We arrive in a forest. We walk a bit and discover a clearing with wooden barracks. We are divided up. There is an SS commander there. About forty women are sent to each room, and my mother and I enter our new 'home': There were bunk beds, but nonetheless beds! They each have a straw mattress and a blanket. There is a stove in the middle of the

room, a true luxury."² The sanitary facilities were less "luxurious": there were no enclosed latrines but mere holes in the ground behind the barracks, where the women had to relieve themselves, even in the winter cold.³

As far as the circumstances permitted, the Jewish women tried to observe their religion: "I only can tell you from the barrack I was in. Every Friday we tried to do Shabbat prayer, if we were not caught."⁴

The Bergen-Belsen subcamp was not the only camp in Hambühren-Ovelgönne. There were labor camps with civilian workers, prisoners of war, and other forced laborers from West and East Europe. These people worked for the Haupt-Munitionsanstalt (main ammunitions factory) of the Luftwaffe or for the Wintershall AG, in oil drilling and mining potash.

In the spring of 1944, the Ministry of Armaments and War Production planned to create a manufacturing plant for the firm Focke-Wulf Flugzeugbau, Ltd., in Wintershall's potash mine "Prinz Adalbert," which would be safe from air attacks. This plan, code-named "Hirsch" (stag), was never realized but still resulted in an increased deployment of forced laborers and female camp prisoners in Hambühren.

Thus, some of the female prisoners had to work underground to prepare the potash mine for the aircraft factory. The work must have been exhausting because of the high temperatures in the mine, even in winter. SS-Oberscharführer Fritz Branders supervised the women during their work in the mine and often beat them. In 1945, the Hungarian sisters Irán and Edith Grünberger gave an account of a typical day:

The work was done in two shifts. We were part of the night shift. This happened at the request of the camp leader (Lagerführer), because the workers on the night shift were paid more. However, we never saw any of these wages. We got soup in the morning and at midday, and in the evening two hundred grams of bread with some sort of spread. Our working hours lasted from 6:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. At 7:30, we were back in the camp. By the time we received our breakfast, it was 9:00 a.m. Then we were allowed to go to bed. Roll call was at noon. It lasted until 1:30 p.m., then we had lunch and we could rest until 5:00 p.m. At 5:00 p.m., we received our evening meal and then went to work.

The work here was very hard. The salt had to be loaded on small carts. The day shift carried out blasting operations in the salt mine and we had to load the salt at night. Even the Germans would have admitted that such work had never been done by women before. The air was so heavy that we almost choked.⁵

The sisters came from Bergen-Belsen, together with a number of Jewish women from Hungary, at the beginning of December 1944. Choko remembers how horrified the

Hungarian women and girls were on their arrival at the Hambühren camp. At some point in time, a few German Jewish women were also prisoners in Hambühren.

Irma Herzfeld, then the camp elder, observed: "It was the general practice to send all sick women to Belsen in exchange for healthy women."⁶ It is known neither how many women were "exchanged" in this way nor how many women died in Hambühren.

In addition to the work in the salt mine, the women had to carry out other duties. They had to construct barracks for the main ammunition factory, lay cables and pipes, sort pieces of coal, and probably even remove rubble caused by bombing near Hannover.⁷

Some of the prisoners had to work for the building enterprise Hoch-Tief: "We mostly worked on the so-called Hoch-Tief railway, working on the tracks. We built this railroad line for the Germans. . . . We then had to carry stones from one side to the other."⁸

The forced labor of the female prisoners could not remain unnoticed by the German population. A female farmer from Ovelgönne recalled after the war: "Camp III was the Jewish camp, mainly occupied by women. They also did road work along the road to Oldau, carried stones, and shoveled sand. Some looked very good, even in their prisoners' uniforms, others bad. . . . The Jewish women that were here worked on the Oldauer Strasse; they unloaded stones and built the foundations for barracks in the excavation."⁹ The warehouse administrator of the Wintershall company at the time gives an account of taking the bus to work: "Albert Köhler was with me on the bus. . . . And this street 'Hambühren II' was being built, where the sewers were laid four meters deep. . . . There were these women, Jewish women with their long striped smocks, wooden shoes, and shaven heads. And these SS women walked down the street with riding crops in their hands, such dogs among them. . . . And then Albert Köhler asked: 'Paul, what's all this?' 'These are KZ prisoners,' I answered, 'you can see that. There is a concentration camp in Belsen and this is a subcamp of Belsen.'"¹⁰

On February 4, 1945, the subcamp Hambühren was dissolved, and the women were sent on foot, some of them possibly also by truck, to Bergen-Belsen. The commander of the subcamp, SS-Oberscharführer Karl Reddehase, assumed control of the internal labor detail in Bergen-Belsen. He was indicted by a British military court at the Second Belsen Trial for abuse and murder. In his written deposition, he stated:

In August 1944, I became chief commander of the labor camp HAMBÜHREN/WALDESLUST. The camp was four hundred strong with Jewish women from Poland and Germany. I was responsible for the work assignments and the general treatment within the camp. The prisoners were treated in a very humane way, and were well off with me. They had to do work clearing rubble. The food was good. Other than some slaps in the face, no one was beaten in the camp. If someone behaved badly, the punishment

was solely a reduction of food. . . . In February 1945, I handed my prisoners over to the BELSEN concentration camp and assumed control of the work there, until mid-April 1945.¹¹

The unanimous statements of the female witnesses from the Hambühren subcamp on Reddehase's numerous maltreatments, however, led to his conviction and execution.

SOURCES Two essays give a short description of this and the two other Bergen-Belsen subcamps: Rolf Keller, "Die Anfänge des 'Frauen-KL Bergen-Belsen': Das Zeltlager und die Aussenkommandos Bomlitz, Hambühren und Unterlüß," (B-B, unpub. MSS, 1991); Stefanie Plattner, "'Schwere Balken und Steine . . . ? Die Aussenlager von Bergen-Belsen,' in *Frauen in Konzentrationslagern: Bergen-Belsen, Ravensbrück*, ed. Claus Füllberg-Stolberg et al. (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1994), pp. 75–76. The subcamp is mentioned briefly in Paul Borstelmann, *Chronik der Einheitsgemeinde Hambühren* (Celle: Verlag Georg Ströher, 1977), p. 115.

No comprehensive collection of documents exists on the subcamp Hambühren. Most of the known sources are cited in the notes. PRO WO 235/154 contains in addition to several affidavits also a few transcripts of testimonies during the trial. Among the British investigation files of the War Crimes Investigation Teams there are further statements in WO 309/433 and WO 309/1698. There is a testimony by Estera Brunstein available at IWM. Some of the testimonies, as well as sources on the history of companies in the area of Hambühren that were involved in the forced labor, are found in Annette Wienecke, "*Besondere Vorkommnisse nicht bekannt*: Zwangsarbeit in unterirdischen Rüstungsbetrieben. Wie ein Heidedorf kriegswichtig wurde" (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1996), pp. 114, 155. A sketch of the camp is also published herein. Additional documentation is available in Rainer Schulze, *Unruhige Zeiten: Erlebnisberichte aus dem Landkreis Celle 1945–1949* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1990).

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NOTES

1. Interview with Estera Brunstein, IWM, London, Archive of Sound Records, No. 9122/5, Reel 4.
2. Memoirs by Isabelle Choko, "Ma première vie" (cited in German translation), 34, BB, Lohheide.
3. Letter by Irma Freudenreich-Herzfeld, January 17, 1995, BB.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Proceedings by Irán and Edith Grünberger, recorded on August 21, 1945, in Budapest (in Hungarian, cited from the German translation), YV, Jerusalem, No. 015/2825.
6. Deposition of Irma Herzfeld, 6/7/1945, Exhibit 100, PRO WO 309/1697, No. 1 War Crimes Investigation Team.
7. Sworn statement by Bela Gutman, October 31, 1954, in Tel Aviv BB IRG A1 E.E. Afiki; Interview with Estera Brunstein, IWM; letter by Fay Leder, November 16, 1994, BB.
8. Interview with Esther Reiss, 1991, BB, Audio 250 and 251.
9. Frieda Glier, farmer, June 26, 1947, Hanna Füss

collection, AKr-C, File 331-01-4 (compartment 281 Nos. 1 and 2), cited in Rainer Schulze, *Unruhige Zeiten: Erlebnisberichte aus dem Landkreis Celle 1945-1949* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1990), documents 9, 91, and 94.

10. Interview with Paul Schang in Celle, BB, Audio 5.

11. Deposition of Karl Heinrich Reddehase, Neumünster, January 30, 1946, Production No. 92c, WO 235/154, Second Bergen-Belsen Trial.

UNTERLÜSS [AKA LAGER TANNENBERG OR ALTENSOTHIETH]

The firm Rheinmetall-Borsig AG, one of the most important German arms and ammunition producers during the war, had already established a big ammunition factory in Unterlüss, before 1939. In 1944, several camps existed in this area, in which so-called foreign workers (*Fremdarbeiter*), prisoners of war (POWs), and other forced laborers of various nationalities lived.

The Tannenberg camp, where Italian military internees were housed until the middle of the year, was located in the Altensothrieth section of the municipality of Unterlüss. At this camp, about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) from the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, approximately 400 to 800 Jewish women and girls arrived with a first transport from Auschwitz toward the end of August 1944. Nelly Hronsky and her two sisters were part of this transport. She writes in a letter: "After 2-3 days travel in cattle wagons from Auschwitz we arrived somewhere and marched to the camp. We had no idea where we are. Our transport had about 800 women, better said young girls and very few women. . . . The camp was only for women and all of us were Jews. As far as I can remember, the nationalities were a group of Polish girls; very few from Yugoslavia and our group from Hungary."¹

Besides these aforementioned nationalities, there were also a few Czech and Romanian women in Unterlüss. Nelly Hronsky's sister, Ilana, describes the camp in a letter:

The camp was located deep in the woods. As we entered the gate, on our right was a long wooden structure which housed the kitchen. . . . Further up, on the same side where the kitchen was located, was the building of the German Headquarters. . . .

Upon entering the gate, on our left was a fence which divided the part I have described from the barracks of the inmates. There were three barracks called block I, block II and block III. Inside there were bunk-beds and hundreds of us were placed in each of the barracks. I believe block II housed the tiny infirmary which was used only for minor services, such as getting bandages for injuries. Serious health problems were not reported. If they became obvious, the involved persons were taken away and never heard from again. Only after the war did we find out the fate of these girls—they all perished in Bergen-Belsen.²

As a rule, the women worked from Monday to Saturday, sometimes also on Sundays. They rose at 5:00 A.M. and received a little bread with some sort of spread before the roll call took place. They then marched, even in the wintry cold, in their convict's garb and wooden shoes to the labor details, which were up to 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) away. Here they had to build roads, remove rubble, lay rails, or fell trees. In the village of Neulüss they had to build the foundations for a new factory building. Rosalyn Gross Haber recalls: "The first thing we did was to dig and build bunkers near the ammunition factory. The bitter cold was always eating at our flesh. . . . When the bunkers were all built, the next job was to work at the ammunition factory on the night shift."³

A large number of the women had to work in the ammunition factory from 8:00 P.M. to 4:00 A.M. In an interview with seven Hungarian survivors from Unterlüss, Ricsy Sommer speaks about the factory work:

R.S.: Everybody tried to get out from the ammunition factory, because we were filling these schrapnels [sic] . . . they were on a running band and filling it with this hot phosphor.

Interviewer: An assembly line?

R.S.: Yes, an assembly line. We turned red and yellow and orange, whatever it was. But it must have been such a dangerous work, that even the Germans . . . they fed us and have a cup of milk every day.⁴

The contact with the poisonous substances and the inhalation of the unhealthy vapors destroyed their health—and of course a glass of milk was not able to cure them.

German citizens from Unterlüss were well aware of the female prisoners. In 1948, two teachers commented on the miserable appearance of the women with their shaved heads during their daily march to work.⁵

In their free time and on Sundays, the women washed themselves and patched their clothes. Hronsky remembers: "In the evenings we would concentrate on trying to keep ourselves clean. The washrooms had cold water only, but we had access to them and we took advantage of it. We were too exhausted to socialize or engage in any activities. Sometimes on Sundays we would gather in the corner of one of the barracks, sing songs we used to know at 'home,' recite poetry and, in general, just to keep our spirits and each other's from sagging."⁶ Haber relates that the Hungarian women composed a song about one of the SS women.

As far as the circumstances permitted, the Jewish women tried to observe the religious holidays. Sarah Berkowitz recalls that a few of them fasted during Yom Kippur in 1944.⁷ Together with other women in her barrack, Dina Kraus secretly celebrated Seder and said the Haggadah prayer in late March 1945. She had previously written them down from memory in the camp.⁸ For a while, Berkowitz kept a kind of

diary, which she destroyed, however, out of fear of discovery by the SS.⁹

There are no precise records on how many transports arrived at or departed from the camp and when these transports took place. The reminiscences of Berkowitz and Regina Goschen indicate that a second transport arrived here by September, with 100 Polish women and girls from the tent camp (*Zeltlager*) at Bergen-Belsen.¹⁰ A report by Rheinmetall-Borsig refers to the "use of eight hundred Jewish women" in September 1944.¹¹ In the period from October to November, the number was probably around 900 women. It is at least certain that in January 1945, 200 women who were sick and therefore no longer able to work were brought to Bergen-Belsen in completely frozen freight cars.¹² There must have been other losses during the winter, as one of the few surviving documents from the commandant's headquarters at Bergen-Belsen shows that in late February 1945 there were 517 female prisoners still in the Unterlüss subcamp.¹³

During an air raid by Allied troops on the Rheinmetall-Borsig grounds, on April 4, 1945, the ammunition factory was completely destroyed. The village of Unterlüss was hit as well. The SS barred the camp shut, and with that, the deployment of the women came to an end.¹⁴

On the morning of April 13, 1945, the SS personnel ran from the approaching British troops. When the prisoners became aware of their flight, they seized the food that was in the kitchen. Some women even left the camp.¹⁵ Their freedom was brief, since after a few hours armed German civilians of the Volkssturm (German home guard) arrived and brought the women on trucks to Bergen-Belsen. "Of the original group of 800 out of Auschwitz, perhaps 500 were left alive. The 300 who died, died in Belsen, not Unterlüss."¹⁶

Of the 3 female and 18 male SS privates who were responsible for the camp,¹⁷ some were identified through British investigations. One of the block elders in Unterlüss, Irene Glück, describes the guards. According to her, the "relatively harmless" camp commandant (Lagerkommandant), SS-Hauptsturmführer Friedrich Diercks, was not interested in the camp activities. The real power was held by the SS-Hauptsturmführer Rudolf Wandt, except for a three-month break from November 1944 to January 1945. During his absence, the SS-Unterscharführer Hans Stecker, supported by the SS female guard Susanne Hille, implemented more brutal treatment of the prisoners. The prisoners feared her as "the Brown one" (or Nazi). This statement was confirmed by the SS guard private Franz Kalitkowski, who was not indicted at the Belsen Trial himself; he further blamed the commander of Bergen-Belsen, Joseph Kramer, for all the crimes.¹⁸

None of the wanted SS staff from the Unterlüss subcamp were brought to trial.

SOURCES Besides a brief outline on the history of this subcamp by Benjamin Ferencz (in *Less than Slaves: Jewish Forced Labor and the Quest for Compensation* [Bloomington: Indiana University, 2002], pp. 150–151), three other short descriptions exist: Rolf Keller, "Die Anfänge des 'Frauen-KL' Bergen-

Belsen': Das Zeltlager und die Aussenkommandos Bomlitz, Hambühren und Unterlüss" (B-B, unpub. MSS, 1991); Stefanie Plattner, "Die Frauenlager im Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen," in *Frauen in Konzentrationslagern: Bergen-Belsen, Ravensbrück*, ed. Claus Füllberg-Stolberg et al. (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1994), pp. 74–75; and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, vol. 2, *Niedersachsen I* (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1984), p. 78.

No significant collection of documents on the Unterlüss subcamp exists. There are some brief accounts by former prisoners at PRO (WO 309/374 and WO 309/1698) and YV (protocol Rozsi Wolf, recorded on July 26, 1945, in Budapest, 015/1772). In the testimonies of higher SS officials, Unterlüss is mentioned as a Bergen-Belsen subcamp: Sworn statement of Karl Sommer, 10/4/1946, STA-N, Nuremberg document NI-1065; testimony of Oswald Pohl, Nuremberg Trials, Case 4: *USA v. Oswald Pohl et al.*, NARA, microfilm M-890. BB holds unpublished correspondence with survivors of the subcamp. In addition to this, prisoner testimonies are found in the following collections: OHPRIHS-CUNY, NIOD, HAF-HDCB. Published documents and testimonies may be found in Sarah Berkowitz (Bick), *Where Are My Brothers* (New York: Helios Books, 1965); Valerie Jakober Furth, *Cabbages & Geraniums: Memories of the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989); Anton Gill, *The Journey Back from Hell: Conversations with Concentration Camp Survivors* (London: Grafton Books, 1988); Rainer Schulze, *Unruhige Zeiten: Erlebnisberichte aus dem Landkreis Celle 1945–1949* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1990); Mordekhai Tsanin, ed., *So geschah es: Zeugnisblätter Überlebender des KZ Bergen-Belsen*, vol. 3 (German translation from the Hebrew by Gerda Steinfeld) (Tel Aviv, 1996); Alexandra-Eileen Wenck, *Zwischen Menschenhandel und "Endlösung": Das Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2000).

Bernd Horstmann
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Letter by Nelly Hronsky, January 19, 1995, BB, Lohheide, pp. 1–2.
2. Letter by Ilana Hronsky, February 7, 1995, BB (in this letter she also drew a sketch of the camp).
3. Letter by Rosalyn Gross Haber, November 1994, BB.
4. OHPRIHS-CUNY, interviews with Rozsi Furth, Nelly Hronsky, Malcsi Klein, Ricsy Sommer, Goldie Szmuk, Rella Seidenfeld, and Valerie Furth by Prof. Randolph Braham on November 17, 1993.
5. Wilhelm Kröger and Robert Busse, Teachers, 6/2/1948, "Sammlung Hanna Füss," AKr-C, File No. 331–01–4 (Compartment 281 Nos. 1 and 2), cited from Rainer Schulze, *Unruhige Zeiten: Erlebnisberichte aus dem Landkreis Celle 1945–1949* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1990), documents 45, 255.
6. Letter by Ilana Hronsky, BB, 2.
7. Sarah Berkowitz (Bick), *Where Are My Brothers* (New York: Helios Books, 1965), p. 91.
8. Passover Haggadah, handwritten by Dina Kraus, in Hebrew, Unterlüss, Germany, 1944, Museum of Jewish Heritage, New York, in the vitrine "Religion."
9. Berkowitz, *Where Are My Brothers*, pp. 91–92.

10. Ibid., pp. 86–91; Regina Goschen (Gerszonowitz), "Hunger und Kannibalismus," in *So geschah es: Zeugnisblätter Überlebender des KZ Bergen-Belsen*, ed. Mordekhai Tsanin, trans. from the Hebrew by Gerda Steinfeld (Tel Aviv, 1996), 3: 232–234.
11. Operations Rept., September 1944, Rheinmetall-Borsig AG, Unterlüss plant, Unterlüss, November 13, 1944, BA-BL, R 8135, extracts published in Alexandra-Eileen Wenck, *Zwischen Menschenhandel und "Endlösung": Das Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2000), p. 345n.31.
12. Protocol Rózsi Moskovits and Aranka Volvovic recorded in Budapest on July 22, 1945, by the Hungarian Auschwitz Foundation, Holocaust Documentation Center, Budapest, DEGOB No. 1346.
13. Overview on number and deployment of female prisoners in the Bergen-Belsen holding camp, March 15, 1945, NIOD, C [II] 09/0.3.11.
14. Letter by Nelly Hronsky, BB, annex 2.
15. Valerie Jakober Furth, *Cabbages & Geraniums: Memories of the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), pp. 72–74.
16. Interview with Valerie Jakober Furth, in Anton Gill, *The Journey Back from Hell: Conversations with Concentration Camp Survivors* (London: Grafton Books, 1988), pp. 432–442.
17. Overview on number and deployment of female prisoners in the Bergen-Belsen holding camp, March 15, 1945, NIOD.
18. Deposition of Irene Glück, November 8, 1945, PRO, WO 309/425 KZ Bergen-Belsen, General Correspondence (see herein also the Wanted Repts. for H. Stecker, R. Wandt, F. Diercks, and S. Hille); Rept. Personalities at Concentration Camps at Belsen and Unterluess, undated, PRO WO 309/1588, Correspondence re Second Belsen Trial.

BUCHENWALD



"To Each His Own": The camp gate at Buchenwald taken after liberation.
USHMM WS 27068, COURTESY OF AFP

BUCHENWALD MAIN CAMP

The Buchenwald concentration camp was established at the beginning of July 1937 on the climatically harsh north slope of the 478-meter-high (1,568-feet-high) Ettersberg, a hill north of the city of Weimar. The camp was to hold up to 8,000 prisoners, mostly from central Germany (Thuringia, Hessen, the Ruhr, and parts of Saxony), and was to replace several camps such as Bad Sulza, Sachsenburg, and Lichtenburg, which were in the process of being dissolved. The immediate reason for the establishment of the camp just north of Weimar was the clay to be found in the area, which could be used for the manufacture of bricks.

The first prisoners arrived at the camp on July 15, 1937. They were confronted with very difficult conditions: they had to clear the forest and construct the barracks and other buildings without excavators, cranes, tip carts, or tractors. These conditions, together with the completely inadequate rations, led to an enormous loss of life during the camp's construction.

The camp was built initially on 104 hectares (257 acres) and later expanded to cover 190 hectares (470 acres). It consisted of

33 wooden barracks, 15 two-story stone buildings, a roll-call square, a prisoners' infirmary (*Revier*), kitchen, laundry, canteen, storerooms, workshops for the camp's tradesmen, a disinfection building, market garden, and various other structures. Additional buildings included a crematorium built in 1940, another disinfection building in 1942–1943, and at the end of 1943 a railway station, as well as a brothel—the first in a concentration camp. About 16 female prisoners, most from Ravensbrück, were forced to prostitute themselves for German and Austrian non-Jewish prisoners and, from 1944 on, for foreign prisoners other than Soviets. The camp was secured by a double electrified barbed-wire fence more than 3 meters (9.8 feet) high and by 22 two-level guard towers.

The camp administration and SS facilities were located outside the prisoners' area. These comprised the command buildings, adjutant's offices, political department (headquarters of the Gestapo), and the SS canteen (*Führerkasino*), as well as administration and operational buildings such as garages, barracks for the commandant's men, workshops, armory, shooting range, central heating station, stables, kennels, and indoor rid-



Post-liberation aerial view of Buchenwald, 1945.
USHMM WS # 42923, COURTESY OF ROBERT MICHAEL MERRITT

ing arena. The SS-Totenkopfstandarte (Death's Head Regiment) 3 "Thüringen" was stationed here; it was responsible for securing the camp. Some of the members of the Standarte were very young and were called up to the front in September 1939. They were replaced by guards from the Concentration Camp Reserve (KL-Verstärkung), who were essentially older SS men, many of whom had been disabled in combat. Beginning in July 1944, more than 2,700 Luftwaffe members were transferred to the guard. By the end of the camp's existence, they were divided into 46 companies each of 150 men and were responsible for the main camp and the subcamps. Buchenwald also was the central base for the Waffen-SS Driver, Training, and Replacement Unit (Kraftfahrt-, Ausbildungs- und Ersatzabteilung). Furthermore, close to the camp were two settlements for SS members and their families, including living quarters for the camp commandant, SS-Standartenführer Karl Koch (July 1937 to December 1941) and his successor, SS-Oberführer Hermann Pister (January 1942 to April 1945). Buchenwald was a concentration camp, production site, military base, and civilian SS settlement, and in the spring of 1945, it became the last headquarters of the SS-Führungsamt.

There were numerous prisoner detachments in the area of the camp. The prisoners were used to clear forests and to work in the quarry detachment (Steinbruchkommando); they worked at the brick mill established in Berlstedt (part of the German Earth and Stone Works, or DESt) in 1938; and they served local firms, for which they constructed the Marschler Settlement in Oberweimar and laid water pipes between Tonndorf and Buchenwald. They worked for the workshops operated by the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Grossmarkthalle Weimar. They built gas lines for the Weimar Stadtwerke. Altogether, the prisoners worked at more than 90 locations for employers in Weimar and its surroundings. From 1940 on, there was a branch of the German Equipment Works (DAW) in the camp, where up to 1,400 prisoners worked in meeting SS war needs. In 1942, an armaments factory was established adjacent to the camp, which the SS leased in 1943 to the Weimar Wilhelm-Gustloff-NS-Industriestiftung. In 13 factory

buildings, between 5,000 and 6,000 prisoners manufactured rifles and carbines, pistols, gun mounts, optical devices, and mechanical parts for the V-1 and V-2 (Vengeance weapons). The factory, secured by an electrified barbed-wire fence and 13 guard towers, was destroyed during an Allied bombing raid on August 24, 1944. Production just about ceased completely.

By 1940, construction of the camp was largely completed. Only in 1942–1943 did the camp's character change one more time when it became a main camp and transit camp. Likewise, the number and type of prisoners went through a similar transformation. During the early stages of the camp, German political prisoners formed one of the most important prisoner groups. They arrived with the first transports from Sachsenhausen, Sachsenburg, and Lichtenburg, which included leading Communists and other prominent personalities.¹ In the autumn of 1938, prominent Austrians arrived at the camp, including senior officials from the Dollfuss and Schuschnigg governments.

In the years that followed, several special prisons for prominent inmates were established close to the camp. French politicians were held in Falkenhof between 1943 and 1945; between 1942 and 1944 members of the Romanian Iron Guard were held in the "Sonderlager Fichtenhain." Political prisoners and conspirators from the July 20, 1944, coup attempt were held in an isolation barracks. SS detention facilities in a cellar of one of the troop barracks held special Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) prisoners from March 1945 on.

The camp was marked from the beginning by a bitter struggle between the criminal, so-called green prisoners (for the color of badge they wore) and the political or "red" prisoners, over positions in the camp's prisoner administration.² By 1943, the Communist prisoners with their allies had control of all the important camp positions, including the camp elder and almost all block elders, as well as foremen in the important detachments. Organized along Stalinist lines, schooled in conspiratorial work, and with the benefit of intensive cooperation before their imprisonment in Buchenwald, the Communists, as one of the most stable groups in the camp, could build an administrative structure that, on the one hand, became indispensable for the SS and, on the other hand, could channel the SS terror. Eugen Kogon, himself a Buchenwald prisoner, stated, "What the Communists did in service of the concentration camp prisoners . . . cannot be valued highly enough."³ While this monopoly led to privileges held by a specific prisoner group, improved their chances of survival, and resulted in the pragmatic exercise of power, it could not exclude some collaboration with the SS. There also existed, parallel to the prisoner administration, a secret organization of (mostly German) Communists, the International Camp Committee Buchenwald (Internationales Lagerkomitee Buchenwald, ILKB). The ILKB was the largest Communist underground organization within the SS camp system, and it controlled and coordinated the prisoners' activities. This became obvious during the last years of the war, when the 100-strong Lagerschutz,



Prisoners perform forced labor near the entrance to Buchenwald, nd. USHMM WS # 81241, COURTESY OF IPN

the camp elder's mobile security force, became operational, including its own sanitation and rescue squads as well as a fire brigade. At least to some extent, the Lagerschutz was able to limit the SS presence in the camp. But this group also served as a supplier for the planned armed uprising by the prisoners, which was to be done on strict military lines with the few weapons that had been smuggled into the camp.⁴

There were not only Communists and criminals in the camp. The many other prisoner groups included Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), deserters, and others deemed "unworthy of military service" (*Wehrunwürdige*). Buchenwald was, in its early phase, the only concentration camp to which the so-called "work-shy" prisoners (*Arbeits scheue*) were sent. Beginning in 1938, and especially following the 1938 Reich Pogrom (also called *Kristallnacht*), Jews were also sent to the camp. Between November 1938 and February 1939, around 10,000 so-called *Aktionsjuden* were held in a "Pogrom Special Camp" (*Pogromsonderlager*), a barnlike emergency accommodation without heating, windows, or foundations. Many died from the inhuman conditions. A short-lived tent camp was established in September 1939 at the edge of the roll-call square for 400 Viennese and 100 Polish Jews as well as 100 non-Jewish Poles (partisans or so-called *Heckenschützen*). By February 1940, more than 40 percent of these inmates had died.

In addition to these two temporary camps, there were other fenced-off special areas in the camp that served specific purposes. For example, between 1941 and 1945, three barracks held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), and several barracks functioned as a labor education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*). With the outbreak of World War II, more and more foreign prisoners were sent to Buchenwald, including Czechs, Slovaks, Dutch, Poles, French, Spaniards, and Soviets: POWs, forced laborers, and resistance fighters.⁵ Eventually there were prisoners from 35 nationalities in the camp.

The total population varied between the period of comparative normality, in which the camp held 8,000 to 10,000 inmates, to periods of catastrophic overcrowding. The high point was reached on April 6, 1945, when the camp held roughly 48,000 prisoners. The frequent overcrowding, coupled with the inhuman work, horrific living conditions, and the abysmal hygiene, resulted in epidemics, which at times spread to neighboring villages.

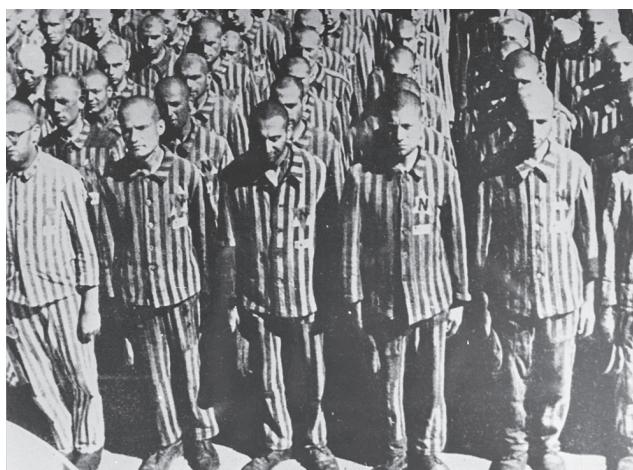
Prisoners did not die just from the extreme work and poor living conditions. They were also deliberately murdered. The nefarious camp punishment system, with hours-long punishment roll calls, punishment labor during rest periods, food deprivation, arrests, and beatings, as well as labor in closed punishment companies (for example, the quarry and market gardens), resulted in physical injuries and exhaustion, which were deadly under the conditions of the camp. In addition, the prisoners were physically mistreated, for example, with "tree hangings" (*Baumbügeln*). Occasionally, prisoners were deliberately driven across the sentry line (*Postenkette*) toward the camp fence, which meant that the guards could shoot them without warning. Buchenwald was the first concentration camp where a prisoner was publicly hanged; this took place in 1938, following an escape attempt in which an SS man was killed.

Prisoners were also killed on a much larger scale, however. In 1940, Roma from the Burgenland who were suffering from an infectious eye disease were killed by injection. In the middle of 1941, the same fate met all those prisoners who were obviously suffering from tuberculosis—approximately 500 victims. In 1941–1942, as part of the 14f13 Program, at least six transports with 517 incurable or handicapped prisoners, mostly Jewish, were taken to the euthanasia facilities at Bernburg and Sonnenstein bei Pirna and killed. The murder of prisoners who could no longer work reached its climax at the beginning of 1945, when completely exhausted prisoners from evacuation transports from Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen were selected to be *abgespritzt*, camp slang for death by injection.

Through about 1943, 8,000 Soviet POWs were killed in specially converted stables; they were shot in the neck by members of the so-called Kommando 99 while undergoing a fictitious medical examination. In autumn 1943, 36 Polish officers were hanged, and in autumn 1944, 38 members of Allied secret services were murdered in the camp. These executions took place mostly in the crematorium and its courtyard.

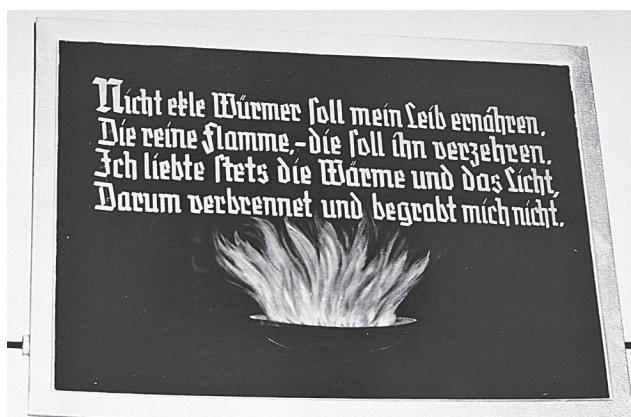
Buchenwald was also one of the execution sites for regional Gestapo offices. Civilians, prisoners, and foreign forced laborers who committed a "crime" were executed here. The most prominent victim of such executions was Ernst Thälmann, chairman of the German Communist Party (KPD) since 1925. He had been interned since 1933 and was murdered in the Buchenwald crematorium on August 18, 1944. Kogon estimates the number executed in Buchenwald at around 1,100.⁶

Medical experiments conducted in the camp also contributed to the number of deaths. Early in 1942, following discussions between government authorities, Wehrmacht offices, representatives of the chemical industry including IG Farben



Dutch Jewish prisoners stand at roll call shortly after their arrival, on February 28, 1941, at Buchenwald. The letter "N" stands for the Netherlands.

USHMM WS # 83718, COURTESY OF AGB



A sign on the crematorium wall at Buchenwald reads, "No loathsome worms should feast on my body. The pure flames should consume it. I always loved the warmth and light, and for that reason you should not bury but cremate me."

USHMM WS # 06494, COURTESY OF NARA

and Madaus AG, and the SS, Barracks 44 and 49 (later also Barracks 46) were converted into laboratories where the effectiveness of vaccines was tested on prisoners. Initially confined to epidemic typhus, the tests were expanded to include yellow fever, small pox, typhoid, paratyphus A and B, cholera, diphtheria, various poisons, phosphorous rubber (the contents of incendiary bombs), and the effectiveness of blood plasma beyond its date of expiration. Block 50 was opened in 1943 by the department of the Institute of Hygiene—Department for Typhus and Viral Research (Hygiene-Institut der Waffen-SS [Berlin] Abteilung für Fleckfieber- und Virusforschung) as a production site for a typhus serum; medical practitioners from the Wehrmacht, the Robert-Koch-Institut in Berlin, and a number of companies were able to work in the guest laboratory (*Gästelabor*). Hundreds of prisoners died during the experiments.

In 1942–1943, the transformation of the camp into a main and transit camp led to the establishment of the so-called Kleines Lager (or small camp). Here, on the one hand, newly arrived prisoners were held in quarantine. On the other hand, the Kleines Lager served as a kind of waiting area for prisoners who had been selected for the work in subcamps. The conditions in the Kleines Lager, which was located in the northern area of the camp barracks, were even worse than in the main camp: it had 12, later 17, Wehrmacht stables, in each of which 1,000 to 1,500 people were accommodated in three- and four-level bunks. Sometimes there were also completely overcrowded army tents, which offered no real protection from the elements. The Kleines Lager was separated from the main camp by a double barbed-wire fence. Severe lack of food and catastrophic hygienic conditions (for example, there was only one mass latrine) turned the Kleines Lager into a camp of death and disease (*Siechen- und Sterbelager*), especially from the beginning of 1945, when it became the favorite depository for prisoner transports arriving from Gross-Rosen and Auschwitz. As the largest remaining concentration camp at this time, Buchenwald was required to take these transports. Within 100 days at the

beginning of 1945, more than 5,200 died in Buchenwald. In the week from February 26 to March 2, 1945, 3,096 prisoners died, most of them in the Kleines Lager.⁷

Even the prisoner administration was helpless in the face of these conditions. Nevertheless, Buchenwald remained until the end a place of self-assertion and resistance, as can be seen in many examples, for instance, in the life of the Evangelical priest Paul Schneider⁸ or the establishment, from 1943 on, of national prisoner assistance committees that undertook measures to save the lives of children sent to the camp. On the initiative of the camp elder, two *Kinderblocks* were established that held Jewish, Ukrainian, and Russian children, where they were educated in the so-called Poles' School (Polenschule). Nine hundred and four children survived Buchenwald; the youngest, Stefan Jerzy Zweig, son of a Polish Jewish lawyer, was three and a half years old.

The evacuation of the prisoners to Theresienstadt, Dachau, and Flossenbürg was planned for the first few days in April. But the camp elder's influence and the prisoners' passive resistance resulted in the continued delay of evacuation transports so that of the 48,000 prisoners in the camp at this time, only 28,000 were evacuated, mostly Jews and Soviet POWs. It is estimated that about a third of the prisoners did not survive these death marches.

The camp was liberated on April 11, 1945, after about 2,700 of the 3,000 SS men had fled the camp. Around midday, when a U.S. Army tank was seen at the edge of the camp, the military-trained prisoners took action and occupied the camp's guard towers. They patrolled the area around the camp, where they were able to capture around 80 SS guards and make contact with U.S. troops. Care for the approximately 21,000 prisoners who remained in the camp continued in the hands of the prisoner administration even when the U.S. Army officially took over the camp on April 13 and disarmed the prisoners. In the following months, around a quarter of the 4,700 seriously ill prisoners died. In all, approximately 56,000 of the 238,980 male prisoners sent to Buchenwald died.⁹ At around 30 percent, Jews were the largest group of dead in Buchenwald. The last prisoners left the camp in July 1945.

Representatives of the SS guards were tried before a U.S. military court after the war in the so-called Buchenwald Trial in 1947. Thirty SS members were tried together with SS-Obergruppenführer Josias Erbprinz zu Waldeck und Pyrmont, the Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer of Oberabschnitt Fulda-Werra and the highest Buchenwald overlord. Included among the 30 SS members was the SS-Standortarzt Dr. Gerhard Schiedlausky, who was tried separately before a British military court, sentenced to death, and executed. Camp commandant SS-Oberführer Pister was sentenced to death in 1947 but died in prison. Members of the medical personnel were also tried, including Dr. Hanns Eisele, responsible for the murder of those suffering from tuberculosis. Ilse Koch, wife of the SS-Standartenführer and camp commandant Karl Koch, was brought to trial. Her husband had been arrested in December 1941 on suspicion of corruption. As punishment, he was posted to Lublin-Majdanek as commandant of that

camp. He was sentenced to death by an SS police court and executed in April 1945.

The trial ended on August 14, 1947, when 22 death sentences, 5 life sentences, and 4 prison sentences of between 4 and 10 years were handed down. Twenty-five subsequent trials before a U.S. military court in Dachau investigated crimes committed in Buchenwald. By 1951, 9 members of the camp's command and a camp elder had been executed. By the middle of the 1950s, all the convicted were free except for Ilse Koch. Further court proceedings before German courts continued into the 1960s, for example, against Martin Sommer and Ilse Koch at the Bayreuth Landgericht in 1958, and in 1961 against SS-Hauptscharführer Wilhelm Schäfer, who had taken part in the murder of Soviet POWs.

SOURCES A bibliography on Buchenwald literature would comprise many volumes. Only a few key resources will be stated here. One of the earliest camp descriptions appeared in English and French with the title *Papers Concerning the Treatment of German Nationals in Germany 1938–1939* (London: HMSO, 1939). Six years later, the British Parliament published a report of a parliamentary delegation that inspected the camp: James Richard Stanhope, *Buchenwald Camp: The Report of a Parliamentary Delegation* (London: HMSO, April 1945). Another important source for the history of the camp is the *Bericht des Internationalen Lagerkomitees des KZ Buchenwald* (1945; repr., Offenbach: Verlag O. Benario und H. Baum, 1997), which was based upon 250 individual reports. Many Buchenwald prisoners have published their prison experiences, including Eugen Kogon's socio-logical analysis, *Der NS-Staat: Das System der deutschen Konzentrationslager* (Munich, 1947), which has been reissued numerous times since. It is available in English as *The Theory and Practice of Hell* (New York: Berkley, 1984). The Buchenwald concentration camp was used in the GDR as a means to legitimize the Communist struggle against National Socialism. From the early 1950s, publications focused strongly on this part of the camp's history including the brochure published by the Komitee der Antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfer der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, *Buchenwald* (Berlin: Kongress-Verlag, 1959). There was a similar focus in the publication in 1958 on the establishment of the Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Buchenwald: Fritz Cremer, *Das Buchenwald-Denkmal* (Dresden: Deutsche Akademie der Künste, Verlag der Kunst, 1960); and Günther Kühn and Wolfgang Weber, *Stärker als die Wölfe: Ein Bericht über die illegale militärische Organisation im ehemaligen Konzentrationslager Buchenwald und den bewaffneten Aufstand* (1976; rev., East Berlin, 1988). In the following years, the *Buchenwaldheften* published by the Gedenkstätte Buchenwald focused increasingly on less researched aspects of the camp's history. The catalog *Ausstellung Konzentrationslager Buchenwald: Post Weimar/Thür* (West Berlin: Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, 1990) updated aspects of research and interpretation. A very critical view of the history of the camp and its prisoner administration based on documents from the Stalinist purges in the GDR in the 1950s is Lutz Niethammer's *Der "gesäuberte" Antifaschismus: Die SED und die roten Kapos von Buchenwald* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1994). The author investigates the postwar careers of former prisoner-functionaries

in the Soviet Occupation Zone and later the GDR. The Gedenkstätte Buchenwald has published numerous works on the history of the camp, including specialized themes. A good review on the state of research and a detailed history of the camp is Harry Stein's article in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 301–356. Harry Stein has written several other essays on the camp, including *Juden in Buchenwald 1937–1942* (Weimar: Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, 1992); (with U. Schneider), *IG Farben—Buchenwald—Menschenversuche: Ein dokumentarischer Bericht* (Weimar-Buchenwald, 1986); "Die Vernichtungstransporte aus Buchenwald in die 'T4'-Anstalt Sonnenstein," *SBGSSS* 3 (2001): 29–50; and "Das Sonderlager im Konzentrationslager Buchenwald nach den Pogromen 1938," in "Nach der Kristallnacht": *Jüdisches Leben und antijüdische Politik in Frankfurt am Main 1938–1945*, ed. Monica Kingreen (Frankfurt am Main, 1999), pp. 19–54. Information on the camp brothel is to be found in Christa Paul, *Zwangssprostitution: Staatlich errichtete Bordelle im Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin, 1994); and Christa Schulz, "Weibliche Häftlinge aus Ravensbrück in Bordellen der Männerkonzentrationslager," in *Frauen in Konzentrationslagern: Bergen-Belsen, Ravensbrück*, ed. Claus Füllberg-Stolberg et al. (Bremen, 1994), pp. 135–146. A review of current questions on archeological research on the camp site is by Ronald Hirt in *Offene Befunde: Ausgrabungen in Buchenwald; Zeitgeschichtliche Archäologie und Erinnerungskultur* (Weimar: Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, 1999). In *Die Inszenierung der Stadt. Planen und Bauen im NS in Weimar* (Weimar, 1999), Karin Loos investigates the relationship between the city and the concentration camp, as does Jens Schley in *Nachbar Buchenwald: Die Stadt Weimar und ihr Konzentrationslager 1937–1945* (Cologne: Weimar; Vienna: Böhlau-Verlag, 1999). Information on camp commandant Koch is to be found in Tom Segev, *Soldiers of Evil: The Commandants of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1988), pp. 180–183; and for his wife, Ilse Koch, and her trials at the beginning of the 1950s, see Arthur L. Smith Jr., *Die "Hexe von Buchenwald"* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1983). For further specialized aspects of the camp history, see Katrin Greiser, "Die Buchenwald-Bahn," in *Mohn und Gedächtnis*, ed. Ute Wrede (Ostfildern-Ruit, 1999), pp. 27–60; Wolfgang Röll, *Homosexuelle Häftlinge im Konzentrationslager Buchenwald* (Weimar, 1992); Katrin Greiser, "Sie starben allein und ruhig, ohne zu schreien oder jemanden zu rufen: Das 'Kleine Lager' im Konzentrationslager Buchenwald," *DaHe* 14 (1998): 102–124; and Werner Scherf, *Die Verbrechen der SS-Ärzte im KZ Buchenwald—der antifaschistische Widerstand der Häftlinge im Häftlingskrankenbau*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1987). Buchenwald concentration camp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 62; and the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL* (1977) Teil I, p. 1795.

The extensive collection of original documents in the AG-B collections and at ITS are the most relevant for the reconstruction of the history of the Buchenwald concentration camp. In addition, there are numerous files held in the collections of the ThHStA-W, in particular, NS 4 Bu with its numerous subgroups. See the same collection in USHMMA RG 14.023M, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp.

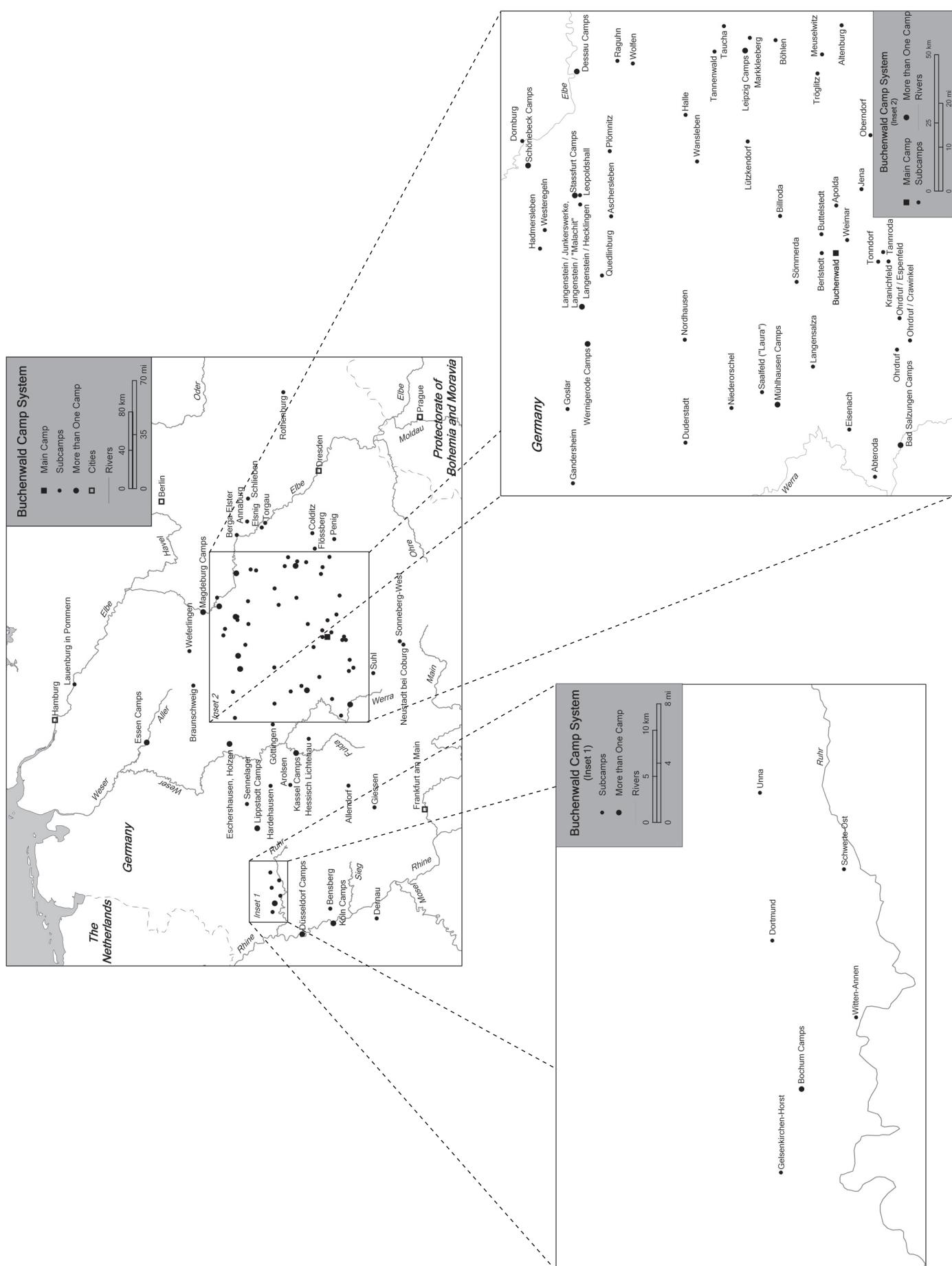
USHMMA holds other collections on the Buchenwald concentration camp, including RG-04.029*01, Buchenwald construction drawings and a report by the Sixth Service Command from 1944 on conditions in Buchenwald, including statements by early prisoners; RG-09.005*08, USHMC, 1981 International Liberators Conference, Collection: Buchenwald; Acc. 1995.A.049, Alexander Szczucki letter, a description of the camp made shortly after its liberation; RG-02.127; Acc. 1994. A.211, "And where was God?" a 1960 MSS that describes the experiences of a prisoner in Prague, Łódź, Buchenwald, Nordhausen, and Bergen-Belsen; RG-02.166, the memoirs of Benjamin Klotz, 1939–1946, including his arrest and transfer to Buchenwald; RG-55.003*17 Acc. 1992.A.034, correspondence and statement by Aleksander Tytus Kulisiewicz on music in Buchenwald; and Acc. 1995.A.762, memoirs by Nicholas Burliuk regarding Buchenwald survivors on a hospital ship, as well as countless others. USHMMPA holds a collection of photographs from the time Buchenwald was liberated. Other files are held in NARA, including statements by the former camp commandant, Hermann Pister, to the U.S. military court and other trial documents in RG 153, Records of the JAG, USA v. *Prince von Waldeck, et al.*, in Modern Military Branch; Collection Fourth Armored Division, 604-2.2-Daily Reports, June 1944–May 1945, which includes the report of U.S. Army member Paul Bodot, who as a scout of the Fourth Armored Division of the Third U.S. Army entered the camp; and in RG 33, Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, a report by 1st Lt. Egon W. Fleck and Edward A. Tenenbaum, Psychological Warfare Department, Twelfth U.S. Army Group, with the title, "Buchenwald: Ein vorläufiger Bericht" of April 24, 1945. An interesting documentary source is held in the LMRD, a photo album apparently prepared at the request of the SS and titled "Buchenwald Jahresende 1943." Numerous details can be obtained from charges, trial records, and statutory declarations made during the Buchenwald trials, which are also not listed here. A statutory declaration by camp commandant Hermann Pister from July 2, 1945, is found in NO-254. Files on the SS court's investigation into the first camp commandant, Karl Koch, are in BA-B, Signatur NS 71/1020. Aside from Kogon's account, there are numerous autobiographies by Buchenwald prisoners: Benedikt Kautsky, *Teufel und Verdammte: Erfahrungen und Erkenntnisse aus sieben Jahren in deutschen Konzentrationslagern* (Vienna: Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1961); Julius Freund, *O Buchenwald* (Klagenfurt: Self-published, 1945); Moritz Zahnwetzer, *KZ Buchenwald: Erlebnisbericht* (Kassel-Sandershausen, 1946); Alfred Bunzol, *Erlebnisse eines politischen Gefangen im KZ Buchenwald* (Weimar, 1946); Walter Poller, *Arztschreiber in Buchenwald* (Hamburg: Phönix-Verlag Christen & Co., 1946); Ernst Wiechert, *Der Totenwald* (Zurich: Rascher-Verlag, 1946) (which was written in 1939); and Wiechert, *Häftling Nr. 7188: Tagebuchnotizen und Briefe* (Munich, 1966); Isa Vermehren, *Reise durch den letzten Akt: Ein Bericht* (Hamburg: C.-Wegner-Verlag, 1946); Jorge Semprun et al., *Was für ein schöner Sonntag* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1999), originally available in English as *What a Beautiful Sunday!* (San Diego, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982); and Semprun, *Schreiben oder Leben* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1995). Other survivors' memoirs are Karl Barthel, *Rot färbt sich der Morgen: Erinnerungen* (Rudolstadt,

1959); Abram Korn, *Abe's Story: A Holocaust Memoir* (Atlanta: Longstreet Press, 1995); Giovanni Marcato, *Buchenwald il mio nome era 34989* (Treviso: Canova-Verlag, 2000); and Paul Victor, *Buchenwald: A Survivor's Memoir* (Tucson, AZ: Wheatmark, 2006). The former prisoner Bruno Apitz has provided a lasting but heroic memorial to the Communist resistance in the camp in his novel *Nackt unter Wölfen* (Halle an der Saale: MitteldeutscheVerlag, 1958), which has been translated into many languages.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. For a list of prominent Buchenwald prisoners including biographical details, see Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, ed. *Buchenwald Concentration Camp 1937–1945. A Guide to the Permanent Historical Exhibition* (Göttingen, 2004), pp. 293–305; and Lutz Niethammer, *Der "gesäuberte" Antifaschismus: Die SED und die roten Kapos von Buchenwald* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1994), pp. 493–519.
2. The early literature calls this administrative system the "Häftlingsselfverwaltung." Harry Stein correctly points out that the functionaries only had a degree of autonomy, and this did not in any way reach the level of prisoner self-administration. See Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), p. 333.
3. Eugen Kogon, *Der NS-Staat: Das System der deutschen Konzentrationslager* (Munich, 1947), p. 330.
4. Although there is not room for a detailed examination of the issue here, the reader should know that the resistance's scope and degree of organization are disputed.
5. For more exact numbers, see *Ausstellung Konzentrationslager Buchenwald: Post Weimar/Thür* (West Berlin: Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, 1990), pp. 23–54; *Buchenwald Concentration Camp 1937–1945. A Guide to the Permanent Historical Exhibition*, pp. 60–85, 152–176.
6. Kogon, *Der NS-Staat*, p. 166.
7. The high number of dead is not only due to the generally catastrophic conditions in the camp but also to the mass killing of prisoners by injection of those who arrived on the evacuation marches from Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen in the camp in a completely weakened state. The number of the dead was 3,096, according to the *Bericht des Internationalen Lagerkomitees des KZ Buchenwald* (1945; repr., Offenbach: Verlag O. Benario und H. Baum, 1997), p. 7.
8. See *Der Prediger von Buchenwald: Das Martyrium Paul Schneiders*, intro. by Heinrich Vogel (Berlin, 1953); and Claude R. Foster, *Paul Schneider, the Buchenwald Apostle: A Christian Martyr in Nazi Germany; A Sourcebook on the German Church Struggle* (West Chester, PA: West Chester University Press, 1995).
9. This number is an estimate based upon the following: the number of registered dead to the end of March 1945 (33,462); 913 dead between April 1 and 10, 1945; around 27,000 prisoners who died in the Buchenwald subcamps, around 8,000 shot Soviet POWs, 1,100 other executions, and around 12,000 victims on the evacuation marches, as estimated in Stein in Benz and Distel, *Ort des Terrors*, p. 347.



BUCHENWALD SUBCAMP SYSTEM

The subcamp complex of the Buchenwald concentration camp developed in similar ways to other subcamp systems in the Nazi concentration camp system, especially in relation to the administration's changing labor needs. Due to an ever-increasing demand for armaments production as the war continued, the camps were restructured to provide a supply of laborers to support the war economy. In 1942, the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) was subsumed within the new SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), and the camps previously under the IKL were administered under WVHA Office Group D. WVHA chief Oswald Pohl entered into negotiations with the Armaments Ministry and private industry to use prisoner labor to produce munitions. By September 1942, it was determined that renting out camp inmates to private and state-run armaments manufacturers was more economical. To lessen transportation time and increase cost-effectiveness, inmates were to be housed in subcamps that would be created at the work sites.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the Buchenwald camp system included over 130 subcamps (including subcamps attached to subcamps), opened between 1940 and 1945.¹ The Buchenwald subcamps were under the control and administration of the main camp and the WVHA. Private firms generally paid the WVHA 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled worker per day and 6 RM per skilled worker per day. SS-run enterprises had special "rental" agreements: for example, the Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH (DAW) and the Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (DESt) paid the WVHA 0.35 RM for an unskilled worker and 1.50 RM for a skilled worker per day.² The SS and SS-owned industries such as DESt and DAW made enormous profits from the use of prisoner labor; one estimate states that the hiring of prisoners from Buchenwald from June 1943 to February 1945 earned the SS 95,758,843 RM.

The subcamps of Buchenwald could be classified into six main categories, depending on the type of work assignment of the prisoners, according to the postwar testimony of the Buchenwald chief of labor allocation, Albert Schwartz: those classified under a private firm's notation; those grouped under the operation of Office Group D of the WVHA; "A" projects, which were secret construction efforts realized by WVHA Office Group C, for example, at Rottleberode and Hadmersleben, and were code-named A1, A2, etc.; "B" projects, secret above-ground construction projects also led by Office Group C, for example, at Langenstein; "S" projects, special top-secret construction projects, such as SIII in Ohrdruf; as well as other special construction efforts and manufacturing satellites, which were linked directly with the production and testing of V-weapons, such as Dora (before it became an independent camp in October 1944) and "Laura"/Saalfeld.³ One of the first major subcamps of Buchenwald was created at the nearby

Weimar Gustloff-Werke in February 1942, to which inmates were supplied to produce arms.

The few subcamps attached to Buchenwald and created prior to 1942 were generally assigned to special tasks for SS-run enterprises or institutions—for example, the inmates who were sent to work at a bakery that supplied bread for the SS in Apolda or those detailed to construction work at an SS officers' school in Lauenburg. These projects were generally temporary, and the camp's existence was relatively shorter, often being set up again in the same location at a later date (see, for example, Tonndorf and Berlstedt). Most camps were created after 1942, with the majority being opened in the latter half of the war. Work in the subcamps varied but was most often related to munitions production, construction, or the transfer of armaments factories to underground facilities. In some of the camps, construction work involved building the barracks in which the prisoners themselves would live, such as at Gandersheim and Leipzig-Thekla. In other camps, like Lützkendorf, inmates had to clear rubble after air raids or reconstruct bombed-out buildings. Some of the largest subcamps in the Buchenwald camp system were those that dedicated prisoner labor to the creation of subterranean production facilities and the transfer of manufacturing plants into them, especially for aircraft production, such as the massive efforts in the Harz Mountains that used labor from camps in and around Halberstadt. Because Allied air raids had become more and more precise, in 1944 either defunct mines with structural upgrades were used to house the production facilities or entirely new spaces were blasted from and reinforced in mountain interiors—these transfer operations required large amounts of manual labor, provided by subcamps such as those in Halberstadt, Westeregeln, Wansleben, and Stassfurt.

Inmates were transferred to the Buchenwald subcamps generally from the main camp but also from other camps, for example, Sachsenhausen, Gross-Rosen, Flossenbürg, Ravensbrück, and Auschwitz II-Birkenau. The inmates were often selected on the basis of reported skilled labor experience, sometimes by representatives of the firms themselves. In some cases, inmates from one subcamp were transferred to other subcamps within the camp complex, especially if the type of labor was similar. The inmate population was diverse and held many different types of prisoners, including Russian prisoners of war (POWs), so-called *Berufsverbrecher* or "professional criminals," common law prisoners, "asocials," homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, political prisoners, and Jews. Inmates came from all over Europe. Some subcamps, such as Leopolds-hall, were camps consisting of mainly Jewish inmates (and referred to in notation as "Jüdische Aussenkommandos").⁴ In 1944 and early 1945, thousands of Jewish women were also sent to Buchenwald satellite camps to work in munitions factories, including many Hungarian Jewish women (from May

1944 on). Some camps, such as Abteroda, Aschersleben, Essen, and Dortmund, had both men's and women's camps. As of August 1944, when evacuations of camps in the west close to the front brought additional inmates to Buchenwald, the subcamps held some 43,500 inmates.

Working and living conditions within the camps were generally terrible, and inmates received the bare minimum of food rations, clothing, and shelter. In most cases, they were subject to the cruelties of the SS as well as prisoner overseers (Kapos) and foremen at the workplaces. Outbreaks of various diseases, such as dysentery and typhus, were common. The infirmaries of the subcamps, which were ill-equipped to manage the severely declining health of the inmates, served as transfer points—those inmates who were too ill to return to work were sent back to Buchenwald, where they generally died in the main camp infirmary. The creation of subcamps also allowed for some general changes in the prisoners' overall living conditions. For example, at the workplace they often came into contact with German civilian workers, which resulted in a few cases either in some sort of assistance (sneaking food, for instance) or in malicious behavior toward the inmates (such as reporting alleged sabotage to the foremen)—but generally more often the presence of the inmates was met with indifference. The creation of the subcamps also allowed for contact with the anti-Nazi underground, raising the possibility of participating in resistance activities, as well as an increase in the escape rate and in organized and individual forms of sabotage, either by directly destroying parts or machinery or purposefully slowing the work pace.

In February 1945, the Buchenwald camp complex was the largest remaining camp, in which 112,000 people were imprisoned in the main and subcamps. One-third of those imprisoned were Jews. As the front drew closer, the dissolving of those Buchenwald subcamps still in existence by the spring of 1945 (at least 95, including subcamps attached to subcamps) began in March and April of that year. Others were dissolved and transferred in January and February 1945 (8), and still others had been evacuated earlier, many in late 1944 (21). In the spring of 1945, the subcamps were either evacuated back to the main Buchenwald camp or in other directions and to other camps, depending on the position of Allied troops. For example, the men from the Abteroda and Mühlhausen camps were sent back to Buchenwald, but the women inmates were transferred to Bergen-Belsen and Eisenach. Between February and April 1945, it has been estimated that some 25,109 inmates were evacuated toward the Buchenwald camp. Thousands of inmates died in the terrible conditions of evacuations, which were generally guarded forced marches in columns over long distances, with little food, shelter, or rest. In some subcamps inmates, especially those too ill or weak to be evacuated, remained behind. In some cases, prior to the departure of the evacuation marches, many of these inmates were rounded up and executed (see, for example, Ohrdruf and Leipzig). Other inmates died from exhaustion, hunger, and air raids, until the camps were liberated by Allied troops.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources specifically focused on the Buchenwald subcamps; however, works more generally focused on the Buchenwald complex give overall insight into the workings and organization of the subcamp system. For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). Both contain important published primary resources related to the subcamps. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Außenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS); and Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, ed., *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald 1937–1945: Begleitband zur ständigen historischen Ausstellung* (Göttingen, 1999). Enno Georg's *Die wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen der SS* (Stuttgart, 1963) describes inmate labor used at SS-owned enterprises. See also Karin Orth, *Das System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Eine politische Organisationsgeschichte* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1999); and Michael Thad Allen, *The Business of Genocide* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002). Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, "Forced Labor and Sabotage in the Nazi Concentration Camps," in *The Nazi Concentration Camps*, ed. Yisrael Gutman and Avital Saf (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), also provides a good overview of labor in the subcamps. Finally, for a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, names of firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entries for Buchenwald in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records.

Primary source documentation generated about the subcamps includes numerous oral history collections and testimonies, including those stored at USHMM, as well as other oral history repositories around the world. Testimonies taken from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees in 1945 and 1946 are particularly relevant to satellites that employed mainly Hungarian Jews (for example, Sömmerda and Markkleeberg); the MZML contains thousands of such reports recorded by the relief agency DEGOB. Transport lists to and from the subcamps, which yield information about demographics, camp size, and so on, can be found in the AN-MACVG and copied at USHMM Acc. 1998 A.0045. See also administrative documentation mentioning the subcamps in the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMM RG 14.023M. The AG-B and AG-MD are also a resource for documentation and information on the subcamps.

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NOTES

1. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951); repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

2. Herbert Weidlich (April 1945), "Aussenkommandos: Bericht über das Kommando Arbeitstatistik KZ Buchenwald," in, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). See also extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.
3. "Aus der eidesstattlichen Erklärung des Arbeitssatzführers im KZ Buchenwald, SS-Hauptsturmführer Albert Schwartz, im Prozess IV," in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung* (1983), p. 286.
4. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Bartel. *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung* (1960), p. 252.

ABTERODA (MEN)

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Abteroda (Thüringen) sometime in July 1944 to provide labor to the Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) in the production of aircraft engine parts. The use of concentration camp inmates at the BMW firm stemmed from an agreement between the firm and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which "rented" inmates to the firm at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.¹ The Abteroda subcamp was code-named "Anton" or "An" in related documentation. See also Buchenwald/Abteroda (Women).

One of the first transports to the Abteroda Anton subcamp left the Eisenach subcamp (which had also provided labor to BMW) with 79 inmates on July 31, 1944.² The average strength of the Abteroda men's camp was about 230 inmates, and the camp population remained relatively constant until its closing in April 1945. Other smaller transports arrived in Abteroda from Buchenwald and from Eisenach throughout the camp's operation. Frequently inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald if they were too ill to continue to work, where they were exchanged for "healthier" inmates.³ On March 17, 1945, 40 inmates may have been transferred to Berka, a subcamp of Buchenwald in Tonndorf, from Abteroda, although the transport list is not specific about the origin of the transfer.⁴ Although there is not a breakdown of nationalities on the transport lists, the inmates appear to be mostly French, Russian, German, Italian, and Polish. All of the inmates were male.

The inmates were assigned to work in underground construction installations for the BMW firm as well as in the above-ground production of aircraft engine parts. Like other armaments facilities in late 1943 and 1944, labor at the Abteroda subcamp was targeted to transferring armaments production underground to protect it from Allied bombing, which had increased in the latter half of the war. The inmates were housed in two munitions halls, which were surrounded by 2-meter-high (6.6-foot high) fencing and flanked by four guard towers. Contact between the different categories of workers (concentration camp inmates, foreign workers, and so on) at the firm was strictly forbidden. Further information on living and working conditions within the camp, as well as possible resistance or escape attempts on the part of the inmates, is not available.

There is little information about the commandant or guards of the Abteroda men's camp. According to transport lists and inventories signed by the head of the work camp, it appears that one SS-Hauptscharführer John was the commandant of the camp. According to a report on the status of medical treatment and prisoner strengths in the various subcamps filed by the Buchenwald SS garrison doctor SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky in January 1945, the infirmary in Abteroda men's camp was headed by an SS doctor named Berendonck, and the SS medic assigned to the camp was named Carl. According to the report, there were 52 guard troops in the camp and 230 inmates at this time.⁵

The Abteroda subcamp was dismantled in early April 1945 due to the closing in of the front. The inmates were evacuated to

Buchenwald in two stages, on April 4 and April 8. The only post-war trial proceeding related to the Abteroda camp was a preliminary investigation led by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in 1966 into murderous treatment by the SS personnel in the camp. However, the results of the investigation were inconclusive, and the process was ended in 1967.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Abteroda men's subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce; however, much of the information for this entry builds upon the research of Frank Baranowski, *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt, 2000). For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Abteroda in Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Außenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS).

Surviving primary documentation on the Abteroda subcamp is also limited. For sparse administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210. See also a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Abteroda camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from the ITS), stored at the archives of the USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially Bu 44. Some published documents are available in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. "Folgende Häftlinge wurden am 31 Juli 1941 von Arbeitskommando nach . . ." Eisenach, July 31, 1944 (BU 44), AN-MACVG, reproduced in the archives of the USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. See transport lists, collection "Anton" Abteroda, (BU 44), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. "Transport Berka," March 17, 1945 (BU 44), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

5. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm-und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," 1/31/1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 251.

ABTERODA (WOMEN)

A subcamp of Buchenwald for women inmates was created in Abteroda (Thüringen) in October 1944 to provide labor to the Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW). The use of concentration camp inmates at the BMW firm stemmed from an

agreement between the firm and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which “rented” inmates to the firm at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled laborer per day.¹ The Abteroda subcamp was code-named “Anton” or “An” in related documentation.

The women were transported from Ravensbrück and women’s subcamps of Buchenwald, such as Torgau, to Abteroda to work for BMW in the production of chemicals for blasting agents. For example, 125 women were transferred from Ravensbrück to Abteroda on February 19, 1945.² The average strength of the prisoner population in the Abteroda women’s camp reached between 200 and 250 inmates. The inmates were also sent from Abteroda to other women’s subcamps of Buchenwald, including Markkleeberg.

Few details about the working and living conditions within the Abteroda women’s camp are available. According to one French former prisoner, Jacqueline Fleury, the inmates had to work very hard in all kinds of weather, whether or not they were ill or weakened. She recalled fellow camp inmates who persisted daily with tuberculosis and other diseases, and she herself suffered from dysentery prior to her deportation from Torgau to Abteroda. She noted that on Christmas Eve 1944, several prisoners gathered together with smuggled materials to build a crèche to celebrate the holiday. At no other time, she recalled, did she witness the other women in the camp crying except on that night. She also remembered that the women forged bonds of solidarity among themselves (most likely along national lines), which helped them withstand the daily cruelties and hardships of camp life. They sang songs, recited poetry, and told stories about their “own corners of France.”³

There is little information about the commandant or guards of the Abteroda women’s camp. According to a report on the status of medical treatment and prisoner strengths in the various subcamps filed by the Buchenwald SS garrison doctor SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky in January 1945, the infirmary in Abteroda women’s camp (listed under “Aryan women’s camps”) was headed by SS doctor Berendonck, and the SS medic assigned to the camp was named Carl. These were the same names listed for the Abteroda men’s camp, which suggests that the camps may have shared some facilities and administration. According to the report, there were 13 SS guards in the camp, 9 female guards (*Aufseherinnen*), and 249 inmates at this time.⁴

The women’s subcamp in Abteroda was evacuated in early April 1945 to the area of Eisenach.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Abteroda women’s subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Abteroda in Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records.

Surviving primary documentation on the Abteroda subcamp is also limited. For sparse administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in

the USHMMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 4, 8. See also a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Abteroda camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from the ITS), stored at USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045. For the testimony of Jacqueline Fleury, a former prisoner in the camp, see materials related to the online exhibition *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald* at the Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris/Musée Jean Moulin, April 22–October 30, 2005, www.paris-france.org/musees/memorial/expositions/fob_p2_jfleury.htm. This testimony and other documentation are also stored in the archives of ADIRN. Some documents are reproduced in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983); and in Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, “Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Außenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)” (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS).

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NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. KL Buchenwald Häftlingsverwaltung: Vermögensangelegenheiten von Häftlingen, 1944–45, BA NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 4, Fiche 1, p. 1.

3. Testimony of Jacqueline Fleury, *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald*, online exhibition, Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris/Musée Jean Moulin, April 22–October 30, 2005, www.paris-france.org/musees/memorial/expositions/fob_p2_jfleury.htm; and also in the ADIRN archives.

4. “K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt,” January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 251.

ALLENDORF [AKA MÜNCHMÜHLE]

The Münchmühle camp, named after the nearby mill on the Münchbach, was located on the former Reichstrasse from Kirchhain to Neustadt, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) southwest of Allendorf.

The camp was built at the beginning of 1940 and consisted of 26 barracks. Civilian forced laborers, prisoners of war (POWs), and units of the Reich Labor Service (RAD) were all accommodated there. For the period between August 1944 and the end of March 1945, the Münchmühle camp, with 1,000 female prisoners selected from Auschwitz, served as a subcamp to Buchenwald concentration camp. At the end of March 1945, the detachment was evacuated.

Due to the lack of labor, civilian forced laborers, POWs, and criminals were increasingly used in the armaments industry, and from 1942 on, more and more concentration camp inmates were used as well.¹ To fulfill arms orders, the management of the Allendorf factory applied for prisoners.

On June 6, 1944, a discussion took place in Allendorf between the camp commander (Lagerkommandant) of Buchenwald, Pister, and the managing director of the Allendorfer Verwertchemie, Ringleb. The memorandum about the discussion states that the female prisoners should be assigned to earthmoving, assembly lines to fill shells and bombs, and the laundry and tailor shop areas.² In order to improve the consistency of the work, the working hours were to be extended from three shifts in 24 hours to two shifts of 12 hours each. It was further intended to recruit female supervisors from the plant and to build an electric fence. For manufacturing and unloading work, managing director Ringleb wished, however, to have male prisoners. The pay was set at 3 or 5 Reichsmark (RM). In reality, however, the SS calculated a daily rate of 4 RM per day per prisoner for unskilled laborers.³ In addition to the memorandum on the Allendorf discussion, another document exists that shows that there were problems between the SS and the factory.⁴ At the time, the Allendorf factory was unable to supply the number of female supervisors required by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). In addition, Pister criticized the demand of the factory management to set forth the use of prisoners in a contract, claiming that so far it had been possible to come to an understanding with all of the many other firms that used prisoners from Buchenwald concentration camp without a contract. Considering that both sides profited from the trade in humans, the profiteers did not need written agreements, and the industry was thus able to create the myth that the prisoners were "forced on them" by the SS.

The statistical evaluation of the prisoners' ages is based on two different lists.⁵ The transport list of August 13, 1944, stems from Auschwitz and includes the surnames, first names, dates of birth, and professions of the women. On October 20, 1944, the Buchenwald administration, which was responsible for the Münchmühle subcamp, compiled a new list based on the August list, which shows in addition the towns in Hungary from which the women originated. A comparison of the two versions reveals that three women named on the Auschwitz list do not reappear in the Münchmühle subcamp.⁶ They had been replaced by three other prisoners, probably in Auschwitz. A correction of this, as well as of any misspelled names, took place only on October 12, 1944, when the unit commander (Kommandoführer) of the Allendorf labor detail sent 1,000 personnel files to the commander's headquarters (*Kommandantur*) of Buchenwald.⁷

The Buchenwald list was used for the analysis of the age breakouts.⁸ It shows that the average age of the prisoners at the end of the war was 27.25 years. The oldest was 53, and the youngest, 15. More than 50 percent were between 15 and 25 years of age.

At the end of the war, a third version of the list was prepared, probably by the U.S. Army, which included additional information on the accommodation of the female prisoners during the first weeks after the war and on pregnant or deceased prisoners. According to this list, the following changes can be noted: On October 27, 1944, five pregnant women were returned through

the Mühlhausen labor detail to Auschwitz. On November 8, 1944, one woman died due to the working conditions.⁹ On December 23, 1944, a woman from the labor detail Allgemeine Transportanlagen GmbH, Leipzig (ATG-Leipzig) was transferred to Allendorf, and on January 26, 1945, a transport brought two women to Bergen-Belsen. At the time of evacuation, there were 993 prisoners in the Allendorf detachment.¹⁰

The claim vouchers (*Forderungsnachweise*) of the personnel administration in Buchenwald were based on the daily deployment reports (*Einsatzmeldungen*) from Allendorf. From these reports, the number of days worked could be calculated, which were then multiplied by the "salary" of 6 RM per day for skilled or 4 RM for unskilled workers. In the case of the Buchenwald subcamps, women were classified as unskilled laborers.¹¹ This amount was then charged to the armament plants. Daily deployment reports exist only for the month of August—and specifically for August 17 on and hence one day after the arrival of the transport.¹² For the time between August 1944 and the end of February 1945, the SS charged the Allendorf factory a total of nearly 650,000 RM.¹³ Prisoners worked six days a week¹⁴ in various shifts of 12 or 8 hours with a 30-minute break. Work was done in different departments of the factory, such as the laundry, the tailor shop, and the assembly lines for filling explosives. The 1944 annual report of the factory states that management was extremely satisfied with the work of the prisoners: "The experiences gained through the use of Jewesses since August last year are entirely satisfactory. The filling of the fifteen centimeter shells, weighing almost fifty kilograms, was accomplished with best results by Jewish female prisoners."¹⁵ The working conditions on the filling lines were by far the hardest and accompanied by extreme health risks. "My face turned yellow from the poison, from inhaling it and we were extremely undernourished and weak,"¹⁶ one of the women wrote. A postwar report states that "the work consisted of filling bombs and shells with explosives. These shells weighed 40 kg. And each prisoner had to handle 1000 of them per day."¹⁷ A few women, for the most part the youngest, were assigned to work in the camp. Others reported working on farms, where in most cases the working conditions and food were better. The women who had been assigned to the filling lines suffered all their lives from health problems as a result of handling explosives.

The camp was fenced in, and male guards from Buchenwald and to some extent women employed by the Allendorf factory watched over the prisoners. Shortly before the dissolution of the camp, there were 46 SS privates and 47 female guards, two female doctors, and eight orderlies for the prisoners.¹⁸ The majority of the women described the unit commander, Hauptscharführer Adolf Wutke, as "humane," while they characterized his deputy, Ernst Schulte(r), as brutal.

On March 27, 1945, the camp was evacuated in the face of the approaching American troops. From the files it is no longer possible to determine the destination of the evacuation march. The march first headed east, toward Ziegenhain, and then northeast, toward Fritzlar. Throughout the march, groups of prisoners ran off, as did guards. The whole detach-

ment eventually dissolved. Investigations by the district attorney's offices in the early 1970s did not reveal any indications of homicides, so that in November 1971, the case was dismissed.¹⁹ The surviving women were cared for by the American troops and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) and were lodged in public buildings or with German families until a return to their homes or other countries could be organized.

Among the investigation files of the district attorney's office exists a list with names of 45 female guards. Eighteen of these women had been interned previously in various camps. Three women, including the head female guard, were sentenced by the women's chamber court of the Darmstadt camp to several years in a labor camp. All of the interned or convicted women, however, were released after serving sentences ranging from 1.5 to 3.5 years.²⁰ The commander of the Münchmühle subcamp, Wuttke, was the only member of the male guard force convicted. In the Dachau war crimes trial, he was sentenced to 4.5 years of confinement for beating prisoners in Buchenwald.²¹

SOURCES The source material available in the 1980s was not as comprehensive as it is presently. First, there are the papers of two school students, which deal with the everyday life and work of the forced laborers as well as with the subcamp. Both studies, part of a federal competition on German history, were awarded prizes by the president of the Federal German Republic and served as catalysts for further research and publications. These include: Harald Horn, *Allendorf unter dem Hakenkreuz* (Marburg, 1986); and Bernd Klewitz, *Die Münchmühle: Aussenkommando des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald* (Marburg, 1988). In particular, the public interest generated by the school studies led to the creation of a memorial on the site of the former Münchmühle camp.

A week of seminars and meetings in autumn 1990 resulted in the publication, created at the request of the former camp prisoners, Magistrat der Stadt Stadtallendorf und Förderverein für Stadt- und Regionalgeschichte 1933–1945 e.V., eds., *Dokumentation der Internationalen Tage der Begegnung in Stadtallendorf: KZ-Aussenlager Münchmühle/Nobel vom 21. bis 26.10.1990* (Stadtallendorf, 1991). The plans for a DIZ-St progressed considerably as a result of that week, because after their visit in autumn 1990 the women provided numerous reports, documents, photographs, and exhibits for the permanent exhibition and archive. The DIZ-St was inaugurated in autumn 1994, and a catalog was published: Magistrat der Stadt Stadtallendorf, *Ausstellungskatalog des DIZ*, ed. Fritz Brinkmann-Frisch (Stadtallendorf, 1994).

Since then, the DIZ has been a central site in the district Marburg-Biedenkopf where visitors are informed about Nazi history and its aftermath.

The most important primary sources are at the archive of YV and the THStA-W. The DIZ-St is a memorial located at a large former site of the Nazi explosives industry. Accordingly, the DIZ archive has photocopies not only of the archival documents on the Münchmühle camp but also of many other camps from federal, state, and private archives, as well as the NARA in Washington, D.C., on the history of both Allendorfer Sprengstoffwerke (explosives factories) and the related deployment of several thousand forced laborers. In

addition, the archive holds numerous accounts of the former prisoners of the Münchmühle camp.

For information on the perpetrators, the files at the ZdL, the investigation files of the district attorney's office in Marburg, and the relevant archival documents at the AG-B were evaluated.

Fritz Brinkmann-Frisch
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Hermann Kaienburg, *Vernichtung durch Arbeit: Der Fall Neuengamme*, 2nd ed (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz, 1991), pp. 283–285.
2. Historical Section 7, File 149, YV.
3. THStA-W, Collection NS 4 Buchenwald, No. 8.
4. Ibid., letter by commander Pister to the director of the factory, Ringleb, September 8, 1944.
5. Copies of the three lists are at the DIZ-St.
6. This concerns Rosalia Aromovits, born on May 10, 1924; Magda Kun, born on April 7, 1920; and Ella Sajovits, born on October 25, 1925.
7. Basic Documents on Buchenwald 46, File 322, YV. A further adjustment of numbers and names was made by the personal effects storeroom (Effektenkammer) on November 3, 1944, Basic Documents on Buchenwald 20, File 172, YV.
8. In more than 30 cases, there are variations in both lists on the birthdates from 1 to 20 years, which are impossible to clarify.
9. In the death certificate in the municipality of Allendorf, the cause of death is indicated as "hemolytic icterus"; that is, the handling of highly toxic explosives most likely caused the death of Mrs. Hauer. Death Certificate Jolan Hauer, DIZ-St.
10. All details are from the Historical Section No. 12, File 160, YV.
11. Handwritten note in the Labor Statistics for Buchenwald, September 1, 1944, where the address of the Allendorf detachment, also written by hand, appears: "Allendorf Factory for the Processing of Chemical Products, Ltd., Allendorf district Marburg." THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald No. 8.
12. Labor detail KZ Allendorf from August 17 to 31, 1944, KZUHaftaBu 269/VIII, THStA-W.
13. Claim vouchers of the commander's headquarters KZ Buchenwald from August 1944 to February 1945; no evidence was found for March 1945. Historical Section No. 19, files 190–191, Historical Section No. 20, Files 192–193, YV.
14. As of mid-October 1944, smaller groups of prisoners (20–40) worked on Sundays as well; and between mid-January and late February 1945, much larger groups (400–700) worked on Sundays. See note 13.
15. Annual Report 1944, Allendorf Factory for the Processing of Chemical Products, Ltd., DIZ-St.
16. Communication from Elisabeth Berkovics, October 1987. In 1987, the city of Stadtallendorf organized a questionnaire, asking, among other things, about the living and working conditions of the prisoners in the Münchmühle detachment. The partially very detailed answers and reports are at the DIZ-St.
17. Report by J.A. Boucherat, French Liaison Officer, April 4, 1946; ZdL, Investigation Files IV 429 AR-Z 51/1970, pp. 14–16.
18. Strength report of the Allendorf work camp from March 20, 1945, Historical Section No. 12, File 163, YV.

19. District attorney's office at the regional court of Marburg, Murder Investigation against "unknown," Js 400/70.
20. ZdL, Investigation File IV 429 AR-Z 51/1970, vols. 1–6.
21. Record of Trial in the Case of *U.S. vs. Adolf Wuttke, German National* (Case No. 000-Buchenwald-40), AG-B.

ALTENBURG [MEN]

Altenburg lies in Thuringia, approximately 80 kilometers (50 miles) to the east of Buchenwald. About four months after a camp for women was opened in Altenburg, a camp for men was opened on November 27, 1944, when 50 prisoners arrived from Buchenwald. The camp for men, as with the camp for women, was established at Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG), where the prisoners were deployed in armaments manufacture. The men's camp remained considerably smaller than the women's camp, which in large part was due to the fact that the male prisoners were seen as auxiliary labor for the women's camp. They were used in place of the women for the most difficult physical labor. The men, as with the women, worked in two shifts each of 12 hours assembling antitank grenades (*Panzerfäuste*) and shell casings. The organizational dependence upon the women's camp is reinforced by the fact that the men's camp, as with the women's camp, was under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Johann Frötsch.

HASAG was founded in 1863. At the end of the nineteenth century it was regarded as one of the world's most significant producers of petroleum burners. Just as it did during World War I, HASAG from 1933 switched its production to armaments, a more successful and lucrative area. HASAG became one of the most important armaments producers in the Third Reich and the General Government. In September 1944, the firm, at the request of Reichsminister für Rüstungs- und Kriegsproduktion Albert Speer, developed and put into production the Panzerfaust. Therefore, HASAG was given special authority to enable it during the winter of 1944–1945 to establish new production facilities and to open new subcamps. HASAG and its managing director, Paul Budin, relied heavily on concentration camp inmates for the required labor. Budin had promised Heinrich Himmler already in June 1944 to supply his forces with weapons and munitions, especially the Panzerfaust. Speer's authorization for the Schnellaktion Panzerfaust had the result that the HASAG was ensured the primary position in the list of the Wehrmacht's priority projects. In November and December 1944, the HASAG produced, according to Martin Schellenberg in his study on the Schnellaktion Panzerfaust, more than a million Panzerfäuste, relying on the brutal exploitation of concentration camp prisoners to do so. In the month of November 1944 alone, 300,000 Panzerfäuste were delivered directly to Himmler's SS.

In the middle of February 1945, a transport of 33 male prisoners increased the number of prisoners in the subcamp to more than 80. Another 115 prisoners arrived in the middle of March 1945. Among them were many Jews from Germany, Poland, Latvia, and Hungary as well as stateless people. The total number of inmates in the camp varied, as sick prisoners

who were no longer capable of working were transferred back to the main camp in exchange for new prisoners.

Survivors reported being given a minimum of food—less than 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread and a watery soup each day.

The evacuation of the camp began on April 12, 1945. It occurred in several small groups.

SOURCES Charles-Claude Biedermann describes the Altenburg (men) subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 365–366. Details on HASAG and its subcamp have been taken from the following: Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271; Klaus Hesse, 1933–1945: *Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Eigenverlag des Autors, 2000, 2001)—Teil 1: *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*, in particular pp. 29–63; and Teil 2: *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Aussenlager, über gesühnte und ungesühnte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–108. Also see ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:30; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI* (1977), Teil I, 1787.

The USHMM holds the accounts of two survivors in its collections: the Lazar/Grünstein collection, and the memoirs of Sandor Stern, Acc.1995.A646. Other archival material on the subcamp is located in the collections of the AG-B; in the NS4 (Bu) Collection of the BA-K; and the ITS, Arolsen, such as ITS Buchenwald 292.

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ALTENBURG [WOMEN]

Altenburg lies in Thuringia, about 80 kilometers (50 miles) to the east of Buchenwald. On August 1, 1944, a women's subcamp was established at the Altenburg branch of Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG). Although the subcamp received its work instructions from the Buchenwald concentration camp, it remained until August 31, 1944, under the administrative control of the Ravensbrück concentration camp. The first transport of 850 female prisoners from Ravensbrück consisted of 727 Poles, 108 Soviets, 8 French, as well as Italians, Czechs, Norwegians, Hungarians, and Croatians. Shortly thereafter, two additional transports of female prisoners arrived, but this time from the HASAG subcamp in Buchenwald/Schlieben: 752 women on August 17, 1944, and 327 women on August 21, 1944. The last transport included mostly Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) from different European countries but also Soviet, French, and Yugoslav women. Five hundred Hungarian Jewish women arrived on September 5, 1944. On September 6, 600

Polish women, who had fallen into German hands during the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising, were sent to Altenburg. Most of these prisoners had arrived at Ravensbrück via Auschwitz. A camp population report (*Bestandsmeldung*) dated September 7, 1944, lists 2,440 women, including 1,652 political female Poles, 500 Jews, and 288 "Gypsies." On the same day, 500 women from Altenburg were sent to Buchenwald/Taucha, where a new HASAG women's subcamp had been established. This transport is an example of the intensive exchange of prisoners within the HASAG system of subcamps. On October 12, 1944, another transport of 500 Hungarian Jewish women from Auschwitz arrived at Altenburg.

The subcamp was guarded by 34 SS men and 32 SS women. The camp was under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Johann Frötsch, who as Blockführer in Buchenwald had begun his infamous career. Survivors have described Frötsch and the Oberaufseherin, Elisabeth Rupper, also from Auschwitz, as brutal. Without reason, the prisoners were subject to punishment, which included whippings and confinement. Especially feared were the whippings, which often meant 25 blows with a cane.

The women were accommodated in a stone building, which was probably a former factory building. In the lower ground floor there were washing facilities including showers; in the upper floors were the dormitories, equipped with the typical concentration camp three-level bunk beds as well as tables and benches. The women slept in extremely cramped quarters; however, the "racially inferior" Sinti and Roma as well as the Jewish inmates were separated from the other prisoners. The camp also had an infirmary. The camp was fenced in with barbed wire and was further secured with two guard towers.

The women at the HASAG factory worked in two 12-hour shifts in a factory building not far from the camp, in the physically demanding areas where shells and *Panzerfäuste* (antitank weapons) were produced. In September 1944, as developer and producer of the Panzerfaust, HASAG had received special authority from Reichsminister für Rüstungs- und Kriegsproduktion Albert Speer, as part of the program "Schnellaktion Panzerfaust." This authority gave priority to the production of the Panzerfaust, ahead of all other urgent Wehrmacht projects. According to Martin Schellenberg, the HASAG produced in November and December more than 1 million Panzerfäuste—produced with the utmost brutal exploitation of concentration camp prisoners in the numerous HASAG subcamps. In the month of November alone, the HASAG gave 300,000 Panzerfäuste directly to Himmler's SS. Only at the end of 1944, around 50 men arrived in Altenburg to relieve the women from the most difficult of the physical labor. The men were held in a separate camp, which was also under the command of the Kommandoführer of the female camp, Johann Frötsch.

The use of the prisoners appears to have been in accordance with "racial criteria," whereby the Sinti and Roma as well as the Jewish women were allocated the most difficult and dangerous work. As a rule, this was work that involved the direct production, processing, and filling of munitions.

The fumes from this activity damaged skin, hair, and breathing passages. The death of 8 women from tuberculosis in Altenburg is recorded. Without the transfer of sick women who could no longer work, the death rate in the subcamp would have been even higher. In September 1944, as early as four weeks after the camp was established, 123 Jewish women and 49 Sinti and Roma, all of whom could no longer work, were transferred back to Ravensbrück. By the middle of October 1944, another 216 women were transferred back, including an unknown number of pregnant women.

By the end of March 1945, there were 2,300 women in the camp. The evacuation of the camp began on April 11, 1945 (according to a statement by a survivor, Adrienne Friede Krausz), or April 12, 1945 (according to the International Tracing Service [ITS] and Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel's *Der Ort des Terrors*). The women were driven initially by foot via Meerane and Glauchau; a group of around 800 women was liberated by the U.S. Army on April 14, 1945, in the vicinity of Waldenburg/Sachsen. The other women marched over the ridge of the Erzgebirge in the direction of Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary).

In the 1970s the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL, now BA-L) commenced investigations into events at the camp and during the evacuation marches, but the investigations were inconclusive.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel has written about the Altenburg subcamp (female) in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 363–365. Details on the HASAG and its subcamps have been taken from the following publications: Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Außenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271; Klaus Hesse, 1933–1945: *Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Eigenverlag des Autors, 2000, 2001)—Teil 1: *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*, pp. 29–63; and Teil 2: *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Aussenlager, über gesühnte und ungesühnte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–109. Hildegard Reinhardt Franz, a Sinti and Roma survivor of the Altenburg subcamp, is introduced in *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005*, Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris) (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 97–99. The Altenburg women's subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:30; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1787.

Details of the subcamp are held in the AG-B and BA-K (NS 4 Bu). Investigations by ZdL (now BA-L) are under the file reference IV 429 AR-Z 13/74.

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ANNABURG

A satellite camp of Buchenwald was created in Annaburg (Saxony province) to provide labor to the Annaburger Gerätebau GmbH in January 1945. Like other subcamps administered by the Buchenwald main camp, the supply of prisoner labor to the firm followed from an agreement between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the administration of the Annaburger Gerätebau firm. Inmates in the Annaburg camp had been transferred from another Buchenwald subcamp in Halle an der Saale, where they had been employed at the Siebel-Flugzeugwerke factory (Siebel Aircraft Factory, Ltd.). The prisoners in Halle had been transferred from Buchenwald.

According to a monthly report filed by the Annaburg supervisor of labor groups (Kommandoführer) in February 1945, 100 inmates were transferred from the Halle an der Saale camp to Annaburg on January 8, 1945. On January 18, 1945, 2 inmates were returned to Halle, while 1 additional inmate was transported to Annaburg. Thus, the prisoners of the Annaburg camp in February 1945 numbered 99 inmates. Twenty SS guards were also transferred along with the 100 inmates from Halle to Annaburg on January 8.¹ The inmates named on the transport list (dated January 10, 1945), all male, appear to be Russian, Polish, and French; however, there is no breakdown by nationality or age to allow for further demographic analysis.²

The inmates in the Annaburg camp were employed at the Annaburger Gerätebau. According to the monthly report cited above, the inmates were also employed in the construction of a division of the Siebel-Werke Halle as well as the installation of prisoner barracks (presumably in Annaburg). The report also indicates that inmates worked 9.5-hour shifts, with 21,232.5 hours worked in total.³ Further information about the specific kind of work inmates performed at Annaburger Gerätebau is lacking.

There is little information about conditions within the Annaburg camp, including the availability of food, treatment of the prisoners by the guards, resistance or escape attempts, and circumstances of prisoner deaths. The same monthly report shows that the prisoner nurse cared for an average of 12 ambulatory inmates in the infirmary (*Revier*) per day. The daily average number of inpatient cases was 2. The report also indicates that hygienic conditions within the camp were "satisfactory" (*zufriedenstellend*) and that the food supply was "good"; however, no witness reports from former Annaburg inmates could be found to corroborate this information.⁴

Furthermore, no information about the identity of the commandant or guards of the Annaburg camp is available. Further analysis of daily reports generated about the transfer of inmates to and from the Buchenwald main camp to its various subcamps (collected in the Bundesarchiv collection NS 4) may yield additional details about the Annaburg subcamp.

The Annaburg subcamp of Buchenwald was closed on March 16, 1945, and the inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp.

SOURCES The Annaburg subcamp of Buchenwald appears rarely in secondary literature. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Annaburg in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung; Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1983).

Primary documentation on the Annaburg subcamp and other subcamps of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. For general correspondence, monthly and daily statistical reports, which list the number of prisoners working at Annaburg, as well as prisoner lists of the Annaburg subcamp and other subcamps, see the BA group NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, in particular, vols. 31, 54, 55, 176–185, 196. Other volumes from this collection contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp population. The BA, NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Also contained at the USHMM archives is a transport list of inmates to the Annaburg camp copied from the AN-MACVG, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16. Additional transport lists or duplicates of the collection, as well as reports on numbers of prisoners in the camp from the AN, can be found in the archives of the USHMM 1996. A.0342 (originally copied from the NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180. Further research on these reports would yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the subcamps of Buchenwald.

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NOTES

1. Monatsbericht für Januar 1945 (dated February 1945), BA, NS 4 (Buchenwald), as reproduced in USHMM, RG-14.023M, Band 262.
2. Transport list of 100 inmates from Siebel-Halle to Kommando Annaburger Gerätebau GmbH, January 10, 1945 (BU 44), AN, as reproduced in USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16.
3. Monatsbericht, February 1945, BA, NS 4, Band 262.
4. Ibid.

APOLDA

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Apolda (Thüringen), about 70 kilometers (44 miles) southwest of Leipzig. Inmates were transferred from Buchenwald to Apolda most likely to work in a bread bakery that supplied the Third SS-Totenkopfstandarte (Death's Head Regiment) "Thüringen," as well as the Buchenwald camp. They may have also been

used for work in the Reichsbahnbetriebsamt Weimar (Weimar Railway Administrative Office), constructing railway lines. The exact date of the camp's opening is unknown, but it may have been as early as December 1944. Inmates from Buchenwald worked in the bakery, and most of the prisoners were Jehovah's Witnesses. There were between 10 and 20 inmates. One transport list dated February 16, 1945, from Buchenwald to Apolda, included the names of 8 inmates.¹ It is also possible that the camp was an outlying work detail (Aussenkommando) of Buchenwald, sent daily from the camp to the work site. The small subcamp was headed by an SS-Unterführer until American troops liberated Apolda on April 11, 1945.

SOURCES There are few secondary and primary sources on the Apolda subcamp of Buchenwald. Brief information on Apolda during the war can be found in Franz Walter, "Von der roten zur braunen Hochburg: Wahlanalytische Überlegungen zur Resonanz der NSDAP in den beiden thüringischen Industrielandschaften," in *Nationalsozialismus in Thüringen*, ed. Detlev Heiden and Gunther Mai (Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1995). Information about the bakery and its relation to Buchenwald can be found in Peter Franz, "Die Stadt Apolda und die umliegenden Konzentrationslager," in *Gefangen im Netz: Die Konzentrationslager in Thüringen, 1933–1945*, ed. Udo Wohlfeld and Peter Franz (Weimar: Taubach, 2000), pp. 123–125. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar: Buchenwald, unpub. MSS).

There is scarce primary source material on the Apolda subcamp of Buchenwald. For transfer lists of prisoners in February 1945, see USHMMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, which constitutes a collection copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from ITS.

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NOTE

1. "Transport Apolda," February 16, 1945 (BU 47), AN-MACVG, reproduced in USHMMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

AROLSEN

An SS-Officer School (Führerschule of the SS-Business Administration Main Office [WVHA]) was established in Arolsen at the beginning of 1944 in order to train candidates for the administrative service of the SS, which until then had taken place in Dachau. Arolsen was chosen as the location for this new SS station because the administrative headquarters of the SS region Fulda-Werra, which included Weimar-Buchenwald, was located here. A barracks for the SS-Special Assignment Troops (Verfügungstruppe) II/SS—"Germania" was established here in the mid-1930s, but it stood empty in the autumn of 1943.

Thirty-four prisoners from the Buchenwald concentration camp were requisitioned to adapt the barracks for its new use. The detachment with the code name "Arthur" arrived at Arolsen on November 14, 1943. Another 26 prisoners arrived from

Dachau on January 8, 1944, together with instructors, and an additional 20 prisoners arrived on January 21, 1944, from Buchenwald, all to work in the SS-Clothing Camp (Bekleidungslager). Thus, the total number of inmates reached 80. This number remained relatively constant until the autumn of 1944, when it increased to 120.¹ Altogether, from November 1943 to March 1945, around 185 male prisoners from 13 countries were housed in the former munitions depot of the SS caserne.²

Prisoners sent to Arolsen were selected from the main camp based on their skills as locksmiths, carpenters, butchers, cooks, masons, barbers, and farmhands. Poles made up the largest group of prisoners at 35 percent, followed by Russians at 30 percent. The special assignment prisoners (*Funktionshäftlinge*) were recruited from the 28 German prisoners (15 percent), who, with a median age of 39.8 years, were considerably older than the average prisoner (30.3).³

The SS-Officer School and SS-Clothing Camp were only technically separate institutions, and among the external details of the Buchenwald concentration camp they were an exception to the rule, as they were not assigned to an armament plant or SS-owned business but rather to an SS duty station, which, as with Buchenwald, in turn reported to the WVHA in Berlin.⁴

With people of differing nationalities, backgrounds, vocations, and interests living together in very confined spaces, constantly fearing death, life was not without tension. There was a mistrust among prisoners that faded only gradually, after living together for some time. Those with experiences in common from Auschwitz, Dachau, or Buchenwald, or those of the same nationality, bonded more quickly. Once they built trust in each other, though, their friendships often survived the worst situations—indeed, even on the death marches (*Todesmärsche*), groups of Arolsen prisoners stayed together. It was difficult for many foreigners to accept German fellow prisoners. Their dislike was strengthened by the fact that some German prisoners treated the East Europeans condescendingly. Only the experiences they shared in the spring of 1944 helped to bridge the divide.

Once the school was established, the prisoners had to do nearly all of the auxiliary work. Their assignments ranged from the barracks kitchen, the workshops, or the wardrobe to working in the SS barbershop, serving in the mess hall, or cleaning the SS buildings. In addition, there was construction work to be done outside the barracks proper.

The daily life of the prisoners of necessity followed the school rhythm, which in turn broke down—at least to a degree—the absolute power of the SS. After all, certain types of work had to be finished by a prescribed time, while other work could only be done while the SS students were in class. Even though this rhythm was monotonous, it gave structure to the life of the prisoners, the significance of which cannot be overstated. The work was very hard, but the prisoners knew when it would stop, because only rarely did work have to be done after school hours in the barracks. The SS school could not extend the evening roll call at will, as any extension shortened the preparatory time for instruction. During such times, the prisoners were of no interest to the SS.

At the same time, operation of the school was scarcely possible without the work of the prisoners. The morning roll call could not be extended as otherwise the meals would not have been ready on time; nor would the SS tolerate any delay when going to the barber; and the work in the motor pool garage and the classrooms had to be done punctually, efficiently, and properly. Any painful delays would have had a direct impact on the SS. In addition, it was in the self-interest of the SS to avoid having maltreated, filthy prisoners in the kitchen, dining room, canteen, or sleeping quarters of the school. For their own protection, then, the SS kept an eye on clean and proper hygienic conditions in the prisoners' accommodations. The prisoners subsisted on food that was qualitatively and quantitatively at, but not below, the lowest acceptable standards. The fact that the quality of life was inevitably linked for the school SS and the prisoners prevented the worst excesses, but there was still physical maltreatment of the prisoners in the cellars.

In the course of the year 1944, the prisoners "served" more and more as the personal lackeys of the SS-Führer. This tie to an individual SS man released the prisoners from total anonymity and there arose a "personal" relationship that served to mitigate some of the torments and even helped to develop a certain degree of sympathy. But the prisoners could not count on these newly won benefits. A "wrong" word or any given act could result in a total change of behavior in the SS man.

Within the confines of their walled-in living space, the prisoners faced the competing interests of the SS-Schulkommando, the SS officers in training (*Führerschüler*), the SS guards, and the civilians. Inside the barracks, contact with the civilian workers was the least problematic; a number of these workers even helped the prisoners. The guard force consisted of about a dozen mostly lower-ranking SS men, with a narrow range of duties, since the camp was guarded by the SS-Officer School.⁵ The higher ranks in the school stayed in the background. The roughly 1,000 officers in training kept a low profile with the prisoners. They did not dare commit crude acts of violence, as contact with the inmates was prohibited under a school order; it was not known what effects such attacks could have on their evaluations.⁶ After all, graduation qualified the SS cadet (*Junker*) from an officer school for duty in the WVHA and thus also in the Amtsgruppe D-Concentration Camps. As transfers from Arolsen to this main office (and the reverse, transfers from WVHA to the SS-Officer School) occurred, a growing number of those in the SS school knew about the living and work conditions in concentration camps, and some of them were aware of the murders. For example, Walter Dejaco, who had supervised the plans for the construction of the crematoriums in Auschwitz, passed his training as SS-Offizier in Arolsen in May 1944.⁷

The division of responsibilities within the SS, the importance of the prisoners for the operation of the school, the structured schedules, and the confined space all diminished the danger of the worst attacks and freed the prisoner during the day from immediate fear of death. Being beaten to death, shot, or hanged was hardly probable. In fact, there are no documented deaths for this subcamp. Still, the relief from

suffering was only temporary. The real terror lay in the existential question of what the next morning would bring, as every transport to Buchenwald raised the acute threat of being brought back to the main camp. That this was not an unfounded fear is shown by the large numbers—every third prisoner—actually transferred there.⁸ Many of them lost their lives there or in working other outside details.

For two prisoners who had been caught stealing food, the transfer to Buchenwald would almost certainly have been a death sentence. However, after they were secretly tipped off, they and two comrades made a daring escape. They took SS officers' uniforms from the wardrobe, while other prisoners readied a private car parked in the motor pool. On June 4, 1944, dressed in SS uniforms and armed with forged papers, they drove unmolested through the caserne's gate, past the saluting SS guard. They then drove through Koblenz until they reached their hiding place in Luxembourg.⁹ The Officer School at first planned to punish the whole detachment but refrained from that in order not to interrupt the operation of the school and instead strengthened the surveillance. Two further escape attempts failed only a few hours later.

American troops approached Arolsen on March 30, 1945, but the hopes of being liberated were not to be fulfilled for the 117 prisoners, because they had been evacuated to the main camp just a few hours earlier.¹⁰ Many of the Arolsen prisoners were forced on death marches from there, which not all of them survived.

The supervisor of labor groups (Kommandoführer) of Arolsen, Friedrich Demmer, was captured when Buchenwald was liberated. He was charged before the Superior Military Court in Dachau and was sentenced to 10 years of forced labor in 1947. However, following an appeal, he was released in 1948 after 3 years' imprisonment.¹¹ No proceedings against other SS officials in connection with the Arolsen subcamp are known.

SOURCES Important sources regarding this subcamp include Anke Schmeling, *Josias Erbprinz zu Waldeck und Pyrmont. Der politische Werdegang eines hohen SS-Führers* (Kassel, 1993); Günter Steiner, *Waldecks Weg ins Dritte Reich. Gesellschaftliche und politische Strukturen eines ländlichen Raums während der Weimarer Republik und zu Beginn des Dritten Reichs* (Kassel, 1990); Michael Winkelmann, "Auf einmal sind sie weggemacht" (Kassel, 1992); and Bernd Joachim Zimmer, *Deckname Arthur. Das KZ-Aussenkommando in der SS-Führerschule Arolsen* (Kassel, 1994).

Primary documentation can be found at BA-K: KL Buchenwald: NS 4 Bu 189, NS 4 Bu 205, NS 4 Bu 210, NS 4 Bu 229; BAMA: SS-Führerschule of the WVHA: RS 5/436–RS 5/445, RS 5/949, RW 19; YVA: Buchenwald documents: HS 12, HS 13, HS 17, HS 19, HS 20, Collection M 32–99; NARA: Buchenwald Trial 000–20; and ZdL 429 AR 1824/66.

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NOTES

- ITS, Bad Arolsen: Transportlisten (transport lists) from November 14, 1943, January 8, 1944, January 21, 1944, and September 21, 1944.

2. Review of all transport lists, reports of strength, and prisoner personnel cards in: Bernd Joachim Zimmer, *Deckname Arthur: Das KZ-Aussenkommando in der SS-Führerschule Arolsen* (Kassel: Verlag Gesamthochschul-Bibliothek, 1994), pp. 142–151.
3. Ibid., pp. 151–153.
4. YV, Jerusalem HS 19 (Forderungsnachweis).
5. BA-K, NS 4 Bu 229.
6. BA-K/MAF, RS 5/437-7.
7. A short biography is in Jean-Claude Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* (Munich: Piper, 1994), p. 177.
8. Zimmer, *Deckname Arthur*, pp. 241–245.
9. Rappel: *Organe de la Ligue Luxembourgeoise des Prisonniers et Déportés politiques* (Luxembourg, 1980), pp. 99–110.
10. ITS, Bad Arolsen.
11. NARA, Buchenwald Trial 000-Buchenwald-20.

ASCHERSLEBEN (MEN)

Aschersleben is located about eight kilometers (five miles) west of Bernburg and about the same distance to the east of Quedlinburg. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony. Here was located a branch factory of the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerken (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM), for which a Buchenwald subcamp for male prisoners was established in the summer of 1944. Although files from the Buchenwald camp mention the subcamp on July 28, 1944, it is most likely that the 177 male prisoners first commenced work on August 15, 1944. Other prisoners arrived at the camp in the following months with the result that by the middle of December 1944 the camp reached its peak with 653 prisoners. By the time the camp ceased to exist, at the beginning of April 1945, the numbers had sunk to 453.

The prisoner composition was varied. Prisoners from Germany, France, Greece, Albania, the Netherlands, Italy, Yugoslavia, Croatia, Poland, the Soviet Union, and Spain, as well as Czechs and stateless persons, were in the camp. The prisoners were categorized according to National Socialist prisoner categories including “work shy” (*Arbeitsscheue*), “asocial” (*Asoziale*), “career criminal” (*Berufsverbrecher/Befristete Vorbeugehaft*), and “political.” The camp was guarded by SS, and the Lagerführer and Arbeitseinsatzführer was SS-Hauptscharführer Reuter. A few months later he also took command of the Aschersleben’s women’s subcamp.

The prisoners in the subcamp worked in two shifts constructing the Heinkel He 162, the so-called People’s Fighter (*Volksjäger*). The factory had been converted to allow its production. The Volksjäger, a single-engine jet fighter with a fuselage and elevators made of aluminum and wings and rudder made of plywood, was a last desperate attempt to change the outcome of the war. During the last months of the war, completely inexperienced young pilots from the Flying Hitler Youth (Fliegende Hitler-Jugend), nicknamed the Home Guard of the Air (Volkssturm der Lüfte), were to fly the aircraft, which technically was still in need of development and was scarcely able to be steered and landed. Hitler demanded from Albert Speer a monthly production of 5,000 to 6,000

Volksjäger. To achieve this goal, it was planned to use the labor of concentration camp prisoners intensively. The fuselage and component parts of the He 162 were manufactured in Aschersleben, and the prisoners were employed in a number of different specializations during the production process.

This specialized use of the prisoners may explain why the SS placed comparatively great value on the health of the prisoners: in the subcamp there was a large infirmary where an SS doctor, an SS medical orderly, a doctor under contract, a doctor from among the prisoners, and a prisoner medical orderly were busy. The SS deloused the prisoners each week to prevent the spread of infectious diseases. Prisoners who were no longer capable of working were sent back to Buchenwald. The list of deadly accidents in Aschersleben shows the difficult nature of the work and living conditions. The causes of death included typhoid, heart and circulation illnesses, inflammation of the lungs, tuberculosis, as well as cystitis and nephritis. The prisoners who died in the camp were taken to Quedlinburg, where they were cremated.

The evacuation of the subcamp took place between April 6 and 11, 1945, as prisoners were sent in the direction of Torgau.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) between 1966 and 1975 remained inconclusive.

SOURCES Charles-Claude Biedermann describes the subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 371–372. The Aschersleben (men) subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 31; and in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL* (1977) Teil I, p. 1788.

Archival documents on the Aschersleben subcamp are located in a number of archives: the AG-B and the collection NS 4 Bu of BA-K as well as the ITS under Signatur ITS Buchenwald 7, 27, and 53. The ZdL investigations located at BA-L are under File IV 429 AR-Z 14/74.

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ASCHERSLEBEN (WOMEN)

Aschersleben is about eight kilometers (five miles) to the west of Bernburg and about the same distance to the east of Quedlinburg. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony. A branch factory of the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerken (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM) was located in Aschersleben where a Buchenwald subcamp for male prisoners was established in the summer of 1944. A women’s subcamp was established in the same location in January 1945.

The first transport of 500 women arrived on January 2, 1945. All the women in the transport were Jews who had traveled via Bergen-Belsen from Auschwitz: there were 250 Poles,

232 Hungarians, 13 Belgians, a German, a Soviet citizen, a Yugoslav, and 2 Slovaks. According to statements by survivors and eyewitnesses, there are two different descriptions of the accommodation provided to the women, but perhaps the women describe two different areas or sections of the subcamp. Some eyewitness accounts state that the women were accommodated in a camp secured with barbed wire, located about 10 minutes from where they worked. The building in this camp was a two-story stone building that held the prisoners and the female SS guards. Other reports refer to two barracks close to where the women worked, Factory Building 5. There were not enough beds for the women in these barracks, with the result that the women had to sleep in shifts. In the infirmary, which was attached to the camp, there was limited medical care. There were, however, no beds available for sick inmates.

Administratively, the camp was closely connected with the Buchenwald camp for men in Aschersleben. Its Kommandoführer, SS-Hauptscharführer Reuter, was also responsible for the women's camp. The SS guards at the men's camp were also used to guard the external perimeters of the women's camp. Additionally, there were 12 female SS guards inside the camp until the middle of March. Survivors have described these guards as downright brutal. Food deprivation, seclusion in a bunker, and other degrading punishments such as the cutting of the women's hair were the punishments that were usually mentioned by survivors. For the SS, especially beloved punishments were the sleep-depriving "special roll calls" (*Sonderappelle*), which as a rule lasted for hours, and the debilitating "calisthenics" (*Sportübungen*), which exhausted the already physically weak prisoners.

The women worked in two shifts each of 12 hours. There were two breaks during each shift. As with the men in their subcamp, the women manufactured aircraft, mostly the Heinkel He 162, called the People's Fighter (*Volksjäger*). They assembled the fuselages and in Factory Building 5 cut and assembled aircraft parts in the cutting and parts assembly rooms. Very quickly the women were physically exhausted by handling the heavy aircraft parts, working the machines, the harsh living conditions in the camp, and the lack of food. There were numerous illnesses including lung inflammations, heart problems, cystitis, and nephritis, as well as typhoid. Five women died in the relatively short period of the camp's existence.

The Junkers factory was closed in March 1945, following heavy bombing raids on Aschersleben. According to the SS, the prisoners worked for the last time on March 25. The women were evacuated in two groups between April 11 and 15, 1945, and the camp was closed. The women were initially evacuated with the inmates from the men's Aschersleben camp. The first group of 300 women was taken via Delitzsch and Torgau to Leitmeritz (after 1945, part of the Czech Republic), where 40 of them were liberated by the Soviet Army. The majority of the group, 259 women, continued under great deprivation on a march to their original destination, Theresienstadt, where they arrived on April 24. The second group of women marched in an easterly direction via Kön-

nern, Halle, Bitterfeld, and Torgau to Bad Dürben. Here the guards, in fear of the approaching enemy, drove the women back across the Elbe in the direction of Torgau. The women were liberated on April 15, 1945, close to Mühlbeck.

In the early 1970s, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) interviewed dozens of prisoners as part of investigations into the history of the subcamp. The investigations ceased in 1975 without any results.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel describes the camp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 369–371. The Aschersleben (women) subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 31; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL*. (1977) Teil I, p. 1788.

Information on the Aschersleben women's subcamp is held in a number of archives including the collections NS-4 Bu (e.g., BA-K and the THStA-W). A list of 259 women who arrived in Theresienstadt on April 24, 1945, is held in the AG-T. Investigations by the ZdL (now BA-L) are held in File IV 429 AR-Z 14/74.

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BAD SALZUNGEN (HEINRICH KALB)

The subcamp Bad Salzungen (Heinrich Kalb) came into existence when 500 prisoners were transferred from Buchenwald to work in the potash mine Heiligenroda III, near the villages of Dorndorf and Springen in the Werra region of Thuringia. The detachment was named after the town of Bad Salzungen, which was about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from the subcamp. It is first mentioned in the records on January 20, 1945.

The expansion of the Heiligenroda III pit was part of a larger project to shift production underground, in this case, the production of aircraft motors by Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW). This objective linked the Heinrich Kalb subcamp with the Ludwig Renntier subcamp even though it was located outside the town at another potash mine.

Leveling and concrete work had already been going on in Heiligenroda III since June 1944; by the end of the year approximately 30,000 square meters (36,000 square yards) of tunnel space had been prepared for the machines, and about 8,000 square meters (9,600 square yards) of concrete floor had been laid. Thus, BMW was able to start its underground production at least in part. In order to expand the mine further and prepare it for production, the Buchenwald prisoners were put to work on demolition and cleanup work and pouring concrete. One of their tasks was the transfer of loose potassium salt into unused areas of the mine and the transport of heavy tipping trucks with loose rock or potassium salt. The International Tracing Service (ITS) named Organisation Todt (OT) Construction Directorate in Springen and the

construction management of the Heinrich Kalb company as employers of the inmates.

The number of prisoners remained relatively constant for the duration of the camp, at between 480 and 500 prisoners. This was largely due to the fact that injured and sick prisoners and those who could no longer work were returned to Buchenwald and were replaced with new prisoners. According to witness statements, there were at least 25 deaths in the Heinrich Kalb subcamp. The dead were cremated in the Bad Salzungen city crematorium.

The prisoners were mostly Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Yugoslavians, and Romanians. There were only seven German prisoners, and 30 to 35 SS men guarded the camp. According to prisoner statements, the Lagerführer was either SS-Hauptsturmführer Schlaf, who was notorious for his mistreatment of prisoners, or SS-Hauptscharführer Reichardt.

The prisoners were accommodated in an unused section of the mine in the most primitive of conditions. Initially they were taken at regular intervals to the surface, but later this practice stopped completely, as it took too much time and placed too much demand on the capacity of the mine's transport cage. The lack of sunlight as well as the murderous work and living conditions rapidly led to the physical and mental deterioration of the camp inmates. The poor nutrition, which as a rule consisted only of watery soup and bread, resulted in the prisoners eating the potash, which in turn led to deadly kidney and gallbladder failure.

Most likely the Buchenwald main camp dissolved part of the subcamp at the end of March 1945. It was decided to transfer 385 prisoners back to Buchenwald, "on account of the enemy's close proximity."¹ The prisoners' march (for many this was the first time they had seen daylight in weeks) was via Bad Salzungen, Ohrdruf, Crawinkel, Ilmenau, Stadttilm, Kranichfeld, and Bad Berka to Buchenwald, where they arrived on April 3, 1945.² At Ohrdruf alone six prisoners are said to have been shot by the SS.

Ninety-three prisoners remained in the camp, and their fate is unknown. They could probably not be evacuated to Buchenwald because of the rapid advance of Allied troops. The ITS suggested that they could have been evacuated to Flossenbürg instead. The camp is mentioned for the last time on April 4, 1945.

SOURCES Frank Baranowski describes the Bad Salzungen (Heinrich Kalb) subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 379–380. References to and descriptions of the subcamp are also to be found in Bianka Breitung, "Die Aussenkommandos des ehemaligen faschistischen Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Eisenach ('Emma'), Abteroda ('Anton') und Bad Salzungen ('Ludwig Renntier' und 'Heinrich Kalb')" (unpub. Diplomarbeit, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1989); Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992); and *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald: Ausstellungskatalog* (West

Berlin: Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, 1990), p. 105, in which are described the conditions in the potash mines at the Heinrich Kalb subcamp and Ludwig Renntier subcamp; and Emil Carlebach, Eilly Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald: Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 2000), p. 134. This camp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 32.

Primary sources for this camp begin with NS 4 at THStA-W.

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NOTES

1. See Stärkemeldung, April 7, 1945, NS 4/Bu 292, THStA-W, "Nach Buchenwald wegen Feindnähe zurückgenommene Kommandos"; also printed in Emil Carlebach, Eilly Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald: Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 2000), p. 134.

2. According to Frank Baranowski in *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), p. 379; ITS states that the camp's evacuation date was April 6, 1945.

BAD SALZUNGEN (LUDWIG RENNTIER)

The Bad Salzungen (Ludwig Renntier) subcamp, as with the nearby Bad Salzungen (Heinrich Kalb) subcamp, was created because of the relocation of the Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) production facilities to potash mines in the Werra district. During the course of 1944, it became apparent that the existing production sites were not sufficient. So at the beginning of 1945 the Heinrich Kalb and Ludwig Renntier subcamps, along with concentration camp prisoners from the Buchenwald concentration camp, became part of the process to relocate BMW production facilities underground.

The Ludwig Renntier subcamp was opened on January 5, 1945. It was located at the Kalischacht I (Kaiseroda) in Leimbach in the Werra district in Thuringia, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) west of the city of Bad Salzungen. It was located in a 400-meter-deep (437-yard-deep) shaft on the road that later became Herrmannsrodaer Strasse. It was to provide an additional 30,000-square-meter (about 36,000-square-yard) underground production facility in which Organisation Todt (OT) would operate the presses for the BMW company. The prisoners worked daily between 12 and 15 hours, pouring cement on the tunnel floors, transporting gravel in hand carts, and cleaning the area of potash salt.

According to Ernst Hausmann, the camp elder, most of the prisoners were taken directly into the mine shaft, where they slept on a thin layer of straw on the ground. As with the prisoners at the Heinrich Kalb subcamp, they remained underground for most of the time in the camp. The cages used to transport the prisoners from the tunnel could only carry between 20 and 25 prisoners on each trip, which would

have made the exchange of prisoners very time-consuming. Therefore, inmates were only brought to the surface when necessary—for instance, when they had become incapable of further work due to the inhuman work and living conditions along with the high salt content in the air. In that case, prisoners of the subcamp had to be exchanged for new prisoners from Buchenwald. In the middle of February 1945, 350 new prisoners were brought from Buchenwald to Ludwig Renntier. On February 28, 71 prisoners who could no longer work were returned to the main camp. It seems that the camp had its own prisoner doctor, A. Gurin, who, according to the memoirs of the former camp elder, was returned to Buchenwald in March 1945. This relocation to the main camp, which also involved the camp elder, was probably connected with the replacement of the camp commandant at that time.

Around 150 to 180 prisoners in the subcamp were held above ground in an unused and fenced-in salt refinery in Bad Salzungen. These prisoners were kept busy during the day, erecting barracks and fitting out offices and camps.

Probably at the end of March 1945 the camp held its maximum number of prisoners, more than 700. A strength report (*Stärkemeldung*) dated March 29 lists 710 prisoners. The majority of the men were Russians, Poles, and Yugoslavs, but there were also French, Belgian, and Dutch prisoners as well as a few German prisoners, most of those being political prisoners. According to Frank Baranowski, the Lagerführer at Ludwig Renntier was initially SS-Oberscharführer Dietrich, who was probably seconded from Luftwaffe ground personnel. Dietrich treated the prisoners humanely and is said not to have followed all orders coming from Buchenwald, which resulted in a decline in productivity. According to the former camp elder Hausmann, Dietrich therefore was replaced in March 1945 by SS-Hauptscharführer Knauf, the previous deputy Lagerführer of the Duisburg (SS-Baubrigade) subcamp, who is thought to have murdered several prisoners at that camp.

The evacuation of the subcamp began at the beginning of April 1945: 464 prisoners were sent on a death march on April 6, 1945, to Buchenwald, and 183 followed on April 10. Based on prisoner statements, the International Tracing Service (ITS) states that some of the prisoners—as was the case with the Bad Salzungen (Heinrich Kalb) subcamp—were taken to Flossenbürg. The Bad Salzungen (Ludwig Renntier) subcamp is mentioned for the last time on April 10, 1945.

SOURCES Frank Baranowski provides a detailed description of the Bad Salzungen (Ludwig Renntier) subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 380–382. The report of the Internationale Lagerkomitee des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald of May 1945 also listed the Bad Salzungen (Ludwig Renntier) subcamp in *Bericht des Internationalen Lagerkomitees des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald* (Offenbach: Verlag Olga Benario und Herbert Baum, 1997), p. 109. The camp is also mentioned in Emil Carlebach, Eilly Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald. Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 2000), p. 134; Bianka Breitung, “Die Aussenkommandos des ehemaligen faschistischen Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Eisenach (‘Emma’), Abteroda (‘Anton’) und Bad Salzungen (‘Ludwig Renntier’ und ‘Heinrich Kalb’)” (unpub. Diplomarbeit, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1989); as well as Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, “Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)” (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992). The subcamp is also listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 32; and in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL* (1977) Teil I, p. 1789.

The statements by the former camp elder Ernst Hausmann of March 1982 are held under Signatur 31/1952 in AG-B. Further information on the subcamp is also found in the ThHStA-W, under Signatur NS 4/Bu 229 (Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen in verschiedenen Aussenkommandos, 1943–1945).

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BENSBERG (KDO. NAPOLA) (SS-BB III)

With only 10 inmates, what was probably the smallest subcamp of the Buchenwald complex existed from May to December 1944 in Bensberg, later part of Bergisch Gladbach. The Bensberg subcamp was established by SA-Gruppenführer Paul Holthoff, head of one of the Institutions of National Political Education (Napola), which had been located in the Bensberg castle since 1935. The roof and north wing of the castle had been damaged in an incident of arson by students on March 2, 1942, and Holthoff tried for months to find workers to restore them. Initially, beginning in the fall of 1943, he received from the SS-Baubrigade III (Construction Brigade III), stationed in Cologne, the occasional prisoner for construction work. Finally, on March 25, 1944, the above-mentioned 10 prisoners were sent as part of a transport destined for Cologne.¹ Not until the withdrawal of the SS-Baubrigade III on May 10, 1944, did the Bensberg camp become a subcamp of Buchenwald.

The prisoners were probably housed in a cellar room where bicycles had previously been stored. The group of inmates, whose identities are known, consisted of nine Czechs and one Russian.² As of November 1944, because Allied troops were advancing from the west, the Napola was moved from Bensberg to a Cistercian monastery in the East Westphalia village Hardehausen, which later became part of Warburg. The Buchenwald subcamp was transferred to Hardehausen as well, probably in December, and from then on was listed under Hardehausen.

SOURCES In the 1980s, school students were the first to gather findings on the Bensberg camp. See “Schülerwettbewerb Deutsche Geschichte um den Preis des Bundespräsidenten” in the archive of the Körber-Stiftung Hamburg, Wettbewerb 1982–83, No. 828, Sascha Balkow et al., *Krieggefange—Fremdarbeiter—KZ-Häftlinge im Raum Bensberg*, pp. 26–33; Wettbewerb 1988–89, No. 10601, Martin Breitbach et al., *Unser Schloss—ein Ort für Fremde—aber auch Heimat?* pp. 22–33a. These scattered references were published by Klaus

Schmitz in a 1989 essay, "Auf Spurensuche in der jüngeren Vergangenheit: Das Aussenlager Bensberg des KZ Buchenwald," HfBL 59 (1989): 209–215. In the course of his research on the subcamp Hardehausen, Dieter Zühlke studied the Bensberg camp as well and in 2003 deposited the manuscript with his findings at the Ast-Wb, "Das Konzentrationslager Bensberg-Hardehausen: Eine NAPOLA als Einsatzort von KZ-Häftlingen" (StA Warburg, unpub. MSS, October 2003). One year later, he summarized his results in an article that was published in collaboration with Jan Eric Schulte. See Jan Eric Schulte and Dieter Zühlke, "Vom Rheinland nach Westfalen: KZ-Aussenlager einer 'Nationalpolitischen Erziehungsanstalt' in Bensberg und Hardehausen," in *Konzentrationslager im Rheinland und in Westfalen 1933–1945: Zentrale Steuerung—Regionale Initiative*, ed. Jan Eric Schulte (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), pp. 113–130.

Very little documentation exists for the Bensberg camp at the AST-BG (V 160, J 16/3, HS 313) and at the THStA-W (NS 4 Buchenwald, especially Nos. 250 and 253). Memoirs or testimonies by former inmates are unknown.

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trans. Ute Stargardt

NOTES

1. Transportliste (transport list) from March 25, 1944, in the AG-B, pp. 59–110.
2. Buchenwald concentration camp, register of June 23, 1944, in the NWHStA-(D), ZA-K, Zweigstelle Kalkum, Ger. Rep. 118/1176.

BERGA-ELSTER ("SCHWALBE V")

In the wake of increasing Allied bombing attacks, Germany's fuel reserves sank to a dangerously low level. In August 1944, as part of the Geilenberg Program, the Armaments Ministry established the Petroleum Securing Plan, whose implementation belonged to the Kammler Staff. As part of this plan, under code name "Schwalbe V" (Swallow V), the Kammler Staff supervised the construction of an underground hydrogenation plant for Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brown Coal-Gasoline AG, Brabag) in Zeitz in Berga an der Elster and appointed as project manager SS-Obersturmführer Willy Hack.

Hack was transferred to Berga on November 6, 1944, where his site manager and geologists tested the mountain rock for internal water channels. After Sonderinspektion I (Special Inspectorate I) reviewed drilling samples in Berlin, Brabag made concrete plans for the mining operation.

Braun und Co. Schieferverwaltung, a cover name for Brabag-Zeitz, functioned as the owner and Reich trustee. The company employed mining companies, major mining and civil engineering firms, and additional workers from the region and from all over Germany. Brabag planned to excavate 18 interconnected tunnels in the Zikraer Berg mountain, for the location of the synthetic oil plant.

On November 13, 1944, the first 70 male prisoners were brought to Berga from Buchenwald. Among them were the future administrative staff and the prisoner physician. This



German civilians are forced to exhume the bodies of camp prisoners and U.S. prisoners of war at Berga-Elster, April 1945.
USHMM WS # 80921, COURTESY OF NARA

group built the camp.¹ The first large transport of 500 prisoners arrived on December 1, 1944, from the Buchenwald work detail "Wille" in Rehmsdorf near Zeitz, another Brabag camp.² Further transports arrived on December 13, 1944 (1,000); December 30, 1944 (500); January 1, 1945 (298); February 26, 1945 (500); and March 15, 1945 (500).³ In all, over 3,300 prisoners were dispatched to Berga.

The largest prisoner groups were the Jews, who came from Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, and Germany. Others were political, "work shy" (*arbeitsscheu*), and career criminals from all over Europe.

Most prisoners worked in the tunnels where they cleared and removed the detritus from explosions. The work was very hard and dangerous. They also had to work for various firms employed in the camp. The prisoners preferred assignment in the quarry, kitchens, or workshops, laying rail beds, or doing outdoor construction rather than working in the tunnels. A large group of 13- to 17-year-old boys in Berga mostly peeled potatoes in the prisoner and SS kitchens. Working in shifts, like the adult prisoners, some delivered food and coal briquettes from the city's rail station to the camp and cleaned the SS officers' rooms. The latter task was especially unpleasant.

Between November 28, 1944, and April 7, 1945, 313 prisoners died in the camps.⁴ Berga survivors reported deaths from shootings, disease, starvation, physical abuse, and work accidents.⁵ The overall number of prisoners did not diminish, however, because of replacement transports from Buchenwald. A roll call taken on March 11, 1945, established that there were 1,767 prisoners in Berga on that day.⁶

According to Hack's secretary, Berlin ordered the construction staff to evacuate Schwalbe V during a long-distance call.⁷ Former prisoners testified to the subcamp's closure, which took place between April 10 and 12. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) recorded the date as April 10, 1945, while the International Tracing Service (ITS)

placed the closure on April 11, 1945.⁸ On the morning of Berga's closure, the SS ordered prisoners to form up in rows of five abreast and carry their blankets and bowls. Approximately 200 men unable to march were taken by train to Dachau.⁹ From Dachau, some reached Seefeld near Innsbruck, Austria.

Fifteen hundred prisoners marched toward Theresienstadt-Leitmeritz, traveling in a southeasterly direction along the route Berga-Teichwolframsdorf-Gottesgrün-Reuth-Neumark-Hauptmannsgrün-Irfersgrün-Stangengrün-Obercinitz-Bärenwalde-Albernau-Bockau-Sosa-Seinheidel-Breitenbrunn-Rittersgrün-Goldenhöhe-Gottesgab-Oberhals—a distance of 160 kilometers (almost 100 miles). Toward 9:00 PM on April 21, 1945, approximately 850 arrived in a snowstorm—the remainder had either fled or died.¹⁰ On the way they climbed a height of over 1,200 meters (3,937 feet) in the Erz Mountains. The final climb from Goldenhöhe to a point somewhere between Schmiedeberg and Oberhals was extremely difficult, as indicated by the many prisoners who died along the way. Other groups may have taken routes through the Erz Mountains via Zwickau and Chemnitz.

From this point, according to survivors, prisoners from Eastern and Western Europe were separated, and the Jews were also segregated.¹¹ Small groups arrived by rail in Theresienstadt; by foot in Menetin, Netschetin, and Preitenstein; and some went in a westerly direction along the crest of the Erz Mountains toward U.S. forces.

In 1974, the Cologne State Attorney's Office investigated Lagerführer Rohr and other Berga SS. Its case was based upon an estimate of prisoner deaths in the Berga subcamp and during the death march but was halted on February 22, 1976, because Rohr had died on March 11, 1969; the whereabouts of the accused, SS-Unterscharführer Schwarzbach, were unknown; and other SS members could not be identified.¹²

After the war, Hack lived under his own name in Weissen-sand near Reichenbach in Saxony. Arrested in Zwickau on December 5, 1947, and interrogated at Schloss Osterstein, he was charged with causing the deaths of hundreds at Buchenwald/Berga because of his rigorous and demanding work methods. On September 22, 1948, under Allied Control Council Law No. 10 Article II3b, the Zwickau criminal court sentenced him to 8 years' imprisonment and 10 years' loss of citizenship rights. On April 23, 1951, the Zwickau criminal court, having retried Hack, sentenced him to death. He was executed in Dresden on July 26, 1952.¹³

[Note: American prisoners of war also worked at Berga, but they lived in a separate camp, not the Buchenwald subcamp. Their experiences will be addressed in a later volume of this encyclopedia, which will cover camps run by the German military.—Ed.]

SOURCES Berga is mentioned only a few times in the literature. Christine Schmidt has an essay on Buchenwald/Berga-Elster in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 386–388. Wolfgang Birkenfeld covers the history of

Brabag in *Der synthetische Treibstoff, 1933–1945* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt Verlag, 1964). In the 1960s, Gerda Rutschmann, an Oberschule instructor in Berga, compiled a report on the working and living conditions of the prisoners in "Schwalbe V." Between 1967 and 1991, numerous articles were published in the local Berga newspaper, the *GrHe*, for instance, the article by Ulrich Jugel, "Das Lager Schwalbe V in Berga—Ein dunkles Kapitel aus der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus," July 1991. Heike Kegel wrote a doctoral dissertation on Berga, "Die Versklavung von KZ-Häftlingen in der faschistischen Kriegswirtschaft und bei der unterirdischen Verlagerung der Treibstoffindustrie" (Ph.D. diss., Martin Luther University, Halle, 1990). Among the camps she researched was Schwalbe V, but aside from adding a few details, she relies heavily on Birkenfeld when writing about Berga, as does an article in *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2 (Bonn, 1991), pp. 660, 750, 801. The Buchenwald Berga subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 27.

Extensive material on the Berga camp and the transport lists may be found in AG-B and NARA (RG 242). Concerning the death march, material is held in the various regional archives in Germany, AG-D, as well as in the SpkA-KV, SpkA-CvK, and SDA-L. Material on the Berga construction site is also available in the ThHStA-G. Files containing the notices of prisoner deaths in the Berga camp are at BA-L. The criminal case files of construction manager Willy Hack are available through BStU. As the archives and prisoner testimonies found since 1997 have not been covered in any comprehensive way in the literature, it is now necessary to conduct new research on Berga. Christine Schmidt has in her possession numerous unpublished testimonies from surviving Berga prisoners.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Transport list, Buchenwald-Berga, November 13, 1944, AG-B, 59–110/3.
2. Transport list, Buchenwald-Berga, November 31, 1944, NARA, RG 242, A 3355, F 26.
3. Transport lists, Buchenwald-Berga, NARA, RG 242, A 3355, F 26.
4. Verzeichnis der in Berga verstorbenen KZ-Häftlinge, BStU, ZM 1625/A 28b/Bd.17/StA. Bd. I, pp. 381–390.
5. Berichte von Überlebenden, ZdL at BA-L, 429 AR-Z-15/74 Berga Bd. I, pp. 75–228, Bd. II, pp. 275–314.
6. Stärkemeldung in Außenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald, ZdL, (now BA-L) 429 AR-Z-15/74 Berga Bd. I, p. 3, from ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 27.
7. Prozess gegen Willy Hack, LG Zwickau; Aussage von Gerda Teichert, BStU, ZM 1625/A 28b/Bd. 17/StA.Bd. I, p. 377.
8. Auflösung des Lagers in Außenkommandos des Konzen-

trationslagers Buchenwald, ZdL, 429 AR-Z-15/74 Berga Bd. I, p. 3, from ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis*, 1: 27.

9. Befragung von Joel Pinkowits, ZdL, 429 AR-Z-15/74 Berga Bd. I, S. p. 216/21; Abraham Krygier/Krieger, *ibid.*, pp. 158–161; AG-D, Dokumentation: Häftlinge, Gefangenenselistaufende Numerierung: 106834.

10. SpkA-CvK, Bestand Kovarska (Schmiedeberg), Bericht von Margarethe Trux, June 5, 1945; Report of B. Zwaaf and Levie de Lange, ZdL, 429 AR-Z-3358/65.

11. Report of B. Zwaaf and Levie de Lange, ZdL, 429 AR-Z-3358/65 Buchenwald, Bd. II, pp. 217–238; and report of Josef Krauze from February 6, 2001, to Christine Schmidt; also report of Samuel Hilton from November 30, 2000, to Christine Schmidt.

12. Einstellungsverfügung des Verfahrens gegen Richard Rohr und unbekannte SS-Angehörige von Dr. Gehrling, OSta. Köln, February 25, 1976, ZdL, 429 AR-Z-15/74 Berga Bd. I, pp. 385–387.

13. The first trial against Hack was AZ.21.ERKs.116/51; Prozess gegen Willy Hack, LG Zwickau, Urteil, April 23, 1951, BStU, ZM 1625/A 28b/Bd. 17/Vollstreckungsheft, pp. 268, 272.

BERLSTEDT

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Berlstedt (Kreis Weimar) in December 1940 to provide labor to various projects, including the production of bricks and road construction. The exact opening date of the camp, often coded as "B" in related administrative correspondence, varies by source. These differences may correspond to the fact that the prisoners were forced to work in multiple work details (*Kommandos*) for different firms: the Kläranlage und Ziegelei Berlstedt bei Weimar and the Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke, Berlstedt (German Earth and Stone Works, DESt). In addition, the inmates were also used for the Neumark road construction project. Work for the Kläranlage und Ziegelei was said to have begun on October 9, 1941, and work for DESt, on September 27, 1943. The Neumark road construction project seems to have ended in late October 1943; 20 inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald on October 28 after its completion.¹

Located about 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) from the main camp at Buchenwald, the prisoner population in the Berlstedt camp was all male. The number of inmates, with occasional additional transports to and from the camp, did not seem to fluctuate greatly and remained around 200 to 250 inmates. According to random prisoner lists that have survived, and a few transport lists to and from the Berlstedt camp, the inmates appear to have been German, French, Belgian, Czech, Russian, and Polish. According to a transport list of 10 inmates to Berlstedt on August 18, 1944, there were so-called professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*) in the camp, who most likely served as "functional inmates," as well as "asocial" and political prisoners.² The SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) was paid 2 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled and 1 RM per unskilled laborer per day in the Berlstedt subcamp.³ In

April 1942, the skilled workers included an electrician, blacksmiths, carpenters, a painter, and several masons.⁴

One of the Kommandos to which the Berlstedt prisoners were assigned supplied labor to DESt, an enterprise of the SS. A building supply company, it was founded in 1938 to supply materials to construction projects that were aimed at achieving Hitler's grandiose architectural vision throughout the Reich. Created to be a technologically advanced, modern venture, DESt aimed to exploit and excavate quarries and manufacture bricks. One of the many sites created at or near concentration camps to excavate and manufacture bricks, the Berlstedt Werk achieved production of about 8 million bricks per year and employed at least 200 inmates.

There is little information about other work performed in the Berlstedt subcamp for the Kläranlage und Ziegelei or the Neumark road construction project. According to Enno Georg, the punishment Kommando sent from Buchenwald to Berlstedt to work in the clay mines was not under the control of DESt; it is unclear if it was attached instead to Kläranlage und Ziegelei. According to a former prisoner in Berlstedt, Kurt Leeser, inmates had to work in groups of three in the clay mines, digging out 30 carts of material and breaking it into fist-sized chunks. The work was performed in all kinds of weather, often standing knee-deep in water. Leeser reported that the inmates not only had to endure the terribly difficult labor in the mine but also the cruelty of the prisoner overseers (Kapos), such as Johann Küppers, who beat the prisoners without mercy. Leeser added that the work in the brick ovens was also strenuous and performed in dreadful conditions; these inmates suffered from sulfur fumes and intense heat. According to prisoner and transport lists, on occasion inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp, presumably some too ill to work.⁵

Little information is available about the commandant or guards of the camp. Some correspondence surviving from the latter years of the war shows the signature of an SS-Sturmscharführer, but his name is illegible.⁶ According to a report filed by the SS-Standortarzt Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, there were 34 guards in the camp at this time.⁷ No further details about the camp itself, its exact location, living conditions within the camp, or resistance or escape attempts by the prisoners are available.

Finally, there is little information about the evacuation of the Berlstedt subcamp. It was last mentioned in Buchenwald-related records in late March or early April 1945, stating that there were 211 inmates. Likewise, no information about post-war trials of guards who served in the camp was uncovered.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Berlstedt subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Berlstedt in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins,

1990), which derives from ITS records. More information on DESt can be found in Enno Georg, *Die Wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen der SS* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1963), pp. 42–58.

Surviving primary documentation on the Berlstedt subcamp is also limited. An excerpt of former inmate Kurt Leeser's recollection of his experiences in the Berlstedt clay mines can be found in David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), pp. 191–192. For sparse administrative documentation mentioning the Berlstedt subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMM, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206. See also a collection of prisoner lists in the Berlstedt camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally ITS), stored at USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 47, Reel 16. Other documentation may be found at AG-B.

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NOTES

1. "20 Häftlinge auf Transport nach K.L. Bu.," Berlstedt, October 28, 1943, Buchenwald (BU 47), AN-MACVG, reproduced in USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
2. "Transport Berlstedt," Weimar-Buchenwald, August 18, 1944 (BU 47), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
3. Extracts from the rept. for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.
4. "Einsatz der Berufe im Lager Buchenwald," Stand am 30 April 1942, BA NS-4, USHMM, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206, Fiche 1.
5. See memos to the Buchenwald Rapportführer, dated December 19, 1944 (2 inmates to Buchenwald); February 16, 1945 (2 inmates to Buchenwald); February 20, 1945 (1 inmate to Buchenwald) (BU47), USHMM Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
6. See memos to Buchenwald Rapportführer, dated December 19, 1944, and February 16, 1945 (Bu 47), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
7. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung. Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main, 1960), p. 251.

BILLRODA

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Billroda (Saxony province) to provide prisoner labor to an underground construction project to transfer and protect armaments production due to increased Allied bombardment in the latter half of the war. The exact opening date of the camp is unknown, though various sources site the creation of the camp in February or March 1945.

The first transport of prisoners to Billroda from Buchenwald, dated March 19, 1945, included some 500 inmates.¹ The population of the camp did not seem to fluctuate over its relatively brief period of existence, and there were few additional transports of inmates into the camp.² Periodically inmates

were transferred back to Buchenwald due to various injuries or illnesses, such as tuberculosis, where they were sent to the infirmary. For example, 6 inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald on March 27, 1945.³

The majority of the inmates were assigned to perform various kinds of work related to construction of a facility for the transfer of portions of the Gustloff-Werk, Weimar, 600 meters (656 yards) underground in order to continue production. Some inmates may also have been delegated to duties on local farms. The inmates were employed by the firm Berg Burggraf to work in the mine shafts, to lay railroad tracks, and otherwise to prepare the area for the transfer of the Gustloff-Werk. As in other camps that used inmates to perform work in mines, working conditions in the Billroda subcamp were most likely terrible and dangerous, causing inmates to fall ill from diseases such as tuberculosis and to suffer injuries due to the dangerous work.

The inmates were all male, and although there is no breakdown by nationality on the transport lists, they appear to have been mainly Russian, Polish, French, Belgian, Dutch, and German. Some discrepancy exists about the exact location of the inmates' housing, and it seems that the prisoners were accommodated in several locations. Some were placed in a former guesthouse called "Weissenhorn" in the nearby village of Kahlwinkel. Others were housed in a shack on the Reichmuth farmstead, in a large storage camp not far from the Burggraf mine, as well as in a movie theater or in barracks in Billroda itself.

The Billroda camp, with 494 inmates, was evacuated in April 1945 to Buchenwald, where the arrival of the prisoners was registered on April 10, 1945.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Billroda subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Billroda in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Außenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS).

Surviving primary documentation on the Billroda subcamp is also limited. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally ITS), stored at USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 47, Reel 16. Copies of transport lists and documentation of arrivals to and from Buchenwald are also found at NARA, A3355 Buchenwald Daily Strength Reports (USHMM, RG 1996 A0342, Reels 146–180). These reports may be useful for a more thorough statistical analysis of the demographics of and increases and decreases in the camp population. Other documents may be found in the AG-B.

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NOTES

1. "Transport Billroda," K.L. Buchenwald, March 19, 1945 (BU 47), AN-MACVG, reproduced in USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.
2. See transport lists and memoranda (BU 47), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.
3. "Transport-Liste," to the Rapportführer, Buchenwald, March 27, 1945 (BU 47), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.

BOCHUM (BOCHUMER VEREIN)

By the end of the 1930s, the Bochum Verein für Gussstahlfabrikation AG, a subsidiary of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG (United Steelworks), had an annual production capacity of around 840,000 tons of raw iron and 1,320,000 tons of raw steel. At the outbreak of the war, it employed around 20,000 people. Within the German Reich, the Bochum Verein was the sixth largest producer of raw iron; within the nonmilitary market for finished products, it was one of the five largest producers of railway tracks and rolling railway equipment as well as high-quality wrought and cast iron.

Even in the first years following the National Socialist seizure of power, the Verein had cooperated with the German government and Wehrmacht leadership and had taken part, initially in secret, in the production of arms in violation of the Versailles Treaty. The Verein showed its symbiotic relationship to the regime with close cooperation with the National Socialist regime and its organizations, such as the Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front, DAF) and the Nationalsozialistische Betriebszellenorganisation (National Socialist Factory Cells Organization, NSBO). It realized the "synchronization" (*Gleichschaltung*) of its employees and their indoctrination: as head of the DAF, Robert Ley eventually awarded the Verein a prize as the first company to be a National Socialist Model Enterprise (*Nationalsozialistischer Musterbetrieb*).

With the outbreak of World War II, the Verein became one of the most important manufacturers of 8.8-centimeter flak guns, 8.8-centimeter to 38-centimeter gun barrels (which as semifinished products [*Halbfertigprodukte*] were delivered to other weapons manufacturers), as well as medium-sized bombs, shells of various calibers, torpedo parts, and cast-iron pieces for the production of aircraft engines.

As early as 1939, there already was a shortage of labor in the armaments sector. This situation dramatically worsened after the outbreak of the war as younger employees were called up. As a result, the company's management used its close connections with the National Socialist regime, relying on the strategic importance of the company to insist upon the allocation of foreign forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs).

In January 1944, forced laborers and POWs constituted more than 38 percent of the Verein's total labor force: 15,261 Germans (including 3,071 women); 820 male and 967 female "eastern workers" (*Ostarbeiter*); 1,149 male and 28 female laborers mostly from West European countries; 774 French

and 1,509 Soviet POWs; and 575 Italian military internees (IMIs).

As the number of German employees continually and significantly declined due to call-ups to the Wehrmacht and the labor potential in areas occupied by German troops was largely exhausted due to the forcible recruitment of labor, the company's management examined the possibility of using concentration camp prisoners in the first half of 1944. It finally followed the examples of other armaments producers such as Rheinmetall-Borsig AG in Düsseldorf-Derendorf and demanded from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) concentration camp prisoners to assemble artillery and flak shells.

The agreement reached between the company management and SS meant that 3,500 prisoners would be used in the production of munitions. On June 27, 1944, a detachment of 446 prisoners with guards arrived in Bochum; the task of this advance detachment was initially to enlarge a small barracks camp to accommodate this number of prisoners; the barracks were located in the western area of the Stahlindustrie factory in the area of the Brüll- and Kohlenstrasse. About 1,000 prisoners were employed in the erection of standardized barracks.¹ To prevent the escape of prisoners, the area was surrounded with a 1,900-meter-long (2,078-yard-long) electrified barbed-wire fence.²

It would seem that leading members of the firm were active in the various death camps in recruiting prisoners for later labor detachments: journeys to Auschwitz and Buchenwald meant that the prisoners with relevant qualifications or work experience as well as the necessary physical constitution could be chosen for the heavy work to be done in the armaments foundry.

An initial labor detachment of 210 prisoners, the majority Soviet citizens as well as Poles, Lithuanians, Croats, and Czechs, who were recruited also from other concentration camps and transferred to Buchenwald left Weimar on August 11, 1944. There were other prisoner transports, but it is no longer possible, due to the destruction of files, to reconstruct completely those dates and figures: By September 23, 1944, the Bochum Verein subcamp had 1,213 prisoners, and by November 19, it had reached 1,706 prisoners, which would be the maximum number. On March 16, 1945, the day the camp was dissolved and the prisoners transported back to Buchenwald, there were 1,356 prisoners. (The date of March 3 is often mentioned as the date the camp was evacuated, but it is incorrect. A prisoner died and was buried in Bochum on March 16, 1945. Numerous references in the trial files from after 1945 suggest that the camp was evacuated on March 16.) The determining cause for the dissolution of the subcamp was the closeness of the front and the large-scale destruction of road and rail connections, which made practically impossible the dispatch of the shells produced by the Verein to the munitions firms that filled them with explosives.

The prisoners did heavy physical labor in the projectile foundry in high temperatures; mostly it was unskilled work. The company paid the SS command in Buchenwald 6 Reichsmark (RM) per day for skilled labor and 4 RM per day for

unskilled labor. The Bochum Verein also initiated a system of reward for above-average production—for poor output and so-called loafing (*Bummelei*), the prisoners were beaten and mistreated by the SS guards, foremen, and the company. For good performance, bonuses were given of 0.30 to 0.50 RM per day, which could be cashed in at the camp's canteen for goods. The company revealed this bonus system in preparing its defense against a possible charge before the International Military Tribunal in Nürnberg.³

The claim of good and humane treatment of prisoners made by leading employees of the Verein initially before the U.S. military courts and later before the German criminal courts is in great contrast to the actual treatment of the concentration camp prisoners and must be seen as a defense strategy. Between July 6, 1944, and March 16, 1945, there were 93 recorded deaths at the subcamp, and the bodies were buried in Bochum cemeteries; at first they were interred in urns, but after the city crematorium was destroyed in an air raid on November 4, 1944, the prisoners who died were buried.⁴ More than 62 percent of the dead were 45 or older. The oldest known victim was Márton Biro, born on December 5, 1878, and the youngest was the mechanic Hans Latter, born on July 7, 1928.

The exact number of victims is unknown, in part because in January 1945 the SS put together a transport of 198 "unusable labor" (*unbrauchbare Arbeitskräfte*), many of whom died from their injuries and illnesses after being sent to Buchenwald.⁵

Prosecution of the crimes against humanity committed between June 1944 and March 1945 in the Bochum Verein subcamp by members of the SS proved difficult due to the lack of evidence: the camp commander SS-Hauptsturmführer Hermann Grossmann was convicted by a U.S. military court, sentenced to death, and executed for crimes committed at Bochum and elsewhere. According to prisoners, the foreman Emil Vogel shot 3 Russian concentration camp prisoners during an air raid on November 4, 1944, for stealing potatoes from the camp kitchen and murdered another 30 prisoners on March 16, 1945, because they did not immediately obey his command to climb into the goods wagons lined up to evacuate the prisoners. It was also alleged that he tortured a prisoner because he did not produce enough and that the prisoner died from his injuries while being transported back to Buchenwald. Vogel was acquitted on October 7, 1947, for any homicides due to lack of evidence but was sentenced to four years' hard labor for injuring a prisoner, which caused death. His time in prisons from April 1945 was taken into account when determining the sentence.⁶

The bricklayers' foreman Wilhelm Korbhöfer, an employee of the Verein, was in charge of the construction of the barracks camp for the concentration camp work detachment and for repairing it after air raids. He later admitted to having beaten prisoners who did not produce enough or who loafed, with iron bars, work tools, and other objects. He was sentenced to one year's imprisonment in 1949 for aggravated assault in 200 cases.⁷ Karl Lellesch, who had a supervisory role in the foundry, was sentenced in the same proceedings to three months' imprisonment on two accounts of aggravated assault; Heinrich Bischoff, who among other things was in

charge of distributing the midday meal and had repeatedly beaten prisoners, was sentenced to jail for one month.

SOURCES During the evacuation of the Bochum Verein subcamp, it would seem that the camp files were completely destroyed. Historians, therefore, are limited to relying on the limited correspondence between Bochum and Weimar and the Veränderungsnachweise of the central Schreibstube, which are available at AG-B. There are remnants of files in the BA as well as in the files of cemetery administrations in Bochum and neighboring cities. The Bochum Friedhofsverwaltung kept detailed records of cremations of the concentration camp inmates until the destruction of the crematorium, and after its destruction on November 4, 1944, the burials were recorded. This was also the case for burials in neighboring cities. The ASt-Boc holds the trial records for Wilhelm Korbhöfer. Important details can be gained from the published memoirs of former prisoners and the documents of the ILKB, *Bericht des Internationalen Lagerkomitees des KZ Buchenwald* (Offenbach: VKS, 1997). Also important are the trial transcripts, which the U.S. military courts conducted against former SS guards in Buchenwald and its subcamps for crimes against humanity, which are available at NARA and AG-B. A document reproduced from AG-B, listing the known dead at the Bochum Verein subcamp, may be found in Manfred Keller et al., eds., *Gedenkbuch: Opfer der Shoah in Bochum und Wattenscheid* (Bochum: Kamp, 2000), pp. 36–39.

Gustav-Hermann Seibold
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Urteil des LG Bochum gegen Wilhelm Korbhöfer et al. vom 24. Mai 1949 (2 Ks 14/48), ASt-Boc, ZGS.

2. Details in *USA v. Max Paul Emil Vogel* (File No. 12-390-VOL-12), AG-B.

3. Fremdarbeitereinsatz beim Bochumer Verein, HAK, WA80794300.1, p. 17.

4. A list of named prisoners who died in the Bochum subcamp based on the Veränderungsmeldungen der Schreibstube des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald, AG-B.

5. ILKB, *Bericht des Internationalen Lagerkomitees des KZ Buchenwald* (Offenbach: VKS, 1997), p. 112. According to this source and the number of dead recorded in the *Gedenkbuch* (Manfred Keller et al., eds., *Gedenkbuch: Opfer der Shoah in Bochum und Wattenscheid* [Bochum: Kamp, 2000]), the number of dead in the Bochum Verein subcamp is at least 115. This number does not include the number of prisoners who, weakened by the inhuman treatment, physical abuse, or work accidents, were transported back to the main camp.

6. AG-B, Veränderungsmeldungen der Schreibstube des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald.

7. Ibid.

BOCHUM (EISEN- UND HÜTTENWERKE)

Among the over 100 camps established in Bochum, including prisoner-of-war (POW) and forced labor camps, three subcamps administered by the Buchenwald main camp were constructed to supply inmate laborers to various firms and construction projects in and around Bochum and Wattenscheid. In

late August 1944, one such Buchenwald subcamp was opened on Castroper Strasse. This camp, distinct from both the SS-Baubrigade III (Construction Brigade III) work Kommando and the Brüllstrasse subcamp at Bochumer Verein, was built to provide workers to the Eisen- und Hüttenwerke AG (later Stahlwerke Bochum). The provision of labor to the factory stemmed from an agreement forged between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the administration of the Eisen- und Hüttenwerke. Eisen- und Hüttenwerke paid the WVHA a rate of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per day per skilled worker and 4 RM per day per unskilled worker. For the month of December 1944, the firm owed the WVHA 76,098 RM for the laborers it "employed."¹ The workers, however, were not compensated for their labor.

Eisen- und Hüttenwerke manufactured steel parts, including armor plating, sheeting for V-2 rockets, and other armaments production. With 400 inmates deported from the Buchenwald main camp to Bochum, a camp with several barracks surrounded by electrical fencing was opened on Castroper Strasse on August 20 or 21, 1944. On September 16, 1944, at least two transports of prisoners were deported from Buchenwald to Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke: one with 250 prisoners, the other with 185 prisoners.² The prisoners were predominantly Polish, Russian, and French. All were men, and there were both Jews and non-Jews in the camp. Several transports of Hungarian Jews were transferred from Buchenwald in July and August 1944 to Bochum, and although most were sent to the Buchenwald subcamp at Bochumer Verein, some Hungarian Jews may have been deported to the camp at Eisen- und Hüttenwerke as well. According to an examination of the fate of Jews in Bochum and Wattenscheid by Günter Gleising and others, the number of inmates imprisoned in the Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke camp reached at least 932 during its seven-month operation.

According to Gleising's study, working conditions in the Buchenwald subcamps in Bochum were generally similar. Prisoners worked at least 12 hours per day, often in the terrible heat of the steel and ammunition factories, under the brutal supervision of SS guards and civilian foremen. According to one former inmate who was deported from Györ (Hungary) to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, Buchenwald, and then Bochum, working conditions for the inmates were oppressive, and only the strongest inmates could survive the persistent hunger and the beatings meted out by their supervisors.³ Food rations were meager and amounted only to small portions of bread, watery soup, and on occasion, margarine and sausage. Another inmate reported that as punishment for the slightest transgression or dissatisfactory work performance, the already inadequate rations were withdrawn.⁴ According to former inmate reports, many prisoners died due to physical deterioration from the harsh conditions.⁵

Concerning prisoner demographics and increases and decreases in prisoner numbers, one report lists that by January 1945 there were 648 inmates in the Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke camp, and on March 6, 1945, there were 632 inmates.⁶ A report submitted by the Standortarzt (garrison doctor) der Waffen-SS on January 31, 1945, listed the number of inmates in

Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke at 634.⁷ Some information about death rates and causes of death in the Bochum subcamps can be gleaned from reports submitted to the political department in Buchenwald from the SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad) who oversaw the operation of infirmaries in the outlying Kommandos. According to reports submitted in January and February 1945, at least 21 inmates died in "Bochum" (with no further specification as to which camp in Bochum) from "heart muscle degeneration," tuberculosis, "general bodily weakness," dysentery, and bronchial pneumonia.⁸ According to a weekly report to the infirmary in Buchenwald submitted by the Standortarzt der Waffen-SS on March 25, 1945, 2,000 men from "Kommando Bochum" (no further breakdown by subcamp provided) were transferred back to Buchenwald on March 21, 1945: 35 percent were "physically weakened," 44 were to be placed in the infirmary, and 16 had died.⁹

The SS medic in charge of supervising the infirmary in Bochum was named Brinkmann. According to the same brief, there were 42 guards in Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke at the end of January 1945.¹⁰

With the approach of Allied troops, the camp at the Bochumer Eisen- und Hüttenwerke was dissolved at the end of March 1945, and the inmates were transported back to Buchenwald and registered there on March 21, 1945. A March 25 listing of Kommandos, from which inmates were evacuated due to "enemy approach," shows that 616 inmates were evacuated from Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke.¹¹ Inmates transferred to the Buchenwald main camp in March were most likely sent to the Mittelbau main camp in Nordhausen because the Buchenwald camp was overflowing with prisoners by this time. Allied troops entered Bochum and the surrounding area on April 10, 1945.

SOURCES Little information about the Bochum subcamp at Eisen- und Hüttenwerke can be found in either secondary or primary sources. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Bochum in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Hafstädtten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979). For specific information about the various camps in Bochum prior to and during World War II, see Günter Gleising et al., *Die Verfolgung der Juden in Bochum und Wattenscheid: Die Jahre 1933–1945 in Berichten, Bildern und Dokumenten* (Altenberge: Wurf-Verlag, VVN Bochum, 1993).

Primary documentation on the Bochum subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See in particular a collection of transport lists to the Bochum camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially Reel 16. See also BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, especially volumes 176–185. These volumes contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp populations. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at USHMMMA, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as "strength reports" for various subcamps, can be found in USHMMMA,

1996.A.0342 (originally copied from NARA A3355), Reels 146–180. Further analysis of these reports might yield additional detailed information about the exact daily “arrivals” to and “departures” from the subcamps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that provide information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242. Finally, firsthand witness accounts of living conditions within the camps in Bochum are recorded in various oral testimony repositories. See especially the MZML, which contain thousands of testimonies from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by DEGOB. Several protocols describe conditions in the Bochum camps; see especially protocols 1163, 1542, 2158, 1677, and 2049.

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NOTES

1. Extracts of report for December 1944 of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, dated January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, in *TWC*, 6: 759–767.
2. “Transport EW Bochum,” September 16, 1944, Buchenwald (BU 47) and “Transport EW Bochum,” September 16, 1944 (BU 47), AN, Secretariat D’État aux Anciens Combattants as reproduced in USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
3. MZML, DEGOB Protocol 2158 (M.F.).
4. DEGOB Protocol 1677 (L.J.), MZML.
5. DEGOB Protocols 2158 (M.F.), 1808 (S.E.), 1677 (L.J.), MZML.
6. “Aussenkommandos” (BU 39), AN reproduced in USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
7. “KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt,” Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung; Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1983), p. 253.
8. “Verstorben Häftlinge in den Aussenkommandos,” Weimar/Buchenwald January 24, January 26, and February 27, 1945 (BU 36/3), AN copied in USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
9. “Kurzer Wochenbericht Krankenbau KL Buchenwald,” Weimar-Buchenwald, March 25, 1945, as published in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, pp. 257–258.
10. “KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt,” Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, p. 253.
11. “Nach Buchenwald wegen Feindnähe zurückgenommene Kommandos,” March 25, 1945 (BU 36), AN copied in USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

BÖHLEN

As the last of the four refineries of the Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brown Coal-Gasoline AG, Brabag), the Böhlen facility requested workers from the Organisation Todt (OT) in mid-to late June 1944, in order to repair the damage from Allied air attacks. As of mid-May, Böhlen had had sufficient construction workers at its disposal and therefore did not consider requesting concentration camp inmates, while the remaining three Brabag facilities (Magdeburg, Schwarzeide, and Zeitz) immediately fell back upon camp prisoners to deal with the damage from the

Allied bombardment. Weeks after the speaker of the board (*Vorstandssprecher*) and SS-Brigadeführer Fritz Kranefuss organized prisoner contingents for Zeitz and Magdeburg in negotiations with his friend and chief of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Oswald Pohl, Böhlen—which began operations in February 1936 as the first of Brabag’s hydrogenation works—finally did become interested in additional workers and concentration camp prisoners. The OT-Einsatzgruppe IV “Kyffhäuser,” which had begun to build up regional organization and personnel structures, was not in a position to deal with the request. The OT’s difficulties in coordinating the requests angered Edmund Geilenberg, head of the war economy emergency program that bore his name. He intervened personally, threatening to inform Albert Speer of the OT’s failure. In any event, Geilenberg kept Speer constantly up to date on the progress of the important Geilenberg construction sites, including the use of prisoners. Geilenberg demanded concentration camp prisoners by telegram from Gerhard Maurer (WVHA Office Group DII),¹ and at the end of July 1944, a Buchenwald subcamp was established at Böhlen. The SS transported 1,080 prisoners, mostly of East European origin, to Böhlen. Some publications have put the number at 800, but this is too low. SS-Hauptsturmführer Albert Schwartz, in charge of the labor deployment at the Buchenwald concentration camp, inspected the subcamp in accordance with the usual practice.

As in all Brabag factories, the prisoners were used to construct bunkers and do heavy cleanup and construction work in the destroyed factory and the surrounding area. Manager Herbert von Felbert, who was simultaneously the Geilenberg representative at the factory, coordinated construction work and had the power to give directions to and make decisions for the SS. Because the facility was thus embedded in the Geilenberg program, the prisoners’ work for the factory was free. The Reich government reimbursed Brabag for the costs of hiring out the prisoners from the SS as well as for the cost of their accommodation and food. The factory’s medical officer, Dr. Eckardt, was responsible for the prisoners’ and guards’ medical care.² At the beginning of September 1944, there were 80 guards; at the end of October, 113. Most of them were probably former Wehrmacht soldiers. There are scarcely any details about the prisoners’ working and living conditions as the German Democratic Republic’s successor to the Böhlen factory had all remaining contemporary documents destroyed in 1989–1990. In October 1944, the SS recorded that more than 10 percent of the prisoners were sick. More than 60 prisoners who could no longer work were transported via shuttle service back to Buchenwald and replaced with new prisoners. The dead were likewise transported from the subcamp back to the main camp on the Ettersberg. The usual cremation of corpses in a neighboring city crematorium did not take place. The death rate in Böhlen, in comparison to those in the Brabag camps in Magdeburg, Schwarzeide, and Zeitz, was low. Although the construction and cleanup work was similar in all four camps, and although these counted among the notorious construction commandos, no more than a dozen prisoners died in Böhlen. In contrast to the other three Brabag camps, which clearly ex-

isted longer, in Böhlen the prisoners were not Jewish, and so the SS and the company allowed them much better chances for survival than were allowed to Jews. More than 30 prisoners, that is, more than 3 percent, were able to escape.³

On November 28, 1944, four months after its establishment, the SS and Brabag dissolved the camp so as to facilitate the transfer of the Brabag factory in Magdeburg to an underground site in Königstein, south of Dresden. Brabag sent 977 prisoners from Böhlen in two groups, on November 14 and November 28, to the Flossenbürg subcamp at Königstein, which was located at the foot of the Königstein castle in the Elbsandstein mountains. The factory manager, von Felbert, had organized the “internal” transfer of the prisoners to the newly established subcamp. In so doing he saved the Königstein Brabag management, who operated not under the name of Brabag but the dummy firm Sandsteinwerke Kohl & Co. Pirna, the time-consuming process of requesting labor from the WVHA.⁴

At the beginning of February 1945 the SS and Brabag in Böhlen reactivated their cooperation. Based upon special authority given by Heinrich Himmler to SS-Brigadeführer Hans Kammler (February 5, 1945), and upon a discussion with Kranefuss, an unknown number of prisoners under SS-Sturmbannführer Karl Bischoff were forced to recommence construction work. Bischoff had been in charge of the Zentralbauleitung (Central Construction Administration) in Auschwitz and had been responsible for the construction of crematoria and gas chambers. In Böhlen the factory manager, von Felbert, had the power to instruct the SS.⁵

SOURCES The Böhlen subcamp is mentioned in Karl-Heinz Gräfe and Hans-Jürgen Töpfer’s work *Ausgesondert und fast vergessen. KZ-Aussenlager auf dem Territorium des heutigen Sachsen* (Dresden: Verein für Regionale Geschichte und Politik, 1996) and is referred to in the authors’s book *Ein KZ in der Nachbarschaft: Das Magdeburger Aussenlager der Brabag und der “Freundeskreis Himmler”* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004). See also the authors’s “Ingenieure als Täter. Die ‘Geilenberg-Lager’ und die Delegation von Macht,” in *Lagersystem und Repräsentation. Interdisziplinäre Forschungen zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager*, ed. R. Gabriel et al. (Tübingen, 2004), pp. 46–70.

The Brabag factory files are held in part in the StA-Lg and the BrA-K. In YV as well as AG-B there are deportation lists, and in the BA-B—Bestand R 3 and R 121—are the Geilenberg files relating to Böhlen.

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NOTES

1. BA, R 3112/179.
2. Ebd. Bl. 179 u. 196; and BA, NS 4/Bu, Nr. 210, passim; LHASA-Me, Brabag Zeitz, Nr. 156, p. 13.
3. YV, Microfilm Bu 16 and Bu 17; BA, NS 4/Bu, 136a, pp. 103–146.
4. AG-B, HKW 1, Transportverzeichnis; BA, R 3/1907, p. 79; and R121/1335, Schreiben Brabag an Inko, August 11, 1948.
5. BA, NS 3/457, p. 1.

BRAUNSCHWEIG

On September 13, 1941, a subcamp of Buchenwald was created at the SS-Junkerschule (Elite Officers’ School) in Braunschweig. Opened in 1935 in a castle, the Braunschweig Junkerschule was one of three academies established to educate future members of the SS. The SS-Junkerschule, an educational system independent of Wehrmacht military training, was created to instill the tenets of National Socialist ideology and history in future SS members. The school system was steeped in the legendary ties of the SS to its alleged Teutonic past (*Junker* means “knight” or “cadet”). The pedagogy, coupled with the administrative independence and physical isolation of the Junkerschule, ensured total ideological and personal control over SS trainees.

Inmates deported to Braunschweig from the Buchenwald main camp were employed in construction and various kinds of repair work at the Junkerschule. In October 1941, the administration of the Junkerschule made a request to the labor service office in Buchenwald for 10 painters, 3 wallpaper hangers, 2 joiners, 1 metalworker, and 1 carpenter, for a total of 17 inmates. The Junkerschule “rented” the inmates at 4 Reichsmark (RM) per day per inmate, although the inmates were not compensated for their work.¹ According to the same request report, housing, food, and guard staff were to be provided by the SS-Junkerschule, and the Buchenwald camp would send one Blockführer (block leader). Moreover, an agreement for the transfer of prisoners to the Braunschweig Junkerschule was “personally reached” between the head of the administration at the SS-Junkerschule, SS-Sturmbannführer Mohr, and the commandant of Buchenwald, then SS-Obersturmbannführer Karl Koch (later Pister, see below). Those unfit for work in the detachment were selected by the chief of “protective custody” camp “E” (Schutzhaftlagerführer “E”). According to this report, prisoner work at Braunschweig was slated to begin on September 17, 1941, and would last until October 31, 1941.² However, as is noted below, inmates were reinstated in the camp in early 1942 after a temporary cessation of inmate work in November 1941. The first group of inmates was transferred back to the Buchenwald camp in October.

After the brief closure of the camp, the administration of the SS-Junkerschule submitted another request to the main camp for inmates for repair work at the school in February 1942. At least 20 prisoners were transferred to Braunschweig to paint and to perform other kinds of maintenance. According to a telex message undersigned by the commandant of Buchenwald, SS-Obersturmbannführer Hermann Pister, the Junkerschule requested the 20 inmates for a period of four weeks to work on the construction of a music school. Pister also noted that another block leader would have to be sent to the detachment from Buchenwald.³ This initial four-week period was extended, and in April 1942, inmates were still stationed at the school. Correspondence between Mohr and the head of the labor service office (Arbeitserziehungsführer) in Buchenwald, SS-Hauptsturmführer Philipp Grimm, reveals that Mohr wished to continue inmate work at the school,

although the original agreement stated that the prisoners were to be returned to Buchenwald in March.⁴ However, arrangements were made to have these 20 exchanged for other prisoners, and additional skilled and unskilled inmate workers were transferred to the camp. A report on the prisoner labor service in the Braunschweig Junkerschule for the month of June 1942 shows that in the first half of the month there were between 25 and 30 skilled workers and 28 unskilled workers. In the latter part of that month, the number dropped to 13 skilled workers and no unskilled workers.⁵

According to a memo dated July 30, 1942, from the administration of the school to Office (Amt) IV of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), a request was submitted for 6 additional inmates for "urgent repair work" in the month of August.⁶ No further information about the inmates, their working and living conditions, or possible escape and resistance attempts could be found. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) lists of camps, the camp was last mentioned in contemporary records on May 7, 1943. However, there is no indication whether the inmates were exchanged with Buchenwald on an as-needed basis—as was the case in 1941 and 1942—or if the same group of 13 inmates remained there until 1943.

SOURCES Little information about the Braunschweig subcamp can be found in either secondary or primary sources. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, and private firms that exploited camp labor, see the entry for Buchenwald/Braunschweig in Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which includes ITS information. For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). Additional information on the SS-Junkerschule can be found in Jay Hatheway's *In Perfect Formation: SS Ideology and the SS-Junkerschule-Tölz* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Pub., 1999); and Richard Schulze-Kossens, "Offiziersnachwuchs der Waffen-SS: Die SS-Junkerschulen," in *Deutsches Soldatenjahrbuch 1979* (Munich: Schild Verlag, 1979).

Primary documentation on the Braunschweig subcamp and other subcamps of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See, in particular, BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, particularly volumes 205 and 209. These and other volumes from this collection, including volumes 176–185, contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp populations. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as "strength reports" for various subcamps, can be found in the archives of the USHMM, 1996. A.0342 (originally copied from the NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180. Further research on these reports would yield additional detailed information about the exact daily "arrivals" to and "de-

partures" from the subcamps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that yield detailed information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242.

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NOTES

1. "Instandsetzungsarbeiten in den Kasernen u. Unterkünften," October 8, 1941, BA, NS 4 (Buchenwald) Band 205, Fiche 1, as copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG.14.023M (hereafter BA, Band 205).

2. Ibid.

3. "Fernschreiben, Nr.: 379; Konzentrationslager Buchenwald/Weimar-Buchenwald," February 12, 1942, BA, Band 205, Fiche 1.

4. "Aktenvermerk," April 17, 1942, and "Aktennotiz," April 17, 1942, BA, Band 205, Fiche 1.

5. "Forderungsnachweis," June 1942, BA, Band 205, Fiche 1.

6. SS-Junkerschule Braunschweig Verwaltung, An das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt, "Gestellung von 6 Häftlingen," July 30, 1942, BA, Band 209.

BUTTELSTEDT

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Buttelstedt (Weimar district) in April 1941 with 30 male prisoners. The inmates, most likely transferred from the Buchenwald main camp, were deported to Buttelstedt to work for the Firma Schlosser company. The camp was last mentioned on September 27, 1943, with five prisoners.

SOURCES There are no secondary and few primary sources on the Buttelstedt subcamp of Buchenwald. This entry derives from the outline of basic information (opening and closing dates, location, and so on) provided in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

Likewise, primary documents with information about the Buttelstedt subcamp are scarce. For Buchenwald administrative records, see USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045, a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from ITS. This collection may contain further information on the Buttelstedt camp that can be derived from Buchenwald strength reports; a more thorough analysis of the collection may yield more details, such as prisoner demographics. Finally, additional records on the subcamps of Buchenwald, including the Buttelstedt camp, may be found at AG-B and AG-MD.

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COLDITZ

The Buchenwald Colditz subcamp was one of seven camps that were established by Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) in the last year of the war in Germany and that survived until the end of the war. This camp was established on a factory site 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) southeast of Leipzig. At its peak, a maximum of 650 Jewish men were engaged in construction work for an

armaments factory.¹ The camp was opened on November 29, 1944, and closed on April 14, 1945, when the prisoners were forcibly marched out of the camp.² The subcamp should not be confused with the early concentration camp and the later prisoner-of-war (POW) camp (Oflag IV-C), which at different times were located in the castle in the small city of Colditz.

The Leipzig lamp manufacturer HASAG from 1934 manufactured munitions, grenades, and toward the end of the war, the *Panzerfaust*, an important antitank weapon. In six forced labor camps including Kielce, Częstochowa, and Skarżysko-Kamienna, the firm produced munitions from 1942, using thousands of Jewish forced laborers. As a result of German war losses, the HASAG began from the summer of 1944 to relocate to new and existing production sites in Saxony and Thuringia. In 1944, in Colditz, HASAG took over several production facilities from a porcelain manufacturer and contracted with construction firms for their conversion into a prison camp and assembly plant. The southern part of the site was separated from the rest with an electric fence and guard towers. Colditz was chosen as the site for a HASAG subcamp due to the existing connection of the site to the Reichsbahn railway network and its proximity to the main production site in Leipzig. Civilian Polish forced laborers worked on the site with the Jewish concentration camp prisoners. The former were accommodated in the Colditz guesthouse with their own barracks.

Colditz had been initially planned as a camp for women, but on November 29, 1944, 100 men were delivered to the camp. Others were soon to follow. The Buchenwald camp statistics record the camp as a Jewish labor detachment. The men had been selected for forced labor in Colditz, in Buchenwald, or at the HASAG Leipzig camp. Just about all of the Jewish prisoners in Colditz had been seized in Poland or Hungary. A few of the Poles had worked in HASAG factories in Poland. Among the Hungarian prisoners were probably many elderly men, even though the fragmentary records that have survived cannot confirm this. The prisoners were first engaged in the construction of the camp. Prisoners have reported that they worked on an air-raid bunker, on unloading railway wagons that were shunted into the company grounds, and on assembly operations, for example, removing screws from metal plates. It is not known whether the prisoners actually worked in the Colditz production sites producing weapons and Panzerfäuste. In addition to the construction work for HASAG, the prisoners worked outside the camp grounds. A group of 10 prisoners worked in the privately owned Colditz gravel pit, extracting sand for the HASAG.

After three transports, on December 5, 1944, the camp had approximately 300 prisoners. These numbers were to remain relatively constant until the middle of February. The transport lists show that occasionally "sick or prisoners incapable of work" were transferred back to Buchenwald and replaced with new prisoners.³ A new transport on February 21, 1945, brought another 350 prisoners to the camp so that by the time the camp was dissolved in the middle of April, there were about 650 prisoners in the camp. On April 7, 1945, the last time the camp is referred to in the statistics of the work detachments' strength

report (*Stärkemeldung*), there were 633 prisoners listed.⁴ In the five months of the camp's existence to April 7, 1945, at least 23 prisoners died, 15 in the last three weeks alone.⁵ Seventy-three prisoners were transferred back to the main camp. Of these, some could have died because of illness and exhaustion caused by forced labor. According to the change of status reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*), 719 prisoners went through the camp.

The accommodations in the camp were rudimentary. The prisoners lived in converted factory buildings where there were multtiered bunk beds. The small stoves in the sleeping quarters were inadequate to heat the rooms, according to the former prisoner Endre György, with the result that the prisoners constantly were cold during the winter months.⁶ The infirmary was an area in the factory building separated by a wall of sacking. The prisoners had an open pit as a toilet located outside the factory building. A former HASAG worker stated that some SS enjoyed throwing bricks at the prisoners while they were using the toilet.

SS-Oberscharführer Gens was the detachment commander in Colditz. He is described in numerous reports by survivors as a sadist, who without the slightest reason would injure the prisoners with a bayonet. Gens's deputy was SS-Oberscharführer Zischka. Only the surnames of both are referred to in the documents. The prisoners also recalled that the head of the Colditz company security, Herrmann, was also a brutal character and had probably worked in a HASAG Polish factory. In addition to the SS and company security, Wehrmacht soldiers also guarded the prisoners.

While the prisoners were working, they were supervised by civilian foremen, who had considerable influence on the prisoners' situation. For example, there were foremen who beat the prisoners, and there were others who gave the prisoners additional food. A female inhabitant in Colditz gave the prisoners working in the gravel pit daily reports, based on Allied reports, on the course of the war. This news spread throughout the camp, encouraging the prisoners to survive.

The camp was dissolved on April 14, 1945, the day before a U.S. tank division arrived in Colditz.⁷ A few prisoners tried to hide in the factory grounds, but they were discovered and shot in front of the other prisoners. It is likely that the prisoners, along with a group of 1,000 prisoners from Jena, were driven on a death march in the direction of Theresienstadt. Along the way the group was separated and went different ways. There is some evidence that during the march many prisoners were shot because they were too tired to go on or while trying to escape. Gelhard Szymon stated that it was an 18-day death march to Theresienstadt; Dezsó Lichtner said that he went part of the way by train.⁸

Inconclusive investigations began in 1948–1949 into individual HASAG employees and Colditz camp personnel as part of the Leipzig trials against HASAG perpetrators in Poland.

SOURCES The Colditz subcamp is referred to in an essay on the HASAG men's subcamps: Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Außenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG,"

DaHe 21 (2005): 237–271. A local association is involved in researching the camp.

Documents on the Colditz subcamp are scattered through a number of archives. SS and HASAG documents relating to the camp have for the most part not survived. In YV, there are individual reports by surviving prisoners (Collections O.15. E, O.69, and O.3). Questionnaires were sent to survivors as part of the Leipzig “Tschenstochau (Czenstochowa) Trial” in 1948–1949 and also by Kriegsverbrecher-Referats des Jüdischen Zentralkomitees in Munich. They are also held in YV (Collections M.21.1 and M.21.3). Several detailed accounts by the Hungarian Endre György and a few documents are also held in the Colditz City Museum.

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NOTES

1. AG-B, 46–1–18.
2. NARA, Washington, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015724–38.
3. NARA, Washington, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015729.
4. ThHStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 9, Bl. 9.
5. ThHStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 1–166.
6. SM-Cd, Endre György: Kiesela und Albin (German translation of a Hungarian report).
7. Otto Schuricht (Antifaschistische Widerstandskämpfer des Kreises Döbeln, Bd. 8), published by the SED-Kreisleitung Döbeln, Döbeln 1976, S. 30.
8. Report Gelhard Szymon, YVA, O.3/1574; Interview Dezsó Lichtner 2.7.45 in Budapest, YVA, O.15.E/692.

DERNAU (“REBSTOCK,” “RS,” “RB,” “MASSNAHME STEPHAN LAGER BRÜCK,” “FA. GOLLNOW UND SOHN,” “VOLKSWAGENWERKE DERNAU”)

The concentration camp labor detachment at Dernau was located in Bad Neuenahr on the Ahr River in a narrow Eifel mountain valley in southwestern Germany between Koblenz and the Belgian border. The camp was established in early August 1944 on the initiative of Volkswagen executives after negotiations with the Jägerstab (Fighter Staff) and the SS. It was a subcamp of the Buchenwald main camp, under the authority of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The Dernau camp is mentioned in contemporary sources under various code names: “Rebstock,” “Rs,” “RB,” “Massnahme Stephan Lager Brück” (so called after the leading Volkswagen engineer, Rudolph Stephan), “Fa. Gollnow und Sohn” (named after a Koblenz-based construction company), and “Volkswagenwerke Dernau.” In late December 1944, when Allied forces drew close to the area, the camp was evacuated, and the prisoners were transported to other concentration camps.

Dernau was a slave labor camp that provided manpower for the construction of underground production facilities for the Minette GmbH, a Volkswagen company assigned the production of Fi 103 (V-1) cruise missiles and fighter airplanes, and the SS company Mittelwerk GmbH. The Dernau facility consisted

of five tunnels that originally were part of the abandoned Ahr Valley railroad: the Silberberg, Kuxberg, Sonderberg, Herrenberg, and Trotzenberg tunnels, covering a total of 28,000 square meters (33,488 square yards). Under the code name “Kitz,” the tunnels had been placed under the authority of the Mittelwerk GmbH and used as a support base for A4 (Aggregat 4, V-2) rocket launching batteries; but in June 1944, when Hitler decided to cut down on V-2 production and have it concentrated in the underground Mittelwerk facility in the Harz mountains, Wernher von Braun agreed to give up a substantial part of the Dernau space to Volkswagen, the company then in charge of V-1 production. There were plans to install a V-1 production line with an output of 3,500—later 5,000—missiles a month in the tunnels, and in mid-July, the first 22 railway cars with equipment arrived from the Volkswagenwerk. The Mittelwerk remained in charge of the refurbishing project. The Trotzenberg tunnel, at 1,300 meters (1,422 yards) the longest, and the Kuxberg tunnel actually got to the point of production machinery being installed. But the facility never got beyond the point of preparations before Allied advance necessitated its evacuation.

The Dernau prisoners were forced to do hard refurbishing work such as concrete work and the laying of railway tracks, piping, and cables in the underground spaces. Construction and production specialists from Volkswagen and from the Koblenz company Gollnow und Sohn supervised the work site. Apart from concentration camp inmates and Germans, the workforce consisted of voluntary and forced laborers from various occupied countries, including 500 Italian Military Internees (Italienische Militärinternierte, IMIs).

The Dernau concentration camp was established on the initiative of Ferdinand Porsche and Anton Piëch, Volkswagen chief executives. The first camp commandant was an SS-Untersturmführer Jansen, who was later replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Schmidt. After an on-site inspection by Volkswagen personnel manager Georg Tyrolt, the first prisoners arrived on August 4 and August 8, two transports of 168 and 299 male prisoners from the German concentration camp in Amersfoort, the Netherlands. Buchenwald agreed to deploy 800 female Hungarian Jewish prisoners to Dernau, but no female prisoners ever arrived. However, the number of male prisoners eventually surpassed that figure and reached 1,200. Four hundred and forty-two prisoners arrived from Buchenwald on transports on August 21, August 23, September 4, and September 14. Dutch, French, and Russian prisoners were represented as well as other, smaller groups. The majority was non-Jewish, but a group of Hungarian Jewish prisoners who had been trained as specialists in V-1 manufacturing at the Volkswagenwerk main factory arrived on September 6 from the Thil concentration camp in northern France, which also operated on behalf of Minette.

Volkswagen’s failure to meet delivery and quality requirements led to the army’s withdrawal of its role as coordinator of V-1 production. Consequently, the Dernau facility never became a V-1 factory. As the V-1 production, too, was concentrated into the Mittelwerk in Nordhausen/Harz, most Dernau prisoners were transported to this facility and incar-

cerated in the Dora subcamp of the Mittelbau concentration camp. The first transports numbering some 500 prisoners left from Dernau on September 20 and 21, including the Hungarian Jewish group. The last transport of 199 prisoners from Dernau left for Dora on December 28, 1944; these prisoners had continued the underground refurbishing until then. Work was frequently delayed for shorter or longer periods due to lack of materials so that company payments to the SS for the prisoners' labor equaled only some 170 full-time workers in November and no more than 50 in December.

Evidence is scattered on the Dernau camp and its guard units, who were German SS. The prisoners' living conditions were awful, and accommodation was very primitive. The prisoners' barracks were located on the steep hillsides of the valley and apparently divided into a number of small separate compounds, each consisting of a few standard wooden huts with ordinary barbed-wire fences around them. Electrical fencing and watchtowers were lacking. The guards appear to have been just as brutal as in other camps, though. They frequently imparted punishments, floggings, and beatings when prisoners marching to or from work sneaked into the surrounding vineyards in order to ease their hunger and thirst with a few stolen grapes. Provisions in the camp were very poor. Even if there was no systematic killing of prisoners, several deaths occurred according to survivors' testimony.

SOURCES This description of the Dernau camp is primarily based on research by Therkel Straede and Manfred Grieger for Hans Mommsen et al., *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf, 1996); see pp. 703, 824, 867, and 920 for detailed references to specific decisions, transports, and so on. Further brief topographical details are in Michael Preute, *Der Bunker* (Cologne, 1989), p. 47. Preliminary data are in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). A chapter on the camp is included in the author's forthcoming book *The Volkswagen Jews*.

Material on the Dernau concentration camp is scarce and scattered, but a number of substantial company records are held at the VWA. This institution and the ASt-WOB also hold copies of documents from AG-B, NIOD, YVA, Beit Lohamei Haghetaot near Acco, Israel, NARA (USSBS), and BA-K. Survivors' accounts are plentiful but mostly consist of brief written and oral accounts, a substantial number of which were recorded by the author between 1988 and 2002 and are being held by VWA and USHMM. Other accounts are held by YVA, MA, and VHF.

Therkel Straede

DESSAU (DESSAUER WAGGONFABRIK)

A subcamp attached to the main Buchenwald concentration camp was created in Dessau at the Dessauer Waggonfabrik in October 1944. Like other satellite camps, the camp was created close to a work site to provide labor to a private industrial firm, the Dessauer Waggonfabrik AG located in Dessau. To supplement their labor force, firms such as the Waggonfabrik

"rented" concentration camp prisoners from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a rate of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day. For the month of December 1944, the Dessauer Waggonfabrik owed the WVHA 29,226 RM for the laborers (not limited to concentration camp prisoners) that it "employed."¹

The first transport of 50 prisoners reached Dessau from Buchenwald on October 23, 1944.² Although there is no demographic breakdown on the transport list itself, the inmates appear to be predominantly Russian and Polish, and all were male. The largest transports of inmates to the Dessau camp arrived on November 29, 1944 (153 inmates) and December 4, 1944 (130 inmates).³ These inmates also appear to have originated from Russia and Poland, as well as the Netherlands, France, Latvia, and the Reich. Throughout the autumn of 1944 and early 1945, some inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald at various intervals, most likely due to illness and, at least in one instance, to retrieve supplies from the Buchenwald main camp.⁴ The average number of prisoners incarcerated in the Dessau plant during its five-month operation period was about 340.

There is no information available about the proximity or location of the subcamp to the factory. The company manufactured locomotives and railcars and was a subsidiary of the Orenstein & Koppel AG firm (Berlin). The prisoners were employed repairing railcars, among other kinds of work. A number of inmates were assigned specific "skilled" and functional positions, including roofers, carpenters, joiners, barbers, and electricians.⁵ No additional information about working or living conditions within the camp could be found.

According to a medical report filed by the Standortarzt der Waffen-SS Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, there were 34 members in the guard staff of the subcamp. No name is listed for the SS medic (*Sanitätsdienstgrad*, SDG); however, one unnamed nurse is listed. According to this report, there were 341 inmates in the subcamp at this time.⁶ A January 23, 1945, report on deaths in the Aussenkommandos lists three prisoner deaths in the Dessau subcamp: one Latvian, one French, and one Russian, all suffering from pneumonia.⁷ A later report notes that on March 25, 1945, shortly before the camp was dissolved, there were 339 inmates in the camp.⁸

The camp closed on April 11, 1945.

SOURCES The Buchenwald subcamp located at the Dessauer Waggonfabrik appears infrequently in secondary literature. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, and companies who used laborers, see the entry for Buchenwald/Dessau (Waggonfabrik) in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*. Also see *Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979); and Martin Weinmann et al., *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The*

Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

Primary documentation on the Dessau subcamp and other subcamps of Buchenwald may be found in several archival collections. See, in particular, a collection of transport lists to the Dessauer Waggonfabrik camp and other administrative records copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from the ITS), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially Reel 17. See the archives of the BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald concentration camp, especially volumes 176–185, 191–196, 200, 211, and 213–230. These volumes contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp populations. The BA, NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as “strength reports” for various subcamps, can be found in the archives of the USHMM, 1996.A.0342 (originally copied from the NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180 (especially 171 for Dessau). Further analysis of these reports may yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the satellite camps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that provide information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts of report for December 1944 of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, dated January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185; *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law no. 10* (New York: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.
2. “Transport Dessau,” October 23, 1944, Buchenwald (Bu 64), AN, Secretariat D’État aux Anciens Combattants as reproduced in the archives of the USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 17).
3. “Transport Dessau,” November 29, 1944, and “Transport Dessau,” December 4, 1944 (BU 64), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 17).
4. Transports of one to seven inmates on various dates, including December 5, 16, and 22, 1944; January 5 and 6, 1945. See also “Rücküberweisung des Häftlinge Martynow Wladimir,” November 13, 1945, for a list of supplies from the Buchenwald camp (BU 64), Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 17).
5. See work assignments for inmates listed on transports for October 23, 1944, November 29, 1944, and December 4, 1944 (BU 8/12), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 7).
6. “KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt,” Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 253.
7. “Verstorbene Häftlinge in den Aussenkommandos,” January 23, 1945 (BU 36/3), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

8. “Aussenkommandos, Stand vom 6 März 1945,” (BU 35), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

DESSAU [JUNKERS FLUGZEUG- UND MOTORENWERKE]

A subcamp attached to the Buchenwald concentration camp was established at the Junkers Flugzeug-und Motorenwerke (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM) in Dessau in July 1944. Like other satellite camps, the camp was most likely created to provide labor to a private industrial firm, whose efficient and cost-effective production output was deemed important for the German rearmament effort. Concentration camp prisoners were “rented” by private firms, such as the Junkers factory, which paid the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) for their use of prisoner labor.

The JFM in Dessau was one of several production facilities for the manufacture of Junkers aircraft and aircraft parts. Originally founded in 1895, the Junkers facility in Dessau had expanded considerably by the end of World War I. By the beginning of World War II, armaments needs had so increased that production of Junkers aircraft was increasingly decentralized and spread to various facilities throughout Germany. [See Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/Junkerswerke (“JUHA”) and Buchenwald/Schönebeck.]

No information about the exact location of the subcamp in relation to the Dessau Junkers facility could be found. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) lists, the camp was opened on July 25, 1944. All 50 of its prisoners were male, presumably transferred to Dessau from the main Buchenwald camp.

The Dessau Junkers facilities experienced several damaging air raids by the Allies throughout 1944 and early 1945. A large part of JFM was destroyed in a bombing attack on May 30, 1944. Therefore, the inmates transferred from Buchenwald to the subcamp may have been employed in clearing rubble and performing construction work.

The camp was closed in November 1944, and the city of Dessau and the Junkers plant were occupied by the U.S. Army in April 1945.

SOURCES The Buchenwald subcamp located at the Junkers factory in Dessau appears infrequently in secondary literature. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, and firms that exploited laborers, see the entry for Buchenwald/Dessau (Junkers) in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolson: Der Suchdienst, 1979); and Martin Weinmann et al., *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

mente und Berichte (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). Further information on the Dessau Junkers plant and industrialization of the city can be found in Manfred Sundermann, *Mechanische Stadt? Junkers Dessau* (Dessau: Anhalt Edition Dessau, 2003). The Hugo Junkers Web site, www.junkers.de.vu, also offers considerable information, bibliographies, and photographs of the various Junkers facilities and their history.

Primary documentation on the Dessau Junkers subcamp and other subcamps of Buchenwald may be found in several archival collections. See the archives of the BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, especially volumes 176–185, 191–196, 200, 211, 213–230. These volumes contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp populations. The BA, NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as “strength reports” for various subcamps, can be found at USHMM, 1996.A.0342 (originally copied from the NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180 (especially 171). Further analysis of these reports may yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the satellite camps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that provide information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242. The Technik Museum “Hugo Junkers” Dessau may also have further archival holdings pertaining to the camp.

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DORNBURG

In the few remaining known sources on this subject, the prisoner detachment (Kommando) at Dornburg is listed as one of the smallest Buchenwald satellite camps. This subcamp, located on the River Elbe in the district of Zerbst, state of Anhalt, existed for only a short time.

Dornburg is first mentioned on March 21, 1945. This Kommando consisted exclusively of male prisoners. On that day four Russians, three Poles, and one German citizen were transferred from the main camp to this Kommando. For this “Dornburg Transport” the rations office provided them with food for one day’s march.¹ The surviving documents suggest that in the course of its brief existence neither a variation in the number of prisoners nor a prisoner exchange occurred. On March 21, as on April 11, 1945, the last time the camp is mentioned, the number of prisoners is listed as eight.²

The existing documents do not reveal any reasons for the establishment of this Kommando. Moreover, the occupations of the transferred inmates—joiner, carpenter, locksmith, mason, factory worker, and agricultural laborer—also do not permit conclusions about their employers or their deployment. A comparison of their trades recorded in the Kommando lists and in various other documents shows discrepancies in three cases. A comparison of the inmates’ numbers in Buchenwald’s labor statistics and its transport lists reveals that those inmates ultimately dispatched to Dornburg were originally slated for the

“Stein Transport.” No connection between these two camps can be determined.

Since the Kommando at Dornburg appears only at the very end of the war, shortly before the liberation of the main camp, and so few prisoners belonged to it, the paths of their persecution leading there—quite different in each case—are traced below.³

1. In 1943, arrested by the Radom Gestapo; sent to Auschwitz concentration camp by the Radom SD; from there sent to the main camp Buchenwald; from Buchenwald to Kommando Halle; sent back to the main camp and then to Dornburg.
2. Admission by the Weimar Gestapo of two prisoners to the Buchenwald main camp in March 1945 before the transport to Dornburg.
3. In 1944 the arrest of two prisoners in Warsaw; admitted to Buchenwald by the Kraków SD; from there sent to the Düsseldorf-Derendorf satellite camp; returned to main camp before being sent to Dornburg.
4. In 1943, arrest by the Dortmund Gestapo; transfer through Buchenwald to the Düsseldorf-Derendorf Kommando; sent back to the main camp; continued on to Kommando Halle; returned once again to Buchenwald and finally to Dornburg.
5. In 1943, arrested in Stalino and sent to Dachau by the Sipo (Security Police); then to Buchenwald; sent to Kommando Saalfeld and back to the main camp; in July 1944 sent to Kommando Halle, back to Buchenwald, and then to Dornburg.
6. In November 1944, arrested in Wolot; sent to Buchenwald by Münster Gestapo (field office Bielefeld); from there sent to Kommando Halle; back to the main camp and then to Dornburg.

In spite of these differences in length and other details of their persecution, all eight prisoners were liberated.

SOURCES

No secondary sources were available. Although this satellite camp existed only for a very short time, original documents—a transport list dated March 21, 1945, Voucher No. 25 from the Buchenwald rations department also dated March 21, 1945, and a report on the size of this labor detail dated March 29, 1945—provide historical evidence. Due to the small number of inmates, documents in possession of ITS could be evaluated, which furnished additional information.

Charles-Claude Biedermann
trans. Ute Stargardt

NOTES

1. ITS (signatures Buchenwald 33 [169], p. 96, Voucher No. 25 [Request of the first Schutzhäftlagerführer, the protective custody camp chief warden, to provisions department KL Bu.]) contains information concerning the dietary provisions of inmates through reports by appropriate camp officials from March 1, 1945, to April 5, 1945.

2. ITS (signatures Buchenwald 160 [15], II, p. 641/labor details dated March 29, 1945)—the number of inmates is listed according to Kommando membership.

3. ITS contains such individual records as prisoners' personal information cards from Buchenwald, which frequently record the inmates' arrival and transfers.

"Construction Brigade II," which was under the authority of Buchenwald concentration camp, was temporarily active as "demolition squad Dortmund." Forty members reportedly belonged to this detail. Additional work details from the so-called Construction Brigade III operated in Dusseldorf-Kalkum, Essen, Cologne, and Duisburg; their total strength reached 1,300 prisoners.

SOURCES Hans Müller's publication "*Wir haben verziehen, aber nicht vergessen . . .: Das KZ-Aussenlager Buchenwald in Dortmund*" (Dortmund, 1994) formed the basis for this essay. Otherwise, apart from the small article by Günther Högl, "*Zwangsarbeiter unter verschärften Bedingungen: Das Aussenlager Dortmund des KZ Buchenwald und das 'Auffanglager Hüttenwerk' auf dem Gelände des Dortmund-Hörder Hüttenvereins 1944/45*," HD 3 (2002), no studies of the subcamp exist. Information on the demolition detail may be found in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 366.

Scattered various records on the Dortmund subcamp of Buchenwald do exist. There are references to the prisoners' employment in the AG-B and in the THStA-W. In the file collections of the ZdL (now BA-L) (the same material as in NWHStA-(D)) are interrogation protocols of former prisoners, which are passed down in the context of a preliminary proceeding. In addition, files from the public prosecutorial investigations of the ZSSta-K for combating National Socialist mass crimes at the Dortmund public prosecutor's office are also worth mentioning.

Günther Högl
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. ITS, ed., *Catalogue of camps and prisons in Germany and German-occupied territories Sept. 1st, 1939–May 8th, 1945* (Arolsen, July 1949), p. 135.

2. Hans Müller, "*Wir haben verziehen, aber nicht vergessen . . .: Das KZ-Aussenlager Buchenwald in Dortmund*" (Dortmund, 1994).

3. NWHStA-(D), Rep. 118, Nr. 942, p. 7.

DUDERSTADT

The Duderstadt subcamp was situated in the Prussian province of Hannover (in the south of today's Niedersachsen, Landkreis Göttingen), in the Untereichsfeld. It is connected with the company Polte OHG Magdeburg, which was founded in Magdeburg in 1885. In 1939, Polte incorporated the Duderstadt factory, which had been built that year, as a branch of its company. The site for the Duderstadt factory and the production plant were owned by the Luftfahrtanlagen GmbH (LAG), a company partly owned by the Reich Air Ministry. Therefore, the Polte works was only able to act as lessee and producer in its association with the Duderstadt factory. The Duderstadt Polte factory produced different types of ammunition, such as 30mm and 40mm shells, and filled them with the explosive nitropenta.¹

DORTMUND

The first reference to the Buchenwald subcamp at Dortmund, in the area of the Dortmund-Hörder Iron and Steel Union, is found in the International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog.¹

The Dortmund-Hörder Iron and Steel Union had belonged to Vereinigte Stahlwerke (United Steelworks) since 1926. This was the largest association of industrial firms in Germany and was headed by Albert Vögler from Dortmund. This Buchenwald subcamp was located in Dortmund on Huckarder Strasse (later the building at Huckarder Strasse 111).²

According to contemporary witness reports, 300 female prisoners who had been transferred from Ravensbrück to Dortmund were housed at the camp. Female concentration camp guards were previously recruited in Dortmund and trained at Ravensbrück. On April 1, 1945, 650 prisoners were reported to have been evacuated to Bergen-Belsen by train, after it was apparent that the advancing U.S. troops were moving closer to Dortmund. According to an account by an SS supervisor, however, while a detail was returning to the camp on March 16, 1945, the Dortmund-Hörder plant came under an air attack during which 86 female prisoners fled.³ The company plants did not suffer severe damage from the bombings. SS members accompanied the 547 female prisoners that remained until April 1, 1945, most of whom were taken again to Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, or subcamps such as Magdeburg and Leipzig.

The Dortmund subcamp consisted of a multistory brick building that was connected by an underground passageway to the projectile factory. This passageway followed underneath a factory railroad line. The building's windows were barred, and the doors that led outside were sealed. According to the reports of the public prosecutor, primarily Polish female prisoners were kept on the first floor, and the second floor housed mostly Russians. There were, however, also prisoners from Hungary, Holland, and Germany interned in the building. A document verifies that on November 30, 1944, 398 female prisoners, 78 of whom were sick, were in the prisoner detail for Dortmund-Hörder, which had to work from 6:00 A.M. until 6:00 P.M. (with a one-hour break). According to former prisoners from Warsaw on the occasion of a visit to Dortmund, which had been organized by the Dortmund history workshop, the average age of the prisoners was probably just under 20 years old. Working conditions at the projectile factory of Dortmund-Hörder, which had also produced munitions in World War I, were described in more detail. They ranged from the production of bombs to grenade turning.

Concerning the terrorization of prisoners by guard personnel, appalling abuses were the exception. Moreover, it has been shown that beginning on March 31, 1943, part of

Already during the construction of the factory, foreign laborers were used. Later, the number of forced laborers continually increased. By the end of 1944, there were 2,549 people working in the factory including 633 German males (25 percent of the workforce), 548 German females (23 percent), 34 male Ostarbeiter (1 percent), 187 female Ostarbeiter (7 percent), 193 other male foreign workers (8 percent), 151 other female foreign workers (6 percent), 17 prisoners of war (1 percent), and 750 female Jewish concentration camp prisoners (29 percent).²

These female Jewish concentration camp workers, 747 Hungarians, 2 Poles, and a Czech, arrived in Duderstadt on November 4, 1944. They had been selected between May and August 1944 in Auschwitz for work in Germany and sent to Bergen-Belsen; from there they were sent to Duderstadt. According to Frank Baranowski, they were at first held on the site of the Steinhoff furniture factory close to the Polte factory grounds. A few women were also held in the Steinhoffsche Haus, where 20 to 30 of them lived in one room.

As with the munitions factory, the actual Duderstadt subcamp was located on the Euzenberg, south of the railway line Leinefelde-Duderstadt-Wulften, on the site of a former forced labor camp. It included two accommodation barracks and one wash barracks and was surrounded by a 2.5-meter-high (8.2-foot-high) electrified barbed-wire fence. Within the fence there was a second 1.5-meter-high (5-foot-high) fence. Views from the public road were screened off with boards. The accommodation was seen by the prisoners who had gone through Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen as comparatively clean and orderly; however, the constant overcrowding and overwork soon changed these conditions. The food was supplied by the Polte factory and is described by the prisoners as insufficient and without any nutritional value.

The Duderstadt subcamp Lagerführer from November 1944 to February 1945 was SS-Scharführer Arno Reisser. Shortly before the end of the war, he was replaced by SS-Oberscharführer (probably Eduard) Jansen. The doctor responsible for the camp was SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. August Otto, who was assisted by a female prisoner doctor (probably Ryfka Baposhnikov) and a prisoner nurse. The prisoners were guarded by 13 or 14 guards as well as 18 female overseers from Duderstadt and the surrounding area. They had been chosen by the Northeim Labor Office and the Polte company management. The women underwent short training courses in October and November 1944 in Ravensbrück to prepare them for their duties and were in charge of supervising the women on the factory grounds. Like the male guards, they were accommodated in the camp's main building. According to prisoner statements, the female overseers mistreated and threatened the camp inmates.

The work the women did was difficult and damaged their health. The women worked in 12-hour shifts; a few were engaged in the camp kitchen. At least four or five women died during the camp's existence and were buried in the former cemetery of the Jewish community of Duderstadt. A Hungarian prisoner was returned to Bergen-Belsen in January 1945 after giving birth. At the same time five new prisoners were transferred from Bergen-Belsen to replace the lost labor.

Production in the camp became ever more difficult from February 1945 due to difficulty in obtaining supplies of materials. As Allied troops approached, the prisoners were evacuated at the beginning of April 1945 by bus, by truck, and finally by rail via Magdeburg, Dessau, and Wolfen in the direction of Theresienstadt. A low-flying aerial attack on the transport resulted in several dead and injured. On April 26, 1945, after more than three weeks, the women arrived at Theresienstadt.

Investigations began after the war into Hans Nathusius, one of the co-owners of Polte OHG Magdeburg and the deputy works manager in Duderstadt. The Staatsanwaltschaft (Public Prosecutor's Office) Göttingen also conducted investigations into the subcamp. No convictions resulted from the investigations.

SOURCES Frank Baranowski has written a detailed analysis on the Duderstadt subcamp, *Der Duderstädter Rüstungsbetrieb Polte von 1938 bis 1945* (Göttingen: Cuvillier-Verlag, 1993). Other publications by Baranowski on the subcamp are *Rüstungsprojekte in Südniedersachsen und Thüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 1995), including "Der Duderstädter Rüstungsbetrieb Polte," pp. 111–176; as well as "Fremdarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Häftlinge im Rüstungsbetrieb Polte in Duderstadt," in *Rüstungsindustrie in Südniedersachsen während der NS-Zeit*, ed. Arbeitsgemeinschaft südniedersächsischer Heimatfreunde (Mannheim, 1993), pp. 248–316; and "Arbeitskräftebeschaffung," pp. 25–37, in the same publication. In Renate Ragwitz's "Frauenaußenkommandos des KZ Buchenwald," BuH 15 (1982), a short description of the Duderstadt camp is on p. 21. The *EfHb* contain several essays on the Duderstadt subcamp including Rolf Barthel, "Zur Geschichte der Außenkommandos des faschistischen Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Niederorschel, Mühlhausen und Duderstadt," 24 (1984): 23–41; Hans Demme, "Der Weg des Atalnó Mosonyi, Häftling im KZ-Außenkommando Duderstadt," 2 (1985): 171; and Rolf Barthel, "Neue Forschungsergebnisse zu den Verbrechen des deutschen Faschismus auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen (I)," 1 (1987): 24–30. Rolf Barthel has recently published on the Duderstadt subcamp in *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen. Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft* (Jena, 2004). Other descriptions of the camp are by Götz Hütt, "Das Außenlager Duderstadt des KZ Buchenwald," HdGw 1 (1988); Gudrun Pischke, "Von Auschwitz nach Duderstadt—Zwangarbeit bei den Polte-Werken," in *Duderstadt 1929–1949*, ed. Hans-Heinrich Ebeling and Hans-Reinhard Fricke (Duderstadt, 1992), 2: 281–292. Gudrun Pischke has written the article on the Duderstadt subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 422–424. This camp is listed in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:38, where it is incorrectly described as part of the Mittelbau concentration camp, a claim that is no longer accepted by the most recent research. Duderstadt is also listed in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL* (1977) Teil I, p. 1800.

There are many sources on the Duderstadt subcamp. In the AST-DUD are the following collections: SM1 Nr. 35 (Protocols

with statements of the former Duderstadt prisoners Paula and Bella Samuel, Babetta Fuchs, Ella Löwensohn, Lucia Szepesi, Gabriella and Rosza Farkas, as well as Erszébet and Jolan Reich, made in Budapest 1945); Dud2/12557 (Kanal- und Abwassergebühren der Firma Polte, mit monatlichen Angaben über die Belegschaftsstärke 1941–1945); Dud2/12558 (Bau einer Anschlussstrasse zum Polte-Werk); SMI Nr. 4 (Wartime Photographs of Duderstadt, 1939–1945). The Amtsgericht Magdeburg holds various company register extracts on the Polte factory and its business affairs. In the collections of the BA are details on the Duderstadt subcamp confirming its existence. The Beschäftigungsmeldung des Polte-Werks dated December 31, 1944, is held in the BA-K, Best. RGI, BA E 12 I/102. The BA-MA holds the following collections on the Duderstadt camp: RL 3/337 (Generalluftzeugmeister: Produktionsablaufpläne für Polte-Werk Duderstadt), RL 3/695 (Generalluftzeugmeister: Maschinenbestellungen für Werk Duderstadt), and RL 3/1189 (Generalluftzeugmeister: Lagepläne des Duderstädter Zweigwerkes). Further information is found in the collections of the BA-K in Ns 4 Bu/189 (Statistiken über den Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen, Dezember 1944 bis März 1945), and Ns 4/229 (Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen in verschiedenen Außenkommandos, 1943 bis 1945). The BA-P holds under File No. StVE K 237 B, A.1, the criminal investigation files on Hans Nathusius, the deputy manager of the Duderstadt Polte factory. The Polte investigation files of the Sta. Göttingen, File No. 5 Js 20/63, includes a number of eyewitness statements on the subcamp. The BA-DH, Best. ZM 1458, A. 2, holds a list of female concentration camp overseers trained in Ravensbrück, including the names of the Duderstadt women who were deployed at the subcamp. The AG-B holds the Duderstadt subcamp Bestandsliste, Best. BA 46-1-14, which provides an overview of the number of women and their work details. Other relevant documents in AG-BB deal with admissions and transfers to and from the Duderstadt camp.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. For more detailed information, see Baranowski, *Der Duderstädter Rüstungsbetrieb Polte von 1938 bis 1945* (Göttingen: Cuvillier-Verlag, 1993), p. 35.
2. Interne Beschäftigungsmeldung des Polte-Werkes an die Stadt Duderstadt vom 31.12.1944, BA-K, Best. RGI, A E 12 I/102.

DÜSSELDORF (*DEUTSCHE ERD- UND STEINWERKE*)

From March 1944 to March 1945, a subcamp of Buchenwald in Düsseldorf was operated by the German Earth and Stone Works, Ltd. (DESt), which produced building materials for the city of Düsseldorf. In 1938, the SS-owned DESt had been established through an agreement between Adolf Hitler, Heinrich Himmler, and Albert Speer in order to produce building materials for the planned Führer cities (*Führerstädte*). To this end, cooperative projects had already been set up between DESt enterprises of the Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald,

Neuengamme, and Flossenbürg concentration camps and larger cities, such as Berlin, Hamburg, or Nürnberg.

The DESt camp in Düsseldorf and another one established at the same time in Essen were created at the initiative of the city administrations. Particularly in the destroyed cities of the Rhineland and Westphalia, the removal or processing of huge amounts of rubble, as well as the lack of appropriate building material, posed enormous problems for the municipal planning departments. According to the Minden Report (*Minden Bericht*), an account of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) written by three defendants at the Nuremberg Trials, the city administrations of Essen and Düsseldorf had negotiated with managers of DESt about this problem. Oswald Pohl then instructed DESt to "take on a major role in the removal of rubble caused by the aerial attacks and to thereby obtain urgently needed building materials."¹ Accordingly, DESt constructed recycling plants that sold the building materials reclaimed from rubble at the local market price, either directly to the cities or to purchasers authorized by the planning offices.

In accordance with the agreements between the Amt W I of the WVHA and the mayors of Düsseldorf and Essen, DESt had to provide "regulation secured lodging" and the guard forces. Food and clothing and the transport of the prisoners were to be supplied by Buchenwald, while the cities or the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) West had to provide medical care for the prisoners.²

The camp was initially set up as a subcamp to the SS-Construction Brigade III (Baubrigade III) of Buchenwald, situated in Cologne, where first preparations for it began in mid-December 1943.³ A school at 74–80 Kirchfeldstrasse, where the bomb squad known as Kalkum was already lodged, provided accommodations. The building was badly damaged and still in a "state of reconstruction" in July 1944.⁴ The first 50 prisoners arrived in Düsseldorf on March 18, 1944.⁵ By late April, 150 prisoners were accommodated in the camp, and in early June 1944, the highest occupancy was reached with 159 inmates.⁶ After the withdrawal of the Construction Brigade from Cologne in May 1944, the DESt detachment became an independent subcamp of Buchenwald.

The DESt camp commandant was SS-Unterscharführer Sablonski, about whom nothing else is known.⁷ However, the commandant of the Düsseldorf subcamp "Berta," Walter Knauf, also appears to have had a coordinating role for DESt as well as for the other Düsseldorf subcamps and the DESt camp in Essen. Knauf reported in turn to Buchenwald.⁸ During their work, the prisoners were watched over by one guard duty officer and 14 municipal policemen (*Schutzpolizisten*). Following the orders of Himmler, Polizeioberstleutnant Martin, commander of the Wachbataillone (guard battalions) in Wehrkreis (military district) VI, carried out a security audit of the camp in July 1944. As a result, it was ordered that the windows in the quarters be fitted with bars, a guard be posted on the opposite side of the street during the night, and the guards be increased by one or two officers.⁹

The manager of the Schuttverwertung Düsseldorf-Essen (Düsseldorf-Essen Recycling Works), SS-Oberscharführer Goergens, was responsible for the deployment of labor. Among his duties was to ensure that prisoners were used as ordered. Stricter supervision had become necessary after the prisoners from the DESt units were recruited for clearing and repair work in the cities as well. In May 1944, however, the Higher-SS and Police Leader West explicitly prohibited this use of the prisoners. At the same time, he reserved the right to summon prisoners of the DESt camp for special work assignments.¹⁰ It seems that he repeatedly made use of this right. In September 1944, he ordered 50 prisoners to Cologne for a bomb squad, "until further notice."¹¹

An area at the Fürstenwall served DESt as a workshop, where the concentration camp prisoners cleaned old bricks and produced concrete blocks from the rubble. According to the Minden Report, the DESt plants in Düsseldorf and Essen grew to "considerable size."¹² By August 1944, DESt in Düsseldorf had sold 2.2 million cleaned bricks to the city. Production of new concrete blocks commenced only in October 1944, however, and by the end of the war, no more than 70,000 had been made.¹³

The municipal prisoner-of-war (POW) kitchen (*Kriegsgefangenenküche*) in Himmelgeisterstrasse delivered the food daily for the prisoners, to both the Düsseldorf and the Essen DESt camps, and invoiced SS-Oberscharführer Goergens for the service.¹⁴ On several occasions, camp commanders complained about the food they had received, including SS-Unterscharführer Sablonski, who wrote on May 24, 1944, to the kitchen: "The 210 KZ [concentration camp] prisoners in this camp (DESt camp and "Kalkum") are fed by the Ostarbeiterküche, Himmelgeisterstr., and get the warm food delivered in vats by truck. These transport vats are in such a damaged state that upon arrival, about 20 liters of food has been spilt from each vat, to the detriment of the recipients of the food. I ask you most kindly to redress this grievance, and to ensure that the amount of food allotted to the camp is actually distributed."¹⁵

Little is known about the prisoners and their living conditions. From June 1944 to the end of the war, 15 men escaped, and 6 were registered as "deceased." As late as February 1945, 10 prisoners were sent from Buchenwald to Düsseldorf. On March 13, 1945, in the face of the approaching liberators, 150 prisoners were sent back to Buchenwald.¹⁶

A few days after the seizure of Düsseldorf by American troops, someone proposed to restart the DESt plant. However, the municipal construction administration decided to refrain from this plan: "I cannot agree with the proposal that the military authority should confiscate the whole plant for the city, because there is no way to get it running again. In addition to the fact that the driving belts have been stolen from the machines, there is a shortage of labor. Problems could perhaps arise for the city, because KZ prisoners had been used for these works, and assumptions could be made that work can get done here, which are not tenable."¹⁷

SOURCES Researchers have not focused on the DESt camp. In general surveys on the Düsseldorf camps, it is mentioned only with a few details: Andreas Kussmann, "KZ-Aussenkommandos und Gefangeneneinlager in Düsseldorf während des Zweiten Weltkriegs: Ein Forschungsbericht," DÜJb 61 (1988): 188–189; and *Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: "Ausländer Einsatz" während des Zweiten Weltkriegs in einer rheinischen Großstadt*, ed. Clemens von Looz-Corswarem in collaboration with Rafael R. Leissa and Joachim Schröder (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2002), p. 562. An unpublished manuscript on the history of a few Düsseldorf brickworks includes a mere two pages: Frank Troschitz, "Zur Geschichte der Ziegeleien der Fa. Niermann während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Einsatzes ausländischer Arbeitskräfte in Düsseldorf" (unpub. MSS, Düsseldorf, 1996).

Records are sparse, but documents that could be considered as a starting point for more detailed research can be found in various archives: at the THStA-W (collections "KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten" and "NS 4 Buchenwald"); the ASt-Dü (departments IV and VII); the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1174–1190, Court Rept. 118/2334–2336); and the ZdL (BA-L) (IV 406 AR 85/67, IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, IV 429 AR-Z 126/74).

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NOTES

1. "Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen," NARA, RG 238, NO-1573, cited from Walter Naasner, *SS-Wirtschaft und SS-Verwaltung: Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen und weitere Dokumente* (Düsseldorf: Droste-Verlag, 1998), p. 136.

2. WVHA, Amt D, April 26, 1944; THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald No. 10, p. 291.

3. SS-Construction Brigade III Duisburg, December 13, 1943, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1177.

4. Sipo Ratingen, July 11, 1944, ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, 43.

5. Work Deployment Statistics, March 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald No. 230, p. 25.

6. Ibid., pp. 28, 62.

7. Buchenwald Concentration Camp, register of addresses, November 6, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1183; and Sablonski, May 24, 1944, ASt-Dü, VII 1483.

8. SS-Oberscharführer Knauf, strength report, December 12, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald No. 229.

9. Sipo Ratingen, July 11, 1944, ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, p. 43.

10. HSSPF West, May 11, 1944, NWHStA-(D), RW 37/2, p. 27.

11. Arbeitseinsatzführer (leader of the labor detail) Schwarz, September 29, 1944, ZdL (BA-L) IV 406 AR 85/67, p. 27.

12. Cited from Naasner, *SS-Wirtschaft*, p. 136.

13. Proceedings ASt-Dü, IV 1099 and IV 1112.

14. File "Verpflegung der in den Deutschen Erd- und Steinwerken eingesetzten KZ-Häftlinge, 1944–1945," ASt-Dü, IV 892.

15. Sablonski, May 25, 1944, ASt-Dü, VII 1483.
16. THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nos. 136a and b.
17. Amt 58 BE, May 17, 1945, ASt-Dü, IV 1099.

DÜSSELDORF (KIRCHFELDSTRASSE)

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in the Freidrichstadt district of Düsseldorf in a former school at Kirchfeldstrasse 74–80. One of several subcamps of Buchenwald in Düsseldorf, and one of two camps created on Kirchfeldstrasse, the Düsseldorf Kirchfeldstrasse subcamp opened on or around May 28, 1943, to supply concentration camp labor to the German Earth and Stone Works (DESt) factory in Düsseldorf, an economic enterprise managed by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The camps at Kirchfeldstrasse were established as part of the SS-Construction Brigade III (Baubrigade III), stationed outside of Colonge in Deutz (see Düsseldorf-Kalkum). The Construction Brigade was formed under Office Group D of the WVHA to remove and detonate unexploded bombs and for use as cheap auxiliary labor in construction efforts. Private firms, such as DESt, “rented” camp labor (including concentration camp inmates) from the WVHA at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled worker per day and 4 RM per unskilled worker per day. DESt-Düsseldorf “employed” 180 skilled workers and 2,553 auxiliary unskilled workers.¹ According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) lists of camps, the Kirchfeldstrasse-DESt became an independent subcamp administered by the Buchenwald main camp on June 25, 1944.

All of the inmates in the Kirchfeldstrasse subcamp were men, and according to a list of 151 inmates in the camp dated July 7, 1944, most of the inmates were Russian and Polish, with smaller numbers of Czech, Yugoslavian, French, Belgian, and Dutch inmates.² On February 22, 1945, 10 inmates were transferred from Buchenwald to Kirchfeldstrasse.³ Reports listing the number of prisoners incarcerated in the Kirchfeldstrasse-DESt camp did not fluctuate markedly during its several-months-long operation: on June 23, 1944, 155 inmates were reported; on August 13–14, 1944, 143; on January 1, 1945, 143; and on March 6, 1945, 150 inmates.⁴

No information could be found about living conditions within the Kirchfeldstrasse camp or about the exact kind of work the inmates performed for the company. DESt was founded in Berlin on April 29, 1938, to mine stone quarries and manage construction and armaments work, exploiting inmate labor from prisoners in Mauthausen, Gusen, Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, and other camps. Presumably the inmates at the Düsseldorf-DESt camp were involved in construction or other kinds of work associated with rearmament at the Düsseldorf branch of the firm.

Likewise, there is little information known about the guards of the Kirchfeldstrasse-DESt subcamp. The camp was most likely guarded by members of the SS. According to a report submitted by garrison doctor (Standortarzt) Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, the SS doctor in charge of medical care in the

camp was named Wallraff, and the medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad SDG) was named Schmidt (the same SDG as in the “Berta” and Borsig subcamps in Düsseldorf).⁵ Some correspondence exchanged between the Kirchfeldstrasse 74–80 camp and the Headquarters of the Düsseldorf Higher-SS and Police Leader, located in Lohausen, shows the leader of the Kommando (Kommandoführer) as an SS-Unterscharführer Sablonski.⁶

One hundred and fifty inmates were evacuated to Buchenwald from the Düsseldorf Kirchfeldstrasse camp sometime in early March 1945.

SOURCES The Buchenwald subcamp Düsseldorf Kirchfeldstrasse appears only rarely in secondary literature. For general information on subcamps and other detention centers in Düsseldorf, including slave labor camps, see the volume edited by Clemens von Looz-Corswarem, *Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: „Ausländerreinsatz“ während des Zweiten Weltkrieges in einer rheinischen Grossstadt* (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2002), especially the chapter titled “Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: Struktur, Organisation und Alltag im Arbeitseinsatz von Ausländern im nationalsozialistischen Düsseldorf,” by Rafael R. Leissa and Joachim Schröder (pp. 19–362). See also Andreas Kussman, “KZ Aus senkommandos und Gefangenengelager in Düsseldorf während des Zweiten Weltkriegs,” *DüJb* 61 (1988): 175–193. For brief information on the Kirchfeldstrasse camp, such as opening and closing dates and kind of work performed, see Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). For overviews of the Buchenwald camp system, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

Several archives contain pieces of information about the camp. Transport lists of prisoners to and from the camp and other administrative records are located in the archives of the USHMM (Acc. 1998.A.0045), in a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS (see especially, BU 45, BU 69, and BU 5/3). See also files copied from the BA (NS 4: Buchenwald camp records) in USHMM, RG 14.023M, Band 253. Investigations into violent crimes committed by the SS-Construction Brigade III in Buchenwald subcamps in Düsseldorf can be found in the ZdL (BA-L): IV 429 AR Z 16/74, IV 429 AR126–174. See also the NWHStA-(D) for Gerichte Rep. 118/1174–1190, 1338–1349, Court Rep. 118/2334–2336, and the Sicherheitsüberprüfung der Stapoleitstelle Düsseldorf (July 13, 1944).

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NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald concentration camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, in *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunal under Control Council Law No. 10* (Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.

2. “Verzeichnis der in hiesigen Lager einsitzenden Häftlinge,” Düsseldorf, July 7, 1944, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (BU 45), Reel 16.

3. “Transport Düsseldorf,” February 22, 1945, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (BU 45), Reel 16.

4. "Aufstellung der Br. III, Kdo. Düsseldorf," June 23, 1944 (BU 8/18); "Etats d'effectifs par Kommando," August 13–14, 1944 (BU 5/3); "Stand vom 6. März 1945, Stand vom 1. Januar 1945" (BU 8/18); USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

5. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1960), p. 251.

6. Various memos, BA (NS 4): Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, USHMM, RG 14.023M, Band 253, Fiche 1.

After the initial construction on the camp was complete, a second transport of 300 prisoners and 21 SS guards left Buchenwald for "Berta" on December 8, 1943.⁶ On October 25, 1944, there were 661 prisoners in the camp. This was the highest number.⁷ The prisoners were mostly citizens of the Soviet Union and Poles. In addition, there were French, Dutch, Belgian, Czech, Italian, and a few German prisoners (the Germans being the prisoner-functionaries).

An inspection of the Hohenzollern factory and the subsequent security report on the Düsseldorf subcamp in July 1944 reveal that the camp and the prisoners' work sites were closely guarded. At this time, the 360-strong prisoner detachment was guarded by 38 security policemen armed with rifles and machine pistols. The entrances and egresses of the work halls were guarded by the police and factory porters. One policeman patrolled the factory hall; 2 guarded the rear of the accommodation, which bordered on the factory buildings. The SS camp leadership, security police, and the factory's security liaison officer (the factory's connection to the Gestapo) worked closely together in maintaining prisoner discipline. Camp commander Knauf also recruited prisoners to spy on the other prisoners.⁸ Punishment was meted out in a specially erected bunker.

Despite the increased security, the number of escape attempts from "Berta" was extraordinarily high. On June 1, 1944, 31 of 385 prisoners were reported as being on the run.⁹ At least 4 prisoners were "shot while escaping."¹⁰ Notwithstanding that escape in Düsseldorf was risky, many prisoners, for various reasons, tried to escape. Above all, the political, anti-Fascist prisoners had little interest in constructing V-weapons "to help them win the war."¹¹ And from the summer of 1944, there was the fear that the political prisoners would be murdered following the invasion by the Allies. For these reasons, the Communist prisoner Fleischhauer and 3 other German prisoners escaped in April 1944.

The willingness to escape was promoted also by the oppressive conditions in the camp. After the war, Sieghardt was accused of refusing medical treatment to several prisoners who had eaten poisonous mushrooms. Fleischhauer reported as follows: "A group of about 5 or 6 prisoners found a wagon full of mushrooms, which they thought were edible. They ate them and within a short period of time developed symptoms indicating that they had been poisoned. They could not be helped in the sick bay. Sieghardt refused to have them transported to a hospital or to call a doctor. . . . As a result, the prisoners died after an agonizing 3 to 4 hours. We later learned that they had eaten poisonous swamp Schierling mushrooms. I am convinced that if they had received prompt medical care they would have survived."¹²

While Sieghardt was camp commander, 11 prisoners died, including 3 prisoners who died from the poisoning mentioned above. From the date Knauf took control until the evacuation of the camp in March 1945, there were a further 16 recorded deaths.¹³ According to statements by survivors, Knauf was well known for his brutal behavior: he beat prisoners at random during roll call with a broom handle or a stick, beat them with his fists, and kicked them or mistreated them while they

DÜSSELDORF-DERENDORF ("BERTA") [WITH "BORSIG"]

Between November 1943 and March 1945 the company Rheinmetall-Borsig AG had in its Düsseldorf factory, "Hohenzollern," a Buchenwald subcamp. The camp was camouflaged with the code name "Berta." Until the summer of 1944, when it came under Buchenwald administration, the camp was attached to SS-Construction Brigade III (Baubrigade III), stationed in Cologne-Deutz. On November 1, 1943, the brigade dispatched 135 prisoners from Cologne to Düsseldorf. The brigade was transferred to the Harz in May 1944, and "Berta" became a stand-alone Buchenwald subcamp.

The SS commander in "Berta" was initially Josef Sieghardt, who was born on July 13, 1896, in Grottkau (Upper Silesia). SS-Hauptscharführer Sieghardt joined the Nazi Party and SS in 1931. From 1939 he was an instructor at the Buchenwald concentration camp.¹ A former prisoner, Toni Fleischhauer, had the following to say about the camp commander: "Sieghardt was accustomed to saying that no prisoner would leave this camp alive."² When Sieghardt was transferred as commander to a Magdeburg subcamp, he was replaced in April 1944 by SS-Oberscharführer Walther Knauf, a barber, who was born on August 16, 1914, in Gross Karben near Frankfurt am Main. From the middle of 1943, he was a member of the SS guard at Buchenwald. From November 1943, he had served as an SS man in the detonation squad of the SS-Construction Brigade III.³ In addition to the SS, the guards consisted of 60 policemen, mostly elderly reservists. They were replaced in September 1944 by men mostly from the Sicherheits- und Hilfsdienst (Auxiliary Air Raid Wardens, SHD).⁴

The address of the subcamp was the office of the Rheinmetall-Borsig AG at 54 Gneisenaustrasse in Düsseldorf's Derendorf district. The prisoners were accommodated in a hall of the so-called Hohenzollern factory on the corner of Dinnendahlstrasse and Schlüterstrasse (Schlüterstrasse later became Neumannstrasse) in Düsseldorf-Flingern. In 1939 Rheinmetall-Borsig AG took over Leichtmetall-Presswerk (Light Metal Sheet Metal Works). During the war the factory produced oxygen bottles, aircraft engine parts, propellers, antimagnetic mine heads, and hollow rocket heads. The prisoners' work was characterized as "important classified war production," as parts were produced for the V-weapons.⁵

were at work. Prisoners were punished while they were at roll call—their naked behinds were beaten with rubber hoses. A particular dramatic episode is said to have taken place either in August or September of 1944. Knauf tried to drive 2 weakened prisoners mad by forcing them to sit in a heated container. When 1 of the prisoners, a Russian suffering from tuberculosis, climbed out of the container totally exhausted, he was mistreated by Knauf and forced to continue his work. The prisoner died shortly thereafter as a result of this mistreatment. Knauf personally shot a prisoner who escaped from a work detail and had been recaptured and held in one of the halls of the Hohenzollern factory.

On September 1, 1944, another Buchenwald subcamp was erected for Rheinmetall-Borsig AG on its factory grounds at 31–37 Rather Strasse in Düsseldorf-Derendorf; Buchenwald records show an initial transport of 300 prisoners.¹⁴ Although this subcamp is recorded in the Buchenwald statistics under the name "Borsig" and operated as an independent camp, Knauf was also the camp commander.¹⁵ The "Borsig" camp should therefore be seen as a subcamp of "Berta."

Little more is known about the history of "Borsig." Other than a transport in September 1944, there were no further transports from Buchenwald. In October 1944, there were 294 prisoners in the camp; at the end of December 1944, there were 260.¹⁶ At the beginning of March 1945, 249 prisoners were still registered at the camp.¹⁷ What happened to the 51 prisoners is not known, as there are no reports of transports back to Buchenwald or reports of deaths. Only 3 prisoners are reported to have escaped from "Borsig." The escapes appear to have occurred from an evacuation transport.

The 1950 judgment on Knauf gives a few further details. He was accused of shooting a prisoner in the "Berta" camp. Two other events were detailed where Knauf mistreated prisoners at the "Borsig" camp. In one instance, Knauf had 4 prisoners beaten because a prisoner had fled from a work detachment. The judgment states the following about the second instance: "At the beginning of January 1945, a prisoner, when the gates of the camp were being opened, dropped cutlery in front of a Kapo. The angry Kapo told the accused who soon turned up with four other Kapos in the Derendorf camp. The accused had the 50–60 prisoners line up and ordered the Kapos to beat each prisoner 50 times with a rubber hose. For an hour the prisoners, including a 15 year old Polish boy, were beaten alternatively by 4 Kapos in the dormitory of the Derendorf camp. The accused supervised the punishment, gave directions and smoked cigarettes."¹⁸

On March 3, 1945, the prisoners from "Borsig," together with the prisoners from "Berta," were marched in several columns through the district of Berg, loaded onto wagons in Wuppertal, Wermelskirchen, and Essen, and transported to Buchenwald. Some 852 prisoners, 603 from "Berta" and 249 from "Borsig," were registered there on March 10, 1945.¹⁹

Sieghardt avoided conviction for crimes committed in "Berta" because investigations began well after the war. At

the beginning of the 1970s a court medical report stated the following about Sieghardt: "An examination of the patient was relatively difficult. He has delayed memory, difficulty in concentrating, which in part results in a clear attempt to avoid issues and he expresses himself with stereotype expressions: 'I don't really know that, I can't remember that, I don't know how I got involved in the whole thing.'" The expert came to the conclusion that although Sieghardt had clear "memory islands," given his general medical history, it was scarcely likely that Sieghardt would be able to take part in any future examinations.²⁰ When in 1973 the accusation that Sieghardt refused the poisoned prisoners medical assistance was to be considered, an expert confirmed that he would never be fit for trial.²¹ Knauf, on the other hand, had already been sentenced in 1950 to 10 years of jail by the state court in Düsseldorf for shooting the escaped prisoner.²²

SOURCES The subcamp "Berta" was first dealt with in a research report in 1988 by Andreas Kussmann, "KZ-Aussenkommandos und Gefangenenträger in Düsseldorf während des Zweiten Weltkriegs: Ein Forschungsbericht," DÜJB 61 (1988): 187. Later publications include a few further sources: Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln: Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996), pp. 106–107; Christian Leitzbach, "Der Einsatz ausländischer Arbeiterinnen und Arbeiter bei Rheinmetall-Borsig während des Zweiten Weltkriegs," in *Zwangarbeit in Düsseldorf: Ausländer Einsatz während des Zweiten Weltkriegs in einer rheinischen Großstadt*, ed. Clemens von Looz-Corswarem in collaboration with Rafael R. Leissa and Joachim Schröder (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2002), pp. 413–414; and Rafael Radoslaw Leissa, "Das Aussenkommando 'Berta' des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Düsseldorf" (MSS, Düsseldorf Memorial Sites, September 1999). Hanna Eggerath collected in 1998 and 1999 witnesses' statements about the evacuation march through the villages of Erkrath and Hochdahl: "Auf dem Weg nach Buchenwald: Der Marsch der KZ-Häftlinge durch Erkrath und Hochdahl," in *Journal 19: Jahrbuch des Kreises Mettmann 1999/2000* (Neustadt a.d. Aisch: Ph. C.W. Schmidt, 2000), pp. 123–130. These relatively good reports provide more detail on the "Berta" camp. The preliminary investigation files of the ZdL (now BA-L) (IV 406 AR 85/67; IV 429 AR-Z 16/74; IV 429 AR-Z 126/74) should be mentioned here as well as the investigation and trial files held in the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/64–65; 118/1874–1875; 118/2026–2027; 118/2334–2336; 372/205–209). In the NWHStA-(D) are almost complete copies of the prisoner lists (Court Rept. 118/1176–1178, 2334–2335). In the THStA-W are found further contemporary documents on the camp, although they are spread through the collections NS 4 Buchenwald and KZ Buchenwald.

Transport lists of prisoners to and from the camp and other administrative records are located in the archives of the USHMM, (Acc. 1998.A.0045), in a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS (see especially BU 45, BU 69, and BU 5/3). See also files copied from the BA (NS 4: Buchenwald camp records) in USHMM, RG 14.023M, Band 249.

"Borsig" is first mentioned in the Kussmann report. There are scarcely any other sources. In addition to a complete list of

names of those in the transport of September 1, 1944, which is held in the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1178, Part 3), there are the judicial files on "Berta," but these contain only a few statements or references on this camp.

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NOTES

1. On Sieghardt, see the trial files in NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/64–65 and Court Rept. 118/2026–2027.
2. Toni Fleischhauer, undated (November 1967), ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR 1304/67, p. 34.
3. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Urteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1966*, (Amsterdam: University Press, 1971), No. 214, 6: 573.
4. Ibid., p. 574; Rafael Radoslaw Leissa, "Das Aussenkommando 'Berta' des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Düsseldorf" (MSS, Düsseldorf Memorial Sites, September 1999), p. 7.
5. Stapoleitstelle Düsseldorf, July 11, 1944, ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, p. 42.
6. Transportbefehl, August 12, 1943, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 133.
7. Häftlingsverzeichnis [Prisoner Catalogue], October 25, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/2335.
8. Stapoleitstelle Düsseldorf, July 11, 1944, ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, pp. 42–43.
9. Stärkemeldung, June 1, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 250.
10. SS-Baubrigade III, May 21, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 9, 241R.
11. Toni Fleischhauer, March 20, 1980, AVVN-K, Recording protocol Fleischhauer, p. 8.
12. Toni Fleischhauer, undated (November 1967), ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR 1304/67, pp. 34–35.
13. Zahlen nach HAStK [Numbers from the HAStK], Best. 753/25: Einäscherungsbuch SS-Baubrigade III, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a; ibid., KZ Buchenwald Nr. 5, Bd. 13.
14. Überstellungen von und zu Aussenkommandos, September 1, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald 136a.
15. Knauf, December 13, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 229; "Aussenkommandos Männer," October 1944, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 210.
16. "Aussenkommandos Männer," November 30 and December 31, 1944, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 210.
17. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 415.
18. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, No. 214, p. 576.
19. ITS, Arolsen, June 29, 1950, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/2334.
20. Institut für gerichtliche und soziale Medizin der Stadt Duisburg, February 24, 1971, ITS, Arolsen, Court Rept. 118/64, pp. 127–130.
21. Investigation Proceedings, ITS, Arolsen, Court Rept. 118/2026–2027.
22. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, p. 573.

DÜSSELDORF-GRAFENBERG ("BA") [AKA BORSIG]

A subcamp of Buchenwald was established in September 1944 at Ulmenstrasse 112 in the Grafenberg district of Düsseldorf. (The International Tracing Service [ITS] lists of camps note the opening of the camp as October 23, 1944; however, a transport list from the main camp at Buchenwald to Borsig survives from September 1944.) One of several satellites of Buchenwald in Düsseldorf, the Düsseldorf-Grafenberg subcamp was created to supply concentration camp inmate labor to the Rheinmetall-Borsig AG factory in Düsseldorf. Inmates were "rented" by Rheinmetall-Borsig from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled laborer per day and 6 RM per skilled laborer per day.¹ Alternative names for this subcamp include "Borsig" and code name "BA."

According to a postwar report filed by the chief of the Mission Belge de Recherches, the camp was composed of one stone building and was situated on the grounds of the Grafenberg Rheinmetall-Borsig factory. The camp was surrounded by watchtowers and surveillance posts, and prisoners—all men—wore blue-and-white-striped camp uniforms.² On September 1, 1944, at least 300 inmates were transferred from the Buchenwald main camp to Düsseldorf-Grafenberg.³ Although there is no breakdown by nationality or age provided on the transport list, most of the inmates appear to be Russian, Polish, and French. The population of the camp seems to have remained relatively the same throughout its period of operation. According to a report cited in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), there were 270 inmates in Grafenberg on October 23, 1944.⁴ A report filed by the garrison doctor (Standortarzt) of the Waffen-SS Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, lists the number of inmates in the Borsig subcamp at 259 in mid-January 1945.⁵

There is little information about the exact kind of work the inmates performed or about living and working conditions within the camp. Presumably the inmates were employed in some kind of metalworking in the Borsig factory, which manufactured parts for aircraft and other industries important for the Reich's war economy.

There is little information about the guards who supervised the subcamp at Düsseldorf-Grafenberg. Like other Buchenwald subcamps in Düsseldorf, Grafenberg was most likely guarded by a combination of SS men, members of the Düsseldorf municipal police, as well as the Auxiliary Police (Schutzhilfdienst, SHD), which consisted of Düsseldorf residents. Civilian employees of the Rheinmetall-Borsig may have supervised the work of the inmates at the factory. The SS medic (SDG) was named Schmidt; he was the same SDG appointed to oversee medical care in the Berta and Kirchfeldstrasse camps.⁶

No information could be located about the evacuation or closing of the camp at Düsseldorf-Grafenberg, on the fate of the inmates, or on any postwar trials.

SOURCES The Buchenwald subcamp Düsseldorf-Grafenberg appears infrequently in secondary literature. For general information on subcamps and other detention centers in Düsseldorf, see the volume edited by Clemens von Looz-Corswarem, *Zwangsarbeits in Düsseldorf: "Ausländer Einsatz" während des Zweiten Weltkrieges in einer rheinischen Großstadt* (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2002), especially the chapter titled "Zwangsarbeits in Düsseldorf: Struktur, Organisation und Alltag im Arbeitseinsatz von Ausländern im nationalsozialistischen Düsseldorf," by Rafael R. Leissa and Joachim Schröder (pp. 19–362). See also Andreas Kussman, "KZ Aussenkommandos und Gefangenlager in Düsseldorf während des Zweiten Weltkriegs," *DüJb* 61 (1988): 175–193. For brief information on the Düsseldorf-Grafenberg camp, such as opening and closing dates and kind of work, see Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt: Zweitausendeins, 1990). For overviews of the Buchenwald camp system, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt: Röderberg, 1983).

Several archives contain scant information about the Düsseldorf-Grafenberg camp. Transport lists of prisoners to and from the camp and other administrative records are located in the archives of the USHMM (Acc. 1998.A.0045), in a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS (see especially BU 45, BU 69, and BU 5/3). Investigations into violent crimes committed by the SS-Baubrigade III in Buchenwald subcamps in Düsseldorf can be found in the ZdL (BA-L): IV 429 AR Z 16/74, IV 429 AR 126–74. See also the NWHStA-(D) for Gerichte Rep. 118/1174–1190, 1338–1349, Court Rept. 118/2334–2336, and the Sicherheitsüberprüfung der Stapoleitstelle Düsseldorf (July 13, 1944). The ZAR-D may also yield additional information on the Düsseldorf-Grafenberg camp.

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NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald concentration camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, in *TWC* (Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.
2. Memo to MACVG from Monsieur C. Pesilier, Chef de Mission, French Liaison, ITS HQ, March 1, 1949, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (BU 69), Reel 17.
3. "Transport Borsig," September 1, 1944, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (BU 45), Reel 16.
4. Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt: Zweitausendeins, 1990).
5. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt: Röderberg, 1960), p. 251.
6. Ibid.

DÜSSELDORF-KALKUM (SS-BB III)

From May 1943 to March 1945, an average of 50 prisoners from the Buchenwald main camp were deployed as bomb finders (*Bombensucher*) at a Luftwaffe bomb squad in Düsseldorf.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

The establishment of this camp can be traced to instructions from Heinrich Himmler, who on November 3, 1942, emphatically cited an October 1940 decree by Adolf Hitler to the Higher-SS and Police Leaders, the chiefs of police, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), the Reich minister of the air force, and the Reich minister of the interior. According to this decree, in order to avoid losses among the German firefighters and auxiliary workers of the Air Raid Police, prisoners from penitentiaries or concentration camps should increasingly be requested for the dangerous task of retrieving unexploded bombs. To the extent that no camps were in the area of the air defense regions, Himmler ordered that groups of prisoners be detached, each accompanied by an SS private as leader of the Kommando. The inspectors (commanders) of the Order Police were responsible for their accommodation, food, and further supervision.¹

A few days later, the Amtsgruppe D instructed the camp commandants (Lagerkommandanten) of the concentration camps to hold appropriate prisoner squads in readiness. In concentration camps where construction units (Baubrigaden) had been set up, prisoners were to be chosen from those units.² In Rhineland and Westphalia, beginning in the early summer of 1943, the Royal Air Force had increasingly used bombs with delayed fuses, the defusing of which was considered particularly dangerous. On May 28, 1943, the Cologne-based SS-Construction Brigade III (Baubrigade III), acting on the orders of the Higher-SS and Police Leader West, dispatched 50 prisoners to Düsseldorf,³ where they were lodged in a former school building, located at Kirchfeldstrasse 74–80 in the Friedrichstadt section of town.

From there, the prisoners went every day to the headquarters of the bomb squad in the Kalkum section of north Düsseldorf. The "Sprengkommando Kalkum" at Arnheimer Strasse 115 was one of several bomb squads of the Luftwaffe in the Luftgau VI (region). Since 1942, specially trained explosives experts worked there under the command of Hauptmann Heinz Schweizer, who was decorated in July 1943 with the Knight's Cross (*Ritterkreuz*) for his work defusing unexploded bombs. The first auxiliary workers assigned to the bomb squad were criminals from the Remscheid-Lüttringhausen jail.

According to a contemporary account, eight municipal policemen (Schutzpolizisten) guarded the concentration camp prisoners in Kirchfeldstrasse and accompanied them on their daily trip to Kalkum.⁴ Only two SS privates had been detached from Buchenwald, one of whom was a certain SS-Unterscharführer Pfingsten, who was head of the camp until the end of the war.⁵

The job of the criminals and other prisoners was to dig out the unexploded bombs. According to instructions from the Luftwaffe, only explosives experts were allowed to disarm bombs. However, survivors report that concentration camp prisoners often also did this work. As even the trained explosives experts had hardly any information about the detonation mechanisms of the bombs, which were constantly changing in the course of the war, the disarming of them by untrained prisoners was all that much more dangerous. There are

numerous indications that particularly for the most dangerous jobs of the Kalkum bomb squad, prisoners were often deliberately called in. Former political prisoner Kurt Selbiger relates, for example: "When it is claimed that so many died, the prisoners are meant. They were the ones who were immediately dragged in there and sent to work on the 'hot' problems. The majority of the delayed fuses exploded in the first few hours—and this happened often. It was Russians, Russians in KZ clothing, who were repeatedly assigned temporarily to the bomb squad, but they did not really belong to our unit."⁶

Some of the conventional prisoners who were part of the Kalkum bomb squad, among whom were many Communists, attempted to improve the lot of the concentration camp prisoners assigned to the squad. For example, they successfully pleaded with the camp leadership (Lagerleitung), consisting of explosives experts, for the withdrawal of the SS guards after they had brought the prisoners to the camp in the morning. Self-interest definitely played a part in this request, as the SS presence worsened the atmosphere for the conventional prisoners as well. In the same way, these inmates were able to influence the allocation of the prisoners to the labor details so that some of the prisoners did not have to go into the city but could remain in the camp during the day. Supplying them with food took precedence, but besides that, the prisoners were provided with clothing and reading materials and took part in political discussions. Since there was a strong resistance organization (*Widerstandsorganisation*) in Kalkum, which had succeeded in establishing numerous contacts in the city, the provisions were much better than in the camp in Kirchfeldstrasse, to which the concentration camp prisoners had to return in the evening. These "sharp practices between the camp and the outside world" soon attracted the attention of the Gestapo, which at the end of January 1944 raided the camp and arrested several prisoners for attempted high treason.⁷

The number of prisoners who died in the bomb squad was high but hitherto could not be determined precisely. Until May 10, 1944, the Kalkum detachment was managed as a subcamp of the SS-Construction Brigade III, and for this reason, it is not always clear from the death reports to Buchenwald before that date if prisoners from the Kalkum camp were among the deceased. After the SS-Construction Brigade III was withdrawn from Cologne, Kalkum became an independent subcamp of Buchenwald and still had at the time 32 prisoners.⁸ On July 3 and September 1, 1944, altogether 35 prisoners were transferred from Buchenwald to Kalkum.⁹ When the camp was dissolved on March 13, 1945, only 34 prisoners remained to be brought back to Buchenwald.¹⁰

After 1945, the prisoners were quickly stricken from the memories of the explosives experts who had supervised them in disarming the bombs. Walter Merz, in a book motivated by his autobiographical intentions, mentions the conventional and concentration camp prisoners only in passing with the words "they were quite happy here."¹¹ A former explosives expert from this group, who was interviewed in the 1980s,

indeed mentions the conventional prisoners but refers to the concentration camp prisoners merely as "other prisoners" who he says sometimes accompanied them.¹²

SOURCES As early as 1977, Norbert Krüger published findings on the Kalkum camp in an essay on concentration camp (KZ) prisoners in bomb squads: "Wenn Sie nicht ins KZ wollen . . . : Häftlinge in Bombenräumkommandos," APuZ 16 (1977): 25–37. Andreas Kussmann, who in the mid-1980s undertook research for the city of Düsseldorf on local KZ subcamps, published his results in 1988. See Andreas Kussmann, "KZ-Aussenkommandos und Gefangenengelager in Düsseldorf während des Zweiten Weltkriegs: Ein Forschungsbericht," DüJb 61 (1988): 175–192. The authors of a more recent publication, *Zwangarbeit in Düsseldorf: Ausländer Einsatz während des Zweiten Weltkriegs in einer rheinischen Großstadt*, ed. Clemens von Looz-Corswarem in collaboration with Rafael R. Leissa and Joachim Schröder (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2002), based their work predominantly on this essay.

There are numerous sources on the Kalkum camp that could facilitate more intensive study. The collection Andreas Kussmann assembled in the course of his research contains extensive documentary material on the Kalkum camp (ASt-Dü, Sammlung Kussmann, Nos. 33–43). Besides photocopies of documents from many different archives, there are noteworthy photographs and interviews with former explosives experts and prisoners from Remscheid-Lüttringhausen. In addition, accounts by political prisoners from the penitentiary are held at the AVVN-D (Collection 3690, Johann Jürgens) and at the archives of the Frankfurt SKDW (AN, 1442, Otto Hertel). At the THStA-W, in the collections "NS 4 Buchenwald" and "KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten," further sources on Kalkum can be found again and again. Finally, trial files regarding investigations of homicides at the SS-Construction Brigade III and the Buchenwald subcamps in Düsseldorf are informative. They are preserved at the BA-L (IV 429 AR Z 16/74, IV 429 AR 126/74) and at the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1174–1190, 1338–1349; Court Rept. 118/2334–2336).

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NOTES

1. Reichsführer-SS, November 3, 1942, StAN, NG-1002.
2. WVHA, Amtsgruppe D, November 9, 1942, IfZ, MA, 414, 6380, cited from ASt-Dü, Kussmann Collection No. 34.
3. Buchenwald concentration camp, May 28, 1943, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1176.
4. Sipo Ratingen, July 11, 1944, BA-L, IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, pp. 42–44.
5. Buchenwald concentration camp, September 5, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald No. 229, p. 67; and Buchenwald concentration camp, November 6, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118, No. 1183.
6. Interview with Kurt Selbiger, February 23, 1988, ASt-Dü, Kussmann Collection No. 40.
7. Gestapo Düsseldorf, January 27, 1944, NWHStA-(D), RW 36/13, p. 105.
8. Buchenwald concentration camp, June 23, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1176.

9. See entries in the daily transfer reports from Buchenwald, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nos. 136a and b.
10. Ibid., entry March 13, 1945.
11. Walter Merz, *Feuerwerker: Namenlose Helden der Bomennächte: Ein Tatsachenbericht* (Rastatt: Erich Pabel Verlag, 1970), pp. 14–15.
12. Heinrich Z., March 9, 1988, ASt-Dü, Kussmann Collection, Folders 33–36.

EISENACH ("EMMA," "EM")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Eisenach (Thüringen) in March 1944 to provide prisoner labor to the Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) plant. The arrangement stemmed from an agreement between the firm and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which hired out the inmates to BMW at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.¹ The Eisenach BMW camp was code-named "Emma" or "Em."

The average number of inmates in the Eisenach subcamp during its nearly one-year operation was 500 inmates, although the prisoner strength of the camp did fluctuate. In August 1944, for example, the camp is listed as having 669 inmates in strength reports. By August 4, the number of inmates in the camp had fallen to 590, and by August 5, to 564 inmates.² Surviving transport lists show that some inmates from the Eisenach subcamp were sent to the Abteroda men's subcamp (code-named "Anton") on July 31, 1944, and other inmates continued to be transferred to the Abteroda camp from Eisenach on several instances in the following months.³ Reports dated after August 1944 also indicate the Eisenach and Abteroda camps together ("Emma+Anton") but break down the numbers of prisoners in each, which further suggests that the Abteroda men's camp consisted largely of Eisenach inmates, at least for a certain period of time.⁴

Inmates in the Eisenach camp were assigned to the BMW plant in Eisenach Duererhof, where they worked in the production of aircraft engine parts. Although there is no breakdown by nationality on the transport lists, the inmates appear to have been German, Italian, Russian, French, and Polish. According to a detailed listing of the types of prisoner labor assigned to various subcamps from Block 17 in Buchenwald, in September and October 1944, the Eisenach subcamp received skilled workers who performed labor as electricians, machinists, mechanics, shoemakers, locksmiths, and carpenters.⁵

Likewise, there is little information about living conditions within the camp, the circumstances or motives for killing the inmates, the survival rate, or resistance and escape attempts. The prisoners were most likely housed in one of the work halls of the factory or in a brickfield. Undated photos taken during the days after Eisenach camp's liberation by D.A. Weckwerth depict prisoner barracks, a watchtower, and a gallows where prisoners were likely punished by hanging.⁶

There is scarce surviving information about the commandant or guards of the Eisenach camp. According to a report filed by SS garrison doctor SS-Hauptsturmführer

Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, the Eisenach camp had an SS doctor in charge of the infirmary named König, an SS medic named Carl, and 50 guards. The camp population was 386, according to this report.⁷

The camp was closed on February 17, 1945, and the prisoners were transferred back to Buchenwald.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Eisenach subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Eisenach in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Außenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS).

Surviving primary documentation on the Eisenach subcamp is also limited. For sparse administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMM, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210, Band 55. See also a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Eisenach camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 44. The D.A. Weckwerth papers (USHMM, Acc. 2000.54) contain brief information about the Eisenach camp and three photos of the grounds at the time of liberation.

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NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. Prisoner strength in Außenkommandos, various, August 1, August 4, August 5, 1944, BA, NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMM, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210 (*Diverses über den Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen, 1941–1945*).

3. "... von Außenkommando Eisenach nach dem Außenkommando Anton überstellt," July 31, 1944 (79 inmates); September 17, 1944 (2 inmates); October 20, 1944 (4 inmates) (BU 44), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. Prisoner strength in Außenkommandos, see, for example, lists from November and December 1944. BA, NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMM, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210 (*Diverses über den Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen, 1941–1945*), Reel 5.

5. Verlegungen vom Block 17, Rücktransporter vom Außenkommando, BA, NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMM, RG 14.023M, BA Band 55, Fiche 1.

6. D.A. Weckwerth papers, USHMM, Acc. 2000.54.

7. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt: Röderburg, 1960), p. 253.

ELSNIG

Elsnig is located about eight kilometers (five miles) to the north of Torgau on the Elbe. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony.

The subcamp was established for female Buchenwald concentration camp prisoners who were to work for the Westfälisch-Anhaltische Sprengstoff AG (WASAG) and its chemical plant in Elsnig. The camp was located close to the factory grounds on the Reichsstrasse that connected Torgau and Wittenberg. The camp, with 7,500 square meters (8,970 square yards), was relatively small and consisted of several wooden barracks, a wash barracks, kitchen, and infirmary. The buildings were surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire fence.

Although the International Tracing Service (ITS) records the first mention of the camp as October 10, 1944, the first transport of prisoners most likely arrived at Elsnig on October 16. The prisoners were 750 Polish Jewish women from Bergen-Belsen. Previously they had been in ghettos in Poland and in Auschwitz. One of the women was Eva Rosencwajig Stock, who—together with her mother, aunt, and sister—was taken to Elsnig. Eva's sister, aged 13, worked with five other children in the camp kitchen, while the adult women worked in the armaments factory. They worked in two 12-hour shifts, producing and filling shells with TNT and naval explosives.

The subcamp was commanded by SS-Oberscharführer Kurt Völker. Survivors described him as brutal. He frequently mistreated the already weak women and terrorized them with countless roll calls. He repeatedly threatened to kill them. According to some witness reports, Völker forced some women to dig their own graves, but he did not follow through with the executions. The guards were 12 SS men, mostly ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche), and 26 female overseers. At their head was Elfriede Schmeisser, described by surviving prisoners as being just as brutal. Schmeisser was in charge of selections inside the camp. The victims were the young, those who could no longer work, and pregnant women. Selected women were transported to Auschwitz and from January 1945 were sent back to Bergen-Belsen. Rozencwajig reported that her sister and the other young girls were excluded from the selections at her request and that a German foreman had also intervened to protect the girls.¹ The relationships with the German labor force and the German supervisors and foremen is described by Rozencwajig as ambivalent: as the SS had announced that the prisoners were prostitutes and criminals, the Germans kept their distance or were openly hostile. Only over time, some changed their attitude and chatted with the prisoners and occasionally offered assistance.

The women worked on health-damaging tasks in the chemical factory, where they were exposed to poisonous and acidic substances and provided with almost no protection like clothing, gloves, or goggles. Many women suffered from infections to breathing passages, and two women died in November and December 1944 from tuberculosis.

The evacuation of the camp began on April 13, 1945 (the ITS date of April 20 is most likely too late). The women were

either taken in goods wagons, according to historian Irmgard Seidel, or passenger trains, according to a statement by Rosencwajig, in the direction of Ravensbrück. On April 20, 1945, the train was caught up in an Allied air raid on Potsdam: many women were killed and a few, including Rosencwajig, her mother, and aunt, were able to escape. After hiding for a few days in empty houses and in a forest, Rosencwajig and her relatives found refuge in a camp for Italian foreign laborers.

Völker was extradited on February 25, 1947, to Poland, where a court sentenced him to six years' imprisonment for his crimes. Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in the 1960s were inconclusive.

SOURCES A detailed description on the Elsnig subcamp is by Irmgard Seidel in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 435–436. Also see ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 40; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL* (1977) Teil I, p. 1801.

The THStA-W and the BA-K, Best. NS 4 Bu 221, are of relevance for the camp. The Standesamt Weimar holds a list of new prisoner numbers for Elsnig, November 1944, which can also be found in the AAC-C. The DIZ-T holds further details on the Elsnig subcamp under der Signatur BB 55194. Investigations by the ZdL (now at BA-L) are kept under File AR-Z 117/1970. The USHMM holds statements by two former prisoners at the camp: Celia Rothstein Elbaum (1997. A.0185) and Eva Rosenczajig Stock (RG-50.030*0225).

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NOTE

1. USHMM, RG-50.030*022, Oral history interview with Eva Rozencwajig Stock, July 26, 1989, transcript, p. 10.

ESCHERSHAUSEN ("STEIN") AND HOLZEN ("HECHT") [AKA HECHT-OT] BAULEITUNG, DEUTSCHE ASPHALT AG-GRUBE HAARMANN] ("H," "HT," "OT")

In 1944 to 1945, several forced labor camps were located in the hilly Hils area of the Weserbergland in central Germany. As in the nearby Harz Mountains, armaments factories were established in underground caves and tunnels, as well as in provisional buildings in the forests. Two Buchenwald subcamps, "Hecht" and "Stein," were established in Holzen and Eschershausen. These were concentration camps under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). Other forced labor camps in the area included one for German Jews, "Half-Jews," and non-Jews married to Jews; one for German convicts and deported foreigners from the Hameln penitentiary; and mobile units of the SS-Construction Brigade VI (Baubrigade VI) (Eisenbahnbaubrigade I)—probably identical

with an unspecified Dora subcamp mentioned in some testimonies—and the SS-Baggerregiment “Speer,” both of which utilized hundreds of concentration camp prisoners at the building of railway connections to the mining area where the underground factories were hidden.

The factories were established in five asphalt mines belonging to the Natur-Asphalt Gesellschaft and the Deutsche Asphalt AG (DASAG). According to the plans, over 50,000 square meters (59,800 square yards) of production space—later to be expanded to 300,000 (358,800 square yards)—were to be established underground and shared by several armaments companies. The Volkswagen subsidiary Minette was meant to occupy the major part for the manufacturing of Fi-103 (V-1) cruise missile and fighter airplane body sections, and it was eager to obtain storage space for large sheet metal presses from its main factory in Fallersleben and machinery looted from the Peugeot automobile works in France. C. Lorenz AG (code names “Huta” and “Otech”) produced radio equipment for airplanes; the Deutsche Edelstahlwerke AG, Firma Reinhardt, and Marathon Werke produced airplane and submarine engine parts. The refurbishing project was, however, subject to frequent change because of practical difficulties, changing armament priorities, and rivalry between the companies over space and resources. Eventually, additional production space was prepared in primitive concrete buildings that were erected in the forests and narrow valleys of the area.

The Organisation Todt (OT-Einsatzgruppe IV “Kyffhäuser”) was in charge of project coordination. Underground refurbishing was in the hands of the Deutsche Asphalt und Tiefbau AG; other construction companies involved were the Siemens Bau-Union (Siemens Construction Union) and the Francke Werke of Bremen. While plans grew ever grander, the actual armaments output of the Hils facilities was never very impressive.

A variety of forced laborers were occupied in construction work and production and accommodated in various improvised camps. The “Hecht” concentration camp was established in August 1944. This camp is also mentioned in Buchenwald records as SS Kdo. Hecht-OT-Bauleitung, as Deutsche Asphalt AG-Grube Haarmann, and as “H,” “Ht,” and “OT.” Hecht prisoners performed heavy earthmoving, logging, construction, and underground refurbishing work. Supplying slave labor was its sole purpose, as was the case of the second Buchenwald subcamp, Stein, the prisoners of which installed machinery in the production areas and worked in Volkswagen manufacturing. Hecht was the code name for the entire construction project; Stein, for the Volkswagen production facilities. The two camps were under joint administration and command of SS-Scharführer Gemeinhard but occupied separate areas in Holzen (“Hecht”) and Eschershausen (“Stein”).

Hecht prisoners were first accommodated in small tents that were erected by the Hitler-Jugend (Hitler Youth) on August 3, 1944. The first prisoners probably arrived shortly thereafter. A transport of 263 prisoners arriving from Buchenwald on September 14 included Kapos and a prisoner physician but also 3 replacements for prisoners who had al-

ready died in the camp. Eventually four barracks were erected for prisoners’ accommodation, surrounded by watchtowers and a high-voltage barbed-wire fence; three additional barracks served as the guards’ quarters.

Living conditions in the camp were devastating. Morbidity and mortality were high due to grave undernourishment, poor hygiene, work accidents, and extreme guard and Kapo brutality. Frequent transports—the first of which was as early as October 1—brought replacements for the deceased and those who were returned to Buchenwald in order to be exterminated as “unfit for work.” A transport of 253 prisoners from Buchenwald on November 21 included 35 replacements. The prisoner strength of 494, reported by mid-December 1944, remained stable until March 1945, but at least 143 new prisoners had to be brought in as replacements during the six months between September and March in order to maintain it. “There was dying like on an assembly line,” one survivor recorded.¹ Volkswagen payments to the SS represented the full-time labor of approximately 320 prisoners in November 1944 and 510 in January 1945.

Construction remained the main activity, but from December on, concentration camp prisoners were also employed in Volkswagen armaments production (the “Stein” project). Stein prisoners were accommodated in huts in the larger community camp (*Gemeinschaftslager*) “Schwarzes Land” in Eschershausen. By the end of 1944, this mixed camp provided accommodations for 1,200 forced laborers, 65 convicts, and 300 concentration camp prisoners. This arrangement placed the prisoners under a double reign of terror exercised by the SS guards and by the cruel SD *Abwehrbeauftragter* (factory defense commissioner) of the area, SS-Obersturmbannführer Alfred Willi Busch, who used his revolver, whip, and fierce dogs against camp inmates on several occasions.

On February 17 and 18, 1945, 600 skilled metalworkers were selected in Buchenwald for Stein. They arrived in Eschershausen on March 4, together with 43 replacements, augmenting the total number of prisoners in the Hecht and Stein camps to 1,103. Another 415 prisoners who were selected for Stein on March 11 never reached Eschershausen. On March 31, 700 prisoners were transported back to the main camp in open railway cars; other evacuees ended up—by way of the Salzgitter Hermann-Göring-Werke—in Celle, where many fell victim to an Allied air raid and a massacre perpetrated by locals. Some 200 prisoners, most of whom were emaciated, ill, and barely alive, were liberated in Eschershausen by U.S. troops on April 7, 1945.

Existing Buchenwald transport lists are incomplete, so the total number of Hecht and Stein prisoners may have been higher than the above figures, but survivors’ estimates of 1,500 to 2,000 and speculative figures of 5,000 to 7,000 in some literature must be judged too high. Most Hecht and Stein prisoners were Polish, Soviet, and French (among whom was a nephew of Charles de Gaulle, the Marquis de Vichy, who was tormented to death in the camp). A large proportion were Jewish. In each of the prisoner groups, clandestine resistance organizations were organized, which engaged in protecting weaker compatriots and preparing for a mass

escape or an uprising for which weapons and explosives were acquired. The sudden evacuation thwarted these plans. A radio receiver was built, and news circulated illegally.

According to survivors' testimony, Gemeinhard was an alcoholic who inspired guard and Kapo violence. Ways of tormenting the prisoners were mock executions, which actually cost the lives of 2 prisoners, and the burying alive under rocks and debris of weak prisoners who were unable to stand. At least 10 prisoners are reported to have been executed for attempting to escape, but some prisoners actually managed to escape. The guards—30 by October 1944, later substantially more—were half SS and half elderly army and navy soldiers. A navy officer replaced Gemeinhard, probably in January 1945, and tried to bar the beating and mutilation of prisoners, thereby easing the prisoners' plight somewhat. Prisoner-functionaries participated actively in the brutalities. The first camp elder (Lagerältester), Becker, was replaced by Zenon Rozansky, an antisemitic Pole, in mid-November, as a number of privileged posts passed from German criminals into the hands of Polish political prisoners, which only worsened the situation of Jews in the camp.

Survivors' testimonies report several examples of compassion and courageous help from local inhabitants of the traditionally Socialist mining environment, whereas many functionaries who were brought in by the armaments companies displayed ruthless, fanatical Nazi attitudes.

SOURCES This description of the Eschershausen/Holzen camps is based on research by Therkel Straede and Manfred Grieger for Hans Mommsen et al., *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf, 1996), p. 830; and articles by Grieger in *JWg* (1993) and in Hermann Kaienburg, ed., *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–45* (Opladen, 1996). Further information, some of which is contradictory and erroneous, may be found in Detlef Creydt and August Meyer, *Zwangarbeit für die "Wunderwaffen" in Südniedersachsen 1943–1945*, vol. 1, and *Zwangarbeit für die Rüstung im südniedersächsischen Bergland*, vol. 2 (Braunschweig, 1993–1994). Preliminary data are in *Das nationalsozialistische Lager-system (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). A chapter on the camps is included in the author's forthcoming book *The Volkswagen Jews*.

Material on the Eschershausen/Holzen concentration camps is scattered, but Buchenwald records allow for the reconstruction of transports in and out of the camp. The VWA and ASt-WOB hold company records and copies of documents from AG-B, YVA, Beit Lohamei Haghetaot near Acco/Israel, NARA (USSBS), BA-B, BA-MA, and ZdL (now BA-L). Survivors' accounts of the Eschershausen/Holzen concentration camps are scarce.

Therkel Straede

NOTE

1. Walter Altmann in, Detlef Creydt and August Meyer, *Zwangarbeit für die "Wunderwaffen" in Südniedersachsen 1943–1945* (Braunschweig, 1993), p.182.

ESSEN (DEUTSCHE ERD- UND STEINWERKE) ("SCHWARZE POTH 13")

The German Earth and Stone Works (Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke, DESt) operated a Buchenwald subcamp from February 1944 to March 1945 in Essen. At the camp, building material was recycled from rubble for the city of Essen. The SS-owned DESt had been established in 1938 following an agreement between Adolf Hitler, Heinrich Himmler, and Albert Speer. Its task was to acquire building materials for the planned Führer Cities (*Führerstädte*). With this aim in mind, several projects had been set up between DESt firms from the Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, Neuengamme, and Flossenbürg concentration camps with larger cities such as Berlin, Hamburg, and Nürnberg.

In both Essen and Düsseldorf the initiative to have DESt camps erected in the cities came from the city councils themselves. The heavily bombed Rhineland and Westphalia experienced great difficulties in removing and recycling the rubble as well as in producing new building material. According to the Minden Report (*Mindenbericht*), both the Essen und Düsseldorf city councils negotiated with the managers of DESt about this problem. The Minden Report, a study on the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), was prepared by one of three accused at the Nuremberg Trials. According to the report, Oswald Pohl instructed DESt to "involve itself on a large scale with the removal of rubble caused by the bombing and to obtain building material from the rubble as quickly as possible."¹ This led to the construction of a rubble recycling plant through which DESt sold the recycled building material at market prices either directly to the cities or to a third party authorized by the building administrations (Bauverwaltungen).

The prisoners of the Essen camp were, at least until May 1944, exclusively Buchenwald concentration camp prisoners taken from the Duisburg subcamp of the SS-Construction Brigade III (Baubrigade III), which was stationed in Cologne. Twenty-five prisoners were selected as early as December 13, 1943. Presumably they formed an advance detachment sent to construct the camp in Essen.² The camp first appears in the statistics of the Buchenwald concentration camp on February 1, 1944, with a reference to 20 prisoners. One day later there were already 100 prisoners in the camp. The highest number of prisoners, 150, was recorded on April 8, 1944.³ About 90 of them were Soviet prisoners, and 40 were Polish; in addition to 3 Germans, there were also French, Dutch, Belgians, Danes, and Luxemburgers. After the SS-Construction Brigade withdrew from Cologne in May 1944, the DESt detachment became an independent Buchenwald subcamp.

According to an agreement between Office W I of the WVHA and the lord mayors of Düsseldorf and Essen, the DESt had to provide both "accommodation in accordance with city regulations" and guards. Supplies, clothing, and transport of the prisoners were the responsibility of the Buchenwald concentration camp. The cities and the Higher-SS

and Police Leader (HSSPF) West were responsible for the medical care of the prisoners.⁴

The first prisoners lived in barracks in the vicinity of the police headquarters until the camp was set up in the rooms of the badly damaged Hotel Grinzing, located on Adolf-Hitler Strasse (later Viehofer Strasse). Königstrasse 35, which ran parallel to Adolf-Hitler Strasse, backed onto the rear of the hotel and was also part of the camp. The camp, situated in the middle of the city, was code-named "Schwarze Poth 13," named after the SS administration's quarters.

The house at "Schwarze Poth 13," owned by a married couple called Fendel, was requisitioned in March 1944 by officials from the Building Supervisory Office (Bauaufsichtsamt). The officials are reported to have stated: "Things are going to be completely different around here! Concentration camp inmates are being brought here. We are requisitioning this property."⁵ The area around "Schwarze Poth," Königstrasse, Kirchstrasse, and Postallee was closed off by a fence in July 1944 following an inspection by the Essen Gestapo. It was here that the SS administration, prisoner accommodations, and machines to grind the rubble were located.

The camp commander was SS-Unterscharführer Reinhard Sichelschmidt.⁶ Walter Knauf, who was in charge of the Düsseldorf subcamp "Berta," appears to have played a coordinating role between Buchenwald and the DESt camp.⁷ An inspection report by the Essen State Police Office on July 13, 1944, provides information on security:

They have 1 Police Master and 19 sergeants to guard the camp. Nine men secure the camp during the day doing sentry duty for 11 straight hours, mostly in the neighboring streets. Another three guard external details. The prisoners' accommodation is secured at night by three men who alternately stand guard. . . . The guards are mostly police reservists and there is the risk that after 11 hours sentry duty their attention will wane because of tiredness. The only weapons the guards have are pistols, which is inadequate considering the size of the area to be secured. It is essential that the guards be armed with rifles.⁸

The head of the Schuttverwertung Düsseldorf-Essen (Düsseldorf-Essen Recycling Plant), SS-Oberscharführer Goergens, was in charge of the work. One of his duties was to ensure that the prisoners worked in accordance with requirements. This was partly in order to prevent prisoners from the DESt detachments being used for cleaning and repair work in the cities. In May 1944, the Higher-SS and Police Leader West had prohibited the use of prisoners for such work. At the same time, he reserved the right to use prisoners for special work assignments.⁹ And, in fact, prisoners were later used to recover unexploded bombs that were then deactivated by the Düsseldorf bomb squad known as Kalkum.

During the above-mentioned inspection by the Essen Gestapo, the prisoners' work tempo was deemed unsatisfactory. The report states as follows: "Regretfully the pace of work is slow. For example, a detachment was pulling bricks from piles of rubble. The prisoners, who had to carry the bricks about 15 meters [49 feet] to the street, moved slowly and each prisoner carried no more than two or three bricks. The foreman stated that the orders required them to carry five bricks. They did not do this because there were no measures, such as arrest or shortening of rations, to force them to work more quickly."¹⁰ The camp was in the middle of the city and open to public view. In these circumstances it was not possible to apply the usual concentration camp terror as the writer of the report, obviously annoyed, stated: "In this situation the question arises whether such concentration camp detachments are not pointless as they require a large number of guards and more rigorous disciplinary measures cannot be applied to achieve better results because they are in public view."¹¹

It is impossible to gauge to what extent the prisoners' circumstances were improved because the camp was more exposed to the public. A former prisoner, Werner Betzold, the camp elder, reported the noteworthy intervention of a policeman who apparently saved his life. Betzold stated at the beginning of the 1980s that he asked the camp commander Sichelschmidt for a doctor for the prisoners several times. Sichelschmidt constantly refused the request. One morning at roll call he informed Sichelschmidt that he no longer wanted to be camp elder. Sichelschmidt pulled his pistol in anger. A police officer intervened, shouting, "You will not shoot him!" and summoned more police by blowing his whistle. Sichelschmidt let Betzold go but punished him by transferring him to the DESt camp.¹²

At least 5 prisoners died in the Essen camp—3 during the period when the camp was part of the SS-Construction Brigade and 2 in June 1944. At least 5 prisoners were able to escape, and at least 8 were classified "incapable of work" and sent back to the main camp.¹³ The remaining 129 prisoners in the camp were sent back to Buchenwald on March 21, 1945, in the face of the advancing Allies.¹⁴

Investigations by state prosecutors after 1945 did not reveal any punishable offenses. The former camp commander Sichelschmidt lived at least until 1988 untroubled by his former workplace.

SOURCES It is thanks to Ernst Schmidt from Essen that the camp became the subject of attention in the 1980s. He collected reports from eyewitnesses, survivors, and participants as well as documents that he published in a chapter in the second volume of his book *Lichter in der Finsternis: Widerstand und Verfolgung in Essen 1938–1945; Erlebnisse—Berichte—Forschungen—Gespräche* (Essen, 1988). Included in the book are a photograph of the house at "Schwarze Poth 13" and a group photo of the guards (pp. 187, 198). The material he collected is held by the Ruhrlandmuseum Essen (Archive Ernst Schmidt, Collection 19/370).

Other sources can be found in the THStA-W (Collections

"KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten," "NS 4 Buchenwald"), NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1174–1190, Court Rept. 118/2334–2336), and in the BA-L (IV 406 AR 85/67, IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, IV 429 AR-Z 126/74).

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. "Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen," NARA, RG 238, NO-1573, as cited by Walter Naasner, *SS-Wirtschaft und SS-Verwaltung: Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen und weitere Dokumente* (Düsseldorf: Droste-Verlag, 1998), p. 136.
2. SS-Construction Brigade III Duisburg, December 13, 1943, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1177.
3. Work Deployment Statistics, February, March, and April 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 230, pp. 5, 25, 50.
4. WVHA, Amt D, April 26, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 10, p. 291.
5. Cited by Ernst Schmidt, *Lichter in der Finsternis: Widerstand und Verfolgung in Essen 1938–1945; Erlebnisse—Berichte—Forschungen—Gespräche* (Essen, 1988), 2: 194.
6. Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Directory, November 6, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1183.
7. SS-Oberscharführer Knauf, Strength Report December 12, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 229.
8. Cited by Schmidt, *Lichter in der Finsternis*, p. 189.
9. HSSPF West, May 11, 1944, NWHStA-(D), RW 37/2, p. 27.
10. Cited by Schmidt, *Lichter in der Finsternis*, p. 189.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., pp. 196–198.
13. Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln: Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne, 1996), p. 235; THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a.
14. ITS, Arolsen, June 29, 1950, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/2334.

ESSEN (HUMBOLDTSTRASSE)

The subcamp of Essen (Humboldtstrasse), an external work detail (Kommando) of the Buchenwald concentration camp, existed from August 1944 until March 1945. The subcamp held 520 Hungarian Jewish women, who were forced to work in the Friedrich Krupp Inc. cast steel factory.

The Humboldtstrasse camp was established in 1943. It initially housed French civilian workers, followed later by female forced laborers from the Soviet Union and Italian military internees. They all worked in the Essen factories of the Krupp firm. In 1944 German staff members of the Krupp cast steel factory were conscripted into military service; the foreign civilian workers or prisoners of war (POWs), who could initially replace them, were barely obtainable in the face of German defeats on all fronts. Therefore, in the early summer of 1944, the company increased its efforts regarding the

allocation of camp prisoners. After the acting personnel manager personally applied to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in Oranienburg, a written request for prisoners was addressed to the commanders of the Buchenwald camp. It was granted in June 1944.¹ However, while the company had wanted 2,000 male craftsmen, the WVHA allocated to Krupp Inc. female prisoners from the group of Hungarian Jewish women who in early 1944 had been deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau and not gassed.

Corporate management thereupon sent a representative to the neighboring city of Gelsenkirchen, where on the grounds of Gelsenberg Benzin AG approximately 2,000 female Jewish camp prisoners were housed in tent camps and primarily employed to clear debris. The camp was administered by the Buchenwald concentration camp. Because the Krupp factory held open workstations for no more than 300 women, and the SS prisoners were only portioned in groups of 500, a contingent of 500 women plus 20 female prisoner-functionaries was agreed upon. These 520 prisoners, most of whom were women around 20 years old, were transferred to the Humboldtstrasse camp at the end of August 1944.²

There, five barracks in the western section of the camp complex had been separated for the female inmates and enclosed with barbed wire. On the other side of the fence, Eastern female workers from the USSR were housed. In front of the enclosed section was a barrack for the guard squad. The camp for the Jewish inmates lay on a open field, had no leveled paths, and had four sleeping barracks and a kitchen with a cafeteria. In the sleeping barracks the women found roughly 65 bunk-bed frames with straw sacks. The rooms, which had until then housed Italian military internees, were incredibly filthy. The camp leader (Lagerführer) was 30-year-old SS-Oberscharführer Albert Rieck, and his deputies were the two SS-Unterscharführer Willi Kerkhoff and Otto Maier. In addition to the SS guard Kommandos, the Krupp firm had recruited women from its own workforce to act as guards. They were sent to a 10-day crash course for concentration camp overseers in the Ravensbrück female concentration camp, and there they were inducted into SS service. Initially the guard squad was composed of 44 women and 15 men. However, half of these guards soon received other tasks.³

The prisoners were awakened at 4:00 A.M. and ordered to roll call in front of the barracks. Following breakfast, which at first consisted of bread and margarine, they were taken by streetcar to the Krupp cast steel factory, where work began at 6:00. The majority of the Hungarian female inmates worked in Steel Mill II; instructed by German workers, they were charged with stoking the oven, performing the welding, and carrying out various chores. Most of the women were employed in a two-shift system consisting of 12 hours each. The work on the night shift was easier, since the women were often only responsible for overseeing the meters. How the Jewish women in Steel Mill II fared depended largely upon the benevolence of the German workers and above all on the demeanor of the factory manager, boss, and assistant foreman.

The scale of different behaviors ranged from clandestine solidarity, which was personally risky (since it was forbidden), to open brutality. It appears that indifference predominated at Humboldtstrasse. During aerial bombings, people were preoccupied with their own problems; the misery of the foreigners was both obvious and irrevocable. Individual relations with the prisoners varied considerably among the guard squad as well. The female prisoners were especially fearful of the frequently abusive camp leader Rieck and Emmi Theissen, the leader of the SS women's Kommando.

When Essen was subjected to a heavy Allied air raid on the night of October 23–24, 1944, the camp prisoners took refuge in ditches that were only 1 meter (3.3 feet) deep and therefore provided little protection. The guards found refuge in a bunker that neither the prisoners nor the neighboring Eastern workers were allowed to enter. The camp area received one direct hit; 58 Russian women were killed. Since the quarters of the prisoners were also completely destroyed, the women temporarily repaired the less-damaged kitchen barrack and set up in its dining hall a large, continuous communal bed, for which there was only some straw and an insufficient number of blankets. Because the streetcar stopped operating after the strike, following breakfast (which was rationed considerably smaller and later wholly omitted), the women had to march 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) through Essen to work under the watch of abusive SS men. Since they received no footwear, they walked with old wooden clogs, rags bundled around their feet, or barefoot, even in winter. In the factory, as part of reparation work, they had to drag bricks, transport metal plates, and perform other heavy labor. In the evening after 6:00 P.M., they lined up for the return march, received their evening meal in the camp, now mostly cauliflower soup and bread, and then crowded themselves together to sleep in the increasing cold. During this time one woman died of tuberculosis, another as a result of severe frostbite. When it was discovered that one of the women was pregnant, she was sent back to Birkenau.

Yet another Allied air strike on December 12, 1944, destroyed the kitchen barrack of the Humboldtstrasse camp. The women were put up in the cellar rooms of a nearby, burned-out barrack. For the next quarter year, most of them had to sleep on a damp cement floor with a blanket or on a little straw. The management committee of the Krupp firm knew of the women's circumstances. However, nothing was done, especially because since January 1945 the situation in Essen tended toward chaos. In February 1945 camp director Rieck announced his orders that under no circumstances should he let the camp prisoners fall alive into the hands of the Allied troops. The board of directors of the Krupp firm decided that the prisoners should immediately leave Essen. On March 17, 1945, under the direction of a Krupp administrator and several SS guards, the women marched to the neighboring town of Bochum, where they boarded a special train to Buchenwald, along with Jewish male camp prisoners from Hungary. The journey to Buchenwald, in third-class passenger cars and freight cars, took three days as a result of the war situation.⁴ From Buchenwald the women were immediately led to the Bergen-Belsen concentra-

tion camp, which took another three days. Arriving in Bergen-Belsen on March 22, 1945, the women experienced a typhus epidemic, terrible hunger, and the imminent threat of SS firing squads. It is unclear how many of the original 520 women survived through the capture of Bergen-Belsen by British troops on April 15, 1945. Directly after liberation of the camp, the majority of survivors were taken to Sweden by the Red Cross.

A few days after the evacuation of the Hungarian Jewish women from Essen, six of them—Rosa Katz, Gizella Israel, Erna and Elizabeth Roth, Agnes and Renée Königsberg—used an Allied air strike to escape while on their way to work. They hid themselves in the cellar of the demolished mortuary of the Essen Jewish Cemetery. They stayed there a couple of days, without water or food. Eventually Rosa Katz called on a married couple, Erna and Gerhard Marquardt, who lived close by. The couple provided for the escapees and brought them to a hideout that was less dangerous. In the aftermath, several others (in addition to the Marquardts) participated in the rescue of the six women, above all Karl Schneider, who, like Gerhard Marquardt, worked in the Krupp steel mill, Schneider's neighbor Erna Lippold, the grocer Fritz Niermann, and his employees Gertrud Hahnen and Adolf Gatzweiler.⁵

After 1945, and during the successive trial against Krupp, the leaders of the Humboldtstrasse subcamp were included among the authorities charged with expressly following inhumane labor policies and the cooperation of Ruhr Basin industry in National Socialist crimes. No member of the guard personnel was legally prosecuted after 1945. Preliminary proceedings were only opened against Lagerführer Rieck following his death.

SOURCES The basic overview about the history of the Humboldtstrasse subcamp is derived from Ulrich Herbert, "Von Auschwitz nach Essen. Die Geschichte des KZ-Aussenlagers Humboldtstrasse," *DaHe* 2 (1986): 13–34. On the basis of personal interviews with Krupp workers, Herbert also reconstructed the relations between the German corporate employees vis-à-vis the foreign laborers—not just Jewish—who were coercively appointed, in his "Apartheid nebenan: Erinnerungen an die Fremdarbeiter im Ruhrgebiet," in *Die Jahre weiss man nicht, wo man die heute hinsetzen soll": Faschismuserfahrungen im Ruhrgebiet*, ed. Lutz Niethammer (Berlin, 1983), pp. 67–69. The Essen local historian, Ernst Schmidt, told the history of the subcamp based on conversations and correspondence with several Hungarian Jewish prisoners who were able to flee from the subcamp in early 1945, as well as those Esseners who assisted them. See his "Essener Außenläger des KZ Buchenwald," in *Lichter in der Finsternis. Widerstand und Verfolgung in Essen 1933–1945* (Essen, 1988), 2: 187–220; and "Das Schicksal der ungarischen Jüdin Rose Szego und ihrer Familie," in *Jüdisches Leben in Essen 1800–1933*, ed. Alte Synagoge Essen (Essen, 1993), pp. 193–197.

Primary sources for this camp start with StA N, Nürnberg Subsequent Proceedings, Case X (*USA v. Alfred Krupp et al.*), Prosecution Document Books (especially B 42, 48, 49, 50, 53, 57) and Defense Document Books (in particular M 3 and 4), as well as trial protocols, ZdL (now BA-L), Bestand IV 429 AR-A 51/71 (D), Bände 1–5. This includes evidence: for

example, the recollections of 36 former prisoners, 22 former members of the guard squad, virtually all at the time officers in the Krupp property management, and German workers who were employed at Krupp.

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NOTES

1. Aktenvermerk Walter Hölkeskamp, September 15, 1947, Dok. NIK 11679, Nürnberger Nachfolgeprozesse Fall X, B 42; Aussage Ihn, 1.10.1945, Dok. D 274, Case X, B 59; Sitzung der Sonder-Arbeitseinsatz-Ingenieure Krupp, 21.6.1944, Dok. NIK 9804, Case X, B 58.

2. See v.a. Affidavit Dolhaine, September 18, 1947, Dok. NIK 11675, Case X, B 48.

3. For guard personnel, see v.a. Aktenvermerk Krupp, Wirtschaftsbüro, July 29, 1944, Dok. D 238, Fall X, B 48; Affidavit Schwarz vom 27.8.1947, Dok. NIK 11313; Affidavit Geulen, August 9, 1947, Dok. NIK 11731; Affidavit Hermanns, Dok. NIK 11930; Affidavit Dominik, Dok. NIK 11729; Affidavit Trockel, Dok. NIK 11676; alle: Fall X, B 48; ZdL (now BA-L), OSta Köln, 24 Js 14/71 (Z).

4. For the dissolution of the Humboldtstrasse camp as well as the transport to Buchenwald and Bergen-Belsen, see Aussage Dolhaine, May 21, 1948, Fall X, Protokoll S. 8942; Ihn an Lehmann, Doc. D, Dok. 274; Affidavit Rosa Katz, Doc. D 277, Fall X, B 48; SS-Arbeitskommando Krupp an Oberlagerführung Krupp, 9. und 14.3.1945, Dok. NIK 7014; Korrespondenz mit der Reichsbahndirektion, Dok. NIK 13001; Affidavit Grossmann, Dok. 12604—alle Fall X, B 48; Affidavit Kerkemann, November 25, 1947, Dok. NIK 12877, Fall X, B 49; Affidavit Sommerer, March 11, 1948, Dok. Lehmann 165, Fall X, M 3; Affidavit Stender, 11.3.1948, Dok. Lehmann 166, Case X, M 3.

5. As reconstructed from oral history interviews in Ernst Schmidt, "Essener Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald," in *Lichter in der Finsternis. Widerstand und Verfolgung in Essen 1933–1945* (Essen, 1988).

FLÖSSBERG

The Buchenwald Flössberg subcamp was one of seven camps established by the company Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) during the last year of the war in Germany. The camp was located close to the village of Flössberg, 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) south of Leipzig. There was a maximum of 1,200 Jewish men in the camp who had to do construction work for a new armaments factory.¹ The camp received its first transport of prisoners on December 28, 1944, and closed on April 13, 1945, when the prisoners were transported away.²

From 1934, the Leipzig lamp manufacturer HASAG produced increasing quantities of munitions, primarily grenades and, toward the end of the war, the *Panzerfaust*, an important antitank weapon. In 1939, the company took over as trustee for the Wehrmacht in Poland several factories that manufactured munitions. From 1942 on, in six forced labor camps including camps in Kielce, Częstochowa, and Skarżysko-Kamienna, the company manufactured munitions, using thousands of forced

Jewish laborers. Camps were established in each of the company's factories. As the front got closer and closer to the Polish factories and the HASAG subcamps, the company began in the summer of 1944 to relocate its existing production sites to Sachsen and Thüringen. It also established new sites in those states. Flössberg was probably chosen as the last of the seven HASAG subcamps because of its good rail connections and its forest location, which allowed the production facilities to be camouflaged. Flössberg was not far from the main factory in Leipzig and not far from Colditz, where there had been an earlier subcamp. The company established the subcamp on a field close to the village of Flössberg on the edge of a forest at the end of November 1944. The company's employees and "foreign laborers" built barracks and fences for the prison camp before the arrival of the first transport of 150 men from Buchenwald on December 28, 1944.

The Buchenwald camp statistics record the camp as a "Jewish Work Detachment." The men had been chosen in Buchenwald or were from one of the six other HASAG camps and sent for forced labor in Flössberg. At first the prisoners were kept busy with the construction of the camp and production facilities close to the camp. They had to carry rails and lay the bed for the railway tracks as well as lay a company railway line. Survivors have talked about leveling the ground and transporting building materials for the construction of factory buildings and barracks in the forest. "The work was done in boggy ground, on the run," according to former prisoner Szmul Lustiger.³ A few prisoners were required to unload and assemble the machines, which probably originated from the HASAG factories in Poland and were to be used to manufacture the Panzerfäuste. It is not known whether the machines actually produced these weapons during the four months of the camp's existence. In addition to construction work, the HASAG prisoners, especially in March 1945, were used outside the camp after Allied bombing raids on the factory facilities in the forest. They were used to clean up and disarm unexploded bombs in the nearby manor of Beucha.

The Jewish prisoners in Flössberg came from different countries, but there were many Hungarians and Poles. Some had already worked in the Polish HASAG factories. On the Flössberg transport lists are men of all age groups, but most were between 25 and 35 years of age. Non-Jewish males were sent to Flössberg as prisoner-functionaries. Michael Eichler reported on a German barrack elder (Barackenältester) who had been arrested because he was a homosexual. The number of prisoners in Flössberg climbed steadily to the beginning of March 1945 and soon passed the number of villagers. According to the transport lists there were in January 300 to 450 internees, and on February 2, 1945, 769. After that, there was a prisoner exchange. On February 17, 1945, and on March 2, 1945, 230 prisoners were taken to Buchenwald. During the same period of time, 990 Buchenwald prisoners and inmates from the HASAG camps at Schlieben and Leipzig were taken to Flössberg, with the result that by the end of February the camp reached its highest capacity of 1,450. This was to last only for a short time. After that the numbers declined continually in large part due to the many deaths. The final strength report

dated April 7, 1945, records 1,144 prisoners. At least 166 prisoners had died in the camp by April 7, 1945, 94 alone in the last month of the camp's operation.⁴ Some 1,904 prisoners went through the camp. This means that in the four months at least 9 percent of the prisoners had died. Of the 586 prisoners (31 percent) who were returned from Flössberg back to the main camp, the majority were so exhausted that Buchenwald SS-Standortarzt Gerhard Schiedlausky made the following notation in his weekly reports: "Condition very poor."⁵ In Flössberg there was a minimum of medical care provided by a camp prisoner doctor. He had to treat the sick, wounded, and exhausted without beds and with almost no medicine. Especially in February, SS and company personnel selected prisoners in Flössberg on several occasions for "physical weakness" but also including those who had an accident, suffered from frostbite, eczema, skin, and digestion problems, had tuberculosis, and so on. Those selected were transferred back to Buchenwald. Many would have died there or in the evacuation of the camp in April. This situation leads one to conclude that Flössberg was one of the toughest detachments in the last phase of the war.

The main reasons for the deaths of so many prisoners were the extreme prison conditions and the debilitating forced labor. The prisoners were accommodated in wooden barracks and slept on straw mattresses or on bare stretchers. There were no sanitary conditions in the camp. The prisoners got some of their water from puddles in the boggy area. There was no possibility to wash clothes in the camp or to change clothes. The prisoners were fed daily with soup. This was inadequate for many prisoners who had to survive the difficult 12-hour shifts.

The prisoners suffered from the long roll calls and the treatment of their guards. SS-Obersturmführer Wolfgang Plaul, in command of the Leipzig subcamps and responsible for the HASAG camp, had to answer to the Buchenwald camp commander, Hermann Pister, in February 1945, for his mistreatment of prisoners. SS-Untersturmführer Scheller, commander of an SS Pioniereinheit (Field Engineer Unit), who was also noticed for his mistreatment of the prisoners in the camp, was threatened by Plaul with severe punishment. The leader of the Flössberg camp, SS-Oberscharführer Strese, was relieved of his command at the same time. He was succeeded by SS-Oberscharführer Lütscher.

The prisoners were guarded by SS units. According to former prisoner reports, many of the guards were wounded or invalided men. Other SS men were said to be very young. During their forced labor, the prisoners were supervised by German civilians who were mostly skilled HASAG or construction tradesmen. They allocated the prisoners to work and guarded them. The prisoners, outside the camp site, came into contact with the local population, for example, when constructing the railway facilities. The HASAG factory was an object of curiosity in Flössberg, as former priest Erich Senff recorded in his diary on February 6, 1945: "The Hasag factory is now a place for excursions for Flössberg."⁶

On March 5, 1945, the Flössberg HASAG factory facilities and probably the guards' accommodation barracks were de-

stroyed during an Allied air raid. The prisoners' camp was spared from the air attack. However, until the camp was evacuated, the prisoners had to reconstruct the destroyed facilities under the most severe conditions. The prisoners were driven from the camp on April 13, 1945, and deported by rail in the direction of Mauthausen.⁷ Around 100 prisoners were squeezed into each wagon, which had been used to transport explosives. When the journey commenced, the prisoners were given a loaf of bread for their journey, which was to last several days. Once a day they were allowed out of the wagons to go to the toilet. When this happened the countless dead were taken from the wagons. According to prisoners' reports, some of the prisoners, after a few days, were driven on to Mauthausen by foot. When they arrived, the survivors noticed that the guards had gone.

SOURCES The Flössberg camp is discussed in an essay on the HASAG camps: Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Außenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271.

Documents on the Flössberg subcamp are scattered among many archives. Fragmentary SS-HASAG correspondence on this camp has survived. In AG-B and THStA-W, there are a few relevant documents especially relating to the work done by the Buchenwald SS-Standortarzt (NS4Bu, KZuHaftaBu). There are several survivors' reports in different languages or records of interview at YV (Collections M.1.E, M49.E, and O.3). The priest at Flössberg, Hans-Ulrich Dietze, has collected information on the camp since the 1970s.

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NOTES

1. NARA, Washington—RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015767–808.
2. Diary Erich Senff, copy in the ownership of the writer, April 13, 1945. Report Szmul Lustiger (translation from the Polish by Agnieszka Lasota), YVA, M.49/784.
3. Rept. Szmul Lustiger.
4. THStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 1–166.
5. THStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 15 und Bl. 18.
6. Diary Erich Senff, a.a.O.
7. Interview with Emil Bergmann, YVA, O.3/9185. Also Rept. of Szmul Lustiger.

GANDERSHEIM

[AKA BAD GANDERSHEIM]

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Bad Gandersheim (Lower Saxony province) in October 1944 to provide labor to a branch of the Heinkel-Werke (Heinkel Works) located at the Bruns Apparatebau GmbH in Brunshausen near Gandersheim. Like other armaments firms that exploited prisoner labor, the Bruns Apparatebau hired out inmates from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 9 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day, payable to the SS by the firm.

The first transport of 206 inmates was selected and left Buchenwald's so-called small camp (*kleines Lager*) on October 2, 1944. The group consisted of skilled laborers who were chosen for work in the factory as well as those selected for their relative physical strength who were to construct the camp itself. The inmates were transferred to Gandersheim in cattle cars and, until the camp barracks were constructed, were housed in an empty church. Prior to its use as a temporary subcamp, the church was used as quarters for prisoners of war (POWs) as well as for pregnant Russian and Polish slave laborers who were forced to give birth there and to abandon their newborn children. One half of the church was covered in straw on which the Gandersheim inmates slept, and a makeshift infirmary (*Revier*) was partitioned off near the entrance of the church.

Following the arrival of the inmates, civilian foremen and supervisors from the Bruns Apparatebau factory came to the church to select prisoners for work. Those not selected formed the fence commando (Zaunkommando), which was assigned to construct the barracks for the new camp. Inmates sent to work in the factory were marched to the Bruns Apparatebau, located in nearby Brunshausen. The Heinkel firm had leased the Brunshausen factory to continue production of He 219 radio navigation equipment and fuselages. German personnel who had worked originally for the Vereinigte Ostwerke GmbH (United Eastern Works, Ltd., another subsidiary of Heinkel) in Mielec, Poland, were transferred to Brunshausen after the Ostwerke was dissolved in the summer of 1944.

Although the prisoners generally preferred work in the factory to the unprotected outdoor conditions of heavy labor in the Zaunkommando, conditions in the factory were also difficult. Constant pneumatic drilling made the work extremely noisy. German civilian foremen who supervised the work beat the inmates who were suspected of sabotage or who did not work efficiently enough.¹ The prisoners were underfed, especially for the physical conditions they were expected to endure; most testimony and prisoner memoirs comment on the persistent lack of food, constant hunger, and futile attempts to search or barter for extra food. In a few instances, civilian workers in the Bruns Apparatebau offered extra food, but these cases of assistance were rare. The pursuit of tobacco was another common obsession of the inmates. The latrine shared by all inmates in the camp was a crude hole with wooden benches surrounding it.

All of the inmates in the Gandersheim subcamp were men, with the largest groups of prisoners coming from France, Italy, Russia, and Poland. There were also smaller numbers of German, Belgian, Czech, Spanish, Croatian, Dutch, Serbian, and Slovenian inmates. Additional demographic information, such as the average age and professions of the inmates, can be gleaned from further research and statistical analysis of transport lists and other administrative records.² After the initial October transport from Buchenwald, 333 inmates were transported to Gandersheim from Dachau.³ On December 18, 1944, another 50 inmates were transferred from the Sachsenhausen main camp to Gandersheim.⁴ After the construction

of the camp was completed, inmates were divided into three barrack blocks. The average strength of the Gandersheim camp throughout its seven-month period of operation was about 500 inmates. By April 1945, there were 519 inmates.

As in other camps, the hierarchy of camp supervision incorporated prisoner-functionaries as well as members of the SS who guarded and administered the camp. Therefore, in addition to work assignments in the factory or in construction, several inmates, mainly German professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*), were selected as work overseers (Kapos), block elders (Blockältester), and camp elders (Lagerältester). A report published in the study by Paul le Goupil, Gigi Texier, and Pierre Texier identifies the Lagerältester as prisoner Paul Knopf. The Blockältester for the three blocks were Edmund Grudowski, L. Wischnewsky, and B. Rullan. There were six inmates appointed to orderly duty (*Stubendienst*), three to the laundry, as well as eight Kapos, and other assignments to the infirmary, storage, and SS quarters.⁵

The names of many of the SS guards stationed in Gandersheim are also known. Hauptscharführer Willy Dillenburger was the commandant of the camp. Other guards in service in Gandersheim included: Unterscharführer Urban; the Dutch-born Unterscharführer Anton Przybliski; Unterscharführer Albert Janke, who was in charge of inmate work assignments in the camp and the evacuation march; Truppführer Albert Jokussies; Schütze Emil Kraaz; Unterscharführer Paselt; Truppführer Stephan Müller; Truppführer Georg Muller; Oberscharführer Ignaz Grescher, who headed the infirmary section; Rottenführer Helmut Vogt; Schütze Antoine Otto, in charge of the kitchen; Hans Herman; Schütze Eggers; Oberscharführer Sepp Schralm; and August Köhler.

Some of the guards and Kapos were known especially for their cruelty and propensity to punish and beat the inmates at every chance. At various intervals, some inmates were transferred back to the infirmary at the Buchenwald main camp if they were no longer able to work.⁶ Surviving transfer/strength reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*) also show that deaths were reported to the Buchenwald administration intermittently from Gandersheim.⁷ Those who died in the camp were taken to the nearby Clus forest and buried. The largest execution of prisoners took place just prior to the evacuation of the camp in April 1945, when 40 inmates were shot in the forest and buried. They had stepped out of the columns upon the request of the SS for those too weak to march in the evacuation. Their bodies were later recovered by American troops, identified and researched, and reburied in the cemetery of Salzburg.

Despite the working and living conditions, there were a few cases of sabotage in the Brunshausen factory, as well as some escape attempts, especially during the evacuation marches. Sabotage in the factory was difficult, however, because civilian foremen and Kapos monitored each stage of the production process carefully.⁸ Movements to dissolve the camp began on April 4, 1945, when the 40 weak inmates were executed. About 460 inmates were rounded up and evacuated on foot. The original destination was to return to Buchenwald; however,

the Allies had already advanced toward Nordhausen and Erfurt. Instead, the march continued east, in the direction of the Harz Mountains, passing through Ackershausen, Dannhausen, Kirchberg, Bad Grund, and Clausthal-Zellerfeld. By April 13, after considerable division of the Gandersheim march and combining with several other evacuation marches from camps (including Langenstein, Wansleben, and others), a part of the Gandersheim march reached Bitterfeld and was transferred by train to Dachau.⁹ The 9th U.S. Army liberated Gandersheim on April 10. Of those Gandersheim inmates who reached Dachau, about 150 survived.

None of the civilian employees of the Heinkel firm in Brunshausen were brought to trial after the war, although the director Kleinemeyer was said to have encouraged the punishment of inmates. His subordinate, referred to as "F.F" by le Goupil, Texier, and Texier, and who conducted labor negotiations with the SS, was also not prosecuted and went on to various governmental and mayoral positions in Wolfenbüttel and Lower Saxony after the war. Truppführer Albert Jokussies and Kapo Friedrich Sohl were tried in Hannover in 1948 for the execution before the march as well as shooting other prisoners during the march. They were sentenced to four years in prison.¹⁰

SOURCES Two major secondary sources upon which this entry builds cover much of the history of the Buchenwald subcamp at Bad Gandersheim. See Paul le Goupil, Gigi Texier, and Pierre Texier, *Bad Gandersheim: Autopsie d'un Commando de Buchenwald* (Le Pecq: G. et P. Texier, 2003), for a comprehensive history of the camp, including several photographs, diagrams and layouts of the grounds, research reports, reproduction of primary documents, and many survivor testimonies. Their study also includes extensive statistical analyses, especially of the demographics of French former inmates, as well as a nearly comprehensive list of Gandersheim inmates with their professions, ages, and so on (pp. 91–126). Robert Antelme's *The Human Race/L'espèce humaine*, trans. J. Haight and A. Mahler (Evanston, IL: Marlboro Press/Northwestern University Press, 1998) is a detailed and moving memoir about living and working conditions in the Gandersheim camp, the treatment by specific Kapos and guards, and the treacherous evacuation marches from the camp at the end of the war. For brief information on the Gandersheim camp, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, see *Das nationalsozialistische Lagerystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

Several private collections and archives contain primary documentation on the Bad Gandersheim subcamp, and the text by le Goupil, Texier, and Texier makes special note of them. See, for example, AG-B and AG-MD for relevant transport lists and other administrative records associated with the camp, as well as AAC-C and AN. Copies of some of these administrative records are located in USHMMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, in a collection of documents copied from AN-MACVG and originating from ITS (see especially BU 45, BU 69 and BU 5/3). For the Jokussies and Sohl proceedings, see C.F. Rüter and D.W. de Mildt, eds., *Justiz und NS-*

Verbrechen (Amsterdam: APA-Holland University Press, 1998), vol. 4.

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NOTES

1. See, for example, Robert Antelme, *The Human Race/L'espèce humaine*, trans. J. Haight and A. Mahler (Evanston, IL: Marlboro Press/Northwestern University Press, 1998), pp. 140–145.
2. See the "KL Buchenwald, KDO Gandersheim ('Gh')" collection of documents (BU 44), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16.
3. "Transport Gandersheim," November 17, 1944 (BU 44), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16.
4. "Transport Gandersheim," December 18, 1944 (BU 7/14), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 6.
5. See le Goupil, Texier, and Texier, *The Human Race*, p. 129, for SS report listing camp prisoner staff.
6. See transport report dated November 18, 1944, from Gandersheim to Buchenwald (7 inmates), as well as report dated January 10, 1945 (10 inmates) (BU 44), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16.
7. Veränderungsmeldungen, January 28, 1945 (2 deaths) (BU 36/4); January 31, 1945 (1 death due to bronchial pneumonia) (BU 36/4); February 6, 1945 (1 death due to rickets) (36/3); February 13, 1945 (2 deaths due to lung inflammation) (BU 36/4)—all in USHMMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16.
8. See testimony of Roger Perret, in le Goupil, Texier, and Texier, *The Human Race*, p. 11.
9. See evacuation diagrams in *ibid.*, pp. 133–143.
10. See *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 4.

GELSENKIRCHEN-HORST

One of the Buchenwald forced labor detachments was established in the Gelsenkirchen suburb of Horst in the Ruhr. It was located at the Gelsenberg Benzin AG hydrogenation factory. The factory was heavily damaged on June 13, 1944, during an air raid, and production came to a standstill. However, the importance to the war effort of hydrogenation and the manufacture of aircraft kerosene meant that orders were given for the immediate removal of the damage. The labor shortage meant that the dangerous work was to be done by forced laborers. As a result 2,000 Hungarian Jewish women were "selected" in Auschwitz for work in Gelsenkirchen. These women were from Transylvania, Sighet, and its surrounding areas. They had been in Auschwitz for six weeks. The Buchenwald subcamp in Gelsenkirchen-Horst was established with the arrival of the Hungarian women on July 4, 1944.¹ The extent of the damage to the hydrogenation factory meant that the deployment was practically meaningless.

The camp was established on an empty field to the east of the Gelsenberg Benzin factory. It consisted of three large army tents. The camp was fenced in with barbed wire. The prisoners remember it as being electrified. It was flanked by watchtowers with guards armed with machine guns.² The SS guards, men and women, but a majority of women in uniform,

were at first accommodated some distance away in the hotel "Zur Post" in the Gelsenkirchen city district of Buer until the real camp in a stone building was established outside the camp. In this building was located the camp administration. The camp commander was SS-Obersturmführer Eugen Dietrich. Most of the wardresses were conscripted for the task. Before they arrived via the Buchenwald main camp at Gelsenkirchen (they were later to go to other camps), they had undergone a training course with another 100 future wardresses at the Ravensbrück concentration camp.³

The heads of the Hungarian women were shaved. They were dressed in a sacklike dress of coarse linen and wore primitive shoes with wooden soles. The women had to work 12 hours a day. The work was heavy physical labor in the Gelsenberg Benzin factory and for the Oberbauleitung (Project Management) of the Organisation Todt (OT) in Essen-Kupferdreh. Their primary task was to clean up the factory. They also had to unload ships in the canal's port. The work demanded from the overtaxed women was brutally driven. They were mistreated. However, a few witnesses have stated that the supervisors showed some compassion. Others recall that a few pregnant women were deported to Auschwitz. Yet others say that a child was born in the Gelsenkirchen camp and either strangled by a supervisor or killed with an injection.⁴ There is evidence that two women died in the Gelsenkirchen subcamp on August 26 and 29, 1944. They probably died as a result of the typhus epidemic raging in the camp.⁵

As the cleanup work at the Gelsenberg Benzin plant was obviously a failure and there could be no thought of resuming the production of synthetic fuel, consideration was soon given to dissolving the subcamp. The Krupp Walzwerke (rolling mill) made a request to use the women, and on August 24, 1944, 520 of the Hungarian women selected by Krupp representatives were transferred to the Essen camp in Humboldtstrasse.⁶ [See Buchenwald/Essen (Humboldtstrasse).]

The women who remained in the Gelsenkirchen-Horst subcamp were the victims of a new air raid on the hydrogenation factory on September 11, 1944, at 5:42 P.M. The Allied attack hit the camp and the women who were not permitted to go into the bunkers or air trenches. The number of dead inmates is not certain: according to the Gelsenberg Benzin AG, 151 women were killed. SS-Obersturmführer Eugen Dietrich, commander of the guard, gave the number of dead women as 138. The surviving women had to commence preparations the day after the raid for the cremation of the corpses. The remains were cremated and interred in three mass graves. The Gelsenkirchen Cemetery Office (Friedhofsamt) determined in 1949 that additional women had died in the hospitals as a result of severe injuries incurred during the raid. Three women died in the Bottrop Marien Hospital and were buried in the Jewish section of the Bottrop Westfriedhof. According to the Friedhofsamt, other women who died in the hospitals were hurriedly buried in mass graves.⁷

As the Gelsenberg factory had been irreparably damaged by the attack, the Buchenwald Gelsenkirchen-Horst subcamp was dissolved on September 14–15, 1944. The camp com-

mander SS-Obersturmführer Eugen Dietrich reported on September 16 that 1,215 women had been transferred to Sömmerda in Thüringen for forced labor at the Rheinmetall-Borsig AG factory located there and that 520 had been taken to Essen, where a new Buchenwald subcamp had been established in Humboldtstrasse. There were 138 women "killed by enemy action," 94 were wounded, 23 were in hospitals, and 8 pregnant women had been sent to Auschwitz. Two had died from typhus. Another report from the camp at Sömmerda on December 18 referred to a woman who had died and a camp strength of 1,271 prisoners. At the end of November or the beginning of December, a transport of around 50 women, who had been injured and had been left behind at Gelsenkirchen, left for Sömmerda. Above all, it was the women from the hospital in Gelsenkirchen-Horst, which in the meantime had been destroyed, who were deported to Sömmerda. A survivor reported that after she was injured in the bombing raid that she and other women, after a stay in a hospital in Gelsenkirchen, were deported to Sömmerda on December 2, 1944.⁸

The injured women were delivered to hospitals in the surrounding area, 31 alone to the Catholic Gelsenkirchen-Horst St-Josefs-Hospital. The chief doctor in the surgery department, Dr. Rudolf Bertram, admitted the women. Dr. Bertram was also the chief doctor in the Catholic Marienhospital in Gelsenkirchen-Rothausen, which took in other wounded women. The Catholic sisters (Franciscans in the St-Josefs-Hospital and sisters of the order Arme Dienstmägde Jesu Christi in the Marien Hospital) cared for the wounded. Many of the women, despite the help of the hospital personnel, were not able to escape the National Socialists. Most of the women were deported on January 16, 1945, to Sömmerda in Thüringen. Only 17 women experienced liberation in Gelsenkirchen. Dr. Bertram was honored in 1980 as one of the Righteous Amongst the Nations at Yad Vashem in Israel for his work in saving Jews.⁹

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg only began investigations long after the liberation from National Socialism. It questioned 64 former prisoners and six former SS members. The majority of the Buchenwald Gelsenkirchen-Horst subcamp personnel, some of whom had gone to Sömmerda, could not be determined.¹⁰ The camp commander, Obersturmführer Eugen Dietrich, born in 1889 in Ludwigshafen, was generally regarded as humane. He had first commanded a camp in Mühlhausen, then the Gelsenkirchen subcamp, and finally the Sömmerda subcamp. He died in 1966 without a trial. Dietrich was a soldier and officer in World War I; during the Weimar Republic he worked as a finance officer at the Handwerkskammer (trade corporation) in Kaiserslautern, a middle-class profession. During World War II he was called up. He tried for front-line service and ended up in the SS, where he reached the rank of Obersturmführer. Dietrich, who had been a member of the Buchenwald SS-Totenkopfsturmbann (Death's Head Battalion) since October 1942, graduated to commanding subcamps. After the liberation from National Socialism, Dietrich was interned by the Americans. They transferred him to the

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French, who released him from internment in 1949. His final release took place in 1959. During denazification proceedings, Dietrich, against expectations, was not classified as an activist.¹¹

Due to the contradictory statements by survivors of the Gelsenkirchen-Horst subcamp and the failure to identify the perpetrators, male and female, the ZdL in Ludwigsburg suggested that the Essen state prosecutor take up the investigations. The senior state prosecutor halted the investigations into the subcamp on August 16, 1971, "as there were no prospects of any success."¹²

SOURCES The following works contain information on Gelsenkirchen-Horst: Heike Herholz and Sabine Wiebringhaus, "KZ Aussenlager Buchenwald in Gelsenkirchen-Horst, Eine Dokumentation," BeStG 11 (1983): 121–142; Myrna Grant, *Reise im Gegenwind: Die Lebensgeschichte der Rose Warmer* (Marburg: Francke-Buchhandlung, 2004); Alte Synagoge, ed., *Eine Dokumentation zu KZ-Aussenlagern in Essen* (Essen, 1985); Stefan Kraus, *NS-Unrechtsstätten in Nordrhein-Westfalen, Ein Forschungsbeitrag zum System der Gewaltherrschaft 1933–1945: Lager und Deportationsstätten* (Essen: Klartext, 1999); Martina Bergmann and Hartmut Stratmann, eds., *Meine lieben 17 ungarischen Kinder . . . , Von der Rettung jüdischer Frauen in Gelsenkirchener Krankenhäusern* (Gelsenkirchen, 1996); Stefan Goch, "Das Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald in Gelsenkirchen-Horst," in *Konzentrationslager in Rheinland und in Westfalen 1933–1945: Zentrale Steuerung und regionale Initiative*, ed. Jan Erik Schulte (Paderborn, 2004), pp. 271–278; Goch, "Gelsenkirchen-Horst," in *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), pp. 445–448; Goch, *Jüdisches Leben—Verfolgung—Mord—Überleben, Ehemalige jüdische Bürgerinnen und Bürger Gelsenkirchens erinnern sich* (Essen: Klartext, 2004), pp. 219–233; Marlies Mrotzek, *Das KZ-Aussenlager der Gelsenberg Benzin AG* (Fernwald: Germinal, 2002).

The following archival collections are important for this subcamp: The state prosecutor's investigations into crimes at the Buchenwald Gelsenkirchen-Horst subcamp: BA-L (formerly ZdL); the camp in Gelsenkirchen-Horst, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B); the camp at Sömmersda with regard to the transport of the prisoners from Gelsenkirchen-Horst to Sömmersda, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66). For the location and description of the camp from the perspective of a young flak assistant: Heribert Haffert, "Die Bombenoffensive der Luftwaffen Grossbritanniens und der USA gegen das Ruhrgebiet während des Zweiten Weltkrieges 1939–1945," assembled by Stadt Gelsenkirchen (Gelsenkirchen, typewritten eyewitness report, 2000), at Institut für Stadtgeschichte/AST-Ge, HB 3338.

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NOTES

1. Schlussvermerk der ZdL vom June 23, 1971, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (darin enthalten 429 AR 1950/66), B. 469–497, Bes. Bl. 487.
2. Ibid., Bes. Bl. 487; Vgl. Haffert, "Bombenoffensive," S. 41, available at AST-Ge, HB 3338.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

3. Witness statement of a former wardress on November 11, 1969, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B), Bl. 739; also in BA, Aussenstelle Ludwigsburg 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 114; Schlussvermerk der Zentralen Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen vom June 23, 1971, ibid., Bl. 469–497, Bes. Bl. 487.

4. Witness statements in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66); Schlussvermerk der ZdL vom June 23, 1971, ibid., Bl. 469–497, Bes. Bl. 494.

5. BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 1; Letter of the Friedhofsamt der Stadt Gelsenkirchen May 20, 1949, ibid., Bl. 11; Letter of the SS-Arbeitskommando des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald Gelsenberg Benzin AG September 16, 1944, ibid., Bl. 22. Haffert, "Bombenoffensive," S. 42. Witness Statements in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B), Bes. Bl. 534, 620, 1486; Witness Report by Myrna Grant, *Reise im Gegenwind: Die Lebensgeschichte der Rose Warmer* (Marburg: Francke-Buchhandlung, 2004), pp. 117–120.

6. BA, Aussenstelle Ludwigsburg 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 13.

7. Haffert, "Bombenoffensive," S. 42; Schlussvermerk der ZdL, June 23, 1971, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 469–497, Bes. Bl. 487; Letter of the Friedhofsamt der Stadt Gelsenkirchen May 20, 1949, ibid., Bl. 11. Witness Statements in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B), Bl. 537, 603.

8. Letter of the SS-Arbeitskommando des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald Gelsenberg Benzin AG September 16, 1944, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 22; Schlussvermerk der ZdL vom June 23, 1971, ibid., Bes. Bl. 487. Zur Verlegung nach Sömmersda, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B) with many witness statements.

9. For reference, see Martina Bergmann and Hartmut Stratmann, eds., *Meine lieben 17 ungarischen Kinder . . . , Von der Rettung jüdischer Frauen in Gelsenkirchener Krankenhäusern* (Gelsenkirchen, 1996).

10. Investigations in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B) und 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66).

11. Investigations of the ZdL April 5, 1971, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B), Bl. 2349; Investigations, in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 346 ff.; Assessment of the Spruchkammer files on Eugen Dietrich, ibid., Bl. 392.

12. Schlussvermerk der ZdL June 23, 1971, and Abschrift der Einstellungsverfügung der Staatsanwaltschaft Essen (29 a Js 357/71) vom August 16, 1971, in BA, Aussenstelle Ludwigsburg 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), B. 469–497, Bes. Bl. 487 und 530.

GIESSEN

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Giessen in late March 1944. On March 22, 1944, 50 inmates from the main Buchenwald camp were transferred to Giessen to supply labor to the SS-Infirmary (Sanitäts- Ersatz und Ausbildungsabteilung) located at 106 Licherstrasse.

The Giessen subcamp was in operation at the SS-Infirmary from late March 1944 to March 26, 1945. There is no information about the exact size of the Giessen camp or its prox-

imity to the hospital. During its yearlong operation, there were between 75 and 100 inmates incarcerated in the Giessen subcamp. The first-known transport into the camp left Buchenwald on March 22, 1944, with 50 prisoners. Another relatively large transport of 30 prisoners arrived from Buchenwald in Giessen on May 11, 1944, with additional transports to Giessen on April 5 (6 inmates); June 5 (2); June 10 (3); August 10 (6); October 7 (3); October 30 (3), and November 10 (1 inmate).¹ According to a listing of subcamps and their prisoner "strength reports" submitted to the Waffen-SS garrison doctor (Standortarzt) in Buchenwald, there were 77 inmates in Giessen in January 1945.² A similar report from March 6, 1945, confirms the number of inmates in Giessen at 77.³ From these known transport lists and strength reports, we can conclude that the number of inmates did not fluctuate greatly from the original number deported to the camp in March through May 1944. However, some transport lists were undoubtedly lost, and therefore these can provide only a partial picture of the number of prisoners in the Giessen camp.

A general overview of the demographics of the Giessen camp population can also be gleaned from these transport lists. All of the prisoners were men, and most of the prisoners transported to Giessen were Russian political prisoners. There was also a large group of political prisoners from Czechoslovakia, in addition to political prisoners from Germany and Austria, Poles, French, and Italian prisoners. One political prisoner, Kurt Oskar Dimler (inmate number 2426) was returned to Buchenwald on the November 10, 1944, transport; however, he appears on six of the above transport lists and therefore may have had a functionary prisoner role (such as Kapo) to accompany transports to and from the main camp.⁴ As in most of the satellite camps, prisoners who were too weak to work were often transferred back to the infirmaries of the main camps in "exchange" for healthier inmates.

The identity of the commandant of the Giessen camp and the number of guards in Giessen are unknown. The camp was evacuated on March 26, 1945, to Buchenwald and the prisoners registered there on April 3, 1945. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog entry for Giessen, a group of prisoners evacuated from Giessen were freed en route to Buchenwald.

SOURCES Little information about the Giessen subcamp at the SS-Infirmary on Licherstrasse is found in either secondary or primary sources. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Giessen in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolson: Der Suchdienst, 1979). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

Primary documentation on the Giessen subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See in particular a collection of transport lists to the Giessen camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from the ITS), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially Reel 16. See also the archives of the German BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, especially volumes 176–185, 191–196, 200, 211, 213–230. These volumes contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp populations. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as "strength reports" for various subcamps, can be found in the archives of the USHMM, 1996. A.0342 (originally copied from NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180, (especially 171). Further analysis of these reports may yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the satellite camps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that provide information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242.

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NOTES

1. "Transport Giessen," 22 March 1944; "Veränderungsmeldung," 5 April 1944; "Transport Giessen," 11 May 1944; "Transport Giessen," 5 June 1944; "Transport Giessen," 10 June 1944; "Transport Giessen," 10 August 1944; "Transport Giessen,"/ "Veränderungsmeldung," 7 October 1944 (BU 4/26); "Transport Gissen" [sic], 30 October 1944; "Transport Giessen," 10 November 1944—(all BU 46, except Veränderungsmeldung from 7 October) AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants et victimes de guerre as reproduced in the USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.

2. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 January 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 251.

3. "Aussenkommandos, Stand vom 6 March 1945" (BU 39), AN as copied in USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. See transports from 22 March 1944, 5 April 1944, 5 June 1944, 10 June 1944, 7 October 1944, 30 October 1944, and 10 November 1944, AN as copied in USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

GOSLAR

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Goslar (Hannover province) in November 1940 to provide labor to the Goslar air base (*Fliegerhorst*) for the Waffen-SS-Neubauleitung. The Goslar air-base headquarters paid 3 Reichsmark (RM) per day per inmate for labor to the Main Office for Budgets and Building, Office I/5, which was subordinated to the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) from September 1941. The inmates were not compensated for their labor. A subcamp of

Neuengamme was also created in Goslar, but this camp was established in 1944.

Memoranda exchanged between Office I/5 and Goslar describe various aspects of the inmates' assigned work and the administrative organization of the camp. The inmates slated for work at the Goslar air base were unskilled laborers who performed manual labor, such as clearing rubble; stacking, loading, and unloading wood; and various other construction-related tasks. The inmates were assigned, for example, to construct barracks for a camp for Russian prisoners and also to build barracks at the Goslar air base. A memo dated March 19, 1941, notes that the Buchenwald inmates lived in a Luftwaffe barracks on the air base, and food supplies were provided by the Buchenwald concentration camp.¹ According to the same document, the guard staff consisted of both SS men and low-ranking Luftwaffe officers. Inmates may have also performed construction work for a Firma Maibaum and worked in mines north of the village of Hahndorf, through which they marched on their way to the assignment. They worked Mondays through Saturdays, up to nine hours per day.

The average prisoner population of the Goslar subcamp was 80 inmates, but this number fluctuated over the camp's two-year operation. According to a list of inmates in the camp compiled on June 27, 1941, the 140 inmates in the camp were mainly Poles, Russian political prisoners, Jehovah's Witnesses, so-called professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*), and "asocial" inmates from the Reich.²

In addition to information about the formation of the guard staff provided by various administrative correspondence, few other specific details about the guards or living conditions in the Goslar camp can be found. The commander of the Goslar air base was Major Grawert, who assigned some Luftwaffe officers to guard the camp.³ According to former prisoner K. Deterok, the Kommandoführer was an SS-Hauptscharführer Höber. This same former prisoner described the compassion of one of the SS guards who allowed him to sneak a handful of horse feed when no one was looking. While Deterok attempted to consume the feed in a quiet corner, Höber discovered and punished him: "With a strange power he fell upon me, hitting me, beating me down with his fists. When I fell to the ground, he worked on me with his feet."⁴ At least two inmates, Walter Krämer and Karl Peix, were shot on November 6, 1941, for "attempting to escape."

The camp was dissolved in December 1942, and the inmates presumably were evacuated to Buchenwald. A memorial plaque was erected in the cemetery of Hahndorf in 1990 to commemorate the death of an inmate in the Neuengamme subcamp in Goslar, as well as the earlier deaths of two inmates in the Buchenwald subcamp.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Goslar subcamp are limited. This entry builds upon information in Peter Schyga et al., "*Gebt uns unsere Würde wieder": Kriegsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Goslar 1939–1945*" (Goslar: Verein Spurensuche Goslar e.V., 1999). For a brief outline of basic information

about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Goslar in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Außenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS). Information about and a photo of the memorial plaque in Goslar are found in Hans-Joachim Höhler, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Außenlager* (Hamburg: Arbeitsgemeinschaft Neuengamme, 2000).

Surviving primary documentation on the Goslar subcamp is also limited. For sparse administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in USHMMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 37. See also prisoner lists in the Goslar camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally ITS), stored at USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 46.

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NOTES

1. "An das Hauptamt Haushalt und Bauten, Hauptabteilung I/5, Berlin-Lichterfelde West," March 19, 1941, BA NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 37.

2. "Namentliche Liste des Kommandos Goslar," K.L. Buchenwald, June 27, 1941 (BU 46), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. "An die Fliegerhorstkommandantur Goslar," May 21, 1941, BA NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 205, Fiche 1.

4. K. Deterok, as quoted in Peter Schyga et al., "*Gebt uns unsere Würde wieder": Kriegsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Goslar 1939–1945*" (Goslar: Verein Spurensuche Goslar e.V., 1999), n.p.

GÖTTINGEN

In Göttingen (Lower Saxony), a relatively small subcamp of Buchenwald was created in February 1945. The camp was established to provide laborers to the Göttingen SS cavalry school (*Kavallerieschule*) in Weende. The cavalry school was created in September 1944 by order of the SS-Führungshauptamt, and by October 1944, the school enrolled around 200 students and used 70 horses for instruction. Inmates transferred from the Buchenwald main camp were used as laborers in construction work at the school, working for the Waffen-SS and Police Construction Management (Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei). There is no further information, however, about the exact work the prisoners performed, and it is unclear which building of the school was used as living quarters for the inmates.

On February 2, 1945, 30 male prisoners were transferred from the Buchenwald main camp to Göttingen.¹ Although the Commando was small, the group of prisoners transported to

Göttingen represented diverse nationalities. According to Cordula Tollmien's study of slave labor in Göttingen during World War II, at the camp's height there were 3 German inmates, 13 Poles, 2 Lithuanians, 6 Russians and Ukrainians, 2 Slovenians, 1 Czech, 1 Dutch, 2 French, and 2 Italian inmates. The oldest prisoner was 54 years old, while the youngest was 19. Most were political prisoners; at least one was a prisoner of war. Nearly all of the inmates had been imprisoned in various camps prior to their arrival in Buchenwald and its satellite in Göttingen.

There were few transfers or changes in the number of inmates imprisoned in the Göttingen camp during its three-month existence. On March 5, 1945, 1 Polish inmate was transferred back to Buchenwald due to ill health, as well as an Italian inmate who was declared "unsuitable" on the report to the Rapportführer in Buchenwald.² The Kapo Walter P. (a German political prisoner) accompanied this transfer, and 2 inmates (a carpenter and a bricklayer) were substituted for the 2 Göttingen prisoners. Two additional prisoners were deported from Buchenwald to Göttingen on March 10, 1945, making the highest total number of prisoners in Göttingen 32.³

There is no information about the commandant or guards of the Göttingen camp. Signatures on transport lists are illegible, and no other specific names of guards are mentioned in the camp documentation.

The camp was most likely evacuated at the time the cavalry school was closed at the end of March 1945. The school was dismantled in three train transports in the direction of Prague, and the horses were distributed to farmers in the Göttingen area. American troops entered Göttingen on April 7 and 8, 1945. On April 11, 1945, the Buchenwald main camp was liberated, and lists of survivors were drawn up. Seventeen inmates survived the Göttingen Commando in total; some escaped the camp between the evacuation of the cavalry school and the entry of American troops. Other surviving inmates were taken to an infirmary in Göttingen, where they stayed until July 1945.

SOURCES The Göttingen subcamp of Buchenwald appears infrequently in secondary literature. Some information for this entry comes from a study of slave labor in Göttingen during World War II by Cordula Tollmien (www.cordula-tollmien.de). For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Göttingen in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolson: Der Suchdienst, 1979). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Bericht* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

Primary documentation on the Göttingen subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. For general correspondence, monthly and daily

statistical reports, which list the number of prisoners working at Göttingen, as well as "occupancy" lists of the Göttingen subcamp and other subcamps, see the German BA group NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, in particular, volumes 31, 54, 55, 176–185, 196. These and other volumes from this collection contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp population. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Also stored at the USHMM archives is a transport list of inmates to the Göttingen camp, copied from the AN-MACVG, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16. (This is duplicated at the YVA, ITS Arolsen, BD-3.) Additional duplicates of transport lists, as well as "strength reports," can be found in the archives of the USHMM, 1996. A.0342, Reels 146–180, originally copied from NARA, A3355. Further research on these reports would yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the satellite camps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that yield detailed information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242.

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NOTES

1. Häftlingschreibstube KL Buchenwald: Transport Göttingen, 2 February 1945, BU 43, AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants as reproduced in the archives of the USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

2. Arbeitskommando Göttingen, An den Rapportführer des Schutzhaftlagers KL Buchenwald: Transportliste, 5 March 1945, BU 43, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

3. Häftlingschreibstube KL Buchenwald: Transport Göttingen, 10 March 1945, BU 43, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

HADMERSLEBEN ("HS")

Two miles south of Klein-Oschersleben and about 161 kilometers (100 miles) northwest of Leipzig, a subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Hadmersleben (Saxony-Anhalt) in March 1944. The camp was created to exploit prisoner labor for the construction of aircraft factories and the production of parts for the Messerschmitt 262 (Me 262) jet fighter in the area of Hadmersleben and Oschersleben. Like other subcamps created in the later months of the war, concentration camp inmates were hired out to industrial armaments firms from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The creation of the Hadmersleben camp, which deployed two work details (Kommandos) code-named "Hans" and "Ago," came under the jurisdiction of the SS-Leadership Staff (Führungsstab) A4 of Office Group C of the WVHA. Led by Hans Kammler, Office Group C was in charge of construction projects, and it was broken down into Special Inspections and local Construction Directorates (or Leadership Staffs). The WVHA hired out inmates to the Kommandos at a rate of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM

per unskilled laborer per day.¹ In Buchenwald entry registers, the Hadmersleben subcamp was also code-named "HS."

Both Hans and Ago worked under the auspices of Leadership Staff A4 and were presumably contained within one camp at Hadmersleben. The prisoners at Hadmersleben worked at two different armaments sites, as well as in the construction of the camp and in the production of wings for the Me 262. The Hans Kommando was employed by the Schlempp engineering office for the construction of the Siebenberg GmbH plant, which began production in January 1945. The Ago Kommando worked for "AGO" Flugzeugwerke Hadmersleben bei Oscherleben, beginning in October 1944.

The Hadmersleben camp had an average of 1,000 inmates, and by the end of its operation in April 1945, more than 1,400 prisoners were incarcerated there. At first, prisoners were housed on the grounds of a former sugar factory. From September 1944, the inmates were divided into 10 barracks, each (12×30 meters) (13×33 yards), on the so-called *Schutzenplatz*.

Inmates were transported to Hadmersleben from Buchenwald and other camps beginning in March 1944 and were transferred back to the main camp at various intervals due to illnesses such as tuberculosis, general physical deterioration, and other conditions that marked them as "unsuitable for work." These prisoners were generally exchanged for healthier inmates to continue slave labor in the Hadmersleben Kommandos. Records of transport lists from Buchenwald to the Hans Kommando date from March 13, 1944; 100 inmates were transferred to Hans on this date.² Four days later, an additional 120 inmates arrived at the Hans Kommando. These were all male, predominantly Russian and Polish, with a smaller number of Serbian and Lithuanian inmates.³ Other large transports from Buchenwald to the Hans Kommando took place on April 3 (205 inmates); May 23 (150 inmates); September 5 (200 inmates); and on November 19, 1944, nearly 200 inmates were transferred from Sachsenhausen to Hans.⁴

Transports to and from the Ago Kommando at Hadmersleben were also carried out throughout 1944 and early 1945. Larger transports arrived for the Hadmersleben Ago Kommando on July 5, 1944 (100 inmates); September 5, 1944 (200 inmates); December 12 (125 inmates); and January 10, 1945 (200 inmates).⁵ On July 5, 1944, it was noted in Buchenwald transfer list records that 4 inmates were transferred to the subcamp Leipzig-Thekla.⁶ Inmates working in the Ago Kommando were all men and included Russians, Belgians, Poles, Czechs, Serbs, and Yugoslavs. There were also French and German inmates in both Kommandos.

There are few descriptions of living and working conditions in the Hadmersleben camp. The most extensive account is provided by former prisoner Lajzer Finkelsztejn, who was born in Łódź, Poland, and who emigrated to Brussels, where he joined an armed resistance group. He was arrested by the Gestapo, sent to Breendonck and then Buchenwald, from where he was transported to the Hans Kommando with 149 other inmates on May 22, 1944.⁷ Finkelsztejn described the

work area as a "former salt mine transformed into an underground factory" for manufacturing airplane parts. His dossier noted that he was a "dangerous element," and he was interrogated by the Security Police in the region of Magdeburg. Finkelsztejn had to wear a white band across the back of his uniform, which read "Brussels Gestapo."⁸

Finkelsztejn reported about an instance of escape and resistance within the Hadmersleben camp. He witnessed the hanging of a Czech prisoner who had escaped and was later caught and brought back to the camp to be executed. According to Finkelsztejn, the gallows were outfitted with a rope and a stool, and once the prisoner was marched to the stool and the command given, the stool was kicked out from underneath by the executor. The Czech prisoner, who was led to the gallows in front of the assembled camp as an example and who was, according to Finkelsztejn, "hardly recognizable due to the beatings he had received," gained control over the execution. When the order was given, he spat in the face of the executioner and kicked the stool himself, angering the guards and causing excitement within the camp. According to Finkelsztejn, "This courage, this heroism galvanized us, gave us courage, and made us believe in the defeat of the Germans, something I will never forget."⁹

There is little information about the guard staff of the Hadmersleben camp and Kommandos. A memo describing the transfer of one inmate to Buchenwald from the Hans Kommando due to illness on March 24, 1945, was undersigned by Kommandoführer SS-Obersturmführer Schoeb. No additional information about his dates of service could be found. According to a report filed by the SS-Standortarzt Siedlausky, in charge of overseeing medical conditions in Buchenwald and its subcamps, the "strength" of the guard troops in A4 on January 31, 1945, was 122. The SS doctor in charge of the infirmary and medical care in Hadmersleben was named Weinrich, and the SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad, SDG) was Naumann. The report also notes that there were 1,443 inmates in the Hadmersleben camp at this time.¹⁰

The Hadmersleben camp was evacuated in late April or early May 1945, in anticipation of the advance of Allied troops. According to Finkelsztejn, the inmates were marched in columns, most likely toward Theresienstadt, as the inmates were liberated somewhere in the Sudetenland.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources that describe conditions and circumstances at the Hadmersleben subcamp of Buchenwald. For brief information on Hadmersleben, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, see *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

Likewise, primary documents generated on the Hadmersleben subcamp are scarce. For transport lists and other administrative records, see USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045, for a collection of documents copied from AN-MACVG, originating

from ITS (see especially BU 44, BU 7/14). Additional records on the subcamps of Buchenwald, including the Hadmersleben camp, may be found at AG-B and AG-MD. For the testimony of Lajzer Finkelsztein, see the archives of the Wiener Library (London), *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series One, Doc. No. P.III.h. No. 1044 (Reel 56).

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NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, *TWC*, 6: 759–767.
2. "Transport Hans," March 13, 1944 (BU 44), AN, Secrétariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
3. "Transport A4," March 17, 1944 (BU 44), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
4. Transport lists, dated April 3, May 23, September 5, and November 19, 1944 (BU 44), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
5. Transport lists, dated July 5, September 5, and December 12, 1944, transport list dated January 10, 1945 (BU 44), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
6. Handwritten notation, July 5, 1944 (BU 44), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
7. Lajzer Finkelsztein, "From Breendonck to Hadmersleben," in *Testaments of the Holocaust*, Series 1 (Wiener Library, London), 7 pp. See also "Transport 'Hans,'" May 23, 1944 (BU 44), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
8. Finkelsztein, "From Breendonck," pp. 3–4.
9. Ibid., p. 4.
10. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 January 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Bericht* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1960), p. 253.

HALBERSTADT-LANGENSTEIN-ZWIEBERGE/HECKLINGEN

A complex of subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp was constructed near the village of Langenstein. They were located about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the town of Halberstadt, in an isolated valley at the foothills of the Thekenbergen and Hoppelbergen in the Harz Mountains, an area also called Zwieberge. East of Halberstadt, a separate camp was established in Hecklingen near Stassfurt on October 12, 1944. For other camps attached to Buchenwald in this area, see entries for Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge: Junkerswerke, Magdeburg, "Malachit," and Wernigerode.

The creation of the Hecklingen subcamp fell under the SS program to transfer armaments and aircraft production to underground locations. See Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/"Malachit." The Hecklingen subcamp was closed on November 10, 1944. There is no information about the fate of inmates imprisoned there.

SOURCES For the sources on this camp, see the entry for Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/("Malachit").

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HALBERSTADT-LANGENSTEIN-ZWIEBERGE/JUNKERSWERKE ("JUHA")

A complex of subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp was constructed near the village of Langenstein. They were located about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the town of Halberstadt (Sachsen-Anhalt), in an isolated valley at the foothills of the Thekenbergen and Hoppelbergen, which are in the Harz Mountains, an area called Zwieberge. The Junkerswerke camp ("JUHA"), which was located near the larger "Malachit"/"BII" camp, was created in July or August 1944, according to International Tracing Service (ITS) lists. For other camps attached to Buchenwald in this area, see entries for Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge: Hecklingen, Magdeburg, "Malachit," and Wernigerode.

Increased Allied bombing raids over German territories in 1943 and 1944 necessitated the relocation of armaments and aircraft production factories underground, and several governmental offices coordinated these efforts. The subcamps in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge were established in order to advance the German war effort in the midst of waning German military successes against the Allies. In March 1944, Hermann Göring ordered all German aircraft production factories to relocate to one central, independent office: the Fighter Staff (Jägerstab). The Fighter Staff would boost production by protecting aircraft manufacturers from bombs. It brought together various sectors of the war economy as well as the Air Ministry, Armaments Ministry, SS, and the Labor Ministry, and it monitored the aircraft design and production output of those facilities. In the context of this military, economic, and administrative framework, the Fighter Staff coordinated newly created camps in Halberstadt and their underground labor projects (e.g., "Maifisch," a tunnel complex for Krupp), specifically the special staff of Dr. Hans Kammler (Sonderstab-Kammler). SS-Obergruppenführer Kammler had also been the chief of Office C for Bau, the construction sector of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). Office C was divided into SS Special Inspections and Leadership Staffs (Führungsstäbe), which directed local construction initiatives. The construction of the Halberstadt camp complex thus fell under Leadership Staff BII, which was headed by SS-Obersturmführer Wilhelm Lübeck. (For additional information, see Karin Orth's essay "The Genesis and Structure of the National Socialist Concentration Camps," this volume.)

Surviving camp records show two large transports of 250 prisoners each from Buchenwald's main camp to JUHA on September 12 and December 12, 1944.¹ A total of between 800 and 900 prisoners were deported from Buchenwald

throughout the fall of 1944 and early 1945. All of the prisoners were men, and they were French, German, Austrian, Polish, and Russian, among other nationalities. Due to either illness or incapacity to work, some of JUHA's inmates were often transferred out of the subcamp back to Buchenwald's main infirmary at various intervals.²

Inmates incarcerated in the Junkerswerke camp were employed at the Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc. (JFM) facility, which was established in 1934 and originally located at Klusstrasse 38 in Halberstadt. Much of their labor was aimed at transferring the JFM production facilities to caves located south of Halberstadt in the Klusberg Mountains. Subcamp inmates as well as workers from the Ostarbeiter barracks, two distinct camps located on the factory grounds, were used for this work. The two newly planned facilities were code-named "Makrele I" (in the Felsenkeller) and "Makrele II" (on Sternwarte), and the plants manufactured wing parts for the Ju 88 and Ju 162 fighter jets. Junkerswerke "rented" inmates from the WVHA at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled worker per day and 4 RM per unskilled worker per day, and they were used for the construction, metalworking, and assemblage of airplane parts.³

There is little information on the working and living conditions within the Junkerswerke camp. As noted above, prisoners were constantly transferred out of the camp to the main infirmary in Buchenwald, presumably due to illness or other incapacities. Judging from the records of the Halberstadt/("Malachit"/"BII") complex (see subcamp entry), the environment in the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp and work at the Junkers factory were harsh. Prisoners were underfed, and debilitating diseases were rampant. They worked under horrible circumstances, lacking proper equipment and protection in tunnel excavation. They also suffered severe maltreatment from the guards. However, prisoners employed in factories such as Junkerswerke generally fared better than those forced to excavate the tunnels, as they were in Malachit.

The Lagerkommandant of the Halberstadt camp complex was SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Hoffmann, and the camps were guarded by members of the SS. There is no specific information about the identity of the Lagerführer of the Junkerswerke camp. Other guards who appear in the administrative records involved in the camp include Sturmscharführer Skischus, Oberscharführer Thinius, Rottenführer Karl Preis, Scharführer Max Uhlig, Sturmann Oskar Siebert, Scharführer Karl Zerchlowitz, Rottenführer Kurt Müller, Unterscharführer Rudolf Swejtkowski, Unterscharführer Hans Wiemer, Sturmann Walther Müller, and Rottenführer Joseph Figiel.⁴

The camp was evacuated on April 8, 1945, and the prisoners were most likely sent to Malachit. See Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/"Malachit," for further information on the evacuation of that camp.

SOURCES The camp complex in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge figures prominently in several secondary sources.

For several studies focused on the complex and the ensuing postwar memorialization of the site, see Ellen Fauser, *Die Kraft im Unglück—Erinnerungen an Langenstein-Zwieberge* (Halberstadt, o.J., 1994); Fauser, "Geschichte des KZ Langenstein-Zwieberge," in *Verfolgung, Terror und Widerstand in Sachsen-Anhalt 1933–1945: Ein Wegweiser für Gedenkstättenbesuche*, ed. Verena Walter et al. (Berlin: Metropol, 2001); Fauser, "Zur Geschichte des Außenlagers Langenstein-Zwieberge," in *Zwangarbeit und die unterirdische Verlagerung von Rüstungsindustrie*, ed. Torsten Hess, (Berlin: Westkreuz, 1994); G.E. Schafft and Gerhard Zeidler, *Die KZ-Mahn-und Gedenkstätten in Deutschland* (Dietz Verlag Berlin, 1996); Paul le Goupil, *De la fin des camps à la reconstruction, Les Normands 1945–1947* (Caen: Conseil Général du Calvados: Direction des Archives départementales, 2001); and Denise Wesenberg, "Gedenkstätte Langenstein-Zwieberge," *GeRu*, 107: 6(2002). There are also several memoirs written by former inmates from the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp complex, including Alberto Berti, *Viaggio nel Pianeta Nazista: Trieste—Buchenwald Langenstein* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2000); Georges Petit, *Retour à Langenstein: Une expérience de la déportation* (Éditions Belin, 2001); Roger Leroyer, *Clamavi Ad Te* (Jena-Quedlinburg: Verlag Dr. Bussert & Stadeler, 2003); and Bernard Klieger, *Der Weg, den Wir Ging: Reportage einer böllischen Reise* (Bruxelles-Ixelles: Codac Juifs, 1960). For a history of the Junkerswerke Halberstadt, see Werner Hartmann, *Halberstadt Luftfahrtgeschichte* (Flugzeug Publikations GmbH—GeraMond, 2000).

Primary sources on the Halberstadt complex are in various archives and repositories and provide a partial picture of the number of inmates imprisoned in the camps, as well as living and working conditions within the camps and work Commandos. The archives of the USHMM contain several kinds of documentation and resources on the camp complex in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge. Transport lists and other administrative records are located in Acc. 1998 A.0045, a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS; see especially BU 46, Reel 16, and BU 115, Reel 18. The USHMM also has relevant copies of SS records related to Buchenwald reproduced from the BA (NS 4) in RG 14.023M. Testimony of liberators of the Halberstadt camps can be found in RG-09.005*40 and RG-0.005*26 (1981 International Liberators Conference collection of liberator testimonies). The USHMM Survivors Registry lists 34 survivors from the camp; 7 of them have recorded oral histories accessible at the USHMM (under "Halberstadt" or "Langenstein"). For example, former inmate Eddie Willner has several interviews stored at the USHMM; see RG-50.549.02*0065, RG-50.030*0252, and RG-50.163*0093. The USHMM also has an extensive photographic record of the liberation of the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp; see Photo Archives Worksheets 10103, 10104, 10108, 10109, 10111, 10112, 10113, 10114, 10115, 23061, 28191, 69223, 78840, 78841, 78842, N01240.08, 10110, 08560, 10098, 10099, 10100, and 10101. Testimony from former inmates can also be found in other archives and repositories; for example, the HJMA contains thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by the relief agency National Committee for Attending Deportees (DEGOB). Several protocols describe conditions in the Halberstadt camp complex; see especially protocols 696, 952, 2133, 3440, 1633,

and 3172. The IWMA (London) contains intelligence reports on underground factories in Germany; see Combined Intelligence Objectives Sub-Committee, Underground Factories in Germany, File No. 32-17, 38. Finally, additional information, including documents on, photographs of, and testimonies about the Halberstadt camps, can be found at the AG-LZ/M.

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NOTES

1. "Transport Halberstadt (Junkers)," September 12, 1944, and December 12, 1944, Weimar-Buchenwald (BU 41/2), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants as reproduced in the USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

2. See memos dated September 26, 1944 (6 inmates); October 13, 1944 (2 inmates); October 14, 1944 (2 inmates); and several other transfers throughout November, December, January 1945, February and March, (BU 41/2), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

3. Report of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, concerning assignment of concentration camp inmates to armament production, January 6, 1945, NI-4185, *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals* (Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.

4. See "K.L. Buchenwald; Kdo. Halberstadt—Junkers Werke" (BU 41/2), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0042.

HALBERSTADT-LANGENSTEIN-ZWIEBERGE ("MALACHIT," "BII," "LANDHAUS")

A complex of subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp was constructed near the village of Langenstein. They were located about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the town of Halberstadt, in an isolated valley at the foothills of the Thekenbergen and Hoppelbergen in the Harz Mountains, an area also called Zwieberge. The largest subcamp in this area was code-named "Landhaus," "BII" (by the SS), or "Malachit" (by the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production [Reichsministerium für Rüstungs- und Kriegsproduktion, RMfRK]), beginning in July 1944). It was created on April 21, 1944, with an initial transport of 18 prisoners from Buchenwald.¹ For other camps attached to Buchenwald in this area, see the entries for Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge: Hecklingen, Junkerswerke, Magdeburg, and Wernigerode.

The camps in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge were created in order to advance the German war effort in the midst of waning German military successes against the Allies. Increased Allied bombing raids over German territories in 1943 and 1944 necessitated the relocation of armaments and aircraft production factories underground, an effort coordinated by several governmental offices. In March 1944, Hermann Göring placed the direction of all aircraft production factories to one central, independent office: the Fighter Staff (Jägerstab). The Fighter Staff would boost production by protecting aircraft manufacturers from bombs. It brought together various sectors of the war economy as well as the Air Ministry, Armaments Ministry, SS, and the Labor Ministry, and it monitored the aircraft design and production output of those facilities. In the context of this military, economic, and administrative framework, the Fighter Staff coordinated newly created camps in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge and their underground labor projects (e.g., "Maifisch," a tunnel complex for Krupp), specifically the special staff of Dr. Hans Kammler, the Sonderstab-Kammler. SS-Obergruppenführer Kammler had also been the chief of Office C for Bau, the construction sector of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). Office C was divided into Special Inspections and SS-Leadership Staffs (Führungsstäbe), which directed local construction initiatives. The construction of the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp complex thus fell under Leadership Staff BII, which was headed by SS-Obersturmführer Wilhelm Lübeck. (For additional information, see Karin Orth's essay "The Genesis and Structure of the National Socialist Concentration Camps," this volume.)

Because the first convoy of prisoners to the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge complex was relatively small and the camp had not yet been built, these inmates and arriving transports were housed in a former guesthouse called Landhaus am Gläsernen Mönch, on the outskirts of Langenstein. "Landhaus" became the headquarters for the SS central office for local construction efforts. Surrounded by barbed wire, Landhaus's

HALBERSTADT-LANGENSTEIN-ZWIEBERGE/MAGDEBURG

A complex of subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp was constructed near the village of Langenstein. They were located about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the town of Halberstadt, in an isolated valley at the foothills of the Thekenbergen and Hoppelbergen in the Harz Mountains, an area also called Zwieberge. Northeast of Halberstadt, a camp was created in Magdeburg on March 19, 1945. For other camps attached to Buchenwald in this area, see entries for Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge: Hecklingen, Junkerswerke, "Malachit," and Wernigerode.

The creation of the Magdeburg subcamp fell under the SS program to transfer armaments and aircraft production to underground locations. For further information on this program, see the Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/ "Malachit," entry. There is little information about the camp located at Magdeburg, most likely because it operated only for about one month. However, it is known that the prisoners were forced to clear rubble in the vicinity of Magdeburg.

The camp at Magdeburg was closed on April 10, 1945, the same day that the main subcamp at Malachit BII was evacuated.

SOURCES For the sources on this camp, see the entry for Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/ ("Malachit").

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garden served as a roll-call area (*Appellplatz*), and SS and other guards from the nearby Halberstadt airfield supervised the camp. From late April to May 1944, as the number of prisoners increased to about 800, they were shifted to a barn, where living conditions were primitive and overcrowded.² Prisoners slept on four- and five-level bunks, using straw sacks as mattresses. The first group of inmates to arrive was responsible for building the prisoner camp in a well-hidden forest near the work camp, and they also built barracks for the SS men. Additionally, these initial prisoners began the excavation of tunnels for the eventual relocation of underground factories. Construction of the Malachit camp was declared "complete" in June or July 1944 with the installation of electricity, 7 prisoner blocks, an infirmary, kitchen, watchtowers, and barbed-wire fencing. However, unlike the fully constructed SS barracks that lay outside the camp, some prisoner barracks were just shells with neither windows nor doors. By the end of February 1945, there were 18 prisoner blocks in the camp. Although it was planned for 2,000 inmates, Malachit would eventually hold more than 5,000. Several work camps, such as the one established at Langestrasse Ost II, opened near Halberstadt to provide labor to the tunneling projects and underground factories.³

Accurate estimates of the total number of prisoners incarcerated in the Malachit camp complex vary and are especially complicated to deduce, due in part to the number of subcommandos that were billeted in the same camp. For this reason, secondary literature and contemporary documentation are often unclear and do not always specify the number of inmates assigned to commandos in the Malachit complex or whether their numbers are included in total estimates. However, it is certain that the number of inmates in Malachit steadily increased throughout the summer and fall of 1944, climbing to around 4,500. The camp most likely reached its highest capacity in February 1945, with almost 7,000 inmates—not necessarily including those in the smaller commandos. The number may have grown even higher in April 1945, when smaller camps were absorbed by the Malachit camp.⁴ Historians have estimated that the total number of inmates incarcerated in the camp during its yearlong operation (including its subcommandos) exceeded 10,000 with most of its prisoners coming from France, the Soviet Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Other large groups of inmates were deported from Italy, Belgium, Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, and Hungary—especially with evacuations from Auschwitz II–Birkenau and Gross-Rosen in January and February 1945, respectively. In smaller numbers, people from Luxembourg, Romania, Albania, Spain, Portugal, Estonia, and the United States also comprised the camp population. Most inmates were deported to the camp directly from Buchenwald but also from other concentration camps, such as Neuengamme, as well as subcamps, such as Junkerswerke and Aschersleben. Prisoners included Jews, political prisoners, professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*), so-called asocials, and others.

Some of the Malachit prisoners were assigned to commandos at Maifisch, managed by the office of Organisation Todt (OT) beginning in October 1944, and some to Malachit AG

from January 1945. Beginning in November 1944, prisoner labor from the Maifisch commando was assigned to construction initiatives of the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production (RMfRK). Like other projects of this kind, private industrial firms also used prisoner labor. The Krupp-Gruson Factory (Krupp-Gruson-Werke) in Magdeburg "employed" the prisoners of the Maifisch commando, which maintained about 200 inmates during its three-month operation, after which the inmates were absorbed into the Malachit camp.⁵ Inmates in the Maifisch commando were forced to work on tunnel excavation in the Hoppelberg Mountains to make space for the Krupp plant. Some 800 prisoners were assigned to the Malachit AG commando to work on tunnel excavation and road and railway construction. The firm Bode, Grün & Bilfinger AG (Mannheim) managed the transport of materials from the tunnels to a dump, as well as plans for construction. Erzbergbau Salzgitter GmbH, a sister company of the Hermann-Göring Werke, was responsible for breaking ground in the tunnels. Other firms included Firma Peter Bauwens und Julius Schmidt (Magdeburg), Konzerne AEG, Siemens, and Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways) Halberstadt.

The main goal of prisoner labor was to provide underground space for the manufacturing capabilities of the Junkers factory to protect it from air raids and to further production of aircraft and weapons parts, such as fighter jets and V-2 rockets. From the first days of their arrival, the prisoners were forced to dig tunnels in 8-hour shifts through the Thekenbergen to make room for these underground factories. Other commandos were assigned to haul away material excavated from the tunnels in 12-hour shifts. Within 9 months, the inmates had broken and transported more than 750,000 cubic meters (980,963 cubic yards) of sandstone with primitive equipment in inhumane working conditions, and after 10 months, they had created nearly 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) of tunnels.

Laboring inmates had to cope with improper protection and insufficient equipment; they were subjected to beatings and maltreatment meted out by the Kapos and guards; and they suffered from malnutrition, starvation, and rampant, debilitating diseases. Prior to their work assignments, prisoners endured brutal and long roll calls in extreme conditions.⁶ Those assigned to work in the tunnels could hardly breathe, and many accidents, some fatal, occurred during the workday. One former inmate reported after the war: "The work itself was . . . brutally hard. . . . From a high rampart we carried fifty-kilogram (110-pound) cement sacks into deep underground for twelve hours. How many times young, thin adolescents collapsed under the heavy sacks! The guards stood next to us with rubber truncheons and loaded revolvers. Their nice warning was: 'If the sack is *kaput*, you'll be *kaput*, too.'"⁷ Those who fell ill or were injured in the tunnels were transported on planks or ladders to the overflowing camp infirmary, where imprisoned doctors and nurses could not help the fallen inmates, due to their lack of supplies and medication.⁸

On average, a prisoner working in the tunnels died within about six weeks. According to one prisoner doctor, nearly 30

to 40 inmates died per day.⁹ Over its entire operation, between 50 and 70 percent of the 8,000 to 10,000 inmates in the Malachit camp died, including those killed on death marches during the evacuation. Another several hundred inmates died at the camp's liberation due to illness, starvation, and disease. Bodies from the camp were first incinerated in the Quedlinburg crematorium, and toward the end of the camp's operation, they were buried in mass graves. One former prisoner reported that weak inmates were often gathered up with the dead and buried alive.¹⁰

A report submitted by the garrison doctor (Standortarzt) of the Waffen-SS, Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky, in January 1945 notes that there were 287 guards in the Malachit camp.¹¹ Waffen-SS as well as Luftwaffe soldiers (at first) guarded the camp. The Lagerkommandant of the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp was SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Hoffmann, and the Lagerführer of Malachit was SS-Oberscharführer Paul Tscheu. SS-Obersturmführer and Regierungsinspektor Wilhelm Lübeck led the building of the new armaments factory in the Malachit tunnels. Inside the tunnels, about 150 civilian employees who served as foremen drove prisoner labor with the utmost cruelty.

Tscheu was notorious for his brutality and punished the inmates for various infractions. For poor work performance, theft, and other smaller crimes, he deprived them of food. On the camp grounds, there were two types of punishment cells: a prison bunker and death cells (*Todeszellen*) in which inmates were locked until they died. Another form of maltreatment was the punishment commando (Strafkommando), in which prisoners were assigned to especially heavy labor, such as the construction of railway lines. Those caught trying to escape were beaten, tortured, and executed by fellow inmates chosen for this task.¹² As one former prisoner reported after the war, beatings and lengthy torture sessions were common in Malachit. He recalled, "I remember occasions when I was beaten for five hours continuously. When I lost my consciousness, water was poured on me."¹³

Prisoners did attempt to escape the camp, and some were able to flee the death marches after its evacuation.¹⁴ Prisoners expressed solidarity according to nationality, as well as through an informal prisoner organization, which was formed by "functionary" inmates, who controlled work statistics and counted the prisoners.

Because they considered the camp's function and operation "top secret," prior to the evacuation of the camp, the SS ordered 22 inmates to burn files and documents pertaining to the operation of the camp in the nearby Quedlinburg crematorium. The entire group of 22 was then summarily shot. Before the advance of Allied troops, on the evening of April 9, 1945, some 3,000 surviving inmates of Malachit were rounded up and marched, in six columns of 500 each, onto the road leading out of the camp. Surrounded by SS guards, they were forced to march for at least 12 days and covered over 300 kilometers (186.4 miles), some reaching Wittenberg near the Elbe, Leipzig, and southwest to Giessen. As one Hungarian Jewish inmate

testified at the end of the war, "Those who were unable to walk or [who] were caught stealing something, or whose feet simply slipped, were immediately shot."¹⁵ One column was completely annihilated, and another arrived near Berlin on April 28 with only 18 survivors. Only about 500 of the 3,000 inmates survived the marches. One inmate who survived to be liberated en route by American troops at the end of April recalled, "It was an infernal, unbearable thought that liberation was this close and still it was unapproachable, probably hopeless."¹⁶

A few days after the SS marched the group of prisoners out of the camp, troops from the 399th Battalion of the 8th Armored Division and 83rd Infantry of the U.S. Army entered Malachit on April 11, 1945. They encountered between 1,400 and 1,600 weak and dying inmates who had remained in the camp.¹⁷ Several days later, military ambulances brought many of the ill to a field hospital in Halberstadt. Two citizens of Langenstein, a parish priest named Hager and a nurse, Frau Abel, also entered the camp to offer their assistance. The Allies ordered civilians from Langenstein to bury the dead in mass graves.¹⁸ Although the Allied medical staff attempted to revive the prisoners to the best of their ability, another 144 inmates died at the field hospital from diseases such as tuberculosis, tubercular meningitis, and failed blood transfusions.¹⁹ They were buried in a mass grave in a cemetery in Halberstadt.

There is no information about postwar trials conducted against Hoffmann, Tscheu, Lübeck, or the guards of the Malachit camp. However, death certificates of prisoners in Malachit and other related records were entered as evidence in War Crimes Case 000-50-09 brought by the United States Army Europe (USAREUR) against several guards from Buchenwald and other camps.²⁰ Klaus Ferdinand Huels, a sergeant in the Wehrmacht who had a supervisory role over guards in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge, was tried in Case 000-Buchenwald 36 from October 31 to November 4, 1947, and acquitted.²¹

SOURCES The camp complex in Halberstadt figures prominently in several secondary sources. For several studies focused on the Halberstadt camp complex and the ensuing postwar memorialization of the site, see Ellen Fauser, *Die Kraft im Unglück—Erinnerungen an Langenstein-Zwieberge* (Halberstadt, o.J., 1994); Fauser, "Geschichte des KZ Langenstein-Zwieberge," in *Verfolgung, Terror und Widerstand in Sachsen-Anhalt 1933–1945: Ein Wegweiser für Gedenkstättenbesuche*, by Verena Walter et al., (Berlin: Metropol, 2001); Fauser, "Zur Geschichte des Aussenlagers Langenstein-Zwieberge," in *Zwangsarbeit und die unterirdische Verlagerung von Rüstungsindustrie*, ed. Torsten Hess (Berlin: Westkreuz, 1994); G.E. Schafft and Gerhard Zeidler, *Die KZ-Mahn- und Gedenkstätten in Deutschland* (Dietz Verlag Berlin, 1996); Paul le Gouplil, *De la fin des camps à la reconstruction: Les Normands 1945–1947* (Caen: Conseil Général du Calvados: Direction des Archives départementales, 2001); and Denise Wesenberg, "Gedenkstätte Langenstein-Zwieberge," *GeRu* No. 107, 6(2002). There are also several memoirs written by former inmates in the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp complex, including Alberto Berti, *Viaggio nel Pianeta Nazista:*

Trieste—Buchenwald Langenstein (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2000); Georges Petit, *Retour à Langenstein: Une expérience de la déportation* (Éditions Belin, 2001); Roger Leroyer, *Clamavi Ad Te* (Jena-Quedlinburg: Verlag Dr. Bussert & Stadeler, 2003); and Bernard Klieger, *Der Weg, den Wir Ging: Reportage einer höllischen Reise* (Bruxelles-Ixelles: Codac Juifs, 1960).

Primary sources on the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge complex are found in various archives and repositories and provide a partial picture, for example, of the number of inmates imprisoned in the camps, as well as living and working conditions within the camps and work commandos. The archives of the USHMM contain several kinds of documentation and resources on the camp complex. Transport lists and other administrative records are located in Acc. 1998 A.0045, a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS; see especially BU 46, Reel 16, and BU 115, Reel 18. USHMM also has relevant copies of SS records related to Buchenwald reproduced from the BA (NS 4) in RG 14.023M. Testimony of liberators of the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camps can be found in RG-09.005*40 and RG-0.005*26 (1981 International Liberators Conference collection of liberator testimonies). The USHMM also holds copies of death certificates and related records from 1944 to April 1945 from the Malachit camp in Acc. 1998.A.0074 (related to U.S. Army Europe War Crimes Case 000-50-9). The USHMM Survivors Registry lists 34 survivors (under Halberstadt or Langenstein), and 7 of these survivors have recorded oral histories accessible at the USHMM. For example, former inmate Eddie Willner has several interviews stored at the USHMM; see RG-50.549.02*0065, RG-50.030*0252, and RG-50.163*0093. The USHMM also has an extensive photographic record of the liberation of the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp; see Photo Archives Worksheets 10103, 10104, 10108, 10109, 10111, 10112, 10113, 10114, 10115, 23061, 28191, 69223, 78840, 78841, 78842, N01240.08, 10110, 08560, 10098, 10099, 10100, and 10101. Testimony from former inmates can also be found in other archives and repositories; for example, the HJMA contain thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by the relief agency DEGOB. Several protocols describe conditions in the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp complex; see especially protocols 696, 952, 2133, 3440, 1633, and 3172. The IWMA (London) contains intelligence reports on underground factories in Germany; see Combined Intelligence Objectives Sub-Committee, Underground Factories in Germany, File No. 33-17, 38. Finally, additional information, including documents, photographs, and testimonies, about the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camps can be found at the AG-LZ/M.

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NOTES

1. "Transport B II," April 21, 1944, Buchenwald (BU 46), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in the USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).
2. See transport lists from Weimar-Buchenwald to Malachit, dated April 21 (18); April 26 (200); ca. May 8 (300); and May 23, 1944 (300) (BU 46), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16). [DEGOB translations provided by Gábor Kádár.]
3. "Halberstadt Langenstein, Rapport provisoire sur les camps de Halberstadt et de Langenstein," Ministère des anciens combattants et victimes de guerre (BU 78), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 17).
4. See transport lists from Weimar-Buchenwald to "Malachyt" for February 9 and 10, 1945 (BU 46), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).
5. "Transport Maifisch," October 7, 1944, and "Transport Maifisch," October 23, 1944, Weimar-Buchenwald (BU 46), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).
6. For example, see the HJMA, DEGOB Protocol, No. 952, V.R.
7. DEGOB Protocol, No. 952, V.R.
8. Report of Dr. Kaisne, undated (BU 115), Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 18.
9. Ibid., p. 1.
10. Testimony of Eddie Willner, May 25, 1989, USHMM, RG.030*0252.
11. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung. Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1960), p. 251.
12. Josef Vik, "Zustände im KZ Langenstein-Zwieberge; Aussage des ehemaligen Lagerschreibers am 26. April 1945," in *Verfolgung, Terror und Widerstand in Sachsen-Anhalt 1933–1945: Ein Wegweiser für Gedenkstättenbesuches*, by Verena Walter et al. (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 139–144.
13. DEGOB Protocol, No. 952, V.R.
14. Vik, "Zustände," p. 142.
15. DEGOB Protocol, No. 913, T.S.
16. DEGOB Protocol, No. 952, V.R.
17. For one testimony of first encounter with newly opened camp, see USHMM, RG-09.005*26, U.S. Army Nurse, Maeceille B. (Pless) Beem; and USHMM, RG-09.004*40, Testimony of Joseph Zalinski, U.S. Army.
18. Depicted in USHMM, Photo Archives WS 10109.
19. USHMM, RG-09.004*40, Testimony of J.R. LaVietes, Laboratory technician of the 78th Field Hospital, 3rd Armored Division, U.S. Army. See also DEGOB Protocol, No. 3440, I.F.
20. Zwieberge/Malachit death certificates and related records, 1944–1945, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0074, as copied from NARA, RG 338.
21. Further information about this and other trials related to Buchenwald can be found in NARA, RG 338, War Crimes Case Files. It is possible that other guards who served in Malachit were tried but in connection to their service in other camps.

HALBERSTADT-LANGENSTEIN-ZWIEBERGE/WERNIGERODE

A complex of subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp was constructed near the village of Langenstein. They were located about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the town of Halberstadt (Sachsen-Anhalt), in an isolated valley at the foothills of the Thekenbergen and Hoppelbergen, which are in the Harz Mountains, an area called Zwieberge. On March 19, 1945, 20

kilometers (12.4 miles) southwest of Halberstadt, a camp was created in Wernigerode. For other camps attached to Buchenwald in this area, see Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge; Hecklingen, Junkerswerke, Magdeburg, and "Malachit."

The creation of the Wernigerode subcamp fell under the SS program to shift armaments and aircraft production to underground locations. [For further information on this program, see Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/("Malachit").] There is little information about the camp located at Wernigerode, most likely because it was in operation for a relatively short period of time. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), there were 20 inmates in the Wernigerode camp.

The camp at Wernigerode closed on April 5, 1945, just prior to the evacuation of the largest Halberstadt camp, known as Malachit.

SOURCES For the sources on this camp, see the entry for Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/("Malachit").

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HALLE [AKA BIRKHAHN-MÖTZLICH]

A satellite camp of Buchenwald was created in Halle an der Saale in Saxony to provide labor to the Siebel Aircraft Factory, Ltd. (Siebel-Flugzeugwerke) in July 1944. (According to the Halle entry in the International Tracing Service [ITS] catalog, inmates were also sent to the "Bauleitung Professor Doktor Ingenieur Rimpl, Kostenstell B-XII," but no other information about this commando could be found.) Like other subcamps administered by the Buchenwald main camp, the supply of prisoner labor to the firm followed from an agreement between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the administration of the Siebel Aircraft Factory. Prisoners were "employed" at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day, payable by the employing firm to the WVHA. However, prisoners were not compensated for their work.

The Siebel factory was established in 1934 when the original founder of the firm, Hanns Klemm, sold his shares to Friedrich Wilhelm Siebel. At this time, the company's production output transitioned from its original manufacture of sport planes and their parts to producing military aircraft for the German Luftwaffe. A camp for male inmates was created at the factory in late July or early August 1944 to increase output with the least amount of cost. The prisoners were used for labor in the metalworking department, constructing parts for airplane wings. According to a report filed in January 1945 by the chief of labor allocation (Arbeitseinsatzführer) for the Buchenwald camp, laborers worked a total of 166,364 hours in December 1944. Siebel employed 10,159 skilled workers and 4,965 auxiliary workers in December.¹ Most likely not all of these laborers were Buchenwald inmates, and not all were imprisoned in the Halle subcamp (likewise, not all of the inmates in the subcamp were used for labor at Siebel). The workday at the factory was 10.5 hours long.²

There is no information about the actual construction, size, or layout of the camp in Halle. There were at least five blocks and one block for SS guards, and the camp was located at Boelkestrasse 70. Various correspondences concerning the Halle subcamp refer to it as "Lager Birkhahn-Mötzlich." Mötzlich was a small village near Halle where an airfield was created in 1917, and presumably the camp was located near this airfield.

Several transport lists showing the movement of prisoners from Buchenwald to Halle have survived; however, the exact destination of each list is not always clear (most indicate that prisoners were transferred to Halle, others more specifically state "Lager Birkhahn-Mötzlich," and others denote "Halle Siebel" or some variation of this). The total number of inmates suggested by the Halle lists added together far exceed the numbers shown on SS monthly reports for Siebel from the same period. Therefore, it is difficult to discern the number of inmates in the Halle subcamp because the collection of transport lists may not be complete, some of the existing lists may be duplicates, and not all of the prisoners transferred to Halle were incarcerated in this particular camp or employed by Siebel.

In late July 1944, 525 inmates were transported from Buchenwald to Halle, with an additional 515 inmates following on July 31.³ Although these lists provide no breakdown by nationality, most of the inmates appear to have been Russian, Polish, and perhaps Czech. Prisoner transports continued to arrive in Halle throughout the following months, and the number of inmates imprisoned in the subcamp both increased and decreased at various intervals during its eight-month existence. In general, the pattern of incoming transports increased throughout the fall of 1944, and by January 1945, some inmates were shifted from Halle to other subcamps. Seven inmates were deported from Buchenwald to Halle on August 10, 1944, mostly French political prisoners.⁴ Additional transports from Buchenwald arrived throughout August and September, and the number of prisoners transferred to Halle exceeded 2,000.⁵

However, these numbers differ from monthly reports from Halle filed by the SS administration of the camp. According to a monthly report dated August 13–14, 1944, the Halle-Siebel camp had 525 inmates.⁶ From September 1 to 20, 1944, 1,000 inmates were transferred to Halle-Siebel from Buchenwald (500 on September 2, 500 on September 12). On September 27, an additional transport of 20 inmates was sent to Halle. Beginning in January 1945, inmates were transferred from Halle to the Buchenwald subcamp in Annaburg. Ninety-seven inmates were transferred to Annaburg in December 1944.⁷ Between January 1 and 31, 1945, there appears to have been no transports to Halle from Buchenwald, and on February 2, 7 inmates were transferred to Halle, with an additional 5 on March 23.⁸ Another report from March 25, 1945, shows that on January 1, 1945, Halle-Siebel had 633 inmates, and on March 6, 1945, it had 528 inmates.⁹

In addition to work performed at the Siebel airplane factory, some inmates were employed in various functions within the camp. In November 1944, there was at least 1 inmate appointed as block elder (Blockältester), 10 inmates worked in

the kitchen barracks, 1 inmate assigned to barracks orderly duty (*Stubendienst*) for each of the five blocks and 1 for the SS barracks, as well as 2 barbers and a cobbler.¹⁰ The inmates were divided into several commandos that included clearing rubble from air raids, as well as other construction and repair work.¹¹

The commander of the camp was SS-Hauptscharführer F. Noll. At least 20 SS guards were transferred from Halle to an unknown assignment in January 1945, but no additional information in camp reports or correspondence on the number or the ranks of guards in Halle can be found.¹²

There is little exact information about prisoner deaths and punishment or the methods, motives, and circumstances of the murder of inmates. As in most other concentration camps, inmates were probably subject to arbitrary abuse or maltreatment meted out by the guards. Punishment and rewards were connected to the inmates' work performance. According to several communications with Noll regarding the behavior of individual prisoners, transgressions at the workplace, such as neglecting equipment or stepping away from a running machine, were punishable by denying the offending prisoner his midday meal as well as his allotment of cigarettes.¹³ In at least one instance, a telegram from the Halle factory to Noll dated October 18, 1944, recommended that the cigarette rations of several prisoners be raised due to their excellent performance.¹⁴ There is no information confirming that Noll permitted this allocation.

Some SS monthly reports also indicate the average number of inmates who received care, both inpatient and outpatient, in the Halle infirmary. Both in January and February 1945, about 50 inmates received ambulatory care, and 30 were admitted to the infirmary. The monthly report from February 1945 also indicated 1 prisoner death and that food supplies were "sufficient." However, there is no way to confirm that the SS reports reflect accurate numbers of ill inmates or living conditions within the camp.¹⁵

The subcamp in Halle was last noted in German records on March 31, 1945.

SOURCES The Halle subcamp of Buchenwald appears rarely in secondary literature. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Halle in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). For further information on the history of the Siebel-Flugzeugwerke, see H.-J. Ebert, Udo Mahn, and H.-D. Tack, *Dokumentation der 90-jährigen Geschichte der Luftfahrt und des Luftsportes in der Region Halle (Saale)*, Heft 3, and *Die Siebel-Flugzeugwerke Halle (1934–1946)*, Heft 9

(IG Luftfahrtgeschichte im Luftsportverband Sachsen-Anhalt e.V, n.d.).

Primary documentation on the Halle subcamp is located in several archives. For general correspondence, monthly and daily statistical reports, which list the number of prisoners working at Siebel and the kinds of work performed, as well as "occupancy" lists of the Halle subcamp and other subcamps, see the German BA group NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, in particular volumes 8, 31, 54, 55, 176–185, and 196. Other volumes from this collection contain relevant information pertaining to the Halle subcamp; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp population. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Also contained at the USHMM archives is a collection of transport lists to and from the Halle camp, copied from the AN-MACVG, Acc. 1998.A.0045, especially Reels 7 and 16. Additional transport lists or duplicates of the collection, as well as "strength reports," from the AN can be found in the archives of the USHMM, 1996. A.0342, Reels 146–180, originally copied from NARA, A3355. Further research on these reports would yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the subcamp at Halle and other satellite camps of Buchenwald.

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NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, in *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunal under Control Council Law No. 10* (Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.

2. Monatsbericht für Januar 1945, February 1, 1945, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), as reproduced in USHMM, RG-14.023M, Band 54.

3. "Transport Halle," ca. July 2, 1944, Weimar-Buchenwald (BU 8/18), AN, Secretariat D'Etat aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in the USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 8). See also "Transport Halle," July 31, 1944, Buchenwald (BU 44, Reel 16, and BU 5/5, Reel 6), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

4. "Transport Halle," August 10, 1944 (BU 44), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

5. Additional transfers arrived on August 13, August 17, September 2, September 12, and September 27, 1944. The total number of prisoners on these transports exceeded 1,500. See BU 44, BU 8/19, and BU 5/5, USHMM, Acc. 1998. A.0045.

6. Buchenwald: Etats d'effectifs par Kommando, August 13 and 14, 1944 (BU 5/3), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 6).

7. Memorandum from Arbeitseinsatz-Ing., SS-Kommandoführers [Söderberg ?], December 28, 1944, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), as reproduced at USHMM, RG-14.023M, Band 258.

8. Buchenwald: Mouvements internés, September 1, 1944–March 31, 1945, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 6).

9. "Aussenkommandos, Stand vom 6.3.45 and Stand vom 1.1.45," BU 39, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

10. List of prisoner functions in Lager Birkahn, Hall a/S., November 18, 1944, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), USHMMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 258.
11. "Arbeitseinsatz der Häftl. Halle 16 am 21 August 1944," submitted to Siebel Flugzeugwerke on August 21, 1944, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), USHMMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 260.
12. "Monatsbericht für Januar 1945," BA NS4 (Buchenwald), USHMMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 54.
13. Correspondence from SS-Hauptscharführer Noll, October 15, 1944, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), USHMMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 258.
14. Memo from Werke der Stadt Halle, Aktiengesellschaft to Lagerführer Hauptscharführer Noll, October 18, 1944, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), USHMMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 258.
15. "Monatsbericht für Januar 1945" and "Monatsbericht und Stärkemeldung, 20 Februar 1945," BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), USHMMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 54.

HARDEHAUSEN

Due to Germany's military situation, the Institute of National Political Education (Napola) Bensberg was transferred to Hardehausen, following a final order issued by Heinrich Himmler on November 2, 1944. The old Cistercian monastery located in Hardehausen was confiscated, and extensive rebuilding and expansion of the structures used as hospitals for the Luftwaffe, and later as a women's technical college, were begun.

The first preparations for the move had already been made by September 1944. It is known for certain that SA-Gruppenführer Paul Holthoff brought 10 prisoners along with him to Hardehausen.

These 10 were a detail from Buchenwald that had been ordered over from that camp to Bensberg in March 1944 to do restoration and extention work in the old castle of Bensberg, then the home of Napola. Holthoff was the leader of this elite school. He was responsible for transport, shelter, and supplies for the camp, as he held administrative power concerning the prisoners. Disciplinary power and power of command were always held by the SS, in the person of a non-commissioned SS officer in Bensberg whose name remains unknown. The move to Hardehausen, however, must have already been finalized by the end of December 1944.

The work detail (Kommando) still went by its old name at this point;¹ shortly thereafter, its designation was changed to "Napola Hardehausen." So the prisoners' camp was named after its place of deployment (Einsatzort), as was very often the case with Buchenwald details ordered out to do forced labor somewhere.

According to a statement made by a witness at that time, the prisoners were said to be housed in the top level of the monastery's old grain barn, built out of massive, unfinished stone.² Napola fed the prisoners.

In court, the witness Peter Georg, who was a prisoner in Hardehausen from February 1945, accused Josef Schramm of

tyrannically reducing the prisoners' rations from day to day and also often threatening prisoners with beating.³

The concentration camp prisoners worked behind a two-meter-high (6.6-foot-high) stone wall that surrounded the entire property of the monastery. A main gate on the southern side and a side door on the northern side of the monastery grounds were, according to the information of the contemporary witness, guarded or locked yet occasionally passable for residents.⁴

In 1945, about six families lived on-site. Among them was also a man named Pahl, who held a lease from the Prussian state province of Hardehausen. The State Attorney's Office of Paderborn used information from a statement he provided for its 1966–1967 investigation of the Hardehausen camp.⁵ Pahl admitted that about 30 to 40 concentration camp prisoners from Buchenwald were present shortly before Easter, but he said he was unable to remember any details. Nothing was revealed concerning cruelty or murder within the scope of this legal investigation. A trial was not instituted.

Reports on the strength of the prisoner population from Bensberg and then Hardehausen show that it varied from 10 at first to 40 in late February and 12 at the camp's closure.

The monastery building, with all of its functioning rooms, had to be rebuilt completely. Gardens were to be planted to promote self-sufficiency, an area for riding was to be prepared, and the complete installation of electric service was to be carried out. Napola was to have its own swimming pool next to the monastery building, on which the prisoners had worked. (An extended pond remains in its place as evidence).⁶

In addition, the house of the institution's leader, north of the monastery boundary, needed to be readied for occupation. Supposedly, the prisoners were to build a connecting road with a solid foundation, from the former monastery, the Napola's refuge at that time, to Scherfede (later a district of Warburg).

In January 1945, the prisoners worked 12 hours on each of the month's 31 days.

Only a few *Jungmannen* (pupils) of the institution were already in Hardehausen. Hardly any classes were held because the majority of the school's materials (*Schulausstattung*) remained unpacked in the cloister,⁷ and construction work on the building that was actually to serve as the institution was well under way.

The transport of 30 prisoners from Buchenwald was arranged in a memorandum dated January 29, 1945:

**Buchenwald Concentration Camp—Labor Detail—
Re: New Kommando "Napola" Hardehausen.**

For this Kommando, to which the 10 prisoners of Napola Bensberg come, 30 prisoners will be assigned.⁸

The job affiliation of the transferred inmates can also be found here; one Kapo and one foreman, "who are knowledgeable of road construction," belonged to the group of 30 concentration camp prisoners. Nationalities were not recorded.

However, as Peter Georg explained during his eyewitness testimony in the trial against the Kommando leader in Hardehausen, one of the “Buchenwald trials” held in Dachau in 1947, there were “various nationalities,” among them Russians and Poles. Contrary to the two lists, he remembered that only 36 total prisoners were in Hardehausen.⁹ Holthoff, according to the document, was responsible for the transport. Ten policemen were assigned as the guard detail. Related documents are still missing. A succinct order for clothes for work outdoors was in force for the prisoners.

The Kommando leader was SS-Unterscharführer Josef Schramm. He went to Hardehausen on March 1, 1945. According to his statement, one SS-Unteroffizier Heinrich, also from Buchenwald, was actually designated for the task in Hardehausen but was then posted to the subcamp in Göttingen.

It can be assumed that Schramm arrived one week after the prisoners had marched from Buchenwald in the direction of Hardehausen.

While still at Buchenwald, Schramm had received his first SS rank when he had gone to Weimar for cleanup work that was necessary following the February 26, 1945, air-raid attack on Weimar.¹⁰ Schramm therefore first arrived at Hardehausen on April 1, 1945. It remains unclear who brought the group of prisoners to Hardehausen and who functioned as Kommando leader until Schramm’s arrival as commander of the camp at Napola.

On November 19, 1947, a denazification court at the Dachau “Buchenwald trials” sentenced Schramm to life imprisonment for murder. The crime attributed to Schramm was, however, not committed in Bensberg or Hardehausen but rather in the vicinity of Weimar itself.¹¹ Witnesses described him, when he was leader of Blocks 17 and 39, as “brutal up until the very end” and as “probably the most dangerous block leader” in Buchenwald.¹² Schramm was released from prison on May 25, 1948.¹³

In the last days of March 1945, Holthoff fled with the remaining pupils; the prisoners were no longer of any interest to him.

On April 3, 1945, American troops occupied Hardehausen.

The Hardehausen subcamp was a small, independent camp with 10 prisoners, except for about six weeks when 40 prisoners were there. The work demanded of the prisoners did not profit either the economy or armaments production. Nevertheless, it held local significance in the creation of an infrastructure for the field of education and for the ideological strengthening of the National Socialist dictatorship.

The subcamp was not founded in the interests of politics on a grand scale; rather, it was the result of a personal initiative from the periphery of National Socialist rule. To realize his plans, Holthoff first tried to use good relations in this area. Many officials did this, as Karola Fings writes, in reference to the assembly of workforces for Construction Brigade III. When this strategy could no longer be continued due to the war, Holthoff utilized the authority and resources of his

superiors, whose long-term interests demanded that the successful work of Napola continue undisturbed for as long as possible because the up-and-coming leadership of the SS, among other things, was supposed to arrive there. The prisoners placed at Napola were workmen who were intensively sought after and desperately needed; moreover, only limited numbers were available, and they were not easy to replace. Therefore, life-threatening arbitrariness from the Kommando leader and guard staff could not necessarily be expected in this subcamp. Nevertheless, the prisoners understood from experience that they were at the mercy of a system and its representatives who could at any time, and for no reason whatsoever, demonstrate an inhuman side. Lack of nourishment, beating, and degrading treatment were at the very least part of daily life in the Hardehausen subcamp, along with the loss of freedom and awareness that as foreigners they were on a daily basis at the mercy of an enemy state.

SOURCES The Napola-Bensberg subcamp of the Buchenwald concentration camp was housed in the Bensberg castle (municipality of Bensberg, Rheinisch-Bergisch area, later belonging to the city of Bergisch Gladbach) until approximately December 1944. This first phase is reconstructed well in literature. The work of Klaus Schmitz would be one example here: “Das Außenlager Bensberg des KZ-Buchenwald,” *Rheinisch-Bergischer Kalender Rh-Bkal* 59 (1989): 209–215. This work expands upon two previously written student papers from 1983: Michael Aulerich et al., “Die Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalt Bensberg,” and Siegfried Balkow et al., “Kriegsgefangene-Fremdarbeiter und KZ-Häftlinge im Raum Bensberg.” These papers were submissions to the competition for the Bundespräsident prize (student essays on historical themes), organized by the Körber Foundation in Hamburg. They can be viewed there. They are also available, as with the work by Schmitz, in ASt-BG. For proof of the subcamp in Bensberg and Hardehausen, the work of *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), pp 152, 366, and 565 (formerly: *Catalogue of Camps and Prisons—CCP*). In her book *Messelager Köln*, vol. 3 (Cologne: Emons Verlag, 1996), Karola Fings provides reliable details on the time period of the Construction Brigade III in Cologne and the independence of the Bensberg subcamp. Information regarding the leader of the Napola-Bensberg is offered by Joachim Lilla, Martin Döring, and Andreas Schulz, *Statisten in Uniform: Die Mitglieder des Reichstages 1933–1945. Ein biographisches Handbuch: Unter Einbeziehung der völkischen und nationalsozialistischen Reichstagsabgeordneten ab Mai 1924* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2004).

In addition to Weinmann, the time of the Napola in Hardehausen (later a district of the city of Warburg in Ostwestfalen) is documented in the file records in the LA-NRW-SPDet. Estates can be found here under the call numbers M1 IIIc Nos. 3333 and 3402, as well as D 100 Warburg. All the student papers refer back to unpublished source material of the ASt-BG, which is available under shelf numbers F2/1080 and

V160 (more recently: J 16/3). The IfZ also has additional related material available under the call number NI-4181, as well as BA in collection NS4, Bu/vol. 253. BA-L manages the results of enquiries made by the Paderborn State Attorney's Office on the subcamp Napolia-Hardehausen (formerly subcamp Bensberg as of January 1945) under the reference of the State Attorney's Office Paderborn: 2 AR 50/66. Among other things, the statements of a contemporary eyewitness of the prison camp can also be found there.

In the so-called Buchenwald trials, an individual trial was carried out against Kommando leader of the Hardehausen subcamp, Josef Schramm. His statements regarding his stay and occupation in Hardehausen, accompanying witness testimonies, and the verdict are all located in the NARA, 1376, RG 153, Record of the Office of the Judge Advocate General (Army), *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Waldeck*, War Crimes Case No. 12-390, B2833, THStA-W. The *Stärkemeldungen* of the subcamp Napolia or Napolia-Bensberg also come from THStA-W. They belong to the collection: KZ und Haftanstalt Buchenwald, NS4 Bu 1366; KZ und Haftanstalt Buchenwald, Box 27, No. 9. The accompanying lists of prisoner names come from one document: StAGL, HS 313, unpaginated, under the heading: "Aufteilung der Baubrigade III (Köln); and prisoner lists from: NARA, RG 242, Film 25, No. 0015355, No. 0015356, No. 0015357, and No. 0015358. Lastly, the death report of Jan Kubat is located under prisoner number 21943 in the AG-B's card index of prisoner numbers.

Dieter Zühlke
trans. Lynn Wolff

NOTES

1. "Häftlingseinsatz für Rüstungszwecke im Monat Januar 1945 unter Angabe der geleisteten Arbeitsstunden, Absatz: Kriegswichtige Zwecke, Napolia Hardehausen," AG-B, author's copy without shelf mark.

2. Cf. documents from BA-L, file mark of the Paderborn state attorney's office, 2 AR 50/66, not paginated.

3. *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Waldeck et al.*, "Buchenwald trial," No. 12-390, NARA, Az.: TKI-mp-Schramm—11/14-7, witness statement of Peter Georg.

4. Verbal statement of Mr. Struck, resident, August 1994.

5. This and in the following: BA-L, file mark of the Paderborn state attorney's office, 2 AR 50-66, n.p.

6. Verbal statement, contemporary witness Mr. Struck, 1994.

7. StABGL, collection Vermandel, letters from pupils.

8. From ZdL (now BA-L), file mark of the Paderborn state attorney's office, 2 AR 50/66, n.p.

9. *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Waldeck et al.*, "Buchenwald trial," No. 12-390, NARA, Az.: TKI-mp-Schramm—11/14-7, witness statement of Peter Georg.

10. *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Waldeck et al.* . . . trial of Schramm, p. 97.

11. *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Waldeck et al.* . . . Az.: TKI-mp-Schramm—11/14-7, indictment, p.1; cf. witness statement of Peter Georg, l.c.

12. Witness Apitz, *USA v. Prinz zu Waldeck et al.* . . . l.c., p. 109.

13. AG-B; and *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Lippe* . . . , l.c.

HESSISCH LICHTENAU

The subcamp Hessisch Lichtenau, with a population of 1,000 female prisoners, was first mentioned on August 1, 1944. The inmates brought from Auschwitz to Hessisch Lichtenau were Jews, predominantly Hungarian, and others including Romanian (1), Slovakian (3), Polish (1), and Yugoslavian (3). One can gather from the list of new arrivals to this subcamp from the Auschwitz concentration camp that the women and girls were between the ages of 15 and 49 years old. Mothers were often brought to the camp with their daughters or other relatives. On September 19, 1944, as was common practice, they were registered and given serial numbers by the political section of the Buchenwald concentration camp, under whose administrative authority they were kept. The women who were brought to Hessisch Lichtenau received the prisoner numbers from 20,001 to 21,003.

The prisoners were put to work in an explosives factory in Hessisch Lichtenau. Shells, bombs, mines, and cartridges were filled there with the explosives TNT, picric acid, and nitropenta. The contractor was the Fabrik Hessisch Lichtenau GmbH zur Verwertung chemischer Erzeugnisse (Hessisch Lichtenau factory, a limited liability company for the exploitation of chemical products), a sister company of the Dynamit-AG (DAG), formerly the Alfred Nobel and Co.

The female inmates lived under miserable conditions in a barracks camp, the "camp clubhouse" (*Lager Vereinshaus*), on the edge of the city, closely watched by a staff of SS guards. They marched daily for an hour and a half to an armaments factory located in a dense mixed wood/meadow area. The normal working time for the Jewish forced laborers was 10.5 hours per day. A majority of the women worked in a three-shift rotation, which also had them working on Saturdays and Sundays. In addition to their shifts, the women and girls often had to carry out different tasks on the factory grounds for between 2 and 4 hours; and besides that, there was the march to the factory and back to the camp. The inmates who worked the night shift often had to work in the camp during the day, so that 4 hours of sleep was an exception for those on the night shift.

The Jewish prisoners had to perform not only dangerous but physically difficult work. They were utilized where uncomfortable tasks had to be done: the making of explosives, cleanup work on the factory site, work in the forest, the loading and unloading of train cars, loading work in the factory, excavation work, such as the digging of ditches and wells, and the shifting of a water pipe. They also did various physically demanding tasks for a building contractor that performed tasks for the explosives factory.

These prisoners were stationed mainly in the most dangerous positions in the filling station and press building. In the press building, many came in direct contact with picric acid. The picric acid, which had to be filled by hand, contained very poisonous yellow crystals, whose vapors penetrated the body through breathing or through the skin. In the same way as contact with the explosive TNT in the filling

stations, picric acid caused a great deal of permanent damage to the forced laborers' health, such as lung and liver damage as well as allergies.

The former forced laborer Blanka Pudler describes her work in the factory as follows:

I had to carefully stir the explosive material in the shells with brass sticks so that they would cool evenly, allowing no air bubbles to develop in the explosives. A hard, iron-like skin developed on the surface. One had to break this open with sticks. I had to breathe in the bitter tasting, unhealthy vapors that made me numb, and I often regained consciousness only when the hot explosives spattered my face, leaving my face full of burns. Sometimes I had to grab assembled shells, weighing nearly 30 kilograms, at the end of a conveyor belt. I often hurt my hands severely while doing this work. I always hid my infected wounds. I didn't want to be sick, because I knew that being sick was equal to being dead.¹

These forced laborers also suffered under the cruelty of the German foremen. The absolutely lawless situation, in which these women and girls found themselves, was used to maltreat and torture them. Based on their status, they had no chance of defending themselves. Civilians, who showed no consideration for the prisoners' terrible physical condition, also repeatedly pushed them on during their work.

In addition, there was the daily terror of the SS on the way to work and in the camp. After a deployment on March 20, 1945, the SS guard staff was made up of 25 SS members, often older men not fit for the front, and 32 female guards. The camp leader was SS-Sturmscharführer Willi Schäfer, born in 1906. He came from Stettin, was married, and had children. Concentration camp survivors describe his behavior as "fair" in view of the overall situation in which they found themselves. His deputy was the SS-Oberscharführer Ernst Zorbach, who came from the Buchenwald concentration camp shortly after the establishment of this camp and who, due to his sadism toward the prisoners, made efforts to intensify the conditions in the camp. Zorbach was two years older than Schäfer and had already joined the Nazi Party in 1931.

An indication of how quickly the inmates' capacity for work was used up under the conditions of the camp and in the factory is made clear by the fact that already at the end of October 1944—not even three months after the arrival of the forced laborers in Hessisch Lichtenau—206 prisoners were sent back to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Since the factory was only interested in those fit to work and those who possessed a healthy capacity for labor, these women were sent to the extermination camp. Prisoners who were pregnant, sick, and unable to work were selected. On October 24, 1944, the camp commandant reported the death of 5 female forced laborers, among them a 16- and a 17-year-old girl, to the Buchenwald

concentration camp. There is no information on the cause of death. Again on January 4, 1945, 2 women were singled out as unfit to work and were brought to Bergen-Belsen, one because she was pregnant and the other because of "mental illness."

According to statements made by former prisoners, hidden resistance and sabotage operations occurred in the camp and in the factory. A former prisoner reports the following on this: "A couple of us organized a sabotage group . . . one or the other explosive would be forgotten in the mixing room, and if that was not possible, then the shells were marked and it was my job to destroy almost invisible parts during unloading, to be sure that the shells would be harmless."²

At the end of March 1945, the exhausted inmates of the subcamp were evacuated in the face of advancing U.S. forces. First the women were transported to Leipzig by train under the watch of the SS guard staff. The trip lasted five days. A week later they were sent on a two-week-long march, which was called a "death march" by those who survived. The SS shot many prisoners who could not march any further. The death march ended in Wurzen, just east of Leipzig, where the Jewish women who survived the march were liberated by U.S. troops on April 25, 1945.

From 1967 to 1976, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL), located in Ludwigsburg, and the State Attorney's Office in Kassel carried out investigations against the camp leader, his deputy, and the other members of the SS for the killing of prisoners in the Hessisch Lichtenau subcamp and during the evacuation march. The trial was called off on March 10, 1976, because it was impossible to determine the whereabouts of the camp leader Schäfer and his deputy Zorbach.

SOURCES The basis for this entry on the Hessisch Lichtenau subcamp comes from two books by Dieter Vaupel: *Das Außenlager Hessisch Lichtenau des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald 1944/1945: Eine Dokumentation*, 3rd ed. (Kassel: Verlag Gesamthochschulbibliothek Kassel, 1984) and *Spuren die nicht vergeben: Eine Studie über Zwangsarbeit und Entschädigung*, 2nd ed. (Kassel: Verlag Gesamthochschulbibliothek Kassel, 2001). The former title has also been published in English in the collection by Randolph L. Braham, *Studies on the Holocaust in Hungary* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990). Gregor Espelage dedicates an extensive chapter to the Lichtenau subcamp in his book "*Friedland*" bei Hessisch Lichtenau: *Geschichte einer Stadt und Sprengstofffabrik in der Zeit des Dritten Reiches in Zwei Bänden* (Hessisch Lichtenau: Stadt Hessisch Lichtenau, 1994).

There are many scattered records on the subcamp Hessisch Lichtenau. The correspondence of the SS including prisoner and transport lists and lists of those kept back and temporarily not deported are located at APMO, in BA-K, and YV. A collection of files in BA-L is of particular significance in that it deals with the investigative trial concerning prisoner deaths in the Hessisch Lichtenau camp. Two former concentration camp prisoners published autobiographical works on their experiences in the camp and in the explosives factory: Trude Levi, *A Cat Called Adolf* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 1994); and Judith Magyar Isaac-

son, *Seed of Sarah* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991). Both books have also been published in German translation.

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NOTES

1. Blanka Pudler, quoted in Dieter Vaupel, *Spuren, die nicht vergeben: Eine Studie über Zwangsarbeit und Entschädigung*, 2nd ed. (Kassel: Verlag Gesamthochschulbibliothek Kassel, 2001), p. 337.

2. Gertrud Deak, quoted in ibid., p. 114.

JENA

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Jena (Thüringen) in late September or early October 1944. The inmates were transferred from the nearby main camp to Jena to work for the Reichsbahnausbesserungswerke (Reich Railways Repair Works, RAW), located on Loebstädtter Strasse 50. Like other subcamps created in the later months of the war, concentration camp prisoners were hired out by private industrial firms, such as RAW, which paid the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) for the use of prisoner labor. RAW-Jena paid the WVHA 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.¹

Inmates brought to the Jena subcamp were used by the RAW to repair the railway and perform other kinds of work in the factory. Because the camp was located only about 24 kilometers (15 miles) from the main Buchenwald camp in Jena, groups of prisoners were often sent to the camp from Buchenwald on special tasks as requested by the Jena mayoral office.

From transport lists and transfer reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*) generated about the movement of inmates to and from Jena, a general picture emerges of the number of inmates in the Jena subcamp at various intervals during its five-month-long operation, information about the demographics of the camp population, as well as frequency of deaths, illnesses, and departures from the camp. The first transport of 400 male inmates left Buchenwald and arrived in the Jena subcamp on October 4, 1944. The prisoners appear to be Polish, Russian, Czech, French, Belgian, and German, but nationality, age, and profession of the inmates are not provided in the report.² By the end of October, there were at least 573 inmates imprisoned in the Jena subcamp. At the end of November 1944, the number had reached around 800, with another large transport of 300 prisoners arriving in Jena on November 4, 1944.³ On January 23, 1945, the last large transport of 133 inmates arrived in Jena.⁴ Throughout the following months, smaller transports shifted prisoners between Buchenwald and Jena.⁵ According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog, the average strength of the Jena subcamp was 800 inmates, but the

camp most likely reached its peak in January 1945, with 942 inmates.⁶

Although no witness reports from former inmates of the Jena subcamp could be found to attest to the conditions within the camp, some of the transport lists and other transfer memos show that on certain dates inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp in exchange for stronger, healthier inmates. These inmates, deemed completely unsuitable (*völlig ungeeignet*) for work at RAW, exhibited various illnesses, including tuberculosis, dysentery, diphtheria, angina, and other conditions. Other inmates were transferred from Jena to Buchenwald to be punished; in one instance, three inmates were returned for plundering a supply train.⁷ Some reports show the “departure” of inmates from the camp; many of these departures actually meant that the inmates had died. For example, a transfer report dated February 13, 1945, lists one Pole, a professional criminal (*Berufsverbrechener*) named Jan Filipowicz, as having departed the Jena camp.⁸ A list of deaths in the Buchenwald subcamps undersigned by the SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad, SDG), an unnamed SS-Rottenführer, in the prisoner infirmary shows that on the same date one death was recorded for Jena: Jan Filipowicz, who died on “February 6, 1945 at 5:30 p.m., due to pneumonia.”⁹

The Kommandoführer of the Jena subcamp was SS-Oberscharführer Zenker. The Arbeitseinsatzführer was SS-Hauptsturmführer Schwarz.¹⁰ According to a report filed by the SS-Standortarzt on January 31, 1945, the SS doctor assigned to oversee medical operations in the Jena subcamp was named Götze, and the SDG was named Wilhelm. The same report lists the strength of the guard troops at 66 and the camp as having 942 inmates on this date.¹¹

The Jena subcamp was last mentioned in administrative records on April 11, 1945, with 519 inmates.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources that describe conditions and circumstances at the Jena subcamp of Buchenwald. For brief information on the Jena camp, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, see *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

Likewise, primary documents generated on the Jena subcamp are scarce. For transport lists and other administrative records, see USHMMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, a collection of documents copied from AN-MACVG and originating from ITS (see especially BU 43, BU 8/20). Additional records on the subcamps of Buchenwald, including the Jena camp, may be found at AG-B and AG-MD.

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NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, *TWC*, 6: 759–767.

2. “TransportJena,” October 4, 1944 (BU 43), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

3. "Transport Jena," November 4, 1944 (BU 43), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).
4. "Transport Jena," January 23, 1945 (BU 8/21), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 7).
5. See "K.L. Buchenwald, Kdo. Jena (Je)" collection in BU 43, USHMMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).
6. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 Januar 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1960), p. 253.
7. "An das Konz. Lager Weimar Buchenwald, Schutzhäftlagerführer," November 23, 1944 (BU 43), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045.
8. "Veränderungsmeldung," KL Buchenwald, February 13, 1945 (BU 4/35), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 6).
9. Death report, February 13, 1945 (BU 36/4), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, p. 4.
10. See memos regarding exchange of inmates to Buchenwald, on which the names "Zenker" and "Schwartz" are legible, dated November 8, 1944, and January 11, 1945 (BU 43), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045.
11. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 Januar 1945, as published in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, p. 253.

KASSEL

There were actually two Buchenwald subcamps in Kassel at different times. The first subcamp utilized seven carpenters from the carpentry repair workshop of the main camp who went to Kassel with the subcamp leader SS-Hauptscharführer Arno Weber without an additional guard staff for a week from January 20 to 25, 1941.

The second subcamp included 12 prisoners—5 skilled workers and 7 unskilled laborers—who worked for the construction firm Itten Bros. in Kassel-Nordhausen (HWL) from November 12, 1942, through December 8, 1942 (in total, 180 workdays, as there was no official work on Sundays). The firm received a proof of debt issued by the "Waffen-SS Buchenwald concentration camp (administration)" and had to transfer "to the account of the Buchenwald concentration camp administration at the Reichsbank branch in Weimar No. 76/144" the amount of 6 Reichsmark (RM) for the day's work of a skilled worker and 4 RM for that of an unskilled laborer.

SOURCES Literature specifically on the two subcamps was not available. In AG-B there are lists of prisoners (call numbers NS 4 Bu 16, Bu 155, Bu 138), in which the subcamp is cited. These lists reveal that the assumption in the "Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)" (Arolsen, unpub. MSS, 1979), p. 47, published by ITS is incorrect, as there were actually two different subcamps (not just one) in the city of Kassel. The proofs of debt for the deployment of prisoners with regard to the second subcamp are in AG-B (call number NS 4 Bu 222). In ITS (call number: Bu-

chenwald 14), a short reference is made to the jobs. The Itten firm was listed in the Kassel register of master craftspeople until 1962.

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KASSEL-DRUSELTAL

The work detachment Kassel-Druseltal—based to the west of Kassel on the road to Habichtswald-Ehlen—was established in July 1943 as an outside detachment of the Buchenwald concentration camp in a private residential building rented by the SS. The building, an old timber house, had originally been an inn. The house had previously been used as a camp for French prisoners of war, so barbed wire, trip wires, and bars were in place.

The camp was a detachment of the SS-Building Administration Main Office (WVHA). The first recorded transport of prisoners from Buchenwald took place on July 24, 1943. From October 1943 to the middle of July 1944, there were between 122 and 148 prisoners in the camp; from the middle of July to January 1945, there were between 162 and 188 prisoners; and at the end of March 1945, when the camp was dissolved, there were 139 prisoners. In all, 288 prisoners were registered: around one-third were Poles, another third were Russians (from the Soviet Union), 39 were Germans, 26 were Czech, 13 were French, 6 were Italians, 6 were Belgians, and 4 were Dutch.

The majority of the prisoners were classified as "political"; a few others were classified as "Bibelforscher" (Jehovah's Witnesses) or as "antisocials."

The prisoners worked at construction (building two barracks for the SS administration on Panoramaweg and garages and rooms on the Strasse Unter den Eichen and performing excavation work for the construction of warehouses) for the Höherer-SS and Polizeiführer (Higher-SS and Police Leader) Josias Prince zu Waldeck and Pyrmont. Waldeck was often present at the construction area. By establishing this work detachment, he had also created the need for his own building administration in Kassel (independent of the Buchenwald concentration camp), which was founded in January 1944. Two Polish architects (Kasimir Ciszewski and Severin Samulski), two Czech building engineers (Vaclav Jilek and Josef Pytlik), a Dutch archivist (Apollonius Hess), and a Dutch clerk (Alfred F. Groeneveld) made up the members of the skilled workers in the building administration office. The Gestapo buildings in the Wilhelmshöher Allee in Kassel had been destroyed by air raids, and so, in Waldeck's mind, there was an urgent need for new accommodations to be erected.

The prisoners in their striped clothing were clearly visible on their way to work and while working in the city. A photograph shows five prisoners and a guard at a construction site on Strasse Unter den Eichen in Kassel. The prisoner-functionaries used the city tram to go shopping. "The tram passengers neither attempted to make contact with us nor did

they have the courage to try. They mostly looked past us as if we were not there. Only once did an SS man demand that we leave the vehicle because he did not want to sit with criminals in the same tram. The Oberwachtmeister shrugged his shoulders and said ‘By Order of Obergruppenführer Waldeck’—and with that the matter was at an end.”¹

SS-Oberscharführer Heinrich Best was commander of the camp; his deputies were SS-Unterscharführer Franz Hronizek and SS-Unterscharführer Gerhard Heinrich. From October 1944, SS-Oberscharführer Rudolph signed documents as camp commander. SS-Unterscharführer Karl Weyrauch was in charge of the building administration. The prisoners were mostly guarded by older members of the municipal police.

Supervisory positions were allotted to the Germans, while the majority of the Poles, Russians, Italians, French, Belgians, and Czechs were mainly involved in excavation work and construction. The block elder was Joseph Schuhbauer; the Kapos in the building detachment were exclusively German prisoners.

The Kassel work detachment was regarded as being a comparatively bearable camp. This was due to the fact that the guards were policemen and because of the skilled work undertaken (in the detachment were carpenters, electricians, bricklayers, roof tilers, and other workers in the building trades). In several reports of former prisoners, reference is made to the maltreatment of the prisoner Franz Nemeth from Vienna by the SS, which resulted in severe injuries. It is not known what happened to him after the war.

Seven (and possibly an additional five or six) prisoners were able to escape in October 1944 (or possibly a little later).

On March 29, 1945, a few days before American troops marched into Kassel, the camp was dissolved. The 139 prisoners were “withdrawn to Buchenwald because of the approaching enemy.” Several prisoners managed to escape during this transport.

SOURCES There is a comprehensive report by a former Dutch prisoner: Alfred F. Groeneveld, *Im Aussenkommando Kassel des KZ Buchenwald* (Kassel: Nationalsozialismus in Nordhessen—Schriften zur regionalen Zeitgeschichte, Band 13, 1991). The appendix contains the prisoners’ names and arrest dates.

The archives of the ITS, Bad Arolsen (Collections: Buchenwald 2; 5; 6; 11; 14; 15; 19; 20; 25; 26; 33; 36; 44; 19; 45; 47; 49; 52, 80) has numerous files (e.g., an “Inspection Report on Accommodations and Work Places in Kassel” by an SS-Obersturmführer Work Leader, dated July 1943; the persecution of a “Bibelforscher”).

The AG-B holds autobiographical reports on the Kassel subcamp by Hermann Fischer, Richard Krauthause, Kurt Leonhardt, Josef Peschke, Richard Thiede, and Josef Schuhbauer.

See also the BA-B: SS Records 11678; BDC O-5254; SL 16-28; NSDAP Files.

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NOTE

1. Alfred F. Groeneveld, *Im Aussenkommando Kassel des KZ Buchenwald*, (Kassel: Nationalsozialismus in Nordhessen—Schriften zur regionalen Zeitgeschichte, Band 13, 1991), S. 81.

KÖLN-DEUTZ (WESTWAGGON)

On September 25, 1944, 200 inmates, guarded by 21 SS men, left the Buchenwald camp, in the direction of Cologne.¹ After a journey lasting two days, the transport reached its destination: the United West German Railway Wagon Factories Inc. (Vereinigte Westdeutsche Waggonfabriken AG) in Köln-Deutz. The factory grounds, later to be taken over by Klöckner-Humboldt-Deutz Motoren AG and used as an armaments factory, were already the site of several forced labor camps and a “work education camp” (*Arbeitserziehungslager*).² The factory, known as “Westwaggon,” produced railway cars and buses and, during the war, essential parts for tanks and submarines.

The commander of the subcamp was SS-Hauptscharführer Menne Saathoff, who was born on May 12, 1914, in Akelsburg (East Friesia). Saathoff, who after finishing school worked in the family business, entered service with the SS in 1934, joined the Wehrmacht in 1936, and in July 1939 joined the commandant’s staff of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.³ In his 1946 report, survivor Jean-Paul Garin described Saathoff as follows: “He was impulsive, nervous, and without strength of character, which allowed him to resort to bestial tendencies. He was brutal and sensual.”⁴

The prisoners were first quartered in a stone building on the factory grounds at 131 Deutz-Mülheimer Strasse.⁵ The prisoners included French, Dutch, a few Germans and Poles, and the largest group, Soviets. The prisoners’ doctor, Charles Cliquet, and his orderly, Jean-Paul Garin, both French, could move relatively freely around the factory and make contact with civilian workers and foreign forced laborers.

The SS took the prisoners to work in the factory buildings from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. They also worked on Sundays. A few prisoners from Westwaggon were made available for the bomb disposal squads. The soldiers picked them up in trucks in the morning. They worked mostly in Köln-Mülheim. They were also used to expand the military airport at Köln-Ostheim. The police president of Cologne also made use of the Deutz subcamp. For example, in February 1945, 41 prisoners came under the control of the Cologne police.⁶

Hygiene, medical care, food supplies, and accommodation in the last days of the war in the subcamp can only be described as catastrophic. The bombing raids on Cologne, on the right bank of the Rhine, from the middle of October 1944 resulted in no water and electricity. The prisoners could not wash and were not given replacement clean clothes.⁷ An air raid on October 28, 1944, burned down the stone building, and one prisoner died in the flames. From that date, the detachment had to live in an air-raid shelter beneath a factory building.⁸

The shelter had no natural light and was narrow and stuffy. There was no furniture. The prisoners had to sleep on the floor, on straw. Each morning and evening, the camp commander, Saathoff, held roll call in front of the shelter. He walked between the rows of prisoners, carrying a stick. After work, a Soviet prisoner distributed soup and bread to the prisoners, which they took with them into the shelter. The prisoners were then locked in until the morning. A bucket served as a toilet. It was emptied in the morning.

A bombing raid on October 28 destroyed all medicines and medical instruments. Illness spread, and there were several cases of scabies. By the end of the year, Saathoff had transferred 15 sick prisoners back to Buchenwald. The result of imprisonment in the camp is shown in the illnesses: they suffered from tuberculosis, asthma, rheumatism, and inflammation of the joints; one prisoner's face was paralyzed. Several had injuries to ligaments and to their backs, which can be attributed to poor nutrition and the heavy work.

Saathoff had all prisoners who could not work transported to Buchenwald. In a transfer report from November 1944, the following is written: "These 6 prisoners are sick and are being returned to Buchenwald. The age of these prisoners and their illnesses mean that they are a burden and risk for the detachment during air raid alarms and attacks. They are not able to maintain the pace during the alarms."⁹ At the same time, Saathoff was concerned to prevent contact between the prisoners and others. Two prisoners were returned to Buchenwald with the words: "These two prisoners are constantly talking to civilian workers, they are lazy and cheeky and given the closeness to the front are a security danger."¹⁰

It was in December that the prisoners for the first time in weeks received fresh clothes. In January 1945, two prisoners were put on laundry detail so that the prisoners' clothes could be changed weekly. This was possible after a well was dug in front of their quarters. The prisoners suffered as the quality of the food deteriorated. A report in December 1944 stated the following: "The supply of bread sometimes does not occur because there is a scarcity of motor vehicles. This has a noticeable effect. Nevertheless bread is supplied whenever possible."¹¹ In January, the supplies had "fallen somewhat when compared with the previous month."¹²

However, in the last weeks of the war this subcamp gave the prisoners an opportunity to escape. One-third of the prisoners—at least 65 of them—were able to successfully escape the SS grip.¹³ In bombed-out Cologne, there were many possibilities to live illegally in the ruins, to join escaped forced laborers or prisoners, or to work in one of the more than 200 forced labor camps under an assumed name. Sergej Stepanov stated that thorough preparations were required to escape.¹⁴ While working with the detachment at the airport, he made contact with forced laborers from a camp at Köln-Ostheim, who advised him to flee. While searching for bombs, he found civilian clothing, which he hid for his escape. He and Viktor Sokolov escaped on November 22, 1944. With the help of other forced laborers, they hid first in the ruins, then for two weeks in the camp hospital at Köln-Gremberg, so that their

hair could grow. Finally, they reported as civilian laborers to a forced labor camp, which had returned from preparing tank ditches in Aachen. Thus Sergej Stepanov and Viktor Sokolov were liberated in Cologne.

Pawel Potozkij was less successful. With the help of Soviet forced laborers, he escaped on October 27, 1944, from the Westwaggon camp.¹⁵ He was picked up by an SA patrol in February 1945 and locked in the Gestapo prison. Despite brutal interrogation, the Gestapo failed to identify Potozkij. He was released to a forced labor camp in Deutz, where he was recognized by an SS man from the Westwaggon subcamp and sent back to Buchenwald on February 26, 1945. Friends hid him among those suffering from typhus and said he was dead. He was released from the infirmary at the beginning of April, using a pseudonym, and was liberated on April 11, 1945.

The Westwaggon subcamp was still in the city even after American troops had occupied the left bank of the Rhine on March 6, 1945. On March 10, 1945, 92 prisoners, with another 26 on March 15, 1945, returned to Buchenwald.¹⁶ Of the original 200 prisoners, there remained just over half. There are no recorded deaths among the prisoners other than one who died during a bombing raid.¹⁷ Just before the prisoners were returned to Buchenwald, a large group escaped in Cologne. As with Garin, they were of the opinion that on no account did they want to go back to Buchenwald: "We felt that the end of the war was arriving. Moreover, we proposed that we should not remain in their hands during these last days."¹⁸

In 1966, the Cologne state prosecutor investigated the Buchenwald subcamps in the Cologne city area, including the "Kommando Köln-Westwaggon."¹⁹ The state prosecutor found no evidence of any homicides. The fate of Saathoff after 1945 is not known.

SOURCES Subcamp Westwaggon was first investigated in a study on the SS-Construction Brigade by Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln: Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996), pp. 155–158. Sources on the camp are relatively few. As well as transport lists, held in the HStA-D, there are the monthly reports. See THStA-W Court Rept. 118/1179 and Monthly Reports NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54, 69–78). In addition, there is the 1946 book by survivor Jean-Paul Garin, *La vie dure* (Lyon: Audin, 1946), pp. 147–161, as well as several interviews with former prisoners on living conditions in the subcamp. The latter can be found at the NS Document Center, City of Cologne (Interview Marian Gazinski NS-Dok, Z 10.584, Interview Sergej Stepanow NS-Dok, Z 10.551, and Interview NS-Dok Pawel Potozkij Z 10.517).

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NOTES

1. "Transport Köln-Deutz," Weimar-Buchenwald, September 25, 1944, HStA-D, Court Rept. 118/1179; and Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Administration, September 23, 1944, Prisoner Transfers to Köln/Deutz-Tief, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 9, p. 240a.

2. 19. Police District Cologne to the Aliens Office, June 20, 1949, HAStK, Acc. 606/2, p. 72. See also Gebhard Aders, “Die Firma Klöckner-Humboldt-Deutz AG im zweiten Weltkrieg,” Parts 1 and 2, in RrhK 14 (1988): 89–143 and 15 (1989): 129–176; and Adolf Störko, “Geschichte der ‘Vereinigte Westdeutsche Waggonfabriken AG’ Köln-Deutz (‘Westwaggon’),” JfEgG 7 (1973): 26–66.
3. See the signatures of Saathoff, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54, p. 69; and BA-B, BDC/RS.
4. Jean-Paul Garin, *La vie dure* (Lyon: Audin, 1946), p. 148.
5. Enquêtes sur les prisons et les camps douteux, Rapport 94976, AMSPE, Administration des Victimes de la Guerre, Brüssel, Anlagen zu Bericht Nr. 451.
6. Movements Book, Receipt-Nr. 90, lfd. Nr. 28/2, March 1, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136, p. 10.
7. Subcamp Westwaggon, Monthly Report, October 20, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54, p. 78.
8. Subcamp Westwaggon, Monthly Report, November 20, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54, p. 77.
9. SS-Hauptscharführer Saathoff, November 20, 1944, HStA-D, Court Rept. 118/1179.
10. Ibid.
11. Subcamp Westwaggon, Monthly Report, December 25, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54, p. 79.
12. Subcamp Westwaggon, Monthly Report, February 27, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54, pp. 69–70; and Monthly Report, January 30, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 52, p. 65.
13. Based on the Movement Reports, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a and 136b.
14. Interview Sergej Stepanov, NS-Dok, Z 10.551.
15. Interview and materials from Paweł Potockij, NS-Dok, Z 10.517.
16. Movement reports, March 10, 1945, and March 15, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136b.
17. See the “Köln-Deutz” movement reports from September 25, 1944, to March 25, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a and 136b.
18. Garin, *La vie dure*, p. 154.
19. HStA-D, Court Rept. 118/1174–1190 and 118/1338–1349.

KÖLN-NIEHL (KÖLN-“FORD”)

The Ford Factory (Ford-Werke AG), located since 1931 at 1 Henry Ford Strasse, Köln-Niehl, was the German headquarters of the American Ford Motor Company. During the Nazi era, it was one of the most important truck suppliers for the Wehrmacht. The subcamp was constructed in Cologne after Albert Speer at the beginning of July 1944 discussed with Adolf Hitler and Heinrich Himmler an increase in the production of trucks. Himmler promised 12,000 workers. “For this purpose,” according to Speer, “one or more truck factories must be quickly converted into concentration camp operations.”¹

On August 12, 1944, 50 prisoners were transferred from the Buchenwald concentration camp to Ford. This number remained relatively static. The 35 Soviet citizens, 10 Czechs,

2 Germans, 2 Poles, and 1 stateless person were guarded by 16 SS men.² From time to time, the prisoners were supplemented with inmates from other subcamps in Cologne. Even before the camp was constructed, Ford had made contact with the SS. Repeatedly, prisoners of the SS-Construction Brigade III (Baubrigade III) had to work at Ford in, for example, constructing trenches for protection against shrapnel or loading and unloading.³ Kazimierz Tarnawski part of a group that daily made its way from the subcamp in the Cologne Trade Fair Center to Ford—sometimes, when transport was not available, the journey was made by foot. The group loaded ships on the Rhine with boxes destined for a subsidiary in Bucharest. Another work detachment built bunkers in the northern part of the factory.⁴

According to the then-24-year-old Marian Gazinski, the barracks, which served as accommodations for the subcamp, were about 70 to 100 meters (77 to 109 yards) from the factory, painted green, very clean, and fenced in. In the middle of the barracks were the commander’s offices, a kitchen, guardroom, and a toilet and washroom. On either side, to the left and the right, were dormitories for 20 persons. The dormitories had three-level bunk beds and a separate dining room.

The prisoners were led to work by the SS men, who guarded them. They worked daily for 12 hours. The prisoners were separated from other workers while they worked. Gazinski allocated the prisoners’ work according to need, for example, working as turners, working on engines, or working on regulating engine ignition. The prisoners also had to work as bricklayers and carpenters.⁵

SS-Oberscharführer Josef Gergel, born on January 22, 1917, in Bucharest, was the camp commander.⁶ During World War I, he and his mother moved to the Sudetenland, which later became part of Czechoslovakia. He was a locksmith in Brno. When German troops occupied the Sudetenland in 1938, he joined the Waffen-SS. He took part in the western campaign, after which he was transferred to the 4th SS-Totenkopfsturmbann (Death’s Head Battallion) in Weimar-Buchenwald. Gazinski describes Gergel as educated and as not a brutal person. The SS did not mistreat the prisoners and were, as Gazinski described them, “very correct but firm.” As an experienced concentration camp prisoner, who had a lot of experience with the SS, he said: “We were always behaved because we were disciplined. We knew that you could lose your life for the smallest trifles and for that reason we maintained order.”

Gazinski remembers the food at Ford as being particularly poor. He said that it was even worse than at Buchenwald. In the morning, there was coffee and 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread; in the evening, spinach and three potatoes or soup from the leaves of white beets. The best food that he could recall was lentil soup. During the 15-minute break at lunchtime, the prisoners were not fed, and there were no extra rations for particular occasions.

Four prisoners were able to escape from the Ford camp.⁷ Nine new prisoners from Buchenwald and 2 from the Cologne city camp were transferred so that, for a period, there were 60

prisoners at work. One of them died for reasons unknown, and 5, again for unknown reasons, were taken to Buchenwald.⁸ On February 27, 1945, when production ceased at Ford, the detachment was dissolved, and 48 prisoners were returned to Buchenwald.⁹ Three prisoners remained at Ford. On March 6, 1945, when American troops entered, they left. The remaining 2 were taken to the subcamp at the Westwaggon factory on the eastern side of the Rhine.¹⁰

The existence of the small subcamp was quickly forgotten after the war. A survey by Cologne in October 1949 resulted in vague references to Ford factory, such as: "There are no documents available for the time in question and one has to rely on the employees. Supposedly for three months between forty and fifty people worked on the factory grounds and it is suspected that they were concentration camp prisoners from Buchenwald."¹¹ Investigations by the Cologne state prosecutors in 1966 did not result in evidence that justified prosecutions.¹²

SOURCES Hanns-Peter Rosellen published a history of the factory for the years 1903 to 1945: *"Und trotzdem vorwärts": Die dramatische Entwicklung von Ford in Deutschland 1903 bis 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Zyklam, 1986). The concentration camp prisoners are not mentioned, and the forced laborers, both male and female, are only mentioned and then in a favorable light (pp. 32–35). It was only on the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II that a study on the American military government in Cologne revealed for the first time the role of the Cologne Ford factory during the war. See Reinhold Billstein and Eberhard Illner, *You Are Now in Köln, Compliments: Köln 1945 in den Augen der Sieger; Hundert Tage unter amerikanischer Kontrolle* (Cologne: Emons, 1995), pp. 181–188. The first mention of the subcamp was made in a documentary report titled "Forced Labor at Ford," in *Zwangarbeit bei Ford*, ed. Projektgruppe Messelager (Cologne: Betrieb Rode-Stankowski, 1996), pp. 32–35. Simultaneously, further results were published in a study on the SS-Construction Brigade III: Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln: Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996), pp. 152–154. The book *Working for the Enemy: Ford, General Motors and Forced Labor in Germany during the Second World War*, ed. Reinhold Billstein, Karola Fings, Anita Kugler, and Nicholas Levis (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000) did not reveal any new insights on the concentration camp but did on the company's policies.

The sources are scarce. According to the Ford factory, it does not maintain its own archive. There is no reference to the subcamp in the reports, which describe the Ford factory under administration from 1942 by the Reich Trustee for Alien Property ("Reichstreuhänder für die Behandlung feindlichen Vermögens") and which are held in the BA (R 87/6205, 6206). There is merely a transport list and few other documents in the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1179) and in the THStA-W (NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a, 136b). Survivors' reports cannot fill the gaps, as they are not directly related to the subcamp but to other subcamps in Cologne from which workers were allocated to Ford or by forced laborers who had seen the prisoners at Ford. A few of these reports are held by the NS-Dok (Z 10.530, Interview Vladimir Lebedew;

Z 10.662, Interview Mareno Mannucci; Z 10.584, Interview Marian Gazinski; Collection Project Group Trade Fair Center, Report by Michel van Ausloos).

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NOTES

1. Cited by Willi A. Boelke, *Deutschlands Rüstung im Zweiten Weltkrieg: Hitlers Konferenzen mit Speer 1942–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Akademische Verlagsanstalt, 1969), p. 396.
2. "Transport Köln (Ford)," August 12, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1179.
3. Report by Michel van Ausloos, NS-Dok, Slg. Project Group Trade Fair Center, and Interview Vladimir Lebedew, NS-Dok, Z 10.530.
4. Interview Mareno Mannucci, NS-Dok, Z 10.662, and Interview Kazimierz Tarnawski, NS-Dok, Z 10.614.
5. Report on the work by the detachments at Köln-Ford, August 20, 1944, ZSL-L (BA-L), IV 406 AR 85/67, p. 18.
6. BA-B, BDC, RS.
7. Movement reports, September 14, 1944, November 14, 1944, November 28, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a.
8. Numbers, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a, pp. 117–146; and NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136b, pp. 2–42.
9. Movement Reports, March 6, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136b, p. 42.
10. Ibid., p. 45; and Interview Marian Gazinski, in NS-Dok, Z 10.584.
11. Cologne City Office to the Arolsen City Office, October 26, 1949, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1179.
12. NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1174–1190 and 118/1338–1349.

KÖLN-STADT

On August 15, 1944, the Buchenwald concentration camp sent 300 male, mostly Soviet, prisoners to the Rhine metropolis as "Kommando Köln-Stadt." They were accompanied by 17 SS men as guards.¹ The detachment was to fill the labor gap that occurred after the SS-Construction Brigade III had been withdrawn in May 1944. It was urgently needed to remove rubble from the heavily damaged city. The idea to use prisoners originated with Cologne Gauleiter Josef Grohé, who had personally intervened with Heinrich Himmler and requested the further use of prisoners.²

Grohé's action was supported by the Cologne city administration, especially by Robert Brandes who as the lord mayor had plenipotentiary powers at this time. The building administration, which reported to him, negotiated with the work allocation leader Schwartz at the Buchenwald concentration camp in August 1944 on the conditions for the use of the prisoners. One of the difficult negotiating points was the deployment of guards, which in part were to come from the city. While the city wanted to use factory security guards or other auxiliary police, the concentration camp administration insisted that the

guards be Waffen-SS, police, Wehrmacht, or Luftwaffe members.³ According to a survivor's statement, members of the Wlassow Army were supposed to supplement the SS guards.⁴

The subcamp was on the grounds of the Cologne Trade Fair Center, where—from the beginning of the war—there had been a number of different camps. The two subbarracks, which comprised the subcamp, stood directly on the Rhine, scarcely 100 meters (109 yards) from the Cologne Cathedral, on the other side of the river.⁵ The camp was fenced, but the prisoners could make contact through the windows with the eastern workers (*Ostarbeiter*), who were in the western buildings of the Trade Fair Center.⁶

Several prisoner work detachments were assigned by the Cologne city administration to remove rubble from the city. The majority of the prisoners were divided into two groups. In 12-hour shifts a large group of prisoners worked day and night on a military airport, which could have been the "Butzweiler Hof" in Köln-Longerich. The prisoners were taken to the airport by truck. Some had to load aircraft with bombs, and others had to repair the bomb damage on the runways.⁷ Another group was allocated by the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) West to Luftwaffe bomb disposal squads. The bomb disposal squads had the life-threatening job of retrieving unexploded bombs.⁸ The detachment was reinforced with 50 prisoners from the Düsseldorf camp at the German Earth and Stone Works (DESt).⁹

Within a few weeks the camp had around 260 prisoners. There are no recorded deaths in the camp. The decimation of the prisoner numbers is due in large part to the high number of escapes. By the beginning of October 1944, 37 prisoners had escaped; 2 were transferred to Buchenwald because they were sick; while another 3 were returned to the main camp for punishment.¹⁰ One of them was Iwan Kutuzow. He was handed over to the political department of the camp on September 2, 1944, accused of "mutinous talk."¹¹ Kutuzow was held for one month under arrest in a cell. On October 5, 1944, he stated while being questioned that during work at the "Kommando Flughafen" he answered a police officer's question. He was believed, and on the same day, the political department transferred him to the prison camp.

That October, the city of Cologne was beginning to fragment under pressure from the bombing raids and the Allies approaching from the West. Several air raids had destroyed a large part of the still-intact transport routes, apartment blocks, and industry and resulted in a mass flight of the population from the city.¹² The prisoners used the opportunities given by the attacks and the piles of rubble to escape. Finally the barracks camp was destroyed in the middle of October 1944 during a bombing raid on that part of Cologne on the right side of the Rhine. It would seem that none of the prisoners were killed. As there was no longer any suitable accommodation, the subcamp was dissolved. In the relevant monthly report, the Waffen-SS base doctor stated, "The subcamp Köln-Stadt was dissolved and on 25.10.1944, 224 men returned to the Buchenwald concentration camp."¹³

A group of 34 prisoners of the subcamp Köln-Stadt remained in Cologne, as they were recorded in the "strength reports" of the subcamp Köln-Ford on November 20, 1944.¹⁴ Almost all of these prisoners managed to escape, with the result that on November 23 the remaining prisoners were officially transferred to the Ford camp.¹⁵

The subcamp Köln-Stadt existed for just two months. With the withdrawal of the camp, the importance of prisoner labor for the city became apparent. The police president, who as Air Defense leader coordinated the recovery of unexploded bombs, wrote on October 31, 1944, to the Cologne government president: "Now that the concentration camp prisoners who removed unexploded ordinance have been withdrawn to the main camps the removal of unexploded ordinance has almost completely stopped."¹⁶

An investigation by the Cologne state prosecutors in 1966 on the conditions in the Buchenwald camps in the city of Cologne uncovered little about the "Detachment Köln-Stadt."¹⁷ It was also not possible to locate the responsible commander, and there were no indications of homicides committed in the camp.

SOURCES The subcamp Köln-Stadt has until now only been considered in connection with the SS-Construction Brigade III. See Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln: Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons 1996), pp. 149–151. There are a few original documents scattered in a number of archives: THStA-W (Collection NS 4 Buchenwald; KZ Buchenwald and Haftanstalten [Prisoners]) and in the court reports of the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1174–1190 and 118/1338–1349). There are only a few memoirs: an interview with Franciszek Wójcikowski, in NS-Dok, Z 10.559; and a letter from Edward Zdun, in NS-Dok Collection, Project Group Trade Fair Center.

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NOTES

1. Transport Lists, August 15, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1179; and Statement, undated, on Doctors and Carers in subcamps, AG-B, 51-9-13/2.
2. Telegram from Grohé to Himmler, dated May 2, 1944, BA, NS 19/14, p. 46.
3. Telegram from Schwartz to the Lord Mayor Cologne, Office 89, dated August 28, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 210.
4. Statement by Edmund K., BA-L, IV 429 AR 1304/67, pp. 82–83.
5. Letter from Edward Zdun, NS-Dok Collection Project Group Trade Fair.
6. Interview with Franciszek Wójcikowski, NS-Dok, Z 10.559.
7. Ibid; and letter by Edward Zdun, NS-Dok Collection Project Group Trade Fair.
8. BA-L, IV 429 AR 1304/67, Bl. 82.
9. Telegram from the Work Leader Schw. to Amtsgruppe D Oranienburg, dated September 29, 1944, AG-B, 56-3-10.

10. Prisoner Numbers, September 30, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten Nr. 10, p. 145. Other numbers in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a, pp. 107–123.

11. Record of interview of the Political Department Buchenwald, dated October 5, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten Nr. 15, p. 81.

12. See Review of attacks in October 1944, in Peter Simon, "Köln im Luftkrieg 1939–1945," SMSK 9, Heft 2 (1954): 106–110.

13. Garrison Doctor Waffen-SS Weimar, Monthly Report on the Medical Service in Buchenwald Concentration Camp, October 31, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten Nr. 10, p. 116.

14. See the strength reports, AG-B, 61-0-14-2.

15. THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a, p. 142.

16. Police President Cologne to the Cologne Government President, dated October 31, 1944, HStA-D, BR 1131/119.

17. HStA-D, Court Rept. 118/1174–1190 and 118/1338–1349.

kitchen. The Buchenwald camp would provide the guard staff (members of the SS), who were to be housed in a large building near the castle. The Kommando was to be inspected weekly, and its administration was to have weekly consultations with the head of construction, believed to be a Mr. Wohlgast. The camp's duration was "indefinite," although the memo notes that the operation would last "probably until fall."²

According to another memo dated June 19, 1942, to the SS-Bauleitung Oberschloss Kranichfeld (Construction Office of the Kranichfeld castle) from the mayor of Kranichfeld, a request made by phone to shift the inmate Kommando used for the city of Kranichfeld until June 15, 1942, to the construction of the Oberschloss Kranichfeld, starting June 16, 1942, could not be granted. Two SS men are mentioned in the heading of the memo, including SS-Untersturmführer Bangert and SS-Oberscharführer Gutsell.³ Instead, the date of the shift was June 18, 1942. This suggests that if there was a second Kommando set up in Kranichfeld, it was first used for clearing rubble and other kinds of labor for the city of Kranichfeld and was then shifted to construction activity at the castle.

Other materials from the administration of Buchenwald include claim certificates for "inmate labor for the Kranichfeld city administration." One claim, dated May 1942, notes that there were 20 unskilled laborers allotted to Kranichfeld for May 1 and 2 and then 40 unskilled laborers from May 4 to May 30, 1942 (total of 2,880 RM). A claim for April 1942 was submitted for 30 days of work for a total of 20 unskilled workers (total of 60 RM). Another claim for inmate labor was submitted in June 1942, for 17 days of work by 40 unskilled workers (total 1,800 RM). These claim certificates suggest that either the initial Kommando of 50 inmates deployed in May 1941 remained in Kranichfeld for over a year or there was a second Kommando created there in April 1942.⁴ (The International Tracing Service [ITS] catalog, as noted in Martin Weinmann, dates the camp in 1943 for a period of eight months, although there is no supporting evidence in the Bundesarchiv files or ITS transfer lists.)

There is little surviving information about the Kommando(s) set up at the Kranichfeld castle. A surviving (undated, but most likely from 1941) transfer list notes 51 inmates who were transferred from Buchenwald to Kranichfeld.⁵ The inmates appear to represent various nationalities, especially Poles and Germans.

SOURCES There are no secondary and few primary sources on the Kranichfeld subcamp of Buchenwald. This entry derives from the outline of basic information (opening and closing dates, location, etc.) provided in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). For brief information on the Gesellschaft zur Förderung und Pflege deutscher Kulturdenkmäler, see Michael Thad Allen, *The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor, and the Concentration Camps* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

KRANICHELD

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Kranichfeld (Thüringen) near Weimar in late 1941 to restore one of two castles in the town, the Oberschloss Kranichfeld. Kranichfeld was named a Nazi model city (*Mustergemeinde*) in 1940 when the SS took over the castle. At least 50 inmates were deported to the area from Buchenwald and were deployed to work at the castle and in other kinds of manual labor in possibly two distinct subcamps in the city.

Restoration of the Oberschloss Kranichfeld fell under the auspices of the Society for the Promotion and Care of German Cultural Monuments (Gesellschaft zur Förderung und Pflege deutscher Kulturdenkmäler). The Society came under Oswald Pohl's Office Group W8 of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which was focused on Special Tasks (*Sonderaufgaben*) and charitable organizations. Although the Society was allegedly a nonprofit organization focused on restoring German cultural heritage in architectural form, such as the Wewelsburg castle, according to historian Michael Thad Allen, much of the capital generated for the Society was funneled into questionable SS business ventures.

Discrepancy surrounds the exact dates of the work details (Kommando[s]) sent to Kranichfeld. Correspondence between the administration of the Buchenwald camp and the Office for Special Tasks shows an early exchange (May 1941) regarding the condition of the Kranichfeld castle as well as a recommendation for sending 50 inmates to work there. The letter details 4 skilled workers (including a carpenter, bricklayer, and a metalworker), as well as 46 unskilled workers, to be hired out at a cost of 0.30 Reichsmark (RM) per day per prisoner for prisoners who worked over four hours and 0.15 RM per day per prisoner for prisoners who worked under four hours.¹ The head of Aussenstelle I/5 in Buchenwald authorized inmates to Kranichfeld as of May 24, 1941. They were to be housed in a large storeroom. The food was to be provided by the Buchenwald camp and prepared in an existing

Primary documentation on the Kranichfeld subcamp is scanty. For the undated list of prisoners in the camp, see USHMMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, which constitutes a collection copied from AN-MACVG and originating from ITS. Likewise, the BA (NS 4, Band 205), reproduced at the USHMMMA in RG-14.023M, contains relevant administrative data on the camp.

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NOTES

1. "Der Reichsführer-SS, Amt für Sonderaufgaben, Berlin-Lichterfelde-West, Geranienstr. 5," May 24, 1941, BA (NS-4), Band 205, as reproduced in USHMMMA, RG-14.023M.
2. Ibid.
3. "Verrechnung Häftl-Kds. der Stadt Kranichfeld u. Bauleitung Oberschloss, Kranichfeld," June 19, 1945, BA (NS-4), Band 205, USHMMMA, RG-14.023M.
4. "Forderungsnachweise," April 1942, May 1942, June 1942.
5. "Kommando Kranichfeld" (n.d.) (BU43), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

LANGENSALZA ("LANGENWERKE AG")

Langensalza (from 1956, Bad Langensalza) lies in the Thuringian District of Unstrut-Hainich, about 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the northwest of Erfurt. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony.

At the end of 1943, the city was to be used as a transfer destination for parts of the Dessau Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke's production facilities. The buildings of the Kammgarnwerke Eupen AG and, from March 1944, buildings of the Buntweberei Gräfers Witwe und Sohn were emptied and handed over to Junkers.

As with the Niederorschel subcamp, which was connected organizationally to the Langensalza subcamp, the Langensalza subcamp had the code name "Langenwerke AG." In both camps, wings were assembled for the Junkers (Ju) 88 and later in particular the (Fw) 190. The prisoners were accommodated in two different sites: around 200 prisoners were quartered on the factory grounds and the others in a barracks camp, which was erected opposite the production site.

Prisoners of war were initially allocated to the "Langenwerke AG," but from the late summer of 1944, the use of concentration camp prisoners was envisaged. The first contingent of 100 prisoners arrived in Langensalza on October 21, 1944. However, according to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp is first referred to on October 20. A second transport followed on October 26 with 50 people, and on October 29, a third transport with 182 prisoners arrived. From November 1944, the subcamp was given a special task: it became the central punishment camp for prisoners who had escaped from concentration camps and had been recaptured. These prisoners' clothing was marked with a red dot (the so-called *Fluchtpunkt* or Escape Dot) on the front and back, a sort of target for the guards, should the prisoners try to escape

again. Langensalza took prisoners from at least nine concentration camps throughout the whole of the Reich. The first transport of 40 Fluchtpunkt prisoners arrived from Sachsenhausen on November 9, 1944. Another transport followed within a few days. Altogether there were in Langensalza 48 Fluchtpunkt prisoners from Sachsenhausen, 33 from Flossenbürg, 218 from Neuengamme, 88 from Natzweiler, 181 from Dachau, 93 from Mauthausen, 22 from Gross-Rosen, 18 from Auschwitz, and 27 (males) from Ravensbrück.

On January 2, 1945, there were 1,458 inmates in the camp, the maximum number that was probably reached. Although two transports of 200 prisoners each were sent on to Dora-Mittelbau in January and February, it is likely that the number of prisoners did not fall below 1,200. This was also partly the result of the low death rate: it would appear that even though Langensalza was a punishment camp for prisoners who had committed a crime, the skills that they had acquired in armaments production increased their chances of survival. Two prisoners died in December 1944; in January 1945, 16; and in February and March 1945, again 2 in each month. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that prisoners no longer capable of working at the Langensalza subcamp were repeatedly transferred back to Buchenwald—from mid-November to mid-December alone, 11 prisoners were sent back.

The relocation of the prisoners back to Buchenwald was planned at the end of March following the cessation of production and the approach of Allied troops. The transfer of 1,240 prisoners back to Buchenwald began on April 3, 1945 (according to ITS: April 10–11). The few camp inmates who remained in Langensalza, 59 according to a strength report dated April 11, 1945, were probably liberated at Langensalza by Allied troops.

SOURCES The earliest work on the Langensalza subcamp was by the ILKB in May 1945. For a reproduction of the report, see *Bericht des Internationalen Lagerkomitees des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald* (Offenbach: Verlag Olga Benario und Herbert Baum, 1997), esp. p. 105. A detailed description of the camp by Frank Baranowski is in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 484–486. Baranowski is the author of two other works pertaining to the subcamp: *Geheime Rüstungsprojekte in Südniedersachsen und Thüringen während der NS-Zeit* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 1995); and *Rüstungsproduktion in Mitteldeutschland* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2006). The camp is also mentioned in Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Außenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992); Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, ed., *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald, Ausstellungskatalog* (West Berlin, 1990), p. 104; Emil Carlebach, Eilly Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald: Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 2000), p. 139; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:48; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL* (1977) Teil I, p. 1819.

There are numerous sources, both published and unpublished, on the history of the Langensalza subcamp. In addition to documents in the AG-B, the following collections are of interest: LASA-DO, Bestand Junkers-Werke, numbers 1063 and 1072, as well as an interim report on the Langenwerke AG, which refers to the planned use of concentration camp prisoners; in the Zeitgeschichtliche Sammlung of the ASt-BL, Best. Sa 3/105-1 (for the cremation of prisoners of the Langensalza subcamp and of Ostarbeiter, 1944–1945), Sa 3/105-3 (on the prisoners employed and deceased in the Langensalza subcamp), Sa 3/105-7 (on the erection of a memorial for the prisoners' death march, 1984), and Sa 3/105-8 (on a special exhibit in the Langensalza Heimatmuseum [local museum] in 1995 on the subcamp in the Kammgarnwerke Eupen AG). NARA, RG 242, Film 25, p. 15975, contains the Langensalza subcamp Veränderungsmeldungen.

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LAUENBURG IN POMMERN

The Lauenburg subcamp attached to Buchenwald was established on November 11, 1941, in Lauenburg, Pomerania. Inmates deported from the Buchenwald main camp to Lauenburg were assigned to work in construction and repair work in an SS-Unterföhrerschule (Officers' School) in the town. There is no information about the original number of prisoners transported to the Lauenburg satellite camp in November 1941.

A general overview of the demographics of the camp population can be gleaned from a transport list of inmates who left Buchenwald for Lauenburg on March 23, 1942.¹ All of the inmates in Lauenburg, including those deported to the camp on this transport, were men. Most of the inmates on the March 23 transport were Poles (40); followed by "asocials" from the German Reich, both Germany and Austria (33); political prisoners (22); "professional criminals" (*Berufsverbrecher*) (16); and inmates declared "unworthy" of Wehrmacht service, "Wehrunw." or "W.U." (2). (One inmate, number 2939, had an unknown classification of "W.A.") The ages of these 114 prisoners ranged from 18 to 54 years.

The camp was in operation from November 1941 until February or March 1945. However, in April 1942, the administration of the Lauenburg camp shifted from Buchenwald to Stutthof. An order issued by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) on March 28, 1942, noted that, effective April 1, the Lauenburg camp would be transferred to and administered as a satellite camp of Stutthof. The Stutthof subcamp was established with the prisoners of the March 23 transport, and the inmates performed similar kinds of labor at the SS-Unterföhrerschule. (See Stutthof/Lauenburg [aka SS-Unterföhrerschule Lauenburg].)

SOURCES Little information about the Lauenburg subcamp of Buchenwald can be found in either secondary or primary sources. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Lauenburg in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS* (1933–1945).

Konzentrationslager und deren Außen-kommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung; Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

Primary documentation on the Lauenburg subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See in particular a collection of transport lists to the Lauenburg camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from the ITS), USHMM, 1998.A.0045, especially Reels 5 and 7. See also the BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, especially volumes 176–185, 191–196, 200, 211, 213–230. These volumes contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp population. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as "strength reports" for various satellites, can be found in the USHMM, 1996.A.0342 (originally copied from the NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180 (especially 171). Further analysis of these reports may yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the satellite camps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that provide information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242. Finally, see Stutthof/Lauenburg for additional primary and secondary sources on the camp during its operation as a subcamp of Stutthof. Additional resources include the AMS and the AK-IPN Gd.

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NOTE

1. "Nummerliste des Kommandos Lauenburg," March 23, 1942 (BU 4/16 and BU 8/5), AN (ITS Arolsen), as reproduced in USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reels 5 and 7, respectively.

LEIPZIG-SCHÖNAU (ATG)

Schönau is located in Saxony, about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) to the west of the city of Leipzig. A Buchenwald subcamp was established in Schönau at the end of August 1944. While it is likely that the camp already existed on August 20, 1944, the first transport only arrived on August 22. There were around 500 Hungarian Jewish women, who had been brought from Stutthof for work at the Allgemeine Transportanlagen GmbH (ATG) Maschinenbau. The headquarters of the company was located at Leipzig-Schönau W 32, Schönauer Strasse 32.

The subcamp was situated close to the "Werk 1," the ATG's main factory, at Schönauer Strasse 101, between Lindenallee and Schönauer Strasse, to the north of what later was Robert-Koch-Klinik. The barracks and infirmary were surrounded with barbed wire. There were two guard towers. The guards were SS men under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Rudolf Eisenacher. At the end of 1944, there were 24 SS men and 28 female overseers.

Many of the imprisoned women were young—the average age was 20. Many women had been through an odyssey since their initial internment in Hungary—they had been through a number of concentration camps including Auschwitz, Stutthof, and Riga. The women at the Leipzig-Schönau ATG subcamp were employed in aircraft production. The ATG was one of the most important German bomber manufacturers, producing above all the Ju 52 and the Ju 88 as well as Junkers aircraft engines. Its main factory, or *Stammwerk*, assembled the two half shells of the fuselage that had been manufactured elsewhere. The women worked in this production process. They worked two shifts each of 10.5 hours broken by a 30-minute break. In August 1944 the prisoners worked 49,500 hours, and in September 1944, 138,504 hours. Work in the armaments industry was difficult, which is confirmed by the transports of women returned to Buchenwald who could no longer work. Pregnant women or women who had given birth in the camp were also removed from the camp. On November 17, 1944, two women who could no longer work were transferred, and on January 27, 1945, it was four women. In this last transport, there were two women who had given birth shortly before the transport. They were transported with their babies, one of whom died on the way to Bergen-Belsen. The second infant died with its mother in the Bergen-Belsen camp. A girl, born stillborn in the camp on January 11, 1945, was cremated a few days later in the Leipzig Südfriedhof (Southern Cemetery) crematorium.

Camp survivors unanimously describe the work as difficult, but the living conditions were more bearable than what they had previously experienced. This is largely due to the relatively humane treatment of the prisoners and the adequate food supply. There was a bonus system for prisoners who excelled at work, which offered rewards in the form of small items from the prisoners' canteen (which often were unusable by the women in their situation).

There were on average 500 women in the camp until the middle of February 1945. On February 19, 180 women were transferred to the Plömnitz ("Leopard") subcamp, where a women's camp had been established adjacent to the men's camp.

The women who remained in Leipzig-Schönau continued to work until March 31, 1945. There were 315 women in the camp on this date. A few days later conditions in the camp worsened considerably with the arrival of a transport of women evacuated from Hessisch-Lichtenau. Two days later these women were taken to Leipzig-Thekla, leaving the women of Leipzig-Schönau still in the subcamp.

The subcamp was dissolved on April 13, 1945. There are different versions on the evacuation. Klaus Hesse states that about 200 women were taken in the direction of Bernburg/Ballberge, with the remainder being taken eastward to an unknown destination. The International Tracing Service (ITS) simply states that the prisoners were liberated in April 1945 in Wurzen/Sachsen. This statement agrees with what is stated in an article by historian Irmgard Seidel, where the women were driven by foot via Wurzen, Oschatz, and Strehla in the direction of the Elbe. Women who were too weak to

continue the march were shot by the SS. According to this source, the prisoners were liberated by the U.S. Army on April 25, 1945, at Strehla, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) to the northeast of Oschatz.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) investigated crimes at Buchenwald's three Leipzig subcamps between 1966 and 1971. The investigations ceased at the beginning of the 1970s without result.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel wrote about the subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 493–495. Background information on the ATG and its subcamps can be obtained from the following publications: Klaus Hesse, 1933–1945: *Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*, pp. 96–102; Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene aus KZ-Aussenlager, über gesübte und ungesübte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 111–112. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:48; and in the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL*. (1977) Teil I, p. 1820.

Documents on the ATG Maschienbau GmbH and its subcamp at Leipzig-Schönau are held in the ASt-L, in Bestand GesA [Gesundheitsamt] Nr. 893, which includes information on the transfer of the concentration camp prisoners from the east to Leipzig. For a detailed review of the ATG files and its subcamp in the Leipzig archives, see Thomas Fickenwirt, Birgit Horn, Christian Kurzweg, *Fremd- und Zwangarbeit im Raum Leipzig: Archivalisches Spezialinventar* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsbuchhandlung, 2004). The cremation of the stillborn girl on January 11, 1945, is recorded in the Leipzig City Einäscherungsbuch (Register of Cremations). Further archival documents are held in the Best. NS 4 BU (BA-K, THStA-W, including 189, 221) in the AG-B (at BwA 46-1-14). The investigations by the ZdL (now BA-L) are recorded under file number IV 429 AR-Z 22/74. Judith Magyar Isaacson has written about the conditions in the subcamp after the arrival of the evacuee transport from Hessisch-Lichtenau in *Befreiung in Leipzig: Erinnerungen einer ungarischen Jüdin* (Witzenhausen: Ekopan-Verlag, 1990), pp. 154–162.

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LEIPZIG-SCHÖNEFELD (HASAG) (MEN)

Schönefeld is a suburb of Leipzig in Saxony. A subcamp for women was established at the Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) factory, Leipzig-Schönefeld O29, Hugo-Schneider-Strasse, in the autumn of 1944. A subcamp for men was opened at the same location at the end of November 1944. Some 130 prisoners were planned for the men's camp and were carefully chosen in Buchenwald according to their professional and trade

skills. This applied especially to precision mechanics, carpenters, transport workers, watchmakers, plumbers, and roofers. At the same time, in Buchenwald prisoners were chosen for administrative functions. All the men of the transport were Hungarian and Polish Jews and either spoke fluent or broken German. A second transport arrived on November 24, 1944, with 150 prisoners. Another transport arrived on December 2, 1944, with 400 men. In the last transports there were mostly Italian and French prisoners, but there were also prisoners from other countries. The 680 inmates of the camp for men were accommodated either in part of the HASAG camp for women, which had been cut off from the rest of that camp, according to historian Wolfgang Knospe, or, according to other sources, such as Klaus Hesse, in their own camp between Bautzen and Torgau Strassen.

As with the women in the Leipzig-Schönefeld HASAG subcamp, the men were mostly used in the production of *Panzerfäuste* (antitank weapons). The HASAG, described after the war by the chief of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Obergruppenführer Pohl, as one of the largest employers of concentration camp labor, employed at the end of 1944 and the beginning of 1945 more than 10,000 prisoners in its camps at Leipzig-Schönefeld, Altenburg, Colditz, Flössberg, Herzberg, Meuselwitz, Schlieben, and Taucha. In December 1944, it was probably more than 16,000. Already long before 1933, HASAG managing director (and SS-Sturmführer) Paul Budin had developed close connections with the SS and the Nazi Party. During the war, he negotiated personally on a number of occasions with Pohl on the use of prisoners in the HASAG factories in the General Government and the German Reich. As special commissioner (Sonderbeauftragter) for the Speer Ministry for the Production of Panzerfäuste, Budin had all means at his disposal to brutally exploit the concentration camp prisoners so as to produce the new miracle weapon: 6,800 units were produced in August 1943 for the first time. By December 1944, the production rate of Panzerfäuste had increased to 1,296,000. Budin, together with the commandant of Buchenwald, Hermann Pister, and the Buchenwald Standortarzt, Gerhard Schiedlausky, had inspected the site of the Leipzig camp in June 1944 as part of their plan to ensure seamless cooperation and production. In October 1944, when the HASAG subcamp was in the process of being built, Budin thanked the WVHA for the use of more than 10,000 prisoners in HASAG enterprises in Germany. In November 1944, Budin supplied the SS with more than 300,000 Panzerfäuste as a gesture of gratitude to the supplier of cheap labor that could be ruthlessly exploited.

That the male prisoners in the subcamp were massively exploited is confirmed by the fact that prisoners who could not work were selected and replaced by prisoners from the main camp (on December 15, 1944, four prisoners and on December 16, 1944, five prisoners were transferred back to Buchenwald).

On February 24, 1945, the SS transferred 100 prisoners from Leipzig-Schönefeld HASAG to Flössberg, about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) to the south of Leipzig. Within a few weeks, construction on a new Buchenwald subcamp was begun, which

would be the last HASAG subcamp. The numbers in the camp at Leipzig-Schönefeld sank: on January 31, 1945, there were 221 men in the camp; on March 26, 1945, only 83. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp was liberated on April 18–19, 1945.

SOURCES Wolfgang Knospe contributed the article on the Leipzig-Schönefeld (men) subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 501–502. For further information on the role of HASAG in the development and production of the Panzerfaust, see the essay by Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Außenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271; and Klaus Hesse, *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*; esp. pp. 29–63, and Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Außenlager, über gesühnte und ungesühnte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–108. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 49.

For a detailed review of the HASAG files including those of its Leipzig-Schönefeld subcamp in the Leipzig archives, see Thomas Fickenwirt, Birgit Horn, and Christian Kurzweg, *Freund- und Zwangslarbeit im Raum Leipzig: Archivalisches Spezialinventar* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsbuchhandlung, 2004). Other archival sources on the Leipzig-Schönefeld (men) subcamp are held in the AG-B, Best. NS 4 Bu of the BA-K and the THStA-W, as well as ITS Buchenwald-Best.

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LEIPZIG-SCHÖNEFELD (HASAG) (WOMEN)

The subcamp at Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) in Leipzig-Schönefeld was established in June 1944 under the administrative control of the Ravensbrück concentration camp. Its labor allocation was controlled by the Buchenwald camp, which assumed administrative control of the subcamp on September 1, 1944. Eight hundred women from Majdanek arrived at the camp on June 9, 1944, of whom 566 were Poles; 109 were of other nationalities; and 39 were Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) who had refused to work in armaments production.

On June 26, 1944, 151 women arrived from Ravensbrück. Initially, there were temporary accommodations in a nearby field. This was replaced by a camp on Bautzen Strasse about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the factory. The camp was surrounded by an electrified fence and guard towers. The women were accommodated in a former factory building that was divided with separation walls into "blocks." Several hundred women were assigned to each block. The blocks were equipped with multitiered wooden bunk beds, tables, and benches. In the

cellar of the central main building there were two large wash-rooms with hot and cold showers and, according to survivor Pauline Buchenholz, flushing toilets but without doors or toilet paper. On the ground floor was the kitchen, canteen, and office. The infirmary was on the first floor. In the final phase of the camp, additional accommodation barracks were made available.

Buchenholz stated that initially the prisoners' food was adequate: "[T]he bread and the soup were delicious. For one week we got a different soup every day, then the procedure was repeated."¹ During the first month the HASAG provided rations for armaments workers, but after that, the prisoners' diet consisted of poor-quality SS food.

According to a survivor, Felicja Karay, the HASAG, based on experiences in Poland, made sure that there was good hygiene in the camp and made allowances for what the female prisoners regarded as the most important conditions: there was conspicuous cleanliness; most of the prisoners were given new clothing (a prison dress, striped jacket, and underwear), and often they were allowed to keep their own clothing. However, the HASAG policy must be seen pragmatically: the camp lay in the city, infectious diseases would easily have spread to the German civilian population and the HASAG clearly wanted to keep its skilled workforce which would be hard to replace. The prisoners were kept clean and given medical care, while at the same time the HASAG worked them to death and let them starve.

On July 12, 1944, another transport from Ravensbrück arrived with about 2,000 prisoners. With this transport, Leipzig-Schönefeld became the largest Buchenwald female subcamp. Soviet citizens (1,208) and Poles (1,089) formed the largest prisoner groups. In addition, there were 361 French women, 110 Belgians, 60 Greeks, 25 Czechs, 24 Yugoslavs, 13 Italians, as well as a few Spanish, Serbian, Dutch, Estonian, Romanian, Croatian, Portuguese, Swiss, Argentinean, British, Lithuanian, Luxemburger, and stateless citizens. On August 4, a transport of 1,273 Jewish women arrived from the former HASAG camp in Skarzysko-Kamienna. By the end of August, 24 children from this transport, aged between 4 and 17, were sent to Auschwitz with their mothers to be gassed. The mother and sister of Stefan Jerzy Zweig, the "Buchenwald Child," were included in the transport to Auschwitz. Selections took place in the camp until its final days, and more than 99 women were sent to Bergen-Belsen.

On July 22, 1944, 2,100 women arrived at the camp including Czechoslovakians, Ukrainians, Germans, Hungarians, and Sinti and Roma (Gypsies). Another 250 women arrived at the camp at the beginning of September 1944—700 Poles, victims of the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising. A final transport of around 500 women arrived on December 3, 1944, that included both Jewish and non-Jewish women. At the end of January 1945, Leipzig-Schönefeld held 5,067 women.

The camp commandant was Untersturmführer Wolfgang Plaul, previously Schutzhaftlagerführer in Buchenwald and in the Dora subcamp. Plaul, who was in command of all other HASAG camps for women, seldom appeared inside the camp but was often present at the roll calls and at the camp gate. A few survivors have described him as a "beneficent com-

dant," but others say that he repeatedly had referred to the prisoners as a "pack of swine." Plaul put the prisoner administration exclusively in the hands of Polish non-Jews, which resulted in the planned tensions between the female groups. Pole Joanna Szumańska was the camp elder, a name synonymous with brutality. Her deputy was another Pole, Zinaida Braginska (Zina), who was liked by everybody because of her friendly personality. Poles held positions of block elders and room elders and controlled the camp office, food stores, canteen, infirmary, and camp security.² Non-Poles worked in the kitchen, including the 39 Soviet POWs.

Records show that there were 41 female SS on September 23, 1944, and 59 on March 1945. The female overseer (Oberaufseherin) until the beginning of 1945 was Käthe Heber. She was most likely succeeded by First Wardress Else Noatzsch. Compared to other camps, Leipzig-Schönefeld was not so horrendous a camp: the women's hair was only shorn when there were lice in their hair, and within the camp they could move about relatively freely. Unsuccessful escape attempts were not punished with death. Eight women died in the camp. Nevertheless, there was an extensive system of roll calls and beatings (the women were sent to Buchenwald for the infamous 25 blows), and the SS used dogs to intimidate the prisoners.

The women began to work on July 12, 1944. They worked mostly in the Nordwerk and in Factory Building F, where they assembled grenade parts, stamped the production dates on the shell casings, inserted detonators, and monitored the screwing-on of shell tips for a range of different bombs. Many of the workplaces were hot, filled with metal dust, and lacked fresh air, which resulted in health problems.

Survivors have described an ambivalent relationship with the German labor force. The SS had described the women as whores, criminals, and thieves with the result that many Germans at first kept their distance or were openly hostile. Karay stated that the relationship slowly improved: German foremen helped when the prisoners were sick or had accidents; they brought bread, underwear, or stockings for the prisoners. Several survivors have attested to the fact that German foremen looked after pregnant women, giving them double rations or assigning them to light work. There were several children born in the camp, but only two survived, as they were born when the camp was being evacuated. On the other hand, there are other witness testimonies that stated that there was no assistance and support from the Germans.

The cultural activities in the camp are an interesting part of its history. Many women learned foreign languages and wrote and recited poetry. There was cultural competitiveness between the different nationalities. For example, the French in the autumn of 1944 put on a "Hat Parade," a collection of head wear made out of rags and rubbish. The "Bunkerkommando," a cultural group of up to 70 Poles, celebrated Polish Independence Day in November 1944 with a concert of folk songs and dances. The New Years' Eve concert put on by the Jewish women was lavish—there were jazz, waltzes, chansons, and a drama titled "Die Abenteuer des Sokrates im Konzentrationslager" ("The Adventures of Socrates in a

Concentration Camp"). Plaul and the SS women were invited to the festivities and took part.

Work in the camp came gradually to a halt from the middle of February 1945. Prisoners died during an air raid in the middle of March. At the beginning of April, around 1,000 Jews of different nationalities as well as Soviet women and Poles arrived from Ravensbrück. A staged evacuation of the camp began on April 13, 1945. Beginning with the Jewish women, around 4,000 inmates were sent on a death march on April 13, and another with 800 prisoners being evacuated on April 14. The ill, the Soviet POWs, and a 200-strong "Clean-Up Kommando" (Reinigungskommando) were left behind. They followed the other women on April 15. The deputy camp elder, Braginska, took over supervision of the women left behind. A few days later, U.S. troops reached the camp and with a large media presence rescued the only American prisoner in the camp (the wife of a general on Charles de Gaulle's staff) before the other women were sent to various hospitals.

The women who were evacuated marched via Wurzen and Riesa along the Elbe. There were executions during the march. Plaul ordered that the women be divided into groups of 200 to 300 people. According to Karay, up to a third of the women died in many of these groups. Close to Strehla on the Elbe the survivors were liberated by the Red Army. What happened to Plaul is unknown: historian Irmgard Seidel states that he fled, whereas Karay believes that he fell into the hands of the Soviet Army and was subsequently released after some women interceded on his behalf.

Budin blew up the HASAG administrative buildings at the end of the war. In 1945, former guard Elfriede Kaltofen was tried in Poland. Arrest warrants were issued against other SS women: their outcome is unknown. Szumańska was arrested in Poland after Jewish prisoners denounced her and was later tried. She was acquitted for lack of evidence and then resettled in France, where she was again arrested and released without conviction. Later, she immigrated to the United States. Former guard Ingeburg Schulz was sentenced by a French military court in Reutlingen to five years in prison, which she served.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) into the events at the Leipzig-Schönefeld camp ceased in 1976 without conclusive results.

SOURCES The most important source on the Leipzig-Schönefeld subcamp is Felicia Karay's monograph *Wir lebten zwischen Granaten und Gedichten: Das Frauenlager der Rüstungsfabrik HASAG im Dritten Reich*, trans. from the Hebrew by Susanne Plietzsch (Cologne: Böhlau, 2001) and published in English as *Hasag-Leipzig Slave Labour Camp for Women: The Struggle for Survival, Told by Women and Their Poetry*, trans. Sara Kitao (Portland, OR: Valentine Mitchell, 2002). Irmgard Seidel described the camp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 495–500. Background information on HASAG and its subcamps has been taken from the following publications: Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Außenlagern

des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271; Klaus Hesse, *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*, pp. 29–64, Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene uns KZ-Aussenlager, über gesübte und ungesübte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–109. Extensive information on the Leipzig-Schönefeld subcamp is to be found in Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), with a description of the camp (pp. 28–32), biographies of Paul Budin (p. 49) and Wolfgang Plaul (p. 51) as well as of former prisoners Lise London (p. 63), Suzanne Orts (pp. 66–68), Danuta Brzosko-Medryk (pp. 69–71), Sybilla Jęczen (pp. 77–78), Małtylda Woliniewska, a member of the "Bunkierkommando" (pp. 79–81), Felicia Karay (pp. 106–108), and Helena and Sylvia Zweig (Stefan Jerzy Zweig's mother and sister, pp. 121–123); ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 49; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1848.

The USHMM holds statements by several survivors of the camp: Edith Pick Lowy (RG 10.333); Pauline Buchenholz, "As I remember: Memoirs from the war and concentration camps" (RG-02.107); and Sara Getzler, "The story of two sisters" (RG-02.168). In the Wanda Rotbart collection (Acc. 2002.78.1) there is a poem written by a former prisoner during the camp's existence on the rear side of a HASAG form. Luna Kaufman, a survivor, took part in 1983 in an oral history interview (RG-50.002*0010). Other archives hold numerous sources on the subcamp including the BA-B (Best. NS 4 Bu); AG-B; YVA, which holds statements by more than 80 former prisoners; IPN; and AŽIH. Investigations by the ZdL in the 1970s are held under reference IV 429 AT-Z 22/74 at the BA-L. Some of the camp survivors from Leipzig-Schönefeld have written their autobiographies: *Asher sakharnu lessaper* (Tel Aviv, 1988); Rut Kornblum-Rosenberg, *Nedder: Sikchronot* (Tel Aviv, 1986); Halina Nelken, *Pamietnik z getta w Krakowie* (Toronto, 1987); and Towa Zilberberg, *Ima, bakashatekh nitkabla* (Bnei Brak, 1994).

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NOTES

1. Pauline Buchenholz, "As I remember: Memoirs from the war and concentration camps" (unpub. MSS), USHMM, RG-02.107, p. 48.

2. Ibid., p. 50. According to Buchenholz, the Lager-schutz was infamous for its brutality. Buchenholz also describes the Lagerälteste: "As soon as [the manager] appeared in the hall, she started to beat the women about their faces" (p. 40).

LEIPZIG-THEKLA ("EMIL," "E," "ENGELSDORF")

In the spring of 1943, a subcamp of Buchenwald was created 1.6 kilometers (1.0 mile) northeast of Leipzig in the suburb of Thekla to provide labor to the aircraft manufacturer Erla-Werke on Theklär Engelsdorferstrasse. The work detail (Kommando) was code-named "Emil" or "E" in Buchenwald administrative records, and beginning in July 1944, the name "Engelsdorf" was also associated with the camp. Like other firms that exploited prisoner labor to meet increasing armaments needs, Erla-Werke hired out inmates from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day. As of December 1944, Erla employed 2,445 skilled workers and 21,246 unskilled workers.¹ However, the subcamp inmates were not compensated for their labor.

Beginning in March and April 1943, inmates were transported to the Leipzig camp from the Buchenwald main camp.² As noted in telegrams dated March 12, 1943, 65 prisoners were put to work constructing the barracks for the subcamp in Thekla. Sixteen members of the SS were also sent to guard the camp. By May 1943, the strength of the Thekla camp rose to 213 prisoners and 34 guards. Some 174 of the prisoners were deployed to the Erla-Werke, while the rest were used in the construction of the camp.³

Most of the inmates arriving on these initial transports into Leipzig-Thekla were political prisoners, all male, and predominantly Russian and Polish. By June 1943, smaller numbers of "asocial" prisoners were also transferred to the camp. Other national and prisoner classification groups represented in the prisoner population throughout the camp's nearly two-year operation included Czech, Lithuanian, French, Italian, Belgian, Greek, and Yugoslavian political prisoners, so-called work-shy

(*Arbeitscheu*) inmates, and beginning in May 1944, "asocial Gypsies" (*ASR Zigeuner*). In addition to transports from Buchenwald, transfers of prisoners arrived in Thekla from Gross-Rosen (September 10, 1943; this convoy was originally destined for the subcamp "Laura" in Saalfeld but was directed to Leipzig-Thekla instead) and Sachsenhausen (July 7, 1944).⁴ By August 8, 1944, the number of inmates recorded in the Leipzig camp was 1,456.⁵ The average strength of the camp was 1,050 inmates, and by the time of the camp's dissolution in April 1945, there were at least 1,400 inmates imprisoned in Leipzig-Thekla.

Little information about working and living conditions in the camp has survived. The inmates in the Emil Kommando at Erla-Werke were most likely employed in factory work, assembling parts for engines. Work assignments in the factory were generally harsh and driven by prisoner-functionaries called Kapos. At various intervals, inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp due to illness and incapacity for work and exchanged for relatively healthier inmates. In Buchenwald, they were sent to the infirmary where they generally perished. The frequent exchange of prisoners, beginning in the fall of 1943, testifies to the presumably difficult conditions within the camp and its work site.⁶

Inmates were also transferred from the Leipzig-Thekla camp to other work sites. For example, on November 30, 1943, at least 100 prisoners were deported from Leipzig to the Flossenbürg work Kommando Johanngeorgenstadt.⁷ Beginning in January 1944, they were also transferred to the Flossenbürg subcamps in Mülsen St. Micheln (where another branch of Erla-Werke was located) and Flöha.⁸

There is little information available about the guard staff of the camp. According to a report filed by the SS-Standortarzt Schiedlausky, who oversaw medical treatment in the Buchenwald camps and who assisted in selecting prisoners for work assignments, 134 guards were assigned to the



U.S. troops accompany local German civilians inside the liberated Leipzig-Thekla subcamp of Buchenwald, April 19–22, 1945.
USHMM WS # 12070, COURTESY OF MAX ESPER

camp as of January 31, 1945.⁹ The same report notes that the SS doctor for the Leipzig-Thekla camp was named Luz, and the SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad, SDG) was Hanschel. A police report dated April 29, 1945, and attached to the War Crimes Investigations Unit 6822 collection lists some of the more prominent guards as of April 18, 1945: SS-Hauptscharführer Goetze, SS-Unterscharführer Hans Badstuebner, SS-Unterscharführer Taenzer, and SS-Sturmmann Baumbach.¹⁰ Telegrams sent to the commandant's office in Buchenwald in the early months of the camp's operation were signed by various SS-officers, including SS-Obersturmbannführer Borell, SS-Hauptscharführer Kenn, SS-Oberscharführer Knauf, and SS-Unterscharführer Jacob. These latter may have been Lagerführer or officers in charge.

Upon learning of the advance of American troops, the commandant of the Leipzig-Thekla camp received orders to evacuate. The evacuation of the camp began on April 15, 1945, when more than 1,200 inmates were rounded up and taken to an unknown destination in several trucks. Those who were too ill or weak to be transported remained behind in the camp. The following day, the approximately 300 remaining inmates were herded into barracks number five, where they were provided food rations.¹¹ After having locked the doors and sealing the windows, the SS set fire to the barracks. Some inmates burst out of the barracks but were immediately shot by the SS. Others were impaled by or gunned down near the electrical wire fencing. Some escaped to an adjacent field, where they were caught by a Hitler Youth squad and executed. The U.S. War Crimes Investigating Team 6822 estimated that at least 90 prisoners, including several Russian, Polish, French, and Czech inmates, died in the fire or were shot. One surviving French inmate made contact with Lieutenant Daniel Camous, a French officer attached to the U.S. First Army, and reported the atrocities.

The 69th Infantry Division of the U.S. Army arrived at Leipzig-Thekla on April 19, 1945. Days later, the U.S. Army Signal Corps documented and photographed the remains of the massacre. According to a report by a U.S. Army Protestant chaplain filed on April 28, 1945, a similar operation planned for a nearby camp with over 250 women prisoners was averted by the advance of the 69th Division. On April 24, the U.S. Army arranged a multi-faith funeral and buried the bodies in the southern cemetery (*Sudfriedhof*) in Leipzig; prominent members of the Leipzig community were also present.¹²

At least one of the guards of the Leipzig-Thekla camp, Walter Karl Heinrich, was sentenced to five years in prison for the murder of a French inmate during the evacuation march from Leipzig-Thekla.¹³

SOURCES Much of the secondary literature on the Leipzig-Thekla subcamp derives from reports on the ruins of the atrocities found at the liberation of the camp. See especially Robert Abzug, *Inside the Vicious Heart: Americans and the Liberation of Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). The film produced by the U.S. War Department at the end of the war, *Death Mills* (*Die Todesmühlen*) (produced in 1945 by the Signal Corps, Army Air Forces, and U.S. Navy, and re-

released by International Historic Films, Chicago, 1997), documents the opening of several camps, including the remains of the massacre at Thekla. For a brief description of the Leipzig-Thekla camp, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, see *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). Peter Kohl and Peter Bessel's *Auto Union und Junkers: Geschichte der Mitteldeutschen Motorenwerke GmbH Taucha 1935–1945* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2003) chronicles the history of the Junkers factories in the Leipzig-Taucha region, with brief references to Erla-Werke. An unpublished manuscript by Holger Dieckhoff, "Die Entwicklung der Erla-Werke GmbH" (Diplomarbeit, Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig, 1989), stored at the StA-Lg, describes the history of Erla-Werke. Trial information is available on the *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* Web site at www1.jur.uva.nl/junsv, including information on the trial of Walter Karl Heinrich, which will be published in a forthcoming volume.

Several archives contain relevant primary resources on the Leipzig-Thekla camp, but most focus on the last days and liberation of the camp and derive from immediate postwar investigation processes. A series of photographs taken at the liberation of the camp and documenting the investigation of atrocities committed during the evacuation can be found in USHMMMA, series designation 13.925 (Collections: 1991.170.002). Testimony about the liberation of the camp is also found in the USHMMMA, J. Milner Roberts interview, RG-50.030*0191. See also AG-B and AG-MD for relevant transport lists and other administrative records associated with the camp, as well as AAC-C and AN. Copies of some of these administrative records are located in USHMMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, in a collection copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from ITS (see especially BU 108, BU 48, and BU 50). Within this collection, there are also lists of French and Belgian prisoners drawn up from infirmary (*Revier*) lists in the Leipzig subcamp. Copies of transport lists and documentation of arrivals to and from Buchenwald are also found in NARA, A3355 Buchenwald Daily Strength Reports (USHMMMA, RG 1996 A0342, Reels 146–180). For those pertaining to Leipzig, see especially Reel 171. These reports may be useful for a more thorough statistical analysis of the demographics of and increases and decreases in the camp population. The BA NS 4: Buchenwald Camp Records (reproduced in USHMMMA, RG-14.023M) also contains relevant administrative files on the camp. Other documentation may be found in the StA-Lg.

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NOTES

1. Extracts of report for December 1944 of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, dated 6 January 1945, Document NI-4185, *TWC*, 6: 759–767.
2. "Transport Leipzig," March [illegible date] (55 inmates); April 11, 1943 (100 inmates) (BU 48), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.
3. "An den Lagerkommandanten des KL Buchenwald," various dates, March–July 1943, BA NS 4 Buchenwald, Band 150, Fiche 1: Correspondence Conc. Buchenwald Sub-camps, as reproduced in USHMMMA, RG.14023M.

4. "Transport Laura," September 10, 1943; "Nachweisung, vom KL Sachsenhausen nach Leipzig überstellten Häftlinge," July 10, 1944 (BU 48), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 18.

5. "Buchenwald, États d'effectifs par Kommando," August 14, 1944 (BU 5/3), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 6.

6. See, for example, transfer lists dated December 30, 1943 (10 inmates); January 28, 1944 (5 inmates); February 29, 1944 (21 inmates); and so on (BU 48), collection USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 18.

7. "Transportliste für Johanngeorgstadt [sic]," November 30, 1943 (BU 48), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 18.

8. "Anlage 1 zum Schreiben der Verwaltung des Konz-Lagers Buchenwald . . .," January 27, 1944 (BU 8/2), USHMMMA, Acc. A.0045 (Reel 6).

9. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 Januar 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 253.

10. "War Crimes Investigating Team Number 6822, Subject: Murder of Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War at Camp Thekla, near Leipzig, Germany," May 1, 1945 (BU 108), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 18. Original Repts. located in NARA, RG 338, Records of ETOUSA, USFET, JAG.

11. "War Crimes Investigating Team Number 6822, Subject: Murder of Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War at Camp Thekla, near Leipzig, Germany," May 1, 1945 (BU 108), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 18.

12. J. Milnor Roberts, oral history interview, USHMMMA, RG-50.030*0191.

13. Fritz Bauer, ed., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: University Press of Amsterdam) vol. 34 (2005), Lfd. Nr. 862.

LEOPOLDSHALL ("JU," "LH")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Leopoldshall (in the Kreis Bernburg district), about 80 kilometers (50 miles) northwest of Leipzig, in December 1944. Code-named "Ju" or "Lh," the subcamp was created to supply prisoner labor to the Junkers Aircraft and Engine Co. (Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke AG, Zweigwerk Schönebeck). As was the case in other satellite camps created later in the war, inmates were "rented" from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) by private firms, such as the Junkers firm, which paid 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled worker per day and 4 RM per unskilled worker per day.¹

Production at the Leopoldshall Junkers factory began in 1934, manufacturing engine parts and tails for the Junkers aircraft models Ju 52, Ju 86, Ju 87, Ju 88, and Ju 188. The Junkers factory was located on Industrie Strasse in Leopoldshall, although there is no information about how close the subcamp was to the firm.

Inmates were transferred from the main Buchenwald camp to Leopoldshall beginning December 28, 1944. One hundred prisoners were transferred on the initial transport.² Although there is no breakdown by nationality on the transport list, the inmates appear to have been French, Polish, and Russian.

Another transport list has survived, dated February 13, 1945, that details the transfer of 158 inmates to Leopoldshall from Buchenwald, including Russian and French inmates.³ On March 8, 1945, 8 inmates—3 French political prisoners and 5 Russian political prisoners—were transferred from the Buchenwald subcamp Schönebeck, where another branch of the Junkers factory was located.⁴ A report filed by the garrison doctor of the Buchenwald camps, SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky, in January 1945, lists Leopoldshall as a Jewish outlying commando (Jüdische Aussenkommando); however, the existing transfer lists do not indicate the type of inmates who were imprisoned in Leopoldshall or whether or not they were Jews.⁵

There is little evidence about living conditions in the Leopoldshall camp or working conditions at the Junkers factory. On March 12, 1945, three inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald infirmary, presumably to be exchanged for healthier inmates.⁶ The reason for their return is noted as "Tbc" or tuberculosis; therefore, conditions in the camp were most likely difficult and unsanitary. Moreover, there may have been additional transfers and exchanges of prisoners to the Buchenwald main camp, and information about them may not have survived.

There is little information about the commandant or guard staff of the Leopoldshall subcamp. Memos regarding transfers of inmates and exchanges of ill inmates are undersigned by the head of the Leopoldshall commando, SS-Obersturmführer "Sorell" or "Forell."⁷ The January report filed by garrison doctor Schiedlausky does not include any additional information about the number of guards or medical staff in the Leopoldshall subcamp.⁸

The camp was evacuated on or around April 10, 1945, due to the advancement of Allied troops. At least one inmate, French prisoner Pierre Freudenreich, died in the town of Gross Pankow during or shortly after the evacuation.⁹

SOURCES The Leopoldshall subcamp is scarcely noted in secondary or primary sources. For a brief description of the camp, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, see Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). Both David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), provide overviews of and documents pertaining to the Buchenwald camp system.

Likewise, there are few primary sources on the Leopoldshall subcamp. See the archives of the AG-B und AG-MD for relevant transport lists and other administrative records associated with the camp, as well as the AAC-C and the AN (Paris). Copies of some of these administrative records are located in USHMMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, in a collection copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS; see especially BU 41/2 and BU 8/13. Copies of transport lists and documentation of arrivals to and from Buchenwald are also found in the NARA, A3355 Buchenwald Daily Strength Reports (USHMMMA, RG 1996 A0342, Reels 146–180). These

reports may be useful for a more thorough statistical analysis of the demographics of and increases and decreases in the camp population. The BA NS 4: Buchenwald Camp Records (reproduced in USHMM, RG-14.023M) also contains relevant administrative files on the satellite camps; an analysis of demographics and "strength" of prisoners in the subcamps may be derived from more thorough research of this collection.

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NOTES

1. Extracts of a report for December 1944 of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, dated 6 January 1945, Document NI-4185; *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law no. 10* (New York: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.
2. "Transport Leopoldshall," December 28, 1944 (BU 41/2), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in the USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.
3. "Überführung von Häftlingen nach Kdo Leopoldshall," February 13, 1945 (BU 41/2), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.
4. "Überführung von Häftlingen nach Kdo Leopoldshall," March 8, 1945 (BU 8/13), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 7.
5. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 January 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 253.
6. "Überführung von kranken Häftlingen," March 12, 1943 (BU 41/2), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.
7. See transfer lists, BU 41/2 and BU 8/13, USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045.
8. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sing insgesamt," in Bartel, *Buchenwald*, p. 253.
9. "Buchenwald—Kdo 'LH'—Leopoldshall," list of French and Belgian prisoners compiled presumably by ITS (BU 40), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.

LICHTENBURG

A subcamp of Buchenwald was established in Lichtenburg in September 1940 for a temporary two-week duration. Due to the camp's short operation period, there is extremely little information about this subcamp, for example, about its location, inmates, or commander. The camp was opened on either September 11 or 12, 1940. According to documentation on daily work statistics in records kept by the Buchenwald main camp administration, there were 35 inmates stationed at the Lichtenburg subcamp.¹ The camp also had two guards posted as watch troops. However, unlike other satellite camps created at this time (such as Tonndorf, Berlstedt, and so on), there is no sentry commander (Postentruppührer) listed for Lichtenburg.

The Lichtenburg subcamp is documented in the Buchenwald records as an external commando (Aussenkommando), as opposed to a work commando deployed from Buchenwald, and therefore prisoners were transported from Buchenwald to the work site at Lichtenburg, where they stayed for two

weeks. However, the exact location of the Lichtenburg subcamp and work site is indeterminable. A series of camps (including pre-1937 early camps, a subcamp of Ravensbrück, and a subcamp of Sachsenhausen) were established at the fourteenth-century Lichtenburg castle in Prettin (Saxony-Anhalt). [See Sachsenhausen/Prettin (Lichtenburg).] However, various secondary sources on the Lichtenburg camps make no mention of a Buchenwald subcamp established there. It is also possible that the Buchenwald Lichtenburg camp was created in a town called Lichtenburg (Saxony), although the exact location is unknown.

The Buchenwald Lichtenburg subcamp is last mentioned in the work statistics for September 28, 1940.² The number of prisoners and guards in the camp did not fluctuate during its period of operation.

SOURCES There is virtually no mention of the Lichtenburg subcamp in secondary literature. Both David A. Hackett's *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO, 1995) and Walter Bartel's *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main, 1983) provide overviews of the Buchenwald camp system but no information on Lichtenburg. Similarly, the Lichtenburg camp appears only rarely in primary documentation. It does not appear in transport lists collected by the ITS, copies of which are located in the USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045, in a collection copied from the AN-MACVG. The BA Buchenwald collection (NS 4) has brief information about the dates of operation and number of prisoners in the camp but nothing further (see BA, Band 156, Fiche 1–4). The AG-B and AG-MD may have other information.

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NOTES

1. "Arbeitsstatistik, Aufstellung der Täglichen Arbeitskommandos, 1940," September 11–27, 1940, pp. 79–93, BA, NS 4 (Buchenwald), Band 156, as copied at USHMM, RG 14.0423M.
2. Ibid., p. 79.

LIPPSTADT (LIPPSTÄDTER EISEN- UND METALLWERKE)

[AKA LEM, SS-KOMMANDO LIPPSTADT I]

Lippstadt was part of the Prussian province of Westfalen until 1945. It is about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) to the south of Gütersloh. According to Buchenwald files, a subcamp for female prisoners was established in Lippstadt on July 31, 1944, when 530 Hungarian Jewish women from Auschwitz arrived. The average age of the women was 27. On September 1, another 2 women from Auschwitz arrived, and on November 23, another 300 women including 139 from Slovakia, 92 from Poland, 41 from Hungary, 10 from France, 9 from Germany, 4 from Holland, 4 from Italy, and 1 Czech. These women were also aged mostly between 20 and 30, with the youngest aged 15. The women from this transport were given Buchenwald prisoner numbers between 25001 and 27000.

The camp was on the site of the Lippstadt Eisen- und Metallwerke (LEM), Cappeler Landstrasse 32. LEM was an armaments enterprise founded in 1935 that produced various kinds of ammunition, among others, hand grenades and aircraft parts. The prisoners were accommodated on the northeastern edge of the site (to the south of the Graf-Adolf and Walldorf Strasse intersection). There were several preexisting barracks that were cordoned off. The guards consisted of 10 to 12 SS men, according to Burkhard Beyers, or 27 men, according to *Die Kindergräber von Gütersloh*. They were under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Alfred Bieneck. There were also about 15 female overseers, former employees of various armaments firms who had undergone a three-week training course in Ravensbrück and were deployed for service in the subcamp.

The camp, with an area of around 10,000 square meters (12,000 square yards), consisted of five barracks. Four had dimensions of about 15 × 50 meters (50 × 164 feet) and were chosen to house the prisoners. These barracks were divided along a central corridor into rooms, each holding 30 to 40 women who slept in multitiered bunk beds. Each woman had her own bed and blanket. At the end of the corridor were the toilet block and the washroom. The barracks were heated. The fifth barrack, which was 28 × 50 meters (92 × 164 feet), functioned as the prisoners' infirmary. According to survivors' statements, two female prisoner doctors were active, Elsa Oblat-Pick, a Jew who probably held a doctoral degree in medicine, and a Polish doctor, Kristina Klemanska-Estreicher. They probably answered to a German nurse. The prisoners had primitive protection from air raids in a slit trench. It took about 5 to 10 minutes to walk from the camp to work.

The food was extremely limited and as a rule consisted of a drink in the morning, a little soup for lunch, and bread for dinner. Prisoners who worked the night shift received neither food nor drink during their shift. Despite this, many of the women in the Lippstadt camp, most of whom had spent a short time in Auschwitz, found the conditions less rigid than in Auschwitz. However, prisoners reported frequent persecution by the female SS—for example, if a prisoner was suspected of theft, she was usually forced to strip naked, and the usual punishment for less serious disciplinary breaches was to kneel in the snow with bare legs. There are reports of the women being subjected to beatings. Numerous survivor statements refer to a special humiliation: the women on their arrival in the camp were given new civilian clothes. So that these clothes could be recognized as prisoners' clothes, the sleeves were removed from the shirts and replaced with sleeves made of a different color and material. There are repeated survivors' reports that they felt like "clowns" dressed in these clothes, that they felt offended in their dignity and self-esteem. Nevertheless, the women attempted to maintain their dignity: at Christmas 1944, for example, they decorated a Christmas tree and exchanged small gifts that they had cobbled together from waste metal and smuggled out of the factory under the threat of death.

For their employment in the factory, LEM supplied winter coats to the women, which were marked in the back with a bright cross of yellow oil paint. LEM also provided work

overalls for the women. The regulations required the women to work in separate areas under the supervision of German foremen and skilled tradesmen. The women worked in two shifts, each of 12 hours (with two breaks totaling 45 minutes). Weekly they alternated between day and night shifts.

Only a few women, working in specially chosen areas with other laborers, worked in three shifts each of eight hours. Survivors report physically demanding work such as carrying heavy parts to the machines and putting the heavy and unwieldy parts into the machines. Magda Müller, a survivor, stated that each day she had to insert screw threads into 1,000 hand grenades.¹ There are reports that the German foremen and tradesmen insulted and emotionally mistreated the women. But there are also reports that they were sometimes given food by them.

The work and living conditions in the camp must be described as very poor. Medical care was completely inadequate, particularly after the outbreak of a typhoid epidemic in December, and worsened as the end of the war got closer. In March 1945, the SS-Kommando Lippstadt reported to the Standortarzt in Buchenwald that 30 prisoners were bedridden in the infirmary and 85 were being treated as outpatients. One woman was suffering from tuberculosis, 4 from diphtheria, and in the course of the last month there had been 20 work injuries. There are seven recorded deaths at the Lippstadt subcamp. The women, together with one deceased baby that had been born in the camp, were buried at the nearby Jewish cemetery. All the women died from cholera and dysentery as a result of the exhausting work and living conditions and not as an immediate result of physical violence.

Most probably more women in the Lippstadt subcamp died in the camp than appear in the statistics, as those too weak or ill to work were selected and sent to Auschwitz or Bergen-Belsen. There are at least three such recorded transports: a transport that included all the pregnant women left for Auschwitz on August 1, 1944 (this was probably the result of a birth in the camp), and there was a transport of 3 pregnant women to Bergen-Belsen on January 8, 1945. Both transports were accompanied by the Jewish doctor—as the SS, until the last minute, tried to maintain the illusion that she would look after the prisoners in her care. A final transport departed Lippstadt on February 9, 1945. It included 3 women and their babies as well as 69 women who were either sick or no longer capable of working. According to a former prisoner, quoted in the publication *Die Kindergräber von Gütersloh*, on this transport one baby was trodden to death by an SS man. Whether this was intentional remains unclear, but according to the witness, there was no apology. It is likely that shortly before the camp's dissolution there was one further transport of 25 sick prisoners to Bergen-Belsen: while on February 25, there were still 750 women in the camp, there were only 725 when the camp ceased to exist: the difference could be explained by one further transport of women no longer capable of working.

From the beginning of 1945, work in the LEM was constantly interrupted by supply problems and raw material shortages. Statements as to when the camp was evacuated differ between March 29 and 31, 1945. Accompanied by the SS

and, according to survivors, also Wehrmacht soldiers, the women moved in a northeasterly direction toward Bergen-Belsen. The SS only allowed night marches, fearing low-flying Allied air attacks. When the Allied troops got closer, Commandant Bieneck threatened to shoot the women. On the morning of April 1, 1945, Easter Sunday, the guards abandoned the women close to the village of Kaunitz, about 14 kilometers (9 miles) to the northeast of Lippstadt. A few hours later the women were liberated by soldiers of the U.S. Army. The dates stated by the International Tracing Service (ITS) for the evacuation (April 2, 1945) and liberation (ca. April 4, 1945) are clearly too late.

In the 1970s, the Bielefeld state prosecutor investigated events in the subcamp and collected statements from 97 women who had been in the subcamp. The investigations ceased in 1974 with the conclusion that mistreatment was not an everyday occurrence in the Lippstadt LEM subcamp. However, many survivors suffered for the rest of their lives from the physical and psychological effects of the camp.

SOURCES The camp is described by Burkhard Beyer in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 507–511. The same author has written *Zum Arbeitseinsatz nach Lippstadt: Die jüdischen Frauen in den KZ-Aussenkommandos Lippstadt 1944 und 1945* (Lippstadt: Heimatbund Lippstadt e.V., 1993); and the essay “Die Buchenwald-Aussenlager in Lippstadt,” in *Konzentrationslager im Rheinland und in Westfalen 1933–1945: Zentrale Steuerung und regionale Initiative*, ed. Jan Erik Schulte (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schoeningh GmbH, 2004). Another description of the subcamp is by Karin Epkenhans, *Lippstadt, 1933–1945: Darstellung und Dokumentation zur Geschichte der Stadt Lippstadt im Nationalsozialismus* (Lippstadt: Archiv und Museumsamt, Stadt Lippstadt, 1995), esp. pp. 181–189. Extensive details on the subcamp are to be found in Anne-Frank-Schule, ed., *Die Kindergräber von Gütersloh* (Gütersloh: Stadt Gütersloh, 1993), which is based on statements by 13 former prisoners—Ruchla Krengiel Kuperszmidt, Sarah Barr, Halina Zauder, Fryda Duczyminer, Edith Vodny, Ibolya Welisch Friedmann and Eszter Eilon Friedmann, Dr. Aniko Manfeld Oppenheim, J. Warech, Miriam Navon, Alice Cimber, Magda Müller, Gisela Freiberg, and Elena Levy. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 50; and “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1822.

Archival details on the Lippstadt LEM subcamp are found in the Buchenwald collections of the BA-K, NS 4 Bu, in the AST-Lip, which include aerial photographs of the LEM factory site and the camp in March 1945, in the AG-B, and ITS. The USHMM holds the statement by survivor Irene Hass Shapiro (Acc.1996.A.0179). Survivors have also written about the camp, such as Rudnoy Tewrez's autobiographical work *Szabaduló Asszonyok* (The path to freedom) (N.p., 1947); and Olga Szekulesz in “Alomhajón [Upon the ship of dreams],” Htv (August 1964), which describes her attempts to maintain

the prisoners' hopes for freedom by telling them stories about her prewar life.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Statement by Magda Müller in Anne-Frank-Schule, ed., *Die Kindergräber von Gütersloh* (Gütersloh: Stadt Gütersloh, 1993), p. 57.

LIPPSTADT (WESTFÄLISCHE METALLINDUSTRIE) [AKA WMI, SS-KOMMANDO LIPPSTADT II]

Lippstadt, which until 1945 was part of the Prussian province of Westfalen, is about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) south of Gütersloh. At the end of July 1944, a subcamp was opened at the Lippstadt Eisen- und Metallwerke (LEM). On November 20, 1944, another Buchenwald subcamp was opened at a branch of the Westfälische Metallindustrie (WMI) in Hospitalstrasse 46. Two hundred and fifty Hungarian Jewish women from Ravensbrück arrived at the camp on November 20, and on December 23, 65 women from Bergen-Belsen followed. The women from this transport were from Hungary and other Eastern European countries. The last transport arrived on February 15, 1945, with 20 mostly Hungarian Jews, again from Bergen-Belsen.

The subcamp was located in the center of the city, situated between apartment blocks and secured with fences and walls. The women's accommodation as well as their job site was located inside the camp, so they never left the camp. The camp was guarded by six SS men under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Hermann Fügmann. He was assisted by a few SS women who had been recruited from local industries and had gone through a short training course at Ravensbrück.

During the war, WMI specialized in supplying the armaments industry. Prisoners from the subcamp manufactured parts for the aircraft industry including altimeters. As in many camps, the prisoners worked in two shifts, each of 12 hours, with one break of 45 minutes. Their task required precision and concentration and was less physically strenuous than the work in many other subcamps. This possibly explains why there are no recorded deaths in the Lippstadt WMI subcamp. According to the records, there was only one transfer from this camp, which sent four pregnant or breast-feeding mothers to Bergen-Belsen. It is also possible that the camp's location, in the middle of a residential area, caused the SS to provide at least a minimum of hygienic standards so as to prevent an outbreak of disease spreading to the surrounding area. Nevertheless, the prisoners' medical care, delivered by a few prisoner nurses, as well as the food supply remained woefully inadequate.

Most likely the women from this subcamp were evacuated on March 31, 1945, in an easterly direction following the heaviest air raid on Lippstadt during the war on March 10, 1945. As a result of the air raid, work inside the subcamp had almost completely stopped. On April 1, 1945, the U.S. Army

closed the so-called Ruhr Pocket (Ruhrkessel). By this time the women were already at Kreiensen. From there, they were evacuated by rail to Leipzig. Here, they were initially held in the Leipzig-Schönefeld (HASAG) subcamp. A few days later, they set off on a march with the women of this camp. Most of the prisoners from this evacuation march were liberated by Soviet troops near Pirna on the Elbe.

SOURCES Burkhard Beyer describes the Lippstadt (WMI) subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 507–511. Beyer has also published *Zum Arbeitseinsatz nach Lippstadt: Die jüdischen Frauen in den KZ-Aussenkommandos Lippstadt 1944 und 1945* (Lippstadt: Heimatbund Lippstadt e.V., 1993); and the essay “Die Buchenwald-Aussenlager in Lippstadt,” in *Konzentrationslager im Rheinland und in Westfalen 1933–1945: Zentrale Steuerung und regionale Initiative*, ed. Jan Erik Schulte (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schoeningh GmbH, 2004). Another description of the subcamp is by Karin Epkenhans, *Lippstadt, 1933–1945: Darstellung und Dokumentation zur Geschichte der Stadt Lippstadt im Nationalsozialismus* (Lippstadt: Archiv und Museumsamt, Stadt Lippstadt, 1995), esp. pp. 181–189. The Lippstadt WMI subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 50; “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL.* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1822.

Archival references to the Lippstadt WMI subcamp are held in the Buchenwald collections of the BA-K (NS 4 Bu), the ASt-Lip, AG-B, and ITS. The USHMM holds a statement by camp survivor Irene Hass Shapiro (Acc.1996.A.0179).

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LÜTZKENDORF ("LD")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Lützkendorf (in the Querfurt district), about one mile north of the village of Krumpa bei Merseburg and two miles northwest of Braunsbedra, in July 1944. Code-named “Ld,” the camp was established near the synthetic oil refinery Wintershall Oil Company (Wintershall AG Mineralölwerk, Lützkendorf), later renamed Mineralöl GmbH Addinol, to supply concentration camp inmates for reconstruction work after destructive Allied bombing of the refinery in July 1944. The Wintershall factory “rented” concentration camp inmates from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a rate of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled worker per day.¹

There is no information about the exact location of the Lützkendorf subcamp, nor are there descriptions of its size. The Wintershall Oil Company also used slave laborers to work in its factory; presumably, a forced labor camp (*Zwangsarbeiterlager*) was also constructed on or near the factory grounds. Nine hundred inmates were transported from Buchenwald to Lützkendorf on July 14, 1944.² Although there is no demographic breakdown on this transport list in particular (even in its duplicated forms), the inmates appear to have been

Polish, Russian, and Czech, with smaller numbers of French and German prisoners. Smaller transports of inmates from Buchenwald to Lützkendorf arrived over the following months: 9 French inmates were transferred on August 15; 3 inmates on August 16; 3 on September 5; 80 on September 9, 1944;³ 4 on September 14; and 3 on September 19. Some of the inmates were civilian workers (*Zivilarbeiter*) or so-called professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*).⁴

There is no information about living or working conditions in the Lützkendorf camp. As in other satellite camps, presumably prisoners who were too ill to work were “exchanged” for healthier inmates from the main Buchenwald camp at various intervals. On November 5, 1944, 100 inmates were sent to Block 59 in Buchenwald.⁵ There may have been at least one woman on this transport, Marian Klysz. At least one “change of status” report (*Veränderungsmeldung*) dated November 25, 1944, notes that 13 inmates in the Lützkendorf subcamp “departed” or presumably died, although no date of “departure” is given with their names.⁶ The inmates on this report were predominantly Russian civilian conscript laborers and political prisoners, as well as 1 Polish prisoner.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp was closed on January 18, 1945, with 370 inmates remaining. There is no information about the guards or commandant of the Lützkendorf camp. Moreover, the camp does not appear on a surviving report from garrison doctor SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky dated January 31, 1945, because the camp was closed by this time. On January 23, 1945, about 357 inmates were transferred from Lützkendorf to Mittelbau.⁷

SOURCES The Lützkendorf subcamp is scarcely noted in secondary or primary sources. For a brief description of the Lützkendorf camp, including information from ITS, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, see Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). Both David A. Hackett’s *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995) and Walter Bartel’s *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983) provide overviews of the Buchenwald camp system, including pertinent documents.

There are also few primary sources on the Lützkendorf subcamp. See the AG-B and AG-MD for relevant transport lists and other administrative records associated with the camp, as well as the AAC-C and the AN (Paris). Copies of some of these administrative records are located in the USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045, in a collection copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS (see especially BU 5/5, BU 8/18, BU 4/32, BU 8/11, and BU 48). Copies of transport lists and documentation of arrivals to and departures from Buchenwald are also found in the NARA, A3355 Buchenwald Daily Strength Reports (USHMM, RG 1996 A0342, Reels 146–180). These reports may be useful for a more thorough statistical analysis of the demographics of and increases and decreases in the camp population. The BA NS 4: Buchenwald Camp Records (reproduced in USHMM,

RG-14.023M) also contains relevant administrative files on the satellite camps; an analysis of demographics and numbers of prisoners in the subcamps may be derived from a more thorough research of this collection.

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NOTES

1. Extracts of report for December 1944 of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, dated January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185; *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law no. 10* (New York: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.
2. “Transport Lützendorf [sic],” July 14, 1944 (BU 48), AN, Secretariat D’État aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in the USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.
3. “Transport Lützkendorf,” September 9, 1944 (BU 8/19), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 7.
4. “Veränderungsmeldungen,” dated August 16, August 17, September 6, September 15, and September 29, 1944 (BU 5/5), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 6.
5. “Von Kommando Lützkendorf nach Block 59,” Arbeitsstatistik KL Buchenwald, November 5, 1944 (BU 8/12), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 7.
6. “Veränderungsmeldung,” November 25, 1944 (BU 5/5), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 6.
7. “Von Kommando Lützkendorf nach KL Mittelbau überstellt,” January 23, 1945 (BU 4/34), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 5. Another transport list dated January 3, 1945, also survives, in which 373 inmates were transferred either to Lützkendorf or, as is more likely, to Buchenwald. The title of the transport is illegible, however. See “Transportliste [?],” January 3, 1945 (BU 48), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.

MAGDEBURG (POLTE OHG) (MEN)

Magdeburg is located on the Elbe River and until 1945 was part of the Prussian province of Saxony. In 1885, Eugen Polte founded the Polte company, which during World War II operated as Polte OHG (General Business Partnership) Magdeburg. During the war, the company became an important manufacturer of munitions. In June 1944, a subcamp for women was opened at Polte. On November 3, 1944, a transport of 500 men from the Stutthof concentration camp arrived at the Polte main factory in Magdeburg at 65–91 Poltestrasse; 300 women were also in this transport.

The men had been selected in Stutthof because of their professional qualifications. When they arrived in Magdeburg, they were held in quarantine for 10 days because a typhus epidemic had broken out in Stutthof after their departure. After the 10 days, they were divided among different production areas, replacing Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The prisoners were held in the empty Soviet POW camp, in Poltestrasse (later Karl Liebknecht Strasse) directly opposite the factory and next to the women’s camp. The 500 men were held in two barracks; in addition, there was an infirmary and a roll-call square. The camp was fenced in with a high barbed-wire fence.

The guards were 59 SS men who were based outside the camp and commanded by Kommandoführer Hoffmann. Prior to this position, Hoffmann had been a member of the command staff at the Kaiserwald concentration camp near Riga, where he had already supervised some of the prisoners who had been sent from Stutthof to Magdeburg.

The majority of the prisoners in the first transport were Jews from Latvia. There were also Jews from Poland, Lithuania, and Germany in the transport. A second transport arrived on December 2, 1944, from Bergen-Belsen. As with the first transport, there was a group of 300 women on the transport who were sent to the women’s subcamp. The prisoners in this transport were mostly Hungarian and Polish Jews. The average number of prisoners in the men’s subcamp was somewhere between 500 and 600.

The camp inmates worked at the Polte firm in alternating 12-hour shifts. Sundays were rest days, either in whole or in part. The Polte firm ensured that because of their skilled status the prisoners had living conditions rarely seen in concentration camps: the barracks were heated, and in the washrooms there was running warm and cold water. Each prisoner had his own bed (on a two-tiered bunk bed) and a blanket. Each barracks had sleeping and eating quarters. Boris Kacel, a survivor, stated that when the prisoners arrived, the barracks were clean and neat. However, there was no kitchen in the camp, and the prisoners’ food had to be brought from the outside.

There were two Jewish doctors in the infirmary. Beside work injuries, the cases they dealt with were primarily exhaustion, colds, and hunger edemas, an indication of the poor nutrition, clothing, and general working and living conditions of the prisoners. These conditions were made worse by the rigid SS and prisoner administration punishment system, which in part was in the hands of violent, criminal prisoners. Kacel stated that the camp elder was David Kagand, and the barrack elders were Harry Kussman and Max Finkelstein. Among the prisoners, the so-called Inner Service (*Innendienst*) under an inmate named Nachke was notorious for its brutality. The number of prisoners who died in the men’s Polte subcamp can only be estimated. It is thought that a few dozen prisoners died in the camp or, because they were no longer capable of working, were selected and sent back to the main camp. At this late stage of the war, selection and return to the main Buchenwald camp meant certain death for a prisoner, because the prisoners were sent to the Kleine Lager in Buchenwald, where there was scarcely any chance of survival.

A third transport of 130 prisoners reached the camp on March 19, 1945. It originated in the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge subcamp. The transport consisted mostly of prisoners of Polish and Hungarian nationality. By this time production in the Polte factories had mostly come to a stop because of supply difficulties, so that the prisoners were not used in armaments production but in cleaning up Magdeburg after bombing raids. Kacel stated that in the final stage of the camp around 30 prisoners were used in cleanup work, while the other prisoners were used to construct defense fortifica-

tions in and around Magdeburg. While doing this work the prisoners were at times shot at by Allied aircraft or troops.

On April 11, 1945, three weeks after the arrival of the last transport, the SS guards fled the approaching U.S. troops. Fearing possible outrages by the prisoners who were left to their own devices as well as being held responsible by the Allied troops for the conditions in the camp, Volkssturm (German home guard) men were put in charge. They drove the prisoners, both male and female, who had not managed to escape in the previous two days to the other side of the Elbe on April 13, 1945. While resting at the Neue Welt sports stadium the completely exhausted prisoners came under U.S. artillery fire. While trying to escape the fire and seeking cover, they were shot at by the Volkssturm and SS troops. Many were killed or injured. Under SS guard, the prisoners were then sent on a death march to Sachsenhausen, with countless other prisoners falling victim along the way.

In 1951, three members of the Volkssturm were sentenced in a trial in Magdeburg to long periods of imprisonment for their roles in the massacre at the Neue Welt sports stadium. The following years the sentence was quashed, as it could not be conclusively proved that the three were involved in the massacre. Since then there have been no further investigations into the men's camp or the evacuation march. Investigations in the 1970s by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) on the men's Polte subcamp ceased without any result.

SOURCES Pascal Bergrich contributed the article on the men's Polte subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 518–520. Pascal Bergrich is also the author of "Die Polte OHG und das Außenlager des KZ Buchenwald Polte-Magdeburg" (unpub. Magisterarbeit, Magdeburg, 2003). Information on the Polte OHG is in Frank Baranowski, *Der Duderstädter Rüstungsbetrieb Polte von 1938 bis 1945* (Göttingen: Cuvillier-Verlag, 1993). The subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:51; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL.* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1823.

The USHMM holds the memoirs of Joseph Kiman, "A Witness to History" (RG-02.176) as well as oral history interviews with another survivor, Henry Bermanis (RG-50.030*0341). Under WS# 83415 to 83421, the USHMM holds photographs of the Polte-Werke immediately after its liberation, among others, a portrait of a former prisoner and the reconstruction of an event where a Jewish prisoner is thought to have been shot by a German foreman on April 11, 1945. Other archival material on the subcamp can be found in collection NS 4 Bu (THStA-W, BA-K), as well as ITS. A list of the skilled workers at the subcamp is in the YVA, call number Bu 44. The files on the preliminary investigations by the Magdeburg state prosecutor into the members of the Volkssturm in 1951–1952 are held in: BStU, Außenstelle Magdeburg, BV Magdeburg, Allg. S 2/81, vol. 12, and S4/81, vol. 2. Boris Kacel, a camp survivor, has published his memoirs in *From Hell to Redemption* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1998). Axel Deutsch, who arrived at Magdeburg (Polte)

in March 1945, published his memoirs as "Ich habe Auschwitz überlebt"; see <http://www.lpm.uni-sb.de/lpb/DeutschAlex/auschwit.htm>.

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MAGDEBURG (POLTE OHG) (WOMEN)

Until 1945, Magdeburg was part of the Prussian province of Saxony and the site of heavy industry. A concentration camp for women was established on June 14, 1944, in the Polte OHG (General Business Partnership) factory at 65–91 Poltestrasse. It was administered by the Ravensbrück concentration camp, although it answered to the Buchenwald concentration camp on labor matters.

The camp was fenced in with barbed wire and was located directly opposite the factory in Poltestrasse. The prisoners lived in primitive wooden barracks. There was no glass in the windows, and the barracks were not heated. The barracks were ridden with vermin and held at least 100 women in each. The living conditions in the women's camp were markedly different from those in the male camp, which opened a few months later. The difference in the living conditions can be explained—the men were chosen because of their professional qualifications and were regarded as "valuable" skilled workers, whereas the women were seen as cheap auxiliary labor.

On September 1, 1944, the camp came under the complete control of the Buchenwald concentration camp. At that time, there were 1,815 women in the camp. Around 60 percent of them were Soviet civilian laborers, who had been sent by the Gestapo to the Ravensbrück concentration camp when their attempts to escape had failed. From there they were sent on to the Polte-Werke. There was no doubt that these women had been concentrated in the Magdeburg camp on purpose—a practice that was followed in a few other subcamps. That the women did not give up their desire for freedom is shown by the large number of escape attempts: 19 were registered in the subcamp by the end of 1944, 18 of which were by Soviet women. Also in the camp were political prisoners from Poland, mostly victims of the suppression of the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising—6 Italians, 5 French women, a Czechoslovak, 3 Yugoslavs, a Lithuanian, a German, and 1 stateless woman.

On November 1, 1944, there were 2,427 women in the camp. At the end of December 1944, two further transports with 300 Hungarian Jews from Stutthof and 300 Polish Jews from Bergen-Belsen arrived at the camp. The women worked under difficult conditions: in two 12-hours shifts, broken only with an hour's break, working with highly dangerous chemicals without any protection at all. The women worked in different sections of the factory, in the pickling area (*Beizerei*), drilling area (*Bohrerei*), and the lacquer area (*Lackerei*), cleaning munitions and pressing the shell casings. The difficult work conditions for the inexperienced and malnourished women resulted in many work accidents, some of which resulted in death. In addition to the difficult work conditions the women had a completely inadequate supply of

clothing; as a rule they were not given either underwear or shoes. Many women suffered from colds, breathing difficulties, tuberculosis, and skin diseases, which were caused by the chemicals, general exhaustion, and malnutrition. Until the camp was dissolved in April 1945, there were 18 recorded deaths of prisoners. Many more women were transferred back to the main camp because they were too weak to work or they were pregnant: 24 women in January and 58 at the end of March 1945. In March 1945, a child was born in the camp, which at this time was the second largest Buchenwald subcamp.

The camp was guarded by 87 SS men and 42 female guards. SS-Hauptsturmführer Kramer was in charge of the camp until November 1944. He was then replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Andreas Hochwarth. Both camp commanders were strict, subjecting the women to punishment including penal labor, special roll calls, food deprivation, and bunker confinement. Especially feared was a punishment known as the *Priegelstrafe*, where the women received 25 blows with a stick. It is likely that in the spring of 1945 a woman was executed because of suspected sabotage (according to survivor Boris Kacel: a Ukrainian; according to historian Irmgard Seidel, a Soviet citizen). The hanging was undertaken by an execution squad from Buchenwald that traveled to the camp with a portable gallows. Kacel stated that the women, who at this time were held in the men's camp, were given a day off work so that they could witness the hanging. As a means of deterring further sabotage attempts, the body remained hanging from the gallows for 24 hours. The increasing intensity of the bombing raids on Magdeburg resulted, no later than March 1945, in increasing disruption and suspension of production in the Polte-Werke. As Kacel describes for the men's camp, most likely also the inmates of the women's camp were increasingly used to construct fortifications and dig ditches. The SS attempted to evacuate the camp forcibly on April 11, 1945, but were unsuccessful when the women panicked. Instead of evacuating the camp, the guards fled. Two days later, the inmates of the men's and women's camps, who had been left to themselves, were driven across to the eastern bank of the Elbe by Volkssturm (German homeguard) units, where they came under fire from U.S. artillery. The SS and the Volksturm began shooting the prisoners in the Neue Welt stadium who were trying to take cover. There were a large number of dead and wounded. The surviving women were forced to march via Oranienburg and Brandenburg to Ravensbrück, where it is suspected they arrived six days later, on April 19, 1945.

In 1951, three members of the Volkssturm were sentenced in a trial in Magdeburg to long periods of imprisonment for their roles in the massacre at the Neue Welt sports stadium. The following year the sentence was quashed, as it could not be conclusively proved that the three were involved in the massacre. Since then there have been no further investigations into the women's camp or the evacuation march. Investigations in the 1970s by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) on the women's subcamp ceased without any conclusive results.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel contributed the article on the women's subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der*

Ort des Terrors, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 515–517. Frank Baranowski's *Der Duderstädtische Rüstungsbetrieb Polte von 1938 bis 1945* (Göttingen: Cuvillier-Verlag, 1993) contains information on the Polte OHG. The subcamp is described in *Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin* (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 42–47. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:51; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1823.

Documents on the subcamp are held in the collections of the USHMM, including a tape of an interview with a survivor of the camp, Bella Mischkinsky (RG-50.549.020017), as well as two oral history interviews with survivors (Bella Mischkinsky, RG-50.030*0340, and Sonja Gottlieb Ludsin, RG-50.030*0262). The ZdL investigations are documented under File 4 429 AR-Z 45/75 at BA-L. Boris Karzel in his autobiography *From Hell to Redemption* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1998) refers a number of times to the women's camp. The execution of the Ukrainian woman is described at p. 203.

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MAGDEBURG-ROTHENSEE (BRABAG)

[AKA MAGDA]

Fritz Kranefuss, spokesman for the board of directors of the company Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brown Coal-Gasoline, or Brabag), had tried unsuccessfully since 1943 to obtain concentration camp prisoners to work at his fuel production company. In May 1944, when Allied squadrons bombed and damaged the Brabag factories, and the SS was simultaneously deporting Hungarian Jews, the situation changed. Kranefuss, who had excellent connections within Heinrich Himmler's Personal Staff and was the executive officer of the Friends of Himmler (Freudeskreis Himmler), was able to secure concentration camp prisoners to remove rubble and to construct air-raid bunkers. In quick succession, Brabag established subcamps at its factories in Torgau/Rehmsdorf, near Zeitz, in Magdeburg-Rothensee, in Schwarzeide, and in Böhmen near Leipzig, as well as at its underground storage sites in Königstein near Dresden, and Berga/Elster. In 1944–1945, Brabag used more than 13,100 concentration camp prisoners specifically for construction work.

On June 17 and July 23, 1944, a total of 2,127 mostly Hungarian Jews were transferred from Buchenwald to Magdeburg-Rothensee.¹ The boys and the men had been selected in Buchenwald and Auschwitz. They were between 14 and 65 years old, and because the entire Jewish population of whole townships had been deported, they included students, teachers, fathers, and sons. Not all were of Hungarian origin. Many were Ukrainians or Serbs. In addition, 45 non-Jewish prisoners, mostly of German, Czech, Polish, French, and Belgian

origin, were deported to Magdeburg-Rothensee and were the prisoner-functionaries.

The subcamp, named "Magda" by the SS, was located on the edge of a housing settlement and an industrial area. The citizens of Rothensee could observe what was happening in the camp through the barbed wire. They had daily contact with the prisoners, for example, on the street as the prisoners marched by or at the construction sites. The emaciated and mistreated prisoners were part of everyday life for the civilian population and the Brabag workforce.

The prisoners were used as an auxiliary construction force at the destroyed Brabag factory and for the building of the bunkers.² They laid a system of pipes and cables, repaired rail tracks and roads, cleaned bricks, dug pits, and transported gravel. The work was marked by severe time constraints; by a systematic underutilization of technology; and by constant physical burdens placed on the prisoners, who did not receive adequate food, clothing, or medical attention. The conditions wore down the prisoners, who quickly lost their physical health and died. During the cold times of the year the death rate quickly soared: 130 died in October 1944 and 140 died in November.

Violent abuse became more and more prevalent. Some of the prisoners were killed by one of the SS guard dogs and torn to pieces. The daily violence included mistreatment and humiliation at the construction sites and the camp. The brutality of several guards and Kapos remains in the memories of many survivors and many Magdeburg civilians.

The SS guard detachment numbered 142 men, 112 of whom are known by name. Of these men 82 percent were Wehrmacht soldiers who in 1944 had either volunteered to leave their army and Luftwaffe units and join the SS or who were forcibly transferred to the SS. Theofried Alter, one of the SS camp leaders, had been a noncommissioned officer in the Luftwaffe. At times, an additional 35 policemen were requisitioned as guards. Many soldiers had suffered war injuries, and two-thirds were over 35. A significant percentage of the men did not match the image of a typical SS man, either due to their age, physical condition, or dress. They had not gone through the SS drill at the "Dachau School," although some had experience in guarding Russian prisoners of war (POWs). They either adapted to or tolerated SS violence in the Magda subcamp.³

Engineers and foremen from the Brabag factory, the Organisation Todt (OT), and several other construction companies organized the work and directed the prisoners. Brabag was part of the Geilenberg Program, which had been established by Hitler and Albert Speer on May 30, 1944, to secure the production of fuel. Under this program, the Reich reimbursed Brabag for all of the costs incurred in the feeding of the prisoners and in the paying of fees for the prisoners levied by the SS. Edmund Geilenberg, founder of the program and its head, gave his local factory delegates, most of whom were senior engineers at the factories, extensive powers to undertake the construction program and coordinate the use of the prisoners. The engineers in turn were subject to directives from the SS. The plant representative of Brabag Magdeburg, the factory management, and the local OT Construction Unit

determined the working conditions and the places where the prisoners worked. Thus, the group of people who presided over the life and death of the prisoners was not limited to the SS guards; it also included civilian industrial representatives.⁴

Sick prisoners were transported back to Buchenwald. On September 27, 1944, alone, 525 prisoners were sent back. Of these, the SS selected 388 prisoners and transported them on October 3, 1944, to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, where they were murdered. On December 29, 1944, following a decision by the plant representative, 401 prisoners were sent to Bergen-Belsen, where it is likely that almost all of them died. The Magda subcamp was dissolved on February 9, 1945, and the remaining 465 prisoners reached Buchenwald on February 16.⁵

At least 550 prisoners (30.4 percent) died in Magdeburg-Rothensee. Two-thirds of those who died were aged between 40 and 65. The fate of 100 prisoners remains unclear, but most likely they died or were killed in Magdeburg. The SS cremated the corpses in the city crematorium of the Magdeburg West Cemetery. Before cremation, the Brabag company doctor issued death certificates that were checked by the Magdeburg district medical officer. The death certificates were written so that the cause of death corresponded with the condition of the corpse. The notes of the Magdeburg district medical officer have survived and are an important source for the camp's history.⁶ Another 789 Jews died due to appalling living conditions and the selections that took place in Magdeburg. If one counts these people, the death rate in the Magda subcamp was 66.7 percent.

Among the more unusual events in the history of the camp was the care that prisoners injured during a bombing raid received in a Magdeburg public hospital. Also, the camp elder (Lagerältester), Walter Duda, escaped in November 1944. The guards had given him a key to the camp gate so that he could go to the SS barracks and play cards.

State investigations of the guards after 1945, as well as attempts by former prisoners to receive compensation from Brabag in the courts, remained unsuccessful.⁷ Only SS-Private Otto Krause was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment by a U.S. military court in Dachau in 1947. Those Brabag employees responsible for the use of prisoners, such as the factory director Dr. Erich Würzner, who continued to head the factory until into the 1970s, were not called to account.

SOURCES The basis for this essay is Franka Bindernagel and Tobias Bülow's book *Ein KZ in der Nachbarschaft: Das Magdeburger Außenlager der Brabag und der "Freundeskreis Himmler"* (Cologne, 2004). Benjamin B. Ferencz has documented the statements of survivors in proceedings against Brabag for compensation in *Less Than Slaves. Jewish Forced Labor and the Quest for Compensation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002). The records of the trial were destroyed by the West Berlin judicial authorities. Additional information on Brabag camps may be found in Rainer Fröbe, "Arbeit für die Mineralölindustrie: Das Konzentrationslager Misburg," in *Konzentrationslager in Hannover*, by Rainer Fröbe et al. (Hildesheim, 1985), 1:131–275; and Dietrich Eichholz et al., *Geschichte der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1996). On Wehrmacht guards in the camps, see Bertrand Perz, "Wehrmacht

und KZ-Bewachung (Wehrmacht and Concentration Camp Security)," *Mittelweg* 4:36 (1995): 69–82.

Files and other material on the camp history are to be found in the appropriate archives such as AG-B and YV, ZdL (now BA-L), BA, as well as the Deutsche Dienststelle (German Services Office) in Berlin (the former Wehrmachtauskunftsstelle, WASt). A few documents are kept in the archives of the Magdeburg Jewish community as well as Brabag-K, from which the most important collection on the Magdeburg factory has disappeared. The former prisoner Ivan Ivanji wrote his memoirs in the form of a novel, *Schattenspringen* (Wien, 1993). John Weiner, also a prisoner, published an extract from his memoirs in an article titled "Todesmarsch," *DaHe* 17 (2001): 162–170.

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NOTES

1. Transport lists, YVA, Microfilm, Bu 16, Bu 44, Bu 45.
2. Various survivor repts., YVA, AG-B, AG-D, Magdeburg Jewish Community Private Archives.
3. Statements by former guards, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 45/75, Bd. 1 u. 2, passim; WASt; Bertrand Perz, "Wehrmacht und KZ-Bewachung (Wehrmacht and Concentration Camp Security)," *Mittelweg* 4:36 (1995): 69–82.
4. LHSA-Me: Bunawerk-Schkopau, Nr. 745; Dietrich Eichholz et al., *Geschichte der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945* (Berlin, 1996), 3:32; Rainer Fröbe, "Arbeit für die Mineralöl-industrie: Das Konzentrationslager Misburg," in *Konzentrationslager in Hannover*, by Rainer Fröbe et al. (Hildesheim, 1985), 1:141.
5. Transport lists, YVA: Microfilm, BB1, Bu 8, Bu 19, Bu 44; BA, R 50I/Film 80089, 349:125.
6. Death reports July/August 1944, Westfriedhof (Western Cemetery) Magdeburg, Jewish Community Archive Magdeburg, Crematorium Magdeburg, YVA: 0.51.
7. BA-L, 429 AR-Z 45/75, vol. 1 u. 2, passim; LA-B: Rep. 39, Nr. 27/1, 2, 3; Benjamin B. Ferencz: *Less Than Slaves. Jewish Forced Labor and the Quest for Compensation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002).

MARKKLEEBERG

Markkleeberg lies on the southern edge of Leipzig. An engine factory was located here, which from the end of 1943 was used by the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company, JFM) as a branch factory for the production of small aircraft parts for its aircraft. The head office was located at 1 Stöhrstrasse Markkleeberg. According to the Leipzig building files, the unused factory buildings of the cotton mill Kammgarnspinnerei Stöhr in Marleberg-West had been leased to Junkers in 1940. In December 1943, a new production facility was established on that site. There is no doubt that the establishment of Junkers facilities in Markkleeberg was connected with the damage caused by Allied bombing raids in which the traditional Junkers production facilities concentrated around the Mockau airport fell victim.

Drafted German workers and foreign forced laborers worked in the new factory. A barracks camp with seven wooden bar-

racks was constructed at Equipagenweg for them. According to Klaus Hesse, in 1943 projections were planned for a barracks to hold 768 men—the building plans, the original of which are held by the Markkleeberg archive, even contemplated a camp for 1,248 men. The camp was largely destroyed during an air raid in February 1944 and replaced with new brick barracks. Surrounded by a barbed-wire fence and guard towers, it was now planned to hold concentration camp prisoners.

The first transport of female prisoners, 500 Hungarian Jews from Auschwitz, arrived on August 31, 1944. With this arrival, the camp had officially opened. Included among the prisoners were two 14-year-old sisters, Erzsebet and Katalin Szasz, who survived the selection by giving false ages.

Another 200 Hungarian Jewish women arrived on October 10, 1944, from Auschwitz II-Birkenau. On October 23 and December 6, 1944, 300 Hungarian Jews arrived on each date from Bergen-Belsen. With these transports the camp consisted of 1,300 female inmates, all of whom were Jewish.

The camp commander was Alois Knittel. He was in command of 18 SS men who secured the outside of the camp and 25 female guards responsible for internal camp supervision. Knittel was feared by the prisoners for his brutality. He meted out beatings as punishment as well as dark cell confinement (*Dunkelarrest*) and once commanded the women to spend the night kneeling in the snow as punishment for suspected sabotage. During this punishment three women died. His subordinates were just as brutal: survivors stated that the SS men entered the camp to watch the women, humiliate them, and persecute them and that the female overseers beat the women with their hands, cudgels, and whips.

The women were primarily used to produce parts for the construction of aircraft engines, a physically demanding work. There were cases of understanding between the German foremen and the skilled workers, on one hand, and the prisoners, on the other. A German foreman, for example, assigned one of the 14-year-old sisters to an easier workstation as it was impossible for her to operate the heavy machines. With that he saved her from a transport back and almost certain death.

In February 1945, two transports each with 125 female French political prisoners arrived from the Buchenwald Abteroda subcamp. The women were sent to Markkleeberg as punishment for suspected sabotage, and Knittel punished them by assigning them to the most physically demanding work in a construction detachment. The French women, who were isolated from the other prisoners in their own barracks, were forced to clear forests, construct roads, and do loading work without any tools.

Survivors describe the camp living conditions as harsh. The barracks were overcrowded. Toward the end of the camp's existence, in March 1945, the number of prisoners rose above 1,500, with the women sleeping in shifts. There were insufficient washing facilities. The prisoners' light clothing, completely inadequate for winter, helped in causing many illnesses. As in other camps, women who could no longer work were selected and taken to Bergen-Belsen. The same fate awaited pregnant women. Nevertheless, there are survivor reports of

children being born in the camp. The fate of one child is known: he died three days after his birth and was cremated and buried at the Leipzig Südfriedhof (Southern Cemetery).

The camp was evacuated on April 13, 1945. The goal was Theresienstadt. About 40 women were able to hide during the evacuation and escape the death march. They remained in the camp, which was liberated by U.S. troops on April 17–18, 1945. Some 1,539 women were forced to march via Wurzen, Oschatz, Meissen, Niederau, and Pirna in the direction of Königstein. The sick and those who could no longer march were put on hand carts, which were pulled by the other women. Women who collapsed during the death march were shot by the SS. Many women were able to escape in the area around Königstein and during the last days of the march when they were close to Theresienstadt; escape was made easier by the close proximity of the Red Army.

The convoy of women, which had broken up into many small groups, reached Theresienstadt between April 30 and May 4, 1945; 703 women from Markkleeberg arrived at Theresienstadt. More than half the women had either successfully escaped or died on the death march. Many women were so affected by the march that they remained for several weeks under medical care.

In the mid-1960s, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) commenced preliminary investigations that were later continued by the Hof Landgericht (regional court). The investigations ceased in 1971 as former Lagerführer Knittel had died and other perpetrators could not be found.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel contributed the article on the Markkleeberg subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 520–523. In Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 118–120, the stories of the two 14-year-old Hungarian sisters who survived the camp are given: Zahava Stessel (Katalin Szasz) and Cheva Ginsburg (Erszébet Szasz). The camp is described at pp. 38–42. Background information on the camp can be found in the following materials: Klaus Hesse, *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*, pp. 102–105, and Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Aussenlager, über gesühnte und ungesühnte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 109–111. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:51; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1823.

The USHMM holds a handwritten poem (Acc. 1993.97) written by a prisoner and handed to the survivor Elizabeth Mermel. The poem is accompanied by a pencil drawing show-

ing 12 prisoners. Other archival documents on the camp are held in collection NS 4 Bu (THStA-W, BA-K); the ASt-L, Einäscherungsbuch (on the baby that died in the spring of 1945 and who was cremated); and the AG-B. The ASt-L, Signatur Nr. 3413, holds details on events leading to the lease of the land owned by the cotton mill Kammgarnspinnerei Stöhr & Co. in 1940. Other archival documents are held in the ASt-Mkg, including building details dated July 15, 1943, relating to the construction of the barrack camps originally planned for Epiphanienweg. Investigations by the ZdL are held under File 4 AR-Z 89/1971 und 2 Js 669/71 at BA-L. Miriam Powat, a camp survivor, has published her memoirs under the title *Le-lo shibrur: Zikbronotai mi-tekuفات ha-Shoah* (Tel Aviv: Eked kelali, 1982).

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MEUSELWITZ

In October 1944, the company Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) established one of its seven concentration subcamps in Germany in the small Thüringen town of Meuselwitz. There were at peak times in this subcamp, which lay 30 kilometers (19 miles) to the south of the HASAG Leipzig main factory, 334 Jewish men and 1,500 mostly non-Jewish women. They were forced laborers in an armaments factory. The women's camp was established on October 5, 1944, and the men's camp on November 3, 1944.¹ The SS dissolved both camps in the middle of April 1945 when it removed the prisoners by rail.

The Leipzig light company, HASAG, in order to profit from the National Socialist armaments program, had converted its factory to the manufacture of munitions and grenades. The Meuselwitz factory had come into the company's possession as part of this expansion process in 1936. The conversion of the Meuselwitz porcelain factory into an armaments factory was initially financed by the company's own bank. In the first year of the war, the Army High Command (OKH) supported this process with the injection of large amounts of capital. In the summer of 1944, as a result of German losses in the war, HASAG relocated machines and labor from Polish factories it obtained during the war to a number of places including Meuselwitz. At the same time, the company increased its production of the *Panzerfaust*, an important antitank weapon. In September 1944 the director of the company, Paul Budin, received, in return, a special power of attorney (*Sondervollmacht*) from the Reich Ministry for Armaments and Production. In February 1944, the Meuselwitz factory employed 3,270 people including at least 2,000 civilian "foreign workers" (*Fremdarbeiter*).

Meuselwitz was opened on October 5, 1944, as the fifth and last of the HASAG camps for women. It held 1,500 women. On November 3, 1944, the company opened a camp for men parallel to the existing camp, just as it had done in Schlieben and Taucha. Both barracks camps lay on both sides of a street in the northwest of an industrial area. The camps were separated from the surrounding area by a simple barbed-wire

fence. It was not electrified. The concentration camp prisoners were used in armaments production in Meuselwitz. In a number of different factory buildings the prisoners had to work on lathes or on production lines and worked mostly with sheet metal and other metals, producing munitions, shells, and Panzerfäuste. The prisoners worked on weeklong shifts rotating between day and night. Each shift was of 12 hours with breaks. During their spare time the men were often forced to do additional work, for example, unloading railway wagons or being forced by the SS to do cleaning-up work. On Sundays during their free time the prisoners were forced by the SS to clean their barracks. Former prisoner Fred Schwarz states that his civilian HASAG foreman was furious with the camp administration when the prisoners were disturbed while working because then they could not reach their quotas: "Today there's another stink. A Wehrmacht officer comes up to the foreman. He needs two big and two small [prisoners], but the foreman says that this is not possible. But a few minutes later we are under [the officer] nevertheless [on a bomb-disposal detail]."² As in other factories, there was tension between the interests of the company and the camp security.

The Buchenwald Camp Statistics records the Meuselwitz camp for men as a "Jewish Detachment." Leaving aside the prisoner-functionaries, the male Meuselwitz prisoners were Jews from Poland, Hungary, Holland, and Czechoslovakia. In the middle of December 1944, the camp reached a strength of 300 prisoners with three transports from Buchenwald and Auschwitz.³ According to the Buchenwald weekly medical reports, seven male prisoners in toto died in the camp.⁴ On January 6, 1945, eight prisoners were transported back to Buchenwald. Three prisoners managed to escape. One of those was captured and beaten to death in front of his fellow prisoners by the camp commander, Bergmaier.

The Meuselwitz camp for women, unlike the camp for men, is recorded in the statistics as a "mixed detachment," even though there were only 18 Jewish women in the mix. The majority of the 1,500 women were Poles.⁵ Many of them were female civilians who had been arrested following the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising, registered in the concentration camps as political prisoners, and transported to Meuselwitz via Auschwitz and Ravensbrück. Until their evacuation, numbers in the camp for women remained constant at around 1,350 prisoners. Sick women were transferred from Meuselwitz back to Ravensbrück. According to the Buchenwald medical reports, 8 women died in the camp. This total does not include women killed in Allied bombing raids.⁶

There were two large air raids on the HASAG factory in Meuselwitz. The first, on November 30, 1944, destroyed large parts of the women's camp. Thirty-eight prisoners and an SS warden died. Sixty-six women were seriously injured. On a second air raid on the old factory, the Allied reconnaissance aircraft dropped red flares on the prisoners' camp, protecting it from the bombardment. The production facilities in the camp were partly destroyed.

Compared to other HASAG subcamps, prisoner conditions were comparatively good. The prisoners had their own beds in the barracks. Each bed had a straw mattress filled with old paper, a blanket, and a towel. At the windows there were tables and chairs. In a shed there was coal with which the stoves in the rooms were heated. On Sundays, the prisoners in the men's camp organized lectures on a variety of subjects. The prisoners' food consisted of coffee, a slice of bread, and a little cheese or sausage before work. After work there was soup. The main building, which included a kitchen, was located in the camp for women. For this reason the male prisoner orderlies had to collect their food in the morning and evening at the fence. The camp had a heated washroom with toilet. There was no toilet paper, so the prisoners used old company forms. There were no showers in the camp for men. The prisoners, however, were allowed every second day after the end of their shifts to shower in the factory washroom, located next to the air-raid shelter. They showered under supervision. Instead of soap, the prisoners filled a piece of paper with a "white greasy liquid" from the machine room. As a result, many prisoners suffered from skin complaints. The prisoners had hardly any medicine.

The camp leader was the 31-year-old dairy manager and SS-Oberscharführer Heinz Blume. In the middle of December, SS-Untersturmführer Bergmaier took over Blume's post. Under him the prisoner regime became much harder. He encouraged his subordinates to mistreat the prisoners. During their work the prisoners were guarded in the factory buildings not only by SS men and Wehrmacht soldiers but also by men from the German Home Guard (Volkssturm).

In addition to the guards, there was a layer of non-Jewish prisoner-functionaries from Buchenwald. Fred Schwarz reported on an event that highlights their role. Meuselwitz citizens often saw the following events through the fence: "Yesterday we were standing at roll call. One of us could not stand straight and one of the fence visitors yelled: 'Hey, you are standing in the wrong direction!' Whereupon Lody, in the front row, yelled back 'Not us, you are going in the wrong direction.'"⁷ Schwarz commented on the cheek of the prisoner-functionary Lody as follows: "The medical orderly cannot permit this. We are going to get a terrible beating."

According to reports on the day between April 12 and April 14, 1945, all prisoners from the Meuselwitz camp were deported by train via Chemnitz to Graslitz.⁸ Before their departure, the prisoners had to empty the open flat rail wagons of coal. In Altenburg the female prisoners from that HASAG subcamp joined them. In Graslitz a number of prisoners were able to escape as a Wehrmacht train, coming from the opposite direction, was attacked from the air.

The highest-ranking SS man from a HASAG camp brought to justice after the war was the first Meuselwitz camp commandant, Heinz Blume. In a successor trial to the U.S. Army's Buchenwald trial in Dachau, Blume was sentenced to death by hanging on October 24, 1946. In 1946–1947 there were two independent but inconclusive investigations in Ludwigsburg and Prague into the role of two SS wardresses.

After liberation, the HASAG group attempted to keep control of its property as shown by reports on looting in Meuselwitz, Altenburg, and Leipzig.

SOURCES The HASAG subcamp for men is referred to in Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271. The Meuselwitz subcamp for women is mentioned in Irmgard Seidel, "Weibliche Häftlinge des KZ Buchenwald in der deutschen Rüstungsindustrie (1 & 2)," *ISKDW* 25:54 (2001): 16–23; 27:55 (2002): 23–29.

Material on the Meuselwitz subcamp is held in a number of archives. SS HASAG documents have not survived. In YV there are a few reports by surviving prisoners (Collections M.21.1, M.68 and O.3). In AG-R there is an unpublished report by the survivor Maria Kosk. The trial files on the Meuselwitz camp commander Heinz Blume are located in the NARA, RG 153, Records of the Army Judge Advocate General, *U.S. v. Josias Prince zu Waldeck et al.* The HASAG building plans and a plan of the Meuselwitz site are held in the AST-Me. There are two published reports by survivors: Miloš Pick: *Verstehen und nicht vergessen: Durch Theresienstadt, Auschwitz und Buchenwald-Meuselwitz. Jüdische Schicksale in Böhmen 1938–1945* (Heimsheim, 2000); and especially extensive is Fred Schwarz, *Züge auf falschem Gleis* (Wien, 1996). Schwarz prepared a sketch plan of the camp for his memoirs (p. 263).

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NOTES

1. AG-B, HKW, Film 15; NARA, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015739.
2. Fred Schwarz, *Züge auf falschem Gleis* (Wien, 1996), p. 291.
3. NARA, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015739–45.
4. THStA-W, KZUHaftaBu 10, Bl. 1–105.
5. AG-B, HKW, Film 15.
6. THStA-W, KZUHaftaBu 10, Bl. 1–105.
7. Schwarz, *Züge auf falschem Gleis*, p. 287.
8. NARA, RG 153, *U.S. v. Josias Prince zu Waldeck et al.*; Schwarz, *Züge auf falschem Gleis*, p. 299.

MÜHLHAUSEN (GERÄTEBAU GMBH) ("MARTHA II") [AKA SS-KOMMANDO GERÄTEBAU]

The Mühlhausen Gerätebau subcamp was located in the Prussian province of Saxony, present-day Thuringia, north of the Thüringer Wald on the River Unstrut. The prisoners worked for Gerätebau GmbH, a subsidiary of the clockmaker Thiel, Ruhla, which manufactured timers and precision instruments. The Thiel company, which also supplied the Reichswehr in the Weimar Republic, had acquired the site in Mühlhausen in 1934 and commenced production in 1937 under the name Gerätebau GmbH. The production buildings were, in part, camouflaged by planted concrete roofs and were fenced in with a 2-meter-high (6.5-feet-high) concrete steel wall.

From the beginning of the war, there were difficulties in supplying the company with an adequate labor supply, with the result that as early as 1940, at the instigation of the local labor office, consideration was given to the use of Jews from concentration camps.¹ But instead Polish workers were recruited as forced laborers first. They were accommodated in the so-called B Camp, which was about 2.5 kilometers (1.6 miles) away from the factory, on the edge of the Mühlhausen city forest.

The supply of foreign labor became inadequate in time. Therefore, following a private discussion between a representative of Gerätebau, Oberingenieur Braun, and the commandant of the Buchenwald concentration camp, SS-Oberführer Hermann Pister, the establishment of a subcamp for 500 female inmates was agreed upon. Gerätebau undertook all the necessary preparations, including the selection of 23 women from the company's staff for training as guards at the Ravensbrück concentration camp in August and September 1944. The camp's opening was accordingly delayed. An advance detachment of guards from Buchenwald under the command of SS-Sturmführer Otto Baus arrived in Mühlhausen on August 15, the administrative personnel on August 27, and 12 guards on August 30, recruited from the SS and Wehrmacht. The first mention of the Mühlhausen Gerätebau subcamp is on September 2, 1944. On September 3,300 Hungarian Jews from the Litzmannstadt (Łódź) ghetto arrived in Mühlhausen. The first 8 female guards followed on September 6, with the remainder arriving from Ravensbrück on September 16.² The female overseer (Oberaufseherin) was the transport leader, Bässler. On October 30, 200 (some sources say 144) Hungarian and Polish, mostly very young, Jewish women, who had been sent to Auschwitz from different ghettos, arrived at the Mühlhausen Gerätebau camp. With these women, the camp had reached its planned prisoner strength.³ At the end of November, the women were given Buchenwald prisoner numbers between 48001 and 48463. There were minor variations in prisoners held here as women no longer capable of working or pregnant were sent back: for example, in the autumn of 1944, 4 pregnant women were sent to Auschwitz, and at the end of January 1945, 2 were sent to Bergen-Belsen. From Bergen-Belsen, 6 Jewish women were sent to the subcamp as replacement laborers.

The women walked each day from their barracks in the so-called B camp to the place where they worked. They worked in three shifts: from 5:15 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., from 7:15 A.M. to 6:00 P.M., and from 5:00 P.M. to 5:00 A.M. In addition to their long hours of work, the prisoners had to withstand the daily walk, catastrophic hygiene conditions in the camp, and the elements (with completely inadequate clothing). Even the camp leader, Baus, complained to Buchenwald that the women in winter could not work efficiently without shoes and underwear. There were 40 seriously ill women in the infirmary on November 14, 1944, where they were cared for by an SS medical orderly who was also responsible for the Mühlhausen male camp. [See Buchenwald (*Mühlenwerke AG/Junkers*) ("Julius M," "Martha I").] He was assisted by three female prisoner nurses. At least 3 women died in the

subcamp—according to the official death notices, 1 died of pneumonia and 2 died of tuberculosis. They were cremated and their remains buried at the Mühlhausen cemetery.

Just about all the women worked in the Gerätebau factory buildings for the munitions manufacturer Thiel, Ruhla, and the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke AG (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company, Inc., JFM), which operated the Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke AG/Junkers camp (also known as "Julius M" and "Martha I"). They produced detonators and precision instruments that were primarily used in aircraft. Only a few women worked in the camp: the camp elder, Sara Feldman, and 2 women who were in charge of the food, another 1 in the storeroom, 3 in the SS kitchen, 2 in the office, 11 in the prisoners' kitchen, and 8 women in each barracks as *Stubendienste* (room leaders) who were in charge of cleaning the barracks. In addition, there were the three nurses who, as already mentioned, worked in the infirmary.

The camp was most probably dissolved because of the difficulties in maintaining supplies. There are different dates given for its dissolution: Frank Baranowski puts the date at the end of February 1945; Carsten Liesenberg, as March 1; the International Tracing Service (ITS), as March 3; while others cite the closing date as March 8, 1945. The women were evacuated by train to Celle. From there they walked the 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) to Bergen-Belsen. This camp, where all order had broken down and which no longer received supplies, was to be the death place for many of the women evacuated from Mühlhausen. Orna Birnbaum, one of the women who worked at Gerätebau, stated that by the time Bergen-Belsen was liberated on April 15, 1945, 80 percent of the 698 women who had been evacuated from Mühlhausen were dead.⁴

SOURCES There are a number of detailed descriptions of the subcamp including Frank Baranowski, *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2000), pp. 81; Rolf Barthel, *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), pp. 87–96; and Carsten Liesenberg, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Mühlhausen und Nordthüringen* (Mühlhausen: Mühlhäuser Museen, 1998), pp. 97–99. Franziska Jahn describes the subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), p. 530. An early description of the Mühlhausen Gerätebau camp is by Renate Ragwitz, "Frauenaussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald," BuH 15 (1982). In this essay, Ragwitz examines the Buchenwald subcamps and women with a specific analysis of the Mühlhausen camp on p. 27. Rolf Barthel has contributed a two-part description of the subcamp in the *EfHh* 1 (1984): 32–35; and 2 (1984): 127–131. The subcamp is mentioned in Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn, 1999), p. 854; Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992); as well as Günther Gotta,

"Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Auswertung städtischer Quellen zur Faschismusforschung—Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des KZ Buchenwald und seiner Aussenlager," AuGF-MHL (1985): 6–12. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:52.

There are numerous primary sources on the Mühlhausen Gerätebau camp. Detailed information is to be found in the THStA-W, especially the collections 269/X, Buchenwald, and survivors' reports, as well Uhrenwerke Ruhla, especially references 197, 449, 450, 453, 456, 520, and 1010. Most relevant are the collections of AG-B, the microfilm collections of IPN, as well as the documents on the subcamp including a list from November 20, 1944 (eight pages, unsigned) and Best. Bu63–27–1, which includes the planned use of concentration camp prisoners in 1940. The ASt-Mühlh under reference 86/253 has information on the subcamp; the Friedhofsverwaltung Mühlhausen has a collection titled "Jüdische KZ-Häftlinge." Also relevant are the BA-K collections 41356 and the Allg. Proz. ZNI, No. 4 171–4270 (Forderungsnachweise der SS für Häftlingsarbeit).

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NOTES

1. THStA-W, Uhrenwerke Ruhla, Signatur 450.
2. According to Rolf Barthel in *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), p. 94, another four female guards from the Gerätebau GmbH were trained at the end of January 1945.
3. For detailed information on the age and professional qualifications of the prisoners, see *ibid.*, p. 89.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

MÜHLHAUSEN (MÜHLENWERKE AG/ JUNKERS) ("JULIUS M," "MARTHA I")

The Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke subcamp was located in the Thuringian city of Mühlhausen in the former Prussian province of Saxony. The city lies to the north of the Thuringen Wald on the River Unstrut, northwest of Erfurt and to the southeast of Göttingen. Initially the official name of the camp was Mühlenwerke AG, Betrieb Mühlhausen/Thüringen, Mackensenstrasse 90, later Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM), Zweigwerk Schönebeck, Einsatz Mühlhausen. The "Mühlenwerke AG" was used as a code name as were the two names "Julius M" and later "Martha I."¹ As indicated by the name, the subcamp arose from the decentralization of aircraft production by the Junkers-Werke, which was caused by the increasing Allied air raids on Germany. The decision to create new production facilities for Junkers, which were to cover 15,000 square meters (161,459 square feet), and the decision to establish a new subcamp called Martha II were made almost simultaneously, on April 20, 1944.

The camp was located on the grounds of the Thuringia-Spinnerei on the Wendenwehr at Mackensenstrasse 90 (later Friedrich-Naumann-Strasse). The Thuringia-Spinnerei, which manufactured worsted yarn, had ceased production during the war and leased its production facilities to Junkers. The prisoners' work areas were located in the northern section of the mill. They slept in wooden bunk beds in a factory building, which was separated from a storage area by partitions.

There were not only concentration camp prisoners working on the site but also forced laborers and foreign laborers. The prisoners of the subcamp manufactured aircraft and engine parts for Ju 188, Ju 288, and Ju 200 aircraft. The Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke was 1 of 13 Buchenwald subcamps where prisoners worked for Junkers. Junkers had relocated various production areas from Schönebeck to Mühlhausen. They built an oven facility with three toploader kilns and a muffle kiln.² The prisoners worked in two shifts each of 12 hours. In February and March 1945, when production came to a standstill, the camp inmates were sent to Mühlhausen to clean up after bombing raids. Prisoners who were no longer capable of working were sent back from Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke to Buchenwald. In addition, there was an ongoing exchange of small detachments with other subcamps.

The number of prisoners was between 570 and 800. The first time the camp is mentioned, there were 69 prisoners registered in the camp. In July 1944, the numbers increased to over 400, and in November, there were almost 700 prisoners in the camp. Later, the camp strength was around 550. The International Tracing Service (ITS) records show that the number peaked at 800. The prisoners came mostly from the Soviet Union and Poland, with some from France and Czechoslovakia. There were a few Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) among the prisoners as well as a few Jews—for example, the German Jew Jochanan Zeewi (Karl Paul Wolff) whose Jewish identity was not known in the camp where he was considered a “Dutch political.” Several prisoners had arrived at Mühlhausen via Auschwitz, and at least 1 was a foreign worker who had been involved in an illegal relationship with an underage German girl, for which he was sent to the concentration camp.³ The camp elder was named Müller.

The camp commandant was an SS-Obersturmführer named Dietrich, in charge of 24 Luftwaffe members who were no longer capable of active service. Historian Rolf Barthel stated that the guards consisted of a few SS men and 4 *Wachschutz* (uniformed factory guards).

Toward the end of the war, probably around April 3 or 4, 1945, the prisoners were evacuated to Buchenwald in front of the approaching enemy forces. They were driven on foot to Buchenwald, spending two days in the nearby Gustloff factory before they were sent to the main camp. The travails of some of the Mühlhausen prisoners were not at an end: they were forced in the following days to join other prisoners who were driven on death marches out of Buchenwald.

SOURCES Frank Baranowski has described the camp in *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit*

in Nordthüringen (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2000), p. 113; Rolf Barthel, *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), pp. 83–87; Carsten Liesenberg, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Mühlhausen und Nordthüringen* (Mühlhausen, 1998), pp. 96–97; and Franziska Jahn's article in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 531–532. Earlier descriptions of the camp are by Rolf Barthel, “Faschistische Verbrechen in Niederorschel und Mühlhausen,” *EfHb* 4 (1986): 117–122, esp. p. 117; Barthel, “Der Schwur von Buchenwald wurde bei uns verwirklicht,” *EfHb* 4 (1986): 291–294, esp. 291; and Barthel's two-part article “Neue Forschungsergebnisse zu den Verbrechen des deutschen Faschismus auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen,” *EfHb* 1 (1987): 24–30, and 3 (1987): 217–223, esp. p. 218; and Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, “Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)” (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992). The fate of the Mühlhausen prisoner Marian Gawronski is described in Bettina Klingel et al., *Fremdarbeiter und Deutsche: Der Schicksal der Erna Brehm aus Calw* (Bad Liebenzell, 1984). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 52; and in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL*. (1977), Teil 1, p. 1825.

Unpublished documents on the Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke AG subcamp are held in the collections of the THStA-W (collections 269/X, Buchenwald, and survivors' reports from Buchenwald), and in BA-K, NS 4/ Bu 219 (*Übersichten über Anzahl und Einsatz der Häftlinge, 1943–1944*). In the collections of the LASA-DO, there is information on the Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke camp, in the collection on the Junkers-Werke, reference numbers 165, 299, 407, 626, 913, 1375, and 1646, as well as number 1-1369 (407). Information can also be obtained in the following collections: AG-B (among others, No. 3781, *Häftlingsverzeichnis Lfd. Nr. 3781–3810*). The microfilm collections of IPN, BA-BL, R 4603/112 (*Übersicht über Fertigungs- und Verlagerungsstätten der deutschen Rüstungsindustrie, Stand Januar/Februar 1945*), and YVA, reference numbers 03/5 292, 015E/E 281, and 017/16, also hold information.

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NOTES

1. Frank Baranowski, *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2000), p. 113.
2. Rolf Barthel, *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), p. 84.
3. For the fate of this prisoner, Marian Gawronski, see Barthel, *Wider das Vergessen*, p. 85; and Bettina Klingel et al., *Fremdarbeiter und Deutsche: Der Schicksal der Erna Brehm aus Calw* (Bad Liebenzell, 1984).

NEUSTADT BEI COBURG [AKA KALAG]

Siemens-Schuckert Werke AG (Siemens Schuckert Works, Inc., SSW) wanted new production facilities with a low-cost labor force and as a result established the Cable and Wire Works, Inc. (Kabel- und Leitungswerke AG, KALAG). By this means, it could negate the effects of labor shortages caused by competition in the armaments industry.

By the turn of the year 1943–1944, the labor situation was so desolate—because of the war—that management's hoped-for increase in production proved impossible to achieve. To counter this situation, a two-pronged strategy was proposed in the middle of March 1944: first, the pressure on the workers was increased by increased cooperation with such National Socialist organizations as the Gestapo. This resulted in the exemplary punishment of two employees and the threatened withdrawal of special ration cards. Second, Hans Joachim Schulz, head of the Neustadt cable factory, informed his superiors from Berlin that it was possible to take on "500 people, of whom 200 would be Germans." After the war, Schulz suggested that the initiative to use prisoners came from the head office in Berlin.¹ In considerations of those responsible, the numerous instances in which Siemens had already used prisoners successfully must have played a role. The best known of these was the model project "Fertigungsstelle Ravensbrück," which began in 1942.² It was probably in August 1944 that female employees of KALAG were sent to the Ravensbrück concentration camp for training as "supervisors."³ They returned on September 7, 1944, with 398 mostly Hungarian Jewish women but also some from Yugoslavia, Poland, and France and a few Germans. They were sent to the "barracks camp," which was on or next to the KALAG grounds. One can assume that the prisoners had been selected in the Ravensbrück concentration camp by company representatives according to suitability and knowledge of German or because they were relatively healthy: the women were mostly young, aged 16 to 45; more than half were under the age of 30.⁴

The prisoners began working in the Cable and Wire Factory as early as September 10.⁵ "[Four hundred] concentration camp prisoners (Hungarian Jewesses) . . . are employed in quality control, preparation of conduit wire and repair of field telephone cables. They are currently being trained by staff employees." The company prepared itself for the eventuality that "training would cause a temporary reduction in the output of marine, field telephone, and long distance military cables."⁶ The work was described after the war as heavy work, actually men's work. The prisoners worked under the supervision and command of KALAG employees. They were separated from the other workers and worked in day and night shifts from 6.30 A.M. to 6.30 P.M. and from 6.30 P.M. to 6.30 A.M. Each shift had a 40-minute break. The prisoners constituted about 20 percent of the employees. Noteworthy, 46 women were categorized as "prisoner apprentices." Probably, they were women who on the basis of their experience were not as productive as others and for whom KALAG had to pay less than the 4 Reichsmark (RM) per day fee for "prisoner workers."

The commander of the subcamp was SS-Oberscharführer Maronowski. He was in charge of 13 SS men and initially 22, but later 24, female SS wardens. They guarded the prisoners while they worked. After the war, survivors accused Maronowski, a few female SS, and a tradesman named Stein—in stark contrast to the statements by the SS and firm employees—of mistreating prisoners for trivial reasons and of reserving food for the guards and only allowing the smallest portion to reach the prisoners. For supposedly unsatisfactory performance at work, prisoners stated that they had to stand for hours-long punishment roll calls in the cold.

In contrast, the SS female wardens and the KALAG employees stated that they treated the prisoners "humanely" and secretly gave them food. A newspaper article from 1966 refers to an unnamed Israeli couple who attempted to visit and thank the former foreman, Renz, for his help and assistance.⁷ If there is at least some evidence that supports those reports, it comes in the form of existing statements of former SS personnel and also of KALAG supervisor Schulz, which they made in the course of postwar hearings and investigations and in which they were speaking as the accused. There is little meaning in those statements; the attempts at self-exculpation are too obvious. When considering the conditions, one must keep in mind that before the overwhelmingly Jewish female forced laborers arrived in Neustadt, they had gone through a number of selections and so could have perceived the absence of an Auschwitz-like immediate threat to life as an improvement, if only in relative terms. Correspondingly, the investigation could not prove any deaths or killings for the Neustadt subcamp. The health and nutrition of the prisoners who arrived in Neustadt are unanimously described as poor; the prisoners had to be first clothed and "fattened up." Food was cooked for the prisoners in a camp kitchen, which was supervised by one of the SS female wardens.

The level of sickness in the camp offers information about the actual supply situation and the effects of prisoner treatment. In this connection, a particular event should be mentioned: probably on November 5, 1944, an outbreak of smallpox was spotted among the prisoners of the subcamp. As a result, the SS female wardens and the factory personnel who came in contact with the prisoners and also the prisoners themselves were inoculated against smallpox! The background to this strange event—the inoculation and treatment of the prisoners—was surely the result of the extraordinary danger represented by the highly infectious viral disease. An effective inoculation had been in existence for some time. The firm's internal reports state that the prisoners lost only one and one-half days of work because of disinfections and inoculations. They reveal that there were on average 20 sick prisoners (the highest number was 36) up until November 1944.⁸ Occasionally, the night or day shift could not work, and sometimes fewer than half of the female prisoners turned up to work. The sick did not have to work. They were treated in the infirmary by Polish doctor Maria Pruszyńska, who was transferred to Neustadt, with two other prisoners, at the end of September; further, the KALAG doctor, Dr. Alfred Karcher, is supposed to have treated prisoners.⁹

Without having details about the sick rate for the following months, one can still assume that the transfer of 5 prisoners to Bergen-Belsen on February 28, 1945, was connected with their health and ability to work, because at this time Bergen-Belsen already operated as a reception and death camp for prisoners who could no longer work. Moreover, in March, 5 prisoners were transferred from Bergen-Belsen to Neustadt as replacements. In an undated statement, a female SS warden noted the transfer of a prisoner with tuberculosis back to Buchenwald. There were still 32 sick on March 23, 1945, and 4 prisoners were "spared" by being allowed to work in the offices. The supply situation and the living and work conditions in the subcamp at KALAG were probably not much better than those in other factories: priority was given to production; terror that was not aimed at increasing production and that endangered the investment of training had no place. If any prisoner's production declined, they were transferred back into the SS camp system, which supplied replacements.

With the approach of the end of the war and the increasing difficulties in supplying raw material and energy, the firm's management sought to get rid of the subcamp, which would appear quite compromising when the Allied troops arrived. KALAG's management pressed the local National Socialist leadership and the armaments inspectorate to take back the responsibility for the prisoners. They were even prepared to supply food for the return and vehicles for prisoners who were no longer capable of walking. Finally, the head of the works, Schulz, gave the camp commander Maronowski his "marching orders." The camp was dissolved on April 6, and the prisoners marched with the SS men via Kronach, Münchberg, and Paulusbrunn to Eger, which is presently in the Czech Republic. The prisoners were freed in Domažlice.

On the basis of a now-missing statement by a former French prisoner, Anne-Marie de la Marlais, the American occupation authorities as well as the Hungarian government launched investigations against the camp personnel. As a result, the Hungarians reserved the right to seek the extradition of former guards for crimes committed in the camp, should any of the guards be apprehended.¹⁰ It obviously did not come to that; instead, the former female SS wardens of the subcamp at Neustadt bei Coburg were the subject of denazification proceedings in 1947. These proceedings are found today mostly in the BA-K.¹¹

In 1966 the state prosecutor at the Coburg State Court (Landgericht Coburg) commenced a murder investigation.¹² There were no prosecutions. The proceedings ceased in 1967. In 1966 the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) commenced an investigation that included the statements and results of the investigation undertaken by the Coburg state prosecutor and the denazification proceedings.¹³

SOURCES In addition to the already mentioned sources, the most important collection on the subcamp at Neustadt is the AS-M. Regrettably, the most useful sources cannot be accessed by independent historians as they form part of the uncatalogued documents in Siemens' "Temporary Archive"

(Zwischenarchiv). Two sources, which are connected with the use of the prisoners in the cable factory at Neustadt, have recently been released and have been quoted in this article. Collection NS4 in THStA-W is of importance and includes microfiche from the BA and AG-B. It is possible that there are survivors' reports in the YVA.

The author is not aware of any publications on the subcamp KALAG at Neustadt bei Coburg. In the local history sources, the camp is either seldom mentioned or is presented in a favorable light. This is also the case with unpublished sources. In addition to the press articles from 1947 and 1966 (sources mentioned above), there is an article titled "Kleiner Lichtblick in dunkler Zeit—Von 1944 bis 1945 befand sich in Neustadt ein Außenkommando des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald mit 400 Häftlingen," NPC, December 5, 1995, that contains blatant errors, painting a rosy picture of conditions in the subcamp.

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NOTES

1. See StA-C, Akten der Spruchkammer Amtsgericht Neustadt/Cbg. T18, p. 18; letter by Hans Joachim Schulz (Werks- und kaufmännischer Leiter), dated June 11, 1947. I am grateful to Mr. Rainer Axmann, Weitramsdorf, for this reference.
2. See the entry Ravensbrück/Siemenslager Ravensbrück, this volume.
3. See the statement by [SS-Warden] Martha S., born. L., dated November 15, 1976, in Bergen-Enkheim, BA-L, IV410AR-Z60/67, Bl. 1571.
4. See Politische Abteilung Buchenwald, October 22, 1944, AG-B, NS 4 Bu 268 MF 0007744.
5. See Wochenbericht der auswärtigen SKG-Werke (Schumann) for the weekly wage week 51, 10.-6.9.1944 (n.d.), SKG Wochenberichte, SAA 4947, n.p.
6. See Helmut Scheurich, *Geschichte der Stadt Neustadt bei Coburg im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*, vol. 2 (Neustadt bei Coburg, 1993), p. 305.
7. See "Hilfsbereitschaft sollte anerkannt werden—Missverständnisse vereiteln leider einen Besuch bei Meister Renz," NT, August 12, 1966.
8. See Wochenbericht der auswärtigen SKG-Werke (Schumann) for wage week 7.5.-11.11.44 (n.d.), SAA 4947; KL Neustadt b. Coburg, Arbeitseinsatz, [SS-OSchaF Maronowski] Kabel- u. Leitungswerke v. 5.11.1944 bis 14.11.1944 in Neustadt b. Coburg, THStA-W, NS 4 BU268, n.p.
9. See Politische Abteilung Buchenwald, v. 12.10.1944, AG-B (THStA-W, NS 4 Bu 268 fol. 0007743); and StA LG-Co an Generalstaatsanwalt Oberlandesgericht Bamberg betr: NL Neustadt bei Coburg KL Buchenwald, v. 3.4.1967, BA-L a.a.O.
10. See verbal note of Hungarian Foreign Ministry to the Legacy of the United States of America [War Crimes in C.C. Neustadt Coburg] v. 25.8.1947, in Budapest with 7 "Records of Testimonies" of former prisoners of the subcamp, NARA, Cases not tried, RG 549-000-50-30 Neustadt C.C. Box 529 o.Pag.
11. StA-C, Akten der Spruchkammer Amtsgericht Neustadt/Cbg. Einzelfallakten T 18.
12. StA-C, Staatsanwaltschaft Coburg, 5Js 802/66.
13. BA-L, 4 429AR1928/66.

NIEDERORSCHEL ("LANGENWERKE AG")

The Niederorschel subcamp was located in the Prussian province of Saxony in Obereichsfeld, not far from the city of Worbis in the northwest of Thuringia. The use of the code name "Langenwerke AG" indicates the close organizational connection with the subcamp in Langensalza about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) away, which also was named "Langenwerke AG."

Files from the Buchenwald concentration camp mention the Niederorschel subcamp for the first time on September 4, 1944. A transport of 100 prisoners was sent from the main camp, arriving at Niederorschel on September 6, 1944. Two hundred Jewish prisoners arrived from Buchenwald on October 8 and another 282 prisoners from Auschwitz on October 30, 1944, who had been directly selected in Auschwitz by leading employees of the "Langenwerke." One prisoner was shot on the journey from Auschwitz via Görlitz, Dresden, Leipzig, Halle, Sangerhausen, and Nordhausen.¹ Another 150 Jewish prisoners arrived from Buchenwald in Niederorschel on December 14; the camp now had 693 inmates, its highest number. Historian Wolfgang Grosse states that altogether 734 prisoners from 15 countries were held in Niederorschel, most of them from Slovakia, Hungary, the Netherlands, France, and Germany.

The Junkers-Werke, for whom the prisoners worked, had already begun to relocate parts of its production process to Niederorschel as part of the "Fighter Staff Program" (Jägerstab-Programm) and with the permission of the Reich Air Ministry (RLM). In Niederorschel the Junkers-Werke had acquired the confiscated plywood factory (*Sperrholzwerk*) of Hermann Becher, which until then had used forced laborers from Poland, Italy, and the Soviet Union to produce plywood boxes to hold grenades. Under the auspices of the Junkers-Werke, parts for the wings and undercarriage for the Focke-Wulf 190 were produced on the site. In order to take over the production site, Junkers, according to historian Frank Baranowski, who has conducted detailed research of the camp, had to pay monthly rent to the RLM. Niederorschel was 1 of 13 Buchenwald subcamps in which prisoners worked for the Junkers-Werke.

The Niederorschel subcamp, with an area of 502,000 square meters (about 600,000 square yards), was relatively small. The prisoners were accommodated in the rooms of the former mechanical spinning mill Vereinigte Textilfabrik AG and slept in three-tiered wooden bunk beds. There was a kitchen and an infirmary that was under the control of the French prison doctor Charles Odic.² The accommodations and the roll-call square were surrounded by a barbed-wire fence with three guard towers. Barbed-wire fences formed a corridor through which the prisoners were led to the plywood factory about 200 meters (656 feet) away. The two factory buildings in which the prisoners worked were also fenced in with barbed wire.

Oberingenieur Scheunemann was the operations manager of the Langenwerke AG.³ The camp was commanded by SS-Oberscharführer Hans Masorsky, who, like his deputy SS-Oberscharführer Adam, had previously been posted in Majdanek. The camp was guarded by up to 40 SS men.

The prisoners cut duralumin surfaces for the wings, riveted them, put in cables in the wings for takeoff and landing mechanisms, and installed the undercarriages. Former Jewish prisoner Somcha Bunem Unsorfer, who in the autumn of 1944 was brought from Auschwitz to Niederorschel, gave a moving description of the work and living conditions in the camp in his memoirs *The Yellow Star*. The difficult work conditions were marked by 12-hour shifts, working with heavy work tools and machines, the constant noise of presses, riveting, and drilling, but also the metal dust, which was damaging to the health. Unsorfer details the completely inadequate food as well as the poor hygienic conditions in the camp and mentions an incident in which six prisoners were punished because of supposed sabotage.⁴

Nevertheless, Niederorschel is described by many prisoners as a bearable camp, especially when compared to Auschwitz. The SS only entered the camp for roll call, and the civilian labor force that supervised the work was regarded as bearable. Grosse stated that between October 19, 1944, and February 19, 1945, there were only 19 deaths in the Niederorschel camp, all from typhus, diphtheria, and dysentery. These prisoners were taken to the Buchenwald Mühlhausen subcamp that was administratively connected to Niederorschel and cremated in the city crematorium at Mühlhausen. Grosse gives several reasons for the relatively low death rate: Communist Lagerkapo Otto Herrmann repeatedly intervened with the camp command for decent treatment of the prisoners who were a specialized labor force; in addition, the civilian population helped the prisoners on numerous occasions. For example, the owner of the plywood factory, Herrmann Becher, repeatedly gave buckets of a cold glue made from potatoes that was intended for armaments productions and instead was used to improve the prisoners' nutrition. Civilian laborers and the village population also repeatedly supplied the prisoners with food. The local master locksmith, Johannes Drössler, took 11 (according to other sources, 12) prisoners who had escaped from the camp and hid them for two months in a barn until the end of the war. Altogether around 30 prisoners were hidden and cared for by the Niederorschel villagers after their escape.

From the spring of 1945, there were increasing production and supply difficulties in the camp. The wings produced by the prisoners were no longer taken away; the prisoners were increasingly used for other labor in Niederorschel and its surroundings, as, for example, clearing forests. On February 18, 1945, a group of 16 prisoners (according to other sources, 135 prisoners, most no longer capable of working) were taken to Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge, to work on the construction of a subterranean production facility with the code name "Malachit."

The evacuation of the camp occurred on the night of April 1–2, 1945: 527 prisoners were sent to the main camp by foot via Berlstedt, where they spent three nights. Probably at least 10 prisoners died on the evacuation march, and about 100 were able to escape. Some 425 prisoners reached the Buchenwald concentration camp on April 10, 1945, which was liberated on April 11.

The camp commander, Masorsky, was tried in 1947 and sentenced to eight years in prison. Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) brought no results and were stopped in 1971.

SOURCES Frank Baranowski prepared an exhaustive first sketch of the Niederorschel subcamp in *Rüstungsprojekte in der Region Nordhausen, Worbis und Heiligenstadt während der NS-Zeit: Der Grosseinsatz von Fremdarbeitern, Kriegsgefangenen und KZ-Häftlingen in der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft unter Berücksichtigung der Untertageverlagerung in der Endphase des NS-Regimes* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 1998), pp. 74–76. This sketch was expanded in *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2000), pp. 117–122. Rolf Barthel describes the camp in *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), pp. 77–81. Wolfgang Grosse presents the most recent research on this subcamp in his essay in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 534–536. An early but error-filled description of the subcamp, based upon witness and local newspaper reports from the 1960s, is by Hubert Hoppmann, “Die Geschichte des Nebenlagers Niederorschel des KZ Buchenwald 1944–1945,” *EfHb*, (1. Teil) 2 (1973): 155–161; and (2. Teil) 3 (1973): 223–226. Also in the *EfHb* 24 (1984): 23–41, is an essay by Rolf Barthel, “Zur Geschichte der Aussenkommandos des faschistischen Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Niederorschel, Mühlhausen, Duderstadt.” Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke mention the camp in their “Aktuellen Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)” (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992).

Documents on the Niederorschel subcamp are held in the LASA-DO, in the Junkers-Werke collection reference numbers 269 and 626. The AG-Nie’s collection “Aussenkommando Niederorschel” gives an insight into detailed issues on the camp. In the THStA-W in the collection Weimar, Amt zum Schutze des Volkseigentums (LK 241), there are documents on the camp collected mostly after World War II. The BA documents on Niederorschel are in BA-K collections NS 4/Bu vorl. 136a (Arbeitseinsatz, Überstellungen und Rücküberstellungen von und zu Aussenkommandos, 30.5.1951 bis 5.12.1944); and NS 4/Bu 229 (Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen in verschiedenen Aussenkommandos, 1943–1945); and in BA-BL, All. Pro. 2, NIE-4185 (Abrechnung des Stundenlohns der Häftlinge bei der SS). The transport of prisoners from Auschwitz to Niederorschel is listed in APMO, Zu- und Abgangslisten von Häftlingen. The StFvMHL holds a file called “Jüdische KZ-Häftlinge,” which probably dates from April 27, 1964, and lists the Niederorschel prisoners cremated in Mühlhausen. Also see the investigations by the ZdL kept under file IV 429 AR-Z 142/1971 at BA-L; the BA-L, reference number 24 Js 24/71 (Z), also holds files relative to the investigation. Two former prisoners from the Niederorschel subcamp have written about it in their memoirs: Somcha Bunem Unseldorfer, *The Yellow Star* (1961; repr., New York: Feldheim Publishers, 1983); and former camp doctor Charles Odic published *Demain Buchenwald* (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1972). Isaac Leo Kram, another prisoner from Niederorschel, was cited in “Liberation in Buchenwald,” in *Muted Voices*, ed. Gertrude

Schneider (New York: Philosophical Library, 1987), pp. 238–253. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:53; and in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1829.

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NOTES

1. Statement of former prisoner Dr. Leopold Fiala (Fischer) in Frank Baranowski, *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2000), p. 119.
2. Unsdorfer, a prisoner in Niederorschel, mentions in his memoirs *The Yellow Star* (1961, repr., New York: Feldheim Publishers, 1983) that there was a Hungarian doctor in the prisoners’ infirmary.
3. Rolf Barthel, *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), p. 81.
4. Unsdorfer, *The Yellow Star*, p. 161.

NORDHAUSEN

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Nordhausen in late August 1943 to provide labor to an immense project that aimed to convert tunnels in the Harz Mountains to sites for V-2 production. Code-named “Dora,” the camp was redesignated the Mittelbau main camp on October 28, 1944. See the entry Mittelbau Main Camp [aka Dora].

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OBERNDORF ("MUNA," "MS," "MU")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Oberndorf at the Luftpumitionsanstalt 5/IV (Aerial Munitions Institute 5/IV), Post Hermsdorf (Thüringen), in November 1944. Inmates were hired out to the military station at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day, payable to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA).¹ The prisoner strength of the Oberndorf camp was between 100 and 200 inmates. It was code-named “Muna,” “Ms,” or “Mu” in related documentation.

One of the first transports of inmates left Buchenwald to Oberndorf on November 16, 1944, and included 100 inmates.² Although there is no breakdown by nationality on the transport lists, the inmates appear to have been Russian, Polish, German, and French. Additional smaller transports of 5 to 10 inmates each arrived in Oberndorf throughout the following months, and another relatively large transport left Buchenwald for Oberndorf on December 19, 1944.³

The inmates were brought to the Hermsdorf Luftwaffe post to perform various kinds of labor at the Luftpumitionsanstalt

5/IV, including transferring, transporting, and stacking bombs.

There is little information about the commandant or guards of the Oberndorf subcamp. According to a report filed by the SS garrison doctor SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, the Oberndorf camp had an SS doctor in charge of the infirmary named Schreiter, and 43 guards were stationed in the camp. The camp population was 195 at this time, according to this report.⁴

The Oberndorf subcamp last appears in related documentation in February or early March 1945 with about 100 inmates.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Oberndorf subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Oberndorf in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Außenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). For a broader history of German Luftwaffe artillery, see Horst-Adalbert Koch, *Flak. Die Geschichte der deutschen Flakartillerie und der Einsatz der Luftwaffenhelfer* (Bad Nauheim: Podzun, 1965).

Surviving primary documentation on the Oberndorf subcamp is also limited. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Oberndorf camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 48.

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NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. "Transport Muna," November 16, 1944 (BU 48), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. "Transport Muna," December 19, 1944 (BU 48), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung: Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1960) p. 251.

OHRDRUF ("SIII")

A Buchenwald subcamp was opened in northern Ohrdruf, south of Gotha and about 48 kilometers (30 miles) from Buchenwald, in November 1944. The camp was established to provide labor to a planned construction project for an immense communications center inside the basement of the Mühlberg castle in Ohrdruf, near a military training facility. The prisoners were assigned to work to connect the castle to

the main railroad line and to dig tunnels in the nearby mountains, which would be used as emergency shelter for the train that contained the *Führerhauptquartier* (Hitler's headquarters). The center was to serve as a shelter for members of the highest command in the event of a retreat from Berlin. Codenamed "SIII," the camp population grew rapidly: by the end of November it reached 2,500; in December 1944, it was 4,500; and by March 29, 1945, it climbed to 11,700.

The camp population, mostly prisoners transferred from Buchenwald but also from Sachsenhausen, Flossenbürg, Stutthof, Plaszow, Dachau, and Auschwitz II-Birkenau (including many Hungarian Jews), represented many nationalities. There were French, Belgian, German, Hungarian, Czech, Latvian, Italian, Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, and Yugoslavian prisoners. There were political prisoners, so-called asocials, *Berufsverbrecher* (professional criminals), common-law prisoners, homosexuals, and Jews. According to the postwar testimony of Buchenwald labor allocation chief SS-Hauptsturmführer Albert Schwartz, Office Group D of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) issued an order that Russian prisoners of war (POWs) would be appropriated to Ohrdruf in late 1944.¹

Prisoners in Ohrdruf were assigned primarily to dig large caverns inside the mountains to house the communications center. The caverns also later served as one of the secret storage areas for looted art and other valuable objects from across Nazi-occupied Europe. Beginning the day at 5:00 A.M., and following a roll call and distribution of meager rations, prisoners deemed healthy enough were sent to the caverns from the camp to assist in the blasting process; local civilians performed the dynamiting, and prisoners followed close behind to dig, pick up rocks, and other related tasks. They had no protective equipment with which to work; thus they suffered serious accidents, injuries, mutilation, and often death. Former prisoner Rolf Baumann recalled that "the pace of the work was tremendous. Prisoners were often beaten by the supervisory personnel, the SS, Tenos [*Technische Nothilfe*, technical emergency helpers], as well as civilian personnel."²



A view of the barracks, fence, and watchtower at the Ohrdruf subcamp of Buchenwald, April 6, 1945.

USHMM WS # 85351, COURTESY OF NANCY AND MICHAEL KRZYZANOWSKI

Survivor accounts describe instances of sabotage or of deliberately slowed working, when possible.

The inmates were also assigned to various kinds of work within the camp itself, such as in the kitchen barracks, in storage areas to sort prisoner clothing and other belongings, as well as among the prisoner staff of the camp (such as camp elder, Kapos, and so on). Another former Ohrdruf prisoner, Jérôme Scrin, was assigned with another prisoner to pull carts full of corpses from the work sites and camp to mass graves. "Every time that I lifted one of the [bodies], it was like I was manipulating a frozen puppet," Scrin remembered. "Often the wide-open eyes which fixated on me and the unarticulated skeletal bodies made me want to turn my head. I wanted to avoid the glance of Death."⁷³

Those who were too ill to work or who were injured were transported back to the Buchenwald main camp's *Revier* (infirmary), after languishing in the Ohrdruf "hospital" barracks. Abram Korn, a survivor of Ohrdruf, recalled the deplorable conditions upon his arrival in the camp. Because of his swollen, injured foot that was wrapped only in rags, he was sent immediately to the so-called infirmary, which had no facilities to treat the dying and wounded. The barracks were converted horse stables, with "no windows and no beds. We didn't even have shelves to sleep on as we had at Buchenwald. We slept on dirty straw on the floor, with only one blanket per person.... The other prisoners with me did not even have the strength or the desire to communicate with each other. They were simply waiting to die.... Whenever one of the prisoners died, someone else would take his blanket and any food that he might have."⁷⁴

According to a listing of 100 prisoners who had died, dated February 28, 1945, and submitted to the political department in Buchenwald, the various reasons for death include (but are not limited to) colitis, bronchial influenza, tuberculosis, pneumonia, and typhus.⁵ A memo from SS garrison doctor Schiedlausky to the commandant of Buchenwald described an overview of the health status of the inmates as of March 31, 1945.⁶ Out of the reported 10,249 inmates in the camp (including Crawinkel and the tent camp), some 1,993 inmates were recorded as ill in the north camp's infirmary. A further 187 inmates were reported as invalids.

Prisoners were housed in former POW camps located on the grounds of the troop training facility in Ohrdruf: the north and south camps. On December 24, 1944, the north camp held some 4,800 prisoners, the south camp just over 5,700. One estimate claims the camp reached over 13,000 inmates by the end of March 1945.⁷ The camps were surrounded by electrified fencing and barbed wire and flanked by watchtowers.

The camp administration in Ohrdruf consisted of SS officers, and the guards included Volksdeutsche, or ethnic Germans, from Ukraine and the Baltic states. There were also older German Wehrmacht veterans assigned to guard the camp, who were unfit for the front and who were said to have treated the prisoners relatively better than their SS counterparts. Baumann reported that "Deputy Commandant Stiwitz and SS Sergeant Müller behaved especially brutally, handing out punishments of

twenty-five or more lashes with a cane for the slightest reasons."⁸ Other prisoners recount the torture of inmates who were hung on hooks and left to suffocate, were beaten to death, or hung from gallows.

Despite the continual transfer of prisoners to Ohrdruf, the completion of the railroad connection to the communication center was never accomplished due to the rapid approach of the Allies in late March and April 1945. Between 8,000 and 9,000 prisoners were evacuated on foot and in lorries to Buchenwald and toward Regensburg in early April 1945. Prior to their departure, hundreds of inmates who were too feeble or sick to walk were executed by the SS: some were shot, while others, according to some witness testimony, were locked in the kitchen barracks, which was then dynamited.⁹

Ohrdruf and the inmates who survived in the camp were liberated by members of the U.S. 602nd Tank Destroyers' Battalion, along with Combat Command B of the 4th Armored Division and the 89th Infantry Division on April 4 or 6 of 1945. The first occupied concentration camp that American soldiers came across in the European Theater, the encounter represented an immense break with the common rules of warfare under which the soldiers had previously operated. Because of this horrific encounter, due to visits to the camp days later by Generals Dwight D. Eisenhower and George S. Patton, as well as the numerous photographic accounts and film footage taken of the Ohrdruf liberation, the opening of the camp and days immediately following liberation are well documented. The troops encountered the decomposing remains of hundreds of executed inmates, some covered in lime, others half burned on pyres, and wandering, starving prisoners. Liberator testimony of the encounter is plentiful and graphically describes the horrors found in the abandoned camp: Major Donald Luby, in a letter given to Army Nurse Selma Faver on April



U.S. generals Dwight D. Eisenhower [center], Omar Bradley [to Eisenhower's left, arms akimbo], and George S. Patton [behind Eisenhower's right] lead an entourage inspecting the Ohrdruf subcamp of Buchenwald shortly after liberation, April 12, 1945. In front of Patton, with his head bent taking notes, is *Stars and Stripes* correspondent Jules Grad. USHMM WS # 21700, COURTESY OF NARA

18, 1945, wrote that a Russian prisoner led him and other troops to a barracks where nude bodies were stacked halfway to the roof: "From where I stood," he wrote, "I could see the bruises on the skin of some of the bodies, and the blood still clotted around the holes crushed in skulls. These bodies too were emaciated, the thighs of the dead being no larger than the wrist of an average sized man."¹⁰ Local residents were forced to view the camp, a practice that was later copied in other liberated camps.

SOURCES There are numerous secondary source publications on the Buchenwald subcamp of Ohrdruf; however, most focus on the liberation of the camp. To cite some few examples, see Robert Abzug, *Inside the Vicious Heart* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Bernard Weinstein, "The Liberation of Ohrdruf: A Paradigm of Liberator Testimony," in *What Have We Learned? Telling the Story and Teaching the Lessons of the Holocaust: Papers of the 20th Anniversary Scholars' Conference*, ed. Franklin H. Littell et al. (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1993); Captain Kenneth Koyen, *The Fourth Armored Division: From the Beach to Bavaria* (Munich: Herder Druck, 1946); Charles B. MacDonald, *The Last Offensive* (Washington, DC: Office of Chief of Military History, U.S. Army, 1973); Eugen Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell* (New York: Berkley Books, 1980); and Barbie Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory through the Camera's Eye* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). See also Dieter Zeigert's *Hitlers letztes Refugium? Das Projekt eines Führerhauptquartiers in Thüringen 1944/45* (Munich: Utz, 2003) for analysis of the planned project to shelter Hitler's command center near Ohrdruf. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entries for Buchenwald/Ohrdruf in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Außenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). See also Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, ed., *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald 1937–1945: Begleitband zur ständigen historischen Ausstellung* (Göttingen, 1999).

There are also many primary sources related to the Ohrdruf subcamp, mostly consisting of testimony of both survivors of the camp and liberators of the camp. The USHMMMA is a repository for both kinds of testimony. See, for example, the testimony of former inmate Bernard Pasternak, USHMMMA, RG-50.030*0177, as well as that of Abram Korn, USHMMMA, RG-02.191. See also Rolf Baumann's piece in David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report* (Boulder, CO.: Westview, 1995), and other published survivor testimonies such as Schraga Golani, *Brennendes Leben: Von Pabianice und Piotrków in Polen durch die Lager Skarżysko Kamienna, Blizyn, Auschwitz-Birkenau, Ohrdruf bis zur Befreiung in Buchenwald* (Konstanz: Erhard Roy Wiehn, Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 2004); Jérôme Scorin, *L'itinéraire d'un adolescent juif de 1939 à 1945* (Paris: Imprimerie Christmann, 1994); and Marcel Lanoiselée, *Ohrdruf, le camp oublié de Buchen-*

wald: Un survivant témoigne

(Paris: Picollec, 2005). Liberator accounts, including photos, letters written to families in the States about what they witnessed, memoirs, and so on, also abound in the USHMMMA. Too numerous to list here, they include Andy Murray Coffey's collection (staff sergeant in the 89th Infantry Division), RG-09.040; Gideon Kantor, Acc. 1997.A.0360; Al Sommer Jr.'s letters to his family, Acc. 1995.A.034; Fred Diamond's letters to family, RG-04.055; and Irving Levin's photos, Acc. 1989.194. Testimony from former inmates can also be found in numerous other archives and repositories; one such important resource is the MZML, which contains thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by the relief agency DEGOB; see especially protocols 1232, 1313, 1436, 1686, 1782, and 2492, among dozens of others. There are numerous photos regarding the liberation of Ohrdruf; a significant collection is stored at the USHMMMA; see, for example, Acc. 1998.A.0154, Acc. 1996.A.0293, Acc. 1995.A.515, Acc. 1995.A.127, and Acc. 1995.A.417, in addition to many photographic records in the USHMMPA. Films of the liberation are also stored at the USHMMMA and NARA. Transport lists to and from the Ohrdruf camp are also found at the USHMM and would yield a more accurate statistical analysis of the demographics of the camp population and prisoner strength at different times of the camp's operation: they are copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), Acc. 1998 A.0045, BU 95, Reel 18 (SIII transport lists); see also 36/4, BU 39. Administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp can be found in the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMMA, RG 14.023M, especially BA Band 133, 209.

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NOTES

1. Deposition of Albert Schwartz, Trial IV, Doc. NO-2125, reprinted in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung: Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1960), pp. 285–286.
2. Rolf Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," in David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report* (Boulder, CO.: Westview, 1995), p. 192.
3. Jérôme Scorin, *L'itinéraire d'un adolescent juif de 1939 à 1945* (Paris: Imprimerie Christmann, 1994), p. 156.
4. Abram Korn, "Fate: One Man's Journey through the Holocaust," USHMMMA, RG-02.191, pp. 129–130.
5. "Verstorbene Häftlinge im Außenkommando SIII," Buchenwald, February 28, 1945, AN-MACVG, reproduced in the archives of the USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 36/4).
6. "Gesundheitszustand der Häftlinge in S III," Schiedlausky, March 31, 1945, published in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, p. 280.
7. See Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Außenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).
8. Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," p. 192. Indeed, photographic coverage of the liberation of the camp documents newly freed prisoners demonstrating the whipping blocks in Ohrdruf to American troops, including Eisenhower and Patton; see, for example, USHMMPA, 10281 and 63511 (courtesy National Archives).

9. Scorin, *L'itinéraire d'un adolescent juif*, p. 160.
10. Donald Luby, "Apr. 18, 1945, Report and Photographs Relating to Post-Liberation Buchenwald, 1945," USHMMMA, RG-04.039*01.

OHRDRUF/CRAWINKEL

A satellite camp attached to the Ohrdruf subcamp of Buchenwald was opened in Crawinkel (Thüringen) in 1944; it was first mentioned in related documentation in December 1944. An average of 3,000 inmates from Ohrdruf were sent to the Crawinkel camp, which provided labor to quarry excavation and tunnel construction for railroad tracks, a project that fell under the administration of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Office Group C (Building).

The camp seemed to have been set up separately from the Ohrdruf subcamp to bring prisoners closer to the work sites. Postwar testimony of a former inmate in the Ohrdruf and Crawinkel camps, Rolf Baumann, noted that

gun emplacements and tunnels were later built adjacent to the troop training area, an area that had been set aside as a Führer headquarters. . . . But the work sites were too far from the camp at Ohrdruf (at first we rode the 8 miles [13 kilometers] there every day in buses). Because of the shortage of gasoline, two new branch camps were created at Crawinkel and at the so-called tent camp. There the general conditions were still more unfavorable [than at the Ohrdruf main camp]. Food was scarce and the men starved because of the heavy work demanded of them. Many of the sick were transferred to the hospital in Ohrdruf, which was a hell. The hospital lacked doctors, as well as medication, heating fuel, and more. From time to time prisoners went from this hospital to Belsen on the so-called invalid transports.¹

Inmates were sent to the work sites from the camp. One former inmate remembered that they reported to the work sites on foot, walking in snow so deep that even vehicles could not pass.² Another, who had been imprisoned in Auschwitz, Oranienburg, Sachsenhausen, Ohrdruf, Buchenwald, and Flossenbürg, noted, "Crawinkel was perhaps the most terrible place during the entire deportation. We lived underground and had to work very hard."³

The majority of the inmates sent to the Crawinkel subcamp of Ohrdruf were Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and Jews, including many Hungarian Jews who had been deported from Auschwitz II-Birkenau to Buchenwald. The inmates were housed in a tent camp and in the unheated bunkers of a munitions factory. The prisoners not only endured the hardships of intense physical labor, subsisting on meager rations, but also the cruelty and maltreatment of the guards. Some inmates attempted to escape and were immediately punished if caught. Baumann recalled that "in Cra-

winkel there was a special cellblock, Cellblock 2, that the Security Service used for recaptured escapee prisoners. There, only a half ration of food was given out every three days. Light and air were nonexistent. I remember an incident where one evening five comrades were hanged because of escape attempts. Among them was a fifteen-year-old Polish comrade who cried in despair, 'Mother, Mother, I am still so young, I don't want to die yet!'"⁴ Another inmate reported the constant abuse they suffered from the guards: "You swine, dogs, accursed Jews, you Bolsheviks!" were the usual nicknames.⁵

Due to the closing in of the front, the camp was evacuated at the end of March 1945 or early April 1945. Baumann reported that the inmates "walked the 42 miles [68 kilometers] to Buchenwald by a circuitous route. The last 1,000 prisoners received no more food. We were under way for three full days and arrived worn out and depressed. The ill and the weak who could no longer keep up on the way were liquidated with a shot in the base of the skull. It is worth mentioning that on the way some members of the SS already took off their insignias in order to pass themselves off as Wehrmacht members."⁶

SOURCES There are few resources on the Crawinkel subcamp of Buchenwald/Ohrdruf. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Ohrdruf/Crawinkel in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Außenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

Likewise, there are few primary sources on the Crawinkel subcamp. For additional testimony from a former prisoner in the camp, see the interview with Allen Moskowitz stored in USHMMMA, RG-50.002*0020. Testimony from former inmates can also be found in numerous other archives and repositories; one such important resource is the MZML, which contains thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by DEGOB; see especially protocols 387, 1232, 2077, 2100, 2241, 2319, 2760, 3237, and 3510. Transports to and from the Ohrdruf camp are also found at USHMMMA and could yield a more detailed statistical analysis of the demographics of the camp population and prisoner strength at different times of the camp's operation, as well as transports to and from the Crawinkel subcamp: see those files copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), Acc. 1998 A.0045, BU 95, Reel 18 (SIII transport lists); see also 36/4, BU 39. Additional administrative documentation regarding Ohrdruf is found in the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), the BA, as copied in the USHMMMA, RG 14.023M, especially BA Band 133, 209.

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NOTES

1. Rolf Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," in *The Buchenwald Report*, ed. David A. Hackett (Boulder, CO.: Westview, 1995) p. 192.
2. MZML, DEGOB Protocol 1232 (B.F.).
3. DEGOB Protocol, 3510 (A.L.).
4. Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," p. 192.
5. DEGOB Protocol 1232 (B.F.).
6. Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," p. 193.

OHDRUF/ESPENFELD

A subcamp of the Ohrdruf subcamp of Buchenwald was created closer to the work sites near Ohrdruf in August 1944. Espenfeld, a tent camp, was one of two camps set up to house prisoners closer to the quarries and construction tunnels. Inmates in the tent camp of Espenfeld were transported from Ohrdruf. As former inmate Rolf Baumann has noted, "Because of the shortage of gasoline, two new branch camps were created at Crawinkel and at the so-called tent camp (Espenfeld). There, the general conditions were still more unfavorable (than at Ohrdruf main camp). Food was scarce and the men starved because of the heavy work demanded of them. Many of the sick were transferred to the hospital in Ohrdruf, which was a hell. The hospital lacked doctors, as well as medication, heating fuel, and more. From time to time prisoners went from this hospital to Belsen on the so-called invalid transports."¹

The Espenfeld camp may have held up to 7,000 Ohrdruf prisoners, mostly Russian, Polish, and Czech. They were employed in tunnel construction in Jonastal. Espenfeld was evacuated at the end of March 1945 as the front got closer. According to Baumann, the inmates were evacuated on foot to Buchen-

wald, which was some 64 kilometers (40 miles) away. Those who were unable to walk were shot and left behind by the SS.

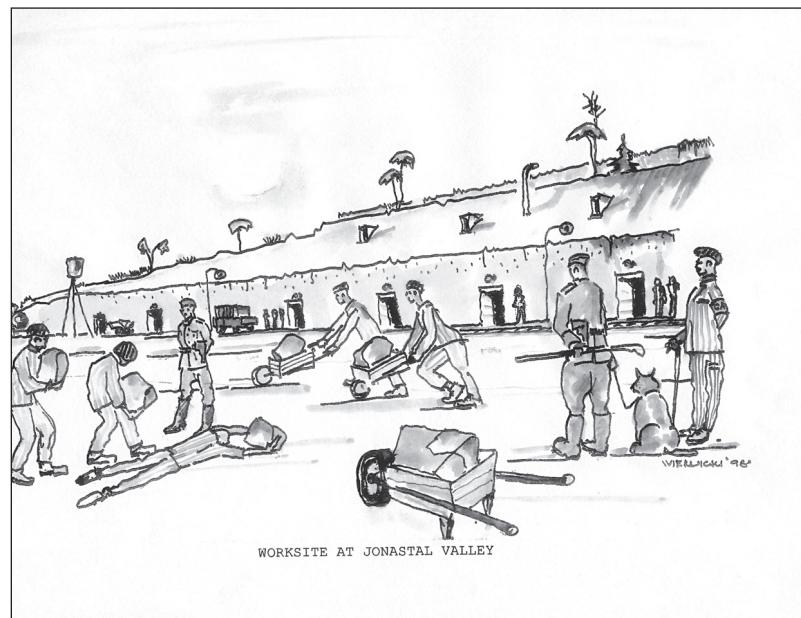
SOURCES There are few resources on the Espenfeld subcamp of Buchenwald/Ohrdruf. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Ohrdruf/Espenfeld in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Außenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald), which is the source of much of the information for this entry.

Likewise, there are few primary sources on the Espenfeld subcamp. Transports to and from the Ohrdruf camp are also found at the USHMMMA and may yield a more accurate statistical analysis of the demographics of the camp population and prisoner strength at different times of the camp's operation, as well as transports to and from the Espenfeld satellite: see those files copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), Acc. 1998 A.0045, BU 95, Reel 18 (SIII transport lists); see also 36/4, BU 39. Additional administrative documentation regarding Ohrdruf is found in the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), the BA, as copied in the USHMMMA, RG 14.023M, especially BA Band 133, 209.

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NOTE

1. Rolf Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," in *The Buchenwald Report*, ed. David A. Hackett (Boulder, CO.: Westview, 1995) p. 192.



A postwar drawing by Holocaust survivor John Wiernicki, "Worksite at Jonastal Valley."
USHMM WS # 33671, COURTESY OF JOHN WIERNICKI

PENIG

Penig is located in Saxony near Rochlitz, about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) to the northwest of Chemnitz. In January 1945, a Buchenwald subcamp was established for females in the local Max-Gehrt-Werke, a supplier to the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerken AG (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM). On January 10, 1945, 700 Hungarian Jews arrived at a barracks camp established in an unused gravel pit on the road between Penig and Langenleuba-Oberhain. They came from Ravensbrück where they had been most likely selected by employees from the Gehrt firm. The prisoners at the Penig subcamp were mainly Jews who had fallen into German hands only during the last phase of the war. They were forced to march for several weeks to Germany from Budapest, where they had been held in very cramped quarters. When they arrived on December 7, 1944, in Ravensbrück, the camp had already been overcrowded with evacuation transports from the east. For these women, in the middle of winter, there were no other quarters than primitive, emergency tents as shelter without heating or toilet facilities.

Conditions were not that much better at their new destination, the Penig subcamp. It is true that the women were housed in barracks now, but the only medical care provided was a female dentist and thus completely inadequate. Only at the end of the war, in March, a prisoner doctor began to practice there. Washing facilities for the hundreds of women were not completed for a long time. There was no chance for the women to change or wash their clothes. They were not given shoes. The camp, which appeared to be built in a hurry, had no kitchen; the women did not receive food inside the camp but only at the beginning and end of each shift. Survivors speak of the poor-quality food, of which there was too little, and in any case, it was completely inadequate to nourish the women working in difficult conditions in winter. The Max-Gehrt-Werke had fenced in the camp with barbed wire so that escape was just about impossible. The guards, 26 SS men and 18 SS women, were under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Josef Ebenhöh, who had previously been stationed at the Langensalza subcamp.

According to Buchenwald files, the subcamp opened on January 15, 1945. The women worked without breaks and on Sundays in three shifts of eight hours each. Evidence for the ruthless exploitation of the women and the inhuman conditions in the camp is the massive increase in the number of inmates reporting sick. During January, an average of 36 women reported sick each day. In February, the number was 59, and in March, 96. The women suffered from illnesses caused by the work conditions and living conditions—typhus, tuberculosis, lung inflammations, gangrene, and furunculosis. As a result, a "cripples barracks" (*Krüppelbaracke*) was added on the edge of the camp where those hopelessly ill were put—an indication that selections and transfers of sick prisoners back to Buchenwald or Bergen-Belsen had now become impossible. At least 10 women died in the three months that the Penig subcamp existed. At the end of March 1945, 15 to

20 percent of the women were so weak that they could neither work nor be part of the evacuation march.

At the beginning of April the camp, in which frightful conditions already prevailed, had to take in a transport of 100 women evacuated from the Abteroda subcamp. The camp's evacuation most likely occurred on April 13, 1945, with the goal of heading to Theresienstadt. The women were taken in the direction of Mittweida and Chemnitz and from there in the direction of Leitmeritz (after World War II in the Czech Republic). On this part of the march the majority of the guards disappeared. Most of the women from the disintegrating group were liberated by the U.S. Army, but 34 completely exhausted women arrived on April 20, 1945, in Theresienstadt.

The 70 to 80 women who could not march remained in the camp. The women suffered from life-endangering malnutrition, typhus, diphtheria, and tuberculosis and were squeezed into the cripples barracks. Two days after the evacuation of the camp, they were liberated by the U.S. 6th Armored Division on April 15, 1945. Their situation, medical treatment, and evacuation were recorded in a series of photographs by David E. Scherman and Sam Gilbert of the U.S. Army Signal Corps. The women who died in the camp were buried in the local cemetery in 1945.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) that took place between 1966 and 1973 were stopped without result as neither the camp leader, Ebenhöh, nor the guards could be located.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel has described the camp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 544–546. The fate of Rosa Deutsch, a survivor, is described in Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 103–105. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:54; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1832.

The series of photographs on the camp's survivors is held in the AG-B and USHMMPA (WS # 09775, 129730975, and 39850–893). Other archival sources on the subcamp are the collection NS 4 Bu (BA-K, THStA-W), also listed in the AG-B. Investigations by the ZdL were recorded under file IV 429 AR-Z 109/1971 at BA-L.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

PLÖMNITZ ("LEOPARD")

[AKA LEAU] (MEN)

Plömnitz is in Sachsen-Anhalt between Bernburg and Köthen. The Buchenwald subcamp established here in the summer of 1944 was connected to the Jägerstab (Fighter Staff), which had been founded in March 1944 and whose aim was to increase the production of fighter aircraft. To achieve this goal,

armaments production was to be relocated underground. The prisoners of the Plömnitz subcamp were used in the unused mine shafts of the Solvay-Werke, Salzvertriebs-GmbH Bernburg, shafts Plömnitz I and II as well as Peissen. Under the command of the Organisation Todt Bauleitung Bernburg (OT Building Administration Bernburg), the construction management section through the Schlemm engineering firm, and the supervision of the Allgemeine Transportanlagen GmbH (ATG), Maschinenbau, the prisoners were distributed to several large construction companies such as the Berlin firm Heinrich Butzer and the Bautzen firm Walter Jakob.

Seven large halls were to be established in the mine shafts for use as production sites. The prisoners worked in 12-hour shifts. Initially, they only had the most primitive tools, using in part their bare hands to remove the salt from the shafts, loading it on to tip carts, and pushing them to the unloading shaft. After completing this task, concrete could be laid, a preliminary step to the use of the shafts for armaments production.

Although the International Tracing Service (ITS) gives August 22, 1944, as the date that the subcamp was established, it is likely that prisoners had been working in the shaft already since March 1944. At this time, around 500 prisoners arrived by rail at the "Antoinette" mine in Plömnitz, where they were accommodated in a tent in a gravel pit to the west of the shaft. By August 1944, around another 1,000 prisoners had arrived at Plömnitz. A barracks camp in nearby Leau was prepared to hold them. Until it was ready, the prisoners were held underground. With the completion of the barracks camp, as confirmed in ITS, the camp was also mentioned under the alternative name Leau from October 29, 1944, on.

There were mostly Polish and French prisoners in Plömnitz, as well as smaller groups from other countries. According to former prisoner Willi Fuhrmann, prisoners from 16 countries worked in the shafts. At the end of October 1944, there were 1,486 prisoners working underground. Furthermore, there were smaller contingents of other prisoners (48 French prisoners of war, 10 Belgian civilian workers, and 16 prisoners from penitentiaries) as well as 50 miners, 150 company employees, 100 OT members, and 58 guards.

The camp consisted of six barracks, a kitchen, and a wash block that was erected at the beginning of 1945. The camp leader in Plömnitz was SS-Oberscharführer Hans Schmidt. The work conditions for the prisoners were extraordinarily tough: the walk to work and back again took an hour each way. In addition, the prisoners had to cover another two kilometers (1.2 miles) underground. The high salt concentration in the air caused many skin and breathing problems. There was a lack of ventilation in the shafts, made worse by the use of a diesel locomotive moving in and out of the shaft. The difficult work and the poor nutrition resulted in the high death rate of almost 40 percent of the camp inmates. According to Fuhrmann, there were up to 600 dead in Plömnitz. Fuhrmann also stated that prisoners who could not work were not selected and taken back to the main camp but were beaten to



Exhumed bodies in a mass grave at the Plömnitz ("Leau") subcamp of Buchenwald, 1945.
USHMM WS # 01973, COURTESY OF NARA

death by the SS in the shafts. He claims that on one occasion 200 prisoners were killed in this manner. The dead were hastily buried by a "burial detachment" in an abandoned open coal mine in Preusslitz. After the end of the war, when the area was under American occupation, these 600 corpses were exhumed and buried in the Leau cemetery. In 1947, the Soviet military administration exhumed them again and reinterred them in the Soviet memorial in Bernburg.

Around 700 prisoners were evacuated on April 11, 1945, in a three-day death march via Bernburg, Köthen, Dessau, and Wulfen. On the March, 300 prisoners were shot by the SS, and the survivors were liberated by Allied troops on April 14, 1945. Around 100 prisoners who were kept in the camp by the camp command for vital war work were liberated by the U.S. Army on April 11, 1945.

SOURCES Christian Wussow describes the Plömnitz subcamp (without distinguishing between the male and female camps) in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 546–549. The results of the research done by Willi Fuhrmann can be read in his "Nazi-Verbrechen in Leau: Aus den Nachforschungen des Parteiveteranen Willi Fuhrmann," *F*, September 2, 1989. An older reference to the camp is to be found in "Ermittlungen in Leau und Neu-Stassfurt," *DVZ*, February 18, 1966. The Plömnitz subcamp is also described by Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Außenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:54; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1833.

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PLÖMKNITZ (“LEOPARD”)

[AKA LEAU] (WOMEN)

Plömnitz lies in Sachsen-Anhalt between the cities of Bernburg and Köthen. A Buchenwald subcamp for male prisoners had been established here in March 1944. Around 1,500 men were used to prepare underground facilities for armaments production in the caverns near Plömnitz. During the summer of 1944, close to the village of Leau, accommodation barracks were erected for the prisoners.

The female transport that arrived on February 21, 1945, in Plömnitz consisted of 180 Hungarian Jews from the Leipzig-Schönau (ATG) subcamp. They were held in a separate area of the male camp in barracks surrounded by barbed wire and were guarded by female guards. It is likely that the prisoners had a support role in the male camp such as working in the kitchens, washing, and the like.

The women's camp was dissolved at the end of March 1945, two weeks before the male camp. The International Tracing Service (ITS) shows the last date the camp was mentioned as March 28, 1945.

SOURCES Christian Wussow describes the camp at Plömnitz (without distinguishing between the male and female camps) in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 546–549. Two articles that deal with the history of the camp are “Ermittlungen in Leau und Neu-Stassfurt,” *DVZ*, February 18, 1966; and Willi Fuhrmann, “Nazi-Verbrechen in Leau: Aus den Nachforschungen des Parteiveteranen Willi Fuhrmann,” *F*, September 2, 1989.

The Plömnitz subcamp is also described in Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, “Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Außenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)” (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:54.

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QUEDLINBURG

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Quedlinburg (Saxony), north of the Harz Mountains, on April 20, 1942, with 60 inmates transferred from Buchenwald. The camp was created to provide labor to the Fliegerhorst Quedlinburg (Quedlinburg air base) and is last mentioned in Buchenwald-related records on January 6, 1943, with 45 inmates.

According to work statistics reports compiled by the labor allocation office in Buchenwald, there were 60 inmates in the Quedlinburg subcamp in April and June 1942; 5 were considered laborers (gardeners), while the remaining 55 were unskilled workers.¹ Another subcamp was created in Quedlinburg in September 1944, but this was attached to Mittelbau (see Mittelbau/Quedlinburg).

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Quedlinburg subcamp of Buchenwald are lacking. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records.

Primary documentation on the Quedlinburg subcamp is also scarce. For administrative documentation mentioning the Quedlinburg subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), the BA, as copied in the USHMMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206, Fiche 1. Other documentation may be found in AG-B.

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NOTE

1. “Einsatz der Berufe im Lager Buchenwald,” Stand am 30 April 1942, June 29, 1942, BA NS-4, USHMMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206, Fiche 1.

RAGUHN

Raguhn is located in Anhalt, about 13 kilometers (8 miles) to the southwest of Wittenberg and about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) to the northwest of the city of Wolfen, not far from the Mulde River. The local Heerbrandt-Werke (Heerbrandt factory) was a supplier to the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerken (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM). Toward the end of the war, it was dragged into the increasingly desperate attempts of the Third Reich to manufacture aircraft. As part of the process, one of the last Buchenwald subcamps for women was established. The camp consisted of a compound, separated from a previously existing camp for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), which consisted of three barracks.

On February 7, 1945, a transport of women and girls arrived in Raguhn. They were to be the camp's inmates. With the arrival of these prisoners, the camp officially appeared in the documents. The numbers of women in the camp vary between 500 (according to historian Irmgard Seidel and the Web site Deutschland—ein Denkmal) and a maximum of 700.

From the age and social structure of the women, one can conclude that those brought to this camp were the “last reserves” of female prisoners who could work: there were many older women and women with a long history in camps. For example, Seidel mentions Gertrud Adler who at the age of 18 was arrested in Libyan Benghazi and spent time in a number of Italian POW camps before she was sent to Auschwitz and later to Bergen-Belsen. Adler is typical of the widespread geographical origins of the women who were French, Dutch, Italian, Polish, Hungarian, and German, as well as women from the Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. There was also a Turk and an American. While some women had been sent from Auschwitz to Bergen-Belsen, others had been interned in Theresienstadt and taken from there to Auschwitz.

Just about all the women, except for an Italian resistance fighter and a Hungarian "political," were Jewish. The large number of married women suggests that women had long been able to avoid arrest because they were married to "Aryans"; 29 women in the camp were classified as "Jewish Mischlinge First Degree."

The women started work on February 12, 1945, at the Heerbandt factory. In the factory building II they assembled parts for aircraft production. However, their work was not efficient—the war was coming to an end, and there were constant delays in the delivery of supplies. The camp existed for only eight weeks. The high rate of illness—around 10 percent of the women were ill or incapable of working—is evidence of the harsh work and living conditions, lack of food, and poor hygiene, as well as the damage the women had suffered in earlier camps. Nine women died in the camp. The causes of death are given as pneumonia, weakness of the heart, intestinal illnesses, brain embolisms, and brain fever.

On March 1, 1945, there were 25 SS men and 20 SS women providing security in the camp. The camp leaders were SS-Oberscharführer Dieckmann and SS-Obersturmführer Hermann Grossmann.

The evacuation of the camp probably began on April 9, 1945, as the enemy was close. The women were loaded into cattle cars and shipped to Theresienstadt. More than 60 women died along the way (probably more than 10 percent of the transport) from hunger, cold, and exhaustion. Some 429 of the prisoners arrived on April 20, 1945 (according to the International Tracing Service [ITS], April 22, 1945) in Theresienstadt, with another 15 dying in the following days from the trials of the journey.

In 1948, the camp leader Grossmann was sentenced to death by a U.S. court in Bavaria. He was executed in 1948 in Landsberg am Lech. Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) on events in the camp and the camp evacuation were commenced in 1966 but ceased in the 1970s without any results.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel describes Raguhn in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 551–552. As early as 1946, the survivor Suzanne Birnbaum published her experiences as a concentration camp prisoner. Her memoirs were reissued in 2003 as *Une française juive est revenue: Auschwitz, Belsen, Raguhn* (1946; repr. Paris: Amicale des déportés d'Auschwitz et des camps de Haute-Silésie, 2003). Earlier versions were published under the same title in 1946 by Editions du Livre Français (Paris) and in 1989 by Hérault-Editions (Maulévrier). Pages 117–128 of her book are dedicated to her time as a prisoner in Raguhn. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 55; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1834.

Under reference RG-50.002*0059 at the USHMM, there is an oral history interview by another survivor, Gitla Grynn-

wald, about the camp and the transport to Theresienstadt. Other archival documents on the Raguhn subcamp are in the AG-B, collection NS 4 Bu at THStA-W, BA-K, and in AG-T. The latter holds a list of the prisoners who arrived at Raguhn. Investigations by ZdL are kept under file IV 429 AR-Z 1921/66 at BA-L.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ROTHENBURG

About 97 kilometers (60 miles) southwest of Nürnberg, a subcamp of Buchenwald was created in the medieval, walled city of Rothenburg in October 1944 to provide labor to Christian Mansfeld GmbH. Like other satellite camps that were established in the later years of the war, the camp inmates were hired out to the Mansfeld firm and other armaments industries from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled laborer per day (payable to the SS). In December 1944, the Rothenburg Mansfeld firm was scheduled to pay the SS 8,760 RM for 2,190 worker days.¹

On October 24, 1944, 80 inmates were transferred from the main Buchenwald camp to Rothenburg. Most of the inmates on this list appear to be Russian and Polish; all were male.² Smaller numbers of French and German inmates may have arrived later. The population of the Rothenburg camp does not appear to have fluctuated greatly during its nearly six-month period of operation. At various intervals, inmates were transferred out of the camp due to illnesses, such as tuberculosis, and replaced with other inmates. For example, on November 15, 1944, 2 inmates were transferred to Buchenwald due to illness and joint problems; a request was made for substitutes.³ Another inmate was transferred to Buchenwald on January 2, 1945, and Standortarzt der Waffen-SS Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky ordered the return of the inmate nurse from Rothenburg to Buchenwald on March 15, 1945. No reason was given.⁴ Smaller transports of 2 to 5 relatively healthier prisoners arrived in Rothenburg to replace the inmates.

There is little information about the kind of work the inmates performed for the Christian Mansfeld company or about the living and working conditions within the camp. The prisoners may have been employed in mechanical work as well as in the construction of a sluice on the Saale River.

Scant information about the guards of the Rothenburg subcamp could be found. According to a report filed by SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, the strength of the guard troops was 13. There was one inmate nurse and 79 inmates listed in the camp at this time.⁵ Names of SS guards appear on the transfer memos, although not all are legible, and their terms of service are unknown. According to the transfer memo dated November 11, 1944, the Kommandoführer on duty at this time was SS-Hauptscharführer Wieland.⁶ Another memo dated March 15, 1945, lists the Kommandoführer as SS-Hauptscharführer Krüsken.⁷

The Rothenburg camp was evacuated on April 5, 1945, with 76 inmates.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources that describe conditions and circumstances at the Rothenburg subcamp of Buchenwald. For brief information on Rothenburg, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, see *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

Likewise, primary documents generated on the Rothenburg subcamp are scarce. For transport lists and other administrative records, see USHMMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, for a collection of documents copied from AN-MACVG and originating from ITS (see especially BU 49). Additional records on the subcamps of Buchenwald may be found at AG-B and AG-MD.

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NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald concentration camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, *TWC*, 6: 759–767.
2. "Transport Rothenburg," October 24, 1944 (BU 49), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.
3. "Überstellung," November 15, 1944 (BU 49), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.
4. "An K.L. Bu. Arbeitseinsatzführer Buchenwald," January 2, 1945 (BU 49); "An des K.L . ." March 15, 1945 (BU 49), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.
5. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung: Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1960), p. 253.
6. "Überstellung," November 15, 1944 (BU 49), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.
7. "An des K.L . ." March 15, 1945 (BU 49), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.

SAALFELD ("LAURA")

[AKA SS-ARBEITSLAGER SAALFELD, LA]

The Saalfeld or "Laura" subcamp of Buchenwald was established in the vicinity of Schmiedebach and Lehesten (Thuringia) on September 21, 1943. Connected to the Buchenwald and Mittelbau-Dora camps by rail, it was created to provide inmate labor for the manufacture of parts for the V-2 rocket. Code-named "Laura" and in administrative correspondence frequently referred to as "SS-Arbeitslager Saalfeld" or simply "La," the camp supplied laborers to Vorwerk Mitte and Firma Oertel to manufacture and test rocket engines. Facilities were located near a slate mine, the underground tunnels of which were used to mask production from Allied air raids. Increased Allied bombing raids over German territories in 1943 and 1944 necessitated the relocation of armaments and aircraft production factories underground. Thus similar to the circumstances surrounding the creation of the Dora camp, the Laura subcamp was established in the

context of the decentralization and subterranean mass transfer of armaments production facilities.

The first transport of 100 inmates to the Saalfeld camp left Buchenwald on September 20, 1943.¹ Two days later, another transport took place with 100 prisoners.² At first the inmates were housed in a former miners' hut, which was typically unheated and had few sanitary facilities and windows without glass panes. After the number of inmates increased, they were moved to the camp proper, a complex of buildings that had already stood near the mine and that had been evacuated. The main housing unit for the inmates was Block 1, a 1929-constructed barn, and a smaller, older barn was used as the inmates' kitchen. Block 2 was the prisoner canteen and kitchen and also housed smaller, specialized work details (Kommandos), such as electricians and joiners. Block 3 was delegated for Italian military internees as well as a punishment block, from October 1943. Across from Block 1 stood the roll-call area and another newly constructed wooden barracks, Block 4. A triple-layer fence and barbed wire surrounded the camp, which was flanked by six watchtowers. The SS living quarters were located just outside the perimeter.

Over 10 nationalities were represented by the inmates in the Laura subcamp: Germans, Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, French, Belgians, Dutch, Italians, Czechs, and Yugoslavs; a small number of Lithuanians, Luxemburgers, and Spaniards; and one American inmate of Italian descent. German prisoners were classified as so-called professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*) or "asocial." There were also political prisoners, Jews, as well as Italian military internees, but this latter group was recorded separately in camp statistics and wore different uniforms.

The camp reached its highest number in mid-December 1943, with just over 1,200 inmates. In March 1944, prisoners who were no longer able to work were deported to Bergen-Belsen, and additional contingents of inmates from Buchenwald arrived.³ Other transports of inmates were sent from Laura to Dora in May 1944; additional ill inmates were transported to Bergen-Belsen.⁴

Inmates in the Laura camp were used in various capacities to support rocket production and were split into several work Kommandos. Most were used in the construction of underground factory installations and the proving grounds for the V-2 engines. The largest and most dreaded Kommando was the pit Kommando (Grubenkommando), in which inmates had to dig in the tunnels with primitive tools (or sometimes none at all) in terrible conditions: with smothering dust, little air or water, no breaks, and a grueling work pace. Accidental deaths due to lack of proper equipment or protective clothing were frequent; inmates were often crushed under falling rock or got infected cuts on their hands due to the sharp slate and lack of hygiene. Other large Kommandos had difficult tasks such as constructing railway lines. Thus smaller Kommandos were coveted—for example, those that involved short-term work such as painting or electrical work.

Living conditions within the camp were overcrowded and dreadful. Rations were small; invariably, former inmates reported

a persistent hunger in the camp. At the end of 1943, certain national groups of prisoners (French, Poles, Belgians, and Czechs) were permitted to receive mail and packages, the contents of which were used to barter for additional rations. From the summer of 1944, rations improved slightly, and a canteen was created where goods could be bought. Hygienic conditions were terrible, and medical care at the camp's infirmary was hardly effective in treating the increasing illnesses and injuries, especially as the inmates' physical deterioration worsened as the months of grueling work wore on. In November 1943, 40 deaths were recorded; in December, over 125. With few exceptions, inmates' corpses were transported back to Buchenwald to be cremated; others were taken to the corpse cellar within the Laura camp's infirmary. The most deaths were reported in April and May 1944, when increasing numbers of prisoners were forced to assist in the testing of the engines.

In addition to the generally abysmal circumstances in the camp and work Kommandos, the inmates regularly faced the cruelty of the guards and overseers. The first commandant of the Laura camp was SS-Obersturmführer Wolfgang Plaul, who served in Laura until the fall of 1944 when he was transferred to the women's subcamp of Leipzig-Schönefeld (HASAG). He had been a deputy commandant in Buchenwald prior to commanding the Laura subcamp. The camp leader (Lagerführer) in the Laura subcamp, SS-Oberscharführer Karl Schmidt, was notoriously cruel and sought arbitrary reasons for punishment, which generally began with 25 lashes with a whip or rubber truncheon. From November 1943 to May 1944, there were about 150 SS guards who patrolled the camp, including many young ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche): Romanians, Yugoslavians, and Hungarians. In addition to the Lagerführer and the guard staff, about 15 other SS-Unterführer who directed other elements of the camp's administration (e.g., Rapportführer, Arbeitseinsatzführer, Blockführer, and Kommandoführer) were also stationed in the camp.

Supplementing the camp administration provided by the SS were several inmates selected to serve as prisoner-functionaries. These included the professional criminal Alfons "Ali" Kunikowski, who was appointed camp elder (Lagerältester), and other block elders and Kapos. These prisoners generally received some privileges and were treated marginally better than other inmates. In the summer of 1944, there was a transition in the camp guard staff, in which Lagerältester Kunikowski was sent to punishment in a pit Kommando. Plaul was replaced by SS-Sturmscharführer Leible as commandant, and many of the guards were replaced by convalescing Luftwaffe soldiers.

Despite the horrendous conditions in the camp, some inmates found means to cope, and a few even managed to escape. Those who were caught were executed. Other inmates devised ways of slightly lessening their workload when Kapos or guards were not looking, and still others forged communal bonds with prisoners who spoke the same language.

The Laura camp was hastily evacuated on April 13, 1945, two days after the Buchenwald main camp was liberated and on the same day that American troops reached nearby Schmiede-

bach. Between 600 and 650 inmates were evacuated from the camp in a forced march toward Wurzbach. Those who could not keep up or who attempted to escape were shot by SS guards who drove the march, although some did flee successfully. In Wurzbach, the prisoners were loaded onto a freight train headed for the Allach subcamp of Dachau, a trip that lasted six days. It is unknown how many Laura inmates reached Allach, which was overflowing with prisoners in catastrophic conditions. Allach was liberated by U.S. troops on April 30, 1945.

Postwar investigations and trials were conducted against few of the guards of the Laura camp. Wolfgang Plaul's whereabouts after the war were unknown; however, he was accused in absentia for the deaths of many inmates, predominantly in the forced death march of women from the Leipzig-Schönefeld (HASAG) camp, where he was the commandant from the fall of 1944. The proceedings against him were dropped in 1972. The Köln Zentralstelle (Cologne Central Office) attempted to bring charges against Schmidt, based on numerous witness testimonies of his cruelty in Laura. However, due to the commonness of his surname and the fact that he, too, was missing after the war, the process ceased in 1962. Former camp guard SS-Rottenführer Ewald Pöckelmann was arrested at the end of 1947 and accused and brought to trial in 1948 by Oberstaatsanwaltschaft Rudolstadt. However, he was released from custody, went missing, and was accused in absentia in 1951. He was sentenced to a 15-year prison term; however, his whereabouts remained unknown, and he did not serve the sentence.

Two trials related to the Laura subcamp ended with the implementation of the sentence reached: the Buchenwald trials against SS dog handler August Giese and against Kunikowski. In March 1948, Giese was sentenced to a four-year prison term, having been found guilty of the murder of a Polish inmate and the brutal maltreatment of other inmates. His prison term began on May 10, 1945, when he was incarcerated in the Dachau camp by American troops. Kunikowski was deemed guilty of the murder of a French inmate and the maltreatment of other inmates. Sentenced to seven years of imprisonment, his term was lessened to five years due to his incarceration on December 9, 1946.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the thorough analysis of and research on the Laura subcamp by Dorit Gropp in *Aussenkommando Laura und Vorwerk Mitte Lehesten—Testbetrieb für V2-Triebwerke* (Berlin: Westkreuz-Verlag, 1999). In addition to a systematic use of many archival collections, Gropp incorporated two detailed memoirs of former inmates of the Laura camp, which also serve as an important resource on the camp: Ryszard Kessler, *Die Hölle im Schieferberg: Erinnerungen an Laura* (Saalfeld, 1998), and Aimé Bonifas "Verichtungskommando Laura," in *Stimmen aus Buchenwald: Ein Lesebuch*, eds. Holm Kirsten and Wolf Kirsten (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2002). For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald-Laura-Saalfeld in *Das nationalsozialistische Lager-system* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and

Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records.

Primary documentation on the Laura subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See in particular a collection of transport lists to and from the Laura camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 49, Reel 17. As Gropp's book has noted, trial documentation can be found in several archives, including the ZdL (now BA-L) and BA-DH (formerly BDC), ZM 1345 and ZA 7743; these latter are also copied in the archives of the USHMMMA, RG-14.050M. See Gropp's text for photographs, an extensive list of archival resources, and a bibliography pertaining to the Laura subcamp and its postwar history.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. "Transport Laura," September 20, 1943, Buchenwald (BU 49), AN-MACVG as reproduced in USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17).
2. "Transport Laura," September 22, 1943 (BU 49), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.
3. "Transport Laura von 25. Mars 1944," Weimar-Buchenwald (BU 49), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.
4. "Aufstellung der 200 Häftlinge, von Kdo- Laura nach kdo-Dora überstellt sind," May 30, 1944, Weimar-Buchenwald (BU 49), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

SCHLIEBEN

The company Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) established one of its seven German subcamps in the small Brandenburg city of Schlieben in July 1944. It would last until the end of the war. Initially opened as a camp for women 80 kilometers (50 miles) to the northwest of the main HASAG factory in Leipzig, it developed into one of the largest Buchenwald subcamps for men, with more than 2,000 male Jewish prisoners. The camp, which initially held 998 women, was reduced in size within a month of the establishment of the camp for men.

Since 1934, HASAG, a Leipzig lamp manufacturer, had been primarily involved in armaments manufactures. In the summer of 1944, following German war losses, it relocated its Polish factories to existing and new production facilities in Saxony and Thüringen. The company decided during this period to expand its facilities in Schlieben. It acquired those facilities in 1940 and in 1943 had production barracks installed in an expanded shooting range in a forest. Buchenwald camp commandant Hermann Pister, together with Standortarzt Gerhard Schiedlausky and Verwaltungsleiter Otto Barnewald, inspected the Schlieben site on June 21, 1944, to consider the deployment of concentration camp prisoners for use by HASAG. It was initially planned to deploy 1,000 women in Schlieben in the middle of July 1944 and in the long term to increase that number to 2,000. Schlieben, together with Leipzig and Altenburg, was one of the first three HASAG camps for women. On August 31, 1944, the Inspectorate of

Concentration Camps (IKL) transferred administration of the Schlieben camp from Ravensbrück to Buchenwald.

The subcamp commenced operations on July 19, 1944, with the arrival of a transport of 998 women, many of whom were Sintezza [that is, female Sinti (Gypsies)].¹ The number of women in Schlieben was reduced to 147 when, on August 14, 1944, a camp for men with 1,387 Buchenwald prisoners was established.² Most of the women who first arrived in the camp were deported to the HASAG camps in Altenburg and Tauscha. Later, another 100 women arrived at the camp, and almost all of them were to remain until the camp was evacuated. Buchenwald camp statistics describe the camp for men as a "Jewish work detachment." It was the first of seven HASAG camps for men and was by any means the largest. Other than the non-Jewish prisoner-functionaries, most of the prisoners came from Poland or Hungary. In the first two months of the camp's existence, the number of prisoners increased to 2,020. In December, it temporarily increased to 2,515.³ Later, the number of prisoners in the camp declined. Between the beginning of January and the middle of February 1945, there were three large transfers of mostly sick and weakened prisoners back to Buchenwald. In addition, in February, there were several prisoner deportations from Schlieben to the HASAG subcamp at Flössberg—the largest on February 17, 1945, with 540 prisoners being transferred. The number of prisoners in Schlieben dropped for the first time to under 1,500 and remained, as shown by the last documented strength report (*Bestandsmeldung*) on April 7, 1945, at a similar level.

The prisoners were used as forced labor in all areas of the company. The area to the north of Schlieben was divided into a fenced-in prisoner camp with factory facilities and weapons' testing areas. When the camp was established, there was already in the prisoner area a few brick barracks, sanitary facilities, a laundry, and a kitchen. This was because HASAG employees, members of the Wehrmacht, and prisoners of war (POWs) had lived in succession on the site. Later, wooden barracks were to be erected on the site of a large cleared area on the edge of the forest. The area was bordered by an electrified fence, and the camp was visible from the road. The factory buildings in the forest produced chemicals for shells and antitank weapons (*Panzerfäuste*) and assembled metal tubes, filled with explosives, delivered to the site. They formed the basis for the Panzerfäuste. The prisoners worked in the factory buildings under the supervision of HASAG's German foremen. As in the HASAG Factory "C" Skarżysko-Kamienna, which supplied many Polish prisoners for Schlieben, the rest of the camp avoided the prisoners in this area because their bodies and clothes were marked by poisons, and they smelled of chemicals. Women were forced to work in the foundries. Maria Peter stated the following: "I stood with two women at a large drum in which a liquid was boiling. It burnt our eyes and we looked as if we had jaundice. The burning eyes and the feeling of wanting to vomit made the work hell. We were given no protective clothing and were helplessly exposed to the liquid."⁴ The prisoners had to assemble the Panzerfäuste in the larger production departments. They had to stand at tables and work

benches. As former prisoners stated, they had to work in 12-hour shifts, day and night. The work demanded concentration to make sure that the production line did not stop. Menasze Hollender stated: "The German foremen and the Kapos ran back and forth screaming at and beating the prisoners. The workers often collapsed because of exhaustion, hunger, and the torture."⁵ The foremen were given bonuses for achieving increased production, which caused them to drive the prisoners on mercilessly. On the HASAG weapons testing area in Schlieben, Panzerfäuste were developed and tested, as were munitions. Work in the construction and maintenance area of the Schlieben factory was seen as more bearable by the prisoners, compared to conditions in the production facilities.

There was a large explosion in the factory on October 12, 1944, which killed 96 male prisoners. The factory was totally destroyed. On October 14, 1944, Buchenwald sent 226 skilled construction workers to construct a temporary building. Just about all were sent back on November 6, 1944. Paul Budin, the HASAG managing director, immediately thanked the Reichsführer-SS for the "special assistance."⁶

In addition to the 96 victims of the explosion, at least another 99 prisoners died in the camp.⁷ Altogether 195 prisoners died during the seven and a half months of the camp's existence to the beginning of April 1945.⁸ Some 738 prisoners were transferred back to Buchenwald during the camp's existence, most to the sick bay.

SS-Untersturmführer Kempe was the camp commander in Schlieben. He remains in the memories of the prisoners as being particularly brutal. SS, Wehrmacht soldiers, and Ukrainian guards guarded the camp.

The prisoners, in an attempt to get around the inadequate food supply, traded with the Italian forced laborers who worked in the camp. They lived in the local area and had the opportunity, according to Hollender, to bring food into the factory. In return, they were given industrial products, which the prisoners had secretly manufactured, such as rings, tin boxes, lamps, and cutlery. Prisoners who worked on the railway facilities outside the camp smuggled food into the camp. It is also known that a few prisoners in the camp celebrated Jewish festivals so far as conditions allowed. Elyahu Winkler stated: "On Channuka we lit the Channuka candles in the window. . . . They weren't really candles. Someone used cooking oil from the kitchen."⁹ With the help of the oil, they put together lights. The prisoners put their "candles" in the windows even though they had been ordered to turn off all lights due to the repeated Allied bombing raids.

There are different statements regarding the evacuation of the camp. What is certain is that the SS, shortly before the occupation of Schlieben by the Soviet Army, evacuated the camp. Hollender stated that the camp was evacuated in stages.¹⁰ The first stage was on April 14, 1945, when a transport of 700 "prisoners who could not work" were taken out of the camp. Other statements refer to April 20, 1945, as the evacuation day and April 21, 1945, as the day that the Red Army occupied the town.

Panzerfäuste were produced for the Red Army from what was left of the supplies in the camp for six weeks after the libera-

tion of Schlieben. In 1947 a mass grave of 107 corpses was found near the camp. They were reinterred in a Schlieben cemetery. A square stone has rested on the communal grave since 1952. As part of the so-called Tschenstochau (Częstochowa) trial in Leipzig in 1948–1949, Wehrmacht officer Richard Müller was sentenced to six months' prison; former auxiliary laborer and factory security guard Gustav Erich Graichen was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment; and former shift foreman in the foundry Viktor Lamkewitz received life imprisonment.

SOURCES The Schlieben subcamp for men is referred to in an essay about the HASAG camps: Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Außenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271. The Schlieben subcamp for women is mentioned in Irmgard Seidel, "Weibliche Häftlinge des KZ Buchenwald in der deutschen Rüstungsindustrie (1 & 2)," *ISKDW* 25:54 (2001): 16–23; 27:55 (2002): 23–29. A local publication has 15 pages of source material on Schlieben, but the commentary is incorrect: *NS-Lager in Finsterwalde und Orte in der Region Südbrandenburg 1939–1945* (Finsterwalde, 2001).

Archival documents on the Schlieben subcamp are scattered in several archives, some in the THStA-W, Bestände KZU-HaftaBu and NS4Bu; in AG-B, Bestände 62–63–2, NS4Bu; and in ASt-Slb. In YV, there are many accounts by surviving prisoners in Yiddish, Hebrew, Polish, and Hungarian, some of which have been used here (for example, from the collections M.21.3, M.49, and O.3). BA-DH holds the Leipzig state prosecutor's trial files from 1948–1949, which related to investigations into individual perpetrators from HASAG.

Martin Schellenberg
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. THStA-W, KZU-HaftaBu 10, Bl. 13a.
2. NARA, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015701.
3. NARA, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015656–723.
4. Rept. Maria Peter, cited in Irmgard Seidel, "Weibliche Häftlinge des KZ Buchenwald in der deutschen Rüstungsindustrie," *ISKDW* 27:55 (2002): 27.
5. Rept. Menasze Hollender (translation from the Polish), YVA, O.3/1012.
6. BA-DH, SSO, Budin, Paul, 4.12.92.
7. THStA-W, KZU-HaftaBu 10, Bl. 116–7.
8. THStA-W, KZU-HaftaBu 10, Bl. 1–166.
9. Interview with Elyahu Winkler (in Hebrew), YVA, O.3/10707.
10. Rept. Menasze Hollender, p. 44.

SCHÖNEBECK (JUNKERS-FLUGZEUG- UND MOTORENWERKE AG) ("J," "SCH," "JULIUS") (WITH "SIEGFRIED")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Schönebeck in March 1943 to provide labor to the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke AG (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM), Zweigwerk Schönebeck. The use of concentration camp prisoner labor at the Junkers Schönebeck stemmed from

an agreement between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the firm, which “rented” inmates from the SS at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.¹ Located on what was later named Barbyer Strasse in Schönebeck, the Junkers Zweigwerk had opened in 1936 to operate a metal shop for press works for Ju 88 production. The Schönebeck subcamp was referred to in corresponding documentation as “J” and “Sch.” The camp itself, located in the immediate vicinity of the Junkers firm, was called “Julius.” A second Kommando, code-named “Siegfried,” was also created at the Schönebeck camp in March 1945 to provide labor to the Nationale Radia-toren AG (NARAG).

The first transport of 100 inmates from Buchenwald arrived in Schönebeck on March 19, 1943.² According to French former inmate Marcel Lorin, an engineer from Junkers came to Buchenwald to select those inmates who could be considered skilled laborers. A “professions list” (possibly dated May 1943) shows that many inmates were noted as locksmiths, drill operators, mechanics, milling cutters, and so on.³ Inmates in Schönebeck represented several different nations, including Russia, Poland, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Czechoslovakia. Smaller numbers of prisoners came from Yugoslavia, Spain, Hungary, Croatia, Italy, and the German Reich; these latter were often appointed members of the prisoner administration such as Lagerältester (camp elder) and medics. Imprisoned in the camp were political prisoners, so-called asocials, *Arbeitscheu* (work-shy), Gypsies, *Berufsverbrecher* (professional criminals) and Jews.

Transports to and from the Schönebeck camp were frequent. The average strength of the camp population was about 1,200 inmates, although at the time of the evacuation in April 1945, there were just over 1,500 inmates in the camp. Most of the larger transports of prisoners (between 100 and 150) arrived in Schönebeck from Buchenwald, but there were also transfers from Dachau (August 1944) and possibly Sachsenhausen. In addition to transfers of prisoners back to Buchenwald due to illness (see below), there were also transfers to other camps that exploited prisoner labor for rearmaments efforts, such as Mühlhausen (“Martha”), beginning in the spring of 1944; Aschersleben in August 1944; Westeregeln (“Maulwurf”) in November 1944; Mittelbau in December 1944; and Leopoldshall in February 1945.⁴

The Julius camp in Schönebeck consisted of nine unheated wooden barracks for the prisoners’ living quarters, a kitchen, a small infirmary, an administrative barracks, and a roll-call area. Prisoners slept on trilevel bunks, which were shared by the inmates and exchanged between shifts. In some instances, two or three prisoners slept on one bunk, sharing the allotted one soiled coverlet per person to gain warmth. The camp was surrounded by 3-meter-high (9.8-feet-high) fencing and another layer of barbed-wire mesh fencing and flanked by two watchtowers.

A typical day in the Schönebeck camp began at 4:30 in the morning. The inmates endured long roll calls several times a day. Standing outside in terrible weather conditions with thin

clothing exacerbated the frail inmates’ illnesses, such as pleurisy, angina, bronchial pneumonia, and tuberculosis. Inmates who were deemed “unfit for work” were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp infirmary. Corpses of those who died in the camp were either buried or, as noted in a memo by SS physician Dr. Waldemar Hoven, transferred to Dr. Imfried Eberl in Bernburg, where they were cremated with no recorded death certificates.⁵ Food rations were sparse, and Lorin recalled that even with the occasional “organizing” of extra food, the inmates were starving.

The inmates worked in 12-hour shifts in the Junkers firm, finishing parts for the Ju 88 aircraft; by the end of 1944, work shifts had been reduced to 9 hours. The inmates were divided into work in four production halls: a finishing hall for supports for wing cross struts and fuselage; a press works where paneling for the fuselage, cockpit, and wings was finished; a foundry; and lastly, a thermal treatment workshop. The halls where camp inmates worked were separated from the rest of the plant by barbed-wire fencing, and interaction between the camp inmates and other workers was prohibited. From March 3, 1945, another large work Kommando was created at the Schönebeck camp to provide labor to NARAG. (However, a transport list of 15 inmates to “Siegfried,” dated September 10, 1943, suggests that this Kommando may have been created earlier than 1945).⁶ Some 400 inmates were used in the manufacture of electrical parts for the V-2 rocket. Inmates were also assigned to various work Kommandos around the camp (such as in the kitchen or infirmary) as well as clearing rubble after air raids in Magdeburg and digging trenches along the Elbe.

In addition to suffering from malnutrition, exhaustion, and maltreatment meted out by the Kapos and guards, the inmates often faced dangerous work conditions in the factory. Lorin reported that those assigned to the foundry had no protective equipment and were exposed to combustible gas. Evidence of work-related accidents abounds in the administrative documentation generated with the transfer of ill or wounded inmates to the Buchenwald infirmary. For example, two inmates were transferred to Buchenwald from Schönebeck on February 3, 1945; the reason for their transfer is cited as “Unfall—Amputation” (Accident—Amputation).⁷ This kind of report was issued frequently over the camp’s two-year operation.

SS-Obersturmführer Gustav Borell was the commandant of the camp. Prior to leading the Schönebeck subcamp, he served in Sonderlager Hinzert from 1940 to 1942; in Ravensbrück in 1942; and Majdanek from 1942 to 1943. Until June 1944, the SS who served as guards in the camp consisted mainly of Volksdeutsche, or ethnic Germans. After June 1944, there were also members of the Luftwaffe assigned to guard the camp. German civilian foremen and supervisors watched over the inmates’ work in the Junkers factory and reported any suspected acts of sabotage or prisoners deemed unfit for their assigned tasks to the SS or to the Kapos. Inmates were often punished by being forced to stand along the low wall that surrounded the SS garbage pit, with arms raised or hands behind their heads for several hours.

Despite the inmates' general poor physical condition and the guards' strict supervision, some inmates did manage to escape. Lorin recalled that one prisoner managed to obtain false documentation that registered him as a civilian foreign worker, thus enabling him to return to France. Other inmates attempted to scale the barbed-wire fencing, especially during air-raid alerts or other moments of disorder. Acts of sabotage were also frequently organized by a group of prisoners in the factory. Lorin also noted that solidarity was forged along national and linguistic lines; for example, those who spoke French gathered and shared songs, poems, and memories of life at home. When food packages were distributed among some groups of more privileged political prisoners (such as the French; Russian inmates could not receive any packages), some inmates pooled the contents of their packages and redistributed them to weaker inmates.

The camp was dissolved on April 11, 1945, as American troops were 60 kilometers (37 miles) from Schönebeck. The inmates were evacuated on foot in several groups. Some inmates remained behind, hidden in the camp, while others evaded the march. About 400 inmates marched for 23 days in columns until they were liberated by American troops near Friedrichmoor.⁸

SOURCES There are several useful secondary sources on the Schönebeck camp. This entry builds upon the extensive memoir of daily life in the Schönebeck camp by Marcel Lorin, *Schönebeck, un kommando de Buchenwald: Du sabotage des avions Nazis à l'ouvrante d'une marche de la mort* (Glangeaud: Amicale des anciens déportés de Schönebeck, Mühlhausen, Buchenwald, 1993). Another piece detailing current research efforts and former prisoner experiences in Schönebeck is an article by Katharina Strass, "Dunkles Kapitel während des Zweiten Weltkrieges in Schönebeck: Fünftgrößtes KZ-Aussenlager Buchenwald mit etwa 1800 Häftlingen ist heute fast vergessen," *V*, February 12, 2005. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entries for Buchenwald/Schönebeck in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

There is also relatively abundant primary documentation on the Schönebeck subcamp. Administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp is found in the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMMA, RG 14.023M, especially BA Band 133, 210, 213, 55. See also a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Schönebeck camp and various other reports, including Veränderungsmeldungen, copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 5/2, 5/4, 5/5, 8/10, 40, and 41/3. Testimony from former inmates can be found in the MZML, which contain thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken

in 1945 and 1946 by the relief agency DEGOB; see especially protocols 2475, 2920, and 3158. NARA Microfilm Publication A 3343, Records of SS Officers from the BDC, SSO-091, has personnel information about Gustav Borell.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, TWC, vol. 6.
2. "Transport Schönebeck," K.L. Buchenwald, March 19, 1943, AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 41/3).
3. "Berufs-Liste für Transport Schönebeck," K.L. Buchenwald, date illegible, USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 41/3).
4. Numerous transport lists to and from the Schönebeck camp can be found in USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 41/3 and BU 8/10).
5. "Aus einem Bericht des SS-Arztes Dr. Waldemar Hoven über eine Dienstreise in das Aussenkommando Schönebeck vom 19. März 1943," reprinted in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung: Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1960), p. 279.
6. "Transport Siegfried," Buchenwald, September 10, 1943, USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 41/3).
7. "Überführung von kranken Häftlingen nach K.L. Bu," Schönebeck, February 3, 1945, USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 41/3).
8. A detailed description of the complex evacuation, including diagrams, can be found in Marcel Lorin, *Schönebeck, un kommando de Buchenwald: Du sabotage des avions Nazis à l'ouvrante d'une marche de la mort* (Glangeaud: Amicale des anciens déportés de Schönebeck, Mühlhausen, Buchenwald, 1993).

SCHÖNEBECK (NATIONALE RADIATOREN)

The subcamp Schönebeck (Nationale Radiatoren) was part of a complex of three concentration camps that existed from March 10, 1943, to April 11, 1945, in Schönebeck an der Elbe. It was located on the Elbe River outside of Magdeburg, an industrial strongpoint in central Germany. The camps were subcamps of Buchenwald under the authority of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). They provided slave labor for the aircraft industry; for the Schönebeck branch of the Dessau-based Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM); and Nationale Radiatoren AG (NARAG), a subsidiary of Volkswagen industries.

Although the Schönebeck camps existed for more than two years and had a total prisoner population of 1,563 prisoners (on April 11, 1945), information on the camp is scarce. It is not clear if they were separate, autonomous camps or subentities of one administrative unit and, if they had separate camp compounds.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) *Haftstättenverzeichnis* (1979), the Nationale Radiatoren camp

was established on March 3, 1945, but the accuracy of the information is questionable. An earlier date seems more likely.

Nationale Radiatoren was taken over in early 1944 by Volkswagen, at that time in charge of the series production of the Fi-103 (V-1) cruise missile. The excess capacities of the low-priority radiator factory were intended to replace facilities at the Volkswagen main factory, which was to be decentralized in order to diminish the risk of air-raid damage. Volkswagen kept the Nationale Radiatoren name for camouflage reasons while converting the production facilities to the manufacturing of V-1 parts. The production area was expanded as spacious cellar vaults below the nearby Kaiserbrauerei Allen-dorff beer brewery were rented. Even after Volkswagen lost its role as coordinator of V-1 production to the SS-owned Mittelwerke in October 1944, the Schönebeck facility—eventually incorporated into another Volkswagen subsidiary, the Minette GmbH, as an SS takeover attempt was fended off in January 1945—continued to produce V-1 parts that were delivered to the Mittelwerke and also engaged in the manufacturing of airplane parts for Junkers and Messerschmitt.

Production continued until a few days before the area was liberated by U.S. troops on April 12, 1945. A decision by Volkswagen personnel manager Georg Tyrolt (a nephew of Ferdinand Porsche, the inventor of the “people’s car,” who was the leading chief executive officer [CEO]) on March 21 to transfer 200 prisoners from the Nationale Radiatoren camp to “Stein” in Eschershausen, another Buchenwald subcamp providing manpower to Volkswagen, was thwarted by the Allied advance. Instead, 400 Nationale Radiatoren prisoners were evacuated on April 11 to occupied Czechoslovakia where Volkswagen possessed additional production facilities. The company decision had provided for prisoners suffering from tuberculosis to be transferred to the Volkswagen main factory in what was later named Wolfsburg, but the ill prisoners never arrived there.

In November 1944, SS-Hauptscharführer Arthur Schmiele, an engineer who had been in charge of the selection of prisoners in Auschwitz for Volkswagen, and the CEO of a Minette factory in Dernau that was run by means of concentration camp prisoners, was appointed CEO of the Schönebeck facility. The exploitation of prisoners at the Nationale Radiatoren may have started shortly afterward by prisoners from the Schönebeck Junkers camps being assigned to the Nationale Radiatoren. Since that company’s total employment never expanded beyond 1,000, most of whom were foreign forced laborers from the Soviet territories and Italy, it seems likely that the number of concentration camp prisoners never exceeded the 200 to 400 registered in March 1945.

According to one Buchenwald strength list, by September 5, 1944, SS personnel in the Schönebeck camps counted one officer who probably served as the camp commandant, two noncommissioned officers (NCOs), and one enlisted man, whereas guards seem to have been ordinary army soldiers.

SOURCES This description of the Schönebeck (Nationale Radiatoren) camp is based on research by Therkel Straede and Manfred Grieger for Hans Mommsen et al., *Das Volkswa-*

genwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich (Düsseldorf, 1996). Preliminary data may be found in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

Archival material on the Nationale Radiatoren camp in Schönebeck is scarce. The VWA holds the note of March 21, 1945, and other documents, as well as copies of documents from the AG-B, YVA, Beit Lohamei Haghetot near Acco, Israel, and BA-B. Brief details on the Nationale Radiatoren factory have been published by Cesare Pilesi, an Italian military internee (IMI), in ANEI, ed., *Resistenza senz’armi* (Firenze, 1984) p. 270.

Therkel Straede

SCHWERTE-OST

By the middle of the 1930s, the Reich Railways Repair Works (Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk, RAW) in Schwerte-Ost, which had opened in 1922, had over 2,000 employees and had risen to become the most modern and efficient locomotive repair shop in the German Reich. It was located about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) east of the center of Schwerte in the direction of Schwerte-Geisecke. A 2-meter-high (6.6-feet-high) stone wall still borders the former factory premises. Beginning in 1944, a small part of this wall was used to delimit the grounds of the subcamp.¹ The task of the RAW was to repair locomotives damaged in the war in order to preserve this war-critical method of transportation. During World War II, the RAW was thus a “war-critical” operation that, with the increasing duration of the war, could no longer meet its labor requirements, as many male employees were called to the front. The National Socialists attempted to compensate for this deficit with prisoners of war (POWs) and slave laborers, which ultimately led to a subcamp of the Buchenwald concentration camp being set up on the factory premises.

From April 6, 1944, until January 29, 1945, up to 710 concentration camp prisoners were kept at Schwerte-Ost in wooden barracks.² Although lists of transfers to and from the outside detail at Schwerte-Ost exist in the Buchenwald archive in Weimar, it is not possible to determine exact numbers. Various preserved documents make clear that primarily potential concentration camp victims were transferred back from Schwerte-Ost to Buchenwald. These were usually people who violated rules or who undertook escape attempts. There exists, among others, a list “Transport Schwerte, Weimar-Buchenwald” from June 23, 1944, that contains 150 names with prisoner numbers.³ It is certain that the first 100 prisoners were sent to the camp on April 6, 1944. On August 7, 1944, the number of forced laborers was 425, all of whom were designated “auxiliary laborers.” Documents from the Buchenwald archive show that on September 8, 1944, a transport with 265 prisoners with the numbers 84271 to 84535 came to Schwerte-Ost from Sachsenhausen.⁴ The biggest verifiable

number, with the above-mentioned 710 prisoners, is entered for September 29, 1944.⁵

The strength of the SS guard personnel amounted to 40 men on April 15, 1944. The prisoners' work assignments were identical with those of the German regular workforce. The entire camp originally consisted of at least 12 barracks in which not only prisoners from Buchenwald were housed but also POWs and slave laborers. The Buchenwald prisoners were, however, rigidly separated from the other prisoners. How awful the fate of the concentration camp prisoners must have been is documented by the fact that every month a fifth of the population either died or was returned to the main camp for extermination, due to their inability to work. According to contemporary witness reports, it can be stated that the factory management at Schwerte-Ost was not organized for human extermination like the Nazi camp leadership was at Buchenwald. Evidence of the shooting of prisoners, described with the remark "shot while trying to flee," has survived, however.⁶

On the other hand, the Reichsbahn was known for its business sense and, for example, was paid by the SS the third-class fare for transporting Jews in cattle cars. The income, though, that the SS took in from hiring out prisoners was enormous and amounted to over 6 million Reichsmark (RM) for the male prisoners at Buchenwald in January 1945 alone.⁷ According to a report from former Schwerter and political prisoner Joseph Arturjanz (Buchenwald number 84275; Sachsenhausen number 22917), he arrived at Schwerte-Ost in October 1944.⁸ Of the 500 prisoners that he registered, which included French and Belgians, in addition to Soviet Russians, 250 men worked per shift on damaged locomotives. Female prisoners were not among these workers. Provisions were reportedly worse than at Buchenwald so that in June 1944 it was arranged for the kitchen operation to be newly organized.

In December 1944, as Allied troops continued their march toward the Ruhr area, the prisoner detail was called back to the main camp. Contemporary witnesses also attributed the relatively early closing of the camp to the high number of escapes. According to Joseph Arturjanz, four cattle cars made available for approximately 500 prisoners arrived at the Buchenwald main camp. A document from the Buchenwald archive dated January 25, 1945, shows that at least 10 prisoners, all of them from the Soviet Union, managed to escape on the way back to Buchenwald. A few days later the prisoners were again loaded on to a transport and arrived at Dorndorf on December 24, 1944. On the other side, it was reported that a last prisoner transport from Schwerte-Ost arrived at Buchenwald around January 15, 1945.

SOURCES Marita Riese's publication "*Und es soll kein Gras darüber wachsen*: Die Geschichte des Außenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald im Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk Schwerte-Ost" (Schwerte: Denkmalbehörde/Kulturamt der Stadt Schwerte, 1989) formed the basis for this entry. Unfortunately, this work is hard to find and now out of print. Additional information may be found in H. Körner and P. Gurriss,

Das Leben der Eisenbahner in Schwerte-Ost 1923–2000 (Münster, 2000). Walter Bartel's *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983) also provides more information on Buchenwald subcamps.

On the history of the Buchenwald external detail at the RAW in Schwerte-Ost, transport lists of prisoners as well as documents on the "working detail Schwerte" are accounted for in AG-B.

Günther Högl
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. Marita Riese, "*Und es soll kein Gras darüber wachsen*": Die Geschichte des Außenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald im Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk Schwerte-Ost (Schwerte: Denkmalbehörde/Kulturamt der Stadt Schwerte, 1989), p. 25.

2. H. Körner and P. Gurriss, *Das Leben der Eisenbahner in Schwerte-Ost 1923–2000* (Münster, 2000), pp. 73–74.

3. Riese, "*Und es soll kein Gras darüber wachsen*," p. 33.

4. Ibid., p. 50.

5. Ibid., p. 48.

6. Ibid., p. 65. For May 31, 1944, 8:45 AM, the "political" Russian Sewastjan Pantschenko (born 1898) is mentioned.

7. Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 240.

8. Joseph Arturjanz quoted in Riese, "*Und es soll kein Gras darüber wachsen*," pp. 55–59.

SENNELAGER

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created on November 26, 1944, in Augustdorf near Paderborn to provide inmate labor to the SS-Panzer-Ausbildungs und Ersatz-Regiment (tank training and replacement regiment) in the Sennelager training complex. Code-named "Sennelager," there were 10 inmates stationed at the camp for the first month of its five-month operation, until January 1945, when 37 additional inmates were transferred there from Auschwitz II-Birkenau. They were housed in the north camp (*Nordlager*) of the Sennelager complex. Inmates were hired out at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per laborer per day, payable to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA).¹

The first transport of 10 inmates to Sennelager left Buchenwald on November 26, 1944.² Four inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald due to illness on December 15, 1944, and were replaced by 4 different inmates on December 20, 1944.³ Three inmates were sent back to Buchenwald on January 3, 1945, presumably also due to illness or "incapacity for work." On January 17, 1945, 37 inmates from Birkenau were transferred to Sennelager. Most of the inmates were Polish political prisoners or Polish Jews, with a smaller number of Slovak political prisoners and Slovak Jews. There was one Polish "work-shy" inmate.⁴ There is no information available about the exact kind of work the smaller contingent of prison-

ers performed, but the transport document lists some of the duties of the inmates. Most were designated as bricklayers, with smaller numbers of concrete workers, 2 civil engineers, and a painter. Two inmates from this transport were transferred to Buchenwald on January 25, 1945, due to illness.⁵

The camp was evacuated to Buchenwald, and the prisoners arrived there on April 5, 1945.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Sennelager subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Sennelager in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records.

Surviving primary documentation on the Sennelager subcamp is also limited. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Sennelager camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 49. Additional documentation may be found in AG-B.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.
2. "Transport Sennelager," KL Buchenwald, November 26, 1944 (BU 49) AN-MACVG as reproduced in USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.
3. "An die Kommandatur K.L.—Bu. Abt. III," Augustdorf, December 15, 1944; "Transport Sennelager," Buchenwald, December 20, 1944, (BU 49), USHMMMA Acc. 1998 A.0045.
4. "Neuzugänge vom 17. Januar 1945," Weimar-Buchenwald, January 17, 1945 (BU 49), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.
5. To K.L. Buchenwald, Senne, January 25, 1945 (BU 49), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

SÖMMERDA

Sömmerna is located to the north of Erfurt in the district known today as Weissensee. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony. A Buchenwald subcamp was established there in the autumn of 1944 where the prisoners worked at the Rheinmetall-Borsig AG, Werk Sömmerna, on Dreyse-Platz. Already months before, the Rheinmetall-Borsig AG had requisitioned 1,100 female laborers: 650 were to work in the detonation factory and 450 in the test factory (*Laborierwerk*).

The camp was located 20 minutes away by foot in the Pestalozzistrasse close to the Erfurt-Nordhausen railway line. It was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence with guard towers and consisted of six barracks. The guards' accommodation was outside the camp. The camp was under the command of

SS-Oberscharführer Eugen Dietrich, who was in charge of 16 SS men and 22 female guards. The wardresses were staff from Rheinmetall-Borsig who had been trained in Ravensbrück. Originally, the company had even offered larger numbers of women to the Buchenwald concentration camp to be trained as guards.

On September 19, 1944, 1,216 Hungarian Jewish women arrived at Sömmerna and began working the next day. They were severely traumatized. They had lived through a bombing raid in their former camp at Gelsenkirchen-Horst. As a result the Gelsenkirchen-Horst camp was dissolved with 84 injured women remaining in hospitals in Gelsenkirchen and its surrounding area. They were sent in separate transports to Sömmerna up until the beginning of April 1945. On March 1, 1945, the Sömmerna camp had 1,293 women, reaching its maximum capacity.

Under the control of German skilled tradesmen and foremen, the women manufactured ammunition, working on a large number of machines such as drills, milling machines, and precision revolving lathes. Although not many details of the work and living conditions are known, the high rate of illness at around 10 percent is indicative of the difficult work and living conditions. Many women suffered from illnesses arising from the cold including bronchitis, lung diseases, and stomach and bowel problems, as well as general weakness and malnutrition. According to official records, nine women died in the Sömmerna subcamp. The statistics do not record the number of babies born in the prisoners' infirmary. According to a survivor, there were several births in the camp. The newborns were removed from their mothers and killed.

Sömmerna is one of the few subcamps where there are records of the women's cultural activities. There was a camp paper, and the women wrote and performed new lyrics to popular couplets and chansons in which they described their fate as prisoners. It was possible for religious Jews, albeit secretly, to maintain their prayers and fasting.

The factory was closed in the middle of March due to production difficulties. On April 4, 1945, the women were taken from the camp by foot in an easterly direction. The women incapable of marching were taken by rail to Altenburg. The women marched via Mühlhausen, Bad Kösen, Naumburg, and Zeitz. On April 10, 1945, they were split into two groups: one group moved via Zitzendorf to Meuselwitz, where they continued their death march with the prisoners of that camp. The second group, after a two-day stop in Altenburg, was driven to Glauchau. Here some of the women, thanks to an American tank attack, were able to escape and were rescued. The remainder of the women marched in a southeasterly direction; most likely they were to be taken to Theresienstadt, but before they arrived there, they were liberated by Soviet troops on May 9, 1945, in the vicinity of Cheb (Eger).

The camp commander, Eugen Dietrich, was interned by U.S. troops for a short time but was not tried. He died in 1955.

Between 1966 and 1971 the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) investigated the Sömmerna subcamp. The investigations ceased in 1971 without any results.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel contributed the article on the Sömmerna subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 575–577. The fate of two Sömmerna survivors, Romanian Jew Judith Rosenthal and Hungarian Jew Sarah Udi, is described in *Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris*, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 112–127. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:58; and in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1841.

The USHMM has the following archival material on the Sömmerna subcamp: Lilly Isaacs papers, Acc. 1995.88, consisting of two diaries written by Isaacs while she was a prisoner in Sömmerna; and an oral history interview with Rose Lazarus about her experiences as a prisoner in Gelsenkirchen and Sömmerna, RG-50.002*0083. Other sources on the Sömmerna subcamp are located in the collections of the AG-B and collection NS 4 Bu (for example, reference 221), at BA-K. Investigations by the ZdL in the late 1960s and the early 1970s are in file 429 AR-Z 1927/66 and 130/1970, which is held at BA-L.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SONNEBERG-WEST (“SONNEBERG,” “SG”)

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Sonneberg-West (Thüringen) in September 1944 to provide labor to the Firma G.E. Reinhardt Zahnradfabrik (gear factory). Its code name in related documentation was “Sonneberg” or “Sg.” Like other armaments manufacturing firms that exploited prisoner labor during the war, the G.E. Reinhardt firm hired out inmates from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled laborer per day.¹ The average strength of the prisoner population was about 400 inmates during its six-month operation.

The first transport to Sonneberg-West left Buchenwald on September 14, 1944, with 260 inmates.² However, evidence of a possible earlier transport is suggested in a surviving telegram from the SS (presumably the Labor Allocation Office) to the G.E. Reinhardt firm, dated August 27, 1944.³ The telegram states that the transport from Częstochowa (Tschenstochau) arrived (to what exact location is unclear) and that the SS officer who sent it should be informed by the firm when the accommodations and security apparatuses are ready for the incoming inmates. According to the telegram, this group of prisoners was scheduled to be transferred to the G.E. Reinhardt firm in Sonneberg-West, located at Hallestrasse 39, on September 1 or 2.

Inmates were brought to a camp, the barracks of which were most likely located on the grounds of the firm itself. They may have also been accommodated in sand pits in the immediate vicinity of the Reinhardt firm. The inmates were

used for labor in the manufacture of aircraft parts for Ju 52 transport planes, as well as other gear mechanisms for tanks and other weapons.

The inmates were transported to the Sonneberg camp from the main Buchenwald camp and possibly from elsewhere (such as Częstochowa and Gross-Rosen). After the transport of 260 prisoners on September 14, additional transports arrived in Sonneberg (among other possible dates) on October 5 (4 inmates), October 12 (20), November 14 (1), November 17 (150), and February 15 (50). The inmates were Jewish males, and many were from Poland and Hungary. One Hungarian Jewish former inmate reported that the food and treatment in the Sonneberg camp were better than what he had received in Buchenwald. However, he recalled that “it did not take long; the SS sergeants came and they spoiled it. The German workers behaved quite normally, they did not beat us too much, but the SS did . . . it was terrible.”⁴ Another former inmate recalled nothing else but being provided little to no food or drink and receiving constant beatings.⁵

In several instances, inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp due to illness or incapacity for work. At least one inmate was returned due to a knee injury; therefore, it can be deduced that working conditions in the camp were difficult and even dangerous.⁶ One trace of a recorded death survives: a Polish Jew named Friedman Eliass, transported to Sonneberg on November 4, 1944, died February 6, 1945, due to pleuropneumonia.⁷

Scarce details remain about the guards or commandant of the Sonneberg camp. In a report by the garrison doctor of the Waffen-SS, dated January 31, 1945, the camp is listed under “Jewish external details” (Jüdische Aussenkommandos) with the SS medic as Eger and 33 guards assigned.⁸ At this time, the camp held 423 prisoners.

The Sonneberg camp was evacuated at the end of March or early April 1945, and the prisoners were marched toward Lehesten. However, some sources note that the prisoners were brought back to the camp, where they stayed one night before they were evacuated again to the Sudetenland (see Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke). According to one survivor, the camp was evacuated on April 3, and the prisoners were marched on foot. “After a week we returned to Sonneberg, [and] then we spent a day there and then we were taken again, this time to the opposite direction. We kept on marching until the eighth of May. For the whole trip we got two kilograms [4.4 pounds] of bread, ten decagrams [3.5 ounces] of margarine, and two spoonfuls of sour cream. . . . The mortality rate was twenty-five percent. Twenty-one were shot. Those unable to walk were shot.”⁹ They were liberated in the vicinity of Luditz on May 7 or 8, 1945, by American troops.

Two postwar proceedings were conducted against former guards in the Sonneberg camp. The accused, Ottomar Böh. and Josef Brü. (full surnames classified), were brought to trial in Marburg for the killing of prisoners during the evacuation of Sonneberg and the subsequent march into the Sudetenland. Proceedings against them were suspended, and they were both acquitted in December 1970.¹⁰

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Sonneberg subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Sonneberg in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Außenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

Surviving primary documentation on the Sonneberg subcamp is also limited. For administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), the BA, as copied in the USHMM, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210. See also a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Sonneberg camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 50, Reel 17. Testimony from former inmates can also be found in other archives and repositories; for example, MZML contains thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by the relief agency DEGOB; see especially protocols 636 and 744.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. "Transport Sonneberg," Weimar-Buchenwald, September 14, 1944 (BU 50), AN-MACVG as reproduced in USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. "Diensttelegramm: G.E. Reinhardt," August 27, 1944, BA NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMM, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210.

4. MZML, DEGOB, Protocol, no. 636, P.S. [translation by Gábor Kádár].

5. MZML, DEGOB, Protocol, no. 1782, M.K. According to this transcript, M.K. arrived at Sonneberg from the Gross-Rosen camp.

6. "Transport Buchenwald" from Sonneberg, November 8, 1944 (two inmates); "Transport Buchenwald" from Sonneberg, November 12, 1944 (two to three inmates); "Transport Buchenwald" from Sonneberg, November 29, 1944 (one inmate, knee injury); "Transport Buchenwald" from Sonneberg, January 18, 1945 (BU 50), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

7. Reports on deaths in the Aussenkommandos, Weimar-Buchenwald, February 13, 1945 (BU 36/4), Document 213, p. 3, USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

8. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 253.

9. MZML, DEGOB, Protocol, no. 636, P.S.

10. Case Nr. 744, NS Crimes in Detainment Centers,

Final Phase Crimes in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* ed. Fritz Bauer (Amsterdam: Univ. Press Amsterdam, 1968) vol. 34.

STASSFURT ("REH")

[AKA NEU-STASSFURT, STASSFURT I]

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in September 1944 in Stassfurt (Saxony province) to provide labor for underground construction in the armaments industry. The use of concentration camp labor stemmed from an agreement between the Ingenieurbüro Schlempp (Schlempp Engineering Office) and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which hired out inmates to the firm at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.¹ The Stassfurt subcamp, also indicated on reports as the "Neu-Stassfurt" or "Stassfurt I" camp, was code-named "Reh," and its average prisoner strength was about 450 inmates. A second subcamp, known as Stassfurt (Wälzer & Co.), was established nearby with prisoners from the Stassfurt I subcamp in January 1945.

The first transport of inmates to Stassfurt left the Buchenwald main camp on September 13, 1944. This initial transport consisted of 500 inmates, all male and predominantly French political prisoners.² The inmates were initially employed to work in subterranean construction projects for the Schlempp engineering firm in two salt mines: shaft four and shaft six. Schlempp was leading the effort to construct underground installations for the Siemens-Schuckert Werke AG (Siemens-Schuckert Works, SSW) and Kabel- und Leitungswerke AG (Cable and Wire Works, Inc., KALAG). Construction continued until January 1945, when production at the KALAG firm began, also employing prisoner labor. At this time, about 200 prisoners were siphoned to the Georg Wälzer & Co. firm, also in Stassfurt. On November 13, 1944, 20 skilled inmates were assigned to work as electricians at Siemens-Schuckert in shaft six.³

The Stassfurt camp was said to have been located between Löderburg-Lust and Atzendorf and consisted of four wooden barracks surrounded by a double tier of barbed-wire fencing. Outside the fencing there were two barracks for the SS guard staff. The camp had been newly constructed by Italian military internees who had also been incarcerated in Stassfurt prior to the French camp inmates' arrival. The camp population remained relatively constant (between 450 and 500 inmates) until January 1945, when additional transports of inmates (including Russians and Polish Jews) were transported to Stassfurt for work in the KALAG firm and for Wälzer.⁴

The working conditions for inmates in the Stassfurt camp were terrible. For those on the day shifts in the mines, the day began at 4:30 A.M., when the inmates received small rations of ersatz coffee and bread. By 6:00 A.M., the prisoners departed for work in the mines, which lasted up until 7:00 P.M., with a half-hour break at midday. At the end of the day, the prisoners endured the nightly roll call, after having been distributed soup rations. Former inmates recall a constant hunger and obsession with finding food, as well as the brutal

maltreatment from the guards and Kapos, or prisoner work overseers. Memoranda exchanged between the Stassfurt camp administration and the Buchenwald main camp detail some of the illnesses that befell the inmates in Stassfurt, such as influenza, typhus, and conditions that made them otherwise incapable of work (*arbeitsunfähig*).⁵

Little is known about the guard staff of the Stassfurt camp. The commandant was SS-Sturmscharführer Wagner, and the camp elder (Lagerältester) was Bernard Baur, a German prisoner. The prisoners generally referred to the guards and Kapos by first or nicknames; therefore, little information about their identities can be discerned. According to a report filed by the SS garrison doctor for Buchenwald, Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky, on January 31, 1945, there were 49 guards in the Stassfurt camp at this time and 494 inmates (not including those used for work at the Wälzer & Co.). The SS doctor in charge of the infirmary in the Stassfurt camp was named Reins, and the SS medic, Grosser.⁶

The Stassfurt camp complex was evacuated on or around April 10, 1945, in face of the approaching front. The inmates were driven on a deadly march toward Czechoslovakia, during which hundreds more perished. Those who survived the foot march were liberated in the region of Annaburg.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Stassfurt subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Stassfurt in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, “Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)” (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). Additional information can be found through the Amicale des Anciens Déportés de Neu-Stassfurt, which has created a Web site and published brochures and testimony of former inmates (see excerpts at www.pierre-henin.com).

Surviving primary documentation on the Stassfurt subcamp is also limited. For administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, including a collection of prisoner lists to and from the camp, as well as other documentation related to postwar reconstruction of the fate of French inmates, see the files copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 48, BU 107, and BU 100.

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NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. “Transport Reh,” Buchenwald, September 13, 1944 (BU 48), AN-MACVG as reproduced in USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. “Folgende 20 Häftlinge . . .,” November 13, 1944 (BU 48), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. See transport lists, and a reconstruction of the movement of prisoners to Reh, in BU 48, USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

5. “An die Rapportführer KL BU,” SS AbKdo, Reh, Schacht VI, September 27, 1944 (BU 48), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

6. “K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt,” January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel: *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 251.

STASSFURT (WÄLZER & CO.)

[AKA STASSFURT II]

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in January 1945 in Stassfurt (Saxony province) to provide camp inmate labor to the Wälzer & Co. firm. The use of concentration camp labor in Stassfurt stemmed originally from an agreement forged in the late summer of 1944 between the Ingenieurbüro Schlempp (Schlempp Engineering Office) and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which hired out inmates to the firm at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.¹ The Stassfurt subcamp, also indicated in reports as “Stassfurt II,” was established with inmates that had been transported to the Stassfurt I subcamp and who were deployed in January 1945 to work for Wälzer & Co.

The Wälzer camp population remained relatively constant at about 200 prisoners. Like the Stassfurt I camp, the Stassfurt II camp was last mentioned on April 10, 1945, when the inmates were sent on a death march in the direction of Annaburg. There is no concrete information about whether this work detail (Kommando) had living quarters separate from the Stassfurt I camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Stassfurt subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Stassfurt in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, “Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)” (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). Additional information can be found through the Amicale des Anciens Déportés de Neu-Stassfurt, which has created a Web site and published brochures and testimony of former inmates (see excerpts on www.pierre-henin.com).

Surviving primary documentation on the Stassfurt subcamp is also limited. For administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, including a collection of prisoner lists

to and from the camp, as well as other documentation related to postwar reconstruction of the fate of French inmates, see the files copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 48, BU 107, and BU 100.

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NOTE

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

Surviving primary documentation on the Suhl subcamp is also scarce. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Buchenwald subcamps copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, BU 50 and BU 8/17.

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NOTES

1.“Transportliste Suhl,” Buchenwald, ca. July 19, 1943, AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 50).

2.“Nach Aussenkommandos gingen,” [Buchenwald], dates illegible, USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 8/17).

SUHL

In July 1943, a subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Suhl (Thüringen) about 80 kilometers (50 miles) southwest of Weimar, attached to the munitions factory Gustloff-Werke. Before it was appropriated by Gauleiter of Thüringen and engineer Fritz Sauckel in 1935, the Gustloff-Werke firm was originally known as the Suhler Waffen- und Fahrzeugwerk (Suhler Weapons and Vehicle Works), founded by Jewish brothers Löb and Moses Simson in 1856. The Simsons' firm had been the only Jewish-owned firm to receive contracts from the German army after the Treaty of Versailles. After having the firm's owners arrested by 1935, the firm was “aryanized.” Sauckel renamed the company after Wilhelm Gustloff, a Swiss Nazi who was shot in Bern in February 1936 by a Jewish student named David Frankfurter.

The Suhl subcamp existed for a relatively brief period, from July 15, 1943, to October 2, 1943, when the between 80 and 100 inmates were deported to Mittelbau. The inmates were used for the construction of barracks for a slave labor camp. Only two transport records could be located, the first of which shows the transfer of 1 prisoner, a Russian political prisoner, from Buchenwald to Suhl in July 1943.¹ Another report, dated either September or October 1943, shows the transfer of a Polish prisoner to Suhl.²

SOURCES There are few resources, either secondary or primary, on the Buchenwald subcamp in Suhl. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Suhl in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, “Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)” (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

TANNENWALD

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in the vicinity of Usingen (Hessen-Nassau province, Prussia), most likely in Dornholzhausen, on December 7, 1944, to supply labor for special projects attached to the “Adlerhorst” and “Tannenwald” SS center of operations. Adlerhorst was set up in the Kransberg castle after it had been confiscated by the Nazis in September 1939. From 1941, together with the Ziegenberg castle, parts of the castle served as a military convalescent home and as a Luftwaffe main headquarters for Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring. The castle was renovated to accommodate its expanding role. At the beginning of 1944, the seat of the Nazi Party Province Administration (Gauleitung) Hessen-Nassau was located there. In 1944 and 1945, Kransberg also served as Himmler’s and Göring’s “Tannenwald” headquarters (Feldpost No. 14.441).

In order to increase structural security around the location, an effort that was led by the Bauinspektion “Rhein-West” Waffen-SS und Polizei (Construction Inspectorate “Rhine-West” Waffen-SS and Police) of Wiesbaden and planned by the Organisation Todt (OT), a prisoner construction work detail (Kommando) was ordered from Buchenwald to work on the construction of an underground tunnel and bunker system. Originally, the camp was planned to receive inmates from Natzweiler but was changed to the administrative responsibility of Buchenwald.¹ On December 7, 1944, 10 inmates were transported from the Buchenwald main camp to the Kransberg castle.² Their first assignment was to construct the Tannenwald subcamp itself, which was most likely located between the old castle walls and the cemetery. After the construction of the barracks, which were built to hold up to 100 inmates, as well as an administrative and supplies structure, the prisoners were assigned to work on the proposed tunneling project. The main goal of their labor was to construct an escape tunnel underground from the SS bunker in the castle to the street.

The inmates were forced to build a tunnel into the mountainside. Because the prisoners lacked equipment for the terribly difficult work, as well as proper protective clothing in the harsh winter, working conditions in the Tannenwald camp were miserable. The broken stones, which were excavated by hand, were carted in trucks away from the construction area

and dumped elsewhere. Constantly hungry and exhausted, the prisoners also endured maltreatment from the guards and work overseers. According to a report by the chief of labor allocation in Buchenwald dated January 6, 1945, unskilled workers who were apportioned to Tannenwald were hired out from the SS at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per laborer per day.³

The prisoners in the Tannenwald camp were all men, and at most, the camp held between 42 and 44 prisoners during its nearly four-month existence (although on average it only held about 30). According to a Buchenwald work statistical report, it was supposed to be allotted up to 100 inmates.⁴ Most of the inmates were from the Soviet Union and Poland, with smaller numbers of German, Czech, Italian, and French prisoners making up the camp population. The number of inmates remained relatively constant. Periodically, inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald due to their being deemed incapable of work (*arbeitsunfähig*). For example, on January 5, 1945, the commandant of the Tannenwald camp signed a memo to the Rapportführer in Buchenwald, stating that prisoner Nikolay Spuskaw was to be transferred back to Buchenwald in exchange for another inmate due to his incapacity for work.⁵ On an itemized list of inmates in the camp, dated March 23, 1945, 12 inmates are listed along with their "professions": 1 shoemaker, 2 blacksmiths, 2 bricklayers, 2 locksmiths, an electrician, and so forth.⁶

Transport lists signed by the commandant are illegible, though his rank can be determined as SS-Unterscharführer.⁷

Likewise, there is no further information about living conditions, escape attempts, or resistance within the camp. According to the research of local historian Bernd Vorlaeufer-Germer, some local youths were able to sneak extra food to some of the prisoners on occasion, thereby somewhat easing the inmates' situation.

Due to the fast-changing front, the prisoners were unable to finish the efforts begun on the underground tunneling. At the end of March 1945, they were evacuated back to the Buchenwald main camp and received there on March 31, 1945. The first leg of their trip back to Buchenwald was by forced march on foot, before they were loaded onto a train in the area of Weimar and taken to the camp. The Kransberg castle and surrounding areas were liberated by American troops in June 1945.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources on the Tannenwald subcamp of Buchenwald. An article by Bernd Vorlaeufer-Germer, "Häftlinge bauten einen Tunnel für Himmler," *FR*, April 12, 2005, provides a short overview of the camp, and much of this entry builds upon this information. Another article by Torsten Weigelt, "Tunnelbau für Himmler und Göring," *FR*, May 11, 2004, also briefly mentions the Tannenwald subcamp as well as the ongoing research efforts of Vorlaeufer-Germer and the Arbeitsgemeinschaft für politische Bildung im Hochtaunuskreis (www.arbeit-und-leben-hochtaunus.de). For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Tannenwald in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne

Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. For similar information, see also the Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand, ed., *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945, Hessen I, Regierungsbezirk Darmstadt* (Frankfurt-Bockenheim, 1995).

Primary documentation on the Tannenwald subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections including AG-B. See in particular a collection of transport lists to and from the Tannenwald camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 50, Reel 17. For administrative documentation mentioning the Tannenwald subcamp (a report on prisoner number 769, a skilled worker allocated to Tannenwald but working for the DAW, and work statistic information dated December 1944), see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210, Fiche 1, and BA Band 8: "Einsatz von Häftlingen zu kriegswichtigen Arbeiten und in kriegswichtigen Betrieben, 1944–945."

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NOTES

1. "Kommando Tannenwald, An die Abteilung I, II, III, IV, V . . . , Arbeitseinsatz, KZ Buchenwald, December 10, 1944, BA NS-4, USHMMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 8, p. 13.

2. "Transport Tannenwald," December 7, 1944, Buchenwald (BU 50) AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17).

3. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

4. "Kommando Tannenwald, An die Abteilung I, II, III, IV, V . . . , Arbeitseinsatz, KZ Buchenwald, December 10, 1944, BA NS-4, USHMMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 8, p. 13.

5. An den I. Rapportführer des K.L. Buchenwald, January 5, 1945 (BU 50), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17).

6. "Personalaufstellung der zum Konzentrationslager Buchenwald überstellten Häftlinge vom Arb. Kdo., Feldp. Nr. 14441," March 23, 1945 (BU 50), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17).

7. An den I. Rapportführer des K.L. Buchenwald, January 5, 1945 (BU 50), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17). The document is signed by "SS-Uscha. U. Kdo. Führer," but the signature is largely illegible.

TANNRODA

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Tannroda (Thüringen) in 1942 to provide labor to the Mitteldeutsche Papierwerke company in Tannroda. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp was first mentioned in Buchenwald-related records on June 12, 1942, and last mentioned on November 4, 1942. However, a report on the use of labor in Buchenwald dated October 25, 1941, notes that there were 15 unskilled laborers in Tannroda; therefore, the camp

(or an outlying work detail from Buchenwald) may have existed already in 1941.¹

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Tannroda subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Tannroda in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, “Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)” (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

Surviving primary documentation on the Tannroda subcamp is also scarce. For administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), the BA, as copied in the USHMM, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206. The AG-B and AG-MD may contain other relevant documentation.

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NOTE

1. “Einsatz der Berufe im Lager Buchenwald,” October 25, 1941, BA NS-4, USHMM, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206, Fiche 4.

TAUCHA (MEN)

Taucha lies about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) to the east of Leipzig. In the autumn of 1944, the Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) established a male subcamp in Factory II, Freiherr-vom-Stein-Strasse 3a, a few days after a subcamp for women had been opened.

The camp is mentioned for the first time on October 10, 1944, when around 100 prisoners from Auschwitz II-Birkenau arrived in Taucha. Most of the prisoners in this transport came from Theresienstadt, with a few from Hungary. The men arrived at the same time as a transport of Jewish women. They were held in the camp complex on Wurzner Strasse 33, which was separated from the women's camp with barbed wire. Both the male and female subcamps were about a 30-minute walk from the HASAG factories, where the prisoners worked. The detachment leader of the male camp was SS-Scharführer Schmidt; the Arbeitseinsatzführer was SS-Hauptscharführer Martin. SS-Unterscharführer Langner was also involved in the camp's administration.

Later around 100 prisoners of other nationalities were brought to the camp, including French, Italians, Yugoslavs, Latvians, Poles, Germans, Russians, Swedes, and Slovaks. At the end of October or the beginning of November 1944, the camp reached 700 inmates (the highest number that would be reached) after 500 Danish policemen arrived at the camp. The policemen were used for a short time to construct a railway embankment close to the HASAG, and at the beginning of November, they

were returned to the main Buchenwald camp. The loss of labor was compensated for in mid-November with the admission of new prisoners so that the camp strength reached at this time around 400 prisoners. This number would remain largely unchanged until the end of the camp—on March 29, 1945, there were 460 prisoners in the subcamp.

The prisoners worked in Factory III at HASAG where, among other things, they assembled antitank weapons (*Panzerfäuste*) and grenades. The working and living conditions were difficult, a fact supported by the number of illnesses the prisoners suffered, many of which resulted in death. They included tuberculosis, diphtheria, pneumonia, and heart attacks. The subcamp had an infirmary with SS medical orderlies and prisoner doctors and nurses. In the event of serious accidents, HASAG used the factory doctor and a doctor under contract. This suggests that HASAG and the SS, at least to a certain extent, wanted to maintain the valuable, trained workforce but were not interested in a basic, humane use of the prisoners' labor and an improvement in their work and living conditions.

Although contact was not envisaged between the male and female camps, it was tolerated by the camp command. Inmates from both camps could rehearse a New Year's performance and perform several times before the inmates of both camps.

The evacuation of the camp began on April 6, 1945. The prisoners were driven by foot in the direction of Teplitz-Schönau. According to survivors, their treatment along the way by the SS, under the command of SS-Scharführer Trautman, was brutal.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) commenced in 1966 to investigate events in the camp and on the death march. In 1974, the investigations were transferred to the Cologne Central Office, which ceased investigating in 1975 due to a lack of evidence.

SOURCES Charles-Claude Biedermann contributed the article on the Taucha subcamp (male) in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 585–586. Martin Schellenberg in “Die ‘Schnellaktion Panzerfaust’: Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG,” *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271, provides basic information on the role of HASAG in the development and production of the Panzerfaust and on selected HASAG subcamps in the Leipzig region. Klaus Hesse investigated the Third Reich's armaments program during World War II in 1933–1945: *Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*, pp. 29–63, and Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über “Arbeitsbeschaffung” durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Aussenlager, über gesübte und ungewöhnliche Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–108. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:59; and in “Verzeichnis der

Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1844.

Archival documents on the Taucha subcamp are to be found in the AG-B, Bestand NS 4 Bu of the BA-K, as well as in the ITS Buchenwald-Bestand. The ZdL investigated the camp under file IV 429 AR-Z 13/74 at BA-L.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
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TAUCHA (WOMEN)

Since 1939 the Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) had had a factory in Taucha, about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) to the east of Leipzig. In 1939, the company had acquired in Taucha 33 storage buildings in Wurzner Strasse and converted the buildings into a factory for the production of cartridge shells and grenades. Production began in 1940. In the following years German and foreign forced laborers worked in Taucha, as in many other HASAG factories. Klaus Hesse, who has analyzed the armaments industry in the Leipzig region between 1933 and 1945, has connected the imposing increase in the number of HASAG "workforce members" (*Gefolgschaftsmitglieder*) with the increase in armaments production in the Third Reich: during "normal times" the HASAG had 2,000 Gefolgschaftsmitgliedern (according to the chairman of the HASAG supervisory board in a letter from 1943 to the Reich Trustee for Labor for the Saxon Business Region, or Reichstreuhänder für Arbeit für das Wirtschaftsgebiet Sachsen). By the end of 1939 the HASAG had 29,056; by the end of 1941, 43,468; in June 1943, 53,740; and in March 1944, around 64,000. Sixty percent of these workers were foreigners, and many of the forced laborers who slaved for the HASAG—at the end of 1944 it was more than 10,000—were not included in the statistics.

The forced laborers were accommodated mostly in barracks camps. At the beginning of September 1944, another barracks camp was established in the Freiherr-vom-Stein-Strasse in Taucha, which was fenced in with barbed wire and had guard towers. It was planned to hold more than 1,000 female concentration camp prisoners who were to work for the HASAG. After Leipzig-Schönefeld, Schlieben, and Altenburg, Taucha became the fourth female HASAG subcamp. The camp is mentioned for the first time in the Buchenwald files on September 7, 1944, when 500 Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) arrived in the camp. They had originally come from Auschwitz and had ended up in Taucha after traveling via Ravensbrück and the HASAG camps in Schlieben and Altenburg. More female Sinti and Roma were concentrated in Taucha than in any other Buchenwald subcamp. Many of the women worked with poisonous substances, as evidenced by the burns and discolorations on their skin and hair.

At the beginning of September 1944, the new camp leader, SS-Scharführer Schmidt from Buchenwald, arrived in Taucha. Schmidt, whom the women soon began to fear because of his brutality, was in command of 50 SS men and 14 female guards.

Other transports arrived on September 16 and October 6, each with 300 women from Ravensbrück. Just about all of the

women were political prisoners from many nations: Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia, Croatia, Lithuania, Poland, Serbia, Bohemia, Moravia, and the United States. On October 10, 400 Jewish women arrived from Auschwitz. They were accompanied by a transport of 100 men, for whose quarters one of the barracks in the women's camp was fenced off with barbed wire.

On October 13, 1944, the commander of the subcamp reported that the camp held 1,371 female and male prisoners including 335 female Gypsies, 400 female Jews, and 536 female "Aryans."

Jews and Sinti and Roma had to work in the most dangerous areas, where they quickly succumbed to the appalling work conditions. Within a month of the camp being founded, 168 women who could no longer work were sent back to Auschwitz, including 149 Sinti and Roma and 19 Jews. There the women were given new prisoner numbers and transferred back to Ravensbrück.

The women in the subcamp had inadequate clothing, and there was an almost complete lack of hygiene. For example, until the end of 1944 there was no washing facility for the women; it was only from December that the women were able to wash themselves and sometimes take a warm shower. It was only in November 1944 that the female prisoner doctor in the camp took up her practice. In these three months, 3 prisoners died and many of them suffered from typhus, diphtheria, tuberculosis, and other illnesses caused by consumption, exhaustion, and malnutrition. In the autumn of 1944, on average 4.5 women were ill each day and confined to quarters, with 177 receiving outpatient treatment. The numbers of women confined to quarters from illness on January 20, 1945, had increased to 177.

In January 1945, the subcamp was placed under new command: SS-Unterscharführer Martin Wagner replaced the camp leader, SS-Scharführer Schmidt. Supported by SS-Untersturmführer Wolfgang Plaul, who was in command of all HASAG subcamps, Wagner demanded that Buchenwald SS-Standortarzt Gerhard Schiedlausky immediately improve the women's medical care. In the following period, there was in fact a small improvement, but the SS was incapable of fundamentally improving the conditions of the women in the last few months of the war due to the general conditions in Germany and the general disinterest of the SS in the prisoners' situation. Toward the end of the camp's existence, 70 women who could no longer work were taken back to Ravensbrück. They were replaced by internal transfers from the HASAG complex of subcamps. Some 100 women arrived in Taucha from Leipzig-Schönefeld on February 28, 1945. A final transport of severely ill women left Taucha a few days before the subcamp was evacuated. 150 women were taken to Bergen-Belsen including 67 Sinti and Roma.

On April 6, 1945, according to the International Tracing Service (ITS), or April 14, 1945, according to historian Irmgard Seidel, the evacuation of the approximately 1,200 women in the camp began. As with prisoners generally in the Leipzig region, the women from Taucha were led in an easterly direction until they reached the Elbe River near Riesa. From there

they marched south in the direction of Teplice. Many women were able to escape along the way, and many were shot by the SS when they could no longer march. The women were finally liberated by Soviet and U.S. troops when the troops entered the Sudetenland.

Eighty seriously ill women and a few nursing staff remained in the Taucha subcamp. After the SS left the camp, they were guarded by the German Home Guard (Volkssturm) men. The prisoners were liberated a few days later by the U.S. Army.

In 1966 the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) investigated the subcamp and the death march. In 1974, the preliminary results of the investigation were sent to the Central Office in Cologne. Investigations ceased in 1975 due to a lack of evidence.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel contributed the article on the Taucha subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 582–585. Information on the HASAG and its use of prisoners can be found in Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271; as well as in Klaus Hesse, 1933–1945: *Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig* 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*; pp. 29–64; Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene aus KZ-Aussenlager, über gesübte und ungesübte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–109.

There are several witness accounts of the Taucha subcamp. Ruth Elias, a survivor who with her future husband, one of the prisoners at the male camp who rehearsed and performed at the New Years' event, published her memoirs under the title *Die Hoffnung hieß mich am Leben* (Munich: VERLAG, 1988). The fate of survivor Nina Schalagina is described in *Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris)*, ed., *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 85–87. Jeanne Levy-Rosenberg, another survivor, describes her evacuation in the spring of 1945 to Taucha and her one-week stay in the camp before the death march continued in *Durch die Hölle. Von Hoannd durch Auschwitz-Birkenau, Ravensbrück, Malchow, Taucha, zurück und nach Israel. Jüdische Schicksale 1944–1949*, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre-Verlag, 2000), p. 116. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:59; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," BGBl. (1977), Teil 1, p. 1844.

The collections of the USHMM hold several witness documents including oral history interviews with the survivors Ruth Elias [Eliaz] (RG 50-120*0036) and Erna Elerat (RG-50.120*0035). Other archival documents on the subcamp can be seen in the AG-B, collection NS 4 Bu (BA-K),

as well as IPN, sygn. 4. Investigations by the ZdL were conducted under reference file IV 429 AR-Z 13/74 and are held at BA-L.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

TONNDORF ("T")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Tonndorf with an initial 6 inmates, possibly as early as August 1941. Sources on the exact opening dates of the camp vary, while some surviving documentation indicates that the camp (or even an outlying work detail [Kommando] from Buchenwald with the same name) existed already in 1938. The Tonndorf camp's code name in related documentation is "T," and the average strength of the subcamp's prisoner population in the years 1944–1945 was about 45 inmates. Located about 5.5 kilometers (3.4 miles) from Bad Berka, the Tonndorf subcamp was created to supply laborers to the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS (Waffen-SS Construction Directorate) B II.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) records, the camp opened either on August 30, 1941, with 5 Buchenwald inmates, or September 27, 1943, with 6 Buchenwald inmates. Correspondence from the SS-Obersturmführer and chief of Bauleitung II to the Buchenwald "protective custody" camp chief (Schutzhäftlagerführer), dated October 3, 1945, details instructions for bringing in food for the "six inmates of the Tonndorf Kommando."¹ By January 13, 1945, there were at least 44 inmates in the camp, and by March 29, 1945, 112, according to ITS. One transport of 40 inmates may have arrived in Berka in mid-March 1945 from the Buchenwald subcamp Abteroda (Thüringen).²

The discrepancy in dates may be related to the kind of work the prisoners were assigned to do upon their arrival in Tonndorf. The earlier Kommando (1941) was said to have worked for the Steinbruch Merkel (Merkel quarry), while later work assignments (Kommando numbers 121 and 91) were divided between the Bad Berka-Martynwerke and the Blankenhain Sandgruben (sand pits). The inmates were all male and appear to have been Polish, German, Russian, Czech, and French and/or Belgian.

Some information can be gathered about the earlier Kommando (or possibly subcamp) that was created in 1938, but it is difficult to ascertain whether this group of prisoners was the same as that assigned to the Bauleitung II in 1943. According to work statistics reports on expected labor assignments submitted in September and December 1938, and designated as "outlying work gangs" (*Kolonnen ausserhalb der Postenkette*), a Kommando was sent to Tonndorf to construct a camp in the vicinity of Tonndorf, near Bad Berka, as well as to perform excavation for future irrigation.³ It is possible that this labor was begun by movable or temporary work Kommandos from Buchenwald and later continued, in part, by the inmates in the more permanent Tonndorf subcamp.

Moreover, according to ITS records, there was a subcamp or Kommando of Tonndorf called Bad Berka. It is noted

briefly in March 1945 that there were two transports from Buchenwald to Berka, the second of which also saw inmates transferred to Blankenhain (and one of which may have originated from the subcamp in Abteroda).⁴

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Tonndorf subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Tonndorf in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagerystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records.

Surviving primary documentation on the Tonndorf subcamp is also limited. For administrative documentation mentioning the Tonndorf subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMM, RG 14.023M, BA Band 170, 209. See also a collection of prisoner lists in the Tonndorf camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally ITS), stored at USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 50, Reel 17. Other documentation may be found in the AG-B.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. "Verpflegung für Häftlinge Kommando Tonndorf," Weimar-Buchenwald, October 3, 1943, BA NS-4, USHMM, RG 14.023M, BA Band 209.
2. "Transport Berka," Buchenwald, March 17, 1945 (BU 44), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045.
3. "Bericht der Arbeitsstatistik über: Voraussichtliche Arbeitsplätze der beweglichen Kolonnen am 3. September 1938" and "Bericht der Arbeitsstatistik über: Voraussichtliche Arbeitsplätze der beweglichen Kolonnen am 9. September 1938," Buchenwald, BA NS-4, USHMM, RG 14.023M, BA Band 170.
4. "Transport Berka," KL Buchenwald, March 17, 1945 (40 inmates) (BU 50), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17). See also "Transport Tonndorf," KL Buchenwald, ca. March 2, 1945 (25 inmates to Bad Berka) (BU 50), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17).

TORGAU

The city of Torgau is on the Elbe River to the northeast of Leipzig. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony. A Buchenwald subcamp was established in Torgau with the arrival of a transport of 500 prisoners from Ravensbrück on September 4, 1944. The women were mostly French political prisoners—according to a survivor, two-thirds of them were members of the French resistance. There were also in the transport 3 Americans, 3 Britons, 3 Swiss, 2 Italians, 2 stateless persons, a Belgian, a Dane, a Pole, and a Russian, all of whom had been arrested in France. Most of the women wore their civilian clothes, which had been marked with a large cross sewn on in a conspicuous color so as to clearly identify the women as prisoners.

The prisoners worked in the army munitions facility or Heeresmunitionsanstalt (Heeresmunna) Torgau, which reported to the Heeresfeldzeugkommando Kassel. This structure might explain why the camp leader, Karl Weinhold, Stabsfeldwebel of the Wehrmacht, was transferred to Torgau where he became an SS-Oberscharführer. As part of his new assignment, Weinhold became a member of the Waffen-SS; prior to this, he had been a member of neither the SS nor the Nazi Party. Prisoners describe Weinhold as a "humane" camp leader. Under his command, the prisoners were not beaten, and there were no draconian punishments. Survivor Rachel Kaufmann, on the other hand, has described how after an escape attempt by a female inmate all the prisoners had their rations temporarily reduced to one-third as punishment. In light of the weakened condition of the prisoners, this must be seen as a draconian punishment. Twenty-five female overseers arrived with the prisoners. They had worked in local industries and had been sent to Ravensbrück for a short training course.

The camp was surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire fence. It consisted of a brick building and several wooden barracks in which the prisoners were accommodated as well as an infirmary, kitchen barracks, tailor, and a wash building, which only had cold water. The camp was connected to the Heeresmunitionsanstalt by a path through a field.

The women worked in two shifts. They produced bombs and grenades as well and cleaned unexploded ordnance. The last of these activities was extremely dangerous: the prisoners had to scratch residue from the inside of the ordnance and then clean it in an acidic bath. While the women were given rubber aprons, their hands and faces were not protected, with the result that the chemicals damaged their skin and lungs. Already in September 1944, two prisoners died and several fell ill from tuberculosis. The camp was dissolved after one month, with one-half of the women being transported to the Abteroda subcamp on October 2, 1944, and the other half being returned on October 5, 1944, to Ravensbrück. Only eight French women remained in the camp and were given the Buchenwald prisoner numbers 37668 to 37675.

The second phase of the camp's history began on November 18, 1944, with the arrival of 250 Hungarian Jews. Most of these women came from Carpatho-Ukraine and Siebenbürgen and had been living in ghettos and camps from May–June 1944. They were taken finally to Germany via Auschwitz. Many of the women were related. Kaufmann, who was taken to Torgau with a transport from Bergen-Belsen, described in her memoirs that she and her fellow prisoners could not work for two weeks: they were so undernourished that they first had to be fed before they could work. They received daily bread, margarine, jam, sometimes sausage, and twice daily soup. According to Kaufmann, the prisoners were surprised by the clean accommodations (each block had its own canteen and dormitory), by their being allowed to sing and organize cultural events, and by the friendly and cooperative approach of the block elders.

Other prisoners have described the working and living conditions as more debilitating: the barracks swarmed with lice and other bugs; there was only warm water once a week;

and as soon as the women began to work, the food diminished in quantity: the women were given soup only while they worked and bread once a week. The women wore dark green overalls (other sources say dark blue) and wooden clogs while working in the munitions factory. They worked in day and night shifts and, according to Kaufmann, were assigned tasks on the basis of their hand sizes: women with large hands transported munitions by pulling and pushing wagons between the individual factory buildings; women with smaller hands assembled munitions and did precision work with a variety of munitions that were produced in Torgau. Relations with the German workers can only be described as complex: officially there was a ban on contact, and it seems that many workers did in fact ignore the prisoners. Kaufmann, however, relates cases of contact and support but also of shift foremen who screamed at the prisoners and beat them.

From March 1945, as a result of the lack of supplies and the approach of the Allied troops, work ceased in individual departments. Some women were now used to drag boxes of dynamite into underground bunkers in the forests around Torgau. Food became even more scarce.

There are two accounts of the end of the Torgau subcamp: historian Irmgard Seidel states that at the beginning of April the guards and female overseers disappeared, and the commander left the women to themselves. While the women remained at night in the camp, during the day they searched for food in the vicinity of the camp and thus were discovered by U.S. troops. This probably happened after April 10, 1945 (ITS puts the date for the camp's liberation as April 26, 1945). The camp leader Weinhold was arrested. The women then set off for Leipzig, where U.S. medical units cared for them, while others made their way home.

Kaufmann, on the other hand, states that the women were evacuated at the beginning of April in goods wagons. The women were given bread but no water. Along the way, the train was attacked by Allied bombers, killing prisoners. Kaufmann and five other female prisoners were able to get through to Berlin but cannot recall when and how the accompanying soldiers disappeared.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) commenced the investigation into acts of violence in the camp in 1966. No brutal acts could be proven, and as the former camp leader, Weinhold, had died in 1966, the investigations ceased.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel contributed the entry on the Torgau subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 590–592. Statements by the survivor Rachel Kaufmann are to be found in Gerda and Manfred Struck and Christina Mulolli, eds., *Rachels Erinnerungen: Ghetto Lodz—Auschwitz—Bergen-Belsen—Torgau* (Bonn: Gegen Vergessen—Für Demokratie e.V., 2002). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:60; and “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1845.

Investigations by the ZdL are filed under file IV 429 AR-Z 1941/66 at BA-L.

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TRÖGLITZ [ALSO REHMSDORF, GLEINA] [AKA WILLE]

The Allies bombed the Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brabag) oil refineries on May 12 and 28, 1944, including the refinery at Tröglitz near Zeitz, where petroleum was derived from brown coal. The removal of the damage was slow, with the result that the Brabag commenced negotiations with the SS to use prisoners for this work. On June 4, the Buchenwald concentration camp transported the first prisoners to Tröglitz—an advanced detachment of 200 Dutch prisoners. They were accommodated in an inn at Gleina.

Until the dissolution of the camp at the beginning of April 1945, the prisoners were accommodated in three locations within the village district so that the camp is known under different names.¹ At the beginning, the prisoners lived in the village of Gleina; later, in a tent camp in Tröglitz near the Brabag factory; and from January 1, 1945, in a brick barracks camp in Rehmsdorf. The improvised camps at Gleina and Tröglitz existed simultaneously until the Gleina camp was dissolved in November 1944. All three locations were to the east of the small city of Zeitz, which later was in Sachsen-Anhalt, and to the south of Halle-an-der-Salle. The camps were initially constructed by Brabag and later by the Organisation Todt (OT), but with such haste that they remained incomplete so that the prisoners suffered from an acute shortage of space. There was a lack of toilets, washing facilities had not been properly thought through or were lacking, and there was no drainage system. Buchenwald SS-Standortarzt Gerhard Schiedlausky determined that there was a high risk of infection in the camp at Tröglitz and demanded that Brabag improve the prisoners' living conditions. The demand was prompted by economic considerations alone. The prisoners were sent to a public hospital in Zeitz for delousing before some of them, on their own initiative at the beginning of 1945, began the construction of a disinfection facility.

The SS named the camp after the cooperative Brabag factory manager, “Wille.” It was the first Buchenwald subcamp that held Jewish prisoners. In comparison with other Buchenwald subcamps, it also held the largest number of Jewish prisoners. Characteristic of the camp was the murderous construction work that the prisoners had to perform, the high death rate, and the large fluctuation in prisoner numbers. Between Buchenwald and Tröglitz there developed a regular commuter traffic: sick and dying prisoners were exchanged for new prisoners; individual prisoner-functionaries traveled regularly back and forth to the main camp.

Between June 11 and September 8, 1944, the SS transported another 5,197 prisoners to the camp, mostly Hungarian Jews. There were also a few Czechs, Poles, Ukrainians,

Rumanians, Belgians, French, Latvians, and Germans in the camp. The Jews, who included the writer Imre Kertész, had been deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau in May 1944 and then had been chosen for forced labor within Germany. From here they were transferred to Germany. The Brabag, which owned three other factories in Böhlen near Leipzig, Magdeburg/Rothensee, and Schwarzheide, used the prisoners exclusively for building and clearing work. The prisoners had to unload building materials, repair roads and railways, dig out damaged pipe and cable networks, and disarm unexploded ordnance. In so doing, German technicians could quickly rebuild the complicated chemical factory. The heavy building work and a mixture of violence and killings caused the prisoners to be completely exhausted within a few weeks. If a prisoner died on the Brabag site, they were often disposed of with the building rubble.²

The German war machine was heavily reliant on its own production of petroleum. Albert Speer, the minister for armaments, secured the production of petroleum as a result of the Allied bombardment. With Hitler's permission he instigated on May 30, 1944, the Geilenberg Program. Edmund Geilenberg, one of his most capable staff members, was put in charge of the program. Brabag was classified as an extremely important war industry and from no later than July 1944 worked closely with the Geilenberg staff. As a result, Brabag gained easier access to prisoners. The Armaments Ministry financed the reconstruction costs and the costs of the prisoners. Geilenberg and leading Brabag managers ruthlessly drove the construction work and with great urgency so that the prisoners' situation deteriorated.

In the summer of 1944, weakened and injured prisoners were transported several times from the subcamp to Buchenwald; on September 23 there was a transport of 996 prisoners. The majority were selected in Buchenwald and on October 3, 1944, transported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, where they were murdered. On November 23, 1,000 prisoners were transported to Buchenwald, 2 of whom died on the way. Five hundred prisoners were transported on November 27 to the Berga-Elster subcamp (code name "Schwalbe V"), where they had to excavate caverns for the proposed subterranean relocation of the Tröglitz factory. Fifty prisoners were immediately selected by the SS command in Berga and transported on to Buchenwald, because they were no longer capable of working. On February 6, 1945, the SS filled the gap and deported 1,175 prisoners from Buchenwald to the subcamp, which in the meantime had been relocated to Rehmsdorf. The prisoners were mostly Poles, who probably had been sent from Auschwitz to Buchenwald between January 20 and 23. On the same day, the Rehmsdorf camp SS selected 618 exhausted prisoners and transported them back to the main camp. The prisoners were killed in the following days in Block 59 by injections. On March 9, 1945, another 554 exhausted prisoners were selected in Rehmsdorf and sent to the Bergen-Belsen camp.

According to available information, there were a total of 6,641 prisoners in Tröglitz/Rehmsdorf who were forced to work.³ Some 3,974 were selected and transported to other

camps, of whom 2,000 were sent to death camps. According to SS administration files, at least 733 prisoners died in the subcamp. Of these, the SS had 658 cremated in the city crematoria in Gera, Altenburg, and Weissenfels. Indications that the Rehmsdorf prisoners were buried in mass graves at nearby Mumsdorf remain unconfirmed. Another 788 prisoners died on various transports or shortly after their arrival in Buchenwald in Block 59. The death march, which the remaining prisoners were driven on in April 1945, resulted in at least 934 deaths. In Reitzenhain on the German/Czech border, there was a massacre when low-flying Allied fighters attacked the prisoners' train. The survivors fled into a nearby forest where they were hunted and seized by SS units, members of the local Nazi Party, SA, Hitler Youth, and local Reitzenhain citizens. There was a bloodbath as the armed hunters killed 388 prisoners. The survivors reached Theresienstadt on April 21, 1945. Less than a quarter of the Rehmsdorf prisoners survived the Holocaust in Rehmsdorf and the other murder sites.

Rudolf Kenn, a long-serving member of the Buchenwald camp SS, was in charge of the SS guards at the subcamp. Seventy-seven percent of the guards were Wehrmacht soldiers who had been transferred in 1944 from the army and the Luftwaffe to the SS.⁴ None of them were called to account after the war for crimes committed in the Wille subcamp. Only a prisoner, the camp elder Hans Wolf, was sentenced to death in 1946 in the U.S. Army's Dachau trial for his brutality.

Contact between the prisoners and the local population was ambivalent. To be sure the local Nazi Party advised the villagers of the establishment of the camp and prohibited any contact with the prisoners. Nevertheless, there were many areas of contact. Prisoners worked on the construction sites with German tradesmen and Brabag employees. Prisoners also repaired private houses in the surrounding villages that had been damaged by air raids. Sick and wounded prisoners were taken to the Brabag clinic and treated by a doctor from Zeitz. The prisoners' corpses were examined by a local doctor. In addition, the state authorities were also occupied with the camp: the Merseburg Regierungspräsident was informed about all construction activity, and the registry office and the Gera cemetery argued with the SS about the correct method to register and cremate dead prisoners.

The Brabag engineers who were in charge of the construction work were put in charge by the camp SS and were extremely well informed. Even a member of the board, Heinrich Bütfisch, inspected the prisoners' work. After the end of the war, Brabag denied any responsibility for the prisoners and rejected all claims for compensation by former prisoners.⁵ After Bütfisch had been convicted in the IG Farben trial, he was awarded the Federal German Service Cross (Bundesverdienstkreuz) in 1964 by Federal President Heinrich Lübke. After public protests, Lübke had to recall the award.

SOURCES This article is based on Franka Bindernagel and Tobias Bütow's book *Ein KZ in der Nachbarschaft: Das Magdeburger Aussenlager der Brabag und der "Freundeskreis Himmler,"* 2nd ed. (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004). The camp was researched

for the first time by the East Berlin Colloquium under Professor Walter Bartel. The resulting article, which was never published, is to be found at YV. Also important is the work by Lothar Czossek, *Vernichtung, Auftrag und Vollendung. Dokumentation über das Aussenlager Rehmsdorf des KZ Buchenwald* (Rehmsdorf: Heimatverein, 1997).

Primary documentation for this camp can be found in AG-B, YVA, and the Nuremberg Trials. Additional information on the camp staff may be found in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 156/71. On Brabag's compensation cases, see LA-B, Rep. 39/ Nr. 27/1-3. Imre Kertész published his memoirs in *Roman eines Schicksallosen*, 6th ed. (Berlin: Rowohlt, 2002); as did survivor Michael Rozenek in "Wie wird es einmal enden?" (Weimar: Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, 1990). Other survivors' reports are to be found in the local museum at Rehmsdorf, Lothar Czossek, as well as in YV. For details on the Geilenberg Program, see the Franka Bindernagel and Tobias Bülow essay "Ingenieure als Täter, Die 'Geilenberg-Lager' und die Delegation von Macht," in *Lagersystem und Repräsentation: Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager*, ed. Ralph Gabriel et al., (Tübingen: Edition Diskord, 2004).

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. There are various accounts on the date the camp was dissolved: Lothar Czossek puts the date as April 6 and 7, Walter Bartel, April 12 and 13. The SS Buchenwald documents cease from April 1 and do not mention the dissolution of the camp.
2. Report by Kurt Lenzner, 1979, AG-B, 62-54-1, AL Brabag/Zeitz.
3. All the dates on the prisoner transport and the number of dead have been gathered from the AG-B and YVA. The numbers that Lothar Czossek derived from prisoner reports have not all been confirmed. AG-B, NS 4 Bu/ 136b und 230; 4-46-1-18/ Stärkemeldungen; NS 4/136a; Filme Nr. 18a und 26; Häftlingsnummernkartei.
4. BA-L (formerly ZdL), 429 AR-Z 156/ 71.
5. LA-B, Rep. 39/ Nr. 27/1-3.

UNNA

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Unna (Westfalen province) in July 1943 to provide inmate labor to the 5th SS-Korps-Nachrichten-Abteilung, which was stationed in Unna. They were assigned to work for the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei (Construction Directorate of the Waffen-SS and Police).

The camp's population did not fluctuate greatly during its seven-month operation. The first transport of 50 inmates was deported to Unna on July 24 or 26, 1943.¹ Most of the inmates on this transport were Poles, with a smaller number of "asocial" prisoners. All of the inmates were men. Additional transports from Buchenwald were sent to the Unna subcamp in the following months: on August 9, 8 inmates; September 22, 5 inmates; October 13, 5 inmates; and December 2, 2 or 3 inmates.² The inmates were most likely housed in an old brick factory near the SS barracks on Iserlohner Strasse.

The Unna subcamp was last noted in related records on February 29, 1944, with 50 prisoners. The camp may have been closed and evacuated on March 3, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Unna subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald / Unna in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949-1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). See also K.-G. Klietmann's *Die Waffen-SS: Eine Dokumentation* (Osnabrück: Verlag "Der Freiwillige" GmbH, [1965]) for brief description and breakdowns of the structure and locations of SS units. [Note that this Order of Battle was published by the Waffen-SS veterans organization.]

Surviving primary documentation on the Unna subcamp is also limited. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Unna camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 50, Reel 17.

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NOTES

1. "Transport Unna," K.L. Buchenwald, July 24/26, 1943 [exact date illegible] (BU 50), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

2. See transport lists to Unna, K.L. Buchenwald, August 9, 1943; September 22, 1943; October 13, 1943; and December 2, 1943; (BU 50), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

WANSLEBEN ("MF," "WILHELM," "BIBER II") [AKA MANSFELD]

During the course of the war, the production facilities in the Third Reich were increasingly affected by growing Allied air superiority. The ability to preserve the manufacturing capabilities for important war products became increasingly difficult. Allied air raids became more and more precise and were directed at the most important industrial facilities, such as aircraft manufacturers, which could scarcely sustain any more damage. At the beginning of 1944, Hitler decided that the most important factories should go underground. Disused mines with their kilometer-long (0.6-mile-long) tunnels were ideal for this purpose. However, there were not as many mines as were needed. In order to meet the demands of the Führer, additional bomb-safe facilities had to be created. They either had to be located in underground facilities, which had not been used before, or in above-ground buildings, which had to be built. These building and production plans demanded an enormous labor supply.

The subcamp Wansleben, which opened in January 1944, was a small part in this ambitious, urgent plan. It was located not far from Buchenwald.¹ The SS chose this location for male prisoners using the requisite guidelines. It was an unused potassium mine, Einsatz Kalliwerk Georgi in Wansleben am See, for which an underground Junkers factory was planned. The underground facilities were code-named "Wilhelm" and "Biber II." Other names associated with the camp included "MF" and Mansfeld. Documents held by the International Tracing Service (ITS) mention the camp for the first time on March 13, 1944, in a transport document from Buchenwald, which lists a transport of 50 male inmates from Buchenwald to Wilhelm.² These inmates were predominantly political Polish and Russian inmates. A handwritten notation "A VI" indicates with the letter *A* the planning proposal and with the number *VI* the order in which the project would be realized. It signifies that this operation fell under the program of the SS-Leadership Staff (Führungsstab) A6. The SS command, responsible for the use of prisoners in the subcamp in the development of the mine, was known as "A VI." From the beginning of April, the detachment was known by several names. On March 15, 1944, the first reference to the use of 300 prisoners appears.³ Until February 1945, there is documentary evidence to support the use of labor by this subcamp. The highest number of prisoners, 844, is recorded in December 1944.

There are other names that appear in the documents and refer to the use of prisoners in the production process. On July 26 1944, the company Christian Mansfeld GmbH ("Georgi-Mine") is mentioned with 50 prisoners. Prisoners transferred from here on August 24, 1944, and November 13, 1944, are recorded as working for the "Arbeitsgemeinschaft Biber II." Other firms to use this name were:

- The Kali-Werk Georgi (only for the duration of the war); the firm Christian Mansfeld GmbH Leipzig was the sole shareholder. Prisoners were used until March 1945. On January 15, 1945, there were 1,140 prisoners. This was the highest number.
- The company M. Wagner, which from November 1, 1944, used 281 prisoners. A further reference to the use of labor from March 1945 is still available. On November 27, 1944, there were 306 prisoners, the highest number for this company.

A letter dated June 11, 1944, from the work detachment "A 6 Wansleben am See" to the labor head at the main camp with reference to the exchange of prisoners shows the importance of the use of prisoner labor. The use of every prisoner was vital. For this reason, there had to be an exchange of sick for healthy prisoners. In certain cases, prisoners were put in the infirmary.⁴ There were even measures taken against flies and fleas so as to preserve hygiene.

Former inmate Pierre Bourlier has recorded some details about the living and working conditions within the Wansleben subcamp.⁵ Deported to the camp in October 1944, he re-

ported that the inmates experienced constant hunger. "The work was nothing, the beatings nothing major, the lack of sleep nothing, the discomfort nothing, the vermin an accident, but the hunger never failed to remind us of our condition." Hunger reached obsessive proportions, and with the arrival of more and more prisoners at Wansleben, rations diminished increasingly.

According to Bourlier, the workday began at 4:00 A.M. for the inmates, who were wakened brutally by the block leader (Blockführer). Prior to being sent to work, roll calls lasted for hours, and according to Bourlier, the commandant himself delivered blows to the assembled inmates. Work in the underground factory was harsh due to the high temperatures, artificial blinding light, and thick dust. Shifts left for the underground factory every 12 hours, and inmates were used to transport and install machinery. Once these were installed, they were assigned to more "skilled" labor in production. Bourlier has noted that there were attempts by the controllers to pass through defective parts to production; however, this was difficult as the assembly process was monitored closely. One chemical engineer, a Hungarian prisoner, was beaten and humiliated in front of the Kommando for accepting 200 unusable pieces. According to Bourlier, these kinds of punishments were not rare.⁶

From the transport and admission lists, it is possible to determine the nationalities of the prisoners. There were Albanians, Belgians, Danes, Germans, French, Greeks, Italians, Yugoslavians, Croats, Latvians, Lithuanians, Dutch, Poles, Portuguese, Russians, Serbs, Spaniards, Czechs, Hungarians, and stateless prisoners. It is also possible to ascertain their last places of detention before Wansleben. They were Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Flossenbürg, Gross-Rosen, Neuengamme, and Sachsenhausen.

SS-Obersturmführer Kurt Mathesius was the first commander of the camp; he was followed by SS-Sturmscharführer (Christian name, Hermann?) Helbig. Public executions took place in Wansleben in a factory hall, which was next to the salt factory. The prisoners, under the threat of being beaten, were forced to watch the executions.⁷ On April 6, 1945, a few days before the camp was evacuated, SS-Untersturmführer Göbecke, commander of the SS-Staff A VI, sent a courier to Buchenwald to ascertain what was to be done when the enemy appeared.

The Wansleben detachment was evacuated on April 11–12, 1945.⁸ On April 14, 1945, the American army occupied the village of Hinsdorf and freed the detachment. Soon after liberation, the Hinsdorf villagers reported details of the evacuation transport. The evacuation transport is said to have gone through Angersdorf, Zöberitz, Nienberg, Weissandt-Gölzau, Arensdorf, Köthen, and Quellendorf. According to contemporary statements, the victims of the evacuation are buried with respect in the cemetery in Köthen. The number is not known.

SOURCES Documents from the time of the subcamp were most useful. The documents are prisoner lists, employer requests, strength reports of the detachments, and documents

that enable the chronology of the detachment to be determined. These documents also form a record group in the USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045, a collection copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS (see especially BU 50 for files pertaining to Wansleben).

The article is also based on information in secondary sources. See, for example, Thomas Fickenwirth et al., *Fremd- und Zwangsarbeit im Raum Leipzig 1939–1945: Archivalisches Spezialinventar* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2004). Both David A. Hackett's *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995) and Walter Bartel's *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983) provide overviews of the Buchenwald camp system.

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NOTES

1. Stefanie Endlich et al., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999), p. 595.
2. ITS, Bad Arolsen (Collection: Buchenwald 318 [4–9]).
3. ITS, Bad Arolsen (Collection: Buchenwald 52 [382 R]).
4. ITS, Bad Arolsen (Collection: Buchenwald 338 [4]).
5. Pierre Bourlier, "Buchenwald Matricule 76888," unpub. paper, available at http://eisenbei.club.fr/buchenwald_matricule_76888.html.
6. Ibid.
7. "Transcripts 22. Januar 1946–4. Februar 1946," in *Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof, Nürnberg 14. November 1945–1. Oktober 1946*, (Munich: Dephin Verlag, 1984) 6: 278.
8. Bourlier also describes extensively one account of the evacuation march and liberation en route by American troops.

WEFERLINGEN ("GAZELLE")

The Weferlingen subcamp (code name "Gazelle"), located in today's Gardelegen district not far from Helmstedt, is first mentioned in the files of the Buchenwald concentration camp on August 22, 1944. At this time, 505 male prisoners were sent in the direction of Weferlingen, located in the Prussian province of Saxony, to prepare underground caverns for the relocation of armaments facilities. In the "Gerhard" mine near Walsbeck, whose site office was located in Weferlingen, Brüssing Nutzkraftwagen AG and its suppliers had already begun to relocate their production facilities by early 1944. At first the prisoners were housed in tents near the mine, on the Buchberg. Later, some of them were accommodated in barracks in Gralsleben (other sources say in nearby Walsbeck near Helmstedt). The remainder of the subcamp prisoners worked underground and were accommodated there: the prisoners slept in bunk beds that were located in the mine's tunnels.

The prisoners were used to extend the caverns, to prepare them for the installation of the machines, and to transport the machines. The construction project company Gerhard, Weferlingen, the infrastructure development company Dallmann (Westfalen), Büssing AG, and Niedersächsische Motorenwerke are named by the International Tracing Service (ITS) as employers of the prisoners. The prisoners have described the working conditions as extraordinarily difficult. Almost weekly the sick, exhausted, and those incapable of working were returned to Buchenwald to be replaced by healthier Buchenwald prisoners. In this way the total number of prisoners in the subcamp remained constant, between 440 and 460; a strength report (*Stärkemeldung*) dated October 28, 1944, lists 472 laborers for the Weferlingen subcamp, and one dated April 11, 1945, puts the number at 449. As Frank Baranowski in his essay on the Weferlingen subcamp states, the subcamp prisoners comprised around two-thirds of the approximately 650 laborers working at the construction site.

Despite the harsh exploitation of the camp inmates' labor, the construction did not proceed as quickly as planned. It was only at the end of January 1945 that the first production sites commenced operation. Most likely, concentration camp inmates were used here for the production of engines for submarines, aircraft, and high-speed boats.

Werferlingen was one of the Buchenwald subcamps that was not evacuated. Baranowski thinks that this probably had something to do with a decision of the camp's commandant who refused to obey an order from the Buchenwald main camp to evacuate the camp. According to Baranowski, the camp was liberated by Allied troops on April 12, 1945. On the other hand, the ITS gives April 14, 1945, as the date the camp was liberated. This date is based on a statement given by a prisoner.

SOURCES A detailed description of the Weferlingen subcamp by Frank Baranowski is in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 599–602. References to the Weferlingen subcamp are to be found in the exhibition catalog *Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Buchenwald*, ed., *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald* (Berlin [West], 1990), p. 104; in Emil Carlebach, Willy Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald: Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 2000), p. 139; as well as in Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Außenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:61; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1848.

References to the Weferlingen subcamp are to be found in a variety of original documents. Transport and transfer lists of the Gazelle camp are to be found in NARA, RG 242, Film 26, pp. 16848–16855, 16860. The subcamp's Bestandsliste and Stärkemeldungen are located in the AG-B, collections 46–1–18 and 46–1–20. SS Forderungsnachweise for prisoners in Weferlingen are held in the BA-B, Bestand All. Proz. 2/Nie

4185 (n.p.). Documents relating to the underground work are held in AOCZ, Bestand VS85-III (n.p.).

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WEIMAR (GUSTLOFF WERKE I AND II)

Although numerous outlying prisoner and forced labor work Commandos hired out for SS and private firms dotted the landscape of Weimar and its vicinity during World War II, the firm that exploited the most inmate labor was the Gustloff-Werke I (the so-called Fritz-Saukel-Werk, or FSW, also known as Gustloff Weimar), for which a work Kommando was established on February 16, 1942, to produce carbines. The exact location of the Kommando or subcamp for Gustloff I could not be determined; it may have been a separate camp in or around Suhl, or production may have been issued from a barracks within Buchenwald itself prior to the construction of Gustloff II.

After lengthy negotiations between the SS and Gustloff, a second Gustloff factory (Gustloff-Werke II or Gustloff II Buchenwald) was established in the eastern part of the Buchenwald camp in March 1943, after about a year and a half of construction, which also used inmate labor from Buchenwald. Construction on Gustloff II was slated to begin on July 13, 1942, by Hans Kammler's SS-Building Brigades, according to correspondence between Oswald Pohl and Heinrich Himmler in the spring of that year.¹ Technical planning for Gustloff II was left to the responsibility of the Gustloff firm, including design of the factory space. The Gustloff firm owned the machinery and supervised its installation. Production in Gustloff II soon lagged behind the envisioned target goal of 75,000 carbine pieces due to construction delays and labor allocation errors. In time, the Gustloff firm in Buchenwald would be transformed to produce machine guns and other automatic assault weapons, a technical shift that slowed production even further and caused Himmler great dissatisfaction.

Before it was appropriated by Gauleiter of Thüringen and engineer Fritz Sauckel in 1935, the Gustloff-Werke firm was originally known as the Suhler Waffen- und Fahrzeugwerk (Suhler Weapons and Vehicle Works), founded by Jewish brothers Löb and Moses Simson in 1856. The Simson's firm had been the only Jewish-owned firm to receive contracts from the German army after the Treaty of Versailles. After having the firm's owners arrested by 1935, the firm was "aryanized." Sauckel renamed the company after Wilhelm Gustloff, a Swiss Nazi who was shot in Bern in February 1936 by a Jewish student named David Frankfurter. The director of Gustloff was Fritz Walther.

One of the Armaments Ministry's pilot projects to incorporate industry into the concentration camps, the use of concentration camp inmate labor from Buchenwald in Gustloff I stemmed from an agreement between the SS and the directorship of Gustloff. Inmates were "rented" at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per day per skilled laborer and 4 RM per day per unskilled laborer.² Likewise, the cost of inmate labor in Gustloff II was the same.³ The inmates were to be used in

the production of infantry vehicles, gun barrels, carbines, tools, and other munitions. According to transport lists to and from the Gustloff Weimar camp, there were several national groups represented by the prisoners: Russians, Poles, Czechs, French, Dutch, and Germans. The camp held political prisoners, so-called asocials, *Berufsverbrecher* (professional criminals), and Jews—all were male.⁴

In July 1942, construction on Gustloff II began, and the complex would consist of 13 plant halls in the immediate vicinity of the camp. Eleven halls were to be used for armaments production for Gustloff, and 2 halls would be assigned to "Mittelbau," which would produce control modules for V-2 (vengeance) weaponry. The SS described the construction efforts as Project X, and in a Kommando of the same name, inmates were assigned to build the halls. Until construction was completed, carbine production for Gustloff already set up in barracks (the exact location of which is unknown—it may have been within the Buchenwald camp itself) was continued. In the spring of 1943, after the completion of the first 8 work halls, Gustloff II began to absorb some production capability. In addition to carbines, automatic assault weapons and parts were to be manufactured; accordingly, the number of inmates assigned increased. In March 1942, 163 inmates worked in the Gustloff I barracks, and in June 1943, the number amounted to 1,088 in Gustloff II.⁵ By July 1944 the number of people assigned to Gustloff I and II climbed to 4,824 inmates, plus 2,268 foreign slave laborers and 1,074 German workers and staff.

Work in Gustloff I and II was very difficult for the inmates. Shifts lasted between 10 and 12 hours and were divided between day and night. Work was performed from Monday to Saturday. Inmates faced strict disciplinary measures and supervision. According to guidelines issued by the commandant of Buchenwald, Hermann Pister, in November 1943, and enforced by the directors of the factory, each prisoner was to be judged according to his efficiency in terms of his output as a worker. Anyone who did



Prisoners work at the Gustloff-Werke munitions plant near Buchenwald concentration camp, 1943.
USHMM WS # 85867, COURTESY OF AG-B

not reach his assigned quota by the end of the week was to be punished or suffer from a withdrawal of rations. Conversation at the work area was not allowed, and anyone found not working according to the described guidelines was to be severely punished.⁶ Mieczysław Makowski, who was assigned to work at Gustloff-Werke, recalled his days in Gustloff and working in the Kommandos: "A blur of mud and dirt, oil flowing from the broken machinery in the bombed plant which we were supposed to clean up, incessant shouts of the *Kapos* and the enraged SS, the swooshing sounds of the whips, and sporadic pistol shots or machine gun burst from the watch towers remind me that the end could be near indeed, and perhaps not in the way I would like."⁷

Contact between the prisoners and the German and other workers within the factory was strictly prohibited, although there were interactions. Generally the civilian workers were ambivalent toward the inmates; however, there were some examples of individual assistance provided to the inmates. For example, one worker named Karl Werner intervened on behalf of four inmates who were slated to be transferred to Dora. Other workers went out of their way to report inmates of suspected sabotage or idleness, which resulted in their immediate punishment. Inmates also recall being beaten by the German masters and foremen. Former prisoner Heinz Gross reported that acts of sabotage, either through organized poor construction in certain stages of the manufacture process, using the wrong material to produce certain tools, or through sheer underproduction, were frequent at Gustloff-Werke. According to Gross, sabotage was possible due to the lack of technical knowledge of the civilian masters, engineers, and other supervisory personnel in the factory.⁸

Transports of inmates to the Gustloff subcamp from Buchenwald were frequent. Inmates who were too ill or physically exhausted to work were sent to the infirmary (*Revier*) of Buchenwald, where they generally perished. The frequency and number of inmates transferred to the Buchenwald infirmary over the camp's three-year operation are evidence of the terrible living and working conditions within the camp.⁹

The commandant of the Gustloff camp was SS-Oberscharführer Peter Merker. From a report dated January 31, 1945, by the SS garrison doctor Schiedlausky, there were 2,350 inmates in Gustloff I. The SS medic assigned to the camp was named Wilhelm, and there were 49 guard troops in the camp, according to the report.¹⁰ Prisoner reports on the brutal treatment and arbitrary murder by the SS are plentiful. Max Pabst reported that he observed SS Sergeant Schmidt's sadistic treatment of prisoners: shooting prisoners at point-blank range due to his irritation with them, drowning another inmate in a water-filled container, and torturing a young Russian prisoner who he caught eating tree bark out of desperate hunger.¹¹

On August 24, 1944, the installations at Gustloff II were almost completely destroyed during an intense Allied bombing.¹² Inmates were forced to remain at their assigned workplaces during the 15-minute bombardment. At least 315 inmates died, 525 were severely wounded, and at least 900 others injured less severely. Armaments production in Gustloff II was handicapped considerably. Gustloff I was also bombed on February 9, 1945, also hindering production. In this attack, 91



Prisoners clearing damage at the Gustloff-Werke II munitions plant near Buchenwald, following the August 24, 1944, U.S. bombing raid.
USHMM WS # 85869, COURTESY OF AG-B

German workers and 93 slave laborers and Ostarbeiter (Eastern European workers) were killed, as well as 300 inmates, with at least as many wounded.

Most likely inmates working for the Gustloff complex were absorbed into the Buchenwald main camp by April 1945 and were either evacuated earlier or liberated on April 11, 1945.

One guard from the Weimar subcamp, Bernhard Rakers, was tried in Osnabrück in connection with his maltreatment of prisoners in Gustloff and elsewhere. He received a life sentence plus 15 years.¹³

SOURCES Several secondary sources provide information about the Weimar subcamp of Buchenwald. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Weimar in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. A useful study of camps in Weimar, and which forms the basis of this entry, was written by Jens Schley, *Nachbar Buchenwald: Die Stadt Weimar und ihr Konzentrationslager, 1937–1945* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1999). See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Außenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). Discussion of the administrative conflicts surrounding the creation of the Gustloff satellite can be found in Michael Thad Allen, *The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor, and the Concentration Camps* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), pp. 190–198.

Surviving primary documentation on the Weimar subcamp can be found in various archives. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 112/2. For administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4),

BA, as copied in USHMMMA, RG 14.023M, especially BA Band 205, 206, 133, and 119. Testimony from former Weimar inmate Alexander Agafonow is published in *Stimmen aus Buchenwald: Ein Lesebuch*, ed. Holm Kirsten and Wulf Kirsten (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2002). See also USHMMMA, RG-02.075*01, for the testimony of Mieczysław Makowski, another former inmate of the camp. The official SHAEF report on Buchenwald (1945) also contains pertinent information; see USHMMMA, RG-04.015*01. See also the USHMMPA for aerial shots of the destruction of the Gustloff II factory as well as of prisoners working on the assembly line in Gustloff II (WS 85867). For the Rakers case, see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 10 (Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam, 1973).

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NOTES

1. "Behelfsmässigen Bau einer Gewehrfabrik in Weimar-Buchenwald in Verbindung mit den Gustloff-Werken," published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 238.
2. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, 6:765.
3. Ibid., p. 765.
4. See Weimar/Buchenwald transport lists collection, AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 112/2).
5. See "Einsatz der Berufe im Lager Buchenwald (various, 1942)," BA NS-4 Buchenwald, USHMMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206, Fiche 1. Gustloff lists are broken down by "Gustloff-W. Tag" (day shift), "Nacht" (night shift), "Lager" (camp area), and "Barackenbau" (barracks construction) as well as by skilled and unskilled labor.
6. Published in David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), p. 303.
7. Mieczysław Makowski, "A digest of memoirs of a Polish Holocaust survivor, 1992," USHMMMA, RG-02.075*01.
8. Heinz Gross, "Sabotage in the Buchenwald Gustloff Works," in Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report*, pp. 311–312.
9. See the USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 112/2), for further detailed information.
10. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt" Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, p. 251.
11. Max Pabst, "Murders in Building the Gustloff Works," in Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report*, p. 303.
12. See USHMMPA, WS 04756, 04757, 04758, 04759, 85885 (courtesy of NARA and USAFHRA) for aerial photographs of the targeted areas and subsequent destruction.
13. Case 340 in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 10 (Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam, 1973).

WERNIGERODE ("RICHARD")

The Wernigerode subcamp was located in the Prussian province of Saxony on the northern edge of the Harz Mountains. It was attached to the Rautal-Werke GmbH, which in the 1930s manufactured cylinders and engine housings for a range of aircraft, cars, and speed boats. Even before the outbreak of World War II, the factory had been converted, at the instigation of the Reich Air Ministry, into the most modern of German light metal foundries. It was prepared for war production and was to supply the Junkers factory in Dessau and the Volkswagen factory in Wolfsburg.

During the war, the Rautal factory was constantly plagued by workforce shortages. As early as 1941, around 300 forced and foreign laborers from France and Belgium were used in the factory, being accommodated in a camp on Veckenstedter Weg on the edge of the camp. From 1942, male prisoners from the Buchenwald concentration camp were also used in the Rautal factories. At the end of their daily shifts, they returned to the main camp, which was about 80 kilometers (50 miles) away. In 1943, the decision was made to accommodate the concentration camp prisoners where they worked, most likely because of the long route they had to travel. The forced labor camp on Veckenstedter Weg, probably because of its isolated but close location to the factory, was chosen to accommodate the prisoners from Buchenwald.

The camp is mentioned for the first time on March 25, 1943. An advance detachment of 95 prisoners arrived at the camp, which now had the code name "Richard." There were already three wooden barracks there. To these four were added: five of the barracks were for prisoner accommodations, one for the Kapos, and one functioned as a kitchen and washroom. The camp was fenced in with a double, 3.5-meter-high (11.5-feet-high) barbed-wire fence with three guard towers. The inner fence was electrified. Barracks for the SS and a bunker were located outside the camp.

The camp was under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Grossmann. Under his command, 56 SS men guarded the prisoners who mostly came from Poland, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia. There were only a few prisoners from Germany or other European countries. The number of prisoners in 1944 was around 800; a strength report (*Stärkemeldung*), dated October 28, 1944, puts the number of prisoners in Richard at 789; a Stärkemeldung of April 11, 1945, lists 802 prisoners. Kurt Wabbel was the camp elder and Kapo.

The prisoners not only expanded the camp; they worked in the Rautal factories processing metal, in the foundry, in the coring section, in the fettling shop, and in departments dealing with quality control and dispatch. The prisoners also worked at nearby Galgenberg hill, where under the code name "Mergel" they prepared underground production sites. None of them were ready by the end of the war. Other prisoners laid railway tracks, especially as part of the relocation of the Richard camp in November 1944 to Hasseroode at a site at Steinerne Renne. Around 500 prisoners had been transferred to this camp by

December 1944. The remaining prisoners were taken to the Schönebeck and Westeregeln subcamps, and the camp at Veckenstedten Weg was dissolved. As with the old camp, the new Hasserode camp was surrounded by a double electrified fence enclosing four accommodation barracks, two large factory buildings, a kitchen, and three barracks for the SS. There was a rail connection that led directly to the production buildings. There were 49 SS guards who were substituted with Luftwaffe members and uniformed Romanians, Hungarians, and Croatians. In the new camp, the prisoners continued to work in armament production, producing parts for the V-2.

Within a short period of time, the prisoners were either sick or incapable of working. The reasons for this were the exhausting work conditions, the inadequate nutrition, and the lack of cleanliness in the camp. During the camp's existence, there were at least 50 transfers of groups of invalid and exhausted prisoners back to the Buchenwald main camp. At least 11 prisoners are known to have died in the camp. Estimates put the number of deaths in the camp at 18 at least.¹ An indication of the difficult work conditions in the Wernigerode camp was the high number of escapes: at least 7 prisoners whose escape attempts did not succeed were executed in the subcamp, 6 of them Poles.

The Wernigerode subcamp evacuation march began on April 10, 1945. Around 500 prisoners left the camp, but only 57 arrived 16 days later at Leitmeritz (present-day Litomerice in the Czech Republic).

In 1947, the detachment leader of the camp, SS-Obersturmführer Grossmann, was sentenced to death and executed.

SOURCES There are several descriptions of the Wernigerode subcamp. A comprehensive description of the camp, written by Franziska Jahn, is to be found in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 606–609. Today there is a memorial on the camp site on Veckenstedten Weg that can also be seen on the Internet: www.wernigerode.de/WRPortal/Landkreis/Kultur_und_Kunst/Mahn-+und+Gedenkst%C3%A4tte/. Another description of the Wernigerode camp is to be found in the brochure Landkreis Wernigerode, ed., *Arbeitslager und Aussenkommandos der KZ in Wernigerode* (Wernigerode, n.d.). The subcamp is also referred to in *Niemals Vergessen! Gedenkort für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus und Stätten der Unmenschlichkeit des NS-Regimes* (Magdeburg: Verein zur Förderung von Kultur, Wissenschaft und politischer Bildung in Sachsen-Anhalt e.V., 2005); and the documents in Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn, 1999). The camp is also mentioned in Emil Carlebach, Willy Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald: Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein-Verlag, 2000), p. 139, where the Stärkemeldung of April 11, 1945, is mentioned. The English exhibition catalog *Gedenkstätte Buchenwald*, ed., *Buchenwald Concentration Camp, 1937–1945: A Guide to the Permanent Historical Exhibi-*

tion (Frankfurt am Main: Wallstein-Verlag, 2004), p. 177, shows the Wernigerode camp in a map of Buchenwald subcamps. This subcamp is also listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:62; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1849.

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NOTE

1. See Landkreis Wernigerode, *Arbeitslager und Aussenkommandos der KZ in Wernigerode* (Wernigerode, n.d.), p. 24.

WESTEREGELN ("MAULWURF," "TARTHUN," "MW")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was established in Westeregeln (Saxony) in October 1944. Inmates were deported to the Westeregeln subcamp, code-named "Maulwurf," "Tarshun," or "Mw," to provide labor for construction projects that would enable fighter jet production to go underground to shelter it from Allied bombardments, which had increased since 1943. The Westeregeln inmates were assigned to construct an underground facility for the Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company (Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke, JFM), Zweigwerke Schönebeck. Like other armaments manufacturing firms that exploited prisoner labor during the war, the JFM hired out inmates from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled laborer per day.¹

Contradictory information provides only elusive indication about the exact location of the Westeregeln subcamp itself. Secondary sources state that the inmates were housed initially in the Hadmersleben subcamp, where Buchenwald prisoners were used for work on construction and the manufacture of aircraft parts in two different work details (Kommandos): "Hans" and "Ago." The inmates were then brought to work in the Westeregeln mines. At some point during the camp's nearly five-month operation, the inmates were moved to barracks near shaft III of the Kaliwerke mines (also known as the Salzwerk Westeregeln GmbH, Werk 7), northwest of Westeregeln. There may have also been a subcamp located near shaft IV/VI in Tarshun, but it is unclear if this is the same as that which housed the Westeregeln inmates or is a separate barracks within the same camp complex. Marcel Lorrin, a former inmate of Schönebeck, noted that the Westeregeln subcamp was located in the western part of the village of Egeln, about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) south of Schönebeck.

The first transport of inmates to the Westeregeln subcamp left Buchenwald on October 31, 1944, and was composed of 50 inmates.² A transport from Buchenwald left on January 29, 1945, and included 238 inmates.³ Inmates were also transferred from the Schönebeck subcamp of Buchenwald in several

instances: November 28, 1944 (50 inmates); December 26 (148 inmates); January 31, 1945 (1 inmate); February 2 (12 inmates); February 6, 1945 (8 inmates); February 9 and 19 (12 inmates each); and March 10, 1945 (1 inmate).⁴

The inmates were all male and appear to be mainly Polish, Russian, and French. According to a report on the conditions of medical attention in the Buchenwald subcamps, submitted by SS garrison doctor Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, the SS medic in charge in Westeregeln was Naumann. At this time, there were 27 guards assigned to the camp, which held 564 prisoners.⁵

A Belgian former inmate who was transferred from Schönebeck to Westeregeln in December 1944, Léon Humblet, recalled that the camp consisted of a few wooden barracks 500 meters (547 yards) from the salt mine. The inmates worked in the assembly and finishing of parts for the He (Heinkel) 162. In March 1945, the rate of production was doubly accelerated. Working underground, the inmates suffered in terrible heat but emerged to below-zero temperatures above ground. Hygienic conditions in Westeregeln were also dismal, and water was not provided to the camp until three weeks before the evacuation.

The camp was last mentioned in Buchenwald records on April 4, 1945, and it was most likely evacuated on April 11. The inmates were assembled and evacuated on foot in groups of 100. After about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles), the SS abandoned the columns, and the inmates dispersed in the region of Magdeburg the following day.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Westeregeln subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Westeregeln in *Das nationalsozialistische Lager-system (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Tromble, “Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)” (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

Surviving primary documentation on the Westeregeln subcamp is also limited. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 11/2. Copies of transport lists and documentation of arrivals to and from Buchenwald are also found in the NARA, A3355 Buchenwald Daily Strength Reports (USHMMMA, RG 1996 A0342, Reels 146–180). These reports may be useful for a more thorough statistical analysis of the demographics of and increases and decreases in the camp population. Other documents may be found at AG-B. A former inmate of the Schönebeck subcamp of Buchenwald, Marcel Lorin, has written a brief passage on Westeregeln based on survivor testimony in his book *Schönebeck, un commando de Buchenwald: Du sabotage des avions Nazis à l'ouvrante d'une marche de la mort* (Glangeaud: Amicale des anciens déportés de Schönebeck, Mühlhausen, Buchenwald, 1993).

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NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. “Transport Maulwurf,” October 31, 1944 (BU 11/2), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. “Transport Maulwurf,” K.L. Buchenwald, January 29, 1945 (BU 11/2), USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. See transport lists collected in BU 11/2, USHMMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045. See also additional transport lists to Schönebeck collected in BU 8/12 and BU 41/3.

5. “KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt,” Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 253.

WITTEN-ANNEN (“AGW”)

The Buchenwald subcamp in Witten-Annen was created in September 1944 to supply prisoner labor to the Ruhrstahl Annener Gussstahlwerk (code-named “AGW”) in support of increased German rearmament efforts in the last year of the war. Like other subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp and within the camp system more generally, the supply of prisoner labor to the AGW, a steel factory, followed from an agreement between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the administration of the factory. Inmates were hired out from the WVHA by the firm at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.

AGW was founded in 1865. One of the leading producers of steel casting, it boasted a long tradition of armaments production. In 1930, the AGW firm combined with other steel manufacturers in Hattingen and Witten to form the Ruhrstahl AG. During World War II, foreign workers, especially Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and other slave laborers, filled the gaps in Ruhrstahl’s labor supply. The workers, which came to include Italian military internees as well, were housed in provisional accommodations near the factory, and living conditions were primitive. But by late summer 1944, due to increased production goals and waning successes in the German war effort, additional workers were still needed. In August 1944, the administrative leaders of the Ruhr iron and steel industrial complexes announced that concentration camp inmates would be used as workers in the factories.

On September 16, 1944, 700 inmates were rounded up in the Buchenwald main camp and were slated for deportation to the Witten-Annen subcamp. Among the first transport to the new subcamp were over 200 declared skilled workers, including locksmiths, metalworkers, electricians, and engineers. Not all inmates deported there were considered skilled laborers, however. The inmates were crowded onto closed freight cars, and the transport to Witten-Annen lasted several days. Upon arrival at the local train station, the accompanying Kommando from Buchenwald took leave of the inmates, who were handed

over to a contingent of SS guards. The prisoners were marched to the camp, in full view of the local population.

The inmates arrived to a newly constructed, nearly completed, camp complex. The subcamp consisted of four barracks within the inmate section of the camp, which housed 150 prisoners each, a roll-call area (*Appellplatz*), a makeshift infirmary (*Revier*), and other functional buildings, as well as living quarters for the SS guard staff. The inner inmate camp was surrounded by a double row of barbed-wire fencing, and the camp was flanked by watchtowers. From the beginning of 1945, SS troops patrolled outside the fenced-in area with guard dogs. The camp was located near the Dortmund-Witten train line.

Because the camp was relatively new, the inmates initially perceived the living conditions in Witten as an improvement to those they had experienced in Buchenwald. Some of the typical problems associated with camp life were missing, at least initially. No vermin infested the newly built barracks, and each prisoner had his own bunk with two woolen coverlets. Some inmates reported that the barracks were heated, at least until the end of 1944.

The original transport included only male inmates. They were predominantly French and Russian, with smaller numbers of Italian, Czech, Polish, Belgian, and German prisoners. Some of the French prisoners had been deported to Buchenwald via Toulouse in August 1944; others, from Paris or Compiègne. Most of the inmates had spent at least a short time in Buchenwald prior to their arrival in Witten-Annен. The prisoners were predominantly political prisoners, and some were imprisoned for resistance or sabotage activities or flight from previous captivity. A small number (five) were classified as "asocial," two were homosexual, and five men were categorized as mixed bloods (*Mischlinge*). Many of the German inmates were so-called professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*)—these were often appointed as prisoner-functionaries. The average age of the prisoners was under 30; one-fifth were under 20. The youngest prisoner was 16 years old, and the oldest, a Polish engineer, was 63 years old.

The inmate population remained at 700 at least until the end of September 1944, when a series of escape attempts reduced the number to 685. Prisoners who were caught were summarily executed. By November, the number of inmates was reduced to 670 due to deaths from various illnesses and other escapes. On December 11, 1944, 58 ill prisoners were transported back to Buchenwald, where they were placed in the infirmary. Although there were additional transports to Witten-Annен after January 1945, the camp population at the time of liberation was about 600.

The inmates were marched daily to the steel factory, located 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) away, to work 12-hour shifts in Hall A7. The day and night shifts were exchanged weekly. While at work, the inmates were closely monitored at all times by the camp elder (Lagerältester), Kapos, and German civilian foremen and supervisors. Poor work performance or mistakes (perceived as sabotage) were punished frequently, and some prisoners witnessed near-death beatings of fellow inmates. The inmates were not allowed to leave their workstations and endured long roll calls before and after work.

Living conditions within the camp itself were also terrible. Survivors of the camp recall most frequently the constant hun-

ger they experienced daily. Food rations were small. According to one French former inmate, Robert Maréchal, the inmates were provided first with 300 grams (10.6 ounces), then 450 grams (15.9 ounces), and by December 1944, 500 grams (17.6 ounces) of bread, with small amounts of margarine. The inmates were also given cabbage soup. Food supplies gradually decreased from January 1945. In addition to persistent hunger, the inmates were perpetually cold, as they had no proper clothing to withstand the particularly harsh winter of 1944–1945. Some inmates attempted to create extra warmth by stuffing their clothing with newspaper, straw, or cardboard; if discovered, they faced severe punishment. The camp infirmary had little capability of handling the many illnesses that resulted from the poor nutrition, inclement weather conditions, and strenuous work experienced by the inmates. The severely ill or wounded were transported back to the main Buchenwald camp.

The Witten-Annен inmates also suffered from the ill treatment of the guards. Approximately 30 SS troops guarded this subcamp. A system of supervision was also instituted in which "functionary inmates," such as the camp elder and Kapos, held authority over their fellow prisoners. Lagerältester Alfred Spillner was remembered for his particular cruelty toward the inmates, as were the Kapos, whom many inmates remembered as being more brutal than the SS. The first commandant of the camp was SS-Oberscharführer Ernst Zorbach, a member of the Nazi Party since 1931, who was said to be brutal and sadistic. Due to the frequent escape attempts made by the prisoners, he was relieved of his post in November 1944 and replaced by SS-Hauptscharführer Hermann Schleef, who had been a guard in the Papenburg and Sachsenhausen camps. Schleef was also the commander of a subcamp attached to the Kaunas camp prior to his post in Witten-Annен.

On March 27, 1945, the SS made an announcement that the camp would be evacuated in face of the advancing Allied troops. The following night, the 613 inmates were marched in columns in a northeastern direction. Several inmates attempted to escape the march, and many succumbed to exhaustion en route. By March 31, the inmates had reached Lippstadt. The SS guards abandoned the prisoners, who were liberated by American troops. On April 11, 1945, the U.S. Army occupied Witten.

SOURCES Most of the information for this entry builds upon the thorough analysis and research of the Witten-Annен subcamp by Manfred Grieger and Klaus Völkel, *Das Außenlager "Annener Gussstahlwerk" (AGW) des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald, September 1944–April 1945* (Essen: Klartext, 1997). For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald / Witten-Annен in *Das nationalsozialistische Lager-system* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records.

Primary documentation on the Witten-Annен subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See in particular a collection of transport lists to and from the Witten-Annен camp copied from

AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at the USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 40 and BU 51, Reel 17. Many of these documents and others, including work statistics reports, administrative documentation from the Annener Gussstahlwerk, and transport lists from the ASt-Wi, BA, and THStA-W, are published in Grieger and Völkel. See this text for photographs, an extensive list of archival resources, and bibliography pertaining to the Witten-Annen camp and its postwar history.

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WOLFEN

The city of Wolfen in Sachsen-Anhalt is located to the south of Dessau on the Elbe River. From May 1943, there was a subcamp for women at the IG Farbenindustrie AG Filmfabrik Wolfen. Prior to this, the factory had used foreign forced laborers, among others, in the production of synthetic fibers. From the beginning of 1943, consideration was given to the use of concentration camp prisoners to increase production, to supply the demand of the German population and, above all, the Wehrmacht.

In April 1943, the subcamp was established on Thalheim Strasse close to the factory. The so-called Russian camp (*Rusenlager*) and a camp for female eastern laborers (*Ostarbeiterinnen*) who were also working in the Filmfabrik Wolfen were already located there. Aleksandra Lawrik, a survivor, described the camp positively in comparison with her previous experiences: the barracks were relatively clean and heated, each woman had her own bed and cupboard, and there were even showers with hot water.

SS-Obersturmführer Bräuning was the camp leader. He arrived at the camp in the middle of May 1943, four days before the arrival of the first transport from Ravensbrück. On May 17, 1943, 250 young women and girls were brought from Ravensbrück to Wolfen. All the women came from the Soviet Union and Poland and were accompanied by female overseers who had been supplied from Ravensbrück, as there were not enough women in Wolfen who had applied to be trained as guards.

In the factory, the women worked in the rayon, Vistra, and artificial silk departments. The work in producing synthetic fabric was extraordinarily damaging to the prisoners' health as often corrosive chemicals were used in the process. Many women suffered burns to the skin and to their air passages, which also resulted in illnesses such as tuberculosis. Two women died in the camp; others who had become too ill to work any more were returned to the main camp.

The company management was excited about the cheap labor force and within a few weeks of the camp's opening was requesting additional prisoners, while at the same time demanding that the female overseers exercise greater discipline and increase the prisoners' production. But it was not until December 1, 1943, that additional prisoners were sent from Ravensbrück. The transport included 125 women. As before, most of them were Soviet citizens: Ukrainians who had been arrested for resisting the occupation forces or Ostarbeiterinnen who had been sent to

concentration camps by the Gestapo for leaving the places of work assigned to them. Probably at the beginning of 1944, another 50 women arrived in Wolfen from Ravensbrück.

Starting in June 1944, the camp's administration was gradually transferred from Ravensbrück to Buchenwald, so that by September 1, 1944, Buchenwald finally took over the camp. The new camp leader was SS-Oberscharführer Grämlisch, a Wehrmacht invalid. The prisoners have described the camp leader as patient and many of the female overseers as strict, brutal, and affronting. A list of prisoners at the subcamp prepared at this time lists 425 female inmates, including 316 Russian civilian workers and 109 political prisoners: 100 Poles, a Czech, 7 Yugoslavs, and a German from Breslau. The camp was guarded by five SS men. There were 17 female wardens. In September 1944, a female French prisoner doctor was brought to Wolfen and took over the medical care of the women.

At the beginning of 1945, the lack of raw materials and supply difficulties resulted in the first cessation of production. The camp administration planned to relocate 250 women in the direction of the Sudetenland, but nothing came of this due to the lack of transport at the end of the war. The 250 women were therefore evacuated to Bergen-Belsen on February 18, 1945.

On April 17, 1945, the Wolfen subcamp was evacuated in a southerly direction, with the probable goal being Theresienstadt. The women were at first taken in goods wagons with a group of other women who most likely a few days before had arrived from the Duderstadt (Polte) subcamp, in the direction of Dresden-Pirna. On the march in the direction of Teplitz (present-day Teplice, Czech Republic), a few women were able to flee, and the guards, including the camp leader Grämlisch, also disappeared. The remaining women were liberated by Soviet troops.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) began preliminary investigation in 1956, and the results were handed to the general federal prosecutor in Karlsruhe in 1971. Shortly thereafter the investigations ceased due to a lack of evidence.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel has written the contribution on the Wolfen subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, ed., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 618–621. Another description of the subcamp is to be found in Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald. 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 89–91, where the experiences of a survivor, Aleksandra Pawlowna Lawrik, are recounted. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:63; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1850.

Information on the Wolfen subcamp is to be found in the AG-B and BA-K, Bestand NS 4 Bu (Signatur 221). The investigations by ZdL, held at BA-L, were done under files IV 429 AR-Z 121/1971 and 1965/66 (B).

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DACHAU



The Dachau camp gate with the slogan, "Work Will Make You Free," 1939–1942.
COURTESY OF AG-D, DAA 12.479/F-883

DACHAU MAIN CAMP

Dachau was the only concentration camp that existed for the full 12 years of the National Socialist dictatorship. During this period the number and composition of the prisoners changed fundamentally, as did the living conditions and chances for survival.

On January 30, 1933, Adolf Hitler and his followers assumed power in Germany. Soon thereafter, at a press conference on March 20, Heinrich Himmler, then the Munich police president, announced the establishment of a concentration camp at Dachau.¹ The camp, which was located in an empty munitions factory from World War I and which had a capacity of 5,000 prisoners, initially was to serve as a holding center for political opponents of the regime.

The first 100 "protective custody" prisoners, who arrived on March 22, were Communists. The first Jewish prisoners were also arrested as political prisoners. Initially, the prisoners were guarded by the Bavarian State Police. When the SS took over the camp on April 11, 1933, there began a campaign of despotism and terror from which the prisoners had no protection. The SS guards' hatred was directed in particular against Jewish prisoners. By the end of May, 12 prisoners had been either tortured to death or driven to commit suicide.

In June 1933, Himmler, now Reichsführer-SS, named SS-Oberführer Theodor Eicke as commandant of Dachau. Eicke instituted an organizational scheme that included detailed regulations that were later adopted in all other concentration camps. His "Disciplinary and Punishment Orders for the Prison Camp" regulated methods of torture to be used as punishment, including methods of execution.² Under Eicke's leadership, Dachau became a "School of Violence" and a model for concentration camps established afterward. Numerous groups of visitors were shown a staged demonstration of the supposed reeducation of political prisoners. In the first few years numerous reports about the camp appeared in the now-nazified German press. Even international delegations were fooled by the façade. Lastly, Eicke divided the camp administration into the commandant's headquarters, the commandant's adjutant, an SS guard detachment, the protective custody camp, the medical department, and the political department, as well as an administration unit for the commercial facilities.

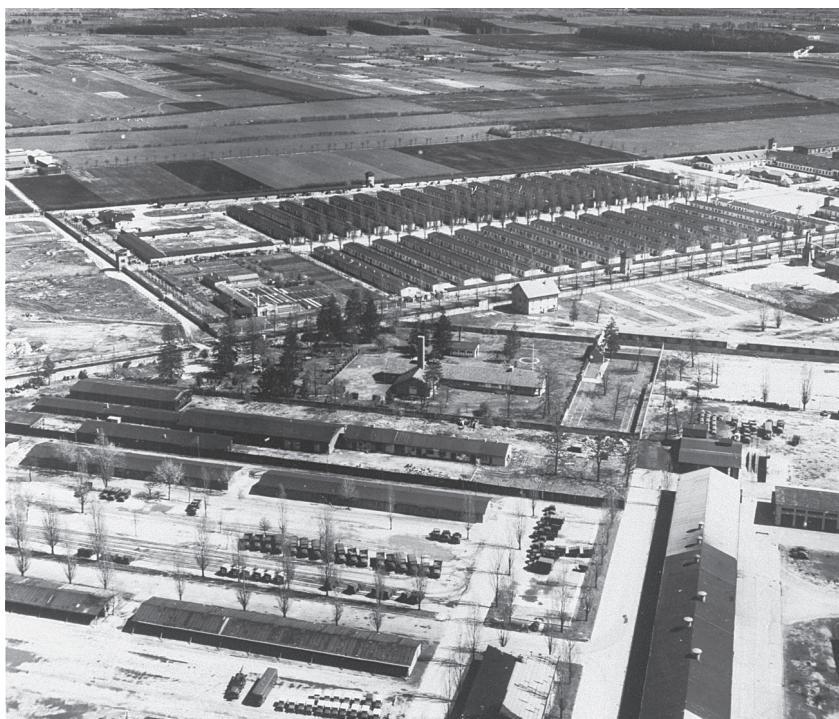
In May 1934, Eicke began directing the creation of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps Reichsführer-SS (IKL RFSS), of which he became chief in 1939. Altogether there were seven commandants of Dachau: Hilmar Wäckerle (commandant April–June 1933), born 1899, killed in action in July 1941 near Lemberg; Eicke (June 1933–July 1934), born 1892, died February 1943 in an aircraft crash; Heinrich Deubel (December 1934–March 1936), born 1890, died 1962; Hans Loritz (April 1936–July 1939), born 1895, committed suicide in January 1946; Alex Piorkowski (February 1940–September

1942), born 1904, sentenced to death by a U.S. military court, 1947, executed in Landsberg in 1948; Martin Weiss (September 1942–November 1943), born 1905, sentenced to death by a U.S. military court in 1945, executed in Landsberg in 1946; Eduard Weiter (November 1943–April 1945), born 1889, committed suicide in May 1945.

The first prisoners in Dachau established their accommodations in single-story stone barracks, along with their supply facilities and a so-called Bunker, the camp prison, in which the SS guards tortured individual prisoners to death or drove them to commit suicide. Workshops were established in the empty factory buildings, in which the prisoners increasingly worked as required by the SS. The SS originally intended that the prisoners would cultivate the surrounding moors, but the plan only reached partial fruition. In some work detachments, such as the feared gravel pit, the prisoners—above all the Jews—were worked to death or shot "while trying to escape." The lives of the prisoners were regulated by a strict military code. The SS guarded the camp and the work detachments, while the prisoners organized the supplies for the camp, the daily life in the camp with its roll calls, meals, and even the work. Gradually a hierarchy developed in the prison population, which became increasingly important among the various national groups over the course of the war. The SS took pains to ensure that prisoner-functionaries operated as spies and became the instruments of their crimes. Political prisoners in Dachau held the most important positions during the 12 years of the camp's existence. Overwhelmingly, they tried to stand by their fellow prisoners against the SS.

After the political prisoners, Jehovah's Witnesses arrived in Dachau at the end of 1933. They were followed during the 1930s by the so-called work-shy (*Arbeitsscheu*); criminals who had served their prison terms; "Gypsies"; homosexuals; and others who for various reasons did not fit into the National Socialist community. From 1937 on, the prisoners wore striped prisoner clothing to which a prison number was affixed, as well as a marker, the so-called triangle, whose color identified the category to which the prisoner belonged. Jews were marked with the yellow star.

In 1937 to 1938 the prisoners constructed a completely new camp, whose 250 × 600-meter (820 × 1969-feet) layout included, in part, the old camp. Thirty of the 34 wooden barracks were used to hold the prisoners. They were called blocks and were divided into four sections, each of which held 52 men. A supply building was constructed, as well as a new camp prison with 134 single cells and an entrance building whose gate bore the inscription "Work Will Make You Free." Seven watchtowers outfitted with machine guns, a tall wall topped with electrified barbed wire, as well as the so-called barrier, a strip of grass on which the prisoners were forbidden to tread on pain of death, were supposed to make escape impossible.



Post-liberation aerial view of the Dachau concentration camp, May 1945.
USHMM WS # 12446, COURTESY OF RAY SCHMIDT

Once construction on the new camp was completed, the prisoners were compelled to prepare a plot of land to the east of the wall for the planting of an herb garden. This area was ready in 1939 and was incorporated into the SS-German Experimental Institute for Nutrition and Provisions, Ltd. (Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung GmbH).

Following the annexation of Austria in the spring of 1938, the first non-German prisoners arrived in Dachau, the Austrian prisoners. In addition to Jews, there were numerous prominent politicians of various political persuasions. Then, after the *Kristallnacht* pogrom on November 9–10, 1938, more than 11,000 Jewish men from Germany and Austria were taken to Dachau. Most of them were released after a few weeks, on the condition that they leave Germany, and after their possessions had been seized. Until 1938, the number of prisoners fluctuated between 2,000 and 2,500 annually. Following the arrival of the Austrians in 1938, the number jumped to 6,000, and after the arrival of the Kristallnacht Jews on December 1, 1938, the number jumped to 14,232. By the beginning of World War II, about 500 prisoners had lost their lives in Dachau.³

At the end of September 1939, the camp was cleared until February 1940 for the training of the SS-Totenkopf-Frontdivision (Death's Head Front Division), and the prisoners were transferred to the camps at Mauthausen, Flossenbürg, and Buchenwald. With this came the end of the camp's pre-war history as an instrument of Nazi terror, used at first exclusively against German political opponents, then against all who "did not fit in." The prisoners were subjected to arbitrary handling by their guards, but as yet there had been no mass

murders, no epidemics to which thousands fell victim, and no deaths by starvation. The majority of the prisoners could still hope that they would leave the camp alive.

With the beginning of the war, the exploitation of concentration camp prisoner labor assumed greater significance. The SS established its own commercial enterprises in Dachau, later known as the Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke (German Equipment Works, DAW). The herb gardens were expanded. Many prisoners died during this expansionary phase. The prisoners' rations deteriorated dramatically during 1941 and 1942, and the death rate increased rapidly. The first epidemics



Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler inspects a prisoner at Dachau, May 8, 1936.
USHMM WS # 10719, COURTESY OF AG-D

broke out, with tuberculosis becoming the most common illness. At the same time, the number of punishment reports increased, as did corporal punishment, and the so-called post (*Pfahl*) or tree hangings. Both torture methods could result in permanent injuries or could lead to the death of the prisoner.

The composition of the prisoner population changed continually during the war. From March 1940 to the end of the year, 13,377 Poles were forcibly taken to Dachau. They remained the largest national group until liberation. Also, among the clergy who arrived in Dachau from all the other concentration camps, the Poles were the majority. The first Soviet prisoners, mostly young men who had volunteered for work in Germany, arrived in the autumn of 1941. They remained the second largest national group until 1943. In addition, from August 1941 to the middle of June 1942, 4,000 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), who had been selected from various POW camps, were shot in Dachau.

As for the nations of Western Europe overrun by Germany, initially only individual prisoners or small groups were sent to Dachau. In 1942, Yugoslav partisans began to arrive. They, like the veterans of the Spanish Civil War, were highly regarded by their fellow prisoners because of their solidarity and their courageous attitude in the camp. The number of Jews in Dachau was relatively small, with the exception of the large influx of Jews following Kristallnacht. In November 1941, the order was given that all Jewish prisoners in camps in the "Old Reich" were to be deported to Auschwitz.⁴ Only from the spring of 1944 on were Jewish prisoners again sent in large numbers to the subcamps.

From the spring of 1941 on, prisoners in concentration camps were included in the so-called euthanasia program, which had been aimed primarily at murdering the mentally ill and handicapped. In September 1941, a medical team from Aktion 14f13—the code name for the program as it applied to camp prisoners—selected Dachau inmates who were incapable of working. In January 1942, they were taken in a so-called invalid transport to Hartheim Castle in Austria, where they were immediately gassed. During the course of that year, 2,524 Dachau prisoners were gassed in Hartheim.⁵ In addition, from the autumn of 1942 on, sick prisoners who did not recover within three months were murdered in the camp by SS doctors or criminal prisoner-functionaries, using lethal injections.

Medical care for the prisoners in Dachau was completely inadequate. The SS doctors had no interest in healing the sick, who therefore avoided the infirmary for as long as possible. From 1941 on, moreover, they had to fear that they could be the subject of gruesome medical experiments there. In the spring of 1942, Luftwaffe physician Dr. Sigmund Rascher received permission from Heinrich Himmler to investigate, using prisoners, the stresses that Luftwaffe pilots were exposed to during plane crashes or parachute jumps. Of the nearly 200 prisoners placed in a pressurized chamber, in which they were exposed to sudden and painful drops in air pressure, at least 70 to 80 people lost their lives. From the middle of August until October 1942, experiments were

carried out in cooperation with the Luftwaffe entailing immersion in freezing water, in an effort to find out if pilots who ditched could be saved. Dr. Rascher directed the experiments, with the support of Himmler, until May 1943. According to eyewitness statements, between 80 and 90 people died out of 360 to 400 prisoners used for the experiments. From February 1942 to March 1945, Professor Dr. Claus Schilling, the renowned researcher of tropical diseases, infected approximately 1,100 prisoners with malaria.⁶ It is not possible to determine the number of victims of these experiments as the test victims were released back into the camp after the experiments. In addition, primarily Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) were the subject of experiments in the conversion of seawater to drinking water, as well as in the effectiveness of a blood coagulation agent. Some prisoners were artificially subjected to septicemia and phlegmone so that the effect of various treatments could be tested on them.

During the war, the infirmary, which the SS avoided for fear of infection, developed into the most important center for international solidarity and clandestine support for ill and endangered prisoners, next to the work detachments in the record office and the work allocation office. Open resistance was impossible under the conditions in the concentration camp. The secret distribution of news about the course of the war strengthened the prisoners' resolve, as did music, literature, or the arts, but those were only available to a limited circle of inmates.

As the number of dead climbed ever higher, a crematorium with one oven was constructed next to the prison camp in the summer of 1940. From May 1941 on, prisoner deaths were recorded in the camp's own death register. Construction of a new crematorium with four ovens and a gas chamber began in the spring of 1942. From the spring of 1943 on, the dead were cremated in the new facility. The gas chamber was not used for mass killings, but there are statements to the effect that Dr. Rascher, in connection with his human experiments, also conducted "test gassings" there.⁷ The secluded area of the crematorium was, moreover, used as an execution site, especially in the last years of the war.

The last phase at Dachau, from 1943 to 1945, witnessed a dramatic increase in prisoner numbers as well as the establishment of around 170 subcamps and work detachments in which the prisoners were used as forced laborers, mostly for the German armaments industry.

In March 1942, the IKL became part of the recently created SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which attempted to improve the prisoners' living conditions, in order to reduce the death rate and so obtain more labor.⁸ Improvements, such as additional food, reached only a limited number of prisoners, however.

The expansion of the Dachau camp complex in 1943 began with the establishment of subcamps at large production sites. The SS hired out the prisoners to Messerschmitt, Dornier, and Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW). Sick and weakened prisoners were sent back to the main camp.



An SS officer oversees the formation of a work detachment at Dachau, 1936.

USHMM WS # 60639, COURTESY OF AG-D

The majority of the Dachau subcamps were established, however, during the course of 1944 and the beginning of 1945. The largest project was the relocation of fighter-plane production into camouflaged underground factories in order to protect the industry from bombing raids. In early 1944, the authorities planned the creation of a new "Jägerstab" (Fighter Staff) administrative complex, including representatives from the armaments industry, the SS, and the Armaments Ministry for the Dachau Region, to be housed in three underground bunkers located in Landsberg am Lech and in Mühldorf am Inn. Some 11 camps were located near Landsberg and 4 camps near Mühldorf, to which around 39,000 prisoners, almost exclusively Jews, were brought. Their living and working conditions were by far the worst in comparison to the other subcamps. One estimate claims that half of these prisoners lost their lives in the 10 months they were there. Also, in both Landsberg and Kaufering, there were women's camps in which primarily Hungarian Jewish women were held.

According to a secret report written by Polish camp recorder Jan Domagała, 78,635 prisoners were registered in 1944, that is, 38 percent of the total of 206,206 who entered the camp between 1933 and 1944.⁹ The majority of transports, each with several thousand prisoners from Eastern and Western Europe, arrived in the early summer of 1944. Poles, Hungarian Jews, French resistance fighters (many of these were "Night-and-Fog" [Nacht-und-Nebel] prisoners), Soviet forced laborers, and Italian POWs formed the largest national groups. By the spring of 1945, there were prisoners in Dachau from 37 countries, several of which were represented by only 1 prisoner.

During the last months before liberation, the camp was catastrophically overcrowded, due to the constantly arriving transports from other camps that were evacuated ahead of advancing Allied troops. The food supply and hygienic conditions continually worsened. There were no medicines. In November 1944, a typhus epidemic broke out in which 3,000 prisoners died in January 1945 alone and which cost the lives of about 15,000 prisoners altogether before liberation.

In the last days of April, on Himmler's orders, the evacuation of the main camp and the subcamps began. On April 26, 1945, 2,000 Jewish prisoners left the main camp by train, and 6,887 prisoners were forced to march in a southerly direction.¹⁰ Any prisoner who could not continue was shot. Not until the first days of May were the last survivors of the march overtaken by American troops, after the guards had fled. A group of 137 prominent hostages, including Leon Blum, the former French president, and Franz von Schuschnigg, the former Austrian chancellor, was also transported in a southerly direction. They were handed over to the Allies in the Tirol on May 4 in good condition. In Dachau itself the SS personnel fled the camp on April 27 and 28. On April 28, a group of 20 to 30 citizens from Dachau, together with a few prisoners who had fled from the camp, attempted to occupy Dachau's city hall. A retreating SS unit shot 6 of the "insurgents," among whom were 3 of the prisoners. The liberators from the 42nd and 45th Infantry Divisions of the U.S. Seventh Army entered Dachau on April 29, where they stumbled across a transport of several thousand corpses before they reached the approximately 32,000 survivors. Several thousand dead lay on the camp grounds. More than 2,000 prisoners died in May 1945. By 2002, the Red Cross International Tracing Service (ITS) put the number of deaths at the Dachau concentration camp at 32,099, but that number should be increased to over 40,000, as the deaths of prisoners brought to Dachau for execution were never registered, and the deaths in the subcamps and during the evacuation have never been precisely determined.¹¹

In July 1945, after the last survivors had left the Dachau concentration camp, the American military authorities established an internment camp there for those suspected of involvement in war crimes and crimes against humanity. The first large military trial began on November 15, 1945, against 40 men accused of committing crimes in the Dachau concentration camp. This trial would be a model for subsequent trials: 36 of the accused were sentenced to death; 28 of them were executed in Landsberg. Further trials followed up until 1948, dealing with crimes committed in Dachau and its subcamps but also in the camps at Mauthausen, Flossenbürg, Mittelbau, and Buchenwald. SS crimes against Allied soldiers were also dealt with. Altogether there were 489 trials in Dachau, with 1,672 accused. There were 462 death sentences, but not all were implemented. There were 256 acquittals. During the course of the 1950s those sentenced to long terms of imprisonment either had their sentences reduced or were released.

SOURCES The first monograph on the Dachau concentration camp was published in 1968 under the auspices of the Comité International de Dachau, by Paul Berben, *Dachau 1933–1945* (Brussels, 1968). Günther Kimmel, state prosecutor at ZdL, as part of the project "Bavaria during the Nazi Era" for IfZ, wrote a short historical outline of the camp titled "Das Konzentrationslager Dachau," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Martin Broszat (Munich, 1979), 2: 349–413. Robert Sigel investigated the Dachau military trials in *Im Interesse der*

Gerechtigkeit. Die Dachauer Kriegsverbrecherprozesse 1945–1948 (Frankfurt am Main, 1992). Beginning in 1985, the Comité International de Dachau, under the direction of Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, has published the scholarly annual *DaHe*. Each publication places emphasis on a particular theme of concentration camp history. The 20 volumes that have appeared to date contain numerous memoirs and studies on the history of the camp. In 2001, American historian Harold Marcuse published his book *Legacies of Dachau: The Uses and Abuses of a Concentration Camp* (Cambridge), which puts the history of the area after 1945 into the overall context of the history of the concentration camp. In 2002, the Comité International de Dachau published a new monograph on the Dachau concentration camp by Czech historian and survivor of the camp Stanislav Zámečník, *Das war Dachau* (Luxembourg, 2002); English and French translations followed in 2003. The majority of the approximately 850 publications on the history of the Dachau concentration camp in the Memorial's library are survivors' memoirs in various languages.

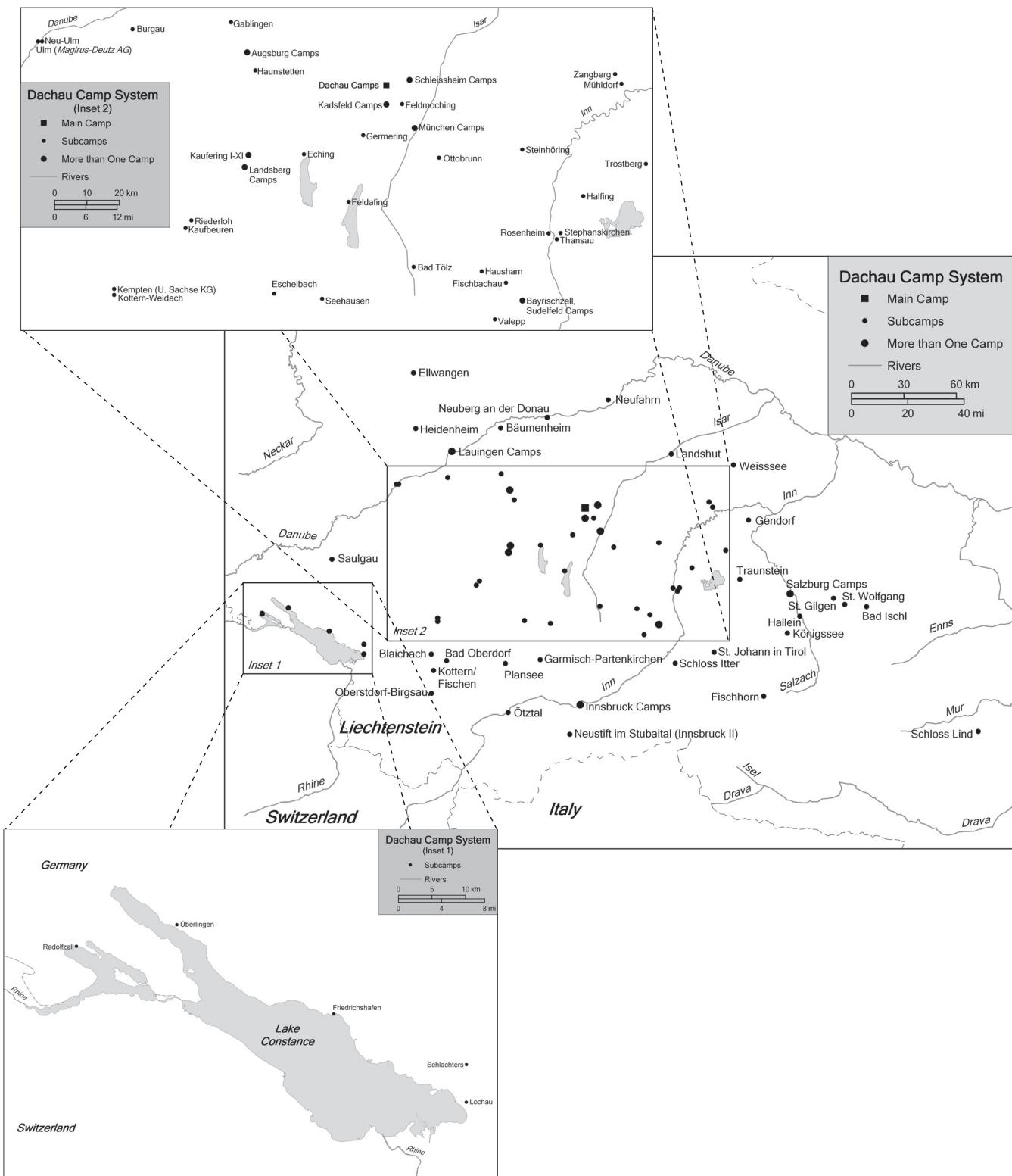
Some of the Dachau concentration camp's original files, such as the Political Department files, were destroyed by the SS before the camp was liberated. The largest collection of files is held at Bad Arolsen, under the control of ITS; these files have only recently become available. Other original documents are to be found in the archive at YVA, IS-O, USHMM, and NARA (documents that were collected for the U.S. military trials in 1945–1948). The most important collection of documents for the history of the subcamps is the ZdL investigations files of BA-L. The SS personnel files are located in BA-DH. The establishment of an archive at the Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial began in 1964. The collection of original documents is not extensive and derives mostly from private donations to the memorial.

During the years, copies of all the important collections from other archives have been made. This includes an alphabetical list of the Dachau concentration camp prisoners compiled from the prisoners' card index seized immediately after liberation. It contains about 180,000 names with date entries. It also is based on the Dachau entry books. There is in addition a press archive as well as a collection of tape and video interviews with survivors. There is also a collection of artwork.

Barbara Distel
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. MNN, March 21, 1933.
2. IMT Nuremberg, Doc. 775-PS.
3. Numbers from Variation Reports Dachau Concentration Camp, ITS, Arolsen 1973, AG-D, A-2570, A-2571.
4. Letter from RSHA, November 5, 1941, IMT Nuremberg, Doc. NO-2522.
5. Transport List, AG-D, 8996, 8999–9023.
6. List of Experimental Persons, Malaria Station at Dachau Concentration Camp, ITS, Arolsen, AG-D, Nr. 5703.
7. Witness Statement Dr. Frantisek Blaha, May 3, 1945, to the Investigating Officer Colonel David Chavez Jr., StA-N, Rept. 502-IVPS.
8. WHVA Circular, Berlin, January 20, 1943, IMT Nuremberg, 1947, Doc. NO-1521/26.
9. Jan Domagala Transports into the Dachau Concentration Camp, AG-D, Nr. 1045.
10. KL Dachau, List of the Evacuees on 26.4.1945, IS-O, AG-D, Nr. 1012.
11. According to investigations by Stanislav Zamecnik, the dead number at least 42,359.



DACHAU SUBCAMP SYSTEM

The Dachau subcamp complex was a gradually evolving camp system comprising numerous different types of camps. Chiefly in 1944 and 1945, its network spread out into the surrounding areas, both near and far.

The number of subcamps varies between 169 and 187, depending on whether separate camps for male and female prisoners in one location are counted separately and whether subdetachments of the subcamps are included in the count. The International Tracing Service (ITS) list fixes the date for the first subcamp as 1937. Beginning as early as 1933, however, there were already labor detachments deployed for “public tasks” outside the main camp. Between 1938 and 1941, 13 subcamps were established. In 1942, the number doubled, and in the following year, it grew by an additional 18. The number increased dramatically in 1944, 84 new subcamps being established in that year alone. In the first four months of 1945, another 44 subcamps were added to the system. [Note: Not all of these sites met the criteria to be included as subcamps in this volume. —ed.]

Initially, the private interests of high-ranking SS members played a major role in the establishment of the subcamps. In the 1940s, the decision-making process was based increasingly on economic and war-related considerations. Until 1942, the Dachau camp commandant had the authority to assign concentration camp prisoners to private industry or farms. Beginning in the spring of 1942, private industry had to apply to Office D II of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in Oranienburg for prisoners. It was from here that the deployment of prisoners was ordered after the applications had been reviewed.

With regard to administration, all of the subcamps were directly subordinate to the Dachau main camp. Depending on the size of the subcamp, each had its own camp or detachment leader. At some subcamps where there were only a few prisoners, no camp commander was stationed on-site.¹ The close organizational ties between the subcamps and the main camp were evident in various aspects: all legal mail had to be sent by way of the censorship office at Dachau; provisions for the smaller subcamps were supplied by Dachau, as were tools and other objects of daily use. Reports on prisoner infractions were relayed to the main camp, and the prisoners themselves were sent there for punishment,² although whippings and hangings were also carried out in the larger subcamps.³

There was no strict administrative system for all subcamps. The form of administration varied, depending on the date the camp was established, its size, and the respective individual camp commandant or detachment leader. The freedom of action enjoyed by the commandant or detachment leader became apparent when, for example, penal reports were not forwarded to the main camp or the prisoners' provisions were improved or when cruel despotism reigned.

The prisoner populations of the subcamps varied substantially in number. There were camps with only a few prisoners and large camp complexes in which thousands of prisoners performed labor. The camps with the largest prisoner populations were those in the service of the armaments industry located in and around Landsberg-Kaufering and Mühldorf.

In principle, all prisoner groups from Dachau were allocated to perform labor in the subcamps. In certain subcamps, however, the prisoner populations consisted solely or to a disproportionate degree of a particular category. The early subcamps had mostly “political prisoners,” reflecting the composition of the inmates in the main Dachau camp at the time. It was not until the outbreak of war that the number of foreign prisoners increased.

There were Jews in the subcamps until 1942. Following the order to make the Reich “free of Jews,” all Jewish prisoners were deported from Dachau.⁴ It was not until 1944–1945 that Jews, chiefly of Eastern European origin, were sent to the Landsberg-Kaufering and Mühldorf subcamps either directly or by way of the main camp. Jehovah’s Witnesses, on the other hand, were regarded as diligent and unproblematic prisoners who—because of their religious convictions—would not engage in any resistance. They were purposely sent to subcamps in remote locations where escape was easy, and in many cases, they even worked without being guarded.

One group of prisoners was excluded from deployment to the subcamps. Evidence of these protective detention prisoners of all nationalities is found on lists of January 1944 designating them as “NAL” (for *nicht aus dem Lager*), which meant that they were “not to leave the camp” for the performance of labor.⁵ They were presumably classified in this manner because they were prone to escape or faced proceedings by the Political Department or the Gestapo.

In the first Dachau subcamps, the prisoners were assigned to labor chiefly to satisfy the personal interests of those in power. The prisoners had to perform garden or household work for the members of the SS and their families in the direct vicinity of the concentration camp or to build or renovate holiday homes for the higher SS officials. In contrast, the prisoners assigned to SS enterprises such as the Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke (German Equipment Works, DAW) or the porcelain manufacturer Allach constituted a more significant economic factor.

It was only with the outbreak of war and the increasingly grave lack of labor that the concentration camp prisoners took on significance as an economic factor. On the one hand, smaller prisoner detachments were deployed to private firms in and around Munich, for example, a jam factory, horticultural nursery, or shoe store. The numerically larger detachments integrated from 1942 onward into the armaments industry were of greater significance.

In the last year of the war, within the framework of the so-called Jägerstab (Fighter Staff) Program, thousands of prisoners were put to work relocating armaments production plants to underground sites, performing heavy labor under inhuman conditions.

As is already implied by the various sites of deployment, the working conditions in the subcamps varied greatly. In several smaller detachments garden work was carried out or houses built; in other detachments the prisoners had to work in factories or perform heavy manual labor on construction sites. To no small extent, the respective conditions reflected the attitudes of the master craftsmen or company managements, many of them civilians. The SS guards were not involved in the work process but were responsible solely for guarding the prisoners. This did not, however, prevent many guards—or, many civilian foremen—from brutally goading the prisoners to work. In many locations, however, either at the workplace or in the vicinity of the camp, some civilians stood up for the prisoners, either easing their work or supplying them with food.⁶

Often, the decision as to whether a prisoner worked in the open air or indoors was a question of life or death, as the prisoners usually did not receive warm clothing or gloves in winter.

The employers paid the prisoners' wages directly to the Dachau concentration camp. In adherence to strict instructions issued from Berlin, the hourly wages for skilled and unskilled workers were recorded monthly on so-called *Fordernachweise* (claim vouchers), then to be transferred to a Dachau concentration camp bank account.⁷

There are no details concerning the total number of prisoner deaths in the subcamps. The mortality rate in the early subcamps was relatively low. It later climbed exponentially in the camps connected with the armaments industry. The most disturbing accounts testify to the construction projects of the Jägerstab Program, where many thousands of prisoners died of malnutrition, disease, and exhaustion.⁸

Subcamps of that type contrast with those described positively by the prisoners because there was no mistreatment, and the food was better. Especially in the final months in the Dachau main camp, when particularly grim conditions prevailed there due to overcrowding, poor food, and illnesses, transfer to one of the better subcamps could mean survival.

The living conditions of prisoners outside their workplace were decisively influenced by their living quarters. In many subcamps, barracks with sanitary installations were built for the prisoners; in others the prisoners slept in cellars, garages, or factory buildings. The prisoners did not always have beds and blankets at their disposal. In many cases, the lack of washing facilities resulted in the spread of fleas, lice, and disease to which the prisoners—weakened by malnutrition—had no resistance. Only a few subcamps had a prisoner infirmary. Prisoners who were unable to work were sent back to Dachau.

The overwhelming majority of the subcamps was supervised and guarded by the SS. The SS were universally feared

by the prisoners due to their cruelty and unpredictability. The prisoners were ruthlessly driven by the guards, and anyone who did not work quickly enough was brutally beaten.

At the Organisation Todt (OT) construction sites, OT men who equaled the SS guards in brutality stood guard. Particularly in the last months of the war, Wehrmacht and Luftwaffe personnel who were no longer fit for front-line service replaced the SS men who were still fit.⁹

Among all the tormentors, there were also guards who treated the prisoners better. The latter, for example, would consciously overlook a prisoner picking up a cigarette butt from the ground or a civilian giving a prisoner some bread. It is reported of some guards that they smuggled letters for the prisoners or arranged contact with family members outside the camp. Such examples, however, remained the exception.

A number of subcamps were only temporary and were closed before the end of the war. The majority of the Dachau subcamps in existence until the end of the war were dissolved in mid- or late April 1945. The prisoners were forced to march on foot back to the Dachau main camp or were taken there by rail or truck. The concentration camp was already overfilled at the time, and the majority of these prisoners were then sent on evacuation marches. Other subcamps were closed and the prisoners driven in a southerly direction for days without food. Many subcamps, on the other hand, were not dissolved or evacuated. Here the camp officers had either fled or the camp commandant disobeyed the orders from Dachau. In these cases the prisoners were spared an evacuation march and were liberated by Allied troops.

SOURCES Scholarly publications on the subcamps are rare, although general works about the main camp do contain some information. More recently, a number of interesting monographs have been published, some of which were summarized in vol. 15 (1999) of *DaHe* under the title "KZ-Aussenlager—Geschichte und Erinnerung." For a systematic overview of the Dachau subcamp complex, see this author's "Organisation und Struktur der Aussenlager des KZ Dachau" (Ph.D. diss., TU-Berlin, 2004).

Sources on the Dachau subcamp complex are scattered throughout a number of archives. The BA-B holds, among other sources, the administrative files of the Reichsführer-SS and the IKL as well the Collection NS4 on concentration camps. The AG-D contains extensive material on individual subcamps. The original transcripts and documentary evidence from the Dachau Trials of 1948–1949 are located in NARA and comprise not only original concentration camp files but also numerous testimonies concerning the subcamps. The investigation files of ZdL (now held at BA-L) and the Munich Sta. are in BHStA-(M) and provide substantial material on German postwar trials. YVA also holds documents on the Dachau subcamps. There is, moreover, a large abundance of memoir literature, much of which is held in the library of AG-D.

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NOTES

1. In Hausham the camp commandant visited the farm only once a month to see if everything was in order; see Biographie Frieda Hopp, geb. Gross, GAZJ.
2. See Belehrung für Übersetzung, dated June 4, 1942, BA-B, NS 4/Da 2; and letter from WVHA, Amtsgruppenchef D to the Camp Commandants, Oranienburg, dated December 11, 1943, BA-B, NS 3/426; Lebensbericht von Gerhard Oltmanns, 1975, GAZJ, Selters (Subcamp Wolfgangsee), and Lebensbericht von Paul Wauer, n.d., GAZJ (St. Gilgen); testimony by Paweł Rępondek, Chorzow, dated October 22, 1949, BHStA-(M), Sta. 34434; statement under oath by Karl Röder, Vienna, 1949, BHStA-(M), SpkA Karton 75/vol. 1 (Eleonore Baur).
3. See testimony by Herbert Slawinski, Augsburg, dated October 17, 1956, BHStA-(M) Sta. 34588/2 (Subcamp Augsburg), and statement by Michael Kulig, Ratibor, dated August 14, 1968, BHStA-(M), Sta. 34817/1 (Subcamp Allach).
4. See letter from the RSHA, dated November 5, 1942, IfZ, MA-444/5.
5. See DaA Hängeordner Schutzhäftvorgänge/NAL (Nicht aus dem Lager)/Häftlingslisten.
6. See letter from Johannes Van Loo, dated October 17, 1984; AG-D, A412/Hängeordner Aussenkommando Unterfahlheim/Nachkriegsermittlungen (Post-War Investigations) and Lebensbericht Willi Lehmbecker, n.d., GAZJ, Selters (Subcamp Obersudelfeld).
7. The instructions from Berlin concerning the hourly wages of concentration camp prisoners were changed several times, here just one example: letter from WVHA, Chef d. Amtes C VI, to Reichsrüstungskommissar für die Preisbildung, Berlin, dated October 13, 1944, BA-B, R 13 VIII/243; see also Forde rungsnachweise über den Häftlingseinsatz des SS-Berghaus Sudelfeld von Dezember 1944 bis März 1945, BA-B, NS 33/177.
8. See Case 000-50-1-36, *USA v. Franz Auer, et al.*, Mühldorf Trial Files, NARA, RG 338 Box 541.
9. See Heinz Boberach, "Die Überführung von Soldaten des Heeres und der Luftwaffe in die SS-Totenkopfverbände zur Bewachung von Konzentrationslagern 1944," *MM* 34 (1983): 185–190.

AUGSBURG (*MICHELWERKE*)

"Sometime during 1944 around five hundred Hungarian Jewish women came to Augsburg, where they were housed and put to work in the collection camps of the Michelwerke (Industriehof) Keller & Knappich. The appearance of these people, who were clothed in a kind of sack and shorn of their hair, was terrible."¹ This is the wording of a not-quite-error-free report by the Augsburg police directorate from the period after the war. It makes reference to the Michelwerke subcamp of the Dachau concentration camp, within which all 500 women were housed in the North Building (Nordbau) and not at Keller & Knappich. However, some of these Jewish women worked at this firm.

The Michelwerke women's camp existed in the Kriegshaber district of Augsburg from September 7, 1944, through April 1945.²

The 500 women arrived in Augsburg in freight cars on September 7 from Hungary as well as from Hungarian areas of Slovakia at that time, the Carpatho-Ukraine and Transylvania. Their path of suffering had led them through Auschwitz II-Birkenau to the concentration camp Krakau-Plaszow, located near Cracow, then back again to Auschwitz, and from there to Augsburg.³

After the war, some of the women told about their journey along the way to Augsburg. Katarina Szolar stated, "After a six week stay, we left Płaszów, on August 6 and were transported to Auschwitz. . . . Here our hair was cut off and numbers were tattooed on our upper arms. My number was A17356. We slept twelve to a bed. Often the topmost bed collapsed under the weight. . . . We seldom had the opportunity to wash ourselves. We were often scared, because we didn't know whether we were coming into shower rooms or gas chambers. It often happened that we came from the shower naked and our clothing was gone. When we asked the supervisor we got a kick in the backside."

Szolar continues: "After six weeks in Auschwitz, five hundred stark-naked women were selected in the pouring rain and transported to a camp in Augsburg. First we had to clear away the rubble of a bomb attack and later we worked in a factory that produced airplane parts. We worked very hard there, twelve hours a day, day- and nightshift."⁴

In a report, the reception of the women in Augsburg is described as follows: "At the train station we were received by a doctor, who directed a comforting speech toward us. He said that our situation changed here—we will work for the German Reich—we can let our hair grow, we will be treated humanely, and medical care is available to us."⁵

Both the female prisoners and the male and female guards slept on the second floor of the Nordbau of the Michelwerke. The women of the concentration camp were divided into three sleeping rooms. After arriving, they received new straw sacks, which they could fill with fresh straw, and pillows. Each had a separate place to lie in the bunk beds. A shower was also available. Doctors from the factory cared for the women's health.⁶ The way to the Michelwerke was easy to supervise. The women

reached the workrooms through a corridor. Therefore, the building was not fenced in with barbed wire. Food was prepared in a kitchen strictly responsible for feeding the Jewish women; they ate in the dining hall of the canteen building.

The majority of the women worked in the Michelwerke, as well as at Keller & Knappich, which was not far away. The Michelwerke produced electrical parts for airplanes—plugs and relays, for example. Keller & Knappich produced small mortars and cartridges for 2cm guns. After air raids the women were also used to clear debris in a branch facility of the factory. Smaller groups of women also worked in the neighboring town of Neusäss. There, the Lohwald factory produced camouflage paint. Apparently some of the Hungarian women in Neusäss were also deployed in a supply camp for Messerschmitt.⁷

In at least one of the firms, the women of the concentration camp were not allowed to use the same toilets as the other male and female workers. Three labels were placed on the bathrooms: "Only for Germans," "Only for Russians," "Only for Jews." The members of the workforce from other nations were allowed to use the toilets of the Germans.⁸

Former soldiers of the Wehrmacht, who no longer could be sent to the front because of injuries or sicknesses, guarded the Michelwerke subcamp. Some were apparently replaced by the SS in September 1944. In addition, female SS personnel belonged to the 10- to 12-person-strong camp personnel. These women were also in uniform.

The commandant of Michelwerke could not be identified. Some women stated that the commandant did not belong to the SS but rather to the Wehrmacht. He behaved decently, and the same went for most of the guard staff. He died later, supposedly during an air raid while prisoners were being evacuated to Mühldorf.⁹

Aliza Javor reported after the war that one female guard in the factory of Keller & Knappich once slapped a Jewish girl. As a result, the guard was surrounded by foreign civilian workers who demanded that she treat the concentration camp women in a decent way if she valued her life. The Hungarian woman praised especially the French workers. From time to time, they gave the women from the concentration camp food and bread. She also confirmed that the German workers were civilized. Because she could speak German, she received a German newspaper daily from them. Another Hungarian woman reported that an SS man kicked her in the stomach during the distribution of food. Otherwise, the testimonies agree that there was no mistreatment or even crimes in the Michelwerke camp. The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) arrived at the same result after completing its investigation in 1975.

Nevertheless, the Jewish women were under intense psychological pressure. According to Javor: "Every evening there was roll call, after we had arrived from work. The Oberscharführer, our camp commandant, never missed the opportunity to say, if we don't work well, we would have to go back to Auschwitz." Around 10 women could not get through the work, meaning they were labeled "unable to work" and sent to Dachau. Two pregnant women, who had married shortly before

their deportation, were transferred to Landsberg am Lech. They gave birth to their children in the hospital there.¹⁰

At the beginning of April 1945, the Michelwerke camp was dissolved. The women were taken by train to a different Dachau subcamp, located at Mühldorf am Inn. Although the traveling distance was not all that far, the trip took several days. The women remained in Mühldorf until the end of the war.

While in transit, the Hungarian women feared for their lives again. The train taking them to Mühldorf was attacked by Allied airplanes. In vain, the women waved their striped concentration camp shirts in order to signal to the pilots that there were concentration camp prisoners in the train. This attempt was futile, however, for military personnel were also being transported in this same train. Lea Vegh reported later during a court hearing that she and a couple of other women fled to a small forest during an air raid. An SS man, whom the Hungarian women in the Augsburg camp apparently called "the crazy soldier," killed one of those who fled with a shot in the head.¹¹ The women and men were liberated by U.S. troops at Lake Starnberg.

SOURCES In YVA there are many statements of the Hungarian women on the Michelwerke camp. Further statements were taken from the ZdL's Schlussvermerk. In addition to this, the author spoke with contemporary witnesses in Kriegshaber and Neusäss.

In Wolfgang Kucera's book *Fremdarbeiter und KZ-Häftlinge in der Augsburger Rüstungsindustrie* (Augsburg: AV, 1996), there is a chapter on the Kriegshaber camp (pp. 106–107). The camp is also dealt with in Gernot Römer's book *Für die Vergessenen: KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984), pp. 56–62.

Gernot Römer
trans. Lynn Wolff

NOTES

1. Statement of the Augsburg Police Directorate from May 20, 1945, in YVA, M-1L/1 350/10.
2. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, July 15, 1975, in BA-L, IV 410 (D) AR-Z 147/75.
3. Ibid., p. 2.
4. Statement of Katarina Szolar, YVA, 572/27-0 L.
5. Aliza Javor statement, YVA, 03/1028.
6. Wolfgang Kucera, *Fremdarbeiter und KZ-Häftlinge in der Augsburger Rüstungsindustrie* (Augsburg: AV, 1996), p. 106.
7. Inquiries of the author.
8. Javor statement.
9. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, July 15, 1975.
10. Javor statement.
11. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, July 15, 1975.

AUGSBURG-HORGAU

For only one month, from March to April 1945, a concentration camp existed in the forest near Horgau.¹ The villagers of Horgau in particular have expressed doubts about this period of time, claiming it is too brief. This claim could be correct.

By at least February 1945, prisoner barracks were not yet ready. However, a letter refers to a military facility constructed by the Organisation Todt (OT), Senior Building Administration Swabia, concerning the Horgau forest camp: "On 5. 2. 1945 permission was given to the building office for the construction of a concentration camp, as an extension of Kuno I, consisting of 5 prisoner barracks, guards barracks, and a 450-meter [1,476-foot] fence. The barracks are not yet ready."² A month later the barracks had apparently been delivered and constructed.

Before the above-mentioned date, concentration camp prisoners had worked in the Sheet Metal Facility of the Messerschmitt Aircraft Factory. Each day they were taken by rail from the Augsburg camp at Pfersee, and at the end of the shift, they returned from the Horgau rail station. For this reason, Horgau is referred to in the official documents as a subcamp of Augsburg-Pfersee.

"Horgau was a forest storage camp that lay some 12 kilometers [7.5 miles] west of Augsburg on the Augsburg-Ulm highway. The camp consisted of 21 low, wooden barracks, hidden in a dense pine forest, which could not be seen from the air or the nearby road"—this description, according to the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey report about the armaments facility in the forest. It was not the only Messerschmitt factory that was hidden by trees from Allied air reconnaissance. Others were located in nearby Burgau, as well as in Kematen in Tirol, Austria.

Construction of the factory began on September 15, 1944, and it was ready within three and one-half months. Twenty-one low buildings were built: assembly halls, prefabricated barracks, supply stores, and accommodation barracks. In order not to fell too many of the trees that provided the camouflage, holes were left in the roofs and walls so that the trees could stand. In particular, wings for the Me 262 jet fighter were produced at the camp. Once completed, these were transported via the Augsburg-Ulm autobahn for final assembly at Kuno near Burgau. The camouflage of the camp was apparently perfect as reconnaissance planes of the U.S. Army Air Forces did not locate the camp.³

Foreign forced laborers were employed at the sheet metal facility in addition to the German personnel: Russians, Hungarians, French, Alsatians, and some prisoners of war (POWs). Josef Langenmeier, then the owner of a nearby forest café at the Horgau Railway Station, estimated the number of prisoners at 120. The midday meal for the foreign civilian labor force was prepared at his inn and distributed in the tent that served as a canteen in the forest factory. According to Langenmeier, the thermos vat was carried back and forth by concentration camp prisoners. These men wore striped clothes and were fed someplace else—apparently very badly. Langenmeier observed that the men fought over the food scraps. Once he gave coffee and bread to four men who had shoveled coal for the forest café. In his kitchen, he employed four Russian women who peeled potatoes and threw the peels out the window. Several of the guards allowed the prisoners to dig in the pile of peelings, while others forcibly stopped it. Langenmeier stated, "There

were decent guards. One SS man had even begged for potatoes for the prisoners while in the forest café.”

From his café, Langenmeier was able to observe the arrival and departure times of the freight trains carrying the prisoners from the camp at Pfersee between Augsburg and Horgau. In the morning the men were forced to sing while marching to work. When they returned in the evening, they were mistreated as they climbed down from the wagons: “No one climbed down without being beaten.” Langenmeier also stated that “eventually the transports were stopped between Augsburg and Horgau and the prisoners then had to live in tents near the factory.”⁴

In March 1945, a transport of 307 prisoners of various nationalities from the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp arrived at Horgau. This transport had traveled many days through Swabia with insufficient rations. There were men and women in the transport. A number were dead when the transport finally arrived in the Swabian towns of Lauingen, Burgau, and finally the station at Horgau, or they died soon after their arrival.

Former railway station master Josef Mayr told Langenmeier that there were 2 dead when the train arrived at Horgau. The concentration camp prisoner Baruch Ginzberg stated that one-half of the 50 men of that transport did not survive. The journey of suffering of the then-16-year-old Pole from Łódź, Ginzberg, was via the forced labor camp at Auschwitz-Krenau (where he worked in an oil refinery), to the concentration camps at Gross-Rosen, Sachsenhausen, and finally Bergen-Belsen. Here the prisoners’ muscles were examined as if they were cattle at a meat market. Those capable of work were put on a new transport—in open freight wagons. After an air raid, the train stopped for days at Würzburg. They survived by drinking water from the Main River and by eating snow. Many prisoners died. To warm themselves, they lay on the warm corpses and covered themselves with the dead. Ginzberg claims that in Horgau the dead were unloaded. He does not know what happened with the corpses, and he does not know the day they arrived in Horgau.

Ginzberg is clear that he finally got something to eat in Horgau. Otherwise, all that remains in his memory are a few barracks in a forest, barbed wire, wooden beds for sleeping, dogs, and SS guards. He did not have to work, and he was not mistreated. His respite in the forest camp was not long. He was taken to a subcamp at the Pfersee air intelligence barracks and liberated, together with his father David, by the American soldiers in Klimmach, Swabia, on April 27, 1945. It must have been unusual for both father and son to have traveled the same path and have survived together. In 1946, Baruch Ginzberg was in Italy. It was there that he learned that his mother and sister had survived. In 1947 he made his new home in Israel.⁵

The Horgau camp was closed on April 4, 1945, at which point there were 274 prisoners still there. They were taken to Augsburg-Pfersee. A few weeks earlier, 27 had been taken to the Dachau main camp. Investigations have revealed no evidence to suggest that prisoners were killed at Horgau. The

Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) stated after questioning witnesses, including David Ginzberg, “that conditions in the camp were quiet. Further investigation is not recommended as it is unlikely that there will be evidence to contradict existing statements that there were no homicides in the camp.”⁶

The judicial authorities have not been able to determine who the commander was of the Horgau camp. The men were guarded by Luftwaffe soldiers who were no longer capable of serving at the front. They were transferred to the SS for this purpose. Many of the inhabitants in Horgau appeared not to have noticed that about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from the Horgau railway station that there was a Messerschmitt factory in the forest and a subcamp for concentration camp prisoners.

A Messerschmitt employee said after the war that Horgau was a “model camp in a forest, a place for recuperation for deserving prisoners, which should be expanded.” Whether there were such plans can no longer be determined.⁷

SOURCES Gernot Römer’s book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984) contains information on the camp (pp. 91–94). Historian Wolfgang Kucera devotes a chapter to the Horgau subcamp in his book *Fremdarbeiter und KZ-Häftlinge in der Augsburger Rüstungsindustrie* (Augsburg, 1996), pp. 99–100.

The ZdL investigation files in BA-L provide information on the Horgau subcamp. Footnotes in the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey’s *Messerschmitt Report* at NARA provide information on the factory. When the author prepared a chapter on the Horgau camp in 1984, conversations with Baruch Ginzberg and Josef Langenmeier in Tel Aviv and villagers in Horgau were most helpful.

Gernot Römer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, July 10, 1975, BA-L, IV 410 AR 2139/67, p. 2.
2. OT, R 50 I/24 fol. 1, BA-P (a copy is held by Horgau village).
3. USSBS, *Messerschmitt Report* (1945), NARA, Microfilm 1013 Roll 1.
4. Josef Langenmeier, conversation with the author, 1984.
5. Baruch Ginzberg, Israel, conversation with the author, 1984.
6. ZdL, Schussvermerk, July 10, 1975, pp. 3–4.
7. Written statement by former Messerschmitt employee Ludwig Wiede from September 14, 1945, for OMGUS in Augsburg, author’s archive.

AUGSBURG-PFERSEE

The Augsburg-Pfersee subcamp was known as “SS-Labor Camp Augsburg-Pfersee.” This camp replaced the Messerschmitt AG subcamps Haunstetten and Gablingen Airport, which were destroyed by bombing raids on April 13, 1944, and April 25, 1944, respectively.

The Augsburg-Pfersee subcamp was constructed on April 27, 1944, in the long lorry hall of the former air intelligence barracks at Augsburg. The hall, which still existed in 2005, had 10 large gates. The prisoner's block was located behind the gates. The men slept in bunk beds, which took up almost all the space. There was only space at the back of the block for a separate room for the prisoner-functionaries, such as the block elder or the barracks orderly.

In the camp there was an infirmary (*Revier*) in the westernmost part of the hall. The camp elder, camp secretary, and other prisoner-functionaries were housed in the eastern part of the block. Punishment was administered in front of this area. Here the prisoners were whipped on the so-called fastening stand (*Bock*) or hanged from the gallows.

A square in front of the hall was used for roll call. It was fenced in with barbed wire. The camp gate was on the eastern side of the camp. The SS guards were quartered near the camp gate. The number of prisoners in the Augsburg-Pfersee subcamp varied between 1,500 and 2,000 men. The majority of these men were "political" prisoners. There were, however, others in the camp categorized as forced labor, "protective custody," Jehovah's Witnesses, "Gypsies," homosexuals, and also Jews. The majority of the prisoners did not come from Greater Germany. They were from Belgium, France, Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Austria, Poland, Ukraine, Hungary, and White Russia.¹

The number of prisoners changed constantly. Prisoners who could no longer work were transferred back to the main camp and replaced with those who could work. The SS exchanged Jewish prisoners with the Kaufering subcamp. Augsburg-Pfersee also exchanged prisoners with other Messerschmitt camps in southern Bavaria and Württemberg. The Augsburg Kommando was also responsible for camps in northern Swabia, such as Burgau, Horgau, Lauingen, or Bäumenheim. As a result, there were numerous prisoner transfers. As the front line neared, prisoners evacuated from the west also arrived in southern Germany, including Augsburg; thus prisoner numbers continued to grow before the end of the war.²

The prisoners worked almost exclusively for Messerschmitt AG. A few prisoners were given special tasks. Some were used by the city of Augsburg and the German Railways to clean up and rebuild after bombing raids; others just worked in the camp.

The majority of the prisoners worked in 12-hour shifts in the Messerschmitt factory, which was about six kilometers (four miles) away in Haunstetten. The Me 410 and Me 210 airplanes were built here, and parts for other airplanes, including the jet fighter Me 262, were also produced in Pfersee. The prisoners worked at the production machines, transport within the firm, the supply depots, construction, and rubble clearing.

At the beginning of 1945, a large number of prisoners from Pfersee worked on the construction of a replacement factory for Messerschmitt in a forest near the Horgau railway station. There, in primitive conditions, wings were made for the Me

262 jet fighter. At the beginning of March 1945, a separate subcamp was erected for this purpose.

Life in the camp was marked by overwork and a lack of food. There was constant danger from bombing raids. The prisoners had no protection in the event of a bombing raid. The shelters could only be used in exceptional circumstances when work was being done. The only protection for the prisoners when air-raid sirens sounded was to march to a nearby gravel pit to the west of the barracks.

The prisoners received assistance from individual workers and inhabitants of Augsburg who gave them food. Help was sporadic and certainly not the rule. International Red Cross packages only reached the prisoners toward the end of the war. However, prisoners from the Soviet Union (who were in the overwhelming majority) did not receive any packages. The packages improved the food supply and offered the opportunity to barter for additional food.

At least 81 men died in Pfersee and were either buried or cremated at the Augsburg West Cemetery.³ The number who died is probably higher because until the autumn of 1944 the sick and dying prisoners were sent back to Dachau. The most prisoners died in February and March 1945 as the result of an epidemic of spotted or typhus fever.

In addition to those who died from exhaustion and illness were those murdered by the SS. Typically, prisoners who were to be punished were taken to the main camp. However, executions also took place in the camp at Pfersee because of escape attempts, alleged sabotage, looting, stealing, and disobedience. The prisoners were sometimes hanged. In addition to formal executions, there also were a number of instances when prisoners died as a result of mistreatment by the guards.⁴

The camp was guarded by SS units. The officers and non-commissioned officers were long-serving SS personnel, while among the lower ranks were a few former Wehrmacht soldiers who were no longer suitable for service at the front. One of the camp leaders was SS-Untersturmführer Horst Volkmar. The last camp leader was SS-Oberscharführer Jakob Bosch, who prior to this posting had been in command of the subcamp at Lauingen.

The Augsburg-Pfersee subcamp was evacuated on April 25, 1945. A small number of the sick and men unable to march were transported by the SS to Dachau, while the remainder of the 1,600 men marched in a southerly direction, guarded by the SS. When the American troops arrived a few days later, they found an empty camp. After a few days marching along the edge of the Wertach River, the prisoners reached the village of Klömmel. Here they were freed by American troops. Two men died in Klömmel as a result of the exertions of the march. During the march at least 1 prisoner died. He was buried in Bergheim near Augsburg.⁵ Whether other prisoners died during the march is unknown.

During the Dachau Trial in 1947, charges were filed against SS members who were stationed in the Pfersee camp. However, there was not a separate trial for Pfersee personnel. Investigations in the 1970s by the Central Office of State

Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg did not result in any charges being filed.⁶

SOURCES Wolfgang Kucera's *Fremdarbeiter und KZ-Häftlinge in der Augsburger Rüstungsindustrie* (Augsburg, 1996) analyzes forced labor and the Augsburg armaments industry. It focuses on the living conditions in the local subcamps. It analyzes accessible written sources and eyewitness reports. Gernot Römer's *Für die Vergessenen. KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern. Berichte, Dokumente, Zahlen und Bilder* (Augsburg, 1984) focuses on the subcamps in Swabia. It describes the subcamps using eyewitness statements and relevant investigation files.

In BA-L (formerly ZdL) there are investigation files into the Augsburg camp and in fact for almost all subcamps. The files contain detailed statements by former prisoners and members of the SS. The AG-D has collections on individual Dachau subcamps and prisoner reports, which also deal with the subcamps. There is a prisoners' data bank and lists of documents relating to the subcamp. The Augsburg Cemetery has a few old files that state the burial sites of the prisoners. There are copies of the official death lists. The ITS at Bad Arolsen also has data on Augsburg-Pfersee. For a survivor's memoir, see Dimitrijus Gelpenas, "Landsberg-Kaufering-Augsburg: Städte wie alle anderen? Bericht eines aus Litauen Deportierten," *DaHe* 12 (1996): 255–277. This essay describes the conditions in the named camps as well as transfers within the concentration camp system.

Wolfgang Kucera
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Prisoners lists from AG-D.
2. BA-L, prisoner reports in the Investigations File of ZdL, IV410AR-Z165/75.
3. Augsburg Cemetery Files.
4. BA-L, statements in the Investigations File of ZdL, IV410AR-Z165/75.
5. Augsburg Cemetery Files
6. BA-L, Investigations File of ZdL, IV410AR-Z165/75.

BAD ISCHL [AKA BAD ISCHL, UMSIEDLERLAGER]

A Dachau subcamp existed in Bad Ischl in the Upper Austrian Salzkammergut, approximately 45 kilometers (28 miles) east of Salzburg. It was attached to the local resettlement camp, which existed from February 9, 1942, until December 19, 1942. The resettlement camp was erected in the Roith district of Bad Ischl, on the road to Ebensee. It held "Volksdeutsche" self-styled Donauschwabos, ethnic Germans who had come to Germany from their earlier settlement areas in Hungary and Romania. The camp was run by the Oberdonau branch of the Ethnic German Liaison Office (Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle) in Linz, which also employed the roughly 60 male inmates who worked in the camp.

The prisoners were used for erecting and furnishing the barracks of the resettlement camp and were housed in the first

barracks built on the camp grounds. Forty of them—37 Germans and 3 Poles—had arrived in a first transport from Dachau on February 9, 1942. Almost all of them were categorized as "protective custody" prisoners (*Schutzhäftlinge*). Some 24 inmates—10 Poles, 9 Germans, and 5 Czechs and Slovaks—arrived on June 17 in the subcamp. Among them were a plumber and an electrician; all others were unskilled workers.

The camp Kapo was Ludwig Geiber, a German originally from Saarbrücken. Not many details are known about the living and working conditions in the subcamp, but no inmate died there. Between June and the end of August 1942, several small groups of inmates were returned to the Dachau main camp. This could indicate that their work was no longer needed, that they did not possess the required skills, or that they had become incapable of working. From the end of August on, about 45 prisoners remained in the camp until it was dissolved in December 1942.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) did not reveal many details about the camp, but apparently there was no severe mistreatment or violent deaths in the camp. Therefore, the investigations were called off in 1972.

SOURCES Albert Knoll describes the Bad Ischl (Umsiedlerlager) subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol.2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 290–291. Another description of the camp can be found in Wolfgang Quatember, "Ein Aussenkommando von Dachau in Bad Ischl," in *ZVWmE*, Nr. 55 (December 2001). The camp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:65.

The reference for the ZdL investigations is located in the BA-L, IV 410 AR 1627/72. Some archival material on the subcamp can be found in AG-D; see Überstellungslisten (transport lists) from May and June 1942 under signature DaA 55673.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Lynn Wolff

BAD OBERDORF

There could not have been a smaller subcamp than the one that existed in Bad Oberdorf. It was composed of one Dachau prisoner and existed for a month: from March 20 to April 25, 1945. Despite these circumstances, it is registered as one of the subcamps attached to the Dachau concentration camp.¹

This sole prisoner was assigned to Ilse Hess, the wife of Rudolf Hess. Rudolf Hess, a longtime comrade of Adolf Hitler, was Hitler's deputy from 1933 to 1941 in the leadership of the Nazi Party, and in 1939 he stood second in the line of succession to Hitler as head of state. In May 1941, secretly and apparently without Hitler's knowledge, Hess flew from Augsburg to Great Britain in a self-piloted plane to attempt peace negotiations; as a result, he lost all of his offices. Until 1945, Hess was held in British custody, and in 1946 at the Nuremberg Trials of leading Nazi war criminals, he was sentenced to lifelong imprisonment for crimes against peace. He died in

1987 in the Allied war criminals prison in Berlin-Spandau, where he had been the only prisoner since 1966.

Ilse Hess was forced to flee Munich due to the Allied bombing campaign and spent the last years of World War II living in Bad Oberdorf in Allgäu. There she managed a small farm of cows, sheep, and horses. The horses provided express service between Bad Oberdorf and Hindelang, as per a local government contract. Several foreign workers, reportedly two Frenchmen and an Austrian, assisted Hess with the farming work. In March 1945, a concentration camp prisoner was assigned to her as a laborer. Hess later recalled that this man was only employed with her for a short amount of time. During that time, she received an order that the man was not allowed to eat at her table. "I only laughed scornfully. We all ate together. He was treated like everyone else," she said. The man slept in the house and did not wear prisoner clothing. "At any rate," she said, "no concentration camp subcamp existed in Bad Oberdorf."²

The camp prisoner sent to Bad Oberdorf was a Jehovah's Witness who had been detained in Dachau since 1937 due to his religious beliefs. His name was Friedrich Frey, and following World War II, he claimed to have been dreadfully mistreated in Dachau, resulting in lifelong physical damage. The SS especially hated Jehovah's Witnesses because of their inflexibility. Frey reported that one time the "protective custody" camp leader (Schutzhaftlagerführer) came to him and said, "You will never again see your pretty Black Forest; you'll march back there through the chimney, but not through the gate!" He responded: "Our God Jehovah, in whom we believe, can and will save us!" Thereupon the SS man screamed at him, "Your Jehovah won't come over the barbed wire and free you." Frey concluded one account of his imprisonment with the words: "When I walked home from Hindelang in May 1945, I was fully able to sense Jehovah's protection."³

After World War II, the judiciary investigated the subcamp of Bad Oberdorf; however, the inquiry was discontinued in 1973 as "unnecessary and no longer useful." In conclusion, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) pointed out that in such small labor details the only prisoners used were those "who were generally worthy of preferential treatment."

SOURCES This entry is based on the author's conversations with Ilse Hess and her son Wolf-Rüdiger Hess. The conversations about the Bad Oberdorf detail took place in 1983. The name of the Jehovah's Witness and his report are derived from GAZJ. See also ZdL, Schlussvermerk, in BA-L (IV 410 AR 171/73).

The one-man detail of Bad Oberdorf is described in the author's book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984), p. 117.

Gernot Römer
trans. Hilary Menges

NOTES

- ZdL, Schlussvermerk, February 1, 1973, in BA-L, IV 410 AR 171/73.

2. The author's conversation with Ilse Hess on May 17, 1984.

3. Friedrich Frey's account about his imprisonment, located in GAZJ.

BAD TÖLZ

The subcamp of Bad Tölz existed from the summer of 1940 (May 1, 1940, according to the Central Office of State Justice Administrations [ZdL] in Ludwigsburg and was mentioned for the last time on April 18, 1945. It was attached to the local SS-Junkerschule (Leadership School), which provided officers for service in the SS-Verfügungstruppen und- Totenkopfverbände (Special Assignment Troops and Death's Head Units).

In summer 1940, 172 prisoners arrived from Dachau. They were kept in five rooms in the basement of the eastern wing of the Junkerschule. Most of the inmates were Poles; many were Germans; and a few were Czechs, French, Italians, and Hungarians. Only very few of the inmates were Jewish. Over the following years, the number of inmates remained mostly stable.

The Central Construction Administration of the Waffen-SS (ZBL) employed the inmates. It used the workers for a wide variety of tasks: One group of the prisoners was to renovate the barracks, prepare roads and pathways at the grounds of the Junkerschule, and build stables. Additional prisoners worked as orderlies in the barracks block of the SS-Junkerschule at Bad Tölz. Another labor group worked approximately 8 kilometers (5 miles) outside of Bad Tölz, constructing a shooting range and clearing a forest, while others were employed working in the market garden, the swimming pool, the Angora rabbit breeding farm, the kitchen, and the bodyshop attached to the Junkerschule. From 1942 on, inmates were also put to work for the city of Bad Tölz, where they had to unload potatoes and coal. During the last months of the war, a group was taken daily to Dürrnhausen-Habach, approximately 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) east of Bad Tölz, where they had to build barracks.

The working conditions of the inmates varied according to their work detachments. While most inmates considered the conditions better than in the main camp, the inmates working on erecting the shooting range and clearing the forest suffered from their daily long marches to their job sites, the strenuous physical labor, and the brutality of their guards. At least two inmates died in the camp: The Pole Florian Głowiński died from falling off a scaffolding, and the German Hans Schading committed suicide. At least three inmates tried to escape but were caught by the SS.

SS guards from Dachau were in charge of the camp. Their first commander was Ludwig Frisch, who treated the inmates comparatively mildly but turned wild when he got drunk at night and threatened to shoot prisoners. From the beginning of the camp, German inmate Christian Rank was Oberkapo and Wilhelm Wimmer his deputy. Accused by the SS of theft, both prisoners and two other inmates were

returned to the main camp on September 1, 1942, and German inmate Franz Vinzenz from Munich became the new Oberkapo.

At the end of the war, when the SS drove the inmates from Dachau to the south, the Bad Tölz prisoners were forced, on May 1, 1945, to join this death march. That night, all the prisoners were driven into a gorge in the mountains and were afraid they would be shot. Due to the interference of a Wehrmacht general, however, the SS troops were dissuaded from killing the inmates. Apparently, the general also insisted that the inmates be returned to the Junkerschule, where they were liberated within a few days by U.S. troops.

SOURCES This description of the Bad Tölz subcamp is based upon the article by Dirk Riedel in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Friühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 293–296.

The subcamp is recorded in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:66. The death march of the inmates at the end of the war is described in Jürgen Zarusky, "Von Dachau nach nirgendwo. Der Todesmarsch der KZ-Häftlinge im April 1945," in *Spuren des Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Bayerische Landeszentrale für politische Bildungsarbeit in Bayern (Munich, 2000), p. 56; and in Andreas Wagner, *Todesmarsch*, (Ingolstadt, 1995), p. 55.

In 1976 the ZdL conducted an inquiry under the reference number BA-L IV 410 AR-Z 79/76. The files contain numerous testimonies in German, as well as in Polish and Hebrew. In AG-D, there are some records detailing the history of the Bad Tölz camp. They can mainly be found under the signatures DaA 16889 (letters by Kommandoführer Frisch), DaA 35672–34678 (various Überstellungslisten [transport lists]), and DaA H 959 (interview with Oberkapo Franz Vinzenz).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Hilary Menges

BÄUMENHEIM

"In Bäumenheim, in the district of Donauwörth, a self-sufficient camp for men, with approximately five hundred prisoners, existed from August 1, 1944 to April 25, 1945. The prisoners were assigned to work at the Messerschmitt Augsburg factory and were housed within the factory premises in a partially constructed extension building." So reads a comment from a report written in 1976 by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg.¹

The camp was located on the property of the farming machine manufacturer Dechentreiter. At the time, the company was very well known in Germany, especially for its production of threshing machines. Despite the protests of the company president, Dechentreiter had to cede a portion of its plant to the Messerschmitt airplane factory. The kitchen and storerooms were located on the ground floor of a walled, two-story house, and the prisoners' quarters were located on the second story. A watchtower was located by the main street,

and barbed wire surrounded the building.² "We were not guarded very closely," one prisoner recalled later.³

A number of the men were skilled craftsmen. For example, a Polish man had already been employed at an airplane plant in his home country. The concentration camp prisoners were brought from the Augsburg-Pfersee camp to Bäumenheim in trucks. One of the men related later that airplane parts were produced in two 12-hour shifts, but another reported that there was only one shift. Every now and then, foremen would slip something to the prisoners: "sometimes a sandwich, sometimes cigarettes, sometimes tobacco for pipes."⁴ However, a Polish man also testified that the prisoners were beaten by Kapos and overseers.⁵ No one reported crimes against prisoners; therefore, the ZdL discontinued its investigation in 1976. According to the Donauwörth rural district administration, the officers in charge were "Wiesmeier, reportedly from Munich, and Renz, reportedly from Vienna."⁶

A letter dated January 23, 1945, describes hygienic conditions in Bäumenheim. The letter was written by the SS-Oberscharführer with Dachau's senior camp doctor, Karl Fuhrmann, and addressed to the senior SS camp doctor at Dachau. The letter reads:

The SS and prisoner quarters are in order, we are working on continual improvements and the correction of existing deficiencies. The prisoners' clothing is to some extent very ragged and the supply of underwear is exceedingly insufficient; consequently an effective battle against lice remains impossible. We lack reserve linen. I was shown linen which was practically in rags. The officer-in-charge requests that three hundred sets of linen and clothing be sent, since it is impossible to effectively perform de-lousing with the current laundry inventory. The bathing and laundry facilities are sufficient for current demands. Vermin extermination (using hot air apparatus) will be put into commission in approximately eight days. At this time approximately 50% of the prisoners are de-loused. I spoke with the manager regarding complaints about the prisoner toilets in the factory building, and discovered that the four toilets for civilian workers located next to the prisoner toilets would be allocated for prisoner use within a period of eight days (after the dividing partition was removed). Thus the number of prisoner toilets will be satisfactory. I found everything in order in the prisoners' area, but sterilization equipment is needed. The officer-in-charge requests that the prison doctor be replaced, since he does not appear to exhibit surgical competency.⁷

When it became known in 1944 that Messerschmitt wanted to produce airplane parts in Bäumenheim, the head of Dechentreiter, as well as the Asbach-Bäumenheim mayor, attempted to prevent it. The mayor pointed out in particular

that because of such an armaments factory the village could become the target of Allied air strikes. Only a few houses had underground cellars, and most, therefore, could not offer protection to residents; there were also no shelters. It would soon become apparent how legitimate the fear of air strikes actually was. A map with bombing targets was found in the possession of a downed British pilot officer; one of the targets was Bäumenheim.⁸

March 19, 1945, was a lovely spring day. It became the darkest in the history of the village. The catastrophe occurred shortly after two in the afternoon. Fighter planes attacked the village in droves, dropping 700 high explosive bombs and thousands of incendiary bombs. Most of them fell in open fields because the wind diverted the smoke markers that had been set for the pilots. Therefore, no bomb hit the actual target, the Messerschmitt factory, but half of all houses were destroyed, as well as the train station, and 93 Bäumenheim residents were killed, including the mayor.

Camp prisoners almost never appeared in public. Residents encountered them elsewhere, however, when the men or women marched through the town to work or when they were returning to their barracks from work. In Bäumenheim, the camp prisoners lived directly beside the Messerschmitt factory. When the air-raid sirens drove them into the foxholes around the town, residents saw the men in striped prisoner uniforms. Also, when the bombs rained down on March 19, the prisoners found themselves seeking cover in the foxholes. They panicked and ran into the open whenever bombs struck close by. They fled from the foxholes and ran directly into the middle of the carpet bombing. The exact number of men killed in this way was never determined, although the estimate is approximately 80. One Bäumenheimer said after an attack, "I saw a dead camp prisoner with an incendiary bomb sticking out of his skull."⁹

The victims of the Bäumenheim air raid, or what remained of their bodies, were buried in the new community cemetery. At the funeral service, Catholic priest Josef Dunau eulogized all of the bombing victims: the city residents, prisoners of war, foreign forced laborers, and also the camp prisoners. Among other things, he said, "Oh God and Lord, we have now gathered in your holy house, in the devotional remembrance of this hour, to consecrate the loved ones whose lives were brought to a terrible end on March 19, 1945. Many of them are well known, because they lived with us for years on end; many of them are virtual strangers, especially those who had to tarry here as prisoners of war, Dachau concentration camp prisoners, or forcefully displaced persons. We who are left over feel beholden to act with love toward all of the dead—to provide sheltering hands to the souls, whose bodies searched in vain for protection, to save for Heaven those who were lost from this Earth."¹⁰

The Bäumenheim camp was closed at the end of April. Former camp prisoners' accounts regarding this event vary. Josef Pilawski wrote that the platoon was marched by foot to

Dachau and that he escaped shortly before reaching Fürstenfeldbruck.¹¹ Max Wittmann had a different account of the camp's dissolution:

Everything was just left lying and standing around. The prisoners gobbled up what was still edible and whatever else came their way. Then there was a forced march to the train station, where we were crammed into cattle cars. The overfilled train took off in the direction of Landsberg. We got off at Landsberg and continued to march by foot under strict surveillance. We had to sleep in the forest. Most of us had brought our blankets along, so we were protected from cold and the outdoors to a certain extent. We were en route approximately eight days. We arrived in Dachau on an April morning. We had to stand for a long time in the pouring rain until we were all assigned to various blocks. I ended up in Block 22. The beginning of the end had come.¹²

SOURCES This entry is based upon Gernot Römer's book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984). In the volume *Unsere Heimat Asbach Bäumenheim*, edited and published in 1987 by the Asbach-Bäumenheim community, the subcamp is addressed on pp. 44–46. Additionally, in 1995 Gisela Blank wrote a term paper about the subcamp in the history honors course at the Augsburg Holbein high school.

Research for *Für die Vergessenen* was based upon the records of Sta. Mue I as well as the records from ZdL (now BA-L), in addition to testimony by Asbach-Bäumenheim community members and some statements or documents in AGe-A-B, YVA, and LA-B. Max Wittmann's book *Weltreise nach Dachau: Ein Tatsachenbericht nach den Erlebnissen des Weltreisenden und ehemaligen politischen Häftlings*, ed. Erich Kunter (Stuttgart-Botnang: Kulturaufbau-Verlag, 1946) depicts the time Wittmann spent as kitchen Kapo in the Bäumenheim subcamp.

Gernot Römer
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NOTES

1. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, October 18, 1976, BA-L, IV 410 AR 709/69.
2. According to city resident Josef Reicherzer in conversation with the author on July 14, 1984.
3. The former camp prisoner Fritz Kessler in conversation with the author on January 14, 1984.
4. Ibid.
5. Sta-Mue I, 120 Js/1885/74 a-e, record Pfersee, testimony of former prisoner Ostapiak.
6. YVA, records of the Donauwörth district office from May 23, 1946.
7. LA-B, citation illegible.
8. Statement by Josef Reicherzer, *ibid.*
9. Statement by Josef Reicherzer and Herta Rössner, Bäumenheim, in conversation with the author.

10. AGe-A-B, transcript of the memorial funeral address on March 19, 1945.
11. AGe-A-B, writings of the former prisoner Josef Pilawski in 1986.
12. See Max Wittmann, *Weltreise nach Dachau: Ein Tatsachenbericht nach den Erlebnissen des Weltreisenden und ehemaligen politischen Häftlings*, ed. Erich Kunter (Stuttgart-Botnang: Kulturaufbau-Verlag, 1946), pp. 222–227.

BAYRISCHZELL

The Dachau subcamp of Bayrischzell was located 62 kilometers (38.5 miles) to the southeast of Munich. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), it operated from November 1943 to April 5, 1945. Ten male prisoners of unknown nationality worked in the camp for Office WVIII/2 Rest and Recuperation Facilities (Genesungs- und Erholungsheime) of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which was based in Oranienburg. The prisoners were detailed to work in an SS hospital.

The Bayrischzell subcamp was not the subject of investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg.

SOURCES The Bayrischzell subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:66.

General information on the main Dachau camp can be obtained from BA, NS4, KL Da.

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BLAICHACH

Blaichach im Allgäu, a subcamp of Dachau, consisting of some 700 prisoners, existed from July 21, 1944, to May 1, 1945.¹ The men worked 12-hour shifts in the Allgäu Baumwollspinn- und Weberei AG (Allgäu Cotton Mill, Inc. and Weaving Mill), producing parts for BMW (Bayerische Motoren Werke) that were of importance to the war effort. One detailed eyewitness report of this work has survived. This was written by Karl Läufle who was at that time a schoolboy and who many years later became the mayor of Blaichach. His parents' house was directly opposite the camp. The boy closely observed what happened and later recorded what was imprinted in his memory.

Läufle recalled:

Already by the summer the machines and weaving tables were taken from the mill and machines producing armaments were put in place for assembling aircraft and submarine engines. Also, in the spinning mill there was militarily important machinery which constructed instruments for range finding and targeting devices. The factory site was surrounded by a 3m [10-foot-] high barbed wire fence with guard towers and search lights. The front and

back of the spinning mill was similarly fenced-in. There was speculation whether this was supposed to be a prison camp or an armaments factory. For a long time this remained unclear. One day about eight hundred prisoners arrived from Dachau to work in the new factory. Along with the concentration camp prisoners came a company of guards. They were mostly older and some had been wounded. The commander was an SS officer named Stutz. He was a tall, slim, and typically athletic German, who surely would have been considered a prime Aryan if Germany had won the war. . . . In addition to the concentration camp prisoners there was a large number of foreign and forced laborers, mostly Ukrainians, Russians, and Poles, but also French, Belgians, and Dutch, all brought to Blaichach as a workforce for the armaments industry.²

Former prisoners have confirmed the statements of the mayor. Their sleeping quarters were on the first and third floors of the factory. The guards were accommodated in the cellar. The shifts began at six in the morning and at six in the evening. While the men who slept on the first floor were working, the men on the third floor were sleeping, and vice versa. Behind the building there was an open square for roll call. Escape was impossible: the barbed-wire fence was electrified. The prisoners were guarded by elderly former Wehrmacht soldiers who had been wounded and could no longer be sent to the front. They only got SS uniforms after a prolonged delay, according to former prisoner Karl Rüstl.³

Rüstl, an Austrian, came from Graz. He had been sent to a concentration camp because during the Spanish Civil War of 1936–1939 he had fought with the “red” Republican troops against the army of later dictator and Hitler ally General Francisco Franco. Rüstl was transferred from Dachau to Blaichach in the middle of 1944. He was placed in charge of prisoner supplies there. With the ration cards allocated by the Food Office of the camp, he purchased food in the village and the surrounding area while accompanied by an SS guard. Although he was always able to get more food than was officially allocated to the prisoners, shortages were the order of the day. Karl Pold, like Rüstl an Austrian, and before World War II a combatant for the Spanish Republic, reported that daily they were given “one hundred fifty to two hundred grams [5.3 to 7.0 ounces] of bread, stew for lunch, and also watered down coffee.” He weighed only 42 kilograms (93 pounds) when liberated in 1945.

Pold was one of the lucky ones. He was part of a detachment that did construction work outside the camp. They replaced windows destroyed by Allied bombings, and they helped farmers in the fields. He stated that while doing such work he met some “very good people” in Blaichach. Pold was not very complimentary about his guards—he had praise only for the unit leader (Kommandoführer). Often he acted as if he

saw nothing—for example, when Pold disappeared into a house whose inhabitants gave him food. Pold reassured the Kommandoführer after the war when the latter said: “Hopefully you prisoners will not kill me.” Pold answered: “You don’t have to worry.”

Life was difficult for Pold and his companions in Blaichach. However, in comparison to the main camp, it was bearable. According to Pold: “Every Blaichach prisoner was afraid of being sent back to Dachau. Everyone said: don’t fall sick and don’t end up in the sick bay. If you don’t get well you will be sent back to Dachau and it is possible you will go up the chimney.”⁴

Rüstl obtained a portion of supplies for the prisoners in nearby villages. He stated that he, the paymaster of the Gebirgsjäger (Mountain Infantry), and his deputy told anti-Nazi jokes in Sonthofen—if there was a decent foreman with them, he joined in. Rüstl recalls the son of a baker from whom they got bread. The young man had been a member of the Hitler Youth. Rüstl did not take any cigarettes from him until he said one day, “I am concerned that you don’t take any cigarettes from me. Everyone in our house is Anti-Nazi.” Rüstl reported: “We then listened to English radio together.” He also tells of a question from a local veterinarian who with the words “What are the criminals doing there?” asked if the rumors about Dachau were true.

Five prisoners died of illness in the Blaichach camp.⁵ They were buried on the banks of the Ill River, and after the war they were reinterred in the village cemetery. According to Rüstl, there were instances when the prisoners were beaten; for example, when defective parts were produced, there were such punishments as “25 blows to the back side.” Serious crimes were not committed by the guards.

When in April 1945 the end of the Third Reich finally approached, the prisoners in Blaichach, according to Rüstl, established an illegal military committee. This committee even possessed a few weapons. The factory security guards who were in charge of the BMW production site had exchanged weapons for sausages. Läufle described in his memoirs the final days and hours: “The camp was evacuated during the night of 25/26 April. The prisoners and the guards marched in the direction of the Hindelang-Tannheimer Valley. The majority returned two days later, either alone or in groups. They were wet and frozen. They were no longer accompanied by the guards. The Volksturm [German Home Guard] took over guard duty.” By April 30, 1945, continued Läufle:

The concentration camp prisoners and forced laborers were already moving freely about the village. People were afraid that there would be looting after the village was captured. . . . Around 5:30 P.M., when three tanks drove through the village, they [were] cheered by the concentration camp prisoners and the forced laborers. White flags were hanging from just about every house. . . . The villagers returned to their homes in the evening or the next day. Aside

from a few isolated instances there was no looting. The foreigners and concentration camp prisoners, armed with rifles, patrolled the village and the local roads. They stopped dispersed soldiers and held them as prisoners.

According to Läufle’s published memoirs: “Apart from a few isolated instances, the looting and atrocities that had been feared by the villagers did not take place. The former political prisoners made every effort to stop the criminal elements. The ‘politicals,’ including doctors, lawyers, engineers, and academics, and Austrian ‘politicals’ from Mauthausen and Dachau told the villagers details of the concentration camps. A committee of ‘politicals’ took over the administration of the former camp. In the first few weeks after the war the majority of the prisoners tried to return home.”⁶

There was in those days a tragic case of mistaken identity: A civilian was arrested in Blaichach. The concentration camp prisoners and the foreign laborers believed the man was an SS thug. The man had to dig a grave and was shot. He was the victim of a mistake! It was later discovered that he had never been a member of the SS or the concentration camp. He was reinterred in the winter of 1945–1946 next to the bodies of dead prisoners from the Blaichach camp.⁷

SOURCES Gernot Römer’s book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in KZ-Lagern* (Augsburg, 1994), pp. 117–123, is the only secondary source on the Blaichach camp.

This essay is based almost exclusively on eyewitness reports. The memoirs of Mayor Karl Läufle are held by AST-Bl. Karl Rüstl’s and Karl Pold’s recollections are recorded in *Für die Vergessenen*. Läufle’s descriptions were published in the *ObEr* (1975, 1994).

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NOTES

1. Sonthofen Council August 19, 1945, in a questionnaire to the Historical Commission at the Central Committee in Munich, YVA, MIIL/1/128.
2. Mayor Karl Läufle in *ObEr* (1975).
3. Karl Rüstl, Graz, 1984, in a conversation with the author.
4. Karl Pold, Vienna, 1984, in a conversation with the author.
5. Läufle, *ObEr* (1975).
6. Läufle, *ObEr* (1994).
7. Ibid.

BURGAU

According to a communiqué from the Günzburg City Council dated June 15, 1946, “A ‘labor camp’ was to be found in the city of Burgau. In the middle of February 1945 about 120 Jews arrived in the city; during the night of March 3 to 4,

1945, another transport with about 500 Jewish women from Fürstenberg on the Oder arrived; and around midday on March 4, 1945, a third transport from Lauingen arrived. This camp was only to be a transit camp and therefore existed from the middle of February 1945 to about the 4th or 5th of April 1945.¹

In early 1944, the aircraft manufacturer Messerschmitt transferred part of its personnel department to Burgau. The wooden barracks erected for the department were confiscated at the beginning of February 1945; guard towers were erected and the land fenced in with barbed wire and wire mesh; and defensive obstacles were put in place. Soon thereafter 120 Jewish prisoners from Dachau arrived. At least some of these men had previously been in the horrific camp of Riederloch II. One of them was Izchak Tennenbaum. He said the following about the Burgau camp: "The conditions in the camp were very poor. We received almost no food. We worked nights in a factory that made airplanes. I worked in Department 2, checking brakes and tightening screws."²

The factory of which Tennenbaum spoke was the so-called Messerschmitt Kuno I factory. It was a well-camouflaged camp about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from Burgau, in the Scheppebach Forest. It was located close to the Augsburg-Ulm autobahn. Me 262 jet fighters are said to have been built in a hall on the grounds of the factory; 200 of these fighters were constructed there. The factory was in production before the concentration camp prisoners arrived. Among others, numerous foreign workers from countries occupied by German troops worked there. Shortly before the end of the war in 1945, American planes bombed the site.³

The two transports with about 500 women and girls drew the attention of the citizens of Burgau. The Jewish women from Poland and Hungary were closer to death than life when they arrived. Many had died on the journey. The first transport, with Hungarian women, arrived on the night of March 3 to 4, 1945; the second with Polish women arrived around noon on the following day. It came from the north German concentration camp Bergen-Belsen and had been traveling for a fortnight. Local Burgau historian Xaver Schiefele wrote the following about their arrival: "Half-frozen, emaciated, and starving they climbed down from the cold cattle trucks. Urged on by female guards, they marched, ill and exhausted to the not-so-distant camp on Jahn Square."⁴

Ruth Deutscher was part of this transport. The Polish women were taken in January 1945 from Tschenstochau (Częstochowa) via Buchenwald to Bergen-Belsen. The women stayed there for a few days, after which they had to parade naked before a German commission. The healthy-looking women were loaded onto a train, which, after a stopover at Lauingen, arrived in Burgau. On the way there, the train stood in Würzburg for nine days on a branch line. The city had been bombed, and the rail lines had been hit. Deutscher said the following: "At the beginning we got nothing to eat. Then, to keep us alive, we got a spoon of a soup each day. Women died every day. The wagon doors were opened and the corpses were just thrown out. There were many dead."⁵

Only a small number of the women had to work with the men in the Kuno forest factory. Most were kept busy in the camp, and for many, there was no work at all. Buses or trucks took those who worked in the Kuno factory to their work; sometimes the men and women had to go by foot. "Those who could not walk were dragged between those who could," recalls Paula Brekau, a German woman who worked in the factory at the time.

German civilians in Burgau attempted to give the starving prisoners some food. Brekau reports that in her village, Grosssanhausen, she collected milk, potatoes, and bread from the farmers; her friend Gusti Schäffler brought food from Hafenhofen. She especially bought food for a prisoner's child. She thinks the child was about 12 years old.⁶ It was not the only child among the prisoners. The twins Rachel and Sarah Herzfeld, born in 1929, were also there.⁷

On the day that the transports arrived, 3 Jewish female prisoners died from exhaustion and malnutrition. Another woman died the following day. The Burgau Registry of Deaths has the names of 18 prisoners who died in the subcamp: 13 women, 5 men, all Jews and all from Hungary. The youngest to die was 17 years old.

The graves of these 18 victims are not located in Burgau where they died. A note in the Registry explains why:

A place had to be found to bury the dead. In a discussion held around midday on March 4, it was decided to establish a cemetery for the prisoners. The cemetery was about 1 kilometer from the subcamp. The local publican, Anton Schäffler, had leased a field from the city in the area known as Hagenmähdern (on the border with the community Burgau-Scheppebach). The field was about four acres in size. This project was abandoned on March 6th because beneath the surface there was ground water. The Mayor's representative then suggested a newly forested area near the autobahn by-pass. This was particularly suited for a cemetery but Obersturmführer Volkmann in Augsburg, following a telephone enquiry, rejected the idea as regulations did not permit the establishment of a cemetery for concentration camp prisoners. According to Volkmann they had to be buried in the general cemetery. There was to be no trace of the burial plot.⁸

The dead concentration camp prisoners found their final resting place at the Jewish Cemetery at Ichhausen, about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) away. Gravestones recall these victims of the Third Reich.

The Burgau subcamp did not exist for even two months. It was dissolved on March 24, 1945. The men and women were taken by train to the subcamp at Kaufering. Some of them did not stay there for very long. Before they were liberated by American troops, they were marched to Allach near Munich.⁹

After the war, judicial authorities investigated whether any crimes had been committed in the Burgau camp. A former

prisoner said the camp commander, SS-Oberscharführer Johannes Kresse, threatened during a roll call to shoot those who were found to have shoelaces made from electrical wire (he probably was referring to the cables from the airplanes). However, this witness did not see any crimes.¹⁰ The investigations were not pursued.¹¹ In proceedings against Kresse before a U.S. military tribunal in 1947 in Dachau, Burgau local doctor Dr. Karl Schäffer as well as city councillor Albert Gutmann spoke out in favor of the camp leader. Schäffer had looked after the men and women in the concentration camp. Kresse, who immediately after the war assumed the name Johannes Kulik, was sentenced to five years in prison. However, because of the period he had been held in custody while the case was investigated, his sentence was reduced to two years.¹²

In a letter written to Dr. Fred Frankl, head of the Translation Department during the Dachau Trials, Dr. Schäffer wrote the following: "The sentence is the lightest which has been delivered to date in Dachau for a former camp leader. . . . When one considers the criminal character of the entire concentration camp system and the shocking conditions in most of the camps, then one must recognize in particular when a man in a leadership role has acted in a humane manner and eased the burden, to the extent he could, on the prisoners."¹³

SOURCES Several chapters are devoted to Burgau in Gernot Römer's book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984). Further published sources are not known, but local Burgau historian Xaver Schiefele prepared an unpublished report titled "Die Stadt Burgau und ihre Verwaltung" in 1982.

The author found information in the ZdL files at BA-L, AG-D, YVA, and the ASt-Bur. While working on *Für die Vergessenen*, the author found numerous witnesses in Israel and in Burgau who were able to give information on the camp.

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NOTES

- YVA, Letter of the Günzburg Council to the Historical Commission of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the American Zone in Munich, M-I/L 359/56.
- Statement by Izchak Tennenbaum, AG-D, 15.872.
- Research by the author.
- Xaver Schiefele, "Die Stadt Burgau und ihre Verwaltung" (unpub. MSS, Burgau, 1982).
- YVA, Report Ruth Deutscher 033287; and 1984 in a conversation with the author.
- Paula Brekau in a conversation with the author.
- Rachel Herzfeld, 1984, in a conversation with the author.
- File noted March 8, 1945, ASt-Bur.
- Tennenbaum statement.
- Ibid.
- ZdL, Schlussvermerk, BA-L, IV 410 AR 131/69.
- Schiefele, "Die Stadt Burgau und ihre Verwaltung."
- Copy of a letter dated March 4, 1947, in ASt-Bur.

DACHAU (ENTOMOLOGISCHES INSTITUT DER WAFFEN-SS)

During a telephone conversation in January 1942, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler ordered Wolfram Sievers, the chief of the SS-Research and Training Cooperative "Das Ahnenerbe," to establish a new research institute, the Entomologisches Institut der Waffen-SS (Entomological Institute of the Waffen-SS). Its purpose was to research and develop substances for fighting vermin, such as lice, fleas, mosquitoes, and gadflies, that afflicted human beings.¹ Dr. Eduard May took charge of the Institute on February 10, 1942. This hitherto unknown scientist was neither a Nazi Party nor SS member but a trained zoologist who had studied widely in related scientific disciplines such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, botany, geology, and paleontology.² In May 1942 he qualified for a professorship in Munich at the Faculty for Natural Philosophy and the History of the Natural Sciences.

The decision to transfer the Entomological Institute to Dachau was made in April 1942. It was made because there were already medical establishments based in the Dachau concentration camp and because Professor Carl Schilling was already conducting experiments on prisoners with malaria-carrying mosquitoes. The SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in Berlin hoped that there would be close cooperation between Schilling and May.³

The Institute was given a parcel of land close to the Dachau concentration camp. The parcel was on the Alten Römerstrasse (later 4 Würmmühle). Two wooden barracks were planned. The larger of these was to house the laboratories and offices, while the smaller barrack would accommodate the scientists. However, the shortage of building materials in the fourth year of the war meant that construction did not proceed quickly. Dr. Philipp Luetzelburg mentioned in a letter dated October 5, 1943, one and a half years after Himmler's directive, that only water and electricity had been connected.⁴ The concentration camp made available a 30-man-strong work detachment for construction of the Institute. Luetzelburg exercised strict control over it and made sure that the prisoners worked their utmost from morning to evening. Despite his efforts, the Institute could only begin its laboratory work in 1944. Until then, May had a temporary office in the Dachau concentration camp.

Dr. Rudolf Schüttrumpf, a prehistorian (*Prähistoriker*) who had worked for the "Ahnenerbe" from 1938, had worked closely with May since March 1943. In addition to him there were few scientists at the Institute. There were eight assistants and "amateur biologists" (*Hobby-Biologen*)⁵ who had been made available for work at the Entomological Institute by their SS and police units. Sievers planned, but did not carry out, experiments on the prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp.⁶

In addition to the prisoners who constructed the two barracks on Römerstrasse, there were four female prisoners who were permanently available for work at the Institute. They

were transferred to Dachau on September 21, 1944, from the concentration camp at Ravensbrück.⁷ The four female Jehovah's Witnesses were locked for two days in a bunker at Dachau before they were marched to the nearby Institute. They were housed in a room in the research barracks. In the Institute, they were made responsible for cleaning. They were allowed to wear civilian clothes, did not have to work Sundays, and were free to move around. They also ran errands in Dachau for the scientists.⁸ The women appear to have been treated well. There was neither a leader of the work detachment nor guards to supervise or guard the women.

The staff at the Entomological subcamp remained the same until the end of the war. The four female prisoners were not evacuated to the concentration camp and were freed by American troops.

There were no investigations into Dr. May after the war for his activities at the "Ahnenerbe." By the end of 1945, he was lecturing again at the University of Munich. In 1951, he was appointed professor of philosophy at the Free University in Berlin. After the war, Dr. Schütrumpf received his qualification for a professorship in Köln and was appointed a professor in 1970.⁹

SOURCES Secondary sources for the Entomologisches Institut der Waffen-SS subcamp start with Angelika Heider, "Mücken-Fliegen-Flöhe: Das Entomologische Institut des SS-Ahnenerbe' in Dachau," *DaHe*, 15 (1999): 99–115. On the "Ahnenerbe," see Michaels H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS 1935–1945; Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches* (1966; Munich: Oldenbourg, 2001). For the postwar careers of May and Schütrumpf, see Ute Deichmann, *Biologen unter Hitler: Porträt einer Wissenschaft im NS-Staat* (Frankfurt am Main, 1995).

The BA-B holds a few documents on the "Ahnenerbe" and the Entomological Institute. The AG-D holds a list of the names of the women in the work detachment. ZdL's investigations (now held in BA-L) resulted in a statement by a survivor.

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NOTES

1. File note by Wolfram Sievers, January 2, 1942, BA-B, R 26/III/287.
2. Resume Eduard May, November 10, 1941, BA- NS 21/910.
3. Notes of a conversation between Wolfram Sievers and Dr. Eduard May, April 3, 1942, IfZ, NO-721.
4. Letter by Philipp Luetzelburg, October 5, 1943, AG-D, A 20.542.
5. Angelika Heider, "Mücken-Fliegen-Flöhe: Das Entomologische Institut des SS-Ahnenerbe' in Dachau," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 102.
6. Michaels H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS 1935–1945; Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches* (1966; Munich: Oldenbourg, 2001), p. 229.
7. List of Female Prisoners (Ethymological [sic] Institute), August 27, 1944, AG-D, 981.
8. Statement by Martha K., April 13, 1973, BA-L, ZdL IV 410 AR 1586/72.

9. Ute Deichmann, *Biologen unter Hitler: Porträt einer Wissenschaft im NS-Staat* (Frankfurt am Main, 1995), p. 237.

DACHAU (FLEISCHWARENFABRIK WÜLFERT)

The Fleischwarenfabrik Wülfert (Wülfert Meat Products Factory) was established in 1889, and from that date it was located at 19 Schleissheim Strasse in Dachau. The owner of the factory in 1930 was Hans Wülfert, a founding member of the local Dachau chapter of the National Socialist Party and a man notable in the 1930s for donations he made to the local party and to other National Socialist organizations.¹ In the years following 1930, Wülfert operated his factory strictly in accordance with National Socialist principles. From 1933 on, the factory bore a sign that read "The Oldest National Socialist Business in Dachau," and for the most part, the firm was run by loyal party members.² In 1935, Bernhard Huber became a part owner and manager of Wülfert GmbH. Beginning in August 1941, 16 prisoners with the Wülfert GmbH worked in the cellar of the Schlossberg in the old town of Dachau. In the following year, the size of the work detachment grew to 60.³ They worked in all areas of the factory—slaughtering the cattle, writing correspondence in the office, loading tins of meat at the Dachau Railway Station, or cleaning tins. The prisoners wore work clothes and had to work 11 or 12 hours daily and, as required, the night shift. Hans Wülfert also used the prisoners outside the factory to maintain the gardens at his home in Rothschwaige.⁴

Until February 1943, the prisoners were sent daily from the concentration camp to the factory, but their accommodations remained at the concentration camp. After a typhus epidemic at the Dachau main camp in January 1943, a subcamp was established on the factory grounds on Schleissheim Strasse. The typhus epidemic meant for the factory management that production was stopped, as the prisoners were confined to the camp. With the establishment of the camp on the factory grounds, Wülfert GmbH was now responsible for the hygiene and care of the prisoners.⁵ When the subcamp opened, the number of prisoners working in the meat goods factory increased to 320.

SS-Oberscharführer Franz Weinberger was the detachment leader until September 1943. There were 15 SS guards under him who watched the prisoners while they were working and who escorted them to workplaces outside the factory grounds. The guard detachment was withdrawn at the end of September 1943, after it had become involved in the illegal acquisition of tins of meat. SS-Hauptscharführer August Müller was then appointed commander of the labor detachment, and Heinrich Palme was named commander of the guards. An additional 15 SS guards were brought in as well to the Wülfert GmbH. One year later in September to October 1944, Unter-scharführer Palme replaced Müller as leader of the camp.⁶

The Dachau concentration camp provided the prisoners' food, which was supplemented with meat and sausage from

the factory. Being in the Wülfert detachment was much sought after, as it was possible for the prisoners to obtain supplementary meat and sausage while they were working. The main camp also profited from food stolen by members of the Wülfert detachment, as this was smuggled into the concentration camp, and especially weakened prisoners could be furnished with food.⁷ On one occasion, a wagon bearing the laundry of prisoners from Wülfert was searched at the gate as it arrived at Dachau, and large quantities of meat and sausage were discovered.⁸

The company management and the SS guards tried in vain to stop the thefts. However, stealing continued throughout the entire existence of the camp. Those who were caught had to reckon with receiving severe punishment. In most cases the thief was reported to the administration of the main camp, and the prisoner was withdrawn from the detachment. The frequency with which this happened is demonstrated by the high fluctuation in the number of prisoners in the detachment that was reported in the shift reports of the Dachau Labor Detachment Office.⁹ Back in the main camp, the prisoner received either 25 blows with a cane or three days in the "standing bunker." In extreme cases, both sets of punishment were applied.¹⁰

There are no reports of prisoner deaths in this detachment. Witnesses report, however, that punitive beatings were carried out at the factory. Wülfert was very unpopular with the prisoners because he worked hand in hand with the camp administration. He used his close connections with the Dachau concentration camp so that prisoners caught stealing were reported by telephone to the "protective custody" camp leader. He knew the punishment that would be meted out to the prisoners. Wülfert cursed at foreign prisoners in particular when he caught them stealing food.¹¹

The Wülfert GmbH profited not only from prisoner labor; it also supplied the concentration camp and the SS-Training and Education Camp (Übungs- und Ausbildungslager) with goods.¹² Wülfert also cultivated close relations with different SS members of the camp. Among the employees of the factory, the barbecues held several times each month were particularly well known. At these, Wülfert and his clerk Emil Kempfer entertained party bosses and SS functionaries with generous amounts of alcohol and sweets. In the mail-order office, Redwitz, the leader of the protective custody camp, Rapportführer Trenkle, and the detachment leaders Müller and Palme, as well as Sister Pia, regularly got packets of meat and sausage.¹³ A female civilian worker stated after the war that each Saturday she delivered by bicycle a package of sausages to the house of camp commandant Weiter.¹⁴

At the beginning of the war, the Wülfert GmbH was able to increase its business rapidly, in particular because of the large contracts it had with the German Wehrmacht.¹⁵ Most of the profits were used to expand the factory, the expansion being carried out by prisoner labor. On March 19, 1945, three prisoners managed to escape from the factory barracks. SS-Oberscharführer Degelow then searched the site.¹⁶ The three prisoners managed during the night to escape over the roof, and they disappeared into a neighboring lot.

From the middle of April 1945, the production of sausage and tinned meat was limited because of transport and delivery difficulties, and therefore the detachment was reduced to 54 prisoners. The last prisoners returned to the Dachau main camp on April 26, 1945.¹⁷

Wülfert and his business partner Huber were convicted by a U.S. military court in the Dachau Trials in March 1947 of crimes against humanity and of supporting the National Socialist regime. They were sentenced to between two and five years in jail, respectively.¹⁸ During the appeal process that followed, they were acquitted. In 1948, they were investigated as part of the denazification proceedings and classified in Group I, the main offenders. They were rehabilitated in 1949 during the appeal process and classified in Group V, the lowest category.¹⁹

In 1950, the Munich State Court investigated the connection between the prisoner detachment and the Wülfert GmbH.²⁰ The investigations ceased in the same year. Wülfert and Huber returned to Dachau in 1950 as respectable citizens. They were welcomed back enthusiastically with banners reading "Finally they have returned" hung from the factory gates.

SOURCES There are relatively good records on this subcamp. In the AG-D there are a few change reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*). Details about the camp were made clear in survivors' statements given as part of the Dachau Trials and the denazification proceedings against Hans Wülfert and Bernhard Huber. The Dachau Trials references are NARA, RG-153 (Records of the U.S. Army War Crimes Trials), Boxes 202 and 210, and RG-338 (U.S. Army Commands), Boxes 310–311. Karl A. Gross mentions the Wülfert detachment in *Zweitausend Tage Dachau: Erlebnisse eines Christenmenschen unter Herrenmenschen und Herdenmenschen; Bericht und Tagebücher des Häftlings Nr. 16921* (Munich: Neubau Verlag, [1946]).

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NOTES

1. Various receipts are to be found in the denazification file of Hans Wülfert, Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert).
2. Letter from the Dachau City Mayor to the Dachau Military Government, n.d.; statement Leopold G., August 5, 1947; both in Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert).
3. Letter from Wülfert GmbH, May 1, 1942, Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert).
4. Statement Alfons H., AG-D, 26.815; Correspondence Dr. Max Rau; Statement Hans S., September 26, 1947, in Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert).
5. Medical Certification of the First SS Camp Doctor, Dachau Concentration Camp, May 10, 1944, Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert).
6. Statement Heinrich Palme, November 11, 1946, in NARA, RG-153 Box 202.
7. Karl A. Gross, *Zweitausend Tage Dachau: Erlebnisse eines Christenmenschen unter Herrenmenschen und Herdenmenschen; Bericht und Tagebücher des Häftlings Nr. 16921* (Munich: Neubau Verlag, [1946]), p. 111.
8. Statement Weinberger, Franz, September 19, 1947, in NARA, RG-153 Box 210.

9. Dachau Concentration Camp Variation Reports, AG-D, 35.673, 35.674–35.677.
10. Letter by 41 Former Prisoners of the Kommando Wülfert, July 3, 1945, Sta. Mü, SpkA Carton 2013 (Hans Wülfert); Statement Matthias R., AG-D, 26.815 Correspondence Dr. Max Rau.
11. Letter by 24 Former Prisoners of the Kommando Wülfert, July 5, 1945, NARA, RG-153 Box 210.
12. Compare Schreiben von Hans Wülfert an Oswald Pohl und die Kommandantur des KL Dachau, April 19, 1938, Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert).
13. Statement Karl G., November 26, 1947, Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert).
14. Statement Katharina O., December 9, 1947, Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert).
15. Information from the Wülfert Infomation Bulletin from the Finanzamt Dachau, January 20, 1948, Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert).
16. Record of Control of the SS-AbKdo Wülfert March 20 and March 22, 1945, Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert).
17. Letter Hans Wülfert GmbH to DAF Kreisverwaltung Dachau, April 11, 1945, Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert); Statement Heinrich Palme, November 7, 1946, NARA, RG-153 Box 202.
18. Case 000-50-2-72, NARA, RG-338 Boxes 310–311.
19. Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wülfert); SpkA Box 4379 (Bernhard Huber).
20. Sta. Mü, StanW 34455.

DACHAU (GUT POLLNHOF)

The Gut (Manor) Pollnhof subcamp is one of the Dachau subcamps for which there is only fragmentary material available. The source base is very limited, consisting of the investigations conducted in the 1970s by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, which offer only general insight into events in Pollnhof.¹

Pollnhof was one of the agricultural enterprises located in the immediate vicinity of Dachau that was operated and administered by the SS. Other examples of these businesses are the “plantation” with its herb gardens or the Liebhof Manor in Dachau. Prisoners from Dachau were organized into various detachments and detailed to do agricultural labor at Pollnhof (later 16 Steinstrasse in Dachau). The earliest records of a prisoner work detachment at the site are from 1942 when about 50 prisoners were deployed there.² The prisoners were escorted daily by the SS guards from the concentration camp to the manor, which was about 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) away. Here the prisoners worked the farm, either in a large group or in several smaller groups. Horses needed tending to, fields had to be ploughed or sown, or the harvest had to be brought in. The prisoners then returned for evening roll call.

The manor was under the command of an SS-Unterscharführer named Reise. He was also in charge of the work assignments. There was no detachment leader (Kommandoführer) at Pollnhof, although there were 10 SS members who

guarded the prisoners. The composition of the guard staff changed daily.

There are no known prisoner deaths at Pollnhof. However, the few reports that do exist suggest severe prisoner mistreatment. If a prisoner was caught stealing a carrot or a potato lying on a field, he was severely beaten on the spot and removed from the work detachment. Additional punishment awaited the prisoner when he returned to the Dachau concentration camp.

For a period of about four weeks in March 1945 there was, in addition to the daily work detachment, a permanent Dachau subcamp at the Pollnhof manor. A former prisoner recalls that he, together with six other Polish prisoners of war and a Kapo, were accommodated in a small room adjacent to the stables.³ March 1, 1945, is given as the date the subcamp was opened. The prisoners were accommodated at Pollnhof because of a typhus epidemic that was raging in the main camp. During their stay, the eight prisoners looked after the horses at the manor. After the four weeks had passed, the prisoners continued to work at the manor but were housed in the concentration camp once again.

The survivors reported that they went out each day to Pollnhof until April 25, 1945. The prisoners’ card index contains the name of a Polish prisoner beside whose name are the words: “Liberated Pollnhof.” This is the only indication that after April 25, 1945, one or more prisoners were still working at the manor.

SOURCES Gut Pollnhof is listed in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 201.

Sources on the subcamp are limited. There are no contemporary documents available. The ZdL investigation files in BA-L hold only two survivor statements.

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NOTES

1. BA-L, ZdL IV 410 AR 1587/72.
2. Statement Stanislaw F., October 5, 1974, in BA-L, ZdL IV 410 AR 1587/72.
3. Statement Jodef S., February 6, 1974, in BA-L, ZdL IV 410 AR 1587/72.

DACHAU (PRÄZIFIX GMBH)

In 1933, Ludwig Nachtmann established a factory for the manufacture of screws, the Präzifix GmbH, on Munich Strasse in Dachau. From the beginning of the war, special screws for aircraft engines were produced at the factory. In 1940, Gustav Adolf Heyer from Berlin took over the firm.¹ The next year, he relocated production to a new factory that had been constructed at 2–3 Johann-Ziegler Strasse (Factory I). At the end of 1941, Präzifix GmbH, an important supplier for the Messerschmitt factories and Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW), received permission to establish Factory II

on the Flosslände at the SS camp site. The existing munitions bunkers were connected by one-story barracks, in which only Dachau concentration camp prisoners and a few civilian workers could be found working. Even before a Dachau subcamp was constructed on the factory grounds at the Flosslände, 12 prisoners had worked in 1940 for the Präzifix GmbH on Munich Strasse.² However, these prisoners returned each evening to the Dachau concentration camp. A prisoner work detachment was based at the Flosslände from the autumn of 1942. It included Edgar Kupfer. He and 36 other prisoners were brought to Factory II, and for the next two years they worked in the office of the supply camp. He kept a secret diary that has survived and that precisely details the events that occurred in the work detachment at Präzifix.³

Initially, the prisoners marched daily the 1.5 kilometers (about 1 mile) from the concentration camp at Dachau to Factory II. But several wooden barracks were constructed on the factory grounds following a typhus epidemic at the main camp at the beginning of 1943. These barracks became the permanent subcamp. Kupfer wrote in his diary that he and approximately 130 other prisoners slept in the barracks for the first time on February 7, 1943.⁴ Additional barracks were then built, and the detachment increased in size to 400 prisoners.⁵ There was a kitchen barracks with an annex for food storage, a room for storing clothes, and a detention barracks. The camp was surrounded by electrified barbed wire and with six manned watchtowers. Search lights were affixed to the watchtowers to illuminate the camp at night.

Sanitary facilities at the Flosslände were inadequate, so from May 1943 on, the prisoners, under SS supervision, were escorted on Sundays to the "protective custody" camp to bathe and to wash their clothes.⁶ A prisoner doctor from the main camp visited the prisoners in the Präzifix camp once a week.

Director Heyer and 5 to 10 civilian employees from the firm organized labor assignments and supervision. Heyer did not regularly visit Factory II. The civilian foreman Oberskirchner was always present. He was responsible for production. Also constantly present were the foreman Seifert in the tool shop, deputy foreman Goldap, and an electrician. The relationship between the foremen and the prisoners varied, as many tried to help the prisoners, whereas others participated in bullying them.⁷

There were skilled tradesmen among the prisoners, such as turners and locksmiths. There were also unskilled laborers from all parts of Europe. Prisoners from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia were the most strongly represented.⁸ The prisoners worked in 12-hour day and night shifts at the lathes, boring and milling machines, and the grinding machines, making precision parts and replacement parts for aircraft. Most of the civilian workers left the Flosslände in 1943 because they were either called up for military service or transferred to Factory I on Johann-Ziegler Strasse. The prisoners then took over the administration of Factory II.

There were at least three Kapos in the camp, so-called day and night Kapos, for each shift. Walter Ohldorfer, Christian

Weber, Josef Straka, Karl Weber, and August Madriz were only a few of the Kapos at Präzifix.

Supervision of the camp and guarding of the prisoners were the responsibility of the SS. The guard detachments, among whom elderly Luftwaffe members could be found above all, changed often. Only the commanding officers were stationed for longer periods at the Präzifix subcamp. These officers took the morning and evening roll call. The names of several commanders are known: Scharführer Ernst Angerer (the end of 1939 to June 1942), Unterscharführer Josef Heller, Obersturmführer Arno Lippmann (January to August 1944), and Hauptscharführer Johannes Berndt. The 10 or 12 SS guards were accommodated in a barracks outside the camp fence.⁹

Rations at the Präzifix camp were relatively good, certainly better than in the Dachau main camp. Prisoner Karl Weller was in charge of the kitchen and the food store. He and another four prisoners prepared the meals for the detachment.¹⁰ Prisoner-functionaries in Dachau's main camp tried to get their friends into the camp at Präzifix precisely because it was known as one of the better subcamps.¹¹

An unusual feature at Präzifix was the recreation barracks where the prisoners could spend their free time. On Sundays and public holidays, entertainment was provided here. Each nationality put on sketches and national dances. A small prisoner orchestra played. Director Heyer arranged for musical instruments and took his wife to the performances. There was a choir of 14 Polish prisoners¹² and a soccer team, which played on Sundays against other teams from the main camp.¹³

In July 1944, Dr. Otto Eifler, a convinced National Socialist, took over control of operations at Präzifix.¹⁴ Director Heyer had come into conflict with the Gestapo and at the beginning of 1945 was sent to the front. A number of statements by different people indicate that he was removed because he had given favors to the prisoners.¹⁵ Conditions for the prisoners deteriorated with Eifler's arrival at Präzifix. While Director Heyer protested against the brutal actions of the SS and organized additional rations,¹⁶ Dr. Eifler did not act to assist the prisoners. The free Sundays introduced by Heyer were stopped.¹⁷ In August 1944, Dr. Eifler stored furniture in the recreation barracks, which he had 20 prisoners bring to the camp from his bombed-out apartment in Munich. With that, recreational performances at Präzifix came to an end.

Two weeks after the recreational barracks was closed, it was discovered that toothpaste, soap, and a pair of old men's shoes were missing from a box. During the ensuing search of the camp, the missing items were found in the possession of three Russian prisoners. Hauptscharführer Berndt severely beat the prisoners, and they were sent back the next day to the main camp for interrogation. Only one of the three was returned to Präzifix, to be hanged to death in front of the other prisoners. He had been convicted of looting. The two other prisoners were hanged at the Mauthausen concentration camp and at the Allach subcamp.¹⁸

Altogether there are several known cases of hangings and mistreatment at the Präzifix subcamp. For example, a Russian

prisoner who tried to escape at the end of 1943 was transferred back to the main camp after he had been brutally beaten at Präzifix.¹⁹ A fight broke out among the prisoners at the end of May 1944 during the construction of an electrical substation. The incident was reported to the leader of the detachment, who reported the three prisoners to the Dachau camp administration. The prisoners, two Russians and a Pole, were hanged for sabotage at the Dachau concentration camp crematorium on December 17, 1944. As a deterrent, all the prisoners at Präzifix were forced to attend the hangings.²⁰

An air raid at the end of October 1944 hit a nearby munitions depot, and as a result, part of the factory at Präzifix was destroyed. Thirteen wounded and a few dead prisoners were taken to the Dachau concentration camp.²¹ Once the damage had been repaired, production recommenced in Factory II.

The Präzifix subcamp was dissolved on April 26, 1945, and the detachment was led back to the Dachau main camp. About half the prisoners, Austrians, Germans, and Russians, had to join the evacuation march. This group stayed together until it was freed by the Americans in the vicinity of Wolfratshausen. A photo taken on May 1, 1945, documents their liberation.²² Director Heyer died in action at the front during the last few days of the war. His operations manager, Dr. Otto Eifler, was charged in connection with a prisoner execution and tried in the U.S. Army's 1947 Dachau Trials but was acquitted.²³ Proceedings against Eifler on suspicion of murder by the Munich II state prosecutor at the Präzifix subcamp ceased in 1977.²⁴

SOURCES The source base for this camp is unusually good. The AG-D hold the lists of names and transfer lists as well as a number of unpublished reports by and interviews with survivors of the detachment. There is also a photograph of some of the Präzifix prisoners after their liberation. The material for this essay was supplemented by information from the ZdL investigation files at BA-L, the Sta. Mü and a compensation file (Sta. Mü). The Eifler proceeding is found in NARA, RG-338 (Records of U.S. Army Commands), Box 314, Case 000-50-2-88. Edgar Kupfer-Koberwitz, a former prisoner, was able to keep a diary during his imprisonment; see his *Die Mächtigen und die Hilflosen. Als Häftling in Dachau* (Stuttgart, 1960) and *Dachauer Tagebücher: Die Aufzeichnungen des Häftlings 24814* (Munich, 1997). The memoirs of Karl Weller also mention the subcamp; see *Im Strudel des Zeitstromes. Aus dem Leben eines Zeitgenossen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990).

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NOTES

1. On the firm takeover, see Application for Compensation in *Nachtmann v. Heyer*, Sta. Mü, WB Ia 332.
2. Statement Wilhelm H., October 23, 1974, Sta. Mü, StanW 34802/1.
3. Edgar Kupfer-Koberwitz, *Die Mächtigen und die Hilflosen. Als Häftling in Dachau* (Stuttgart, 1960), pp. 85–110; and Kupfer-Koberwitz, *Dachauer Tagebücher: Die Aufzeichnungen des Häftlings 24814* (Munich, 1997).

4. Kupfer-Koberwitz, *Dachauer Tagebücher*, pp. 73–74.
5. Statement Karl W., September 17, 1974, Sta. Mü, StanW 34802/1.
6. Statement Jan B., May 15, 1973, Sta. Mü, StanW 34802/1.
7. Kupfer-Koberwitz, *Dachauer Tagebücher*, pp. 74–75.
8. List of Names Detachment Präzifix, n.d., AG-D, 35.678.
9. Statement Walter E., July 29, 1976, Sta. Mü, StanW 34802/2.
10. Karl Weller, *Im Strudel des Zeitstromes. Aus dem Leben eines Zeitgenossen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), pp. 204–205.
11. Statement August J., October 11, 1973, Sta. Mü, StanW 34802/1.
12. Interview Sigismund R., July 25, 2002, AG-D, Records of Interview.
13. Bericht Ferdinand Hackl, n.d., AG-D, 36.470.
14. Statement Oskar Eifler, October 18, 1977, BA-L, ZdL IV 410 AR-Z 75/76.
15. Statement August J., October 11, 1973, and Karl W., September 17, 1974, both in Sta. Mü, StanW 34802/1.
16. Weller, *Im Strudel des Zeitstromes*, p. 204.
17. Interview Sigismund R., May 2, 1998, AG-D, Records of Interview.
18. Statement Walter E., November 30, 1946, AG-D, A 8827/1; and Kupfer-Koberwitz, *Dachauer Tagebücher*, pp. 372–374.
19. Statement Lorenz F., June 12, 1974, Sta. Mü, StanW 34802/1.
20. Statement Walter E., November 30, 1946, AG-D, A 8827/1; and Franz W., June 10, 1974, Sta. Mü, StanW 34802/1.
21. Transfer Lists Dachau Concentration Camp, October 23, 1944, AG-D 35.675; Kupfer-Koberwitz, *Dachauer Tagebücher*, pp. 383–386.
22. AG-D, F 549.
23. Case 000-50-2-88 in NARA, RG-338 Box 314.
24. Sta. Mü, StanW 34802/1-2.

ECHING [AKA OT, NEUFAHRN]

Eching is located in the district of Freising, Upper Bavaria, about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) east of Dachau. The Eching subcamp existed from April 10, 1945, to April 24, 1945, under the designation OT (Organisation Todt), about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from the town of Eching. The camp was located at the outskirts of Eching, at Dietersheimer Strasse between Dietersheim und Neufahrn. It was composed of two to five wooden barracks, a kitchen, wash barracks, and an infirmary, and these were hidden away in a gravel pit. It was surrounded by a wire fence but had no watchtowers. At night, searchlights hindered escape attempts.

On April 10, 1945, 500 male inmates arrived by train from Dachau. Among them were Poles, Czechs and Slovaks, Yugoslavs, Russians, Ukrainians, Italians, French, and Germans. At the Eching camp, they were to erect an airport under the direction of the SS and OT. The airport was to be erected in the Garchinger Heide (Garching Meadows), about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) east of the camp. In

1936, the local *Fliegerhorstkommandantur* (aerodrome headquarters) had acquired the grounds and had run a glider field; and in 1944 plans had evolved to turn this airport into an alternative landing field. For that purpose, the inmates had to prepare a landing strip of 320×43 meters (350×47 yards). According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), some inmates were used to construct defensive fortifications in the area around Eching.

The camp was guarded by some members of the SS but also by Luftwaffe soldiers and elderly members of the OT. Apparently there were no deaths in this camp, but survivors report a number of severe physical punishments.

Two weeks after the camp was erected, it was dissolved. Construction work ceased on April 24, 1945, and the SS left the camp. With only OT guards remaining, some inmates used the opportunity to escape. On April 29, 1945, U.S. troops arrived at Eching and liberated the remaining 483 prisoners.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg started an investigation in 1973 but was unable to identify the camp commander and the guards.

SOURCES Rudolf George describes the Eching subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 314–315.

The Eching subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Häftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 68.

Primary sources for Eching are found in the ZdL files, BA-L number IV 410 AR 5/ 73, including a number of survivor statements.

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ELLWANGEN

The Dachau subcamp of Ellwangen was located in Württemberg, 69 kilometers (43 miles) northeast of Stuttgart. It was established on July 3, 1941, and existed until October 17, 1942. It was located in the SS garrison at Ellwangen, where a motorcycle replacement battalion was stationed. Members of this battalion, mainly from its convalescent company, were also in charge of guarding the inmates of the camp. Apparently also the first camp commander, an SS-Oberscharführer, came from the battalion. Inmates described him as decent and humane. In July 1942, he was replaced by an SS-Oberscharführer from Dachau who treated the inmates much more brutally.

There were about 35 inmates in the camp, 25 of whom had arrived early in July 1941. Later, about 10 more inmates followed. Except for a Czech and a Pole, all others were Germans; none were Jews. The prisoners were kept in the basement of the administrative building, which contained three bedrooms, a day room, and a toilet. Inmates worked for the needs of the battalion: 10 of them as tailors and shoemakers; others as gardeners and construction workers. Appar-

ently, a few of them also worked outside the garrison in a local stove fitting company. The International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog states that some also worked on the construction of a shooting range about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) south of the barracks.

There were no reported deaths of prisoners in the camp. Two inmates were shot after being returned to the main camp, but it is unclear if this was connected in any way to incidents at the subcamp. In October 1942, the subcamp commander dissolved the camp and had the inmates transferred back to Dachau, since he considered the subcamp in Ellwangen not important to the war effort.

SOURCES Immo Eberl describes the Ellwangen subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 316–317. Another description of the camp can be found at *Vernichtung und Gewalt. Die KZ-Aussenlager Ellwangens*, ed. Friedensforum Ellwangen (Ellwangen, 1987). The subcamp is referred to at pages 66–71.

The Ellwangen subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Häftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 68.

The ZdL ceased its investigations in 1973 without results; its files are listed as BA-L, IV 410 AR 6/ 73. They contain witness statements and two sketches of the camp. The Ellwangen subcamp is also mentioned in some documents kept at AG-D.

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ESCHELBACH

[AKA, ERRONEOUSLY, ECHELSBACH]

Eschelbach is close to Wolnzach, about 50 kilometers (31 miles) to the north of Dachau. In 1944–1945, a Dachau subcamp was located there; it was established on the site of a religious order, the Don-Bosco-Schwestern, in Echelsbach, which during the war was also the site for a resettlement camp (*Umsiedlerlager*) for Germans. Pursuant to an order from the Nazi Party Reichskanzlei, the Don-Bosco-Schwestern evacuated their buildings for “vital war purposes” on July 24, 1944: in the internal courtyard of the Don-Bosco home a barracks was erected and fenced in with barbed wire. It held around 40 male prisoners from Dachau. It is known that the prisoners were in the camp from at least December 12, 1944. They came from Germany, France, Italy, Poland, Serbia, and the Netherlands. They were to lay underground cables in the direction of the nearby district city of Pfaffenhofen and were guarded by a detachment leader and four SS men.

According to survivors’ statements, the hygienic conditions and prisoners’ food were completely inadequate. Local women are said to have secretly supplied the prisoners with food. One prisoner probably was shot by the SS while earthworks were being done.

The camp was dissolved on April 4, 1945, with the prisoners being returned to Dachau. There were no postwar investigations into the camp.

SOURCES Eschelbach is often confused with Echelsbach, a village near Oberammergau. The subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 68, but under the incorrect name of Echelsbach. A detailed description of the subcamp is by Reinhard Haiplik in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Friühe Lager; Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), pp. 317–318. Reinhard Haiplik's *Pfaffenhofen unterm Hakenkreuz: Stadt und Landkreis zur Zeit der nationalsozialistischen Herrschaft* (Pfaffenhofen, 2003) refers to the camp and the work done by the prisoners.

Survivors' statements on the Eschelbach camp are held in AG-D, 29018/1.

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FELDAFING

From the spring of 1942, a subcamp of Dachau existed in Feldafing, District Starnberg (Bavaria). The first group of approximately 30 prisoners arrived there from Dachau at the beginning of April 1942.¹ The camp was closed in early 1945, probably as early as January, and the prisoners were transported back to Dachau.²

The camp was located on land where the Reich School of the Nazi Party (Reichsschule der NSDAP) was being constructed. The school, founded by the SA in 1934 as the National Socialist Senior School, Lake Starnberg (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Oberschule Starnberger See) was renamed in 1939 the "Reichsschule der NSDAP." It was a school for the elite, a school where future leaders of the National Socialist state would be trained. In 1937 to 1938, the NSDAP began extensive construction work in the fields and forests to the south of Feldafing. The concentration camp lay to the northeast, a short distance away from the school construction site. Walls of the barracks could still be found after the war ended.

The camp included at least one wooden barracks on a concrete foundation for the prisoners, surrounded by a barbed-wire fence, which was possibly electrified. There was a second barracks for the guards (8 to 12 SS men). Some of the former prisoners speak of one barracks, while others of two barracks or simply of barracks.³ Likewise, there are contradictory statements concerning how the camp was guarded: no guard tower or a guard tower on the hilly part of the camp or four guard towers on each corner of the camp or a little guard's house at the entry.⁴ What is certain is that there were closely located barracks that accommodated unguarded construction workers. Altogether there were five barracks next to one another in which construction workers, prisoners, and SS guards were separately accommodated.⁵ The prisoners' barracks, about 20–25 × 4 meters (66–82 × 13 feet), based on estimates from the surviving walls, have been described as follows: they had two rooms in which there were three-tiered bunks. Numbers of prisoners fluctuated a great deal. The lowest number, mentioned by a witness, is 30 (this appears to relate to a work

detachment and possibly one of the rooms); the highest number is 100. A witness (J. Brzezinski) stated that "later when the number of prisoners grew to about three hundred . . . two barracks were made available for the prisoners."⁶ The rooms also functioned as eating and living rooms. In addition, there was a washroom and a built-in toilet (it is not known if the toilets were per barracks or per room). Some witnesses' statements are accompanied by sketches, but these do not give a uniform picture and in any event are accompanied by statements that have not been translated from Polish.⁷ According to one witness (T. Etter), the prisoners had contact with the "free" laborers.⁸

The prisoners, all of whom appear to have been from Dachau, were used in earthworks and grading works for construction on the site, as well as in road building, in the construction of air-raid shelters (the latter probably outside the grounds of the Reichsschule), and toward the end of the war, tunnel construction and work in the Dornier Factory in nearby Tutzing. This work involved improvement of a diving board on the lake (B. Misztal), cleaning rooms (J. Brzezinski), and transport of food from Feldafing to Tutzing (T. Etter). Finally, Hugo Lausterer, a guard, has claimed that from November 1944 the prisoners were used to construct in Feldafing an underground factory for the Messerschmitt factory (Augsburg).⁹ The company responsible for the construction at the Reichsschule in Feldafing was Hoch-Tief AG, based in Munich.¹⁰

The conditions under which the prisoners had to live and work were terrible. The working day began between 5:00 and 6:00 A.M. and ended around 6:30 or 7:00 P.M. While suffering from hunger, the prisoners had the heaviest labor to perform under the brutal pressure of the SS and the Kapos. Food was "sent from Dachau every ten days . . . a prison cook with assistants cooked daily for the SS as well as the prisoners."¹¹ A few prisoners have claimed that the food in Feldafing was better than in Dachau; others say the opposite; one (T. Etter) admits: "We prisoners were only saved from death by starvation because we had the chance to get packages."¹² When working, the prisoners were exposed to the elements. The heat caused them more problems than the cold. From this can be concluded that they were at least equipped with a minimum of warm clothing.

From 1969 there were around 40 prisoners identified in investigations. Of these, 15 were questioned, and at least 3 stated they were in the camp from 1942 to 1945—the whole period of its existence. The occupants in the camp apparently changed a great deal—possibly because many prisoners could not stand the heavy physical labor and were returned to the infirmary at Dachau. What is also notable is that of the questioned witnesses 4 were Polish Catholic priests, 1 of whom stated that in Dachau they were retrained as bricklayers.¹³ One (Z. Franczewski) stated that he was in a group of "about ten priests" who were sent to Feldafing.¹⁴ There were also Germans (Jews and "Gypsies") in the camp, Italians, some French, and Greeks. But mostly the prisoners were Eastern Europeans. It is not possible to work out the number of Jewish prisoners.

As for the question of whether—and if so, how many—prisoners were murdered, there is no definitive answer. The Ludwigsburg investigators have listed a number of different types of homicide.¹⁵ However, in most instances they suspect that the victims died later—on the transports to Dachau or in the Dachau infirmary.

The camp commandants were SS-Oberscharführer Engelbert Niedermayer (born in March 1912 and executed on May 28, 1946, in Landsberg); SS-Hauptscharführer Josef Seuss (born on March 3, 1906, and also executed on May 28, 1946, in Landsberg); an SS member (rank unknown) Jakob Scheck (born on January 8, 1907, questioned on December 14, 1971, by the Mannheim Criminal Police); an SS member (rank unknown) known as “bloody Peter” who could not be further identified. An additional 14 people could be identified as “SS members in the camp,” among them Lausterer and Weydemann. The spellings of the names Niedermayer and Seuss must be considered with some reservation because there are no surviving written documents from or about the camp leadership, and the witnesses’ statements show only a phonetic knowledge of the names. Both Niedermayer and Seuss were sentenced to death in the U.S. military trials against Weiss, Jarolin, and others (000-50-2) for homicides committed in the Dachau camp.¹⁶

Investigations were made into the Feldafing actions of Kapo Alfred Minik (born on September 7, 1907, in Zoppot). In 1978 he could not be located, but unconfirmed reports suggested that he lived in Danzig-Ohra (see below).¹⁷ Another prisoner-functionary was the Heidelberg medical doctor Fritz Barth, who is described as the prison doctor. He died on October 31, 1946, in Heidelberg.¹⁸

Heinrich Göbel was the Hoch-Tief engineer in charge of construction at Feldafing. He was mayor of Feldafing from 1960 to 1970. He died on April 17, 1973, and as far as is known, he was never questioned. On the other hand, there is a written statement by his brother Georg who worked as a draftsman on the construction site in Feldafing.¹⁹

In March 1969 the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) began to investigate homicides committed in the Feldafing subcamp. Preliminary investigations in 1976 by the state prosecutor at the State Court Munich I were conducted against Alfred Minik and others suspected of committing murder. The investigations were stopped on July 28, 1978.²⁰

SOURCES Nothing in detail has been specifically written on the Feldafing subcamp. It is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979); Winfried Nerdinger, ed., *Bauen im Nationalsozialismus: Bayern 1933–1945—Ausstellung des Architekturmuseums der Technischen Universität München und des Münchner Stadtmuseums* (Munich: Architekturmuseum der Technischen Universität München, 1993), p. 525.

Primary sources for this essay begin with StA-Mü, File “Sta. 34800,” which contains statements of former prisoners

who refer to the Feldafing camp: Józef Brzezinski (pp. 157–159), Mikołaj Chwedorowicz (pp. 181–182), Stanisław Ciok (p. 47), Tadeusz Etter (pp. 193–195), Zygmunt Franczewski (pp. 149–150), Bronisław Misztal (pp. 135–139), Andreas Müller (pp. 44–45), Zygmunt Pisarski (pp. 119–120), Ignacy Przybylski (pp. 201–203), Ferdinand Rose (pp. 29–30), Ludwig Rosenberg (pp. 52–53), Anton Schneider (p. 39), Stefan Sowiak (pp. 166–167), Josef Szematawicz (pp. 102–103), Stanisław Zys (p. 232); the file also contains interrogation records of SS members, including a copy of the statement by Hugo Lausterer (p. 223), questioned by the American investigating authorities in 1945, as well as interrogations by the Bavarian State Criminal Office in 1977 and 1978 by Josef Harbeith (p. 284), Johann Remlinger (pp. 278–280), Friedrich Schassberger (p. 275), Johann Schöpp (pp. 266–267), Christoph Weydemann (p. 271); finally, a 1978 written record of an interview with Georg Göbel, from Fa. Hoch-Tief AG (pp. 281–282). In addition, the author has analyzed the oral statements by amateur historians of Feldafing (in particular, Karl Holzwarth) who have researched the history of the Reichsschule der NSDAP and the DP camp in Feldafing as well as people who after the war were accommodated on the grounds of the former Reichsschule. In AGe-Fe there are no records, including no entries in the Register of Deaths, as the Reichsschule was outside the jurisdiction of the community. There is a dearth of sources on the Reichsschule. There are few files, as indicated in Harald Scholtz, *NS-Ausleseschulen: Internatsschulen als Herrschaftsmittel des Führerstaates* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973), p. 299. However, one cannot exclude the possibility that the sources on the DP camp in Feldafing held at YIVO (microfilm available at ZfA) hold details on the subcamp.

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NOTES

1. See StA-Mü, File Sta. 34800, p. 29 (Zeuge F. Rose), S. 18 (Letter by Criminal Commissar Gasper). Also ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979) 1: 68, which with reference to the concentration camp files, has the following first mention—April 6, 1942.

2. ITS, *Verzeichnis* (Closure—23.4.1945 [transfer to Dachau]); also Sta. 34800, pp. 18, 243 (Note by State Prosecutor Dressen).

3. Statement about “a” barracks in Sta. 34800, pp. 29, 39, 102, 135, 199; “two” barracks, ibid., p. 149; “barracks,” ibid., pp. 45, 194.

4. On the little guard’s house at the entrance, the most probable version, see the statements by the SS men Schöpp and Remlinger, ibid., pp. 267, 279.

5. Statement G. Göbel (Building Draftsmean at Fa. Hoch-Tief), ibid., p. 282, who admittedly, probably in error, speaks of five prisoner barracks; also K. Holzwarth in a discussion with the author.

6. Sta. 34800, pp. 157–158.

7. Ibid., pp. 97, 101, 147, 151, 198.

8. Ibid., p. 193.

9. Ibid., p. 223.
10. See also ITS, *Verzeichnis*, p. 68.
11. Statement by Oberscharführer and Kommandoführer Chr. Weydemann, who was in the camp from the end of 1942 to the autumn of 1944, Sta. 34800, p. 271.
12. Ibid., p. 194.
13. Priest J. Brzezinski, the monks M. Chwedorowicz, the priest Z. Franczewski, without a statement on retraining, as well as T. Etter, who, when questioned in 1969, was bishop in Posen (Poznan).
14. Sta. 34800, p. 149.
15. Ibid., pp. 251–254 (Note by State Prosecutor Dressen).
16. All details in this paragraph come from notes by the State Prosecutor Dressen, *ibid.*, pp. 243–248.
17. Ibid., pp. 285–286, 290 (Final Note by Senior Criminal Commissioner Gulder).
18. Details on Dr. F. Barthare also contained in the notes by Gulder, *ibid.*, p. 286.
19. Ibid., pp. 281–282.
20. State Prosecutor State Court Munich I, Az.: 320 Js 15530/76 (14 Js 25387/76 Sta. Mü II): “Homicides in the Dachau Subcamp Feldafing,” Entry July 28, 1978, in the enclosed, separately numbered, file in Sta. 34800, pp. 8–14.

FELDMOCHING

The Dachau subcamp of Feldmoching was located 13 kilometers (8.1 miles) northwest of Munich. The only reference to the camp is in the files of the Dachau concentration camp for October 2, 1944. Male prisoners were held in the camp.

SOURCES The subcamp is not described in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005) but is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:68.

The Feldmoching subcamp is mentioned in a document held in AG-D.

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FISCHBACHAU

Fischbachau is located in the Miesbach district in Upper Bavaria, about 56 kilometers (34.8 miles) to the southeast of Munich.

The Dachau subcamp in Fischbach existed from September 12, 1944, to January 21, 1945. It consisted of about 20 to 25 male prisoners, most of them Germans, Austrians, Italians, French, and Poles; some were Jehovah’s Witnesses. Most of the inmates had been chosen for their professional qualifications in fields related to construction work.

Under the control of the Waffen-SS and Police Construction Administration, the inmates were to construct wooden temporary quarters, which apparently were meant for higher-ranking SS officers from Munich and their families. During the existence of the camp, two houses, for four families in total, were erected.

The inmates were guarded by six SS men who, according to survivor testimonies, never mistreated the prisoners. During the existence of the camp, the inmates received special food rations—according to investigations of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL), one inmate therefore described the Fischbachau camp as the best camp that he ever experienced. Like the guards, the inmates were housed in “OT-huts,” little dwellings made of pressed cardboard, with an interior height of about 160 centimeters (63 inches). The huts were placed on a local farmer’s cow pasture.

On January 21, 1945, due to harsh winter conditions that made further construction work impossible, the camp was dissolved, and the inmates were returned by truck to the Dachau main camp.

SOURCES Barbara Hutzelmann described the Fischbachau subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 321–322. Investigations conducted by the ZdL can be found at BA-L under the signature ZStL IV 410 AT 1211/69.

Fischbachau is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 68.

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FISCHHORN

The Fischhorn subcamp of Dachau was located on the western edge of the village of Bruck on Grossglockner Strasse, in the district of Zell am See, 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) from Salzburg. The camp probably was located on the grounds of Castle Fischhorn in Bruck, since the SS officers who were in charge of the inmates were located there. Albert Knoll states that there were two subcamps in Fischhorn: one with the Zentralbauleitung der Waffen-SS, under Office Group C of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), and the other one with the SS-Remount Office, which was in charge of finding horses for military use and which held about 100 horses in the Bruck stables. However, there was no separation between these two camps as far as personnel and space were concerned; the two camps only show up separately in accounting documents regarding the fees to be charged for the employment of the inmates. Both camps existed from September 9, 1944, until their liberation in May 1945.

A first transport of 50 male inmates arrived on September 9, 1944, followed by a second one of 100 inmates on September 18. Many inmates were Soviets; the others, French, Poles, and Italians. According to Knoll, the inmates were between 18 and 35 years old; their apparent Kapo, Karl Herkert from Hamburg, was 44.

The Remount Office was located at Bruck Castle, which was the confiscated property of the former German ambassador to Peru. Also, the headquarters of an SS division was located there. The prisoners were guarded by Volksdeutsche (ethnic German) SS men, probably from Bessarabia. Their

number cannot be established anymore. The first camp commander was Hans Hahn, who had been a guard in Flossenbürg and Dachau since 1939. On February 10, 1945, he was replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Hermann Ristek, who had been the commander of the Radolfzell subcamp.

The prisoners worked in the construction of stables for the Remount Office and in the fields around the castle. Here, they probably worked next to foreign forced laborers. According to one survivor statement, some inmates of the camp also worked in the Sandkommando (sand detachment), where they had to extract sand from a local creek.

There are differing opinions as to where the inmates were accommodated. One inmate states that the prisoners were kept on the loft of the administrative building of the castle. Another inmate describes barracks where the prisoners were kept: simple walls, plain sand floor, no insulation, and only one tiny stove to heat the whole building. The only chance for the inmates to wash themselves was the horse troughs, and there was only one latrine. Even a report of the SS camp physician, dated March 27, 1945, stated that the inmates' quarters were primitive, the latrines insufficient and unhygienic, and the kitchen dirty. Those conditions, in combination with exhausting working conditions, led to many inmates becoming unable to work very quickly. Already 20 days after the erection of the camp, 15 sick inmates were returned to Dachau and replaced by new ones. Another replacement took place in the fall of 1944 when 15 new inmates, all of them from the Neustift subcamp, arrived in Fischhorn, along with their guards. Apparently, 1 inmate died in the camp, and next to the Dachau subcamp in Weissee, Fischhorn had the worst living conditions among all Dachau subcamps in Austria.

SOURCES This description of the Fischhorn subcamp is based in part on the article by Albert Knoll in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Friße Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 324–326.

Fischhorn is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 69.

The ZdL investigations in 1969 are found under the file reference BA-L IV 410 AR 708/69. Survivor and witness statements can also be found at NARA, RG 153, B 191 F09, and B 210, F01. Material available at AG-D includes Zusammenstellung der Forderungsnachweise (signature DaA 37154), Überstellungslisten (transport lists, DaA 35674), Belegstärken (strength reports, DaA 404), and the report of the SS camp doctor (DaA 32769).

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FRIEDRICHSHAFEN

The Dachau subcamp in Friedrichshafen was established on June 22, 1943, and was dissolved on September 26, 1944.¹ It was formed as part of the program for the planned revenge

weapon, the so-called *Aggregat 4* (A4), later known as the V-2 rocket. Technical problems involving the testing area at Usedom on the Baltic had caused delays. As a result, in September 1941, Oberst Walter Dornberger, chief of Department 11 of the Office for Development and Testing of the Army Armaments Office (Heereswaffenamt), and Dr. Wernher von Braun, technical director, made contact with Luftschiffbau Zeppelin GmbH (Zeppelin Airship Construction Company) and on April 7, 1942, established a branch of the military testing unit, HVA-P (Heeresversuchsanstalt Peenemünde), in Friedrichshafen. Undertaken there were the production of engine mountings, rear sections, and middle sections, and the series assembly of the A4/V-2. At the beginning of May 1942, construction began at the testing area at Oberraderach near Friedrichshafen. Skilled German construction workers, prisoners of war (POWs), and Russian forced laborers (later also concentration camp detainees) built an oxygen plant, three testing units with measuring devices, their own electrical generator, and a water piping system from Immenstaad on Lake Constance for their large reservoirs. The plant was connected by a rail line to the Teuring Talbahn (valley railway).²

In August 1943, Hitler granted Heinrich Himmler the responsibility for the A4 program. SS-Brigadeführer Dr. Hans Kammler then deployed workers from the camps/subcamps. The Army Armaments Office stated the following: "In principle the assembly in all four production series will be done by detainees . . . 1,500 in Friedrichshafen."³ The Army Armaments Office probably used subcamp detainees in all production work because they could be more closely guarded and the risk of espionage was less. Once the job was finished, the life of a prisoner was not worth much.

An advance detachment of about 100 men constructed the subcamp in Friedrichshafen. Using an electrical fence, these detainees sectioned off part of the Don forced labor camp of the Luftschiffbau company. The camp consisted of six sleeping barracks, a wash/toilet barracks, and an infirmary/storage barracks. The camp had direct access to the factory.⁴ The kitchen barracks remained in the Luftschiffbau company's Don camp.

In August 2003, a transfer list of detainees from Friedrichshafen to Buchenwald dated September 25, 1944, was found. On the basis of this list, the nationalities of the detainees are known. Nationalities included Germans, Russians, French, Czechs, Yugoslavs, Belgians, Spaniards, Luxembourgers, Greeks, and Italians. A large number of the detainees were political prisoners, including veterans of the Spanish Civil War and escaped Polish and Russian prisoners.⁵ All of the detainees questioned during the course of postwar investigations were concentration camp veterans who had been in the following camps: Flossenbürg, Ravensbrück, Mauthausen, Gusen, Auschwitz, Buchenwald, and others. The female German cook, who cooked for a few weeks for the advanced detachment until the SS arrived, stated to the author that there was a German Jewish prisoner from Stuttgart.

The detainees worked exclusively for the *Luftschiffbau*. In Friedrichshafen they worked on construction projects, built a bunker for the SS, and in 1944, together with forced laborers of diverse nationalities, excavated an underground tunnel. After air raids, the detainees removed the rubble and disarmed unexploded bombs. Whether this work was done exclusively for the *Luftschiffbau* or also for the city of Friedrichshafen is not known. So far as is known, at the testing grounds in Raderach, they were used for construction work, the production of oxygen, and the engine testing, as stated above.

The planned capacity of detainees, 1,500, was not reached. The majority of detainees who testified against SS member Grün in postwar investigations mentioned housing of between 500 and 800 detainees. If one takes into account deaths and replacements, there could have been between 1,000 and 1,200 detainees who were in Friedrichshafen.

The guards were SS from Germany, ethnic Germans from Hungary, Czechs, Slovaks, Romanians, and Sudeten Germans. The camp leader was SS-Untersturmführer Georg Dietrich Grünberg. His deputy was a Sudeten German, Beck, known as "Dziadek" (grandfather). He is said to have treated the detainees decently. Grünberg was born on October 10, 1906, in Freiburg an der Elbe. He was a member of the SS-Death's Head Division during the Polish and Western campaigns and arrived in April 1941 at Oranienburg. He was at first platoon leader of a training company for recruits. In September 1942, he was put in charge of a training unit in Auschwitz. From November 1942 to March 1943, he attended the Junker School in Braunschweig, returning to Auschwitz an SS-Untersturmführer in command of the training company. From May to July 1943, he was hospitalized with diphtheria; afterward, he remained in Auschwitz until September 1943. He then was sent to Friedrichshafen as company and subcamp commandant. He remained there until he was transferred to the Überlingen subcamp in September 1944.⁶

Several detainees of the advanced detachment have stated that they were housed well, that they had good food, and that during the first weeks security was not as tight. That changed when the subcamp was secured with barbed wire, high-voltage electricity, floodlights, and search lights. Former forced laborers from the Ukraine and the Netherlands told the author that any attempt to make contact with the detainees at work was strictly forbidden by the guards. They also witnessed the detainees being prodded with rifle butts and dogs being used to make them hurry. A female Ukrainian from the forced labor camp stated that a young Ukrainian prisoner Alexander (Senja) Sapomenko from Browarski, Kiev district, had yelled his address over the fence. She made contact with his parents. Over a period of several months, she received mail, photos, and packages and gave him information through the fence.

It was discovered that two detainees (Spanish Civil War veterans) had made contact with two female Ukrainians in the adjoining camp for forced laborers. The record of the interview dated November 3, 1943, and a letter, hidden in an apple and sent to the Ukrainian women, are in the Grünberg investigation files. The two German detainees were punished

by being beaten 20 times each with a stick and were transferred on November 12, 1943, to Buchenwald.⁷

The detainees reported of two escape attempts during air raids or shortly thereafter. Seven detainees, five Poles and two Belgians, escaped on April 21, 1944. Only two Poles managed to make it home. The others were recaptured.⁸

On June 21, 1944, the day after an air raid destroyed the industrial facilities, two Russian detainees with the numbers 48675 and 50515 were shot. The death certificates, signed by the official doctor, states the cause of death as infantry bullet entries to main arteries and the bronchial passages.⁹

During investigation proceedings against SS member Grün, a prisoner reported of eight cases of typhus. There were no deaths. The typhus epidemic is said to have spread in September 1943 from the subcamp to the *Luftschiffbau*'s civilian work camp Don, as well as from Seeblick I and Seeblick II of the firm Maybach Motorenbau GmbH (Maybach Engine Construction Company).¹⁰ According to an entry in the Friedrichshafen Standesamt (Civil Registry Office), several foreign laborers from Western Europe died in these three camps.

The chief medical officer in the Surgery Department of the Karl-Olga Municipal Hospital operated on two injured detainees, one French man with the number 68748 and a Pole with the number 49417.¹¹

There is little information about the number of detainees who died. On the basis of various lists of the dead, it is known that among the dead there were people from Albania, Belgium, Germany, Austria, France, the Netherlands, Poland, and Russia.¹² In the Register of Deaths kept by the Standesamt Friedrichshafen, the causes of death are noted—they include contusion of the upper body and stomach, liver ruptures, tuberculosis, fractures to the base of the skull, burst intestines, heart and circulation failure, and death during air raids. However, only a few of the deaths are recorded by the Friedrichshafen Registry. The International Tracing Service (ITS) states that 89 people died during the air raid on April 27 and 28, 1944, and 72 died during the air raid on July 20, 1944.¹³ The dead are said to have been cremated in the Lindau crematorium. There are records of 26 detainees being cremated here between December 21, 1943, and August 28, 1944, 3 of whom came from the subcamp in Saulgau.¹⁴ Altogether there are records of 40 Friedrichshafen detainees being sent to the crematorium, 31 as a result of air-raid attacks; 13 were Germans. There are no graves in Friedrichshafen for the detainees.

There were 11 air raids on Friedrichshafen, of which 7 hit the subcamp. On April 27 and 28, 1944, the city and a large part of the subcamp were destroyed, and the population of 16,000 was evacuated. The air raid of July 20, 1944, destroyed most of the industrial facilities. About 300 detainees from the subcamp were sent to the Raderach subcamp, which had been partially evacuated by construction workers and POWs. From here, 100 detainees had to return each day to Friedrichshafen to defuse unexploded bombs, remove rubble, and build underground tunnels for the remaining German and foreign

workforce in the city. Raderach was bombed on August 16, 1944. On September 25, 1944, the Friedrichshafen subcamp was dissolved. The detainees were sent to Buchenwald and from there to Kohnstein near Nordhausen, Saulgau, and Überlingen.

SOURCES The basis for this entry on the Friedrichshafen subcamp is the book by Christa Tholander, *Fremdarbeiter 1939 bis 1945: Ausländische Arbeitskräfte in der Zeppelin-Stadt Friedrichshafen* (Essen, 2001). There have been no independent publications on the Friedrichshafen subcamp. Sources are hard to find, and there was little interest in examining them. The few publications that exist on Friedrichshafen deal with the planning, development, and technical aspects of the A4 and V-2. Included in these publications is Raimund Hug-Biegelmann's "Friedrichshafen und die Wunderwaffe V2: Das Wehrmachtsgelände bei Raderach und die Luftschiffbau Zeppelin GmbH," JBLS 11(1994): 302–316. Oswald Burger in "Liebe im KZ: Aktenspuren der Unmenschlichkeit," JBLS 4 (1985): 270–272, presents insights into the punishment regime in the Friedrichshafen subcamp. Oswald Burger's *Der Stollen* (Überlingen, 2001) contains the protocols of the orders to place the armaments industry underground after the air raids of April 27 and 28, 1944. Chapter 6 of this book contains a biography of the camp commandant, Georg Grünberg, "Georg Grünberg: Eine SS-Karriere." The book by Georg Metzler, *Geheime Kommandosache: Raketenrüstung in Oberschwaben—Das Außenlager Saulgau und die V2 (1943–1945)* (Bergatreute, 1997), deals with the Saulgau subcamp and only touches on Friedrichshafen. A purely technical book that scarcely deals with Maybach's use of foreign workers but that refers to the spreading typhus epidemic is Wilhelm Treue and Stefan Zima's *Hochleistungsmotoren Karl Maybach und sein Werk* (Düsseldorf, 1992).

There are few archival sources dealing with Friedrichshafen. It was only in September 2003 that the transfer lists from Friedrichshafen to Buchenwald dated September 25, 1944, were found in AG-D. The BA-L holds the investigation files of the SS man Grün, who was a guard in Friedrichshafen, and the statements by the detainees. The same are also held in StA-L and by the Sta. Stuttgart. The results of the investigations against Grün, IV 410 AR-Z 25/71, were handed to the Sta. Stuttgart on April 13, 1973, with file reference Az 86 Js 559/70. It was noted that proceedings could not commence against the accused Grün because he had died in 1947. The closed file is kept under the file reference BA-L: B 162 ARZ 7100025, Band IV, p. 935. As cited by Hug-Biegelmann, TARA-KU holds aerial photographs of the plant. In the Schlussvermerk of the investigation on p. 729, there is a list of the seven firms in Friedrichshafen that had used concentration camp detainees in day and night shifts. The investigation here mistakenly translated from the ITS Arolsen volume I (p. 187) and II (p. 27) the English reference "CWC." CWCs were civilian workers camps—camps for forced laborers and not camps for concentration camp detainees. "CCKdo" means concentration camp Kommando. This error caused some consternation in the city as the references were referred to by Oswald Burger in "Zeppelin und die Rüstungsindustrie am Bodensee," 1999. *Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts*, part 1 in Heft 1/1987, pp. 8–49, part 2 in Heft 2/1987, pp. 52–87. when referring to Überlingen and inadver-

tently put in the Friedrichshafen city history and used by people in accordance with their politics. A correction was made in the author's unpublished M.A. thesis at the University of Konstanz. That it was only the Luftschiffbau Zeppelin GmbH that used concentration camp detainees was confirmed in the author's published dissertation *Fremdarbeiter 1939 bis 1945*.

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NOTES

1. BA-L, Schlussvermerk of April 13, 1973, in the investigation against the SS man Grün, Dachau Concentration Camp Guard, Friedrichshafen subcamp, ZdL IV 410 AR-Z 25/71, pp. 729–733, with reference to the Catalog of ITS Arolsen of 1969.
2. ASt-Fn, TARA-KU, HVP-subcamp Raderach dated May 27, 1944, with the construction as of autumn 1943.
3. For his article in BA-MA, Hug-Biegelmann used the files of HVA-P, Best. RH 8.
4. StA-L, EL 317 III, Az. 878. Investigations against the SS man Grün, Guard Concentration Camp Dachau, subcamp Friedrichshafen, on Suspicion of Nazi Crimes. Statements by former prisoners.
5. AG-D, Best. 36.247.
6. A detailed biography and photo of Grünberg in Oswald Burger, *Der Stollen* (Überlingen, 2001), pp. 40–45. Also the record of the interview on August 17, 1965, at the Amtsgericht Freiburg, 3 Gs 49/65. A short description of the investigation against SS man Grün, see endnote 4, StA-L. His date of birth is stated as July 10, 1906.
7. Oswald Burger, "Liebe im KZ," Akterspuren der Unmenschlichkeit," 270–272. The source is the investigation files of the Sta., District JBLS 4 (1985): Court Munich II, 4(1985): against Georg Dietrich Grünberg on Suspicion of National Socialist Crimes of Violence, Az. I Js 7/65, p. 76.
8. See endnote 4. Statement by Wladislaw Hudý, December 9, 1969. He was successful in his escape to Poland.
9. ASt-Li, Best. "Die Feuerbestattungsanlage" and file "Kriegsgräberfürsorge I," AZ B 67.8.
10. Wilhelm Treue and Stefan Zima, *Hochleistungsmotoren Karl Maybach und sein Werk* (Düsseldorf, 1992).
11. ASt-Fn, Ausländer File, "Liste über in der Privatpraxis behandelten Kriegsgefangenen, deportierten Ausländer und freiwillige ausländische Arbeiter in der Zeit vom 2.9.39 bis 25.4.45."
12. The author's analysis of the Death Lists in the ASt-Fn and AG-D is 35 names. See ASt-Li: "Die Feuerbestattungsanlage" and "Kriegsgräberfürsorge I" File, AZ 67.8.
13. ITS, *Catalogue of Camps and Prisons* (Arolsen, 1945, 1951), p. 185.
14. See ASt-Li: "Die Feuerbestattungsanlage" and "Kriegsgräberfürsorge I" File, AZ 67.8.

GABLINGEN

It is unclear for how long the Gablingen subcamp existed. The List of Detainees of the Red Cross's International Tracing Service (ITS) states that the subcamp existed from Febru-

ary 21, 1944, to April 25, 1945. The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in its investigation files refers to a time perhaps commencing in the spring or summer of 1944.¹ One of the depositions of the state prosecutor Munich I states: "The subcamp existed for between fourteen and sixteen months. It was most likely formed in January 1944. . . . It was finally dissolved in the spring or summer of 1944."² Spring of 1945 is probably correct, as in April of this year an air raid destroyed the camp, although it is possible that it was then rebuilt. Two of the nearly 1,000 prisoners died in the bombing.

The Gablingen subcamp was located between the railway running from Augsburg to Nürnberg and the main road (later known as Bundesstrasse 2, Federal Highway 2), connecting these two large Bavarian cities. Four watchtowers and a 3-meter-high (9.8-foot-high) barbed-wire fence surrounded the barracks that held the detainees. The men worked in a subsidiary factory of the Messerschmitt-Flugzeugwerke (aircraft factory). The site also had an airfield.

The subcamp was located in a heavily militarized area. It was, therefore, a prime target for bombing raids. Not far from the airfield and the Messerschmitt factory was a so-called *Luftpark* (air park) underground, hidden in a forest. This was a supply base that held everything from bicycles to airplane engines that were required by the German Luftwaffe. Not far from the airfield was a large factory belonging to the IG Farben chemical concern, also a vital undertaking for the war effort. This was an area hit many times by bombs, as were the nearby villages of Gablingen and Stettenhofen.

Prisoners have stated that they were housed in four dark, gray wooden barracks. They slept in two-tier narrow bunk beds. Food is described as "satisfactory" by some. Others say it was inadequate. Ernst Rauter, a former detainee, stated the following: "I was constantly hungry. In the morning we had bread; at lunch, day after day, turnips and potatoes." Rauter states that the camp was heavily guarded and that the SS used dogs. "There was no escape from them."³

There were 352 prisoners in the Gablingen subcamp on February 21, 1944. An additional 600 detainees were sent to the subcamp on April 14, 1944, following the destruction of the Haunstetten subcamp. At least some of the men spent the nights in a not-too-distant gravel pit. Shortly thereafter, many of the men were transported to other camps, at Augsburg-Pfersee, Lauingen, and Leonberg near Stuttgart. The largest prisoner group in the camp was Russian, but there were also Poles, French, Austrians, Norwegians, Dutch, and Greeks. Among the German detainees were political, asocial, and criminal inmates. The nationality of a few "Gypsies" is unknown.

In a few of the hangars at the Gablingen airfield, parts were produced for the Messerschmitt jet fighter Me 262 and starter motors for the jet bomber Me 410. Many of the detainees were skilled tradesmen in the metal industry. One of them has stated that they had to work 12 hours a day riveting. Later he was involved in distributing materials. Other detainees had to keep the site and the hangars clean. Others were taken each

day by truck to Augsburg to work at the Messerschmitt factory at Haunstetten or to excavate unexploded bombs and disarm them. Some of the men evacuated from Haunstetten to Gablingen after the bombing raid have stated that they did not have to work. "We could recuperate. We did not have to work." This welcome rest ended at the latest when the men were again transferred to other camps.

The detainees in Gablingen were guarded mostly by Wehrmacht soldiers who were no longer capable of service at the front. They had been transferred to the SS. At least two of the guards were Luftwaffe soldiers who had donned the SS uniform and served in Dachau subcamps. The guards lived in wooden barracks located on the outside of the barbed-wire fence. Their office was located inside the camp. The Munich state prosecutor determined that the first commandant of the Gablingen subcamp was SS-Hauptscharführer Anton Kellner. He was born in 1910 in Röthenbach/Pegnitz. He stated that it was in the spring of 1944 that he was transferred from Dachau to the Leonberg subcamp. A note by the ZdL states: "He could have meant the Gablingen subcamp." Proceedings against Keller were discontinued in 1976.⁴

On the morning of April 24, 1944, soon after the attack on the Messerschmitt camp at Haunstetten, American airplanes attacked the airfield, the Messerschmitt facility, and the subcamp. Incendiary bombs set the camp on fire, and it was completely destroyed. A former detainee, Edmond Falkuss, a clerk in the Haunstetten, Gablingen, and Pfersee subcamps, wrote in a letter dated March 28, 1989, that the night shift prisoners and the administration staff were the first to be evacuated. An ill detainee was forgotten, and according to Falkuss, this man was the only victim. The Gablingen subcamp inmates were immediately transferred to the Air Intelligence Barracks (Luftnachrichten-Kaserne) at Augsburg-Pfersee. Other sources state that on April 24 two Italian prisoners who had fourth-degree burns were killed.⁵

Several witnesses have stated that detainees were executed in the Gablingen camp. However, the reports differ as to the number of victims. According to Falkuss, "A few inmates were hanged in Gablingen and Pfersee. The RSHA (Reichssicherheitshauptamt) gave the orders on the recommendation of the protective custody camp leader (Schutzhäftlagerführer). He himself could not carry out hangings without approval. The hangings took place either for looting or something less, such as an escapee committing a crime, often minor, before being recaptured."⁶

In 1995, in another letter Falkuss sent to the Federal German Archive, he gives exact details of an execution that he says took place in the spring of 1944 in Gablingen. Two men arrived from Dachau for this execution "just to be there and give directions. One of the officers gave a speech, which was translated into the prisoners' different languages. I was instructed to translate it into French."

Investigation File IV 410 AR 144/65 of the ZdL states: "On a day sometime after April 13, 1944, four detainees from the Gablingen camp were executed in front of the assembled camp inmates for attempting to escape. A temporary

gallows was erected under which there was a table. The delinquents had to stand on the table. After the SS men had put a noose around their necks, the table was pulled from under their legs. There are no details as to who did the hangings." Former prisoner Franz Rehbein is referred to as the witness.

According to one witness, Siegfried Rosenberg, six detainees were hanged in Gablingen because they intended to escape.

Other detainees claim to have witnessed the execution of more than 10 inmates, while still other prisoners report of the execution of numerous detainees in Haunstetten or in Augsburg-Pfersee. The grounds given for the death sentences were usually theft of food or escape attempts. The investigating lawyers came to the conclusion that the reason for so many reports of execution had to do with different locations and numbers and that after the bombings the detainees were repeatedly transferred from one camp to another.⁷ There can be no doubt that there were executions.

The detainees have also reported that they were mistreated in Gablingen. The guards as well as the camp elder (Lagerältester) are said to have kicked or otherwise mistreated prisoners so that at least 10 died; two SS men are said to have beaten a French professor, between the barracks, until he lay lifeless. Another former inmate has stated that the SS properly treated the detainees.⁸ The investigators were not able to check the veracity of these statements.

SOURCES The only published records on the subcamp Gablingen are the books by historian Wolfgang Kucera, *Fremdarbeiter und KZ-Häftlinge in der Augsburger Rüstungsindustrie* (Augsburg, 1996); and Gernot Römer's book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Außenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984). In this latter book, there is a reference to the Gablingen subcamp in the section on the Swabian camps, pp. 80–83.

Most of the primary source information and several witness statements in this entry come from the investigating files of the Sta. Mü (120 Js 205 795/75) and the ZdL (BA-L, IV 410 AR 144/65). Edmond Falkuss gave his information to the author in a letter dated March 28, 1989. Falkuss also sent the author a copy of his 1995 letter to BA. In addition, the author has spoken with a few former camp detainees.

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NOTES

1. Both entries in the final note of the ZdL, IV 410 AR 144/65, stored at BA-L.
2. Proceedings 120 Js 205 795/75, Sta. Mü.
3. Sta. Mü (120 Js 205 795/75), details from several former detainees.
4. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, p. 4, in BA-L.
5. Edmond Falkuss, March 23, 1989, in a letter to the author.
6. Ibid.
7. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, p. 4, in BA-L.
8. Ibid.

GARMISCH-PARTENKIRCHEN

The Dachau subcamp Garmisch-Partenkirchen was located 82 kilometers (51 miles) to the southwest of Munich. It was established on December 9, 1944, in the former Sonnenbichel hotel, which had been evacuated for the SS and had been in use as a hospital for SS members, under the control of the SS garrison doctor.

Probably beginning on December 10, approximately 14 male inmates from Dachau were put to work in the hotels Sonnenbichel, Haus Wittelsbach, and Haus Partenkirchen, which were all used as SS hospitals. The inmates worked mainly as masons, carpenters, and in similar construction jobs. They were accommodated in the servants' quarters of Sonnenbichel and were guarded by three SS orderlies and a detachment commander who slept in the room next to them. There was no mistreatment or killing of prisoners, and according to one survivor, they were left in peace. The humane treatment of the inmates was confirmed by investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in 1969.

On April 27, 1945, the U.S. Army reached Garmisch-Partenkirchen, and the prisoners were liberated.

SOURCES In Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager; Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), the Garmisch-Partenkirchen subcamp is described by Barbara Hutzemann on pp. 332–333.

The subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 70.

The ZdL file records are BA-L IV 410 AR 1210/ 69.

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GENDORF [AKA EMMERTING]

The Gendorf subcamp was established in October 1943.¹ It is also known as the Emmerting subcamp, due to its location at Emmerting near Burgkirchen an der Alz in the district of Altötting. However, the first mention of the camp in the files of the Dachau concentration camp command is dated February 1, 1944.² It is last mentioned at the beginning or middle of April 1945.³ It was a camp for male prisoners.

Even though it was situated close to Mühldorf, the Gendorf subcamp did not belong to the complex of subcamps around Mühldorf, involved in the construction of a semi-underground bunker, known by the code name "Weingut I." It also differed from these camps in the categories of prisoners, work assignments, size, and the period of existence. There was another camp for foreign laborers and a so-called *Ausländerkinderpflegestätte* (center for the care of foreign children) in Gendorf, but these were not part of the concentration camp system.⁴ However, the foreign workers were also assigned to work at the Anorgana-Fabrik in Gendorf.

The Anorgana factories were planned as sites for the production of poison gas and were part of the Verwertungsge-

sellschaft für Montanindustrie (Mining Industry Reprocessing Company) in Berlin, which in turn was owned by the Wehrmacht. The Wehrmacht rented the factories to IG Farben, who operated them on behalf of the Wehrmacht. Constructed at the end of 1939 and beginning of 1940, the Anorgana factory produced a substitute for glycerine, the so-called diglycol, which was necessary for the production of artillery ammunition but also served as an antifreeze. It also produced acetaldehyde, which was required as an ingredient for paints and varnishes but could also be used for the production of synthetic rubber (*Buna*).

Although the factory was established in Gendorf for the production of poison gas, no such gases were ever produced. Only from February 1943, mustard gas was produced there as a test for a couple of months. It was of so little interest for the conduct of the war that the production was soon ended. Actually, the Gendorf location was not ideal: industry complained about transport problems and poor energy supply. The Anorgana files reveal that the disposal of waste water was a particular problem. In 1945, a prominent member of IG Farben was in Gendorf: the chemist Dr. Otto Ambros, who had been active in Auschwitz and was later convicted in the IG Farben Trial. He came to Gendorf following the evacuation of Auschwitz and the relocation of the main Badische Anilin und Soda-fabrik (BASF) laboratory to Gendorf. In April 1945, he still managed to convert the factory to the production of soap and detergents. After the war, the Gendorf factory manufactured brake fluids, antifreeze, and detergents.⁵

Up to 3,000 people were working at the Anorgana factory in Gendorf in August 1943: German civilian workers, foreign laborers, *Ostarbeiter* (forced laborers from Eastern Europe), prisoners of war (POWs), and Italian military internees. The Eastern European workers and other foreign laborers were housed in a camp outside the factory, which is said to have held 1,200 workers on average. The Gendorf subcamp, however, was located directly on the factory grounds from the autumn of 1943.

The number of imprisoned men in the camp varied between 200 and 250. On November 29, 1944, 249 prisoners are reported to have been in the camp;⁶ at the beginning of April 1945, there were still 200 prisoners in Gendorf.⁷ The prisoners came from numerous European countries, in particular, from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, France, and Germany. On May 19, 1944, the commandant of the Dachau concentration camp, SS-Obersturmbannführer Eduard Weiter, inspected the camp. On this occasion, 60 young prisoners were requested by the Anorgana management to receive "apprenticeship training." Already in April 1945, before the end of the war, the camp was evacuated.⁸ The prisoners were reported to have been taken on foot and by train to the various subcamps around Mühldorf, which were in turn evacuated at the end of April.

According to reports of former prisoners, the camp located on the Anorgana factory grounds consisted of two to four barracks for the prisoners, a barracks for the SS guards, and two operational buildings. Again, according to former

prisoners, there were between 10 and 40 SS guards. The prisoners speak of the usual camp punishments. One prisoner, Janez Erbeznik from Ljubljana, found a small radio while doing some cleaning-up work and smuggled it into the camp, was discovered, and taken as punishment with other prisoners from his work detail to a camp of the Mühldorf group of camps, where conditions were particularly bad. He was later able to escape from the Mittergars camp.⁹

The prisoners were used mostly at the Anorgana factory. According to the factory manager, Dr. Max Wittwer, the prisoners worked 55 hours per week, that is, 10 hours each weekday and 5 hours on Saturday. A few prisoners worked for the company Unic in Burgkirchen. Within the Anorgana factory the prisoners also did excavation work. They dug holes and lined them with cement so that pits were created to be used for the production of chemicals. A few prisoners worked as metalworkers, in particular, welders. A listing of the hours worked in February 1945 shows that relatively many hours were calculated with the rate for skilled laborers, as the proportion of qualified prisoners was quite high (2,063 skilled workers' hours against 3,610 by laborers). The relatively high percentage of skilled laborers among the prisoners was confirmed by Wittwer, who stated that Otto Ambros and he had requisitioned skilled workers from the Dachau concentration camp. On the factory grounds, apprenticeships were planned for young prisoners including locksmiths and pipe makers, but they never came to fruition. According to other statements, many prisoners simply stated they were skilled so as to improve their work and ultimately their survival chances.¹⁰ After bombing raids the prisoners were used to clean up nearby Mühldorf as well as Munich.

While the nearby subcamps in Mühldorf and the center for the care of foreign children (where 150 children of mostly Soviet female foreign laborers died because of systematic neglect) were the subject of detailed American research (including the Mühldorf Trial before an American military tribunal in Dachau), the Gendorf subcamp was forgotten. Only after the establishment of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) Ludwigsburg did systematic research begin. When the investigations by the ZdL revealed no homicides—prisoners mentioned only that one or more prisoners died through methyl alcohol poisoning—the interest of the German state prosecutors weakened. The only officially recorded death is that of Polish prisoner Mitrofan Ganko, who died of alcohol poisoning on September 3, 1944. His death is recorded in the Emmerting Register of Deaths. Ill prisoners were transferred back to the Dachau concentration camp with the result that no further deaths were recorded in the relevant death registers in the local towns. Survivors have confirmed that there were no intentional homicides. Investigations by the ZdL ceased as a result. Legal proceedings were instituted for mistreatment of foreign laborers (as opposed to concentration camp prisoners)—an accused was charged that he had mistreated foreign laborers at Anorgana who either arrived late at work or did not show up for work.¹¹

SOURCES There are several publications by Peter Jungblut on Gendorf, in particular, *Tod in der Wiege. Gendorf 1939–45* (Altötting, 1989) and “*Rein strategische Gesichtspunkte*”: *Gendorf 1939–1945: Eine Ortsgeschichte* (Self-published, 2001).

As with many subcamps, there is little information in the archives. There are only remnants of files, which are held in AG-D.

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NOTES

1. The manager of the Anorgana factory, Dr. Max Wittwer, dates the establishment of the camp and the arrival of the first prisoners in October 1943; see Aussage Wittwer, Mikrofilm Mühldorf-Prozess 123a/5, BHStA-(M).

2. According to investigation by ZdL (BA-L IV 410 AR 706/69), the first mention of the camp is dated May 26, 1944. The subcamp existed at this time. The AG-D holds a letter from a Gendorf prisoner dated March 12, 1944.

3. Investigations by ZdL reveal that the camp is last mentioned on April 5, 1945; in the ITS Catalog, April 14, 1945.

4. For more details, see Peter Jungblut, *Tod in der Wiege. Gendorf 1939–45* (Altötting, 1989); and Jungblut, “*Rein strategische Gesichtspunkte*”: *Gendorf 1939–1945: Ein Ortsgeschichte* (Self-published, 2001). A typed MSS is held in the AG-D, Signatur Nr. 35625

5. See the report on a visit to the Anorgana factory in Gendorf in October 1946, OMGUS, Nr. 25353, shipment 1, Box 188–2, Folder 13.

6. List of Dachau Subcamps dated November 29, 1944, AG-D, Signatur Nr. 38.132.

7. List of Dachau Subcamps, April 3, 1945, AG-D, Nr. 404.

8. In the list of the Dachau Subcamps dated April 26, 1945, AG-D, Signatur Nr. 1667, the camp is noted as no longer holding prisoners; on the list of Dachau Subcamps, April 29, 1945, Signatur Nr. 1341, the camp is no longer mentioned.

9. The description by former prisoners is held in the AG-D, Signatur Nr. 34545 and 34751. There is also preserved a letter from Janez Erbeznik from the Gendorf subcamp to his father, dated March 12, 1944, AG-D, Signatur Nr. 34.431/3.

10. Composition of labor demands for February 1945, AG-D, Nr. 37154; Aussage Wittwer, Mikrofilm Mühldorf-Prozess 123a/5, BHStA-(M).

11. Traunstein 1a Js 18/59, the statute of limitations for assault expired on June 26, 1959, and investigations ceased. The files have been destroyed, but there exists a copy that was delivered to the Sta. München at the OLG München 2273, BHStA-(M).

GERMERING [AKA NEUAUBING]

The Germering subcamp was also known as Neuaubing, as it was located in the Munich district of Neuaubing, at the road between Munich and Landsberg. It was in close proximity to the railway and only a few kilometers from the Dornier company in Neuaubing, the German Railway Repair Yard in Neuaubing, the Dornier airport in the west, and the fuel stor-

age facility of the Wissenschaftliche Forschungsgesellschaft (Scientific Research Society) in the south. In 1943, the Dornier company, which produced military aircraft, had received permission from the village of Germering to erect a camp for about 1,600 of their employees.

There is disagreement over the date on which the subcamp was formed. The International Tracing Service (ITS) gives the date as January 1944, while statements made by witnesses to the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg give a date of May 1944. Aerial photographs prove that as of July 1944, six barracks for inmates, three barracks for guards, and one other building had been erected. Another aerial photograph from September 1944 shows the completion of two more barracks.

Also, there are different estimates regarding the number of inmates in the camp. ITS claims that the camp held approximately 50 inmates, but survivor Anton Jež states that there were about 125 inmates at work daily. The camp was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence and watchtowers and guarded by SS.

Construction work appears to have ceased no later than September or October 1944. Apparently, the camp was never used as a production site and was not planned to be such. According to ITS, the last mention of the subcamp was October 1, 1944, but witnesses' statements in the ZdL file mention May 1945 as the date the subcamp was dissolved. More likely, the camp never came to full use after the prisoners' barracks were destroyed in a heavy bombing raid in July 1944. It is possible that from that time on the prisoners were transported daily to and from Dachau. According to the ZdL investigators, the truck that transported the prisoners was driven by a woman. Food supplies were also sent daily from Dachau.

Investigations by the ZdL confirmed survivors' statements that the camp leader, SS-Hauptsturmführer Ludwig Geiss, treated the detainees humanely. Geiss took command of the Saulgau subcamp on December 1, 1944. The detainees of this subcamp also praised his humane treatment. Under Geiss's command, there appears to have been no mistreatment or killing of prisoners.

SOURCES The Germering subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979). Ludwig Geiss is described by Georg Metzler in *Geheime Kommandosache: Raketenrüstung in Oberschwaben; Das Außenlager Saulgau und die V 2 (1943–1945)* (Bergatreute: Verlag Wilfried Eppe, 1997). Franz Srownal described the Germering subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager; Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 336–337.

The ZdL investigation files are filed as BA-L IV 410 AR 1216/ 69. The files contain witnesses' statements and lists of names of the guards. Documentation regarding the erection of the camp can be found in ASt-Germ.

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HALFING [AKA BRÜNINGSAU]

In the Bavarian town of Halfing near Rosenheim (Upper Bavaria), Oswald Pohl, the head of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), owned an estate, the "Villa Brüningsau." Heinrich Himmler, the Reichsführer-SS, was friends with the Brünning family, whose daughter Elfriede had married Pohl in 1942. Even before the wedding, 10 Dachau inmates had been sent to Halfing to renovate the villa. Eight of these 10 inmates were craftsmen by profession: carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, and painters. Seven of the 10 were Germans, 2 Poles, and 1 came from Czechoslovakia. The inmates remained only a very few days in Halfing, but the dates for their transfer back to the main camp differ: transfer lists from Dachau provide November 23, 1942, as the date for their return to the main camp, while the International Tracing Service (ITS) states that the subcamp ceased to function on December 18, 1942.

Not later than in the fall of 1944, Dachau inmates were once more sent to Halfing to work on the grounds of Villa Brüningsau. Probably on September 7, 1944 (according to ITS), eight prisoners from Dachau—mostly Jehovah's Witnesses and almost all of them craftsmen—were brought to Halfing and worked on renovating the estate. Pohl and his family at that time lived near the Ravensbrück concentration camp, and at least a part of Villa Brüningsau had been transformed into an orphanage. The prisoners were guarded by one to two SS men from Dachau and were kept in one of the rooms of the estate. On November 12, 1944, the inmates were again sent back to Dachau.

Early in April 1945, seven Dachau prisoners were taken to Halfing again: three Poles, one Russian, and three Germans. But apparently they were not put to work at the estate, since the front was rapidly approaching. The seven inmates were taken by bus to the Stephanskirchen subcamp, where they joined the evacuation march of the prisoners and were liberated near Nussdorf by the U.S. Army.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg investigated this camp in 1976 but discontinued the work when the results were inconclusive.

SOURCES This entry is based upon an article by Dirk Riedel in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager; Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 340–341. Riedel is also the author of an article on Halfing in Barbara Distel and Wolfgang Benz, eds., *Das Konzentrationslager Dachau 1933–1945: Geschichte und Bedeutung* (Munich, 1994), p. 32. The Halfing subcamp is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:70. For more background information on the subcamp, see also Jan Erik Schulte, *Zwangsarbeit und Vernichtung. Das Wirtschaftsimperium der SS. Oswald Pohl und das Wirtschafts-Verwaltungs-Hauptamt 1933–1945* (Paderborn, 2001).

The results of the investigations by the former ZdL (now BA-L) are found in File IV 410 AR-Z 40/ 76.

Records at AG-D include Überstellungslisten (transfer lists), DaA35672, DaA 35676, and DaA 35678.

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HALLEIN

Hallein is located in the Austrian state of Salzburg (until 1945 it was known as the Reichsgau Salzburg), about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) south of the city of Salzburg. A barracks for mountain troops (Gebirgsjäger-Kaserne) was located here, where the Mountain Troops Training and Replacement Battalion (Gebirgsjäger-Ausbildungs-Ersatzbataillon) No. 6 for wounded soldiers was established during the war.

Before September 1943 (probably from June), around 30 male prisoners were brought from Dachau to Hallein and accommodated in wooden barracks in the quarry on the road to Adnet. The prisoners were employed by the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei (Waffen-SS and Police Building Administration). As the numbers of prisoners grew—the maximum number reached was 90—the camp was secured with barbed wire, and a second barracks was built. SS guarded the camp. The prisoners worked in the SS barracks; they constructed a shooting range and an area for close-quarter fighting within the barracks. They also worked in the city of Hallein, in the surrounding mountain pastures, and in the quarry where the camp was located.

Due to the difficult work conditions and the poor food rations, more and more prisoners became incapable of working; there is evidence of a constant rotation of prisoners with the main camp. The SS guards ruthlessly drove the prisoners while they were working. Inmate Josef Plieseis stated that there were repeatedly random murders of the prisoners, including some "shot while trying to escape." Plieseis, a veteran of the Spanish Civil War, was able to escape in August 1943 with the assistance of a local female, Agnes Primocic. It was one of three successful escapes from the camp. He then led a group of several hundred partisans in Salzkammergut.¹ Primocic helped two other prisoners to escape in the autumn of 1944, Alfred Hammerl and Leo Jansa.

There were still 55 prisoners in the camp in April 1945, but they were no longer required to work. There were isolated attempts to escape, and the Hallein population—above all, Agnes Primocic—attempted in negotiations with the camp leader and the mayor to secure the release of the prisoners. The prisoners were able to leave the camp on April 5, 1945, and were accommodated in empty barracks in the town.

SOURCES Albert Knoll comprehensively describes the Hallein subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager; Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), pp. 341–344. Another description of the camp is to be found in Barbara Distel, "KZ-Kommandos an idyllischen Orten. Dachauer Aussenlager in Österreich," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 54–65, esp. 61. Wolfgang Wintersteller also refers to this Dachau subcamp in *KZ Dachau—Aussenlager*

Hallein. Vorläufiger Bericht (Hallein, 2003). The Hallein subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), 1:71; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," BGBI. (1977), Teil 1, p. 1809.

Primary sources for the Hallein subcamp are found in AG-D in Best. 35674 (*Überstellungslisten des KZ Dachau*, 9. und 20. Juni 1944, and 32769 *Vierteljahresberichte des Lagerarztes*). For details on the camp living conditions, see the statements by Johann Myrda, July 18, 1947, in NARA, RG 153, Box 222, Folder 10. Statements by Agnes Primocic regarding her acts in helping the prisoners in the subcamp are to be found in Peter Kammerstätter, *Freiheitsbewegung im oberen Salzkammergut-Ausseerland 1943–1945; Materialsammlung über die Widerstands- und Partisanenbewegung WILLY-FRED* (Linz, 1978), p. 393; and *Nicht stillhalten, wenn Unrecht geschiebt: Die Lebenserinnerungen von Agnes Primocic* (Salzburg: Akzente-Verlag, 2004), p. 58. Josef Plieseis has described his time as a prisoner in Dachau and Hallein in *Vom Ebro zum Dachstein* (Linz, 1946).

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NOTE

1. Plieseis's escape in June 1943 confirms the early establishment of the camp, which is officially mentioned for the first time on September 1, 1943. Details of his escape and the subsequent events are described in the memoirs of Agnes Primocic, *Nicht stillhalten, wenn Unrecht geschiebt: Die Lebenserinnerungen von Agnes Primocic* (Salzburg: Akzente-Verlag, 2004).

HAUNSTETTEN

A subcamp for concentration camp detainees was erected within a few days in February 1943 in the community of Haunstetten (later part of Augsburg). It was located on the site of a former prisoner-of-war (POW) camp and comprised numerous wooden barracks holding between 150 and 200 people each.¹ The site—a former gravel pit with a pond—was enclosed by a barbed-wire fence and four guard towers. The rectangular subcamp was bordered on each side by a road. Affixed to the fences were reed mats and signs with the words "Standing Forbidden." This was an attempt to stop passersby and villagers from finding out what was happening in the subcamp. At night searchlights illuminated the site. If they were turned off, the detainees, villagers, and foreign workers who were housed in the area knew that the air-raid alarm would sound. Opposite the camp were the barracks for housing the SS guards. These buildings burned down on December 1, 1943; a noncommissioned officer died during the fire.

With about 2,700 detainees, the Haunstetten subcamp was one of the largest in Germany. The first 200 men came from the Mauthausen concentration camp and the remainder from Dachau. The majority of the detainees are said to have been Germans and Austrians, but there were many Russians,

French, and Poles in the camp. Almost all of them worked in 12-hour day and night shifts for the Messerschmitt-Flugzeugwerke (aircraft factory).² A few prisoners had to produce transport sleds in a carpenter's shop. In addition to the SS, guard dogs were used as the detainees moved back and forth to the camp—this stopped escapes and prevented conversations with the local population. Polish detainee Nikolai Salivadnij was bitten by one of the animals. Salivadnij refused to be treated: "I feared a selection and being taken to the crematorium."³

Austrian Franz Olah was the senior orderly in the infirmary. He reported: "The infirmary had more than just basics; it also had medicines and such. The subcamp's inmate doctor was a splendid Polish doctor, with whom I got on very well. The head of the infirmary was an old Sudeten German left-wing activist. I am not sure whether he was a communist or a social democrat, but we got on well."

After liberation, Olah, who was Viennese, became one of the most well known Austrian politicians. As a member of the Social Democratic Party of Austria (SPÖ), the trained piano maker became minister of the interior and president of the Austrian Union Council.⁴

Wilhelm Reitzmayr, an Austrian who was incarcerated in concentration camps because he fought with the Republican forces in the Spanish Civil War of 1936–1939, reported on hygienic conditions in the subcamp. He was told when he arrived at Haunstetten in the autumn of 1943, "You had to disinfect everything. The camp was full of lice and filthy." In one of the rooms, underwear and clothes were exposed to the gas Zyklon B with little success: "The lice were just as before." Reitzmayr did this work for three weeks. Then he was appointed block elder (Blockältester) in Block B, which had 600 Russians. Among them were young boys of 16 and 17. Russians and Poles were the worst off in the subcamp. "Germans and Austrians got packages from relatives. The Russians and Poles never got them."⁵ Pole Jan Kosinski indicated how great the hunger must have been, when he described raiding the commandant's pigs' trough for a couple of cold potatoes and how good they tasted.

Former detainee Ernst Rauter recalls that the "Gypsies" continued to play music in this period of suffering.⁶ Pole Zygmunt Sucharski stated "that a music group was formed in the camp: On Saturday afternoons or Sundays when there was free time, the detainees played music and the French prisoners sang." Apparently the group was so good that the villagers approached the camp to listen to the music.

The Messerschmitt *Meister*, who trained almost all the inexperienced men who constructed aircraft parts, "treated the men generally with consideration," according to a Polish detainee. There were also excesses by Messerschmitt people, however. After the war the production foreman and plant manager at Messerschmitt AG was accused of "inhumane treatment of the concentration camp political prisoners," which made him a top-level state criminal. "M. roughly rebuked whoever made contact with the political inmates or spoke with them, with the result that they avoided any future

contact with the detainees. ‘If I see that [happen] again, tomorrow it will be you who will be standing here wearing a striped suit,’” according to one witness. The denazification proceedings sentenced the Messerschmitt man to four years’ hard labor, and his property was confiscated. The detainees also accused the SS guards of excesses.⁷

Since 1945, judicial authorities have not been able to make a final determination of whether detainees were killed in the Haunstetten camp. A former prisoner stated in 1947 that he heard a shot during the night shift at Messerschmitt. Shortly thereafter, a young SS man appeared in an excited state. He said that he had just shot a young Russian trying to escape. The detainee himself did not see the shooting.⁸ Other inmates have stated that a Kapo beat two detainees to death; that six men were hanged for stealing food; and that four Russian prisoners who escaped after a bombing raid on the Messerschmitt factory were executed.⁹ Other witnesses contradicted the statements, stating: “In Haunstetten no inmates were killed.”¹⁰

What is without doubt is that many concentration camp detainees died during air attacks on the Haunstetten camp. A note by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg states that 430 men died, and 340 wounded were taken to the Dachau infirmary. Another source places the number of dead at 399.¹¹

Blockältester Reitzmayr experienced the large attack on April 13, 1944, that completely destroyed the camp: “Large clouds of smoke, huge craters. The guard towers were gone. Only rubble remained where once the barracks stood.” Only 11 detainees survived the attack uninjured. The massive bombing completely destroyed the camp; it was not rebuilt. The surviving detainees were, in part, taken to the subcamp at Gablingen. Not long after that, a new subcamp for Messerschmitt was built at the Augsburg-Pfersee Luftwaffe Intelligence Barracks (Luftnachrichtenkaserne).

After the war, the judicial authorities had difficulty in determining the names of the Haunstetten commandants. Former detainee Edmond Falkuss, in a letter to the author in 1989, named three people, about two of whom he stated: “At the beginning in Haunstetten: Hauptscharführer Fritz Wilhelm: brutal and relaxed; Hauptscharführer Peter Betz: inhibited, sadistic.” Wilhelm is said to have been demoted and transferred following the fire in the guard barracks, the flight of six prisoners, and the murder of one detainee. Betz was sentenced to death in 1945 by a U.S. military court. The sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. During the trial, Betz admitted to being stationed in Haunstetten, between March 1943 and January 1944, and later at the infamous Mittelbau concentration camp. Betz joined the SS in 1933 as a means to avoid unemployment. His village in Franken petitioned for mercy. After the head of the prison at Landsberg praised the conduct of the prisoner, his sentence was reduced to 15 years, and he was released early, in 1955.

SS-Hauptscharführer Wilhelm Welter was in command of the work details at Haunstetten. After the war he was sen-

tenced to death by a U.S. military court and executed on May 29, 1946, in Landsberg am Lech.¹²

SOURCES In addition to Gernot Römer’s book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984), historian Wolfgang Kucera has dealt in detail with the subcamp at Haunstetten in his book *Fremdarbeiter und KZ-Häftlinge in der Augsburger Rüstungsindustrie* (Augsburg, 1996). Another published source is the brochure by Karl Filser and Ludwig Feig, *Haunstetten im Bombenkrieg* (Augsburg, 1994). The information on camp commandant Peter Betz was taken from Robert Sigel’s book *Im Interesse der Gerechtigkeit: Das Dachauer Kriegsverbrecher-Prozesse 1945–1948* (New York: Campus, 1992).

The most important sources for this entry are the extensive investigation files of the ZdL and the LG-Mü I, together with the numerous statements by former subcamp detainees and citizens of Haunstetten, with whom the author spoke. Jan Kosinski’s book *Man zahlt jeden erlebten Tag (Liczył się każdy przeżyty dzień)* (Kraków, 1980) is the author’s account of those times.

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NOTES

1. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, BA-L IV 410 AR-Z 143/75.
2. Ibid.
3. Nikolai Salivadnij in a conversation with the author.
4. Franz Olah, 1983, in a conversation with the author.
5. Wilhelm Reitzmayr, on March 17, 1984, in a conversation with the author.
6. Ernst Rauter, on December 3, 1983, in a conversation with the author.
7. “Augsburg Bericht,” *SchwLZ*, July 25, 1947.
8. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, Zentrale Stelle; Statement by Hans Willi Lackner, March 18, 1974, to the Bavarian State Police.
9. ZdL, Schlussvermerk.
10. Ibid.
11. Private Archive, Hans Grimminger, chronicler of the air raids on Augsburg.
12. ZdL, Schlussvermerk.

HAUSHAM (MEN)

Two subcamps of the concentration camp Dachau were located in Hausham, Upper Bavaria: one for male and one for female inmates. The male inmates from Dachau were employed at the estate Unter- und Vordereckart 23, which was used as a SS-Kameradschafts- und Erholungsheim (Comradeship and Rest Home). The building, originally a vacation home for the working class, had been taken over by the SA in 1933 and was later rented from its private owner by the Dachau concentration camp. From then on, it was used as SS-Kameradschaftsheim Vordereckart.

Between 4 and 14 male prisoners were held there, most of whom were craftsmen. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), inmates were employed at Hausham from

July 9, 1942, on, but more detailed records only exist for the period from March 1944 on. At that time, the Dachau administration applied with the local authorities in Miesbach for the permission to build a barn for small farm animals, and information was provided that the work would be done by inmates of the camp. The prisoners also worked as masons and carpenters, laid water main pipes, and began laying the foundations for an air-raid shelter.

According to witnesses, the inmates were accommodated in a barnlike building and were guarded by only one guard. One can assume that the male inmates, like the female inmates of the neighboring property at Ober- und Hintereckart 24, enjoyed relative freedom.

The subcamp is mentioned for the last time on April 26, 1945, as containing four male inmates. On April 29, 1945, Hausham was liberated by the U.S. Army.

SOURCES Information regarding the construction activities at the property in 1944 can be found at BHStA-(M), BPL Miesbach, 1944/40. Fragmentary records on the subcamp Hausham are to be found in AG-D, among others, the strength reports (*Stärkemeldungen*) for April 3, 1945 (DaA 404) and April 26, 1945 (DaA 32789). ZdL investigations were filed under the designator BA-L IV 410 AR 31/ 73. The files contain various statements by witnesses, among them the one by Gustav R. regarding the accommodations of the inmates, from June 4, 1974.

The Hausham camp is described by Johannes Wrobel in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), 2: 344–346. It is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:71.

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HAUSHAM (WOMEN)

The history of the Hausham subcamp is not completely clear. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog, a subcamp of Ravensbrück at that location is first mentioned in a document dated October 27, 1943, and last mentioned on November 30, 1943. It next appears in the records as a subcamp of Dachau, beginning with a document dated October 5, 1944, and last mentioned on April 25, 1945. Since neither the number nor the composition of the prisoner population changed between its last mention as a Ravensbrück subcamp and its first as a Dachau subcamp, and since the work the prisoners did also remained the same, one may assume that this subcamp continued to exist between November 1943 and October 1944 and that it changed jurisdictions at that latter date, like so many other Ravensbrück subcamps—but that can only be an assumption without further documentary evidence.

The camp was located on a former farm at Ober- und Hintereckart 24, which the SS had acquired after the outbreak of the war. The camp held approximately 10 women, all of them Jehovah's Witnesses: 1 woman came from Belgium, 2 from Poland, 3 from Germany, and 4 from the Netherlands.

The camp was created to supply workers for Amtsgruppe W V (Land-, Forst und Fischwirtschaft) of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The “Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung GmbH” German Experimental Institute for Nutrition and Provisions, Ltd., (DVA), which was in charge of agricultural enterprises undertaken at various concentration camps (such as Dachau and Ravensbrück), fell under the jurisdiction of Amtsgruppe W V. However, survivors of the camp report that the inmates were not employed working for the DVA's specific tasks of testing new crops or breeding animals but did rather normal farm- and housework. In winter, they were also used for digging snow at the property. Survivors also report that in winter 1944–1945 they had to cut down a tree, using only the most primitive tools.

As Jehovah's Witnesses, the women enjoyed a number of privileges: They were allowed to wear their own clothes, to read the Bible secretly, and to secretly meet local Jehovah's Witnesses for services on Sundays. The farm manager also allowed secret visits of relatives and correspondence of the inmates with relatives and friends. Former Hausham inmate Frieda Hopp reported that there was at least one female SS guard (Aufseherin) who oversaw her work. But after the inmates complained that she treated them too harshly, she was replaced by an unnamed SS officer who was much more lenient, even working together with the inmates. Repeatedly, the officer and a male inmate who accompanied him brought food, clothes, and letters for the women from their friends incarcerated in Dachau.

The last report regarding the Hausham subcamp is listed in the Dachau files for April 26, 1945. Hausham and its 10 prisoners were liberated by the U.S. Army on April 29. On May 8, the women returned to their homes; in a letter to the farm manager, they expressed gratitude for his treatment of them.

SOURCES Primary and secondary source material on the Hausham subcamp is limited. Information on the Dachau subcamp at Hausham in this entry can be found in Kerstin Engelhardt, “Frauen im Konzentrationslager Dachau,” *DaHe* 14 (1998): 218–244 (see esp. pp. 229–230). Some information on the Hausham camp can also be found in Detlef Garbe, *Zwischen Widerstand und Martyrium. Die Zeugen Jehovas im „Dritten Reich“* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1999), p. 457; and in Erhard Klein, *Jehovas Zeugen im KZ Dachau. Geschichtliche Hintergründe und Erlebnisberichte* (Bielefeld: Buchhandlung Edeltraudt Mindt, 2001), p. 90. For a brief outline of the camp, including opening and closing dates, kind of prisoner work, employer, and so on, see both the Dachau and Ravensbrück entries for Hausham in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979). For background information on the DVA, see Jan Erik Schulte, *Zwangarbeit und Vernichtung: Das Wirtschaftsimperium der SS: Oswald Pohl und das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt 1933–1945* (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 2001); and Wolfgang Jacobeit, *Die biologisch-dynamische Wirtschaftsweise im KZ: Die Güter der „Deutschen Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung“ der SS von 1939 bis 1945* (Berlin: Trafo, 1999). Survivor Frieda

Hopp's report can be found in GAZJ in Selters/Taunus, Memo NL December 31, 2002, February 21, 2003, and April 29, 2003. The camp is also described by Johannes Wrobel in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Friike Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), pp. 344–346.

Primary sources on the Hausham subcamp of Ravensbrück are equally scarce. See File IV 410 AR 31/73 at the ZdL (now BA-L) for information on the Dachau subcamp at Hausham. The AG-R could also contain pertinent files and reports from former inmates that may provide additional information on the Hausham camp.

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HEIDENHEIM

The subcamp probably came into being on October 20, 1941, on the site of the Heidenheim Police School as a station for a 50-man-strong work detail from Dachau concentration camp. The prisoners were required by the commander of the Police School, Polizeimajor Erich Petrasch, to do work for the school that had already been delayed since the summer of 1939 due to the general labor shortage. This work entailed the completion of the so-called Schlosshau settlement nearby as well as its interior outfitting, which was to house police officers and their families (nine buildings with 33 apartments), and the installation of the required drainage connections (which because of the topography—the Police School was located on a hill—was rather complicated). After a winter with heavy snowfall when the prisoners were also deployed for weeks to clear the snow in the town, they were additionally required to build in the forest near the Police School a double-track, 330-meter-long (361-yard-long) shooting gallery suitable for machine-gun training.

During this time, the prisoners were under contract with the Ulm construction company Rapp & Schüle. They were housed in a wooden barrack behind one of the police officers' buildings at the school. The barrack and a small grass area in front, which served as the roll-call area, were surrounded by a simple barbed-wire fence. The prisoners were exclusively guarded by police trainees. There was only one SS man on location: he was the detachment leader and had been sent from Dachau. The windows of the barrack were barred with barbed wire. The barrack was divided into sleeping and living quarters, storage, and a toilet and washroom, which the prisoners in the first few weeks had to install themselves. At night it was forbidden to leave the barrack. There were no guard towers, search lights, and so on. However, there were also no escape attempts.

The detachment comprised men who were skilled in the work required: bricklayers, stove fitters, roof layers, electricians, tilers, painters, as well as gardeners. According to estimates of a former prisoner, there were about 15 to 20 skilled tradesmen, and the rest were deployed as laborers.

There were two Kapos (one for external and one for internal work) and an orderly. All the prisoner-functionaries were

Germans and "political" (red triangle). In all, there were only 3 among the 50 male prisoners who were not "reds": a "green" (PSV, or Police Security Custody); a "black" (AZR, Reich Forced Labor); and a pink triangle, the latter a hairdresser who was also the detachment leader's (Kommandoführer's) cleaner. There were no Jews (yellow triangle).

Except for six Poles and a Slovenian, the detachment consisted of Germans. On the one hand, this probably reflected the then-prisoner structure at Dachau and, on the other hand, that the Heidenheim detachment was seen as a "good" subcamp, the result of which was that prisoners who worked in the Dachau labor allocation office sent "their" people to the subcamp.

According to the aforementioned witness, there was only one change in the composition before the camp was closed. When the Kommandoführer went on leave in April 1942, he took with him back to Dachau three prisoners, two Germans and a Pole. The Pole was taken because he was to be released for unknown reasons. The Germans were taken because they had been involved in accidents and injured and were therefore no longer of use to the detachment. (One had broken his arm while working with a jackhammer, and the other had lost four fingers through a steel rope attached to a winch). The SS leader, appointed as deputy, brought with him three other Poles from Dachau as substitutes for these workers. The strength of the detachment thus did not alter. The two injured prisoners are said to have later died in Dachau, in the infirmary. There were no deaths in Heidenheim.

The SS detachment leader in charge was Oberscharführer Josef Ruder, who was promoted on May 1, 1942, while he was at Heidenheim, to Hauptscharführer. Born in 1910 in a Bavarian village, he came from a very impoverished family. During the Great Depression (1931), he joined the Nazi Party and SS because he saw the opportunity for a career. From April 1934 he was a guard at the Dachau concentration camp. Among others, he was in charge of Pfeffermühle (Pepper Mill) at the Plantage (Plantation) in Dachau; Heidenheim was his only self-supporting subcamp. He was married and had three children. His family, however, remained at Dachau. Called up in 1943, he was captured by the Americans in 1945 in Salzburg. He was not, however, recognized as a member of the SS and thus was able to escape. For a period he lived under an assumed name. He was merely fined following denazification proceedings. Two former Dachau prisoners had reportedly spoken up for him; this is perfectly believable because the hearings of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg also heard almost solely positive statements about him.

In any case, at Heidenheim there were no instances of serious mistreatment, punishment roll calls, punishment reports being sent to Dachau, or the like. Definitely one of the reasons for this was that Ruder as an SS man was responsible to himself and that, likewise, the police students were not expected to act with brutality. In any event, any inhumane treatment of the prisoners would have made the work difficult, since daily work was routinely performed without

difficulties; in addition, the school's close proximity to the townspeople of Heidenheim made the camp's goings-on clearly visible.

Besides Ruder, there was for a short time, in the first week or two, when the detachment was new, another Kommandoführer, Josef Remmle. He was born in 1903, also in Bavaria. He was a farmer's son and joined the Nazi Party in 1929 and the SS in 1932. He was based in Dachau from 1933, later became a work deployment leader and roll-call leader, and was in charge of a number of different subcamps, for example, Freimann and Bad Tölz. From September 1942 to the end of 1944, he was the roll-call leader in Auschwitz III-Monowitz and in command of a number of Auschwitz subcamps (e.g., Jawischowitz). He was then transferred to the Personnel Department of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in Berlin and was finally based at the SS-Camp Mysen in Norway, where he was arrested in July 1945 by British troops. Found guilty of several counts of murder committed in Dachau, he was sentenced to death on September 15, 1947, and executed in 1948 in Landesberg.

Viewed superficially, the life of the prisoners in Heidenheim was, of course, no different to life in Dachau. However, its great distance from the main camp, the small size of its detachment, and the supply of food from the Police School brought, indeed, a decided improvement in living standards. The morning roll call, for example, lasted a few minutes. There was none at lunchtime or in the evening. Ruder simply stood at the gate in the fence and counted the prisoners, as if he was counting sheep who were being herded back into a pen. When not working, the prisoners were left to themselves. Ruder had his quarters on the second floor of the barrack opposite the camp. The elevation of the camp was lower than Ruder's barrack so that he could look into the camp. If there was a commotion, he simply yelled to the prisoners that they had to settle down. Otherwise, he did not worry about them. If someone had to go to the doctor or dentist, because the orderly could not assist within his limited capabilities, occasionally Ruder himself drove the person into town.

Basically, the prisoners got the same food as the police students in their canteen. When the chief cook once tried to reduce the bread ration (one piece of bread for three days instead of four, as in Dachau), Ruder intervened by referring to the contract with Rapp & Schüle.

A Slovenian prisoner reported one act of resistance. He stated that during the construction of the shooting gallery, which required extensive earthworks, he unscrewed a retaining screw with the result that a steel rope that secured a small railway goods wagon suddenly gave way. The engine and the wagons raced uncontrollably downhill, where they eventually crashed. The motive, however, had probably more to do with the desire for a break than a specific act of sabotage.

In 1980 a wall tile was discovered in a tiled stove at the Schlosshau settlement that had been hidden by three concentration camp prisoners (stove fitter, painter, and tiler) while

working. Under the inscription "Urkunde" it has details about their imprisonment.

The camp was dissolved in two stages even before the shooting gallery was finished. Thirty prisoners were withdrawn on October 29, 1942, and then the remainder on November 25 or 26, 1942.

SOURCES In addition to the scant details in the ITS, there are available in print only a report by Slovenian prisoner Jože Hamersak, "Stiri leta po taboriscih," in *Dachau—zbornik*, ed. Bojan Ajdic et al. (Ljubljana: Založba Borec, 1981), pp. 291–299; and the work by Alfred Hoffmann, *Verschwunden, aber nicht vergessen: KZ-Nebenlager in der Polizeischule Heidenheim* (Heidenheim, 1996).

The ASt-HDH holds a few scattered documents that refer to the existence of the subcamp, as do the files of the Police School (HStAS E 151/03 Büschel 294 and 295); more explicit information was obtained from the statements of various prisoners given to the ZdL (BA-L IV 410 AR 1209/69) and especially from interviews that the author was able to conduct in 1995 with former Polish prisoner Jan Namyslak and camp commandant Ruder. Particulars on Ruder and Remmle are held by BA-DH (formerly BDC).

Alfred Hoffmann
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

INNSBRUCK (SS-SONDERLAGER)

[AKA AUFFANGLAGER INNSBRUCK, REICHENAU]

Innsbruck was located in the Reichsgau Tirol, 99 kilometers (61.5 miles) to the south of Munich and 138 kilometers (85.7 miles) west-southwest of Salzburg. For the short period of two days, during the evacuation of the Dachau concentration camp, some prominent prisoners were held here. A number of prisoners also came from other German concentration camps.

The first mention of the Innsbruck SS-Sonderlager (Special Camp) is found for April 24, 1945; the last, for the next day, April 25, 1945 (Albert Knoll gives the dates April 26 to 27 instead). Inmates were taken by trucks (other sources: buses) to the camp, which was on the grounds of the former *Arbeitserziehungslager* (work education camp) Reichenau at the southern edge of Innsbruck. The group consisted of 137 prisoners and their family members, 106 men and 31 women and children from 16 European nations. Apparently, the plan was to keep these prominent personalities as hostages and to take them from Innsbruck to an inaccessible hiding place in the Alps. Among them were French prime minister Leon Blum and his wife; a nephew of Winston Churchill; Prince Friedrich Leopold of Prussia; German industrialist Fritz Thyssen and his wife, who had left Germany in 1933 and had been arrested after the occupation of France; Italian general Giuseppe Garibaldi and his staff officers; Hungarian minister president Miklós Horthy; and relatives of Claus Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg and Friedrich Goerdeler, General Franz Halder (former chief of staff of the German Army), and General Georg Thomas, all of whom had been implicated in the assassination attempt on

Hitler in July 20, 1944. Other inmates were the former military commander in Belgium and northern France, Alexander Freiherr von Wartenhausen, and former Austrian chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg, with his wife and children.

During the transport and during their stay at the Sonderlager, the prisoners were guarded by SS under Obersturmführer Edgar Stiller. The guards apparently were SS men from Austria or Lithuania. While the majority of the inmates were kept at the Arbeitserziehungslager, some male prisoners apparently were kept at hotel Schillerhof in Innsbruck-Mühlau.

Survivors describe some details about the camp: Food was scarce, so additional delivery of bread was arranged by the Innsbruck bishop. The guards, many of whom had done service in concentration camps before, had the prisoners do punishment exercises in the morning.

The next morning (April 25), the group was taken in buses in a southern direction toward Brenner. On April 29, they arrived at Sommerhotel Prags am Wildsee, but the SS had left by then. On May 5, the inmates were liberated by the U.S. Army.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) discontinued its investigations in 1973, stating, among other reasons, that the witness statements had not pointed to acts of murder.

SOURCES Albert Knoll gives a description of the SS-Sonderlager in Innsbruck in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager; Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 353–355.

The Innsbruck SS-Sonderlager is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:73.

The ZdL investigations are to be found under the file designator BA-L, IV 410 AR 36/73. The file contains a number of witness statements. At AG-D, the unpublished memoirs of former inmate Paul Wauder (DaA 33678) describe the trip of the inmates to Innsbruck. Two books deal with the fate of these prominent prisoners and their travels at the end of the war: Jørgen L.F. Mogensen, *Die grosse Geiselnahme—Letzter Akt 1945* (Copenhagen, 1997); and Captain S. Payne Best, *The Venlo Incident* (London, 1951).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

INNSBRUCK I

The Dachau subcamp Innsbruck I was located in the Reichsgau (Nazi Party province) Tirol, 99 kilometers (61.5 miles) to the south of Munich and 138 kilometers (85.7 miles) west-southwest of Salzburg.

Male prisoners were held here from no later than October 13, 1942 (the first time the camp is mentioned) and were used by the German Highway Construction Office (Reichsstrassenbauamt). For the Construction Administration of the Waffen-SS and Police, they worked, among other projects, on the SS-Hochgebirgsschule (Mountain School) Neustift.

The last mention of Innsbruck I was found for April 25, 1945.

SOURCES The subcamp Innsbruck I is found in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:73.

Sporadic information about the subcamp Innsbruck I is located in AG-D.

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KARLSFELD [AKA KARLSFELD OT]

There was a subcamp of Dachau in the Bavarian town of Karlsfeld. It was established on July 11, 1944, when a number of barracks of the München-Allach subcamp were separated by a fence and established as an independent camp under the name “OT-Lager Karlsfeld.” Like Karlsfeld-Rothschwaige, Karlsfeld also was subordinate to the München-Allach (BMW) complex, whose commander was in charge of all three camps.

On-site, on July 17, 1944, SS-Hauptscharführer Johann Kastner became the camp commander, but he was replaced by SS-Hauptscharführer Leopold Meyer whom the inmates feared because of his brutality. Meyer later was posted to Mühldorf in February 1945, and it is not clear who was in charge of the subcamp after that date.

According to survivor statements, the camp held approximately 750 prisoners, mostly Jews from Romania and Hungary. For a while, Willi Schulz was the Lagerältester (camp elder), and a list from August 1944 names 22 prisoner-functionaries, some of whom were Jewish. Camp Kapo Christoph Knoll was infamous for his brutality, especially toward Jewish inmates. Prisoner physicians were the inmates Dr. Hermann Kessler, Dr. Imre Wirtmann, Dr. Johann Sándor, and Dr. Vilmos Barszony; the Kapo in the infirmary was Ludwig Mayrhofer.

Under the auspices and control of the Dachau Higher Construction Office of the Organisation Todt (OT), prisoners were put to work in different detachments. The majority of the inmates helped to repair the train tracks at Karlsfeld station after they had fallen victim to an air raid. Other inmates were used to build bunkers for Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) in the Sager & Wörner work detachment, named after the company that was in charge of the construction work. Both detachments experienced very severe working conditions, proof of which can be seen in the fact that between mid-September and the end of November 1944, 36 dead inmates from Karlsfeld were sent back to Dachau. In fall of 1944, only a few months after the camp was erected, a selection took place, and all inmates who were sick or incapable of working were taken to Auschwitz to be gassed. In February 1945, 120 to 150 inmates fell victim to another selection. As Albert Knoll and Sabine Schalm point out, it is impossible to establish how many inmates died in the Karlsfeld camp. Stefan Lason, former inmate and assistant record keeper in the camp, stated after the war that inmates who died in the

camp were only registered as transferred back to Dachau. Therefore, statistics of the Dachau main camp register fewer than 20 deaths in the subcamp itself.

Records show the presence of women in the subcamp. In November 1944, a Dachau strength report lists 1,046 female inmates for Karlsfeld, but they only remained for two days and were then transferred to Ravensbrück. Knoll and Schalm point out that this report might be based upon a confusion with the Karlsfeld-Rothschwaige subcamp. In Karlsfeld, women were only registered again in April 1945, when a transport of 191 women arrived there from the Geislingen subcamp.

During the last days of the war, the already crowded Karlsfeld camp became the target of a number of evacuation marches like that from Geislingen. For instance, on April 20 the male inmates of the Überlingen subcamp arrived in Karlsfeld. On April 25, prisoners were evacuated by train to the south and were liberated on May 1, 1945, in Stalbach.

Among the prisoners was a detachment that on or after July 31, 1944, had been transferred from Karlsfeld-Rothschwaige to Karlsfeld.

After the war, a number of former guards were tried, mostly during the Dachau Trials. Meyer was sentenced to life in prison there but was released in 1962. Kastner was sentenced to death but released in 1950. Knoll was sentenced to death and executed in Landsberg in May 1946. Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) took place in 1973 and 1975. Investigations against former Kapo Josef Zapf were called off in 1977.

SOURCES For a detailed description of the camp, see the essay by Albert Knoll and Sabine Schalm in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 355–358.

The Karlsfeld subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:74. Zdenek Zofka's article "Allach-Sklaven für BMW: Zur Geschichte eines Aussenlagers des KZ Dachau," *DaHe* 2 (1986): 68–78, gives a short overview of the multitude of other camps of various categories in the Karlsfeld area but does not provide details about the Karlsfeld subcamp.

The ZdL investigations are to be found in BA-L under the file designator IV 410 AR 705/69. Some archival information on the camp can be found in the following locations: NARA, RG 153 B 205 F 03 (statement by former detachment commander Albert Büchl), RG 338 B 315 F 09 (statement by inmate Ernest Landau), RG 338 B 315 F 13–15 (statement by former inmate Philipp Katz), and RG 338 B 301 F 03 (statement by Max Weinert). Also the AG-D holds some survivor statements and other information, among them DaA A 118 (statement by Simon Hirsch), transfer lists to and from the camp (DaA 35672, 35675–35677), and strength reports (A 82). The investigations of the Staatsanwaltschaft Munich against former Kapo Zepf can be found at Sta. Mü, signature Stanw 34814/1-2.

Max Mannheimer, a survivor of the camp, describes his experiences in *Spätes Tagebuch. Theresienstadt—Auschwitz—Warschau—Dachau* (Zürich, 2000).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

KARLSFELD-ROTHSCHWAIGE

[AKA ROTHSCHWAIGE]

A Dachau subcamp was located in the Bavarian town of Karlsfeld-Rothschwaige. It is mentioned for the first time on June 19, 1944. The camp was closed on July 31, 1944. The inmates were transferred to the Karlsfeld subcamp.

The prisoners worked for the Dachau Higher Construction Office of the Organisation Todt (OT).

Despite its closure, Rothschwaige continued to be mentioned in the Dachau Change Reports up to February 16, 1945.

SOURCES ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 74; mentions the subcamp Karlsfeld-Rothschwaige.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

KAUFBEUREN

In the spring of 1944, the spinning wheels in the Mechanische Baumwollspinnerei und Weberei Kaufbeuren (Mechanical Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mill, Kaufbeuren) were pushed aside. Instead, lathes and other machines were installed so that BMW (Bayerische Motoren Werke) could use the factory to manufacture propeller axles, planet wheel mountings (*Planetartradträger*), and lead-bronze bearings for fighter aircraft. The majority of the labor force, at times about 600 men, consisted of concentration camp prisoners. The subcamp existed in Kaufbeuren from May 23, 1944, to April 15, 1945.¹

Not all the prisoners worked for BMW. A group of about 15 to 20 men had to march each day to work in the not-too-distant Altbau Weaving Mill. The company Formholz, housed there, manufactured prefabricated parts out of veneer and paste for Messerschmitt airplanes. In addition to Germans, there were numerous French women and other female foreign workers, as these foreign labor forces were called in those days. The women could move freely in Kaufbeuren and procured many provisions for their concentration camp colleagues, who were dressed in striped uniforms. The prisoners were also used to construct a road in front of the mill to unload goods trains, dig air shelters, pour concrete, and occasionally help out on the farms.²

All the prisoners were accommodated in one of the upper levels of the spinning mill premises. It was difficult and dangerous to go up and down. There was a zigzag set of stairs on the exterior wall of the building. In the large rooms, which were the sleeping quarters, there were two-tiered bunk beds (some prisoners have spoken of three-tiered beds). The windows were barred. The prisoners worked in two 12-hour shifts. The camp personnel—the camp elder, the prisoner-functionaries, as well as the men working in the kitchen—had all been chosen by the commandant's office in Dachau.³

The 35 to 40 guards were army, naval, and air force soldiers who were no longer able to serve at the front. They

were sent to the SS without any say on their part. The camp commandant was SS-Sturmführer Wilhelm Becker, supposedly a farmer from Westphalia. In an interview in 1969 at the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, the following was said about him: "He was described by the witnesses that we questioned as very humane and obliging, as someone who had done no harm to any prisoner. The prisoners made no complaints about the subcamp at Kaufbeuren." Because of the consistent statements of the witnesses that the prisoners had been treated humanely and that there were no excesses and wrongful deaths, the judicial authorities ceased further investigations in 1975.⁴

Nevertheless, some prisoners at Kaufbeuren were beaten. There were also men who made life difficult for the prisoners. According to a statement in a letter by a former prisoner from Berlin, Bruno Jacob, "In the first few weeks the camp elder was one from the Foreign Legion. . . . We were successful in getting rid of this despotic man, who tried to exceed the SS in cruelty. . . . He was then replaced by Comrade Kurt Brenner, a former Social Democrat."⁵

Brenner's appointment gave the prisoners respite. The camp elder, who wore a black armband, did not have to work. Each morning and evening he had to report to the SS report leader (Rapportführer) and state how many prisoners formed up. In addition, he had to take care that everything in the camp ran according to plan. He frequently inspected the prisoners at work and took pains that the prisoners of very different nationalities and background worked together well and encouraged prisoners who were bitter or depressed. According to Brenner, there were difficulties with only a few prisoner-functionaries who wanted favors, such as getting an additional cauldron of noodles on Sundays. Brenner would not cooperate. "I wanted all the prisoners to be treated equally." He saved his pink notebook from the SS work camp. Apart from the names of the prisoners, it contains their nationalities: Germans, Czechs, Poles, Serbs, Yugoslavs, Slovenes, Italians, French, Dutch, Belgians, Latvians, Spaniards, Russians, Luxemburgers, Greeks, a Swiss, and a stateless man. The most numerous prisoners in Kaufbeuren were Russians, French, and Poles. The individual groups stayed especially close with one another and were prepared to share generously with each other when they occasionally received packages of food. Secretly a Communist group was formed in the Kaufbeuren camp.⁶

On April 9, 1945, there was a successful escape from Kaufbeuren. Six foreigners and a German managed to escape. Apparently some French female foreign workers had procured civilian clothes for the men. One of the escapees was German Kurt Ziergiebel. Later he would become a well-known author in the former German Democratic Republic.⁷

There is an unusual testimony that gives details about life and suffering in the Kaufbeuren camp. A few French prisoners were able to rescue notes about those months. Others recorded later what memories they had of the time spent in the camp. The journalist Fabien Lacombe, one of these prisoners, compiled all these memories and published them in a book.

Here he described how former resistance fighters awaiting the end of the war were anxious "to give the appearance that they were working as hard as possible but producing as little as possible." There were also acts of sabotage in Kaufbeuren. The most successful was in the X-ray Laboratory, a windowless room in which the covers of the lead and copper alloys of the manufactured parts of an airplane were checked. This essential and irreplaceable installation finally exploded in a sabotage operation in which Lacombe himself was involved. It was a long time before the x-ray equipment could again resume operation.⁸

There were a number of instances in Kaufbeuren in which prisoners were beaten, but these were the exceptions. The "Crocodile," the camp commandant SS-Untersturmführer Wilhelm Becker,⁹ stopped the attacks when he became aware of them. However, Lacombe has accused two civilian masters of "inhuman behavior": "No one can forget the fanatical master Meier, who inexorably forced the prisoners to do the most difficult work, who constantly bellowed, who threatened to kill the prisoners, who approached the SS, wrote down the numbers of those who seemed to him to be most recalcitrant, and who hated the French."¹⁰

In Kaufbeuren, prisoners tried to establish a cultural life despite their hard-pressed situation. Lacombe reports about a Christmas celebration in 1944. Christmas carols were sung, and despite the ban on political songs, issued by the command of the camp, the Russian group loudly sang "The International." French and Belgians followed with the "La Marseillaise" and the song of the partisans. A "Gypsy" played his violin, Ukrainians imitated a jazz band, and a juggler and acrobat from Tiflis danced Cossack and Mongolian dances.¹¹

According to Lacombe, a few French threatened to crack up in February 1945. A group called the "Klub der Fussshaken" (Cleats Club) was formed with the goal to entertain the prisoners and to improvise theatrical performances so as to distract the prisoners who were at risk of depression.¹² Time and again the "Gypsy" had to play his violin made from wood taken from boxes, which had strings procured from "outside," and SS men provided the strings for the bow because they wanted to listen to evening concerts in their guard room. Finally, there was in the camp the Italian Mazetti, a tenor from La Scala in Milan. On several evenings he sang Mozart arias. Lacombe stated, "During the day he was locked in with others in the compression chamber where the noise was unbearable—to watch its proper functioning. Gradually he lost his hearing and his reason."¹³

At the end of March 1945, deliveries of chrome-nickel-steel rings, essential for production in Kaufbeuren, came to a halt. The prisoners became redundant. The camp commandant delayed their transport. The prisoners suspected that he and his staff preferred to surrender to the advancing Americans. The masters, however, tried desperately to get trucks so that they could get away. They feared the consequences of their acts of terror after liberation.¹⁴ On April 14, the commandant ordered that all the straw sacks infected with lice

were to be carried to a field. A day later the majority of the prisoners were taken to the railway station and loaded onto cattle trucks. The journey was dramatic and ended in Allach.¹⁵

SOURCES The camp is described in Gernot Römer's book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984), pp. 129–135.

Primary sources for this camp begin with the book by Fabien Lacombe, *Kommando Kaufbeuren, Aussenlager von Dachau 1944–45: Ein Memorial*, ed. Anton Brenner (Blöcktach: Verlag an der Säge, 1995). The book has at the end a few poems from former Kaufbeuren prisoners. Additional sources include the Schlussvermerk by ZdL (in BA-L), documents in AG-D, and especially the interview with former camp elder Kurt Brenner.

Gernot Römer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, BA-L, IV 410 AR 705/69.
2. Descriptions given in conversations with the author by the camp elder Kurt Brenner in 1984, as well as by a former employee of the firm who does not want to be mentioned by name.
3. Brenner interview.
4. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, BA-L, IV 410 AR 705/69.
5. AG-D, 8826.
6. Brenner interview.
7. Letter to the author by the former prisoner H. Ziergabel, May 6, 1984.
8. Fabien Lacombe, *Kommando Kaufbeuren, Aussenlager von Dachau 1944–45: Ein Memorial*, ed. Anton Brenner (Blöcktach: Verlag an der Säge, 1995), pp. 21, 45.
9. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, BA-L, IV 410 AR 705/69.
10. Lacombe, *Kommando Kaufbeuren*, pp. 39–41.
11. Ibid., pp. 70–74, 78–79; Kurt Brenner has also told the author of cultural activities.
12. Lacombe, p. *Kommando Kaufbeuren*, p. 72.
13. Ibid., p. 61.
14. Letter by Bruno Jacob May 15, 1968, AG-D, 6390.
15. Lacombe, *Kommando Kaufbeuren*, pp. 90–92.

KAUFERING I–XI

Goods wagons with 1,000 Hungarian Jewish men from Auschwitz arrived on June 18, 1944, at the Kaufering railway station. Kaufering is a village about 5 kilometers (3 miles) from Landsberg am Lech, in Upper Bavaria. Two prisoners had not survived the transport.¹ The SS guards drove the concentration camp prisoners into the nearby camp Kaufering I (it was later renamed Kaufering III). Already there were 22 prisoner-functionaries from the Dachau main camp in Kaufering. The first of the Dachau Kaufering subcamps was thus opened. Ten additional camps would exist by the end of 1944 in the area around Landsberg am Lech—some for men and some for women. By the end of April 1945, 30,000 people would be held in this complex; the Kaufering subcamp system was the



The entrance gate at the Kaufering IV, Hurlach, subcamp of Dachau, April 27–30, 1945.

USHMM WS # 00324, COURTESY OF JULIEN SAKS

largest of the Dachau subcamps. Monsignore Jules Jost, himself a political prisoner in the Dachau main camp, was the clerk at the Dachau Registry from June 18, 1944, to March 9, 1945. He recorded exactly 28,838 Jewish prisoners in the Kaufering camps. It is probable that even after March 9, 1945, transports were sent to the Kaufering camps. The handwritten notes remained in his private possession.

From the beginning of 1944, Allied bombs had caused heavy damage to the German aircraft industry, which led to a decline in production by up to two-thirds. The so-called Jägerstab (Fighter Staff), a group of representatives from the Ministry of Armaments and War Production, the Air Ministry, and the aircraft industry, hoped to win back German air supremacy by maintaining and increasing the production of fighter planes.

For this purpose, fighter-plane production would be placed in bomb-secure production facilities—that is, they would be placed underground. The existing underground facilities, natural caves, mines, and tunnels, were little suited for this purpose, and new concrete bunkers with several hundred thousand square meters offered optimal production facilities. Planned were six concrete bunkers in which the fighter plane and the first jet fighter, the Messerschmitt (Me) 262, would be placed in serial production. In fact, production of only four concrete bunkers was begun, three at Landsberg am Lech and one at Mühldorf am Inn, Upper Bavaria.

The Organisation Todt (OT), which was controlled by the Armaments Ministry, was in charge of the building project. Hitler himself ordered that the project be given the highest priority. The head of the OT Operations Group Six, responsible for four of the bunkers, was Professor Hermann Giesler, an architect and a personal friend of Hitler's. He was also the brother of Munich Gauleiter Paul Giesler. Contracts were entered into with construction companies. In the Landsberg area, there were the firms Leonhard Moll, Philipp Holzmann,

and Karl Stöhr; these, in turn, entered into a number of sub-contracts with smaller firms.

Due to the shortage of labor forces, the OT reached for the last labor reserve, what was left of European Jewry. Hitler himself gave permission to bring the Jews back into Germany, which in 1942 had been officially declared to be "clean of Jews." Economic reasons seemed to conquer ideological convictions.

The Jews that were transported to the 11 Kaufering camps to build the bunkers were survivors of the Polish and Lithuanian ghettos, but most were Hungarian and Romanian Jews, with smaller groups of other European Jews from countries such as Holland, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and the Island of Rhodes. In about 10 months, approximately 30,000 prisoners, including 4,200 women and 850 children, went through the Kaufering subcamps. One of the peculiarities of the Kaufering subcamps was the birth of seven babies in the subcamp Kaufering I in the spring of 1945.² The mothers, Hungarian Jews, conceived the children shortly before they were deported, and at the time they were selected in Auschwitz, there were no visible signs of pregnancy.

The composition of the camps varied: in the larger camps, between 3,000 and 4,000 people were detained at times; only a few hundred were held in the smaller camps. The camps were located in the vicinity of Landsberg (Kaufering I, II, VII, and XI), near Kaufering (Kaufering III), near Hurlach (Kaufering IV), near Utting am Ammersee (Kaufering V and X), near Türkheim (Kaufering VI), and near Seestall and Obermeitingen (Kaufering VIII and IX). They came into existence between June 1944 and December 1944. No preparations were made to erect the camps. Many times the first prisoner transports had to build primitive earth huts, which were built halfway underground so that only the roof was to be seen, or they built plywood tents. The accommodation was totally unsuitable for the weather conditions, as the earth-covered roofs quickly admitted the rain and the snow. The huts also became the home for vermin.

Responsibility for the construction of the camp—and this was a peculiarity of the Kaufering subcamps—lay not with the SS but with the OT, which took over responsibility for the prisoners' food and medical care. It attempted to achieve the maximum work effort with the minimum of expense. The meager rations were reduced because of theft on the part of the SS guards. Ill prisoners received less food, as they could no longer work. Noon rations were not distributed in the camps but on the building sites. This had the result that a few of the sick prisoners dragged themselves to work so as at least to get something to eat.

The SS personnel in the command positions mostly came from the concentration and death camps such as Auschwitz and Lublin-Majdanek. Notable is that of the 46 SS commanders who served in the period 1933–1945 as concentration camp commandants, 2 would end their careers at the Kaufering subcamp complex: Hans Aumeier and Otto Förschner. Aumeier, who was trained at Dachau, was in 1942–1943

the first "protective custody" camp leader in Auschwitz and commandant of the Vaivara concentration camp in Estland. From December 1944 to the end of January 1945, he was responsible for all of the Kaufering camps. His successor from February 1945 was Otto Förschner, who from January 1942 was commander of the guard battalions at the Buchenwald concentration camp and later commandant at Mittelbau/Nordhausen. The Kaufering camp doctor was SS-Hauptsturmführer Dr. Max Blancke. In 1940 he worked for the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL). He was stationed at the Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen concentration camps between 1941 and 1942. From 1942, he was at the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and thereafter was the medical officer in charge at the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) in Lublin. Among the camp leaders (Lagerführer) at Kaufering II was also SS-Hauptscharführer Otto Moll, who in Auschwitz II-Birkenau had been Block -und Kommandoführer. He had also been camp leader at the Auschwitz subcamps Fürstengrube and Gleiwitz. The first commandant of the Kaufering complex was SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Forster, who had already served in the Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald concentration camps as well as in the Kovno (Kauen) concentration camp and the ghetto and camp at Siauliai (Schaulen). In Schaulen, he was responsible for the so-called Children's Action (*Kinderaktion*) where in November 1943, 900 children from the Siauliai ghetto were deported and murdered. Blancke committed suicide at the end of the war; Aumeier was extradited to Poland and executed. In 1955, Forster died in Hessen under the pseudonym of Heinrich Reich, without ever having been prosecuted.³

The inadequate living conditions and work conditions resulted in the prisoners becoming physically incapacitated within a very short period of time. As a result, the SS and OT resorted to terror to achieve the work norms. One OT member noted that OT and construction company employees beat the prisoners without reason. The prisoners' main task was to build railway embankments for the supply railways as well as unloading cement sacks and dragging them to the depots or concrete mixers.

The poor health condition of the prisoners aroused attention. Many prisoners scratched open wounds caused by the vermin. An OT staff officer noted in December 1944: "In recent times the prisoners have been so mistreated that of the 17,600 prisoners presently cared for, only 8,319 were capable of work. This figure includes also those only capable of light work."⁴ Typhus, spotted fever, and tuberculosis were widespread. The companies complained to OT since they had to pay a fee for the prisoners even though the prisoners were not able to work. OT in turn approached the SS in Dachau and demanded the removal of prisoners who could not work. In September and October 1944, a total of 1,322 prisoners were selected and deported to Auschwitz, where they were gassed.⁵ They belonged to the last group gassed in the autumn of 1944 before the gassings ceased in November 1944 and the Auschwitz gas chambers were blown up.

In the middle and end of April 1945, most of the Kaufering camps were evacuated. It is possible that before this action, smaller camps had already been absorbed by the larger camps. Partly by foot, partly by rail, the prisoners arrived at Dachau. A few hundred were killed on the way during Allied air attacks. Some were freed in the Dachau concentration camp on April 28, 1945, but others were forced to go on a death march through Upper Bavaria and were only freed at the beginning of May. The camp Kaufering IV, which held prisoners who were incapable of transport, was set alight by the SS Dr. Blancke.

Approximately 1 in 2 of the 30,000 Kaufering prisoners died from epidemics, hunger, executions, deportation, and gassing in Auschwitz or on the death march. A commission, established in the early aftermath of the war, comprising representatives of survivors, the city and district of Landsberg, and institutions such as the International Red Cross, estimated the number of deaths at 14,500.

The appalling living conditions under which the prisoners had to live did not allow for the development of a cultural life or for any resistance. Nevertheless, survivors from the Lithuanian ghettos were successful in maintaining a certain continuity in the Kaufering camps: the Jewish elder from the ghetto at Kovno (Kauen), Dr. Elkhanan Elkes, was camp elder in one of the Kaufering camps. He died there. The handwritten illegal newspaper *Nitsots* (Spark), which had circulated in the ghettos, was also continued in Kaufering. The leadership in the Displaced Persons (DP) camp in Landsberg am Lech, which from May 1945 came into being in a former military barrack, came from the Lithuanian survivors of the Dachau subcamp Kaufering.

In the Dachau Trial, 40 SS members were tried before a U.S. military court. Many were sentenced to death. Among them were 9 members of the SS leadership of the Kaufering camps including Otto Förschner and Otto Moll. In several succeeding U.S. trials, members of the SS guards were sentenced to various periods of imprisonment.

The German Judicial Authorities held three trials against individuals, two of whom were prisoner-functionaries and themselves victims of the camps.⁶ Investigation by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in the middle of the 1970s did not result in any trials.

SOURCES The most comprehensive discussion on the Kaufering subcamp complex is to be found in Edith Raim's *Die Dachauer KZ-Aussenkommandos Kaufering und Mühldorf: Rüstungsbauten und Zwangsarbeit im letzten Kriegsjahr 1944/45* (Landsberg, 1992). The end of the Kaufering subcamps is also discussed by Andreas Wagner, *Todesmarsch: Die Räumung und Teilerfüllung der Konzentrationslager Dachau, Kaufering und Mühldorf Ende April 1945* (Ingolstadt, 1995); Jörg Wollenberg's "Letter to Debbie": *Die Befreiung des Dachauer KZ-Aussenlagers Landsberg-Kaufering* (Bremen, 2002) also deals with the topic. The illustrated book by Martin Paulus, Gerhard Zelger, and Edith Raim, *Ein Ort wie jeder andere: Bilder aus einer deutschen Kleinstadt; Landsberg 1923–1958* (Reinbek

bei Hamburg, 1995), focuses on Landsberg as the place where Hitler was imprisoned, the war crimes prison in Landsberg, the Kaufering subcamps, and the DP camp Landsberg. See also Gernot Römer, "Für die Vergessenen"—*KZ Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984), pp. 182, 196, for further information regarding Türkheim.

The most important document on the Kaufering camps is the *Camp Book Kaufering III* (Dachau Ledger) in the Jewish Museum, New York. Important sources are also the U.S. military trials in Dachau, including the Dachau Trial as well as investigations by U.S. JAG, which are held in NARA. Reports by survivors, transport lists, inventories, and several scattered documents are held in AG-D and APMO, as well as YVA. The investigations initiated by ZdL and handed over by the Sta. Augsburg to the StA-Augs survived only partially. Documents from the three German trials regarding offenses at the Kaufering camps are held in the StA-Augs and Sta. Mü. Survivors' reports are too numerous to be mentioned here separately. Mentioned here are only some of the books published in the last few years by former prisoners of the Kaufering camp: David Ben Dor, *The Darkest Chapter* (Edinburgh, 1996); Waldemar Ginsburg, *And Kovno Wept* (Laxton, 1999); Solly Ganor, *Das andere Leben. Kindheit im Holocaust* (Frankfurt am Main, 1997). DaHe constantly publishes reports by survivors.

Edith Raim
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Camp Book Kaufering III (Dachau Ledger) JM 114–73, Jewish Museum, New York.
2. The women are explicitly mentioned in a roll-call report dated April 29, 1945, AG-D, Nr. 993.
3. On Förscher and Moll, see Case 000-50-002, *US v. Martin Gottfried Weiss et al.*, NARA, RG 338. On Forster, see Sta. Oldenburg, 2 Js 20/64 and 2 Js 218/63, Best. 140–5 Acc. 38/1997 Nr. 462 and Best. 140–5 Acc. 38/1997 Nr. 459 I-III.
4. Note of the OT-Stabsfrontführer Buchmann dated December 6, 1944, Case 000-50-105 (Cases not tried), NARA, RG 338.
5. Transports List in AG-D, Nr. 1044.
6. Sta. Augsburg, 4 KJs 18/48, Sta-Augs; Sta. Augsburg Ks 1/50, Augs; Sta. München, Best. 34431, Sta. Mü.

KEMPTEN (*HELMUTH SACHSE KG*)

A subcamp of the Dachau concentration camp came into existence in Kempten as early as August 1943, when 100 prisoners arrived from the main camp in Kempten, the most important city of the Allgäu. One year earlier the Allgäu Spinnerei und Weberei (Allgäu Spinning and Weaving Mill) at 14 Kesel Strasse had ceased production. In its buildings there was sufficient room for the machines of the company Helmut Sachse KG, as well as for the prisoners and their guards. A high barbed-wire fence as well as watchtowers surrounded the site.¹

In April 1944 the camp was transferred to the nearby animal breeding hall. Willi Rühle, one of the prisoners, recalled later, "We lived as if in an arena." Beforehand, a stable

had been converted into a large washing room and equipped with toilets for the men. Their numbers grew finally to about 500 to 600. A sick bay was also arranged for in the animal breeding hall. There the not-so-serious cases were dealt with by a Polish doctor and a Yugoslav medical orderly. Anybody who fell seriously ill was sent back to Dachau.²

The animal breeding hall was easy to control. There were two entrances in front of which were sentries. Therefore, the building was not fenced. The approximately 50 guards were former air force soldiers who had been taken on by the SS. According to Rühle: "Though they had new uniforms they remained the same. Eighty percent of them were very okay."

Compared to other camps, the prisoners' food in Kempten appears to have been adequate. Rühle stated: "In Dachau every weekday we got turnips but in Kempten only twice a week. There was occasionally really thick noodle soup and on Sundays there was almost always coffee with milk." This situation seems to have changed after a while. The French prisoner Louis Terrenoire wrote in particular in his book *Sursitaires de la mort lente* that he and his comrades experienced real hunger in Kempten. It was only from the beginning of 1945 that Red Cross packages provided some relief.³

The car and airplane engine producer Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) held a share in Sachse KG.⁴ Its chief, Helmuth Sachse, was for many years in charge of the development of airplane engines at BMW. The Kempten factory produced predictors (*Kommandogeräte*), especially important parts for the armament of fighters. These early robots controlled many engine functions so that during air combat the pilot did not have to use numerous levers and buttons but only the predictor.

About 20 men of the camp received other tasks. One of them was Rühle. He was a member of a plumbing group that did, among other things, plumbing work and heating work for the foreign workers, both male and female, in the Kempten camp. Most of the time this group consisted of 6 to 8 prisoners. Sometimes it was enlarged to as many as 40 prisoners. In addition, there was, according to this prisoner, from June 1944 an approximately 20-man-strong city detachment. The major task of this detachment was to remove damage incurred by bombs and to work for the city's building department. There can be no doubt that this detachment is mentioned as the Kempten/Oberbürgermeister subcamp in the listing of the International Tracing Service (ITS). According to the listing, the camp existed from June 18, 1944, to December 1, 1944. The time when the camp came into being corresponds with Rühle's statements. There could have been no other Kempten subcamp. These prisoners were also accommodated in the animal breeding hall. The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL), which in 1973–1974 also investigated this subcamp, ceased its investigations without result: "The absence of any witnesses does not permit [us] to ascertain the conditions in the subcamp Kempten/Oberbürgermeister."⁵

An object of investigations by judicial authorities after World War II was the death of a French prisoner. He died on April 20, 1945, on the site of the barracks in the vicinity of the Kempten East Railway Station. The accused was a factory civil

defense leader at the BMW/Sachse factory. He stated that he caught the man looting the food stock and demanded that he leave. The prisoner did not obey. He then fired a warning shot from his hip into the building. The bullet ricocheted from an iron rail and hit the Frenchman in the head, killing him. All the concentration camp prisoners of Kempten were then required to march past the dead person. This was meant to be a deterrent. The U.S. military authorities arrested the shooter in May 1945 on suspicion of murder. He was held for a short time. He was not convicted. Also the Public Prosecution Service Kempten stopped its investigations in 1954. Later, the ZdL once again took up the case. It interviewed four witnesses, all of whom stated unanimously that the Kempten subcamp was a "humane camp in which there were no intentional homicides. The preliminary investigations were not to be continued on the basis of these statements."⁶

During their interrogation, witnesses mentioned the names of five Kempten camp leaders. The judicial authorities also learned the names of numerous guards. In 1969 the investigation's final recommendation stated that the files be archived.

Despite the comparatively mild living conditions in the Kempten camp, there were escape attempts. Once, according to Rühle, Russian prisoners bent the bars of the window grills and escaped. Italians escaped several times. At least some of the escapees were caught and taken to Dachau. Rühle also recalls a Frenchman who was caught when he tried to break a hole in the wall of the animal breeding hall. He was beaten until he was bleeding and was then sent to Dachau.

At that time, there were also air raids on Kempten. Sachse KG was not hit, but on April 20, 1945, according to Rühle, 5 prisoners died and 13 were injured in the barracks at the East Railway Station. At the end of that month the concentration camp was evacuated. Only the sick remained. The men were told that henceforth they had to work in the Alpine Fortress (Alpenfestung) from where supposedly the war would be continued. However, the march to the fortress quickly ended. Rühle stated that in the vicinity of Pfronten a mighty explosion occurred during the night. Prisoners and guards ran in confusion, and the prisoners escaped to freedom.

Among the Kempten concentration camp prisoners there was at that time also a group of French. One of them, Terrenoire, after the war became a minister in the French government. In his book, the French resistance fighter and avowed Catholic gives an account of the time he spent in the Kempten camp. He writes that the group of French prisoners, despite political and religious differences, was unanimous in their will to survive in dignity. They had their own laws, and those who did not obey were severely punished. They kept their pride as Frenchmen, for example, by not picking up cigarette butts. Even from their meager rations the strong gave something to the weak and ill. They also attempted to sabotage as much of the production as they could. Terrenoire said: "To ensure that man is not a wolf to man we had to ensure that the only savages were not among us but with the Kapos or the SS."

Terrenoire states that at Christmas 1944 two of the guards allowed the French concentration camp prisoners to have a violin and an accordion for a few hours. Terrenoire gave a speech in which he compared the couple Mary and Joseph, who searched for shelter, with the homeless prisoners. He said that the Kempten population was appalled when concentration camp prisoners were knocking at their doors and begging for a better accommodation than the camp."

Among the camp leaders, Terrenoire mentioned two. One he called the "SS man of a sad countenance" and compared him with the sick incisor of a tall savage's dentition. This commandant allowed the French to form a separate group in the camp. He thus did not accord with Terrenoire's long-held cliché of an SS man. Terrenoire called his successor "le tigre." It was the Tiger who displayed the body of a French prisoner shot after the bombing raid as a deterrent. Until the very end, the camp commander spoke of final victory and prophesied that the prisoners would not leave the camp alive. Despite this commandant, Terrenoire describes Kempten as a good camp.

SOURCES Kempten is discussed in several chapters of Gernot Römer's book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984), pp. 136–146. There is also an unpublished student's paper by Markus Naumann. Its title is "Kempten im Zweiten Weltkrieg—Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Dachau in Kempten und Kottern/Weidach" (n.d.). On BMW's production of aircraft predictors, see Horst Mönnich, *BMW: Eine Deutsche Geschichte*, vol. 1, *Vor der Schallmauer, 1916–1945* (Munich: Piper, 2004), p. 266.

Apart from the Schlussvermerk of ZdL in BA-L, this account is based in particular on the statements of the former prisoners Willi Rühle and Otto Kohlhofer. Furthermore, an important source was also Louis Terrenoire's book *Sursitaires de la morte lente* (Paris, 1976).

Gernot Römer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Schlussvermerk der ZdL vom 10. März 1976, BA-L, IV 410 AR 137/69, pp. 168–177.
2. Gespräch am 3. 12. 1983 mit Willi Rühle, vom ersten bis letzten Tag des Bestehens Häftling im Aussenlager Kempten. Der ehemalige Häftling Otto Kohlhofer bestätigte alle Angaben Rühles.
3. Louis Terrenoire, *Sursitaires de la morte lente* (Paris, 1976), pp. 36–54.
4. Aus einem Brief von Lothar Weiss, Kempten, über das Sachse-Werk vom 27. 6. 1984 im Archiv des Autors.
5. Schlussvermerk der ZdL vom 10. März 1976, BA-L, IV 410 AR 137/69, pp. 168–177.
6. Ibid.

KÖNIGSSEE

The Dachau subcamp Königssee was located in the Berchtesgaden district in the Alps. Male inmates were stationed

there to do construction work on the residences of Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler and Grossadmiral Karl Dönitz and to build a bunker. One survivor claimed that Himmler himself had come to Königssee to check the progress of the work.

Concerning the first mention of the Königssee subcamp, there are different statements in the literature. While the International Tracing Service (ITS) lists July 21, 1944, as the date of the first reference, investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg found September 2, 1944, as the date of first mention—the latter date probably the more accurate one. Also, the number of inmates assigned to the camp is not clear. Gabriele Hammermann states about 20 inmates, while testimonies in the investigation files of the state prosecutor in Ludwigsburg indicate around 130 to 140 prisoners. Most of the inmates apparently were construction workers and artists who had been chosen because of their special qualifications. Older German prisoners were used as prisoner-functionaries in the construction site; the other inmates were French, Yugoslavs, Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks. The prisoners slept in a barracks or barn next to the construction site and were kept under much better conditions than in the main camp: Their food rations were higher, they were allowed to move relatively freely, and they were taken care of by a physician. According to the witnesses' statements, the prisoners there were not mistreated, and there were no deaths in this camp.

Three inmates were able to escape from the camp; all of them were caught and sent back to Dachau. Apparently, none of them were executed. The camp was closed on September 19, 1944.

SOURCES In Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 375–376, there is a description of the camp by Gabriele Hammermann.

The Königssee subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:79.

The ZdL investigations are held under the file designator BA-L, IV 410 AR 133/69. The file contains several witness statements. For further information, see also IV 410 AR 1208/69 (interrogation protocols) AG-D and DAA 35672 (Arbeitseinsatz der Häftlinge).

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KOTTERN/FISCHEN

Fischen is a spa and winter sports site in Bavaria. After the air raid on the factory at Kottern on July 19, 1944, Messerschmitt established another factory in Fischen. It was located in the building of the Mechanische Weberei (Mechanical Weaving Mill), which had ceased to operate earlier. As in so many armaments industries, concentration camp prisoners also had to work in Fischen for "the final German victory." Their camp existed from November 6, 1944, to April 25, 1945, on land

belonging to the Langenwang village in the vicinity of the Sonthofen-Oberstdorf railway line. Officially it was known as a subordinate command of the Kottern subcamp. Its postal address was SS-Arbeitslager Fischen bei Kempten (Work Camp Fischen Near Kempten).

In a questionnaire, the Sonthofen Council put the number of concentration camp prisoners at 526 men.¹ There were probably fewer prisoners. The camp consisted of three barracks. In the two smaller barracks there was the kitchen and the SS office. The prisoners lived in the larger barrack. They had three-tiered bunk beds with straw sacks. There was no bed linen. The upper levels could not be used because the roof was leaky, and when it rained, water dropped onto these upper bunks. Around the camp were several watchtowers and a high, electrified double fence of barbed wire. Between the two fences were fierce dogs that were trained to attack the prisoners. At night, searchlights lit up the site to prevent attempts of escape. The 18 guards were accommodated in a barrack outside the fence.²

Most of the guards had originally been Luftwaffe soldiers. One of them stated after the war how he came to be in an SS uniform. After his stay in a clinic until July 1944, he was part of a Luftwaffe reinforcement unit in Nagold (Black Forest). One day he and several comrades were ordered to report to Munich for light guard duties. The group reported to the Luftwaffe Command Office in the Bavarian capital and was sent to the Dachau concentration camp, from where they were deployed in various subcamps. During an air raid on the external camp Neuauing, all their belongings were burned, and they were provided with SS uniforms but without the usual badges. "I do not believe that at that time we had joined the SS," he added.³

The commandant in the Fischen camp (supposedly from December 1944) was SS-Hauptscharführer Emil Schmidt. He is also said to have been strict in the execution of his orders. Austrian prisoner Franz Hackl said that he did not permit beatings and that he formally addressed the prisoners.⁴

Former Austrian prisoner Friedrich Pillwein later recalled the food as being cooked beets or cooked cabbage at midday and in the evenings. The food was prepared like soup but without any fat. Occasionally in the evening there was, instead of the soup, beet marmalade as spread and every now and then margarine along with a small bread ration. The food was worse than in the Dachau main camp. Countless men suffered from scurvy. The food supply was so inadequate that the prisoners caught and ate cats and dogs. According to Pillwein, "At that time there were hardly any dogs in Fischen. We devoured them all."

Pillwein claimed that when he together with other prisoners collected the bread for the camp from a bakery in Langenwang, he flirted with the sales girl to attract her attention. While he was flirting, his comrades tried to pack away more bread—additional rations for the weakest and the sick of the camp. Occasionally the Red Cross sent vitamin tablets. When once in a while a prisoner got "a food package," it was like a festive day for his companions.

Russians, Poles, Czechs, Italians, Belgians, Austrians, and Germans resided in the Fischen external camp. In the Messerschmitt factory in 12-hour day and night shifts, they manufactured tools and gauges needed for aircraft construction (measuring devices made from hardened steel for the examination of work pieces). A work detachment had the task of constructing additional barracks, but none were finished by the end of the war. In addition, the prisoners occasionally had to work in the village.

In the spring, SS men picked up the Austrian prisoner Franz Storkan from his place of work in Fischen and Gustav Teply from the local infirmary. Teply was suffering from inflammation of the ligaments. The Communist Party had secretly infiltrated both men into Austria as foreign workers. The foreign civilian laborers were in those days in Greater Germany called "foreign workers." Both men were instructed to form resistance groups opposing the Hitler regime. They were discovered and sent to the Dachau concentration camp. To remove these two especially endangered men from the sight of the camp leadership, fellow prisoners arranged for Storkan and Teply to be sent to Fischen. But their stay did not last long. Hackl recalled that Storkan bade farewell, saying, "Now I will go up the chimney."⁵ Both men were executed in Dachau.

The camp leader described Fischen's end to the Munich judicial authorities as follows:

Since we had not heard anything about the state of affairs for some time one day I made enquiries at the end of April or the beginning of May with the Fischen Police and was told by the officer over the telephone: "Gosh, you are still there! Get out. They are on the way." . . . I called the people of the guard platoon, withdrew the sentries on duty and explained [to] them what was happening. I basically said that the camp was dissolved, but that I could not take them with me as there was no food. Everyone had to look after himself. I also said to the prisoners that they were now free. Then I headed in the direction of Oberstdorf and there I also spent the night. The next day I went back to the Fischen camp where I met two German soldiers and with them joined armed forces who were heading in the direction of the Alps. . . . I can therefore say with absolute certainty that the Fischen camp was not evacuated, and there was therefore also no evacuation march and there were no deaths on such a march. Anyone who says the contrary is lying.

Both Hackl and Pillwein agree with this statement.⁶ Hackl added that the camp leader after his return from Oberstdorf asked for coffee for him and some of his comrades. He fulfilled his wish and brought a pot of coffee outside.

Pillwein stated that one guard did not survive long after the dissolution of the camp. He, the dog handler, had once beaten and kicked a Czech prisoner when the prisoner could not walk properly because of an injury to his foot. Fellow

Czechs ensured that he was arrested by French troops after they had arrived. He was taken to prison and is said to have died while trying to escape.

The Fischen Registry records the death of Dutch prisoner Jakobus van der Meyden on February 15, 1945. The cause of death was a pulmonary embolism. He was buried in Fischen and after 1945 reinterred in a Dutch war grave at the Forest Cemetery in Frankfurt am Main.

After the end of the Third Reich, judicial authorities also investigated whether any crimes had been committed in the Fischen camp. Two Italians reported that their fellow countrymen were killed after escape attempts—one spoke of two and the other of three men. It was also claimed that during another incident a guard hit a prisoner in the nape of his neck with the butt of a rifle. Other former prisoners reported shootings during an evacuation march from Fischen to Kottern. On the other hand, there are numerous statements that there were no escape attempts and that there was also no evacuation march. As a result of these contradictory statements, the judicial authorities doubted whether the main witnesses were in fact referring to the Fischen camp and thought that they had confused this camp with another. The investigations were halted.⁷

SOURCES The author is not aware of any printed reports on the Fischen camp other than the author's book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984). Schoolboys and schoolgirls from the Sonthofen High School have researched the camp. Their papers, however, have not been published.

In addition to the files of ZdL (today: BA-L), YVA, as well as those of the judicial authorities, the author conducted comprehensive conversations with former prisoners. These conversations offered a great deal of information. The conversations were held independently and supported each other.

Gernot Römer
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NOTES

1. Questionnaire for the Historical Commission of the Central Committee in Munich, August 19, 1946, in YVA 350/125.
2. Statement by the former prisoner Friedrich Pillwein, Wien, 1984, in a conversation with the author.
3. Statement by J.W. in investigation proceedings 320/Js 202 223/76, Sta. Mü.
4. The former prisoner Franz Hackl, Wien, in a conversation with the author, 1984.
5. Hackl statement; Friedrich Pillwein has also made a similar statement. The execution of both men is referred to in the AG-D.
6. Hackl statement; Pillwein statement.
7. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, BA-L, IV 410 AR-Z 69/76.

KOTTERN-WEIDACH

As with many other textile firms in Bavarian Swabia in 1943, the Spinnerei-Weberei Kottern had to forego part of its op-

erations. From October until the end of the war, it produced aircraft parts for Messerschmitt. The spinning and weaving machines continued to operate in the part of the factory that had not been compulsorily acquired. Kottern later became part of Kempten.

The first prisoners who arrived in Kottern-Weidach were accommodated in a guesthouse. Probably they were an advanced detachment to set up the machines and the accommodation. The men who arrived with the next transport from Dachau lived for a few months in one of the factory's larger halls. At the end of 1943 or the beginning of 1944, the camp was finally ready to be occupied—it was located a kilometer (0.6 mile) away in Weidach, which was part of the Durach municipality. It consisted of wooden barracks, which in part were also made of brick. The Kottern guards, around 35 to 40 men, lived in a block outside the camp, which was surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire fence.¹

Former French prisoner Louis Terrenoire blames the miserable hygienic conditions in Weidach for causing the outbreak of typhus in the camp. Toilets were installed in the cellar in one of the barracks shortly before the end of the war. Terrenoire is of the opinion that they were installed not "out of humanitarian grounds but to hide the inhumanity from the approaching victorious power."² Jean-Pierre Linsen, a prisoner from Luxembourg, reported that in the camp there were unusually large numbers of fleas and lice: "Immediately we killed half a dozen, [but] they were replaced by twenty. When we marched to work the beasts crawled up our coats to the collars. . . . The civilians in the factory did not come close to us, fearing they would get them."³

Not all of the more than 1,000 prisoners worked for Messerschmitt. Some worked for the firm Kemper Werkstätte für Panzer- und Kriegsfahrzeugbau (Workshops for Tank and Military Vehicle Construction).⁴ The men came from many countries, but by far the largest number were the Russians and Italians. Austrian Ferdinand Hackl stated that it was virtually impossible to commit acts of sabotage in Kottern. The only possibility was for the qualified men to perform a lower standard of work or to work more slowly. A Russian, who was a particularly good lathe operator, once pretended to be sick. A day later the foreman was complaining that the prisoners were doing too little work. Hackl recalled that he and the other prisoners had to run through the *Salzergasse*. The Salzergasse was where the guards beat the prisoners as they ran down the lane.⁵

There can be no reasonable doubt that crimes were committed in the Weidach camp. Several prisoners after the war related the escape attempt of a Viennese prisoner, said to be a singer. It is claimed that the man had made the acquaintance of a woman working in the spinning and weaving mill and with her help was hidden in the factory for a few days. He was recognized trying to leave the factory dressed in blue worker's overalls and carrying a spare part on his shoulder. The witness Boleslaw Cielbala related what happened: "When he was discovered he was beaten until he was unrecognizable. To deter us we were taken to him. He was wearing

a sign on his chest with the inscription ‘I am back.’ We were forced to step up and watch how he was repeatedly beaten. He was bound to a wall and was forced to count each time he was beaten in the face. This went on until he lost consciousness. He could no longer work and so they wanted to transfer him back to Dachau. On the way back to Dachau he died from his injuries. He was brought back to Kottern and we had to bury him in the prisoner cemetery at Fahls.” Other prisoners also remember this Viennese and his suffering. On the other hand, the former camp commandant stated that “I know of the incident. However, the man survived his punishment in the best of health.” In the end, what really happened in Kottern remains a matter of dispute: the files contain statements about other homicides but also statements such as, “I know nothing of prisoners being killed.”⁶ What is indisputable is that the prisoners experienced air raids. The heaviest air raid was on July 19, 1944. The target included the newly constructed Messerschmitt factory. The camp in Weidach was also hit. Houses were destroyed and civilians were killed and wounded, but aircraft parts production was soon up and running again.

The corpses of the prisoners who died in the subcamp were usually taken to Dachau. From the autumn of 1944, it was permissible to bury the prisoners in Weidach. This led to a dispute. Nazi Party (NSDAP) Ortsgruppenleiter and Mayor of Durach Mittermeier demanded that a deceased Dutchman be buried in the garbage area of the Durach Cemetery. However, the local priest, Fischer, ensured that the deceased was properly buried. Mittermeier then insisted that the next deceased should be quickly buried in a field in the vicinity of the alpine dairy in Fahls. According to a newspaper report, “There can be no burial mound, no cross permitted, and the place absolutely cannot be recognized as a cemetery! There is to be no record that prisoners were buried here.”⁷ It was only after the war, in the autumn of 1945, that a large wooden cross was erected in Fahls. A small cross was placed on the burial mound where prisoners from several countries are buried.

There were several commandants of the Kottern-Weidach camp. Initially, the camp appeared to be commanded by an SS-Hauptscharführer who was often drunk and having orgies with women. Former prisoner Max Wittmann recalls that during such excesses he had the prisoners beaten, yelling, “‘Trousers down! Beating the asses of you unbelievably filthy, stinking animals is no fun at all. Perhaps the ladies enjoy it . . .’ The women squeaked and chirped. Soon after that I heard how the poor prisoners were beaten, their cries of pain could be heard between the barbaric cries and doings of the men and women. ‘Give it to him. Harder! And another one! Tan his skin! Go on do it!’ So they whipped one another up and outside, I felt that they drove themselves into a rage in their sadistic pleasure, whipping again and again.”

According to Wittmann, the camp leader, Wilhelm, and his confidant were punished and transferred because they had shot out of the windows during one of their binges, injuring a few people, including an SS man.⁸

It remains an open question whether Georg Deffner was the direct successor to Wilhelm. In any case, he was transferred from the Kempten camp to the Weidach camp and after a short period to Kaufering I. Born in 1910 in the Swabian village of Violau, Deffner joined an SS unit, Wachtruppe Oberbayern, in the autumn of 1933. In 1942, he was transferred to the Dachau concentration camp command office and was in command of the Sentry Office (Poststelle); in August 1943, he was detachment leader of the Kempten subcamp; in April 1944, the Kottern-Weidach subcamp; and in February 1945, the Kaufering I subcamp. Then he disappeared until he surrendered to the Americans in 1945. He was sentenced on September 22, 1947, to three years’ imprisonment and in September of the same year was extradited to France.⁹

At the end of April 1945, the concentration camp prisoners were finally free. Former prisoner Ernst Rauter had to march with other prisoners who could walk in the direction of Hitler’s planned “Alpine Fortress.” Starving, he scratched resin from trees along the way to see if it was edible. Three days after they left, in Pfronten-Steinach, the guards suddenly disappeared. A day later, an American tank appeared. Rauter recalled that “an American opened the hatch and said: I am a Berliner and you can speak German with me.”¹⁰

Austrian Albert Schremmer was liberated on April 27 in Kottern. During the noon meal, there was a tank alert. The guards fled. A jeep turned up in the afternoon. Something that Schremmer said is still stated today: “This Dachau subcamp was just an everyday occurrence.”¹¹

Franco Varini, an Italian prisoner from Bologna, Italy, tried to depict the suffering in Kottern in a poem. Titled “Dachau-Kottern März 1945,” he says: “Unermessliche Gürte der Qual umschlingen den Saum der Erde” (An immeasurable belt of torture entangles the borders of the Earth). His work ends with hope, “die Wut der Verzweiflung aber verkündet das nahende Ende.” (the fury of despair announces the approaching end).¹²

SOURCES Gernot Römer depicts the camp more extensively than anyone else in his book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984), pp. 146–164, including the difficulties of the judicial authorities in their investigations. Erich Kunter in his work *Weltreise nach Dachau* (Stuttgart-Botnang, 1946), pp. 211–221, describes the experiences of political prisoner Max Wittmann. Wittmann contributed to the foreword, stating that while Kunter’s work “lacks photographic accuracy, it never lacks in truth.”

The most important source is the Schlussvermerk of the ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 81/76, in BA-L. It ends with reference to the trial files of February 11, 1947, against the Kottern-Weidach commander Georg Deffner by the Department of the Army in Washington. There are a few files in AG-D. The book by former concentration camp prisoner and later French minister Louis Terrenoire should also be mentioned, *Sursitaires de la morte lente* (Paris, 1976), pp. 36–54. In his book, he lets the Communist Chantreuil speak. Ernst Schremmel’s letter of December 15, 1946, is reproduced in *Rappel* (1981).

Franco Varini's poem may be found in Dorothea Heiser, ed., "Mein Schatten in Dachau": Gedichte und Biographien der Überlebenden und der Toten des Konzentrationslagers, foreword by Walter Jens (Munich, 1993).

Gernot Römer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Details from a conversation of the author with former prisoners and local inhabitants; dates found in ZdL, Schlussvermerk, May 3, 1976, pp. 1–2, in BA-L.
2. Louis Terrenoire, *Sursitaires de la mort lente* (Paris, 1976).
3. 1967 in *Rappel*.
4. Schlussvermerk, p. 6.
5. Ferdinand Hackl in a conversation with the author.
6. Schlussvermerk, including the Bericht der Bayerischen Landpolizei, Kriminalausßenstelle Kempten.
7. Allgä, November 6, 1946.
8. Erich Kunter, *Weltreise nach Dachau* (Stuttgart/Botnang, 1946), pp. 211–221.
9. Statements made by Georg Deffner on October 3, 1946, for the U.S. Military Court in Dachau; Schlussvermerk, p. 8.
10. Ernst Rauter in conversation with the author.
11. Letter Ernst Schremmel, December 15, 1946, reproduced in *Rappel* (1981).
12. From Dorothea Heiser, ed., "Mein Schatten in Dachau": Gedichte und Biographien der Überlebenden und der Toten des Konzentrationslagers, foreword by Walter Jens (Munich, 1993), n.p.

LANDSBERG

The Dachau subcamp Landsberg existed from July 14, 1944, to April 24, 1945. Despite its close proximity to the 11 camps in the complex, it was not part of the Dachau Kaufering complex. Its prisoner composition and the tasks they performed were completely different. Likewise, it should not be confused with the Landsberg Dynamit AG (DAG) detachment, which was a subdetachment of the Kaufering complex.

The camp was located at the Penzing Military Aerodrome near Landsberg am Lech. It is also known by the name Penzing or Penzing Fliegerhorst. The prisoners worked for Dornier and Messerschmitt on the production line.

Unlike the Kaufering subcamps for which there are scarcely any original documents available, the admission and discharge books for Landsberg have survived.¹ They hold 647 names including around 400 Frenchmen who were given Dachau prisoner numbers between 72000 and 74000. One of the early prisoners and prisoner recorder in the camp, Professor Albert Fuchs, states they were political prisoners who were deported in the spring of 1944 from France to Dachau. After being quarantined in Dachau, they formed the first prisoners in the Landsberg subcamp. Some 350 people, of whom 330 were of French nationality, were accommodated in a gymnasium at the Penzing Military Aerodrome. Fuchs describes the arrival of around 200 prisoners evacuated from

other camps at Penzing on April 8, 1945, mostly Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, Hungarians, and 10 Frenchmen. There were a few Jews among these prisoners. The newly arrived prisoners were in a very poor state of health. According to prisoner Fuchs, they found the Penzing camp, to be one of relative luxury compared to other camps, as they had beds and there were no vermin to contend with such as lice. At the end of April 1945, there were 429 prisoners in the camp.²

Of the 647 prisoners transferred to Landsberg, 232 were returned to Dachau because of illness or for interrogation. A few were able to escape.

The guards were former members of the Wehrmacht. According to Fuchs, the first camp leader, whose name is not known, was in the camp until October 1944. An ambitious person, he was transferred to one of the Kaufering camps. The second camp commander was dismissed after a few weeks for failing to perform his work properly. The third commander was SS-Hauptscharführer Wilhelm Wagner. Wagner was probably transferred from the Riederloh subcamp to Landsberg at the end of November 1944. He was one of the accused in the U.S. Army's Dachau Trial, but his acts in the Riederloh and Landsberg subcamps received little mention. He was sentenced to death on December 13, 1945, and executed in Landsberg on May 29, 1946.³

The living and work conditions for the prisoners deteriorated markedly under Wagner's command: the period of work and roll calls were lengthened; the output was closely monitored; rewards were reduced; and the prisoners were carefully searched when they returned from work to the camp. Nevertheless, the conditions in the subcamp were comparatively good. The prisoners in this camp did not experience murder, mistreatment, or hunger. However, the hard working conditions and the cold led to illnesses among the prisoners. According to Fuchs, at the end of 1944 and beginning of 1945, there were still 250 prisoners in Penzing, of whom 80 were sent back to Dachau because they were ill. Some relief was obtained from Red Cross packets that arrived in the camp at the end of 1944 and the beginning of 1945. It is also said that books from the Dachau library were available for the prisoners' use.

At the end of April 1945, the prisoners were not taken directly back to Dachau but to the collection station in the Kaufering camps, then joined the marches to Allach and Dachau.

As with many other subcamps, there has been little research on Landsberg. Probably the camp has been confused with the many camps in the Kaufering complex as the investigation files refer to malnutrition, lack of hygiene, and medical care that resulted in a typhus epidemic at the end of April 1945. There are also reports of sick prisoners or escaping prisoners being shot on the evacuation marches.⁴ Albert Fuchs's report is not mentioned. It is unlikely that he would not have referred to such events. It is possible that newly arrived prisoners brought typhus with them. But to talk of epidemic is incorrect, as is shown by the arrival and discharge books.

SOURCES Primary sources for this camp begin with documents in AG-D. The German translation of the French report by Albert Fuchs, "Un kommando de Dachau, Landsberg am Lech," in *Témoignages Strasbourgeois: De l'université aux camps de Concentration* (Paris, 1947), pp. 157–176, is available in AG-D as "Ein Kommando von Dachau, Landsberg am Lech," Nr. 5479. The U.S. Army trial against Wilhelm Wagner is available at NARA, RG 338, Case 000-50-2, *USA v. Martin Gottfried Weiss, et al.* Additional legal investigations can be found in StA-Augs.

Edith Raim
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. AG-D, Nr. 35679.
2. Stärkemeldung Aussenkommandos vom 26.4.1945, AG-D, Nr. 32789, und vom 29.4. 1945, AG-D, Nr. 1341.
3. NARA, RG 338 Case 000-50-2, *USA v. Martin Gottfried Weiss, et al.*
4. StA-Augs, Sta. Augsburg 51 Js 705/76 (Verfahren geführt durch Staatsanwaltschaft München I unter München 1 320 u Js 206223/76).

LANDSBERG (DYNAMIT AG)

[MEN]

There were two small Dachau subcamps (a male camp and a female camp) located in Landsberg, Bavaria, but they were not part of the larger Kaufering camp complex. The prisoners worked for the Dynamit AG, which was based in Landsberg. It is possible that these camps were in fact only work detachments, with the prisoners being transported daily to and from work to Landsberg from Dachau.

The camp for the male prisoners is first referred to in March 1945. There were 10 inmates. As with the female camp, the camp is mentioned for the last time on April 25, 1945.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in the 1970s concentrated exclusively on the male camp. No survivors could be located, so many basic questions remain unanswered. For example, it is unclear whether the prisoners were accommodated in Landsberg or Dachau, whether they were brought daily to Landsberg, and whether the camps were subcamps or work detachments.

SOURCES The subcamps (or work detachments) of Landsberg (Dynamit AG) are listed in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 80. Volume 2 of *Der Ort des Terrors*, eds. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005) deals with the Dachau subcamps but does not refer to camps at Dynamit AG or Landsberg. On the other hand, see the entry by Edith Raim, Landsberg, in that publication.

Investigations by ZdL relating to this camp are recorded as file number BA-L, IV 410 AR 80/ 73.

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LANDSBERG (DYNAMIT AG) (WOMEN)

There were two small Dachau subcamps in Landsberg, Bavaria, a male camp and a female camp. The prisoners in these camps worked for Dynamit AG, which was based in Landsberg. It remains unclear whether these camps were truly subcamps or were only work detachments, where the prisoners were transported daily to and from Landsberg.

The Landsberg (Dynamit AG) female subcamp is mentioned for the first time on February 11, 1945, but the number of prisoners is unknown. As with the male camp, it is mentioned for the last time on April 25, 1945.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in the 1970s concentrated on the male camp.

SOURCES The subcamp (or work detachment) at Landsberg (Dynamit AG) is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 80. Volume 2 of *Der Ort des Terrors*, eds. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005) deals with the Dachau subcamps but makes no reference to camps at Dynamit AG in Landsberg. On the other hand, see the contribution by Edith Raim on Landsberg in that publication.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

LANDSHUT

Landshut is located in Lower Bavaria, 62 kilometers (38.5 miles) north-northeast of Munich. According to a witness statement held by the International Tracing Service (ITS), a Dachau subcamp probably was erected here in September 1944 (the first time of a reference to the camp). The camp held male prisoners who worked for the OT-Oberbauleitung B.-G.; the meaning of the abbreviation "B.-G" is uncertain.

The Landshut subcamp consisted of corrugated iron barracks, located between Diesel and Siemens Strassen. It was close to the so-called Little Exercise Plaza (Kleiner Exerzierplatz). There were about 500 prisoners, most of whom were Jews. Under the direction of the Oberleitung Organisation Todt (OT), the prisoners were to establish a supply camp for the Wehrmacht. They leveled the ground, built roads, and relocated a railway connection. Whenever necessary, they were used to clean up after air raids.

The prisoners were guarded by the SS. The guards were based in a barracks close to the camp. SS-Hauptscharführer Stoller was in command, and his deputy was SS-Unterscharführer Henschel. He is described by the prisoners as being brutal. In statements made to the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg by surviving prisoner Wilhelm W., Henschel mistreated two prisoners with the result that they died.

As a result of the exhausting work and living conditions in the camp and the repeated bombing raids, at least 83 prisoners

died in the Landshut subcamp. They were buried in mass graves in the Achdorf Community Cemetery.

There are different stories regarding the end of the camp. According to the ITS and the *Bundesgesetzblatt* (BGBI.), the Landshut subcamp was closed on February 5 or 6, 1945. Georg Spitzlberger states, on the other hand, that the camp was evacuated a few days before American troops arrived on May 1, 1945.

SOURCES The Landshut subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 80. Georg Spitzlberger has described the camp in his essay “Das Aussenkommando des Konzentrationslagers Dachau,” VHVNdb (1988–1989): 151–162. He also published the article on Landshut in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), pp. 380–381. This essay also refers to another source: Hans Emslander, “Gedenktafeln im Friedhof Achdorf für KZ-Angehörige” (unpub. MSS, 1981).

The Landshut camp is mentioned in the “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1819.

Investigations by ZdL are filed under file reference BA-L, IV 410 AR 1371/68.

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little. Later, the prisoner number 117109, a Pole, commented, “The nutrition was miserable—people contracted dropsy as a result of their hunger. For breakfast there was coffee, which was impossible to drink. The coffee was prepared in kettles that were also used to boil laundry full of lice. For lunch we received a half-liter of soup consisting of cabbage and beets, without fat or meat. Sometimes there was macaroni in the soup. We received approximately one hundred grams [3.5 ounces] of bread once per day, occasionally a piece of margarine or marmalade, and very rarely a few grams of sausage.”

In a written report, the Lauingen doctor, Dr. Felix Kircher, documents the miserable state of the prisoners resulting from malnourishment. The Messerschmitt factory manager requested that he treat the prisoners because the prisoner medic had insufficient expertise and equipment. The firm would assume the costs and would not impose any limitations on prescription medications. Dr. Kircher commented that “a high percentage suffered from edema because of fat and vitamin deficiencies. I managed to get fifteen liters [15.9 quarts] of cod-liver oil from the stocks made available to the civilian population, which were then distributed amongst the prisoners. I admitted the seriously ill to the Lauingen hospital, where they were treated the same as civilians. However, after several weeks the SS camp director of Dachau forbade this, and ordered that every seriously ill prisoner be transported to the prisoner’s hospital in Dachau. An infirmary was also set up in the subcamp itself.”

Using x-rays, Dr. Kircher also diagnosed 10 percent of the prisoners with pulmonary tuberculosis. They were sent back to Dachau. From then on, all new additions to Lauingen were x-rayed to protect the healthy from infection. Dr. Kircher was not allowed to treat mishandled prisoners or men injured by gunfire. These duties were incumbent upon a prisoner appointed as a medical orderly.³

After the war, prisoners told of mistreatment in Lauingen. Testimonies exist in the records of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) such as the following account: In the spring of 1945, a Kapo is said to have beaten up a Polish prisoner because he wanted to collect a second ration of soup. The man died later in Dachau.

The same or another prisoner-functionary reportedly smashed a Pole’s dentures in his upper jaw because he failed to carry out his work as locksmith well enough. “As a result of the injury, S. could no longer eat properly, contracted dropsy, was moved to the infirmary and later into the infirmary of the main camp.”

A German block leader is said to have repeatedly mistreated prisoners so that they died as a result of their injuries.⁴

Lauingen prisoners attempted to escape at least two times. In one instance, both prisoners were shot by the SS guards and died a few days later due to their gunshot wounds. A second escape attempt took place in the fall of 1944; both escapees were caught after a short time. One was hanged in Dachau, the other in Lauingen.⁵

LAUINGEN (I, II, AND BIRKACKERHOF)

Strictly speaking, the city of Lauingen/Donau was home to three subcamps of the Dachau concentration camp. The first subcamp was erected in March 1944 in the rooms of the agricultural machinery factory Ködel & Böhm. Approximately 400 prisoners, mainly Russian and Polish, were transferred from Dachau to the subcamp. In August 1944, another camp was established in the rooms of the Ludwigsau Feller & Co. cloth factory. It comprised approximately 300 Dachau prisoners. At Ködel & Böhm the prisoners were housed in a large cellar room. The living conditions resulted in many illnesses, especially tuberculosis. In contrast, the housing conditions in the camp at the Feller company were satisfactory. The men slept in one of the factory halls. Two other halls served for production. The SS guard quarters were located directly next to the prisoners’ sleeping hall. In this way they could easily keep an eye on the prisoners. A third camp, constructed by a prisoner Kommando, was erected in December 1945 approximately 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) outside the city; its construction was mainly a result of the poor living conditions in the Ködel & Böhm cellar. The prisoners from Lauingen I and II were transferred to the barracks of this camp, named Birkackerhof.¹

The prisoners manufactured airplane parts for Messerschmitt at Ködel & Böhm as well as in the Ludwigsau Feller & Co. factory’s halls. Furthermore, another small “pump station” Kommando performed drainage work in the Lauingen area. Prisoners worked in 12-hour shifts and were fed

The Polish witness Witold Rose-Roszewski stated that an SS-Hauptscharführer and a Kapo brought the victim with them from Dachau for the hanging. The camp leader allowed a platform to be erected, complete with a trap door upon which the victim had to stand. In front of all the prisoners of the camp for whom the execution was intended as a frightening example and after a corresponding speech had been made, the SS-Hauptscharführer then activated the trap door. The noose tightened; however, it was not properly fastened, and the victim was strangled for 15 minutes. Then the Kapo refastened the noose, and an Untersturmführer from the Dachau main camp pulled on the victim's feet until he did not move any longer.⁶

Reportedly, SS-Obersturmführer Friedrich Wilhelm Ruppert precisely described this execution during cross-examination in a U.S. military court at Dachau after the war. He named the date of the execution as September 1944. Because of his participation in the Dachau camp murders, this SS member was sentenced and put to death in 1946 in Landsberg am Lech.⁷

A report written by the Lauingen police in 1969 addressed the same crime: "As news of the execution spread, the Ködel & Böhm workers protested so fiercely that further executions in Lauingen did not happen."⁸

This was not the first protest to take place in Lauingen. The same report continues: "When shortly after the camp's construction prisoners were being beaten and it was noticed by Ködel & Böhm office workers, in the midst of the war the nearly all-female workers threatened to strike if the beatings did not stop. Thereafter corporal punishment was discontinued, at least outwardly."⁹

Some 62 prisoners were buried in the Lauingen cemetery. A death toll, compiled secretly by Dr. Kircher, reveals 32 names. Causes of death include heart conditions, fatigue, and lung infections. The conclusion of the same list indicates further prisoners' tragedies. In March 1945, Lauingen received a transport from the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp including 358 prisoners who had been en route approximately two weeks but who had only been given enough food to last for one week. Dr. Kircher's death list reads: "Twenty-seven prisoners, names and numbers unknown, from the Sachsenhausen-Berger transport (i.e. Bergen-Belsen) died of fatigue on March 4, 1945. Eleven prisoners, names and numbers unknown, died of fatigue on March 6, 1945." Next to the two typewritten sentences, Dr. Kircher added in longhand the cause of death: "starvation."¹⁰ Lauingen was not the last stop of this transport: 500 women were sent on to Burgau, and a small number of men to the Horgau and Pfersee camps.

The doctor got eight days of rest for those prisoners dropped off in Lauingen. He stated that also 50 Jewish boys, between 8 and 10 years old, reportedly came from Budapest to Lauingen with this transport. "What am I supposed to do with this," the camp leader replied, then sent the children on to Dachau.¹¹

In the spring of 1945, Dr. Kircher had to stop treating the prisoners. An SS officer, who was executed after the war, dis-

charged him following his preferential treatment of prisoners. This occurred during a typhus fever epidemic in the camp.

The Lauingen camp closed on April 10 or 12, 1945. The prisoners had to march to Augsburg, where they excavated trenches. Approximately two weeks later, they were freed by U.S. soldiers close to Schwabmünchen.

According to Dr. Kircher, he had to deal with three SS camp leaders during his time at the camp; supposedly there were even four. In the spring of 1945, the last one was, according to Kircher's own statements, SS-Hauptscharführer Franz Xaver Trenkle. In 1945, he was sentenced to death in the first Dachau war crime trial.

SOURCES In his book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslager* (Augsburg, 1984), pp. 105–112, the author discusses the Lauingen camp. Additionally, Gaby Pfob's brochure *Das Konzentrationslager Lauingen* (Lauingen, 1986) is also available. Additional information may be found in Holger Lessing, *Der erste Dachauer Prozess 1945/46* (Baden-Baden, 1993).

In addition to BA, inquiry files of ZdL (now BA-L), and Sta. Mü, the most important sources for the author were his conversations with Lauinger doctor Dr. Ludwig Kircher. As a result of his medical activities, Kircher was able to provide an eyewitness account.

Gernot Römer
trans. Hilary Menges

NOTES

1. Decree of ZdL, BA-L, IV 410 AR-Z 212/76.
2. Ibid., excerpt from Feliks Szymanczak's testimony before the chief commission of the inquiry into NS Crimes in Poland, translation for the central office.
3. Ibid., written report from Dr. Kircher dated Sep. 2, 1945, for OMGUS.
4. Ibid., testimony of former prisoners.
5. Ibid., testimony of former prisoners.
6. Ibid., testimony of Witold Rose-Roszewski in the U.S. Military Government Office in Dilligen/Donau on Aug. 29, 1945.
7. Ibid., pp. 20–21.
8. Ibid., Lauingen police report, Notebook Nr. 166/69.
9. Lauingen police report (Notebook Nr. 168/69) dated Aug. 15, 1969, to ZdL. This was the list of deceased prisoners compiled by Dr. Kircher.
10. Dr. Kircher's statements and death list in conversation with the author.
11. Holger Lessing, *Der erste Dachauer Prozess 1945/46* (Baden-Baden, 1993).

LOCHAU

The Dachau subcamp in Lochau, near the Bregenz camp, was the only Dachau subcamp located in the administrative district of Vorarlberg (which was part of Austria before 1938). It only existed for about three weeks, from April 7, 1945, until liberation at the end of the month. But at least one survivor

reports to have been in the camp already before that date, in March 1945.

The camp's purpose was to continue the medical research that had taken place in the Dachau main camp, on Block 5, Room 4. A Pektin experimental station had been established there, and their equipment and personnel were now taken to Lochau. Inmates were to transport the equipment, prepare the new location for the beginning of the work, and participate in the production of the styptic pills "Polygal," which were produced from turnip leavings. Inmates were also used to clean the laboratory and the production site, but according to Albert Knoll, they successfully resisted being used as test subjects for the effectiveness of the pills.

The camp held between 8 and 20 inmates: Slovenians, Poles, and Germans. As Knoll states, among them was a professor of medicine, an engineer, and a consul from Argentina. The prisoners were kept in the building of an old brewery and treated decently by detachment leader SS-Sturmbannführer Kurt Friedrich Plötner, who had already been in charge of the Pektin research in Dachau and Schlachters. Plötner was assisted by Austrian inmate Robert Feix. The prisoners were guarded by five elderly SS men, all of whom except one fled before the arrival of the U.S. troops.

The camp was liberated on April 30 or May 1, 1945. Plötner was arrested by French troops in a neighboring village but was soon released. Using the name Schmidt, he disappeared for a number of years in northern Germany. In 1952 he became an assistant at Freiburg University and two years later associate professor of medicine. In 1970 the Munich state prosecutor began investigations that did not lead to a trial. Plötner's assistant Feix had already been arrested by Allied troops in 1946.

SOURCES Albert Knoll gives a detailed description of the camp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 385–387.

The Lochau subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Hafstütten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 81.

Further judicial inquiries are located in the Ermittlungsakte of ZdL under the number BA-L IV 410 AR 82 / 73; testimonies can also be found in IV 410 AR 212/73. The investigations by Staatsanwaltschaft Munich II are in Sta. Mü II, 13 Js 12/68.

The camp is mentioned in an article by Hermann Brändle and Kurt Greussing, "Fremdarbeiter und Kriegsgefangene," in *Von Herren und Menschen. Verfolgung und Widerstand in Vorarlberg 1933–1945*, ed. Johann-August-Malin-Gesellschaft (Bregenz, 1985), pp. 184–185.

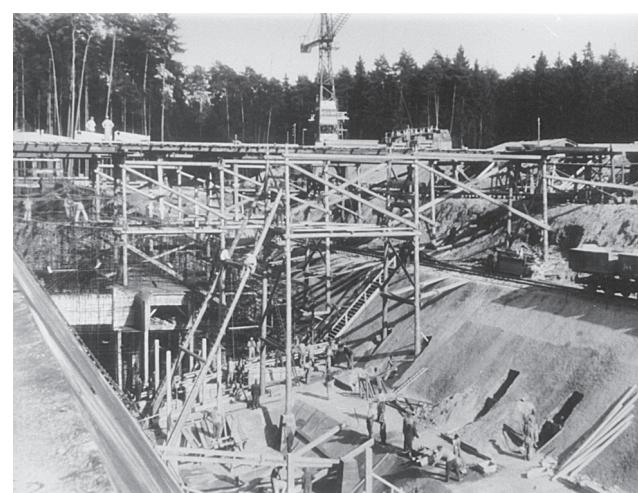
Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Hilary Menges

MÜHLDORF

The so-called Jägerstab (Fighter Staff) was established in March 1944 to maintain and increase, respectively, the production of fighter aircraft. Its members consisted of representatives from the Armaments and Air Ministries and the

armaments manufacturers. One of the goals of the Jägerstab was to establish bombproof production sites. For this purpose, Organisation Todt (OT), part of the Armaments Ministry, was instructed to build semiunderground concrete bunkers with production sites of several hundred thousand square meters. Six bunkers were planned, but construction commenced only on four, and of these, only two were finished (and then only up to two-thirds of capacity). One of the four sites was located in Mühldorf am Inn in Upper Bavaria. The other three were at Landsberg am Lech, Upper Bavaria. For reasons of secrecy, the construction sites were given code names. Mühldorf was known as "Weingut I." OT was responsible for the construction, but the actual work was done by the company Polensky & Zöllner. Martin Weiss, the former concentration camp commandant of Dachau, was authorized by Amtsgruppe D of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) to establish an SS company. It was known as SS-Weingut-Betriebs-GmbH and headed by Weiss. It was an umbrella organization comprising 42 companies—among others, German General Electric Company (AEG), Siemens & Halske, Siemens & Schuckert, Deutsche Telefunken, and Carl Zeiss, all of which were involved with the production or planned production of parts for the jet fighter Messerschmitt (Me) 262. In March 1945, the OT lost its responsibility, which was assumed by the SS-Stab Kammler (Staff Kammler). At this point, construction on the concrete bunkers had already more or less come to a stop.

The construction plans for the bunker provided for an efficient means of construction: first, tunnels would be constructed from prefabricated concrete parts through which tracks would be laid. Over the tunnels made of concrete would be placed a gravel wall over which concrete would be poured. Concrete reinforcement would then be inserted into the concrete, and this would be followed by another layer of concrete. Since the concrete would thicken within a week, it



Dachau/Mühldorf prisoners erect the underground aircraft factory code-named Weingut I, 1944.
USHMM WS # 86967, COURTESY OF AST-MÜ

allowed the gravel to be removed by sending trains into the tunnels. By opening flaps in the tunnel roof, the railway wagons would be filled with the gravel. This system had the advantage that the gravel could be used again for concrete pours or for building another gravel wall. The bunker could be extended by single segments as required. Once the gravel was completely removed from the concrete, completion of the interior could immediately commence.

The biggest problem was the lack of labor. A large number of the forced laborers made available for the construction of the bunker were Hungarian Jews. From July 1944, there arose in the nearby vicinity of Mühldorf am Inn four camps subordinate to the Dachau concentration camp, two larger camps for about 2,000 to 3,000 prisoners at Mettenheim near Mühldorf and a forest camp at Ampfing, as well as two smaller camps, one at Mittergars and the other at Thalham in the Obertaufkirchen community. A subcamp in the Zangberg monastery near Mühldorf, which held about 100 to 200 concentration camp prisoners probably existed only in March and April 1945. Mettenheim (M 1) was located in the barracks of the former Luftwaffe clothing depot, while Waldlager V and VI (the numbers were based on other OT-operated forest camps near Mühldorf, which were, however, not part of the concentration camp system) were constructed completely anew. In the so-called summer camp, Finnish huts were used. They had also been used by OT during missions in the Soviet Union. After they had proven to be completely unsatisfactory, earth huts, designed by OT, were built again, of which only the tentlike roof was above ground.

Walter Adolf Langleist was the highest SS official responsible for the Mühldorf camps. He had earlier been commander of the guard at the concentration camp Lublin-Majdanek. In the autumn of 1944, he was the highest-ranking camp leader of the camp at Kaufering.¹ Each of the four camps had a camp leader—some were seasoned SS members, but some were Wehrmacht personnel who had been transferred to the SS.

From July 24, 1944, on, there were 8,300 prisoners, with 7,500 males and 800 females, in the camps M 1, Waldlager, Mittergars, and Thalham. The imbalance in the proportion of male and female prisoners reflects, on the one hand, the labor requests issued by the OT for building work and, on the other hand, also the generally worse survival conditions for women during selections at Auschwitz. In the summer of 1944, the first transport of 1,000 prisoners, Hungarian Jews, from Auschwitz arrived at the half-completed camp M 1. Mettenheim (M 1) is mentioned for the first time on July 28, 1944. Soon the numbers were increased to 2,000 men. Also a camp for women existed from September 25, 1944. It held 500 female prisoners. On average, there were 2,000 men and 250 women prisoners in a forest camp. Mittergars, in operation from November 30, 1944, and Thalham, from January 31, 1945, held 350 and 200 male prisoners, respectively. On April 25, 1945, there were almost 5,000 male and almost 300 female concentration camp prisoners in the four Mühldorf camps.²

The work of the prisoners was, above all, construction work. They had to unload the cement that was delivered by trucks or rail wagons, transport it to the warehouses near the building sites, and later carry the 50-kilogram (110-pound) heavy sacks to the concrete mixers, where the cement was poured into the machines. They also had to lay tracks at the building site and provide assistance such as the production of prefabricated concrete parts at, for example, the company Wayss & Freytag in Ampfing. Kicks, beatings, and slaps in the face by OT members and company members were the order of the day.

Without exaggeration, the living conditions in the Mühldorf subcamps can be described as catastrophic. The interior of the huts was limited to boards with a layer of straw and a stove. There was a lack of firewood or fuel in winter, and the rain and snow penetrated the roofs of the earth huts. OT food rations were completely inadequate. For the concentration camp prisoners, there were no toilets or washing facilities at the construction sites. It was only when a typhoid fever epidemic raged that the OT construction manager ordered the construction of toilets at the building site "Weingut I." In at least two of the four Mühldorf subcamps, there was no running water. The little water available, which had been brought to the camp in barrels, was to be used only for cooking. Many prisoners were infected with vermin because of the lack of washing facilities. As a consequence, typhus and typhoid fever spread quickly. An SS doctor from the Dachau concentration camp removed the quarantine restrictions imposed on the forest camp so that work could continue on the construction of the bunkers.

The OT was responsible for the medical care at the camps at Mühldorf. In the autumn of 1944, Dr. Erika Flocken was the OT doctor. She enforced the prisoner selections at Mühldorf. On September 25, 1944, 277 male Jewish prisoners and 3 female Jewish prisoners were sent on an "invalid transport" to



Finnish tents at Waldlager V, Ampfing, a subcamp of Dachau/Mühldorf; each hut accommodated from thirty to forty prisoners.

USHMM WS # 80110, COURTESY OF NARA



The semi-underground barracks at Waldlager VI, a subcamp of Dachau/Mühldorf near Ampfing, May 7, 1945.
USHMM WS # 80112, COURTESY OF NARA

Auschwitz, and on October 25, 1944, 554 male prisoners and 1 female prisoner were sent to Auschwitz. They were gassed in Auschwitz.³

Due to its numerous building projects, the OT had become an accessory to the SS and assisted in the murder of the people forced to work for Germany. The Mühldorf camps, like the Kaufering camps, were a new type of camp where the SS, other than with respect to guards, had withdrawn from the responsibility for the camps. The type and pace of work, construction of the camp, food, and medical care as well as the selection of the concentration camp prisoners no longer fit for work were the responsibility of the OT.

Toward the end of the war the head of the SS-Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), Kaltenbrunner, devised a plan for the murder of the Jewish prisoners at Kaufering and Mühldorf. It was known by the code name Aktion Wolkenbrand (Action Fire Cloud). Since it could not be implemented, most of the prisoners were evacuated from the Mühldorf camps. One of the evacuation transports was by rail to Poing, county of Ebersberg near Munich. Probably about 200 prisoners were killed or injured, either due to an error by the guards releasing the prisoners too early or perhaps as a result of a low-flying air attack.⁴ The remaining prisoners were freed at the end of April 1945 or the beginning of May 1945 in Seeshaupt, Tutzing, and Feldafing am Starnberger See.

In the three death books that deal only with the camps M 1 and Waldlager, there are 2,026 listed dead. A mass grave opened by American soldiers contained the remains of 2,249 people; another grave at Mittergars held 42 corpses. Some 855 people were gassed at Auschwitz. An American fact-finding commission calculated that about 47 percent of the prisoners at the Mühldorf camps (3,934 people) died, whereas 3,556 survived. The fate of another 810 prisoners (10 percent) could not be determined.⁵

The U.S. Mühldorf Trial put culprits of the SS, the OT, and the construction firm Polensky & Zöllner in the dock.

Only one death sentence was finally carried out against an SS member—the other death sentences, including OT doctor Dr. Erika Flocken, were commuted into prison sentences. In another U.S. military trial, the roll-call leader at camp M 1, SS-Oberscharführer Georg Schallermair, was sentenced to death and executed in June 1951 at Landsberg am Lech.⁶ German investigations by the state prosecutors of Traunstein and München II into the camp leaders, prisoner-functionaries, OT, and company officials did not result in any prosecutions.⁷

SOURCES In the author's thesis *Die Dachauer KZ-Aussenkommandos Kaufering und Mühldorf: Rüstungsbauten und Zwangsarbeit im letzten Kriegsjahr 1944/45* (Landsberg, 1992), extensive detail concerning the Mühldorf subcamp complex is covered. Andreas Wagner also deals with the end of the Mühldorf camps in *Todesmarsch: Die Räumung und Teilräumung der Konzentrationslager Dachau, Kaufering und Mühldorf Ende April 1945* (Ingolstadt, 1995). Gabriele Hammermann's article "Die Dachauer Außenlager um Mühldorf," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 77–98, focuses on the perpetrators. Christoph Valentien's contribution "KZ-Aussenlager Mühldorf: Entwurfsarbeiten von Landschaftsarchitekturstudenten," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 218–239, describes the ideas for the construction of a Mühldorf memorial (which has yet to be built). Peter Müller has compiled the results of many years of research that had only been published in articles in a book titled *Das Bunkergelände im Mühldorfer Hart: Rüstungswahn und menschliches Leid* (Mühldorf, 1999).

The most important sources are the U.S. trials in Dachau (available at NARA), which also contain a few original documents from the SS registry and which were used as evidentiary documents in the trial. The relevant cases are *USA v. Martin Gottfried Weiss, et al.* (Case 000-50-02), *USA v. Franz Auer, et al.* (Case 000-50-136), *USA v. Michael Vogel, et al.* (Case 000-50-002-112), and *USA v. Georg Schallermair* (Case 000-50-002-121). Memoirs of survivors and a few single documents such as transport and strength lists are in AG-D and APMO as well as YVA. Also, the BA-K holds scattered records such as the death books relating to the Mühldorf camps. Of significance are also the investigations by the Sta. Traunstein and München II. One of the most outstanding of the survivor's recollections is Max Mannheimer's diary *Spätes Tagebuch: Theresienstadt—Auschwitz—Warschau—Dachau* (Zurich, 2000). Livia E. Bitton-Jackson has written about recollections by early female prisoners in *Elli. Coming of Age in the Holocaust* (New York, 1980); as has Ebi Gabor, *The Blood Tattoo* (Dallas: Monument Press, 1987).

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NOTES

1. On Langleist, who previously had been deployed in the Dachau subcamps at Kaufering, see Case 000-50-002, *USA v. Martin Gottfried Weiss, et al.*, NARA, RG 338.

2. See Case 000-50-136, *USA v. Franz Auer, et al.* ("Mühldorf Trial"), NARA, RG 338. Also of significance is Case 000-50-002-112, *USA v. Michael Vogel, et al.* ("Mühldorf Ring Trial"), NARA, RG 338.

3. Transport lists, AG-D, Nr. 1044.

4. Sta. München II 10a Js 8/60, Best. 34580, StA-M.

5. Numbers are taken from the Mühldorf Trial.
6. Case 000-50-002-121, *USA v. Georg Schallermaier*, NARA, RG 338.
7. Sta. Traunstein, Best. 20752; Sta. Traunstein, Best. 31503/1-10; Sta. München II, Best. 34744/1-7; and Sta. München II, Best. 34580, all available at StA-M.

MÜNCHEN (BERGMANNSCHULE)

From December 1944 to April 1945, 10 prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp were held in a classroom in the Bergmann School in Munich.¹ The prisoners were trained craftsmen who had been brought to Munich to secure buildings from collapsing after air raids and to do repair work.

Former prisoner Roman S. recalled that he and two or three Poles, four Czechs, two Yugoslavs, and two Germans formed the detachment at 36 Bergmannstrasse.² At night, the prisoners were locked in a classroom and guarded by a member of the SS. The leader of the detachment treated the prisoners brutally. He beat and kicked them with his feet. However, he did not use his gun. There were no other guards who accompanied the men to their work.

The Bergmann School had almost been totally destroyed by an incendiary bomb in June 1944. When the prisoners arrived at Bergmannstrasse in December 1944, there were no longer any pupils at the school. There was a soup kitchen and a shower in the school building.

On the occasion of the one-hundredth anniversary of the Bergmann School in 1991, a small volume was published on the school's history. It included photographs of the school building both before and after its destruction.³ The book made no reference to the school's use as a subcamp for prisoners from Dachau.

In 1973, preliminary investigations were made into the Bergmann School subcamp by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg. The investigations ceased in 1976, as there had been no deaths at the camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources for this camp begin with its listing in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 87. For the Bergmann School's history, see Franz Igerl, ed., *100 Jahre Bergmannschule* (Munich, 1991).

The source material for this camp is poor. A strength report held in AG-D gives the camp's strength. The ZdL investigation files (now at BA-L) hold a statement by a former prisoner.

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NOTES

1. Strength Reports, Dachau concentration camp, April 3, 1945, AG-D, 404.
2. Statement Roman S., January 16, 1975, BA-L, ZdL IV 410 AR 109/73.
3. Franz Igerl, ed., *100 Jahre Bergmannschule* (Munich, 1991), pp. 25, 32.

MÜNCHEN (BOMBENSUCHKOMMANDO)

It was as early as October 1940 that Adolf Hitler gave the order that concentration camp inmates and other prisoners were, according to availability, to remove bombs and to disarm unexploded ammunition and bombs with delayed fuses.¹ Prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp were used for doing this in the greater area of Munich mostly during the last two years of the war.

For this reason, in July 1944, a Bomb Disposal Detachment (Bombensuchkommando) of 100 prisoners was quartered in the Stieler School in Bavariaring/6 Stielerstrasse in Munich. The prisoners had been chosen by the Dachau camp administration, and for their trip to Munich, they were equipped with new prisoners' clothes. The prisoners did not know what their role would be when they left Dachau. They had been told they would form a cleaning-up detachment to remove debris and to secure buildings.

When they arrived at the Stieler School, the prisoners were led to the gymnasium where straw sacks were prepared for them. They were promised—if they performed well—an improvement in their prison conditions and an early release. They were also told that they would be executed for theft, escape, or making contact with civilians. Before their first assignment, they were given bread and milk. That very same day, in groups of six, they were driven to Romanstrasse, the site of the Unexploded Bomb Reporting Office. From there, they were brought to all parts of the city, together with bomb specialists of the Wehrmacht. Several times a day the prisoners had to disarm bombs without the slightest knowledge of how to do so.² Franz Bückl recalls that he disarmed 246 bombs.³

Most of the prisoners died when removing the fuses or when the bombs with delayed fuses exploded after a period of time, despite not being touched. Up to 15 prisoners died each day. They were immediately replaced by new prisoners from Dachau. Because of the high death rate, the prisoners called themselves the Himmelfahrtskommando (Suicide Detachment). It is not possible to tell how many prisoners served as part of the detachment between July 1944 and April 1945 or how many died. The dangers of serving in the Bomb Disposal Detachment were well known to the prisoners at Dachau.⁴

In many instances, only a few human remains could be found of the dead prisoners. These, together with their last possessions, were taken back to the Dachau concentration camp.⁵

Bückl, a former prisoner, kept a photo of the detachment, secretly taken, which showed him and his comrades with a disarmed bomb.⁶ The Archives at the Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial hold other photos of the Bomb Disposal Detachment, but it is not possible to relate the pictures to the people in a particular group in the squad.

A few reports from the Luftschutzabschnittskommando Süd (Air Defense Sector Command South) today still give details about some of the assignments the prisoners worked

on. They were divided into at least 11 squads.⁷ These reports show that each squad was led by a bomb specialist from the Wehrmacht and was guarded by one SS sentry. Sometimes policemen were used as guards.

The temptation to escape was particularly strong as the prisoners worked outside the camp. The Schutzpolizei (Municipal Police), Southern Sector holds a report of one escape attempt of a “protective custody” prisoner on September 16, 1944.⁸ The escapee could not be found, and his fate is unknown.

There are no precise details on when the Stieler School subcamp was closed. What is certain is that the Dachau prisoners were used right up to the end of the war to disarm bombs in Munich and its surroundings.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in 1973 and 1974 ended without result.⁹

SOURCES The AG-D holds a few files on the Bombensuchkommando. Franz Bückl's experiences in this subcamp were published by Hans-Günter Richardi in 1989 in *Leben auf Abruf: Das Blindgängerbeseitigungs-Kommando aus dem KL Dachau in München 1944/45* (Dachau, 1989).

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NOTES

1. Decree Adolf Hitler, October 12, 1940, DZOK, R1 178.
2. “Schokolade für das Todeskommando,” MMer, November 2, 1989.
3. “Erinnerungen an eine düstere Zeit,” SZ, January 5–6, 1988.
4. Letter from the prisoner Wilhelm L. to his wife Frau Fanny (secretly written), n.d., AG-D, 34.860/5.
5. Letter of the Bombensuchkommando Stieler School, November 30, 1944, AG-D, 23.771.
6. Hans-Günter Richardi, *Leben auf Abruf: Das Blindgängerbeseitigungs-Kommando aus dem KL Dachau in München 1944/45* (Dachau, 1989), p. 27.
7. Report of notified unexploded bombs in July 1944, August 26, 1944, AG-D, 23.760; List of Concentration Camp Prisoners used after the Raid on September 22, 1944, AG-D, 23.764; Report of the Bomb Disposal Detachment November 27, 1944 (Angr. 27.11.), AG-D, 23.769.
8. Letter of the Schupo Abschnitt Kdo Süd, September 19, 1944, AG-D, 23.763.
9. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 110/73.

MÜNCHEN (CHEMISCHE WERKE)

In 1903, Dr. Anselm Kahn and engineer Franz Wittmann acquired the Chemische Werke Otto Bärlocher, which had been established in Augsburg in 1863. In 1924, they abandoned the Augsburg site and relocated the firm to Munich. After World War I, the number of products manufactured was increased. In addition to the manufacture of sulfuric acid

and ammonia were added artificial fertilizer, shoe polish, and cleaning products.

Following the Nazi takeover, the Chemische Werke was “aryanized” in 1938 through the forced sale to Franz Wittmann of the business shares of Jewish owners.¹ During the war, the production of coal-fire accelerants, mostly for the Deutsche Reichsbahn, ensured the continued existence of Chemische Werke.

Between 16 and 32 prisoners were held in this subcamp, located at 16 Siemensstrasse, Munich, from November 1, 1944, to April 14, 1945. Siemensstrasse ran in München Moosach from Manteufelstrasse via Gärtnerstrasse to Pellkofenstrasse. There are no reports of survivors of the Chemische Werke subcamp on record. The International Tracing Service (ITS) shows no transport or transfer lists. The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) initiated investigations of the camp in 1973 but could not find any further sources and ceased the proceedings in 1974.²

SOURCES A listing for the Chemische Werke subcamp may be found in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 83. Dorle Gibl and Manfred Bauer's *Bärlocher Die Chronik 1823–1998* (Unterschleißheim, 1998) gives some information about the company's history. Additional information on the “aryanization” case may be found in Wolfram Selig, *“Arisierung” in München: Die Vernichtung jüdischer Existenz 1937–1939* (Berlin, 2004), pp. 867–868.

Primary sources are not available for this subcamp. Information on the “aryanization” of the Chemische Werke in 1938 is found in the reparation claim by the Kahn beneficiaries against the Chemische Werke from the year 1948, available at BHStA-(M).

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NOTES

1. See Kahn Beneficiaries Claim for Compensation against the Chemische Werke München, 1948, BHStA-(M), WG I a 645.
2. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 114/73.

MÜNCHEN (EHRENGUT)

The company L. Ehrengut was a saw mill and carpentry shop at 270 Thalkirchnerstrasse in Munich. Between April 7, 1942, and September 11, 1942, 10 prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp worked there. Half of the detachment consisted of German “protective custody” prisoners; there were also 2 Czech and 3 Polish prisoners in the Ehrengut subcamp.¹

Initially, the prisoners were taken to work by truck daily from Dachau to Munich. It was only after a few months that a permanent subcamp was established at the company L. Ehrengut. This means that even before April 1942 a prisoner detachment was working at the firm.² All the prisoners in the

saw mill worked as carpenters on sawing machines and produced parts for military barracks.

The prisoners were accommodated in barracks on the factory grounds. Food was brought from Dachau and prepared at the factory site. On Sundays, spare time was granted to the prisoners, and they were allowed to prepare additional meals for themselves.³ Hermann Glinz, a German protective custody prisoner, was the Kapo of the detachment.⁴

The detachment leader of the Ehrengut subcamp was Unterscharführer Theodor Stutz-Zenner. The SS guard consisted of five SS members who came from Romania and Bulgaria. They slept in the same barrack as the prisoners, while the commander was quartered in a house. There are no reports of prisoner mistreatment or homicides.

In the middle of 1942, a prisoner successfully escaped, and the Ehrengut subcamp was dissolved soon afterward.

During the U.S. Army Dachau Trials, Stutz-Zenner was sentenced to life in 1947 for crimes committed in various Dachau subcamps.⁵

SOURCES Details on this subcamp can be found primarily in the preliminary investigation files of ZdL from the years 1973–1976, available at BA-L. Other important sources are the Dachau Trial files, available at NARA. The AG-D holds a list of names of the Ehrengut subcamp prisoners (AG-D, 35.673).

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NOTES

1. List of Names of the Ehrengut Subcamp, May 18, 1942, AG-D, 35.673.
2. Statement M., Boleslaw, January 30, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 114/73.
3. Statement Ehrengut, Maximilian, August 20, 1947, NARA, RG 338, Box 323.
4. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer Lists, July 2, 1942, AG-D, 35.673.
5. Case 000-50-2-105, *USA v. Theodor Stutz-Zenner*, NARA, RG 338, Box 323.

MÜNCHEN (GÄRTNEREIBETRIEB NÜTZL)

Franz Nützl had been in charge of the Nützl Gärtnerei (Nursery) since 1928 and ran a vegetable and fruit wholesale shop on 9 Ludwigsfeld in Munich. He was a member of the SA, and between 1933 and 1938, he took part in SA beer hall brawls in Munich and was one of those who set the Munich Synagogue on fire.¹ He joined the Nazi Party (NSDAP) in 1937 and was known for his close contact to the SS and SD bigwigs. He was active in the SD, writing monthly reports.

Until 1933 his business was several times on the edge of bankruptcy. With the Nazi takeover, Nützl found new business partners and became one of the most influential wholesale traders in Munich. By the end of the war, he was the only supplier of fruits and vegetables for SS barracks, hospitals, police academies, and rest homes for the police, SS, and SD in Mu-

nich and in the surrounding area.² He supplied the Dachau concentration camp kitchens and also the kitchens of Mauthausen, Auschwitz, Flossenbürg, Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, and Ravensbrück.

Nützl not only supplied Dachau with goods; he also profited from the workshops there. For example, he had shoes made for him and his family and received construction material to expand his business.³ In return, he arranged drinking binges at his home for high-ranking SS and party functionaries.

It was well known in the nursery that Nützl was engaged in all sorts of black market deals and racketeering with wine, meat, and even luxury goods. As a result of these activities, he was brought before the Special Court (Sondergericht) at Traunstein in December 1943, accused of trading on the black market. He received a fine and was sentenced to 10 months in prison.⁴ However, Nützl never served the sentence—his files mysteriously disappeared.

Nützl profited from his close connections to party and SS decision makers, starting as early as 1940, when prisoners of war (POWs) were sent to work at his nursery. The first concentration camp prisoners started to work at the Ludwigsfeld firm in 1941.⁵ Unterscharführer Bruno Jakusch arrived at the Nützl firm in September 1942 with 42 prisoners under his command and together with four or five guards.⁶ The nursery was largely destroyed during an air raid on September 22, 1944. Nützl, who was also an expert in assessing wartime damage, was quickly recompensed and received an additional 70 prisoners to clean up the damage at his nursery.

According to a former prisoner who worked in the Dachau concentration camp record office, the Nützl detachment was very unpopular until 1943.⁷ No one wanted to be allocated to this detachment. The work was difficult, and Kommandoführer Jakusch and Kapo Rohner were known for brutally beating up prisoners. Nützl and his wife not only tolerated the mistreatment but demanded the guards to drive the prisoners to produce more and more. If the prisoners did not work quickly enough and well enough, Nützl made a report to Rapportführer Böttcher in Dachau and had the prisoners transferred back to the concentration camp.

Jakusch was withdrawn from the Nützl Nursery in December 1944 following an epileptic fit. His successor was the SS member Uelzhöfer. It is reported that he also beat prisoners whom he caught stealing. After Uelzhöfer, there was at least one other camp detachment leader, but details on him are not known.

The prisoners brought their food with them from Dachau. As they had to work very hard, they received additional rations from the Nützl firm. Until January 1943, the prisoners slept at Dachau. A civilian employee recalled that work at the camp was interrupted for two months because of a quarantine at the main camp.⁸ Hans Hornung reported that after four years the prisoners were accommodated at the Allach subcamp following efforts made by Nützl.⁹ It is no longer possible

to determine when the prisoner detachment was transferred to Allach. In September 1944, 92 prisoners from various European countries formed the Nützl detachment. Until September 1944, the Kapo was a prisoner from Vienna, Rohner. When the cleanup detachment arrived from Dachau at the nursery, Rohner was on leave. Karl Poltschek took over his role.¹⁰ After his return, Rohner remained at the camp only for a short while. His successor was Hans Schneider, who was the Kapo until January 1945.

From January 1943, the German prisoner Hornung kept the accounts of the subcamp. After Nützl had been convicted by the Special Court for trading on the black market, he disappeared for a time, staying at the Wartenburg Sanatorium. Thus he needed a reliable business manager in Munich. He therefore approached the command office of the Dachau concentration camp and asked for the release of prisoner Hornung. He was released on a trial basis on June 7, 1944, on condition that he worked at the nursery. So while Hornung was free, he simultaneously was made dependent on Nützl. Several times Nützl threatened to return Hornung to the concentration camp. Nevertheless, Hornung tried to improve the conditions for the prisoners in the Nützl detachment, requesting several times that prisoners be given bonuses for their work.¹¹

There are no known homicides of prisoners at the Nützl Nursery. However, an air raid in September 1944 injured several prisoners and killed seven. The wounded were taken to the infirmary at Dachau.¹²

Nützl fled two days before the Americans marched into Munich. Only Hornung remained at the Nützl Nursery and continued the business under American supervision until Nützl returned after two weeks.

To protect his profits earned from the SS, Nützl transferred a large part of his business to his wife after the war and sold his workshops and vehicles to his nephew Franz Auracher. He remained de facto head of the business.

In 1949, Nützl was found by the Munich Denazification Court to be a Category IV follower and had to pay a fine of 100 Deutsche Mark (DM) and court costs of 59,000 DM.¹³ Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg on events at the Nützl subcamp ceased in 1974 as the investigators could find no evidence of a crime committed in the subcamp.¹⁴ Former camp Kommandoführer Jakusch was sentenced to two years and six months' imprisonment during the U.S. Army's Dachau Trials.¹⁵

SOURCES

No secondary sources about the Nützl Nursery subcamp have been published to date.

The most important primary source for the subcamp is the denazification proceedings against Franz Nützl. The files are held today by StA-M and contain statements by the participants. Also, the Dachau Trials, available at NARA, contain some details about the subcamp. Little information is held in the ZdL's files at BA-L.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Statement Hans Sch., August 6, 1945, StA-M, SpkA Karton 1261 (Franz Nützl); hereafter Nützl file.
2. Letter August B., November 10, 1945, in *ibid.*
3. Statement Hermann D., October 13, 1948, in *ibid.*
4. Copy of the Judgment of the Special Court I at the District Court München I, December 7, 1943, in *ibid.*
5. Statement of Proof, Denazification Proceedings, June 11, 1947, in *ibid.*
6. Statement Bruno Jakusch, n.d., NARA, RG 153, Box 215.
7. Statement Raimund Sch., March 14, 1946, in Nützl file.
8. Statement Hedwig C., July 17, 1946, in *ibid.*
9. Statement Hans Hornung, July 17, 1946, in *ibid.*
10. Statement Karl Poltschek, August 28, 1946, in *ibid.*
11. Statement Hans Sch., June 19, 1946, in *ibid.*
12. Letter Bruno Jakusch, n.d., NARA, RG 153, Box 215.
13. Nützl file.
14. BA-L, ZdL, IV AR 125/73.
15. Case 000-50-2-84, *USA v. Michael Greil, et al.*, NARA, RG 338, Box 314.

MÜNCHEN (GESTAPO) WITTELSBACHER PALAIS)

From June 1942, a concentration camp prisoner, Josef Eberl, was the janitor in the control center of the Gestapo in Munich, which was located in the Wittelsbach Palace at 50 Brienerstrasse. Between 1943 and April 1945, Eberl shared this work with another prisoner, Xaver Scholl.¹ Both were accommodated in the prison cells in the palace's cellar. There were others from Dachau working there as carpenters, electricians, and painters.

The München Gestapo first became a subcamp when 10 Dachau prisoners were transferred to Brienerstrasse on June 13, 1944.² By April 1945, the detachment had increased to 50 prisoners from Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia, Holland, Poland, and Russia.³ They were accommodated in a large hall in the Wittelsbach Palace, which was locked at night. It was fitted out with several multitiered bunk beds. In the cellar there was a kitchen and bathroom that could be used by the prisoners. The Dachau concentration camp supplied the food, but it was the prisoners who had to cook it. The Gestapo command center was walled in and surrounded by barbed wire. It was guarded by sentries day and night. Kapo Karl Frey was in charge of the detachment. According to his fellow prisoners, he interceded on behalf of the prisoners.⁴

The prisoner detachment worked on renovations and built an air-raid bunker in the Wittelsbach Palace. They also worked outside the palace, removing bomb damage, fighting fires, or removing bodies after the air raids.⁵ The prisoners were taken by truck each morning from the courtyard of the Wittelsbach Palace to their assignments. In the evening the truck returned them to Brienerstrasse.⁶ In 1945, smaller groups of prisoners were used to disarm bombs. Several Polish and Russian prisoners were killed in January 1945 trying to defuse a bomb.⁷ More prisoners died in this detachment while

trying to remove unexploded ordnance. They were replaced by other prisoners from Dachau.⁸

Seven prisoners were hanged in the park at the Wittelsbach Palace on January 7, 1945, for looting.⁹ A prisoner served as the hangman, and the rest of the detachment had to watch the hanging.¹⁰ It is known that there were other hangings and that prisoners were shot for stealing food or being absent from their work without permission. The SS guards mistreated the prisoners daily.

The München Gestapo subcamp was under the command of Adolf Höfer.¹¹ The guards were foreign members of the SS. They guarded the prisoners while they were at work both inside and outside the Wittelsbach Palace.

The Gestapo subcamp in Brienerstrasse was dissolved on April 25–26, 1945, and the prisoners were taken by foot back to Dachau.¹²

There were two proceedings at the State Court München I that were concerned with the events at the Gestapo subcamp. In 1963–1964, former prisoners Eberl and Schroll were investigated for the mistreatment of a prisoner.¹³ Later the investigations were stopped. In 1976, proceedings for homicide against Adolf Höfer and other members of the Gestapo command center were concluded for lack of evidence.¹⁴

SOURCES It is possible to identify the prisoners' names from the transfer lists held in AG-D. The proceedings before the State Court München I, some of which are available at StAM, contain statements by members of this detachment.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Statement Josef Eberl, August 8, 1963, BHStA-(M), StanW 21819.
2. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer Lists, June 13, 1944, AG-D, 35.672.
3. Statement Karl Frey, December 16, 1974, Sta. Mü I, 320 Js 136 30/76 a-b.
4. Statement Tadeusz K., November 15, 1974; Statement Arakel A., January 8, 1975; both Sta. Mü I, 320 Js 136 30/76 a-b.
5. Statement Arakel A., January 8, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320 Js 136 30/76 a-b.
6. Statement Eduard E., December 28, 1948, BHStA-(M), Sta. 17439/1-12.
7. Statement Robert M., October 8, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320 Js 136 30/76 a-b.
8. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer Lists, AG-D, 35.672, 35.675, 35.676.
9. Statement Eberl, December 8, 1971; Statement Frey, December 16, 1974; both Sta. Mü I, 320 Js 136 30/76 a-b.
10. Statement Josef A., June 28, 1978; BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 120/76.
11. Copy BDCPF Adolf Höfer, Sta. Mü I, 320 Js 136 30/76 a-b.
12. Statement Arakel A., January 8, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320 Js 136 30/76 a-b.

13. BHStA-(M), StanW 21819.
14. Sta. Mü I, 320 Js 136 30/76 a-b.

MÜNCHEN (GROSSSCHLACHTEREI THOMAE)

The address of the large-scale slaughterhouse (*Grossschlachterei*) of Rudolf Thomae in Munich could not be located. In 1942, inmates of the Dachau concentration camp were forced laborers at the firm. The International Tracing Service (ITS) mentions a single prisoner on August 21, 1942.¹ However, since two Kapos were known to have been at that subcamp, there must have been more than just one prisoner. Wilhelm Binner was replaced as Kapo by Erwin Hanselmann on November 1, 1942.² According to the existing transfer lists and change reports, the prisoners were exclusively Germans who were in "protective custody" and whose professions were listed as either locksmiths or carpenters.

This subcamp is mentioned for the last time in a fluctuation report from Dachau, dated November 12, 1942.³

In 1973 the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg unsuccessfully investigated the Grossschlachterei Thomae.⁴

SOURCES Some transfer lists and fluctuation reports are in AG-D and give information on the names of the prisoners and the reasons for their imprisonment. For this subcamp, no reports or statements by survivors were handed down.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 88.
2. Transfer Lists Dachau Concentration Camp, January 11, 1942, AG-D, 35.674; Variation Report Dachau Concentration Camp, October 30, 1942, AG-D, 32.350/37.
3. Variation Report Dachau Concentration Camp, December 11, 1942, AG-D, 32.350/28.
4. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 141/73.

MÜNCHEN (HÖCHLSTRASSE) [AKA SS-STANDORTVERWALTUNG HÖCHLSTRASSE]

Between October and December 1944, a prisoner work detachment was quartered in a private villa in Höchlstrasse in the city center of Munich. The concentration camp files record this subcamp under the name SS-Standortverwaltung (Garrison Administration) Höchlstrasse. According to a former prisoner, the subcamp held 18 skilled craftsmen whose job it was to provide emergency assistance and cleanup work after air raids on Munich.¹

The detachment consisted of political prisoners of different nationalities and Jehovah's Witnesses.

Transfer lists from the Dachau main camp for the months of October and November 1944 show that eventually 20 prisoners were transferred to the Höchlstrasse subcamp. According to the lists, only 5 prisoners were sent back to the main camp during the subcamp's existence.² It remains uncertain whether prisoners died in the Höchlstrasse subcamp and replacements were then sent from the main camp or whether the strength of the detachment was simply increased.

A survivor has reported that the detachment was dissolved in December 1944 and that some of the prisoners were taken to the Garmisch-Partenkirchen subcamp. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the Höchlstrasse subcamp is mentioned for the last time on December 28, 1944.³

In 1973, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg commenced investigations into the Höchlstrasse subcamp. Because violent crimes or homicides could not be proven, the investigations ceased in 1974.⁴

SOURCES The AG-D holds the transfer lists that record the names of the prisoners in this detachment. In 1954 the former prisoner Conrad K. compiled a report on his time in prison in the National Socialist concentration camps. The report has a section on this work detachment. It is held at GAZJ. The ZdL investigation files at BA-L scarcely make any mention of this detachment.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Report Conrad K., February 5, 1954, GAZJ, Selters Doc 05/02/54.
2. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer Lists, October–December 1944, AG-D, 35.675, 35.676, 35.677.
3. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 84.
4. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 116/73.

MÜNCHEN (KATASTROPHENEINSATZ)

Between February 5 and April 21, 1945, there existed in Munich the Katastropheneinsatz (Disaster Unit) subcamp.¹ It has not been possible to precisely identify the location of this camp. Up to 85 prisoners were housed in the cellar of a bombed-out house and used to defuse unexploded bombs after air raids on the city. The detachment consisted of prisoners of a number of nationalities, mainly Russians, Poles, and Czechs.² The German "protective custody" prisoners Werner Ascher and Otto Höringer were Kapo and auxiliary Kapo of the Disaster Unit. The prisoners slept in bunk beds and were guarded by 10 members of the SS and a detachment leader. It is said that the mayor, Karl Fiehler, personally transmitted the work orders to the commander.³

A high death rate of the prisoners was known from other detachments for bomb disposal in Munich because they were

dispatched without technical training and sufficient safety measures. A former prisoner confirmed that the work of the Disaster Unit was very dangerous.⁴

On April 20, 1945, 38 prisoners of the Disaster Unit subcamp were sent back to Dachau; one day later, 11 more prisoners were sent back, and the subcamp was dissolved.⁵ The few details that are known about this subcamp come from preliminary proceedings that the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg instituted in 1973 concerning the Katastropheneinsatz subcamp. The proceedings were terminated in 1976 for lack of concrete evidence.⁶

SOURCES The few details that are known about this subcamp come from the preliminary proceedings that the ZdL instituted in 1973 concerning the Disaster Unit subcamp, available at BA-L. The only primary sources are three lists of transfers from the Dachau concentration camp. A copy is held in the AG-D.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 84.
2. Transfer Lists Dachau Concentration Camp, April 14, 1945, and April 20, 1945, AG-D, 35.678.
3. Statement Wojciech S., December 17, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 118/73.
4. Ibid.
5. Transfer Lists Dachau Concentration Camp, April 20, 1945, and April 21, 1945, AG-D, 35.678.
6. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 118/73.

MÜNCHEN (KÖNIGINSTRASSE)

According to a statement by the International Tracing Service (ITS), the only reference to the subcamp on Königinstrasse is a Dachau concentration camp change report dated November 8, 1943.¹ It follows from a former prisoner's testimony that he was assigned to the subcamp Königinstrasse to work on an underground bunker.²

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in 1975 also did not result in any further knowledge about the subcamp on Königinstrasse.

SOURCES The only references to the outside labor detail are to be found in the investigation files of the ZdL, available at BA-L.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Letter ITS, August 17, 1973, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 119/73.
2. Statement Karl W., November 27, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 119/73.

MÜNCHEN (LEBENSborn e.V.)

In the spring of 1942, the Lebensborn e.V. acquired from the Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland (Reich Association of Jews in Germany) the former Jewish retirement home at 8–9 Mathildenstrasse, Munich. The Lebensborn e.V. relocated its offices to this building. On June 15, 1942, a Dachau concentration camp subcamp was established there that at first held 20 prisoners, mostly Poles, Austrians, Czechs, and Germans.¹ In September 1942, the detachment was increased to 40 prisoners. They were accommodated in a house and slept in bunk beds. The bedroom windows were barred, and the windows were painted over. SS sentries guarded the building.

The building in Mathildenstrasse had been damaged by bombs, and the first task of the prisoners was to repair it. Some of the prisoners worked in different areas in the city on other construction sites. A survivor has reported that he worked with a small detachment on Hermann-Schmidt-Strasse, doing renovation work.² At 5 Hermann-Schmidt-Strasse there was a former Jewish hospital that had also been acquired in 1942 by the Lebensborn e.V. and that had been converted into offices. The prisoners also worked at the private residence of the München Lebensborn head, Max Sollmann, renovating his house and constructing a bunker. They worked from Monday to Saturday from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. regardless of the weather. On Sundays they worked to midday. In addition to the concentration camp prisoners, there were 20 Dutch forced laborers who had to work for the Lebensborn e.V.³

The SS at the Lebensborn subcamp consisted of a detachment leader and five guards. The first commander was an SS member named Bederlein. His successor was Noll.⁴ The last commander, Unterscharführer Sauter, was the most brutal of the commanders. He arrived in Munich no later than autumn 1943.⁵ Sollmann gave instructions to the detachment leaders on where the prisoners were to work and was kept informed of all matters pertaining to the detachment. Contact between prisoners and employees of the Lebensborn e.V. was strictly forbidden. Hans Rohr, a German “protective custody” prisoner, was the subcamp’s Kapo. He was described by survivors as violent and cruel. Former prisoner Piotr K. stated that Rohr once pushed him out of a window on the first floor and beat him repeatedly.⁶ Hermann Ratherine, a Red veteran of the Spanish Civil War, became the subcamp Kapo in June 1943. He did not beat his fellow prisoners. Mistreatment of prisoners by the SS members for the slightest infraction was the order of the day. Prisoners weakened or incapacitated by the mistreatment were sent back to the Dachau main camp and were replaced by new prisoners.⁷ There are no known cases of prisoner homicides in the Lebensborn subcamp.

The building was destroyed during air raids between July 11 and 13, 1944. The München Lebensborn Office was transferred as a result in the following weeks to Steinhöring.⁸ The prisoners were also moved to Steinhöring and were known thenceforth as the “RFSS Persönlicher Stab Amt L” (RFSS

[Reichsführer-SS] Personal Staff Office L). The subcamp remained there until just before the end of the war.

Several survivors from the Lebensborn subcamp were interviewed during investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg between 1973 and 1975. No judicial proceedings resulted from the investigations.⁹

SOURCES Georg Lilenthal’s book *Der “Lebensborn e.V.”: Ein Instrument nationalsozialistischer Rassenpolitik* (Frankfurt am Main, 2003) provides a good overview of the Lebensborn e.V. For references to Mathildenstrasse and the takeover of the Hermann-Schmidt-Strasse home, see p. 123. Another useful source is Isabel Heinemann, “Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut”: *Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas* (Göttingen, 2003), pp. 101–109.

A copy of the transfer lists held by AG-D is the only primary source. Reports of people involved in the subcamp are held in the investigation files of ZdL at BA-L, as are the proceedings against the head of the Lebensborn Office München, Max Sollmann (StA-N, KV-Prozesse, Fall 8).

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer List, June 15, 1942, AG-D, A 35.673.
2. Statement Jan N., November 28, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 120/73.
3. Statement Hermann Ratherine, August 27, 1947, NO-5237.
4. Statement Paul E., September 4, 1946, NARA, RG 153 Box 188 Folder 5.
5. Statement Michael B., July 26, 1947, NO-5222; Statement Hermann Ratherine, August 27, 1947, NO-5237.
6. Statement Piotr K., November 27, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 120/73.
7. Statement Jan N., November 28, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 120/73.
8. Statement Wolfgang Überschaar, October 13, 1947, AStN, KV-Trials, Case 8, Document Sollmann Nr. 42.
9. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 120/73.

MÜNCHEN (LEOPOLDSTRASSE)

References to the Dachau subcamp in München (Leopoldstrasse) are to be found only in the International Tracing Service (ITS). According to these details, the camp is mentioned for the first time in the Dachau files in March 1945. Nine male prisoners were put to work in the SS-Standortverwaltung (Garrison Administration) in Leopoldstrasse, Munich.

SOURCES The München (Leopoldstrasse) subcamp is listed in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), p. 407; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 85; and “Verzeichnis der

Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1826.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
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MÜNCHEN (LODENFREY)

The Munich textile factory Lodenfrey had been located since 1842 at 9–10 Osterwaldstrasse. Georg Frey took over production management in 1928. He joined the Nazi Party in 1933 and was a member of the SS but left the SS in 1937 on religious grounds. In 1933, the company produced the uniforms for a few Stahlhelm units, and in the following years, it manufactured coats for the SA, the Hitler Youth, and Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich Labor Service).¹ Between 1933 and 1940, the family company was able to increase its staff numbers and profits annually. The result was that in 1934 and again in 1942 the production facilities were expanded.² There were negative economic consequences beginning with the second year of war. They were especially severe during 1944–1945 following the total destruction of department stores in 7 Maffeistrasse and 23 Kaufingerstrasse in Munich.³

The first records of the existence of a prisoner detachment at the textile factory date from 1942.⁴ A work detachment was taken daily from the Dachau concentration camp to Munich. It is not entirely clear how many prisoners were in this detachment and what they actually did. In May 1944, an additional detachment of 30 prisoners arrived at the Lodenfrey factory to clean up the factory site following an air raid.⁵ The prisoners were taken to Munich by truck under the guard of six SS men.⁶ It was only on June 13, 1944, that a subcamp was established at the Lodenfrey factory. This is confirmed by a Dachau transfer list that, in addition to the prisoners' names and prisoner numbers, also provides details on their nationalities and the existence of a Kapo.⁷ The "protective custody" prisoners came from Poland, Russia, Yugoslavia, France, and Italy. The only German prisoner was Wilhelm Reissmann, the prisoner detachment's Kapo.

The 30 prisoners were accommodated in a factory garage in which there were beds with bed linen. The hygienic conditions were good, and it was possible to shower in the garage. On the weekends, the prisoners were permitted to swim in the company swimming pool.⁸ The prisoners' quarters were not fenced in. The food for the prisoners came from the company's canteen. The prisoners ate it separately from the civilian workers.⁹ The garage was damaged during an air raid in 1944–1945, and the prisoners were temporarily accommodated in the factory cellar. There was a radio there, and the prisoners could listen to foreign broadcasts.¹⁰

At Christmas 1944, the factory's manager organized a small celebration for the prisoners with Christmas food. All the prisoners received a shirt, fruit, and cigarettes. Altogether the food was much better than in the Dachau main camp. A former prisoner has recalled that Frey obtained additional food and cigarettes for the prisoners.¹¹ The prisoners received

so much bread that they could even give some to the French prisoners of war (POWs) working in the factory.

The six SS guards, three of whom were "ethnic Germans" (Volksdeutsche), were also accommodated in the garage, but they were separated from the prisoners by a wall. They guarded the prisoners while they were working. Survivors recall three different detachment leaders, but their names are not known.

There are no reports of deaths or mistreatment at the Lodenfrey subcamp. About a week before American troops entered Munich, the Lodenfrey subcamp was dissolved and the prisoners transferred back to Dachau. According to survivors, Frey refused to make available a company vehicle for the transfer. Instead, he provided all prisoners with civilian clothing, helped 9 prisoners to escape, and hid the rest in his house or in the houses of the company employees.¹² After the SS had withdrawn, there were 19 prisoners who were liberated at the Lodenfrey company.¹³

Frey retired from management in August 1945. In denazification proceedings in 1948, he was categorized as *Mitläufér* (follower) and had to pay a fine of 2,000 Deutsch Mark (DM) and court costs of 75,000 DM.

In 1973, the *Central Office of State Justice Administrations* (ZdL) began investigations into the Lodenfrey subcamp. The investigations ceased in 1975 as there was no suspicion of any deaths.

SOURCES Under contract from the Lodenfrey company, Gernot Brauer published a report titled *Lodenfrey in der NS-Zeit* (Munich, 2003). The report mentions the prisoner detachment and represents an effort by the company to deal with its past.

The only contemporary sources on the subcamp are the Dachau concentration camp transfer lists, copies of which are held in AG-D. Georg Frey's denazification proceedings (available at BHStA-(M)) are a useful source of information, as are the ZdL files at BA-L, which contain statements by former prisoners.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Statement Josef L., July 8, 1947, BHStA-(M), SpkA Box 448 (Georg Frey).
2. Max Megele, *Baugeschichtlicher Atlas der Landeshauptstadt München* (Munich, 1951), Camp Plans, p. 10.
3. Meldebogen Georg Frey, June 20, 1946, BHStA-(M), SpkA Box 448 (Georg Frey).
4. Statement by former Dachau Concentration Camp Prisoner, August 1, 1945, BHStA-(M), SpkA Box 448 (Georg Frey).
5. Statement Hugo Lausterer, October 30, 1945, NARA, RG 338 Box 289.
6. Statement Felix B., August 8, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 122/73.
7. Transfer List Dachau Concentration Camp, June 13, 1944, AG-D, 35.672.
8. Statement Anton H., October 24, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 122/73.

9. Conversation by Gernot Brauer with Ernst Weber, November 6, 2002; copy of the notes of the conversation in the possession of the author.
10. Statement by former Dachau Concentration Camp Prisoner, August 1, 1945, BHStA-(M), SpkA Box 448 (Georg Frey).
11. Statement Philipp B., August 1, 1945, BHStA-(M), SpkA Box 448 (Georg Frey).
12. Statement Frantiseck H., February 24, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 122/73.
13. Prisoners' Card Index, AG-D, Best., November 18, 2003.

MÜNCHEN (OBERBÜRGERMEISTER)

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), there was a subcamp at the office of Munich Oberbürgermeister (Lord Mayor) Karl Fiehler between January 1 and April 14, 1945. Between two and nine prisoners were held there.

Investigations carried out by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in 1973 and 1974 ceased because no witnesses could be found.

SOURCES The only reference to the camp is ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 86. The investigation files ZdL at BA-L (file reference IV 410 AR 127/73) contain next to no information.

Sabine Schalm
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MÜNCHEN (PARTEIKANZLEI)

The construction of a new building for the Parteikanzlei (Party Chancellery) of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) in Gabelsbergerstrasse in Munich began in 1938. The cellar with attached bunkers was ready before the war began, but the rest was not completed by 1945. The offices of the "Führer's Representative" Rudolf Hess were located in the "Brown House" at 45 Brienerstrasse, inside Munich's political quarter. After Hess's flight to England in May 1941, his successor Martin Bormann, as head of the newly christened Party Chancellery, moved his Munich office into the "Führer Building" at 12 Arcisstrasse. His colleagues were located in different buildings in Brienerstrasse, Arcisstrasse, and Max-Josef-Strasse within the city's political quarter.

In 1942, former prisoner Erich Mahl and 12 to 14 other prisoners arrived at the Party Chancellery in Munich. They were there for a period of around six months, cleaning up the building. Mahl was the Kapo's deputy.¹ The prisoners cleaned up bomb damage after air raids. At one point they discovered wine and schnapps in the rubble and drank the alcohol. After this incident the detachment was dissolved in the summer of 1942.

In the spring of 1944, a new detachment of between 30 and 40 prisoners was brought daily from Dachau to Munich's po-

litical quarter, initially by truck and then by train. The detachment consisted of Germans, French, Poles, and Russians. There was a Kapo in charge.²

It is only from September 1944 that a Munich Parteikanzlei subcamp existed. The prisoners were accommodated in a rear building of the bombed-out Hotel Continental at Max-Josef-Strasse. The guards were also accommodated in this hotel. Food for the detachment was prepared in the hotel's kitchen. The Hotel Continental was so severely damaged by an air raid in the middle of December 1944 that the detachment was forced to relocate to the cellars of the building at 1 Max-Josef-Strasse.³ The offices of the Party Chancellery's "Department III—State Legal Matters" were located there.

Each morning some party official gave the detachment the daily work orders. On the site of the party administration near Karolinen Square, the prisoners were mostly involved in cleaning up after air raids and building air-raid shelters. But they were also used to renovate the private residences of party members.⁴

The detachment was guarded by 10 SS members and their detachment leader Scharführer Uwer.

Former prisoners have stated that the conditions were relatively good, that they were not mistreated, and that no one was killed. This is confirmed in a letter written by Hauptscharführer Hans Moser on April 5, 1945, where he complains about the lax conditions in the subcamp and, above all, about the failure by Commander Uwer to do his duty. Moser had determined that the prisoners did not work enough, that the security in their accommodation was inadequate, and that the prisoners had access to books and maps that they had found in the bombed-out houses.⁵

In his memoirs, former prisoner Hans Schwarz writes that the prisoners collected items in short supply and exchanged them for information.⁶ It was by this means that items of value such as material or wine from the Dachau stores made their way to employees of the Party Chancellery who paid for these items by allowing the prisoners to see internal party reports, commands, or orders.

Numbers in the detachment were reduced by 11 on April 4, 1945; 15 prisoners remained in Max-Josef-Strasse, plus seven guards and the commander. In the following weeks the numbers were increased, and when the camp was dissolved on April 22, 1945, there were 25 prisoners in the detachment.⁷ They were taken back by foot from Munich to the Dachau concentration camp.

In 1973, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg investigated events at the Parteikanzlei subcamp. The investigations ceased in 1976.⁸

SOURCES On the offices in the party center at Königsplatz in Munich, see the article by Bernhard Schäfer, "Die Dienststellen der Reichsleitung der NSDAP in den Parteibauten am Münchener Königsplatz. Entstehung—Entwicklung—Strukturen—Kompetenzen," in *Bürokratie und Kult: Das Partezentrum der NSDAP am Königsplatz in München; Geschichte und Rezeption*, ed. Iris Lauterbach (Berlin, 1995), pp. 89–108.

The only primary source is a copy of the transfer list, which is held in AG-D. Useful is a report on the subcamp by its former detachment leader Hans Moser. Investigations by ZdL (available at BA-L) and the Sta. Mü resulted in survivors making statements. Also held in the AG-D is Hans Schwarz's "Wir haben es nicht gewusst" (unpub. MSS, 1960), which also depicts events in the subcamp.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Statement Emil M., November 4, 1952, BHStA-(M), StanW 34468/1.
2. Statement Michael B., October 28, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 129/73.
3. Statement Johann Z., October 1, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 129/73.
4. Statement Robert L., October 24, 1974, Sta. Mü I 320u Js 202387/76.
5. Letter of the Kommandoführer Hans Moser, April 5, 1945, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 129/73.
6. Hans Schwarz, "Wir haben es nicht gewusst" (unpub. MSS, 1960); AG-D, A 1960.
7. Transfer List Dachau Concentration Camp, April 22, 1945, AG-D, 35.678.
8. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 129/73.

MÜNCHEN (REICHSFÜHRER-SS)

The International Tracing Service (ITS) shows that a subcamp called München (Reichsbahn) existed during the period from January 1945 to April 14, 1945. An accident report dated December 22, 1944, however, suggests that the subcamp existed even before the end of 1944, since two days earlier two "protective custody" prisoners were injured while working at the Munich Railroad Station between the Donnersberger and Hacker bridges.¹ Together with a railway policeman, they were warming themselves at a fire near the work site when an explosive device detonated unexpectedly. The French prisoners were taken by ambulance back to the main Dachau camp. One of them, the detachment's Kapo, suffered burns on both arms; the other sustained an injury to his thigh.²

The detachment, which—according to a list compiled after the war—consisted of up to 500 prisoners, performed cleanup work for the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways).³ The list also names two Kapos: Reinfrank and Quad.

Only one name is known of the SS personnel at the subcamp. Wilhelm Ohnmacht, a Feldwebel in the Wehrmacht, was assigned as a guard from March 5, 1945, to April 25, 1945.⁴

Investigations of this subcamp by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in 1973 and 1974 revealed no new findings.⁵

SOURCES This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 86.

Primary sources for this subcamp are limited to the two accident reports from December 1944, available at AG-D.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Incident Report to the Department III, Dachau Concentration Camp, December 22, 1944, AG-D, 2139.
2. Accident Report to the Deutsche Reichsbahn Directorate, December 22, 1944, AG-D, 2138/1-2.
3. List Dachau Subcamps, June 3, 1948, AG-D, 81.
4. Statement Wilhelm Ohnmacht, November 29, 1946, NARA, RG 153 Box 214.
5. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 130/73.

MÜNCHEN (REICHSFÜHRER-SS)

The offices of Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler and his colleagues in Munich were located from 1935 in the party's quarter at 10 Karlstrasse. In 1938, they were expanded to include 8 Karlstrasse. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), between November 8, 1943, and April 14, 1945, there was a Reichsführer-SS subcamp for the Waffen-SS and Police Building Administration (Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei) located at this site. A Dachau concentration camp change report dated October 23, 1942, confirms that the year before seven prisoners known as the Detachment Reichsführer-SS München were put to work.¹ What remains unclear is whether these prisoners were already part of the Reichsführer-SS subcamp or whether they were a temporary detachment that was used to establish the Reichsführer-SS subcamp. There were two Germans and three Polish "protective custody" prisoners among them as well as two prisoners from a group of prisoners under police security custody (*Polizeisicherheitsverwahren*). The Kapo was German Alfred Mienik.

The strength reports for April 1945 gave the numbers for the Reichsführer-SS subcamp at 13 or 14.² A Serbian prisoner was returned to the Dachau concentration camp on April 6, 1945, because of illness, and a Polish prisoner was sent in his place from the main camp on April 9, 1945.³

The Central Office of State Justice Investigations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg investigated the Reichsführer-SS subcamp between 1973 and 1975, but the investigations ceased because of lack of witnesses and evidence.⁴

SOURCES This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 87.

The strength reports and the transfer lists provide the details for this camp. They can be viewed in AG-D. During its investigations between 1973 and 1975, the ZdL, available at BA-L, could not locate any witnesses who could add to this material.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Variation Report Dachau Concentration Camp, October 23, 1942, AG-D, 32.350/31.
2. Strength Report Subcamps Dachau Concentration Camp, April 3, 1945, AG-D, 404; List of Items of Clothing of the Subcamps (Letters P-W), n.d., AG-D, 22.554.
3. Transfer Lists Dachau Concentration Camp, April 6, 1945, and April 9, 1945, AG-D, 35.678.
4. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 132/73.

MÜNCHEN (REICHSFÜHRER-SS ADJUTANTUR)

On January 7, 1945, after an air raid on Munich, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler personally ordered the special deployment of 50 prisoners from the Dachau main camp to repair the damaged parts of the Führerbau (the Führer's Building) and the administrative building of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) at Arcisstrasse. Himmler's adjutant, Hauptscharführer Schnitzler, informed the SS barracks Freimann about this, since a strengthened protective detail had to be assigned for security reasons by the Reich Leadership for the prisoners' deployment.¹ The guard force was supposed to report on January 9, 1945, to the administrative building of the Nazi Party at Arcisstrasse.

The deployment of the prisoners and their guards was initially supposed to last 1 to 2 days. In a letter of January 11, 1945, Dr. Kaspar Ruoff thanked the Reichsführer-SS profusely for putting the prisoners at his disposal. Without them the temporary construction of the destroyed duty stations would have been impossible.² Ruoff asked at the same time to be allowed to engage the prisoners for an additional 14 days not only in cleanup work but also in removal work in damaged areas. The extension of the prisoners' deployment till January 25, 1945, was confirmed on the same day.³ A record of the Hauptstellenleiter Owander from March 27, 1945, shows that this prisoner detail was used also after January by the Reich Leadership. Owander points out in this record that because of the landing of enemy airborne troops in the vicinity of Munich the prisoners were supposed to have been withdrawn for security reasons from the Reich Leadership and sent back to Dachau.⁴ There was a handwritten entry on this record that the Reichsschatzmeister (National Treasurer) would still need the prisoners. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the detail Reichsführer-SS Adjutantur was mentioned the last time in concentration camp documents on April 14, 1945.

The preliminary proceedings of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg were closed without results in 1973 after four months.⁵

SOURCES This subcamp is listed in ITS, ed., *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 87.

There is an exchange of letters in the BA-B that deals with the transfer of prisoners from the Dachau main camp to this subcamp (NS 1/276 2, NS 1/548).

Sabine Schalm
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. Letter of the adjutant of the RFSS, January 9, 1945, BA-B, NS 1/276 2.
2. Letter of Dr. Kaspar Ruoff, January 11, 1945, BA-B, NS 1/276 2.
3. Confirmation chancellery K/München, January 11, 1945, BA-B, NS 1/276 2.
4. Record entry of the Hauptstellenleiter Owander, March 27, 1945, BA-B, NS 1/548.
5. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 133/73.

MÜNCHEN (SCHUHHAUS MEIER)

The Schuhhaus Eduard Meier advertises that it formerly was the court supplier of the Bavarian king and that today it is the oldest house of shoes in Germany. The Meier family business is known in Munich for its high-quality leather shoes and accessories.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), up to 12 prisoners were deployed to the Schuhhaus Meier subcamp between November 1944 and February 1945. Concentration camp documents that could give more information about this detachment do not exist.

A retail store and the manual production department were located in the 1930s and 1940s in the center of the Brown Party district in Karlstrasse 3–5. The owner at the time was Wilhelm Meier. The house was totally destroyed during an air raid on December 17, 1944, and production had to be stopped. The shoe repair services were supposedly transferred at this time to the Dachau main camp and done by the prisoners. Civilian employees of Schuhhaus Meier seem to have gone on a regular basis to Dachau to deliver the shoes that needed repair and to pick up the repaired shoes. A shoe polish machine from the store was delivered to Dachau.¹

Investigations of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg could not find any survivors of this subcamp in 1973. The proceedings were closed with no results in 1974.²

The Meier family did not rebuild the house in Karlstrasse after the air raid. However, the property was sold after the war to the Oberfinanzdirektion (Chief Financial Office) of the city of Munich.

SOURCES This camp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 85. An Internet site (www.edmeier.de) and an advertisement DVD—Eduard Meier GmbH, *Von Schuhen: Eduard Meier München* (DVD) (Munich, 2003)—provide information about the business Eduard Meier GmbH.

No contemporary documents about this subcamp are known besides the documents of the ITS. There are no survivors' testimonies among the investigation records of ZdL at BA-L.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. Discussion the author had with Peter Meier, the manager of the store, on January 15, 2004.
2. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 119/73.

MÜNCHEN (SPRENGKOMMANDO)

From 1940 concentration camp prisoners were used in the German Reich in bomb squads to defuse duds with delay fuses.¹ The prisoners worked in groups of up to six men at different locations. They were called "bomb searching details" or "explosives ordnance details." This is the reason why it is difficult to establish a precise difference between the individual details. So, for example, the terms *ordnance detail* and *duds removal detail* can be found in a document for the bomb searching detail housed in the Stielerschule (Stiel School).²

The International Tracing Service (ITS) indicates that the München Sprengkommando subcamp is mentioned on July 12, 1944. A prisoner of the "Sprengkommando 12.7.1944" is known by name. The prisoner record card of Friedrich Zeilinger from Vienna shows that he died on July 18, 1944, while part of this detail. The question remains open if this was an independent detail that was deployed only on this day, July 12, 1944, in Munich, or if it was a smaller detail within a larger group of prisoners that was deployed to remove duds in Munich. At least 11 explosives ordnance details existed in Munich in November 1944. Prisoners were deployed there in groups of six.³ In the end, no specific statement can be made about the subcamp Sprengkommando.

SOURCES This camp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 87.

The location of resources on this subcamp is difficult to find because it is almost impossible to make a clear distinction, especially at the end of the war, between it and other explosives ordnance and bomb searching details. A few documents and copies about the explosives ordnance details exist in AG-D.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. See also the order by Adolf Hitler October 12, 1940, DZOK, Ulm R1 178.
2. See also the letter of the municipal police section Kommando Süd, September 19, 1944, AG-D, 23.763.
3. See also the letter about the Sprengkommando deployment on November 27, 1944, AG-D, 23.769 and 23.770.

MÜNCHEN (SS-MANNSCHAFTSHÄUSER)

The so-called SS-Mannschaftshäuser were created in the summer of 1935 as a type of SS educational foundation. Appropriate houses were first acquired at seven universities and administered through the SS-Race and Settlement Main Office (RuSHA). An average of 30 students living in each house went through a stringent selection process beforehand. All had to become members of the SS, perform SS duties, and take part in the ideological education. Finally, they were supposedly to be part of an SS academic elite. One of the first SS-Mannschaftshäuser was founded in Munich in 1935. According to records from the Reichsschatzmeister (National Treasurer) in Berlin, the administration of the Mannschaftshaus at Maria-Theresia-Strasse 15 in Munich was transferred to the SS on April 1, 1942.¹ Seven prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp were handed over to the Mannschaftshaus on May 11, 1942. They are known from the names list from Dachau.² There were six house painters, who were brought in for renovation work to the SS-Mannschaftshaus, and one cook who belonged to this detail. The prisoners came from the German Reich, Poland, and Luxembourg; one of them belonged to the religious group Jehovah's Witnesses. All of them were housed in the Maria-Theresia-Strasse 15.

The leader of the detail was an Oberscharführer.³

This detail lasted two weeks; two prisoners were brought back early to Dachau and replaced with other prisoners.⁴ The SS-Mannschaftshäuser subcamp was closed on November 18, 1942, and the seven prisoners were transferred back to Dachau.⁵

SOURCES The book by Isabel Heinemann, "Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut": Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas (Göttingen, 2003), pp. 92–99, offers an introduction to the topic of the SS-Mannschaftshäuser.

Some of the few existing primary resources on this subcamp are the transfer lists. With their help, the names of some of the prisoners of this detail can be identified. A copy of them may be found in AG-D. The statement of a survivor is recorded in the investigation document of ZdL at BA-L.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. Mannschaftshäuser in München 1935–1943, BA-B, NS 1 / 2425 1.
2. Transfer list of the Dachau concentration camp, November 5, 1942, AG-D, 35.674.
3. Statement Karl G., February 15, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV410 AR 123/73.
4. Reports of changes of the Dachau concentration camp, November 10, 1942, AG-D, 32.350/29, and November 14, 1942, AG-D, 32.350/30.
5. Transfer list of the Dachau concentration camp, November 18, 1942, AG-D, 35.674.

MÜNCHEN (SS-OBERABSCHNITT SÜD, MÖHLSTRASSE)

From 1936 on, the administrative offices of the SS-Oberabschnitt Süd (South Region) were located at Maria-Therisia-Strasse 17 in Munich, a street running parallel to the Möhlstrasse. Prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp were assigned to the SS-Oberabschnitt Süd, but the subcamp was located at Möhlstrasse. This is the reason why one can find two different names for this subcamp in the transfer lists and in the change of status report from Dachau: Möhlstrasse and SS-Oberabschnitt Süd. Both refer to the same subcamp.

The first reference to this subcamp is a report of the death of 2 prisoners during an air raid on June 9, 1944.¹ It becomes clear from this report that a detail of prisoners from Dachau was deployed there before this date, but it is not possible to establish a more precise date. The International Tracing Service (ITS) mentions 10 prisoners; a report of the workforce from Dachau of April 3, 1945, lists 8 prisoners; and an inventory from the Clothing Office records 4 prisoners at the subcamp SS-Oberabschnitt Süd.²

The prisoners, as far as they are known from the transfer lists, came from the German Reich, Italy, Yugoslavia, Poland, and Russia. According to the information from ITS, the prisoners were assigned repair work. This subcamp was last mentioned in the record of a transfer of two Yugoslav prisoners back to the Dachau main camp on April 25, 1945.³

The main office of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg held preliminary proceedings on this subcamp from 1973 to 1974. Copies of transfer lists from Dachau belonging to the ITS can be found in the ZdL archives, now held at Federal Archives Ludwigsburg (BA-L).⁴ The proceedings were closed in 1974 because of a lack of new findings.

SOURCES This camp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:85. In *Die Möhlstrasse: Keine Strasse wie jede andere* (Munich, 1998), Karl Willibald published a chapter on the development of Möhlstrasse during National Socialism, when important party figures such as Heinrich Himmler and party organizations such as the Reichsluftschutzbund and the Münchner Grossveranstaltungen e.V. settled there. Regarding the topic of the camp prisoners in Möhlstrasse, the book mentions that the prisoners built an air-raid bunker.

There are a few documents on this subcamp in AG-D. Some of them were used in the proceedings of the ZdL and can be found there in the form of copies at BA-L.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

- Transfer list of the Dachau concentration camp, June 11, 1944, AG-D, 35.672.

2. Report of the size of the outside details of the Dachau concentration camp, April 3, 1945, DaA 404; Inventory of the clothing of the outside details (Buchstabe P-W), n.d., AG-D, 22.554.

3. Transfer list of the Dachau concentration camp, April 25, 1945, AG-D, 35.062.

4. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 126/73.

MÜNCHEN (SS-STANDORTKOMMANDANTUR BUNKERBAU)

Ten concentration camp prisoners were deployed to the SS-Standortkommandantur Bunkerbau (Garrison Headquarters for Bunker Construction) in Munich for the construction of an air-raid bunker, starting July or August 1944. The site of the barracks could not be precisely located. The International Tracing Service (ITS) was able to trace 3 former prisoners from this detail in 1973.¹ One remembered that the prisoners were housed in a room on the barracks' fourth floor.² There were bars on the window, and the prisoners were guarded by SS guards from the Dachau concentration camp. The detail leader brutally hit a prisoner from Warsaw on the head with a board. When the injured prisoner fell on the ground the detail leader kicked him further till he died. The corpse of the prisoner was later laid in the barracks' yard. The unknown detail leader once mistreated one of the prisoners so badly that he had to be transferred to the infirmary at Dachau. After his recovery, he returned to the subcamp SS-Standortkommandantur Bunkerbau.

The detail was moved out of the SS barracks, and the prisoners had to walk all the way back to Dachau.

After preliminary investigations of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, the public prosecutor's office München II opened preliminary proceedings against the unknown detail leader for murder in 1976. Details about this subcamp as well as the suspect could not be determined. The investigation was therefore closed.

SOURCES The sparse references to this subcamp come from the investigation documents of ZdL at BA-L. A name list of this detail drawn up by the ITS can be found there. The public prosecutor's office Munich could question only one survivor of this detail during its investigation (available at BHStA-(M)).

Sabine Schalm
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

- See also name list of the München SS-Standortkommandantur Bunkerbau subcamp made by ITS, August 23, 1973, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 35/76.

- See also statement Stanislaw S., February 8, 1975, BHStA-(M), StanW 34797.

MÜNCHEN

(SS-STANDORTKOMMANDANTUR KABELBAU)

In addition to the SS-Standortkommandantur Bunkerbau (Garrison Headquarters for Bunker Construction) subcamp, a detail of prisoners was deployed to manufacture cables at an SS barrack of unidentified location. No lists of transports or names are available from the International Tracing Service (ITS) in connection with the SS-Standortkommandantur Kabelbau (Garrison Headquarters for Cable Construction) subcamp, although the first mention of such a location is dated January 1945.

A former prisoner of the SS-Standortkommandantur Bunkerbau subcamp claimed that when his prisoner work crew arrived in this SS barrack in the summer of 1944, 10 prisoners from another crew were already at the location.¹ This could refer to the Kabelbau workforce. No further points of contact between the two work details are known.

A judicial inquiry at the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg could not contribute new knowledge about the SS-Standortkommandantur Kabelbau subcamp.²

SOURCES The only reference to this subcamp is ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:88.

Investigations by ZdL at BA-L yielded no results.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. Statement of Stanislaw S., February 8, 1975, BHStA-(M), StanW 34797.
2. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 139/73.

MÜNCHEN-ALLACH (BMW)

The BMW (Bayerische Motoren Werke) Assembly and Repair Factory in München-Allach, planned as an alternate production site for the main factory in München-Moosach, commenced production in May 1942. After the main factory was destroyed in March 1943 in a bombing raid, production was transferred to München-Allach. There were many foreign forced laborers among the 17,000-strong BMW workforce.

From 1942, Dachau prisoners had to be used on the construction site in München-Allach, but only as a work detachment. They returned each evening to Dachau. The Dachau main camp files mention the subcamp, which had been established close to the BMW factory, for the first time in February 1943.

The camp consisted of 30 buildings that were secured by an electrified fence and guard towers. The buildings included

a building with a kitchen and washing facilities, an arrest bunker, accommodation barracks (some of which were just stables and had no windows), roll-call square, SS accommodations, and the camp office. There were between 3,000 and 5,000 prisoners in the camp. The majority of the prisoners in the BMW München-Allach camp came from the Soviet Union, France, Poland, Yugoslavia, Italy, and Germany.

The BMW München-Allach subcamp was one of the largest Dachau subcamps, and it formed part of the Allach complex, to which the Karlsfeld OT (Organisation Todt) and Rothschaige subcamps also belonged. In the last months of the war, the actual prisoner numbers exceeded by far the capacity of the camp: on November 29, 1944, there were 4,742 prisoners in the subcamp; in February 1945, mostly as a result of the evacuation of other camps, there were around 10,000 prisoners; and on April 26, 1945, there were 8,970 men and 1,027 women who had arrived at the camp as a result of evacuation marches. Research by Sabine Schalm and Albert Scholl shows that the numbers for a short period reached as high as 20,000.

Initially, the prisoners were used to construct the camp. Later they were used increasingly in production at the factory as lathe operators, drill operators, or locksmiths, above all, on the production line for cylinder heads, gears, and aircraft engines, and in quality assurance. Other prisoners worked on the construction site of the BMW factory, in the "Dyckerhoff Detachment" and in the nearby Lochhausen bunker and cave complex. The prisoners worked for BMW, Dyckerhoff, the construction firm Sager & Wörner, the Kirsch saw mill, and Pumpe & Co. in Lochhausen. Due to the harsh working conditions and poor hygiene, malnutrition, diarrhea, typhus, tuberculosis, and measles were widespread throughout the camp. The conditions in the camp were worsened by a rigid camp regime. SS-Obersturmbannführer Josef Jarolin was in charge of the Allach camp complex. He and his deputy SS-Hauptscharführer Sebastian Eberl daily punished the prisoners with beatings and close arrest and, in winter, by forcing them to stand to attention after they had been doused in water. More than 40 prisoners were hanged for attempting to escape or so-called sabotage. The guards consisted not only of German SS men but Hungarians, Romanians, and Croatians. It is impossible to determine the number of prisoner deaths in the BMW München-Allach subcamp because not all the deaths were recorded in the Dachau death register. After the war, 45 corpses were exhumed from the camp grounds; the actual number of deaths is most likely much higher.

The camp was mentioned for the last time in the Dachau files on April 25, 1945. On April 26, 1945, all German and Soviet prisoners, around 7,000 in number, were evacuated in the direction of Bad Tölz—Mittenwald—Innsbruck. Some 10,000 prisoners remained in the camp when it was liberated by U.S. troops on April 30, 1945.

The former camp commandant, Jarolin, was sentenced to death during the U.S. Army's Dachau Trials on December 13, 1945, and was executed in Landsberg in May 1946. Investiga-

tions by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg into the deputy camp leader Eberl ceased in 1976 owing to Eberl's poor health.

SOURCES Albert Knoll and Sabine Schalm provided a detailed description of the camp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), pp. 425–430. Ludwig Eiber describes the München-Allach (BMW) subcamp in his essay "KZ-Aussenlager in München," *DaHe* 12 (1996): 58–80. Another description of the camp is to be found in Zdenek Zofka, "Allach - Sklaven für BMW: Zur Geschichte eines Aussenlagers des KZ Dachau," *DaHe* 2 (1986): 68–78. Christin Tege wrote an essay in a history competition held by the city of Munich in 1985–1986 with the title "Allach: Ein Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Dachau," in *Verdunkeltes München*, ed. Landeshauptstadt München (Munich, 1987), pp. 98–107. The München-Allach (BMW) subcamp is referred to in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:83. It is mentioned in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1826.

Original camp files are to be found in the following archives: Gedenkstätte Dachau (A82-Stärkemeldung der Aussenkommandos des KZ Dachau, November 1944, A32789-Stärkemeldungen April 1945 and 24718—a compilation of Entwicklungsbericht über den Arbeitseinsatz 1943–1944 by SS-Obersturmbannführer Josef Jarolin, beginning of 1945) in BA-B (FD 4969/45—Speer Collection) as well as Sta. Mü (StanW 34706, 34814/1, 34623, 34817/1—various statements by former prisoners of the subcamp). Investigations by ZdL are found under file reference BA-L, IV 410 AR 2141/67. Descriptions or references to the subcamp based on the memoirs of former prisoners are to be found in Amicale des Anciens de Dachau, ed., *Allach: Kommando de Dachau* (Paris, 1982); Karl A. Gross, *Zweitausend Tage Dachau: Erlebnisse eines Christenmenschen unter Herremenschen und Herdenmenschen* (Munich, ca. 1946); Erich Kunter, *Weltreise nach Dachau* (Bad Wildbad, 1947); as well as Hermann E. Riemer, *Sturz ins Dunkel* (Munich, 1974). Karl Wagner, the Allach camp elder until he refused to carry out a punishment on a fellow prisoner, the result of which was that he was transferred back to Dachau, describes the camp in *Ich schlage nicht: Beitrag zur Geschichte des antifaschistischen Widerstands im KZ-Aussenlager Dachau-Allach* (Karlsruhe, 1981).

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MÜNCHEN-ALLACH (OT BAU) [AKA ROTHSCHWAIGE]

The München-Allach subcamp OT Bau (Organisation Todt Construction), was probably, as Sabine Schalm and Albert Knoll show, identical to the Rothschaige camp and part of the Allach camp complex (München-Allach [BMW], Karls-

feld OT, and Rothschaige). As with the other Allach camps, the camp was under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Josef Jarolin, who was executed in 1946 in Landsberg.

The camp was probably located on the grounds of the transit camp (*Durchgangslager*) for Soviet civilian workers (forced laborers) in Dachau at 12 Kufsteiner Strasse. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp was mentioned for the first time on May 17, 1944. The July 1944 Dachau *Stärkemeldung* (strength report) states the number of prisoners to be 512, with 12 prisoner-functionaries. On the other hand, Ludwig Eiber gives the number of prisoners at 382. The prisoners were probably all Jewish.

Schalm and Knoll do not agree with the role of the camp as a real subcamp attributed to it by the ITS. It was more likely that the camp was a transit camp for Jewish prisoners from Auschwitz. Male prisoners seemed to have spent between four and six weeks in the OT Bau München-Allach camp. A transport of 1,045 female Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) as well as Hungarian Jewish women on the way from Auschwitz to Ravensbrück passed through the camp in Allach.

During their stay in the OT Bau München-Allach camp, the prisoners were housed in barracks. The living conditions in the camp are described by former prisoners as being generally bearable. There are no reports of prisoner mistreatment or homicides. The exact date that the camp was closed is not known. It was probably March 31 or April 25, 1945, but it could have been as early as at the end of July 1944. There are no reports in the Dachau files referring to the camp from the end of November 1944. Nevertheless, at the end of the war, the U.S. Army liberated 250 prisoners who probably had been brought to the camp from other camps on evacuation marches.

SOURCES An extensive description of the München-Allach (OT Bau) subcamp is to be found in the essay by Albert Knoll and Sabine Schalm in *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager*, eds. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), pp. 433–435. For further information on the subcamp, see Ludwig Eiber, "KZ-Aussenlager in München," *DaHe* 12 (1996): 58–80. OT Bau München-Allach is also listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:86. It is also listed in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1826.

Original documents on the subcamp are to be found in the collections of the AG-D: Best. 35672 (Stärkemeldungen des OT-Arbeitslagers Karlsfeld, 17 August 1944); A 82 (Stärkemeldungen der Aussenkommandos des KZ Dachau, 29. November 1944); 404 (Stärkemeldungen der Aussenkommandos des KZ Dachau, 3 April 1945); D32789 (Stärkemeldungen der Aussenkommandos des KZ Dachau, 26 April 1945). Witness statements are to be found in the Sta. Mü, Best. 34817/1 34706.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
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MÜNCHEN-ALLACH (PORZELLANMANUFAKTUR) [AKA MÜNCHEN (PORZELLANMANUFAKTUR)]

The Porzellanmanufaktur Allach (Porcelain Manufacturer, PMA) was founded on January 3, 1936, and was under the control of the SS-Reichsführer (Reich Leadership). From 1942, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amt WI/3 was the sole shareholder in the company.

Prisoners were used in the company's Dachau branch located on the site of the SS-Training and Education Camp (Übungs- und Ausbildungslager). Here ceramics were produced for everyday use. The company had transferred production to this site in 1937 due to a shortage of space. Prisoners were also used in PMA in the production of fine ceramics. Eighteen prisoners had been deployed in PMA since 1940, being brought daily to and from Dachau. The prisoners were of German and Polish nationality. They designed the casts. From June 1941, a group of 13 prisoners experienced in porcelain manufacture were brought to München-Allach, and a subcamp was established. The prisoners came from the Buchenwald camp and had been chosen because of their skills as ceramic artisans, molders, millers, and painters. At the end of 1941, there were 67 civilian employees and 30 prisoners manufacturing porcelain. The camp is mentioned for the last time in the Dachau files on April 25, 1945.

SOURCES An extensive description of prisoner use in the manufacture of porcelain in Dachau and Allach it to be found in the essay by Albert Knoll in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Friühe Lager; Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), pp. 430–433. The essay is based on earlier research by Albert Knoll published under the title “Die Porzellanmanufaktur München-Allach,” *DaHe* 15 (1999): 116–133. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:87, refers to München-Allach (SS-Arbeits- und Krankenlager) subcamp. The “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1826, refers to the subcamp.

Original documents on the production of porcelain at PMA are to be found in the AG-D, Best. 37258 (Report of the witness Wilhelm Zembsch, January 28, 1963) and 37154 (Zusammenstellung der Forderungsnachweise).

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MÜNCHEN-ALLACH (SS-ARBEITS- UND KRANKENLAGER)

There is little information about the SS-Arbeits- und Krankenlager (Labor and Hospital Camp) München-Allach. The camp, which held an unknown number of women, is mentioned for the first time in the files of the Dachau main camp on April 11, 1945. It is last mentioned on April 25, 1945, two weeks later.

SOURCES The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:87, refers to München-Allach (SS-Arbeits- und Krankenlager) subcamp. The “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1826, refers to the subcamp.

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MÜNCHEN-FREIMANN (BARTOLITH WERKE)

Bartolith Werke was established in April 1942 in Munich by Christian Seidl—who also managed the business—in order to manufacture patented wooden building slabs made of a mix of wood and cement.¹ Seidl's son Norbert assisted him with the management from 1943. Christian Seidl was not a member of the Nazi Party or of any other National Socialist organization. However, his son joined the party in 1940 and was an Ortsgruppenleiter.²

The first large contract for the Bartolith factory was signed by the SS-Bauleitung Süd (Building Administration South) in Dachau. The order was for 10,000 slabs to be used for the construction of barracks. The Bartolith firm had only six employees in München-Freimann, too few to carry out the contract. Christian Seidl therefore approached the Dachau concentration camp with a request to use the prisoners. However, before the prisoners could be brought to the factory site at Mühl dorfer Strasse, a barracks with sleeping and living quarters, sanitary facilities, and two watchtowers had to be constructed. The camp also had to be fenced in with barbed wire.³

On August 28, 1942, Hauptscharführer August Friedrich Müller, the detachment leader (Kommandoführer), arrived at Freimann with an advance Kommando of 30 prisoners and six guards.⁴ These prisoners were at first put to work preparing the production site. On November 12, 1942, a permanent detachment of 30 prisoners with Karl Kirschner as Kapo was dispatched to München-Freimann.⁵ In the following weeks, the number of prisoners increased to 70 or 80. Most of the prisoners were Germans, Poles, Yugoslavs, and Czechs.

In the winter of 1942–1943, production began in the Bartolith factory. The prisoners were divided into so-called pro-

duction groups and had to reach daily production quotas of building slabs. They worked under high pressure from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. The only break was a 30-minute noon meal. The prisoners' food was brought to München-Freimann once a week by truck from Dachau. The scarce rations were totally inadequate, as the company management even confiscated some of the rations for the civilian employees. The food supply deteriorated to such an extent that the prisoners dug potatoes during the winter from an adjacent frozen field. A few prisoners fell sick after eating the potatoes and were taken back to Dachau.

The lack of food and the harsh work conditions resulted in a number of prisoners collapsing each day from exhaustion. One of these prisoners was Josef N., who was beaten by Norbert Seidl for this. The management had no reason to look after the prisoners, as it was very easy to get replacement prisoners from Dachau. The turnover rate at the Bartolith factory detachment was high.⁶

Johann Leitameier, a prisoner, became a valued worker at the Bartolith factory because of his qualifications as a foreman. Norbert Seidl therefore tried to have him released from Dachau. He was granted leave from Dachau on October 30, 1943, on the basis that he continue to work at the Bartolith factories. Leitameier then became site engineer of a second Bartolith factory in Erding. For this construction site, no concentration camp prisoners were used, but prisoners of war (POWs) and foreign civilian workers worked there.⁷

Not only Norbert Seidl but also the SS guards mistreated the prisoners when they thought the prisoners were not working quickly enough. Detachment leader August Müller drove the prisoners to ever higher production quotas because his monthly bonus was dependent on the quotas being met. No one was killed in the subcamp, but the number of deaths from malnutrition and the hard physical work remains unknown. According to Norbert Seidl, the prisoner detachment ceased to work after the contract for the SS-Bauleitung Süd was finished in July 1943.⁸ Criminals from the Stadelheim prison were used instead.

During the denazification proceedings that took place in 1948, father and son Seidl were not hauled before the court to account for events in the Bartolith factory.⁹ In 1967, Leitameier made a report to the Munich state prosecutor accusing Norbert Seidl of mistreating prisoners at the München-Freimann subcamp.¹⁰ Investigations commenced but ceased in 1970 because there was no evidence to support a conviction for homicide. The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg made further investigations in 1973 but ceased in compliance with the decision of the Munich District Court in 1974.¹¹ Kommandoführer Müller was sentenced to 10 years in jail during the Dachau Trials.¹²

SOURCES The fundamental facts on this subcamp are derived from the ZdL investigation files in BA-L and the Sta. Mü. In addition to the survivors' statements, a history of the Bartolith

factory issued in 1948 is held here. Also useful are the denazification files of Christian and Norbert Seidl. The files of the Dachau Trials contain a statement by Kommandoführer Müller (Case 000-50-2-72, *USA v. Hans Wülfert, et al.*).

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NOTES

1. History of the Bartolith Factory, 1948, Sta. Mü, StanW 22491.
2. Copy of the BDC-File Norbert Seidl, BHStA-(M), StanW 22491.
3. Camp sketch by Franz P., July 30, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 108/73, and camp plan in the History of the Bartolith Factory, Sta. Mü, StanW 22491.
4. Statement August Müller, November 30, 1946, NARA, RG 153 Box 210.
5. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer List, November 12, 1942, AG-D, 35.674.
6. Statement Johann Leitameier, October 9, 1967, BHStA-(M), StanW 22491; Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer List, November 12, 1942, to December 18, 1942, AG-D, 35.674.
7. Statement Leitameier, October 9, 1967, Sta. Mü, StanW 22491.
8. Statement Norbert Seidl, December 2, 1969, Sta. Mü, StanW 22491.
9. Sta. Mü, SprK Karton 1508 (Christian Seidl) and Karton 1510 (Norbert Seidl).
10. Sta. Mü, StanW 22491.
11. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 108/73.
12. Case 000-50-2-72, *USA v. Hans Wülfert, et al.*, NARA RG 338 Boxes 310–311.

MÜNCHEN-FREIMANN (DYCKERHOFF UND WIDMANN)

The company Dyckerhoff und Widmann (D&W) was established in 1865 in Karlsruhe. In 1906, it opened a branch in Munich for the production of concrete. During World War II, D&W was one of the most important suppliers of concrete for the war industry. In 1938, it began the construction of two airplane hangars at München-Riem and in 1940–1941 constructed for Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) in Allach a 9,000-square-meter (10,764-square-yard) *Schalenshedhalle* (a large shell-shaped building).

In München-Freimann, Dyckerhoff und Widmann expanded the SS barracks located at 193 Ingolstädterstrasse. The barracks was about 500 meters (1,640 feet) away. Beginning on September 19, 1942, 25 Polish, Czech, German, and Yugoslav prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp were put to work here.¹ Another 10 prisoners were added to the detachment four weeks later.²

The prisoners were accommodated in several rooms in the SS barracks. The windows of the room were barred, and armed SS guards were posted outside. The prisoners could not move freely in the barracks.³

The security for the D&W München-Freimann subcamp was provided by a camp commander and a few SS members from the Dachau main camp. While they were working, the prisoners were accompanied by the SS guards. There were three Kapos among the prisoners of the Dykerhoff und Widmann detachment—Karl Kapp, Erwin Görlich, and David Feigl.⁴

The prisoners had to work up to 12 hours a day and were brutally driven by the SS guards to achieve maximum performance. The slightest infringement was brutally dealt with. There was no medical care either for work accidents or mistreatment. The prisoners had to provide basic medical care themselves.⁵ On Sundays, the prisoners did not have to work at the building site. However, they were not allowed to rest and had to work inside the barracks. When the construction work ceased, the D&W München-Freimann subcamp was dissolved. On December 10, 1942, 24 prisoners were sent back to Dachau.⁶

SOURCES The history of the firm is contained in a book published by the Dyckerhoff und Widmann AG, *75 Jahre Niederlassung München der Dyckerhoff & Widmann AG; 75 Jahre Bauen in Bayern, 75 Jahre Partner im Dienste unserer Bauherren* (Munich, n.d.).

In addition to the transfer lists in AG-D, the preliminary investigation files of ZdL at BA-L hold statements by survivors of the D&W München-Freimann subcamp.

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NOTES

1. Transfer Lists Dachau Concentration Camp, September 19, 1942, AG-D, 35.673.
2. Transfer Lists Dachau Concentration Camp, October 19, 1942, AG-D, 35.673.
3. Statement Tadeus K., November 4, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 113/73.
4. Statement Ferdinand P., March 25, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 113/73.
5. Statement Longin-Marian L., October 29, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 113/73.
6. Transfer Lists Dachau Concentration Camp, December 10, 1942, AG-D, 35.673.

MÜNCHEN-FREIMANN (SS-STANDORTVERWALTUNG)

From November 10, 1941, 27 prisoners were based in the SS barracks at 193 Ingolstädterstrasse in München-Freimann—the SS-Standortverwaltung (Garrison Administration) subcamp.¹ The first prisoners were “protective custody” prisoners, the majority of whom came from Poland. There were also a few Germans and Czechs. The composition of the prisoners changed several times in the following years, but their number remained constant.²

The prisoners had to do a variety of work in the barracks area including carpentry and roofing work, digging wells, and

cleaning up. Four of them worked in the boiler house.³ A few times the prisoners went to Munich to pick up laundry for the SS or to run errands for them. On weekends, they had to clean the rooms of the SS guards. After 10 to 12 hours of work, the prisoners were locked in rooms on the third floor of a building within the barracks complex.⁴ In an air raid in 1944, parts of the SS barracks were destroyed, and the prisoners were then housed in a garage.⁵

Richard Gerlich from Breslau was the Kapo at the SS-Standortverwaltung subcamp. There were no other prisoner-functionaries.

The first detachment leader (Kommandoführer) was Scharführer Ernst Wicklein.⁶ He was replaced in February 1943 by Hauptscharführer Josef Neuner⁷ and in June 1943 by Hauptscharführer Josef Remmele.⁸ Hauptscharführer Johann Reiss⁹ was in command from July 1943 to January 1945. The name of the last detachment leader is unknown. There were also 15 SS guards to watch the prisoners while they were working. They were mostly ethnic Germans from Romania.

Survivors have reported that Kommandoführer Reiss mistreated the prisoners.¹⁰ A Russian prisoner was hanged in the summer of 1943 because he had stolen food from the cellar. The whole detachment had to attend the execution, and one of the prisoners was forced to put the noose around the neck of the condemned man and then to pull the chair away. The body was taken back to the Dachau concentration camp.¹¹

In the third week of April 1945, the prisoners were led back by foot to Dachau. From there they were sent on the evacuation march in a southward direction.

Former Kommandoführer Neuner was sentenced to death during the Dachau Trials.¹² Reiss received a five-year sentence from the American Military Court.¹³ In 1976, the State Prosecutor Munich I began an investigation into Reiss on suspicion of manslaughter at the SS-Standortverwaltung subcamp.¹⁴ It was not possible to prove the crime, though, and the investigation ceased the following year.

SOURCES The AG-D holds a copy of a list of names of the detachment. From this list it is possible to reconstruct the names and reasons why the prisoners were held. Other important details are to be found in the files of the U.S. Army's Dachau Trials at NARA, RG 153 (Case 000-50-2-78, *USA v. Josef Neuner* and *USA v. Franz Kohn, et al.*), and Sta. Mü.

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NOTES

1. List of Names München SS-Standortverwaltung Work Detachment, May 18, 1942 (dispatched on November 10, 1941), AG-D, 35.673.
2. Statement Franz O., July 26, 1974, Sta. Mü I, 320 Js ab 12953/76.
3. Statement Ludwig Brunner, September 20, 1946, NARA, RG 153 Box 191.
4. Statement Ludwig S., October 8, 1974, Sta. Mü I, 320 Js ab 12953/76.

5. Statement Tomas A., April 10, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320 Js ab 12953/76.
6. Statement Ernst Wicklein, January 22, 1947, NARA, RG 338 Box 319.
7. Statement Josef Neuner, December 2, 1946, NARA, RG 153 Box 213.
8. Statement Josef Remmle, August 19, 1947, NARA, RG 153 Box 224.
9. Statement Johann Reiss, December 3, 1946, NARA, RG 338 Box 319.
10. Statement Henryk Gasior, July 23, 1945, NARA, RG 338 Box 319.
11. Statement Ludwig S., October 8, 1974, Sta. Mü I, 320 Js ab 12953/76.
12. Case 000-50-2-78, *USA v. Josef Neuner*, NARA, RG 338 Box 312.
13. Case 000-50-2-99, *USA v. Franz Kohn, et al.*, NARA RG 338 Box 319.
14. Sta. Mü I, 320 Js ab 12953/76.

MÜNCHEN-GIESING (AGFA KAMERAWERKE)

The Aktien Gesellschaft für Anilin Fabrikation (Public Corporation for the Production of Anilin), otherwise known as Agfa Kamerawerke (Agfa Camera Factory), relocated its main office to 161 Tegernseer Landstrasse, Munich, in 1927. The company was founded in 1867 in Berlin. In 1921, it was taken over by Bayer AG, Leverkusen, and in 1925 merged with IG Farben, a company associated with Bayer AG. From 1928 on, the camera factory in Munich produced mostly laboratory equipment.

During World War II, optical and fine mechanical production was replaced by production important for the war, and the company manufactured detonators for bombs. For this reason the Agfa Kamerawerke was an important war factory. From 1942, more than 800 foreign forced laborers worked for Agfa.¹ From September 1944, Dachau concentration camp prisoners also worked for Agfa. On September 13, 1944, 500 women from the Ravensbrück concentration camp were sent to work at Agfa.² The composition of the detachment changed again at the end of October 1944. However, the number of prisoners remained around 500.³ Most of the workers in the Agfa subcamp were women from Poland and Holland, but there were also women from the Ukraine, Yugoslavia, Belgium, and France.⁴

The women were housed in a three-story house still under construction that later became 7-15 Weissenseestrasse, Munich. A survivor recalled that female civilian workers were also housed in this block. The rooms were furnished with two-tiered beds, a few wooden tables, and stools. On the ground floor there was a prisoner infirmary. Next to the block was a barrack with the kitchen and dining room. The camp was surrounded with barbed wire and four watchtowers.

The detachment leader (Kommandoführer) of the Agfa subcamp was Untersturmführer Kurt Konrad Stirnweis. From February 1945, Latvian Alexander Djerin was the

deputy Kommandoführer. The name of his predecessor is not known. While the commanders were described as strict, after the war several prisoners wrote thank-you letters to Stirnweis because he had interceded on behalf of the women.⁵ In addition to the two commanders, there were 10 female SS wardens and 1 senior SS female warden. One of these women, with the surname Richter, treated the women harshly and often beat them. All the guards were housed in the block of apartments at Weissenseestrasse together with the prisoners.

The hygienic conditions in the camp were inadequate. The women only had access to warm water once a week.⁶ In the prisoner infirmary the women could recover for a time when prisoner doctor Ella Lingens wrote them off as sick, excusing them from work.⁷ But there were also more serious diseases such as typhus, measles, tuberculosis, and scabies. Women with long-term illnesses were sent back to Dachau. Once 12 to 14 women were selected because the camp administrators considered them as too old and too weak for work.⁸

The women suffered most from the lack of food and the cold. During winter they had no coats and only a few blankets; there was almost no heating. Also, the windows in the block of apartments had been destroyed during air raids, so there was no protection from the wind and the cold. The sleeping bunks were often covered with snow. As a result of the lack of food, potatoes were stolen from the storeroom in the cellar. The food supply worsened after Christmas 1944, with the result that the Dutch women protested about the lack of food, turned off the conveyor belts in the Agfa factory, and refused to work. The detachment leader was so furious that he wrote down the names of the strikers and sent a report to Berlin. Nothing happened to the women, however, as the war ended before they could be punished.

Heading the detachment were two Polish Kapos and a female camp elder. The camp elder was a Dutch woman, Winnie De Winter. She was later replaced by a younger Dutch woman.

The women were marched to work to the Tegernseer Landstrasse by their SS guards. The march lasted for about 20 minutes. At the factory, they were instructed and supervised by the female civilian workers. The women were put to work on a variety of tasks including manufacturing aircraft parts for the Luftwaffe. They also produced capsules that they had to wash in an acidic fluid.⁹ The women's shifts lasted at least 12 hours. When they did not achieve their given goals, they had to work even longer.

The women were not mistreated in the factory. Nevertheless, they suffered because of the working circumstances in the factory. The factory was often the target of air raids. During the air raids, the German "workforce members" went to the air-raid shelters for protection, while the prisoners were locked in the factory halls. They had no protection from breaking windows, falling wooden beams, or metal parts. Many of them were injured during the air raids. At night, the women were often roused in their quarters by

air attacks and then led into the cellars of the block of apartments.

A Ukrainian woman once tried to escape, but she was quickly recaptured. Before she was sent back to Dachau, they kept her confined beside the food distribution area but did not permit her to eat for several days.¹⁰ Following that event, a young Russian woman also escaped but returned only after a few days because she could find neither food nor support outside the camp.¹¹

The Agfa subcamp was evacuated on April 27, 1945. Kommandoführer Stirnweis and his deputy Djerin, together with the 10 female SS wardens, led the 500 women in a southerly direction.¹² At Wolfratshausen, the women refused to go any further and sought shelter in a barn. The guards fled during the night, and the next morning, May 1, 1945, the women were liberated by U.S. troops.¹³

Both detachment leaders appeared in the U.S. military court during the Dachau Trials. Djerin was sentenced to four years of jail and Stirnweis to two years in a labor camp.¹⁴ The 1976 investigation files of the state prosecutor München I on the Agfa subcamp are untraceable today. However, the 1973–1976 pre-investigation files of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) have been preserved.

SOURCES Secondary sources relevant for this camp include Andreas Heusler, *Ausländereinsatz: Zwangarbeit für die Münchner Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945* (Munich, 1996). For Agfa's history, see <http://www.agfa.com/plants/muenchen>.

The most important sources are the statements in ZdL made by the surviving women, today located at BA-L. The Dachau Trial files at NARA also contain statements by involved persons. The memories of former prisoner doctor Ella Lingens are an important source, as she has written a detailed chapter on her experiences in the Agfa subcamp. See her *Gefangene der Angst: Ein Leben im Zeichen des Widerstandes*, ed. and foreword by Peter Michael Lingens (Vienna, 2003), pp. 295–316; and her article “Ärztin in Auschwitz und Dachau,” *DaHe* 4 (1988): 22–58.

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NOTES

1. Andreas Heusler, *Ausländereinsatz: Zwangarbeit für die Münchner Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945* (Munich, 1996), p. 125.
2. Transport Lists Ravensbrück Concentration Camp, September 13, 1945, AG-D, 34.852.
3. Transport Lists Dachau Concentration Camp (September–October 1944), December 11, 1944, AG-D, 1.012; Transport Lists Ravensbrück Concentration Camp, October 24, 1944, AG-D, 33.272.
4. Statement Jadwiga L., November 25, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 117/73.
5. Letter Zofia K., May 3, 1945; Letter Myra G., May 4, 1945; Letter Joke M., May 3, 1945; Letter Winni De Winter, October 27, 1946; all NARA, RG 153 Box 212.
6. Statement Kazimiera S., March 14, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 117/73.
7. Ella Lingens, “Ärztin in Auschwitz und Dachau,” *DaHe* 4 (1988): 32.

8. Statement Irena R., January 22, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 117/73.

9. Statement Kazimiera S., March 14, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 117/73.

10. Statement Jadwiga L., November 25, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 117/73.

11. Lingens, “Ärztin in Auschwitz und Dachau,” p. 29.

12. Statement Kurt Konrad Stirnweis, December 3, 1946, NARA, RG 153 Box 212.

13. Statement Halina R., November 29, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 117/73.

14. Alexander Djerin: Case 000-50-2-46, *USA v. Ludwig Philipp Carl, et al.*, NARA, RG 338 Box 303; Kurt Konrad Stirnweis: Case 000-50-2-77, *USA v. Stirnweis*, NARA, RG 338 Box 311.

MÜNCHEN-OBERFÖHRING (BAULEITUNG DER WAFFEN-SS)

According to records held by the International Tracing Service (ITS), the subcamp at München-Oberföhring is mentioned for the first time on April 11, 1944. A former prisoner recalled that he and six other prisoners were transferred to Oberföhring in the autumn of 1944 from the Sudelfeld subcamp.¹ The official “employers” were the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS (Waffen-SS Building Administration) and the police. The task of the prisoners at the Oberföhring subcamp was to cook and clean for SS members and Wehrmacht officers who were accommodated in a villa.

According to a Dachau concentration camp strength report, the Oberföhring work detachment still consisted of five prisoners on April 3, 1945.² They were accommodated in one room in the villa and were guarded by two SS members. The two SS guards’ quarters were in the adjacent room.

The extant Dachau concentration camp transfer lists state that between April 11 and November 18, 1944, there was a steady change in the composition of the camp.³ The work detachment comprised not only Germans but also Poles, Russians, French, and Belgians. There were also at least three Austrians who were held in “protective custody” because of their being Jehovah’s Witnesses.

The prisoners’ food was supplied from the Dachau main camp. It was prepared by a prisoner, Kurt Ropelius, who was also a Jehovah’s Witness.⁴ At the end of April 1945, a block leader from the main camp arrived by bicycle at the Oberföhring subcamp. He had come to collect the prisoners and take them back to Dachau by truck. From there they were sent on an evacuation march in a southerly direction.

Between 1973 and 1975, there were investigations into the subcamp at Oberföhring by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg. The proceedings were stopped, but during the course of the investigations, a few survivors were questioned about the subcamp.⁵

SOURCES This camp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 83.

The AG-D holds copies of the transfer lists and a strength report of the Oberföhring subcamp. The GAZJ holds a report by a former prisoner, written in 1971. The investigations by the ZdL at BA-L hold an interview with another survivor.

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NOTES

1. Statement Anton O., May 30, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 142/73.
2. Strength Reports of the Dachau Concentration Camp subcamps, April 3, 1945, AG-D, 404.
3. Transfer Lists of the Dachau Concentration Camp, AG-D, 35.672, 35.374–35.677.
4. Report by Kurt Ropelius, February 1, 1971, GAZJ, LB Ropelius, Kurt.
5. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 142/73.

MÜNCHEN-RIEM (OT, SS-REIT- UND FAHRSCHULE)

During the war, the München-Riem airport was a strategic target for Allied air raids. The runways and the workshops were destroyed several times. To keep the aircraft flying, much reconstruction had to be done, bomb craters in the runways had to be filled in, and new landing and takeoff runways had to be built. Organisation Todt (OT) had responsibility for this work, and the labor was supplied by prisoners from the Dachau main camp. The first 600 prisoners arrived as early as February 1943 at München-Riem.¹ About 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the airfield, a subcamp was established in the horse stables of the SS-Reit-und Fahrschule (Riding and Driving School).² The stables were surrounded with barbed wire and were guarded by SS sentries.

The number of prisoners varied considerably. In February 1943, 600 prisoners were sent in to München-Riem; at the end of 1944, there were merely 300 laborers there,³ and a survivor stated that around the New Year of 1944–1945 there were only 100 prisoners left.⁴ What is certain is that by the end of March or the beginning of April 1945, several hundred prisoners were evacuated from Natzweiler subcamps such as Neckarelz and Neckargerach, and the Dachau subcamp at Kottern near Moosbach, and were transferred to the München-Riem subcamp. A Dachau strength report dated April 26, 1945, lists 1,543 prisoners at the München-Riem subcamp.⁵ Hence, it was the largest subcamp in Munich besides the München-Allach subcamp.

The dramatic increase in prisoner numbers considerably worsened the living conditions in the former riding school. At first, the prisoners had slept in three-tiered bunk beds in the stable stalls. As the detachment increased in size, more and more prisoners had to share the stalls. The majority had to sleep on the bare concrete floor. Those who were lucky slept on a thin layer of straw.

The prisoners at the München-Riem subcamp were mostly from Russia, Poland, France, Italy, and Germany. Among

them were also about 200 Sinti and Roma (Gypsies)⁶ and an unknown number of Jews. The first Kapo in the subcamp was a German, Ludwig Müller. The camp elder was Hans Bonn, and the camp clerk was Fritz Mannel. Both were transferred back to the Dachau main camp on April 11, 1945.⁷ Several survivors have stated that during the last weeks of the camp there were no prisoner-functionaries in the camp.

Food was supplied from a kitchen based in the camp area. Prisoners have stated that it was completely unsatisfactory. In the morning there was only a thin coffee; at lunch, a watery cabbage or potato soup; and in the evening, again coffee with a piece of bread.⁸ Many prisoners were undernourished and weakened because of the heavy work they had to do. Those who were sick or incapable of working were transferred back to Dachau. Those who collapsed on their way to work were beaten up by their guards. There was no infirmary in the München-Riem subcamp.

When the air-raid sirens sounded, the SS guards entered the air-raid shelters. There was no protection for the prisoners. Instead, the camp gate was opened, and the prisoners were ordered to take shelter in the surrounding area. Those who did not immediately come back after the air raid were searched for and shot. The prisoners used this opportunity to look for potatoes in the nearby fields or to get bread from the farmers. If the guards found food on the prisoners, they were shot without hesitation for looting.⁹ It happened several times that civilians came to the camp after the air raids to report thefts of food or begging.¹⁰ If this happened, the suspect was almost always shot immediately on the roll-call square. In February or March 1945, 20 Russian prisoners were executed with a shot to the nape of the neck.

Despite the severe punishment, there were some attempts to escape. The majority ended up with the prisoner being shot.

A great danger and the cause of most deaths in the München-Riem subcamp were the Allied air raids. During a raid on April 9, 1945, at least 24 prisoners were killed and 40 wounded.¹¹ On April 11, 1945, 3 dead prisoners and 94 wounded were transferred back to Dachau.¹² Aerial photographs of the area around the airport at Riem that were taken after the air raids document the extent of the attacks.¹³ A former prisoner has reported that the SS shot the wounded after the air raids.¹⁴

The guards at München-Riem included not only the SS but also members of the Volkssturm (German Home Guard) and OT.¹⁵ The names of the guards are only known for those working there in the last few weeks. Hans Hahn arrived as a guard at the end of March 1945 and remained there until the evacuation of the München-Riem subcamp.¹⁶ During this period, Hauptcharführer Franz Xaver Trenkle was the last camp leader. He was known for shooting prisoners on the slightest suspicion of planning to escape or stealing food. During the U.S. Army's Dachau Trials, Trenkle admitted to murdering 4 prisoners. Survivors have stated that the SS—and, in particular, Trenkle—shot at least 50 prisoners. Trenkle was sentenced to death by the U.S. military court in

Dachau in 1945 for various crimes committed at the Dachau, Neuengamme, Sachsenhausen, and Bergen-Belsen concentration camps and at their subcamps. He was hanged on May 28, 1946, in Landsberg am Lech.

The München-Riem subcamp was never officially closed. Only the Jewish prisoners were sent back to the Dachau main camp by truck on April 24 and 25, 1945, where they were subsequently freed by the Americans.¹⁷ The majority of the prisoners, about 1,000 in number, were evacuated on April 25, 1945, from München-Riem in a southerly direction. One half of the prisoners marched via Trudering to Bad Tölz, and the other 500 marched via Grosshesselohe, Grünwald, and Deiningen to Dettenhausen. Survivors from both groups reported mistreatment during the marches, and those prisoners who were too weak to continue were shot. A few prisoners used the opportunity to escape and hid in barns or forests until the arrival of the Americans.

A small group of prisoners was left behind in the riding school.¹⁸ According to the prisoner list at the Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial, 137 prisoners in München-Riem were freed by American troops.

The International Tracing Service (ITS) lists two different camps at München-Riem. One has the name OT camp and the other SS-Reit-und Fahrschule). There is no evidence to support a camp in Riem other than the SS-Riding and Driving School. It should be assumed that both descriptions relate to the same camp.

The State Prosecutor Munich I ceased investigations into the events at the München-Riem subcamp in 1977 because the main suspect, Trenkle, had been convicted and executed in the first Dachau Trial in 1946.¹⁹

SOURCES On the Nazi persecution of Sinti and Roma in connection with this camp, see Guenther Lewy, "Rückkehr nicht erwünscht": *Die Verfolgung der Zigeuner im Dritten Reich* (Berlin, 2001); and Ludwig Eiber, "Ich wusste, es wird schlimm": *Die Verfolgung der Sinti und Roma in München 1933–1945* (Munich, 1993).

The AG-D holds the transfer lists, strength reports, and a yet unpublished report of a survivor of the München-Riem subcamp. The PRO holds aerial photographs of the attacks on the airport at München-Riem, as reproduced in Eiber. The BHStA-(M) Stadtverteidigung also has details on the air raids. Survivors' statements are to be found in the investigation files of ZdL at BA-L, the Sta. Mü, and in BHStA-(M). For the Trenkle trial, see NARA, RG 338 Boxes 284–293, Case 000–50–2, *USA v. Martin Gottfried Weiss, et al.*

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NOTES

1. Statement Herbert H., May 24, 1974, Sta. Mü I, 320 u JS 200272/77, vol. 1.
2. For details on the construction of the SS-Hauptreitschule in München-Riem, see Sta. Mü Handakte Christian Weber, SS-Hauptreitschule München-Riem.
3. Statement Jaroslaw K., March 10, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320 u JS 200272/77, vol. 4.

4. Statement Hugo R., September 6, 1974, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 214/76.
5. Strength Reports of the Subcamps of the Dachau Concentration Camp, April 26, 1945, AG-D, 32.876.
6. Guenther Lewy, "Rückkehr nicht erwünscht": *Die Verfolgung der Zigeuner im Dritten Reich* (Berlin, 2001), p. 287.
7. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer Lists, April 11, 1945, AG-D, 35.678.
8. Statement Jozef J., March 28, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320 and JS 200272/77 Bd. 3.
9. Report by Silvester Lampert, May 8, 1996, AG-D, A 30.290.
10. Ludwig Eiber, "Ich wusste, es wird schlimm": *Die Verfolgung der Sinti und Roma in München 1933–1945* (Munich, 1993), p. 92.
11. Final Report on the Air Raids on Muenchen, Local Air Raid Warden, 15. Pol. Rev. München, April 11, 1945, BHStA-(M), Stadtverteidigung 758.
12. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer Lists, April 11, 1945, AG-D, 35.678.
13. Air Ministry, Directorate of Intelligence & Other Intelligence Papers (attack on München/Riem, 9.4.1945), PRO, AIR 40 / 840; aerial pictures published in Eiber, "Ich wusste, es wird schlimm," pp. 90–91.
14. Statement Marian P., September 19, 1974, BHStA-(M), StanW 31503/5.
15. Statement Boleslaw O., March 17, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320 u JS 200272/77, vol. 3.
16. Statement Hans Hahn, September 20, 1946, NARA, RG 153 Box 191.
17. Statement Zwi Sch., December 12, 1974; Bernhard F., March 13, 1975, both Sta. Mü I, 320 u JS 200272/77, vol. 2.
18. Statement Marcello B., March 8, 1975, BHStA-(M), StanW 34817/2.
19. Sta. Mü I, 320 u JS 200272/77, vol. 1–4; Case 000–50–2, *USA v. Martin Gottfried Weiss, et al.*, NARA, RG 338 Boxes 284–293.

MÜNCHEN-SCHWABING

[AKA SCHWESTER PIA]

The Dachau subcamp at München-Schwabing was the first subcamp where concentration camp prisoners were permanently used as a labor force outside the main concentration camp. Unlike most of the later subcamps that were constructed, organized, and managed by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the Dachau camp commandant, its construction, administration, and organization were in the hands of Eleonore Baur, alias Schwester Pia (Sister Pia). [This subcamp was also smaller than most others and is included here as a representative case for instances in which prisoners were used by individuals or small organizations. —Ed.]

Schwester Pia was an active and fanatic National Socialist from the very first moment. According to her own statement, she received her title around 1907–1908 from the Munich sisters' order Gelbes Kreuz (Yellow Cross), without ever actually qualifying as a nurse.¹ In 1920, she met Adolf Hitler by

chance on a tram in Munich. Following that meeting, she was involved with the Sterneck Group in founding the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP).² She was one of the first party members and had close connections to important party officials. During the Hitler Putsch of 1923, she cared for the wounded and the dead. In 1934, she became the only woman ever to be awarded the *Blutorden* (a Nazi decoration awarded to veterans of the 1923 Putsch).

After the Nazi assumption of power in 1933, she profited a good deal from the close contacts to the Nazi elite. She was invited on numerous excursions and to many festivities. She had a close relationship with Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, and it was due to him that she was appointed welfare sister for the Waffen-SS at Dachau in 1933. In 1934, she and others founded a National Socialist Order of Sisters (Schwesternschaft). In 1937, she became the honorary chairwoman. No later than 1934, she obtained permission from the Führer to move freely in the Dachau concentration camp. She was the only woman with this privilege. Allegedly, she had approached the Führer with the request that she wanted to devote herself not only to the SS men but also to the prisoners and their relatives.³

The prisoner Erich Essner was occasionally doing gardening work in her private apartment at 6 Voit Strasse, Munich, as early as 1934. Other prisoners followed who had to do household tasks.⁴ Between 1937 and 1945, Schwester Pia had her house in Munich-Oberhaching extensively renovated by concentration camp prisoners. The garden was redesigned, and the place was generally cleaned up. A garage was built, together with an enclosed swimming pool and a bunker. The materials for this work came solely from Dachau. It seems she paid for a part of the materials, but she took the biggest part for free. In the workshops of the concentration camp the prisoners had to produce furniture, wood carvings, and children's toys for her.⁵

Schwester Pia never paid the SS for the use of the labor of the prisoners.⁶ During her weekly visits in the prisoners' kitchen, she took meat and margarine with her in her official vehicle, for which she also did not pay. The food was supposed to be inferior "dog food," but it was usually good-quality meat. She was known in the camp as someone who requisitioned anything that was not nailed down.⁷

At the beginning, the prisoners were randomly on duty at Schwester Pia's home for one or more days per week. They returned each evening to the concentration camp. From 1940, she had a permanent working detail consisting of 12 to 14 men. At first, these prisoners were also driven to work from the concentration camp every day, but later they were accommodated at Schwester Pia's place and were brought back to Dachau only on the weekends.⁸

Schwester Pia was in charge of the detachment—she arranged the duties and set the working hours. She is even alleged to have been involved in choosing the prisoners. The detachment had to work hard, often on Sundays. Security was provided by SS guards from Dachau. It is said that Schwester Pia was sometimes difficult even with these guards, her *Buam*

(boys),⁹ and bossed both the prisoners and the guards around.¹⁰

There are no known cases of mistreatment or deaths at this subcamp. Schwester Pia herself never actually harmed a prisoner, but almost all former prisoners, questioned after the war, have accused her of bullying them. When she was in a bad mood or the prisoners were not working hard enough, she had them, for example, climb down into an outside toilet pit to clean it with a brush. At the same time Schwester Pia was feared by the prisoners because of the considerable influence she had on the camp leadership. If a prisoner fell into disfavor with her, she did not hesitate to request the camp commandant to punish the prisoner by having him held in the bunker. She threatened the prisoner Michael Gollackner, saying that he would not leave the concentration camp alive. He was saved probably because he was transferred to Sachsenhausen.¹¹ Hans Biederer, also a prisoner, reported similar mistreatment after having been accused by Schwester Pia.¹²

Schwester Pia's behavior was reported to be inconsistent. On the one hand, the prisoners said that better-than-average food was provided at the subcamp. The prisoners ate at one table together with Schwester Pia and her employees, a chauffeur and a kitchen assistant.¹³ They were even permitted to smoke, and they had the possibility to smuggle letters out of the camp and make contact with the outside world. On the other hand, Schwester Pia's behavior was unpredictable, and her moods were feared. She could quickly turn from being nice to the prisoners to being the complete opposite.

This contradictory nature was revealed when the prisoners were questioned later. There were many positive reports on her. She often stood up for the priest Huber, who said on his deathbed that she was the "angel of Dachau" because she had done a great deal of good in the concentration camp.¹⁴ Other prisoners have stated that Schwester Pia spoke up for their release or financially supported their despairing relatives.¹⁵ In 1943, Reichsführer Himmler temporarily banned her from Dachau because it had been alleged that she wanted to smuggle prisoners' letters out of the concentration camp.¹⁶ At the same time, the prisoners of her detachment, her employees, and neighbors describe her as a moody, hysterical, and selfish woman who unscrupulously used her contacts with the Nazis in power to get what she wanted. She profited from the kitchen, the workshops, and the Dachau laundry; threatened the neighbors with the concentration camp when she could not get her way; and ceaselessly bullied the prisoners. Some witnesses have even suggested that Schwester Pia took prisoners as lovers.¹⁷

The discrepancies can only be explained when one considers the prisoner groups favored by Schwester Pia. As a convinced, fanatical National Socialist, she hated Jews and Poles. Her detachment consisted mainly of political prisoners from Germany and Austria. At Christmas, she regularly presented the prisoners with "Pia Packages," filled with food. At the same time, at Christmas 1938, she had several prisoners whipped. Schwester Pia was present at this mistreatment and stated that she would step in to help the political prisoners but that Jews and foreigners "should die."¹⁸

The date on which the München-Schwabing subcamp ceased cannot be identified exactly. The International Tracing Service (ITS) last mentions it in 1942. This date is probably set too early, as several prisoners were still working for Schwester Pia in 1944.¹⁹

Baur was categorized as a major criminal in the denazification proceedings in 1949. Her personal property and the villa in Oberhaching were confiscated for restoration, and she was sentenced to 10 years in a labor camp. In 1949, the State Prosecutor Munich II began an investigation of her for being involved in the mistreatment and deaths of prisoners in Dachau. The investigations ceased in 1950 because of a lack of evidence.

Baur was released from the Rebdorf labor camp in 1950 on reasons of health. In 1955, her successful application for a pension and compensation enabled her to return to her house in Oberhaching, where she died in 1981. Baur remained a convinced National Socialist until her death. On her tombstone at the Deisenhofen Cemetery near Munich are the words "Ein Leben für Deutschland" (A Life for Germany).

SOURCES This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:87. Sabine Schalm published an article on the career of Eleonore Baur and her prisoner commando: "Schwester Pia: Karriere einer Strassenbahnbekanntschaft—Fürsorge der Waffen SS im Konzentrationslager Dachau," in *Frauen als Täterinnen im Nationalsozialismus*, vol. 2, *Protokollband der Fachtagung am 16. und 17. September 2005 in Bernburg*, ed. V. Viola Schubert-Lenhardt (Gerbstedt, 2006) pp. 52–67. Hans Holzhaider published an article on Eleonore Baur's personality titled "Schwester Pia," *DaHe* 10 (1994): 101–114. There is also a contribution by the Geschichtswerkstatt Neuhausen, "Schwester Pia—Ein Leben für Deutschland?" in *Frauenleben in München/Lesebuch zur Geschichte des Muenchner Alltags; Geschichtswettbewerb 1992*, ed. Landeshauptstadt München (Munich, 1993), pp. 125–130. An older contribution is Johann Hess, "Braune Schwester Pia," *Die Geistlichkeit in Dachau*, ed. Eugen Weiler (Mödling: Missionsdruckerei St. Gabriel, 1971).

The relevant archival sources on the München-Schwabing subcamp and Eleonore Baur are the denazification files in BHStA-(M), Spruchkammerakten, Karton 75, Eleonore Baur, vol. 1–5; and the investigation files of the Sta. Mü II, 34448, vol. 1–2. These files contain detailed witnesses' statements both from Baur and the prisoners. Publications by prisoners are sparse, but the following should be mentioned: Rudolf Kalmar, *Zeit ohne Gnade* (Vienna, 1946), pp. 176–179. Other unpublished reports are in the AG-D, for example, "Erinnerungen des österreichischen Häftlings Hans Schwarz," AG-D, Hängeordner SS/Schwester Pia. The most recent contribution is the monograph by Stanislav Zámečník, *Das war Dachau* (Luxembourg, 2002), pp. 180–184.

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NOTES

1. Interrogation Eleonore Baur, October 10, 1949, BHStA-(M), Sta. 34448, vol. 1.

2. Interrogation Baur, April 23, 1948, BHStA-(M), SpkA Karton 75 (Eleonore Baur), vol. 1.
3. Biographical Details of Eleonore Baur, March 23, 1947, BHStA-(M), SpkA Karton 75 (Eleonore Baur), vol. 1., and Interrogation Baur, October 10, 1949, BHStA-(M), Sta. Mü II, 34448, Bd. 1.
4. Statement Lina Neulen, December 8, 1950, BHStA-(M), Sta. Mü II, 34448, Bd. 2.
5. Rudolf Kalmar, *Zeit ohne Gnade* (Vienna, 1946), pp. 176–179.
6. Interrogation Baur, April 14, 1948, BHStA-(M), SpkA Karton 75 (Eleonore Baur), vol. 1.
7. "Erinnerungen des österreichischen Häftlings Hans Schwarz," AG-D, Hängeordner SS/Schwester Pia.
8. Witness Statement, Willi Grimm, April 14, 1949, BHStA-(M), SpkA Karton 75 (Eleonore Baur), vol. 1.
9. A letter by Eleonore Baur dated June 13, 1935, to Ministerpräsident Streicher uses this nickname several times for the SS members of the Dachau concentration camp; BHStA-(M), SpkA Karton 75 (Eleonore Baur), vol. 1.
10. Statement Josef Appel, March 6, 1950, BHStA-(M), Sta. Mü II 34448, vol. 2; Specialist Medical Opinion of the Munich Nerve Clinic on Eleonore Baur, March 28, 1949, BHStA-(M), SpkA Karton 75 (Eleonore Baur), vol. 1.
11. Statement Michael Gollackner, December 16, 1949, BHStA-(M), Sta. Mü II 34448, Bd. 1.
12. Statement Hans Biederer, January 24, 1950, BHStA-(M), Sta. Mü II 34448, Bd. 1.
13. Statement Friedrich Heiler, August 28, 1950, BHStA-(M), Sta. Mü II 34448, Bd. 2.
14. Statement Josef Seitz, May 9, 1950, BHStA-(M), Sta. Mü II 34448, Bd. 2.
15. Statement Ludwig Weber, April 19, 1950, and statement Wendelin Koch, June 7, 1950, both BHStA-(M), Sta. Mü II 34448, Bd. 2.
16. Statement Rudolf Wirth, February 21, 1950, BHStA-(M), Sta. Mü II 34448, Bd. 1.
17. Statement Andreas Zollner, April 24, 1950, BHStA-(M), Sta. Mü II 34448, Bd. 1; "Erinnerungen des österreichischen Häftlings Hans Schwarz."
18. As quoted in Johann Hess, "Braune Schwester Pia," in *Die Geistlichkeit in Dachau*, ed. Eugen Weiler (Mödling: Missionsdruckerei St. Gabriel, 1971), pp. 397–398.
19. Statements Max Bienen, February 21, 1949, and Erich Essner, May 5, 1949, both in BHStA-(M), SpkA Karton 75 (Eleonore Baur), vol. 1; Statement August Gattinger, June 20, 1950, BHStA-(M), Sta. Mü II 34448, vol. 2.

MÜNCHEN-SENDLING (ARCHITEKT BÜCKLERS)

In 1941, the Munich architect Karl Bücklers of the Reich Air Ministry had been assigned the project planning and construction management of three armaments factories in München-Sendling.¹ The factories were owned by the companies Grunow, Linhof, and Widmaier. The factories were built next to one another east of the München-Tegernsee railway track. The buildings, which still existed in the early

twenty-first century, are located to the west of Koppstrasse.

According to Bücklers, the building project initially went on without any problems. It was only with the construction of the third factory for the Grunow company that labor shortages caused difficulties. The Reich Air Ministry made available a work detachment of 40 Dachau prisoners. The first prisoners, mostly craftsmen, arrived at München-Sendling on March 16, 1942.² The detachment consisted predominantly of Polish, Austrian, and German "protective custody" prisoners. Their first task was to construct an accommodation barrack on an open field to the west of the construction site. The wooden barrack had separate sections for the guards and the detachment leader. The prisoners slept on two-tiered wooden bunks. The camp, which formed a rectangle, was surrounded by barbed wire and two guard towers.

Franz Vinzenz accompanied the detachment as Kapo. He was replaced on July 31, 1942, by Hermann Pfeiffer.³

The guards consisted of 11 German SS men and their commander. The prisoners were slapped in the face by the detachment leader for such minor infringements as smoking while working or failing to achieve the work norms. Their punishment was to work on Sundays or to be deprived of food. For more serious offenses, the prisoners were taken back to the Dachau main camp.⁴ An example is a prisoner from Bavaria who secretly tried to make contact with his family. A Polish prisoner was hanged at the subcamp for "sabotage."⁵

The prisoners were escorted by members of the SS to the construction site at a distance of about 100 meters (328 feet). French and Russian prisoners of war (POWs) were also working there. They were guarded by members of the Wehrmacht. It was strictly forbidden for the prisoners to communicate with each other.⁶

The prisoners were fed with a watery soup, prepared for them in the kitchen of a nearby restaurant.⁷

At least two prisoners tried to escape from the Architect Bücklers subcamp. A German prisoner was recaptured after two months, brought back to the subcamp, and then transferred to Dachau, where he was placed under arrest in the punishment block.⁸ However, a Czech successfully escaped from the subcamp at München-Sendling.⁹

When he was questioned, Karl Bücklers stated that he had never entered the camp. Survivors say that he had treated the prisoners well.¹⁰ The München-Sendling subcamp was closed on December 1, 1942, and the prisoners were transferred back to Dachau.

SOURCES The essential facts for this subcamp have been extracted from the investigation files compiled between 1973 and 1979 by the Sta. Mü I (320u Js 201656/76). The AG-D holds copies of the transfer lists, which give details of the identity of some prisoners in this detachment. Further details are from survivors' statements made during the investigations by the Sta. Mü.

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NOTES

1. Statement Karl Bücklers, November 21, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320u Js 201656/76.
2. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer List, May 18, 1942 (prisoners' departure date March 16, 1942), AG-D, 35.673.
3. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer Lists, July 30, 1942, and July 31, 1942, AG-D, 35.674.
4. Statement Kazimierz S., January 15, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320u Js 201656/76.
5. Statement George P., January 28, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320u Js 201656/76.
6. Statement Kazimierz S., January 15, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320u Js 201656/76.
7. Statement George P., January 28, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320u Js 201656/76.
8. Statement Jozef C., February 7, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320u Js 201656/76.
9. Statement George P., January 28, 1975, Sta. Mü I, 320u Js 201656/76.
10. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer List, December 1, 1942, AG-D, 35.674.

NEUBURG AN DER DONAU

The catalog of the International Tracing Service (ITS) refers to an independent subcamp or work detachment at an air base headquarters. According to the details in the catalog, there were between one and six prisoners working there between February and March 1945.¹

The air base at Neuburg an der Donau was important for the German Luftwaffe during World War II. Between 1943 and 1945, several night-fighter and bomber squadrons were stationed there, as well as a fighter squadron. Toward the end of the war, the Messerschmitt (Me) 262 was assembled in the three hangars at this air base and tested.² It is also thought that there might have been a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp at the air base. There are no indications to suggest that there was a labor camp for concentration camp prisoners.³ For this reason, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) ceased investigations in 1974.⁴

According to a report by Maximiliana Schubert, there were concentration camp prisoners in the vicinity of the air base in 1945. One of those prisoners was her husband, Max Schubert. He was imprisoned in Mauthausen where he learned one day that the Dachau concentration camp was seeking political prisoners to remove unexploded ordnance. He volunteered and underwent a short training course at the Fire Fighters School in Munich.

According to Mrs. Schubert, the bomb disposal squad consisted of six prisoners and two guards. After the air raid on Ingolstadt on March 1, 1945, the city administration approached the Dachau concentration camp and requested several bomb disposal squads. Her husband was sent to the city on the Danube with one of these squads to defuse unexploded bombs. The bombs were left lying on the streets, ready to be collected—they were marked with little yellow flags.

Mrs. Schubert describes what happened as follows: "In the following days the squad had to retrieve the unexploded bombs from the Danube's soft marshy soil in the area around the Neuburg airport. The bombs were up to five meters [16.4 feet] deep in the soil." The air raids became more and more frequent, so that the disposal squads were eventually quartered in the Flanders Barracks at Ingolstadt. Following air raids, Max Schubert and fellow prisoners defused more than 3,000 unexploded bombs of varying size in the Ingolstadt area.⁵

The Neuburg air base should also be included in the Ingolstadt area. It was attacked by Allied bombers five times between February and April 1945 and was almost totally destroyed. The last attacks included not less than 241 B-24 bombers of the Eighth Air Force. It is possible that the hitherto unconfirmed Dachau subcamp mentioned in the ITS catalog was in fact this bomb disposal squad.

SOURCES The Neuburg an der Donau subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufigen Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 76.

The ZdL investigation is available at BA-L. An important published testimony for this possible subcamp is Maximiliana Schubert, "Blindgängerbeseitigung durch KZ-Häftlinge," in *Luftangriffe auf Ingolstadt*, by Hans Fegert, (Kösching, 1989).

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Citation from ZdL, Schlussvermerk, IV 410 AR 151/73, dated April 3, 1974, in BA-L.
2. Statements by former Luftwaffe officers and Messerschmitt pilots.
3. Ibid.
4. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, IV 410 AR 151/73, dated April 3, 1974, in BA-L.
5. Maximiliana Schubert, "Blindgängerbeseitigung durch KZ-Häftlinge," in *Luftangriffe auf Ingolstadt*, by Hans Fegert, (Kösching, 1989), pp. 84–85.

NEUFAHRN

The Dachau subcamp at Neufahrn is first mentioned in the Dachau files on April 22, 1945. It is last mentioned on April 26, 1945.

According to statements of witnesses interviewed during investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, in 1976 there were about 500 male prisoners (some witnesses say about 1,000) in the camp of many nationalities and of a wide variety of prisoner categories. The International Tracing Service (ITS) states that the prisoners worked in the armaments industry, whereas the ZdL investigations suggest that the prisoners built roads and runways.

Some witnesses were able to provide the ZdL investigations with details about the camp layout and how it was guarded. The prisoners were accommodated in five barracks. Several other barracks were used for support functions. The camp was enclosed by a simple wire fence that was lighted at night. The command of the camp consisted of three SS men; Organisation Todt (OT) men were the guards.

SOURCES: This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 88.

The files of the ZdL investigation about Neufahrn are recorded in the files IV 410 AR-Z 38/ 76 at BA-L. They contain a number of witness statements. There is also some scattered information in the files of AG-D.

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NEUSTIFT IM STUBAITAL

[AKA INNSBRUCK II]

The Neustift im Stubaital subcamp of Dachau, also known as Innsbruck II, was located in the Tyrolian Mountains of present-day Austria, roughly 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) south of the city of Innsbruck. It was the most southern of all Dachau subcamps. The camp was established in a small SS barracks camp (*Barackenlager*) that had been built in 1940 for the construction of a road between the Stubai Valley (Stubaital) and the Ötz Valley (Ötztal). However, the camp remained empty until October 10, 1942, when it became a subcamp of Dachau and was officially opened and redesignated the SS-Alpine Training Facility and Prisoner Camp (Hochgebirgsausbildungs- und Gefangenelager).¹ In October 1942, 50 male inmates arrived from Dachau. On average, there were about 60 inmates in the camp, but during the winter their number was reduced to about 20 to 30 prisoners. The prisoners were used to construct the SS barracks and to work in the SS training facility where 120 SS personnel received training as alpine guides. In addition, the SS trainees also studied engineering and communications, as these skills pertained to SS alpine work projects.

The inmates were guarded by ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche) and SS men from Romania and Hungary (Siebenbürgen and the Banat), and in charge of them was the commander of the Alpine Training Facility, SS-Obersturmbannführer Eberhard von Quirsfeld. Albert Knoll provides the names of a number of commandants of the Neustift subcamp: SS-Oberscharführer Friedrich Plörer (until the end of 1942), SS-Oberscharführer Arnold (January 1943), SS-Oberscharführer Ernst (or Hermann)² Wicklein, and SS-Unterscharführer Otto Dertinger.

After erecting the training facility, prisoners were used to build a parade ground and an ammunition storage facility. They were also slated to work on the construction of an underground bunker complex. This latter project was never

begun, however, and prisoners were instead assigned to local farms to work as field hands.³

In general, the working and living conditions in the camp were considered bearable. The subcamp itself was not fenced, and the local population was friendly toward the inmates. Some of them even arranged for visits of relatives of the prisoners. The physician and the dentist of the SS training facility were also in charge of health care for the inmates. Political prisoner Hugo Jakusch, who had been taken to Neustift in April 1943 and who was to become the Neustift chief Kapo, in a letter to his family in June 1943 stated: "I never had it that nice during the last ten years of my imprisonment. Our camp is in the middle of the mountains, three thousand meters [9,843 feet] high, and I had hoped for so long to be attached to a work detachment in the mountains."⁴

The prisoners incarcerated in Neustift came primarily from within the Dachau camp system. Karl Wagner, a German political prisoner who spent nine years in the Dachau system, arrived in Neustift in the autumn of 1942. Because of the time he spent in Dachau, Wagner was familiar with many of the prisoners already in Neustift and participated with these men in creating a resistance cell. The cell was composed largely of "Red Spaniard" Communists and Socialists who had fought for the Left during the Spanish Civil War.⁵ Other prisoners in Neustift included Poles, Germans, and Austrians. Most of the internees were political prisoners. Jews do not appear to have been held captive in Neustift, but the evidence for this is inconclusive. Being assigned to work on local farmsteads, the members of the Neustift resistance eventually made contact with locals who opposed the Nazis. Several of these local residents developed a close relationship with the prisoners, and an active assistance group soon sprang into being. This assistance group, including the Kuprian family, Georg Egger, and Luise Kempf, supplied the prisoners with food and secretly posted letters from prisoners to their loved ones back home.⁶

Although they received harsh treatment at the hands of the SS, the killing of prisoners in Neustift by SS guards seems to have been a rare occurrence. In August 1943, a prisoner was discovered and shot in a nearby village after he had missed evening roll call.⁷ Two years later, in March 1945, two prisoners escaped and fled into the surrounding mountains. One was found and shot after he had returned to the local village for food and shelter, while the second prisoner, Johann Höbl, a resident of Vienna, was killed in the mountains by an avalanche.⁸ A local resident discovered Höbl's body on May 18, 1945, and the corpse was interred in the Neustift camp cemetery.⁹

By May 1945, French and U.S. forces were rapidly approaching the area, and the SS unit guarding Neustift received orders to kill the prisoners. After this, the SS men were to defend the nearby Passtrasse against the French. The prisoners learned of the killing order, however, and fled into the mountains before the SS could carry out the executions. American troops arrived soon thereafter, rescued the prisoners, and liberated the Neustift camp.¹⁰

SOURCES Few primary sources exist that provide information on the Neustift im Stubaital subcamp. The most significant available source is Karl Wagner, *Erinnerungen an Neustift: Beitrag zur Geschichte des antifaschistischen Widerstandes 1942 bis 1945 in Neustift/Stabai* (Karlsruhe, 1979). Wagner's small book is a sketch of events in Neustift as he witnessed them from the autumn of 1942 until April 1943, when he was transferred back to Dachau. Wagner is also the author of "Ich schlage nicht. Beitrag zur Geschichte des antifaschistischen Widerstandes im KZ-Ausenlager Dachau-Allach," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 59–64. Albert Knoll provided an essay on Neustift in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager; Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 452–455. Barbara Distel gives a short description of the camp in "KZ-Kommandos an idyllischen Orten: Dachauer Aussenlager in Österreich," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 54–65. Relevant secondary sources include Paul Gleirschnner, "Neustift im Stubaital 1938–1945" (unpub. MSS, Vienna, n.d.), which is available in AG-D, DaA 15589.

A handful of primary documents on Neustift can also be found in DÖW, ed., *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Tirol 1934–1945: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1984). Other secondary sources that mention Neustift include Zvonimir Cuckovic, "Zwei Jahre auf Schloss Itter" (unpub. MSS); Augusta Léon Jouhoux, *Prison pour Hommes d'Etat* (Paris: Donoël/Gonthier, 1973); and Günter Falser, *Die NS-Zeit im Stubaital* (Vienna: Studienverlag, 1996). The subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:73.

Documents regarding Kommandoführer Ernst Wicklein can be found at NARA, RG 338 B 319 f. 04 (statement by Wicklein from January 25, 1947); and RG 153 B 210 f. 01 (statement by Karl Christian Rausch from December 6, 1946). More material on Wicklein is located at BHStA-(M), StanW 21830 and SpkA, Box 1959 (Ernst Wicklein). At AG-D witness testimonies can be found in the *Zeitzeugengespräche mit ehemaligen Häftlingen*, among others with Hugo Jakusch, DaA 25947, and *Transportlisten* (transport lists), DaA 35673.

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NOTES

1. Paul Gleirschnner, "Neustift im Stubaital 1938–1945," file available in AG-D, No. 15589.
2. Karl Wagner, *Erinnerungen an Neustift: Beitrag zur Geschichte des antifaschistischen Widerstandes 1942 bis 1945 in Neustift Stubai* (Karlsruhe, 1979), p. 13. Also see NARA, *List of SS-Officers Compiled from Personnel Files in the Berlin Document Center*, vol. 7: T-Z.
3. Gleirschnner, "Neustift im Stubaital 1938–1945."
4. Zeitzeugen-Gespräche mit ehemaligen Häftlingen des Konzentrationslagers Dachau, here: Hugo Jakusch, AG-D, DaA 25497, p. 33.
5. Wagner, *Erinnerungen*, p. 12.
6. Ibid., p. 13.
7. BA-L, Schlussvermerk, ZdL, IV 410 AR 35/73, December 17, 1973.
8. Wagner, *Erinnerungen*, p. 4.

9. "Excerpt from the records of the Gendarmeriepost Fulpmes, 18.5.1945," in DÖW, *Widerstand und Verfolgung*, 1:595.

10. DÖW, File No. 3759.

NEU-ULM

For years it was a puzzle where the Dachau subcamp of Neu-Ulm, mentioned in documents, was located. It has now been determined that "Dr. Rühmer'schen Satzfischchanlagen" (Dr. Rühmer's Fish Breeding Ponds) in the village of Unterfahlheim near Neu-Ulm was the location of the subcamp. Historian Enno Georg refers to the SS-Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung GmbH (German Experimental Institute for Nutrition and Health GmbH). It utilized the medicinal herb gardens in the vicinity of Dachau and also inside the concentration camp. Over time, the SS organization either acquired or leased farm and forest firms, including fish breeding ponds, or worked together with their owners.

One of them was Dr. Ing. Karl Rühmer, who had owned an aquaculture farm since 1939 at Biberhaken in Unterfahlheim. Rühmer was a fish breeder, wrote about fish, and was the owner of the publishing house Germanenverlag, in Ebenhausen near Munich. In addition to his books on fish, he wrote books on the German Volk such as *Wir wollen frei sein—Gedichte rufen zum Kampf gegen den Bolschewismus und Bildung der vereinigten Staaten Europas* (We demand freedom—Poetry for the struggle against Bolshevism and the creation of a United States of Europe). In May 1942, Rühmer, who had until then been a captain in the Luftwaffe Reserve, was given the rank of SS-Sturmbannführer and was named the fish expert in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). He was expressly permitted to continue with his aquaculture in Unterfahlheim as well as his Germanenverlag in Ebenhausen.

The shift to the Waffen-SS also meant that Rühmer became head of Department III (Fish) at the Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung. He had responsibility for his breeding ponds not only in Unterfahlheim but also at the troop training area at Heidelager, as well as at Auschwitz and at sites in occupied Russia. On April 30, 1944, he was promoted to Obersturmbannführer of the Reserve but lost his areas of responsibility "because of a lack of employment opportunities." The ponds in Unterfahlheim remained his.

The fish at his experimental institute were used to feed hospitals and mothers' homes. A letter from Rühmer to the wife of Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler allows the conclusion that they were also for the tables of the elite. Rühmer invited Mrs. Himmler to call him any time for his services, especially when she needed fish for a meal for the Reichsführer.¹

Johann Scheiblhuber from Unterfahlheim closely observed activities at the ponds. The ponds had belonged to his father

who sold them because of illness in 1939 to Dr. Rühmer. In 1939, Scheiblhuber became a soldier. In the summer of 1942, when on leave in Unterfahlheim, he noticed that not only foreign laborers from the Ukraine and Poland but also concentration camp prisoners were busy at the Biber Stream. Scheiblhuber also recalled "seven or eight, perhaps more Jehovah's Witnesses." The communal barracks of the concentration camp prisoners and foreigners were not fenced in.² The men with violet markings did not have to wear the striped prisoner uniforms but wore gray clothes and flat caps. The Jehovah's Witnesses and the foreign workers were accommodated in barracks on the site of the ponds. The barracks were not fenced in.

The date 1942 mentioned by Scheiblhuber is not confirmed by other sources. The catalog of the International Tracing Service (ITS) first mentions the camp on July 5, 1943. It is certain that in Unterfahlheim, Bibelforscher (Bible researchers)—then, as now, known as Jehovah's Witnesses—were forced to work at the fish ponds. The Nazis persecuted them without mercy because they were unyielding and lived according to the motto "Give unto Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's." On no account would they agree to conscription, and these men and women were not prepared to accept Hitler as Germany's savior. They also refused to use the then-customary German greeting, Hitler's "salute." They continued to use the traditional greetings such as "Grüss Gott" (hello) or "Guten Tag" (good day). They would rather go to jail or a concentration camp than betray their beliefs.

Scheiblhuber and other villagers were extraordinarily impressed by these gentle people. He recalled that even in this distressful situation they tried to talk to the villagers in Unterfahlheim about their beliefs. There is a letter from a Belgian Jehovah's Witness in Unterfahlheim, Leon Floryn, prisoner number 46522, who wrote to his wife who was also imprisoned in a camp because of her belief. Although he tried to disguise the letter's intention, he made it clear to her that despite his imprisonment he remained true to his belief. Floryn refused in Dachau to work on the production of war material. He was punished several times by being held under arrest in a bunker and being forced to stand barefoot in the snow.³

Konrad Klug, another Jehovah's Witness, described Dr. Rühmer as a "very nice man." Klug said the SS detachment leader of the small camp, whose name he fails to mention, not only made life difficult for the prisoners but was also "very nasty" to his boss, that is, Dr. Rühmer.

Klug also described his work at Biberhaken. The Jehovah's Witnesses's History Archive (GAZJ) in Selters has an article about his time in Unterfahlheim. It includes the following statement:

In winter work at the ponds was very difficult. With long boots we had to mow the reeds in the ponds. The embankments had to be improved, fish in large carts, filled with water, had to be shifted. Then there

were 500,000 trout eggs, which had been frozen in Denmark, thawed out in a breeding installation and then put in breeding boxes, each containing 200. These were kept under constantly flowing water. Outside the temperature dropped to minus 20 degrees and in the breeding installation, of which there were two, the temperature was minus 10 degrees. Each day the eggs had to be checked with pinsetters and those that had died were immediately removed so that the others would not be affected. After checking only two of the incubators I was frozen stiff. Naturally I had to keep moving to stay warm and do the work. 98% of the eggs became little trout. . . . We then had to sort the trout in the cold months. They had to be fed and when the ponds got cracks so that the little fish could slip out they had to be repaired. Every morning all the ponds' sieves had to be cleaned to let the fresh water through.⁴

After receiving a supplement of oxygen, the Rühmer fish were dispatched live. There is still in existence an urgent dispatch note from "Dr. Rühmer'schen Satzfischzuchtanlagen Unterfahlheim bei Neu Ulm" with the words in large print "Lebende Fische" (Live Fish). The contents were described as follows: "Live Fish—Bred in Approved Oak Barrels—Telephone the Sender."

There was planned in Unterfahlheim a Fish Hatchery School to train those injured during the war. Nothing came of the plan. The numbers of Jehovah's Witnesses fluctuated between 7 and 30 men. Shortly before the collapse of the Third Reich, the Unterfahlheim camp was dissolved. The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) investigations found no evidence of any crimes. Its concluding recommendation is as follows: "Although ITS Arolsen names three witnesses it was no longer possible to clarify the conditions in the NL (subcamp) Neu-Ulm. If there were deaths at the small subcamp then Hedel would have confirmed this when he was questioned on 23.10.1969. No further investigation is recommended."⁵ Kurt Hedel, the named witness, was also an imprisoned Jehovah's Witness.

SOURCES This article is based on the chapter in the author's book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984). The Neu-Ulm camp in Unterfahlheim is also mentioned by Erhard Klein in his book *Jehovas Zeugen in Dachau—Geschichtliche Hintergründe und Erlebnisberichte* (Bielefeld, 2001); as well as Enno Georg, *Die wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen der SS* (Stuttgart: Deutsche-Verlags-Anstalt, 1963), pp. 61–66.

Other than the Schlussvermerk of ZdL (available at AG-D), there are only a few sources on the Unterfahlheim camp. The most fruitful is the GAZJ, which contains prisoner reports. In Unterfahlheim there is only one resident who has a good recollection of the camp.

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NOTES

1. All details on Rühmer come from the collections of the former BDC, now BA-BL.
2. In a conversation with the author, 1984.
3. GAZJ, DOK 09101/44 (1).
4. GAZJ, EB Konrad Klug dated February 5, 1954.
5. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, IV 410 AR 153/73, in AG-D, Dachau 18.541.

OBERSTDORF-BIRGSAU

Oberstdorf in the Allgäu was a famous health spa and winter sport haven long before the Third Reich. In mid-1943, a camp was erected in the nearby Birgsau valley for training members of the Waffen-SS in alpine combat. To build it, 12 inmates of the Dachau concentration camp were initially sent there in the summer of 1943, but soon this subcamp was enlarged to comprise about 30 men.

In 1936 and 1937, three customs houses had been built in Birgsau, which through Austria's annexation to Germany became superfluous. The basements of these three buildings served as housing for the camp inmates. The upper floors housed the camp administration. At first the men from the subcamp were fed in the nearby inn of the Mayer family. Then a kitchen was built in the camp. The camp was surrounded by a moderately high fence.

From July 1943 until about January 1945, SS-Sturmbanführer Willi Baumgärtel was the commandant of this subcamp.¹ Later, Polish prisoner Wladislaus Krystofiak certified that this commandant had behaved correctly toward the inmates. At the very start, he had made sure that Krystofiak and his companions in suffering each had two clean undershirts, two pairs of underpants, two sets of work clothes, sturdy ski boots, and three woolen blankets. Baumgärtel even contributed a radio for the prisoners' use. Krystofiak stated, "Why should I not say so, if even in the SS there were people who treated us KZ inmates decently?" Krystofiak was the camp cook. He claims that the food was good and occasionally improved with remains of warm meals from the SS kitchen. Once the commandant allowed the inmates, without a guard, to pick up a stag that had died at a feeding station for wildlife. He also had allowed them to buy beer at the Mayer inn.²

At that time the owners of this inn were Kaspar and Lina Mayer. Their daughters Fanny and Maria did not judge Baumgärtel in such an unqualified positive way. He allegedly had harassed their parents because they were devout Catholics and threatened to see to it that their ailing father would be sent to Dachau. The sisters also considered it harassment that the camp latrine was built only 30 meters (98 feet) away from a small chapel, "Mayers' prayer barn," as the SS men derisively called it. "Still, we were not afraid. Among the SS men there were very decent people."³ The sisters also recalled that their parents were sneaking food to the inmates when they, guarded by an SS man, bought beer. On those occasions, these men also tried to exchange toys they had made for food.

A letter from former prisoner Andrzej Burzawa provides information about work and life in Birgsau.⁴ About the day of their arrival he stated: "After the morning roll call and report, we first went to the site of a rock avalanche by car. There we had to remove rocks from the road and stabilize the walls to keep them from buckling. At noon the commandant appeared and observed us for about an hour. . . . Since we worked in wooden shoes, we slipped and fell several times. We were in danger of breaking our legs. Next morning we received leather mountain boots. It took us a week to remove the rock slide."

Describing the times that followed, the letter states:

After that, transports of building materials arrived in Oberstdorf. We had to reload them and bring them to Birgsau. . . . Until winter set in we constructed a warehouse, a weapons depot, an infirmary/hospital, a kitchen, and a barrack. We brought several wagonloads of coal from Oberstdorf. We brought firewood for the winter from the forest by sled. During the winter we built a workshop and toilets. We diverted water from a mountain stream into pipes to supply the kitchen and the community bath with flowing water. All winter long we made sure that the road was passable at all times for sometimes there was snow more than one and a half meters (five feet) deep, which buried the road in snow avalanches. In the spring, when the snow melted, we continued with the construction of the camp.

The Oberstdorf-Birgsau camp even had animals, three mules and five horses. In the spring of 1944, Burzawa was in charge of their care. In Dachau this Polish man had to clean the floor with a toothbrush. He had lost teeth in beatings, and he had been kicked about. Concerning Birgsau he wrote: "Nobody beat us, and we received 200 grams [7 ounces] more bread daily than in KZ Dachau. . . . In Birgsau there were no murderers wearing the Death's Head insignia."

In the winter or spring of 1945, Baumgärtel was replaced. Prisoner/cook Krystofiak suspected that he had been too humane. From then on, the rules became stricter. Only if they had to relieve themselves were prisoners allowed to leave the barracks after 8 P.M., and an SS man now stood guard outside. But even then there were no attacks. As Krystofiak put it, "We really fared well and were in excellent physical condition. . . . I also do want to mention that once the Commandant even presented us inmates as examples of excellent work performance to his SS men."⁵ The Mayer sisters also credited the commandant with correct behavior. They also mentioned that shortly before the end of the war yet another camp leader came to Birgsau. The names of Baumgärtel's successors are not known.

As the end of World War II drew near, the normally quiet Birgsau valley was home not only to the SS men, the camp inmates, and the Mayer family. Now the custom houses and

the 16 barracks were home to Hitler Youth leaders, members of the Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich Labor Service, RAD), female Wehrmacht and Air Force helpers, and many children who had been evacuated from the large cities because of the Allied air attacks. The Mayer sisters estimated the number of all these people at 1,400. The night before French units occupied the Birgsau valley, yet another inhabitant joined the crowd: the wife of the last camp commandant gave birth to a child. Three shots rang out during that last night, taking the life of a hunter. After the occupation of the French, the liberated inmates protected these people from attacks.⁶

In 1964, the state prosecutor's office in Hannover ordered an investigation of Willi Baumgärtel, an SS-Obersturmbannführer who had been the commandant of the Dachau concentration camp. It was imperative to check the extent to which he had committed crimes against humanity. A similar order reached the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg. Legal authorities began an investigation and found out that Baumgärtel had been a member of the SS since 1931 and had been promoted to the rank of SS-Sturmbannführer in 1944. But it was soon clear that the accused was never posted to Dachau. From 1933 to the start of the war, he was in Berlin where, among other things, he had been Kompanieführer with Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler. "A decent, worthy character," his superior said about him then. After combat duty at the Polish, Russian, and French front, he was commissioned to establish the SS training camp in Birgsau. Posted from there once more to the front in January 1945, he was captured by the Americans. While they were being questioned, two former prisoners of the Dachau subcamp testified that in Birgsau no attacks on prisoners of any kind ever took place. Instead, the accused had taken good care of them.

The summary of the investigators: "In view of the result of this investigation, there is no reason to employ additional measures of prosecution concerning the activities of the accused in Birgsau. Instead, this investigation is closed for lack of reasonable suspicion of criminal behavior."⁷

SOURCES To the author's knowledge, no other publications have studied the camp Oberstdorf-Birgsau except for his *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984), pp. 164–167.

Information about the investigations of the Oberstdorf-Birgsau subcamp is available in the protocols at the BA-L (formerly ZdL) and the files of the preliminary proceedings of the Sta. Mü. Some records are also available in AG-D.

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NOTES

1. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, April 5, 1967, BA-L, 410 AR 172–73, pp. 80–81.

2. Wladislaus Krystofiak, Testimony in the preliminary proceedings 1Js 2/65, Sta. Mü II.

3. Conversation with the author, April 4, 1984.

4. Letter of October 26, 1999, pp. 5–7, AG-D, 34103.
5. Krystofiak, testimony.
6. Statements by inhabitants of Oberstdorf.
7. Schlussvermerk, pp. 80–81, and files of the SS-Hauptamt in the preliminary hearings IJs 2/65, Sta. Mü II.

OTTOBRUNN

The Dachau subcamp at Ottobrunn was located in the western part of Ottobrunn (Unterhaching) near Munich between the streets Zaunkönig, Drossel, and Grasmücken, close to blocks of apartments. It was not connected to the Waldlager, which was also located in Ottobrunn and which probably held prisoners of war (POWs).

From January 1944 (or, according to the International Tracing Service [ITS], October 1943), Dachau prisoners were brought to Ottobrunn to commence construction of the camp. The camp itself is mentioned in documents for the first time in May 1944 (ITS: March 1944). The Ottobrunn prisoners were used to construct the Luftfahrtforschungsanstalt (Aviation Research Institution) in Munich, one of eight such large research institutes planned for the Third Reich. Construction had been constantly delayed due to problems in the supply of materials and a shortage of personnel.

The Ottobrunn subcamp was a medium-sized camp and held between 350 and 600 prisoners. The largest number of prisoners held in the camp was in September 1944—about 900, when 500 *Nacht-und-Nebel* (Night-and-Fog) prisoners were temporarily taken to the camp. The prisoners were mostly political or so-called criminals. There were no Jews in Ottobrunn. Martin Wolf, who has researched the history of the camp, states that the prisoners mostly came from Germany, Poland, Italy, Ukraine, Spain, Norway, and the Netherlands. There were also a few Greeks, Yugoslavs, Belgians, and French.

The camp was secured with an electrified barbed-wire fence. There was a command office, canteen barracks, toilet barracks, two large sleeping and living barracks, an SS barracks, three medical rooms for the SS, accommodation barracks for the German employees, and a separate barracks for POWs. During the last months of the war, security was taken over by Luftwaffe soldiers, who were less hostile to the prisoners. Nevertheless, the prisoners were mistreated by the camp personnel, above all by the deputy camp commander. The subcamp prisoners were submitted to the same punishment regime as in the concentration camps—being confined in so-called bunkers, sustaining whippings, and running the gauntlet.

The prisoners worked 9 to 11 hours daily. They worked in setting up the camp infrastructure, which consisted of an Aerodynamics Institute, an Institute for Jet Propulsion, construction administration buildings, employee barracks, a civilian work camp, temporary workshops, and other technical facilities (a light railway and transformer, etc). Most of these facilities were still being built in 1945. The prisoners removed storm damage in the forest, which surrounded the

camp, and in February they were sent to the Technical University in Munich to remove bomb damage. They built a house for the mayor in the nearby town of Hohenbrunn, worked in a gravel pit, shifted electrical wires, and repaired radios in a Munich workshop. Despite the heavy work and harsh living conditions, the camp is described as being bearable—probably because the prisoners' food rations were supplemented by the Luftwaffe and because the prisoners had their own beds. There is one recorded case of a successful escape attempt. It succeeded because a local woman helped the escapee. There is also recorded one death in the camp. This figure can be misleading because in general prisoners who could no longer work were transferred back to the main camp.

The Ottobrunn subcamp is mentioned for the last time in the Dachau files on April 26, 1945. On May 1, 1945, the Ottobrunn camp command with some of the prisoners set off for Switzerland. The prisoners were left to themselves shortly before the Swiss border and crossed over the border to Switzerland. Other prisoners were evacuated in the direction of Öztal, where a branch office of the Air Research Institution was in the process of being constructed. However, they were liberated by U.S. troops in Bad Wiessee.

The former deputy camp commander was sentenced by a U.S. military court in 1945 to 15 years' prison in Landsberg. He was released in 1953.

SOURCES The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:90, contains details of the Ottobrunn subcamp. The “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1831, also refers to the camp. A comprehensive description of the Ottobrunn subcamp by Inga Wolf and Martin Wolf is found in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 461–464. This essay is based on extensive research by Martin Wolf published in his monograph *Im Zwang für das Reich. Vergessen? Verdrängt? Verarbeitet? Das Aussenlager des KZ Dachau in Ottobrunn* (self-published, 1997).

Documents on the subcamp are to be found in the BHStA-(M) (StanW LG München II, IJs 3/65) and the AG-D (above all, Da 12 Js 30/59). The proceedings against the deputy camp commander are documented in NARA, Case 000-50-2-101, *USA v. August Burkhardt, et al.* Investigations by ZdL (available at BA-L) ceased in the 1960s; see file IV 410 AR 469/69.

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ÖTZTAL

The Öztal subcamp was located in the Austrian state of Tirol, which during the German annexation was called Reichsgau Tirol. Albert Knoll relates the erection of the camp to Nazi plans to build an aerodynamic research institute but also

points out that the late date at which prisoners were sent to Ötztal indicates that they were sent on evacuation marches to that destination.

Already in 1940 the Luftfahrtforschungsanstalt (Aviation Research Institution) in Munich and the Messerschmitt company had planned to erect a giant wind tunnel near the Ötztal station, a wind tunnel that was planned as the largest in the world and where jet planes could be tested. Ötztal proved to be a perfect location for this project since it needed an enormous amount of energy, which could have been provided by the Ötztaler Ache river. Construction was under way during the war, for instance, for a tunnel with a pressure turbine and a cable railway that led from the valley to the sluiceway. By the end of the war, 2,300 tons of parts had been used, and the completion of the wind tunnel was planned for summer 1945. For that time, the employment of large numbers of Dachau inmates was planned; they would have been housed in a former Reich Labor Service (RAD) camp near the Ötztal station. But due to the advancing war, work on the camp never began.

Nevertheless, Ötztal became the destination of a number of evacuation marches from Dachau. A first transport left Dachau on April 23, 1945, and further groups of inmates followed within the next days from the main camp, the Kaufering and Allach subcamps, from Mühldorf and Ottobrunn. On April 26, about 10,000 inmates left Dachau; their destination again was Ötztal. The inmates, mainly Germans, Jews, Poles, and Russians, marched in groups of 1,500 and unbearable conditions in a southerly direction. Most of them were liberated in the following days by U.S. troops. Another transport of 1,759 Jews from Kaufering was taken by train to Seefeld in Tirol. Their further transport to Ötztal was interrupted by an air raid that destroyed the train tracks. Tyrolean Gauleiter Karl Hofer hindered the continuation of the death march and insisted on the inmates being marched back to Bavaria, but alone during the one stay near Seefeld, 30 inmates died from starvation and exhaustion. By May 4, 1945, at the latest, all transports of inmates—either on the way to Ötztal or in Ötztal itself—had been liberated by U.S. troops.

SOURCES This essay is mainly based on the article by Alfred Knoll in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 459–461. Knoll uses, among other sources, an unfinished paper by Ernstfried Thiel, “Von Ötztal nach Modane. Aus der Geschichte des grossen Hochgeschwindigkeits-Windkanals ‘Bauvorhaben 101’ der Luftfahrtforschungsanstalt München (LFM), später Anlage S1MA der ONERA,” which was presented in October 1986 at a meeting of Fachgruppe 12 (history of aviation and space research) of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Luft- und Raumfahrt.

The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:89, mentions Ötztal. There are also archival records regarding the Ötztal subcamp: In N-Doc. 3452-PS, there is a statement by the Gaustabsamtsleiter of Upper Bavaria that it was planned to execute

the Dachau inmates once they had reached the Ötztal area. Two publications mention the Ötztal plans: Thomas Albrich and Stefan Dietrich, “Todesmarsch in die ‘Alpenfestung.’ Der ‘Evakuierungstransport’ aus dem KZ Dachau nach Tirol Ende April 1945,” GuR 6 (1997): 13–48; and Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes, ed., *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Tirol 1934–1945* (Vienna, 1984), pp. 554–560.

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PLANSEE [AKA BREITENWANG, PLANSEE, SS-SONDERKOMMANDO PLANSEE]

[MEN]

There was a Dachau subcamp in the Tyrolean town of Plansee. The subcamp held both male and female prisoners.

The male prisoners were held in a hotel, the Forelle, and surrounding buildings, in the northeast of Plansee on the road connecting Reutte and Oberammergau. The hotel functioned as an officers' camp (*Oflag*) for senior French military officers from the rank of major and above. At first there were 15 military officers held in Plansee, but by the end of the war, the numbers had increased to about 100. Security for the prisoners of war (POWs) as well as the prisoners was provided for by 20 to 30 guards, mostly Volksdeutsche (ethnic Germans) from Hungary. They were under the command of SS-Obersturmbannführer Rittmeister Erfurt.

The camp was occupied for the first time on September 2, 1944—at the same time when the first French POW had arrived in Plansee. The 15 to 25 male prisoners in the camp were used by the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei (Waffen-SS and Police Building Administration) to maintain the hotel, to serve the POWs, and probably to work in the forests in the area. The prisoners were mostly Germans or came from East European nations.

There are no known transfers from the Plansee subcamp back to Dachau or other camps. The prisoners described the camp as “humane,” with relatively good food and comparatively good working conditions. There were no killings and the prisoners were not mistreated. For this reason, investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg ceased in 1970.

There are different accounts about the end of the camp. The International Tracing Service (ITS) and the *Bundesgesetzblatt* (Federal Law Digest, *BGBI.*), relying on a prisoner's statement, put the end of the camp as May 5, 1945, but historian Albert Knoll states the camp was surrendered to the U.S. Army on April 29, 1945, without a fight.

SOURCES The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:91, refers to “Plansee Camp (Male and Female Camp),” as does the “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2

BEG," *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1832. Albert Knoll gives an exhaustive description of the Plansee subcamp (both male and female) in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 466–467.

Documents on the subcamp are to be found in the following archives: in AG-D (including collections 37154—Zusammenstellung der Forderungsnachweise für Monat Februar 1945, Arbeitseinsatz) and in NARA (RG 153 Box 188 Folder 05, Statements by the guard Karl-Otto H. and medical orderly Josef Bablick, September 26, 1946; and RG 153 Box 197 Folder 04, Statement by Johann Metzinger, November 29, 1946). Investigations by ZdL (available at BA-L) were recorded in File IV 410 AR 633/70. The files hold several witness statements.

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Teil 1, p. 1832. Albert Knoll provides an extensive description of the Plansee camp (male and female camps) in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 466–467.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

PLANSEE [AKA BREITENWANG, PLANSEE, SS-SONDERKOMMANDO PLANSEE]

[WOMEN]

In the Tyrolean town of Plansee, there was a Dachau subcamp that held both male and female prisoners.

The Plansee camp is referred to as a Dachau subcamp for the first time on September 2, 1944, when a group of male prisoners arrived at the camp. Almost simultaneously with the male prisoners from Dachau, but not later than September 26, 1944, a group of female prisoners began to work in the subcamp. The 15 to 20 women at the camp had originally come from Ravensbrück; in October 1944, they came under the administrative control of Dachau. As with the male prisoners, the women were guarded by 20 to 30 SS men, mostly Volksdeutsche (ethnic Germans) from Hungary, who were under the command of SS-Obersturmbannführer Rittmeister Erfurt.

The women were accommodated in the Hotel Ammersee and were used mostly for kitchen and cleaning work for the French officer prisoners of war (POWs) who were also interned in Plansee. As with the male internees, the women experienced relatively good working and living conditions. This assessment was confirmed in 1970 by investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg.

There are different accounts on the end of the Plansee camp. The International Tracing Service (ITS) and the *Bundesgesetzblatt* (*BGBL.*) give May 5, 1945, as the date of liberation, but historian Albert Knoll states that it was on April 29, 1945, that the camp was handed over without a struggle to the U.S. Army.

SOURCES The Plansee women's subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:91; and in the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL.* (1977),

RADOLFZELL

On May 19, 1941, a railway transport delivered 113 Dachau concentration camp prisoners to the SS barracks at Radolfzell, where an SS-noncommissioned officers' school had been established in the middle of February 1941. The prisoners were to construct a large-caliber shooting range and to generally work in the barracks area. The commander of this Dachau subcamp reported to the barracks command. The commanders of the Radolfzell subcamp were Hauptscharführer Josef Seuss (1906–1946), from May 1941 to August 1942; after that there was either an Unterscharführer or an Oberscharführer called Schmidt, Schmid, or possibly Schmitt, as well as a Hugo Lausterer. Between December 1943 and January 1945, Oberscharführer Hermann Rostek (1898–1970) was in command.

The prisoners were accommodated in a two-room stable. They slept on two-tiered bunk beds that had been installed in the former horse stalls. The prisoners were locked into the stalls at night. They were mostly Germans, Poles, and Czechs. By category, the prisoners were political "protective custody" prisoners, criminals, professional criminals, and emigrants.

About 90 prisoners were used to construct the shooting range. The other prisoners worked on the exercise square, at the swimming baths Herzen (Troop Swimming Institute/Water Exercises) as well as in the barracks (e.g., cobblers, tailors, barbers, electricians, and workers in the dental laboratory). Leonhard Oesterle, who was talented in drawing, was instructed to cover the walls of the barracks with pictures of heroic SS men. The reason for this was that the Radolfzell Heinrich Koeppen Barracks wanted to win a competition as the most picturesque barracks in Germany. The prisoners also worked on farms in the nearby area.

Some 72 prisoners were returned to Dachau in July–August 1942 after work had ceased on the shooting range. None of the prisoners in the barracks were put to work in Radolfzell industries. However, it did happen that SS members used the prisoners for private work outside official working hours. This

was usually on Sundays and mostly was garden or other household work.

Food and living conditions in the Radolfzell camp are said to have been relatively good. The food was prepared in the barracks' kitchen. Extra food was available for the prisoners who worked in the kitchen. Prisoners who worked on the farms were especially fortunate. Often they had nutritious snacks and sometimes could smuggle food back into the camp.

Despite the relatively good conditions, prisoners did try to escape from Radolfzell. Oesterle remembers a case in 1941–1942 when three Czech prisoners escaped. One was shot and brought back dead; another was brought back alive; and it was said of the third that he was found dead. Oesterle and Ulrich Sedlacek successfully escaped on November 15, 1943, with a boat across Lake Constance to Switzerland. They had found a gap in the security and used it.

The subcamp had brought its own guards to Radolfzell. There were not many. They were mostly to be found in action while the shooting range was being built. The guards of the Noncommissioned Officers' School, which changed daily, also supervised the barracks work detachment. The camp area was not secured with any particular type of fencing.

Between 1967 and 1976, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg conducted preliminary investigations into whether homicides were committed in the camp. It concluded that two or three prisoners died but that it was not possible to identify the victims or the perpetrators. As a result, investigations were stopped in 1978.

A chance discovery in the Radolfzell City Archive in 1997 brought to light proof of a violent death in the Radolfzell camp, however. Prisoner Jakob Dörr was shot on November 11, 1941, on the shooting range, which was then under construction. He was shot "trying to escape." Witnesses have said that a supervisor pulled a cap from a prisoner's head and threw it on the other side of the sentry line. When the prisoner obeyed the order to recover the cap, he was shot. Perhaps Dörr was this prisoner.

The remaining 19 prisoners were returned from Radolfzell to Dachau on January 16, 1945. Their train came under attack by a low-flying aircraft in Allgäu. The transport was rerouted, and the prisoners reached Leonberg by foot. Here there was a camp under the administration of the Natzweiler concentration camp. It is claimed that 3 to 4 prisoners were able to escape from this transport. Among the escapees was the father of a child that the wife of an SS-Oberscharführer, based in the Radolfzell barracks, gave birth to in the middle of March 1945.

SOURCES This entry is based upon detailed witness reports that are to be found in the published biography of Leonhard Oesterle and Sigbert E. Kluwe, *Glücksvogel: Leos Geschichte* (Baden-Baden: Signal-Verl., 1990).

Detailed information about life in the Radolfzell camp is to be found in the files of the ZdL at BA-L (110 AR 505/91); and in the Konstanz Sta. (IV 410 AR 2050/67; IV 410 AR-Z 145/76 [Dr.]; 11 Js 139/76).

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RIEDERLOH [AKA RIEDERLOH II]

Riederloh II existed only for four months, from September 1944 until January 8, 1945. It must have been hell. At first 800 to 1,000 inmates lived there. At the time it was dissolved, only 200 to 300 were still alive.¹ About half of the prisoners lost their lives there. Simon Szochet from Łódź, later a U.S. citizen, stated: "I certainly experienced horrible things before then. Still, what I witnessed in Riederloh is part of the most horrible."² As Asher Shafran from Israel observed: "What I saw in Łódź would fill ten books. Nevertheless, the worst was still Riederloh."³

This Dachau subcamp was located in the rural district of Kaufbeuren near the community of Mauerstetten. It was referred to as Riederloh II to distinguish it from a barrack camp by the same name that had been established earlier to house foreign workers. All these people were needed to build and operate a gunpowder and explosives factory for Dynamit AG, where 130 to 150 million primers for cartridges were to be manufactured. Its 90 bunkers and buildings were camouflaged so expertly that in 1945, after occupying Kaufbeuren, the American troops remained unaware of this nearby factory's existence for several days.⁴

The barracks of Riederloh II were surrounded by an electrically charged barbed-wire fence and guard towers. The concentration camp inmates transported there in early September 1944 were almost without exception Polish Jews from the Łódź ghetto. They came from Auschwitz, 14- and 15-year-old boys, among them. Later, Hungarian Jews were also brought there. Physicians, lawyers, pharmacists, artists, and other men unsuitable for heavy physical work were among them and supposedly even several children under the age of 10.⁵

A German woman then employed by Dynamit AG recalls that at their arrival the Hungarians provided a horrific sight. They were covered with filth and excrement and, totally exhausted, literally fell out of the railroad cars. The cook of the Riederloh camp for foreign workers gave each of them a boiled potato. When SS men upbraided him for doing so, he yelled at them: "If you touch me, I'll douse you with boiling water." This cook always tried to augment their food ration with a little extra soup. Some of these pitiable people were so weak that they had to prop each other up.⁶

The list of camps established by the International Tracing Service (ITS) identifies Dynamit AG, the Berlin Construction Co., and Hebel Construction Co. as the employers of the camp inmates who had to build roads, dig ditches for pipes, cut down trees, and remove snow. They also had to work on the site of the powder factory: "We worked in the cold, had no clothes, and were starving," one of these men later testified. Another describes how only those who somehow could get their hands on underwear had anything to wear under their striped suits. They wore wooden shoes. Some would wind rags around their feet. Often they dragged dead inmates when they returned to camp. Allegedly, almost daily, prisoners fell victim to hunger, wretched hygiene facilities, cold, disease—mainly typhus and bacterial dysentery—and mistreatment.

What follows are statements from some former inmates:

Allegedly in October 1944 a Yugoslav physician who suffered from diarrhea left his place during roll call to relieve himself; he was drowned in the latrine on the order of the camp leader.

In mid-November 1944 three prisoners were brought to the camp and hanged on a specially erected gallows near one of the guard towers. This hanging took place around noon as the inmates were eating.

In another case at the end of November 1944, nine or ten prisoners were beaten to death by the SS guards near the camp's main gate because they had stuffed their jackets with paper from cement bags to protect themselves from the rain.

The camp leader and his deputy were also rumored to have beaten prisoners to death during roll call.⁷

A prisoner who was a member of the burial detail testified that "practically every day I had to take dead people to a big mass grave in the forest. I would say that about 400 perished."⁸

On January 8, 1945, Riederloh II was dissolved. Supposedly the camp had been inspected by a commission from Dachau shortly before. The survivors were taken to Dachau by train. Even there, they apparently attracted attention because of their pitiful condition and were quarantined. For a while they did not have to work and did not even have to get their own food.⁹

After World War II, legal authorities tried to throw light on the crimes committed in Riederloh II. "There were so many deaths in the camp as a result of hunger, cold, diseases, and beatings that I can no longer describe specific cases," and "at that time I was already so worn out that my memory does not function properly," stated the former inmate Blumenfeld from Łódź.¹⁰ In Germany no trial ever took place. The records of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) claim that it was not even possible to establish who had been the commandant and who the deputy commandant at Riederloh.

After the end of the war in 1945, U.S. military authorities searched for an SS member by the name of Wilhelm Wagner who had worked on the site of Dynamit AG. They arrested him, assuming that he had been the Riederloh camp commandant. But as it turned out, he was not the right man. Now it is generally assumed that Hauptscharführer Wilhelm Wagner, born in 1904 in Augsburg, had been the Riederloh camp leader, although in the handwritten résumé he prepared for the file of the Dachau war crimes trial in which he was a defendant, he did not mention having been there.¹¹ Instead, during the cross-examination, he testified having been the camp leader at the Kaufbeuren/Spinnerei camp, where, he claimed, he brought his inmates milk and cream cheese: "It was known that at many work stations the prisoners were very well fed." On December

13, 1945, the U.S. military court sentenced him to death. He was executed at Landsberg am Lech prison in 1946.¹²

Wagner's deputy and possibly camp leader in his own right for some time at Riederloh II was probably Edmund Zdrojewski. In 1947, the Americans extradited this SS-Hauptscharführer to Poland. In Kraków he was sentenced to death for the killings he committed in the Polish Plaszow concentration camp.¹³

Finally, in 1983, Albert Talens, the former senior camp prisoner of Riederloh II, was tried in the Dutch city of Maastricht. Until then he had lived in Austria, but during a visit in Holland he was arrested and charged with having beaten to death dozens of Hungarian and Polish Jews. Survivors who appeared as witnesses referred to him as a libidinal murderer, an angel of death, and a sadist. Israeli Dov Sol, who in 1944 was 16 years old, stated that Talens beat him into unconsciousness. He also had witnessed Talens caning five men to death in the washroom. Other witnesses reported similar incidents. The state prosecutor demanded a 20-year prison sentence; the defense lawyer asked for acquittal. The sentence: Acquittal. In summarizing the court's decision, the president of the court stressed that without doubt the horrible crimes the witnesses had described did occur at Riederloh II. Nevertheless, too many doubts remained to prove without reasonable doubt that it was Talens who was guilty of these deeds.¹⁴

SOURCES The author deals with Riederloh II most extensively in his book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984), pp. 167–177. Journalist Susanne Rössler also discusses this camp in the book Rössler and Gerhard Stütz, eds., *Neugablonz: Entstehung und Entwicklung* (Schwäbisch Gmünd: Die Gesellschaft, 1986); as does Heinz Kleinert on p. 242 of the same work. Dr. Hans Joachim Hübner's book *Die Fabrik Kaufbeuren der Dynamit AG* (Kempten, 1995) contains a chapter titled "Die Zündhütchenfabrik und das Lager Steinholz," pp. 120–129. The KaGb 15:3, deals with the Hebrew inscriptions on the gravestones in the Riederloh II memorial near Mauerstetten.

This article is based on the entry of the ZdL, now the BA-L. The author found additional documents in YVA. He also interviewed Asher Shaffran and Dov Sol, both former inmates. Finally, he researched locally in the area of the former camp and there too spoke with witnesses.

Gernot Römer
trans. Ute Stargardt

NOTES

1. Notation in ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 65/76 of March 25, 1976, in BA-L.
2. Simon Szochet, Testimony in the investigation of the Sta. Mü, 320 Js 120–64/76.
3. Asher Shafran, in conversation with the author, 1984.
4. Susanne Rössler and Gerhard Stütz, eds., *Neugablonz: Entstehung und Entwicklung* (Schwäbisch Gmünd: Die Gesellschaft, 1986), p. 49.
5. YVA; these descriptions come from the testimonies of several former inmates.

6. Testimony of an anonymous female witness in conversation with the author, 1984.
7. Notation in ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 65/76 of March 25, 1976, in BA-L.
8. Testimony at the Sta. Mü.
9. Asher Shafran, 1984.
10. Testimony at Sta. Mü.
11. Willi Dresen, Prosecutor (ZdL), letter to the author, June 26, 1984.
12. Holger Lessing, "Der erste Dachauer Prozess 1945/46" (1983), AG-D, p. 83.
13. In a letter of December 3, 1982, to journalist Susanne Rössler, the Viennese journalist Jules Huf names Wilhelm Wagner as the commandant in Riederloch and Edmund Zdrojewski as his deputy. Zdrojewski's extradition is documented in the files of ZdL.
14. Albert Talens's arrest and trial were reported in *AugA*, September 29, 1982, April 29, 1983, and May 11, 1983; and *FR*, June 3, 1983.

ROSENHEIM

The Bavarian district town of Rosenheim is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the southeast of Munich. The first reference to a Dachau detachment in Rosenheim is on April 14, 1945. At that time, the camp held 217 male prisoners. It is unclear whether a subcamp was established in Rosenheim or whether the prisoners were brought daily from a camp in Stephanskirchen to Rosenheim for work. The city at this time was the target of air raids, as it was an important railway junction to the south of Munich. Heavy air raids on Rosenheim occurred on April 9 and 13 and from April 18 to April 23, 1945.

The last reference to a subcamp in Rosenheim is on April 25, 1945. On May 2, 1945, the prisoners were liberated by the U.S. Army.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg after the war did not reveal any further information.

SOURCES This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:91; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI*. (1977), Teil 1, p. 1836. An extensive description of the Rosenheim subcamp by Veronika Diem is in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 472–473. This work is based upon Diem's master's thesis "Fremdarbeit in Oberbayern: Studien zur Geschichte der Zwangsarbeit am Beispiel Rosenheim und Kolbermoor 1939 bis 1945" (Ludwig-Maximilian University, 2004).

The AG-D holds documents on the Rosenheim subcamp in the following collections: ITS-Sachdokumenten-Ordner Dachau 8 (206) and 32789 (Stärkemeldung der Aussenkommandos des KZ Dachau, 26. April 1945). In the StA-M, Signatur SpkA K 81 (Josef Bauer), are witness statements dealing

with establishment of the camp in April 1945. Investigations by ZdL (now BA-L) were conducted in 1973 under file reference IV 410 AR 179/ 73. The files contain a list of the liberated prisoners.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SALZBURG (AUFRÄUMUNGSKOMMANDO) [AKA SALZBURG (AUFRÄUMKOMMANDO); SALZBURG (AUFRÄUMUNGS- UND ENTSCHÄRFUNGSKOMMANDO)]

Salzburg is located 113 kilometers (70 miles) east-southeast of Munich and 256 kilometers (159 miles) to the west of Vienna. There were several Dachau subcamps in the city, one of them the Salzburg Aufräumungskommando (Cleanup Detachment), also referred to as Aufräumungs- und Entschärfungskommando (Cleanup and Defusing Detachment).

The Salzburg Aufräumungskommando is mentioned for the first time on April 14, 1945. Male inmates were used to clean up after bombing raids on the city. There were, on average, 15 prisoners in the camp.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg were unable to identify any survivors. The investigations ceased for this reason in 1973.

The camp was liberated on May 4, 1945, when troops of the U.S. XV Corps, Allied 6th Army Group, under the command of General Jacob L. Devers, captured the city without a fight. Research by historian Albert Knoll has revealed that a few hours before the city fell a prisoner was shot trying to escape.

SOURCES The Salzburg Aufräumungskommando is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:92; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI*. (1977), Teil 1, p. 1838. A description of the camp by Albert Knoll is in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 473–474.

Some information on the Salzburg Aufräumungskommando is in AG-D. For the death of the prisoner referred to by Knoll above, see "Das Ende des KZ-Häftlings 66698," *SalzN*, July 19, 1945.

Investigations by ZdL (now BA-L) were filed under File IV 410 AR 180/ 73.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SALZBURG (BOMBENSUCHKOMMANDO)

Salzburg lies 113 kilometers (70 miles) east-southeast of Munich and 256 kilometers (159 miles) to the west of Vienna. There were several Dachau subcamps in the city, including

the camp Bombensuchkommando (Bomb Search Detachment) subcamp.

The Salzburg Bombensuchkommando was established at the latest by November 27, 1944. This is confirmed by an entry in the Dachau Death Register, which records on this day the death of one German and two Polish prisoners, following a bombing raid.

As with other Salzburg subcamps, the Bombensuchkommando was liberated when U.S. troops took Salzburg without a fight on May 4, 1945.

In the 1970s, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg commenced investigation into the subcamp but ceased the investigations when it was unable to ascertain the names of any survivors.

SOURCES The Salzburg Bombensuchkommando subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:92; and “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1838. Albert Knoll describes the Salzburg Bombensuchkommando in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), p. 474.

The entry in the Dachau Register of Deaths is located in AG-D in Signatur 8305. Investigations by the ZdL (now BA-L) are to be found in file reference IV 410 AR 181/ 73.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SALZBURG (FIRMA SCHÜRICH)

Salzburg lies 113 kilometers (70 miles) east-southeast of Munich and 256 kilometers (159 miles) to the west of Vienna. There were several Dachau subcamps located in Salzburg, one of them being at Firma Schürich.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp is mentioned for the first time on December 11, 1942. It was the first subcamp to be established in Salzburg. The male inmates worked for the company Firma E. Schürich in Salzburg. Historian Albert Knoll suggests that the Firma Schürich, as with other construction firms, was involved in the renovation of the archbishop's palace. The camp was dissolved on December 28, 1942, two weeks after its establishment.

In the 1970s, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg began investigations into the camp. The files contain the names of the prisoners and witness statements. However, these alone were insufficient to indicate that any crimes had been committed in this subcamp.

SOURCES The Salzburg Firma Schürich is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:72; and “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1838. Albert Knoll describes the Salzburg Firma Schürich subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and

Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), p. 475.

Investigations by the ZdL (now BA-L) are found under file reference IV 410 AR 184/ 73.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SALZBURG (POLIZEIDIREKTION) [AKA SALZBURG (HELLBRUNNER ALLEE)]

Salzburg lies 113 kilometers (70 miles) east-southeast of Munich and 256 kilometers (159 miles) to the west of Vienna. There were several Dachau subcamps in the city including the Polizeidirektion (Police Headquarters) subcamp.

The Salzburg Polizeidirektion camp opened, according to the International Tracing Service (ITS), on December 1, 1944. The approximately 90 male prisoners worked in the Salzburg Police Headquarters. They were accommodated in barracks on the Hellbrunner Allee. All that is known is that accounts were rendered in February 1945 for 112 skilled workers for 2,240 hours of work. The camp is mentioned for the last time on April 14, 1945. Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg at the beginning of the 1970s could not locate any survivors.

SOURCES The Salzburg Polizeidirektion subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:92; and “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1838. Albert Knoll describes the Salzburg Polizeidirektion subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), p. 474.

Details of the hours worked by the prisoners are to be found in AG-D, Best. 37154 (Zusammenstellung der Forderungsnachweise für Monat Februar 1945, Arbeitseinsatz). Investigations by ZdL (now BA-L) are filed under reference IV 410 AR 183/ 73.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SALZBURG (SPRENGKOMMANDO)

Salzburg lies 113 kilometers (70 miles) east-southeast of Munich and 256 kilometers (159 miles) to the west of Vienna. There were several Dachau subcamps in the town, including the Sprengkommando (Demolition Detachment) subcamp.

The Sprengkommando subcamp was established on January 12, 1945. The prisoners in the detachment were used for a variety of demolition assignments, which probably was concerned with construction and cleanup work.

Salzburg surrendered to troops of the XV U.S. Corps, which was under the control of General Jacob L. Devers's 6th Army Group, without a fight. Following the surrender of the city, the prisoners were released on May 4, 1945.

During its investigations in the 1970s, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg was unable to locate any survivors of the Sprengkommando subcamp.

SOURCES The Salzburg Sprengkommando subcamp is listed in *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:92; and “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1838. A description of the subcamp by Albert Knoll is to be found in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager; Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), p. 475.

Investigations by ZdL (now BA-L) have the file number IV 410 AR 185/ 73.

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SAULGAU

The Saulgau subcamp, 88 kilometers (55 miles) to the south-east of Stuttgart, opened on August 14, 1943, when the first inmate transport arrived at the camp. (The date of September 13, 1943, mentioned by the International Tracing Service [ITS] as the date on which the camp opened, is based on the arrival of a further transport of 100 prisoners. It is not to be understood as the actual date on which the camp was founded. August 14 has been confirmed in witness statements and city council documents as the date the subcamp was established, as historian Georg Metzler makes clear in his work.) There were 40 prisoners in the first transport, many of them construction workers, as well as eight SS men (including two dog handlers). The prisoners began with the construction of four prisoner barracks, a laundry barracks, kitchen barracks, four watchtowers, and a fence. In addition, they converted the former binding machine building (*Binderehalle*) of the L. Bautz Company into a production site for the V-2 rocket.

Saulgau was laid out for a capacity of 600 prisoners, but this number was never reached. On average, there were 350 to a maximum of 440 prisoners in the camp. Of the prisoners, 55 percent were Russian; 24 percent, German; 5 percent, Italian; and 4 percent, Poles. Many of the prisoners were classified as “asocials” and criminals. There is no evidence of Jewish prisoners at Saulgau. The prisoners came either from Dachau or from the Friedrichshafen subcamp, which was closely connected to Saulgau with regard to production and organization. Officially, the “protective custody” camp leader was SS-Obersturmbannführer Georg Dietrich Grünberg, who was also in command of the subcamps at Friedrichshafen and Überlingen.

The actual camp leaders (Lagerführer) on site in Saulgau were Oberscharführer Hans Nikol Sengenberger and, from December 1, 1944, onward, Untersturmführer Ludwig Geiss. Sengenberger was brutal, strict, and radical in performing his duties; Geiss, on the other hand, was referred to by the pris-

oners as “Papa Geiss.” He abolished all camp punishments, forbade the mistreatment of prisoners, improved the prisoners’ rations by purchasing additional food, paid for medicine for the prisoners out of his own pocket, and, contrary to the regulations, did not report any prisoner infringements to his superiors in Dachau.

Largely due to Geiss’s actions, Saulgau was one of the most bearable of the Dachau subcamps. The prisoner death rate in 1944 was 6.5:1,000, whereas that in Überlingen was 388:1,000. During the entire period of its existence until April 4, 1945, there is evidence of 6 deaths in the camp, while approximately 35 additional deaths occurred in connection with a transport of 214 prisoners from Überlingen that arrived in the camp on April 5, 1945, despite the self-sacrificing efforts of prisoner physician Ivan Matijasic.

There was a maximum of 300 SS guards and at least four dogs. Some 40 percent of the guards were Volksdeutsche (ethnic Germans) from Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. A few of the guards presumably wore Wehrmacht uniforms, having been injured at the front and transferred to the SS for guard duty.

The reason for the relatively humane treatment of the prisoners may also derive in part from the circumstance that the camp, located on the property of the L. Bautz Company, was largely open to public view and that the production of fuselage halves for rockets required unhindered, efficient processing. The Zeppelin Dirigible Company bore the chief responsibility for the production of the rocket parts, while the L. Bautz Company, which had specialized in the manufacture of harvesting machines before the war, was a subcontractor. Prisoners repeatedly confirmed the positive actions of the Bautz Company management, for example, the provision of extra rations and even beer.

Aggregat 4 (A4) was the scientific name of the retaliatory weapon V-2. A group of about 100 prisoners constructed the so-called fuselage halves (aerodynamic cladding for the rocket’s fuselage) for the A4 in Saulgau. Measuring 6.17 meters (20.24 feet) in length, the fuselage halves were the rocket’s largest single component. Saulgau supplied about 50 percent of the V-2 half-shells. Another 30 to 35 prisoners made the tops and bottoms of the rocket fuel tanks.

There was also a transport detail, which gathered material from 13 storage depots in Saulgau and the surrounding area, and a railway detail responsible for loading and unloading trains at night. From the summer of 1944 onward, due to supply bottlenecks, the prisoners were increasingly leased for work outside the camp. In Saulgau, for example, they built warehouses, an emergency water reservoir, air-raid tunnels, and emergency housing. In isolated cases, prisoners helped clean up rubble after bombing raids and were used to defuse bombs.

On April 4, 1945, 254 prisoners were evacuated from Saulgau. They were to be taken to the rocket production site at Dora-Mittelwerk. Due to enemy air-raid attacks, however, they were rerouted to Dachau. The camp was liberated by French troops on April 22, 1945.

After the war, seven guards were sentenced to jail for periods of one and one-half to three years. Lagerführer Sengenberger was sentenced to jail for five years. Lagerführer Geiss was held by the French as a prisoner of war. Prisoners spoke out in his favor.

SOURCES The Saulgau subcamp is listed in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:94. An excellent, detailed, and well-founded study on the Saulgau subcamp is to be found in Georg Metzler's "Geheime Kommandosache? Raketenrüstung in Oberschwaben; Das Aussenlager Saulgau und die V2 (1943–1945)" (Bergatreute, 1997). In addition to detailed listings about technical matters, the fates of the prisoners, and primary sources for research on the camp, the book contains numerous illustrations, including aerial photographs of the town and the camp (cover and p. 46), a plan of the subcamp and the production site (p. 45), photos of former Saulgau prisoners, a simplified construction plan of the Aggregat A4 (p. 193), and a picture of the subcamp victims' graves at the Saulgau cemetery. The camp is also described in detail by Albert Knoll in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Friüe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 477–481.

The file designator for the investigations carried out by ZdL (now BA-L) is IV 410 AR-Z 25/ 71. Other archival sources on the Saulgau subcamp are located at AG-D, BA-B, BA-P, BA-MA, BHStA-(M), DMM, and LZF and in numerous other local and regional archives in Bavaria and Württemberg. Detailed references can be obtained in the above-cited study by Georg Metzler.

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SCHLACHTERS

For about a year, between April 5, 1944, and April 1945, there was a Dachau subcamp in Schlachters.¹ Schlachters is part of the village of Sigmarszell in the Lindau/Bodensee district. The subcamp was small; there were seven or eight prisoners and four or five SS guards. The prisoners lived in a wooden house near the Hotel Sonne. The hotel proprietress occasionally left potatoes, vegetables, and bread for the men to supplement their diet.

Prepared in August 1974, a memo by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) concluded its investigations into the small subcamp near Lake Constance as follows: "The Dachau main camp established a subcamp in Schlachters near Lindau as an institute for applied scientific research." The office had found no evidence of homicides.² Experiments were carried out on the prisoners in connection with a medication designed to clot blood. The tablets were to be used to protect wounded soldiers from losing too much blood.

The most important people in Schlachters were SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Kurt Friedrich Plötner (a medical doctor) and one of his prisoners, the chemist Robert Feix. Following a period as an assistant in the malaria experimentation laboratory at the Dachau main camp, Plötner continued

his research on a clotting agent in tablet form called Polygal. Prisoners state that in Schlachters the concern was with an agent called "Pektin." Regardless of what the correct name may be, however, there is no doubt that a medication was to be developed that could stem the flow of human blood.

Plötner's prisoner assistant Feix was extremely well acquainted with pectins. Extracted from apples, apricots, and citrus fruits, these substances can be used as gelling agents. Members of the Feix family state that he invented this method. In his factory in Cologne he produced a substance derived from pectins that he called "Opekta." Both before and after World War II, this product would have been found in just about every German household, used by housewives to make jam in the summer or jellies for autumn and winter. Feix was evidently not "pure Aryan" but rather of partly Jewish heritage. According to his children, the Nazis ultimately accused him of currency violations because he had a Swiss bank account. They confiscated his company and sent him to a concentration camp.³

In Schlachters, the pectin was derived from beet shreds. Former prisoner Franz Jauk states that this process was carried out by putting the beets into previously treated water. Vats from the fruit and wine merchant Nikolodi were used for this purpose. The substance was then taken to the Edelweiss dairy plant in Schlachters and dried in an apparatus previously used in the production of powdered milk and confiscated by the SS.⁴ According to Michael Rauch, another Schlachters prisoner, the prisoners then had to ingest the pectin. Plötner subsequently drew blood from them and put drops of it onto a microscope slide. The so-called Institute for Applied Scientific Research was not able to conclude its experiments successfully. Rauch suggests that the prisoners played a role in this failure: "We did not want to prolong the war."⁵

Rauch, who was from Kaufbeuren, was imprisoned in the concentration camp due to his membership in the German Communist Party (KPD). He had continued to distribute Communist leaflets and newspapers even after Hitler had assumed power and the KPD had been banned. He paid for this illegal activity with more than 10 years in jail. Rauch was a trained baker. In Schlachters, the final stage of his ordeal, he cooked what was delivered from Dachau and what the prisoners received from farmers.

The Austrian Jauk was also a Communist sent to the Dachau concentration camp. As a clerk in the infirmary, he and another prisoner kept lists of the names of the many who died. He was then assigned to the section of the concentration camp where infamous experiments on human beings took place. His most horrible memories are of hypothermia experiments. People were put in cold water in order to determine what clothing would best protect air crew and sailors from hypothermia while in the sea. Until the end of his life, Jauk was unable to forget the images of the men who were forced to stand in ice-cold water with thermometers in their mouths and anuses. Above all, the deaths of two Soviet officers were etched in his memory. "They stood next to one another in the cooling

vessel and one said to the other: ‘They will kill us here. But we will die as the men we were.’ They held hands and died, enduring great pain. For their Fatherland.”

In Schlachters, Jauk and his fellow inmates had returned to a world without barbed wire. The wooden building in which the handful of prisoners (Germans, Austrians, Slovaks, and a Pole) were housed was not fenced in. On the way to the dairy, they were guarded by SS men, but they were not mistreated. In the evenings, they were even permitted to go into the village. Officially, the villagers were not permitted to speak to the men in the striped uniforms, but nevertheless contact was made. Jauk reported: “Exceptions aside, the villagers were very decent people.”

Rauch even received secret visits from his wife—and what is more, he visited her in nearby Kaufbeuren. When the Feix family lost their Innsbruck apartment in a bombing raid, they found refuge with a farmer in Schlachters. The concentration camp prisoners were not isolated in Schlachters as in other camps, as is evidenced in part by the fact that after World War II three of them married women they had met in the Swabian village.

Jauk may have played a role in the fate of his comrades in the final days of the Third Reich. He was charged with collecting the daily mail for the guards. As he was never accompanied by a guard, he occasionally opened a letter. He did this once again shortly before the end of the war and read a command that the prisoners were to be returned to the Dachau main camp to be liquidated. According to Jauk, the letter never reached the SS.⁶

Jauk recalls that, in the end, a few prisoners were given civilian clothes by the villagers and waited in a forest until French troops occupied Schlachters. Before this happened, the SS doctor Plötner and the remaining SS men had handed their weapons over to the prisoners—some willingly and others not, according to Jauk.

The SS-Hauptsturmführer and later Sturmbannführer Dr. Plötner had been involved in medical experiments on prisoners in Dachau. He assisted the camp physician, Professor Schilling, in malaria experiments but also made an effort to carry out independent research. His healing method reportedly consisted of treating prisoners with an artificially induced fever of 40° to 42°C. This was extremely hard on the emaciated prisoners, some of whom suffered from tuberculosis. Within the framework of the experiments, Polish prisoner Wladimir Olesjuk was infected with malaria on June 8, 1943. He quickly deteriorated into a state of agony and died on June 20. Schilling heard of this death and said to Plötner: “My dear colleague, this will naturally not stop us from continuing with our series of experiments.”⁷ Plötner is nevertheless said to have eventually advised Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler that he would no longer participate in human experiments.⁸ He did, however, continue his research on a blood coagulating agent. In 1945, after the war had ended, Plötner lived in northern Germany under the name of Schmidt until 1952. He then gained a position at the Freiburg/Breisgau University Clinic and was appointed associate professor in 1954.

SOURCES The single secondary source for this subcamp is the author’s book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984). On Schilling’s and Plötner’s involvement in medical experimentation, see Ernst Klee, *Auschwitz, die NS-Medizin und ihre Opfer* (Frankfurt, 1997); and Alexander Mitscherlich and Fred Mielke, eds., *Medizin ohne Menschlichkeit: Dokumente des Nürnberger Ärzteprozesses* (Frankfurt am Main, 1978).

The most useful sources were the author’s conversations with former prisoners Franz Jauk and Michael Rauch as well as with witnesses from the village of Schlachters. In addition, he used the Schlussvermerk of ZdL (held at BA-L).

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NOTES

1. ZdL, BA-L, IV 410 AR 212/73.
2. Ibid.
3. Statements by relatives of the chemist, who died in 1973.
4. Conversation with the author in the autumn of 1983 in Graz, Austria.
5. Conversation with the author in the autumn of 1983 in Kaufbeuren.
6. Conversation with the author.
7. Ernst Klee, *Auschwitz, die NS-Medizin und ihre Opfer*, (Frankfurt, 1997), pp. 121–122.
8. Alexander Mitscherlich and Fred Mielke eds., *Medizin ohne Menschlichkeit: Dokumente des Nürnberger Ärzteprozesses*, (Frankfurt am Main, 1978), p. 284.

SCHLEISSHEIM (AUFRÄUMUNGSKOMMANDO)

The Schleissheim Aufräumungskommando (Cleanup Detachment) in Bavaria was a subcamp of the Dachau concentration camp. It is mentioned for the first time on April 14, 1945. Its prisoners—all male—were used to clean up damage after bomb raids.

SOURCES The Schleissheim Aufräumungskommando is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:94.

Sporadic information about the subcamp can be found in AG-D.

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SCHLEISSHEIM (BERUFSSCHULE)

The Schleissheim Berufsschule (Trade School) subcamp was located in the Bavarian town of Oberschleissheim, and a subcamp was erected there in October 1941. Like the school, the subcamp was located in an old farm building that served as a training center for invalided or disabled SS men who attended classes in accounting, typewriting, technical drawing, and other subjects to prepare them for service in the offices of the

Waffen-SS. The grounds were fenced in with a wooden fence and hedges. The original four watchtowers were taken down no later than spring 1943. The inmates were accommodated in the basement of one of the buildings, which was warm but very humid; they slept in two-story bunk beds.

Presumably there were between 60 and 150 inmates in the subcamp. In the beginning, the majority of them—according to the tasks they had to fulfill—were specialists from the construction business, mainly from Germany; they worked as masons, roofers, carpenters, and plumbers. Later on, unskilled workers were sent to the camp, many of them from Poland, Austria, the Czech Republic, and the Soviet Union. Those inmates did mainly clearance and cleaning jobs.

The camp was guarded by the 40 to 45 men of the Berufsschule (personnel and students), who also supervised the inmates during their work. Only the detachment leader was from the Dachau main camp. Although the prisoners were allowed to move freely through the grounds during the day, they were locked away at night. Foreign prisoners, especially the Poles, reported after the war that they had been subjected to heavy beatings, but no prisoners were killed in the camp. The detachment leader was, first, SS-Obersturmführer Heinrich Claussen, followed from March 1943 to the end of July 1944 by SS-Sturmbannführer Hubert Siebert, and thereafter by SS-Hauptsturmführer Joachim Stachel up to the end of the war.

In July 1944, the Berufsschule was transferred to Mittweida, and instead the SS Entlassungsstelle (Demobilization Post) was taken from Mittweida to Schleissheim. The camp remained in the Schleissheim building, which was now called “Entlassungsstelle der Waffen-SS Schleissheim bei München.” At the end of the war, the camp was not evacuated, and the inmates were liberated at the end of April 1945.

SOURCES Christoph Bachmann describes the camp in detail in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager; Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 482–484. Bachmann also names different detachment leaders for the subcamp, based on research by the Staatsanwaltschaft München (StanW 34810) and records in the AG-D archive (DaA 35673 and S5674).

This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:94.

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SCHLOSS ITTER

Schloss Itter (Itter Castle) was 1 of 16 Dachau subcamps located on Austrian territory. The castle, built in the nineteenth century, lay above the valley of Brixental, Tirol, to the northeast of Innsbruck.

At the end of 1942, the Gestapo compulsorily seized the castle from its owner, lawyer Franz Grüner, at that time the deputy Landeshauptmann in Tirol. Heinrich Himmler was considering using the site to hold prominent French prisoners

held captive by the SS. In any event, the castle was first used on February 6, 1943, to hold French prisoners of war (POWs). Beginning in February 1943, 26 prisoners from Flossenbürg and Dachau were used to convert the building into a prison.¹ The SS established an “SS-Sonderkommando Schloss-Itter,” a prison for high-ranking French and Italian military and politicians as well as for their families. In 1943 or 1944 the SS considered relocating the patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Gavrilo Dožić (or Serbian Orthodox Bishop Nikolaj Velimirović) to Schloss Itter. These plans were never put into effect.

At the beginning of May 1943, the first of 18 “prominent” prisoners arrived at the camp. When the camp was liberated, there were 14, 15, or 16 internees there.²

The Schloss Itter camp was under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Sebastian Wimmer, who had previously served in the concentration camps at Auschwitz, Lublin, and Dachau. He was in command of 14 SS men and one SD man as well as a female SS who had been transferred from Ravensbrück. It would seem that from time to time there were other SS members at Schloss Itter. At the end of 1944, the external military security at the castle and the number of guards for the prisoners were increased.

From August 1943, there were seven or eight female German, Austrian, or Czech prisoners from Ravensbrück in Schloss Itter, as well as two male prisoners from Dachau.³ Yugoslav Zvonimir Cuckovic was the only prisoner of those who converted the castle who remained in Schloss Itter. The prisoners who arrived in August looked after the important inmates and kept the castle facility operational. Czech Andreas Krobot was in charge of the kitchen. Cuckovic was caretaker. Both were given bonuses by the SS.

From May 1943, the prisoners in Schloss Itter included the chairman of the French trade union Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor, CGT), Léon Jouhaux; former French President Édouard Daladier; and former French Supreme Commander General Maurice-Gustave Gamelin. They were followed by others including former French President Paul Reynaud and Jean Borotra, onetime sports minister in the Vichy government. In September, former head of the French government Albert Lebrun and André François-Poncet, the French ambassador in Berlin, were held in the castle. Between September and the end of November, Francesco Saverio Nitti, the former premier of Italy, and one of his staff, banker Georgini, were held in the castle. In December 1943 and January 1944, others arrived at the camp, including General Maxime Weygand, the former French Supreme Commander, and Colonel La Rocque, head of the movement Croix de Feu (Cross of Fire). In March 1945, Alfred Cailleau, a brother-in-law of Charles de Gaulle, and his wife were sent to the castle. Some of the internees had previously been held in the Buchenwald or Sachsenhausen concentration camps.

Compared to the concentration camp prisoners, the French and Italian internees had a clearly privileged position. Conditions were satisfactory. A few had their wives living

with them. There was a tennis court in the camp. The SS had to salute the prisoners. There was a large collection of books as well as local and foreign newspapers for the inmates to read. These were collected for them at Dachau, together with games and sporting equipment. They could receive packages and censored letters. The SS gave them a radio so that they could listen to German stations. In the spring of 1943, Cuckovic illegally converted this device so that the internees could receive foreign radio transmissions. Some of the French women could go to the hairdresser. There were limited opportunities to go shopping. Some internees—Jouhaux, Lebrun, Daladier, and Granger—received medical care and were permitted to go for treatment to a hospital in Innsbruck. In discussions with the local doctors it was possible to get information on what was happening in the outside world, including the course of the war, in addition to the news from the radio and the newspapers.⁴ A few prisoners also received permission from time to time to attend Sunday church services in a nearby church.

While the majority of the concentration camp prisoners were forced to do hard labor during the last years of the war, this was not the case for “Prominents” sitting in Schloss Itter. Several of them used their period of forced inactivity to write. Reynaud and Daladier completed notes on their imprisonment. During the few weeks of his stay in Schloss Itter, Nitti wrote about historical, philosophical, and literary matters. Jouhaux wrote parts of a history of the French union movement. Weygand appears to have written several chapters of his memoirs while in the camp.

There were 9 or 10 factotums (*Kalfaktors*) who were treated much more brutally by Wimmer and other members of the guard than were the Prominenten: prisoners such as Cuckovic were beaten, and in 1945, Krabot was threatened with being shot.⁵ The political conflicts between the prisoners still existed, and these were carried out beneath the surface. On the other hand, La Rocque’s inclination to collaborate with the Germans resulted in tensions with the other internees. Between the Prominenten and the Kalfaktors there seems to have been friendly contact that the two-class system established by the SS was not able to overcome.

At the end of the war, SS deserters temporarily hid in Schloss Itter. In the middle of March 1945, Wimmer gave a letter to Cuckovic, a denazification certificate (*Persilschein*) giving the SS a clean bill of health, which he had written on behalf of the imprisoned French to be given to the approaching American troops. Most likely on April 30 or May 1, Eduard Weiter, the last Dachau commandant, accompanied by several SS officers, arrived at Schloss Itter. He shot himself a day later while in the castle. On May 2, the SS troops left the castle. Cuckovic was forced to take all of Wimmer’s belongings to a nearby farm. Krabot made contact with the nearby U.S. troops. He returned with American soldiers and Wehrmacht soldiers and members of the Austrian resistance who were to protect the castle against attacks by marauding SS men. Two days later Schloss Itter was shut down. Two members of the Wehrmacht lost their lives.

Cuckovic was able to make contact with the U.S. Army on May 3. When he returned to Schloss Itter on May 5 with U.S. soldiers and American journalists, the Americans immediately transported the French prisoners. Cuckovic was repatriated three days later. The freed French were returned home via Innsbruck and Lindau, with the first arriving in Paris on May 8, 1945.

Schloss Itter was a prison for prominent prisoners. This type of camp covered a broad spectrum from the “houses for prominent prisoners” in the Theresienstadt ghetto, the bunker prisons in Dachau or Buchenwald, to the relatively comfortable accommodation in places such as Schloss Itter or Buchenwald’s Falkenhof. The improved prison conditions for prominent prisoners or “special prisoners” was connected to the idea of hostage taking (*Geiselhaltung*) as well as demonstrating to the outside world that the prisoners were treated humanely. This type of imprisonment had less to do with the internationally recognized forms of holding officers as prisoners and more to do with the racial ideological premises of the National Socialist concentration camp system.

SOURCES The first detailed history on the Schloss Itter subcamp was the essay by Fritz Kreitmair, “Schloss Itter: Ein pseudogotisches Schloss aus dem Jahre 1880; ‘Nobel-KZ’ von 1939 bis 1945,” *TiHe* 70:4 (1995): 134–138; the passages by Viktor Matejka, “Schloss Itter in Tirol,” in *Das Buch Nr. 2: Anregung ist alles*, by Kreitmair (Vienna, 1991), pp. 106–110; as well as the essay by Barbara Distel based on Cuckovic’s report on Itter, “KZ-Kommandos an idyllischen Orten. Dachauer Außenlager in Österreich,” *DaHe* 15 (1999): 54–65.

Files in the AG-D provide extensive information on the history of the Schloss Itter subcamp. Of particular importance is the report by Zvonimir Cuckovic, “Zwei Jahre auf Schloss Itter” (1975). Some details in the AG-D complete the biographical details of the camp’s inmates. The BA-L holds details on some of the guards at Schloss Itter. The DÖW holds two reports that, above all, provide information on the liberation of the camp. Of critical importance for the history of the Schloss Itter subcamp are the diary entries by prisoners Édouard Daladier, *Journal de captivité, 1940–1945* (Paris, 1991); André François-Poncet, *Carnets d’un captive* (Paris, 1952); Paul Reynaud, *Carnets de captivité 1941–1945*, intro. Évelyne Demey (Paris, 1997); as well as the report by Augusta Léon-Jouhaux, *Prison pour hommes d’état* (Paris, 1973). Another eyewitness account is Viktor Matejka, “Schloss Itter in Tirol,” in Kreitmair, *Das Buch Nr. 2*, pp. 106–110.

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NOTES

1. From April 25, 1943, only seven prisoners, according to Cuckovic, “Zwei Jahre,” pp. 4, 6, AG-D, DA 20134. See also Paul Reynaud, *Carnets de captivité, 1941–1945*, intro. Évelyne Demey (Paris, 1997), p. 281.

2. The number 14 is according to Cuckovic, “Zwei Jahre,” pp. 8, 53, AG-D, DA 20134. See the note by François-Poncet. With the departure of Nitti, his employee, François-Poncet, and Lebrun, there would have only been 14 prominent prisoners in May 1945.

3. Seven or eight women, according to Cuckovic, "Zwei Jahre," pp. 6, 53, AG-D, DA 20134; eight women, according to Augusta Léon-Jouhaux, *Prison pour hommes d'état* (Paris, 1973), p. 65; Barbara Distel, "KZ-Kommandos an idyllischen Orten. Dachauer Aussenlager in Österreich," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 55; seven women, Stärkemeldungen, April 14 and 26, 1945, AG-D, DA 1034/668 and DA 1667/669; see also AG-D, A 1159.

4. Léon-Jouhaux, *Prison*, pp. 44, 100, 107, 118; Reynaud, *Carnets de captivité*, pp. 277, 291, 293, 297, 299, 306, 334; Édouard Daladier, *Journal de captivité, 1940–1945* (Paris, 1991), pp. 232, 238, 251, 252, 343.

5. Cuckovic, "Zwei Jahre," p. 40, AG-D, DA 20134; see Léon-Jouhaux, *Prison*, pp. 65, 127. The reason for the uncertainty in the numbers is probably because some Kalfaktors were taken to Dachau when ill: Viktor Matejka, "Schloss Itter in Tiral," in *Das Buch Nr. 2: Anregung ist all as*, by Fritz Kreitmair (Vienna, 1991), p. 109; according to Daladier, *Journal*, p. 289, two of the women were taken back to the concentration camp.

SCHLOSS LIND [AKA ST. MAREIN BEI NEUMARKT (SCHLOSS LIND)]

Schloss Lind (Lind Castle) is located in the village of St. Marein bei Neumarkt in the Steiermark (until 1945: Reichsgau Steiermark). Also located here was the Benedictine monastery's manor St. Lambrecht, which in May 1938, two months after the *Anschluss* (annexation) of Austria to the Third Reich, had come under the temporary administration of SS-Obersturmbannführer Hubert Erhart. The management of Schloss Lind was now conducted by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and later by the Deutsche Reichsverein für Volkspflege und Siedlerhilfe (German Reich Association for People's Care and Settler Assistance).

The first mention of a Dachau subcamp in Schloss Lind is dated June 22, 1942, when 20 male prisoners were brought there. Other prisoners followed shortly thereafter. The capacity of the subcamp is thought to have been between 20 and 30 prisoners—the International Tracing Service (ITS) figure of 18 prisoners is probably too low. The prisoners in Schloss Lind were of the following nationalities—5 Germans, 9 Poles, and some Czechs. At the end of 1942, but no later than the beginning of 1943, 8 Spanish prisoners were taken to the camp. Historian Dietmar Seiler states that there were repeated exchanges with the Schloss Lind subcamp and the Dachau main camp.

The prisoners were guarded by the SS. During the early stages of the camp, Josef Schmitz and, from September 1942, SS-Oberscharführer Albert Zeitraeg are recorded as the camp detachment leaders. After that time, the commanders appear to have been replaced quite often.

Prisoners and guards were accommodated in two rooms on the first floor in Schloss Lind. The camp inmates were used for heavy farm labor in the fields and forests of the manor, building roads and bridges, and working as cooks,

cleaners, and barbers. Witness statements relate that the prisoners had to work from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. Sometimes they had to work 16 hours a day. There were civilian workers as well as the concentration camp prisoners. There were also a few French and around 50 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) who were used as laborers working on the manor.

Despite the heavy labor, the work conditions, accommodation, and food appear to have been better than that of other camps. Perhaps for this reason there are no recorded escape attempts from the early days of the camp. The only known death in the subcamp appears to have been from natural causes.

The administration of the camp was transferred to Mauthausen concentration camp on November 20, 1942, scarcely six months after the establishment of the subcamp. The camp was liberated and then dissolved in the first few days of May 1945 by U.S. troops. Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) ceased in 1974 as there were no homicides in the camp.

SOURCES The Schloss Lind subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 95; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1839. Albert Knoll describes this subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 487–488. Further information on the subcamp is provided by Dietmar Seiler in *Die SS im Benediktinerstift: Aspekte der KZ-Aussenlager St. Lambrecht und Schloss Lind* (Graz: Andreas Schnider Verlagsatelier, 1994), esp. pp. 27, 31. Barbara Distel refers to the Schloss Lind subcamp in her essay on concentration camp detachments, "KZ-Kommandos an idyllischen Orten. Dachauer Aussenlager in Österreich," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 63. A description of the camp is also to be found in KPO Kärnten, ed., *Josef Nischelwitzer (1912–1987). Skizzen aus seinem Leben und seiner Zeit* (Klagenfurt, 1988).

Original documents on the Schloss Lind subcamp are held in the collection at AG-D, Signatur 35673 (Überstellungsliste vom 22. Juni 1942). Investigations by ZdL (now BA-L) are in File IV AR-Z 101/74.

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SEEHAUSEN [AKA UFFING]

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the Dachau subcamp in the Bavarian town of Seehausen, close to Uffing, is mentioned for the first time on May 12, 1944. It was located at the Burg peninsula at Staffelsee near Murnau. At least one inmate claims to have been in the Seehausen camp already from May to June 1943. The date of 1944 seems more likely since at that time the Munich company Feinmechanische Werkstätten Ing. G. Tipecska, which produced gear wheel inspection machinery, was transferred to Seehausen and became involved in the development of a secret weapon,

an electric anti-aircraft gun. Most likely, Seehausen was chosen as the new location because the Tipecska company cooperated with scientist Otto Heinrich Much, a known technician and engineer who lived in nearby Uffing.

The camp was probably erected by inmates of Dachau and later housed 20 to 25 of them but sometimes also up to 65 men. They were of different nationalities, among others, Poles, Czechs, French, Austrians, Luxemburgians, Italians, Soviets, Yugoslavs, and Germans, most of them political prisoners. Their camp was enclosed by an electric fence that was 3 meters (10 feet) high and equipped with watchtowers with searchlights. It was guarded by eight SS men and in the last weeks of the war only by older Wehrmacht soldiers. The guards lived outside the subcamp but also on the peninsula in a separate barracks.

The workplaces of the inmates were also located on the grounds of the camp: the work barracks, the tool storage, the construction office, the administration, and the machine park of the Tipecska company. Also within the camp grounds were the offices of Dr. Jung, which also used prisoners' labor.

The inmates did different kinds of labor. The Tipecska company received 7 to 10 prisoners; the Jung company probably about 18. Two inmates worked at the residence of Muck in the household and the garden. According to the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL), inmates also worked for the Local Court C and the Military Court Seehausen.

In general, prisoners describe their treatment as bearable; there are no reported cases of violence toward them or of deaths in the camp. The inmates lived in a barracks with three-story bunk beds and were fed sufficiently; records show that they even received milk, cottage cheese, and pasta. Early in 1945 they received, according to Barbara Hutzemann, care packages from the Red Cross of the Netherlands.

There were a few cases of escapes from the camp; most likely the escapees were successful, since there are no records of them being caught again. On April 22, 1945, French troops came to the camp, guided by an inmate who had escaped. The French left the camp without disarming the guards or liberating the inmates, and after this encounter, the guards around the camp were even increased. The camp was finally liberated on April 25, 1945, by the U.S. Army.

Company owner Geza Tipecska was denazified after the war but was able to keep his company and to continue his business. Investigations against Dr. Karl Jung were conducted in 1946 but quickly dropped. Investigations by the ZdL in Ludwigsburg from 1969 led to no further action.

SOURCES Barbara Hutzemann gives a detailed description of the subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager; Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 489–941.

The Seehausen subcamp is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Hafstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 95.

There are a few details on the Seehausen subcamp in AG-

D. Investigations by the ZdL (now BA-L) are filed under IV 410 AR 1217/ 69. The files include witness statements in addition to several investigation reports. Records at AG-D include DaA 35677 (Überstellungslisten—transfer lists) and a report on the sanitary conditions in the camp, dated March 27, 1945 (DaA 32769).

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STEINHÖRING

[AKA LEBENSBORN-HEIM, "HOCHLAND"]

A Dachau subcamp was located in the "Lebensborn"-Heim (also known as Heim "Hochland") in the Upper Bavarian town of Steinhöring near Ebersberg. Lebensborn e.V. was an incorporated association under the authority of the Personal Staff of the RFSS, Amt (Office) "L" (Lebensborn). Having been opened on August 15, 1936, the home in Steinhöring was the oldest Lebensborn home and, until the very end, was regarded a model Lebensborn home.

Steinhöring is first mentioned in the files of the concentration camp on September 20, 1944. Already in September 1943, a barracks had been erected next to the SS-Mütterheim (Mothers' Home) in Steinhöring that was to house various offices of the Reich Headquarters in Munich dealing with irreplaceable records. In March 1944, six further barracks were built and meant to serve as evacuation quarters for the Munich offices in case of their destruction in an air raid. Indeed, after the Munich offices were bombed on July 11–13, 1944, they were evacuated to Steinhöring. Dachau inmates who had worked at the Munich Lebensborn as craftsmen and construction workers, and who had repaired damage after air raids, were now transferred to Steinhöring to erect new barracks here. But while there were only 2 Dachau inmates employed at the Munich Lebensborn, in Steinhöring there were up to 7. They held special qualifications such as mason, tailor, or electrician and came from different nations, mainly Poland and France. All of them were political prisoners. The men had different jobs to do on the grounds of the Lebensborn-Heim and in its vicinity. For instance, they built beds for the children and had to unload goods for the Heim at the local railway station. In the last months of the war, more and more children were brought to the Steinhöring Heim, and subsequently the number of inmates in the camp was also increased. A strength report from April 3, 1945, lists 27 male inmates, who were transferred back to Dachau the next day.

According to witness testimonies collected by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL), there were also female prisoners employed in Steinhöring, most likely up to 24. The women were Jehovah's Witnesses, a prisoner category that was often sent to work in various Lebensborn homes. Several survivors stated during the ZdL investigations that senior female SS commander Elfi Kraus of Ludwigshafen on the Rhine had behaved decently toward the inmates.



The Lebensborn maternity home at Steinhöring, which was a Dachau subcamp in September 1944.
USHMM WS # 75103, COURTESY OF BPK

The Dachau concentration camp files last refer to Steinhöring on April 14, 1945. According to one witness, the prisoners were evacuated to Dachau on April 28, 1945. The home was occupied by U.S. troops at the end of April 1945. At that time, according to various witness statements, there were between 162 and 300 children in the home.

SOURCES A detailed description of the camp, written by Johnannes Wrobel, can be found in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Friße Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 500–502. This subcamp is also mentioned in Barbara Distel and Wolfgang Benz, eds., *Das Konzentrationslager Dachau 1933–1945: Geschichte und Bedeutung* (Munich: Der Landeszentrale, 1994), p. 33.

Steinhöring is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 96. Georg Lilenthal gives a detailed analysis of the history of Lebensborn in his book *Der "Lebensborn e.V": Ein Instrument nationalsozialistischer Rassenpolitik* (Frankfurt am Main, 1985). In the book he refers to the Steinhöring home but not to its significance as a Dachau subcamp. For another overview on Lebensborn, see Marc Hillel and Clarissa Henry, *Lebensborn e.V. im Namen der Rasse* (Vienna, 1975).

Scattered information on the subcamp is to be found in AG-D, for instance, in DaA 35672 and 35675f (Überstellungslisten, transfer lists). Strength reports regarding the number

of inmates in the subcamp can be found in DaA 404. The investigations by ZdL (held at BA-L) are located in the file designated IV 410 AR 36/ 69. The file contains a list of names of former Steinhöring prisoners as well as various witness statements. Reports on the interrogation of leading members of the Lebensborn, including details to the Steinhöring location and camps, can be found at StA-N, KV-Prozesse, Case 8 Nr. P5 and Case 8 Nr. F2 as well as NO-5237.

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STEPHANSKIRCHEN (BMW)

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the Dachau subcamp Stephanskirchen (BMW) is mentioned for the first time on December 4, 1944. This is most likely the day that the camp was formally established, as even before this date, prisoners, according to the *Stärkemeldungen* (strength reports) of the Dachau main camp, were held in the Stephanskirchen: on November 29, 1944, there were 190 prisoners in Stephanskirchen. The investigation files by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, which give December 11, 1944, as the date the camp was established, are probably incorrect.

There were on average 250 male prisoners who worked for the Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW). Historian Robert Sigel states that the prisoners in the Chiemgauer Vertriebs-Gesellschaft (Distribution Company), which was part of BMW, assembled aircraft engines. The establishment of this subcamp probably had something to do with the decentralization of wartime production that intensified in 1944.

There were on average 250 male prisoners in the camp. They were accommodated in barracks located on the production site. Soviet inmates constituted around one-third of the total; there were also prisoners from Poland, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, and Yugoslavia, plus 1 prisoner each from Czechoslovakia, Albania, and Luxembourg. The guards were Luftwaffe soldiers and, toward the end of the war, members of the Volkssturm (German Home Guard).

The prisoners worked in the aircraft engine factory, where they not only produced aircraft engines and undertook quality control; they also worked on laying rail tracks and removing rubble in the cities of Stephanskirchen and Rosenheim. Conditions in the camp were hard, and according to statements by former prisoners, at least two Kapos mistreated the prisoners. The prisoners state that they were permanently undernourished.

In December 1944, the prisoners' accommodation was destroyed in a bombing raid. They were temporarily transferred to Rosenheim.

According to ITS and the ZdL investigation files, the last mention of the camp is on March 31, 1945. Strength reports on the Dachau main camp, however, confirm the existence of the camp on April 3, 1945, and April 29, 1945. After that the prisoners were sent on a death march.

SOURCES The Stephanskirchen (BMW) subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 96. “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1842, refers to a subcamp in Stephanskirchen, but it does not specify whether the camp is the BMW and Chiemgauer Vertriebs-Gesellschaft. For an extensive description of the camp, see the essay by Robert Sigel in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Friihe Lager; Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 502–504. An earlier description of the camp is by Anke Dörrzapf, “Das vergessene KZ,” *Ga 1* (1992).

H. Conrad Willeke wrote about his time as a prisoner in Stephanskirchen in “Die Hölle von Dachau” (Munich, 1945). The essay is held in AG-D, Signatur A 391, Nr. 36139/4. Other relevant documents at AG-D are to be found in Signatur A 82 (Aussenkommandos—Stärkemeldungen). A Tätigkeitsbericht for the BMW-Werk for Allach 1945 is held in Ordner A391 Stephanskirchen, Nr. 24577, P-9429. Leo van der Tas, a former prisoner in Stephanskirchen, described the camp in *Overleven in Dachau. Ervaringen in duitse Gevangenschap* (Kampen, 1985). Investigations by ZdL on the Stephanskirchen (BMW) subcamp are in File IV 410 AR 1219/ 69 at BA-L.

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ST. GILGEN [AKA SACHSENHAUSEN/ WOLFGANGSEE]

The idyllic town of St. Gilgen lies just a few kilometers east of Salzburg, on the northwest tip of Lake Wolfgangsee. Dachau Commandant Hans Loritz acquired a large plot of land there in April 1938.¹ Shortly after the purchase, he had nine Jehovah’s Witnesses and one political prisoner chosen from among the Dachau prisoners brought to St. Gilgen. Officially, the SS-Führer disguised the journey as a transport to the new “St. Gilgen outside detail.” The prisoners actually began with preparation work for the building of a private villa for Loritz; they had to clear, shovel, move stones, haul, and pour concrete.²

The SS guards locked up the slave laborers overnight in the St. Gilgen community jail. The local public was perfectly well aware of the deployment of slave laborers; the comings and goings of the prisoner transports were noticed in the community detention cells, for example, and pedestrians stopping at the construction site received instructions to move along quickly.³

Loritz had his reasons for choosing primarily Jehovah’s Witnesses for the construction detail. Most of the “serious bible students,” as they were called until 1931, viewed their concentration camp imprisonment as a test from God. To be sure, they rejected with remarkable steadfastness any activity that went against their religious principles. But Jehovah’s Witnesses fulfilled those tasks that they could reconcile with their consciences with great care. Cynical SS leaders at other camps also repeatedly took advantage of this attitude.

In December 1939, Commandant Loritz took over—at first on a temporary basis—the leadership of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp near Berlin.⁴ Thus, by the spring of 1941 at the latest, prisoners from Sachsenhausen had to resume the work at St. Gilgen. Since the outside detail in the Salzburg area was officially still listed as a Dachau subcamp, Loritz, in cooperation with the new Dachau commandant Alexander Piorkowski, had around 20 to 25 selected Sachsenhausen prisoners transferred to Dachau. These were primarily Jehovah’s Witnesses with craftsmen’s skills. As these inmates were now considered Dachau prisoners by the SS authorities, they could be transported to the St. Gilgen subcamp just a few days later. With the onset of winter, when the construction work was interrupted, the prisoners were then returned to Dachau and from there handed back over to Sachsenhausen. In 1942, a prisoner transport also reached St. Gilgen via Dachau in the same fashion.⁵

From 1941, Loritz had the slave laborers accommodated directly on his estate. By that point, their work consisted mainly of enlarging the villa with the addition of a washroom and swimming pool, building an additional guardhouse, erecting a cellar set into a hillside some distance from the property, and laying out extensive garden grounds with terraces, ponds, and fountains.⁶ The Sachsenhausen commandant called in on the construction site, as in previous years, only during his free time. Three SS men, under the supervision of SS-Führer Franz-Xaver Trenkle, guarded the prisoners.⁷

The surviving prisoners have very different accounts of the working conditions at St. Gilgen. In 1941, the shoemaker Anton Wagner was initially employed at the shoe workshop of the St. Gilgen mayor Josef Kogler, and in 1942 Gerhard Oltmann worked as a cook in the outside detail. The former prisoners explain that the situation there was better in comparison to other concentration camp conditions because the private construction work was actually “illegal.” But even if the conditions at St. Gilgen were on the whole more tolerable than at Sachsenhausen concentration camp, lasting injuries among the prisoners did occur: SS-Kommandoführer Trenkle reportedly severely abused several prisoners for not carrying out the strenuous work fast enough. Hans Arthus Bauer remembers Trenkle slave-driving one of his fellow prisoners for a long time until the man disappeared from the construction site.⁸

Loritz was not the only high-ranking SS officer who owned an estate at Wolfgangsee. Several former concentration camp prisoners from St. Gilgen report that from May to July 1942 they had to finish work on a property in the immediate vicinity for Arthur Liebehenschel, director of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) personnel office (Office DI) of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA).⁹ The SS leaders saw the reflection of their own blood-and-soil ideology in the idyllic countryside of the Salzburg area. And while cities of Germany increasingly became the targets of Allied bombing attacks in the course of World War II, the families of SS members were relatively safe from air-raid alerts in the idyllic countryside.

In September 1942, Loritz was due to receive the *Kriegsverdienstkreuz* First Class for the mass murder of at least 12,000 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) that took place under his supervision at Sachsenhausen. But the planned honor was canceled after the widespread corruption and illegal private constructions became known, leading to disciplinary proceedings against the commandant in the summer of 1942. He was subsequently transferred as a penal demotion to Norway as a Higher-SS and Police Leader (Höherer SS und Polizeiführer, HSSPF) "for the duration of the war."¹⁰ Thus, the use of concentration camp prisoners at St. Gilgen ended. Most of the prisoners were brought back to Sachsenhausen, and a smaller group, which had worked until the summer of 1942 on Loritz's garden grounds, went to Dachau. The spacious estate, where in the meantime the SS officer's wife and two sons lived, remained the property of the family.¹¹

The racist National Socialist ideology and the personalized power structures in the Third Reich provided Loritz with something like a justification for his corruption: the SS leader viewed himself a member of an elite and demanded corresponding special rights without any consideration whatsoever for the lives of the prisoners. Apparently, the commandant carried out his construction projects in the belief of "working towards the Führer."¹² Indeed, his behavior does not initially seem to have met with criticism from his superiors. Only when the working capacities (not the lives!) of the prisoners became increasingly important to the armament industry of the Third Reich did Loritz, with his unauthorized employment of prisoners for other slave labor, clash with the guidelines of SS economic politics.

After the war, Loritz, who was using a false name, attempted in vain to evade legal prosecution by the Allied administration. In 1946, he committed suicide at the internment camp Neumünster-Gadeland. Loritz's widow returned to Germany with her children.¹³

SOURCES A detailed account of the history of the outside commando at St. Gilgen has appeared in Dirk Riedel, "Der 'Wildpark' im KZ Dachau und das Aussenlager St. Gilgen," *DaHe* 16 (2000). It also contains more detailed references to further literature; but worth mentioning here is the volume from Detlev Garbe, *Zwischen Widerstand und Martyrium: Die Zeugen Jebovas im "Dritten Reich"* (Munich, 1993).

Essential documents on the history of the outside commando at St. Gilgen are the prisoner reports from Heinrich Lutterbach, "Kurzbericht über das Kommando Wolfgangsee/Aussenkommando Dachau" (unpub. MSS, Munich, 1963), Nr. 53/548, AG-D; and from Paul Wauer, "Lebensbericht," n.d., GAZJ. See also Leopold Ziller, "Wie ich die NS-Zeit ertrug und überlebte, durchgesehen und ergänzt von Karl Breuer sen" (unpub. MSS, St. Gilgen, 1997), held in AGe-StG. A whole series of witness statements were also recorded at that time by ZdL (today BA-L), IV 410 AR 209/73. Loritz's judgment is available at NWHStA-(D) ZA-K, and further reports about this camp may be found in BA-L.

Dirk Riedel
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. See Kaufvertrag, April 24, 1938, Grundbuch 56103 Gschwand, Einlagezahl 155, Bezirksgericht St. Gilgen.
2. Heinrich Lutterbach, "Kurzbericht über das Kommando Wolfgangsee (unpub. MSS, Munich, 1963), Nr. 53/548, AG-D.
3. See Gutachten über das Anwesen Gschwand Nr. 98, 99, March 8, 1960 (privately held). See Leopold Ziller, "Wie ich die NS-Zeit ertrug und überlebte, durchgesehen und ergänzt von Karl Breuer sen," (unpub. MSS, St. Gilgen, 1997), held in AGe-StG.
4. See RFSS-SS-Personalamt, December 4, 1939, SSO-Loritz, BA-DH.
5. See Schlussvermerk, January 29, 1975, IV 410 AR 209/73, p. 135, in ZdL (now BA-L).
6. See Gutachten über das Anwesen March 8, 1960, pp. 4–9.
7. See Hans Arthur Bauer, Geilenkirchen, October 22, 1974, IV 410 AR 209/73, ZdL, Bl.114.
8. See ibid., Also see Lebensbericht Paul Wauer, n.d., p. 24, GAZJ.
9. See Kaufvertrag Grundbuch 56103 Gschwand, Einlagezahl 160, Bezirksgericht. See Lebensbericht Wauer, p. 27.
10. Personalverfügung des RFSS—SS-Personalhauptamt, August 31, 1942, SSO-Loritz, BA-BL.
11. See Lebensbericht Wauer, p. 27.
12. Werner Willikens, February 21, 1934, quoted in Ian Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936* (Stuttgart, 1998), p. 665.
13. See Handakte zur Strafsache gegen Loritz wegen Mordes, Rep.118 Nr. 253, NWHStA-(D). See Kaufvertrag vom January 22, 1959, im Grundbuch 56103 Gschwand Einlagezahl 155, Bezirksgericht.

ST. JOHANN IN TIROL

St. Johann lies in the Tyrolean district of Kitzbühel at the foot of the Kaisergebirge (until 1945: Reichsgau Tirol).

The beginning of the St. Johann subcamp is uncertain. According to prisoners' statements, the camp was already in existence in April or May 1940. However, the International Tracing Service (ITS), based upon a prisoner statement, puts the beginning of the camp as the end of August 1940. There were 20 prisoners in St. Johann who were to convert a farm into an SS Erholungsheim (convalescence home). The prisoners were at first accommodated in the unfinished Erholungsheim and later in a barn. They were guarded by mostly older SS men under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Fritz Wilhelm, who was later to be camp leader in Haunstetten.

Compared with conditions in the other concentration camps, the living and working conditions in the St. Johann camp appear to have been bearable. The prisoners described as relaxed their relationship with the guards and said the SS even allowed them to listen secretly to radio broadcasts.

Once the construction work was complete, the prisoners from St. Johann and other prisoners are thought to have built an asphalt road to St. Johann. According to Albert Knoll in *Der Ort des Terrors*, there were about 300 prisoners involved.

Egon Zill, then commandant of the Dachau concentration camp, inspected the construction project. He determined that the project was not important for the war effort, and at the end of June 1941, the prisoners were returned to Dachau.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg ceased in 1973 as no living witnesses could be located.

SOURCES The St. Johann subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 93; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1843. An extensive description of the St. Johann subcamp is provided by Albert Knoll in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Friüe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 495–496.

Various documents on the St. Johann subcamp in Tirol have survived and are held in the AG-D in Signatur 20508 (Letter of the former prisoners Anton Pütz, February 2, 1964) and in the NARA in Washington, DC (CIA Box 001, Interrogation of former Dachau prisoner Wilhelm Kick, August 19, 1944, particularly with regard to Lagerführer Fritz Wilhelm). Investigations by ZdL (now BA-L) are recorded in File IV 410 AR 210/73. Otto Oertel described the St. Johann subcamp in Tirol in *Als Gefangener der SS*, ed. Stephan Apelius (Oldenburg, 1990).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ST. WOLFGANG

The Dachau subcamp St. Wolfgang was located in the Reich District Oberdonau at Salzkammergut. According to statements by Dachau survivors, it was established and closed in the summer of 1938. Ten male prisoners did preparatory work for 23 days for the construction of a house for the commandant of the Dachau concentration camp.

SOURCES The St. Wolfgang camp is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 94. Another very brief mention is in Barbara Distel and Wolfgang Benz, eds., *Das Konzentrationslager Dachau 1933–1945. Geschichte und Bedeutung* (Munich: Die Landeszentrale, 1994), p. 32.

Scattered information on the St. Wolfgang subcamp is to be found in the files of AG-D.

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SUDELFELD (LUFTWAFFE)

Sudelfeld is located near Bayrischzell, about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) south of Munich, in the Miesbach administrative district in Upper Bavaria. From January 1944 on, a Dachau subcamp existed there, one that was not related in any way to the other Dachau subcamp in Sudelfeld.

Johannes Wrobel and Erhard Klein report that in 1943, at the latest, a high-frequency research institute opened in Dachau, where especially selected inmates—all of them with relevant professional experience—were used for research purposes. The use of high-frequency waves (10–1,000 kilohertz) was common in radio technology, and plenipotentiary for high-frequency research (Bevollmächtigte für Hochfrequenzforschung) Dr. Ing. H. Plendl repeatedly used concentration camp inmates for his research: The 20 to 25 prisoners selected in Dachau were engineers, physicists, and technicians who had experience in the field of radio technology. This top-secret work detachment, which was also called the "Dr.-Kümmel-Kommando" or "Weber-Kommando" and, later on, "Wetterkommando" (Weather Commando), conducted confidential research in the field of radio technology and, among other things, studied the radio equipment of captured Allied planes. According to Alfred Konieczny, the installation was to serve the "successful conduct of the war in the ether (the interception of messages, radio direction finding, jamming enemy signals, and offensive radio propaganda)."¹ Most likely there was a connection between this work detachment and the subcamp in Sudelfeld, which probably was a branch of the Dachau group. Organizationally, the Sudelfeld testing installation was also related to the Construction Office for Luftwaffe Special Tasks (Bauamt für Sonderaufgaben der Luftwaffe) and its "Planning Office Sudelfeld."

In January 1944, about 25 Dachau prisoners were taken to Sudelfeld to begin the construction of a testing station of the plenipotentiary for high-frequency research. One can only assume that the installation at Sudelfeld was to serve purposes of radar research after its completion. No detailed information is available as to what specific purposes the Sudelfeld experimental station would have to serve. Plans to destroy the installation by bombs were not realized, and some buildings survived, among them foundations, a bunker, the remains of most likely a cable train, and an antenna farm. It is unclear how long the prisoners were kept at the Sudelfeld subcamp. The inmates of the Dachau high-frequency research station were later evacuated to the Gross-Rosen concentration camp and from there to Mauthausen and then to Sachsenhausen.

SOURCES This essay is based upon information provided by Johannes Wrobel and Erhard Klein in their article in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Friüe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 507–509. Research results presented there are mainly based upon interviews conducted by historian Alfred Konieczny, which are summarized in Alfred Konieczny, *Das Kommando Wetterstelle im KL Gross-Rosen*, ed. Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen (Wałbrzych, 1994). For a further reference to the high-frequency activities conducted in Dachau and Sudelfeld, see Oswald Pohl, "Häftlingseinsatz für Zwecke der Luftfahrtindustrie, 21.2.1944," in *Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Nürnberger Internationalen Militär-Gerichtshof* (Nürnberg, 1948) 27: 358–359.

Information in AG-D can be found in the following collections: DaA 31186 (letter of the "Bevollmächtigte für Hoch-

frequenzforschung," Plendl, to Himmler, January 7, 1944), DaA 35674 (Überstellungslisten, transport lists).

The Sudelfeld subcamp (without further specification) is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:97.

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NOTE

1. Alfred Konieczny, *Das Kommando Wetterstelle im KL Gross-Rosen*, ed. Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen (Wałbrzych, 1994) p. 4.

SUDELFELD (SS-BERGHAUS AND HOTEL "ALPENROSE")

The Dachau subcamp Sudelfeld was located near the Bavarian town of Bayrischzell. It is first mentioned in an official report of June 22, 1940, and last mentioned in the Dachau concentration camp files on April 25, 1945. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) and investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, the prisoners were used for a variety of tasks.

In 1938, the SS had acquired the Berghouse, a former restaurant, and from 1940 used it as a rest and convalescent home, while the nearby Hotel Alpenrose was turned into a hospital. By early 1938, about 40 Jehovah's Witnesses had already been brought from Dachau to build a swimming pool and garages. Jehovah's Witnesses were a preferred group of inmates for working in subcamps since, due to their religion, they did not attempt to escape. Hubert Mattischek, an Austrian Jehovah's Witness and Dachau inmate, stated:

A group of halfway able Jehovah's Witnesses were chosen to construct a sport, recreation, and training camp in the Bavarian mountains at Sudelfeld near Bayrischzell. Jehovah's Witnesses were chosen because it was thought that there was little danger of our Brothers taking advantage of the various temptations for escape offered by the surroundings. . . . Thus we also had only one guard with us. It was practical for the SS to do this. It saved the use of personnel. The Brothers who had been chosen for this task were given better food because of the hard work and because the SS wanted the sports facilities constructed quickly. The Brothers told us that they had a good relationship with the guard.¹

Gradually, the number of inmates in the camp was increased to over 100, peaking at almost 150. The inmates were kept in a barn and guarded by SS. Inmates had to work on erecting the alpine hut at nearby Larcheralm, including a number of stables where lifestock was held. Prisoner labor was used to build the road leading to the hut, to take care of the animals, and to dig a well that went 23 meters (75 feet) down into the rock. This group probably comprised at least 40 to 50

inmates and most likely was also in charge of clearing the roads in winter and preparing the pathways for ski runs during the summer. About 10 inmates belonged to a work detachment that was in charge of buying food and supplies for the Berghaus and the Hotel Alpenrose. Apparently most of the inmates had been chosen by their professions for work at the Sudelfeld subcamp; they were masons, carpenters, farmers, car mechanics, electricians, plumbers, painters, and tailors.

By the end of September 1939, 144 Jehovah's Witnesses were returned from Sudelfeld to Dachau, and the camp remained temporarily empty. In February 1940, 25 Jehovah's Witnesses were brought to Sudelfeld, and that summer 70 more inmates arrived, but this time not only Jehovah's Witnesses. In the following months, smaller groups of inmates continued to be sent to Sudelfeld, mostly Jehovah's Witnesses. The inmates were kept now in a part of the garage building, until accommodation for them was completed: Probably from about 1941 on, the prisoners were held in a wooden barracks of about 90 square meters (108 square yards) with three-story bunk beds. They were guarded by four to eight SS men. Their command leader, Senksis, became known for his special brutality toward the inmates. At least 1 inmate died in the subcamp; opinions of survivors differ whether there were more victims. Investigations by ZdL in the 1970s found no proof for any acts of violence.

According to Johannes Wrobel, the inmates found the support of some Germans with whom they worked. This applies especially to the Jehovah's Witnesses, who were given a Bible by one of the secretaries and were allowed to keep the book and read it in secret.

In January 1945, the majority of the inmates was returned to Dachau. By the end of April, 22 prisoners were still registered in the camp. On May 6, when U.S. troops liberated the camp, they found about 10 prisoners still at Sudelfeld.

SOURCES This entry is mainly based upon the essay on the Sudelfeld subcamp by Johannes Wrobel in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 505–507. The camp is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:97, but there is no differentiation between the two different Sudelfeld camps.

The investigation files of ZdL (held at BA-L), file designator IV 410 AR 222/ 73, contain a list of names of 21 former inmates, as well as a number of statements by witnesses. Scattered information on the subcamp is to be found in AG-D, for instance, in Überstellungslisten (transport lists, DaA 35672, 35674) and Stärkemeldungen (strength reports, DaA 32789). The AG-D also holds a seven-page MSS with statements by the former inmate Hubert Mattischek (prisoner number 33502), which was drawn up as part of a project revolving around witnesses to the events and in which mention is made of Sudelfeld (AG-D, No. 30.285). The subcamp is also mentioned in Sylvia Schäper-Wimmer, ed., *Das Unbegreifliche berichten: Zeitzeugenberichte ehemaliger Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Dachau* (Munich, 1997). Records regarding the construction of the camp can be found at Sta. Mü, collection

BPL. Miesbach, 1937/444. Statements of survivors can also be found at the GAZJ, for instance, by survivors Lehmbecker and Bräuchle.

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NOTE

1. Sylvia Schäper-Wimmer, ed., *Das Unbegreifliche berichten: Zeitzeugenberichte ehemaliger Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Dachau* (Munich, 1997), p. 60.

THANSAU

Thansau is located about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) south of Rosenheim in Bavaria and was part of the village of Rohrdorf. The manor in Thansau had been confiscated in 1938 by the Gauleiter of Baden-Württemberg from its Jewish owners, who had fled Germany. In May 1943, it was handed over to the Organisation Todt (OT). OT ran a farm there and employed 15 foreign laborers beside its own workers. In December 1944, the manor and the farm buildings fell victim to an air raid that killed 3 of the foreign workers and destroyed almost all the buildings. To clean up the damage and to bury the livestock killed during the air raid, about 40 to 50 inmates from Dachau were sent to Thansau early in January 1945. The prisoners stayed at the manor for about 10 days, and survivors report poor food and accommodation, as well as the mistreatment of 1 prisoner for (alleged) theft. The detachment was under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Schnitzler. About two weeks after their arrival, on January 17, the inmates were transferred back to Dachau.

SOURCES Veronika Diem describes the Thansau subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Friühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 510–511.

The Thansau camp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:97. Some information on the manor can also be found at the AGe-Rd. The letter of SS-Hauptsturmführer Schnitzler to the camp commander in Dachau regarding the requisition of Dachau inmates for cleanup work in Thansau can be found at BA, BDC, SSO F. Schmidt.

The ZdL (now BA-L) conducted an investigation in 1969 under File IV 410 AR 132/ 69. This file contains a number of contradictory witness statements.

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TRAUNSTEIN

The Traunstein subcamp, 88 kilometers (55 miles) southeast of Munich, in Chiemgau/Upper Bavaria, existed from October 8, 1942. That year, the SS established a hospital and convalescent home in the former Traunstein spa hotel. Altogether 20 prisoners, the majority of them German and Austrian, were put to work. Their main tasks were the renovation of the

SS convalescent home, the erection of a Finnish sauna, and the renovation of the electrical installations in the kitchen.

All prisoners employed in Traunstein had been selected by the professions they had held before the war; all of them were craftsmen. It is not exactly clear where the inmates were accommodated. Apparently they were not housed in Traunstein but arrived every day on a truck. Not much information is available regarding their working conditions. An investigation by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) came to the conclusion that no mistreatment or killing of inmates took place in the camp.

Witness and survivor statements differ as to when the subcamp was dissolved. While the International Tracing Service (ITS) states that the camp was dissolved early in December 1942, at least one survivor claims that the Traunstein subcamp existed until February 8, 1943, when the inmates were transferred to the Tyrolean castle Schloss Itter. Apparently, some prisoners were also taken to the Dachau subcamp München-Freimann (Bartolith-Werke).

SOURCES Gerd Evers describes the Traunstein subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Friühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 511–512. For more detailed descriptions, see also Friedbert Mühlendorfer, *Traunstein. Widerstand und Verfolgung 1933 bis 1945* (Ingolstadt, 1992), and *Verfolgung und Widerstand in der NS-Zeit im Landkreis Traunstein 1933–1945. Dokumentation und Ausstellung des Kreisjugendringes Traunstein*, ed. Kreisjugendring Traunstein (Traunstein, 1994).

The camp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:97. Alfred Saller's essay "Als Traunstein eine Kurstadt war," *JHVCT* 9 (1997): 102, refers to the planned conversion of the SS hospital and convalescent home into a Lebensborn home. Gerd Evers refers briefly to the subcamp in his book *Traunstein, 1918–1945: Ein Beitrag zur politischen Geschichte der Stadt und des Landkreises Traunstein* (Grabenstätt Drei-Linden-Verlag, 1991). A picture of the SS hospital and convalescent home is to be found in Friedbert Mühlendorfer's book *Traunstein: Widerstand und Verfolgung 1933–1945* (Ingolstadt: Panther-Verlag, 1992). Mühlendorfer briefly describes the history of the camp and the life of one prisoner, Austrian Leopold Wipp. A map of Traunstein indicating the location of the subcamp is included on pp. 158 and 159.

The records of investigations opened in 1973 by the ZdL, File IV 410 AR 223/ 73 (now held at BA-L) contain lists of prisoners' names and a few witness statements.

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TROSTBERG

The camp at Trostberg, located 69 kilometers (43 miles) east of Munich, near Traunstein in Upper Bavaria, is first mentioned in the files of the Dachau concentration camp on October 20, 1944, and last referred to on April 25, 1945. According to witness statements, part of the camp was evacuated

before the end of the war, and the remaining prisoners were freed by U.S. troops on May 4, 1945.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg revealed that the camp was situated to the east of the nitrogen factory located on the street formerly called Fabrikstrasse in the vicinity of the Götzing manor. As many as 700 male prisoners worked there for Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) and the Stickstoff-und Kali-Werke (Nitrogen and Potash Works, SKW). Most of them were between the ages of 20 and 30. The Dachau camp list, however, also includes the name of a 16-year-old Italian boy.

On this camp's history, historian Friedbert Mühlendorfer states: "A proportion of the prisoners worked in an SKW building maintaining and repairing BMW aircraft engines. The majority, however, also worked on engines but in underground tunnels, which had been excavated into the side of a mountain not far from the SKW plant. The prisoners' living quarters were . . . in a barracks camp to the east of the SKW, about a fifteen-minute walk . . . from the underground facility. The barracks were fenced in with barbed wire and guarded by members of the SS."¹

There are no reports that prisoners were murdered or any evidence pertaining to the return to the Dachau main camp of prisoners who were no longer capable of working. Several deaths did take place in Trostberg, however, presumably as a result of heavy labor, malnutrition, disease, and possible mistreatment. These dead were buried outside the Trostberg cemetery during the war and reinterred in the cemetery after the war.

SOURCES In Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Friühe Lager; Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), Robert Sigel describes the subcamp on pp. 512–514.

Trostberg is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:97. Friedbert Mühlendorfer devotes several paragraphs to the camp in his book *Traunstein: Widerstand und Verfolgung 1933 bis 1945* (Ingolstadt: Panther-Verlag, 1992). His description is based on witness statements that are also to be found in the files of ZdL. On p. 89 of his book, there is a picture of the entrance to the underground tunnels in which the prisoners worked; on p. 91 is a picture of the only remaining barracks against the background of the SKW.

Some records are available in AG-D—some correspondence in DaA 32727 and transport lists (Überstellungslisten) in DaA 35676, 35677, 35678, and 35921. The archive also holds the unpublished memoirs of Miroslav Kriznar, a Dachau inmate who was at the Trostberg camp. The memoirs of another survivor, Mario Tardivo, can be found at www.testimonianze-dailager.rae.it/testimoni/test_27.asp (in Italian).

The ZdL opened investigations into the camp in 1969. The records of those investigations are held in the File IV 410 AR 139/69 at BA-L. They contain a number of witness statements on the working and living conditions in the camp. The investigation was discontinued due to the lack of evidence of homicides.

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NOTE

1. Friedbert Mühlendorfer, *Traunstein: Widerstand und Verfolgung 1933 bis 1945* (Ingolstadt: Panther-Verlag, 1992), p. 89.

ÜBERLINGEN

The Überlingen subcamp was erected at the beginning of September 1944 on the road between Überlingen and Aufkirch, a community belonging to the municipal corporation of Überlingen. (In some files the subcamp is also described as the Aufkirch Aussenkommando.) In the files of the Dachau main camp, it was first mentioned on September 2, 1944.

The prisoners came in two large transports from Dachau to Überlingen, one in September 1944, the second on October 3, 1944.

"Politicals" (red triangles) were the largest group of prisoners; there were also "asocials" (black triangles), "criminals" (green triangles), and isolated Roma and Sinti (Gypsies) as well as homosexuals and Jehovah's Witnesses in Überlingen. There were no Jewish prisoners there. The majority of the prisoners were Italians, with smaller groups from Slovenia, Russia, Poland, Germany, Austria, and other countries.

The camp was established in the wake of air attacks against four large armament companies: the Zeppelin airship construction plant, a gear factory, the Dornier airplane factory, and the Maybach engine factory in Friedrichshafen. After large parts of the factory in Friedrichshafen were destroyed by bombing on April 28, 1944, the armament planners in Berlin decided to erect underground facilities in which the production of missile parts, vehicle engines, airplanes, and tank engines could be accomplished. Under the direction of the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production and Organisation Todt (OT), suitable sites were sought. The area between Überlingen and the western suburb Goldbach (the source of the designation Goldbach Tunnel) provided favorable conditions for building underground tunnels due to an outcropping of a special type of soft rock conglomerate (*Mollasfelsen*) at a location advantageous for road and rail transportation. Furthermore, the excavated earth could be deposited in Lake Constance. The building project, bearing the code name MAGNESIT, was contracted out to private construction companies under the supervision of the Siemens Bauunion (Construction Union) of Munich.

For the Siemens Construction Union and on behalf of the German Reich, the prisoners had to create underground factory facilities by drilling blast holes with pneumatic drills, carrying out dynamiting operations, removing the loose soft rock composite from the pits, enlarging the blasted spaces with pneumatic hammers, and creating aeration/deaeration and drainage systems. The underground plant had not yet been completed when work ceased on April 19–20, 1945. Actual armament production had not yet taken place there.

Some 170 prisoners died at the Überlingen subcamp, in the Goldbach Tunnel or during transports. The most common cause of death was "general weakness." Many prisoners

died from infectious diseases of the lungs or the digestive organs, while the work with dynamite, pneumatic drills, hammers, other heavy tools, and machines without the observance of safety precautions led to fatal accidents. Prisoners were also accidentally buried alive by falling rock. There was at least one case in which a Polish prisoner was murdered by other inmates in the tunnel and one in which the SS murdered a prisoner who undertook an escape attempt. Two prisoners are buried at the Überlingen cemetery, 71 bodies of inmates were transported to Constance and burned at the crematorium there, and 97 were buried in a mass grave in Degenhardt Forest but exhumed in April 1946 and reburied in the Birnau concentration camp cemetery established especially for that purpose. Prisoners no longer capable of working were transferred to the Saulgau subcamp. Prisoners also died on the transports to Saulgau and back to Dachau.

Georg Grünberg, born on October 10, 1906, in Freiburg on the Elbe, was camp commandant at Überlingen. In 1931 he became a member of the Nazi Party (Party Member Number 690,386), the SA, and immediately afterward, the SS (SS Member Number 23,860). Beginning in 1942, Grünberg served in various concentration camps. He received special training in Oranienburg, Braunschweig, and Dachau, and he served in Auschwitz and as commandant of external details or subcamps of Dachau concentration camp in Haunstetten, Friedrichshafen, and Überlingen. In Überlingen, an average of 25 SS men assisted him in the guarding of the camp and the Goldbach Tunnel.

The Slovenian prisoner Boris Kobe produced a remarkable artistic testimony to life at the Überlingen subcamp and during the construction of the Goldbach Tunnel. An architect and artist, Kobe drew detailed depictions of camp life on 54 playing cards of a tarot deck.

On March 22, 1945, two prisoners achieved a spectacular escape from Goldbach Tunnel. Austrian prisoner Adam Puntschart (number 24313) and Ukrainian prisoner Wassili Sklarenko (number 33639) succeeded in leaving the tunnel unnoticed, concealed beneath excavation residue in a tipper wagon. After a four-day flight on foot, they reached Schaffhausen in Switzerland on March 26, 1945.

The camp was closed during the night of April 19, 1945, five days before the French army arrived in Überlingen. All prisoners were transported by train in the direction of Dachau and made it as far as Allach near Munich, where they were liberated by the U.S. Army. The camp at Überlingen was burned down on April 23, 1945, that is, before the French army reached the town. In the 1950s and 1960s the public prosecutor of Constance initiated several inquiries into the running of the subcamp, none of which led to charges being filed or trials.

SOURCES The organization DGS-KZ-A has published the author's brochure *Der Stollen*, 4th ed. (Egglingen: Edition Isele, 2001), containing all relevant information.

Der Stollen includes information from interviews with escapee Wassili Sklarenko. For more on the escape and on

Überlingen, see the testimony of Adam Puntschart, *Die Heimat ist weit . . . Erlebnisse im Spanischen Bürgerkrieg, im KZ, auf der Flucht*, ed. Oswald Burger (Weingarten: Drumlin Verlag, 1983).

Oswald Burger
trans. Eric Schroeder

ULM (**MAGIRUS-DEUTZ AG**)

The cooperation between the administration of the district of Ulm and the management of the Magirus AG was already very close in the early 1930s. Even before the National Socialists seized power, various suborganizations of the Nazi Party in Ulm and its vicinity received support from the Magirus AG.¹ The firm's good contacts to high-ranking members of the SS in Berlin and Munich brought Magirus large-scale party commissions in 1934 and 1935, such as the construction of the Hilfszug Bayern and the Reichsautozug Deutschland. The merger with the Klöckner-Humboldt Deutz-Motoren AG of Cologne in 1935 had a positive impact on the company in Ulm; business began to boom as a result of the economic expansion, and the Deutz vehicle engines enabled Magirus to construct new chassis. In February 1943, production commenced on the Raupenschlepper Ost track-laying tractor in Ulm, leading to the company's reclassification as vital to the war effort. Approximately 2,000 "foreign workers," chiefly from Russia and Holland, had already been working for Magirus-Deutz in Ulm since 1942. They were housed in various quarters outside the company grounds.²

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), beginning on January 4, 1945, 30 to 40 prisoners were sent from the Dachau main camp to perform labor at the Magirus-Deutz AG. It can no longer be determined with certainty whether the establishment of this detachment from Dachau came about as a result of the major destruction of Works II (Blaubeurerstrasse 179) and III (Magirusstrasse) during the air raid on Ulm of December 17, 1944. At least 9 prisoners³—but most likely half of the prisoners in the detail—were from Italy. Ukrainians, Poles, and Czechs as well as 1 German prisoner also performed forced labor at the Magirus factory.⁴ The prisoners wore striped uniforms and could therefore be easily distinguished from the other forced laborers.⁵

In January 1945, Miccio L. of Sorrento, Italy, was transferred from Dachau to Magirus-Deutz in Ulm because of his qualifications. He had been a skilled laborer at the Fiat Company in Naples before his arrest. Along with other prisoners, he was transported to Ulm by mail bus. The prisoners were given living quarters in a wooden barracks on a river dam. The quarters on the company grounds were fenced in. Unlike their fellow inmates at the Dachau main camp, the prisoners in Ulm slept on real beds with straw-bag mattresses and blankets. The wooden barracks also had a small stove that was in operation at night.⁶

The factory in which the prisoners worked was located approximately 100 to 200 meters (328 to 656 feet) from their

living quarters. Parts for the one-man Biber submarine were manufactured in a large production hall. German civilian workers trained the prisoners and assigned them their duties. Other contact with civilians at the company was strictly prohibited.⁷

The guard detail consisted of older members of the Wehrmacht and the navy; only the detachment leader was a member of the SS with the rank of Oberscharführer. The guards were housed in a barracks close to the prisoners' quarters. According to reports by several prisoners, the detachment leader was relatively humane and even spoke Italian with them. He did not abuse the prisoners, and he made an effort to have their food rations from the company canteen improved.⁸

No prisoners were killed during the existence of the subcamp at Magirus-Deutz in Ulm, but there was mistreatment⁹ and corporal punishment¹⁰ of prisoners.

A survivor reported that a "strange illness was detected" in this subcamp.¹¹ Several prisoners suffered from flatulence and were taken back to the Dachau main camp. Some of them later returned to Ulm. Details on this illness remain unknown.

The factory premises were badly damaged during an air raid on February 25, 1945. The prisoners were subsequently used in repairing the telephone cables.¹² The evacuation of the subcamp got under way after the bombardment of the city of Ulm on March 1 and 4, 1945. During those air raids, three Magirus-Deutz AG halls and the timber yard in Neu-Ulm were severely damaged. The prisoners subsequently could not work in the factory, which had been almost completely destroyed. They were taken back to Dachau on the company bus.¹³ According to Dachau records, the Ulm subcamp remained in existence until March 11, 1945. Once back in Dachau, the Italian prisoners were transferred to the Fischen subcamp in the Allgäu.

There were no critical investigations after the war into the mistreatment of concentration camp prisoners at Magirus-Deutz.

Aerial views of the area have been preserved in British archives. These views show the factory before and after the destruction brought about by the air raids.¹⁴ The most important evidence pertaining to this Dachau subcamp is found in records of the investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg.¹⁵

SOURCES The Ulm subcamp, including its opening and closing dates, is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:98. Although it has not received scholarly attention, there are several publications on the history of Magirus AG: Klaus Rabe, *Der Zukunft ein Stück voraus: 125 Jahre Magirus* (Düsseldorf, 1989); Rolf J. Ambrosius, *Magirus: Die Geschichte eines Ulmer Unternehmens von 1864 bis 1935* (Biberach, 1997); Ambrosius, *Magirus-Deutz: Die Geschichte eines Ulmer Unternehmens von 1936 bis 1974* (Biberach, 2002). On Magirus's relationship with the Nazi Party, see Christine Arbogast, *Herrschafstanzen der württembergischen NSDAP Funktion, Sozialprofil und Lebenswege einer regionalen NS-Elite 1920–1960* (Munich,

1998), pp. 70–72; and Hildegard Sander, *Ulmer Bilder-Chronik*, 5b (Ulm, 1989), 5b: 773.

The records of the investigation by ZdL (later BA-L) constitute the most important source of information on this subcamp. They contain survivors' statements on various aspects of the detachment. Additional archival material may be found in AG-D and DZOK. The bombardment of Ulm is documented by Allied aerial photographs and reports that can be found at TARA-KU and at PRO.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. *ULA*, August 30, 1933; DZOK, R 1 101.
2. Statement by August S., September 19, 1969, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.
3. The name lists of ITS Arolsen; BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 153/73, and the prisoners' card files at AG-D, update of September 9, 2003, printout in DZOK, R1 101.
4. Statement by Arturo G., October 8, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.
5. Statement by Karl A., August 21, 1969, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.
6. Statement by Miccio L., October 9, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.
7. Statement by Arturo G., October 8, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.
8. Statement by Giovanni P., September 12, 1975, and statement by Arturo G., October 8, 1975, in BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.
9. Statement by Angelo P., October 14, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.
10. Statement by Mario F., October 8, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.
11. Statement by Arturo G., October 8, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.
12. Statement by Rinaldo M., September 11, 1975, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.
13. Statement by Karl A., August 21, 1969, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.
14. Before the bombardment, aerial photograph of Ulm, TARA-KU, No. 20807, Sortie 60 PR 493; Interpretation Report SA 5281 on attack on Ulm on February 25, 1945; PRO, AIR 40/812; also USSBS, Klöckner-Humboldt-Deutz AG, Ulm, October 17, 1945; PRO, AIR 48/152.
15. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.

VALEPP (BAULEITUNG DER WAFFEN-SS UND POLIZEI) [AKA SCHLIERSEE]

The subcamp in Valepp, which is a part of Schliersee in Bavaria, existed as a Dachau subcamp for almost three years from November 1, 1942, the date it is first mentioned, to its closure on October 30, 1944. But contrary to most other subcamps, the Valepp camp was not used permanently.

The employment of inmates at Valepp was related to the hunting lodges of Heinrich Himmler. In 1937, these buildings had been erected at Valepp near Schliersee and had been in use

as customs buildings at the border between Germany and Austria. In March 1938, after the *Anschluss* (annexation) of Austria, the buildings lost that original purpose, and from then on, Himmler, the Reichsführer-SS, apparently used them during hunting trips in this area. On November 1, 1942, inmates from Dachau were sent for the first time to Valepp to work in these hunting lodges, mostly doing repairs and upgrades. In the first work detachment, there were, according to Johannes Wrobel, among others, three roofers, two carpenters, one joiner, one painter, one mechanic, and six unskilled workers—the composition of the group clearly indicating the kind of tasks they had to perform. This group worked for about one month in Valepp, with the first prisoners returned to Dachau on November 21 and the last ones on December 1, 1942.

A second group of inmates came to Valepp in summer 1943. From early June until the end of August 1943, 20 political prisoners of different nationalities were taken to Valepp to perform a number of odd jobs. A third group came to Valepp from November 1 to December 1, 1943, and worked on building an access road to the lodges and a sewage system and reroofing the lodges. Two locations were usually used to house the prisoners: either the hayloft on the upper floor of the SS building or a wooden barracks on the grounds of the lodges.

In September 1944, another group of prisoners was sent to Valepp, this time 10 inmates and five SS guards. While it is unknown which tasks the prisoners had to perform, records state that all the inmates were sent back to Dachau and severely punished because one of them had tried to dance with a woman. Another group of inmates arrived in Valepp on October 5, 1944. Among these 10 inmates there were 7 Jehovah's Witnesses and 3 political prisoners, all of them selected again by the professions they held before the war. A last group of inmates was apparently used between the end of April and early May 1945 to clear snow from the access roads to Himmler's hunting lodges.

SOURCES Johannes Wrobel gives a detailed description of the employment of the inmates at Valepp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 524–526.

The only other mention of the subcamp Valepp is in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Häftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:98.

Archival documents are located in the collection at AG-D; see especially Überstellungslisten (transport list, DaA 35672–35678). Records of the investigations of ZdL (now BA-L) conducted in the late 1960s can be accessed under File IV 410 AR 1214/69. At the Sta. Mü, there is a collection of statements regarding the Valepp subcamp: Akte Valepp, 1945–1950, StanW 34434. Information on Jehovah's Witnesses as prisoners at Valepp can be found at Lebensbericht Paul Wauer, in GAZJ, and in Erhard Klein, *Jehovas Zeugen im KZ Dachau. Geschichtliche Hintergründe und Erlebnisberichte* (Bielefeld, 2001).

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WEISSSEE

During the National Socialist era, two hydroelectric power plants were built in the Hohe Tauern at Kaprun and Weisssee. The construction sites in Stubachtal were under the control of the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways), but the work was done by an industry association, which was usual in the construction industry. The Arbeitsgemeinschaft Stubachwerke consisted of several firms. It was headed and guided by the Union-Baugesellschaft Universale-Hoch-Tiefbauaktiengesellschaft.

Unlike Kaprun, where there were two "Jewish camps" for the construction of the power plant, the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Stubachwerke did not want to rely on Jewish labor. It was only when Viennese Reichskommissar Josef Bürckel made enquiries with Friedrich Gärtner, president of the "Ostmark" branch office of Reich Labor Ministry, as to how the use of unemployed Jews was likely to develop that the Arbeitsgemeinschaft changed its mind. Stubachwerke then declared that it was prepared to experiment with the use of 30 Jews. By the end of May, the number of Jewish prisoners had increased to 61.

At the beginning of the war, there was an increase in the number of prisoners of war (POWs) in the region. The Landrat Zell am See situation report (*Lagebericht*) dated February 2, 1940, states that 50 Slovaks and 75 Polish POWs were engaged in the construction of the Stubachwerke.¹ The numbers were to increase during the course of the war. Accommodation barracks were constructed in Uttendorf as well as in Wirtenbach, Wiesen, Fellern in der Schneiderau, Enzingerboden, Tauernmoos, and Weisssee.²

The living conditions for the workers varied according to where they worked. The most difficult place was Weisssee, because it was located high in the Alps at a height of 2,300 meters (7,546 feet).

The first labor camp with accommodation barracks was constructed in the Weisssee area in 1939, and the first forced laborers and POWs were accommodated in these barracks from that time. They were Poles and, from 1941, Soviets. The camp was expanded in the autumn of 1942 with a residence and an office barracks. Additional barracks were to be built by the spring.³ By the spring of 1943, there was room for around 400 workers living in three barracks. There were mostly civilian foreigners, mostly Ukrainians and Poles but also Soviet POWs, in Weisssee until 1943. From 1943 on, the Weisssee camp was an independent subcamp of Dachau. From there the workers were taken to work at Weisssee.

The Weisssee camp held people of many nationalities but they all had one thing in common: they had to do heavy labor at a high altitude, often under murderous conditions. Ukrainians, Poles, Russians, French, Greeks, Czechs, Yugoslavs, and Belgians as well as Germans and Austrians were imprisoned here. Only a few had experience in mining or the construction of power plants. In addition, they were not used to working at high altitudes. Summer temperatures below zero Celsius (32°F) were common; the air at these al-



A view of the Dachau/Weisssee subcamp.
COURTESY OF NICOLE SLUPETZKY

titudes was thinner and made physical work much more difficult.

The usual prisoner clothing for the workers at Weisssee was made of linen or cotton. The prisoners wore thin leather or wooden shoes. Some also were given gloves, pullovers, and coats.⁴ Austrian political prisoners were not allowed these items.

Most of the inmates' clothes were marked with targets made out of a red cloth. These were affixed to prominent parts of the shirts. The prisoners were readily visible and easy targets.⁵

Upon arrival in the Weisssee camp, the prisoners were "received" by the camp commandant SS-Hauptsturmführer Maier, then assigned to their work. Each work detachment consisted of between 10 and 15 people under the supervision of an Austrian, German, or sometimes a Dutch foreman.⁶ The SS was in charge of camp security. They were based in the Rudolfshütte, an alpine hut.

The concentration camp inmates' accommodation was sparse but well secured. There were three barracks in a row, secured by a massive amount of barbed wire to prevent es-

capes. Each barrack consisted of two large dormitories with three-tiered bunk beds. Each bunk bed was equipped with straw sacks. In the middle of each room there was a small stove, which was inadequate for the task. Regardless of the weather, storm, snow, rain, or sunshine, the prisoners awoke at 5:00 A.M. Half an hour later, after a communal toilet, the prisoners had to attend roll call. Following a short breakfast—bread with a little margarine—the prisoners marched to work. By the time the sun rose, the prisoners were at work. A loud siren signaled lunch. If lunch was eaten in the barracks, the prisoners had to march for about 30 minutes back to their barracks to eat the soup and black bread. If lunch was eaten in the open air, they were exposed to the wind and the cold. To protect themselves, they dug holes in the snow. But this meant they were using their physical strength. After a "break" for about an hour (often there was no break), the work continued without rest until sunset. Work for 12 to 13 hours a day was the norm, day after day, excluding Sundays, when there was no work in the afternoon unless one "volunteered" for work.⁷

From 1943, the majority of the prisoners worked in a quarry and not in the excavating tunnels. Others had to march daily in the direction of Tauernmoos to work on the road. Work was done here regardless of the weather. Sometimes it happened that a few prisoners worked during the day in the valley. In the morning the workers were taken by means of a goods cable car into the valley. They returned the same way in the evening. Four prisoners and two SS men made up each detachment. It often happened that the cable car got stuck, which meant that the workers had to undertake a difficult march by foot, returning to their barracks in the middle of the night. The camp was surrounded by mountains around 3,000 meters high (9,843 feet), all of which had glaciers. The chances of a successful escape were zero. The only possibility was to escape in the direction of the valley, but here the chances of being caught were high. However, for some the despair was so great that they attempted to escape. One morning, there was great excitement because during the night six Frenchmen had escaped. It did not take long, however, before five of them returned. On the evening of the same day the prisoners "freely" returned to the camp. One was never found. The others arrived at the painful realization that there was little chance of escape. The camp commander did not tolerate such behavior, and the prisoners who returned were beaten. They were beaten by hand and foot and with oxtail whips on their whole bodies. As if that were not punishment enough, they had to remain outside, stark naked. Their punishment lasted for two days. When it ended, they had frostbite, wounds, bruises—their faces and bodies were swollen and their shaved heads red from sunburn. Their skinny bodies had been further weakened.⁸

As in many other camps, there were prisoners who worked for the SS and guarded their fellow prisoners. In many cases, it was the camp elder who had this role and was given an ox whip. Many of these henchmen believed that they could buy their freedom by working for their overlords. However, this

was not the case in the Weisssee camp. In the end, they too were taken to Dachau. It was only with the arrival of the Americans in May 1945 that the Weisssee hell ended.⁹

For many, the events at Weisssee and the surrounding areas would haunt them for their whole lives. It was only in the middle of the 1960s that investigations began to determine whether homicides or other crimes had been committed at Weisssee. Eight witnesses were asked about their time at Weisssee. Not one of these witnesses had personally seen a homicide or could recall a homicide. The investigations ended before they had really begun, as most of the crimes were covered by statutes of limitations.¹⁰

SOURCES This essay on the Weisssee subcamp is based on the author's book *Arbeiter für den Endsieg. Zwangsarbeit im Reichsgau Salzburg 1939–1945* (Vienna, 2004) and a detailed essay, "Das KZ Aussenlager Weisssee. Zwangsarbeit in 2300 m Höhe" (2003).

It is extremely difficult to find source material on the Weisssee subcamp. Much information is held privately. In BA-L, Akte AR 245/73, there is a report about judicial investigations and their conclusion. In SLA, BH—Zell am See, HB-Akte 1943, and Bauakten 1942, there are details about the construction. For the Landrat Zell am See Lagebericht, see DÖW, ed., *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Salzburg 1934 bis 1945: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1991). A few prisoners have recorded their experiences, for example, Max Drouin in his book *Forcené de l'espoir* (Aigues-Vives: HB éditions, 1998), pp. 92–102. Two others are Martin Wolff, *12 Jahre Nacht—Stationen eines Lebensweges* (Siegen: Verlag für Christlich-Jüdische Zusammenarbeit e.V., 1983); and Heinrich Fritz, *Stationen meines Lebens* (Vienna: Globusverlag, 1990).

Nicole Slupetzky
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Reproduced in DÖW, ed., *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Salzburg 1934 bis 1945: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1991), 1: 494.
2. SLA, BH—Zell am See, HB-Akte, 1943, Karton 112, Akte 456–10.
3. SLA, BH—Zell am See, Bauakten 1942, Karton 67, Schreiben vom 19. 10. 1942.
4. Martin Wolff, *12 Jahre Nacht—Stationen eines Lebensweges* (Siegen: Verlag für Christlich-Jüdische Zusammenarbeit e.V., 1983), pp. 65–66.
5. Heinrich Fritz, *Stationen meines Lebens* (Vienna: Globusverlag, 1990), p. 144.
6. Hermann Theunis interview, January 2000.
7. Max Drouin, *Forcené de l'espoir* (Aigues-Vives: HB éditions, 1998), pp. 92–102.
8. Ibid., pp. 116–118. On the escape of the French, Theunis interview, January 2000.

9. Gendameriechronik Uttendorf, May 1945.
10. BA-L, Akte AR 245/73, Schlussvermerk.

ZANGBERG

Most likely Zangberg was not a subcamp of Dachau—or of Mühlberg, as the International Tracing Service (ITS) mentions it. As Edith Raim states, Zangberg near Mühldorf was the location of a monastery that during the war had become the home of the SS-Weingut-Betriebs-GmbH. This "company" was run by Martin Weiss, former commander of the Dachau, Neuengamme, and Lublin-Majdanek concentration camps and plenipotentiary of Office Group D of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). But the name SS-Weingut-Betriebs-GmbH was misleading: No wine was produced in Zangberg; rather, it was the center of cooperation of 42 companies that were involved in the production of the Messerschmitt (Me) 262 jet fighter. Among these companies were Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft (AEG), Siemens & Halske (S&H), Siemens & Schuckert, Telefunken, and Carl Zeiss.

Approximately 60 inmates were held at Zangberg, probably from 1944 on. It is unclear what their tasks were. No doubt, they were part of the Mühldorf subcamp complex, but since they were not employed by Organisation Todt (OT) as the inmates in this complex were, but rather by the SS itself, they were listed separately in the official files and reports of the Dachau concentration camp. Still, on March 3, 1945, the Dachau strength report lists 60 male inmates at Zangberg. It is unclear what happened to the Zangberg inmates at the end of the war. Most likely they joined the evacuation transports of the prisoners of the Mühldorf subcamp complex.

ITS lists Zangberg twice, but in either case only for short periods in 1945—which is rather unlikely, considering the history of the Mühldorf subcamp complex. As dates when the Zangberg camps were last mentioned, ITS lists April 15 and April 25, 1945 respectively.

SOURCES Scattered information regarding Zangberg can be found in Edith Raim's article on Mühldorf in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 389–395. For information on the evacuation marches of the inmates of the Mühldorf subcamp complex, see the Mühlberg entry. Zangberg is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 88, 92.

Archival documents are held in the collection at AG-D under Stärkemeldungen (strength reports, DaA 404 and 32789).

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

FLOSSENBÜRG



German civilians lead an oxcart carrying bodies for burial through the Flossenbürg gate, May 3, 1945. Note the sign at left that reads, "Work Will Make You Free."
USHMM WS # 77027, COURTESY OF NARA

VOLUME I: PART A

FLOSSENBÜRG MAIN CAMP

The Flossenbürg concentration camp was founded in the spring of 1938, outside the small town of Flossenbürg, Germany, near Weiden in the Upper Palatinate, along the hilly border with Czechoslovakia, in order to confine "asocial" and "work-shy" elements of German society. Seven years later, it comprised a sprawling collection of subcamps, overflowing with prisoners from all over Europe. It originated with the idea of quarrying granite for civilian building projects; at the end, the work concentrated primarily on military production. It began as a camp for male prisoners; it ended with a population nearly one-third female. But throughout this protracted, fitful metamorphosis, human suffering remained the one horrifying given at Flossenbürg.

On March 24, 1938, a commission led by high-ranking SS officers examined the proposed site and found it suitable, based on its potential for producing granite. The establishment of the camp was part of a new strategy by Heinrich Himmler to exploit prisoner labor for profit by supplying building materials for the Nazi regime's construction projects. It thus coincided closely with the founding by the SS of the German Earth and Stone Works Ltd. (DESt), the siting

of the new Mauthausen concentration camp by stone quarries near Linz, and the establishment of brickworks at Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald. It also coincided with an expansion of the camp system's population through new arrests, which were calculated to provide the necessary workforce. Regulations encouraging the detention of common criminals and persons deemed "asocial" facilitated the new policy.

The first 100 prisoners arrived at Flossenbürg from Dachau on May 3, 1938. Further transports followed from Dachau, Buchenwald, and Sachsenhausen, bringing the camp population to approximately 1,500 by year's end.¹ These initial inmates were drawn primarily from the ranks of the criminals, as well as asocials and a few homosexuals. The camp held no political prisoners at all for the first 17 months of its existence, during which time the criminals, or "greens" (named for the color of the badge they wore), firmly established themselves in the prisoner administration of the camp. By the outbreak of the war in 1939, the total prisoner population had increased only slightly, to about 1,600.²



A section of Flossenbürg concentration camp.
USHMM WS # 20098, COURTESY OF JOSEPH KORZENIK

The first political prisoners, about 1,000 in number, arrived at the end of September 1939, when Dachau was temporarily cleared out to train what would become the first unit of the Waffen-SS. Although the survivors returned to Dachau in March 1940, other political prisoners replaced them almost immediately, including a number of Czechs, the camp's first foreign prisoners (apart from Austrians). In the course of 1941, however, the influx of perhaps 1,500 Poles established that nationality as the largest contingent of non-Germans at Flossenbürg. By the end of the year, the camp held approximately 3,150 civilian prisoners of all kinds. In addition, there were approximately 1,750 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) remaining from a group of about 2,000 the Germans had crowded into a separate compound within the camp, under particularly primitive conditions, in October. Thus, by the end of 1941, Flossenbürg had a total prisoner population of approximately 4,900.³

Polish prisoners continued to arrive in quantity during 1942, joined by a significant number of Soviet civilian workers who had run afoul of the Nazi authorities after arriving in the Reich to perform forced labor. Soviet political prisoners also began to appear. Nevertheless, with deaths and transfers, the total number of civilian prisoners rose only moderately in 1942, ending the year a little above 3,500.⁴ This number includes a few hundred prisoners at Flossenbürg's first subcamps but not the surviving Soviet POWs, whose numbers are not known.

Beginning in 1943 and continuing into 1944, hundreds of prisoners arrived at Flossenbürg from Western Europe, primarily France, under the so-called Night-and-Fog Decree. Since the flow of new prisoners from Eastern Europe also continued unabated, it was probably in 1943 that German prisoners at the camp entered into the minority, despite the arrival of more criminals, now transferred directly from conventional German prisons and penitentiaries by agreement with the Ministry of Justice. By mid-July 1943, the Flossenbürg main camp held some 3,950 prisoners, including 10 women at the newly opened camp brothel, while eight subcamps held more than 800 prisoners.⁵

Over the next 18 months, Flossenbürg underwent staggering growth, above all in the subcamps, whose numbers multiplied to more than 90 in 1944 and whose geographic extent was unusually wide, stretching across Bavaria, Bohemia, and Saxony into Thuringia and Brandenburg-Prussia. On September 1, 1944, Flossenbürg acquired administrative control of 5 Ravensbrück subcamps and their female prisoners (having already controlled their labor deployment before that, in one case since early 1943). A number of new subcamps for women were established in the coming months. By the beginning of 1945, the total number of prisoners in the Flossenbürg system exceeded 40,000, including more than 11,000 women.⁶ By early March, as the evacuations of other camps swelled the population further, the total peaked at nearly 53,000, of whom more than 13,000 were women.⁷ At this time, the main camp was overflowing with almost 14,500 prisoners.⁸

For most of its history, Flossenbürg had few or no Jewish prisoners. Although a small number of Jews had been present from at least mid-1940 (receiving particularly brutal attention from the guards), the last 12 were deported to Auschwitz on October 19, 1942. Up to that time, some 78 Jewish prisoners had died in the camp.⁹ Beginning in August 1944, however, overwhelming numbers of Polish and Hungarian Jews began to arrive. Ultimately, out of a total of 89,964 prisoners recorded entering the Flossenbürg system during its history, some 22,930 were Jewish.¹⁰

The original site selection in 1938 greatly aggravated several of Flossenbürg's perennial problems, one of which was severe overcrowding. Wedged between steep hillsides at the upper end of a valley, Flossenbürg had almost no room for expansion. Construction of the main camp, intended for 1,500 prisoners, had begun immediately upon the arrival of the first prisoners, with the erection of a barbed-wire perimeter. The prisoners then had to terrace the sharply rising valley floor to accommodate the camp headquarters, barracks for themselves, and housing for the SS guards. With the completion of these initial structures in early 1939, construction continued on guard towers and an internal camp jail, as well as infrastructure projects such as washing facilities, an electrical transformer station, and a sewer system. In 1940, excavations into the hillside began, creating new terraces for the construction of additional prisoner barracks in 1941. None of this work would prove even remotely adequate to house the accelerating influx of human beings. Forcing the prisoners to work (and thus also to sleep) in shifts, an innovation eventually undertaken to increase productivity, only partially alleviated the lack of bunk space.

The camp's unfortunate location posed other difficulties. The high elevation impeded the water supply, while the terrace design complicated the functioning of the sewage system. Both problems were greatly exacerbated by overcrowding. Perhaps the most terrible consequence of the site, however, was the weather, which is unusually cold and wet in that corner of Germany. The prisoners, ill-clad and underfed, suffered grievously. Indeed, the effects of the foul weather were considerable even upon the camp buildings, and in winter the roofs needed to be cleaned almost daily to prevent them from collapsing under the weight of the accumulated snow.

During Flossenbürg's first months, prisoner labor was inevitably applied almost entirely to the construction of the camp, but work for DESt began in the stone quarry soon thereafter. By June 1939, the ratio of prisoners employed in the quarry to those in construction was recorded at 646:863.¹¹ By November, however, this ratio had shifted to 1,297:945.¹² During 1940, with the initial construction largely completed, labor deployment became somewhat more diversified. The quarry consumed about half of all prisoner man-hours; construction and, in particular, terracing, about a quarter. The remainder was divided among various workshops

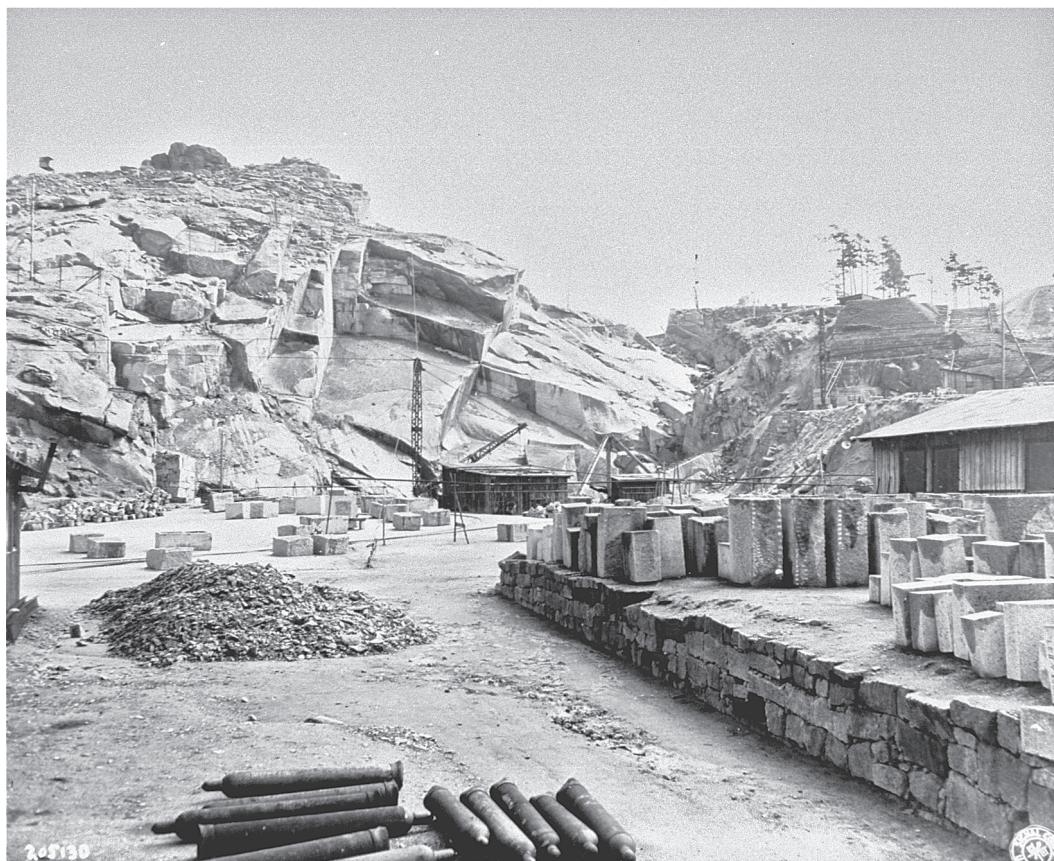
and a multiplicity of routine tasks, from keeping the camp clean to peeling potatoes. The total value of the prisoner labor for the year was calculated at nearly 367,000 Reichsmark (RM), or almost \$147,000 at the prevailing, fixed rate of exchange.¹³

By mid-1943, the quarry still occupied approximately half the prisoner population of the main camp. About 1 prisoner in 6 worked for the camp administration in one capacity or another, and 1 in 13 at the behest of the camp construction office. The next largest employer was a weaving shop owned by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). One prisoner in 14 worked in a new Messerschmitt detail, code-named "Detachment 2004," begun that February to produce parts for Me 109 fighter planes.¹⁴ Aircraft manufacture, however, soon came to dominate labor deployment at Flossenbürg. In August 1943, Allied bombing seriously damaged Messerschmitt's main factory at Regensburg, prompting the company to move production more heavily into the concentration camps. The number of prisoners working for Messerschmitt at the main camp thus increased steadily from about 230 in July to about 800 in August, 1,900 in January 1944, and 2,200 in March.¹⁵ By late October, armaments production throughout the system

occupied over 5,700 prisoners.¹⁶ At the same time, the quarry work for DESt declined both in relative and absolute terms.

The prisoner-functionaries profoundly affected life at Flossenbürg—and rarely for the better. Although ultimately only about 1 Flossenbürg prisoner out of 20 wore the green triangle, the original preponderance of criminals resulted in an especially corrupt and abusive prisoner hierarchy that endured long after the "greens" became a tiny minority within the total population. Willi Rettenmeier, a criminal from Stuttgart, held the position of camp elder from the beginning until June 1941, when it passed to a criminal named Kliefoth, who remained until the end of 1942. The camp command then tried out two German political prisoners in succession, Karl Mayer and Karl Mathoi, both of whom struggled to contain the power of the criminal functionaries beneath them, apparently with little success. In March 1944, the commandant returned the position of camp elder to criminal hands in the person of Anton Uhl, who remained in place until liberation, when the other prisoners lynched him.

A distinguishing feature of the "green" hierarchy in the camp was its sexual exploitation of lower-ranking prisoners.



The abandoned quarry at Flossenbürg, May 5, 1945.
USHMM WS # 37268, COURTESY OF NARA



A Reichsmark coupon issued at Flossenbürg concentration camp.
USHMM WS # 25423, COURTESY OF JACK J. SILVERSTEIN

Coerced homosexual relationships and outright rape were thus common. Indeed, the camp command eventually felt compelled to segregate the camp's underage boys in a barracks of their own, in an attempt—as ironic as it was unsuccessful—to protect them from sexual predation.

The SS hierarchy at Flossenbürg was thoroughly corrupt and brutal. After the first camp commandant, Jakob Weiseborn, protégé of the notoriously venal Karl Koch at Buchenwald, was found dead in January 1939, camp rumor leapt to the unsubstantiated conclusion that he had committed suicide to avoid scandal. His successor Karl Künstler was frequently drunk and delegated responsibility heavily to ruthless subordinates until his removal in August 1942. After a two-month interregnum, Künstler was replaced by Egon Zill, a cipher who remained in power only until April 1943. For the last two years of the war, Flossenbürg was run by Max Koegel, a vicious martinet with none of the managerial skill needed to handle the rapid expansion of the camp that occurred during his tenure. All these men had long, if speckled, careers behind them in concentration camp service, but Flossenbürg uniformly terminated their ascent. Weiseborn died; Künstler and Zill became supply officers with SS combat units; and Koegel hanged himself shortly after being taken into custody by the Americans in 1946.

The SS guards assigned to Flossenbürg were similar to those serving elsewhere in the concentration camp system. The original Reich Germans were strongly reinforced in 1942 and 1943 by ethnic German recruits from Eastern Europe, and the guard force soon aged dramatically as the young and fit were increasingly transferred away to combat units and replaced with older, less healthy men. The total number of guards grew as Flossenbürg expanded. At the end of 1943, the camp's headquarters staff and the SS-Death's Head Battalion together numbered some 450 men, including 140 foreign auxiliaries, mostly Ukrainian, who had arrived from the SS-Training Camp Trawniki in early October.¹⁷

This number increased more than sixfold in the course of 1944, in part as hundreds of members of the Wehrmacht were assigned SS ranks and given guard duties. At the beginning of 1945, the number of guards in the Flossenbürg system had thus swollen to over 3,000, including more than 500 women.¹⁸ By March, the total reached approximately 4,500.¹⁹

The ways in which prisoners at Flossenbürg were tormented and killed were also virtually indistinguishable from the means routinely employed elsewhere in the camp system. Prisoners were beaten, kicked, and stomped upon (particularly by the Kapos, who were issued rubber truncheons), ridiculed and humiliated, forced to perform exhausting exercises, hung up by their wrists with their arms behind their backs, and doused with cold water during freezing weather, to mention only a few of the most common abuses. They were shot “while attempting to escape,” shot by firing squads, hanged, beaten to death, drowned, strangled, and given lethal injections. Beginning in 1941, large numbers of extralegal “executions” took place at Flossenbürg, usually by shooting, with Poles and Soviet POWs constituting the chief victims. On March 29, 1945, 13 Allied POWs were hanged, including 1 American, and on April 9, 7 prominent German resistance figures followed, including former Abwehr (military counter intelligence) chief Wilhelm Canaris and pastor Dietrich Bonhoeffer.

Given the appalling conditions and inadequate food at Flossenbürg, the largest numbers of prisoners succumbed to disease and malnutrition. A dysentery epidemic brought the whole camp to a standstill for the entire month of January 1940, and typhus swept through the overcrowded barracks in September 1944 and again in January 1945. Mortality was especially high during the last chaotic months before liberation, as the entire system began to break down. In the month ending on March 15, 1942, 117 civilian prisoners and 27 Soviet POWs died at Flossenbürg; during the 30 days of March 1945 for which statistics are available, 1,367 prisoners died at the main camp alone (excluding executions).²⁰

The evacuation of Flossenbürg started on April 15, 1945, and proceeded sporadically until April 20, both by train and on foot, in the direction of Dachau. Of the approximately 9,300 registered prisoners still alive at the main camp (plus another 7,000 just arrived from Buchenwald), only about 1,500, mostly the very sick, were left behind to be liberated by the U.S. Army on April 23.²¹ Fewer than 3,000 of the evacuees ever arrived at Dachau, where they joined perhaps another 3,800 evacuated from Flossenbürg subcamps.²² Many prisoners died on the brutal march or were killed. Others escaped in the confusion, found themselves free when their guards deserted, or were liberated by advancing troops.

After the war, the Americans tabulated over 21,000 deaths among prisoners registered in the Flossenbürg system; the full total (including prisoners brought to the camp specifically to be killed and thus not registered) was probably around

30,000, perhaps three-quarters of which occurred in the last nine months before liberation. The American compilation indicates that 3,515 of the dead were Jews.²³

SOURCES Unfortunately, the SS was able to destroy many of the camp's important records before liberation. Nevertheless, a considerable amount of archival material is available. The most significant collection is "NS4 Fl" at the BA-BL. Although extremely diverse, the material mostly pertains to the camp construction directorate (Bauleitung). The ITS in Arolsen, Germany, holds extensive documentation concerning the prisoners, while further important information about the prisoners, compiled by the Americans after the war, can be found at NARA in College Park, Maryland, in microfilm collection T-580, Rolls 69–70, Ordner 332. Various original Flossenbürg documents were microfilmed as NARA, T-580, Rolls 68–69, Ordner 329, and T-1021, Roll 1, Frames 350–549. Finally, the Památník Terezín in the Czech Republic has a small collection of documents from Flossenbürg.

Materials from the most important postwar trial, against Friedrich Becker et al., are available on microfilm as NARA, M-1204. In addition to the trial transcript, this collection contains investigative records and trial exhibits. For information regarding the various German trials, see C.F. Rüter and D.W. de Milde, comps., *Die westdeutschen Strafverfahren wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1997* (Amsterdam, 1998).

The only work that even approaches a full-length study of Flossenbürg is Toni Siegert, "Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg: Gegründet für sogenannte Asoziale und Kriminelle," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, vol. 2, pt. A, *Herrschaft und Gesellschaft im Konflikt*, ed. Martin Broszat and Elke Fröhlich (Munich, 1979), pp. 429–493, which has also been published separately in several editions. See also Jörg Skrebeleit, "Flossenbürg—Stammlager," in *Der Ort des Terrors. Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 4, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich, 2006); Johannes Tuchel, "Die Kommandanten des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg—Eine Studie zur Personalpolitik in der SS," in *Die Normalität des Verbrechens: Bilanz und Perspektiven der Forschung zu den nationalsozialistischen Gewaltverbrechen*, ed. Helga Grabitz et al. (Berlin, 1994), pp. 201–219; Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Außenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999); Brenner, "Der 'Arbeitseinsatz' der KZ-Häftlinge in den Außenlagern des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg—ein Überblick," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998), 2: 682–706; Hans-Peter Klausch, *Widerstand in Flossenbürg: Zum antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf der deutschen, österreichischen und sowjetischen Kommunisten im Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg 1940–1945* (Oldenburg, 1990); Peter Heigl in collaboration with Bénédicte Omont, *Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Regensburg, 1989).

For survivor accounts, see Hugo Walleitner, *Zebra: Ein Tatsachenbericht aus dem Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg* (Bad Ischl, n.d.); Władysław Rżewski, *Każn flossenbürska* (New

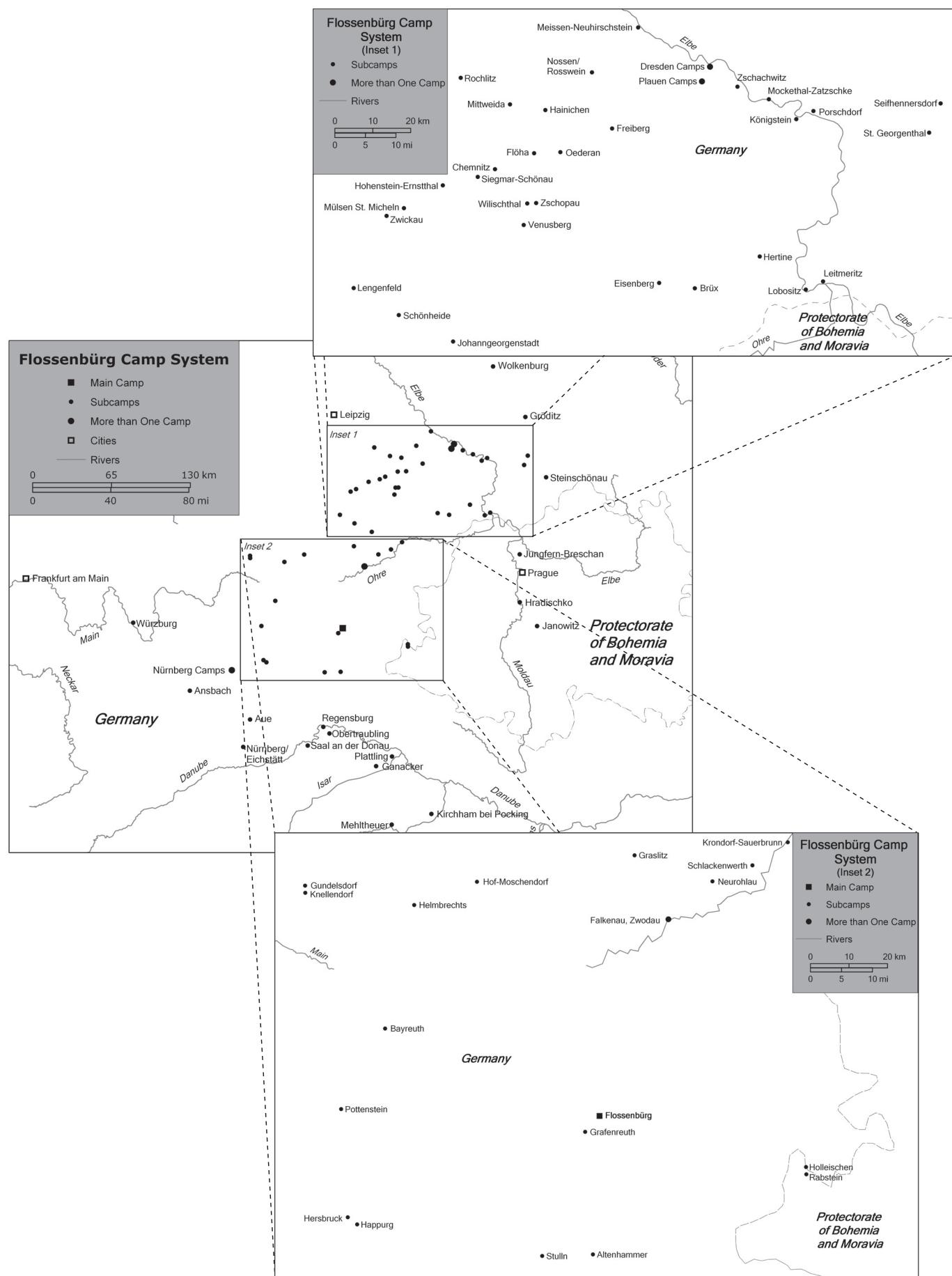
York, n.d.); Maurice Mazaleyrat, *Flossenbürg: Arbeit macht frei* (Brive, n.d.); Jan Gałaś and Sylwester Newiak, *Flossenbürg: Nieznany obóz zagłady* (Katowice, 1975); Henk Verheyen, *Het sanatorium: Herinneringen aan de nazitijd* (Antwerp, 1994); Léon Calembert, *Flossenbürg: Een vergeten concentratiekamp*, ed. Gie van den Berghe (Brussels, 1999); and "Ich lege mich hin und sterbe!": *Ehemalige Häftlinge des KZ Flossenbürg berichten*, ed. Thomas Muggenthaler (Munich, 2005).

Todd Huebner

NOTES

1. Toni Siegert, "Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg: Gegründet für sogenannte Asoziale und Kriminelle," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, vol. 2, pt. A, *Herrschaft und Gesellschaft im Konflikt*, ed. Martin Broszat and Elke Fröhlich (Munich, 1979), pp. 429–493; here p. 437, citing reports held at ITS, Arolsen.
2. NARA, Record Group 238, Nuremberg Document R-129.
3. BA-BL, NS 4 Fl, Folder 391, "Bericht der Aussenstelle für Arbeitseinsatz," January 16, 1942.
4. Ibid., "Arbeitseinteilung am 31. Dezember 1942," December 31, 1942.
5. Ibid., "Arbeitseinteilung am 17. Juli 1943," July 17, 1943.
6. NARA, microfilm collection T-580, Roll 68, Ordner 329, list of camps with numbers of guards and prisoners as of January 1 and 15, 1945, n.d.
7. NARA, microfilm collection T-1021, Roll 1, Frames 376–381.
8. Ibid., Frames 372–375.
9. Siegert, "Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg," p. 462.
10. NARA, microfilm collection T-580, Roll 70, Ordner 332, "General Statistical Chart," n.d.
11. BA, NS 4 Fl, Folder 351, "Nachweis über wertmäßige Erfassung der Häftlingsarbeiten. Monat: Juni 1939," July 1, 1939.
12. Ibid., "Nachweis über wertmäßige Erfassung der Häftlingsarbeiten. Monat: November 1939," December 1, 1939.
13. Ibid., "Statistische Erfassung der Häftlings-Arbeitsleistungen im Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg, 1940," n.d.
14. BA, NS 4 Fl, Folder 391, "Arbeitseinsatz am 17. Juli 1943," July 17, 1943.
15. July 1943: Ibid., August 1943 and March 1944; Siegert, "Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg," p. 450; NARA, M890, Roll 9, Frames 705–709, January 1944.
16. BA, NS 4 Fl, Folder 393, "Übersicht über den Häftlings-einsatz im KL Flossenbürg, Monat Oktober 1944," n.d.
17. Ibid., Folder 354/2, TWL der Waffen-SS Hersbrück, "Einnahme-Bescheinigung Nr. 393," January 1, 1944. CAFSSRF, File K-779, Fond 16, Opis' 312 "e," Delo 410, Fols. 193–195.
18. NARA, microfilm collection T-580, Roll 68, Ordner 329, list of camps with numbers of guards and prisoners as of January 1 and 15, 1945, n.d.

19. Siegert, "Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg," p. 481.
20. BA, NS 4 Fl, Folder 388, "Gesundheitszustand der Häftlinge," March 15, 1942; ibid., "Gesundheitszustand der Russ. Kriegsgefangenen," March 15, 1942; Siegert, "Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg," p. 476, citing ITS documents.
21. BA, NS 4 Fl, Folder 398, "Statistics concerning the Concentration Camp of Flossenbuerg," May 17, 1945.
22. Siegert, "Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg," p. 485, citing ITS documents.
23. NARA, microfilm collection T-580, Roll 70, Ordner 332, "General Statistical Chart," n.d.



FLOSSENBÜRG SUBCAMP SYSTEM

The use of prisoners outside the Flossenbürg concentration camp was discussed early on in the development of the camp. From the beginning of the war, small groups of prisoners worked on farms, with skilled tradesmen, and with local authorities in and around Flossenbürg. The daily departure from the camp and evening return, however, came to an almost complete stop in 1942.

In February 1942, shortly after the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) was founded, the first Flossenbürg subcamp was established at Stulln. Almost 100 male prisoners worked until October of that year for the Vereinigten Flussspatgruben Stulln GmbH (United Fluorspat Mine Stulln) before being transferred to the SS-Pionerkaserne (Sappers Barracks) in Dresden. There, the prisoners had to work on construction sites for the Dresden Waffen-SS and the Police in Dresden and its surroundings. It remains uncertain, due to lack of source material, whether the Stulln subcamp was conceived as a pilot project between the SS and private industry.

Other subcamps were established by the end of 1943 solely for the SS. In organizations such as the SS-Nachrichten-Ausbildungsabteilung (Intelligence Training Unit) in Nürnberg, the SS-Kleiderkasse (Clothes Checkout) which had been transferred from Berlin-Lichterfelde to Schlackenwerth near Karlsbad, and in an SS-Bekleidungslager (Clothes Depot) in Grafenreuth (only 20 kilometers [over 12 miles] from Flossenbürg) but also in the SS's own businesses such as the Porcelain Factory Bohemia at Neu-Rohlau and the mineral water producer Sudetenquell, for which prisoners worked in the Bohemian town of Krondorf constructing a well until 1944 there were between 20 and 150 prisoners each. Personal connections also played a role during this period in the establishment of subcamps, as in the SS-Teillazarett (Hospital) in Würzburg, where Dr. Werner Heyde practiced euthanasia, and in the Franconian town of Pottenstein, where concentration camp prisoners were made available for use by speleologist Hans Brand. The majority of these subcamps (by the end of 1943, there were 12 altogether) were small. Often skilled workers were deployed to them, and the percentage of German or German-speaking prisoners was relatively high. Proportionally, the number of prisoners in the subcamps increased during the course of 1943 from 9 percent in February (406 of a total of 4,290 prisoners) to 31 percent in July (1,511 of 4,869).¹ What is noteworthy at this stage is the large number of subcamps located in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia or in the Sudetenland. Shortly after the occupation of Germany's neighbor, the SS targeted and secured selected representative sites. The owners of these sites had lost them because the sites were "aryanized" or for some other reason. Many of the subcamps in this area were located in castles (for example, Schlackenwerth, Beneschau, Jungfern-Breschan, and Eisenberg).

Only later the Flossenbürg prisoners were used in the weapons industry and then in Flossenbürg and not in the subcamps. From the summer of 1943, Messerschmitt produced fighters on the site of a Flossenbürg quarry. In December 1943, a subcamp was established in Johangeorgenstadt for the Erla-Maschinenfabrik GmbH (Erla Machine Factory), which produced parts for the Me 109. Two other subcamps followed in August 1944 for the same company in Mülsen—St. Micheln and in Flöha. In all three instances, assembly was transferred from the main factory in Leipzig, which was threatened by bombing raids, to unused furniture and textile factories, after the company had already had experience with concentration camp prisoners from its work with two Buchenwald subcamps in the Leipzig area.

After the Armaments Ministry had finally taken responsibility for the allocation of prisoners, the Flossenbürg concentration camp began to establish a fast-growing network of subcamps in the second half of 1944, above all in South Saxony, North Bohemia, and North Bavaria. The main reason for this expansion was the fast increase in available prisoners: partly due to the deportation of Hungarian Jews beginning in the summer of 1944, and partly due to the new subcamp structure for female prisoners. From September 1, 1944, Flossenbürg was initially responsible for six subcamps with at least 2,816 female prisoners. The number of female prisoners increased steadily to November 1944 with large transports arriving from Auschwitz and Ravensbrück. Numbers increased to almost 10,000, the majority of whom were from Russia and Poland.

From the middle of 1944, many of the Flossenbürg subcamps were established in military industrial sites in former textile, consumer goods, and food production facilities. Some of these relocations were part of Armaments Ministry programs, the most well known of which was the establishment of the Jägerstab (Fighter Staff) to relocate aircraft production underground, a measure that later applied to armaments production generally. The Jägerstab was responsible for the establishment of the largest Flossenbürg subcamps in Hersbruck (B 7) and Leitmeritz (B 5), and other underground sites were planned and in some cases established for Weserflug in Rabenstein, for Junkers in Lengenfeld (under the alias of Leng-Werke), and for Messerschmitt in Saal an der Donau. The work conditions on these building sites were extremely bad: there were not enough shelters, and the toilet facilities were completely inadequate for thousands of prisoners. Diseases, brutal treatment by the SS, and complete exploitation even for the simplest tasks resulted in astonishing death rates in these subcamps. In addition, countless foreign civilian forced laborers, German criminal prisoners, and prisoners of war (POWs) worked with the concentration camp prisoners on these gigantic construction projects, which resulted in

the establishment of subcamp complexes in Hersbruck and Leitmeritz.

Other large relocation efforts resulted in the transfer of the Berlin electronics firm C. Lorenz AG to Mittweida, of Osram to Plauen, Opta-Radio to Wolkenburg, Luftfahrtgerätewerk (Aircraft Instrument Factory) Hakenfelde to Zwojdau and Graslitz, and Kabel- und Metallwerke (Cable and Metal Works) Neumeyer from Nürnberg to Helmbrechts.² In other instances the subcamps were established in existing operations, for example, in Nürnberg (Siemens-Schuckert Werke), in the area of Chemnitz (Astrawerke, Auto-Union), and in Dresden (Zeiss-Ikon, Universelle, MIAG Zschachwitz). The emphasis, concerning the number of prisoners and extension of the war, was on aircraft assembly and the production of ammunition, tank engines, and tanks, as well as on work in electrotechnical firms. In addition, the smaller subcamps, which were less important for the war effort, continued to exist, and new ones were established during 1944, for example, in Bayreuth, where the Institute for Physical Research was vainly trying to design a "seeing bomb," or in Schloss Jungfern Breschan near Prague, where prisoners did house and gardening work for Reinhard Heydrich's widow.

The increasing number of subcamps resulted in wide-ranging structural changes at Flossenbürg. For one thing, the proportion of prisoners based in the main camp and the subcamps was completely turned around: at the end of March 1944, 45 percent of the prisoners were held in the subcamps; by the end of May, it was 72 percent. While the number of prisoners in the main camp doubled, in the same time period the number of prisoners increased sixfold in the subcamps.³

During the first half of 1944, 7 Flossenbürg subcamps were established; in the second half, 45. The main camp developed into a transit center for small and large prisoner transports that were directed to the subcamps via the main camp or were sent directly to the subcamps. Sick prisoners, those held under arrest or marked for execution, and prisoners who were considered likely to escape or who were destined for another assignment were mostly transferred back to the main camp at Flossenbürg. Women who became pregnant or ill were often sent to Ravensbrück. (It is not surprising that the responsible head of the Labor Deployment Department [Abteilung Arbeitseinsatz], SS-Hauptstrumführer Friedrich Becker, who signed most of the transport lists, was regarded by the Americans in the Dachau Flossenbürg Trials as the principal accused.)⁴

The requirements for guards were increasingly met by Luftwaffe soldiers, ethnic German (Volksdeutsche) SS guards, or operational staff. Female operational staff was acquired for the women's subcamps, and the staff was sent to training courses either at Ravensbrück or Flossenbürg/Holleischen and then deployed as SS wardresses. The younger women had generally little motivation and often refused to work, were absent without leave, or reacted by treating the prisoners in a brutal manner. In August 1944, the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) in the Protectorate, Obergruppenführer Karl-Hermann Frank, inspected the subcamps,

punishment camps, and camps for ethnic German SS men in his area of command. His report following his inspections refers to serious problems with security; a lack of weapons for the guards; and even possible contact between the concentration camp prisoners, the POWs, and civilian forced laborers in the area.⁵

For some subcamps, the administrative development of the prisoners' employment is well documented. In the majority of cases, prisoners were probably assigned at the request of the companies, which could inform themselves about proper payment and other issues concerning the prisoners through training sessions at the Holleischen subcamp.⁶ The main camp commandant, Obersturmbannführer Koegel, clarified questions of prisoner accommodation and security in the preliminary negotiations. From 1944, however, one cannot speak of any plan governing the use of prisoners. As soon as the prisoners were available, a company could immediately accept or reject them—this meant initially, and often for the duration, improvised and totally inadequate accommodation in factory buildings and no adequate sanitation. Only in a few cases did the subcamps bring together the skilled tradesmen demanded by the companies. Some companies with influence were able to keep "their" prisoners—for example, the Polish and Czech Jews in the ghetto in Litzmannstadt (Łódź) used by the Deutsche Munitionswerke (German Munitions Works, DMW) were transferred via Auschwitz and Stutthof to the Flossenbürg subcamp at Dresden (Bernsdorf).

The rapid increase in subcamps, the large prisoner transports, the increasingly fragile transport system, and war damage resulted in an ever more chaotic situation in the camp command from the second half of 1944 on. This is shown by the delayed, erroneous, or nonexisting reports on escape attempts, deaths, and so on, but also by the relief of commanders due to supposedly being too soft in regard to prisoners and in the search for staff who would pursue radical measures energetically.⁷ Only a few sources indicate that there were any attempts by the camp command to develop a more efficient subcamp system. Oberscharführer Erich von Berg stated after the war that he was posted in seven camps soon after their establishment for about three months in each to regulate their administrative affairs.⁸

From the end of 1944, the Geilenberg Staff and the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German National Railways) also used Flossenbürg forced laborers. The Geilenberg Staff, which was established to rejuvenate the production of fuel following the devastating air raids on the hydrogenation works in May 1944, exploited the use of hundreds of concentration camp prisoners in the subcamps at Königstein, Porschdorf, and Mockethal-Zatzschke in the Sächsische Schweiz by relocating the factories underground. The Reichsbahn used several hundred prisoners in the Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk (German National Railways Repair Works, RAW) Dresden, after the RAW facilities in Regensburg were destroyed, as well as doing cleanup work for the railways in Ansbach. Three subcamps were established in February 1945 in Lower Bavaria at Kirchham, Ganacker, and Plattling, where more than 1,500



German civilians transport the body of a concentration camp prisoner found in a mass grave at the Jewish cemetery at Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia, July 1, 1945. The victims originated during the evacuation marches either from the Neurohlau or Johanngeorgenstadt subcamps of Flossenbürg.

USHMM WS # 26470, COURTESY OF SHARON PAQUETTE

mostly Jewish prisoners had to do excavation work for air-fields. From 1945, many subcamps served solely as reception stations for the increasing number of death marches arriving from Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen. In many places, especially Dresden, prisoners—who were typically locked into factory buildings during air raids—became victims of air attacks, but on the other hand, the raids gave prisoners the opportunity to escape. On March 1, 1945, there were 36,995 male and female prisoners registered in the Flossenbürg subcamps. The last strength reports from April 15, 1945, accounted for 9,000 prisoners in the main camp and 36,000 in the subcamps, including 14,600 women. In other words, 80 percent of the Flossenbürg prisoners were in the subcamps.⁹

The Flossenbürg subcamps were dissolved between March and May, and most of the prisoners were evacuated. The prisoners from a few of the southwestern subcamps were driven to Johanngeorgenstadt. From there they set out on a death march over the Erzgebirge to the area around Tachau (Tachov). The Leitmeritz subcamp became the center of the Flossenbürg main camp operations in the final phase of the war. From the end of February, sick prisoners from subcamps in southern Saxony were transferred to Leitmeritz. Leitmeritz continued to function for two weeks as a place of mass death after the liberation of Flossenbürg on April 23 and the destination for death marches for many Flossenbürg subcamps until the Red Army entered the site on May 8. The

prisoners were then given discharge papers by the local authorities and released. While some of the death marches have become well known, the death marches in north Bohemia, which are well documented in Czech sources, are relatively unknown. Several thousands of deaths are not documented in the official data of the Flossenbürg concentration camp.

There are few sources that confirm the use of prisoners outside the subcamps. Witnesses from Nossen stated that a few French prisoners from the subcamp there sometimes worked in a mechanic's garage in the city.¹⁰ In other cases the files refer to the use of prisoners, but it remains a matter of dispute whether those sites should be regarded as self-standing subcamps. Many of the subcamps existed only on paper and to this day have been treated as being actual camps, for example, the Flossenbürg subcamps for Heinkel in Eger and the SS-Hauptamt at Plassenburg near Kulmbach, Giebelstadt, Teichwolframsdorf, Münchberg, and Stambach. On the other hand, there are prisoner requests for information about places where there has been no research to determine whether or not there were subcamps in those locations.¹¹ In light of the availability of sources (or lack thereof), it is difficult to determine the exact number of subcamps that were part of the Flossenbürg camp system.

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NOTES

1. BA, Collection former ZSA- P, DOK/K 183/11: Work Allocation on July 28, 1943.
2. BA, R 3/ 250–270 Relocation of the (at first exclusively) Berliner Elektroindustrie with relocation drawings and correspondence.
3. BA, NS 4/FL 391 Bd.1: Overview of Prisoner Deployment at the Flossenbürg Concentration Camp for March, May, and September 1944.
4. *United States vs. Friedrich Becker et al.*, NARA, RG 338; 290/13/22/3; 000-50-46; Box 537.
5. ITS, Historical File 268 a: Reisebericht (Travel Report) SS-Obergruppenführer Frank, August 10/11, 1944.
6. See, for example, SHStA-(D), 11722, Zeiss Ikon AG, Nr. 319 Werksküchen.
7. BA, NS 4/FL: Demand for Wardresses, Guards and Revolvers for the Goehlewerk Dresden Subcamp 20.02.45.
8. ZSL-L, 410 AR-Z 57/68 (Investigation into Schmerse and ors.): Record of Interview February 4, 1977, p. 493f.
9. CEGESOMA, Brüssel, Microfilm 14368.
10. Verbal statement by two Nossen citizens to the writer in January 2002.
11. BA, NS 4/FL: List of Guards who on March 24, 1945, were ordered to the SS Labour Camp Arzberg/Oberfranken.

ALtenhammer

Altenhammer is located 2 kilometers (1.4 miles) outside Flossenbürg and is a present-day administrative district of that town. Like Flossenbürg, Altenhammer possessed several granite quarries. In January 1942, the management of one of these, the Ernst Stich Quarry, approached the command office of the Flossenbürg concentration camp both personally and in writing with the request "for a prisoner detachment to construct a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp for Soviet prisoners in the spring of 1942" in Altenhammer.¹ The request was denied on the grounds that there were not enough guards.²

It was not until two and a half years later that Altenhammer became the site of a Flossenbürg subcamp. In the course of the year 1944, two detachments were established for the manufacture of the Messerschmitt (Me) 109 fighter by means of production-line labor performed by prisoners. Both detachments initially marched to the production site from the main camp daily and returned in the evening. The midday rations were distributed in Altenhammer.

Around the end of 1944 or the beginning of 1945, several hundred prisoners took up quarters in the factory buildings used by Messerschmitt. The Stich detachment, comprising some 60 prisoners, was accommodated in a building of the Stich Quarry that the company had been compelled to lease to Messerschmitt. The Ambos detachment, comprising some 500 prisoners, had its living quarters in an extremely large, flat-roofed building constructed in 1938 from granite blocks (60 meters long, 20 meters wide, and 11 meters high [about 197 by 66 by 36 feet]). The prisoners all worked in the same building, initially only during the day; beginning in February 1945, however, there was also a night shift.

The detachments and the subcamp were guarded by Luftwaffe soldiers who had been transferred to the SS. The last labor allocation list of April 13, 1945, refers to 8 guards for the Stich detachment and 20 for the Ambos.³ The detachment leader was Ewald Reinhold Heerde. A Luftwaffe major was in charge of production. He was reputedly beaten to death by the prisoners at the end of the war.

There are differing accounts as to the prisoners' living conditions in Altenhammer. Altenhammer was one of the few subcamps to be subjected to thorough consideration during several Dachau-Flossenbürg follow-up trials. The non-German witnesses, who made up the majority, not only describe the living quarters, food, and treatment by the guards and the Kapos very precisely but also in a much more negative manner than the German and Austrian witnesses (including a few prisoner-functionaries) interrogated by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg 20 to 30 years later. According to Franz K., for example, who made a statement in 1967, there were—other than the "usual mistreatment"—no intentional prisoner homicides in Altenhammer.⁴ Non-German prisoners, on the other hand, state that mistreatment by Kommandoführer Heerde and the Kapo Edmund Wissmann resulted in death in many cases.⁵ Heerde and Wissmann, who functioned as

the detachment clerk, are alleged to have beaten prisoners for the slightest infraction, using their bare hands or rubber hoses, often as the result of complaints by civilian employees. The seriously injured and dead are said to have been transported back to the Flossenbürg main camp in the trucks that delivered the rations.

According to prisoner statements, the appalling hygienic conditions resulted in an outbreak of typhus in Altenhammer in the spring of 1945. At times, the prisoners had no change of clothing for periods of up to six weeks, and their clothing was accordingly full of lice. In January and February, the prisoners were still taken in groups back to Flossenbürg for showers every Sunday. There, they were also permitted to cash in their bonuses at the canteen. The Luftwaffe major in charge of production put an end to this practice, however, citing the loss of man-hours.⁶ Within a few weeks, many prisoners allegedly died of typhus (some statements put the number at 200). The Altenhammer files document only 45 deaths. It is quite certain that not all deaths were recorded in the chaos accompanying the camp's dissolution.⁷ The food supply was just as disastrous, though possibly better than in the main camp. According to Henri Margraff, the prisoners received 150 grams (5.3 ounces) of bread in the morning; the midday rations were distributed at work, and in the evening the prisoners were given a piece of bread with a little sausage. The rations were delivered from the main camp. In isolated cases, prisoners have also stated that they received bread from civilian employees.

The daily work quota was supposedly six aircraft, but the witnesses have stated they also produced a variety of parts, including aircraft engines. At any rate, production was limited by the lack of skilled workers among the prisoners. The exchange of prisoners with the large Messerschmitt detachment in the main camp toward the end of the war came about too late to effect any positive results.⁸ On account of the close proximity of the two camps as well as the raging typhus epidemic, small groups of prisoners were frequently shunted back and forth between the main camp and the subcamp.

On March 1, 1945, there were 547 prisoners working in the Ambos detachment. Two days later that number reached its peak at 552. At the same time, there were 66 prisoners assigned to the Stich detachment. The last surviving strength report of April 13, 1945, refers to 419 prisoners. The 250 Polish prisoners, including some 100 Jews, made up the majority. The Altenhammer prisoner population further comprised 150 Russians, 100 Czechs, 50 Germans, 40 Italians, and 40 Frenchmen, as well as prisoners from eight other countries.

Toward the end of the war, as the Flossenbürg main camp continued to become overcrowded due to the frequent arrival of evacuation transports from other camps, several groups of between 30 and 40 prisoners were transferred to Altenhammer—virtually a death sentence in light of the conditions there. On April 16, the Altenhammer subcamp was dissolved, and the prisoners were transferred back to the main camp, where they were immediately quarantined. The majority of the German prisoners—and perhaps others as well—apparently remained

at the evacuated camp, which was liberated by U.S. troops on April 23, 1945.

There was also a third Altenhammer detachment: More recent research has thrown light on the “scientific detachment” or “Research Institute.”⁹ At the request of the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) in the General Government, SS-Obergruppenführer Wilhelm Koppe, a mathematicians’ detachment, a chemists’ detachment, and an engineers’ and inventors’ detachment were formed of Polish Jewish scientists at the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp. According to the Polish Jew Henry (Mordko) Orenstein, these research detachments consisted not only of specialists but also of numerous young men who responded to the call for scientists in order to avoid being murdered.¹⁰ They apparently passed the superficial scientific examinations and were allocated to various camps. The chemists’ detachment and the engineers’ and inventors’ detachment were transferred to Flossenbürg in mid-October due to the approach of the Red Army. Part of the inventors’ detachment returned to Kraków in mid-November 1944. The chemists—numbering 22 in April 1945—remained in Flossenbürg.

On behalf of the Naval High Command and the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Applied Chemistry and Electrochemistry, the chemists in Flossenbürg worked on a device called E O 2,¹¹ which was presumably a gas-protection filter. The SS-Construction Administration in Flossenbürg planned an enclosed Scientific Experimentation Station on the road from Flossenbürg to Silberhütte. The facility was to comprise a transformer building and, within a walled-in area, a laboratory, living quarters, and a bomb shelter.¹² These construction plans never reached realization. Instead, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) applied for the construction of the buildings in Altenhammer. There, prisoners of the SS-Construction Administration erected barracks and carried out the necessary mason work.¹³ The last SS-Construction Administration labor allocation list, dated April 13, 1945, cites the number of prisoners working at the “Altenhammer Institute” at 23.

According to the report by Orenstein, his two brothers Fred and Felek Orenstein, members of the chemists’ detachment, were evacuated to Dachau in mid-April 1945. Felek Orenstein was injured during one of several air attacks and—along with 130 prisoners likewise no longer capable of marching—was shot to death by the SS. The remaining prisoners were liberated a few days later by U.S. troops.

It was presumably the existence of the Research Institute that led the American Alsos mission, a delegation of scientists led by physicist Samuel Goudsmit, to search for documents of this research in Flossenbürg.

SOURCES Bernhard Strelle and Jens-Christian Wagner have recently published their research on the Research Institute, *Zwangarbeit für Forschungseinrichtungen der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft 1939–1945. Ein Überblick*, ed. Carola Sachse (Berlin, 2003), pp. 62–65.

Detailed witness statements on the circumstances in Altenhammer are to be found in the records of the Dachau

Flossenbürg follow-up trials (*USA v. Wilhelm Loh, et al.*, 000-50-46-1; *USA v. Heerde, et al.*, 000-50-46-3), which are available in NARA and copies of which are available at AG-F and, to a lesser extent, in the investigation records of the BA-L (ZdL, 410 AR-Z 58/68—Investigations into Unknown Persons at the Altenhammer Subcamp). A transport list from Flossenbürg main camp to Altenberg is available in CEGESOMA. The Flossenbürg collection in the BA holds files on the Research Institute. Henry Orenstein has also published his memoirs, *I Shall Live: Surviving the Holocaust 1939–1945* (Oxford, 1988).

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NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 4/FL, 345, letter of January 21, 1942.
2. Ibid., letter of April 10, 1942, from commandant’s office.
3. BA-B Microfilm S 14430, labor allocation list of April 13, 1945.
4. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR-Z 58/68 (Investigations against Persons Unknown at the Altenhammer Subcamp), statement by Franz K., p. 15.
5. For Wissmann, cf. statements by Henri Margraff and Henryk Fischer in *USA v. Wilhelm Loh, et al.*, 000-50-46-1 (copy in AG-F); for Heerde, cf. statements by Leo Bodenstein and Oskar Rosenberg in *USA v. Heerde, et al.*, 000-50-46-3 (copy in AG-F).
6. Ibid., statement by Josef H., p. 14.
7. NARA, RG 338; 290/13/22/3; 000-50-46; Box 537 (microfilm copy in AG-F).
8. Cf. CEGESOMA Microfilm 14683 (11 transfers to Altenhammer subcamp on March 31, 1945).
9. For the scientific department, cf. Bernhard Strelle and Jens-Christian Wagner, *Zwangarbeit für Forschungseinrichtungen der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft 1939–1945. Ein Überblick*, ed. Carola Sachse (Berlin, 2003), pp. 62–65.
10. Henry Orenstein, *I Shall Live: Surviving the Holocaust 1939–1945* (Oxford, 1988).
11. BA-B, NS 21/845 (Nürnberg Document NO-4411) Heinrich Pietsch [commissioned by the IDO] Bericht über den Stand der Arbeiten der Wissenschaftlichen Häftlingsgruppe im KL Flossenbürg, December 16, 1944.
12. BA-B, NS 4/FL 165, camp map and map details.
13. BA-B, NS 4/FL 391, application by the SS-Construction Administration to retransfer bricklayers from the Altenhammer Research Institute detachment following completion of work, January 6, 1945.

ANSBACH

Between March 13 and April 4, 1945, concentration camp prisoners from Flossenbürg were held in and near the Rezathalle fair pavilion in Ansbach (central Franconia). The subcamp was accordingly located near the stockyards and main railway station. Numbering approximately 700, the prisoners were assigned to repairing bomb damage to the railway lines. More than half of the prisoners were non-Jewish Poles and

Russians, and about one-third were Jews from Poland and Hungary. There were smaller groups from an additional 19 countries.¹ The guards were SS from Flossenbürg, members of the Wehrmacht, and presumably, the Volkssturm (German Home Guard). The camp commander was SS-Hauptscharführer Fischer.

Forced to perform heavy labor in a continual state of undernourishment, the prisoners in Ansbach were starving and completely exhausted. From the very beginning of the subcamp's existence, between five and eight prisoners died daily. Sometimes there was absolutely nothing to eat, sometimes only thin watery soup from the stockyards. Many prisoner reports state that prisoners ate parts of animal cadavers that they found in a wrecked train on the station grounds. No medicine was distributed to the prisoners. They received only rudimentary medical care from a prisoner doctor who worked in a nearby railway construction brigade (*Eisenbahnbaubrigade*) composed of prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. The washing and toilet facilities were completely inadequate for the 700 prisoners.²

The death register of the Ansbach subcamp, which has survived, lists the death of 72 prisoners—resulting from the appalling camp conditions—in the three weeks of its existence. Two prisoners succeeded in escaping.³ On April 4, 1945, 93 of the some 500 prisoners at the Ansbach subcamp were sent to Hersbruck, another Flossenbürg subcamp, and then on to Allach, a Dachau subcamp. The remaining prisoners were sent back to Flossenbürg. From Flossenbürg, the SS distributed some prisoners to other subcamps, including the Dresden subcamp Behelfsheim, established on April 13. The majority of the prisoners, however, were driven in death marches from Flossenbürg in a southerly direction.⁴

The SS had the corpses of 51 victims of the Ansbach subcamp buried hastily in a mass grave in a small forest near the Ansbach forest cemetery (*Waldfriedhof*). They were exhumed after 1945 and reinterred in the Waldfriedhof, the identification of the corpses having proven impossible. In 1945, 5 bodies were found buried in shallow graves near the Rezathalle fair pavilion. They were likewise reinterred in the Waldfriedhof.

SOURCES Diana Fitz has written an accurate history of the Ansbach subcamp, *Ansbach unterm Hakenkreuz* (Ansbach, 1994), pp. 174–176. Her work is based on sources obtained from the ZdL.

Sources on the Ansbach subcamp, for example the death register and a few prisoner transfer lists, are to be found in the original in the ITS. Copies are to be found at the SVG as well as at the CEGESOMA. The ZdL (now BA-L) holds records of proceedings regarding the Ansbach subcamp (IV 410 60/75).

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NOTES

1. BA-L, collection of the former ZdL, Dok /K 183/11, p. 108.

2. On the conditions in the Ansbach subcamp, cf. prisoner statements in the BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 60/75.

3. SVG, File 2127 (death register of the Ansbach subcamp containing a list of 64 names and eight numbers). In the CE-GESOMA, Microfilm Nr. 14368, there are the transfer lists dated March 13 and 25, 1945, with a list of names of 22 dead by March 24.

4. Diana Fitz, *Ansbach unterm Hakenkreuz* (Ansbach, 1994), p. 176.

AUE

On November 9, 1944, a large transport of Hungarian Jews was registered in Flossenbürg.¹ They came from the Yugoslav town of Bor, about 150 kilometers (93 miles) from Belgrade, where, under the guard of members of the Hungarian military, they had been forced to perform labor in the copper mines—either doing construction work in the mines or on the railway line, or actually mining copper. Most of the 5,000 forced laborers were shot on a death march after the camp was dissolved in September 1944. The surviving prisoners were transferred either by ship or on foot to German concentration camps, among them Flossenbürg. After a few weeks, the majority were transferred to large Flossenbürg subcamps or to the Buchenwald or Mittelbau concentration camps.

In view of these circumstances, it appears quite unusual that a Flossenbürg transfer list dated November 24, 1944, indicates that 20 craftsmen were selected from this transport to form a detachment assigned to perform construction work at the Reich Training Camp (Reichsausbildungslager) Elbe IV in Aue.² According to a letter from the Kyffhäuser Einsatzgruppe of the Organisation Todt (OT), the prisoners, including a plumber, an electrician, a roofer, a carpenter, and two bricklayers, were assigned the task of “converting a disused HJ [Hitlerjugend] home into an SS leadership training school.”³ According to the letter, the use of SS labor, either soldiers or prisoners, was a precondition for the granting of permission to carry out construction work on the building.

The prisoners were taken by rail to Aue and had their living quarters in the cells of the local prison. The doors of their cells were not locked.⁴ In addition to erecting a barracks, they had to chop wood and dig ditches. They were joined in their work at the education camp by Italian military internees (IMIs). Witness statements unanimously agree that the Hitler Youth mistreated the prisoners with beatings and attacks. On the whole, however, particularly in comparison to the conditions at Bor and Flossenbürg, the treatment is described as having been bearable—one witness states that on Christmas 1944 the prisoners were even given a radio. According to other witnesses, they were beaten, but there were “no serious consequences.”⁵ In addition to the detachment leader, SS-Sturmbannführer Kraus, three additional SS men served as guards.

No prisoners died in Aue. Surviving documents show that there were no changes in the population of the subcamp throughout its existence. According to the claim voucher for

the use of prison labor at Reichsausbildungslager Elbe II, between 17 and 20 prisoners, among them 16 craftsmen, were employed daily in December 1944.⁶ The camp strength reports of February 28 and March 31, 1945, record the presence of 20 Hungarian Jews.⁷ The last daily lists of the subcamp show that the Kommando Aue consisted of 20 prisoners.⁸

The further fate of the prisoners is alluded to only in a few witness statements. Several claim that the Aue subcamp was dissolved at the end of April, the prisoners and their guards being sent by truck in the direction of Karlsbad. The guards are said to have left the prisoners in Karlsbad and driven off in the truck. The prisoners, for their part, got caught up in one of the death marches from Mauthausen. According to a statement by one witness, they formed the Cemetery Detachment (Friedhofs-Kommando), burying between 50 and 60 corpses daily. The death march was to Theresienstadt, where the Aue prisoners were liberated on May 5, 1945.

SOURCE There is little source material on the Flossenbürg subcamp Aue—this is a reflection of the small number of prisoners assigned to it and its marginal significance. Most of the available information is at ZdL (now BA-L), which investigated this camp within the framework of its routine investigations and questioned several former prisoners, under investigation 410 AR 3019/66.

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NOTES

1. Prisoner Numbers Books of Flossenbürg concentration camp, NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537.
2. CEGESOMA, File 14368.
3. Letter of December 15, 1944, to the Dresden construction administration of the Waffen-SS and Police, A-Kr-A-Sch.
4. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3019/66; statement by Moshe F.
5. Ibid., statement by Herman W.
6. BA, NS 4 Fl 393, vol. 2.
7. BA, collection of the former ZdL Dok/K 183/11.
8. BA, NS 4 Fl 399.

BAYREUTH

The Bayreuth subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp is mentioned for the first time according to the International Tracing Service (ITS) on July 3, 1944, with a reference to 38 prisoners. The listing in the Flossenbürg camp administration's address book was "Arbeitslager Bayreuth, Institut für physikalische Forschung in der Neuen Baumwollspinnerei, Karl-Schueler-Str. 54, Zentrale: Forschungs und Verwertungsgesellschaft m.b.H., Berlin W 15, Knesebeckstr. 48/49" (Bayreuth Work Camp, Institute for Physical Research in the New Cotton Mill, 54 Karl Schueler Street, Head Office: Research and Recycling Ltd., Berlin W 15, 48/49 Knesebeck Street).

The establishment of the subcamp in Bayreuth has a long history. In 1944, very diverse developments and motivational

ideas going back to the late 1930s and the early 1940s were brought together in this subcamp, and they drew on the available manpower of the concentration camp prisoners ultimately for purely pragmatic reasons. The nature of the research in the New Cotton Mill leads to the origins of television engineering and to the little-known interconnections between the development of modern television and war-related research on remote-controlled glider bombs. The choice of Bayreuth as the location for establishing the institute is closely connected with the family relationships of the institute's founder, Bodo Lafferentz, head of the National Socialist organization Kraft durch Freude (Strength through Joy) and chairman of the Gesellschaft zur Entwicklung des Volkswagen (Association for the Development of the Volkswagen). On December 26, 1943, Lafferentz married Verena Wagner, the granddaughter of composer Richard Wagner, in Bayreuth.

It was probably the conjuncture of a number of practical problems and personal inclinations that led to the idea of founding the Institute for Physical Research and the subcamp in Bayreuth as well. On the technical side, the German armaments industry had a problem in that the control systems for the remote-controlled bombs, the "miracle weapons" that allegedly would change the course of the war, were not yet perfected. Lafferentz, in his capacity as manager of the Volkswagen factory, along with many other managers, was officially tasked with finding a solution for this problem. Lafferentz found in Werner Rambauske an ambitious scientist who since 1939 had been carrying on research on developing aiming devices for remote-controlled bombs. His technical discoveries, however, thus far had not achieved a breakthrough. The new establishment of an Institute for Physical Research with the goal of developing a "iconoscope," based on the previous work of Rambauske, was thus extremely attractive for both men.

Lafferentz had very obvious private interests in locating this institute in Bayreuth. Lafferentz's brother-in-law Wolfgang Wagner, in his autobiography, points to such a private motive. "In addition to a good many other businesses, my brother-in-law also 'managed' this concern, in which various military research projects were under way at that time. I had no specific knowledge of the projects at all, of course. I only knew that there were a variety of secret things being done there which promised to bring final victory, such as the targeted bomb. For my brother such an activity was naturally merely a kind of alibi in the total war situation."¹

Very soon after assuming management of the Volkswagen factory, Lafferentz was open to the use of concentration camp prisoners for endeavors related to the armaments industry and for his own interests. For Lafferentz, however, the employment of concentration camp prisoners, at Bayreuth as well, was more a pragmatic decision than an ideological one.

On May 24, 1944, a transport with 33 prisoners from different nations was dispatched from the Neuengamme concentration camp near Hamburg to Flossenbürg. All the prisoners had technical professional training. The prisoners already

had been selected in Neuengamme, on the basis of their professional qualifications, for subsequent use in Bayreuth.² After a short period of quarantine in Flossenbürg, all 33 prisoners, together with 5 additional Flossenbürg prisoners, were taken to Bayreuth on June 13, 1944. The prisoners included 14 Russians, 9 Poles, 6 Germans, 4 French, 3 Czechs, 1 Austrian, and 1 stateless prisoner born in the Ukraine.³ The transfer of the 38 prisoners meant that the institute became a Flossenbürg subcamp as of June 13, 1944, not July 3, 1944, as stated by ITS.

The 38 prisoners transferred on June 13 formed the core occupancy of the Bayreuth subcamp. With their arrival, however, the subcamp had not yet reached its planned strength. This was achieved through additional transfers of prisoners with technical qualifications. The following list shows which prisoner transports arrived in Bayreuth up to November 1944, as well as the camps of origin:

- June 13, 1944: 38 prisoners including 33 from Neuengamme and 5 from the Flossenbürg main camp
- August 8, 1944: 2 prisoners from Neuengamme
- August 17, 1944: 3 prisoners from Dachau
- September 12, 1944: 1 prisoner from Gross-Rosen
- November 11, 1944: 1 prisoner from the Flossenbürg main camp
- November 6, 1944: 20 prisoners from Gross-Rosen

In November 1944, there were 63 prisoners in the Bayreuth subcamp. Actually, the workforce was intended to include 65 skilled prisoners, but 2 German prisoners had managed to escape on November 2, 1944. At the institute, the prisoners worked as draftsmen, at lathes, and in the production of fine metal mechanical parts. The exact context of the work, however, was not revealed to the prisoners, who were involved with separate work elements. Other than the testimony of witnesses during investigation proceedings, there is no information on the prisoners' concrete work effort and the progress of the work on the iconoscope. All that is known is that the prisoners during their activities quite often had contact with Lafferentz, Rambauske, and apparently also Wieland Wagner (Wolfgang's brother), who had worked in the New Cotton Mill since the fall of 1944.

The infrastructure of the Bayreuth subcamp's institute did not necessarily correspond to today's understanding of a "camp." No hut camp with a camp gate and watchtowers came into being on the grounds of the New Cotton Mill. There was only a small area of the extensive industrial site that was set aside for the purposes of the institute and the housing of prisoners. From the outside, the prisoners' area could not be identified as a prison camp. According to consistent statements by almost all the prisoners, the food in Bayreuth was better and the hygienic conditions more satisfactory than in other subcamps or in the Flossenbürg main camp. Those responsible at

the institute had a vested interest in the prisoners' state of health and in the maintenance of their capacity for work. Nevertheless, the conditions for the prisoners could change at any time, and even the skilled concentration camp workers at the Bayreuth Institute were seen as constantly disposable human material. After the escape of a Russian prisoner, 18 prisoners were transferred back to Flossenbürg on December 22, 1942; 1 of them was executed shortly thereafter, and at least 5 others died later. Conditions in the Bayreuth subcamp deteriorated in the last months of the war, the quantity of food was drastically reduced, and work at the institute also slowed. There were still 62 concentration camp prisoners in the Bayreuth subcamp on February 28, according to a monthly strength report of the SS-Kommandantur in Flossenbürg. This source, which is subdivided into categories of "Aryans" and "Jews," shows that no Jewish prisoners were used in Bayreuth.⁴

Evacuation of the camp began at 7:00 P.M. on April 11, 1945. SS teams drove the remaining prisoners from the subcamp in a column in the direction of Flossenbürg. The prisoners had to cover the entire distance on foot. Statements by former prisoners and SS men agree that on the three-day march from Bayreuth to Flossenbürg 1 elderly Italian prisoner died and another was able to escape. Finally, on April 14, 1945, 59 completely exhausted prisoners reached the Flossenbürg concentration camp. The prisoners who returned from Bayreuth remained at Flossenbürg until the dissolution of the Flossenbürg camp, which began on April 16, 1945. From there, they were driven farther southward after a short stay.

Altogether, 85 people of nine nationalities were imprisoned in Bayreuth during the existence of the subcamp at the New Cotton Mill.⁵ In Bayreuth itself, there is no proven instance of the death of a prisoner, but there were several deaths that were related directly and indirectly to the Bayreuth subcamp. Of the 85 men who were prisoners in the Bayreuth subcamp, at least 11 died in the Nationalist Socialist camp system or of the consequences of their imprisonment in a camp.

SOURCES Recently, a publication dealing extensively with the Bayreuth subcamp has appeared, which illuminates in detail the armament development and engineering background of the research at the Institut für physikalische Forschung and, in particular, the family connections of the Wagner family to this subcamp. See Albrecht Bald and Jörg Skribeleit, *Das Aussenlager Bayreuth des KZ Flossenbürg: Wieland Wagner und Bodo Lafferentz im "Institut für physikalische Forschung"* (Bayreuth, 2003). Brigitte Hamann, in her biography of Winifred Wagner, *Winifred Wagner oder Hitlers Bayreuth* (Munich, 2002), has evaluated and quoted material on the involvement of the Wagner family with this subcamp.

The special character of the Bayreuth subcamp is reflected in an extremely disparate body of sources. The eight handwritten volumes of the Flossenbürg "Nummernbuch," the original of which is in NARA, contain detailed information on the Flossenbürg subcamps, including Bayreuth. The investigation files of the ZdL (now BA-L) and the investigation

files of the Sta. Würzburg (available at StA-Wü) provide pivotal access to knowledge of the events at the Bayreuth subcamp. Important evidence is also supplied by the remembrances of surviving prisoners. These, together with documents from private, company, and public archives, allow a relatively complete picture of the Bayreuth subcamp to be drawn today. Wieland Wagner's brother Wolfgang also mentions the events at the institute in his autobiography, *Lebens-Akte* (Munich, 1997).

Jörg Skribeleit
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Wieland Wagner, *Lebens-Akte* (Munich, 1997), p. 117.
2. Testimony of Kordiuk, StA-Wü, Best. Sta. Würzburg Nr. 480, p. 345.
3. See AG-F, Microfilm of "Nummernbuch" 1.
4. AG-F, Hängeordner Stärkemeldungen.
5. Belgians, Germans, French, Italians, Yugoslavs, Dutch, Poles, Russians, Czechs, and stateless persons. According to today's political map and after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, there are a few more; Austrians were registered as "Reichsdeutsche" (Reich Germans), AG-F, Stärkemeldung, February 28, 1945.

BRÜX

For various reasons the Brüx subcamp remains something of a mystery: first, because of the short duration of its existence (five weeks, from September 1 to October 7, 1944); second, because of its geographic location, which was long unclear; and third, because of the nature of the forced labor and the firm that benefited from it.

Since the end of the nineteenth century, the northern Bohemian town of Brüx (present-day Most) had been a center of the brown coal industry, which significantly influenced the entire region. Following the Nazi takeover of the Sudetenland, the state began to forcibly concentrate the extraction of coal, which until then had been characterized by medium-sized mine operations, including quite a number of Jewish coal mines. This process also resulted in a partial change in the method of production—from underground mining to strip mining with large machinery. One result of these efforts at concentration was the creation of the Sudetenländische Bergbau AG (Subag), a subsidiary of the Hermann-Göring-Werke. The mining of brown coal was important above all for the fuel that could be extracted from coal. For this purpose the Sudetenländische Treibstoffwerke (Sutag), a subsidiary of Subag, constructed in Maltheuern, near Brüx, a gigantic hydrogenation plant that primarily produced aviation gasoline. From the beginning of the war, thousands of forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) worked not only in the coal mines but also in the hydrogenation plants. A list prepared in September 1943 for the fuel plant in Maltheuern refers to 13,300 workers, including 4,000 male, 380 female foreigner workers, and 2,500 POWs. At this time there were 136 foreign males, 29 women,

and 6 POWs at Subag. The total workforce was 236.¹ The demand for workers was also satisfied by a labor education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*), and there were also large POW camps in the area.

It is therefore not surprising that concentration camp prisoners also were enlisted in forced labor in this industrial region. The short period of existence indicates that the construction of the Brüx subcamp, at least in part, was a temporary solution. The subcamp was not based in Brüx itself but in the village of Seestadt, eight kilometers (about five miles) away, where the largest Czechoslovakian power plant had stood since the 1920s. On September 1, 1944, a transport of 1,000 prisoners from all walks of life and age groups was dispatched from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp to Seestadt. This is documented by a transfer list from Sachsenhausen to Seestadt² and also in the Flossenbürg *Nummernbücher* (Numbers Books).³ Two-thirds of the prisoners were Poles, and more than 200 came from the Soviet Union. In addition to 50 French and 40 Germans, prisoners from 10 other countries were transferred to Seestadt. The requisition document of the Kommandantur at Flossenbürg states that the first day that work commenced was September 3, a Sunday. On that day, 998 unskilled laborers were accounted for, for a half day.⁴ By the time the Kommando was dissolved, recorded as occurring on October 7, the number of prisoners fell to 967.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg after the war revealed little information on the living conditions and the forced labor of the prisoners. The few survivors who were questioned evidently also included former POWs who were never in the subcamp. What can be confirmed is merely that the prisoners probably were housed in a former POW camp near Brüx, that there obviously was an infirmary, and that prisoners in Brüx died a violent death. The Nummernbücher record four deaths; the causes of death of the two 40-year-olds and the 2 sixty-year-olds are unknown. Also recorded was an escape attempt by a Soviet on October 2.

The prisoners probably had to work in coal mines, although some also told of assembling tanks. They had to march each day to and from work, and the distance was stated as being between 3 and 12 kilometers (almost 2 to 8 miles). The Kommandoführer was probably SS-Hauptscharführer Gustav Göttling (born 1893). He was later utilized in other subcamps, lastly in the Porschdorf subcamp in Sächsische Schweiz. There are said to have been about 25 guards.

After the dissolution of the Brüx subcamp, some of the prisoners were transferred to the Flossenbürg main camp and some (possibly directly but possibly also via Flossenbürg) to Leitmeritz, where they had to dig tunnels for Project Richard, the underground mining relocation project. A file note from Osram KG dated October 9 refers to the previous work and the future work: "thus far 350 men in Richard II; from October, 10 up to 600 men."⁵ The dates mentioned correspond with the end of the Brüx subcamp.

There are indications of another deployment of Flossenbürg prisoners in the area of Brüx, specifically a requisition

document of the Kommandantur in Flossenbürg addressed to the Mineralölbaugesellschaft in Oberleutensdorf for April 1944; up to 490 prisoners were used there as unskilled labor.⁶ Admittedly, only this one requisition document has been preserved. The Mineralölgesellschaft, originally the construction arm of the Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brown Coal-Gasoline AG, Brabag), was in charge of construction at Leitmeritz and was supported there by the Subag. It is, however, unclear whether the frequently intertwined coal extraction and fuel operations in this area used additional prisoners from Flossenbürg for forced labor at other locations and times.

SOURCES To date, there is no exhaustive study on forced labor in the Brüx region. Max Türp's work *Die Entwicklung des Kohlebergbaus im Braunkohlerevier Teplitz—Brüx—Komotau* (Munich, 1975) and especially Wolfgang Birkenfeld's *Der synthetische Treibstoff 1933–1945: Ein Beitrag zur nationalsozialistischen Wirtschafts- und Rüstungspolitik* (Göttingen, 1964) provide information on the technical and wartime economic aspects of brown coal extraction and fuel production. Also worthy of mention is an exhibition on the history of the occupation period at the former crematorium in Brüx. The exhibition focuses on forced labor in the region, and numerous construction plans for Subag settlements or facilities are on display. Jörg Skribeleit's "Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen," *DaHe* 15 (November 1999): 196–217, erroneously lists Seestadt as "Seestadt 1."

In addition to the abovementioned inquiries by the ZdL (410 AR-Z 66/76, available at BA-L), there are numerous sources on the extraction of coal in the Brüx region in the BgA-Fg (the Oberbergamt Freiberg was also responsible for the mining offices in the occupied Sudetenland). The primary documents for Seestadt are to be found in the SuA-M.

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NOTES

1. BA-B, R 3/1815, List of operations in the Reichsgau Sudetenland, September 1943.
2. SVG, collection 2120. The original is held by the ITS.
3. NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537 (microfilm copy in AG-F).
4. BA-B, NS 4/FL 393, vol. 2: Requisition documents of the Kommandantur to the Subag, Seestadt, for September and October 1944.
5. LA-B, Best. Osram, ARep. 231 O.656, File Note 41, October 9, 1944.
6. BA-B, NS 4/FL 391.

CHEMNITZ

The Astrawerke AG in Chemnitz was founded in 1921. Since that date, it had, as its name—Spezialfabrik für Addier- und Buchungsmaschinen (Specialized Factory for Adding and Accounting Machines)—shows, made a name for itself through technical innovations such as the 10-key adding machine or accounting machines with a built-in typewriter.

As part of the shift from civilian production to armaments production, Factory II of the Astrawerke had begun as early as 1937 the "manufacture of complicated weapons parts, which . . . keeps about one thousand civilian personnel occupied. It was organized with considerations of the most modern interchangeable mass production in mind."¹ On the other hand, in 1942 only 500 employees, most of them female, worked in the main factory, producing adding and accounting machines. In this factory, punch-card systems commissioned by the Armed Forces High Command (OKW) Amt für maschinelles Berichtswesen (Mechanical Reporting System Office) were developed.

Besides the military significance of the output, the fact that as of May 1, 1944, the Astrawerke was labeled a model National Socialist operation was probably also helpful for the allocation of concentration camp prisoners. Moreover, members of the management occupied leading roles in the self-administration of the armaments industry. For example, the director of Factory II was also the "Ringführer" and chairman of the Sonderausschuss Waffen Untergruppe 5 (Special Committee for Armaments, Subgroup 5). The guarding of the prisoners was already arranged prior to their arrival. The camp commandant in Flossenbürg sent a telegram to 26 female overseers, instructing them to cut their leave short and immediately report for duty at the Astrawerke in Chemnitz. The telegram was sent not only to quite a few addresses in Saxony but also to women in Magdeburg, East Prussia, and Vorarlberg. This suggests that the women were not exclusively former employees of Astrawerke. The abrupt interruption of their leave suggests that, as in many other cases as well, the exact arrival date of the prisoners was not known in advance.² After the war, a female SS overseer stated that in mid-August 1944 about 40 female Astrawerke employees were delegated to undergo training as female SS guards in a course at Ravensbrück. From there, after a week, half of them were sent to a subcamp of Buchenwald at Leipzig-Schönau to guard 500 female Jewish prisoners who were working there. The SS overseer reported that in late February 1945 she and other women from the Astrawerke were ordered to Chemnitz and then had to accompany the prisoners to Leitmeritz.³ Altogether the guard force in Chemnitz consisted of only 8 guards, in addition to the rather high number of more than 30 female SS.⁴

A transport of 510 female prisoners from the Auschwitz concentration camp reached Chemnitz on October 24, 1944. The Flossenbürg *Nummernbücher* (Numbers Books) show that the transport included some 200 Russians, 150 Poles and Italians (of whom many evidently were Slovenes), 10 Yugoslavs, and 5 Croats. They were above all "political" prisoners and "civilian workers," as well as a few "Gypsies" and "associals."⁵ The requisition certificates from the Flossenbürg Kommandantur addressed to the Astrawerke show, however, that at first only a small proportion of the women were used as forced laborers. By the end of the month, the number of working women had increased from 161 to 448; in November, there were 480 women on average; and as of mid-December,

almost 500 women were forced to work.⁶ The women worked a six-day week in two 12-hour shifts in two different plants. About 280 prisoners worked in Factory I, the main factory, and about 220 in the nearby Factory II (Waplerstrasse 1). From November 1944, the concentration camp prisoners in Factory I accounted for two-thirds of all foreigners engaged in forced labor there.

All the women were accommodated in Factory I (Altchemnitzer Strasse 41) in a building with barred windows. They were located on an upper floor and slept on three-tiered bunk beds. They worked on the lower floors. According to various statements, the women made metal parts for airplanes or machine guns. Two female prisoners who were physicians and two orderlies were released from work. The camp elder, Helena D. from Kraków, stated that there were in addition seven barrack room elders.⁷

According to the numerous postwar statements from witnesses, the working conditions, aside from harassment by the female SS overseers, were on the whole bearable. While the sanitary facilities were described as relatively good, the poor food generally was criticized. The plant management was responsible for the food: in the morning there was a bowl of unsweetened "coffee," at midday half a liter of soup, and in the evening a slice of bread with margarine. After the large air raid on Chemnitz on March 4 and 5, 1945, there was only beet soup available for a number of days. Unanimously, the prisoners deny that there were acts of homicide in the Chemnitz subcamp. The Flossenbürg Nummernbücher indicate two deaths in March and April. On February 12, 1945, seven women were transferred from the subcamp to Ravensbrück, including at least one pregnant Pole. On the same day, five prisoners were transferred from the Goehlewerk subcamp in Dresden to Chemnitz, possibly to replenish camp numbers. The International Tracing Service (ITS) states that there was a transport of eight women the week before, but there is no proof of this transport. However, five escape attempts by Soviet and Polish prisoners beginning in March 1945, possibly as a consequence of the increased air raids on Chemnitz in the spring of 1945, are documented.⁸ As a rule, the women were locked in their quarters during the air raids. Only one witness reports that the Kommandoführer gave way to the pleas of the prisoners and permitted them to go to the air-raid cellar.

The Kommandoführer was SS-Oberscharführer Willing, born in 1894 in Ohrdruf. Called "Grandfather" by the prisoners, he was described as relatively humane, despite some statements to the contrary. He was in charge of the women during the evacuation in April 1945 as well. The prisoners were at first taken by rail to Leitmeritz, where they presumably stayed about one week. From there they probably had to go by foot to nearby Hertine, where a Flossenbürg subcamp had been cleared of its roughly 500 female Jewish prisoners shortly before; because of a typhus outbreak, the women were transferred to Theresienstadt. A few women report shootings of exhausted women and of women who could no longer walk on the march. The women from Chemnitz were

kept busy filling munitions with explosives for about two weeks more. This dangerous job included the risk of phosphorous poisoning, among other things. Most of the SS guards disappeared around May 8. Some ethnic German guards who remained advised the women to flee, as one witness reported. Shortly thereafter, the women were freed by the Red Army.

The Astrawerke was speedily nationalized after the war as a "war profiteers' firm" and later became a state-owned enterprise.

SOURCES In addition to the relevant archival holdings at Flossenbürg, there is Best. 31092 (Astrawerke AG) in the StA-Ch. Besides a factory history, however, this contains only a few statistical details on the use of concentration camp prisoners. The investigation files of the ZdL (410 AR 203/73, available at BA-L), which hold numerous, detailed witness statements, above all by Poles, are very comprehensive.

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NOTES

1. See StA-Ch, Best. 31092 (Astrawerke), Nr. 26: Entwicklungs-geschichtliche und sozialpolitische Übersicht über den Betrieb und seine Kriegsleistungen—Bericht des Betriebsführers [John Greve, November 23, 1942], p. 5.

2. BA-B, NS 4/FL 10, telegram, handwritten, October 17, 1944, and signed by the senior radio operator.

3. StA-Ch, Best. 31092, Nr. 197, Copy of a report by SS warden Elisabeth L., incorrectly dated December 10, 1941.

4. ITS, Hist. Abt. 424 a, Stärkemeldung der Wachmannschaften und Häftlinge der Arbeitskommandos im Dienstbereich des HSSPF des SS-Oberabschnitts Elbe, January 31, 1945 (Siebert Collection in AG-F).

5. NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537 (microfilm copy in AG-F).

6. BA-B, NS 4/FL 393 Bd. 2, Monthly requisition certificates of the Kommandantur Flossenbürg to the Astrawerke AG Chemnitz, October to December 1944.

7. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR 203/73, testimony of Helena D. (born 1900), p. 107.

8. CEGESOMA, microfilm 14683+.

DRESDEN (BEHELFSEIM)

The existence of the subcamp Behelfsheim (Provisional Quarters) is documented only by a single source, a transfer list from Flossenbürg "to the work camp Dresden Behelfsheim, dated April 13, 1945."¹ The list compiled by the Labor Allocation Department, however, is dated April 12, 1945. The Behelfsheim subcamp thus is the last Flossenbürg subcamp—only a few days after the transfer of the slightly more than 100 prisoners, the Flossenbürg main camp was evacuated, and most of the prisoners were compelled to move southward on death marches.

Although the list, in its heading, mentions 105 transfers, only 103 names are noted. In addition to 6 Reich Germans, of

whom at least some probably acted as Kapos, 43 Poles (civilian workers, protective detainees, as well as 18 Jews), 30 Russians (civilian workers, prisoners of war [POWs], and 1 Jew), 8 French (1 of whom was a Jew), 7 Czechs, 2 Croats, 2 Hungarian Jews, 2 Dutch, 1 Yugoslav, 1 Slovene, and 1 Italian are listed, including a relatively large number of "older" prisoners (23 prisoners were born between 1897 and 1910). In addition to many unskilled laborers, about half the prisoners in this transport were skilled craftsmen, specifically metalworkers, milling cutters, electricians, or cabinetmakers. As is usual in many transport lists, this one also includes a note indicating the general state of health of the prisoners; most of them were given a rating of "2" by the camp doctor in charge; that is, they were certified as capable of work. What is unusual is that the prisoners were listed by prisoner number instead of alphabetically. The list is not signed by the *Arbeitseinsatzführer*, an SS-Unterscharführer.

In reconciling the list with the entries in the Flossenbürg *Nummernbücher* (Numbers Books), it becomes clear that many of the prisoners sent on this transport must have been in an extremely poor physical condition. For some prisoners, the entries apparently do not refer to illnesses or the like: For example, among the transferees were three Jewish Poles who came to Flossenbürg in August 1944 from the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp. Many of them, however, had returned from subcamps to Flossenbürg only shortly before the transfer to Dresden. Diseases were rife in these subcamps, such as Ansbach and Zwickau, and many prisoners had died. Others, who according to the *Nummernbücher* were transferred directly from Flossenbürg, are listed with the annotation "K" for "Krankenrevier" (infirmary) and/or with the numbers of infirmary Blocks 22 and 23. For a few prisoners, there are no entries at all for the corresponding prisoner numbers in the main source; the transfer list thus far contains the only known evidence, by name, of their fate.

The purpose of the Behelfsheim subcamp is completely unclear. The sketchy information, specifically the late date of the transport, the probable poor health of the prisoners, and their relatively advanced average age suggest that in this case sick prisoners were being pushed out of the already overcrowded main camp. Thus this late transport fits in with a number of other transfers that, probably for the same reason, were carried out shortly before the dissolution of the Flossenbürg main camp, by moving prisoners to various subcamps, although usually in a southerly direction.

SOURCES The only known source for the Behelfsheim subcamp is CEGESOMA, microfilm 14368 (Transfers from Flossenbürg to subcamps). The original is held by ITS.

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NOTE

1. CEGESOMA, microfilm 14368, transfers from Flossenbürg to subcamps.

DRESDEN (BERNSDORF & CO.)

On November 26, 1944, a transport of 500 prisoners from the Stutthof concentration camp near Danzig (Gdańsk) arrived in Dresden for a Flossenbürg concentration camp outside detail at the Bernsdorf & Co. munitions factory.¹ They received accommodations on the upper floors of the Reemtsma-Konzern cigarette factory at Schandauer Strasse 68. The transfer of this prisoner group from Stutthof to Dresden took place on orders of the D II office head in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), dated November 24, 1944.² In accordance with this order, 500 male concentration camp prisoners originally were to be transferred to Dresden. A telex from SS-Standartenführer Gerhard Maurer, the D II office head, to the commandants of both the Stutthof and Flossenbürg concentration camps read: "K.L. Stutthof transfers on paper to K.L. Flossenbürg concentration camp three hundred male prisoners, who were already employed at the company Bernsdorf and Co., Obersitz, as well as two hundred male prisoners who were rejected by the aptitude tester Czarnulla, and immediately moves them off to the Bernsdorf and Co. labor camp, 68 Schandauer Strasse, Dresden A 21, railroad station: Dresden-Reick unloading station. K.L. Stutthof provides transport accompaniment. Signed Maurer."³ In fact, the Bernsdorf subcamp was supplied with the following: 273 women and young females, 209 men and young males, and 18 children, among whom were even five- and six-year-old boys and girls.⁴ The explanation for this prisoner group composition, which was a departure from orders, can be found in the statement by Abraham S. in 1967 before the Israeli investigating authorities:

In November 1944, I was brought to the Bernsdorf and Co.-Dresden camp with about five hundred Jews of both sexes and varying ages. Even in the Łódź ghetto, where I lived before my deportation to the camp, the core of this group was the so-called metal group. The metal group consisted of specialists and their family members. The metal group was supposed to remain—by order of the German authorities—a closed organization, and thus when we had to leave Łódź in late August, with the last leaving in early September 1944, and were first brought to Stutthof via Auschwitz, we passed through the gate at Auschwitz without selection. Our production was supposed to continue at Obrzisko, near Posen, but developments at the front affected the original plan. I was one of the fifty men who were taken to Obersitz [Obrzisko] from Stutthof in order to install the machine equipment there. . . . When I returned to Stutthof with the group of fifty men, I discovered serious changes in the metal group. Almost half of the men were no longer alive. . . . Before the group was dispatched to Dresden, our original number was replenished with other prisoners.⁵

As earlier in Łódź, the prisoners in Dresden were used for the production of core projectiles and were under the direction of the former head of the ghetto administration at Łódź, Hans Biebow, and his deputy Czarnulla. The German civil engineers Hermann Braun and Upschat (or Orbschat) managed the actual production. But Jewish prisoners, being experts, actually ran the production organization. The leader and also camp elder was Hermann Ch., who had already directed Metal Division I in the Łódź ghetto. Division directors and foremen were also Jewish prisoners who had already served in similar functions in the ghetto.⁶ For the month of December 1944, proofs of debt for a total of 68,842 Reichsmark (RM) were prepared for the Bernsdorf subcamp.⁷ This was the price that the company had to pay into the SS account at the Reich bank for the prisoner employment of almost 500 workers in one month. The prisoners received nothing for the daily 12-hour shifts.

The women and girls were registered by Flossenbürg concentration camp with the matriculation numbers 59654 through 59937 and the men with the numbers 38354 through 38569, in addition to several matriculation numbers from other series. All told, the number of male and female Jews in the camp included 567 Poles, 10 Czechs, 8 Germans, 7 Hungarians, 5 Lithuanians, 2 French, and 1 Russian.⁸

The miserable living conditions, which had already claimed many victims among this prisoner group from Łódź at Stutthof, the camp of origin, also quickly led to the first dead in Dresden. One man died on the day of arrival; a woman and a man died on December 4, 1944; 1 man died on December 6, 1944; and another 5 died in the same month. There were 6 dead in January 1945 and 7 dead in February; and in March, there were 15 dead to mourn in the Bernsdorf subcamp, among whom were also victims who burned to death in the infirmary on the top floor during the bombing of Dresden on February 13, 1945.⁹ There were also a number of deaths at the Mockethal-Zatzschke overflow camp, to which the greater part of the prisoners were evacuated after bomb hits on the factory.¹⁰

A strength report from January 31, 1945, lists 279 female and 205 male prisoners at the camp.¹¹

An overview of the nationality of the men shows that on February 28, 1945, 197 Polish, 2 German, and 2 Czech Jews, as well as 1 French Jew and 1 Hungarian Jew, were still in the Bernsdorf subcamp. On March 31, 1945, there were 187 Polish Jews in the camp, while the number of Jews of other nationalities had stayed the same.¹²

The last and only identified camp head was SS-Oberscharführer Schmerse, who had already been employed in the same function, also at a munitions factory, for the Holleischen (Holyšov) outside detail of the Flossenbürg concentration camp. In addition to the detail commander, two other SS-Unterführer and nine SS members as well as eight SS female guards belonged to the camp guard.¹³ Most of the latter came from Dresden and were employed in Dresden factories before assuming the duties of concentration camp female guards. Ida Guhl, a brutal thug, functioned as senior

female guard. Before the Israeli investigating authorities, Felicja H. said about her: "I remember the SS senior female guard, who was always dressed in an SS uniform. She was small. . . . The female guards were scared of her. . . . She was really especially cruel and gave merciless beatings at every opportunity; with her the abuse of prisoners was a system—she was a sadist."¹⁴ After the severe damage to the factory building where the camp was housed, the prisoners were transferred by foot to the Mockethal-Zatzschke camp. Only a group of about 50 male prisoners remained to repair the machines and to do clearing-up operations in Dresden. After two weeks those male prisoners who still appeared fit to work were brought back to Dresden from Mockethal-Zatzschke, followed two weeks later by the women. Around April 10, 1945, the SS transported about 150 female prisoners, hardly still considered fit to work, to the Zwodau (Svatava) subcamp, which was also subordinate to the Flossenbürg concentration camp. The arrival in Zwodau of 143 women appears in the strength report of April 14, 1945.¹⁵ Because the Zwodau camp was overcrowded, these women then were sent to Neurolau (Nová Role) subcamp and from there had to join the evacuation march, which, after transportation by train to Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary), took them by foot via Marienbad (Mariánské Lázně), Planá, and Tachov to Alt-Zedlitz (Staré Sedliště), where they were liberated by U.S. troops on May 5, 1945.¹⁶

The Bernsdorf subcamp was closed on April 14, 1945, and the remaining men and women there were evacuated to Theresienstadt (Terezín). Of those who arrived there from the Bernsdorf subcamp, 98 women and 103 men were registered.¹⁷ With the help of the German engineer Hermann Braun, several young men succeeded in escaping. About this, Chanan Werebejczyk reports:

In the morning we all were gathered on the street next to the factory building. Everyone received a piece of bread and half of a blanket. We stood for several hours. After midday the march south toward Pirna began. . . . I was friends with three young men in the camp: Nataniel Radzyner (Niutek), Josef Majer, and my cousin Benjamin Lasman. We were all members of an illegal youth organization in the ghetto. At the end of March someone told the engineer Braun that an illegal group existed among the prisoners. Braun very carefully got in contact with Niutek. Thus we decided to escape and return to the factory building. We were sure that Braun would help us. It was already dark as we marched through Zschachwitz. At the first opportunity we jumped away from the marching column and hid. Together, around twenty people escaped and returned to the factory. The civilian management of the operation gave us a good reception. They asked us to clean the men's bathroom. The bathroom was completely soiled with blood. We were told that as we waited on the street yesterday, a murder was committed here.

The Oberscharführer shot an Unterscharführer in the bathroom and presented it as a suicide. We were also told that the senior female guard Guhl prompted the murder. She convinced the Oberscharführer to shoot this Unterscharführer because he had spoken out against the evacuation. . . . We stayed three days in the factory. Then we had to flee again because the SS men came back to search for us. This time we looked for a hiding place in the ruins. With the help of Hermann Braun and the owner of a grocery store on Schandauer Strasse, near the factory, we succeeded in surviving there until the arrival of the Russians on May 8, 1945.¹⁸

In 1948, charges were filed against one former SS guard and three former SS female guards from the Bernsdorf subcamp for crimes committed against prisoners.

SOURCES The following publications contain information on the Dresden (Bernsdorf) subcamp: Chanan Werebejczyk, *Wspomnienia z okresu Zagłady: Skrócone tłumaczenie autora z hebrajskiego orginalu* (n.p., 1999); Hans Brenner, "KZ-Zwangsarbeit während der NS-Zeit im Dresdner Raum," in *Vorträge und Forschungsberichte, 4. Kolloquium zur dreibändigen Dresdner Stadtgeschichte 2006* (Dresden, 2000), pp. 52–61. See also Brenner, *Frauen in den Außenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999). On the evacuation, see Marek Poloncarz, "Die Evakuierungstransporte nach Theresienstadt (April–Mai 1945)," *TSD* (1999): 242–262.

These archives are also useful: ZdL (now the BA-L), IV AR 3024/66; IV 410 AR-Z 57/68; ITS, Hist. Abt., AG-F; AMS; AG-T.

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NOTES

1. AMS, Sign. I-II C-3, pp. 113–127, Transportliste der Frauen und Männer, November 24, 1944.
2. AMS, Sign. I-II C-4, Fernschreiben des SS-WVHA, Amtsgruppe D (Maurer), an Kommandant Stutthof, November 23, 1944.
3. Ibid.
4. AMS, Sign. I-II C-3, Transportlisten.
5. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 57/68, 1: 165.
6. Chanan Werebejczyk, report to the author from October 2000.
7. BA-B, Film 14 430, p. 1272, Übersicht der Kommandantur—Arbeitseinsatz—des KZ Flossenbürg an das Amt D II des SS-WVHA, January 1, 1945
8. NARA, Microfilm T-1021, Roll 9; Microfilm T-580, Rolls 69–70; Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Außenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999), pp. 32–37.
9. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 57/68, 1: 166, Statement of the former Polish Jewish prisoner Abraham S. (matriculation Nr. 38541) before the Israeli investigating authorities.
10. Ibid.
11. ITS, Hist. Abt. Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53.
12. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 4, p. 92.
13. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, p. 52.

14. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 57/68, 1: 210, Statement of the former Polish Jewish prisoner Felicja H. (matriculation Nr. 59661) before the Israeli investigating authorities.

15. AG-T (APT), Kasten 7, Flossenbürg, estate of K. Prochaska.

16. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 57/68, 1: 40, Statement of the former Polish Jewish prisoner Chana G. (matriculation Nr. 59673) before the Israeli investigating authorities.

17. Marek Poloncarz, "Die Evakuierungstransporte nach Theresienstadt (April–Mai 1945)," *TSD* (1999): 255.

18. Chanan Werebejczyk, report to the author, October 2000.

DRESDEN (SS-PIONIER-KASERNE)

The subcamp in the SS-Field Engineer Barracks (Pionier-Kaserne) was the second Flossenbürg subcamp overall and the first of the Flossenbürg subcamps in Dresden. For almost three years, at 54 Döbelner Strasse, prisoners had to do construction work for the SS-Bauleitung Dresden, primarily building quarters for the SS-Pionier-Ersatzbataillon (Engineer Replacement Battalion). They also worked in places outside Dresden. The Flossenbürg administrative files use the terms *Sonderkommando* (special detail), *Aussenkommando* (outside detail), and *Arbeitslager Dresden* (Dresden labor camp) for this subcamp.

The first 100 prisoners were transferred from the Flossenbürg main camp to the Dresden Pionier-Kaserne subcamp in June 1942. The transfer list, arranged according to trade, shows that the prisoners were almost exclusively skilled construction workers. As part of the dissolution of the Stulln subcamp, an additional 99 prisoners were transferred to Dresden in mid-October 1942. Predominantly German prisoners "in preventive custody" or "asocials" were imprisoned in Dresden, in addition to a few Polish, Russian, and Czech prisoners. For August 1942, there is documentation of an early instance of a transfer from another main camp, Sachsenhausen, to the subcamp of another main camp. The responsible SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) wrote on August 21, 1942, to the commandants of Sachsenhausen and Flossenbürg that "to simplify the transport" the two roofers would be "transferred directly to the labor detail of the SS-Field Engineer Replacement Battalion [Pionierersatzbataillon] Dresden," and with guards from Sachsenhausen. Prisoner files and belongings were to be sent by mail to Flossenbürg.¹

The approximately 200 prisoners first had to construct a reserve hospital within the SS-Pionier-Kaserne. From October 1943, prisoners from Dresden along with others had to fortify Schloss Neuhirschstein, about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) down the Elbe River from Meissen, where the Belgian royal family was later interned. They were utilized for other building projects of the SS-Bauleitung, as in Seifhennersdorf, with the prisoners generally being made available to the private firms performing the work. These external projects, which were invoiced separately with the Dresden Bauleitung, also explain the fluctuations in prisoner numbers in the

Flossenbürg Kommandantur requisition documents, which for the year 1944 have survived intact.² As for the rest, the SS-Field Engineer Replacement Battalion was responsible for the feeding of the prisoners and their invoicing,³ but as of April 1944 it was no longer required to reimburse the labor costs. On the other hand, the external details also had to be supplied from the allocation of foodstuffs, which worsened the already existing shortage. The increased consumption by the detail at Neuhirschstein "as a result of overtime and night work," for example, was offset at the expense of the delivery to Dresden. The request of the prisoners in Dresden that the money in their blocked accounts be used to buy potatoes was denied.⁴

The makeup of the prisoners in the Dresden Pionier-Kaserne subcamp reflected the ratios in the concentration camps in general; the initial large share of often longtime German prisoners was countered by a growing percentage of younger foreign prisoners.⁵ Along with several invalids, almost 30 prisoners had been returned to Flossenbürg by the beginning of 1943. During 1943, mostly Poles and Russians were transferred to Dresden, usually in transports consisting of 4 to 15 prisoners from a collection center; here, too, they were predominantly skilled construction workers or other skilled tradesmen such as bakers and a dentist. Also verifiable are the retransfers of individual prisoners to the Flossenbürg main camp. Several lists of the prisoners located in Dresden document the sharp change in the prisoner community. For example, on December 23, 1943, there were 198 prisoners in the Dresden Pionier-Kaserne subcamp: 95 Germans, 37 Russians, 21 Poles, 19 Slovenes, 15 Italians, 9 Czechs, 1 Serb, and 1 Belgian. Of the 198 prisoners, 117 were "protective custody" prisoners (*Schutzhäftlinge*), that is, political prisoners, as opposed to 69 preventive custody prisoners (*Vorbeugungshäftlinge*) and 12 "asocials." In early January 1944, barely 200 prisoners were working at first, but in the second half of the month, there were 160. In late February, only 108 prisoners were charged for in the Dresden Pionier-Kaserne subcamp. On February 15, 1944, however, of 133 charged-for prisoners, only 54 were actually in the "Dresden labor camp." Among the painters, masons, carpenters, and the like, were 33 Germans, 14 Italians, and a few Poles, Russians, and Czechs. Only three weeks later, on March 5, 91 prisoners again are listed as "belonging to the Dresden labor camp"—along with 54 Germans, 9 Slovenes, 8 Czechs, and also a few Poles, Italians, and Belgians. Two days later, on March 7, 1944, 101 prisoners were transferred from Dresden back to the Flossenbürg main camp. In addition to 24 German and Italian skilled workers, as well as 1 Russian, 1 Pole, and 1 Slovene, 77 unskilled workers—mostly Russians, Germans, Poles, and a few Slovenes—were transferred to Flossenbürg. The majority of the unskilled laborers were transported directly to Mauthausen. In March, a total of 59 prisoners were working for the subcamp.

Until mid-September, slightly more than 50 prisoners were in use; then a large transport increased the number of prisoners to 123. At the end of 1944, there was a slight reduction in

numbers. On September 12, 1944, 77 prisoners were transferred to Dresden, most of whom, according to the transport list, were unskilled laborers and tradesmen; in addition to 53 Poles, there were a few Czechs, Russians, French, and 1 Slovene in this group.

On February 28, 1945, 121 prisoners are still recorded at the Dresden Pionier-Kaserne subcamp. In addition to 55 Poles and 29 Germans, there were 10 Czechs, 10 French, 9 Russians, and a few Belgians, Bulgarians, Italians, and Yugoslavs.⁶ On March 31, the number of prisoners was almost unchanged. For April 13, 1945, the last camp strength report gives the number of prisoners as 119. In particular, there has been no success thus far in aligning these fluctuations with the performance of certain types of work, owing to a lack of research. According to a statement by a member of the SS, Hans L., who was transferred to the Bauleitung in Dresden after he was wounded, the Waffen-SS and Police Construction Administration supervised, among other things, the building of barracks camps, the conversion of schools to hospitals, and the removal of war damage.⁷

Several large prisoner transports from Flossenbürg to Dresden were carried out again in March and April, possibly to relieve the completely overcrowded main camp. As the transport lists for verifiably different subcamps simply bear the notation "Transport to Dresden labor camp," the SS-Pionier-Kaserne also cannot be ruled out as the destination of one of these transports even in April 1945.

The transfer lists admittedly can give little information about the conditions in the subcamp other than the fact that sick prisoners were transferred back to the main camp and that there were a few documented escape attempts.

A far better overview of the forced labor, the accommodations, the food, and the treatment of the prisoners can be gained from the numerous detailed witness statements given after the war in investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg.⁸ The prisoners were housed inside the barracks area in three large garages, one of which served as a washroom. At night these buildings were guarded by about five members of the SS-Pionierersatzbataillon, usually men who had been wounded at the front. The food for the prisoners, which probably was better than in the main camp, also was provided by the SS barracks, as was an SS doctor in case of emergencies. While the almost exclusively German witnesses described the conditions, after 30 years, as comparatively paradisical, several witnesses in an earlier trial of the second Kommandoführer, Kurt Markgraf, described repeated mistreatment by means of beatings with a club, failure to render assistance with the result that prisoners died, and the shifting of foodstuffs between the kitchen Kapos in charge and the SS.⁹ According to the witness statements, between 3 and 7 prisoners died in the Dresden Pionier-Kaserne subcamp. The suicide of a German prisoner in May 1943 (he took tablets) is also documented, as well as the failure to care for a Slovenian prisoner who had escaped in October 1942. Three days later he was wounded by a hunter in Radebeul and was returned to the barracks, where

he succumbed to his injuries. While the two Kommandoführer responsible for this, Josef Schmatz and his deputy Markgraf (both SS-Hauptscharführer), were described by some as brutal, their successor, SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Hartmann, was generally popular. He was Kommandoführer in Dresden until September 1944 and later in Seifhennersdorf, where at times 30 prisoners from Dresden worked on building an SS hospital. Hartmann was held under arrest for three months in Flossenbürg for "facilitating escape" in this subcamp. His successor was SS-Oberscharführer Ernst Scheithauer, whom not one witness could remember, however.

The subcamp was dissolved around April 15, 1945. The originally intended route up the Elbe River toward Aussig, on which a combined transport was to be formed with prisoners from other subcamps, was blocked because of the approaching front. Therefore, the prisoners were then driven via Dippoldiswalde in the direction of Schmiedeberg, where the Waffen-SS Bauleitung had set up alternative quarters. Numerous prisoners escaped en route; according to various reports, up to 60 prisoners once escaped simultaneously without any attempt by the guards to intervene. Others say, however, that the commander of the Bauleitung sent out search parties and that 30 prisoners were executed.

SOURCES The Dresden Pionier-Kaserne subcamp appears in numerous postwar judicial proceedings. The aforementioned files of the ZdL (available at BA-L) contain many detailed witness statements about the conditions of imprisonment in Dresden. In addition, Bestand NS 4/FL in the BA-B holds numerous documents on the subcamp, among them the requisition documents for 1944. Transport lists are held at ITS, with some copies at CEGESOMA and AG-F.

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NOTES

1. ITS, Flossenbürg File 26, p. 109 (copy by Toni Siegert, AG-F).
2. BA-B, NS 4/FL, 393, vol. 1.
3. BA-B, NS 4/FL, 354, vol. 1 (Correspondence between the WVHA and the Kommandantur Flossenbürg, March 23–27, 1943).
4. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, collected Files 10, p. 15: Letter from the Dresden Kommandoführer Markgraf, February 24, 1945, with handwritten notes by the Kommandantur; copy by Toni Siegert in AG-F.
5. CEGESOMA, Microfilm 14368 (Transfers from Flossenbürg) and 14368+ (Return Transfers to Flossenbürg).
6. BA-B, Best. ehem. ZSA-P, Doc./K 183/11.
7. BA-L, ZdL, 410 (F) AR-Z 177/75, Interview of Hans L., pp. 223–231.
8. See BA-L, ZdL, 410 (F) AR-Z 177/75 (Investigations into the Dresden subcamp and Rudi Schirner, etc.).
9. Sta. Hamburg, File 14 Js 185/49, Charges against Kurt Markgraf, December 13, 1950; Copies in the investigations of ZdL. Markgraf was sentenced in these proceedings to seven months' imprisonment.

DRESDEN (*UNIVERSELLE*)

The formation of the Dresden Universelle subcamp took place on October 9, 1944, with a transport of 503 women and girls from the Ravensbrück concentration camp. In preparation, female workers were sent in August 1944 from the factory to a training course to become SS female guards at the Holleischen subcamp of Flossenbürg.¹

Since the firm that employed the women as slave laborers, the Universelle Machine Factory J.C. Müller & Co., Dresden A 24, 46–58 Zwickauer Strasse, had been for several years an ancillary supplier for the Reich-owned Junkers-Flugzeugwerke, the allocation of concentration camp prisoners by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) must be seen in connection with the air armaments programs.²

The women and girls were lodged on the fourth and fifth floors of the factory building at 14 Florastrasse, on the lower floors of which the female prisoners were put to work. The number of women increased with another transport of 200 female prisoners from Ravensbrück on January 19, 1945, and with some individual additions. Many of these women had already spent several years in various concentration camps, such as Auschwitz, Riga, Salaspils, and Stutthof, before they were brought to Dresden via Ravensbrück.³

Of the prisoners in the Dresden Universelle subcamp, the 296 Germans, most of whom had been taken into custody as "asocials" and "criminals," constituted the majority. In contrast, the 107 Poles, 98 Soviets (who were described as Russians in SS documents), 69 Latvians, 64 Yugoslavians, 17 Slovenes, 12 Czechs, 4 Belgians, 4 Italians, 1 Greek, 1 Croatian, and 1 Romanian were considered almost without exception to be "politicals." Only 2 Jewish women were in the camp. The women were registered at Flossenbürg with the matriculation numbers 57231 through 57735 and 62458 through 62657. The age composition offered the following picture: born before 1900—47; born 1900 to 1909—130; born 1910 to 1919—222; born 1920 to 1924—230; born 1925 to 1930—65; no information—14.⁴ Seven German women were officially released.

According to SS documents, only three cases of death are recorded for the Universelle subcamp. The high number of deaths resulting from aerial mine hits on the camp building on February 13, 1945, is denied in SS documents, as is the large number of female prisoners who fled from the burning and collapsing building. The SS was able to recapture only 65 women from the Universelle subcamp and take them to the Mockethal-Zatzschke subcamp of Flossenbürg, near Pirna.⁵ A few female prisoners, who posed as "bombed-out persons," hid themselves as workers with farmers in the surrounding villages. A few of them were discovered and brought to Dresden or Mockethal-Zatzschke. Sixteen Slovenes also succeeded in escaping on February 13, 1945, and, after an adventurous journey throughout Germany, returned to their homeland before the war was over.⁶ German Rita Sprengel wrote about her escape: "The aerial mines had cleared away all the barriers."

When I went out (together with around 30 Serbian female farmers), nothing hindered us from making it to the street.”⁷ Despite these deaths on February 13, 1945, and the escape of many female prisoners, the Flossenbürg command reported on April 13, 1945, that there were still 679 women in the camp.⁸ SS-Oberscharführer Erich von Berg, who before his Universelle assignment had already been employed as camp leader at the Flossenbürg subcamps Neurohlau (Nová Role) and Mülsen St. Micheln, functioned as camp leader in the weeks up to the bombing. After him, the camp, which was virtually closed, was placed under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Schmerse, while von Berg took over the Mockethal-Zatzschke camp. Until the bombing, the senior SS female guard was Charlotte Hanakam, who commanded 20 SS female guards. In internal camp happenings, she had full executive powers and bullied the women, even on the slightest pretexts, with cruel punishments such as standing barefoot in snow for several hours, corporal punishment, and several days of bunker confinement without food. Several German asocials and criminals supported her terror regime. After the bombing of Dresden in February 1945, Hanakam fled from Dresden and left the female prisoners to themselves.⁹

Despite the multinational composition and the interspersing of many criminals and asocials, which did not favor solidarity among the prisoners, they succeeded in obtaining various things from the SS through joint schemes. Thus the women demanded to be brought during air alarms from their lodging under the roof into the basement. The SS was also forced to hand out the underwear that the women had washed secretly and the SS had confiscated.

The women were divided into two work shifts. The day shift worked from 6:00 A.M. until 6:00 P.M., and the night shift worked from 6:00 P.M. until 6:00 A.M. They had to produce parts for airplane engines and equipment. Political prisoners attempted to sabotage the work by deviating from dimensional accuracy when working on the parts. Slovene Darinka Vizjak-Fortunat reports: “They sent me together with Russian women to the heaviest engine lathes. I had to turn big round parts into which the propellers would be installed. I worked together with a Russian from Leningrad—Nina. After a few weeks, we would turn a few parts too much during the night shift when the foreman was not there. When the foreman inspected these parts, Nina and I were shaking. But he only looked at us and nodded. From then on I ventured to ask him for newspapers. He brought us some and bread as well. Other Dresden workers also helped us and supported my Slovenian comrades during the flight from burning Dresden.”¹⁰ A Dresden civilian worker provided the female prisoners with socks and organized overnight shoe repairs. She also helped hide escaped women prisoners in a village near Dresden.¹¹ Even one of the SS female guards hid two Latvian prisoners in her apartment until the end of the war.¹²

Three women who survived the bombing reported on the evacuation to Mockethal-Zatzschke:

“For us it is still a miracle today that we are alive at all. Many of our comrades were already dead and we had to step over bodies and run through flames just to reach the street. We wandered around the streets of Dresden until we were apprehended by female guards the following morning and brought to the bunker in the main factory of the Universelle company on Zwickauer Strasse, where we had to sleep on the bare floor. We stayed here about 14 days and were then brought to the Zatzschke alternative camp. There were already 400 prisoners (men and women and even children) there. . . . We stayed in Zatzschke a few weeks until 1000 male prisoners arrived here all at once from KZ Flossenbürg. Then we went on foot to Dresden. The Jews went to the firm Jasmatzi and we went to Universelle.”¹³

This return march to Dresden must have taken place around mid-March 1945. The female prisoners received lodgings again in the bunker of the main factory. They were employed in clearing-up work. Of the 700 women, only 84 still remained.

On April 14, 1945, the SS evacuated the women toward Leitmeritz. During a low-flying bomber attack near Pirna, several women managed to escape. They were, however, apprehended again by the gendarmerie and once again taken to the Mockethal-Zatzschke camp.¹⁴ Before a jury in the Dresden regional court in 1946, proceedings were conducted against senior SS female guard Hanakam, the person mainly responsible, and one other SS female guard. On November 25, 1946, this court found Hanakam guilty of crimes against humanity under Article II, Clauses 1 c and 2 b, of Law No. 10 of the Allied Control Council for Germany from December 20, 1945, and sentenced her to five years in prison. The other defendant, the female guard M., received a prison sentence of four months.¹⁵

SOURCES On Flossenbürg’s women’s camps, see Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Außenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Riegensburg, 1999). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 103.

Primary sources for the Dresden Universelle subcamp begin with the files of ZdL (IV 410 AR-Z 101/76, Band I and Band II), available at BA-L. Files on this subcamp are also found in ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg. Additional information may be found in Ba-VEB-Vmb-D (Mappe Florastrasse).

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NOTES

1. Ba-VEB-Vmb-D, Mappe Florastrasse, p. 22.
2. BA-P, Bank der Deutschen Luftfahrt, Nr. 7267, pp. 12–13.
3. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z, p. 154, Aussage der Lettin Cecilia L.; p. 234, Aussage der Deutschen Elisabeth B.

4. Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999), pp. 48, 52.
5. Ba-VEB-Vmb-D, Mappe Florastrasse, p. 6/6 r, Brief der "Universelle"-Werke Dresden an das K.L. Ravensbrück, March 21, 1945.
6. Darinka Vizjak-Fortunat, Flucht aus dem Lager während eines Bombenangriffs, Bericht (n.p., n.d.); author has report (translated from Slovenian.)
7. Rita Sprengel, report to the author from February 7, 1978, p. 7.
8. BA-B, Film 14430, p. 1264, Arbeitseinteilung (Stärkemeldung), April 13, 1945.
9. Ba-VEB-Vmb-D, Mappe Florastrasse, p. 19.
10. Darinka Vizjak-Fortunat, report to the author from December 18, 1978, pp. 3–4.
11. See Rita Sprengel, report to the author from February 7, 1978, pp. 5, 11.
12. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 101/76 I, p. 154
13. ASt-Pi, Bericht der drei Überlebenden des Aussenkommandos "Universelle" Dresden, Anneliese M., Mathilde G. und Hedwig Ch., September 10, 1945.
14. See *ibid.*
15. Ba-VEB-Vmb-D, Mappe Florastrasse, p. 17, Brief des Gsta. des Landes Sachsen an den Betriebsrat der "Universelle" Dresden, February 25, 1947, with information on the judgment against Charlotte H. and Magda M.

DRESDEN (ZEISS-IKON, GOEHLER-WERK)

The formation of a subcamp in the Goehle-Werk was part of the plan to establish a series of armaments-related subcamps of Flossenbürg in Dresden. Two subcamps with female prisoners were established on October 9, 1944: one at the Zeiss-Ikon AG Goehle-Werk and one at the Universelle company. This was after the establishment of the Reichsbahnausbesserungswerke (German National Railways Repair Works, RAW), September 12, 1944, but shortly before the establishment of the Mühlenbau- und Industrieaktiengesellschaft (MIAG) Werk in Zschachwitz near Dresden, October 13, 1944, each of which had male prisoners. Another subcamp was established two weeks later at Zeiss-Ikon's Werk Reick. The relatively late use of concentration camp prisoners at Dresden was due in part to a diversified industry that was largely incompatible with the needs of armaments production and had largely become inoperative during the course of the war. Thus, areas were kept ready for relocation of firms from cities that were supposedly more likely to be bombed.¹

The Goehle-Werk in northwestern Dresden (32 Riesaer Strasse) belonged to Zeiss-Ikon AG, which was the result of a 1926 merger of several companies, including the camera factory of Heinrich Ernemann and Ica AG, also Dresden based and under the management of the Carl-Zeiss-Stiftung. Zeiss-Ikon manufactured products in the four Dresden factories as well as in factories in Berlin and Stuttgart. Its products, which ranged from the Contax camera to motion picture equipment, included a wide selection of optical devices and cinematographic accessories. The war caused all the Zeiss-Ikon

factories to switch over to making war-related products such as special devices for the German Luftwaffe. However, the Goehle-Werk was planned from the beginning as a war plant for munitions production and was established in 1940–1941. This was reflected not only in its typically late 1930s-style architecture, which was intended to make industrial buildings of steel-reinforced concrete "bombproof," with small windows and reinforced staircases, but above all by the large-scale use of unskilled or semiskilled, mostly female forced laborers. These workers included Dresden Jews and foreign female forced laborers and, in a final step, also female prisoners from Flossenbürg. The Goehle-Werk made time fuses, incendiary fragmentation projectiles (*Brandschrapnelle*) for the 12.8-cm and 8.8-cm anti-aircraft guns, bomb fuses, and other products.² The manufacturing was regarded as very high priority and was in part incorporated into the anti-aircraft program of the "Fighter Production Program" (Jägerprogramm)—probably a prerequisite for the allocation of prisoners.

One source not cited in the research thus far gives detailed insight into the organizational preparations undertaken by management for the use of prisoners at Zeiss-Ikon. In a letter from the payroll office to the management of Goehle-Werk and Reick and/or to the relevant departments of the other Zeiss-Ikon factories, reference is made to the results of a meeting that took place on November 14, 1944: "Absorption of Female KL Workers from the KL Flossenbürg at Weiden/Oberpfalz."³ On October 18, 1944, 200 "female KL workers" were allocated to the Goehle-Werk, a further 300 on October 28, 1944, and yet another 200 were expected. Numbers were reserved for the women in the factory's list of workers, and Hollerith (punched) wage cards were stocked. For want of a name, the cards were stamped with the words "KL-Arbeiterin" (female KL worker), along with the prisoner number.

The firm also regulated other eventualities in advance, such as security during and compensation for hospital stays, as well as reporting of escape attempts. The prescribed "remuneration" for use of the prisoners—4 Reichsmark (RM) each per day—had been investigated, according to the record, by a member of the Goehle-Werk management on the occasion of his visit to Metallwerk Holleischen and the camps there on October 25 and 26.

It is not clear why October 18 is given as the date of the first allocation of prisoners. The book of accounts of the Goehle-Werk factory canteen for October 1944 records, at any rate, the debiting and crediting (the factory's in-house term for posting) of "prisoner meals from 8.-31.XI.44" for "labor camp 453."

This date, like the other figures in the above-mentioned record, is supported by the concentration camp Flossenbürg *Häftlingsnummernbücher* (prisoner number books),⁴ which refer to a transport of 200 women from Ravensbrück to "Dresden Zeiss Ikon" on October 9, 1944. With the exception of two French women, they were all Russians and Poles. The criteria by which they were chosen cannot be determined, at least not from their statements after the war.⁵ For October 24,

1944, the *Nummernbücher* (Numbers Books) record a transport of an additional 300 women from Auschwitz. With the exception of a very few German, Italian, and Yugoslav prisoners, they again were Russian and Polish women, mostly political prisoners or "civilian workers." A final transport of 197 women from Ravensbrück is verifiable for December 14, 1944, with not only Russians and Poles listed but also numerous German and French prisoners, as well as a few Luxembourgers, Italians, Czechs, and even an Egyptian.⁶

Information on the conditions in the Dresden Goehle-Werk subcamp can be found in the investigation files of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg as well as in press reports on the so-called Goehle-Werk Trial: the trial took place in the Goehle-Werk itself and ended in January 1949 with the sentencing of 10 defendants, including the deputy manager Nitsche as well as several craftsmen and SS female overseers, to between one and eight years of imprisonment.⁷ The articles in the newspaper *SächsZ*, however, do not make it clear whether former prisoners of the Dresden Goehle-Werk subcamp also testified (mostly forced female laborers are named), nor is there any mention of concrete criminal charges. At any rate, the living conditions of the female forced laborers appear here in a totally different light than in numerous statements by former prisoners in the ZdL investigation files. There, the mostly German political prisoners describe the medical care as positive, including medical treatment of a patient with scarlet fever in a Dresden hospital.

That the food was completely inadequate is confirmed by all the statements. Moreover, this assertion is also supported by a comparison of the factory canteen accounts for December 1944 with the relevant labor requisition document. The result is a daily ration of about 0.45 kilograms (1 pound) of bread per prisoner per day, assuming that the rations charged for were in fact handed out to the women.

From other sources, it is possible to draw indirect conclusions about the extremely adverse living conditions of the women at the Goehle-Werk subcamp. For example, the *Nummernbücher* as well as the reports of the Kommandantur in Flossenbürg confirm continual escape attempts, which at least after the massive attacks in February 1945 had prospects of success.⁸ As early as October 24, 1944, two Russian women attempted to escape; at least one, according to the *Nummernbuch*, was captured and transferred to Ravensbrück on December 6, 1944. Additional sporadic escape attempts, the last on April 5, 1945, illustrate the misery of the women. The transfer of two prison nurses from the Neurohlau subcamp in November 1944 permits the conclusion that the women's state of health also was bad.

The prisoners scarcely mention their forced labor in their witness statements; the extent of the forced labor can be gathered from the labor requisition documents of the labor supply detachment in the Flossenbürg Kommandantur.⁹ The department charges for the use of 190 female unskilled workers starting on October 9, 1944, while 492 per diem rates are assessed as of October 30, 1944. The requisition documents for

the following two months show a slight decline in the per diem rates charged, to 484 on December 9, 1944, while payments for 679 women are demanded starting on December 11, 1944. Apart from a slight decrease, this number remained almost constant until February 1945. As a consequence of the air raids on February 13 and 14, 1945, the women did not work at all on some days between February 14 and February 20, with 30 to 75 women used in part, before the old numbers were reached again. The last distribution of work on April 13, 1945, shows a total of 684 female prisoners. Individual transfers from the Neurohlau subcamp took place, and some women were sent back to Ravensbrück. In addition, 5 women were transferred to the Chemnitz subcamp at the Astrawerke on February 12, 1945 (according to the *Nummernbücher*, on February 21, 1945).¹⁰

According to prisoner statements, the prisoners were guarded by female SS members who were armed with rubber truncheons, which they used. On October 25, 1944, the Flossenbürg Kommandantur sent identity cards for 17 female guards to the senior guard, Gertrud Schäfer. An undated register lists 22 female guards for the Goehle-Werk, all of whom came from a training course in Holleischen.¹¹ All the women came from Dresden and the surrounding area, which supports claims by some prisoners that the guards had previously worked at Zeiss-Ikon. As proved by the previously cited accounts for the Goehle factory canteen, the feeding of the guards was also undertaken by the factory. Schäfer was detail leader (*Kommandoführerin*) at the Goehle-Werk until February 1945. She was followed by the SS guard de Hueber, described by most women prisoners as cruel and merciless.

The women were housed on one level of the factory, and they worked two or three levels below. During the bombing raid on February 14, 1945, the women were confined to their quarters. A few used the chaos following the attack to escape. The sister-in-law of a successful escapee was beaten until she became deaf in one ear and was punished with bunker arrest for one week.

Two deaths are recorded for November 1944. A third, because of the "special treatment" (*Sonderbehandlung*) of a Russian female prisoner, took place in the Flossenbürg main camp in January 1945.

The camp evacuation took place in mid-April 1945. The prisoners were evacuated by rail and by foot along the Elbe Valley. The destination was Leitmeritz. The prisoners were freed right before they reached the Czech border, after many already had escaped, however.

SOURCES As far as secondary literature is concerned, Hans Brenner provides an overview in "KZ-Zwangarbeit während der NS-Zeit im Dresdener Raum," in 4. *Colloquium zur dreibändigen Dresdner Stadtgeschichte 2006 vom 18. März 2000* (Dresden, 2000). In September 2001, the PDS in the Dresden City Council published a work by Reinhardt Balzk: "Zwangsarbeiter in Dresden" (www.pds-dresden.de/doku/zwangesarbeiter.pdf)—in broad terms, it deals with the background of compensation for forced laborers, including the Dresden subcamps. Useful background information on industrial

relocation in Saxony late in the war may be found in Alexander Fischer "Ideologie und Sachzwang: Kriegswirtschaft und 'Ausländer Einsatz' im südostsächsischen Elbtalgebiet," in *Fremd- und Zwangsarbeit in Sachsen 1939–1945*, ed. Sächsisches Staatsministerium des Innern (Halle, 2002), pp. 12–26.

The SHStA-(D) holds the company records of the Ernemann-Werke AG/ Zeiss-Ikon AG Dresden (Signatur 11722, Nr. 205 Meldung der beschäftigten Ausländer [einschl. Juden] und Kriegsgefangenen). Internal factory statistics provide details on the constantly increasing share of foreign workers (some 1,777 between April 1942 and December 1944) at the Goehle-Werk. The armaments production and the use of the prisoners also are relatively well documented in the aforementioned files. The Flossenbürg-Bestand stored in the BA-B contains labor deployment documents for the Goehle-Werk subcamp. The prisoners' names are fully documented in the Flossenbürg Nummernbücher, which are available at NARA and copied at AG-F. Transfers and escape attempts are found in the replacement records of the inaccessible files held by the ITS. The investigation files of the ZdL (at BA-L) contain extensive witness statements. Victor Klemperer's diaries discussed the forced labor of German Jews at the Goehle-Werk; see *Ich will Zeugnis ablegen bis zum letzten* (Berlin, 1995). He depicts the Goehle-Werk until the dissolution of the Jewish sections (*Juden-Abteilungen*) as a site of hard forced labor but also as a place where important intelligence was exchanged by members of the highly threatened Dresden Jewish community. Henny Brenner deals with the same subject in her autobiographical sketch "*Das Lied ist aus*—Ein jüdisches Schicksal in Dresden" (Zurich, 2001).

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NOTES

1. For references to primary and secondary sources, see Alexander Fischer, "Ideologie und Sachzwang: Kriegswirtschaft und 'Ausländer Einsatz' im südostsächsischen Elbtalgebiet," in *Fremd- und Zwangsarbeit in Sachsen 1939–1945*, ed. Sächsisches Staatsministerium des Innern (Halle, 2002), p. 13.

2. SHStA-(D), Sign. 11722, Ernemann-Werke AG/ Zeiss-Ikon AG Dresden, Nr. 424: Kriegsauftrag Kolben mit Uhrwerk SS 563-1-5115. Only the classification number of the collection is mentioned below.

3. SHStA-(D), Sign. 11722, Nr. 319 Werksküchen. In this book of accounts there are, in addition to the record dated November 28, 1944, numerous lists of foods delivered for prisoners and female guards as well as directions for settlement of accounts with the Flossenbürg Kommandantur.

4. NARA, RG 338 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537 (a microfilm copy is held by the AG-F).

5. See BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR 3017/66 (Investigations into the Zeiss-Ikon Goehle subcamp).

6. The Nummernbücher record the whereabouts sometimes as "Dresden Goehle," sometimes as "Dresden Goehl" or "Gohel," and sometimes completely incorrectly as "Rochlitz Goehl."

7. Here was located the gala room of the Sachsenverlag, which after the war had established itself in the former Goehle-Werk. A few of the articles on this subject in the SED

newspaper the SächsZ are found in the Zeiss-Ikon Bestand of the HStA-D.

8. CEGESOMA, Microfilm 14683+ (Fluchtmeldungen from October 29, 1944, and/or for March 3, 1945, and March 7, 1945).

9. BA-B, NS 4/FI 393/2: Forderungsnachweis Nr. Flo. 659 for the use of prisoners at Zeiss-Ikon, Goehle Werk, Dresden, for the period from October 1–31, 1944, dated Flossenbürg, Nov. 1, 1944. The charges were made only for those prisoners who actually worked.

10. CEGESOMA, Microfilm 14368 (Transfers).

11. BA-B, NS 4/FI 10.

DRESDEN (ZEISS-IKON, WERK REICK)

The Werk Reick, located in the eponymous southeastern part of Dresden (Mügelner Strasse 40), was one of four Zeiss-Ikon AG plants in Dresden. Like the Zeiss-Ikon Goehle-Werk, it became the site of a subcamp in October 1944. Unlike the other subcamps with female prisoners in Dresden, the Werk Reick is less well known. This may be because no trial was held, in contrast to the case of the Goehle-Werk, or because the Werk Reick, unlike the Goehle-Werk and Universelle subcamps, had no well-known German political prisoners.

Like the other Zeiss-Ikon sites, the Werk Reick already used many foreigners as forced laborers, as many as 671 between April 1942 and December 1944, even before the Flossenbürg subcamp was established. Male and female forced laborers were in roughly equal proportion.¹

For the period from October to December 1944, the numbers of prisoners can be tracked by using the labor requisition documents of the Labor Deployment Department (Abteilung Arbeitseinsatz) at Flossenbürg. According to those documents, starting on October 22, payments were requested for 200 women, and this number, with slight downward fluctuations, remained constant. In contrast to the Goehle-Werk, some of the women at the Werk Reick occasionally had to work on Sundays as well. The women's names are noted in the Flossenbürg Nummernbücher (Numbers Books), according to which the transport on October 24, 1944, from the Auschwitz concentration camp went directly to Dresden. Except for 1 German, 1 Yugoslav, and 1 Italian, Poles and Russians (all female) were transferred to the Werk Reick subcamp.

There are no exact statements about the work of the prisoners. However, the women's living conditions are well documented in the investigation files of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg.² Details of the prisoners' accommodations are contradictory, but the majority of the statements indicate that the women were housed in the factory building. There is no proof of instances of voluntary manslaughter at the Werk Reick. On the other hand, at least one report confirms the murder of a female prisoner: on December 23, 1944, a Russian female "civilian worker" was transferred back to Flossenbürg, whose report by the Flossenbürg camp orderly room bears the notation "SB [Sonderbehandlung, Special Treatment] 3.1.45," as well as being

marked with a cross. On the same day, two additional Russian female prisoners from the Universelle subcamp were also the victims of “special treatment” in Dresden. Other than that, there are no indications that the three murders were connected. Also verifiable, among other things, are the transfers of two female prisoners who were medical orderlies from the Neurohlau subcamp to Werk Reick in early February 1945, as well as a few transfers from the Werk Reick subcamp to Flossenbürg and Bergen-Belsen.

There are only a few documents that shed light on the guarding of the women at the Werk Reick. On October 11, 1944, the Flossenbürg Kommandantur sent identity cards for seven female SS to senior female overseer Ida Guhl.³ The (undated) assignment of several SS men to Werk Reick is also documented.⁴ In contrast to the Goehle-Werk, the Kommandoführer at the Werk Reick were men: according to the concluding note of the Ludwigsburg investigations, they were SS-Oberscharführer Olschewski and his replacement SS-Unterscharführer Johann Heinz.

After the air raid on February 14, 1945, the women were enlisted in cleanup work. On February 25, 1945, an additional large transport of 200 women from Bergen-Belsen was transferred to “Dresden Zeiss-Ikon” or “Dresden-Reik” [sic]. Most of the women were Hungarian, but there were also a few German, French, Greek, Italian, and Czech Jews, as well as Russian civilian workers, some of whom—according to later witness statements by the women—had been taken to Bergen-Belsen via Auschwitz. Shortly after their arrival, an epidemic of typhus broke out in the camp and claimed many victims. The Nummernbücher record the deaths of 23 prisoners between March 5 and April 8, 1945, and there were 7 on March 21 and March 31 alone. The women affected were exclusively the greatly weakened ones from the second transport, which according to some statements was placed in strict isolation. One female witness speaks of 36 deaths and mentions that an SS-Oberscharführer from Hungary brought with him a Jewish doctor from his hometown to treat the sick in the camp.⁵ Other witnesses refer to far higher numbers of typhus victims but cannot give exact numbers.

A few of the women took advantage of what the statements depict as chaotic conditions to make their escape. According to the Nummernbücher, on February 27, 1945, alone, 8 women escaped, with another escape on March 22, 1945. On April 13, 1945, there were 362 female prisoners in the Werk Reick subcamp. The investigation files contain highly contradictory statements on the dissolution of the camp and the subsequent fate of the women. The witnesses are unanimous in stating that the camp was evacuated at the end of April 1945, and the women were forced to go in the direction of the Czech border (some mention the village of Hellendorf), where they were liberated by Soviet troops.

SOURCES For the Werk Reick subcamp, the files from the Best. Zeiss-Ikon AG in the SHStA-(D) (Signatur 11722) are clearly less rich than for other Zeiss-Ikon subcamps at the Goehle-Werk. There are only summary statements about

use of prisoners, along with figures on the use of civilian forced laborers. The main source on this subcamp therefore is the investigation files of the ZdL at BA-L.

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NOTES

1. SHStA-(D), 11722, Ernemann-Werke AG/ Zeiss-Ikon AG Dresden, Nr. 205, Meldung der beschäftigten Ausländer (einschl. Juden) und Kriegsgefangenen.
2. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR 3016/66 (Investigations into the “Zeiss-Ikon Reick” subcamp).
3. BA-B, NS 4/Fl-10.
4. BA-B, NS 4/Fl-428.
5. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR 3016/66, Statement by Sara N., p. 24.

DRESDEN-FRIEDRICHSTADT (RAW) AND DRESDEN (REICHSBAHN)

In four of the Flossenbürg subcamps, prisoners had to work for the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German National Railways). Two of the subcamps were under the responsibility of the Reichsbahndirektion (German National Railways Directorate, RBD) Dresden: in the Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk (German National Railways Repair Works, RAW) in Dresden-Friedrichstadt, prisoners had to repair railroad cars, and in the Dresden (Reichsbahn) subcamp, prisoners (in some cases, the same ones) had to perform cleanup operations on destroyed railroad tracks, starting in late March 1945. The two subcamps were often confused by judicial authorities in postwar investigations for two reasons: first, the administrative records from the camp period do not distinguish precisely between the two subcamps; second, they did indeed exist in parallel up to the end of the war, though in both cases little is known about the dissolution phase.

The Dresden-Friedrichstadt subcamp on the bank of the Weisseritz River was established on September 12, 1944. At this time there were already many foreign workers at RAW Dresden and in other RBD Dresden operations, primarily Eastern workers (Ostarbeiter), Belgians, British prisoners of war (POWs), and Italian military internees (IMIs). In addition, in RAW reports on the occupancy level of the camps (Meldungen über Belegstärke der Lager), there is a handwritten note about a “camp for concentration camp prisoners” in which 300 prisoners are listed for September 15; 299 for October 15; and 597 for November 15, 1944.¹

The RBD Dresden had obviously sought the use of prisoners for quite some time. At any rate, the Werksdirektor of the RAW Dresden explains in a letter to the RBD dated August 14, 1944, that in accordance with a discussion on July 31, 1944, he is supposed to acquire 450 “KZ people,” provided that barracks are delivered. On August 1, he said, an SS-Obersturmbannführer and another man—probably Flossenbürg camp commandant Max Koegel—at a meeting called on

short notice gave him an alternative: either assume responsibility immediately for 600 prisoners, or there might well be no allocation of prisoners at all because of the large demand by the armaments industry.²

The need for labor obviously outweighed the misgivings expressed in regard to accommodations. According to post-war investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, the prisoners had to find accommodation in an unheated locomotive shed—part of Erecting Shop II—where they slept in four-tiered bunk beds; the guards lived in the shop's repair areas, which were fenced in.³ The first 300 prisoners came from Warsaw—some had participated in the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising—and after a short period of forced labor in the Heinkel-Werke at Sachsenhausen concentration camp, they were brought to Dresden on September 14, 1944.⁴ Apart from 1 German and 1 French prisoner, only Polish “civilian workers” are recorded in the Flossenbürg *Nummernbücher* (Numbers Books).⁵ A second group of prisoners was transferred to Dresden from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp in a transport on October 25, 1944. The majority of these 300 prisoners were Polish and Russian “protective detainees” and civilian workers, in addition to a few Czechs, Lithuanians, Germans, French, and Croats. Political prisoners and a few “asocials” and “Gypsies” were a small minority.

The requisition documents of the Flossenbürg Kommandantur expressly identify September 15, 1944, as the “beginning of the Kommando.”⁶ The first prisoner died as early as September 30. By the time the second transport arrived on October 27, the number of prisoners actually engaged in forced labor, who also had to work half a day on Sunday, had dropped from 300 to 281: an indication of worsening living conditions. By the end of the year, the number of prisoners had dropped from a high of 586 to about 540.

The prisoners had to repair damaged railroad cars in a “Concentration Camp Prisoners’ Department of Freight Car Repair” set up expressly for this purpose by RAW.⁷ The prisoners from Sachsenhausen and/or Gross-Rosen had to work in two shifts of 12 hours each. According to former prisoner Zbigniew Kołakowski, they met each other for the first time only after their accommodations had been destroyed in the air raids on Dresden.⁸ Following other statements, the prisoners were housed in the same hall but worked in different locations. In fact, the entries in the Flossenbürg Nummernbücher indicate striking differences between the two transports. Above all, however, they document the catastrophic conditions in the Dresden-Friedrichstadt subcamp. Obviously there was a fear that prisoners in the domain of the Reichsbahn in general were highly likely to attempt escape. At any rate, the responsible department head promptly ordered that the prisoners had to wear an arm band, after the model of the prisoners employed at RAW Jena.⁹ Three days before this order, on October 25, 1944, 3 prisoners were shot while “attempting to escape.” According to later witness statements, the prisoners had tried to escape from the cordoned-off area of the subcamp beneath the axles of the

repaired railroad cars. According to the Nummernbücher for November and December 1944, at least 5 men were shot while attempting to escape. The outcome of other escape attempts is not documented. The reason for these acts of desperation was, besides the extremely poor food, the very serious mistreatment of individual prisoners, which was consistently documented after the war.¹⁰ Altogether, 24 prisoners from the Sachsenhausen transport died in Dresden, and at least 55 prisoners from the Gross-Rosen transport died there.

The person responsible for all this was the Kommandoführer, SS-Hauptsturmführer Rudolf Becher from Falkenau, who died in 1946 as a POW in the USSR. Undated return lists for weapons and munitions indicate that there were between 25 and 32 SS men of lower ranks, probably including a few Hungarian Germans and Ukrainians, stationed at Dresden-Friedrichstadt.¹¹ There is nothing in the documents to indicate the relationship between the civilian employees and the prisoners, and the memoirs collected by RAW for the sixtieth anniversary celebration in 1954 provide no information on this subject.¹² Names of the civilian workers with access to the concentration camp are recorded there, including the right of access to the subcamp for the works medic on September 26, 1944.

The prisoners from the transport from Gross-Rosen were obviously affected by the large air raids on Dresden on February 13 and 14, 1945, which supports the conclusion that the two groups of prisoners had different workstations. Under the date February 20, 1945, 32 deaths from this transport are designated in the Nummernbücher with a red cross and enumerated. A comparable identification is not demonstrable for any of the other Dresden subcamps. A further 19 deaths are documented for February 22.

The 514 survivors were transferred by rail as early as February 19 back to the Flossenbürg main camp.¹³ During this transport, at least 15 prisoners attempted to escape. According to all the witness statements, they escaped through a hole in one side of a railroad car while the SS guards shot at the car. Many of these prisoners sent to Flossenbürg died shortly after their arrival. The rest were transferred to various subcamps, where in some cases they had to work for the Reichsbahn again, while others went to what definitely were camps for the dying (*Sterbelager*). The survivors of the Sachsenhausen transport were mostly sent to the Ohrdruf subcamp of Buchenwald, the Natzweiler system, and the RAW Regensburg subcamp. The prisoners from the Gross-Rosen transport were mainly transferred to the Leonberg subcamp of Natzweiler, as well as the Ansbach, Kirchham, and Pottenstein subcamps of Flossenbürg.

For the Dresden-Friedrichstadt subcamp, the last verifiable date recorded in the relevant literature, such as the International Tracing Service (ITS), is April 13, 1945, when the last labor distribution of the Flossenbürg main camp still records four prisoners for this subcamp. The concluding comment of the Ludwigsburg investigators states, “The former prisoners who were questioned date the time of the subcamp’s

dissolution as late February 1945 or several days after the bombing of Dresden.”¹⁴

Within RAW, there obviously were different opinions regarding the further use of the camp area. According to a note dated February 27, “350 foreigners (civ. workers)” were to be housed “in the concentration camp for emergency aid,”¹⁵ and they were to be “later converted for use in production.” According to another handwritten note by the department head, dated March 11, 1945, “on no account” were additional workers to be housed “in the former concentration camp. . . . Concentration camp prisoners must be turned away, at all events.”¹⁶

Nevertheless, only two weeks later a subcamp again was established within the authority of the RBD Dresden. The Kommandoführer was SS-Hauptscharführer Franz Rohloff, who arrived in Dresden on March 23 with a transport of 63 SS men of lower ranks, including two dog handlers.¹⁷ In the Dresden (Reichsbahn) subcamp, the prisoners were set to work repairing destroyed railroad tracks. A total of 500 men were transferred to Dresden on March 24, including 180 Poles, 89 Hungarians, 87 Russians, 35 Italians, 28 French, 23 Czechs, and 20 Belgians. Among the Poles, there were 61 Jewish prisoners; among the Hungarians, 82; the Czechs included 7 Jewish prisoners; and the French, 3. The rest included a few Jewish and non-Jewish prisoners from Germany, Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Croatia, Romania, and Slovakia. The numbers remained constant until March 31.¹⁸ Many of them already had been compelled to do forced labor in the Dresden-Friedrichstadt subcamp, while others had been transferred only recently from the State Police Offices in Nürnberg-Fürth (French and Belgians) and Regensburg (Poles and Russians) to Flossenbürg.

According to witness statements, the prisoners were housed in a building in the vicinity of a railroad station hall, sleeping in five-tiered bunk beds. Correspondence by Kommandoführer Rohloff, however, bears the address SS-Aussenarbeitslager R.A.W. Dresden-Friedrichstadt (SS Work Subcamp R.A.W. Dresden-Friedrichstadt) throughout. The lack of hygiene and the poor condition of the prisoners were conducive to the outbreak of typhus. The Dresden Health Office’s apparent concerns about the transmission of the disease resulted in a dispute with Kommandoführer Rohloff. While a city representative pushed for multiple delousing of the prisoners as well as for isolation of the guards and monitoring of their temperatures, Rohloff referred to a regulation of the Flossenbürg Kommandantur, the effect of which was that only the SS garrison doctor in Flossenbürg could impose a quarantine in the subcamps, which were to be regarded as extraterritorial.¹⁹

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) failed to bring to light any further details on this subcamp. In the concluding comment of the investigations into the Dresden (Reichsbahn) subcamp, the contradiction between some prisoners’ reports of an evacuation march in the direction of Austria or Theresienstadt and the

dissolution date of May 8, 1945, given by the ITS, cannot be resolved.

SOURCES In addition to the relevant sources on Flossenbürg and its subcamps—the “Häftlingsnummernbücher” in NARA, the Flossenbürg-Best. NS 4/FL in the BA-B, and the replacement records of the documents at the ITS, the most important collection for the Dresden-Friedrichstadt and Dresden (Reichsbahn) subcamps is in the SHStA-(D) (Best. 11689 A, RAW Dresden). In particular, for the brochure on the sixtieth anniversary of the RAW in 1954, a great deal of source material was gathered on the topics of forced labor and the use of prisoners, as well as memoirs of employees and the like. The investigation files of the ZdL (at BA-L) provide information, through numerous witness statements, about conditions in the Dresden-Friedrichstadt subcamp; the files on the Dresden (Reichsbahn) subcamp are extremely sparse, which is probably attributable to destruction caused by the air raids on Dresden, as well as to the late date of the subcamp’s origin.

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NOTES

1. SHStA-(D), 11698 A, RAW Dresden, Nr. 37.
2. Ibid., Letter of the Works Director of RAW to RBD, Dresden, August 8, 1944, *Betr. Fernmündlicher Auftrag des Herrn Abteilungspräsidenten Kothe. Einstellung von Kz-Leuten.*
3. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR 3032/66 (*Ermittlungen zum Nebenlager Dresden-Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk*).
4. Ibid., p. 105, Statement by Karol S.
5. NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537 (microfilm copy in AG-F).
6. BA-B, NS 4/FL 393, vol. 2: *Monatliche Forderungsnachweise der Kommandantur Flossenbürg (Abt. Arbeitseinsatz) an das Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk Dresden für Oktober bis Dezember 1944.*
7. SHStA-(D), 11698 A, RAW Dresden, Nr. A 37, p. 51.
8. Oral statement by Zbigniew Kołakowski on July 23, 2004.
9. SHStA-(D), 11698 A, RAW Dresden, Nr. A 166.
10. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR 152/76 (*Ermittlungen zum Aussenlager Dresden-Reichsbahn*), Statement by Teofil Marian K., pp. 173–177, and Eryk N., pp. 178–182.
11. BA-B, NS 4/FL 428.
12. SHStA-(D), 11698 A, RAW Dresden, Nr. A 37 and A 157 (*Firm History*).
13. SVG, vorl. Signatur 2121, *Camp Strength Report*, February 20, 1945. The originals are held at ITS.
14. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR 3032/66, Conclusion, p. 169.
15. SHStA-(D), 11698 A, RAW Dresden, Nr. A 166, not foliated.
16. Ibid.
17. BA-B, NS 4 FL/428, *Transport to SS work camp RAW-Dresden-Friedrichstadt*.
18. BA-B, Best. ehem. ZSA-P DOK/K 183/11, *Status of Prisoners in Kdo. Dresden (Reichsbahn)*.
19. SHStA-(D), 11698 A RAW Dresden, Nr. A 166, handwritten note, March 4, 1945, and letter from Kommandoführer Rohloff to the Werksdirektor, March 3, 1945.

EISENBERG

From the summer of 1943 until the end of the war, there was a small special detail (Sonderkommando) of the Flossenbürg concentration camp at Castle Eisenberg (Jezerí) in north-western Bohemia, near the municipality of Ulbersdorf (Albrechtice) at the edge of the Erzgebirge and close to Brüx (Most). Also located in the castle, which previously was property of Czechoslovak ambassador Max von Lobkovic, who emigrated to London in 1938, was a special camp of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) for 100 to 200 mostly senior French officers.

The older Czech research refers also to a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp in Eisenberg, with an occupancy level of 40 to 50 men. Since April 1943, French POWs who were used for forestry work were housed in wooden barracks close to the castle's forest administration office.¹

According to SS documents, the Eisenberg subcamp was a Sonderkommando of the RSHA, which was used for the construction and then for the maintenance and repair of the special camp.²

The first mention of the Eisenberg subcamp of Flossenbürg is dated June 21, 1943: on this day 30 male prisoners (14 Soviets, 9 Germans, and 7 Poles) were transferred from the Flossenbürg main camp to Eisenberg. However, there is already a document on the SS-Kommando Eisenberg dated May 6, 1943, in the records of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in Oranienburg, transferring three radios and two pictures of Hitler, among other things, to Flossenbürg as supplies for the welfare of the troops.³

After the construction work at the Eisenberg camp was completed during the summer, on August 16, 1943, the majority of the Kommando was transferred back to Flossenbürg. According to a statement by K.G., a former prisoner and Kapo at the Eisenberg subcamp, the construction detail (Baukommando) was tasked with surrounding the site with barbed wire and making structural changes in the buildings. During this time, the prisoners slept in the castle's stables.⁴

Polish prisoner Z.G. said in a witness statement that around 200 French officers were interned at the castle as POWs: "Among the Fr. officers there was also a brother of General de Gaulle and a personal physician of Marshal Pétain."⁵

Between January 1944 and the end of the war, three to eight prisoners can be verified as present at the Eisenberg subcamp. A strength report dated February 28, 1945, mentions seven male prisoners—four Germans and three Poles.⁶

Prisoner Z.G. said the following about the conditions in the camp: "There were seven of us prisoners and we were busy doing unskilled labor in the kitchen, the garage, and the castle courtyard. Around the castle walls, which were still intact, high barbed wire had been put up, with about six guard towers, manned day and night. The prisoners were housed in the castle, specifically in an old storeroom on the ground floor. The officers lived on the upper floors, and we were forbidden to go up there. . . . In general, I can say that

the guards behaved properly at Eisenberg. That made the treatment at Flossenbürg even worse."⁷

Most of the prisoners had to work in the kitchen of the camp for prominent POWs. On March 2, 1945, a Czech dental technician also was transferred from Flossenbürg to the Eisenberg subcamp.

The special camp and the concentration camp subcamp were guarded by a total of about 50 men. The Kommandoführer was Austrian SS-Hauptsturmführer Kamillo von Knorr-Krehan (born March 25, 1899).⁸

The Eisenberg subcamp was mentioned for the last time in the Flossenbürg strength reports on April 13, 1945, when it held eight prisoners. According to Z.G., the captive officers were taken over by the Swiss Red Cross on April 20, 1945, and transported by rail to Switzerland. The prisoners were able to leave the castle on April 27, 1945, after the guards had disappeared. On foot, the prisoners managed to reach the Americans in Weimar.

SOURCES The secondary literature on the Eisenberg subcamp is very sparse and consists of brief references in older Czech descriptions of a general nature: Růžena Bubeníčková, Ludmilla Kubátová, and Irena Malá, *Tábory utrpení a smrti* (Prague, 1969); as well as Jörg Skribeleit's piece "Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 196–217.

The direct sources consist mostly of investigation files of the ZdL (at BA-L) as well as the Flossenbürg SS-Verwaltungsaiken zu Eisenberg, which are summarized in the BA-B in Best. NS4/FL. In addition, there are the transfer lists in the CEGESOMA, Microfilm No. 14368. Czechoslovak investigation files in Best. KT-OVS of the SÚA and the monthly strength reports from the final phase of the camp in Best. NSM, Sign. 110-4-88, round out the number of sources.

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NOTES

1. Růžena Bubeníčková, Ludmilla Kubátová, and Irena Malá: *Tábory utrpení a smrti* (Prague, 1969), p. 298.

2. CEGESOMA, Microfilm No. 14368.

3. Ibid.

4. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR 718/73.

5. Ibid.

6. BA-B, NS4/FL-393/1 and NS4/FL-392.

7. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR 718/73.

8. Monthly Strength Reports for Guards as well as Prisoners in Work Detachments of the HSSPF for Bohemia and Moravia from late 1944 to February 1945, SÚA, NSM, Sign. 110-4-88.

FALKENAU

The first step in discussing the Falkenau subcamp must be to clarify which camp is actually meant, as documents mention the Falkenau women's labor camp (Frauenarbeitslager Falkenau),¹ the Falkenau subcamp (Nebenlager Falkenau), and a subdetachment of the Zwodau labor camp of Flossenbürg

(Unterkommando des Arbeitslagers Zwodau des KL Flossenbürg).² Relying on a postwar Czech source, Hans Brenner states that the latter for the period November 16, 1944, to May 8, 1945, held 60 female prisoners and was located in the cellar of the city hall in Falkenau (Sokolov).³ Overall, however, Jörg Skribeleit is probably correct in suggesting that the Falkenau camp was the forerunner of the later Zwodau subcamp and was provisionally located in a textile factory at the start of the employment of prisoners.⁴ Contrary to what Skribeleit suggests, however, the camp existed for six to seven months, from December 1943 to approximately July 1944.

Owing to the relative sparseness of the sources, it cannot be precisely determined when planning for the use of prisoners began. Nevertheless, there is information about its context: the Luftfahrtgerätewerk Hakenfelde GmbH (Aircraft Equipment Works Hakenfelde Ltd., LGW) was founded in 1940 as a wholly owned joint subsidiary of Siemens & Halske AG (S&H) and Siemens-Schuckert Werke AG (Siemens-Schuckert Works, Inc., SSW). The armaments firm operated at high capacity to produce items for the air war: autopilots, navigation instruments, gyroscopes, flight instruments, aircraft electric equipment, communication equipment, and electric fire systems. In view of the positive results that Siemens already had experienced from the fall of 1942 on at its "Ravensbrück assembly plant,"⁵ together with the increasing risks caused by air raids, Siemens director Paul Storch in the spring of 1943 was led to consider transferring production to "more secure areas" and to use "concentration camps for assembly of particularly important parts."⁶ It was thus a strategic decision by Siemens to set up prisoner operations on the periphery of the Old Reich, a decision in which the responsible parties linked the enormous increases in the turnover of the armaments industry with the simultaneous shortage of labor: for the expansion of its production, the firm focused on its model project for the use of prisoner labor at the Ravensbrück concentration camp.

On September 3, 1943, the Gesellschaft für Luftfahrtgeräte, Spandau, occupied 13,000 square meters (15,548 square yards) in the Kammgarnspinnerei (Worsted Yarn Spinning Mill) Ignaz Schmieger AG Zwodau at Falkenau on the Eger River.⁷ The installation of the factory took place quickly because the first approximately 100 prisoners used as laborers were charged for as early as December 1943. In February 1944, 193 prisoners were charged for.⁸

The prisoners were first housed on the factory grounds in a hall above the production rooms. Food was supplied then, as well as later, from the factory canteen in Zwodau. Because the camp was not large at first, food was better than in Zwodau, in terms of both quantity and quality.⁹ Additional transports in the following months increased the number of prisoners in the camp to about 750. The Polish, German, French, Czechoslovak, and Yugoslav women worked roughly 12-hour day and night shifts in the factory. As in the "Fertigungsstelle Ravensbrück," they worked as unskilled laborers, producing, in strictly separate areas, coils, switches, measuring devices, and

other items for aircraft weaponry.¹⁰ As in Ravensbrück, each worker operated on a bonus system for individual performance. For below-standard work, there were penalties such as night shifts and withholding of food. For satisfactory or above-standard work, there was additional food.¹¹

In the worst case, the prisoners could be shifted to physically exhausting construction work outdoors, since the prisoners began leveling work for the Zwodau subcamp approximately in March 1944.¹² Together with Italian military internees (IMIs), the women built four prisoner barracks, one infirmary and support barracks, and one lodging barracks for the SS guards. The camp was surrounded by barbed wire, which at least was not electrified from the very outset.¹³ It was probably in mid-July that the prisoners moved into the newly built, but not quite finished, barracks camp at Zwodau.¹⁴

The Kommandoführer at Falkenau was at first SS-Hauptscharführer Willibald Richter, who came from the Czech part of Czechoslovakia. All the prisoners speak positively about him, saying that he behaved correctly and decently and when there were no witnesses, he even spoke to the prisoners in Czech. He was in command of 18 Luftwaffe soldiers, Erstaufseherin Elfriede Tribus, and 21 other SS female overseers. Richter and Tribus were transferred at the time of the move to the Graslitz subcamp and replaced by SS-Hauptscharführer Kurt Schreiber and Erstaufseherin Anneliese Unger, who are alleged to have mistreated the prisoners, with the result that some died.¹⁵ Camp elder Johanna Baumann née Forthofer was also accused of mistreating the prisoners. However, there are no reported deaths in Falkenau itself.

It is not possible to comment here on the postwar trials of the Zwodau subcamp guards conducted in the Czechoslovak Republic. In West Germany, starting in the mid-1960s, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg conducted investigations in relation to homicides, particularly in the last phase of the war, when hundreds of weakened Jewish prisoners came to the Zwodau subcamp on "evacuation marches."¹⁶ In this connection, the predecessor camp Falkenau was also investigated by the ZdL. Zwodau and its predecessor camp Falkenau were also examined as part of the collective preliminary proceedings for the Flossenbürg subcamps (Flossenbürg was responsible for Zwodau as of September 1944).

In 1974, the relevant State Attorney's Office in Munich conducted preliminary proceedings against the defendants Jordan, Unger, Schmidt, and others on suspicion of murder but abandoned them in 1979 because no defendants could be located. Subsequently, in 1991 the ZdL also abandoned its corresponding preliminary proceedings.¹⁷

SOURCES To date the only comprehensive study on the Flossenbürg subcamps, of which Zwodau also was one starting in September 1944, was produced by Hans Brenner in 1982: "Zur Rolle der Aussenkommandos des KZ Flossenbürg im System der staatsmonopolistischen Rüstungswirtschaft des faschistischen deutschen Imperialismus und im antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf 1942–1945" (Ph.D. diss., Dresden,

1982). Like most East German historians, he sought primarily to document the decisive influence of large corporations on state institutions and the war economy. This limitation on the formulation of the question, however, reduces the informative value of this otherwise meritorious and well-documented study, to which access is possible only with difficulty, owing to the poor legibility of most copies. Brenner also has published his findings and theses on the use of prisoners in two essays, in which, however, a small outside detail—attested only on the basis of postwar sources—is listed under the Falkenau subcamp: “Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren,” *TSD* (1999): 263–293 (see table on p. 266); and “Der ‘Arbeitseinsatz’ der KZ-Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg—ein Überblick,” in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager; Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert et al. (Göttingen, 1998), 2: 682–706. Karl Heinz Roth compares a number of prisoner operations for the Siemens firm in “Zwangarbeit im Siemens-Konzern (1938–1945): Fakten—Kontroversen—Probleme,” in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen, 1996), pp. 149–168. Roth’s structuring typology of the use of forced labor for the firm is valuable. Using the records of the ZdL as well as the Flossenbürg Nummernbücher, discovered at NARA, Jörg Skribeleit provides an up-to-date overview of the Flossenbürg subcamps in Bohemia, “Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen,” *DaHe* 15 (1999): 196–217. Skribeleit assumes incorrectly, however, that the Falkenau subcamp existed for only a few weeks. His analysis of the Nummernbücher, however, provides important new information on the growth of the death rate in female subcamps under investigation. Only with the beginning of the “evacuations” of camps located in the east and the transfer of their inmates to camps farther west, such as Zwodau, did this rate increase at a rapid speed. A monograph by Wilfried Feldenkirchen, the former director of the AS-M, appeared on the 150th anniversary of Siemens AG, *Siemens 1918–1945* (Munich, 1996). What should be emphasized, however, along with a conspicuous apologetic tendency, is first and foremost the extensive system of annotation, in which AS-M sources also are selectively quoted, sources that otherwise are not publicly accessible, as they are held in the “un-catalogued sources, temporary archives.” The aspects of modernization and technical and social streamlining are of extraordinary relevance for the integration of captive, unqualified laborers into a modern, capitalist industrial firm; thus the works below examine the absolutely essential prehistory of all use of forced labor in the production sector of Germany’s most important general-purpose company in the electrical industry, with explicit discussion of the importance of female labor. The standard works are by Heidrun Homburg, *Rationalisierung und Industriearbeit: Arbeitsmarkt, Management, Arbeiterschaft im Siemens-Konzern Berlin 1900–1939* (Berlin, 1991); Carola Sachse, *Siemens, der Nationalsozialismus und die moderne Familie: Eine Untersuchung zur sozialen Rationalisierung in Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg, 1990); Tilla Siegel and Thomas Freiberg, *Industrielle Rationalisierung unter dem Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991); Rüdiger Hachtman, “*Industriearbeit im Dritten Reich: Untersuchungen zu den Lohn- und Arbeitsbedingungen in Deutschland 1933–1945*” (Göttingen, 1989); Hacht-

mann, “Industriearbeiterschaft und Rationalisierung 1900 bis 1945: Bemerkungen zum Forschungsstand,” *JWg* 1 (1996): 211–258; Hachtman, “... artgemäßer Arbeitseinsatz der jetzigen und zukünftigen Mütter unseres Volkes: Industrielle Erwerbstätigkeit von Frauen 1933 bis 1945 im Spannungsfeld von Rassismus, Biologismus und Klasse,” in “*Neuordnung Europas*”: *Vorträge vor der Berliner Gesellschaft für Faschismus- und Weltkriegsforschung: 1992–1996*, ed. Werner Röhr and Brigitte Berlekamp (Berlin, 1996), pp. 231–252.

The presumably quite extensive collections of the AS-M are in great part inaccessible for independent research. Research is therefore dependent on state archives. The above-mentioned investigation records of the ZdL (at BA-L) are thus one of the most important cohesive collections for the investigation of the Falkenau subcamp (and of the subsequently established Zwodau subcamp). They contain numerous witness statements by surviving prisoners, other witnesses, and perpetrators. Here it must be stressed that the investigating state attorneys worked closely with the ITS. At that time they still were able to see the ITS’s collections of contemporary documents and use them in their investigations. Further, years before it aroused the interest of historians in the West, the state attorneys also assessed the extensive collection on KZ Flossenbürg now held as NS4 in the BA-B, the second important closed collection on the Falkenau subcamp. There are probably important documents in the Czech archives on the origins of the use of prison labor and on the plans for use of prisoners, as indicated by the enquiries made at Ludwigsburg for plans by the Commission for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes. The BA-MA holds collections regarding the war economy including contracts and production records of the LGW.

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NOTES

1. See Record of Interview [SS-Erstaufseherin] Ilse Broders née Schmidt, September 13, 1978, in Heide, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 60/67, p. 1621.
2. See Concluding Note on Falkenau Camp, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3013/66, Ludwigsburg, August 6, 1968, p. 9.
3. [File Note] ZdL Referat 410, Ludwigsburg, September 12, 1966, ZdL, IV 410AR3013/66, p. 1.
4. Jörg Skribeleit, “Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen,” *DaHe* 15 (1999): 214; as well as Record of Interview [SS-Erstaufseherin] Elisabeth Gross née Best, March 15, 1971, in Wuppertal, ZdL, IV 410AR-Z60/67, p. 1168.
5. See the entry “Siemenslager Ravensbrück” in this volume.
6. Factory Management Meeting on March 4, 1943, “Extracts from Factory Management Meetings,” LAB-BPA-SED, FDGB 276, n.p.
7. See file card Kammgarnspinnerei Ignaz Schmieger Akt. Ges. Zwodau b. Falkenau a. Eger /Sud., Reichsbetriebskartei, Wirtschaftsgruppe Textilindustrie, Kriegswirtschaftsmassnahmen (Betriebsstilllegungen): Bezirksgruppen: Sudetenland, Ostmark, Südbayern, Nordbayern, Protektorat Böhmen & Mähren, BA-B, R13 XIV/236.
8. See Overview ZdL Prisoner Level for Flossenbürg Subcamp according to NS4, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR 2629/67,

vol. 3 KL Flossenbürg, as well as letter from Waffen-SS Kdtr. Flossenbürg Arbeitseinsatz to SS-WVHA Amt D II Re: Forderungsnachweise, January 1, 1944, ZdL, Ordner IV 410 (F) AR 2629/67 Document Collection, vol. 3 KL Flossenbürg, p. 857.

9. See Record of Interview with Irena Tward née Szw. [*08/1913 in Poznan], June 4, 1971, in Poznan, ZdL, IV 410AR-Z48/71B, p. 124; see Record of Interview with [Lagerälteste] Johanna Baumann née Forthofer, October 7, 1966, October 14, 1966, and October 19, 1966, ZdL, IV 410AR-Z48/71B, p. 12; see Record of Interview with [SS-Erstaufseherin] Elfriede Tribus, December 15, 1970, in Miltenberg, ZdL, Collection Ravensbrück "TUV"; Letter from Arbeitseinsatz KL Flossenbürg to SS-WVHA Amt D II Re.: Verpflegung durch Firmen, March 1, 1944, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR 2629/67, vol. 3 KL Flossenbürg, p. 843.

10. See Record of Interview with [Lagerälteste] Johanna Baumann née Forthofer, October 7, 1966, October 14, 1966, and October 19, 1966, ZdL, IV 410AR-Z48/71B.

11. See Anon., "I Was in a Siemens Concentration Camp, Report of a French Forced Laborer," V, October 5, 1946. Owing to identical formulations, the article was probably written by Henriette Seller; see Report by Henriette Seller on the Transport from Compiègne and KZ Zwodau, LA-B-BPASED V6/3/6007, Nachlass Baum; Record of Interview with Halina Prei. née Smo., October 23, 1971, in Poznan, ZdL, a.a.O.

12. On the following, see also Record of Interview with Irena Tward née Szw., dated June 6, 1971, in Poznan, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 48/71 B, p. 116.

13. See Plans of the Siemens Construction Department for the LGW Zwodau, Barracks Camp "KZ-Baracken 2, 3 and 4" 1:100, February 24, 1944, and "Plan 14, LGW-Betrieb Zwodau, Lageplan Barackenlager," 1:1000, March 4, 1944, ZdL, VI 410 AR-Z 60/67 (B), p. 422, as well as Travel Report [SS-Obergruppenführer Frank], August 10–11, 1944, August 15, 1944 [Prague], ZdL, a.a.O.

14. See Attestation by Wachführer Reschke, SS-Kdo. Zwodau (Schlüsselübergabe ehemalige Häftlingsunterkunft), July 18, 1944, ZdL a.a.O.; and also Travel Report [SS-Obergruppenführer Frank], August 10–11, 1944, August 15, 1944, o.O. [Prague], ZdL, a.a.O.

15. See Order of Abandonment of the Sta. München I for Proceeding 320 Js 486/74 v Jordan, Unger, Schmidt, August 14, 1979, ZdL, IV 109 AR-Z 154/91 p. 8.

16. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 48/71B; ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 23/68; ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR 2629/67; and ZdL, VI 410 AR-Z 60/67 (B).

17. Sta. Mü 1 320 Js 486/74; ZdL, IV 109 AR-Z 154/91.

the Erla works, which already had erected subcamps for prisoner labor details of the Flossenbürg main camp in late 1943 in Johanngeorgenstadt and in January 1944 in Mülsen St. Micheln, set up another outside detail of the Flossenbürg concentration camp at Flöha in March 1944 for the manufacturing of fuselages for the Messerschmitt (Me) 109 fighter plane.²

On March 18, 1944, the first 200 concentration camp prisoners and the SS guard personnel arrived in Flöha. On June 3, 1944, a second transport from Flossenbürg arrived with primarily French prisoners, including many students from Strasbourg University who had evaded the German grasp until 1942 by heading to Clermont-Ferrand. In October 1944, 80 Russian concentration camp prisoners from the Buchenwald subcamp at the Erla works in Leipzig-Thekla were delivered to the Flöha subcamp.³ The strength of the Flöha subcamp grew to almost 800 prisoners, despite repeated shifting of sick prisoners and those unable to work to the Flossenbürg main camp and to Bergen-Belsen. In January 1945, an additional 24 Jewish prisoners arrived from the Bunzlau I Rauscha subcamp of Gross-Rosen.⁴ In the strength report dated January 31, 1945, 598 prisoners were reported for Flöha.⁵ A report on February 28, 1945, gives an overview of the nationalities represented in the camp: 309 citizens of the USSR (described by the SS as Russians, although they belonged to several nationalities); 159 French; 79 Poles, among whom were 24 Jews, although 2 were of Hungarian nationality; 15 Germans; 14 Czechs; 4 Italians; 3 Lithuanians; 2 Yugoslavs; and 2 stateless persons.⁶ For April 13, 1945, 600 prisoners were reported.⁷

The factory premises were fenced in with barbed wire, and guard towers with machine-gun posts were intended to foil any escape attempt. The prisoners were housed on the fourth floor (attic) of the factory building. The prisoners in the completely overcrowded attic room were exposed to greater risk of destruction during bombing raids.

The employment of the prisoners took place in various groups under the supervision of German master craftsmen and foremen in a 12-hour shift system. The management of Flossenbürg charged the Erla works for most of the employed prisoners a daily rate of 6 Reichsmark (RM) for "skilled laborers" and for only 15 percent of the prisoners a daily rate of 4 RM for "unskilled laborers." After deducting 0.65 RM for food per day per prisoner, for which the Erla works were responsible, they paid into the SS account at the Reichsbank branch in Weiden, after production start-up in July 1944, increasing monthly amounts: 52,722 RM in July 1944, 90,300 RM in August 1944, 95,348 RM in September 1944, 87,014 RM in October 1944, and 72,412 RM in December 1944.⁸

The inhumane living conditions, completely inadequate nutrition, 12- to 14-hour work shifts, insufficient sleep due to disturbances during shift changes and air-raid warnings, frequent standing for hours at roll calls, and abuses by SS guard personnel and criminal Kapos claimed many victims in the camp. In addition, there were victims of shootings and hangings. The names of 27 prisoners who died in the Flöha camp

FLÖHA

In November 1943, Flöha Tüllfabrik (Flöha Tulle Factory) received from the Armaments Ministry the directive to clear a part of its factory space for the Erla-Maschinenwerk GmbH Leipzig.¹ For the purpose of camouflage, the Ministry of Armaments assigned the Erla subsidiary in Flöha the code name "Fortuna GmbH." In the context of decentralizing its air armament production for better protection against air attacks,

are known. Polish prisoners, who had made rings from discarded aluminum to exchange for bread with German civilian workers, were hanged for sabotage of armaments in front of all the prisoners in the factory courtyard. The criminal Kapo Knehr served as hangman. Before Israeli investigating authorities, former Polish Jewish prisoner Wolf S. reported on an execution: "As I remember, two prisoners, Russians, were accused of sabotage in the Flöha camp, sentenced to death by the camp leader, led out of the camp, and shot. I saw the clothes and shoes of the accused, which were later brought back into the camp."¹⁰

A group of French prisoners, technicians, and engineers carried out a sabotage campaign, which remained hidden from the SS and the inspecting Wehrmacht representatives. Toni Siegert writes about this: "French engineers and technicians, prisoners who were employed in an aircraft manufacturing plant at Flöha/Saxony, conducted demonstrable active sabotage. They knowingly manufactured faulty machine parts whose defects were not immediately recognizable but during great stress in air combat would cause the machines to fail; they also developed a special system of brittle riveting of airplane parts."¹⁰

Despite all threats of punishment, several Russian and French prisoners attempted to escape, and during one attempt a farmer in a neighboring village shot Frenchman Robert Bonneau. Those responsible for the crimes committed in the Flöha camp include camp leader SS-Oberscharführer Karl Brendel and the SS guard detail of 10 SS-Unterführer and 57 SS men under his command; in addition, factory manager Max G. and master craftsman Paul K. were brought before a court in 1948. Brendel, who was charged with another atrocious crime, was never apprehended and sentenced.

On April 14, 1945, the Flöha subcamp was evacuated in a march on foot toward Erzgebirgskamm. The destination was most probably the Flossenbürg main camp. During the first night's rest, Brendel killed three prisoners, two Polish Jews and one Russian. From the report of Wolf S., the names of the two Jewish victims are known: "Among those shot were two of my school classmates—Szlamek Fischnitz and Chaim Zylberstajn. Many others were shot during this march."¹¹ The path of this death march appeared in the report by former French prisoner André L.:

On the next morning, April 15, 1945, SS-Oberscharführer Brendel (the commandant of the labor camp) told our comrades who were sick with tuberculosis, who like us the day before had taken part in the foot march and were equally exhausted, to get on a horse-drawn wagon.... We were to find our comrades again on the way out of the town Marienberg.... One of the trucks confiscated by the SS took them from now on. The arriving SS-Oberscharführer spent a short time at the vehicle and called the exhausted among us to get on, under the pretext of wanting to save them the hardship of another foot march. Finally in the afternoon... we

saw those transported in the truck being shot in a forest. There were fifty-seven who had boarded the truck.¹²

Twenty-three French and 34 Soviet citizens were victims of this cowardly murder.

The prisoner column continued its march through northern Bohemia initially in a southwesterly direction toward Flossenbürg but turned toward the east when the SS had news of Flossenbürg being occupied by U.S. troops. Seven French prisoners whose names are known and countless prisoners of other nationalities died on the continuing march. On May 6, 1945, the remainder of the marching column was brought to the ghetto at Theresienstadt; 97 prisoners were registered there.¹³ Among those prisoners from the Flöha camp who were liberated on May 8, 1945, by Soviet troops in Theresienstadt (Terezín) but later still died at Terezín was French writer Robert Desnos, who met his death there on June 8, 1945.¹⁴ Because of their complicity in the crimes against humanity committed in the Flöha camp, the factory manager of Fortuna GmbH Flöha, Max G., was sentenced to 20 years in prison on February 20, 1948, in the Chemnitz regional court, and the former master craftsman at this factory, Paul K., was sentenced to 25 years in prison. The opinion of the court said, among other things:

The accused did his utmost to carry out systematically the criminal endeavors of the National Socialist rulers in total disregard for any human rights at the cost of the freedom, health, and life of foreign forcefully displaced civilian prisoners and persons of different political opinions.... The reference to the orders given by the leadership of Flossenbürg concentration camp and other National Socialist rulers is not suitable for absolving the accused, for it is not about orders based on morality and law, but rather about arbitrary acts that scorn all morality and law. Just as everyone who issues such orders is guilty, those who follow such orders are also guilty. When the accused adopts the orders of the leadership at Flossenbürg concentration camp as his own, he makes himself a henchman of the leadership of Flossenbürg, as whose branch the Fortuna works at Plaue were to be considered.

SOURCES An early survey of Flossenbürg subcamps is Toni Siegert, "Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit. Herrschaft und Gesellschaft in Konflikt. Teil A* ed. Martin Broszat and Elke Fröhlich (Vienna, 1979), 2:460.

Primary sources for this essay include BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 (f) AR-Z 236/75, vols. 1 and 2; IV 410 AR 2472/66; AN, 72 AJ 327; ITS, Hist. Abt. Flossenbürg; Sta-Lg, Erla-Werke; and Sta. Karl-Marx-Stadt (present-day Chemnitz), Proceedings against Max G., et al., 1947/48. A published testimony is Pierre Volmer, "Avec Desnos à Flöha," Dé (September 1990): 17–20.

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NOTES

1. Ba-VEB-Ts-Fl, Protokoll der Aufsichtsratssitzung AG (Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting) der Tüllfabrik Flöha, November 9, 1943.
2. StA-Lg, Erla-Werke, No. 159, n.p.
3. AG-B; NARA, RG 242, Film 8; Transport List, October 25, 1944.
4. ITS, Photocopy Flossenbürg, No. 209.
5. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, No. 10, pp. 52–53.
6. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, No. 4, p. 95.
7. BA-B, Film 14 430, p. 1264.
8. BA-B, Film 4053; labor requisition documents for July–October 1944.
9. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 236/75, 2:234.
10. Toni Siegert, “Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg,” in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit. Herrschaft und Gesellschaft in Konflikt*, ed. Martin Broszaf and Elke Fröhlsch (Vienna, 1979), 2: 460.
11. ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 236/75, 2:234.
12. ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 236/75, 1:17; Translation of a letter from Mr. André L. to Mr. Simon Wiesenthal from November 28, 1967.
13. Pierre Volmer, “Avec Desnos à Flöha,” *Dé* (September 1990): 17–20.
14. Sta. Karl-Marx-Stadt (present-day Chemnitz), April 1947, Anlagen zum Urteil, February 19–20, 1948.

FREIBERG

In Freiberg, preparations for the erection of a subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp to house an outside detail at the Arado-Flugzeugwerke GmbH (Arado Aircraft Works, Ltd.) began in December 1943.¹ The planning and construction of the housing camp is a clear example of the collaboration between the armaments industry, the SS, and the Ministry of Armaments. First, Office D II of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) approved the application for the allocation of a prisoner work detail that Arado had submitted within the context of the Jägerstab's (Fighter Staff's) measures. In its building application, which was not sent to the local authorities (the Oberbürgermeister of Freiberg) until April 1944, the company was represented by the building commissioner of the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production (RMfRK) in Armament Inspection Region IVa (based in Dresden). The camp planning was done by the Reich Industry Group (the lobbying organization of the entrepreneurs), Land Saxony Area, Regional Office Dresden.² The bureaucratic hurdles that cropped up caused delays, so that on the arrival of the first transport on August 31, 1944, with 249 primarily Polish Jewish women and girls from Auschwitz, to whom the Flossenbürg Kommandantur assigned prisoner numbers from 53423 through 53671, the barracks camp was not yet completed.³ The women and girls received provisional lodgings in empty factory halls of a closed-down porcelain factory. The second transport came on September 22, 1944, with 251 women from Auschwitz, again primarily Polish Jews, who were assigned prisoner numbers 53672

through 53922.⁴ Some 180 Czechs, 127 Slovaks, 91 Germans, 28 Yugoslavs, 22 Dutch, 15 Hungarians, 6 Poles, 1 Italian, 1 Russian, and 1 U.S. citizen, as well as 21 stateless persons, all female and Jewish, arrived with the third transport from Auschwitz, which was registered on October 12, 1944, by Flossenbürg for the Freiberg subcamp. The nationality of 9 women on this transport has not been determined. The women of this last transport once again received the consecutive prisoner numbers 53923 through 54435.⁵ This leads to the conclusion that all three transports were completely coordinated beforehand with the Flossenbürg main camp. With the addition of 3 women, who were given the prisoner numbers 56801 through 56803, the Freiberg subcamp held 1,002 prisoners. A strength report on January 31, 1945, still listed 996 women in the Freiberg camp.⁶

The composition according to birth year offers the following picture: born before 1900, 12; born 1900 to 1909, 140; born 1910 to 1919, 367; born 1920 to 1924, 281; born 1925 to 1930, 186; no information, 16.⁷

According to concurring reports from many women in the transports, Dr. Mengele personally selected them at Auschwitz. He decided which of them could go on the transport, which of the women stayed at the Auschwitz II-Birkenau camp, and which should be murdered immediately. Czech Hana L. reports:

They always assembled in groups of five, followed by the high SS marching by in their perfect uniforms. It was Dr. Mengele personally who sorted the people into those capable of work and prisoners destined for gassing. As we were both dressed in a good coat and an anorak, he signaled my cousin Vera and me to the right and my mother to the left, which meant to the gas. My mother said in good German, “Please, these are my children.” Mengele now also signaled my mother to the right. We did not suspect that to the right meant work and life and to the left meant gas and death. . . . But the great miracles were still to come. They took all of our things away, shaved our hair, and everyone received a dress and wooden clogs or other shoes. . . . Until I die I will never forget the feeling of the cold on my shaved head. Without hair—that is a complete degradation for a woman. We were so many that the SS did not manage to tattoo all of us. . . . Still in October we were put on a transport toward Germany. That was like a prize. Thus we reached Freiberg in Saxony.⁸

In contrast to the wretched barracks in the women's camp at Birkenau, the lodgings at the factory in Freiberg, which were heated and to some extent dry, appeared considerably better to the women. Anneliese W., at the time 16 years old, said about the lodging: “It appeared to be a good change from Auschwitz. We slept only two to a bed, had pillows and a type of blanket.”⁹

Several women reported on the employment, like Slovakian Katarina L: "We worked in two shifts, twelve hours each, as heavy laborers building airplane wings. As we were not skilled workers in aircraft construction, we also made mistakes, which were answered with slaps in the face."¹⁰ In her report, Czech Marie S. goes into the relationship with German civil workers: "My work consisted mostly of riveting the 'small wing' with another female prisoner. There was no foreman around, only an inspector who came by daily to check whether we had worked well. Once I asked him where we were. To be sure he answered me, but only briefly, 'in Freiberg' and added that he was forbidden to speak with Gypsies. When I then said to him that I was a pharmacist and my husband was a doctor, he convinced himself with the help of medications that I had not lied. He then muttered, 'The fascists have deceived me.' After that he always told us what was reported from London."¹¹ Czech Hana St. also describes a similar dialogue:

This conversation appears strange, almost like a joke, but I find it very instructive as it is probably something like a reflection of the foggy thinking, brought about by the Nazi propaganda haze, of so many "little people" in Germany at that time. . . . This dialogue with Foreman Rausch took place in the first days: with hand motions and no words he sent me to get some tool, but I didn't bring the right one. Furious, he grabbed me by the dress and beat me against the scaffolding. I was indignant and told him that when he wanted something he would have to explain it to me as I had never before worked in a factory. Rausch was surprised that this creature—resembling a scarecrow—addressed him, and even in German. He asked me where I had worked and what type of work I had actually done. In another conversation we talked about the concentration camp and I explained to him that I was sent there as a Jew. To that Foreman Rausch replied in amazement: "But the Jews are black!" I had blue eyes and despite a shaved head was without doubt a dirty blond with a light complexion. And when I asked him—I was so impudent—if he knew what concentration camps are, he answered me: "Yes, that's where various elements are trained to work." I then informed him that we were brought from Auschwitz to Freiberg. I told him that we all had studied and worked normally and that among us were a number of highly educated women, JDs, Ph.Ds, holders of master's degrees (Magister), doctors, professors, teachers, etc.; that I myself, at that time twenty-three years old, completed my diploma at a classical high school in 1939 and later worked as a qualified infant nurse and child care professional. Ever since that conversation, Foreman Rausch treated me well.¹²

German Jew Herta B. testified completely differently during her witness examination: "Zimmerman was the foreman

in an airplane factory at Freiberg. . . . Zimmerman had a group of about twenty prisoners to supervise. He repeatedly abused me physically. He threw shop tools, which I was required to bring him, at my back, or he tore the tool from my hand and beat me with it."¹³ It is probable that this sadist is identical with the foreman about whom other female prisoners also report: "'What, you claim to be a teacher?' he screamed. 'You piece of dirt!' and once again the hammer flew."¹⁴

With the transferring of the prisoner camp to the still incomplete barracks camp in December 1944, the women obtained considerably worse living conditions. Without socks and with almost no underwear, they were forced daily to walk in deep snow to the factory, which was half an hour away by foot, and some also went to the Hildebrand munitions factory. The cold and wet concrete barracks, brutality of the SS female guards, draining work, and extremely bad nourishment soon claimed victims. According to SS documents, only five deaths are recorded, but the actual number of victims may be higher.¹⁵

Women who came to Freiberg pregnant and whose condition only became apparent there suffered especially. Slovak Priska Löwenbein (Lomová) gave birth to her daughter Hana on April 12, 1945, two days before the evacuation. Other women gave birth during the evacuation transport or shortly after arriving at Mauthausen.

Some 20 (later 28) female SS guards, some of whom were recruited from the Freiberg area and some of whom came with the prisoners from Auschwitz, guarded the women. SS-Unterscharführer Richard Beck was in command at the camp and over 27 SS-Unterführer and SS men from the camp guard.¹⁶

After work had already been stopped on March 31, 1945, the women were left to their own devices in the barracks camp. The food rations were reduced.

Czech Lisa M. reports on the evacuation:

On April 14, 1945, there was a sudden departure. We were loaded into open cars at the train station and traveled westward into the protectorate, passing train station signs with familiar city names. The nights were cold and sometimes it snowed or rained. Only sometimes did we receive food. En route we encountered similar transports to ours almost daily. Then we had a long stop in Horní Bríza and were transferred into closed cars. The people of the town brought us something to eat. We were supposed to be brought back to our original camp, Flossenbürg. We owe our thanks to a brave station manager who despite threats held up our train. We traveled back in the direction of Budweis. No one knew what happened in the other car. Once a day the car was opened and someone shouted the command, "Out with the dead." We noticed that the train changed direction. On April 29 we stood in the train station at Mauthausen. Half starved we dragged ourselves

through the town. At a fountain we wanted to at least drink something, but the locals chased us away and threw stones at us. In the camp we found out rather quickly that the gas chambers were already out of action. Hungarian women who had come there a few days earlier than we did died there.

On May 5 we were liberated by the U.S. Army.¹⁷

SOURCES For the Freiberg subcamp, see Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999). Andreas Baumgartner also mentions this camp in *Die vergessenen Frauen von Mauthausen: Die weiblichen Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen und ihre Geschichte* (Vienna, 1997). With the assistance of the city of Freiberg and the Bergakademie Freiberg, students from Freiberg-Kolleg produced *Jüdisches Leben in der Bergstadt Freiberg—eine Spurensuche* (Freiberg, n.d.).

Primary sources on the camp begin with testimonies in BA-L, Zdl, IV 410 AR 2473/66 (B); ITS, Hist. Abt. Flossenbürg; and ASt-Fg (Baupolizei). *NFWSL*, July 22, 1965, cited the testimony of Priska Lomová.

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trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. ASt-Fg, Baupolizei, Protokoll der Beratung im Stadtbauamt, December 17, 1943.
2. ASt-Fg, Baupolizei, No. 212/2, Bauakte "Freia GmbH."
3. Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999), pp. 78–82.
4. Ibid., pp. 82–86.
5. Ibid., pp. 87–95.
6. ITS, Hist. Abt. Flossenbürg, No. 10, pp. 52–53.
7. Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg*, p. 95.
8. Hana L. (Prisoner No. 54205), report, April 21, 1996, with author.
9. YVA, Doc. 03/756. Quoted in Andreas Baumgartner, *Die vergessenen Frauen von Mauthausen: Die weiblichen Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen und ihre Geschichte* (Vienna, 1997), p. 195.
10. Report of Katarina L. (Prisoner No. 54125) with author.
11. Report of Marie S. (Prisoner No. 54342) with author.
12. Report of Hana St. (Prisoner No. 54284) with author.
13. Zdl, IV 410 AR 2473/66 (B), p. 44.
14. Report of Priska Lomová, quoted in *NFWSL*, July 22, 1965.
15. A list from August 26, 1945, records 10 cremation urns. (Letter from Gsta.DDR to the author, March 1, 1978.)
16. ITS, Hist. Abt. Flossenbürg, No. 10, pp. 52–53, 86–87.
17. Report of Lisa M. (Prisoner No. 54215) with author.

GANACKER

Ganacker is located in Lower Bavaria on the last section of the Inn River before it meets the Danube River in the Landkreis

Dingolfing-Landau, in the community (*Gemeinde*) of Pilsting. The subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp was initially housed on the compound of Ganacker airfield. Once the Allies had achieved complete air superiority, the subcamp was relocated to a more protected area in a clearing in the forest known as Erlau, which was about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) away from the air base, close to Markt Wallersdorf. The grounds, which covered about 1 hectare (2.5 acres), consisted of a field located in front of a small wood. The prisoners of the camp were housed in the field under terrible conditions in the rain and snow, living in improvised earth-tents, the so-called "Finns" or "Finn-huts," which were protected against bad weather only by a roof made of brushwood or leaves. These huts rather resembled large dog huts, were extremely primitive and because of the season usually full of water. One of these huts was the infirmary (*Revier*) for sick inmates, with a Czech, a German, and a Belgian male inmate nurse. Later the huts were replaced by tents. The parade ground was also located there. In the small wood were barracks for the guards and supplies. A ditch filled with water formed the western boundary of the camp and also provided the prisoners' water supply. The living conditions in the camp were horrendous: insufficient food and water supply, as well as inadequate housing, lead to the death of at least 183 inmates. Since this number only comprises the registered deaths, the actual number might have been higher. In March 1945 alone, 34 inmates died from diphtheria, which had been brought into the camp with a prisoner transport from Kaufering.

The workplace for the prisoners was at the nearby Ganacker airfield (also known as Pilsting), where a fighter squadron was based. The squadron did not fly combat missions, as the air base was used only for pilot training. Here the prisoners had to dig trenches, excavate one-man bunkers, and fill in bomb craters after Allied air raids. They were also deployed to work on preparations for the construction of a concrete landing strip, which was intended for the future receipt of jet planes of the Me-262 design. The landing strip was never finished, however. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the prisoners were employed by the firm Polensky & Zöllner. Prisoners were also deployed to work in Münchshöfen, north of Wallersdorf. The daily work shift lasted from 5:30 A.M. to 6:00 P.M., with a 30-minute lunch break.

The Bundeszentrale indicates that the earliest date for the camp's establishment found in reports is 1941; eyewitnesses and a report by the local authorities in Wallersdorf from 1951 point to the fall of 1944 (September). Already at this time, the first transport of about 300 male concentration camp prisoners is supposed to have arrived at the Ganacker air base. ITS gives the date for the opening of the camp according to official concentration camp files as February 21, 1945. This would correspond with the opening of similar Flossenbürg subcamps in Regensburg-Obertraubling, Kirchham, and Plattling.

The number of prisoners in the camp is also disputed; the figures range from some 400 or 500 up to about 900. A transfer

list dated February 20, 1945—upon the opening of the camp, according to official files—names 321 Jews among the 440 prisoners brought to the subcamp on this day, including 192 Jews from Poland, 46 from Hungary, 18 from France, 17 from Greece, 14 from the Czech lands, 10 from Germany, 7 from Holland, 6 from Belgium, and individual Jews from Lithuania, the Soviet Union, Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Romania, Serbia, and Turkey. One Jew was stateless. In the view of local historian Nik Sörtl, the camp grounds would have been rather small for 900 prisoners—even given their cramped housing together in the Finns. Nonetheless, among the survivors of the subcamp there were actually some prisoners who were not included on the transport list of February 20, 1945, which might confirm the presence of more than 440 prisoners in the camp.

The food supplies given to the prisoners were just as miserable as their housing conditions. Sörtl indicates that the starving inmates grabbed through the barbed wire to tear off grass and eat it. According to Sörtl, the Schlappinger family, which lived on the Huber property on the eastern edge of Erlau, succeeded on many occasions in supplying the prisoners with food: the head of the Schlappinger family was a Communist, and his wife baked bread twice a week, which the Schlappinger children, who were not so closely watched by the guards, then brought to the camp. In this manner, the Schlappingers were also able repeatedly to bring soup to the prisoners.

Around April 20, 1945, the airfield at Pilsting was subjected to repeated heavy aerial bombardments, such that it was rendered completely useless as an air base. A number of prisoners, driven by the hope that the end of the war was at hand, dared to escape from the camp. Five prisoners—Emil Bettelheim, Alexander Schärfer, Otto Robicsek (all three Jews from Yugoslavia), Alex Michalowicz, and Abraham Zölty—were hidden by the Schlappinger family in the hayloft of their barn. Since the living quarters, the cowshed, and the barn were all under the same roof in the house of the Schlappingers, the Schlappingers risked the lives of their entire family. Two prisoners armed the family with knives, in case they might be forced to defend themselves. With the arrival of U.S. troops on April 29, 1945, these prisoners also achieved their liberty.

The evacuation of the remaining prisoners of the subcamp had already taken place on April 24 or 25, 1945, in the direction of Traunstein. According to an official report, they arrived there on May 2, 1945. Numerous prisoners died on this death march: in Haunersdorf, which lies 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) to the south, 8 corpses were buried in a mass grave; in Arnstorf, 5; and in Schönau um Rottal, another 10. On the clearing of the subcamp, 45 prisoners who were sick, weak, or unable to walk were shot and superficially buried either in a wood behind the camp or in another wooded area some 350 meters (383 yards) to the west.

Between March 2, and April 23, 1945, 138 prisoners in Ganacker died.

During the course of the Flossenbürg Trial, Eisbusch, who was a prisoner, Kapo, and Revierkapo in the Ganacker

subcamp after February 20, 1945, was sentenced to death and executed. Walter Paul Adolf Neye, a prisoner in Flossenbürg and a block leader in the Ganacker subcamp, was sentenced to 15 years in prison. Johann Nowak, the kitchen Kapo, was accused by the Landgericht Landau in 1954 of mistreatment; his sentence is unknown. In 1977, the State Attorneys of Landshut and Munich I investigated events involving the Ganacker subcamp, but investigations ceased due to the statute of limitations.

SOURCES Georg Artmeier examines the Ganacker subcamp in his essay “Die Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg: Ganacker und Plattling,” *HiHe* (1990–1991). Hans Brenner mentions the Ganacker subcamp in his article titled “Der ‘Arbeitseinsatz’ der KZ-Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg—Ein Überblick,” in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*; ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 1998), 2: 698. The subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 104; and in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1805. The subcamp Ganacker is also mentioned in Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus. Eine Dokumentation*, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1999), 1: 197. The local historian from Landau, Nik Sörtl, has engaged himself with the history of the subcamp in several articles including: “Familie Schlappinger rettete 5 KZ-Insassen—Die Häftlinge bedankten sich auf Packpapier,” *LNP*, April 27, 2005; “Eine würdige Begegnungsstätte für KZ-Opfer der Erlau schaffen—Auswertung und Bewertung eines Zeitdokuments durch Heimatforscher Nik Sörtl—Josef Schlappinger von Landrat Kübler persönlich beauftragt,” *LNP*, May 23, 2005; “Ohne Erinnerung gibt es keine Versöhnung—Sörtl: Auschwitz war überall,” *LZ*, September 23, 2005; “Als der Krieg vorbei war, Teil 2: Erinnerungen an schreckliche Zeit im Lager—Eine Frau aus dem Moos bricht nach 60 Jahren ihr Schweigen,” *DingA*, June 11, 2005; and “Ende April 1945: Die Front ist in Landau—‘Zeitgeschichte im Landkreis Dingolfing-Landau’ festgemacht an historischen Orten,” *DingA*, May 16, 2006.

Information on the subcamp can be found in the AG-F and in the collections held by ITS. The rescue of the prisoners by the Schlappinger family is confirmed by a thank-you letter signed by three prisoners dated April 20, 1945, which is in private hands. An additional thank-you letter of January 26, 1946, contains a sworn declaration by the other two prisoners concerning their rescue by the Schlappingers.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Martin Dean

GRAFENREUTH

The SS-Wirtschaftslager (Business Camp) Grafenreuth was set up in June 1943 as the eighth subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp. The establishment of a clothing camp was part of the endeavors by the SS to achieve autarky. At

other concentration camp sites, the SS had constructed large textile plants for its own requirements.

In the spring of 1943, the Construction Inspectorate (Bauinspektion) of the Waffen-SS und Polizei Reich-Süd in Dachau planned the construction of a clothing camp at Grafenreuth, just 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) from Flossenbürg. After SS-Obersturmführer Schöffel had inspected the site, the Bauinspektion at Flossenbürg was tasked with making the necessary preparations for construction of the clothing camp on a roughly 5.5-hectare (13.6-acre) site of vacant land beside the Weiden-Floss-Eslarn railroad line, opposite the Riebel & Cie brickworks. The prisoners' lodgings and guards' block were to be built outside this area on a new road that would be constructed.¹ The planned construction of the clothing camp was delayed because there was a lack of skilled workers (surveyors), guards, and tools. In mid-June the head of Amtsgruppe C (Construction) of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), SS-Brigadeführer Kammler, ordered the building of 20 camp barracks and 2 housing barracks because of the urgent need; and although negotiations with the property owners were not yet concluded, he authorized the 20 barracks to be sent to Grafenreuth.² Upon receiving a report from the Bauinspektion Reich-Süd that, on June 21, 32 railroad cars with barracks parts had arrived but could not be unloaded and stored, the WVHA reacted by unceremoniously attaching the parcels of land in question for use by the Waffen-SS.

At this time, about 20 prisoners evidently were already being used—probably only by the day—for unloading the railroad cars, as shown by the corresponding accounting for June 1943. The plan was to use a maximum of 50 prisoners so that costly improvements of the springs were avoided and the water supply was connected to the water supply of the brickworks. With an eye on the material to be warehoused, a water reservoir for use as a firefighting pond was created. Starting in late July, 6—later, as many as 20—prisoners had to carry the required bricks from the brickworks to the camp site opposite. On July 10, SS-Rottenführer Alfred Bütkofer was ordered to Grafenreuth to serve as construction manager. On August 2, 150 prisoners were transferred from the Flossenbürg main camp to Grafenreuth, three times more than the number envisioned by those who planned the construction. The majority of them had been transferred from Auschwitz to Flossenbürg in a transport of 1,000 prisoners on March 14. At Flossenbürg they had to spend several weeks in quarantine. The prisoners were in extremely poor physical condition. In the construction phase of the camp, this and other matters led to tensions between the local construction manager, Bütkofer, and Kommandoführer Fries. Thus Bütkofer complained in a letter dated September 30, 1943, that of the 140 prisoners as many as 20 could not be used for 10 to 14 days and that Kommandoführer Fries refused to swap the sick prisoners for healthier ones, while the clothing camp had received 60 prisoners, “the worst of whom was equivalent to the best at the construction site.”³ The high sickness figure was probably attributable to the excessive number of prisoners,

given the still-unfinished lodgings and unsatisfactory sanitary facilities.

Since the warehousing of clothing began as early as September, further logistical problems resulted from the fact that building of the subcamp was not yet complete. The parallel delivery of building materials and clothing, in combination with inadequate security, increased the risk of injury to prisoners and SS members alike. Admittedly, the Flossenbürg Bauleitung had reported as early as mid-August that the preliminary work was done, but it took another year for all the construction to be completed. When finished, the subcamp consisted of 10 double barracks for warehousing clothing, 1 barracks for the prisoners, and 1 for the SS guards. It was surrounded by barbed wire and watchtowers.

In early October 1943, Bütkofer requested that the Bauleitung relieve the head Kapo, Kelchner, who without his knowledge had allocated prisoners to do work for the clothing camp. This had a negative effect on construction, including completion of the railroad trunk line leading into the camp area.

The internal disputes could not have helped the prisoners. At any rate, as early as October 1943, a few prisoners tried to escape. On September 2, 1944, a Soviet prisoner was shot while trying to escape.⁴ Otherwise, no deaths in Grafenreuth are recorded in the *Nummernbücher* (Numbers Books), presumably because sick prisoners were transferred back to the Flossenbürg main camp. There, approximately in early January 1945, two French prisoners died who had been transferred back from Grafenreuth shortly before Christmas. In the investigations of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, many witnesses indeed reported several daily deaths and shootings after failed escape attempts, but the constant number of prisoners recorded in the labor requisition documents points to the likelihood that there were fewer deaths.⁵

At first, food was brought at midday and in the evenings by a food vehicle from Flossenbürg to Grafenreuth. From October 1944 on, the Bauleitung in Grafenreuth evidently provided food for the prisoners on its own.

For the Grafenreuth subcamp, there are two types of labor allocation documents. First, the prisoners for the Grafenreuth construction project were invoiced to the Bauleitung in Flossenbürg. In January and February 1944, 20 skilled and 62 unskilled workers were charged for, and in March, only slightly more than 40 unskilled workers. From mid-May to the end of the year, 6 to 13 skilled workers and between 26 and 62 unskilled workers were used, an average overall of between 33 (May) and 74 (July) prisoners. The labor allocation for the Bauleitung also included the so-called brickworks detail (Ziegeleikommando), in which roughly 14 to 20 men did construction work for the Riebel & Cie brickworks and transported bricks to the construction site for the clothing camp. In 1944, 1 to 2 prisoners were used as skilled laborers, and a constant number of about 60 prisoners were used as unskilled laborers for the clothing factory at Grafenreuth.

The Kommandoführer initially was SS-Hauptscharführer Kübler, who according to one prisoner's testimony mercilessly goaded the prisoners to do hard labor and held back food intended for the prisoners.⁶ His successor, SS-Hauptscharführer Voigt, according to several witness statements, made sure the prisoners were better fed.

Owing to the subcamp's proximity to the main camp and the short-term use of prisoners, especially by the Bauleitung, the makeup of the prisoners was subject to constant variation. Initially, mostly German, Polish, Soviet, and French prisoners had to work at the construction site and the clothing plant. On February 28, 1945, there were 80 prisoners in Grafenreuth, including 40 Poles, 15 Czechs, and 11 Yugoslavs, as well as a few Russians, French, Germans, and an Italian. For March 31, there are 60 prisoners recorded but with no details of their nationalities.⁷

For various reasons the surroundings of Grafenreuth were more exposed to the subcamp than was the case at other places. The brickworks owner profited by becoming a user of the prisoners' forced labor. The farmers in the surrounding villages were enlisted in supplying transportation for the subcamp. Two property owners contracted with the SS to allow their land to be used to lay a water line from the Heideck pond to the camp.

The subcamp was evacuated on April 20 or 21. The prisoners and Kommandoführer Voigt joined a march out of the Flossenbürg main camp but formed their own group and were freed by U.S. troops at Cham. Owing to Voigt's considerate behavior, no prisoner died on the march.

After the evacuation, the local population looted the clothing camp.

SOURCE As with all other subcamps that were built relatively early for use by the SS, there is a great deal of source material on Grafenreuth. The Flossenbürg-Best. in the BA-B holds numerous administrative and construction-related files. The investigation files of the former ZdL, now BA-L (410 AR-Z 166/75), hold numerous witness statements. Oliver Muckof from Floss, while writing a paper for the Weiden Fachhochschule, interviewed contemporary witnesses and put together a photodocumentation, which is accessible in the AG-F.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 4/FL 217, Vorschlag zur Errichtung eines Bekleidungslagers bei Grafenreuth, May 24, 1943.
2. Ibid., 219/2, Letter from the WVHA on June 17, 1943.
3. Ibid., 217, Handwritten letter from Bütkofer to construction manager Seiz in Flossenbürg.
4. NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537 (Microfilm copy in AG-F).
5. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR-Z 166/75, Statement by Jozef M., pp. 99–102; statement by Antoni B., pp. 128–139.
6. Ibid., Statement by Wladyslaw K., p. 219.
7. BA-B, Bestand ehem. ZSA-P, Dok/K 183/11.

GRASLITZ

One cannot determine the exact date that planning began for the use of prison labor in Graslitz, on the basis of surviving source documents. Nevertheless, there is information about the context: The Luftfahrtgerätewerk Hakenfelde GmbH (Aircraft Equipment Works Hakenfelde Ltd., LGW) was founded in 1940 as a wholly owned subsidiary of Siemens & Halske AG (S&H) and Siemens-Schuckert Werke AG (Siemens-Schuckert Works, SSW). The armaments firm operated at high capacity in manufacturing auto pilots, navigation instruments, gyroscopes, flight instruments and electronics, communications equipment, and electric fire systems for aircraft. The positive results that Siemens had been able to achieve from the fall of 1942 onward at its "Ravensbrück manufacturing plant," coupled with the increasing risks caused by air raids, led Siemens director Paul Storch in the spring of 1943 to transfer production to "more secure areas" and to "use concentration camps for the assembly of particularly important parts."¹ Thus, using concentration camp prisoners on the periphery of Germany was a strategic decision by Siemens that combined the enormous increase in turnover in the armaments industry² with the simultaneous shortage of labor. The company based its plan of expanding production on the model project for use of prisoner labor at the Ravensbrück concentration camp.

The use of prisoner labor in the Graslitz subcamp began with 150 female prisoners from Ravensbrück on August 7, 1944,³ and thus later than in nearby Falkenau and Zwodau. This suggests that the decision was probably influenced by the previous, enormous destruction done to the main factories and the LGW in Berlin.⁴ However, Graslitz and Zwodau were already noted as alternate sites in April 1944 on a map for "planned transfers."⁵ The high degree of integration between the manufacturing sites at Zwodau and Graslitz is noteworthy—prisoners were transferred to the Zwodau subcamp for training, and both production sites had a common manager.⁶

By November–December, additional transports to the Graslitz subcamp (under Flossenbürg since September) had increased the number of concentration camp prisoners to 470. There were an exceptionally large number of prisoners persecuted as "Gypsies," including a significant number of "Reichsdeutsche" (German nationals)⁷ Polish women (13 percent) and Czech women (9 percent) were also represented in large numbers. At first there were no Jews in the camp.⁸ The company employees obviously wanted prisoners who, in addition to the known criteria of dexterity, good eyesight, and adequate health, had a sufficient knowledge of German, in order to facilitate training later. Prisoner numbers remained constant until the spring of 1945 when prisoners from other subcamps such as Rochlitz (among them many Jews) and eventually also prisoners from Ravensbrück were transferred to Graslitz, causing a lasting deterioration of living conditions.⁹

The prisoners were housed in one of the upper floors of the factory building and had no way of getting outside. The accommodation was equipped with bunk beds and an infirmary.

Food for the prisoners was prepared in the camp kitchen under the supervision of SS guards. It was delivered from Flossenbürg. Survivors complained about its poor quality and the inadequate supply. It is probable that some of the food did not reach the prisoners and was redirected to the SS and prisoner-functionaries.

The prisoners were supervised by 150 Siemens employees and worked in day and night shifts on fine mechanical assembly work, while some also did office work. Additionally, they were supervised by female SS guards, who, for example, ensured that the "no speaking" rule was observed while they worked.¹⁰ There was a bonus system, as in Zwodau and Ravensbrück, where good work performance meant that prisoners received privileges such as camp money, which in turn was supposed to enable them to obtain extra food in the camp kitchen.¹¹ Of more significance for the often weak and undernourished prisoners was the threat of punishment for insufficient work, such as additional work or being reported to the SS, which in the end could mean being returned to the main camp, classified as "unfit for work." After Graslitz was bombed in the spring of 1945, the women were also used for cleanup work in the railway station area. That meant heavy physical outside labor for women who were malnourished and did not have proper clothing.

The camp leader was initially a Czech SS-Oberscharführer named Richter. He was in charge of 10 SS men and up to 19 female SS guards. Survivors spoke positively about Richter. He did not mistreat them and restrained his subordinates. After his transfer on March 7, 1945, SS-Rottenführer Dzobaka took command of the camp. Survivors stated that his behavior was rough and violent. At first the head SS female guard was Elfriede Tribus. She was transferred on March 14, 1945, and replaced by Helene Schmidt from the Holleischen subcamp. Both of these women are claimed to have behaved violently and beaten the prisoners. Of the camp elders, only Annemarie Mertens is known. She did not arrive at the subcamp until March 21, 1945, though. She, too, is said to have beaten the prisoners. However, accounts vary as other survivors claim that they were treated decently. This is probably a reflection of the torn and stratified prisoner community.¹² In the camp itself there allegedly were no killings.¹³

On April 15, 1945, a first group of the prisoners in the camp, which held at least 877 prisoners total at that time, were driven by the SS on a march in the direction of Karlsbad-Marienbad. The camp was evacuated five days later on April 20, 1945, and the remaining prisoners also had to march into the Böhmerwald. Prisoners who were incapable of walking were shot; others managed to escape. At the end of April, the survivors were finally freed by U.S. troops.¹⁴

At this point no comment can be made on the postwar trials of the Graslitz guards in former Czechoslovakia. At first, denazification proceedings were conducted against SS members and female guards interned by the Allies,¹⁵ until in 1962 the Nürnberg-Fürth State Attorney's Office commenced investigations into the former female guards Schmidt and Eggert,

who were suspected of murder. However, the proceedings were discontinued.

In 1966, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg launched an investigation into the Graslitz subcamp. It was dropped on November 4, 1975, because no acts of homicide and thus no basis for prosecution could be turned up. Relevant information on the Graslitz subcamp can also be found in the main judicial inquiry into the Flossenbürg concentration camp and its subcamps. Because of prisoner transfers from the Rochlitz subcamp to Graslitz and the joint death marches to Bohemia, these records also hold prisoner reports and other witness statements regarding Graslitz.¹⁶ The Graslitz subcamp was again investigated by the ZdL in 1975 and the State Attorney's Office at Zweibrücken, but again the investigation was soon dropped.¹⁷

SOURCES The only comprehensive study on the Flossenbürg subcamps, of which Graslitz was one as of September 1944, is by Hans Brenner, "Zur Rolle der Aussenkommandos des KZ Flossenbürg im System der staatsmonopolistischen Rüstungswirtschaft des faschistischen deutschen Imperialismus und im antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf 1942–1945" (Ph.D. diss., Dresden, 1982). Like most East German historians, he mostly sought to investigate the influence of large corporations on state institutions and the war economy. This limited frame of research has the result that this otherwise laudable and well-documented study is of limited use, in addition to the fact that most copies are only scarcely legible and thus difficult to examine. However, Brenner has published his research results and theses on the use of prisoners in two essays: "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," *TSD* (1999): 263–293 (see the table on p. 266); and "Der 'Arbeitseinsatz' der KZ-Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg—ein Überblick," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager; Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert et al. (Göttingen, 1998), 2: 682–706. There are some errors on the numbers. Karl Heinz Roth has compared a number of prisoner deployments by Siemens and developed a valuable, structuring typology of the company's use of forced labor in "Zwangarbeit im Siemens-Konzern (1938–1945): Fakten—Kontroversen—Probleme," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft, 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen, 1996), pp. 149–168. Using the files of the ZdL as well as the Flossenbürg Nummernbücher, which have been rediscovered in NARA, Jörg Skribeleit has provided a more current overview of the Flossenbürg subcamps in Bohemia in "Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 196–217. His analysis of the Nummernbücher has provided important new insights into the development of mortality in the researched women's subcamps. In contrast to its "sister camp," Zwodau, where the arrival of thousands of Jewish women from camps to the east quickly increased the death rate, Graslitz showed no such development. Norbert Aas recently presented a study on Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) in Flossenbürg and the two subcamps at Zwodau and Wolkenburg in *Sinti und Roma im KZ Flossenbürg und in seinen Aussenlagern Wolkenburg und Zwodau* (Bayreuth, 2001). His analysis of the Flossenbürg

Nummernbücher has also revealed new information on the composition of the prisoner communities in the Flossenbürg subcamp system. The monograph by the former director of the AS-M, Wilfried Feldenkirchen, was published on the 150th anniversary of Siemens AG, *Siemens 1918–1945* (Munich, 1996). It should be noted that apart from a glaring apologetic tendency, the work selectively cites several sources from the AS-M that are usually not publicly accessible as part of the “uncatalogued records interim archive.” The aspects of modernization, as well as technical and social rationalization, are extremely relevant for the integration of an unfree, unqualified workforce into a modern capitalist industry; thus the works below examine the absolutely essential prehistory of all use of forced labor in Germany’s most important general-purpose company in the electrical industry, with explicit discussion of the importance of female labor. The standard works are by Heidrun Homburg, *Rationalisierung und Industriearbeit: Arbeitsmarkt, Management, Arbeiterschaft im Siemens-Konzern Berlin 1900–1939* (Berlin, 1991); Carola Sachse, *Siemens, der Nationalsozialismus und die moderne Familie: Eine Untersuchung zur sozialen Rationalisierung in Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg, 1990); Tilla Siegel and Thomas Freyberg, *Industrielle Rationalisierung unter dem Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991); Rüdiger Hachtmann, “*Industriearbeit im Dritten Reich?*: Untersuchungen zu den Lohn- und Arbeitsbedingungen in Deutschland 1933–1945” (Göttingen, 1989); Hachtmann, “Industriearbeiter und Rationalisierung 1900 bis 1945: Bemerkungen zum Forschungsstand,” *JWg* 1 (1996): 211–258; Hachtmann, “... artgemäßer Arbeitseinsatz der jetzigen und zukünftigen Mütter unseres Volkes: Industrielle Erwerbstätigkeit von Frauen 1933 bis 1945 im Spannungsfeld von Rassismus, Biologismus und Klasse,” in “*Neuordnung Europas*”: *Vorträge vor der Berliner Gesellschaft für Faschismus- und Weltkriegsforschung*; 1992–1996, ed. Werner Röhr and Brigitte Berlekamp (Berlin, 1996), pp. 231–252.

The AS-M presumably contains extensive material, but unfortunately most of it is held in the “un-catalogued records interim archive” and is not accessible to independent researchers. Research is therefore confined to the state archives. The above-mentioned investigation files of the ZdL (at BA-L) are thus one of the most important sources for researching the Graslitz subcamp. They contain numerous witness statements from surviving prisoners, other witnesses, and perpetrators. It should be noted that during their search for witnesses the investigating state attorneys worked closely with the ITS, whose files containing contemporary documents were then still accessible for the investigations. Furthermore, state attorneys assessed materials held by the BA-B in the collection known today as NS4—extensive holdings on the Flossenbürg concentration camp and the second-most-important holdings on the Graslitz subcamp. This was done decades before Western historians developed an interest. There are probably further documents in the Czech archives on the origins of the use of prisoner labor in Graslitz, as proven by plans that have emerged for the Zwodau subcamp. The BA-MA has holdings of war economy authorities regarding the orders and production situation of the LGW. Other, smaller collections have been referred to in the notes.

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NOTES

1. Werkleiterbesprechung 4.3.1943, “Auszüge aus den Werkleiterbesprechungen,” LAB-BPA-SED, FDGB 276, n.p.
2. See LGW Bestelleingang u. Umsatz bis 1943, BA-MA, RL3/4117 P141.
3. See Forderungsnachweis Flossenbürg Nr. Flo 547, LGW Graslitz, August 1944 from September 1, 1944, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 2629/67, vol. 3, KL Flossenbürg, p. 776.
4. See the map “Fliegerschäden seit Kriegsbeginn bei S&H und zugeh. Gesellschaften in Gross-Berlin” from April 1944, BA-MA, RL3/4497, Picture 10, as well as Ktb RüIn III [Berlin] I/44, BA-MA, RW 20-3/7, p. 42.
5. See the map “Geplante Verlegungsstellen von S&H und zugeh. Gesellschaften ohne TB/Stand Anfang April 1944,” BA-MA, RL3/4497, p. 3.
6. See the letter from the Zwodau subcamp to the Flossenbürg concentration camp, Re.: Abstellung von Häftlingen January 8, 1945, ZdL, 410 AR-Z 2627/67, n.p. [File Flossenbürg NL]; Vernehmungsniederschrift Julia Nim., November 9, 1967, in Ostrava, ZdL, IV 410AR-Z 60/67, p. 551f; Aktenvermerk ü. Besprechung bei Dr. Jessen July 7, 1945 betr. LGW, AS-M, 10166.
7. See Norbert Aas, *Sinti und Roma im KZ Flossenbürg und in Seinen Außenlagern Wolkenburg und Zwodau* (Bayreuth, 2001), p. 36, in particular table 6.
8. See [Arbeitseinsatz Flossenbürg] Übersicht zum 28.2.1945 über Nationalitäten der weiblichen Häftlinge des Außenkommandos des KZ Flossenbürg nach dem Stande, February 28, 1945, no place, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 2629/67, vol. 1, KL Flossenbürg, p. 385.
9. See letter by ITS to ZdL, Re.: Überprüfung des Nebenlagers Rochlitz/Sachsen, July 19, 1967, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3248/66, n.p.; as well as Hans Brenner, “Frauen in den Außenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren,” *TSD* (1999):268, 271. There are records for at least 877 prisoners on April 13, 1945, since only those able to work were registered. See [notation] ZdL Referat 410, Re: Graslitz, November 18, 1966, ZdL, IV 410AR-Z 2531/66, p. 1.
10. See Vernehmung Teresa S., geb. E., August 26, 1968, in Beit Dagan, Israel, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 3248/66, n.p.
11. Aktenvermerk ü. Besprechung bei Hr. Dr. Jessen, July 2, 1945 betr. LGW, AS-M, 10166; Vernehmungsniederschrift [Siemens Anteilungsleiter] Heino Legel in Berlin, September 4, 1962, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 2531/66, p. 125; Arbeitseinsatz Flossenbürg, an die Kommandoführer und Führerinnen der Arbeitslager des K.L. Flossenbürg, Betr: Prämienzahlung, March 9, 1945, LA-B, ARep.231/0.489, p. 12.
12. See Aussage Ruth Gerda Binn. geb. B., ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 2531/66, p. 144; Pol.Vernehmung d. Meta Inge Erna Kr., geb. F., July 13, 1962, in Bremen, ZdL, AR-Z 2531/66, p. 60; Poliz. Vernehmung v. Isolde Zi., geb. E., v. July 14, 1962, in Wiesbaden, ZdL, AR-Z 2531/66, p. 62; Aussage Maria Le., geb. Sch., gesch. B., no place [Trier] n.d. [1962], ZdL, AR-Z 25631/66, p. 78 [from AST-N-F, Js 993a-6/62]; as well as Maria Husemann, “Mein Widerstandskampf gegen die Verbrechen der Hitlerdiktatur,” ed. Stadtdekanat Wuppertal, Katholikenrat Wuppertal, and Wilhelm Bettecken (1964; unpub. MSS, 1983).
13. Vernehmung Giesela P., October 11, 1976, in Germersheim, ZdL, IV 410AR-Z60/67, p. 1558; Poliz. Vernehmung

Meta Inge Erna Kr., ZdL, see above; Vernehmung [SS-Aufseherin] Elfriede Tribus, December 15, 1970, in Miltenberg, ZdL, File Ravensbrück "TUV."

14. See Schlussvermerk zum Ermittlungsverfahren NL Rochlitz (KZ Flossenbürg), November 14, 1975, ZdL, IV 410AR3248/66, p. 141.

15. See Vernehmungsniederschrift [SS-Aufseherin] Elfriede Tribus, May 5, 1947, in Ludwigsburg [denazification proceedings], ZdL, File Ravensbrück "TUV." Today the proceedings are usually kept in the responsible state or city archives.

16. See ASt-N-F, 1bJs993 a-b/62 (Graslitz); ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 2531/66 (Graslitz); ZdL, IV 410AR-Z60/67 (Flossenbürg).

17. ZdL, 410 AR-Z 92/75 (Graslitz); ASt-Zwbr, 7Js759/76 (Graslitz).

GRÖDITZ

The Lauchhammer factory Gröditz of the Mitteldeutsche Stahlwerke GmbH, which belonged to the Flick concern and which was already employing thousands of foreign slave laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) at its industrial sites, decided relatively late in the war to use concentration camp prisoners—when other sources for augmenting its workforce were exhausted. To do so, the management even circumvented the central office of its own company organization, the Reichsvereinigung Eisen (Reich Iron Association, RV), which as late as August 1944 had indicated that member factories should not get in touch with the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) directly but contact the SS only via the branch office central office.¹

The technical director of the Gröditz factory, Dr. Heger, and the man responsible for mechanical engineering at the factory, Erich Weisser, traveled directly to the WVHA in Oranienburg after informing their corporate headquarters in Berlin. As a result of the meeting, a Wehrmacht Hauptmann came to Gröditz shortly thereafter and, after visiting the future production site and accommodations of the concentration camp prisoners to be employed, discussed with Heger and Weisser the details of surveillance, food, and collaboration between the factory and SS camp leadership.

Toward the end of the summer of 1944, Heger and Weisser traveled to Flossenbürg. Since they did not find enough prisoners there who met their requirements, they traveled on to Dachau and chose suitable prisoners there.²

On September 30, 1944, the first transport with 300 prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp arrived in Gröditz.³ More transports reached Gröditz on November 17, 1944, and December 22, 1944.⁴ In February 1945, another transport came with 300 Jewish men from Mauthausen and the Gusen subcamp, where an Obermeister from Gröditz had selected them.⁵ Arriving with them were SS men and navy soldiers who had already guarded these Jewish prisoners at the Laurahütte subcamp of the Auschwitz concentration camp, where they had been employed manufacturing guns for Rheinmetall-Borsig AG.⁶

On January 31, 1945, there were 605 prisoners in the Gröditz detail.⁷ By February 28, 1945, their number had sunk to 466, due to many deaths and transports of those unable to work to the Flossenbürg main camp and to Bergen-Belsen, but then increased with the addition of more prisoners to 769 by March 31, 1945.⁸

The prisoner detail was composed of members of several nationalities, with the Poles, French, Soviets, and Italians being the biggest groups. But Belgians, Germans, Croatians, Luxembourgers, Dutch, and Czechs were also at the Gröditz camp.

In March 1945, typhus fever, which had been brought in with the Mauthausen transport, claimed many victims. The infirmary was overcrowded with the terminally ill.⁹ The dead from this epidemic were thrown naked into massive common graves, located in the immediate vicinity of the gun production plant where the prisoners worked and slept. The clothes of the dead were then handed out to surviving prisoners.¹⁰ The leader of the Gröditz subcamp was of the opinion that "no concentration camp prisoner may enter the infirmary without my approval and if he does not have a fever of more than forty degrees [Celsius; 104 degrees Fahrenheit]."¹¹ A German assembly manager, to whom concentration camp prisoners were subordinated with regard to work, released several of the sick from work. Contrary to his release, however, these prisoners were assigned to work again after 20 minutes, as they had been driven back to their workstations with beatings.¹² A young French prisoner, who had studied medicine for a few semesters, tried to help the sick. He endeavored, but often in vain, as he did not have any medical aid available.¹³ The company doctor did not pay much attention to the sick. He even said "that there is not enough medicine for the soldiers" and "thus no concentration camp prisoner should be treated with this medicine."¹⁴

Thus between March 15 and April 15, 1945, at least 148 people died, a fourth of all employed prisoners in the Gröditz subcamp, mostly of typhus fever. For April 2, 1945, alone, the strength and death reports of the Flossenbürg concentration camp cite 21 dead at Gröditz.¹⁵ Historian Klaus Drobisch writes that "in view of this fact . . . the claim by the company doctor in his defense testimony that he and the company leadership did everything for the prisoners and thus the level of sickness was 'not unusually bad' is an insolent lie."¹⁶

The prisoners were housed in the eastern side aisle of the gun production hall on the second floor under the roof. The sleeping room was tubelike, 100 meters (328 feet) long, and at the same time an eating and washroom. A section was partitioned off as an infirmary. The prisoners slept on metal beds with bare springs. At the beginning there was a cover for every two prisoners, but later, not even that. French prisoner Vladimir Rittenberg, who had been accustomed to concentration camp food for years, judged the rations at Gröditz to be even poorer than those at Auschwitz and in Gusen. Belgian Fernand Travers also explained that what was being served to the prisoners at Gröditz was not food but rather pig feed.¹⁷

All prisoners whose work performance did not meet the expectations of the superiors were recommended for punishment or handed over to the SS by direct demand of those responsible at the gun production facility.¹⁸ The principle of "extermination through work" had drastic effects on the prisoners at Gröditz.

The camp leader was SS-Obersturmführer Köhrmann.¹⁹ Six SS-Unterführer and 57 SS guards (later 60) reported to him.²⁰ In addition, older navy soldiers under the leadership of an Obermaat belonged to the external camp guard. German prisoner Valentin Kieser was camp elder.

After all POWs and almost all slave laborers had already been transported out of Gröditz, the company manager Weisser asked the deputy camp leader on April 17, 1945, what orders had been received for evacuating the concentration camp prisoners. Evidently Heinrich Himmler's order from April 14, 1945, had not reached the camp at Gröditz, for the SS-Führer answered Weisser "that he didn't know what he should do either, he didn't have contact anymore with the Flossenbürg main camp and what I would then advise him."²¹ Weisser made a quick phone call to the Höherer-SS und Polizeiführer (Higher-SS and Police Leader, HSSPF) in Dresden and explained the situation to him. Only a few hours later, two SS-Führer from Dresden were in Gröditz and, in the presence of the office of Weisser, gave the deputy camp leader the order to evacuate those fit for transport and shoot the sick. Weisser merely demanded that the shootings not take place on factory premises and made the factory's trucks available. He also spoke with other offices in order to procure more vehicles for transporting prisoners unable to march.²²

As a result, 135 selected prisoners considered unfit to march, 17 sick prisoners from the "mercy block," and over 30 sick prisoners from the "typhus fever block" were loaded onto the vehicles. On April 17, 1945, the shooting of 184 prisoners was carried out in the sandpits in the Koselitz community not far from the factory. On the evening of April 17, 1945, the Wehrmacht Standortälteste Grossenhain, who had provided vehicles for the transport, reported to Heger that approximately 200 prisoners from the factory had been shot and buried in a gravel pit near Wülnitz. Heger asked Weisser about it, who pretended not to know and had the camp leader come. He confirmed the report with the cynical words: "It is not two hundred, but only 170, and they are also not badly buried." This information evidently calmed Heger, and he closed his file notes with the sentence: "Herewith I expressly establish that neither the management nor one of our employees who had the task of looking after the workforce had any knowledge of the event and that we must reject any responsibility."²³

The evacuation march of the other prisoners from the Gröditz subcamp ended for some in Leitmeritz (Litoměřice), where 325 prisoners were registered; for the Jewish prisoners the destination was the Theresienstadt (Terezín) ghetto, where the arrival of 46 prisoners was recorded.²⁴

The crimes committed against the concentration camp prisoners in the Gröditz outside detail formed part of the trial

at Nürnberg against the top people of the Flick concern. Neither Heger nor Weisser was convicted there.

SOURCES Klaus Drobisch writes about this camp in his dissertation "Studien zur Geschichte der faschistischen Konzentrationslager 1933/34" (Ph.D. diss., Akademie der Wissenschaft in der DDR, Berlin [East], 1987).

Records relevant to this camp can be found in NMT, Case V, *USA v. Friedrich Flick, et al.*; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg; and BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 2532/66.

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NOTES

1. Flick-Prozess, Dok. NI-5598, Rundschreiben der Reichsvereinigung Eisen (RV Eisen), Außenstelle Mitte, August 28, 1944.
2. Flick-Prozess, Protokoll, 6853, interrogation of Weisser.
3. AG-D.
4. Flick-Prozess, Protokoll, p. 660, Statement from the former Belgian prisoner at Gröditz, Fernand Travers.
5. Sta. Hannover, 11 Ks 3/76, Bd. 9, p. 1660, Statement from the former prisoner Abraham K. from October 9, 1975.
6. Flick-Prozess, protocol of the questioning of the former French prisoner Vladimir Rittenberg, vol. 2, pp. 538–539.
7. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53.
8. Ibid., B1 70/71, pp. 86–87.
9. Flick-Prozess, questioning of Rittenberg, p. 556.
10. Flick-Prozess, Protokoll, p. 687, statement by Travers.
11. Flick-Prozess, Protokoll, p. 556, statement by Rittenberg; p. 684, statement by Travers.
12. Flick-Prozess, Protokoll, p. 2389, statement by the assembly manager Brambusch.
13. Flick-Prozess, Protokoll, p. 557, statement by Rittenberg; p. 684, statement by Travers.
14. Flick-Prozess, Protokoll, p. 556, statement by Rittenberg; p. 684, statement by Travers.
15. BA-B, Film No. 41820, Picture No. 787–791.
16. Klaus Drobisch, "Studien zur Geschichte der faschistischen Konzentrationslager 1933/34" (Ph.D. diss., Akademie der Wissenschaft in der DDR, Berlin [East], 1987), p. 255; Flick-Prozess, Burkart Document No. 855, testimony given under oath by the Gröditz company doctor Dr. Mühling from July 20, 1947.
17. Flick-Prozess, Protokoll, p. 558, statement by Rittenberg; pp. 682–683, statement by Travers.
18. Flick-Prozess, Protokoll, p. 553, statement by Rittenberg.
19. BA-B, Film No. 14430, p. 1264.
20. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, No. 10, pp. 52–53, 86–87.
21. Flick-Prozess, Protokoll, p. 6890, statement by Weisser.
22. Ibid. The HSSPFs were given the task by Himmler to evacuate the concentration camps. See IMT, Document 053-L, Befehl des Befehlshabers der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD in Polen, July 20, 1944.
23. Flick-Prozess, Document Burkart, No. 828, Aktennotiz Dr. Hegers, April 18, 1945.

24. Miroslava Benešová, "Koncentrační tabor v. Litoměřicích a jeho vězňové Terezín 1994" (Leitmeritz concentration camp and its prisoners. Conference report from the international conference at Terezín, November 15–17, 1994), p. 24.

GUNDELSDORF (WITH KNELENDORF)

The Gundelsdorf subcamp near Kronach formally came into existence on September 12, 1944. Three days later, 100 Polish Jewish women arrived in Gundelsdorf from a work detachment for women at the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp. They had worked at the Air Intelligence Instrument Camp 1 (Luftnachrichtengerätelager) in Military District VIII. After this detail was transferred to Gundelsdorf, the women were first taken to Auschwitz and from there to Gundelsdorf.¹ The detachment leader of the camp both at Plaszow and at Gundelsdorf was a Luftwaffe Hauptmann, Friedrich Fischer. Most of the prisoners were young women and girls; the youngest of them was 15. They were supervised by female SS guards. The first task for the prisoners was to complete the construction of accommodation barracks next to the brickyard "Marie." Later they were engaged in heavy physical labor, loading and unloading trains. The prisoners had to suffer the cold, lack of food, and physical abuse by the camp administration. However, there were no proven deaths while the women were in Gundelsdorf.

In September 1944, a clothing factory was relocated from Erkelenz to Knellendorf. From December 11, 1944, onward, about 20 female prisoners worked in the old school in Knellendorf, an outside detail of the Gundelsdorf subcamp. They sewed uniforms for the Wehrmacht but were still accommodated in the subcamp's barracks about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) away in Gundelsdorf.

As of November 4, 1944, there was also a small detachment of male prisoners in Gundelsdorf who were to replace the male prisoners still based in Plaszow working at the Luftnachrichtengerätelager but who had not been taken to Gundelsdorf. However, most of the men had been transported to Gundelsdorf from the Auschwitz concentration camp and were often so weak that they could only remain in Gundelsdorf for a few weeks and were then transferred to the Flossenbürg main camp. At least 21 of the Gundelsdorf male prisoners are recorded in the Flossenbürg *Nummernbüchern* (Numbers Books). No less than 18 died in the concentration camp, only 2 of them in Gundelsdorf itself, the rest after having been transported back to the main camp.²

In January, a prisoner nurse from the Neurohlau subcamp arrived to care for the female prisoners in Gundelsdorf, thus increasing their number to 101. On February 6, 1945, the SS transported 66 women from Gundelsdorf north to the Ravensbrück concentration camp. This meant a six-day rail journey without bread and water, so that the women arrived at Ravensbrück starving and at the end of their physical strength. From Ravensbrück the women were sent on death marches.³ On February 27, 1945, another 20 women were sent to the Flossenbürg subcamp Zwodau, where together

with female prisoners from the Helmbrechts subcamp they were sent on a death march toward the south. The last written reference to the subcamp is dated April 13, 1945, and refers to 15 female prisoners in Gundelsdorf, supervised by a female guard.

The events in the Gundelsdorf subcamp were the subject of proceedings before the Coburg regional court in 1950. The detachment leader of the subcamp and his deputy received minor sentences for inflicting bodily injury on prisoners.⁴

SOURCES Members of the Oberfranken Evangelical Youth have worked on the Flossenbürg subcamps as part of a work group. The Kronach Diocese has published the Evangelical Youth's brochure on Gundelsdorf, *Evangelische Jugend im Dekanat Kronach*, ed., *Das KZ-Aussenlager Gundelsdorf: Ergebnisse einer Spurensuche* (Kronach, 2000), which provides a good overview of the history of the subcamp.

In the Flossenbürg Nummernbüchern (NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537), the names of the Gundelsdorf prisoners are also listed; in the BA-B, there are a few requests and work allocations that provide evidence for the Gundelsdorf subcamp. The court proceedings of the postwar years with witness accounts are documented in the ZdL (IV 410 AR 3009/66), now BA-L.

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NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 4/F1 393/2 (Forderungsnachweis September 1944); BA-B, Film Nr. S 14430 (Arbeitseinteilung 13.4.1945); Evangelische Jugend im Dekanat Kronach, ed., *Das KZ-Aussenlager Gundelsdorf: Ergebnisse einer Spurensuche* (Kronach, 2000), p. 15.

2. NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537 (Nummernbüchern—KZ Flossenbürg). The information in *Das KZ-Aussenlager Gundelsdorf*, p. 52, is only partially correct.

3. *Das KZ-Aussenlager Gundelsdorf*, p. 44.

4. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3009/66.

HAINICHEN

The formation of a subcamp outside the Flossenbürg concentration camp at the Framo-Werke GmbH in Hainichen was connected with a plan to expand the manufacturing of parts and equipment at the factory for several armament programs. The company owner himself was the manager of the W8 group and had four select committees of the weapons main committee of the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production under his control.¹

On September 8, 1944, a first transport of prisoners arrived at Hainichen with 155 Polish Jewish women and girls. After the Łódź ghetto had been cleared, these prisoners were brought to Auschwitz, selected for work, and after three weeks were chosen to work in Hainichen.² They were assigned the registration numbers 53267 through 53422 by the commander at Flossenbürg. On October 11, 1944, a second

transport arrived at Hainichen with 335 Hungarian, 2 German, 2 Romanian, 1 Lithuanian, 1 Dutch, and 1 stateless Jewish women.³ They received the registration numbers 52924 through 53264. In May 1944 the SS had deported the Hungarian women to Auschwitz from northern Transylvania and the Carpathian Ukraine. There, the younger women and girls were often separated from their parents and other family members. Hungarian Sara R. stated: "I was deported from the Uzschorod ghetto sometime in May 1944. . . . We arrived on the day before the Shawuoth festival. Immediately after our arrival we passed through a selection that Dr. Mengele, who I later saw repeatedly, directed. During the selection my mother and my two-and-a-half-year-old brother were designated for death by gas. With my sister Hilda . . . and Rosa, who Mengele later selected for death, I went to camp section 'C' at the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp."⁴

On April 5, 1945, another addition of seven Czech and Slovakian women to Hainichen transported from Auschwitz is recorded in SS documents.

The age composition of the Hainichen subcamp prisoners was as follows: 1 born before 1900; 69 born between 1900 and 1909; 182 born between 1910 and 1919; 142 born between 1920 and 1924; 103 born between 1925 and 1930; and 3 with no information.

The women at Hainichen were housed in a multistory building. On the first floor there was the sleeping room for the Poles, a doctors' room for the prisoner doctors, an infirmary, and an isolation room. The Hungarians had their sleeping and day rooms on both of the upper floors, and the female SS guards were situated on every floor.⁵ Former prisoners who were questioned agreed unanimously that the camp at Hainichen offered substantially better conditions than Auschwitz. It was clean and had washing facilities, which, however, the women could only use at night due to the supervisory SS female guard's ban on daytime washing. Despite the ban, they did it when the SS female guards were not present. Cleanliness was extremely important for them.⁶

Rosalia I. wrote about the medical care: "For work-related injuries the female prisoners were treated at the infirmary of the factory. My finger was also operated on in the factory, and the treatment was correct. I remember two women dying in the infirmary. A fellow sufferer from Poland died from kidney disease; she did not receive any treatment because the supervisory female guard declared her a malingerer."⁷ This death infuriated the women, as they had witnessed the abuse of Pole Edzia Feinowa by the supervisory female guard. Sonja P. stated: "When Feinowa was in the factory her foreman noticed her condition and gave her light work which she could perform while sitting. The supervisory female guard who made a habit of coming to the work site saw her working that way and demanded that Feinowa go with her to the camp. When we returned to the camp from the work shift . . . we saw the supervisory female guard hitting and kicking her. The camp doctor, Dr. Rita Smrcka from Bohemia, was not

allowed to treat Feinowa. . . . The doctor also did not have any medicine or dressing."⁸ Feinowa died a few days later.

SS documents record the deaths of four prisoners. Survivor reports list three other deaths in which the supervisory female guard and an SS guard were implicated. Regarding the work assignment, Sonja P. reported: "We had to work at Framo-Werke—I was trained there to be a master welder. We had to work very intensely—in two work shifts at twelve hours each. We walked to work—it was a two kilometer (one and a quarter mile) journey. . . . Every group was accompanied by an SS female guard, who was always armed with a gun."⁹

The regulations for calculating the work of the prisoners are found in the official directives: "Thus, the total work time per prisoner has to be proven with absolutely no interruptions in an unambiguous manner with evidence and exact information pertaining to control numbers, name, quantity produced, or earned time units, etc."¹⁰ Another reference reads: "The fixed daily rate we have to pay is 4 Reichsmarks (RM),—. If one assumes an average workday of ten hours, an hourly wage of .40 RM results, which applies to every female Jewish prisoner without regard to their age. Every wage hour is to be valued at this rate. The settlement factor, which is to be credited on the wage bill, is fixed for these prisoners at 6.4 RM for every one hundred time units, which will be paid for German women nineteen and older. If this rate does not result in a net payment, this crediting factor is still absolutely justified, for we also pay premiums and have a number of additional costs to cover, for example, the entire camp maintenance."¹¹

For the month of December 1944, the Flossenbürg administration claimed from Framo-Werke 10,395 full days worked at the rate of 4 RM per prisoner per day and 474 half days worked at the rate of 2 RM per prisoner per day, which altogether amounted to 42,526 RM. After deducting the cost of prisoner rations that the factory had procured, amounting to 10,479.80 RM, 32,048.20 RM were to be paid into the Flossenbürg account at the Reichsbank branch in Weiden.¹² With these official directives, the factory management admitted its responsibility for the slave driving of the prisoners at work (piecework), as well as their starvation of the women with extremely meager rations.

SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Loh was the camp leader (Lagerführer), about whom several women testified that he did not behave inhumanely toward them. However, he "did not have the situation at the camp under control. He was afraid of the supervisory female guard."¹³ Ten SS guards reported to him, among whom were several ethnic Germans that the SS had recruited from the Hungarian and Romanian Banat region.

Supervisory SS female guard Gerda Becker determined the internal running of the camp; she was in charge of 25 female guards, some of whom had come with the women from Auschwitz but most of whom had been recruited in Hainichen and the surrounding area. The survivors were unanimous in their verdict of the supervisory guard. Hungarian Eva G. expressed this as follows: "The female camp leader was the

demon of the camp. . . . She did worse things than her orders allowed. If something bad happened to the prisoners one could be sure that she was behind it. She was also the only one who regularly beat prisoners.”¹⁴ Another Hungarian inmate said about the head guard: “She was the terror of the camp. Those of us prisoners who spoke Hungarian called her *Halil* (Hungarian for death). . . . During the winter, without proper shoes and warm underwear, many of us suffered from cystitis and had to urinate frequently. The supervisory female guard issued the order that we could only go to the bathrooms in groups and at specific times. This was in effect for the work site. The women who developed cramps from the irritation relieved themselves on the work site in buckets. . . . As punishment, the entire work unit had their lunch taken away.”¹⁵

In April 1945, the women were at first evacuated on foot in the direction of Freiberg and from there transported on a several days’ journey in open freight cars toward Leitmeritz (Litoměřice). At Aussig (Usti n.L.) two women attempted to escape during a bombardment. The SS caught them again but did not shoot them. As no rations were distributed, the guards let the women pull up weeds or gather and cook plant remains from adjacent fields during stops.

About their liberation, Rosalia I. reported: “We then traveled to a city that was about five kilometers (three miles) away from Theresienstadt [Leitmeritz], and went to Theresienstadt on foot. I saw many dead bodies in front of the camp gate at Theresienstadt. I lost consciousness and awoke in the camp. The camp leader had accompanied us to the camp gate. . . . I was liberated by Soviet troops on May 9, 1945, in Theresienstadt. I stayed in the camp until August 15, 1945, working there as a nurse with those sick with typhus.”¹⁶

Several women from the Hainichen subcamp, of which 41 were not registered upon their arrival at the Theresienstadt ghetto, possibly because they had become victims of the evacuation transport, died of typhus or exhaustion after liberation, while still in Theresienstadt. Historian Marek Poloncarz reported that 484 women registered at Theresienstadt were reported to have come from the Hainichen subcamp.¹⁷ In fact, only 466 of these prisoners belonged to the Hainichen subcamp.

After the war, Lagerführer Loh was investigated and brought before court along with other SS members. In the Flossenbürg Trial, a U.S. military tribunal sentenced him to death but then commuted the sentence to life in prison. Hans-Werner R., manager of Framo-Werke, was imprisoned by Soviet authorities after the war and committed to the People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD) special camp Tost near Gleiwitz (Gliwice) in Poland, where he presumably died from dysentery and hunger in September 1945.¹⁸

SOURCES On the Hainichen subcamp prisoners admitted to Theresienstadt, see Marek Poloncarz, “Die Evakuierungstransporte nach Theresienstadt (April–Mai 1945),” *TSD* (1999): 255. The trial of Hainichen’s camp leader is briefly discussed in Toni Siegert, “Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg,” in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit. Herrschaft und Gesellschaft*

in *Konflikt*, Teil A, ed. Martin Broszat and Elke Fröhlich (Vienna, 1979), 2: 488n.139.

Relevant records may be found in BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3007/66; IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. I and II; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg; Ba-VEB-BH.

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NOTES

1. Ba-VEB-BH, letter of Framo-Werke’s company manager to the armaments detachment on February 1, 1944.
2. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. II, p. 398, statement by Sonja P. (prisoner no. 53302) before Israeli investigating authorities.
3. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. II, p. 323, statement by Rosalia I. (prisoner no. 53032) before Israeli investigating authorities.
4. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. II, p. 297, statement by Blanka F. (Sara R.: prisoner no. 52979).
5. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. I, pp. 138–140, Sketches of the camp that the former camp leader Loh drew during his questioning.
6. Towa Karny, communication to the author from November 2, 2000.
7. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. II, p. 324, statement by Rosalia I.
8. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. II, p. 399, statement by Sonja P.
9. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. II, p. 398, statement by Sonja P.
10. Ba-VEB-BH, Framo-Werke Directive No. 18 from 1.10.1944, p. 1.
11. Ba-VEB-BH, Framo-Werke Directive No. 19 from 1.10.1944, p. 1.
12. BA-B, Film 4053, Auf.-No. 701, Forderungsnachweis No. 798 des KZ Flossenbürg an die Framo-Werke Hainichen.
13. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. II, p. 297, statement by Blanka F.
14. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. I, p. 123, statement by Eva G. (prisoner no. 52939) before the General Consulate of the Federal Republic of Germany in New York.
15. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. II, p. 298, statement by Blanka F.
16. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 54/70, Bd. II, p. 325, statement by Rosalia I.
17. Marek Poloncarz, “Die Evakuierungstransporte nach Theresienstadt (April–Mai 1945),” *TSD* (1999): 255.
18. Communication to the author from Sybille Krägel from June 3, 1995.

HAPPURG

Near Happurg, a small town in the vicinity of Hersbuck near Nürnberg, there were plans to dig a system of tunnels into a mountain from mid-1944 so that Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) could produce airplane engines underground, safe from Allied air raids. The project was part of an attempt by the German war command to produce fighter planes that

could defend Germany from Allied bombers. A special Fighter Staff (Jägerstab) was formed that was supposed to work with various ministries of the German Reich to organize fast and effective production of aircraft. As in many other locations, the SS made large numbers of concentration camp prisoners available for the project—in Happurg the prisoners came from the Flossenbürg concentration camp.

At first, a prison camp was established in Happurg itself in May 1944. From August 1944 the prisoners were held in a new subcamp at Hersbruck.

On May 17, 1944, 147 prisoners from the Flossenbürg concentration camp arrived in Happurg by truck and were accommodated in the hall of the Hotel Schwarzer Adler. Until the end of May, the prisoners had to construct a makeshift camp in a barn near the Haberstumpf mill.¹ The SS eventually accommodated some 500 to 700 prisoners there for a few months. The living conditions for the prisoners were very poor. Later witness statements mention nightly screams, torture, deaths, and executions. It is claimed that there were between 10 and 15 deaths in Happurg.² There is also a record of at least one successful escape attempt.

The whole town of Happurg was dramatically changed by the massive underground relocation project: civilian workers, forced laborers, SS men, secretaries, engineers, and miners required accommodation in town, and office space had to be created for the organization of the construction project. As a result, just about all the townspeople came in contact with those involved in the construction project, whether directly or indirectly. Friendships were made, and marriages took place, too. The construction project, located on a slope above the town, completely changed the entire valley—there were railway tracks, a building yard, cable cars, and thousands of people in the tunnels and right in front of them. The inhabitants of Happurg (and later of Hersbruck) could see the prisoners every day as they marched to work and later returned to the camp.

Construction of the tunnels was performed not only by concentration camp prisoners but also by forced laborers, by detainees held by the SS and police units, and by civilian workers. The initial accommodation of the concentration camp prisoners in Happurg, the Hotel Schwarzer Adler, was used as a forced labor camp after the prisoners were transferred to the barn at Haberstumpf. From August 1944, all concentration camp prisoners were no longer held in Happurg but in the newly erected subcamp at Hersbruck. The mill at Haberstumpf where the prisoners had previously been housed was now used as a temporary accommodation for detainees held by the SS and police while they had to construct their own penal camp with stone barracks between Happurg and Förrenbach, a neighboring town.

The Happurg subcamp was the beginning of a construction project that in the few months between May 1944 and April 1945 cost about 4,000 concentration camp prisoners their lives. Gradually, the project at Happurg turned into a camp landscape with various kinds of prisoners and civilian workers. However, the project was mainly carried out by

concentration camp prisoners who, in contrast to the forced laborers and SS and police detainees, had to live and work under such murderous conditions that nearly half the concentration camp prisoners in Happurg and Hersbruck did not survive those few months in 1944–1945.

SOURCES Gerhard Faul's *Sklavenarbeiter für den Endsieg. KZ Hersbruck und das Rüstungsprojekt Dogger* (Hersbruck, 2003) is the first account to provide a detailed description of the camp landscape around Happurg and its subcamp, the precursor to the Hersbruck subcamp, but regrettably without any reference to sources or a scientific apparatus. Sociologist Elmer Lucherhand published a number of interesting witness statements that he obtained as an American officer in 1945 when he was present at the Hersbruck subcamp's liberation: "Das KZ in der Kleinstadt: Erinnerungen einer Gemeinde an den unsystematischen Völkermord," in *Die Reihen fest geschlossen: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alltags unterm Hakenkreuz*, ed. Detlev Peukert and Jürgen Reulecke (Wuppertal, 1981), pp. 435–454. The Happurg subcamp is also included in two essays by Alexander Schmidt: "Das KZ-Aussenlager Hersbruck und seine Wahrnehmung in der Region Nürnberg nach 1945," in *Spuren des Nationalsozialismus: Gedenkstättenarbeit in Bayern*, ed. BLZ-PBA (Munich, 2000), pp. 150–162; and "Das KZ-Aussenlager Hersbruck: Zur Geschichte des grössten Aussenlagers des KZ Flossenbürg in Bayern," *DaHe* 20 (2004).

The most important archival sources on the Happurg subcamp (and above all the Hersbruck subcamp) are the files from the U.S. Army's second Dachau Trial—case 000-50-46, original files in NARA; filmed copies in BHStA-(M)—and the trial files from the Nuremberg Hersbruck trial in 1950—StA-N, Sta. LG Nürnberg-Fürth, 2367. Elmer Lucherhand's estate (BCL, Elmer Gustav Lucherhand Papers) contains research material and interviews with contemporary witnesses for both subcamps, Happurg and Hersbruck.

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NOTES

1. See BA-B, NS 4, 393/1, p. 845; StA-N, Sta. LG Nürnberg-Fürth, Nr. 2637 Ia, pp. 29r–30 (witness statement by prisoner Felix Marszalek); Elmer Lucherhand, "KZ in der Kleinstadt": Erinnerungen einer Gemeinde an den unsystematischen Völkermord," in *Die Reihen fest geschlossen: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alltags unterm Hakenkreuz*, ed. Detlev Peukert and Jürgen Reulecke (Wuppertal, 1981), pp. 437–439 (interview with Elli E. regarding accommodation at the Hotel Schwarzer Adler).

2. See StA-N, Sta. LG Nürnberg-Fürth, Nr. 2637 (investigations by German judicial authorities with numerous witness accounts).

HELMBRECHTS

On July 19, 1944, 179 female prisoners and a few female guards from the Ravensbrück concentration camp arrived in Helmrechts, where they established a subcamp of the Ravensbrück concentration camp for women. The male guards

came from the Flossenbürg concentration camp. SS-Unterscharführer Alois Dörr was detachment leader. In June 1944, the Nürnberg armaments manufacturer Kabel und Metallwerke (Cable and Metal Works) Neumeyer had approached the Flossenbürg concentration camp with a request for prisoners since it had relocated part of its production facilities, which had been heavily hit in the air war, from Nürnberg to a factory building in Helmbrechts owned by the textile enterprise Witt (Weiden).¹

From September 1, 1944, the women's subcamp at Helmbrechts was administered by the Flossenbürg concentration camp.² Helmbrechts thus became one of 25 Flossenbürg subcamps for women. The camp on the southwest side of Kulmbacher Strasse was ready for occupancy in August 1944 and consisted of 11 wooden barracks, 4 of which were surrounded by a barbed-wire fence. Initially, 3 wooden barracks were filled with prisoners, and another served as an infirmary where untrained prisoners worked as nurses and a Russian female doctor, a prisoner herself, provisionally took care of the sick. The roll-call square was located between the prisoners' barracks and the infirmary.

By April 19, 1945, four other transports with about 500 female non-Jewish prisoners had arrived in Helmbrechts from the Ravensbrück concentration camp. The prisoners had been given nothing to eat on their three-day journey and were poorly clothed. Many of them fell ill during the transport. The living conditions for these prisoners, mostly from Poland, the Soviet Union, and the Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, were extreme to catastrophic. The lack of food, poor hygienic conditions, 12-hour work shifts with only one longer break, and beatings and humiliation at work were all part of everyday life in the Helmbrechts subcamp and the branch factory of Kabel-und Metallwerke Neumeyer. Admittedly, the company's administration protested against the mistreatment of prisoners since, after all, they wanted to achieve their production targets.

However, this did not alter the camp terror of the female guards and camp leader Dörr. Beatings with rubber tubes were common; the prisoners were not allowed to wash their clothes and could only wash themselves once every two months with a piece of poor-quality soap. Two prisoners who had escaped from the factory premises were caught one day later and hanged in the Flossenbürg main camp. Until they were caught, all prisoners were forced to stand in the roll-call square without food.³ This episode repeated itself on February 25, 1945, when there was another escape attempt that included the Russian female doctor. After two of the three escapees had been caught, they were beaten in front of the eyes of their fellow prisoners until they lay lifeless in the roll-call square. The doctor died that same night. These events were also observed by a neighboring site outside the camp. In addition, by March 1945, between 10 and 20 non-Jewish prisoners had died in Helmbrechts.

The conditions in the Helmbrechts subcamp abruptly changed on March 6, 1945, with the arrival of 621 Jewish women and girls from the Silesian subcamp Grünberg of the

Gross-Rosen concentration camp. They had had to cover the distance to Helmbrechts on foot, beginning at the end of January 1945. After their deportation to Auschwitz, the Jewish women from Hungary had already marched from there to Schlesiersee, excavated tank ditches, and been driven on foot to the Grünberg subcamp. Here they remained for only one night and eventually arrived in Helmbrechts utterly weakened, undernourished, and in an extremely critical state of health. Originally, the trek had consisted of about 1,000 women and girls; with the prisoners from Grünberg, the numbers rose to 1,300. Some 200 women who could no longer walk were transported by the SS to the Zwodau subcamp. Of the others, only 621 arrived in Helmbrechts. The remainder had either collapsed or been beaten or shot to death on the way.⁴

In Helmbrechts the camp administration put the Jewish prisoners in the two rear barracks. There were no places to sleep, only some straw on the ground. Seriously ill prisoners were placed in one corner of the barracks where there were bunk beds, but there was practically no medical care even though the SS designated this area as the "Jewish sickbay." Medicine and new prisoner clothes that were available were not handed out to the Jewish women. Empty barracks were not used despite the catastrophic overcrowding. The Jewish women were given "Jewish soup," a particularly poor form of food; were not put to work in the Neumeyer armaments factory; and remained locked up in the camp. Until the camp was evacuated on April 13, 1944, between 40 and 50 of the Jewish women died during their one-month stay in Helmbrechts—a death rate that fundamentally contrasted that of the non-Jewish prisoners.

The murderous living conditions that affected above all the Jewish women and girls continued on the death march from Helmbrechts along the border of the German Reich and the Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. The non-Jewish prisoners were given new clothes, shoes, and a little food before the march and were thus able to increase their chances of survival. The Jewish women were excluded from these privileges, had to march at the rear of the trek, and slimmed down to skeletons within a short period of time. From the Zwodau subcamp—the initial goal of the march—the prisoners had to continue marching south. Many Jewish women from the Zwodau camp were taken along; some non-Jewish prisoners were left behind there. Now the march consisted of about 700 Jewish women, a little more than 20 non-Jews, and the guards. All in all, at least 129 women died from exhaustion, illness, and the cold during the last stage of the death march to its final destination Prachatitz. At least 49 were murdered by the guards.⁵ Around 100 women who were sick and could no longer walk were left behind in Volary (Wallern), the second-to-last stop on the death march; 20 of them died before they were liberated by the Americans.

Until 1947, American judicial authorities investigated events in Helmbrechts without prosecuting anyone. It was only in 1969 that the Hof District Court sentenced camp leader Alois Dörr to life imprisonment.

SOURCES Helmbrechts Münchberg high school student Klaus Rauh wrote a detailed article on the Helmbrechts subcamp in the mid-1990s. The article was published much later as "Helmbrechts—Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg 1944–1945," *MC* 4 (2003): 117–149, and remained, for a long time, the only research work on the subject. Rauh thoroughly analyzed the LG Hof files. Daniel Jonah Goldhagen used the same sources, focusing primarily on the death march, in *Hitlers willige Vollstrecker: Ganz gewöhnliche Deutsche und der Holocaust* (Berlin, 1996), pp. 388–416. On the transfer of this subcamp from Ravensbrück to Flossenbürg, see Ino Arndt, "Das Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück," in *Studien zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager*, ed. Hans Rothfels and Theodor Eschenburg (Stuttgart, 1970).

The most important source on the Helmbrechts subcamp and the death march along the Bavarian-Bohemian border are the files of the trial against Alois Dörr at LG Hof (Js 1325/62). They include numerous witness statements and photographs.

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NOTES

1. Klaus Rauh, "Helmbrechts—Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg 1944–1945," *MC* 4 (2003): 117, citing Sta. Hof, Supplementary File A, p. 55.
2. Ino Arndt, "Das Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück," in *Studien zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager*, ed. Hans Rothfels and Theodor Eschenburg (Stuttgart, 1970), p. 117.
3. Rauh, "Helmbrechts," p. 121.
4. Ibid., p. 128.
5. Ibid., p. 148.

HERSBRUCK

In 1944–1945, the Hersbruck subcamp held several thousand prisoners who were used to dig a system of tunnels into a mountain close to the nearby town of Happurg. There, the Bayerischen Motoren Werke (BMW) intended to manufacture airplane engines for fighter aircraft under the code name "Dogger." However, the tunnels were only partially completed, and nothing was actually produced. Only the Osram Company transferred machines from the Leitmeritz subcamp (Litoměřice) to Happurg in 1945.

The first 147 prisoners, who arrived in Happurg by truck on May 17, 1944, were accommodated in the hall of a hotel at first and later in a temporary camp near a barn in Happurg.¹ Probably by July 26, 1944, all the concentration camp prisoners were no longer held in Happurg but in the newly constructed Hersbruck subcamp.² The SS had the subcamp constructed next to the Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich Labor Service, RAD) barracks, which later became the city of Hersbruck's tax and revenue office.³ The concentration camp site thus lay on the outskirts of Hersbruck. The camp towers could be seen from the local open-air swimming pool, the Strudelbad. According to priest Hans-Friedrich Lenz, who as a member of the Luftwaffe had been assigned to the SS to be

a guard at the camp, it consisted of "fifteen overcrowded accommodation barracks and the four overcrowded barracks of the infirmary and the 'mercy block.'⁴ In addition, there were the camp office, kitchen buildings, toilets, the mortuary, and roll-call square. An aerial photo from 1945 shows a few additional barracks.⁵

The Dogger construction project used not only concentration camp prisoners but also forced laborers, SS and police detainees, and civilian workers. For all of these people, accommodations and camps were set up in Happurg and the surrounding area. In mid-August 1944 there were about 1,900 prisoners in the Hersbruck subcamp, the center of the camp landscape surrounding the Dogger construction project. The number of concentration camp prisoners rose steadily in the eight months of the Hersbruck subcamp's existence, as its strength reports show. On December 28, 1944, there were 2,754 prisoners in the camp;⁶ on February 1, 1945, 4,028 prisoners; on February 28, 1945, 5,863; on March 31, 1945, 4,970; and finally, on April 13, 1945, there were 4,767 registered prisoners. Thus, there were times when there were almost 6,000 prisoners in the Hersbruck subcamp at once.⁷ However, with up to 30 people dying each day from the conditions in the camp, from execution, hunger, or brutal violence of the SS guards or camp Kapos, the total number of prisoners at approximately 9,000 to 9,500 people was considerably higher.⁸ Transports with prisoners arrived from Flossenbürg, Gross-Rosen, Auschwitz, and other camps.

The detachment leaders at the Hersbruck subcamp were, in succession, SS-Hauptsturmführer Emil Fügner, Heinrich Forster (who disappeared after 1945), and Ludwig Schwarz. Because the project, in part, served air force armament, some of the guards were transferred from the Luftwaffe to the SS.

The camp elder was Martin Humm, considered a criminal prisoner. He was sentenced to death by a U.S. military court; later he was pardoned and released from prison in 1957.⁹ There were prisoners from 21 nations in the Hersbruck subcamp, including many Hungarian Jews. The camp on Amberger Strasse was overcrowded and had a completely inadequate, improvised infrastructure. Morass and the poor disposal of feces promoted illnesses of all types. Inside the tunnels, the work detachments were constantly affected by accidents because of inadequate safety measures. Outside the tunnels, the prisoners suffered because of weather conditions and the heavy physical labor involved in building railways and transporting building materials. Thus, the extreme conditions in the camp and at work inside and outside the tunnels cost the lives of about 4,000 to 4,500 concentration camp prisoners in the few months of the Hersbruck subcamp's existence between May 1944 and April 1945. This means nearly every other prisoner in the camp did not survive the winter of 1944–1945. According to entries in the Flossenbürg *Nummernbüchern* (Numbers Books), which are incomplete, 39 prisoners successfully escaped. Only 4 releases are documented. Because of the many dead, the SS established its own crematorium. Corpses of prisoners were also burned in the open air at the end of 1944.

The Hersbruck subcamp was evacuated in April 1945. A transport train with sick prisoners left Hersbruck in the direction of Dachau, and five columns set out on foot on a death march. Some of the prisoners were freed by the U.S. Army on the way to Dachau; others were forced to march from Dachau in the direction of the Alps before they were liberated. About 500 prisoners were able to escape during the marches, and 300 died or were killed.

There are a number of Hersbruck survivors who became prominent after 1945. Some of them wrote about their time in the camp. They include author Bernt Engelmann; the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) politician from North Rhine Westphalia, Werner Jakobi; sculptor and professor of literature Vittore Bocchetta; author Janusz Krasiński; Italian resistance fighter Teresio Olivelli; artist Georg Hans Trapp; and Hungarian-born Bernhard Teitelbaum.

In the Dachau Flossenbürg Trial of 1946–1947, SS men and prisoner-functionaries were put on trial. In the Nürnberg Hersbruck Trial of 1950, other perpetrators as well as miners and members of the construction administration were tried. Most received light sentences or were pardoned or acquitted. Only the last detachment leader, Ludwig Schwarz, was executed.

SOURCES Gerhard Faul's book *Sklavenarbeiter für den Endsieg. KZ Hersbruck und das Rüstungsprojekt Dogger* (Hersbruck, 2003) is the first to depict the camp landscape around Happurg and the Happurg subcamp as the precursor to the Hersbruck subcamp, but unfortunately it is without source references or a scientific apparatus. Two essays that also deal with the Happurg subcamp are Alexander Schmidt, "Das KZ-Aussenlager Hersbruck und seine Wahrnehmung in der Region Nürnberg nach 1945," in *Spuren des Nationalsozialismus: Gedenkstättenarbeit in Bayern*, ed. BLZ-BPA (Munich, 2000), pp. 150–162; and Schmidt, "Das KZ-Aussenlager Hersbruck. Zur Geschichte des grössten Aussenlagers des KZ Flossenbürg in Bayern," *DaHe* 20 (2004).

The most important sources on the Happurg subcamp (above all the Hersbruck subcamp) are the files of the U.S. Army's Dachau Trial (cases 000-50-46 and 000-50-46-1). The original documents are located in the NARA; film copies are held at the BHStA-(M). Also important are the trial files from the Nürnberg Hersbruck Trials in 1950 (StA-N, Sta. LG Nürnberg-Fürth, 2367). The estate of Elmer Luchterhand (BCL, Elmer Gustav Luchterhand Papers) contains research material and eyewitness accounts on the Happurg and Hersbruck subcamps. An important source on life inside the camp is Hans-Friedrich Lenz's book *Sagen Sie Herr Pfarrer, wie kommen Sie zur SS?—Bericht eines Pfarrers der Bekennenden Kirche über seine Erlebnisse im Kirchenkampf und als SS-Oberscharführer im Konzentrationslager Hersbruck* (Giessen, 1982). Vittore Bocchetta, a former prisoner, has published a graphic memoir, *Jene fünf verdammten Jahre: Aus Verona in die Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg und Hersbruck* (Lage, 2003). Sociologist Elmer Luchterhand, who as an American officer in 1945 experienced the liberation of the Hersbruck subcamp, has published interesting eyewitness statements in "Das KZ in der Kleinstadt. Erinnerungen einer Gemeinde an den unsystematischen Völkermord," in *Die Reihenfest geschlossen: Beiträge zur Geschichte*

des Alltags unterm Hakenkreuz, ed. Detlev Peukert and Jürgen Reulecke (Wuppertal, 1981), pp. 435–454.

Alexander Schmidt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See BA-B, NS 4, 393/1, S. 845; StA-N, Sta. LG Nürnberg-Fürth, Nr. 2637 Ia, pp. 29r–30 (record of interview of the prisoner Felix Marszalek).

2. BA-B, NS 4/FI 393/2, FZW 925 (overview labor demand, July 1944).

3. See the collection in the ASt-Her, File NS 2 (Hersbruck subcamp).

4. Hans-Friedrich Lenz, *Sagen Sie Herr Pfarrer, wie kommen Sie zur SS?—Bericht eines Pfarrers der Bekennenden Kirche über seine Erlebnisse im Kirchenkampf und als SS-Oberscharführer im Konzentrationslager Hersbruck* (Giessen, 1982), p. 97.

5. See plans by Vanselow, *KZ Hersbruck*, p. 28; Lenz, *Sagen Sie Herr Pfarrer*, p. 160; and Gerhard Faul, *Sklavenarbeiter für den Endsieg. KZ Hersbruck und das Rüstungsprojekt Dogger* (Hersbruck, 2003), pp. 68–71 (aerial photo on p. 71).

6. According to a statement by Hans-Friedrich Lenz, in StA-N, Sta. LG Nürnberg-Fürth, 2637 XXVI, p. 148.

7. See BA-B, II collection, former ZSA-P, Doc/K 183/11, pp. 61, 114; Toni Siegert, "Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg. Gegründet für sogenannte Asoziale und Kriminelle," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Martin Broszat and Elke Fröhlich (Munich, 1979), 2:452.

8. The death rate is quoted by Lenz, *Sagen Sie Herr Pfarrer*, p. 131.

9. See StA-N, Sta. LG Nürnberg-Fürth, 2637 Ia, pp. 241–253r (interrogation of Martin Humm); Faul, *Sklavenarbeiter für den Endsieg*, p. 78.

HERTINE

The Flossenbürg subcamp Hertine was located close to a munitions factory in the village of Hertine (Rtyne), which was about 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) to the southeast of Teplitz (Teplice) in Bohemia.

A transport of 599 Hungarian Jewish women arrived from the Auschwitz concentration camp at the newly erected Hertine camp on October 10, 1944.¹ The prisoners were forced to work at the Welboth (Velvěty) Fabrik zur Verwertung Chemischer Erzeugnisse Hertine GmbH (Factory for the Processing of Chemical Substances Hertine, Ltd.), a subsidiary of the explosives company Dynamit Nobel AG.

According to a statement by former prisoner K.F., the camp was located in a forest close to the factory. It consisted of five barracks in each of which slept approximately 120 women. Each barracks was divided into rooms that were shared by between 15 and 20 women. The women slept on three-tiered bunk beds. The square site was surrounded with barbed wire, and at each corner, there was a watchtower.²

The detachment leader of the Hertine camp, SS-Oberscharführer Christian Mohr, had been block leader between 1938 and 1942 in the Flossenbürg main camp. He was

sentenced to death at the main Flossenbürg Trial in Dachau and hanged on October 13, 1948. The SS guards comprised 41 men who were quartered outside the camp. As in all concentration camps for women, female overseers were deployed at Hertine. The 19 female overseers at Hertine were quartered in the nearby city of Teplitz. Their political environment can be seen from the application for leave by Franziska Galfe whose fiancé was an SS-Scharführer of the SS-Viking Division.³

Between January and March 1945, there were around 550 to 600 female prisoners in the camp. On January 6, 1945, 27 women from the Flossenbürg subcamp in Oederan were transferred to Hertine, and 27 women from Hertine were transferred to Oederan. According to S.H., who was held in Oederan, this transport comprised younger Hertine prisoners being exchanged for older Oederan prisoners; in Hertine the shell casings that had been produced in Oederan were filled with explosives, and this work could only be done by women who were over the age of 18.⁴ Entries in the *Nummernbüchern* (Numbers Books) confirm this: the women transferred from Hertine to Oederan were mostly born in 1927 and 1928, while the women transferred to Hertine were born between 1907 and 1922. Nevertheless, there were still many young women who remained at Hertine.

A small prisoner detachment did agricultural work. However, the majority of the prisoners worked three shifts a day at the Welboth munitions factory. They filled bombs, grenades, and mines with explosives and phosphorous.

Prisoner mistreatment was prevalent. The prisoners' warm clothing was taken from them, and they had to work in winter wearing thin workers' clothes. Many fell ill. One girl is said to have been driven insane by the inhuman conditions in the camp and was shot. An explosion in the middle of December 1944 is said to have mortally injured a female overseer and a number of prisoners. The SS suspected sabotage and killed a number of other female prisoners.⁵

It is known for certain that 626 prisoners entered the Hertine camp. The Flossenbürg Nummernbüchern record 4 deaths in the period from the end of November 1944 to the end of January 1945. On January 16, 1945, 2 women were transferred to Ravensbrück. Five women's names have been crossed out and replaced by other names; this was probably to correct an error in the entries. The last surviving strength report from April 13, 1945, refers to 394 prisoners—there is no plausible explanation for the large discrepancy between the documented deaths and the small strength numbers. Apparently, dead prisoners were cremated in the nearby crematorium of the Flossenbürg subcamp at Leitmertiz. On April 16, 1945, 16 Jewish prisoners from Hertine were buried at the local cemetery.⁶

The camp was evacuated in the middle of April 1945 to Theresienstadt. The prisoners covered most of the way by rail, and they were liberated by the Red Army on May 8, 1945.⁷

According to prisoner K.G., after the Hertine camp was evacuated, women from the Flossenbürg subcamp at Chemnitz who had already been evacuated to Leitmertiz were forced to work in the Hertine munitions factory until liberation on May 8, 1945.⁷

SOURCES There are two key essays that deal with the history of the Flossenbürg subcamp at Hertine: Jörg Skribeleit, "Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 196–217; and Hans Brenner, "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," *TSD* (1999): 263–295.

The investigation files of the ZdL at BA-L, collections 410 AR 721/73 and 410 AR 2959/66, and files of the BA-B, NS 4/FL, are the main source on the Hertine camp. They have been complemented by an exhaustive report on exhumations done at the end of the war in the Teplitz area (collection OVS, Inv. č. 83, Carton 162) and the monthly strength reports from the last months of the war (collection NSM, Sign. 110-4-88) in SÚA. There are also prisoner memoirs that deal with the prisoners' time in Hertine in Michael Düsing, ed., *Wir waren zum Tode bestimmt. Lódz—Theresienstadt—Auschwitz—Freiberg—Oederan—Mauthausen* (Leipzig, 2002).

Alfons Adam
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 4/FL 393–2.
2. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR 721/73, S. 258.
3. BA-B, NS 4/FL 10: Application for Leave to the Flossenbürg concentration camp command office, October 28, 1944.
4. Michael Düsing, ed., *Wir waren zum Tode bestimmt. Lódz—Theresienstadt—Auschwitz—Freiberg—Oederan—Mauthausen* (Leipzig, 2002), p. 106.
5. ZdL, 410 AR 721/73, S. 64, p. 176.
6. Letter, Hertine Mayoral Office, April 15, 2005, re the Burial of sixteen Jewish prisoners at the local cemetery, SÚA, OVS, Inv. č. 83, Carton 162.
7. Statement of the former prisoner K.G., ZdL, 410 AR 721/73, p. 200; see also investigation on Chemnitz (ZdL, 410 AR 203/73); as well as Hans Brenner, "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," *TSD* (1999): p. 269.

HOF-MOSCHENDORF

The Hof-Moschendorf subcamp was established on September 3, 1944. It was established as a Dachau subcamp when the SS-Hauptzeugamt (Main Material Office) was transferred to Hof. From September 30, 1944, to its dissolution on April 4, 1945, it was administered by the Flossenbürg concentration camp.

The subcamp was located in the Hof suburb of Moschendorf in the disused Reincke pottery factory between Oberkotzau Strasse and the railway line Selb-Hof-Eger. About 100 prisoners who repaired weapons seized in the war were held there. The prisoners and guards all came from Dachau.¹

The work, living, and food conditions in the Moschendorf subcamp were much better than at the Flossenbürg main camp or in subcamps such as Ansbach, Hersbruck, or Helmbrechts. Among the 102 prisoners in March 1945, there were 33 Germans, 20 Poles, and 14 Russians, as well as smaller prisoner groups from another 10 nations.² There was only 1 Jew among

the prisoners. Most of the prisoners wore the red triangle. The Kapo was Heinrich Witt from Munich. His deputy was Alois Pelka. The camp commander was SS-Sturmbannführer Ludwig Bauer from Neustadt near Coburg.

Four deaths can be verified at the camp: two Polish prisoners who were buried in the Hof-Moschendorf cemetery are recorded in the prisoner lists compiled after 1945 as having died from tuberculosis; another prisoner died in a work accident. He is buried at the Hof city cemetery.³

Yugoslav prisoner Simeon Sarnawski was caught by the SS when he tried to make soles for his shoes from disused driving belts. He was reported and taken back to Flossenbürg, condemned to death, and publicly executed on December 27, 1944, on the factory site in front of the other prisoners. It is alleged that SS-Oberscharführer Otto Haupt was in charge of the execution. Sarnawski's body was cremated in the Hof crematorium.

A large number of prisoners were able to escape during the dissolution of the camp, with the result that only about 60 prisoners were taken by car and bicycle in the direction of the Dachau concentration camp. Only 42 reached their goal. There are contradictory statements on the deaths and murders that occurred on the route to Dachau. There is no evidence to support a claim that about 20 prisoners were murdered in Rehau and Oberkotzau.⁴

On April 15, 1945, after the liberation of the camp, 35 prisoners who had escaped before the evacuation march gathered together in Hof. One of them, the Polish prisoner Alois Pelka, died, and he was buried at the Hof-Moschendorf cemetery. In 1960, the 3 who were buried in the Hof-Moschendorf cemetery were reinterred, with 10 others buried in the city cemetery at Plauener Strasse in the memorial cemetery at the Flossenbürg concentration camp. Of these, only 4 can be said to have certainly been at the Hof-Moschendorf subcamp.

SOURCES Rudolf Macht has provided a detailed report on the Hof-Moschendorf subcamp in *Niederlage: Geschichte der Hofer Arbeiterbewegung*, vol. 3/2, 1924–1945 (Hof, 1996), pp. 424–426.

The BA-B holds a few strength reports and transfer documents relating to the Hof-Moschendorf subcamp. The *Nummernbücher* of the Flossenbürg concentration camp (NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46) list the names of the prisoners from Hof. Judicial proceedings relating to Hof-Moschendorf are documented in the ZdL (410-AR-Z 115/68) at BA-L. The report by eyewitness Hans Ballmann, originally a speech given on June 8, 1946, at a public meeting, contains a few errors. It was published as *Im Konzentrationslager: Ein Tatsachenbericht* (Calw, 1946).

Alexander Schmidt
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Rudolf Macht, "Dokumentation KZ-Aussenlager Hof Moschendorf," (unpub. MSS, n.d.), copy in AG-F (AGFL), Hängeregister, Mappe Moschendorf.

2. BA-B, Collection of the former ZSA-P, Dok/K 183/11, S. 116. The Flossenbürg prisoner numbers 4120, 4420, 28320–

28399, 32371–32389, and 37235 relate to prisoners in the Moschendorf subcamp.

3. ASt-Hof, BE 751, amp Moschendorf.

4. For the unproven murders, see Hans Ballmann, *Im Konzentrationslager: Ein Tatsachenbericht* (Calw, 1946), p. 15.

HOHENSTEIN-ERNSTHAL

During the large air raid on Chemnitz on September 11, 1944, the Wanderer-werke of the Auto Union AG in Siegmar-Schönau was also hit. The accommodations for the outside detail of the Flossenbürg concentration camp burned down. The prisoners were employed for weeks doing clearing-up work and had to sleep outside for a long time.¹ The Auto Union planned to transfer part of its production. This was discussed in a board meeting. The minutes read: "The HL-230 manufacturing should be housed in branch plants. The factory rooms of the company Laurenz und Wilde, Hohenstein-Ernstthal, are suggested."² The transferring of the tank motor HL-230 manufacturing to the disused cloth-weaving mill Laurenz und Wilde at Hohenstein-Ernstthal was completed before the end of the year.

In January 1945, the SS forced the prisoners of the Siegmar outside detail to march to their new deployment location. The prisoners were housed in a barracks camp on the rifle house grounds in Hohenstein-Ernstthal, which were secured by high barbed-wire fences and guard towers.

Around 400 of the original 420 prisoners were transferred to Hohenstein-Ernstthal. Left behind were at least 6 dead and some prisoners injured during a bombing raid on Siegmar. A transport of 50 Hungarian Jews replenished the Hohenstein-Ernstthal outside detail. The detail primarily consisted of Polish Jewish men who had been brought to Auschwitz after the Łódź ghetto had been cleared. Former Polish prisoner Pinkus B. stated: "From the outbreak of the war until approximately August/September 1944 I was housed in the Łódź ghetto. Only in 1944 were we resettled in several transports. Most of the people from this ghetto went to Auschwitz. After only about six weeks we went to Siegmar-Schönau, where we stayed a couple of months. After Siegmar-Schönau was bombed, we were transferred to Hohenstein-Ernstthal."³

In Siegmar the prisoners had already received the Flossenbürg concentration camp matriculation numbers 26411 through 26810.⁴ The command at Flossenbürg gave the Hungarian prisoners the matriculation numbers of the series 40000. On February 28, 1945, the Hohenstein-Ernstthal prisoners were of the following nationalities: 379 Poles, all Jewish; 49 Hungarians, all Jewish; 4 Russians, all Jewish; 4 Germans, 3 of whom were Jewish; 2 French, 1 of whom was Jewish; 1 Chinese, who was Jewish; and 1 Czech, who was Jewish. According to this list the camp at this point had a strength of 441 prisoners.⁵ Until March 31, 1945, this number was changed only by the death of a Polish prisoner.⁶

The prisoners were employed in 12-hour shifts manufacturing parts for the "Tiger" tank engines HL-230 as well as

truck gearbox parts. Under heavy pressure after the long-term stoppage of the factory at Siegmar, but primarily due to the delayed start of production in the subterranean tank motor factory "Elsabe" of the Auto Union in Leitmeritz, factory management attempted to use the prisoners as effectively as possible. It thus came to a very typical incident in this respect, about which Jewish historian Adolf Diamant reports: "Several of the Jewish prisoners, from whom their eyeglasses had been taken at Auschwitz, complained to the German foremen in the factory that they could not see well without glasses. As a result the work management sent these 'concentration camp skilled workers,' under SS guard, to an eye doctor who prescribed them glasses that the prisoners also received."⁷ As the food was completely insufficient in light of the heavy work, the physical strength of the prisoners drained, and their resistance to sickness dwindled. At least six prisoners died at Hohenstein-Ernstthal. Szaja B. wrote about the death of his brother: "My brother and I worked at Hohenstein-Ernstthal in the factory, until my brother got sick and went to the sickbay. An SS-Oberscharführer . . . allowed me to sleep the last night in the sickbay next to my brother until he died. With the help of a fellow prisoner I buried him the next day in the graveyard at Hohenstein-Ernstthal."⁸ Two SS-Unterführer and 29 guards served under the camp leader, SS-Oberscharführer Franz Reber. In October 1944, Reber had already taken over the command at Siegmar-Schönau in place of the former leader, who had been injured in a bombing raid. He relied on Max Garfinkel, acting as the camp elder, who did not receive any positive testimonies from survivors. He more or less worked against the prisoners.⁹

After production had ceased in April 1945, owing to an interruption in material delivery, the SS evacuated the prisoners by foot in April 1945 toward Erzgebirgskamm with the goal of reaching the Bohemian side of the Flossenbürg concentration camp. During the march, a number of prisoners died from exhaustion. Several could escape as the SS increasingly wandered off from the column. Pinkus B. stated: "The camp was evacuated—it was around the middle of April as we started out marching. I remember that we were on the road for several weeks toward Eger. . . . Our small guard unit carried out the evacuation, but at liberation there were only a few left as the others had themselves fled. . . . I also tried to escape but was caught. I do not know of any killing actions due to escape attempts, only beatings. . . . Many also died at night, which surely resulted from the evacuation strain and hunger."¹⁰

On May 7, 1945, the Soviet army liberated the prisoners near Luditz (Zlutice).¹¹ The completely exhausted men were brought to hospitals and sanatoriums, some also to Upper Franconia, where several of them died even weeks after liberation.¹²

SOURCES An unpublished study that deals with this subcamp is Adolf Diamant, "Chronologie der Orte des Widerstandes, der Zwangsarbeiter, der Kriegsgefangen und der KZ-Häftlinge. Hohenstein-Ernstthal" (unpub. MSS, Frankfurt am Main, n.d.).

Relevant records may be found in the BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 57/76; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg; HStA-D (Auto Union AG); and APCK.

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trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. Szaja Baczyński, report to the author from February 15, 2001.
2. HStA-D, Auto Union AG, No. 205, notes from the board meeting, September 25, 1944, p. 4.
3. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 57/76, Bd. I, p. 84, statement by Pinkus B. (matriculation no. 26446).
4. APCK, Nr. 3358, a list of names of the Polish prisoners at Flossenbürg.
5. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 4, p. 105.
6. Ibid.
7. Adolf Diamant, "Chronologie der Orte des Widerstandes, der Zwangsarbeiten, der Kriegsgefangen und der KZ-Häftlinge. Hohenstein-Ernstthal" (unpub. MSS, Frankfurt am Main, n.d.), sig. B/76.
8. Baczyński report.
9. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 57/76, Bd. I, p. 84a, statement by Pinkus B.
10. Ibid., pp. 85–85b.
11. Baczyński, report.
12. APCK, Nr. 3358.

HOLLEISCHEN

One of the largest subcamps in what is the present-day Czech Republic was located 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) to the southwest of Plzeň in the west Bohemian village of Holleischen (Holišov) near the German-Czech border. On average, 600 women were forced to work in Factory II of Metallwerke Holleischen GmbH (Metal Works Holleischen Ltd.) from April 1944 to the end of the war. The women from the Holleischen subcamp worked in the munitions factory. There was also a men's camp where 200 prisoners worked as a construction detachment in building a shooting range. During the last months of the war, Holleischen was also a holding camp for evacuees from other subcamps, and the numbers of female prisoners increased by the end of the war to over 1,000.

Both Flossenbürg subcamps were part of a larger armaments and camp complex in Holleischen. The Berlin Waffen- und Munitionsfabriken AG (Weapons and Munitions Factories, Inc.) took over the site of an empty glass works in Holleischen in October 1938, soon after Germany's annexation of the Sudetenland, and built it into a munitions factory (Factory I) for the Luftwaffe. The armaments company was renamed Metallwerke Holleischen GmbH in 1941. Factory II was located in a forest outside the village, which included a work settlement for German workers and employees. By the time of its completion, there were to be homes built in Holleischen for 1,000 families. In 1941, a subcamp for mostly Czech forced laborers was established. They were to construct the settlement. In the same year, another subcamp for

700 female Czechs was constructed. These women were to be forced laborers in the munitions factory. On June 31, 1941, the first 360 French prisoners of war (POWs) were transferred from Stalag XIII B in Weiden to Holleischen. In addition, mostly Russian POWs, being held in a special camp, were employed in forced labor in the armaments industry. The total number of workers in both factories is estimated to have been about 8,000 by the end of the war.¹

In the surviving labor request confirmations from the headquarters of the Flossenbürg concentration camp to Metallwerke, the Holleischen subcamp, with 195 female prisoners, is first documented on April 15, 1944. The male camp, consisting of 200 prisoners, is mentioned for the first time on August 11, 1944, in a trip report by the Higher-SS and Police Leader for Bohemia and Moravia, SS-Obergruppenführer Karl Hermann Frank, who was on an inspection tour of subcamps in the Sudeten district.

The Holleischen women's subcamp was originally administered by the Ravensbrück concentration camp, because the first women transferred to the subcamp in April 1944 were from Ravensbrück. Although the camp was subordinate to Flossenbürg as far as work assignments were concerned from the beginning, it was administered by Ravensbrück until August 31, 1944.

The female prisoners were accommodated in the farm buildings of a nearby manor on the edge of the village, between Factory I and Factory II. The manor had an infirmary. The barns, haylofts, and stables of the manor were turned into quarters for the prisoners. All the windows, the gate, and roofs were covered with electrified barbed wire.²

By August 1944, the number of women in Holleischen had climbed to 600. Thereafter, it remained relatively constant until the spring of 1945. The largest group of prisoners was French—more than 50 percent of the women were French. The number of Poles and Russians followed, with approximately 25 percent each.³ There were hardly any other nationalities or Jewish prisoners in Holleischen. This changed on March 6, 1945, with the arrival of 145 Jewish women by rail from the Flossenbürg subcamp at the Siemens-Schuckert works in Nürnberg. As a result, the prisoner numbers increased to 836. On March 9, 1945, another 259 prisoners arrived in Holleischen from the same dissolved subcamp, which had been bombed in mid-February and evacuated to Holleischen, together with its guard force.⁴ The prisoners, almost exclusively Hungarian Jews, had been deported in the autumn of 1944 from Auschwitz to Nürnberg.

The commander of Holleischen was SS-Hauptsturmführer Emil Fügner. At the time of Karl Hermann Franks's visit on August 11, 1944, the Holleischen camp was guarded by 64 Luftwaffe soldiers and 27 female guards.⁵ The female SS guards came mostly from German Bohemia, and with one exception, they had all been stationed in Ravensbrück.

Five additional female wardens from Ravensbrück arrived at Holleischen on October 25, 1944, and in the spring of 1945, there were 48 SS women at Holleischen. From October 1944 at the latest, Holleischen served as a training camp for the

subcamps' female guard personnel. In addition, it was a place where company representatives could learn about security, wages, and care for prisoners at subcamps.⁶ The companies often had to detail their own female employees to the SS as guards; they were trained for several weeks at Holleischen and then transferred to the SS, after which they had to swear allegiance to the SS and wear the SS uniform. Some of the guards, at their trials before the Extraordinary People's Court (mimořádný lidový soud) in postwar Czechoslovakia, were able to prove that their service in the SS was forced upon them. Such proceedings ended with a prison term of between 1 and 10 years. The female SS guard Anni Graf was sentenced on August 3, 1948, by a French military court in Rastatt to 15 years for crimes against humanity.⁷

The Holleischen prisoners were driven every morning to work in Factory II, which lay in a forest. They worked in 12-hour shifts. Toward the end of the war, the prisoners had to construct fortifications such as antitank ditches. The food consisted of 0.5 liter (2 cups) of black coffee and 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread in the morning, soup at lunch, and in the evening again, coffee and a piece of bread.

The prisoners were beaten with bowls by the camp personnel for the slightest infraction of the camp rules, or the dogs were set on them. Three French women, Noemi Suchet, Hélène Lignier, and Simone Michel-Levy, each received 25 blows with a stick for supposed sabotage and were transferred back to the Flossenbürg main camp, where they were hanged on April 13, 1945, shortly before its evacuation.⁸ Eleven prisoners were buried at the local cemetery in Holleischen.

On September 13, 1945, three Polish prisoners, Stanisława Świerniak, Anna Fabicki, and Irena Cholewa, succeeded in escaping from Holleischen. Their fate is not known.⁹

Little is known about the men's camp at Holleischen. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) Arolsen, it was mentioned for the last time on January 31, 1945. The last mention of the women's camp is a work allocation list from the main camp on April 13, 1945; this gives the number of prisoners for the Holleischen camp as 1,091.¹⁰ In the last weeks before the end of the war, it was scarcely possible to use the women's labor, as the destruction of the rail network meant that supplies could no longer be delivered to the factory.

Polish partisans liberated the Holleischen subcamp on May 3, 1945. Two days later, American troops arrived. The prisoners remained there until they were repatriated to their home countries, about five weeks later.

SOURCES Despite the size of the Holleischen camp and its function as a training ground for SS female wardens, it has not been intensively researched. The Czechoslovak research is largely in an older general overview titled *Tábory utrpení a smrti*, by Růžena Bubeníčková, Ludmilla Kubátová, and Irena Malá (Prague, 1969) or in the strongly political work *Hrdinové protifašistického odboje*, by Vojtěch Lašťovka, Václav Němec, and Rudolf Stránský (Plzeň, 1985). As for newer research, Jörg Skriebel's essay "Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 196–217, and Václav Jiřík's investigation into the People's Courts in postwar Czechoslovakia

Nedaleko od Norimberku. Z dějin mimořádného lidového soudu v Chebu v letech 1946 až 1948 (Cheb, 2000) are noteworthy.

The most important archival sources are the investigation files in BA-BL, AR Z-175/75 and AR Z-39/59. Other witness statements are held in NARA, in RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537. In the SÚA in Prague are the monthly strength reports in Collection NSM, Sign. 110-4-88, and the report on Karl Herrmann Frank's trip to the Bohemian subcamps in Collection KT-OVS 110-9-12. The trial records of the Extraordinary People's Court in Eger and Pilsen against the camp guards are located in the SOA, Plzeň, Collection MLS.

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NOTES

1. Vojtěch Laštovka, Václav Němec, and Rudolf Stránský, *Hrdinové protifašistického odboje* (Plzeň, 1985), p. 161.
2. Růžena Bubeníčková, Ludmilla Kubátová, and Irena Malá, *Tábory utrpení a smrti* (Prague, 1969), p. 109. Also Record of Interview of the Former SS Female Warden Martha Pimmer by the Dillingen Police on May 17, 1969, ZSL-L, AR-Z 175/75, Band II, S. 305.
3. SÚA, Prag, NSM, Sign. 110-4-88.
4. CEGESOMA, Brüssel, Microfilm Nr. 14368.
5. SÚA, KT-OVS 110-9-12.
6. SHStA-(D), 11722 (Zeiss-Ikon AG), Nr. 319 Factory Kitchen. According to a note on 11.28.44, a member of the Goehle factory management informed Dresden shortly after the establishment of the subcamp "on the occasion of a visit to the Holleischen metal factory and the camp located there on 25 and 26.10."
7. BA-BL, AR Z-175/75, vol. 3, S. 544.
8. Record of Interview of B.F., August 3, 1948, to the Military Court in the French Occupied Zone Germany, Rastatt in proceedings against Anni Graf, BA-BL, AR Z-39/59, S. 351f.
9. NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537.
10. BA-BL, AR Z-175/75, vol. 3, S. 524.

HRADISCHKO [AKA BENESCHAU]

The Flossenbürg subcamp in Hradischko (Hradištko) is known by a number of names. The SS administration files refer to it as the "Beneschau labor camp," and in fact this Flossenbürg subcamp was located in Hradischko, a small community about 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the southwest of Prague. The history of this subcamp is directly related to the construction of a large SS troop training ground in occupied Bohemia.

In November 1941, the SS-Troop Training Ground Beneschau (Truppenübungsplatz Beneschau) was opened. It was located close to Beneschau. A large expansion was planned for the following year. On July 13, 1942, public notices in two languages were distributed in the area around the city of Neweklau (Neveklov), ordering the evacuation of all inhabitants in an area of about 44,000 hectares (108,726 acres). Initially about 17,600 people from 62 communities had to leave by September 1943 so that the area would be available for a central SS-Troop Training Ground Bohemia. Numer-

ous SS units were stationed on the large site, which was constantly expanded in the following years. The SS command for the SS-Troop Training Ground was based in Beneschau, a small community on the eastern boundary of the restricted military area. An SS-Assault Gun School (Sturmgeschützschule) was established in Janowitz-Markt (Vrchoťov Janovice) on the southern edge of the training area. There was also a Flossenbürg subcamp at Janowitz. An SS training camp, consisting of an SS-Junker- und Unterführer-Schule (Cadet and Noncommissioned Officer School), an SS training regiment, and various SS pioneer battalions, was located in Hradischko, on the northwest corner of the site.

Prisoners were used for various purposes on the site, once the military training ground had been established. In 1942, a labor education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*) was established near Hradischko. The prisoners had to work at the training ground. After this camp was dissolved, the barracks were occupied in November 1943 with prisoners from Flossenbürg. Additional barracks, guard towers, and a small roll-call square were constructed so as to make the camp more suitable for the increased security required for concentration camp prisoners. It is not exactly clear which SS unit based at the troop training ground requested prisoners from Flossenbürg. It was probably the central command in Beneschau, as is suggested by a list of the first prisoner transport. On November 17, 1943, 70 male German prisoners were transferred "at the request of the SS Business Administration Main Office [WVHA] on 11.11.43 to the Truppenübungsplatz Beneschau near Prague" and sent to the barracks camp at the village of Hradischko.¹ The leader of the subcamp, Alfred Kus, was the only Flossenbürg guard to be transferred to Hradischko.

As Kus stated when questioned in 1947, he had arrived in the Bohemian village only a few days before the prisoners from Flossenbürg, to "take over the preparations for part of the Flossenbürg camp that was to be transferred there."² The camp organization, command, and security structure were multilayered. This made judicial investigations after 1945 into the crimes committed there all the more difficult. The commander of the SS-Troop Training Ground, SS-Brigadeführer Karrasch, had primary responsibility for the use of the concentration camp prisoners. Kus, as camp leader, had direct responsibility. Security was not provided by the SS from Flossenbürg but by the various SS units who were stationed at the Truppenübungsplatz—initially, a training unit, SS-Lehrregiment Hradischko; later, the SS-Pioneer Battalions "Germania" and "Das Reich"; and for a short time, the 2nd SS-Wachbattalion from Prague.

The first prisoner transport of 70 prisoners reached Hradischko on November 17, 1943. The camp strength of 500 prisoners was made up from these 70 prisoners, 66 German prisoners who arrived from Buchenwald on November 26, 55 German prisoners from Flossenbürg who arrived at the camp on Christmas Eve 1943, and 325 prisoners who arrived in Hradischko on March 3, 1944. This last group was mostly

French, but there were also Spaniards, Italians, Russians, and Poles. There were no Jews. The concentration camp prisoners were put in detachments of various sizes and set to work on just about every part of the Truppenübungsplatz.

The prisoners had to excavate ditches for the shooting range, lay water and sewerage pipes, build roads, and prepare buildings for military purposes; and from April 1945, they were almost exclusively engaged in building trenches and tank ditches. By this point, at least 20 prisoners had died because of the murderous working conditions. The Flossenbürg *Nummernbücher* (Numbers Books) record for the period March 20 to March 26, 1944, 19 deaths in Hradischko.³ Details of the transport lists are incomplete, and entries in the Numbers Books are not always clear. There is also an almost complete lack of information for the period November 1943 to March 1944. For these reasons, it is likely that the 20 recorded deaths for the period from March 1944 to April 1945 are too low. The prisoners died as a result of exposure to extreme working conditions, systematic food deprivation, and totally inadequate hygienic conditions. Their corpses were transported by truck to Prague, where they were cremated and the ashes disbursed.

In April 1945, there began a systematic execution of the prisoners. At this point, the Truppenübungsplatz had prepared its defenses in the face of the advancing Red Army. SS-Sturmbannführer Erwin Lange, commander of the SS-Pioneer Battalion "Germania" and local military commander at Hradischko, ordered the camp leader, Kus, to evacuate the concentration camp prisoners. However, there was no transport, and it was decided to liquidate the prisoners. Planted weapons were discovered during a search of the camp. The discovery provided the justification for the decision to murder the prisoners, who had supposedly planned an uprising.

The prisoners were ordered on April 9, contrary to the usual practice, to form groups of 100, with the non-German prisoners to the rear of the groups. Members of the SS-Pioneer Battalion "Germania" fired into the rear of the groups as they were on their way to work. In this way, at least 9 prisoners on April 9, 12 on April 10, and 27 prisoners on April 11 were murdered. It has not been explained why the shooting suddenly stopped on this date. The murders were noticed by the Czech civilian workers at the Truppenübungsplatz. It is probable that the commander of the Truppenübungsplatz became concerned about discipline at the site and its surroundings. On April 12, 1945, the guards at the camp were replaced by the SS-Lehrregiment.

The subcamp was dissolved on April 26, 1945, and the remaining prisoners, together with the prisoners from the Flossenbürg subcamp Janowitz in Mieschenitz (Měchenice), were loaded into cattle wagons and transported, initially, in the direction of Prague. Additional wagons with prisoners from other dissolved camps were added to the evacuation train in the Prague suburb of Vrschowitz (Vršovice). The train was then sent back to the Truppenübungsplatz. The prisoners were forced out of the train near a forest to the south of Janowitz. The SS then opened fire on them.

Descriptions of the liberation of the prisoners vary. What is clear is that in the days before May 8 numerous prisoners of the Hradischko subcamp were murdered in the area around Janowitz. Investigating Czech and German state prosecutors, based on the number of corpses found, estimate that between 100 and 150 prisoners from Hradischko were murdered between April and May 1945.⁴

SOURCES The Hradischko subcamp is briefly mentioned in a few Czech publications, most of which appeared during the period of the Czechoslovak Socialist People's Republic. See, for example, Růžena Bubeníčková, Ludmila Kubátová, and Irena Malá, *Tábory utrpení a smrti* (Prague, 1969); Antonín Robek, *Lidé bez domova* (Prague, 1980). On the sixtieth anniversary of the forced expulsion of the Czech population from the Truppenübungsplatz, the community of Hradištka published, in four languages, a small volume of the history of the subcamp, *Hradištka—Koncentrační tábor* (Hradištka, 2002).

Czech and German authorities after the war investigated in detail the mass executions that occurred between April 9 and 11, 1945. The four volumes of documents collected by the ZdL (now BA-L) also hold the investigation results of the Czech authorities. What is remarkable is that the witness statements by Czech civilian workers and forced laborers differ markedly from the statement of German civilians. In particular, the Czechs, unlike the Germans, provide details about the murders (ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 59/67). In Czech communities, local and district archives are widely held sources that primarily deal with the local events and have a catalog of single and mass graves. See, for example, the collections in SpkA-B.

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NOTES

1. Transport lists, November 17, 1943, CEGESOMA, Microfilm 14368.
2. Kus witness statement, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 59/1967.
3. Häftlingsnummernbuch, NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3.
4. See ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 59/1967.

JANOWITZ

Viennese publicist and social critic Karl Kraus could never have imagined when he wrote his monumental antiwar drama *The Last Days of Humanity* between 1915 and 1918 in the Bohemian town of Janowitz that the inferno he created would only a few years later take place in the vicinity of the gardens of the Janowitz Castle, the inspiration for his work. Before the Czechoslovak Republic was occupied by the National Socialists, Janowitz (Vrchotovy Janovice) was a small but not insignificant market town. It lies about 65 kilometers (40 miles) to the south of Prague. During the period of the dual Austro-Hungarian monarchy, Janowitz Castle was the home of the family of Baroness Sidonie Nádherný. With its expansive gardens and its milieu, the castle was a refuge for Austrian and Czech intellectuals such as Rainer Maria Rilke,

Karel Čapek, and Karl Kraus, who for many years was the partner of Nádherný.

Many castles were seized after the occupation of the Czechoslovak Republic by German troops. Camps, places of detention, and SS bases (for example, the Flossenbürg subcamps Eisenberg and Schlackenwerth) were established in the seized castles. The occupiers' eyes likewise fell on the idyllic Janowitz Castle. The distinctive buildings and facilities were not to be the residence for National Socialist officials such as in Jungfern-Breschan. They were required for the expansion of the SS-Troop Training Ground Bohemia (Truppenübungsplatz Böhmen), which was opened in 1941. The village of Janowitz and its castle were located within a restricted area. Beginning in June 1942, 30,000 inhabitants were forced to relocate. Baroness von Borutin had to evacuate the castle, which was then made available for the SS, in 1944. Numerous SS units and bases were established on the 44,000-hectare (108,726-acre) military area. The command for the SS-Truppenübungsplatz Böhmen was based in Beneschau, a village on the eastern border of the restricted area. In Hradischko, on the northwest corner of the area, there was an SS-Cadet and Non-Commissioned Officer School (Junker- und Unterführer-Schule), an SS-Training Regiment (Lehrregiment), and a number of SS-Pioneer Battalions (Pionierbataillonen). Janowitz, on the southern edge of the training ground, was the base for an SS-Assault Gun School (Sturmgeschützschule). In 1944, after the confiscation of Baroness von Borutin's property, the command of the SS-Sturmgeschützschule was accommodated in the castle. The stables and administrative buildings served as tank garages and workshops.

In 1943, a Flossenbürg subcamp was established on the troop training ground in Hradischko. The use of the prisoners was obviously beneficial for the SS because, as part of the expansion of the SS-Sturmgeschützschule, additional labor was needed, and the SS-Truppenübungsplatz Böhmen administration resorted to the use of the "resource" of concentration camp prisoners. On July 24, 1944, a transport of 100 prisoners, the majority of whom were French and Polish, left Flossenbürg in the direction of Janowitz. They arrived there on July 26. The prisoners were accommodated in wooden barracks near the village pond not far from Janowitz Castle. They were distributed to different work detachments: they had to work in the quarry at Schebanowitz (Šebáňovice) and at the numerous SS "settlements" (*Höfe*) on the training grounds in Mrwitz (Mrvice), where on weekends they did the harvest as well as expanding the tank and truck garages on the grounds of the castle. They were also required to build a sauna in one of the castle's administrative buildings for the SS members stationed there.

There were several commanders in charge of the prisoners. The senior commander of the SS-Sturmgeschützschule was Obersturmbannführer Friedrich Graun. Graun, a young but highly decorated veteran of the Eastern Front, had been severely wounded in Russia. Following the amputation of a leg, he was named as the head of the SS-Sturmgeschützschule in Janowitz. The actual leaders of the subcamp were SS-Oberscharführer Richter and SS-Hauptscharführer Christel. The guards were members of the Sturmgeschützschule. The

feared Kapo Helmut Lindner was also sent to Janowitz so as to maintain strict camp discipline.¹

A second transport of 102 prisoners from Flossenbürg arrived at Janowitz on October 28. The transport consisted mostly of Soviet Russians and Poles. With this transport the Janowitz subcamp reached its maximum number, 202 prisoners.² A few days after the arrival of this transport, the first death was registered. On November 9, 1944, 36-year-old Ukrainian Andrej Tarakanow died. His death marked the beginning of many more deaths. By March 1945, at least 60 others had died. They died from the heavy work on the Truppenübungsplatz, the lack of food, and the completely inadequate accommodation, which at the end of November 1944 resulted in the first case of typhus. By January 1945 the disease had broken out into an epidemic and infected just about all the prisoners. From February 1945 prisoners were dying daily from it. The death rate in Janowitz was so high that the camp administration did not report all the deaths to Flossenbürg, noting the deaths only in its prisoner book.³ The corpses were taken to the Prague crematorium in Straschnitz (Strašnice) for cremation.⁴

Despite the epidemic, the prisoners had to continue working for the SS-Sturmgeschützschule. Indeed, the pace of work was increased, as the front was getting ever closer, and tank traps and slit trenches had to be excavated. The Truppenübungsplatz was going to be a defensive position. By the middle of March, even the SS had to admit that the seriously ill prisoners could no longer work. The Janowitz camp was dissolved, and the prisoners were transferred to an SS Höfe at the western part of the Truppenübungsplatz Krschenitz (Křepenice). A provisional camp was established in great haste in agricultural buildings there. Many lists state this was also a Flossenbürg subcamp. However, it was not a new camp or an existing camp but the alternative quarters for the prisoners of the Janowitz subcamp. In Krschenitz, the mass dying of the prisoners continued.

By the end of April 1945, the Flossenbürg main camp had been liberated by U.S. troops. At this time the dissolution of the camp at Krschenitz began, which was to be a terrible odyssey for the prisoners. About 120 prisoners were loaded onto trucks and taken to the nearest railway station at Mieschenitz (Měchenice). In Mieschenitz, the Janowitz prisoners and the prisoners from the subcamp at Hradischko, who likewise had been taken to this railway station, were crammed into goods wagons. The train headed in the direction of Prague. In a southeastern suburb, Wirschowitz (Vršovice), the wagons were coupled onto an evacuation train from other camps, probably from Buchenwald and a few Gross-Rosen subcamps, and together they headed in a southerly direction. On May 1, the train stopped at the tiny village of Olbramowitz (Olbramovice) and was shunted onto a branch line in the direction of Selcan (Sedlčany). The prisoners were close to Janowitz, from where they had been evacuated at the end of March. What is noteworthy is that the Czech prisoners who were in this transport were released on May 3.

A bloodbath took place among the thousands of other prisoners squeezed into the wagons. On the command of the Janowitz commander, SS-Obersturmbannführer Graun, many of the prisoners were shot near the village of Kreschitz (Křešice). The estimate of prisoners murdered before Germany's unconditional surrender varies between 100 and several hundred. Karl Kraus's last days of humanity, conceived 30 years before in the nearby castle park at Janowitz, had become a terrible reality in 1944 and 1945. Part of the transport remained close to the district town of Wotitz (Votice) and was liberated there on May 8 after the SS units had fled. A few wagons were taken on May 7 in the direction of southern Bohemia, where the survivors were liberated by Czech partisans in the vicinity of Weleschin (Velešín), near Krumau (Český Krumlov).

SOURCES Early Czech publications deal with the Janowitz subcamp. Noteworthy is the book by Antonín Robek, *Lidé bez domova* (Prague, 1980), which primarily focuses on the establishment of the SS-Truppenübungsplatz Böhmen. On the sixtieth anniversary of the forced resettlement of the Czech population from the Truppenübungsplatz, the community of Hradiště published, in four languages, a small volume on the history of the subcamp, *Hradiště—Koncentrační tábor* (Hradiště, 2002). It is only recently that the connections between the Flossenbürg subcamp at Janowitz Castle and the family history of Sidonie Nádherny have been the subject of public attention. The most detailed work is the book by Alena Wagnerová, *Das Leben der Sidonie von Nádherný* (Hamburg, 2003), which focuses in detail on the Janowitz subcamp.

The files that deal with the establishment of the SS-Truppenübungsplatz Böhmen are held in the SÚA in Prague. From these files it is possible to get a general overview of the assumptions that took place so that a military training ground could be formed. There are few details here on the Flossenbürg subcamp. More useful are the files of the ZdL at BA-L (IV 410 AR-Z 62/67), which contain a few witness statements from Czech prisoners and Czech civilian workers at the training ground. The handwritten list of prisoners of the Janowitz subcamp is a vital source, as it contains detailed biographical material on the prisoners. It also provides a record of the deaths up to May 3, 1945 (AN, CHP, F/9/5567).

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NOTES

1. Preliminary investigation Janowitz, BA-L, ZdL, IV-410 AR-Z 62/67.
2. Janowitz detachment transfer lists, July 24, 1944, and October 28, 1944, CEGESOMA, Microfilm 14368.
3. Personal details of the prisoners of the Janowitz work detachment b. Beneschau, AN, CHP, F/9/5567.
4. List of Cremations, Crematorium Strašnice, Funeral Service of Prague (Pohřební služby hlavního města Prahy).

JOHANNGEORGENSTADT

The Johanngeorgenstadt subcamp was formed on December 1, 1943, within the framework of the plans to decentralize the

aerial armament operations.¹ The prisoners were put to work for the Erla Maschinenwerk GmbH (Erla Flugzeugwerk) Leipzig, in the buildings of the Gotthold Heinz office furniture factory in Johanngeorgenstadt, which had been confiscated for these purposes. The first prisoners, a transport from Buchenwald concentration camp with 450 men, were registered on December 8, 1943.² The subcamp grew with additional transports in December 1943, January 1944, and others through 1944.³

Because of a continual exchange of those unfit for work with new prisoners, the number of prisoners to pass through this camp might have been many more than 1,000. On January 31, 1945, there were 988 prisoners in the camp; on February 28, 1945, there were 855 prisoners; on March 31, 1945, the number went down to 845; and on April 13, 1945, 842 prisoners were identified.⁴ Although the subcamp had existed since December 1943, the deaths were only regularly reported at the camp beginning on October 10, 1944. In fact, there were deaths at the camp before this date. For example, recaptured escapee Konstantin Fedorenko was executed on August 26, 1944.⁵ The list of dead that was kept in Johanngeorgenstadt is, however, just as incomplete as the entries in the Flossenbürg registration book. In both, entries are missing for prisoners whose deaths are known.

During his questioning, witness Heinrich W. testified about the killing in the Johanngeorgenstadt camp: "It often happened that one of the prisoners would be beaten to death with a truncheon or shot for a trivial reason, like not working fast enough, for example, or for no reason at all. This usually happened at the end of the camp in a type of quarry. The prisoner had to run there and would be beaten to death or shot. The SS guards often did this, but Kapos were also often called to do this quickly under the threat of being shot themselves."⁶

The names of 73 dead have been established for the Johanngeorgenstadt subcamp. Those who were unable to work and were transferred to Flossenbürg or other concentration camps, where they often soon died, are not included in this record. Infirmary clerk Jakob Wennel describes how the prisoners, physically totally ruined, were brought back to the main camp:

Tuberculosis rages in the camp! The hunger turns the faces into ghosts! Death grins at everyone. Lord, have mercy on us! Daily the dead are crammed into boxes and brought out of the camp on a cart.... The camp is constantly replenished. It's always a thousand—a thousand dead souls.... We know that it's more, that they're also there, those that death has marked, the "chosen" who are brought to the Flossenbürg main camp and exchanged.... When the "chosen" go away every month, we say, "They're going through the chimney!" The SS says it as well.... Today they chose again. Many hid. They stand barefoot on the cement with thick rubbery legs. Some cry, others beg for mercy. They're kicked

and defiled—people whom a mother bore with pain. It is unbearable! Day follows every night, and every day becomes night. It is night over Germany.⁷

The enormous number of victims during the evacuation transports has not been precisely determined. According to a strength report from February 28, 1945, prisoners from 13 nationalities were in the camp. Soviet citizens, all described as Russians, formed the largest group with 394 prisoners, followed by 192 Poles, and 131 French. In addition, there were 60 Germans, 23 Czechs, 22 Lithuanians, 12 "Red Spaniards" (members of the Spanish republican forces who fell into German hands after the occupation in 1942 of the previously unoccupied part of France), 7 Luxembourgers, 7 Italians, 3 stateless persons, and 1 Belgian, Greek, Croat, and Slovak each in the Johanngeorgenstadt camp at this time.⁸ A large portion of the Germans and Czechs were Sinti and Roma (Gypsies). According to SS documents, there were no Jews in the camp.

Among the prisoners, there were more than 100 youths and children, who were labeled "trainees" at work and for whom the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) charged the lower daily rate of 1.5 Reichsmark (RM) in the accounting of the Flossenbürg management with the Erla Works. The Flossenbürg concentration camp charged for adult prisoners at the daily rate of 6 RM for "skilled workers" and 4 RM for "auxiliary workers." The monthly sums on the request for payments increased from 26,446 RM in December 1943 to 108,368 RM and 6,634 RM for "trainees" in December 1944.⁹ In Johanngeorgenstadt, the 72-hour workweek was in effect with rotating day and night shifts of 12 hours each. The prisoners had to manufacture fuselage paneling, fore flaps, and vertical and horizontal tail assemblies for the Messerschmitt (Me) 109 fighter.

The top floor above the factory room and the basement served as housing for the prisoners. On three-story platforms, two prisoners slept per platform with awful, thin mattresses made from rotten, bug-infested, and lice-ridden straw. In stuffy, stale air the prisoners eked out a miserable existence between the work shifts and overcrowded rooms. On the top floor, gallows were put up on which prisoners would be hanged for hours with their hands tied to their backs for the smallest of offenses, like smoking cigarettes, speaking without permission at work, or, in the judgment of the SS men, not displaying an adequate greeting. Their agonizing groaning was supposed to psychically cudgel the physically exhausted prisoners.

The factory courtyard served as a roll-call square, where counting-offs, selections, punishments, and executions took place. The entire factory grounds were fenced in with electrified barbed-wire fence. Guards stood on two watchtowers equipped with machine guns. The guard unit initially consisted of 30 guards and later of 10 SS-Unterführer and 46 SS guards.¹⁰ The camp commandant was SS-Hauptsturmführer Cornelius Schwannder, who at the beginning of 1945 was transferred to be camp leader at Obertraubling.

At the Flossenbürg Trial, Schwannder was sentenced to death; he was executed in 1948.¹¹ SS-Oberscharführer Gottfried Kolacevic was his successor, beginning on January 24, 1945. The preliminary proceedings initiated against him for killing through neglect were closed by the Frankfurt am Main District Court in 1976, as the case by then fell under the statute of limitations.¹² SS-Scharführer Wenzel Fink, who received the characteristic nickname "the killer" from the prisoners, played a substantial role in killings. In 1945, he died in custody in Prague.¹³ Infamous Kapo Hermann Denninger, who with other Kapos often behaved more brutally than the SS guards toward the prisoners in order to offer their services to the SS and thereby procure favors, was not caught. The responsible operation manager of the Erla Works Johanngeorgenstadt, Kamprath, was imprisoned in 1945.

In order to avoid the hated slave labor for the Fascist armaments, Russian prisoners in particular repeatedly tried to escape. German and Czech political prisoners established contacts with German civilian workers, who won their trust while they helped them. In this way, milk and medicine could be procured for the sick. Packets with food were received at cover addresses in town and smuggled into the camp. The father of a Czech prisoner, disguised as a bricklayer, was assisted in meeting his son at the camp. Before the evacuation, the prisoners made out a written testimony to the German boilerman's willingness to help because he had made possible an illegal meeting in his boiler house.¹⁴ In the electric workstation, the foreman allowed the prisoners to listen to foreign broadcasts. French prisoner Roger Boulanger emphasizes that these connections made survival easier.¹⁵ He also pointed out that the "trainees" were surprisingly pulled out of production and combined into a type of training unit.¹⁶ Was this similar to the example in Buchenwald, where political prisoners organized measures to rescue the children that were declared by the SS as the "training of skilled labor for the post-war period"? It is possible, as many political prisoners who came to Johanngeorgenstadt from Buchenwald were familiar with the Buchenwald example of the children's brick-laying training.

With other prisoners from the Zwickau and Lengenfeld subcamps who had been marched to Johanngeorgenstadt, the subcamp was evacuated on April 16, 1945.¹⁷ A total of 1,123 prisoners, 822 of whom were from the Johanngeorgenstadt subcamp, were evacuated to Theresienstadt (Terezín), initially by rail transport, then from Neurohlau (Nová Role) by foot. Grave sites located where mass killings had taken place during the evacuation were found along its path, with the help of 2 former Czech prisoners from Johanngeorgenstadt who were on the march. In the summer of 1945, a Czech investigating committee exhumed 935 bodies, 96 of whom had bullet holes indicating they were shot from behind, 13 of whom showed bullet holes in the thorax, and 109 showing head injuries from beatings, possibly from rifle butts.¹⁸ The protocol read, among other things: "On numerous corpses . . . an unusual decay was ascertained. Upon opening the abdominal cavity and the stomach the bowels were without exception

completely clear, so that it is certain starvation was the cause of death for all of these people.”¹⁹

SOURCES Information on this camp is available in Jakob Wannel, *Tausend tote Seelen hinter Stacheldraht* (Frankfurt am Main, n.d.). Some information may also be found in Toni Siegert, “Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg: Gegründet für sogenannte Asoziale und Kriminelle,” in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Martin Broszat and Elke Fröhlich (Munich, 1979), 2:429–493.

Archival sources can be found in the ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg; BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 18/68; AN, F 9 5566, 31 Flo 12, Hommel report; and StA-Lg, Erla-Werke.

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trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. BA-P, Film WF-01/4015, Bild 792, Forderungsnachweis No. 298, December 1–31, 1943.
2. AG-B, Transportmeldung, December 4, 1943.
3. AG-B, Transportliste von Leipzig Thekla nach Johanngeorgenstadt, August 4, 1944.
4. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, No. 10, pp. 52–53; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, No. 4, p. 96.; BA-B, Film 14430, p. 1264.
5. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 18/68, Schlussvermerk, p. 984.
6. Ibid., p. 985.
7. Jakob Wannel, *Tausend tote Seelen hinter Stacheldraht* (Frankfurt am Main, n.d.).
8. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, No. 4, p. 96.
9. BA-B, Film 14430, B1. 1270.
10. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, No. 10, pp. 52–53.
11. NARA, Complete List of War Crimes Case Trials. Quoted in Toni Siegert, “Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg: Gegründet für sogenannte Asoziale und Kriminelle,” in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Martin Broszat and Elke Fröhlich (Munich, 1979), 2: 488.
12. ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 18/68, Schlussvermerk, p. 982.
13. Ibid., pp. 991–992.
14. Photocopy in the possession of the author.
15. Letter to the author, August 22, 1989.
16. Letter to the author, June 21, 1989.
17. ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 18/68, Schlussvermerk, pp. 978–979.
18. ZdL, IV 410 AZ-Z 18/68, B1. 348, Protokoll über die Exhumierung von Häftlingen des Konzentrationslagers Johanngeorgenstadt. Übersetzung aus der tschechischen Sprache ins Deutsche in dem Verfahren IV 410 AR-Z 18/68, March 17, 1971.
19. Ibid.

JUNGFERN-BRESCHAN

On the way from Prague to Theresienstadt, about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) from the town of O Dolenswasser (O Dolena Voda), is a large property, the Jungfern-Breschan estate (Paneské Břežany), consisting of two castles, agricultural buildings, and large parks. The site, part baroque and part

historicized, was owned by Jewish industrialist Ferdinand Bloch-Bauer. The estate was “aryanized” following the occupation by German troops of the first Czechoslovak Republic. Because of its excellent conditions and favorable location, it was chosen to serve as the official residence for the highest SS commanders. At Easter 1942, just six months after Reinhard Heydrich took office as the Reich Protector for Bohemia and Moravia, he moved his family from the Prague Castle to the country castle. Countless studies on Heydrich show that Heydrich maintained Jungfern-Breschan both for official occasions and for his private life and recreation. His wife Lina permanently resided there. He used the 7-hectare (over 17-acre) park for sports, and his wife used the over 30 rooms for social occasions.

The daily trip to work from Jungfern-Breschan to Prague presented itself as a favorable opportunity for assassinating him. The history of the Flossenbürg subcamp at Jungfern-Breschan is an indirect result of the successful assassination attempt on Heydrich. On May 27, Czech agents Jan Kubiš and Jozef Gabčík, who had earlier parachuted into the northern Prague suburb of Libeň, injured Heydrich in a bomb attack just as he was coming out of Jungfern-Breschan. On June 4, 1942, he died as a result of wounds received. At the state funeral for Heydrich at the Prague Castle, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler promised Lina Heydrich special attention and care: “To his wife and children goes our total sympathy and loving care. They will be well cared for in the great SS family.”¹ In the early summer of 1942, Heydrich’s widow was permitted by Himmler to continue to use the Jungfern-Breschan estate without charge, and preparations were made to transfer to her the title to the estate. On Himmler’s initiative, Lina Heydrich was given prisoners to work the estate. From July 1942, a 30-man Jewish work detail from the Theresienstadt ghetto was deployed on the estate, doing gardening and repair work.² The prisoners were accommodated in stables and guarded by an SS unit stationed at Breschan.

The detachment was to be withdrawn from Jungfern-Breschan on September 1, 1943, as part of the deportations from Theresienstadt to the death camps in the East. However, in view of the incomplete gardening work and the fruit harvest in the castle gardens, Himmler expressly permitted the postponement of the deportation by a few weeks. From October 1, no more Jews from Theresienstadt were to work for Lina Heydrich. However, they remained there until January 1944 when Himmler directed: “Der Reichsführer-SS requests that the Jewish work detachment at Jungfern-Breschan be replaced as quickly as possible by six female and four male Jehovah’s Witnesses.”³ On February 10, 1944, six months later than planned, 15 male Jehovah’s Witnesses—10 Germans, 3 Dutch, 1 Pole, and 1 Czech prisoner—from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp were sent in the direction of Prague to replace the Jewish ghetto prisoners.⁴ They arrived at Jungfern-Breschan on February 14, and on February 15, they were put to work on a variety of agricultural and forestry tasks. From this point on, the estate Jungfern-Breschan was a subcamp of the nearest concentration camp, Flossenbürg.

The transfer of the Jehovah's Witness prisoners to small subcamps and work detachments marked a change in SS policy. The SS leadership had learned that the Jehovah's Witnesses—to the extent there was no conflict with their religious convictions in the concentration camps—complied with the camp rules and exactly performed the work allocated to them. They made no attempts to escape, as they saw their imprisonment as a divine intervention against which they could not rebel. For these reasons the Bible Researcher prisoners (Bibelforscher-Häftlingen) in the eyes of the SS were destined for work at Jungfern-Breschan.

The subcamp at Lina Heydrich's estate is a good example of how SS propaganda was deliberately used to mislead the international press about conditions in the concentration camps and how this group of prisoners was manipulated. Himmler personally wrote to Pohl and the head of the SD in Berlin on January 14, 1945, and ordered that security be removed from these prisoners: "As part of the process of allowing Bible Researchers to be held as groups on individual estates with unconditional freedom and obtaining the best political effects in other countries I wish that the Bible Researchers who are at Mrs. Heydrich's estate, Jungfern-Breschan, to be released from prison. They are confined to the local area. The two Czech Bible Researchers will not be released. They must be removed."⁵ That this was purely a propaganda move is shown by the fact that even following their release the prisoners still appeared in the monthly strength reports of the Flossenbürg concentration camp until May 8, 1945, when the estate was liberated.

A serious dispute arose between Lina Heydrich, the Flossenbürg administration, and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) after the concentration camp office assumed responsibility for the use of the prisoners. The dispute had nothing to do with the treatment of the prisoners but with the usual practice of paying a monthly fee for the prisoners' use to the responsible concentration camp. After tough (and from Himmler's and Pohl's perspective, embarrassing) negotiations, Lina Heydrich was permitted, after the intervention of the Reichsführer-SS, to use the prisoners without charge. The monthly demand for prisoners for the Jungfern-Breschan estate was sent directly by the Flossenbürg work office to the Reichsführer-SS, Persönlicher Stab, Berlin SW 11.

The 15 Jehovah's Witnesses in the Flossenbürg subcamp at Jungfern-Breschan had to work in the orchards and vegetable gardens of the castle as well as in the expansive forest. Unlike the Jewish work details at Theresienstadt, where a prisoner was killed by a falling tree while working in a forest, there are no records of such incidents or mistreatment of the Flossenbürg prisoners. One prisoner's testimony states that the food supply was completely inadequate but that the nature of the work allowed plenty of opportunity to obtain additional food. All 15 prisoners who were transferred in February 1944 from Sachsenhausen to Jungfern-Breschan survived the work at Jungfern-Breschan and were freed by the Red Army on May 8, 1945.

SOURCES The history of the Flossenbürg subcamp Jungfern-Breschan is closely connected with the family of Reinhard Heydrich and his role as Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia. However, while there are numerous essays and studies on Heydrich of varying quality, Jungfern-Breschan receives almost no attention. The only publication that deals in detail with the concentration camp and ghetto prisoners in Jungfern-Breschan is the speculative essay by Anna Maria Sigmund on Lina Heydrich, which suffers from a lack of source references, *Die Frauen der Nazis II* (Vienna, 2002), pp. 45–84.

Lina Heydrich's refusal to pay a fee for the use of the Flossenbürg prisoners to the WVHA resulted in a compendious correspondence, which is held by the BA-B (collection NS19). The ZdL (now BA-L) investigated Lina Heydrich on suspicion of the murder of a Theresienstadt ghetto prisoner. From these investigations it is possible to obtain some details about the use of the prisoners in Jungfern-Breschan (BA-L, ZdL, AR 419/63). The personnel files in the AG-F allow the chronology and identity of the use of the prisoners to be traced in detail.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Die Gedenkrede des Reichsführers SS," in Erich Schneider *Reinhard Heydrich: Ein Leben der Tat* (Prague, 1944), p. 69.
2. Der HSSPF Böhmen und Mähren Karl Hermann Frank an den RFSS, August 28, 1943, BA-B, NS19/18.
3. RFSS Feldkommandostelle to Pohl SS-WVHA, January 12, 1944, BA-B, NS19/18.
4. BA-B, NS4/FI 274.
5. BA-B, NS19/18. Himmler's naming of the nationalities of the prisoners is erroneous. There was only one Czech Jehovah's Witness from Prague who was held in Jungfern-Breschan. Himmler mistook a Polish prisoner for a Czech.

KIRCHHAM BEI POCKING [AKA POCKING, WALDSTADT, POCKING-WALDSTADT]

Kirchham is located close to Pocking, not far from the Lower Bavarian spa town of Bad Füssing in the Rottaler spa triangle (currently incorporated within the town of Waldstadt). According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), a subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp was established there on March 6, 1945. About 400 prisoners, almost three-quarters of them Jews from Poland and the Soviet Union, as well as individual prisoners from other countries, according to other sources, many of them political prisoners, were brought to Pocking on this day, probably on foot. The prisoners found themselves housed in the workers' barracks of Flying School (Flugschule) No. 3 on the nearby Pocking airfield (known as the Alter Horst). The construction of this military air base was started at the end of 1936, and emergency landing fields were also located in the neighboring communities of Mittich and Kirchham.

All 400 prisoners were probably housed in a single barrack, which was only intended for 40 people. Since there was no possibility to wash, dirt, lice and other parasites, as well as the inadequate hygienic conditions, caused diseases to spread rapidly. Officially, the prisoners were supplied from the kitchen of the flight school; however, survivors report that the SS and corrupt prisoner-functionaries enriched themselves from the food rations, such that hardly anything remained for the prisoners: in the mornings, there was some bread and a hot broth; in the evenings, a further portion of hot broth. Within the few weeks that the camp existed, most of the prisoners fell seriously ill as a result of malnutrition. At least 200 died due to the conditions in the camp but also because of daily physical mistreatment. Many of the survivors who were interviewed described the conditions in Pocking as worse than in Auschwitz or other camps, in which they were in before.

The prisoners were guarded by six SS guards, probably Hungarian Arrow Cross men. Author Anna Rosmus indicates, however, that the guards also consisted of Luftwaffe soldiers who were unfit for service at the front and who were less brutal to the prisoners than the SS. The prisoners were escorted to work every morning through Pocking, and from there it was a long route march through the forest. Survivors report that they were deployed in order to prepare the airfield for the arrival of dive bombers (Stukas) and to construct defense works. Fighter Squadron 101 of the Hungarian Air Force was stationed at the Pocking air base, which conducted combat missions on the ever-approaching Eastern Front. Toward the end of March, the entire Hungarian Defense Ministry was relocated to the area around Pocking, with the High Command of the Hungarian Air Force located in Pocking itself. The last Hungarian troops, schools, and staff offices were to be concentrated west of the Inn River in preparation for a desperate counterattack. During work there were frequent attacks by low-flying Allied aircraft. How many, if any, prisoners were killed in these attacks is not known. It is not certain whether some 200 to 400 prisoners from the subcamp were deployed to the nearby airfield at Kirchham for the construction of a planned V-2 launch pad, as indicated by Rosmus.

Romek Reibeisen, one of the survivors of the camp, recounts that he arrived in the camp on April 1, 1945, with a transport of 400 prisoners. That this really could have been a second transport—of precisely the same numerical strength as the first—is doubtful. Yet the testimonies of other survivors, such as Abraham Eiboszyc, confirm that additional prisoners were brought to Kirchham in April 1945.

At this time, the living conditions in the camp had already reached rock bottom. Each day up to three inmates died of malnutrition and mistreatment. According to the recollection of Kirchhamer prisoner Abraham Rosmarin, in the last weeks of the camp's existence, Magnus Huber, a parish priest from Austria who had emigrated to Kirchham on political grounds, came almost daily into the camp. He prayed with the Christian prisoners and smuggled pickled cabbage into the camp, distributing it as a source of vitamins among the prisoners infected with typhus—regardless of their confession. After he

became infected with typhus himself, Huber died in May 1945. Several prisoners mention that food was repeatedly prepared for them by the local farmers—especially after the local priest in Kirchham publicly preached to those attending religious services that they should help the prisoners. By bribing the guards with food, the farmers were able to supply the prisoners. Eyewitnesses from the community also remember, however, the brutal conduct of the guards, who swore at and beat the prisoners when they made the least attempt to gather up the bread that had been thrown to them.

Men of the 761st Tank Battalion, of the U.S. Third Army—one of the first armored units of the U.S. Army comprised solely of African Americans—liberated the surviving prisoners of the camp on May 2, 1945.

Up to the liberation of the camp on May 2, according to newspaper reports from the immediate postwar years cited by Rosmus, about 200 inmates of the camp had died from the terrible detention conditions to which they had been subjected. Immediately after the liberation, about 100 further prisoners reportedly died.

In a trial, Kirchham Kapo Ernst Friebe, a gardener by profession, was sentenced to four years in a labor camp for the physical abuse of the prisoners. Friebe, who came to Kirchham from Flossenbürg, was even beaten up once by the other Kapos in the camp for his brutality to the prisoners. During the liberation of the camp, he initially managed to escape in civilian clothes. However, he was arrested in June 1945 and interned in Moosbach before being tried in 1947.

SOURCES Anna E. Rosmus addresses the history of the subcamp Kirchham (according to her: Pocking-Waldstadt) in the book *Wintergrün: Verdrängte Morde* (Konstanz: Labhard-Verlag, 1993), pp. 123–163 (published in English as *Wintergreen: Suppressed Murders*, trans. Imogen von Tannenberg [Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004]). A brief history of the camp and also a description of the memorial erected there after the war can be found in BPB, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus, Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin, 1995), 1:155. The subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:111. It is also mentioned in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1816.

Rosmus has published a collection of sources and testimonies regarding the end of the war and the reconstruction period in Pocking (on both the subcamp and the subsequent DP camp), titled *Pocking: Ende und Anfang; Jüdische Zeitzeugen über Besiegte und Befreite* (Konstanz: Labhard-Verlag GmbH, 1995).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Martin Dean

KÖNIGSTEIN

The Königstein subcamp was formed out of a prisoner transport from the Böhlen subcamp of the Buchenwald concentration camp. On November 15, 1944, 200 men arrived in

Königstein. The Flossenbürg main camp assigned them the registration numbers 38771 through 38970. Initially they were housed in the inn of the neighboring city Struppen and had to erect a provisional camp out of pressed cardboard, the so-called round Finnish tents, within the Königstein Fortress.¹ With another transport of 768 men from the Buchenwald subcamp of Böhlen on November 28, 1944, and with the addition of the occasional new prisoner, the subcamp grew to almost 1,000 prisoners.² With the expansion of the subcamp, the Finnish tent camp became completely overcrowded, and the prisoners were thus moved further into the forest to a barracks camp, which was fenced in with barbed wire, equipped with watchtowers, and consisted of 10 prisoner barracks, a kitchen, and an infirmary. The second transport received the registration numbers 38971 through 39738; the individual prisoners received the numbers 43880 through 43888.

The prisoners were employed on a project of the Geilenberg-Staff, cover name "Schwalbe II," to move fuel-manufacturing facilities underground.³ The expansion of the project was overseen by the special building management in the Organisation Todt (OT), the office of professor/doctor of engineering Rimpf from the Mineralölbau GmbH.⁴ The construction, disguised with the marking "Orion," was carried out on the Elbe River side of Königstein in the sandstone wall on Niederer Kirchleithe, where several tunnels were driven into the mountain parallel to the foot of the wall. As a communication from November 3, 1944, by board member of the Braunkohlen-Benzin (Brown Coal-Gasoline AG, Brabag) SS-Oberführer Fritz Kranefuss, who worked as the executive secretary of the "Circle of Friends of Reichsführer-SS Himmler" (Freundeskreis Himmler), shows, Himmler had already ordered the moving of underground facilities for fuel manufacturing in 1943: "Reichsführer, after the visit of the Circle of Friends at the field commando office in December of last year [1943] by the Circle of Friends, you spoke with me about the possibility, due to the increasing danger from bombing raids, of moving the fuel works underground or to sites where a large degree of natural protection exists. In this context you mentioned above all the Elbe Sandstone Mountains [Elbsandsteingebirge] and gave me the task of conveying your ideas to Professor [Carl] Krauch, head of the responsible authority."⁵ After Kranefuss had initially spoken about Krauch's negative stance toward Himmler's suggestions, he informed Himmler about both underground moving projects of the Brabag: "It concerns here an underground move into the so-called Kirchleithe, a large wall located immediately on the Elbe, i.e., in the Elbsandsteingebirge.... The second project is being implemented at a river bend near Gera, and in fact with the active help of the SS, i.e., the employed construction units of SS-Obergruppenführer Pohl and SS-Gruppenführer Kammler."⁶

The 977 prisoners whose names have been determined were of the following nationalities: 559 Soviets (described as Russians in SS documents), 167 Poles, 61 French, 57 Italians, 53 Czechs, 25 Germans, 14 Dutch, 12 Yugoslavs, 11 Belgians,

9 Croats, 3 Lithuanians, 3 stateless, 1 Albanian, 1 Spaniard, and 1 Turk. The Turk was the only prisoner in the camp identified as Jewish.⁷

Prisoners unfit for work were deported to the Flossenbürg and Bergen-Belsen main camps in several transports, the last on March 8, 1945, with 227 prisoners. After it became clear that the property could not be completed in time for applicable production in the course of the war, the SS transferred prisoners still fit for work to the S III/Ohrdruf subcamp of the Buchenwald concentration camp; Ansbach, Dresden Deutsche Reichsbahn, and Leitmeritz subcamps of the Flossenbürg concentration camp; and 9 prisoners to a subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp.

Some 68 prisoners died at Königstein, 41 died after the evacuation to the Flossenbürg subcamp at Leitmeritz/Litoměřice, and 38 prisoners died shortly after being transferred back to the Flossenbürg main camp.⁸ Several prisoners report on the danger of working in the mountains and the killings by the SS guard personnel. For example, Czech Oldrich K. states:

The prisoners worked in sand stonecliffs, where earth and tunnel work were carried out. We were constructing an underground factory installation.... We had to work in dangerous areas where, as a result of thawing, stones fell from the cliffs. I know that prisoners were wounded, in fact even killed from these stones.... Sometime in January 1945 it came to a shooting of a political prisoner of German nationality. This prisoner escaped from the camp but was caught again and then had to stand barefoot for three days on the roll call square; he suddenly ran toward the door and was shot with a rifle by a member of the SS.... Also in the winter of 1945 it happened that one of the prisoners hid himself in a locomotive on the work site and then fled. He was not caught, but reprisals were taken against the other prisoners. We had to stand in frost through the entire night on the roll call square and we went to work without food.⁹

As the work site was complex and a few kilometers away from the accommodation camp, some prisoners attempted to escape, of which six prisoners succeeded. German prisoner Josef K. said during his questioning in Gelsenkirchen after the war: "I myself saw in Königstein how the SS-Oberscharführer Becker... shot two Russian prisoners. We were in the process of putting up a new camp fence. Doing this, both of the Russian prisoners tried to escape. They were already outside of the fence as Oberscharführer Becker shot them with a submachine gun."¹⁰

Employed guarding the prisoners were Wehrmacht soldiers and SS personnel, whose large total number of 40 Unterführer and 123 guards can be explained by the relatively long distance between the accommodation camp in the forest and the very expansive and complex work site.¹¹

Whether the camp leader is identical with SS-Oberscharführer Becker, whom a prisoner named, could not be determined. Camp elder (Lagerältester) Heinrich S. described an SS-Hauptscharführer as camp leader (Lagerführer) without, however, mentioning his name. A Dutch prisoner worked as a prisoner orderly.¹²

After construction had been stopped, the camp was closed. On March 17, 1945, the remaining 642 prisoners were transferred to the Flossenbürg subcamp at Leitmeritz and further driven to strength-sapping work there on the expansion of an underground property "Richard" for a tank motor factory, which claimed more victims.¹³ Regarding this, the camp elder made the following statement:

The evacuation of the camp took place on March 17, 1945. . . . We prisoners were led to the Königstein train station and loaded into open cars there. We were then taken to Leitmeritz, Czechoslovakia, by train, where we went to camp. During the evacuation the guard personnel consisted of Wehrmacht and SS members. . . . No sick prisoners stayed behind in the camp. The sick in the camp all came along, as they also were all able to walk. There were no seriously ill in the camp. There were no shootings of prisoners during the evacuation. There were also no prisoner escapes. Also as far as I know no prisoner died from the strain of evacuation, as we were in Leitmeritz within one day.¹⁴

On May 8, 1945, as the Soviet troops approached, the prisoners in Leitmeritz were provided with release papers by the SS camp leadership and officially set free.¹⁵

SOURCES Information on this subcamp can be found in Hans Brenner, "Eiserne 'Schwalben' für das Elbsandsteingebirge: KZ-Häftlingseinsatz zum Aufbau von Treibstoffanlagen in der Endphase des zweiten Weltkrieges," *SäHe* 45:1 (1999): 9–16.

Archival records are available in ZdL at BA-L, IV 410 AR-3032/66, 3249/66; IV 410 AR-Z 177/75, 234/76, Bd. 1 und 2; NARA; and in the ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg.

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trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 234/76, pp. 45, 46, statement by the former Czech prisoner Rudolf K. (prisoner no. 38865) before the district court in Jicín/C.R., pp. 262, 263; statement by the former Czech prisoner Oldrich K. (prisoner no. 38851) before the magistrate court in Prague.
2. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 234/76, p. 224, statement by Heinrich S. (prisoner no. 39575).
3. BA-P, Film 5768, Aktenvermerk, October 25, 1944, betr. Ausweichanlagen im Geilenberg-Programm.
4. BA-B, Film 1204, Roll 11, Forderungsnachweis Flo No. 677.
5. BA-B, Film 3351, 1fd. No. 6223/6224.
6. Ibid.

7. NARA, T-580, Reels 69–70; NARA, T-1021, Reel 9; see also Hans Brenner, Archiv, Akte Königstein.

8. Ibid.

9. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 234/76, Bd. 2, pp. 263, 264, statement by Oldrich K.

10. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 234/76, Bd. 2, pp. 96–97, statement by Josef K. (prisoner no. 39242).

11. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 70–71.

12. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 234/76, Bd. 2, pp. 224–225, statement by Heinrich S.

13. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 234/76, Bd. 1, p. 47, statement by Rudolf K.

14. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 234/76, Bd. 2, statement by Heinrich S.

15. A copy of the release certificate is in the possession of the author. (Release certificate of the former Polish prisoner Witold Wilga, prisoner no. 37836, October 28, 1944, from Auschwitz to Leitmeritz.)

KRONDORF-SAUERBRUNN

The first Flossenbürg subcamp in the present-day Czech Republic was located at Krondorf-Sauerbrunn (Korunní) to the east of Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary) in northwest Bohemia. The construction detachment located there from August 1942 to July 1944 consisted of between 50 and 120 prisoners. Its task was to tap a mineral spring.

The work was done for the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Arbeitsgruppe W (Economic Activities), Amt W III (Nutrition). Amt W III/3 operated the SS-owned Sudetenquell GmbH, the producer of drinks in Krondorf-Sauerbrunn, Heinrich Mattoni AG. Construction was done under the auspices of Amt W III of WVHA, which was also responsible for payment of all accounts. Heinrich Mattoni AG was responsible for the care of the prisoners.¹ A government building officer, SS-Untersturmführer Horst Köhler, was in charge of construction.

The construction was to be done within four months. However, a first extension for six months was sought at the end of November 1942. Technical problems and arguments as to responsibility among various SS authorities lengthened the period of construction to two years. During the winter months, construction ceased, and the prisoners were used to maintain the railway under the control of Heinrich Mattoni AG.²

An advance detachment of 50 men from the Flossenbürg main camp began preparatory work on August 19, 1942. As of September 7, 1942, there were 100 prisoners at the Krondorf-Sauerbrunn subcamp. By the end of 1943, the number had dropped to 50 but would increase to 80 by June 1944.³ The prisoners were accommodated in a villa or castle, which had been acquired by Heinrich Mattoni AG and was close to the building site. Witnesses state that the building was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by SS men. There were delays in acquiring this building, so the prisoners initially were housed in mobile barracks owned by Sudetenquell GmbH.⁴ The majority of concentration camp

prisoners in Krondorf-Sauerbrunn were Germans, Austrians, and Czechs. There were three prisoner transports during 1943—April 30, May 1, and June 15—whereby a total of 47 prisoners were transported from the Krondorf-Sauerbrunn subcamp to the nearby Flossenbürg subcamp at Neurohlau.⁵

There is no evidence to suggest that prisoners were killed at Krondorf-Sauerbrunn, but they were mistreated. A former prisoner, A.K., stated during investigations into conditions at the Krondorf-Sauerbrunn subcamp: “Within the camp area there was a stream. During the winter prisoners who were not liked by [SS-Scharführer Johann Baptist Kübler und Hartung] were forced to strip even on the coldest days, break open the ice, and bathe in the pond. I had to do that a few times.”⁶ According to former prisoners J.W. and K.L., a small group of prisoners was able to escape from the camp in the autumn of 1943. Two of them were caught and brought back to the camp at Krondorf-Sauerbrunn; then they were transferred back to Flossenbürg main camp. It is thought that they were publicly hanged in Flossenbürg.⁷

The commander of the camp between August and December 1942 was SS-Scharführer Johann Baptist Kübler (born January 17, 1914, in Klingsmoos-Pöttmess). From April 1943 to October 1943 he was the commander of the Flossenbürg subcamp at Pottenstein. At a trial by jury in Weiden on July 8, 1957, he was sentenced to five years’ imprisonment for murder and accessory to murder. He also forfeited his civil rights for five years.⁸

Kübler was replaced by SS-Untersturmführer Zippe. According to witnesses, the head of the construction site, government building officer SS-Untersturmführer Horst Köhler, unlike the camp administrators, lived outside the castle and protected the prisoners from mistreatment. In addition to the commander and his deputy, the SS personnel consisted of 20 men.⁹

Once the spring had been tapped and a springhouse and storage tank completed in the summer of 1944, the number of prisoners was reduced on July 1, 1944, from 77 to 20. The Krondorf-Sauerbrunn subcamp was finally dissolved on July 15, 1944. The prisoners were taken by rail back to the Flossenbürg main camp.¹⁰

SOURCES Although Krondorf-Sauerbrunn was the first Flossenbürg subcamp on Czechoslovak territory, it is hardly referred to in the research. Only two studies deal with the camp: the dated Czech overview by Růžena Bubeníčková, Ludmilla Kubátová, and Irena Malá, eds., *Tábory utrpení a smrti* (Prague, 1969); and Jörg Skribeleit’s essay “Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen,” *DaHe* 15 (1999): 196–217.

The main source on the subcamp are the investigation files of the ZdL in BA-L, collection IV 410 AR 3031/66, as well as the building files and accounts contained in the BA-B collection NS4/FL. The transfer lists between Flossenbürg and Neurohlau are located in the CEGESOMA, Microfilm Nr. 14368.

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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 4/FL-393/1: Letter from the KZ Flossenbürg concentration camp Kommandantur, March 1, 1944, to SS-WVHA-D II.
2. BA-B, NS4/FL-186/1, 72W 848: Letter Bauleitung Waffen-SS und Police Flossenbürg b. Weiden/Opf. to Kronendorf Bauleitung, November 30, 1942. BA-B, NS4/FL-272/1: Letter Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Flossenbürg—Bauwerk Krondorf an die Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Flossenbürg b. Weiden/Opf., May 22, 1943.
3. BA-B, NS4/FL-393/1: Stärkemeldung der Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Krondorf für den Monat September 1942, September 30, 1942; BA-B, NS4/FL-186/1: Monatliche Übersicht über abgestellte Häftlinge durch den Lagerkommandanten in Flossenbürg, December 31, 1943, to July 1 1944.
4. BA-B, NS4/FL-272/1: Funkspruch, WVHA-Berlin an die Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Flossenbürg b. Weiden/Opf., August 7, 1942.
5. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3031/66 Bd. 1, p. 3.
6. ZdL, AR 3031/66.
7. Ibid.
8. ZdL, AR 3031/66 Bd. 1, p. 9.
9. BA-B, NS4/FL-392/4: Aufstellung der Arbeitseinteilung des Arbeitsdienstführers, ca. June 30, 1943.
10. BA-B, NS4/FL-393/1: Übersicht über die im Monat Juli 1944 abgestellten Häftlinge durch den Lagerkommandanten in Flossenbürg, August 1, 1944.

LEITMERITZ

In the spring of 1944, the first steps were taken to create a subcamp at Leitmeritz. It would quickly become the largest Flossenbürg subcamp, and its prisoners would call it the “death factory.” The reason for the establishment of the Leitmeritz camp was the construction of underground production facilities for the German armaments industry. In two



The entrance to the underground factory “Richard I.” erected in occupied Czechoslovakia by prisoners at the Flossenbürg subcamp, Leitmeritz, May 5 to June 1, 1945.

USHMM WS # 70693, COURTESY OF AG-T

connected but competing construction sites, gigantic subterranean production and assembly facilities, several kilometers long, were to be built in Radobyl Mountain near Leitmeritz. The facilities were constructed for the Auto Union AG from Siegmar near Chemnitz, which was to manufacture tank engines, and for the Osram Company from Berlin, which would produce wolfram and molybdenum cables for the aircraft industry. Thus, two construction sites were established at Radobyl Mountain—Project “Richard I” to assemble tank engines for Auto Union and Project “Richard II,” the future production site for Osram.

From the beginning of the spring of 1944, several thousand concentration camp prisoners in countless work detachments were deployed in the construction sites for Richard I and Richard II. Their task was to excavate the underground tunnels. Even though construction of Richard I was not complete in November 1944, a prisoner detachment, with selected skilled workers, known as “Elsabe AG,” commenced the assembly of tank engines for Auto Union. The first tank shells from Elsabe AG were delivered on November 14, 1944. However, subsequent production remained well behind the expectations of the SS-Führungsstab (Leadership Staff) and the company. The continuing inability to get fresh air into the caverns resulted not only in corrosion of the production machines and production falling behind target but also in a rapid deterioration in the health of the prisoners and the civilian workers.

From May 1944, preparations were made to relocate part of the Berlin Osram Company to Leitmeritz. The company was to be known under the cover name “Kalkspat K.G.” However, the construction project Richard II never got beyond the planning stage. Construction work for Richard II was constantly delayed because Osram’s demands that civilian workers and concentration camp workers be transferred from Richard I to Richard II were rejected by the SS-Führungsstab. By the end of 1944 and the beginning of 1945, it had become clear to the responsible people within Osram that Germany’s defeat was inevitable. Internal considerations for a relocation of production facilities to Bohemia were considered less and less. Officially, however, various Osram employees still tried to obtain healthy and strong concentration camp prisoners for the planned production facility, which was intended to commence operations on April 1, 1945. Even though Osram senior management had decided at the beginning of March 1945 to relocate the majority of its production facilities to subterranean facilities within the “Old Reich,” with at least 40 percent of cable production to be relocated to the “Dogger” tunnels near Hersbruck, another Flossenbürg subcamp, Osram still demanded that the SS-Führungsstab accelerate production and increase the number of prisoners and their output.

The size of the Leitmeritz camp and the number of prisoners there constantly grew due to the demands of the SS-Führungsstab, the Armaments Ministry, the companies, and the German war situation. Leitmeritz developed into a gigantic Flossenbürg subsystem, which had its own subcamps, such

as in nearby Lobositz. With the implosion of the concentration camp system and the dissolution of the camps, Leitmeritz from 1945 was the collecting point for countless prisoners from the Saxon and north Bohemia subcamps of the Buchenwald, Gross-Rosen, and Flossenbürg concentration camps. The Leitmeritz subcamp continued to exist after the liberation of the Flossenbürg main camp on April 23, 1945. It continued to operate as an independent camp system until the end of Nazi rule in Europe. It was not liberated; it was officially dissolved after the unconditional capitulation of the German Reich on May 8, 1945.

The first transport connected with the construction projects reached Theresienstadt from the Dachau concentration camp on March 24, 1944. It consisted of 500 male prisoners. At this time, part of the Kleine Festung (Small Fortress) in Theresienstadt functioned as a Flossenbürg subcamp. Due to a lack of other detention facilities, the prisoners were initially accommodated in the Gestapo prison in the Kleine Festung. This first prisoner detachment, together with other Gestapo prisoners in the Kleine Festung, was to convert the former Artillery Barracks in Leitmeritz into a camp for concentration camp prisoners. It was planned that this camp would hold 4,000 prisoners. The camp command, together with the SS guards and part of the construction project team, established itself in the former Czechoslovak barracks. After the site had been provisionally fenced in and seven guard towers had been constructed, larger transports of more than 1,000 prisoners began to arrive in Leitmeritz at the end of May. The Kleine Festung in Theresienstadt, which accommodated Flossenbürg prisoners, was likewise overcrowded. In August 1944, there were more than 2,800 prisoners in Leitmeritz. On November 16, 1944, the prisoner population had reached nearly 5,000; and on February 15, 1945, almost 6,660; by the end of April 1945, the prisoner population had reached around 9,000—almost the same number of prisoners that were in the Flossenbürg main camp itself.¹

The prisoners represented the complete spectrum of prisoners in the National Socialist concentration camps. There were men from all European countries, in just about all prisoner categories, including a relatively large number of Jewish prisoners. In Leitmeritz, they were used as slave laborers. Some 770 women and girls were imprisoned in Leitmeritz between February and April 1945. The prisoner conditions in Leitmeritz were a disaster from the beginning. The capacity to accommodate the masses of prisoners who were transported to Leitmeritz did not grow, sustenance was completely inadequate, and the hygienic conditions and conditions of the air in the camp and caverns were catastrophic. Illness and epidemics soon broke out among the prisoners.

Above all, the conditions on the construction sites, where until the commencement of the production of tank engines in November 1944 most of the prisoners were deployed, were murderous. There were repeated accidents in the underground passages because the construction project team and the SS-Führungsstab, as a result of time pressures imposed by the companies and the Reichs Armaments Ministry,

neglected the most elementary safety precautions. There were almost daily collapses of the roof within the extensive branch-like tunnel system. In May 1944, 60 prisoners in the morning shift were crushed to death when a roof, which had not been secured, collapsed. Conditions scarcely changed when the first assembly lines for the production of tank engines began operation. The Auto Union had to intervene repeatedly with the SS camp command and complain about the condition of the prisoners. "As a result the Gestapo ordered that all camp inmates be X-rayed. This took place between Christmas and New Year's 1944/45 in the Leitmeritz civilian sanatorium." The results were shattering: "forty-five percent had tuberculosis," recalled Svetozar Guček, a Slovenian survivor.²

At the end of 1944, the separation of the prisoners into construction and production units was complete. This resulted in a gradual functional gradation of the work detachments, which in turn influenced the survival chances of the prisoners. In the initial stages of production, there was scarcely any difference in the misery for a skilled prisoner worker from a construction prisoner—they were quickly "Richard-ized" (*richardisiert*). It was only from February 1945 that the camp command began to accommodate the production prisoners in their own blocks, to improve the catastrophic hygienic conditions for these prisoners, and to reduce camp rituals to a minimum, such as roll call. For thousands of prisoners the improvements in living conditions, which ultimately were motivated by the considerations of wartime economic rationality, came too late. Only 4,500 of the almost 18,000 concentration camp prisoners who were held in Leitmeritz during the three and one-half months of its existence survived; most of them were construction prisoners. Countless died as a result of working in the camp or at other camps. In the final stage of the National Socialist regime, Leitmeritz operated as a transit camp. Countless death marches from other camps were combined in Leitmeritz. From there they were put on almost 100 goods wagons and "evacuated" in a southerly direction. The number of dead from these last transports from Leitmeritz is unknown.

SOURCES Leitmeritz is one of the most infamous and best-researched Flossenbürg subcamps. Above all, the Theresienstadt Memorial, which looks after part of the construction remains of the Leitmeritz subcamp, has fostered numerous research projects on the Leitmeritz subcamp. As an example, these works by Miroslava Benešová-Langhamerová should be mentioned: "Das Konzentrationslager in Leitmeritz und seine Häftlinge," *TSD* (1995): 217–240; and "První transport vězňů pro stavbu Richard v Litoměřicích," *TL* 22 (1994): 102–107. In 1994, the Theresienstadt Memorial held an international conference on the Leitmeritz subcamp. Some of the presentations at the conference have been published in a collection of essays: *Památník Terezín, Koncentrační tábor Litoměřice 1944–1945* (Terezín, 1995). In German, Miroslav Kárný has published a key essay, "'Vernichtung durch Arbeit' in Leitmeritz: Die SS-Führungsstäbe in der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft," 1999 4 (1993): 37–61.

The history of the Leitmeritz subcamp is extensively documented in several collections of source material, which to date have not been exhaustively commented upon. An almost complete documentary collection on the prisoners in the Leitmeritz subcamp is to be found in the archives AG-T and AG-F. Both archives hold documents on the use of the prisoners as well as the SS guards. The SHStA-(C) holds documents relating to the relocation of the Auto Union AG to Leitmeritz. The relocation files of Osram are held in the LA-B. The SÚA has a number of disparate collections on the Leitmeritz complex. In addition, there are extensive investigation and judicial files held in the BA-L (formerly ZdL).

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NOTES

1. Lagerstärke 1944–1945, SÚA, OVS, Karton 27, Nr. 34.
2. Erinnerungsbericht des slowenischen Häftlings Svetozar Guček, AG-F, Erinnerungsberichte.

LENGENFELD

On October 9, 1944, the Magdeburg pump construction factory of the Reich-owned Junkers group, which had received the code name "Leng-Werke" from the Armaments Ministry and in 1943 had been moved to Lengenfeld in Vogtland, was allocated prisoners from the Flossenbürg concentration camp. The allotted 500 prisoners were transported by train from Flossenbürg to Lengenfeld, where they arrived on October 12, 1944.¹ This first prisoner transport had Flossenbürg registration numbers between 5000 and 27000. The exchange of prisoners unable to work, the replacement of the dead with new prisoners, and periodic transports of new prisoners kept the number of prisoners in the subcamp constant at around 800. In November 1944, a transport of Hungarian Jews arrived at the camp and received registration numbers between 33000 and 34000. The last transport was the prisoner group from the closed Plauen (Horn GmbH) subcamp, which arrived in Lengenfeld on March 31, 1945.²

The strength report from January 31, 1945, shows 859 prisoners for the Lengenfeld camp, while the one from March 31, 1945, reports 755 prisoners.³ The decline in the number of prisoners by 100 within two months indicates the high rate of mortality during this time period at the camp. In February and March of 1945 alone, the SS reported 98 dead.⁴ In the strength report from April 2, 1945, 20 deaths are cited for the Lengenfeld camp.⁵ Some 162 of the dead were cremated in the Reichenbach V crematorium. An additional 27 dead prisoners were buried at Reichenbach and 57 at Lengenfeld.

The strength report from February 28, 1945, conveys a picture of the national composition of the Lengenfeld subcamp at the time: 413 Poles, including 6 Jews; 191 Russians; 78 Hungarians, all Jews; 29 Czechs; 24 French, including 1 Jew; 23 Italians, including 1 Jew; 19 Germans; 7 Croats, including 4 Jews; 5 Yugoslavs, including 1 Jew; 3 each of Bulgarians, Greeks, and Dutch; 2 Belgians; 2 Lithuanians;

1 Albanian; and 1 stateless individual.⁶ The prisoners were housed in large double barracks near the work site. The camp was fenced in with electrified wire and secured with four watchtowers, one at each corner. Prisoners reported:

The prisoners, closely watched, were led to work and back daily. They had to march arm-in-arm in rows of five, flanked right and left by armed SS men in field gray uniforms. In addition, six large German shepherds, trained for attacking humans, ran ahead, behind, and on the side. If one of the emaciated men, who were nothing but skin and bones, wanted to knock off the snow clumps that had stuck to the wooden shoes, he received a kick or a thrust in the back with a rifle butt that caused him to stagger several steps forward. If he fell, the guards with animals would beat him until he stood up. The prisoners wore the usual blue-and-white striped suits. The Kapos were recognizable by a round blue cap and red stripes on the pants. These Kapos were also prisoners, who, however, enjoyed considerable advantages, did not have to work, were assigned as supervisors, and competed with the guard units in brutality.⁷

The prisoners' work sites were in a lower room in a cotton-spinning mill cleared out for air armaments production and in tunnels that had been expanded into underground work-rooms. They were "primarily employed in twelve-hour shifts on machine tools such as lathes, milling cutters, grinding machines, etc."⁸ A number of the prisoners had to perform the heaviest work of ongoing tunneling, through which the area of the underground production rooms was to be expanded. Former Ukrainian prisoner Vladimir K. reported about this work: "I went to Flossenbürg concentration camp and received there the camp number 27799. Then I went to Lengenfeld, a Flossenbürg work camp. Here I worked in tunnel construction. That was deathly difficult work. Hard rock, no food. Prisoners died in masses."⁹ German foremen, engineers, and master craftsmen, some of whom behaved in an extremely hostile manner toward the prisoners, supervised the prisoners during the manufacturing process. Pole Adam Z. said in his statement: "In the light metal group, department 'Rühmann,' master craftsman Beyer distinguished himself as a sadist. In the department of automatic and revolver lathes, the German Cebulinski, also from Magdeburg, was a dogged Prussian."¹⁰

By contrast, a few German workers and some of the residents, before whose eyes SS brutality took place every day, attempted to slip the prisoners something at work. At garden fences and wall corners on the march path, they left bread or cooked potatoes in transport crates and hid cigarettes or apples.

SS-Oberscharführer Albert Roller functioned as camp leader (Lagerführer), under whom were 5 SS-Unterführer and 48 SS guards.¹¹ In addition, several German "greens," career criminals kept in concentration camps, served him as

denouncers and henchmen. Former Czech prisoner Josef Jokl wrote: "As camp Kapo, a career criminal by the name of Rudolf Schulmeister is his most important denouncer. Once while at work I sharpened a spoon a little, in order to slice bread, and upon return was immediately beaten to exhaustion with truncheons."¹²

On April 10, 1945, a bombardment hit the "Leng-Werke," wounding many prisoners. During the bombardment, prisoners tried to escape. They were, however, cornered by dogs and brought back to camp. One of those escaping was shot, and Roller let him hang for days on the camp gate as a deterrent.¹³ A few days later, on April 13, 1945, the evacuation of the camp began with the onset of darkness at around 8:00 P.M. On this day the strength report for Flossenbürg reported that there were still 744 prisoners at the Lengenfeld camp.¹⁴ Already on the first night the SS mercilessly began to murder exhausted prisoners; 21 of them were shot shortly before reaching Rodewisch. More were killed near Wernesgrün. By Johanngeorgenstadt there were 92 dead.¹⁵ During this night, however, several prisoners were able to escape, such as a group of 10 Polish prisoners who were, however, caught again and remained in the Klingenthal prison until their liberation on May 7, 1945.¹⁶ The SS shot 4 other escaped prisoners near Werda.

On April 15, 1945, a rail transport with 1,123 concentration camp prisoners, 188 of whom were sick prisoners from the Lengenfeld subcamp, set out from Johanngeorgenstadt. On this, the investigative report on the Lengenfeld camp states: "It is to be assumed that the evacuation of the subcamps Johanngeorgenstadt, Lengenfeld, and Zwickau were carried out together from Johanngeorgenstadt to Karlsbad. Near Karlsbad various march columns were formed from the collective transport. The various details or parts of them separated again and continued the evacuation by foot in different directions. The Lengenfeld subcamp, with the exception of 188 prisoners who were apparently joined up with the column destined for Theresienstadt, set off toward Flossenbürg, but only made it to Tachau."¹⁷

The larger part of the Lengenfeld subcamp, namely, the more than 400 remaining prisoners, were driven by the SS, together with part of the Zwickau subcamp with whom they had already met on April 14, 1945, at the sports field in Schönheide, by foot through Karlsbad—Talsperre—Petschau (Bečov)—Marienbad (Mar. Lázně)—Planá—Tachov—Pisařovy Vesce. Here, the SS must have received the news that U.S. troops were approaching Flossenbürg. After a massacre, apparently out of fury about the failure of their plan to bring the prisoners to Flossenbürg, the SS changed the direction of the column. On April 22, 1945, they marched the prisoners through Tachov—Staré Sedliště—Doly—Stráz, ultimately in order to carry out another massacre among the last prisoners of this column in the area around Přimda. On April 21, 1945, as the column came to the country road between Martinov and Holubin near Marienbad, low-flying planes attacked them early in the morning. Instead of giving them aid, the SS mercilessly killed all the wounded. In the

evening, the German population brought the dead by cart to Pistov and buried them in a pit in the forest, 100 meters (328 feet) away from a graveyard.¹⁸ As the death march arrived in the town of Doly near Bor on April 24, 1945, only around 200 prisoners were still living from the Lengenfeld subcamp. After an air raid, the 17 Czechs in the column, as they had planned, played dead. The SS did not take any more time to count and drove the rest of the prisoners on.¹⁹

SS camp leader Albert Roller, one of those responsible for the crimes committed at the Lengenfeld camp, was sentenced to death in the Flossenbürg Trial and executed in 1947.²⁰

SOURCES Peter Schmoll mentions the camp in *Die Messerschmitt-Werke im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Regensburg: Mittelbayrische Druck- & Verlagsgesellschaft, 1998), p. 189. Archival records may be found at BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3040/66, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 18/68; and ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg.

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NOTES

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2. Ibid.
3. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53, and Nr. 4, p. 98.
4. NARA, Film T 580, Rolls 69–70; Film T 1021, Roll No. 9; see also Hans Brenner, Archiv, Akte Lengenfeld.
5. BA-B, Film Nr. 41820, Aufnahme-Nr. 787–791.
6. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 4, B1. 98.
7. Hermann Gerisch, report to the author from July 2, 1980.
8. Reports from the former Polish prisoners Józef Müller (prisoner no. 27548) and Jan Szopa (prisoner no. 27747); quoted in Peter Schmoll, *Die Messerschmitt-Werke im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Regensburg: Mittelbayrische Druck- & Verlagsgesellschaft, 1998), p. 189.
9. Wladimir Kryshanowski (in Gestapo interrogation he called himself Wladimir Ponomarenko, prisoner no. 27799), letter to the Arbeitsgemeinschaft ehemaliges KZ Flossenbürg, Regensburg, from June 28, 1995. Copy in possession of the author.
10. AK-IPN, statement by Adam. Z.
11. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 86–87.
12. Josef Jokl (prisoner no. 27341), report to the author from July 23, 1978.
13. Hermann Gerisch, report to the author from July 2, 1980.
14. BA-B, Film 14430, B1. 1264.
15. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 1, B1. 93, Bericht des ehemaligen luxemburgischen Häftlings Albert Hommel v. 09.05.1946—“Marches de la Mort.”
16. AK-IPN, statement by Adam. Z.
17. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 18/68, Schlussvermerk, pp. 977–979.
18. Josef Jokl, report to the author; see also Gedenkstätte Pistov, Tschechischer Bericht (Vytíštěno péčí Oku; text

HDK-CSBS Tachov); see also Richard Švanderlik, “Pístovské memento,” *Hamelika* (Ročník XIII/1985, Číslo 138, Mariánské Lázně, April 8, 1985), pp. 21–23.

19. Josef Jokl, report to the author.

20. NARA, Complete List of War Crimes Case Trials. Quoted in Sieger, Das Konzentrationslager, p. 488. Cited in Toni Siegert, “Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg,” in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Martin Broszat and Elke Fröhlich (Munich, 1979) 2: 488.

LOBOSITZ

In 1939, the National Socialists established several prisons, ghettos, and camps at the picturesque junction of the Eger and Elbe rivers, at Leitmertiz (Litoměřice), a north Bohemian district town and bishop's residence. The camps in this region are exemplary for showing the complete dimension of Nazi Germany's racial and political persecution. Except for their close proximity, these camps had little in common with each other. The prisoners were victims of a variety of different measures. The establishment of the camps in turn was based on a variety of different “racial political” or war economic motives. The prison conditions varied between the camps. Shortly after the rest of the first Czechoslovakian Republic was occupied in 1939, a Gestapo prison was established in the Kleine Festung in Theresienstadt, a southern suburb of the former Habsburg garrison city. It was a Gestapo prison for Czech resistance fighters. The Kleine Festung continued to be a place of internment and execution of political opponents until the end of the war.

In November 1941, the remainder of the city area of Theresienstadt was declared to be a Jewish ghetto. Jewish families from Bohemia, Germany, and other West European states were crammed into the Theresienstadt ghetto and from October 1942 deported to Auschwitz, where they were murdered. In nearby Leitmertiz, what was to become the largest Flossenbürg subcamp was established in the early summer of 1944. More than 15,000 concentration camp prisoners from all over Europe were used on a gigantic construction project to relocate underground the armaments firms Auto Union and Osram. One-third of the prisoners, including many Jews who had been determined in Auschwitz as capable of working and had escaped the gas chambers, were not to survive the Leitmertiz camp. There was another camp only a few kilometers from the camp complexes in Theresienstadt and Leitmertiz. Here the prisoners' survival chances in the Lobositz (Lovosice) subcamp were much higher.

The establishment of a subcamp in Lobositz had nothing to do with the camps established in Theresienstadt and Leitmertiz. It had more to do with the relocation of the SS-Hauptamt C-I, the SS office for troop care, from Berlin-Lichterfelde to a region less threatened by bombing raids. In 1943, after several bombing raids on Berlin, numerous SS offices that were based in the “SS District Lichterfelde” were relocated. One of these was the SS-Kleiderkasse (Clothing Sales Store), which was relocated to Schlackenwerth (see Flossenbürg/

Schlackenwerth); another was the Amt für Truppenbetreuung (Hauptamt C-I) [Office for Troops Care (Main Office C-I)], which was relocated to Lobositz. Both SS offices had Flossenbürg subcamps attached to them.

The SS-Hauptamt für Truppenbetreuung was responsible for the ideological, moral, and social well-being of SS units. Its task was to provide and distribute a variety of military and civilian items. They were distributed by the Amt C-I to SS units in the front line and to SS bases, to SS hospitals, and to SS family members. The Amt für Truppenbetreuung administered military goods such as naval armaments, a variety of infantry equipment, parachute silk, and such civilian items as musical instruments, stationary, tobacco, wine, liquors, cameras, and even radios. The small industrial city of Lobositz, close to Theresienstadt and Leitmeritz, offered itself as the place to store all these items, which the Amt C-I had collected all over the Reich and the occupied territories. Lobositz was an agro-industrial town with a large sugar refinery. It was a central rail junction in northern Bohemia and had many warehouses and other possibilities for storage.

As such a camp required a large number of personnel, the SS-Hauptamt began from 1943 to use many Czech civilian workers in Lobositz, together with Gestapo prisoners who were brought from the Kleine Festung in Theresienstadt for work at Lobositz. However, the SS resorted to another source of labor to look after and maintain the technical equipment in the Department for the Maintenance of Radio Receivers (Abteilung für die Instandsetzung von Rundfunkempfängern). Beginning in the spring of 1944, the SS-Hauptamt C-I used a few specialists from the Flossenbürg concentration camp. On May 20, 1944, 10 prisoners—3 Germans, 2 Poles, a Belgian, an Italian, a Frenchman, a Czech, and a Russian, each with the title of radio technician—were transferred from Flossenbürg to the new Lobositz subcamp.¹

On May 22, the prisoners had to commence work in Lobositz.² This first work detachment, as with the construction detachment in Leitmeritz, was at first accommodated in the Gestapo prison in the Kleine Festung in Theresienstadt. From there they were taken to work at Lobositz, barely eight kilometers (five miles) away. The reason for this is that, as with Leitmeritz, there were only workplaces in Lobositz. There was no camp, at least not in the traditional sense. On August 28, 1944, the number of prisoners in the Lobositz detachment was increased by 14 to 24. The additional prisoners came from the Neuengamme concentration camp. Almost all of the prisoners were French. With 24 prisoners, the Lobositz subcamp had reached the maximum number of prisoners that it would have.³

Although the Lobositz detachment had been specifically established by the Amt C-I as a radio workshop, there were always to be competing demands from the “important war” subcamp at Leitmeritz. Detachments from Lobositz were repeatedly summoned to Leitmeritz to construct tunnels or to install electrical equipment. It was only in the autumn of 1944 that Dr. Wolf, who was in charge of Amt C-I, was able to have the whole of his detachment based in Lobositz. The

detachment was accommodated in rooms of the police prison, which was located in the court building. It was there that the prisoners, as originally planned, worked on repairing radio receivers for SS soldiers on the front lines. For the concentration camp prisoners, this was privileged work. As in other SS office detachments, it was possible for the prisoners to regularly obtain additional food and sometimes even cigarettes. The regular contact with the Czech civilian workers also increased the prisoners’ survival chances.

On the other hand, the prisoners were constantly under the threat of being transferred to another camp. There were constant transfers to Flossenbürg or to Leitmeritz. As early as August 31, the first Lobositz prisoner was transferred back, probably because he suffered from dysentery.⁴ Three prisoners were transported back to Flossenbürg on September 22. Another followed on November 3, 1944, with the result that at the end of November 1944 there were only 19 men in the camp.

These men continued to work in Lobositz repairing radios almost until the end of the war. However, because the SS-Hauptamt C-I had a demand for additional prisoner labor, prisoner detachments from the nearby Flossenbürg subcamp at Leitmeritz were repeatedly sent to Lobositz to help with the work. After a short period of time, most were returned to the murderous work in constructing tunnels, as that work was regarded as more important for the war effort. Notwithstanding the rather privileged position of the prisoners in the Lobositz subcamp, there is one recorded death in the camp. The 46-year-old Belgian prisoner Vinzenz Schlepmann died a few weeks before liberation, on March 16, 1945. The SS prisoner list, however, gives the place of death as Leitmeritz and not Lobositz.⁵ Units of the Red Army liberated the remaining 18 prisoners in Lobositz on May 7, 1945.

SOURCES The small Flossenbürg subcamp at Lobositz has only been more closely examined in publications of the Theresienstadt Memorial. In a short essay, Miroslavá Langamerová-Benešová tries to document completely the names of the prisoners: “Práce věznů pro SS Hauptamt C I v Lovosicích,” *TL* 29 (2001): 53–59.

There are only a few source documents for this subcamp. It is possible to accurately reconstruct the number of prisoners in the Lobositz subcamp. This information is based on the relevant sources such as the *Häftlingsnummernbuch* and transport list, which are held in the CEGESOMA; and in NARA, with copies in the AG-F. Less revealing, on the other hand, are the investigation files of the ZdL at BA-L (*ZdL*, 410 AR 3041/66).

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Transport lists, May 20, 1944, CEGESOMA, Microfilm 14368.
2. Forderungsnachweis für die Zeit vom 22. Mai bis 31. Mai 1944, June 1, 1944, BA-B, NS4/Fl 393/1.
3. Häftlingsnummernbuch, NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3.

4. Rücküberstellung, August 31, 1944, CEGESOMA, Microfilm 14368.
 5. Häftlingsnummernbuch, NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3.

MEHLTHEUER

On September 29, 1944, the Army High Command, in agreement with the armored car main committee, ordered the moving of a subsidiary of the Vomag AG at Plauen/Vogtland to the net and curtain factory at Mehltheuer.¹ This company, on the basis of its request for additional workers, was allocated a prisoner group of 200 women and girls from the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp on December 2. They were primarily Polish Jews, most of whom had been sent from the Łódź ghetto to Auschwitz and from there, after about two weeks, to Bergen-Belsen. Several German Jews, such as the camp elder (Lagerältester) from Mehltheuer, Eugenia L., were also recorded as Poles on the transport list.² The women and girls received the registration numbers 59454 through 59653 from the Flossenbürg main camp. The prisoners had the following composition, broken down by age: 14 born between 1900 and 1909, 65 born between 1910 and 1919, 80 born between 1920 and 1924, 38 born between 1925 and 1929, 1 born in 1930, and 2 with no information.

The female prisoners were housed in the company's warehouse, a shed, and on the top floor of the factory, in whose lower rooms they were brought in to work on machine tools. Sara K. reported:

We worked in a factory which belonged to the "Vomag" company. . . . Earlier they possibly produced curtains and net curtains there, but as we arrived machines were being fit in on which we were employed producing parts: long bolts, screws, and various other parts. Back then I was not even 18 years old and was already working on a large revolving machine and for a while also on inspection. The German foremen in the factory did not harm us. They demanded work but did not torment us. My foreman was an old man—quiet and gentle. There was a foreman there, not old, around 40—it appeared to me he was a resident of Mehltheuer. He helped us a tremendous amount. He brought bread and sometimes he caused defects in the machines so that we could rest a bit.³

An expansion of the Mehltheuer subcamp took place on March 9, 1945, with the arrival of a group of 146 female prisoners from the closed-down subcamp at the Siemens-Schuckert Werke (Siemens-Schuckert Works, SSW) in Nürnberg. It was these female Hungarian Jews who, after the deportation to Auschwitz, had been brought to Nürnberg, specifically to the Flossenbürg subcamp Nürnberg (Siemens-Schuckert Werke). They already wore the Flossenbürg registration numbers from the series 55573 through 56290. They

received their accommodation in a barracks on the factory grounds, although some of them were also employed in production outside the Vomag factory.

The factory grounds were fenced in and equipped with guard towers. Chaja-Hela G. testified about the guards: "The SS camp personnel consisted of SS members, who guarded the camp from the outside, and SS women [Aufseherinnen], who guarded us in the camp and at work. I remember the camp leader. Only after the camp had been liberated, when the Americans interrogated him, did I learn that his name was Fischer."⁴ This was the SS-Unterscharführer Fischer, to whom 2 SS-Unterführer, 19 SS guards, and 18 SS-Aufseherinnen were subordinate.⁵ The female prisoners all agree in their assessments of the SS-Aufseherinnen. Sara K. testified: "I remember Marianne. She had a limp in one foot. Was young—around 20 or so. It seemed to me that she was a nurse. She was a sadist. She broke my nose. Marianne and also the 'Zwiklinska' tormented especially older women. 'Russian gems,' that was the speaking style of 'Zwiklinska,' which is how she was called by the older women K. and I., who really were victims of these two SS women. They were beaten and tormented by Marianne and the 'Zwiklinska.'"⁶

Chaja-Hela G. also expressed herself similarly during her witness questioning: "There were rather a lot of SS Aufseherinnen in the camp, but they changed often—only a few were stable from the beginning to the end. There were the SS women 'Marianka,' 'Zwiklinska,' and 'Hohe Genädel'—those were nicknames. Among the SS women were those that beat us for every little thing and also without any reason, and there were also good ones, that means those that did not do anything bad toward us. . . . I've seen how Marianne beat other female prisoners. The other two also beat."⁷

The German camp elder, Eugenia (Jenny) Lerner, played a special role in the camp, about whom Sara K. testified:

Concerning conditions in the camp, I must say that due to the Jewish camp elder, Frau Lerner, things were orderly with us in the Polish camp—the rations were equally distributed and, although it was very little, it was nevertheless better than in other camps. Only as the end approached did the hunger come—that was really a difficult time. . . . After the liberation Frau Lerner told us that she had personally seen a document at the commandant's—an order—that he showed only to her. According to this order he was supposed to lead us all to the forest nearby and there we would be shot. He said to Frau Lerner that he would not carry out this order. Two days before liberation he opened the camp and allowed us to take food from the stockrooms, which were near the train tracks. . . . He stayed in the camp and the Americans took him into custody.⁸

The SS camp leader (Lagerführer) Fischer also prevented a staff of Hungarian Arrow Cross Fascists, which appeared on

the scene shortly before the occupation by U.S. troops, from carrying out the shooting of Jewish prisoners.⁹

During the entire life of the camp, despite the inadequate food supply, there was only one fatality. After the liberation of the women by the U.S. troops on April 16, 1945, they were brought, on May 1, 1945, to another camp, the Rentzschmühle on the Elster River, which the Americans had set up as a hospital.

SOURCES Some information on the Mehltheuer camp is available in Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Außenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg: Arbeitsgemeinschaft ehemaliges KZ Flossenbürg, 1999).

Archival sources may be found in ZdL at BA-L, IV 410 AR 3069/66; and ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg.

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trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. Ba-VEB-PG, Schreiben des OKH, BdE, September 26, 1944, an die Fa. Vomag AG Plauen.
2. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 3, p. 66.
3. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3069/66, Bd. 1, p. 203, testimony by Sara K. (prisoner no. 59628).
4. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3069/66, Bd. 1, p. 100, testimony by Chaja-Hela G. (prisoner no. 59596); see also BA-B, Film Nr. 14430, p. 1266.
5. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 86–87.
6. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3069/77, Bd. 2, p. 204, testimony by Sara K.
7. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3060/66, Bd. 1, p. 101, testimony by Chaja-Hela G.
8. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3069/66, Bd. 2, pp. 203, 204, testimony by Sara K.
9. Gunter Zeidler, Mehltheuer, report to the author from April 21, 1981.

MEISSEN-NEUHIRSCHSTEIN

The Neuhirschstein Castle, which was built in the thirteenth century and lies along the Elbe River approximately 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) from Riesa and 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from Meissen, had been owned by the Busse family since 1892. In a letter dated October 7, 1943, the head of the administration in the Meissen district confiscated “the entire castle Neuhirschstein . . . including the park and garden for a high-ranking prisoner of the state and his entourage.”¹ The owner, Louise Busse, was allegedly given a house in the “Weisser Hirsch” villa district in Dresden in return.² The above-mentioned high-ranking prisoner of the state was Belgian King Leopold, who had been confined in the Laeken Castle near Brussels since the occupation of Belgium.

Before the royal family was brought to the castle, which was now called “Haus Elbe,” it had to be secured. Also on October 7, 1943, the special unit for this task, headed by the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) in charge of this project, received about 150 prisoners who were transferred from

the Dachau concentration camp to Neuhirschstein and had to do construction and reinforcement work under the command of the SS-Construction Department in Dresden. The prisoners were almost exclusively Italians.³ There is evidence that 23 prisoners were also transferred from the Ravensbrück concentration camp on October 31 and December 26. Prisoners were also transferred to Neuhirschstein from the subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp at Dresden (SS-Pionier-Kaserne), where especially skilled workers were interned. The Neuhirschstein subcamp is noted only a few times in the Flossenbürg prisoner register because the prisoners were transferred afterward either to Dresden, to Flossenbürg, or to other camps. Some transfers from and to Neuhirschstein are verifiable, such as the transfer of 16 prisoners from Neuhirschstein to Sachsenhausen, on December 4 and 5, 1943, as ordered by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA).⁴ Out of the 16 prisoners—5 Germans, 5 Slovenes, 3 Poles, 2 Russians, and 1 Frenchman—5 were locksmiths, 3 were construction workers, 1 was a farmer, and 7 were unskilled workers. It is possible that they were transferred in exchange for 14 prisoners who had been transported in November from Sachsenhausen to Neuhirschstein.⁵

As reported by local chronicler Walter Kuntze, the prisoners had to set up reinforcement work and wire enclosures. They also had to build, within a short period of time, a guardhouse for the SS, with stones delivered over the Elbe River. An indirect proof of the strain caused by this project is provided in a letter sent from the SS-Pionier-Kaserne subcamp in Dresden to the commandant in Flossenbürg: “The labor detail which has been assigned to the Neu-Hirschstein Haus Elbe has used more potatoes than allocated in the budget because of additional work and night work.”⁶ As witnesses from that time report, some prisoners were also lent short term to local businesses. For example, two prisoners, one of them an American, supposedly worked in a carpenter’s workshop in nearby Bahra.

The prisoners were housed in stables and barns around the castle and had to suffer under the most brutal conditions. At least four shootings of prisoners are known to have taken place between November 10 and 20, 1943, for apparent escape attempts. Two Italian prisoners, who missed the evening roll call, were found and shot the next day by canine officer SS-Rottenführer Helmut Fritzsche. A Russian and a Polish prisoner were also shot dead, as attested to by the morgue certificate issued by the garrison physician from the SS-Pioneer Replacement Battalion in Dresden.⁷ The brutality of the guard force was investigated after the war in various court proceedings: Fritzsche was sentenced by an American military court to 15 years in prison.⁸ SS-Oberscharführer Artur Abe, who worked as a guard from July 1939 at Flossenbürg, then later in the first Flossenbürg subcamp in Stulln as well as in Neuhirschstein, was sentenced in 1949 by the jury in Amberg to 14 years in prison. Among other things, he was sentenced for proven participation in the killing of an Italian. The dead prisoners were supposedly wrapped in sheets and transported in trucks to the

Meissen crematorium. However, their actual cremation cannot be proven. There are no documents available about the makeup and strength of the guard force except for a transport list with 12 SS-Schützen and SS-Rottenführer Kiehl from December 12, 1944.⁹

Some labor allocation receipts of the command headquarters in Flossenbürg show the extent of prisoner deployment.¹⁰ The construction department of the Waffen-SS and police in Dresden was charged for 220 prisoners for the "construction project Haus Elbe" in December 1943, about half of which were skilled and half unskilled workers. From the middle of the month until December 25, 24 unskilled workers and 74 skilled workers were assigned. After the middle of February 1944—in the meantime, work was possibly stopped—the SS-Special Building Detachment "Haus Elbe" was charged first for 20, then for 50, prisoners. The remaining 30 prisoners were pulled out on March 4, 1943; the labor allocation receipt to the construction inspectorate "Haus Elbe" notes the "ending of the detachment." However, according to the International Tracing Service (ITS), prisoners had to have worked in Neuhauschstein until May 23, 1944. Fees for prisoners were charged to the Dresden construction department until September 1944.¹¹ Strong fluctuation in prisoner numbers, prisoner heterogeneity, the time limitation of prisoner deployment, and the strict secrecy of the SS all constitute reasons why there is relatively little known about actual prisoner deployment.

On June 6, 1944, immediately after the Allied invasion of Normandy, King Leopold was transported via Erfurt and Weimar to Neuhauschstein. His wife, Princess Liliane, as well as his children, Josephine-Charlotte, Baudoin, Albert, and Alexander, left the following day. They arrived there on June 11, 1944, and had to remain, together with their personnel, in the castle, which was secured by barbed wire and under the guard of SS men.

The reports concerning the strength of the guards and prisoners of the work camps in the area of responsibility of the HSSPF Elbe received after January 1945 point to 50 SS guards doing guard duty but no prisoners.

The Belgian royal family was taken south on March 5, 1945, and finally liberated by U.S. troops close to Salzburg. The castle, which had, for example, an impressive porcelain collection, was looted by the local population after the departure of the royal family.

SOURCES The AG-F has at its disposal the Flossenbürg main sources and excerpts from a writing by local historian Walter Kuntze. Two proceedings of the central authority of the ZdL at BA-L (410 AR 3038/66 and 410 AR 2629/67 as well as collective papers 501) contain mainly copies from the process papers of the Amberg jury court. They are available in print form as Lfd. No. 181 of the *Justiz u. NS-Verbrechen*. The investigation reports of the prosecuting attorney's office in Weiden of the Neuhauschstein subcamp can be found in the ASt-Amg.

Ulrich Fritz
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NOTES

- See also Herbert Küttner, "Auf höhere Weise beschlagnahmt," newspaper article, n.d., AG-F.
- As reported by the contemporary witness Mrs. Lieselotte Nauck to the writer of the report, January 19, 2002. At the time the subcamp operated, Mrs. Nauck worked as housekeeper at the neighboring manor Rissel.
- See also Toni Siegert, "Zusammenfassender Bericht für das Schloss Neuhauschstein," in AG-F. Siegert could rely on sources at ITS. The prisoner's list of the Dachau concentration camp shows 144 prisoners were transferred on October 13, 1943, to Flossenbürg (source: AG-D).
- CEGESOMA, Microfilm 14787 (the WVHA letter from November 29, 1943, and undated transfer list).
- BA-B, NS 4/FL 390, telex of the Flossenbürg Kommandant Kögel from November 3, 1943.
- ITS, Hist. Archiv, Flossenbürg-Sammelakt 10, Blatt 15: Letter of the Dresden Kommandoführer Marggraf from February 24, 1944; copy of Toni Siegert in AG-F.
- Postmortem certificates for Aleco Fiaravanti, Waclaw Stepien, and Jarosowski, copies in AG-F.
- United States vs. Helmut Fritzsch*, Case No. 000-Flossenburg-4.
- BA-B, NS 4/FL 428.
- Ibid., 393, vol. 1: Reports of requirement for the months of December 1943, February and March 1944.
- ITS, Hist. Archiv, Hängeordner Meissen Schloss Neuhauschstein; copy of Toni Siegert in AG-F.

MITTWEIDA

The Mittweida subcamp was formed on October 9, 1944, with a transport of 503 women and girls from the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp.¹ Of these prisoners 286 came from the Soviet Union (all recorded as Russians in SS documents), 177 from Poland, 22 from Italy, 8 from Yugoslavia, 2 from Croatia, and 1 from Germany. There is no information on 7 of these women. Among the Poles were also a group of about 50 women who had taken part in the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944 and had been incorporated into the transport at Auschwitz.²

The women were employed on the presses for making synthetic and iron parts in the radio equipment works of C. Lorenz AG, which had been moved from Berlin to Mittweida. In addition, this company, which was almost 100 percent owned by the Allgemeine Elektricitäts Gesellschaft (AEG), deployed concentration camp prisoner labor for its radio equipment production in two subcamps of Gross-Rosen, one in Guben with 1,000 women and another in Ober-Hohenelbe (Horejsi Vrchlaby) with 450 women. In contrast to Mittweida, where there were officially no Jews in the camp, in both of these other subcamps for C. Lorenz the prisoners were primarily Jews.³

As of the fall of 1944, the decision for distributing the concentration camp prisoner labor force had been passed on to Albert Speer's Armaments Ministry and the "personal responsibility of the industry" with their groups and committees.

Anton Freiheit von Massenbach, acting as representative of C. Lorenz and as leader of the Aircraft Radio Equipment Committee, may have influenced the allocation of concentration camp prisoners to Mittweida.⁴ Furthermore, the fact that Emil Helfferich and Kurt Freiheit von Schröder, as members of the Circle of Friends of the Reichsführer-SS Himmler (Freundeskreis Himmler), were on the board of C. Lorenz, and met with the head of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Oswald Pohl, at the Freundeskreis gatherings, also could have influenced the transport of concentration camp prisoner labor units to C. Lorenz.

The women had to make their way from the accommodation camp to the factory rooms in the cleaned-out spinning mill on a path fenced in by barbed wire, a type of "lion's path," like in the circus. They worked in two alternating shifts. The day shift was from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M.; the night shift was from 6:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M. The work was very demanding and dangerous due to the high temperatures around the presses and the resulting steam. Workers often got burned.⁵

The management of the Flossenbürg concentration camp claimed a "slave lending fee" of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per day per prisoner worker. The value of the products that the female prisoners produced was many times more than the price the workers were paid. For the month of December, the Flossenbürg claims resulted in 41,940.85 RM after deductions for provision costs, which the company covered.⁶

The daily 12-hours of work increasingly exhausted the physical strength of the women and girls, especially as all the questioned female prisoners agreed that the food ration was completely inadequate. The clothing often consisted only of thin, worn clothes, on which, in order to prevent escape attempts, a piece of material of a noticeably different color was put on the back of the clothes. The women owned hardly any underwear so that they themselves made primitive substitutes. They wore wooden shoes, with the upper part made out of cloth.⁷

In the factory section where the female prisoners worked, there was an explosion at the beginning of 1945, and a fire followed on the floor. It can be assumed that it might have been an act of sabotage by the prisoners.⁸

The only prisoner who attempted to escape was a Pole.⁹ Yugoslav Danica B. reported on the accommodation: "The camp consisted of a total of five or six barracks. We prisoners were housed in two barracks, the outpatient department with the washroom and showers was located in one, the third was empty. A barrack inside the camp served as housing for the SS personnel, the camp guards."¹⁰ The possibility to shower and wash clothes was viewed by the women as one of the few advantages of Mittweida in comparison to other camps such as Auschwitz and Krakau-Plaszow.

Initially, SS-Oberscharführer Teichmann was the camp leader, who was relieved by camp leader (Lagerführer) Wiss. Hana U.F. testified about them: "The first detail leader was an older person. He was a decent man. He did not say much. The second detail leader was in his forties.

The guard personnel consisted of SS men from Yugoslavia and Croatia; they were not Germans, maybe ethnic Germans. The SS Aufseherinnen [female guards] were from Germany. The camp doctor was a Russian named Vera, and her orderly was also Russian, both prisoners."¹¹ In addition to the camp leader, 10 SS guards and 27 Aufseherinnen belonged to the guard personnel.¹²

Pole Irena Jeruszka reported on the conditions at the camp: "On Sundays and holidays we stood for hours at roll call because the SS Aufseherinnen thoroughly inspected our barracks. If they had found anything a punishment was imposed in addition to beatings—which a young blonde, who we called 'Katze' [cat], especially enjoyed. As punishment our hands were tied or we were sent to the cellar, where one had to stand in water."¹³ Yugoslavian Darinka B. testified:

As far as the abuses are concerned, the SS members used the tested punishment method—all for one, one for all. Thus for everyone's mistake, we had to spend several hours at roll call kneeling in file after we had had twelve hours in the factory behind us. One time we had to stand the whole night through because a Pole had written a letter to Poland and had given it to the post office via the foreman of the factory. The address could not be found and the letter was returned to the factory. So that this would not happen again we were punished in advance and the Pole disappeared from the camp. We thought she had been killed, but after a few weeks she showed herself again, pale, emaciated, and sheared to the skin. In confidence she told us that she was in a cellar where she had to stand for three weeks and as soon as she moved, drops of water fell from the room onto her shaved skin. In addition she was beaten a lot and tormented with hunger. In the same way, kneeling in file, we were punished because three female prisoners—Jehovah's Witnesses—did not want to work on Saturdays for religious reasons.¹⁴

Several women testified about the camp evacuation, which began on April 13, 1945: "One morning Dora came in and told us that the Americans are very close and that we would be liberated. We should just behave calmly. We were brought back to the camp and locked up. There was no food left. In the evening we were counted. A fellow prisoner had a nervous breakdown. The detail leader took her to a remote corner of the camp and shot her. We looked at him and heard the shot. The one [prisoner] shot was from Warsaw."¹⁵ "Not only our camp was being moved; during the march they put us together with another women's camp. We marched day and night. Those who could not go any further stayed behind. I do not know what happened to them. At a train station we waited for the train. Like everyday there was another air raid there. When the train came, coal was taken off and we were loaded on. We made it to southern Germany without rations."¹⁶ The transport went to Leitmeritz. There the Jewish

prisoners were taken out and sent by foot to Theresienstadt. The SS joined up the women of the Mittweida camp with a transport of male prisoners, which traveled to Prague via Kralupy. "We arrived in Prague on May 1, where many people were expecting us at the train station. Red Cross ambulances came immediately and took the sick away. Trucks brought bread, soup, coffee, and cooked potatoes. We were allowed to get out of the cars and receive food. Then we could, for the first time, in the truest sense of the word, fill ourselves up, but we could not hold the food down in our stomach and intestines and we had to regurgitate everything again and the hunger did not end. Those who wanted to could move freely about the train station."¹⁷

From the testimony of Irena J., we can gather how confused the SS must have been: "As the commandant went to the telephone the Czechs said to the Aufseherinnen that he ran away because the Russians and allies were approaching. The Aufseherinnen opened the cars and let us out. They took their uniforms off. Underneath they had on normal clothes. As the commandant came back he threatened to kill us and had us driven back in the cars. With the help of Czechs I was still able to escape."¹⁸

At Prague-Bubenec, many of the prisoners of this transport were freed and hidden in hospitals and apartments by members of the Czech Red Cross and groups of the Czech resistance, who openly rose up against the German occupation a few days later. The transport continued on, and only after passing Budweis (Ceske Budjovice) did the prisoners experience liberation on May 9, 1945, near Velemin.

SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in Katharina Losikowa, "Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg—Kommando Mittweida," in *Kasematten des Todes* (Moscow, 1996). The following archival collections are also important: ZdL at BA-L, IV 410 AR 3037/66; IV 410 AR-Z 106/68; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg.

The ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1939–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), 1: 117, refers to the Mittweida subcamp.

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NOTES

1. *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch-besetzten Gebieten 1939–1945* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), p. 117.

2. Irena Jeruszka, Warsaw (prisoner no. 55241), report to the author from August 25, 1995.

3. Hana U.F., who used a fake name, was the only Jew in the camp. Her prisoner name is not known. See also ZdL at BA-L, IV 410 AR-Z 106/68, Bd. 1, B 1. 121.

4. Ba-VEB-Bm-KMS, Akten Astra-Werke, Nr. 105, p. 000129, Zusammensetzung der Fertigungen der Astra-Werke für bestirnmte Rüstungsproduktionen.

5. Kurt Ast, report to the author from a former German civil worker at C. Lorenz AG from July 13, 1977.

6. BA-B, Film Nr. 4053, Forderungsnachweis Flo Nr. 802.

7. Kurt Ast, report.
8. Ibid.
9. It was the Pole Maria S. (prisoner no. 55632).
10. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 106/68, Bd. 2, p. 272, testimony by Darinca B. (prisoner no. 55251).
11. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 106/68, Bd. 1, p. 121, testimony by Hana U.F.
12. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 86–87.
13. Irena Jeruszka, report.
14. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 106/68, Bd. 2, pp. 273–274, testimony by Darinca B.
15. Pole Poroska Fedasiuk was shot (prisoner no. 55310).
16. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z, 106/68, Bd. 1, p. 122, testimony by Hana U.F.
17. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 106/68, Bd. 2, p. 278, testimony by Darinca B.
18. Irena Jeruszka, report.

MOCKETHAL-ZATZSCHKE

The destruction of the German fuel production facilities by Allied air force raids in the early summer of 1944 forced the managers of the German armament and war industries to take desperate countermeasures. In connection with the oil safe-guarding plan, underground fuel production facilities were also planned from August 1, 1944, in the Herrenleite and in the Alte Poste, valley walls in the Elbe Sandstone Mountains near Pima. On September 21, 1944, the planned object was named for the first time: "Dachs VIII," a large refinery for producing lubricating oil.¹ In addition, construction of four small distillation plants, which were planned in the Alte Poste under the code name "Ofen," was begun.²

For their expansion, General Commissioner for Immediate Measures Edmund Geilenberg requested from the SS to employ concentration camp prisoners as labor, in addition to the units from the Organisation Todt (OT). Construction management and construction execution would be transferred to the OT, which had requested concentration camp prisoner labor from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The location was designated concretely in a report from October 18, 1944: "Pima—Alte Poste." It would be a production factory of the Deutsche Gasolin AG, from which the planning had also come. The time schedule was: October 19, 1944, begin construction; December 1, 1944, begin the mining work in the rock; February 15, 1945, begin the installation of the tunnels; June 1, 1945, facility ready.³ Prisoner employment at this and similar properties did not result in any finished facilities, but many concentration camp prisoners were senselessly sacrificed for the fanatical survival policies of the Fascist leadership.

On January 10, 1945, the first group of prisoners arrived from the original Flossenbürg camp in Mockethal near Pima. Former prisoner Paul K. testified: "I came with a vanguard of about sixty prisoners to Pima. We had to build a barracks camp for about two thousand prisoners. When we arrived, a makeshift barrack already existed for us. As we began with

the work there was still snow on the ground. The prisoners designated for the camp were to work in the Elbe Sandstone Mountains. Tunnels were there in which factories were housed. The factories needed more people; for this reason the accommodation was expanded.⁴ Among this first group of prisoners, about 100 strong, were 32 Italians, 30 Russians, 13 Poles, 8 Germans, 7 French, 2 Belgians, 2 Bulgarians, 2 Croats, 1 Yugoslav, 1 Czech, and 1 Hungarian.⁵

After the bombing of Dresden, prisoners from the Dresden (Bernsdorf & Co.) subcamp were transferred to Mockethal-Zatzschke on February 14, 1945, followed a few days later by prisoners from the Dresden (Universelle) subcamp.⁶ Former Polish Jewish prisoner Baruch R. testified: "After the large air raid on Dresden, which took place during the night from 12 to 13 February, 1945, the camp inmates were transferred to Pima, and the SS members from Bernsdorf came with us as well. The first group of camp inmates were brought back after about two weeks, the rest were brought to Bernsdorf after approximately ten to fourteen days, but a few weak prisoners stayed in Pima, including my brother Feiusch, who was shot at Pima in an extremely debilitated condition."⁷

In March 1945, several Yugoslavian prisoners arrived from the Flossenbürg/Porschdorf subcamp, as the property there was given up in view of the war situation. On April 13, 1945, 131 prisoners were still recorded as being in the camp, following the strength report. The barracks camp, which contained 8 to 10 barracks and was located in a disused sandpit, had a fence around it and guard towers. Until the end, it remained incomplete. Three women of the Dresden (Universelle) subcamp, who were transferred to Mockethal-Zatzschke, reported:

We were brought to the Zatzschke reserve camp. There were already four hundred prisoners there (men and women, even children). In our barrack rooms there were neither beds nor washing facilities or toilets. Here we also had to sleep on the floor, provided with only a thin blanket. There was also no regard for the ill, they were not even provided with either straw or a bed. The Jewish prisoners did not even have a blanket. In our room an old wagon was just set up, without cover, in which we had to relieve ourselves. In this foul air we had to sleep, as the windows were not allowed to be opened. Even water was allocated to us; we each received a cup of water from which we also had to drink. We also did not receive clothes to change. We were forced to remain in our clothes constantly. It was a picture of horror, to see the emaciated and sick people lying on the floor.⁸

As a result of the unhygienic conditions, the hunger, and the difficult working conditions at the tunnel construction, there is one count of the dead in the camp, primarily from the prisoners who were transferred from Dresden. At least 7 dead from the Mockethal-Zatzschke camp were buried in

the Pirnaer graveyards, and 47 were buried in the graveyard in Lohmen. (The determination of the dead is difficult because Pima was an intermediate stop for several evacuation marches and transports of various concentration camps, from which a number of dead, not precisely known, were buried in the Pirnaer graveyard.)⁹ Several prisoners reported on the fatalities: "Prisoners were always dying in the camp. Several really folded, they became more and more emaciated. Once a German prisoner died, he was buried in the Pima graveyard. All who died there were buried in the graveyard at Pima. Even a priest was there."¹⁰ "As a result of the poor nourishment and lack of medicine many prisoners fell ill and several died every day. They were simply stripped of all their clothes, laid before the barrack windows, and remained lying there for days until several more were added again. Then they were brought to Lohmen for burial, body laid upon body. In the end they did not even bother, but rather simply laid them behind the provisionally constructed lavatory, where, after days, they were burned in the open or buried in neighboring bushes."¹¹

The camp leader responsible until March 1945 was SS-Oberscharführer Plager, afterward, SS-Oberscharführer Erich von Berg, who had already left his mark in the Flossenbürg subcamps at Neurohlau, at Mülsen St. Micheln, and at Dresden (Universelle). In his youth, he belonged to the militaristic Kyffhäuser Jugend, and he joined the SS in 1933. In Mockethal-Zatzschke, 2 SS-Unterführer and 12 SS guards, as well as, temporarily, several female guards (SS-Aufseherinnen), were subordinate to him.¹² For his reign of terror in the camp he used brutal camp elder (Lagersältester) Karl Popowski and the Kapos. Former Italian prisoner Sergio P. testified: "I know that a prisoner, I don't know whether he was German or Austrian, actively worked with the Germans and abused the prisoners. It is highly possible that he killed other prisoners."¹³ Former Polish Jewish prisoner Samuel L. also testified: "The 'camp leader' (camp elder) was an Austrian prisoner. He was terrible. I saw twice how he beat prisoners to death. One prisoner he simply beat under the heart so that he fell over dead. This beaten prisoner was called Rosenblum. We had to work very hard and were hungry." Samuel L. continued, "If prisoners were admitted into the infirmary, an empty room in a barrack, we carried them out dead the next morning. I estimate that twenty-five to thirty men and women died in this way. I can still remember the names of the prisoners Glicksman and Korn. They were both from Łódź."¹⁴ There are several testimonies about another crime committed, however, not against a camp inmate from Mockethal but rather against women on an evacuation march in the Mockethal camp: "I remember that on the morning of April 15, 1945, a barrack, which was occupied by imprisoned female Poles, was cleared. Immediately after the clearing I continued a job that I had started myself in the barrack. Shortly thereafter four imprisoned female Poles came into the barrack who said to me that they were not able to go by foot due to their physical condition. Two soldiers came in; they spoke to each other and went out. Immediately

thereafter one of the two came back into the barrack and with his machine gun killed the four women, one after the other, before my eyes. A young Frenchman and I continued working, full of terror.”¹⁵ Another former prisoner testified: “On the morning before the evacuation from the camp around six to seven women were killed. These women belonged to a group of about one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty, primarily Jewish, who arrived in the camp on the night before and already had hundreds of kilometers behind them. The women spent the night in the camp and on the following morning those who could not go any further were brought to the latrines and killed by the guards, i.e., the old guards (who were older than sixty), who had recently been fetched for this auxiliary service. I saw myself how the women were killed with shots that were fired into the abdomen at the closest distance.”¹⁶

On April 16, 1945, the camp was cleared of most of its prisoners. On May 8, 1945, Soviet troops liberated 45 prisoners in the camp—men and women, those ill who remained behind, and prisoners who had tried to escape but were again apprehended and brought into the camp after the evacuation.

Some of the evacuated prisoners were driven on a foot march to Leitmeritz, whereas the feeble were killed. “I remember,” testified Mario T.,

that during our march due to the transfer to Leitmeritz, a man from Friaul could not go any further as he was at the end of his strength; he went to the side of the street and an SS soldier killed him on the order of the Austrian sergeant.

Later a young man from Valvolciana (close to Görz), threw himself to the side of the street because he was finished, and he was also killed by an SS soldier on the order of the Austrian sergeant, who commanded our column.”¹⁷

The Leitmeritz camp leadership sent the Jewish prisoners to the Theresienstadt ghetto by foot.

Another group of prisoners who had been evacuated from the Mockethal-Zatzschke camp and were not able to march were brought to boats on the Elbe River, on which were already prisoners who had been evacuated from subcamps of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. The number of victims on these boats must have been especially high. Samuel L. testified about this:

I myself could hardly still go at this time, I was totally swollen. I still belonged, however, to the “healthy.” We were brought to the Elbe boats. There, we “healthy” had to care for the sick. The conditions there were indescribable. I remember that Mr. Reingold from Lódz’ died there. He was literally eaten by the lice. I heard that the Elbe boats were subordinate to a special SS detail that had the task of drowning the sick. It did not come to that, however. . . . The transport consisted of three or

four boats. The sick from many camps were gathered on the boats. In front, as well as in back, was a ship with SS. There were also SS guards on every boat. The journey went into the Sudetenland, to the Czech border. There, the SS officer on the boat up front saw that the war was over. In any case he turned around and disappeared. The other SS members also left us. I went down off the boat and fled into Czechoslovakia. The Russians were already there.¹⁸

SOURCES Information on the Mockethal-Zatzschke camp may be found in Hans Brenner, “Eiserne ‘Schwalben’ für das Elbsandsteingebirge: KZ Häftlingsseinsatz zum Aufbau von Treibstoffanlagen in der Endphase des Zweiten Weltkrieges,” *SäHe* 45 (1999): No. 1, 9–16.

The following archival collections are also important: ZdL at BA-L, IV 410 AR-Z 57/68; IV 410 AR-Z 8/76; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg; ASt-Pi, Akten Mockethal-Zatzschke.

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NOTES

1. BA-B, Film 5768, Aktenvermerk v. October 25, 1944, p. 4; see also BA-K, R 3/1907, p. 249.
2. BA-B, Film 5768, Vortragsnotiz für Chef Abt. Min 01 v. October 23, 1944, p. 2.
3. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 8/76, Bd. 2, p. 356.
4. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 8/76, Bd. 2, p. 354, testimony by Paul K. (unknown prisoner; K. was born in Zurich).
5. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 4, p. 99.
6. Chamin Werebejczyk, report to the author from October 2000.
7. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 57/68, p. 159, Testimony by Baruch R. (prisoner no. 38502). The murdered was Feiwus R. (prisoner no. 38503).
8. ASt-Pi, Bericht v. Anneliese M., Mathilde G., and Hedwig K. v. September 18, 1945, p. 1.
9. See also Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus. Eine Dokumentation. ed. BpB, Bonn 1999, Bd. 2, pp. 729–730.
10. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 8/76, Bd. 2, p. 356, testimony by Paul K.
11. ASt-Pi, Bericht. v. September 18, 1945, p. 1.
12. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 86–87.
13. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 8/76, Bd. 2, p. 382, testimony by Sergio R. (prisoner no. 40301).
14. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 57/68, Bd. 2, p. 301, testimony by Samuel L. (prisoner no. 38471).
15. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 8/76, Bd. 2, p. 365, testimony by Mario T. (prisoner no. 40325).
16. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 8/76, Bd. 2, p. 383, testimony by Sergio R. The differences between the two representations lead to the conclusion that they could concern two different killing actions.
17. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 8/76, Bd. 2, p. 365, testimony by Mario T.
18. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 57/68, Bd. 2, p. 302, testimony by Samuel L.

MÜLSEN ST. MICHELN

As with the formation of the Johanngeorgenstadt subcamp in December 1943, the Erla Maschinenwerke GmbH Leipzig (Erla Airplane Works) sought, with the establishment of the Mülsen St. Micheln subcamp in January 1944, to continue the decentralization of its aircraft production in the Leipzig area, which was in danger of air raids.¹

The first group of prisoners arrived at Mülsen from the Buchenwald subcamp Leipzig-Thekla on January 27, 1944.² Erla Maschinenwerke pushed the Flossenbürg command to finish setting up the camp as soon as possible. On March 5, 1944, the detail leader from Mülsen reported to the camp commandant in Flossenbürg about the work and remarked: "On Saturday Mr. Wend from Leipzig was here and visited the common room, which is to be used to accommodate an additional five hundred prisoners who should be transferred here as soon as possible."³

With transports arriving from the Buchenwald camps throughout March and April 1944, the number of prisoners in the Mülsen subcamp had grown to 472 by the end of April.⁴ The prisoners were housed in the basement of the C.H. Gross textile factory, which had been seized for airplane production.

On the night of April 30–May 1, 1944, a fire broke out in this prisoner housing, claiming 198 prisoners as victims. The former camp Kapo, the infamous "green" Georg Weilbach, testified in court that the fire "broke out because of a rebellion by the Russian prisoners, who lit straw sacks on fire." And the rebellion was aimed "against the Polish, Czech, and French fellow prisoners." In addition, he remarked "that during the fire the fliers (Luftwaffe guards) shot into the camp."⁵ The former factory boiler man, however, gave another perspective of the fire in his report:

I was a boiler man for the C.H. Gross company, in which the Erla Maschinenwerke GmbH were set up during the war. Thus I had access to the camp as the boiler room was located in the factory building within the camp area. I could observe a lot and I also knew the SS members and Erla people. . . . Before the fire there had already been an escape of two prisoners. A few days before the fire several new prisoners arrived, maybe thirty or more, among whom were Soviet officers. They supposedly organized the uprising. After the fire, an SS detail came from Flossenbürg. The Soviet prisoners were loaded into trucks, bound together with wire around the neck as they were considered escape risks, and brought to Flossenbürg. Weilbach, the beast, was especially active in the process. Also, a Polish officer, "Staczek," who was manager of the skilled workers' barrack (tailors), was brought to Flossenbürg after the fire due to sabotage. After the fire new prisoners arrived from Flossenbürg.⁶

The reports of the Fighter Staff (Jägerstab) meetings show how shocked the leading powers of the German air arma-

ments were about the uprising in Mülsen. The conclusion that SS-Gruppenführer Hans Kammler came to was especially murderous: "It is because the people have noticed that they are no longer treated hard enough. I let thirty people hang in special treatment. Since they've been hanged, things are somewhat in order again."⁷ Two days later, another Jägerstab meeting concerned itself once again with the Mülsen case. Generalfeldmarschall Erhard Milch asked the question whether what was really wrong at Erla had been clarified. The remark by Albert Speer's representative Karl Otto Saur—"This has to be closely scrutinized. A clarification about the weak leadership at Erla must come from the main or special committee"—shows what particular roles the committees of the "personal responsibility of the industry" played in influencing the armament industry, including the employment of the concentration camp prisoners.⁸

Residents of Mülsen reported on the fire and the victims among the prisoners:

As the doors were opened, a mountain of bodies and unconscious people laid behind them. Many could have been saved, but the gendarmerie and the military had blocked off the entire factory premises, only a few were allowed in. . . . The prisoners, lying on the ground, some unconscious from the smoke, died in the water, which was quickly half a meter [almost 20 inches] high. After around three hours of conflagration a large section of the roof collapsed, burying fire and people underneath. From around 600 prisoners, 189 dead were counted the next day, and another 9 died on the following days from their injuries and fire wounds. . . . The selfless rescue work of several firemen and local residents, who despite all dangers broke off the window bars at two places and thus saved over thirty prisoners, is especially to be emphasized. A Polish doctor entered the basement and carried the unconscious to the window, where a fireman from Mülsen St. Niclas took over in order to bring them out. Unfortunately, out of fear of the prisoners the guard units prevented the firemen and the Polish doctor from continuing their work.⁹

Prisoners selected by a commission of SS officers were transported to the original Flossenbürg camp and killed there. "About sixty men of those who started the fire were brought back to Flossenbürg. As these sixty arrived in Flossenbürg, I was still there and saw myself how every one of these people had to carry a heavy stone while being beaten by several fellow prisoners with cables and water hoses. That was shortly before I was transferred to Mülsen. That was in May 1944."¹⁰ Toni Siegert writes that the suspected ring-leaders from Mülsen, at least 40, were executed in the detention building at Flossenbürg between June and September 1944. In order to compensate for lost labor, 712 prisoners from the Flossenbürg camp and the Buchenwald subcamp

Leipzig-Thekla were brought to Mülsen in five transports by the end of 1944.¹¹ In a strength report from January 31, 1945, 800 prisoners were reported in the camp; on February 28, 775 prisoners; on March 31, 809 prisoners; and on April 13, 1945, 787 prisoners.¹²

A table of the transports to and from Mülsen reveals that 1,424 prisoners were brought to the camp and 462 were transferred out again.¹³ But instead of having the number of prisoners resulting in 962, only around 700 started the evacuation march on April 14, 1945. The SS killed 51 prisoners before the beginning of the death march and had them buried in a plot of forest near Mülsen.

Due to the constant change in composition, the breakdown by nationality of the Mülsen subcamp can only be precisely determined at two points in time:¹⁴

Nationality	February 28, 1945	March 31, 1945
Russian	331	325
Polish	256	281
Italian	67	67
French	57	54
German	21	22
Czech	20	19
Hungarian	—	12
Slovak	1	11
Belgian	7	7
Norwegian	4	—
Yugoslav, Croat, Lithuanian, each	3	3
Arab, Argentinean, each	1	1

Jewish prisoners only arrived in the camp with two evacuation groups on March 15 and 16, 1945.

The employment of the prisoners took place on the orders of the Jägerstab, with a 72-hour week of rotating 12-hour day and night shifts. In the framework of decentralization, in which the manufacturing of the Messerschmitt fighter plane Me 109, which was built under license by Erla Maschinenwerke, was distributed among several moving factories, only the wings were produced by the prisoners at Mülsen. This specialization meant a rationalization of the manufacturing process and thus higher productivity, which went together with a brutal slave-driving system. Not only the SS guards and Kapos but also some of the Erla personnel constantly drove the prisoners at work. Erla production engineer Pallitza, who personally beat prisoners to the ground with iron bars, especially distinguished himself by abusing prisoners.¹⁵

In contrast, several Germans helped the prisoners, like the foreman of the electric workshop, Paul Lamer, and boiler man Fritz Pietsch, about whom the former Czech prisoner Dr. Jan Vařeka reported: "The company boiler man Max [sic] Pietsch was very willing to help us prisoners. He let us bathe in the boiler room, gave us food, and supplied us with news."¹⁶

According to claim proofs of the Flossenbürg command, Erla paid 398,945.60 Reichsmark (RM) between February and September 1944 for prisoners working in Mülsen.¹⁷ This represented only a minor fraction of the production costs. The prisoners, who like slaves had to perform this production work—the penalty for refusing to work was death—with completely inadequate food, miserable hygienic conditions, and without any rights, received nothing for their work. The Erla Maschinenwerke could thus pocket millions.

The SS camp leaders (Lagerführer) were primarily responsible for the crimes committed against the prisoners in the camp. From the establishment of the camp, it was SS-Hauptscharführer Johann Baptist Kübler, who was replaced after the fire in May 1944. He had already been employed in the Flossenbürg Krondorf and Pottenstein subcamps and also served temporarily as roll-call leader in the Flossenbürg main camp, then as detail leader at the Flossenbürg Zschachwitz subcamp until it was closed in April 1945. Among the prisoners, Kübler was considered a brutal thug lacking self-control. In 1957, he was sentenced to five years in prison. Another criminal worked concurrently with him in Mülsen: the head Kapo of the stone-breaking detail, Georg Weilbach, who was known as a serial murderer in Flossenbürg. After him, the SS brought another criminal "green" prisoner as camp elder (Lagerältester) from the main camp to Mülsen, Walter Schroff, infamous for his brutality when he was Kapo of the canal building detail. Kübler's successor was SS-Oberscharführer Erich von Berg, who was relieved by SS-Untersturmführer Georg Wilhelm Degner in the fall of 1944. Degner carries partial responsibility for the deaths in the Mülsen subcamp from the fall of 1944 through its closure in April 1945. He did not have to atone for his guilt of the murder of over 100 prisoners during the evacuation march to Leitmeritz. He passed responsibility onto his subordinates. The court acquitted him.¹⁸

In addition to several SS-Unterführer and SS guards, the guarding of the camp was carried out primarily by Luftwaffe soldiers and noncommissioned officers who had been detailed to the SS. Five Unterführer and 40 guards were subordinate to Degner.¹⁹

The evacuation of the prisoners by foot toward Erzgebirgskamm began on April 14, 1945. This information and details about the murder of 83 prisoners on a sports field in Schlema comes from the testimony of former Slovakian Jewish prisoner Josef W.: "I was evacuated from the Auschwitz camp on January 18, 1945. As a driver always under SS watch, I traveled for about six weeks through various towns and cities until I was delivered into the Mülsen camp. . . . The Mülsen camp was evacuated approximately in the middle of April 1945. On a Sunday, in the morning, we all left—guard unit, camp leader, prisoners—the Mülsen camp." Josef W. testified further about the events in Schlema:

At midday we came to a soccer field in a town, of which I did not know the name. I saw in the town, however, a sign, which showed the direction to Aue. After about a one-hour rest on the soccer field the

camp leader asked those prisoners who were already not able to march further to step out. He said that they would be given over to the Allies. I would estimate the number of prisoners, who stepped out of the column because they could not march, at about one hundred. I saw that afterward the camp leader discussed something with the Scharführer, his deputy, something I could not hear. The Scharführer then came to me and ordered me to step out of the column. He also ordered another three prisoners to step out of the column. The other three prisoners were: Otto P., Jakob S., and Zoltan Z. The Scharführer told us that we—the four prisoners—would give those prisoners unable to march over to the Americans. Under the direction of the camp leader the column left the soccer field. After the column had marched away, the Scharführer, who had stayed behind with three other Luftwaffe soldiers, went into town. After about an hour the Scharführer came back with four or five civilians who brought with them platforms pulled by tractors. During the time that the Scharführer was in town the three Luftwaffe soldiers guarded us. The civilians—armed with weapons across their shoulders—encircled the group of around one hundred prisoners. The Scharführer then ordered that these prisoners should lie on their stomachs and cover themselves with their blankets. On the order of the Scharführer the three Luftwaffe soldiers went among the rows of the prisoners lying on their stomachs and shot them with their automatic weapons [Schmeiser]. The Scharführer also went through the rows and when he saw a prisoner still living he shot him with his revolver.²⁰

Dr. Vařeka also reported on the evacuation:

It took place on April 14, 1945, around 10 a.m. as a foot march toward Ortmannsdorf. The “Muselmannen” [ill prisoners] were deceived with the fictitious comment “You will be brought to the train station with vehicles and from there transported on.” They were then shot, as I later learned. On our evacuation march until a town in the mountains there were many shootings. From a train station we were transported by train to Aussig, where the transport remained stopped during a bombardment. The SS guards fled, we prisoners stayed in the cars. The train transport could not continue, however. We marched to Leitmeritz [Litoměřice]. After three days in “Richard” we were again loaded into cars and transported to Prague-Bubenec via Kralupy and Rostocky, in a long train with many cars containing male and female prisoners. We were guarded by Vlassov soldiers. At Prague-Bubenec we were partially freed by Czechs, could flee, and were hidden and cared for with the help of doctors.²¹

The other prisoners in this transport were not freed until May 9, 1945, in southern Bohemia near Velemin.

SOURCES Information on the Mülsen St. Micheln camp may be found in Hans Brenner, “Der Mord auf dem Sportplatz in Schlema,” *ErzHei* 19.2 (1998): 4–7; see also Toni Siegert, “Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg: Gegründet für sogenannte Asoziale und Kriminelle,” in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit: Herrschaft und Gesellschaft im Konflikt*, Tei1 A, Bd. 2, ed. Martin Broszat and Eike Fröhlich (Vienna: Oldenbourg-Verl., 1979). Information is also available in Dietrich Eichholtz, *Geschichte der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945* (Berlin: Akademie, 1996), 3:169.

The following archival collections are important: Zdl at BA-L, IV 410 AR 3174/66; IV 410 AR-Z 2/70; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg.

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NOTES

1. See Dietrich Eichholtz, *Geschichte der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945* (Berlin: Akademie, 1996), 3:169.
2. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 2/70, Bd.2, p. 128, tables of transports to and from Mülsen.
3. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 17–18.
4. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 2/70, Bd.2, p. 128, tables.
5. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 2/70, Bd.2, p. 133 (12).
6. Fritz Pietzsch, report to the author from April 3, 1978.
7. IMT, Nürnberger Prozess, Dok. Nr. NOKW-389, Auszug aus dem Protokoll der Jägerstab-Besprechung im Reichsluftfahrtministerium am May 2, 1944.
8. BA-B, Film 390/538, Fall II, Milch-Prozess, Aufn.-Nr. 88.
9. M. Reinhold, “Niederschrift über die Brandkatastrophe in Mülsen St. Micheln am 1. May 1944.” Copy in possession of the author.
10. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 2/70, Bd.2, p. 137, statement by the former Ukrainian prisoner Josef. W. Actually 131 prisoners were brought to Flossenbürg from Mülsen on May 13, 1944, 53 of whom were shot in the bunker at Flossenbürg.
11. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 2/70, Bd.2, p. 128, tables.
12. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, B1. 70/71; BA-B, Film 14430, p. 1264.
13. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 2/70, Bd.2, p. 128, tables.
14. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 4, p. 100.
15. See Reinhold, “Niederschrift,” p. 4.
16. Dr. Jan Vařeka, report to the author from August 1, 1978.
17. BA-P, Film W. 30.18/1.
18. ZdL, IV 410 AR-z 2170, Bd. 1.
19. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 86–87.
20. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 2170, Bd.2, pp. 207–208.
21. Dr. Jan Vařeka, report to the author from August 1, 1978.

NEUROHLAU

Neurohlau (Nová Role), one of the earliest Flossenbürg sub-camps, was established close to the west Bohemian town of

Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary) in what is today the Czech Republic. From the end of 1942 until the end of the war, over 1,000 women and, on average, 60 men were forced to work in Neurohlau in a porcelain factory, knitting mill, construction detachment, and an armaments firm.

The porcelain firm Bohemia—Keramische Werke AG in Neurohlau had fallen into economic difficulties. Following the annexation of the Sudetenland by Germany, the firm was taken over by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amtsgruppe W: Commercial Undertakings (Wirtschaftliche Unternehmungen), Amt WI: Stone and Soil (Steine und Erden) (Reich). Once it was taken over by the SS, it produced mostly canteen cutlery for the Wehrmacht. The monthly report for March 1942 complained that “the Bohemia factory . . . is at the limits of its production capacity due to the shortage of workers and coal.”¹

The order to establish a subcamp at Neurohlau for men and women followed on October 27, 1942.² The first indication of the male camp is to be found in a strength report dated December 7, 1942, with a reference to 40 prisoners. The report is held in the archives of the International Tracing Service (ITS).³ The detachment was reinforced in December 1942 with 18 prisoners from the Flossenbürg subcamp at Krondorf and again in April 1943 when its numbers increased to 110. The numbers then began to wane, reaching 30 prisoners in the autumn of 1943. The male detachment was used largely in the construction of the camp.

The first strength report from the Neurohlau female camp is from January 6, 1943, and refers to 50 female prisoners. The prisoners came from the female camp at Ravensbrück, which administered Neurohlau until August 31, 1944, even though, in terms of the work, it was already responsible to Flossenbürg.⁴

The real expansion of the prison camp began in the summer of 1943. It was located to the northwest of the Bohemia factory grounds. The camp comprised a guards' barracks, a female block leaders' barracks, five accommodation barracks, two auxiliary barracks, a wash barracks, two toilet barracks, an oil tower, a purification plant, an electric fence, four watchtowers, and a water supply and drainage system. The accommodation barracks had neither electricity nor water supply. The prison camp was handed over in the autumn of 1943 to the Bohemia factory, which was to complete construction and take over the costs.

As the production of armaments increased, Bohemia was given the order to make available empty rooms and unused facilities for armaments purposes. So Bohemia began its life as an armaments producer. The Messerschmitt factory granted it a large contract to produce switchgears for the Me 109 and Me 262. Bohemia set aside 200 workers for this purpose.

The first commander at Neurohlau was SS-Hauptscharführer Kurt Schreiber. His successors were, from the beginning of 1943, SS-Master Sergeant Willibald Richter and, from the middle of 1943, Erich von Berg.⁵ Von Berg was replaced by SS-Sturmscharführer Düren. The last commander was SS-Sturmscharführer Bock.⁶

The Neurohlau subcamp was visited by Minister for Bohemia and Moravia Karl Hermann Frank on August 11, 1944. At this point there were 575 female and 59 male prisoners in Neurohlau, who were guarded by 26 SS men and 8 female wardens. Close to the subcamp was a camp with Russian prisoners of war (POWs). The camp was within sight and calling range of the women in Neurohlau. This was the subject of criticism in Frank's report, and a strengthening of the SS guard was ordered.⁷

The number of female wardens increased to 20 in October; 9 of them came from Ravensbrück and 2 from the Flossenbürg subcamp at Holleischen, where a further 9 completed a training course.

The director of Bohemia was Heinrich Hechtfischer, who was arrested on October 3, 1945, in Karlsbad and sentenced to death by the Extraordinary People's Court in Eger (Cheb) on February 15, 1947.

While the number of prisoners in the male camp remained relatively low with an average of 60, the numbers increased quickly in the female camp to about 600 prisoners. Following the evacuation of Ravensbrück and its subcamps shortly before the end of the war, the numbers of female prisoners at Neurohlau increased to over 1,000. The composition of the various nationalities is revealed in a summary of February 28, 1945.⁸ The male prisoners included 24 Germans, 1 Albanian, 1 Belgian, 1 Bulgarian, 3 French, 1 Italian, 23 Poles, 5 Russians, and 5 Czechs (for a total of 64 prisoners). The female prisoners included 109 Germans, 1 French, 2 Italians, 34 Yugoslavs, 194 Poles, 204 Russians, 1 Swiss, 10 Czechs, and 1 stateless woman (for a total of 556 prisoners).

According to several witness statements, female prisoners were whipped mercilessly for the slightest infringement. The last camp commander, Bock, is said to have excelled in gruesome excesses: “Bock was not a refined person and personally beat the female prisoners, especially the Russians. He often ordered roll call and in winter when there was a strong frost he left us standing for a long time. During the strong frost he ordered the cleaning of the latrines and the pottery shards that had been thrown into the latrines had to be cleaned in cold water.”⁹

There were other punishments—for example, isolation in windowless bunkers. The commander Düren is said to have sexually molested the prisoners. Since there was no work in Bohemia on Saturday afternoon and Sunday, on these days the prisoners were forced to do useless tasks.

Food was very poor, consisting only of cabbage-turnip soup and bread. The prisoners were sporadically able to receive food packages from home, which helped them to survive. A kiosk was established in the factory where so-called premium slips could be exchanged by the prisoners to buy fruit, sour gherkins, and toiletries. There was no infirmary in the Neurohlau camp, and the sick prisoners were sent back to Flossenbürg. Deceased prisoners were buried at the camp's nearby cemetery. The corpses were exhumed in 1945, and 48 were reburied at the local Neurohlau cemetery. There are no definitive figures on the total number of prisoners who died in Neurohlau.¹⁰

The last Flossenbürg strength report dated April 13, 1945, refers to 61 males and 1,047 females in the camp.

On Tuesday, April 17, 1945, an evacuation transport from the Flossenbürg subcamp at Johanngeorgenstadt arrived at the railway station in Neurohlau with 800 male prisoners. The train could not travel any further because the rail lines had been bombed. The commander of Neurohlau, Bock, refused to accept the prisoners, who had to remain on the train during the night of April 19–20, 1945. They were then marched in the direction of Karlsbad. During this time, 60 prisoners died on the railway premises. They were buried by Neurohlau prisoners at the camp cemetery. Seven of the burial party compiled a report on May 10, 1945, in which they accused SS-Rottenführer Riess of shooting 3 prisoners from the Johanngeorgenstadt transport pursuant to an order by Bock. They were shot in the head and left lying on the ground. The report also states that 3 women from a transport from the Flossenbürg subcamp Zwodau were buried in the camp cemetery. They died the day after they arrived in Neurohlau.¹¹

The Neurohlau camp was evacuated on April 20, 1945, and the prisoners were sent in two groups on a death march. Many exhausted women collapsed during the march and were shot and buried on the spot. A number managed to escape. The remaining prisoners were released shortly before the arrival of the Americans.¹²

SOURCES There is little reference in the research literature to the Neurohlau subcamp despite its size and long period of existence. The most extensive details are to be found in the essays by Hans Brenner, "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," in *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente* (1999), ed. Miroslav Kárný and Raimund Kemper 1999 (Prague: Academia Verlag, 1999), pp. 263–295; and by Jörg Skribeleit, "Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 196–217. Václav Jiřík has published extracts from the Extraordinary People's Court trial of those responsible in Neurohlau in *Nedaleko od Norimberku: Z dějin Mimořádného lidového soudu v Chebu v letech 1946 až 1948* (Cheb: Svet kridel, 2000). Walter Naasner has written about the Bohemia Porcelain Factory under SS administration in *SS-Wirtschaft und SS-Verwaltung: Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen und weitere Dokumente* (Schriften des Bundesarchivs, 45a) (Düsseldorf, 1998).

The main sources for information on the Neurohlau subcamp are the investigation files of the ZdL at BA-L in Ludwigsburg Collection IV 410 AR 721/73 and AR 174/76 and those in the BA Collection NS4/FL of the Administrative Files of the Flossenbürg Concentration Camp. The files of the SS-owned Bohemia—Keramische Werke AG are held in the BA Collection NS3/1347. Transfer lists between Flossenbürg and Neurohlau are located in the CEGESOMA, Ministère des Affaires Sociales, de la Santé Publique et de l'Environnement, Brüssels, Microfilm Nr. 14368. The SÚA in Prague holds important SS documents from the last stages of the Neurohlau camp in Collection NSM, Sign. 110-4-88. Postwar Czechoslovak documents are in the same archive,

Collection OVS, Inv. c. 83, Carton 163. In SOA in Plzeň are the trial files of the Extraordinary People's Court and Eger Collection MLS.

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NOTES

1. BA, NS3/1347, p. 199.
2. BA, Construction Command of Office CV, Central Building Inspectorate, to Building Inspectorate Waffen-SS and Police Flossenbürg, October 27, 1942, Collection former ZdL, KZ Hafta. Flossenbürg, Nr. 1.
3. ITS, Collected Files Flossenbürg, copy from Toni Siegert Collection in the AG-F.
4. ZdL in BA-L, AR 721/73.
5. ZdL, NS 4/FL-392, Labor Allocation of the Work Leader Flossenbürg Concentration Camp, December 9, 1942, February 17, 1943, and June 25, 1943.
6. ZdL, AR 174/76.
7. SÚA, KT OVS-110/9/12.
8. "Summary of Nationalities and Races of Male Prisoners in the Subcamps of the Flossenbürg Concentration Camp as of 28 February 1945," SÚA, NSM, Sign. 110-4-88.
9. ZdL, AR 174/76, statement of the former prisoner A.K.
10. SÚA, OVS, Inv. c. 83, Carton 163, report of the Státní národní bezpečnosti Chodov from May 15, 1946.
11. SOA Plzeň, trial files of the Extraordinary People's Court in Eger, MLS 3/47, Karton 92, Hechtfischer, Jindřich.
12. ZdL, AR 174/76, record of interview of the former prisoner W.K.

NOSSEN-ROSSWEIN

The Nossen subcamp was established on November 5, 1944. The SS-Führungsstab B 5 emerged as the first employing institution, whose actual task, as part of the SS special construction organization of SS-General Hans Kammler, consisted of expanding the underground production sites for the tank motor works of the Auto Union AG in Leitmeritz.¹ The connection with the company Nowa-Gesellschaft Nossen, which later emerged as a firm employing prisoners, and Ebro Works Rosswein possibly lies in the fact that the manufacturing of casting parts by prisoners in the foundry E. Broer in Rosswein needed to be established in the underground production sites of the Elsabe AG (the code name for the underground tank motor factory of Auto Union in Leitmeritz), starting in October 1944, and that this was also to take place under the direction of the SS-Führungsstab B 5.²

The Ebro Works—the code name for the E. Broer foundry—was, after the successful transference of the company back from Amsterdam in 1944, installed in a closed-down steel foundry in Rosswein, where it produced aluminum castings and other cast-metal products. A former prisoner testified: "From the camp [Nossen] we traveled every day by train—about an hour and a half—to a factory, where we had to cast various forms from lead. SS members escorted us to this factory, where ethnic Germans were our foremen."³

The Nowa-Gesellschaft, which had been founded by former aircraft captain and Oberstleutnant Warsitz, established its manufacturing sites in the former mill of the historic Alt-zella monastery near Nossen. The type of production that was planned is not exactly known. The personnel manager was the SS leader Hellmuth Woelke, who came from Zinnowitz near Peenemünde. Whether this company was brought into the V-2 production operation before its transfer from Antwerp, and was then to continue this in Nossen, has not been clarified.⁴

The prisoners arrived initially in several small transports from the Flossenbürg main camp. After the arrival of a transport of 142 prisoners from the Sachsenhausen subcamp of Lieberose on January 27, 1945, the number of prisoners had increased to 482, among them 90 Jews.⁵ Due to many fatalities, the number of prisoners continually declined. On February 28, 1945, there were still 471 prisoners; on March 31, 1945, 445; and the strength report of April 13, 1945, recorded only 419.⁶ The strength report for Nossen from April 2, 1945, alone provides evidence of 6 deaths.⁷ The names are known of 86 dead prisoners from the Nossen-Rosswein subcamp who were buried in a mass grave at the Nossen cemetery.⁸ An additional 20 to 25 prisoners were cremated in the Meissen crematorium. The realization that actually 1 in 5 prisoners of the Nossen-Rosswein subcamp lost their lives in the camp's relatively short existence leads to the conclusion that conditions in this camp must have been inhumane to an extreme degree. On the one hand, the brutal actions of the SS guard personnel and the Kapos against the prisoners must be mentioned, which in many cases led to their deaths. On this Abram I. testified: "I cannot remember individual cases. But I know that the SS beat many prisoners in the camp so severely that many of them died. The prisoners were mainly beaten at roll call in the morning or the evening. I myself dragged prisoners who had been beaten to death out of the camp where they were buried. We were permitted to leave the camp to bury the dead prisoners, but always under the supervision of the SS."⁹ Eyewitnesses from Nossen also reported on the abuse of the prisoners, like the truck driver Herfurth, who entered the camp as a driver of one of the trucks used by the Nowa-Gesellschaft and could observe the events taking place there: "One prisoner, who took three potatoes because he was hungry, was beaten with them by the Kapo Münch, who had wrapped them up in a towel. Afterwards the Kapo gave the prisoner a kick in the stomach. The abused person died."¹⁰

The prisoner population at the Nossen subcamp was composed of the following nationalities:¹¹

Nationality	February 28, 1945	March 31, 1945
Poles	207	198
Russians (Soviet citizens)	138	135
Germans	30	29
Croats	27	3
Hungarians	16	13
Czechs	14	10

Italians	11	9
Frenchmen	9	8
Greeks	8	—
Yugoslavs	4	4
Bulgarians	2	2
Belgians,		
Lithuanians,		
Romanians	1 each	1 each
Slovaks, Dutchmen	1 each	—

On the other hand, undernourishment and illnesses resulting from the initial completely inadequate accommodations also led to the death of prisoners. At the beginning, some of the prisoners were housed in the basement of the monastery mill, some 200 prisoners in an area only 8×12 meters (26×39 feet). There was water in this basement, and the prisoners had to sleep on soaking-wet straw. Another 60 prisoners had only pitched tents in the gardens of the monastery as sleeping quarters into November 1944. Only following an inspection conducted by the then-SS camp doctor, Dr. Schmitz, was there a change at Nossen. A camp composed of five barracks was built on a valley slope, surrounded with the customary barbed-wire fence and guard towers.

The SS leaders in charge at the Nossen subcamp were SS noncommissioned officers (Unterführer) Bosch and, later, Wetterau.¹² A witness reported about Bosch: "The absolute ruler in the camp was certainly Bosch, about twenty-five years old, whose accessory was the riding whip. His principle was that 'every day twelve must die!' He tormented the prisoners by exercising them with the orders 'cap on!' and 'cap off!' Those who did not obey immediately, he beat in the face with his riding whip. The dead were thrown into the meat wagon and brought to the graveyard."¹³

On February 28, 1945, the guard unit of the camp consisted of 7 SS-Unterführer and 46 SS guards.¹⁴ Several "greens," who had come from the Flossenbürg main camp, were installed as Kapos at Nossen and served as henchmen for the SS camp leadership, such as the head Kapo, Fritz Nass, and the Kapos Lorenz Bohnenfeld, Rudolf Gehring, and another named Münch. Gehring was sentenced to four years and six months in prison by the district court in Bayreuth for murdering Jewish prisoners.¹⁵ On the evacuation march that began on April 13, 1945, and headed toward Erzgebirgskamm through the eastern Erzgebirge Mountains, at least 50 to 60 prisoners died before reaching the Saxon border. A few succeeded in escaping. On the arrival of the column at the Flossenbürg Leitmeritz subcamp on April 25, 1945, only 39 prisoners of the Nossen-Rosswein subcamp were registered.¹⁶ The Jewish prisoners were sent on to the Theresienstadt (Terezín) ghetto, where, however, only 10 names from the Nossen detail appear on the list of admitted prisoners.¹⁷ The actual number of victims would be difficult to determine now, as a postwar missing persons report demonstrates.¹⁸

SOURCES There are no publications specifically devoted to the history of the Nossen-Rosswein subcamp. Relevant

documentation can be found in the following archives: ZdL at BA-L (IV 410 AR 3176/66; IV 410 AR-Z 105/68); ITS (Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg); and ASt-Ns (Akten KZ-Kommando).

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NOTES

1. BA-B, Film 14430, p. 1270: demand for payment (Forderungsnachweis) Flo Nr. 763 for December 1944.
2. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 3, p. 39: demand for payment (Forderungsnachweis) Flo Nr. 918 for February 1945.
3. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 105/68, p. 149: testimony of the former Polish Jewish political prisoner Abram I. (no. 45161).
4. Stadtarchiv Nossen, Akte 7, Nachlass Berger. See also extracts from the notes of the former mayor of Nossen, D. Karl Schwarze, in the possession of Gerhard Steinecke in Meissen.
5. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 3, p. 23: letter of the Kommandantur Flossenbürg to the work camp Nossen, March 27, 1945; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53: strength report, January 31, 1945.
6. Ibid., Nr. 10, pp. 70–71, 86–87; BA-B, Film 41820, p. 1264: strength report, April 13, 1945.
7. BA-B, Film 41820, Frame Nos. 787–791.
8. Stadtarchiv Nossen, death list of the concentration camp prisoner detail from January 25 to April 14, 1945. The priest from Nossen is to be thanked, as he recorded the names despite the threats of the SS camp commander. The list is not complete, however.
9. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 105/68, p. 149: testimony of Abram I.
10. Stadtarchiv Nossen, Akte 7, Nachlass Berger.
11. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 4, p. 101.
12. BA-B, Film 14430, p. 1264.
13. Gottfried Nolting, report to Gerhard Steinecke, former director of the Heimatmuseum Nossen. A copy is in the possession of the author.
14. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 70–71.
15. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 105/68.
16. Miroslava Benešová, "Koncentrační tábor v Litoměřicích a jeho vězňove," in *Koncentrační Tábor Litoměřice. Příspěvky z mezinárodní konference v Terezíně, konané 15.–17. listopadu 1994* (Terezín, 1995), appendix, table 1, p. 24.
17. Marek Poloncarz, "Die Evakuierungstransporte nach Theresienstadt (April–May 1945)," in *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente* (1999), ed. Miroslav Kárný and Raimund Kempner (Prague: Academia, 1999), p. 255.
18. DOW, Nr. 2468: death certificate issued by the LG-ZRS Vienna for Johann Graf, November 13, 1955. Graf was prisoner no. 32281 in the Nossen subcamp. His death is not recorded in available SS documents.

NÜRNBERG (SIEMENS-SCHUCKERT WERKE)

The subcamp in the Siemens-Schuckert Werke (Siemens Schuckert Works, Inc., SSW) was the only subcamp in a Nürnberg industrial facility, existing from October 18, 1944, to March 6, 1945.¹ It was the only Nürnberg subcamp that held Jewish women as forced laborers. The 550 women and girls, aged between 14 and 40, originated from Hungary. They had

been chosen in the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp by representatives of the company and transported to Nürnberg in railway cattle trucks, with completely inadequate food and packed together like sardines.² There are two Auschwitz transport lists that include the functions of 580 Jewish women as well as 13 female prisoner-functionaries, but in the Flossenbürg Numbers Books (*Nummernbücher*), there are only 550 prisoners registered in Nürnberg.³ The missing 43 women and girls were either not accepted by Nürnberg or died during the transport. In the middle of January 1945, the SS transported a prisoner nurse from the Flossenbürg Neurohlau subcamp to Nürnberg.⁴

Siemens-Schuckert was established in Katzwanger Strasse opposite the main entrance of the southern cemetery. It was a barracks camp fenced in with barbed wire. Some of the women worked there. A small group of the women worked in the company's Trafo- und Zählerwerk and were taken there part of the way in a special tram car and marched on foot the rest of the way. These factories were located in the south of Nürnberg. More than 200 of the prisoners did not work and remained in the barracks. The women who were ill, poorly nourished, and untrained had to shift heavy iron pieces or remove rust from metal. After a period of training, many worked on the production lines. However, the lack of protective clothing resulted in burns and work accidents. The women wore old clothes and coats with prisoner numbers. Mostly, they had no underwear and often no shoes. They had to survive the winter of 1944–1945 in their barracks with only a blanket.⁵ In the camp, the usual punishments were to beat the prisoners, to have them kneel for hours on the floor, and to cut their hair. Roll calls were used as a punitive measure, and the prisoners were subject to the arbitrary acts of the wardresses. The commander of the camp was SS-Oberscharführer Theodor St. Mont, who was in charge of 10 armed SS men. The female guards were supposed to be provided by Siemens Schuckert. The company management recruited women who after a four-week training course were deployed as guards in the Holleischen subcamp.⁶

From the company's side, Dr. Knott, the director of the Nürnberg factory, and Dr. Georg Grieshammer, the company's official negotiator, were in charge. After 1945, both denied any responsibility for the poor conditions in the camp and the factory.⁷ However, Dr. Grieshammer had negotiated with the camp commander in Nürnberg, Koegel, and it was probably Dr. Grieshammer who, with other members of the company, chose the prisoners in Auschwitz. The use of foreign labor was within the area of responsibility of Dr. Grieshammer, as was their accommodation and care.⁸

Investigations during the Nuremberg Trials and later by the Germans in the 1970s did not reveal any deaths in the camp or other prosecutable offenses. It is known, however, that three prisoners died in the subcamp, as the Flossenbürg Numbers Books list the deaths of Rosa Kuhan, Bertha Katz, and Helen Klein.⁹ Klein's ashes, together with those of six other female concentration camp dead, were buried in the Nürnberg Western Cemetery. Five of them are listed in the cemetery files as "unknown Hungarian Jewesses" ("unbek. Ung. Jüdin"), and one of them has probably been given the incorrect name of "Koschi Kochau."¹⁰

The causes of death remain unclear—it is possible that there is a connection with shots fired on female prisoners trying to steal potatoes, and it is also possible that the deaths had to do with bombing raids on Nürnberg.

The Nürnberg camp in Katzwanger Strasse was destroyed during a bombing raid at the end of February 1945, and the prisoners were transferred to the Zeltner Strasse School, close to the main railway station and the Siemens head office. The women and the girls were used there to remove rubble—two of the three dead in the Numbers Books died during this period.

The Nürnberg 13a Zeltner School Subcamp (Aussenarbeitslager Nürnberg 13a Zeltnerschule)¹¹ was for a fortnight a Flossenbürg subcamp, a transit station for prisoners. On March 3, in chaotic conditions during an air raid, 146 prisoners were taken to the Flossenbürg Holleischen (Holyšov) subcamp and 144 to the Flossenbürg Mehltheuer subcamp. Another transport followed on March 5, with 259 prisoners being sent to Holleischen. The transport in open rail coal cars was sheer torture and resulted in some cases of frostbite. The two subcamps were liberated in the middle of April/beginning of May without the planned death marches taking place.

Despite the preparatory investigations during the Nuremberg Trials and at the beginning of the 1960s, the history of the Siemens-Schuckert Werke subcamp had no noteworthy consequences for those responsible, and the firm's history gives a harmless picture of the camp. As a result of negotiations by the Jewish Claims Conference and several German firms, a few of the women received financial compensation from Siemens at the beginning of the 1960s.

Forced labor and the Siemens-Schuckert Werke subcamp in Nürnberg were only focused on in the 1980s. The site of the subcamp on Katzwanger Strasse is presently the site of houses. There is no memorial. The graves of the seven dead were relocated in 1960 to the Cemetery of Honor at the Flossenbürg Memorial.

SOURCES The following published works contain information on the Nürnberg Siemens-Schuckert Werke camp: Alexander Schmidt, "Eine unauffällige Geschichte: KZ-Aussenlager in der Region Nürnberg," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 166–169; Margaret Marketa Novak, "One Left... Just One." *A Child's Point of View of the Holocaust* (Los Angeles: Margaret Marketa Novak, 2002), pp. 70–82.

Records pertaining to this camp may be found in BA-L, AG-F, BA-B, CEGESOMA, StA-N, and NARA.

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NOTES

1. ZdL at BA-L, IV 410 AR-Z 94/1970; BA-B, NS 4/FL-393/2 (Forderungsnachweis für Oktober 1944); BA-B, NS 4/FL-349 (Mitteilung der Auflösung vom 9.3.1945).

2. AG-F, interviews with two prisoner eyewitnesses, Suzanne Perl and Eva Keszler.

3. NARA, Microfilm FC 6280 (Transportliste Auschwitz II-Birkenau-Nürnberg von 550 Jüdinnen [with 580 names]

and Transportliste Auschwitz II-Birkenau-Nürnberg with the names of 13 prisoner-functionaries); Nummernbücher des KZ Flossenbürg Nr. 55741-56290, NARA, Washington, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537 (Microfilmkopie im AG-F).

4. CEGESOMA, Brüssels, Film 14368 (Übersand Stoffnummer nach Nürnberg, January 1, 1945), Häftlingsnummer 59953.

5. For the camp conditions, see the numerous statements by prisoners and medical orderlies in ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 94/1970; Eidesstattliche Versicherung von Malvine Schwarz und Eva Kellerman (AGFl, Hängeregistratur, Sammlung Siegert); StA-N, Staatsanwaltschaft b.d. Oberlandesgericht Nürnberg Nr. 778; StA-N, KV-Anklage Interrogations Nr. F-81, H-138; StA-N, F 14 Nr. 26.

6. ZdL, 410 AR-Z 94/1970, S. 16–16a. NARA, U.S. v Friedrich Becker et al., 000-50-46, Microfilm FC 6280 (Aussagen von Aufseherinnen, Mikrofilmkopie im Archiv der Gedenkstätte Flossenbürg).

7. StA-N, KV-Anlage Interrogations Nr. G-81 und R-88.
8. StA-N, KV-Anklage Interrogations Nr. F-81 und H-138.

9. NARA, Washington, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537 (Mikrofilmkopie im AG-F), Häftlingsnummern 56000, 56034, und 56044.

10. Städtisches Bestattungsamt Nürnberg, Ordner KZ-Gräber (Kopie im AGFl).

11. CEGESOMA, Film 14368 (Transportliste Zeltner-schule-Holleischen 28.2.1945).

NÜRNBERG (SS-KASERNE)

On May 12, 1941, 58 prisoners from Dachau were taken to the Nürnberg SS-Kaserne (Barracks) at 204 Frankenstrasse. This was the first subcamp in Nürnberg, city of Reich Party Congresses, and was established to fulfill the needs of the SS. It existed until 1945, originally as a Dachau subcamp. Commencing in February 1943, however, individual prisoners from Flossenbürg were transferred to the SS-Kaserne subcamp, and from June 16, 1943, the camp operated under the administration of Flossenbürg.¹ The prisoners were held in the cellar of an auxiliary building in the SS barracks, which—due to its shape as the letter H—was known as the H-Bau (H-Building).

The SS barracks were built between 1936 and 1939 on the edge of the Reich Party Congress grounds, according to a design by architect Franz Rauff. It was to be quarters for the men at the National Party Congresses as well as a neighboring structure to accommodate the higher SS ranks. During the war, there were no National Party Congresses, and the barracks were used as training barracks for SS intelligence units.

From the beginning, the administration of the subcamp in the SS barracks was split: most of the prisoners worked for the Arbeitsgemeinschaft SS-Unterkunft (Work Association SS-Accommodation) or the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Nürnberg (Waffen-SS and Police Nürnberg Building Administration), with the remainder of the prisoners working

for the SS-Nachrichten-Ersatz-Abteilung (Intelligence Auxiliary Unit), a unit of the Waffen-SS responsible for intelligence training.

The prisoner numbers recorded in the admittedly fragmentary transfer lists vary between 41 and 175. Prisoners later put the numbers as between 100 and 300.² The main task of the concentration camp prisoners was at first to complete construction work in the SS barracks, which were not yet complete. One of the prisoners of the subcamp, Kapo Hugo Jakusch from Munich, recalls that young men, especially tradesmen, were chosen for the subcamp. They constructed garages, laid electrical cables, and built roofs in the barracks area. On their arrival in Nürnberg, the population is said to have thrown stones at the prisoners so that the SS had to protect the prisoner column. In the first prisoner detachment from Dachau were 28 Germans, 16 Poles, 10 Czechs, a PSV (Polizeiliche Sicherheitsverwahrung, Police Protection) prisoner, and an AZR (Arbeitszwang Reich, Forced Labor Reich) prisoner.³ Several extant transfer lists show that prisoners who were assigned to the SS-Intelligence Auxiliary Unit were primarily cobblers, tailors, and barbers.

With the beginning of the air raids on Nürnberg, the prisoners were used outside the SS barracks in removing rubble and reconstructing armaments industries. Hugo Jakusch and Jan Prędkı, both from the first prisoner transport from Dachau, recalled that in August 1942 the detachment was deployed at the heavily damaged Nürnberg Truck Company Faun in Wachterstrasse. Armaments Minister Albert Speer had promised when visiting Nürnberg that because the site was rebuilt within four weeks, the prisoners would be set free. Despite the quick reconstruction, the prisoners did not get their freedom. In August 1943 the Faun factory was destroyed a second time. It was not rebuilt.

Prisoners from the Flossenbürg subcamps at Pottenstein and Hersbruck were transferred to Nürnberg in 1944–1945 to assist in the work. After the large air raid on Nürnberg on January 2, 1945, Höherer-SS und Polizeiführer Benno Martin secured for himself a detachment of around 20 prisoners for his official Nürnberg villa at 19 Virchowstrasse, which had been hit in a bombing raid for the first time in 1942.⁴

In general, prisoners questioned after 1945 have described the conditions in the SS-Kaserne subcamp and the work detachments as comparatively good. They had a roof over their heads, they were halfway decently fed, and the work was not beyond their capacity. No murders by the SS in the subcamp could be proved after 1945. However, in cleaning up after the bombing raids and during the bombing raids, a few prisoners lost their lives.

Of the 10 leaders at the SS-Kaserne subcamp, only SS-Hauptscharführer Kurt Schreiber is remembered by the prisoners as being brutal.⁵

The SS-Kaserne subcamp was evacuated in April 1945. At least nine prisoners were able to escape. On April 26, 1945, the majority of the prisoners arrived at the Dachau concentra-

tion camp. Another group was evacuated to the Flossenbürg Hersbruck subcamp and then were driven south in the direction of Dachau. From there the prisoners marched further in a southerly direction.

SOURCES The SS-Kaserne subcamp is mentioned in the ITS List of Prisons; in Martin Weinmann's *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990); and in Gudrun Schwarz's *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, 1996) under the titles "Nürnberg Bauleitung Waffen-SS" and "Nürnberg SS-Nachrichten-Ausbildungs-Abteilung." The basis for this article is the author's essay "Eine unauffällige Geschichte: KZ-Aussenlager in der Region Nürnberg," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 153–173. Bernd Windsheimer and a history of the buildings of the SS-Kaserne, in Bundesamt für die Anerkennung ausländischer Flüchtlinge, ed., *SS-Kaserne—Merrill-Barracks* (Nürnberg: Bundesamt, 2000); a summary of the history of the subcamp. Karin Graf has published the memoirs of prisoner Stanislaw Hantz, which refers to the subcamp: *Zitronen aus Kanada: Das Leben mit Auschwitz des Stanislaw Hantz, Biografische Erzählungen* (Oswiecim: Verlag Staatliches Museum Auschwitz II-Birkenau, 1997), pp. 231–235.

The SS-Kaserne prisoners are listed in the Flossenbürg Numbers Book (*Nummernbücher*) (originals in NARA, Washington). Details on the subcamp are to be found in the materials of the ZdL at BA-L and in the AG-F. These consist of transfer lists and witness statements collected during investigations.

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NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 4 341/1, Film 1391.
2. AG-F, Film 14362 (transfers Flossenbürg-Nürnberg); and ZdL at BA-L, IV 410 96/75 (various statements by former prisoners).
3. AG-D, File ITS 139 (lists of prisoners transferred to Nürnberg on May 12, 1941).
4. BA-B, NS 19 14, p. 150 (report Benno Martin on the air raid August 28–29, 1942); ZdL, IV 410 96/75, p. 37, 50r (witness statements by prisoners of the detachment HSSPF).
5. ZdL, IV 410 96/75, p. 181; ZdL, IV 723/73, p. 53.

NÜRNBERG/EICHSTÄTT

The Eichstätt subcamp was a very small subcamp and existed for only a few months at the end of 1944. The prisoners were transferred from the Nürnberg subcamp in the SS-Kaserne (Barracks). A section of the Nürnberg SS-Nachrichten-Ersatzbataillon (Intelligence Reserve Battalion) was quartered on the Willibaldsburg in Eichstätt. In November 1944, 10 prisoners had to work here; on January 1, 1945, there were 22 prisoners.¹ The International Tracing Service (ITS) lists the Eichstätt subcamp as a work detachment of the Nürnberg SS-Kaserne subcamp. As a list of labor details from the Flossenbürg concentration camp suggests, it was administered and accounted for by Nürnberg SS-Kaserne.

Cases of death for this subcamp, the first mention of whose existence in the sources is October 1944 and the last January 1945, cannot be confirmed. The prisoners came from Holland, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

SOURCES The Eichstätt subcamp is listed in the ITS List of Prisoners and briefly in the author's essay "Eine unauffällige Geschichte: KZ-Aussenlager in der Region Nürnberg," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 162. A group of students at the Catholic University in Eichstätt made a video on the subcamp in 1993, which is held in the archives of the AG-F.

The Eichstätt subcamp is documented by the files of the ITS (Hanging File Eichstätt), as well as the labor demands from December and January 1945 that are held in the BA-B (Collection NS 4).

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NOTE

1. BA-B, Eh-DDR-ZSA, Doc IK 183/11 (labor demand November 1944).

OBERTRAUBLING

[AKA REGENSBURG-OBERTRAUBLING]

On February 20, 1945, a subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp was established at Obertraubling (present-day Neutraubling, Landkreis Regensburg, Regierungsbezirk Oberpfalz).

The airfield constructed in 1935 (according to other sources, between 1936 and 1938) to the east of Regensburg at Obertraubling was closely linked to the Messerschmitt factory in Regensburg. Here, at times, the final assembly of planes was carried out but also the flight testing of new Messerschmitt aircraft—especially of types Bf 109 and Me 321 Gigant—and from September 1944 also the final assembly and flight testing of the Me 262. For this purpose, thousands of forced laborers and Soviet prisoners of war (POWs, exclusively officers) were deployed, housed in two camps.

The airfield at Obertraubling itself was only inadequately equipped for the flight testing of aircraft. Especially problematic were the insufficient number of hangers and the grass landing strip. Under the weather conditions prevailing during the winter of 1944–1945, the aircraft were frequently unable to take off from the airstrip, as it became too soft due to snow and rain; dozens of newly assembled Me 262s stood around unprotected on the air base and could not have their testing completed. Since the airfield was under constant observation by Allied reconnaissance aircraft, the growing number of planes visible on the ground did not go unnoticed. On February 16, 1945, a raid from the 15th U.S. Air Force, comprising 263 B-24 bombers flying from Italy, attacked the airfield at Obertraubling, dropping 515 tons of bombs. The raid completely destroyed 25 aircraft (20 of them Me 262s); 30 others were severely damaged (including 20 more Me 262s).

The deployment of the prisoner detail from Flossenbürg, which arrived in Obertraubling on February 20, 1945, must be seen in conjunction with the inadequate equipping of the airfield and its bombardment. The subcamp consisted of about 600 men of various nationalities, mostly Jews, and was deployed under the authority of the Organisation Todt's (OT) construction management (OT-Bauleitung). The prisoners were housed in the bomb-damaged shell of the mess building on the air base. Sources differ regarding the composition of the prisoner guard detail; probably men of the SS, the German Home Guard (Volkssturm), and the Luftwaffe were all involved, and individual testimonies note that the latter two groups were less brutal than the SS. SS-Hauptscharführer Cornelius Schwanner was in charge of the subcamp. At first he had 50 SS men at his disposal; early in March 1945, 11 more were added. According to some inmate testimonies, Schwanner apparently tried to improve the situation of the inmates by providing additional food. But other inmates state that Schwanner and his SS men killed inmates for no reason.

By the end of February 1945, the camp held 600 inmates. More than half of them were Jews from different nations. By the end of March, the number was reduced to 484, mainly due to the harsh living conditions. In mid-April 1945, 426 inmates were registered.

Some details about the working and living conditions of the prisoners can be found in the records of the trial conducted in 1953 in Bremen of the camp elder (Lagerältester) Josef Kierspel. Kierspel, who had previously been the Lagerältester in the Golleschau camp and committed numerous crimes there, had been transferred from Golleschau via Loslau, the Heinkel factory near Berlin, on to Sachsenhausen, and then to Flossenbürg, where he was assigned to the Obertraubling subcamp, arriving on February 20, 1945. The camp was only set up in an improvised manner. Kierspel obtained wood, in order to construct beds, stools, and tables, as well as some straw for bedding material. He was responsible for conducting the morning roll calls, as well as assigning the prisoners to the various work details.

Like the forced laborers and POWs already present, the concentration camp prisoners were also deployed on the construction of a new landing strip. As historian Peter Schmoll reports, to this end initially in March 1945 a road passing by the east side of the airfield hangars was extended by 100 meters (328 feet) into the airfield, thereby creating a provisional takeoff and landing strip about 10 meters (33 feet) wide and some 1,200 meters (3,937 feet) long. From March, the prisoners were engaged in preparatory work for the construction of a new landing strip in the southeastern sector of the air base. Prisoners also dug ditches for laying cables and were used for clearing debris in Regensburg after air raids, as well as for improvements at the nearby Messerschmitt factory.

Kierspel behaved less brutally than had been the case in his previous camp assignments, but his hatred of the Jews remained unbridled. He addressed prisoners as "filthy Jews" (*Saujuden*) and beat them brutally. At least one Jewish prisoner, Bienenfeld, died from this ill-treatment. Kierspel, who

enjoyed special privileges within the camp such as his own "cabin" and radio, repeatedly ordered that the prisoners be searched for forbidden items and mercilessly punished all infractions. These brutal camp conditions, together with the insufficient supply of food and clothing, caused numerous inmates to die of hunger and cold. In March and April 1945, between 20 and 35 prisoners died on some days. At least 170 prisoners who died in the Obertraubling subcamp were buried just to the north of the mess building. It is likely that some of these were victims of the aerial bombardments. From the records of the Kierspel trial, however, it is also clear that at least one Luftwaffe officer helped the prisoners by providing them with food and not tolerating any beatings by the camp elder, the prisoners' work supervisors, or the SS guards.

On April 11, 1945, the Eighth U.S. Air Force conducted a further attack in which 79 B-24 bombers dropped a total of 160 tons of explosives. As a result of the attack, all the buildings of the air base were destroyed or bomb damaged. Over the following days, the inmates of the subcamp were engaged primarily in repairing the damage and filling in bomb craters.

On April 15 (according to other sources, on April 21–22, 1945), the prisoners were evacuated on foot toward Dachau. Apparently Schwanner organized a number of trucks to take 180 inmates who were incapable to walk to Dachau; all others had to walk. About 30 to 40 prisoners succeeded in escaping during the death march. Once again, camp elder Kierspel behaved in accordance with the expectations of the SS: he beat the prisoners or denounced them to the guards. On April 27, out of fear that the prisoners might take revenge, he escaped before the transport arrived in Dachau or could be liberated. On April 27–28, 1945, 155 (according to other sources: 97) prisoners arrived in Dachau. In the verdict issued by the Bremen court in 1953, there is, however, a reference indicating that some or all of the remaining prisoners were liberated by the U.S. Army before their arrival in Dachau.

In the Dachau Flossenbürg Trial, Schwanner was sentenced to death; he was executed on October 15, 1948, in Landsberg. Until the end, he maintained his inability to influence the conditions at the subcamp and emphasized his attempts to improve the inmates' situation. In 1953 and 1955, Kierspel was tried for his crimes as Lagerältester, including the murder of three prisoners (two in the Golleschau and one in Obertraubling subcamp). He was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment by the Bremen Landgericht (regional court) in 1953; in 1955, after the intervention of the West German Federal Court (BGH), the punishment was commuted to 15 years in prison. The verdict granting him a reduced sentence recognized that Kierspel in his function as camp elder occupied a position for which he was ill-suited, because of his character and temperament, and that granted him suddenly an almost unlimited position of power over many of his fellow prisoners. On the other hand, the court evaluated Kierspel's cruel treatment of his Jewish fellow prisoners over long periods for no reason as an aggravating factor, although he committed these deeds with only limited

personal intent and also treated some fellow prisoners humanely and tried to help them. SS-Hauptscharführer Cornelius Schwanner, who served both as a recruit leader (Rekrutenführer) and leader of the entire prison detachment (Kommandoführer), among other positions in the Obertraubling subcamp, was sentenced to death and hanged in 1946.

SOURCES A description of the camp within the context of the Flossenbürg subcamps in the Regensburg region can be found in the West German Federal President's history competition "Youths Conduct Local Research" (Jugendliche forschen vor Ort), which was held in 1983 under the motto: "Everyday Life under National Socialism, II (the War Years)." Class 11a of the Berufsfachschule für Wirtschaft in Regensburg received second prize under their teacher Hans Simon-Pelanda. The essay prepared by the teenagers can be found in the AKÖ in Hamburg under file reference GW 1983-0436, *Die Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg in und um Regensburg und ihre Bedeutung für Stadt und Einwohner*. Ulrich Fritz describes the Obertraubling subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 216–219. In his book *Messerschmitt-Giganten und der Fliegerhorst Regensburg-Obertraubling 1936–1945* (Regensburg: MZ Buchverlag GmbH, 2002), Peter Schmoll describes primarily the airfield's economic and military significance, but he also deals repeatedly with the deployment of forced laborers, POWs, and concentration camp prisoners there. Further mentions of the subcamp can be found in the publications by Peter Heigl, *Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Bilder und Dokumente gegen das Vergessen* (Regensburg: Mittelbayerische Druckerei- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1994); Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, eds., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus. Eine Dokumentation* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1995), 1: 178; and Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann, eds., *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur* (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 1998), 2: 682–707 (in the article by Hans Brenner, "Der 'Arbeitseinsatz' der KZ-Häftlinge in den Außenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg—Ein Überblick," p. 698). Information on the fate of the Jewish prisoners in the subcamp can be found in the article by Rainer Ehm, "Schicksalsort Regensburg," in *Stadt und Mutter in Israel: Jüdische Geschichte und Kultur in Regensburg*, ed. Stadt Regensburg (Regensburg: Stadt Regensburg, 1990), p. 113; and Ehm, "Auch im Landkreis starben in KZ-Häftlinge," *Mittel Z*, November 23–24, 1991. For more information on Regensburg and the Messerschmitt-Werke, see Helmut Halter, *Stadt unterm Hakenkreuz. Kommunalpolitik in Regensburg während der NS-Zeit* (Regensburg: Universitätsverlag, 1994), esp. pp. 301–9. In ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), the camp is mentioned on 1: 116; in the *BGBL* (1977), "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," on 1: 1830.

The court records from the trials against Kierspel can be found under the file references 3 Ks 2/53 (LG Bremen,

November 27, 1953) and 2 StR 367/54 (BGH, November 15, 1954). Results of the investigations by the ZdL can be found at BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR-Z 93/75. Court trials of the U.S. Army against guards at Flossenbürg and its subcamps were conducted immediately after the war. For events at Obertraubling, see especially the case of *United States vs. Friedrich Becker et al.*, NARA, Case No. 000-50-46, and here the statements of Schwanner (pp. 7081–7112) and Patron (pp. 7021–7028).

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OEDERAN

The subsidiary of the Auto Union AG Chemnitz, the Deutsche Kühl- und Kraftmaschinen (DKK) GmbH Scharfenstein, had been in negotiations with the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Office D II, under SS-Standartenführer Gerhard Maurer, since the early summer of 1944 about employing, in addition to its prisoner details for its factories in Scharfenstein and Wilischthal, a prisoner detail of 500 female prisoners for the expansion of its munitions manufacturing at the Oederan factory. A communication from the management of DKK Scharfenstein to Maurer reads: "Through our Mr. Illgner, we have already informed you by telephone from Berlin that we could employ around five hundred concentration camp women for our Oederan branch, which is engaged exclusively in the manufacturing of the 2 cm L.Sprgr [rifle grenades]. We ask that you view this request as part of the overall request of the Auto Union AG Chemnitz, as we belong to its concern."¹

This request was supported by the Special Committee Munition II, one of the organs of the "Industrial Self-Responsibility." A communication from the DKK company to the SS leadership further states: "We have communicated our goal of covering the current outstanding labor needs with concentration camp women to the responsible special committee in the enclosed copy."²

The DKK wanted to employ the female prisoners for manufacturing 2 cm explosive rounds for aircraft cannon in the Karis cotton thread factory in Oederan, which had been revamped for this purpose. Following authorization by the Special Committee Munition II, the DKK received the go-ahead from the responsible main department D II/1 of the WVHA, whose leader, SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Sommer, was directly responsible for the employment of concentration camp prisoners.

On August 8–9, 1944, a representative from DKK negotiated with the commandant of the Flossenbürg concentration camp, during which the conditions were established for the hiring and training of women who had been recruited as SS-Aufseherinnen (female guards). The first batch would still be trained at the Ravensbrück women's concentration camp; the other employees would be trained at the Flossenbürg subcamp Holleischen, near Pilsen. Although the SS commandant from Flossenbürg, SS-Obersturmbannführer Koegel, was

reluctant to split the detail for Oederan, which numbered 500 prisoners, the DKK pushed through varying times for the "delivery dates".³ The installments requested were for 100 prisoners on September 4, 1944; 200 prisoners on October 15, 1944; and 300 prisoners on December 1, 1944.

The dyeing building in the Kabis factory was designated for the accommodation of the prisoners, where sleeping rooms for the prisoners and the SS female guards were set up on the first and second floors.

On October 9, 1944, the first transport arrived at Oederan with 200 Jewish women and girls from Auschwitz. The Flossenbürg command assigned them the registration numbers 54436 through 54635. In this transport there were 167 Poles, the majority of whom were from the Łódź ghetto and a small part of whom were from Kraków. In addition, 19 from this transport were registered as Slovaks, although several of them were also Poles, as well as 12 Yugoslavs and 1 Austrian.⁴

On October 3, 1944, Armaments Inspection IVa of the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production, located in Dresden, made it a condition on DKK that they use the code name "Agricola GmbH," which the DKK itself had suggested, for the newly founded company for the expansion of its munitions manufacturing. Thus, the name of the famous Saxon mining scientist of the Renaissance had to suffer for this dubious purpose.⁵

On October 30, 1944, a second transport with 300 women and children arrived at the Oederan camp from Auschwitz. They received the registration numbers 59153 through 59453 from the Flossenbürg concentration camp. Women of 10 nationalities were on the transport: 145 Czechs; 70 Hungarians; 31 Poles; 27 Dutch; 22 Germans, several of whom considered themselves Austrians; 1 Italian; 1 Yugoslav; 1 Russian; 1 Swiss; and 1 Slovakian.

Grete Salus, who was also part of this transport, wrote about her prison time at Oederan in an extensive report:

From our transport two hundred surviving women remained at Auschwitz, in contrast to only forty-five men. Altogether eighteen hundred of us came to Auschwitz. Two hundred forty-five were designated, temporarily, to be used, to live; the others were liquidated. . . . Yes, we had only our lives and did not harbor any great expectations after all the experiences in Auschwitz. . . . As we arrived, there were already three hundred women present, mostly Poles and Hungarians. They had been in Oederan for three weeks already and only a small number of them worked. They worked in a weapons factory, manufacturing cartridges, a few steps away from our camp. We were of course locked in behind barred windows; looking outside was strictly forbidden, so that after a short time we wished we could work at least to get out. In addition we were scared about being sent back to Auschwitz if there were no use for us here.⁶

Regine St., who was originally from Kraków and had already suffered through the Plaszow concentration camp and went to Auschwitz in August 1944, was also among the women who were brought to Oederan. In an interview contrasting Oederan and Auschwitz, she said: "In comparison to Auschwitz it was a paradise, with clean straw mattresses and showers."⁷

Of the 501 women at Oederan, 58 were born between 1900 and 1909, 173 between 1910 and 1919, 156 between 1920 and 1924, and 110 between 1925 and 1930. Birth dates are lacking for 4 of the women.

In many survivor reports, it becomes clear that the internal camp conditions very much depended on the attitude of the respective camp leader or the Oberaufseherin (head female guard). Miriam Werebejczyk and Sara Honigmann express in their report a powerful recollection of the first head female supervisor in Oederan, who ran the detail until being relieved by another in December 1944. They only remember her first name, Dora, and say that "although she screamed a lot, she was human and was not to be compared with her successor Irma, a sister of the infamous Grese."⁸ Sara Honigmann emphasizes the differences in attitude between the two head female supervisors in her report:

The early days in Oederan was similar to a prison stay; once or twice during the week we received warm water to wash. We ate at tables. Later, under the second Oberaufseherin, we had to clean the eating room with ice-cold water. We laughed and did the work. The supervisor was very mad about that, but we on the other hand were satisfied. Once I received from her such a slap that a friend, who stood next to me, fell to the ground. We sewed ourselves clothing from torn material we had from Auschwitz. During a personal inspection she asked me where I got the dress and when I answered truthfully, "from Auschwitz," she cried "you're lying!" Then came the slap. The supervisor even knocked the tooth out of another woman.⁹

On the changing of the supervisor, Salus wrote:

We were assigned a supervisor who, for us, had a frightening history. She was first a supervisor at Auschwitz and she came to us from a concentration camp in Holland. From there she had to flee the approaching Allies. She had a stripe on her sleeve—she received the second one while with us—therefore was an SS officer and well schooled. Now everything had a different feel. Everything was reorganized from the ground up. Above all we had to work. If there was no work, she would conjure something up out of nothing. In addition the factory was already working to capacity—of course hogwash—if there was no material available, the workers had to stand. Even if there was nothing to do they had to

stand, sitting was strictly forbidden. At the beginning there was still some material, but as the machines were constantly defective, very little was produced. . . . With the arrival of the supervisor a despondent prisoner—classified as a block elder at Auschwitz—was finally promoted to camp elder due to an old acquaintance from their mutual Auschwitz past. . . . From day to day a forcible personality emerged from that tear-stained face.¹⁰

There were two female doctors at the camp, a Russian and a Hungarian. The Russian had the courage not to keep quiet about everything and fought for what sanitary measures were possible for the prisoners. She was transferred to another camp, however.

According to SS documents, there were three fatalities in the camp. Helga Kinsky wrote: "I don't know how many women died in Oederan. Once I lay in the infirmary with a high fever and some women were there in very bad condition and I only wanted to get away from this infirmary and left it after two days."¹¹

Prisoner groups were also deployed for work outside of the camp and factory such as described by Salus:

I belonged to such a group. First, until deep in the winter, we dug a trench for a water main. Then I was assigned with three comrades to a group for construction work. A linen mill was transformed into a weapons factory. The difficult work, like loading bricks and cement sacks, we performed together with several Italians. We four women were helpers for the conversion of a camp for new prisoners. The prisoners never came. . . . It was real men's work and our hands were sore from the constant handling of bricks and cement. Nevertheless we had it better than the machine workers, as we had more freedom of movement. We brought political news into the camp, including newspapers and leaflets, and were always passionately awaited there. . . . I'll never forget one leaflet—I learned it by heart in order to recite it exactly. It was headed with "The End is Coming" and the end read "Stay Alive." The content was the decisive crossing of the lower Rhine. The leaflet was read by every one on external duty, then torn up and thrown away as back then there were constant physical inspections. As I came into the camp I was cheered and had to recite it so often until I was out of breath.¹²

In contrast to the guard, the first SS detail leader was colorless. Miriam Werebejczyk describes him in what was a telling situation for his position: "An elderly Obersturmführer [first lieutenant] gave out cold soup and said in justification that the soup was unfortunately cold as it arrived late."¹³

After his discharge, the guard personnel consisted of SS-Unterführer Eggers and originally 27, later 33, female guards,

most of whom had before been workers in Oederan and environs.¹⁴ Salus wrote about the relationship to the German civil population:

We Oederan prisoners cannot say anything bad about most of the workers—they often saved us from collapse with a piece of bread from their hands. I don't want to belittle their helpfulness, for some individuals it was surely sincere compassion and willingness to help. For most, however, it was the beginning of a guilty conscience, but only under the pressure of events.... I myself, however, experienced the miracle of real helpfulness. A small, poor female worker, Else Schröter, took me in and selflessly helped me when I was barely surviving. She herself certainly did not have much to eat and still shared that little with me.... The operations manager, when I was alone with him for a second, expressed his regret about our situation, but if somebody was around he gave his orders brusquely and abruptly. Jakob, the head engineer, a Nazi of the worst sort, gave me the most demeaning assignments with enthusiasm, was the creator of our various work punishments, and was also close friends with the head female guard.¹⁵

A group of women was transferred from Oederan to the Flossenbürg Hertine subcamp and employed there in the Welboth munitions factory.¹⁶

On April 14, 1945, the women were evacuated in open train cars. Miriam Werebejczyk reports: "For six days we were under way to Theresienstadt [Terezín]. During our trip we went through Aussig [Usti n. Laben] twice. Once we saw an air battle over Aussig. The guards fled."¹⁷

From Leitmeritz (Litoměřice), where the women were unloaded, they had to march to Theresienstadt, where they arrived on April 21, 1945. Some 442 women were registered there as being from the Oederan camp command.¹⁸ Actually, the number of surviving evacuees from Oederan was larger, as a large number of Czechs left the transport without registering before or in Theresienstadt.

SOURCES Published sources on the Oederan subcamp include Michael Düsin, ed., *"Wir waren zum Tode bestimmt..." Erinnerungen an KZ und Zwangsarbeit in Freiberg und Oederan* (Freiberg: Libri Books on Demand, 2001); Grete Salus, *Niemands nichts—ein Jude: Theresienstadt, Auschwitz, Oederan* (Darmstadt: Verl. Darmstädter Blätter Schwarz & Co., 1981); and Salus, "Eine Frau erzählt," APZ-P Nr. B 42/57, 42 pp 677–703. See also Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg: Arbeitsgemeinschaft ehem. KZ Flossenbürg e.V., 1999), pp. 238–241.

The following archival collections are relevant: BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3215/66; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg; SHStA-(D), Auto Union, Akten "Agricola GmbH."

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. AHM-O, Schreiben der Direktion der DKK Scharfenstein an SS-Standartenführer Maurer, June 24, 1944.
2. Ibid.
3. AHM-O, Reisebericht des Vertreters der DKK Scharfenstein, Noack, über den Besuch im K.L. Flossenbürg/=berpf, August 8–9, 1944.
4. Ibid.
5. SHStA-(D), Auto Union, Nr. 1030.
6. Grete Salus, "Eine Frau erzählt," APZ-P Aus Politik und Zeitgeschehen. Beilage zur Wochenzeitung "Das Parlament," Sonderdruck für die Deutsche Studentenzeitung. Hrsg. v.d. Bundeszentrale für Heimatdienst, Bonn, Nr. B XXXXII/57, pp. 677–703.
7. Elinor J. Brecher, *Ich stand auf Schindlers Liste. Lebenswege der Geretteten* (Bergisch-Gladbach: Gustav Lübbe, 1995), p. 285.
8. Miriam Werebejczyk and Sara Honigmann, report.
9. Ibid.
10. Salus, "Eine Frau erzählt."
11. Helga Kinsky, letter from July 4, 2000.
12. Salus, "Eine Frau erzählt." Salus died in Israel in 1998.
13. Werebejczyk and Honigmann, report.
14. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53, 86–87.
15. Salus, "Eine Frau erzählt."
16. Helga Kinsky, letter from July 4, 2000.
17. Werebejczyk and Honigmann, report.
18. Marek Poloncarz, "Die Evakuierungstransporte nach Theresienstadt (April–Mai 1945)," *TSD* (1999): 255.

PLATTLING

Plattling is located close to Deggendorf on the Isar River. A subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp was opened there on February 2, 1945, with the arrival of 500 male prisoners. It had taken the prisoner transport 24 hours to cover the journey of 195 kilometers (121 miles) by rail from Flossenbürg; by the time they arrived in Plattling, there were already 20 dead. However, this was not the first group of prisoners to arrive in Plattling: concentration camp prisoners had been used since March 1944 by the Organisation Todt (OT) Bauleitung (Construction Management) and the Klug company on the nearby airfield, mostly in the construction of roads.

Like the camps in Ganacker and Kirchham, Plattling was only established during the last phase of the war and was closely connected to an airfield of the German Luftwaffe. The prisoners who had come from Flossenbürg were used on a military airfield, which had been established at the end of the 1930s in Michaelsbucher Flur, between the town of Michaelsbuch and the Plattling suburb Höhenrain. At the end of 1943, there were plans to expand the airfield by 33 hectares to 183 hectares (by 82 acres to 452 acres). At the end of 1944, Luftwaffe squadrons were based there that were to be equipped with the Messerschmitt (Me) 262 jet fighter. Increasing air attacks meant that steel bunkers buried into the ground were

necessary for the aircraft. The subcamp's prisoners were used primarily in constructing the bunkers. At the same time, they were used to remove bomb damage in the surrounding towns, and sometimes they worked on farms. Historian Michael Westerholz also states that the prisoners were used to build an aircraft base at Hettenkofen, construction of which had begun in March 1944.

Initially, the subcamp was based in the middle of the town, in the old Knabenschulhaus [Boys' School] behind the church of St. Magdalena (later St.-Erhard-Schule). An OT camp had previously been located there. The open mistreatment of the prisoners, whose screams were heard by the local population when they attended church, soon led to protests. For this reason, and also probably because the school was too small to accommodate the prisoners, the group was divided after a few weeks (some sources: after 24 days in March–April), and 220 prisoners (some sources: all the prisoners) were relocated to the edge of the town, in farmer Frohnauer's brickworks at Höhenrain.

The composition of the prisoners was very mixed: Among the first 500 to arrive, there were 350 who had come from Auschwitz via Sachsenhausen. More than 300 of the inmates were Jews, among them 200 Polish Jews and about 50 Jews from Hungary. Other large groups were about 100 Czechs (80 political prisoners and 12 Jews) and about 20 Russians. There were also French and German inmates, as well as prisoners from seven other nations. The youngest was only 16.

In the school the prisoners slept on straw mattresses. There was a kitchen (erected after the camp was established), an office, and an infirmary in the attic. Two prisoner doctors worked there but had no medication or tools available to treat the inmates. Ill prisoners are said to have committed suicide by jumping from the windows in the attic roof.

There were 55 (other sources: 52) SS guards who were accommodated with the prisoners. They were under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Erich Sürensen (also: Sörensen). Sürensen is described by survivors as being humane, whereas his deputy Rudolf Braun was said to be a radical oppressor. One-half of the SS were ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche) or foreigners in German service, including members of the ethnic German special service (volksdeutsche Sonderdienst), who had murdered up to 500,000 Jews in Galizien. Prisoners have described the brothers Josef and Martin Dewald (born in 1921 and 1920), two Volksdeutsche from Temesvar, who joined the Totenkopf (Death's Head) SS at the end of 1944, as being particularly brutal.

The prisoners had a long way to go to work, and the number of SS guards was insufficient. The head of police in Plattling, Stephan Scheuregger, offered his police to the SS as auxiliary guards; in addition, local inhabitants, including 14-year-old members of the Hitler Youth, also had to supervise the prisoners on their way to work.

The prisoners' workday began at 5:00 A.M. and usually did not end before 10:00 P.M. The prisoners leveled the

ground with hoes and dug paths on the airfield and on the approaches to the airfield, relocated drainage pipes, and carried the cement that was necessary to widen the runways. On April 16, 1945, the Plattling railway station and many houses were destroyed during an Allied air raid. The prisoners had to recover at least 2,000 corpses, including dead from refugee, Red Cross, and concentration camp trains; had to rescue more than 100 people under the rubble; and had to work their way through more than 500,000 cubic meters (654,000 cubic yards) of rubble and 20 kilometers (12 miles) of destroyed railway line, 1,400 railway wagons reduced to scrap, and 45 locomotives, some of which were still red-hot.

Food was scarce in the camp: inmates only received cold food such as bread in the camp—never soup or coffee. The inhabitants of Plattling repeatedly interceded on behalf of the prisoners: policeman Eiblmeier lodged complaints and summonses against the SS and the National Socialists. Stanglmeier, the owner of a meat factory, protested against the prisoners' treatment and distributed to them a meat soup and meatballs from his own plant.

The prisoners' conditions worsened when they were shifted to the Höhenrain brickworks. The camp was fenced in with a 3.5-meter-high (11.5-feet-high) barbed-wire fence. The brickworks and the barracks in which the prisoners were accommodated were drafty and cold. Many prisoners died from their mistreatment or were deliberately killed. It is said that prisoners who could no longer walk were shot at roll call. Brutal Kapos, both criminal and political prisoners, made the prisoners' life hell. One prisoner was beaten to death because he had taken a beet from a field, a second because he had been too long on the toilet, a third because he had "organized" (stolen) meat. The dying were pushed into the latrines and left to their fate. Survivors claim that Plattling was even worse than Auschwitz. Four attempts to escape from the Plattling camp are recorded in the records of the Flossenbürg main camp; there is no information on their success or failure.

The assistance given by individual local inhabitants continued after the camp was relocated to Höhenrain. Farmers cooked food, bribed the guards with alcohol and money, and put food by the edge of the roads. Some employees of the Klug company, for whom the prisoners were working, including an engineer named Becker, tried to help the prisoners and look after them.

On April 13, 1945, 459 of the 500 prisoners who arrived at the camp on February 20, 1945, were still capable of working. A few days later, on April 18, 200 evacuated prisoners from Buchenwald arrived. At this time the camp was already in the process of being dissolved, and there was no longer a water supply. The Buchenwald prisoners were evacuated on foot on April 23, and the Plattling prisoners left the camp on April 25, 1945. According to Westerholz, 25 (Fritz: 60) prisoners who could not march remained in the camp, while 40 prisoners used the evacuation to escape and found refuge with local

families, 18 with the family Hunsrücker alone. Ten Belgians were hidden by their compatriots (forced laborers) in the Deggendorf quarry. According to Westerholz, 187 of the prisoners were already dead at that time.

The Plattling evacuation march was strewn with dead: a victim in Enchendorf, 1 in Otzing, 3 in Haunersdorf, 2 in Lailing, 1 in Simbach bei Landau, 5 in Arnstorf, 2 in Haunersberg, 10 in Peterskirchen/Schönau, 1 in Unterölt, 1 in Unterhausbach, 1 in Eggenfelden, 5 in Hirschhorn, 1 in Mitterkirchen, 1 in Reischach, and 2 in Winhöring. Eyewitnesses say this number is too low; Bundeszentrale also gives the number of dead higher, as 44.

In Winhöring (according to other sources: Haunersdorf), the Plattling column joined evacuated prisoners from Regensburg and Ganacker. Shortly thereafter, Sürensen and several SS men deserted the march. All three columns then marched together via Arnstorf, Eggenfelden, and Trostberg, where they joined a death march from Buchenwald. They were liberated on May 2, 1945, by the U.S. Army, close to Traunstein. Many prisoners were able to escape along the way; to these must be counted the 60 prisoners of whom there is no trace. In total, it is estimated that about half of the Plattling inmate population died or were killed in the course of the existence of the camp.

The prisoners who were left behind when the camp was evacuated were transferred to the district hospital after they were liberated, but many died from exhaustion and typhus. Oskar Schindler, who lived in Regensburg, had an important role in repatriating the liberated prisoners to their homes. He organized passports for Jews who wanted to emigrate and convinced U.S. soldiers to make available vehicles to transport food and the sick.

After the subcamp was dissolved, there were isolated cases of self-justice: the liberated prisoners beat a Kapo to death and severely injured a second. Josef Dewald was beaten to death by the prisoners on May 1, 1945; his brother Martin could flee but was shot at by U.S. guards and interned for two years. Another, probably a Ukrainian SS man, was shot by U.S. soldiers on May 4, 1945, in Haslach/Traunstein while trying to escape.

SS-Wachmann Josef Oskar Brauner was sentenced to death in 1947 by a U.S. War Crimes Court in Dachau for crimes committed in Plattling and hanged in Landsberg on May 21, 1949. SS-Oberscharführer August Fahrnbauer (also: Fahrnbauer), chief of labor allocation (Arbeitseinsatzführer) and deputy camp leader in Plattling, was sentenced after the war to 15 years' imprisonment. Sürensen was never found; neither was his adjutant Schönberg.

SOURCES In the immediate postwar period, local newspapers published a number of articles on the Plattling subcamp, for example, the PH-Ib of October 8 and 15, 1946; the *Mittel Z* (Regensburg) of October 17, 1946; and the Don-K-Ing of October 15, 1946. The Deg-Z published a series of articles on the National Socialist era and the Plattling subcamp between 1985 and 1987.

A detailed description of the subcamp based on numerous sources is by Michael Westerholz, *Kranke krepieren natürlich wie das Vieh: Erinnerungen an das KZ Plattling. Eine Reportage* (Deggendorf: Eigenverlag, [1995]). Ulrich Fritz describes the Plattling camp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück* (Münich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 223–226. Another description of the subcamp, by Georg Artmeier, can be found in “Die Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg: Ganacker und Plattling,” *HiHe* (1990–1991). Anna Rosmus describes the Plattlingsubcamp in *Wintergrün—verdrängte Morde* (Konstanz: Labhahrd-Verlag, 1993). Norbert Elmar Schmidt, under the title “Fabriken des Todes—Ganacker und Plattling: KZ-Aussenkommandos und Todesmärsche,” wrote an article in the Deg-G. The camp is also mentioned in S. Michael Westerholz, *Da wurden die Juden erschlagen. Jüdische Geschichte im Landkreis Deggendorf, Straubing* (Israelitische Kultusgemeinde, 1986); as well as in Peter Heigl, *Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Bilder und Dokumente gegen das Vergessen* (Regensburg: Mittelbayerische Druckerei- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1994). The camp is also mentioned in Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des NS, Band I* (Berlin: Edition Heitrich, 1995), p. 184; as well as in an essay by Hans Brenner, “Der Arbeitseinsatz der KZ-Häftlinge in den Außenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg—Ein Überblick,” in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 1998), 2:682–707.

In 1952, the Deggendorf Sta. investigated the death of SS man Josef Dewald. The files are held in the StA-Lh under File Number Rep. 167/1 St. Nr. 205. According to Westerholz, there are also in the StA-Lh scattered files on the subcamp, for example, the second infirmary erected in 1944–1945 for foreign workers (Rep. 164/2), the concentration camp cemetery in Plattling (Rep. 5059), and files on the securing of grain for the production of bread in Plattling-Michaelsbuch between 1937 and 1955 (Rep. 6150). In private ownership is a letter from May 28, 1945, in which 18 prisoners confirm their rescue by the Hunsrücker family. Events in Plattling were investigated as part of the Flossenbürg concentration camp trials. The filmed files are held in NARA, RG 338, Records of the United States Army Commands 1942; and NARA, RG 153, Records of the Judge Advocate General (Army), Case # 000-50-141.

In an USHMM collection under RG-09.005*40 is a report from Colonel (Ret.) Richard R. McTaggart of the 13th Armored Division, one of the camp's liberators. Even in 1981, McTaggart described the event as “an experience I still am unable to describe dispassionately.”

The Sta-Mü files carry File Number 115 Js. 4910/76. They include numerous survivors' statements. No charges were laid. At BA-L, see ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 226/75, for information on the Plattling camp.

The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), lists the camp at 1:116; the *BGBL* (1977), I, “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” on p. 1832.

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PLAUE (BAUMWOLLSPINNEREI UND INDUSTRIEWERKE)

In the last year of World War II, a part of German armaments production took place in textile factories, as civilian production of textiles had been reduced in favor of producing armaments. The Osram KG company, controlled by Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG) and Siemens, transferred its armaments production to the supposedly more secure areas of Saxony, Thuringia, and the Sudetenland. Except for the production of molybdenum and wolfram, which were required for the production of tubes important to the war effort, Osram management at the end of 1943 relocated its production of various lightbulbs for armaments to Plauen in Vogtland. Osram hoped by this means to gain access to a new source of labor and thereby to expand production. It rented part of a factory belonging to Plauener Baumwollspinnerei AG (cotton mill) in Hans-Sachs Strasse and part of a factory belonging to the Industriewerke AG (I-Werke) in Roon Strasse.

The relocated parts of the Osram enterprise were administratively taken over by the Plauener Baumwollspinnerei AG and I-Werke AG, which also provided a labor force. Osram retained "technical control" of the lightbulb factories "GU 896" (Baumwollspinnerei) and "GU 897" (I-Werke).¹ Work was quickly begun on extensive construction and installation. However, there was still a shortage of labor. It was probably during planning for the use of prisoners at Osram that it was decided in the spring of 1944 to use "five hundred criminal prisoners" in both factories. Negotiations began with the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Amtsgruppe D.² At first, the SS insisted that all the prisoners be held in one camp. Osram was successful in resisting this demand. Rooms that were originally destined for production became the prisoners' quarters: the second floor of the cotton spinning mill, with a guard room for the female SS guards (Aufseherinnen) on the top floor of the I-Werke.³ The prisoners had three-tiered bunk beds with straw sacks and one blanket each.

An Osram employee applied at Auschwitz for 250 prisoners. Survivors state that young, healthy women with "dry hands" were chosen. The women, who probably arrived in Plauen on September 16 or 17, 1944, were separated—100 were sent to the cotton spinning mill and 150 to the I-Werke.⁴ The prisoners were put to work on September 18, 1944. However, a typhus outbreak on September 19, 1944, in Auschwitz resulted in the prisoners being confined to their quarters as a quarantine measure for three weeks. The SS female guards were inoculated. No other measures were implemented.⁵ A second group of prisoners arrived on October 14; 150 women were sent to I-Werke and 100 to the cotton spinning mill. These women were Russians, former members of the Soviet Army, and Poles, together with a few Yugoslavs, Italians, and French. There were probably no Jews in this group.⁶

An unknown SS-Oberscharführer was initially in charge of both camps. He was replaced in March 1945 by SS-Oberscharführer Dziobaka. He was in charge of the super-

visory female guards (Oberaufseherinnen) Hildegard Naujokat at I-Werke, and Else Tomaske was in charge at the cotton spinning mill; they, in turn, were in command of 18 and 12 SS female guards, respectively.⁷ The overseers are described as strict and brutal. However, there were no deaths reported in the camp.⁸ A Russian prisoner who unsuccessfully tried to escape by tying sheets together and scaling down the wall from the second floor of the cotton spinning mill was punished by having her hair cut off. The prisoners were also collectively punished, as their food was withheld. After the attempt, the windows of the dormitory were welded shut. Food is described as poor but better than in Auschwitz. It was cooked by the prisoners in their own kitchen, which was located in the cellar of I-Werke and the ground floor of the cotton spinning mill.⁹

The prisoners had to work day and night in 12-hour shifts. The production of various light lamps was semi-automated and highly segmented. Prisoners were entitled to a premium for good work, but there is no recollection by the prisoners that a premium was ever paid. The firm paid the usual fee of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per day per prisoner. Cost minimization was a high priority as is shown by the rules dealing with payment for prisoners who could not work either because of illness or accident.¹⁰ The company administration was satisfied with the output. Other than for the German craftsmen Fortberg and Reimann, who secretly gave food and newspapers to the women in the cotton spinning mill, the Osram employees were unfriendly, strict, and rude.¹¹ Shortages of material and energy increasingly hindered production. Finally, an air raid on Plauen on April 10–11, 1945, cut off the energy supply and destroyed the cotton spinning mill.¹² During the air raid, the prisoners were held in cut-down packing crates in the air-raid shelters. There were no casualties. This remained their makeshift quarters, and all the prisoners were set to work cleaning up the damage in Plauen. The camp was evacuated on April 14, 1945, with the prisoners marching via Georgenstadt in the direction of Karlsbad. They were liberated in Tachau.

In the 1960s, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) investigated the Flossenbürg Baumwollspinnerei and I-Werke subcamps. In 1966, investigations into both subcamps were separated from the main investigations.¹³

SOURCES The most important source for research on the relocation of the Osram company is located in the LA-B. The Soviet authorities seized numerous Osram files, and it was only by chance that they were later returned to the DDR. It is for this reason only that the files are accessible for research. Details about those responsible and negotiations with the SS and Reich authorities can be obtained from the files. Today a wholly owned subsidiary of Siemens, Osram states that it no longer has any archival documents. On the other hand, the files of the Flossenbürg camp administration are relatively intact and provide details of prisoner numbers, death rates, and SS transactions. The files are held today in the AG-F and the BA-BL, together with selected copies of the documents

relating to investigations by the ZdL at BA-L into both subcamps. The collective proceedings into the Flossenbürg subcamps also contain information about both Plauen subcamps.

Once they were handed over to the DDR, East German historians began relatively early to research the Osram documents and the use by Osram of prisoners. However, the value of their research was limited by its scope. It was confined to the supposed influence that large corporations had on state institutions and the war economy. Hans Brenner in the collected volumes *Nationalistische Konzentrationslager* incorrectly states that Jewish women were exclusively selected for the Osram camps in Plauen.

For further information, see Laurenz Demps, "Zum weiteren Ausbau des staatsmonopolistischen Apparates der faschistischen Kriegswirtschaft in den Jahren 1943 bis 1945 und zur Rolle der SS und der Konzentrationslager im Rahmen der Rüstungsproduktion, dargestellt am Beispiel der unterirdischen Verlagerung von Teilen der Rüstungsindustrie" (Phil. diss., Berlin [East], 1970); Demps, "Die Ausbeutung von KZ-Häftlingen durch den Osram-Konzern 1944/45 [Dokumentation]" *ZfG* 26 (1978): 416–437; Hans Brenner, "Zur Frage der Ausbeutung von KZ-Häftlingen durch den Osram-Konzern 1944/45 [Dokumentation]," *ZfG* 27 (1979): 952–965; Brenner, "Der 'Arbeitseinsatz' in den Aussenlagern des KZs Flossenbürg—Ein Überblick," in *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert et al. (Göttingen, 1998), 2:682–706.

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NOTES

1. See the contract between Osram KG and Vogtländischen Spitzenweberei AG. Plauen i.V., August 15, 1944, LA-B, ARep.231/0.489, p. 18; for details that the contract was concluded on January 3, 1944, see itemization by the VEB Glühlampenwerk Plauen o.D., LA-B, ARep. 231/0.489, p. 1. Both operations were owned by the company Carl Ramig, mech. Baumwollwebereien. See extracts from the *Chronik und Geschichte des Werkes Plauener Baumwollspinnerei KG*, ed. Curt Röder (Plauen, 1945); *The Difficult Post War Years* (Plauen, 1998) p. 251; as well as the letter from Carl Ramig, Mech. Baumwollwebereien, Treuen to Fa Osram Drahtwerk, Berlin, Re: Lieferung von Stahlflaschen für Treuen und Plauen [Flaschenmangel GU 896 and 897], November 14, 1944, LA-B, ARep. 231/0.492, p. 83.

2. See the following on Osram's core business [Schneider, Wtoreczyk] Record Re: Besprechung mit SS-Hauptsturmführer Sommer vom SS-WVHA Amtsgruppe D Oranienburg, 31.7.44 über den Einsatz von Häftlingen in den Verlegungsbetrieben der OK [Osram-Konzern] (on the Use of Prisoners in Osram Relocated Sites) [August 11, 1944], LA-B, ARep.231/0.502, p. 18.

3. See Osram Werk D [Dr. Reeb], DD-Memorandum Re.: Besuch in Plauen am 14. und 15.8.1944, LA-B, ARep.231/0.488, Bl. 328.

4. Telegramme Osram KG [Sittel] [Re.: Transport 250 Häftlinge aus Auschwitz in Plauen], LA-B, ARep.231 0.489. See also the interviews with Liliana Drzewicka, Stefania Tomyslak, Dr. Celina Wojnarowicz, July 23, 2000, in Flossenbürg. Recording in the possession of the writer.

5. See Osram Werk D [Dr. Reeb], DD-Memorandum 27/44 Re.: Visit to Plauen, September 15–19, 1944, September 22, 1944, LA-B, ARep.231/0.488 Bl. 322; as well as Flossenbürg, Forderungsnachweis Flo.655 1.-30.9.1944, BA-L, ZdL, Ordner IV 410 (F) AR 2629/67, Document Collection Vol. III KL Flossenbürg, p. 749.

6. See Osram Werk D [Dr. Reeb], DD-Memorandum 29/44 Betr.: Besuch in Plauen September 28–30, 1944, and October 9, 1944, LA-B, ARep. 231/0.488, p. 320; List Arolsen, Transport Auschwitz-Plauen, Baumwollspinnerei, October 14, 1944, ZdL, 410 AR 3216/66 (B) Bl. 5; Interviews Drzewicka, Tomyslak, and Wojnarowicz; Witness Statement Miroslava Zg., geb. Va. [*06.1921], August 1, 1969, in Bistrica, ZdL, 410 AR 3216/66 (B), p. 106.

7. Letter of the SS-Sonderkdo. I-Werken Plauen, Roomstr. 6, Re: Liste Stand der SS-Aufs (List and Status SS Wardens), October 5, 1944, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR 2627/67, Bl. 225; Letter SS-Sonderkdo. Plauen [Baumwollspinnerei], Hans-Sachsstrasse, Re: Liste ü. Stand der hiesigen Aufseherinnen, October 5, 1944, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR 2629/67, p. 224, as well as ZdL, 410AR3216/66(B), p. 220, and Arbeitseinteilung Flossenbürg v. March 3, 1945, ZdL, IV 410 AR 2629/67, File Dokuments I, p. 1.

8. See Record of Interview Ida Ph. [*12.1924], November 23, 1970, in Courcelles, ZdL, 410 AR 3216/66 (B), p. 274; as well as Conclusion Investigation Proceedings Baumwollspinnerei, ZdL, ebenda, p. 478, and Conclusion Investigation Proceedings Industriewerke, ZdL, 410 AR 3217/66 (B), p. 303.

9. See interview with Dr. Celina Wojnarowicz, July 22, 2000, in Flossenbürg. Recording in the possession of the author. Also see interviews with Drzewicka, Tomyslak, and Wojnarowicz.

10. See GU 896 [Baumwollspinnerei] Arbeitszeitregelung from January 2, 1945, LA-B, ARep. 231/0.489, p. 5; Betriebsanweisung GU 896 [Baumwollspinnerei], Re.: Verrechnung der Häftlingstätigkeit 4.1.1945 in Plauen, LA-B, ARep 231/0.489, p. 6.

11. Interview Celina Wojnarowicz.

12. See the photos in Röder, *Chronik*, p. 248.

13. Collective Proceedings, ZdL, 410 AR 2627/67; Investigations Baumwollspinnerei, ZdL, 410 AR 3216/66 (B); Investigations Industriewerke, ZdL, 410 AR 3217/66 (B).

PLAUE (HORN GMBH)

Three Flossenbürg subcamps were established at the end of 1944 in Plauen in the Vogtland. Two of them were located in partly nonoperating textile factories, cotton and wool plants, where women had to manufacture lightbulbs for Osram KG. A subcamp for male prisoners was located at the company Dr. Th. Horn, which had been active in aircraft technology from the 1920s. The company's office was based on the outskirts of Plauen at 284 Pausaer Strasse.

On November 9, 1944, 50 prisoners were transferred to the Plauen Dr. Th. Horn company. Numbers gradually declined so that in December 1944 there were only 35 men there. They were accounted for as skilled workers.¹ Two Russian prisoners tried to escape on December 6, 1944. The next

day a Pole and a Frenchmen died, and the death of another Frenchman is recorded on December 28. In light of the small size of the subcamp and the use of skilled workers, this is an extraordinarily high death rate. Obviously, the prison conditions were poor, which also explains the escape attempts. City documents record two deaths at the Plauen Horn subcamp. A list prepared by the city's main cemetery includes the grave of a German who died in January 1945 and was cremated in Plauen; another record refers to the death of an Austrian who died of typhus on February 2, 1945, and was buried without a coffin in the main cemetery.²

There are few precise details about the conditions in the Horn subcamp. This is in part because the investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg to a certain extent confused the three Plauen subcamps, with the result that the relevant information is seldom ascribed to a particular subcamp. Only one witness from the Horn subcamp was questioned. This witness came from the Fünfteichen subcamp with the dissolution of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp via Flossenbürg to Plauen. According to him, the conditions in Plauen were "incomparably easier than in other camps."³ He was the only Jew in the subcamp and was transferred there because of his skills in the manufacture of optical devices. The camp was dissolved following its bombing. The leader of all three subcamps in Plauen was SS-Oberscharführer Dziobaka. A personnel report dated January 31, 1945, lists 13 guards at the subcamp.⁴

At the end of February 1945, there were still 50 prisoners in the subcamp. There were 15 Russians, 12 French, 9 Poles, and 8 Czechs as well as 2 Germans, 2 Belgians, 1 Italian, and 1 Yugoslav. This picture was practically unchanged by the end of March.⁵

The dissolution of the camp must have happened at the end of March 1945 because a list prepared by the Flossenbürg department of labor deployment dated April 10, 1945, and sent to the Flossenbürg camp administration office refers to "forty-two transfers from the Plauen subcamp (Dr. Th. Horn) to the Lengenfeld labor camp on March 27, 1945." This list also includes details of the professions of the Plauen prisoners—for the most part, they were mechanics. Missing from the list are the names of six prisoners who are registered in the Numbers Books (*Nummernbücher*) for Lengenfeld. A prisoner from Plauen died at Lengenfeld five days after the prisoners were transferred there. Most likely the Plauen prisoners had to march with the Lengenfeld prisoners in a southward direction. This death march, which was via Johanngeorgenstadt to North Bohemia and ended in Pistov, resulted in the death of a large number of prisoners.

The trustees of the company responded to a request by the mayor, following a query from the Saxon state administration "Victims of Fascism," by simply stating that "between October 1944 and March 1945" there was a "forced labor camp" that consisted "on average of fifty to sixty concentration camp prisoners." A handwritten note states that "Dr. Horn is presently in the American Sector. The firm's

manager Senior Engineer Srudzinski is currently under arrest."⁶

SOURCES Other than the few details in the investigation files of the ZdL at BA-L (ZdL, 410 AR 3214/66), the files in the ASt-Pl (Collection KZ-Gräber), and the Labour Demands in the Flossenbürg-Collection of the BA-B (NS 4/FL), there are no other sources of significance for the Dr. Th. Horn subcamp.

Ulrich Fritz

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NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 4/FL 393, vol 2: Labor Demand Flossenbürg Section Labor Deployment to Dr. Th. Horn in Plauen i.Sa., November and December 1944.
2. ASt-Pl, VA 8718 Ü 6/81—KZ-Gräber: Schreiben des Rates des Stadt Plauen, Hauptfriedhof, an die Betreuungsstelle für die Opfer des Faschismus, December 1, 1948, (p. 140); Extract from a Report to the Office of Social Welfare in a Letter from the Plauen Business Office, Burials to the Secretariat of the Persecutees of the Nazi Regime, December 5, 1950 (p. 120).
3. BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR 3214/66, Statement by Edmund M., p. 16.
4. ITS, Archive, Flossenbürg, Collected File 10 (copy from Toni Siegert's collection held in the AG-F): Strength report on guards and prisoners in the work detachments under the control of the HSSPF ELBE. Position as at January 31, 1945.
5. BA-B, Collection former ZdL, Dok/K 183/11.
6. ASt-Pl, A 334, p. 125.

PORSCHDORF

With the transport of 250 prisoners from the Flossenbürg concentration camp, who were handed over to Porschedorf near Bad Schandau in the Elbe Sandstone Mountains on February 3, 1945, the SS created an outside detail there, far from the Flossenbürg main camp in the Bavarian Oberpfalz.¹

The 179 Italian prisoners comprised the majority in the Porschedorf detail. They were followed by the Russians, with 22 prisoners, and in approximately equal numbers, 11 Belgians, 11 Poles, and 10 Germans, with the latter functioning primarily as Kapos. In addition, 7 French, 4 Yugoslavs, 1 Dutch, and 1 Croat belonged to the detail.² The prisoners had the matriculation numbers of the Flossenbürg concentration camp, with the series 38000 through 43000.

A closed-down fire-lighter factory located across the Porschedorf train station served as the accommodation facility and was named "Gluto," used as a code name for the Porschedorf Kommando. According to prisoners' reports, other prisoners were also kept in a mountain shelter.

The Organisation Todt (OT) was in charge of the management of the prisoners' work through the office of Professor Dr. Rimpf of the Mineralölbau GmbH, which was located in Königstein and where he ran a similar project. In the

context of the “Geilenberg Program” for the underground transfer of fuel production facilities, the OT employed the prisoners for building and expanding under- and above-ground facilities for the processing of brown coal tar. The building project received the cover name “Schwalbe III.” It was built in the narrow valley of the small Polenz River, which flows into the Elbe River near Bad Schandau, and was to absorb the facilities that had been transferred there from the Hydrierwerk Brüx (Most). The completion of the first construction phase was planned for July 15, 1945; the second, for months later.³

This completely unrealistic time frame shows, on one hand, that the use of prisoners—in breaking up rocks for the expansion of underground manufacturing facilities, the construction of factory narrow-gauge railways, and the construction of concrete foundations—carried out with brutal slave-driving methods, served the desperate efforts of the Fascist leadership to extend the end of its rule for a period as long as possible. On the other hand, it served the principle that “extermination through work” could be carried out in Porschdorf. Although the number of dead in Porschdorf remained relatively low, this is only due to the short existence of the subcamp: 11 Italians and 1 Polish prisoner are buried in the Porschdorf cemetery.

Former Italian prisoner Mario S. testified on killing actions:

There were no real reasons for the killings. The slightest pretext was enough. The victims were prisoners, the executors either SS members or the internal camp supervisors. I remember the following incident: three or four prisoners, who were assigned to load rails onto Elba barges, were killed as they let a rail fall on a slope and slip into the gravel floor of the river. Two Italians, one of them from Genoa or perhaps Liguria, were killed with punches for no reason whatsoever. The prisoner from Genoa was killed with the excuse that he was Jewish, which, in my opinion, was not true.⁴

SS-Unterführer Göttling was the responsible camp leader. In addition, 7 SS-Unterführer and 21 SS guards reported to him.⁵ In the Porschdorf subcamp, the SS also relied on several “green” criminals who, as henchmen, did not hesitate in carrying out the beating punishments of prisoners or even their murder. The head Kapo was German prisoner Nikolaus Bintz, and German professional criminal (BV) prisoners Johann Schultze and Werner Lehmann also acted as Kapos.

As even the Fascist leadership recognized that there was no chance of finishing the project in time to be effective for the war effort, the prisoners still considered capable of working were transferred to “Dachs VII” at Mockethal-Zatzschke, while 21 considered unfit to work were sent to the Flossenbürg subcamp at Leitmeritz on March 9, 1945.⁶ Several of these died a short time later in Leitmeritz.

The number of prisoners had declined by March 31, 1945, to 211 prisoners, and on April 13, 1945, there remained 209 prisoners.⁷

At the beginning of April, the prisoners who stayed behind in Porschdorf had to begin an evacuation march that led to the Osterzgebirge, where they were stationed in the town of Oelsen and where they worked for a few weeks building roadblocks and defenses.

Mario S. testified about the evacuation:

The transfer took place on foot with an uninterrupted march, day and night, of about two days. In an “elimination march” (“disposal march”), as I was told later, those that fell down were left to die. I personally took part in digging a grave to bury a dead prisoner. The goal was supposed to be the Flossenbürg camp. After arriving at a certain point, it was no longer possible to go further due to the advancing Soviet troops. The survivors were assembled on a type of farm property (more exactly: in a barn) around Oelsen, where we stayed until the Soviets arrived. Around eighty survived. The Germans fled on the morning of May 8, 1945. The Soviets came a day or two after.⁸

Seven prisoners died at Oelsen, either shot or due to complete debilitation from hunger. From those buried in the mass grave, only the name of Italian Adriano Ansaldi is known.

SOURCES Published sources include Hans Brenner, “Eiserne ‘Schwalben’ für das Elbsandsteingebirge: KZ-Häftlingseinsatz zum Aufbau von Treibstoffanlagen in der Endphase des zweiten Weltkrieges,” *SüHe* 45: (1999): 9–16.

Further information may be found in these archival collections: ZdL at BA-L, IV 410 AR-Z 148/70, Bde. I and II; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg.

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NOTES

1. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 148/70, Bd. I, p. 144, testimony by the former Italian prisoner Mario S. (Number 43795).
2. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 4, p. 103, Übersicht über die Nationalität der im Kommando befindlichen Häftlinge.
3. BA-B, Film 5768, Aktenvermerk v. October 25, 1944, betr. Ausweichanlagen im Geilenberg-Programm.
4. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 148/70, Bd. I, p. 145, testimony by Mario S.
5. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 70–71.
6. Miroslava Benesová, “Koncentrační tábor v Litoměřicích a jeho vězňové. (Das Konzentrationslager in Leitmeritz und seine Häftlinge),” in *Koncentrační Tábor Litoměřice. Příspěvky z mezinárodní konference v Terezíně, konané 15.–17. listopadu 1994* (The Leitmeritz KL: Contributions to the International Conference in Theresienstadt 15–17 November 1994) (Terezín, 1995), Anhang, Tabelle 1, p. 23.

7. BA-B, Film 14 430, B1. 1264.
8. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 148/70, Bd. I, B1. 146, testimony by Mario S.

POTTENSTEIN

In the hilly landscape of the Fränkische Schweiz in the village of Pottenstein about 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the north of Nürnberg there existed a subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp from October 12, 1942, to April 16, 1945. At first, the prisoners were held in the youth hostel at Mariental. Then, from the spring of 1943, they were held in the barn of brewery owner Georg Mager in Pottenstein.¹

The prisoners initially had to do construction work for the Waffen-SS and Police Building Administration (Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei) and for the SS-Karstwehr, a specialist unit for war in areas with caves and ravines. Later the prisoners had to work for the SS-Military Fortifications branch (Fortifikationsstelle) and for the SS-Intelligence Replacement Battalion (Nachrichten-Ersatzabteilung), which had its headquarters in the SS barracks in Nürnberg. Pottenstein, in the years 1942–1943, was one of the largest of the Flossenbürg subcamps. Later, in 1944–1945, it was insignificant when compared to the large armaments camps in Leitmeritz and Hersbruck.

The forced labor of the concentration camp prisoners resulted in the construction of a barracks camp for the SS-Karstwehr on the Bernitz, a mountain to the south of Pottenstein. The prisoners had to build or relocate roads and construct a small dam for training purposes. In the nearby caves, called Teufelshöhle, the concentration prisoners worked at opening them up.

At the beginning of October 1942, there were 40 prisoners in the Pottenstein subcamp; in December 1942, around 80; in June 1943, 180; and in March 1945, 359 prisoners.² The camp was established in this geographically remote area on the initiative of high school teacher and speleologist SS-Standartenführer Dr. Hans Brand, who had very good personal contacts with Heinrich Himmler. He was able to turn his own scientific interests, passion for the local area, and a project to promote tourism to Pottenstein into an SS project. Dr. Brand was also the impetus for the SS-Karstwehr. The infrastructure for training the specialist troops was such that it could be used for tourism in peacetime.

The heavy physical labor, the poor food, and inadequate winter clothing badly affected the prisoners. Sick and weak prisoners were constantly being sent back to Flossenbürg. Prisoners were also temporarily withdrawn from Pottenstein for other reasons such as cleaning up rubble after a bombing raid in Nürnberg.

The lists of the 40 prisoner transports to Pottenstein and the entries in the Numbers Book (*Nummernbücher*) of the Flossenbürg concentration camp show that there were 649 prisoners in the Pottenstein subcamp between October 1942 and April 1945. Some 340 of them were transferred back to

Flossenbürg in 43 different transports. At least 9 prisoners died in Pottenstein or were shot “while trying to escape.”³ Of the 340 prisoners transferred from Pottenstein back to Flossenbürg, 102 died, 37 of them within a month of their return. It can be assumed that their deaths had something to do with conditions in the Pottenstein subcamp. One must, therefore, assume that the Pottenstein subcamp caused at least 50 deaths.⁴

Wilhelm Geusendamm, a political prisoner, who shortly before the end of the war was able to have the Oberkapo in the Pottenstein subcamp, a “green” triangle, replaced, was able, with some maneuvering and a bit of luck, to prevent a long death march or the murder of a larger number of prisoners. The prisoners were liberated on April 16 close to Pottenstein, the day after they had left the camp.⁵

Two of the Pottenstein subcamp leaders, Wenzel Wodak and Johann Baptist Kübler, were tried after 1945 but not for their acts in Pottenstein. Wodak was sentenced to death in the Dachau Flossenbürg Trial by an American military court for numerous murders committed in Flossenbürg and executed in Landsberg. Kübler was sentenced by the Weiden District Court in Weiden in 1957 to five years’ jail as an accessory to murder in Flossenbürg. An investigation that began in 1966 ceased in 1976, as perpetrators other than Wodak could not be identified.⁶ So the other SS men were able to avoid criminal trial, even though those SS-Karstwehr men who were trained in 1943 and 1944 in Pottenstein (some of them under the leadership of Dr. Hans Brandt, who remains highly regarded in Pottenstein) participated in several massacres in Slovenia.⁷

SOURCES Archival material on the camp is available at NARA, BA-B, CEGESOMA, and *JuNS-V*. The following works contain information on this camp: Peter Engelbrecht, *Touristenidylle und KZ-Grauen: Vergangenheitsbewältigung in Pottenstein* (Bayreuth: Rabenstein, 1997); Wilhelm Geusendamm, *Herausforderungen. KJVD—UdSSR—KZ—SPD* (Kiel, 1985).

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NOTES

1. Peter Engelbrecht, *Touristenidylle und KZ-Grauen: Vergangenheitsbewältigung in Pottenstein* (Bayreuth: Rabenstein, 1997), pp. 13–79.
2. The first transport to Pottenstein in October 1942, CEGESOMA, Film 14368; Arbeitseinteilungen Dezember 1942 und Juni 1943, BA-B, NS 4/Flo 393/2; Stärkemeldung 31. März 1945, BA-B, Bestand ehem. ZstA, Dok/K 183/11, S. 121.
3. Transfer to the Pottenstein subcamp, CEGESOMA, Film 14368; Nummernbücher des KZ Flossenbürg, NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537.
4. Transfers back from the Pottenstein subcamp to Flossenbürg, CEGESOMA, Film 14368+; Nummernbücher des KZ Flossenbürg, NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000-50-46, Box 537. This contradicts Engelbrecht, *Touristenidylle und*

KZ-Grauen, p. 59, who assumes that all the returned prisoners died.

5. Wilhelm Geusendamm, Herausforderungen. *KJVD—UdSSR—KZ—SPD* (Kiel, 1985), pp. 51–89.

6. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 14 (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 1976), Nr. 449; BA-L, Zdl, 410 AR-Z 105/75.

7. Peter Engelbrecht, “Die Massaker der Pottensteiner SS-Karstwehr 1943–1944 in Slowenien,” in *Entrechtung, Vertriebung, Mord: NS-Unrecht in Slowenien und seine Spuren in Bayern 1941–1945*, ed. Gerhard Jochem and Georg Seiderer (Berlin, 2005), pp. 223–236.

by forced laborers; an additional 250 prisoners were transferred on September 3, 1944. Until the end of the war, there were further transfers of individuals or small groups between Rabstein and the Flossenbürg main camp. This resulted only in slight variations in overall prisoner numbers (between 630 and 690). Most of the Flossenbürg transfers were sent to Rabstein as replacement for prisoners who had died or were murdered.

Most of the Rabstein prisoners were in “protective custody” and had been arrested by the Gestapo for minor political matters or were being held in spite of not having been convicted or even found not guilty. The second largest group of prisoners were the so-called professional criminals, most of whom had been convicted several times before the war. In Rabstein there was also a small group of homosexuals and a few Soviet POWs.

An overview of the different nationalities, put together after the war on February 28, 1945, reveals the following: German, 173; Russian, 193; Polish, 71; Yugoslav, 65; French, 54; Czech, 32; Dutch, 16; Italian, 10 plus 1 Jew; Belgian, 10; Croat, 4; Lithuanian, 1; Swiss, 1; and stateless, 3—for a total of 634 prisoners.¹ As far as can be determined, this composition, other than for slight fluctuations, remained constant.

The majority of the German prisoners had been convicted for indictable crimes (and wore green criminal triangles), acted as Kapos, and were trusted by the SS guards. They even were sent shopping to the nearby city of Böhmishe-Kamnitz. Some of them had told their fellow prisoners that during the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising they had fought side by side with the SS and murdered Jews with their own hands.

The only purpose of the camp was forced labor. The prisoners were divided each day into groups and allocated according to the requirements of the companies who were building the aircraft factory. Most of the prisoners worked in 12-hour shifts, excavating underground caverns, digging trenches, unloading material, or assembling a small works railway. A small group of the prisoners was directly involved in aircraft production (chip removal workshops).

Food was not sufficient for the labor demands. The prisoners received black coffee in the morning; at lunch, a bowl of thin beet soup; and the same again in the evening or 300 grams (10.6 ounces) of bread. Once a week there was a small piece of sausage. For a limited time the prisoners who were working underground were given extra rations for the heavy work.

Clothing was also inadequate. The prisoners had only basic underwear and striped concentration camp clothing, which was never washed since there was no laundry in the camp. Instead of shoes, they wore wooden clogs. The heavy work destroyed the clothes and clogs of many prisoners with the result that during the winter of 1944–1945 many partially covered themselves with cement bags.²

The combination of heavy labor, inadequate food, and poor hygiene was a death sentence for many. Several died through total exhaustion and some as a result of work accidents (cave-ins). The SS did not implement planned killings

RABSTEIN

Rabstein near Böhmishe-Kamnitz in the Sudetenland (present-day Česká Kamenice) originally had three large spinning mills that were owned by the Franz Preidl firm. They were located in a narrow rocky valley. On October 1, 1942, the factories were chosen as the place for the relocation of the Bremen firm Weser Flugzeugbau GmbH (Weserflug). Weserflug was to be relocated so that it could continue production in safety from air raids. Weserflug relocated to Rabstein its cutting process for aircraft parts, and toward the end of the war, the final assembly of propellers took place there. As part of the Fighter Program (*Jägerprogramm*), which commenced on January 3, 1944, the Fighter Staff (*Jägerstab*) decided to build a gigantic air-raid safe, underground production facility in Rabstein. The project had the code name “Zechstein.” In order to carry out the program, hundreds of forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) were drafted into action to work for several construction firms. The operation was coordinated by the Organisation Todt (OT).

In the summer of 1944, the first concentration camp prisoners were also put to work on the project. Most probably the Jägerstab directly ordered the establishment of a concentration camp in Rabstein. The camp became a Flossenbürg subcamp. The camp was built between June and August 1944 close to the existing barracks camp for civilian and forced laborers. It consisted of two, two-story and one ground-level barracks. They were to hold about 480 prisoners. There were also a kitchen barrack and an infirmary. The camp grounds were surrounded with a double row of electrified barbed wire. There were three guard towers. Outside were SS barracks and a guards’ room.

The camp commander was SS-Hauptsturmführer Oskar Jung (born 1888 in Schehesten and shot dead in 1945 in Böhmishe-Kamnitz); his deputy was SS-Unterscharführer Richard Artur Junge (born 1901 in Eilenberg/Sachsen; died 1946 in Bad Mergentheim in a POW camp). The guards consisted of 67 SS members. A large number of them were not Germans. According to the prisoners, about one-third were Romanians, Ukrainians, Croats, Lithuanians, and perhaps also other nationalities.

The first transport, 400 men from Dachau, arrived on August 28, 1944, at the Rabstein subcamp that had been built

because the prisoners were seen as a necessary labor force. Some prisoners were mistreated by the guards for minor infringements, and in some cases, these prisoners died. The camp deputy, Junge, was especially brutal. He is responsible for the death of Czech farmer Josef Tichý, who fell asleep at work because of exhaustion and did not turn up at roll call. He was beaten to death. Some prisoners were shot trying to escape. Several deaths can be attributed directly to the prisoner-functionaries who beat their fellow prisoners to death either out of greed or bloodlust.

Some 56 Rabstein concentration camp corpses were cremated in the crematorium at Aussig-Schreckenstein. The total number of victims is estimated to be between 80 and 100.³

A typhus epidemic broke out in the camp at the beginning of February 1945. There were about 40 cases. The doctor from Böhmishe-Kamnitz in charge of the camp, Dr. Vater, was able to arrange quarantine measures, despite the protests of the camp leader Jung.⁴ The 9 most seriously ill prisoners were transferred to the Tetschen hospital; 3 of them died, and 4 managed to escape from the hospital. At the time of the outbreak, supplies were critically low, and the camp administration asked for medicine from the prisoners' relatives. Food packages and clothing items were allowed into the camp. It was only during the epidemic that the administration of the company decided to improve the catastrophic hygienic condition and to establish delousing facilities in the camp. Until then the prisoners had to boil their clothes in tin drums in order to get rid of the lice in the camp.

There was no organized resistance in the camp. This was in part because the prisoners were of different nationalities and had difficulty in communicating and in part because they were spied on by the Kapos. Since the work sites were often far from the camp and on difficult ground, only a few prisoners were able to escape. Letters could be smuggled out of the camp because there was close contact between the forced laborers and some German craftsmen who were kind to the prisoners. Occasionally, a few courageous fellow workers gave the prisoners food.

The aircraft factory at Rabstein operated at full capacity until May 7, 1945. Early in the morning on May 8, a day before the arrival of the Polish Army, the order to evacuate the camp was given. The prisoners were to be handed over to the Americans. Only the seriously ill remained in the camp. The remainder, guarded by SS men and armed Kapos, broke out in the direction of Wernstadt (present-day Vernerice), where they spent the night in a barn. The guards fled during the night, and the prisoners separated into groups and went in all directions.⁵

Beginning in 1945, Czech offices began a search for the Rabstein perpetrators. However, due to inadequate and contradictory prisoner statements, no one could be charged. The state prosecutors in Ludwigsburg, Germany, came to a similar result in 1976.⁶

SOURCES Secondary sources include R. Bubeníčková, I. Malá, and L. Kubátová, *Tábory utrpení a smrti* (Prague, 1969);

Miroslav Grisa, "Hroby válečných zajatců a vězňů koncentračních taborů z let 1942–1945 na území města Ústí n. L.", in *Ústecký sborník historický*, s. 537 (Ústí nad Labem, 1985); Petr Joza, *Rabštajnské údolí* (Děčín, 2002); Jan Marek, "Koncentrační tábor Rabštejn, pracovní a zajatecké tábory na Děčínsku v době druhé světové války, in *Z minulosti Děčínska I*, s. 217 (Děčín, 1965); Marek, *Koncentrační tábor Rabštejn. Památník oboje proti fašismu* (Děčín, 1977); Jörg Skribeleit, "Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 196–217.

Primary sources include AMvP, Archivbestände Nr. Z -840, 325-20-3, 325-20-2 (Investigation Files Rabstein); AG-T, i. č. A 44/86, A 295/83, A 2087, A 3710, A 2899, A 2900 a A 3710 (Document Collection Rabstein concentration camp); SDA-L, Archival Collection, Government President Aussig; SOKA-D, Archive Collection Bequest—Jan Marek (Document Collection concentration camp Rabstein). In Germany, ITS, Transfer Lists from Dachau to Rabstein (Unknown signature); BA-L, ZdL, Collection. IV410 AR-Z217/76 (Investigation Files Rabstein).

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1. ITS, Transfer Lists from Dachau to Rabstein (Unknown signature).

2. SOKA-D, Archivbestand Nachlass—Jan Marek (Document Collection Rabstein concentration camp); AG-T, i. č. A 44/86, A 295/83, A 2087, A 3710, A 2899, A 2900, A 3710 (Document Collection Rabstein concentration camp).

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4. SDA-L, Archive Collection, Office of the Government President, Aussig.

5. SOKA-D, Archivbestand Nachlass—Jan Marek (Document Collection Rabstein concentration camp).

6. AMvP, Archivbestände Nr. Z -840, 325-20-3, 325-20-2 (Investigation Files Rabstein); BA-L, ZdL, Collection. IV410 AR-Z217/76 (Investigation Files Rabstein).

REGENSBURG [AKA COLOSSEUM]

Regensburg lies to the east of the Bavarian forest and the confluence of the Danube and Regen rivers. A subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp was located there from March 19, 1945. The prisoners were accommodated in the Colosseum in the Stadtamhof, a former hotel, which later became the city's Bauerntheater. But according to eyewitnesses, concentration camp prisoners had already been working in the city for Messerschmitt for at least a year. Confirmation of the camp's existence can be found from at least March 1945 through the Flossenbürg transport lists, the International Tracing Service (ITS), and an incomplete burial list from the city's administration, which contains details of 43 prisoners who died in the Regensburg Colosseum subcamp between March 23 and April 25, 1945. This means that within five weeks more than 10



German medical personnel and survivors at the Flossenbürg subcamp at Regensburg, May 1945.
USHMM WS #07777, COURTESY OF NATHAN ROBBINS

percent of the camp's inmates had died. Probably, the dead were taken from the Colosseum subcamp by truck to the Saal subcamp where there was a crematorium.

There were approximately 400 male prisoners in the subcamp. One-third of them (128) were Jews, mainly from Poland and Hungary. Among the non-Jews, Poles constituted the largest group—84 prisoners—followed by Russians, Belgians, French, Germans, and members of 10 other European nations. Many of the inmates had already experienced other camps; some of them as “civilian workers” had been handed over to the concentration camp authorities by Gestapo offices in southern Germany. By profession, many of them were mechanics, carpenters, locksmiths, farmers, miners, bakers, electricians, laborers, and teachers.

The prisoners were accommodated in the Colosseum’s so-called dance hall. They slept on straw-covered stretcher beds perched together in one room in totally unacceptable hygienic conditions. In the dance hall (*Tanzsaal*) was the so-called *Schlagschmel*, where the prisoners were physically punished by the SS either by beatings or whippings. The guards were accommodated on the ground floor, in the so-called small hall in the Colosseum. The owners of the Colosseum also still lived and slept in the building. The camp was commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Plagge and his deputy SS-Obersturmführer Erich Liedtke. Survivors report that both mistreated the inmates on a regular basis and that Plagge was an alcoholic.

About 50 SS men guarded the inmates. They were German or Volksdeutsche (ethnic German) members of the SS but also members of the Organisation Todt (OT) who—as a punishment for minor offenses—had been transferred to guard duty. The high number of SS men in the camp can be explained by the fact that the prisoners worked on a number of locations, and therefore there was a high demand for guards.

According to statements by the local inhabitants, the prisoners’ day began each morning at 5:00 A.M. with roll call. Soon after that the prisoners marched to work. On their way to work the prisoners had to cross daily through the city of Regensburg, across the Steinerne Brücke completed in 1146, one of the world’s oldest stone bridges. The sound of their wooden shoes, according to witnesses, could be heard across the city. The prisoners’ food was miserable. It consisted in the morning and at midday of soup (survivors describe it as water with cabbage leaves), which was supplied by the local pub, the Goldener Löwe, and delivered to them at the sauerkraut factory. In the evenings the malt factory Herrmann Suppe supplied soup with fish bones, a pot for 20 people.

There are different accounts of where the prisoners worked. It is thought that they mostly worked for the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways), where they repaired railway tracks, laying a railway line between the Regensburg central railway station and Prüfening. Furthermore, they worked at the Güterbahnhof (freight station) West. As a rule, the

prisoners' workday ended between 5:00 P.M. and 6:00 P.M. Other prisoners worked for Messerschmitt, returning to the camp around 9:00 P.M. The reason for this was the long route of almost 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) to the Messerschmitt factory. Additionally, the prisoners had to clean up after bombing raids, work in the sauerkraut factory, and clean away snow in the Stadtamhof.

Although witnesses speak of many dead, the city administration's burial list for April 2, 1945, lists four dead, the highest number of dead within one day. The people of Regensburg knew that the prisoners suffered under a brutal SS regime: after work the SS is said to have had the prisoners attend roll call on the windy Steinerene Brücke, and groans, whimpers, and screams of pain were to be heard from the Colosseum and caused the inhabitants to avoid the area. While the majority of Regensburg citizens were indifferent, a few tried to help by providing food. In one instance, as revealed in a work produced in a history competition organized by the president of the Federal Republic of Germany, the persons giving help were put into a concentration camp.

The Regensburg subcamp was evacuated in a hurry on April 22, 1945, four days before the arrival of the U.S. Army in Regensburg. The prisoners marched to Laufen via Neuötting, Altötting, Burghausen, and Tittmoning. Some of the prisoners arrived there on April 1, 1945, and another group arrived at Berg probably on the same date. There were many that died on the evacuation march.

When the camp was evacuated, 27 prisoners who were either dead or could not work were left behind. Prisoner Hersch Solnik stated that he and a few of his comrades dared to venture out on the street and to ask the citizens of Regensburg for food, which was given to them. In the following days, 10 more prisoners died in Klerikalseminar, an auxiliary hospital that had been set up in the Schottenkloster, from the inhuman working and living conditions. According to the Bundeszentrale, 67 prisoners died in the Colosseum subcamp in total.

SOURCES In the ASt-R, Bestattungssamt Regensburg, are the burial lists that list the Regensburg subcamp prisoners who died in the subcamp between March 23 and April 25, 1945. Ulrich Fritz describes the Regensburg subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, Vol.4, *Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 240–243. Tadeusz Sobolowicz, a concentration camp survivor, describes his stay at the Regensburg subcamp in *But I Survived* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 1998).

Another description of the camp in the context of the Flossenbürg subcamps in the Regensburg region is to be found as part of the history competition organized by the president of the Federal Republic of Germany, "Jugendliche forschen vor Ort," 1983, "Alltag im Nationalsozialismus II (Die Kriegsjahre)." Under the direction of tutor Hans Simon-Pelanda, class 11a of Berufsfachschule für Wirtschaft der Stadt Regensburg won second place. The students' essay is held in the AKö under Signatur GW 1983-0436: "Die Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg in und um Regensburg und ihre Bedeutung für Stadt und Ein-

wohner." A revised version of this work was published in Dieter Galinski and Wolf Schmidt, eds., *Die Kriegsjahre in Deutschland 1939 bis 1945: Ergebnisse und Anregungen aus dem Schülerwettbewerb Deutsche Geschichte um den Preis des Bundespräsidenten 1982/83* (Hamburg: Verlag Erziehung und Wissenschaft, 1985). Hans Simon-Pelanda, the students' tutor, has written several essays on the history of the Regensburg Jews, including the Regensburg Colosseum subcamp: "Wir mussten dann wieder anfangen . . .: Erlebnisse der ersten Mitglieder der jüdischen Gemeinde Regensburg," in *Regensburg 1945–1949* (Regensburg: Volkshochschule, 1987), pp. 75–82; Simon-Pelanda, *Die Wiedergründung der jüdischen Gemeinde Regensburg nach 1945* (Regensburg, 1985); and Simon-Pelanda and Peter Heigl, *Regensburg 1933 bis 1945: Eine andere Stadtführung* (Kallmünz: Verlag Kartenhaus Kollektiv, 1983). There is also a description of the camp by Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski in Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus. Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin: Edition Heitrich, 1995), 1:184–188; Wilhelm Kick, *Sag es unseren Kindern: Widerstand 1933–1945. Beispiel Regensburg* (Berlin: Tesdorpf, 1985), pp. 47–49; Peter Heigl, *Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Bilder und Dokumente gegen das Vergessen* (Regensburg: Mittelbayerische- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1994); Peter Schmid, ed., *Geschichte der Stadt Regensburg*, 2 vols. (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 2000) (Siegfried Wittmer, "Juden in Regensburg in der Neuzeit," pp. 650–673); Rainer Ehm, "Schicksalsort Regensburg" in "Stadt und Mutter in Israel . . ." *Jüdische Geschichte und Kultur in Regensburg* (Regensburg, 1990); Dieter Albrecht, *Regensburg im Wandel: Studien zur Geschichte der Stadt im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Regensburg: Verlag Mittelbayerische Zeitung, 1984); Toni Siegert, "Das KZ Flossenbürg—Ein Lager für sogenannte Asoziale und Kriminelle," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, Bd. II, ed. Martin Broszat, Elke Fröhlich, and Falk Wiesemann (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1979); Hans Brenner, "Der 'Arbeitseinsatz' der KZ-Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg—Ein Überblick," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 1998), 2: 682–707; and Siegfried Wittmer, *Regensburger Juden: Jüdisches Leben von 1515 bis 1990* (Regensburg: Universitätsverlag Regensburg, 1996). The *Vorläufigen Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, published by ITS Arolsen, lists the camp at 1:118; the *BGBI.* (1977), "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," on 1:1835. Results of the investigation by the ZdL in Ludwigsburg can be found at BA-L, IV 410 AR-Z 54/76.

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ROCHLITZ

In the course of the underground transfer of a large part of the German air weapons industry, the Mechanik GmbH, Rochlitz, a subsidiary of the Leipzig Pittler-Werkzeugmaschinenbau

Company and at the same time one of the most important hydraulic manufacturing facilities for the construction of aircraft, had to move, as ordered by the aircraft weapons main committee, 70 to 80 percent of its manufacturing capacity to the Salzbergwerk Wansleben near Halle. In connection with this, the management of Mechanik informed the chairman of the board of the Pittler AG, director of the Deutsche Bank Hermann J. Abs, on August 12, 1944, about the problems resulting for the company. Abs was also chairman of Mechanik and was asked by that company's management to use his influence to gain the forced laborers. From the communication, it follows that Mechanik already counted on a planned but not yet realized project of employment of concentration camp prisoners: "At that time numerous projects were pending, among which a project in Lothringen came into consideration. At that time we had the imposition, as the company in overall charge, to move into a large, closed-down Minette mine with four other companies and work there with concentration camp prisoners, whom we had to retrain."¹

From the additional remarks, it is to be inferred that the Rochlitz company should have only been assigned female concentration camp prisoners, who were not allowed to work with male prisoners in underground deployments. On this it read: "[A]lthough the male prisoners are available to the Mansfeld company, we should only receive female prisoners. The SS does not allow the working together of men and women in one shaft."²

On September 14, 1944, the first transport of 201 women and girls for work at the Mechanik GmbH arrived at Rochlitz from the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp.³ They received prisoner numbers from the Flossenbürg concentration camp from 57941 through 58141.⁴ Before Auschwitz, several of them had already suffered through the Plaszow concentration camp. The places of origin of the women and girls of this transport, all Jewish, were Poland, Hungary, and north Siebenbürgen (Transsylvania).⁵ Former Hungarian prisoner Christea H. testified about this transport: "The majority were from Hungary and from northern Siebenbürgen, which at that time was occupied by fascist Hungary. . . . Twenty-four women were Polish Jews who guarded us. They had been in the camp for a long time and showed no sympathy toward us, the new arrivals [in 1944]."⁶

On October 27, 1944, 125 men from the Buchenwald concentration camp arrived. At Rochlitz they were kept in a separate male camp. After training on tool machines, they were transferred to Mechanik's underground installation, the potassium shaft Georgi, cover name "Biber," at Wansleben am See.⁷

The female camp at Rochlitz also used the Dresden Zeiss-Ikon-Betrieb Goehle-Werk as accommodations for a training group of 59 women, who had been brought from the Ravensbrück concentration camp on December 14, 1944. Flossenbürg assigned them numbers from 60392 through 60450.⁸

After two transports arrived at Rochlitz from the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp with 200 women and girls each,

the first on December 19, 1944, the second on February 1, 1945, the number of prisoners that had been at the Rochlitz subcamp increased to 786. The women and girls of these two transports received the Flossenbürg numbers from 59955 through 60154 and from 61358 through 61557.⁹ Former female prisoner Helena F. testified during her witness questioning before the Israeli board of inquiry:

I come from the city of Slatinske Doly in Carpathian Russia. . . . In the spring 1944 a ghetto was constructed there and after about six weeks we were deported to Auschwitz. We went to Auschwitz—mother, father, three sisters and three brothers. Immediately after leaving the wagons, a selection took place. My parents and two brothers died in Auschwitz. My two sisters and I . . . were in Birkenau and from there we were transported out to Bergen-Belsen. After about three months we were sent to the Rochlitz camp. . . . I was fifteen years old then, small, and worked on a large "revolver machine"—one could not see me when I stood behind the machine. I had to work, however, on the night shift. The work was heavy, especially for me. A civilian foreman was in charge of the work.¹⁰

On February 13, 1945, the airplane weaponry main committee transferred the group of Hungarian and Polish Jews, which had come to Rochlitz in September 1944, to Calw in Württemberg, where they formed a new subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp at the Luftfahrtgeräte GmbH (Lufag).¹¹

In the meantime, since the male prisoners had also been transferred to Wansleben and the group of 59 women from the Zeiss-Ikon detail Goehlewerk had been transported to Dresden, there were only 201 female prisoners in the Rochlitz subcamp detail on January 31, 1945.¹² The counting of February 28, 1945, again shows 402 female prisoners in Rochlitz.¹³ Hungarian inmate Lea F. testified before the Israeli investigating authorities on the selection of the workers in Bergen-Belsen and the treatment in Rochlitz:

At the beginning of the fall 1944 a foreman from a factory came to Bergen-Belsen and selected female employees for his factory. He chose young, attractive women, although he also paid attention to the intelligence of the chosen ones. He took into consideration family members—he didn't separate them. My sister Hedwa was about fifteen years old, small and weak. He set her aside, but as we explained that she was our sister, he took her along. There were also five sisters there from Marmarosz Sighet—one of them was sick. He took four and promised that he would pick up the fifth later. He kept his promise. I emphasize this because of the humane treatment he gave and continued to give us.¹⁴

The women and girls at Rochlitz were assigned to crews on the lathes, milling cutters, drills, and grinding machines, as well as familiarizing themselves with the precision measurement of the parts. The instructions were in the German language. The unusual work with the machines was very demanding for the women, especially for the girls between 12 and 15 years. Several of the younger ones had disguised their real age at Auschwitz in order to escape the selection for the gas chambers. All of them were physically as well as spiritually very exhausted from the loss of relatives at Auschwitz and the constant fear. Furthermore, they suffered in the winter cold in the poorly heated barracks and from the near-daily air-raid sirens, which deprived them of the necessary sleep.

The women of the December transport were initially kept in the Döhlen barrack camp, where the machine instruction also took place, and afterward in the camp at the riding arena in Rochlitz, which had been cleared by the Graslitz transport. For this reason, the February transport went to Döhlen.

The responsible camp leader was the SS-Hauptscharführer Pomorin, to whom another SS-Unterführer and 16 SS and Wehrmacht soldiers were subordinate. Functioning as female guard leader (Oberaufseherin) was Marianne Essmann, who was assigned 17 SS female guards (Aufseherinnen), almost all of whom had previously worked in Rochlitz.¹⁵

Survivors are all in agreement that they were more or less treated correctly at Rochlitz. Former female prisoner Teresa S. reported: "The SS women did not beat us and behaved correctly. There were no prisoner killings in the Rochlitz camp. There were German foremen there. One was from Bavaria. He was an opponent of the Hitler regime. He taught us sabotage. In the office of the factory there was a German civilian. . . . He had selected us at Bergen-Belsen. He had a leading position. He was strict but fair. There was also an engineer in the factory who was from Prussia. He was helpful to the prisoners. Regarding the prisoners' functions, there was a half-Jew from Vienna in the infirmary—supposedly a medical doctor—she was a very bad woman."¹⁶ The closing of the subcamp took place with the removal of 402 women and girls to the Graslitz (Kraslice) subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp on March 28, 1945. From there they had to join the evacuation march in the middle of April 1945.

SOURCES Information on this camp can be found in Josef Seubert, *Von Auschwitz nach Calw: Jüdische Frauen im Dienst der totalen Kriegsführung* (Egglingen: Edition Isee, 1989.) In ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), see: 117.

Archival sources include BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3248/66; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg; Ba-VEB-HR.

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NOTES

1. BA-B, Film 48 555, Aufn.-Nr. 17512, pp. 256–258; Brief der Mechanik GmbH. Rochlitz an Hermann J. Abs v. August 12, 1944.
2. Ibid.
3. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), 117.
4. Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999), pp. 268–271.
5. List of names with places of origin, recorded 1944–1945 by the then-14-year-old Hajnal H. (number. 58008). Copy in possession of the author.
6. Christea Hainalca, letter to the author from December 8, 1997.
7. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3248/66, Aufstellung der Transporte nach Rochlitz.
8. Brenner, *Frauen*, pp. 260–263, 264–267.
9. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 3, p. 66, Schreiben des KZ Flossenbürg—Arbeitseinsatz—an die Kommandantur des Aufenthaltslagers Bergen-Belsen bei Celle, February 3, 1945; Brenner, *Frauen*, pp. 263–264.
10. ZdL, IV 410 AR 3248/66, p. 72, testimony by Helena F. (number 59989).
11. Communication from the head of ZdL, OSta. Streim, to Mr. Norbert Weiss, Calw., from October 18, 1983. Copy in possession of the author.
12. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53.
13. Ibid., pp. 70–71.
14. ZdL, IV 410 AR 3248/66, p. 26, testimony from Lea F. (number 59990).
15. ZdL, IV 410 3248/66.
16. ZdL, IV 410 AR 3248/66, p. 31, testimony from Terezia S. (number 59976).

SAAL AN DER DONAU [AKA RING ME]

Saal an der Donau is located in the Bavarian district of Kelheim, west of Regensburg. A subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp, it was located in Untersaal on the road to Teugn at the southern exit from the village. The camp began to operate on November 30, 1944, with the arrival of 200 prisoners—one-third of them were Russians, one-third were Poles, and the others were French, Germans, Czechs, and some Dutch and Italians.

Saal had been chosen to become the site for the underground production of the Messerschmitt (Me) 262, the world's first operational fighter jet. Organisation Todt (OT) had begun to prepare the site on Ringberg Mountain in the summer of 1944—here is the origin of the code name for the project "Ring[berg] Me[sserschmitt]." Messerschmitt, based in Regensburg and Augsburg, was the most important armaments producer in southern Germany and, as the producer of the Me 109 and Me 262, one of the most important manufacturers of fighter aircraft. For OT, the prisoners had to excavate underground caverns, build roads, and work on preparing

an airfield not far from Ringberg Mountain, on the other bank of the Donau at Herrnsall/Karpfelberg. A document signed by SS-Obersturmbannführer Max Koegel, the last Flossenbürg commandant, and in evidence at the Nuremberg Trials, reveals that the SS paid 20,398 Reichsmark (RM) to the OT Bauleitung for services rendered in December 1944.

The prisoners worked in 10-hour shifts, and their living conditions were miserable. The first inmates lived in holes dug into the ground; later a barracks camp was erected for them, at a distance of about 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) from the site. The camp consisted of 4 to 7 (other statements: 10) barracks. The Saal camp was surrounded with a barbed-wire fence and wooden guard towers. At the camp's entrance was the inscription "Through Work, Be Free" (*Durch Arbeit Frei*). The administration and guards were also accommodated in barracks. In the beginning, there were 31 SS men in the camp, under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Konrad Maier. Some of them were Ukrainians, and Volksdeutsche (ethnic Germans) from Yugoslavia and Hungary. Later, the number of guards increased to 73.

With the arrival of another transport from Flossenbürg, there were 671 prisoners in the camp on March 1, 1945. Many of them were Jews who had already suffered in Auschwitz, Buchenwald, and other camps. On March 13, there were 549 prisoners in the camp. It is unknown whether, in this period of time, prisoners went to other camps or whether more than 120 prisoners had died. Among the inmates, Poles (including Polish Jews) constituted the largest national group, followed by Italians, French, Belgians, Germans, and Hungarians (the latter ones almost exclusively Jews). About half of the inmates were categorized as "civilian workers" and *Schutzhäftlinge* ("protective custody" prisoners); about 100 inmates were Jews.

Numerous inmates fell victim to the insufficient food supply and the harsh working and living conditions. Starting in February 1945, the number of deaths in the camp increased rapidly, mainly due to epidemics: In February, 33 inmates died; in March, 82; in April, 97 (including 66 who died on one day, April 15). There was a *Revier* (infirmary) at the subcamp, with a Hungarian inmate as the camp physician, but there was no medication available. Numerous inmates were killed by the guards—for attempts to escape or to steal food, for instance. To deal with the corpses, a primitive crematorium was erected in the camp in which there were two ovens (or one oven with two chambers). The prisoners who died in the camp were either cremated or hastily buried not far from the camp. Possibly also prisoners who died in other camps, for example, perhaps Regensburg Colosseum or Hersbruck, were cremated in Saal.

From February 24, 1945, the camp leader was Willi Wagner.

The prisoners' food was poor and insufficient. Each prisoner received a quarter loaf of bread a day. At times the prisoners received no food, as was the case between March 3 and 5, 1945. On March 5, when freshly baked bread was distributed to the prisoners, 10 prisoners died within 12 days as a result of difficulties in digesting the hot bread in their emaci-

ated bodies. On March 15, 1945, a Landshut bakery was given a contract to send every 10 days a wagon of bread to the camp. But witnesses also state that farmers secretly gave food to the prisoners.

Despite the murderous use of the prisoners on this construction site, the caverns and tunnel could not have been completed before the end of 1945. By the time the camp was dissolved, the excavation of six holes had only begun, each of them 5 meters wide, 3 meters high, and 7 meters deep (16 by 10 by 23 feet). Also, the airfield at Herrnsall/Karpfelberg was never completed.

According to some sources, the prisoners at the Saal subcamp worked also in the Saal quarry and a nearby potassium factory. The quarry was considered one of the most infamous in Germany; the prisoners worked solely with primitive tools. There were no machines. The stone blocks were levered out from the walls with wedges, reduced in size by hand, loaded on to carts, and pulled to the factory. The guards were brutal; prisoners were beaten to death or shot with a "mercy shot" (*Gnadenschuss*). The death rate among the prisoners was high.

Toward the end of the war, Saal functioned as a transit camp for evacuations from Flossenbürg and other camps toward the south. Around April 20, 1945 (other sources suggest the middle of April), the inmates were shifted in the direction of Dachau, probably in a death march with prisoners from Hersbruck. Prisoners were murdered along the way, for example, in the vicinity of Abensberg.

The number of prisoners who died in the subcamp cannot be accurately determined. After the war, 20 corpses and the ashes of 360 murdered prisoners were found on the camp grounds. The corpses and ashes were initially buried close to the Saal railway station. In 1957, they were reinterred in a new cemetery between Ober and Untersaal. Estimates say that about one-third of the inmates of the Saal subcamp died during the short time the camp existed.

Camp commander Maier stood trial after the war during the Rastatt Tribunal in 1947 but was released due to lack of evidence. The Regensburg district attorney started an investigation in 1955, but there were no results leading to a trial. The same happened with investigations by the district attorney of Nürnberg-Fürth and the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in the 1970s.

SOURCES Events in the Saal an der Donau subcamp were investigated as part of the Flossenbürg concentration camp trials. The files were microfilmed, and the filmed copies are held in NARA, RG 338, Records of the United States Army Commands, 1942, and NARA, RG 153, Records of the Judge Advocate General (Army), Signatur 000-50-103. The document mentioned above on the use of prisoner labor in December 1944 has the Nuremberg evidentiary number NO-395. In *Der Ort des Terrors*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, Ulrich Fritz describes the subcamp in Vol.4, *Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 247–250.

A description of the camp in the context of the Flossenbürg subcamps in the Regensburg area is part of the history competition organized by the president of the Federal Republic of

Germany "Jugendliche forschen vor Ort," 1983, under the title of "Alltag im Nationalsozialismus II (Die Kriegsjahre)." Class 11a of the Berufsfachschule für Wirtschaft der Stadt Regensburg under its teacher came in second. The students' essay is held in the AKÖ under Signatur GW 1983-0436: "Die Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg in und um Regensburg und ihre Bedeutung für Stadt und Einwohner." See also Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski in *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus. Eine Dokumentation*, Bd. 1, ed. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (Bonn, 1995), pp. 112, 190.

The camp is mentioned in Hans Brenner, "Der Arbeits-einsatz in den Aussenlagern des KZs Flossenbürg," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 1998), 2: 698; Toni Siegert, *30.000 Tote mahnen: Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg und seiner 100 Aussenlager von 1938 bis 1945* (Weiden: Verlag der Taubald'schen Buchhandlung GmbH, 1987), pp. 42–47; Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des NS, Band I* (Berlin: Edition Heitrich, 1995), pp. 112, 190; Peter Schmoll, *Messerschmitt-Giganten und der Fliegerhorst Regensburg-Obertraubling 1936–1945* (Regensburg: MZ Buchverlag GmbH, 2002), p. 143; Sebastian Kiendl, *Saaler Heimatbuch* (Saal an der Donau: Selbstverlag der Gemeinde, 1984); Rainer Ehm, "Schicksalsort Regensburg," in *Stadt und Mutter in Israel . . . : Jüdische Geschichte und Kultur in Regensburg* (Regensburg: Stadt Regensburg, 1990); and Rudibert Ettelt, *Kelheim 1939–1945* (Kelheim, 1975), pp. 122–125. Other sources on the camp are Rainer Ehm, "Die letzten Kriegswochen 1945 im Raum Keilheim-Regensburg: Vortrag am 13.11.1992 bei der 'Gruppe Geschichte der Weltenburger Akademie'" (MSS, Regensburg, 1992); and Sabine Mayrhofer, *Saal: Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers in Flossenbürg* (Kelheim: Kollegstufen-Facharbeit am Donau-Gymnasium, 1989). The *Vorläufigen Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Hafstädtten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, published by the ITS), lists the camp at 1:119; the *BGBI.* (1977), "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," at 1:1837. For investigations by ZdL, see BA-L, ZdL, 410 AR-Z 223/75.

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SCHLACKENWERTH

The Schlackenwerth (Ostrov) subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp was near Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary). As with the Flossenbürg subcamps in Jungfern-Breschan, Neu-hirschstein, and Eisenberg, it had a particularly characteristic building style. In these locations prisoners were put to work in castles. Their quarters were also in the castles. All these distinctive buildings had been confiscated by the SS for a variety of uses. They either were homes for the highest SS leaders, such as Jungfern-Breschan for the Heydrich family; prisons for prominent prisoners such as Castle Schloss Neu-hirschstein near Meissen for the Belgian royal family; or

favored sites for SS offices such as Schlackenwerth. The concentration camp prisoners in these castle Kommandos were mostly required for construction or auxiliary labor. These idyllic sites did not mean that there were better working conditions or that the survival chances of the prisoners were higher. The example of Schlackenwerth shows quite clearly that the prisoners were subject at any time to torture, mistreatment, and murder by the SS guards.

Schlackenwerth Castle was built between 1693 and 1696. It had once belonged to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and was later owned by the Princes von Bismarck. Between 1899 and 1918, it was administered as a feudal estate. After the establishment of the first Czechoslovakian Republic, ownership of the castle fell into the hands of the Czechoslovak state. It was confiscated by the SS when German troops marched into the Sudetenland. It was then used for a variety of purposes. Immediately after Czechoslovakia was annexed in March 1939, the Gestapo in Karlsbad established the first camp in the castle. Jews in the area were held there, as were members of the Czech opposition. This camp lasted for just six months and served to establish the SS position for the persecution of political and "race" opponents in the occupied Bohemian territory. A number of Jewish prisoners were murdered between March and the early summer of 1939. However, many Czech publications erroneously state that the camp had a connection at this time with the concentration camp at Flossenbürg.¹ Between the summer of 1939 and 1943, resettled Germans from Wolhynia were quartered in Schlackenwerth Castle, and a variety of SS units and offices used parts of the expanded castle grounds. It was only from May 1943 that prisoners were accommodated there and a Flossenbürg subcamp was established on the site.

The reasons for the opening of a subcamp are found in the relocation of a Berlin SS office, which used prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, as a result of the war. On June 23, 1942, a Sachsenhausen subcamp was formed in the Berlin suburb of Lichtenfelde, regarded as an SS suburb. Numerous SS troops and offices were stationed there. The prisoners were mainly used as work detachments in a variety of SS building projects but also in administrative offices such as the SS-Kleiderkasse (Clothing Checkout) in Kaiserallee attached to the Amt BII/3 of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). Work in the Kleiderkasse was regarded by the prisoners as comparatively privileged work. Because of the regular contact with civilians, there was no requirement to wear prisoner uniforms. This status was to change dramatically when the office was transferred to Schlackenwerth.

After a heavy bombing raid in which part of the office building in the Kaiserallee was damaged, the SS-Kleiderkasse, with some of the prisoners, was relocated on May 17, 1943, to Schlackenwerth. On May 31, it was merged with a Flossenbürg work detachment.² There was a second transport of prisoners on June 9, 1943, and the numbers reached 100; this would remain the average number of prisoners in the camp.³ Prisoner numbers fluctuated largely in Schlackenwerth as is

shown by the transport reports. While in December 1944 there were temporarily only 69 prisoners in the camp,⁴ at the end of February 1945, there were 121 prisoners from 11 nations, including 25 Germans, a Belgian, 8 French, 6 Italians, 5 Yugoslavs, a Dutchman, a Croat, 29 Poles, 23 Russians, 20 Czechs, 1 Hungarian, and a stateless person. There were no Jewish prisoners.⁵ The prisoners were chiefly used in rebuilding the castle, in tailoring, and in shoe repair, as well as in loading and transport activities. Although Schlackenwerth was a small subcamp, the conditions are described by surviving prisoners as being particularly horrible when compared with the camp in Berlin-Lichterfelde. The usual Sunday break in many camps almost completely disappeared from Schlackenwerth from September 1944.⁶ The prisoners had to work 12 hours a day under rapidly deteriorating supplies and provisions. Particularly when new clothing transports arrived for the SS, the prisoners had to work late into the night without a break.

SS-Oberscharführer Edmund Fieger was responsible for the tighter working and living conditions and for the reduced survival chances of the prisoners. He was born in 1885 near Erfurt. He acted (from no later than June 30, 1943) as the commander of the SS-Kleiderkasse and was known as a brutal sadist. Witness statements by former prisoners unanimously confirm that Fieger constantly terrorized the prisoners with uncontrollable outbursts of rage. His favorite victims to harass were Russians and Poles, whom he arbitrarily beat and mishandled. Fieger was personally accused of several killings in Schlackenwerth. The prisoners who were recaptured following an unsuccessful escape attempt on October 19, 1944, two German prisoner-functionaries, were hung in the castle yard on October 27, 1944.⁷ He is said to have murdered a Russian prisoner by pushing him from scaffolding on the fourth floor of the castle. However, this murder could not be proven. What was proven is that in Schlackenwerth, in addition to those two executions, a Pole was executed on July 17, 1944, a Frenchman on March 16, 1945, and another Pole on March 24, 1945. The corpses were most likely taken to the crematorium in the nearby spa town of Karlsbad, where they were cremated. Fieger was never prosecuted for his crimes. He died before the state prosecutors began investigations.⁸

Except for 10 remaining prisoners, the camp was transferred in the middle of April 1945 to the Flossenbürg subcamp at Leitmeritz. Once again the prisoners were put to work under atrocious conditions. The remaining prisoners experienced May 8, the day that Germany capitulated, as the final day of their captivity. Allied troops did not liberate the camp. It was only two weeks later that Czech partisans occupied Schlackenwerth Castle and released the remaining prisoners.

SOURCES The first depictions in Socialist Czechoslovakia of National Socialist camps in Czechoslovakia appeared in the 1960s. The compilation by Růžena Bubeníčková, Ludmila Kubátová, and Irena Malá, *Tábory utrpení a smrti* (Prague, 1969), incorrectly describes the Gestapo prison from 1939 as

"Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg, SS-Kommandostelle Karlsbad, KZ Stelle Schlackenwerth" and fails to mention the real subcamp, SS-Kleiderkasse. There have been no further studies, either in German or in Czech, regarding the Schlackenwerth subcamp. In 2001, a small pamphlet was published on the Sachsenhausen subcamp Berlin-Lichterfelde, part of which was transferred to Schlackenwerth and formed the departure port for the Flossenbürg subcamp: Klaus Leutner, *Das KZ-Aussenlager Lichterfelde* (Berlin, 2001).

There are numerous prisoner files such as transport lists, entries in the Flossenbürg Numbers Book (*Nummernbuch*) as well as accounts for work done all relating to Schlackenwerth. Most of these files are held in the BA-B, Collection NS4/F1, as well as the archives of the AG-F. The files of the preliminary investigations done by the ZdL at BA-L, in particular, the comprehensive witness statements by former prisoners and inhabitants of Schlackenwerth, are a core source collection (ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 24/68). However, these sources do not provide more exact details on the names of the camp victims.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 24/68.
2. CEGESOMA, Transport list 31 May 1943, Microfilm 14368.
3. Transport list, June 9, 1943, ebenda.
4. BA-B, NS4/F1-393/2, Labour Demand, January 1, 1945.
5. BA-B, DOK/K 183/11, Prisoner List based on Race and Country, February 28, 1945.
6. Statement by Marian Krzyminski, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 24/68.
7. Prisoner Numbers Books, NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3.
8. Conclusion, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 24/68.

SCHÖNHEIDE

In 1944, the R. Fuess company's manufacturing site for producing measuring instruments used in aircraft weaponry was transferred from Berlin-Steglitz to Schönheide in the western Erzgebirge. The company was relocated to the factory rooms of the closed-down Arlt textile printing works.¹ Due to the lack of workers, the R. Fuess company received from the aircraft weaponry main committee a group of 50 concentration camp male prisoners, in addition to prisoners of war (POWs) and civilian slave laborers. On February 21, 1945, this transport from the Flossenbürg concentration camp arrived at Schönheide.

The prisoners were settled in a space of the Schuricht brush factory. Belonging to the group were 17 Czechs; 12 Poles, including 10 Jews; and 9 Germans, besides head Kapo Georg Weilbach who had become famous as the second camp elder (Lagerältester) at Flossenbürg and in the Mülsen St. Micheln subcamp. There were also in this group 3 Italians, 2 Belgians, 2 French, 1 Bulgarian, 1 Russian, 1 Greek, 1 Yugoslav, and 1 Hungarian, the last 3 being Jews.²

On March 31, 1945, the group still counted 48 prisoners. Up to that time, 1 prisoner had died, and 1 (a Czech) had escaped.³ The counting of April 13, 1945, still showed 46 prisoners, although to that point in time it is possible that at least 6 prisoners died, as written down by the Luxembourg prisoner Albert Hommel on April 14, 1945, in Johanngeorgenstadt.⁴ In SS documents, only 2 fatalities are recorded for the Schönheide subcamp.

An eyewitness account describes the treatment of a prisoner by German manager Walter Arlt, the head of the closed-down textile printing works: "A prisoner sat on the lavatory steps in the courtyard. Mr. Arlt went to him and argued with him that he should work. Because he refused he kicked him in the stomach. When Gustav Seidel [a German worker] called out 'he shouldn't do that again,' he let him go. The next day the man was no longer alive. Around 6:00 in the evening he was taken to the graveyard in a handcart (2 SS guards, 4 prisoners). The handcart was turned over into a large hole (mass grave)."⁵

The prisoners were employed in building barracks on the company grounds and for the transport of material between the various warehouses and manufacturing sites. Several Germans took advantage of the possibilities of contact between the prisoners and the German workers, slipping food to the prisoners. They were reported and, in accordance with the rules, threatened by officers employed by the Nazis, like the head of the Deutsche Arbeitsfront German Labor Front, DAF), with being sent to a concentration camp, should it happen again.⁶

The responsible camp leader (Lagerführer) was SS-Unterscharführer Carl Freitag, to whom 2 SS-Unterführer and 14 SS guards were subordinate.⁷

The evacuation of the prisoners began on April 13, 1945. On foot they reached the Johanngeorgenstadt camp on the same day. Albert Hommel reported: "Camp Schönheide (43 prisoners) Carl Freitag, SS-Unterscharführer, arrived without losses via Eibenstock on 13.4.45, went back toward Schönheide on 14.4.45, from where they were evacuated on the next day on orders from the local commanding officer. The Kapo Weilbach, known for his cruelty, was shot underway by a prisoner, who afterward was able to save himself with several others. I was able to again draw up the list of the prisoners from Schönheide—a copy is enclosed. . . . Signed, Albert Hommel." (Hommel was wrong, however, when he reported about Weilbach being shot by prisoners during the evacuation. Weilbach was sentenced to life in prison at the Flossenbürg Trial at Dachau, later pardoned, and released early from prison. In 1957, he was once again tried before the Weiden District Court. After serving a sentence, he was once again free.)⁸ During the resumed evacuation, there was an escape, or a liberation attempt by several of the prisoners, on the road between Schönheide and Eibenstock during which some prisoners were shot.

SOURCES Schönheide is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arol-

sen, 1979), 1: 120. Some background information useful for this essay is found in Peter Heigl with Benedicte Omont, *Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Regensburg: Mittelbays. Druckerei- u.Verlags-GmbH, 1989). On the shootings during the death march, see BPB, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen (Bonn, 1999), p. 748.

Primary sources for this subcamp may be found in ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg; BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR.Z 18/68, Bd. III; and the former Ba-VEB-Bü-SHD.

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trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. Ehem. Ba-VEB-Bü-SHD, Berichte ehemaliger Mitarbeiter der Fa. R. Fuess, np.
2. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 4, p. 104, Übersicht über Nationalitäten, February 28, 1945.
3. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 86–87.
4. BA-B, Film 14 430, p. 1264; BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR.Z 18/68, Bd. III, p. 512, "Liste des prisonniers de Schoenheide/Vogtland qui sont arrivés le 13 avril 1945—au camp de Johanngeorgenstadt."
5. Ehem. Ba-VEB-Bü-SHD, Berichte ehemaliger Mitarbeiter der Fa. R. Fuess, np.
6. Ibid.
7. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 70–71.
8. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 1, p. 93, Albert Hommel: "Marches de la Mort."

SEIFHENNERSDORF

The Seifhennersdorf subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp was administered by the Waffen-SS Bauleitung (Building Administration) in Dresden. From the subcamp at the SS-Pionierkaserne, approximately 30 prisoners were used from the middle of January 1944 to build an SS hospital at Seifhennersdorf in the district of Zittau near Rumbuk on the Saxon-Bohemian border.

According to the labor requests issued by the Flossenbürg command office to the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei (Waffen-SS and Police Building Administration) Dresden, building work was planned for Seifhennersdorf for the whole year of 1944. From January 17, 1944, there were on average 30 prisoners working at Seifhennersdorf, the majority of whom were skilled workers, not simple laborers.¹ This number remained relatively constant with some variations downward. A letter from the Flossenbürg camp office to Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) for Bohemia and Moravia SS-Obergruppenführer Frank provides details of the prisoners' nationalities for July 1944 as follows: 17 Germans, 4 Yugoslavs, 3 Poles, 2 Soviets, and 1 Czech.² Most of them were skilled building workers and had already done building work at the SS-Pionierkaserne in Dresden. Many had been in concentration camps for years; this fact, plus the large number of

Germans, supports the assumption that the conditions at Seifhennersdorf were relatively good. The prisoners were accommodated in a hunter's lodge, which was also the subcamp's postal address. The only witness has stated that there were no mistreatments or killings in the camp.³ The prisoners were guarded by at least 14 guards, belonging to the Stettin SS-Lazarett.⁴

The HSSPF for Bohemia and Moravia and Minister of State SS-Obergruppenführer Frank visited the Seifhennersdorf subcamp on August 10, 1944, as part of an official trip. The participants visited a number of subcamps and other SS camps. They were more interested in camp security and arrived by accident at the Seifhennersdorf subcamp, which the Flossenbürg camp office erroneously ordered under the area administered by the SS section Bohemia and Moravia (in fact, it was a part of the SS sector Elbe).⁵ The report's summary is less surprising: "There are too many SS guards in relation to the number of prisoners."

The first detachment leader was SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Hartmann, who was much liked by the prisoners. Until September 1944, he was the detachment leader at the SS-Pionierkaserne in Dresden. He was suspended in Seifhennersdorf for "facilitating escapes" and held under arrest in Flossenbürg for three months. There are no documents regarding the escape attempts, and given the number of guards, it is difficult to assess how an escape could be possible. Hartmann was replaced by 25-year-old SS-Sturmmann Sieber.

The camp was dissolved on March 16, 1945. A list prepared four days later mentions this date as the date of the transfer of 29 prisoners from the camp to the Flossenbürg Rabstein subcamp. Included among the 29 men were 10 Germans, 8 Poles, 6 Russians, 2 Yugoslavs, 1 Czech, 1 Slovene, and 1 Croat. A comparison with the Flossenbürg registration books shows that the great majority were the same men who, in the summer of 1944, had been stationed in Seifhennersdorf. (A Yugoslav listed in the Numbers Books [*Nummernbüchern*] is described as a Croat in the transport list of March 16 1945).⁶ Josef L., a witness, has reported that the prisoners were marched in a close group 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the camp at Rabstein and that none had died on the way. A few German prisoners, such as the witness Josef L., were transferred a few days later to Flossenbürg, others to Dresden. The Rabstein subcamp was the last Flossenbürg subcamp to be dissolved on May 9, when it was liberated by Soviet troops.

SOURCES Investigations by the ZdL at BA-L (410 AR 3246/66) documented the duration, type, and conditions of the forced labor of the Seifhennersdorf prisoners, on the basis of the files in the Flossenbürg collection in the BA-B. The Flossenbürg Nummernbüchern are available at NARA and copied at AG-F. Journalist and historian Toni Siegert has copies of documents held by the ITS, Hist. Abt., including prisoner numbers and data on the number of prisoners and guards in Seifhennersdorf, which are available at AG-F.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 4/FL 393, vol 1: Forderungsnachweis der Kommandantur in Flossenbürg, March 1, 1944.
2. BA-L, ZdL, Sammlung Verschiedenes, Heft IV, Bd. 48, Picture Nr. 369: Schreiben des Kommandanten Koegel an Frank, July 11, 1944.
3. ZdL, 410 AR 3246/66, Statement by Josef L., p. 41.
4. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Flossenbürg-Sammelakt 10, p. 70: Stärkemeldung der Wachmannschaften und ihrer Bewaffnung sowie der Häftlinge der Arbeitslager im Dienstbereich des Höheren SS- und Polizeiführers Elbe, February 28, 1945 (Sammlung Siegert).
5. ZdL, Sammlung Verschiedenes, Heft IV, Bd. 48, Bild Nr. 370–390: Reisebericht von SS-Ogruf. Frank, SS-Staf. Dr. Weinmann und SS-Hstf. und Hauptmann der Polizei Hoffmann über die am 10./11. August 1944 durchgeführte Dienstreise (Sammlung Siegert).
6. NARA, RG 338, 290/13/22/3, 000–50–46, Box 537 (Microfilm copy in AG-F).

SIEGMAR-SCHÖNAU

Since the spring of 1944, the Auto Union AG group had been negotiating with the authorities responsible for the allocation of labor, primarily the main committees for tanks, weapons, and trucks of the so-called personal responsibility of the industry, in order to receive more employees for the Siegmar factory, because the company depended on this labor for fulfilling the weapons orders it had received. In a factory management meeting of April 1944, it was established that "the carrying out of the planned program is not possible because 1) the necessary machines, 2) the necessary workers, 3) the absolutely necessary first run, yielding perfect material and with normal reject quotas could not be guaranteed to date. . . . The maximum factory production of this motor [the Maybach tank motor HL 230 for the tank VII "Tiger," built under license] is thus not more than 250 units per month. A delivery of more than this can only be promised after these difficulties are overcome."¹

In the competition of the weapons manufacturers for labor, the Auto Union had already received thousands of concentration camp prisoners for the expansion of the underground tank motor factory at the property "Richard" in Leitmeritz. Despite this, the group also sought to secure prisoners for the Siegmar factory.

The minutes of the company management meeting of July 14, 1944, read: "To cover these requirements negotiations are presently under way regarding the transfer of concentration camp prisoners. . . . Since the fulfilling of the especially important program now under way at the Siegmar factory must be absolutely assured, every effort for obtaining labor must be continued with extreme strength. The board wishes to be continually informed about the success of these efforts, especially about the employment of concentration camp prisoners."²

After the Auto Union representatives had received the allocation from the main committees and finally discussed the

selection of prisoners with the responsible Office D II of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), a memo about the meeting of the company management on August 18, 1944, read: "Since 400 prisoners are expected to take up work in Siegmar by the end of this month, this number may be reduced to 284 workers at the end of the month without regard to fluctuation in work requirements."³

On September 10, 1944, the first prisoners, Polish Jews, arrived at Siegmar from Auschwitz. Most of these men were taken to Auschwitz after the Łódź ghetto had been liquidated. Former prisoner Szaja Baczyński writes: "My brother Mosche and I were together at Auschwitz. From there we went to the camp at Siegmar-Schönau. We were there a few weeks and worked in the Wanderer Works of the Auto Union."⁴

The prisoners were registered with numbers from 26411 through 26810 by the Flossenbürg main camp, the administrative headquarters of the Siegmar-Schönau subcamp.⁵

In order to ensure more prisoner laborers, the Auto Union concern offered to accommodate around 400 concentration camp prisoners and to use them for work "after the concluded extension of the 3rd upper floor, expected for the middle of December."⁶

On September 11, 1944, one day after the subcamp was formed in Siegmar, the factory was heavily bombed by an air raid. The prisoner accommodations burned down. Szaja B. wrote: "After the factory and a part of the camp were bombed, we slept in an open field and had to help with the clearing-up work after the bombardment. After a few weeks we went from there to Hohenstein-Ernstthal."⁷ Several prisoners suffered wounds due to the air raid. SS camp leader (Lagerführer) Bläcke was also wounded and had to be replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Franz Reber.⁸ Whether the reduction of the SS guard unit from the original 36 guards to 29 is also due to wounds from the air raid is not known.⁹

On October 23, 1944, a factory memo speaks of 398 concentration camp prisoners at the Siegmar camp. According to SS documents, however, at this time 3 prisoners had already died, and 3 further fatalities were mentioned by the time the prisoners were transferred in January 1945.¹⁰

After the bombing of September 11, 1944, the operation of the factory was also interrupted several times due to air-raid alarms, as shown by the Flossenbürg claims against the Auto Union factory. In the claims document No. 767, regarding December 1944, the SS demands from the Auto Union the amount of 57,464.00 Reichsmarks (RM) from which, however, was to be deducted 9,611.35 RM for prisoners' maintenance and 1,022.60 RM for the loss of working hours due to air raids during October and November 1944.¹¹

In January 1945, the transfer of the Siegmar subcamp took place on foot to the tank motor factory at Hohenstein-Ernstthal, which in the meantime had been evacuated. The prisoners stayed there until the evacuation in the middle of April 1945.

SOURCES The Siegmar-Schönau subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 120.

The following archival sources are relevant: BA-L, ZdL IV 410 AR-Z 57/76, Bd. 1 and 2; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg; SHStA-(D), Auto Union AG; and APCK.

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trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. SHStA-(D), Auto Union AG, Nr. 205, Produktionsprogramme Auto Union, Aktennotiz über die Konzernleitungssitzung, April 24, 1944, p. 13.
2. Ibid., Aktennotiz über die Konzernleitungssitzung, July 14, 1944, p. 22.
3. Ibid., Aktennotiz über die Konzernleitungssitzung, August 18, 1944, p. 20.
4. Szaja Baczyński, report to the author, February 15, 2001, p. 1.
5. APCK, Nr. 3358.
6. StA-D, Auto Union AG, Nr. 205; Produktionsprogramme, Aktennotiz über die Konzernleitungssitzung v. 22. 11. 1944, p. 27.
7. Baczyński report, p. 1.
8. ZdL. IV 410 AR-Z 57/76, Bd.I.
9. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, BI. 52/53; BI. 70/71.
10. APCK, Nr. 3358.

STEINSCHÖNAU

There was a Flossenbürg subcamp in Steinschönau (Kamenický-Šenov), an old glass city in the north Bohemian Lausitz town of Bergen (Lužické Hory) not far from the city of Böhmishe Kamnitz (Česká Kamenice). It existed from September 1944 to January 1945. While the two subcamps in the little town of St. Georgenthal (Jiřetín) were only a few kilometers away and are today relatively well documented, the background to the use of concentration camp prisoners in Steinschönau has remained mostly unexamined.

The subcamp in Steinschönau is first mentioned on September 30, 1944, in the monthly *Stärkemeldungen der Arbeitslager im Zuständigkeitsbereich des Höheren-SS und Polizeiführers für Böhmen und Mähren* (Monthly Strength Reports of Labor Camps under the Jurisdiction of the Higher-SS and Police Leader [HSSPF] for Bohemia and Moravia) where there is a reference to 48 male prisoners. The entry has the following notation: "Wache stellt Gendarmerie Aussig a.d. Elbe" (Guards are Gendarmerie Aussig on the Elbe).¹ Based on a transport list, it is possible to state that the camp was opened on September 22, 1944. On this day, 48 prisoners from Flossenbürg were transferred to the Hotel Glasstuben at Steinschönau where they were to work. There were 25 Poles, 10 Soviet citizens, 7 French, 3 Czechs, 2 Italians, and a German. There were no Jews among the prisoners.² All the prisoners were qualified tradesmen such as bricklayers, carpenters, plumbers, and painters, and just about all wore the red triangle of the political prisoners. Only the German prisoner was categorized as a preventive custody prisoner (*Vorbeugehäftling*) and transferred to Steinschönau as a Kapo.

The subcamp in Steinschönau had the classic structure of the small Flossenbürg work detachments—the transfer of 1 German Vorbeugehaftling was aimed to ensure that internal prisoner discipline was established by prisoners with the green triangle.

One can assume from the relevant professional qualifications of the prisoners that the detachment was a building detachment. The monthly Labor Demands (*Forderungsnachweise*) from the “Kommandantur-Arbeitseinsatz K.L. Flossenbürg” (Flossenbürg Command Office—Labor Deployment) for payment were addressed to the Hotel Glassstuben.³ In the late summer of 1944, this north Bohemian region lay far from the front and was relatively secure from Allied air raids. It became the area where numerous armaments industries, important war units, headquarters, and military hospitals were located. On many of these projects the labor of the Flossenbürg concentration camp prisoners was used, for example, in Steinschönau. In this small town were built a military hospital as well as a department of the armaments company “Weser Flugzeugbau,” which had its own Flossenbürg subcamp in nearby Rabstein. However, neither information on the guards, which were not the SS but Gendarmerie from Aussig, nor the address of the Forderungsnachweise, the Hotel Glasstuben, provides concrete details on what the prisoners worked on. No statements have been made on where they were accommodated, their treatment, or the conditions in which they were held. The Hotel Glasstuben may have been where they worked or where they were held.

There are documents that show the change in the prisoner numbers in Steinschönau. One month after the formation of the camp, the prisoner numbers had been reduced by 1. Prisoner numbers remained constant at 47 until the end of January 1945;⁴ 5 prisoners, including 4 Soviets and a Pole, were able to escape Steinschönau on January 21, 1945. Following this successful escape, the camp was dissolved, and the remaining 42 prisoners were transferred to the giant Leitmeritz subcamp system on January 27, 1945.⁵ Two recaptured Soviets were also transferred to Leitmeritz. The prisoners were immediately put into the work detachments that were excavating underground caverns. The conditions were terrible. While there are no known reports of deaths in Steinschönau, 6 of the 44 prisoners who were originally in Steinschönau had died in Leitmeritz by April 12, including the German Kapo Willi Zatzke.⁶ It is likely that the death rate was much higher, as the Leitmeritz subcamp continued for a whole month, until May 8, after the dissolution of the Flossenbürg camp and the end of entries in the central prisoner registers.

SOURCES The Steinschönau subcamp is not referred to at all in any available German or Czech historical writings.

The only reliable sources on this subcamp are the prisoners’ transport lists that are held in the BA-B (Bestand NS4-Fl), in Brussels (CEGESOMA, Microfilm 14368), and the ITS, Hist. Abt., collection on Flossenbürg (available at

AG-F). A preliminary investigation by the ZdL (at BA-L) revealed no useful historical or judicial material (V-410 AR 3286/66).

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NOTES

1. Stärkemeldung der Wachmannschaften und Häftlinge der Arbeitslager im Dienstbereich des HSSPF für Böhmen und Mähren nach dem Stand vom 30. September 1944, BA-L, ZdL, Steinschönau, IV 410 AR 3286/66.

2. Transportliste, September 22, 1944, CEGESOMA, Microfilm 14368.

3. Forderungsnachweise für den Häftlingseinsatz für die Monate Oktober bis Dezember 1944, BA-B, NS4/Fl-393/2.

4. Stärkemeldung der Wachmannschaften und Häftlinge der Arbeitslager im Dienstbereich des HSSPF für Böhmen und Mähren nach dem Stand vom 30. November 1944, ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg-Sammelakt 10.

5. Tägliche Stärkemeldung, January 28, 1945, CEGESOMA, Microfilm 14368.

6. Tägliche Stärkemeldungen, January 29 to April 12, 1945, in ibid.

ST. GEORGENTHAL

The small village of St. Georgenthal, in the north of the Reichsgau (Nazi Party Province) Sudetenland, Warnsdorf district (present-day Jiřetín pod Jedlovou), had a special role in the concentration camp system, a role that is shared by very few other subcamps. In St. Georgenthal, there were almost simultaneously two subcamps of two different concentration camps. This led to confusion in understanding the structure of the camps, both in the literature and in the investigations that were carried out after 1945. In November 1944, 50 female Jewish prisoners from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp were allocated to the company Sicht- und Zerlegewerk GmbH in St. Georgenthal. From this point on, St. Georgenthal was a Gross-Rosen subcamp. The female prisoners were accommodated in St. Georgenthal. They worked in the neighboring district town of Warnsdorf in the dismantling of shot-down aircraft and burned-out trucks and also in building work.

In addition, from October 1, 1944, there was a subcamp of Flossenbürg at the firm of A. Schultze Jr. This camp is referred to in a list of guards and prisoners of Flossenbürg of October 1944 in the area of the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Bohemia.¹ As much as is known, both camps were not connected in any way other than by geographic location. The interesting question as to why there was a crossover of organizational responsibilities between the Gross-Rosen and Flossenbürg concentration camps cannot be answered because of the absence of source information. However, it is possible to sketch a broad outline of the history of the Flossenbürg subcamp in St. Georgenthal.

The relocation of the firm A. Schultze Jr. Blankschrauben-Fabrik und Fassondreherei Berlin from the German capital to St. Georgenthal was anticipated in a letter sent by the firm's owner to the mayor of St. Georgenthal in October 1943.² The firm A. Schultze Jr. produced precision metal parts for air weaponry as part of the German Air Ministry's Fighter Program (Jägerprogramm). The relocated enterprise was to be seated in the factory buildings of the no-longer-operating Julius Richter spinning mill. The Schultze firm had an enormous demand for room in St. Georgenthal since its whole Berlin workforce was to be relocated to northern Bohemia. As a result, in October 1943 the A. Schultze Jr. firm rented and rebuilt the former hunter's lodge in the small village. The delivery of the first machines and the arrival of the first civilian skilled workers did not occur until March 18, 1944. The sources available indicate that no application for concentration camp prisoners had been made at this point in time. However, during the course of 1944, the firm A. Schultze Jr. actively sought the use of concentration camp prisoners to compensate for the general labor shortage. A decision by the Sudeten Gauleiter of September 1944 about the allocation of further space for the important war production of the firm A. Schultze Jr. expressly mentions the allocation of concentration camp prisoners.³ The sparse sources, however, do not reveal the nature of the work envisaged for the concentration camp prisoners.

The decision to allocate forced laborers from a concentration camp must have been taken very quickly because by October 1, 1944, the firm A. Schultze Jr. was a Flossenbürg subcamp. SS-Oberscharführer Müller had been appointed as detachment leader in St. Georgenthal even before the arrival of the first prisoner transport.

The first concentration camp prisoners were transferred from Flossenbürg to St. Georgenthal shortly after October 10. The 18 men started to work on October 15, 1944, according to a labor report for the month of October 1944.⁴ On the following day, 30 prisoners were put to forced labor in St. Georgenthal. Between October 1944 and the end of February 1945, the subcamp constantly had around 30 prisoners, mostly Poles and Soviets but also some French, Italians, Czechs, and a German political prisoner, who was the Kapo. In contrast to the Gross-Rosen subcamp, there is no record of any Jewish prisoners in the Flossenbürg subcamp of St. Georgenthal.

The prisoners were probably used in building detachments to expand the work area and not in armaments production, as is indicated by their small number. The composition of the camp changed little in its five months of existence. However, the successful escape of a Pole and a Soviet prisoner in November 1944 is documented. The Soviet prisoner was recaptured three days later and handed over to the responsible State Police Office.⁵ Other than the unexplained fate of this prisoner, there is no indication of any deaths in the St. Georgenthal subcamp.

The St. Georgenthal subcamp was completely dissolved on February 28, 1945, and the 31 prisoners were sent back to

Flossenbürg. Some of these prisoners were then immediately transferred to other Flossenbürg subcamps such as Regensburg, Kirchham, and Janowitz, as well as to Buchenwald and Bergen-Belsen. The death of 3 of these prisoners on the return transport from St. Georgenthal to Flossenbürg is documented.⁶

SOURCES The Flossenbürg St. Georgenthal subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 119. It appears only in a few Czech studies, the majority of which were published during the period of the Czechoslovak Soviet Socialist Republic. Little information is to be gained from these studies other than the mention of the camp. What makes this situation more difficult is the fact that the Flossenbürg camp is often confused with the women's Gross-Rosen subcamp, which was also located in St. Georgenthal. A local historical magazine in the Czech district of Děčín published an essay in 2001 about both subcamps in St. Georgenthal. The author is mostly concerned with the history of the buildings, since there were no other sources available to him (Jan Štika, "Příspěvek k historii koncentračních táborů v Jiřetíně pod Jedlovou").

The literature reflects the poor archival sources. The files of the St. Georgenthal city archive and the Council of Warnsdorf have only been partially preserved in SpkA-D. The main sources on this subcamp are the register books of the Flossenbürg concentration camp at AG-F, since the German investigation files of ZdL (held at BA-L), which often provide a rich source of material, have little to offer about crimes in the subcamps.

Jörg Skribeleit
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZdL, Preliminary Investigations, St. Georgenthal, IV 410 AR 3286/66.
2. SpkA-D, Archiv města Jiřetín pod Jedlovou, nepracované dodatky, Brief des Firmeninhabers A. Schultze Jr. an den Bürgermeister von St. Georgenthal, September 25, 1943.
3. SpkA-D, Archiv města Jiřetín pod Jedlovou, nepracované dodatky, Brief des Gauleiters und Reichsstatthalters im Sudetengau an die Firma A. Schultze Jr., September 20, 1944.
4. BA-B, NS 4/Fl-393/2.
5. AG-F, Häftlingsnummernbuch, Film Roll FC 1804.
6. Ibid.; and Film Roll 91378.

STULLN

The subcamp in Stulln, part of the present-day Bavarian district of Schwandorf in the southern Oberpfalz (Upper Palatinate), about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) south of Weiden, was probably established at the beginning of 1942 and existed for only six months. It is first mentioned in February–March 1942. Stulln was the first subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp system, founded shortly after attempts within the SS to reorganize the employment of inmates. The camp

was founded shortly after the creation of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA).

The prisoners were used in the construction of a fluorite mine, which was vital for the war effort. In 1941, the firm of Riedel & Co. had been commissioned with the erection of a plant to mine fluorite, the Vereinigte Aluminium-Werke Flussspatchemie. The plant was constructed close to the Flick mines at Haidhof and Maximilianshütte. Since the project was considered important for the war effort, Soviet and French prisoners of war (POWs), Czech forced laborers, and Soviet civilian prisoners were employed. They were kept in the Waldfrieden-Lager, a camp made of wooden barracks. In February 1942, about 200 Flossenbürg inmates were taken to the Waldfrieden camp in Stulln and kept in a separately fenced area. Most of the inmates were *Vorbeugungshäftlinge* ("preventive custody" prisoners), while some were "asocials" and homosexuals; most of them were German, with only a few Polish, Soviet, or Czech. The camp was guarded by the SS.

Survivors report that the conditions in the camp were bearable. There was no mistreatment or killing of inmates, and the food was sufficient—especially since the prisoners received *Schwerarbeiterzulage* (supplements for those performing the heaviest labor).

But apparently the camp was no economic success, and in October 1942, the 204 Stulln prisoners were transferred to the Flossenbürg subcamp in Dresden N 23, Döbelner Strasse 54, which was under the administration of the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei (Waffen-SS and Police Building Administration). Here they constructed accommodations for an SS-Pionierbataillon. The Stulln camp is referred to for the last time on October 17, 1942.

SOURCES Ulrich Fritz describes the Stulln subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 261–263. Toni Siegert mentions the Stulln camp in *Landkreis Schwandorf: Das grosse Heimatbuch* (Regensburg: Buchverlag der Mittelbayerischen Zeitung Regensburg, 1984), p. 111; as well as in Siegert, *30.000 Tote mahnen: Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg und seiner 100 Außenlager von 1938 bis 1945* (Weiden: Verlag der Taubald'schen Buchhandlung GmbH, 1987), p. 44. It is also referred to in Hans Brenner, "Der 'Arbeitseinsatz' der KZ-Häftlinge in den Außenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg—Ein Überblick," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 1998), 2: 687. Rita Scharl wrote a history of the village of Stulln where she refers to the Nazi era: *Stulln. Geschichte der Gemeinde von der Landwirtschaft und dem Bergbau zum modernen Wohn- und Industrieort*, ed. Gemeinde Stulln (1999). Elli Graf, a student of the Max-Reger-Gymnasium Amberg, wrote an unpublished work on the Stulln camp in 2005: "Zwangarbeit im Dritten Reich am Beispiel des ersten Außenlagers des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg in Stulln."

The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichs-*

führer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 121, refers to the camp but does not refer to its composition or the companies that used the prisoners. The subcamp is also listed in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL*. (1977), Teil 1, p. 1843. Results of investigations of the ZdL can be accessed at BA-L, call number ZStL B 162/18261.

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VENUSBERG

In 1943, the Reich-owned Junkers airplane production company transferred parts of the airplane motor manufacturing from Kassel to Venusberg/Erzgebirge, where it again set up the motor manufacturing in the cleared-out factory buildings of a large cotton spinning mill.¹ Because there was still a labor shortage in this factory despite the employment of foreign civilian workers, the Junkers branch in Venusberg, which carried the cover name "Venuswerke," received a concentration camp prisoner work detail. On January 15, 1945, 500 women and girls were transferred to Venusberg from the Ravensbrück concentration camp.² They received the Flossenbürg concentration camp registration numbers 61758 through 62257. In this transport were exclusively Jewish females from Hungary, many of whom were from the Budapest ghetto that was constructed after the occupation of Hungary by German troops. Former prisoner Magda W. testified in front of the Israeli investigating authorities: "I come from Budapest. . . . A ghetto was constructed in Budapest. I found myself in the Budapest ghetto until December 5, 1944. I was transported to Ravensbrück on that day. I was there for about six weeks and was afterwards transported to the Venusberg camp. Our transport . . . was the first transport to Venusberg. There were not yet any prisoners at the camp. Somewhat later—about six weeks later—another female transport came from Bergen-Belsen."³

This second transport, also containing 500 women and girls, left from the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, which had been declared a "holding camp," on February 26, 1945, and arrived at Venusberg on February 28, 1945.⁴ These women received Flossenbürg numbers from 62859 through 63357. In the second transport, in addition to Hungarians, there were also Jewish women from Poland, Greece, France, and Italy. The women and girls in the Venusberg camp, who now numbered 1,000, had the following composition, broken down by nationality: 680 Hungarians, 143 Poles, 103 Greeks, 19 French, 18 Dutch, 14 Italians, 7 Czechs, 7 Slovaks, 5 Germans, 2 Turks, and 1 Yugoslav; the nationality of 1 woman is unknown.

The composition of the prisoners broken down by year of birth was as follows: 19 born before 1900, 152 born between 1900 and 1909, 304 born between 1910 and 1919, 322 born between 1920 and 1924, 200 born between 1925 and 1930, and 3 with no information on their birth year.

The women were kept in two large double barracks located in their own camp, which had been set up approximately 800 meters (875 yards) away from the factory, closed off with electrified barbed wire and watched over from guard towers.

Katharina S., also from Budapest and who had been deported to Ravensbrück in December 1944 and from there brought to Venusberg, testified about the changed conditions in the camp with the arrival of the second transport:

In Venusberg we arrived at a work camp. Here a clean, heated, and very attractive barrack awaited us. We worked in an airplane parts factory under comparatively good conditions.... The good life lasted for four weeks, until a transport.... from Bergen-Belsen arrived.... In the new transport there were also Jews deported from Hungary, primarily from upper Hungary. After their arrival our situation changed radically. The food became less and was very bad. The newly arrived SS personnel brought with them the camp rules from Bergen-Belsen. The barracks were overcrowded; there were lice and typhus fever. We stood at the machines from 6 o'clock in the mornings until 7 o'clock in the evenings, before and after roll call. The beatings and the torture also continued here.... The infirmary was originally housed in a block with twenty beds. After the typhus fever had spread more and more sick beds were needed. The bodies were put on the roll call square to be taken away.⁵

The second transport brought into the Venusberg camp the typhus epidemic from Bergen-Belsen, which at that time was raging there. This is also shown in the mortality rate proportions. While only 3 women died from the first transport before the second arrived, at least 43 women died at Venusberg camp from February 28 until April 14, 1945. After an early fatality was buried in the graveyard of the neighboring town of Herold, the priest's offices of other towns refused to allow dead prisoners to be buried in their graveyards. Thus, the SS camp leadership allowed the dead to be buried in an anti-aircraft slit trench, located in a plot of forest nearby.⁶ Not all of these fatalities were victims of typhus. Abuses by the SS guard personnel and several of the SS-Aufseherinnen (women guard auxiliaries), who possibly came with the prisoners from Auschwitz to Bergen-Belsen and from there to Venusberg, resulted in death for the abused prisoners. Magda W. testified:

I remember a young SS man, who I saw every day in the factory. He was always with our shift.... There he inspected our work; he was possibly responsible for our work. He was always in SS uniform.... He was especially cruel. If our work did not please him he beat in such a way that there were cases of his victims dying after a few days as a result of his abuse.... Even more trouble than the SS men were

the SS Aufseherinnen. They were always with us and thus their cruelty was much more difficult to take. I remember well the commandant of the women—the Oberaufseherin.... She was terribly cruel, beat without mercy, especially during roll call. I saw cases where a woman who had been beaten by her fell on to the roll call square and remained lying on the ground without movement or sound. After roll call we went back into the barracks, but we did not see the abused women again. We were told that they died.⁷

The female prisoners gave some of these SS-Aufseherinnen descriptive nicknames for their brutal behavior: "The Red War"—due to the red hair color of the Aufseherin Margarete H.; or "Riding Whip Leni" to the Aufseherin Leni St. Even German workers of the Venus factory stated in their questionings: "I saw how H. [an Aufseherin] beat with her hand prisoners who sat a little from exhaustion at work." This H., under the name "The Red War," was especially feared among the prisoners. When Aufseherin O. punished a prisoner, she went into the lavatory with the subject.

The Aufseherin C. once said that if it came to a putsch, another 10 must die before her, and in addition she had already sought out well-fitting prisoners' clothes that she then wanted to slip into.⁸

The female prisoners, who were exhausted from undernourishment, often had sudden feelings of weakness during the 12-hour shifts. Accidents happened. Katharina S. reported on one: "In the factory, the woman who worked next to me fell against the drill machine, her hair got caught, and a tuft, including hair, was ripped out. In addition, she was severely injured on her arm and other parts. The drill machine was also broken. The Aufseherin called her to account, how could she dare to break the drill machine, and gave the poor woman another slap on the face."⁹

Camp leader (Lagerführer) SS-Oberscharführer Dücker, SS-Oberaufseherin Anny Herzog, and SS-Scharführer Diecke (who put pressure on another Aufseherin who did not behave toward the prisoners as inhumanely as those with the second transport, described as thugs by the prisoners) carried responsibility for the crimes that took place at the Venusberg camp; 2 SS-Unterführer and 18 SS guards, among whom, according to testimony by Hungarian female prisoners, were several German SS men from Hungary, were subordinate to Dücker.

Some 20 SS-Aufseherinnen were subordinate to the SS-Oberaufseherin.¹⁰ Part of the responsibility for the abuse of the prisoners also rests with the director of the Junkers factory branch, Dr. Düwell, who had to provide food for the prisoners and who was conscious of the fact that the rations were completely insufficient in light of the difficult work the women had to perform. In order to hush up the crimes, he had the barracks burned down immediately after the women had marched away. On April 14, 1945, the women were evacuated. The transport in overcrowded train cars initially led

through the Erzgebirge Mountains to Blatno, where it was joined up with the evacuation transport of the Freiberg subcamp detail, then was sent via Pilsen—Planá to Tachov. As the Flossenbürg main camp had already been evacuated by this time, the travel direction was changed, and the transport was rerouted via Klatovy—Strakonice—Ceské Budějovice to Mauthausen, where it arrived on April 29, 1945. The two-week journey claimed many victims. This comes from the reports of the survivors:

The evacuation of the Venusberg camp was somewhat atrocious. As the Russians approached, we were loaded into cattle cars and taken away. It was the middle of April 1945. We were under way approximately two weeks, in closed cars without air, food, and water. The SS crew who guarded us was totally wild—we were beaten and whipped. The women died like flies; we rode together with the bodies. Half died on the way. At Venusberg around one hundred women were from Budapest. No more than twenty to twenty-five returned home. Who didn't die on the way arrived at Mauthausen sick with typhus. Many died from it at Mauthausen.¹¹

Former prisoner Marta S. also testified about the evacuation:

In the middle of April 1945, we were transported in cars from the Venusberg camp to Mauthausen. In the car in which I found myself there were 120 of us. We didn't receive anything to eat or drink. The train stopped twice en route in order to throw the bodies of those who died in the cars out onto the embankment. As I remember, twenty-eight in our car stayed alive; all of the others died. In the other cars, the proportion of those who died or stayed alive was also similar. I emphasize that our car was a long one; there were also shorter cars in the train. The Mauthausen camp was liberated by American troops on May 5, 1945. In the summer of 1945 I returned to Hungary.¹²

How many women from the Venusberg subcamp arrived at Mauthausen alive and survived has not been determined. In contrast to other female camps, Venusberg belongs to those camps in which a very large percentage of the inmates perished.

SOURCES There are no published studies on the Venusberg camp. On the prisoners' registration numbers, age range, and the estimate of deaths, see Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Außenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999), pp. 274–290. Whether all the fatalities are recorded in the SS documents must be viewed very critically. On the monument plaque, erected near the mass grave, 65 dead female prisoners are mentioned. See Andreas Baumgartner, *Die vergessenen Frauen von Mauthausen und ihre Geschichte* (Vienna: Verlag Österreich, 1997), pp. 190, 193. The survivor estimate that

Baumgartner cites (p. 193) is based upon unverified information.

Relevant records may be found in ZdL at BA-L; ASt-ZP, Akte KZ-Kommando Venusberg; and as cited by Baumgartner, YVA.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. AKr-MAB, Schreiben des Bürgermeisters von Venusberg an den Landrat in Marienberg betr. Werkverlagerung von Junkers aus Kassel nach Venusberg.
2. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 3, p. 61, Schreiben der Kommandantur—Arbeitseinsatz—des KZ Flossenbürg an das Lager Venusberg, February 19, 1945.
3. BA-L, ZdL, IV AR-Z 76/68, Bd.1, p. 163, testimony by Magda W. (number 61813).
4. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 3, Schreiben des KZ Flossenbürg an das Lager Venusberg, March 8, 1945.
5. YVA, Doc. 03/1040, Aussage Katharina S., cited in Andreas Baumgartner, *Die vergessenen Frauen von Mauthausen und ihre Geschichte* (Vienna: Verlag Österreich, 1997), p.190.
6. Ehem. Ba-VEB-FV, Abschrift der Meldung des Gendameriepostens Venusberg an den Kreisführer der Gendamerie Marienberg, August 30, 1945.
7. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 76/68, Bd. 1, p. 164, testimony by Magda W.
8. ASt-ZP, Akte KZ-Kommando Venusberg; Aussage der Arbeiterin der Zahnradabteilung der Venuswerke, Johanna M. bei ihrer Zeugenvernehmung im August 1945.
9. YVA, Doc. 03/1040, testimony by Katharina S.
10. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10 pp. 52–53, 86–87.
11. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 76/68, Bd. 1, p. 165, testimony by Magda W.
12. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 76/68, p. 293a, testimony by Marta S. (number 62169).

WILISCHTHAL

The Deutsche Kühl- und Kraftmaschinen GmbH (DKK) Scharfenstein, a subsidiary of the vehicle production company Auto Union AG Chemnitz, decided in December 1943 to spin off its munitions and weapons production and develop them into production branches with several times the production capacity. In addition to building a factory in Oederan for the production of 2cm shells for the air force, and subsequently another factory in Brand-Erbisdorf, a manufacturing plant for the (MG) 151 machine gun in Wilischthal was also expanded and outfitted.¹

After a previous failure, a new company was founded on October 4, 1944, with the goal of unifying the management and financing of these independent munitions and weapons manufacturing operations.² As early as October 3, 1944, the Armaments Inspectorate IVa of the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production had stipulated that the DKK Scharfenstein use a code name for the yet-to-be-founded company, whose new production branches were taking over

the munitions and weapons production. The memo reads: "In agreement with the Secret State Police, from a defense point of view, there exist no objections against the code name Agricola GmbH, which you suggested for this purpose."³

In light of the precarious labor situation, to secure the allocation of concentration camp prisoners for labor, and with a view to expanding production, already in the early summer of 1944 DKK had made contact with the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). This is evident from a letter dated June 24, 1944, to SS-Standartenführer Gerhard Maurer, who, as head of Department D II, was responsible for work assignments of concentration camp prisoners. Later, on August 8–9, 1944, negotiations took place in Flossenbürg between the DKK representative and the camp commandant. The following is mentioned in the travel report about the request for prisoners for Wilischthal: "At the command headquarters Flossenbürg there are two additional orders: 500 prisoners Wilischthal, 500 prisoners Scharfenstein. Wilischthal could be discussed with Herr Sturmbahnführer Koegel, while Scharfenstein was unknown."⁴

After extending a factory building to serve as prisoner housing, which DKK had purchased from the formerly Jewish-owned textile factory Mafrasa, and after an inspection by an SS leader of the Flossenbürg command had taken place, 100 women and girls from Auschwitz initially arrived at Wilischthal on October 30, 1944. Former Austrian female prisoner Susi K. testified, at her questioning in front of German consular officers in Canada: "On October 27 I was brought from Auschwitz to the Wilischthal subcamp. . . . We were housed in a large wooden barrack, which . . . was divided into two subdivisions. In each of these subdivisions approximately 150 prisoners were housed. During the week it was not allowed for one group to make contact with the other group. The factory was about 100 meters [328 feet] away from the housing."⁵

These women received the Flossenbürg registration numbers from 58752 through 58853.

On November 22, 1944, the second transport of 200 women and girls from Auschwitz was registered for the Wilischthal subcamp by the Flossenbürg concentration camp. These women received the subsequent registration numbers 58854 through 59052.⁶

Polish Jew Anna Z. belonged to this second transport. She testified about her long, dreadful journey to Wilischthal:

I was in the SS slave labor camp at Przemysl from 1942 until 1944. There I was the witness of several killing crimes. The camp leader's name was Schwammburger, and he, like other SS members, shot prisoners before my eyes. . . . Around January 1944 I was . . . brought to the Płaszów concentration camp. The camp leader was an SS person named Göth. I saw how he several times shot prisoners for no apparent reason. . . . In July or August 1944 I was brought to the Auschwitz concentration camp and from there to the Birkenau subcamp. I was a witness

to selections there, which Dr. Mengele carried out. . . . I think that I was brought to the Wilischthal subcamp in November or at the beginning of December 1944.⁷

The 134 Polish women comprised most of the subcamp prisoners, followed by 74 Hungarians; 37 Italians, among whom were many from the island of Rhodes; 19 Belgians; 12 French; 11 Czechs; 7 Germans; 7 Dutch; and 1 Yugoslavian. Broken down by year of birth: 5 born before 1900, 40 born between 1900 and 1909, 93 born between 1910 and 1919, 110 born between 1920 and 1924, 53 born between 1925 and 1930, and 1 born after 1930.

Anna Z. testified about her work assignment in the Agricola GmbH armaments factory: "Approximately twenty of the three hundred female prisoners worked in the kitchen, among them a Hungarian prisoner doctor. The rest of the staff worked in two shifts, twelve hours each, in the factory. Most of the prisoners had to work on a melting furnace; a smaller number—about twenty women, respectively, including myself, worked on a workbench, where we had to put together individual parts of submachine guns. Working with us were Italian and French foreign workers, and as well as German employees, for whom contact with us was forbidden."⁸ Susi K. included in her testimony: "I myself was originally put to work on an annealing furnace. Later I was instructed to train the female workers on the various machines for processing iron parts, and to make those essential contacts with the German master craftsmen that were necessary for work. . . . We were twenty-five prisoners on the annealing furnace; the rest of the shift worked in a factory hall located behind the furnace."⁹

The command in the camp was held by SS-Oberaufseherin Helene Klofik from Berlin, who used to work at the Osram factory. Even a former female guard (Aufseherin) from the Wilischthaler camp testified that the SS-Oberaufseherin was an evil thug who punished the smallest offense. She also demanded from the Aufseherinnen strict action against the female prisoners. She herself was punished with 48 days' detention in a cell because in the opinion of Klofik she was too loyal to the women. Other "soft" Aufseherinnen were transferred by the SS-Oberaufseherin to the Zschopau subcamp. When Klofik was absent, the other Aufseherinnen allowed the women to sit together and sing.¹⁰ This was also confirmed by a former female prisoner: "Among the prisoners was an Italian singer, a former partner of Beniamino Gigli. On Christmas Eve she sang 'Ave Maria' with a fantastic voice; the barracks reverberated, and we all cried. The SS-Oberaufseherin heard this, came in, and knocked out all of her teeth so that she could not sing anymore."¹¹

The selfless commitment of the Hungarian doctor, who also acted against the SS-Oberaufseherin, was unanimously praised by all the female prisoners. Susi K. testified: "The Oberaufseherin made it a game for herself to torment prisoners. I saw myself that she particularly raged against the Hungarian doctor, who cared for us in the infirmary."¹² A German

resident, who could see into the factory courtyard from her apartment, also reported that the doctor, in a dispute with Klofik, brought to her attention that abusing the women prisoners led to a deterioration in their ability to work and thus to a reduction in production. Klofik was scared of that. After that the punishments on the beating block were stopped.¹³

The guarding external to the camp was carried out by older SS guards, whose leader was an SS-Scharführer from Hungary by the name of Kooss.

On April 15, 1945, the Wilischthal subcamp was closed down, and the women were evacuated in railroad transport cars. About this Susi K. added to her testimony: "We were packed into a freight car, about ninety prisoners each, and traveled around for about a week, without food being distributed to us and without having the opportunity to get out. I don't know if all of the inhabitants of the freight car, in which I was kept, came through the journey alive. We only heard that on the way prisoners, who succeeded in escaping from other, open freight cars, were shot at. At Theresienstadt the Oberaufseherin handed us over to the local camp administration."¹⁴

The transport's final station was Leitmeritz. The women from the Mittweida camp, who were also in the transport, remained there. The Jewish women from the Hainichen, Oederan, Wilischthal, and Zschopau camps had to go all the way by foot to Theresienstadt.

Since on April 13, 1945, the camp strength was reported at 299, while on April 21, at the arrival of the columns in the Theresienstadt ghetto, only 290 women were registered who declared to be from the Wilischthal detail, it may be that 9 women were victims of the evacuation transport.¹⁵ There exists unclear information about a fatality that supposedly happened at the Wilischthal camp. Some of the women from the Wilischthal camp died at Theresienstadt shortly after liberation on May 8, 1945.

SOURCES There are no published studies of the Wilischthal camp. On the prisoners' registration numbers and age range, see Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Außenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999), pp. 294–299. On the Theresienstadt evacuation, see Marek Poloncarz, "Die Evakuierungstransporte nach Theresienstadt (April–Mai 1945)," *TSD* (1999): 255. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 122.

Relevant records may be found in SHStA-(D), Auto Union; NARA, Microfilm T-580; BA-L, ZdL, IV AR 3291/66, IV Ar-Z 204/75. Published witness testimony may be found in DÖW, ed., *Jüdische Schicksale: Berichte von Verfolgten* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1992).

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NOTES

- SHStA-(D), Auto Union, Nr. 3896, Studie über Ausgliederung der Munitionsfertigung von DKK und ihre Grundung als selbständige Gesellschaft.

- SHStA-(D), Auto Union, Nr. 1030, Aktenvermerk über die Gründung der Agricola GmbH. Scharfenstein, October 5, 1944.

- SHStA-(D), Auto Union, Nr. 1030, Schreiben Rü In IV a des RmfRuK an DKK GmbH. Scharfenstein, October 3, 1944.

- AHM-O, Reisebericht des Vertreters von DKK Scharfenstein über den Beusch im K.L. Flossenbürg, August 8–9, 1944.

- BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 204/75, Bd. 1, p. 195, testimony by Susi K. (number 58808).

- NARA, Microfilm T-580, Rolls 69–70.

- ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 204/75, Bd. 1, p. 165, testimony by Anna Z. (number 58790).

- ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 204/75, Bd. 1, p. 163, testimony by Anna Z.

- ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 204/75, Bd. 1, p. 195, testimony by Susi K.

- Report by the former Aufseherin Stenzel to the author from April 4, 1975.

- Report of "Tamara Rainer" (pseudonym), in DÖW, ed., *Jüdische Schicksale: Berichte von Verfolgten* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1992), p. 125.

- ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 204/75, Bd. 1, p. 196, testimony by Susi K.

- Martha Weber, report to the author, from April 9, 1975.

- ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 204/75, Bd. 1, p. 196, testimony by Susi K.

- BA-B, Film 14 430, p. 1266.

WOLKENBURG

Due to the constant danger of air raids, in 1943 the company Opta Radio AG Leipzig transferred its production sites into less-threatened areas. One of these factories was transferred to a weaving mill at Wolkenburg, which had been cleared out for this purpose. Due to a backlog of 109.1 million Reichsmark (RM) for radio equipment that existed on December 31, 1943, a need for expansion in production, and a severe lack of labor, the Opta company endeavored to receive workers from the ground radio equipment special committee. The company report to the board for the second half of 1944 read: "The personnel questions of the factory transferring have especially stood in the way of gaining additional capacity. It can, however, be fortunately reported that all of these problems can in the meantime be solved so that enough labor is available."¹

Concentration camp prisoners were made available. On August 19, 1944, the first transport with 150 Sinti and Roma, recorded as "Gypsies" in SS documents, arrived at Wolkenburg.² These women came by September 1, 1944, from the Ravensbrück concentration camp administration to that of Flossenbürg and received from the command of Flossenbürg the registration numbers from 50000 through 50149. The majority of these women (116) were German, in addition to whom there were 34 from seven different countries at the camp.³ On October 10, 1944, an additional 151 women were

brought from Auschwitz; they were allocated the registration numbers from 58142 through 58291. The number of prisoners at the subcamp increased on November 30, 1944, with a transport of 100 women from Bergen-Belsen. In this transport was Pole Genowefa K., who reported:

On 12.8.1944 my colleagues and I arrived at the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp. It was a mass transport with civilians after an armed uprising in Warsaw. . . . So began the terror, the fear, and the hunger. My long braids were cut off and I was shaved to the skin. It was terrible for us young girls. We slept on planks, where there were lice and bugs. The roll calls, which lasted several hours, were very strenuous. Then on 13.9.1944 the transport to Bergen-Belsen took place in overcrowded freight cars. At Bergen-Belsen the conditions were even worse, as we slept on the floor of the barracks, which had been scattered with shavings. For pillows we had our shoes. We lied so close that we could only turn around on an order. The rations were horrible. There were turnips, root vegetables, and fully-grown spinach with worms. There was very little bread. We were constantly hungry. We were brought to Wolkenburg in freight cars.⁴

The women on the transport from Bergen-Belsen received the Flossenbürg registration numbers from 59053 through 59152. Thus, the composition of the Wolkenburg subcamp was as follows: 206 Poles, 116 Germans, 43 Soviets, 7 Dutch, 5 Italians, 4 Yugoslavs, 3 Czechs, 2 Belgians, 2 French, 9 stateless people, and 5 without information. The women were accommodated on the top floor of the factory and in surrounding buildings. The grounds were fenced in. Although the escape possibilities were extremely limited, 3 women fled from the top floor by sliding down the rain gutter. They were apprehended again after a few days and received an awful beating.

The slave labor took place partly in the production of radio equipment, partly in transporting material. Pole Seweryna K. testified: "We worked in a factory on a floor, ten women. It was warmer there. Supervisors were women in uniform. My sister and other women (prisoners) worked on the transport. I don't know what they did, but it was supposedly very difficult. One died from pneumonia. My friend and I worked on the inspection of radio apparatuses [radio equipment], others on assembly. The soldering was a dangerous work and bad for your health."⁵

The strength reports from Flossenbürg show that on January 31, 1945, 376 women were at Wolkenburg camp.⁶ On February 28, 1945, there were 348.⁷ If 10 women were sent back to the Ravensbrück concentration camp because they were pregnant, then 18 of the prisoners must have died by the end of February 1945. German civilian workers reported as eyewitnesses: "Many of them died. The bodies were removed in the night and substitutes were brought in for them. The last five of these martyrs, whose bodies could not be removed,

are buried at the Wolkenburg cemetery; two at the graveyard wall and three near the chapel wall. Coffins were not available. Cement sacks had to serve as substitutes."⁸

The strength report from March 31, 1945, still records 372 women at the camp.⁹ The same number was also reported for April 13, 1945, the day on which the evacuation began.¹⁰ A Sudeten German from Eger, Wilhelm Brusch, functioned as the camp leader (Lagerführer). Subordinate to him were 5 SS guards.¹¹ The name of the SS-Obereufseherin, who is depicted as a cruel thug by the subcamp survivors and as an "inhumane monster" by the German civilian workers, is unknown.¹² Subordinate to her were 20 SS female guards (Aufseherinnen), some of whom were selected at the factory and engaged by the employment office, others who had come with the prisoners on the transports.¹³

On April 13, 1945, the women had to begin the evacuation march on foot. Genowefa K. reported:

On the first day we were led over fields. In the evening we went into freight cars and traveled the whole night. Early in the morning we continued by foot. Lying on the street were many dead men from groups who had gone before us. My sick sister could not go any further, but she was not beaten to death. At night we slept out in the open and we couldn't wash ourselves. Once we slept in a barn, then again in the forest in a barrack. There we separated from my sister. My sister begged; I did not want to leave her alone. But it didn't help. I also asked those who drove us, but to no avail. She was transported on by horse and car with other prisoners. I was sure that she would be shot. One always thinks the worst. That was, however, not the case.

Suddenly there was such a terrible bombardment that the earth quaked.¹⁴

The evacuation column was hit by an air raid of Allied forces at the train station in Weiden on April 17, 1945. During this bombardment many women succeeded in escaping, so that by the end of the raid, only 201 women were still counted. Attacked again from the air and driven out of the cars on the continuation of their journey, the women then camped in a plot of forest near the town of Irrenlohe in Kreis Schwandorf. As hardly any food was given during the evacuation of the march, they searched for something edible in the fields and gardens in the area around the camp. Those who were arrested due to the denunciation of the local German residents were sentenced to death as "plunderers" by a court martial under SS-Obersturmführer Schippel and immediately shot. Their grave has not been found.¹⁵

With only 128 women left—following the escape of others and sorting out of the sick—the column continued its march to Dachau, where it arrived on April 27, 1945.¹⁶

SOURCES There are no published studies of the Wolkenburg camp. On the prisoners' registration numbers, see Hans

Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999), pp. 302–309. See also Toni Siegert, “Das Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg,” in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit: Herrschaft und Gesellschaft im Konflikt*, Teil A, ed. Martin Broszat and Elke Fröhlich (Vienna: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1979), 2: 486.

The following archival sources are useful: BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3290/66; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg; SStA-L, VEB-RFT-Wg (formerly Opta Radio AG).

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NOTES

1. BA-B, Bank der Deutschen Luftfahrt, Nr. 252, p. 54.
2. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 3290/66, Ermittlungsakten zum Aussenkommando Wolkenburg.
3. Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999), p. 304.
4. Genowefa K., report to the author, September 23, 1995.
5. Seweryna K., report to the author, September 23, 1995.
6. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53
7. Ibid., pp. 70–71.
8. Gottfried Graumüller, report to the author, July 20, 1977.
9. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 86–87.
10. BA-B, Film 14430, p. 1266.
11. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53.
12. Gottfried Graumüller, report to the author, September 23, 1995.
13. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53.
14. Genowefa K., report. Her sister Wanda K. had the Flossenbürg registration number 59091. She died on May 20, 1945, in the Cham hospital.
15. ZdL, IV 410 AR 3290/66.
16. Genowefa K., report.

WÜRZBURG

The institutional roots of the Würzburg subcamp are in the development by the SS of its own medical service. Beginning in 1936, the SS, parallel to the Wehrmacht, began to develop its own system of hospitals, hospital sections, and convalescent homes. As a general rule, they were sections of already existing hospitals and clinics that were partly used and supported by the SS. After the beginning of the war in 1939, a multitude of additional hospitals and sections were opened that in each case were headed by SS leaders who were specialist physicians in their respective fields. A neuropsychiatric observation station of the Waffen-SS was established in 1941 in Giessen for the head and brain injured and traumatized members of the SS, which in August 1941 was complemented by a department at the Würzburg University neurological clinic. Patients who required further treatment were transferred there. The address of the SS hospital section for the neurologically impaired at the Würzburg University Clinic was 15 Füchslein Strasse. That address is given as the site of the Würzburg subcamp by the register of detention sites of

the International Tracing Service (ITS). The infamous euthanasia doctor Werner Heyde, SS-Sturmbannführer and professor for neurology and psychiatry at the University of Würzburg, became the head of this Waffen-SS Neurological-Psychiatric Observation Station in Würzburg. The date when the expansion of the SS hospital section in Würzburg began cannot be fixed definitely. On April 9, 1943, an order by the section of SS-Medical Operations in Department D of the SS-Main Command Office (Führungsamt, FHA) was issued to all SS hospitals to expand the SS hospital sections. However, it can be assumed that the decision to expand the Würzburg section had been taken before this order because by April 17, 1943, the first concentration camp prisoners had already been transferred to Würzburg as a construction detachment.

On the basis of his activity in the SS-Death's Head Units and his earlier favors to his friend Theodor Eicke, since 1934 the Inspector of the Concentration Camps, Heyde enjoyed the best possible connections in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which had to give permission for, and coordinate, the labor deployment of concentration camp prisoners. The SS-Hospital Administration and Heyde desperately needed labor. The replacement of urgently needed workers by concentration camp prisoners, in the view of the leaders of the SS hospital section and especially Heyde, was a logical consequence that also could be implemented quickly. After a formal review by the WHVA of the necessity of the use of the labor deployment, a contingent of prisoners from the Flossenbürg concentration camp, in the district of the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) of Main, was assigned to Heyde or, respectively, the hospital section in Würzburg.

In May 1943, there were 28 male prisoners from the Flossenbürg concentration camp in the Würzburg “labor camp.”¹ Although the deployment of concentration camp prisoners at Füchslein Strasse was foreseen in April 1943, no facilities to accommodate concentration camp prisoners had been arranged. Therefore, a barracks in the so-called emergency jail at Fries Strasse was occupied by the 28 prisoners. The number of prisoners was increased to 58 by a transport that arrived between July 16 and 27.² The Würzburg detachment had thus reached its maximum strength and was part of one of the smaller subcamps of the Flossenbürg concentration camp. A list of prisoners according to nationality and race from February 28, 1945, shows that there were 50 non-Jewish concentration camp prisoners in Würzburg, among them 2 Germans, a Yugoslav, a Greek, a Frenchman, 4 Czechs, 15 Soviets, and 26 Poles.

From a monthly roster of the “labor camp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp,” the observation is to be taken that “the SS Hospital section stands guard.”³ An Unterscharführer Marggraf signed a list of signatures of the Flossenbürg concentration camp's detachment leaders from the year 1944 also as responsible for the Würzburg subcamp.⁴ However, he could not be identified by the investigating authorities after 1945.

The Würzburg prisoners partly were assigned outside the clinic to extend a wall and for excavation work. In several witness

statements, former prisoners also mention the construction of a large hospital barracks in the courtyard of the clinic and the digging of shelters for protection against air raids. Testimony of former prisoners in the investigative proceedings provides an insight into the subjectively felt living and prison conditions, which differ from those in other camps. According to the common judgment of almost all former prisoners, the food in Würzburg was better and the sanitary conditions not quite as inadequate as in other subcamps or at the Flossenbürg main camp. The set of reasons of ideology, careers, and patronage that had led to the formation of the subcamp also left its mark on the living conditions and the chances of survival of the prisoners. For Heyde, as the originator of the Würzburg subcamp and the organizer of mass murders of the disabled and of prisoners in other concentration camps, the realization of the construction projects at his clinic had precedence. The concentration camp prisoners were thus considered a source of labor strength that represented a certain practical value. Personal ambition and solely pragmatic considerations of usefulness predominated over Heyde's ideological views. For this reason, the survival chances of the prisoners in Würzburg were better than in many other camps. This pragmatic evaluation, considering the prevailing labor shortage everywhere, the small size of the detachment, the varying work assignments in Würzburg, and the possibility time and again of contacts with civilians made the Würzburg subcamp in retrospect more bearable in the prisoners' remembrances. However, the prisoners were at all times aware that they were within the concentration camp system. They could face the return to Flossenbürg or another camp any day.

At least one prisoner tried to evade this always threatening danger by fleeing. This attempt ended with his murder. This is the only verifiable case of death of a prisoner in the Würzburg subcamp. However, in a report by an examiner of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) of March 1, 1947, the death of a second prisoner in Würzburg is mentioned, who is said to have died in the Julius Hospital in Würzburg.⁵ Existing documents cannot confirm or disprove this death. Nevertheless, the connection of at least one other death with the Würzburg subcamp is evident. On March 12, 1945, a 35-year-old Slovenian prisoner died in Flossenbürg who had been transferred back from Würzburg shortly before.

Parts of the Neurological Clinic and with them also the concentration camp prisoners' accommodations were heavily damaged during the air raid on Würzburg on March 16, 1945. Now the prisoners were no longer employed for construction work in the area of the SS hospital administration but, in small labor detachments, for removing bombs and recovering dead bodies in the Würzburg city area. The subcamp in Würzburg was dissolved on March 22, 1945, and the 50 prisoners still living in the camp were moved back by rail to Flossenbürg. From a roster of March 27, 1945, it can be seen that all 50 prisoners from Würzburg reached the Flossenbürg concentration camp alive. This does not mean, however, that all these prisoners of the Würzburg subcamp survived. They

were in the Flossenbürg concentration camp until the evacuation of the Flossenbürg camp began on April 16, 1945. The mention of different locations in the testimonies of the investigative proceedings allows the conclusion that most of these prisoners were driven south on the dissolution of the Flossenbürg concentration camp on April 20, 1945.

SOURCES The history of the Würzburg camp has remained surprisingly unnoticed despite the comprehensively documented history of the air raids on Würzburg by Hans Oppelt, *Würzburger Chronik vom denkwürdigen Jahre 1945* (Würzburg, 1947); and by Max Domarus, *Der Untergang des alten Würzburg im Luftkrieg gegen die deutschen Grossstädte* (Würzburg, 1985); and of the many aspects of National Socialist rule in the diocesan city, such as the work by Herbert Schultheis and Isaac E. Wahler, *Bilder und Akten der Gestapo Würzburg über die Judendeportation 1941–1943* (Bad Neustadt a.d. Saale, 1988). Also in the numerous investigations into the history of medicine during the Third Reich, the use of concentration camp prisoners in the construction detachments of SS hospital sections and the involvement of the euthanasia doctor Werner Heyde in the exploitation of prisoner labor for his personal benefit have not been explored. For these investigations, see Ernst Klee, *Was sie taten—Was sie wurden. Ärzte, Juristen und andere Beteiligte am Kranken- oder Judenmord* (Frankfurt am Main, 1986); Michael H. Kater, *Ärzte als Hitlers Helfer* (Hamburg, 2000); and Hubert Fischer, *Der deutsche Sanitätsdienst 1921–1945: Organisation, Dokumente und persönliche Erfahrungen*, 5 vols. (Osnabrück, 1984), 3: 2157–2235. A detailed study of this subcamp is printed in a publication of local history, *Mainfränkisches Jahrbuch*, written by this author in 2004 on the occasion of the thirteen-hundredth anniversary of the city of Würzburg.

In April 1967, an investigative procedure was begun relative to the Flossenbürg subcamp in Würzburg. As part of the criminal investigations, it was attempted to identify former prisoners and guards of the subcamp and to interrogate them as witnesses (ZdL, IV 410AR3285/66, available at BA-L). The files of these investigative proceedings provide the richest source about the Würzburg subcamp, which, however, cannot clarify its basic history without the consideration of other documents. On the basis of additional sources from the StA-Wü, the results of the investigative proceedings can be supplemented, even refuted, concerning the crime of homicide that was excluded by the examiners (StA-Wü, Gestapostelle Würzburg 5814 and 15825). There are also scattered documents on the subcamp in Würzburg in the AG-F, here, above all, on the camp prisoners. Altogether, though, the archival records are unsatisfactory so that many questions—precisely those that refer to details of local history, the exact location of the prisoner accommodations, and labor deployment—must remain open.

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NOTES

1. BA-B, DOK/K 183/11.
2. BA-B, DOK/K 183/11, Strength Reports, July 28, 1943; the first is from July 16 and mentions 28 prisoners in Würzburg.

3. BA-B, ZM 1443/4.
4. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410AR3285/66.
5. AG-F, Collection Siegert, Hanging File Würzburg.

ZSCHACHWITZ

With the transferring of portions of the armaments production of the Braunschweig main factory, the Zschachwitz factory of the Mühlenbau und Industrieaktiengesellschaft (MIAG) Braunschweig was converted in 1943 into a manufacturing site for armored vehicles. At the instigation of the Army High Command (OKH) and the armor main committee of the Speer Armament Ministry, a considerable part of the armored program should have been realized at the Zschachwitz factory by 1944. In a construction application by the firm, it was emphasized: "According to instructions by the Army High Command, Main Committee Armor, the production of 150 tanks, 50 repair tanks, 200 Panther steering gears, and 400 Panther parts must be begun at the Zschachwitz MIAG factory in 1944."¹

As the necessary labor was not available from the local population due to the continuous calling up of German workers to the Wehrmacht, concentration camp prisoners, in addition to foreign workers from West European countries, were requested. In order to isolate them as much as possible from the other employees, their workspaces were walled off by a 1-meter-high (3.3-feet-high) wooden wall. All four of the work halls, including the loading hall, were fenced off by a 3-meter-high (9.8-feet-high) wire fence with barbed-wire hindrances. Guard towers, equipped with spotlights and machine guns, were erected on the corners.

The fact that MIAG director Dr.-Ing. Blaicher had himself been the head of the armor main committee at the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production (RMfR) since 1943 might have speeded up the allocation of concentration camp prisoners.

On October 13, 1944, a transport brought 404 concentration camp prisoners from the evacuated Plaszow concentration camp near Kraków, who received the Flossenbürg concentration camp registration numbers 21902 through 22304.² They were Polish Jewish men, among whom were several who during their prison time at Plaszow had worked in the Emaille factory of Oskar Schindler—but not those who became famous because of the movie and book *Schindler's List*. Among the prisoners were Joel and Julius Eisenstein. A biographical sketch reports on their prisoner time at the Zschachwitz:

The brothers did not go to Brünnlitz. Packed together with eighty men in a cattle car, they did not know where they were being taken. After three days and two nights without food and water they were unloaded at the Flossenbürg concentration camp, "although many dead remained behind," remembers Julius.

"From there we went one day to Zschachwitz, where there was a tank factory. We lived in a barrack directly in front of the factory. There were two Kapos who beat everybody. They were worse than the Nazis.... They were German murderers who had been picked out of prison so that they would guard Jews. They were hanged by the Russians after the war."³

Joel Eisenstein remarked about the German civil workers who supervised the prisoner workers:

Among them... there was a certain friendliness. There was, for example, a German head supervisor in the factory. He was a good guy. I got sick with typhus. As soon as one was sick it meant death. My brother brought me food. Then this man came in and said I should come and sit behind the electric furnace. He took a chair and sat me down. There I sat for several days. He did not want to send me back to work. He came by regularly and threw me a cigarette, which I gave to my brother who then exchanged it for food. He told me: "the war will pass, and if you remain healthy you can survive."⁴

On October 22, 1944, additional prisoners came from the Flossenbürg main camp, who were followed on November 7, 1944, by a larger transport with over 300 prisoners from the Mauthausen concentration camp, who received the registration numbers of the series 35000 through 36000. Frenchman Paul P. was among these prisoners. He was imprisoned in February 1941 as a member of the French resistance movement, delivered to Mauthausen, and employed at the Passau II subcamp as an auto metalworker. At the end of October 1944, the SS closed this subcamp and transported the prisoners to Zschachwitz. He writes: "At MIAG I then worked in production, at first on tool construction. There I did an apprenticeship with sharp band saws and circular saws, and I also worked on the emery machines." Later he went to the electric furnace. "After an attempted escape I, although I was not involved, was taken hostage in order to be shot. After the SS had again apprehended the escapees they shot them and put the coffins, from which blood flowed, on the soup vat and ordered [the prisoners] to eat the soup."⁵

With smaller prisoner transports from the Flossenbürg main camp on December 6, 1944, and from Auschwitz on December 8, 1944, the number of prisoners grew to nearly 1,000 by the end of the year 1944. On January 31, 1945, there were 985 prisoners at the camp, and by February 28, this number had sunk to 949 due to the increasing number of fatalities. By March 31, 1945, the number was reduced to 805 due to many fatalities and also to a massive escape of 20 Russian prisoners. According to the strength report from April 13, 1945, there were 794 prisoners on that day.⁶

Altogether, according to a list found in the company archive of the former nationally owned enterprise (Volkseigener

Betrieb, VEB) Mühlenbau Dresden-Zschachwitz, 1,097 prisoners passed through the Zschachwitz subcamp, of whom 150 lost their lives there. Prisoners unable to work who were deported to Bergen-Belsen and to the Flossenbürg main camp usually died there after a short time.

About the conditions at Zschachwitz camp that produced these victims, there are also, in addition to reports of surviving prisoners, eyewitness accounts of German workers, like the juvenile employee who was then employed at MIAG:

A picture of horror offered itself to our eyes. Emaciated, usually sick people, dressed in striped overalls, cap, and wooden clogs, stood there intimidated by the SS guards. . . . It was January, outside it was ice cold. The workrooms were also very cold. There was no winter clothing for the prisoners. The thin suit was the day and night clothing for every season. One prisoner got it bad when he tried to put empty cement bags underneath his clothing as heat protection. A Kapo who saw this ripped the clothes from his body and wrote him up. "Oh, that [is] not good," said another prisoner to me. "When written up, then two days without food!" Whoever wanted a second helping from what food remained had to take into account a beating by an SS guard armed with a truncheon. Even if some of the colleagues, who had nothing in common with the fascists, once hid pieces of bread or apples at certain places, for the prisoners this was only a drop in the bucket.⁷

Paul P. also discussed the conditions at Zschachwitz camp: "Food was a soup at midday and a piece of bread and a small slab of margarine in the evening. For clothes I had a vest, striped pants and a shirt; that was it, no socks, no sweater on the body. I froze and was hungry, but I cannot continue to describe all of this to you."⁸

During the bombing of Dresden, the MIAG factory also received hits. The accommodation of the prisoners on the top floor of the loading hall, particularly near the important train line to Prague, thus proved to be a deadly plan. Paul P. said: "The stairwell was not so spacious that all prisoners could get down fast enough during an air raid. There was also a bombardment. Two firebombs hit approximately 25 meters [82 feet] away from me. The fire from the bombs had caught the outside of the factory on the Dresden side. Panic resulted, in which we also had victims, because all the prisoners wanted to go down."⁹ Julius Eisenstein also discusses these life-endangering accommodations and its effects. He said that a direct hit on the factory during an air raid at the beginning of 1945 led people to run and search for cover. One of the Eisenstein brothers was trampled in the crowd. "We saw him the next morning dead on the floor. I forced my way on to a pile of people and lost my shoes. My feet were stuck in clay and people were lying on me. We ran out on the street, but two hours later we went back. Why didn't we continue? It was dark and we were in Germany."¹⁰

The crimes committed at the Zschachwitz camp were primarily the responsibility of the camp leader, SS-Hauptscharführer Marks, as well as 2 other SS-Unterführer and 38 SS guards who were subordinate to him.¹¹ Former Polish prisoner Aron St. testified before investigating authorities in the United States: "The awful camp commandant . . . often beat us. He forced us, for example, to stand half the night without food after the difficult workday and even to do calisthenics. No reason was given. . . . At Zschachwitz many prisoners died. They died from hunger and from the whippings. . . . Prisoners were often beaten, and in fact from this SS-Scharführer, the camp commandant."¹² Johann Kübler, who before his Zschachwitz function was infamous as the Rapportführer at the Flossenbürg main camp, was Marks's successor until the camp was closed and is responsible for the victims at the end of the camp's existence and on the evacuation march. He was tried after the war and sentenced for the crimes for which he was responsible.

Even in the last months of the war, the manufacturing of V-2 (vengeance weapon) missile parts was begun at the MIAG factory, which ran under the code name "Salamander Production."

As material deliveries stagnated due to the destruction of the railway network and thus limited production, 200 prisoners were transported to Leitmeritz on April 14, 1945.¹³ On April 26, the SS permanently closed the Zschachwitz subcamp. Barbed-wire fencing and guard towers were torn down, and incriminating files were burned in the factory courtyard. The still remaining prisoners had to join the evacuation march, which claimed numerous victims. Eisenstein said: "During the confusion of the last war months the tank factories were closed. We were all brought out and had to begin marching. . . . We marched for three nights and four days and slept in holes. We only had wooden clogs with no socks. Our feet were bloody. Who couldn't go any further was shot."¹⁴

For most of the prisoners the march ended at the Leitmeritz subcamp. The arrival of the transport with 200 prisoners was registered there on April 14, 1945. The Jewish men on the evacuation march from Zschachwitz were passed on from Leitmeritz to the Theresienstadt ghetto, where they finally reached freedom on May 5, 1945, as the SS fled from the approaching Soviet Army.

SOURCES There are no published studies of the Zschachwitz camp. Some information on the arrival of the Zschachwitz survivors at Leitmeritz may be found in Miroslava Benešová, "Koncentrační tábor v Litoměřicích a jeho vězňové," in *Koncentrační Tábor Litoměřice. Příspěvky z mezinárodní konference v Terezíně, konané 15.–17. listopadu 1994* (Terezín, 1995), appendix, table 1, p. 24. Marek Poloncarz's article, "Die Evakuierungstransporte nach Theresienstadt (April–Mai 1945)," *TSD* (1999): 255, claims that only 2 prisoners from the Zschachwitz subcamp were registered on their arrival at the Theresienstadt ghetto; this claim does not correspond to the facts. Around 300 to 320 prisoners of the Zschachwitz subcamp were evacuated to Theresienstadt via Leitmeritz. An extensive report on Zschachwitz survivor Julius Eisenstein is

found in Elinor J. Brecher, *Ich stand auf Schindler's Liste: Lebenswege der Geretteten* (Bergisch-Gladbach: Bastei-Lübbe, 1995).

Relevant records may be found in BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 3289/66, IV 410 AR-Z 152/76; ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg; Ba-VEB-Mü-DZ (Current location unknown); AG-T; and AK-IPN.

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NOTES

1. Ba-VEB-Mü-DZ, Schreiben der MIAG Zschachwitz an den Baubevollmächtigten des Landkreises Pirna, March 6, 1944.
2. AG-T, Kasten 7, Flossenbürg, np, Schreiben des Kommandoführers Zschachwitz an die Verwaltung des K.L. Flossenbürg, October 25, 1944.
3. Quotation in Elinor J. Brecher, *Ich stand auf Schindler's Liste: Lebenswege der Geretteten* (Bergisch-Gladbach: Bastei-Lübbe, 1995), p. 156.
4. Ibid.
5. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1610/69, pp. 169–170, Schriftliche Erklärung von Paul P. (number 35524), March 20, 1971.
6. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53, 70–71; Nr. 4, p. 106; BA-B, Film 14 430, p. 1264.
7. Herbert Zschorn, report to the author, February 7, 1978.
8. Ba-VEB-Mü-DZ, Betriebsgeschichte, typewritten MSS (n.p., n.d., 1962?), p. 32, rept. of Paul P.
9. Ibid., p. 31.
10. Brecher, *Ich stand auf Schindler's Liste*, p. 157.
11. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53.
12. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 152/76, p. 75, testimony by Aron St. (registration number 22235).
13. AK-IPN, KL Flossenbürg, Sign. 10, pp. 34–37, Transportliste, April 14, 1945.
14. Brecher, *Ich stand auf Schindler's Liste*, p. 157.

ZSCHOPAU

The Mitteldeutschen Motorenwerke Taucha (MIMO), a subsidiary of Auto Union AG, had relocated part of its aircraft engine production to the Dampf Kraft Wagen (Steam-driven car, DKW) motorcycle plant in Zschopau. Like many other factories of Auto Union, MIMO also received a detachment of prisoner workers. Since the technical director of Auto Union, William Werner, who as head of the Main Committee on Aircraft Engine Production Sites, first in the Fighter Staff Office and then also in the Armaments Staff Office, was the man responsible for planning the means of production, worked closely together with the SS leaders Hans Kammler and Gerhard Maurer, the deployment of concentration camp prisoners to the Auto Union factories can certainly be ascribed to this relationship.

On November 18, 1944, 50 women, and on November 22, 1944, 450 women and girls, were sent on a march from Auschwitz II-Birkenau to Zschopau.¹ On their arrival in Zschopau, they were assigned Flossenbürg registration numbers

between 60857 and 61356. The breakdown according to nationalities in the detachment was as follows: 294 Hungarians, 137 Poles, 22 French, 11 Slovaks, 8 Italians, 7 Greeks, 7 Dutch, 5 Belgians, 4 Yugoslavs, 3 Germans, and 2 Czechs.

Regarding the transport to Zschopau, former Hungarian female inmate Dora J. gave the following testimony to the Israeli investigative authorities:

On May 3, 1944, I was deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau on the first transport from Mármáros Sziget. We were selected immediately on arrival—I lost my parents at that time. I was brought into the Birkenau camp, section A, and after several weeks the number A-7728 was tattooed onto my forearm. I was deployed on an outside work detail and worked on road construction and on a stretch of railroad. In about October 1944, I smuggled myself into a specially selected group destined for a subcamp and I was taken to Zschopau with this group, which numbered about five hundred souls. At the beginning we were quartered in a school building, and then we moved into the factory building in which we were working, and we lived on the first floor. Initially, when we were sleeping outside the factory, we went into the factory on foot.... The company was called Auto Union; I was making small metal parts.²

Concerning the accommodation and living conditions in the camp, the testimony of the Polish woman Ester S. gives a rough picture:

In Zschopau we arrived in a large factory, where initially we had to sleep on straw on the floor. Here there was for the first time something to eat again, that is, coffee, some bread, and for lunch, a cereal soup.... When we moved into the factory building it was empty. After a few days, bunk-beds were erected in the building for us, on which we then slept. The roughly five hundred exclusively female prisoners were divided into a day shift and a night shift.... I was assigned to service in the quarters, doling out the food and cleaning both the large room where the prisoners slept and also the smaller rooms, in which the uniformed female guards were accommodated.... We were not permitted to leave the factory building. Therefore, I cannot say precisely whether the building was located in a larger fenced-in camp. But I believe that I recall that the camp consisted only of the factory building itself. On account of a serious tooth infection, I was taken by an SS guard through Zschopau to another factory, where women were also being held prisoner.... There the three teeth were pulled out using a simple pair of pliers, by an inmate who was in charge of the sick quarters there.³

The work of the women was organized in 12-hour shifts for the production of aircraft engine parts. Master craftsmen and foremen, made available from the DKW motorcycle factory belonging to MIMO, trained the women on the machines. On this, Dora J. comments in her testimony: "In the factory we were divided into many groups. I remember the groups Hartwig and Mai, which were named after the respective foremen. I belonged to craftsman Hartwig's group. During the work hours, the SS-female guards [Aufseherinnen] were in the factory workshops."⁴ Hungarian woman Berta B. gave testimony regarding the working conditions, which indicate that the female prisoners did not receive any protective clothing or goggles: "As I already said, I mainly had to produce screws and due to the bright light and the oil, which spurted into my eyes, I got a serious eye infection. I was in great pain for a week and could hardly see, but I didn't dare to say anything. Then a miracle occurred. Another woman complained on my behalf and instead of something happening to me, I was taken under escort by a female guard to an eye doctor in Leipzig and had to lie down for three months with my eyes bandaged. I never returned to the machines."⁵

On the relationship of the German workers and employees with the Jewish women and girls, Hungarian Ilona Ormos said the following, "When I once asked a German colleague for a needle and thread in order to make necessary repairs to my ragged clothes, he replied: 'You get nothing from me on principle!' Acting on just such a principle, the then works' doctor refused to treat a female workmate [prisoner] who had an accident on a milling machine."⁶ But Ormos also described that at Easter in 1945 the women prisoners found little packages with cookies hidden at their workstations, which had pleased her workmates very much at that time: "It was a black dough with a little bit of sugar on top, but for us it was a sign of humanity amidst the darkness of imprisonment."⁷

Unanimously, all survivors testify to the hunger, which tortured them constantly. Thanks to the completely insufficient diet, the bodily strength of the women and girls was increasingly drained away. That was also the reason for the five deaths that took place in the Zschopau camp. "The only deaths which I experienced in Zschopau were caused by hunger and exhaustion. We then had to bury these prisoners, after they had been wrapped in paper towels. Whether there were any deportations from Zschopau, I don't know, apart from one case, in which two young women from Zschopau were sent to Auschwitz."⁸ SS documents do not contain information on this. However, one Polish woman was sent to Ravensbrück because she was pregnant.

As a result, the numerical strength of the work details only declined a little. On January 31, 1945, 497 women were reported in the camp,⁹ and on March 31, there were still 495.¹⁰ On the day before its evacuation, the concentration camp in Flossenbürg registered 494 women for the subcamp in Zschopau.¹¹

On the camp commandants, the camp guards, and the female SS guards, there are the following accounts by survivors: "The senior commandant was an older Oberscharführer of medium height, who was friendly toward us. The differ-

ence to Auschwitz can scarcely be described. This man was replaced later by a younger, tall SS man, who often beat us and directed terrible swear words at us."¹² The female prisoners gave him the nickname "Hitler." Irene G., who went to the United States after her liberation, testified:

I saw the camp commandant every day. I cannot say anything negative about him. I can recall the following names of female SS guards: Hilda. Hilda was mean; she beat up prisoners with her hands and her feet. Erika was the name of the senior guard. . . . There was also a woman there, whom we called "Madame Appell"; she was not malevolent, but a stickler for discipline. She often called us out on parade and made us stand in rows for a long time. This is what earned her the nickname, which we gave her. . . . I would especially like to mention, however, another guard named Frieda H. . . . She had clearly taken me into her heart and did me favors wherever she could. For example, she secretly gave me socks and food. . . . I know that other female SS guards also did things for the prisoners, as did some of the factory workers too.¹³

The camp commandant was initially SS-Oberscharführer Happel; the senior SS guard was Traude Stein.¹⁴ Ten SS guards and 20 female SS guards guarded the women prisoners.¹⁵ "Two Ukrainian SS guards were also in the camp. They wore black SS uniforms and were nasty sadists. They were brutal and primitive people."¹⁶

On April 14, 1945, the subcamp was dissolved and the women evacuated by train. During the train journey, seven women managed to escape from the transport. Frenchwoman Odette Spingarn said of this escape:

At 6 o'clock we had to gather in the courtyard. Everyone had a blanket and a piece of bread. It was a strange farewell accompanied by screams and blows. The French prisoners of war, who work on the lower floor of the factory, push themselves together into one corner of the courtyard. They have to watch everything—powerless and confused. . . . We are crammed together into the last wagon of the train, we—that is, 120 women. Somebody succeeded in unscrewing the plate in front of the window, so that we could get some air. And then there was suddenly the thought, which took root among our little band of Belgian and French women, to which the Italian, Bianca, also belonged: Escape! I have to move through the whole length of the wagon, during which I climb over the squashed and cowering bodies of my fellow prisoners, who don't understand why I am seeking another spot. They are squatting there in their misery and I am disturbing them! I make slow progress. At the time I am thinking that with each turn of the train's wheels I am getting further away. Soon I want to jump.

Finally I get to grab the window opening—through, I jump. The Seventh! Before I jumped, I shouted to my workmates: "Good-bye, my dears!" They had formed a ladder, in order to help me to squeeze through the small window opening in the cattle car. The train rolled on slowly through the night.¹⁷

Spingarn, like Italian Bianca R. and Hungarian Alice, went back to Zschopau. French prisoners of war, whose help they could rely upon, assisted them in finding a place where they remained hidden until May 8, 1945.

The evacuation transport arrived in the Theresienstadt ghetto on April 21, 1945. On their arrival in the ghetto, 457 women who had belonged to the Zschopau subcamp were registered.

SOURCES There is a short article by Ulrich Fritz, "Zschopau," in *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: Beck-Verlag), 4: 279–281. Information on the deployment of Auschwitz prisoners to Zschopau may be found in Danuta Czech, "Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau," *HvA* 8 (1964): 87–88. For background on Wilhelm Werner, see Wolfgang Schuman et al., *Deutschland im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, vol. 6, *Die Zerschlagung des Hitlerfaschismus und die Befreiung des deutschen Volkes (Juni 1944 bis zum Mai 1945)* (Berlin: Akademie, 1985), p. 359; and Dietrich Eichholtz, *Geschichte der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945* (Berlin: Akademie, 1966), 3: 51.

Archival materials on the camp can be found at BA-L in ZdL (IV 410 AR 3288/66 and IV AR-Z 94/76); ITS (Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg); SHStA-(D) (Auto Union AG); and SStA-L (MIMO). An interview with survivor Ilona Ormos appeared in *BVEBMZ*, September 1, 1964.

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NOTES

1. Danuta Czech, "Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau," *HvA* 8(1964): 87–88.
2. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 94/76, Bd. 2, p. 222, testimony of Dora J. (number 61008).
3. Ibid., p. 153, testimony of Ester S. (number 61293). The removal of her teeth took place in the Wilischthal subcamp.
4. Ibid., p. 233, testimony of Dora J.
5. Ibid., p. 138, testimony of Berta B. (number 61010).
6. Herbert Lehmann, "Beitrag über den Besuch der ehemaligen ungarischen Häftlingsfrau Ilona Ormos in Zschopau," *BVEBMZ*, September 1, 1964.
7. Ibid.
8. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 94/76, Bd. 2, p. 154, testimony of Ester S.
9. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, pp. 52–53.
10. Ibid., pp. 86–87.
11. BA-B, Film 14 430, p. 1266, Strength report of April 13, 1945.
12. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 94/76, Bd. 2, p. 153, testimony of Ester S.

13. Ibid., Bd. 1, p. 269, testimony of Irene W. (number 61020).

14. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 3, Letter from the commandant's office of KZ-Flossenbürg to the head of the Kommando in Zschopau, December 28, 1944, re.: appointment of senior female SS guard.

15. Ibid., Nr. 10, pp. 86–87.

16. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 94/76, Bd. 1, p. 270, testimony of Irene W.

17. Odette Spingarn (number 61276), Report on her escape (translation from French by Gisela Dulon), pp. 1–2. Report in the possession of the author.

ZWICKAU

On September 13, 1944, the subcamp in the Horch factory, Zwickau, was established with the transport of 210 prisoners there from the Flossenbürg concentration camp. Due to the successive arrival of additional prisoner transports, the prison population of the subcamp had expanded by the end of 1944 to 898.¹ Escapes, deaths, and the return to the Flossenbürg main camp of prisoners who were sick or incapable of work reduced the number of prisoners to 861 by January 31, 1945.² The addition of prisoners to the subcamp, in spite of many deaths in February, had brought the camp strength to 966 prisoners by February 28, 1945.³ The return to Flossenbürg of a transport of nearly 200 prisoners suffering from tuberculosis and further deaths at the Zwickau camp reduced its numerical strength to 727 by March 31, 1945.⁴ Increasing numbers of deaths saw the camp strength decline further to 688 prisoners by April 13, 1945.⁵ Therefore, well over 1,000 prisoners passed through this camp in total.

According to their nationality, the prisoners in the Zwickau subcamp broke down in the following way on February 28, 1945; the national composition had accordingly changed by March 31, 1945:⁶

Nationality	February 28, 1945	March 31, 1945
Poles	374 (including 29 Jews)	263 (15 Jews)
Russians	285	195
Italians	78	70
French	66	54
Hungarians	61 (58 Jews)	47 (47 Jews)
Czechs	54	52
Germans	23	20
Belgians	9	9
Bulgarians	3	3
Croats	3	3
Yugoslavs	2	2
Lithuanians	2	1
Spaniards	2	2
Dutch	1	2 (1 Jew)
Greeks	1	1
Slovaks	1	1

The prisoners were accommodated in a barracks camp about 100 meters (328 feet) from the factory, which appeared to be secured against escape attempts by an electrified fence and towers containing guards armed with machine guns. Nevertheless, a few escapes were attempted in the autumn of 1944. This can be presumed from a report by the factory management to those engaged at the works: "In response to the escape attempt made by individual prisoners during the night shift, it must be observed how immediately a large number of workers gathered in order to satisfy their curiosity by watching these events. . . . We therefore bring it forcefully to the attention of our workers, that the guards have strict instructions to shoot immediately at the prisoners in the event of escape attempts or similar occurrences."⁷

An attempt by Soviet prisoners to escape from the camp, using a tunnel dug from an empty barrack building, was foiled on the planned day of escape, as they were betrayed by other prisoners. The camp commandant had 23 prisoners shot immediately, who were discovered during the escape attempt or arrested as co-conspirators due to denunciations. In the protocol of the trial against camp commandant SS-Unterscharführer Müsch and others, the following can also be found on these events:

At the end of February or the beginning of March 1945, a group of prisoners planned an escape attempt from the camp. For this purpose the prisoners had made a hole, fifty centimeters by fifty centimeters [about 20 by 20 inches] in the floorboards of their living barracks and from there dug a tunnel. . . . On the night before, the accused was informed by other prisoners of the intended breakout. During the night he entered the dark barracks armed with a pistol and accompanied by armed SS men. The prisoners were in the subterranean tunnel when he and the guards disturbed them. . . . The accused shone his flashlight into the tunnel and demanded that the prisoners come out, assuring them that nothing would happen to them. When they did not obey his request he threatened that if they didn't comply he would use his weapon. Then the prisoners did come forward. At this moment, the accused gave the SS man Welantschütz the order to fire into the tunnel with his machine pistol. Welantschütz obeyed this order and killed all the prisoners who participated in the escape.⁸

Another SS-Unterscharführer, Schragner, also took part alternately with Welantschütz in this cowardly murder. Müsch was sentenced to four years and six months in prison.⁹

The completely inadequate food rations given to the prisoners and the exhaustion of their bodily strength contributed to the outbreak of diseases, such as tuberculosis, and were the main causes of many deaths. On April 2, 1945, alone the strength report of the Flossenbürg concentration camp reports 28 deaths for the Zwickau subcamp.¹⁰

Indicative of the way hunger and the search for something edible dominated the thoughts of the prisoners is one passage in the testimony of a Polish Jew:

On arrival back in the camp quarters in the evening I went straight to my friend Salzmann and said to him: "Salzmann, today God smiled on me and I have something for you." I took out a few turnip peelings and gave them to him. "Breitowicz," he said, "for your good heart, that you have, I will ask God that you survive the war. God will certainly listen to me."

That was the first happy night in Zwickau. . . . Several more terrible days went by. It was said, they need people to go for cinders. I reported with several other colleagues and we went to get cinders with little carts. For this work we were supposed to receive an extra half-liter [two cups] of soup. In the factory, from which we picked up the cinders, there were many foreign workers. They saw that we were weakened by hunger.¹¹

Since the inhuman treatment of the concentration camp prisoners was not concealed from the German workers, above all non-Nazi-leaning Horch workers made efforts to help the prisoners: "Paul Unger made contact with the Dutch forced laborers. His wife obtained food, which the work-mates distributed to the concentration camp prisoners via the Dutchmen. These people worked in the high building, which was surrounded by barbed wire and strictly guarded by armed SS. One could only enter with a special pass, which only a few people received. The contact person for the Dutch was the resistance fighter van Groth. When the Gestapo succeeded in infiltrating a snitch into the group, it was revealed."¹²

The bill of demand issued by the Flossenbürg concentration camp to the Horch factory Zwickau charging them 115,038 Reichsmark (RM) for the "rental of the prisoners" also includes a deduction of 19,194 RM in favor of the Auto Union company for prisoner food supplied. This deduction for the "hunger rations" supplied by the factory is evidence of the shared responsibility of the company for the murderous living conditions that prevailed in the Zwickau subcamp.¹³

The miserable condition in which the prisoners found themselves, had to be conceded even by the factory management, as it was brought to their attention by the workers:

[O]n the part of the company's employees an increasing number of complaints have been received about the dirtiness of the prisoners being so bad that one can already speak of a smell that is simply unbearable for a longer period of time. . . . According to our view the main cause for this complaint is firstly the lack of washing soap and on the other hand also to a great extent the lack of underwear and clothes to change into. . . . Daily body washing must

have only a limited effect when very dirty clothing is still being worn, because the dirt of the work clothes goes straight back onto the body. Equally unacceptable in the long term is also the fact that underwear can only be changed at best every three weeks due to insufficient quantity.

Both of these factors doubtless contribute to the simplest skin wounds in almost all cases developing into dangerous running sores and that rashes often spread over the whole body.¹⁴

Among the various measures to help the prisoners taken by the anti-Fascist forces in the Horch factory was an attempt to get the factory doctor, Dr. Fröhlich, to intervene by bringing to his attention instances in which prisoners were beaten. On the other hand, the complete support of the factory management for the SS camp leadership is clear in the document.¹⁵

The responsible camp commandant was SS-Unterscharführer Müsch, who had joined the Nazi Party in 1931. He served in an SS construction battalion in Lublin in 1942, and after completing an SS administrative training course in Munich in 1943, he arrived at Flossenbürg in 1944, for "practical training," as he put it himself in court. From October 4, 1944, he served as camp commandant in Zwickau. At his side served the two Austrian SS-Unterscharführer, Schragner and Welantschütz. Schragner, who was a member of the illegal Nazi Party and SS even before the annexation of Austria, was with the Waffen-SS in Kraków in 1939 and after that served in the SS guard detail at the Lublin concentration camp.

Welantschütz belonged to a "Freikorps" unit that operated against Czechoslovakia in 1938 and also joined the Waffen-SS in Kraków in 1939. In 1942, he was assigned to the guard detail of the concentration camp in Lublin and arrived in the Zwickau subcamp after serving as a guard at the Wieliczka subcamp of the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp.¹⁶

The investigation against the two men for the shooting of the prisoners during the escape attempt in the tunnel was classified only as manslaughter by the court and closed, as the statute of limitations had expired. Both men remained unpunished.

As henchman, especially for punishment beatings, the SS used Alfred Keller, the senior prisoner (Kapo), a professional criminal who wore the green triangle.

On April 14, 1945, the 688 prisoners still in the Zwickau subcamp were marched out on foot in the direction of the Erzgebirge Mountains. Close to Schönheide they met up with the column from the Lengenfeld subcamp. On the evening of April 15, they reached the subcamp Johanngeorgenstadt.¹⁷ Leaving behind 106 sick prisoners, the column comprising the subcamp prisoners from Lengenfeld and Zwickau set off again to the south in the direction of Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary). Pole Jan H. subsequently testified: "The sick were summarily shot on the way, as were all those who could no longer walk."¹⁸

The prisoners were driven on the route via Marienbad (Mariánské Lázne)—Planá—Tachau (Tachov)—Bor—and Doly, until after a massacre of the Jewish and Soviet prisoners near Primda they were abandoned by the SS. German Kapo Dietze made the following statement about the murder of these prisoners in the Müsch trial. In the protocol it states: "The witness D. also made known, that the accused had the remaining twenty or so Jewish and Russian prisoners shot, after he learned that the Flossenbürg camp was already in the hands of the Americans."¹⁹

Just on the march route between Karlsbad-Tepla and Planá, 296 corpses of prisoners from this column were uncovered during exhumations in 1946.²⁰

From among the prisoners of the Zwickau subcamp, which together with the column from Johanngeorgenstadt made it to Leitmeritz, six men were registered on their arrival in the Theresienstadt ghetto, to which the Jewish prisoners from Leitmeritz were sent.

SOURCES A recent secondary source on the Zwickau subcamp is Ulrich Fritz and Steven Simmon, "Zwickau," in *Der Ort des Terrors, vol.4, Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, eds. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 282–286. On the evacuation, see Marek Poloncarz, "Die Evakuierungstransporte nach Theresienstadt (April–Mai 1945)," *TSD* (1999): 255. Zwickau is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 123.

Primary sources on the camp include the following: BA-L, ZdL (IV 410 AR 3173/66 and IV 410 AR 1382/67); ITS (Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg); and SHStA-(D) (Auto Union AG, Werk Horch). The Müsch case is listed as 7Ks 1/54. The current location of the former company archive of the Ba-VEB-S-Z is not known. A Zwickau prisoner, Gianfranco Mariconti, published a testimony, *Memoria di vita e di inferno: Percorso autobiografico dalla speneratezza alla responsabilità* (Sesto S. Giovanni: il Papiro Editrice "Altrastoria," 1995). Additional testimony may be found in Tenner, et. al., *Automobilbauer einst und jetzt* (Berlin [East]: Tribüne, 1976). There is an interview with prisoner Mariánské Lázne in Richard Švandrlík, "Pístovské memento," *Ham*, 13:138 (April 8, 1985): 4.

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NOTES

1. Ba-VEB-S-Z, Akte Horch vor 1945, No. 14, p. 7.
2. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, No. 10, pp. 52–53.
3. Ibid., pp. 70–71.
4. Ibid., pp. 86–87.
5. BA-B, Film 14430, p. 1264.
6. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, No. 4, p. 107.
7. Ba-VEB-S-Z, Akte Horch vor 1945, No. 17, information sheet issued by the factory management (poster), December 18, 1944.
8. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1387/67, p. 150.
9. Lfd. Nr. 431, Adelheid Rüter-Ehlermann and Christian Frederick Rüter, eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1966* (Amsterdam, 1971), Bd. XIII.

10. BA-B, Film 41820, pp. 787–791.
11. ZdL, IV 410 AR 1387/67, p. 199, testimony of Jakob B. (number 14289).
12. Tenner, et. al., *Automobilbauer einst und jetzt* (Berlin [East]: Tribüne, 1976), p. 65.
13. BA-B, Film 4053, Forderungsnachweis, Flo. Nr. 771, January 1, 1945.
14. Ba-VEB-S-Z, Akte Horch vor 1945, No. 184, pp. 1–2, letter of the factory management Horch Zwickau to the commandant's office Flossenbürg concentration camp, December 19, 1944.
15. Ibid.
16. ZdL, IV 410 AR 1387/67, pp. 165–170.
17. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, No. 1, p. 93, report of the former prisoner Hommel (from Luxembourg) about the evacuation from Lengenfeld, Schönheide, and Zwickau.
18. Ba-VEB-S-Z, Akte Horch, No. 14, testimony of the Polish former prisoner Jan H. (number 3909), October 25, 1945.
19. ZdL, IV 410 AR 1387/67, p. 167, testimony of Rudolf D. (number 2167).
20. Mariánské Lázne in Richard Švanderlik, "Pístovské memento," *Ham*, 13: 138 (April 8, 1985): 4.

ZWODAU

The origin of the planning for the employment of prisoners in Zwodau cannot be determined precisely; nevertheless, there exists information about its context: The Luftfahrtgerätewerk Hakenfelde GmbH (Aircraft Equipment Works Hakenfelde Ltd., LGW) had been founded in 1940 as a 100 percent joint subsidiary of Siemens & Halske AG (S&H) and Siemens-Schuckert -Werke AG (Siemens-Schuckert Works, Inc., SSW). At high rates of production, the ordnance company manufactured autopilots, gyroscopes, and navigation instruments; aircraft instruments and electronics; communications equipment; and electric firing systems. In view of the positive results that Siemens had been able to produce since the autumn of 1942 at its Ravensbrück assembly plant (*Fertigungsstelle*), in connection with the increasing danger from air raids, Siemens director Paul Storch suggested in the spring of 1943 to carry out the transfer of the assembly to better-protected areas and to enlist concentration camp prisoners for the production of particularly important components.¹ It was, therefore, a strategic decision of Siemens to establish the use of prisoners at the periphery of the Old Reich, a decision by which the responsible parties combined the enormous turnover increase in the armaments business with the concurrent shortage of labor. For the increase in its production, the company was guided by its model project for use of prisoner labor in the Ravensbrück concentration camp.²

On September 3, 1943, 13,000 square meters (about 15,550 square yards) in the Kammgarnspinnerei Ignaz Schmieger AG Zwodau near Falkenau on the Eger River were occupied by the Gesellschaft für Luftfahrtgeräte, Spandau.³ The Falkenau camp was established provisionally on the factory site as early as December 1943; the occupancy grew from about 100

in the beginning to approximately 745 female prisoners by July 1944.⁴ As of March 1944, the female concentration camp prisoners who originated from Poland, Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia were brought to Zwodau mostly from Ravensbrück. In addition to their work in the factory, they built the Zwodau camp. Together with Italian military internees (IMIs), the women leveled a triangular parcel of land located about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the city and put up four barracks for prisoners—one as a hospital and one as a canteen—as well as quarters for the SS guards. The camp was fenced in with barbed wire, which at least initially was not electrified.⁵ Around the end of June or the beginning of July the prisoners moved from the factory to the not-quite-finished barracks. Later, four watchtowers and an electrified fence were erected, which also enclosed the prisoners' way to work, the so-called Lion's Path, to the factory and reduced the guard requirements.⁶

The women came above all from Germany, France, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia; in addition, there were about 100 Hungarian Jews in the camp.⁷ The women worked in day and night shifts of about 12 hours and, in a similar manner to that in the Fertigungsstelle Ravensbrück, produced coils, switches, measuring equipment, and the like, for aviation armament as unskilled workers in operations sharply demarcated by the division of labor. The output of the prisoners was recorded individually as in Ravensbrück and linked to a bonus system.⁸ For substandard performance there were punishments such as makeup work and withdrawal of food; for adequate or increased performance, additional rations.⁹ The women in their spare time also had to take on additional work such as hauling coal from Zwodau into the camp.¹⁰

Until the middle of February 1945, the detachment leader at Zwodau was SS-Hauptscharführer Kurt Erich Schreiber and, later, SS-Oberscharführer Willi Jordan; they commanded a guard force of about 25 SS men. Schneider was assigned as the supervisory female SS guard and was later replaced by Unger. They commanded around 20 female SS guards, who also supervised the prisoners at their workplaces. All those named were accused of mistreatment, also with deadly consequences. Since September 1944, the camp had been under the Flossenbürg concentration camp. The relocation had resulted in a worsening of the daily food in the camp even though the factory kitchen continued to supply the camp, a clear sign of corruption and embezzlement in the camp. Survivors especially accused camp elder (Lagerältester) Johanna Baumann née Forthofer of currying favor with the SS and of mistreatment.

The available data, however, show only small variations in the number of prisoners until the arrival of the first evacuation transports during the winter of 1944–1945; this, in combination with a rather low death rate in the camp itself, points to the practice of transferring sick prisoners back to the main camp.¹¹ With the arrival of a large number of women, mostly Jewish who had been weakened by long marches on foot from camps in Freiburg, Dresden, and Helmbrechts, the number of camp inmates swelled in April 1945 to between 2,500 and

3,000. Because of the outbreak of a typhoid epidemic among these women, who were held in quarantine, aggravated by the totally insufficient supply of water and food, the death rate then increased to several prisoners per day.¹²

Around April 20, 1945, the remaining prisoners of the Zwodau camp were driven away in the direction of Tachau near Karlsberg. After three days, the column had to turn back and found on their return a camp that was already destroyed to a large degree in order to remove its traces; there they remained until being liberated by the Americans.¹³

No statement can be made here about the postwar trials conducted in the Czechoslovak Soviet Socialist Republic against members of the Zwodau concentration camp guards. In West Germany, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, beginning in the mid-1960s, investigated killings, especially those that took place in the last phase of the war when hundreds of weakened Jewish prisoners came to the Zwodau subcamp in evacuation marches.¹⁴ In this connection, the predecessor camp Falkenau was also investigated by the ZdL. Zwodau was also examined in collective investigative proceedings covering the subcamps of the Flossenbürg concentration camp.

In 1974, the Munich State Prosecutor's Office began investigative proceedings of murder against the accused Jordan, Unger, Schmidt, and others, which it closed in 1979, as the accused could not be located. Subsequently, the ZdL also ceased its corresponding investigative proceedings in 1991.¹⁵

SOURCES The only comprehensive study of the Flossenbürg subcamps, to which Zwodau belonged from September 1944, was presented by Hans Brenner, "Zur Rolle der Aussenkommandos des KZ Flossenbürg im System der staatsmonopolistischen Rüstungswirtschaft des faschistischen deutschen Imperialismus und im antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf 1942–1945" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Dresden, 1982). Like most historians of the DDR, he tried to document above all the decisive influence of the large corporations on state institutions and the war economy. However, this limited formulation of the inquiry reduces the value of the finding of this otherwise commendable study, which is rich in material, but the study unfortunately is only accessible with great difficulty because of the poor legibility of most copies. Brenner, however, has also published his research results and theories on the assignment of labor in two articles; but his data on occupancy rates are partly inaccurate (with reference only to post-war sources). See Brenner, "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," *TSD* (1999): 263–293; and "Der 'Arbeitseinsatz' der KZ-Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des Konzentrationslagers Flossenbürg—Ein Überblick," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager; Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998): 1:682–706. Karl Heinz Roth, in "Zwangarbeit im Siemens-Konzern (1938–1945): Fakten—Kontroversen—Probleme," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft, 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen, 1996); pp. 149–168, compares a number of prisoner deployments for the Siemens concern. His typology of the structure of assignments of forced prison labor for the company is valuable. On the basis of files of the ZdL (held

at BA-L) as well as the Flossenbürg concentration camp registers, found in the interim at NARA, Jörg Skribeleit, in "Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 196–217, provides a recent overview of the Flossenbürg subcamps in Bohemia. He assumes incorrectly that the Falkenau subcamp existed for only a few weeks. His analysis of the registers provides important new knowledge about the development of death rates in the investigated women's subcamps, which only increased dramatically with the beginning of the evacuations of the camps located in the east and the deportation of its inmates to camps located westward, as was Zwodau. For background on Siemens armament manufacturing, see the apologetic work by the director of AS-M, Wilfried Feldenkirchen, *Siemens, 1918–1945* (Munich, 1995), pp. 381–382.

The presumably quite wide-ranging contents of the AS-M unfortunately are not made accessible to independent research as so-called uncataloged intermediate archival sources. Research is therefore dependent on state archives. The above-mentioned files of the investigative proceedings of the ZdL are therefore one of the most important correlated collections of sources for the investigation of the Zwodau subcamp. They contain numerous witness statements of surviving prisoners, other witnesses, and perpetrators. In this connection, it must be emphasized that the investigating state prosecutors in the search for witnesses worked closely with the ITS, whose collections of contemporary documents they could still examine and draw on for the investigations. Further, the state prosecutors also assessed the extensive material on the Flossenbürg concentration camp held by the BA-B under NS4, the second important unified collection on the Falkenau subcamp, decades before it aroused the interest of Western historians. There are presumably important contemporary documents in the Czech archives on the history of the origin of the use of prison labor as the planning papers prove that reached Ludwigsburg through the assistance of the Commission for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes. The BA-MA holds collections of the war authorities for the economy about the procurement situation and production of the LGH. Other smaller collections are quoted in the text.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Werkleiterbesprechung, March 4, 1943, "Auszüge aus den Werkleiterbesprechungen," LA-B, BPA, FDGB, 276 pages, n.p.
2. LGW, Bestelleingang u. Umsatz bis 1943, BA-MA, RL3/4117 P141.
3. Karteikarte Kammgarnspinnerei Ignaz Schmieger Akt. Ges. Zwodau b. Falkenau a. Eger/Sud., Reichsbetriebskartei, Wirtschaftsgruppe Textilindustrie, Kriegswirtschaftsmassnahmen (Betriebsstilllegungen): Bezirksgruppen: Sudetenland, Ostmark, Südbayern, Nordbayern, Protektorat Böhmen & Mähren, BA-B, R13 XIV/236.
4. Übersicht ZStL Häftlingsstand Aussenlager Flossenbürg nach NS4, BA-L, Zdl, IV 410 (F) AR 2629/67, Dokumentensammlung, Bd. 3, KZ Flossenbürg.
5. Die Pläne der Bauabteilung der Siemenswerke für das LGW Zwodau, Barackenlager, "KZ-Baracken 2, 3 u. 4,"

1:100 24.2.1944 and "Plan 14, LGW-Betrieb Zwodau, Lageplan Barackenlager," 1:1000, March 4, 1944, ZdL, VI 410 AR-Z 60/67 (B), p. 422; Reisebericht [SS-Obergruppenführer Frank], August 10–11, 1944, August 15, 1944 [Prague], ZdL.

6. Statement Wachführer Reschke, SS-Kdo. Zwodau [Re. Schlüsselübergabe ehemalige Häftlingsunterkunft], July 18, 1944, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR 2629/67, Dokumentensammlung, Bd. 2, KZ Flossenbürg, p. 30; record of interview Anna Pauline Luise Se., née Lö., December 16, 1970, in Kitzingen, ZdL, IV410AR-Z60/67, n.p., Bd. 1, "Mehrausfertigung."

7. [Arbeitseinsatz Flossenbürg] Übersicht zum 28.2.1945 über Nationalitäten der weiblichen Häftlinge des Aussenkommandos des KZ Flossenbürg nach dem Stande, February 29, 1945, ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR 2629/67, Dokumentensammlung, Bd. 1, KZ Flossenbürg, p. 385.

8. Record of interview [camp elder] Johanna Baumann, née Forthofer, October 7, 1966, October 14, 1966, and October 19, 1966, ZdL.

9. Anon., "Ich war in einem Siemens-KZ; Bericht einer französischen Zwangsarbeiterin," October 5, 1946. The anonymous author is probably Henriette Seller, due to similar wording in Seller's report on the transport from Compiègne

and the Zwodau concentration camp, LA-B, BPA, V6/3/6007, Nachlass Baum; Record of interview Halina Prei., née. Smo. 23.10.1971 in Poznan, ZdL.

10. Record of interview of Ludmila Nov., née. Smr., October 5, 1967, in Budweis, ZdL, IV410AR-Z60/67, p. 558.

11. ZdL, Schlussvermerk betr. [Ermittlungsverfahren Zwodau] gegen 1) Lagerführer SS-Unterscharführer Jordan, 2) SS-Oberaufseherin Unger und 3) SS-Oberaufseherin Ilse Schmidt wg. Tötungshandlungen an weiblichen Häftlingen im Nebenlager Zwodau im April/Mai 1945], ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z60/67, p. 40.

12. For Freiburg (AEG), see, for example, record of interview Olga Torn., née Friedm., December 10, 1973, in Budapest, ZdL, IV410AR-Z60/67, p. 1497; for Dresden record of interview Felicja Helfg., née Zal., September 13, 1967, in Beit Dagon, ZdL, IV410AR-Z60/67, p. 483.

13. Record of interview Genofewa Roj., née Mark., November 15, 1971, in Plock, ZdL, IV410AR-Z48/71B, p. 113.

14. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 48/71B; ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 23/68; ZdL, IV 410 (F) AR 2629/67; and ZdL, VI 410 AR-Z 60/67 (B).

15. StA-M, 1 320 Js 486/74; ZdL, IV 109 AR-Z 154/91.

GROSS-ROSEN



The main gate at Gross-Rosen, taken shortly after liberation.
USHMM WS # 73197, COURTESY OF IPN

GROSS-ROSEN MAIN CAMP

The history of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp began on May 11, 1940, when the SS concern Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (DESt) bought the quarry near the village of Gross-Rosen (present-day Rogoźnica) in lower Silesia from Margareta Hay for 500,000 Reichsmark (RM). To provide the cheap manpower needed to work the quarry, a subcamp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp was set up nearby in the summer of 1940, under the name "Labor Camp Gross-Rosen." The first transport of 100 prisoners arrived from Sachsenhausen on August 2, 1940; another 100 probably arrived before the end of September. There is no accurate information on subsequent transports. These early prisoners had been registered and assigned numbers in Sachsenhausen. Initially, they worked in two detachments, Steinbruch and Barackenbau, stone quarrying and barracks construction.

Gross-Rosen became an independent concentration camp on May 1, 1941, according to a May 10 decree from the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA).¹ The former subcamp prisoners automatically became the first prisoners of the new camp. There were 722 of them initially, including 255 German "professional criminals," 271 Poles, 110 German and Czech political prisoners, and 73 so-called asocial prisoners, among others.² We do not know exactly why the subcamp was converted into an independent concentration camp, although the plans to expand DESt probably played a major part in the decision. The DESt representatives were not satisfied with the progress in starting up the quarry their company had purchased, and they attributed the delays primarily to the small number of prisoners in the camp. Separating the subcamp from the distant Sachsenhausen main camp would make prisoner procurement and further expansion easier.

The first camp commander, from May 1, 1941, to September 15, 1942, was SS-Obersturmbannführer Arthur Rödl. SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Gideon became his successor, from September 16, 1942, to October 10, 1943. After him, from October 11, 1943, until the camp's evacuation in February 1945, SS-Sturmbannführer Johannes Hassebroek commanded.

Just as was the case at other camps, the Gross-Rosen headquarters staff consisted of five branches (with their heads as of October 1941): I, the aide-de-camp's office (SS-Oberscharführer Eugen Tillig); II, the political office (Kriminalsekretär Richard Treske); III, the protective detention camp (SS-Untersturmführer Anton Thumann); IV, administration (SS-Oberscharführer Willi Blume); and V, health services (SS-Untersturmführer Friedrich Entress). In addition, a sixth—the training division—was run by SS-Oberscharführer Johann Ziegler.

Branch III, which oversaw the camp itself, played the most important part in the prisoners' lives. Thumann, who had held the post of Lagerführer (camp leader) of the Gross-Rosen

labor camp, was the Schutzhaftlagerführer (leader of the protective detention camp) until February 1943, when SS-Obersturmführer Walter Ernstberger took over. The Schutzhaftlagerführer supervised a camp staff consisting of a Rapportführer (SS-Rottenführer Walter Schwarze until 1942, followed by SS-Oberscharführer Helmut Eschner), an Arbeitseinsatzführer (work assignment supervisor) who directed the prisoners' employment, and several Blockführer (barracks block supervisors).

Because of the camp's expansion and the accompanying need for increased administrative effort, the Schutzhaftlagerführer and Rapportführer gained more and more power and thus greater license to act. This trend reached its peak under Commandant Hassebroek, who inspected the subcamps frequently; when he was absent, his subordinates had almost unlimited power over the prisoners.

The political branch played a special role. It took its orders directly from the RSHA but also worked with the Breslau (Wrocław) Gestapo office; it was under the camp command only on an administrative level. The branch chief, Treske, interrogated prisoners, was responsible for maintaining prisoner files, and oversaw the various jobs of the political department, which included registering, discharging, and executing prisoners.

It is difficult to estimate the prisoner population, since we have no original camp records. Studies done at many institutions, based mainly on prisoner enumeration, have shown that from May 1941 to the end of that year the population almost doubled to 1,487 prisoners. By July 15, 1942, there were 1,890 prisoners. Beyond that point, there are no accurate counts. We know that 5,293 more prisoners were registered in 1942; 25,167 more in 1943; 73,367 more in 1944; and 5,180 more from January 1945 until the evacuation—for a total of more than 110,000. However, some categories of prisoners, such as Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and transferees from Auschwitz, were not included in the Gross-Rosen records at all; when we include those, the consensus is that the total number of prisoners who passed through the Gross-Rosen concentration camp was approximately 120,000. Still, that figure does not tell us how many were present in the main camp at any one time, since many of the prisoners, including all of the 25,000 women who were sent to Gross-Rosen, were sent from there on to the subcamps.

When Gross-Rosen was being set up, the policy for sending prisoners there was different than at other camps. National police units could not send prisoners to the camp directly; until the end of 1941, only prisoners from other concentration camps were to be sent to Gross-Rosen. In the following years, however, the number of prisoners sent to Gross-Rosen from Gestapo or Sipo (Security Police) units constituted approximately half of the entire population. About

one-third or more of the prisoners had come from other concentration camps. Of that number, the majority were from Auschwitz (about 20,000), Plaszow (about 2,500), and Flossenbürg (about 1,400), while smaller transports came from other concentration camps.

The prisoner population was quite varied in its makeup. German prisoners made up the largest nationality group at Gross-Rosen in 1940–1941. Starting in 1942, those proportions changed, and German prisoners gradually became a minority; Poles and Soviet citizens became the most numerous, followed by French, Dutch, Hungarians, Austrians, and many others. Most of the Poles were arrested as suspected partisans, while most Soviet prisoners had been forced laborers who had somehow violated regulations. All the non-German prisoners were classified as political opponents and were labeled with a red triangle; they were the largest prisoner category because of the large numbers of prisoners from every corner of Europe. Germans continued to dominate the prisoner hierarchy; but not all the prisoner-functionaries were German. Most of the Germans were classified as “professional criminals,” “asocials,” or political prisoners.

Starting in 1941, Soviet POWs from various stalags were transported to Gross-Rosen. The largest such transport, consisting of 2,500 to 3,000 prisoners, arrived in October 1941. Most of the POWs were killed by the camp medical personnel within a few weeks, using lethal injections; later, the same technique was used to kill other prisoners who were unable to work. The SS personnel who took part in executions received awards and extra pay for their roles. Other Soviet POWs died as a result of neglect and abuse. They were given no bedding and barely half the normal rations.

Jews were the most badly treated group of prisoners at Gross-Rosen. Up until October 12, 1942, at least 285 Jews passed through the camp. They were often kept at work after the other prisoners had been dismissed. They received none of the privileges that other prisoners did, and the others were forbidden to aid them in any way. They received the most beatings, were given the hardest work, and were often denied medical care. Under these circumstances, the Jews succumbed quickly, committed suicide, or were selected for killing as part of the 14f13 program. On October 12, 1942, the last 37 living Jewish prisoners were sent to Auschwitz. From then until the camp's evacuation, there were no Jews at the Gross-Rosen main camp.

A new category of prisoners appeared in the camp, beginning in 1944: prisoners from the *Nacht-und-Nebel* operation. The “Night-and-Fog” Decree issued by the chief of the Armed Forces High Command, Wilhelm Keitel, was designed to use arrests to stop the growth of the resistance movement in Western Europe, especially in France. In the autumn of 1944, approximately 1,575 French, Belgian, and Dutch prisoners arrested in the Night-and-Fog operation were sent to Gross-Rosen. More people arrested in the operation wound up in the camp in January 1945; the total was at least 1,730 people.

Teenage prisoners were also put in the Gross-Rosen camp. In the early years they were a small group, but starting in 1943, many young Poles and Russians and, later, young prisoners of other nationalities wound up in the camp. They were all put in one barrack and used for lighter labor.

Starting on December 1, 1943, a separate unit, a so-called *Arbeitserziehungslager*, or work education camp, was formed within Gross-Rosen. The prisoners of that unit were a totally different group; they lived in a separate barracks (Barracks 22) and received numbers beginning with 0, with no indication of nationality. The Breslau Gestapo was in charge of sending prisoners to the education camp, as well as releasing them. Although the term spent in the camp was short—in theory it could last up to 56 days—it was a very hard time for the prisoners. At least 163 of them did not survive their terms. Additionally, prisoners frequently had to stay in the concentration camp after their terms were up in the education camp. During the camp's existence, at least 275 prisoners suffered that fate.

The living and working conditions at Gross-Rosen were horrible. The rations consisted of a couple of small slices of bread per day, plus a little margarine or horse sausage and watery soup. Prisoners slept on straw sacks that teemed



The stone quarry at Gross-Rosen.
USHMM WS # 55760, COURTESY OF AG-D

with lice and other vermin, as did their clothing. Bathing facilities were limited or nonexistent. Almost all the labor was in the quarry; it was exhausting, dangerous work that broke the prisoners down in short order. The camp personnel, though officially forbidden to abuse prisoners, frequently tortured and humiliated them in any number of ways: beating them, throwing them from the quarry walls, making them carry large rocks at a run, or dousing them with water and making them stand in the cold. Conditions improved somewhat from 1943 on, as the need for the prisoners' labor increased, but the difference was marginal, and the working hours and tempo actually increased. There are indications that Gross-Rosen was the only camp aside from Mauthausen that the Germans ran as a Category III camp, the most severe classification. All told, conditions in the camp killed at least 7,500 prisoners and possibly as many as double that number.

Aside from the Jews and Soviet POWs, and in addition to those prisoners who died from exhaustion, neglect, and abuse, other prisoners fell victim to killing programs, as Gross-Rosen became a "special treatment" site for people accused of sabotage, refusal to work, attempted escape, sexual relations with Germans, or other such offenses. The local SS brought the prisoners in, at which point most of them were killed immediately: shot, hanged, or given lethal injections. Roughly 375 prisoners died that way. Another 127 fell victim to the 14f13 program.

The brutal conditions at Gross-Rosen led to a prisoner culture that emphasized personal survival above all else. There was little the prisoners, especially the Jews and Eastern Europeans, could do to improve their lot. The Kapos took care of themselves and their friends and brutalized everyone else. Without connections, the most one could do was to try to avoid drawing attention to oneself.

In its initial months, the Gross-Rosen camp did not have its own infirmary. Only in the autumn of 1940 was half of one barracks designated as a makeshift infirmary. Doctor Herum became the first camp doctor in October 1940. Several doctors succeeded him, including the notorious Josef Mengele, who came to Gross-Rosen from Auschwitz in January 1945. The infirmary was moved to a separate barracks in late 1941, due to the growing number of injured and sick. A second barracks was allocated to it in early 1942, and a third in December 1942. Medical care was minimal, in any case; for the most part, the patients were left to live or die on their own.

Initially, the Gross-Rosen camp did not have its own crematorium. In 1941–1942 the bodies of dead prisoners were taken to the crematorium at the cemetery in Liegnitz (now Legnica). In late autumn of 1942, construction began on a brick crematorium, which was planned for completion by mid-December 1942. A makeshift one, called a field crematorium, operated in the camp in the interim. It was a portable oven run on oil. Two prisoners did the burning, supervised by SS staff members. Up to 10 bodies per day could be cremated in that crematorium.



A Soviet officer, a pile of shoes seen behind him, stands in front of the wreckage of what is assumed to be the Gross-Rosen crematorium, destroyed by the Soviets February 28 to April 1945.

USHMM WS # 06656, COURTESY OF IPN

Conditions in the camp deteriorated even further in the winter of 1944–1945, as evacuation transports from camps farther to the east swelled the population to the bursting point. The rations became wholly inadequate. New arrivals were forced into uncompleted barracks, where they slept on the stone floors without bedding. Barracks were filled with double, triple, or even quadruple their intended numbers. There were no sanitary facilities for the new arrivals, and in any case, the barracks were so crowded and the prisoners so weak that many of them simply relieved themselves where they lay. The work routine broke down; as an alternative, the prisoners were forced to stand in ranks all day, every day. The death rate skyrocketed, and bodies piled up outside the barracks, since the crematorium could not handle the increase.

At the end of January 1945, as the Red Army drew nearer, the camp staff began preparing to evacuate. The evacuation began on February 8 or 9, in stages. The first transport left by train, bound for Mauthausen. The prisoners were packed so tightly into the open freight cars that they could barely move; many of them died on the way from exposure and exhaustion, and the living stood on the bodies of the dead. Some prisoners jumped from the cars and attempted to flee, only to be shot down by the guards. Other transports soon followed the first, and several hundred prisoners also marched out from the main camp on foot. On February 13, 1945, the Red Army liberated Gross-Rosen.

There was never a single trial of Gross-Rosen staff, but several perpetrators were caught up in other trials. The last commandant, Hassebroek, was sentenced to death by a British military court in 1948 for the shootings of British officers in Gross-Rosen, but in 1949 his sentence was reduced to life in prison, then in 1950 to 15 years. He was released in September 1954. Thumann and several other staff members were tried and executed; still others received prison terms of varying lengths.

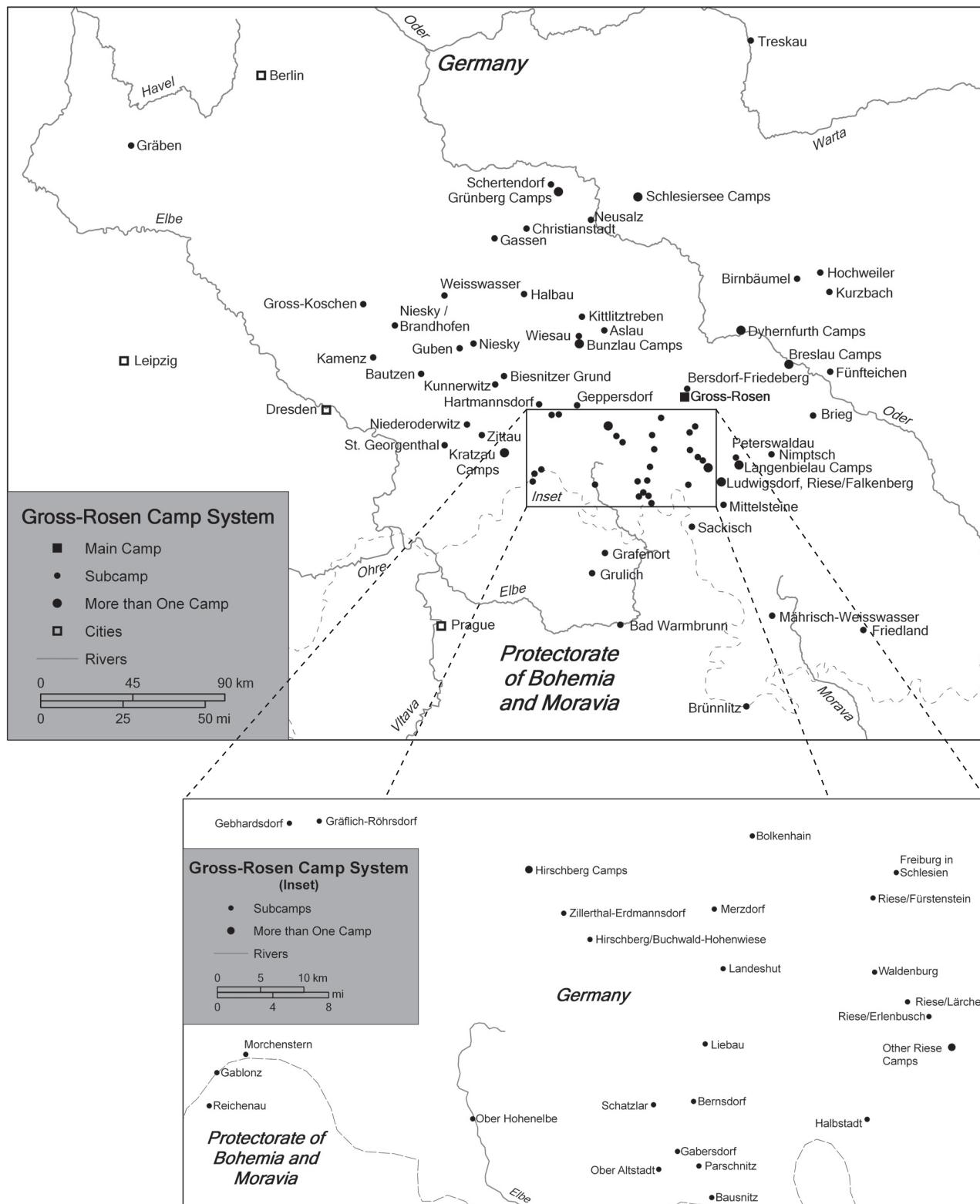
SOURCES A comprehensive scholarly work on Gross-Rosen is Isabell Sprenger's *Gross-Rosen: Ein Konzentrationslager in Schlesien* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1996). One should also note the works by Alfred Konieczny: *Ewakuacja obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen w 1945. SFiZH* (Warsaw: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1975); "Das Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen," *DaHe* 5 (1989): 174–187; *KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1994); and *Die Völker Europas im KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1995). The bibliography of Sprenger's work contains many additional references.

Extensive archives exist at the AMGR in Wałbrzych, Poland. Additional records can be found at the LA-B, BA-B, BA-K, BA-L, AG-S, the GARF in Moscow, and the StA-N, among others. Sprenger's work contains an exhaustive list of relevant record groups.

Leslaw Braiter
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. BA-L, Ordner Arolsen 311 c, p. 213.
2. AG-S, R 214 M 55, pp. 21–35.



GROSS-ROSEN SUBCAMP SYSTEM

The Gross-Rosen subcamp system began to develop in October 1943. In 1942, a Gross-Rosen subcamp had been established at the SS-Ersatzbataillon in Breslau-Lissa. In 1943, another 4 subcamps were established in Hirschberg, Treskau, Dyhernfurth, and Fünfteichen. However, the massive expansion in the subcamp network did not occur until 1944, when 60 subcamps were established, quickly spilling over the borders of Lower Silesia. As a rule, the subcamps were established in armaments industries based in Lower Silesia or the Sudetengau or were based in areas that were under air attack or the threat of air attack and so were relocated to Silesia and the Sudetengau. In November 1944, probably as part of the evacuation from Auschwitz II-Birkenau, another 6 subcamps were opened. In the same year, 28 Organisation Schmelt camps were taken over by the Gross-Rosen camp system.

SS-Oberscharführer Albrecht Schmelt, from the autumn of 1940, was the Sonderbeauftragter des Reichsführers-SS und Chef der Deutschen Polizei für fremdvölkischen Arbeits-einsatz in Oberschlesien (Special Plenipotentiary of the Reichsführer-SS and Chief of the German Police for the Use of Foreign Labor in Upper Silesia) responsible for the central registration of all Jews in Lower Silesia and Sudetengau, with the view to use the "Jewish labor force" for German armaments production. The headquarters of the organization were initially located in Sosnowiec. Later, they were moved to St. Annaberg (Polish: Góra Św. Anny). Altogether, there were 162 Organisation Schmelt subcamps located in or close to industry. Initially described as "Judenlager" (Jewish camps) or "Arbeitslager" (work camps), from the end of 1942, they were labeled as "Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden" (forced labor camps for Jews). From the summer of 1942, following the personal

initiative of Schmelt, there were not only Polish Jews in the camps but 10,000 West European Jews from the camps at Drancy, Auschwitz II-Birkenau, and Koźle. It is no longer possible to determine how many prisoners were in these camps.

The dissolution of the Organisation Schmelt and its subcamps was considered as early as 1943 in connection with the realization of the "Endlösung der Judenfrage" (Final Solution of the Jewish Question). Only the most important camps were to be preserved, and they were to be put under the control of the Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen concentration camps. From this collection originate 28 Gross-Rosen subcamps (23 in Lower Silesia and 5 in the Sudetengau). They were handed over to Gross-Rosen between January and October 1944. There were 7 camps for male prisoners (Bunzlau, Dyhernfurth, Hirschberg, Kittlitztreben, Waldenburg, Dörnhau, Wolfsberg), around 13 for female prisoners (Bernsdorf, Gabersdorf, Gräben, Gräflich-Röhrsdorf, Grünberg, Merzdorf, Neusalz, Ober-Altstadt, Parschnitz, Peterswaldau, Schatzlar, Zillerthal-Erdmannsdorf, Gebhardsdorf), and the mixed camps such as Langenbielau and Ludwigsdorf.¹ The 6 remaining Organisation Schmelt camps were liquidated, and their 7,110 inmates, mostly women, were taken to the Gross-Rosen main camp. What must be emphasized is that transfer to a new administration was one of continuity and not the creation of new entities: not all Schmelt camps became in fact concentration subcamps, and not all Gross-Rosen subcamps originate from the Organisation Schmelt.

Gross-Rosen in January 1945 held around 77,000 prisoners. It was the second largest camp still in existence after Buchenwald.² At this time, 10.9 percent of all prisoners were in Gross-Rosen and its subcamps, guarded by 12 companies of the SS-Wachmannschaft. Gross-Rosen controlled more than 100 subcamps in Lower Silesia, the Sudetenland, and the present-day Czech Republic, as well as in south Saxony (Lausitz). Around 50 percent of the Gross-Rosen subcamps held either exclusively or a majority of Jewish prisoners. Most of these came from the Auschwitz and Plaszow concentration camps or camps taken over from the Organisation Schmelt.

The almost autonomous group of 12 camps near Wałbrzych im Eulengebirge (Polish: Góry Sowie), known as the "Arbeitslager Riese," was a special case. Around 13,300 prisoners of different nationalities were involved in one of the largest construction projects of the Third Reich. Here was to be built Hitler's new headquarters and a new production site for the V-2. The camps in the Arbeitslager Riese included Tannhausen, Wüstegiersdorf, Schotterwerk, Dörnhau, Märzbachtal, Lärche, Kaltwasser, Säuferwasser, Wolfsberg, Erlenbusch, Falkenberg, and Fürstenstein. Among these were included 3 camps for women.



A .50 Reichsmark premium note from the Gross-Rosen subcamp of Peterswaldau, 1944.

USHMM WS # 16602, COURTESY OF HANKA GRANEK EHRLICH

700 GROSS-ROSEN SUBCAMP SYSTEM

Forty-five Gross-Rosen subcamps were planned for female prisoners. The transition from civilian guarded Organisation Schmelt camps to women's concentration camp (*Frauenarbeitslager*), which largely occurred in the first half of 1944, was accompanied not only by an intensive deterioration in the work and living conditions but also with the selection of the inmates. One of the female prisoners described the takeover by the Gross-Rosen administration of the Peterswaldau camp as follows: "Work in the factory suddenly ceased and all the women were chased into the camp. We suspected the worst. We were crammed into one room in the camp. You had to go in one at a time, being beaten by the SS women. In the room there were a few SS men. A circle had been drawn on the floor, you had to undress and step naked into the circle and turn around. The SS men then decided—the oven or work."³

Six or seven women's camps, taken over from the Organisation Schmelt and located in the Sudetengau, formed a special camp complex within the group of Frauenarbeitslager. They were directly under the supervision of the SS-Kommando Trautenau commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Friedrich Ritterbuch. Some 4,000 Jewish women were concentrated in the camps at Bernsdorf, Gabersdorf, Liebau, Ober-Alstadt, Ober-Hohenelbe, Parschnitz (and Schatzlar).⁴ Seven additional camps were to be added by the middle of 1944, and another two were planned. The number of prisoners would be increased to 11,500.⁵ It is not possible to determine the real purpose of this group of camps. Another four Frauenarbeitslager (Birnbäumel, Hochweiler, Kurzbach, and Schlesiersee) in Lower Silesia, each with 1,000 prisoners, was known as "Unternehmen Bartod": they were involved with the construction of fortifications, probably for the Organisation Todt (OT).⁶

There were no women in the Gross-Rosen camp complex before 1944. By the beginning of 1945, Gross-Rosen, with its 7 subcamps for women, had the fourth largest number of female prisoners (after the Ravensbrück, Stutthof, and Buchenwald camps). At this time, there were 26,000 female prisoners, around a third of the prison population, guarded by a contingent of 900 SS wardresses, who in turn accounted for more than 20 percent of the guards and administrative personnel at Gross-Rosen.⁷ Female prisoners stayed for only a short time in the main camp. They were mostly held in the subcamps of which, in 1944, 38 had been taken over from the Organisation Schmelt. Another 3 were taken over in 1945. The new camps established in 1944 included Biesnitzer Grund, Birnbäumel, Breslau-Hundsfeld, Brünnlitz, Christianstadt, Freiburg, Gablonz, Grafenort, Guben, Halbstadt, Hochweiler, Kratzau I and II, Kurzbach, Langenbielau II, Liebau, Mittelsteine, Morchenstern, Ober-Hohenelbe, Sackisch, Schlesiersee, St. Georgenthal, Weisswasser (present-day Bílá Voda, Czech Republic), Weisswasser (present-day Czech Republic), Weisswasser (present-day Federal Republic of Germany), Wiesau, Wüstegiersdorf, and Zittau.

The female prisoners in the Gross-Rosen subcamps came mostly from Poland and Hungary but also from France, Belgium, and Holland. There were also smaller groups of female Czechs, Slovenians, Russians, Germans, and Austrians. Just

about all the women were Jewish. As with the male prisoners, the female prisoners manufactured armaments. They also worked in the textile industry. In the last weeks of the war, they were primarily involved in fortification works, building tank traps and digging defense lines on the Eastern Front.

The evacuation of the Gross-Rosen subcamps occurred in several stages:⁸ in the last third of January 1945, all subcamps east of the Oder were closed. The men were sent on death marches to the Gross-Rosen main camp, while the female prisoners were sent to the interior of the Reich. The evacuation of the main camp began in the first 10 days of February, and 25 subcamps were closed. Around 27,000 prisoners were sent to the camps at Mittelbau, Buchenwald, Flossenbürg, and Mauthausen. The subcamps to the west of the Neisse remained and were administered by the camp command, which had relocated to Reichenau (present-day Rychnov). In the final phase, between the middle of February and the middle of April 1945, the prisoners in the Arbeitslager Riese complex were evacuated, and the last remaining camps in Saxony and Brandenburg were evacuated. Around 30 subcamps were liberated by the Red Army by May 9, 1945. Shortly before May 9, the Gross-Rosen concentration camp administration was liquidated, and the majority of the camp files were destroyed.

Around 44,000 prisoners survived the 26 evacuation marches from the Gross-Rosen subcamps. The number who died on the death marches cannot be determined; however, based on prisoner numbers in January 1945, it could have been around 36,000.⁹ There were around 10,000 women evacuated from the Gross-Rosen subcamps. The fate of 6,500 of these prisoners is unknown.

SOURCES For details on individual Gross-Rosen subcamps, see the essay and sources for each camp. Zygmunt Łukasiewicz, in "Gross-Rosen," *BGKBZHwP* 8 (1965), was the first to write about the state of research on the Gross-Rosen subcamps.

Further details are contained in the subsequent investigations by the *GKBZHwP*, as well as in its 1979 encyclopedia on concentration camps in Polish territory: Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979). The Gross-Rosen subcamps are discussed on pp. 428–444.

For details on the Organisation Schmelt camps, see above all Alfred Konieczny, "Die Zwangarbeit der Juden in Schlesien im Rahmen der 'Organisation Schmelt,'" in *Sozialpolitik und Judenvernichtung: Gibt es eine Ökonomie der Endlösung?* ed. Götz Aly and Susanne Heim (Berlin: Rotbuch-Verlag, 1987). For the "Arbeitslager Riese" complex, see Piotr Kruszyński, "Die Ausbeutung der Häftlingsarbeit im Komplex Riese im Eulengebirege durch die Organisation Todt und mitarbeitende Firmen," in *Die Ausnutzung der Zwangarbeit der Häftlinge des KL Gross-Rosen durch das Dritte Reich*, ed. Alfred Konieczny (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 2004), pp. 40–54.

Alfred Konieczny's studies on Gross-Rosen and its subcamps cover numerous aspects such as his essay "Das Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen," *DaHe* 5 (1989): 15–27; his monograph *KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1994); and his monograph *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in*

den Jahren 1944–1945 (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1994). The monograph edited by Alfred Konieczny, *Die Völker Europas im KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1995), includes interesting essays by Aleksandra Kobielec, "Die jüdischen Häftlinge im KL Gross-Rosen und in seinen Nebenlagern," pp. 31–36; Bella Guterman, "Der Alltag der jüdischen Häftlinge in Nebenlagern des KL Gross-Rosen im Lichte ihrer kulturellen und künstlerischen Tätigkeit," pp. 37–58; Aneta Małek, "Die Bürger der ehemaligen Sowjetunion im KL Gross-Rosen," pp. 59–70; Alfred Konieczny, "Die Häftlinge der Nacht- und Nebel-Aktion im KL Gross-Rosen," pp. 71–84; Hans de Vries, "Holländische Staatsbürger im KL Gross-Rosen," pp. 85–90; Karl-Heinz Gräfe, "Die Nebenlager des KL Gross-Rosen in Sachsen," pp. 91–132; and Isabell Sprenger, "Die ungarischen Frauen in Gross-Rosen," pp. 149–156. In Alfred Konieczny, ed., *Die Ausnutzung der Zwangsarbeit der Häftlinge des KL Gross-Rosen durch das Dritte Reich* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 2004), Hans Brenner discusses, in "Zum Stand der Forschung zu den auf dem Territorium der heutigen BRD stationiert gewesenen Aussenlager[n] des KZ Gross-Rosen," pp. 8–24), pertinent research issues on the Gross-Rosen subcamp complex, especially the female camps and camps on the territory of the former German Democratic Republic.

Details on the Gross-Rosen subcamp complex are also found in Mieczysław Mołdawa, *Gross-Rosen. Obóz koncentracyjny na Śląsku* (Warsaw: Polonia-Verlag, 1967); Bogdan Cybulski, "Eksplotacja robotników przemysłowych, jeńców wojennych i więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego w byłym powiecie zgorzeleckim w okresie drugiej wojny światowej," in *Studia nad faszyzmem i zbrodniami hitlerowskimi*, vol. 4 (Wrocław, 1979); Cybulski, *Obóz podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987); and Isabell Sprenger, *Gross-Rosen. Ein Konzentrationslager in Schlesien* (Cologne: Böhlau-Verlag, 1996). Sprenger (on pp. 227–285) concentrates on the development of the subcamp network, the origins and

administration of the female camps, and research into the prisoners and the SS wardresses.

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NOTES

1. Details on the number and categories of the camps differ in the works on Gross-Rosen; see, for example, Alfred Konieczny, "Das Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen," *DaHe* 5 (1989): 22; and Aleksandra Kobielec, "Die jüdischen Häftlinge im KL Gross-Rosen und in seinen Nebenlagern," in *Die Völker Europas im KL Gross-Rosen*, ed. Alfred Konieczny (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1995), p. 33. See also Isabell Sprenger, *Gross-Rosen. Ein Konzentrationslager in Schlesien* (Cologne: Böhlau-Verlag, 1996), p. 227.
2. On January 1, 1945, there were 76,728 prisoners in the camp (51,204 males and 25,524 females); on January 15, 1945, 77,904 prisoners (51,977 males and 25,927 females). Numbers from BA, NS 3-439, Stärkemeldungen unbekannter Herkunft, u.a., in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), p. 24.
3. Alfred Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1994), p. 12; cited in Ryszard Olszyna, "Beitrag zum SS-Verbrechen," *F-S Nr. 28*. (1979).
4. Alfred Konieczny, *KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1994), p. 15. Isabell Sprenger, in addition to Konieczny's six camps, adds a seventh at Schatzlar, in Sprenger, *Gross-Rosen. Ein Konzentrationslager*, p. 263.
5. Konieczny, "Das Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen," p. 23.
6. Sprenger, *Gross-Rosen. Ein Konzentrationslager*, p. 264.
7. Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945*, p. 6.
8. Ibid., p. 19.
9. Konieczny, *KL Gross-Rosen*, p. 21.

ASLAU

The Aslau subcamp was formed in July 1944 next to a military airfield located southeast of the town of Aslau (now Osła) in Lower Silesia. It was formed pursuant to a decision by the Armaments minister and the Luftwaffe command to make the airfield available to the Weserflug aircraft company of Bremen, which was going to move parts of its Focke Wulf (Fw) 190 fighter-plane production there; the planes were going to be assembled in the production halls by the airfield and then tested on the premises. Negotiations began in August 1944 to hand over Weserflug's operations to Concordia Spinnerei und Weberei GmbH of Bolesławiec, which happened two months later.

Approximately 500 prisoners from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp were sent to the Aslau subcamp in transports on July 14 and August 1, 1944. Only smaller groups arrived in later months, mainly to make up for losses caused by death or transfer to other camps (for instance, at least 76 prisoners were transferred to the Bunzlau II subcamp in November 1944). A total of approximately 680 to 700 prisoners passed through the subcamp (the names of 617 are known). Most of the people within this group were born between 1921 and 1925 (29.7 percent). As much as 89.1 percent of the prisoners were Polish, and 7.5 percent were Russian; the rest were of other nationalities (7 Frenchmen, 6 Germans, 3 Italians, 1 Czech, 1 Spaniard, and 1 Yugoslavian).

SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Gustav Fisch was in charge of the subcamp throughout its operations. The camp guards were 33 SS men from the 12th Company of the Gross-Rosen SS-Totenkopfwachbataillon (Death's Head Guard Battalion), among whom SS men Hess and Walter Flos earned a bad reputation. The prisoner "self-administration" was headed by camp elder (Lagerältester) Stanisław Wójcik, and the block elder (Blockältester) positions were given to the Russian Borys Pietrenko (Polish spellings throughout) and the Poles Władysław Skiba and Władysław Porzeczkowski.

The subcamp consisted of five wooden barracks; three of them were for the prisoners' accommodation, the fourth was for the infirmary and workshops, and the fifth was for the kitchen and office. It was all surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire fence. The assembly ground occupied the central place.

The SS men escorted the prisoners to work in the production halls at the airfield; the work was done on one shift and lasted 12 hours under the supervision of German foremen. Depending on the nature of the work being done, labor Kommandos were formed, such as the Kommando that made parts and put together subassemblies (Arbeitsvorrichtung); the detachment that did the final assembly of parts brought in from the outside as well as those made on the premises (Endmontage); the group that built the shooting range for the assembled machines (Schiessstand); the Kommando that built access roads and expanded the camp (Kiesel-Chaussee); the transport detachment (Transportkommando); and the group that built the water-supply lines (Wasserleitung). Kapos supervised the prisoners' work and were headed by Oberkapo Czesław Marszałkiewicz.

The daily marches of the prisoners from the camp to work through wooded terrain induced several of them to make escape attempts; they ended in failure. The first fugitive was caught, then hanged at the Gross-Rosen concentration camp; others were sent back to the main camp and assigned to a penal detachment there.

In the final phase of the subcamp's existence, a Luftwaffe formation was stationed at the airfield, and a repair Kommando (Leichtmetall) and a group for bomb transport, stockpiling, and installation on planes (Bombenkommando) were formed to support it.

On February 9, 1945, the camp leader (Lagerführer) announced that the subcamp would be evacuated on foot the next day. The march occurred after midnight; approximately 550 prisoners left the camp, while about 50 sick prisoners and those unable to march were left in the infirmary (*Revier*). The march route led through Bunzlau-Görlitz-Bautzen, Kamenz, avoiding Dresden and continuing on via Königsbrück, Grossenhain, Riesa, Oschatz, Wurzen, avoiding Leipzig, then continuing through Eilenburg, Delitzsch, Brehna, Eisleben, Sangerhausen, and Berga, reaching the Mittelbau subcamp at Nordhausen (*Boelcke-Kaserne*) on March 16, 1945. Some 487 prisoners reached the destination; the rest died on the way from exhaustion, starvation, and cold; others escaped. Because of repeated escapes, the camp leader held at least two executions in which 10 people were shot; 20 people died during the stay at Nordhausen. After a few days, the Aslau prisoners were transferred to Mittelbau concentration camp and sent to work in the local mines. Soon there was another evacuation to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, where prisoners were liberated on April 15.

After World War II ended, Aslau guard SS-Unterscharführer Walter Flos was handed over to Poland; on May 31, 1948, the Warsaw District Court sentenced him to death on such counts as killing four prisoners during the evacuation. Aslau block elders Władysław Skiba and Władysław Porzeczkowski were also tried by Polish courts and were acquitted. The trial of Kapo Erich Assmann before a Munich court (Landgericht II) finally ended in acquittal on December 16, 1974. The inquiry against Lagerführer Fisch was suspended due to his death in 1970.

SOURCES The author provides a more in-depth examination of the Aslau subcamp in his *Arbeitslager Aslau—podobóz KL Gross-Rosen/1944–1945* (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 2001). Primary and other relevant secondary sources are listed in that publication.

Most of the significant primary sources are available in the AMGR.

Alfred Konieczny

BAD WARMBRUNN

The Gross-Rosen subcamp in Bad Warmbrunn (present-day Cieplice Zdrój, a section of Jelenia Góra) was established in 1944. It is very difficult to pinpoint the exact date, but the fol-

lowing statements based on known sources can be used to determine the approximate date when the camp was established:

1. A letter dated June 9, 1944, from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) to concentration camp commanders mentioned that the Dorries-Füllner plant at Bad Warmbrunn employed Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners.¹

2. In November 1944, some prisoners, including a group of prisoner-functionaries—several Kapos (prisoner foremen), several barrack chiefs, a dentist, a cook, and two male nurses—were sent to Bad Warmbrunn from the Hirschberg subcamp, approximately 4 to 5 kilometers (2.5 to 3.1 miles) away. This is the earliest information on assignments to the Bad Warmbrunn camp. From what was practiced at other camps, we know that the prisoner-functionaries were usually in the first transport.²

Also, when the Bad Warmbrunn prisoner numbers are reviewed, it seems more likely that the camp started operating in the autumn. As was the case with other camps, Bad Warmbrunn was created in order to concentrate necessary cheap manpower in one spot. The prisoners were put to work in the Dorries-Füllner papermaking machine plant, which had been converted over to arms manufacturing. The plant made either ammunition or artillery or both. The camp barracks were located directly by the production halls. There were 600 to 800 prisoners living in the camp, all Jewish males. They were nationals of several European countries, primarily Poland and Hungary but also Belgium, the Netherlands, Greece, and Czechoslovakia.³

It is not known how many transports were sent to Bad Warmbrunn or when they were sent. Accounts of former prisoners mention transports sent in late autumn 1944, November, and December. It is noteworthy that the known camp prisoners were identified by numbers from several different series and had previously been at other Gross-Rosen subcamps. This means that no prisoner transports were sent to Bad Warmbrunn from outside the Gross-Rosen concentration camp system.

The sanitary conditions at Bad Warmbrunn were wretched. A typhus epidemic broke out in late 1944 and early 1945. For that reason, the death rate was very high: several to over a dozen people died daily. The bodies of the dead were trucked away to the neighboring Hirschberg camp for cremation. In late January 1945, two more doctors were sent from Hirschberg to Bad Warmbrunn: Arnold Mostowicz from Łódź and Emil Vogel from Prague. Both doctors had reported to SS headquarters at the Hirschberg subcamp, requesting to be sent to work at typhus-ridden Bad Warmbrunn—a decision infrequently encountered under camp conditions.

As Mostowicz estimates, in early February 1945, of the approximately 800 prisoners living at the camp, only 300 went off to work. The others were either sick or in such a state of

weakness after suffering from typhus that the Nazis could not force them to work. The sick, with the doctors and one orderly, were put into a separate barracks, which was cordoned off with barbed wire. They were put under quarantine. Any contact with the rest of the camp was restricted to a narrow passage left in the barbed wire: portions of soup and bread were brought from camp, while it was primarily the dead who were brought out of the infirmary. A report was also provided every day on the number of prisoners still alive. The patients were in a disastrous situation: the terrible filth and lice infestation, along with the almost total lack of medication, gave the prisoners little chance of survival. In addition, the total isolation also meant that there were no opportunities to get extra food, while the small rations assigned pursuant to the daily reports were also stolen. Under those circumstances, to get at least a few extra portions, the doctors would lower the actual number of dead and would “keep” their friends’ bodies under their own bunks in the hospital for a day or two. That was only possible because the SS men were terrified of infection and did not enter the quarantined area at all. Mostowicz also got sick in late February, so only Doctor Vogel remained active at the hospital.

The hospital was deloused with cyclon in late February and early March 1945. The patients had to be moved from room to room. The operation did not provide the results anticipated, since it had not been done in the rest of the camp at the same time.

In early March 1945, an SS committee from Gross-Rosen headquarters came to Bad Warmbrunn, headed by Dr. Josef Mengele (who was known to some prisoners from their time at the Auschwitz concentration camp). The reason for the visit was the raging epidemic. The committee inspected the quarantined camp hospital, talked with the local SS men, issued a few significant commands, and left. At the same time, another doctor, Otto Lohr (prisoner number 73811), from Olomouc (Olmütz), and medical student Wilhelm Weiselewicz (Weislowits) (prisoner number 73927) were transported from the Friedland labor camp (also a Gross-Rosen subcamp) to the quarantined hospital. Perhaps that was the only effect of Mengele’s committee. Doctor Mostowicz survived the typhus. When he recovered, he satisfied his hunger by eating powdered dextrin, which the hospital had in large supply (the Germans used dextrin as glue when they sealed the hospital building with strips of paper during the delousing). The epidemic began to subside even before the evacuation. Mostowicz stated that no more than 400 out of the 800 prisoners in the camp survived. These prisoners kept going off to work. They also helped cart away the factory machines. Only about 80 patients were still left in the quarantine.

In the first quarter of 1945, most of the prisoners were evacuated in two groups to the Dörnhau camp at the Riese complex (which was part of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp). The first group was prodded along on foot; the second—including the sick people from the hospital—was transported by rail in coal cars. The patients from the quarantine were still isolated from the rest of the prisoners and

were evacuated in three separate railway cars. Mostowicz and Vogel rode with the hospital group. The floors in the railroad cars were strewn with a thick layer of straw, which gave the prisoners hope that they were not going off to die. When all the quarantined prisoners were in the coal cars, some workers they did not know made something like roofs out of boards. The roofs were attached to the edges of the coal cars, which made closed boxes out of the cars. The train loaded with prisoners stood at the station for about 5 hours. It then traveled for several hours, after which it stopped, and pieces of bread were thrown into the cars. The transport reached Dörnhau the next morning, having traveled 12 or so hours.

The evacuation claimed many victims, primarily in the group that was on foot. The exact number is unknown. The surviving records only provide information that on April 14 and April 15, 1945, the Dörnhau camp admitted approximately 200 prisoners from Bad Warmbrunn.⁴ The sick prisoners were left at Dörnhau. Two days later, the others were moved to the Schotterwerk camp (in the town of Oberwüstegiersdorf, later Głuszyca Górna), then to the Erlenbusch camp. On about May 4 or 5, 1945, they were transported to the Dörnhau camp again, where they were liberated by the Red Army.

Probably not all Bad Warmbrunn prisoners were evacuated. Mostowicz states that a dozen or so of the most ill were left in camp. According to Doctor Lohr, who also stayed behind, the prisoners were evacuated on foot, but they were denied admittance to the new camp because of their exposure to typhus and were sent back to Bad Warmbrunn. Many of them could not endure the hardships of the march and, unable to walk, were shot by the SS men escorting them. Only a few returned to Bad Warmbrunn.⁵ No records exist of what happened to them after that.

The camp commander's name is unknown. The following names of staff exist in court records: Herman Schöps, born on August 2, 1901, was tried after the war and sentenced to two years' imprisonment on September 29, 1947, by the Jelenia Góra District Court; Erich Müller, born on August 30, 1896, was tried after the war and sentenced to two years' imprisonment on October 15, 1947, by the Jelenia Góra District Court.⁶

SOURCES Unfortunately, there is no account entirely devoted to this camp. Information concerned with Bad Warmbrunn was found in Alfred Konieczny, "Więźniowie żydowscy w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," SKhS 1 (1989); as well as in memoirs of former prisoner of the camp Arnold Mostowicz, *Zótka gwiazda i czerwony krzyz* (Warsaw: PIW, 1988). In addition, an article written about another former prisoner of this camp, Doctor Emil Vogel, is partly concerned with Bad Warmbrunn: see Józef Witkowski, "Dr. Emil Vogel," PL 1 (1968).

Information concerning members of the SS can be found in Elżbieta Kobierska-Motas, *Członkowie załóg i więźniowie funkcjonalni niemieckich obozów, więzień i gett skazani przez sądy polskie* (Warszawa: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu-Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 1992).

The most important archive materials concerning Bad Warmbrunn are memoirs and reports of former prisoners. Most of the documents can be found in the AMGR, including catalog No. 5919/DP (account of Arnold Mostowicz), catalog No. DP/5919, DP-A/999 (Daniel Wulkan's questionnaires), catalog No. 108/2/MF (Lechenbuch Dörnhau); and catalog No. 2330/DP (patient roster for 5/9/45, hospital for former concentration camp prisoners at Gieszcze Puste). Collections of memoirs are also available in the following archives: YVA, AŽIH, and AK-IPN.

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NOTES

1. Nuremberg Trial records, NO-597.
2. AMGR, catalog No. 5919/DP (account by Arnold Mostowicz); Józef Witkowski, "Dr. Emil Vogel," PL 1 (1968); 179.
3. AMGR, catalog No. DP/5919, DP-A/999 (Daniel Wulkan's questionnaires and personal findings based on a study of known names of Bad Warmbrunn prisoners).
4. AMGR, catalog No. 108/2/MF (Lechenbuch Dörnhau); catalog No. 2330/DP (patient roster for May 9, 1945, hospital for former concentration camp prisoners at Gieszcze Puste).
5. AMGR, report of examination of Otto Lohr, dated January 14, 1970.
6. Elżbieta Kobierska-Motas, *Członkowie załóg i więźniowie funkcjonalni niemieckich obozów, więzień i gett skazani przez sądy polskie* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu-Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 1992), Items 1075, 1372.

BAUSNITZ

Originally, there was one forced labor camp (*Zwangsarbeitslager*, ZAL) for Jews in Bausnitz (Bohuslavice nad Úpou, Czech Republic). It was a women's camp under the authority of the Office of the Special Plenipotentiary of the RFSS and Chief of the German Police for the Use of Foreign Labor in Upper Silesia (Amt des Sonderbeauftragten des RFSS and Chef der Deutschen Polizei für fremdvölkischen Arbeitseinsatz in Oberschlesien), also known as Organisation Schmelz. On March 23, 1944, the camp, in which mostly young Jewish women and girls were imprisoned, was taken over by the Gross-Rosen concentration camp.¹ The subcamp in question was very small, and the number of prisoners remained relatively constant. Initially, in April 1944, there were 60; in July, 70; by October 17, there were 67 prisoners.²

The age distribution shows complete dominance by women and girls between 15 and 30 years of age; 53 of the women were from Poland and 16 from Hungary. They had to work in the textile factories of Ignatz Etrich. According to some sporadic sources, the subcamp was put under the immediate administrative auspices of Gross-Rosen's largest subcamp, Parschnitz.³ More detailed information on the life within the camp and its end is not available. Despite the lack of informa-

tion, one can assume that the majority of the Jewish women were rescued.

SOURCES The basis for this entry is Miroslav Kryl and Ludmila Chládková, *Pobočky koncentračního tábora Gross-Rosen ve lnářských závodech Trutnovska za nacistické okupace* (Trutnov: Lnářský průmysl, 1981). I have also relied on Miroslav Kryl's article "Pracovní nasazení židovských vězenkyň v továrnách firmy Jan Etrich v Hostinném a Bernarticích v době nacistické okupace," Lp-pKd 5 (1984). However, it was Hans Brenner who completed earlier research on the Gross-Rosen subcamps in the present-day Czech Republic, above all in his study "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," in *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente 1999*, ed. Miroslav Kárný and Raimund Kemper (Prague: Academia, 1999), pp. 263–293.

Well-known professor of German studies Ludvík Václavek devoted his attention to a singular event, a theatrical play that originated in the Schatzlar camp among Jewish women from Hungary: "Lágr je sen? Literární dokument z koncentračního tábora při žacléřské přádelně z roku 1945," in *Stati o německé literatuře vzniklé v českých zemích* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1991).

Basic sources and transport lists of prisoners from the Gross-Rosen subcamps in northeast Bohemia are located in the SÚA in Prague, with copies in the AG-T. The most important are the files of the Special People's Court in Jičín 1945–1946 (criminal trials against the former wardresses). Finally, there is the firm's archive at Texlen Trutnov; in the 1970s, its former head, Vladimír Wolf, made accessible to Miroslav Kryl and Ludmila Chládková the most important sources on the camps in the Trautenau area contained in the files of the German textile firm for the years 1940 to 1945. Nevertheless, the sources are inadequate.

Miroslav Kryl
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Miroslav Kryl and Ludmila Chládková, *Pobočky koncentračního tábora Gross-Rosen ve lnářských závodech Trutnovska za nacistické okupace* (Trutnov: Lnářský průmysl, 1981), p. 19.
2. Hans Brenner, "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," in *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente 1999*, ed. Miroslav Kárný and Raimund Kemper (Prague: Academia, 1999), p. 275; Kryl and Chládková, *Pobočky*, p. 50.
3. Kryl and Chládková, *Pobočky*, pp. 39–40, 49–50.

BAUTZEN

In the first months of 1944, on the initiative of factory director Dr. Johann Reichert, who had previously "aryanized" the Jewish-owned company after *Kristallnacht*, the Bautzen-based plant of the Waggonbau- und Maschinenfabrik AG Busch (WUMAG) opened negotiations with the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in order to obtain concentration camp prisoners to strengthen its labor force. The

WUMAG factory in Bautzen, which belonged to the Flick corporation and was producing railway cars for German Railways (Deutsche Reichsbahn), faced a labor crisis due to the increased call-up of German workers to the Wehrmacht at that time. It was clear that the number of prisoners of war (POWs) deployed in the factory was no longer sufficient, and the company had to seek new labor sources in order to fulfill its production requirements.

Following the deployment of the required prisoners, the WUMAG factory leadership also aggressively tried to obtain a certificate of urgency from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, which was supplying the prisoners, to help them get the necessary materials for the construction of the prison camp, such as wood, barbed wire, fencing mesh, and nails.¹

Construction of the barracks camp began on September 29, 1944, by the factory's own employees. Then, on October 17, a transport of 100 prisoners arrived from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, which was deployed initially on completing the camp and fencing in the workshops intended for them.²

In December 1944, two further transports each of 200 concentration camp prisoners arrived in Bautzen, which brought the total strength of the Bautzen subcamp to 500 prisoners. However, the WUMAG leadership still viewed this number as insufficient and attempted to obtain more prisoners from Gross-Rosen. Apparently, they were unsuccessful; camp records indicate that on February 10, 1945, there were 498 prisoners in the Bautzen subcamp.³

The hard 12- to 14-hour shifts in the workshops and carrying materials, the insufficient and scarcely edible food, and the clothing that was totally inadequate during winter all led to malnourishment, physical exhaustion, and diseases such as tuberculosis. Almost every day, the number of prisoners capable of work declined, and the number of deaths increased. In the Death Books I and II of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp for 1945, 28 prisoner deaths are recorded for the Bautzen subcamp just for the period between February 6 and April 10, 1945.⁴ The actual number of prisoners who died during this period was much higher, as according to an instruction issued by the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), the deaths of Poles, Russians and other Soviet citizens, Jews, and Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) were no longer to be recorded. A list of victims of the Bautzen subcamp now held at the Gross-Rosen memorial site indicates 127 deaths.⁵ This list is also incomplete, as it is based only on information supplied sporadically by survivors.

Until January 1945, the corpses of the dead were taken several times per week in a factory truck to the crematorium in Görlitz to be burned. Then commandant SS-Unterscharführer Rudolf Jannasch announced his intention to have the corpses burned in the factory furnace, since the approaching front prevented their being taken to Görlitz, but protests from the factory workers prevented him from following through with his plan. In consequence, the SS camp leadership from then on had the corpses driven in a truck to the sand pits close to the Jewish cemetery in Muskauer Strasse,

where they were buried. During an exhumation in 1950, 202 bodies were found there. They were reburied at the Jewish cemetery.⁶

The prisoners were guarded by a force of about 60 or 70 men, which included about 30 or 40 Ukrainian auxiliaries (Hiwis). SS-Unterscharführer Edmund Kersten and SS-Rottenführer Gusa assisted commandant Jannasch as block leaders. Wilhelm Bahr served in a medical rank.⁷

The SS relied upon several Kapos, who were as effective as the SS men in terrorizing the prisoners. Many survivors reported on the bestial treatment of the prisoners by the camp staff.⁸ A report by German worker Martin Krause confirms this penetratingly:

A column of prisoners returned from digging trenches. The Kapos demanded that the prisoners enter the camp marching in goose-step, although they could scarcely walk. Once they arrived on the parade ground, they had to form up in several lines. An SS-officer emerged from one of the barracks and called two prisoners . . . by their numbers, to step forward. Two Kapos and two SS-men, each armed with a cable almost as thick as your arm, beat up the two prisoners. Even when they were already lying unconscious on the ground, they continued beating them. While the other prisoners retired to the barracks, the thugs grabbed the two prisoners by the feet and dragged them to the door of one of the barracks and then threw them inside.⁹

From February 15, 1945, the prisoners were no longer deployed in the WUMAG workshops but in digging trenches and constructing fortifications and tank traps.

Evacuation transports from other subcamps arrived in Bautzen, including from the Gross-Rosen subcamps of Niesky/Brandhofen and Kamenz. The Jewish concentration camp prisoner Roman König arrived at the Bautzen subcamp during the last weeks of its existence, together with an evacuation column from the Buchenwald subcamp Schlieben. He was arrested as a 14-year-old in 1940 and had been through the Kraków ghetto, then on to Radom, and finally sent to Schlieben. For him and 200 fellow prisoners, the march, whose course had been deadly for many of his comrades, ended in Bautzen. While an unknown number of sick prisoners remained behind in Bautzen, he had to set out on the evacuation march on April 19, together with the other prisoners who seemed capable of marching. He wrote:

In great haste we had to load up the equipment of the camp and the possessions of the commandant onto large horse carts. Twenty prisoners had to pull each cart. Initially we went to Neukirch, then on to Neudörfel in the present-day Czech Republic [Nova Víska]. Nobody knew for sure, but everybody suspected that this would be our final destination. When we went on parade the next morning, behind

the parade ground stood a truck, loaded with machine guns, concealed under a tarpaulin. The camp was to be “liquidated” in the official terminology. However, the local population wouldn’t stand for it. Not on our behalf, but out of fear that the advancing troops might flatten the village, if they heard about the massacre. Still, when the commandant got mad—we had to move on . . . the final destination for us was a former camp for eastern workers (*Ostarbeiter*) in Nixdorf [Mikulasovice]. On May 8, our guards silently abandoned the camp, even leaving behind their weapons.¹⁰

During the march, the prisoners who were unable to walk had been loaded onto a vehicle. However, the SS guards shot them in a wood before the group reached Wölmsdorf (Vilémov).¹¹

SOURCES A publication edited by VEB Waggonbau Bautzen, *Waggonbauer pflegen revolutionäre Traditionen. Aus der Geschichte des KZ-Aussenlagers in der Maschinen- und Waggonfabrik vorm. Busch Bautzen* (Bautzen: VEB Waggonbau, 1983), contains relevant information on the Bautzen subcamp.

Documentation on the Bautzen subcamp can be found in the following archives: BA-L (IV 405 AR 2261/66); SÚA in Prague (KT/OVS 24); AMGR; and ASt-BZ (Rep. XI-NS).

Hans Brenner
trans. Martin Dean

NOTES

1. See VEB Waggonbau Bautzen, ed., *Waggonbauer pflegen revolutionäre Traditionen. Aus der Geschichte des KZ-Aussenlagers in der Maschinen- und Waggonfabrik vorm. Busch Bautzen* (Bautzen: VEB Waggonbau, 1983), p. 8.

2. *Postanowienie Okręgowej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich we Wrocławiu 1977* (OKBZHW), p. 157, as cited by Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1987).

3. Ibid., p. 9.

4. SÚA, KT/OVS 24, Totenbücher I und II/1945 des KZ Gross-Rosen.

5. AMGR, DP No. 5036, Lista więźniów Bautzen.

6. *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus. Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2 (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999), pp. 623–624.

7. AMGR, DP No. 5036, p. 5.

8. OKBZHW, Report, p. 159.

9. Quoted from *Waggonbauer*, p. 13.

10. Sächs Z, April 25, 1995, p. 3.

11. Quoted from *Waggonbauer*, p. 15.

BERNSDORF

Bernsdorf (now Bernartice, Czech Republic) was initially a forced labor camp (*Zwangarbeitslager*; ZAL) for Jewish women. It was established in June 1941 and placed under the auspices of the Organisation Schmelt. On March 18, 1944, it

became a subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. At that point, the SS undertook a selection at the camp; about 200 young women and girls remained, while the weak and sick ones were sent to Auschwitz II-Birkenau (and most likely to their deaths). In their place, in the summer of 1944, came about 300 Jews taken from various transports to Auschwitz (after selection there). In the autumn, smaller transports arrived from Gross-Rosen subcamps in Wiesau and Sackisch. From this time on, the camp was also under the auspices of the "SS-Kommando Trautenau, Parschnitz." SS guards, presumably Ukrainians, began to guard the camp as of the spring of 1945.

The imprisoned women were subjugated to forced labor in the spinning mills of the Johann Etrich and Berko firms. The largest number of prisoners, including those in the Schatzlar camp, was reached in the summer of 1944: 425 women, with 323 coming from Poland, 91 from Hungary, 5 from Bohemia, 4 from Slovakia, and 2 from Germany. More than half of them were between 15 and 30 years of age. In Bernsdorf, the prisoners were kept in wooden barracks. As of the autumn of 1944 until the spring of 1945, there was a maximum of about 320 young women and girls in the camp. Hunger, inadequate and constantly deteriorating nourishment, and the heavy labor resulted in a typhus epidemic. Two deaths have been confirmed; two other cases remain as probable.

Cultural activities took place in Bernsdorf. In the "Hungarian" barracks especially there were narrations about literary works (e.g., K. Čapek, H. Ibsen, H.G. Wells) and recitations (also from the dramas by F. Schiller). Two books were also put together of poetry in German and Hungarian that prior to the end of the war had been forbidden.

The SS guards fled the camp on May 9, 1945. Several wardresses were captured by the prisoners. Two of the wardresses were later convicted by the court in Jičín and sent to jail. The director of the Etrich factory dissolved the camp prior to the arrival of the Red Army, which was enthusiastically greeted by the prisoners on May 10, 1945.

The decent behavior and humanity of camp commander Maria Mühl are worthy of mention. According to former prisoners' accounts, her treatment of prisoners stood in contrast to the beatings, sometimes sadistic mistreatment, and verbal abuse of others.

SOURCES The basis for this article is Miroslav Kryl and Ludmila Chládková, *Pobočky koncentračního tábora Gross-Rosen ve lnářských závodech Trutnovska za nacistické okupace* (Trutnov: Lnářský průmysl, 1981). The author also relied on Miroslav Kryl, "Pracovní nasazení židovských vězenkyň v továrnách firmy Jan Etrich v Hostinném a Bernarticích v době nacistické okupace," Lp-pKd 5 (1984). However, it is Hans Brenner who has brought together earlier research on the Gross-Rosen subcamps in the present-day Czech Republic, above all in his study "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," in *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente* 1999, ed. Miroslav Kárný and Raimund Kemper (Prague: Academia, 1999), pp. 263–293.

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Miroslav Kryl

trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BERSDORF-FRIEDEBERG

The Bersdorf-Friedeberg subcamp was established near Friedeberg (now Mirsk), located to the south of Greiffenberg (now Gryfów Śląski) at the foot of the Izer Mountains (German: Isergebirge, Polish: Izerskie). The exact location is unknown.

There is a reference to the establishment of the Gross-Rosen subcamp in the account of former prisoner Greta Majzelsówna.

After the labor camp at Egelsdorf was closed down in May 1944, the prisoners living there—Jewish women who had been transported there from the transit camp at Sosnowitz—were moved to a "nearby concentration camp."¹ That was the forced labor camp (*Zwangsarbeitslager*; ZAL) Bersdorf-Friedeberg. The camp was situated on a hill. It consisted of wooden barracks painted green. On May 27, 1944—the day on which the group of Jewish women from Egelsdorf arrived there—it was already inhabited by 80 young Jewish women.

According to the account by witness Majzelsówna, a group of SS men from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp arrived at the camp in July 1944 before Bersdorf-Friedeberg was converted into a subcamp of Gross-Rosen. "One day in July, the Sturmbannführer and several other Germans from the Gross-Rosen headquarters are turning our labor camp into a concentration camp. They give us speeches and explain that now there will be justice and it will be better in every respect."² The female prisoners were allocated camp numbers, and 15 female SS guards (Aufseherinnen) in green uniforms were left to supervise the camp.

Living conditions were unsatisfactory. As in other camps, food was in short supply. To satisfy their hunger, prisoners gathered cabbage leaves and potatoes. They also ate cooked linseed, which they gathered in nearby factories—flax-crushing plants—where they worked.

From Majzelsówna's scanty account, we cannot arrive at more detailed information. There are no references to life in

the camp or the plants where the prisoners worked. The evacuation of the Bersdorf-Friedeberg camp began in February 1945. After two days of arduous marching in the cold and without food, the prisoners reached Gross-Rosen Kratzau (present-day Chrastava in the Czech Republic) subcamp.

SOURCES Information in this camp may be found in Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen: stan badań* (Rogoźnica: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1987); Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Szreniawa* 40 (1982): 55–112; *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państw. Wydaw. Naukowe, 1979).

The AŽIH's account collection also contains material on this camp.

Magdalena Zając
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AŽIH, Account No. 538 of Greta Majzelsówna.
2. Ibid.

BIESNITZER GRUND [AKA GÖRLITZ]

Biesnitz, a village to the southwest of Görlitz that was incorporated into the city of Görlitz in 1951, was the location of a Jewish forced labor camp that was under the control of the Organisation Schmelt from May 1943 to January 1944. The inmates worked in the Waggonbau- und Maschinenfabrik AG Görlitz (WUMAG) until they were transported away in early 1944. Jews were held in the Biesnitzer Grund camp again starting in August 1944 when it served as a subcamp of Gross-Rosen. In the same month, 250 Jewish prisoners arrived in Biesnitz; 225 came from Auschwitz (Jews from Hungary, Slovakia, and Rethenia), and the remaining 25 arrived straight from Gross-Rosen. From Fünfteichen, also a Gross-Rosen subcamp, 403 Jews were sent to Biesnitz at the end of August 1944 after having been shunted off as less productive. On September 5, 1944, between 500 and 800 Jews arrived at the Biesnitz camp from the dissolved Litzmannstadt (Łódź)



The Biesnitzer Grund subcamp of Gross-Rosen, shortly after liberation in May 1945; visible to the right is the disused brickworks.
USHMM WS #16474, COURTESY OF TANEK ZNAMIROWSKI

ghetto, among them 300 Hungarian and Slovakian women housed in quarters separate from the male prisoners. Finally, at the end of March 1945, between 120 and 180 women from the Gross-Rosen Ludwigsdorf subcamp arrived at the Biesnitzer Grund camp. The total number of inmates seems to have ranged between 900 and later 1,200 male and female prisoners of Jewish origin; a report dated December 5, 1944, mentions 1,406 inmates (1,106 males and 300 females). Karl-Heinz Gräfe and Hans-Jürgen Töpfer estimate a figure as high as 1,570 to 1,630 Jewish prisoners, of whom one-third were women.

The Nazis had a wooden fence built around the Biesnitzer Grund subcamp. Wire capable of conducting electricity was tensioned between the long posts, and a so-called trip wire was crisscrossed between the shorter posts. The barbed wire was electrified. There were probably 11 barracks in the male camp, of which 9 functioned as accommodation barracks. In the other 2 barracks, there was a kitchen, washroom, infirmary, and supply store. In the nearby female camp, there were only 2 or 3 barracks. In the Biesnitzer Grund camp, there was a disused brick mill with a machinery room and installations such as kilns and drying facilities for the raw bricks. Barracks for the guards and camp commander, Wehrmacht officer Erich Rechenberg (born 1901), were located outside the fenced-in camp. Rechenberg's apartment was furnished with modern furniture. SS-Oberscharführer Joachim Zunker, born in 1917, served as camp leader (Lagerführer), and the camp elder (Lagersältester) was Hermann Czech, a criminal previously held in a Görlitz prison. After World War II, Zunker and Czech were sentenced to death by a Polish court. The Polish prisoner dentist Dr. Jaakov Kinrus recalls a few Jews from Greece as well as the later chairman of the Jewish community in Cologne, Kessler, as being in the Biesnitzer Grund camp. The Oberlagerführer, as he was called by the prisoners, always carried a leather whip when inspecting the camp, which he used for the slightest infraction of the rules. Arthur Berndt told about a Kapo who beat the prisoners when the loads they had to carry were too heavy for them.

There were different labor detachments with different tasks. Some of the prisoners slaved in the wagon construction area of the WUMAG, which now constructed mostly armored vehicles. Others were exploited in the machine construction area of Factory C where grenades were built. Constant working with heavy iron materials, the building blocks for the grenades, was a torture for the prisoners. It was even more difficult for those who worked at the ovens or the nearby metal presses. Only the Germans were permitted to wear masks when the tanks were sprayed with acetone for camouflage. Jaakov Kinrus, who worked in the munitions factory, was witness to intentional acts of sabotage by the prisoners. The prisoners worked 12 hours a day. In addition, there were roll calls in the camps. After hours there were constant controls to check whether the prisoners returned to the camp with fruit, bread, or food found in the garbage. The punishment for being caught was 5 to 10 blows with a whip. There were also more gruesome punishments.

The inadequate food was poorly prepared. Even the mid-day meal consisted of only cabbage and horse meat. Many of these unfortunate prisoners had problems with their feet; while marching they had to be supported by others or pulled on carts. The Görlitz medical doctor, Dr. Hans-Joachim Kautschke, regarded as a half-Jew, was shocked at the sight of the hungry prisoners, dressed in rags, from the Biesnitzer Grund subcamp. Women from Görlitz who were caught giving the prisoners food had to answer to the Nazis. Together with Jewish doctors from Hungary and Dr. Jakobson from Łódź, Dr. Jaakov Kinrus worked in the camp's small hospital. They could not prevent deaths from the heavy labor, the constant lack of food, and the inhuman camp conditions. According to evidence from a trial, a city firm collected, between 1943 and February 1945, 20 to 25 corpses a week. From the statistics, one can conclude that between April 1944 and February 1945, 148 Jews were cremated; 100 of the names suggest Polish citizens, a few Soviets, and the rest German Jews. From February 1945, the concentration camp dead were hastily buried in mass graves not far from the Jewish cemetery. The high weekly count of corpses also probably has something to do with the secret execution of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and Polish prisoners, which took place at Biesnitzer Grund.

The Biesnitzer Grund subcamp, together with the Görlitz population, was forcibly evacuated on February 18, 1945, in face of the advance of the Soviet Army from the northeast. An inhuman march, interrupted by shootings, led through the villages of Kunnerwitz, Friedersdorf, Sohland, and Altbernsdorf to Rennersdorf. Later the bodies of 10 to 12 prisoners were discovered who had most likely been shot because they could no longer walk. In the abandoned Kunnerwitz manor, 13 murder victims were found in the cess pit. At the edge of the forest near Sohland, it is thought that 20 prisoners were shot because they took beets for fodder from a haystack; 11 of the camp inmates are buried in the Rennersdorf cemetery. A number of witness statements refer to other deaths during the evacuation march. However, as Nazi Party (NSDAP) District Leader Bruno Malitz needed the prisoners for fortification works and tank barriers, he ordered that they march back. After three weeks, the concentration camp prisoners who survived the barbaric march arrived back in Görlitz, where they were finally liberated by the Soviet Army on May 8, 1945. In February 1948, 173 corpses were discovered in two of the mass graves opened in the Jewish cemetery, the victims of the inhuman prison conditions and violence between the middle of February 1945 and May 8, 1945.

Between April 6 and April 22, 1948, two of the main culprits were tried before a German regional court (Landgericht) at Bautzen in the Görlitz city hall. The two accused were the last Nazi mayor (Oberbürgermeister), Dr. Hans Meinshausen, and Dr. Bruno Malitz. According to the local press that closely followed the trial, they were "the first Nazi prisoners of this category who were tried in the Soviet Occupation Zone, after they had disappeared in the Western Zone, where they were caught." Although both denied what they

thought they could deny, they received death sentences, which were justified by their criminal policies.

SOURCES This essay is based mostly on relevant extracts from a brochure by Karl-Heinz Gräfe and Hans-Jürgen Töpfer, *Ausgesondert und fast vergessen—KZ-Aussenlager auf dem Territorium des heutigen Sachsen* (Dresden: Verein für regionale Geschichte und Politik, 1996); as well as on Ernst Kretzschmar, *Widerstandskampf Görlitzer Antifaschisten 1933–1945. Erinnerungen, Dokumente, Kurzbiographien* (Görlitz: Kreiskommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung, 1973); Roland Otto, *Die Verfolgung der Juden in Görlitz unter der faschistischen Diktatur 1933–1945* (Görlitz: Stadtverwaltung Görlitz, 1990); and *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus—eine Dokumentation* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). References to Biesnitzer Grund can be found in Erich Koksch and Gustav Ohlig, *Chronikdokumentation 2, 1918–1945, Görlitzer Arbeiterbewegung* (Görlitz: Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der örtlichen Arbeiterbewegung, 1984); Koksch and Ohlig, *Chronik zur Geschichte des antifaschistischen Widerstandskampfes in der Stadt Görlitz 1933–1945* (Görlitz: Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der örtlichen Arbeiterbewegung, 1982); and the popular brochure compiled mostly by Ernst Kretzschmar, *Görlitz unter dem Hakenkreuz* (Görlitz: Bildchronik, 1982). See also the book by former prisoner Shlomo Graber, *Shlajme. Von Ungarn durch Auschwitz-Birkenau, Fünfteichen und Görlitz nach Israel. Jüdische Familiengeschichte von 1859–2001* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2002).

The RAG holds press clippings on the Malitz-Meinshausen trial; state prosecutor Rolf Helm who brought the charges wrote the following articles: "Das Urteil von Görlitz," *Wb*, May 11, 1948; and "Mit Schweiß und Blut gedünghter Boden im Biesnitzer Grund," *SächsZ*, July 8, 1955. Only one RAG file deals directly with charges against Bruno Malitz and Hans Meinshausen in 1948. Three reports from Jewish citizens from Poland about their deportation to Germany (including the Biesnitzer Grund camp) are held in YVA in Jerusalem; Arthur Berndt mentions the camp in his memoirs on his forced labor at the WUMAG between 1943 and 1945.

Roland Otto
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BIRNBÄUMEL

Birnbäumel, a subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, operated from 1944 to 1945 in Birnbäumel (present-day Gruszczka near Milicz, Lower Silesia Province). The camp was situated near the road from Sulau (Sułów) to Birnbäumel, in a spot totally surrounded by woods. It was one of many camps in the region and one of four operating in the Gross-Rosen concentration camp system created in connection with the "Barthold Operation," that is, the defense of Lower Silesia Province against the oncoming offensive of Soviet forces.

The first and probably last prisoner transport arrived at Birnbäumel from the Auschwitz concentration camp on October 22, 1944. The group comprised 1,000 women, all Jewish, with numbers from 78501 to 79500.

No data is available on the death rate among prisoners. At least one execution occurred: Irene Scheer, prisoner number 78787, born on June 3, 1900, was sentenced to death by hanging for trying to escape from the camp. The sentence was carried out on November 17, 1944, at 3:45 P.M. Fellow prisoners Hilda Tanzer (number 78784) and Sidonia Hirsch (number 78645) were to participate in the execution. Reported in camp records, the event was not noted in the only known account of a former prisoner. In her opinion, there were no murders in the camp.

The camp was ruled by SS men unknown by name, aided by Wehrmacht soldiers who supervised the prisoners during work. The Birnbäumel subcamp prisoners worked at various earthmoving jobs associated with building trenches. The Unternehmen Barthold, a company whose operations staff was located in the village of Kraschnitz (Krośnice), 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the village of Hochweiler (Wierchowice), was formed for the supervision and coordination of projects conducted in the region.

The camp was probably evacuated on January 23, 1945. The prisoners were led on foot to the Gross-Rosen main camp and then transported to Bergen-Belsen in freight cars. A group of about 20 prisoners escaped from the evacuation column as the march began and were liberated in Birnbäumel.

SOURCES This work is based primarily on the monographs by Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen: stań badań* (Rogoźnica: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1987); and Isabell Sprenger, *Gross-Rosen: Ein Konzentrationslager in Schlesien* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994); as well as the article by Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," *Szyn* 9 (1982). Additional sources used were witness interrogations as well as reports from the investigation conducted on the camps and on crimes committed in 1944–1945 in the towns of Sieczko and Bukolewo. This material, which was acquired from the Okręgowa Komisja Badań Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland), is located in the AMGR, catalog No. DP/6500.

Grażyna Choptiany
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BOLKENHAIN

The Gross-Rosen subcamp at Bolkenhain (later Bolków) most probably came into being in August 1944. The camp was located on the outskirts of Bolkenhain toward Wolmsdorf (Wolbromek), on a small hill now called Góra Ryszarda. The prisoner camp was made up of five barracks: three living barracks, an infirmary (*Revier*) and sewing and shoemaking shops in the fourth, and a bathhouse and bathrooms in the fifth barrack made of brick. There were several rooms in each living barrack; each room housed several dozen people. The camp headquarters, kitchen, and guardhouse were located outside the camp fence.

The exact number of prisoners in the camp is not known. According to the account of former prisoner Leopold

Sokołowski, the camp population on any given day was approximately 600 prisoners, and a total of over 800 people passed through the camp during its existence (between August 1944 and February 1945).¹

The prisoners were exclusively male. Almost all of them were Jewish. They mainly came from Hungary and Poland; several dozen of them were Greek nationals. Only a few functionary prisoners were Polish and German.

Two prisoner transports sent to the Bolkenhain camp are known. They both came from the main camp at Gross-Rosen. The first arrived in late August 1944 and numbered over 600 people. The definite majority, approximately 400, were Hungarian Jews. But there were also in this transport approximately 200 Polish Jews who had previously been transported to Gross-Rosen from the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp and several dozen Greek Jews.

The other known transport arrived at Bolkenhain in early 1945. It included approximately 200 Jewish prisoners who had previously been evacuated from the Auschwitz concentration camp.²

The living conditions in the camp were quite hard. There was only cold water in the bathhouse, and "bathing" took place once a week. At that time, the Kapos would pour warm water into several brick troughs about $1.5 \times 0.4 \times 0.5$ meters ($1.64 \times .44 \times .55$ yards), into which they placed four prisoners at a time. Prodded on by the Kapos, the prisoners had to wash quickly. Due to the crowding and amount of time they had, it was impossible to wash appropriately, so the prisoners only came out of those "baths" a little wet. The camp was very heavily infested with lice, and the prisoners had to eliminate lice on their own. Everyday the barrack chiefs had to send the camp elder (Lagerältester) glasses full of the caught lice. The prisoners treated the duty of catching lice every day as persecution. Since that method of delousing the camp did not provide the anticipated effects, a "lice infestation inspection" was ordered. The inspection took place when the prisoners came back from work on the day shift. The prisoners stood on the assembly ground the whole night waiting to be admitted to the hospital, where the doctors counted the lice on each prisoner, and the camp scribe made a list. This operation ended in the only disinfection in the camp's entire existence. Unfortunately, it did not improve the situation.

Some Bolkenhain prisoners attempted to escape from the camp; unfortunately, no information exists on whether any of the attempts were successful. However, information has survived of the executions of three prisoners caught after failed escape attempts: Aron Farkas, a Hungarian Jew, born on July 23, 1898, in Tinaboken, was hung on September 28, 1944.³ Samuel Janowitz, also a Hungarian Jew, born on March 14, 1926, in Muszt, was hung on October 13, 1944. Fellow prisoners Marton Friedman and Kalmar Grünspan were designated to carry out the execution.⁴ Henryk Laufer, a Polish Jew, was hung on November 30, 1944. Fellow prisoners Jakub Glücks-mann and Benjamin Weimann carried out the execution.⁵

Leopold Sokołowski also described the Lagerführer shooting a prisoner who had stolen handfuls of raw carrots from

the camp kitchen. The tragedy took place during a roll call. First the Lagerführer made a cynical speech about friendship, saying that stealing the carrots was not friendly behavior and deserved only the death penalty in wartime circumstances. He forced the prisoners standing in the roll call to repeat those words, and one of them, beaten by the Lagerführer, had to "deliver" the death penalty. Then the Lagerführer ordered his victim to "go onto the barbed wire." The prisoner got as far as the guard posts and stopped; the Lagerführer then shot him.⁶

According to Sokołowski, the camp death rate was 20 to 25 percent of the inmate population. The naked corpses of prisoners, who had chiefly died of hunger, emaciation, and beating, were kept in a specially prepared, concrete-lined rectangular pit located next to the camp entrance gate. From there they were carted away to the main camp at Gross-Rosen every few days.

Leo Hersch stated that by the time the aforementioned 200-person transport came to Bolkenhain in January 1945, there were only about 300 prisoners living in camp.

The number of SS staff is unknown. SS-Unterscharführer Friedrich Karl Wolf, born March 2, 1904, in Schweidnitz, held the post of Lagerführer. He died in April 1945 in unknown circumstances. The only German prisoner in the camp, Hans Henschel, held the post of Lagerältester.

The prisoners worked at Vereinigte Deutsche Metallwerke, making aircraft parts. They operated metalworking machines, mainly lathes, drills, milling machines, and grinders. The parts they made were then assembled in the other production halls, where the prisoners did not work. Prior to the Bolkenhain prisoners, French prisoners of war had operated the machines. They also trained their replacements. The prisoners punched time cards in the production hall to document their work time.

A small group of prisoners made up what was called the Aussenkommando, which worked building roads or streets. Due to the ever more frequent standstills in the factory, in the final weeks of the camp's existence, some prisoners were put to work cutting down trees in the vicinity of Bolkenhain.

The Bolkenhain camp existed until approximately mid-February 1945. Two days before the camp was abandoned, the sick prisoners were probably murdered with poison injections. Their number ranges between 62⁷ and 150 to 200 people.⁸ The bodies of the murdered people were buried in a mass grave prepared earlier.

The evacuation began around February 15 and included approximately 500 people. The prisoners were prodded along on foot via snow-covered side roads toward the city of Hirschberg (later Jelenia Góra). During the march, the Lagerführer, aided by the Lagerältester, selected several dozen weak prisoners, who were shot by the SS men escorting them.⁹ After two days of marching, the prisoners reached the Hirschberg camp. There they stopped for several days.

The Bolkenhain prisoners continued their journey along with the Hirschberg prisoners. The column, now numbering

approximately 1,000 people, was prodded on toward the town of Reichenau (later Rychnov in the Czech Republic), which they reached in the final days of February. The prisoners were loaded onto open freight cars at the Reichenau train station and transported to the Buchenwald concentration camp. The prisoners were not given any food during the trip from Reichenau to Buchenwald, which lasted about five days. Sokołowski recalled that, under those circumstances, the trip claimed numerous lives.

On March 7, 1945, 905 men from the transport were admitted to the Buchenwald concentration camp. They were mainly Jewish prisoners from the Hirschberg and Bolkenhain camps, as well as a dozen or so non-Jewish prisoners who joined the transport at Reichenau station and were from the Reichenau camp. It has not been determined how many of these prisoners had come from the evacuation at the Bolkenhain camp.

SOURCES The following publications contain information on the Bolkenhain subcamp: Bogdan Cybulski, "żydzi w filiach obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen," *SFiZH* 2 (1975); Alfred Konieczny, "Egzekucje w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," *Studia nad faszyzmem i zbrodniami hitlerowskimi* 4 (1979); and Konieczny, "Nowe dokumenty o egzekucjach w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," *AUW*, no. 642 (1982). Certain information concerning this subcamp can also be found in Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane Gross-Rosen* (Rogoźnica, 1987).

Archive materials concerning the Bolkenhain subcamp are mainly former prisoners' accounts and memoirs. They can be found in the following archives: AMGR, AŽIH, and AK-IPN in Warsaw. Documents concerning executions conducted (e.g., in Bad Warmbrunn) can be found in the archives of the ITS in Arolsen.

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NOTES

1. AMGR, 5758/642/DP—Account of Leopold Sokołowski; and 8751/6/DP—Correspondence of L. Sokołowski with the Gross-Rosen Concentration Camp Former Prisoners Club of Warsaw, dated August 8, 1960, and August 18, 1960.
2. AŽIH, Account No. 721 filed by Leo Hersch.
3. ITS, Gross-Rosen Concentration Camp Collection, 52: 73–74.
4. Ibid., 52: 99–100.
5. AK-IPN, Microfilm Collection, M-623, Frames 22–23.
6. AMGR, 5758/642/DP—Account of Leopold Sokołowski.
7. AŽIH, Account No. 5488, filed by Henryk Fuchsmann, July 23, 1945.
8. AMGR, 6500/9-d/DP—Poznań District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes to the Wrocław District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes, letter, dated February 17, 1973. Contains information from materials collected by the Public Prosecutor's Office at the National Court in Braunschweig, which conducted the investigation in the matter of the crimes committed at the Bolkenhain camp.
9. Ibid.

BRESLAU-HUNDSFELD

The Breslau-Hundsfeld subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, located in what is now Wrocław's Psie Pole section, was probably formed in July 1944 to meet the needs of the Rheinmetall-Borsig corporation, which produced bomb fuses and anti-aircraft gun sights. From the reports of the Wrocław Armaments Command's war diary (*Kriegstagebuch des Rüstungskommandos Breslau*), it is known that on June 18, 1944, there were meetings at the Rheinmetall-Borsig company about building the camp quickly. However, operations to use Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners for Rheinmetall-Borsig were being undertaken by the aviation section of the Breslau Arms Inspection Agency considerably earlier, in the first quarter of 1943.

At all the women's subcamps of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, including Breslau-Hundsfeld, all the arriving prisoners were Jewish, mainly from Poland and Hungary. This is confirmed by the testimony of Elfride Stephan (who served as a guard in the camp starting October 1, 1944) that only Jewish women lived at Breslau-Hundsfeld.¹

The first group of prisoners was probably put in the newly formed camp in October 1944. They came from the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp (perhaps because of that camp's planned evacuation). The number of prisoners who came and went through the camp is not known; they probably received numbers ranging from 49501 to 54000.

There is no information on working and living conditions in the camp. All that is known is that the diet was very poor. The women were convoyed from the camp to the factory by female guards who also watched them during work. They worked 12 hours a day.

Gross-Rosen concentration camp headquarters records for December 30, 1944, list as camp leader (Lagerführer) for the Breslau-Hundsfeld subcamp the name of Emma Kowa, born October 31, 1915, in Pforzheim. Besides the aforementioned Elfride Stephan, the following guards' names are also known: Gerda Glowacki and Emilia Welzbach, as well as SS-Schützen Lenz, Loy, and Lukossek. On May 27, 1947, Stephan was sentenced to three years of incarceration by the Świdnica District Court. It is also known that the Mannheim District Attorney's investigation against Welzbach was discontinued in 1972 due to the statute of limitations pertaining to the acts with which she was charged.

The camp was probably evacuated on January 25, 1945. The prisoners were first sent to the main camp. Their further fate is unknown.

SOURCES This is not a well-documented Gross-Rosen subcamp; as a result, fundamental published works generally regarding Gross-Rosen subcamps were used. These include Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen* (Rogóznica, 1987); Alfred Konieczny, "Uwagi o planach wykorzystania więźniów KL Gross-Rosen w przemysle zbrojeniowym Trzeciej Rzeszy," *SFiZH* 23 (2000); Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Ssnn*, 40 (1982); and Konieczny, "Ewakuacja

obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen w 1945 roku," *SFiZH* 2:281 (1975).

ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), was also used in determining the camp's dates of operation and the data regarding employment of female prisoners. Some data found in Mieczysław Mołdawy's monograph on the Gross-Rosen camp, *Gross-Rosen: Oboz koncentracyjny na Śląsku* (Wrocław, 1990), were also taken into account.

Also used were documents at AMGR (AMGR, sygn. 7613/DP), in which the female official of the Breslau-Hundsfeld camp is mentioned. Information regarding the staff of this camp also originates from investigative and court reports kept at AK-IPN in Warsaw (AMGR, sygn. 47/39/MF). Helpful are also notes of a former prisoner, Roman Olszyn, located in the materials acquired by him pertaining to the history of subcamps (AMGR, sygn. 8751/DP).

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NOTE

1. AMGR, sygn. 47/39/MF, material of the AK-IPN at Warsaw.

BRESLAU-LISSA

The Breslau-Lissa (now Wrocław-Leśnica) subcamp came into being in mid-August 1942. The first prisoner transport probably arrived there on August 18, 1942. This was, therefore, the first subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp.

The camp was formed to support an SS military facilities complex: barracks, a large firing ground, and an ammunition depot. The prisoners were put to work expanding the facilities and those within a kilometer of the camp. They also worked for the Paul Urbansky company, building roads, and unloading cargo at the nearby railroad station, especially beginning in autumn 1944. It was at that time that building materials and various equipment started being brought in from Auschwitz to the camp warehouses.

The first prisoners were accommodated in a large wooden barrack with a brick floor and fenced halfway around where earlier there had been an army horse stable. Along the barrack ran bunks on which the prisoners slept side by side on straw (later two-tiered bunks were set up). The horse basins were converted into washrooms, and a dining hall was made out of several makeshift tables and large benches. An infirmary (*Revier*) with bunks for 12 patients was set aside in a corner of the stable.

One more barrack for prisoners was built at a later time. The storeroom and kitchen were located separately in a small barrack, as well as a small infirmary where only emergency aid was provided. There was also a small assembly ground. The small camp was fenced with barbed wire with watchtowers in the corners. Outside the camp there was what was called a guardhouse, and right at the gate was a building housing the camp command post and commander's quarters.

The initial transport numbered 150 prisoners. In all likelihood, only 17 prisoners from that transport survived until March 1943. Another 150 prisoners were sent later.

The initial period of the camp's operation was very difficult for the inmates. Living conditions were extremely hard; the prisoners were nagged by hunger and incessant repressive measures by the staff and the German prisoner-functionaries. There were many escape attempts, which resulted in more repressive measures, as well as many suicides. The records of the Wrocław Executive Committee (Nadprezydium) contain a report on the escape of a Russian prisoner Wassilij Woronow [Polish spelling], prisoner number 6577, from the Breslau-Lissa camp on July 18, 1943. Apprehended fugitives were sent back to the main camp, but in general prisoners were killed if caught.

The death rate was very high at that time. Bodies were taken to the main camp, and the subcamp's prisoner population was replenished on that basis.

In the camp's next state of existence, the main causes of death were bloody diarrhea, general emaciation of the body, or accidents at the construction site.

In the first quarter of 1943, the prisoner population was probably over 200. The number of prisoners increased over time. On October 24, 1944, at least 174 expert tradesmen prisoners from the evacuated Bauleitung Kommando arrived straight from Auschwitz. The prisoner population was probably over 500 by late 1944.

Russians and Germans were initially in the greatest numbers among prisoners; later Poles predominated. Ukrainians and Czechs were also an appreciable group.

Prisoners were dressed in striped prisoners clothing and had a strip of hair shaved down the middle of their heads.

Later on, living conditions improved considerably and were better than at the main camp or at Auschwitz. What bothered the prisoners the most were the hunger and cold, particularly in late 1944, when few packages were arriving, and the portions of food were decreasing. However, it was sometimes possible to get the remnants of barracks food from Wehrmacht soldiers. The Germans, despite the SS's official ban on prisoners being in the guards' barrack buildings, were glad to let them in and used them for various work. Thanks to this, the prisoners working as glaziers, carpenters, coal carriers, and cleaners had the opportunity of getting warm in heated quarters. Former prisoner Witold Wiśniewski also remembers that they used to make colored plywood animals at the camp carpentry shop and smuggle them into the barracks to exchange them for bread and cigarettes. The prisoners also made custom portraits or Christmas cards with gothic lettering.¹

The regimen at camp as well as at work had slackened appreciably by late 1944. At Christmastime, the prisoners were even allowed to set up a tree in the guards' barrack dining area and sing carols out loud. In this later stage, there were no acts of terror, for example, brutal beatings or killings of prisoners. The prisoner death rate was also low at that time. Probably only two prisoners died in the final month before

evacuation. No incidents of execution of this camp's prisoners are recorded.

The tolerable living conditions at camp were also possible because camp commander SS-Unterscharführer Erich Fischer was favorably inclined toward the prisoners that supported the efforts of the prisoner-functionaries. Even the commander's wife helped the prisoners; she and the prisoner-functionaries arranged to get fox meat from a nearby breeding farm. SS men kept watch over the prisoners at work. The prisoners worked 10 hours; they only worked longer when unloading railroad cars.

There is no information about sabotage on the job. The prisoners communicated with civilian workers, among whom were numerous Poles. Letters were sent via them. The camp doctor, who was permitted to move about the entire construction site, established such close relations with the civilian workers that he was finally moved to Auschwitz concentration camp. SS-Unterscharführer Alfred Barth was the first camp leader (Lagerführer), followed by Erich Fischer.

The evacuation on foot to the Gross-Rosen main camp began on January 23, 1945. The march lasted three days. The evacuation column stopped at barns to put up for the night. There were even instances of prisoners receiving some modest food from a local farmer. There were no acts of repression. At the end of the column, the prisoners pulled sleds with provisions and the camp staff's belongings. Thanks to the efforts of the barrack chief and doctor as well as the commander's wife, who ordered the sick and weak to be put in sleds, the Breslau-Lissa prisoners reached their destination in the best condition of all the Breslau area subcamps. They were also sent to a section of Gross-Rosen called the "Auschwitz camp," from where they continued on to Buchenwald concentration camp in February 1945.

SOURCES The most valuable academic works are: Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen* (Rogoźnica, 1987); Alfred Konieczny, "Ewakuacja obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen w roku 1945," *SFiZH* 2:281 (1975); Konieczny, *Chronologia transportów i numeracja więźniów w KL Gross-Rosen* (Materiały wewnętrzne Państwowego Muzeum Gross-Rosen, n.d.).

ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), was also used in determining the camp's dates of operation and the data regarding employment of prisoners, as was Mieczysław Mołdawa's monograph on the Gross-Rosen camp, *Gross-Rosen: Obóz koncentracyjny na Śląsku* (Wrocław, 1990).

The Breslau-Lissa camp has a substantially extensive literature of memoirs, which is a rich source of information and accounts of daily camp life. The following works were consulted and used: Andrzej Batat and Waclaw Dominik, *Aż stali się prochem i rozpaczą* (Wrocław: wydawn. Krajowa Agencja Wydawnictw, 1980) (the work focuses on life in Fünfteichen camp; it also contains information on the evacuation from the Breslau-Lissa camp); Józef Jabłoński, "Z Radogoszcza do Oświęcimia, Gross-Rosen i Mauthausen," *PL*, Nr. 1 (1969); Józef Zeglen, "Z 'rewiru' w Gross-Rosen," *PL*, Nr. 1 (1969). Witold Wiśniewski's, *Otwierają się bramy obozów* (Warsaw:

wydawn. Książka i Wiedza, 1981) contains detailed descriptions regarding numerous aspects of camp life and is very valuable on specific characteristics of the camp.

The fundamental research materials (accounts, memoirs, autobiographies, correspondence) held at AMGR allowed for the verification of numerous data. Determinations concerning camp officers were verified mainly on the basis of AMGR, sygn. 7834/DP (card index of members of KL Gross-Rosen personnel). Also consulted were AMGR, sygn. 5758/DP (materials from the Club of Former Prisoners of Gross-Rosen in Warsaw); and AMGR, sygn. 8751/DP (materials acquired by a former prisoner of Gross-Rosen, Roman Olszyn).

Another rich source of information are the records of the AK-IPN and AK-IPN WR (copies of interrogations, sentences).

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NOTE

1. Witold Wiśniewski, *Otwierają się bramy obozów* (Warsaw: wydawn. Książka i Wiedza, 1981), pp. 32–33.

BRESLAU I

Few German records about the operation of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp subcamps in Breslau (Polish: Wrocław) have survived. The information below is based on available studies and on the accounts of witnesses—former prisoners of those camps. Some of the information concerns both Breslau I and Breslau II.

Wrocław's Gross-Rosen subcamps were formed in consequence of an operation to put Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners to work in the Third Reich's arms industry (Breslau I, Breslau II, Breslau-Hundsfeld) and serving the army (Breslau-Lissa).

No exact date can be established for when the Breslau I subsidiary was formed; mid-1944 is most likely. The Breslau weapons command's war log (*Kriegstagebuch des Rüstungskommandos Breslau*) for the second quarter of 1944 only refers to talks held on June 18, 1944, at the Fahrzeug- und Motorenwerke (Famo-Werke) plant on the construction of the camp, during which the participants stressed that it had to be done soon.

The accounts of former prisoners primarily concern the initial transports to the camp, which had already been set up. Some prisoners recall being transferred from the Breslau II camp to the camp at the Famo-Werke plant in the summer of 1944. They replaced the "civilians" who had lived in the barracks previously, and they worked getting the new camp set up. Some prisoners remained at the camp afterward, and some returned to the Linke Hofmann Werke plant. A prisoner who came to Breslau II from the main camp in the first transport of approximately 60 people, probably in late August 1944, relates that they were also joined by a group of about 60 prisoners assigned to Famo-Werke.¹

The population of both Breslau I and Breslau II increased only in the autumn of 1944, due to the influx of prisoners to

the Gross-Rosen concentration camp after the Warsaw Uprising. They were questioned at the main camp for their occupational suitability and then sent to various subcamps, such as Breslau I (a transport of around 300 prisoners arrived here probably on October 12, 1944).

Breslau I prisoner population figures vary. Studies provide a figure of approximately 2,000 prisoners. Depending on when they were incarcerated in the camp, former prisoners describe the inmate population at from 500 to 2,000. The camp mainly held Poles, as well as Czechs and Russians; there were fewer Yugoslavians, French, Dutch, Belgians, and Germans. The latter initially assumed most of the positions in the camp's prisoner administration.

The camp consisted of wooden barracks (probably 10 in total) with a separate kitchen. The camp was fenced with electrified barbed wire with guard towers set at intervals.

The prisoners were dressed in work overalls with painted phosphorescent bands on the sleeves and a cross on the back, as well as stripes on the pants, to prevent escapes.

Living conditions were difficult. Prisoners slept on bunk beds, two in a bunk. Although some point out that the discipline here was not as harsh as at the main camp, hunger was rife, yet the prisoners had to work hard.

The camp had been organized because of the demand for labor at Famo-Werke, which manufactured aircraft engines and tank parts (most probably caterpillar treads for artillery tractors).

The camp was situated near the factory. SS men guarded the prisoners on their walk to work for their 12-hour shifts. They also checked the number of prisoners at work (roll calls in the factory were mandatory after a prisoner had escaped). German civilian workers supervised the work at the factory. The accounts only mention an Austrian foreman who was not as rigorous as the others and even helped prisoners.²

The forced laborers working in the factory tried to provide help, exemplified by the prisoners' letters to families that they sent. Food packages came to the camp more often because of this.

There are no known instances of sabotage. But there were escapes from the factory, such as when two prisoners left the factory premises in a delivery truck and another prisoner who left unnoticed after work with a group of forced laborers.

There are no figures on the number of dead prisoners of this subcamp. Some point out that there were no particular instances of prisoner abuse in the Breslau I subcamp. A former prisoner who held the position of doctor claims that no murders occurred there, and working conditions were considerably better than those at Linke Hofmann Werke, for instance. The prisoner death rate was rather due to pneumonia and diarrhea. Bodies were carted away from the camp.³

We only know of one instance of execution, that of a Breslau I prisoner, carried out at the main camp on December 2, 1944. That was the hanging of Russian Nikołaj Szwalke (Schwalke), prisoner number 63988, for attempting to escape from camp on October 26, 1944.

The infirmary was located in a separate small barrack where two doctors and the medical personnel lived. It was very poorly equipped with medical supplies. Sick prisoners of the neighboring Breslau II subsidiary were also admitted here. The decision to admit patients was always up to the SS man supervising the infirmary. Seriously ill people were sent to the main camp (for example, a patient ill with what was called bloody diarrhea was sent back to the subcamp in about a month). There were also instances when prisoners who had been seriously injured at work were taken to Breslau city hospitals. A prisoner injured in an explosion in late 1944 survived to be liberated in a city hospital.

The population was systematically replenished. More prisoners were sent from the main camp as late as early January 1945.

SS-Unterscharführer Körner was camp leader (*Lagerführer*). His attitude toward prisoners is reported to have been proper. The names of eight rank-and-file members of the Breslau subcamp's staff are also known, chiefly from the surviving equipment receipt book (*Gerätebuch*) II log (which subcamp is unspecified), namely: Ries, Redlich, Seiberling, Barner, Gosso, Stefan Körmöczi, Hark, and Andreas Pataschitsch. It is known that the last person mentioned was sentenced to four years' imprisonment by decree of the Kraków District Court on March 25, 1948.

The camp was probably evacuated on January 23, 1945, at the same time as the other Breslau subcamps (probably excepting Breslau-Hundsfeld). All the prisoners, including sick ones, were sent to Gross-Rosen on foot, under escort by the camp guards. The march lasted several days (the column wove its way through back roads) in the bitter winter cold. The prisoners were forced to pull wagons with the field kitchens, provisions, and the sick, as well as the SS men's belongings. The second night in the barn of a farm was one to remember, as some of the prisoners hid; the Germans found most of them the next morning and shot them.

After reaching the main camp, the prisoners were sent to the unfinished barracks of a section of Gross-Rosen called the "Auschwitz camp," where under terrible conditions, without food or any way to keep warm, they awaited further evacuation to various concentration camps.

SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in the following publications: Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen* (Rogoźnica: Wydawn. Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1987); Alfred Konieczny, "Uwagi o planach wykorzystania więźniów KL Gross-Rosen w przemyśle zbrojeniowym Trzeciej Rzeszy," *SFiZH* 23 (2000); Konieczny, "Egzekucje w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," *SFiZH* 4 (1979); Konieczny, "Ewakuacja obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen w 1945 roku," *SFiZH* 2:281 (1975).

The catalog of camps, published by the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), was also used in determining the camp's dates of operation and the data regarding employment of prisoners. Some data found in Mieczysław Mołdawa's monograph on the Gross-Rosen camp, *Gross-Rosen: Oboz koncentracyjny na Śląsku* (Wrocław: Wydawna Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1990), was also taken into account. Helpful in describing transports to the Breslau I camp and subject matter regarding prisoner employment (often specialists) in the arms (war) industry was Barbara Sawicka's publication *Z powstańczej Warszawy do KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: Wydawn. Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1994).

Among archival sources, the holdings of AMGR stand out: Determinations concerning camp officers were verified mainly on the basis of the Card Index of members of KL Gross-Rosen personnel (AMGR, sygn. 7834/DP). A rich and in practice fundamental source of information proved to be *Materiały Klubu byłych Więźniów Gross-Rosen* (Materials from the Club of Former Prisoners of Gross-Rosen) in Warsaw (AMGR, sygn. 5758/DP), as well as materials acquired by a former prisoner of Gross-Rosen, Roman Olszyn (AMGR, sygn. 8751/DP). These materials contain accounts, memoirs, autobiographies, and correspondence of former inmates. Also valuable and important sources of information are records of the AK-IPN WR and AK-IPN, with copies of official records (minutes of interrogations, sentences/judgments) and interviews with former prisoners of Gross-Rosen (Group A—sets of questions in acquiring accounts of former prisoners of KL Gross-Rosen).

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NOTES

1. AMGR, sygn. 5913/3/DP, materiały OKBZHW (materials of the District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes at Wrocław).
2. AMGR, catalog No. 5913/10/DP, 2935/DP.
3. AMGR, catalog No. 6651/DP, 2479.

BRESLAU II

While no exact date for the opening of the Breslau II subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp has been established, research findings point to mid-1944. Accounts by former prisoners show that the first small group (of approximately 60 to 100 prisoners) was sent to Breslau II from the main camp in late August 1944.¹ The prisoners were put in a building at the Linke Hofmann Werke company over Production Hall No. 7 in the factory office space, where they replaced Russian prisoners of war (POWs). They were put to work building barbed-wire fences (the hall was not yet fenced; guards stood at the entrances) and leveling the site for the assembly ground. Meals were brought in from the plant kitchen, and prisoners slept in the hall on straw mattresses (when the camp was completed, they slept on three-decker bunks). It took about four weeks to get the camp ready. Later on, besides the production hall and assembly ground, there was also a barrack built by the prisoners. An apartment barrack was also put up outside camp for camp officials.

The first major transport of approximately 300 prisoners arrived in late September or early October 1944 (prisoners from the Warsaw Uprising) and was composed of skilled

workers. Prisoner population figures for the subcamp vary, depending on the time they apply to, from approximately 400 to 2,000 prisoners. Günther Otto Treu, serving guard duty from autumn 1944 to early January 1945, testified that there were over 2,000 prisoners.² They were of various nationalities: Poles, Ukrainians, Belgians, French, Czech, and even Chinese (approximately 13 Chinese, residents of Warsaw, were put into Gross-Rosen concentration camp in the initial postuprising transport from the Pruszków transit camp in late September or early October 1944).

The prisoners lived and worked in the isolated production hall in the cold, with no ventilation, exposed to the constant inhalation of production fumes, mainly railway car paint and combustion gases. Health conditions were very poor. The prisoners were tormented by lice infestation. The starvation food rations (food was trucked in from outside the camp in pots), hard labor, and persecution by the staff (such as evening roll calls dragging on throughout the night) completed the picture of the especially hard conditions prevailing at this camp.

General emaciation of the body was also a reason for the high mortality rate. The deaths caused by paint poisoning even interested German doctors at one time. The dead were carted out of the camp, and the prisoner population was systematically replenished. An infirmary was set aside in the space for the prisoners, but only emergency aid was provided there. The seriously ill were sent to the main camp, and others were sent to the infirmary at Breslau I.

Breslau II prisoners worked for the Borsig-Werke and Linke Hoffmann companies. They were put to work assembling railway cars and tanks. The work was supervised by German foremen, and their attitude toward prisoners can be described as proper. There were no other civilian workers in the production hall. On the other hand, the prisoner-functionaries and guards were known for their mistreatment of prisoners and frequent beatings of them at work (for example, they used to chase the prisoners through the narrow doors of the production hall).

Just as at Breslau I, prisoners wore work clothes with white markings and had a strip shaved down the middle of their heads.

There are no known instances of sabotage at work.

The camp leader (Lagerführer) was Sturmbannführer Bohnenstangel, whose attitude toward the prisoners was decidedly negative, and the roll-call leader (Rapportführer) was named Kampf. Only one other staff member, Günter Otto Treu, can be identified by name. He was sentenced to eight years in prison by the Świdnica District Court on April 26, 1949, but mainly for offenses at the Gross-Rosen main camp, where he served as block leader (Blockführer).

There were some instances of prisoners escaping from camp: 4 Soviet prisoners from Breslau II were among the 16 prisoners sent on December 4, 1944, from Gross-Rosen to the Buchenwald concentration camp Langensalza subcamp, where prisoners caught escaping were sent (the transport arrived there the next day). Also, surviving Wrocław Executive Committee records on fugitives who were caught include a

report about Iwan Kunewitsch, a prisoner from the subcamp who escaped from Linke Hoffmann Werke on September 22, 1944.

Accounts of former prisoners also mention escapes, such as a successful one by two prisoners the night of January 2–3, 1945. There are no known instances of executions of camp prisoners.

The prisoners were evacuated on foot to the Gross-Rosen main camp, probably on January 23, 1945, and the evacuation lasted about a week. Former prisoners provide discrepant information on the evacuation dates and route. But they all recall the hard winter conditions during the march and the particular cruelty of the SS men guarding the Breslau II prisoner evacuation column. As was the case with Breslau I prisoners, they also pulled wagons with staff belongings. At first, the bodies of those who had been shot while escaping (especially during the first night's stop, probably in Kostenblut) or during the march were buried; later they were left along the road.

When they reached the main camp, the surviving prisoners were sent to the "Auschwitz" section of the camp, where they awaited further evacuation under terrible conditions.

SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in the following publications: Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen* (Rogoźnica, 1987); Alfred Konieczny, "Uwagi o planach wykorzystania więźniów KL Gross-Rosen w przemyśle zbrojeniowym Trzeciej Rzeszy," *SFiZH* 23 (2000); Konieczny, "Egzekucje w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," *SFiZH* 4 (1979); Konieczny, "Ewakuacja obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen w 1945 roku," *SFiZH* 2:281 (1975); Konieczny, *Chronologia transportów i numeracja więźniów w KL Gross-Rosen* (Materiały wewnętrzne Państwowego Muzeum Gross-Rosen, n.d.).

The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), was also used in determining the camp's dates of operation and the data regarding employment of prisoners. Some data found in Mieczysław Mołdawa's monograph on the Gross-Rosen camp, *Gross-Rosen. Obóz koncentracyjny na Śląsku* (Wrocław, 1990), was also taken into account. In describing prisoner transports to the Breslau II camp and their employment in the arms (war) industry, the publication by Barbara Sawicka, *Z powstaniej Warszawy do KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych, 1994), was consulted and used. Andrzej Butat and Wacław Dominik's work *Aż stali się prochem i rozpaczą* (Wrocław, 1980) is useful on the description of the evacuation.

The AMGR holds most of the available relevant documentation for this subcamp. Rich sources of information proved to be AMGR, sygn. 5758/DP (Materiały Klubu byłych Więźniów Gross-Rosen) as well as materials acquired by a former prisoner of Gross-Rosen, Roman Olszyn (AMGR, sygn. 8751/DP). For camp officers, see AMGR, sygn. 7834/DP; in the matter of prisoner escapes from this subcamp, a report regarding the escape of a prisoner (AMGR, sygn. 6859/DP) was consulted. An equally valuable source of information and accounts of camp life are records of the AK-IPN in Warsaw and AK-IPN WR (copies of interrogations and judgments).

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NOTES

- AMGR, sygn. 5913/3/DP, materials of the AK-IPN WR; AMGR, sygn. 6651/DP, materials of the AK-IPN Kr; AMGR, sygn. 3106/2/DP-A, questionnaire.
- AMGR, sygn. 47/150-151/MF, Świdnica District Court, September 24, 1947.

BRIEG [AKA PAMPITZ]

The Brieg subcamp, also known both in the literature and by former prisoners as Pampitz, began operating as a subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp in the summer of 1944. The camp was located 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) from the town of Brieg (later Brzeg), close to the village of Pampitz (Pepice), right after the curve in the road from Schüsselndorf (Żlobizna) to Konradswaldau (Przylesie). In August 1944, the Gross-Rosen prisoners replaced Jewish forced laborers who had been living in Brieg since November 1940 in a forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ) from the Dąbrowski coal region, working for the Organisation Schmelt.

The Brieg subcamp began operating on August 7, 1944, when the first transport arrived from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp.

From its very inception, the Germans had set the camp's daily population at 1,000 prisoners. Prisoners lost through death or being sent back to the main camp were constantly replenished by new transports. The initial transport of August 7 numbered 1,000 prisoners, 60 percent being Poles who had been brought to Gross-Rosen in an evacuation transport from Warsaw's Pawiak prison; 20 percent were Russians (forced laborers and prisoners of war [POWs]); 10 percent were Poles arrested in the Reich and Poles from the Radom district and Kraków; and there were several Czechs. More transports arrived at the Brieg subcamp from the main camp by autumn of that year: 20 to 30 people in October and approximately 30 prisoners in the latter part of November. The purpose of that transport was to make up for the shortage caused by the departure a few days earlier of a 40-person group of tradesmen prisoners, metalworkers, and carpenters, who had been removed to the main camp, then sent to other subcamps such as Gassen (Jasień) and Niesky. Even earlier, on August 31, 3 former Russian POWs had been sent back from Brieg to Gross-Rosen headquarters; they had originally come to Gross-Rosen on August 2, 1944, from Stalag VIII A in Görlitz (Zgorzelec) for refusing to work and assaulting a citizen of the Reich. They were removed to the main camp for the death sentence to be carried out, as the Wrocław Gestapo had requested that the *Sonderbehandlung* ("special treatment") procedure be applied to them. The next transport from Brieg that we know of left for the main camp on January 4, 1945.

The barracks of the previous Jewish camp totally changed appearance by the time the subcamp had been in operation for six months. The 70 small plywood barracks with no furnishings were converted into 10 larger ones, with bunks

around the walls and a stove, for which there was never any fuel. Besides the residential barracks, there were 2 other large ones, holding the kitchen, infirmary, warehouse, glass workshop, carpentry shops, food and clothing warehouse, camp elder's (Lagerältester) office, and camp office (*Schreibstube*). There were no sanitary facilities when the first transport arrived at camp; there were only latrines and troughs with faucets for washing installed in the open air. In time, an unheated bathhouse with showers was built, as well as a delousing station and a dayroom for the prisoner foremen. The entire camp was surrounded with two rows of barbed wire under high voltage. There were guard towers in the corners with searchlights and machine-gun stations.

The staff was composed of Luftwaffe soldiers and just a few SS men. The camp leader (Lagerführer) was SS-Obersturmführer Stosch, and the roll-call leader (Rapportführer) was Luftwaffe NCO (Feldwebel) Mayer; only one other staff member's name—Gustav Schulz—is known. None of the camp's staff ever appeared before a court after the war for their deeds at the Brieg camp.

As was the case at other camps, to help maintain discipline, the staff used what was the "prisoner government." Since this camp was dominated by Poles, they also prevailed in the prisoner government. Initially, German criminal August Schneider was camp elder, but after he was recalled to Gross-Rosen, the job was assumed by a Silesian, Robert Nocon aka Notzon. Poles predominated among barrack chiefs, among them Józef Kuzioł, Bronisław Tomaszewski, Zenon Helczyk, Stanisław Kowalski, and Donat Petrol. Andrzej Kamiński from Poznań was initially First Schreiber (camp clerk), and after he left for Gross-Rosen, Henryk Suchowiak replaced him in the position. Arnold Kubański was Second Schreiber. The Brieg camp had an in-camp police force (Lagerpolizei); there were three: a German by the first name of Helmut; a Russian, Wasyl Dubowicz; and a Pole, Roman Burzykowski. Dr. Witold Mączka was the warehouse manager. The position of camp foreman (Lagerkapo) was held by a Pole, Jan Rura, who was also the camp translator. The following were Kapos: Józef Jerzy Sobocki, Józef Semran, Zygmunt Ulfik, Kiniarz, and Henryk Zawierucha, the antihero of the later group escape. There was a penal company whose Kapo was a Pole, Janusz Natorff, who later worked in the camp office. Four of the aforementioned were tried before Polish courts after the war. Two of them were acquitted.

All the prisoners at the Brieg subcamp were put to work converting the civil airfield into a military one. Various companies were involved in the job, including Vianova, Maszewsky, and Forster. The prisoners worked in the following Commandos: Vianova-Kolonne, the largest; Mathias-Kolonne; Eimer-Kolonne; Baukommando; Transportkommando; Kieskommando; and beginning in December 1944, a Commando the prisoners called candy (*Cukierek*), whose prisoners were assigned to work in the Wehrmacht warehouses being evacuated from the front lines. Some prisoners worked in the workshops, repairing construction equipment, at the forge, the carpentry shop, and so on; they were supervised by

civilian foremen, including blacksmith Paul Mlocek and an ethnic German (Volksdeutscher) named Kopaczka.

Work went on for 12 hours a day, six days a week, and in the autumn, Rapportführer Mayer hired out prisoners to work with local farmers on his own account. In exchange for their only day of rest, prisoners had the opportunity of getting additional food. As extra motivation, outstanding prisoners received camp "money" (*Lagermarki*), which allowed them to supplement the meager camp food and buy pickled beets, cigarettes, or chewing tobacco at the canteen.

Despite the long hours of hard labor, some prisoners with an underground background did not give up thinking about fighting on and causing direct damage to the Germans. The sabotage operations they undertook on their own were designed to cause stoppages at work by doing things such as breaking machines.

The camp also had an infirmary (*Revier*), handling from 40 to 100 patients at a time, where the foreman position (*Revierkapo*) was held by a Pole named Guździoł (aka Kuździoł), and the head doctor was Dr. Jan Aleksander Łukawski, with the orderlies (Pfleger) being Warsaw actor Władysław Otto-Suski and Marian (aka Henryk) Dolata. The sanitary conditions prevailing at the infirmary were very primitive, and basic medicine was in short supply. At first, patients lay on the floor against the walls. Under these conditions, serious operations sometimes had to be performed when someone was injured at work. Approximately 50 prisoners died there in six months. One instance of death from scarlet fever was recorded, and several were due to beatings by the prisoner-functionaries, but the greatest toll was taken by phlegmon, the result of malnutrition. Initially, the dead were buried against the wall at the local cemetery, later in the field beyond the cemetery fence. Emaciated prisoners were sent back to the main camp.

Hunger was rife in the camp, despite the bonus allocated to hardworking prisoners. The kitchen was run by Czechs. Prisoners received three meals per day: a half liter (1 pint) of what was called *meblzupka*; 150 grams (5.3 ounces) of bread; a liter (1 quart) of soup made of rutabaga, beets, cabbage or kale, and sometimes even nettles; a half liter (1 pint) of black "coffee"; a spoonful of molasses; and sometimes, as a bonus for hard workers (*zulaga*), a piece of blood pudding or horsemeat sausage (often raw), jam, and margarine. In addition, once a week the prisoners received a quarter liter (1 cup) of sweet "Knorr" soup. It was the practice to issue food in the evening, both for supper as well as the next day's breakfast.

From the beginning of the camp's existence, the prisoners put there made attempts to escape. The first to do so as early as August 14, 1944, were Johann Jankowski (prisoner 11504) and Leonit Juzwa (prisoner 11517). Former Soviet soldiers attempted to escape most frequently. The most important event in the history of this camp was unquestionably the daring escape of a group of 30 prisoners on January 5, 1945. The attempt was successful for only 2 of them; 22 of the participants who were caught were taken away to Gross-Rosen to a penal company, where the confusion caused by the camp's eva-

tion saved the lives of some of them; 6 of the participants lost their lives during the escape. This disaster was brought about because Kapo Henryk Zawierucha notified camp officials of the planned escape.

The Brieg subcamp operated until January 25, 1945, when all the healthy prisoners were driven on foot to the main camp (90 kilometers/56 miles), and the sick were trucked there. Then they all shared the fate of the main camp's prisoners, and in early February they were evacuated into the Reich by freight trains. Some prisoners of the Brieg subcamp wound up at Mittelbau or Buchenwald and some at Leitmeritz—a subsidiary of the Flossenbürg concentration camp.

SOURCES The following publications contain information about the Brieg subcamp: "Przeżyliśmy Gross-Rosen," II, zeszyt 6 (Warsaw, 1987); Jerzy Tęsiorowski, "Wielkie ucieczki—Gross-Rosen," *Kul*, no. 35 (1979); Rafał Brzeski, "Pojmani," *Kul*, no. 37 (1979); Leszek Izbiński, "Wielkie ucieczki Gross Rosen," *Kulisy*, no. 45 (1979); Edward Pochroń, "Ucieczka ku wolności," *Try-Odr*, no. 17 (1980); Stanisław S. Nicieja, "Lagier w Pépicach," *GBrz*, no. 9 (1995); Nicieja, "Katorżnicze obozy w Pépicach," *GBrz*, no. 11 (1995); Nicieja, "Ucieczka komanda paczkarzy," *GBrz*, nos. 12–13 (1995); Nicieja, "Sprawa Janusza Natorffa," *GBrz*, nos. 15–16 (1995); Aleksandra Kobielec, *Arbeitslager Brieg—filia obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen we wspomnieniach byłych więźniów* (Wałbrzych, 1996); "Epilog tragicznej ucieczki 30 więźniów z obozu w Brzegu rozegra się przed sądem w Krakowie," *EKr*, no. 280 (571) (November 10, 1947).

Primary sources, especially personal accounts, are in AMGR, for example, catalog No. 4350/DP (collection of records on the investigation into the subsidiary of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp at Pépice, Brieg Township, maintained by the AK-IPN Op from 1968 through 1978).

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BRÜNNLITZ

The Brünnlitz subcamp was the southernmost camp under the command of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, located 48 kilometers (30 miles) from Brno in a small town in Moravia, named Brněnec in Czech. The decision to locate a camp there was made in Kraków in mid-1944. Due to the approaching front, German industrialist Oskar Schindler decided to move his factory and the Krakau-Plaszow camp prisoners working there to the town near which he had spent his youth. He located the transplanted arms factory (formerly Deutsche Emailwarenfabrik, DEF) on the site of the Hoffman cotton spinning mill (Löw-Bier Textile Company), and there he also built accommodations for the prisoners.

The Brünnlitz camp began operating on October 22, 1944. The initial transport included 700 men, who had received numbers 68821 through 69521 at Gross-Rosen. Then in November, 300 women arrived; after leaving the Krakau-

Plaszow subcamp, they went through a three-week quarantine at the Auschwitz concentration camp and received numbers 76201 through 76500 at Gross-Rosen. Subsequent transports arrived at Brünnlitz only in 1945. On January 29, 1945, 81 totally exhausted prisoners were admitted to the camp from the Golleschau subcamp, an Auschwitz subcamp that had been evacuated. These prisoners received camp numbers ranging from 77101 to 77181. On February 2, 1945, 6 prisoners were brought from the nearby Landskron prison, 5 of whom had previously been incarcerated at Auschwitz and 1 at Krakau-Plaszow. At Gross-Rosen, they received numbers 77182 through 77187. They were probably fugitives from evacuation transports. The next group of 30 prisoners arrived at camp only on April 11. They were prisoners who had been moved from the Geppersdorf subcamp, a Gross-Rosen subcamp that was being closed, and were identified with numbers 77001 to 77030. There were 801 male prisoners and 297 female prisoners in the camp on April 18, 1945. Because of the last transports, besides Polish Jews, there were also German, Hungarian, French, Czech, Slovak, Dutch, and Yugoslavian Jews in the camp, as well as 1 Frenchman and 2 German nationals (Reichsdeutsche). Although the prisoners had been sent here specially to work, the range of ages was atypical. The oldest prisoners had been born in 1881 (63 years old upon arriving at camp), while the youngest were born in 1930 (14 years old). The younger prisoners and their guardians had been withdrawn to the main camp in November 1944, and then they were moved to the Auschwitz concentration camp.

Special barracks had not been built for the prisoners at Brünnlitz. They were put in the factory building, at first even without bunks and basic sanitary facilities. Six rooms for prisoners: four for the men and two for the women, were prepared on the upper level of the factory building. The male section was partitioned from the female section by a wire fence. Only in time were a bathhouse, latrine, disinfecting station, and laundry put into operation on the upper level.

SS-Obersturmführer Josef Leipold was camp commander, and the staff was composed of 13 noncommissioned officers and 26 privates, as well as 4 guards. Leipold, born on November 10, 1913, in Alt Rohlau (Stará Role), of German nationality, a barber by trade, had belonged to the Nazi Party (NSDAP) since November 1939 and to the SS since August 20, 1938. He served at the Mauthausen, Lublin, Budzyní, Wieliczka, and Krakau-Plaszow concentration camps and, from October 1944 to April 1945, at Brünnlitz. After the war, he was tried by the Lublin District Court for the crimes he committed at those camps and by Decree of November 9, 1948, was sentenced to death, the perpetual forfeiture of public rights, and the loss of his property. The sentence was carried out. The following names of the staff are known: SS-Schütze Adolph, Daus, Emmel, Fredrychowitz, Gerhard, Hahn, Kirschner, Kurtle, Laubenthal, Stapf, Stier, Unbescheid, Vogt, Weimar, and Wienenkampf; SS-Sturmann Mähne and Mergenthaler; SS-Oberscharführer Mocek; SS-Obersturmführer Streilhof; and SS-Rottenführer Zilch.

Alexander Schubert, prisoner 69460, headed the "prisoner government."

After the first transport arrived, the prisoners had a few days of rest, then were sent to work at the ammunitions factory. Their first job was to install machines. Production began in early 1945. Prisoners worked there in two shifts, and the entire rhythm of their day was thoroughly delineated by the camp rules and regulations. Engineer Schöneborn supervised the prisoners' work, aided by Czech and German civilian foremen, such as Dembina and Müller, whose attitude toward the prisoners was not too objectionable. Despite camp commander Leipold's efforts, the effects of the prisoners' work were rather poor. Several prisoners were sent to work at the nearby mill.

As in other camps, roll call took place twice a day here, too, although it was not as arduous as elsewhere, since attendance was checked at the factory production hall before work in the morning and after work in the evening.

Despite Schindler's goodwill, the food at this camp did not differ from standard camp fare. The daily ration included 25 decagrams of bread (8.8 ounces) and coffee in the morning, a liter (1 quart) of palatable soup at noon, and bread and soup at 8:00 P.M. The night shift received an extra half liter (1 pint) of soup.

An infirmary (*Revier*) was set up on the ground floor of the factory building. Dr. Chaim Hilfstein, prisoner 68895, was appointed its head, and the following persons also worked there: Dr. Aleksander Bieberstein, 68913; Dr. Juda Katz, 69149; and Dr. Matilde Löw, 76354. Dental procedures were performed by Friedrich Beck, prisoner 69094, and Rudolf Brechner, prisoner 69350. SS-Obersturmführer Streithof served as the SS medic (SDG) from headquarters. Several cases of scarlet fever were noted throughout the camp's operation, as well as five cases of typhus, which was successfully kept a secret from the German staff; thanks to the disinfecting station that had been set up, there was no epidemic. Approximately 60 people died throughout the camp's operation; they were buried in the community cemetery at Deutsch Bielau (Německá Bělá).

Although the conditions at Brünnlitz were severe, life was easier there in comparison to the camps through which the prisoners had come earlier. Also, the local population demonstrated great sympathy for the prisoners, providing them with extra portions of bread whenever they could and even sweet bread for Christmas. Near the end of the war, when the food situation kept growing worse, the Czech Doubek, Brünnlitz mill owner, provided the camp with barley for soup, which allowed the prisoners to survive the war in tolerable condition.

People did not seek salvation through escape at Brünnlitz. The festivity for Schindler's birthday in April 1945 was a camp event that unquestionably deviated from the norm. The prisoners were given sugar, margarine, and sweet bread at that time.

Camp commander Leipold and the guards were enlisted into the German army in late April 1945 and were to be sent back to the front. When Leipold, a stickler for camp rules and regulations, left, the entire camp breathed a sigh of relief.

The information that the war was over had already reached the Brünnlitz subcamp prisoners on May 6, 1945, when all the camp's prisoners were gathered in the factory production hall and Schindler declared that the war had ended. All Germans were to surrender arms by midnight, and the prisoners were to be set free. That evening the SS men who had been guarding the camp left in an unknown direction, along with the factory's German civilian workers. Factory director Schindler left the night of May 6–7, seen off with sorrow by the Jews he saved, having obtained from the prisoners a travel affidavit of his exceptional stance during the war.

A delegation of the Brněnec National Council arrived at the camp the morning of May 7 and made sure there were no contagious diseases at the camp, after which it provided the prisoners with meat, milk, and other food products. The prisoners spent two days alone in the camp. The hastily organized police force, recruited from among the members of the camp's underground organization, was armed with weapons that had been stored in Schindler's residence, as well as those that had been abandoned by the camp guards. The formation's job was to maintain order in the camp, although there had already been a lynching there, in consequence of which Kapo Willi was hanged in the factory production hall; he had come to Krakau-Plaszow from Budzyń, where he was famous for his exceptional brutality. According to other accounts, German Kapo Knobloch, who had come from Auschwitz, fell victim to that same lynching.

It was only on May 10 that the Soviet Army under the command of Colonel Safran entered the camp. A Soviet and Polish committee was formed and issued the prisoners clothing from the warehouse. On the evening of May 25, a special train left for Kraków. Sick prisoners were taken to a hospital in Police.

SOURCES Primary sources, especially personal accounts, are in AMGR; see, for example, AMGR, catalog No. 4108/DP—Liste der weiblichen Häftlinge des AL Brünnlitz, April 18, 1945 (original in YVA); catalog No. 4107/DP—Liste der männlichen Häftlinge des AL Brünnlitz. Stand vom April 18, 1945 (original in YVA).

Secondary source materials include Aleksandra Kobielec, *Filia obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen, Arbeitslager Brünnlitz* (Walbrzych, 1991); Roman Olszyna, "KL Brünnlitz," F-S 51 (1978); Janusz Roszko, "Byłem w Brünnlitz w hotelu Schindlera," *DzP*, December 8, 1994; Roszko, "Byłem w Brünnlitz (Przyczynek do portretu świętego Schindlera)," *PDN*, August 19, 1994; Roszko, "Legenda o świętym Schindlerze (Szpieg—Budowniczy arki)," *PDN*, May 13, 1994.

Aleksandra Kobielec
trans. Gerard Majka

BUNZLAU I

Bunzlau I was formed in May 1944 when the Gross-Rosen concentration camp command took over what had been the Organisation Schmelt forced labor camp for Jews, located

at No. 2 Menzelstrasse (Staroszkolna Strasse) in Bunzlau (Bolesławiec) on the premises of the Hubert Land Bunzlauer Holzindustrie wood products manufacturing plant. That camp had been in existence since June 1941 and housed Polish Jews from the Dabrowski coal region in Upper Silesia Province; they were put to work making barracks, camp furniture, and decoy airplanes ordered by the Luftwaffe command. In the final phase of the camp's existence, it held approximately 730 men and a small group of women put to work in the kitchen and on the camp grounds. The most numerous group of prisoners were men in their early twenties.

The camp was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence; it consisted of six wooden barracks, of which four were for the prisoners; the fifth was for the kitchen, bathhouse, and shoemaker workshop; and the sixth was for the infirmary. The living barracks, accommodating approximately 200 people each, had four rooms furnished with bunk beds, tables, and benches. The sanitary conditions were atrocious, the barracks were rife with dirt, and the bugs were a plague.

When the Organisation Schmelt was disbanded, many of its Lower Silesian camps were put under the command of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp during 1944. The Bunzlau camp was also reorganized on May 1 of that year. A selection was conducted, after which only about 450 men remained in the camp (the fate of the others is unknown), who were assigned prisoner numbers in the 35000 series three weeks later. The number of prisoners rose to 1,000 by the end of the year due to the arrival of a transport of several hundred Hungarian Jews from the Auschwitz concentration camp in early June 1944, as well as several smaller groups from other Gross-Rosen subcamps.

The subcamp initially operated under the name of Arbeitslager Bunzlau; because another Gross-Rosen subcamp was put into operation at Bunzlau in the summer of 1944, the name was differentiated by adding the Roman numeral I. The organizational change did not cause any basic modification in the Hubert Land plant's production profile, although some of the prisoners were put to work expanding it, namely, on the erection of a new production hall in which the Becco company then did tank overhauls.

In August 1944, the central Armaments Office (Rüstungsamt) notified the Army Armaments Inspectorate (Rüstungsinpektion) VIII in Breslau (Wrocław) that it was commissioning the plant with the production of airfoils for the Focke Wulf (Fw) 190 fighter planes being manufactured at the nearby Aslau airfield. The prisoners working on the production formed the "Weserflug" Commando (named after the Bremen aircraft plant, part of which was evacuated to Bunzlau). In December 1944, a 24-person Commando was also formed to operate the military warehouses (Heereszeugamt) at Rauscha (Ruszwó).

SS-Unterscharführer Erich Schrammel, famous for his cruel treatment of prisoners at Gross-Rosen concentration camp, was the commander (Lagerführer) of the subcamp for the first four to five months; he was then replaced by SS-Hauptscharführer Willi Michael, then probably by SS-Unterscharführer Müller.

Members of the Gross-Rosen SS-Totenkopfsturmbann 12th Company served guard duty. The prisoner "government" was headed by German criminal prisoners who had come from the main camp, where they were famous for their brutal treatment of their fellow prisoners. "Ossi" Wecks held the post of camp elder (Lagerältester), and Kurt Büttner was Oberkapo; local prisoners held the block elder (Blockältester) and Kapo positions.

The subcamp existed until February 10, 1945, when the prisoners were evacuated on foot due to the Red Army detachments approaching Bunzlau. The approximately 120 people who were sick or unable to march were allowed to stay in the infirmary (*Revier*). The Russians liberated them a few hours later. Meanwhile, the evacuation column headed west, reaching the Mittelbau concentration camp in six weeks; on March 25, 541 Bunzlau I prisoners were admitted there, many of whom were sent to the infirmary immediately. After a short stay in the camp, there was another evacuation, this time in open railway cars, to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. How many Bunzlau I prisoners lived to see liberation there on April 15, 1945, cannot be established. The Rauscha detachment was evacuated on February 16; the prisoners were trucked to the Flossenbürg concentration camp Flöha subcamp, where they were put to work making aircraft parts. When the Flöha camp was evacuated, the prisoners were probably sent to the Terezin (Theresienstadt) ghetto, where they were later liberated.

In 1948, a court in Bytom (Beuthen) heard the case against Izidor Silbiger, a Kapo at Bunzlau I and then in the Rauscha Kommando; the court sentenced him to death.

SOURCES The author provides a more in-depth examination of the Bunzlau I subcamp in *AL Bunzlau I i AL Bunzlau II : filie KL Gross-Rosen w Bolesławcu* (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 2004). Primary and other relevant secondary sources are listed in that publication. Most of the significant primary sources are available in the archives of AMGR.

Alfred Konieczny

BUNZLAU II

The Bunzlau II subcamp was formed in October 1944 on the upper floors of a textile factory building at the Concordia Spinnerei und Weberei GmbH in Bunzlau (now Bolesławiec). In 1943 the plant had already been adapted to meet the needs of the Weser Flugzeugbau GmbH aircraft plant, moved there from Bremen, which was threatened by Allied air raids. The plant manufactured aircraft parts, and in August 1944 the Armaments Office (Rüstungsamt) commissioned the plant with the production of airfoils for the Focke Wulf 190 fighter planes being assembled at the Aslau airfield production facilities.

The initial group of prisoners was sent to Bunzlau II from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp on October 2, 1944; it numbered approximately 300 people. A second

group arrived in early November and was housed in the attic of the factory building. Several small groups from Gross-Rosen were also sent in December and January 1945, and approximately 80 prisoners were transferred from the Aslau subcamp in several batches. A total of 600 to 700 prisoners were put in the subcamp, of whom 60 percent were Polish and 33 percent were Russian, the rest being of other nationalities.

SS-Hauptscharführer Alfons Gross held the post of camp leader (Lagerführer). Besides a group of SS men, Luftwaffe soldiers also guarded the prisoners. Kapos, headed by Oberkapo Bruno Hellriegel, supervised the work in the workshops.

The prisoners worked on the ground and second floor of the factory building, whose upper levels served as their sleeping and eating quarters. The work was done in two shifts and consisted of manufacturing aircraft wings under the supervision of German foremen. In principle, the prisoners did not leave the factory building. There were, however, two escape attempts, which were unsuccessful.

The unvarying food and the starvation rations emaciated the prisoners, who were then sent back to the main camp. After the second group of prisoners arrived from Gross-Rosen, a makeshift infirmary (*Revier*) was set up in the attic, where the physician was Dr. Jan Wójciński. Bunk beds were set up in the prisoners' quarters; the bugs were an unbearable plague.

Because the Soviet forces were advancing quickly during their Lower Silesian offensive begun on February 8, 1945, the camp was hurriedly evacuated in the early morning hours of February 11; sick prisoners and those unable to march were allowed to stay, although they were sent to the infirmary (*Revier*) at Bunzlau I, where Soviet soldiers liberated them a few hours later. The primary marching column, numbering approximately 600 prisoners, among whom were some harnessed to carts containing food and the SS men's belongings, headed west through Görlitz, Bautzen, the vicinity of Dresden, Leipzig, Halle, Aschersleben, and Quedlinburg to Nordhausen. On March 15, 1945, after 32 days of marching, the evacuation column reached the Mittelbau concentration camp; the column now numbered only 441 persons (266 Poles, 147 Russians, 6 Germans, 5 Frenchmen, 5 Yugoslavians, 4 Croatians, 2 Belgians, 2 Italians, 2 stateless persons, 1 Czech, and 1 ethnic German [Volksdeutscher]); the rest succumbed to the hardship of the march, hunger, and shootings by the guards. Another 37 prisoners died during their stay at Mittelbau. In early April, there was another evacuation to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, where liberation occurred on April 15.

SOURCES The author provides a more in-depth examination of the Bunzlau II subcamp in *AL Bunzlau I i AL Bunzlau II : filie KL Gross-Rosen w Bolesławcu* (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 2004). Most of the significant primary sources are available in the AMGR.

Alfred Konieczny

CHRISTIANSTADT

In the town of Christianstadt (present-day Krzyszkowice) there was a women's labor camp (*Frauenarbeitslager*, FAL) for Jews that was a subcamp of Gross-Rosen. The camp most probably came into being in the first half of 1944. The first mention of it is in a document listing the subcamps and companies employing Gross-Rosen prisoners, dated June 9, 1944.

In Christianstadt itself and the immediate environs, work had been under way since 1940 to expand what had initially been the IG Farben Works chemical factory, then the Dynamit AG Nobel plant. Forced laborers, prisoners of war (POWs), and Jews from the forced labor camp (ZAL) also known as Organisation Schmelt were employed at the building site. In September 1944, two transports of Jewish women from the Auschwitz concentration camp were brought to one of the camps they had vacated, designated Number 10. These are the first known transports to Christianstadt. There were 500 women in each of them. The Jewish women from the second transport came from the Łódź ghetto, which had been officially closed in the summer of 1944. Another transport of 201 women arrived in early January 1945.¹

The numbers of the three known transports show that at least 1,200 women were sent to Christianstadt. Little is known about the transports leaving Christianstadt, although two such groups are known: on or about November 20, 1944, a small transport of only 20 women was sent to Parschnitz, another Gross-Rosen subcamp. The women were admitted there on November 24.² According to the account of Toja Świadkiewicz,³ they were a selected group of women that had committed offenses of some sort. On February 12, 1945, after Christianstadt had been evacuated, 2 more women from the Christianstadt camp were also admitted to the Parschnitz camp.⁴

The Christianstadt prisoners were Jewish women of Polish, Czech, Hungarian, Dutch, and Austrian nationality.

There is divergent information on the camp administration. Alfred Konieczny has determined that K. Siewanstock held the post of Lagerführerin (camp leader), and a Jewish woman from Łódź named Fryda was one of the barrack chiefs. The account of Czech prisoner Anna Hyndrakova provides more detailed but differing information.⁵ She says that the Lagerführerin was named Emmie Harms, and her assistant was SS-Oberaufseherin Lina Pohl. Hyndrakova also lists the names of other camp staff members but does not provide the posts each person held: Käthie Tietz, Weigert, Daume, Methar, and Friedl, as well as two aliases or nicknames—Esmeralda and Snehurka.

The prisoners primarily worked for the Dynamit AG Nobel company, as well as for Siemens-Bauunion GmbH (Siemens Construction Union), Boswau und Knauer, Becker und Zelle, Gebrüder Hermecke, Bauunternehmen Hamburg, the Reckmann company, and the Sturchan (Stuchan) company.⁶ Initially, almost all of the women worked for the Siemens-Bauunion company. They were also organized into what was

called a "forest commando." The women prepared the site for a road and railway, they had to cut down trees and dig out the trunks, and they shoveled earth and sand. With their bare hands, they loaded and unloaded shipments of rocks that they then had to break up with heavy hammers. They also carried rails and set railroad tracks. Women from 15 to 50 years of age were put to work on those projects.

Various accidents and injuries would occur frequently during that hard physical labor, since the women received no protective clothing, not even ordinary work gloves. Several German foremen oversaw the work in the commando. Two of them were Willi Hoin and Willi Kreuz. Hadassa Debrecka, a former prisoner, also mentions that she installed water pipes.⁷

Later the women's main workplace was the Dynamit AG Nobel plant, located 4 or 5 kilometers (2.5 to 3.1 miles) from the camp. The most dangerous jobs at the plant included filling grenades with explosives and cleaning the grenades. The women were burned frequently, and the continuous contact with the toxic substances in the explosives made them very weak. The prisoners' work was very hard, and combined with malnutrition and lack of sleep, it caused considerable emaciation in many women, sometimes manifested in muscle spasm attacks reminiscent of epilepsy. Similar to the forest commando, the prisoners working in the factory were not issued protective equipment or clothing. All Dynamit employees, except for the prisoners, received a liter (one quart) of milk a day as an antidote for that hazardous work. Another group of women worked in the "sand commando," working on the construction of a waste incinerator. Their work consisted of shoveling sand onto wagons.

The camp regime was arduous for the women; for any offense at all, they were punished with penal roll calls lasting many hours, during which the prisoners had to stand regardless of the weather. This limited their rest time between shifts at work, leaving them with only an hour or two of sleep at times. For more serious offenses, such as attempting to escape or avoiding going to work, they faced being locked in a basement or having their food taken away. There was an infirmary (*Revier*) at the camp, and in exceptional situations sick women would not go to work for a short time; however, prisoner accounts mention instances of the more seriously ill inmates being taken off to Auschwitz, where death inevitably awaited them.

The fate of several women who were pregnant when they came to the camp is a special chapter in Christianstadt's history. Shortly after the women had arrived at the subcamp, the Lagerführerin ordered pregnant women to report, saying they would be moved to another camp and to easier work. The order caused a considerable amount of uneasiness. In spite of that, several women reported. They were all taken away from camp. Those who did not report had to hide their condition.

In the early autumn of 1944, a Hungarian prisoner gave birth to a stillborn child. The SS women wanted to watch the

delivery and thus escorted the prisoners out to work later than usual. The SS women buried the baby's body in the forest. The day after the delivery, the midwife prisoner had to go to work as normal in the forest commando. When the German foreman named Hoin, who supervised the work in the commando, learned of the event, he ordered that a makeshift bed (made of various rags and empty cement sacks) be prepared in the tool room. He put the midwife there and let her rest, at least while she was at work.⁸

On November 3, 1944, a prisoner named Fuchs gave birth to a healthy baby girl. Friedrich Entress, the SS doctor from Gross-Rosen who was inspecting the Christianstadt subcamp, filed a report about that to headquarters on December 11, 1944.⁹ We do not know what happened to the child nor to the other children who were born shortly before the evacuation.

The evacuation occurred on February 2 or 3, 1945. The women were escorted out of the camp under the surveillance of a detachment of uniformed men commanded by an SS man with the rank of Oberscharführer. The evacuation route led southward. On foot, the prisoners reached the territory of what was then the "Sudetengau" (later part of the Czech Republic). They continued toward Draždany via the towns of Cinwald (Zinnwald, now Cínovec), Dubí (Eichwald), and Komořany (Kommern), until they reached Most (Brüx). There, the column was directed toward Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad). Four weeks after the evacuation had begun, the column reached a place called Cheb (Eger). There, the prisoners were loaded onto freight cars and taken to Zelle near Hanover. The march then brought them to Bergen-Belsen.

SOURCES Only one article specifically detailing this camp exists: Dorota Sula, "Frauenarbeitslager Christianstadt," in *Filie Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych, 2001). There is also an article written by Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Szyn* 40 (1982): 55–112.

Archival materials can be found in the AMGR in Wałbrzych (accounts, questionnaires, transport lists), as well as in YVA in Jerusalem (memoirs and accounts of former female prisoners of this camp). Details can be found in the footnotes.

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NOTES

1. Archives of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland, collection of the Kraków District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes, vol. 119.
2. AMGR, sygn. Catalog No. 7069/DP, List of transport from Christianstadt labor camp to Parschnitz labor camp.
3. AMGR, Catalog No. 124/3331/MF, Account of Tojba Świadkiewicz.
4. AMGR, Catalog No. 7069/DP, List of transport from Christianstadt labor camp to Parschnitz labor camp.
5. AMGR, Catalog No. 6305/DP-A, Account of Anna Hyndrakova.
6. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1939–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979), 128.

7. AMGR, Catalog No. 24/5480/MF, Account of Hadassa Debrecka.
8. AMGR, Catalog No. 6305/DP-A, Anna Hyndrakova's questionnaire.
9. Report dated 12/11/1944, YVA, M-8/BD/GR3.

DYHERNFURTH I

During World War II in Dyhernfurth (later Brzeg Dolny), a town located on the Oder River approximately 30 kilometers (19 miles) northwest of Breslau (Wrocław), a factory of the IG Farben company was set up, where chemical warfare agents were made. Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners were put to work during the factory's construction and then in manufacturing the gases. The decision to erect the Dyhernfurth factory had been made in December 1939, under an agreement between IG Farben and the Chief Armed Forces Command. IG Farben's sister company Anorgana GmbH was given the job. Luranil Baugesellschaft mbH Ludwigshafen, a construction company founded by IG Farben in January 1940, was the building contractor.

Using its experience from Auschwitz III-Monowitz, IG Farben reached an agreement with Gross-Rosen headquarters in 1943, in consequence of which two subcamps were established at the Anorgana works.

The Dyhernfurth I camp, situated on the immediate premises of the Anorgana factory, was a top-secret detachment (Geheimniskommando). The first transport arrived there in mid-1943. The 37-prisoner group included 16 Germans, several Russians, 3 Czechs, and Poles who had come to Gross-Rosen from Auschwitz. Later on, the camp's population was increased, and any losses through death were made up by bringing in small groups of prisoners from the main camp. Most of the prisoners sent to Dyhernfurth I had the annotation "RU" (*Rückkehr unerwünscht*, return undesirable) in their records. This subcamp remained small throughout its existence; there were approximately 300 prisoners living there at its peak population. Although Poles predominated, there were also Russians, Czechs, and Germans, as well as 2 Gypsies. Once put there, the prisoners were never moved to another camp until the camp was evacuated.

The prisoners lived in a newly built, two-level brick barrack that was divided into rooms (*Stuben*); 40 prisoners slept in one such room on two-tiered bunks. The barrack was isolated from the rest of the factory by barbed wire, with watchtowers at the corners. A railway siding ran along the fence, and underground liquid gas tanks ran along the siding. It was incredibly cold in the barrack because all the windows had been knocked out to ventilate the space. Although there was no bathhouse on the camp premises, the prisoners used the showers at the factory.

The Anorgana factory chiefly produced the gas warfare agent Tabun (T38), which was in a liquid state and extremely toxic, directly affecting the nervous system. Later, they also made Sarin (T46). Tabun poisoning occurs via inhalation,

through the skin, the digestive tract, or the mucous membranes, and is complicated by the fact that none of the senses provide any warning that the gas is present, while the slightest dose causes shortness of breath, convulsions, and paralysis, often resulting in death. The Dyhernfurth I prisoners worked in close contact with the gases. They worked in a separate production hall of the factory, additionally surrounded by a double row of barbed wire, and only the civilian workers employed there, the prisoners, and the camp leader (Lagerführer) were allowed in the production hall. The other SS men stayed outside. The doors and windows of the production hall where the prisoners worked were tightly sealed, and the hall was ventilated the whole time with air mixed with ammonia. The main fixture in the hall was the gas filling station for bombs and artillery shells, their warehouse, the labeling and inspection stations, and so on. Tabun was used to fill 100-kilogram (220-pound) aircraft bombs and the artillery shells. The entire manufacturing process occurred on a conveyer system. The shells or bombs were placed on feeder conveyers handling several tons per day; then they were filled with gas, and every shell went through a low-pressure chamber to check for leaks. The prisoners' jobs also included cleaning the underground gas tanks and inspecting the equipment there. Work at the factory started at 7:00 A.M. and lasted eight hours; but afterward, the prisoners were sent to clear the woods or do other earthmoving projects, such as draining the pond, until dusk.

Some prisoners who were put to work directly filling shells were outfitted with protective masks and overalls, but not all of them worked in masks. Unfortunately, even those who had them would get poisoned. Teary and pussy eyes were common, as was partial blindness, especially at dusk, severe headaches, shortness of breath, and swelling.

There was no infirmary or doctor in the camp; there was a corner set aside in the living quarters barrack called the "infirmary," where Marek Wawrzyniak, serving as orderly, was in charge. In special cases, a doctor was brought in from the Dyhernfurth II camp 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) away, or plant doctor Dr. K. Martens helped, although as a civilian he was not allowed to enter the camp itself.

Chemical poisoning was frequent among prisoners and caused several instances of death, but the exact figures in this regard are unknown. The dead were carted away to the crematorium at Gross-Rosen.

Not only normal work with the gas caused poisonings; prisoners have also stated that experiments were conducted on them to test the toxicity of the cargo during transport. This caused most prisoner poisonings, as Tabun causes mild poisoning after just two minutes of exposure to an atmosphere containing only 0.0005 milligrams per liter of air.

Despite the bonus for hard workers, the camp food was inadequate. For breakfast before roll call, prisoners received an ersatz flour milk soup, and later at the factory they got a piece of bread and slice of horse-meat sausage. Lunch consisted of approximately one liter (one quart) of watery rutabaga soup, sometimes with potatoes. The hour break (from

noon to 1:00 P.M.) barely sufficed to reach the camp, where soup was being distributed in the canteen. For supper in the evening, prisoners received one loaf of bread per four people, margarine or a spoonful of jam, and unsweetened black ersatz coffee.

The staff consisted of approximately 20 SS men. Initially, SS-Scharführer Karl Gallasch, born November 17, 1897, was the unit leader (Kommandoführer). (He was tried in Wrocław for his crimes at the Gross-Rosen, Dyhernfurth, Fünfteichen, and Reichenau camps on May 17, 1947, and sentenced to death. Just before the sentence was carried out, he committed suicide in his cell.) A reorganization was conducted in January 1944. One camp leader, SS-Obersturmführer Karl Brauer, born September 29, 1893, headed both camps. Although he was notorious for holding a hanging of refugees and led the camp's evacuation, he was never tried in court. SS-Unterscharführer Martin Klütsch, born October 20, 1912, in Cologne, was roll-call leader (Rapportführer). (The Świdnica District Court sentenced him to death on November 10, 1948. He was executed on July 3, 1949.) We also know the following names of staff: SS-Rottenführer Walter Dahms, born June 19, 1911; guard commander SS-Unterscharführer Johann Heinz (tried by Świdnica District Court in 1948–1949; he died of tuberculosis during his trial), and SS-Rottenführer Alfred Aller.

As at other camps, here, too, the Germans formed what was called the "prisoner government" to more easily maintain camp discipline; it was headed by camp elder (Lagerältester) Alfred (aka Bernard) Mikołajczyk; Ryszard Kurowski was block elder (Blockältester), the Kapo was Berst, and his assistant was Krauze.

Despite the harsh regime prevailing in camp and the fact that prisoners basically did not leave the factory premises, three Russians attempted to escape in late 1944. Unfortunately, the attempt ended tragically; all were killed.

The camp did not escape the hardships of evacuation. On January 24, 1945, all healthy prisoners were moved out of the camp as they set off on a death march along with the Dyhernfurth II prisoners, despite the freezing winter. The trek to the main camp lasted two and a half days. The lucky ones who survived the journey were not spared the difficulties of further evacuations. They were taken into the Reich along with the other prisoners of the main camp in early February; the majority would end up in the Mauthausen concentration camp.

SOURCES Publications dealing with Dyhernfurth I include Henryk Czernik, "Filie obozu koncentracyjnego w Brzegu Dolnym," *SFiZH* 1 (1974); Roman Olszyna, "Żydzi w KL Dyhernfurth," *F-S* 5 (1978); and Kazimierz Hałgas, *Dyhernfurth II-Aussenlager Gross-Rosen. Todeskommando* (Wałbrzych, 1994).

Archival records are held in AMGR; see Catalog No. 13/28/MF, 5242/DP, 5913/DP—prosecution records in the case of Karl Gallasch; Catalog No. 5905/1-25/DP—records on Martin Klütsch; Catalog No. 108/1/MF, 6244/DP, 6298/DP—Dyhernfurth II voucher applications and payroll for

August 1944; Catalog No. 5917/DP—transcript of prosecution records on the investigation of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp subsidiaries at Brzeg Dolny, maintained by the AK-IPN WR (DS 1/68); also the collection of 305 Dyhernfurth camp prisoner accounts and questionnaires kept at AMGR; 97 camp letters from Dyhernfurth kept at AMGR; and the NMT Trial of the management of IG Farben.

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DYHERNFURTH II [AKA LAGER ELFENHAIN]

During World War II in Dyhernfurth (later Brzeg Dolny), a town located on the Oder River approximately 30 kilometers (19 miles) northwest of Breslau (Wrocław) a factory of the IG Farben company was set up, where chemical warfare agents were made. Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners were put to work during the factory's construction as well as in manufacturing the gases. The decision to erect the Dyhernfurth factory had been made in December 1939, under an agreement between IG Farben and the Chief Armed Forces Command. IG Farben's sister company Anorgana GmbH was given the job. Luranil Baugesellschaft mbH Ludwigshafen, a construction company founded by IG Farben in January 1940, was the building contractor.

Using its experience from Auschwitz III-Monowitz, IG Farben reached an agreement with the Gross-Rosen concentration camp headquarters in 1943, in consequence of which two Gross-Rosen subcamps were established at the Anorgana works.

The Dyhernfurth II camp, also known as Lager Elfenhain, was established in the summer or autumn of 1943. The camp's prisoners were not put to work making or filling shells with gas but exclusively on construction projects on the Anorgana company premises.

Initially, the Luranil company used only Jewish forced laborers from the nearby Organisation Schmelt camp in existence since 1942 to work on the factory expansion. The camp's population ranged from 180 Polish Jews in the initial period to 600 to 800 prisoners toward the end of its operation. A decision was made in 1943 for the Gross-Rosen concentration camp to take control of the camp's prisoners, but for unknown reasons, construction of a new camp was started instead of expanding the existing one. Prisoners from the Jewish forced labor camp (ZALfJ) were sent to work on its construction. The ZALfJ closed down entirely on January 10, 1944, when there was a selection conducted on the Jews left at Dyhernfurth, and they were moved to the newly erected, but already operating, Dyhernfurth II camp, which was located in a small pine forest about a kilometer (0.6 miles) away from the Anorgana plant. The camp was composed of 30 barracks, including eight two-level brick buildings, while the rest were wooden. The camp kitchen and staff accommodations were located outside the barbed-wire fence. Although new, the barracks were damp, and in the winter they were for the most part un-

heated. Initially, there was neither running water nor toilets in the camp. Buckets for feces were set out on the walkways at night.

In the initial months of the camp's existence in 1943, the prisoner population was under 450. However, a large influx of prisoners was recorded there, starting in January 1944. The aforementioned transfer of Jews from the Organisation Schmelt occurred on January 10. Transports with non-Jewish prisoners started arriving from the main camp, primarily Poles and Russians, but there were also Czechs, French, Croatians, Italians, Germans, and Dutch. The first such transport had arrived at Dyhernfurth in February and numbered approximately 1,000 prisoners. About 500 Hungarian Jews arrived by transport from Auschwitz on June 8. The highest population on any one day was 3,037 prisoners on October 27, 1944. That was barely one-third of the planned number of 9,700 prisoners.

The prisoners were primarily put to work on earthmoving and construction projects, transporting cement or sand, and unloading railroad cars. A small number of them were put to work as metalworkers, clerks, and room painters. In addition, ten prisoners were put to work as draftsmen. In April 1944, the company began training support workers in building tradesmen jobs.

A new motivational system was introduced in 1944 at Dyhernfurth. It consisted of bonus vouchers paid to prisoners, which could be spent at the camp canteen. Prisoners could buy cigarettes or small amounts of food with the vouchers. The bonus system also included prisoner-functionaries; they received what were called "management bonuses," which were vouchers worth from 1.5 Reichsmark (RM) to 2.5 RM per week. But the bonuses did not solve the problem of the hunger prevailing in camp. The small food rations of fewer than 1,000 calories a day were reduced even further by thefts by the SS men. The factory issued prisoners performing the hardest labor an extra portion of bread and a small piece of horse-meat sausage. The prisoner kitchen was manned by 16 people and had a 5-person "potato" commando to help, which only peeled vegetables and potatoes.

The wretched food, ubiquitous violence, and awful conditions were the cause of many diseases and the large death rate, even though there had been an infirmary (*Revier*) in Dyhernfurth II from the start. It was initially located on the ground floor of one of the brick barracks. It consisted of two wards of 36 beds each, plus an admissions room, a washing space doubling as a morgue, and a small room serving as a storeroom. The patient population was about 60. In time, the infirmary was expanded into another barrack, and the number of patients admitted rose to 500 to 600. The most frequently encountered conditions were: weakness, malnutrition, starvation dropsy, and ulceration of unhealed wounds caused by beating. The position of infirmary Kapo was held by Dziubek. Two doctors, two dentists, and nine orderlies attended to patients, but they had very few medical supplies at their disposal, so a stay in the hospital only gave patients the opportunity for a short rest from work. The death rate at camp

was approximately 20 to 30 prisoners per week. The bodies of the dead were carted out once per week to the crematorium at the main camp. Selections were conducted at the camp regularly, and prisoners unfit to work were sent back to the main camp.

There were several escape attempts in camp. Anyone caught was not sent back to the main camp but was executed on the spot.

SS-Obersturmführer Peter Brandenburg, born on February 10, 1889, in Hörde, was initially camp commander; he was replaced by SS-Obersturmführer Karl Brauer in January 1944. Of the 200 members of the camp's staff, the following SS men's names are known: SS-Unterscharführer Bruno Martin Bönning (sentenced to 2 years in prison in 1947 by the Toruń Court); SS-Rottenführer Konrad Kumpf; SS-Rottenführer Anton Maurer; SS-Sturmann Oskar Prechtl; SS-Untersturmführer Willi Rost; SS-Rottenführer Emil Ruck; SS-Sturmann Jakob Schmitzer; SS-Schütze Johann Schmitzer; SS-Rottenführer Johann Tschokan; SS-Hauptscharführer Julius Uhl, roll-call leader (Rapportführer); SS-Sturmann Peter Wrbanatz; SS-Rottenführer Peter Wolf; SS-Schütze Otto Schwanke (sentenced to 3 years' incarceration in 1947 by Toruń District Court); Johann Theil (aka Thell) (sentenced to 6 years' incarceration in 1948 by the Świdnica Court); SS-Oberscharführer Erwin, Uhl's successor as Rapportführer, infamous among the prisoners; SS-Scharführer Franz Skowronek, born October 4, 1891; SS-Rottenführer Fritz Herzog, the medical orderly (SDG) in charge of the hospital; Block Leader (Blockführer) Schulz; Konrad Giela; Walter Meisen; Herman Schöps, born August 2, 1901 (sentenced to 2 years' incarceration in 1947 by the Jelenia Góra Court); Assistant Commander Max Kant, born February 13, 1894 (sentenced to 12 years' incarceration in 1947 by the Wałbrzych Court and conditionally released in 1956); a block leader Weiss; August Peterek; Voelke; SS-Sturmann Herbert Piotrowski; SS-Rottenführer Ludwig Hackler, the person in charge of the labor commandos; SS-Unterscharführer Wiese; SS-Unterscharführer Hlavicka; SS-Unterscharführer Blume; SS-Unterscharführer Bayer; SS-Unterscharführer Petrovic, head of the prisoners' and SS men's kitchen; SS-Unterscharführer Herbert Hanke, assistant supervisor of camp commandos; SS-Schütze Andreas Adamy; SS-Rottenführer Anton Balthasar; and SS-Rottenführer Ottomar Aichhdzer.

The staff had a "prisoner government" of about 100 prisoners to help them. It was headed by Camp Elder (Lagerältester) Guhr, Kapo Schmitz, and Oberkapo Stanisław Szulc. Only German professional criminals (BVs) held positions as block elders (Blockältester).

The bloodiest excerpt of the Dyhernfurth II camp's history was its evacuation on foot. Production at the Dyhernfurth works went on until January 1945, when the factory was hurriedly evacuated, and the civilian staff was escorted across the Oder on the night of January 23–24. The toxic gases and ammunition that had been manufactured stayed behind at camp. The prisoners were evacuated at the same time, leaving

the sick who could not walk in camp. The 2-kilometer-long (1.2-mile-long) column of emaciated human skeletons still had to pull sleds with the SS men's belongings behind them through the snow-covered fields, leaving the main roads for the civil population under evacuation and for the army. In very low temperatures, clad in only thin clothing, the prisoners had to walk the 60 kilometers (37 miles) to the Gross-Rosen main camp. Any prisoners who stopped marching were shot. They traveled the 30 kilometers (19 miles) to Neumarkt (later Środa Śląska) the first day, leaving the bodies of over 200 shot prisoners on the way. The night's stay in the abandoned buildings of a sugar mill did not provide them with a moment's rest; approximately 100 prisoners froze to death that evening.

For reasons unknown, the evacuation of the sick people left in the camp was ordered the next day. Unclothed, wrapped only in horse-cloth blankets, their legs wrapped in rags substituting for shoes, they were also herded in the direction of Środa Śląska. The bedridden who could not stay on their legs were loaded onto wagons. But they were only driven to the railroad bridge over the Oder. There, they were all shot, their bodies thrown into the water. Many of those who had set out toward Gross-Rosen were shot along the way. The sick people who managed to reach Środa Śląska were put in a former slaughterhouse, where systematic executions by shooting were begun on the order of the local district leader (Kreisleiter), Ernst Dickmann, of the German Home Guard (Volkssturm) squad (the camp escort had fled), which were stopped only upon intervention by the Wehrmacht detachment alarmed by residents. (Dickmann, born July 7, 1911, in Niederdorfie, was sentenced to death by a Criminal Court Decree on December 10, 1945, for murdering 93 sick prisoners; the sentence was carried out.) The surviving ill people were transported to the Gross-Rosen main camp the next day.

After spending a few days at the main camp, they and the other prisoners had to undertake the hardships of evacuation all over again, this time by train into the Reich. Many of them did not survive that trip.

The city and factory at Dyhernfurth were taken by the 27th Corps of the 13th Soviet Army without a fight on January 26, 1945. The Germans retreated across the Oder in a panic, destroying the ferry and railway bridge. On February 4, German forces retook the factory with the intention of destroying it and concealing the truth about the place. The Germans retreated on February 6 when the Soviets brought in more forces.

SOURCES Publications dealing with Dyhernfurth II include Henryk Czernik, "Filie obozu koncentracyjnego w Brzegu Dolnym," *SFiZH* 1 (1974); Roman Olszyna, "Żydzi w KL Dyhernfurth," *F-S* 5 (1978); and Kazimierz Hałgas, *Dyhernfurth II—Aussenlager Gross-Rosen. Todeskommando* (Wałbrzych, 1994).

Archival records are held in AMGR; see Catalog No. 13/28/MF, 5242/DP, 5913/DP—prosecution records in the case of Karl Gallasch; Catalog No. 5905/1-25/DP—records on Martin Klütsch; Catalog No. 108/1/MF, 6244/DP, 6298/

DP—Dyhernfurth II bonus [voucher] applications and payroll for August 1944; Catalog No. 5917/DP—transcript of prosecution records on the investigation of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp subsidiaries at Brzeg Dolny, maintained by the AK-IPN WR (DS 1/68); also the collection of 305 Dyhernfurth camp prisoner accounts and questionnaires kept at AMGR; 97 camp letters from Dyhernfurth kept at AMGR; and the NMT Trial of the management of IG Farben.

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FREIBURG IN SCHLESIEN

Freiburg in Schlesien (later Świebodzice), a women's Gross-Rosen subcamp, was probably formed in August of 1944, as the first references to a transport of female prisoners from Auschwitz concentration camp come from that time.¹ The transport numbered 1,000 women; 500 were Jewish women who had lived in the Łódź ghetto prior to being incarcerated at Auschwitz, and 500 were Jewish Czech women.

The next known transport sent to this subcamp was on January 12, 1945. It numbered 150 women brought to Freiburg from the Ravensbrück concentration camp. They received numbers 94001 through 94150.² After a brief stay in Freiburg, they were transported to Ludwigsdorf, another Gross-Rosen subcamp.

The prisoners at Freiburg were put to work manufacturing ammunition at the Hildebrand und Frey factory and making aircraft lighting parts at the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft (AEG) plant. AEG occupied space for this purpose in the Hermann Teichgräber company spinning mill.

Work at the factory lasted from 6:30 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. There was a half-hour lunch break. Although conditions at the factory were tolerable, intense hunger was rife in the camp. In addition, the prisoners were persecuted by the barrack chiefs Marysia (from Łódź) and Olga.

The camp was evacuated in March or April 1945. The prisoners were escorted to the railway station and put into uncovered cars without receiving provisions for the trip. After traveling for eight days, they were ordered to move into closed cattle cars; they reached the Mauthausen concentration camp in another eight days.

SOURCES Freiburg in Schlesien is partly covered in Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Ssnn* 40 (1982): 55–112; Aneta Małek, *Labor in the KL Gross-Rosen System*, published by the Gross-Rosen Museum in 2003; Bogdan Cybulski, "Satellite Camps of KL Gross-Rosen: The State of Research," published by the Gross-Rosen Museum in 1987 and in the BS-DM 5 (1998), 16 (1999), and 17 (1999). These Polish-language publications contain information on this subcamp. Additionally, there is some discussion of this subcamp in Isabell Sprenger, *Gross-Rosen: Ein Konzentrationslager in Schlesien* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994).

Available archival source material is composed primarily

of accounts by former prisoners, as well as information about prisoner numbering. These materials are located in the AMGR.

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NOTES

1. The date of the establishment and evacuation of the camp comes from the work of Alfred Konieczny.
2. The information regarding numbers comes from AMGR, imprint 7/119/MF and 6835/5 and the account imprint 5387/DP.

FRIEDLAND

Friedland (Mieroszów since 1945) is a small mountain town with roots dating back to the fourteenth century, picturesquely located at an elevation of 1,640 feet in the Steine (Polish: Ścinawka) River valley. The town's several thousand people have been involved with the textile and lumber industries for centuries. Several labor camps began operating in Friedland at the very start of World War II; they were chiefly for displaced Poles (entire families, including children, were held there), Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), and then Italians. They were put to work at local farms, in the granary, at the flax mill, and in other industrial plants.¹

The decision to locate a subcamp of Gross-Rosen in Friedland was made in 1944 because of difficult circumstances in finding workers due to the situation at the fronts and the relocation of an ever-increasing number of industrial plants to Lower Silesia (German: Niederschlesien), as well as the shift over to wartime production at long-established industries.

The Friedland camp was situated about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from town on the road from Waldenburg (Wałbrzych), just between the road and the railroad track and river, in the shadow of a small mountain. Four wooden barracks were prepared for prisoners. Three of them were for living quarters, and the fourth one held the camp kitchen, warehouse, and infirmary. The living quarters barracks were furnished with three-tiered bunks. The assembly ground was in the center of the camp. The entire camp was surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire fence, and at the camp entrance and the fence corners, there were watchtowers equipped with machine guns. A staff barrack stood outside the barbed-wire fence across from the camp entrance.²

The camp began operating on September 8, 1944, when the first transport of prisoners arrived from Auschwitz.³ It comprised 300 Polish Jews from the Łódź (German: Litzmannstadt) ghetto, which was being liquidated. They stayed at Auschwitz for a month "on hold"; they did not receive numbers, since they were allocated to be transported to another camp right away. There was a search for specialists at Auschwitz to fill the transport to Friedland: electricians and metalworkers;⁴ therefore, everyone on the transport list is recorded as an expert tradesman (or skilled worker, in the worst instance). The prisoners came to Friedland without

going through the main camp, which was atypical for transports of male prisoners,⁵ and received numbers 56301 through 56600.

The next transport arrived there on October 13, 1944, and included 50 Slovak Jews, who received numbers 67301 through 67350. It also included expert tradesmen, but in another field. They were cabinetmakers, carpenters, and woodworkers, but as many as 22 of them had no trade (they were listed as laborers, *Hilfsarbeiter*).⁶

The last transport from outside the Gross-Rosen complex arrived at Friedland several days later on October 19, 1944.⁷ A total of 165 prisoners arrived from Auschwitz, of which 133 had previously been at Theresienstadt, and at Friedland they received Gross-Rosen numbers ranging from 73801 to 73933; 11 from the Łódź ghetto received numbers 73934 through 73944; 18 Slovak Jews were identified with numbers 73945 through 73962; and 3 Hungarian Jews received numbers 73963 through 73965. Here, as in the first transport, expert tradesmen—metalworkers—predominated, but there were also three doctors.

The prisoner population remained basically unchanged until late 1944. Of the 515 prisoners who had come in the three transports described above, 510 were in camp on December 6.⁸ Earlier, two doctors were moved to another subsidiary of the Gross-Rosen complex, the labor camp at Bad Warmbrunn (later Cieplice, a section of Jelenia Góra, which had been called Hirschberg until 1945).

The largest number of prisoners, numbering as many as 434, worked at the Vereinigte Deutsche Metallwerke (VDM), Hamburg aircraft propeller factory. Prisoners were put to work directly in production, and their work consisted of shaping aircraft propellers with special tools (milling machines) with a tolerance of up to 1/100 millimeters. Even though only expert tradesmen were selected at Auschwitz, the Germans were concerned about the quality of production and devoted four to six weeks of job training at the factory. Upon completion of training, the prisoners began normal work at the factory. They worked on two 12-hour shifts.

Some 40 prisoners worked at the Fritz Schuber carpentry company; 21 worked in camp services. The work at the carpentry company and at VDM, although it was hard and the prisoners were exposed to persecution by the civilian foremen, provided a sense of protection against the approaching winter, at least as far as the cold was concerned. Prisoners assigned to work at construction sites (*Stollenbau*) had it the worst, as they carved caves into the nearby mountain for a purpose that was not fully explained (there was a rumor circulating among the prisoners that a factory was going to be located there). Equally hard and dangerous was the work on the railroad trackway, laying rails and ties. In the winter, the fingers of the emaciated and exhausted prisoners would freeze to the rails and cause serious mutilations.

The prisoners assigned to camp services had it the best, relatively speaking. Working in the kitchen or cleaning the SS men's spaces provided at least some slim chances of getting extra food, since the camp's greatest problem was the hunger

prevailing there from the very beginning. The 85 to 99 grams (3.0 to 3.5 ounces) of bread and two daily issues of turnip water called soup were not enough for anyone, let alone people who had to perform hard physical labor 12 hours a day. The situation did not improve when a herb detachment (Kräuterkommando) was formed to collect herbs in the forest to enrich this diet.

The situation got even worse in 1945 when the next prisoner transport arrived at camp. It included at least 68 starving prisoners from the evacuation column from a Gross-Rosen subcamp that was part of the separate Riese complex: the Wolfsberg (Polish: Góra Włodarz) subcamp.⁹ The camp commander refused to admit the entire evacuation transport. Those he did admit were placed in Barrack 4. Their arrival caused the already extraordinarily meager food rations to decrease.

The prisoners' initial relief at leaving the shadow of Birkenau's crematoriums and gas chambers quickly changed to despair. At the Friedland concentration camp, the exceedingly hard labor killed with equal effectiveness, as did the starvation and ever-present lice infestation, with which no one even attempted to fight, despite the bathhouses at camp (but only with cold water) and numerous disinfections.¹⁰ Deceased prisoners were buried on the hill near the local Catholic cemetery.

Although the Friedland camp escaped the tragedy of evacuation, toward its end, headquarters had begun preparing for evacuation, as other camps were. On April 14 and 21, two transports of sick prisoners were sent away to the Dörnhau (Polish: Kolce) camp, which was the "hospital" for the Riese complex camps operating in the Eulengebirge (Polish: Góry Sowie).¹¹ There was an evacuation attempt in early May, and some prisoners were escorted out of the camp; but due to the commencement of the 1st Ukrainian Front's "Operation Prague" on May 7, the evacuation column was returned to camp after spending the night in the forest.¹²

The Friedland camp was one of the last camps liberated, as the Soviet Army entered it only on May 9.¹³

No German records on the camp's staff have survived. An inquiry conducted by the Commission Archives-Polish Institute of National Memory, Wrocław (AK-IPN WR) in the 1970s with regard to the commanders of the Gross-Rosen camp produced no results and ended in the proceedings being discontinued.¹⁴ Out of the Friedland labor camp's staff throughout its operation, the name of only one SS man has been established. That was SS-Rottenführer Hofer, who served as medic (SDG).¹⁵ According to former prisoner accounts, the camp's leader (Lagerführer) was a Silesian, a Wehrmacht captain named Kautz. The entire staff numbered from 20 to 30 SS men. None of them were tried in court after the war.

To help maintain discipline in camp, the SS men had what was called the "prisoner government." It was headed by the camp elder (Lagerältester), who was initially the Polish Jew Israel Herskon and later the Slovak Goldner. The barrack chiefs were Henryk Judkiewicz, Leib Ohrer, and

Majloch Rachoner. The head cook was the Austrian Max. At the infirmary (*Revier*), Franz Vetecky¹⁶ and Karl Zimmer served as doctors, while Leopold Winter was the camp dentist.¹⁷

SOURCES Information on the Friedland camp may be found in Roman Olszyna, "KL Friedland," *F-S 47* (1978); and in the published memoir by Henry Starer, *Why* (New York, 1991).

Archival records are held in AMGR; see, for example, Catalog No. 146/DS 5/68-2/MF—testimony of female forced laborer from Friedland; Catalog No. 6928/DP; 108\9\MF—Transportliste über die am 8.9.44 vom K.L. Auschwitz nach K.L. Gross-Rosen, A.L.Friedland überstellten 300 jüdische Häftlinge, September 8, 1944, Friedland (original at APMO); Catalog No. 6931/DP—Berufsliste der im A.L.Friedland eingesetzten 510 jüdischen männlichen Häftlinge, December 6, 1944, A.L.Friedland (original at APMO).

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NOTES

1. Account of E. Promny, AŽIH, MF35/9, vol. 119; AMGR, Catalog No. 146/DS 5/68-2/MF—testimony of a female forced laborer.
2. AMGR, Catalog No. 3669/DP-A—account of Henryk Marecki.
3. AMGR, Catalog No. 6928/DP; 108\9\MF—Transportliste über die am 8.9.44 vom K.L. Auschwitz nach K.L. Gross-Rosen, A.L.Friedland überstellten 300 jüdische Häftlinge, September 8, 1944, Friedland (original in APMO).
4. AMGR, Catalog No. 8751/DP/21—letter of H. Marecki, and Catalog No. 2638/DP—account of Dawid Szajnzych.
5. All transports sent to Friedland labor camp were sent there directly and did not go through quarantine at the main camp.
6. AMGR, Catalog No. 6929/DP; 108/9/MF—Transportliste über die am 13.10.1944 vom K.L. Auschwitz nach K.L. Gross-Rosen, A.L.Friedland überstellten 50 jüdische slowakische Häftlinge, October 13, 1944, Friedland (original at APMO).
7. AMGR, Catalog No. 6930/DP; 108/9/MF—Transportliste über die am 19.10.1944 vom K.L. Auschwitz nach K.L. Gross-Rosen, A.L.Friedland überstellten 165 jüdische Häftlinge, October 26, 1944, Friedland (original at APMO).
8. AMGR, Catalog No. 6931/DP—Berufsliste der im A.L. Friedland eingesetzten 510 jüdischen männlichen Häftlinge, December 6, 1944, A.L.Friedland (original at APMO).
9. AMGR, Catalog No. 2330/DP.
10. AMGR, Catalog No. 6208/DP-A, Catalog No. 4930/DP-A—accounts of Jerzy Piekielny.
11. AMGR, Catalog No. 6266/DP—"Zugansliste Riese von Friedland," reconstructed by Prof. Alfred Konieczny based on the collections of the America Joint Distribution Committee in Prague.
12. Tape-recorded account of Dawid Szajnzych in the collections of the Gross-Rosen Museum.
13. Henry Starer, *Why* (New York, 1991).

14. Ruling of the OKBZHW [District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes], dated January 3, 1977, to discontinue proceedings, p. 172, IPN.

15. Health services SS man in charge of hospital [*Revier*].

16. Roman Olszyna, "KL Friedland," *F-S 47* (1978).

17. GRM-A, sygn. 7087DP—copies of three dental reports (originals at Terezin [Teresin] Museum).

FÜNFTEICHEN

The creation of a Gross-Rosen subcamp in Fünfteichen (later Miłoszyce) near Breslau (Wrocław) was closely connected to the decision to build another armaments plant for the Maschinenfabriken Friedrich Krupp Berthawerk AG at that location. Construction of the Krupp factory buildings began in early 1942 and production commenced by early 1943.

The construction and production schedules assumed that employment at the plant would exceed 20,000 by the end of 1944. Plant management learned on July 1, 1943, however, that such numbers would not be available through normal channels; they therefore undertook negotiations with Gross-Rosen to use prisoners.

Consequent to the resulting agreement, Gross-Rosen took over a camp approximately 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from the plant. The construction work to finish and adapt the site was done in August and September 1943, with a workforce that included prisoners from the nearby camp in Markstädt (later Laskowice Oławskie, now part of Jelcz-Laskowice). The newly created Fünfteichen camp received its first large prisoner transport in late September or early October 1943: a transport of approximately 600 Polish Jews from Auschwitz. More prisoner transports arrived at the camp in subsequent months. There were 1,200 prisoners in the camp on February 2, 1944, though it could already hold 4,000 to 5,000 men. Prisoner accounts tell us that between 6,000 and 7,000 prisoners were in the camp near the end of its existence. It was the largest subcamp in the Gross-Rosen system.

The structure of Fünfteichen's prisoner population changed during 1944. Initially Jews constituted the majority. However, starting with the second quarter of 1944, many transports of Poles from prisons all over Poland began arriving via Gross-Rosen. These included approximately 200 men who had been sent to Gross-Rosen after the failure of the Warsaw Uprising. Records indicate that transports of Jewish prisoners also were leaving the camp. For example, in August 1944, 314 emaciated prisoners were sent back to Auschwitz, while 403 were transferred to the Gross-Rosen subcamp at Görlitz. Although a transport of approximately 500 Hungarian Jews arrived from Auschwitz in late May or early June, the number of Jewish prisoners decreased appreciably in late 1944. Poles began constituting the clear majority. There were also, though less numerous, French, Belgian, Dutch, Russian, German, Czech, and Croatian prisoners.

When the expansion was completed, the camp consisted of several dozen barracks: 32 one-story wooden barracks set directly on the ground for the prisoners; 5 barracks served as

lavatories and bathrooms, and 5 brick ones as the hospital. To the north of the assembly ground were the buildings of the *Schreibstube*, the camp canteen, and kitchen. A double barbed-wire fence surrounded the entire camp. Beyond the fence were 2 barracks for the SS and the headquarters building. Also on the outside were concrete bunkers spaced every 20 to 30 meters (66 to 98 feet) and several watchtowers. Electric current ran through the inner fence.

Most of the prisoners worked for the Krupp factory, in two 12-hour shifts, manufacturing 75mm and 150mm cannons as well as torpedo launchers. The prisoners made the approximately 3-kilometer (1.9-mile) trip from the camp to the plant on foot via a dirt road lined with barbed-wire entanglements on both sides. The SS men escorting the prisoners had dogs and walked outside the fencing on both sides.

The testimony of former prisoners leaves no doubt that the mortality rate was high. However, the figures are only estimates, which preclude providing an exact death count for the entire time the camp was in existence. The estimates range from 30 deaths per week to 100 or even 200.¹ If even the lowest of those figures were accurate, it would add up to over 2,000 deaths over the roughly 16 months of the camp's existence.

Initial plans called for a staff of approximately 60 to 100 SS guards, but by late 1944, there were between 400 and 500. The first Lagerführer (camp leader) was an SS man named Weiss; in the spring of 1944, SS-Sturmbannführer Otto Stoppel (born September 13, 1902) took over, and his assistant was SS-Hauptscharführer Erich Schrammel (born August 26, 1908). The first roll-call leader (Rapportführer) was SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Seibold, followed (in October 1944) by SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Gallasch.

Attempts to escape from Fünfteichen occurred quite often, more frequently from the factory than from the camp itself. Escapes from the factory mainly occurred on the night shift or in the evening, when the day-shift prisoners were finishing work. People also took advantage of situations when an air-raid alarm was announced, because then the lights in and around the factory were shut off, and the chance for success increased. Many successful attempts took advantage of the rail lines that ran by the factory.

Prisoners shot while attempting to escape were displayed on the assembly ground as a warning to others. There would be a sign on the prisoner's chest, with the derisive words: "Ich bin wieder da" (I am back again) or "Ich bin von Reise zurück" (I am back from my trip). Anyone who was caught and brought to camp alive also stood on the assembly ground with a similar sign. The punishment for attempting to escape was usually death, most frequently by hanging. Executions were conducted either on the spot at the subcamp or at the main camp.² Sometimes the escapee was only whipped and assigned to a penal company.³

Prisoner beatings by SS men were a daily occurrence, mainly in camp but during work as well. Any prisoner who left his workstation without permission, talked to a fellow prisoner, or got tired and sat down for a moment was beaten,

but it also happened very often for no evident reason. Some beatings were fatal.⁴

Many prisoners could not stand the conditions prevailing in camp and committed suicide. The most frequent form of suicide in the camp was called "going to the post," meaning getting so near the fence that a guard would open fire. At the factory, instances of suicide by hanging occurred. All you had to do was put a wire noose around your neck, hook it onto an overhead crane, and press the button that pulled the hook up to the factory ceiling.⁵

The evacuation of Fünfteichen started on January 21, 1945. Approximately 6,000 prisoners were marched out of the camp, surrounded by SS men. In temperatures reaching -20°C (-4°F), usually by dirt roads, the prisoners journeyed on foot to Gross-Rosen, which they reached in four days. Approximately 1,000 prisoners died en route. The prisoners stayed at the main camp for a few days, then were assigned to various evacuation trains into the Reich. Those who survived that next travail finally wound up at the concentration camps in Buchenwald, Flossenbürg, Dachau, Mittelbau, and primarily Mauthausen.

However, not all the prisoners left with the death march. Approximately 300 sick prisoners remained in the camp hospital, without medical care or food; many of them did not live until liberation. The prisoners who died during that time were buried in a mass grave near the camp.

The staff left the camp along with the evacuation and were replaced by the German Home Guard (Volkssturm). After two days, on January 23, 1945, they too left the camp. At approximately 11:00 A.M. that day, Soviet Army soldiers entered the camp, probably a detachment of the 52nd Army's 78th Rifle Corps. A number of lynchings occurred at that time, as prisoners took revenge against some of their fellows.

The following members of the SS staff at Fünfteichen were tried after the war: SS-Hauptscharführer Gallasch (born November 17, 1897), who served as Rapportführer, was sentenced to death by a decree of the Wrocław District Court, dated May 17, 1947; he committed suicide in prison on May 18.⁶ Camp guard Jacob Morhardt (born March 23, 1899) was tried by the Świdnica District Court and was sentenced to death on September 12, 1947. The sentence was carried out on November 8.⁷

SOURCES There is no monograph on the Fünfteichen subcamp. Information on this subcamp can be found in Tadeusz Dumini, "The Gross-Rosen Concentration Camp Subsidiary in Miłoszyce in Oława County," *SFiZH* 2 (1975); and Andrzej Bułat and Waclaw Dominik, *Aż stali się prochem i rozpaczą* (Wrocław, 1980). Also, Waclaw Kolenda, *Wspomnienia [memoirs]* (Wrocław, 1984), published by the author, is helpful.

Archival material on the Fünfteichen camp is primarily located at the AMGR in Wałbrzych. It is chiefly composed of former prisoner accounts and recollections. On file at the AK-IPN, Warsaw and Wrocław divisions, are reports on examinations of witnesses and former Fünfteichen prisoners, as well as partial trial records for some of the SS staff members and prisoner-functionaries tried after the war. The AZIH in

Warsaw and YV in Jerusalem also have accounts of prisoners from the Markstt and Fnftfeichen camps. The information on the Krupp Works and its association with the Fnftfeichen labor camp is in the Records of Nuremberg Trial No. 10 against Alfred Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach and codefendants before an American Military Tribunal (vols. 42, 63, 95, 99–102). There is a microfilm of the records kept at the AK-IPN in Warsaw and AMGR.

Barbara Sawicka
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Testimony of T. Soll, AK-IPN WR; Testimony of K. Goniprowski, AK-IPN; Testimony of S. Reifel, AIH.
2. AMGR, 5900/3/DP, Report of examination of Jozef Mazur; 5215/DP-A, Questionnaire of Henryk Danielczyk.
3. AMGR, 13/62/MF, Report of examination of Tadeusz Kaczanowicz; 5758/70/DP, Account of Z. Brodzki.
4. AMGR, 36/39/MF, Account of Maksymilian Rek; 13/62/MF, Report of examination of Wladyslaw Budyński; 5758/70/DP, Account of Z. Brodzki.
5. AMGR, 3798/DP-A, Account of Stefan Matuszewski; 13/62/MF, Report of examination of Teofil Szczepaniak; 7009/9/DP, Account of Wladyslaw Bk.
6. AMGR, 5242/DP, 5913/DP, 52/40/MF; E. Kobierska-Motas, "Czonkowie zag i winowie funkcyjni niemieckich obozów, wizie i gett skazani przez sdy polskie" (Warsaw, 1992), Item 344.
7. Ibid., Item 1055.

GABERSDORF

The original camp for female Jewish prisoners in Gabersdorf (later Libe) was established in January 1941 as part of the network of forced labor camps (ZAL) for Jews under the auspices of the Organisation Schmelt. Apparently, the first wooden barrack was built around that time; the second, later. The female prisoners had to work in a spinning mill that had been "aryanized" in 1939 by the Viennese firm Vereinigte Textilwerke & Co. K.H. Barthel. Later, the prisoners would work also in the factories of the firms Aloys Haase and J.A. Kluge und Etrich, as well as in a cotton-spinning mill and for a manufacturer of tents.

On March 18, 1944, the transformation into a subcamp of Gross-Rosen was completed. Later on the camp was put under the control of the "SS-Kommando Trautenau, Parschnitz." The camp held mostly Jewish girls and women between 15 and 30 (220 of the 363 women in the camp on October 27, 1944, were in this age group). There were 343 Polish women, 18 Hungarians, 1 Czech, and 1 Slovak. According to a report by the Gross-Rosen command office to K.H. Frank on November 18, 1944, there were 400 prisoners in the camp.

The food was, as in other camps in the area, monotonous, inadequate, and often tasteless, typically a soup made from rutabagas. In the course of the war, prisoner rations became worse both in quality and quantity (e.g., the prisoner's daily

bread ration dropped to 220 grams [7.8 ounces] per day). The results were illnesses, a complete lack of vitamins, and total physical weakness while doing heavy work. The death of two women in the camp has been confirmed.

Under the charge of camp commander Charlotte Rose were 10 SS wardresses and 3 male SS guards. The camp was liberated by Soviet troops on May 9, 1945.

SOURCES The basis for this article on Gabersdorf is Miroslav Kryl and Ludmila Chládková, *Poboky koncentraního tábora Gross-Rosen ve lnáských závodech Trutnovska za nacistické okupaci* (Trutnov: Lnáský průmysl, 1981). There is also Miroslav Kryl, "Pracovní nasazení židovských v zenkyň v tov rn ch firmi Jan Etrich v Hostinn m a Bernartic ch v dob  nacistick  okupaci," Lp-pKd 5 (1984); and Hans Brenner, "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossen burg und Gross-Rosen in B hmen und M hren," in *Theresienst dter Studien und Dokumente* 1999, ed. Miroslav K rn  and Raimund Kemper (Prague: Academia, 1999), pp. 263–293.

Well-known professor of German studies Ludvík V clavek has devoted his attention to a specific topic, a play that originated in the Schatzlar camp among Jewish women from Hungary: "L gr je sen? (Liter rn  dokument z koncentraního tábora p i  acl sk  p rádeln  z roku 1945," in *Stati o n meck  literatur  vznikl  v  esk ch zem ch* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palack eho, 1991).

Basic sources and transport lists of prisoners from the Gross-Rosen subcamps in northeast Bohemia are located in the S A in Prague, with copies in the AG-T. The most important are the files of the Special People's Court in Ji  n 1945–1946 (criminal trials against the former wardresses). Finally, there is the firm's archive at Texlen Trutnov; in the 1970s, its former head Vladim r Wolf made accessible to Miroslav Kryl and Ludmila Chládkov  the most important sources on the camps in the Trautenau area contained in the files of the German textile firm for the years 1940 to 1945. Nevertheless, the sources are inadequate.

Miroslav Kryl
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

GABLONZ

A subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp was formed in the town of Gablonz an der Neisse (Jablonec nad Nisou) in November 1944. The initial transport numbered 500 prisoners. A large percentage was composed of prisoners who wound up at the main camp after the Warsaw Uprising. The camp was set up at a former factory production hall near the Feinapparatenbau Carl Zeiss Jena Niederlassung factory. Prisoners were put in the upper level, while the camp staff lived on the lower one; there was also business space. Two buildings adjoined the camp. Prisoners of war (POWs) lived in one, and women, mostly Jewish, in the other. Otto Saenger held the job of commandant (Lagerf hrer). The staff was made up of 31 people.

Most of the prisoners were sent to work at the factory, where they worked in two 12-hour shifts. They worked machining aircraft parts and manufacturing parts for weapons.

A former prisoner writes about working at the factory in his memoirs:

I was assigned to the Dreherei II department, composed of thirty automatic lathes and two precision lathes for turning out small amounts of small parts for machinery. The automatic lathes were operated exclusively by teenage boys from the Warsaw Uprising. . . . They were braver than some adults, which won them terrific liking and respect. . . . The department supervisor was a civilian German engineer, who rarely looked in on us, but the department was actually supervised by a civilian foreman . . . , a sixty-year-old Bavarian. . . . On the third day he told me that there was a slice of bread with lard in his desk drawer. When he walked away, I was to steal it and eat it quickly. He was afraid of being responsible for giving a prisoner extra food and that's why he told me to steal it. He did that every day, until he was transferred to another production hall. Upon my request, he would even leave his *Sudetenzeitung* newspaper in the drawer, in consequence of which I was a source of information on what was going on in the war for other prisoners. Our foreman was so good to me that he didn't even require that I fulfill the work quota.¹

Prisoners Henryk Uchman and Władysław Motyl attempted to organize a sabotage group. They gradually initiated the more trusted prisoners, such as boy scouts. The sabotage consisted of destroying materials and ruining castings.

Roadway commandos called Brandelkommandos were also organized at the camp; they were assigned to build and repair the railroad tracks near the Gablonz train station. Prisoners from the commando were used also to unload railroad cars.

The group of teenagers also was used as help in the kitchen, where they did such things as peel potatoes and rutabagas. Sometimes they managed to take out slices of rutabaga, which they often shared with their friends. Anyone caught smuggling like that was punished, usually by beating.

Ulcers, erysipelas, tuberculosis, and diarrhea were the most frequent diseases at Gablonz. A typhus epidemic broke out at camp due to the lack of elementary hygiene, causing many deaths.

Former prisoners' accounts indicate that the SS army doctor performed selections and killed the gravely ill with injections. After such an injection, the patient would die in six minutes. The injections were administered to people who required longer periods of treatment and were suspected of having tuberculosis.

Delousing was a nightmare for the prisoners. Washing their clothes in cold water without soap every week did not solve the problem. One day the camp officials announced there would be lice catching. Prisoners received a cigarette for catching two lice. Nonsmoking prisoners gave the lice

they caught to their smoker friends. There were so many lice that the cigarettes quickly ran out. The prisoners who had collected the greatest "harvests" were regarded as slovens and lice breeders. In consequence, they were ordered to "leap-frog," and the prisoner-functionaries exacted their penalty upon them with bats. The mangled prisoners were driven into the bathhouse, where they were "treated" to an icy shower. Many came down with pneumonia. Many prisoners died due to their wounds and emaciation.

There were two unsuccessful escape attempts at Gablonz subcamp. In the wintertime during the night shift at the factory, two prisoners escaped: a Russian and a Croatian. After an investigation had been conducted, the Blockführer (block leader) ordered that the punishment of 100 lashes be administered to the prisoners suspected of helping organize the escape. In a few days the fugitives were caught, beaten mercilessly, and dressed in paper clothes; a sign was put on them reading "wir sind wieder da" (we are back here again). They were finally taken away to the main camp, where they were probably hanged. The third escapee was a Russian who worked in the roadway commando. He too was caught, but he was not taken away to the main camp. He was beaten, his hands were twisted behind his back and tied, and he was hung from a rafter by his arm joints. That's how he spent a few hours.

Evacuation transports passed through the camp beginning in January 1945. In January, a 60-person group of prisoners arrived from Bautzen, another Gross-Rosen subcamp. They were sent to Buchenwald by foot march. On January 15, 15 prisoners reached the camp from Auschwitz concentration camp; they were moved to Sachsenhausen concentration camp in February. In January or early February, a transport of 80 to 100 prisoners also arrived from Auschwitz. In early 1945, approximately 200 to 300 Jewish women arrived from Zillerthal-Erdmannsdorf, a Gross-Rosen subcamp. They were accommodated across from the men's camp. This is how one prisoner recalls the event: "The SS men prepared a drastic experience for us one Sunday. They brought about three hundred Jewish women from some nearby commando and ordered them to strip naked in our presence. They were sent in batches of fifty to wash in our washroom, where the hot water had been turned on for once. . . . To make the bathing more attractive and pleasant, the SS men brought in an accordion and ordered Cz. Matuszewski . . . to play rapturous tangos and waltzes."²

In March, approximately 30 prisoners detached from the evacuation column from the Hartmannsdorf subcamp arrived at Gablonz. About 100 prisoners were sent to the nearby Reichenau subcamp in early February. In late February or early March a new camp elder (Lagerältester) and block elder (Blockältester) as well as a dozen or so Jewish prisoners arrived at Gablonz from the closed Hirschberg camp. They brought equipment and provisions with them, as well as new terrifying regimens. Lagerführer Saenger was probably recalled just at this time, too, and a new commander arrived to take his place.

Only one shift remained working at the factory in April 1945. The remaining prisoners who had worked at the factory earlier were assigned to work repairing railroad tracks. The prisoners worked until May 7. In the early morning of May 8, evacuation of the camp was ordered. All the prisoners except the sick were led out of the camp under the escort of guards. Several of the stronger prisoners pulled a cart with bread. A group of female Jewish prisoners joined the column along the way. They were going toward Tannwald (Tanvald). The SS men unexpectedly surrendered the column to some Czech underground fighters and Red Cross representatives.

SOURCES The most recent research on selected Gross-Rosen subsidiaries, and the basis of this entry, is Dorota Sula's study *Filie KL Gross-Rosen (wybór artykułów)* (Wałbrzych, 2001); the Gablonz subcamp is discussed on pp. 147–160. Additional information can be found in Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987).

Archival materials on the Gablonz camp consist of numerous surveys, recollections, and accounts of former prisoners of Gablonz, which can be found at AMGR.

Dorota Sula
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, 5179/DP, Władysław Boczoń, "Opowieść wojenna," pp. 214–215.
2. Ibid., p. 237

GASSEN

This subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp was set up approximately 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) northeast of the town of Gassen (later Jasień) on the site of a former camp for prisoners of war (POWs) or for forced laborers. The initial transport of 100 to 200 prisoners arrived in late September or early October 1944. Prisoners who wound up at Gross-Rosen after the Warsaw Uprising, formed a large part of the transport. The camp's population was about 700 prisoners. Besides Poles, the most numerous group (56 percent), there were Soviet citizens (27 percent), Frenchmen (6.7 percent), Croats (3.5 percent), Czechs (1.4 percent), and even a few Italians and Belgians at Gassen. Nearly 70 percent of the inmates were under 33 years old: younger people could produce more.

The subcamp commander was SS-Hauptscharführer Walter Knop, who joined the SS on April 15, 1935, and the Nazi Party on May 1, 1937. From October 1, 1938, to May 8, 1944, he served at the Sachsenhausen and Neuengamme concentration camps, after which he was transferred to Gross-Rosen. The German criminal Peter Klein was the camp elder (Lagerältester).

The majority of the prisoners were put to work at Focke-Wulf, a former farm-machinery factory that had been converted to manufacture aircraft parts; so mostly prisoners who were knowledgeable about metalworking were sent to this

subcamp. The prisoners worked in two 12-hour shifts, with a break for lunch, which they ate on the spot.

There was a large group of teenage prisoners between 15 and 17 years old at the subcamp. They lived in a separate room. A monthlong course to learn the metalworking trade was held for them. Their teachers were foremen from the factory, who "treated" them to a mug of milk soup. After the course, they were sent to work at the factory, while on Sundays they were assigned to clean the aviator quarters near the camp. Sometimes they would get something to eat there. The teenage prisoners were exposed to the designs of Lagerältester Klein, who had a weakness for boys.

The diseases that plagued the prisoners most often included scabies, diarrhea, tuberculosis, and dysentery. Lice were another plague for the prisoners. There were delousing campaigns, which consisted of the prisoners handing over their things for disinfection outside of camp. While their things were being disinfected, the naked prisoners stayed in their quarters and, on one occasion, did not even go to work for 3 days. However, due to the lack of elementary hygiene, delousing was ineffective. Once every 10 days the prisoners were taken to the bathhouse about 180 meters (197 yards) from camp. Bathing occurred in cold water without soap and towels, and many prisoners paid for it with their lives. According to prisoners, the death rate at the camp was high.

Escape was the only salvation, so many prisoners attempted to escape. Two attempts in particular have stuck in the minds of former prisoners. Two Yugoslavians attempted to escape, probably in December 1944. They were caught, and signs were hung on them reading: "Von der Reise zurück, ich bin wieder da" (Back from my trip, I am here again). They marched about the assembly ground, banging spoons against eating bowls. Naturally, they were beaten, but their ultimate fate is unknown. Also in December, a Lithuanian prisoner attempted to escape while returning from the factory. The prisoners did not know his name, but they knew he was Lithuania's vice-champion or champion in boxing. After he was caught, Lagerältester Klein abused him in front of the prisoners in such a cruel and elaborate manner that the prisoner died of his injuries.

Prisoners were sent to the main camp for major offenses. Two former Soviet POWs were transported to "headquarters" from Gassen. They were shot on December 16, 1944, by order of the commander of the Breslau (Wrocław) Security Police.

Preparations to evacuate the camp were begun by disassembling the factory machines and equipment, which the prisoners then loaded onto railroad cars. The disassembled factory was taken into Germany. While packing mallets for hammering sheet metal, one of the prisoners, as Stefan Pala recalls, "came upon the idea that the mallet heads were edible. They were made of leather saturated with a hard resin substance. When the mallet was placed on the hot metal of a furnace [stove], the head unraveled and fried like the skin on pork fat. That's how we ate many mallets."¹

The prisoners did not work for three days before the evacuation; they stayed in the barracks under orders not to leave them. According to a former prisoner, an announcement was made a few days prior to the evacuation, saying that anyone weak or unable to march was to report for transport by train. Unfortunately, we do not know when the sick prisoners left the subcamp. A transport of 55 prisoners (1 of 3 prisoners had died of emaciation on the way) was admitted to Buchenwald concentration camp on February 23, 1945. The prisoners were put in the camp hospital, where they stayed until liberation. In all likelihood, few survived.

The evacuation took place on February 12. The prisoners set out from the subcamp in the morning hours, arranged in fives. The winter was extremely cold, the snow knee-high; movement was difficult. The prisoners had not gotten far when the column was halted, and some of the SS men went back to the subcamp, where they set fire to the barracks. The SS men returned an hour later, and the column resumed its journey. The prisoners were sure that the people who had stayed in the camp hospital had been murdered. They carried that idea with them for many years after the war, as they did not know that the sick people had also been evacuated. The emaciated and weak prisoners quickly lost their strength due to the exhausting march. Sick prisoners were told to report during a stop as early as the first day. Those who responded to the order, and there were about 10 to 15 of them, were shot by the SS men. Over subsequent days of the march, anyone who did not keep up with the column was murdered with a shot in the back of the head.

After several days of marching, a stop was ordered in the vicinity of Spremberg or Weisswasser in Lusatia, lasting two days. The prisoners, losing their strength, were quartered in farm buildings. A dead horse was found near the buildings. The Lagerführer ordered that it be cooked and distributed among the prisoners. Some of the prisoners also ate the entrails, which had already been buried; it was not long until the effects were evident. Many prisoners became ill, and many died. After that stop, the prisoners were loaded into freight cars. Two days later, on February 23, 1945, the transport arrived in Leipzig. From the train station, the prisoners had to walk to the Leipzig-Thekla subcamp of Buchenwald. Many prisoners were unable to get out of the train on their own, and 5 died along the way. More prisoners died due to extreme exhaustion and disease; 20 prisoners died between February 25 and March 4. The transport of 580 prisoners (including the dead) was officially admitted in the records of Buchenwald concentration camp on March 5, 1945.

A court in Cologne sentenced Walter Knop to nine years' incarceration in 1979.

SOURCES The most recent research on selected Gross-Rosen subsidiaries, and the basis of this entry, is Dorota Sula's study *Filie KL Gross-Rosen (wybór artykułów)* (Wałbrzych, 2001). The Gassen subcamp is discussed on pp. 42–65. Additional information can be found in Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987); and Alfred Konieczny, "Ewakuacja podobozu KL

Gross-Rosen w Jasieniu /luty–kwiecień 1945 roku," in *Wpływ pobytu w KL Gross-Rosen na stan zdrowia i losy byłych więźniów* (Wałbrzych, 1986).

Archival materials on the Gassen subcamp include reports of witness interviews conducted by the GOKBZHWP (the originals are in the archives of the IPN), former prisoner accounts, and surveys on file in the collections of the AMGR.

Dorota Sula
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTE

1. AMGR, sygn.5758/509/DP/2, Stefan Pala, Relacja z komanda Gassen (X 1944-18 II 1945).

GEBHARDSDORF [AKA FRIEDEBERG]

The Gross-Rosen subcamp in Gebhardsdorf (later Giebułtów), also known as the Friedeberg subcamp after the nearby settlement by that name, was probably established in September 1944. Whether the camp was created on the basis of a preexisting forced labor camp belonging to the Organisation Schmelt has not been verified.

The female Polish Jew Johanna (Joanne) B. reported on a transport from Auschwitz on November 19, 1944, initially by truck and then on foot to Gebhardsdorf, which lasted several days and nights: "Not everybody arrived; many, very many died on the way. With cold hands we dug shallow graves and covered the bodies with a little earth. . . . We arrived in Gebhardsdorf at night. There was an open square, further selections were conducted, and what didn't please the SS-men, was immediately . . . thrown onto trucks and taken to Gross-Rosen. They were killed there. . . . My sister and I and all the other Hungarian and Polish (Jewish) women remained in Gebhardsdorf."¹

In the camp at this time there were already 300 female Hungarian Jews, a fact that does not support the assumption of the Gebhardsdorf camp previously having belonged to the Organisation Schmelt forced labor camps for Jews (ZALfJ) in Silesia.

There is also no clarity with regard to the question of the registration numbers given to the women by the main camp in Gross-Rosen. They probably lie within the Gross-Rosen registration number series 79501 to 80450, 80601 to 80700, and 83201 to 84300.

The subcamp was located on an elevation. Former female prisoner Hadessa H. reported on the living quarters and hygienic conditions as follows:

We lived in rooms, which had cupboards, clean containers, washrooms. The living quarters were clean. The women slept on the floor, covered with a blanket. In the camp there was only cold water, underwear could not be changed, very little soap (one piece per month), and so the initial delight slowly turned to disappointment. Washing clothes was

strictly forbidden, but cleanliness had to be observed. The prisoners worked during the day, at night—illegally—they did their washing, which to a considerable degree exhausted the strength of the women.

They worked in shifts both day and night. On Sunday, sleep after the night shift was not permitted, as this day of rest was designated for general cleaning up. In the camp there were two barracks: in the first lived the Hungarian women, in the second the Polish women. In each room lived forty women. Within the compound there was also a two-story building. On the first floor there were two living quarters, a refectory, two washrooms; the quarters were of medium size, here the prisoners also slept on the floor. On the second floor, there were three living quarters, an infirmary, two washrooms.²

Since the barrack roofs were leaking and water trickled in, the straw and blankets became damp, which led to prisoners getting sick primarily because of the cold temperatures. Only those with a high fever were admitted to the sickroom. The sick women were treated badly there. The sickroom was under the direction of a female Jew from Holland who suffered from mental disturbances. The woman in charge of the camp, however, thought that she was only pretending and poured cold water on her when it was frosty, which led to her death.

Work deployment was at the aircraft factory Aerobau, which had been established in the workshops of the Merveld Company. Johanna B. writes that the route to the factory was a long path through small woods, on which they never encountered any other people.

German craftsmen trained the women. They behaved correctly toward the female prisoners, sometimes even helping them. Since lunch was served in the factory canteen, together with civilian foreign forced laborers and the German workers, at least in this respect the women were not treated too harshly. The bread rations, however, were reduced to such an extent that one bread loaf was divided initially among four, later among seven, women.

The above-mentioned Johanna B. writes of the SS personnel: “The SS guards were from Romania, [ethnic Germans] from Siebenbürgen. There were no gas chambers in Gebhardsdorf, but there were sufficient murderers among the SS guards and female SS supervisors [Aufseherinnen]. That I remained alive is mainly due to my good command of the German language.”³

Above all, it was the female camp leader who tormented and beat the women. Other female SS guards also harassed the women, by preventing them from going to the toilets or by surprise checks at night, during which they beat without pity those women who were guilty of minor infractions of the rules. The leader in particular was a fanatic, even by SS standards, who was brutal toward the prisoners but also impatient toward the female SS guards subordinated to her. She complained to the commandant of the Gross-Rosen concentra-

tion camp about several of her female SS guards for “breaches of their duties.”⁴

On January 18, 1945, the subcamp was evacuated in a march of about 30 kilometers (19 miles) to St. Georgenthal (Jiřetín, now Jiřetín pod Jedlovou). On the second stage of the evacuation, the Gross-Rosen Nebenlager subcamp of Kratzau (Chrastava) was reached. Several women collapsed there from exhaustion during the evening parade. Nevertheless, after staying the night, the march was continued.

Johanna B. writes about this march: “Roughly in January 1945 we hiked again for seven days and seven nights to St. Georgenthal. We were harnessed to carts heavily laden with weapons, eight women to each just like horses, and had to pull them. Many of our women collapsed and died on the way tied to the carts heavily laden with arms. This did not disturb the SS escorts. As soon as we had buried the dead, other prisoners, including my sister and I, were harnessed up, and we dragged these carts further until we arrived in St. Georgenthal.”⁵

Here, further selections took place. Some women were removed, probably to a camp for the sick, possibly in Zittau.

According to a report sent by the commandant of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, Hassebroek, on November 18, 1944, to the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) in Prague, Karl Hermann Frank, at this time there was already a women’s camp with 50 prisoners in St. Georgenthal.⁶ The women that arrived from Gebhardsdorf, like the prison detachment already stationed there, had to work in the Sicht- und Zerlegewerk GmbH, dismantling damaged and destroyed aircraft. The workplace was located in the factory facilities of the Rott Company in Warnsdorf (Varnsdorf).⁷

Since there was also a camp for male prisoners in St. Georgenthal subordinated to the Flossenbürg concentration camp, the women’s camp was designated as St. Georgenthal camp No. 2.⁸

In contrast to Alfred Konieczny, who writes that only the Hungarian women remained in St. Georgenthal and that the Polish women of the Gebhardsdorf detachment continued marching to an unknown destination, Johanna B., herself a Polish woman, ends her report as follows: “All of us, Hungarian and Polish Jewish women, remained in St. Georgenthal until the last day of the war and were liberated by the Russians on May 8, 1945.”⁹

SOURCES There are no known publications focused solely on the Gebhardsdorf subcamp. References to the subcamp can be found in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS, 1939–1945* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 131; Alfred Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych: Gedenkstätte Museum Gross-Rosen, 1994), pp. 16–18; Roman Olszyna, “Juden-Häftlinge im KZ-Gross-Rosen und seinen Nebenlagern,” *F-S* 51 (1977).

Among the most important archival sources are AŽIH (301/271); BA-L (IV 405 AR-Z 64/76 and IV 405 AR 832/70); and AMGR.

Hans Brenner
trans. Martin Dean

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NOTES

1. Johanna (Joanne) B., report to the author on March 10, 1999, p. 2.
2. AŽIH, 301/271.
3. Johanna B., report, p. 5.
4. See Isabell Sprenger, *Gross-Rosen. Ein Konzentrationslager in Schlesien* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1996), p. 273.
5. Johanna B., report, p. 3.
6. AMGR, DP No. 2829.
7. BA-B, Bank der Deutschen Luftfahrt, No. 473, p. 31.
8. AMGR, No. A 2456.
9. Johanna B., report, p. 4.

GEPPERSDORF

The Geppersdorf (Milęcice) subcamp was formed in late January 1945. It held male prisoners evacuated from the Auschwitz concentration camp. They had all probably passed through the reorganization point in Gleiwitz (Gliwice), where evacuation columns from Auschwitz were reformed and sent further on. Approximately 400 prisoners reached the Geppersdorf camp. They were predominately Polish, German, Hungarian, Dutch, and French Jews, as well as non-Jewish Poles, Germans, and Frenchmen. They probably received numbers 97061 through 97406, as numbers in that range were issued in late January 1945. On April 22, 1945, at least 107 prisoners from this group found themselves at the Dörnhau camp, which was part of the Riese complex of camps.

Previously, on April 11, 1945, a group of 30 prisoners from Geppersdorf reached the Brünnlitz camp. These prisoners had numbers from 77001 through 77030 (numbers in this range might also have been issued in late January 1945).¹

There is a hypothesis that both transports (to the Brünnlitz and Dörnhau subcamps) were evacuation transports and included only a portion of the prisoners. The rest stayed in the camp and were liberated there on May 9, 1945.²

SOURCES The Geppersdorf subcamp essay was based on the article by Roman Olszyna from the journal 11 (1979), titled “Gdzie są świadkowie tych zbrodni?” Also used was the work of Alfred Konieczny, “Stan badań nad numeracją więźniów w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen.” *Studia Śląskie*, n.s., 36 (1979): 155–189; as well as Bogdan Cybulski, “Analiza stanu więźniów w podobozach kompleksu ‘Riese’ w latach 1944–1945,” *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 7 (1981): 259–293. These Polish-language publications contain information on this subcamp.

The primary sources used are located in the AMGR. They include a questionnaire of a former prisoner of this camp; a transport list of the prisoners from Geppersdorf to Brünnlitz, dated April 11, 1945; and a list of the sick on May 9, 1945, compiled by T. Cytron, Leichenbuch Dörnhau.

Aneta Małek
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. The information about the numbering and the transport list to subcamp Brünnlitz (imprint 6923/DP) comes from the work of Alfred Konieczny. Information comes from the work of Bogdan Cybulski.
2. The date of the liberation of the camp comes from Roman Olszyna's article.

GRÄBEN

In the town of Gräben (later Grabina, a section of the city of Strzegom), there was a camp run by the Organisation Schmelt, dating back to at least March 1943. Approximately 450 young girls lived there, Polish nationals from the Dąbrowski coal region. In late May and early June 1944, the Gräben camp was converted into a strictly women's camp and put under the control of Gross-Rosen. According to the account of camp prisoner Halina Inster, the previous female camp commander (Lagerführerin) was removed, and a new one was sent along with uniformed female guards. The new Lagerführerin carried a gun. A few days after the staff change, an SS commission came to the camp and made a list of the names of the prisoners gathered on the assembly ground. The women all got a badge engraved with a camp number, which they had to wear around their neck. Then the women were herded into a barrack and ordered to strip naked and to walk by the SS commission again. The SS men examined the women, noted comments, and left the camp. The women had their civilian clothes taken from them and were issued camp clothing.¹

The camp was located directly by a linen mill, which had initially belonged to the Rüffel u. Deutsch i Vige company, then to the Falke company. It was made up of three buildings: two residential ones and a kitchen and ancillary facilities. Besides living quarters, the barracks had a bathhouse, laundry, sewing workshop, shoemaker workshop, and infirmary. There was also central heating, and hygiene was maintained at a relatively high level. Approximately 500 women lived in the camp. They were mostly the young women the camp absorbed from the previous Organisation Schmelt camp. There were also smaller groups of Jewish women from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands.²

The women were put to work in the linen mill. They worked from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M., with an hour's break for lunch at noon. The women worked processing linen; separating the fiber; pounding, drying, and threshing the flax; and cleaning the seeds. They also did jobs associated with transport, dust removal and cleaning, working in the boiler room, and so on.³ Sunday was a holiday.

The prisoners were beaten and abused by the women who guarded them on the march back and forth to work. At the camp itself, conditions were “tolerable,” as former prisoners put it. The commander even allowed cultural events. On New Year's Eve of 1944–1945, a soirée was held, including a recitation of poetry written by prisoner Fela Cyberman and featuring “live paintings” symbolizing the seasons of the year.⁴

The camp staff numbered approximately 25 people. Katarina Reimann held the post of Lagerführerin. We also know the names of some of the guards: Frieda Seidel, Erika Gross, Ida Heidrich, Lucy Hoffmann, Maria Hoffmann, Hildegarde Kaurod, Elfriede Milich, Ida Otto, Ida Scholz, Luise Schutzmann, Elza Jentsch, Marta Kühnast, Marta Leuschner, and Walli Süssenbach. Bala Zelynger was a prisoner-functionary.⁵

The camp evacuation began on February 8, 1945. The prisoners reached the town of Janowice on foot and from there were transported to the camp in St. Georgenthal (Jiřetín later Jiřetín pod Jedlovou in the Czech Republic), then to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.

There were several trials of camp staff after the war. The following were tried by the Special Criminal Court for the Wrocław Appellate Court District: Marta Kühnast (born January 21, 1901; sentenced to five years in prison in a verdict of June 27, 1946); Elza Jentsch (born August 28, 1912; sentenced to four years in prison in a verdict of June 8, 1946); Lucy Hoffmann (born September 28, 1919; sentenced to eight years in prison in a verdict of September 14, 1946); Erika Gross (born November 22, 1921; sentenced to four years in prison in a verdict of March 22, 1946); Marta Leuschner (born February 19, 1922; sentenced to six years in prison in a verdict of September 19, 1946); Ida Otto (born March 6, 1906; sentenced to six years in prison in a verdict of October 30, 1946); Ida Scholz (born December 27, 1909; sentenced to seven years in prison in a verdict of February 21, 1946; released on probation in 1952).

The following were tried by the Świdnica District Court: Ida Heidrich (born April 19, 1912; sentenced to four years in prison in a verdict of January 21, 1947); Walli Süssenbach (born March 26, 1921; sentenced to five years in prison in a verdict of February 7, 1947); Luise Schutzmann (born October 8, 1919; sentenced to three years in prison in a verdict of April 21, 1947); Elfriede Milich (born December 16, 1902; sentenced to three years in prison in a verdict of May 5, 1947); Frieda Seidel (born June 3, 1902; sentenced to three years in prison in a verdict of April 21, 1947).⁶

SOURCES Information on the Gräben subcamp can be found in Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Ss* 40 (1982); and in particular on the SS members, see Elzbieta Kobierska-Motas, *Członkowie załóg i więźniowie funkcyjni niemieckich obozów, więźniów i gett skazani przez sądy polskie* (Warsaw, 1992).

Archive materials concerning the Gräben subcamp can be found in AMGR in Wałbrzych and AŽIH in Warsaw. These consist mainly of collections of memories, as well as accounts and questionnaires written by former female prisoners at Gräben. Case files of staff members from the Gräben camp who were tried in Polish courts after the war are kept by the AK-IPN in Warsaw. Copies of these files also can be found in the AMGR.

Danuta Sawicka
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AŽIH, Collection of Accounts and Testimony, Account No. 3282, Halina Inster.
2. AMGR, 122/25/MF, 122/259/MF, 122/62/MF, and 122/113/MF.
3. AŽIH, Collection of Accounts and Testimony, Account No. 3284, Halina Inster.
4. Ibid.
5. AMGR, No. 8751/29/DP—Olszyna Records Collection.
6. AMGR, 122/177/MF—Records of the Special Criminal Court for the Wrocław Appellate Court District, versus E. Jentsch; AMGR, No. 122/198/MF—Records of the Special Criminal Court for the Wrocław Appellate Court District, versus M. Leuschner; AMGR, 122/181/MF—Records of the Special Criminal Court for the Wrocław Appellate Court District, versus M. Kühnast.

GRAFENORT

The Gross-Rosen subcamp in the town of Grafenort (later Gorzanów, near Bystrzyca Kłodzka) was created in late March and early April 1945. It was a transit camp and was formed when the Polish Jewish women who had been living at another Gross-Rosen subcamp in Mittelsteine (later Ścinawka Średnia), were moved there.

Approximately 200 women were transferred to Grafenort. Probably all of them had begun their camp journey in the Łódź ghetto.

Grafenort was not a typical camp; the prisoners were lodged in a building standing at the edge of town. The building was brick, large, and several stories tall, and the windows were barred. Hanna Gumprecht testified that they had been quartered in rooms with double-decker bunks.¹ Another prisoner, Franciszka Ruzga (living in the camp under the name of Frania Pietrykowska), remembered that they were lodged in a great hall with straw mattresses on the floor.² Female SS guards (Aufseherinnen) guarded them.

The women were mainly put to work building trenches. It took them about an hour to walk to work, carrying the heavy shovels and stones used in the construction. They dug ditches while standing in the water in tattered clogs.³ A smaller group of prisoners worked leveling gravel along railroad tracks. Male SS men guarded them at work.

On May 8, 1945, there was an attempt to evacuate the subcamp toward the city of Glatz (later Kłodzko). But the women were sent back to Grafenort because of the street fighting that had been going on in Glatz. The SS men escorting them fled on the way back. The women returned on their own to the building they had occupied. It turned out that the female SS guards had also fled. The Soviet forces entered Grafenort the next day, and the prisoners regained their freedom.

After liberation, the women were taken to Glatz. For several days the Russians fed them in their field kitchen and put the sick ones in an army hospital. After a while some of them were put onto a train and, after four days' journey, returned to Łódź.⁴ Others went to Western Europe.

SOURCES There is no monograph on the Grafenort subcamp. The only information concerning the subject was published by Alfred Konieczny in his article "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Szyn* 40 (1982); as well as by Bogdan Cybulski in his study *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoznica, 1987).

Available archive materials concerning the Grafenort subcamp can be found in the AMGR in Wałbrzych, as well as in the AŽIH in Warsaw. These are accounts of former female prisoners of this camp.

Barbara Sawicka
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, 6500/6a/DP, Report of examination of witness Hanna Gumprecht, dated May 31, 1969.
2. AMGR, 7009/260, Olszyna Records Collection, F. Ruzga, letter, January 30, 1979.
3. AŽIH, Account No. 775, Adela Karmel.
4. AMGR, 7009/153/DP, Olszyna Records Collection, Mania Kufelnicka, letter, October 15, 1984.

GRÄFLICH-RÖHRS DORF

A forced labor camp (ZAL) for Jews was formed at Gräflich-Röhnsdorf (Skarbków). It held women who were put to work at the Teichgräber linen spinning mill. The labor camp had been transferred to the administration of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp on September 4, 1944. It was then that the 150 women received numbers 56051 through 56100 and 56201 through 56300.¹ The literature lists the figure of approximately 250 female prisoners who were interned at the camp.

Upon the camp's transfer, the women, who were now Gross-Rosen prisoners, continued working at the linen factory. Some of them were assigned to work handling flax at a barn near the town of Egelsdorf (later Mroczkowice). Another group of women from the camp were put to work at the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft (AEG) plant.

The subcamp was closed in late January 1945, and the prisoners were moved to the Kratzau subcamp, which was also under Gross-Rosen.²

SOURCES This article is based on the work of Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Szyn* 40 (1982): 55–112; as well as the work of Aneta Małek, "Praca w systemie KL Gross-Rosen," published by the Gross-Rosen Museum in 2003; and Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen—stan badań* (Rogoznica: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1987). These Polish-language publications contain information on this subcamp.

Information about the numbering of the prisoners is located in the AMGR.

Aneta Małek
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. The information about the numbering comes from the AMGR, imprint 7/119-c/MF.
2. Information about the erection and liquidation of the camp comes from the work of Bogdan Cybulski: *Satellite Camps of KL Gross-Rosen: the State of Research* (Rogoznica: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1987).

GROSS-KOSCHEN

The exact point in time when the Gross-Koschen subcamp was erected is not recorded in the documents. In the late summer of 1944, 200 prisoners from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp erected a barracks camp on the grounds of a former gravel pit at Gross-Koschen, in order to receive a still-larger number of inmates. Both of the two large barracks blocks were built by Polish prisoners, who had been sent to the concentration camp as prisoners from the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944. In Gross-Rosen they had been registered with numbers from the series 58000 to 59000.¹

The erection of the camp was in preparation for the transfer of the Aircraft Dismantling Work from Auschwitz to Gross-Koschen. Former German prisoner of Gross-Koschen Friedrich Kühn wrote: "The core crew of about three hundred prisoners from Auschwitz arrived in the middle of the forest, underneath the Koschenberg, into an existing camp, where about two hundred prisoners from Gross-Rosen had already built a barracks and the cottage for the camp leader."²

This transport from Auschwitz on November 11, 1944, included 351 men who were registered with entry numbers from Gross-Rosen, to which the newly erected subcamp belonged, between 86351 and 86701.³ A further transport on January 1, 1945, likewise from Auschwitz, brought 431 prisoners to Gross-Koschen, to whom the entry numbers 92002 to 92432 were issued.⁴

According to statements by former prisoner Kühn, the maximum camp population can be estimated at 800 prisoners.⁵ Polish historian Mieczysław Mołdawa speaks of 2,500 prisoners, a number that also appears in Karl-Heinz Gräfe and Hans-Jürgen Töpfer.⁶

The subcamp prisoners were, above all, Poles and Russians but also French, Italians, Croats, Czechs, and a few Germans, the last mostly as Kapos.

For the choice of location, the decisions of the corresponding main commissions and of the Armaments Ministry may have been decisive. Nearby existed the Lautawerk, one of the aluminum works of the Vereinigten Aluminium-Werke AG (VAW) Berlin.

In the Aircraft Dismantling Work that was transferred from Auschwitz, defective aircraft that had either been shot down or were otherwise incapable of flight were dismantled. Valuable machinery, electrical components, motors, and weapons went to the aircraft industry for repair or direct reuse. The other material, airframes, and wings went to be

melted down in the aluminum works. The Koschenberg gravel pit had a connection to the railway main line at its disposal and was connected with the Lautawerk aluminum works, which was only a few kilometers away, via the shunting station at Hohenbocka. Sidings were laid to the Gross-Koschen Dismantling Work, leading through the work halls.

The prisoners were brought out of the camp and into the factory grounds through a narrow path enclosed with barbed wire. Likewise, the factory itself was surrounded with wire and observed from watchtowers. During work hours, the open land in the area of the Dismantling Work was also secured by guard posts. The inner area, the prisoners' camp, was secured against escape attempts by an electrically charged fence and guards on watchtowers.⁷

The living quarters apparently did not even offer the otherwise common multitiered wooden bunks as sleeping places. "All prisoners were poorly clothed and poorly nourished. In the barracks, everything laid on the floor between straw and rags," reported former state hunting master Putzke from Lautawerk.⁸ The sanitary facilities were inadequate, and there was often a shortage of water. "The ubiquitous louse infestation facilitated the spread of infectious diseases. As a result of hunger, dysentery increased steadily. The area foreseen for the sick was constantly overfilled. The poor camp clothing did not protect against the cold. Through the work in the open, mass outbreaks of colds occurred. Despite fevers, many prisoners had to stay at their workplaces. There was only insufficient medical care and little in the way of medical supplies. The death rate rose steadily," wrote Polish historian Roman Olszyna, on the basis of survivor interviews.⁹ German Anneliese Gesch, who was allowed, as a local resident, to enter the outer zone, reported about her observances that the causes of death were complete undernourishment, terrible abuse, and shootings. Another German resident, Frau Jurk, stated: "One time there was shooting in the camp, and a soldier said that prisoners were being murdered who worked in the crematorium."¹⁰ Both witnesses also reported that bodies of the prisoners were at first doused with gasoline in trenches and burned in the open. Because of the widely perceptible smell of burning bodies, the SS camp leadership used an oven, equipped with a chimney, at the inactive gravel pit, to burn the dead and finally had an incineration oven, a kind of crematorium, built.

Abuse was part of the daily routine. Eyewitnesses describe a prisoner hung by his legs and beaten by the Kapos. In one case it was reported how a prisoner was hung head down in winter and doused with cold water.¹¹

Despite reports by survivors and eyewitnesses from the area as well as by individual Luftwaffe guards on the high number of deaths, the Gross-Rosen death book contains only one notification of a fatality, that of the Croat Domeno Tarabachia on February 13, 1945.¹² Here, the order of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) was obviously in effect not to announce the deaths of Jews, Poles, Russians, and other citizens of the Soviet Union, as well as Sinti and Roma (Gypsies).

For the crimes committed in Gross-Koschen, the camp leader (Lagerführer), SS-Oberscharführer Alfred Engst, bears most of the responsibility; 20 SS guards and a number of Luftwaffe soldiers were subordinate to him as the guard force. He also depended for the terrorization of the prisoners on camp elder (Lagerältester) Lothar Wagner and the Kapos.¹³

In February 1945, the prisoners from Gross-Koschen were partially evacuated. On February 24, a first group of 64 prisoners arrived in Buchenwald; on February 26, a transport of 290 prisoners followed. Former prisoner Kühn reported on the final dissolution of the camp: "At the end of March 1945, the rest of the prisoners (one hundred men), with the members of the Luftwaffe and various items of equipment, drove to Pocking, near Passau. The camp leader, Engst, went with them. We stayed in Pocking until the end of April 1945 and were then transferred to Dachau."¹⁴

SOURCES The one secondary source that deals exclusively with Gross-Koschen is Christine Winkler, *Das Aussenlager Gross-Koschen des Konzentrationslagers Gross-Rosen* (Gross-Koschen, n.d. [1984]). Additional information may be found in Alfred Konieczny, "Stan badań nad numeracją więźniów w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," *Ssń 36* (1979); Karl-Heinz Gräfe and Hans-Jürgen Töpfer, *Ausgesondert und fast vergessen. KZ-Aussenlager auf dem Territorium des heutigen Sachsen* (Dresden, 1996); and K.-H. Teichmann, "Mahnmal für die Opfer des Konzentrationslagers Gross-Rosen, Aussenlager Grosskoschen," *SHKS 1* (1983).

Primary source material on this camp may be found in AMGR.

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trans. Geoffrey Megargee

NOTES

1. AMGR, No. 3.15.1.1., Więźniowie obozu Gross-Koschen według niepieścnych danych archiwum srodowiska.
2. Friedrich Kühn, letter to Felix Niesyto of January 31, 1971, cited in Christine Winkler, *Das Aussenlager Gross-Koschen des Konzentrationslagers Gross-Rosen* (Gross-Koschen, n.d. [1984]), p. 7.
3. Alfred Konieczny, "Stan badań nad numeracją więźniów w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," *Ssń 36* (1979): 185.
4. Ibid., p. 187.
5. Winkler, *Aussenlager*, p. 7.
6. Mieczysław Mołdawa, *Gross-Rosen obóz koncentracyjny na Śląsku* (Warsaw, 1979), notebook 9, p. 2; Karl-Heinz Gräfe and Hans-Jürgen Töpfer, *Ausgesondert und fast vergessen. KZ-Aussenlager auf dem Territorium des heutigen Sachsen* (Dresden, 1996), p. 12.
7. Cf. camp sketches by the former prisoners Kühn, Józef S. (number 86378), and Andrzej Sz. (number 59737), in Winkler, *Aussenlager*; pp. 21, 23, 25.
8. "Seerundschau," Senftenberg 1985, report of the former state hunting master Putzke, Lautawerk.
9. Roman Olszyna, Gross-Rosen, cited in Winkler, *Aussenlager*, appendix 2.
10. Winkler, *Aussenlager*, p. 10.

11. Ibid., p. 9; statements of the witnesses Jurk, Buschmann, and Hartmann.
12. SÚA, KT/OVS K.24, Totenbuch des KZ Gross-Rosen, 1945/II, Nr. 92.
13. Cf. Winkler, *Aussenlager*, p. 7.
14. K.-H. Teichmann, "Mahnmal für die Opfer des Konzentrationslagers Gross-Rosen, Aussenlager Grosskoschen," SHKS 1 (1983): 18.

GRULICH

In late September or in October 1944, a transport of prisoners from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp was probably sent to the town of Grulich (Králíky), where a subcamp was formed. Most of the surviving accounts of prisoners who were in that transport show that approximately 160 men were transported to the subcamp at that time. But one account states that the transport included about 190 people. The latter number is supported by a document that Gross-Rosen concentration camp Commander Hassebroek sent to Commander H. Frank on November 18, 1944. By then, Grulich numbered 200 prisoners, with a planned population increase to 800, which never occurred, according to available information.

The camp was located near the Fahrzeug u. Motorenwerke plant. It was composed of a living barrack (the prisoners were put in one part of it; the staff occupied the other) and a "little barrack" that contained the infirmary (*Revier*) and sanitary facilities.

SS-Untersturmführer Emanuel Langer was in charge of setting up the camp and initially served as the camp commander. When he was recalled from the post to the main camp, he was replaced by SS-Unterführer Heinrich Hett. The staff was composed of 5 noncommissioned officers and 13 SS guards. The post of camp elder (*Lagerältester*) was held by Jerzy Zakrzewski, who, one witness testified, "was characterized by particular sadism." "At every step, for any reason," this witness stated, "[Zakrzewski] would abuse prisoners by beating them with a rubber strap or unending exercises.... He particularly hated Russian prisoners. He was a young man and spoke German."¹

The prisoners were divided into two working groups. One group was sent to work in a factory that produced aircraft propellers. Kurt Hartman was the factory director. He was transferred to Lutomierzycy in October 1944 and replaced by Karl Schuser, who had come from Berlin. The prisoners put to work there did such things as grinding propellers, which was a very arduous job due to the aluminum dust. Work was done in a two-shift system of 12 hours each daily. Forced laborers were also put to work at the factory. A German foreman supervised the prisoners' work.

The other group of prisoners was assigned to do jobs associated with constructing the new camp, which was to be situated on a hill near the town. According to a former prisoner's account, the camp was built on the site of an underground factory. Construction started by fencing the site.

The barracks were assembled from prefabricated wooden components. A cinderblock and brick building was also erected. English prisoners delivered the building materials. Civilian Germans and SS men, who had "their Kapos for help," oversaw the construction.² The newly built camp was to be for prisoners who were to be put to work when the factory was expanded. That plan never materialized; consequently, some barracks were demolished toward the end of the war.

Sometimes prisoners from the construction commando were assigned to unload railroad cars after they finished work at the new camp site.

One prisoner, a Russian, had special talents. He made interesting rings from metal. He did that after work, needing as much as a week to make one. He would sometimes get a pack of cigarettes or a piece of bread from a guard for his work.

The camp did not have its own kitchen. The kitchen was on the factory premises. The prisoners brought dinners and provisions from the kitchen. As explained in one account:

Everyone volunteered to go there.... For reasons of economy, the Germans cooked potatoes unpeeled.... At the mess hall, everyone had to peel their potatoes. Some guards allowed us to talk to the cleaning women at the civilian mess. We asked those women to always put those potato peels in piles at the edges of the tables, next to which we had our dinner pails. What a joy it was when we brought pocketfuls of them to the commando in our coats or shirts.... There were instances when there would be pieces of bread in those piles of potato peels, or even some well-packaged cigarettes. And that was a time when the civilian population had ration coupons for cigarettes. We asked the cleaning women to provide us with onions or onion peels, because the Russians also made cigarettes of onion peels. Later there were more and more volunteers to bring dinners, as hunger and cold were our worst enemies.... For supper we would mostly get one kilogram [2.2 pounds] of bread for ten people. The bread would differ: squashed, dirty, crusty, etc. The Russians made a primitive scale and the bread was divided up down to the gram. The same applied to jam, cheese, etc.³

The prisoners washed daily in the camp washroom without soap or towels. Once a week they were taken to the bathhouse in the factory buildings. At that time their underwear and clothing were taken away for delousing. After work, the prisoners employed at the factory could wash in the bathhouse with the civilians, but only when the guards were friendly toward them. On those occasions, civilian prisoners would give them pieces of bread and cigarettes. The prisoners

would carry these gifts into camp stealthily, to share them with their friends.

The infirmary at Grulich was located in a small space set aside in the barrack. It had several beds. According to one witness: "Initially there were no doctors and the barrack chief would dress wounds. After some time, a Russian doctor was brought in from Gross-Rosen, but he was at camp a short time and was taken back there. Then a Polish doctor and a Yugoslavian (Croatian) dentist were brought in, and they were there until the end."⁴ The dentist was prisoner Plese Dragutin (no. 29709). The few surviving reports of dental services rendered show that from January 20 to April 19, 1945, 736 prisoners were examined, and 605 procedures were performed, including 76 extractions.

The most frequent ailments in the camp were phlegmon, diarrhea, scabies, and colds. Despite the harsh conditions, a high death rate was not reported. One prisoner, a Pole, died of emaciation, and his body was buried in the local cemetery.

As at other camps, there were escape attempts at Grulich. Due to the lack of records, information about escapes is not available. One prisoner recalls how he and a friend planned to escape but disagreed as to the date. They talked about December during the cold and snowy winter, totally unfavorable for such an undertaking. As stated in his account:

[One day] on the way to work on the second shift—the sirens suddenly began to wail; it was an air-raid alarm. We had kerosene lanterns with us when we went to work in the evening. The guards told us to put them out and run to the factory. When we were already in the production hall, there was consternation among the guards as to what to do next? They told us to start working, everyone at his own workstation. I looked around and saw that the milling machine that my friend worked at was unattended. They called off the air-raid alarm, and here there was one Pole missing. They got us together, counted and counted, but there was someone missing. Suddenly they made a decision—lay all the prisoners down on the cement floor.... The cold draft from the floor was indescribable.... The guards kept counting and kicking us.... Finally everyone went to their stations to work.⁵

During roll call two or three days after that event, the camp officials told the prisoners that the fugitive had been caught and hanged.

There are several accounts of prisoner escapes, but they sometimes differ. For example, one prisoner recalls an escape attempt by three Grulich prisoners who were caught and hanged at the main camp. According to this account, three other prisoners were sent to Grulich to replace them in early February 1945. One of them was Edmund Dziuk (no. 85806). Another prisoner remembers the attempted escape of two prisoners who were also caught.

A witness describes an event that was supposedly the consequence of helping to organize the escape of several Russian prisoners: "I think it was in February 1945 on an ordinary working day at about 4:00 P.M. At that time I saw . . . an SS-man (always pale and reportedly ill with tuberculosis) shoot a Russian prisoner called Red Ivan. . . . The prisoner was working on the construction of a barrack outside the camp . . . and was pushing a wheel barrow, and the SS-man was following right behind him and then shot straight at the prisoner, getting him in the back. . . . Supposedly they carted away the prisoner's body to the Gross-Rosen camp, as I don't remember him being buried."⁶

Besides the initial large transport, prisoners were not brought to the camp in great numbers, but just a few at most. For example, one prisoner was sent to Grulich in December: Ignacy Woźniak (no. 88122).

In March or April 1945, the prisoners were sent to the vicinity of Grulich to clear the railroad tracks, which had been blocked by a train blown up by Czech underground fighters.

The Grulich camp was evacuated between May 6 and 8, 1945. A column of prisoners was formed at dawn. Some of them were assigned to pull wagons loaded with food and the SS men's things. Sick prisoners were also loaded on wagons. Only a portion of the staff oversaw the column in the evacuation march. They walked all day and spent the night in a barn. There they were fed some cooked potatoes. The following morning, the prisoners discovered that all the SS men had fled. Some of the prisoners stayed at the nearby school, while the rest dispersed.

SOURCES Some information on the Grulich subcamp can be found in Dorota Sula's study *Filie KL Gross-Rosen (wybór artykułów)* (Wałbrzych, 2001). See also Katarzyna Pawlak-Weiss, "Żeńskie filie KL Gross-Rosen położone na terenie obecnych Czech w latach 1944–45" (Master's thesis, Wrocław University, 2002).

Archival records with information on the Grulich subcamp can be found at the AMGR.

Katarzyna Pawlak-Weiss
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, DP6500/4-b, Report of examination of witness Edward Krukowski at the Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland.
2. AMGR, DP6500/4-c, Result of investigation on the Grulich camp conducted by the Czechoslovakian Government Commission for the Prosecution of Nazi War Criminals, dated June 24, 1974.
3. AMGR, DP5877, Zdzisław Kwapien, "Kolego gdzie żyjesz—odezwij się," pp. 14, 18.
4. AMGR, DP-A, Włodzimierz Świętkowski's questionnaire.
5. AMGR, DP5077, Zdzisław Kwapien, "Kolego gdzie żyjesz—odezwij się," pp. 12–13.
6. AMGR, DP6500/4-b, Report of examination.

GRÜNBERG I

During World War II, the output of the Deutsche Wollenwaren Manufaktur AG of Grünberg (now Zielona Góra) was geared toward military needs. The plant produced material for uniforms, army coats, parachutes, and blankets. As early as May 1942, the management was engaged in preparing and updating its building at 33 Breslauer Strasse to meet the needs of a planned Organisation Schmelt camp for Jewish women. The plans called for the construction of brick buildings, a kitchen, laundry facilities, and offices. The initial transport of Jewish women was brought in from the environs of Katowitz (Katowice) and Kraków in 1942; 200 women and approximately 100 men arrived at that time. On October 26, 1942, Wollenwaren employed 1,410 Germans, 412 Jewish forced laborers, and 22 French prisoners of war (POWs). Surviving Wollenwaren records show that there were 576 or 579 forced laborers working there in the first quarter of 1943; there was an increase in April, when 748 prisoners were recorded. The new forced laborers came from such places as the closed camp at Neustadt. Former prisoners who have been interviewed provide a higher figure of 1,000 or even 2,000 prisoners. What is characteristic of these recollections is that the number of German workers decreased as the number of female Jewish workers increased.

The Jewish women were accommodated in the factory's two main production halls. Each of the halls could hold 300 to 500 women; they slept on wooden, double-decker bunks. The camp was guarded, although the women had more freedom until 1944; the only thing they were not allowed to do was leave the factory premises. They walked to work escorted by guards and later by female SS guards (Aufseherinnen). They worked in various departments as needed. The food was wretched, a starvation diet. The women were emaciated. Beating and persecution by the staff were a daily occurrence. The women were deprived of meals for even the slightest offenses, long roll calls were held, and their heads were shaved. Failing machines were a problem for the women, as they were accused of sabotage. They worked 12 hours, with a break for lunch. The conditions at camp were unsanitary. Dirt, lice, and bedbugs were widespread. There was no medical care.

A shortage of female guards was a problem during Gross-Rosen's operation to take over the Organisation Schmelt forced labor camps. The management of Wollenwaren negotiated with the local employment agency, and 48 women were sent to Ravensbrück for training in May 1944. The guard candidates were selected from among the German women employed at the factory. Their health was checked. People with a strong mental disposition and no criminal record were chosen. The course lasted two weeks, although one of these Grünberg overseers claimed she was in such a training program for three months. When the women returned from training, Grünberg was turned over to the SS. This was most probably on June 10, 1944. (One of these overseers relates that it was in early July 1944.)

One of the prisoners, Anna Charzykow, testifies that on the day the camp was taken over, all the women had to pass totally naked before each SS man in the general hall, while the SS men made notes. All the new Aufseherinnen were present the day the SS took the camp over and started their jobs that day. They were dressed in army uniforms. Once they were recorded by the SS men, the prisoners received numbers that they had to hang on their necks. Anna Jon held the position of Lagerführerin (camp leader). The staff mentioned by former prisoners included Anna Viebig, Waltrand Schirmre, Hildegard Kuehn, Helga Siebert, and Anna Hempele. The exact size of the staff and the prisoner population when the camp was taken over by the SS is unknown. According to Alfred Konieczny, there were 999 women in the camp, who were assigned numbers 46902 through 47900.

Conditions worsened. Although officially approved by the Gross-Rosen provisions department, the food was almost a starvation diet. Everyone thought food was being stolen by the guards (superintendents) and cooks. Jewish prisoners were not allowed to receive packages, and there was also a ban issued on giving the inmates extra food. For even the slightest transgressions, they were punished by beating and deprived of meals, and responsibility was collective.

A selection was conducted every three months at the camp, and sick women were taken away, probably to Auschwitz. There was no significant medical care, although a Czech midwife treated the sick.

On January 28, 1945, a transport of Jewish women arrived at camp from the nearby Schlesiersee I and II camps. The camp was evacuated the next day. Opinions differ as to the transport's size: they range from 1,300 to 2,500. The inmates were divided into two groups. The first group went west toward Berlin. The women covered a distance of up to 40 kilometers (almost 25 miles) a day. They slept in barns. One prisoner managed to escape from the transport. She laid down under a car parked on the road; when the transport passed, she fled into the forest, where she hid for two weeks until the Soviet forces arrived. Another prisoner escaped near Guben, where the column had stopped for two days. It was then directed toward Jutborg. The prisoners spent part of the trip packed in freight cars. In late February 1945, they reached the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. They died from starvation and emaciation over the subsequent weeks. Only a few survived.

The other group of women was sent toward Christianstadt. The column was under the command of Karl Herman Jeschke (he was Lagerführer at the Schlesiersee camp), Kraus, and Graetz. They traveled over snow-covered back roads. The prisoners were poorly clothed and undernourished; they spent the nights in sheds and roadside houses, dying in masses. At Bautzen, there was a mass execution of 70 women for the alleged theft of bread. In early March 1945, near Ölsnitz, 179 prisoners unable to march were loaded onto railroad cars. They reached the Zwodau camp on March 6, 1945; 19 women died en route, and more died at the camp. Part of the transport reached the Flossenbürg concentration camp subcamp

Helmbrechts at the same time. Jeschke turned the prisoners over to the camp command. Locked in unfinished barracks, without medical care, and miserably nourished, masses of them became sick. They were not even assigned to any work. They lived under these conditions for six weeks. The camp authorities decided to continue the evacuation because the U.S. Army was approaching. On April 13, an evacuation column of 581 women set out toward Zwodau, where it was joined by another group of prisoners. In all, the transport that set out from Zwodau numbered 700 prisoners. They reached Wallern (Volary) on May 4, 1945. Approximately 300 women remained. They were locked in a shed. The local people were forbidden to help them at all. Some of the women were unable to march by this point, so the SS men demanded that the mayor provide carts. The women were loaded onto them and taken to Prachatitz (Prachatic). The rest had to finish the trip on foot. The march took place under the fire of an airplane. The stronger women managed to flee; in retaliation, 17 women were taken from a cart, dragged into the woods, and shot there. The remaining women were locked in a shed, and the staff fled. The local people brought them food and took the prisoners to the hospital, where 114 died. They were buried in the local cemetery. Only a few women from Gross-Rosen survived this horrific death march.

After the war, the Zielona Góra District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes held investigations into the crimes committed against Jewish women at the Grünberg labor camp, but they were discontinued because there were no supporting materials to establish the personal data of the SS men. An investigation was also conducted by the Czechoslovak War Crimes Agency in the matter of the extermination of female Polish, Czech, and Hungarian prisoners of the Jewish faith.

SOURCES Published sources on this camp include Dorota Sula, *Filie KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych, 2001); and B. Robinson, "Zbrodnie popełnione w obozach 'Organizacji Schmelt' w świetle wspomnień więźniarek," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę*, ed. Hans Brenner (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1999). Documents include records from interviews of witnesses from investigations conducted by the OKBZHW, a branch of the GKBZHwP, and documents from investigations conducted by the Czechoslovak Administration for the prosecution of military crimes in the case of the extermination of Jewish Polish, Czech, and Hungarian female inmates of the Auschwitz concentration camp and the Gross-Rosen Grünberg subcamp. These documents are located in the AMGR and come from the GKBZHwP.

Leokadia Lewandowska
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GRÜNBERG II

According to the sparse information available, Gross-Rosen's Grünberg II subcamp was formed in the city of Grünberg (Zielona Góra) in October 1944. The first group of prisoners

were Hungarian Jews sent from Auschwitz, who were given the numbers 73751 through 73800. Another transport of Hungarian Jews arrived in subsequent days; they were given the numbers 76001 through 76130. That confirms that 180 prisoners were interned there. They probably worked in the same plant as the women incarcerated at Grünberg I: Deutsche Wollenwaren Manufaktur AG.

The fact that the death sentence was carried out on two prisoners is confirmed; they had attempted to escape on October 27, 1944. They were Sandor Blau, number 76008, and Sandor Grünfeld, number 76045. There is no information on the camp's staff or evacuation.

SOURCES A document from the GKBZHwP confirming the deaths of two inmates at Grünberg II served as confirmation of the existence of this subcamp. See also Alfred Konieczny, "Egzekucje w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," *SFiZH* 4 (1979).

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GUBEN

The Guben subcamp was established in the summer of 1944 in the Prussian province of Brandenburg. That part of the camp that housed the women prisoners was on the eastern bank of the Neisse River, in the present-day Polish town of Gubin. The women worked on the western side of the Neisse in the German town of Guben.

Alfred Konieczny states that at the end of July 1944 a transport of around 600 Hungarian Jews arrived in Guben from Auschwitz. The women bore prisoner numbers from 10631 to 11280. This date is earlier than the date that the International Tracing Service (ITS) gives for the first mention of the camp—August–September 1944. A second transport followed in September 1944 of about 350 women (prisoner numbers 57581 to 58200).¹ According to Andreas Peter, transports arrived on August 21 and 29, 1944, and in November 1944.

Based on interviews with survivors of the camp, Peter postulated that there were at least 350 prisoners in the camp, but more likely the number was between 900 and 1,000. As in other Gross-Rosen subcamps, the female inmates were mostly Jewish women from Poland and Hungary. Many were related. A good number were under 20 years of age. After selections in Auschwitz or Krakow-Plaszow, they were sent to Guben. Others were sent directly from Hungary to the camp.

The women worked for the Lorenz Radio Company, a well-regarded firm in the electronics industry. During the war, it manufactured electronic equipment for aircraft including radios. Until 1943, it was based in Berlin-Tempelhof and was relocated to Guben in that year. The new factory was located in Ufer Strasse, in what was the Berlin-Guben Hat Factory. That building had been "aryanized" in 1938. The prisoners were accommodated in a camp that had an electrified fence. The camp was on a sports field in a forest, close to a Soviet prisoner-of-war (POW) camp.

The women interviewed by Peter made widely different statements on the living conditions in the subcamp. Some prisoners, such as Frieda Kahn and Anna Pollak, refer to long hours of work, lack of food and clothing, frequent beatings, and serious illnesses as typical for the camp; others such as Rachel Kramer and Bracha Goreen state that the conditions in the camp were much better than in Auschwitz. According to them, there were no deaths, the work was light, the food was satisfactory, and the treatment by the guards and foreman was decent and friendly. The civilian workers in the factory, they claim, treated the Jewish women as human beings, often spoke with them, and provided gestures of support. The female Jewish camp doctor, Esther Fox, confirms this: "In this place all the girls . . . were going daily to a factory, came after a long march back in the evening, tired, exhausted, hungry, cold. But there was not much physical abuse, but nevertheless all were emaciated. I tried to do my best."²

The last mention of the camp is for February 1945. It is likely that the women were then evacuated with the inmates of the Grünberg camp via Pinnow and Jamlitz in death marches to Bergen-Belsen.

SOURCES Information on this camp can be found in the following published sources: ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979), 1:133; "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL*, (1977), Teil 1, p. 1808. The most detailed work, containing written statements from seven former female camp inmates, is Andreas Peter, "Ein Versuch über das 'unbekannte Lager' Guben. Einleitung mit Literaturübersicht," in *Die Ausnutzung der Zwangsarbeit der Häftlinge des KL Gross-Rosen durch das Dritte Reich*, ed. Alfred Konieczny (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 2004), pp. 90–106. Aleksandra Kobiellec's "Die jüdischen Häftlinge im KL Gross-Rosen und in seinen Nebenlagern," in *Die Völker Europas im KL Gross-Rosen*, ed. Alfred Konieczny (Wałbrzych: Staatliches Museum Gross-Rosen, 1995), pp. 31–36, also provides details on the subcamp. Alfred Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1994), pp. 39–40, refers to the camp, as do Dietrich Eichholz, "Rüstungswirtschaft und Arbeiterleben am Vorabend der Katastrophe 1943/44," in *Verfolgung—Alltag—Widerstand. Brandenburg in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Alfred Konieczny (Berlin: Volk und Welt, 1993), pp. 63–112; Gudrun Schwarz, *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer-Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1996); and Czesław Pilichowski, ed., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 429.

In addition, documents on the Gross-Rosen subcamps are located in various archives. The USHMM holds the witness statements by Esther Fox (Acc.1995.A.532) and Katarina Bloch Feuer (Napló közel 50 év után) and an oral-history interview with Alice Lok Cahana (RG-50.030*0051). The YVA also holds reports by survivors on the subcamp in Collection 03/4337, Tape No. 033 C/730 (Shoshana Stark) and No. 015/2397 (Frieda Kahan); 03/6864, Tape No. V-D 80 (Rachel Kramer) and No. 015/2373 (Record of interview with the Jankovits sisters). "Tränen der Menschlichkeit. Ergreifende

Zeilen einer jüdischen Frau an die Bewohner von Guben," *LR-GR*, October 28, 1994, also contains a survivor's report.

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NOTES

1. GKBZHwP, Collection District Department Kraków, Folder 119, cited in Alfred Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1994), pp. 39–40. See also Ryszard Olszyna, "Juden-Häftlinge in Gross-Rosen und seinen Nebenlager," *F-S* 51 (1977).

2. USHMM, Acc.1995.A.532, Esther Fox, A memoir relating to the experiences in the Łódź ghetto, Auschwitz, Guben, and Bergen-Belsen.

HALBAU

The Halbau subcamp came into being on or about July 15, 1944, at a site where Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) had previously been held. The prisoners were Poles (75 percent), Russians (about 20 percent), Czechs, Italians, Greeks, Yugoslavians, Dutch, and Germans. The camp contained 1,050 prisoners. Prisoners qualified as mechanics and metalworkers were sent primarily to Halbau, although initially several dozen prisoners were put to work expanding the camp. Prisoners were mainly assigned to work at the Winkler factory manufacturing military aircraft propellers, where they worked in two 12-hour shifts, with a half-hour break for lunch, which they ate on the plant premises. German foremen assigned and supervised the work.

The factory was located about three kilometers (1.9 miles) from the camp. Making the trip was an extra effort for the prisoners, especially during bad weather and in the winter. One prisoner recalls: "We had wooden clogs on our bare feet. The snow stuck to the clogs, and the Germans prodded and beat us so we'd go faster. So we'd take off the clogs and walk barefoot to keep up in the march. Our legs were swollen, festering and frostbitten."¹

After the major work enlarging the camp was completed, some of the prisoners were used to form a construction commando, which did building and repair work on factory premises. The woodworkers' commando of about 20 to 30 prisoners at a private firm in the town of Halbau (now Iłowa) had the easiest work, relatively speaking. The prisoners made windows for the barracks. SS men oversaw the group.

A separate electricians' commando with 15 prisoners was also set up. Factory employees often used to bring their broken radios to the commando. The prisoners had contact with the world, thanks to these repairs.

SS-Hauptscharführer Mathias Hesshaus was camp commander. Stanisław Kaczysko was the camp elder (Lagerältester); convicted of common crimes, he wound up at Sachsenhausen concentration camp in June 1940, then was transferred to Gross-Rosen. For the slightest offenses, Ka-

czysko would beat prisoners with a huge ladle called "Joseph" and force them to do long, exhausting exercises. He also sexually abused young prisoners. In one of his depositions, he said: "I admit that I beat prisoners in my capacity as quarters, barracks and camp elder. Some prisoners died because of the blows I inflicted upon them. On the other hand I myself was beaten even when I was camp elder and I often had to beat others to maintain order. Sometimes the SS ordered me to do so, and sometimes I would do it on my own. . . . The reason why I beat people was my cowardice and fear of my own death."²

For good work performance, prisoners were allotted bonuses in the form of vouchers, which they could use to buy something in the camp canteen. But what it came down to in practice was trading the vouchers for herring or snails in vinegar, and that only on Sundays. Prisoners were also punished for slight offenses by taking the vouchers away.

One prisoner recalls a rather extraordinary event, namely, a protest of prisoners against the starvation rations. In reply to an appeal to step up performance, one witness claimed, a group of prisoners "went to the camp commander and declared: 'that they wouldn't work with such food.' Although astonished, the commander promised to attend to the matter. . . . From then on the portions of bread were increased to a double piece of bread—150 grams [5.3 ounces], and the soup was improved by adding groats, beans and vegetables. No one was called to account for the attempt at revolt."³

A camp infirmary at Halbau operated throughout the camp's existence: 414 "patients," but only 331 prisoners, were treated at the hospital from July 19, 1944, to February 11, 1945. That was because some wound up in the hospital more than once; 64 prisoners died in that period. The greatest number of deaths were in August (14), which was during the camp's initial stage of operation and thus was a time of adapting to new, extreme conditions for many, and perhaps for the majority, of the prisoners. The same number of deaths (14) was recorded in January 1945, which is understandable, considering the weather conditions and associated illnesses and complications. The most frequent diseases the prisoners came down with were diarrhea, flu, pneumonia, and general emaciation of the body.

There were escape attempts, most of which ended tragically. In one case, for example, a Russian prisoner, Makary Cartakow, was brought to the assembly ground, and an SS man ran him through with a bayonet with the prisoners watching. He died in the camp hospital on November 6, 1944.

In their recollections, prisoners speak of sabotage on more than one occasion. Some of them portray the sabotage as an organized attempt at resistance, while others admit that the camp staff or workplace foremen treated any accidental breakdown of anything as sabotage. That was the case when a prisoner slipped and damaged a propeller when he fell; as punishment, he was sent to a penal commando. A two-week "stay" in a penal commando was also the punishment for poor work performance.

In October 1944, the camp command ordered that a choir be formed. Listening to the songs was a soothing experience for prisoners. A soccer team, another idea for occupying the prisoners' "free time," was ordered put together. It was headed by a prisoner named Korycki. However, no matches were played.

The Christmas holidays were an especially difficult time for prisoners, and they were peculiar at Halbau. Although there was a tree, Lagerältester Kaczysko dressed up as the Grim Reaper and walked around the tree with a scythe.

The camp was evacuated the evening of February 12, 1945. Sick and injured prisoners remained in the camp hospital, while the rest marched off. Several German "police-men" also stayed in camp. Even before the column left camp, it was joined by a group of 40 to 50 Jews from Gross-Rosen's Bunzlau subcamp, who were brought in by an SS officer. The prisoners were harnessed to carts with steel rope. The commander traveled in one of the carts, which looked like a Gypsy shed, with his wife and belongings. For the starving and weak prisoners, such a march was beyond their strength. The first prisoner died on February 13. The commander allocated a cart for exhausted prisoners. Whenever the cart was so full that exhausted prisoners could not all fit in, it was stopped and the prisoners were murdered with a shot to the back of the head, most frequently in the woods. Approximately 20 such executions were conducted. As many as 300 prisoners may have died during the march, which took about two weeks. On March 1, the prisoners were loaded into freight cars at Wurzen and traveled on for 6 to 10 days. The prisoners were not given food or drink during that time, so there were more deaths. The prisoners were finally admitted to Bergen-Belsen on or about March 10. According to a prisoner, 408 prisoners survived, including 28 seriously ill ones.

After the war, only Stanisław Kaczysko was tried and sentenced to death by decree of Łódź District Court on August 30, 1947.

SOURCES The most recent research on selected Gross-Rosen subsidiaries, and the basis of this entry, is Dorota Sula's study *Filia KL Gross-Rosen (wybór artykułów)* (Wałbrzych, 2001). The Halbau subcamp is discussed on pp. 14–41. Additional information can be found in Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987); and Jan Sipowicz, "Filia obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen w Howie w powiecie żagańskim," *SFiZH* 1 (1974).

Archival materials housed at the AMGR include numerous surveys, orders of camp authorities, reports of witness interviews conducted by the GOKBZHWp (the originals are currently in the archives of the IPN), and former prisoner surveys, accounts, and recollections. The "Zeszyty z sapisami ewidencyjnymi chorych więźniów z rewiru szpitalnego Halbau," kept by Doctor Jan Żaczek (AMGR, 108/7/MF), are a valuable source.

Dorota Sula
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, 90/DP, Report of examination of witness Władysław Harasimowicz at the Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Koszalinie.
2. AMGR, 82/DP, Extracts from the records of the criminal case against Stanisław Kaczysko, Sąd Okręgowy w Łodzi.
3. AMGR, 5915/DP, Report of examination of witness Zygmunt Kwiatkowski at the Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Poznaniu, p. 110.

HALBSTADT

As a result of heavy bombing attacks on Hamburg, the firm Deutsche Messapparate GmbH (Messap) transferred part of its time-fuse manufacturing out of its factory in Hamburg-Langenhorn, where prisoners from Neuengamme had been put to work since 1942, to Halbstadt (Meziměří). There the firm erected a camp for female prisoners in the sprawling factory grounds of the Weberei und Spinnerei (Weaving and Spinning Mill) Knopf. On October 27, 1944, a transport from Auschwitz II-Birkenau brought 550 women and girls to Halbstadt.¹ Since they were forming a subcamp of Gross-Rosen, when they were registered with that main camp, they received the entry numbers 66501 through 67050.²

In order to increase the number of camp prisoner-laborers, further transports were brought to Halbstadt, through which the camp's strength grew to between 1,500 and 2,000 female prisoners.³

On February 8, 1945, still another group of 49 women came to Halbstadt from the Gross-Rosen subcamp of Ober-Alstadt.

A large part of the female prisoners in Halbstadt were Polish Jews from the Łódź ghetto; others came from Ozorków and were probably also brought to Halbstadt via the Łódź ghetto and Auschwitz.⁴ Many siblings remained together on the transports to Halbstadt; this had a positive effect on their will to survive. So, for example, one finds records of the sisters or relatives Bela, Bronia, Cesia, and Rosa W. from Ozorków, and Mania, Minia, and Sala L. from Brzezina.⁵

One group of the female prisoners was put to work producing clock pieces for time fuses, in the newly transferred Messap factory; another group went to work in the Knopf firm's textile factory; and a third group was employed in gas mask production for the firm Schroll Söhne. The firm Deutsche Telephonwerke und Kabelindustrie AG (DE-TE-WE) Berlin, a subsidiary of the Siemens corporation, also probably employed these female prisoners.

Messap was a joint venture of the clock manufacturer Junghans, based in Schramberg in the Black Forest, with the production enterprise of the Army High Command (OKH) Verwertungsgesellschaft für Montanindustrie GmbH (Mining Industry Reprocessing Company), which already possessed years-long experience in fuse production on which to

build. Messap used that experience to establish a system of norms and controls in the employment of the camp prisoners. Each prisoner had to complete the assembly of 120 clock-works for time fuses per day. The assembly was organized into several steps, for each of which a group of prisoners was employed. After each step, a prisoner, acting as an inspector, checked the workpiece. At the end, a civilian worker made a final check. The continual strain on the eyes involved in assembling the smallest pieces led in part to long-term damage to the prisoners' eyesight.

The woman who led the camp, SS-Oberaufseherin Lonny Winzer,⁶ under whom were assigned first 23 and later 28 female SS overseers, had no male guard force for the Halbstadt camp, because the camp for the female prisoners lay within the fenced-off factory grounds, which were watched over by civilian factory guards. The prisoners were accompanied by the SS overseers on their way from the living quarters to their workstations. They remained always within the fenced-off factory grounds.

It became apparent during the time of their incarceration that some of the women in Halbstadt were pregnant. According to statements from other prisoners, those women were taken away from Halbstadt to an unknown location.⁷ The SS-Oberaufseherin used several prisoners as functionaries, who were responsible to her in the maintenance of a strict camp routine. At their head was the camp elder (Lagerältester), Schmidt. Prisoner doctors and medics were also allocated to the transport of the prisoners. In this connection, Rachel A. also acted as a dental technician in Halbstadt.⁸

In the death register for the Halbstadt parish, four women who perished in the camp are entered: the first died on November 3, 1944, and the last on April 20, 1945.

The women and girls incarcerated in Halbstadt were not evacuated; they were freed by Soviet troops advancing through the area on May 9, 1945.⁹

SOURCES There is no secondary work that examines Halbstadt exclusively, but the camp does appear in several broader works, including Hermann Kaienburg, "Vernichtung durch Arbeit" *Der Fall Neuengamme* (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz Nachf., 1991); Alfred Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1994); and Miroslav Kryl and Ludmila Chladková, *Pobocký koncentračního tábora Gross-Rosen ve Inárských závodech Trutnovska za nacistické okupace* (Trutnov, 1981).

Primary sources are available in AMGR, AG-T, and other repositories as noted in the citations.

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trans. Geoffrey Megargee

NOTES

1. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979) 134.
2. OKBZNwK, Folder 119, cited in Alfred Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych, 1994), p. 40.

3. OKBZHW, p. 193, cited in Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987), p. 41.
4. AMGR, DP Nr. 6086, pp. 1–25, Wykaz dotyczczącej ponownej rejestracji, Frydlant, November 23, 1945.
5. Ibid.
6. AG-T, A 2463-2, Monatsbericht des Lagers Halbstadt an den Leiter der Zahnstationen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen, March 24, 1945.
7. BA-L, IV 405 AR-Z 11/62, Bd. 3, p. 494.
8. AG-T, A 2463-2.
9. YV, statements by freed prisoners in their witness interviews (Bela, Cesia, Bronia, and Rosa W); see also ITS, 12 W.

HARTMANNSDORF

A Gross-Rosen subcamp was established in Hartmannsdorf (later Miłoszów) in April 1944. It was a subcamp for male prisoners. The prisoners who arrived in the initial transport worked on the construction of camp buildings. The camp was situated in the town near the Hartmann textile factory.

It is difficult to determine how many transports were sent to Hartmannsdorf labor camp and how large they were. It is known that only individual prisoners were moved from the subcamp. There were approximately 1,000 prisoners at the camp. They were primarily Poles, nationals of the USSR, and Czechs, as well as (in lesser number) Germans, French, Italians, and Dutch. There was also a group of teenage prisoners who were no more than 17 years old when they were incarcerated at the camp. The prisoners lived in barracks; there were mattresses stuffed with straw on the bunks. There was one blanket for 2 prisoners. They had a change of underclothes every two weeks. There was a bathhouse operating on the subcamp premises, in which 20 prisoners could bathe at one time. It was cold and very crowded in the barracks. A hospital (or infirmary, *Revier*) was set up in one of the barracks. It held an average of approximately 80 people. The prisoners often had to wait a very long time to be admitted to the hospital. A doctor prisoner provided medical care. He had only the simplest tools at his disposal: a few thermometers, scalpels, and syringes. For dressing material he had paper bandages and dressings and a small amount of disinfectants. The death rate at the camp was high. The prisoners most frequently became ill with pneumonia, kidney inflammations, phlegmon, and general body exhaustion. The bodies of dead prisoners were carted away to the Gross-Rosen main camp.

SS-Unterscharführer Alfred Juchelek was the subcamp's commander. The staff was composed of 20 SS men and a few dozen soldiers. The staff's quarters were on the camp premises.

One of the prisoner's workplaces was the Hartmann textile factory building where the Walter-Werke weapons factory was set up. The weaving machines were removed from a part of the space and were replaced by lathes, milling machines, and other equipment. They were put into service and started producing aircraft parts. The prisoners also worked in the factory drafting bureau, where they copied engineering

drawings. The work lasted 12 hours per shift, and German foremen issued the orders and supervised the work.

Prisoners also worked in the other part of the textile factory, the weaving mill. There they made fabric for the army as well as handkerchiefs.

A group of Hartmannsdorf prisoners was put to work in the nearby town of Marklissa (now Leśna), at a weapons factory, where they made V-1 and V-2 engines.

Some of the hardest work was in what was called the Stolzenkommando, drilling tunnels in a mountainside near Marklissa. When work was complete, the local weapons factory was supposed to be moved there.

There were escape attempts made by prisoners incarcerated at Hartmannsdorf. One occurred on May 19, 1944 (prisoner Grigori Mischin), and another was on June 1 (prisoner Józef Malik). Both were unsuccessful. The prisoners were caught, but what happened to them afterward is unknown. Subsequent attempts also ended in the fugitives being caught, followed by torture, being sent to a penal company, or a death sentence at camp.

The most famous escape attempt from Hartmannsdorf occurred on August 25, 1944. Eight prisoners were involved in it. Their escape route was a tunnel they had made especially for the purpose, leading from a barrack near the fence. But the escapees were apprehended and sent to a penal company at the main camp.

The only prisoner who managed to escape from the subcamp was Zygmunt Czechowski. He escaped by the roof during the night shift at the factory. During his trek, the fugitive was aided by Polish forced laborers he encountered along the way.

The Christmas holidays were an important time in the prisoners' lives. The camp officials gave permission for a Christmas tree to be in every barrack; prisoners could sing carols in their native languages. They also received an extra portion of food for the holidays.

Evacuation was ordered on February 15 or 16, 1945. The prisoners were ordered to form marching columns. Only the sick at the camp hospital stayed behind under the care of the doctor prisoner. They were overseen by SS men living in the village. The patients had quite a bit of freedom. The stronger ones were in charge of feeding the rest of the prisoners, and the food improved slightly when the meat of horses that had died near the camp was cooked. Despite the improved living conditions, nine prisoners died and were buried on camp premises. On March 19, 1945, all the surviving prisoners were transported to the Zittau labor camp, where they were liberated on May 8, 1945.

The prisoners who left the camp had to pull carts loaded with food and the belongings of the staff's family members, who were also being evacuated. Many prisoners were shot along the way, as they no longer had the strength to go on, and their bodies were pushed into roadside ditches. The food during evacuation was a starvation diet; one loaf of bread for 12 people. Sometimes soup was cooked for them during stops.

After seven or eight days of trekking, the evacuation columns reached the Zittau subcamp. Here the tradesmen prisoners (such as metalworkers) were separated and sent to the Reichenau labor camp. Prisoners who were no longer able to travel stayed at Zittau. The rest set out again. When they reached Weimar, they were loaded onto coal cars and taken to the Buchenwald concentration camp. A total of 399 Hartmannsdorf prisoners were recorded in that camp's records on March 12, 1945.

SOURCES Information on this subcamp can be found in Dorota Sula, "AL Hartmannsdorf," in *KL Files from Gross-Rosen: Selected Articles*, ed. Dorota Sula (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 2002); and in Aneta Małek, *Praca w systemie KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 2003).

Additionally, the AMGR holds questionnaires and accounts of former prisoners of this camp.

Aneta Małek
trans. Gerard Majka

HIRSCHBERG (ARBEITSKOMMANDO)

Arbeitskommando (Labor Commando) Hirschberg, its official name, was a subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp.

The camp operated in the town of Hirschberg (present-day Jelenia Góra). It was located approximately 300 to 500 meters (984 to 1,640 feet) from the Zellwolle factory, near the Jewish labor camp, but there was no opportunity for communication between the prisoners incarcerated in these two camps. The camp may have come into being between April 18 and May 6, 1943. At that time the first and probably the last prisoner transport arrived. It held approximately 100 to 110 Polish men, mostly recruited from a large transport of 1,000 prisoners from the Auschwitz concentration camp that had arrived at Gross-Rosen on March 13, 1943. The group included prisoners marked with the following Gross-Rosen concentration camp numbers: 6617, 8386, 8402, 8453, 8464, 8467, 8494, 8495, 8562, 8575, 8576, 8627, 8764, 8773, 8789, 8796, 8797, 8799, 8849, 8891, 8905, 8915, 8916, 8964, and probably numbers 8624 and 8971.

Initially, the number of prisoners did not fluctuate much. We know of individual instances of prisoners being moved to other external Gross-Rosen commandos (such as Treskau). Not until the autumn of 1943 was an appreciable group of unidentified prisoners taken away to the main camp.

No instances of suicide, death from natural causes, or murder were recorded throughout the commando's operation. There were also no epidemics.

SS men comprised the commando staff. The data on camp officials is fragmentary. Lagerführer Alfred Juchelek or Juchelk is mentioned as one of them, although no information about his administration of the camp is available.

Civilian plant employees were put in charge of supervising the commando at work; a considerable percentage of former prisoners stated that these supervisors were kindly disposed toward the laborers.

The Arbeitskommando did various jobs for the Prix GmbH associated with the expansion of the nearby Schlesische Zellwolle AG synthetic textile plant. These were mostly assembly, construction, and support jobs. Some of the prisoners worked carting in, unloading, and stacking wood, the raw material processed into celluloid fibers in the factory. Another group was put to work stacking and moving the materials produced (heavy—approximately 50-kilogram [110-pound]—bales of rayon).

The last wartime information on the subcamp's operation dates from January 1944. The prisoners of the closed camp were moved to the main camp at Gross-Rosen.

SOURCES This work is based primarily on Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen: Stań badań* (Rogoźnica: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1987); as well as Roman Olszyna, *KL Gross-Rosen: Wybór artykułów* (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 2005); and the author's postwar correspondence with the Celwiskozy plant (formerly Zellwolle) where prisoners worked during the war.

Original camp correspondence preserved in the archive of the AMGR comprises former inmates' questionnaires.

Grażyna Choptiany
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HIRSCHBERG (ARBEITSLAGER)

Arbeitslager (Labor Camp) Hirschberg was one of the many subcamps of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. It came into being in March 1944 (the dates March 1, 12, or 16 occur in the references) when Gross-Rosen headquarters took over a Jewish labor camp under the Organisation Schmiedt, which had been operating since 1942. The camp was located in the town of Hirschberg (present-day Jelenia Góra) on the Bober (Bóbr) River near the Zellwolle works.

The camp prisoners were men, mostly Jewish, from various countries of Europe, mainly Poland, Belgium, and the Netherlands. A large group of Hungarian Jews were interned in Hirschberg beginning in mid-1944.

The camp population is estimated to have been from a few hundred to 2,000 prisoners. Prisoners marked with the following Gross-Rosen numbers were interned here or arrived in new transports: 20000 to 20507 (prisoner number 20181 was at the labor camp since October 1942 and was transferred to Gross-Rosen's administration in March 1944); 35001 to 35480 (starting in May 1944); and 46001 to 46500 (starting in June 1944). Some of the prisoners at the Hirschberg subcamp were sent to Bad Warmbrunn, another Gross-Rosen subcamp situated nearby. Doctors were among the group that was moved.

Former prisoners of the subcamp remember instances of prisoners being murdered by staff members or prisoner-functionaries. They recall the fatal beating of two prisoners by an intoxicated SS man. Another time, an SS man punished a prisoner attempting to escape by whipping, then ordered prisoner-functionaries to torture him to death. The names of

the perpetrators of these crimes have not been established. One victim of the camp terror was the famous Hungarian soccer player Ferenc Moros, who was shot while doing his job and later died in the camp infirmary (*Revier*). Arnold Mostowicz, also a prisoner at the subcamp, described the event in his memoirs. Alfred Konieczny's publication, based on surviving original records, reports that the death sentence was carried out at the camp on two Jewish prisoners caught while escaping.¹ They were Ignatz Grossmann (number 49140), born December 20, 1921, and Andor Kiss (number 49224), born December 27, 1913. The prisoners were put to death by hanging. Their fellow prisoners Aspis Matysiak (number 34527) and Sandor Kiszelnik (number 46253) were assigned to carry out the sentence.

Among the characteristic noteworthy camp events remembered by prisoners are the Sunday soccer matches, in which the opponents were the staff members, on the one hand, and a team of prisoners, weak and emaciated by work, on the other. Of course, before being shot, Moros stood out on the prisoners' team.

Information on the subcamp staff is fragmentary. The only persons mentioned are SS-Oberscharführer Streiholz, serving as Lagerführer, and his assistant (Rapportführer) Franz Wenzel. Some sources call the latter the camp commander, while his assistant was supposed to have been SS-Unterscharführer Pitrass (the spelling of the name is uncertain).

The Hirschberg camp prisoners worked in the Zellwolle rayon plant, mainly in the chemical department, processing wood. The work was onerous because of the contact with dangerous acids. Another group of prisoners worked in front of the plant in the coal yard, unloading coal dust. Some prisoners worked for the Askania-Werke company, although the type of work they did is unknown.

Evacuation of the subcamp began in mid-February 1945. The destination was the Buchenwald concentration camp. On March 7, 1945, a group of 900 prisoners arrived there, having been evacuated from the Gross-Rosen subcamps Bolkenhain and Reichenau, as well as from the Auschwitz concentration camp; 78 prisoners from Hirschberg were evacuated in that group. The prisoners in that transport made the journey at first on foot to Reichenau, and from there they were transported in open railroad cars to Buchenwald. More groups of prisoners were probably moved in other transports; for example, a prisoner who had received number 136782 at Buchenwald was not on the list of the transport described above. It cannot be ascertained how many prisoners died during the camp's evacuation.

SOURCES This work is based primarily on Arnold Mostowicz, *Żółta gwiazda i czerwony krzyż* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1988); Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen: stan badań* (Rogoźnica: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1987); and Roman Olszyna, "Więźniowie Żydzi w KL Gross-Rosen," *F-S* 51 (1977).

See also ITS, *Verzeichnis der Häftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1977); as well as the

report of Cwi (Zvi) Rechanic in AMGR, MF-L 124/958; and from "Korespondencja Kierownika Centralnego Urzędu Nordhein-Westfalen do Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce" in AMGR, MF-L 154/Ds./68-25. The transport list from KL Gross-Rosen to KL Buchenwald "Neuzugänge vom 7.03.1945" in AMGR, DP/ 589, was also used.

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NOTE

1. Alfred Konieczny, "Nowe dokumenty o egzekucjach w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," *Pra. CX* (1982) 22.

HIRSCHBERG/ BUCHWALD-HOHENWIESE

There is little information on the Gross-Rosen subcamp Buchwald-Hohenwiese. The encyclopedia *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945* lists Buchwald-Hohenwiese as a Hirschberg subcamp work detachment, thereby questioning whether Buchwald-Hohenwiese was an independent subcamp; on the other hand, the fact that the prisoners were accommodated on site in Buchwald suggests that it was such a camp.

The subcamp, located in the Prussian province of Lower Silesia or Niederschlesien, Kreis Hirschberg, was, according to a prisoner statement, opened on November 14, 1944. The male prisoners worked in an SS sanatorium for tuberculosis patients, primarily in the laundry and the boiler room, which heated the building.

According to a prisoner statement, the prisoners were evacuated on February 18, 1945, to Hirschberg.

SOURCES See ITS, *Verzeichnis der Häftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, (Arolsen, 1979, 1:135; "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1795; *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny*, ed. Czesław Pilichowski et al. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 429.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
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HOCHWEILER

Hochweiler was a subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. It operated during World War II in 1944–1945 in the town of Hochweiler (present-day Wierzchowice). It was located at the site of a former brickyard. The camp belonged to a group of four Gross-Rosen subcamps that came into being in conjunction with the planned Barthold operation (the defense of Lower Silesia against the approaching Soviet army that had been in preparation since August 1944).

The one and only known prisoner transport arrived at Hochweiler on October 20, 1944, at 9:30 P.M. The women had

been brought from the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp, where 1,000 prisoners had been prepared for transport. The cover letter signed by SS-Hauptsturmführer Mengele accompanying the transport roster said that there were three doctors among the prisoners (Erike Schuessler, Elli Joelson, and Helene Adler) and four nurses. It is also known that later one of the doctors was exchanged with the nearby Kurzbach camp for a dentist prisoner.

As in the two other Gross-Rosen subsidiary camps operating in the Militsch (Milicz) region (Birnbäumel and Kurzbach), Hochweiler held Jewish women. The prisoners received camp numbers probably ranging from 77441 to 78436.

Death rate data from the camp are incomplete: 1 prisoner had already died in the initial period of the camp's existence, that is, October 21 to October 31, 1944. The deaths of 5 more women were recorded through December 20, 1944. After that time, there is no detailed information on the subject. It is known from a camp record that there were 980 female prisoners in camp on January 16, 1945, meaning there were 20 prisoners less than at the start. But it is not known why the number of prisoners dropped. It could have been due to natural deaths, as well as transports of women to other subcamps. There is a surviving list of 78 prisoners unfit to work who were being prepared for transport due to various diseases. General bodily exhaustion and weakness were found in as many as 30 sick women in that group. And a considerable percentage of the prisoners could only be transported lying down. We have to remember that those women had earlier been incarcerated at Auschwitz concentration camp, where such menacing diseases as scarlet fever, diphtheria, and typhus occurred.

Permanent malnutrition was the immediate cause of the Hochweiler prisoners' appalling state of health. A surviving list of the food products needed and scheduled daily menus shows that both the number of meals (two per day), as well as their quality could have been a source of disease and death. For example, the menu for October 23, 1944, called for a first meal of potato soup with some meat, and a supper of bread, butter, and cheese. The weight of the products was not provided in this case. But the menu for November 13, 1944, called for a supper with the following food rations: 300 grams (about 10.6 ounces) of bread, 60 grams (about 2.1 ounces) of fish paste, and 250 grams (about 9 ounces) of potato puree. It seems that they were portions for one person. Meals may have been even more meager in reality.

The women's situation was made worse by camp sanitary conditions and the huge lice infestation, which, according to information from camp officials on January 16, 1945, had affected as many as 60 percent of the 980 prisoners.

The bad sanitary conditions, inadequate food, and hard labor were devastating to the body. The Hochweiler prisoners, like the women at the Birnbäumel and Kurzbach camps, had to work out in the open, digging ditches and raising entrenchments. The work was under the direction of what was called the "Unternehmen Barthold" with its operations headquarters in Kraschnitz township. There is no information on the camp's administration.

As far as the subcamp's evacuation is concerned, some of the prisoners were transported to Bergen-Belsen, where they arrived on February 12, 1945. The number of prisoners who were in that group is unknown. At least two women remained incarcerated in the camp until liberation. They may have been part of a larger group that was not evacuated, or it may have happened by chance.

SOURCES This work is based primarily on Isabell Sprenger, *Gross-Rosen: Ein Konzentrationslager in Schlesien* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994); as well as Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Sśn* 40 (1982): 55–112.

Additional sources are preserved in the AMGR.

Grażyna Choptiany
trans. Gerard Majka

KAMENZ

In September 1944, the Daimler-Benz GmbH factory in Alsatian Kolmar (French: Colmar) was relocated to eastern Saxony in front of the advancing Allied troops and in accordance with an order of the responsible armaments commission. The Kolmar factory manufactured aircraft parts; its relocation fell under the jurisdiction of the Fighter Staff (Jägerstab), which had been established in March 1944 and was responsible for the repair and maintenance of damaged aircraft factories or their relocation. The relevant order stated: "The Reichsführer-SS will make available sufficient protective custody prisoners for construction and maintenance work.... The order to transfer factories to new areas is to be made by the R.d.L. and the Ob.d.L. Generalflugzeugmeister together with the Reichs Minister for Armaments and War Production."²

The factory relocated to Kamenz was given the name "Elster GmbH" to keep it secret.²

The SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amt III responded to the requests of the company and made available concentration camp prisoners as part of the Jägerstab program. The former chief of personnel at the Kamenz factory, Rudolf Rahmig, had the following to say when questioned about the introduction of concentration camp prisoners to the factory: "The required number of workers was not available at the new location for full production. A solution was soon found. As the Eastern Front got closer, a concentration camp in nearby Liegnitz (Legnica) was dissolved and its inmates transferred to the west. There followed a directive and we found out that we were going to get the concentration camp prisoners. They were accommodated in the Herrenmühle. (Tuchfabrik, Gebr. Nosske & Co., Kamenz, Herrental, Nr. 9). A few days before the prisoners arrived, it was in the last days of October, an advanced detachment appeared to establish the camp. The camp commander was part of the detachment."³

The machines in the cloth factory were dismantled, and camp facilities were established in the three floors of the building. The windows were barred up. The head of personnel,

Rahmig, stated during his interrogation that they had tried to "make the conditions as human as possible" and that "this factory in no way provided satisfactory accommodation for so many people. . . . The cooking vats were insufficient as were the toilets."⁴ His statement was contrary to that of the company's director, Weist, who tried to make things appear better than they were.

The Kamenz subcamp was established when the transport with the first prisoners arrived at the beginning of November 1944. At the end of December 1944, 116 prisoners arrived from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. On January 26, 1945, 750 prisoners were sent to Kamenz from the Flossenbürg concentration camp.⁵

The transport from Flossenbürg had the following nationalities: 232 Russians and other citizens of the Soviet Union; 165 Poles, including 60 Jews; 120 Italians, including 1 Jew; 95 French; 40 Belgians; 32 Germans; 29 Czechs; 10 Hungarians, of whom 6 were Jews; 7 Dutch; 6 Croats; 5 Serbs; 3 Slovaks; 2 Greeks; 2 Austrians; 1 Spaniard; and 2 stateless people.⁶

The local inhabitants had the following to say about the arrival of the transport: "When the prisoners arrived it was very cold, there was snow on the ground. There were about seven hundred, completely exhausted, hungry and freezing. It was a train of misery and horror, for those who wanted to see. They had no protection from the cold; some of them were bare foot. We scarcely regarded it as possible that a person could survive such conditions. Later another two hundred arrived."⁷ When questioned, even the SS camp commander Wilhelm Wirkner had to admit the following: "At the end of January or beginning of February 1945, 750 prisoners arrived from Flossenbürg at Weiden. These prisoners were already seriously ill and were in a shocking condition. Eight had died on the transport and they brought them with them."⁸ Wirkner attempted to put the causes of death back on to the miserable condition of the prisoners who in January had been transported from Flossenbürg. However, he had obviously counted on deaths and planned the cremation of the corpses in the boiler room of Nosske & Co., as he admitted in his interrogation: "There was a directive to cremate the dead in the closest crematorium. As the closest crematorium was in Dresden the cremations would be awkward. I received from the main camp Gross-Rosen the order to cremate the corpses in the company's boilers. . . . The prisoners who volunteered as stokers cremated the dead. Rottenführer Kastner was in charge of the cremations. He was also in charge of the infirmary and the doctors. . . . I admit that during my short time at the Kamenz subcamp around one hundred prisoners died and were cremated."⁹

The former machinist at the cloth factory had the following to say:

Due to the total war effort the Nosske Tuchfabrik was closed down. Simultaneously I was ordered to August Lesche as a machinist. Shortly before the concentration camp opened at Herrenmühle, I was instructed to go there as the Elster GmbH and

August Lesche Company had come to an agreement. I was instructed to make the boilers and heating operational. . . . I went there a few times when the camp was occupied as it was my job to control the boilers, the heating and the machine shop. . . . I learnt that during this period two prisoners had been trained as stokers in the glass works. They were to work in Herrenmühle. . . . A short time later a guard was posted at the entrance to the building and no one was allowed into the camp. The two stokers, whom I knew, had in the meantime been released. They were replaced by the trained prisoners, the Frenchmen P and G, prisoner numbers 80727 and 65891.¹⁰

The corpses were cremated just about daily. The smells that lay over the community left no doubt in the minds of the locals, particularly as the transport of corpses into the boiler rooms was noticed. The worker Lehmann stated the following: "A few days after they arrived [the prisoners], we saw prisoners carrying stretchers into the boiler rooms. . . . We saw this many times and there was no doubt in our minds that those who had been tortured to death were being burnt. We later learnt that one corpse was placed on a stretcher, tied down and thrown into the flames. . . . When the camp was to be relocated there were about eighty ill prisoners. They could not be transported. Wirkner simply stated: 'What am I to do with the sick, the fire is out?' I immediately asked: 'Have all the dead been cremated?' Wirkner had not expected such a question. He was at a loss for words and left me."¹¹

The final police report for the Kamenz District Police states that the witness Lode was barred entry when the dead were being cremated. "It was the same for two Kamenz fire fighters. One of them noticed before he left that the dead were in the coal shed under wood wool."¹² A Hungarian SS man Tanner was the only member of the guard who publicly distanced himself from the crimes. In the final police report, it is said that he stated that "the sick and those inmates who could no longer work, were given, on the order of the camp's doctors, who themselves were prisoners, an injection in the lower arm and thus murdered. They were then cremated. The camp doctors later fled because they no longer wanted to be involved in these crimes, but died during an air raid on Dresden."¹³ Tanner put the number of victims who were cremated in the boiler room of the subcamp at 125.¹⁴

The Gross-Rosen death register only records 57 deaths.¹⁵ Jewish prisoners, Poles, Russians, and Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) are completely missing from these records.

Rapid developments in the war during 1944–1945 kept the death toll from going higher. The expansion of the subterranean production facilities in the nearby caverns, code-named Rüdiger and Rudi, had to stop. As a result, there was no more mass deployment of concentration camp prisoners at these construction sites.¹⁶

The prisoners worked in the glassworks and the Minkwitz company. Here, under the supervision of engineers, skilled

tradesmen, and controllers, they disassembled aircraft engines and manufactured and assembled parts. The prisoners often collapsed when carrying the heavy loads. There was inadequate safety, and many accidents resulted due to the prisoners' weakened state. In addition, the prisoners scarcely had time to eat their sparse midday meal. At the end of each shift, they hurried, driven by the SS, through the city, back to the camp.

In 1945, workers at the Kamenz subcamp could no longer be exchanged for new prisoners. The camp management was forced as a result to give the prisoners a slight increase in rations (60 grams [2 ounces] of bread daily!). The physical deterioration of the prisoners could not be halted by the completely inadequate rations and, in individual cases, food secretly given by locals and workers to the prisoners.¹⁷ An eyewitness stated in his memoirs:

Between November 1944 and January 1945 I was a student at the Elster GmhH trade school, a Daimler-Benz factory for the war effort, based on the site of the Kamenz glassworks. We students worked in the workshops and the supply depot. At this time there were many prisoners in the factory. They worked at the machines and did other things. At the beginning of our service we were repeatedly instructed by the engineers from the Elster GmbH that there was to be no contact with the prisoners and that [they] were not to give them food or anything else. Nevertheless, we found ways to help the very emaciated and exhausted prisoners. We left potatoes, bread, and other food at different places in the workshops, which we had brought from home. We signaled to the prisoners where they could find something. They quickly learnt to understand us. This became more difficult after a while as there were special SS guards who arrived who guarded the prisoners while they were working. The prisoners worked between twelve to fourteen hours a day. The SS were foreigners, in my opinion, from Latvia, Croatia, and other countries. The prisoners were driven to work and beaten. We young ones were pulled out of this area and transferred to another area. However, we were repeatedly successful in hiding food for these hungry people. We used the known secret places.¹⁸

The camp commander, SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Wirker, had a typical SS guard's career behind him. He trained as an SS guard in the SS-Totenkopfsturmbann Oranienburg (Death's Head Guard Battalion Oranienburg)/Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where he reached the position of block leader (Blockführer). After service at the front, he served from 1944 at the Vaivara concentration camp until it was evacuated. In October 1944, he was transferred to the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, where he was then transferred to Kamenz as camp commander. He was tried after the

war and was convicted for his role in the crimes committed at the camp. His six accomplices were also convicted.¹⁹

At the beginning of March 1945, the production site at Kamenz was no longer safe enough for the Daimler-Benz GmbH. The Soviet Army was pressing forward. The company's management ordered that the factory be pulled back to middle Saxony and Bavaria. The order to evacuate was issued without the slightest regard for the prisoners' accommodation. The factory manager, Weist, fearing that he would later be held responsible, persuaded the camp commander that the prisoners who had already been sent on the march should return to Kamenz. In the documents at his trial there is the following note: "The logical conclusion for the Elster GmbH is to inform the relevant offices that under these conditions there must be no more use of concentration camp prisoners."²⁰ Later he stated:

The factory manager has just been informed by the Dresden Staatspolizei-Leitstelle, that the guards' commanders at other armaments firms with concentration camp prisoners, to the extent that they come from Flossenbürg, have been ordered, to the extent that it is possible, to avoid marching on the main roads, on their march back to Flossenbürg. The Staatspolizeistelle Dresden also advises that the imminent return of the prisoners under the guards' commanders is permitted on the basis that, as already noted by the company managers, it is no longer possible under any circumstance to provide accommodation for the concentration camp prisoners at the new camps.²¹

As a return to the Gross-Rosen concentration camp was no longer possible (it had already been evacuated), the prisoners left Kamenz on March 10, 1945, by rail for the Dachau concentration camp. They arrived on March 16, 1945. At least 6 of the 690 prisoners on the transport died in transit.

SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in Hermann Schierz, *Seid wachsam. Bericht über das Konzentrationslager Kamenz* (Kamenz, 1965).

Archival records are available in the BA-L (IV 405 AR 2261/66; IV 405 AR-Z 198/74, Bd. 1–3); and SÚA (KT/OVS, K. 24).

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NOTES

1. SH StA-(D), Auto Union AG, Nr. 666, Bl. 22/23.
2. BA-B, Bank der Deutschen Luftfahrt, 80Ba6, Nr. 703, p. 38.
3. "Akte Herrenmühle," pp. 19–20, Aussage des Angestellten Rudolf Rahmig v. 3.9.1945, cited in Karl-Heinz Gräfe, "Die Nebenlager des KZ Gross-Rosen in Sachsen," in *Die Völker Europas in Gross-Rosen. Materialien aus der internationalen wissenschaftlichen Tagung 8.–9. Juni 1995* (Polonica Zdroj, 1995).
4. "Akte Herrenmühle," pp. 19–20.

5. NARA, T 580, Roll 69 and Roll 70, Group X, Ordner 332, Flossenbürg Concentration Camp, List of Inmates and Documents.
6. Ibid.
7. "Akte Herrenmühle," pp. 5–8, statement by factory worker Max Lehmann.
8. Ibid., p. 4., statement by former SS-Lagerführer Wirkner, August 29, 1945.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p. 9, statement by factory worker Richard Lode, August 31, 1945.
11. Ibid., pp. 5–8, interrogation of factory worker Max Lehmann.
12. Ibid., pp. 26–28, report by Kreispolizeiposten Kamenz, September 4, 1945, to Landesverwaltung Sachsen/Landeskriminalamt on the mass murder of camp prisoners.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid. This number is probably not the maximum number of murdered prisoners in Kamenz.
15. SÚA, KT/OVS, K. 24, Gross-Rosen death books 1945/I and II.
16. Laurenz Demps, "Zum weiteren Ausbau des staatsmonopolistischen Apparates der faschistischen Kriegswirtschaft in den Jahren 1943 bis 1945 und zur Rolle der SS und der Konzentrationslager im Rahmen der Rüstungsproduktion dargestellt am Beispiel der unterirdischen Verlagerung von Teilen der Rüstungsindustrie" (Ph.D. diss., Humboldt-University Berlin, 1970), appendix.
17. Hermann Schierz, *Seid wachsam. Bericht über das Konzentrationslager Kamenz* (Kamenz, 1965), pp. 22–23.
18. Memoir Heinz Stecklinna, Kamenz, March 1997, report in the possession of the author.
19. "Akte Herrenmühle," p. 4, interrogation of former SS Lagerführer W. Wirkner, August 29, 1945.
20. Ibid., p. 47., appendix 3 to report by Erich Weist.
21. Ibid., p. 48.

KITTLITZTREBEN [AKA KRETSCHAMBERG]

A subcamp of Gross-Rosen was located in the town of Kittlitztreben (later Trzebień). In references, the camp is also called Kretschamberg. The towns of Kittlitztreben and Kretschamberg (later Karczmarka) were near each other. The prisoners brought to Kittlitztreben were unloaded at a railroad station in Kretschamberg. Some prisoners remembered that name and mentioned it in later accounts as the place where the camp was located.

The Kittlitztreben camp was put into operation in late February and early March 1944. Located on the edge of a forest, Kittlitztreben was a quite large camp. It was made up of eight living barracks, half of which were remnants of a previously closed camp, while the other half were remnants of a former Soviet prisoner-of-war (POW) camp. There were shoemaking and sewing workshops in the camp; the lavatory and infirmary (*Revier*) were located in separate barracks. The site of the camp was fenced with a triple row of barbed wire. According to Abraham Hendl's account, the entire forest in

which the camp was located was also surrounded by barbed wire.

Approximately 1,700 to 1,800 Jewish men were imprisoned at the Kittlitztreben camp; they were mainly from Poland and Hungary. There were smaller groups from Germany, Austria, and Belgium. The prisoner holding the post of camp elder (Lagerältester) was German.

The initial prisoner transport arrived at Kittlitztreben between the end of February and March 13, 1944. The transport brought 200 people, mainly Polish Jews from the closed camp at Sagan.¹ Three more transports that are known of also arrived in March: 180 people from the camp at Grünberg,² approximately 200 people from the closed camp at Görlitz,³ and an unknown number of prisoners from Freivaldau,⁴ which also had been closed. A transport of Jews from Hungary arrived, numbering several hundred prisoners (between 500 and 900), probably in May or early June. The last known transport arrived at Kittlitztreben on August 15, 1944. It brought approximately 200 Jewish prisoners who had previously been at the Fünfteichen (later Miłoszyce) camp, another subsidiary of Gross-Rosen.⁵ We know of only one transport leaving Kittlitztreben: in July 1944, 50 prisoners, almost all of them metalworkers, were sent to the Gross-Rosen subcamp at Bunzlau.⁶ The death rate in Kittlitztreben was high, especially in the initial stage of its operation. Hendl stated that 250 of the 900 prisoners in the camp died within two weeks. That was because of the wretched sanitary conditions, the huge shortage of even cold water (for the longest time, there was only one faucet, which all the prisoners used), the bad living conditions (the prisoners were put in unfinished and unheated barracks), and the tremendous terror rampant at the camp. According to Armin Freudmann's account, the camp was inspected by the labor service (Arbeitsdienst) at some point in time, the result of which was somewhat improved prisoners' living conditions.

Two doctors and three orderlies, all of whom were prisoners, worked at the camp hospital. One of the doctors was named Braun. They were very limited in what they could do to help sick prisoners. The Jewish doctors were powerless in the face of German orders and the shortage of medicine and medical instruments. The prisoners remembered an accident at work when a prisoner's leg was crushed. Amputation was necessary; it was done without anesthesia and, because there were no surgical instruments, with an ordinary saw.⁷

Besides the hospital, the camp had what was called the care barrack. Prisoners who were convalescing after their illnesses could rest for almost 14 days in that barrack, until they were able to start working again. Prisoners who were found to be unfit for work were taken away from the camp.

Freudmann remembered two unsuccessful escape attempts at the camp. One of the intercepted fugitives was hanged right away at Kittlitztreben, while the other was taken to the main camp at Gross-Rosen and murdered there. What is unusual is that approximately 50 prisoners also were sent to Gross-Rosen along with the condemned man and were present at the execution. Upon returning to Kittlitztreben, they

had to tell the other prisoners at roll call all about the execution.

The commander's name and the other camp staff member names are unknown. However, it is known that Kittlitztreben was guarded by Luftwaffe soldiers.

Initially the prisoners worked expanding and setting up their own camp. Later they worked in various areas of the huge construction project the Luftwaffe was building in the forest around the camp. They cleared trees and built railroad tracks, concrete roads, ammunition depot bunkers, and barracks for the Luftwaffe soldiers. They worked in transport commandos: they carted the wood cleared from the forest and transported and stacked crates of ammunition in the depot bunkers that had been built. Records from the archives of the International Tracing Service (ITS), Arolsen, show that the prisoners also made aircraft parts. We know of 18 companies that employed the prisoners: Grülich, Hübsch, Koder, Konrad, Krause, Kungals, Kunnith, Leistikoff, Madebrun, Mischke, Poikett, Reiners, Schulz, Tiessler, Wiedermann, Zimke, Peuke und Jech, and Stein und Teer.⁸

In early 1945, the camp headquarters began evacuation preparations. A selection was conducted of the prisoners in the hospital, after which some of the patients were escorted to the assembly ground and ordered to exercise with the rest of the prisoners in order to improve their condition and endurance in the march. The weak prisoners who could not stand up to the pace were beaten severely and left unconscious on the drilling ground. Only in the evening were they taken back to the hospital. The prisoners were horror-struck at such evacuation preparations. The most active of them, approximately 30 people, organized and began their own preparations for the upcoming events. They hid some of their work tools, which they were going to use as necessary to defend themselves if the evacuation was ordered late enough that they would have a chance of surviving until the Russians came. They also prepared for the possibility that power to the camp and, what was most important, the fence would be cut. Unfortunately, the evacuation was ordered suddenly on the morning of February 9. The prisoners did not know how far away the advancing army was, so they did not go through with their plan of defense.⁹ Several hundred of the most ill were left in the hospital. Freudmann says that headquarters had the order to blow the camp up, along with the sick people. But the camp leader (Lagerführer) was reported to have said: "Let's give the Russians the 300 cripples as a present." Soviet soldiers took them away on February 10 or 11.

The almost 1,000 prisoners who were deemed healthy began their march southward under terrible conditions. Some of the prisoners had not given up the plan to avoid evacuation and tried to escape. We know that Jakub Rettman was successful.

We do not know the exact evacuation route. All we know is that the column passed through Görlitz, where several dozen sick prisoners were left. The next point they reached was the Gross-Rosen subcamp at Zittau. A certain percentage of prisoners were left there, too. We do not know how many there

were in that group. Based on Natan Klajman's account, we can suppose that it was not just the totally exhausted prisoners and those unable to continue marching who stayed at Zittau; Klajman and other prisoners in that group (along with the 300 other Jewish prisoners already there) were sent to work at the local aircraft factory. That group was liberated on May 9, 1945.

The last group of Kittlitztreben prisoners reached the Buchenwald concentration camp only on April 4, 1945.¹⁰

SOURCES Certain information on the Kittlitztreben subcamp can be found in Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Wałbrzych, 1987).

Accounts and memoirs of former prisoners can be found in the following archives: AMGR in Wałbrzych, AŽIH in Warsaw, and YV in Jerusalem. Documents concerning the evacuation as well as companies employing Kittlitztreben prisoners are kept in the ITS archives in Arolsen.

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trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AŽIH, Account No. 1692, Abraham Borger, and Account No. 919, Abraham Hendl; YVA, 02/643, account of Armin Freudmann.

2. AŽIH, Account No. 710, Jakub Rettman.

3. AŽIH, Account No. 2765, Natan Klajman.

4. AMGR, 7630/DP-A, Józef Mann's questionnaire.

5. AŽIH, Account No. 935, Symcha Kościak.

6. AŽIH, Account No. 919.

7. AŽIH, Account No. 710.

8. ITS, Kittlitztreben Camp Records.

9. AŽIH, Account No. 710.

10. AŽIH, Account No. 2765; ITS, Buchenwald Concentration Camp Records.

KRATZAU I

The Kratzau I and II camps were created in the city of Kratzau (Chrastava) by Organisation Schmelt in 1943 to supply workers for the Tannwald Textile Works and the Deutsche Industriewerke AG ammunition factory.¹ Only in October 1944 did Gross-Rosen take them over as subcamps.

Alfred Konieczny established that the Kratzau I subcamp was located in a four-story building with no windows or sanitary facilities. One account states, though, that the Kratzau I camp was located in four wooden barracks surrounded by a double fence supported by approximately 20 posts, next to the factory.² The camp was set up on the model of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. It had an assembly area, also fenced with electrified barbed wire, which SS men guarded.

There are no precise data concerning the prisoners who were already at Kratzau I when Gross-Rosen took over management of the camp. The female prisoners brought to Kratzau I from Auschwitz in October 1944 had undergone a prior selection. The first transport consisted of 100 persons,



A five-sided blue badge issued to prisoner Helen Waterford at Kratzau [Chrastava] subcamp of Gross-Rosen, October 1944 to May 1945.
USHMM WS # N00098, COURTESY OF HELEN WATERFORD

who were numbered from 75901 to 76000. The second transport that reached the subcamp brought 200 women, identified by numbers from the series 83000–83200. As part of the evacuation of Gross-Rosen's subcamps for women, some women prisoners were sent to Kratzau from Bernsdorf and Gebhardsdorf and perhaps from others. As a result, the women's population grew to approximately 1,000, even though the Gebhardsdorf group had been taken away.

The camp included Polish, Czech, French, Belgian, Dutch, and Danish women. These women worked in several plants. Divided into three groups, one group was assigned to work manufacturing ammunition at Deutsche Industriewerke AG; a second group worked at the Tannwald company; and a third group worked making gas masks at the Tolex company, a division of the Spreewerke GmbH concern of Berlin.³ Some 500 women were working there in November 1944, but an increase to 1,000 people was planned.⁴

The women's work in the gas mask factory was tolerable (they also ate dinner at the factory), while the hard 12 hours of work at the ammunition factory was made more intolerable by the German foremen working there. They beat the girls, taking as an example the "educational" methods used by the camp's female commander, Dinner. A foreman often chose only the weakest women to lift heavy crates.

In a description of her experience at Kratzau I, a former prisoner stated: "The food was barely sufficient, so I reported for shoemaking work. You got a double serving of soup for that job."⁵

The situation at the subcamp began to deteriorate as a result of admitting women from other Gross-Rosen camps.

Hunger was prevalent, and the camp was very dirty. There was not enough clothing for the newly arrived women from Auschwitz.

Dr. Mengele, a doctor from Auschwitz concentration camp, arrived at the women's camp in October 1944 to conduct a selection. He made subsequent visits on January 20, 1945, and March 20, 1945. After such a selection, the group of women chosen would be sent to the Zittau subcamp.

The doctor at Kratzau I was a Polish woman, Dr. Janina Węgrzynowska of Warsaw (approximately 45 to 46 years old). She was taken away from the camp upon the commander's intervention.

The director of the Tannwald factory was Hugo Wilm, who was charged after the war with giving two Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) over to the Germans. He was acquitted due to a lack of evidence.

The following details about the camp are given in one source:

Toward the end of the war, entire families of various nationalities were also brought there (to the camp), as well as Polish children who were separated from their parents, and they were lodged separately. They had to work; they were brutally treated.

As in all the camps put under Gross-Rosen's command in 1944, prisoners worked in their own civilian clothes. The conditions there were unsanitary. There was no running water; water was carted in from the nearby Nysa [Neisse] river, so it was rationed sparingly. Not only drinking water was in short supply, so was water for laundry and washing. Lice infestation and scabies were rampant.⁶

All we know about the children in the camp is that they were assigned to cleanup jobs and to weeding the pathways, sweeping the sidewalks, and removing trash. Witness Zenon Lis, who was a child when he was in the camp, related the following: "We were treated harshly for children, always brutally driven, sometimes shoved about by the people supervising us, German-speaking men and women. The rooms in the barracks were very primitive; there were no sanitary facilities or washbasins. . . . Prisoners built the outdoor latrines. The food was poor and varied at different times: black coffee, dry bread, rutabaga soup, a potato on rare occasions, and a piece of liverwurst on exceptional ones. The children may not have minded the shortages as much, because their parents, and sometimes strangers as well tried to help to a very modest extent."⁷ Approximately 40 children aged up to 14 were in the camp.⁸

One day when they got back from work, the women saw the guard women putting piles of wood around the building. As it later turned out, they were unsuccessful in destroying the camp; liberation had begun.

The commander and Aufseher (overseer) fled the camp in early May 1945. Only the woman in charge of the kitchen, two SS men, and 10 women guards remained.

The civilian who told the prisoners they were free recommended that they stay in the camp until the Soviet Army entered. They listened to him. The soldiers handed out cans of food to them, also warning them not to eat fatty foods because of their poor health. Despite the warnings, there were cases of dysentery and other diseases. Consequently, a quarantine was imposed, and an order forbidding anyone to leave camp was issued.

According to B. Zimmerman's account, Camp Commander Dinner was a person who would torment the prisoners by doing things like not letting them wash, and if she found an undressed woman washing herself, she immediately punished her with a whipping. The camp commander "was about 45 years old, she was a good-looking woman, she always had a whip with her . . . , she said that the only educational method was a good whipping. She whipped people in inhuman fashion."⁹

There was a woman camp leader (Lagerführerin) in autumn 1944; later there was a man. Some of the staff were arrested in May 1945. The Lagerführer was probably shot.¹⁰ No information is available on the staff trials.

The camp staff was composed of 4 SS men and 10 SS women (they were German women from the Czech Sudeten area). Several staff names and a few details about them have been established:

- Maria Kraus née Hradec (born April 25, 1923). She was wanted after the war.¹¹
- Someone named Paul Oswald Thiemann (born December 18, 1897) was an SS-Rottenführer at Kratzau starting July 1944. He was tried in Poland after the war. The verdict is not available.¹²
- Elza Hemmrich—Lagerführerin, SS member.
- Adela Pelz—Blockführerin, SS member.
- Berta Sommer—Administration Department, SS member.

Eighteen Aufseher have been identified: Uscha Bening, Schutz. Fonfara, Strm. Gunzl, Strm. Heller, Schutz. Jasche, Schutz. Klitsch, E. Kraus, Maria Kraus, Schutz. Kuller, Strm. Lagua, Schutz Lang, Schutz Langfeld, Schutz. Muhlbauer, Uscha Ruter, Schutz. Theis, Schutz. Thuer, Schutz. Wieland, and Schutz. Wiesner.¹³

The trial materials of the aforementioned staff members could not be found. The staff information might also apply to the Kratzau II camp.

SOURCES Some information of the Kratzau I subcamp can be found in the following publications: Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Ss*n 40 (1982); Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych, 1994); and Aneta Małek, *Praca w systemie KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych, 2003). See also Katarzyna Pawlak-Weiss, "Żeńskie filie KL Gross-Rosen położone na terenie obecnych Czech w latach 1944–45" (Master's thesis, Wrocław University, 2002).

Archival materials on this subcamp are scant. The accounts, recollections, and surveys of former prisoners are available in the AMGR and records of the OKBZHW; interviews are found in the collections of the AŽIH in Warsaw; and the list of Auschwitz concentration camp staff members tried in Poland after the war contains some information about Kratzau I.

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trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, DP 8751, correspondence of R. Olszyna; AŽIH, Account No. 271.
2. AMGR, DP 8751, correspondence of R. Olszyna.
3. A. Małek, "Praca w filiach KL Gross-Rosen" (unpub. MSS).
4. AMGR, DP 2829.
5. AMGR, MF 124/2139, account of Nela Liphart.
6. AMGR, XLIII/2.
7. AMGR, Kowalczyk
8. Ibid.
9. AMGR, MF/549602, account of B. Zimmerman.
10. AMGR, DP-A 3474, questionnaire of Zenon Lis.
11. AMGR, XLIII/1, Records of investigation located at the OKBZHW.
12. APMO, 27, List of Auschwitz concentration camp staff members tried in Poland after the war; (Trial Materials, Materials Catalog No./589); AK-IPN, 1,14,25 (Ur.: SS-Rottenführer, KL Auschwitz: 1940–1945; List of Auschwitz concentration camp staff members; Polish Army Mission records; PMW-BZW/171, k.228); AK-IPN (Paul Oswald Thiemann's other personal data is from the indictment dated December 20, 1947, in the trial of Walter Palinsky and associates, and SOWd-140, pp. 40–43, 77–86).
13. AMGR, DP 8751, Olszyna materials.

KRATZAU II

The Kratzau II camp was taken over by Gross-Rosen in the autumn of 1944. The camp accommodated approximately 150 Jewish women of French, Hungarian, and Greek origin.

The subcamp was located outside the village of Klein Schönau (Malý Šenov). The first mention of its existence is dated October 28, 1944. A 150-person transport from Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp arrived there around that date. The female prisoners in the transport were numbered in the series from 86201 to 86350. The women were put in the mill because it was the only building with large-enough rooms.

The Kratzau II camp probably accommodated only sick prisoners. A list made by the International Tracing Service (ITS) contains no information about the women working.¹ However, the name Tannwald Textilien Werke and the type of manufacturing it did—antigas protective equipment (*Gasschutzgeräte*)—appear next to Kratzau II in a document dated November 18, 1944. The number of women who appear to have worked there was 150, and an increase to 500 was planned.²

A former prisoner's account corroborates the supposition that the camp was only for sick women, as she says that the death rate was very high there, because someone died there every day and the prisoners themselves would bury the dead by the cemetery wall. Regarding the disposal of the bodies of dead women, another account informs us that the bodies were carted off to be cremated at a camp in Weiss Kirchen an der Neisse (later Bily Kostel nad Nisou).

The supposition regarding the nature of the camp might also be corroborated by information that selections were frequently conducted at the Kratzau I subcamp, and the sick were taken away from the camp. That could be the reason for setting up a separate camp nearby (Kratzau II) for those unable to work. By analogy, that is what happened in places such as the Riese Dörnhau camp.

All we know about conditions in the camp is that lice infestation was rampant and that prisoners worked washing dirty laundry in the Waschraum. As indicated in one account: "The camp was closed and lice-infested; the Dutch women were afraid of [bugs?], their bodies were bitten up by insects. The camp was in a mill. The beds were triple-deckers."³

Two reports provide us with information that dental procedures were performed in this camp; they record that from February 2 to February 27, 1945, prisoners were seen by Romana Silberschlag (camp no. 53948), the prisoner serving as the dentist at that time.

Several days before liberation, the Danish Red Cross sent food assistance. However, it may have been sent to Kratzau I or Kratzau II or to both camps.

The Aufseherinnen (SS women guard auxiliaries) and camp leader (Lagerführer) fled just before the Soviet Army entered the camp. Only a guard remained. The detachment leader (Kommandoführer) told the women that they would be liberated in a few days. Before she left, she gave a final command to clean the dirty toilet. A Soviet soldier announced they were free, after which the barbed wires were cut, and the camp celebrated.⁴ Also, the camp warehouse loaded with huge amounts of food was knocked down. That information came from accounts by former prisoners. The same accounts say that for a time the women hid in the Aufseherinnen's room from the Russians, who raped women.

After a few days spent in the camp after liberation, the Czechs told the women to go to the train station. The train trip was not long; they had to get off for unknown reasons and continue their journey on foot through the forest. After much tribulation, they finally reached Łódź.⁵

The information on the staff provided in the entry on Gross-Rosen/Kratzau I might also apply to the Kratzau II camp. There is no accurate information, so we cannot determine which people were assigned to either camp.

SOURCES Information on the Kratzau II subcamp can be found in the following publications: Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Słoń* 40 (1982); Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych, 1994); Aneta

Małek, *Praca w systemie KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych, 2003); and Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987). See also G. Choptiany, "Rewiry w KL Gross-Rosen" (unpub. MSS); and Katarzyna Pawlak-Weiss, "Żeńskie filie KL Gross-Rosen położone na terenie obecnych Czech w latach 1944–45" (Master's thesis, Wrocław University, 2002).

Archival material on this camp is scant. Recollections and surveys of former prisoners can be found at the AMGR.

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trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. A. Małek, "Praca w filiach KL Gross-Rosen" (unpub. MSS).
2. AMGR, DP 2829.
3. AMGR, 154/N, Frydla Kryger.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

KURZBACH

The Kurzbach subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp operated in 1944–1945 in the town of Kurzbach (present-day Bukołowo) and was located in some of the buildings on the estate of Prince von Hatzfeld (the sheepfold and pigsty, where, incidentally, the hospital for sick prisoners was set up).

It is probable that the subcamp came into being in late October 1944, although there are no documents to confirm that date definitely.

As was the case with the other camps formed in the region, the purpose of this one was to do work associated with the Barthold Operation (Unternehmen Barthold), that is, the construction of fortifications in Lower Silesia for defense against the approaching Soviet Army. To carry out these plans, 1,000 female prisoners were brought in from the Auschwitz concentration camp; they were marked with numbers beginning with 79501. The women were Jewish.

In the opinion of forced laborers working or living in the vicinity of the camp, the Kurzbach prisoners appeared haggard and beset by hunger, as they often begged for food. However, obtaining extra food that way was severely punished. Witnesses say that it was exactly this hunger that devastated the body and resulted in numerous deaths. The number of mortalities has not been established. Dead prisoners were most frequently buried at night in the nearby woods. Witnesses also recall instances of killing. They think that six or seven people were murdered. An investigation into the matter by the Zielona Góra District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes came up with neither the names of the perpetrators nor the victims.

The Kurzbach labor camp prisoners did murderously hard jobs (cutting down trees, digging ditches) called for by the Unternehmen Barthold and its Einsatzstab Kraschnitz.

The SS oversaw the camp, and the Organisation Todt (OT) supervised the prisoners' work. The management staff was made up of men and women.

The subcamp's evacuation began in late January 1945, when 200 to 500 women were escorted out. The sick and weak were escorted out later. Those who were unfit to march were killed.

The camp's prisoners were evacuated to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. The number of women who completed the journey and reached its destination has not been determined.

SOURCES This work is based primarily on Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1987); Isabell Sprenger, *Gross-Rosen: Ein Konzentrationslager in Schlesien* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994); and Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Sēm* 40 (1982): 55–112.

Other sources used were minutes of witness interrogations as well as reports from the investigation conducted on the camps and on crimes committed in 1944–1945 in the town of Sieczko and Bukolewo. This material, which was acquired from the OKBZHW, is located in the archives of the AMGR, Catalog No. DP/6500.

Grazyna Choptiany
trans. Gerard Majka

LANDESHUT

The Gross-Rosen subcamp at Landeshut was put into operation in July 1944 in a suburb of Landeshut (later Kamienna Góra) to provide the labor force for the roller and ball bearing manufacturing works moved there from Schweinfurt, which was threatened by Allied air raids. The decision to move the plant was made by the Reich Air Ministry (RLM) in May 1943 and concerned the Kugelfischer and Vereinigte Kugellager-Fabriken plants, which were given use of the production halls of the local Kramst, Methner and Frahne und Leinag AG textile plants in Landeshut. The adaptation work that had to be completed was done by such people as prisoners from the Organisation Schmoldt forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ) that was established at that time; the prisoners were then incorporated into the manufacturing process. The ZALfJ was closed in April 1944 due to a typhus epidemic, after which the plants sought Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners for labor.

The initial group of prisoners, numbering over 300, was sent to Landeshut on July 16, 1944; they were selected from recently arrived transports of prisoners from Warsaw (Pawiak prison), Białystok, and Łomża. A second group arrived in early August, and a third group of prisoners arrived in mid-September (including many from the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising). Afterward, only small groups would arrive to make up for losses due to death or disability, such as a 50-person group of Polish children from the Auschwitz concentration camp. A group of Jewish prisoners from the evacuated Auschwitz Gle-

witz subcamp arrived in late January 1945. A total of approximately 1,500 prisoners were sent to Landeshut, of whom Poles definitely predominated (over 80 percent), followed by Soviet citizens (approximately 15 percent) and small groups of Croatians, Czechs, Frenchmen, and Germans. The prisoners were housed in four brick barracks with two levels; a fifth barrack was also occupied toward the end of the camp's existence. The camp was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence and guarded by a detachment of SS men from the Gross-Rosen Guard Battalion 11th Company.

SS-Hauptscharführer Alfons Gross became the camp leader (Lagerführer) at Landeshut, and his assistant was SS-Unterscharführer Johann Metzner. SS-Oberscharführer Herbert Hank became the new camp leader at the turn of the year from 1944 to 1945. The "prisoner government" was headed by camp elder (Lagerältester) Richard Peter, previously a block elder (Blockältester) at Gross-Rosen; the block elders were Stanisław Kowalski, Gottlieb Adam, Tomasz Pilujski, Marian Kośmida, Zygmunt Pietrzak, Paweł Proksa, and Hieronim Furmanek. Stanisław Lebiedynski became the doctor in the infirmary.

Besides some small camp support (kitchen, laundry, infirmary) and construction commandos, the prisoners worked in two shifts in the plants, making ball bearings. The SS men escorted them to the workplace and took them back to the camp as well. They worked in three separate plants, named Werk I, Werk II, and Werk III, under the supervision of Kapos and German foremen. Otto Dicke headed the group of Kapos and was aided in persecuting and abusing the prisoners by German criminal prisoners Zappe and Karl Regel, as well as Poles Henryk Iwanowski and Teodor Szulc. Werk I did the preliminary processing of the bearing rings, cutting, grinding, and pretempering them. Werk II assembled the bearings and did the quality control and shipping. The work was the hardest at Werk III, put into operation in the autumn of 1944: at large electrical furnaces the rings were punched out for further processing. The labor in the factory quickly exhausted the prisoners' strength, also aided by the starvation food rations. They soon became emaciated and fell ill with various diseases. The infirmary did not have the medicine it needed, and many of the prisoners died. The bodies of the deceased were sent to the crematorium at the main camp up until the evacuation of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp in February 1945, after which they were buried in Landeshut in the Jewish cemetery.

Some determined prisoners made several attempts to escape. The first successful one, as early as August 24, 1944, was by two Russians; there was another attempt by three Russians on September 23. Apprehended fugitive Piotr Garczyński was hung on the assembly grounds to intimidate the prisoners; the others were sent back to Gross-Rosen and put into a penal company.

When the next Red Army set off on another offensive in Lower Silesia on February 8, 1944, the Landeshut region was suddenly in the zone threatened by the frontline operations. The camp command ordered the evacuation of all prisoners

able to march; the sick and exhausted were allowed to stay at the camp. On February 14, the evacuation column set off toward Hirschberg (Jelenia Góra), but it stopped after having traveled over 19 kilometers (12 miles) and was ordered back to the Landeshut camp. There, the people who had stayed behind were accused of aiding the Communists and destroying camp facilities; they were formed into a penal company that the SS men and prisoner-functionaries subjected to a “bloody Friday” on February 16; tens of people were killed or shot during the massacre and during punitive labor at Werk III the next day.

The prisoners were not sent to work until late February, as the plants had been evacuated. The camp provisioning had degenerated considerably, and the number of emaciated people quickly rose, as did the prisoner death rate. In March and April 1945, the authorities started forcing the prisoners to build antitank ditches near Liebau (Lubawka), which for the starving people was often more than their strength could bear; the work lasted until early May. The prisoner-functionaries and SS men left the camp the night of May 8; the camp was liberated by detachments of the Soviet 21st Army the next morning.

Bodies were exhumed from three mass graves at the Jewish cemetery in Landeshut on April 11, 1946; the remains of 107 prisoners were dug up, some with evident skull injuries and gunshot holes. The Polish courts tried some of the Landeshut prisoner-functionaries: on September 16, 1946, the Katowice Special Criminal Court sentenced block elder Marian Kośmida to death; on August 31, 1948, the Jelenia Góra District Court sentenced Kapo Henryk Iwanowski to death; on August 9, 1949, the Białystok District Court sentenced assistant Kapo Władysław Rogowski to six years in prison; and on August 23, 1948, the Kraków District Court sentenced Władysław Mleczko, Barrack I scribe (Blockschreiber) and briefly block elder, to three years in prison.

SOURCES There are no publications that deal directly with this camp; some information is available in the broader publications on Gross-Rosen. Primary sources are available in the AMGR.

Alfred Konieczny

LANGENBIELAU I [AKA REICHENBACH, REICHENBACH SPORTSCHULE]

The Gross-Rosen subcamp Langenbielau I was located in the Prussian province of Lower Silesia (Niederschlesien), in what is present-day Bielawa, about 60 kilometers (37 miles) to the south of Breslau (Wrocław). That the camp had two names is due to the fact that the accommodation barracks were located between the villages of Langenbielau and Reichenbach. The buildings were part of the former SA-Sports School—thus the origin of the camp’s name Reichenbach Sportschule.

Forced labor camps were located in the area around Breslau in Upper and Lower Silesia and some in the Sudetenland as early as 1940, to hold the local Jewish population. Under the

command of Albrecht Schmelt, the Sonderbeauftragter (special commissioner) of the RFSS und Chef der deutschen Polizei für den fremdvölkischen Arbeitseinsatz im Osten (Chief of German Police for the Employment of Foreign Labor in the East), the inmates of these camps that were part of the Organisation Schmelt worked primarily in textile industries that supplied the Wehrmacht. In 1942, an Organisation Schmelt camp was established in Langenbielau. In the autumn of 1944, it came under the control of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp as a subcamp. The prisoners’ living conditions sharply deteriorated with this change in command: according to Monika Schmidt, who has described the camp in the *Dachauer Hefte*, the women in the forced labor camp were selected, and the men were mistreated.

According to Schmidt, the camp Langenbielau I consisted of sections: the men’s camp, or Männerlager I, and the women’s camp, or Frauenlager I. Between the end of August and the beginning of September 1944, the SS had taken over the former Reichenbach Sports School and, with the labor of Jews from the forced labor camp in Faulbrück, converted it into a concentration camp. The Langenbielau I camp for men consisted of eight two-level barracks, and the camp for women, which was only a few meters away, consisted of six barracks. The buildings were surrounded by a 3-meter-high (almost 10-feet-high) electrified fence, and there were 5-meter-high (16.4-feet-high) guard towers.

There were around 2,000 prisoners in the camp for men; the first inmates were from the dissolved forced labor camp (ZAL) in Faulbrück, and they arrived in Langenbielau on October 17 and 25, 1944. At the end of October, another transport arrived with 200 prisoners from the Krakau-Plaszow camp. Details on the age and national origin of the male prisoners have not been referred to in the secondary literature. The death rate in the men’s camp has been described as high, with the prisoners suffering mostly from lung diseases. The death rate is said to have been 3 or 4 prisoners per day.

The camp commander for the Langenbielau I men’s camp, which was also the site of the camp offices for the other camps in Langenbielau and Peterswaldau, was SS-Obersturmführer Karl Ulbricht, who had previously been commander of the guards at the Lublin-Majdanek concentration camp. The Rapportführer was Martin Klütsch. The camp was guarded by roughly 150 SS guards, of whom only a few are known by name: Richard Dietrich, Max Grimm, and Koppelman (or Koppmann). Blockführer Helmut Schulze was known to the prisoners as Joine (der Bösartige, or “The Vicious One”).

The women’s camp Langenbielau I held around 400 prisoners when it was taken over by the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. They were given prisoner numbers 49501 to 49898. Around 200 of these women had arrived in Langenbielau a few weeks earlier, following the dissolution of forced labor camps at Gellenau. A quarter of the women were between ages 13 and 18; a third were between 19 and 23. Additional arrivals increased the numbers of prisoners to around 800. It is likely that the numbers were even higher. Most of the

women were Hungarian and Polish Jews. Hans de Vries states that there was also a group of Dutch prisoners in Langenbielau (probably Langenbielau I): 450 of these prisoners, mostly women, were deported in June 1944 from Herzogenbusch to Auschwitz and then were sent on to Langenbielau/Reichenbach. Only 160 (male and female) inmates of this so-called Philips Group survived.

The women slept in unheated barracks on straw; details on the death rate in the female camp have not survived, but according to Schmidt, relying on eyewitness statements, the prisoners were mistreated by the guards, roll calls lasted for hours, and at least one female prisoner was shot in a forest near the camp. As in the men's camp, prisoners from the women's camp who were no longer capable of working were sent to Auschwitz or to the Dörnhau subcamp, a so-called death camp (*Sterbelager*). From September 1944, the women's camp was used to train wardresses for the Gross-Rosen camp; the women were armed with cudgels and whips, and the use of dogs was planned. Schmidt states that around 40 to 50 wardresses were in charge of the prisoners in the women's camp. Lieselotte Reiche is named as the commander of this camp. The name of another wardress, Charlotte Hilscher, is known, as are the names of 3 women who worked in the prison administration: Erika König, Maria Kühnel, and Helena Wiltzdorf.

The male prisoners as well as the female prisoners worked at a number of local firms, probably as a continuation of the work done for the Organisation Schmelt. Often, the male prisoners worked in armaments production or on construction sites after the transfer of control of the camp to Gross-Rosen.

Little is known about the cultural life in the camp. Bella Guterman has revealed that at the beginning of 1945 the Jewish prisoners celebrated Passover in Langenbielau. The male prisoners burned some of their beds to bake matzoh. The celebration occurred in the Langenbielau I women's camp.

On February 18, 1945, some of the female prisoners were evacuated to Porta Westfalica, a Neuengamme subcamp, and others to Parschnitz. In March 1945, 432 male prisoners were probably taken to Dachau. Of those, it is thought that only 240 reached their destination. However, there was not a full-scale evacuation of the camp. It was liberated by Soviet troops on May 8, 1945.

Klutsch and Schulze were sentenced to death in Poland in 1948 and hanged.

SOURCES Monika Schmidt reconstructs everyday life in the camp Langenbielau I in her essay "Zwangarbeit und Lagerhaft als lebenslanges Trauma. Erfahrungen in Langenbielau und Peterswaldau," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 174–195. The essay is based on witness statements, and the description is necessarily fragmentary. Alfred Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1994), describes the "Frauenarbeitslager" Langenbielau on pp. 21–25 and on p. 23 deals with the use of the names "Langenbielau" and "Reichen-

bach." Bella Guterman in her essay "Der Alltag der jüdischen Häftlinge in Nebenlagern des KL Gross-Rosen im Lichte ihrer kulturellen und künstlerischen Tätigkeit," in *Die Völker Europas im KL Gross-Rosen*, ed. Alfred Konieczny (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1995), pp. 37–58, on p. 57 relates the preparation and celebration of Passover by the Jewish prisoners in the Reichenbach camp [aka Frauenlager Langenbielau II]. Hans-Werner Wollenberg, one of the doctors in the men's camp, wrote a memoir: . . . und der Alpträum war de zum Alltag. Autobiographischer Bericht eines Jüdischen Arztes über Zwangsarbeitslager in Schlesien (1942–1945), ed. Manfred Brusten, Pfafferweiler: Centaurus, 1992. On pp. 156–87 he deals with his time in Langenbielau. Hans de Vries describes the fate of the Jewish prisoners in the Langenbielau I subcamp in his "Holländische Staatsbürger im KL Gross-Rosen," in Konieczny, *Die Völker Europas im KL Gross-Rosen*, pp. 85–90.

The GKBZHWP's *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny*, ed. Czesław Pilichowski et al. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), refers to the camp on p. 429 as an independent subcamp under the name Reichenbach but without any reference to Langenbielau I.

The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979), 1:139, states that the Langenbielau I subcamp was also known as the Reichenbach Sportschule. The "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs 2 BEG," *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1835, lists the Reichenbach camp under the name Langenbielau.

The BA-L under Signatures ZdL 405 AR 2797/67 IV and ZdL 405 AR-Z 11/62 II holds files on the proceedings against the camp commander of Langenbielau I, II, and Peterswaldau, SS-Obersturmführer Karl Ulrich. BA-L, ZdL 205 AR 1018/63, contains witness statements regarding the Langenbielau subcamp; collection ZdL 405 AR 1663/66 comprises files from the proceedings against Helmut Schulze. Witness statements on Langenbielau I are also held in the archives of AMGR, the ZfA in Berlin, the AŽIH in Warsaw, the YVA in Israel, and the USHMM in Washington, DC. Files from the trial of SS and wardresses are held in the GKBZHWP in Warsaw, collections SOSW 125 (proceedings against Martin Klutsch) and SOSW 6 (proceedings against Gertrud G.). Further information can be found in the collections of the BA-B, NS 3/1570 (Angaben zu Aufseherinnen), NS 4 Bu 99 (Gross-Rosen aus Ausbildungsort für Aufseherinnen), and NS 4 GR vorl. (Gross-Rosen).

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LANGENBIELAU II

The Gross-Rosen subcamp Langenbielau II was located in Langenbielau (present-day Bielawa). The subcamp was for female prisoners. As with the women's camp in Peterswaldau, it was administered from the male camp at Langenbielau I.

Unlike the camp at Langenbielau I (which was also known as Reichenbach or Reichenbach Sportschule), there are few details known about the camp at Langenbielau II. Also,

Langenbielau II did not originate from the Organisation Schmelt. It probably originated, as with other Gross-Rosen subcamps, as a result of the arrival of prisoner transports from Hungary, Slovakia, Krakau-Plaszow, and Litzmannstadt (Łódź). Many of these transports went through a selection in Auschwitz before the prisoners were distributed to the new subcamps. According to statements by former prisoners, it would seem that the women were taken to the Langenbielau II subcamp up to April 1945.¹ Women who could not work were regularly returned to Auschwitz.

The International Tracing Service (ITS), relying on a prisoner statement, reports that the Langenbielau II camp was mentioned for the first time in February 1945. The women, according to the ITS, worked for the companies Lehmann and G.F. Flechtner (the Lehmann company had taken over part of the Flechtner factory). Details on their work are not known. The women slept in barracks next to their work. The female SS guards in the camp were under the command of Elisabeth Knauer, who joined the SS-Gefolge (Auxiliary) at the age of 23 in March 1944. At least one SS wardress was to be trained to lead a dog squad. In response to statements about the completely unhygienic sanitary conditions and the frequent epidemics among the prisoners, including typhus, Knauer is alleged to have said: "They should croak!"² The death rate is said to have been high, but there are no details.

The Bielawa city administration has information that suggests a number of around 1,000 Silesian Jewish women in Langenbielau II who, from mid-1944, worked for the Frolich Spinning company.³ It is likely that this information confuses the women's camp with Langenbielau I.

The prisoners were liberated by the Red Army on May 8, 1945.

SOURCES The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Hafstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979), refers to Langenbielau on 1:139; see also "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Ab, 2 BEG," *BGBL*, (1977), Teil 1, p. 1819; *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny*, ed. Czesław Pilichowski et al. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 428.

Alfred Konieczny refers to the Langenbielau II camp in *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1994), pp. 43–44. Monika Schmidt in her essay "Zwangarbeit und Lagerhaft als lebenslanges Trauma. Erfahrungen in Langenbielau und Peterswaldau," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 174–195, provides numerous details on the camps in Langenbielau (also Peterswaldau) as well as the prisoners' living conditions.

Information held by the Bielawa City Administration on the camps Langenbielau I and II can be found at the following Web address: <http://wiadomosci.um.bielawa.pl/wb.php>.

The BA-L, Signatur ZSt 405 AR 2797/67 IV, holds files on the proceedings against the camp commanders of Langenbielau I, II, and Peterswaldau, SS-Obersturmführer Karl Ulrich and Else Knauer (in particular, the interrogation of Karl Ulrich, dated August 16, 1965); investigations on Langenbielau

II are held in Signatur ZSt 205 AR 1018/63. The planned training of an SS wardress as a dog squad leader is confirmed in BA-L, ZSt Verschiedenes 301 Dm, pp. 235–236; information on the transport of selected women out of the camp is located in ZSt 405 AR-Z 11/62 I, p. 140 (statement by Sima K., February 8, 1965).

In AŽIH, Signatur ZIH 301/901, there is a report by survivor Hanna W., dated September 28, 1945, on her time as a prisoner in Langenbielau II.

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NOTES

1. Aussage Rachel B. vom 16. August 1966, ZdL, Signatur ZSt 205 AR 1018/63, (held at BA-L).

2. Bericht Hanna W., 28.9.1945, Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, Signatur ŽIH 301/901, p. 1, zitiert nach: Monika Schmidt, "Zwangarbeit und Lagerhaft als lebenslanges Trauma. Erfahrungen in Langenbielau und Peterswaldau," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 185.

3. See <http://wiadomosci.um.bielawa.pl/wb.php>.

LIEBAU

The Gross-Rosen subcamp at Liebau (later Lubawka) was located approximately 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) south of Landeshut (Kamienna Góra).

From the surviving original camp records, there is no doubt that there was a women's camp in Liebau under the command of Gross-Rosen. The International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog, citing the recollections of former prisoners collected at the Arolsen archives, dates the formation of the Liebau subcamp to July 1944. In accordance with original German records (transport rosters), as well as postwar records of the trials of Liebau female staff members, the camp was created in September 1944. The first transport was sent on September 19, 1944. It numbered 200 women—Hungarian Jews who were sent to Liebau from the Auschwitz concentration camp. The prisoners had been given numbers 59801 through 60000. The entire transport was divided into three groups and assigned to work at three local companies. Prisoners numbered 59801 through 59850 worked at the Kurt Laske furniture factory, where ammunition crates were manufactured; those numbered 59851 through 59900 worked at the Heinz Wendt machine factory, making aircraft parts; and those numbered 59901 through 60000 worked at Nordland GmbH, making tank treads.

In mid-October 1944, a transport of nearly 300 women arrived from Auschwitz. Besides Polish and Hungarian Jewish women, there were also Jewish women from France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. They were given numbers 74101 through 74393 and were also assigned to work in the aforementioned three companies (the approximate shares were: Nordland, 150 women; Laske, 100; Wendt, 50).

One more group of 50 Jewish women was sent to Liebau in the same month; they received numbers 76131 through 76180.

Therefore, the total population of Liebau labor camp was approximately 550 female prisoners.

Work went on in the plants 24 hours a day without a stop. Some prisoners worked in the daytime, some at night. The shifts rotated every week. Besides working in the factories, the women also did farm-field work as well as work at the airfield construction site.

The living conditions in the camp were adequate. The living quarters were in two types of barracks: wooden and brick. They could be heated in the winter. The brick ones had tile stoves, while the wooden ones had iron stoves. The women slept on bunks arranged in double tiers, one over the other. Each woman had two blankets; one served as a cover, while the other served as a sheet.

Initially, the clothing available was inadequate. Not only was underwear in short supply, so too were blouses and shirts. The shortages were made up in time from supplies in the warehouse. There were also instances of some female guards sharing their clothes with prisoners, although it was forbidden.

The food was poor. Too little was issued, although it was issued regularly, three times a day. The food for the entire day consisted of breakfast, one-fourth of a small loaf of bread, a bit of butter, and some coffee; lunch, 0.75 to 1 liter (3 to 4 cups) of watery soup; and supper, the same soup as at lunch. Women working the night shift received an extra portion of soup. From time to time, there would be a ration of jam, sugar (about four tablespoons), and milk.

Female German guards in the service of the SS oversaw the camp. The commander's name was Kowa; she came from Bavaria. The barrack commander was Gertrud Kolberg from the Breslau (Wrocław) area. The female overseers (*Aufseherinnen*) were simple girls who had been recruited by the local Labor Office (*Arbeitsamt*) shortly before the camp's establishment. They were taken to Gross-Rosen, where they were assigned to guard duty in the ranks of the SS. After one day at Gross-Rosen, they were sent to the camp at Parschnitz (later Poříčí). There, they underwent 10 days of training consisting of watching the local female guards work. The *Aufseherinnen*'s duties included escorting the prisoners to their workplaces, watching over them during work, making sure they did not talk or shirk work, and escorting them back to the camp 12 hours later. Then the guards were off duty until the next day. Every three or four weeks, there would be Sunday guard duty. On Sundays there were roll calls, which were conducted by the camp commander and barrack commander. The *Aufseherinnen* filed reports with the camp commander on improper behavior by prisoners, and the camp commander would mete out bodily punishments: she beat their faces and hands, cut their hair, or ordered them to stand outside for a long time. The guards at Liebau were dressed in SS uniforms, but, as their trial records show, they did not carry weapons.

There is no detailed information on the medical aid at Liebau. We know that among the Jewish prisoners there was a Polish doctor, Helena Ryłło, who had probably been brought to the camp specially. However, there are no references at all to a hospital (*Revier*) operating in the camp. Over the camp's

eight months of existence, 10 women died due to illnesses. Most of them were reportedly Hungarian women. Their bodies were buried in coffins near the Catholic cemetery in Liebau.

The camp was liberated on May 8, 1945.

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Liebau camp: B. Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987); A. Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Szén* 40 (1982); *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw, 1979); ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979); and AMGR, collection of written and microfilmed records.

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LUDWIGSDORF

The Gross-Rosen subcamp for women at Ludwigsdorf (later Ludwikowice Kłodzkie) came into being in the summer of 1944. However, the history of the camp located here goes back considerably longer. Since at least June 1942, there was a camp at Ludwigsdorf. The camp was situated in a valley on the edge of Ludwigsdorf and was surrounded by forest and mountains. It was composed of two sections: male and female. There was a common bathhouse for women and men on the border of the two sections. There were approximately 400 prisoners, Polish Jews, in the women's camp; the men's section held 600 Jews, who were Polish, Dutch, Belgian, and French nationals.¹ Both the women and the men were put to work at the Dynamit AG and Mölke-Werke ammunition factory. Although the death rate at the camp was very high, the population remained the same. That was because new transports of Jews were sent to Ludwigsdorf from other camps. The following is known about the Ludwigsdorf camp:

On June 23, 1942, an unknown number of women arrived from the camp at Ottmuth (later Otmęt); among them was Cesia Finkiel; both sections of the camp were already in existence then.

In early 1943, a group of men arrived at Ludwigsdorf from the camp at Brande (later Prądkie in Opole Province); Kazimierz Olszewski arrived in that transport.

In April 1943, approximately 100 girls arrived from the Gogolin forced labor camp for Jews; Fela Kurztag was in that transport.²

In late November and early December 1943, an unknown number of men arrived from the camp at Annaberg (later Góra Świętej Anny); Dawid Gliksman was in that transport.

In early spring 1944, approximately 50 Dutch women were transported to Ludwigsdorf.³

On March 28, 1944, a transport of 198 men arrived from the defunct camp at Markstädt. They were sick and weak prisoners who had undergone a selection and were unfit for

work at the Krupp works in Fünfteichen. Berek Goldman arrived in that transport.⁴

In April or May 1944, approximately 10 women from the camp at Annaberg were admitted.⁵

Prior to July 1944, an unknown number of Jewish women from Hungary were transported to Ludwigsdorf.

In July 1944, women were brought from the defunct female camp at Klettendorf in Breslau (later Klecina, a section of Wrocław).

Between late August and September 24, 1944, a transport of Polish Jewish women arrived; it is probable that the women were brought from Auschwitz concentration camp.

In mid-1944, a decision was made to convert what had been a mixed men's and women's camp into a strictly female subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. On July 22–23 of that year, the men's section of the camp was closed. Approximately 230 healthy prisoners were sent on to the camp in Faulbrück. However, 455 Jews unfit for work were sent on to Auschwitz concentration camp; 370 of them were gassed.⁶

The new transports of women were lodged in the barracks that the men had vacated at Ludwigsdorf; approximately 600 women lived at Ludwigsdorf. The camp was guarded by the SS. The names of three guards are known: Margarite Schüler, Elizabeth Bischof (born June 7, 1916), and Winger. The name of the camp leader (Lagerführerin) is unknown.

All the women worked in the Dynamit AG and Mölke-Werke factory. The work went on continuously and was divided into three shifts of eight hours each. The women made ammunition, grenades, and other explosives. This work was extremely dangerous and a health hazard; the women were continuously exposed to a variety of dangerous chemicals. Weighing gunpowder was an especially hazardous job. The clouds of dust and gas caused heart, lung, and eye diseases. Depending on the type of gunpowder, the dye turned their skin yellow, green, or red. Giza Klein described the consequences of that work: "Many people got lung conditions because of the gunpowder. We were very dirty. You couldn't get yourself clean. Everything was greenish yellow from the gunpowder. Your hands were pungent from gunpowder. Bread also had a bitter taste. There were no lice or bedbugs—they ran away from the gunpowder. The gunpowder killed everything."⁷ The only supposed body protection they had was kerchiefs tied around their faces and an extra ration of a half liter (two cups) of milk a day. The death rate was high, due to the hazardous work, combined with the absence of medical care, hunger, and the terror prevalent in the camps (both the earlier camp and the Gross-Rosen subcamp). According to Josef Teichmann, a German who worked at the same ammunition factory, approximately 300 prisoners were buried in the cemetery behind the factory.⁸

Production was halted at the factory in January 1945 due to the shortage of raw materials. The women were sent to dig ditches and to build defensive fortifications.⁹ In mid-April 1945, some of the prisoners were evacuated, at first on foot, then later by train, to the camp at Biesnitzer Grund. Cesia Finkiel, who was taken away in that transport, remembers that

there were 300 girls in Görlitz. We do not know if they had all been transported there from Ludwigsdorf. Sick and weak women who were unfit for transport were left at the Ludwigsdorf camp. Soviet soldiers liberated them on the night of May 8–9, 1945.

After the war, there were two trials of former SS guards from the Ludwigsdorf camp. Elizabeth Bischof was tried in 1946 by the Municipal Criminal Court in Jicin, in what is now the Czech Republic. On February 27, 1946, she was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment. After she was released on probation on October 23, 1953, she went to Germany.¹⁰ Margarite Schüler, tried by the Wrocław District Court on October 31, 1947, was sentenced to 3 years in prison. She was released on January 3, 1949, having served her sentence.¹¹

SOURCES There are no monographic essays on Ludwigsdorf. There is certain information about this camp in Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987).

The archival material on Ludwigsdorf consists mainly of former prisoner accounts on file at the AŽIH in Warsaw and AMGR in Wałbrzych. The AK-IPN in Warsaw contain reports of witness interviews regarding this camp.

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NOTES

1. AŽIH, Account No. 924, Cesia Finkiel.
2. AŽIH, Account No. 960, Fela Kurztag.
3. AMGR, 6500/9-g/DP, Report of examination of witness Andrzej Okuta, dated March 26, 1977.
4. AŽIH, Account No. 946, Berek Goldman.
5. AŽIH, Account No. 2620, Bronisława Radzik; AMGR, 13/40/MF, Report of examination of former prisoner Masza Dembińska at Nowa Ruda Municipal Court, dated May 6, 1949.
6. APMO, D-Au II-3/1—Quarantäne-Liste, k. 6; AŽIH, Account No. 946.
7. AMGR, 4801/DP, testimony of Giza Klein, dated March 9, 1948.
8. AMGR, Records of the Wrocław District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes, Report of examination of Josef Teichmann, dated January 7, 1969.
9. AMGR, 4801/DP.
10. AMGR, 7103/DP—Information on female guards at concentration camps in the Czech Republic.
11. Elżbieta Kobierska-Motas, "Członkowie załóg i więźniowie funkcjonalni niemieckich obozów, więzień i gett skazani przez sądy polskie" (Warsaw, 1992), Item 1397.

MÄHRISCH WEISSWASSER

The Gross-Rosen subcamp in Mährisch Weisswasser (Bila Voda) came into being in September 1944. Information about how many women were sent there or how they were numbered could not be found, but it is known that they were put to work at the Telefunken company (the former Friswerke).

Information collected after the war by the local Czech government shows that the subcamp was established in early 1944. The camp accommodated Jewish women from Hungary, Romania, Poland, and France. The camp was probably established especially for the Telefunken company of Berlin. There is also information on a transport from Auschwitz of women who were found fit to work.

Most likely 10 women were assigned to work in the forest to get the wood needed to build the camp, which was composed of six wooden barracks measuring 9×18 up to 9×27 meters (9.8×19.7 up to 9.8×29.5 yards). The camp was surrounded by barbed wire, which was electrified at night. The camp was designed for 500 people. According to postwar information, 650 people passed through it; 500 people were numbered. Of the total of 650, 4 people died and 2 of them died in the hospital at Červená Voda shortly after liberation.¹

According to the account of Růžena Simonovičové, who was treated at the Červená Voda hospital, the camp was founded in late September 1944.²

The prisoners were chiefly put to work by Telefunken in the Frieswerke buildings.

The subcamp's operation, like other subcamps located in the Sudeten district, was coordinated by a special SS-Kommando Trautenau located in what was then called Parschnitz.

Only one member of the camp staff has been identified: Herbert Gustaw Arndt (born August 4, 1889), a guard at Mährisch Weisswasser from February 1945 to May 1945. He had previously served at the concentration camps in Krakau-Plaszow (September 25, 1944–September 30, 1944) and Riese/Wüstegiersdorf (September 30, 1944–February 1945). He was found not guilty in a postwar investigation because he had been drafted into the SS guard staff on September 25, 1944, that is, at the end of the war when Hitler brought the oldest draftees into the army. Moreover, according to witness testimony, he did not agree with Nazi Party ideology.³

The Mährisch Weisswasser camp was liberated on May 8, 1945. Earlier, on April 8, 1945, the female German guards (SS women) left the camp in fear of the approaching Red Army.

There were 650 prisoners in the camp, and upon liberation, they left it and hid in nearby villages. There was no one left in the camp on the day the Red Army entered it.⁴

The prisoners went back to their homes. Due to their serious condition, three women had to stay in the hospital at Červená Voda. One of them recovered, and the other two died in the hospital. Their bodies were buried at the cemetery in Červená Voda.

After liberation, the camp was used by the Soviet Army.⁵

SOURCES Some information on the Mährisch Weisswasser subcamp can be found in the following publications: Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Sśn* 40 (1982); Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych, 1994); and Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987). See also Katarzyna Pawlak-Weiss, "Żeńskie filie KL Gross-Rosen położone

na terenie obecnych Czech w latach 1944–45" (Master's thesis, Wrocław University, 2002).

Archival material for this subcamp is minimal. The AMGR has only postwar information compiled by the Czech local government.

Katarzyna Pawlak-Weiss
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, DP 6772.
2. Ibid.
3. AMGR, MF 44/674-678, Investigation of Herbert Gustaw Arndt.
4. AMGR, DP 6772.
5. Ibid.

MERZDORF

The Gross-Rosen subcamp at Merzdorf in Riesengebirge (later Marciszów) was located approximately eight kilometers (five miles) north of Landeshut (Kamienna Góra).

From 1942, there was a forced labor camp for Jewish women (Zwangslager für Juden, ZALfJ), administered by Organisation Schmelz, in Merzdorf. The camp was situated near the linen mill belonging to Kramsta-Methner und Frahne AG. Women from the camp were put to work in the mill. The prisoners lived in brick barracks.

In the summer of 1944, forced labor camp (ZAL) Merzdorf was converted into a women's subcamp of Gross-Rosen. According to the information from the International Tracing Service (ITS), the first reference to the Merzdorf camp under Gross-Rosen's command is from August 1944. Based on the materials available, a small group (11 names) of Merzdorf subcamp prisoners has been identified. The numbers given these 11 women ranged from 50578 to 67272, which indicates that the first numbers could have been issued in September 1944.

The camp held several hundred Jewish women (the exact number has not been established). The prisoners' work did not change after the ZAL camp was converted into a Gross-Rosen subcamp. The prisoners still worked in the Kramsta-Methner und Frahne AG linen spinning mill.

As determined by the Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Wrocław (OKBZHW), the job of camp leader (Lagerführerin) was held by SS officer E. Rinke.

The Merzdorf subcamp operated until the end of the war. It was liberated on May 8, 1945.

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Merzdorf camp: B. Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987); A. Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Sśn* 40 (1982); *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw, 1979); ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS*

in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (Arolsen, 1979); and rulings of the OKBZHW, dated January 3, 1977, to discontinue the proceedings against the Gross-Rosen camp commanders; AMGR, collection of written and microfilmed records.

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trans. Gerard Majka

MITTELSTEINE

The Mittelsteine (Polish: Ścinawka Średnia) subcamp was established on August 23, 1944, with the arrival of a transport of 200 women from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp.¹ These prisoners were registered in the main camp with numbers from 53591 to 54000 and 55001 to 55150.² In this transport there were Polish Jews, many of them from the dissolved Łódź ghetto. One of them, former prisoner Pesel S., stated as follows: "I arrived in the Mittelsteine camp. Before that I had been in Auschwitz for a week, to where I had been brought from Łódź. . . . In Mittelsteine I had the prisoner number 55024. The Mittelsteine camp was a Gross-Rosen subcamp. The camp had about four hundred prisoners. We were initially guarded by men for a few days. Later the camp was taken over by wardresses. We were also guarded by wardresses in the factory."³

A second transport arrived on October 5, 1944, with 200 Hungarian and a few Czech Jewish women. They were given the prisoner numbers 64001 to 64200.⁴

Halina G., a Polish prisoner, stated the following about the camp and its internal workings: "The camp in Mittelsteine was located on the edge of a small town. The camp consisted of two single level wooden barracks. They held the female prisoners. There was a smaller barrack in which were the infirmary bay, doctor's room, camp elder's room, kitchen, and store room. In the barracks there were bunks for us to sleep on. They had straw sacks. The women in the camp were almost exclusively Jews. Poles were the majority, but there were a large number from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and [a] few of other nationalities."⁵

The women worked at the Firma Albert Patin, Werkstätten für Fernsteuerungstechnik Berlin. It had relocated in 1943 at the request of the Reich Air Ministry (RLM) to Mittelsteine after it had been damaged during bombing raids.⁶ Hana G. had the following to say about her work:

Each day we left the camp for work in the nearby factory. It was probably a factory for aircraft parts. I worked at a lathe. The work was done in two shifts each of twelve hours (from 6:00 in the morning to 6:00 in the evening and from 6:00 in the evening to 6:00 in the morning). Not only women from our camp worked in this factory but also men and women of other nationalities. I did not know if there were prisoners from other camps because you were not allowed to speak with anyone. The factory foremen were men—mostly Germans. Some of the women

from our camp worked outside the factory site, constructing a building that resembled a concrete bunker. That work was very difficult. Sometimes the female workers were working in water up to their knees. My mother and sister worked there. After we came back from the factory and had our meal we were forced to work in the camp, carrying, for example, bricks from outside the camp into the camp. In the spring of 1945, we began to construct something with these bricks. . . . Because of the additional work there was tension between the company and the camp commander, because the company was concerned that it had good labor.⁷

The camp commander was SS-Oberaufseherin Philomena Locker, who for the crimes she committed in the camp and during its evacuation was sentenced in 1948 before a court in Świdnica to death. The sentence was commuted to seven years' imprisonment with hard labor.⁸ She was released from prison in 1953.

Hana G. made the following statements about mistreatment by the camp commander:

Once, in 1945, during a roll call in the camp yard, the camp commander ordered us to give the names of those who are said to have told the foreman that the female prisoners had to do extra work in the camp after their work in the factory, carrying bricks. My mother stepped out of the line and admitted that she had done it. Whether that was true, I don't know. The camp commander took my mother to where the wardresses slept and beat her. I can no longer say with what she was beaten and how she was beaten. As a result of the beating, my mother's spine was damaged. This was only determined when she was in hospital in Munich after the liberation. After she was beaten, my mother had to go back to work.⁹

Pesel S. also made a statement about the camp commander:

I only have the impression that the camp commander was very mean. She was dangerous. She had one or more dogs. Once, when I went past the store-room and tried to get some carrots through the window, she saw me from afar and her large dog came running toward me. He bit me in my back.

Another time, at roll call we were told that we would only get our soup when the girls report that we had stolen carrots. I and seven others immediately reported that we had stolen. We were put up against the barracks wall with our faces to the wall. Then the other girls had to go past us and each of them had to give us one blow with a large wooden cudgel. Any one who would not hit us did not get any soup.¹⁰

The evacuation of the Mittelsteine camp began in March–April 1945. It took place in a number of stages. The prisoners were taken to a number of Gross-Rosen subcamps, for example, Grafenort, Altheide, and Mährisch Weisswasser. Former Polish prisoner Dwora B. stated the following:

In April 1945 (I can't remember the exact date), the Mittelsteine camp was evacuated and we were taken by foot to the Grafenort camp. On May 4, 1945, all of us, i.e., all the female prisoners in the Grafenort camp, were led into the forest by the SS wardresses from our camp (the SS wardresses who were in the Mittelsteine camp). In the forest, we met Wehrmacht soldiers who were coming from the front. The Wehrmacht soldiers asked the SS wardresses, "Where are you taking these people?" The SS wardresses replied: "That is our business. It has nothing to do with you!" The soldiers replied: "We know that you shoot defenseless people but you won't succeed. The Russians are not far from here!" With weapons drawn the soldiers forced the SS wardresses to take us back to the Grafenort camp. When we arrived at the camp the wardresses fled. One of the Wehrmacht soldiers stayed at the entrance to the camp and made sure that nothing happened to us. On the following day the Russians marched into Grafenort.¹¹

Two women found near Mittelsteine are the probable number of prisoners who died during the evacuation march. They were shot in the nape of the neck. Autopsies were carried out by the Kłodzko (Glatz) state prosecutor. Their bodies were brought from Mittelsteine to Grafenort.¹²

Gizi B. wrote the following about the evacuation of the other group of women prisoners to Mährisch Weisswasser:

In the middle of April 1945 I was one of two hundred women, who were transferred from Mittelsteine to the Weisswasser camp to work in a factory there. However, we never worked there. Instead we were held inside the barracks until we were liberated.

Our conditions in the camp were indescribable. We were called to roll call twice daily, morning and evening, and received once a day a small piece of bread and a few spoons of a so-called soup. We were covered in lice while we were in this camp. Had we been forced to endure this torture much longer, I doubt that many of us would have survived.¹³

SOURCES There are no publications specifically on this camp. Archival records may be at the BA-L (IV 405 AR-Z 105/67); AK-IPN (collection regional commission Kraków, Folder 119); and NWHStA-(D) (Dortmund Rep. 118).

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NOTES

1. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1939–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 140.
2. AK-IPN, collection regional commission Kraków, Folder 119; cited by Alfred Konieczny, *Frauen in Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych, 1994), p. 44.
3. BA-L, IV 405 AR-Z 105/67, p. 230, statement by Polish witness Pesel B.
4. AK-IPN.
5. BA-L, IV 405 AR-Z 105/67, p. 290, statement by Polish witness Hana G.
6. BA-B, Bank der Deutschen Luftfahrt, Nr. 319, file note, September 13, 1943.
7. BA-L, IV 405 AR-Z 105/67, pp. 290–291, statement by Hana G.
8. BA-L, IV 405 AR-Z 105/67.
9. Ibid., p. 292, statement by Hana G.
10. Ibid., pp. 230–231, statement by Pesel S.
11. Ibid. p. 276, statement by Dwora B.
12. BA-L, IV 405 AR-Z 105/67.
13. Gizi B., letter to the author, June 6, 1999.

MORCHENSTERN

As the Gross-Rosen subcamp in the small Silesian industrial city of Zillerthal-Erdmannsdorf (later Mysłakowice), which had existed in a textile factory since July 1944, was evacuated in front of the rapidly advancing Soviet troops in mid-February 1945, the commando of about 300 women was transferred in one group to the other side of the Riesengebirge Mountains. After the arduous march over the wintry mountains, which began on February 17, the column of female prisoners arrived in Morchenstern (Smržovka), near Gablonz (Jablonec nad Nissau), on February 19.¹

Here, the women—Polish, Czech, and Hungarian Jews—were put to forced labor in a newly established subcamp located in the aircraft engine works of the Mitteldeutsche Motorenwerke Taucha (MIMO), a subsidiary of the aircraft manufacturer concern Auto Union AG Chemnitz.² This MIMO factory, which was given the code name "Iser-Werke," belonged to the group of factories that had been transferred out of the Leipzig area because of heavy air attacks there. Since 1941, its technical director, Dr. Ing. William Werner, played a leading role in the directing organs of the German aviation arms sphere, such as the "Reichsmarshall's Industry Council for the Production of Air Force Equipment," the "Armaments Council," the Fighter Staff, and the Armaments Staff. Correspondingly, he exerted influence over the allocation of concentration camp prisoner labor. As a result of heavy bomb damage sustained at the main works in Taucha, near Leipzig, on July 7, 1944, the factory management attempted to increase production in its satellite factories such as in Morchenstern. For that purpose, MIMO was allocated and received the female concentration camp prisoners from Zillerthal-Erdmannsdorf. Whether Andreas Baumgartner's conjecture that parts for the Messerschmitt (Me) 262 jet

fighter were produced in the Iser-Werke is justified has not been established.

Accommodations for the women were in two barracks. In the camp, life was regulated according to the usual camp routine of the female SS overseers, some of whom were put on trial after the war for mishandling the prisoners.

The actual employment of the women in Morchenstern was limited in duration, due to the circumstances of the war. After barely a month, the detachment was again transferred. In connection with the last-ditch effort to mount an effective air defense, the prisoners from Morchenstern were taken to the Nordhausen subcamp, where 294 women arrived on March 15, 1945.³ By then it was too late to put them to work. On April 4, the women departed on a days-long foot march and railroad journey to Mauthausen, where 221 of them arrived on April 15. Even then the suffering of these women was not at an end; 44 of the women were put into work details at Mauthausen and presumably stayed there until their liberation on May 5. Probably the only Belgian in the Morchenstern subcamp, Marie M. was able, together with other Belgian "protective custody" prisoners, to reach Switzerland on April 22 on a transport organized by the International Red Cross.

On May 1, 1945, shortly before Mauthausen was liberated, a larger part of the women from Morchenstern were forced on a death march from the Mauthausen main camp to the Guns-kirchen subcamp, where an unknown number of them died of typhus. One of the survivors, Hungarian Jew Sarolta M., stated in June 1945:

When we departed, we received supplies for one day. We marched out. While under way we received hardly anything to eat. The hunger was terrible. The men plucked grass and herbs, which we cooked. Sometimes we succeeded in digging up a couple of potatoes, but anyone who was caught doing that was shot down. . . . Naturally there were many who could not endure this march, so many people sat down exhausted by the side of the road. The SS officer drove a bicycle along the edge of the road and shot anyone whom he saw sitting. Once we sat down, completely exhausted. The SS man noticed this and drew his pistol to shoot us. We quickly sprang up, and so he let us live. . . . Our foot march ended in Gunskirchen. We arrived in pouring rain. The camp for us had been erected in a forest. There was hardly any straw there, and we were given hardly anything to eat. A quarter liter [8.5 ounces] of soup and 120 grams [4.2 ounces] of bread was our daily ration. Typhus broke out there. Many men got it. We women received Swiss care packages, and so we held out somewhat better, but later the infection raged among us as well, naturally.⁴

How many women survived the strains of the many evacuations in the end is not known. Up until the evacuation of

Morchenstern, there were only 3 deaths. The decrease in the number of women to 221 before the arrival in Mauthausen very probably reflects the fact that 35 women escaped during the foot march from Nordhausen-Grosswerther to Herzberg, where the group boarded a train, and that a further 30 probably escaped during the train trip. That latter group included Czech prisoner Vera Gombosová-Oravcová, who succeeded in fleeing and in hiding herself until the arrival of American troops.⁵

SOURCES There is no secondary work that addresses this camp exclusively, but information may be found in Joachim Neander, *Das Konzentrationslager "Mittelbau" in der Endphase der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld: Papierflieger, 1997); Andreas Baumgartner, *Die vergessenen Frauen von Mauthausen. Die weiblichen Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen und ihre Geschichte* (Vienna: Verl. Österreich, 1997).

Archival records are available in the SÚA (KT/OVS, K. 171), HAFHDCB, and AG-MD.

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trans. Geoffrey Megargee

NOTES

1. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1939–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 140.
2. BA-B, Bank der deutschen Luftfahrt, Nr. 498, Mittel-deutsche Motorenwerke Taucha GmbH, p. 2.
3. AG-MD, no archival reference, list of 294 new arrivals from Morchenstern, March 15, 1945.
4. HAFHDCB, no archival reference, report by former Hungarian female prisoner Sarolta M.
5. NARA, M 1079, Roll 2, Frame 383, statement by Vera Gombosová-Oravcová, April 18, 1945, cited in Joachim Neander, *Das Konzentrationslager "Mittelbau" in der Endphase der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld: Papierflieger, 1997), p. 441.

NEUSALZ

The Gross-Rosen subcamp in Neusalz (present-day Nowa Sól) was the result of the conversion of an Organisation Schmelt forced labor camp (ZAL). The first laborers who were to work for the Gruschwitz Textilwerke AG had already been sent to Neusalz in 1940. The men and, above all, the women came from the area of Lissa (Leszno) and Rawicz. Transports of young Jewish women from Upper Silesia began arriving in the first half of 1942. In November 1943, 118 Jewish women arrived from the closed Grünberg camp, and 120 Hungarian Jewish girls arrived from Auschwitz in April 1944.

There were 897 women in the ZAL camp when it was converted into the Gross-Rosen Neusalz subcamp located at the Gruschwitz factory. Some 14 wooden barracks were erected in 1942. They were surrounded by a fence and barbed wire. There was a kitchen and camp infirmary (*Revier*) on the camp premises. The Jewish women incarcerated in the camp were

isolated and could not leave the camp grounds as the other forced laborers could. Instead, they were escorted to work by the female overseers and had considerably harder work than other laborers. They worked in the weaving mill and the linen combing mill, where the dust was very heavy; some women loaded ammunition onto trucks in the factory basements. They worked in two shifts of nine hours a day each and had Sundays off. From their appearance, as forced laborers have all agreed in their testimonies, they must have had very hard conditions and very unsatisfactory food. That is why many of the forced laborers tried to help the Jewish girls. They would leave food at spots they had agreed upon, and they would get correspondence through to family and friends.

Forced laborer Lidia Stanek became friends with a Jewish girl at work. Throughout her time at Neusalz, she maintained correspondence with her and sent letters to her family in occupied Poland. One of the German women overseers aided her in this. The letters, written from 1942 to 1945, and the recollections of Aliza Besser, a forced laborer and then a prisoner at the Gross-Rosen subcamp, tell about the atmosphere prevailing in Neusalz. The women were overworked and underfed, and they all stopped menstruating after a short while at the camp. They were maltreated, not only by the SS guards but also by their fellow countrywomen serving in various jobs, such as Judenälteste (Elder of the Jews), cooks, and the dentist. They dreaded sickness, as they could then be allocated for selection and taken away to Auschwitz. They constantly quarreled and informed against one another, but there were also times, mostly during Jewish holy days, when they would pray and sing together. They were depressed by news passed on in smuggled messages about their families being taken away and their closest relatives and friends dying. A transport with clothing arrived in May 1944. Some Hungarian Jewish women recognized their mothers' and sisters' belongings. The scenes were very depressing when they caressed the clothing they had known.

There was an infirmary in the camp; a German doctor came in from outside the camp, and the dentist was a Jewish prisoner. She abused her fellow prisoners greatly. Besser writes about her as follows: "My heart aches at how one Jewish woman treats another." There were over 100 prisoners serving in various jobs. "Bloody Rywka" stood out in particular. Several prisoners died throughout the camp's existence; there were also several accidents at work. One of the prisoners was pulled into a loom by her hair; another one had her hand cut off. They came down in the masses with furuncles (boils).

In late May and early June 1944, they became aware that some changes were on the way. Pachowa, who was then commander, announced that there would be administrative changes on June 19. Because of the closing of the Organisation Schmelt camps, the existing forced labor camp was to become a Gross-Rosen subcamp and would be under SS supervision. At a roll call, 897 women were officially handed over. As Besser relates, they were alone unsupervised for sev-

eral days: none of them escaped, thinking that they would be treated better. There was a "holiday of love and flirting," as French laborers had come to the camp.

It was only several days later that about 50 female guards (Aufseherinnen) in SS uniforms appeared. They had been picked from German women working at factories in Neusalz and sent to Ravensbrück for several weeks of training. Elizabeth Gersen became the new camp commander, and her assistant was Effenberge. As Besser continues, a roll call was ordered on July 6, 1944. A delegation of four SS men arrived. Every woman had to undress and go into a room where the SS men were sitting behind a table, with Aufseherinnen standing at the sides. A circle had been drawn in chalk in the middle of the room, and the naked women were to enter it one at a time. They were inspected and measured, and their teeth were checked. They were separated into categories and then assigned numbered tags, which they had to wear hanging around their necks. Numbers ranging from 47945 to 48645 were issued at that time. Unfortunately, nothing about the movement of transports is known. Several prisoners were moved to the Auschwitz concentration camp. There were 800 prisoners at the time of evacuation. Conditions had changed completely; discipline had been tightened, and all communications with local workers came to an end. The prisoners received printed numbers, which they had to sew onto the left front of their clothing, and blue-gray striped material to sew onto their backs where squares 25 by 15 centimeters (10 by 6 inches) had been cut out.

News arrived in January 1945 of the impending evacuation. Preparations began. Some clothing from Birkenau, which was to be recycled into raw materials, was distributed to the prisoners. Pants were made out of blankets; there were no shoes. The winter was exceptionally cold. The subcamp was evacuated on January 31, 1945. Prisoners were given two loaves of bread, a jar of jam, and some margarine. They were arranged in four columns of 200 women; the escort was made up of five Aufseherinnen and two SS men. They walked 29 kilometers (18 miles) a day. They slept in barns and schools and received a hot meal once a day. One of the prisoners, Franciszka Wajchman, escaped from the transport and returned to Nowa Sól; forced laborer Antoni Ostojewski hid her in the camp office until the Soviet forces entered. Upon reaching Christianstadt, the Aufseherinnen returned to Neusalz. All they found at Christianstadt, which was also a Gross-Rosen subcamp, were the bodies of dead female prisoners.

A two-day stopover was ordered; then they continued on foot toward Dresden. The escort was changed, and the treatment of the prisoners improved. Seeing what terrible condition the women were in, local residents made them some food. In early March 1945, the column of prisoners reached the Zwodau labor camp, where they stayed for a few days. Then they were moved to the Flossenbürg concentration camp. They arrived there on March 9 and were given a decent meal. They could wash up, and they also received a change of clothing: dresses and men's clothes. In 7 to 10 days, they were

sent to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp by rail transport. They did not get food, and the trip lasted 10 days. The mortalities were massive, and the prisoners themselves threw the dead out of the railroad cars. When they got to the camp, they encountered piles of rotting corpses. A typhus epidemic was raging. They were put to work getting rid of the bodies. The Neusalz women lived under those conditions until liberation. They died in masses. Those who survived in a state of extreme exhaustion were transported by English soldiers to barracks, then to Sweden for treatment. The malnourished, emaciated women had walked approximately 500 kilometers (311 miles) in the cold. Many of them were shot or died during the march; those who survived until victory died of emaciation in masses. Not all the dates and figures provided are certain. There is little accurate information on the death marches. Due to the ghastly conditions under which the prisoners lived, memoirs often provide erroneous dates and transport sizes, but the atmosphere of those atrocious days has been relayed very well.

Aufseherin Gertruda Hoffmann was identified and tried after the war. On September 12, 1946, a Special Criminal Court sentenced her to four years of incarceration, forfeiture of public rights, and confiscation of all her property.

SOURCES Published sources related to this camp include Dorota Sula, *Filie KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 2001); and B. Robinson, "Zbrodnie popełnione w obozach 'Organizacji Schmelt' w świetle wspomnień więźniarek," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1999).

Documentary sources comprise the memoir of Aliza Besser (the original is located at YVA in Jerusalem) and the investigative records on Neusalz from the GKBZHwP.

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NIEDERODERWITZ

The history of the Gross-Rosen subcamp Niederoderwitz can be traced back to 1942 and the effort by Osram KG to double the production capacity of its cable works for wolfram and molybdenum cables and bolts, both of which were of vital importance to the manufacturing of pipes. At the same time, a part of the production process was to be transferred to peripheral areas of Germany deemed to be safer from air raids.¹ Osram leased a chocolate factory in the vicinity of a railway station near Niederoderwitz situated about five kilometers (three miles) from Zittau—the Kosa Schokoladenfabrik Rolle KG Niederoderwitz/O.L., also known as Kosa. Its owner founded a holding company, Apparatebau Niederoderwitz GmbH, Niederoderwitz (O.L.), which then took over the production while the technical supervision remained with Osram, which supplied skilled tradesmen and engineers. The Apparatebau took up production in the summer of 1944.²

The increasing threat of air raids resulted in a decision in July 1944 to relocate under the code name Richard II all the production of the cable factory deemed essential to the war effort to the chalk mines in Leitmeritz, located not very far from the concentration camp at Theresienstadt. Of the 900 laborers needed for the production process, there should have been 300 Osram employees plus about 600 prisoners, a third of them women. In the case of Niederoderwitz, this meant that these prisoners should receive some training up to four weeks in groups of 120 to 140 prisoners for the work in Richard II. The company tried to plan in advance all the details for the intended relocation and thereby based its plans on using the prisoners designated for forced labor and already trained in Niederoderwitz when assembling the machines and qualified workers.³

Preparations began at the same time for the use of prisoners in Niederoderwitz. In negotiations between the Osram administration and SS-Obersturmbannführer Koegel, the Flossenbürg concentration camp commander, the decision was made to follow "general construction security measures." For accommodation, the "old massive barrack" should be used and be separated by barbed wire from the so-called barracks city—accommodation for the foreign workers on the land of the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways) located beside the factory—where other foreign laborers and 12 SS guards were housed. In the barrack, the already installed washbasins were replaced by simpler iron drains.⁴

However, right from the start of deployment of the prisoners, there were continual delays since the SS could not provide enough prisoners for selection. Already, very early on, the company administration learned that the prisoners would be Hungarian Jews. In any event, both the resistance of Gauleiter of Saxony Mutschmann against the use of Jews in Niederoderwitz and the difficulty in obtaining blankets could be overcome.⁵

On December 30, 1944, the Osram engineer Behrndt finally selected in Flossenbürg 180 "Hungarian Jews . . . almost all of whom were aged between twenty and forty" from a newly arrived transport. As a matter of fact, among them were at least one Jew from Czechoslovakia and another one from Romania.⁶ Behrndt stressed in a detailed report that he was successful "in pushing through our demands for skilled labor so that we got, for example, all the metal workers that were on the transport." Behrndt also mentioned that he chose "only those prisoners who looked physically fit" and that he "rejected the sick and fragile." Out of those selected, 140 were to be sent to Niederoderwitz, and another 40 were to go directly to Leitmeritz to help there with the assembly of the production installations. The prisoners arrived in Niederoderwitz on the evening of January 7, 1945, and were forced to work the next day.⁷

Because there is a dearth of survivors' reports, we unfortunately do not know anything from the prisoners' perspective about conditions in the subcamp or about the working conditions in Niederoderwitz. However, the company management expressed satisfaction as to training successes and

productivity while requesting additional security "so that the prisoners could be deployed at all posts that were envisaged for them." It is therefore likely that the prisoners were guarded during their 12-hour shift (of which there were two) not only by the approximately 27 civil trainees but also inside the company by SS guard companies. There is no information available on how the prisoners were treated. However, there do not appear to have been any deaths, and according to reports, the prisoner numbers did not vary throughout the entire time period. Because the investment in the training of the prison workers was particularly valuable to the management of the company, it made sure that once the prisoners were marked by wearing an oval-shaped badge, they were transferred at the end of February and the beginning of March to Leitmeritz. This way it was hoped—in conjunction with repeated statements to the SS that they were "young, good workers"—to prevent them from meeting the same fate as simple "construction prisoners," a fate aptly described by Miroslav Kárný as "extermination through work."⁸ This distinction takes on a special meaning insofar as 80 very detailed file notes document that the Osram employees knew about the gruesome conditions at the construction sites. As these files reveal, the Osram employees had contributed themselves to the worsening of these conditions by demanding repeatedly that the pace of work be increased.

The use of prisoners in Niederoderwitz ended with the transfer of 140 prisoners to Leitmeritz at the end of February or the beginning of March 1945.⁹ With the end of the war approaching, the Richard II project ceased as well to have any meaning.

Since the subcamp was not listed in the Catalogue of Camps and Prisons (CCP), the West German Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) did not carry out any investigation of its own.¹⁰ Even though there appeared in the 1970s two statements by former prisoners of the Niederoderwitz subcamp in the investigation into the main Flossenbürg camp, and despite appropriate recommendations by the investigating state prosecutors, it did not result in the opening of any investigation. Further judicial investigations have not been recorded.

SOURCES The most important source for researching the relocation of the Osram Cable Factory, which includes the Niederoderwitz camp, can be found in the LA-B. The confiscation of the extensive Osram files by the Soviet occupation authorities turned out to be a stroke of luck, as these files were later given back to the German Democratic Republic. As a result, researchers today have access to the detailed planning of responsible persons at Osram and to details about their negotiations with the SS and Reich authorities. (LA-B, A Rep.231, particularly Files 0.481 to 0.502). The Osram company—at the turn of the century a 100 percent-owned subsidiary of Siemens—claimed in response to a question by the author in August 1999, on the other hand, not to have an archive. A few important documents from this collection have been published by Laurenz Demps, "Die Ausbeutung von KZ-Häftlingen durch den Osram-Konzern 1944/45 (Doku-

mentation)," *ZfG* 26 (1978): 416–437; and Hans Brenner, "Zur Frage der Ausbeutung von KZ-Häftlingen durch den Osram-Konzern 1944/45 (Dokumentation)," *ZfG* 27 (1979): 952–965.

East German historians, based on the Osram files that were returned to the German Democratic Republic, began relatively early their research into the use of prisoners by Osram; see, for example, Laurenz Demps, "Zum weiteren Ausbau des staatsmonopolistischen Apparates der faschistischen Kriegswirtschaft in den Jahren 1943 bis 1945 und zur Rolle der SS und der Konzentrationslager im Rahmen der Rüstungsproduktion, dargestellt am Beispiel der unterirdischen Verlagerung von Teilen der Rüstungsindustrie" (Ph.D. diss., East Berlin, 1970). However, their research was of limited value as they tried merely to document the supposed influence of large corporations on state institutions and the war economy.

Miroslav Kárný addresses the effects of the relocation of the Osram Cable Factory on the prisoners of concern in Leitmeritz in his "'Vernichtung durch Arbeit' in Leitmeritz. Die SS-Führungsstäbe in der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft," 1999 4 (1993): 37–61. However, he incorrectly assumed that the prisoners in Niederoderwitz never made it to Leitmeritz. Rainer Fröbe dealt in a basic essay with the significance of forced labor by skilled workers; see his "KZ-Häftlinge als Reserve qualifizierter Arbeitskraft. Eine späte Entdeckung der deutschen Industrie und ihre Folgen," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager; Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christian Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1998), pp. 637–681. One of the cases he examined is the Niederoderwitz subcamp. In doing so, Fröbe examined the connection between survival chances of the prisoners and their qualifications. The prisoners were chosen by the Osram employees in Flossenbürg and not selected as originally envisaged—and described by Fröbe—in Gross-Rosen.

This entry is based on an article in which the author deals with forced labor as exemplified by skilled workers at the Auschwitz-Bobrek (Siemens-Schuckert Works [SSW]) and at the Niederoderwitz subcamps: Rolf Schmolling, "'Pfleglichstes Aufforsten'—Zur Bedeutung der Häftlingszwangsarbeit für die Produktion bei Siemens und Osram," in *Konzentrationslager—Geschichte und Erinnerung. Neue Studien zum KZ-System und zur Gedenkkultur*, ed. Petra Hausstein, Rolf Schmolling, and Jörg Skribleit (Ulm: Klemm & Oelschläger, 2001), pp. 115–132. In this article, the main focus of the analysis is on companies planning their production combined with the use of prisoners in the context of a war economy.

Rolf Schmolling
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Osram Drahtwerk to Baumeister Siewert, "Erweiterungsbau auf O VI für Metallverwertung-Bauerlaubnis," November 3, 1942, LA-B, A Rep.231/0.481, p. 297; Osram KG to Vereinigte Wasserstoffwerke, Hauptverwaltung Berlin, October 11, 1943, *ibid.*, p. 198.

2. Agreement between Osram GmbH KG and Kosa Schokoladenfabrik Rolle KG Niederoderwitz/ O.L., April 18, 1943, LA-B, A Rep.231/0.482, p. 245; Osram Drahtwerk File

Note, "Besprechung über Raumfragen bei der Zuckerwarenfabrik Kosa in Niederoderwitz/Sa.," April 27, 1943, *ibid.*, p. 231.

3. Vgl. Osram Drahtwerk, draft "4. Verlagerungsbetrieb Richard II," July 20, 1944, LA-B, A Rep.231/0.500, p. 285; Osram Drahtwerk Niederschrift, "Anruf bei OStuF Biemann am 29.11.1944," *ibid.*, p. 217.

4. Osram Drahtwerk, "Bericht über Besuch bei der Apparatebau GmbH Niederoderwitz am 20. und 21.9.1944 gemeinsam mit Herrn Fehse," September 22, 1944, LA-B, A Rep.231/0.482, p. 3; Osram Hauptgeschäft, "Lagebericht über die Betriebe in Nieder- und Oberoderwitz, Stand Januar 1945," LA-B, A Rep.231/0.481, p. 24; on the guards, see Identificaton of Prisoner [SS-Mann] Oluf W., *03.1900 in Es., Denmark, Service in CC Hartmannsdorf and Gross-Rosen Januar 1945–April 1945 Niederoderwitz, Berlin-Oranienburg [Sachsenhausen] and Köpenick, BA-L, ZdL IV 405 AR-Z 222/69, p. 21.

5. Osram Drahtwerk, "Aktennotiz Richard II Nr. 47," October 19, 1944, LA-B, A Rep.231/0.5012, p. 12; Osram Drahtwerk, "Anruf bei Obersturmführer Biemann," January 24, 1945, LA-B, A Rep.231/0.500, p. 179; Osram Drahtwerk, "Niederschrift über einen Besuch im SS-WVHA," November 13, 1944, *ibid.*, p. 210; Osram Drahtwerk, "Niederschrift. betr.: Anruf bei OStuF Biemann," November 29, 1944, *ibid.*; Osram Drahtwerk, "Niederschrift über ein Ferngespräch mit Hr. OStuF Biemann," November 13, 1945, *ibid.*, p. 185.

6. Record of interview with Efraim Da. [*11.1920 in Sighet, Rum.], June 2, 1971, in Tel Aviv, BA-L, ZStL IV 410 AR-Z23/68, p. 927; Zwi Ka. [*12.1919 in Bodzajlak/CSR], June 11, 1971, in Tel Aviv, *ibid.*, p. 929.

7. Osram Drahtwerk [Behrndt] to Osram Hauptgeschäft/Drahtwerk, "Niederschrift, betr: Besuch im KL Flossenbürg zwecks Ausmusterung von Häftlingen," January 3, 1945, LA-B, A Rep.231/0.500, p. 330; Osram Drahtwerk [Dr. Born], "Kurzbericht über die Betriebe in Nieder- und Oberoderwitz. Berichtszeitraum 1.12.44 bis 10.1.45," January 12, 1945, LA-B, A Rep.231/0.482, p. 178.

8. Osram Drahtwerk, "Niederschrift über ein Ferngespräch mit OStuF. Biemann am 13.1.45," *ibid.*; Osram Drahtwerk, "Niederschrift, betr: Anruf bei OStuF. Biemann am 24.1.45," LA-B, A Rep.231/0.500, p. 179.

9. Osram Drahtwerk [Dr. Köhler], "Aktennotiz Richard II Nr. 83, Betr: Besuch in Richard vom 8. u. 9.3.45," March 14, 1945, LA-B, A Rep.231/0.491, p. 37.

10. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

tween March 1, 1945, and April 21, 1945, in Spohla/Brandhofen near Hoyerswerda. Karl-Heinz Gräfe in "Die Nebenlager des KZ Gross-Rosen in Sachsen," which was published in the book *Die Völker Europas im KZ Gross-Rosen*, states that fortification works must have taken place there.

The prisoners from the Niesky subcamp were given the Gross-Rosen roll-call numbers in the series from 1000 to 5000, some numbers between 8000 and 19000, and then numbers in the series 35000.¹

Peter Sebald describes the Wiesengrund subcamp as follows: "The camp was not even three kilometers [less than two miles] from the Christoph & Unmack factory. It stood on an open area, surrounded by fields and as the area was a little swampy—it had boggy ground, it was given the name 'Wiesengrund,' even though it was not in a depression. The camp was visible from the main road, Muskau Strasse."²

The prisoners in Wiesengrund mostly worked as forced laborers at the Christoph & Unmack metal foundry. The company-operated camp consisted of five barracks and an infirmary. An article published on August 3, 1998, in the newspaper *Neues Deutschland (ND)* shows the cooperation between industry and the SS leadership: SS-Obergruppenführer Oswald Pohl, head of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), was responsible for the whole concentration camp system with its thousands of prisoners and sat with Alfred Kurzmeyer, the right hand of Hermann Abs of the Deutsche Bank, on the supervisory board of Christoph & Unmack.

The prisoners worked on railway goods wagons, converting their platforms to carry anti-aircraft guns. Prisoner Edward Tomala has described the prisoners' work as follows: "The prisoners worked in a railway goods wagon operation. The work varied. They largely did heavy work, such as separating the frozen gravel, loading sacks of cement, and unloading steel. It was a work connected with loading and transport. Only a group of fifty prisoners was busy constructing a cement bunker. I was part of that group. Actually, water pipes with a diameter of 2 meters [6.6 feet] and a length of 1.80 meters [5.9 feet] were built onto the platforms. We worked for twelve hours from 6:00 AM to 6:00 PM regardless of the weather. The food was very poor and we were paid three marks a week."³

Historian Peter Sebald has written about events he experienced in Niesky as a boy 10 and 11 years old:

The chores of the Niesky camp command, such as the daily trip to the post office, were done on a flat car pulled by the concentration camp prisoners under armed escort. The prisoners, whose wooden shoes barely deserved the name, conspicuously and noisily went down the Niesky cobbled streets. The striped trousers under normal but ripped coats showed that the prisoners were not the usual kind of prisoners. I cannot remember whether the SS wore their black uniforms every day, but it occurred to us that guards were not like the typical trusted German

NIESKY [AKA WIESENGRUND]

In June 1944 the Wiesengrund subcamp was established in Niesky. It existed from June 9, 1944, to April 18, 1945. The camp held between 1,000 and 1,200 Russians, Uzbeks, Poles, Jews, Yugoslavs, French, and Czechs. Additionally, until January 23, 1945, there was an agricultural labor detachment in Klein Radisch near Klitten. There was an overflow camp be-

soldier (*Landser*) who carried their rifles slung across their shoulders. They carried a machine pistol so that it was always in a position to be fired and the guards indicated that they were prepared to do exactly that. Since the prisoners were held in Wiesengrund, there were search lights on the guard towers which constantly moved across the camp so that from Niesky the camp appeared to us civilians to be huge, particularly when we arrived in the evening at the railway station. In 1944, an air raid bunker was constructed on the camp grounds, probably for the guards.⁴

Tomala has named those responsible in the Niesky subcamp. The commander until September 1944 was SS-Unterscharführer Franz Sänger; from then until the camp's dissolution, the commander was SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Seibold. Rapportführer was Wilhelm Kirsch. Johann Biworski was in command of the guards. Kurt Weisbricht was senior Kapo. The camp elder was German criminal Kurt Vogel.

A German Federal Archives, External Branch, Ludwigburg (BA-L) folder contains a report by Dr. Zychski, a prisoner, who has the following to say on the conditions in the Niesky subcamp:

There were hunger rations. As far as I can recall, we received about 300 grams [10.6 ounces] of black loamy bread with a little horse meat on Sundays, on weekdays sometimes beet jam with a little margarine. The usual meal for lunch, as in Gross-Rosen, was a soup made of beets and cabbage leaves, in which every now and then there was small piece of potato, a sinew or a bone. Medical supplies did not match the demand. To make up for the lack of medicines, we made our own, e.g., in order to stop diarrhea we used coals made from burning and crushing bones. The lack of organic calcium was replaced by chalk from wall plaster. I cut boils with tailor's scissors as there were no surgical tools. The death rate was very high and in the winter of 1944/45 ten prisoners died on average each day.⁵

As a consequence of the heavy labor, the cold during the winter of 1944–1945, and the poor food, debilitation, hunger edemas, diarrhea, infections, and kidney and lung inflammations were prevalent.

The military situation in Lower Silesia resulted in the evacuation of the Wiesengrund subcamp on February 22, 1945. The evacuation affected 800 of the 1,000 prisoners. Jan Lysek recalls: "In February 1945, the camp was evacuated. The prisoners pulled the wagons for a week. They were given little food. The sick and the weak were shot along the way. During the day we had to dig ditches and during the night we slept in closed barns. We were not even allowed outside to go to the toilet."⁶

About two to three weeks after the evacuation of the subcamp in Niesky, 22 prisoners suffering from typhus were brought from Brandhofen to Niesky. Until then, the dead had been cremated in the Görlitz crematorium. When the morgue was filled in Niesky, 39 dead prisoners, according to Tomala, were buried in a nearby forest.

About 60 to 80 sick prisoners were left behind in the Wiesengrund subcamp in Niesky. They were liberated by units of the 2nd Polish Army on April 18, 1945.

The prisoners from the subcamp at Spohla/Brandhofen commenced their death march in the direction of Dresden on April 19, 1945. Some 30 sick prisoners were left at the Brandhofen camp, which was liberated by the Russian Army on April 21, 1945.

On April 22, 1945, tanks of the 1st Corps of the 2nd Polish Army broke through the German defenses. A few prisoners succeeded in getting behind the front line and reached freedom. Many ended up being captured by the Germans. They were taken to a camp in Stolpen and later to the Elbe River, where they were put on barges. On May 5 or 6, 1945, a tug pulled the barges up the Elbe. On May 9, 1945, the prisoners were liberated in the vicinity of Theresienstadt.

While the prisoners in Spohla/Brandhofen had to do fortification works, those in Klein-Radisch bei Klitten worked as an agricultural labor detachment of the Niesky subcamp until January 23, 1945. It is possible that agricultural produce from this detachment was used to feed the prisoners in Niesky. The death register of the Klitten vicarage contains the record of the burial of five prisoners who were shot in February 1945.

SOURCES There are numerous but scattered references to the Niesky subcamp published in different books, for example, Danuta Sawicka, *AL Niesky—Filia Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1993); Alfred Konieczny, *Die Völker Europas im KZ Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1995); Karl-Heinz Gräfe and Hans-Jürgen Töpfer, *Ausgesondert und fast vergessen—KZ-Aussenlager auf dem Territorium des heutigen Sachsen* (Dresden: Verein für regionale Geschichte und Politik, 1996); and Hans Brenner, *Wyzkazywanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 2004).

The BA-L holds interesting archival material on the Niesky subcamp.

Georg Häusler
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Dr. Hans Brenner archive, Zschopau.
2. Dr. Peter Sebald, letter to Dr. Hans Brenner, December 6, 1994, Niesky City Museum.
- 3 Quoted in Danuta Sawicka, *AL Niesky—Filia Gross-Rosen* (Walbrzych: Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1993), p. 12.
4. Sebald letter to Brenner, December 6, 1994.
5. BA-L, ZdL, IV 405 AR-Z 45/77 Bd.2, 3, Aussage Dr. Zychski.
6. Statement by Jan Lysek, quoted in Sawicka, *AL Niesky*.

NIESKY/BRANDHOFEN

Despite its short existence, the Gross-Rosen subcamp in Brandhofen (before 1940 and after 1945: Spohla, near the city of Hoyerswerda) had one of the highest death rates. It was established on March 1, 1945, from some of the prisoners of the Niesky subcamp and remained subordinated to the Niesky camp administration until its dissolution.

A local inhabitant gave an eyewitness testimony about the arrival of a column of prisoners in Brandhofen:

On March 1, 1945, a column of about five hundred male prisoners approached Spohla. Emaciated men dressed in thin prison clothing and rags pulled eight horse carts by their long shafts. The shafts were equipped with crossbeams. In each case, two pairs of prisoners in a row pressed with their bodies against the crossbeam, in order to move the cart. Several pairs behind each other had to take on this heavy burden. On the stanchion and on the running board other prisoners pushed themselves, who clearly no longer had any strength left. These miserable figures, visibly racked with pain, who had not received anything warm to eat and drink for fourteen days, were driven forward by heavily armed SS men with Alsatian dogs.

In Spohla there was a mood of silent outrage when the prisoner column arrived. Two barns were requisitioned immediately to accommodate the prisoners. The protests of their owners were answered with a threat by the SS camp leader, as to whether they also wanted to become inmates of this camp.¹

The registration numbers of former inmates (mostly Polish men, some of whom also died there) of the Brandhofen subcamp that have been uncovered so far indicate that they were sent to the main camp and registered there at different times. They had prisoner numbers ranging from 1519 to 91800.²

In the largest SS requisitioned barns in the village, 400 men were crammed together so much that most of them could only sleep in a sitting position. Since the barns were locked and barred early in the evening, soon the men had to lay, or rather sit, in their excrements. The local inhabitants were strictly forbidden to go anywhere near these barns.

The prisoners soon found themselves in terrible physical condition. Despite this inhuman treatment, the men had to go out every day to dig trenches sometimes at work sites several kilometers away. The most minor infractions caused the SS guards to beat them without mercy.³

The camp leader of the Niesky subcamp, SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Seibold, served also as the camp leader in Brandhofen.⁴

Some of the men who had arrived from Niesky in an appalling condition after the grueling march did not recover. A small wooden hut was converted into a primitive infirmary, in

which, however, there was no medical treatment, so that the men simply withered away until their deaths. The dead were driven into the forest on a cart and then buried there in graves that had been excavated. The prisoners detailed to pull the cart had to load it up with firewood for the kitchen on the return journey.⁵

Many of the survivors testify that in addition to the prisoners of war (POWs) working in the village, Germans living in Brandhofen and living near the work sites secretly gave food to the prisoners, always running the risk of being caught by the guards and reported to the police. Nevertheless, this aid was scarcely sufficient to improve the fate of the prisoners to any substantial degree.

When the 13 graves were opened after the war, the exhumation commission found the bodily remains of 99 prisoners. Since some of the sick prisoners were exchanged for others who still appeared to be fit for work from the Niesky subcamp and therefore died in Niesky, the number of victims of the Brandhofen subcamp was well over 100. Former prisoner Edward T., who was a witness of the exchange in Niesky, reports: "When the column stopped in Brandhofen, about two or three weeks after the evacuation, they took twenty-two prisoners that were very sick from Brandhofen to Niesky and more healthy ones from Niesky to Brandhofen. Unfortunately all the sick that had just arrived suddenly died after one week. The room for the dead was full up."⁶

In spite of this large number of deaths, the death book of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp records only one single death for the Brandhofen subcamp, for Bronis P., a Lithuanian prisoner.⁷

From the beginning of April 1945, the SS began preparing for the camp's evacuation. The SS camp leader confiscated the cartwright's workshop in the village and had the prisoners repair the carts that had come with them from Niesky. Here, locals gave some assistance to the prisoners, who in turn repaired these villagers' sewing machines and bicycles.⁸

In the middle of April, shortly before the evacuation from Brandhofen, the SS took a group of 40 prisoners to the Bautzen subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. Former prisoner Jan L. recalls: "In mid-April we [40 prisoners] were loaded onto a vehicle and were driven to the camp at Bautzen. There, behind the gate of the camp, an SS man ordered four prisoners to get undressed. When he saw the skeletons, bitten by mice, we had to go immediately to the baths and our things were sent to be disinfected. In the baths four prisoners died immediately and the remaining prisoners were put in a special barracks, which were surrounded by additional barbed wire. Once a day we received food and thickened water in a pot that was passed through the fence on a stick, since we were all sick with typhus. We lay like this for several days, the dead and the living together."⁹ The camp administration got rid of its typhus cases in this manner.

On the evening of April 19, 1945, the SS drove the 200 or so prisoners who still seemed capable of marching in a westerly direction.¹⁰ Former Polish prisoner Bonifacy R. reports on this:

The prisoners from Brandhofen set out again on April 19, 1945, on their evacuation march. Here they also left behind in the camp those who were severely ill and no longer capable of walking. It was a group of thirty people. On April 21, the Russian Army liberated them.

The evacuation column, which came from Brandhofen, was chased toward Dresden. On April 22, at the Radeberg-Dresden crossroads, tanks of the First Corps, Second Polish Army, broke up the German columns. Some of the prisoners succeeded in making it across the front line and reached freedom. The Germans recaptured many of them [due to a German counterattack]. They were placed in a camp near Stolpen and later taken to the Elbe River, where together with other prisoners they were loaded onto barges that sailed up the Elbe. They were liberated on May 9, close to Terezin.¹¹

After the departure of the prisoner column from Brandhofen, on the morning of the following day, local residents discovered a barn occupied by 33 severely ill prisoners, which had been nailed shut on the orders of SS camp leader Seibold. These prisoners had been without any care for several days. Despite the immediate assistance given to these prisoners, not all of them could be saved. Of the 10 men who were sent to the hospital in Wittichenau, 8 of them died there, and 2 had recovered sufficiently that they were released to return to Poland in June 1945.¹²

SOURCES Danuta Sawicka's *AL Niesky—Filia KL Gross-Rosen (w świetle relacji byłych więźniów)* (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1993) also contains information on the Brandhofen subcamp, as it was directly subordinated to the Niesky camp.

Relevant archival sources can be found at the BA-L (IV 405 AR 2261/66) and the AMGR.

Hans Brenner
trans. Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Marlies Röhle, *Aufzeichnung von Augenzeugenberichten* (Hoyerswerda, 1970), p. 12.
2. See Danuta Sawicka, *AL Niesky—Filia KL Gross-Rosen (w świetle relacji byłych więźniów)* (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1993), pp. 51–90.
3. Röhle, *Aufzeichnung*, p. 2.
4. See Bogdan cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1987), p. 12.
5. Röhle, *Aufzeichnung*, pp. 2–3.
6. Sawicka, *AL Niesky*, p. 35, report of the Polish prisoner Edward T. (number 12049).
7. SÚA, KT/OVS 24, Death Book II/1945 of the concentration camp Gross-Rosen, death certificate number 8.
8. Röhle, *Aufzeichnung*, p. 3.
9. Sawicka, *AL Niesky*, p. 35, report of the Polish prisoner Jan L. (number 1700).

10. Roman Olszyna, "Polscy czołgiści przynoszą wolność więźniom w Niesky," *ZWiL* 21: 258 (November 1, 1965).

11. Sawicka, *AL Niesky*, p. 37, report of the Polish prisoner Bonifacy R. (number 5439).

12. Röhle, *Aufzeichnung*, pp. 3–4.

NIMPTSCH

A Gross-Rosen subcamp operated in the town of Nimptsch (present-day Niemcza). The earliest known source information about the camp is from an equipment receipt book (*Gerätebuch*) dated December 1, 1944.

The data available on the initial transports comes from as late as January 1945. Lists of prisoners prepared for transport from Gross-Rosen to the Nimptsch subcamp have survived. A list dated January 8, 1945, contained 140 names, some of which were crossed out. However, it turns out that at least 1 of the people crossed out was a prisoner at Nimptsch. The other known list, dated January 10, 1945, contained only 10 names.

Information provided by former prisoners shows that everyone had been moved to the camp in one 150-person transport. That was on January 8 or 10, 1945. Prisoners' accounts are not definite as to the date the transport arrived. However, if the information on one transport is true, then it is more likely that the group arrived on January 10, 1945.

The camp was located outside of town. There were Polish, Czech, and Russian men interned there. There were also two Croats. There were neither youths nor elderly prisoners recorded in the group. The prisoners in Nimptsch ranged from 19 to 55 years old.

The main criterion for the composition of the aforementioned transport was occupation. Therefore, there were tradesmen with various specialties at the camp: cabinetmakers, carpenters, metalworkers, and so on. There were even special prisoners for cooking and medical matters (a doctor and orderly had been designated).

German criminal prisoner Walter Kloss, number 46746, became camp elder (Lagerältester), and Polish prisoner Wachaw Ludwig, number 3069, was camp scribe.

The camp staff was made up of SS men, whose personal information prisoners have not remembered due to their short stay at Nimptsch. Some accounts mention the last name of Jaschke (or Jeschke), who was supposedly the subcamp commandant. He was a young man of around 30 who limped.

Prisoners remember the death of one prisoner from their stay at the Nimptsch camp. There are no known documented cases of abuse of camp prisoners by staff members or prisoner-functionaries.

The prisoners were put to work on strenuous jobs such as finishing the barracks in which they lived. They also disassembled machines being prepared to move away at the "Famo" factory. Prisoners worked seasonally at removing snow in camp and on nearby roads. In late January (probably January 25) 1945, the subcamp prisoners were evacuated on foot to a large Jewish camp operating nearby, known as Langenbielau I

[aka Reichenbach Sportschule], which was also in the Gross-Rosen camp system. At Langenbielau they formed a separate group of prisoners from the rest of the camp and lived in a fenced barracks with "their own" staff of SS men. They made sure that no communications were possible between the prisoners from Nimptsch and the previously incarcerated Jews.

At the new camp, the Nimptsch prisoners mainly worked at building trenches, removing snow, and other tasks. The prisoners regained their freedom on May 8, 1945, when the Langenbielau camp was liberated. Earlier, some of the prisoners, probably sick ones, had been evacuated to other camps located in the Sowie Góry (Owl Mountains) such as the Riese/Dörnhau subcamp.

SOURCES This work is based primarily on Bogdan Cybulski, *Oboz podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stań badań)* (Rogoźnica: AMGR, 1987).

Primary sources include copies of camp documents ("Transportliste Überstellen, nach dem Arbeitslager Nimptsch am 8.01.1945") and the above-mentioned ("Transportliste . . . am 10.01.1945") and questionnaires of former prisoners. All sources are from the AMGR.

Grażyna Choptiany
trans. Gerard Majka

v Trutnově, 1981), pp. 22–25, 49–50. The author has also relied on Kryl's article "Pracovní nasazení židovských vězenkyň v továrnách firmy Jan Etrich v Hostinném a Bernarticích v době nacistické okupace," *Lp-pKd* 5 (1984). See also Hans Brenner, who completed earlier research on the Gross-Rosen subcamps in the present-day Czech Republic, especially his study "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," in *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente* 1999, ed. Miroslav Kárný und Raimund Kemper (Prague: Academia, 1999), pp. 282–283.

Well-known professor of German studies in Olomouc Ludvík Václavek has devoted his attention to a singular event, a play that originated in the Schatzlar camp among Jewish women from Hungary: "Lágr je sen? (Literární dokument z koncentračního tábora při žacléřské přádelně z roku 1945)," in *Stati o německé literatuře vzniklé v českých zemích* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1991).

Basic sources and transport lists of the prisoners from the Gross-Rosen subcamps in northeast Bohemia are located in the SÚA in Prague, with copies in the AG-T (Terezín). The most important are the files of the Special People's Court in Jičín 1945–1946 (Criminal Trials against the Former Wardresses). Finally, there are the firm archives containing the most important sources on the camps in the Trautenau (Trutnov) area, referred to in the files of the German textile firms for the years 1940 to 1945. Nevertheless, the sources are inadequate.

Miroslav Kryl
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

OBER-ALTSTADT

Two forced labor camps (ZAL) for Jewish women were established under the auspices of the Organisation Schmelt in the 1940s in Ober-Altstadt (Horní Staré Město). On March 18, 1944, they were amalgamated into a single Gross-Rosen subcamp. The Jewish women had to work in the spinning mills of the firms Ignatz Etrich and J.A. Kluge. The camp was also under the control of the SS-Kommando Trautenau.

On October 2, 1944, 791 women from the Parschnitz camp arrived in Ober-Altstadt. As of November 16, 1944, 650 women and girls were working at the Kluge firm. On November 12, 1944, another 30 women were sent from Auschwitz to the Etrich firm and 100 to the Siemens-Motorwerke in Jungbuch (Mladé Buky). References are made to 936 prisoners in the Ober-Altstadt subcamp (of whom there were 681 from Poland, 234 from Hungary, 6 Slovaks, 4 Germans, and 1 each from Belgium, the present-day Czech Republic, and Russia). The overwhelming majority of prisoners were Jewish females ages 15 to 30. The women were accommodated in wooden barracks. Cultural evenings that gave them courage and strengthened their Jewish identity were renowned. The SS staff consisted of a female camp commander and a further 33 wardresses, an SS noncommissioned officer, and 4 guards. Before the war ended, the women were used in fortification works. The Red Army liberated the camp on May 9, 1945.

SOURCES The basis for this essay is the book published by Miroslav Kryl and Ludmila Chládková, *Pobočky koncentračního tábora Gross-Rosen ve Lnářských závodech Trutnovska za nacistické okupace* (Trutnov: Generální ředitelství VII Lnářský průmysl

OBER-HOHENELBE

The Ober-Hohenelbe subcamp was located in the town now known as Hořejší Vrchlabí. It was probably established on September 12, 1944. Bogdan Cybulski questions whether this was an independent camp or a labor commando of Parschnitz (Trautenau), but Alfred Konieczny definitely uses the name of Ober-Hohenelbe (the proper name of the town where the camp was located).¹ The transport list of 250 Hungarian women sent to Ober-Hohenelbe from Auschwitz on September 12, 1944, shows that it was a labor camp for women. The prisoners were numbered 60231 to 60300 and 61701 to 61880. The camp population on October 27, 1944, was 248 women, who were assigned to work at the Lorenz factory. Two prisoner transports from Auschwitz concentration camp were recorded in the chronology of prisoner transports and numeration in the Gross-Rosen concentration camp under the date of September 12, 1944. The first included 70 prisoners, and the second, 165, for a total of 235 people. The range of numbers of these prisoners corresponds to the numbers of the 250 people who were on the transport list from Auschwitz concentration camp to Ober-Hohenelbe, dated September 12, 1944.²

On November 14, 1944, the camp population rose to 400 women when a transport of 152 Jewish women from Hungary and Slovakia was admitted from Auschwitz II-Birkenau (numbers 86772 to 86923). A document dated November 18, 1944,

shows that 400 female prisoners worked at the plant, and the number of people working there was scheduled to increase to 500.³ Parts for the V-2 (vengeance weapon) were manufactured at the Lorenz factory.

Information collected after the war by the Czech government shows that 450 women were incarcerated in the camp and that it was located in a warehouse hall without living quarters.

The women incarcerated at Ober-Hohenelbe were put to work making radio parts and manufacturing ammunition. One witness recalls: "There were many places to work. My job was gas welding glass bulbs. The bulbs were for aircraft spare parts. My friend worked in another room on that floor, where miniature wires were nickel-plated. A skilled Czech worker always stood there."⁴

In the prisoners' living space there was one dark cell in which the women would be locked, if so ordered, for two to three days without food. Such punishments were for "crimes" such as resting during work or talking to the foreman, who was not a prisoner but a hired supervisory employee.

Selections were conducted in the camp. The first selection occurred in the winter by order of the camp commander, but at that time the doctor did not find any women qualified to be taken to Gross-Rosen. Chief doctor Josef Mengele (better known for his activities at Auschwitz) participated in the second and last selection, also at the commander's request; 10 prisoners were taken away to an unknown place as a result of that selection. They included 1 Hungarian woman; the rest were Polish women between 17 and 25 years of age. "The reason for the selection," as Elza said, "was to demonstrate that there was a decrease in prisoners at the camp."⁵

We have no information on medical care at Ober-Hohenelbe in the source material. However, information on the care provided to the prisoners has survived. As with other camps, there is a surviving report, dated March 21, 1945, recording that prisoners with dental conditions were seen on March 8–11. Female prisoner Simon Perl (camp number 60887), who was a doctor by profession, served as the dentist at that time.

A report filed by Ober-Alstadt labor camp informs us that there was no need for any dental assistance in April 1945.

Konieczny reports that May 9, 1945, was the day that the Ober-Hohenelbe camp was liberated. The prisoners were not evacuated from the camp. Information collected after the war by the Czech government states that the prisoners left Ober-Hohenelbe in April 1945. Out of the total population of 150, 138 people left the camp, and 12 were taken to the hospital (there is no explanation for the discrepancy in total numbers). No information on deaths in the camp has been found.

The following information concerns staff members at the camp:

Marie Larischová (born January 5, 1914) joined the SS on August 20, 1944, and was trained to serve as a female SS guard (Aufseherin) at the Lorenz company camp in Hořejší Vrchlabí. She was a guard there until April 1945. She testified that there were 400 women in the camp and that initially 14

women guards, later 10, were assigned to watch over them. She received a sentence of one year in prison after the war.⁶

The camp commander was (probably) Elza Havlikova, who was approximately 35 years old. She gave her subordinates orders to mistreat the prisoners. Havlikova beat the prisoners and ordered her subordinates to abuse them.

Pfeifer, a Sudeten German, was the director of the Ober-Hohenelbe subcamp.

SOURCES Information on the Ober-Hohenelbe subcamp can be found in the following publications: Bogdan Cybulski, *Oboz podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987); Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Sśn* 40 (1982); and Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych, 1994). See also A. Małek, "Praca w filiach KL Gross-Rosen" (typescript); G. Choptiany, "Rewiry w KL Gross-Rosen" (typescript); and Katarzyna Pawlak-Weiss, "Żeńskie filie KL Gross-Rosen położone na terenie obecnych Czech w latach 1944–45" (master's thesis, Wrocław University, 2002).

Archival material mainly consists of witness testimony, records of court cases against the camp staff, a surviving transport list, and postwar information compiled by the OVN Vrchlabí Sbor Národní Bezpečnosti Velitelství, stanice Hořejší Vrchlabí, okres Vrchlabí, dated March 17, 1947, in the collections of the AMGR.

Katarzyna Pawlak-Weiss
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Sśn* 40 (1982): 90.
2. Chronology of prisoner transports and numeration in the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, p. 20, AMGR, DP 6855, transport list of 250 Jewish women, dated September 12, 1944.
3. AMGR, DP 2829.
4. A. Małek, "Praca w filiach KL Gross-Rosen" (typescript).
5. AMGR, DP 7115/3, Erika Lednar.
6. AMGR, DP 7103, accounts by former female guards.

PARSCHNITZ

One of the first forced labor camps (ZAL) for Jewish women under the auspices of the Organisation Schmelt was established in Parschnitz (Poříčí) in the summer of 1940. In 1941, the second camp, also for Jewish women and girls, was opened. (Both were located in the spinning mills of two German textile companies.)

Between March 12 and March 18, 1944, both of these camps were taken over by the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. Later, they were transformed into one of the largest Gross-Rosen subcamps for women. In March 1944, the Gross-Rosen commander, Hassebroek, commanded SS-Obersturmführer Fritz Ritterbusch to establish the SS-Special Detail (Sonderkommando) Trautenau in Parschnitz. His residence was located in-

side the camp in Parschnitz. He was in command of seven subcamps including (Ober-) Hohenelbe and Liebau, which were outside the then Sudentenland Gau.

The women in Parschnitz had to work in the spinning mills of the German firms Alois Haase; Gebrüder Walzel, C.G.; Johann Etrich, K.G. in Trautenau; and later for the Berlin General Electric Company (AEG). Large transports primarily of young Jewish women from Hungary (after they had been selected in Auschwitz II-Birkenau) went to Parschnitz. At the end of September, the camp reached its largest number of prisoners: 2,164 female inmates. It also functioned as a quarantine camp for prisoners who were to be sent to other camps in the area. Small transports from other Gross-Rosen subcamps (e.g., Sackisch, Christianstadt, and Wiesau) arrived here between the autumn and February 1945.

The majority of the wardresses treated the Jewish women brutally, as did the civilian personnel in the factories. There were often scenes of terrible beatings and torture. But there were also other cases of assistance and further expressions of solidarity and humanity, above all by the Czechs who were “totally deployed” there as well. In the spring of 1945, the prisoners were put to work on preparing fortifications. The statistics show that at the end of 1944, among the 1,356 women, 704 were from Hungary, 646 from Poland, 3 from Bohemia, and 1 from Slovakia, and 40 were French and Dutch. The overwhelming majority were Jewish women aged between 15 and 40 (there were among them girls younger than 15). The number of those who died was 17, the largest number in the Trautenau camp complex (although the records are incomplete).

There is a song by the Polish Jewish women that has survived. It is called “The Ballad of the Punishment Camp” (*Die Ballade über das Straflager*). The composer was F. Grynszpan. The Red Army liberated Parschnitz on May 9, 1945. There were 48 wardresses in the camp. The camp commander, Else Hawlik, was notorious for her brutality. Of the more than 50 former SS wardresses that were convicted by a Czechoslovak court in Jičín between 1945 and 1946, there was only 1 who had been in Parschnitz. Ritterbusch, the former SS commander in Trautenau, was arrested in the Soviet Occupation Zone in Germany. He died in 1947 in a People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) Special Camp in Mühlberg.

SOURCES The basis for this article is the book published by Miroslav Kryl and Ludmila Chládková, *Pobočky koncentračního tábora Gross-Rosen ve Lnářských závodech Trutnovska za nacistické okupace* (Trutnov: Generální ředitelství VHJ Lnářský průmysl v Trutnově, 1981). The author also relied on Miroslav Kryl's article “Pracovní nasazení židovských vězenkyň v továrnách firmy Jan Etrich v Hostinném a Bernarticích v době nacistické okupace,” Lp-pKd 5 (1984). However, it is Hans Brenner who has brought together earlier research on the Gross-Rosen subcamps in the present-day Czech Republic, above all in his study “Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren,”

in *Thereseienstädter Studien und Dokumente 1999*, ed. Miroslav Kárný and Raimund Kemper (Prague: Academia, 1999).

Well-known professor of German studies in Olomouc Ludvík Václavek has devoted his attention to a specific topic, a play created by Jewish women from Hungary in the Schatzlar camp: “Lágr je sen? (Literární dokument z koncentračního tábora při žacléřské přádelně z roku 1945),” in *Stati o německé literatuře vzniklé v českých zemích* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1991).

Basic sources and transport lists of the prisoners from the Gross-Rosen subcamps in northeast Bohemia are located in the SÚA in Prague, with copies in the AG-T (Terezín Memorials). The most important ones are the files of the Special People's Court in Jičín 1945–1946 (Criminal Trials against the Former Wardresses). Finally, mention must be made of the firm archives at Texlen Trutnov; its chief at the time, Vladimír Wolf, provided access in the 1970s for me and Ludmila Chládková to the most important sources on the camps in the Trautenau area referred to in the files of the German textile firms for the years 1940 to 1945. Nevertheless, the sources are inadequate.

Miroslav Kryl
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

PETERSWALDAU

Peterswaldau (present-day Pieszyce) is a city in the Polish Eulengebirge (Góry Sowie) about 60 kilometers (37 miles) to the south of Breslau. During World War II, Peterswaldau was part of the Prussian province of Lower Saxony; there was a Gross-Rosen subcamp for female prisoners in the city, which was administered by the commander of the Langenbielau I subcamp.

Peterswaldau is first mentioned in May 1942 as an Organisation Schmelt camp (a so-called *Zwangarbeitslager für Juden* [ZALfJ]). At this time the women worked in the Ferdinand Haase spinning and weaving mill. Around April 1, 1944, shortly after 10 women were brought from the ZALfJ in Sagan, which had been dissolved, to the Peterswaldau camp, the camp was transferred from the Organisation Schmelt to the Gross-Rosen concentration camp.¹ Transports arrived with female prisoners from Auschwitz—a transport of 500 women in May is documented and another between August and September of 1944, although Monika Schmidt states the transports to the Peterswaldau camp consisted of between 10 and 300 women.² The transports consisted almost solely of Hungarian Jewish women. As Isabell Sprenger states, these women were often very young, around 20, and arrived at the camp in small family units consisting of female relatives (sisters, mothers, cousins, and aunts).³

In the beginning, there were around 370 women in the camp, but the numbers quickly increased to 1,500. It is highly likely that for many women the camp was a transit camp on the way to the Langenbielau subcamp. The roughly 100 women who worked for the Ferdinand Haase spinning and weaving textile factory (Textilfabrik [Spinnerei und Weberei]

von Ferdinand Haase) were accommodated in a room in the factory. The large majority of the women, who produced detonators for the munitions firm Diehl GmbH & Co., were initially accommodated in the local castle and then in additional rooms of the former Zwanziger Weaving Mill. Margit Schulz, one of the prisoners, who was transferred from Auschwitz to the Peterswaldau camp, reported that between 110 and 120 women slept in one room in the weaving mill and that many of the high windows were without glass. Many of the women slept two each in 60-centimeter wide (24-inch-wide) three-tiered bunk beds so as to share their thin blankets.⁴ Schmidt, in her essay "Zwangarbeit und Lagerhaft als lebenslanges Trauma," writes that on the first and second floors of the weaving mill there were large areas with three-tiered bunk beds for between 200 and 250 people. The few toilets in the factory yard could only be used by the women during the day, and at night they had to use buckets. There are only three reported deaths in the camp, notwithstanding the unhygienic conditions, two from typhus.⁵

The women were guarded exclusively by female SS personnel. In May 1944, Else Hein, the longest-serving female supervisor, was appointed commander of Peterswaldau. There are also records of another supervisor named Slenke. An SS female supervisor was also to be appointed dog squad leader. The SS maintained a relentlessly strict regime—prisoner beatings were the order of the day. One prisoner described the female supervisors' daily brutality as follows:

The SS women beat us often, they walked around, and the guards were standing and sitting by the door. And if someone had to go urgently, we were only human, young women, we just had to go out. We begged them: "We have to go to the toilet." Then they beat us around the head and said, "Piss off, you Jewish pig!" and then they came out to make sure that we were quick and got back to work. Those are memories. The card, that we had, was called a "Scheisskarte," pardon, and just as in a bus or electric tram, we made a hole, when we were outside, once in the morning and once in the afternoon.⁶

There are many prisoner reports on the working conditions in Peterswaldau, particularly the company Diehl GmbH & Co. Schultz has reported on the assembly of detonators:

[T]hey were like nails, about two centimeters (three-quarters of an inch) long, the head was in the middle, just as a nail has its head at the end. I had to mill off a piece from the nail; we were given some sort of device to measure each little piece, whether it was right or not, and if it wasn't we had to call the forewoman to correct the machine. It squirted, and squirted, oil, tri [trichloroethyl—a solvent]—on the clothes and the iron filings. The iron was a very strong metal that was milled and there were lots of filings. We had to clean up every Saturday, clean the

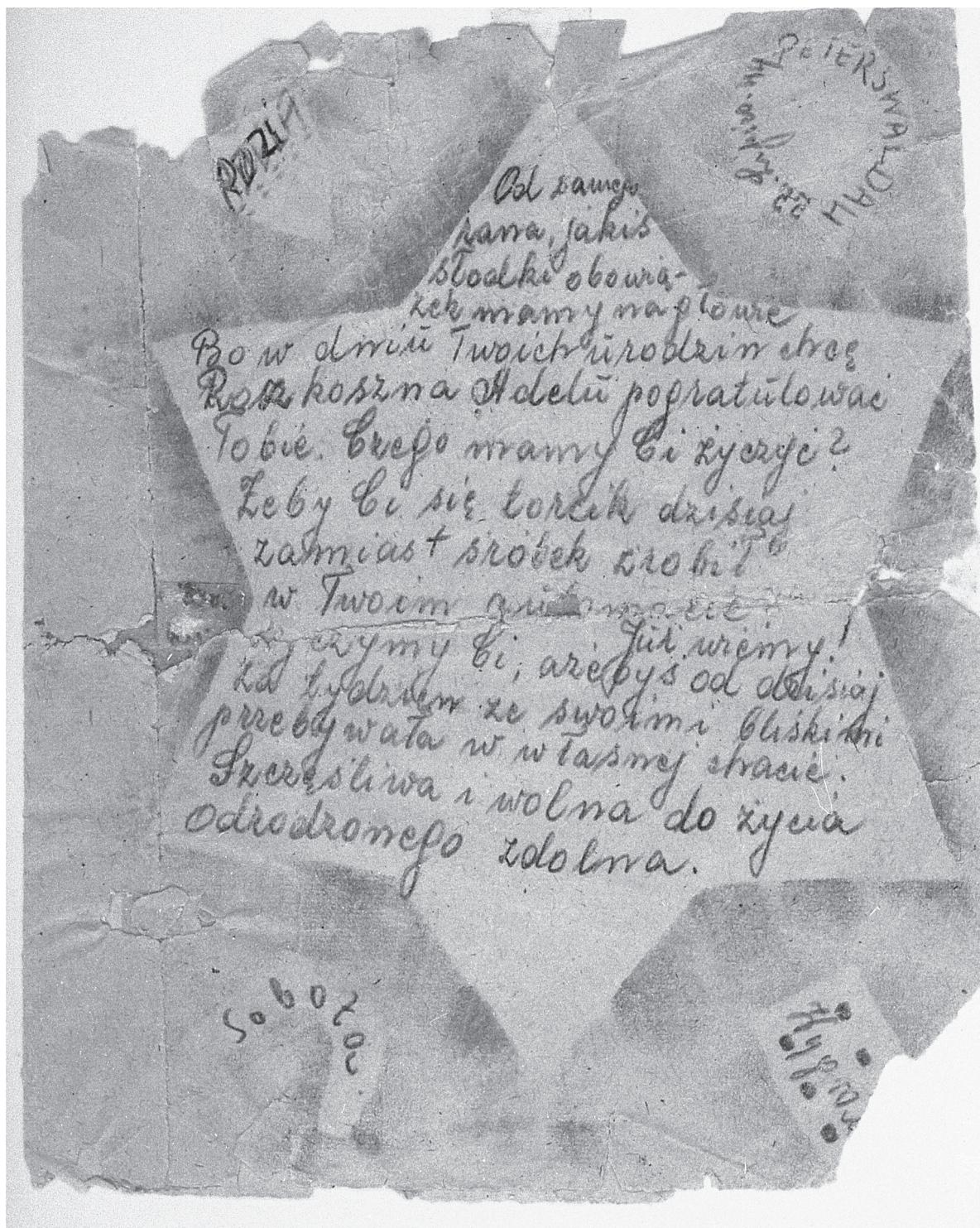
whole machine, and remove from it the week's filings. We had to wash our dresses and hang them up to dry above our beds during the cold of the night. Often they were not dry in the morning. Then we had to get up and put on our wet dresses—there was no other way. We had to be very clean, because the oil was squirting and burned our skin.⁷

Former prisoner Helga Wolfowicz stated that "each time when I put aside my work magnifying glass, the foreman came with a hammer and hit me on the fingers."⁸ Many other prisoners, including Henia Golombierska, Frieda Poremba, Mady D., Helene Maringer, Rose Besser, Helen Preiss, and Rose Futter, have described similar unbearable working conditions—for example, in the zinc plating area where the prisoners were permanently exposed to poisonous gases, the women lived in constant fear of the frequent selections when women who could no longer work would be taken to Auschwitz and murdered. There was an infirmary in the camp with a female doctor and nursing sister.

Bella Guterman, who has researched the everyday life of the Jewish prisoners in the Gross-Rosen subcamps, states that the Peterswaldau subcamp had intensive artistic and cultural activities. There were cultural evenings so that the operetta *Die Fledermaus* was performed with permission of the camp commander. Poetry written by the inmates has survived. Truda Gutman, a prisoner, writes in her poems on the dehumanization process that the prisoners underwent: "Der Hass gegen sich selbst unter uns/Fusstritte und Stöße, Schreie und Schläge/Von der Menschlichkeit ist in uns nichts mehr geblieben" (The self-hatred/kicks, shoving, screams and beatings/Nothing remained in us of our humanity).⁹

The camp was maintained until May 6, 1945. In the last weeks of the war, the women were repeatedly taken to nearby Reichenbach where they had to clean up after bombing raids. On May 7, the women were given the order, probably at all three work sites, to take the machines apart and prepare them for relocation. But it was too late. On May 8–9, 1945, the Soviet Army reached the Peterswaldau subcamp and liberated the women.

The history of the Peterswaldau subcamp was reworked in the years following 1977. In 1977, Karl Diehl, the owner of the munitions factory Diehl GmbH & Co., where the women had to do the forced labor, was given honorary citizenship of the city of Nürnberg for his outstanding work for the benefit of the city of Nürnberg and "for his 'life's work.'¹⁰ Massive protests by journalists and female former forced laborers resulted in debate on Diehl's work for which in 1943 he was recommended for the War Service Cross First Class (Kriegsverdienstkreuz Erster Klasse). This debate did not prevent the awarding of honorary citizenship. It was probably due to this public protest that the family firm declared that it was prepared to make contact with the 180 surviving Jewish women from the camp. In 1999, before the government regulated the payment of compensation for forced labor in Germany, the company paid to each of the women between 10,000



A birthday card, in the shape of a Star of David, presented to Rose Hersz by fellow prisoners at the Peterswaldau subcamp of Gross-Rosen, July 22, 1944. The card reads: "From early morning we have carried the sweet obligation. To congratulate you on your birthday. What should we wish you? If you were to have a little chocolate cake today instead of the nuts and bolts [of the workshop], that would improve your spirits. Oh, now we know [what to wish you]! We wish that one week from today you will be with your loved ones and in your own place; that you will be able to be happy and free and to live a renewed life." USHMM WS #15932, COURTESY OF ROSE GRINBAUM FUTTER

and 15,000 Deutsche Marks (DM) each as compensation. The women in return declared that they would not pursue any legal claims against the company.

SOURCES The ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979) refers to the Peterswaldau camp on 1:141. The *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1 "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," refers to the camp on p. 1832. The encyclopedia of the Central Commission for Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland (Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce), *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny*, ed. Czesław Pilichowski et al. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), lists the camp at p. 432.

The statements by former prisoner Margit Schultz are located in Monika Schmidt, "Das sind Sachen, von denen man sich nicht befreien kann." Margit Schultz. Erinnerungen an Peterswaldau," published in Barbara Distel, ed., *Frauen im Holocaust* (Gerlingen: Bleicher-Verlag, 2001), pp. 70–104. Schmidt has numerous witness statements that are contained in her essay "Zwangarbeit und Lagerhaft als lebenslanges Trauma. Erfahrungen in Langenbielau und Peterswaldau," *DaHe* 15 (November 1999): 174–195.

The collections in USHMM in Washington, DC, include the following documents on the history of the Peterswaldau subcamp: photograph #1 16602 (a .50 RM piece of scrip from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp that was given to Hanka Granek during her imprisonment at the Peterswaldau subcamp of Gross-Rosen); RG-10.174 (Helen Preiss Collection: Tagebuchnotizen einer jungen Jüdin zu ihrer Zeit in Peterswaldau); RG-50.483*0001 (Oral History Interview with Helen Preiss regarding her time in Peterswaldau); and Acc.1995.A.619 (Bronisława Radzik, "A Memoir Relating to the Experiences in Sosnowiec and Peterswaldau").

The YV Memorial contains the following statements on the Peterswaldau Camp: Rosa F. 20.9.1964, Signatur 03/1684; Richarda W. 25.2.1960, Signatur 03/1660; and Hilda L. 13.7.1945, Signatur 015/2298.

The ZfA in Berlin holds an extensive collection of statements by former prisoners: Chana Z. 15.4.1998; Helene M. 26.5.1998; Frieda P. 12. April 1998; Sendi M. 14.4.1998; Ita S. 9.4.1998; Fruma G. 6./13.4.1998; Margit S. 12.4.1998; Nechuma L. 16.12.1998; Tamara Z. 8.4.1998; Pesia F. 13.4.1998; and Tonia K. 6./9.4.1998.

Some reports of surviving prisoners have been published including Einzelne Berichte Mady D., "The Spirit of Goodness," in *Love Carried Me Home: Women Surviving Auschwitz*, ed. Joy Erlichmann Miller (Deerfield Beach: Simcha-Press, 2000); Rose Futter, "My Liberation Day," www.1939club.com/LiberationStories.htm; and Paul Lungen, "Canadians to Share in Slave Labor Compensation," *CJN*, June 25, 1998.

The collections of the ZdL (held at BA-L) in Signatur ZSt 405 AR 2797/67 IV contain files on the proceedings against the camp commandants of Langenbielau I, II, and Peterswaldau, SS-Obersturmführer Karl Ulrich. Details regarding the planned training of an SS female warden from Peterswaldau as a dog squad leader are in ZSt Verschiedenes 301 Dm, Bl. 235 f.

Alfred Konieczny describes the camp in his essay in *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1994), p. 29.

Bella Guterman investigates the camp in "Der Alltag der jüdischen Häftlinge in Nebenlagern des KL Gross-Rosen im Lichte ihrer kulturellen und künstlerischen Tätigkeit," in *Die Völker Europas im KL Gross-Rosen*, ed. Alfred Konieczny (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1995), pp. 37–58.

Other references to the Peterswaldau subcamp are to be found in Alfred Konieczny, ed., *Die Völker Europas im KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1995), especially the essays by Aleksandra Kobielec, "Die jüdischen Häftlinge im KL Gross-Rosen und in seinen Nebenlagern," pp. 31–36; and Isabell Sprenger, "Die ungarischen Frauen in Gross-Rosen," pp. 149–156.

For the conflict surrounding Karl Diehls and the compensation claims from the firm, see Peter Schmitt, "Schwere Vorwürfe gegen neuen Nürnberger Ehrenbürger Karl Diehl," *SZ*, November 11, 1997; "Adelsdorfer Verhältnisse sind Nürnberger Verhältnisse und umgekehrt," www.conne-island.de/nf/41/15.html (based on sources from *Trib*, *ZVJ*, Heft 144, and Abo, No. 26, 19. December 1997); Peter Zinke, "Die Leistungen überwiegen," www.nadir.org/nadir/periodika/jungle_world/_98/04/08b.htm; and Nürnberger Medienwerkstatt (Jim Tobias and Bernd Siegler), "Wir waren die Sklaven von Diehl." *Ein Ehrenbürger und seine Vergangenheit* (Videoproduktion, 12 minutes), November 1997. A positive picture by Karl Diehl and his compensation offer is in Hans-Werner Loose, "Vorbildlicher Diehl," *Welt*, March 24, 1999.

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NOTES

1. AŽIH, Report Nr. 2180 by Sylwia Bachner. For details of humiliating selection of the female prisoners when the administration of the camp was taken over by Gross-Rosen, see the report by Chana Z. in Monika Schmidt, "Zwangarbeit und Lagerhaft als lebenslanges Trauma. Erfahrungen in Langenbielau und Peterswaldau," *DaHe* 15 (November 1999): 178.
2. Schmidt, "Zwangarbeit und Lagerhaft als lebenslanges Trauma," p. 179.
3. See Isabell Sprenger, "Die ungarischen Frauen in Gross-Rosen," in *Die Völker Europas im KL Gross-Rosen*, ed. Alfred Konieczny (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1995), pp. 149–156.
4. See Monika Schmidt, "Das sind Sachen, von denen man sich nicht befreien kann." Margit Schultz. Erinnerungen an Peterswaldau," in Barbara Distel, ed., *Frauen im Holocaust* (Gerlingen: Bleicher-Verlag, 2001), p. 92.
5. Schmidt, "Zwangarbeit und Lagerhaft als lebenslanges Trauma," p. 181.
6. Schmidt, "Das sind Sachen, von denen man sich nicht befreien kann." Margit Schultz," p. 88.
7. Ibid., p. 87.
8. Cited by Peter Zinke, "Die Leistungen überwiegen," www.nadir.org/nadir/periodika/jungle_world/_98/04/08b.htm.
9. Bella Guterman, "Der Alltag der jüdischen Häftlinge in Nebenlagern des KL Gross-Rosen im Lichte ihrer kulturellen und künstlerischen Tätigkeit," in *Die Völker Europas*

im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen, ed. Alfred Konieczny (Wałbrzych: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 1995), pp. 41, 45, 54.

10. Cited in "Adelsdorfer Verhältnisse sind Nürnberger Verhältnisse und umgekehrt," www.conne-island.de/nf/41/15.html.

REICHENAU

The Reichenau subcamp came into being in March 1944 upon the order of the Gesellschaft für Technische und Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung mbH (Association for Technical and Economic Development), which manufactured radio and radar equipment. The initial transport of 199 prisoners (1 died en route) arrived at Reichenau (now Rychnov) from Gross-Rosen on March 14, 1944. The prisoners were put into two barracks located near the factory; the SS staff occupied a third barrack.

SS-Hauptscharführer Ernst Braun served as commander at the subcamp. As described by Jan Kosiński:

[Braun] was a slim, tall man with a long face, thirty-six to forty years old. He was always dressed up in a pressed SS-man's uniform and high boots polished shiny as a mirror. Clean-shaven and perfumed, he himself was in charge of reports and the barrack chiefs. He was all over the place: at roll calls, in the barracks, in the labor commandos and at mail inspection. . . . Braun drank . . . and then you had to stay out of his sight. . . . Quick-tempered, obstinate, rigorous and impervious to any sentiments, he was inhuman and evil. It was he who thought up the most diverse punishments for prisoners, such as standing long hours in the cold, leap-frogging, wallowing on the ground regardless of the weather, extra work, continually spying on them, beating, which led to many deaths because there was no medical care, constant suspicion and searches.¹

The camp staff numbered 25 people in November 1944. The camp held 300 prisoners at that time, and an increase to 400 was planned.

A new transport arrived at Reichenau every month. Prisoners were brought in groups of several to several dozen.

For the first few months, some of the prisoners worked on expanding the camp. But the specialists, the electricians, and lathe operators were assigned to work at the factory, which the prisoners called "civilian" because it was outside the camp. In July some prisoners were moved to the factory's newly erected division on camp premises. The prisoners put to work at the factory received vouchers worth around 4 Reichsmark (RM) for their labor and could use them to buy food in the camp canteen. But they could not buy anything except for cigarettes and vegetable salad, the ingredients of which the prisoners could not identify.

Some prisoners sabotaged production, doing such things as badly soldering the ends of connections or turning parts that were too big on the lathe. Those who were caught were transferred to a penal company or a construction commando. When the camp expansion was finished, the construction commando bored a tunnel to connect the factory division in the camp with the mother plant.

A group of approximately 100 prisoners worked extending and replacing railroad tracks. In the spring, prisoners of various nationalities from labor camps in the area joined the track extension work. SS men watched both groups of prisoners to make sure they did not communicate with each other.

Other prisoners worked on various transport details; in the garage, tailor, and cobbler shops; and in the factory's design office. Braun also used construction brigade prisoners to build his house in Pelkowitz (Pelkowice), a town located almost 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from the camp.

In February or March 1945, when the front was getting nearer, the prisoners were sent to build fortifications, barricades, and trenches. According to a former prisoner: "Walking about in the mountains and digging ditches, even though it was getting warmer outside, was becoming an increasingly difficult job. We were already very exhausted. Our column looked pitiful coming back to the camp from work. Even though the guards would urge us on, we would spread out into small groups. Those who were a bit stronger helped those who could not go on, so we saved one another, as we sensed that freedom was at hand."

Because of breaks in materials deliveries, the pace of work in the factory was slowed down. The prisoners were assigned to cleanup work more and more frequently.

There was no kitchen at Reichenau; food was brought in from the factory canteen located almost a kilometer (0.6 mile) from the camp.

Maintaining cleanliness was a problem for the prisoners. A washroom with running water, a shower, and several bathtubs was built in the third quarter of 1944. Prisoners had to wash in the morning and evening, but they did not get any soap. Underwear was changed no more than once a month. Clothes were not washed. The prisoners were escorted to the delousing station in Gablonz, a town located several kilometers from camp. Prisoners waited outside of the building for their things, after which they put on wet clothes, with lice in most cases, and returned to camp on foot. Their clothes would dry out during the long march. The trek took all day and for many prisoners ended in sickness at best.

There was no infirmary at Reichenau for the first few months; sick people were taken to the main camp. The commander would make the selection. A sickroom was set up in late 1944 due to the high death rate.

The prisoners did not make any escape attempts, except for one that was unsuccessful. A 19-year-old Russian prisoner tried to escape during work on the night shift at the factory, but a guard spotted him and turned him over to the commander, who ordered him shot. Many prisoners recall that a resistance movement existed, primarily initiated by prisoners

from the Warsaw Uprising and Auschwitz concentration camp. One of the group's important achievements was getting hold of a radio and passing on the news they heard to their friends. Poles were the largest ethnic group at Reichenau. There were also Czechs, Frenchmen, Belgians, Russians, Germans, two Ukrainians, two Jews, a Norwegian, and an Italian. There were no major conflicts among the prisoners over ethnic differences, although there were instances of mutual complaints, accusations, and resentments.

Beginning in January 1945, preparations were under way at the main camp of Gross-Rosen for moving headquarters to Reichenau. On February 10, camp commander Hassebroek and most of headquarters staff moved to Reichenau, where they stayed for a week. The camp records and prisoner files were also moved and were destroyed in late April or early May. Evacuation transports moved through the subcamp beginning in 1945. An evacuation column of approximately 1,600 Auschwitz prisoners reached the camp in early February. Unfortunately, we do not know what happened to the prisoners later. Gross-Rosen's Hirschberg subcamp was evacuated in late February; the prisoners reached Reichenau on foot. The group included prisoners evacuated from Auschwitz. They rested the night, then were loaded into railway coal cars and sent to Buchenwald concentration camp, where they arrived on March 7. The transport was joined by approximately 90 prisoners from Reichenau. They rode in uncovered railway cars, with no food; many probably died along the way, as the list of newly admitted prisoners to Buchenwald contains the names of only 9 Reichenau prisoners.

The Reichenau camp was ordered evacuated the night of May 7–8. In all probability, 18 sick people who could not walk were left behind. The column set out toward Jablonec. The prisoners had covered several kilometers when they were stopped by a German army detachment and ordered to go back. They reached the camp in late afternoon of that same day. Some of the staff disappeared along the way. The prisoners were locked in the barracks. Czech underground fighters arrived at the camp on May 9. It turned out that the rest of the staff had fled during the night. The sick people were given medical help and food.

SOURCES The basis of this entry is Dorota Sula's study on selected Gross-Rosen subcamps, *Filie KL Gross-Rosen (wybór artykułów)* (Wałbrzych, 2001). The Reichenau camp is discussed on pp. 124–146.

Archival materials housed at the AMGR include orders of camp authorities as well as former prisoner accounts, surveys, recollections, and correspondence.

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trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, 5747/DP, Jan Kosiński, Reichenau bei Gablonz: The Gross-Rosen Concentration Camp Subsidiary, pp. 10, 12–13, 20–21.

2. AMGR, 5758/731/DP, Henryk Uchman, "Gdy byłem w Reichenau."

RIESE COMPLEX

The code name Riese applied to the Riese construction project built from 1943 to 1945 at Niederschlesien (present-day Dolny Śląsk in Lower Silesia, Poland); and the subcamp complex of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp formed to provide manpower for the Riese project. In official terminology, that labor camp complex was named *Arbeitslager Riese*.

As a result of the German army's deteriorating situation on the Eastern Front in 1943, the Third Reich's high command began to realize that Hitler's headquarters (Wolfschanze) near Rastenburg in East Prussia (present-day Kętrzyn, in northeastern Poland) might be threatened by military operations. They considered the possibility of evacuating the headquarters. In order to keep the military and political command centers working safely and undisturbed, another headquarters had to be readied, at a considerable distance from the front lines.

Considering the operational capacities of aviation at the time, the new quarters would have to safeguard staff operations, primarily against air attacks. Security would be provided by putting staff in suitable underground shelters. These would house Hitler's Headquarters (FHQ), the Army High Command (OKH), the Air Force High Command (OKL), the Navy High Command (OKM), Himmler's headquarters (RFSS), and the headquarters of the Reich Foreign Ministry (RAM).¹

The Germans chose a location in a range of small, almost entirely wooded mountains, rising up to 811 meters (2,661 feet) above sea level, in the northwestern part of the Eulengebirge (Góry Sowie, the Owl Mountains, in the Sudeten in southwestern Poland).

A total of six complexes was to come into being in the Eulengebirge region; they were to be built above and below ground and have the necessary technological infrastructure. Reinforced-concrete residential, office, and service buildings of various sizes were built on the surface on the mountainsides. Tunnels leading to the main chamber excavations were bored in the mountainsides. They were to be lined with reinforced concrete and also house office spaces and probably living spaces as well. The entire project was to be fitted with the necessary communications facilities and have a suitable roadway system, water, and electrical power supply.

The headquarters was also to include Förstenstein Castle near the county seat of Waldenburg (present-day Książ Castle within the Wałbrzych city limits), suitably adapted and furnished with an underground shelter. The castle is approximately 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) northwest of the main Eulengebirge structures.

The Industrie Gemeinschaft Schlesien AG (Silesian Industrial Corporation, Inc.) was contracted to do the construction and excavation work. The work commenced in the late autumn of 1943.² The manpower was initially provided by forced laborers from the Soviet Union and Poland, as well as by Italian prisoners of war (POWs). In late November and early December 1943, four camps that could accommodate

5,200 people were set up for them.³ More camps were being prepared; the intent was to put 15,000 laborers to work on the Riese project.⁴ The outbreak of a typhus epidemic slowed the work down so much that changes had to be made, both in the project's management and the labor force. Initially, no concentration camp prisoners were put to work. However, that option was already being considered.⁵ It was finally implemented in April 1944, when the Organisation Todt (OT) took over the project and began using prisoners from Gross-Rosen, even while keeping the forced laborers and POWs on the job.⁶ A special Senior Construction Directorate (Oberbauleitung) within the OT, code-named "Riese," supervised the prisoners' work.

SS-Hauptsturmführer Albert Lütkemeyer, born June 17, 1911, was the commander of the Riese labor camp complex. He joined the Nazi Party on March 1, 1933, and the Allgemeine-SS on September 1, 1939. He was decorated with the Iron Cross 2nd Class. He served at Esterwegen concentration camp in 1934 and at Mauthausen and Neuengamme in 1941.

The prisoners from Gross-Rosen soon constituted the most numerous group of laborers in the Riese project, and all of them were Jewish. The first transports arrived in late April or very early May 1944.⁷ The prisoners were quartered in a weaving mill in Tannhausen (present-day Jedlinka, a section of the city of Głuszyca). It belonged to the Websky, Hartmann & Wiesen company of Wüstewaltersdorf (now Walim). The camp at the weaving mill was the first one to belong to the Riese complex. It also housed Riese's central headquarters, as well as the quarters of Commandant Lütkemeyer and other people in management positions at the camp. The central food and clothing warehouse was also located there.

At first, the prisoners were primarily used to build more camps.⁸ Because of the magnitude of the construction project and the extensive area of mountains it involved, not one but over a dozen camps were constructed. They were usually named after nearby towns or other place-names.

The following camps were part of the Riese complex: Dörnhau, Erlenbusch, Falkenberg (Eule), Fürstenstein, Kaltwasser, Lärche, Märzbachtal, Säuferwasser (Säuferwassergebiet), Schotterwerk (Bahnhof Ober Wüstegiersdorf), Tannhausen (V Lager), Wolfsberg, Wüstegiersdorf, Wüstewaltersdorf (Stenzelberg), and Zentralrevier Tannhausen.⁹

Besides the camps listed above, some sources also mention more camps in the Eulengebirge region that were reported to be part of the Riese complex. There were three camps named Waldlager 1, 2 and 3,¹⁰ as well as a camp in the town of Bad Charlottenbrunn.¹¹ However, no information on these camps has been uncovered.

Based on incomplete data, it has been established that approximately 13,000 prisoners lived at the camps belonging to Riese. Over 4,900 of them died.

SOURCES The following published sources contain information on the Riese camps: Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica,

1987); Cybulski, "Szpitale dla byłych więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen w Głuszyce (1945–1946)," in *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1980), 6:308–341; Cybulski, "Z badań nad śmiertelnością wśród więźniów KL Gross-Rosen w Górzach Sowich w latach 1944–1945," in *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1982), 8:275–308; Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, comp. Adam Ostoja (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1962); Alfred Konieczny, "Przeniesienia więźniów z podobozu Riese do KL Auschwitz-Birkenau w 1944 r.," in *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1986), 10:293–316; Piotr Kruszyński, *Podziemia w Górzach Sowich i Zamku Książ* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1989); Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górzach Sowich przez organizację TODT oraz firmy z nią współpracujące," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę [materiały z międzynarodowej sejmu naukowej]* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1999); Dorota Sula, *Arbeitslager Riese: Filia KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 2003).

Records relevant to this camp complex may be found in AMGR, WAP-W, BA-K, and BA-L.

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NOTES

1. BA-K, N 1514.
2. WAP-W, Records Collection, Wrocław Regency Division I, sygn. 8303, vols. 2–3, letter from official doctor Dr. Sommerfeld of the National Health Agency in Wałbrzych (Waldenburg) to the director of the company's building inspectorate (Genossenschaftsbauinspektion), dated January 13, 1944.
3. WAP-W, Records Collection, Wrocław Regency Division I, vols. 2–3.
4. WAP-W, Records Collection, Wrocław Regency Division I, vols. 24–28, letter from Dr. Kaiser of the National Health Agency in Dzierżoniow (Reichenbach/Eulengebirge) to the Wrocław Regency President, dated February 9, 1944.
5. BA-L, ZdL 413 AR-Z 567/67, p. 230, Report of examination of Johannes Hassebroek before the National [or Local/Regional] Court in Braunschweig in March 1967.
6. WAP-W, Records Collection, Wrocław Regency Division I, vol. 92, letter from the Wrocław Regency President, dated May 23, 1944.
7. WAP-W, Records Collection, Wrocław Regency Division I, vol. 77, letter from Dr. Kaiser of the National Health Agency in Dzierżoniow (Reichenbach/Eulengebirge) to the Wrocław Regency President, dated May 5, 1944.
8. BA-L, ZdL 413 AR-Z 567/67, p. 232, Report of examination of Johannes Hassebroek before the National [or Local/Regional] Court in Braunschweig in March 1967.
9. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 150.
10. Ibid., pp. 150, 152.
11. BA-L, ZdL 405 AR-Z 45/69, p. 84, Report of examination of Heinrich Schicha in June 1969.

RIESE/DÖRNHAU

A Gross-Rosen/Riese subcamp was established in June 1944 in the buildings of a former carpet factory in Dörnhau (now Kolce). The prisoners were Jews, nationals of various countries.

On June 9, 1944, a transport of 250 prisoners from the Tannhausen camp arrived at the subcamp. On July 15, 40 prisoners were moved from Tannhausen to Dörnhau. The average daily population of the camp ran into several hundred in mid-1944, rising to approximately 1,400 in 1945.

SS-Unterscharführer Wolf held the post of camp commander until the end of 1944. His successor's name is unknown.

The prisoners initially worked felling trees and building a road and a narrow-gauge railway. Butzer und Holzmann AG was in charge of the work; it was evacuated to Linz in 1945. The prisoners dug tunnels on the southern slopes of Säufers Höhen (Osówka) Mountain. The work was done in three galleries at various elevations. The total length of the excavations accounted for in the complex was 1,700 meters (1,859 yards). The prisoners also built projects above ground directly over the tunnels or nearby (approximately 1 kilometer or 0.6 miles). The work at the "Siłownia" and "Kasyno" projects was the most advanced.

Some of the prisoners were assigned to workshops, where they straightened and assembled sections of the narrow-gauge railway tracks, which were then loaded onto freight cars and taken away. They also unloaded freight cars and did other routine jobs, straightening things up.

Besides the aforementioned company, both Artur Becker Tiefbau AG of Berlin and Krause, Schallhorn und Eule used prisoner labor. The work sites and numbers of prisoners assigned to projects varied as needed by the companies.

The completed parts of the installation began to be dismantled in January 1945. In an entry made at Dörnhau, dated April 1945, a prisoner wrote in his diary:

Today I worked in another group—under a Magyar [Hungarian] in a tunnel, in gallery no. 4. We're dismantling the tunnel fittings—ripping out huge, long, heavy pipes. We carry them out and put them outside the tunnel. A truck comes by every hour and we load the scrap onto them. The tunnel is big, damp and cold. . . . We have one hour's rest over twelve hours of work. Many of us have accidents of different kinds every day. We get crushed by iron beams, pipes fall on our legs, or we faint under their weight, but if we're able, we keep on moving and carry the scrap, so as not to faint and be brought round by a gun butt or crowbar.¹

Beginning in October 1944, the camp started serving as a collective hospital (*Revier*) for sick prisoners brought in from other Riese complex camps. Almost all the sick prisoners

working in the Owl Mountains passed through this camp. There was no medical care at all, and the SS men called it a camp for the dying (*Krepierungslager*). The ground and second floor were for the sick; the third floor only was occupied by prisoners who still went to work. From March 19 to April 10, 1945, 416 prisoners died in the camp.

Abram Kajzer, a former prisoner of the Erlenbusch camp, stated that the prisoners of that subcamp were evacuated to Dörnhau in March because of a typhus epidemic. We do know that the last prisoner transport sent from one camp to the other was on April 21, 1945. A transport of 187 prisoners from another Gross-Rosen subcamp, Bad Warmbrunn, arrived at Dörnhau on April 14. The next day another transport from Bad Warmbrunn was admitted; the names of only 13 prisoners in that transport have been successfully identified. Also, a prisoner recollects that three days later most of the prisoners who had come from Bad Warmbrunn were sent to another camp.

Besides one account, we know nothing of any escapes from this camp. In an entry dated April 7, 1945, Kajzer wrote:

By chance, I learned that there were two prisoners in our camp, a Pole and a Russian, who had escaped from forced labor a year ago, but were caught four weeks later and put in our camp as punishment. . . . I decided to see the two prisoners and persuade them to escape with me. I had thought the plan out in detail and imagined that it would be best to escape with them, as they knew the local terrain and would know where to go. . . . First I woke up Kola the Russian, then Piotr the Pole. . . . I had no hope that they'd agree to my crazy idea, so instead of suggesting that we escape together, I asked them to lend me an axe. . . . I approached the barbed wire carefully, raised the axe and cut the wire along the fence. My hands trembling, I bent back the wire, stooped down and quickly went towards freedom, which had been so difficult to regain.²

The two prisoners referred to by Kajzer joined in, but we do not know what happened to them afterward. Kajzer managed to save himself.

The camp was liberated the night of May 8–9. Some of the prisoners who still had some strength left the camp immediately after being liberated. The most gravely ill remained there. A hospital for prisoners was set up in the former camp.

SOURCES See the Riese Complex overview.

Dorota Sula
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, comp. Adam Ostoja (Łódź, 1962), p. 175.

2. Ibid., pp. 177–179.

RIESE/ERLENBUSCH

The Erlenbusch subcamp was part of the Riese labor camp complex created in the Eulengebirge range (later Góry Sowie [Owl Mountains] in the Central Sudets) in conjunction with the construction of an underground headquarters in that region for Hitler and the Third Reich's high command. The camp was established as a result of an agreement between Gross-Rosen and the Riese project's main contractor, the Organisation Todt (OT), concerning the provision of necessary labor. All of the camps in the Riese complex were under the command of the Gross-Rosen headquarters.

The camp was established on the outskirts of the village of Erlenbusch (later Olszyniec), in a meadow of about 1 hectare (2.5 acres) below the Bad Charlottenbrunn (later Jedlina Zdrój)-Schweidnitz (later Świdnica) railway line across from the junction of tracks running from Tannhausen (later Jedlinka) to Hausdorf (later Jugowice) and from the city of Waldenburg (later Wałbrzych) to Erlenbusch.¹

It is not known who built the camp or when it was built. Due to the absence of sources, it is impossible to precisely establish the date of the construction of the camp. In all likelihood, it was operating by May 27, 1944.² The population of the Erlenbusch subcamp is also unknown. It was probably one of the smaller camps of the Riese complex and numbered around 500 prisoners. It housed only Jews, chiefly from Hungary and Poland. Based on the 42 camp numbers of Erlenbusch prisoners that have been established, it is understood that the camp included prisoners who were recorded in the Gross-Rosen concentration camp files on May 24 and June 8, 1944 (from transports of Hungarian Jews), approximately August 25 and September 20 (Polish Jews from the Łódź ghetto), and October 16 (Polish Jews from the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp).³ The size of the transports is unknown. Although all the groups had come from Auschwitz originally, only the May transport went directly from there to Erlenbusch; the others were transfers from other Gross-Rosen subcamps in Eulengebirge.

The earliest description of the Erlenbusch subcamp refers to the second half of 1944. It comes from the account of Henryk Włodarczak, a Polish forced laborer at Erlenbusch who had been put to work as an assistant narrow-gauge railway engineer.⁴ According to his account, the "Jewish camp" was made up of several large wooden barracks as well as round plywood cabins called "Finnish huts." There were two barracks in the lower part of camp. One of them housed the kitchen and food warehouse; the other housed the camp headquarters. The camp leader (*Lagerführer*), an officer with a light limp, also lived in that barrack, as well as at least one other person from the camp management. The guards who watched the prisoners lived somewhat higher up in two or three more barracks. There were bunk beds in the guards' barracks. The prisoners were quartered in the huts, of which there were, according to Włodarczak, "quite a lot, more than just a few, and they stood in rows." All the campgrounds were fenced. The section inhabited by the prisoners was surrounded by a double barbed-wire fence and

was very heavily guarded by watchmen with dogs. The guards were armed with small-caliber Italian rifles with bayonets. Although the Germans made communication between the forced laborers and the prisoners working on the tracks difficult, it was possible. Włodarczak spoke German, so he was able to understand prisoners who spoke Yiddish. He remembers that they asked for fuel. Although there were stoves in all the hut barracks, the prisoners had nothing to burn in them. The forced laborers working on the narrow-gauge locomotives would give them briquettes. Unfortunately, that help did not change the situation much. The hut walls had no thermal insulation, and even when the prisoners could get a bit of fuel and burn it in the stoves, it was only a bit warmer in the cabins and only for a very short time. In general, in Włodarczak's opinion, the prisoners lived under horrendous conditions and froze terribly in the wintertime.

There was a fire in the camp in February or March 1945. It broke out in the large headquarter barracks. From there it spread to huts, which burned down. Włodarczak thought that there were not any prisoners in camp anymore, although he does not know exactly when they were transported out. (The witness came down with typhus in December 1944 and was sent to the hospital for infectious diseases in Wüstewaltendorf [later Walim]. He returned to Erlenbusch several weeks later, shortly before the fire.)

Two accounts by former camp prisoners concern the early spring of 1945. Abram Kajzer wrote that he had been brought to Erlenbusch from the Dörnhau labor camp in late February-early March 1945.⁵ In his opinion, there were approximately 500 prisoners living in the camp at the time. New arrivals were deloused and got clean clothes and blankets. They were quartered in barracks; the rooms were clean and had board beds. There was a bathhouse with hot water in the camp. Kajzer was at Erlenbusch for only a month, after which he returned to Dörnhau because of a typhus epidemic.

Former prisoner Arnold Mostowicz wrote in his published recollections that he had come to Erlenbusch from Dörnhau labor camp in early April 1945.⁶ The camp was situated in open country and was made up of five new barracks that had been painted green. The new boards of the barracks still smelled of the pine forest. There was a group of several dozen prisoners on site who were erecting the barracks. According to Mostowicz, he was in the first major group that arrived at the camp. They slept on straw mattresses stuffed with wood shavings, just like the ones at Dörnhau, although there were no fleas or lice in them. He described this new and clean camp, which had been set up at the very end of the war, as an "astounding phenomenon." The sanitary conditions at Erlenbusch were also better than at other camps in the spring of 1945. The prisoners could wash up every evening there in the bathhouses with hot water.⁷ Mostowicz also returned to the Dörnhau labor camp after a short time.

There is no information on the infirmary at Erlenbusch. For a brief time in April 1945, Mostowicz served as an orderly.⁸ No information exists on the total number of illnesses

and deaths. It is known that prisoners in serious condition were taken away to the infirmary in Dörnhau. The surviving fragmentary records show that there were eight transports between the hospital and the camp between December 6, 1944, and May 7, 1945, in which there were 27 prisoners: for five transports totaling 17 prisoners, it was clearly recorded that they had been sent from the camp to the infirmary, while the only information provided for the remaining transports was the name of the camp, without the specific destination. The dates listed for the transports are also interesting: the first one was on December 6, 1944, and involved 1 prisoner. That was the only transfer that year. The next 4 occurred between January 25 and 29, 1945, and involved 19 prisoners. The last three, involving 7 prisoners, were on April 21, May 3, and May 7.⁹ The surviving information shows that 7 prisoners died at the Dörnhau hospital between March 19 and May 8, 1945, and 3 more died on May 3, 1945, during the transport from Erlenbusch to Dörnhau.¹⁰ It is striking that the number of sick prisoners sent back to the Dörnhau hospital was so small and that the number of deaths recorded was relatively low, all the more so because we know that there had been a typhus epidemic at Erlenbusch among the forced laborers who lived under incomparably better conditions. In light of these facts, it seems probable that the typhus epidemic also affected the prisoners at Erlenbusch subcamp. Besides the situation at the front at that time, it also could have been the reason for their transport out of the camp around mid-February 1945. On the other hand, the sick people sent to the Dörnhau infirmary in the aforementioned last three groups were from the new "settlement" of the camp.

We know little about the SS staff at Erlenbusch subcamp. An SS company from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp served guard duty. We know the names of two SS men: SS-Hauptscharführer Bernhard Rückner, born March 21, 1896. He was a staff member of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp from August 26, 1941, to December 28, 1944; besides Erlenbusch, he was also at the Falkenberg labor camp for a time.¹¹ Herman Schöps, born August 2, 1901, was a German. His dates of his stay at the Erlenbusch subcamp are unknown, but it is known that he was also at other Gross-Rosen concentration camp subcamps, in Breslau, Dyhernfurth, Bad Warmbrunn, and Hirschberg.¹²

The prisoners worked at the railway siding near the camp, unloading and reloading building materials. They also maintained the narrow-gauge railway between the siding at Erlenbusch and construction sites in the town of Jauernig (later Jugowice Górnne) as well as on the slope of the Wolfsberg (later Włodarz) Mountain.¹³

They also did excavating work for the construction of the water supply system on the slope of the Saal Berg (later Jedlińska Kopa).¹⁴

In the spring of 1945, the prisoners worked at the construction site in Jauernig and also near the camp, loading construction and engineering equipment onto railroad cars for evacuation. All of that occurred under conditions of severe disorganization.¹⁵

Unfortunately, there is no clear-cut information about the end of the Erlenbusch subcamp's operation. According to accounts referred to above, it seems that the camp was first evacuated in February 1945. Then new groups of prisoners were brought in, probably as early as March or April. At least some of them were transferred to the Dörnhau camp in early May.¹⁶ It is not known whether the Erlenbusch subcamp then ceased to exist or whether some prisoners remained there until war's end and were liberated.

Schöps, an SS guard at Erlenbusch, was tried after the war and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment on September 29, 1947. He was freed after serving his sentence.¹⁷

SOURCES Information on the Erlenbusch subcamp can be found in the following essays: Bogdan Cybulski, "Analiza stanu więźniów w podobozach KL Gross-Rosen kompleksu Riese w latach 1944–1945," *SFiZH* 7 (1981); Alfred Konieczny, "Obozy Spółki Akcyjnej Śląska Współnoty Przemysłowej w Górzach Sowich w latach 1943–1944," *SFiZH* 6 (1980); Piotr Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górzach Sowich przez Organizację Todta oraz firmy z nią współpracujące," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych, 1999); and Dorota Sula, *Arbeitslager Riese: Filia KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych, 2003). Information also can be found in the published recollections of former prisoners of this camp: in particular, Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci* (Łódź, 1962); and Arnold Mostowicz, *Żółta gwiazda i czerwony krzyż* (Warsaw, 1988).

Archival material on the Erlenbusch subcamp can be found at the following locations: AK-IPN in Warsaw and AMGR in Wałbrzych.

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NOTES

1. AMGR, 6500/15/DP, Report of examination of witness Adam Ludwik Religa at the Wrocław District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes on May 24, 1968.

2. WAP-W, Records Collection, Wrocław Regency Division I, 8303, vols. 99–100, letter from Dr. Kaiser, camp administration officer in charge of sanitary supervision over camps in the Eulengebirge region, to the Wrocław Regency President, dated May 27, 1944.

3. Files of former Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners recreated at the Gross-Rosen Museum.

4. Account of Henryk Włodarczak, P. Kruszyński's private collections.

5. Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci* (Łódź, 1962), p. 159.

6. Arnold Mostowicz, *Żółta gwiazda i czerwony krzyż* (Warsaw, 1988), pp. 222–227.

7. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, p. 159.

8. Mostowicz, *Żółta gwiazda*, p. 227; AMGR, 6500/22/DP, Report of examination of witness Arnold Mostowicz.

9. AMGR, 124/35/MF, Daily population log of Dörnhau hospital.

10. AMGR, 124/35/MF, Daily population log of Dörnhau hospital; AMGR, 108/2/MF, Leichenbuch Dörnhau.

11. AMGR, 132/78/MF, Collection of War Criminal Photographs.
12. "Członkowie załóg i więźniowie funkcyjni niemieckich obozów, więzień i gett skazani przez sądy polskie," comp. Elżbieta Kobierska-Motas (duplicated typescript, Warsaw, 1992), Item 1372.
13. Henryk Włodarczak, account in P. Kruszyński's private collections; Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, pp. 161–163, 172.
14. Piotr Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górnach Sowich przez Organizację Todta oraz firmy z nią współpracujące," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych, 1999), pp. 49–50.
15. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, pp. 161–163.
16. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 148; Mostowicz, *Żółta gwiazda*, p. 236.
17. Kobierska-Motas, "Członkowie załóg i więźniowie funkcyjni niemieckich obozów," Item 1372.

RIESE/FALKENBERG [AKA EULE]

The Falkenberg subcamp was part of the Riese complex created in the Eulengebirge range (later Góry Sowie [Owl Mountains] in the Central Sudets) in conjunction with the construction of an underground headquarters in that region for Hitler and the Third Reich's high command. Like all the other camps in the Riese complex, Falkenberg emerged from an agreement between Gross-Rosen and the Riese project's main contractor, the Organisation Todt (OT).¹ Falkenberg and the other Riese camps were subcamps of Gross-Rosen.

Falkenberg was set up in the hamlet of Eule (later Sowina), which was an administrative section of the village of Ludwigsdorf (later Ludwikowice Kłodzkie). Since the large village of Falkenberg (later Sokolec) was near Eule, the camp was named after that place. Various sources also call the camp Eule.

The Falkenberg camp probably came into being in late April or early May 1944. The first prisoners were Jews from Greece and Yugoslavia, brought from Auschwitz. They were recorded in the Gross-Rosen files on April 26. The next group to arrive were Polish Jews from the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp, who had been admitted to Gross-Rosen on May 1.² There were also some Hungarian Jews in the camp, who had been sent to Gross-Rosen in transports from Auschwitz on May 24, June 8, and in September 1944, as well as some Polish Jews from the Łódź ghetto.³ However, it is not known when the Łódź Jews were sent to Falkenberg or in which transport they arrived. A former prisoner from the transport from Krakau-Plaszow testified only that the Jews from the Łódź ghetto arrived after the transport of Hungarian Jews. The size of the group is also unknown.⁴

The first group of Greek and Yugoslavian Jews, probably numbering about 300 prisoners, was quartered in 10 small round barracks made of plywood called "Finnish huts." The

next group of 250 Jews from Krakau-Plaszow was put in 1 of the 3 already existing large barracks.⁵ According to the account of Michał Fallak, the "tent section" in which the Greek and Yugoslavian Jews lived was fenced off and constituted a separate camp. He would only encounter those prisoners during work.⁶ A total of up to 1,500 prisoners lived at Falkenberg.⁷

The camp had no kitchen during the first few weeks of its operation. Bread and soup would be delivered daily, and coffee would be brewed on site outdoors. In time, a kitchen and latrine were built.⁸ More barracks were also put up.⁹

A hospital was also set up in the camp; initially it had one room, later two. Dr. Bronisław Rubin was the camp doctor; he had arrived in the transport from Krakau-Plaszow. Besides him, seven more prisoners worked in the hospital: three doctors, two dentists, an orderly, and a prisoner who performed administrative work. The prisoners themselves strove to improve the hospital's supply of medicine and equipment. Prisoners who worked at the railway station would get bandaging materials and vaseline; pharmacists would make salves out of sap and made salicin by boiling willow bark; prisoners working in the metal shops would make lancets, splints, and crutches; and wounds were sutured using needles and thread taken out of the sewing and shoemaking shops.

The camp death rate was high; the number of prisoners unable to work reached 200 in the autumn and winter of 1944, and the number of deaths was approaching 2 per day.¹⁰ The most seriously ill prisoners were taken away to the hospital at the Dörnhau camp. The surviving fragmentary records show that between October 6, 1944, and January 30, 1945, at least 68 prisoners wound up at the Dörnhau hospital, while 34 Falkenberg camp prisoners died there between March 19 and April 10, 1945.¹¹

Prisoner selections were conducted at Falkenberg, as at the other Riese camps: the sick and weak who were unfit for work, yet still walking, were sent to neighboring camps.¹²

Hygienic conditions were simply terrible; the camp had no bathhouses. Fallak, who was at the Falkenberg labor camp from May 1944 through its evacuation, testified that they were only taken once to a bathhouse, located at another camp.¹³

Just as at the other camps, tremendous hunger prevailed at Falkenberg. However, in this instance it happened that prisoners working near buildings in the hamlet of Eule would sometimes receive a little bread and boiled potatoes from the German inhabitants.¹⁴

The terrible living conditions and very hard labor not only caused physical devastation but mental breakdown as well; prisoners who could not stand it any longer committed suicide. Dr. Rubin remembered that several prisoners hanged themselves, and one threw himself under a truck.¹⁵

The prisoners' main occupation was excavating a tunnel in the northern and eastern slope of Schindelberg (later Gon-towa) Mountain. It was particularly hard and dangerous labor, during which there were frequent accidents, many of which ended in deaths.¹⁶ Besides that, the prisoners built a road from

Eule to the tunnel exits and the building complex in the forest on Schindelberg Mountain. On the mountain, they prepared the excavations for foundations, then laid the foundations for the surface buildings, dug ditches for sewers and telephone cables, and built the subgrade for the narrow-gauge railway and freight-handling facilities; they also worked at the railway siding in Ludwigsdorf, unloading building materials. The work was organized in two shifts of 12 hours each.¹⁷

The prisoner's labor was used primarily by the OT, the main contractor of the project under way in the mountains, as well as the companies with which it did business. The following companies were associated with this project: Hoffmannswerke/Bielitz; Wayss & Freytag; Hoch- und Tiefbau; Deutsche Hoch- und Tiefbaugesellschaft; Seidenspinner (Bauunternehmen); Urban (Bauunternehmen); Dybno (Bauunternehmen); and Fix (Barackenbau).¹⁸

Not much information has survived about the SS staff at Falkenberg. An SS company from Gross-Rosen served guard duty.

Falkenberg was disbanded sometime during the first 10 days of February 1945. After the sick people were transported back to the Dörnhau hospital in the final days of January, only those who could walk remained in the camp. That group left the camp in two columns. The first headed southward, proceeding through the town of Glatz (later Kłodzko) and reaching Czechoslovakia after several days of marching. The prisoners were then loaded into open railway cars and were taken toward Trautenau (later Trutnov). The second column was led northward to the Wolfsberg camp. Several days later, around February 16, they continued onward with the prisoners of that camp.¹⁹ The several thousand prisoners were led toward the town of Friedland (later Mieroszów). The next day the prisoners reached the town of Schömberg (later Chełmsko Śląskie). There, the column was divided into two unequal sections. The smaller group was sent, probably immediately, to the station in Trautenau and finally taken by rail to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.²⁰ The larger section, which remained at Schömberg and stayed in wooden sheds for several days, was also led to Trautenau. The prisoners were loaded into open railway cars and joined the transport that already included the group that had left Falkenberg via Glatz. That transport reached the Mauthausen subcamp in Ebensee.²¹

Two SS men from the Falkenberg camp were tried after the war. By a decree of the Wadowice District Court dated 8 April 1948, Otto Steinke was sentenced to four years in prison and seven years' deprivation of the right to hold public or honorary office, as well as the confiscation of his property.²² The Świdnica District Court sentenced Franz Rösel to death on May 22, 1947. The sentence was carried out on June 9, 1948.²³

SOURCES Information on the Falkenberg subcamp can be found in the following essays: Bogdan Cybulski, "Żydzi w filiach obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen," *SFiZH* 2 (1975); Cybulski, "Analiza stanu więźniów w podobozach KL

Gross-Rosen kompleksu Riese w latach 1944–1945," *SFiZH* 7 (1981); Piotr Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górzach Sowich przez Organizację Todta oraz firmy z nią współpracujące," in *Wykorzystanie nie-wolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych, 1999); Dorota Sula, *Arbeitslager Riese: Filia KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych, 2003); as well as in the published recollections of a former prisoner of this camp, Bronisław Rubin, "Wspomnienia lekarza z Falkenbergu i Ebensee," *PL* 1 (1968).

Archival material on the Falkenberg subcamp can be found at the AMGR in Wałbrzych and the AŽIH in Warsaw.

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NOTES

1. Report of examination of Johannes Hassebroek before the National [or Local/Regional] Court in Braunschweig on March 16, 1967, p. 231, BA-L, ZSt 413 AR-Z 567/67.
2. AMGR, 3573/DP, Account of Bronisław Rubin; and 8751/68/DP, Account of Michał Fallak.
3. Files of Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners recreated at the Gross-Rosen Museum.
4. AŽIH, Account No. 4113—Michał Fallak.
5. AMGR, 3573/DP, Recollections of Dr. Bronisław Rubin.
6. AŽIH, Account No. 4113—Michał Fallak.
7. Bronisław Rubin, "Wspomnienia lekarza z Falkenbergu i Ebensee," *PL* 1 (1968): 184.
8. Ibid.; AMGR, 3573/DP, Recollections of Dr. B. Rubin.
9. AŽIH, Account No. 4113—Michał Fallak.
10. Rubin, "Wspomnienia lekarza," p. 184.
11. AMGR, 2330/DP, Patient list as of May 9 1945; AMGR, 124/35/MF, Daily population log of Dörnhau hospital.
12. Rubin, "Wspomnienia lekarza," p. 184.
13. AŽIH, Account No. 4113—Michał Fallak.
14. Ibid; account of Hedwig Neumann, then a resident of the hamlet of Eule, in Hubert Hübner, *Heimat Schlesien-Glatzisch Falkenberg und Eule* (Zentralstelle Grafschaft Glatz/Schlesien e.V.), 1997 pp. 303–304.
15. Rubin, "Wspomnienia lekarza," p. 184.
16. AMGR, 124/1077/MF, 8751/19/DP, Accounts of Mojżesz Teller.
17. AMGR, 8751/DP, Account of Aleksander Heller.
18. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 149.
19. AMGR, 8751/DP, Account of Aleksander Heller; Roman Olszyna, "KL Falkenberg," *F-S*, September 23, 1978, p. 10.
20. AMGR, 124/3861/MF, Account of Józef Finkelstein.
21. AMGR, 6920/DP, Häftlingsliste, Kommando Wolfsberg vom 22.11.1944; and 1/MF, Alphabetical list of Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners compiled at the Chief Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Warsaw.
22. AMGR, A. Lasik, files of Gross-Rosen concentration camp staff members.

23. "Członkowie załóg i więźniowie funkcyjni niemieckich obozów, więzień i gett skazani przez sądy polskie," comp. Elżbieta Kobierska-Motas (duplicated typescript, Warsaw, 1992), Item 1301.

RIESE/FÜRSTENSTEIN

The Fürstenstein subcamp was one of the camps in the Riese complex created in the Eulengebirge range (later Góry Sowie [Owl Mountains] in the Central Sudets) in conjunction with the construction of the underground headquarters for Hitler and the Third Reich's high command in that region. Like all the other camps in the Riese system, the Fürstenstein camp derived from an agreement between the headquarters of Gross-Rosen concentration camp and the Riese project's main contractor, the Organisation Todt (OT). Fürstenstein and other Reise camps were subcamps of Gross-Rosen.

The camp was situated on a hill about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) southeast of Fürstenstein Castle (later Książ Castle within the Wałbrzych city limits) near the road between Fürstenstein Castle and the Waldenburg (later Wałbrzych)-Freiburg in Schlesier (later Świebodzice) road.

The camp was formed in May 1944. Jewish men were interned there, mostly from Hungary; there were also smaller groups of Greek and Slovakian Jews. Unfortunately, the records providing the exact number of prisoners have not survived. According to the account of a former prisoner, there were approximately 1,000 men at the Fürstenstein labor camp.¹ In the initial transport from Gross-Rosen in May 1944, 400 people were brought there. For certain, there were Hungarian and Slovakian Jews in that transport.² The next transports arrived over subsequent months. The prisoners whose names and camp numbers have been established were recorded in the Gross-Rosen files between May and August 1944.³

The initial construction team is unknown. When the first transport arrived, small plywood barracks called "Finnish huts" had already been put up (at least partially), in which the prisoners were quartered. After the prisoners arrived, the campgrounds were fenced with barbed wire. The prisoners themselves continued the camp's expansion.⁴

Prisoners attempted to escape from this camp. We know of one attempt, in the latter half of January 1945, in which two Hungarian prisoners sought to escape: Aleksander Friedmann (Gross-Rosen camp no. 31579) and Mor Nauman (Gross-Rosen camp no. 39983). Unfortunately, the escape was unsuccessful, and the fugitives were caught. A few days later, on January 24, 1945, both prisoners were hanged in public at Fürstenstein.⁵

Sanitary conditions in the camp were very bad. Even though the camp had a water supply and sewage system, very frequently there was no water. There was also a shortage of medical care and medicine.⁶ Sick prisoners were taken away to the infirmary for the entire Riese complex at the Dörnhau camp.⁷ Based on surviving records, we know that between

October 28, 1944, and February 16, 1945, at least 98 sick Fürstenstein prisoners were sent back to the Dörnhau infirmary, while in another 100 cases, we are not able to determine whether the transport was from the camp to the hospital or from the hospital to the camp.⁸

Since the records are incomplete, the exact number of deaths is unknown. However, from the surviving fragmentary records, it is known that in just the three weeks from March 19 to April 10, 1945 (after the camp reopened), as many as 56 patients who had been brought from Fürstenstein died and that the deaths of 15 persons were recorded in the final weeks of the camp's operation between January 23 and February 8, 1945.⁹ These fragmentary figures indicate a high death rate at the camp, at least in the final period of its existence. The bodies of prisoners who died at the Fürstenstein subcamp were trucked away to the crematorium at Gross-Rosen. Only in the final weeks were the dead buried on-site in the forest, because of the main camp's evacuation.¹⁰

Very little information about the SS staff has survived. It is known that the Lagerführer was an SS man with the rank of Unterscharführer. Guard duty was served by a platoon from the guard company stationed at Tannhausen labor camp, a company commanded by SS man Heinrich Schicha.¹¹

The Fürstenstein Castle was supposed to be one of the buildings in the Riese project. Adapting the castle for new needs involved rebuilding the historic medieval structure. The work done at that time destroyed many valuable historic components of the castle forever.

The prisoners' main workplace was the castle itself and its immediate environs. They dug tunnels under the castle. The length of the underground excavations that are known is about 950 meters (1,039 yards). A considerable portion of these tunnels were lined with concrete. Two shafts connecting the surface and the subterranean areas were built. Various construction work was being done in the castle itself; some rooms were rebuilt and repainted, wooden floors were replaced, new electrical and plumbing systems were installed, and a round staircase was built from the castle terraces to the first basement level.

Smaller groups of prisoners were put to work on the railway siding in Liebichau (later Lubiechów), handling construction materials and delivering them to the castle by narrow-gauge railway. They also worked building roads and water supply and sewer systems.

Prisoners with a higher education worked at the castle on road, tunnel, and building construction designs.¹²

We know the following names of companies that the OT hired for the work being done at the castle and that joined with it in using the labor of Fürstenstein prisoners: Sänger und Laninger; Singer und Müller; Hegerfeld, Kemna und Co.; and Pischel.¹³

The camp was evacuated in mid-February 1945. Sick prisoners were sent to the hospital at the Dörnhau camp. The last known transport from Fürstenstein reached Dörnhau on February 16.¹⁴ The prisoners who could walk were led out of the camp; they reached the town of Trautenau (later Trutnov) on

foot. There, they were loaded into railway cars without being given any rations. Many people suffocated and died in the horrible conditions on the train, without food or access to an adequate amount of air. Approximately 40 percent of the prisoners died; the bodies of the dead were thrown from the railway cars at stops. The transport eventually led to Flossenbürg.¹⁵

Everything indicates that new prisoners were brought to the camp, and work resumed in late February or early March 1945. The work continued until May 6. The next day, the OT abandoned the castle premises. That same day, the prisoners were taken away, probably to the Wüstewaltersdorf (later Walim) area, and were left there.¹⁶

Out of the SS staff members at Fürstenstein labor camp, only Stefan Horvat was tried after the war; he was captured by the Americans in May 1945, after which he was extradited to Poland on December 18, 1946. For belonging to the SS and being a guard at concentration camps, the Kraków District Court sentenced him on April 28, 1948, to three years in prison and five years' deprivation of the right to hold public or honorary office, as well as the confiscation of his property. He served his sentence from April 28, 1948, to December 24, 1949, at the Montelupich Prison in Kraków. After serving his sentence, he was released and was extradited to Germany on April 18, 1950.¹⁷

SOURCES Published material on Fürstenstein is limited to Piotr Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górzach Sowich przez Organizację Todta oraz firmy z nią współpracujące," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych, 1999); and Dorota Sula, *Arbeitslager Riese: Filia KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych, 2003).

Archival material on the Fürstenstein subcamp can be found at the AK-IPN in Warsaw and the AMGR in Wałbrzych.

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NOTES

1. AMGR, 1238/DP-A, questionnaire of J. Weis.
2. Ibid.
3. Files of former Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners recreated at the Gross-Rosen Museum.
4. AMGR, 1238/DP-A, questionnaire of J. Weis.
5. AMGR, 2769/DP, Report of receipt of verbal notice of a crime; AMGR, 105/1382/MF, Section III, Totenliste des Konzentrationslagers Gross-Rosen, Arbeitslager Riese (Ungarn).
6. AMGR, 1238/DP, questionnaire of J. Weis.
7. AMGR, 2330/DP, Concentration camp patient list as of May 9, 1945, compiled by Dr. Tadeusz Cytron.
8. Ibid.; AMGR, 108/2/MF, Leichenbuch Dörnhau (22.03.–22.05.1945); AMGR, 124/35/MF, Daily population log of Dörnhau hospital (March 18 to April 10, 1945).
9. AMGR, 124/35/MF, Daily population log of Dörnhau hospital (March 18 to April 10, 1945); and 105/1382/MF, Section III, Totenliste des Konzentrationslagers Gross-Rosen, Arbeitslager Riese (Ungarn).
10. AMGR, 2769/DP, Report of receipt of verbal notice of a crime.
11. Testimony of Heinrich Schicha, BA-L, 405 AR-Z 45/69.
12. AMGR, 1238/DP-A, questionnaire of J. Weis.
13. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 149.
14. AMGR, 108/2/MF, Leichenbuch Dörnhau.
15. AMGR, 1238/DP-A, questionnaire of J. Weis.
16. AMGR, Riese. AL Fürstenstein, Official notes of interview with Ms. Dorota Stempowska in Książ on April 2, 1987.
17. AK-IPN, SOKr-375, pp. 6, 96; SOKr-376, pp. 77–79.

RIESE/KALTWASSER

The Kaltwasser subcamp was part of the Riese complex created in the Eulengebirge range (later Góry Sowie [Owl Mountains] in the Central Sudets) in conjunction with the construction of an underground headquarters in that region for Hitler and the Third Reich's high command. Like all the other camps in the Riese complex, Kaltwasser emerged from an agreement between Gross-Rosen and the Riese project's main contractor, the Organisation Todt (OT).¹ Kaltwasser and the other Riese camps were subcamps of Gross-Rosen.

Kaltwasser was set up on a gentle slope located south of the road between Wüstegiersdorf (later Głuszyca) and the village of Kaltwasser (later Zimna Woda in Głuszyca).² It is not known who built the camp or when it was constructed. It consisted of no less than five living barracks, a hospital, kitchen, vegetable-peeling house, and warehouses. The initial prisoner transport arrived there from Auschwitz in late August 1944. The next one, also from Auschwitz, arrived around September 20. The prisoners were Polish Jews, mainly from Łódź.³ Henryk Susmanek, who was brought there in the first transport, remembered that upon their arrival and the issuing of camp numbers all the prisoners were inoculated against contagious diseases. The exact number of prisoners sent to the camp is not known. It can only be surmised (based on the number of living-quarter barracks) that it did not exceed 2,000.

The camp had a hospital. At first, one prisoner doctor worked there. Another one was sent later. When the number of patients began growing, the hospital started admitting only those patients who had a fever of at least 40 degrees Centigrade (104 degrees Fahrenheit).⁴ They most often wound up there due to colds, various types of inflammations, or open wounds on their legs.⁵

Prisoners in serious condition were transferred to the hospital at the Riese camp at Dörnhau; 33 Kaltwasser prisoners were sent to Dörnhau in the period from September to December 1944.⁶

No exact data on the prisoner death rate are available. Former prisoner recollections include accounts saying that every day crates with the bodies of the dead were removed from camp by truck. There is also information saying that the death rate grew week by week, from an initial 30 deaths per week to between 50 and 60, two weeks later.⁷

There were prisoner selections in the camp in September or October 1944. How many prisoners were selected is not known. However, it is known that in consequence over 90 percent of the hospital population was carted away in several trucks. Those prisoners were taken to Auschwitz along with prisoners selected at other Riese camps. Shortly after that event, there was another selection of "poor-looking" prisoners, who were sent to Riese/Wolfsberg. The prisoners made the journey between the two camps on foot.⁸

There is almost no information on the SS staff at Kaltwasser. What is known is that the camp leader (Lagerführer) was replaced at least once.⁹ One of the Lagerführers was SS-Scharführer Hartmann, a German from Meissen in Saxony. He was at Gross-Rosen from 1944 to February 1945. In addition to Kaltwasser, he also served at the Lärche and Wüstewaltersdorf subcamps. He was transferred to the main camp before February 1945.¹⁰

An SS company from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp served guard duty at Kaltwasser. The name of one SS man is known: Georg Mittelstädt, born May 22, 1902, in Waldheide. He joined the Wehrmacht in 1942 and served in a transport column until October 1944, after which he served in the guard company at the Riese camp; prior to Kaltwasser, he had also been at the Wüstegiersdorf, Langenbielau, and Lärche camps.¹¹

The prisoners' main workplace was the projects under construction on Ramenberg (later Sobon) Mountain: they leveled and surfaced the ground for a narrow-gauge railway track; they carried the rails; set down new tracks; felled trees to build new roads; dug ditches and put in sewers; cleared forests; unloaded railroad cars loaded with concrete, sand, and bricks; dumped stones out of trucks and shoveled them into ravines; and installed poles for electric wires. Some of the prisoners worked making cobblestones for road paving: rocks were dynamited, and the larger pieces were broken up into smaller ones and worked down to the required size. The prisoners worked in two shifts regardless of the weather. All the labor was very hard and dangerous, and there were frequent accidents. There were also instances of suicide.¹²

Smaller groups of prisoners, mostly those who were no longer fit for hard labor, were sent to commandos on camp premises, such as the shoemaking commando, the vegetable and potato-peeling commando, or the grounds-keeping commando.¹³

The following companies used the labor of Kaltwasser prisoners: Fix, Sager und Wörner; Butzer und Holzmann; Argo-Waldenburg; Weiden und Petersil; and Lentz und Seiden.¹⁴

Kaltwasser was disbanded in December 1944, an event associated with a shift in the front. The healthy prisoners and

the SS staff were transferred to the Lärche labor camp, while the sick prisoners were sent to the hospital at the Dörnhau camp and to the Tannhausen Zentralrevier (Central Infirmary).¹⁵

Only a small group of hospital patients and the peeling-facility personnel remained in the camp. Several SS men guarded them.¹⁶ They were finally sent to the Wolfsberg camp. The date when that group of prisoners left Kaltwasser is not known. What is known is that one of them died at the Wolfsberg camp on December 28, 1944, a few days after arriving there.¹⁷

SOURCES Information on the Kaltwasser subcamp can be found in the following essays: Bogdan Cybulski, "Analiza stanu więźniów w podobozach KL Gross-Rosen kompleksu Riese w latach 1944–1945," *SFiZH* 7 (1981); Piotr Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górzach Sowich przez Organizację Todta oraz firmy z nią współpracujące," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych, 1999); and Dorota Sula, *Arbeitslager Riese: Filia KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych, 2003); as well as in the published recollections of a former prisoner of this camp, Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci* (Łódź, 1962).

Archival material on the Kaltwasser subcamp can be found at the AK-IPN in Warsaw and in Wrocław and at the AMGR in Wałbrzych.

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sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (Arolsen, 1979), p. 150; Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, p. 89.

15. AMGR, 124/1479/MF, Account of Moíko Kaufman, p. 30.

16. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, p. 111.

17. AMGR, 92/N-A, Account of Henryk Susmanek.

RIESE/LÄRCHE

The Lärche subcamp was part of the Riese complex created in the Eulengebirge range (later Góry Sowie [Owl Mountains] in the Central Sudets) in conjunction with the construction of an underground headquarters for Hitler and the Third Reich's high command in that region. Like all the other camps in the Riese complex, Lärche developed out of an agreement between Gross-Rosen and the Riese project's main contractor, the Organisation Todt (OT).¹ Lärche and the other Riese camps were subcamps of Gross-Rosen.

The camp was situated in the forest on the southern slope of the Ramenberg (later Góra Soboń), about 450 meters (492 yards) north of the village of Kaltwasser (later Zimna Voda). At 675 to 695 meters (738.2 to 760.1 yards) above sea level, it was the highest camp in the Riese complex. Lärche was most probably established in mid-December 1944, when most of the prisoners and staff of the disbanded Kaltwasser subcamp were moved there.² The camp was located here so that prisoners working in the region did not have to travel so far to work. It is not known who built the camp initially. When the prisoners arrived from Kaltwasser, it was ready, and they were its first inmates. The camp's population cannot be exactly determined. In his account, former prisoner M. Kaufman stated that the group brought from Kaltwasser numbered 1,000 prisoners. Yet that same witness testified that there were 12 small barracks in the camp, including the sick room, workshop, warehouse, and space for the camp elder (Lagerältester). Each barrack could hold about 60 prisoners. Therefore, a maximum of 600 to 700 prisoners could have lived in the camp. Besides the Kaltwasser prisoners, a group of prisoners from the Wüstegiersdorf camp was also sent to Lärche.³

The prisoners were exclusively Jewish people from various European countries, mainly Poland, Hungary, and Greece.

The living conditions in this camp were very bad. The prisoners lived in low plywood barracks; light got into them through small windows in the peak. Streams of water poured into the barracks whenever the snow melted in the winter and spring.⁴ Up to four people a day died in a certain period due to the overall living and working conditions in the camp. According to a former prisoner's account, because of that a committee came to the camp to "investigate" the living conditions. To decrease the prisoner death rate, "they ordered the lower bunks to be raised from the floor by 10 centimeters [3.9 inches]."⁵

Lice were also a veritable plague, causing the prisoners additional suffering, which a former prisoner depicted graphically in his recollections: "People's entire bodies, which

looked like skeletons, were wounded by scratching. They would get suppurating ulcers, in which the lice were very well sheltered."⁶ Seriously ill prisoners were moved to the hospital at the Dörnhau subcamp. The first 4 prisoners arrived there on December 28, 1944. Another 30 were transported there in January 1945; the last known transport was admitted at Dörnhau on January 26; 15 Lärche prisoners died at the Dörnhau hospital between March 19 and April 10.⁷ Approximately 40 sick prisoners were also moved to the Wolfsberg labor camp in mid-January. Several of the weakest prisoners died during the journey from one camp to the other, which they traveled on foot.⁸

SS-Scharführer Hartmann was the commander at Lärche; he had previously been commander at Kaltwasser and had been transferred with the prisoners. He was from Meissen in Saxony. He was at Gross-Rosen from 1944 to February 1945. Besides Kaltwasser and Lärche, he also served at Riese/Wüstewaltersdorf.⁹

An SS company from Gross-Rosen served guard duty at Lärche. The only known SS man was Georg Mittelstädt, born May 22, 1902, in Waldheide. Besides Lärche, he also served guard duty at several other Gross-Rosen subcamps.¹⁰

The main place where Lärche prisoners worked was on the construction of buildings in the region of Ramenberg Mountain: they built roads, narrow-gauge railway lines, and water supply systems; they excavated for foundations and also excavated tunnels inside the Ramenberg. Prisoners were also put to work handling freight, as well as on jobs at the camp itself, such as at the shoemaking shop.¹¹

The following companies put Lärche prisoners to work: Butzer und Holzmann, Argo-Waldenburg, and Lingen.¹²

There is a surviving account by a former prisoner saying that there was an organized mutual aid movement at Lärche, most probably in the Lódź ghetto prisoner community; the aid consisted of the prisoners working in the shoemaking shop providing their most needy fellows with extra portions of soup (the prisoners working in the shoemaking shop got extra portions of soup). They provided at least 6 to 10 portions a day.¹³

The Lärche camp was disbanded on February 8, 1945. The prisoners went to Märzbachtal, where they stayed until mid-March, after which they and the prisoners from that camp joined a large collective evacuation column of approximately 4,000 Riese prisoners.¹⁴ The prisoners were led southwest; the route of that death march led through such places as the town of Friedland (later Mieroszów) and Liebau (later Lubawka). In four days they reached the city of Parschnitz (later Poříčí); there they were loaded onto freight cars, reaching the Flossenbürg concentration camp after about a week's journey.¹⁵ The prisoner transport that had been assembled at the Riese complex in mid-February was recorded in the Flossenbürg concentration camp files on February 25, 1945.¹⁶

SOURCES Information on the Lärche subcamp can be found in the following essays: Bogdan Cybulski, "Analiza stanu więźniów w podobozach KL Gross-Rosen kompleksu Riese w

latach 1944–1945,” *SFiZH* 7 (1981); Cybulski, “Z badań nad śmiertelnością wśród więźniów KL Gross-Rosen w Górzach Sowich w latach 1944–1945,” *SFiZH* 8 (1982); Piotr Kruszyński, “Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górzach Sowich przez Organizację Todta oraz firmy z nią współpracujące,” in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych, 1999); Dorota Sula, *Arbeitslager Riese: Filia KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych, 2003); as well as in the published recollections of a former prisoner of this camp, Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci* (Łódź, 1962).

Archival material on the Lärche subcamp can be found at the AK-IPN in Warsaw and in Wrocław and at the AMGR in Wałbrzych.

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13. AMGR, 124/1479/MF, Account of former prisoner Mońko Kaufman, pp. 30, 123.
14. Ibid., p. 32.
15. AMGR, 5903/50/DP, Account of Jindrich Fantl [or Fantel]; AMGR, 124/1479/MF, Account of former prisoner Mońko Kaufman, pp. 36–39.
16. Alfred Konieczny, “Transporty więźniów KL Gross-Rosen do innych obozów koncentracyjnych w latach 1944–1945,” *SFiZH* 10 (1987): 280.

RIESE/MÄRZBACHTAL

The Märzbachtal subcamp was one of the camps in the Riese complex created in the Eulengebirge range (later Góry Sowie [Owl Mountains] in the Central Sudets) in conjunction with the construction of an underground headquarters for Hitler and the Third Reich’s high command in that region. Like all the other camps in the Riese complex, Märzbachtal developed from an agreement between the headquarters of Gross-Rosen and the Riese project’s main contractor, the Organisation Todt (OT).¹ Märzbachtal and the other Riese camps were subcamps of Gross-Rosen.

Märzbachtal was located near the city of Wüstegiersdorf (later Głuszyca). It was located on a mountainside over the Grosser-März-Bach valley (later Marcowy Potok Duży). The camp was most probably put into operation in late May–early June 1944.

The construction of the first buildings at Märzbachtal began in May 1944. The work was done by a commando of prisoners from the nearby Riese/Wüstegiersdorf subcamp. At that time, approximately 40 to 50 small living barracks were erected, measuring about 3 × 4 meters (3.3 × 4.4 yards). Then Märzbachtal prisoners put up additional buildings, such as the kitchen, headquarters, a bathhouse, lavatories, warehouses, workshops, hospital barrack, and more living-quarters barracks, large and small, as well as a fence around the entire camp.² That work was conducted almost until the end of the camp’s existence.

The first group of prisoners arrived at the camp on June 9, 1944. They were Romanian and Hungarian Jews from Transylvania, approximately 600 to 700 of them. These prisoners arrived at the Oberwüstegiersdorf (Głuszyca Gorna) railway station in a transport of approximately 4,000 men from Auschwitz, all of them destined for various Riese camps. They made the several-kilometer trip from the railroad station to Märzbachtal on foot.³ That was probably the core group of prisoners and probably the only one sent to Märzbachtal from another concentration camp. Subsequent small groups of prisoners, including Polish and Slovakian Jews, started arriving from other Riese camps only in the late summer and autumn of 1944. There were many juveniles—teenage boys—among the prisoners (especially in the Transylvanian group). According to the account of former prisoner Erwin Rona, the camp’s highest population was approximately 800.

The living conditions in the camp were very hard. When the initial transport arrived, the camp was just being built and outfitted. The basic structures such as the kitchen, lavatories, and bathhouse had not been built yet. The living barracks lacked bunks and bedding; the prisoners had to sleep on the bare floor. They did not receive any blankets or mess kits. The sanitary conditions were very primitive: prisoners washed up outside at a water pipe in which holes had been drilled, and their latrine was an outhouse made of a few poles. The kitchen was erected only in July; until then, food was trucked in from outside the camp in pails.

An SS company from Gross-Rosen concentration camp served guard duty at Märzbachtal.

Like all the other camps of the Riese complex, this camp was established in order to provide the manpower for the OT's secret construction project at Eulengebirge. The Märzbachtal prisoners' main workplaces were the structures being built in the März Bach valley and on the nearby mountainsides. The prisoners worked clearing the forest and excavating. They built roads and bridges there; they dug ditches for water lines and excavations for the foundations of aboveground buildings; they were put to work installing electric lines. They were probably also put to work excavating a tunnel underneath Ramenberg Mountain (later Soboń Mountain). Some prisoners worked in internal commandos expanding and organizing the Märzbachtal camp. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the prisoners worked for the following companies: Otto Trebitz, Argo-Waldenburg, Mühlhausen, and Weiden und Petersil.

A hospital was set up in the camp: 3 prisoner doctors were put to work there in succession: Dr. Fuchs, Dr. Mandel, and Dr. Elias. Later, an additional doctor was put to work there, Dr. Berger from Transylvania. According to Rona, there were 20 to 30 doctors among the Märzbachtal prisoners.⁴ Only the less seriously ill were kept at the hospital there. More seriously ill prisoners were carted off to the hospital in Dörnhau. Records show at least 12 transports between Märzbachtal and the hospital at the Dörnhau subcamp.⁵

Even though the more seriously ill were taken away to Dörnhau, selections were conducted at Märzbachtal, in which the prisoners who were sick, weak, and unfit for hard physical labor were separated out and removed from camp. SS-Obersturmführer Heinrich Rindfleisch, the chief SS doctor at Riese, performed the selections personally. There were a few of them, no less than three. In the two lesser ones (late July and mid-August 1944), 45 to 65 prisoners were selected. In the third and largest one (late October–early November 1944), 600 juvenile prisoners were selected; they had been brought there a few days earlier from all the other Riese camps. During that selection, Dr. Rindfleisch was assisted by SS men who were not on the Märzbachtal staff, as well as by Riese's camp leader (Lagerführer), SS-Hauptsturmführer Albert Lüdkemeyer. The prisoners who were selected were taken away to Auschwitz and probably gassed.⁶

No precise information is available on the death rate at Märzbachtal. From the entries in the surviving "Daily population log of Dörnhau hospital," it is known that over a period of not quite a month (between March 19 and April 10, 1945) 23 prisoners from Märzbachtal died at that hospital.⁷

We know of one escape attempt. Ludwig Fischer, a Hungarian Jew with prisoner number 33815, attempted to escape in the late summer of 1944. Unfortunately, his attempt to regain his freedom failed; Fischer was caught and executed. The execution by hanging was conducted on the Märzbachtal assembly grounds.⁸

The camp's evacuation began in mid-February 1945. A few days earlier, on February 8, the prisoners from the disbanded

Lärche camp were brought to Märzbachtal. The prisoners of both camps joined a huge collective evacuation column of Riese prisoners, numbering approximately 4,000 men. The column was sent to the southwest. The prisoners walked approximately 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) the first day. They stayed the night in the town of Friedland (later Mieroszów). Some of the prisoners were put in the Gross-Rosen subcamp there; the others were put in an inactive factory. They probably spent the next night at the camp at Liebau (later Lubawka). After four days of murderous marching on snow-covered roads, they reached Parschnitz (later Poříčí). Here the prisoners were loaded onto freight cars. After almost a week of this ghastly journey, the transport reached the Flossenbürg concentration camp.⁹ On February 25, 1945, those who had the strength and luck to survive were recorded in that camp's files.¹⁰ However, the Flossenbürg concentration camp was not the destination for all the Riese prisoners. According to Kaufman's account, about two weeks later, some of the prisoners from that transport were transported to the Buchenwald concentration camp.

The two SS men from the Märzbachtal camp guard company whose names are known were tried after the war. Franz Rösel was sentenced to death by the Świdnica District Court on May 22, 1947. He was executed on June 9, 1948.¹¹ By decree of the Wadowice District Court, dated April 16, 1948, Richard Michael Rank was sentenced to four years in prison and five years deprivation of the right to hold public or honorary office, as well as the confiscation of his property.¹²

SOURCES Information on the Märzbachtal subcamp can be found in the following publications: Alfred Konieczny, "Egzekucje w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," *SFiZH* 4 (1979); Konieczny, "Obozy Spółki Akcyjnej Śląska Wspólnota Przemysłowa w Górnach Sowich w latach 1943–1944," *SFiZH* 6 (1980); Konieczny, "Transporty więźniów KL Gross-Rosen do innych obozów koncentracyjnych w latach 1941–1945," *SFiZH* 10 (1986); Piotr Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górnach Sowich przez Organizację Todta oraz firmy z nią współpracujące," in *Wykorzystanie nie-wolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych, 1999); and Dorota Sula, *Arbeitslager Riese: Filia KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych, 2003).

Archival material on the Märzbachtal subcamp can be found at the BA-L; the AK-IPN in Warsaw; and the AMGR in Wałbrzych.

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3. Ibid.
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RIESE/SÄUFERWASSER

The Riese / Säuferwasser camp was set up on a hill near the Säuferwasser (Kłobia) creek. It had been in existence since at least August 23, 1944, because that was the day that a transport of prisoners arrived at Dörnhau from Säuferwasser. However, it is probable that it was formed as early as May or June 1944. That is indicated by camp numbers that were assigned on such dates as May 24, 1944, or June 8, 1944, to prisoners who had arrived from Auschwitz and were sent to Säuferwasser. The prisoners were Jews from Poland, Hungary, and Greece. The names of only 417 prisoners of this camp have been identified. There were 59 adolescent prisoners in the group. Unfortunately, no information is available about the camp's staff.

The prisoners worked under the instructions of the Holzmann company. They did the excavation for building foundations. They built what was called the "Kasyno" [Casino] (a single-level reinforced-concrete building, over 50 meters long and 14 meters wide [164 by 46 feet]) and the "Siłownia" [Powerhouse] (a concrete barracks 29.8 by 30.3 meters [97.8 by 99.4 feet], housing internal facilities accessible via hatchways with steel clamps), a water reservoir, and residential buildings near the summit of Säufer Höhen (Osówka) Mountain. They built drainage ditches, a water supply system from Grosse Eule Berg (Wielka Sowa, Great Owl) to Säufer Höhen, roads, and a narrow-gauge railway system. They dug tunnels in Säufer Höhen Mountain and did concrete work.

The death rate at this subcamp must have been great, as 31 sick Säuferwasser prisoners died at the infirmary at Dörnhau just in the period from March 19 to April 10, 1945. The camp was liberated in May 1945.

SOURCES For sources for this camp, see "Riese Complex."

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RIESE/SCHOTTERWERK **[AKA OBERWÜSTEGIERSDORF]**

The Riese/Schotterwerk camp was set up in the neighborhood of the Oberwüstegiersdorf (now Głuszyca Góra) train station. Its name comes from the local crushed stone works. It was composed of at least 11 barracks. The staff barracks and guard facilities were outside the camp fence. The first prisoners probably arrived at Schotterwerk labor camp in late April or in May 1944. The prisoners were Jews from Poland, Hungary, Greece, and Slovakia. The names of 1,245 prisoners of this camp have been identified. There were 140 juvenile prisoners among them. No information about the staff of this camp is available.

The prisoners worked for the following companies: Lenz, Steinhage, Schallhorn, and Holzmann. They worked at the quarry in Oberwüstegiersdorf, directly extracting the stone; in the crushed stone works; and on a railway siding at the train station, unloading construction materials. They were used for sewer (or drainage) system building and carpentry.

The death rate at the camp was very high, especially near the end of the war, when a typhus epidemic raged. A. Kajzer described the situation in the camp in early January 1945:

We don't go to work. We stay in camp all day and lay in our bunks. Our only occupation is flicking the lice off our shirts, [striped prisoner's] uniforms and blankets. The lice have multiplied terribly and become a veritable plague. Many prisoners are suffering from serious gastric disorders. . . . The doctors are powerless, as there is no medicine. . . . You constantly hear anguished voices calling out for help. A great number of people die everyday in the barrack in awful torment. The bodies are carried on tarpaulins to barrack no. 11 or 10, where they're stripped naked. Some of the prisoners take their clothes so as to protect themselves from the cold.¹

Some of the prisoners from the Wolfsberg subcamp were moved to Schotterwerk in January 1945. It may be that as early as late January or in February 1945 some of the prisoners were sent to the Flossenbürg concentration camp. The numbers assigned to the prisoners there indicate that the transport was entered into the camp records on February 25. The remaining prisoners were liberated on May 8, 1945. After the liberation, a hospital for sick prisoners (Banhof Hospital) was set up on camp premises.

SOURCES For sources for this camp, see "Riese Complex."
Dorota Sula
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTE

1. Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, comp. Adam Ostoja (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1962), pp. 151–152.

RIESE/TANNHAUSEN

The Riese/Tannhausen (Jedlinka) camp was formed in late April or early May 1944 in the buildings of a linen mill owned by Websky, Hartmann and Wiesen AG. The prisoners were Hungarian, Greek, Polish, and Western European Jews. The names of 273 prisoners have been identified. No information is available about the camp's staff. The prisoners were put to work by the Organisation Todt (OT). They were liberated in May 1945.

SOURCES For sources for this camp, see "Riese Complex."

Dorota Sula
trans. Gerard Majka

There were three types of living facilities in the camp:

- typical camp barracks
- Finnish "huts" (literally tarp-covered primitive round plywood barracks, small and low) accommodating about 20 people
- ordinary dugouts accommodating up to 20 people

The prisoners slept side by side on the ground in the huts and dugouts, with wood shavings for bedding.⁸ The camp had an infirmary, to which less seriously ill prisoners were sent. A high death rate prevailed in camp due to the extremely primitive living conditions, as well as the poor hygienic conditions, the spreading of contagious diseases, and lack of medical assistance, coupled with tremendous hunger, hard labor beyond the strength of the emaciated prisoners, and the ubiquitous terror. From the surviving fragmentary German records, it is known that in the final three months of the camp's operation alone, between November 22, 1944, and February 20, 1945, at least 114 prisoners died.⁹ That figure is incomplete because—just as at the other Riese complex camps—the more seriously ill prisoners were sent to the central hospital at Tannhausen or the hospital at Dörnhau, where they died in masses. R. Olszyna determined that 613 Wolfsberg prisoners died in that period, and the death of another 65 patients was recorded at the Dörnhau hospital after the camp's evacuation, between March 19 and April 10, 1945.¹⁰

The bodies of the dead were carted away to the crematorium at the Gross-Rosen concentration camp until approximately mid-December 1944. In the final two months of the camp's operation, however, the dead were most probably buried in the woods near the camp.¹¹ The prisoners' situation was tragic, so there were many suicidal acts at Wolfsberg. Despite such a desperate situation, not all the prisoners lost heart and looked for liberation in death. Many found consolation and the strength to survive in prayer, studying the Torah, and piously observing Jewish holy days.¹²

It is unclear who the Lagerführer (camp leader) of Wolfsberg was. The references cite the names of three SS men who supposedly performed that job; they are Rudolf Kugelmeier,¹³ Fabian Ritt,¹⁴ and SS-Oberscharführer Kluss.¹⁵ It is also possible that all three performed that job at various periods. An SS company from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp served guard duty.

The Wolfsberg prisoners were put to work on construction projects in the region of Wolfsberg and Mittelberg (present-day Dział Jawornicki) Mountain. They excavated tunnels inside the mountain; built the foundations of aboveground structures; did water-line and sewer work; reinforced the banks of mountain streams; and built bridges, reservoirs, narrow-gauge railway subgrades, and a road from Jauernig going to Säufer-Höhen (present-day Osówka) Mountain.¹⁶ The chief project contractor, OT, hired many different companies to do all that work. According to Abram Kajzer, a former prisoner at a number of Riese camps, there were as many as 38 of those companies.¹⁷ The following ones are known: Vereinigte Deutsche Metallwerke (VDM), Tebe und Bucer,

RIESE/WOLFSBERG

The Wolfsberg labor camp was one of the camps in the Riese labor camp complex created in the Eulengebirge range (present-day Góry Sowie [Owl Mountains] in the Central Sudets), in conjunction with the construction of the underground headquarters for Hitler and the Third Reich's chief command in that region. Like all the other camps in the Riese labor camp, the Wolfsberg labor camp was formed in consequence of an agreement between the headquarters of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp and the Riese project's main contractor, the Organisation Todt (OT).¹ The labor camp and the other camps comprising the Riese labor camp were subcamps of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp.

The Wolfsberg labor camp was established on the north-eastern slope of Wolfsberg (Włodarz) Mountain, above the road connecting Wüstewaltersdorf (present-day Walim) to Jauernig (present-day Jugowice Górne). The Wolfsberg camp came into being in May 1944. Like all of the other Riese complex camps, it was established in order to provide the manpower for the secret headquarters construction project.

Wolfsberg was the largest of the Riese camps. Based on the number of names that have been successfully established, at least 3,110 prisoners passed through the camp. Among them were over 500 juvenile prisoners who were under 18 years of age in 1944.² There are 3,012 names on a surviving list of prisoners dated November 22, 1944.³ All the prisoners were Jewish; they were mainly from Poland and Hungary but also from Greece, the Netherlands, and Germany.⁴

The timeline of the transports sent to this camp is not known. Based on knowledge of the prisoners' camp numbers, all that can be deduced is that Wolfsberg held mostly prisoners brought to the Gross-Rosen concentration camp from the Auschwitz concentration camp between late April and September of 1944.⁵ There were also transports to Wolfsberg from other Gross-Rosen subcamps. After November 22, 1944, several hundred Jewish prisoners arrived from the Fünfteichen labor camp,⁶ and in late December, a group of sick inmates from the Kaltwasser labor camp were transported here.⁷

Ackermann, Dübner, Geppardt, Hotze, Hutto, Jank, Kemna, Otto Weil,¹⁸ and Lam (or Lamm).¹⁹

The work in the tunnel consisted of drilling blasting holes using pneumatic drills. After the blasts, prisoners loaded the crushed rock material onto narrow-gauge railway cars. It was very heavy labor, which was dangerous and resulted in many accidents. The prisoners did it manually to a large extent and were issued no protective clothing. On many occasions the pace of work was so fast that they did not even wait for the resulting gases and hovering dust to clear from the excavations after the explosive blasts.²⁰

Evacuation preparations were begun in the first 10 days of February 1945. The prisoners were ordered to build sleds, which were going to be the means of transport, but then they were ordered to convert them into carts because of an unexpected thaw;²¹ others sewed large sacks, which were later packed with provisions for the SS men. A selection was conducted among the prisoners, and anyone who was fit for the journey was picked. The Falkenberg labor camp prisoners fit for evacuation were also led to Wolfsberg at that time. The sick people were left in the camp. On February 20, after the evacuation column had left, 136 of them were taken back to the hospital at Dörnhau, and a small group was taken to the Schötterwerk camp.²²

Evacuation commenced on February 16, 1945. A column of several thousand prisoners left Wolfsberg. Smaller groups of prisoners from the Wüstegiersdorf and Schötterwerk labor camps joined them along the way.²³ The column thus formed was escorted toward the town of Friedland (present-day Mieroszów); that same day, 71 prisoners unfit to travel onward were left at the Friedland subcamp. The others were herded into two large barns standing out in the open to stay the night. Due to being pressed upon by such a great number of people, the huge door of one of the barns collapsed, crushing 56 prisoners; the casualties of the accident were buried in a mass grave.²⁴ The next day the column reached the town of Schömberg (present-day Chełmsko Śląskie). There, the column was probably divided into two sections. On day three of the march, the smaller group of prisoners was sent to the railway station in Trautenau (present-day Trutnov). They were loaded onto railway cars and finally transported to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.²⁵ The other group, considerably larger, was sent to the Mauthausen concentration camp subcamp at Ebensee where 2,048 prisoners were entered in the Ebensee records on March 3, 1945, and assigned numbers from 135401 through 137448.²⁶

Among the Wolfsberg staff's SS contingent whose names are known, only Johann Klaar was tried. He was extradited from Germany's American occupation zone to Poland on December 18, 1946, and was sentenced to death by the Kraków District Court on December 22, 1948. On July 4, 1949, the Kraków Province Court commuted the sentence to life in prison. He was released on March 7, 1959, as part of an amnesty.²⁷

SOURCES Information on the Wolfsberg labor camp may be found in the following essays: Bogdan Cybulski, "Analiza

stanu więźniów w podobozach KL Gross-Rosen kompleksu Riese w latach 1944–1945," *SFiZH* 7 (1981); Cybulski, "Z badań nad śmiertelnością wśród więźniów KL Gross-Rosen w Górzach Sowich w latach 1944–1945," *SFiZH* 8 (1982); Cybulski, *Ewakuacja więźniów AL Riese do Trautenau—próba rekonstrukcji wydarzeń* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1989); Bella Guterman and Naomi Morgenstern, *The Wolfsberg Labor Camp Machzor, 5705 (1944)* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2002); Jürgen Heckenthaler, "Das Arbeitslager und das Sonderbauprojekt Riese. OT-Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen" (master's thesis); Alfred Konieczny, "Obozy Spółki Akcyjnej Śląska Wspólnota Przemysłowa w Górzach Sowich w latach 1943–1944," *SFiZH* 6 (1980); Konieczny, "Transporty więźniów KL Gross-Rosen do innych obozów koncentracyjnych w latach 1941–1945," *SFiZH* 10 (1986); Piotr Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górzach Sowich przez Organizację Todta oraz firmy z nią współpracujące," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1999); Roman Olszyna, "KL Wolfsberg," F-S 23 (1978): 10; Dorota Sula, *Arbeitslager Riese. Filia KL Gross-Rosen*, (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 2003); as well as in the published recollections of former prisoners: Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1962). Archival material on the Wolfsberg camp may be found at the following locations: AK-IPN; APMO; APMM; AŽIH; and AMGR.

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trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

- Report of examination of Johannes Hassebroek before the National [or Local/Regional] Court in Braunschweig in March 1967, p. 231, BA-L, ZSt 413 AR-Z 567/67.
- AMGR, Files of former Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners, Wolfsberg labor camp prisoners.
- AMGR, sygn. [Catalog No.] 6920/DP, Häftlingsliste, Kommando Wolfsberg vom 22.11.1944.
- Bogdan Cybulski, "Analiza stanu więźniów w podobozach KL Gross-Rosen kompleksu Riese w latach 1944–1945," *SFiZH* 7 (1981); also his "Z badań nad śmiertelnością wśród więźniów KL Gross-Rosen w Górzach Sowich w latach 1944–1945," *SFiZH* 8 (1982).
- Based on the files of former Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners recreated at the AMGR.
- Account of Edmund Szenkowski in *Przeżyliśmy Gross-Rosen*, vol. 2, bk. 2, p. 38; AMGR, Catalog No. 13/40/MF, File 17–18, Report of examination of witness Aron Abramczyk at the Nowa Ruda Municipal Court.
- AMGR, Catalog No. 92/N-A, Account of Henryk Susmanek.
- AMGR, Catalog No. 19/N-A, Account of Edmund Szenkowski; AMGR, Catalog No. 6500/22-b/DP, Chaim Henryk Susmanek, Report of witness examination.
- AMGR, Catalog No. 6920/DP, Häftlingsliste, Kommando Wolfsberg vom 22.11.1944.
- Roman Olszyna, "KL Wolfsberg," F-S 23 (1978): 10; Cybulski, "Z badań nad śmiertelnością," p. 282.
- Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1962), p. 144.

12. Bella Guterman and Naomi Morgenstern, *The Wolfsberg Labor Camp Machzor, 5705 (1944)* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2002), p. 63.
13. Olszyna, "KL Wolfsberg," p. 10.
14. AMGR, Catalog No. 132/78/MF, Collection of war criminal photographs.
15. Jürgen Heckenthaler, "Das Arbeitslager und das Sonderbauprojekt Riese. OT-Aussekommandos des Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen" (master's thesis).
16. Piotr Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górzach Sowich przez Organizację Todta oraz firmy z nią współpracujące," in *Wykorzystanie nie-wolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1999), pp. 50–51.
17. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, p. 130.
18. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 152.
19. AMGR, Catalog No. 6500/25/DP, Report of examination of witness Władysław Milejski.
20. Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów," pp. 50–51.
21. AMGR, Catalog No. 124/3861/MF, Account of Józef Finkelstein (original at the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, Account No. 3861).
22. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*.
23. Bogdan Cybulski, *Ewakuacja więźniów AL Riese do Trautenau—próba rekonstrukcji wydarzeń* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1989).
24. AMGR, Catalog No. 124/3861/MF, Account of Józef Finkelstein.
25. Ibid.
26. Alfred Konieczny, "Transporty więźniów KL Gross-Rosen do innych obozów koncentracyjnych w latach 1941–1945," SFIZH 10 (1986): 269–289.
27. APMO, Trial materials, sygn. [Catalog No.] Mat./296, Item 302; UNWCC list; Catalog No. 22001/Dpr-ZOd/36, p. 78; AK-IPN, Criminal case records, Catalog [or Docket] No. SOKr-381, pp. 44–47; Sentence of Decree, Catalog No. SOKr-381, pp. 185–186a.

RIESE/WÜSTEGIERSDORF

[AKA LAGER V]

The Wüstegiersdorf subcamp, also called Lager V, was set up in the buildings of the Stöhr company's textile mill, located in the middle of Wüstegiersdorf (now Głuszyca). The camp was formed in May 1944. There were between 700 and 1,000 prisoners in the camp; they were primarily Polish and Hungarian Jews.

SS-Scharführer Schwarz held the post of Lagerführer (camp leader). The staff was probably made up of a dozen or so people but changed from time to time.

The prisoners were used for work connected with construction projects in the Ramenberg (Soboń) and Säufer Höhen (Osówka) Mountain region. As one prisoner put it, "The work at the quarry was more than people could bear. After a few days of that murderous work, most people collapsed."¹ Prisoners were also assigned to various jobs in the town of Wüstegiers-

dorf. There were two commandos of 100 prisoners each whose job was to build drainage systems. And 30 prisoners were sent to work at the train station, where they unloaded freight cars of provisions, sand, stone, and wood. Prisoners cleared forests, worked in the metal, carpentry, sewing, and shoemaking shops, and delivered provisions to the camps.

The following companies used their labor: Messinger, Tiefbau, Sager & Wörner, Wayss & Freytag, Hoch und Tiefbau, Fix (built barracks), Dübner (tunnel construction), Websky (machinery dismantling), Holzmann, Schallhorn, Lenz, Krup, and National Socialist Motor Corps (Nationalsozialistisches Kraftfahrkorp, NSKK).

The death rate at the camp was substantial, although it seems to be lower than at the other Riese complex camps.

A few transfers from other subcamps are known: 11 prisoners from the infirmary at Tannhausen probably arrived in September 1944, among them Abram Kajzer. In his diary, under the date of Tuesday [n.d.] 1944, he wrote:

We who came here from the hospital don't go to work outside the camp, but work in camp premises under the supervision of a kapo. We sweep the assembly ground, tidy up the trash dump, and chop wood. Some of us are lucky enough to have been assigned to cleaning the barrack. They have it good, as they avoid the rain, snow and cold which chills you to the bone, as well as the keen vision of the Lagerführer, who cannot bear to see anyone standing idly, even though there often is not any work in the courtyard. . . . When the Lagerführer appears, we are seized by crazy fear. . . . Our compulsory idleness drives the Lagerführer into such a rage that he roars, beating and kicking, until his victim loses consciousness. . . .

Thursday, [n.d.] 1944.

Today was the first day that I and four others who had also returned from the hospital worked in a commando. We removed feces from the latrine under the supervision of an SS-man. Taking the opportunity, we "appropriated" some potatoes from a nearby shed, exchanging them this evening for some soup and bread, and baking some of them. We have been ordered to go to work tomorrow, too.²

One of the prisoners attempted to escape, but unfortunately he was caught and hanged in the presence of the prisoners, including his father. The name of the victim has not been identified. The camp was probably evacuated to the Flossenbürg concentration camp on February 24, 1945. In the first stage of the evacuation, the prisoners walked through the mountains to Trautenau, where they were loaded onto freight cars. There were many mortalities along the way. Those who were unable to march were shot.

SOURCES For sources for this camp, see "Riese Complex."

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trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, sygn. No. 124/1389 MF, account of Zew Weinreb.
2. Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, comp. Adam Ostoja (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1962), pp. 115, 117.

RIESE/WÜSTEWALTERSDORF [AKA STENZELBERG]

Wüstewaltersdorf was one of the camps in the Riese complex, which formed part of the vast system of Gross-Rosen subcamps. Since almost no official German documents concerning this site exist, the only major sources are a few survivor testimonials and information provided by Polish informants as well as former German inhabitants of the village of Wüstewaltersdorf (now Walim). Like the other Riese camps, Wüstewaltersdorf was situated in the Eulengebirge (Góry Sowie), a mountain range near the present-day Czech-Polish border, not far from the city of Wałbrzych (Waldenburg). According to former German residents of Wüstewaltersdorf, this camp was located on the southern upper slope of a mountain called Stenzel-Berg (Chłopska Góra).¹ It was separated from Wolfsberg, one of the larger Riese camps, by a narrow valley through which the road from Friedrichsberg (now Kolonia Górona, a section of Walim) to Hausdorf (Jugowice) runs.

Available sources contain some clues about the beginnings of the Wüstewaltersdorf camp. In a memorandum to the Regierungspräsident (regional government chairman) in Breslau (Wrocław) dated May 27, 1944, Amtsarzt Dr. Kaiser, who was well acquainted with most of the camps existing in the area at this time, mentions three for which he cannot supply prisoner statistics: Wolfsberg, Stenzelberg, and Erlenbusch. Apparently he was unable to inspect them because he had been dismissed on May 19, 1944, as a result of his criticism of sanitary conditions in other camps. The implication here is that these three sites had been set up very recently.

There is additional evidence that Stenzelberg was the initial name of this site. It is the only one used by Dr. Errikos Levis (1913–2005), a Greek physician who arrived from Auschwitz with approximately 100 other Greek Jews on April 19 or 21, 1944. Many on this transport were from Dr. Levis's hometown, Ioannina. Due to his knowledge of German, the Lagerführer (camp leader), an SS-Oberscharführer, appointed him as camp elder (Lagerältester) and physician of the camp. On one occasion, he was beaten by the Lagerführer in front of all the inmates for giving three sick prisoners a temporary leave from work. According to Dr. Levis, there was also one Dutch and one Hungarian Jew, a medical student, at this site. He reports that the inmates had to set up the "tents" described below at the Wolfsberg camp, which was only 20 minutes away on foot. The same primitive type of housing was waiting for them upon their arrival at the camp on the Stenzel-Berg. Toward the end of May 1944, this group of prisoners was moved to Wolfsberg where Dr. Levis worked as a physician in the infirmary.²

In all other survivor testimonials, the camp on the slopes of the Stenzel-Berg is called Wüstewaltersdorf. Two Czech Jews, Thomas Figueras (formerly Nadelstecher, born 1927) and his brother Paul (born 1923), were in the next transport to reach the camp. According to Thomas Figueras, they reached the village of Wüstewaltersdorf by train on May 27, 1944, three days after they had passed through Gross-Rosen from Auschwitz.³ Joseph Gelber (born 1925) and Andrei Gergely (born 1912), both Hungarian Jews who had also been in Auschwitz, appear to have been in the same transport. Thomas Figueras reports that a Polish Lagerältester, Polish Kapos, and a German *Schreiber* (clerk) were the only prisoners at the site upon his arrival.⁴ Survivor testimonials refer to two other transports to this camp. Around the middle of July 1944, a truckload of former Auschwitz prisoners arrived.⁵ In late fall of 1944, prisoners from the Łódź ghetto were transferred to Wüstewaltersdorf. Previously most of the inmates had been from Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Greece, with only a few from Poland.⁶

Housing consisted of structures—made of wood and other materials—that looked like round tents. Each of them accommodated 10 inmates. According to a Polish informant, his firm, Bender (Munich), set up approximately 50 of these "tents" as well as two or three barracks for the guards and the kitchen in the spring of 1944. No statistics exist concerning transports to Wüstewaltersdorf, the fluctuating number of prisoners, or the total number of deaths. Also, it is not known whether non-Jewish inmates were at this camp. It was fenced in with barbed wire, and there were guard towers as well.

Forced labor at this camp included earthmoving, as well as the construction of railroads, buildings, tunnels, and roads. The latter involved splitting rocks with sledgehammers, a particularly dangerous assignment. Prisoners were almost certainly involved in the construction of the road leading from Wüstewaltersdorf past the Stenzel-Berg and the camp to the road linking Friedrichsberg and Hausdorf. Günter Proll (born 1923), a former inhabitant of Wüstewaltersdorf, reports that prisoners were escorted from the camp on the Stenzel-Berg through the center of the village to the mountain near the Kriesten sawmill in his neighborhood, Dorfbach (Rzeczka). At this location, three approximately parallel tunnels, each with a separate entrance, were under construction. A memorial site established by Polish authorities serves as a reminder of the life-threatening labor that prisoners were forced to perform there. Horst Wittig (born 1933), who spent his childhood in a part of the village called Zeidlitzheide (Siedlików), frequently witnessed a group of approximately 50 exhausted prisoners passing by who were harassed and beaten by Kapos. From the summer of 1944 to approximately February 1945, they took part in constructing a large nearby water storage facility, which was still in use at the turn of the century, as well as in digging trenches for pipes and utility cables leading into and away from this site. In the summer of 1944, prisoners were frequently seen digging utility trenches alongside the road

to Hausdorf, just outside of Wüstewaltersdorf. The various work details were supervised by members of the Organisation Todt (OT), as well as employees of firms active in and around the village, among them Gebrüder Butzer & Holzmann and Hutto Hydrierwerke AG.⁷ Villagers also repeatedly witnessed emaciated and poorly dressed prisoners removing snow from roads in Wüstewaltersdorf during the winter of 1944–1945. What was particularly shocking to the onlookers was that they wore wooden clogs, with their feet wrapped in rags.

As winter approached, many prisoners, especially those from Greece, died from hunger, exposure, and disease.⁸ At some risk to themselves, a number of villagers gave small amounts of food to inmates. The first Lagerführer, reportedly an SS-Oberscharführer, who appeared to be very knowledgeable about repairing shoes, announced that only dead or working inmates shall be in the camp; accordingly, he was in the habit of beating sick inmates.⁹ This Lagerführer was followed by two others, about whom no information is available. U.S. Army records reveal the names of three guards at the Wüstewaltersdorf camp, all of whom were transferred to the Waffen-SS in 1944 prior to their concentration camp assignments. Gustav Friedrich Feller (b. 1879) served there in January and February 1945, Walther Rehberg (b. 1908) from September 1944 to February 1945, and Wilhelm Sonnenberg (b. 1903) from August 25, 1944, to March 1945.¹⁰ On one occasion, in the summer or fall of 1944, while playing on a slope above the Zedlitzheide soccer field, Horst Wittig noticed a considerable number of guards surrounding hundreds of prisoners below him. Shots rang out in the distance, and afterward he heard grown-ups talk about a failed escape attempt by several Jews.

Information regarding transports out of Wüstewaltersdorf is fragmentary. Sometime in the summer or fall of 1944, another group of inmates must have been transferred to the Wolfsberg camp because the names of some of the prisoners who arrived in Wüstewaltersdorf in late May 1944 appear on the Wolfsberg list of November 22, 1944.¹¹ According to a Polish worker who had lived in Wüstewaltersdorf since 1943, the camp was evacuated around the middle of February 1945.¹² Joseph Gelber (b. 1925) and Mayer Lowy (b. 1925), both from Hungary, report that subsequently they were in Bergen-Belsen, Stutthof/Pöllitz, and Ravensbrück/Barth. They are likely to have been in a transport of approximately 500 prisoners from Wüstegiersdorf that arrived in Bergen-Belsen toward the end of February 1945. Together with 1,500 to 2,000 other prisoners, they were taken from there to Pöllitz near Stettin around the middle of March. These three and possibly other former Wüstewaltersdorf inmates are likely to have been among the 400 male prisoners who left Pöllitz for Barth on April 18, 1945.¹³

SOURCES A number of videotaped interviews preserved by the VHF (nos. 690, 27641, 29338, 40995, 49887) and the testimony by a survivor before a German court (BA-L, B 162/5606, p. 335) are important sources for this entry, as are interviews with, and statements by, former German inhabitants of the town of Wüstewaltersdorf. Piotr Kruszyński, one of the foremost experts on the Riese complex of camps, supplied pertinent information from his files. For an overview of Riese and some information on camps in and just outside of Wüstewaltersdorf, see Dariusz Garba, *Riese: Das Rätsel um Hitler's Hauptquartier* (Zella-Mehlis: Heinrich-Jung-Verlagsgesellschaft, 2000). The search for Nazi documents regarding Wüstewaltersdorf did not yield new results. Additional information has been provided by the USHMM, the AMGR, and the AG-BB and AG-S.

Hermann F. Weiss

NOTES

1. This location has been confirmed by Piotr Kruszyński (Nürnberg), a native of Poland, as a result of his wide-ranging explorations of the terrain (interview by the author, November 4, 2005). Among the former Wüstewaltersdorf residents who indicate that the camp was located on the Stenzel-Berg are the following: Gertrud Winkler née Richter, born 1913 (interview August 7, 2005); Günter Proll, born 1923, and Kurt Scholz (Wuw He, no. 115 [1994]). The camp under discussion here is not to be confused with the so-called Lager I, which was located in Wüstewaltersdorf itself.

2. VHF, No. 49887 and Pre-Interview Questionnaire; USHMM, Oral History Interview RG-50.030*0313.

3. VHF, No. 29338.

4. Ibid. Dr. Andrei Gergely likewise reports that the camp was empty when his transport arrived (BA-L, B 162/5606, p. 335).

5. VHF, No. 29338.

6. BA-L, B 162/5606, p. 335 (statement by Dr. A. Gergely).

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. VHF, No. 29338 (testimonial by Th. Figueras).

10. BA-L, B 162/5606, p. 288; B 162/5607, pp. 589, 521.

11. Thomas and Paul Nadelstecher (Dorota Sula, AMGR, email September 1, 2005); Andrei Gergely (Shaul Ferrero, YV, email October 31, 2005).

12. BA-L, B 162/5606, p. 379 (statement by W. Skrzypczak, May 13, 1967).

13. Bernhard Strelbel, email November 4, 2005; AG-S, email November 3, 2005; AG-BB, email November 10, 2005.

RIESE/ZENTRALREVIER OR ZENTRAL-KRANKENREVIER IN TANNHAUSEN [AKA BLUMENAU]

The alternate name of the hospital comes from the name of the hamlet of Blumenau (present-day Jedlinka Góra) where it was located. The Central Camp Hospital (Zentralkrankenrevier) was established in the latter half of 1944 for sick Riese complex prisoners. It was composed of four one-level brick buildings surrounded by barbed wire.

There were up to 1,000 sick prisoners at a time there near the end of the war. Prisoner A. Kajzer wrote the following about his stay at the "hospital":

Yesterday we were in the bath. We received fresh underwear and fresh [striped prisoners'] uniforms. We were deloused. It is extremely clean here and lice are not biting us anymore. If not for the fact that there are guards in the corridor and outside the barbed wires, I would not feel as if I were a prisoner at all. In the morning at roll-call, everyone stays at their bunks, just raising their heads. The Unterscharführer takes the roll-call. We are allowed to lay in our bunks the whole day and rest as much as we want. What a pleasure!

Tannhausen, Thursday, [n.d.] 1944.

This morning a doctor visited us—a Dutch Jew, an extremely pleasant and good man. . . . He asked each of us detailed questions about our illnesses, and recommended laying in bed as treatment.

"That's all I can treat you with," he said. "At least for the time being, until medicine arrives." . . .

Saturday, [n.d.] 1944. . . . The doctor said that anyone who recovers has to return to the camp he came from. That would be awful. I'd rather die here. True, the food here is worse than in camp, but on the other hand, it's blissful to lay all day in warmth, under a blanket, and think of the past and future.¹

Upon liberation, the sick prisoners stayed in the infirmary barracks that were now called the Blumenau hospital. Its purpose was to care for those former prisoners whose general weakness precluded them from returning home safely. The hospital was closed in late June 1945.

SOURCES For sources for this camp, see "Riese Complex."

Dorota Sula
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTE

1. Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, comp. Adam Ostoja (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1962), pp. 111–113.

SACKISCH

The subcamp in Sackisch (present-day Zakrze), was formed because several plants and companies manufacturing for wartime production, primarily Vereinigte Deutsche Metallwerke (VDM), as well as the Seemann, Goldschmidt, and Telefunken companies, had been moved to the Bad Kudowa (now Kudowa Zdrój) region in late 1943 and early 1944.

Thousands of laborers had to be brought in to provide the manpower needed to continue operations. A large camp with about 20 barracks was built for them. The camp was situated on swampy land along the road between Sackisch and Bad Kudowa. The buildings extended for about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles). Because of the marshy substrate, the barracks were built on posts driven into the ground. Polish forced laborers and Russian and Italian prisoners of war (POWs) were put

into the barracks. The POW barracks were fenced with barbed wire, and Wehrmacht soldiers stood guard.

In the summer of 1944, five accommodations barracks were appropriated from the big camp, a separate kitchen and warehouse were set up, and a guardhouse was added; it was all surrounded by a barbed-wire fence, like the POW section. That is how the separate camp under Gross-Rosen concentration camp was formed.¹

Sackisch most probably began operating in late August or early September 1944. Jewish women from Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia were sent to Sackisch. The camp's population at any given time is hard to determine. At least four known transports were sent to the camp. They all came from the Auschwitz concentration camp. The transports brought a total of at least 950 women.

The first transport probably reached Sackisch in late August 1944. It numbered at least 300 women; they were Polish Jews from the Łódź ghetto. Tauba Szmaragd, who received number 53904, arrived in that transport.²

Another 250 women from Hungary and Poland were brought to the camp in the second known transport. On October 12, the prisoners were issued camp numbers ranging from 66501 through 66750.

Another transport of 250 Czech and Hungarian Jews reached Sackisch also around mid-October 1944. The women who arrived at that time received numbers 67051 through 67300.³

The last transport was admitted on November 28, 1944. The 150 Czech Jewish women were issued numbers 86001 through 86150.

There is little information available about the transports leaving Sackisch. What is known is that on December 10, 1944, 20 prisoners were sent on to two other Gross-Rosen subcamps (10 to each camp): Bernsdorf (present-day Bernartice) and Parschnitz (present-day Poříčí).⁴

Another source provides the additional information that "some of the prisoners were moved to the Langenbielau camp" in 1944.⁵

According to the affidavit of former prisoners Fejgi Orenstein and Chai Mayer, 16 women died at Sackisch; they were buried near the local church.⁶ The names of 4 of the deceased are known: Helena Grunberg, Bianka Sara Kasum, Ida Sara Schich, and Gisa Wassenberg. The aforementioned information would indicate that prisoner losses were not great. However, there is a document reporting that on December 2, 1944, there were only 172 prisoners in the camp.⁷ Thus, it is safe to assume that knowledge of the subject is far from complete.

The guards at the camp were SS women. A German woman, Lucia (Luiza) Kloversa, initially held the post of Lagerföhrerin (camp leader) (September–October 1944). Elizabeth Spar was her successor. The guards were German women: Helena Hilzer, Hilda Steinhofer, Magdalena Hazller, and Toni Knifel.⁸

Almost all the prisoners were put to work at VDM, which manufactured aircraft parts at the former C. Dierig textile plant. The work was split up into two 12-hour shifts, six days

a week. Once a week, on Saturday, the VDM management gave the prisoners an extra food ration of 0.5 kilograms (18 ounces) of bread and 0.2 kilograms (7 ounces) of sausage. However, the SS guards would often take the extra ration away from them under any pretense.

A small group of women worked on the camp premises.

There was no infirmary at Sackisch. A dentist, Rosa Kacnelson (camp number 51221), and a prisoner doctor whose name is unknown provided medical assistance to their fellow prisoners.⁹

The Sackisch subcamp was not evacuated. Work was halted at VDM in April 1945. For the final weeks of the war, 100 women were put to work building a road in what was then the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia; the others did odd jobs (such as cleaning or peeling potatoes) in the homes of local Germans.

T. Szmaragd described the moment of liberation in her account: "During breakfast the morning of May 8, we noticed changes in the Germans' attitude toward us. Our SS-Kommandoführerin came to us and told us that we were free and could leave the camp. The SS-men themselves escorted us to the Czech border in Nachod. They gave the Czechs a list of our laborers, leaving us, and we did not know where they had gone. The Czechs escorted us to lodgings in Nachod, fed us, and replaced our striped uniforms with dresses. After three days in Nachod, we went our separate ways."¹⁰

There were two trials of camp staff members after the war in Poland. The first Lagerführerin, Kloversa, born November 17, 1921, was tried by the Wrocław Special Criminal Court and was sentenced to three years' imprisonment on January 23, 1946. She left prison on January 15, 1949. Guard Hilszer, born November 4, 1919, was tried by the Kłodzko District Court. Sentence was passed on December 31, 1946. She was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment. She left prison on October 8, 1953.

SOURCES There are no references devoted entirely to Sackisch. Certain information about it may be found in Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen" (*Studia Śląskie*, seria nowa, vol. XL (1982)), and in Bogdan Cybulski, "Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen" (*Rogoźnica*, 1987).

The archival material on Sackisch chiefly consists of accounts of former prisoners of the camp, on file mainly at the AMGR in Wałbrzych and the AŽIH in Warsaw, as well as the trial records for the female SS officers from the camp staff, at the AK-IPN WR. There are also copies of these records at the AMGR.

Barbara Sawicka
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AK-IPN WR, OKBZHW, sygn. [Catalog No.] Ds. 35/67.
2. AŽIH, Account No. 208—Tauba Szmaragd.
3. AMGR, Catalog No. 7/119/VII/MF—Orders to make numbers.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

4. AMGR, Catalog No. 4346/DP—Transportliste.
5. AMGR, Catalog No. 8751/63/DP—Collection: R. Olszyna Records.
6. AK-IPN WR, OKBZHW, Catalog No. Ds. 43/67/XXIV—Affidavit of F. Orenstein and C. Mayer filed on May 1, 1968, before a notary in New York (copy).
7. ITS, Gross-Rosen materials.
8. AMGR, Catalog No. 4/429/MF—Letter from Kłodzko Municipal Court dated October 24, 1946, to the GKBZHWp.
9. AMGR, Catalog No. 6750/DP—Leistungs und Personal Meldungs der Zeit vom 19.1. bis 19.2.1945; AŽIH, Account No. 208—Tauba Szmaragd.
10. AMGR, Catalog No. 4/429/MF—Letter from Kłodzko Municipal Court dated October 24, 1946, to the GKBZHWp.

SCHATZLAR

The forced labor camp (ZAL) was probably established, under the auspices of the Organisation Schmelt, in Schatzlar (Žácelér) in June 1942 and lasted as such until 1944, when it became a Gross-Rosen subcamp. The small subcamp was established before June 9, 1944. It remains unknown how many of the initial young Jewish women and girls in the forced labor camp were taken over by the subcamp. The official documents appear to confirm that the camp was not only under the authority of the "SS-Kommando Trautenau, Parschnitz" but was combined with the nearby and much larger Bernsdorf camp. The difference between the two labor camps was probably what hindered their complete merger.

At Schatzlar the prisoners had to work in the spinning mills of the Fa (Firm) Gustav Adolf Buhl-Sohn. In any case, the female camp commander and three other wardresses were responsible to the Bernsdorf camp command. In addition to the 111 women in the camp, 15 Jewish women from Wiesau arrived there in December 1944. The total number grew from 120 to 130 female inmates. The camp structure and conditions were similar to those in Bernsdorf. The end of the camp coincides with its liberation by the Red Army on May 8, 1945. The prisoners, together with the military prisoners, helped to remove tank traps. A unique and interesting document, a manuscript of a drama with the title "Der Traum der Künstlerin" (The Dream of a Female Artist), was created in the camp and written in German. According to the author, Celine Richter, from Budapest, it is a "playful tragedy." The manuscript has been preserved as part of the trial documents used against Emma Mach, the camp commander in Schatzlar. The play was indeed dedicated to her and is dated May 5, 1945. It was performed in the camp by a group of young female Hungarians. Mach claimed before the court in Jičín that she and her husband helped the Jewish women. Despite her claims, she and M. Mühl from Bernsdorf were found guilty for being members of the SS and given a prison term.¹

SOURCES The basis for this article is the book published by Miroslav Kryl and Ludmila Chládková, *Pobočky koncentračního tábora Gross-Rosen ve Lnářských závodech Trutnovska za nacistické okupace* (Trutnov: Generální ředitelství VHJ Lnářský průmysl

v Trutnově, 1981). The author has also relied on his article "Pracovní nasazení židovských vězenkyň v továrnách firmy Jan Etrich v Hostinném a Bernarticích v době nacistické okupace," Lp-pKd, 5 (1984). However, it is Hans Brenner who has brought together earlier research on the Gross-Rosen subcamps in the present-day Czech Republic, above all in his study "Frauen in den Aussenlagern von Flossenbürg und Gross-Rosen in Böhmen und Mähren," (*Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente 1999*, ed. Miroslav Kárný and Raimund Kemper Prague: Academia, 1999).

In Olomouc well-known professor of German studies Ludvík Václavek has devoted his attention to a specific topic, a play that originated in the Schatzlar camp by Jewish women from Hungary: "Lágr je sen?" (Literární dokument z koncentračního tábora při žacléřské přádelně z roku 1945)," in *Stati o německé literatuře vzniklé v českých zemích* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1991).

Basic sources and transport lists of the prisoners from the Gross-Rosen subcamps in northeast Bohemia are located in the SÚA in Prague, with copies in the AG-T (Terezín). The most important files are those of the Special People's Court in Jičín 1945–1946 (Criminal Trials against the Former Wardresses). Finally, the firm archives at Texlen Trutnov contain important sources on the camps in the Trautenau area as referred to in the files of the German textile firms for the years 1940 to 1945. Nevertheless, the sources are inadequate.

Miroslav Kryl
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Ludvík Václavek, "Lágr je sen?" (Literární dokument z koncentračního tábora při žacléřské přádelně z roku 1945)," in *Stati o německé literatuře vzniklé v českých zemích* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1991), pp. 155–160.

SCHERTENDORF

A Gross-Rosen subcamp came into being as the result of the evacuation of Jewish commandos from occupied areas and was set up in unplanned fashion in Schertendorf (now Przylep), a village almost five kilometers (three miles) from Grünberg (Zielona Góra). The purpose was to make use of the manpower in Zielona Góra armaments factories. The camp was located in barracks designed for warehouses. There were three of them, but only one was used. The area was fenced in, and there were two guard huts and a gate. According to accounts by local people and forced laborers, there were over 100 young Jewish women and men in Schertendorf. Blahe, a noncommissioned SS officer with the rank of Oberscharführer, served as the subcamp commander.

The prisoners worked at Christ & Co and Beuchelt (now Zastal), which were armaments companies. The prisoners were escorted to work every day in two columns, women and men separately. They were convoyed by guards in navy-blue uniforms. The guards were specially trained. The prisoners were dressed in gray clothing and wore wooden clogs. The women were very badly treated; they were beaten for any

reason; they were hungry and ate apple peels. Some Germans gave them extra food, hiding it in the machines. The camp was closed in early February 1945. The prisoners were probably sent toward Szczecin.

There is no proof of homicides having been committed in the camp.

SOURCES This entry relied heavily on AMGR, sygn. 6500/DP, OKBZH at Wrocław: Report of Proceedings on the Slave Labor Camp at Przylep, Zielona Góra County, witness testimony; and on AMGR, Catalog No. 8751/34/DP, collection of Roman Olszyna's materials on the Schertendorf subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp.

Leokadia Lewandowska
trans. Gerard Majka

SCHLESIERSEE I

The camp at Schlesiersee (present-day Sława) came into being as the result of the evacuation of Jewish commandos from occupied areas. In early October 1944, a transport of 1,000 Jewish women arrived from Auschwitz, and the women were used to form the Schlesiersee I commando. Another transport of 1,000 women arrived at the end of the month, and then a second camp (see Gross-Rosen/Schlesiersee II) was formed. According to other researchers, 2,000 Jewish women from Poland and Hungary were sent from Birkenau to Schlesiersee on October 22, 1944; 1,000 of them, assigned numbers 70001 through 71000, were put on Count Haugewitz's eastern farm, Neue Vorwerk: Schlesiersee I. The prisoners were lodged in a barn and slept on hay. In the center was a stove, which was only used when some fuel had been collected. Sanitary conditions were ghastly. The water pump was in the barnyard and froze in the winter. There was no soap or towels. The food was insufficient. Many of the girls had frostbitten feet, as they had no footwear. Although diseases were frequent, people remember no incidences of shooting prisoners. There was a doctor, but medical aid was inadequate.

Karl Herman Jeschke held the post of Lagerführer (camp leader), and Joseph Kowatsch was Rapportführer (report leader). Krause, Hoffman, and Graetz are among the staff members mentioned in documentation regarding the camp. The women worked at the Kraus company and digging trenches. Three kilometers (almost two miles) south of the camp buildings, they dug trapezoidal antitank trenches 3.5 meters (11.5 feet) by 4 to 6 meters (13 to 20 feet) at the top. The excavated earth had to be spread. Conditions became very hard when the earth froze in December.

Evacuation occurred suddenly on January 21, 1945, at 10:00 P.M. The prisoners had to abandon camp immediately. Sick women were transported on carts and wheelbarrows pushed by their fellow prisoners. The column reached the village of Stary Jaromir on January 25. The sickest women were loaded onto three carts; supposedly they were going to be taken to the hospital. They were carted off to the woods 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from the village, and there they were

shot upon an order from Jeschke. The remains of 41 victims were unearthed in an exhumation conducted after the war. As Bernard Robinson relates, one prisoner survived the massacre, Waleria Straussova. Severely wounded, she wandered through the fields for two days. She found shelter with Maria Wojciech, a resident of the village of Wijewo. The evacuation column advanced toward Wojnów [or Wojnowo]. The column reached the Grünberg commando on January 28. The women were emaciated, ragged, barefoot, and dirty. The sight of the column shocked the Grünberg prisoners.

They set out to continue their journey the next day after some of the Grünberg women joined them. The evacuation ended in the town of Volary in Bohemia only in May of 1945. Not many survived. For a more detailed description of the evacuation route, see Gross-Rosen/Grünberg I.

SOURCES Documents on this camp are scarce; see AMGR, sygn. [Catalog No.] 6835/DP, Transports of female prisoners of the Zielona Góra subcamps—lists compiled by B. Robinson; also AMGR, Catalog No. 7946/DP, testimony of Luba Beilowitz. Published sources include Bernard Robinson, “Zbrodnie popełnione w obozach Organizacji Schmelt w świetle wspomnień więźniarek,” in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1999), pp. 105–138; D. Sula, “Filie KL Gross-Rosen na Ziemi Lubuskiej w latach 1944–1945,” in *Filie KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 2001); and A. Kaczmarczyk, “Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen na Ziemi Lubuskiej w latach 1943–1945” (master’s thesis, Zielona Góra, 1977).

Leokadia Lewandowska
trans. Gerard Majka

SOURCES Documents on this camp are scarce; see AMGR, sygn. [Catalog No.] 6835/DP, Transports of female prisoners of the Zielona Góra subcamps—lists compiled by B. Robinson; also AMGR, Catalog No. 7946/DP, Testimony of Luba Beilowitz. Published sources include B. Robinson, “Zbrodnie popełnione w obozach Organizacji Schmelt w świetle wspomnień więźniarek,” in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1999), pp. 105–138; D. Sula, “Filie KL Gross-Rosen na Ziemi Lubuskiej w latach 1944–1945,” in *Filie KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 2001); and A. Kaczmarczyk, “Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen na Ziemi Lubuskiej w latach 1943–1945” (master’s thesis, Zielona Góra, 1977).

Leokadia Lewandowska
trans. Gerard Majka

ST. GEORGENTHAL

A forced labor camp for Jews was established in St. Georgenthal (Jiretin) in 1943. Due to the lack of records on the later subcamp at St. Georgenthal, no specific information on its organization and operation is available. From Gross-Rosen commander Hassebroek’s letter of November 18, 1944, to Karl Hermann Frank, the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) in Prague, it is known that he provided a figure of 50 female prisoners who were put to work in the communications equipment factory in 1944. The number of women was to increase to 700.¹ It is unclear whether this actually happened, due to the lack of information in the sources. The letter notified Frank that according to Heinrich Himmler’s order, the Gross-Rosen camp headquarters was to file reports on the Gross-Rosen subcamps not only to the HSSPF in Breslau (Wrocław) (Schmeiser) but also to the HSSPF for the area where any of those subcamps operated. The list appended to the aforementioned letter confirms the information that there was a Gross-Rosen subcamp at St. Georgenthal. A document drawn up by the Czech county security agency just after the war contains the information that a maximum of 280 to 340 people lived in the camp. The total number of women who passed through the camp was 600, however. They were Jewish women of various nationalities: 31 percent Polish, 29 percent Czech, 28 percent Russian, 7 percent French, 2 percent Italian, and 3 percent of other nationality.² Only 3 people died in the camp, including 2 of Polish and 1 of Russian origin; 1 of them died in the hospital at Tranvale, and her body was buried in the town of Hor. Tanvale. This fact was recorded in the register of deaths there. Two people were taken to the hospital in Liberci.

The prisoners probably lived in wooden barracks located on the premises of the factory in which they worked. They were put to work at the Sicht- und Zerl Werke dismantling aircraft that had been shot down.

According to Brandy Kieczmann’s testimony,

St. Georgenthal was the worst camp (I had been at Ostrowiec and Auschwitz earlier). I was tortured at

SCHLESIERSEE II [AKA PÜRSCHKAU]

The Schlesiersee II commando was formed from the second transport of 1,000 Jewish women from Poland and Hungary that arrived at Schlesiersee from Auschwitz in October 1944. According to other researchers, Schlesiersee II was formed from the second half of a transport of 2,000 women that arrived from Auschwitz on October 22. They were put on Count Haugewitz’s western farm called Bänisch. It was 1.5 kilometers (almost 1 mile) south of the village of Pürschkau (now Przybyszow). The prisoners were assigned numbers 71001 through 72000.

As at Schlesiersee I, Karl Herman Jeschke held the post of Lagerführer (camp leader), and Joseph Kowatsch was Rapportführer (report leader).

The women were lodged in buildings for animals. They worked for the Kraus company and digging trenches.

Evacuation was ordered on January 21, as at the Schlesiersee I subcamps. Both columns reached the Grünberg I subcamp on January 28. The next stage of the death march started the very next day, along with some of the Grünberg I prisoners, ending at Bergen-Belsen. The route is described in detail. See Gross-Rosen / Grünberg I. Only a few lived until liberation.

St. Georgenthal, and so were others. Although Seliger did not have a bat, she would beat prisoners with her fist. The older women particularly suffered at her hand. The kitchen staff also suffered whenever she was dissatisfied. It was her doing that the bread ration was decreased. Whereas initially five people would get one loaf of bread per day, later one loaf was apportioned to fourteen people. If she caught someone stealing a potato, she would cut their hair off on the spot. Then they wouldn't be allowed to put a kerchief on their head for the next few days. She would also beat them.

Hanna Seliger was one of the Aufseherinnen (female guards).

Sara Kieczmann describes Seliger's behavior toward the prisoners as follows: "She was particularly brutal: shortly before the war ended, she beat two prisoners unconscious. . . . [B]efore liberation, she broke one woman's arm with her bat [*sic!*]. She killed yet another woman for making her bed untidily. There were also many other sadistic acts, which I cannot express in words."³

A woman named Margot was the Lagerführerin (camp leader). She knew of the methods that Aufseherin Seliger used, yet she did nothing to stop her sadistic outbursts. Former prisoners relate that she too was afraid of Seliger. The other Aufseherinnen were also afraid of her, as they contended with the possibility of being sent to a penal commando. The other guards were also severe, but they did not beat the women when they noticed they had stopped working. Seliger repeatedly instructed them to perform their duties "better."

There is no information for this camp on the existence of an infirmary or on the medical help provided there. Two reports provide only information on the dental procedures performed. Romana Silberschlag examined prisoners in January 1945, but only from January 20 through 25. She also served in that position at other camps, such as the Kratzau II and Zittau subcamps. Another prisoner, Hanna Chwat (camp number 53943), was serving as dentist by the next month.

The camp was liberated on May 9, 1945.

Defendant Seliger testified that she and 14 young women had been recruited to work at the subcamp. According to a list of staff assigned to guard the respective subcamps, 9 female SS guards kept watch at camp.⁴

Ida Otto was an Aufseherin at the camp. She served at the Parschnitz, Graben, and St. Georgenthal camps from October 1944 to May 1945. After the war, she was accused of beating and kicking prisoners and chopping off their hair. There was insufficient evidence to support those charges as a basis for sentencing. She was found guilty because she had belonged to the SS. She received a sentence of six years in prison and the confiscation of her property.⁵

SOURCES The following works contain information on this subcamp: A. Małek, *Praca w systemie KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 2003); G. Choptiany, "Rewiry w KL

Gross-Rosen," (unpub. typescript); B. Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1987); K. Pawlak-Weiss, "Żeńskie filie KL Gross-Rosen położone na terenie obecnych Czech w latach 1944–45" (master's thesis, Wrocław University, 2002).

The documentary source material for this subcamp is scant. The author used the AMGR information from the Czech County Security Agency regarding the Gross-Rosen concentration camp and the St. Georgenthal subcamp, compiled around 1945; the records of the Polish Army's Nazi Crimes Investigation Mission in Germany's British Occupation Zone in 1946; and the records of cases against staff members.

Katarzyna Pawlak-Weiss
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, sygn. [Catalog No.] 2829-DP, Secret Diary.
2. AMGR, Catalog No. 6779-DP, Czech County Security Agency information on Gross-Rosen concentration camp and the St. Georgenthal subcamp, from ca. 1945.
3. AMGR, Catalog No. MF 70/4255, Polish Army Mission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in the British Occupation Zone of Germany, September 4, 1946.
4. AMGR, Catalog No. 2829-DP, Secret Diary.
5. AMGR, Catalog No. MF 122/113, Records of case against Ida Otto.

TRESKAU

It is not known when the camp at Treskau (present-day Owińska, near Poznań) was established. The first reference to it in surviving German records is dated August 30, 1943.¹ However, two of the numerous accounts of former prisoners say that the camp was already in existence in early 1943.²

The camp was in the basement of one of the buildings in a barracks complex dating back to World War I. Between the wars, the buildings had housed a facility for people with psychiatric conditions. The invading Germans slaughtered the patients by November 1939, and the SS took over the facility for barracks. The following units were stationed there: Totenkopfstandarte (Death's Head Regiment), then Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler (Bodyguard Regiment Adolf Hitler), and finally the SS-Junkerschule (Elite Officers' School), which had been transferred there from Brunswick.

A subcamp was established because the SS school needed renovating and expansion. The prisoners were men, mainly Russian and Polish, but there were Czechs, Ukrainians, and Germans as well. All accounts agree that the camp population was approximately 100 to 110 prisoners.³ The population did not change because there were regular small transports from the main camp, often of just a few people, to replace the dead or the seriously ill who were removed to Gross-Rosen. One prisoner reports that the population had been reduced to 50 people in November 1944.⁴ Another prisoner estimated that several men died every week.⁵ Prisoners died of emaciation; executions were not performed in Treskau.

There was no infirmary in the camp. There was only a prisoner who served as an orderly; he had a medicine kit and administered first aid. Aside from that, the prisoner orderly went to work normally with everyone. The names of two orderlies are known: Franc Grabowski served in the job until December 1943, and after his death, it was medical student Stanisław Dziaduś, who had been brought from the Gross-Rosen main camp. Dziaduś served as orderly until he escaped from the Treskau subcamp in May 1944.

The first Lagerführer (camp leader) known by name was SS-Scharführer Alfred Juchelek, a German born on November 4, 1911, in Kattowitz (later Katowice). He had been at Treskau since August 1943. He was promoted to the rank of SS-Unterscharführer prior to December 13, 1943. In February 1944, after the death of camp elder (Lagerältester) Emil Schwarz, he was dismissed from Treskau. Then an SS man, whose name is unknown, assumed the job of Lagerführer. He was at Treskau for a very short time. The next Lagerführer was SS-Rottenführer Diener, who came from Serbia.⁶ The date that Diener was dismissed is unknown. All that is known is that he was already at the Gross-Rosen main camp on January 26, 1945. After him, another SS man whose name is not known was Lagerführer until the camp went out of existence.⁷

German criminal prisoner Emil Schwarz initially held the post of Lagerältester; he was singular in his aggressiveness and brutality toward his fellow prisoners. On February 18, 1944, he was murdered by Wołodia Nosyr, a young Russian prisoner. When Nosyr was caught, he was taken to the main camp at Gross-Rosen and hanged there. A Czech political prisoner named Karel became the new Lagerältester. The aforementioned German criminal Grabowski (concurrently the orderly) was the Kapo in charge of the largest work group, the construction group. He was shot accidentally in December 1943, and a German named Max was appointed to replace him. The new Kapo was brought to Treskau with Dziaduś, who assumed the post of orderly. Life was less severe at Treskau after Max and Dziaduś arrived; they managed to stand up to Schwarz. There was more freedom within the confines of the basement walls, and the fear of speaking, even to another prisoner, disappeared. Hygienic conditions in the quarters also improved somewhat.

The prisoners primarily worked constructing auxiliary buildings for the school: stables, a covered riding area, garages, a movie theater, and a rabbit pen. They were divided into three labor commandos: construction; water and sewer ditch digging (the Vorarbeiter [foreman] here was a Pole, Stefan Rajska); and the smallest, the gardening commando (Gartenkommando—the Vorarbeiter was a Ukrainian named Boris), which worked planting lawns, flower beds, borders, hedges, and so on. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), prisoners also worked building an airport. That information is plausible. In actual fact, there was a small airfield in the town of Bednary several kilometers from Treskau. Luftwaffe detachments had been stationed there since August 1941. Prisoners also were sporadically sent to do odd

construction jobs in Treskau itself. In the spring of 1944, approximately 10 prisoners working in the Gartenkommando were trucked under escort to the Fabianowo section of Poznań. The SS barracks construction warehouses were located there. There was also a prefabricated frame house on the premises. The prisoners' job was to level the site around the house and to plant a garden. The prisoners worked there for about a week. The house's owner, an SS doctor with the rank of Obersturmführer, who worked at a Poznań hospital, would bring large amounts of dry bread and give it to the prisoners working at his house as extra food. The work in Poznań stopped after several days, and the prisoners were put into the commandos building the garages and the rabbit pen in Treskau.

On May 11, 1944, three prisoners escaped from a work site in the woods near Treskau: Poles Dziaduś and Stanisław Purgał and Lithuanian Władysław Wysocki.⁸ Purgał was shot immediately upon escaping by the SS man guarding them. Dziaduś was caught near the town of Koło about two weeks later. In June, he was moved from the prison in Koło to the Gross-Rosen main camp and put in a penal company. Wysocki was probably successful in escaping.

According to Apolinary Sztybel's account, on Christmas 1944, an SS man let the prisoners cut down a tree in the woods and decorate the Christmas tree in camp.⁹ He also got them an extra portion of food and gave each prisoner two packs of cigarettes. He also sang Christmas carols in Polish with the prisoners. For the prisoners, that was intensely moving.

The evacuation of the Treskau subcamp began on January 20, 1945. The prisoners were prodded along on foot to Poznań. There they were loaded onto railway cars and taken to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. It is unclear how many prisoners left the Treskau camp; according to historian Alfred Konieczny, only 60 men from that transport were admitted at Sachsenhausen.

SOURCES There are no monographic essays on the Treskau camp. There is encyclopedic information in B. Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987). Also of great value are the recollections of former prisoner Stanisław Dziaduś, "Historia jednej ucieczki" (unpub. typescript from MSS, AMGR in Wałbrzych).

The available archival material on the Treskau labor camp has been collected at the AMGR in Wałbrzych. It is chiefly composed of surveys, accounts, reports of interviews, and correspondence with former prisoners of the Treskau camp.

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trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1939–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), p. 145.

2. AMGR, Catalog No. 5902/40/DP—Testimony of former Gross-Rosen prisoner Władysław Strzopa; AMGR, Catalog No. 3107/DP-A—Questionnaire of former Gross-Rosen prisoner Apolinary Sztybel.

3. AMGR, Catalog No. 7/106a/MF—Report of examination of witness Stanisław Jabłoński, dated June 11, 1945; AMGR, Catalog No. 5902/40/DP—Testimony of former Gross-Rosen prisoner Władysław Strzopa; AMGR, Catalog No. 8751/64/DP, collection: R. Olszyna Records—Letter of former prisoner Paweł Wójcik; AMGR, Catalog No. 6910/DP-A—Questionnaire of former Gross-Rosen prisoner Marian Szczepanik; AMGR, Catalog No. 3466/DP-A—Questionnaire of former prisoner Bolesław Litwin; AMGR, Catalog No. 1983/DP-A—Józef Sochacki's questionnaire; AMGR, Catalog No. 2223/DP—Account of former prisoner Jan Ferenc.
4. AMGR, Catalog No. 8751/64/DP—List Pawła Wójcika.
5. AMGR, Catalog No. 6910/DP-A—Ankieta Mariana Szczepanika.
6. AMGR, Catalog No. 5902/41/DP—Protokół przesłuchania świadka Bolesława Litwina z 25.01.1974 r.
7. AMGR, Catalog No. 8751/64/DP—List Pawła Wójcika.
8. AMGR, Catalog No. 5903/49/DP—Protokół przesłuchania świadka St. Dziadusia z June 4, 1972 r.; AMGR, Catalog No. 2223/DP—Relacja byłego więźnia Jana Ferenca.
9. AMGR, Catalog No. 3107/DP-A—Testimony of former Gross-Rosen prisoner Apolinary Szytybel.

WALDENBURG

Waldenburg (present-day Wałbrzych) is located in the foothills of the Sudetes Mountains approximately 70 kilometers (43.5 miles) south of Wrocław.

There was a labor camp here for Jewish men, under the command of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. The fact is documented by accounts of former prisoners and court materials from postwar trials of staff members and prisoner-functionaries, as well as by the surviving original German list of Waldenburg labor camp prisoners. The exact date the camp was formed has not been established. According to information in the International Tracing Service's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten*, the Waldenburg camp came into being in early 1944, having been converted from a forced labor camp for Jews (*Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden*, ZALfJ). The findings of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland move the opening date forward to September 1, 1944. On the other hand, prisoner accounts put it at early October 1944.

On September 30, 1944, two high-ranking SS men came to the Organisation Schmelt forced labor camp (ZAL) at Freiburg (Świebodzice), one of them being a doctor. Their job was to conduct a selection from among the Freiburg prisoners. After excluding those who were weak or looked poorly (labeled with the letter *U: untauglich*—unfit), who were sent away in an unknown direction, a group of 132 men qualified for concentration camp incarceration (*T: tauglich*—fit) were trucked away to nearby Waldenburg. This was the first transport that arrived at the newly established, still uncompleted Waldenburg labor camp. Another group of 433 men were

transported in by train several days later, this time from ZAL Klettendorf. Thus the camp reached a population of 565 prisoners in the first days of its operation. Some changes occurred that same month. On October 28, 1944, 57 prisoners were sent back to Gross-Rosen for unknown reasons, and a group of 58 Jews were brought in to replace them, having been taken out of two transports that had arrived at Gross-Rosen in mid-September 1944 from the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp. In subsequent months, there were only slight changes in the camp's population: 7 prisoners were sent to Gross-Rosen on November 23, 1944, and 4 were sent on December 9. Then in January 1945, 31 men were brought to Waldenburg; according to one prisoner's account, they were "prisoners from various camps who had gotten lost during the evacuation and wound up near Wałbrzych."¹ Two prisoners were sent to the Wüstegiersdorf subcamp on February 18.

The prisoners from the Freiburg and Klettendorf transports were assigned numbers 64201 through 64765. The Krakau-Plaszow transport ranged in numbers from 69366 to 69912 and 74431 to 74847. The prisoners incarcerated in January received numbers 97029 through 97059. This group included two Hungarian Jews who initially had been assigned numbers 97014 and 97015, only to have them changed a few days later to 44786 and 45033; those prisoners were then sent back to Wüstegiersdorf.

The Waldenburg camp was for Jews. Polish Jews from Upper Silesia and Małopolska (Lesser Poland) predominated. There was also a small group from Western Europe.

The camp was located in the southern part of town in the Stadtpark section (present-day Gaj, the Królewiecka Street area). The area was wooded. Railroad tracks ran near the camp. The road running along the camp buildings led to a facility (plant[s], mill[s], or factory[ies]) at the coal mine, at which facility the prisoners worked.

The camps had not been finished when the first prisoners were admitted in October 1944. Two identical-looking two-story cinderblock buildings were finished. There were eight living quarters (sztuba) in each, four on the first and four on the second floor. Each sztuba was intended for 30 prisoners. There were toilets and washrooms in the corridor outside the chambers, and there was a shower in the basement. The barracks were also equipped with a central heating system. However, neither running water nor heat was connected for some time. The quarters' furnishings were standard: three-decker bunks, a table, and stools, all new. There were no straw mattresses or wool or cloth blankets. The prisoners slept on straw and had paper bedspreads for covers. The camp buildings also included an administration building. It was a long one-story brick barrack that held the kitchen, hospital/infirmary (*Rever*), sewing room, canteen (*Schreibstube*), and a large room the prisoners called the "dayroom," which was adapted into living quarters after the group of 58 prisoners from Krakau-Plaszow arrived. In time, the entire camp premises were surrounded by a double fence of barbed wire, and the inner one was electrified. Outside the fence there was a building for the SS staff.

Living conditions at Waldenburg were relatively good. New accommodation buildings with new undamaged furnishings, a sewage system, hot and cold running water, and central heating were not standard in camps of this type. However, the prisoners' food was insufficient. Bread, coffee, and watery soup did not supply the hardworking men with an adequate amount of calories. Every month the daily food rations grew smaller. Immediately after arrival at camp, prisoners received striped clothing, caps, and wooden clogs. In the winter, sweaters and coats were also distributed.

There was an infirmary at the camp: an outpatient room and a ward with beds. Three doctor prisoners serviced it: a dentist, a surgeon (a young Warsaw doctor named Czarnmarka), and a general physician (a Czech Jew). The food there was somewhat better. On occasion, sick patients would even get milk soup with saccharine.

There were only four deaths recorded throughout Waldenburg's operation, and that was in the spring of 1945, by which time the prisoners were very weak due to the emaciating labor and insufficient food.

The camp day began with a wake-up call at 5:00 A.M. After breakfast and roll call, the prisoners were divided into groups and left for work. A smaller group worked finishing and expanding the camp. Most of the prisoners were escorted by SS men to a construction site called the Baustelle, about 500 meters (1,640 feet) away. According to information in the International Tracing Service's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten*, chiefly construction and assembly work was done there for the following companies: Hoch und Tiefbau AG, Philip Holzmann, IG Farben AG, AEG (Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft; General Electric Co.) and Synthetische Benzin—Fabrik Mathildenhöhe. Work at the construction site lasted 10 hours, with a meal break from 12:30 to 1:00 P.M. Upon returning to camp, the prisoners were counted, and there was an evening roll call, at which people weak by work were often additionally tortured by exercises. There were roll calls with mandatory exercises on Sundays, too.

The camp was guarded by the SS staff. SS-Unterscharführer Schrammel was the commander. A former prisoner depicted him as follows: "A known murderer of prisoners at other camps, he behaved completely differently at Wałbrzych. To us he was above all a merchant. He loved money and derived satisfaction from accumulating it. . . . At such times (when he would sell prisoners cigarettes and tobacco), the man, usually inaccessible, would take off his jacket and collect the money from everyone by himself."² The same witness continues by relating Schrammel's attitude toward the camp he was in charge of: "The Lagerführer has paid a lot of attention to the infirmary and it's important for him to get as much medicine for patients as possible. You could describe him in one sentence: he wanted his camp to be the best; he allowed anything to be brought to camp, but wouldn't let anything be taken out."³ He could punish people severely for the slightest violation of camp regulations, such as stealing potatoes or disobeying orders. He beat people, set dogs on them, and abused them by ordering what was called "athletics," which consisted of a prisoner having to

wallow on the ground while he brutally walked all over the person laying there.

The Waldenburg camp was not evacuated. It operated until the end of the war. As the front approached, the work at the Baustelle stopped, and the prisoners were put to work building trenches in the environs of the city. The SS staff and commander left the camp on the night of May 7–8, 1945. The Waldenburg camp then ceased to exist.

SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in the following sources: B. Cybulski, "Podobóz obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen AL Waldenburg (Wałbrzych)," in *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*, No. 1072: Studies on Fascism and Nazi Crimes, vol. 13, 1990; B. Cybulski, "Żydzi w filiach obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen," in *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*, No. 281: Studies on Fascism and Nazi Crimes, vol. 2, 1975; "Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945," in *Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw, 1979); ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979); AŽIH, Collection of Accounts; AŽIH, "Dokumenty niemieckie" collection, sygn. 167 ("AL Waldenburg. Alphabetischen Häftlings-Verzeihnis"); AMGR, Collection of written and microfilmed records.

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NOTES

1. AMGR, Collection of Surveys, sygn. [Catalog No.] 6201/DP-A.
2. AŽIH, Account No. 2089.
3. Ibid.

WEISSWASSER

During World War II, the Vereinigte Lausitzer Glaswerke (United Lausitz Glassworks) produced, in addition to jars for conserved food, medicine bottles and cooking utensils, and glass parts for armored vehicles, mines, and the V-1 flying bomb. In 1944, the plant Malky Müller & Co. (Bärenhütte) in Weisswasser (Biała Woda), that had been owned by the Dutch Philips company since 1920, became the relocation site of the Philips-Valvo Factory in Aachen. A transport of 300 mostly Hungarian Jewish women and children was organized at the beginning of September 1944 to Weisswasser, which became a Gross-Rosen subcamp. The women had been selected by a Philips-Valvo Factory representative in Auschwitz. The prisoners were accommodated in three barracks in Weisswasser located on Kromlauer Weg and the corner of Neuteichweg.

Edit K., a survivor of Gross-Rosen with prisoner number 61191, related that a civilian radio manufacturer sought the prisoners out and promised that they would be treated well. They were chosen not only on the basis of their age, but also after an examination of their eyes and hands. After a month they were taken to Weisswasser for work. When they arrived, they found very clean barracks. Each room held 16 people and

each person had their own bed with two blankets. They had clean wash rooms and an English toilet. They could properly wash themselves. They had electric light and in winter the barracks were even heated.

The prisoners worked in the Bärenhütte and Luisenhütte (smelting works). Franciska L., a survivor with prisoner number 61225 at the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, wrote that there were two large operations for making globes and filaments. The one was called 'Bärenhütte,' the other 'Luisenhütte.' The prisoners were put in various groups, including assembly, dusting down, and laboratory. They lived in wooden barracks, one hundred women per barrack, which were surrounded with barbed wire. Five men from the Wehrmacht were constantly guarding them. There were 16 female SS wardens, a female commander named Berta Frank (née Metzig, from Hamburg), as well as a female head of the group. They were watched from every possible angle and were not permitted to speak to anyone. They were completely isolated.

Margot K., from the town of Weisswasser, reported that her father made pistons at the Philips factory in Bärenhütte, later Luisenhütte. In 1944, he came home very annoyed as he had not earned any money. There were new people, he said, who dusted down, but who had no skill and caused a lot of damage. They were young Jewish women with shaved heads. There was a female warden from the SS-Wehrmacht (his term) sitting on a revolving chair on each corner of the room where her father worked at Luisenhütte. To eat, the prisoners had old tin cans with a handle—they were given food which was quickly eaten so that they could get seconds. The women were only allowed to return to the barracks under guard. For their trip home the girls had made bags out of corrugated boards with a string—many looked quite good. They rattled when they walked—that was the wooden shoes. They always had cloths over the poor clothing they wore.

Elizabeth W., a survivor with prisoner number 61266 from Gross-Rosen, said that the prisoners' work day began with a march to the factory accompanied by an SS guard. When they arrived at the factory they were given breakfast, soup, which they ate in a room separate from the German workers. For the rest of her life, she said, she would only remember those meals. The prisoners were always hungry. She did the soldering, while her sister, Klara, wired radios or lamps for aeroplanes. In the evening, they marched back to their barracks.

Paula R., another Weisswasser survivor, born in Hungary and a Jewish prisoner of Gross-Rosen with prisoner number 61234, said that she was 13 and the youngest in a group of women. They came from Auschwitz and were chosen because of their good eyesight and dexterity. All their SS wardens were women. Each of them had a nickname which matched their "qualities" and crimes against the prisoners. The head wardress was called the "Devil," her assistant the "Leach," her best friend the "Death Kapo," and so on. The prisoners worked 14–16 hours a day and were fed daily 1,000 calories—they suffered terribly from hunger and thirst. They were often beaten when they could not do the work and did not achieve the quotas. They could only go to the toilet once a

day. Diarrhea was treated as sabotage. The first group, to which her sister belonged, sometimes sat on an open wagon on the factory grounds, a wagon on which potatoes were loaded. A few girls could not control themselves and ran to grab a few potatoes. When they came back they were brutally beaten by the wardens. Then they were put in isolation. The wardens injured the prisoners physically and psychologically. Their lives were nothing. As a youth, she said, Paula was strongly influenced by the older generation. She saw Jewish inmates treated like animals, and guessed that people in Weisswasser saw this but did nothing.

An official report on the Weisswasser subcamp by the local police branch Weisswasser/OL dated February 5, 1946, pursuant to order no. 163 by the Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SMAD), stated that there were 300 female Hungarians in the camp. The police could not provide a list of the Hungarian citizens as they were not insured by the local hospital insurance fund and all other documents were destroyed as a result of the war.

In the original Weisswasser camp workers book held at Yad Vashem Archives (YVA), the names of all 300 women and their prison numbers are listed together with the work location and the person in charge of each section. The women were aged from 13 to 34 years. There was one recorded death in Weisswasser, prisoner number 61178, Györgyi Kundler (born: Kisvarda, Hungary, October 27, 1925); she died on September 21, 1944, at 10:30 A.M. The entry was made after a verbal report by the female camp commander Berta Frank. She stated that she voluntarily reported the death and that the woman had died from injuries and fever.

The camp was evacuated on February 26, 1945, after heavy bombardment by the Red Army. The women had to walk to Senftenberg and then were taken in wagons to Horneburg, where there was another Philips factory. Three weeks later, on March 30, 1945, they were transferred to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Those who survived were liberated by the British Army on April 15, 1945.

SOURCES On the wartime production of the glass factory Lausitz, see *Geschichte des VEB Lausitzer Glas Weisswasser* (1989).

There are few archival sources on the Weisswasser subcamp. YV in Jerusalem holds the original camp workers book in which all the names and prison numbers (from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp), the work sites, and those in charge of each section are listed.

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WIESAU

Wiesau (present-day Łąka) is located approximately 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) north of Bunzlau (now Bolesławiec). Information about the camp at Wiesau indicates that at various times there was also a Jewish men's forced labor camp (*Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden, ZALfJ*) there, as well as a woman's subcamp of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp.

According to a former prisoner's account, a forced labor camp (ZAL) for Jewish men was established at Wiesau in October 1942. The first transport of 500 prisoners arrived at four newly erected wooden barracks. The buildings were surrounded by barbed wire. The whole camp covered an area of approximately 20 square kilometers (7.7 square miles). The kitchen was outside the barbed wire in the SS staff's barrack.

Besides the men, there was also a group of approximately 20 Jewish women prisoners; they did things such as working in the kitchen and doing laundry. On May 10, 1944, the ZALfJ Wiesau women were taken over by the female labor camp (FAL) Ludwigsdorf under the command of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp.

The ZAL Wiesau men worked building a sewage system and a factory that was near the camp. The prisoners' food for an entire day was composed of 350 grams (approximately 12 ounces) of bread and some margarine and a dinner of soup made from greens, rutabaga, and potatoes. Besides the hunger and strenuous labor, the prisoners suffered intensely from the tortures administered by the Lagerführer (camp leader) (according to a former prisoner's account, the Lagerführer was named Drobrik). The favorite form of punishing prisoners for being disorderly or unclean was to douse a prisoner standing in a barrel full of water with a stream of cold water. This caused the exhausted people to faint, in consequence of which they drowned to death.

ZAL Wiesau was probably closed in May 1944. The prisoners were examined by a panel of doctors and divided up into two groups. The healthy ones were sent to the newly formed Gross-Rosen subcamp at Bunzlau. The weak and sick group was taken away to the Auschwitz concentration camp.

According to the information in the International Tracing Service's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten*, there was also a Gross-Rosen subcamp at Wiesau. The first reference to a camp of this type dates from September 1944. It held female Hungarian Jewish prisoners. The women worked for the Küppers company, an ammunitions factory.

Copies of six transport rosters dated December 7, 1944, confirm that information. The rosters contain the names of Hungarian Jewish women (a total of 68). On December 7, 1944, they were moved from Wiesau to the following Gross-Rosen subcamps: FAL Ober-Alstadt, FAL Bernsdorf, FAL Parschnitz, and FAL Schatzlar. The prisoners listed in the rosters had numbers in the 60506 to 60996 range, which indicates, according to the chronology of Gross-Rosen transports, that they had been admitted to the camp in September 1944. Unfortunately, no information on camp living and working conditions is available.

According to *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten*, the last reference to the Wiesau subcamp is from January 1945.

SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in the following sources: B. Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987); A. Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Ssru* 40 (1982); Rulings of the Wrocław District Commission

for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes dated January 3, 1977, to discontinue the proceedings against the Gross-Rosen camp commanders (typescript); "Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945," in *Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: 1979).

For archival sources, see AŽIH, Collection of Accounts; and AMGR, Collection of written and microfilmed records.

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ZILLERTHAL-ERDMANNSDORF

A forced labor camp for Jews (Zwangssarbeitslager für Jude, ZALfJ) was formed at Zillerthal-Erdmannsdorf (Mysłakowice) in the autumn of 1940. Jewish women were sent there as manpower for a nearby factory belonging to the Erdmannsdorfer Leinenfabrik corporation.

The labor camp was converted into a subsidiary of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp in late May and early June 1944. The women, now concentration camp prisoners, received numbers on round tags worn around the neck.

Girls and young women aged 13 to 25 lived in the camp. Initially, the population was approximately 100 people; subsequently it rose to about 200. However, the number of women incarcerated at the camp was probably greater. Transports from such places as Sosnowiec and the Auschwitz concentration camp were sent here. Original records are unavailable, so it is difficult to determine how many such transports there were or their size. The prisoners lived in two barracks, unheated in the winter, containing double-decker bunks. The barracks had washbasins in which the women washed and did their laundry; the toilets were outside. The food was poor and insufficient for the work done by the prisoners. Reveille was at 6:30 A.M. Roll calls were conducted in the morning before the prisoners went to work, as well as upon their return. Medical care was provided by an orderly picked from among the prisoners. However, basic medicine was in short supply.¹

After the camp was transferred to Gross-Rosen's administration, the women continued to work in the Erdmannsdorfer factory in the weaving and spinning departments; they also spooled flax from fields in the vicinity. The factory manufactured cloth for German army uniforms. Work lasted from 8:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. There was a short lunch break at about 1:00 P.M. German civilian foremen oversaw the women at work and also ordered and inspected the work.

No one can say how many deaths there were at the camp, although there were such instances, due to malnutrition. Scurvy and lice infestations were rife among the prisoners. There were also selections; sick prisoners and those unfit for work were taken away.

SS members comprised the staff. There is no specific information on how many of them there were; all that is known is that they occupied a separate barrack at the camp.

The subcamp operated until January 17, 1945, when it was ordered evacuated.² The prisoners were probably divided into two columns. The first reached the Gablonz camp (a men's

subcamp). They were disinfected and their heads were shaven; then they were placed in a camp prepared especially for them. They were put to work in an ammunition factory as well as doing various other work on factory and camp premises. The prisoners were liberated on May 8, 1945.

The other group was sent to the town of Morchenstern (Smržovka), where the women stayed about three weeks, after which they were transported to the Mauthausen concentration camp.

SOURCES A useful source for this topic is the work of Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Sсыn* 40 (1982): 55–112; as well as the work of Aneta Małek, "Praca w systeme KL Gross-Rosen," published by the AMGR in 2003. Portions of both works are devoted to this topic. The works are available in Polish.

The archival sources on this topic are few. The accounts of a female former prisoner are available in the AMGR. Information on this topic is also located in the materials of the GKBZHwP.

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NOTES

1. The information about the number of female prisoners and life in the camp comes from the account of the former prisoner (AMGR imprint 2658/DP).

2. The date of the uprising and evacuation of the camp comes from the work of Alfred Konieczny: "Women in the Gross-Rosen Concentration Camp from 1944–1945," *Sсыn*, n.s., 40 (1982): 55–112.

ZITTAU [AKA KLEIN-SCHÖNAU]

Within the context of the transfer of the aircraft industry to areas that were less prone to air attack, the Zittau firm Gebrüder Morus AG received word on September 20, 1944, from the Reich Air Ministry (RLM) of the transfer of the Junkers Aircraft Works from Dessau: "The firm Junkers Aircraft and Motor Works AG (transferring enterprise) is tasked to transfer the production [facilities] of its factories in Dessau and Magdeburg into the space occupied by the firm Gebrüder Morus AG . . . Zittau in Saxony (receiving enterprise), in accordance with the transfer notice sent with the communication of August 16, 1943."¹ In this connection, the transferred Junkers enterprise received the cover name "Zitt-Werke."²

In addition to hundreds of civilian forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs), the Junkers Works also still sought to receive concentration camp prisoners for work in Zittau. They were successful in their negotiations with the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), in part because of support from the RLM. A representative of Zitt-Werke sought suitable prisoners in Auschwitz. Because this was the period—late summer of 1944—when the large deportation transports from Hungary were arriving in Auschwitz II-Birkenau, 500 mostly Hungarian Jewish women were

selected. In the report of the former prisoner Monica Elizabeth H., one finds the following: "Someone came from Zittau, where they needed five hundred women (from Auschwitz). Thus the transport was formed."³

On October 28, 1944, with this first transport of women from Auschwitz, the Zittau subcamp was established.⁴ The women and girls received registration numbers from the series 83000 to 84000 from the Gross-Rosen main camp, to which the Zittau subcamp was subordinated. A large part of these women hailed from Budapest, others from Szolnok, Tocsö in the Carpatho-Ukraine, and Colanto.⁵

With a transport of 250 men from Buchenwald on January 27, 1945, a men's Gross-Rosen subcamp was also established at Zittau.⁶ In this case, the prisoners were Polish and Hungarian Jews. When the Gross-Rosen subcamp at Görlitz was temporarily evacuated to Rennersdorf on February 18, the SS brought a group of 100 prisoners to Zittau. Likewise, in February 1945 the number of female prisoners in Zittau rose because of a transport of about 300 women from one of the two subcamps in Kratzau (Chrastava).

There is still little clarity concerning the exact number of female or male prisoners in Zittau. Moldawa speaks of several hundred prisoners; Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes (OKBZH) maintains that there were 5,000. Former Polish prisoner Dr. Kulig even gives a count of 8,000 Jewish men and women in Zittau, which probably reflects the temporary accommodation of various evacuation transports from Gross-Rosen subcamps to the east of Zittau, such as Hartmannsdorf, in the Zittau camp.⁷

The establishment of the accommodations for both the male and the female prisoners went forward in the barracks complex in Kleinschönau (later: Sieniawka) and on the grounds of the then estate Grossporisch (later: Porajów), as a result of which the camp was occasionally known as Klein-Schönau.⁸

Through an agreement of June 3, 1944, the entire barracks facility was taken over by the Junkers Aircraft and Motor Works Dessau, Zittau Branch, which had, in fact, been using it since December 1943.⁹

The camp leader (*Lagerführer*) was SS-Oberscharführer Horst Klehr, although there was also an SS-Oberscharführer Foerster, who signed many SS documents.¹⁰ No information is available about the number of SS guards and female SS overseers. On February 4, 1945, a part of the Gross-Rosen command staff was transferred to Zittau and remained there about one week, up until its further transfer to the Reichenau subcamp, near Gablonz.¹¹ Also, a liquidation site (*Abwicklungsstelle*) of Auschwitz was located in Zittau for a time.¹²

Because of increasingly frequent instances of pregnancy among the Hungarian and Slovakian prisoners who had been deported in late spring or early summer via Auschwitz to the Gross-Rosen subcamps, the SS faced the problem of how to deal with these pregnant women. In Zittau, the top floor of a camp building was converted into a delivery station. Women from other nearby Gross-Rosen subcamps, including Ober-Hohenelbe, Liebau, Sackisch, and presumably also Kratzau, were brought there before their deliveries. After the delivery,

some of the women and their children were sent away. According to Alfred Konieczny, 10 children received registration numbers from Gross-Rosen (from 96951 to 96960) and then were transported from Zittau to Langenbielau. Because one of the children, with the registration number 96957, died on April 17, 1945—two days after its birth—it is possible that this was just such a transport.¹³ Gertraude S., born Sojka in Berlin in 1909 and deported from the Slovakian Nitra in 1944, wrote, “I . . . was deposed because of my Jewish heritage and found myself in the Kleinschönau camp in Kreis Zittau, where also my child was born. Now I am located in the Kreis women’s clinic in Watzdorfheim. After my release, which should follow in the coming days, I wish to travel to Prague and from there to Nitra, Slovakia, in order to trace my husband. I want to take the urn for my child with me, because as a Czechoslovak citizen I wish to have my child’s remains buried in my homeland.”¹⁴

All survivors describe the food situation in Zittau as catastrophic and for many as fatal. Former prisoner Zdzislaw M. testified that “[i]n the Zittau camp we received starvation rations, which consisted of one hundred grams [three and one-half ounces] of bread, as well as a bowl of hot water with potato peelings.”¹⁵ Hungarian Monica Elizabeth H. wrote: “We were hungry, such that we dug into the ‘muck heap’ in order to find some potato peelings to eat. The hunger was terrible. I can only describe it as the greatest agony. . . . We had only one wish, to just have a whole loaf of bread.”¹⁶

From the available records, it emerges that 9 women and 90 men were registered as having died in the Zittau camp between February 4 and May 7, 1945.¹⁷ Whether there were already deaths before that period, since the camp existed with female prisoners, and how many died in Zittau after the liberation on May 8, 1945, remain unknown.

Just as there is a connection between the very high number of prisoners in the camp and other subcamps’ evacuation marches that passed through Zittau, there may be such a connection with the number of dead given by Dr. Kulig, who was himself evacuated from the Gross-Rosen subcamp Hartmannsdorf to Zittau. During his witness interview, he said:

The rest of the still surviving prisoners [sick] were evacuated to Zittau via motorized transport on March 19, 1945. The group of SS who had come to the camp to evacuate it shot those prisoners who could not leave the camp under their own power.

After my evacuation from the Hartmannsdorf camp I found myself, up until my liberation by the Soviet army, . . . in the Zittau subcamp. . . . On May 5, the SS men marched out toward the west with a group of five thousand prisoners. At that time I stayed in the camp with a large group of sick prisoners. I am not capable of providing the names of all the ill prisoners

who died in the camp. Many died during their confinement in the camp, and many after the liberation.¹⁸

Dr. Molenda, likewise evacuated from Hartmannsdorf to Zittau, also said in a statement: “After the liberation, a group of us who were healthier, under the leadership of Dr. Kulig, occupied ourselves with burying the dead prisoners, as well as with transporting the still living prisoners to the local hospital, with the agreement of the Soviet city commander.”¹⁹

SOURCES There are no secondary sources that address this camp exclusively. Information may be found in Alfred Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych, 1994); Karl-Heinz Gräfe and Hans-Jürgen Töpfer, *Ausgesondert und fast vergessen. KZ-Aussenlager auf dem Territorium des heutigen Sachsen* (Dresden, 1996); and Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen* (Rogoźnica, 1987).

Primary sources are to be found in AMGR, BA-L, and the Stadtarchiv Zittau, as indicated in the notes.

Hans Brenner
trans. Geoffrey Megargee

NOTES

1. Ast-ZI, file Gebrüder Morus Zittau 1943–1947, p. 220.
2. BA-B, Bank der deutschen Luftfahrt, Nr. 138.
3. Monica Elizabeth H., report to the author, October 15, 1998.
4. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979), p. 153.
5. Archiv Brenner, Zittau I/3, Entlassungs- und Reisebescheinigung für 23 ungarische Häftlinge v. 18. Mai 1945.
6. ITS, *Verzeichnis*, p. 153.
7. See BA-L, IV 405 AR-Z 222/69, p. 189, statement Dr. Kulig.
8. Ast-ZI, Nr. IIc-I-26-Nr. 10, pp. 63–64.
9. Ibid.
10. On Klehr: AG-T, Nr. A 2452; Bericht des Lagers Zittau an den Leiter der Zahnstationen im KZ Gross-Rosen v. 20. March 1945; on Foerster: Ast-ZI, IV-II-3-Nr. 6, vol. 124-2430: Totenscheine verstorbener Häftlinge.
11. Ast-ZI, letter to the author, January 28, 1994, p. 2.
12. NARA, T 976, Roll 21.
13. Ast-ZI, IVb-II-1 Nr. 6-2368, p. 184.
14. Ast-ZI, Bestattungssamt, Kriegstodesfallmeldung, I-II-L, Nr. 49, Bl. 40/41.
15. BA-L, IV 405 AR-Z 222/69, p. 260, statement Zdzislaw M.
16. Monica Elizabeth H., report to the author, November 17, 1998, p. 1.
17. Ast-ZI, Bestattungssamt, Kriegstodesfallmeldung, I-II-1, Nr. 6-2368.
18. BA-L, IV 405 AR-Z 222/69, p. 189, Aussage Dr. Kulig.
19. Ibid., p. 260, statement Dr. Molenda.

HERZOGENBUSCH



Post-liberation view of the moat, fence, and guard towers at Herzogenbusch concentration camp,
September 1944 to 1945.

USHMM WS #44176, COURTESY OF NARA

HERZOGENBUSCH MAIN CAMP [AKA VUGHT]

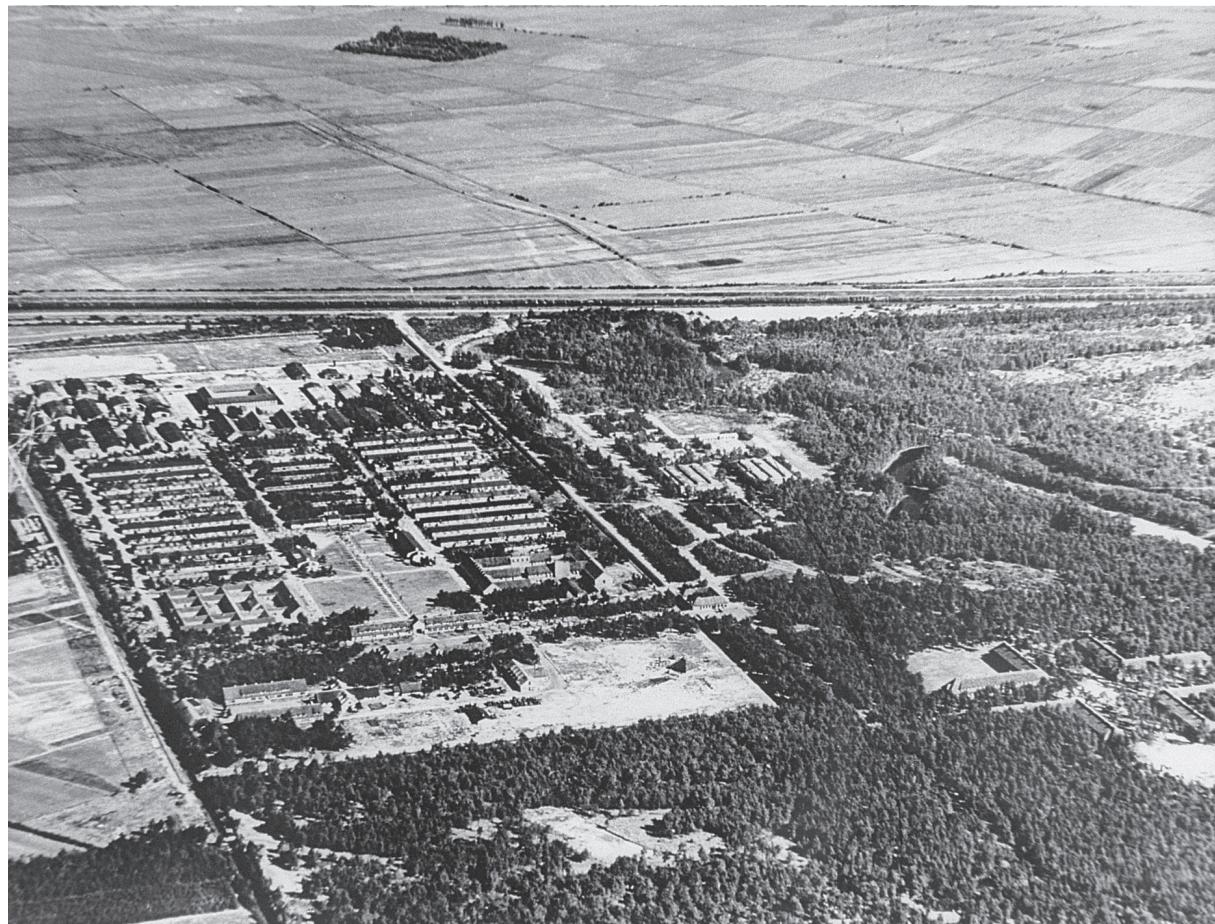
In the summer of 1942, only a few weeks after the first deportation train had left the Jewish transit camp (*Judendurchgangslager*) at Westerbork for Auschwitz on June 15, Höherer-SS und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) Hanns Albin Rauter, in consultation with Reichskommissar Arthur Seyss-Inquart, decided to start construction of a new camp called Herzogenbusch ('s-Hertogenbosch). Because of its proximity to the municipality of Vught, the Dutch called it Vught.

The most probable reasons for this decision have to be found in Rauter's concerns about the tempo and effectiveness of the deportation of the Jews from Westerbork—in principle, about 120,000 people eventually were deported—and the obvious malfunctioning of the already existing camp at Amersfoort, which proved to be too small and which had a notorious reputation for its harsh regime.

In the beginning of December 1942, Rauter's superior, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, following Rauter's reg-

ular updates, ordered that Herzogenbusch had to be considered an “official” concentration camp, in other words, a camp under direct supervision of the Berlin offices of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). He did not want it to be a police transit or extended police camp (*Polizeiliches Durchgangslager* or *Erweitertes Polizeilager*) like Amersfoort, or a Judendurchgangslager like Westerbork. To that end, Himmler charged WVHA head Oswald Pohl to have talks with Rauter, which would take place in the same month.¹ For the time being (and until May 1944), Rauter did not obtain the final responsibility over the camp—by definition in the hands of the WVHA—but was responsible for its supervision (*Dienstaufsicht*). This made him responsible for the daily routine of the camp.

The camp itself, formally set up on January 5, 1943,² started to function on January 13, 1943, with the arrival of about 250 male prisoners (including Jews) from the Amersfoort



Aerial view of Herzogenbusch concentration camp, 1943–1944.

USHMM WS #13918, COURTESY OF NIOD

camp. A second transport—some 2,000 prisoners from Amersfoort—arrived three days later. The same day, about 450 Jews arrived from Amsterdam (mainly “armament Jews,” or *Rüstungsjuden*).

Their former guards, all members of the Wachbattalion Nordwest, accompanied the Amersfoort prisoners. Most of the prisoners were in terrible shape. The prisoners’ first task was to build the barracks, which was, given the shape they were in, a very strenuous job. Moreover, hardly any facilities were provided in the beginning. The food provided was poor, and drinkable water was rare. It is not surprising at all that by April 1943 over 200 prisoners had perished. In the end, the camp took up 300,000 square meters (359,000 square yards) and consisted of 36 barracks for living, sleeping, and working. The complete construction of the site was financed from confiscated Jewish capital. The camp had a crematorium but not a gas chamber.

Herzogenbusch became known as one of the few concentration camps located outside the Reich territory (*Reichsgebiet*). Apart from the control issue, this status had some other implications. The camp was made up of several largely independent sections for different kinds of prisoners: the “protective custody” camp (*Schutzhaftlager*; including the women’s concentration camp, or *Frauenkonzentrationslager*); the Judendurchgangslager; the students’ camp (*Studentenlager*); the hostage camp (*Geisellager*); a Polizeiliches Durchgangslager; and a Security Service camp (Sicherheitsdienst-Lager, or SD-Lager). Most of these sections did not exist through the full period when Herzogenbusch was active. Actually, some of them operated only for a couple of months. In these six sections, an estimated 30,000 people were imprisoned.

The main camp, the Schutzhaftlager, was in operation throughout Herzogenbusch’s existence. About 12,000 people (11,000 men and 1,000 women) were quartered in this camp for periods ranging from less than a month to more than a year. In principle, *Schutzhaft* (protective custody in order to protect state security) could be imposed on all kinds of prisoners: Jews (i.e., those who violated one of the anti-Jewish measures; the so-called Jews qualified for punishment, or *straffällige Juden*); political prisoners; Jehovah’s Witnesses; “antisocials” (black marketeers, thieves, and others arrested for economic reasons); and criminals (some of them Kapos, coming from Germany). In the Schutzhaftlager, people imprisoned for purely political reasons made up only a minority. About 1,350 male prisoners came from abroad, mostly from Belgium and, to a lesser extent, from France. From May 1943 on, women were imprisoned in a separate barracks, called the Frauenkonzentrationslager.

About 60 percent of the prisoners were released; the rest were transported to different concentration camps in Germany. Worth mentioning are the transport of about 90 prisoners, including some very well known resistance fighters, to the concentration camp Natzweiler at the beginning of July 1943 and the transport of about 800 prisoners to Dachau in May 1944.

The Judendurchgangslager opened on January 16, 1943. In the camouflaged language of the Germans it was at that time

“appropriately” called the Jewish collection camp (*Judenauffanglager*), suggesting the possibility of a longer stay than in Westerbork, as a Judendurchgangslager. About two months afterward, however, it was renamed according to its basic function. The first group of prisoners sent to the Judenauffanglager was about 450 Jews from Amsterdam. Because their work (with diamonds and textiles) was important for German interests, they believed themselves protected against deportation and thus remained under the illusion that they would stay in the camp. In April and May, thousands more people would arrive, mostly Dutch provincial Jews, or *mediene*. In May 1943, the prisoner population reached its maximum of 9,000 people.

Like the other prisoners, the Jews were put to work in different internal and external detachments (Innen- und Aussenkommandos). However, apart from the usual harassment, working conditions for them were much harder. This explains why they tried to get assigned to the Philips-Kommando, where life remained relatively acceptable because of the protection of the Philips company management. Even more important, they hoped that this protection would safeguard them against deportation. It did not stop them from being transported, but actually did protect them during their deportation to Auschwitz. After their registration there, almost all the prisoners of this so-called Philips-Transport were transferred to the Gross-Rosen Aussenkommando Langenbielau [aka Reichenbach], where they had to work in a Deutsche Telefunken factory. About one-third of the Philips-Transport prisoners survived.

In all, about 12,000 people—men, women, and children—were imprisoned in Herzogenbusch, all of whom were eventually deported to Sobibór and Auschwitz. Usually, the transports to Poland went through Westerbork. By the beginning of October 1943, this was the fate of more than 10,000 people. Two transports, on November 15, 1943, and June 3, 1944, went straight to Auschwitz. After the last, the above-mentioned Philips-Transport, the camp was closed.



Jewish prisoners work in the Eindhoven Philips Plant shortly before dispatch to Herzogenbusch concentration camp, 1943 to June 1944.
USHMM WS #10467, COURTESY OF YVA

The Studentenlager existed only in February and March 1943. It came into being because of the attempts by the resistance on the lives of high-placed Dutch Nazis. Investigations of the German police indicated that students and people from better-off circles took part in these actions. In reprisal, about 600 students and 1,200 sons of upper-class families (*Plutokraten-Söhnchen*) were arrested at the beginning of February and transferred to Herzogenbusch. After a couple of weeks, almost all of them were released. A small group of students, however, were transported to Germany for forced labor.

In February 1943, the Geisellager was set up. It remained active until the larger camp was dissolved. A few hundred hostages were locked up, generally for not longer than a couple of months. Two groups existed: people imprisoned in reprisal for certain actions of the resistance (*Strafgeiseln*) and family members of resistance fighters or other people wanted by the German police (*Sippengeiseln*). The second group did not enter the camp before October 1943. The women and children stayed in the Frauenkonzentrationslager.

In August 1943, as a result of deportations from the Judendurchgangslager, space became vacant for a new camp: the Polizeiliches Durchgangslager, which thus mirrored the original function of the Amersfoort camp. The immediate cause for this change was the massive overflow of prisoners under investigation (*Untersuchungshäftlinge*), whose number was far too large to be put up in the prisons of the German police. In total, about 2,000 men and 300 women were imprisoned in this camp.

A special group of Untersuchungshäftlinge consisted of about 1,500 men who, at the time, were imprisoned in the major political prison in the Netherlands, the "Oranjehotel" in Scheveningen. This group was transported to Herzogenbusch in June 1944, because of the Allied invasion in Normandy, and was placed in a special camp, the SD-Lager. Most of the prisoners were considered to be important enough for the Germans that they were put in the so-called Bunker, the camp prison. People from this group of prisoners were executed in August and September 1944.

Like all the other concentration camps, Herzogenbusch is to be considered as a camp complex, that is, a main camp (*Hauptlager*) with internal sections and several external detachments or subcamps, some of them located in the immediate vicinity of the main camp, others at a distance of over 96 kilometers (60 miles). In general, it can be stated that because of the food supply and working conditions, life in the Hauptlager was less difficult than in the subcamps. On the other hand, escape from these subcamps appeared to be easier than from the main camp.

Four different kinds of detachments or subcamps can be distinguished:

1. Detachments where prisoners constructed and repaired airfields (Arnhem, Eindhoven, Gilze-Rijen [aka Breda], Leeuwarden, and Venlo);
2. Detachments where prisoners worked on coastal defenses (Moerdijk and Roosendaal);

3. Detachments where prisoners performed administrative work on behalf of the Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD ('s-Gravenhage, Haaren, and St. Michielsgestel);
4. One detachment where prisoners were deployed for industrial labor (Herzogenbusch).

The camp leadership and part of the guard staff were recruited from people who had already worked in other camps, notably at Sachsenhausen and Mauthausen. German camp inmates were transferred with them, in order to be prominently placed as Kapos in the prisoner hierarchy.

The first camp commandant was SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Walter Chmielewski, who previously served in Sachsenhausen. Although his conspicuously rude behavior initially did not seem to have raised Rauter's objections, he was sacked in October 1943 because of misconduct (and even sentenced by an SS court in Berlin to 15 years' imprisonment).

His replacement was SS-Hauptsturmführer Adam Grünewald, who worked previously in Dachau and Sachsenhausen. Under his regime, a punishment company (*Strafkompanie*) was set up; partly because of this, the practice of beating up prisoners increased. Although the sources do not indicate tensions between Grünewald and Rauter, the second commandant was arrested, together with his adjutant, in January 1944, because of his responsibility for the so-called Bunker tragedy (*Bunkerdrama*). This incident took place on the night of January 15–16, 1944. A German female prisoner betrayed some of her fellow prisoners, as a result of which she was punished by some of them. Interrogated by the commandant, no one reported who was responsible for this. Consequently, 74 women were collectively punished by putting them in one cell in the bunker for 14 hours; 10 women did not survive. Grünewald was arrested and sentenced by an SS court in the Netherlands to three and a half years' imprisonment.

The dismissal of two camp commandants, a responsibility usually reserved for the WVHA, led to a conflict between Pohl and Rauter. Pohl was clearly disappointed with, in his eyes, the lack of appropriate action taken by his Berlin superiors. Pohl thereupon requested Himmler to take Herzogenbusch away from the WVHA and to charge Rauter with final responsibility for the camp. Rauter refused, claiming that the staff at his disposal was inadequate for this transfer.³

Grünewald's successor was SS-Sturmbannführer Hans Hüttig, whose formative career experience came in Natzweiler. He appears not to have come into conflict with Rauter. Although certainly not as tough as his predecessors, Hüttig was said to have exerted power from behind his desk. Among other things, he was responsible for the massive shootings of prisoners in August and September 1944 and for the evacuation transports afterward.

Because of the advance of the Allied forces through France and Belgium, the prisoners of the Schutzhaftlager, the Polizeiliches Durchgangslager, the SD-Lager, and the Frauenkonzentrationslager were transported, on September 5 and 6,

1944, to camps in Germany. About 2,900 men went to Sachsenhausen, while about 650 women were sent to Ravensbrück. The remaining prisoners, all hostages, were set free or transferred to the Amersfoort camp. The Herzogenbusch camp in fact ceased to exist. Afterward, the Wehrmacht took over the facility and used it as a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp before handing it over to the Dutch Red Cross. The camp premises were liberated on October 26, 1944.

In the late 1960s, a survey, by no means representative, was conducted of the inhabitants of the municipality of Vught, aged around 65 years, concerning their state of knowledge of the neighboring camp. People had to answer questions about its function, the number and types of prisoners, personal contacts with the guards or prisoners, and so on. The general conclusion of the survey was that the local population had a basic knowledge of the camp and that the people of Vught were apparently involved in the fate of the prisoners. People claimed to have supplied illegal food and smuggled in notes.

Two women stood out in the neighborhood for their efforts to get to know the names of the prisoners, in order to pass this information to the prisoners' family members. In this way they clearly facilitated the sending of food parcels, which were of course of great help and comfort for the prisoners. From May 1943 on, the supply of food parcels was taken over by the Dutch Red Cross.

Two of the three commandants were tried after the war, but not by Dutch courts. In 1961, a German court sentenced Chmielewski to life imprisonment. A French court gave Hüttig the same punishment, but he was released in 1956. Grünwald was never tried; he died in combat in 1945 in Hungary.

Herzogenbusch was a transit camp; people were not supposed to stay in it for a long time. For Jews in particular, but also for political prisoners, the regime intended to send them to other destinations.

Imprisonment in Herzogenbusch distinguished itself not only in quantitative but also in qualitative terms. It is important to note that Herzogenbusch was deliberately designed by the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) as a Level (*Stufe*) I and II camp, in terms of the severity of its regime. This level implied, among other things, that the non-Jewish prisoners were permitted (censored) correspondence and the receipt of food parcels.

For political reasons—the Dutch had to be won over in the battle of the Germanic peoples—it was of great importance to Himmler and Rauter to make Herzogenbusch a "perfect" camp. Amersfoort got an extremely negative reputation, and the scarce reports about people imprisoned in camps abroad, notably in Germany, suggested even worse conditions. A few days before Himmler's visit to Herzogenbusch (on February 3, 1944), Rauter addressed an audience of leading SS officials. In this speech, about the specific qualities of the SS, he did not refrain from calling the camp "an exemplary SS operation" (*Musterbetrieb der SS*).⁴

Rauter was very keen on maintaining this so-called high-level quality and is said to have inspected the site three or four

times. The treatment of the prisoners would be, as Rauter put it in his trial after the war, "severe, but fair" (*strenge, aber gerecht*).

On a theoretical level, Rauter's last statement can be qualified as highly contradictory. Nevertheless, some examples illustrate what he tried to bring forward in his defense. Hygienic conditions were poor, most notably in the Judendurchgangslager, suggesting that the physical condition of these prisoners was not a matter of concern for the camp leadership. Nevertheless, a fairly well equipped hospital, run by imprisoned doctors, functioned from July 1943 on. The quality of this hospital was incomparably better than the ones in other concentration camps.

Moreover, the regime in Herzogenbusch obviously did not show itself as cruel as was the case elsewhere. To some extent, the camp leadership kept the violent behavior of the Kapos in check and did not punish escapees who were caught afterward with hanging. About 8,000 people, more than a quarter of the total number of prisoners, were released.

However, these examples are not convincing enough for the acceptance of Rauter's statement. Although it can well be argued that the Herzogenbusch regime did not match the level of cruelty of the other concentration camps, this does not take away from the camp's notorious record, notably during the first half-year of its existence. A substantial food shortage, the prisoners' poor condition, hard working conditions, and systematic battering of a certain group of Jewish inmates caused the death of 400 prisoners. At some points, the camp showed an even more deadly face. For example, in September and October 1943, 27 Belgian resistance fighters, sentenced to death in Belgium, were hanged outside the camp, and in the last two months of its existence, about 450 political prisoners were shot.

SOURCES It was not before 1978 that scholarly attention was publicly paid to the camp. At that time, Louis de Jong, the former NIOD director who published a 14-volume series about the general history of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in World War II, devoted one of his volumes completely to the Nazi prisons and camps. In this publication some 70 pages are dedicated to Herzogenbusch. See his *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog*, vol. 8 ('s-Gravenhage, 1978). After the publication of de Jong, it took another decade before Coenraad Stuldreher, a former NIOD staff member, published a general article, "Deutsche Konzentrationslager in den Niederlanden: Amersfoort, Westerbork, Herzogenbusch," *DaHe* 5 (1989):141–173, the first publication not in the Dutch language. Later he enlarged this article into "Das Konzentrationslager Herzogenbusch—Ein 'Musterbetrieb der SS?'" in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998), 1: 327–348. Apart from these general publications, the last decade has witnessed books published with attention to special features of the camp: Example, on the Jewish child prisoners, Janneke de Moei, *Joodse kinderen in het kamp Vught* (Vught, 1999); on the Bunkerdrama, Hans Olink, *Vrouwen van Vught: Een nacht in een concentratiekamp* (Amsterdam, 1995); and on the Philips-Kommando, P.W. Klein and Justus van de Kamp, *Het*

Philips-Kommando in Kamp Vught (Amsterdam, 2003). See also Tineke Wibaut-Guilonard and Ed Mager, *Kamp Vught 1943–1944: Eindpunt . . . of tussentijd* (Amsterdam, 1994). Information about the opening and closing dates of the main camp and subcamps, the type of prisoners, and prisoner labor can be found in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:154–157.

Because Herzogenbusch was not liberated by Allied forces—it was evacuated before their arrival—its prisoners were not in the position to get hold of camp records and take them home. On the contrary, testimonies clearly indicate that members of the guard force started to destroy the archives shortly before the final evacuation of the prisoners. Fortunately, not everything went into the flames. Immediately after the liberation in May 1945, RIOD (later NIOD) was founded and started to collect documents about the occupation, among them of course documents concerning the different camps in the Netherlands. Until the present day, the NIOD collection of Herzogenbusch documents, although fragmentary, is to be considered the main source for serious research into the history of the camp complex. Through the decades, the original collection has been enriched with various reports of former prisoners and other documents. As far as the archival situation is concerned, a serious drawback is the fact that none of the three camp commandants was tried in the Netherlands. Consequently, their penal records are absent. Grünwald died in action. Chmielewski and Hüttig were tried outside the Netherlands. The only penal records are available for minor perpetrators. They are found in the NAN. The only penal record of a leading personality is Rauter's trial. Because of the trial's importance, its complete text was published in 1952. Portions of Rauter's correspondence with Himmler and Pohl are to be found in the collection of the former BDC (later BA-DH) and published by former NIOD staff member N.K.C.A.

in't Veld, ed., *De SS en Nederland* ('s Gravenhage, 1979). The following collections in NIOD contain information about this camp: Coll. 77-85, HSSPF; Coll. 210, BDC; Coll. 250b (Gevangenissen en Concentratiekampen; algemene verslagen); Coll. 250g (Vught I); Coll. 250gg (Vught II). Until 1978, only memoirs of former prisoners, usually of a highly personal character, had been published. Although informative, these publications cannot serve as a solid basis for scholarly research, as they are devoid of fact-checking or source references. Furthermore, some attention from the (mostly local) press has to be noted. However, the most impressive and touching publication about Herzogenbusch is a diary kept by prisoner David Koker, a 22-year-old student. This diary runs from February 11, 1943, through February 8, 1944. Koker was deported to Auschwitz on June 2, 1944. He did not survive the war. His diary is published as *Dagboek geschreven in Vught* (Amsterdam, 1977). On the bunker and the crematorium, see the testimony of former prisoner Wibaut-Guilonard, *Kamp Vught 1943–1944: Bunker en krematorium* (Amsterdam, 1992).

Hans de Vries

NOTES

1. Himmler's order has not been preserved but is referred to in a letter from Pohl to Himmler on December 17, 1942, BDC H540: 3654, copied at NIOD.
2. RSHA Circular, January 18, 1943, NIOD [C61.01], Collection 250g.
3. On February 16, 1944, Himmler endorsed Pohl's request and transferred Herzogenbusch from Pohl's responsibility to Rauter's. Pohl is referring to this decision in a letter to Rauter, March 29, 1944 (BDC H540: 3649, copied at NIOD), in which he suggests to hand over the camp to Rauter from May 1, 1944.
4. Doc.I, 1380-b, 14, NIOD.



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AMERSFOORT

This subcamp, located in the former Police Transit Camp Amersfoort (Polizeiliches Durchgangslager Amersfoort, or PDA), existed only for a very short time, from May to July 1943. Its beginning implied the reopening of the PDA, which had been closed since January 1943. About 70 prisoners from the Jewish transit camp (*Judendurchgangslager*) and about 600 prisoners from the Durchgangslager Westerbork were put to work here. On behalf of the Luftwaffe, which had an air base close to the PDA, they had to work on the expansion of the shooting range. After about four weeks, the prisoners were sent back to their original camps, and other, non-Jewish, prisoners entered the camp.

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries

ARNHEIM

Arnhem (Arnhem) was in operation as a subcamp from July to August 1943 and from January to September 1944.

In the first period of this Kommando, Jewish prisoners had to expand rifle ranges for Waffen-SS troops, who were quartered in the neighborhood and who supervised these works. The prisoners stayed in the Coehoornkazerne, a former barracks of the Dutch army.

In the second period, approximately 30 prisoners stayed in the Saxen Weimarkazerne (also a former barracks of the Dutch army). They had to do various works in order to expand the Luftwaffe air base Deelen. A Luftwaffe construction unit (Bauleitung) supervised these works.

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries



Post-liberation photograph of the Amersfoort camp gate, 1944–1945. After the closure of this Herzogenbusch subcamp in July 1943, Amersfoort resumed its original function as "police transit camp" until liberation in September 1943. In this photo, Dutch resisters guard the camp, which then held collaborators.
USHMM WS #17863, COURTESY OF NIOD

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

EINDHOVEN

In the Eindhoven subcamp, which existed from September 1943 to June 1944, prisoners were put to work for the construction of a new Luftwaffe air base, called Welschap. They worked under the supervision of a Luftwaffe construction unit (Bauleitung).

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries

GILZE-RIJEN [AKA BREDA]

Also called Aussenkommando Breda, this subcamp, which existed from August 1943 to May 1944, worked at the expansion of a Luftwaffe air base. From October 1943 it consisted almost exclusively of black marketeers. Partly because the prisoners were guarded by a Luftwaffe construction unit (Bauleitung)—a guard unit that was considered far less tough than the SS—more than 25 percent of the total number of escapes from the Herzogenbusch concentration camp (22 out of 81) took place in this subcamp.

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries

HAAREN

In Haaren, prisoners were put up in the prison of the German police and in a hostage camp (*Geisellager*), which was located in the former seminary, between January 1943 and September 1944. Prisoners had to execute various administrative tasks on behalf of the German police system.

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries

HERZOGENBUSCH (CONTINENTAL GUMMIWERKE AG)

This subcamp, which existed from December 1943 to September 1944, was unique in two ways: It was the only one consisting of female prisoners, and it was the only Herzogenbusch subcamp in which prisoners had to do industrial labor. It was located in a factory of the German-owned Continental Gummiwerke, where prisoners had to manufacture gas masks.

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries

LEEUWARDEN

The Leeuwarden subcamp, which existed only from February to March 1944, was unique in the sense that its population did

not consist of Dutch prisoners but of German Kapos who had been convicted of misbehavior in the main camp. They were quartered in a Dutch prison in the city of Leeuwarden, which is located some 250 kilometers (155 miles) from Herzogenbusch. Under the supervision of a Luftwaffe construction unit (Bauleitung), a group of about 40 people had to dismantle unexploded bombs at the local Luftwaffe air base. After a couple of weeks, they were sent back to the main camp.

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries

MOERDIJK

Moerdijk is the name of a village and an area located between the rivers in the southwestern part of the Netherlands. As such, it was of the utmost strategic significance. The defense of this area would enable the Germans to repel an Allied attack from the south on the city of Rotterdam (with its important port) and the center of the country.

Among the Herzogenbusch external detachments, the one in Moerdijk, which existed from March 1943 to February 1944, was the largest. Initially, some 500 male prisoners from the Jewish transit camp (*Judendurchgangslager*) were selected and transported to barracks that originally belonged to the Dutch river police and were located a couple of kilometers (about a mile and a half) from the village. Together with some non-Jewish prisoners and under supervision of an Organisation Todt (OT) construction unit (Bauleitung), they mostly had to dig antitank ditches on different, sometimes coastal, locations. These and other defenses were carried out by a Dutch contractor.

At the same time, other Jewish prisoners formed a clothing detachment (Bekleidungskommando) for making clothes for SS members who made up the staff and guard of Moerdijk.

In October 1944, all the Jewish prisoners were brought back to the main camp, from which they were deported to Auschwitz on November 15, 1944. These prisoners were replaced by non-Jewish prisoners, mostly people arrested for helping Jews. In the end, the Moerdijk camp is said to have had about 1,000 prisoners.

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries

ROOSENDAAL

The Roosendaal subcamp, located not far from the Belgian border, existed only for a very short time, from February to April 1944. The prisoners, all male Jews, stayed in an agricultural college. Under supervision of an Organisation Todt (OT) construction unit (Bauleitung), they had to work on various kinds of defenses, the construction of which a Dutch contractor carried out. These defenses were part of the Atlantic Wall.

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries

'S-GRAVENHAGE

A very small subcamp existed at 's-Gravenhage from September 1943 to July 1944. Prisoners were deployed for various administrative tasks on behalf of the German police system.

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries

ST. MICHELSGESTEL

As in the external detachment at Haaren, prisoners in St. Michielsgestel had to execute various administrative tasks on behalf of the German police system. They were quartered in a hostage camp (*Geisellager*), which was located in the former youth seminary. This camp existed from January 1943 to September 1944.

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries

VENLO

In the Venlo subcamp, the prisoners (including, for a short period, Jews) had to perform various tasks for the preparation of a new Luftwaffe air base. They stayed in a hangar and worked under the supervision of a Luftwaffe construction unit (Bauleitung). The camp existed from September 1943 to September 1944.

SOURCES Research to date has revealed no substantial sources that are specific to this subcamp.

Hans de Vries

HINZERT



The Hinzert concentration camp in winter, nd.
USHMM, WS #70097, COURTESY OF CNR

HINZERT MAIN CAMP

The Hinzert camp was established in 1938 by the Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front, DAF) as a camp for Organisation Todt (OT) workers constructing the Westwall: the guards were supplied by the DAF. In the summer of 1939, the camp burned down, except for two barracks. Rebuilt, it was opened in October 1939 as a work education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*) and police detention camp (*Polizeihäftlager*) as well as an SS special camp (*Sonderlager*). Hinzert was one of at least 8 (some sources say 20) Western camps (*Westlager*) structured the same way and was also the seat of the central command for all Polizeihäftlager on the Westwall. Hinzert and its attached Westlager reported to the Inspector of the Security Police and SD, who also was the leader of the Security Staff (Sicherungsstab) at the OT.

The Sicherungsstäbe were allocated by the Chef der Sicherheitspolizei (Sipo) to each OT building directorate. The purpose of this was to prosecute workers building the West Wall and the Reich autobahn for breaching discipline, such as failing to turn up for work, stealing from "comrades," fighting, acts of violence against superiors (*Täglichkeiten gegen Vorgesetzte*), speaking out against National Socialism, and breaches against the "principles of a sound conduct of war" (*Grundlagen einer gesunden Kriegsführung*). Workers were usually sentenced to about eight weeks of arrest at the police detention camp, but in certain cases (severe crimes or repeat offenders), they were transferred to the SS special camp for a much longer period of time. This way, Hinzert was two camps in one, and its inmates remained police prisoners who could be dragged into a camp by simple administrative decisions.

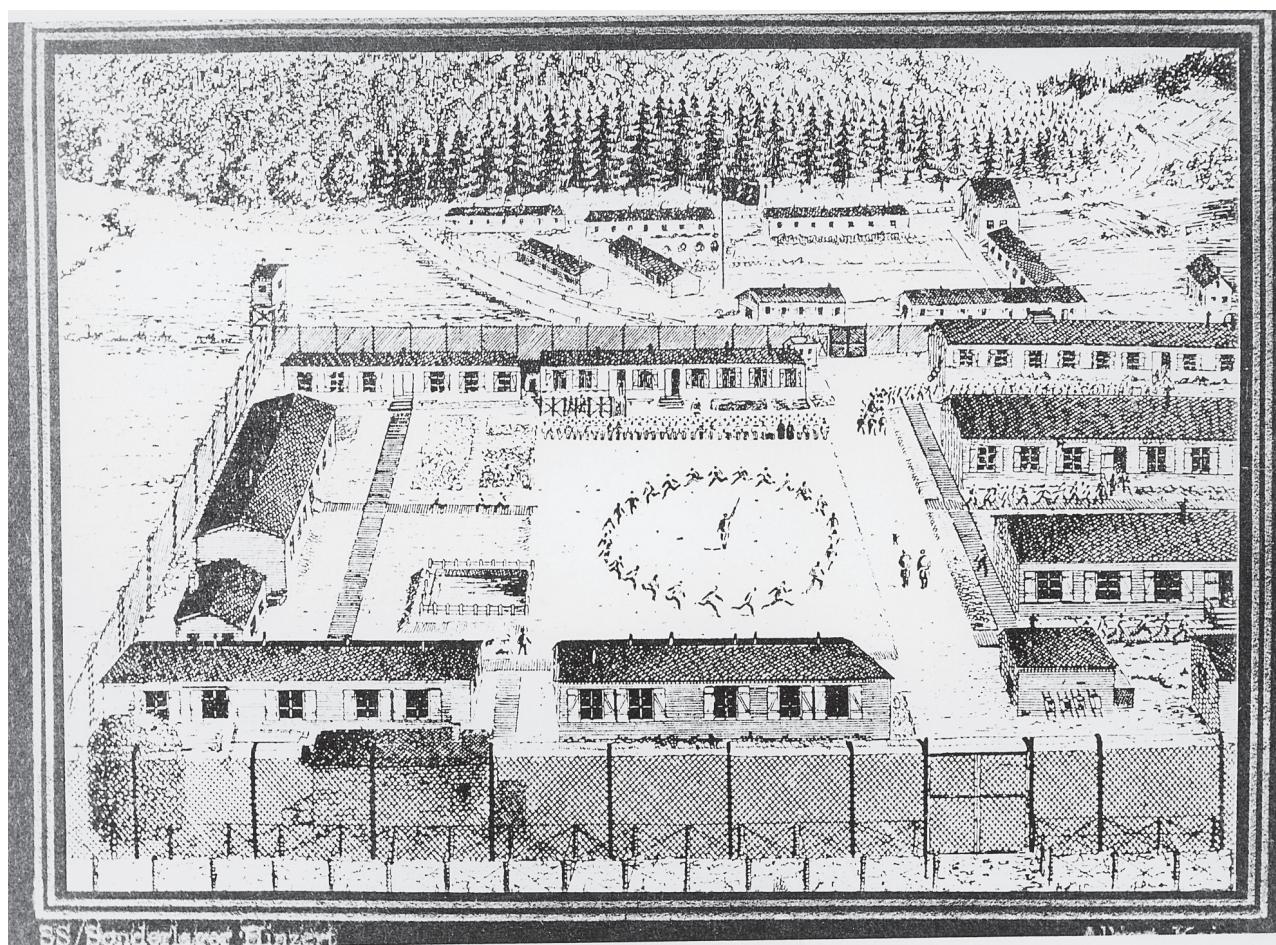
Hinzert continued its existence as a police prison even though Heinrich Himmler in December 1939–January 1940 had ordered that all camps established after the beginning of the war either be dissolved or be taken over as concentration camps. The only change was that with the movement of the OT into occupied France in July 1940, it continued as a regional police arrest camp but with a double subordination: economically, it continued to be responsible to the Sipo and thereby the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), but the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) provided the personnel. As a result, the camp, like Stutthof, could hold not only so-called police prisoners but also prisoners being investigated by police (*Untersuchungshäftlinge*) and regular "protective custody" prisoners (*Schutzhäftlinge*). In the summer of 1940, Hinzert became an "admission camp" (*Einweisungslager*) for regular protective custody prisoners and other special prisoner groups, among them political prisoners. Simultaneously, it was a remand prison and an extension of the Stapo-stelle Trier police prison and the Sipo Einsatzkommando and SD in Luxembourg. In 1941, the overwhelming majority of inmates were "loafers at work" (*Arbeitsbummelanten*), admitted by the Stapostellen Trier, Koblenz, Karlsruhe, and Saar-

brücken, but the camp began to resemble more and more a concentration camp.

On February 7, 1942, Himmler withdrew from the Stapo-stelle Trier the commercial administration of the camp and placed the camp under the control of the newly founded SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The Hinzert property continued to remain in the ownership of the farmers who leased it. Fiscally, it was under the control of the Stapo-stelle Trier. Administratively, Hinzert remained a unique case. The command structure, file systems, organization, command staff, and guards at Hinzert corresponded to all the SS-WVHA concentration camps; but instead of the Political Department II, which in the other concentration camps was responsible for prisoner interrogation, Hinzert had an autonomous Gestapo interrogation squad installed in the camp.

The Hinzert camp was located in the Hunsrück Mountains, about 30 kilometers (19 miles) to the southeast of Trier, 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) to the west of the village of Hinzert, in the Moselgau. It was located outside the village, but two public roads ran along the camp boundary. The camp was divided into two sections: The prisoners' camp(s) had an area of about 29,000 square meters (35,000 square yards). Grouped around the roll-call square were five wooden accommodation barracks, as well as an administration barracks (clothing store, dry storeroom, mortuary, baths, and quarantine room), a kitchen barracks (kitchen, stores, and mess room), the laundry, the bunker, and several storage and supply barracks. The prisoners' barracks were divided into two rooms, each of which could hold 50 inmates. The prisoners slept in double bunk beds equipped with straw sacks: between the two dormitories there were flush toilets and washbasins. There was an infirmary in the camp with about 20 beds, where three French inmate physicians worked: Dr. Chauvenet, Dr. Chabaud, and Dr. Jagello, all of them Night-and-Fog (*Nacht- und-Nebel*, NN) prisoners. The prisoners' camp was surrounded by high mesh and barbed wire. In the corners were four guards' towers equipped with strong searchlights.

The SS part of the camp consisted of two or three accommodation barracks for the more than 200 SS-Führer and guards, an administration barracks (offices, interrogation rooms), a barracks for the kitchen and canteen, and a garage with a multipurpose workshop. In addition, there were kennels and arrest cells for guards who infringed on regulations. Depending on its function and organizational structure, the Hinzert camp recruited the guards from a variety of sources. In the camp's initial phase, the guards were ordinary members of the Allgemeine-SS and OT, and former soldiers of the Reich Veterans League (Reichskriegerbund). From 1940, the guards were recruited from surrounding district defense commands (Wehrkreiskommandos). An indication of Hinzert's special position is gleaned from the fact that even



Map of Hinzert concentration camp rendered by former prisoner Albert Kaiser, 1945.
USHMM WS #70092, COURTESY OF CNR

though the camp was officially designated as an *Arbeitserziehungslager*, the responsible camp leaders, administrative personnel, and guards in Hinzert were not provided by the police, as was usual for AELs. No later than the summer of 1940, when the camp came under the control of the IKL, began a regular exchange of Hinzert's guards with the Waffen-SS Death's Heads Formations (*Totenkopfverbänden*) from other concentration camps and Waffen-SS units that had been at the front. As some of the SS members who had been called up to active service were often transferred to the SS special camps as guards, there was a high turnover rate in the guards.

For many prisoners, Hinzert was the worst camp that they experienced. Details of the living and work conditions can be obtained from the indictment against the camp commandant, Paul Sporrenberg, in 1960–1961. About 10 percent of the inmates worked in the internal prisoner detachments inside the camp itself. The others worked in many outside detachments that were deployed in the immediate vicinity of the camp, mostly doing fortification and repair work but also working in forests as well as in firms at Hinzert, Hermeskeil, and other nearby areas. Hinzert had more than 20 subcamps. In 1942–

1943, larger groups of Hinzert inmates were transferred to other camps. Beginning in the summer of 1944, the prisoners were deployed in various outside detachments in the vicinity of Hinzert, especially at airfields along the Rhine.

Hinzert was originally built for 560 prisoners; at least in the initial months of the war the camp operated at below full capacity. In 1943–1944, there were up to 1,500 prisoners in the camp; usually the numbers were between 800 and 1,200. Estimates vary strongly on the total number of prisoners who passed through the camp, varying between 9,500 and 20,000 in Hinzert and its subcamps. There were not only German inmates but inmates from just about every European country—Soviets, Poles, Belgians, Dutch, Croats, Italians, Spaniards, Czechs, French, Yugoslavs, Hungarians, and Jews of various nationalities.

According to official camp records and records of the Hermeskeil Bureau of Vital Statistics, in whose area the camp was situated, nearly 300 prisoners died in Hinzert: 18 Belgians, 53 French, 2 Dutch, 1 Croat, 64 Luxembourgers (some sources speak of 79 or 82), 41 Poles, 1 Italian, 78 Soviet Russians, 10 Germans, and 29 prisoners of other nationalities. This obviously low death count may have been caused by the fact that

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Hinzert was not only a small camp—it was also a transit camp where many inmates did not remain for very long. Official and internal dissimulation occurred, and so it is likely that a higher death toll is more realistic. A letter from the French occupation authority dated February 4, 1946, refers to around 1,000 corpses exhumed in the area around the Hinzert main camp. Not included in the number of dead in the Hinzert camp are those prisoners that were only brought to Hinzert to be executed in the camp or its immediate vicinity. Three mass executions took place: 70 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were killed in September 1941, 20 Luxembourgers in September 1942, and 23 Luxembourgers in February 1944. There are no records of any successful escape attempts from Hinzert. Recaptured prisoners were taken back to the camp and, as a rule, executed.

In Hinzert, there were a number of prisoner categories: The so-called work shy or *Arbeitserziehungshäftlinge* (*AE*) and asocials (*Asoziale*) were initially Germans admitted as police prisoners and protective custody prisoners while constructing the Westwall or the autobahn. Later, this category also included foreigners such as Luxembourgers and others but also political prisoners, who were admitted as *AE* prisoners. No one knows how many prisoners of this category Hinzert held. Another category were Luxembourg prisoners, above all political prisoners arrested for political/security reasons by the Sicherheitspolitische Einsatzkommando Luxembourg. At least 1,599 (some sources say at least 1,800) Luxembourgers were sent to Hinzert from the middle of 1941. In 1941 and 1945, Luxembourg prisoners represented between 10 and 15 percent of the camp inmates. Initially, they were not put to work but were held at the disposal of the State Police Interrogation Commission (*Vernehmungskommission*). From July 1942, they were used as labor. Then there were NN prisoners who were sent to the camp from France, Belgium, and the Netherlands from May 29, 1942 on. At least 40 NN transports arrived from France, and probably more than 2,000 French NN inmates were held at Hinzert. There were very few Jews at the Hinzert camp, including a small group from Luxembourg but also some Jews of other nationalities. Several were murdered in the camp, and others were transferred to other camps. A special category consisted of so-called E-Polen ("Eindeutschungs-Polen," Poles to be Germanized): they were Polish civilian laborers and POWs who had had illegal sexual relations with German women. Usually they were meant to undergo so-called special treatment (*Sonderbehandlung*, execution) for committing this "crime," but some of them, following a decree by Himmler in 1941, were selected to be examined to determine whether they could be Germanized. In that case, they would have to "have Nordic characteristics . . . a good appearance and . . . a very favorable character."

In 1943, Himmler ordered that the prisoners in question be transferred for six months to Hinzert, "to a department in the special camp especially established for those who were capable of being Germanized." They remained for a period of six months there while undergoing a "racial/psychological in-

vestigation." During this period, their relatives (*Herdstellenangehörigen*) also were checked by the SS-Race and Settlement Main Office (RuSHA) in Poland. In case of a positive result, they were placed on the German national list (*Volksliste*) III and would have to marry the German woman with whom they had had a relationship. E-Polen had their own rooms and mostly worked in Polish-only labor detachments, but in 1944 the so-called re-Germanization program (Wiedereindeutschungs-Programm, WED) was wound down due to the war. There is no information available regarding the number of E-Polen that Hinzert actually held. Another category of inmate specific to the Hinzert camp only were Foreign Legionnaires: Up to 1,000 former Foreign Legionnaires of German origin were deported from France via the camps in Fréjus and Chalon-sur-Saône to Hinzert in the first half of 1941 and 1942 to receive a "strict" reeducation including punishment by severe labor or—in case they were qualified for military service—to be recruited for the Afrika Korps. Since the Foreign Legionnaires fell into different categories, it is almost impossible to come to clear conclusions regarding their working and living conditions. For what was presumably only a limited time, there were youths in the "youth detachment" (*Jugendabteilung*), which was set up in April 1941 at the instigation of the Stabstelle Saarbrücken. However, it was replaced that year by the Etzenhofen-Köllerbach Arbeitserziehungslager (work education camp, AEL), which existed until 1944. From 1942 on, Hinzert also held foreign laborers from Poland, the Soviet Union, and other East European countries who had been accused of loafing or refusing to work. At the end of 1943, Hinzert became a transit camp for French foreign workers who had illegally returned to France and were now being sent back into the German Reich as well as for hostages (*Repressaliengeseljn*). It is also thought that there were political prisoners from Poland in Hinzert, including POWs and students, but little is known about them.

Hinzert was under the command of a number of commanders: The first one was SS-Sturmbannführer Hermann Pister, from October 9, 1939, to December 21, 1941. During his era, 70 Soviet POWs were murdered by the SS camp doctor (Lagerarzt) Dr. Wolter using Zyankali (prussic acid) in September 1941. Pister was transferred to the Buchenwald concentration camp at the end of 1941. When Hinzert came under the control of Buchenwald in January 1945, he once again became commandant of Hinzert. He was sentenced to death after the war for crimes committed in Buchenwald and died in Landsberg on September 28, 1948. The second commandant was SS-Sturmbannführer Egon Zill, from December 21, 1941, to May 1, 1942. After serving in Hinzert, Zill became commandant of the Natzweiler-Struthof camp. He was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1955, but later his sentence was reduced to 15 years. He died, a free man, in 1974. The third commandant was Paul Sporrenberg, from May 1, 1942, to January 1945. Sporrenberg initially had been the leader of the Vicht police and protective custody camp near Aachen, which was a subcamp of Hinzert. In the middle of 1941, he returned to Hinzert and became one of the three

protective custody leaders (Schutzhaftlagerführer), later becoming commandant of the most important Hinzert subcamp, Wittlich. At the beginning of 1942, he was once again a Schutzhaftlagerführer in Hinzert, and from April 1942, Hinzert deputy commandant. From July 25, 1942, he had full command in Hinzert. He was promoted in November 1943 to SS-Hauptsturmführer. During his command, 43 Luxembourg resistance fighters were murdered in September 1943 and February 1944. Sporrenberg was in command of up to 300 SS men. He was responsible for introducing a regime of merciless arbitrary acts and was known to set upon the prisoners with a German shepherd. He was transferred to Buchenwald in January 1945 and took over the command of the Dorndorf subcamp near Eisenach. He was only charged as an "accessory to murder" in March 1960 but died in December 1961 before his trial commenced. The last Hinzert commandant, from January 1945 to March 3, 1945, was an SS-Obersturmführer and criminal investigator from Trier whose name is unknown.

On November 21, 1944, Hinzert formally came under the jurisdiction of the Buchenwald concentration camp. There were still small groups of prisoners sent to Hinzert and its subcamps in the middle of February 1945. The Hinzert camp was dissolved on March 2 and 3, 1945, when U.S. troops reached Trier. Accompanied by a few SS men, the inmates, probably between 120 and 150, were driven on an evacuation march toward Buchenwald. Divided into small groups, they were liberated by the U.S. Army over the course of the following days. Only a few inmates had remained in the camp. As soon as the SS guards escaped from the approaching Allied troops, the prisoners went into hiding in the forests surrounding the camp and only came out of hiding after the arrival of the U.S. troops.

Between 1948 and 1960–1961, the following trials dealt with crimes committed at Hinzert:

- US Military Court, Dachau, 1946: Dr. Waldemar Wolter is sentenced to death for his crimes committed as a physician at the Hinzert and Mauthausen camps; he is hanged in 1947 in Landsberg/Lech.
- U.S. Military Court, Dachau, August 14, 1947: In the so-called Buchenwald Trial, Hermann Pister was sentenced to death by hanging. He died before he could be executed.
- The Swiss Schwurgericht Zürich, June 20 to July 6, 1948: Camp Kapo Eugen Wipf was sentenced to life in prison for "repeated murder, accessory to murder, grievous bodily harm." He died in prison on August 31, 1948.
- Military Court of the French Occupying Authority in Germany, Rastatt/Baden, June 18 to July 12 (15 members of the guard), September 1 to October 28, 1948 (including appeals to February 1949) against a former camp doctor and 21 members of

the former camp SS: Sentenced to death were SS-Unterscharführer Anton Pammer (responsible for the vegetable gardens, block leader) and SS-Unterscharführer Julius Reiss; lifelong hard labor for the SS-Schutzhaftlagerführer Untersturmführer Alfred Heinrich; lifelong forced labor for SS-Hauptscharführer Johann Schattner (stores administrator) and SS-Unterscharführer Theodor Fritz (in charge of the prisoners' card index and responsible for labor detachments); 20 years' hard labor for SS-Unterscharführer Ludwig Windisch; 3 years' hard labor for auxiliary policeman Julius Günther.

- Landgericht Mannheim, April 14, 1950, against two SS-Unterführer: SS-Oberscharführer Georg Schaaf (bricklayer and block leader, called Ivan the Terrible [Iwan der Schreckliche]) and SS-Oberscharführer Josef Brendel (Sanitätsdienstgrad [medical orderly, SDG]) for aggravated prisoner mistreatment: Brendel received 2 years 6 months' prison, and Schaaf, 10 years' prison. Schaaf later committed suicide in prison.
- Schwurgericht München, February 27, 1951: Egon Zill was sentenced to life imprisonment for murder. On appeal, the sentence was reduced to 15 years' hard labor. He died in 1974.
- Schwurgericht Trier, 1961, three trials against four former members of the camp SS in Hinzert: SS-Oberscharführer Hans Krischer, head of the infirmary, sentenced to four years and nine months' imprisonment; SS-Oberscharführer Willy Kleinhenn sentenced to two years' hard labor; SS-Sanitäter Josef Brendel and dentist Werner Fenchel (accessories to the homicide of 70 POWs), acquitted.
- Staatsanwaltschaft Trier, 1960–1961: Investigation and charges laid against Paul Sporrenberg for 10 counts of murder, 23 counts of being an accessory to murder, and in at least 6 cases, grievous bodily harm causing death. A trial did not take place as Sporrenberg died in 1961.

SOURCES The history of the Hinzert concentration camp is outlined in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:87ff; 2:710–714. Uwe Bader and Beate Welter describe the Hinzert main camp in great detail in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert, Auschwitz, Neuen-gamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 17–42. Both historians are also the authors of other publications on Hinzert: Beate Welter, "Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert und die Zwangsarbeit," in *Zwangarbeit in Rheinland-Pfalz während des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, ed. Hedwig Brüchert and Michael Matheus (Stuttgart, 2004), pp. 21–31; Beate Welter and Uwe Bader, "Luxemburger Häftlinge im SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 66–82; Beate Welter, "Die Gedenkstätte SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert," BLzL

(extra) (2005); and Uwe Bader, "Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1939–1945," in *Terror im Westen. Nationalsozialistische Lager in den Niederlanden, Belgien und Luxemburg 1940–1945*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin, 2004), pp. 249–275. Joseph de la Martinière, a former inmate, published his memoirs in French as *Mon Témoignage de déporté NN—Hinzert* (Lignières de Touraine, n.d.) and in German as *Meine Erinnerungen als NN-Deportierter—Hinzert*, ed. Landeszentrale für politische Bildung (Ingelheim, 2005). There is an incomplete and partly erroneous list of the Hinzert subcamps and OT-Polizeihaftrichter: Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten's study *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983) focuses on Luxembourg between 1940 and 1945 and the fate of the Luxembourg prisoners. Especially in the second part, there is a wealth of factual information, including a detailed description of the prisoners' accommodations (p. 390ff), the Hinzert camp regulations including punishments (from p. 371ff), and a detailed description of the history of the prisoners' infirmary (p. 406ff). Beginning on p. 613, there is a list of published and unpublished sources relating to Hinzert. An important source on the history of the camp under Commandant Sporrenberg is Albert Pütz, *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998). The indictment offers a detailed description of everyday camp life. Volker Schneider describes in his Web article "Auflösung des Konzentrationslagers 'SS-Sonderlager Hinzert' 1944/45" (PDF, n.d.) the last months of the Hinzert camp. Schneider is also the author of *Waffen-SS—SS-Sonderlager Hinzert. Das Konzentrationslager im Gau Moselland 1939–1945* (Nonnweiler-Otzenhausen, 1998). Gabriele Lotfi investigates Hinzert as part of the AELs in the Third Reich in *KZ der Gestapo: Arbeitserziehungslager im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart, 2000). The appendix provides a comprehensive list of unpublished sources in German, Dutch, and British archives. In Lotfi's "SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau," in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sibylle Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Münich, 2000), pp. 209–229, she provides comprehensive information on the early Hinzert camp. Eugen Kogon mentions the Hinzert camp in passing in his work *Der SS-Staat*, 23rd ed. (Gütersloh, 1974). Gudrun Schwarz mentions the SS-Sonderlager Hinzert and its subcamps and police camps in her work *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (1990; Frankfurt am Main, 1996); unfortunately, many of the details are either incomplete or inaccurate. Another important source is Peter Buchers, "Das SS-Sonderlager Hinzert bei Trier," *JWDLG* (1978). Eberhard Klopp analyzes the Hinzert camp with a focus on the postwar history of the camp in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 20.000* (Trier, 1983). Linus Reichlin deals with the fate of Lagerkapo Eugen Wipf in his book *Kriegsverbrecher Wipf, Eugen: Schweizer in der Waffen-SS, in deutschen Fabriken und an Schreibtischen des Dritten Reiches* (Zurich, 1994). Hinzert and its subcamps are mentioned in the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977),

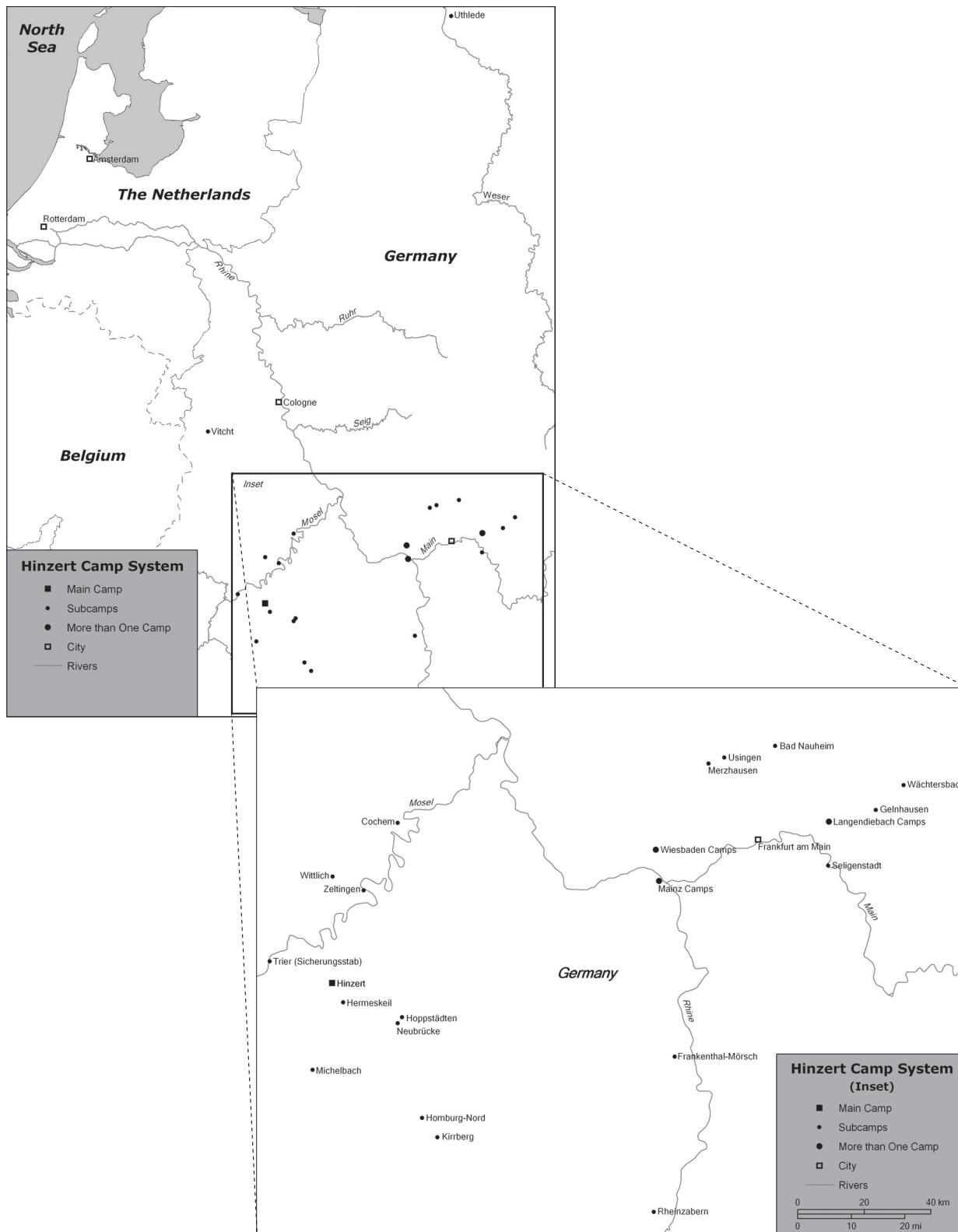
Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852. Further details on Hinzert can be found in the following: Dieter Burgard, "Förderverein: Dokumentations- und Begegnungsstätte Hinzert e.V.," *Sachor* 7 (1994); Hans-Günther Homfeldt and Helmut Pfeifer, "Gedenkstättenarbeit zum früheren SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert," *Sachor* 7 (1994); Hiltrud Kometz, *Das ehemalige KZ Hinzert* (Luxembourg, n.d.); Matthias Alexander Gerstlauer, "Das ehemalige SS-Sonderlager Hinzert im Organisations- und Machtgefüge der SS" (Master's thesis, FB III Universität Trier, 1996); Edgar Christoffel, "Ein KZ-Lager im Trierer Land: Das SS-Sonderlager Hinzert (Hunsrück)," in Christoffel, *Verfolgung und Widerstand im Trierer Land während des Nationalsozialismus* (Trier, 1983), pp. 219–249; and Volker Schneider and Helmut Peifer, *The Former SS-Special Camp/Concentration Camp at Hinzert, 1939–1945*, trans. Susan Hubert (Mainz, 1997).

Unpublished sources on the Hinzert camp are to be found in the following archives:

BA-K (NS 4, Konzentrationslager; NS 4 Hi, SS-Sonderlager Hinzert; NS 19, Persönlicher Stab RFSS; R 58, RSHA); NWHStA-(D) (Akten der Stabstellen Köln, Aachen, Düsseldorf); BA-BL (former BDC); ACNR, Luxembourg Musée de la Résistance et de la Déportation, Besançon AOC (collection Rhenanie-Palatinat, cercle de Tréves, mise sous séquestre, Hinzert, caisse 1096 and others); LHRP-Ko (Verfahrensakten gegen Hinzertler Täter vor dem Landgericht Trier; Dokumentengruppen im Zusammenhang mit den Verfahren des IMT, Nürnberg); BA-L. Files from the trials against the commandants and the Hinzert camp guards are to be found in the archives of the authorities having jurisdiction in the Swiss Department of Justice, AOC, GLA-K, and ANL, as well as in the LHRP-Ko. For a comprehensive overview on the archival sources on the Hinzert camp, see Engel and Hohengarten, *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945*, following p. 613. Roland Osstyn has published the prisoners' statements made to the Staatenwaltschaft Trier on Hinzert in *Hinzert: 4 Heft* (Brussels, 1977). Former Luxembourg prisoner Metty Barbel published his experiences in Hinzert under the title *Student in Hinzert und Natzweiler; Erlebnisaufsätze von KZ Nr. 2915 alias 2188* (Luxembourg, 1992). Hinzert is mentioned in several publications by Joseph de la Martinière, for example, in *Nuit et Brouillard à Hinzert*, 2 vols. (Tours, 1994); *Mon Témoignage de Déporté NN*, vol. 2, *Hinzert* (Lignières de Touraine, n.d.); and *La Procédure Nuit et Brouillard: Nomenclature des Déportés NN*, vol. 1, *Hinzert* (Porto-Sonneburg, 1996).

A note on the Hinzert subcamps: There are no entries in this work for several locations, either because information on them was lacking or because of the likelihood that they were work detachments, rather than proper subcamps. Those locations are: Bendorf, Farschweiler/Ferschweiler, Flughafen Rhein/Main, Fulda, Heddernheim, Hellenthal-Losheim, Lehrbach-Kirrorf, Mariahütte, Trier (Festungsdienststelle), Trier (Flughafen), Trier (OT-Oberbauleitung Trier II), and Zweibrücken.

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BAD NAUHEIM (OT-POLIZEIHAFTLAGER)

Bad Nauheim was one of at least eight Organisation Todt (OT) police custody camps (Polizeihaftlager) that were administered by the Hinzert main camp. The camp was probably set up at the end of 1939 or the beginning of 1940. The number of prisoners in the camp, as with other West Camps (Westlager) probably ranged between 300 and 400.¹ These OT-Polizeihaftlager held workers from the Westwall and the Reichsautobahn (RAB). The security offices, which were allocated to each OT building administrative unit by the Chief of the Security Police, had sentenced the workers to police custody for breaches of discipline due to failures to work, theft from comrades, fighting, assaults on foremen, disparaging statements about National Socialism, and breaches of the “basic principles of a healthy war attitude.”

The prisoners were not convicted by a court but simply put in police custody. Upon their release, they were considered as having no record of a conviction, and therefore were not regarded as “protective custody” prisoners, as the police arrest camps were not recognized as state concentration camps. The inmates remained as prisoners of the police who had been deployed to an SS special camp by a simple administrative measure.

According to historian Gabriele Lotfi, “Unlike the concentration camps where terror reigned, the police custody camps, at least initially, felt bound to follow the traditional authoritarian-military approaches used in ‘improvement institutions,’ insofar as they wanted to educate the inmates by means of discipline and training in order to release them later back into society as useful elements.”² As a rule, the prisoners were held in camps such as Bad Nauheim for only a few days or weeks but not more than three months; those held for more than three months served their time at the Hinzert main camp.

Regional authorities, district governments, building administrations, and local communities all asked for prisoners from camps such as Bad Nauheim. They wanted to use the prisoners for a variety of projects, and the prisoners were highly valued because working under police guard they arrived punctually at work and worked extremely diligently. The camp was probably dissolved in 1940 following the occupation of France, which meant that the tasks set for OT were no longer necessary.

SOURCES Gabriele Lotfi states that Bad Nauheim was administered by Hinzert in her book *KZ der Gestapo: Arbeitserziehungslager im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart, 2000). Likewise, she mentions Bad Nauheim in her article on SS-Sonderlager, “SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau,” in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), pp. 209–229.

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NOTES

1. Gabriele Lotfi, “SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau,” in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), p. 212.
2. Ibid., p. 213.

COCHEM [AKA BRUTTIG UND TREIS]

Cochem is located at the Mosel river in the former Prussian Rhine Province. It was the closest railway station to Bruttig and Treis, two villages where concentration camp inmates were kept. Bruttig and Treis were located at the opposite ends of a railway tunnel that had been built before the war but had never been put to use. In March 1944, in the context of the Jägerstab (Fighter Staff) program that dealt with securing and increasing the production of fighter planes, for instance, by relocating the production underground, plans were developed to also use the railway tunnel between Bruttig and Treis for that purpose. Therefore, a Natzweiler subcamp was erected that bore the official name of Cochem and whose inmates were accommodated in Bruttig and Treis. The camp held about 600 to 800 inmates from all over Europe who began to prepare the tunnel for the commencement of production. But already in August or September 1944, after the camps in Bruttig and Treis had been bombed by Allied planes, the camp was dissolved. Afterward, inmates of the Hinzert concentration camp were taken to Bruttig and Treis, probably to continue the construction work. But continued Allied bombing made the work impossible, and this Hinzert subcamp was finally dissolved, too.

SOURCES Due to its short existence, there is only little information on this Hinzert subcamp. Ernst Heimes has provided a comprehensive description in his research into the camps at Bruttig and Treis in his book *Ich habe immer nur den Zaun gesehen: Suche nach dem KZ-Aussenlager Cochem* (1992; repr., Koblenz, 1996). However, his research is exclusively limited to the Natzweiler period of the camp. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten have verified the existence of a Hinzert subcamp in Cochem in their book *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), but the information provided is admittedly sparse. Albert Pütz describes Cochem in his book *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998) as a Hinzert and Natzweiler subcamp. See the map reproduced on p. 277 of his volume. Incomplete details on the number of deaths in both camps during the Natzweiler period are to be found in the following publications: *Nachweisung über Grabstätten von Angehörigen der Vereinten Nationen im biesigen Amtsbezirk VG Cochem-Land, Kreis Cochem*; and *Nachweisung über Todesfälle von KZ-Häftlingen in der Gemeinde Bruttig, Kreis Cochem, Amtsbezirk Cochem-Cochem Land*. Reinhold Schommers has published two works on Cochem: “Die Last drückt immer noch,” *RZC* (ca. 1985); and *Ein Mahnmal deutscher Vergangenheit* (St. Aldegund, ca. 1985).

Archival documents relating to the Cochem subcamps

(Bruttig and Treis) are to be found mostly in the collections at ACCS. In addition, there are two newspaper articles that are devoted to the proceedings against senior officers of the Natzweiler subcamp before the Tribunal Général 1947 in Rastatt: "Die Verbrechen von Treis und Bruttig," *Tr-Vo*, August 5, 1947; and "KZ-Lager Treis und Bruttig vor Gericht," *Tr-Vo*, July 22, 1947.

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and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), pp. 209–229. Eberhard Klopp considers Frankenthal-Mörsch to be a Polizeihäftlager under the supervision of Hinzert in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983); Gudrun Schwarz mentions Frankenthal-Mörsch as a Polizeihäftlager under the administration of the Hinzert camp in her book *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990). Frankenthal-Mörsch is also listed in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

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FRANKENTHAL-MÖRSCH (OT-POLIZEIHÄFTLAGER)

Frankenthal-Mörsch in Bavaria was one of at least eight Organisation Todt (OT) police custody camps (Polizeihäftlager), which were under the supervision of the Hinzert main camp. It was first mentioned in the Hinzert camp files on July 25, 1940.

Workers from the Westwall and Reichsautobahn (RAB) were put into the OT-Polizeihäftlager once found guilty for having breached discipline requirements—lack of work compliance, theft from "comrades," involvement in fights, assault on foremen, remarks against National Socialism, breach of "principles of a healthy war leadership." "The common aim in establishing such camps was to re-educate the mostly young conscripted OT workers into a National Socialist way of life. This was to be done through supervised hard labor supplemented by a strict military drill and ideological training all in accordance with the same educational program as used by the Reich Labor Service [Reichsarbeitsdienst] and Hitler Youth."¹ As "police prisoners" the inmates were to be "re-educated" and molded into "full" members of the National Socialist community by means of hard work, physical mistreatment, brutal punishment, beatings, and arrest. As the inmates had not been convicted by a court and were only in police custody upon release, they had no criminal record.²

Prisoners with prison sentences of less than three months (often only for two weeks) were sent to the Polizeihäftlager Frankenthal-Mörsch—those with longer prison sentences were sent straight to the Hinzert main camp. The prisoners performed heavy labor on the Reichsautobahn. Frankenthal-Mörsch was mentioned for the last time in the Hinzert files on November 11, 1940. Presumably the camp was dissolved around this time or shortly thereafter in connection with the occupation of France and the subsequent new work assignments for the OT.

SOURCES The Frankenthal-Mörsch camp is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:713. Frankenthal-Mörsch is also mentioned in two publications by Gabriele Lotfi: *KZ der Gestapo: Arbeitsserziehungslager im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart, 2000); and "SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau," in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher,

NOTES

1. Gabriele Lotfi, "SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau," in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), p. 212.
2. Ibid., p. 214.

GELNHAUSEN [AKA ROTHENBERGEN BEI GELNHAUSEN]

It is not clear whether Gelnhausen was a Hinzert subcamp or a work detachment. In any case, Gelnhausen was one of a group of subcamps or work detachments that was established from the summer of 1944 onward along the Rhine Line or at nearby airfields. Gelnhausen is located in the Prussian province of Hessen-Nassau, at the foot of the Spessart. The camp was located in the vicinity of Rothenbergen near Gelnhausen.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp's or the detachment's existence as of September 1944 was mentioned for the first time in a statement made by a former prisoner.

From June to August 1945, prisoners were taken to Gelnhausen for the first time. Their number was about 20. In September, apparently a new, second camp was erected to replace the first one. This camp is referred to in ITS, based on a statement made by a former prisoner. The approximately 80 male prisoners constructed mine shafts for a bomb-secure subcommand post located at an airfield that was used for training purposes by glider pilots and Luftwaffe school squadrons of the Gau of Wiesbaden.

The prisoners were kept in corrugated iron barracks surrounded by barbed wire. The camp leader was a "grumpy 80-year-old SS man" who had a Doberman.¹ According to prisoners' statements, the ITS stated that the camp existed until the end of March 1945. More recent research indicates that the prisoners in the Gelnhausen subcamp were sent to Mannheim-Sandhofen (a Natzweiler subcamp) as early as the autumn of 1944.

SOURCES The Gelnhausen subcamp is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:710. Marcel Engel and

André Hohengarten briefly describe Gelnhausen in their book *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), p. 449. Volker Schneider refers to the withdrawal of prisoners from Gelnhausen to Mannheim-Sandhofen in the autumn of 1944 in his online publication “Auflösung des Konzentrationslagers ‘SS-Sonderlager Hinzert’ 1944/45.” Schneider is also the author of *Waffen-SS-SS-Sonderlager Hinzert. Das Konzentrationslager im Gau Moselland 1939–1945* (Nonnweiler-Otzenhausen, 1998), which refers briefly to the Gelnhausen subcamp. Albert Pütz identifies Gelnhausen as a Hinzert subcamp in a graphic overview of the subcamps and work detachments of Hinzert in his *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998). On the contrary, Eberhard Klopp characterizes Gelnhausen as a Hinzert Kommando in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983). Beate Welter describes the Gelnhausen subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert, Auschwitz, Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 45–46. Gudrun Schwarz, in her study *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), says that Gelnhausen was a Hinzert subcamp, as based on a reference to be found in the “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852. Some information on the subcamp can also be found in *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, vol. 1, *Hessen I. Regierungsbezirk Darmstadt*, ed. Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand (Frankfurt am Main, 1995).

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NOTE

1. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten, *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), p. 449.

HERMESKEIL

Hermeskeil was only a few kilometers away from the Hinzert main camp. It can therefore be assumed that the Hinzert prisoners were used primarily for external work detachments.

According to the Hinzert files, which are cited by the International Tracing Service (ITS), prisoners were used for the first time in Hermeskeil on March 23, 1940. They were deployed in a number of detachments from no later than March 23, 1940, until at least April 15, 1944, to the firm Paul Dietrich, Laubach; to the Bahnmeisterei Hermeskeil—a work detachment Flachsrostelei (flax roasting facility); to the firm Müller & Froitzheim, when constructing the Reichsautobahn; to the timber firm J.C. Dittgen KG from Schmelz/Saar, loading timber; and to the firm Peter Blaumeyer, St. Wendel, laying water pipe. In addition, a 90-man-strong Polish contingent worked at the ball-bearing factory of Ehrenreich & Co. The attempt by two prisoners to escape from this detachment during Pentecost 1943 was unsuccessful.

The last time the Hermeskeil camp is mentioned in the Hinzert files is on April 22, 1944.

SOURCES Hermeskeil appears in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:711. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten compiled a list of work detachments of Hinzert prisoners in Hermeskeil for their book *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), p. 383. Eberhard Klopp identifies Hermeskeil as a Hinzert subcamp in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983), p. 16. Gudrun Schwarz refers to Hermeskeil as a subcamp of Hinzert in her book *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990). Her statement is based on a reference to be found in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852; and in the ITS catalog.

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HOMBURG-NORD

(OT-POLIZEIHAFTLAGER)

The Organisation Todt (OT) police custody camp (Polizeihaftlager) in Homburg-Nord in the Saarland was first mentioned in the files of the Hinzert main camp on December 13, 1939. It was one of at least 8 (some sources say 20) so-called West Camps (Westlager) in which workers on the Siegfried Line and the Reichsautobahn were held for breaches of discipline, such as work absenteeism, thefts from “comrades,” fights, assaults on superiors, or statements made against National Socialism. The security staff officers who were assigned by the Chief of the Security Police to each OT construction administration carried out the prisoners’ arrest. They were held in prison for only a few days to about two weeks to a maximum of three months. Prisoners held for longer periods were held in the Hinzert main camp.

The prisoners in Homburg-Nord worked for the OT senior construction administration at Homburg and Pirmasens and for the Saarbrücken district of the OT senior construction administration at St. Wendel-Saarbrücken. Working conditions were aggravated as the “common aim in establishing such camps was to re-educate the mostly young, conscripted OT workers into a National Socialist way of life. This was to be done through supervised hard labor, supplemented by a strict military drill and ideological training. The same education program was used by the Reich Labor Service [Reichsarbeitsdienst] and Hitler Youth.”¹ Local and regional private businesses, communities, and authorities also profited from the reliable and punctual labor service provided by the prisoners, who were under constant guard. As a rule, the Westlager held between 40 and 300 prisoners.

The camp is mentioned for the last time in the camp files for September 18, 1940. At this time, the OT police custody camps were dissolved, as the invasion of France resulted in new assignments for the OT.

SOURCES The Homburg-Nord subcamp is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:713. Homburg-Nord is mentioned in two publications by Gabriele Lotfi: *KZ der Gestapo: Arbeitserziehungslager im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart, 2000), where she refers to it as an OT-Polizeihaftlager under the command of SS-Sonderlager Hinzert; and in her article on SS-Sonderlager: “SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau,” in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), pp. 209–229. Eberhard Klopp mentions Homburg-Nord as a Hinzert Polizeihaftlager in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983), p. 16. Homburg-Nord is mentioned as a Polizeihaftlager by Gudrun Schwarz in her book *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990). Her source is the “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

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NOTE

1. Gabriele Lotfi, “SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau,” in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), p. 212.

HOPPSTÄDTEN

Emergency accommodations for the prisoners of the Neubrücke subcamp were located in Hoppstädtten. After the Neubrücke subcamp was destroyed during a heavy bombing raid on January 22, 1945, the camp was relocated to Hoppstädtten. The prisoners, however, were still working in Neubrücke, repairing bomb damage and salvaging machines from their work location, the tank undercarriage plant of the Deutsche Eisenwerke.

SOURCES Volker Schneider mentions the Neubrücke camp’s relocation to Hoppstädtten in January 1945 in his online work “Auflösung des Konzentrationslagers ‘SS-Sonderlager Hinzert’ 1944/45” (pdf, n.d.), p. 18 and n.46. Gudrun Schwarz mentions Hoppstädtten as being under the administration of SS-Sonderlager Hinzert in her book *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990). That statement is based on a reference in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL.* (1977) Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

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KIRRBERG (OT-POLIZEIHAFTLAGER)

The Organisation Todt (OT) police custody camp (*Polizeihaftlager*) in the Bavarian town of Kirrberg near Zweibrücken

was administered by the Hinzert main camp. It was first mentioned in a letter written by the commandant of the SS special and police custody camps on October 11, 1940.

Prisoners were committed to the OT police custody camps by the security staff officers, who were assigned by the Chief of the Security Police to each OT construction administration. They were committed for breaches of discipline, such as work absenteeism, thefts from “comrades,” fights, assaults on superiors, or statements made against the National Socialist regime. The prisoners in Kirrberg were held for a period of between a few days and a maximum of three months. The average time was two weeks. There were probably between 40 and 300 prisoners held at Kirrberg. “The common aim in establishing such camps was to re-educate the mostly young, conscripted OT workers into a National Socialist way of life. This was to be done through supervised hard labor, supplemented by a strict military drill and ideological training. The same education program was used by the Reich Labor Service (*Reichsarbeitsdienst*) and Hitler Youth.”¹

The dissolution of the camp probably occurred after the transfer of the OT to occupied France.

SOURCES The Kirrberg camp is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), II: 714. Kirrberg is also mentioned in two publications by Gabriele Lotfi: *KZ der Gestapo: Arbeitserziehungslager im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart, 2000); and “SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau,” in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), pp 209–229. Eberhard Klopp mentions Kirrberg as a Polizeihaftlager administered by Hinzert in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983), p. 16. Gudrun Schwarz mentions Kirrberg as a Polizeihaftlager under the administration of the Hinzert camp in her book *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990). Kirrberg is also mentioned in the “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

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NOTE

1. G. Lotfi, “SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau,” in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), p. 212.

LANGENDIEBACH I AND II

The Hinzert subcamp Langendiebach was located in the Prussian province of Hessen-Nassau. Based upon a witness statement, the International Tracing Service (ITS) states that the camp was first opened in 1942 and that the male prisoners worked on an airfield.

Other statements put the camp's opening on June 13, 1944. By then, the camp would have been one of the Hinzert subcamps founded in 1944 on or close to airfields along the river Rhine. This camp, which is also referred to as Langendiebach I, was under the command of camp leader (Lagerführer) SS-Oberscharführer Nikolaus Spurk until approximately July 1944. The prisoners of the Langendiebach I subcamp worked at the Hanau military airfield, which was opened in July 1939, and were accommodated in a large wooden barrack next to the maneuvering area. The barracks was once part of a Hitler Youth camp. The camp was probably dissolved on August 18, 1944, and the prisoners taken back to Hinzert.

Langendiebach II was founded in the fall of 1944 (probably on September 10 or 13, 1944). Its camp leader was SS-Scharführer Max Zimmermann, followed at an unknown date by SS-Unterscharführer Martin. This time, two separate barracks, one for French prisoners of war (POWs) of African origin and one for Greek prisoners, had also been added next to the maneuvering area. Each of the consecutive camps held approximately 100 to 120 prisoners. More than a third of them were Luxembourgers; the others mostly Dutch, Belgian, and French inmates. For some of them, as Volker Schneider suggests, Langendiebach might have been a transit camp on their way to a deployment in other Hinzert subcamps. The inmates were guarded by Luftwaffe soldiers and Organisation Todt (OT) men who apparently were less brutal than the usual SS guards.

Mainly interceptors and night fighters were stationed at the Langendiebach airfield, but due to lack of fuel and spare parts as well as to devastating Allied air raids, which occurred almost daily, the planes remained mostly on the ground. The inmates were used to maintain the airfield and the runways and to defuse unexploded bombs. There are no reports detailing if and how many inmates died as a result of their tasks or the frequent air raids.

The subcamp was evacuated on March 25, 1945. At that time, 117 prisoners were still in the camp. They were taken by three train cars toward Bad Orb, where they were liberated by the U.S. Army on March 31, 1945. According to survivor statements, several prisoners managed to escape from the evacuation march by pretending that they were a labor detachment on their way to work.

SOURCES The Langendiebach subcamps I and II are mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:711, but without a distinction between the subcamps. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten provide the most comprehensive description of both subcamps in *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), pp. 448, 451. Volker Schneider describes the Langendiebach subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert, Auschwitz, Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 47–48. Eberhard Klopp states that Langendiebach was a Hinzert subcamp in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983). Albert Pütz depicts the Langendiebach subcamp in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert*

1940–1945: *Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998), p. 277, on a comprehensive map of all subcamps and outside details. Gudrun Scharzw in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990) states that Langendiebach was part of SS-Sonderlager Hinzert. As a source she cites the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852; and the reference in the ITS.

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MAINZ-FINTHEN [AKA FINTHEN]

Mainz-Finthen was a Hinzert subcamp located at Mainzer Höhe, a hill between the villages of Wackernheim, Drais, and Finthen, just outside the city of Mainz, Hessen Province. In the summer of 1939, a military airfield had been opened in Finthen, and this was to become the site of a Hinzert subcamp created in the summer of 1944. Mainz-Finthen therefore belonged to a group of subcamps established at that time that were located at airfields along the Rhine Line.

After an advance detachment of Poles and Luxembourgers had arrived at Mainzer Höhe from the Amersfoort camp in the Netherlands to begin preparatory work, the main group of inmates was sent on to Mainz-Finthen on September 14, 1944. It consisted of 100 inmates, mostly Dutch and Luxembourg prisoners. They had arrived by train at the Mainz-Mombach station and had walked from there the 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) to the Hinzert airfield, accompanied by SS guards. The International Tracing Service (ITS), however, sets the date the camp was erected as November 16, 1944—this is probably the date when an additional prisoner transport from Hinzert arrived in Mainz-Finthen. After the arrival of this transport, the camp had reached its maximum capacity with about 220 inmates—among them 96 Luxembourgers, 108 Dutch, 18 Italians, 3 Belgians, and 1 Frenchman, whose names are known.

The prisoners were accommodated in a few (fewer than five) barracks at the southeastern corner of the airfield. The prisoners slept on the bare ground; they had no beds but used straw mattresses to cover themselves. There was a camp library, which they were allowed to use. The hygienic conditions were poor; there was only one water faucet for the inmates, and the prisoners were plagued by lice. The medical officer of the Luftwaffe airfield was in charge of the concentration camp inmates, too, and among other things he vaccinated them against contagious diseases.

The camp leader (Lagerführer) was Nikolaus Spurk, who had gained notoriety for being an alcoholic and beating the inmates. Until October 1944, Spurk was supported by SS-Unterscharführer Weirich. From the beginning, the Luftwaffe commander of the airfield made Spurk understand that under his authority the prisoners were not to be mistreated. In March 1945, when Spurk was ordered to accompany the evacuation march of the Hinzert inmates, he was replaced by an SS-Schütze called Müller and a few weeks later by a young

SS man named Gert Gutknecht. Both of these last two were later described in prisoner statements as harmless and friendly. The remainder of the guards were elderly Austrians and young Luftwaffe pilots still in training who could no longer fly due to the lack of aircraft. Inmates report that in general they were treated nicely by their guards and that from time to time they even received supplemental food from them. Nevertheless, food was always scarce in the camp, especially due to the situation at the end of the war. The cold winter and the harsh labor conditions would have required much larger rations of food than were available to the inmates. During the last weeks of the existence of the camp, inmates therefore repeatedly left the camp and tried to steal food from the local population. There is only one reported case of death in camp: Luxembourg inmate Jean-Pierre Jungels died on November 29, 1944, from exhaustion.

The work of the male prisoners at the airport consisted mainly of filling in bomb craters, building roads and paths, cutting timber in order to camouflage the airplanes, and building underground tunnels for the construction of a bunker. During air raids, there was no shelter for the inmates of the camp, and they had to hide themselves in a nearby forest. However, according to historian Bärbel Maul, no inmates were killed during these attacks.

The camp existed until its liberation in the spring of 1945. On March 17, the Luftwaffe units left the airfield, and the inmates were to follow on March 20. Afraid that they would be killed during the evacuation march, more than 30 inmates escaped and hid in the forest, with local farmers, and in a tunnel they had dug not far from the camp. They were liberated on March 21, 1945, when U.S. troops reached the camp. About 160 inmates, however, were taken on an evacuation march toward the south, and they were only liberated on March 29, 1945, by the U.S. Army in Berstadt near Hungen.

SOURCES Bärbel Maul gives a detailed description of the Mainz-Finthen subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert, Auschwitz, Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 49–53. She is also the author of “KZ-Aussenlager Mainz-Finthen—Eine Spurenreise mit Folgen?” MGb 10 (1995–1996): 194–198. Further descriptions of the subcamp can be found in Daniela Brunner and Justus Obermeyer, “Das Aussenlager des SS-Sonderlagers/KZ Hinzert in Mainz-Finthen,” in Hans-Georg Meyer and Hans Berkessel, eds., *Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus in Rheinland-Pfalz*, vol. 2, “Für die Aussenwelt seid Ihr tot!” (Mainz, 2000), pp. 260–267; Léon Glesener, “Vers la libération et le retour. Hinzert, Kommando Mainz-Finthen,” Rappel 3–5 (1970): 151–153; Edmond Kreis, “Das Hinzterter Kommando in Mainz-Finthen,” Rappel 2 (1990): 71–72; and Heinz Leiwig, “Das Straflager Finthen,” in *Leidensstätten in Mainz 1933–1945. Eine Spurenreise*, ed. Heinz Leiwig (Mainz, 1987), pp. 81–91. The Mainz-Finthen (Finthen) subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:710. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten describe Mainz-Finthen as a Hinzert subcamp in *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), p. 464. Albert Pütz refers to Mainz-Finthen as a Hinzert subcamp on a map in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998). Eberhard Klopp states that Mainz-Finthen was a Hinzert Aussenkommando in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983). However, he probably means a subcamp. Gudrun Schwarz in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990) states that Finthen was part of Hinzert. She quotes as a source the “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852; and the ITS catalog.

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MAINZ-GUSTAVSBURG

The Mainz-Gustavsburg subcamp was established quite late in the history of the Hinzert camp system, most likely on December 6, 1944. Its erection was a direct result of repeated air raids on Mainz that had also destroyed inmates’ quarters. The labor detachments therefore had to be relocated permanently, and a new camp was erected at the Maschinenfabrik Augsburg-Nürnberg AG (MAN), on the Mainspitze in Gustavsburg, a Mainz suburb on the eastern shore of the river Rhine. The prisoners worked for MAN until their camp was dissolved or evacuated on March 19, 1945.

SOURCES The Mainz-Gustavsburg subcamp is described by Beate Welter in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert, Auschwitz, Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 53–54. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten describe Mainz-Gustavsburg briefly in *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg: Sankt Paulus, 1983), p. 464. Albert Pütz mentions Mainz-Gustavsburg as a Hinzert subcamp in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998). For further information, see also Mathias Gerstlauer, *Das SS-Sonderlager Hinzert im Organisations- und Machtgefüge der SS. Arbeit zur Erlangung des Magister Artium am FB III der Universität Trier* (Trier, 1996), as quoted by Welter.

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MAINZ-INGELHEIMERAU [AKA MAINZ-INGELHEIMER AUE]

The Hinzert subcamp at Mainz-Ingelheimerau was erected in the early summer of 1944 at a former island in the river Rhine that had been connected with the river’s western bank by landfill in the early twentieth century. From then on, it was used as an industrial area, and a number of companies were located there. In the early 1940s, the Gestapo had established a Lager Rhein (Camp Rhine), adjacent to the company of Dr.-Ing. Eugen Pfleiderer, who had developed a procedure for the manufacture of prefabricated buildings from light

concrete plates. After Wiesbaden, his second production site was Mainz-Ingelheimerau. In the camp attached to the company, a number of foreign workers were kept, mainly coming from the Soviet Union. But Pfleiderer also employed forced laborers from Belgium, the Netherlands, and France, as well as military internees from Italy. Like Mainz-Weisenau, also Mainz-Ingelheimerau, according to historian Hedwig Brüchert, served in part as a work education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*; AEL). In the early summer of 1944, on a separate part of this camp, a Hinzert subcamp was erected. Apparently, its first function was to accommodate the inmates of the Hinzert subcamp in Mainz-Weisenau, which was to be dissolved at that time. In June 1944, the inmates from Weisenau arrived at the new subcamp. Over the next months, more inmates arrived, partly from the Mainz police prison but also from Giessen and Darmstadt. Most of the inmates were Polish and Russian forced laborers, but there were also French and Dutch citizens. The average strength of the camp was about 100 inmates; the maximum was reached late in 1944 with 292 inmates, but already in December the number began to decline.

There were not enough barracks to accommodate the inmates. In the beginning, all inmates slept in one building, on the bare floor, on wood shavings. In the course of the following months, more buildings were erected, but the camp remained mainly incomplete: There were no washrooms for the inmates, and the hygienic conditions were terrible. Brüchert reports that one inmate died as a consequence of bites to his skin from rats, lice, and or bedbugs.

The inmates worked for the Pfleiderer company, producing concrete parts. They also were employed at other locations within the city of Mainz: They helped to clean up after air raids and worked at the city's slaughterhouse, at the gasworks, and in repairing the railway bridge at Ingelheimer Aue. Beside these tasks, inmates were also used in further constructing the camp. Their work conditions were exhausting, and there were permanent disagreements between Pfleiderer and the camp leaders as to where to employ the prisoners. The terrible work conditions, malnutrition, insufficient accommodation and hygienic conditions as well as mistreatment by guards led to a number of deaths in the camp. The first camp leader (Lagerführer), Klein, personally killed two inmates: one was shot during an attempt to escape, the other because he was to be taken to a hospital. SS-Oberscharführer Friedrich Köhler, who became the camp leader in July 1944, also killed a number of prisoners. There was no infirmary in the camp. An inmate without medical expertise was in charge of treating the sick, but according to Brüchert, German physician Dr. Regner, who took care of the workers in the forced laborers' camp, repeatedly volunteered to take care of the inmates of the Hinzert subcamp and AEL, too.

In December 1944, the camp suffered severe damage during an air raid. Apparently, the prisoners were still kept at Ingelheimer Aue afterward, and the camp was only evacuated in mid-March 1945, the inmates probably taken to the AEL at

Frankfurt-Heddernheim. Most likely, 31 Soviet inmates who were too weak to be taken on the evacuation march were shot near the camp on that occasion.

In 1947, SS guard Karl Lippelt and Paul Vollrath were tried by a French military tribunal for crimes committed at the Mainz-Ingelheimerau camp: Lippelt was sentenced to three and Vollrath to five years of prison. Pfleiderer and his wife had to face denazification and were sentenced in 1948 to four years of labor camp and the loss of a part of their property. In 1950, the sentence was commuted: Pfleiderer's services as a supplier of concrete parts were badly needed in reconstructing Germany.

SOURCES Hedwig Brüchert gives a detailed description of the Mainz-Ingelheimer Aue subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert, Auschwitz, Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 54–57. A further reference to the subcamp Mainz-Ingelheimerau is in Volker Schneider's online article "Auflösung des Konzentrationslagers 'SS-Sonderlager Hinzert' 1944/45" (PDF, n.d.)

Archival sources on the subcamp can be found especially at Spruchkammerakte Pfleiderer, in HHStA-(W), Bestand 520 BW, Nr. 2838–39. For trials against guards and other people in charge in the camp, see Urteilsbegründung des Schwurgerichts bei dem Landgericht in Darmstadt, 22.8.1949, in HStA-D, Bestand H 13 Darmstadt Nr. 915 (evacuation march of the inmates); and AOC, Colmar, Dossier de jugement de Karl Lippelt, call number AJ 1640, and Dossier de jugement de Paul Vollrath, call number AJ 3654. For a trial against camp leader Köhler, see Heinrich Pingel-Rollmann, *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Darmstadt und der Provinz Starkenburg 1933–1945* (Darmstadt, 1985), p. 411 n. 62. For his crimes committed at the Mainz-Ingelheimerau subcamp, Köhler was never put on trial.

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MAINZ-WEISENAU

The history of the Hinzert subcamp at Mainz-Weisenau is very complex, mainly due to the fact that there were a number of camps existing at Mainz-Weisenau whose histories were closely intertwined.

The subcamp was located on the grounds of the Portland-Zementwerke (Portland Cement Factory), where the Darmstadt Gestapo had already erected a work education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*; AEL) in 1941 or 1942. In June 1944, the inmates of this camp were relocated to the Mainz-Ingelheimerau camp. Historian Hedwig Brüchert provides two explanations as to why the Weisenau camp was dissolved: According to a statement by the head of the Darmstadt Gestapo, Fritz Gierke, the poor food supply was one reason. More relevant, however, according to Brüchert, were plans to relocate the armament production of the Maschinenfabrik Augsburg-Nürnberg (MAN) factory in Mainz-Gustavsberg underground. The factory was threatened by frequent air raids, and therefore plans were developed to relocate parts of

the production process to tunnels that were to be dug in the quarry of the Portland-Zementwerke at Mainz-Weisenau. Since this project was considered top secret, the AEL had to be relocated, and the prisoners were replaced by inmates from Hinzert.

It is not exactly clear when the Mainz-Weisenau camp was erected. The camp is mentioned in the Hinzert files for the first time on November 14, 1944, but apparently inmates were already in the camp before that date. Their task was to dig tunnels, working closely with German miners and engineers (*Pioniere*). This task was extremely dangerous, and there were a number of accidents in which inmates died. According to Brüchert, two Belgians and one French inmate were killed on September 15, 1944, and also a number of Russian inmates. The camp leader at that time, until Christmas 1944, was SS-Unterscharführer Brandenburg. He was then transferred to the Flossenbürg concentration camp. It is unclear if the Mainz-Weisenau camp was completely dissolved at that time.

At the end of December 1944, however, new inmates were sent from Hinzert to Mainz-Weisenau. Mainly they were Luxembourgers, Poles, and Russians, and some of them had been in the Gelnhausen, Seligenstadt, and Mainz-Gustavsburg camps before. They were accommodated in a barrack at the Weisenau quarry, equipped with beds and mattresses, but they had no shelter in the case of air raids. According to Brüchert, none of these inmates worked at digging the tunnels, but they were taken daily to Mainz-Ingelheimerau, where they had to shovel coal at the local gasworks, which had been significantly damaged during an air raid. In mid-January, the prisoners' barrack was destroyed during another air raid. Thanks to an SS guard who had promised the inmates that, in case of an air raid, he would open the gates so that they could escape to the banks of the river Rhine, the inmates escaped death. Some of them were now sent to Mainz-Gustavsburg, while the others were taken permanently to Mainz-Ingelheimerau.

At Mainz-Weisenau only the camp that was erected in the underground tunnels remained. It was considered to be an AEL and held German and foreign prisoners who were sent to the camp from the Mainz police prison. Some of the prisoners were employed in preparing the tunnels for the underground production, while others helped to dig a tunnel at Karl-Weiser-Strasse in Mainz where a bunker for the city commandant of Mainz was to be erected.

It is unclear when the last Hinzert inmates left the Mainz-Weisenau subcamp. According to a survivor statement, the AEL was to be dissolved and evacuated to the AEL at Frankfurt-Heddernheim. Rumors stated that the last 30 to 40 inmates were to be blown up in a railway car stationed at a railway bridge, but this never took place. On March 22, 1945, the last remaining inmates of the Mainz-Weisenau subcamp were liberated by the Americans.

SOURCES Hedwig Brüchert gives a detailed description of the Mainz-Weisenau subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert, Auschwitz, Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 58–60. For

further literature on the camp, see Matthias Gerstlauer, *Das SS-Sonderlager Hinzert im Organisations- und Machtgefüge der SS. Arbeit zur Erlangung des Magisters Artium am FB II der Universität Trier* (Trier, 1996); and Heinz Leiwig, "Die Straflager in den Portland-Zementwerken Mainz-Weisenau 1941–1945," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte Weisenaus* (Mainz, 2001), 2:75–94. Information on the Weisenau camps can also be found in Dieter Ertl, *Alternativer Stadtführer. Zu den Stätten des Faschismus in Mainz 1933–1945*, ed. DGB Kreis Mainz-Bingen (Mainz, 1998), p. 25.

The Mainz-Weisenau subcamp is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:711. Albert Pütz names Mainz-Weisenau as a Hinzert subcamp in *Das SS-Sonderlager/K Z Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998), p. 277. Volker Schneider's online article "Auflösung des Konzentrationslagers 'SS-Sonderlager Hinzert' 1944/45" (PDF, n.d.) states that Mainz-Weisenau was one of the last Hinzert subcamps. Gudrun Schwarz in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990) states that Mainz-Weisenau was a Hinzert labor detail. The "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852, also states that Mainz-Weisenau was a Hinzert labor detail.

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MERZHAUSEN

There has been little research on the Hinzert subcamp at Merzhausen near Usingen in the Prussian province of Hessen-Nassau. The Merzhausen prisoners worked at an airfield in the Taunus Mountains between the villages of Merzhausen, Hausen-Arnsbach, and Wilhelmsdorf. The airfield had been erected in 1937 as a reserve airfield of the Luftwaffe and had been in operation since November 1939. The Führer's headquarters "Adlerhorst" was located in nearby Ziegenberg/Wiesental, and beginning in the fall of 1940, the Führer's courier echelon was situated at the Merzhausen airfield. In the spring of 1944, Merzhausen became an active airport for defense purposes, and the runways had to be extended to accommodate the more modern, more technologically advanced fighter planes. Therefore, Merzhausen was one of the numerous Hinzert subcamps that arose from the summer of 1944 on, when prisoners who were capable of work were no longer sent to the larger concentration camps but to the newly formed subcamps and work detachments that were located, above all, along the Rhine, on or near airfields.

The first inmates to be relocated to Merzhausen left Hinzert on June 14, 1944. The transport consisted of 30 inmates from Luxembourg who were accommodated in Merzhausen in a wooden barrack at the northeast corner of the airfield. They were guarded by older Luftwaffe soldiers and promised that they would be treated decently but severely punished for every attempt to escape. But only a few weeks later, when SS-Unterscharführer Windisch arrived from

Hinzert to become the camp commander, a regime of terror was established. The working conditions of the inmates were very hard; many of them were already too emaciated to be able to fulfill the physically demanding labor of extending the runways. Inmates considered to be incapable of work were transferred to Mauthausen; out of nine inmates of the Merzhausen subcamp sent to Mauthausen, seven died.

The remaining 21 Luxembourg inmates were evacuated on August 18, 1944, via Neubrücke-Hoppstädtten to Hinzert; 17 of them were later taken to the airfield at Mainz-Finthen to work there. By the end of the war, they were evacuated to Buchenwald. On the way there, they were liberated by the U.S. Army.

SOURCES Bernd Vorlaeufer-Germend, based on extensive research, describes the Merzhausen subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert, Auschwitz, Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 61–63. The Merzhausen subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:712. Albert Pütz mentions Merzhausen in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998) in the context of a geographical review (p. 277) as a Hinzert subcamp. Gudrun Scharwz in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990) states that Merzhausen was part of Hinzert. She quotes as a source the “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

Archival sources on the Merzhausen subcamp can be found at BA-B, NS 4 Hi/8.

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MICHELBACH (SCHMELZ)

The Hinzert subcamp in the Saarland town of Michelbach (Schmelz) is mentioned for the first time on August 12, 1940, in a letter from the company Betting Hartsteinwerke GmbH, Saarbrücken.

The Michelbach prisoners worked for the company Lenhard in Saarbrücken in a quarry in Michelbach belonging to the Betting Hartsteinwerke. Their camp was located near today's Schattentrieschsiedlung.

SOURCES A very short mention of the Michelbach camp by Beate Welter can be found in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert, Auschwitz, Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), p. 63. The camp is also mentioned in *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, ed. Studienkreis deutscher Widerstand (Frankfurt am Main, 1995). The Michelbach (Schmelz) subcamp is further mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:712. Albert Pütz erroneously lists the Hinzert subcamp as Michelstadt in a geographic overview included in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt

am Main, 1998). Gudrun Schwarz states in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt, 1990) that Michelbach was part of Hinzert.

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NEUBRÜCKE [AKA NEUBRÜCKE-HOPPSTÄDTEN, NEUBRÜCKE/NAHE]

Neubrücke was a Hinzert subcamp established in April 1944. It was formed at a time when Hinzert concentration camp prisoners were no longer being shunted into the larger concentration camps but were assigned to “outside details” or “subcamps.”

Neubrücke is located on the Nahe River in the Prussian Rhine province, at the railway line between Saarbrücken and Bingerbrück. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the first mention of the camp is to be found in the Hinzert files on July 17, 1944. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten also state that the Neubrücke subcamp was first mentioned on July 17, 1944. But already by April 27, 1944, prisoners from Hinzert had been stationed in Neubrücke-Hoppstädtten to help erect a branch factory of the Deutsche Eisenwerke AG (German Iron Work, DEW). DEW at that time was to produce the SdKfz 251—a lightly armored half-tracked vehicle that had the advantage of being lighter and much more efficient than fully tracked vehicles. In the Neubrücke factory, components were to be premontaged before being delivered to the Duisburg main factory to be finished. The machines for this future plant had been requisitioned and dismantled in France. Also involved in this project were Italian military internees (IMIs) who were most likely accommodated elsewhere. As soon as the Neubrücke factory was erected, beginning in July–August 1944, the prisoners were given two new job assignments: some began to work in the factory, producing the vehicles, while the others were taken to erect another armament plant in the neighboring Steinau valley. Due to the harsh work conditions—the prisoners had to redirect the Steinau creek here and do construction work in a swamp—this work detachment was considered the worst in the subcamp.

The camp was located on the street from Neubrücke to Birkenfeld, and the barracks were set up along the railway tracks. The roughly 200 prisoners—Luxembourgers, Poles, Dutch, Italians, and most likely also French, Belgians, Ukrainians, Russians, and Serbs—were housed in four large barracks. The camp was fenced, but since there were no searchlights and guard towers, the prisoners were locked up at night in their barracks. Originally, the guards came from the Hinzert main camp; among them were also Flemish and Czech SS men. The camp commander was SS-Oberscharführer Rüsch. Subsequently, the SS guards returned to Hinzert and were replaced by police forces, first a police unit from Trier and later on local policemen. From early January 1945 on, there were no more Hinzert SS men in the Neubrücke subcamp.

By the end of 1944, the subcamp and the armament plant were bombed. On January 22, 1945, the camp was severely damaged during an air raid, and the prisoners were taken to a temporary camp in the neighboring village of Hoppstädt. In March 1945 the camp was dissolved. On March 16, the prisoners were taken in the direction of Kusel but then returned to Hoppstädt. Here they were liberated by U.S. troops on March 18, 1945.

SOURCES Volker Schneider gives a detailed description of the Neubrücke-Hoppstädt subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert, Auschwitz, Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 64–65. He is also the author of two Internet publications, “Aufbau, Betrieb und Abwicklung des Nebenlagers Neubrücke des KZ ‘SS-Sonderlager Hinzert’ 1944/45,” (PDF, 2001), www.gymherm.net/07_angebote/Projekte/hinzert/downloads_hinzert/KZ_NL_Neubruecke.pdf, which contains a lot of detailed information; and “Auflösung des Konzentrationslagers ‘SS-Sonderlager Hinzert’ 1944/45” (PDF, n.d.). The Neubrücke subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:712. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten describe the Neubrücke subcamp comprehensively in *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), from p. 460. Albert Pütz depicts the subcamp Neubrücke-Hoppstädt as a Hinzert subcamp in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998) on a map (p. 277). Eberhard Klopp states that Neubrücke was a Hinzert “outside detail” in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983). Gudrun Schwarz states in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990) that Neubrücke was part of Hinzert. Among other sources she quotes the “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

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RHEINZABERN (OT-POLIZEIHAFTLAGER)

The Organisation Todt (OT) police custody camp (Polizeihaftlager) Rheinzabern was located close to the city of Germersheim in Bavaria. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), it is first mentioned in the camp files on April 26, 1940. The last reference to the camp, according to a member of the camp’s staff, was in 1941. The prisoners in the Rheinzabern Polizeihaftlager were OT workers laboring for the OT Senior Construction Administrations (OBL) Landau-Speyer and Freudenstadt.

OT-Polizeihaftlager were established to punish OT workers on the Siegfried Line and the Reichsautobahn (RAB) for breaches of discipline. These breaches included work absenteeism, theft from “comrades,” fights, assaults on superiors, statements made against National Socialism, and generally all violations against the “principles of a healthy war conduct.” The security staff officers, which were allocated by the Chief of the Security Police (Sipo) to each OT construction admin-

istration, sentenced the OT workers to police custody. They were transferred to the camp by the State Police (Stapo). The usual period of imprisonment was from between two weeks to a maximum of three months: longer periods of imprisonment were served in the concentration and Hinzert main camp, which provided prisoners for all OT police custody camps in the area.

During their time in custody, the prisoners were to be reformed to become “useful members” of the “National Socialist people’s community” “through supervised hard physical labor complemented by a stringent military drill and ideological training in the sense of a National Socialist way of life.”¹

As with other OT police custody camps that stood along the Siegfried Line, one can assume that there was heavy demand for the prisoners’ labor. Regional and local firms, authorities, communities, building administrations, and district authorities profited from the use of the prisoners, who worked under heavy police guard until they were exhausted. The dissolution of the camp was probably connected with the transfer of the OT into occupied France, where it was allocated new tasks.

SOURCES The Rheinzabern subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:714. Gabriele Lotfi mentions Rheinzabern in her study *KZ der Gestapo: Arbeitserziehungslager im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart, 2000) and in her article “SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau,” in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), pp. 209–229. Eberhard Klopp defines Rheinzabern as a “police custody camp under Hinzert” in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983), p. 16. Gudrun Schwarz in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990) refers to Rheinzabern as a police custody camp, as does the “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

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NOTE

1. Gabriele Lotfi, “SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau,” in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur Nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), p. 212.

SELIGENSTADT

The Hinzert subcamp at Seligenstadt was probably opened on September 22, 1944. Prisoners from Hinzert were taken to the Mainflingen-Zellhausen airfield (other sources: the Langendiebach airfield), where they refueled and maintained an installation that provided wood gas for the generators

installed on the trucks of a Luftwaffe unit. The prisoners were accommodated in a gymnasium (other sources: a barracks); there were Poles and Belgians in addition to Luxembourgers. The inmates were guarded by Luftwaffe soldiers. The camp was probably dissolved by December 2, 1944.

SOURCES Beate Welter describes the Seligenstadt subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert, Auschwitz, Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 66–67, but her description differs from the details provided by Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten in *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg: Sankt-Paulus, 1983), p. 463. The camp is also mentioned in Volker Schneider, *Waffen-SS—SS-Sonderlager "Hinzert." Das Konzentrationslager im "Gau Moselland" 1939–1945* (Nonnweiler-Otzenhausen, 1998). Albert Pütz lists Seligenstadt as a subcamp of the Hinzert concentration and SS-Sonderlager in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1998), p. 277.

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TRIER (SICHERUNGSSTAB)

The subcamp Trier, Sicherungsstab (Security Staff), at Martinerfeld Strasse 61 is one of the early Hinzert subcamps. Security staff officers were assigned by the Chief of the Security Police to each Organisation Todt (OT) Senior Construction Administration (OBL) in order to punish breaches of discipline by workers—absenteeism, thefts from “comrades,” fights, assaults on superiors, statements against National Socialism, and generally all violations of the “principles of a healthy war conduct.”

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the subcamp Trier, Sicherungsstab, was mentioned for the first time in the Hinzert files on June 2, 1940. The most recent research seems to point to a later date, but before June 1941.

SOURCES The Trier, Sicherungsstab, subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:712. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten briefly mention Trier, Sicherungsstab, in *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), p. 383. Eberhard Klopp states that Trier I and Trier II were Hinzert “outside details” in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983). However, it is unclear which subcamps are meant by this description. Albert Pütz refers to four Trier subcamps of Hinzert in a map on p. 277 in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998). Gudrun Schwarz in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990) states that Trier, Sicherungsstab, was part of Hinzert. The Trier, Sicherungsstab, is also listed as an outside detail in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

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USINGEN

The Usingen subcamp of the Hinzert concentration camp system, located at the base of the Taunus Mountains, was established on June 14, 1944. It was one of a series of Hinzert subcamps and labor details that were formed mostly along the Rhine from the summer of 1944.

The Usingen subcamp was based on a former airport for glider training. Some 30 prisoners were to upgrade the field for larger airplanes.

The prisoners were accommodated in a barracks running parallel to the road to Usingen. Each barracks was divided into two rooms. The prisoners slept on the upper level in beds with clean linen. The guards were reservists (probably from the Luftwaffe); SS guards were seldom present.

There were several political prisoners in the Usingen subcamp. They were taken back by SS members to Hinzert. These prisoners died there or in other camps to which they were sent from Hinzert.

The Usingen subcamp was dissolved after only two months on August 18, 1944.

SOURCES The only reference to this subcamp is to be found in Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten’s book, *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück* (Luxembourg: Sankt-Paulus, 1983), p. 456.

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UTHLEDE (OT-POLIZEIHAFTLAGER)

[AKA UTTLEDE]

An Organisation Todt (OT) police custody camp (Polizeihaftlager) subcamp of the Hinzert main concentration camp was located in Uthlede near Wesermünde in the Prussian province of Hannover. The camp files refer to the camp for the first time on April 26, 1940. The police prisoners held here were workers of the OT Senior Construction Administration (Oberbauleitung, OBL) in Bremen. They were interned for a variety of disciplinary offenses—mainly work absenteeism, thefts from “comrades,” fights, assaults on superiors, statements against National Socialism, and the like. They were interned for a maximum of three months. Prisoners with longer sentences were held at Hinzert.

Police custody camps came into being at the end of 1939 in order to deal with the growing disciplinary problems during the construction of the West Wall and the Reichsautobahn (RAB). “The common aim in establishing such camps was to re-educate the mostly young, conscripted OT workers into a National Socialist way of life. This was to be done through supervised hard labor, supplemented by a strict military drill and ideological training. The same education program was used by the Reich Labor Service [Reichsarbeitsdienst] and Hitler Youth.”¹ The prisoners were regarded as “pupils” (*Zöglinge*). Since their internment was not the result of any judgment sentence, they had no criminal record after their release.

As with other so-called West Camps (*Westlager*), one can assume that in Uthlede the number of prisoners was between 40 and 300 and that the prisoners possibly worked for local and regional construction projects in addition to their work for OT. Private enterprises, public authorities, and communities often had a great interest in the reliable, cheap labor of the prisoners who could be exploited until complete exhaustion. Presumably, Uthlede was dissolved during the course of 1940 or at the latest in 1941 when the OT was transferred to occupied France, where it undertook new assignments.

SOURCES The Uthlede camp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:713. Gabriele Lotfi describes Uthlede and other OT-Polizeihäftlager in her book *KZ der Gestapo: Arbeitserziehungslager im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart, 2000) as well as in her essay “SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau,” in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), pp. 209–229. Eberhard Klopp states that Uthlede was a Polizeihäftlager in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983), p. 16. Gudrun Schwarz in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990) states that Uthlede was a Polizeihäftlager under the administration of the SS-Sonderlager Hinzert. The Polizeihäftlager Uthlede is mentioned in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

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NOTE

1. Gabriele Lotfi, “SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau,” in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur Nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), p. 212.

VICHT (OT-POLIZEIHAFTLAGER)

The Organisation Todt (OT) police custody camp (Polizeihäftlager) Vicht was located in the Prussian town of Gressenich (Rhine Province) close to Aachen. It is mentioned for the first time by the head of the OT Security Office Wiesbaden in a letter dated December 5, 1939. It was closed in the middle of 1941. According to a statement by the commandant of the Hinzert main camp, all remaining Vicht prisoners were transferred to Hinzert. The prisoners in Vicht had worked for the OT Senior Construction Administration (Oberbauleitung, OBL) in Aachen, Düren, Bonn, and Geldern.

Vicht was solely an OT camp. Prisoners were interned there for three to four weeks for minor infractions—work absenteeism, insubordination, or theft from “comrades.” Those sentenced for longer periods were held in the Hinzert camp.

The Vicht camp was about 50 × 50 meters (55 × 55 yards). It had a capacity for 320 prisoners. There were three small accommodation barracks in which an average of 50 to 60 (up to a maximum of 80) prisoners were held; there was a guards’ barrack. The guards consisted of between 10 and 22 SS members (SS noncommissioned officers and other ranks).¹ The camp commandant was Paul Sporrenberg who later became infamous as the Hinzert commandant. In 1960–1961, the Trier public prosecutor’s office initiated investigations against Sporrenberg; however, he died in 1961 before proceedings commenced.

SOURCES The Vicht camp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:714. In connection with a description of Paul Sporrenberg’s career, Albert Pütz provides a short description of the Vicht camp, which he categorizes as a “police custody and protective custody camp” in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998). Gabriele Lotfi mentions Vicht in *KZ der Gestapo: Arbeitserziehungslager im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart, 2000) as well as in her essay “SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorsystem: Die Entstehung von Hinzert, Stutthof und Soldau,” in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), pp. 209–229. Eberhard Klopp states that Vicht was a Polizeihäftlager in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983), as does Gudrun Schwarz in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990). The camp is mentioned in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

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NOTE

1. These details are from Albert Pütz, *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998), pp. 51, 107.

WÄCHTERS BACH

The subcamp Wächtersbach in the Prussian province of Hessen-Nassau is referred to for the first time on September 12, 1944, in International Tracing Service (ITS) documentation, based on a witness statement. According to at least one other source, it was a subcamp of the Hinzert subcamp Langendiebach. The prisoners worked for the company Karl Budde, Dampfsäge und Hobelwerk (Steam Saw and Planing Mill), in Wächtersbach. The last reference to the subcamp is on March 23, 1945.

Beate Welter states in *Ort des Terrors* that the prisoners kept in Wächtersbach were “E-Polen” (Eindeutschungs-Polen, Poles to be “Germanized”) who had had forbidden sexual contacts with German women and were now tested and tried for a potential “Germanization.” E-Polen were a special

category of concentration camp inmates who were only found in the Hinzert camp. According to Welter, the inmates worked in a private enterprise, building barracks and sheds (*Hallen*). It is unclear if she refers to the Karl Budde enterprise.

SOURCES Beate Welter gives a short description of the Wächtersbach subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert, Auschwitz, Neuen-gamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), p. 69. The camp is also mentioned in *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945, Hessen I. Regierungsbezirk Darmstadt*, ed. Studienkreis deutscher Widerstand (Frankfurt am Main, 1995). The Wächtersbach subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:713. Eberhard Klopp states that Wächtersbach was a Langendiebach subcamp in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier: Éditions Trèves, 1983), p. 16. Albert Pütz states that Wächtersbach was a Hinzert subcamp in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1998), p. 277. Gudrun Schwarz in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt: Campus, 1990) states that Wächtersbach was part of Hinzert.

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des Konzentrationslagers ‘SS-Sonderlager Hinzert’ 1944/45” (PDF, n.d.). Wiesbaden is also mentioned in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL*. (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852. Because the reference is based on the ITS, it refers most likely to the Wiesbaden-Erbenheim subcamp.

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NOTE

1. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten, *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), p. 350.

WIESBADEN-UNTER DEN EICHEN [AKA WIESBADEN]

On March 20, 1944, a work detachment of 57 skilled Luxembourg craftsmen was sent from Hinzert to Wiesbaden. Their task was to erect *Ausweichquartiere* (temporary quarters) for Police and SS offices that were either threatened or destroyed by Allied bombing raids in Wiesbaden. Already a few weeks earlier, inmates of the Wiesbaden police prison had prepared accommodations for these inmates on the grounds of the former *Festplatzgelände* (fair grounds) of the city Unter den Eichen.

The contingent was increased in numbers in September 1944 by an additional 19 Luxembourg prisoners who had previously been dismantling airplanes in Gelnhausen. Altogether, there were almost 100 prisoners in the Wiesbaden-Unter den Eichen subcamp, including 76 Luxembourgers, a few Dutch and French, 1 Belgian, and 1 German prisoner. The camp elder was Nicolas Braun. Other sources state that in November 1944 a second group of about 100 prisoners, mostly Dutchmen, arrived in the camp.¹

The prisoners worked for the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei (Waffen-SS and Police Building Inspectorate) and renovated a former tournament barrack; they built air-raid shelters and large barracks for SS offices as well as accommodations for female auxiliary communication officers of the Luftwaffe, the so-called Blitzmädel. The prisoners worked 12 hours daily, not only on the camp grounds but also in a few Wiesbaden tradesmen’s stores, in the neighboring Café Ritter, and at the Erbenheim airfield. They were deployed in cleanup operations after air raids and, after February 1945, in loading trucks with incriminating files. They had to help in the burning of those files outside the city. A few prisoners from the subcamp worked in the house and garden of Jürgen Stroop in Wiesbaden, Nerotal 46; the original Jewish owner of the house had been expelled from Wiesbaden. Stroop at that time was Höherer-SS und Polizeiführer Rhein/Westmark, SS-Brigadeführer, and had become notorious as the SS commander who suppressed the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in April and May 1943.

WIESBADEN-ERBENHEIM

[AKA WIESBADEN-FLIEGERHORST, ERBENHEIM]

Starting in the summer of 1944, Hinzert prisoners who were capable of work were no longer sent on transports to the larger concentration camps. Instead, they were deployed in outside details, especially at airfields along the Rhine Line.¹ One example is the use of Hinzert prisoners at the subcamp at Wiesbaden Air Base (Fliegerhorst) Erbenheim, whose existence is confirmed in an official report held in International Tracing Service (ITS) files. The prisoners held in this camp were mainly Luxembourgers.

SOURCES The Wiesbaden-Erbenheim subcamp is referred to as “Wiesbaden” (with reference to the Erbenheim airfield) in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:713. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten refer to a Wiesbaden subcamp in *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), pp. 350, 443. However, they make no specific reference to the Erbenheim air base, so it is likely that they refer to the Wiesbaden-Unter den Eichen camp. Albert Pütz refers to a Wiesbaden-Erbenheim camp in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998). Eberhard Klopp refers to a Wiesbaden camp in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier: Édition Trèves, 1983), but without providing details. Volker Schneider mentions the Wiesbaden Fliegerhorst Erbenheim camp in his online publication “Auflösung

Although the work was hard, living conditions were in general more bearable than at Hinzert. The camp leader, SS-Unterscharführer (other sources: Hauptscharführer) Theodor Fritz, is described by the prisoners as distant and initially strict. However, his demeanor softened after the prisoners demonstrated their discipline and willingness to work and as the end of the war got closer. After the war, a few prisoners described the police guards as "distinctly humane."

The camp consisted of five simple wooden barracks without any insulation. They were separated from the nearby SS and police offices as well as Café Ritter by a simple barbed-wire fence. The camp guards were from the Order Police (Orpo); during work the prisoners were guarded by the SS.

The camp food came from the kitchen of the Wiesbaden police. Sometimes the head cook of the camp, the butcher Jean Pirotte, was able to supplement the food with meat from horses or sheep killed during bombings. Additional food deliveries and medicines were supplied by the owner of the Café Ritter, Elisabeth Ritter, and her future husband Josef Speck. The couple also arranged mail deliveries for prisoners (which was prohibited) and also arranged for the prisoners to be visited by family members (which was also strictly prohibited).

Six Luxembourg prisoners died during an air raid on Wiesbaden on December 18, 1944. They were buried in the city's southern cemetery, and their remains were repatriated after the war.

The SS withdrew from Unter den Eichen on March 24, 1945. A few prisoners were able to escape from the planned evacuation march to Frankfurt-Heddernheim and were hidden by Wiesbaden citizens. The evacuated prisoners were to be shot by the SS in Heddernheim, but the detachment leader, Polizeileutnant Hertert, was able to prevent the killings. While the evacuation march continued northeast, more prisoners were able to flee. The remaining prisoners were liberated by U.S. soldiers.

SOURCES Bärbel Maul and Axel Ulrich describe the Wiesbaden-Unter den Eichen subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert, Auschwitz, Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 69–72. Both are also the authors of *Das KZ-Aussenkommando*. "Unter den Eichen," ed. Magistrat der Landeshauptstadt Wiesbaden-Stadtarchiv (Wiesbaden, 2005). Bärbel Maul also published an article on the same topic, "Das Aussenkommando Wiesbaden des SS-Sonderlagers Hinzert," in *Verfolgung und Widerstand in Hessen 1939–1945*, ed. Renate Knigge and Axel Ulrich (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), pp. 484–497.

A Wiesbaden subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:713. However, this entry refers to the camp at Wiesbaden-Erbenheim (Fliegerhorst) and not to the Wiesbaden camp (Unter den Eichen). Bärbel Maul and Axel Ulrich provide a detailed description of the subcamp Wiesbaden-Unter den Eichen in *Das KZ-Aussenkommando "Unter den Eichen"* (Wiesbaden, 1995), which they call an outside detail. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten devote

several paragraphs to the Wiesbaden-Unter den Eichen subcamp in *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), pp. 350, 443. Eberhard Klopp mentions a camp in Wiesbaden in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier: Édition Trèves, 1983). However, it remains unclear as to which of the two Wiesbaden subcamps he is referring. Albert Pütz mentions the Wiesbaden subcamp (Wiesbaden-Unter den Eichen) in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998). Volker Schneider mentions the camp Wiesbaden-Unter den Eichen in his Web publication "Auflösung des Konzentrationslagers 'SS-Sonderlager Hinzert' 1944/45" (PDF, n.d.). A report on the bombing raid on the camp on December 18, 1944, and the nine victims is to be found in *RRPPD* 2 (1992): 271. In the same journal is an essay by Aloys Raths, "KZ-Gedenkstätte in Wiesbaden," *RRPPD* 2 (1992): 279–325. Wiesbaden is mentioned in Gudrun Schwarz's book *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990). The camp also forms part of the list of concentration camps and subcamps in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852. Further information is to be found in Lothar Bembeneck and Axel Ulrich, *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Wiesbaden 1933–1945: Eine Dokumentation* (Giessen: AST-Wies, 1990), pp. 357–363; Bembeneck, "Aussenkommando Wiesbaden-Unter den Eichen," in *Hessen hinter Stacheldraht: Verdrängt und vergessen; KZs, Lager, Aussenkommandos*, ed. Lothar Bembeneck and Frank Schwalba-Hoth (Frankfurt am Main, 1984), pp. 63–69; Hans Jürgen Bömelburg, "Die Gedenkstätte 'Unter den Eichen' in Wiesbaden," *MGb.* 7 (1992): 184–186; and Bärbel Maul, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Gedenkstätte 'Unter den Eichen,' Wiesbaden," *GeRu* 46 (December 1991): 11.

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NOTE

1. Statement of the former prisoner Robert Poeker, in Lothar Bembeneck and Frank Schwalba-Hoth, ed., *Hessen hinter Stacheldraht: Verdrängt und vergessen; KZs, Lager, Aussenkommandos* (Frankfurt am Main, 1984), p. 66.

WITTЛИCH [AKA WITTЛИCH AN DER MOSEL]

Wittlich was the first and the most important subcamp administered by the Hinzert main camp. It was located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) to the north of Hinzert in the Prussian Rhine Province.

The Hinzert subcamp was erected in April 1940 and existed until the end of February 1942. It is not clear if there was any connection with a camp at Wittlich that held French prisoners of war (POWs) and was formed on April 29, 1940. This camp was located in Wittlich below Koblenzer Strasse on Hahnenweg, behind the former Wittlich Dampfziegelei (Steam Brick Works), and its more than 200 prisoners in Wittlich worked on a reopened large construction site in the

Flussbach municipality. In Flussbach, there was also a large penal and forced labor camp for women.¹

The Wittlich subcamp was located near the Wittlich-Daun railway tracks at the northern edge of the town. There were two inmates' barracks with two- and three-tiered bunks and four administrative barracks: kitchen barrack, mess (*Soesieballe*), toilets, and a wash barracks, as well as clothes storage, and a "punishment bunker" (*Strafbunker*). The SS guards were accommodated in a house outside the camp. The commando leader was Paul Sporrenberg, who later became the commander of the Hinzert concentration camp. Sporrenberg was responsible for the most stringent camp drill. He was supported by others including Unterscharführer Georg Schaaf, whom the prisoners called "Ivan the Terrible" on account of his sadism. Schaaf served in the Wittlich camp over Christmas 1941.² Eugen Wipf, barrack elder for the Poles, later became known as the infamous Kapo of the Hinzert camp.

The Wittlich prisoners came mostly from Poland, Italy, and Luxembourg, including some Jews from Luxembourg. One of the most prominent inmates at Wittlich was John Mersch, the U.S. vice consul in Luxembourg.

All prisoners were "rented out" to the Cologne construction company Christian Krutwig³ and worked on the Eifel autobahn, a section of the planned Reichsautobahn (RAB): Berlin—Koblenz—Wittlich—Trier—Luxembourg—Calais. The inmates worked in three overlapping shifts: the first (60 inmates) from 5:00 A.M. to 2:00 P.M., the second (100 inmates) from 8:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M., and the third (60 inmates) from 12:00 noon until 9:00 P.M. Survivors report harsh working conditions: Even for the heavy excavation work, the prisoners only had picks, shovels, and wheelbarrows; there were no mechanical tools. Guards and some prisoner-functionaries mistreated the inmates—beatings were frequent, especially against the Polish inmates—and food was scarce.

When the construction work on the RAB ceased at the end of February 1942, the Wittlich subcamp was also dissolved (historian Gudrun Schwarz sets the date as February 28, 1943), and the inmates were taken back to Hinzert.

In 1960–1961, the Trier public prosecutor's office initiated investigations against Paul Sporrenberg. Sporrenberg died in 1961 before proceedings commenced. Georg Schaaf was convicted by the Mannheim Regional Court in 1950 of charges of severely mistreating prisoners and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. He committed suicide in prison. Eugen Wipf was sentenced in 1948—largely for his crimes in Hinzert—by a Swiss court of assizes in Zurich to life imprisonment, but he died two months into his prison term.

SOURCES Beate Welter is the author of a description of the Wittlich subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert, Auschwitz, Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), pp. 72–74. There is a short description of the history of the Wittlich subcamp in Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten, *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983). Albert Pütz describes the subcamp in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert*

1940–1945: *Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998). Eberhard Klopp mentions Wittlich in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983). Other sources are "Aussenkommando Wittlich—das unbekannte KZ," *Tel 34* (August 21, 1982); and Dieter Burgard, *Alles im Laufschritt: Das KZ-Aussenlager Wittlich* (Luxembourg, 1994). Burgard is also the author of "Alles im Laufschritt! Das KZ-Aussenlager Wittlich," in Hans-Georg Meyer and Hans Berkessel, eds., *Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus in Rheinland-Pfalz*, vol. 2, *Für die Aussenwelt seid Ihr tot!* (Mainz, 2000), pp. 252–259. Eugen Wipf, barrack elder in Wittlich and camp Kapo in Hinzert, has been researched by Linus Reichlin in *Kriegsverbrecher Wipf, Eugen: Schweizer in der Waffen-SS, in deutschen Fabriken und an Schreibtischen des Dritten Reiches* (Zurich, 1994). Gudrun Schwarz mentions the Wittlich camp in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990). She states that Wittlich was a camp or detachment of the Hinzert concentration and SS-Sonderlager. One of her sources is the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852. The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:713, mentions the Wittlich subcamp.

Emile Schaus's *Auf der Galeere* (Luxembourg, 1982), an autobiographical novel, deals with the Wittlich camp. An illustration of a barrack in the Wittlich camp can be found in Eberhard Klopp, *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983), p. 121.

The BA-B holds some information on the Wittlich subcamp in NS 4 Hi 7, for instance, a letter of Krutwig to the Hinzert commandant Hermann Pister from April 1940 about the employment of Hinzert inmates at the Krutwig construction site.

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NOTES

1. Albert Pütz, *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998), p. 52.

2. Eberhard Klopp, *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983), p. 68.

3. Marcel Engel and André Hohengarten, *Hinzert: Das SS-Sonderlager im Hunsrück, 1939–1945* (Luxembourg, 1983), p. 440.

ZELTINGEN

[AKA ZELTINGEN AN DER MOSEL]

It is not known for certain when the Hinzert subcamp in Zeltingen an der Mosel was erected but most likely in summer or fall of 1944. The prisoners in this subcamp were mostly involved in digging tunnels, either as a part of relocating armament production underground or constructing shelters and storage space for weapons and ammunition. Most likely, the camp held 8 or 10 inmates from Luxembourg.

As a result of military developments toward the end of the war, the subcamp was dissolved at the beginning of 1945, and

its occupants were returned to Hinzert between January and the middle of February 1945.

SOURCES The camp is mentioned in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, *Hinzert, Auschwitz, Neuengamme* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2007), p. 74. Volker Schneider refers to a deployment at Zeltingen in his

online publication “Auflösung des Konzentrationslagers ‘SS-Sonderlager Hinzert’ 1944/45” (PDF, n.d.) and in his publication *Waffen-SS—SS Sonderlager “Hinzert.” Das Konzentrationslager im “Gau Moselland” 1939–1945* (Nonnweiler-Otzenhausen, 1998).

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VOLUME I: PART A

KAUEN



A Jewish man stands outside the entrance of a workshop in the Kauen concentration camp, 1943. The sign behind him reads, "Entrance to this workshop is strictly forbidden to anyone without written permission from the commandant of the KL [concentration camp]—The Commandant." USHMM WS #10921, COURTESY OF GEORGE KADISH/ZVI KADUSHIN

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

There has been little academic research into the history of the Kauen ghetto and concentration camp. However, there have been many autobiographical accounts on the topic. As historian Christoph Dieckmann has shown, the Kauen concentration camp arose as the result of a complicated relationship between the German civilian administration in Lithuania, the regional representatives of the Reichsführer-SS (RFSS), the Commander of the Security Police and Sicherheitsdienst (BdS) in Lithuania who reported to the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), the "Wirtschaftsstab Ost," and the regional Wehrmacht administration. It was located, as was the ghetto before it, in the northeastern area of Kaunas (in German: Kauen; in Yiddish: Kovno; in Russian: Kowno), known as Viljampole or Slobodice, to the east of the small Neris River.

The transformation of the Kauen ghetto into a concentration camp was the result of an order given by the RFSS, Heinrich Himmler, to the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Ostland, Friedrich Jeckeln, and the chief of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Oswald Pohl, on June 21, 1943. Himmler's aim to give the SS control of ghetto life and labor deployment in Kauen had two goals: first, to furnish a more efficient application of German policy in the Reichskommissariat Ostland (RKO), above all the economic and security aspects, and, second, to expand his power. He also required that by August 1, 1943, all Jews in ghettos within the RKO were to be put into concentration camps. This would apply only to those Jews of working age—the others were to be selected and murdered.

Himmler's order, which was agreed to by the Reich Ministry for the East (RMO) on July 13, 1943, was not applauded by the German civilian administration, which wanted to maintain its control over the ghetto, including its contents and the value that could be obtained from it. The Kaunas city administration, which was dominated by SA men, was not able to prevail in the long term, as it was behind in fulfilling its quotas, including the delivery of agricultural products, mobilizing Lithuanian labor, and establishing a Lithuanian Waffen-SS division. In August 1943, the SS took over responsibility for converting the Kauen ghetto into a concentration camp. On September 15, 1943, the administration of the ghetto was formally handed over by the German civilian administration to the SS, which controlled the operation of the concentration camp with typical bureaucracy. For example, at the end of 1943, a directive of the Kauen concentration camp medical officer was given on camp hygiene (*Lagerhygiene*), in which general camp hygiene (personal hygiene, dwelling cleanliness) and general hygiene (maintaining the grounds around living-quarter blocks, drinking water hygiene, toilet and rubbish pits) was regulated, regardless of the actual living conditions in the overcrowded, undersupplied camp.¹ The structural changes continued into 1944. Gradually, there was

also a handover from the Council of Elders to the SS command office in the ghetto.

The camp commandant was SS-Obersturmbannführer Wilhelm Göcke, who had previously been in command of the Mauthausen and Warsaw concentration camps. His deputies were Hauptsturmführer Ring, Hauptscharführer Fiffiger (or Pfiffiger), Unterscharführer Pilgram, and from June 1943 the chief of the gestapo, Bruno Kittel, who had proven himself in the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto. Research has not revealed how efficient the SS administration was in the concentration camp. Historian Alfred Streim states that the administration of the Kauen concentration camp followed the tried and tested examples of the concentration camps in Germany. On the other hand, Dieckmann argues that the administration of the concentration camp in Lithuania was differently structured than the camps in the Reich: according to a statement by SS-Unterscharführer Josef Pilgram, to whom the "Jewish Order Service" (Jüdische Ordnungsdienst) in the Kauen camp reported, a few men from the SS-Sturmbann Neuengamme and Wolfsburg-Arbeitsdorf labor detachment were trained in the camp as a cohort (*Haufen*), and all key positions such as food, security, and labor administration (here: SS-Oberscharführer Franz Auer) were divided between them. The ghetto was guarded by German guards who until the summer of 1943 were located inside the ghetto. For a few months after that, the Jewish police were in charge inside the ghetto. In the autumn of 1943, a Waffen-SS company, consisting mostly of Banat Germans, took over security of the ghetto, which was now being transformed into a concentration camp. During the last weeks of the Kauen concentration camp, Latvian SS were also deployed as guards.

By the end of March 1943, there were around 16,000 Jews concentrated in the ghetto. Around 4,000 of them worked in 44 workshops inside the ghetto, and another 6,000 worked in labor detachments outside the ghetto. Numbers for May 1943 show that Jewish laborers worked for 110 different firms: 68 percent for the army and in armaments production, 19 percent in administration and other civilian areas, 9 percent in transport and constructing railway bridges, and 4 percent as police guards. SS directives envisaged that the HSSPF Ostland, SS-Oberführer Eduard Bachl, would reorganize as quickly as possible the use of Jewish labor as follows: as many Jews as possible would be deported to the Estonian oil fields; the labor brigades working in Kauen workshops important for the war effort would be reduced so far as possible without reducing productivity; and the remaining ghetto inhabitants would be murdered. As early as August 1943, the RKO had demanded that "for political and propaganda reasons . . . the Jewish labor columns should disappear from the streets."² To achieve this goal, the SS had to establish small concentration camps at the sites where the Jews worked. These camps be-

came Kauen subcamps. Second, Jewish labor was replaced by Lithuanian civilian labor. However, this proved impossible for administrative reasons and a lack of Lithuanian labor, so many Jewish labor columns continued to work for months. The SS did, however, manage to reduce the number of labor detachments from 93 to 14; Göcke also required—as Avraham Tory reports in his *Kovno Ghetto Diary*—at the end of September 1943 that the Jewish labor detachment had to be less visible on the streets.

Even before the Kauen ghetto was transformed into a concentration camp, Jewish labor had worked outside the ghetto: daily, the Jews marched to a variety of work sites. From the middle of September 1941, one of the first was the airfield at Kauen-Alexoten. During the summer and autumn of 1943, the laborers were sent for periods of several weeks to Kauen-Alexoten; from November 29, 1943, Kauen-Alexoten became a permanent subcamp. There were similar developments in other Kauen subcamps.

The background to the SS plans to keep the prisoners in the subcamps was due not only to a desire to increase the efficiency of the prisoners but above all to an attempt to reduce the numbers in the Kauen concentration camp so as to implement more successfully security and control measures. The plan was put into place in stages: the situation report (*Lagebericht*) of the Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und SD (KdS) Litauen from August 1943 highlights the problems in constructing permanent subcamps, including the lack of supplies and personnel.³

For the inhabitants of the Kauen camp, work in the labor detachments had been of immense importance—it enabled food to be smuggled into the camp even though this was strictly forbidden, as the rations were far too low to allow survival. Plans and measures to construct independent subcamps were watched with worry by the inhabitants of the ghetto/concentration camp: it was feared that if the inmates were held in subcamps, this would be the end of the Kauen main camp. The harsh living conditions, the separation of men and women, and the breakup of families were also feared. Many of those affected tried at first to resist the demands of the Jewish ghetto administration to work in the subcamps.

During the second half of 1943, eight Kauen subcamps were established: Schaulen (probably September 17, 1943), Prawienischken (a subcamp from November 1943), Kauen-Alexoten (November 29, 1943), Kauen-Schanzen (since December 16, 1943), Kedahnen (probably December 1943), and Kazlu Ruda (probably at the beginning of 1944); the precise dates when the Koschedaren and Palemonas subcamps were established are unknown. At six locations there were male and female camps; it was only Palemonas that appeared to hold only males. The camps in Kazlu Ruda, Kedahnen, Koschedaren, Palemonas, and Prawienischken had been Jewish forced labor camps (ZALfJ) since 1941. The Jews in the subcamps were used as labor in two main areas: in industries vital for the war effort and the Wehrmacht and in working in the forests and peat fields. It is not known what the prisoners did in Kedahnen and Koschedaren.

There has been no detailed study on the work and living conditions in the subcamps. Alfred Streim states that, as a rule, the food for the prisoners was inadequate and the accommodations insufficient. Also, contrary to camps in the Reich, there was not an immediate requirement to dress the prisoners in prisoners' clothes. The hygienic conditions in the Kauen subcamps were similar to those in the Reich: numerous diseases, such as typhus, were rampant and caused by the high concentration of prisoners, their inadequate nutrition, and abusive exploitation. Selections, arbitrary shootings, beatings to death, physical mistreatment resulting in death, executions for attempted escape, and mistreatment by means of leather whips, rubber truncheons, steel rods, cudgels, and axes were the order of the day, according to Streim, in the subcamps.

With the change from a civilian to SS administration, the Kauen ghetto inhabitants feared that they would be liquidated by the SS, just as the Vilnius ghetto was liquidated in September 1943. Göcke caused further mistrust when he announced that the approximately 1,000 children in the kindergarten would be cared for by elderly ghetto inmates, no longer capable of working. At first Göcke tried to quiet the mood in the camp by reducing the controls at the camp gates and increasing food rations. A Lagebericht of the KdS Litauen from December 1943 suggests that Göcke did not want to adversely affect the expansion of the camp by selecting Jews no longer capable of working and that he personally chose the time for future measures. Nevertheless, the takeover of the ghetto by the SS administration had been deadly: on October 25, 1943, Göcke demanded that the Jewish Council of Elders present a list of 3,000 names that would be transferred to a new camp near Kauen. The list was put together with the help of a newly established Jewish Quartering Commission (Jüdische Kasernierungskommission). When, on the following day, all of those on the list did not appear, the Ukrainian SS and Jewish Police rounded up more than 2,700 people, of whom 2,000 were sent to the shale oil area in Estonia, in compliance with Himmler's directive of June 21, 1943. Another 758 were selected as no longer fit for work and were probably murdered in Auschwitz.

The Kasernierungskommission, which included members from various different political persuasions in the camp, was active in the following months, influencing the selection of labor chosen for the construction of the subcamps, which was undertaken in harsh living and work conditions. Around 8,000 prisoners remained in the main camp after the permanent relocation of the workforce, of which around 4,600 worked in various workshops, considerably more than the SS original plan of 2,000.

Beginning in the spring of 1944, measures against the concentration camp inmates became clearly worse. In February 1944, Göcke had 10 Kapos sent from Mauthausen, who as column leaders (Kolonnenführer) were to supervise the Jewish labor detachments in the camp. In March 1944, the majority of the Jewish Camp Police were arrested and taken to Fort IX. There, they underwent intensive interrogations of hiding

spots in the camp, connections to the resistance, and attempts to escape from the ghetto/concentration camp. Resistance groups were active in the camp and had the support of the Jewish Council of Elders and the Jewish Police. The groups consisted of about 600 members, including several Zionist youth movements and a Communist group under the leadership of Chaim Yelin. Beginning in the summer of 1943, these groups cooperated within the Jewish General Fighting Organization (Yidishe Algemayne kamfes Organizatsiye). Mostly, they organized escapes into the neighboring forests. In the autumn of 1943, contact was made with the partisan movement, fighting against the German occupiers. Until April 1944, small groups of ghetto inmates were able to escape in this way. Altogether, more than 450 Jews fled from the camp and joined the partisans. More than 300 of these people belonged to the organized Zionist and Communist underground, and around 150 did not have ties with any group. Many others were unsuccessful in escaping.

After their interrogation in Fort IX, 40 police were shot, including just about all the police leadership. There then was established a Jüdische Ordnungsdienst under the command of the infamous Tanchum Aronstamm, who previously had been one of the two deputies of the commander of the Jewish Police, Moshe Levin. The Jüdische Ordnungsdienst reported to SS-Unterscharführer Josef Pilgram. The Jewish Council of Elders was dissolved on April 5, 1944, and its functions were taken over by the SS administration. The former chairman of the Council of Elders, Elkhanan Elkes, was now insulted by being given the title Senior Jew (Oberjude).

It was during this period of massive transformation that one of the most brutal operations (*Aktionen*) in the existence of the Kauen ghetto/concentration camp occurred: the Children and Elderly Operation (Kinder- und Alten-Aktion) of March 27–28, 1944. German SS and Ukrainian Vlassov men under the command of Oberscharführer Fuchs transported 1,000 children and 300 old people probably to either Auschwitz or Majdanek. Jehoshua Rosenfeld, a member of the Jüdische Ordnungsdienst, stated after the war that the victims on the first day were taken to Majdanek, while those of the second day, a smaller number, were taken to Fort IX, where they were shot. Only a few children survived by hiding. Forewarned by similar Aktionen in other camps, Jewish families had long tried to put their children with non-Jewish families outside the camp. Around 500 Jews, the majority being children, managed to survive in this way.

In the weeks after the Kinder- und Alten-Aktion, the living conditions in the camp worsened markedly: the number of guards was doubled, and the civilian labor brigades were dissolved. To make escape more difficult, the civilian clothes of the inmates were exchanged for prisoners' clothing. Individual apartment buildings or blocks were manned with block elders who were responsible for ensuring that all the inhabitants in the block or building were accounted for. Helene Holzman states in her memoirs that the houses in the former ghetto were numbered and divided into 330 blocks so as to provide a more efficient system of watching over the inmates.



Fort IX, the site where many Kauen prisoners were executed, including Jewish children on March 27–28, 1944. Photographed shortly after liberation.

USHMM WS #81149, COURTESY OF GEORGE KADISH/ZVI KADUSHIN

In addition, there were daily morning and evening roll calls. All these measures made the living conditions more difficult as well as made it more difficult to make contact with partisans and to escape from the concentration camp.

As the Soviet front advanced into the Baltic states, the first Kauen subcamps were dissolved beginning in July 1944. Evacuations sometimes, but not always, went through the Kauen main camp. The Kauen concentration camp was dissolved on July 8, 1944. The concentration camp was evacuated over several days during which there were a number of Aktionen. The camp's inhabitants were taken by barge and rail from Kaunas to the west. The deportees were divided according to sex: the women were taken to Stutthof, with some, according to the International Tracing Service (ITS), being taken to the Dachau subcamp at Kaufering, while the men were taken via Stutthof to Dachau and its subcamps. At least three transports with Jewish prisoners from Kauen arrived in Dachau: on July 15, July 29, and August 18. Elkes died on July 25, 1944, two weeks after his arrival in the Dachau concentration camp. A transport of Jewish women and children went from the Kauen and Schaulen concentration camps on July 26, 1944, to the Stutthof concentration camp and from there to Auschwitz.

Many Jews tried to evade the deportation by hiding in improvised hiding places, so-called malines. In the following days, SS search operations uncovered many victims, of whom around 2,000 were murdered. The concentration camp and the former ghetto were completely destroyed. Around 900 of

those in hiding experienced, hidden in deep bunkers, the arrival of the Red Army on August 1, 1944.

The camp commandant, Göcke, was killed while fighting in October 1944 in the area around the Adriatic Sea. In post-war trials, several of those responsible for the Kauen ghetto/concentration camp were tried. Alfred Tornbaum, commander of the Third Department of the German Police in Kaunas, was charged in Wiesbaden in 1962. He was acquitted despite witness statements due to a lack of evidence. In the same trial was SS-Lieutenant [sic] Peter Heinrich Schmitz. He committed suicide in his cell before a judgment was handed down. At first, Gestapo chief Heinrich Rauca, responsible for Jewish Affairs in the Kaunas Gestapo headquarters, lived after the war in Canada. He was extradited to Germany in 1991 after a court trial. He was charged with the murder of 11,500 Jews but died while being held in remand shortly after his arrival in Germany.

SOURCES Immediately after the war, work began on different aspects of the history of the Kauen ghetto and concentration camp. These early works include Yosif Gar, *Umkum fun der jidischer Kovno* (Munich, 1948); Dimitrius Gelpernas and Meir Yelin, *Partisaner fun Kaunaser Geto* (Moscow, 1948); and Leib Garfunkel, *Kovno ba-Yehudit be-Churbanah* (Jerusalem, 1959). See also the yearbooks *Lite*, Bd. 1 (1951); and *Yahadut Lita*, vol. 4, *Ha-Shoah 1941–1945*. An essay that compares the Kauen, Vaivara, and Kaiserwald camps in the RKO is Alfred Streim, “Konzentrationslager auf dem Gebiet der Sowjetunion,” *DaHe* 5 (1989): 174–187. At the end of the 1990s as part of a special exhibition organized by the USHMM on the “Hidden History of the Kovno Ghetto,” research on the Kauen ghetto and concentration camp was revived. Important publications include Dennis B. Klein, ed., *Hidden History of the Kovno Ghetto* (Boston: USHMM, 1997); Jürgen Matthäus, “Das Ghetto Kaunas und die ‘Endlösung’ in Litauen,” in *Judenmord in Litauen: Studien und Dokumente*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Marion Neiss (Berlin, 1999), pp. 97–112; Christoph Dieckmann, “Das Ghetto und das Konzentrationslager in Kaunas 1941–1944,” in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Struktur und Entwicklung*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998), 1:439–471; and Sara Ginaite-Rubinsoniene, *Atminimo Knyga: Kauno Zydų Bendruomene 1941–1944 Metais* (Vilnius, 1999). Literature on the Kauen concentration camp is mostly autobiographical and concentrates on certain aspects of the ghetto/concentration camp. Those bibliographies worthy of mention include Zvi Bar-On and Dov Levin, *Toldoteha shel Mahteret: Ha-irgun ha-lohem shel Yehude Kovnab be-milhemet ba-olam ba-sheniyah* (Jerusalem, 1962), pp. 402–409; Philip Friedman, “Bibliografie fun Churbn-Literatur vegen Lite,” *Lite*, Bd. 1 (1965), pp. 1923–1940; as well as two bibliographies in *HGS* 12 (1998): Elizabeth Kessin Berman, “From the Depths: Recovering Original Documentation from the Kovno Ghetto,” pp. 99–118; and “Hidden History of the Kovno Ghetto: An Annotated Bibliography,” pp. 119–138. There are several accounts of Jewish resistance in Lithuania and Kaunas, including by Chaim Yelin, leader of the Jewish partisans around Kaunas/Kovno, in Dimitrius Gelpernas, “Evrejskoe soprotivlenie v gody gitlerovskoj okkupacii Litvy 1941–1944,”

Žydu muziejus; *Evrejskij muzej* (Vilnius, 1994), pp. 83–98; and Dov Levin, *Fighting Back: Lithuanian Jewry’s Armed Resistance to the Nazis, 1941–1945* (New York, 1985), here especially pp. 116–125, on resistance in the Kauen ghetto. Gudrun Schwarz lists the Kauen concentration camp in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1990), p. 170. The concentration camp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:158; and in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Außenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1815.

Archival material on the history of the Kauen ghetto and concentration camp is held in a number of archives in different countries. The most important collections are at the LCVA, which holds the collection of the Jewish Museum in Vilnius (R 1390 and 973), the files of the Lithuanian Police Commander in Kaunas/Kovno (R 1444), the files of the Sipo (R 1399), GK (R 615), the Kaunas/Kovno Stadtverwalter (R 616), the SD from 1941 to 1944 (R 731, Ap. 1), the BdS Litauen 1941 to 1944 (R 972, Ap. 1–2), the Jewish Ghetto Police in Kaunas (R 973, Ap. 1–3), and the Central Lithuanian Office of the Commander of the Sipo in Kauen 1941 to 1944 (R 1216, Ap. 1). The LVVA also holds important collections on the history of the Kauen ghetto/concentration camp. The files of the Soviet Extraordinary Commission, which took place immediately after the liberation of Kaunas, in 1944–1945, and collected evidence of German crimes, are held in the CAFSSRF, 7021–94. The ULJ-A holds a valuable collection, as does YVA in GFH. The BA-B holds the collections of the Sipo (R 58 and R 70 Sowjetunion), the RFSS (NS 19), and the files of the RMO (R 6) and the RKO (R 90). At BA-L, the ZdL holds the following relevant collections: Sammlung UdSSR, 401; Lithuania files, including correspondence, investigative reports, statements and reports (207 AR/Z 14/58, vols. 1–10) and Nazi Crimes in the Baltic States (408 A/Z 233/59). Other files are found in NARA, including the collections of the Lithuanian Ministry of the Interior from 1919 to 1944 (RG 59, Decimal file 860 m), the Reichskommissar für die baltischen Staaten (Collection of Foreign Seized Records, Captured German Records: Records of the Office of the Reichs Commissioner for the Baltic States, 1941–1945; RG 242, T 459, microfilm), and the RMO (Collection of Foreign Seized Records, Captured German Records: Records of the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, 1941–1945; RG 242, T 454, microfilm). The collection of YIVO at CJH holds the following files: Okkupierte Gebiete—Litauen (RG 215 OCC E3b alpha, as well as the files of the Reichspropagandaministerium and the RKO); Territorial Collections: Baltic, Lithuania (3, including the Jewish Ghetto Police), the collection of Abraham Sutzkever, and Shmerke Kaczerginsky Collection (RG 223, supplements uncataloged, Box 16, which were compiled immediately after the liberation of the concentration camp). The YIVO also holds miscellaneous documents and a book with librettos written by an unknown author in the Kauen ghetto/concentration camp 1941–1944. There are extensive collections from the Lithuanian archives in USHMM, including files that deal with the Wehrmacht in Riga and Kaunas as well as Jewish forced labor in Riga and Kaunas (RG-18.002M*54), files of the RKO (RG-18.002M*26), as well as the Kommandantur der Sipo und SD in Latvia

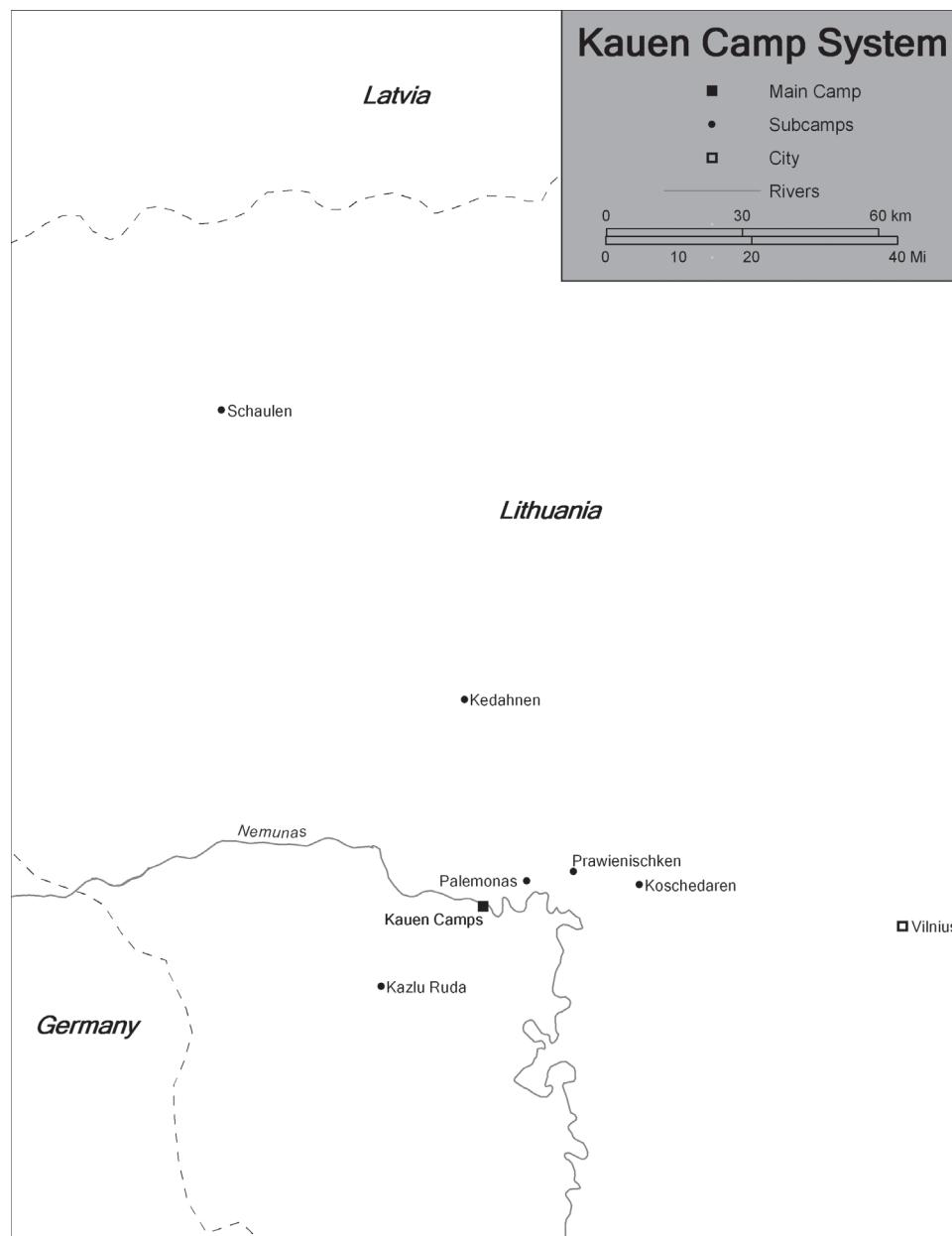
(RG-18.002M). The USHMM also holds an extensive collection of survivors' reports from the Kauen ghetto/concentration camp. The establishment of the Kauen concentration camp is mentioned in a circular letter from the RSHA, Amt IV (Müller), of October 2, 1943, Betr: "Konzentrationslager Kauen und Vaivara," which is held in ZdL, Signatur 408 AR-Z-233/59, fol. 5007. The document is reprinted in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im Reichskommissariat Ost: Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weißrussland* (Berlin: Metropol-Verlag, 1998), as Document 255, p. 266. The letter of the RKO to the Generalkommissare from August 1943 on the "Zusammenfassung von Juden in Konzentrationslagern" is held in LVVA, R69-IA-6, fol. 129. It is also reprinted in Benz, Kwiet, and Matthäus as Document 253, p. 265. In Benz, Kwiet, and Matthäus, there are other relevant documents that substantiate the existence of the Kauen concentration camp: extracts from a letter from the Stadtkommissar Riga to the Generalkommissar, Abt. III, August 18, 1943, betr.: "Umsetzung" von Juden in Konzentrationslager" (copy in NARA, T-459, R 19, fr. 503, reprinted as Nr. 254, pp. 265–266); a letter from the Reichskommissar für das Ostland, Abt. II (Trampedach), to the Generalkommissare, October 14, 1943, regarding "Zusammenfassung von Juden in Konzentrationslagern" (original in LVVA, R69-IA-6, fol. 127, reprinted as Nr. 256, p. 267); the aforementioned directive of the Kauen concentration camp medical doctor at the end of 1943 on the "allgemeine Lagerhygiene" (original in LCVA, R973-3-19, reprinted as Nr. 257, p. 267); extracts from a letter from the KdS Lettland (Lange) to the BdS Ostland, April 6, 1944, betr. "Zuständigkeit in der Bearbeitung von Judenangelegenheiten" (original in LVVA, R1026-1-3, fol. 203, reprinted as Nr. 259, p. 270). The Kauen concentration camp is also mentioned in the KdS Litauen Lageberichten, for example, the report of August 1943 (original in LCVA, R1399-1-61, p. 213) and December 1943 (original in LCVA, R 1399-1-61, p. 339). Statements by the 10 criminal Kapos brought from Mauthausen to Kaunas about their role as "Kolonnenführer" in the Kauen concentration camp are held in the EK3-Verfahren, Band 470 (Zeugenaussagen). The ZdL collective investigation into crimes in the Baltic concentration camps holds witness statements and documents on Kaunas under file 408 AR-Z 233/59 at BA-L. Between 1957 and 1973, the FRG State Prosecutor collected material on events in the Kauen ghetto and concentration camp, concentrating on the activities of the Sipo. The files include those of the Sta. Frankfurt, 4 Js 1106/59; HHStA-(W), Abt. 461-32438. Proceedings never commenced except for a preliminary investigation by LG Giessen in 1964. Another original document is a statement by SA-Sturmführer Gustav Hörmann, the Kauen ghetto Arbeitseinsatzleiter,

which was made on September 2, 1946, in Landsberg before the Jewish Historical Commission. Hörmann, who had unsuccessfully attempted to save Jews from deportation or murder on the basis of their professions, gives a detailed description of events in the camp. The report in typed manuscript is found in ZdL, Signatur 207 AR-Z 14/58, and reprinted in Benz and Neiss, *Judenmord in Litauen*, pp. 117–132. On pp. 133–141, there is the statement by Jehoshua Rosenfeld on murderous Aktionen in the Kauen ghetto and concentration camp that was given to the Sta. Mü on June 4–5, 1959. The report is held by the ZdL under Signatur 207 AR-Z 14/58. The Rauca trial reference is Sta. Frankfurt am Main 50/4 Js 284/71, ZdL 207 AR 366/80. Survivors' autobiographical accounts worth mentioning include: Avraham Tory, *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Ghetto Diary*, ed. and intro. Martin Gilbert (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990). Tory wrote his diary from June 22, 1941, until his escape from the concentration camp at the end of 1943. Helene Holzman, the non-Jewish wife of a Jew murdered in the ghetto, penned her notes between September 1944 and August 1945, which were published as "*Dies Kind soll leben: Die Aufzeichnungen der Helene Holzman*", ed. Reinhard Kaiser and Margarethe Holzman (Frankfurt am Main: Schöffling & Co. Verlagsbuchhandlung GmbH, 2000). Two additional testimonies are Tamara Lazerson-Rostovski, *Yomanah shel Tamara; Kovnah 1942–1946* (Tel Aviv: Beit Locharim hagetaot, 1976); and Solly Gonor, *Das andere Leben: Kindheit im Holocaust* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1997).

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NOTES

1. LCVA, R973-3-19, reprinted in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im Reichskommissariat Ost: Dokumente zum Völkermord in Baltikum und in Weißrussland* (Berlin: Metropol-Verlag, 1998), p. 267.
2. Schreiben des Reichskommissars Ostland an die Generalkommissare vom August 1943 über die "Zusammenfassung von Juden in Konzentrationslagern," LVVA, R69-IA-6, fol. 129, copy in USHMM, RG 18.002, Reel 2; reprinted in Benz, *Einsatz*, p. 265.
3. Lagebericht des KdS, August 1943, LCVA, R1399-1-61, p. 213. Lagebericht KdS Litauen zum August 1943, cited by Christoph Dieckmann, "Das Ghetto und das Konzentrationslager in Kaunas 1941–1944," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Struktur und Entwicklung*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998), 1:454.



KAUEN-ALEXOTEN

From 1941 to 1944, Kauen was the capital of the General District Lithuania (Generalbezirk Litauen), Reichskommisariat Ostland. The district of Alexoten lay to the south of the ghetto/concentration camp in the city of Kaunas (Kauen, Kovno), on the left bank of the Nieman River. At the local airfield, Jews were deployed in a labor detachment and later a concentration camp subcamp.

The Alexoten subcamp came into being in the process of the transformation of the Kauen ghetto into a concentration camp. The history of the use of Jewish labor in Alexoten, however, dates back to 1941. According to historian Christoph Dieckmann, 1,000 inhabitants of the Kauen ghetto had been

put to forced labor in Alexoten beginning September 19, 1941. They were used as substitutes for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) who since the end of July 1941 had been worked to death in Alexoten under the most difficult work and living conditions. SS-Obersturmführer Gustav Hörmann, an employee of the German Labor Office in Kauen and the ghetto's labor detachment leader (Arbeitseinsatzleiter), stated after the war that many of the Soviet POWs died from typhus and malnutrition. How quickly the prisoners in Alexoten were worked to death, and how extensive the labor demand was, can be seen in the fact that less than two weeks after the dispatch of the first contingent of Jews, another 1,000 Jewish laborers were required in Alexoten, now mostly employed in the night shift.

According to Hörmann's statement, up to 3,000 Jewish inhabitants from the Kauen ghetto were used as forced labor in Alexoten. Helene Holzman states in her memoirs that as early as the autumn of 1941, 1,200 men and 500 women were working at the airfield. The workers left the ghetto at 5:30 A.M., accompanied by Jewish policemen. Dieckmann puts the number of Jewish workers at the airfield much higher, as between 4,000 and 5,000. The work at the airfield can be seen as the first large deployment of Jewish labor from the Kauen ghetto.

The working conditions for the forced laborers were hard. The International Tracing Service (ITS) states the prisoners worked for the company Schichau GmbH, a company based in Elbing (Elbag), repairing flak guns. Holzman, who visited the Jewish prisoners, states—without any further specification—that they were employed by two German construction firms doing heavy physical labor and that they worked in two shifts. Holzman also states that among the inmates were about 30 Jewish women who three times a day had to prepare food for about 1,500 people in the subcamp. The prisoners worked regardless of the weather—sun, rain, and cold. What made the conditions at Alexoten even worse was that unlike numerous other labor brigades from the ghetto the laborers in Alexoten had no opportunity to obtain food from the local population, which deprived them of a very important means of survival. But like the other labor detachments working outside the ghetto at that time, the Alexoten prisoners still returned each evening to the ghetto.

At least two names are known from those working at the Alexoten airfield: Ja'akov Ulejski was one of the two Jewish supervisors at the airfield, and Flier was the deputy leader of the labor detachment (*Arbeitseinsatzkommando*).

According to the *Bundesgesetzblatt*, the SS opened the Alexoten subcamp as part of its takeover of the ghetto on November 30, 1943. Avraham Tory states that there had been preparations from August 1943 to permanently accommodate the workers in Alexoten; the accommodations of the deceased Soviet POWs were cleaned up by removing their personal belongings, and new accommodations were constructed. From the end of November 1943 on, the Jewish forced laborers were held permanently in Alexoten under strict guards. Tory states that the camp was fenced in with a double barbed-wire fence. Armed guards in the guard towers guarded the camp; most of them were German and Ukrainian nationals. Probably at that stage, the inmates of the subcamp were equipped with prisoners' uniforms, most likely the uniforms of concentration camp prisoners.

Tory's secret notes, the *Kovno Ghetto Diary*, reveal the unrest that the beginning of the site's transformation into a concentration camp caused among the prisoners in 1943. The sealing of the camp totally removed any possibility of food exchanges with those outside the camp but also among the inmates. The women deployed in Alexoten were particularly worried about the permanent separation from their families and children who had remained behind in Kauen. Tory refers to an incident at the beginning of August 1943 when the Jew-

ish Elders' Committee could not provide sufficient labor for work at the airfield in Kedahnen. Hauptscharführer Schtitz, the Gestapo chief of the ghetto, traveled to Alexoten and arbitrarily chose the required 50 workers from the labor force there. Among those selected were women who urgently begged to be allowed to stay in the Alexoten camp and to not be transferred even farther away from their families, since it was not at all clear if and when they ever would be allowed to return from their new work site. Their requests were not even considered.

According to the ITS, the camp was closed in the middle of July 1944, in advance of the approaching Soviet front. The inmates were deported to the west, and most likely the women were taken to Stutthof.

SOURCES As with the other Kauen subcamps, no specific sources exist on the history of the Alexoten subcamp. The subcamp is mentioned in Christoph Dieckmann, "Das Ghetto und das Konzentrationslager in Kaunas 1941 bis 1944," in *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 1998), 1:439–471. Gudrun Schwarz lists Alexoten in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1990), p. 170. The subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:158; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1787 (as Alexoten) and p. 1815 (as Kauen-Alexoten).

SA-Sturmführer Gustav Hörmann described the Jewish labor deployment in Alexoten to the Jewish Historical Commission in Landsberg on September 2, 1946. The report is held in typed manuscript in the ZdL, Signatur 207 AR-Z 14/58, at BA-L, and is reprinted in Wolfgang Benz and Marion Neiss, eds., *Judenmord in Litauen: Studien und Dokumente* (Berlin: Metropol-Verlag, 1999), pp. 117–132. Witness statements and documents on Kauen and its subcamps are held by the ZdL as part of its collective investigation into crimes in the Baltic concentration camps under File 408 AR-Z 233/59. The Jewish memorial books on the Kauen ghetto/concentration camp hold a number of survivors' statements on the Alexoten subcamp, for example, in *Yahadut Lita: Meir Yelin, "Sheluhot ha-geto-Mahnot ha-'avodah,"* Bd. 4, pp. 98–103; Yizrael Kaplan, "Ha-'avodah bi-sde ha-te'ufah," Bd. 4, pp. 84–90; and Ja'akov Ulejski, "Be'ayot ha-'avodah bi-sde ha-te'ufah," Bd. 4, pp. 91–92. Ghetto survivors and eyewitness have also dealt with the Alexoten subcamp. For example, Avraham Tory in *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Ghetto Diary*, ed. and intro. Martin Gilbert (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990); and Helene Holzman in her memoirs "*Dies Kind soll leben": Die Aufzeichnungen der Helene Holzman*," ed. Reinhard Kaiser and Margarethe Holzman (Frankfurt am Main: Schöffling & Co. Verlagsbuchhandlung GmbH, 2000).

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KAUEN-SCHANZEN

Šančiani (Schanzen), part of Kauna (Kauen, Kovno), lay to the southeast of the ghetto and the city center, on the right bank of a loop of the Nieman River. As survivor Avraham Tory described in the *Kovno Ghetto Diary*, preparations for the use of Jewish labor began in August 1943. The inhabitants of the ghetto feared at this time the liquidation of the ghetto and the distribution of the inmates to several labor camps. As Tory noted in his diary entry for August 9, 1943, the ghetto inhabitants saw the construction of accommodations in Schanzen, which was to hold a Jewish labor force without the possibility of returning to the ghetto in the evening, with fear and mistrust. The march from the ghetto to Schanzen was long. The work, mostly construction work, was physically demanding. As described by Tory, the Jewish laborers worked under strict security with military construction brigades. The strict security made it impossible to obtain food either by buying it or exchanging things or begging. Other Jewish labor detachments had often been able to do this, and this was an important source of supplies for the camp. Tory stated that on October 12, 1943, a double barbed-wire fence, interspersed with guard towers, was put up around the accommodations of the future subcamp. The guards were German and Ukrainian SS men.

According to an eyewitness account, the Schanzen subcamp was finally opened on December 16, 1943. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the prisoners worked for a variety of Wehrmacht establishments, such as the Heeresverpflegungsamt-Magazin (HVM), the Heeresbekleidungsamt (HBA), the Heereskraftfahrzeugpark (HKP) and the Heeresbaustelle (HBS). Other employers included the Kauen Kraftpostamt.

The camp was closed on July 12, 1944, in the face of the push forward by the Soviet front in the Baltic. The prisoners were evacuated to the west. The men of the Kauen-Schanzen camp were taken to the Dachau concentration camp, whereas the women were taken to Stutthof. The prisoners from the Schanzen subcamp arrived in Dachau on July 15, 1944.

SOURCES Alfred Streim refers to the Schanzen subcamp in his essay "Konzentrationslager auf dem Gebiet der Sowjetunion," *DaHe* 5 (1989): 174–187, but only in reference to the camp's evacuation in May 1944. Gudrun Schwarz refers to the Schanzen women's subcamp in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1990), p. 170, as Kauen-Sanciai. The camp is listed as Kauen-Schanzen in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:159; and as Kauen-Schanzen in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1815.

SA-Sturmführer Gustav Hörmann, Arbeitseinsatzleiter in the Kauen ghetto until it was taken over by the SS, referred to the Kauen camp at Schanzen in a statement given to the Jewish Historical Commission in Landsberg on September 2, 1946. The typed manuscript is held by the ZdL, Signatur 207

AR-Z 14/58, at BA-L, and is reprinted in Wolfgang Benz and Marion Neiss, eds., *Judenmord in Litauen: Studien und Dokumente* (Berlin: Metropol-Verlag, 1999), pp 117–132. The ZdL holds a collection of witness statements and documents on Kauen, in File 408 AR-Z 233/59, gathered as part of a collective investigation into crimes committed in the Baltic concentration camps. Avraham Tory refers to the subcamp a number of times in *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Ghetto Diary*, ed. and intro. Martin Gilbert (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 455, 482, 501.

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KAZLU RUDA

From 1941, a forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ) existed in the town of Kazlu Ruda. There is scarcely any information on the work of the Jews in the Kazlu Ruda subcamp. There are no details on the work and living conditions of the subcamp's inmates. SA-Sturmführer Gustav Hörmann stated before a Jewish Historical Commission in Landsberg in 1946 that in the summer of 1943 there were "still five hundred Jews" who would be brought to Kazlu Ruda. If that is the case, the camp at Kazlu Ruda was a medium-sized camp. It is not known how many men and women were among the prisoners.

Based upon prisoner testimony, the International Tracing Service (ITS) states that the forced labor camp at Kazlu Ruda was converted into a Kauen subcamp in 1944. Compared to other Kauen subcamps, this conversion occurred relatively late.

The prisoners in the subcamp were evacuated to Dachau in July 1944 in front of the approaching Soviet troops.

SOURCES There is scarcely any mention of the Kazlu Ruda subcamp in the literature. Gudrun Schwarz refers to the Kazlu Ruda men's subcamp in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1990), p. 170. The subcamp is listed as Kazlų Rūda in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:159; and as Kazlu Ruda in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1816.

SA-Sturmführer Gustav Hörmann, the Kauen ghetto Arbeitseinsatzleiter until it was taken over by the SS, referred to the Kazlu Ruda camp on September 2, 1946, before the Jewish Historical Commission in Landsberg. The typed manuscript is held by the ZdL, Signatur 207 AR-Z 14/58, at BA-L, and is reprinted in Wolfgang Benz and Marion Neiss, eds., *Judenmord in Litauen: Studien und Dokumente* (Berlin: Metropol-Verlag, 1999), pp. 117–132. The ZdL holds a collection of witness statements and documents on Kauen, in File 408 AR-Z 233/59, gathered as part of a collective investigation into crimes committed in the Baltic concentration camps.

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KEDAHNEN

Kedainiai (Kedahnen) is a provincial town about 35 kilometers (22 miles) to the north of Kauen. Jewish prisoners worked there at the local airfield.

There is little information on the camp. Historian Gudrun Schwarz stated that the date the camp opened is unknown, whereas the International Tracing Service (ITS), based upon an eyewitness report, concluded that the camp was first mentioned in December 1943. As revealed by survivor Avraham Tory in the *Kovno Ghetto Diary*, even before this time Jewish prisoners must have been working as forced labor in Kedahnen. At this time, the Kedahnen camp was probably going through a transitional phase from a temporary labor camp, from which the inmates after a limited stay could return to the ghetto, to a subcamp of the Kauen concentration camp.

Tory stated that on August 2, 1943, 200 Jewish laborers were sent from the Kauen ghetto to work in Kedahnen. Despite the requests of the ghetto's Jewish Council of Elders (Ältestenrat), insufficient workers reported for work: the inhabitants of the ghetto tried to avoid this labor assignment, as it meant a stay of several weeks in the country, far from families in the ghetto. Tory stated that the Jewish laborers were accommodated in a barracks in a military camp. As a rule, according to Tory, the assignment to a provincial city like Kedahnen lasted for about three weeks. The workers were then given a day off so they could visit their families in the ghetto. Up to this point, assignments in the labor camps had been popular, as they allowed contact with the local population and the chance to obtain food, whereas now the Jewish laborers feared that their dispatch to a temporary labor camp meant that the ghetto would be liquidated and that after their assignment they would not be returned to the ghetto but would be murdered. Tory stated that at the beginning of August 1943 instead of the 200 planned laborers, 152 reported for work in Kedahnen; Hauptscharführer Schtitz from the Kaunas Gestapo then arbitrarily chose 48 men and women working as forced labor at the Alexoten airfield and had them taken by rail goods wagon to Kedahnen. Among them were 16 policemen who had guarded the contingent of workers planned for deployment in Kedahnen and Flier, the deputy leader of the labor detachment in Alexoten.

It is not known how many prisoners worked in Kedahnen. Tory states that on August 20, 1943, 300 (additional?) Jews were brought to Kedahnen for work. It can be assumed that, as in other Kauen subcamps, after the camp was taken over by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), it was fenced in with barbed wire and guarded by either German or Ukrainian SS. The inmates' civilian clothes would have been exchanged for prisoners' clothing. According to the ITS and *Bundesgesetzblatt*, the camp was closed in July 1944.

SOURCES There has been no significant academic research on the Kedahnen subcamp. Gudrun Schwarz refers to the

Kedahnen men's subcamp in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1990), p. 170. The subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:160; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL*. (1977), Teil 1, p. 1816.

The camp is mentioned by Avraham Tory in *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Ghetto Diary*, ed. and intro. Martin Gilbert (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 448–451, 458. The ZdL holds a collection of witness statements and documents on Kauen, in File 408 AR-Z 233/59 at BA-L, gathered as part of a collective investigation into crimes committed in the Baltic concentration camps.

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KOSCHEDAREN

Kaišiadorys (Koschedaren) is a provincial city about 30 kilometers (19 miles) to the east of Kaunas (Kauen, Kovno). A labor camp for Jewish prisoners (ZALfJ) from the Kauen ghetto was located there, which became a subcamp of the Kauen concentration camp when the SS took over the ghetto.

The use of Jews in Koschedaren is documented from July 2, 1943. Avraham Tory mentions in his *Kovno Ghetto Diary* that at this point 400 Jewish laborers worked in cutting peat in Koschedaren. The International Tracing Service (ITS) states that the male prisoners not only cut peat (as did the female prisoners) but also worked in the forests and a sawmill.

As in other camps outside Kauen, the Koschedaren prisoners were employed in long-term projects outside the ghetto. After a period of time, probably after two to three weeks, the prisoners returned to the Kauen camp. Tory reports that the conditions in the labor camp at this time were bearable and that the food was adequate. Nevertheless, according to Tory, several Jews had escaped and returned to Kauen—probably because of the fear the inmates of the labor detachment would not be returned to the ghetto after their assignment. The German civil administration demanded that the Jewish ghetto administration return the escaped workers.

Tory states that on August 2, 1943, there were 350 laborers in Koschedaren. Four people were murdered during the night of August 1–2, 1943, when Ukrainian partisans attacked the camp: the German supervisor of the labor detachment, a Dutch expert employed by the camp, and two of the Ukrainian SS guards. According to Tory, five Ukrainian guards fled during the attack. The Jewish laborers in Koschedaren feared reprisals by the Germans. At the end of September 1943, another 150 laborers were sent to Koschedaren. They were probably both males and females. The date Koschedaren opened as an official Kauen camp is unknown. Most likely, transition happened smoothly and over a longer period of

time. But as in other Kauen subcamps, the takeover by the SS meant a worsening of the inmates' work and living conditions. Contact with the Kauen ghetto/concentration camp was completely cut off, as was contact with the inmates' relatives.

According to an eyewitness report, the camp in Koschedaren was evacuated in July 1944.

SOURCES There has been no specific academic research on the Koschedaren subcamp. The camp is briefly mentioned by Gudrun Schwarz in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1990), p. 170. It is also listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:160; and, without reference to the gender of the inmates, in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL*. (1977), Teil 1, p. 1818.

Avraham Tory describes the events in the Koschedaren labor camp in his book *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Ghetto Diary*, ed. and intro. Martin Gilbert (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 408, 454, 482. Tory's report on the number of Jewish laborers in August 1943 is found on p. 454. Witness statements and documents on Kauen and its subcamps were collected by the ZdL in its investigation into crimes committed in the Baltic concentration camps and are held under File 408 AR-Z 233/59 at BA-L.

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PALEMONAS

According to historian Gudrun Schwarz, the Palemonas subcamp of the Kauen concentration camp already existed in 1941 as a forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ). Details differ on how the male prisoners were used in the labor camp: the International Tracing Service (ITS) does not make any reference to this, whereas Schwarz states that the men worked in the forests and with peat. On the other hand, survivor Avraham Tory in his *Kovno Ghetto Diary* stated that on September 28, 1943, 150 Jews were taken from the Kauen ghetto to Palemonas to work in a brick factory, where they remained for a long time, with no possibility of returning to the ghetto. Whether this is the one and the same labor detachment is unclear: all that can be said is that the details provided by Tory are closely aligned with other facts. If one follows Tory's description, Palemonas was one of the first labor camps in which the future commandant of the Kauen concentration camp, SS-Obersturmbannführer Wilhelm Göcke, implemented SS guidelines for the treatment of prisoners. At the end of September 1943, Göcke inspected the camp in Palemonas, where he was informed that a Ukrainian guard had allowed a young Jewish woman to leave the camp to beg for food in nearby Lithuanian houses. According to Tory, Göcke ordered the execution of the guard and the inmate. At the re-

quest of the guard, his punishment was changed: his death sentence would be waived if he murdered the inmate with his own hands, which in fact occurred. According to Tory, this event was confirmed by the leader of the Jewish labor detachment in Palemonas. The incident was undoubtedly used by Göcke to secure his position as the future commandant of the concentration camp as well as to establish iron discipline among the guards and the prisoners.

It is not known when the camp finally became a Kauen subcamp. According to eyewitness reports, the inmates in the camp were evacuated by ship on July 7, 1944, to Germany.

SOURCES The history of the subcamp in Palemonas remains largely unresearched. There continues to be no specific academic investigation of the Palemonas subcamp. The Palemonas camp is mentioned by Alfred Streim, "Konzentrationslager auf dem Gebiet der Sowjetunion," *DaHe* 5 (1989): 174–187, at p. 183, but only with reference to the closure of the camp in July 1944. Gudrun Schwarz describes the Palemonas camp in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1990), p. 170, giving a closure date of July 31, 1944, and an evacuation date of July 7. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:160; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL*. (1977), Teil 1, p. 1831.

Avraham Tory mentions the labor detachment in Palemonas in his *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Ghetto Diary*, ed. and intro. Martin Gilbert (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 482, 490. Tory's account of the murder of the young Jew does not accord with the view in the literature that the Palemonas subcamp was a camp only for male prisoners. Eventually, there was more than one labor camp or subcamp in Palemonas. Documents on Kauen and its subcamps are found in the ZdL collective investigation into crimes committed in the Baltic concentration camps, File 408 AR-Z 233/59, at BA-L. Unpublished prisoner testimony may be found in USHMMMA, Acc. 1995.A.697, Miriam Bratman, "A Memoir Relating to Experiences in Palemonas and Stutthof"; and USHMMMA, RG-50.002*0069, oral history interview with Henry Yungst, May 18, 1987.

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PRAWIENISCHKEN

The town of Pravieniškis (Prawienischken) lies about 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the east of Kaunas (Kauen, Kovno). A Jewish forced labor camp (ZALfJ) had been established there in 1941, where Jewish labor from the Kauen ghetto was used. The male inmates worked in the forests and the peat fields. It is not known when the Jewish forced labor camp in Prawienischken became a Kauen subcamp. Presumably the transfer took place smoothly and was completed in November 1943.

With the advance of Soviet troops into the Baltic, the prisoners from the subcamp were evacuated to the west. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp is mentioned for the last time on May 10, 1944 (men's camp), and May 15, 1944 (women's camp).

SOURCES There has been no academic work conducted specifically on Prawienischken. Alfred Streim mentions the camp in his essay "Konzentrationslager auf dem Gebiet der Sowjetunion," *DaHe* 5 (1989): 174–187, at p. 183. Gudrun Schwarz refers to the Prawienischken subcamp (men) in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1990), p. 170. The subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:161. The subcamp is also listed in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1833.

The ZdL collected witness statements and documents on Kauen and its subcamps in its collective investigation into crimes committed in the Baltic concentration camps. They are held in File 408 AR-Z 233/59 at BA-L.

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SCHAULEN

Following the invasion of German troops into Lithuania, a ghetto was formed in Šiauliai (Schaulen) in July 1941. During the German occupation, its location was referred to as Generalbezirk Litauen, Reich Kommissariat Ostland. The ghetto was located in the city districts Kaukazas (also known as Kavkaz/Kawkas)—close to the Jewish cemetery—and Trakai (also known as Trokay/Trokaj)—close to the city prison. Although there were two ghetto districts, both were run by one Council of Elders.

On June 21, 1943, the Reichsführer-SS Feld-Kommandostelle issued a secret order to the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Ostland and to the head of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) whereby all Jews who were still in ghettos in the Ostland area were to be gathered in concentration camps. The date set for this reorganization was August 1, 1943. By order of Heinrich Himmler, after this date it was strictly forbidden to leave the concentration camps for work.¹

This order probably accounts for the transformation of the Schaulen ghetto in the late summer or autumn of 1943, probably on September 17, 1943, into an outside detail of the Kauen concentration camp, which was located about 100 kilometers (62 miles) to the southeast.² In this camp were Jewish prisoners of Lithuanian, Polish, and German nationality.

After the takeover, about 1,000 Jews from the Kawkas ghetto district were taken to and quartered at the local airfield, about 12 to 15 kilometers (7.5 to 9.3 miles) from the ghetto. The first transport to the airfield occurred on September 25, 1943. According to one of the inmates, they had to cover the route by foot. Another 500 were sent to the Jewish

forced labor camp Daugeliai, where they had to work in a brick factory. And 500 were sent to the forced labor camp for Jews at Baciunai, where they worked in a peat storage room; 260 were sent to the forced labor camp for Jews at Pawentsch (Pavenciai), where they worked in the sugar factory; and 200 were sent to the forced labor camp for Jews at Okmian (Akmenė), where they worked in the chalk factory.

After the Jews were transferred and quartered in their barracks, the Kawkas ghetto district was dissolved. The Jews remaining in the ghetto prior to its dissolution and those who worked in other parts of the city were put together in the Schaulen outside detail, the former Trokaj ghetto, which was located between a leather factory and the city jail.³ This camp was surrounded by barbed wire. In the ghetto, civilian clothes with a Star of David and white stripes on jacket and trousers were worn. After the takeover by the Kauen concentration camp, the prisoners, as in other outside details, had to wear striped clothing.

According to prisoner statements after the war, the prisoners had to work for the following companies: Fränkel, for work in leather goods factories; Hardt, Knittel and Welker, Rubereit, and Sager & Wörner, for work at the airfield; and Bazun, for work with peat. In addition, they had to work at Wehrmacht offices, on the railroad, and in the limekiln.

The Wwi Kdo Kauen (Wehrwirtschaftskommando, military economic detachment), Unit Z (Z-Gruppe), weekly report for April 16 to 22, 1944, states the following for April 22: "At a visit to the United Leather Works Schaulen [Vereinigte Lederwerke Schaulen] it was ascertained that there were still 1,014 Jews working as laborers. This corresponds to approximately 50% of the entire work force. The Wwi Kdo Kauen required the company to replace immediately this labor force with local or Russian laborers."⁴

Personnel files and statements after the war mention the following trades as being practiced by the prisoners in the Schaulen outside detail: white-collar workers, laborers, physicians, printers, accountants, brush makers, electricians, butchers, master carpenters, tradesmen, rural laborers, farmers, stove fitters, rabbis, sawmill workers, saddlers, locksmiths, locksmith apprentices, chimney sweeps, cobblers, grade school pupils, university students, carpenters, dentists, and cabinetmakers.

Just one month after the transformation into an outside detail of the Kauen concentration camp, an operation occurred in Schaulen during which "574 children and several old men and disabled persons were deported to a death camp."⁵ This operation, described by the survivors as "Kinderaktion" (child operation), took place on November 5, 1943.

The guards were provided by the SS. The commandant was Unterscharführer Hermann Schleef, whose name appears as "Schlef" or "Schlepp" in some witness statements. The activity report of the Department V3 of the Kauen concentration camp for June 1944 indicates that on July 3, 1944, the size of the guard detachment was 30 men. Testimonies confirm that there were also Lithuanian and Ukrainian guards.

From the beginning of 1944, prisoners were transferred back to Schaulen, who had been sent to the above-mentioned

forced labor camps for Jews and elsewhere as part of the transformation of Schaulen into a subcamp of the Kauen concentration camp.⁶

In June 1944, the transfer of Jews of Czech, German, Hungarian, Estonian, and other nationalities from distant camps started: for example, the Jewish forced labor at Ponewesch was moved to Schaulen.

As a result of the approach of the Red Army, the westward evacuation of Schaulen began in July 1944. Most of the prisoners were taken to the Stutthof concentration camp. This is confirmed by the Kommandantur Order No. 48 of the Stutthof concentration camp headquarters, dated July 20, 1944. According to that order, 1,800 male and 200 female Jewish prisoners were to be transferred on July 21, 1944, to Kaufering, where they would be at the disposal of the Dachau concentration camp. The prisoners to be transferred to Kaufering were to come from transports dispatched from the Kauen main camp and Schaulen.⁷

In addition, according to the Kommandantur Order No. 49 dated July 25, 1944, 1,423 Jewish prisoners (524 mothers, 483 male children, and 416 female children) were to be transferred from the Stutthof concentration camp to the Auschwitz concentration camp on the following day. These prisoners were also to come from transports dispatched from Kauen and Schaulen. The transport leader was to be SS-Oberscharführer Redder.⁸

According to negotiations of the Kommandantur of the Stutthof concentration camp on July 26, 1944, it seems that 1,893 Jewish prisoners were given over to Redder to be transported from the Stutthof to the Auschwitz concentration camp. Among these were 210 prisoners who were sent to Stutthof from the Kauen subcamp Schaulen on July 26, 1944.

SOURCES Documentary sources for the Schaulen subcamp are scarce. Most information comes from former ghetto inmates or prisoners. Special reference is made to information supplied by Levi Salit, who published his experiences under the title *So sind wir gestorben* (Munich, 1945). Translated extracts have been provided by the URO Frankfurt am Main. A letter from the OSta. Lübeck (2 Js 297/60) to the United Restitution Organization, New York, dated January 7, 1966, re-

garding National Socialist crimes committed by Gewecke and others, confirms the date—as documented by former prisoners—of the transformation of the ghetto into a subcamp of the Kauen concentration camp. However, there were also no primary sources for the criminal procedure, which therefore had to rely on witness statements. Documentary testimony is provided by the weekly report dated April 16–22, 1944, of the Wwi Kdo Kauen (BA-B, R 91/15) and by the Kommandantur Orders No. 48 and No. 49 of the Stutthof concentration camp headquarters dated from July 20 and 25, 1944 (GKBZHwP). The ITS also holds documents on this camp.

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NOTES

1. Secret order of Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, Feld-Kommandostelle, June 21, 1943, to HSSPF Ostland and the Chief of the SS-WVHA.
2. Letter from OSta. Lübeck (2 Js 297/60) to URO, New York, January 7, 1966, regarding the criminal case against Gewecke and others who were charged with National Socialist violent crimes.
3. Levi Salit, *So sind wir gestorben* (Munich, 1945), p. 265.
4. Weekly Report, April 16–20, 1944, of Wwi Kdo Kauen, signed by Hermann. A copy is located at the ITS, call number Sachdokumentenordner Verfolgungsmas snahmen besetzter Ostgebiete/ehemals baltische Staaten 2 (Documents on Persecution in the Occupied Eastern Territories/formerly Baltic States), pp. 218–219.
5. Salit, *So sind wir gestorben*, p. 277.
6. ITS, call number Documents M3 Schaulen, Statement by the former prisoner Isaac Z.
7. Kommandantur Order No. 48 of the Stutthof concentration camp headquarters, dated July 20, 1944, signed by Hoppe, SS-Sturmbannführer and Kommandant, p. 1, No. 2, Häftlingsüberstellung.
8. Kommandantur Order No. 49 of the Stutthof concentration camp headquarters, dated July 25, 1944, signed by Hoppe, SS-Sturmbannführer and Kommandant, p. 1, No. 3, Häftlingsüberstellung.

