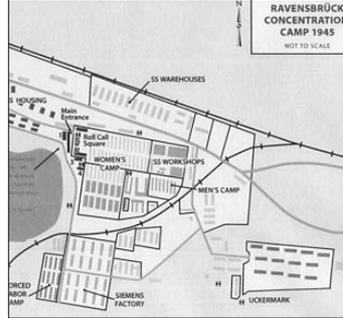


The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933-1945

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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

Volume Editor **Geoffrey P. Megargee**

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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.

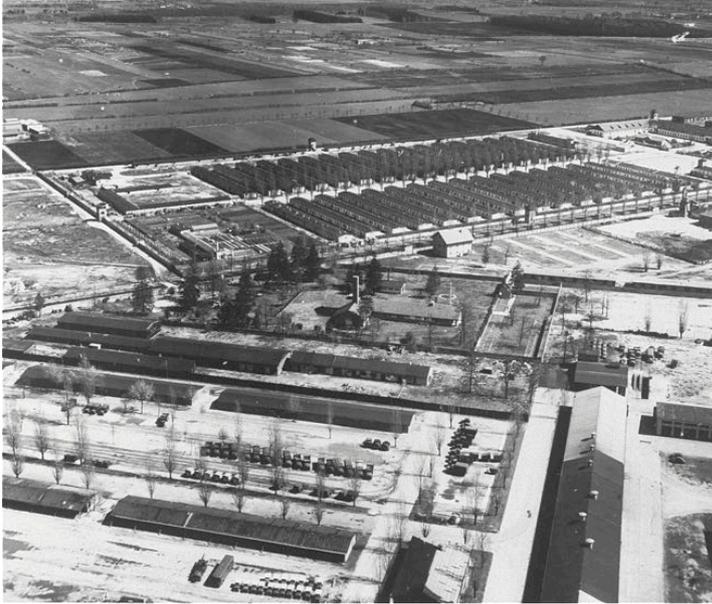
In May 1934, Eicke began directing the creation of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps Reichsführer-SS (IKL RFSS), of which he became chief in 1939. Altogether there were seven commandants of Dachau: Hilmar Wäckerle (commandant April–June 1933), born 1899, killed in action in July 1941 near Lemberg; 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 (*Arbeits-scheu*); 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-foot) 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 (*Pfabl*) 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.

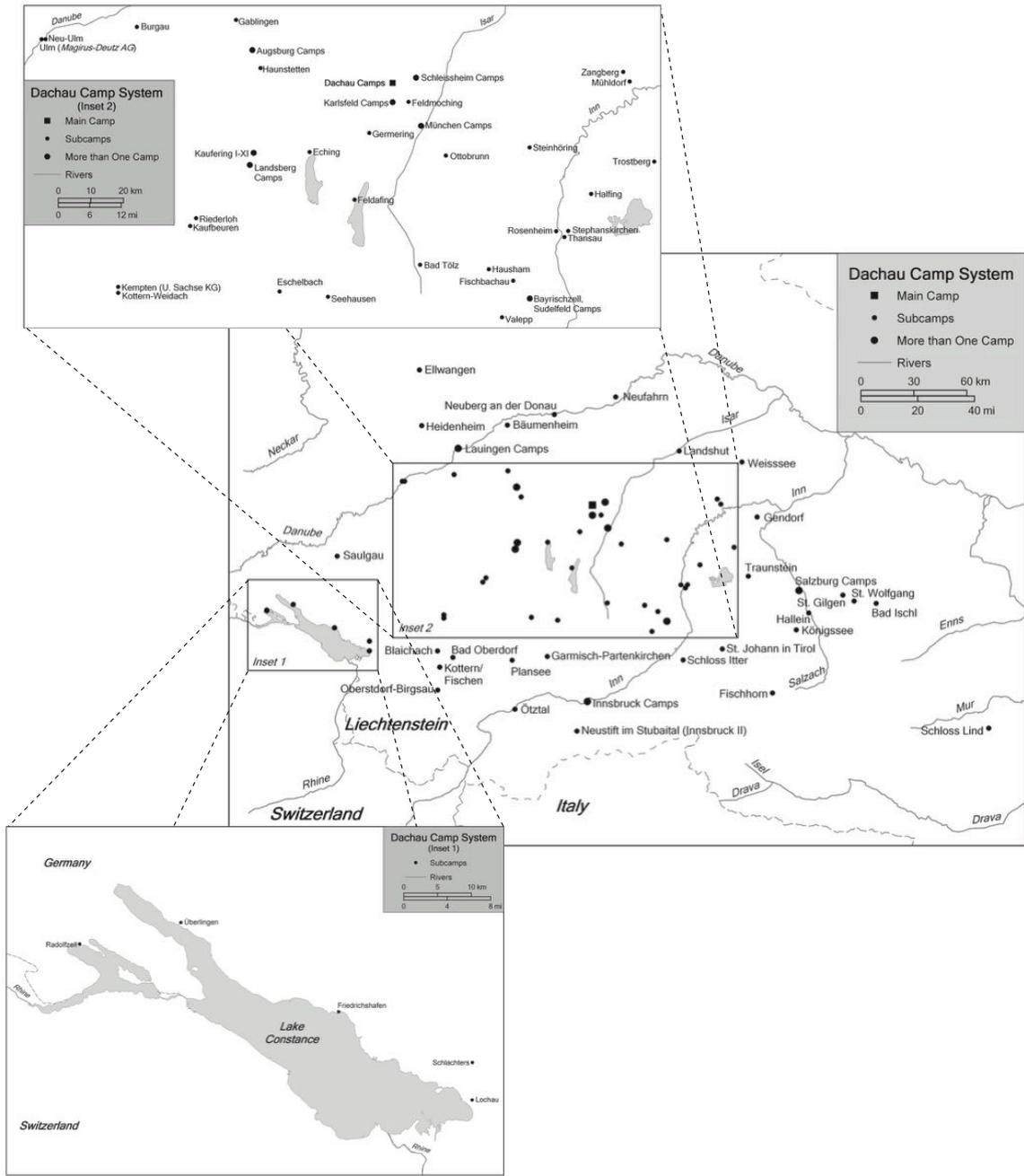
Some of the Dachau concentration camp's original files, such as the Political Department files, were destroyed by the SS before the camp was liberated. The largest collection of files is held at Bad Arolsen, under the control of ITS; these files have only recently become available. Other original documents 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 tormenters, 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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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

VOLUME I: PART A

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 Pawel Respondek, 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 Schutzhaftvorgänge/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 Forderungsnachweise 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 Mühlldorf.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, Alsations, 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. Ginzburg 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.

Ginzburg 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.

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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, Schlussvermerk, 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.

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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 Klimmach. Here they were freed by American troops. Two men died in Klimmach 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 Gelpernas, "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.

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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

1. 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 Dürrenhausen-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 Głowinski 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, *Frühe 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).

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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 Fürstfeldbruck.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 *Unser 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.

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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 W VIII/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 Läufe 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.

Läufe 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. Läufe 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 Läufe:

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 Läufe’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 Läufe are held by ASt-BI. Karl Rüstl’s and Karl Pold’s recollections are recorded in *Für die Vergessenen*. Läufe’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 Läufe 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. Läufe, *ObEr* (1975).
6. Läufe, *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 1945.²¹

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 Riederloh 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."²²

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 Schepach 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, Grosanhausen, 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-Scheppach). 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 Ichenhausen, 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.

Gernot Römer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. 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.
2. Statement by Izchak Tennenbaum, AG-D, 15.872.
3. Research by the author.
4. Xaver Schiefele, "Die Stadt Burgau und ihre Verwaltung" (unpub. MSS, Burgau, 1982).
5. YVA, Report Ruth Deutscher 033287; and 1984 in a conversation with the author.
6. Paula Brekau in a conversation with the author.
7. Rachel Herzfeld, 1984, in a conversation with the author.
8. File noted March 8, 1945, ASt-Bur.
9. Tennenbaum statement.
10. Ibid.
11. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, BA-L, IV 410 AR 131/69.
12. Schiefele, "Die Stadt Burgau und ihre Verwaltung."
13. 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. Schüttrumpf 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: Oldenburg, 2001). For the postwar careers of May and Schüttrumpf, 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: Oldenburg, 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 Wulfert (Wulfert 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 Wulfert, 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, Wulfert 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 Wulfert GmbH. Beginning in August 1941, 16 prisoners with the Wulfert 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 Wulfert also used the prisoners outside the factory to maintain the gardens at his home in Rothschaige.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, Wulfert 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 Wulfert GmbH. One year later in September to October 1944, Unterscharführer 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 Wulfert 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 Wulfert 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 Wulfert 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. Wulfert 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. Wulfert cursed at foreign prisoners in particular when he caught them stealing food.¹¹

The Wulfert 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 Wulfert 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, Wulfert and his clerk Emil Kempter 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 Wulfert 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

Wulfert 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 Wulfert GmbH.²⁰ The investigations ceased in the same year. Wulfert 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 Wulfert 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 Wulfert 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 Wulfert, Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wulfert).
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 Wulfert).
3. Letter from Wulfert GmbH, May 1, 1942, Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wulfert).
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 Wulfert).
5. Medical Certification of the First SS Camp Doctor, Dachau Concentration Camp, May 10, 1944, Sta. Mü, SpkA Box 2013 (Hans Wulfert).
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 Information 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 D). 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

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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 tradesman 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 Zeitenstromes. 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 Zeitenstromes. 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 Zeitenstromes*, 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 Garching Heide (Garching Meadows), about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) east of the camp. In

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1936, the local *Fliegerborstkommandantur* (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 Haftstätten 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 Ellwagens*, ed. Friedensforum Ellwangen (Ellwangen, 1987). The subcamp is referred to at pages 66–71.

The Ellwangen subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten 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, *Frühe 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: Architekturmuseums 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: Jozef Brzezinski (pp. 157–159), Mikolaj Chwedorowicz (pp. 181–182), Stanislaus Ciok (p. 47), Tadeusz Etter (pp. 193–195), Zygmunt Franczewski (pp. 149–150), Bronislaw 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 Szematowicz (pp. 102–103), Stanislaw 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 Dresden).

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 Draftsman 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, *Frühe 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, *Gebeime 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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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

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 Hudy, 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 Keller. 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 (Schutzhaftlagerführer). 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.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

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 Hutzelmann 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 Sodafabrik (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 Brünig 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,” BGBl. (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–Ausserland 1943–1945; Materialsammlung über die Widerstands und Partisanenbewegung WILLY-FRED* (Linz, 1978), p. 393; and *Nicht stillhalten, wenn Unrecht geschieht: 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 geschieht: 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 (Luftnachrichtenkasernen).

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 Kriegsverbrecherprozesse 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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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

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.

Evelyn Zegenhagen

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 Edeltraud 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, *Zwangsarbeit 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, *Frühe 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.

Christine Schmitt van der Zanden and Evelyn Zegenhagen

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 Remmele. 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: Zalozba 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 Remmele 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 *Arbeitserschulungslager* (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 Stillner. 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).

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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 Mühlendorf 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

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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 Staltach.

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.

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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 (*Planetradträger*), 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 despot 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 Fusshaken" (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. Ziergiebel, 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 Förchner 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 Mühlendorf: 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 Teilräumung der Konzentrationslager Dachau, Kaufering und Mühlendorf 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.

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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 Förchner 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 KLs 18/48, StA-Augs; Sta. Augsburg Ks 1/50, Augsburg; 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 Helmuth 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 Mönlich, *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
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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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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

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 Neuaußing, 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 Tepy from the local infirmary. Tepy 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 Tepy 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
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

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 Gürtel 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, Kriminalaussenstelle 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 I 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.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

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.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
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

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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* (BGBl.), 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,” *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1819.

Investigations by ZdL are filed under file reference BA-L, IV 410 AR 1371/68.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

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

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.”²

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

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.

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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

500 DACHAU

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 stypitic 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 Hafistätten 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.

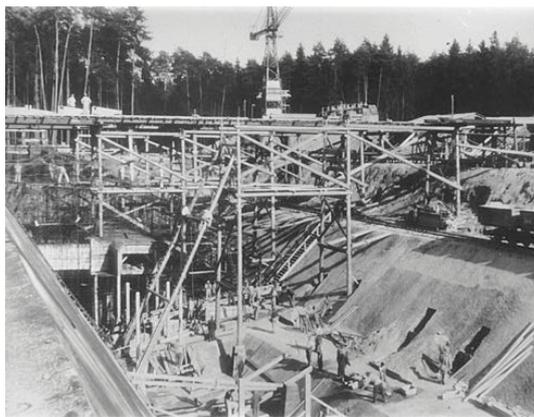
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MÜHLDFORF

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 Mühlendorf 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. Mühlendorf 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/Mühlendorf 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/Mühlendorf near Ampfing, May 7, 1945.
USHMM VWS # 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 Mühlendorf 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 Mühlendorf. 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 Mühlendorf 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 Mühlendorf 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. Mühlendorf Trial put culprits of the SS, the OT, and the construction firm Polensky & Zöllner in the dock.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933-1945

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 Schallermaier, 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 Mühlendorf: Rüstungsbauten und Zwangsarbeit im letzten Kriegsjahr 1944/45* (Landsberg, 1992), extensive detail concerning the Mühlendorf subcamp complex is covered. Andreas Wagner also deals with the end of the Mühlendorf camps in *Todesmarsch: Die Räumung und Teilräumung der Konzentrationslager Dachau, Kaufering und Mühlendorf Ende April 1945* (Ingolstadt, 1995). Gabriele Hammermann's article "Die Dachauer Aussenlager um Mühlendorf," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 77–98, focuses on the perpetrators. Christoph Valentien's contribution "KZ-Aussenlager Mühlendorf: Entwurfsarbeiten von Landschaftsarchitekturstudenten," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 218–239, describes the ideas for the construction of a Mühlendorf 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 Bunkerengelände im Mühlendorfer Hart: Rüstungswahn und menschliches Leid* (Mühlendorf, 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 Schallermaier* (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 Mühlendorf 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.* ("Mühlendorf Trial"), NARA, RG 338. Also of significance is Case 000-50-002-112, *USA v. Michael Vogel, et al.* ("Mühlendorf 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 (BERGMANNSSCHULE)

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 Bergmannsschule* (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 Bergmannsschule* (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).

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

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 Existenzen 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).

Sabine Schalm
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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 Mautausen, 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 Aurer. 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.

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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

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 Briennerstrasse. 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 Briennerstrasse 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 Briennerstrasse.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 Briennerstrasse 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 StA-M, 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 (*Grossschlachtere*) 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 Grossschlachtere 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.

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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.

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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.

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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 (LEBENSBOHN 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 Rathering, 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 Lilienthal’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 Rathering, 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 Rathering, 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, ASt-N, 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," *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1826.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

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 *Mitläufer* (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
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

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 Briennerstrasse, 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 Briennerstrasse, 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 Münchner Königsplatz. Entstehung—Entwicklung—Strukturen—Kompetenzen,” in *Bürokratie und Kult: Das Parteizentrum 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 (REICHSBAHN)

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: Reinfank 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.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

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 Schublen: 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.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

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-OBBERABSCHNITT SÜD, MÖHLSTRASSE)

From 1936 on, the administrative offices of the SS-Oberabschnitt Süd (South Region) were located at Maria-Theresia-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 Reichsluftschutzverband 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

1. 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-Standortkommandatur 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-Standortkommandatur 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

1. See also name list of the München SS-Standortkommandatur Bunkerbau subcamp made by ITS, August 23, 1973, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 35/76.

2. See also statement Stanislaw S., February 8, 1975, BHStA-(M), StanW 34797.

VOLUME I: PART A

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. (Arosen, 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 Pumpel & 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 Croats. 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 Herrenmenschen 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.

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VOLUME I: PART A

MÜNCHEN-ALLACH (PORZELLANMANU- FAKTUR) [AKA MÜNCHEN (PORZELLANMANUFAKTUR)]

The Porzellanmanufaktur Allach (Porcelain Manufacturer, PMA) was founded on January 3, 1936, and was under the control of the SS-Reichsführung (Reich Leadership). From 1942, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amt W I/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, *Frühe 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), 1:86, mentions the porcelain manufacturer. The “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42. Abs 2 BEG,” *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1826, refers to the camp. On the manufacturer, see Hans Landauer, “Nazi-Porzellan als Glücksfall für Häftlinge,” in *Kunst und Diktatur: Architektur, Bildhauerei, Malerei in Österreich, Deutschland, Italien und Sowjetunion 1922–1956; Ausstellungskatalog*, ed. Jan Tabor (Vienna, 1994); and “Nazi-Porzellan als Glücksfall für die Häftlinge” in *Kunst und Diktatur*; (Baden bei Wien, 1994), 1: 600–609. This work also contains eyewitness accounts by former prisoners. Another study on the history of the manufacture of porcelain in Allach is Gabriele Huber's *Die Porzellanmanufaktur Allach-München GmbH: Eine “Wirtschaftsunternehmung” der SS zum Schutz der “deutschen Seele”* (Marburg, 1992).

Original documents on the production of porcelain at PMA are to be found in the AG-D, Best. 37258 (Report of the witness Wilhelm Zemsch, 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 Mühldorfer 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) *Schalensbedhalle* (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 Dyckerhoff 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 Bauberren* (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 Remmele, 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 Weissensestrasse, 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 Weissensestrasse 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, Winni 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: Zwangsarbeit 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: Zwangsarbeit 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 Oberförhng 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 Volksturm (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, Hauptscharführer 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 Fahrshule). 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-Haupttreitschule in München-Riem, see Sta. Mü Handakte Christian Weber, SS-Haupttreitschule 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 (*Schwesterenschaft*). 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 Rebendorf 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 Strassenbahnbekanntschafft—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.

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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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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.

NEUFABRN

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 (Hochsgebirgsausbildungs- und Gefangenenlager).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 Passstrasse 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/Stubai* (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-Außenlager 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 Gleirschner, "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 Gleirschner, "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. Gleirschner, "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 Satzfishanlagen" (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-Sturmabführer 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 Satzfishzuchtanlagen 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.

Gernot Römer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

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-Sturmabführer 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 Kommandant 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.

Gernot Römer
trans. Ute Stargardt

NOTES

1. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, April 5, 1967, BA-L, 410 AR 172–73, pp. 80–81.
2. Wladislaus Krystofiak, Testimony in the preliminary proceedings IJs 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 1Js 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 Ötztal, 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 Hafistätten 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,” *BGBI.* (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, I Js 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.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ÖTZTAL

The Ötztal 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 SIMA 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.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

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, *BGBL*), 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," *BGBI.* (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.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
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 (BGBI.)* 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," *BGBI.* (1977),

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.

Documents on the subcamp are to be found in the following archives: in AG-D (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 Johann Metzinger, November 2, 1946). Investigations by ZdL (available at BA-L) are to be found in File IV 410 AR 633/70; the files contain several eyewitness accounts.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

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).

Achim Fenner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

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 Gmund: 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.

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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 Shaffran, in conversation with the author, 1984.
4. Susanne Rössler and Gerhard Stütz, eds., *Neugablonz: Entstehung und Entwicklung* (Schwäbisch Gmund: 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 Riederloh 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 *AugsA*, 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 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.

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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.

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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,” *BGBL* (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.

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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,” *BGBL* (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,” *BGBL* (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 Fordernachweise 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.

540 DACHAU

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 (*Binderhalle*) 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, *Frühe 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, Slovenians, 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.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

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).

Genrot Römer
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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 north-east 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 Gamélin. 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 Prominents: prisoners such as Cuckovic were beaten, and in 1945, Krobot 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 Prominents 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. Krobot 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.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

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 (*Geiselnahme*) 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 captif* (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'étal* (Paris, 1973), p. 65; Barbara Distel, “KZ-Kommandos an idyllischen Orten. Dachauer Aussenlager in Österreich,” *DaHe* as (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 Mautausen 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,” *BGBI.* (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,

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an electric anti-aircraft gun. Most likely, Seehausen was chosen as the new location because the Típecska 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 Típecska 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 Típecska 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 Hutzelmán, 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 Típecska 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 Hutzelmán 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 Haftstätten 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 Johannes Wrobel, can be found in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe 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 Lilienthal 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,” *BGBI.* (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, *Frühe 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.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

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 Piorowski, 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 Jehovas 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.

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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,” *BGBL.* (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, *Frühe 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).

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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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SUDELDFELD (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, *Frühe 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-BERGHHAUS 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 livestock 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 Veronka Diem describes the Thansau subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe 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, *Frühe 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, *Frühe 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.rai.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.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

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.

"Political" (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 (*Mollassefelsen*) 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. (Eggingen: 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, *Herrschaftsinstanzen 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.

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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

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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 Haftstätten 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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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

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-

capas. 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).

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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 Mühlendorf 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 Mühlendorf 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 Mühlendorf 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 Mühlendorf 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 Mühlendorf 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 Mühlendorf subcamp complex, see the Mühlendorf 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 der 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

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

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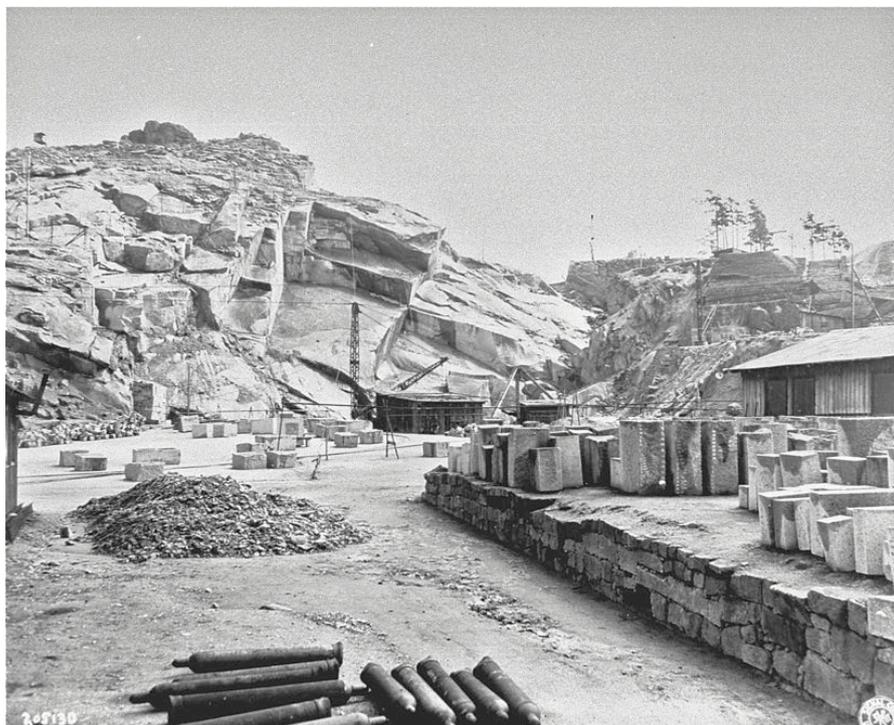
and a multiplicity of routine tasks, from keeping the camp clean to peeling potatoes. The total value of the prisoner labor for the year was calculated at nearly 367,000 Reichsmark (RM), or almost \$147,000 at the prevailing, fixed rate of exchange.¹³

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

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945



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 Bonnhöffer.

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

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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 F1" 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 Skriebeleit, "Flossenbürg—Stammlager," in *Der Ort des Terrors. Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 4, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich, 2006); Johannes Tüchel, "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 Rzewski, *Każń 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 Calémbert, *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 F1, 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 F1, 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 F1, Folder 391, "Arbeitseinsatz am 17. Juli 1943," July 17, 1943.

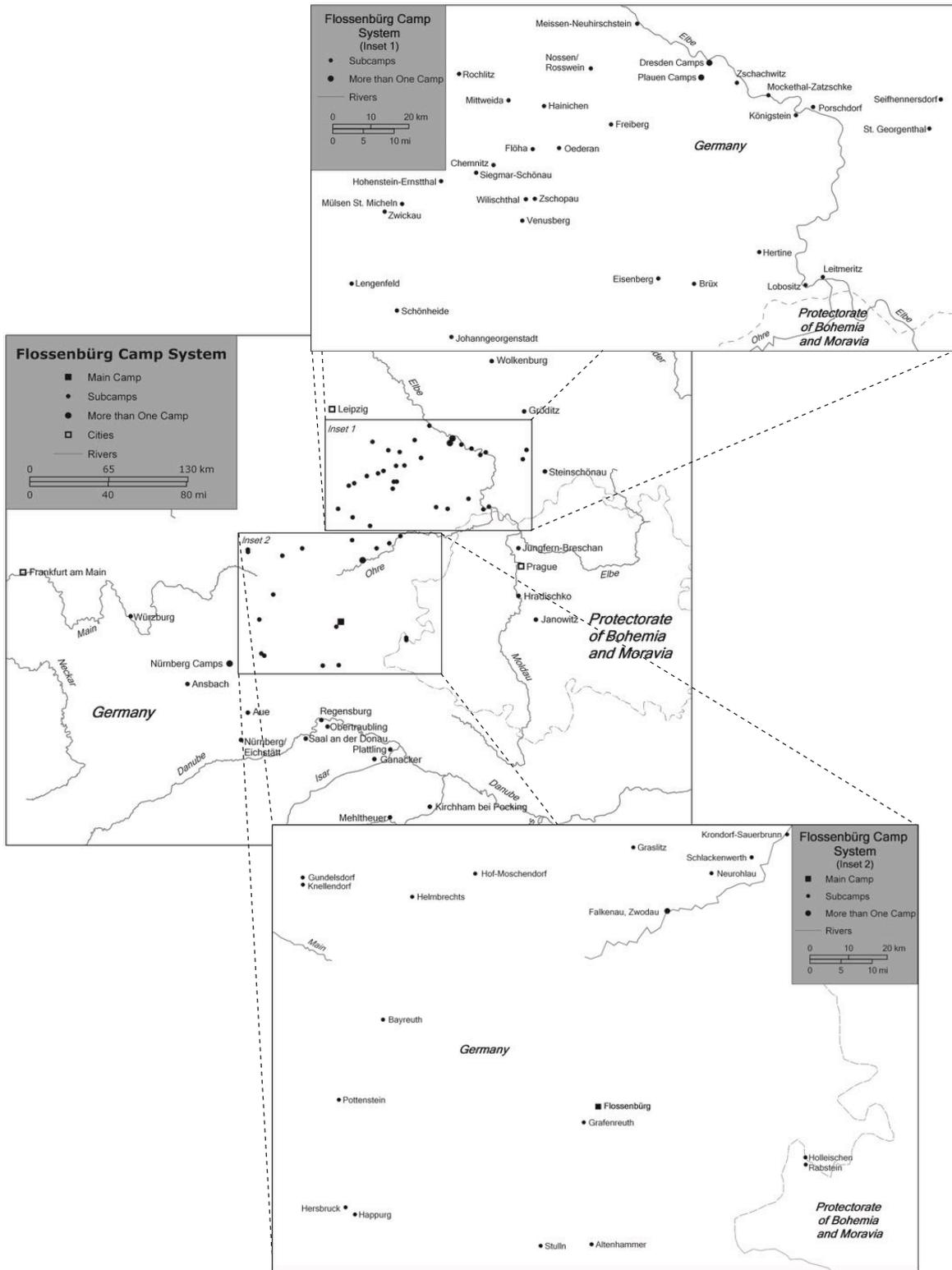
15. July 1943: Ibid., August 1943 and March 1944; Siegert, "Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg," p. 450; NARA, M890, Roll 9, Frames 705–709, January 1944.

16. BA, NS 4 F1, Folder 393, "Übersicht über den Häftlingseinsatz im KL Flossenbürg, Monat Oktober 1944," n.d.

17. Ibid., Folder 354/2, TWL der Waffen-SS Hersbruck, "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-Pionierkaserne (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-Bekleidungs-lager (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 Johanngeorgenstadt 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 Rabstein, for Junkers in Lengsfeld (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, Luftfahrtgerätekwerk (Aircraft Instrument Factory) Hakenfelde to Zwozdau 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-Hauptsturmführer 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 nonexistent 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 Johannegeorgenstadt subcamps of Flossenbürg.

USHMM WS # 26470, COURTESY OF SHARON PAQUETTE

mostly Jewish prisoners had to do excavation work for airfields. 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 Johannegeorgenstadt. 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 Strebel and Jens-Christian Wagner have recently published their research on the Research Institute, *Zwangsarbeit 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 Lob, 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 CEGE-SOMA. 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 Lob, et al.*, 000-50-46-1 (copy in AG-F); for Heerde, cf. statements by Leo Bodenstern and Oskar Rosenburg 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 Strebel and Jens-Christian Wagner, *Zwangsarbeit 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 Rezhahalle 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

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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 Rezhathalle 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 CEGESOMA, 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 f[ür] physikalische Forschung in der Neuen Baumwollspinnerei, Karl-Schuessler-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 Schuessler 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 Volkswagens (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 Skriebeleit, *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).

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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 Malthuern, 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 Malthuern 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 (*Arbeiterziehungslager*), 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 Porsdorf 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 Osrām 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 Skriebeleit'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-Schöнау 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 "asocials."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 (Siegert 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 (BEHELFSHEIM)

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.

Ulrich Fritz
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. CEGESOMA, microfilm 14368, transfers from Flossenbürg to subcamps.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

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-Unterscharführer 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, Felicija 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 Neuhohlau (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 oryginału* (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.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

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.

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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 Seiffhennersdorf, 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-Pioniersatzbataillon, 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 paradisaical, 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.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

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 “political.” 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 interspersion 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* (Regensburg, 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.

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4. Hans Brenner, *Frauen in den Aussenlagern des KZ Flossenbürg* (Regensburg, 1999), pp. 48, 52.

5. Ba-VEB-Vmb-D, Mapped 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 (Stärkeumlegung), April 13, 1945.

9. Ba-VEB-Vmb-D, Mapped 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, Mapped 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, GOEHLE-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 Rieser 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 Ludwigsbürg 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-Zwangsarbeit 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/zwangsarbeiter.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 'Ausländereinsatz' 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 'Ausländereinsatz' 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 Neurohlahu 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-Reick” [*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/FI-10.

4. BA-B, NS 4/FI-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

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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 exterritorial.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 (Jezeří) 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 Skriebeleit'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-Verwaltungsakten 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 Skriebeleit 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 Skriebeleit 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 Luftfahrtgerätekwerk 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 (LMIs), 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 “Zwangsarbeit 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 Skriebeleit provides an up-to-date overview of the Flossenbürg subcamps in Bohemia, “Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen,” *DaHe* 15 (1999): 196–217. Skriebeleit 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 Hachtmann, “*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; 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 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 Skriebeleit, “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 (Betriebsstillegungen): 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 Szew. [*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, IV410AR-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-BPA-SED 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 Szew., 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.

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,

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

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."⁹

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 Bonneaud. 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-Unterscharführer 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 á 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 á 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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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-hots," 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,” *BGBI.* (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 Begräbnisstätte 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.

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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 Bütikofer 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, Bütikofer, and Kommandoführer Fries. Thus Bütikofer 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, Bütikofer 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 Bekleidungsagers bei Grafenreuth, May 24, 1943.
2. Ibid., 219/2, Letter from the WVHA on June 17, 1943.
3. Ibid., 217, Handwritten letter from Bütikofer 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.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

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 Dzio-baka 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 “Zwangsarbeit 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 Skriebeleit 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, “Industriearbeiterschaft 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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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

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 “Fliegenschäden 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, IV410AR-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-Untersführer 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 Wülknitz. 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, “Konzentrační tabor v. Litoměřicích a jeho vězňově Terezín 1994” (Leitmeritz concentration camp and its prisoners. Conference report from the international conference at Terezín, November 15–17, 1994), p. 24.

GUNDELSDORF (WITH KNELLENDORF)

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 Neurohau 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/FI 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

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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 *Haliül* (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 Hersbruck 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 regretfully without any reference to sources or a scientific apparatus. Sociologist Elmer Luchterhand 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 Luchterhand's estate (BCL, Elmer Gustav Luchterhand 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 Luchterhand, "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 Helmbrechts, 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 Osrām 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 Engelmänn; 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 Reiben fest geschlossen: Beiträge zur Geschichte*

des Alltags unterm Hakenkreuz, ed. Detlev Peukert and Jürgen Reulecke (Wuppertal, 1981), pp. 435–454.

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NOTES

1. See BA-B, NS 4, 393/1, S. 845; StA-N, Sta. LG Nürnberg-Fürth, Nr. 2637 I a, pp. 29r–30 (record of interview of the prisoner Felix Marszalek).
2. BA-B, NS 4/Fl 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 I a, 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 (Rtyně), 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.

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 Skriebeleit, "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. Łódź—Theresienstadt—Auschwitz—Freiberg—Oederan—Mauthausen* (Leipzig, 2002).

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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. Łódź—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 *Nummernbüchern* 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 (AGFI), 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-ERNSTTHAL

During the large air raid on Chemnitz on September 11, 1944, the Wanderer-werke of the Auto Union AG in Siegmarschönau 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 Siegmarschönau 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 Siegmarschönau. 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 Siegmarschönau, where we stayed a couple of months. After Siegmarschönau was bombed, we were transferred to Hohenstein-Ernstthal.”³

In Siegmarschönau 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 Siegmars, 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-Unterscharführer and 29 guards served under the camp leader, SS-Oberscharführer Franz Reber. In October 1944, Reber had already taken over the command at Siegmars-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 (Zlúdice).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 Kriegsgefangenen 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.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. Szaja Baczynski, 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 Kriegsgefangenen und der KZ-Häftlinge. Hohenstein-Ernstthal" (unpub. MSS, Frankfurt am Main, n.d.), sig. B/76.
8. Baczynski report.
9. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 57/76, Bd. I, p. 84a, statement by Pinkus B.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 85–85b.
11. Baczynski, 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 (Holyšov) 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, Helene 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 Świergoła, 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 Laštovka, Václav Němec, and Rudolf Stránský (Plzeň, 1985). As for newer research, Jörg Skriebeleit's essay "Die Aussenlager des KZ Flossenbürg in Böhmen," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 196–217, and Václav Jířk'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 sub-camps 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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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Vojtěch Laštovka, Václav Němec, and Rudolf Stránský, *Hrdinové protifašistického odboje* (Plzeň, 1985), p. 161.
2. Růžena Bubeníčková, Ludmilla Kubátová, and Irena Malá, *Tábor 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 sub-camp 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 (Vrchotovy 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, *Táborův 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 Hradištko published, in four languages, a small volume of the history of the subcamp, *Hradištko—Koncentrační tábor* (Hradištko, 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,

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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 Strašnice (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 Krschepenicz (Křepeňice). 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 Krschepenicz, 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 Krschepenicz 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 Welleschín (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 Hradištko published, in four languages, a small volume on the history of the subcamp, *Hradištko—Koncentrační tabor* (Hradištko, 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 Nádherny* (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 resumptions 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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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

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 Johannegeorgenstadt 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 Johannegeorgenstadt, 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-Untersführer and 46 SS guards.¹⁰ The camp commandant was SS-Hauptsturmführer Kornelius Schwanner, who at the beginning of 1945 was transferred to be camp leader at Obertraubling.

At the Flossenbürg Trial, Schwanner 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 Johannegeorgenstadt, 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 Johannegeorgenstadt 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 Johannegeorgenstadt, the subcamp was evacuated on April 16, 1945.¹⁷ A total of 1,123 prisoners, 822 of whom were from the Johannegeorgenstadt subcamp, were evacuated to Theresienstadt (Terezín), initially by rail transport, then from Neurohau (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 Johannegeorgenstadt 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 Wennel, *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 Wennel, *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 Odolenswasser (Odolena Voda), is a large property, the Jungfern-Breschan estate (Paneské Březaný), 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.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 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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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 Eiboszyk, 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,” *BGBI.* (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 Niederen 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.

Hans Brenner
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 Sude-tenquell 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., *Tábor utrpění a smrti* (Prague, 1969); and Jörg Skriebeleit’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.

Alfons Adam
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

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 Polizei Flossenbürg b. Weiden/Opf. to Krondorf 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 Arbeitseinheit des Arbeitsdienstführers, ca. June 30, 1943.

10. BA-B, NS4/FL-393/: 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 Siegmars 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.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

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 workrooms. 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-Unterscharführer 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 Schönlheide, 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 Pistorv 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 Schmolli 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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trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. AK-IPN, I-8187, Protokoll der Aussage des ehemaligen polnischen Häftlings Adam Z. (Häftl.-Nr. 27 575), March 30, 1946.
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, Bl. 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 Schmolli, *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, Bl. 1264.
15. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 1, Bl. 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 Pistorv, Tschechischer Bericht (Vytišeno péčí Oku; text

HDK-CSBS Tachov); see also Richard Švanderlik, “Pistorvské 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 Leitmeritz, 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 Leitmeritz camp. There was another camp only a few kilometers from the camp complexes in Theresienstadt and Leitmeritz. 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 Leitmeritz. 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, Miroslava Langhamerová-Benešová tries to document completely the names of the prisoners: “Práce vězňů pro SS Hauptamt C I v Lobosicích,” *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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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.

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4. Rücküberstellung, August 31, 1944, CEGESOMA, Mikrofilm 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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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 guard-house 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 Neuhirschstein 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 Neuhirschstein. 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 Neuhirschstein subcamp can be found in the ASt-Amg.

Ulrich Fritz
trans. Mihaela Pittman

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

NOTES

1. See also Herbert Küttner, “Auf höhere Weise beschlagnahmt,” newspaper article, n.d., AG-F.
2. 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.
3. See also Toni Siegert, “Zusammenfassender Bericht für das Schloss Neuhirschstein,” 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).
4. CEGESOMA, Microfilm 14787 (the WVHA letter from November 29, 1943, and undated transfer list).
5. BA-B, NS 4/FL 390, telex of the Flossenbürg Kommandant Kögel from November 3, 1943.
6. 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.
7. Postmortem certificates for Aleco Fiaravanti, Waclaw Stepien, and Jarosowski, copies in AG-F.
8. *United States vs. Helmut Fritzsche*, Case No. 000-Flossenbürg-4.
9. BA-B, NS 4/FL 428.
10. *Ibid.*, 393, vol. 1: Reports of requirement for the months of December 1943, February and March 1944.
11. ITS, Hist. Archiv, Hängeordner Meissen Schloss Neuhirschstein; 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 Elektrizitäts 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 Darinca 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-Bubeneč, 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 (České Budějovice) 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.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

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, Zusammenstellung der Fertigungen der Astra-Werke für bestimmte 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 politics 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 Feusch, who was shot at Pima in an extremely debilitated condition."⁷

In March 1945, several Yugoslavian prisoners arrived from the Flossenbürg/Porsdorf 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-Unterscharführer 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 Łódź 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 Häftlingseinsatz zum Aufbau von Treibstoffanlagen in der Endphase des Zweiten Weltkrieges,” *SüHe* 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 Werebczyk, 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 Johannegeorgenstadt subcamp in December 1943, the Erla Maschinenwerke GmbH Leipzig (Erla Airplane Works) sought, with the establishment of the Mülsen St. Michel 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

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

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-Untersführer 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 Untersführer 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 Ortmanndorf. The “Muselmanen” [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 Vlasov 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*, Teil A, Bd. 2, ed. Martin Broszat and Elke 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.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

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, Bl. 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

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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 W I: 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 watch-towers, 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-Hauptsturmführer 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 Hechtfisher, 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 Skriebeleit, “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, Brussels, 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, Hechtfisher, 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

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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 Altzella 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 8x12 meters (26x39 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).

Hans Brenner
trans. Martin Dean

NOTES

1. BA-B, Film 14430, p. 1270: demand for payment (Forderungs nachweis) Flo Nr. 763 for December 1944.
2. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 3, p. 39: demand for payment (Forderungs nachweis) 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 vězňové,” 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 Kárny 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 Neurohau 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, Suzanna 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 Pręcki, 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 Windheimer 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).

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

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 Schmolle 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 Ausenlagern 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 *BGBI.* (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).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Martin Dean

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 sub-camp 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 Schrötter, 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 [Ústí n. Labem] 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, *Niemand, 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."

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NOTES

1. AHM-O, Schreiben der Direktion der DKK Scharfstein an SS-Standartenführer Maurer, June 24, 1944.
2. Ibid.
3. AHM-O, Reisebericht des Vertreters der DKK Scharfstein, 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 Studentzeitung. 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-foot-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: Fahrbauer), 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 krepiereten 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 Plattling subcamp in *Wintergrün—verdrängte Morde* (Konstanz: Labhardt-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. Judengeschichte 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 1* (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 USHMMA 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 *BGBI.* (1977), I, “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” on p. 1832.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
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PLAUEN (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), Amtsguppe 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.

Rolf Schmolling
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

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, Wtorczyk] 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, Stafania 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 Žg., 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, Roonstr. 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 Documents 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 Industrierwerke, 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 Industrierwerke, ZdL, 410 AR 3217/66 (B).

PLAUEN (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 Frenchman 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 Píšťov, 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
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

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 Porschdorf 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 Porschdorf 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 Porschdorf train station served as the accommodation facility and was named "Gluto," used as a code name for the Porschdorf 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-Untersführer Göttling was the responsible camp leader. In addition, 7 SS-Untersführer 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 Ansaldo 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,” *SäHe* 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.

Hans Brenner
trans. Eric Schroeder

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 Teufelhöhle, 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 Brandt, 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. Brandt 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, Vertreibung, Mord: NS-Unrecht in Slowenien und seine Spuren in Bayern 1941–1945*, ed. Gerhard Jochem and Georg Seiderer (Berlin, 2005), pp. 223–236.

RABSTEIN

Rabstein near Böhmisches-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 Böhmisches-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

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 Böhmisches-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

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 Böhmisches-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 Verneřice), 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 táborů z let 1942–1945 na území města Ústí n. L.," in *Ústecký sborník historický*, s. 537 (Ústí nad Labem, 1985); Petr Joza, *Rabštejnské 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 odboje proti fašismu* (Děčín, 1977); Jörg Skriebeleit, "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).
3. Miroslav Grisa, "Hroby válečných zajatců a vězňů koncentračních táborů z let 1942–1945 na území města Ústí n. L.," in *Ústecký sborník historický*, s. 537 (Ústí nad Labem, 1985).
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

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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 *Schlagschemel*, 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.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

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 Stadthof.

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, Bestattungsamt 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

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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 (Transylvania).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 Goehle-Werk 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 Siget—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-Unterscharführer 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 Kriegführung* (Eggingen: 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

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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 emaciated

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 Konzentrations-lagers 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 Heinrich, 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 Ertelt, *Kelheim 1939–1945* (Kelheim, 1975), pp. 122–125. Other sources on the camp are Rainer Ehm, “Die letzten Kriegswochen 1945 im Raum Kelheim-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 Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, published by the ITS), lists the camp at 1:119; the *BGBL* (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, Neuhirschstein, 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 Neuhirschstein near Meissen for the Belgian royal family; or

favoured 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 Lichterfelde, 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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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 Johannegeorgenstadt.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-Untersführer and 14 SS guards were subordinate.⁷

The evacuation of the prisoners began on April 13, 1945. On foot they reached the Johannegeorgenstadt 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 BPP, 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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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 Johannegeorgenstadt.”
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

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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.

Ulrich Fritz
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

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) Blacke 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.

Hans Brenner
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 Baczynski, 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. Baczynski report, p. 1.
8. ZdL. IV 410 AR-Z 57/76, Bd.I.
9. ITS, Hist. Abt., Flossenbürg, Nr. 10, Bl. 52/53; Bl. 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 Böhmisches 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.

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The subcamp in Steinschönau had the classic structure of the small Flossenbürg work detachments—the transfer of 1 German Vorbeugehäftling 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 Glasstuben.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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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

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 Jířetín 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.

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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 Reichsstathalters im Sudetengau an die Firma A. Schultze Jr., September 20, 1944.
4. BA-B, NS 4/FI-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 *Vorbeugungsbüfilinge* (“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 *Schwerstarbeiterzulage* (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: “Zwangsarbeit 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-Unterscharführer 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 sub-camp 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 Budejovice 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.

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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 Schwammberger, and he, like other SS members, shot prisoners before my eyes. . . . Around January 1944 I was . . . brought to the Plaszów 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 Benjamino 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

1. SHStA-(D), Auto Union, Nr. 3896, Studie über Ausgliederung der Munitionsfertigung von DKK und ihre Gründung als selbständige Gesellschaft.

2. SHStA-(D), Auto Union, Nr. 1030, Aktenvermerk über die Gründung der Agricola GmbH. Scharfenstein, October 5, 1944.

3. SHStA-(D), Auto Union, Nr. 1030, Schreiben Rü In IV a des RmfRuK an DKK GmbH. Scharfenstein, October 3, 1944.

4. AHM-O, Reisebericht des Vertreters von DKK Scharfenstein über den Beusch im K.L. Flossenbürg, August 8–9, 1944.

5. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 204/75, Bd. 1, p. 195, testimony by Susi K. (number 58808).

6. NARA, Microfilm T-580, Rolls 69–70.

7. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 204/75, Bd. 1, p. 165, testimony by Anna Z. (number 58790).

8. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 204/75, Bd. 1, p. 163, testimony by Anna Z.

9. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 204/75, Bd. 1, p. 195, testimony by Susi K.

10. Report by the former Aufseherin Stenzel to the author from April 4, 1975.

11. Report of "Tamara Rainer" (pseudonym), in DÖW, ed., *Jüdische Schicksale: Berichte von Verfolgten* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1992), p. 125.

12. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 204/75, Bd. 1, p. 196, testimony by Susi K.

13. Martha Weber, report to the author, from April 9, 1975.

14. ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 204/75, Bd. 1, p. 196, testimony by Susi K.

15. 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-Oberaufseherin, 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 and 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 Fuchslein 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 (Führungshauptamt, 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 Fuchslein 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' memories. 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-foot-high) wooden wall. All four of the work halls, including the loading hall, were fenced off by a 3-meter-high (9.8-foot-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 Emaile 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-Unterscharführer 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 419 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 Mármaros 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 covering 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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trans. Martin Dean

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. . . . [A]ccording 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 Johannegeorgenstädt.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 Lázně)—Planá—Tachov (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 Johannegeorgenstädt 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 Mariconi, published a testimony, *Memoria di vita e di inferno: Percorso autobiografico dalla spenieratezza 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 Lázně in Richard Švandrlík, “Pístopské 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 Lázně 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 Luftfahrtgerätekwerk 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 "Zwangsarbeit 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 Skriebeleit, 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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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 (Betriebsstillegungen): 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 numeration, 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.

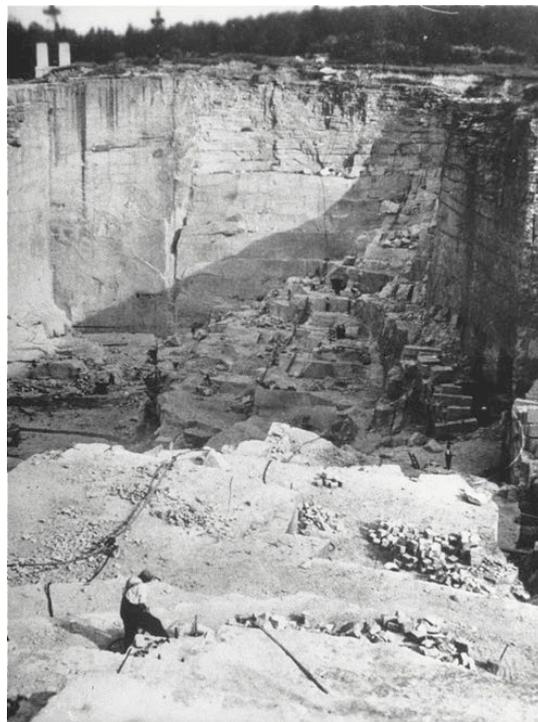
Jews were the most badly treated group of prisoners at Gross-Rosen. Up until October 12, 1942, at least 285 Jews passed through the camp. They were often kept at work after the other prisoners had been dismissed. They received none of the privileges that other prisoners did, and the others were forbidden 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 *Arbeiterziehungslager*, 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

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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.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945



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, Hasebroek, 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.

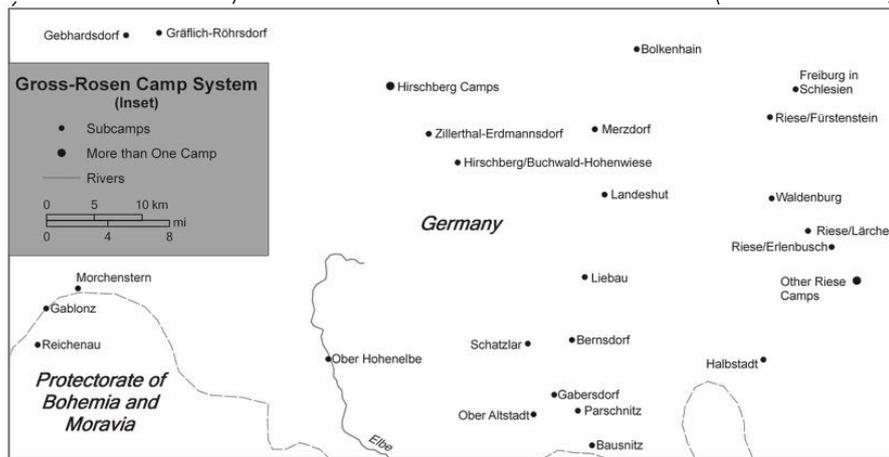
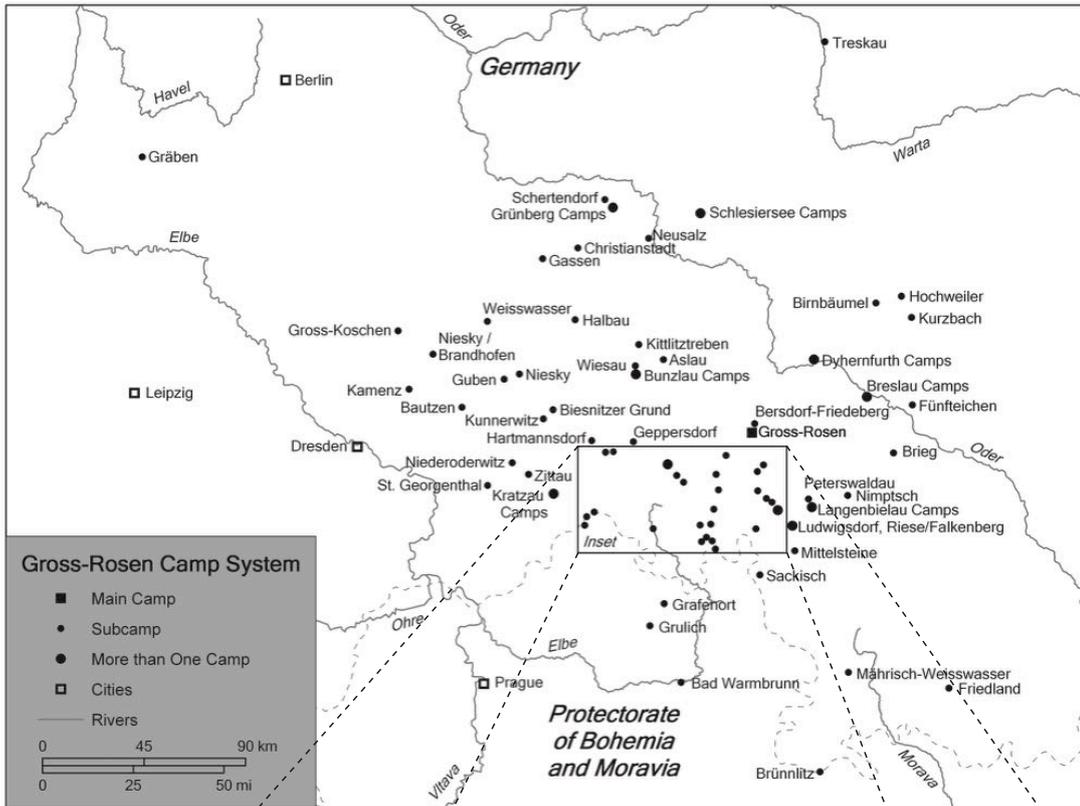
SOURCES A comprehensive scholarly work on Gross-Rosen is Isabell Sprenger's *Gross-Rosen: Ein Konzentrationslager in Schlesien* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1996). One should also note the works by Alfred Konieczny: *Ewakuacja obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen w 1945. SFiZH* (Warsaw: Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen, 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 Reichführer-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, Zillertal-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, Märzachtal, Lärche, Kaltwasser, Säuerwasser, 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

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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-Altstadt, 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 Bilá 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 Zwangsarbeit 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 Eulengebirge durch die Organisation Todt und mitarbeitende Firmen," in *Die Ausnutzung der Zwangsarbeit 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 gewesenenen 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, “Eksplloataga robotników przymusowych, 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 Ośla) 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 Boris 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 (Schiesstand); 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, Grosenhain, 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 Weislowicz (Weislowitz) (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, *Złota gwiazda i czerwony krzyż* (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 funkcyjni niemieckich obozów, więzień i gett skazani przez sądy polskie* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Przeciwno Narodowi Polskiemu-Institut 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, AŻIH, 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 funkcyjni niemieckich obozów, więzień i gett skazani przez sądy polskie* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Przeciwno Narodowi Polskiemu-Institut 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 Schmelt. 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 Václavěk 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 začleňské 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.

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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 prisoners 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 (*Zwangsarbeitslager*, 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.

Well-known professor of German studies Ludvík Václavěk 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 (Trutnov) 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

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

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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," *Ssśn* 40 (1982): 55–112; *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państw. Wydaw. Naukowe, 1979).

The AŻIH's account collection also contains material on this camp.

Magdalena Zając
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 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 Rothernia), 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 Sachsens* (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 Koksche and Gustav Ohlig, *Chronikdokumentation 2, 1918–1945, Görlitzer Arbeiterbewegung* (Görlitz: Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der örtlichen Arbeiterbewegung, 1984); Koksche 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, *Sblajme. 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 gedüngter 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 Gruszczecka 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.

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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 (Krošnice), 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," *Słsn* 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
trans. Gerard Majka

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 × 0.4 × 0.5 meters (1.64 × .44 × .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 Glücksmann 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 fi-liach 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, AŻIH, 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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trans. Gerard Majka

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. AŻIH, 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. AŻIH, 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-Hundsfield 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-Hundsfield, 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-Hundsfield.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-Hundsfield 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* (Rogóżnica, 1987); Alfred Konieczny, "Uwagi o planach wykorzystania więźniów KL Gross-Rosen w przemyśle zbrojeniowym Trzeciej Rzeszy," *SFiZH* 23 (2000); Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Ssion*, 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 Slasku* (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-Hundsfield 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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trans. Gerard Majka

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 Waław Dominik, *Aż stali się prochem i rozpaczą* (Wrocław: wydawn. Krajowa Agencja Wydawnictwo, 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-Hundsfield) 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 weaponry 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 Körmöczy, 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: Wydawnia 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 Hofmann 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 powstającej Warszawy do KL Gross-Rosen* (Wałbrzych, 1994), was consulted and used. Andrzej Buta and Waclaw 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

1. 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.
2. 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 (Pępcie), right after the curve in the road from Schüsselndorf (Żłobizna) 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 Nocoń 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 Guździół (aka Kuździół), 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 *mehlzupka*; 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 evacua-

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 Tešiorowski, “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 Pępicach,” *GBrz*, no. 9 (1995); Nicieja, “Katorżnicze obozy w Pępicach,” *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,” *EK*, 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 Pępice, Brieg Township, maintained by the AK-IPN Op from 1968 through 1978).

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trans. Gerard Majka

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 (Lów-Ber 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 Brännlitz 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 Brännlitz. 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, Budzyń, Wieliczka, and Krakau-Plaszow concentration camps and, from October 1944 to April 1945, at Brännlitz. 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, Fredrychowicz, Gerhard, Hahn, Kirschner, Kurtle, Laubenthal, Stapf, Stier, Unbescheid, Vogt, Weimar, and Wienskampf; SS-Sturmmann 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 Brännlitz 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, Brännlitz 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 Brännlitz. 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 Brännlitz 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 Brännlitz, April 18, 1945 (original in YVA); catalog No. 4107/DP—Liste der männlichen Häftlinge des AL Brännlitz. Stand vom April 18, 1945 (original in YVA).

Secondary source materials include Aleksandra Kobielec, *Filia obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen, Arbeitslager Brännlitz* (Wałbrzych, 1991); Roman Olszyna, "KL Brännlitz," *F-S* 51 (1978); Janusz Roszko, "Byłem w Brännlitz w hotelu Schindlera," *DzP*, December 8, 1994; Roszko, "Byłem w Brännlitz (Przyczynek do portretu świętego Schindlera)," *PDN*, August 19, 1994; Roszko, "Legenda o świętym Schindlerze (Szpieg—Budowniczy arki)," *PDN*, May 13, 1994.

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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 Schmeldt 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 Dąbrowski 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 Schmeldt 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 (Rüstungsinspektion) 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 (Ruszków).

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 Izydor 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 Wójcicki. 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

VOLUME I: PART A

CHRISTIANSTADT

In the town of Christianstadt (present-day Krzystkowice) 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 Tojba 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," *Ssšn* 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 conveyor 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 Hałas, *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.

Aleksandra Kobielec
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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, Croats, 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-Sturmmann Oskar Prechtel; SS-Untersturmführer Willi Rost; SS-Rottenführer Emil Ruck; SS-Sturmmann Jakob Schmitzer; SS-Schütze Johann Schmitzer; SS-Rottenführer Johann Tschokan; SS-Hauptscharführer Julius Uhl, roll-call leader (Rapportführer); SS-Sturmmann 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-Sturmmann 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 Niederdorfe, 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 Hałas, *Dyhernfurth II—Aussenlager Gross-Rosen. Todeskommando* (Wałbrzych, 1994).

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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 SCHLESSEN

Freiburg in Schlesien (later Swiebodzice), 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," *Ssśn* 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.

Aneta Małek
trans. Gerard Majka

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 (Mioszów 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 Schubert 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 Dörnau (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 Vetelicki¹⁶ 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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trans. Gerard Majka

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 slovakische 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 Pieknielny.

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 Dumin, "The Gross-Rosen Concentration Camp Subsidiary in Miłoszyce in Oława County," *SFiZH* 2 (1975); and Andrzej Bułat and Waław Dominik, *Aż stali się procbem i rozpaczą* (Wrocław, 1980). Also, Waław 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 AŻIH in

Warsaw and YV in Jerusalem also have accounts of prisoners from the Markstädt and Fünfteichen camps. The information on the Krupp Works and its association with the Fünfteichen 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.

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trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Testimony of T. Soll, AK-IPN WR; Testimony of K. Goniprowski, AK-IPN; Testimony of S. Reifel, AŽIH.
2. AMGR, 5900/3/DP, Report of examination of Józef 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 Władysław 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 Władysław Bąk.
6. AMGR, 5242/DP, 5913/DP, 52/40/MF; E. Kobierska-Motas, “Członkowie załóg i więźniowie funkcyjni niemieckich obozów, więzień i gett skazani przez sądy polskie” (Warsaw, 1992), Item 344.
7. *Ibid.*, Item 1055.

GABERSDORF

The original camp for female Jewish prisoners in Gabersdorf (later Libeč) 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, *Pobočky koncentračního tábora Gross-Rosen ve lnářských závodech Trutnovska za nacistické okupace* (Trutnov: Lnářský průmysl, 1981). There is also Miroslav Kryl, “Pracovní nasazení židovských vězenkyň v továrnách firmy Jan Etrich v Hostinném a Bernarticích v době nacistické okupace,” *Lp-pKd 5* (1984); and 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), pp. 263–293.

Well-known professor of German studies Ludvík Václavek has devoted his attention to a specific topic, 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 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

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 (Lagerführer). 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.

VOLUME I: PART A

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 Zillertal-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 podobożu KL

Gross-Rosen w Jasieniu /luty—kwiecień 1945 roku/," in *Wpływ pobytów 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 Pała, 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 (Jiřetin, 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. AŻIH, 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 (Miłęcice) 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 Dörnau camp, which was part of the Riese complex of camps.

Previously, on April 11, 1945, a group of 30 prisoners from Geppersdorf reached the Brännlitz 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 Brännlitz and Dörnau 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 Brännlitz, dated April 11, 1945; and a list of the sick on May 9, 1945, compiled by T. Cytron, Leichenbuch Dörnau.

Aneta Małek
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. The information about the numbering and the transport list to subcamp Brännlitz (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 Ruffel 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 Cymerman 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, Hildegarda Kaurod, Elfriede Milich, Ida Otto, Ida Scholz, Luise Schurtzmann, Elza Jentsch, Marta Kühnast, Marta Leuschner, and Walli Sussenbach. 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 Sussenbach (born March 26, 1921; sentenced to five years in prison in a verdict of February 7, 1947); Luise Schurtzmann (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," *Ssšn* 40 (1982); and in particular on the SS members, see Elżbieta Kobierska-Motas, *Członkowie załóg i więźniowie funkcjami niemieckich obozów, więzień i gett skazani przez sądy polskie* (Warsaw, 1992).

Archive materials concerning the Gräben subcamp can be found in AMGR in Wałbrzych and AŻIH 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. AŻIH, 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. AŻIH, 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 Gumprich 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,” *Ssśn* 40 (1982); as well as by Bogdan Cybulski in his study *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987).

Available archive materials concerning the Grafenort subcamp can be found in the AMGR in Wałbrzych, as well as in the AŻIH 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 Gumpricht, dated May 31, 1969.
2. AMGR, 7009/260, Olszyna Records Collection, F. Ruzga, letter, January 30, 1979.
3. AŻIH, Account No. 775, Adela Karmel.
4. AMGR, 7009/153/DP, Olszyna Records Collection, Mania Kufelnicka, letter, October 15, 1984.

GRÄFLICH-RÖHRSDORF

A forced labor camp (ZAL) for Jews was formed at Gräfllich-Röhsdorf (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,” *Ssśn* 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* (Rogoźnica: 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* (Rogoźnica: 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 Domenoke 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," *Ssšn* 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.

Hans Brenner
trans. Geoffrey Megargee

NOTES

1. AMGR, No. 3.15.1.1., Więźniowie obozu Gross-Koschen według niepełnych 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," *Ssšn* 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, "Mahnmahl 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 (Králiky), 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-Untersführer 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 Litomierzyce 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 obecných 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 Hempel. 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 Schlesiensee 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 Juteborg. 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 Schlesiensee 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
trans. Gerard Majka

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).

Leokadia Lewandowska
trans. Gerard Majka

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 Krakou-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 Jamnitz 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," *BGBI.* (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 Eichholtz, "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 USHMMA 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.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

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. USHMMA, 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 “policemen” 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 *Filie 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 Iłowie 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 zapisami 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 (Meziměstí). 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-Ahlstadt.

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, *Pobocky koncentracního tábora Gross-Rosen ve lnářských závodech Trutnovska za nacistické okupace* (Trutnov, 1981).

Primary sources are available in AMGR, AG-T, and other repositories as noted in the citations.

Hans Brenner
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 dotychczasowej 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 Stollenkommando, 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
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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
trans. Gerard Majka

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 Schmelt, 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 Streholz, 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 Pittrass (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 Haftstätten 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 "Korespondencj Kierownika Centralnego Urzędu Nordrhein-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 Haftstätten 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.

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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

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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.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

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," *Ssın* 40 (1982): 55-112.

Additional sources are preserved in the AMGR.

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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."¹

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 Wirker 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 Wirker 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. Wirker simply stated: ‘What am I to do with the sick, the fire is out!’ I immediately asked: ‘Have all the dead been cremated?’ Wirker 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* (Polanica 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 Wirker, 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. SÜA, 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. Wirker, 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 Hendlers' 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 Freiwalddau,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. Hendlers 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

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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: Grulich, Hübsch, Koder, Konrad, Krause, Kuni-gals, Kunnith, Leistikoff, Madebrun, Mischke, Poikett, Reiners, Schulz, Tiessler, Wiedermann, Zimke, Peuke und Jeche, 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, AŻIH 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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NOTES

1. AŻIH, Account No. 1692, Abraham Borger, and Account No. 919, Abraham Hendler; YVA, 02/643, account of Armin Freudmann.
2. AŻIH, Account No. 710, Jakub Rettman.
3. AŻIH, Account No. 2765, Natan Klajman.
4. AMGR, 7630/DP-A, Józef Mann's questionnaire.
5. AŻIH, Account No. 935, Szymcha Kościak.
6. AŻIH, Account No. 919.
7. AŻIH, Account No. 710.
8. ITS, Kittlitztreben Camp Records.
9. AŻIH, Account No. 710.
10. AŻIH, 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 Industrierwerke 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. Gungl, Strm. Heller, Schutz. Jasche, Schutz. Klitsch, E. Kraus, Maria Kraus, Schutz. Kuller, Strm. Laguna, 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," *Ssśn* 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).

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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 AŻIH in Warsaw; and the list of Auschwitz concentration camp staff members tried in Poland after the war contains some information about Kratzau I.

Katarzyna Pawlak-Weiss
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, DP 8751, correspondence of R. Olszyna; AŻIH, 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 (*Gas-schutzgeräte*)—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," *Ssšn* 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, "Zeńskie 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.

Katarzyna Pawlak-Weiss
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.

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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," *Ssśn* 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.

Grażyna 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 Gleiwitz 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 Croats, 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 Lebedyński 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 Mleczo, 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 *Dachbauer 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-foot-high) electrified fence, and there were 5-meter-high (16.4-foot-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 Böartige, 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 Gutterman 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 "Zwangsarbeit 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 Gutterman 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 I]. Hans-Werner Wollenberg, one of the doctors in the men's camp, wrote a memoir: . . . *und der Alptraum wur 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," *BGBI.* (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 Ulbrich. 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 Haftstätten 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 "Zwangsarbeit 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 Ulbrich and Else Knauer (in particular, the interrogation of Karl Ulbrich, 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 ŽIH 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, "Zwangsarbeit 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 Landeshtut (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.

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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 air-field 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 Pořičí). 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 Ryłko, 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," *Ssśm* 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 Mólke-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 Otmet); 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 Prądko 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 Marktädt. 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 AŻIH 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. AŻIH, Account No. 924, Cesia Finkiel.
2. AŻIH, Account No. 960, Fela Kurztag.
3. AMGR, 6500/9-g/DP, Report of examination of witness Andrzej Okuta, dated March 26, 1977.
4. AŻIH, Account No. 946, Berek Goldman.
5. AŻIH, 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; AŻIH, 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 funkcyjni 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 Simonovičová, 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," *Sísn* 40 (1982); Konieczny, *Frauen im Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen in den Jahren 1944–1945* (Wałbrzych, 1994); and Bogdan Cybulski, *Obozypodporządkowane 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.

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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 (Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden, ZALFJ), administered by Organisation Schmelt, in Merzdorf. The camp was situated near the linen mill belonging to Kramsta-Methner and 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," *Sísn* 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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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 storeroom 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 Klodzko (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 region commission Kraków, Folder 119); and NWHStA-(D) (Dortmund Rep. 118).

Hans Brenner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

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 Zillertal-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 "Reichsmarshal'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 Zillertal-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 Gunkskirchen 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 Gunkskirchen. 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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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, Mitteldeutsche 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 carried 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 Schmelz’ 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.

Leokadia Lewandowska
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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 Kárny 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 Kárny 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, “‘Pfleghchtes 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 Skribeleit (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 Identification 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 Bodzasujlak/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).

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-

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

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 Säger; 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, Ludwigsburg (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

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

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 Sachsens* (Dresden: Verein für regionale Geschichte und Politik, 1996); and Hans Brenner, *Wykorzystanie 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* (Wałbrzych: 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 czolgiści 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 Wacław 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, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (staň badań)* (Rogóznica: 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.

Grazyna Choptiany
trans. Gerard Majka

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 Jungbuh (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 VĚJ Lnářský průmysl

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 and 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-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,

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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-Altstadt 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, *Obozy podporządkowane KL Gross-Rosen (stan badań)* (Rogoźnica, 1987); Alfred Konieczny, "Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen w latach 1944–1945," *Ssśn* 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 ONV 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," *Ssśn* 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 Sudetenland Gau.

The women in Parschnitz had to work in the spinning mills of the German firms Aloys 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. Grynspand. 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 *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente 1999*, ed. Miroslav Kárný and Raimund Kemper (Prague: Academia, 1999).

Well-known professor of German studies in Olomouc Ludvík Václavěk 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 Texten Trutnov; its chief at the time, Vladimír Wolf, provided access in the 1970s for me and Ludmila Chádková 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]

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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 “Zwangsarbeit 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

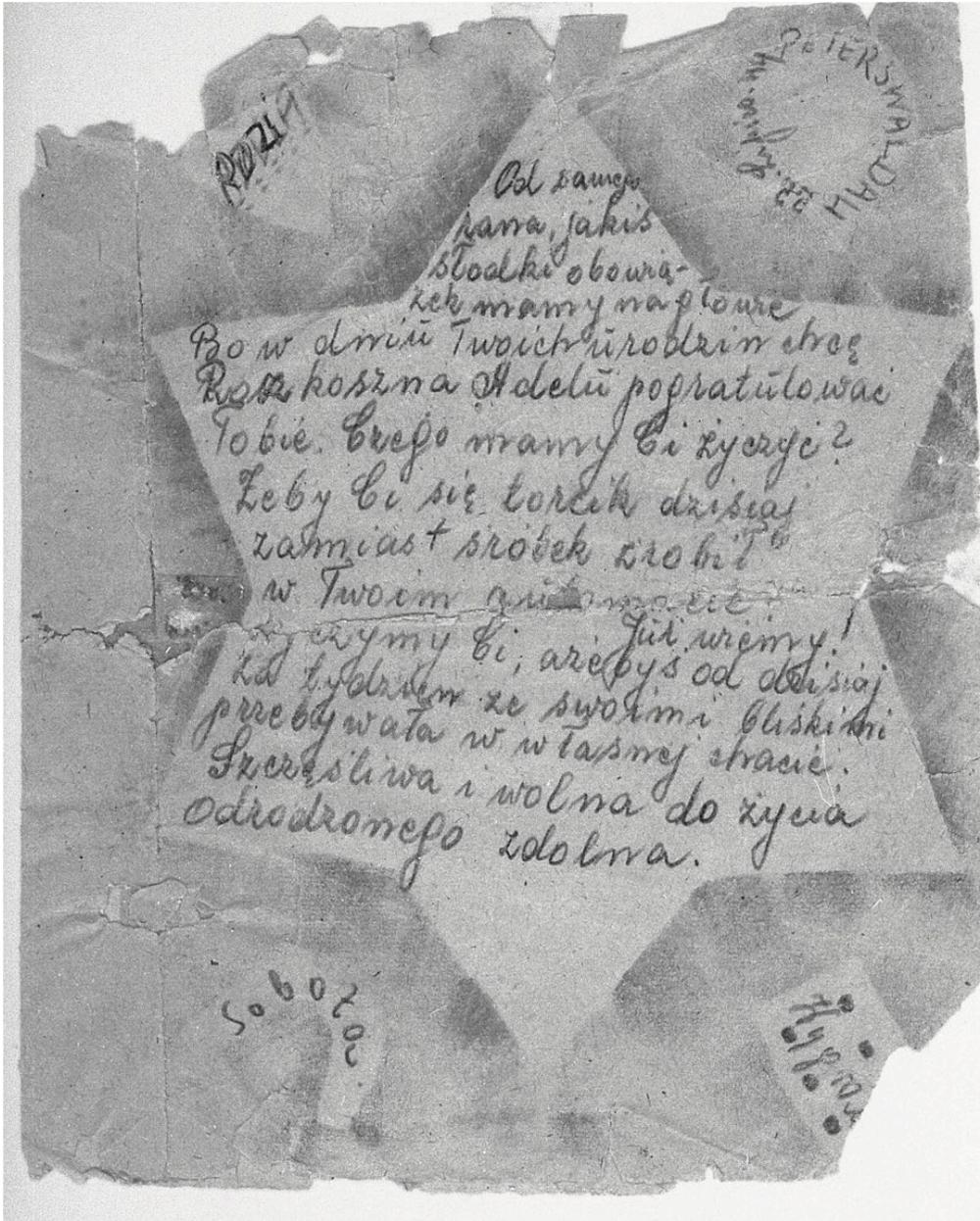
whole machine, and remove from it the week’s filings. We had to wash our dresses and hang them up to dry above our beds during the cold of the night. Often they were not dry in the morning. Then we had to get up and put on our wet dresses—there was no other way. We had to be very clean, because the oil 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 Golombiarska, 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 Gutterman, 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 Aussonderungskommandos 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 "Zwangsarbeit 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," *C7N*, 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 Ulbrich. 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 Gutterman 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 Kobilec, "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.conneisland.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.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

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, "Zwangsarbeit und Lagerhaft als lebenslanges Trauma. Erfahrungen in Langenbielau und Peterswaldau," *DaHe* 15 (November 1999): 178.

2. Schmidt, "Zwangsarbeit 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, "Zwangsarbeit 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 Gutterman, "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 (Pelkowitz), 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."²

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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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 north-eastern 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 Sudetens 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 Neuen-gamme 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: Dörn-hau, Erlenbusch, Falkenberg (Eule), Fürstenstein, Kaltwasser, Lärche, Märzachtal, Säufewasser (Säufewassergraben), 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 Głuszyca (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 Górach 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, *Podziemna w Górach Sowich i Zamku Książ* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1989); Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górach Sowich przez organizację TODT oraz firmy z nią współpracujące," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej pracy więźniów KL Gross-Rosen przez III Rzeszę [materiały z międzynarodowej sesji 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 Dzierżoniów (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 Dzierżoniów (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 Säufer 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 (*Krepiierungslager*). 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 recalls 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 Ostojka (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 Wüstewaltersdorf [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 Górne) 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 Wspólnota Przemysłowa w Górach Sowich w latach 1943–1944," *SFiZH* 6 (1980); Piotr Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górach 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, więźni 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 Górach 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, *Złota 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 Gontowa) 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 Górach 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, 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 AŻIH 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. AŻIH, Account No. 4113—Michał Fallak.

5. AMGR, 3573/DP, Recollections of Dr. Bronisław Rubin.

6. AŻIH, 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. AŻIH, 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. AŻIH, Account No. 4113—Michał Fallak.

14. *Ibid.*; account of Hedwig Neumann, then a resident of the hamlet of Eule, in Hubert Hübner, *Heimat Schlesien—Glätzigisch 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

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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 Górach 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).

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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 Soboń) 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 Górach 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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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. Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci* (Łódź, 1962), pp. 69–72.
3. *Ibid.*; AMGR, 92/N-A, Account of Henryk Susmanek; AMGR, 124/1479/MF, Account of Mońko Kaufman.
4. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, pp. 92, 94.
5. AMGR, 124/1479/MF, Account of Mońko Kaufman.
6. AMGR, 2330/DP, Patient list as of May 9, 1945.
7. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, pp. 108–109.
8. AMGR, 92/N-A, Account of Henryk Susmanek.
9. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, pp. 77–78.
10. AMGR, 5903/DP, Reports of examination of witnesses/Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners, pp. 54, 55; 6/181/MF, Report of examination of Jan Wojakowski; 5903/54/DP, extracts of examination of Josef Stancik.
11. AMGR, 47/51/MF, Report of examination of Georg Mittelstädt at Kraków Municipal Court.
12. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*; AMGR, 92/N-A, Account of Henryk Susmanek; AMGR, 124/1479/MF, Account of Mońko Kaufmann.
13. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, pp. 87–88, 90; AMGR, 92/N-A, Account of Henryk Susmanek; AMGR, 296/DP-A, Henryk Susmanek; AMGR, 124/1479/MF, Account of Mońko Kaufman, p. 24.
14. 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. 150; Kajzer, *Za drutamí šmierci*, p. 89.

15. AMGR,124/1479/MF, Account of Moňko Kaufman, p. 30.

16. Kajzer, *Za drutamí šmierci*, 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 Łódź 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 podbozach KL Gross-Rosen kompleksu Riese w

latach 1944–1945,” *SFiZH* 7 (1981); Cybulski, “Z badań nad śmiertelnością wśród więźniów KL Gross-Rosen w Górach Sowich w latach 1944–1945,” *SFiZH* 8 (1982); Piotr Kruszyński, “Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górach 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.

Piotr Kruszyński
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. 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-Z56/67.

2. Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci* (Łódź, 1962); AMGR, 124/1479/MF, Account of former prisoner Mońko Kaufman.

3. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*.

4. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, p. 119.

5. AMGR, 124/1479/MF, Account of former prisoner Mońko Kaufman, p. 31.

6. *Ibid.*

7. AMGR, 124/35/MF, Daily population log of Dörnhau hospital; Bogdan Cybulski, “Z badań nad śmiertelnością wśród więźniów KL Gross-Rosen w Górach Sowich w latach 1944–1945,” *SFiZH* 8 (1982): 282.

8. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*, p. 129.

9. AMGR, 5903/DP, Reports of examination of witnesses/Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners, pp. 54, 55; 6/181/MF, Report of examination of Jan Wojakowski; 5903/54/DP, Extracts of report of examination of Josef Stancik; AK-IPN WR, Ruling by the Wrocław District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes dated 3.01.1977 regarding discontinuing proceedings against the commanders of the Gross-Rosen camp, p. 143.

10. AMGR, 47/51/MF, Report of examination of Georg Mittelstädt at Kraków Municipal Court.

11. Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci*; AMGR, 124/1479/MF, Account of former prisoner Mońko Kaufman, pp. 30, 123.

12. 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. 150.

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 Głuszycza). 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 (Głuszycza 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 Miosroszów). 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 Pořčící). 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 Górach 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 Górach 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 Märzbachtal subcamp can be found at the BA-L; the AK-IPN in Warsaw; and the AMGR in Wałbrzych.

Piotr Kruszyński
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Report of examination of Johannes Hassebroek before the National [or Local/Regional] Court in Braunschweig in March 1967, p. 231, BA-L, ZSt 423 AR-Z 567/67.

2. BA-L, 405 AR-Z/69, Erwin Rona, Report of witness examination, dated April 22, 1965.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. AMGR, 2330/DP, Cytron's patient list.

6. BA-L, 405 AR-Z/69, Erwin Rona, Report of witness examination, dated April 22, 1965.

7. AMGR, 124/35/MF, Daily population log of Dörnhau hospital.

8. BA-L, 405 AR-Z/69, Erwin Rona, Report of witness examination, dated April 22, 1965; Alfred Konieczny, "Egzekucje w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," *SFiZH* 4 (1979): 235.

9. BA-L, 405 AR-Z/69, Erwin Rona, Report of witness examination, dated April 22, 1965; AMGR, 124/1479/MF, Account of Mońko Kaufman; AMGR, 5903/50/DP, Account of Jitrich Fantl [or Fantel].

10. Alfred Konieczny, "Transporty więźniów KL Gross-Rosen do innych obozów koncentracyjnych w latach 1941-1945," *SFiZH* 10 (1986): 269-289.

11. "Członkowie załóg i więźniowie funkcyjni niemieckich obozów, więzień i gett skazani przez sądy polskie," comp. Elżbieta Kobierska-Motas (duplicated typescript, Warsaw, 1992), Item 1301.

12. AMGR, A. Lasik, Files of Gross-Rosen concentration camp staff members.

RIESE/SÄUFERWASSER

The Riese / Säufewasser camp was set up on a hill near the Säufewasser (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 Säufewasser. 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 Säufewasser. 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 Säufew Höhen (Osówka) Mountain. They built drainage ditches, a water supply system from Grosse Eule Berg (Wielka Sowa, Great Owl) to Säufew Höhen, roads, and a narrow-gauge railway system. They dug tunnels in Säufew Höhen Mountain and did concrete work.

The death rate at this subcamp must have been great, as 31 sick Säufewasser 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."

Dorota Sula
trans. Gerard Majka

RIESE/SCHOTTERWERK

[AKA OBERWÜSTEGIERSDORF]

The Riese/Schotterwerk camp was set up in the neighborhood of the Oberwüstegiersdorf (now Głuszyca Górna) 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.

VOLUME I: PART A

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

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

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 Dörnau, 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 Dörnau 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,

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 Schotterwerk camp.²²

Evacuation commenced on February 16, 1945. A column of several thousand prisoners left Wolfsberg. Smaller groups of prisoners from the Wüstegiersdorf and Schotterwerk labor camps joined them along the way.²³ The column thus formed was escorted toward the town of Friedland (present-day Miroszów); 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 Górach Sowich w latach 1944–1945," *SFiZH* 8 (1982); Cybulski, *Evakuacja więźniów AL Riese do Trautenau—próba rekonstrukcji wydarzeń* (Wałbrzych: AMGR, 1989); Bella Gutterman and Naomi Morgenstern, *The Wolfsberg Labor Camp Maczbor, 5705 (1944)* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2002); Jürgen Hecken-thaler, "Das Arbeitslager und das Sonderbauprojekt Riese. OT-Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen" (master's thesis); Alfred Konieczny, "Obozy Spółki Akcyjnej Śląska Wspólnota Przemysłowa w Górach 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 Górach 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; AŻIH; and AMGR.

Piotr Kruszyński
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. 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.
2. AMGR, Files of former Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners, Wolfsberg labor camp prisoners.
3. AMGR, sygn. [Catalog No.] 6920/DP, Häftlingsliste, Kommando Wolfsberg vom 22.11.1944.
4. 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 Górach Sowich w latach 1944–1945," *SFiZH* 8 (1982).
5. Based on the files of former Gross-Rosen concentration camp prisoners recreated at the AMGR.
6. 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.
7. AMGR, Catalog No. 92/N-A, Account of Henryk Susmanek.
8. AMGR, Catalog No. 19/N-A, Account of Edmund Szenkowski; AMGR, Catalog No. 6500/22-b/DP, Chaim Henryk Susmanek, Report of witness examination.
9. AMGR, Catalog No. 6920/DP, Häftlingsliste, Kommando Wolfsberg vom 22.11.1944.
10. Roman Olszyna, "KL Wolfsberg," F-S 23 (1978): 10; Cybulski, "Z badań nad śmiertelnością," p. 282.
11. Abram Kajzer, *Za drutami śmierci* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1962), p. 144.

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12. Bella Gutterman 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-Aussekommmandos des Konzentrationslager Gross-Rosen" (master's thesis).

16. Piotr Kruszyński, "Wykorzystanie pracy więźniów kompleksu Gross-Rosen w Górach Sowich przez Organizację Todta oraz firmy z nią współpracujące," in *Wykorzystanie niewolniczej 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)* (Arosen, 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, *Evakuacja więźniów AL Riese do Trautenau—próbą 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/WÜSTEGERSDORF

[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 Głuszycza). 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 Kraftfahrkorps, 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."

Dorota Sula
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, sygn. No. 124/1389 MF, account of Zew Weinhreb.

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 sub-camps. 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 Górna, 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/Pölitiz, 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 Pölitiz 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 Pölitiz 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 inhabit-

ants 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 (Wüw 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. Skrzy-pczak, May 13, 1967).

13. Bernhard Strebel, 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 Górna) 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 Ostojka (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 Sehmman, 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 Pořčici).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 Lagerführerin (camp leader) (September–October 1944). Elizabeth Spar was her successor. The guards were German women: Helena Hilzer, Hilda Steinhofner, 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. Szmargd 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, Kloverska, 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 Szmargd.
3. AMGR, Catalog No. 7/119/VII/MF—Orders to make numbers.

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 Szmargd.

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 (Žácelč) 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 Václavěk has devoted his attention to a specific topic, a play that originated in the Schatzlar camp by Jewish women from Hungary: “‘Lágr jesen?’ (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 Václavěk, “‘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 ü 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 Straussowa. 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; Dorota 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

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 Przybyszów). 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.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

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. GEORGETHAL

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 Kiejzmann’s testimony,

St. Georgenthal was the worst camp (I had been at Ostrowiec and Auschwitz earlier). I was tortured at

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 Kiejzmann 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 Rajski); 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 Szybel'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.

Barbara Sawicka
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 Szybel.

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 Ferenc.

9. AMGR, Catalog No. 3107/DP-A—Testimony of former Gross-Rosen prisoner Apolinary Szybel.

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 Czarmarka), 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); AŻIH, Collection of Accounts; AŻIH, "Dokumenty niemieckie" collection, sygn. 167 ("AL Waldenburg. Alphabetischen Häftlings-Verzeichnis"); AMGR, Collection of written and microfilmed records.

Magdalena Zajac
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. AMGR, Collection of Surveys, sygn. [Catalog No.] 6201/DP-A.
2. AŻIH, 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 Metz, 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.

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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 Drobrk). 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-Altstadt, 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," *Śsśu* 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 AŻIH, Collection of Accounts; and AMGR, Collection of written and microfilmed records.

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ZILLERTHAL-ERDMANNSDORF

A forced labor camp for Jews (Zwangsarbeitslager 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,” *Ssın* 40 (1982): 55–112; as well as the work of Aneta Małek, “Praca w systemie 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.

Aneta Małek
trans. Gerard Majka

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,” *Ssın*, 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 Grosssporisch (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 Sachsens* (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, Bestattungsamt, 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, Bestattungsamt, 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]

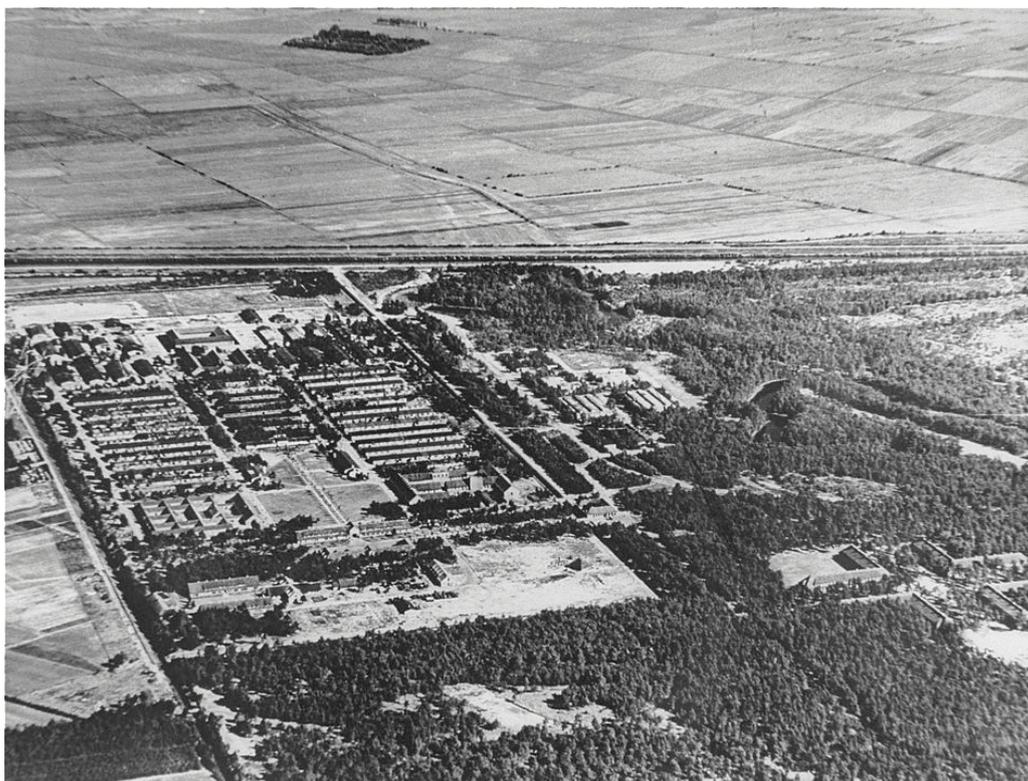
In the summer of 1942, only a few weeks after the first deportation train had left the Jewish transit camp (*Judendurchgangslager*) at Westerbork for Auschwitz on June 15, Höherer-SS und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) Hanns Albin Rauter, in consultation with Reichskommissar Arthur Seyss-Inquart, decided to start 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 Wachbatallion 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 (*Judenauf-fanglager*), 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 Judenauf-fanglager 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 (Arnheim, 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” (*streng, 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 Bunker drama, 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 tussenstation* (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.

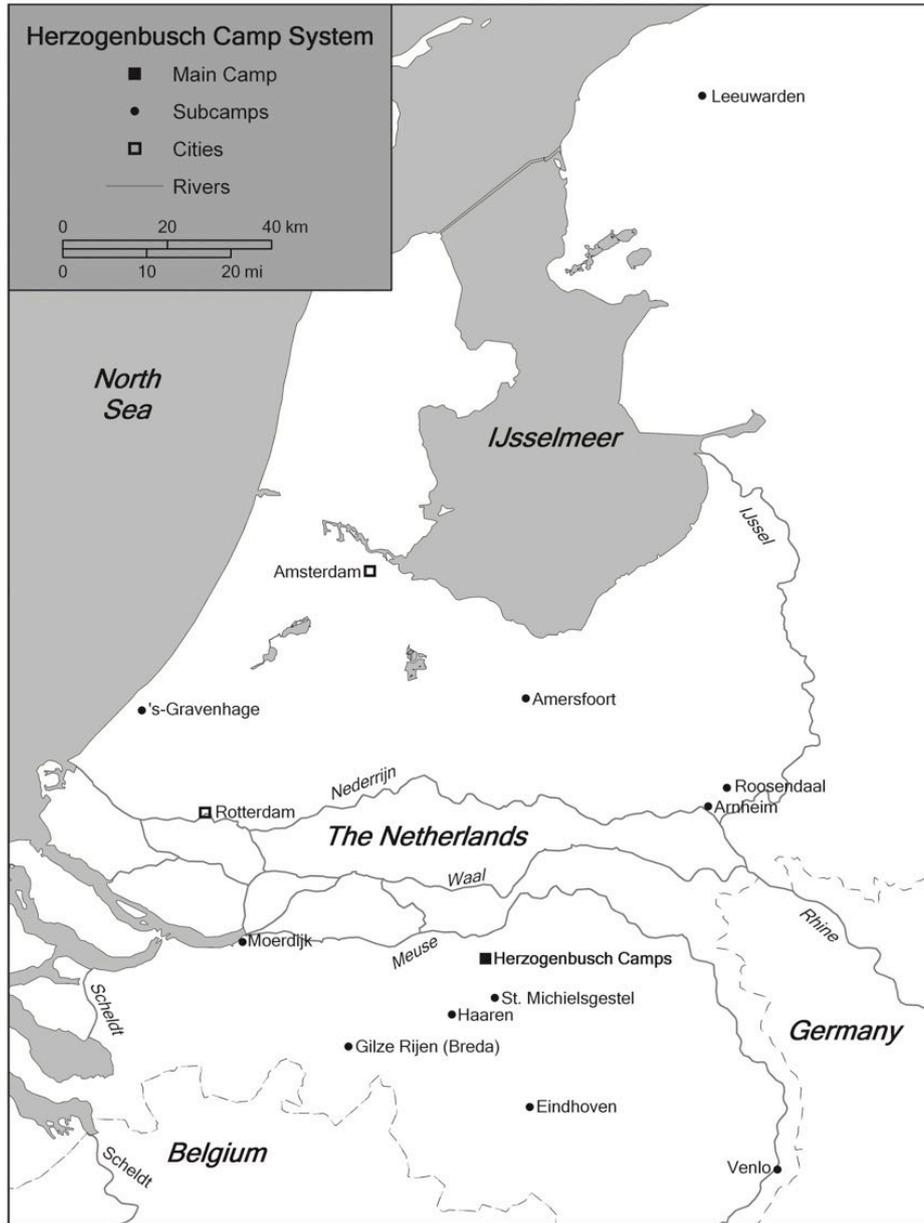
Because Herzogenbusch was not liberated by Allied forces—it was evacuated before their arrival—its prisoners were not in the position to get hold of camp records and take them home. On the contrary, testimonies clearly indicate that members of the guard force started to destroy the archives shortly before 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 (Gevangenis 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.



VOLUME I: PART A

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

LEEWARDEN

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. MICHIELSGESTEL

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 Hinzerter 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 (*Arbeitserschulungslager*) and police detention camp (*Polizeihaftlager*) 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 *Polizeihaftlager* 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 (*Tätlichkeiten 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.

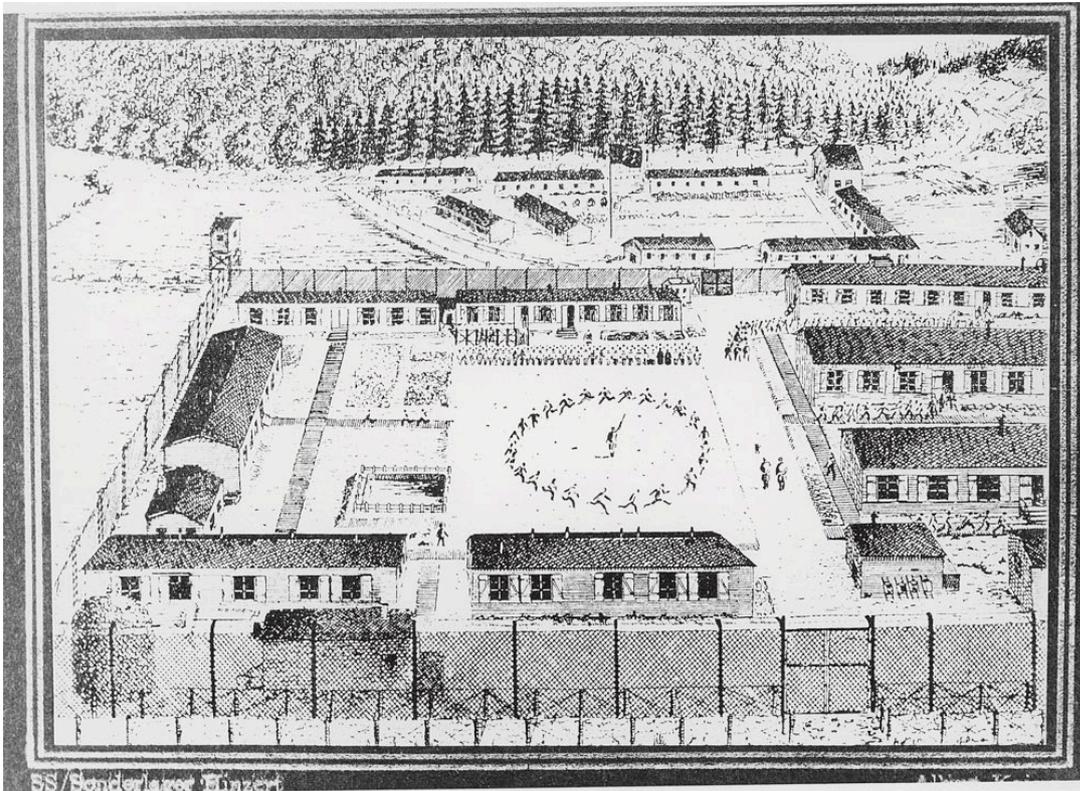
Hinzert continued its existence as a police prison even though Heinrich Himmler in December 1939–January 1940 had ordered that all camps established after the beginning of the war either be dissolved or be taken over as concentration camps. The only change was that with the movement of the OT into occupied 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 Stapostelle 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 Stapostelle 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 Stapostelle 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 (*Wehrkreiscommandos*). 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

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 *asoziale (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 (*Völkliste*) 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 *Stapostelle* 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 (*Repressaliengeiseln*). 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 commandants: 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 sub-camp, 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-Unterscharführer: 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 *Zwangsarbeit in Rheinlad-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-Polizeihaftlager: 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-Terrorssystem: 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),

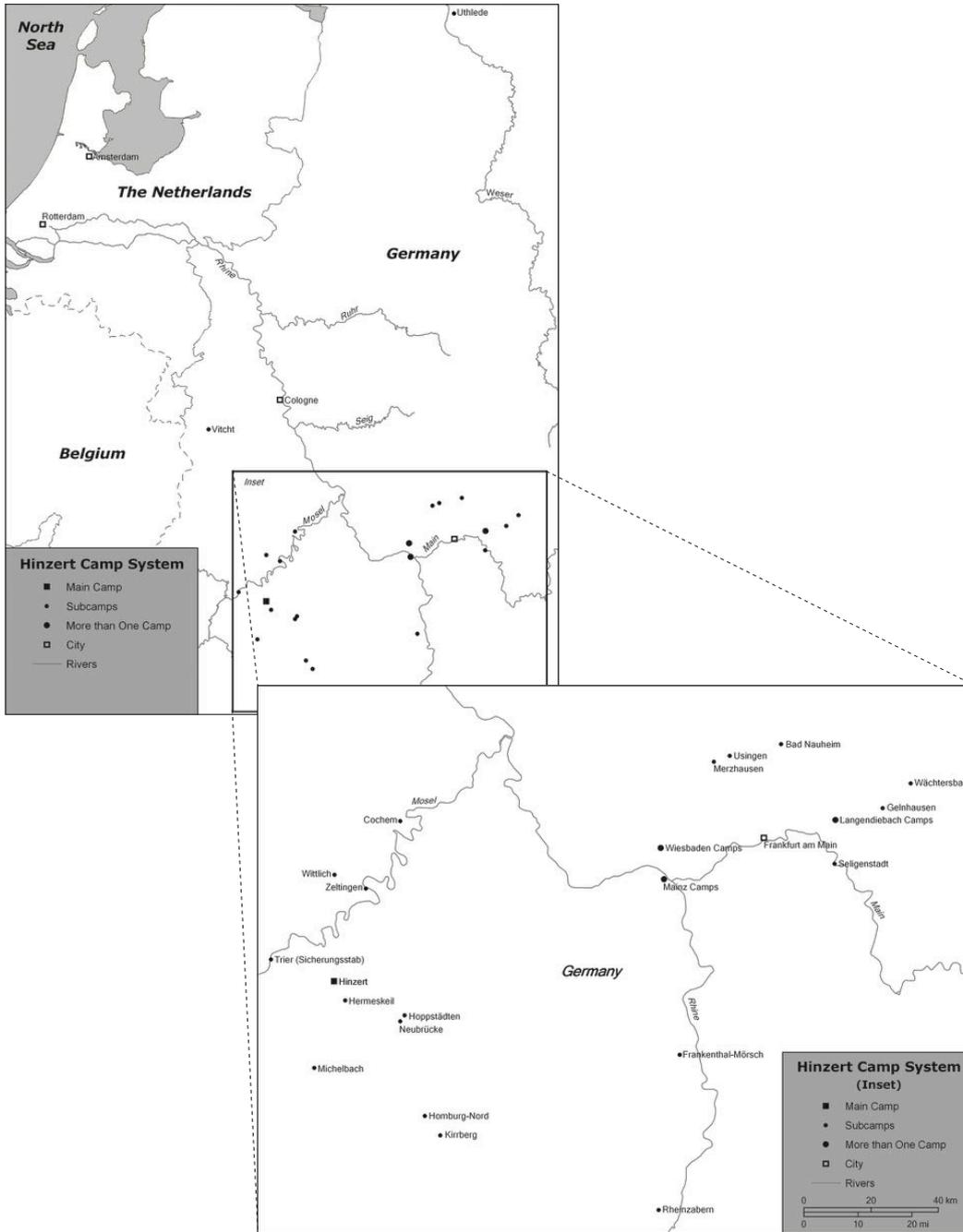
Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852. Further details on Hinzert can be found in the following: Dieter Burgard, "Förderverein: Dokumentations- und Begegnungsstätte Hinzert e.V.," *Sachor* 7 (1994); Hans-Günther Homfeldt and Helmut Pfeifer, "Gedenkstättenarbeit zum früheren SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert," *Sachor* 7 (1994); 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 Pfeifer, *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 Stapostellen Köln, Aachen, Düsseldorf); BA-BL (former BDC); ACNR, Luxembourg Musée de la Résistance et de la Déportation, Besancon AOC (collection Rhenanie-Palatinat, cercle de Trèves, mise sous sequestre, Hinzert, caisse 1096 and others); LHRP-Ko (Verfahrensakten gegen Hinzert 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 Staatsanwaltschaft Trier on Hinzert in *Hinzert: 4 Hefte* (Brussels, 1977). Former Luxembourg prisoner Metty Barbel published his experiences in Hinzert under the title *Student in Hinzert und Natzweiler, Erlebnisauflätze 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, Hedderndheim, Hellenthal-Losheim, Lehrbach-Kirtorf, Mariahütte, Trier (Festungsdienststelle), Trier (Flughafen), Trier (OT-Oberbauleitung Trier II), and Zweibrücken.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
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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-Terrorssystem: 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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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

NOTES

1. Gabriele Lotfi, “SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorssystem: 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 Spornberg* (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 hiesigen 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-Vö*, August 5, 1947; and “KZ-Lager Treis und Bruttig vor Gericht,” *Tr-Vö*, July 22, 1947.

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FRANKENTHAL-MÖRSCH (OT-POLIZEIHAFTLAGER)

Frankenthal-Mörsch in Bavaria was one of at least eight Organisation Todt (OT) police custody camps (Polizeihaftlager), 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-Polizeihaftlager 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 Polizeihaftlager 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: Arbeitserziehungslager im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart, 2000); and “SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorssystem: 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 considers Frankenthal-Mörsch to be a Polizeihaftlager under the supervision of Hinzert in *Hinzert—kein richtiges KZ? Ein Beispiel unter 2000* (Trier, 1983); Gudrun Schwarz mentions Frankenthal-Mörsch as a Polizeihaftlager 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,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

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NOTES

1. Gabriele Lotfi, “SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorssystem: 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 Flachsrösterei (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-Terrorssystem: 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,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

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NOTE

1. Gabriele Lotfi, “SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorssystem: 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 Hoppstädten. After the Neubrücke subcamp was destroyed during a heavy bombing raid on January 22, 1945, the camp was relocated to Hoppstädten. 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 Hoppstädten 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 Hoppstädten 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,” *BGBI.* (1977) Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

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KIRRBURG (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-Terrorssystem: 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,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

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NOTE

1. G. Lotfi, “SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorssystem: 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 Scharwz 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,” *BGBI.* (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, Draiss, 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 Spurensuche 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 Hinzert Kommando in Mainz-Finthen,” *Rappel* 2 (1990): 71–72; and Heinz Leiwig, “Das Straflager Finthen,” in *Leidensstätten in Mainz 1933–1945. Eine Spurensuche*, 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,” *BGBI.* (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 Pfeleiderer, who had developed a procedure for the manufacture of prefabricated buildings from light

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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 Pfeleiderer 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 (*Arbeits-erziehungslager*; 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 Pfeleiderer 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 gas-works, 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 Pfeleiderer 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. Pfeleiderer 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: Pfeleiderer'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 Pfeleiderer, 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, 22.8.19498, 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 (*Arbeits-erziehungslager*, 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,” *BGBI.* (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-Arnzbach, 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/Wiesetal, 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 Merzhäusen subcamp sent to Mauthausen, seven died.

The remaining 21 Luxembourg inmates were evacuated on August 18, 1944, via Neubrücke-Hoppstädten 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 Merzhäusen 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 Merzhäusen subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 2:712. Albert Pütz mentions Merzhäusen in *Das SS-Sonderlager/K Z Hinzert 1940–1945: Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt, 1998) in the context of a geographical review (p. 277) as a Hinzert subcamp. Gudrun Schwarz in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990) states that Merzhäusen 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 Merzhäusen 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 Schattentriesiedlung.

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-Hoppstädten 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 Rüsich. 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 Hoppstädten. In March 1945 the camp was dissolved. On March 16, the prisoners were taken in the direction of Kusel but then returned to Hoppstädten. Here they were liberated by U.S. troops on March 18, 1945.

SOURCES Volker Schneider gives a detailed description of the Neubrücke-Hoppstädten 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-Hoppstädten 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,” *BGBI.* (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 Gernersheim 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 Polizeihafthlager were OT workers laboring for the OT Senior Construction Administrations (OBL) Landau-Speyer and Freudenstadt.

OT-Polizeihafthlager 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-Terrorssystem: 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,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

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NOTE

1. Gabriele Lotfi, “SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorssystem: 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

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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,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

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-Polizeihaftlager in her book *KZ der Gestapo: Arbeiterziehungslager im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart, 2000) as well as in her essay “SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorssystem: 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 Polizeihaftlager 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 Polizeihaftlager under the administration of the SS-Sonderlager Hinzert. The Polizeihaftlager Uthlede is mentioned in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäß § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852.

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NOTE

1. Gabriele Lotfi, “SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorssystem: 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 (Polizeihaftlager) 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: Arbeiterziehungslager im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart, 2000) as well as in her essay “SS-Sonderlager im NS-Terrorssystem: 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 Polizeihaftlager 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,” *BGBI.* (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.

WÄCHTERSACH

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

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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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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

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.

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 Rath, “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,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, pp. 1768–1852. Further information is to be found in Lothar Bembek and Axel Ulrich, *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Wiesbaden 1933–1945: Eine Dokumentation* (Giessen: ASt-Wies, 1990), pp. 357–363; Bembek, “Aussenkommando Wiesbaden-Unter den Eichen,” in *Hessen hinter Stacheldraht: Verdrängt und vergessen; KZs, Lager, Aussenkommandos*, ed. Lothar Bembek 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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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Statement of the former prisoner Robert Poeker, in Lothar Bembek and Frank Schwalba-Hoth, ed., *Hessen hinter Stacheldraht: Verdrängt und vergessen; KZs, Lager, Aussenkommandos* (Frankfurt am Main, 1984), p. 66.

WITTLICH [AKA WITTLICH 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 (*Soesiehalle*), 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 unbekannt KZ," *Tel* 34 (August 21, 1982); and Dieter Burgard, *Alles im Laufschrift: Das KZ-Aussenlager Wittlich* (Luxembourg, 1994). Burgard is also the author of "Alles im Laufschrift! 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," *BGBL* (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).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini



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

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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 Kaufen 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.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945



Fort IX, the site where many Kaufen 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 Kaufen subcamps were dissolved beginning in July 1944. Evacuations sometimes, but not always, went through the Kaufen main camp. The Kaufen 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 Kaufen 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 Kaufen 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-Churbanab* (Jerusalem, 1959). See also the yearbooks *Lite*, Bd. 1 (1951); and *Yabadut 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 Žydu Bendruomenė 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 ba-lobem shel Yebude Kovnah be-milhemet ba-olam ba-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem, 1962), pp. 402–409; Philip Friedman, “Bibliografie fun Churban-Literatur vegn 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 Polizei in Kaunas (R 973, Ap. 1-3), and the Central Lithuanian Office of the Commander of the Sipo in Kaunas 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 Kacerginsky Collection (RG 223, supplementals 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

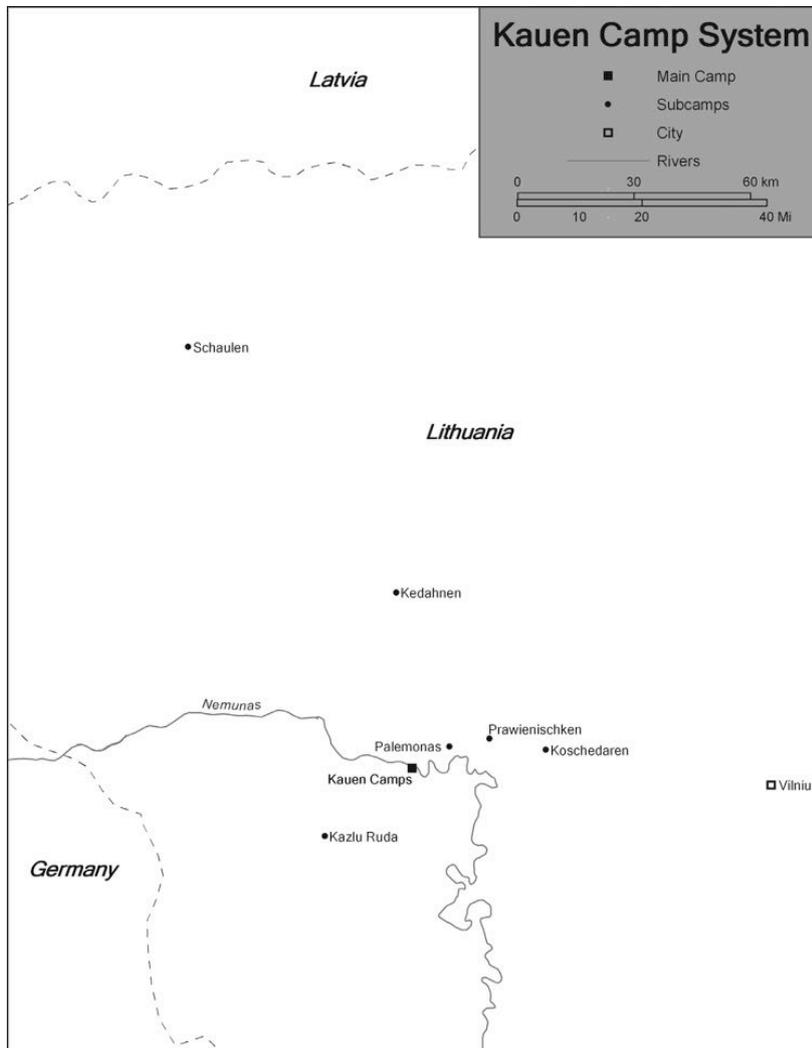
(RG-18.002M). The USHMMA also holds an extensive collection of survivors' reports from the Kaunas ghetto/concentration camp. The establishment of the Kaunas concentration camp is mentioned in a circular letter from the RSHA, Amt IV (Müller), of October 2, 1943, Betr: "Konzentrationslager Kaunas und Vaivara," 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 Kaunas 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 Kaunas 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 Kaunas 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 Kaunas 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 Kaunas 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 Kaunas 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 Kaunas 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, ZdL207 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 Lochamei 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 im 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 USHMMA, RG 18.002, Reel 2; reprinted in Benzetah, *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), Reichskommissariat 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 Schitz, 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," *BGBL* (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 *Yabadut Lita*: Meir Yelin, "Sheluhot ha-geto-Mahanot 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: Schöfling & 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,” *BGBL* (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 Kazlu Ruda 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,” *BGBL* (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," *BGBI.* (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," *BGBI.* (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," *BGBI.* (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 USHMMA, Acc. 1995.A.697, Miriam Bratman, "A Memoir Relating to Experiences in Palemonas and Stutthof"; and USHMMA, 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," *BGBI.* (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 Trokaj/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 (Akmene), 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 (Wehrwirtschaftkommando, 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 "Schleef" 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 Resitution 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.

