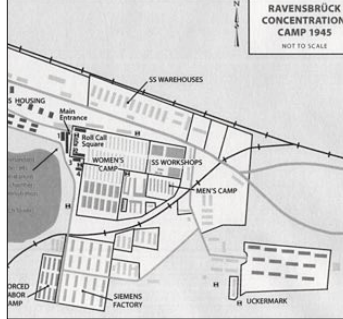


The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933-1945

General Editor Geoffrey P. Megargee



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THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM

Encyclopedia of CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

VOLUME I

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

Part B

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KRAKAU-PLASZOW



An entrance gate to Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp.
USHMM WS #03393, COURTESY OF LPPC/MSW

KRAKAU-PLASZOW MAIN CAMP

The Krakau-Plaszow (Polish: Kraków-Plaszów) camp became the major detention place for Jewish forced laborers in the Kraków district of the General Government and only in early 1944 was transformed into a concentration camp, which then existed for 12 months. Planning for the camp started in June–July 1942, as a consequence of the mass deportation from the Krakau ghetto to the Belżec extermination camp, which lasted until June 4.

The staff of the SS and Police Leader (SSPF) in the Kraków district, Julian Scherner, started to erect a camp in the Plaszów suburb of Kraków in October 1942.¹ The Plaszów train station had already served as a transit point for the deportations to Belżec, and there was a small camp there for Jewish railway workers, the “Julag I” (Judenlager or Jews’ camp). The new camp, which several hundred ghetto inmates built, was situated nearby, partly on the site of two Jewish cemeteries. Until the spring of 1943, the camp area was approximately 10 hectares (25 acres); it was expanded to 81 hectares (200 acres) by September 1943.

The camp itself was divided into several sections, one for German personnel, including the commandant’s villa; one for the work facilities; and a section for male and another for female prisoners, each divided into separate accommodations for Jews and non-Jews. Some existing buildings were used for the camp administration, especially for SS housing. In addition, more than 100 new barracks were built in 1943. The several hundred forced laborers of the barracks construction (Barackenbau) unit worked under extremely harsh conditions, since the camp was to be erected at record speed.

Until January 1944, the camp was officially called the Jewish Forced Labor Camp of the SS and Police Leader in the Kraków District, Krakau-Plaszow (Jüdisches Zwangsarbeitslager des SS und Polizeiführer im Distrikt Krakau, Krakau-Plaszow).² Scherner’s staff was responsible for building and running the camp. All leading camp personnel belonged to the SSPF office, such as the first acting camp commandant Horst Pilarczyk (until November 1942), about whom relatively little is known, and his successor Franz Josef Müller.³



Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp’s industrial sector, 1944.
USHMM WS #08864, COURTESY OF IPN



Krakau-Plaszow prisoners haul a food container, 1943–1944.
USHMM WS #50693, COURTESY OF LPPC/MSW

On February 11, 1943, Amon Göth took over for Müller. Göth, who transferred from the staff of the SSPF Lublin, had been involved in *Aktion Reinhardt*, the mass murder of Polish Jews. He served as camp commandant until September 13, 1944, and was replaced for some months by Philipp Grimm and then by Kurt Schuppke. Important camp administrators were Lagerführer Edmund Zdrojewski, Josef Grzimek, and the chief of the guard unit, Paul Raebel. The camp for Poles (built later) was led by Oberscharführer Landdorfer.

Most of the guards were non-Germans, such as Ukrainian members of the Schutzmannschafts-Bataillon 206 and about 110 men who had served in the SSPF Lublin training camp in Trawniki, so-called Trawniki men, some of whom had served as guards in extermination camps.⁴ From the German perspective, these men were not considered to be reliable.⁵ The so-called Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst, auxiliaries transferred from the Kraków ghetto, kept order inside the camp.

On October 28, 1942, during the “Ghettoaktion” in Kraków, the Germans sent approximately 2,000 ghetto inmates to Plaszow instead of exterminating them. The next major change in the prisoner population occurred during the liquidation of the Krakau ghetto on March 13–14, 1943. Between 8,000 and 10,000 Jews were marched from the so-called

ghetto B (for workers and their families) in Kraków to the camp. (In December 1942, Scherner had ordered that all Jewish workers from Kraków be concentrated in Plaszow.)⁶ In the spring of 1943, Plaszow, with its 10,000 prisoners, was one of the biggest forced labor camps in occupied Poland. The prisoner population grew even further with transports from other camps such as Rymanów in July 1943 and Tarnów on September 2, 1943.⁷ In September 1943, the Jewish workers in the Kraków district were increasingly concentrated in Plaszow. In May 1944, almost 6,000 Jews from “Greater Hungary,” who had been deported through Auschwitz, arrived. They stayed only for a few months, some to be deported back to Auschwitz, others to be transferred to Austria.

Up until the summer of 1943, almost all the prisoners were Jewish, but non-Jewish Poles were also interned in Plaszow as punishment for small offenses. They were put into separate barracks first; then a camp section was built for them in the second half of 1943. Apparently, this camp section also served as a work reeducation camp (*Arbeiterziehungslager*) for people whom the Nazis considered unreliable workers. Those Poles were usually imprisoned for three months, but this period could be extended. The *Arbeiterziehungslager* expanded from a capacity of 1,000 to approximately 6,000 prisoners. Almost 10,000 Poles were imprisoned there during the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, among them hostages taken in Kraków to avoid any similar revolt. Most of those prisoners were released after a while. Some Gypsies were also kept in the Polish part of the camp.

In comparison to other camps, Plaszow’s inmate population included a comparatively high proportion of Jewish women and children. Among the thousands of Jews who came to Plaszow in March 1943, approximately 65 percent were men. The transports from Hungary consisted to a high degree of women. While most of the Jewish children under 14 in Poland were killed by the end of 1942, there were still some in the so-called Julag III until 1943 and in Plaszow until the spring of 1944. Female Jews had a lower chance of survival in



Female prisoners pull a rail cart along “Industry Street” inside the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp, 1943–1944.
USHMM WS #50705, COURTESY OF LPPC/MSW

comparison to men, since most of the working facilities were meant for male prisoners.

Conditions in the forced labor camps for Jews in the General Government were generally inhumane but could vary according to camp and time. The survivors give a rather diverse picture of camp life. The food was totally insufficient, and a typhus epidemic in June–July 1943 took hundreds of lives. The working conditions varied. In the textile works, they were not nearly as bad as in the stone quarries, where male laborers were driven to total exhaustion.

The worst features of Plaszow were the mass executions and the random violence of the camp officers and guards. Beatings by guards, either spontaneous or as official acts of punishment, were an almost daily feature. Göth was infamous for individual murders. He randomly beat prisoners to death, shot them, or sent his two trained dogs to attack them. Frequently Göth had members of working detachments shot after they were apprehended smuggling food into the camp. Inmates tried to avoid any contact with Göth if possible, and they especially feared his murderous roll calls or the barrack searches. He was certainly not the only functionary to kill prisoners, however; some survivors claim that SS-Untersturmführer John behaved even worse. The foreign guards, most of them Ukrainians, were also infamous for their excessive violence.

The Plaszow camp functioned not only as a detention and forced labor site but also as an area for mass murder for both camp inmates and prisoners brought from outside to the camp area. Immediately after the March 13–14, 1943, Ghettoaktion in Kraków, the corpses of approximately 2,000 Jews were brought to the camp and interred in a mass grave. Jews later apprehended while hiding in Kraków were shot near the camp, behind the so-called swimming pool (*Badeanstalt*). Further, during the *Lageraktionen* from May to July 1943, at least 250 Jews were shot. The main targets were old and sick inmates who had been transferred from the camp hospital. In April 1943, 50 members of the Jewish police met that fate. Polish

inmates were also sometimes killed, for example, for keeping contacts with the outside world. From June–July 1943 on, the perpetrators moved their activities to a fortification from World War I, which the inmates called Hujowa Górka; from mid-1944 on, at a hill called Lipowy Dołek. The Security Police and camp personnel such as Oberscharführer Albert Hujer also murdered Poles there, including priests, who had been arrested.⁸ These mass executions apparently started in September 1943; one of the biggest massacres took place on February 2, 1944, when 200 inmates from Kraków prison were killed. It has been calculated that approximately 2,000 non-Jewish Poles were shot near Plaszow; 2 out of 3 had been transferred from the Montelupic Security Police prison. According to Polish estimates, 3,000 to 4,000 prisoners were shot in the area surrounding the camp. By the end of 1944, there were at least 10 mass graves situated around the camp.

Resistance was much more difficult in the camp than in the ghetto. After escapes, Commandant Göth usually had about 10 prisoners shot for each 1 who escaped. Nevertheless, people did escape. Mutual aid was more common. There were even organized assistance groups, such as the *Zehnerschaft* (The Ten), women who organized support for other inmates. In October 1943, a small underground group was formed by several Jewish Kapos, calling themselves the Jewish Fighting Organization. They were able to collect some weapons, but after the murder of their leader, Adam Stab, the resisters chose not to try an uprising but to wait to be evacuated to the West.

To a certain extent, Plaszow prisoners could rely on help from outside. The *Jüdische Unterstützungsstelle*, a welfare organization that the Germans tolerated, could supply the inmates with some food and medical care. Stanislaw Dobrowolski, the head of the Kraków branch of the Council for Aid to Jews (*Rada Pomocy Żydom*, or *Żegota*), supported inmates, as did the famous pharmacist Tadeusz Pankiewicz,⁹ the *Rada Główna Opiekuńcza*, the Polish welfare organization, sent extra food to Polish prisoners, some of whom shared it with Jewish inmates.

The camp inmates, as well as some average Polish workmen who were not imprisoned and could go home every evening, worked for several German firms, most of them for the *Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke* (German Equipment Works, DAW) of the SS, which supplied the SS with uniforms and repaired goods that had been taken from murdered Jews. The Austrian enterprise *Madritsch*, whose owner secretly supported his workers, made uniforms for the Wehrmacht. Some of the inmates even worked for a Nazi academic institution, the *Deutsche Ostinstitut* in Kraków.

Despite the SSPF's order not to locate Jewish workers outside Plaszow, it had several subcamps.¹⁰

Efforts to bring the forced labor camps of the SSPF under supervision of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) in Oranienburg had been under way since early 1943. Apparently, in early September 1943, decisive negotiations were undertaken between the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF), the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), and the armaments inspectorate.¹¹ In late October, the WVHA



Krakau-Plaszow's commandant, SS-Hauptsturmführer Amon Göth, stands shirtless and armed on the balcony of his villa, which overlooked the camp, 1943.

USHMM WS #05276, COURTESY OF LPPC/MSW

decided to take over Plaszow as a concentration camp.¹² That is obviously one of the reasons why no major massacre of all Jews took place in the camp, unlike during the *Aktion Erntefest* in Lublin district on November 2–3, or in Lemberg-Janowska on November 19. The branches Julag II and III were dissolved around November 15, 1943, and their prisoners transferred to the main camp. Some skilled workers were sent to other forced labor camps in the General Government.

From January 10, 1944, the camp was officially called Konzentrationslager Krakau-Plaszow, but the actual changes were few. All orders now came from Oranienburg or from the SS-Wirtschaftler at the Higher-SS and Police Leader in Kraków. To a certain extent, Göth, who did not represent a typical concentration camp commandant, was now restricted in his actions, since he had to obey the general rules for camp management and was obliged to report everything of importance to Oranienburg. (Göth was finally arrested in September 1944 for corruption and other offenses.)¹³ After a while, an SS-Totenkopfverband (Death's Head Unit), the Wachsturmbann Krakau, numbering approximately 600 men and women, took over guard duties. An SS camp doctor arrived, first Dr. Jäger, later Dr. Blancke. Even a small group of German concentration camp inmates, who were to take over some functions in the camp, arrived in June 1944. But in general, Plaszow was never fully integrated into the standardized system of concentration camps because of the late date at which it was incorporated. The majority of inmates were still Jews, and there were few official prisoner-functionaries (Funktionshäftlinge). The exchange of prisoners with other concentration camps remained, before mid-1944, of minor importance. Instead, prisoners were still sent to other forced labor camps, such as when 2,000 Jews were sent to the Skarzysko-Kamienna camp in March 1944.

In early May 1944, Göth received the announcement that approximately 10,000 Jews from Hungary were to be transported to Plaszow. In order to make room, he prepared deportations to the Auschwitz extermination camp. On May 14, he ordered all children in the camp to be transferred to the "kindergarten," which had been installed in March. This turned out to be a pretext for their deportation to Auschwitz on May 15, where they were killed.

At the same time, evacuations to Plaszow from other camps located farther east intensified. In April and June 1944, transports from the eastern Galician cities of Drohobycz and Boryslaw arrived; in July, prisoners from other camps in the Kraków district arrived.

In August–September 1944, the camp leadership started to erase the traces of its crimes. It is not clear whether this was organized within the framework of "Sonderkommando 1005," the Gestapo's program to destroy mass graves in Eastern Europe. A group of 170 Jews, who were kept isolated from the other inmates, was recruited to unearth the mass graves and burn the corpses. This horrible task took until mid-October. Nevertheless, during this period executions of Poles continued.¹⁴

During the course of the Red Army summer offensive in June–July 1944, preparations were started to evacuate the

camp. The biggest evacuation transport left Plaszow on August 6, deporting 7,500 to 8,000 Jewish inmates to Auschwitz. Somewhat later a train left for the Mauthausen concentration camp, from which the prisoners were transferred to its branches. Probably on August 7, 4,000 to 5,000 Jewish women from "Greater Hungary" were deported through Auschwitz to the Stutthof camp in the north of Poland.

On January 1, 1945, there were still 453 male and 183 female prisoners left in Krakau-Plaszow, together with 87 male guards. Right after the beginning of the Soviet winter offensive, on January 14, HSSPF Koppe gave the order to evacuate the remnants of the camp—according to official data, 623 inmates—to Auschwitz.¹⁵ Only 180 prisoners arrived in Auschwitz on January 17. Units of the Red Army reached the camp area in Kraków that same day.

Due to the lack of documentary evidence, only estimates are possible on the general number of prisoners in Krakau-Plaszow. The card index of prisoners was destroyed. Apparently, in the autumn of 1943, there were around 12,000 inmates; in July 1944, 17,000; in September 1944, for a short time up to 25,000. All in all, probably between 30,000 and 50,000 prisoners went through the camp, some only for days. Approximately half of the prisoners were non-Jews.¹⁶ Between 5,000 and 8,000 prisoners were killed there, not including those who were transported to the camp area to be shot immediately. Probably the majority of those Jews who were evacuated from Plaszow in 1944–1945 died during the final period of the war inside the Reich.

The crimes in Krakau-Plaszow were the subject of relatively few postwar trials, the most important of which dealt with Göth. He was sentenced to death and executed. At least one other German camp staff member and two Jewish Kapos were brought to court in Poland.¹⁷ West German prosecutors started to systematically investigate the crimes in Krakau-Plaszow only at the end of the 1950s.¹⁸ Two camp functionaries were brought to trial: the former camp commandant Müller and Karl-Heinz Bigell, an employee of the Madritsch enterprise.¹⁹ Several of the foreign guardsmen, who were captured by the Soviet secret police, were tried in the Soviet Union.

SOURCES There is no scholarly monograph on Krakau-Plaszow; two unpublished Hebrew dissertations were not available to the author: Reshef Ben-Tsion, "Mahane Plashov" (Ph.D. diss., Tel Aviv University, 1990); and Shlomi Barmor, "Mahane Plashov al reka' ha-medinyut ha-Natsit ba-'avodah kefiya shel Yehudim be-General Guvernman" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 1995). Several useful articles and booklets also exist: Aleksander Bieberstein, "Przyczynek do dziejów obozu w Krakowie-Plaszowie," *PL* 1 (1977); Roman Kiełkowski, "Obóz pracy przymusowej i koncentracyjny w Plaszowie," *PL* 1 (1971); Magdalena Kunicka-Wyrzykowska, "Kalendarium obozu płaszowskiego 1942–1945," *BGKBZHwP* 31 (1982): 52–86; Angelina Oster, "Im Schatten von Auschwitz: Das KZ Krakau-Plaszow—Geschichte und Erinnerung," *DaHe* 19 (2003): 170–179; and a brochure by Tadeusz Wroński, *Obóz w Plaszowie, miejsce masowej eksterminacji ludności żydowskiej, polskiej i innych narodowości w latach*

1942–1945 (Warsaw: Sport i Turystyka, 1981). Important chapters are included in Roman Kiełkowski, . . . *Zlikwidować na miejscu: z dziejów okupacji hitlerowskiej w Krakowie* (Kraków: Wyd. Literackie, 1981); and in the mixture of memoirs and research by Aleksander Bieberstein, *Zagłada Żydów w Krakowie* (Kraków: Wyd. Literackie, 1985). On mutual assistance, see Judith Tydor Baumel, *Double Jeopardy: Gender and the Holocaust* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 1998), pp. 103–114.

Only tiny fragments of German documentation on Krakau-Plaszow survived the war, especially from the WVHA and other concentration camps (BA-K, NS 3; BA-DH, RGVA R-1367K) and the Kraków SS and Police (IPN). Other sources in Polish archives, such as reports of the Polish welfare and underground, are listed in *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: informator encyklopedyczny*, ed. Czesław Pilichowski (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 391. Published documents on Krakau-Plaszow are available in *Dokumenty i materiały do dziejów Żydów w Polsce pod okupacją niemiecką [DiM]*, vol. 1, *Obozy*, ed. Nachman Blumental (Łódź: CZK, 1946), pp. 270–274; and *Faschismus—Getto—Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des 2. Weltkrieges*, ed. AŽIH (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961). Polish trial proceedings are located in IPN. On the Göth trial (microfilm in USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0248), see *Proces ludobójcy Amona Leopolda Goetha przed Najwyższym Trybunałem Narodowym* (Warsaw, 1947); *Law Reports of Trials of War Criminals*, vol. 7 (London: HMSO, 1948); and interviews with Göth's daughter, Matthias Kessler, “*Ich muss doch meinen Vater lieben, oder?*” *Die Lebensgeschichte der Monika Göth, der Tochter des KZ-Kommandanten aus “Schindlers Liste”* (Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn, 2002). West German investigation files are stored in the BA-L: LG Mosbach Ks 2/61, re: Franz Josef Müller, BA-L 206 AR-Z 225/59; Sta. Mosbach 21 Js 3892/77, re: Lüth, BA-L 206 AR-Z 1276/63; Sta. Bayreuth 1 Js 546/67, re: Grimm, BA-L II 206 AR-Z 600/67; Sta. Deggen-dorf 1 Js 108a-c/66, re: Kiermaier, et al., BA-L 206 AR-Z 48/66; LG Berlin 3 P (K) Ks 2/72, re: Bigell, BA-L II 206 AR-Z 601/67. The verdict of the Müller trial is reproduced in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen. Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1966*, ed. Adelheid L. Rüter-Ehlermann et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1977), 17: 234–253. The Soviet investigation files against—at least—four Trawniki guardsmen in Krakau-Plaszow are in the custody of the CAFSSRF. For prisoner memoirs, see Joseph Bau, *Dear God, Have You Ever Gone Hungary? Memoirs* (New York: Arcade 1998); Yosef Bosak, *Ve-bayit lo ne'ebaz ba-sevakb: korot-hayav shel Avraham (1939–1944)* (Tel Aviv: Moreshet, 1986); Malvina Graf, *The Kraków Ghetto and the Plaszów Camp* (Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1989); Stanisław Jagielski, *Slavus saltans: wspomnienia lekarza obozowego* (Warsaw: Nakt Lekarskiego Instytutu Naukowo-Wydawniczego, 1946); Marian Krawczyk, *6 sierpień 1944 r. Garsć wspomnień z obozu koncentracyjnego w Plaszowie* (Kraków, 1945); Halina Nelken, *And Yet, I Am Here!* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999); Jakub Stendig, *Plasov: ba-tabanab ba-abaronab shel Yabadut Krakov*, trans. from Polish by Aryeh Bauminger (Tel Aviv: ha-Menorah, 1970); Tadeusz Śliwiński, *Periturus* (Kraków: Wyd. Literackie, 1979).

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NOTES

1. See the SSPF query to the insurance company Bayerische Versicherungsbank AG from October 1942 in Peter-Ferdinand Koch, *Menschenversuche: Die tödlichen Experimente deutscher Ärzte* (Munich: Piper, 1996), p. 110.

2. See the printed letterhead in Göth to Schindler, March 23, 1943, in *Schindlers Koffer: Berichte aus dem Leben eines Lebensretters*, ed. Claudia Keller and Stefan Braun (Stuttgart: Stuttgarter Zeitung, 1999), p. 19.

3. See Verdict District Court Mosbach Ks 2/61 re: Müller, April 24, 1961, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen. Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1966*, ed. Adelheid L. Rüter-Ehlermann et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1977), 17: 234–253.

4. Former Polizeischützenregiment 32; see commander-in-chief of the Orpo in the GG to RFSS, September 3, 1943, BA-B, R 19/115, p. 365.

5. Transfer rosters of SS-Ausbildungslager Trawniki to Krakau-Plaszow, not dated, CAFSSRF.

6. Circular letter by Scherner, December 14, 1942, and guidelines, February 9, 1943, *Faschismus—Getto—Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des 2. Weltkrieges*, ed. AŽIH (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), p. 448.

7. Verdict LG München I 116 Ks 1/70 re: Johann Unterhuber, June 18, 1970, pp. 11–12.

8. Verdict District Court Hannover 11 Ks 2/76 re: Heine-meyer, March 30, 1979, pp. 53–54, IfZ, Gh 05.24.

9. See the detailed information on the camp in the report of the Żegota, n.d. (probably end of 1944), in *DiM*, vol. 1, *Obozy*, ed. Nachman Blumental (Łódź: CZK, 1946), pp. 270–274.

10. Circular letter by Scherner, August 30, 1943, *Faschismus*, p. 453.

11. See the conferences on Lublin camps on September 3 and 7, 1943, a protocol of the latter in *Faschismus*, pp. 459–460.

12. Order Pohl, October 22, 1943, Nuremberg document NO-60.

13. Letter HSSPF Koppe to Himmler, September 6, 1944, BA-K, NS 19/2586, p. 2.

14. Information of Żegota, not dated, *DiM*, 1: 274.

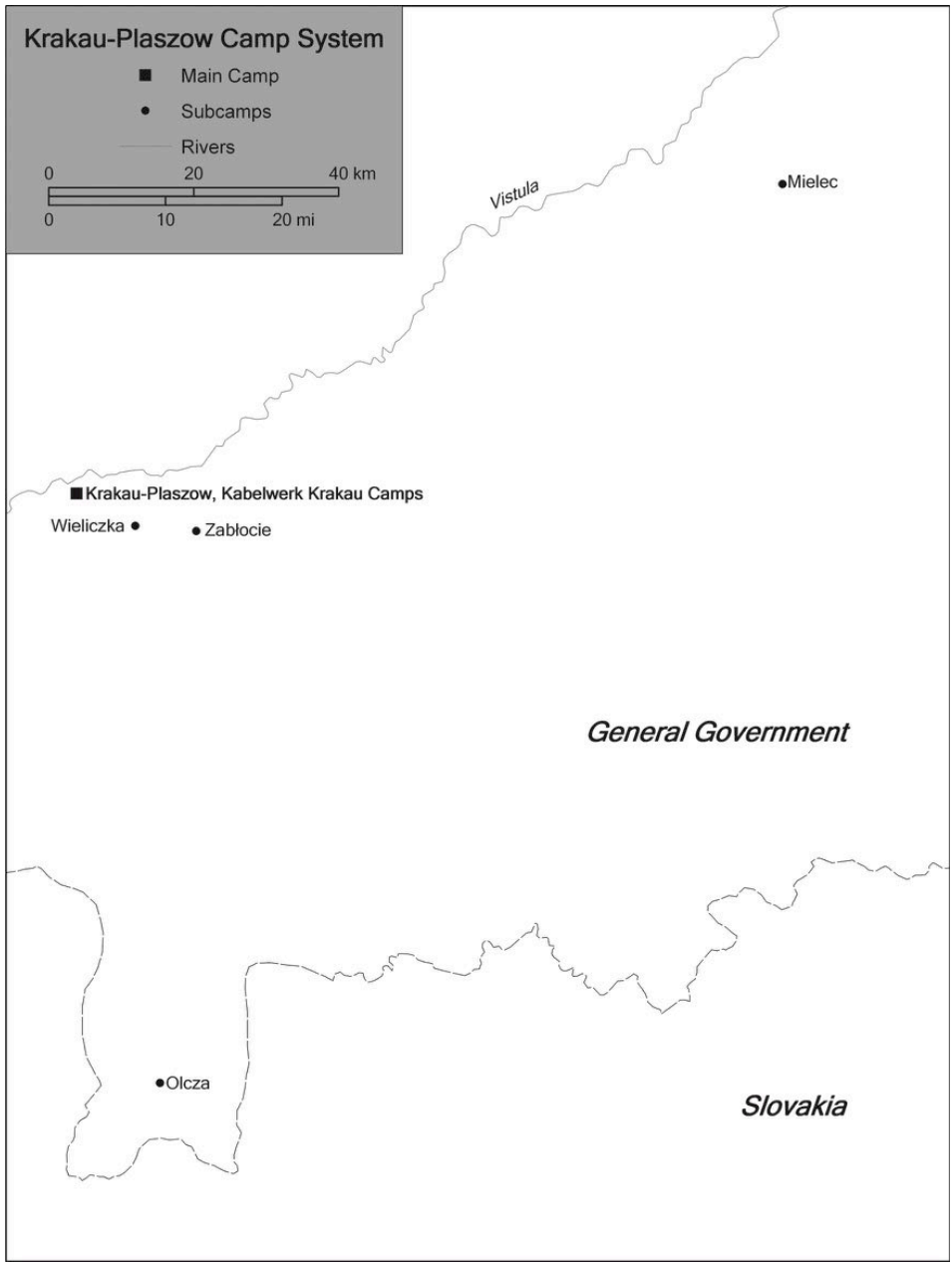
15. BA-K, NS 3/439, p. 2; Report on the departure from Krakau-Plaszow, February 2, 1945, BA, NS 3/650.

16. See the preliminary list of 1,852 prisoners: “Indeks imienny więźniów obozu w Plaszowie” (MSS, IPN, 1980).

17. Lublin District Court against Paul K. in 1948, who served in several concentration camps; see Elżbieta Kobierska-Motas, *Ekstradycja przestępców wojennych do Polski z czterech stref okupacyjnych Niemiec 1946–1950* (Warsaw: GKBZpNP, 1992), 2:121.

18. A camp member was acquitted in 1947 by LG Berlin.

19. Verdict District Court Berlin 3 P (K) Ks 2/72 re: Bigell, June 4, 1973, IfZ, Gb 06.111; Paul Raebel was tried for his crimes in eastern Galicia.



KABELWERK KRAKAU

Polish Jewish men and women were forced to work between July 1942 and September 1944 manufacturing cables for Kabelwerk Krakau. Kabelwerk in Krakau-Plaszow had been compulsorily acquired from the German electronics concern Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG) by the German military authorities in 1941 after the occupation of Poland.

The factory site, almost 120,000 square meters (143,500 square yards), about 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) to the southeast of Kraków, not far from the Plaszow railway station, was the site for the manufacture of electrical and telegraph cables. In 1941, around 1,400 male and female Polish blue- and white-collar workers were employed there. Following the compulsory acquisition by the Rüstungsinspektion (Army Armaments Inspectorate) Krakau in September 1939, the cable factory, which was owned by the Polish Fabryka Kabli S.A., was placed under the trusteeship of Verwertungsgesellschaft für Montanindustrie GmbH (Montan), which in turn was controlled by the Army High Command (OKH). The Montan contracted with Reichswerke Hermann Göring and the AEG for the management of the operation.¹ In July 1941, the AEG leased the Kabelwerk. It acquired the stock and raw materials and undertook “to directly or indirectly give preferential treatment to Wehrmacht contracts.”²

Administratively, the Kabelwerk was controlled by Kabelwerk Krakau GmbH (KWK), which was established by the AEG in September 1941. In 1941, the AEG placed the 43-year-old senior engineer Ewald Böhme as factory manager. Böhme had been working in the Kabelwerk Oberspree (KWO) in Berlin-Oberschöneweide since 1925. KWO, the largest of the AEG cable factories, relocated its production orders and materials such as lead and copper to Kraków.

Kabelwerk Krakau produced field cables for the Wehrmacht and telephone cables for the Deutsche Post Ost. The product mix included deliveries to the AEG sales office in Kraków, which sold, among other things, switches and lighting systems produced by the Berlin AEG factories to the Wehrmacht, the “Ostbahn,” and the SS. It is most likely that Jews from the forced labor camp at Pustków were used in installing electrical and lighting systems for the AEG at the Waffen-SS troop training ground at Dębica. The AEG had been installing these systems since 1941 as part of a large contract.³ On not so grand a scale, the AEG Krakau also took over contracts from armaments firms such as the Heinkel aircraft factory at Mielec.

In April 1944, the former owner of the cable factory, the Polish company Fabryka Kabli S.A., stepped into the lease with the AEG.⁴ The Mährische Bank from the Czech town of Brno (Brünn) then claimed possession on the basis that since 1939 it had been the sole shareholder of the Fabryka Kabli S.A. The Mährische Bank was controlled by the Creditanstalt Bankverein AG from Vienna. The Deutsche Bank had been the largest shareholder since 1941 in this, the largest, Austrian bank.

In the middle of 1942, Böhme representing KWK negotiated with the Arbeitsamt Krakau on the use of Jewish laborers from the Kraków ghetto. It was intended that mostly women would be used in the cable factory, as there were no available men. The inmates were to go back and forth daily in groups from the ghetto to the cable factory. Initial security for the prisoners was to be provided by the cable factory’s security. The Jewish forced laborers were to work in a cable factory and a plastics factory and in checking field cables. They were to be fed the same amount of the factory’s soup as the Polish labor force.

Böhme also successfully negotiated that in exceptional cases he could decide whether to give the Jews consumer goods. The management used such means as pressure to reduce the high absentee rate in the Polish workforce, which in turn was the result of the German occupation policy that had resulted in a catastrophic food shortage in the General Government. In April 1942, more than 20 percent of the Polish workforce was missing either daily or for part of each day. The management demanded that the Arbeitsamt Krakau transfer individual Poles to the labor camps as a deterrent measure.⁵ In 1942–1943, the absentee rate was reduced to 2 percent, due to the distribution of food.⁶

Böhme announced, however, at the end of August 1942, that the Jewish forced laborers “were not to receive any more special rations until otherwise stated. This included all goods which had been distributed.”⁷

Oskar Schindler, who had business dealings with the Kabelwerk’s management, told of seven laborers from the Kabelwerk who were transferred to Krakau-Plaszow where they were hanged by the SS. According to Schindler, “Director Dihle stated that it had a visible increase in production.”⁸

In addition to the use of Jewish women from the Kraków ghetto, it is likely that from the end of August 1943 a group of 96 male Jews from Wieliczka were deployed in the Kabelwerk. The men were accommodated in a “barracks-type” area in the Kraków ghetto.⁹ After the evacuation of “Ghetto A” on October 27 and 28, 1942, all Jewish forced laborers in the cable factory were transferred to the newly established forced labor camp at Plaszow. Following the final liquidation of the Kraków ghetto on March 13, 1943, the company’s management housed them in barracks on the factory grounds.¹⁰ As was the case with Schindler’s enamel factory, the Kabelwerk Krakau established a “firm camp” (*Firmenlager*).

A total of between 200 and 300 Jewish forced laborers were assigned to work for Kabelwerk, probably 50 percent male and 50 percent female.¹¹ From the beginning of September 1942, they worked in three shifts. Among them was Leontyna Opoczyńska who was 20 in 1941. She was assigned to work in the wire factory within the Kabelwerk. According to Opoczyńska, they were given substitute coffee in the morning, bread and soup for lunch, and bread in the evening. The Polish workers with whom she worked secretly gave her additional food.

Even though the forced labor and their accommodation on the factory grounds initially protected the Jewish prisoners

from deportation, it did not protect them from persecution. Opoczyńska stated that following a nervous breakdown, it was only the solidarity of her fellow prisoners that prevented her from being selected. "I was not taken away and shot," said Opoczyńska, "because my fellow workers put part of their output down on me."¹²

The AEG commenced the evacuation of the Kabelwerk at the beginning of August 1943 in the following order: unfinished products and raw materials such as cable wrapping, copper wires, or artificial silk were shifted to an AEG raw material depot to the east of Berlin and sold to the Berlin KWO.¹³ Food such as vegetables, which had been grown on the fields of Kabelwerk Krakau to feed the workers, was also removed. The production facilities including the wire factory, where many of the Jewish prisoners worked, was shut down. The AEG relocated the enamel wire factory to the Sudetenland. Other attempts to relocate machines were refused by the armaments authorities. Representatives of the Mährische Bank stated that "those machines which probably would be damaged during transport and whose reassembly would be uneconomic should remain [in the Kabelwerk]."¹⁴

Unlike Schindler's case, the Jewish forced laborers in Kabelwerk were not evacuated. They were transferred to the forced labor camp at Plaszow, which in January 1944 had become a concentration camp. Opoczyńska, with many other female concentration camp prisoners from Plaszow, was deported to Auschwitz. When Auschwitz was evacuated, the SS transported her via the Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald concentration camps to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, where she was liberated by British soldiers in April 1945.¹⁵ She and more than half of the Jewish forced laborers at Kabelwerk Krakau survived the deportations.

SOURCES Some background information on the AEG project in Kraków may be found in Artur Eisenbach, *Hitlerowska polityka zagłady Żydów* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1961). For the documentary record of Schindler's business relations with the KWK, see Erika Rosenberg, ed., *Ich, Oskar Schindler: Die persönlichen Aufzeichnungen; Briefe und Dokumente* (Munich: Herbig, 2000). For more on Schindler's role, see Mietek Pemper, *Der rettende Weg: Schindlers Liste—Die wahre Geschichte* (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 2005).

Details on the use of forced labor are contained in the file notes and correspondence of the KWK management as well as in memoirs of former Jewish forced laborers. There are only scattered details on the history of the Kabelwerk Krakau GmbH in the AEG files. Files of the Fabryka Kabli are held in the APK;KWK files in the BA-B, the LA-B, and the DTM-AEG-A. Reports by survivors are held in the archives of the USHMMA as well as in YVA.

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NOTES

1. See Kabelwerk Krakau an Kabelfabrik AG, Bratislava of August 26, 1940, Betr.: Kündigung des Gestionsvertrages, as

well as Bl. 124, Beschluss Kreisgericht Krakau, September 14, 1940, DTM, I.2.060 A, Nr. 00580, pp. 223–224.

2. See 1. Entwurf of November 25, 1940, DTM, I.2.060 A, Nr. 00580, p. 220; as well as Ulrich Dihle to AEG FKU Abt. W. of June 19, 1941, LA-B, A Rep. 227-06, Nr. 11.

3. Artur Eisenbach, *Hitlerowska polityka zagłady Żydów* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1961), p. 436.

4. See Abschrift Pachtvertrag JB-Vertragsarchiv Nr. 424, DTM, I.2.060 A, Nr. 00581, pp. 67–72.

5. See KWK an Arbeitsamt Krakau of May 19, 1942, Betr.: Säumige Gefolgschaftsmitglieder.

6. See Werkmitteilung SEK of July 29, 1943, Betr.: Anruf des Herrn Böhme; Rundschreiben Nr. 47/4 of August 21, 1943, LA-B, A Rep. 227-06, Nr. 15.

7. See Kabelwerk Krakau, Rundschreiben Nr. 50/42 of August 31, 1942, in LA-B, A Rep. 227-06, Nr. 14.

8. As cited in Erika Rosenberg, ed., *Ich, Oskar Schindler: Die persönlichen Aufzeichnungen; Briefe und Dokumente* (Munich: Herbig, 2000), p. 104. On the KWK and Oskar Schindler, see Ewald Böhme and Ulrich Dihle to Oskar Schindler April 27, 1944, LA-B, A Rep. 227-06, Nr. 9.

9. See Kabelwerk Krakau, Aktenvermerk Nr. 108/42 of September 2, 1942, Betr.: Judeneinsatz, LA-B, A Rep. 227-06, Nr. 14.

10. See Leontyna Davies, Questionnaire transcript and photo album, USHMMA, RG 02.070, pp. 5–6; Mietek Pemper, *Der rettende Weg: Schindlers Liste—Die wahre Geschichte* (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 2005), p. 104.

11. Opoczyńska estimates the numbers at 300 people. After 1945, the AEG stated there were 200. See Davies transcript, USHMMA, RG-02.070; as well as the letter from Max Stein to E. Katzenstein and the Claims Conference of April 21, 1960, Re: AEG and Telefunken, YVS [YVA], 400/1, Korrespondenz Telefunken (Akte Dr. Stein).

12. Davies transcript, USHMMA, RG-02.070.

13. See Versandscheine und Aufstellungen über Räumungsgüter, LA-B, A. Rep. 227-06, Nr. 8+12.

14. See Protokoll Aufsichtsrat Kabelfabrik A.G., September 8, 1944.

15. Davies transcript, USHMMA, RG-02.070.

MIELEC

The town of Mielec lies about 120 kilometers (75 miles) east of Kraków and about the same distance to the southwest of Lublin. For a few weeks during the war, there was a Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp labor detail located in Mielec. The forced labor camp that was established after the occupation, as well as the subcamp that came later, was located at the site of the former aircraft factory at Mielec. This was a small-to medium-sized camp that only existed for a short time as a subcamp. As a result, only a few records remain. Prisoner statements, which form part of the documents in International Tracing Services (ITS) documents, suggest that at first a forced labor camp was established on March 7–9, 1942, for male Jewish prisoners in this part of the General Government.¹ The first mention of female Jewish prisoners in the Mielec forced labor camp is dated from March 1942.

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Contradictory statements about the date of closure make it impossible to determine the precise period it existed as an independent camp. In the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, an interrogation report on the Plaszow camp titled “Die mörderische Aussiedlungsaktion” (The Murderous Deportation Operation) can be found. According to that report, 2,000 prisoners of the detachment were taken from Mielec to Plaszow on July 26, 1944. However, there are a number of postwar witness statements challenging this evacuation report. The testimonies state that prisoners from this detachment were transferred to the Wieliczka labor detail and the Flossenbürg concentration camp on July 22, 1944. Another statement, made sometime after the events, suggests the camp still existed in August 1944.² There is no further mention of the outside detail after this date. The reason for the rapid evacuation of the outside detail was the approaching Soviet Army into the steadily shrinking territory of the Third Reich.

A file note of the Chief of the Office W IV of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), dated January 13, 1944, shows that the Krakau-Plaszow main camp remained a Jewish forced labor camp until January 11, 1944, and only from then on became a concentration camp. This means that the Mielec forced labor camp could only have become an outside detail of the now-independent concentration camp, the main camp Krakau-Plaszow, sometime later, namely, on June 12, 1944.³

According to the statements of prisoners and the few remaining personnel documents, the inmates were solely Jews of Polish nationality. On the other hand, the little available literature points to the Mielec prisoners as being “Poles and Jews.”⁴ As was the custom in most forced labor camps, prisoners wore civilian clothing with colored stripes; in addition, Jews were forced to wear a yellow star. After the transformation of the camp into a concentration camp, the prisoners had to wear the conventional striped camp clothing. The prisoners were accommodated in barracks for the entire duration of their persecution.

A peculiarity of this camp was how the prisoners were tattooed. In contrast to the usual practice at Auschwitz where the entire prisoner number was tattooed on the left forearm, those responsible at the Mielec detail only tattooed the letters *KL* on the forearm. According to the literature, this was done alternately on the right and the left forearm. However, numerous postwar prisoner statements say that the tattoos were only made on the right forearm. The same procedure, that is, tattoos with the letters *KL*, possibly occurred in Budzyń (a Lublin subcamp) and Wieliczka.⁵

The Mielec inmates worked at the Heinkel aircraft works. The surviving registration cards often display the abbreviation “FWM” in the top left-hand corner, which stands for Flugzeugwerke Mielec. The aircraft works were enclosed by walls, and on top of the walls was an electric wire. The work was done in two shifts, from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. and from 6:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M. The prisoners’ main task was rivetting aircraft wings. The prisoners also had to perform cleaning

and general metalwork. The prisoner cards of the Mielec subcamp as well as the concentration camps to which the prisoners were transferred, such as Flossenbürg, state, among other things, the main trades, which include bakers, tailors, plumbers, and assemblymen, and the prisoners’ secondary trades, such as locksmith or unskilled workers (*Bau Hilfsarbeiter*). There are also notations for the actual work, that is, deployment, such as turner, brush maker, milling, drilling, and unskilled workers.

The available sources vary regarding the total size of the subcamp: from 800 to 2,000 to even more male prisoners and from 50 to 300 female prisoners. The largest number of prisoners at the Mielec camp, which was closed during the summer of 1944, is 4,000; however, there is no precise date for this figure, which was estimated by the Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland by the Council for the Protection of Monuments, Struggle and Martyrdom (Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce Rada Ochrony Pomników Walki i Męczeństwa).⁶

The prisoners were fed one meal of soup at lunch and received 1.4 kilograms (3.1 pounds) of bread per week.⁷ Initially, the prisoners were guarded by members of the Luftwaffe and later by the SS and the Ukrainian SS, respectively. According to postwar documents, the Gestapo and SS shot prisoners in the Mielec camp.⁸

SOURCES The following reference books were helpful in preparing this entry: GKBZHWP, Rada Ochrony Pomników Walki i Męczeństwa, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw, 1979); and Edward Kossoy, *Handbuch zum Bundesentschädigungsgesetz (BEG), Law & Notarial-Offices Apelbom* (Munich, 1956), p. 166.

This essay on the Mielec subcamp is based nearly exclusively on sources that are contained in the general collection of ITS. The sources include statements and the documents generated from investigations by former prisoners, referring to the total period of their persecution and imprisonment, respectively. This makes possible a distinction between information relating to the forced labor camp and the later subcamp. The prisoner cards of the Mielec aircraft works as well as the Flossenbürg concentration camp provide documentary confirmation, as the cards refer to the Mielec labor camp as the place of admission.

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NOTES

1. March 7, 1942, according to a statement dated December 24, 1959, and held by ITS. On the other hand, the OK-BZNwK puts the opening date as March 9, 1942.

2. ITS, Call number Documents M3 Mielec, Statement of the former prisoners Fried. Sz.

3. First Supplement to the “Verzeichnis von Ghettos, Zwangsarbeitslagern und Konzentrationslagern,” August 1, 1953, presented by the Oberregierungsrat Dr. Ungerer, München, on January 1, 1954.

4. GKBZHWp, Rada Ochrony Pomników Walki i Męczeństwa, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945; informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw, 1979), ¶ 2719, p. 318.

5. Edward Kossoy, *Handbuch zum Bundesentschädigungsgesetz (BEG), Law & Notarial-Offices Apelbom* (Munich, 1956), p. 166.

6. GKBZHWp, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945*, ¶ 2719, p. 318.

7. ITS, Call number Documents M3 Mielec, Statement of the former prisoners Fried. Sz.

8. ITS, Call number M3 Mielec, note regarding investigations into the dead at the Mielec camp, filed by the former prisoner St. Sy.

(*Biuletyn IPN*/October 2001, “To jest sprawa człowieczeństwa,” p. 5). 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), 1:166; and in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1851.

There are few original sources on the subcamp. The camp is listed in the material of the GKBZHWp, Signatur Zh III/31/35/68, obozy pracy, województwo krakowskie, p. 34.

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OLCZA [AKA ZAKOPANE, ZAKOPANE-OLCZA]

Zakopane lies 90 kilometers (56 miles) to the south of Kraków (Krakau). Between 1943 and the spring of 1944, in nearby Olcza a subcamp of the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp was in operation.

At the beginning of the 1940s, a hydroelectricity power station was constructed in Olcza. The construction workers were initially members of the Góralaska Służba Ojczyźnie (Polish Highlanders' Homeland Service). This service was similar to the Reich Labor Service (RAD) and comprised the Polish national minority, the Goralen (Polish Highlanders), who were regarded by the Germans as a separate “race.” Some of the Goralen people were classified as Group III of the German national list (*Volksliste*).

These workers were replaced at the beginning of 1943 by around 150 male Jewish prisoners from the SS labor camp in Krakau-Plaszow. When this camp was converted into a concentration camp, Olcza became a subcamp of the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp.

The prisoners were accommodated in the Villa Prymówka. According to *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich*, around 10 prisoners died during the camp's existence. The camp was dissolved in the spring of 1944 due to the approaching front.

SOURCES The history of the Krakau-Plaszow Olcza subcamp near Zakopane is largely unresearched, which in part is a factor of the short life of the camp and the relatively small number of prisoners in the camp. Józef Marszałek provided a short description of the camp in *Obozy pracy w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939–1945* (Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 1998), p. 53; and in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 481, entry 5609. Information on the history of the Jews in Zakopane (including Olcza) under the German occupation is to be found in *Pinkas hakebillot Polin: entsiklopedyab sbel ha-yishuvim ba-Yebudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyab* (Jerusalem: YV, 1984), pp. 144–146. There is some information on the history of the Goralen as a national minority under the German occupation at www1.ipn.gov.pl/download.php?s=1&id=3874

WIELICZKA

The Wieliczka subcamp of the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp is closely connected with the underground production of Heinkel aircraft at the end of the war. The production site was the salt mines at Wieliczka about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) to the southeast of Kraków (Krakau). It is a site of world cultural significance due to its geological uniqueness and because for hundreds of years it operated as a salt mine.

Heinkel established in the early 1940s a number of aircraft production sites in Poland, for example, at Mielec and Budzyń. Production of the He 111 and He 177 aircraft intensified in the spring of 1943. In the Mielec camp, work was done by people who had either no or limited qualifications, that is, by forced laborers including many *Junaks*, or unskilled non-Jewish Poles. In the spring of 1942, 2,000 Jews from Krakau-Plaszow were brought to Mielec. A camp for Jews (*Judenlager*) was established at the factory. In addition to the Jews of Polish nationality, there were also Hungarian Jews from the Auschwitz concentration camp in Mielec. At the beginning of July 1944, they were deported first to Krakau-Plaszow and from there to the Wieliczka mine, where Heinkel continued its production.

A second Heinkel production site was at Budzyń near Krasnik. This forced labor camp was established in the autumn of 1943 by the SS and was administered from October 1943 by the Lublin-Majdanek concentration camp. According to historian Józef Marszałek, who cites a report by the Polish Home Army (Armia Krajowa, AK), from the middle of March 1944, there was a camp in Mielec with 2,457 Jewish prisoners, which included 319 women. The prisoners were of German and Polish (Jewish) origin. Among the men there were at least 800 engineers and technicians. In May 1944, the relocation of this camp began due to the rapid advance of the Eastern Front and the fear that the production facilities would be bombed. The prisoners at the Budzyń camp were deported to Majdanek and to the camps at Skrzysko, Starachowice, and Wieliczka. The final group of prisoners deported, 450, were deported to Germany. Morris Wyszogrod, a survivor of the Wieliczka camp, stated that he arrived in May 1944 in Wieliczka in a transport from Budzyń that included about 900 prisoners. The transport was relatively bearable, with about 40 to 50

prisoners in each railway car. For the journey, the prisoners were given straw as bedding as well as bread, cheese, and water. There were already 2,000 prisoners in the camp when they arrived. With the arrival of the new transport, there were about 2,900 prisoners in the camp. According to Wyszogrod, after the prisoners arrived at the camp, they went through the usual procedures: they were deloused, cautioned, and threatened. The prisoners' hair was shaved in stripes (so-called lice streets), and the letters *KL* were tattooed on their wrists. The tattooing was done by the camp doctor, Dr. Mosbach, and a German soldier. All the prisoners were given strips of cloth with prisoner numbers, which they had to sew onto their clothes.

In May 1944, the Jews deported from Mielec and Budzyna began to assemble the production facilities in Wieliczka. The prisoners had to construct the barracks in the camp, the barbed-wire fence, and guard towers. According to survivors, the prisoners lived in small, dilapidated houses (others say barracks), with two-tiered beds. Wyszogrod stated that an SS officer, Schragner, was the camp leader (Lagerführer). The camp was situated on the edge of Wieliczka, and on one side there was an open field. According to *Obozy hitlerowskie*, the camp was located in the Królów Kinga Park directly adjacent to the salt mine. On the other hand, Wyszogrod stated that the prisoners had to walk 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) before they went into a large basket that was lowered several hundred feet into the mine.

The salt supplies that gave Wieliczka its existence continued to be mined by Polish workers during the period of the concentration camp. Wyszogrod described the difficult conditions in the mine and the devastating effects on the malnourished and poorly clothed prisoners: the tunnels with their chasms and underground lakes were a dangerous place for the weakened prisoners, who staggered around the dangerous work site. The air was cold and damp, and salt water dripped from the ceilings and the walls. According to Polish historians, the total number of prisoners in the Wieliczka camp was around 6,000. Included in this number are the women, who probably had their own camp, working mainly in the kitchens and as cleaners.

Armaments production in Wieliczka lasted only for a few months: in September 1944, production ceased, and the camp was abandoned. The reason was the advance of the Soviet Army as well as the high humidity and the salty air in the mine. Machines and tools were dismantled and transported to Germany. The Wieliczka prisoners were initially sent to Plaszow. From there, they were taken to Gross-Rosen and Flossenbürg.

SOURCES A short description of the Wieliczka camp as well as its precursor camps in Mielec and Budzyna is provided by Józef Marszałek in *Obozy pracy w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939–1945* (Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 1998), pp. 101–103. Marszałek provided detailed sources on the history of the three camps. Czesław Pili-chowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe

Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), refer to the Wieliczka camp as entry 5302 at p. 560. Information on the history of Jewish life in Wieliczka can be obtained from the following: Shmuel Meiri, ed., *Kebilat Wieliczka; sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Wieliczka Association in Israel, 1980); and Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas habeillot Polin: entsiklopedyab shel ba-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min bivasdam ve-ad le-abar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: YV, 1984), pp. 131–136. 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), 1:166; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1849.

The AŽIH holds several statements of survivors of the Wieliczka camp under the collections Wspomnienia 2352, as well as Pamietniki 1018, 1166, and 5266. Other documents on Wieliczka are to be found in the following archives: IPN, Signatur 48, Karte 107; Bestand "Bd" Signatur 4362, Bestand "Z," Signatur 924; Najwyższy Trybunał Narodowy, Signatur 327, k. 6-7, Signatur 326, p. 150; AIZ, Dokument V 26, vol. 4, p. 96; and GKBZHWp, Signatur Zh III/31/35/68, obozy pracy, województwo krakowskie, pp. 82–84. There are several survivors' accounts on the camp, including that by Morris Wyszogrod, *An Artist in the Death Camps* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1999), where reference is made to Wieliczka at pp. 183–187.

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ZABŁOCIE

Although very little and only incomplete source material exists on the outside detail Zabłocie of the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp, the name Zabłocie (Polish; Zabłocie) has become well known since the film *Schindler's List* appeared in 1993. The movie is a strong portrayal of the suffering of many prisoners and shows the chronology of the persecution of a group of Jewish prisoners in the Kraków area—including a detailed account on their imprisonment in the Zabłocie detachment. The film reveals the contradictions of people being subject to forced labor by the National Socialist regime, which at the same time provided a chance for survival. For many, the suffering began in the ghetto Krakau-Podgorze, which was located in the city of Kraków.

At that time, many inmates were already forced to walk to and from work in Zabłocie every day. This continued after their transfer to the forced labor camp for Jews, Krakau-Plaszow, which was a little further to the east.

As the prisoners were often late for work, Oskar Schindler negotiated with the SS authorities to get permission to establish a camp in the vicinity of their work. He was supported by other employers who also used Jews from the camp at Krakau-Plaszow. After permission was granted, the Jewish forced labor camp in Zabłocie was opened in the spring of 1943.

On January 11, 1944, simultaneously with the transformation of the Jewish forced labor camp Krakau-Plaszow into an

independent concentration camp, the Zabłocie outside detail became its subcamp. The outside detail was located at 4 ulica Lipowa, in an industrial area in the southern district of Kraków. It exclusively contained Jewish men and women of Polish nationality. According to statements in the novel *Schindler's List*, the prisoners were guarded by the SS.¹

The majority of the prisoners in Zabłocie worked at Oskar Schindler's firm Deutsche Emailwarenfabrik—Email- und Metallwaren aller Art (German Enamel Factory—Enamel and Metal Wares of All Types, DEF). The prisoners worked not only in the enamel factory but also in the munitions factory that was also established there. They worked in three shifts.

The prisoners were accommodated in barracks on Schindler's factory grounds. Altogether there were between 1,000 and 1,200 prisoners.

When questioned, the prisoners replied that they worked in a munitions factory, knowing full well that this was an essential war activity; this provided a certain degree of protection from deportation. In addition, the prisoners were used as forced labor by the Neue Kühler- und Flugzeugteile-Fabriken (NKF)—Kurt Hodermann—Spezialfabriken für die Flugzeugindustrie—Werk Krakau GmbH (New Cooling and Airplane Parts Factory—Kurt Hodermann—Special Factories for the Aircraft Industry—Factory Krakau Ltd), 9 ulica Romanowicza,² and at the crate factory, Kühnpast.³

There were also men imprisoned in the outside details who had previously, from the late summer of 1943 on, worked in the so-called Siemens detachment. Their task was also of service to the war industry. They had to construct a new building for punching machines for Schindler's firm. The prisoners, who supposedly numbered between 200 and 300, were required to excavate, pour foundations, and erect the side walls.⁴ After the war, many prisoners remembered an accident in which a young Jewish prisoner was buried during the first excavation work. According to a report of the Compensation Trust, the "Stanzhalle" was finished except for the roof. Electrical installations had begun as well as the installation of a few machines.

Personnel files of concentration camps to which former prisoners of the Zabłocie subcamp were transferred to, as well as statements made by liberated prisoners after the war, refer to the following trades in the camp: metalworker trainee, metal processing worker trainee, office worker, laborer, automotive welder, female accountant, wood turner, lathe operator, iron worker, homemaker, woodworker, skilled builder, salesman, plumber, engine assembler, machinist, pharmacist (female), nurse, locksmith, apprentice locksmith, tailor (male and female), grade school pupil, university student, metal presser, and skilled textile worker.

The approaching front line caused the evacuation of Zabłocie to begin in the summer of 1944. The evacuation was complete in October 1944. The prisoners who worked for the

NKF and the crate factory were transferred back to the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp, together with prisoners who had also worked at Schindler's DEF.

At the same time, one or two U.S. airplanes were shot down and crashed at Zabłocie. As a result, a few barracks burned down completely; however, they were not occupied because the evacuation had already begun. As a result, the remaining prisoners were transferred back to the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp, as were most of the prisoners prior to the evacuation. This resulted in the complete liquidation of the subcamp, since the prisoners kept walking daily to and from Zabłocie only for a short time. They had to load machines that were to be transported to the Brännlitz detachment.⁵

From Krakau-Plaszow, the prisoners were deported to various concentration camps. The female prisoners were sent to Auschwitz, among other concentration camps, and the males were sent to Gross-Rosen. Thanks to Schindler's intervention, these prisoners were transferred from Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen to the outside detail at Brännlitz, which was administered by Gross-Rosen. They worked in his newly established company in Brännlitz until they were liberated.

Other prisoners, for instance, were transferred to the Flossenbürg and Mauthausen concentration camps.

SOURCES There is no history of the Zabłocie subcamp of Krakau-Plaszow apart from the historical novel by Thomas Keneally, *Schindler's List* (Munich: Goldmann Verlag, 1994).

Due to the lack of sources, most knowledge on the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp Zabłocie subcamp is derived from the interim report on Siemens-Plaszow by the Compensation Treuhand GmbH, New York, dated February 4, 1965. This report is based on statements made by former prisoners. Statements by former victims of persecution, which are to be found at ITS, have provided additional information. They have been valuably complemented by the evaluation of personnel files, particularly of prisoners who were transferred to Brännlitz. Two letters to the SSPF Lublin dated March 9, 1943, provide documentary evidence of the work deployment. Because of the lack of primary sources, two collection vouchers dated March 9, 1943, were used to provide details about the firms' headquarters. They were issued by the DEF as well as the NKF.

Charles-Claude Biedermann
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Thomas Keneally, *Schindler's List* (Munich: Goldmann Verlag, 1994), p. 169.
2. ITS, Call number: Technical Document M 3 Zabłocie, Statements by former prisoners.
3. Interim Report Siemens-Plaszów by the Compensation Trust GmbH, U.S. Advisory Board, New York, dated February 4, 1965 (ITS call number: Documents M 3 Zabłocie), p. 2
4. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
5. Keneally, *Schindler's List*, pp. 232, 329.



LUBLIN



Post-liberation view of Lublin-Majdanek concentration camp's Field III section.
USHMM WS #50519, COURTESY OF IPN

LUBLIN MAIN CAMP [AKA MAJDANEK]

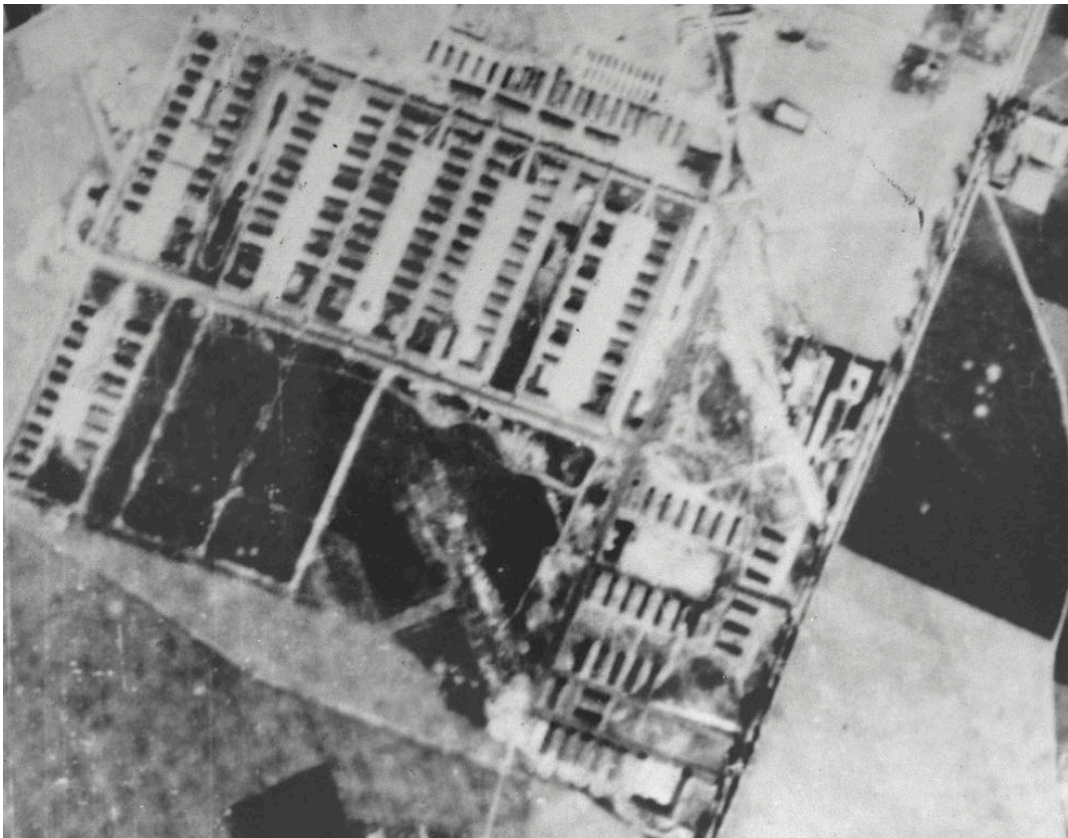
Majdanek was the “other Auschwitz,” the only other SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) concentration camp that engaged in the mass murder of Jews by means of poison gas. The 1941 decision to construct a major concentration camp outside the Reich in the Polish city of Lublin was an integral part of Heinrich Himmler’s plans to make Lublin the center of an SS military-industrial complex, where SS-owned industries using SS-controlled slave laborers would produce supplies for SS forces in the East. On July 20–21, 1941, Himmler charged SS and Police Leader (SSPF) Lublin Odilo Globocnik to build a concentration camp for 25,000 to 50,000 prisoners.

To evade the Lublin civilian authorities’ opposition to a concentration camp, the SS announced it would build a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp there. Officially designated Waffen-SS

Prisoner of War Camp (Kriegsgefangenenlager der Waffen-SS) Lublin, the camp derived its Polish (and more widely known) name from its location in the Majdan Tatarski suburb. Eventually the camp consisted of five compounds or “fields,” with a capacity for 25,000 prisoners, with one more compound still under construction when the camp was liberated.

Although designated a POW camp, Majdanek was always subordinate to the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) and adopted the same organization and regulations as all other concentration camps. On February 16, 1943, Majdanek’s official designation changed to Lublin concentration camp (Konzentrationslager Lublin).

Himmler’s special plans for Lublin and the peculiar tasks he assigned to Globocnik caused Majdanek to be more heavily influenced by the SSPF and more intimately involved in the



Aerial reconnaissance photograph of Lublin-Majdanek concentration camp, 1943–1944.
USHMM WS #89983, COURTESY OF NARA

activities of the SS and police than was generally the case with other camps. For example, the Order Police (Orpo) and the Security Police (Sipo) each administered a special section within Majdanek, and in pursuing Himmler's plan for Germanizing the Lublin District, Globocnik sent the Polish families he displaced to Majdanek for eventual shipment to the Reich for forced labor.

Globocnik's greatest influence over Majdanek, however, came from his leadership of Operation Reinhard, the program to implement the "Final Solution" in the General Government. Globocnik used Majdanek to realize three of the operation's goals: exploiting Jewish workers, utilizing Jewish assets, and murdering Jews. Majdanek's principal role in the operation was to concentrate Jews who had been temporarily spared extermination to work for the SS. The camp's gassing facilities served primarily to dispose of the overflow from the other Reinhard killing centers, Bełżec, Sobibór, and Treblinka.

Between April 29, 1942, and November 3, 1943, Jews constituted the overwhelming majority of prisoners registered at Majdanek. Research indicates that the SS deported between 74,000 and 90,000 Jews to the Majdanek main camp. At least 56,500 of these people were Polish Jews: 26,000 were from the Lublin District; 20,000 were from the Warsaw ghetto; 6,500 were from the Białystok ghetto; and roughly 4,000 were deported between November 1943 and May 1944 from other labor camps. At least 17,500 came from other European countries: 8,500 from Slovakia; 3,000 from Bohemia and Moravia; 3,000 from Germany and Austria; 2,000 from France, the Netherlands, and Greece; and 1,000 Jews from countries other than Poland, transferred to Majdanek after November 3, 1943.

Poles represented the largest minority in the camp. In mid-October 1942, out of a total of 9,519 registered prisoners in the camp, 7,468 were Jews (78.45 percent) and 1,884 were non-Jewish Poles (19.79 percent). In August 1943, there were 16,206 prisoners in the main camp: 9,105 were Jews (56.18 percent); and 3,893 (24.02 percent) were Poles. Other prisoners at Majdanek included Germans, Austrians, Czechs, Ukrainians, Soviet POWs, Soviet civilians, and a handful of others.

Majdanek also frequently served as a transit camp or a temporary stop for Polish and Soviet civilians being deported to the Reich for forced labor or being held temporarily after the Germans removed them as undesirables in a resettlement project. During the summer of 1943, for example, transports of victims of "pacification" operations in Russia, Galicia, and Belarus, along with Polish political prisoners and Jews, brought Majdanek's prisoner population to 23,000, making it the third-largest of the concentration camps, behind Auschwitz and Sachsenhausen.

In October 1942, on Himmler's orders, Majdanek opened a women's camp, whose population reached 7,800 in mid-1943. Although Himmler's January 1943 order that Majdanek establish a camp for children was ultimately rescinded, infants and children accounted for 6.2 percent of the camp's total identifiable population.

After the Operation Harvest Festival (*Aktion Erntefest*) killings of November 3, 1943, Majdanek no longer had a majority of Jews among its prisoners. At the end of 1943, of 6,562 prisoners registered at Majdanek, approximately 71 were Jews. In mid-March 1944, as surviving Jews from various subcamps of Majdanek were brought to the main camp for eventual evacuation west to Auschwitz and other concentration camps in the Reich, 834 Jews were imprisoned in Majdanek. Some were killed in the gas chambers between March and July 1944; the SS transferred the rest to Auschwitz and Krakau-Plaszow.

After Majdanek was almost completely evacuated in April 1944, the German army opened a camp for Poles conscripted to build fortifications. Last-ditch pacification operations brought more peasant families into the camp in June. Majdanek was finally evacuated on July 22, 1944. When Soviet troops arrived the next day, they found 500 disabled Soviet POWs and more than 1,000 recently seized peasants.

Majdanek's SS leaders fostered corruption and sadism among the staff and guards. The first three commandants were "old school" managers from the prewar camp system: Karl Otto Koch (October 1941 to August 1942) had been commandant of Buchenwald; Max Koegel (August to October 1942) had commanded Ravensbrück; and Hermann Florstedt (October 1942 to September 1943) had been Buchenwald's Schutzhaftlagerführer. The SS executed Koch and Florstedt for corruption in 1945. Only Martin Weiss (September 1943 to May 1944) adopted the "practical" wartime SS management philosophy by modestly improving working conditions. Majdanek's last commandant, Artur Liebehenschel, had previously overseen Auschwitz.

Koch's deputy at Buchenwald, Hermann Hackmann, was Majdanek's first Schutzhaftlagerführer. The SS commuted his death sentence for corruption. Arnold Strippel, Majdanek's first Rapportführer and last Schutzhaftlagerführer, had also served at Buchenwald. Schutzhaftlagerführer Anton Thumann (1943–1944), infamous for extreme cruelty, had previously served at Dachau, Auschwitz, and Gross-Rosen. The women's camp was guarded by female SS guards from Ravensbrück, led by SS-Oberaufseherin Elsa Ehrlich and her deputy Hermine Braunsteiner.

Majdanek's SS-Death's Head Guard Battalion, the SS-Totenkopfsturmbann KL Lublin, consisted largely of ethnic Germans recruited primarily from Yugoslavia and Romania. By late 1943, it had five companies and a canine unit, but its manpower was never adequate to guard the camp alone. For a year from November 1941, the 2nd Lithuanian Schutzmannschaft Battalion of Kaunas reinforced it, followed by two companies of SS auxiliaries from Trawniki and then by the 252nd Lithuanian Schutzmannschaft Battalion.

There were at least 270 labor details at Majdanek, many employed in maintaining the camp and its farm, vegetable gardens, and greenhouses. Majdanek's intended purpose, however, was to supply prisoners for SS-owned workshops and enterprises. In 1942, the prisoners built the Old Airfield (Alter Flughafen) forced labor camp across the road from



Forced labor at Lublin-Majdanek.
USHMM WS #04394, COURTESY OF NARA

Majdanek, where the SS-Bekleidungswerk (Clothing Works) employed both Majdanek prisoners and Jewish forced laborers to sort and process clothing looted in Operation Reinhard. The Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke (German Equipment Works, DAW) opened workshops that employed Majdanek prisoners in such enterprises as repairing uniforms, making furniture, and converting gas engines to burn charcoal. Majdanek also supplied laborers to various formations of the SS, Waffen-SS, and police in Lublin.

In March 1943, Globocnik and the WVHA founded Ostindustrie GmbH (Eastern Industries, Ltd., Osti) as a joint venture to run existing and planned enterprises employing Jews in forced labor camps and to exploit formerly Jewish-owned assets. Majdanek prisoners worked in Osti enterprises at both the Old Airfield camp and at Majdanek by, inter alia, reconditioning aircraft parts, manufacturing brushes, and building an iron works with materials from the Warsaw and Białystok ghettos.

Lacking “productive” jobs, some Majdanek inmates were forced to perform tasks with little or no purpose other than inflicting suffering, such as moving and breaking up stones. The official workday lasted from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. between April and November; otherwise, from 6:30 A.M. to 3:30 P.M. Prisoners often had to work within the camp in the evenings as well.

On September 7, 1943, the WVHA announced that it would take over the SSPF Lublin’s labor camps, which would all become subcamps of Majdanek. On paper at least, Majdanek became a far-flung camp complex in which more than 45,000 Jews and tens of thousands of other prisoners labored to feed, clothe, house, and arm the SS in such enterprises as textile works, a sawmill, brickworks, peat processing, and munitions plants.

This empire collapsed on November 3–4, 1943, when Operation Harvest Festival wiped out most of the Jews in Lublin. SS enterprises that were dependent upon Jewish laborers shut down, although a few at Majdanek and the Old Airfield camp continued operating with non-Jewish prisoners. Majdanek did acquire new subcamps in January 1944: the remaining

Jewish forced labor camps at Bliżyn, Budzyń, and Radom, as well as Warsaw (until April 1944) and the reactivated Lipowa Street camp. Osti was dissolved in early 1944, however, and most of Majdanek’s able-bodied prisoners were sent elsewhere.

Three factors favored resistance activities at Majdanek, particularly from 1943: (1) the proximity of a large city; (2) the employment of civilian contractors on some projects within the camp; and (3) the influx of Polish political prisoners. Nearly every Polish political party and resistance group had an organized presence within the camp. Civilian contractors carried messages back and forth, so the Polish government-in-exile could stay informed about conditions. Resistance groups even planned an uprising at the end of 1943 but had to give it up in view of the massive SS presence in and around Lublin.

Escapes were most frequent in 1942, while the camp was still under construction. More than 100 Soviet POWs escaped as a result of several mass attempts that year. Several dozen Jews and Poles also succeeded in escaping during the camp’s existence, fleeing singly or in small groups, often taking advantage of opportunities offered by outside work details.

The SS destroyed most of Majdanek’s records before evacuating the camp, so figures for arrivals or deaths are only estimates. The accepted minimum number of registered prisoners is 240,000 to 250,000, but that does not include those who were killed immediately, nor does it reflect the latest research. Estimates of the number who died in Majdanek range from 80,000 to 110,000 for the main camp and another 15,000 to 20,000 in the subcamps.

Considering that in less than three years some 250,000 prisoners passed through a camp with a prisoner capacity of 25,000 and an actual population that seldom exceeded 15,000, it is clear that prisoners either were quickly transferred or died. Conditions were so catastrophic that they shocked even experienced prisoners. Inmates suffered from extreme over-



Post-liberation photograph of a turtle sculpture, produced by Majdanek prisoners on the commandant’s orders; its designer was artist Albin Maria Boniecki.

USHMM WS #50520, COURTESY OF IPN

crowding, bad (and scarce) water, inadequate food, and practically nonexistent sanitary facilities. Epidemics inevitably resulted from these conditions. Typhus was the most deadly, and sometimes infected the SS as well. Although the SS killed prisoners whom they suspected of infection during an outbreak in the summer of 1942, a new epidemic caused the camp to be quarantined from January to March 1943. A camp “hospital” lacked basic medicine and supplies. Several fields had a rubbish block (*Gammelblock*), a barracks surrounded with barbed wire, where debilitated prisoners were isolated without any care or sustenance. The prisoners were removed periodically and, if still alive, gassed.

In December 1943, Majdanek became a camp for prisoners who were no longer able to work. As no improvement in medical supplies or care accompanied this change, these prisoners were simply sent to Majdanek to die.

Fragments from Majdanek’s death books record that in the autumn of 1942 approximately 25 percent of the camp’s population died each month. In August 1943, the WVHA listed Majdanek with the highest mortality rate of all the camps: 7.67 percent for men and 4.41 percent for women. The camp’s first crematorium could cremate 200 corpses a day, which quickly proved inadequate. Even after a new crematorium opened in the autumn of 1943 that could incinerate 1,000 bodies a day, corpses continued to be burned on pyres. The ashes were spread on the camp’s farm.

Numerous Majdanek prisoners died at the hands of the camp’s staff, guards, or prisoner-functionaries, many of the latter professional criminals from the Reich. But systematic murder claimed vastly more victims. From its inception, Majdanek was an execution site to which Poles and Jews were brought to be shot in pits behind Field V or in the nearby Krepiec Forest. Prisoners were also hanged or clubbed to death or dispatched with lethal injections.

Gassing probably claimed the largest portion of Majdanek’s murder victims. The three gas chambers known to have operated at Majdanek were constructed in late 1942 and 1943 next to the bathing barracks across from Field I. The two smaller chambers could hold 150 people, the larger one 300. All three used Zyklon B and at least two could also use carbon monoxide.

After the first gas chamber became operational in the autumn of 1942, the SS began selecting the elderly, children, and mothers of young children from newly arriving transports of Jews. They often waited, sometimes for days without food or water, in the barbed-wire enclosed “Rose Garden” north of the gassing facility, before being gassed. Selections were also regularly conducted within the camp to send debilitated Jewish prisoners to the gas chambers. Some non-Jews too ill to work were probably also gassed.

The gas chambers ceased operating at Majdanek sometime in late 1943. Some scholars estimate that 50,000 victims were gassed at Majdanek, but this number may be revised. Witnesses and historians agree that the majority of Majdanek’s

gassing victims were murdered in 1943. A recently discovered British intercept of a January 11, 1943, SS radio transmission communicating a “fortnightly report” of Operation Reinhard reveals that 24,733 Jews had been “resettled” (i.e., killed) at Majdanek under Operation Reinhard in 1942, 12,761 of them in the last two weeks of December. As Majdanek may have had only two operational gas chambers at that time, it is possible that many of the Jews killed in that last month were shot rather than gassed. Nevertheless, the apparent fact that nearly 25,000 Operation Reinhard victims were murdered at Majdanek in 1942 alone suggests that Majdanek’s role in the “Final Solution” may have been larger than most historians have heretofore assumed.

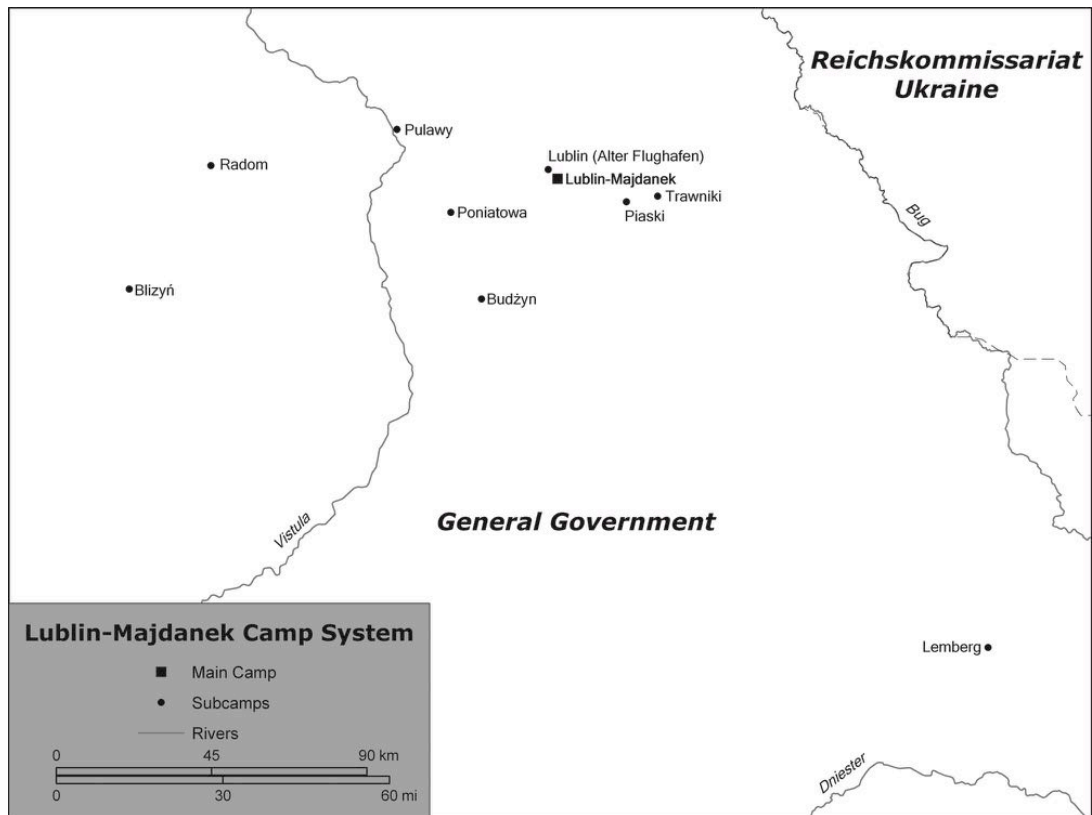
Shooting was also used to dispose of the 10,000 Polish prisoners brought to Majdanek in “death transports” from Polish prisons between December 1943 and March 1944. After the gassings ceased, the prisoners selected for death because they could no longer work were shot in the crematorium. Shootings continued into Majdanek’s last days: 1,350 inmates of Lublin’s castle prison were shot at Majdanek on July 20 and 21, 1944.

Majdanek was the first concentration camp to be liberated, in late July 1944, and newsreels and photos from the camp—particularly of the mountain of shoes found there—caused an international sensation. A handful of low-level SS camp officials and Kapos seized at the camp were tried and executed in the autumn of 1944. A number of Majdanek’s leading SS officials were also tried after the war, but few for their activities at Majdanek. All three commandants who survived the war were condemned to death, Weiss for crimes at Dachau, Koenig for Ravensbrück, Liebehenschel for Auschwitz. The only postwar trial to deal at length with crimes at Majdanek was held in Düsseldorf in the 1970s. Among the defendants convicted were Schutzhaftlagerführer Hackmann and Hermine Braunsteiner, whom the U.S. extradited.

SOURCES The following are some of the most informative published sources on Majdanek: Barbara Schwindt, *Das Konzentrations- und Vernichtungslager Majdanek: Funktionswandel im Kontext der “Endlösung”* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2005); Tomasz Kranz, “Eksterminacja Żydów na Majdanku i rola obozu w realizacji ‘Akcji Reinhardt,’” *ZeMa* 22 (2005): 7–55; Kranz, “Ewidencja zgonów i śmiertelność więźniów KL Lublin,” *ZeMa* 23 (2005): 7–51; Zofia Leszczyńska, “Transporty i stany liczbowe obozu,” in *Majdanek, 1941–1944*, ed. Tadeusz Mencel (Lublin: Wydawn. Lubelskie, 1991); Czesław Rajca, “Problem liczby ofiar w obozie na Majdanku,” *ZeMa* 14 (1992): 127–131.

Archival records may be found in USHMM (including in the recently released records of the ITS); NARA; APMM; IPN; APL; and the *Proceedings against Hermann Hackmann, et al.* in Düsseldorf, probably in the NWHStA-(D); and various proceedings held in the BA-L relating to the city of Lublin and Lublin District.

Elizabeth White



BLIŻYŃ

Blizyn (German: Blizyn) is located about 40 kilometers (24.8 miles) southwest of Radom. The forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ) in Blizyn was officially established on March 8, 1943. At that time, it was subordinated to the SS and Police Leader (SSPF) in Radom, SS-Standartenführer Dr. Herbert Böttcher, and viewed as a subcamp of the Jewish forced labor camp in Radom. The main company employing prisoners from the Blizyn labor camp was the SS holding company Ostindustrie GmbH (Osti). The company paid the SS a rate of 3.70 zloty per day for prisoner labor. Once the prisoners were withdrawn, the armaments factory in Blizyn was sold to the Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH (German Equipment Works, DAW), and the quarry in Blizyn was sold to the Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (German Earth and Stone Works, DESt), both at book values determined by Osti.¹

Apparently the camp had been used previously to house Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), and some bodies were buried around the campsite. This contributed to the serious rat infestation in the camp, which plagued the prisoners. From the spring until the summer of 1943, various groups of Jews were transferred to the Blizyn forced labor camp, including Jews from Radom, Kielce, Częstochowa, Piotrków Trybu-

nalski, and Tomaszów Mazowiecki. In the late summer of 1943, another group of Jewish prisoners arrived from the Białystok ghetto via Majdanek. Among this group were a few doctors and also a number of Jewish women with bandaged wrists, who had tried to commit suicide when they thought that they would be gassed at Treblinka.² In late 1943 or early 1944, those children (aged 10 to 12) who had survived in the camp until then were taken away and presumably murdered.³

The camp consisted of roughly 5,000 or six 6,000 prisoners comprising both men and women. The prisoners' living compound was composed of a number of barracks, with the female and male barracks strictly segregated from each other. There were also additional barrack buildings for the camp administration, a kitchen, a hospital, and also a primitive treatment center (*Ambulanz*). The camp was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence, which was lit up by searchlights at night. Within the camp, the parade ground was also surrounded by barbed wire. In an adjoining camp, separated from the prisoners by the Kamienna River, were the offices and accommodations for the camp personnel. Apart from the guards, composed of ethnic German and Ukrainian SS men, as well as German SS, there were also work supervisors, including some German civilian craftsmen.⁴

Every morning and evening there was a roll call during which the prisoners were counted, and new instructions were issued. The food supplied to the prisoners was completely inadequate. It consisted of only about 170 to 250 grams (6 to 9 ounces) of usually damp bread, as well as a watery vegetable soup at lunchtime, which sometimes contained a little meat. Prisoners who worked in the kitchen could acquire a little extra food and trade it. Others bribed Ukrainian guards who could even arrange for local inhabitants to throw bread across the fence. Conditions for workers in the armaments factory and especially the quarry were arduous. Others worked inside the camp in various craft sections, as tailors, cobblers, and carpenters, in 12-hour shifts.⁵

According to a letter of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Staff W (Business), dated January 19, 1944, the Blizyn forced labor camp was to become a subcamp of the Majdanek concentration camp in February.⁶ The official transfer took place on February 10, 1944.

The camp commandant from March 1943 until the subordination of the camp to Majdanek was SS-Oberscharführer Paul Nell. One survivor described him as “a terribly sadistic SS man” who terrorized the prisoners with his vicious dog Pasha. “At the command of his master this dog tore victims to pieces.”⁷ Nell also shot prisoners during roll call on several occasions.

SS-Oberscharführer Heller replaced Nell in February 1944. He enjoyed a markedly better reputation among the surviving prisoners. Under his control as camp commandant, for example, visits by husbands to their “wives” in the female barracks were silently tolerated; he also curtailed the arbitrary shootings and beatings of prisoners that were customary in the camp. He even made efforts to improve the food rations and, in the face of a serious outbreak of typhus, obtained some medical supplies for the Jewish doctors in the camp.⁸

Nevertheless, hundreds of prisoners died of typhus, exhaustion, and SS brutality during the camp’s existence. The corpses were buried in a wood close to the camp. The names of the dead were simply erased from the camp records, and only the number of fatalities was recorded by the camp administration.⁹

When SS-Unterscharführer Karl Artur Gosberg stood in as camp commandant for some 10 weeks due to Heller’s illness (he contracted typhus himself) from April until June 1944, the camp soon relapsed back to its former brutality. The Jewish camp elder (Lagerältester), a man named Minzberg who died after the war in the United States, was sometimes forced to carry out the whippings of prisoners (usually 25 lashes), which occasionally even resulted in death. One female prisoner was found to have an egg illegally in her possession. She was given 100 lashes on the orders of Gosberg. She died about 12 days later from the severely infected wounds.¹⁰

Apart from the change of command, the transition to a concentration camp entailed certain other changes. Those prisoners working outside the camp now received striped uniforms. In addition, the inclusion of some non-Jews (Poles) in a sepa-

rate barracks fenced in within the camp may have been related to this change of status from a Jewish forced labor camp.

Escape attempts were severely punished. For example, the Ukrainian guards hanged some attempted escapees on the camp fence. Nevertheless, several escapes were attempted, some even meeting with success. Before the camp became a concentration camp, Samuel Gerstenfeld escaped with a small group, making it successfully across the bridge to the neighboring guards’ camp facility and then fleeing. Another group escaped with the aid of a tunnel in the first half of 1944, having made contact with partisans outside the camp who were keen that a doctor should escape to join them. Once it was discovered at roll call that five prisoners were missing, all the prisoners were held on the parade ground for hours during the investigation. Prisoners from the block where the escape took place were severely beaten and placed in the underground punishment cell for several days.¹¹

As the front began to approach the Radom area at the end of July 1944, the Blizyn subcamp was evacuated. Records of the WVHA indicate that the armaments factory that employed prisoners from the Blizyn subcamp began to transfer its equipment into the Reich by rail on July 22, 1944.¹² The remaining prisoners (1,614 male Jews and 715 female Jews) were transported in cattle wagons to Auschwitz, where they arrived on July 31, 1944, and were issued numbers B-1160 to B-2773 and A-15211 to A-15925, respectively.¹³ The proportion of survivors from the Blizyn subcamp was relatively high. Survivors mainly thank the commandant, Heller, for helping to maintain their health, such that most survived the initial selection on arrival at Auschwitz.

The first commandant of the Jewish forced labor camp in Blizyn, SS-Oberscharführer Nell, was sentenced to death and executed by the Polish authorities after the war. SS-Oberscharführer Heller, who officially commanded the camp from February until its dissolution in July 1944, was captured and tried by U.S. authorities. However, after several Jewish survivors from Blizyn testified in his favor, he was acquitted and released.¹⁴ SS-Unterscharführer Gosberg, who stood in as camp commandant for about 10 weeks from April to June 1944, was tried by the regional court in Wuppertal in 1961. He was sentenced to 12 years in prison on May 19, 1961.¹⁵

SOURCES Documentation relating to the Blizyn subcamp, including a number of testimonies by survivors, can be found in the following archives: AŻIH; BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; IPN; ITS; USHMMA (RG-02.042, Samuel Gerstenfeld memoir; RG-14.045M, copies of NS 3 from BA-BL); VHF; and YVA. A number of published survivor memoirs include sections dealing with their experiences in the Blizyn camp. Especially relevant for the later period, when it became subordinated to the Majdanek concentration camp, are Schraga Golani, *Brennendes Leben: Vom Pabianice und Piotrków in Polen durch die Lager Skarzysko Kamiena, Blizyn, Auschwitz-Birkenau, Ohrdruf bis zur Befreiung in Buchenwald* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2004); and Mira Ryczke Kimmelman, *Echoes from the Holocaust: A Memoir* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997). The verdict from the trial of Karl Gosberg in

Wuppertal, published as Lfd. Nr. 510 in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: UPA, 1979), 17:404–416, is also focused on events in 1944, following the camp's subordination to the Majdanek concentration camp. For background on Osti, see *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law No. 10, Nuernberg, October 1946–April 1949* [Green Series], 15 vols. (Washington, DC: U.S. GPO 1949–1953; reprint, Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein, 1997), 5:512–524.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. TWC 5 (1997): 512–524: Report by the SS-Unterscharführer Johann Sebastian Fischer on a rough audit of the books of the Osti, February 29, 1944.

2. AŻIH, 301/1812, testimony of Gołda Teich; 301/1450, testimony of Maria Cymbalist from Tomaszów Mazowiecki; 301/59, testimony of Mojsze Bojm from Radom; Ryczke Kimmelman, *Echoes from the Holocaust: A Memoir* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), pp. 44–46; USHMMA, RG-02.042, Samuel Gerstenfeld memoir, transferred to Bliżyn from the Kielce ghetto.

3. AŻIH, 301/1812.

4. Verdict of LG Wuppertal in the case of Karl Artur Gosberg (11 Ks 1/60), May 19, 1961, Lfd. Nr. 510, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: UPA, 1979), 17:407–408.

5. AŻIH, 301/7621, testimony of Eta Brifman; and 301/1812.

6. Stab W an Chef des Amtes W IV, January 19, 1944, betr.: Umwandlung der Zwangsarbeitslager in Krakau-Plaschow, Lenberg [Lemberg], Lublin und Radom-Blisyn [Bliżyn] in Konzentrationslager (NO-1036), in BA-L, B162, Versch. 299, pp. 84–87.

7. Kimmelman, *Echoes from the Holocaust*, pp. 47–48.

8. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 17: 408. According to one account, nightly visits of men to the women's barracks (and vice versa) were relatively common, as were even sexual relations between some Jewish girls and the SS guards (both German and non-German); see AŻIH, 301/1456, testimony of Pesach Bursztajn (in Yiddish).

9. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 17: 408; AŻIH, 301/1450.

10. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 17: 408–411.

11. USHMMA, RG-02.042, Samuel Gerstenfeld memoir; Schraga Golani, *Brennendes Leben: Vom Pabianice und Piotrków in Polen durch die Lager Skarżysko Kamienna, Bliżyn, Auschwitz-Birkenanu, Obrudruf bis zur Befreiung in Buchenwald* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2004), pp. 144–150.

12. USHMMA, RG-14.045M (BA-BL, NS 3/605).

13. Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939–1945* (New York: H. Holt, 1990), p. 674; AŻIH, 301/7621; Golani, *Brennendes Leben*, pp. 170–173.

14. Kimmelman, *Echoes from the Holocaust*, p. 48.

15. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 17: 415.

BUDZYŃ

Budzyń (German: Budzyn) is located about 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) to the northwest of Kraśnik. In the mid-1930s, the Pol-

ish authorities established a military-industrial production center there. Under German occupation, most of the arms factories were taken over by the Reichswerke Hermann Göring, and in 1942, the Heinkel Company opened a factory for aircraft construction using SS prison labor as well as their own employees.

The first Heinkel (He) project employing Jewish forced workers was established in April 1942 in Mielec. Then in June 1942, a proposal was drafted to exploit Budzyń as the main center for the relocation of much of its production from Rostock, which had already been hit by Allied bombing. The Budzyn site offered 55,000 square meters (about 66,000 square yards) of factory space and adequate housing nearby.¹ Following the visit of Ernst Heinkel in July 1942,² the company planned to deploy some 2,100 Polish and Jewish workers in the factory to produce the Junkers 188 aircraft.³ The first Jewish forced laborers started work at the Heinkel-Budzyn factory in November 1942, comprising several hundred Jews from the liquidated ghetto in Końskowola and about 150 Jewish prisoners of war (POWs) from the Lipowa 7 camp, who had been captured while serving in the Polish Army.

The Budzyn forced labor camp, which was initially subordinated to the SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) in Lublin, Odilo Globocnik, was located about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the Heinkel factory. As described by the survivor Morris Wyszogrod, the main purpose of the camp was to supply workers for the industrial plants of the German armaments industry. The most important of these was the Heinkel factory, which repaired airplane parts. There was also the Organisation Todt (OT) that repaired tanks and other heavy equipment and other, smaller operations. The daily march to these workplaces took about 45 to 60 minutes.⁴

From the summer of 1942, various groups of Jews were transferred to the Budzyn camp, including 100 Jewish women from the Bełżyce ghetto and about 500 Jews from the remnant of the Kraśnik ghetto.⁵ Others groups arrived subsequently from the camps in Gościeradów, Hrubieszów, and Krychów. The Jews' living compound was composed of six barracks similar to those in Majdanek, constructed by the first prisoners, plus a kitchen barrack and a toilet barrack. It was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence and four watchtowers used by Ukrainians trained at Trawniki. Over the gate was a sign that read: "Jedem das Seine" (To Each His Own). Conditions in the camp were very bad, and the number of prisoners declined due to disease and SS brutality. In April 1943, according to a report of the Armaments Inspectorate of the Wehrmacht, there were 750 Jews in the Budzyn camp, which "due to prolonged undernourishment were becoming generally listless and would have to be replaced by Polish civilian workers."⁶

On May 1, 1943, 807 survivors of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising who had been sent to Majdanek were selected by the then-commandant of the Budzyn camp, SS-Oberscharführer Reinhold Feiks, from the Sudetenland. Feiks is described by most prisoners as having been especially brutal and bloodthirsty. According to most estimates, following the arrival of

the Warsaw group, the Budzyn camp had some 3,000 Jewish prisoners, including several hundred females.⁷

By the summer of 1943, Air Ministry priorities had changed, and production of parts for the He 219 in the Heinkel-Budzyn factory began in October 1943. In September 1943, this facility had some 1,300 Jewish forced workers in a total workforce of 3,950.

According to a letter of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), on October 22, 1943, the Budzyn forced labor camp officially became a subcamp of the Majdanek concentration camp. This transfer took place just before Operation Harvest Festival (*Aktion Erntefest*), on November 3–4, 1943, during which more than 40,000 of the 50,000 remaining Jewish forced laborers in the Lublin district were murdered. The prisoners at Budzyn were fortunate to be spared, presumably on account of the military significance still given to the Heinkel factory.

News of the massacres soon spread via the Ukrainian guards, blackening the spirits of the prisoners, which had been raised by news of Soviet advances. Following rumors of a possible liquidation, a group of prisoners tried to escape a few weeks later. The Ukrainian guards not only shot those trying to escape; they also dragged more than 30 other prisoners from their barracks and murdered them inside the compound.⁸

The women were housed in a separate barracks, which the men were not permitted to visit. However, men and women were able to meet and talk for a few minutes everyday outside the barracks, and some love affairs flourished. By January 1944, the food rations were so meager that prisoners without access to extra rations wasted away. “Those who had no more strength to work were sent to the camp hospital, where they quickly died.”⁹

The Budzyn camp was relocated at the end of January 1944 to another newly constructed camp about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) away, known as “Barrackenbau,” now much closer to the Heinkel factory. Here the prisoners also received striped uniforms and a prisoner number. The transfer took several days. At the new location, the camp was somewhat larger and surrounded by an electrified fence.¹⁰ Several hundred sick and weak prisoners, including many women, were not transferred but were murdered instead. This relocation reflected the “official” integration of the camp into the concentration camp system and was accompanied by the appointment of SS-Obersturmführer Josef Leipold as camp commandant to replace SS-Untersturmführer Fritz Tauscher. Prisoners recall that the daily rations slightly improved at the new camp, consisting now of a piece of bread with margarine and soup with even a couple of potatoes in it.¹¹

Punishment in the form of beatings was administered in front of all the prisoners on the parade ground. Some useful prisoners received special privileges, including Morris Wyszogrod, who painted artworks for the commandant, and Jakob Eljowicz, who was the SS portrait photographer. When there was an escape in February 1944, Wyszogrod was ordered to draw a plan of the camp, marking the point of escape to accompany the official report.¹²

Despite the camp’s formal designation as a concentration camp, certain cultural privileges were granted by the camp’s leadership. Just prior to the move in January, the prisoners put on a humorous show, involving songs and skits.¹³ Then at Passover in 1944, thanks to the influence of camp elder (Lagerältester) Noah Stockman, unleavened bread was baked, and a Seder ceremony was held.

After the last director of the Heinkel-Budzyn factory conceded in January 1944 that much of his workforce was not being used to their full capacity, the Armaments Inspectorate withdrew its resistance to the workforce being deployed elsewhere.¹⁴ As a result, the Heinkel labor force declined by some 50 percent in February 1944. Throughout the spring and early summer of 1944, there were various selections in the camp, as weaker prisoners were designated for death and groups of workers were sent to other camps. Among the destinations of prisoners from Budzyn in this period were the Heinkel factories in Mielec and Wieliczka and also the Majdanek main camp.

The camp was finally evacuated in July 1944 in the face of the advancing Red Army, with many of the prisoners being taken initially to Wieliczka and subsequently toward Germany. The proportion of survivors from the camp was relatively high compared with other Jewish labor camps in the area.

Josef Leipold, born November 10, 1913, in Altrohla, was camp commandant following its relocation in January 1944, was extradited to Poland by the Americans in 1947. He was tried by the district court in Lublin and sentenced to death on November 9, 1948. He was executed by shooting on March 8, 1949.

SOURCES There are several pages devoted to the Budzyn camp in David Silberklang’s dissertation: “The Holocaust in the Lublin District” (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University Jerusalem, 2003). This also includes a more comprehensive list of relevant sources. The article by Lutz Budrass, “‘Arbeitskräfte können aus der reichlich vorhandenen jüdischen Bevölkerung gewonnen werden’: Das Heinkel-Werk in Budzyn 1942–1944,” *JfW* 1 (2004): 41–64, provides useful information on the decision making that led to the establishment of the Heinkel works in Budzyn. There is also a short article on the camp in Polish by B. Wróblewski, “Obóz w Budzynie,” *ZeMa* 5 (1971): 179–189.

A number of accounts by survivors from the Budzyn subcamp can be found in the following archives: AŽIH (copies at USHMM); VHF; and YVA. Relevant German documentation can be found in BA-MA and DMM. Some published testimony is available in *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: Record of Proceedings in the District Court of Jerusalem*, 9 vols. (Jerusalem: State of Israel Ministry of Justice, 1992). A number of published survivor memoirs include sections dealing with their experiences in the Budzyn camp. Especially relevant for the later period, when it became subordinated to the Majdanek concentration camp are Henry Orenstein, *I Shall Live* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Morris Wyszogrod, *A Brush with Death: An Artist in the Death Camps* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999); and Joshua Laks, *I Was There, Zaklikow* (Tel Aviv: Y. Laks, 2005).

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NOTES

1. DMM, Sondersammlungen, Dokumentation, HeA Korr. Milch, letter of Heinkel to Milch, June 18, 1942.
2. BA-MA, RL 3/1105, pp. 74–82, Visit to the Polish factories in Budzyń and Baranów, July 22, 1942, appendix to letter of Heinkel to Belter (RLM), July 28, 1942.
3. DMM, HeA Berliner Büro 2, Notes of a meeting, September 24, 1942.
4. Morris Wyszogrod, *A Brush with Death: An Artist in the Death Camps* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), p. 136. This volume also includes sketches drawn by the author of scenes in the camp prior to its relocation in January 1944.
5. AŻIH, 301/647, testimony of Genia Ajdelman from Bełżyce; 301/2221, testimony of Nuchim Rozenel from Kraśnik.
6. BA-MA, RW 23/1, Rüstungsinspektion im Generalgouvernement, Review of Third Quarter, 1942.
7. *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: Record of Proceedings in the District Court of Jerusalem*, 9 vols. (Jerusalem: State of Israel Ministry of Justice, 1992), 2:1232–1233, testimony of David Wdowinski; AŻIH, 301/1086.
8. Henry Orenstein, *I Shall Live* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 152–155, dates this incident in November; Wyszogrod, *A Brush with Death*, pp. 172–173, dates it in January 1944. Other sources date the incident in February.
9. Orenstein, *I Shall Live*, p. 158.
10. Wyszogrod, *A Brush with Death*, pp. 173–174; *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann*, 2:1235; AŻIH, 301/1514, testimony of Róża Mitelman.
11. Orenstein, *I Shall Live*, p. 164; Wyszogrod, *A Brush with Death*, pp. 173–175.
12. Wyszogrod, *A Brush with Death*, pp. 175–178.
13. Orenstein, *I Shall Live*, pp. 162–163.
14. BA-MA, RW 23/4, p. 16, KTB Rüstungsinspektion Generalgouvernement 1/44.

LEMBERG [AKA LEMBERG (WEST-STRASSE), LEMBERG (JANOWSKA)]

The Lemberg subcamp (best known as Lemberg-Janowska) of the Lublin-Majdanek concentration camp in Galician Lemberg (Lwów, Lvov, Lviv) existed for only a few months, from January to July 1944. It was located at 132-134 Janowska Strasse, Lemberg. During the Third Reich, the street, which headed from the northwest of the city in the direction of Janów, was called Weststrasse.

A forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ) was located at Lemberg between the end of 1941 and the autumn of 1943. It held at least 50,000, but probably between 100,000 and 120,000 people, mostly Polish and Soviet Jews. They were all murdered. Some of them fell victim to the brutal living and working conditions in this camp, which was under the control of the SS and Police Leader (SSPF) Galizien, Fritz Katzmann; many more were murdered at the execution site, adjacent to the camp, called Der Sand (also, Todestal).

The camp was located on the site of an old camp and factory. In the camp were Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH

(German Equipment Works, DAW) workshops, administration buildings, and prisoner barracks. In March 1943, the ZALfJ reached its maximum capacity with 15,000 prisoners. During the course of 1943, the camp was allocated to Ostindustrie GmbH (Osti), a company jointly owned by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and SSPF. It lasted for only a short time. During the course of the year, the camp was gradually decreased in size and its inmates murdered. The last inmates of the ZALfJ were murdered or deported on November 3–4, 1943, as part of Operation Harvest Festival (*Aktion Erntefest*).

A Sonderkommando 1005, consisting of between 120 and 250 prisoners from the Lemberg camp, was busy from the summer of 1943 in removing the traces of the mass killings from the camp and its surroundings. The squad was named after the file name given to the action by the Gestapo chief Heinrich Müller. The Sonderkommando “unearthed” tens of thousands of corpses and was present at mass executions, where it cremated the victims. It was commanded by low-ranking officers under the Commander of the Security Police and the SD (KdS), headed by SS-Untersturmführer Walter Schallock. Although officially the Kommando was top secret, the smoke and odors from the cremations were sometimes so strong that its activities could not remain hidden. In one case, the Lublin fire brigade was called out. On November 19, 1943, members of the Sonderkommando rebelled, attacking the guards and breaking through a barbed-wire fence; 12 men managed to escape, while the others were all shot. After that, a new, smaller Sonderkommando was established, but it never operated. Members of this Kommando were shot in January 1944.

From January 1944, Lemberg was still operating as a work and internment site primarily for non-Jewish criminals, including several hundred Poles, Ukrainians, and ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche). This is the period in which the WVHA ordered by letter dated January 13, 1944, that the camp become part of the Lublin-Majdanek concentration camp. In the following months, there were a few Jews, around 100, in the camp. As a rule, they were Jews who had succeeded in escaping and hiding among the Polish population but had been discovered and arrested. Other Jews, exhausted from months or years living underground, had voluntarily surrendered themselves to the camp. Here they worked mostly as tailors, cobblers, leather dyers, electricians, gardeners, and launderers. It was probably around this time that plans were implemented to put the DAW workshops back in operation. The number of prisoners in the camp probably did not exceed 2,000 in 1944. Honigsman states that in the spring of 1944 there were less than 1,000 prisoners in the camp.

During a bombardment of the camp by the Soviet Air Force on April 20–21, 1944, quite a few prisoners, including 15 Jews, managed to escape. The camp was finally evacuated in the summer of 1944 with the approach of the Red Army. The International Tracing Service (ITS) puts the evacuation in June, but historian Thomas Sandkühler puts the date as July 19, 1944. The evacuated prisoners—there were less than 100

Jews—were deported to the west. There they worked at first in building fortifications for the SS Construction Staff Venus I and in an SSPF Galizien holding camp in Neusandez/Grybów. They were transferred then to the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp. From there they were evacuated via Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen to Gusen, a Mauthausen subcamp—an odyssey that only few Janowska prisoners survived.

SOURCES The camp is briefly referred to in a few monographs including Philip Friedman, “The Destruction of the Jews of Lwów,” in *Roads to Extinction: Essays on the Holocaust*, ed. Ada June Friedman (New York: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1980), pp. 244–321; and Eliakhu Iones, *Evrei Lvova v gody vtoroi mirovoi voiny i katastrofy evropeiskogo evreistva 1939–1944*, ed. Svetlana Shenbrunn (Moscow: Rossiiskaia biblioteka Kholokosta, 1999). Thomas Sandkühler, in “*Endlösung in Galizien*”: *Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941–1944* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1996), provides rich detail on the history of the Sonderkommando 1005 and the camp after October–November 1943 but states that the plan to convert the Lemberg camp into a concentration camp had been abandoned in 1943. J. Honigsman describes Lemberg in *Janower Lager (Janower Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden in Lemberg): Kurzer historischer Essay*, ed. Lwower Gesellschaft für jüdische Kultur (Lemberg, 1996), dealing also with the removal of the evidence of the mass killings. Essential reading for the events and camps in Ukraine is the source material in Towiah Friedman, ed., *Die verantwortliche SS, Gestapo und Schutzpolizei bei der Ermordung der Juden Ost-Galiziens, 1941–1944: Dokumenten-Sammlung* (Haifa: T. Friedmann, 1996). Józef Marszałek in *Obozy pracy w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939–1945* (Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum Na Majdanku, 1998), pp. 107–109, describes the camp. The subcamp is also described 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), 1:168; and in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1820.

Due to the camp's short period of existence, there are as a rule no eyewitness reports. Survivors' statements are based on time in the forced labor camp and did not take notice of the transfer by the WVHA into the new administration. Investigations into the Lemberg ZALfJ, SK 1005, and Lemberg concentration camp were led by the Sta. Ludwigsburg under file EL 48/2 I, Bü 395. The files hold an extensive collection of survivors' statements/records of interviews. The history of the fire brigade being called out because of the heavy smoke caused by the Sonderkommando 1005 activities is based on a report by the fire brigade and held in DALO, R 58/1/66. Bl. 100. It is cited by Sandkühler, “*Endlösung in Galizien*,” at pp. 271–280, who also cites other witness and survivor reports from the early period of the Lemberg camp on Janowska Strasse. General information on the history of the different camps in Lemberg can be obtained from the following archival collections: AAN: Records of the Lwów mayor's office under German occupation (Collection 540), and other records of Lwów and the Government General; AGK: Records of war crimes trials in postwar Poland; BA-MA: detailed rec-

ords of Oberfeldkommandantur 365 in Lemberg, 1941–1944 (Collection RH 53-23), and documents of the Rüstungskommando Lemberg (Collection RW 23); AZIH: materials from the Lwów Judenrat, and Yiddish underground periodicals; as well as ZdL at BA-L: records of war crimes trials in postwar Germany. For Lwów, see especially files with the prefix 208 AR. At USHMMA, the following collections are of interest: RG-15.066M (Gouverneur des Distrikts Lublin records, 1939–1944); RG-15.043M (KdS in Lublin records, 1939–1945); and RG-15.065M (Kommandeur der Orpo Lublin records, 1940–1944); 1995.A.1086 and 31.003M (copies of materials found in DALO); and RG 22.002M (records of the war crimes trials conducted by the Soviet Extraordinary Commission in postwar Lwów).

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LUBLIN (ALTER FLUGHAFEN) (MEN)

The Lublin (Alter Flughafen) camp was named after its location, on the airfield of the former aircraft manufacturer T. Plage/T. Laskiewicz near Lublin, near Fabryczna Street, 1 to 2 kilometers (0.6 to 1.2 miles) to the north of Majdanek. It was part of a complex system of camps and warehouses at the site, which included the Nachbaulager Russland-Süd (for the Wehrmacht's southern front) and the main supply camp (*Hauptnachschaublager*) for the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Russland-Süd und Kaukasien.

The use of Jewish labor at Lublin (Alter Flughafen) began in July–August 1940 with the establishment of a forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ). No later than the summer of 1942, the camp was significantly expanded and became part of the close economic cooperation between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), headed by Oswald Pohl, and the local SS and Police Leader (SSPF), Odilo Globocnik. Both parties were interested in cooperating with one another: Globocnik, in intensifying the exploitation of Jewish forced labor in the Lublin region and in the profitable recycling of the property of deported and murdered Jews. Pohl was interested in increasing the efficiency of the SS economic enterprises. This resulted in 1942–1943 not only in increased concentration and exploitation of the Jews in the Lublin region under the control of the WVHA but in the formation of the Ostindustrie GmbH (Osti), a company jointly owned by the WVHA and SSPF. In this joint venture, Pohl secured authority over the Jewish forced labor, and Globocnik secured functional control of the camp, particularly because he appointed his confidants to key positions in it. The Lublin (Alter Flughafen) camp was one of the camps where this cooperation was practiced.

On the camp itself, there is little published information. In 1942–1943, the Lublin (Alter Flughafen) camp was comprehensively expanded in connection with its task of being a sorting and recycling site for the property of Jews deported from the General Government and murdered. The property dealt with in the Lublin (Alter Flughafen) camp came from

the Majdanek, Bełżec, and Sobibór camps but also from other dissolved ghettos and camps. The camp had a railway connection, useful for dispatching the Jewish property after it was cleaned, repaired, sorted, and packed. It is unknown when the first inmates were put into this camp. According to historian David Silberklang, it was no later than the summer of 1943, for there is a record at the time of 5,000 male prisoners who were separated in their own camp from the female prisoners. While in 1942, there were about 300 women in the camp, in 1943 there were already 5,000 to 6,000. While the women were mostly used to sort and recycle clothing, the men were used primarily to sort, recycle, and recast unusable household appliances and furniture. One source states that, starting in November 1942, about 4,000 women had to do hard physical labor, including paving runways. Trials conducted after the war shed light on the living and work conditions in the women's camp: there was no running water and no sewerage, and electricity was only available at the job sites. Many of the female overseers had come from Lublin-Majdanek, among them Charlotte Mayer.

Little is known about the origin of the prisoners. In 1942, most of the prisoners in camp were from the Majdan Tatarski ghetto, which was located not far from the camp. The ghetto was liquidated in November 1942, and most of the prisoners then came from liquidated camps and ghettos from a wider area, with some even coming from Germany and Austria. The Lublin (Alter Flughafen) camp can be seen as an important location for Jewish forced labor in Lublin; according to Silberklang, it probably was the most important one. Former Jewish property was sold here to German offices and citizens in Lublin and also sent to Germany. Some perpetrators operated businesses large and small with stolen Jewish property.

On October 22, 1943, the camp became a subcamp of the Lublin-Majdanek concentration camp complex. Two weeks later, the prisoners, as part of the Operation Harvest Festival (*Aktion Erntefest*), were sent to Majdanek and murdered. The new administrative subordination to the WVHA scarcely had any practical effect.

The murder of the prisoners began on November 3 at 7:30 A.M. That morning, about 5,000 to 6,000 women, accompanied by female guards on bicycles, were taken to Majdanek, where they were shot. The men of the subcamp were murdered on location. According to Silberklang, members of the SS-Division "Wiking" and the police were involved in it. Based on the statements of participants, historian Christopher Browning proves that men of the Reserve-Polizei-Bataillon 101 formed the sentries, who brought the prisoners to their graves. The shooting was done by men of the SD. Music roared from loudspeakers, drowning out the machine-gun salvos and the prisoners' screams. Nevertheless, the prisoners' murders did not go unnoticed; especially during breaks in the music, the sounds could be heard in nearby Lublin. According to witness statements quoted by Silberklang, Lublin inhabitants climbed on the roofs of their houses to watch the "spectacle." Some 300 men as well as 300 women were spared. Their task was to exhume the corpses, clean the camp, and

remove traces of the killing. The fate of these prisoners is unknown.

Historian Helge Grabitz stated that at the beginning of 1944 Jews from Warsaw were taken to Lublin (Alter Flughafen) as part of the evacuation of the Jewish ghetto. The sex of these prisoners and the nature of their work are unknown. According to witness statements, the camp was liberated by the Red Army on July 24, 1944.

SOURCES There is little information on the Lublin (Alter Flughafen) camp. One of the richest sources is David Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2003). The camp is described here following p. 316, with the economic prehistory of the camp at pp. 312–315. Dieter Pohl refers to the camp in "Die 'Aktion Reinhard' im Licht der Historiographie," in *"Aktion Reinhardt": Der Völkermord an den Juden im Generalgouvernement 1941–1944*, ed. Bogdan Musial (Osnabrück: fibre-Verlag, 2004), pp. 15–48, at p. 26; as does Helge Grabitz in Wolfgang Scheffler, *Letzte Spuren: Ghetto Warschau, SS-Arbeitslager Trawniki, Aktion Erntefest; Fotos und Dokumente über Opfer des Endlösungswahns im Spiegel der historischen Ereignisse* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1993), p. 323. The entry "Lublin," s.v., in *Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland*, vol. 7, *Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, n.d.), pp. 13–38, refers to the camp Lublin (Alter Flughafen) several times but without reference to the Aktion Erntefest in November 1943. Christopher Browning in *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1998), p. 138, describes the participation of Reserve-Polizei-Bataillon 101 in the murder of the camp's Jews. Biographical information regarding the female guard Charlotte Mayer (or Perełka [Little Pearl], as the prisoners referred to her), employed in Ravensbrück, Majdanek, Lublin, and Auschwitz, can be found in Ingrid Müller-Münch, *Die Frauen von Majdanek. Vom zerstörten Leben der Opfer und der Mörderinnen* (Reinbek: Rowohlt Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1982), pp. 107–111. According to survivor statements, Mayer treated the inmates decently; she provided drinking water for them, sometimes allowed them to smuggle potatoes, and allowed conversations between male and female inmates. Mayer did not bear a whip and refused to beat inmates or to report them for beating. In the Düsseldorf Majdanek trial in 1981, Mayer was acquitted; but in general, events at the Lublin (Alter Flughafen) subcamp only played a very minor role during this trial.

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), 1:168; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1822.

Background information on the Lublin region during World War II is contained in the following collections at USHMM: RG-15.066M (Gouverneur des Distrikts Lublin records, 1939–1944); RG-15.043M (KdS in Lublin records, 1939–1945); and RG-15.065M (Kommandeur der Orpo Lublin records, 1940–1944). Statements on the murder of the inmates at the Lublin (Alter Flughafen) camp and the reaction of the Lublin population are held in YVA under Collection

TR.10/815, pp. 127–128. See also statements by Wolf Antoni, JM/3536b, Friedrich Ruppert, NO-1903, and the record of interrogation by Gortthardt Schubert, TR.10/1146Z, vol. 15, pp. 3094–3097; and Georg Werk, TR.10/1291, vol. 28, pp. 4885–4887. Statements by members of the Reserve-Polizei-Bataillon 101, which operated in Poland from June 1942 and participated in the murder of the Jews in the Lublin (Alter Flughafen) subcamp in Majdanek, are held in the investigation files of the Hamburg Sta. (today in ZdL at BA-L) under record groups 141 Js 1957/62 (Interview Hoffmann, Wohlauf and others) and 141 Js 128/65 (Investigations into G. and others).

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LUBLIN (ALTER FLUGHAFEN) (WOMEN)

The Lublin (Alter Flughafen) subcamp first came into existence in July–August 1940 as a forced labor camp for Jews (ZALf). It was located at the airfield of the former aircraft manufacturer T. Plage/T. Laskiewicz near Lublin, on Fabryczna Street, 1 to 2 kilometers (0.6 to 1.2 miles) north of Majdanek.

The reasons for the camp's massive growth from 1942 are economic and political and are connected to the intrigue of two protagonists, Oswald Pohl, of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), and Odilo Globocnik, the local SS and Police Leader (SSPF). Globocnik, who was in charge of the exploitation of Jewish forced labor in the Lublin area, was interested in the most profitable recycling of the property of Jews who had been deported and murdered. Pohl, on the other hand, who consolidated his control over the SS economic enterprises in the first half of 1942 and who coordinated the various economic enterprises in the SS domain, wanted the SS enterprises to function profitably and, as with Globocnik, to consolidate his position. As a result of negotiations between Pohl and Globocnik, a process began in 1942–1943 to increase the concentration of Jews in the Lublin area under the control of the WVHA. At the same time, a joint WVHA and SSPF economic enterprise was established, Ostindustrie GmbH (Osti). Pohl secured for himself control over the Jewish forced labor, including the sorting, packing, and distributing of Jewish property. On the other hand, Globocnik held the functional control over the camp, above all because his personally chosen confidants were placed in key positions. German firms that already profited from the exploitation of Jewish forced labor were enmeshed in this power distribution.

One of the camps that was established on this basis was the sorting camp for Jewish property (*Sortierlager für jüdisches Eigentum*) at the former airport Lublin (Alter Flughafen). Historian David Silberklang states that this camp, for which there is little reliable information, was the main Jewish site for forced labor in Lublin. Jewish property was handled here en masse and sold to local interested Germans. It was also sent back to Germany. Large storage halls were erected in the

former airport's hangar for this purpose. It was mostly Jewish women who were used to sort, clean and disinfect, repair, fold, and pack the clothing, which originated from the concentration and extermination camps of Majdanek, Bełżec, and Sobibór and also from the dissolved ghettos and camps. In 1942, there were 300 women, and in 1943 between 5,000 and 6,000 women, in the camp. There was also a camp for male prisoners.

The women who worked in Lublin (Alter Flughafen) initially came from the ghetto at Majdan Tatarski, which existed from April 20 to November 9, 1942. Later they were also to come from other liquidated ghettos and camps in Germany, Austria, and other countries. The women worked in the SS-owned clothing factories in the Fabrik Plage-Laskewicz, which was under the control of the WVHA Amt B II/2. The close cooperation between the various enterprises shows that the subcamp was an integral part of a complex system at the airport, which was also the site of the *Nachbaulager Russland-Süd* (for the Wehrmacht's southern front) and the main supply depot for the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) *Russland-Süd und Kaukasien*. This would also explain why the female prisoners not only reprocessed Jewish property but also worked in Wehrmacht-owned supply establishments and why from 1942 around 4,000 women from Majdanek were engaged in heavy physical labor such as laying asphalt on the runways.

Conditions in the camp were difficult: there was no running water, there was no sewerage system, and only the workshops had light. The female guards in the Lublin-Majdanek camp, including Charlotte Mayer, one of the accused in the Düsseldorf Majdanek Trial, guarded the prisoners.

A letter from the WVHA dated October 22, 1943, ordered the transfer of the Lublin (Alter Flughafen) camp to the Lublin-Majdanek concentration camp system. This change could not have had any significance, as the prisoners in Lublin (Alter Flughafen) had been murdered during the Operation Harvest Festival (*Aktion Erntefest*). Between 5,000 and 6,000 women in the camp were brought to nearby Majdanek, accompanied by the female guards on bicycles, where they were shot on the morning of November 3 from 7:30 A.M. According to historian Christopher Browning, the Reserve-Polizei-Bataillon 101 formed the sentries, while the SD did the shooting. Silberklang states that the SS-Division "Wiking" took part in the massacre. Music roaring from loudspeakers masked the salvos from the machine guns and the prisoners' screams. However, the murders did not go unnoticed: Silberklang, relying on witness statements, reported that people from nearby Lublin climbed onto the roofs of their houses to watch the "theater." The murder of the Jews in Lublin (Alter Flughafen)—and simultaneously in Lublin-Majdanek, Poniatowa, Lemberg-Janowska, and other camps—marked the end of Osti.

About 300 women from the camp as well as 300 men were spared from this massacre. They had to clean the camp and remove the traces of the murder. The fate of these prisoners is unknown.

Helge Grabitz stated that at the beginning of 1943, when the Warsaw ghetto was evacuated, Jews were brought from Warsaw to Lublin (Alter Flughafen). It is not known what they had to do there. Witnesses stated that the camp was liberated on July 24, 1944.

SOURCES There is little information on the Lublin (Alter Flughafen) camp. One of the richest sources is David Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2003). The camp is described here following p. 316, with the economic prehistory of the camp at pp. 312–315. Dieter Pohl refers to the camp in "Die 'Aktion Reinhard' im Licht der Historiographie," in *"Aktion Reinhardt": Der Völkermord an den Juden im Generalgouvernement 1941–1944*, ed. Bogdan Musiał (Osnabrück: fibre-Verlag, 2004), pp. 15–48, at p. 26; as does Helge Grabitz in Wolfgang Scheffler, *Letzte Spuren: Ghetto Warschau, SS-Arbeitslager Trawniki, Aktion Erntefest; Fotos und Dokumente über Opfer des Endlösungswahns im Spiegel der historischen Ereignisse* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1993), p. 323. The entry "Lublin," s.v., in *Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland*, vol. 7, *Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, n.d.), pp. 13–38, refers to the camp Lublin (Alter Flughafen) several times but without reference to Aktion Erntefest in November 1943. Christopher Browning in *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1998), p. 138, describes the participation of Reserve-Polizei-Bataillon 101 in the murder of the camp's Jews. Biographical information on Charlotte Mayer, wardress in Ravensbrück, Lublin, and Auschwitz, nicknamed by the prisoners as "Perełka" ("Little Pearl"), is to be found in Ingrid Müller-Münch, *Die Frauen von Majdanek: Vom zerstörten Leben der Opfer und der Mörderinnen* (Reinbek: Rowohlt Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1982), pp. 107–111. According to survivors, Mayer treated the prisoners decently, gave them drinking water, and now and then allowed the smuggling of potato pieces and conversations between the male and female prisoners. Mayer did not carry a whip and refused to administer corporal punishment. Mayer was acquitted by the court in the Düsseldorf Majdanek Trial between 1975 and 1981. Her role in the Lublin (Alter Flughafen) subcamp played only a minor role in the trial. 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), 1:168; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1822.

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ments by members of the Reserve-Polizei-Bataillon 101, which operated in Poland from June 1942 and participated in the murder of the Jews in the Lublin-Alter Flughafen subcamp in Majdanek, are held in the investigation files of the Hamburg Sta. (today in the ZdL at BA-L) under record groups 141 Js 1957/62 (Interview Hoffmann, Wohlauf and others) and 141 Js 128/65 (Investigations into G. and others).

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PONIATOWA

Poniatowa was located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the west of Lublin.

At the end of the 1930s, shortly before the outbreak of war, the Polish government had planned a telephone and telegraph center in Poniatowa, which was never completed. In July 1942, Amon Göth inspected Poniatowa and recommended it as a site to hold Jewish labor, a suggestion that was followed by Heinrich Himmler when, on October 9, 1942, he issued an order to concentrate all Jewish labor working in the armaments sector in camps under SS administration in the Warsaw-Lublin area. Poniatowa was one of the chosen locations because it was deeply hidden in the forest and had buildings already available and a light railway connection to Naęczów, a station on the Warsaw-Lublin line. The Schmidt-Munstermann company in Warsaw and the Deutsche Elektro-Unternehmen company in Lublin received the contracts to expand the site. The Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) who were at this time in the camp at the site (Stalag 359) were executed in the following weeks. The number executed was probably around 24,000. On October 15, 1942, 600 Jews from the Opole Lubelskie ghetto were brought to Poniatowa. Their numbers were increased with Jews from the Staszów and Bełżyce ghettos (the latter included Jews from Saxony, Thuringia, and Stettin), so that by the beginning of 1943 there were around 1,500 prisoners in the Poniatowa forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfj).

On January 9, 1943, Himmler directed the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) of the General Government, Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, to transfer the Jews and businesses from the Warsaw ghetto to the Lublin area. Himmler was exasperated about the enormous profit that individual employers such as Bremen coffee wholesaler Walter Caspar Toebbens were making from the exploitation of more than 20,000 Jews in the Warsaw ghetto. Toebbens was directed to immediately transfer his labor force to Poniatowa and to transfer direct supervision to the SS. At the end of January 1943, Toebbens concluded a contract with the SS and Police Leader (SSPF) Lublin, Odilo Globocnik, under which the SS assured him the supply of at least 10,000 Jewish laborers.

At the end of February 1943, the first group of Toebbens Jews was sent from the Warsaw ghetto to Poniatowa; another 1,200 followed on March 12; and 450 in April. The last transport from Warsaw arrived in Poniatowa on May 8, 1943. All the prisoners arrived at the Naęczów railway station, where they were put on light railway trains that took them to Po-



A view of the Poniatowa subcamp of Lublin-Majdanek, shortly before its liquidation by mass shooting of prisoners in Operation "Harvest Festival," November 1943.

USHMM WS #61542, COURTESY OF THE STA. LG HAMBURG

niatowa. A labor detachment was based in Nałęczów to load and unload the trains.

The arrival of the Warsaw Jews, some of whom traveled as family units, gave the camp its own unique structure: men and women mostly slept in the same barracks, and contact between them was largely allowed. Around 700 children lived in the Poniatowa camp. They had their own barracks and kitchen. The Poniatowa inmates did not have their prisoner numbers tattooed on them, and they did not wear either the Star of David or concentration camp prisoner clothing. However, in the autumn of 1943, their shoes were replaced with the usual wooden concentration camp shoes.

The workshops and accommodation barracks were fenced in with barbed wire. The prisoners slept in around 35 barracks, each about 35 meters (115 feet) long and 12 meters (39 feet) wide. More than 2,000 prisoners slept in the 80-meter-long (262-foot-long), 40-meter-wide (131-foot-wide), and 10-meter-tall (33-foot-tall) workshop number 3, in four-tiered bunk beds. A 2-kilometer-long (1.2-mile-long) road led from the camp grounds to a settlement (which was referred to by the inmates under the Polish name for settlement, *osiedle*). Here the non-Jewish prisoners, foremen, and those Jews who worked in administration were held. The road was fenced and controlled by machine-gun posts in guard towers. The camp was guarded by 10 German and 50 Ukrainian SS men, the so-called Trawniki men.

The first camp commandant until the end of April 1943 was SS-Oberscharführer Birmer-Schulten; his successor was SS-Oberscharführer Otto Hantke, who in the summer of 1943 was replaced by SS-Hauptsturmführer Gottlieb Hering, the former commandant of Bełżec. The civilian camp commander was Heinrich Gley. Survivors report that all of them brutally mistreated the prisoners.

The number of prisoners in Poniatowa was probably between 14,000 and 25,000. One source states that there were 40,000 inmates in Poniatowa, but this number is probably exaggerated. Poniatowa was the largest Jewish labor camp in

the General Government. Around 10,000 to 12,000 of the prisoners worked for the Toebbens company; the others, under much less brutal conditions, worked for the SS, building roads and sewers.

The prisoners were from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Austria, and the Soviet Union. In the summer of 1943, Jews were brought to Poniatowa from the dissolved ghettos in Demblin, Doruchuca, and Smolensk. Between May and October 1943, the camp functioned as a transit camp for Jews, who were required by the SS in other locations.

Until the summer of 1943, enclosure of the settlement, the camp security, and prisoners' working conditions were relatively bearable: during the period of the camp's construction, the labor capacity was set at only 60 percent. Prisoners repeatedly were able to escape, and those who had contact with the outside world were able to smuggle food into the camp. It was only with Odilo Globocnik's visit in June 1943 that the camp was sealed and the exploitation of prisoners intensified.

There are several reported cases of resistance: for example, the Jews from Opole attempted to poison the camp commandant, Hering. All of the members of the kitchen detachment who were involved, including six women, were hanged once the assassination attempt was discovered. The Warsaw Jews had their own resistance movement, which was based on organizational structures and contacts from their ghetto time, aimed to free the inmates at the time the camp was liquidated.

The prisoners' day began with a roll call at 6:00 A.M. Between 7:00 A.M. and 5:00 P.M. most of the prisoners manufactured products for the Wehrmacht. A note written by Globocnik in the summer of 1943 reports that each week the Poniatowa SS labor camp produced 38,000 blouses and coats, 18,000 shirts and items of underwear, 6,000 caps, 7,200 pairs of socks, 4,200 haversacks, and 2,400 army kit belts. The prisoners also worked at a sorting station, sorting the clothes of executed Jews for dispatch to the Ethnic German Liaison Office (VOMI). In September–October 1943, hundreds of prisoners were deported to work at the airfields at Zamość and Biała Podlaska. In the summer of 1943, Toebbens had made contact with the Armaments Ministry in Berlin, requesting new work orders. As a result, in September 1943, the prisoners who lived in workstation 3 were moved out, and the building was prepared for metal processing machines. At the same time, there began massive construction work for a planned, but eventually unrealized, relocation of part of the Litzmannstadt (Łódź) ghetto production facilities to Poniatow: 48 accommodation barracks and 28 barracks for foremen were to be built as part of the relocation. However, administrative changes, including the transfer of the SSPF-Lublin Globocnik to Trieste and the appointment of his replacement, Jakob Sporrenberg, meant that the plans did not come to fruition. During September–October 1943, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) took over the labor camp; Poniatowa was now regarded as a Majdanek subcamp. However, this did not have a large practical effect, as on November 4, 1943, all the inmates of the Poniatowa camp

were murdered as part of the Operation Harvest Festival (*Aktion Erntefest*).

The directive to murder the prisoners came from Heinrich Himmler to the HSSPF Krakau, Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, who directed the command to Sporrenberg. The order probably must be seen in connection with the increasing resistance by prisoners in 1943, including the Warsaw Uprising, the Treblinka rebellion, and the escape from Sobibór. Since the SS in their areas of responsibility had the supreme command in ghetto evacuations and larger Final Solution measures (*Endlösungsmassnahmen*), it was only consistent to charge Sporrenberg with that order. Sporrenberg ordered the Commander of the Security Police and SD (KdS) in Lublin, SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr. Karl Pütz, as well as the head of the Ordnungspolizei (Orpo) and the Waffen-SS to participate in the action. The relevant units came from the Lublin area as well as from the Radom, Kraków, and Warsaw districts. Based upon witness statements by participants, historian Christopher Browning states that the Reserve-Polizei-Bataillon 101 formed the sentries around the camp and the barracks and that the executions were done by SD units.

On the morning of November 4, a double security cordon was put around the camp, and the telephone lines were cut. Loudspeakers were set up to broadcast music, in order to drown out the shots and the victims' screams. According to Lea Chanesman, one of only three survivors of the massacre, on the morning of November 4 the prisoners had to assemble for roll call, then assemble in a large building. From here, in groups of 50, naked and with raised hands, they were led to an area where trenches had been dug in the days before, trenches that now served as mass graves. Here the prisoners had to lie down and were shot.

Around 100 prisoners from one block tried to escape the massacre and set several storage and supply buildings on fire. The SS had to call the fire brigade from Opole Lubelskie to put out the fire. The firefighters were witness to the SS's driving the prisoners back into the flames. Members of the labor detachments in Nałęczów and Kazimierz were also murdered after strong resistance. Altogether, around 14,500 prisoners fell victim to the massacre within a few hours.

The Poniatowa camp continued to exist with 100 prisoners who had been brought from Majdanek, and were under Ukrainian and German SS guard, until the spring of 1944. These prisoners had to search the corpses for gold, silver, jewels, and gold teeth. They then had to pull down and burn the workshops and accommodation barracks. Finally, they were murdered, too.

Sporrenberg, as the leader of the Aktion Erntefest, was tried by a Polish court after the war and hanged. Pütz committed suicide after the war, as did Globocnik in June 1945 in Austria. Toebeans was arrested after the war but was able to escape in 1946. In 1949, the Bremen denazification court sentenced him in absentia to 10 years' imprisonment. Hantke was convicted in 1960 in Hamburg and released in 1967. He was arrested again in 1974 and sentenced to life imprisonment. In 1967, six Ukrainian guards who were involved in the

massacre on November 4, 1943, were sentenced to death in Dnepropetrowsk (USSR).

SOURCES Sam Hoffenberg, a former camp inmate and historian, has written the most comprehensive work on the Poniatowa camp, with Patrick Girard, in *Le camp de Poniatowa: La liquidation des derniers Juifs de Varsovie* (Paris: Bibliophane, 1988), which is available in English (translated into English by Sofia Skipwith and Madeleine Steinberg) as *The Camp of Poniatowa: The Liquidation of the Last Jews of Warsaw* (S.I.: S. Hoffenberg, ca. 1988). Hoffenberg, a Jew from the Warsaw ghetto and Toebeans laborer, left the camp at the request of the Toebeans firm, shortly before the camp's liquidation. Another camp inmate, Ber Baskind, who was in the camp from April to May 1943 and was able to escape, wrote his work on Poniatowa in 1945, *La Grande Epouvante* (Paris: Calmann Levy-Verlag, 1945).

There are only a few academic works on Poniatowa. Worthy of mention are Józef Kermisz, "The Labor Camp at Poniatowa" (Hebrew), *YalMor* 13 (June 1971): 17–27; Józef Marszałek, *Obozy pracy w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939–1945* (Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 1998), p. 113; Ryszard Gicewicz, "Obóz pracy w Poniatowej (1941–1943)," *ZM* 10 (1980): 88–104; as well as Thomas Reck and Irmina Stefańczak, *Masowe egzekucje żydów 3 listopada 1943 roku: Majdanek, Poniatowa, Trawniki; wspomnienia*, ed. Edward Dziadosz (Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 1988), also published in German as *Judenmassenexekutionen 3. November 1943: Majdanek, Poniatowa, Trawniki: Erinnerungen* (Berlin, 1990). Literature on the Aktion Erntefest, which was the conclusion of Aktion Reinhardt and in which within the space of two days, November 3 and 4, 1943, around 40,000 prisoners in Majdanek, Trawniki, and Poniatowa fell victim, has only appeared in the last few years, such as Bogdan Musiał, ed., "Aktion Reinhardt": *Der Völkermord an den Juden im Generalgouvernement 1941–1944* (Osnabrück: fibre-Verlag, 2004). The work includes a number of interesting essays including Dieter Pohl, "Die 'Aktion Reinhardt' im Licht der Historiographie," pp. 15–48; Pohl, "Die Stellung des Distriktes Lublin in der 'Endlösung der Judenfrage,'" pp. 87–110; as well as Peter Black, "Die Trawniki-Männer und die 'Aktion Reinhardt,'" pp. 309–352. What also should be mentioned are Helge Grabitz and Wolfgang Scheffler, *Letzte Spuren: Fotos und Dokumente über Opfer des Endlösungswahns im Spiegel der historischen Ereignisse; Ghetto Warschau—SS-Arbeitslager Trawniki—Aktion Erntefest* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1993). Background information on the Lublin district during the Third Reich is to be found in Bogdan Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung und Judenverfolgung im Generalgouvernement: eine Fallstudie zum Distrikt Lublin 1939–1944* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999). On the basis of statements by participants of Reserve Police Battalion 101, Christopher Browning has described the massacre as part of the Aktion Erntefest in *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1998), pp. 139–142. 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), 1:169; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1833.

The fate of the Poniatowa prisoners for a long time was overshadowed by the Warsaw ghetto. Three prisoners survived the massacre on November 4, 1943. Two of them, Esther Rubinstein and Lea Chanesman/Ludwika Fiszer, who were given refuge by a female Polish farmer, have provided witness statements. Both statements are reproduced by Hofenberg with Girard in *Le camp de Poniatowa/The Camp of Poniatowa*. Rubinstein's statement was first published in Józef Kermisz, ed., *DiM*, vol. 1, *Obozy* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 1946), p. 260. There are no details about the life of the third survivor of the camp's liquidation—her name was Roza. Nachmann Blumenthal, ed., *My Life Is Still Before Me . . .* (Yiddish) (Tel Aviv: I. L. Peretz Verlag and YV, 1962) contains the poignant exchange of letters between Polish medical doctor Lejb Fiszmann, a prisoner of war in Germany, and his daughters Irina and Anna. Both women were murdered during Aktion Erntefest. A similar exchange of letters is held in YVA, Collection O.48.B/19-1: Feliks (Efraim) Rzczynski, also a Polish officer held prisoner of war in Germany who between August 1942 and February 1945 attempted to correspond with his family held in Poniatowa and later, unsuccessfully, tried to establish their fate. The YVA holds statements on the Poniatowa camp in Collection O.3/3440, which includes a statement by Jerzy Rosenbaum (Ros). The original contract between Walter Caspar Toebbens and Odilo Globocnik dated January 1, 1943, is held in the CDJC, Signature CXC VIII-9. The contract has numerous details including the names of the new companies ("Firma Toebbens Werke Poniatowa GmbH im SS-Arbeitslager") and the daily rates that Toebbens had to pay for the prisoners: 5 zlotys per day for male prisoners and 4 zlotys for female prisoners. Several statements from witnesses and survivors of the camp are part of court files: Jerzy Rosenbaum, who was held at the beginning of 1943 in Poniatowa, made a statement before the Central Jewish Historical Commission, Łódź, as witness no. 107; his statement is to be found in *DiM*, 1: 260–261. Georg Michaelsen describes the camp in his statement of March 4, 1964, to the Sta. Hamburg, Az. 141 Js 573/60 and 161 Js 192/60. The witness statements by Lea Chanesman/Ludwika Fiszer dated November 28, 1966, are to be found in the files of the Sta. Hamburg, Az. 141 Js 573/60, p. 12656. Statements by members of the Reserve-Polizei-Bataillon 101, which operated in Poland from June 1942 and participated in the murder of the Jews in the Poniatowa subcamp, are held in the investigation files (*Ermittlungsakten*) Sta. Hamburg (today in ZdL at BA-L) under Signatures 141 Js 1957/62 (Verhör Hoffmann, Wohlauf und andere) and 141 Js 128/65 (Ermittlungen gegen G. und andere). The collections of the USHMMA that deal with the Lublin region during World War II are RG-15.066M (Gouverneur des Distrikts Lublin records, 1939–1944); RG-15.043M (KdS in Lublin records, 1939–1945); and RG-15.065M (Kommandeur der Orpo Lublin records, 1940–1944).

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PULAWY [AKA PULAWY STADT]

Pulawy (Polish: Puławy, also Pulav, Pulavy) lies in the Lublin district, 45 kilometers (28 miles) west-northwest of Lublin. A ghetto existed in the city from October or November 1939 to

December 1939, after which all 4,000 Jewish inhabitants were deported to Opole Lubelskie. From June 1940 on, there was a Jewish camp (*Judenlager*) in the city, with 100 to 200 prisoners.

In the summer of 1943, Oberscharführer Otto Hantke, who had been in charge of the forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfj)/concentration camp in Budzyń until the beginning of December 1942 and afterward in charge of the ZALfj/concentration camp in Poniatowa, was sent to Pulawy in order to establish a subcamp of Majdanek in the local sawmill. According to historian David Silberklang, more than 400 Jewish forced laborers were employed in the camp; according to historian Józef Marszałek, however, there were only about 50. Although the sawmill operated profitably, thanks to the exploitation of the prisoners' work, the prisoners there—as in other camps of the Majdanek complex—were shot on November 3, 1943, as part of Operation Harvest Festival (*Aktion Erntefest*). The murder of the prisoners from Pulawy supports the assumption that blame for the massacre of more than 40,000 Jews within two days during Aktion Erntefest lies primarily with Heinrich Himmler's fear that the series of Jewish revolts and rebellions—Warsaw in April 1943, Treblinka and Białystok in August, Sobibór in October—would continue. Economic principles—the maximal exploitation of Jewish labor—thus fell victim to the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question."

In Pulawy, only a small portion of the prisoners survived the mass execution. The camp operated further on a significantly smaller basis until the retreat of the Germans in July 1944. On July 22, 1944, it was closed, according to an SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) document dated September 30.

SOURCES Sources on the Pulawy subcamp are rare. By far the largest part of the literature that has come down to us deals with the ghetto in the city and with the fate of the local Jews during World War II in general. In "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2003), pp. 336, 345, David Silberklang conveys a number of details that are based upon statements by survivors and interrogations of German guard personnel. Further information can be gleaned from the article by Eugeniusz Kosik, "Martyrologia i zagłada Żydów w Opolu Lubelskim," *BŻIH* 150 (1989). Józef Marszałek, *Obozy pracy w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939–1945* (Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 1998), p. 110, also mentions the Pulawy camp. Yizkor books exist about Pulawy that are based upon the statements of survivors, such as the *Yizker bukh Pulav* (New York, 1964); and the entry on Pulawy in *Pinkas Hakebillot Polin—Mabozot Lublin—Kielce*, vol. 7, *Lublin, Kielce District* (Jerusalem: YV, n.d.), pp. 380–382. Michał Strzemiński, *Nasze Puławy. Kolekcja Wspomnień* (Lublin, 1986), provides an overview of the history of Jewish life in Pulawy. 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), 1:169; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und

ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1834.

Statements of survivors from Pulawy exist above all in the AZIH and in YVA. Contemporary German documentation can be found in the APL, where the collection "Governor of the Lublin District" (see also USHMMA, RG-15.066M) holds some information about Jews in the Pulawy region. Other material about the situation of Jews in the area, but also mostly concerning the period after the liquidation of the ghetto, can be found in IPN. (At YVA the following collections are of relevance: TR. 10/813 (Michalsen/Hantke indictment); TR. 10/1291, Hantke interrogations, Hamburg, April 7, 9, and 13, 1964); and TR. 10/770, pp. 106–1098.

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RADOM [AKA RADOM (SZKOLNA STREET)]

Radom lies about 95 kilometers (59 miles) south of Warsaw. The first mention of a Majdanek subcamp there is in an official report of January 17, 1944, although the camp existed since 1942 as a forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ). At that time the (formerly Austrian) armaments firm Steyr-Daimler-Puch (SDP) employed Jews from the Radom ghetto at its work site on Szkolna Street.

According to statements by survivors, the work was hard, and the Austrian foremen and masters were guilty of causing the death of many workers, as in the execution of 13 workers in the summer of 1942 and another 13 in the spring of 1943. For the most part, the forced laborers for SDP were excluded from the repeated selections at the Radom ghetto.

After the liquidation of the Radom ghetto in August 1942, the surviving Jews were distributed among two labor camps: one on the Szwarklikowska Street and one on the Szkolna Street. The camp on the Szwarklikowska Street, which was also called the "small ghetto," held about 3,000 prisoners (of which about 700 to 900 were women) who worked at various work sites and facilities in Radom. Again and again, the workers went through selections, as on January 13, 1943, when 1,600 Jews were taken to Treblinka and murdered. On this occasion, the company management of SDP, which was on good terms with the SS, chose 100 of the strongest workers from the 1,500 Jews remaining in the camp.

On November 8, 1943, all the remaining inhabitants of the camp on Szwarklikowska Street were driven, in a two-hour march, to the SDP camp on Szkolna Street, where there were already about 2,000 prisoners. One of the responsible SS officers, SS-Sturmbannführer Blum, allowed women and children to occupy one of the freestanding barracks in the camp after their arrival, due to the cold and their exhaustion. Immediately after that, the barracks was surrounded by Ukrainian guards. Despite protests and attempts at rescue, more than 100 women and children were loaded into trucks the next day and shot on Biała Street. Some dozens of men considered incapable of work were also shot.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

In the middle of January 1944, the forced labor camp was taken over as a concentration camp. A group of SS came from Lublin, and the prisoners were clothed in typical camp attire and had to paint the letters *KL* (for *Konzentrationslager*, concentration camp) on the backs of each other's jackets with red paint. Instead of names, the prisoners now had numbers, which were sewn onto their jackets. Nonetheless, as *The Book of Radom* reports, many Jews considered themselves lucky that the concentration camp came to them, in effect, and that they were not deported to another concentration camp, because they greatly feared such transports.

The camp was encircled with double barbed wire, and there were guard posts with machine guns on watchtowers. Men and women slept separately in 20 wooden barracks on three-tiered wooden bunks that were outfitted with straw sacks.

The day began with reveille at five o'clock in the morning, followed by the morning roll call. The majority of prisoners worked for SDP; others worked in furniture and tailor shops in the camp.

An SS officer named Hecker or Haker was reportedly the camp leader (Lagerführer), while the camp commandant (Lagerkommandant) was SS-Hauptsturmführer Sigmann. Chil (also Yechiel) Friedmann was the Jewish camp elder (Lagerältester), and he was assisted by Kapos and other helpers.

In March 1944, there was a selection of several hundred prisoners judged unable to work, who were brought to the Majdanek main camp; only a few of them survived.

There were many escape attempts from the camp. As a rule, these failed. Escaped prisoners usually had to join with the Polish partisans, but these tended to be mostly antisemitic, and they either murdered fleeing Jews or forced them to return to the concentration camp.

In April 1944, a bunker was discovered in the camp through an unfortunate accident. This bunker had held four men and a woman since January, when the camp had been transformed into a concentration camp. As *The Book of Radom* reported, the bunker had been planned as a hideout for an emergency; there was also supposed to be a tunnel out from the bunker to freedom. According to witnesses, the bunker even had secret electric and water hook-ups, and relatives of the five people in it had given them food. However, the tunnelers' inexperience became their undoing: after their venture had progressed outside the camp grounds, they dug the tunnel too close to the surface under a well-traveled road. The wheels of an SS truck sank into it, which led to the discovery of the tunnel and the bunker. The five prisoners were not hanged, however, but only punished with public beatings. Three of the prisoners, Mania Zuckerman-Gelber, her brother Meyer Zuckerman, and Ben Wercheiser, survived the Holocaust; the two others, the Bonk brothers, were shot during another escape attempt.

With the approach of the front in the early summer of 1944, several prisoners were able to flee in the course of the general confusion by going through the wastewater canals of the production hall. For the rest, the situation became notice-

ably worse, since the camp guards were reinforced by soldiers from scattered army units. On July 26, 1944, around 2,450 male camp prisoners were evacuated in the direction of Łódź and presumably further to Auschwitz. SS personnel destroyed the machines and facilities in the camp in order to keep them from falling into enemy hands.

SOURCES There are only a few mentions of the Radom Szkolna Street camp. One important source is *The Book of Radom: The Story of a Jewish Community in Poland Destroyed by the Nazis*, ed. and comp. Alfred Lipson (New York: United Radomer Relief for U.S. and Canada, [ca. 1963]), which reports on the selection of Jews for SDP. The *Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland*, vol. 7, *Poland* (Jerusalem: YV, 1999) likewise mentions Radom on pp. 530–543 but concentrates mostly on the camp on Szwarlikowska Street and does not mention the simultaneous existence of the camp on Szkolna Street. Also, it gives the erroneous date of June 26 for the evacuation. Several monographs and articles concern themselves with the fate of the Jews in the Radom region, among others, Adam Rutkowski, “Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej,” *BŻIH* 15–16 (1955): 75–182; and “Żydzi dystyktu radomskiego w okresie II wojny światowej. Materiały z sesji popularno-naukowej odbytej w Radomiu 27 września 1997,” *BKRTN* 3–4 (1997): 1–95. This subcamp is listed in the 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: 170; and in the “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1834.

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TRAWNIKI

In the three years of its existence, the SS camp at Trawniki in the Lublin District of the General Government underwent four permutations, each of which involved different functions and purposes. From July until September 1941, it served as a holding pen for persons of interest to Nazi Germany. From September 1941 until July 1944, it was a training facility for police auxiliaries who were deployed in Operation Reinhard. From June 1942 until September 1943, it served as a forced labor camp for Jews. Between September 1943 and May 1944, it was a subcamp of Lublin-Majdanek. [Because of the complexity of this history, it is being treated here in one entry.—Ed.]

Less than two weeks after Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union, German SS and police authorities in the Lublin District, acting on the orders of the SS and Police Leader (SSPF) Lublin, SS-Brigadeführer Odilo Globocnik, established a detention facility on the grounds of an abandoned sugar refinery outside of Trawniki, a small town located just south of the Lublin-Chełm road, 32 kilometers (20 miles) east-southeast of Lublin and about the same distance due east

of Chełm. Managed by an officer on Globocnik's staff, SS-Hauptsturmführer Hermann Höfle, the Trawniki camp originally was a holding center for refugees and Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), selected by the Security Police and SD either as potential collaborators or as dangerous persons. On July 9, 1941, 676 inmates were incarcerated there.¹

In September 1941, pursuant to his July 17, 1941, appointment as Commissioner for the Establishment of SS and Police Bases (SS- und Polizeistützpunkte) in the New Eastern Territory, Globocnik transformed the facility into a training camp for auxiliary police personnel to maintain security in support of German rule over the “wild East.” Globocnik's staff recruited captured Soviet POWs who, after being processed in Trawniki, entered the Guard Forces (Wachmannschaften) of the SSPF in the Lublin District.² The basis to recruit these “Trawniki men” lay in high-level SS instructions to the Security Police and SD teams screening the POWs to identify from among the captured Soviet soldiers “persons who appear especially reliable and are therefore suitable for deployment in the reconstruction of the occupied territories.” Noting on August 5, 1941, that the establishment of SS and police bases before the winter was “an urgent task,” SS-Obergruppenführer Kurt Daluge, the chief of the German Order Police, ordered Globocnik and other senior SS and police leaders to give high priority to recruiting indigenous defense units. One month later, the first recruits from the POW camps arrived at Trawniki. On October 27, 1941, Globocnik appointed SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Streibel to command the newly christened Trawniki Training Camp, a position Streibel held until the evacuation of the camp in July 1944.³

The first 2,500 auxiliary police guards (Wachmänner) were inducted, processed, and trained between September 1941 and September 1942. Virtually all of them were Soviet POWs. As German military reverses and the murderous treatment of the Soviet POWs dried up the supply of suitable Soviet soldiers in the autumn of 1942, Streibel's men conscripted civilians, primarily young Ukrainians, residing in Galicia, Wolhynia, Podolia, and the Lublin District. When Globocnik left Lublin in September 1943, he reported that 3,700 Wachmänner were serving in the Trawniki system; in fact, more than 4,750 identification numbers had been issued by this time. Approximately 5,082 men were trained at Trawniki between 1941 and 1944.⁴ They were organized into two battalions under the command of SS-Untersturmführer Willi Franz and SS-Obersturmführer Johann Schwarzenbacher.

Deployment in the operations of the so-called Final Solution of the Jewish Question became a key function of the Trawniki-trained guards. They provided the guard units for the Operation Reinhard killing centers at Bełżec, Sobibór, and Treblinka II and served for a time as part of the guard detachments at the concentration camps Lublin-Majdanek and Auschwitz. They also provided the guard units for various other forced labor camps for Jews. In addition, German SS and police authorities deployed the Trawniki trainees in the deportations from both large and small ghettos in



SS officers review Ukrainian recruits at Trawniki, a training facility for auxiliary camp guards and a subcamp of Lublin-Majdanek, 1942–1943.

USHMM WS #61493, COURTESY OF STA. LG HAMBURG

occupied Poland and as escorts for the transport trains from ghetto to killing center. That the Trawniki trainees implemented their hideous tasks to the satisfaction of their leaders was expressed in Globocnik's recommendation for Streibel's promotion: Streibel had commanded the Trawniki Training Camp "with the greatest discretion and understanding for the special leadership needs of this unit. These units have proved themselves in the best way in many anti-partisan missions, but especially in the framework of the resettlement of the Jews."⁵

In 1942, Trawniki served as a transit camp for local Jews. After an early April "selection" of those incapable of work in the ghetto town Piaski, located about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) away, Wachmänner escorted several hundred Polish, German, and Austrian Jews from Piaski to Trawniki. Scheduled for deportation to Bełżec the following day, many of the victims were locked up in a large barnlike structure overnight. Between 200 and 500 died from suffocation; their bodies were tossed the next morning into the freight cars destined for Bełżec.⁶ During 1942, SS and police instructors also utilized the local Jewish population for "training purposes"; the new recruits received their first practical training in roundups and escort duty. Some zealous instructors reportedly ordered recruits individually to shoot a Jew.⁷

During the summer of 1942, Trawniki also began to serve as a forced labor camp for Jews (Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden, ZALfJ). Under the auspices of Operation Reinhard, the SS and police constructed the labor camp adjacent to the training camp, separated only by the original stone wall that surrounded the abandoned sugar factory.⁸ The appearance of a Jewish workforce at Trawniki coincided with the establishment of procedures for disposing of the property of the Jews murdered in Operation Reinhard. Globocnik selected Trawniki to be a storage depot for clothing flowing in from the killing centers; the so-called Clothing Depot (Beklei-

dungslager) was located just outside the fence of the training camp. In June 1942, three freight cars stocked with baggage taken from Viennese Jews bound for Sobibór were diverted to Trawniki; that same month a Jewish labor detachment of 20 to 40 women was assigned to sort, wash, and repair the clothing.⁹

As his SS and police murdered the last of those Jews in the General Government considered "incapable of work," Heinrich Himmler grew increasingly fearful of resistance, yet was hopeful that the SS could better integrate the surviving Jewish forced laborers into armaments production. On October 9, 1942, he ordered the transfer of all privately owned factories producing armaments and related goods, along with their Jewish forced laborers, from ghettos in the General Government to camps, including Trawniki, where the Jews could be more easily guarded.¹⁰ In the late autumn of 1942, SS authorities moved a brush factory and its laborers from the Międzyrzec-Podlaski ghetto, which had just been liquidated, to Trawniki. On February 8, 1943, Globocnik signed a contract with Fritz Emil Schultz of F.W. Schultz and Co., which produced mattresses and furs and repaired boots and uniforms. The contract provided that the Schultz fur production plant with its 4,000 Jewish workers and a brush-making plant with 1,500 more workers be transferred with all movable equipment and civilian personnel from the Warsaw ghetto to Trawniki. It named Streibel commander of the Trawniki labor camp, with responsibility for distribution of labor, collection of fees for the forced laborers (5 zlotys a day for men and 4 zlotys a day for women), and security. Day-to-day management of the camp, however, was the duty of SS-Hauptscharführer Franz Bartetzko and his deputy SS-Scharführer Josef Napieralla.¹¹ To manage the provision of forced laborers to the Schultz firm and to other firms located at other labor camps, the SS leadership founded the Ostindustrie GmbH (Eastern Industries, Ltd., Osti) holding company on March 12, 1943.

Initially, the SS encouraged Schultz workers to voluntarily relocate; and on February 16, transports began to leave Warsaw for Trawniki. Despite threats to shoot those who ignored SS incentives, Schultz could only persuade 448 out of 1,500 workers scheduled for transfer by April 14 actually to board the trains.¹² Losing patience, the SS decided to liquidate the Warsaw ghetto. At 3:00 A.M. on the morning of April 19, 1943, SS and police units, including a battalion of 350 Wachmänner, sealed off the ghetto, sparking the famous Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.¹³ Between February 15 and April 30, 1943, 2,848 men, 2,397 women, and 388 children were removed from Warsaw to Trawniki in 17 transports via truck and train. By May 1, at least 5,633 Jews, mostly Polish Jews but including German, Austrian, and Slovak Jews, resided in the Trawniki labor camp.¹⁴ Between May 27 and July 24, eight new barracks were constructed to accommodate the influx of prisoners; barracks construction continued until September 1943. The number of prisoners who worked for the Schultz concern at Trawniki hovered around 6,000 from May 1943 until the liquidation of the camp in November. Small detachments of

prisoners worked directly for the SS in barracks construction and camp upkeep. Two transports of Jewish workers arrived in Trawniki from the Minsk ghetto after its liquidation in September 1943.¹⁵

In the interests of heightened production, Bartetzko initially maintained relatively decent conditions in Trawniki. He reportedly tolerated illicit trade in food and alcohol, permitted Jewish prisoners to form their own musical band, and even offered opportunities to play soccer. After August 1943, however, conditions deteriorated. Medical care after August was nonexistent, and fear of sickness was endemic. Though the weather became cold in October, the workers received no winter clothing. Violations of camp regulations, such as theft or an attempt to escape, brought swift and brutal retribution. One day in May or June 1943, Bartetzko shot a prisoner for attempting to escape. As a deterrent, the body was left where it fell for 24 hours. When three Jews were caught stealing equipment, Bartetzko assembled all available guards, prisoners, and Schultz executives to watch each of the three prisoners receive 25 lashes with a bullwhip. Frequent violators risked transfer to a subcamp located at Dorohuczka, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) north of Trawniki. Under command of SS-Unterscharführer Robert Jühns, Dorohuczka's "industry" was digging peat—dangerous and difficult work for approximately 100 ill-clothed, ill-fed, and ill-equipped prisoners.¹⁶

For a variety of reasons, including Globocnik's quarrels with the civilian District Governor in Lublin and Osti's failure to secure Wehrmacht contracts, the SS leadership transferred the Trawniki complex to the jurisdiction of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in September 1943; Trawniki thus became a subcamp of Lublin-Majdanek.¹⁷ In the following months, 1,000 Trawniki-trained guards were transferred to concentration camps in the Reich, while 150 members of the WVHA's SS-Death's Head Units arrived in Trawniki.¹⁸

In late October 1943, stunned by the Sobibór prisoner uprising, Himmler ordered the murder of the remaining Polish Jews in the Lublin District. As part of the cynically chastened Operation Harvest Festival (*Aktion Erntefest*), SS and police units shot at least 6,000 Jewish inmates of Trawniki and Dorohuczka on November 3, 1943, virtually eliminating the entire workforce.

After the massacre, the Trawniki SS and police staff imported a small detachment of Jewish laborers from Milejów to burn the corpses on massive grills made from rail track, then to disperse the ashes and bone fragments into trenches, which they covered with dirt. After completing this dreadful work, the Jewish laborers were shot and their bodies burned. For weeks after the massacre, Trawniki trained guards searched the camp grounds for hidden Jews. Those who were found within the first few weeks were shot. Zina Czapnik and her niece, Raja Mileczina, were able to hide for nearly two months before the Wachmänner discovered them. To Czapnik's astonishment, both women were permitted to live. They joined a detachment of approximately 40 Jewish women of Austrian and Dutch origin who had been brought to Trawniki after the

massacre to perform domestic tasks inside the camp complex, such as laundry and cleaning the barracks for the SS staff and the Wachmänner. They also sorted and recycled Operation Reinhard booty and the clothing of the recently murdered Trawniki inmates. In May 1944, the SS transferred this small detachment to Lublin-Majdanek, and the Trawniki labor camp was dissolved.¹⁹

Most of the key officials at Trawniki either failed to survive the war or were later brought to trial. Globocnik committed suicide upon capture by the British in Carinthia on May 31, 1945. The Allies extradited his successor, Jakob Sporrenberg, to Poland, where he was convicted and executed in 1950. Christian Wirth was ostensibly killed by partisans near Trieste on May 26, 1944; Höfle was arrested by Austrian authorities in 1961 and committed suicide in his cell on August 21, 1962. Neither Trawniki battalion commander survived the war: SS-Untersturmführer Willi Franz went missing on July 31, 1944; while SS-Obersturmführer Schwarzenbacher was killed by partisans near Trieste on June 2, 1944. Although Bartetzko was killed at the front in January 1945, Trawniki camp commandant Karl Streibel, Bartetzko's deputy, Josef Napierella, and four Trawniki company commanders were indicted by a West German court in Hamburg in 1970. Since the prosecution could not prove that they had played a role in deciding upon and implementing Operation Harvest Festival at Trawniki or that they had foreknowledge of or control over the murderous field assignments on which the men that they trained were deployed, all six defendants were acquitted in 1976. Hundreds of, possibly as many as a thousand, Trawniki trainees were tried either by Soviet military tribunals or Soviet civilian courts after the war: virtually all were convicted, and some were executed. A handful of Trawniki-trained guards were tried in the West. Franz Swidersky, a Treblinka labor camp guard, was sentenced to life imprisonment by a Düsseldorf court in 1971. The United States initiated denaturalization proceedings against 16 former Trawniki guards, including 3 who served at killing centers, several who were deployed in 1943 deportation operations in Warsaw and Białystok, and virtually all of whom guarded Jewish prisoners at Trawniki itself. Most of these proceedings ended in denaturalization—a handful of proceedings are still pending. In August 2006, two Canadian courts recommended denaturalization after proceedings against two former Wachmänner who found refuge in Canada after the war.

SOURCES Little has been written about the Trawniki camp or the police auxiliaries trained there. On the camp itself, the major work is Helge Grabitz and Wolfgang Scheffler, *Letzte Spuren: Getto Warschau—SS-Arbeitslager Trawniki—Aktion Erntefest. Fotos und Dokumente über Opfer des Endlösungswahn im Spiegel der historischen Ereignisse* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1993). On the Trawniki-trained guards, there is Peter Black, "Die Trawniki-Männer und die 'Aktion Reinhard'" in *"Aktion Reinhard": Der Völkermord an den Juden im Generalgouvernement, 1941–1944*, ed. Bogdan Musial (Osnabrück: fibre Verlag, 2004), pp. 309–352; and Maria Wardzyńska, *Formacja*

Wachmannschaften des SS- und Polizeiführers im Distrikt Lublin (Warsaw: IPN, 1992).

Records relevant to Trawniki are located at the CAFSSRF in RGs K-779 and "20869 Guards." The former contains the internal administrative correspondence of the Trawniki training camp from January 1943 until July 1944 (unfortunately, the records for 1941 and 1942 appear to have been destroyed during the war). The latter contains approximately 800 personnel files of Trawniki-trained guards along with postwar investigative material related to Soviet efforts to identify and locate former Trawniki men. Neither of these record groups is open to scholars at the time of writing, but the USHMMA has secured agreement to receive copies of most of this material and will be able to make it public for the first time. Of equal significance, but not centrally located, are the records of trials of hundreds of former Trawniki trainees at locations throughout the Russian Federation, Ukraine, and other former Soviet Republics. The files remain in the custody of the security organs of the respective regimes, for example, the FSB in Russia and the SBU in Ukraine. The most important of these trials include: Proceedings against V.N. Litvinenko, et al., 158/57252, GASBU-L; Proceedings against E.G. Shul'ts et al., 66437/14, GASBU (available in the USHMMA, RG 301.018M); Proceedings against A.A. Zuev et al., 44/32132, GASBU-D; and Proceedings against N.G. Matvienko et al., 4/100366, GASBU-Dn. Additional groups of Trawniki personnel files found their way into TsDAVO (Fond 3676, Opis 4, Dela 327, 328, 329, and 331); A-W-W (Fond 1173, ap. 4, b. 51); and LVVA (Fund 129, s. 1390). Perhaps the most important source on the Trawniki labor camp is the record of the proceedings against Karl Streibel et al., File 147 Js 43/69, located in the StA-HH. Some published documents on Trawniki are available in *DiM* (Łódź, 1946), vol. 1, *Obozy*; and vol. 2, *"Akcje" i "Wysiedlenia."*

Peter Black

NOTES

1. Memorandum from Section Population and Welfare [initialed by Türk] to Lublin Department of Internal Administration, July 14, 1941, with attached "Report on the Inspection of the Reception Camp in Trawniki" [*sic*], published in *DiM*, vol. 1, *Obozy* (Łódź, 1946), pp. 258–259.

2. Service Obligation, June 23, 1942, W. Amanawitschus Trawniki Personnel File, 1173/4/55, p. 3, LCVA.

3. "Guidelines for the Selection of Civilians and Suspect Prisoners of War from the Eastern Campaign [who are] in Prisoner of War Camps in the Occupied Territory, in the Area of Operations, in the Government General, and in Camps on the Territory of the Reich," appendix No. 1 to Deployment Order No. 8 of the Chief of Security Police and SD, July 17, 1941, NARA, RG-238, NO-3414; circular of the Chief of the Orpo [signed Daluege], August 5, 1941, 1323/1/50, RGVA, copy in USHMMA, RG-11.001M.15, Reel 80; Commander of Trawniki Training Camp [signed Streibel] to Commander of Security Police and SD in Thorn [Toruń], January 19, 1943, K. Schubrich Trawniki personnel file, RG 20869, vol. 11, p. 141, CAFSSRF; SSPF Lublin, "Recommendation for Promotion for Karl Streibel," March 6, 1942, K. Streibel SS officer file, NARA, RG-242, A-3343/SSO, Reel 166B, frames 220–221.

4. Globocnik to von Herff [Chief of SS-FHA], October 27, 1943, J. Schwarzenbacher SS officer file, NARA, RG-242, A3343/SSO, Reel 123B, frames 408–410; "Company List of the 1st Company" [Streibel Battalion], April 6, 1945, File 114-242-6, p. 7, SÚA, Prague.

5. SSPF Lublin [signed Globocnik] to HSSPF East, May 15, 1943, K. Streibel SS officer file, NARA, RG-242, A3343/SSO, Roll 166B, frames 206–207.

6. Interrogation of A.G., March 22, 1965, pp. 11–12, Proceedings against Karl Streibel et al., File 147 Js 43/69, vol. 55, pp. 10878–10879, StA-HH; interrogation of T.P., November 22, 1972, pp. 3, 5, *ibid.*, vol. 93, pp. 17697–17715; interrogation of Jan Zielinski, January 15, 1969, Proceedings against V.N. Litvinenko et al., vol. 5, pp. 20–23, 158/57252, GASBU-L; interrogation of Viktor Ivanovich Bogomolov, July 10, 1948, Proceedings against Y.M. Iskaradov, pp. 130–131, 5734/37834, GASBU-Do; interrogation of Andrej Semenovich Vasilega, July 12, 1948, *ibid.*, pp. 176–177, verso; interrogation of Ivan Efimovich Churin, September 30, 1950, Proceedings against I.E. Churin, 892/PU-6375, pp. 67–68, CAFSS-V.

7. Interrogation of S.M. Prishch, April 25, 1941, Proceedings against E.G. Shul'ts et al., 14/66437, vol. 14, pp. 1–5, GASBU; interrogation of J.E., August 21, 1975, Proceedings against Karl Streibel et al., 208 AR-Z 673/41, BA-L; interrogation of Y.T. Klimenko, May 19, 1968, Proceedings against V. N. Litvinenko, vol. 7, pp. 259–272, 158/57252, GASBU-L. On reported individual shootings, see interrogation of A.I. Moskalenko, November 24, 1947, Proceedings against A.I. Moskalenko, 2871/11991, pp. 62–89, GASBU-L; interrogation of Y.T. Klimenko, May 19, 1968, Proceedings against V.N. Litvinenko, vol. 7, pp. 259–272, 158/57252, GASBU-L; interrogation of V.Y. Churikov, August 4, 1953, Proceedings against V. Y. Churikov, 7789/05360, pp. 64–67, CAFSSRF; excerpt from interrogation of A.P. Tikhonov, September 11, 1946, Proceedings against I.A. Tarasov, Case No. 941, p. 134, CAFSS-Ka.

8. Note for the personnel file of Gali Achunow, June 19, 1942, RG 20869, vol. 4, p. 176, CAFSSRF; sketch of the camp and plant at Trawniki drawn by the Central Construction Directorate of the Waffen-SS and Police, June 21, 1942, Proceedings against K. Streibel et al., Map Folder, 147 Js 43/69, StA-HH.

9. Globocnik to Höfle and Wippen, July 15, 1942, published in *DiM*, vol. 2, Part I, p. 183; SSPF Lublin [signed Globocnik], "Decree on the Management of a Card File Index in the Camps Trawniki, Chopin Street 27, Chelm, Clothing Works of the Waffen-SS and Department IVa on [the staff of the] SS and Police Leader," September 16, 1942, *ibid.*, pp. 188–189; interrogation of T.P., November 22, 1972, p. 6, Proceedings against Streibel, 147 Js 43/69, vol. 93, pp. 17697–17715, StA-HH; interrogation of F.F., January 4, 1962, Streibel Proceedings, 147 Js 43/69, vol. 14, pp. 2604–2605, StA-HH; Activity Report of the 152nd Police Precinct in Vienna, June 20, 1942, 051/63-DN/27-3, YVA.

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11. Contract signed Globocnik and Schultz, February 8, 1943; facsimile appears in Helge Grabitz and Wolfgang Schefler, *Letzte Spuren: Getto Warschau—SS-Arbeitslager Trawniki—Aktion Erntefest. Fotos und Dokumente über Opfer des Endlösungswahn im Spiegel der historischen Ereignisse* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1993), pp. 184–185.

12. Report to Schultz and Co., "Activity Report from the Period from February 16 until May 1, 1943," May 3, 1943, reproduced in *ibid.*, p. 210; Business Diary of Schultz and Co. entries for April 10 and 14, 1943, Proceedings against Georg Michalsen, 8 AR-Z 74/60, Documents, vol. 2, pp. 4493–4494, BA-L.

13. Jürgen Stroop, "Es gibt keinen jüdischen Wohnbezirk in Warschau mehr!" May 16, 1943, p. 3, 1061-PS, *TWVC* 26:628–694.

14. Report to Schultz & Co., "Activity Report for the Period from February 16 until May 1, 1943," May 3, 1943, reproduced in Grabitz and Scheffler, *Letzte Spuren*, p. 210.

15. Notice of Schultz & Co., August 27, 1943, reproduced in *ibid.*, p. 220; sketches of the Trawniki labor camp, July 23, 1943, and June 21, 1942, *ibid.*, pp. 221, 222–223; excerpt from Diary of Helene Chilf, September 16–19, 1943, *ibid.*, pp. 252–253; report on Osti by SS-Oberscharführer Johann Fischer, June 21, 1944, NARA, RG-238, NO-1271.

16. Interrogation of K.Z., May 25, 1963, Proceedings against Michalsen., 141 Js 573/60, pp. 9157–9158, 9162–9163, StA-HH; excerpts from the Diary of Helene Chilf, September 12–15, 1943 and September 25 to October 8, 1943, and October 9–14, 1943, in Grabitz and Scheffler, *Letzte Spuren*, pp. 249, 251, 253–255; statement of G.K., May 8, 1963, Pro-

ceedings against Michalsen., File 141 Js 573/60, pp. 6886–6889, 6902, StA-HH; interrogation of R.N., September 20, 1962, StA-HH; 147 Js 43/69, Proceedings against Ludwig Hahn, 147 Js 7/72, vol. 36, p. 7027, StA-HH; interrogation of C.G., May 7, 1969, Proceedings against Karl Streibel et al., 147 Js 43/69, vol. 82, pp. 15735–15737, StA-HH; report of Fischer, June 21, 1944, NARA, RG-238, NO-1271.

17. Notation of Pohl, September 7, 1943, NARA, RG-238, NO-599.

18. Waffen-SS/SS-Guard Battalion Sachsenhausen, "Changes in Manpower Levels in the Month of January 1944," February 3, 1944, 1367/1/79, p. 98, RGVA; Waffen-SS/SS-Guard Battalion Sachsenhausen, "Changes in Manpower Levels in the Month of November 1943," December 2, 1943, *ibid.*, pp. 100–101.

19. Interrogation of Zina Czapnik, Proceedings against Karl Streibel et al., March 28, 1966, 147 Js 43/69, pp. 13016–13019, StA-HH; interrogation of Surry and Suze P., October 20, 1947, *ibid.*, Dokumentenband, Zeugenaussagen, N-P, pp. 20246–20253; interrogation of Raja Mileczina, July 30, 1975, *ibid.*, p. 28045, excerpts reproduced in Grabitz and Scheffler, *Letzte Spuren*, pp. 269–270, 271–272.



MAUTHAUSEN



Mauthausen entrance gate.
USHMM WS #74451, COURTESY OF COL. P. ROBERT SEIBEL

MAUTHAUSEN MAIN CAMP

In May 1938, Theodor Eicke, Oswald Pohl, and a technical staff chose a site on a high plateau near the small town of Mauthausen, about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) from Linz, Austria, for a new concentration camp. The Mauthausen location was chosen because of the proximity to stone quarries and the need for a facility to hold political detainees in occupied Austria. A detail of several hundred prisoners from Dachau began construction there, and by the end of September, they had completed barracks for prisoners and the SS-guards. On February 17, 1939, SS-Obersturmbannführer Franz Ziereis took over as commandant, a position he held until the end of the war.¹

Granite walls, built by the prisoners and topped with barbed wire charged with a high-power electric charge, enclosed the “protective custody” camp, a rectangular area 85 × 210 meters (279 × 689 feet). The street leading into the camp passed through two massive stone towers at the southeastern corner and led to the roll-call square. To the right of the entrance were the wash barracks, kitchen, confinement bunker, crematorium, and infirmary. To the left prisoners had constructed 24 barracks, each 45 to 50 meters (148 to 164 feet) long. Block One housed the camp clerk and, beginning in 1943, a brothel. Prominent prisoners were assigned to Block Two. Most of the construction at Mauthausen had been completed by late 1941, but a year later work began on a cluster of barracks for prisoners of war (POWs) outside of the stone walls. At night and on Sundays, prisoners remained in the protective custody camp, and guards staffed the towers along the stone wall. On the other days, shortly after the morning roll call and as the prisoner work details left the protective custody camp, the sentry chain of guards moved outward and was set up around the entire complex. Most of the prisoners worked in the quarry, northwest of the protective custody camp, and by May 1942, their number reached 3,844. Each

day they marched down the 186 steps under SS guard into the quarry. Prisoners carried large blocks of stone up the steps: excruciating work in conditions of unimaginable difficulty, because of the inadequate food and clothing and the brutality of the guards and Kapos.

The transfer of large numbers of prisoners from Dachau began in the fall of 1938, and by November, Mauthausen held more than 1,000 inmates. Transports continued to arrive over the next year, and by late September 1939, the number of prisoners reached 2,995; almost all of them came from Germany or Austria. The first large group of foreign prisoners, 448 Polish political detainees, arrived on March 9, 1940. During 1940, when more than 11,000 new prisoners were registered, transports came from Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald and included many “Red Spaniards,” prisoners who had fought in the Spanish Civil War on the Republican side. In 1941, an additional 18,000 prisoners arrived at Mauthausen, and in 1942, that number rose to 21,000.²

Mauthausen held large numbers of Soviet POWs, beginning in the fall of 1941. Separated from the other prisoners, they lived in extremely poor conditions, with minimal or no shelter and little food. One of the first transports of POWs, some 2,000, arrived on October 21, 1941. An additional 5,000 more Russian POWs came to Mauthausen by the spring of 1942. The fatality rate among them remained very high, and by March 1942 only 80 remained alive. According to the official record of the number of POW deaths (maintained in a separate death book beginning on October 21, 1941), 4,588 POWs had died by December 1942. A large number had starved to death or were executed. Many others died of typhus, which swept through the camp in late 1941 and early 1942. The number of POW fatalities at Mauthausen remained low for the remaining years of the war, largely because most had been killed already, with only 15 POW deaths in 1943, 246 in 1944, and 225 in 1945.³

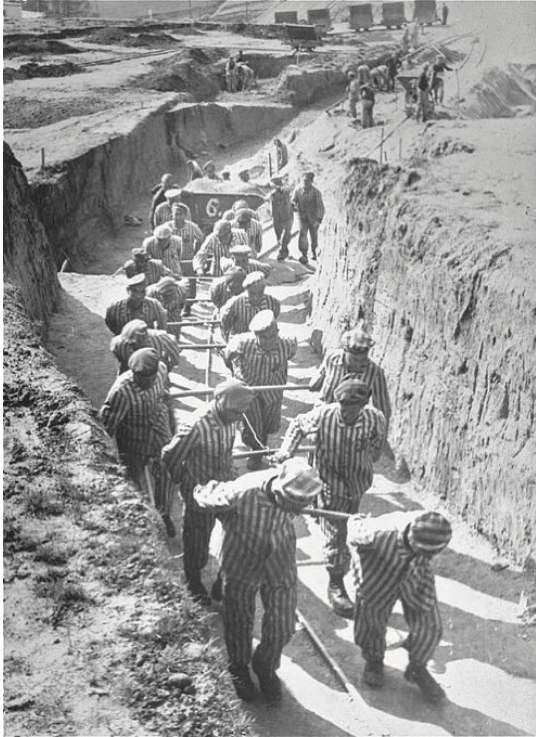
In the fall of 1941, a large number of Czech Jews arrived at Mauthausen. Although not separated from the other Czech prisoners, the Jews were targeted for especially brutal treatment. Beatings, starvation, inhuman work conditions, or electrocution on the barbed-wire fences greatly reduced their number. Throughout the war, Jews continued to be sent to Mauthausen. For example, about 8,000 Hungarian Jews came from Auschwitz in May and June 1944. An additional 4,600 Polish Jews arrived in August. Because at this stage of the war the need for manpower in war-related work was so great, all those Jews who survived the initial selection were sent to subcamps.

In January 1945, as Auschwitz was being liquidated, more than 9,000 of its prisoners, mostly Jews, were shipped to Mauthausen. Many died of malnutrition or exposure before reaching the camp, and others perished during the selection process when, regardless of the weather, they stood along the stone walls for most of the day and night. The last large transport of prisoners to Mauthausen was a group of Hungarian Jews who



Post-liberation view of the Mauthausen roll-call plaza and interior of the entrance gate.

USHMM VWS #74452, COURTESY OF P. ROBERT SEIBEL



Prisoners drag earth-laden carts for the erection of the "Russian camp" at Mauthausen, April-May 1942.

USHMM WS #12352, COURTESY OF NARA

arrived in March 1945. Because the camp was already filled beyond capacity with prisoners evacuated from other concentration camps, a tent compound was erected, and by April 9, it held more than 8,500 prisoners; an estimated 3,000 died there. In March, two more large transports arrived, the first with 2,055 prisoners from Gross-Rosen, of whom 2,047 were Jews, and another transport of 1,799 female prisoners from Ravensbrück.

Daily life at Mauthausen and its subcamps was characterized by continuous brutality at the hands of the SS guards and the Kapos and the deliberate lack of the most fundamental elements of human existence. Palatable food and rudimentary sanitary facilities were lacking, and disease ran rampant. The brutalization of the inmates began upon their arrival at Mauthausen and continued throughout their imprisonment. The first stop was the Political Section, where beatings and killings were routine. Once in the camp, daily life was characterized by deprivation and mistreatment. Each morning and evening the prisoners had to stand, sometimes for hours and regardless of the weather, on the roll-call square and be counted. From there, they were assigned at the start of the day to work details, many of which took them outside the camp. Because of the nature of work at the quarry, where the weakened and malnourished prisoners did strenuous

manual labor and hauled heavy rock, a large number of prisoners died or were killed there. Such treatment was in line with Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) chief Reinhard Heydrich's January 2, 1941, decree classifying the concentration camps into three levels, grading them by the severity of conditions. Only Mauthausen was in level three, and it was reserved "for the heavily burdened, especially those with a criminal record, and asocials, that is, those who have hardly any chance for rehabilitation."⁴

Death books recorded the fatalities at Mauthausen and its subcamps (except Gusen, which maintained its own death books), listing in detail the causes of death (with date and time of day) and biographical information on the victims. These provide information on the patterns of deaths, even though some prisoners were killed before ever being registered at the concentration camp and therefore were not recorded.⁵ The victims of the Mauthausen system came from virtually all of the nations of Europe. According to the death books, 30 prisoners died in 1938, with the number increasing to 445 during 1939. Following the outbreak of war, fatalities rose sharply, with 2,312 registered in 1940; 1,494 in 1941; 4,392 in 1942; 3,209 in 1943; 7,076 in 1944; and 15,630 for the first four months of 1945.⁶ The bodies of those who died were taken to a crematorium in the city of Steyr until May 1940, when the camp's own crematorium began operations.

The patterns of death reflect the changing policies and Nazi conquests. Between May and October 1941, for example, most of those who died at Mauthausen were Jews, the first time large numbers were represented there, and the patterns of death indicate a deliberate policy of annihilation. In May and June 1941, almost every recorded death was that of a Jew, and from June to October, most were Dutch Jews, recent arrivals at Mauthausen. In the last two months of 1941, there was once again a marked shift in deaths; now mostly political detainees from Spain, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia were killed. Numerous executions also took place in late 1941 at Mauthausen.

During 1942, most recorded deaths were of political detainees, many of whom were Czechs. Most had died of natural causes, but the incidence of those killed during an escape attempt or by execution rose. A mass execution took place on October 24, 1942, when 263 Czech prisoners were shot. According to the record of the execution in the death book, the killing began at 8:30 A.M. and ran through 5:42 P.M., a victim every two minutes. In November, more than 30 prisoners were shot during escape attempts; most were Dutch Jews.

In 1941, an installation for shooting prisoners with a small-caliber pistol was set up in a building just off the roll-call square. Prisoners accused of specific offenses were hanged or executed by firing squad. Those prisoners unable to work were killed by lethal injection of benzine or phenol to the heart. Prisoners were killed by poisonous gas in the gas chamber constructed in the crematorium building in late 1941, in the gas vans that carried victims to and from the Gusen subcamp, or at Hartheim, a "euthanasia" center. Invalids, the chronically ill, and prisoners unable to work were selected by

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a team of physicians at Mauthausen and Gusen beginning in August 1941, part of the so-called *Aktion 14f13*. An additional killing program, *Aktion K* (*K* meaning *Kugel*, or bullet), included POWs who had attempted to escape and officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) who were unable to work. They were to be sent to Mauthausen and executed shortly after their arrival.⁷

In late 1942 and 1943, work in the quarries slackened as war-related industrial production grew in importance. At the same time, there was a massive increase in the number of prisoners sent to Mauthausen. For example, in March 1943, Mauthausen and Gusen held about 14,800 inmates. By December, that figure had risen to 26,000, and by the spring of 1945, it had reached 45,000. The increase in 1943 resulted in large measure from mass arrests in Poland, France, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union. Additional prisoners came from Greece and Belgium. In 1943 alone, more than 21,000 new prisoners arrived at Mauthausen. In 1944, more than 58,000 new prisoners were registered at Mauthausen, mostly individuals evacuated from concentration camps in the Balkans and Poland.

The final year of the war was catastrophic for the prisoners held at Mauthausen. Because of the camp's location well behind the advancing front lines, large numbers of prisoners were evacuated from other concentration camps and sent to Mauthausen. Between July and December 1944, the number of inmates rose by more than a third, and the gain continued into March 1945. Most of those arriving were in desperate condition, having hiked for several days or even weeks or having been transported in open railway cars.

Even though many of these prisoners were dispatched directly to the subcamps, conditions at Mauthausen remained seriously overcrowded. In 1944, a tent camp of 14 military and circuslike tents was set up outside of the main camp. Here, the prisoners slept directly on the ground, and sanitary facilities were virtually nonexistent; disease and death were



New arrivals stand at the "wailing wall" (*Klagemauer*) after a weeklong trip in open railway cars, 1943–1944.
USHMM WS #76317, COURTESY OF NARA



The Mauthausen prisoner orchestra, with conductor Karl Maierhofer in the lead, accompany recaptured prisoner Hans Bonarewitz (shown elevated above the performers with head down) to his execution, July 30, 1942.

USHMM WS #18371, COURTESY OF AG-M

rampant. Many of these prisoners, especially those who died shortly after arrival, were never recorded in the death books. Of the 6,000 prisoners who survived the trek from Sachsenhausen to Mauthausen in January, only several hundred made it through the first couple of days. Upon arrival the prisoners had been forced to strip and remain outside of the main camp for several days, exposed to the elements and beatings from the SS.

On May 3, 1945, members of the SS guard units fled, and a police unit from Vienna and a military unit from the Vienna fire department took over as guards. On May 5, 1945, units of the U.S. Army arrived at Mauthausen and Gusen, liberating about 21,000 prisoners. Former commandant Ziereis fled but was captured later in May by American troops. He died of gunshot wounds inflicted during the capture. Investigations into the crimes committed in Mauthausen began almost immediately after liberation and culminated in a series of U.S. Army trials held in 1947–1948 at Dachau. Beginning in the 1960s, West German prosecutors initiated dozens of investigations into crimes committed at Mauthausen, and several major cases went to court.

SOURCES There are numerous secondary and primary sources related to Mauthausen. The newest secondary account is Florian Freund and Bertrand Perz, "Mauthausen—Stammlager," in *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager*, vol. 4, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), pp. 293–346. See also Hans Maršálek's comprehensive account, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995). Gisela Rabitsch, "Das KL Mauthausen," in *Studien zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1970), pp. 50–92, provides a good overview; as does the collection of documents in the DÖW's *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Oberösterreich 1934–1945: Eine*

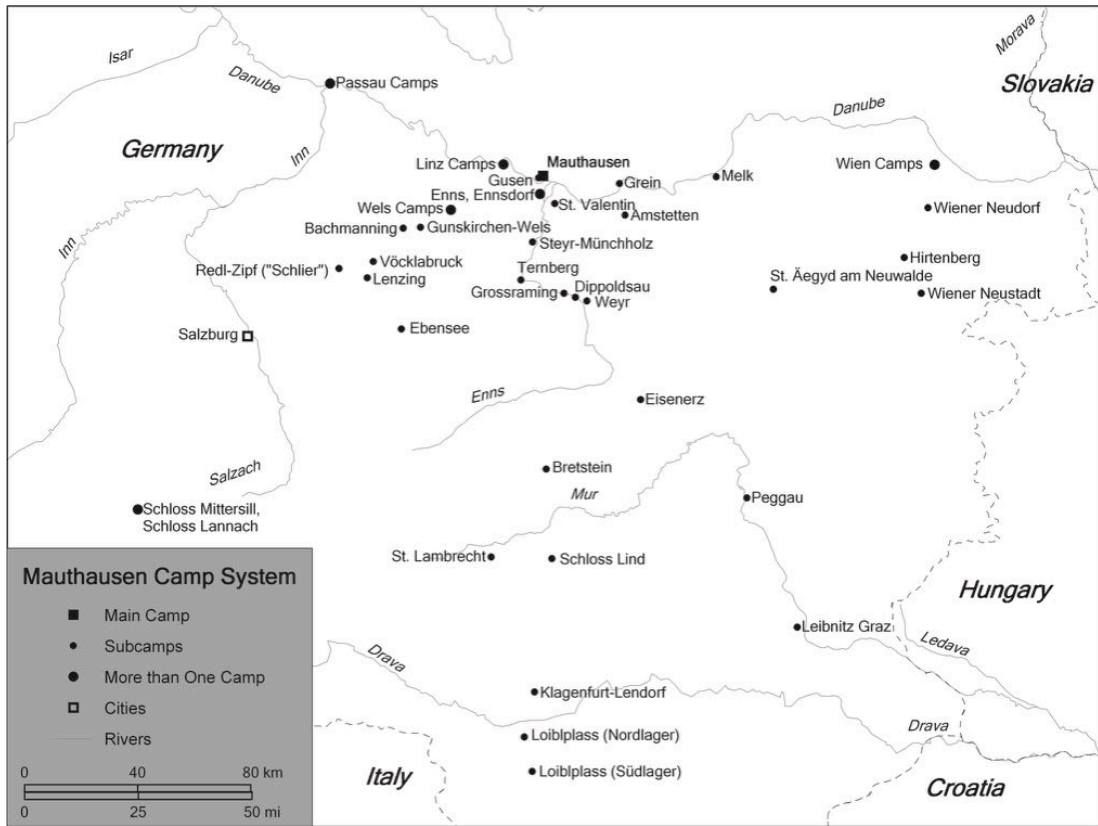
Dokumentation, 2 vols. (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1982), 2:540–592. Florian Freund's articles—"Mauthausen: Zu Strukturen von Haupt- und Aussenlagern," *DaHe* 15 (November 1999): 254–272; and "Der Mauthausen-Prozess: Zum amerikanischen Militärgerichtsverfahren in Dachau im Frühjahr 1946," *DaHe* 13 (December 1997): 99–118—provide excellent surveys of the Mauthausen system and the postwar Mauthausen trials, particularly the parent case against Hans Altfuldisch.

Several dozen of the U.S. Army trials held at Dachau involved crimes committed at Mauthausen and its subcamps, and these records are available at the NARA, RG 338, Files 000-50-5-Mauthausen through 000-50-5-51. On June 17, 1945, U.S. Army Major Eugene Cohen submitted a report on the crimes committed at Mauthausen, and this report, composed largely of survivor accounts and wartime documents, is an important source (NARA, RG 238, Nuremberg document PS-1176). Other documents captured at the end of the war, such as the Personnel Cards of Inmates (eight microfilm rolls) and Numerical Register (two microfilm rolls, NARA, RG 242, Arolsen, and in 000-50-Mauthausen), the Death Books, Prisoner of War Death Book, and Unnatural Death Book (NARA, RG 238, Nuremberg document 493-A-G-PS, which is available on microfilm, T-490), provide details on individual prisoners. The records of the West German cases, especially the case against Karl Schulze and Anton Streitwieser in LG Köln, include hundreds of survivor statements that begin to reveal the horror of daily life at Mauthausen and the treatment of prisoners by the guards. Commandant Ziereis fled and hid from the liberating American forces that captured him. Wounded, Ziereis dictated a statement (Nuremberg document PS-1515) and was handed over to former prisoners. He died on May 24, 1945, his body stripped and hung on the barbed-wire fence.

Robert G. Waite

NOTES

1. BDCPF, "Franz Ziereis" file, NARA, RG 242.
2. "C.C. Mauthausen Num. Entry Register" and "Häftlinge Personal Karte," Film Nos. 1–8, NARA, RG 242, Arolsen microfilm.
3. "Totenbuch Kgf," National Archives, Nuremberg document, 495-PS, records the deaths of POWs from October 21, 1941, to March 31, 1945, a total of 5,588 persons.
4. Der Chef der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, Berlin, January 2, 1941, "Betr.: Einstufung der Konzentrationslager," NARA, RG 238, Nuremberg document 1063-A-PS.
5. The seven volumes cover the period from January 7, 1939, to April 1945. There are, in addition, separate volumes for prisoners of war and those who died "unnatural deaths," NARA, RG 238, Nuremberg document 493-A-G-PS. "Unat. Todesfälle," NARA, Nuremberg document P-22, identifies those who died at Mauthausen and the subcamps through accidents, suicides, execution, or escape attempts, from October 1, 1942, to April 6, 1945; they numbered 1,023 individuals.
6. These figures come from the seven volumes of death books. The overall number of fatalities at Mauthausen and its subcamps are compiled in Nuremberg document 499-PS. Hans Maršálek estimated that an additional 16,000 unregistered prisoners died in the Mauthausen system in 1945 (*Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Dokumentation* [Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995], p. 158); and Gisela Rabitsch puts the number of those who perished at Mauthausen, including POWs, at 85,259 ("Das KL Mauthausen," in *Studier zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager* [Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1970], p. 89).
7. Gestapo—Staatspolizeistelle Köln, "Betr.: Massnahmen gegen wiedergriffene flüchtige Kriegsgefangene Offiziere und nichtarbeitende Unteroffiziere mit Ausnahme britischer und amerikanischer Kriegsgefangener," March 4, 1944, NARA, RG 238, Nuremberg document 1650-PS.



MAUTHAUSEN SUBCAMP SYSTEM

A few days after the *Anschluss* of Austria with the German Reich, Gauleiter August Eigruber announced that a concentration camp would be established in the Gau Oberdonau.

The choice of the site was dictated largely by the existing granite quarries in Mauthausen and Gusen and their close proximity to the “Führerstadt” Linz. The Granitwerke Mauthausen, (Mauthausen Granite Works) owned by the German Earth and Stone Works (DESt) was established in St. Georgen an der Gusen. Its purpose was to exploit the quarries.¹ Even before the Mauthausen concentration camp was opened on August 8, 1938, the DESt had leased the quarries at Mauthausen and Gusen. It would later assume complete ownership.²

The first commandant of the Mauthausen concentration camp was SS-Sturmbannführer Albert Sauer. He was commandant until February 1939. He was followed by Franz Ziereis, who held the position until the camp was liberated on May 5, 1945. He reached the rank of SS-Standartenführer. From March 1940, Georg Bachmayer was the first Schutzhaftlagerführer. He reached the rank of SS-Hauptsturmführer. Until the end of 1941, the guards were mostly German SS members, but later their number was increased by ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche). Members of Wehrmacht units were based in several subcamps to guard the prisoners, as were members of the Schutzpolizei (municipal police) and Ukrainian volunteers.

For several years the prisoner-functionaries were mostly German and Austrian BV (career criminal, or *Berufsverbrecher*) prisoners. From 1944, political prisoners took over the critical functions in the camp and began to develop a secret resistance committee.

The expansion of Mauthausen from a single camp into a system of camps was certain when in May 1938 it acquired the right to quarry in Gusen. In December 1939, expansion of the Gusen camp began. The Gusen subcamp was officially opened on May 25, 1940.³ Until January 1944, the camps operated as two camps with two relatively independent administrations. Toward the end of the war, Gusen grew into the largest camp in the Mauthausen subcamp system.

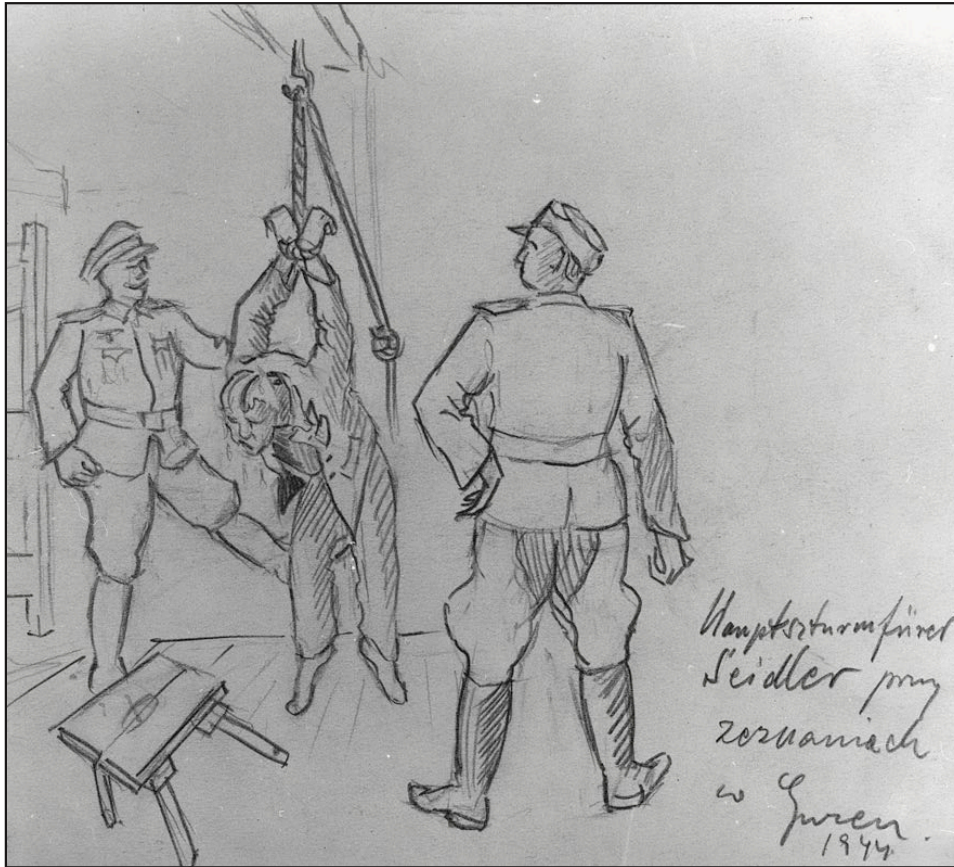
In 1940, the Chief of the Sipo and the SD declared the two camps Mauthausen and Gusen to be Category III camps, which in effect turned them into “camps for murder.”⁴ Prisoners from other concentration camps were sent for punishment to Mauthausen and Gusen, where they served out their imprisonment under more severe conditions. At least 3,500 prisoners were murdered between 1942 and 1945 in the Mauthausen gas chambers. A minimum of approximately 1,000 prisoners were gassed in the subcamp Gusen as well as in the so-called gas van (*Gaswagen*). About 5,000 prisoners who were incapable of work were murdered in the gas chambers of the

former “Euthanasia Institute” in Schloss Hartheim near Linz. The death rate among prisoners in Mauthausen/Gusen was until the end of 1942 the highest of all National Socialist concentration camps.

A labor shortage meant that from 1941 there was a gradual change in the camps’ function. Prisoners increasingly worked on construction projects and for the armaments industry, which resulted in a slight and gradual improvement of conditions and a decrease in the death rate. At the same time, the Mauthausen concentration camp developed into the organizational center of a camp complex of more than 40 camps. During a period of seven years more than 200,000 prisoners were held in the camps and used as forced laborers. Mauthausen also became the death camp for those prisoners in the subcamps who were sick or physically weakened.

In 1942, there were 5 Mauthausen subcamps; in 1943, 10 more were established; and in 1944, another 21 became part of the system. The number of prisoners in the Mauthausen camp system increased steadily until 1942, decreased slightly due to the high death rate, and then began to climb again toward the end of the year. From 1944 on, the number of prisoners in Mauthausen and its subcamps dramatically increased. In December 1944, there were 72,825 prisoners registered in Mauthausen, of whom more than 62,000 were in its subcamps. In March 1945, the high-water mark was reached with 84,472 prisoners.⁵ Poles and Soviets were the two largest national groups in the camps (among the Soviet prisoners, there were, until the beginning–middle of 1943, 15,000 prisoners of war [POWs] who were both administratively and physically separated from the other prisoners).⁶ Particularly in 1940 to 1941, Spanish Republicans as well as political prisoners from occupied countries such as France, Yugoslavia, and Italy were brought to Mauthausen. From the middle of 1944, tens of thousands of Jewish prisoners, mostly from Poland and Hungary, were brought to Mauthausen to work as forced laborers in the underground armaments factories or as part of the evacuation transports.

The majority of the subcamps established until the middle of 1943 were used for construction purposes—be it road construction such as in Vöcklabruck, building tunnels such as Loiblpass, or power stations in Grossraming, Ternberg, Dipoldsau, and Passau. The construction of power plants was connected with the planned expansion of the central region of Upper Austria to a center of the German armaments industry. The systematic establishment of armaments firms in the greater areas of Linz and Vienna meant the establishment of subcamps in the same locations. The prisoners were initially used to construct the production facilities and later were used in the production process. The first Mauthausen subcamp



Polish prisoner "BIM" produced this sketch as part of a three-drawing cycle, "Report Leader Kellermann and Camp Führer during an Interrogation in Gusen," 1944. The caption reads: "Hauptsturmführer [sic] Seidler during an interrogation at Gusen, 1944."

USHMM WS #27663, COURTESY OF AG-M

established for the armaments industry was Steyr-Münichholz in March 1942. Other subcamps for the armaments industry were established in the Vienna region (Wien-Schwechat, Wien-Floridsdorf, Wiener Neudorf, Wiener Neustadt, Hirtenberg, Wien *Saurerwerke*) and in the Upper Austrian central area (Linz III, armaments production in the Gusen subcamp, Gunskirchen-Wels, St. Valentin).

From the middle of 1943, strategically important armaments industries began to be relocated underground as a result of the increase in air raids. The SS and armaments industry agreed that concentration camp prisoners would be used to excavate the underground caverns. Underground facilities with associated subcamps were established in Melk, St. Georgen, Redl-Zipf, Ebensee, Leibnitz, Peggau, and Wien-Hinterbrühl. Jewish prisoners from Auschwitz were transferred to Mauthausen to do this physically demanding work. The death rate in such camps was correspondingly high.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

Toward the end of the war, prisoners in Amstetten and in Attnang-Puchheim were used to clean up after air raids. Subcamps were also established that, in the main, were used to accommodate evacuated Jewish prisoners. The conditions in the camps deteriorated dramatically with the dissolution of most of the subcamps, the evacuation marches, and the death marches from camps further to the east. Between January and May 1945, close to 50,000 Mauthausen prisoners died. It is estimated that in Mauthausen overall more than 100,000 prisoners died.⁷

SS units left the Mauthausen and Gusen camps before the arrival of troops of the U.S. Third Army. Security had been left to the Viennese Fire Protection Police (*Feuerschutzpolizei*). On May 5, 1945, U.S. soldiers liberated the camps in Mauthausen, Gusen, Linz, Gunskirchen, Lenzing, and Steyr. The next day the Ebensee subcamp was liberated.

The camp commandant, Franz Ziereis, was shot while trying to escape and died shortly thereafter in U.S. military

custody. The first Schutzhaftlagerführer Georg Bachmayer killed his family toward the end of the war and then committed suicide. There were more than 70 trials involving Mauthausen subcamp staff before a U.S. military court in Dachau. More than 300 members of the SS and other guards' units as well as several prisoner-functionaries were tried. The main trial against 61 of the accused occurred between March 29 and May 13, 1946, in Dachau and ended with 58 death sentences and 3 sentences of life imprisonment. After the appeal process had ended, 48 prisoners were hanged at the end of May 1947. In addition to the U.S. military trials, there were several civilian trials against perpetrators from the Mauthausen concentration camp. After 1955, there were several criminal trials outside Austria.

SOURCES Many of the Mauthausen subcamps, as well as the main camp, are covered in *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 4, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006). The earlier standard work on Mauthausen is by former camp clerk Hans Maršálek: *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1995). The first dissertation on the camp was by Gisela Rabitsch, *Konzentrationslager in Österreich (1938–1945): Überblick und Geschehen* (Vienna, 1967). In the 1970s, there appeared in English the book by Evelyn Le Chêne, *Mauthausen: The History of a Death Camp* (London, 1971). Another complete history was published by Michel Fabreguét, *Mauthausen: Camp de concentration national-socialiste en Autriche rattachée (1938–1945)* (Paris, 1999). All of these works deal with the subcamps as part of the Mauthausen camp system. The relationship between the main and subcamps stands in the center of the essays by Florian Freund, "Mauthausen: Zu Strukturen von Haupt- und Aussenlagern," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 254–272; and Bertrand Perz, "Der Arbeitseinsatz im KZ Mauthausen," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998), 2:533–557. Freund, Perz, and Karl Stuhlpfarrer have published a bibliography on the history of the Mauthausen concentration camp and its subcamps: *Bibliographie zur Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen* (Vienna, 1998). The research on the various subcamps varies. The

most researched subcamps are those involved with the rocket industry and the SDP; particularly the Ebensee, Melk, and Wiener Neustadt studies by Freund and Perz cover certain subcamps: Freund, *Arbeitslager Zement: Das Konzentrationslager Ebensee und die Raketenrüstung* (Vienna, 1989); Freund and Perz, *Das KZ in der Serbenhalle: Zur Kriegsindustrie in Wiener Neustadt* (Vienna, 1987); Perz, *Projekt Quarz: Steyr-Daimler-Puch und das Konzentrationslager Melk* (Vienna, 1991). The Gusen, Linz, Loiblpass, Redl-Zipf, Steyr, and Wiener Neudorf subcamps have also been relatively well researched. The remainder of the camps have, in part, been researched in unpublished academic works or in part in unpublished, local historical works.

The principal primary source collections for documenting Mauthausen subcamps are held at AG-M. The BA-B holds the business records of DESt. The numerous U.S. Army war crimes trial records for Mauthausen subcamp staff may be found in NARA, RG 338, cases 000-50-5-Mauthausen to 000-50-5-51.

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NOTES

1. For sources on DESt (Bilanzen, Geschäftsberichte, Prüfberichte, etc.), see Best. NS 3, BA-B.
2. For the lease of the Mauthausen quarries, see ASt-Wien, MD 1849/38 and MD 921/39; for the Gusen quarries, Prüfbericht der DESt 1938–1940 (NS 3-756, pp. 14–17); as well as Bilanzunterlagen 1938/39 (NS 3-756, p. 29).
3. Liste der "Stammebelegschaft" des K.L. Gusen vom 25. Mai 1945, AG-M, B/12/9.
4. Einstufung der Konzentrationslager, THStA-W, NS 4 Bu31, p. 1r, AG-M, A/7/1 und A/7/2.
5. There are a number of sources on the prisoner numbers in the AG-M, E/6/1 bis E/16/17. Also there are various Häftlingszugangsbücher that have survived: AG-M, Y/36, Y/43, Y/44.
6. Totenbuch Sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener, AG-M, Y/31.
7. Totenbuch des Standortarztes Mauthausen, AG-M, Y/46; "Operationsbuch Gusen" (Totenbuch des Krankenreviers Gusen), AG-M, Y/47.

AMSTETTEN [AKA BAHNBAU I] (MEN)

The Amstetten subcamp was located in present-day Niederösterreich (Lower Austria), about 114 kilometers (71 miles) west of Vienna and 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) southeast of Mauthausen. Until 1945 it was part of the Reichsgau Niederdonau. Although the camp held its own camp police—members of which were sent back to the main camp early in April 1945—Florian Freund argues that Amstetten perhaps was not a real subcamp with its own administrative structure but a work detachment only. However, the camp was established on March 19, 1945 (according to the International Tracing Service [ITS], April 1, 1945), with the arrival of a large transport of male inmates. On March 23, another 1,500 inmates arrived in the camp. The maximum number of inmates in the camp was 2,966, among them 715 Jews.

Prior to the establishment of the Amstetten subcamp, trains had brought prisoners daily from Mauthausen to Amstetten, where they were used by various companies in the Amstetten district. Among other tasks, prisoners helped construct air-raid trenches and clean up the railway station; they were also used by the Flotte und Hopferweiser company, a local sawmill.

The subcamp was located on Grillparzer Strasse in the suburb of Allersdorf. According to Gerhard Zeilinger, the prisoners were accommodated in the lodgings of the Military Camp II (Militärlager II). Leopold Redlinger, a former inmate of the subcamp, reports that the inmates were accommodated in a former industrial building; perhaps these were also garages.

The inmates were mostly used to clean up and repair the bombed-out Amstetten railway station, which was an important stop on the line between Vienna and Linz. The Amstetten railway station had been attacked by Allied bombers repeatedly, as on March 16 and 20, 1945.

Polish prisoner Rudolf Starowie, who was in Amstetten, said the following: “We were given one meal (.75 liters [1.6 pints] of watery broth without any fat and about two hundred grams [seven ounces] of bread) during our twenty-hour shifts. We had one break of forty-five minutes. We were told in Amstetten that we would be fed in Mauthausen and in Mauthausen we were told that we would be fed in Amstetten. We could only sleep during our trip—we were not allowed to enter our block and sleep during the day. People were dying everywhere. The lack of food, the inhuman work conditions, sleeplessness, [and] overtiredness were the main reasons for the deaths of the prisoners.”¹

Many prisoners were killed on March 20, 1945, when there was an air raid on Amstetten. Since they were not allowed to enter the air-raid bunkers for the civilian population, the prisoners fled into the forest between Eisenreichdornach and Preinsbach as the aircraft approached. It was here, however, that the U.S. planes dropped their first bombs. In the chronicles of the Parish of St. Stephan, Amstetten, there is a report on the recovery of the bodies that followed: “While we were rescuing the victims . . . in a touching procession full of disturbed, exhausted, and un-

hinged people, men and women, captured Poles, Greeks, interned foreign workers who were not allowed during the bombardment to go into the air raid shelters but were forced into the forests to the east . . . we saw trucks on which there were the corpses—layered between straw hung their hands, feet and heads.”²

On April 3, 38 inmates were returned to the Mauthausen main camp; 20 more followed soon thereafter. They had formed the camp police of the Amstetten subcamp, and the majority of them were criminal and “asocial” inmates. On April 6, 1945, the general transfer of inmates back to the main camp began; it concluded on April 18, with the removal of the last 1,496 prisoners. Via the Steyr subcamp, they were taken to the camps in Mauthausen, Gusen, and Ebensee.

SOURCES Hans Maršálek describes the Amstetten men’s camp in *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen. Dokumentation, Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen* (Vienna, 1995), p. 71; as does Gerhard Zeilinger, ed., *Amstetten 1938 bis 1945: Dokumentation und Kritik* (Amstetten, 1996), pp. 65–66. See also the book by Leopold Redlinger, *Erlebtes—Erdachtes. So war es—so ist es* (Vienna: Selbstverlag, 1998). On the Web site of the Ebensee memorial, there is also a report on Redlinger’s time at the Amstetten subcamp: <http://bob.swe.uni-linz.ac.at/Ebensee/Betrifft/46/redlinger46.php>. The “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, 1787, and the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 172, refer to the Amstetten subcamp (male). Florian Freund describes the Amstetten subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, (eds.), *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 347–349.

In AG-M are the following file collections that relate to the history of the Amstetten subcamp: B/2/1, B/60/11, e/6/7, and Mikrofilm Auschwitz. The interview with Rudolf Starowie is held in KA-SG-Amts.

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NOTES

1. Recording of a former prisoner in Mauthausen and Amstetten, Rudolf Starowie (original in KA-SG-Amts), cited by Gerhard Zeilinger, ed., *Amstetten 1938 bis 1945: Dokumentation und Kritik* (Amstetten, 1996), p. 66.

2. Cited by Zeilinger, *Amstetten 1938 bis 1945*, p. 66.

AMSTETTEN II [AKA BAHNBAU II] (WOMEN)

The Amstetten subcamp was located in present-day Niederösterreich (until 1945: Reichsgau Niederdonau), about 114 kilometers (71 miles) west-southwest of Vienna.

The women’s camp was established on March 20, 1945, the day after the opening of the men’s camp in Amstetten. As with the men’s camp, it lasted until April 18, 1945. There were around 500 women held in the camp who were used to clean up after bombing raids in the vicinity of the destroyed

Amstetten railway station. The railway station had been destroyed in a heavy bombing raid on March 19, 1945.

Andreas Baumgartner has verified the nationalities of 495 of the women held prisoner as follows: 110 French, 107 Soviets, 91 Hungarians, 77 Belgians, 41 Poles, 34 Germans, 7 Italians, 7 Dutch, 7 Czechs, 5 Slovaks, 3 Yugoslavs, 1 Briton, 1 Latvian, 1 Norwegian, 1 Romanian, 1 Spaniard, and 1 American. Some 374 women were political prisoners; 69 were Jews; 34 were Sinti and Roma (Gypsies); 13 were “asocials”; 2 were Jehovah’s Witnesses; 1 was a “Red Spaniard”; and 1 woman was under “security arrest” (*Sicherheitsverwahrung*).

As with the male prisoners, women died during a renewed and devastating bombing raid on Amstetten on March 20, 1945. They died because they were not permitted to enter the air-raid shelters, which were reserved for Germans. Baumgartner stated that 34 women died directly from the bombing raid, and 10 died in the following days on the return transport to Mauthausen.

Hans Maršálek, a survivor of the Mauthausen camp, states that following the raid the women were transferred back to Mauthausen, where they collectively refused to return to Amstetten on March 23, 1945. Several representatives of the women, including French women and the British woman, were arrested but released on the same day from the prison’s jail. Baumgartner states that the women were only released from the bunker after several days. Maršálek describes this incident “as the first open and successful refusal by prisoners to work in KLM [Konzentrationslager Mauthausen], which did not result in any adverse consequences.”¹ The women stated that they were prepared to resume work after they were told that the Amstetten subcamp would be reopened and that if they did not return, other women would be taken to Amstetten. Most likely, the women returned on March 23 to the Amstetten subcamp.

As with the men’s camp in Amstetten, the women’s camp was dissolved on April 18, 1945. The women were evacuated to Mauthausen.

SOURCES Andreas Baumgartner in *Die vergessenen Frauen von Mauthausen: Die weiblichen Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen und ihre Geschichte* (Vienna, 1997), pp. 174–178, has provided the most detailed description of the subcamp. On the nationalities of the inmates, see p. 225 of Baumgartner’s book. For further information on the Amstetten women’s subcamp, see Christian Hawle, Gerhard Kriechbaum, and Margret Lehner, *Täter und Opfer: Nationalsozialistische Gewalt und Widerstand im Bezirk Vöcklabruck 1938–1945; Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1995). Other essays are to be found in Gerhard Zeilinger, ed., *Amstetten 1938 bis 1945: Dokumentation und Kritik* (Amstetten, 1996), p. 65; and Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1995), pp. 71, 319. “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1787, refers to the subcamp. The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:172, also refers to the Amstetten subcamp.

The collections in AG-M contain the following files on the Amstetten women’s subcamp: K/4a/1 (Liste der nach Amstetten überstellten Häftlinge) and V3/64 (Witness statements by former prisoners Georgette W. and Simone D.).

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NOTE

1. Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1995), p. 319.

BACHMANNING

At the end of 1941, the Reichswerke “Hermann Göring” (RWHG) suggested a joint venture to the SS in the establishment of the Holzverarbeitungsbetrieb (woodworking factory) Mauthausen. With the investment of 1,542,000 Reichsmark (RM), the enterprise was to have a yearly turnover of 2 million RM by producing window frames and spindles. The RWHG offered to finance the project completely, provide the technical equipment, and procure delivery of raw materials, machines, and management. According to calculations by the RWHG, 60 skilled workers and around 300 concentration camp prisoners were required. According to estimates by Kurt May, head of Amt W IV (Holzbearbeitungsbetriebe) in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and manager of the SS-owned Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH (German Equipment Works, DAW), at least 500 were required.¹

Probably because Oswald Pohl wanted the enterprise to be completely under the control of DAW, the venture between the RWHG and the SS did not take place. There was also no final determination of whether Mauthausen could supply the required number of prisoners.

The failure of the joint venture must be seen in connection with the acquisition of the Forst- und Sägewerk GmbH Bachmanning by the DAW (two-thirds) and the Deutsche Erdmöbel AG in Butschowitz, owned by Kurt May (one-third).² May was arrested in the summer of 1942, and the DAW merged with the Forst- und Sägewerksbetrieb GmbH, Bachmanning so that by 1943 the operation was a solely owned DAW factory. The Sägewerk production was then undertaken almost exclusively by the DAW-Werk Dachau.

In 1942, an average of 20 prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp were used in the Bachmanning factory. The prisoners of the Dachau subcamp at Bad Ischl had to cut timber for the sawmill until the end of the year.

There are scarcely any documents on the Mauthausen camp at Bachmanning. The camp administration documents refer only once to Bachmanning, on September 14, 1943, when it is mentioned as an independent subcamp. On the following day the camp is referred to as a work detachment of the Grossraming subcamp. Further confirmation on the status of Bachmanning as a Grossraming work detachment is provided by the fact that on September 15, 1943, the number

of prisoners in Grossraming increased from 918 to 937.³ The Bachmanning work detachment was apparently closed simultaneously with the Grossraming work detachment at the end of August 1944.⁴

The only surviving change report (*Veränderungsmeldung*) stated that on September 13, 1943, 20 prisoners were transferred to Bachmanning, of whom 18 were Spanish Republicans and 2 were of Polish nationality.⁵ There was 1 other named prisoner—a Yugoslav political prisoner.⁶

SOURCES Gisela Rabitsch compiled the first information on the Bachmanning camp in “Konzentrationslager in Österreich (1938–1945): Überblick und Geschehen” (Ph.D. diss., Universität Wien, 1967). Details of the attempted joint venture between the SS and the Reichswerke are to be found in Walter Naasner’s *Neue Machtzentren in der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft 1942–1945: Die Wirtschaftsorganisation der SS, das Amt des Generalbevollmächtigten für den Arbeitseinsatz und das Reichsministerium für Bewaffnung und Munition/reichsministerium für Rüstung und Kriegsproduktion im nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftssystem* (Boppard am Rhein, 1994); and Bertrand Perz, “KZ-Häftlinge als Zwangsarbeiter der Reichswerke ‘Hermann Göring’ in Linz,” in *NS-Zwangsarbeit: Der Standort Linz der Reichswerke Hermann Göring AG Berlin, 1938–1945*, ed. Oliver Rathkolb (Vienna, 2001), vol. 1, *Zwangsarbeit—Sklavenarbeit: Politik-, sozial- und wirtschaftshistorische Studien*, pp. 449–590; and Perz, “Der Arbeitseinsatz im KZ Mauthausen,” in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998), 2:533–557. Hermann Kaienburg has evaluated the documents in the BA-B on the Sägewerk Bachmanning in *Die Wirtschaft der SS* (Berlin, 2003). Details on the use of Dachau concentration camp prisoners in Bachmanning are taken from Albert Knoll, “Bad Ischl (Sägewerk Bachmanning),” in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors. Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau und Emslandlager* (Munich, 2005), p. 292. The listing of Bachmanning as a Grossraming work detachment can be found in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1:146.

Business reports and documents from the Forst- und Sägewerksbetriebe GmbH Bachmanning are located in BA-B, Best. NS 3 (SS-WVHA). Copies of the documents on the Mauthausen prisoners are to be found in AG-M.

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NOTES

1. Aktenvermerk Hans Hohberg, December 12, 1941, Nuremberg Document NID-12324.
2. Geschäftsbericht der Forst- und Sägewerksbetrieb GmbH Bachmanning 1942, BA-B, NS 3/887, fol. 52.
3. Arbeitsbericht des Arbeitsdienstführers, Schutzhaftlager Mauthausen, September 14, 1943, AG-M, F/2/15.
4. This is supported by entries in the Häftlingspersonalkarten (prisoner file cards) of two Polish prisoners. These

support the use of their concentration camp labor from September 13, 1943, to August 25 or 28, 1944, from “Bachmanning,” AG-M.

5. Veränderungsmeldung für den 13 September 1943, AG-M, Y/49.

6. Häftlingszugangsbuch der Politischen Abteilung, AG-M, Y/36.

BRETSTEIN

The Mauthausen subcamp at Bretstein was situated in the community of Bretstein in the Niedere Tauern in the Steiermark (until 1945: Reichsgau Steiermark), in a side valley of the Pöls river about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) northwest of the present-day district city of Judenburg.

The camp was established on August 1, 1941, and was part of the SS economic enterprise Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung GmbH (German Experimental Institute for Nutrition and Provisions, Ltd.). This company in 1939 and 1940 acquired three alpine farms—Krahberger, Koini, and Hauserbauer—in Bretsteingraben and created an experimental farm for the breeding of sheep and horses. Experience gained here was to be put to use in the future Wehrbauernhöfe (fortified farms) der SS in the conquered territories, mainly in the East. Also, according to Bertrand Perz, the SS experimented with a biological-dynamic way of farming (*biologisch-dynamische Landwirtschaft*). During the war, the products harvested there served to supply the SS with agricultural products.

The male prisoners in the Bretsteingraben subcamp were mostly Spanish Republicans who had been arrested after their escape to France. There were also some Germans, the majority of them so-called Bibelforscher (Jehovah’s Witnesses). The maximum number of prisoners was around 170. After the first prisoners had arrived in June 1941, smaller transports followed in the months thereafter. The camp consisted of four barracks for the inmates, surrounded by a fence and watchtowers, and two barracks for the SS. The camp was guarded by about 50 members of the 2nd Company of the SS-Totenkopfsturmbann Mauthausen (Death’s Head Battalion Mauthausen). The first Kommandoführer was an SS member named Schneider, followed in November 1941 by SS-Untersturmführer Karl Schöpferle. Schöpferle was succeeded in August 1942 by Fritz Miroff.

The prisoners were used for a multitude of tasks: they looked after a poultry farm, bred sheep, and worked in the market garden and on an experimental weaving mill. Their main task, however, was to build a road for goods traffic through Beitsteingraben. Hans Maršálek refers to several unsuccessful escape attempts by the prisoners: on June 30, 1942, two prisoners were shot while trying to escape (the euphemistic expression could also refer to the willful murder of these prisoners); on August 5, 1941, a group of five Spanish Republicans were recaptured and murdered after attempting to escape. In total, seven prisoners were murdered in the camp.

On December 10, 1942, the camp was evacuated, mainly because of the climatic conditions in this alpine valley. The inmates were taken to the Steyr-Münichholz camp. Probably because of the priority of the employment of concentration camp inmates in armament production, no new inmates were taken to Bretstein in the spring of 1943. Only on June 5, 1943, 10 inmates—6 Jehovah's Witnesses and 4 Spanish Republicans—were taken to Bretstein. Their task was to dissolve the camp. On June 25, these inmates were transferred back to Mauthausen. The empty grounds of the subcamp were handed over to the Agrarbezirksbehörde (local agricultural authorities) Leoben, and on August 30, 1943, the camp ceased to exist.

SOURCES Hans Maršálek describes the camp in his book *Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen. Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1995), pp. 73, 230, and 260. The latter pages refer to the escape attempts. A short description of the camp is found on the Web site of the Verein KZ-Nebenlager Bretstein, www.gedenkstaette-bretstein.at. Additional information can be gleaned from the academic work by Thomas Mayer, *Wirken und Handeln der SS im oberen Pölstal, dargestellt am Beispiel des Mauthausen-Nebenlagers Bretstein* (Judenburg, 2001). Bertrand Perz wrote a detailed study on the subcamp, *Das KZ Bretstein und die Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung. Landwirtschaft im Dienste der nationalsozialistischen Eroberungspolitik* (Graz, 2006). He is also the author of the essay on Bretstein in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol.4, *Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 351–353. The “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1794, refers to the camp; as does the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:172.

The existence of the Bretstein camp is confirmed by AG-M, file Signatur E/13/2.

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DIPPOLDSAU

Set up by a work Kommando from Grossraming, Dippoldsau was located 20 to 30 kilometers (12.4 to 18.6 miles) farther up the Enns River. Established on a steep slope above the road between Grossraming and Weyr in the summer of 1943, it held prisoners who worked on the road flooded by the dam being constructed downriver. During the first several months of its existence, prisoners worked on the site and constructed five barracks that housed about 120 German and Spanish prisoners. The entire site was enclosed by a barbed-wire fence with two or three guard towers. Approximately 15 ethnic German guards were assigned there, and they resided in a barrack outside the camp. A number of civilian workers were also employed at Dippoldsau. In addition to road maintenance, a detail of an estimated 45 prisoners, led by a detachment leader and 4 guards, worked in a nearby quarry.

SOURCES There are no separate sources on Dippoldsau. Readers should refer to the source section for Grossraming.

Robert G. Waite

EBENSEE

In mid-September 1943, representatives from the SS, the Armaments Ministry, and the War Office selected a wooded area about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the village of Ebensee in southeastern Austria for a new concentration camp that would be tied to armaments production. Construction of the Cement Labor Camp (SS-Arbeitslager Zement) began in November. Situated in a dense forest and close to a rock formation where tunnels could be dug, the camp was well sheltered from Allied air attacks, and here Nazi authorities expected to test the newly designed A9 rockets. Prisoners excavated and constructed the tunnels under the direction of civilian workers from a handful of firms. The extent of the network of underground tunnels was second only to those at the Dora (Mittelbau main camp) concentration camp, and plans called for 12 factories in the 428-meter-long (1,404-foot-long) tunnels.

The first sizable transport of concentration camp prisoners came from Mauthausen on November 19, 1943. Almost half were political detainees from Poland, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union. The prisoners immediately began construction of barracks, and they started digging the tunnels, working 12 hours a day in snow and rain. The camp was laid out so that only a minimum of trees was destroyed, with the barracks scattered among the trees. The layout of the “protective custody” camp was rectangular, and it was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence with guard towers. Just inside the main gate were the roll-call area and the barracks holding the clerk's office.

Many of the prisoners working in the tunnels did so under the direction of civilian construction firms and under the supervision of civilian workers and Kapos. The plan was to employ large numbers of prisoners and to get the project done quickly. By the end of 1943, the number of prisoners at Ebensee had climbed to 511. With the completion of additional barracks in early January 1944, more prisoners were sent from Mauthausen, and the number quickly reached about 1,000. For these early transports to the new site, the SS carefully selected prisoners who had technical skills, had been in Mauthausen for a long time, and had already obtained some position of authority among the other prisoners. Most of the following transports to Ebensee held prisoners who had only recently been sent to Mauthausen, most from Poland, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia. In the spring of 1944, large numbers of French and Italian prisoners, and in June about 1,500 Hungarian Jews from Auschwitz, arrived. They were followed in July by a large number of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and in the fall by Polish prisoners from Auschwitz. The prisoner population rose to more than 6,000. A massive increase in the number of prisoners came in January 1945, as large numbers of prisoners arrived from concentration camps evacuated in the east. Later in the spring, as



Aerial photograph of the Ebensee subcamp of Mauthausen, nd.
USHMM WS #04164, COURTESY OF NARA

subcamps of Mauthausen were emptied, thousands more came to Ebensee, and the number of prisoners held there reached 18,500 housed in 32 barracks. During its brief existence, an estimated 27,000 prisoners were incarcerated in Ebensee.

Living conditions for the prisoners were severe, with the essentials for personnel hygiene lacking, the food inadequate, and the prisoners working long hours at exhausting and dangerous jobs, mostly excavating tunnels, for a number of privately run construction firms. Conditions worsened during the last six months of the war, when the number of prisoners soared. Those unable to work perished through disease or starvation in the camp's infirmary or were sent back to Mauthausen. The death rate was high, and more than 8,200 prisoners died there. Of this figure, about 38 percent were Jews, 32 percent political detainees, and 14 percent Soviet POWs, the next largest group. Until the end of July 1944, when the crematorium at Ebensee began operation, the bodies of those who died there were transported back to Mauthausen. Discipline within the camp was harsh and brutal. Those prisoners who attempted to escape from Ebensee were brought back to the protective custody camp and hanged during the evening roll call.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

The first commandant, SS-Hauptsturmführer Georg Bachmayer, played a critical role in the construction of the Ebensee subcamp, but he remained there only a few weeks. The next two successors, Anton Bentele and Otto Riemer, did not serve long there either before Obersturmführer Anton Ganz took over in late May 1944. Ganz served as commandant until the abandonment of the camp a year later. Prisoners remember him as a brutal commandant whose sole concern was the excavation of the tunnels.

Faced with a shortage of guards at Ebensee, the SS-9th Guard Company assigned there from Mauthausen used a barbed-wire corridor leading from the barracks to one of the tunnels, with guards posted at sizable distances from each other, to control the prisoners and to direct them to the work sites. Guards were stationed in the 22 guard towers and in the outer sentry chain, which was posted during the day around the entire work site. As the number of prisoners rose sharply, two other guard companies were assigned to Ebensee. They were replaced in the summer of 1944 by members of the Wehrmacht.

The last roll call took place on May 5, 1945, and the commandant ordered the prisoners into the tunnels where, it



A view of the Ebensee subcamp of Mauthausen, May 1945.
USHMM WS #06133, COURTESY OF AGNES W. STRUBEL

was rumored, the Nazi guards had set up explosives to destroy them and the prisoners. The prisoners refused to leave the roll-call area. That night the approximately 600 guards fled from the camp, and the next day American forces arrived. The U.S. military identified, arrested, and prosecuted several former guards in 1947, and West German authorities prosecuted and convicted former commandant Anton Ganz.

SOURCES Florian Freund's *Arbeitslager Zement: Das Konzentrationslager Ebensee und die Raketenrüstung* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1989) is a comprehensive history of Ebensee that places its development within the German effort to produce rockets.

Former prisoner Jean Biondi provides an overview in his statement "The Camp of Ebensee" (NARA, RG 238, Nuremberg Document PS-2176). West German prosecutors initiated several criminal investigations. The most extensive court records come from the prosecution of former commandant Anton Ganz in Munich; he received a sentence of life in prison. Several U.S. Army trials prosecuted former guards,



"Liberation in Ebensee," a sketch by Ebensee survivor Leo Haas from the cycle, "From the Concentration Camps," 1947.
USHMM WS #60862

including *USA vs. Geiger* (NARA, RG 238, Case No. 000-50-5-6) and *USA vs. Horst Goennemann* (Case No. 000-50-5-34). The report of war crimes in the Mauthausen system prepared by Major Eugene Cohen contains prisoner statements on Ebensee (NARA, RG 238, Nuremberg Document PS-2176). YVA has a box of cards recording the deaths of prisoners in the camp infirmary from February to April 1945 (YVA 041-19), and each card has the prisoner's name, date of birth, date of death, and cause of death. A list of 193 guards is held in YVA (M-9/E-12-8). A copy of the Lagerstandbuch is in the AG-M, BMdI, Vienna (B5/35).

Robert G. Waite

EBENSEE/WELS II [AKA WELS]

The Wels II subcamp was located approximately 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) southwest of Linz, in the village of Wels, whose railway tracks and station had been destroyed by Allied air raids.

About 1,000 male inmates arrived at Wels from Mauthausen on March 24, 1945. The majority of them were metalworkers by profession—which could indicate that they were meant to be employed with the Flugzeug- und Metallbauwerke Wels (Aircraft and Metal Construction Company, Wels). The next day, 1,000 more inmates arrived from the Ebensee subcamp. All the inmates worked in 12-hour shifts, cleaning the railway station of Wels. They were accommodated in a big factory hall, which was not fenced and had no kitchen and no sanitary installations. The inmates were guarded by SS and Home Guard (Volkssturm). On April 6, 400 inmates unable to work were sent to the Ebensee camp and replaced by 400 new inmates—an indication of the exhausting conditions under which the inmates worked and lived.

In 1979, the International Tracing Service (ITS) stated that the prisoners were also used to construct emergency accommodations. The ITS also reported that the companies Dyckerhoff and Widmann as well as the Reichsstatthalter im Reichsgau Oberdonau used the prisoners for labor.

According to an official report, the camp was closed on April 13, 1945, when the prisoners were evacuated to Ebensee, where they arrived on April 14. Within two days of these evacuation marches, according to a report by the Ebensee camp doctor, at least 54 inmates died.

SOURCES Florian Freund describes the Wels II subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 444–445. The Wels II subcamp is mentioned in Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995), p. 78, who includes it as the continuation of a part of Wels I. Jean Majerus, a former inmate of the camp, wrote down his memoirs in "Vom Rad ins KZ," in *Letzburger zu Mauthausen*, ed. Maicale de Mauthausen (Luxembourg, 1970). Investigations regarding the Wels II subcamp were conducted in the following court cases: *US vs. Geiger et al.* (NARA, RG 338) and *US vs. Gogel et al.* (NARA, RG 338). But there was never a trial dealing with

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events at this subcamp. The camp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:173; and “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1848.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

EISENERZ

The Eisenerz subcamp was located in Reichsgau Steiermark, part of the present-day district city of Leoben, about 85 kilometers (53 miles) northwest of Graz.

Before the Anschluss with Austria, the Österreichische Alpine Montan-Gesellschaft (ÖMAG) had exploited the iron from the local Erzberg. In 1938, with the Anschluss, the Reichswerke “Hermann Göring” (RWHG) took over the ÖMAG, including its iron and steelworks, and the Erzberg became part of the Reichswerke AG Alpine Montanbetriebe “Hermann Göring.” Since Germany worried that Sweden could stop the delivery of iron ore (as actually happened in 1944), production was increased significantly. While in 1936, 1,638 people had been employed at the Erzberg, in 1938, 4,707 were working there and approximately 6,000 in 1941. Beginning in 1941, foreign forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) were also employed there.

Following negotiations between Paul Pleiger, the head of the supervisory board of the RWHG, Wilhelm Schilken, the head of the Linz branch of the RWHG, Franz Zierys, the Mauthausen commander, and the leaders of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), the Eisenerz subcamp was opened on June 15, 1943. The camp was probably located in the “Gsollgraben” and remained rather small—the number of inmates never exceeded 500. The majority of prisoners were probably of Polish nationality. In early September 1943, about 400 prisoners were in the camp; the number dropped to about 300 in February 1944 and reached 469 in July 1944, after the arrival of a transport with 172 prisoners. But sick inmates incapable of work were very often sent back to the main camp, which clearly indicates the exhausting work and living conditions in the camp. Florian Freund states that between February 1944 and the dissolution of the camp in mid-March 1945, 12 inmates died in Eisenerz—but since most sick inmates were sent back to Mauthausen, the number of inmates who fell victim to the conditions at Eisenerz no doubt was much higher. Hans Maršálek also lists the numerous killings of prisoners and suicides by the inmates. Polish prisoners were “shot trying to escape,” respectively, on the dates of July 8, 1943; July 13, 1943; July 29, 1943; September 10, 1943; January 3, 1944; January 11, 1944; and April 11, 1944. On November 4, 1943, a Polish prisoner committed suicide by hanging himself.

The camp existed until March 14, 1945. On March 2, 230 prisoners were transferred to the Peggau subcamp and from there to Mauthausen. Of the remaining 10 inmates, 9 were taken to Peggau on March 14 and the last one the following

day directly to Mauthausen. However, the files of the Mauthausen concentration camp refer to the continued existence of the Eisenerz subcamp until April 29, 1945—with 1 prisoner only.

SOURCES Hans Maršálek describes the Eisenerz camp in his monograph *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1995), p. 73. Florian Freund is the author of an article on the Eisenerz subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 360–362. Information on ÖMAG and the RWHG can be found in the following publications: Helmut Fiederer, *Reichswerke “Hermann Göring” in Österreich (1938–1945)* (Vienna: Geyer, 1983); Oliver Rathkolb, ed., *NS-Zwangsarbeit: Der Standort Linz der “Reichswerke Hermann Göring AG Berlin” 1938–1945*, vol. 1, *Zwangsarbeit—Sklavenarbeit: Politik, sozial- und wirtschaftshistorische Studien* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2001). See here especially the articles by Bertrand Perz, “KZ-Häftlinge als Zwangsarbeiter der Reichswerke ‘Hermann Göring,’” pp. 449–590; and by Oliver Rathkolb, “Am Beispiel Paul Pleigers und seiner Manager in Linz—Eliten zwischen Wirtschaftsräumen, NS-Eroberungs und Rüstungspolitik, Zwangsarbeit und Nachkriegsjustiz,” pp. 287–322. For further information, see also Andrea M. Lauritsch, *Mauthausen-Süd: Die Aussenlager des KZ Mauthausen in Kärnten und der Steiermark mit Berücksichtigung der Todesmärsche ungarischer Juden durch die Steier Vorläufigen Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:174; as well as “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1801.

Documents on the Eisenerz subcamp are located in AG-M under call numbers B/6/2, B/6/3 and E/6/11. In USHMMPA, there are two photographs showing the transport of Jewish prisoners through Eisenerz (photographs N04948 and 96438).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ENNS, ENNSDORF

As far as the history of Mauthausen subcamps in Enns and/or Ennsdorf is concerned, not many details are known. Enns and Ennsdorf are located in close proximity to each other on the banks of the Enns river. It is not known if camps existed in both places or if all references refer to one camp only. In fact, it is not clear if a subcamp existed at all in Enns/Ennsdorf or just a work detachment.

Enns and Ennsdorf are located in the present-day district of Linz in Oberösterreich (until 1945: Reichsgau Oberdonau). According to Hans Maršálek, a subcamp existed here for only 10 days between April 10, 1945 (the date it is first mentioned), and April 19. About 2,000 male prisoners were held in the camp and were most probably used by the Gauleiter and Reichsverteidigungskommissar (Reich Defense Commissar) August Eigruber in constructing bunkers to strengthen the



Prisoners at the Enns subcamp of Mauthausen erect a power station, nd.

USHMM WS #78547, COURTESY OF DÖW

last lines of defense against the advancing Allied troops. In the official records of the Mauthausen main camp, two escape attempts are reported: 9 inmates tried to escape on April 14, another on April 20.

SOURCES The Enns/Ennsdorf subcamp is described by Hans Maršálek in his *Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1995), p. 80. ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:174, mentions the subcamp. The “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1801, refers to the camp. There is also an article on Enns/Ennsdorf in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol 4, *Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), p. 363.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

GREIN

The community of Grein in Reichsgau Oberdonau is in the present-day district city of Perg in Oberösterreich. A Mauthausen subcamp was located in Grein between February 2 and February 20, 1945. The camp was probably the continuation of an earlier camp in this location, which is mentioned for the first time in the Mauthausen concentration camp documents on March 22, 1944, and was closed on November 29, 1944.

A maximum of 120 men were used by the construction company Koller, which had a contract from the company Voigt & Haeffner AG, Werk Linz, to convert the cellars of the castle to machine halls, to construct living quarters, and to assemble prefabricated barracks. These installations were to be used by Voigt & Haeffner (under their code name Fa.

Leopold Freundlich AG) for the production of electronic installations for air armament, including parts for the V-1. The majority of the inmates were skilled laborers; most of them came from the Soviet Union and Italy.

The camp was dissolved on February 20, 1945, and the prisoners transferred to Mauthausen.

SOURCES Bertrand Perz delivers some information on the subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol 4, *Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 363–365. Hans Maršálek refers to the Grein subcamp in his monograph *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1995), p. 73. There is not much further information on the subcamp available, but a research project on Grein in the era of National Socialism is forthcoming; see Karl Hohensinner and Stefan Mandlmayer, “Das zeitgeschichtliche Forschungsprojekt über Grein im Nationalsozialismus,” *JDO* (2000), pp. 87–115. Information on the Voigt & Haeffner Company (aka Fa. Leopold Freundlich AG) can be found in Helmyt Lackner and Gerhard A. Stadler, *Fabriken in der Stadt. Eine Industriegeschichte der Stadt Linz* (Linz: Archiv der Stadt Linz, 1990). Both 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), 1:175, and the “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1807, refer to the Grein subcamp.

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GROSSRAMING [AKA ASCHAU]

In September 1942, SS-Untersturmführer Karl Schöppler and a detachment from the 5th SS-Totenkopfsturmbann (5th Death's Head Battalion) Mauthausen concentration camp took a group of prisoners to a site near the town of Grossraming, about 50 kilometers (31 miles) southeast of Mauthausen above the banks of the Enns River on the road from Steyr, and established a small labor camp. During the fall of 1942, the prisoners began constructing the barracks for a concentration camp, sometimes referred to as Aschau after a nearby quarry, on a flat piece of land above the road. Prisoners also built an access road to the site. They completed 6 barracks by early 1943, and the number eventually grew to 14, with a capacity of 1,000 prisoners. Nearby, they constructed barracks for civilian workers employed by the firm of Kunz and Rell. The prisoners worked on a dam and power plant on the Enns River for the Ennskraftwerke AG and in a quarry, taking out stone for road use.

By early 1943, a double barbed-wire fence with a guard tower in each corner enclosed the rectangular site. Spotlights in the guard towers illuminated the barracks and roll-call area by night. The main entrance opened from the Grossraming road onto the camp street, which ran inside the fence.¹ SS guards monitored the traffic in and out of the site, especially the work details, from the office building (*Jourhaus*) at

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this gate. Inside the fence, to the right of the camp street, were the prisoner barracks. At the far corner of the concentration camp was the roll-call area, where three times a day, morning, noon, and evening, the prisoners were assembled, stood at attention, and were counted. The barrack closest to the entrance housed the camp clerk, camp elder, and other functionaries. Behind this barrack was the prisoners' infirmary. Prisoners built the headquarters' buildings and three barracks for the SS guards opposite the camp, across the main road. The commandant lived in a house some 100 meters (328 feet) from the camp.

Schöpferle directed the initial growth of the camp and the assignment of the prisoner work details to the construction of a hydroelectric plant and roads. In August 1943, SS-Untersturmführer Julius Ludolph replaced him, and in May 1944, SS-Untersturmführer Hans Altfuldisch took over command from Ludolph. The Schutzhaftlagerführer was SS-Scharführer Franz Kofler, and, later Hans Riegler. The 5th Company of the SS-Totenkopfsturmbann Mauthausen continued to guard Grossraming, supplemented by at least three dog handlers.²

The Grossraming concentration camp expanded rapidly in early 1943, as more prisoners and 136 "East workers" (*Ostarbeiter*) arrived there. Many of the prisoners came after several weeks in the quarantine barracks at Mauthausen. Grossraming held individuals from most of the European nations, as the transfer lists and status reports document, with very few Jews among them. The largest contingent at Grossraming was Yugoslav nationals, most of whom had been arrested for political reasons. There were also Germans, Poles, Russians, Czechs, Spaniards, and "Gypsies" (Sinti and Roma) incarcerated there.³

As work in this region intensified, the SS set up three subsidiary Kommandos, Weyr, Dippoldsau, and Bachmanning, each within 20 to 30 kilometers (12.4 to 18.6 miles) of Grossraming, each one working on one or two projects. The Kommandos at Weyr and Dippoldsau developed into subcamps, with barbed-wire fences and barracks for the prisoners and guards. At nearby Bachmanning, a detachment of 20 prisoners worked in a sawmill that belonged to the German Equipment Works (DAW). A detail rebuilt a road damaged by high water, while others, called "Wahler Strasse," "Aschau," and "Wahler Brücke", worked on road improvement or construction projects.

Throughout Grossraming's existence, arbitrary beatings and punishments compounded the hardships and lessened the prisoners' chance of survival. Penalties included reprimands, punitive labor, or calisthenics during nonwork hours, forfeiture of meals, or standing at the parade grounds for hours, regardless of the weather conditions, sometimes for a day or two. Hunger was a constant problem for the prisoners, who barely survived on potatoes. Prisoners attempted to organize or steal potatoes from the kitchen, and those caught received 20 to 25 lashes.

Although the beating of prisoners was officially not permitted, the punching and slapping of prisoners were common

at Grossraming. Usually such blows accompanied orders to work harder or walk faster, and they were administered by guards and Kapos. A former prisoner-functionary recalled only three to four escape attempts. Those who escaped and were recaptured came back wearing signs announcing their return, and most were executed.

Grossraming maintained separate registers of prisoner deaths, and the reports of deaths were forwarded to the Political Department at Mauthausen. Because of the fragmented nature of these records, they offer only partial insight into the patterns of death. The existing records identify the shooting death of a number of prisoners and the death of additional prisoners on the electric fence surrounding the Grossraming camp. Accounts of prisoner deaths resulting from beatings and/or shootings can be found in postwar trials of former Grossraming guards. Many prisoners, too ill to work, were sent back to the main camp at Mauthausen, sometimes as many as 13 to 17 per week. A list of deaths registered at the nearby Reichraming registry office for the months of January to June 1943 identifies 63 individuals who died, all but 5 from natural causes. On January 30, a prisoner hanged himself, and in May and June 1943, 4 prisoners were shot while trying to escape. The so-called "Unnatural Death Book" from Mauthausen identifies an additional 19 deaths—11 shot while trying to escape, 2 by suicide, 3 on the electric fence, 2 in accidents, and 1 by hanging. Most of these prisoners were Yugoslav political prisoners. The Mauthausen death books list 164 additional individuals who perished at Grossraming, of whom 117 were Yugoslavs.⁴ The Grossraming concentration camp was evacuated on August 29, 1944, when the SS guards took the remaining prisoners back to Mauthausen. The commandants of Grossraming and several guards were prosecuted in the postwar U.S. military trials at Dachau during the fall of 1947.

SOURCES Some published information on Grossraming may be found in DÖW, ed., *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Oberösterreich, 1934–1945: Eine Dokumentation*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1982).

The records of the trials of the staff of the Grossraming concentration camp, now held in NARA, RG 153, include a number of witness statements on Grossraming. The cases include *USA v. Altfuldisch, et al.*, case 000-50-5; *USA v. Hans Bergerhoff, et al.*, case 000-50-5-1; *USA v. Kaspar Goetz et al.*, case 000-50-5-4; *USA v. Johann Haider, et al.*, case 000-50-5-13; *USA v. Friedrich Kurbel, et al.*, case 000-50-5-37; and *USA v. Fabian Richter, et al.*, case 000-50-5-40. A sketch of the site is in the records of case 000-Mauthausen-15 (NARA, RG 338). The guard roster of the 5th Company, the SS unit posted to Grossraming, dated July 26, 1944, was attached to the "Report of Investigation of Alleged War Crimes, prepared by US Major Eugen Cohen," Nuremberg document 2176-PS, and it contains 126 names. The BDC (now at BA-BL and NARA, RG 242) has files on each of the commandants and many of the guards listed on this roster. The Zentrale Stelle in North-Rhine Westphalia developed a case against Josef Hilger (24Js21/69 Z), and these records, held in the NWHStA-(D) (Rep18/1529), contain a large number of statements from for-

mer prisoners, guards, civilian workers, and local residents. In May 1965 the Office for Vital Statistics in Reichraming prepared a list of 63 individuals whose deaths in Grossraming were recorded there. The IPN has a number of change-of-status reports and death reports from the summer and fall of 1943.

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NOTES

1. "Map of the concentration camp, 'Arbeitslager Grossraming,'" NARA, RG 338 000-Mauthausen-15.
2. "Namenliste," 5./SS Totenkopfsturmbann, K.L.M., Grossraming, July 26, 1944, NARA, RG 238, Nuremberg document PS-2176.
3. Konzentrationslager Mauthausen, Lagerschreibstube, "Veränderungsmeldung für den 15 Juli 1943," July 16, 1943, IPN; "Aus: Chronik des Gendarmeriepostens Reichraming, O.D.," in *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Oberösterreich, 1934–1945: Eine Dokumentation*, ed. DÖW (Vienna: Osterreichischer Bundesverlag, 1982), 2: 548.
4. "Totenbuch Mauthausen vom 27.3.42 - 8.XI.43," NARA, RG 238, Nuremberg document PS-493.

GUNSKIRCHEN-WELS I [AKA WALDWERKE, WELS, NOTBEHELFSHEIMBAU, SS-ARBEITSLAGER GUNSKIRCHEN]

Wels is located in the community of Edt, approximately 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) southwest of Linz, in Upper Austria (Oberösterreich; until 1945: Reichsgau Oberdonau), and Gunskirchen is a part of the community of Wels. The history of the Gunskirchen-Wels camp is especially complex, and research on it is complicated by the fact that the camp was referred to under a multitude of names. Hans Maršálek, one of the early experts on Mauthausen, states that the camp was opened in the Noitzmühle mill on Traunaustrasse on December 27, 1944. Under the code name Waldwerke (forest factory), prisoners—whose number reached its peak at 397—were to construct a gigantic supply depot, probably for the Flugzeug- und Metallwerke Wels. The mentioning of this company indicates that there could be a mix-up with another camp located in Wels, the Wels II subcamp, which was established only in late March 1945.

Florian Freund, on the other hand, states that the Mauthausen inmates who arrived in Wels in December 1944 were placed in the former school of the Gunskirchen. Here they were employed under the control of the Organisation Todt (OT) in cutting trees and transporting them to the nearby sawmill Hochhuber. With the boards and planks produced there, the prisoners had to erect temporary homes. But very soon the camp had to change its purpose: While it is unclear if it ever was planned to be a real production site, it was quickly transformed into an assembly camp to accommodate the always increasing numbers of concentration camp inmates evacuated from the East. This interpretation is also confirmed

by Wiebke van Ijken, who states that preparations for the later assembly camp for evacuated prisoners had already been made in December 1944 when around 400 Polish and Soviet prisoners were transferred to Gunskirchen-Wels to erect 10 barracks. Due to military developments in the last months of the war and the overwhelming prisoner evacuations, the original plans had to be changed quickly: Gunskirchen-Wels became a much larger camp than expected.

Already from fall 1944 on, more and more prisoner transports had arrived in Mauthausen, and the situation worsened early in 1945 with the evacuation of Hungarian Jews who had been exploited in erecting the so-called Südostwall (Southeast Wall) against the advancing Red Army. Since the Mauthausen main camp was already completely overcrowded, arriving inmates were forced to move on to Gunskirchen after that camp had been converted into a temporary camp (*Notbehelfslager*) in the first half of March 1945, on orders of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA). Transports of inmates left Mauthausen for Gunskirchen on April 16, 18, and 24, 1945; other transports probably arrived directly from southeast Europe, from Auschwitz, and from other camps without passing through the Mauthausen main camp. On April 28, 1945, for example, 2,808 male Hungarian Jewish men and 300 Jewish women were taken to Gunskirchen-Wels. The capacity of the camp was established at between 12,000 and 15,000 prisoners. While the camp mostly held Jewish prisoners of both sexes, there were also increasing numbers of smaller groups of political prisoners from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia taken to Gunskirchen-Wels.

The Gunskirchen-Wels camp was located in a forest area in Edt near Lambach, a small village to the south of Gunskirchen. It was hidden deep in a young pine forest, invisible from the nearby Wels Autobahn, and almost invisible from the air. The camp was opened on March 12, 1945, under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Heger (later SS-Untersturmführer Werner). Florian Freund states that there is not much known about the guards at Gunskirchen and that probably a certain SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Schulz was the commander of the camp. It was surrounded by a 2.5-meter-high (8.2-foot-high) barbed-wire fence; the guard towers were equipped with machine guns and manned by the SS and Wehrmacht. Of the 10 planned barracks, only 6 were finished. The floors in the barracks were compressed earth. Originally planned to hold 300 prisoners each, the barracks soon held between 2,500 and 3,000 prisoners each. At the end of April, there were between 15,000 and 17,000 prisoners in the camp. They had only the minimum of sanitary facilities: the toilets had seats for only 12 men and 16 women, and they could only be used six hours each day. This was an unbearable torture for many of the prisoners who suffered from dysentery. A water tank delivered around 1,500 liters (396 gallons) of water each day.

The character of the assembly camp meant that the prisoners were not used for labor. They remained in their barracks each day, other than for roll call, which took place three



Survivors of the Gunskirchen subcamp of Mauthausen shortly after liberation, May 6–15, 1945.

USHMM WS #12768, COURTESY OF THOMAS SWEENEY

times a day. The daily rations consisted of a piece of black bread and a little soup. Often no food was handed out. The malnourished prisoners suffered from diarrhea, lice, typhus, and dysentery. Some 200 to 300 prisoners died on average each day. Morris Stark, one of the survivors of Gunskirchen-Wels, said after the war: “They took us on a forty-kilometer [25-mile] march to Gunskirchen, where pictures and books were not made or written that could describe the horror of the brutalities that were going on. Hefflinger [Häftlinge, inmates] survivors were hurting each other; they got tremendously sick. Maybe that was the purpose of Gunskirchen, seeing human flesh being cut out and sold as food stock, a horrible scene.”¹

The countless dead were buried first in mass graves outside the camp. Later on, corpses were buried inside the camp. During the last weeks of the existence of the camp, they were not buried at all. David Ichelson, one of the first U.S. soldiers to enter the camp, described the scenes that confronted him:

By the late morning we entered the woods around the camp and saw dead, emaciated, partly clothed

bodies, as far as the eye could see. Between the bodies were huge piles of feces. A strong fecal stench permeated the cool, damp air of the woods. Inside the dim barracks, lying on straw, were the dead, alongside the dying, who could not muster the strength to walk away when the SS guards had deserted three days previously. The skin of the dead was loose and wrinkled, their cheeks hollow, the skin shrunken from their open, hollow, sightless eyes. Their teeth were rotten snags, protruding from their open mouths. Their limbs were extremely thin and the bones appeared to almost poke through the joints that were bent into weird contortions that conveyed the horror of the agony of death. Their clothing was ragged patches held together by filth. Many had part of their clothing missing, probably taken by their living, suffering comrades. Even the lice seemed to have abandoned the dead.²

Soldiers of the 71st Infantry Division, Third U.S. Army, reached the camp on May 5, 1945. The SS had left the camp on May 4, and employees of the Red Cross had arrived to hand out food supplies. A few days before this date, food supplies to the camp had ceased, as is revealed in a U.S. Army report dated May 6, 1945:

After living for many months on a slice of bread and a bowl of soup per day, this was a death sentence imposed on many, over 200 dying of starvation and disease in 2 days. The only doctors available were inmates themselves, forced to live under the same conditions as the others; with no medicine they were powerless to help, in fact when they would go any further they would lay themselves on the ground and resign themselves to death. . . . Human beings lay side by side with not enough room to turn over; those too weak to move defecated where they lay. Lice crawled from one to another. Outside, the people were pleading in pitifully broken English for water, food, cigarettes, and chewing gum.³

Major Cameron Coffman, Public Relations Officer (PRO), 71st Infantry Division, reported at the same time to one of his commanders:

Row upon row of living skeletons, jammed so closely together that it was impossible for some to turn over, even if they could have generated enough strength to do so. . . . A pair of feet, black in death, protruded from underneath a tattered blanket, just six inches from a haggard old Jew who was resting on his elbow and feebly attempting to wave to us. A little girl, doubled with the growing pains of starvation, cried pitifully for help. A dead man was rotting beside her. . . . Few of those remaining in the building could stand on their feet. The earth was

[illegible] and a chilled wind . . . [carried] the smell of death and filth [*sic*]. Small fires of straw added to the revolting odors that filled the air. One man crawled over several prostate bodies and patted the toe of my muddy combat boot in child-like manner.⁴

Some 3,000 prisoners who could still walk left the camp when the American troops arrived. The U.S. Army registered and cared for 5,419 survivors. Estimates of the number of dead in the camp vary between several hundred and several thousand. Florian Freund states that probably 15,000 prisoners survived the camp, while more than 3,000 died. In the following months, at least 1,000 prisoners, who were looked after in civilian and military hospitals in Wels and surroundings, were to die from the deprivations they suffered in the camp.⁵ After the war, mass graves with 1,227 corpses were found in the camp's vicinity. The archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, list 877 survivors of the camp.

SOURCES Details on the Gunskirchen-Wels subcamp are to be found in Sinai Adler, *Your Rod and Your Staff: A Young Man's Chronicle of Survival* (Jerusalem, 1996); Peter Kammerstätter, *Der Todesmarsch ungarischer Juden vom KZ Mauthausen nach Gunskirchen, April 1945* (Linz, 1971); Eleonore Lappin, "Todesmärsche durch den Gau Oberdonau," in *Oberösterreichische Gedenkstätten für KZ-Opfer*, ed. Siegfried Haider and Gerhard Marckhgott (Linz, 2001), pp. 77–92; Lappin, "Die Todesmärsche ungarischer Juden durch Österreich im Frühjahr 1945," www.gedenken.org/german/archive_text_hg2.htm; Lappin, "The Death Marches of Hungarian Jews through Austria in the Spring of 1945," *YVS* 28 (2000): 203–242; and Lappin, "Das Schicksal der ungarisch-jüdischen Zwangsarbeiter in Österreich 1944/45," in *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden in Österreich*, ed. Martha Keil and Eleonore Lappin (Bodenheim: Philo-Verlag, 1996). Florian Freund describes the camp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol.4, *Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 368–370. Doris Fath-Gottinger has researched Gunskirchen-Wels in "Die Ungarischen Juden auf ihrem Todesmarsch in das KZ Gunskirchen" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Linz, 2004). Hans Maršálek mentions and describes the camp in *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995), pp. 73, 292, 339. An exhaustive description of the history of the camp, which is heavily based on reports of U.S. liberators, is by Wiebke van Ijken, "Gunskirchen Extermination Camp," at www.gusen.org/dok/gk/gk05x.htm, resp. <http://linz.orf.at/orf/gusen/dok/gk/gk01x.htm>. 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), 1:176; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1808.

There are numerous documents on the Gunskirchen-Wels camp held in AG-M under collections B 5, B 11, B/11/12 (Nebenlager Gunskirchen, Planskizze der Gräber-

anlage von Gunskirchen), B 12 and 13, B 24, and H 14. Transport lists to Gunskirchen-Wels are held under collection E 64 and E 10/6. The USHMMA holds survivors' reports including Acc.1995.A.554, John P. Ivany; RG-10.370, Georg Friedman Papers; RG-02.149, Józef V. Czarski collection; and RG-02.115, essays relating to Holocaust survivor Morris Stark. There are also reports from members of the U.S. Army who liberated the camp. The most compelling are RG-09.024 (Acc.1994.A.0228, 71st Infantry Division documents) with two reports of the 71st Infantry Division on events leading up to and during the camp's liberation; RG-09.005 (International Liberators Conference Gunskirchen) with eyewitness accounts by members of the U.S. Army RG-006*01 (David Ichelson, "The Graves at Gunskirchen") consists of the reflections of one of the liberators of Gunskirchen on the camp and its subsequent history. RG-17.002*01 is a list of former inmates of the concentration camp who died after their liberation from prison and were buried at the Wels city cemetery. In the USHMMPA there are several photographs that were taken at the Gunskirchen-Wels subcamp at the time the camp was liberated (WS # 41323, 77164, 78230, 77158, 77163, 77156, 76029, and 45036). There is an extensive literature written by former inmates and the U.S. liberators. Worthy of mention are: *The Seventy-First Came -- to the Gunskirchen Lager* (repr., Atlanta: Emory University, 1979); Gerald McMahon, *On Guard: The Fourteenth Infantry Regiment in Bavaria, 1945–46* (Fairfax, VA: Yaderman Books, 1990); Gerald McMahon, *A Corner of Hell: A Military History Report* (Fairfax, VA: Yaderman Books, 1990); Therese Müller, *Från Auschwitz till Günskirchen* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1993); Edward Zebowski, *My Brother Hail and Farewell!* (Tampa, FL: Woodstock Books, 1994), esp. chap. 13; and Martin Gilbert, *The Day the War Ended* (London: HarperCollins, 1995), pp. 76–77.

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NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-02.115 (Acc.1994.A.0015)—essays relating to Holocaust survivor Morris Stark.
2. USHMMA, RG-09.006*01, David Ichelson, "The Graves of Gunskirchen."
3. USHMMA, RG-09.024 (Acc.1994.A.0228), 71st Infantry Division documents relating to the liberation of Gunskirchen 1945: unsigned report dated May 6, 1945.
4. *Ibid.*, Report Major Cameron Coffman, p. 2.
5. See USHMMA, RG-17.002*01, list of former concentration camp inmates buried at Wels, Austria, in 1945; a list of the former concentration camp prisoners buried in the Wels city cemetery.

GUSEN (WITH GUSEN II AND GUSEN III)

In December 1939, a detail of 10 to 12 prisoners from Mauthausen began constructing barracks at a new subcamp about 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) away, between the villages of Langenstein and St. Georgen, at Gusen. By January 1940, the number of prisoners working there rose to about 200.

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Post-liberation view of the Gusen subcamp of Mauthausen, June 27, 1945.

USHMM WS #83816, COURTESY OF NARA

Prisoners and guards occupied the concentration camp on May 25, 1940. The selection of Gusen as the first subcamp of Mauthausen and its rapid growth were due initially to the nearby Gusen, Kastenhof, and Pierbauer stone quarries. In the spring of 1940, a professional quarry worker was placed in charge of the quarries, which produced freestone, paving stone, and gravel for distribution and sale throughout Austria. Two railway spurs ran to the quarries. Beginning in 1943, Gusen played an important role in armaments production.

After completion of the first barracks, Gusen grew rapidly to 32 prisoner barracks laid out in neat rows, a large complex for the SS guards, and several large industrial enterprises. The “protective custody” camp, about 180 by 400 meters (590 by 1,312 feet), held the prisoners’ barracks, prisoners’ kitchen (in the far northeastern corner), a brothel (in the southeastern corner, operational since July 1942), a crematorium (near the rear line of barracks and in use since the spring of 1941), several workshops, an infirmary, and a quarantine barrack. Prisoners assembled twice daily at the roll-call area at the eastern end and were counted. The main entrance to the camp was at the office building (*Jourbaus*), at the southeastern corner of the camp, and prisoner details passed through it each day on the way to and from work in the quarries, on a nearby railway line, or in one of the munitions plants. Wooden guard towers, equipped with floodlights and machine guns and later replaced by more permanent structures constructed out of granite, were placed along the barbed-wire fence that enclosed the perimeter of the rectangular-shaped protective custody camp. A second parallel fence, 2 meters (6.6 feet) high and constructed out of stone, was added in 1941. Guards patrolled the path between the fences. Later in the war, an outer barbed-wire fence extended around the entire Gusen complex, including the quarries and factories. The SS barracks were located south of the camp, along the Langenstein–St. Georgen road.¹

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

Located immediately north of the main camp was a cluster of factories built in 1943 for war-related industrial production. Messerschmitt AG operated two large buildings where prisoners assembled airplanes and manufactured parts, and the complex extended farther north at the site, with several more buildings and two large tunnels. Late in the war, much of the airplane construction and assembly took place underground. Steyr-Werke had a facility at Gusen composed of 16 large buildings located northeast of the concentration camp where prisoners worked manufacturing parts for rifles, machine guns, and airplane motors. A spur from the railway line went through this site. In the spring of 1944, construction began on seven tunnels, each planned to extend a kilometer (0.6 mile) into the granite, where the assembly of airplanes took place for Steyr-Daimler-Puch (SDP) and Messerschmitt AG.

Gusen’s original capacity of 4,000 to 5,000 prisoners was quickly exceeded. The first large transport of prisoners came from Poland, and a large number of Poles were held in Gusen throughout the war. Also numerous were the “Rotspanier,” those who had fought against Franco in the Spanish Civil War. Later, a large number of French prisoners, held under the Night-and-Fog (*Nacht-und-Nebel*) Decree, were sent to Gusen, as were some Allied fliers, shot down nearby. In late January 1944, Gusen held 7,312 prisoners, mostly political offenders, and the figure continued to rise. On May 4, 1945, that number had swelled to 20,487, as many prisoners arrived from other concentration camps in the east that were being evacuated.

The pattern of deaths at Gusen reflected the severity and brutality of the treatment of the prisoners at the hands of the Kapos and guards, the starvation rations, the lack of basic sanitary facilities, and the forced labor under the most difficult of circumstances. Officials kept detailed records of prisoner deaths in four death books that recorded the following fatalities: 1940: 1,522; 1941: 5,570; 1942: 3,890; 1943: 5,116; 1944: 4,004; and until early April 1945: 7,740—a total of 27,842 individuals, identified by name, prisoner category, prisoner number, date and place of birth, cause of death, and



A view of the main gate and roll call square at the Gusen subcamp of Mauthausen, May 5–15, 1945.

USHMM WS #11456, COURTESY OF HJALMER LAKE

date and time of death.² Those unable to work because of injury, illness, or fatigue and weakness were typically killed, in 1940–1941, in the so-called death baths where they were drowned and during the latter years of the war in Block 31, the *Bahnbof*. Some victims, killed shortly after their arrival, were not registered at Gusen, and the actual number of those who perished there numbers at least 35,000.

The operation of Gusen was directly connected to Mauthausen. SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Chmielewski, who directed the establishment and construction and was in charge until January 1943, and his successor SS-Hauptman Friedrich August (Fritz) Seidler, who directed the massive growth in the number of prisoners and the shift to war-related industries, held the position of Schutzhaftlagerführer and were responsible for the daily operations of the camp. Both answered directly to SS-Obersturmbannführer Franz Ziereis, the commandant of Mauthausen. The four companies of guards assigned to Gusen were part of the SS-Totenkopfsturmbann Mauthausen (Death's Head Battalion Mauthausen). In 1944, their number reached an estimated 3,000. In late January–early February 1945, a number of guards from Gusen went to the Kampfgruppe Oberdonau, and their positions were filled by firemen from Vienna. Gusen was liberated by American soldiers on May 5, 1945, and investigations into crimes committed there began. These investigations by U.S. forces resulted in the prosecution of at least 16 former guards and Kapos at the Dachau Trials. West German authorities investigated more than 70 individuals. Several resulted in trials including the conviction of Chmielewski, who was convicted of murder and sentenced to life in prison.

GUSEN II AND GUSEN III

During 1944, as armaments production grew in importance and the number of prisoners sent to Mauthausen soared, Gusen added two subcamps, Gusen II and Gusen III. Gusen II was located on the St. Georgen road and opened on March 9, 1944; it came to hold some 10,000 prisoners, many of whom worked in the Steyr-Daimler-Puck AG and Messerschmitt AG munitions plants. Gusen III, located north of St. Georgen at Lungitz, opened on December 16, 1944, and it held about 260 prisoners who made bricks or worked in a Messerschmitt parts depot.

SOURCES Hans Maršálek's *Konzentrationslager Gusen: Ein Nebenlager des KZ Mauthausen* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1987) provides an overview of the Gusen subcamp.

Biographical data on Chmielewski and Seidler come from their BDCPFs, which are available at BA-BL and NARA, RG 242, and which also reveal their experience at a number of concentration camps. Detailed biographical information on those individuals incarcerated there can be found in Mauthausen's register of prisoners (NARA, RG 228, Microcopy P-12) and the Gusen death books, which give the prisoner's name, date/place of birth, date of incarceration and reason, date/cause of death. Changes in the numbers of pris-

oners are identified in "Aussenkommando," Konzentrationslager Mauthausen, NARA, RG 242, Film 3, vol. 2. A list of 673 guards is held at YVA, M-9/E-12-8. The most extensive and revealing sources on the horrible conditions at Gusen are the postwar trials held by the U.S. Army at Dachau and those held later by West German courts. More than a dozen of the U.S. Army trials involved former Gusen guards and Kapos, including *USA v. Erik Schuettauf* (000-50-5-3); *USA v. Georg Bach* (000-50-5-10); *USA v. Andreas Batterman* (000-50-5-11); *USA v. Giovanazzi* (000-50-5-12); *USA v. Karl Bertsch* (000-50-5-29); *USA v. Karl Glas* (000-50-5-31); *USA v. Karl Horcicka* (000-50-5-32); and *USA v. Georg Pirner* (000-505-5-42). The statements given by former prisoners, particularly in the trial of Chmielewski in the LG Ansbach, begin to reveal the horror inflicted upon prisoners. West German prosecutors initiated more than 70 criminal investigations involving Gusen, and the records of many are held at the ZdL (now BA-L).

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NOTES

1. A detailed wartime map, "Lageplan Gusen I u II," is in *USA v. Bach*, NARA, RG 338, 000-50-5-101, Box 374.

2. "Totenbuch Gusen vom 1.6.40–26.2.42," "Totenbuch Gusen von 27.2.42 bis 20.2.43," "Totenbuch Gusen vom 21.2.43 bis 2.12.1944," "Totenbuch Gusen vom 2.12.1944 bis 25.4.1945," NARA, RG 238, 000-50-5, Boxes 337 and 338.

HIRTENBERG [AKA WAFFEN-SS-ARBEITSLAGER HIRTENBERG, GUSTLOFF-WERKE]

The Hirtenberg women's subcamp was located in Niederösterreich (until 1945: Reichsgau Niederdonau), 38 kilometers (24 miles) to the south of Vienna, close to Baden at the foot of Triesting Valley. It existed from September 28, 1944 (the date of its first mention), April 15, 1945, according to Hans Maršálek; following the *Bundesgesetzblatt* and other sources, it lasted until April 16, 1945. Recent research by Andreas Baumgartner stated, however, that the evacuation of the camp must have taken place earlier, as Hirtenberg was occupied by Allied troops on April 6, 1945. Bertrand Perz accordingly puts the date of the evacuation at April 1, 1945.

The opening of the subcamp occurred when 391 women arrived from Auschwitz via Mauthausen (9 of the women in this transport from Auschwitz stayed at Mauthausen). A part of the fenced-in forced labor camp, the so-called Weinberg-lager, that already existed at Lindenberg hill, above the city area to the east of the cemetery at the entrance to the town, was separated. After the erection of some barracks for the inmates, the "Waffen-SS-Arbeitslager Hirtenberg, Gustloff-Werke," as it was officially called, was opened.

The camp commandant was SS-Hauptsturmführer Schröder. There were 24 male SS guards who were responsible for external security. Female guards operated inside the camp, as was usual in women's camps.

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The Hirtenberg Patronenfabrik (Cartridge Factory) had originally been Jewish property and was taken over by the Weimar-based Wilhelm-Gustloff-Stiftung following the Anschluss of Austria by Germany in 1938. In the years thereafter, the company became one of Austria's leading manufacturers of ammunition. The majority of its employees were women, including Ukrainian forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs).

After the initial 391 women, another 11 prisoners arrived via Mauthausen on November 23, 1944: 3 came from Auschwitz and 8 from Ravensbrück. The Auschwitz women were the Slovakian Jew Irene Janowitz, a medical doctor, and 2 Hungarian Jewish nurses.

Different sources state the highest number of prisoners was 459. Baumgartner lists the composition of 402 verified female prisoners as follows: 194 Soviet "protective custody" prisoners, 101 Italians, 95 Poles, 5 Yugoslavs, 3 Hungarians, 2 Croats, 1 German, and 1 Slovak. Some 393 women were held in the camp for political reasons; 3 were Jewish, and 6 were "asocials." The youngest female in the camp was age 16; the average age of the women was 23, a relatively young age. The women worked in two 12-hour shifts. Officially, there was only one death during the camp's existence. There are no records of any return transports with women who were incapable of working. On March 23, a Russian female prisoner tried to escape.

The women were evacuated from Hirtenberg early in April 1945 and arrived at Mauthausen on either April 18 or 19. During the evacuation march, women tried to escape again: on April 7, 4 Soviet prisoners, and on April 16, 40 Soviet and 8 Polish women. On April 10, 7 young Russian women were shot while trying to escape from the evacuation march; it is also possible that the women were executed because they could no longer march.

SOURCES Bertrand Perz describes the Hirtenberg subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 382–384. See also references to the camp in Andreas Baumgartner, *Die vergessenen Frauen von Mauthausen: Die weiblichen Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen und ihre Geschichte* (Vienna: Verlag Österreich, 1997), pp. 140–148, 223; for Baumgartner's dating of the evacuation, see p. 145, and for the prisoner composition, p. 223. Hans Maršálek sketches Hirtenberg in *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen. Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995), p. 74. See also France Filipiè, *Slowenen in Mauthausen* (Vienna: Bundesministerium für Inneres, Referat iv/7/4, 2004). For the history of the Hirtenberger Patronenfabrik including its takeover by the Gustloff-Stiftung, see Marie-Theres Arnbohm, *Friedmann, Gutmann, Lieben, Mandl und Strakosch. Fünf Familienporträts aus Wien vor 1938* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2002), especially pp. 19–62. See also Klaus-Dieter Mulley, "Arbeitschaft und Rüstungsindustrie im Triestingtal," in *Geschosse—Skandale—Stacheldraht. Arbeitschaft und Rüstungsindustrie in Wöllersdorf, Enzesfeld und Hirtenberg*, ed. Klaus-Dieter Mulley and Hans Leopold (Ebenfurth: Eigenverlag der Gewerk-

schaft der Eisenbahner, Ortsgruppe Ebenfurth, 1999), pp. 264–292. 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), 1:172; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBL.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1812.

Documents referring to the Hirtenberg subcamp are to be found in the AG-M under references K C/1 to 4 (copies of entrance lists, correspondence of the Gustloff-Werke, a change report from April 17, 1945, about the shooting of seven female Soviet citizens "for escape"), E 20/17 (SS list of prisoner status of all camps and standing of guard personnel from March 19, 1945, to April 30, 1945, inclusive); 4c/3 (prisoner commitment of November 23, 1944), K 4 A1 to K 4 F 1 (copies of various reports about female prisoners in the subcamps), K/11/01 (memoirs of six female prisoners from France), as well as under references Y30 and K5/6.

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KLAGENFURT-LENDORF

Gauleiter of Kärnten Dr. Friedrich Rainer was exactly what the leadership in Berlin expected of a loyal follower in the Ostmark. Rainer was a local power source in that region (Gau Kärnten), which since 1920 had been built by German nationalists as a "German-border bulwark" (*grenzdeutsches Bollwerk*) against the Slavs, the hereditary enemy in the Balkans.

After the *Anschluss* with Austria in 1938 and the invasion by Germany of Yugoslavia in 1941, Kärnten became even more geopolitically important. This region was no longer borderland but a bridge to the areas conquered by the Nazis in southeastern Europe.

After the *Anschluss*, the capital city in the Gau, Klagenfurt, commenced construction of a prestigious building: the barracks (*Kaserne*) for the Waffen-SS in the Klagenfurt suburb of Lendorf. To the Gau capital, the July 1938 groundbreaking (*Spatenstich*) ceremony was a great honor. While the construction contractors were local, the architect, Gerhard Weigel, hailed from Bavaria.

When the first battalion of the SS-Division Nordland occupied the barracks at the beginning of 1940, plans were well advanced to operate an SS-Junkerschule (Elite Officers' School) there. Close to the barracks for the men were planned and built garages, sports facilities, stables, a shooting range, air-raid shelters, a "Führerheim," and homes for officers—later known as the "Koglsiedlung."

Rudolf Kuntzsch, a former member of the SS who is familiar with events, states that the SS-Junkerschule in Klagenfurt-Lendorf commenced regular lessons on July 31, 1943, but was not officially declared a "SS-Waffen- und Junkerschule" until June 1, 1944.

A Mauthausen subcamp was planned for the barracks as support for its planned expansion. According to former Mauthausen camp recorder Hans Maršálek, the Klagenfurt-Lendorf

concentration camp was established on November 19, 1943, at the request of the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei (Waffen-SS and Police Building Administration) Klagenfurt.

The Klagenfurt-Lendorf prisoners worked on building accommodations for the SS-Junkers, the stables, and air-raid shelters (underneath present-day Koglsiedlung). They also excavated the ground for a pond for firefighting and for a swimming pool and worked on repairing bomb damage, mostly in the area of the Klagenfurt main railway station.

Surviving Mauthausen transport lists confirm that the number of prisoners in the Klagenfurt-Lendorf subcamp varied between 80 and 130, with the high point being 130 between August 31, 1944, and December 31, 1944. The strength lists both before and after those dates give the number as 80 Mauthausen prisoners. There were 15 SS men, 1 SS officer, and 14 SS guards from Mauthausen who were transferred to Lendorf. This is at least the number that is documented for the period between March 19 and April 30, 1945.

The prisoners' barracks were located in the inner sanctum of the barracks, most likely close to the workshops. They included the camp's office and the infirmary. The barracks were surrounded with a barbed-wire fence (not electrified) and two guard towers (outside the fence). As was customary, the SS guards' barracks were located outside the concentration camp area. There were labor detachments in addition to the construction detachments: small detachments worked in the kitchen and workshops; they also removed bomb rubble and worked on the SS settlement (*Siedlungsbau*) outside the barracks.

The prisoners deported to Klagenfurt-Lendorf were overwhelmingly Germans, Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Italians, Russians, Spaniards, French, and Yugoslavs. They were "political" prisoners. The camp commandant was an Austrian named Konradi, with the rank of SS-Hauptsturmführer. He is said to have committed suicide before the partisans or the British entered Klagenfurt.

The camp elder, a German political prisoner, was Erich Brose. He was later replaced by a Czech, Stefek (a soldier for the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War), when Brose was returned to Mauthausen. Brose and the camp recorder Stepanik are alleged to have betrayed their comrades for listening to an enemy radio station (*Feindsender*). Stepanik hanged himself on June 26, 1944, because he feared he would be sent back to Mauthausen.

German political prisoner Kaspar Bachl, who was part of the settlement construction detachment (Siedlungsbaukommando), was able to escape on November 15, 1944, dressed in an SS uniform, which he had hidden on the construction site. He and another prisoner, also dressed as an SS man, were soon recaptured and returned initially to the barracks and then to Mauthausen. Another prisoner, possibly the Soviet Russian Julius Zirowka, was shot on April 15, 1945, while "trying to escape."

Postwar statements by camp survivor Franz Nikola are that Klagenfurt-Lendorf was "a relatively good camp" and

should not be compared with the Mauthausen main camp. This is confirmed by Otto Vostarek, who stated in an interview that the SS men in the Klagenfurt-Lendorf concentration camp were not so "zealous" (*dienstefrig*). The beds even had their own bed linen. The food was almost the same as that of the SS—but smaller portions without meat. There was, despite orders to the contrary, contact and conversations with civilian workers in the barracks, for example, with the barracks or the sewerage workers. The latter are thought to have been in contact with the partisans.

Statements on the dissolution of the camp show the chaos in giving and implementing orders at the end of the war. In April 1945, a large transport of prisoners from Klagenfurt-Lendorf was to be evacuated to the Dachau concentration camp. Those prisoners who remained in the barracks were to pull down the prisoners' barracks and the SS guards' barracks by May 6, 1945. On May 7, these prisoners were taken by truck to the Loibl Süd subcamp, as an evacuation to Mauthausen was no longer possible. It is also thought that the commandant of the SS-Junkerschule Klagenfurt-Lendorf refused to carry out a Mauthausen order to murder all the prisoners before they fell into enemy hands.

The Yugoslav prisoners were released in the Loibl Süd subcamp; a group of Austrians and Germans were collected by the Klagenfurt-Lendorf camp commandant, Konradi, and taken back to the camp, where they were put in SS or Wehrmacht uniforms. They were to kill the camp's SS who tried to flee.

Another group of prisoners, Poles, French, and Luxembourgers, among others, who remained in the Loibl Süd subcamp, "accompanied" SS guards through the Loibl Tunnel. They were living shields, protection against partisans who controlled the Loibl Valley. This group also returned to Kärnten from the Loibl Süd subcamp, where they were liberated from their "companions" by partisans in Rosental.

Although Klagenfurt had been heavily bombed by Allied aircraft on January 16, 1944, and was attacked from there many times after that, the SS caserne was never hit. It is true that a bomb landed nearby, but the damage from the shock waves of the bomb was only slight.

The conditions in the Klagenfurt-Lendorf camp offered the prisoners better survival chances than they would have had in the Mauthausen main camp. Individual strategies for survival could be planned and had more chances of success. These camp prisoners "profited" from the easily comprehensible and regular command structures of the military environment. There were scarcely any excessive beatings or other arbitrary acts of violence. The death rate in Klagenfurt-Lendorf was low. Unlike other Mauthausen subcamps, for example, the subcamp in the Loiblpass, the Klagenfurt-Lendorf camp did not have the reputation for "death through work" (*Tod durch Arbeit*).

The prisoner's greatest threat to life was a return to the Mauthausen main camp, which was equivalent to a death sentence. The constant uncertainty about survival and the suffering caused by social isolation and deprivation of rights

were, however, part of the daily life in the Klagenfurt-Lendorf camp.

SOURCES Research on concentration camps in Kärnten is sparse. There has been little research on the Mauthausen subcamp in the SS-Kaserne Klagenfurt-Lendorf. The author published a first collection of witness interviews and provided an overview of the camp in “Der Gauleiter, die SS und das vergessene KZ in Klagenfurt-Lendorf,” *KäJP* (2001): 224–252. Also useful are the books by Janko Tišler and Jože Rovšek, *Mauthausen na Ljubelju* (Klagenfurt, 1995); and August Walzl, *Zwangsarbeit in Kärnten im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Klagenfurt, 2001). This subcamp is listed in Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1995).

The essay is based upon interviews conducted by the author and also collected from a variety of publications and from unpublished protocols and witness archives, example, Janko Tišler’s private archive.

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LEIBNITZ GRAZ [AKA AFLENZ, KALKSTEINWERKE]

As with the establishment of the Peggau subcamp, the establishment of the Leibnitz subcamp near Graz (also known as Afrenz on the River Sulm or the Kalksteinwerke [Limestone Works]) was connected to the increased production of fighter aircraft following the German defeat in the air war against Britain. A large project was planned for Thondorf near Graz in addition to the construction of the Flugmotorenwerke (Aircraft Motor Works) Ostmark in the suburb of Wiener-Neudorf close to Vienna. It was intended to build in Thondorf a Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG (SDP) factory that would manufacture parts for the Daimler Benz aircraft engines. The official order for the construction of the factory was issued on June 3, 1941. As with all sectors of the armaments industry, there was an acute shortage of labor, and this resulted in the massive use of foreign labor at the Steyr factory in Thondorf. As early as April 1942, more than one-half of the labor force was foreign. These forced laborers were accommodated by Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG in Graz in the Eastern labor camps (*Ostarbeiterlager*) “Murfeld I and II.”

From the middle of 1943 on, more and more projects were developed for underground relocation as a result of the increasing threat to the strategically important armaments industries in the Ostmark by Allied air attacks. By the end of 1943, a suitable site had been found for the Steyr factory in Graz-Thondorf: in the so-called Römer Quarry at Afrenz on the River Sulm near Leibnitz, where tunnels already existed. According to plans by the industrial architects Lattal and Tritthart, the production area could be increased by July 1944 to 8,000 square meters (9,568 square yards). The code name for this increased area was “Salm.” The expansion of the tunnels for Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG was a cooperative project with the SS-owned German Earth and Stone Works (DESt).

The use of concentration camp prisoners in Leibnitz, as with just about all underground relocation projects, probably resulted from the good understanding that the general director of the Steyr factory, Georg Meindl, had with the highest officials of the SS.

The first transport of 201 prisoners left the Mauthausen main camp in the direction of Leibnitz on February 8, 1944.¹ A second transport followed on March 11, 1944, with 300 prisoners from Mauthausen. This transport increased the camp strength to 500 prisoners. An additional 200 prisoners arrived from the subcamp Wiener Neudorf on July 9, 1944. By mid-September, the camp reached its maximum strength of 711 prisoners. The prisoner numbers subsequently decreased, as sometimes prisoners from Graz were transferred to the Peggau subcamp. On December 6, 1944, the Leibnitz detachment was reinforced with another 100 prisoners from Mauthausen.²

The overwhelming majority of the Leibnitz subcamp prisoners were Soviet citizens and Poles. There were small groups of other nationalities—Yugoslavs, Frenchmen, and Italians. There was even a Chinese citizen imprisoned in Leibnitz. All prisoners were accommodated in four prisoner barracks that were built on a cornfield close to the village of Afrenz. The prisoner-functionaries were almost exclusively German and Austrian prisoners and wore the green triangle. There were three camp leaders—the first was SS-Hauptsturmführer Hans Altfuldich. He was transferred to the Grossraming work detachment, and later he was ordered back to the main camp. He was then replaced in Leibnitz by SS-Hauptscharführer Paul Riecken. Riecken was replaced in June 1944 by SS-Untersturmführer Fritz Miroff, who was ordered from Linz I to Leibnitz. Riecken took command again in the autumn of 1944 when Miroff was transferred to the newly created camp at Peggau. The guards, according to statements by the former prisoner Robert Grissinger, numbered between 40 and 50 and were SS ethnic Germans coming from outside the Reich.³

The prisoners had to cover a distance each day of 500 meters (1,640 feet) to reach their work site in the tunnels. This way was fenced in by a 2-meter-high (6.6-foot-high) barbed-wire fence, called by the prisoners the “Lion’s Path” (Löwengang). Initially, the prisoners were solely involved in excavating the tunnels. As with most subcamps in which there was to be relocation underground of armaments industries, the death rate in Leibnitz was relatively high. The working conditions and thereby survival chances, however, improved in the summer of 1944 when the production of aircraft engines and truck parts began. The relocation of production from Graz-Thondorf was accompanied by 2,000 civilian workers and 1,000 machines. The former prisoner, Grissinger, spoke of shifts between 10 and 11 hours that were reduced to 9 hours in winter because of the increased possibilities of escape.⁴

Grissinger also mentioned that the Leibnitz subcamp since the summer of 1944 had relatively good living conditions when compared with other detachments. The improved

survival chances are reflected in the death statistics in the roll-call books. Between February 1944 and April 1945, about 75 prisoners died in the Leibnitz subcamp. About 50 prisoners were transferred back to the main camp, presumably because they were ill or weak. The roll-call book records that 7 prisoners escaped at different times, with no indication of recapture.

In the beginning, the dead were taken to Mauthausen or to the Graz crematorium for cremation. Later, the camp command decided to bury the corpses in a mass grave close to the camp. After the war, 20 corpses were exhumed from the grave; 12 were buried in the Ehrenhausen cemetery, and the mortal remains of 8 French prisoners presumably were taken back to France.

In March 1945, as part of preparations to dissolve the camp, the SS guard, consisting mainly of the ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche), was replaced with Hungarian members of the German Home Guard (Volkssturm). On April 2, 1945, the camp was dissolved but only after the order was given to destroy all official documents. Then 467 prisoners were sent on foot from Leibnitz via Judenburg, the Phyrn Pass, and Gmunden in the direction of the Ebensee subcamp.⁵ On April 18, 1945, 407 arrived.⁶ Some 49 prisoners escaped when they were near Judenburg on April 6, 1945.⁷ According to Grissinger, many of them, however, were captured and killed by the local population and left lying along the route as a deterrent. And 8 prisoners who were no longer capable of walking were shot by the guards.⁸

The three camp commandants at Leibnitz were tried after the war before a U.S. military court in Dachau. Hans Altfuldisch, the first Leibnitz Lagerführer, was convicted during the main trial of Mauthausen war criminals, sentenced to death, and hanged.⁹ The camp leaders Fritz Miroff and Paul Riecken were sentenced in a subsequent Dachau Trial. Miroff was executed in 1948.¹⁰

SOURCES Secondary sources contain little on the Leibnitz-Graz subcamp. References to the Leibnitz subcamp as part of the armaments production by Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG are to be found in Bertrand Perz, *Projekt Quarz: Steyr-Daimler-Puch und das Konzentrationslager Melk* (Vienna, 1991). Barbara Stelzl in an essay on National Socialist camps in Graz and the surrounding area also refers to the Peggau subcamp; see “Lager in Graz: Zur Unterbringung ausländischer Zivilarbeiter, Kriegsgefangener und KZ-Häftlinge 1938–1945,” in *Graz in der NS-Zeit 1938–1945*, ed. Stefan Karner (Graz, 1998), pp. 353–369. Anita Farkas has written on the Mauthausen subcamps in Styria: “Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungsbedarf in der Steiermark: Auf den Spuren der Erinnerung an die Konzentrationslager Aflenz, Peggau und Schloss Lind” (Ph.D. diss., Klagenfurt, 2001). The essence of her work has now been published in the article “Erinnerungsbedarf an die Konzentrations-Nebenlager von Mauthausen in der Steiermark,” in *Die Mühen der Erinnerung: Zeitgeschichtliche Aufklärung gegen den Gedächtnisschwund*, ed. Peter Gstettner et al. (Vienna, 2002), 1:62–78. An unpublished collection of interviews with local inhabitants has been put together by Herbert

Harb, “Das KZ im Dorf Aflenz: February 1944–April 1945” (n.p., n.d.).

Source material on the Leibnitz-Graz subcamp is to be found in AG-M. In addition to names’ lists, transport lists, and reports, there is a copy of the Leibnitz Evidence Book, the original of which is located in the IPN. Besides that, there is an interview with the former prisoner Robert Grissinger as well as those of other survivors. Further scattered material is to be found in IPN. The trial files against Hans Altfuldisch as well as Fritz Miroff and Paul Riecken are held in NARA, RG 549. Files regarding the plans by Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG to be relocated underground are held in the BA-B collection of RmfRuK. Finally, the short memoirs of survivor Edmund Glazewski should be mentioned: “Das KZ-Lager Aflenz,” in *Ehrenhausen: Festschrift*, ed. Stadtgemeinde Ehrenhausen (Graz, 1990), pp. 332–333.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Transport list of February 8, 1944, AG-M, Y/44.
2. Details on prisoner movements are taken from the Roll Call Book of the Work Detachment, AG-M, E/6/11.
3. Record of interview with Robert Grissinger, October 20, 1967, AG-M, V/3/23.
4. Ibid.
5. Report of the Lagerschreibstube on Prisoner Movements during the Evacuation Marches, April 9, 1945, AG-M, B/60/11.
6. Variation Report of the Ebensee subcamp, April 20, 1945, AG-M, B/35/1.
7. IPN, Mauthausen Concentration Camp 24, k.81 (Escape Report April 6, 1945); see also Variation Report of the Ebensee subcamp, April 20, 1945, AG-M, B/35/1.
8. Variation Report of the Ebensee subcamp, April 20, 1945, AG-M, B/35/1.
9. NARA, RG 153, *USA v. Hans Altfuldisch, et al.*, Case 000-50-5.
10. NARA, RG 153, *USA v. Eduard Dlouby, et al.*, Case 000-50-5-14.

LENZING

The Lenzing subcamp was located in Lenzing (part of the community of Pettighofen) on the banks of the Ager River near Lake Atter in Oberösterreich (until 1945: Reichsgau Oberdonau). It began on October 30, 1944 (other sources: November 3, 1944), with the arrival of a transport of about 500 women from Auschwitz via Mauthausen. The women were accommodated in two buildings of the Zellwolle und Papierfabrik Lenzing (also Lenzinger Zellwolle-AG), both of which were fenced in with barbed wire. The factories produced synthetic products, including uniform pieces for the Wehrmacht. The factory, which had a long tradition, was originally owned by Jews. Immediately following the Anschluss of Austria with Germany, the factory burned down in circumstances that were never explained and was then “ary-anized.” An extensive rebuilding program began, but it was



A group of female survivors stands outside the barracks of the newly liberated Lenzing subcamp of Mauthausen.
USHMM WS #62764, COURTESY OF ARNOLD SAMUELSON

not finished by the end of the war. In the last years of the war, around 50 percent of the inmates were forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) from Poland, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Slovakia, Greece, and France. The workforce was accommodated close to the factory.

According to historian Andreas Baumgartner, there had been close connections between the synthetic wool factory and the Mauthausen concentration camp since 1943. The factory produced the so-called Biosyn-Wurst or Mycel-Wurst, which was produced from albumen, with the help of a fungal culture from the wastewater arising from the production of the synthetic wool. The sausage was tested on the Mauthausen prisoners. Production ceased when the sausage caused severe inflammation in the digestive organs of the prisoners.

The women who arrived in Lenzing constructed their own two-tiered bunk beds in the former paper mill's large factory hall. Their quarters were separated into four "Blocks." SS officers arrived on November 3. On that date the camp officially began operations. There were 20 SS men, including camp leader Karl Gieseler. They were responsible for outside security. There were also female SS in the camp whose mistreatment of the prisoners has been recorded.¹ By the end of January 1945, two additional transports of female prisoners had arrived at Lenzing from Auschwitz. According to Baumgartner, there were now 577

women in the camp. Older accounts state that there were 565 women in the camp, but this figure now appears to be superseded. Baumgartner states that among the women there were 323 Hungarian Jewish women, 65 Poles, 58 women from the Reich Protectorate of Böhmen und Mähren, 38 Russians, 39 Germans and Austrians, and 35 Slovaks; 528 women were Jewish, and 49 were political prisoners. The youngest female in the Lenzing subcamp was 12 years old. There was at least one pregnant woman who at the end of January 1945 was forced to abort her baby in the Mauthausen infirmary.

The women worked in the camp; they built roads and air-raid bunkers and worked in a synthetic wool factory. Despite the highly toxic nature of their work, including exposure to hydrogen sulfide, the women were given neither protective clothing nor protective glasses. Many women suffered temporary blindness. Hella Wertheim, one of the prisoners, has written the following about the work that damaged her health:

I worked mostly at the spinning wheel, where a three-meter [almost ten feet] wide machine with fifty-five nozzles on either side was immersed into the spinning bath and then forced the material that was to be spun through its many arms into the nozzles. Then the threads were extruded through the nozzles. We were threatened with death if we made a mistake. Sometimes the nozzles did not work; they were clogged. If I could not unclog them, then all I could do was summon my courage and go to the foreman and ask for help. . . . [O]ften the clouds of sulfur got into my eyes so that I could not see for hours. All had been forced here, but at least the foreign workers [*Fremdarbeiter*] were given protective glasses and clothing. We were given nothing to protect our eyes. When I could not see and could not work, I was taken to the sick bay on the first floor. There I had to wait until the effect of the sulfuric acid wore off.²

The women had to get up each morning at 3:00. They then marched for half an hour to work at the paper factory, accompanied by male and female SS with dogs. The daily work began at 5:00 A.M. The women worked in two shifts each of 12 hours for three weeks without a break. Then they had two days off. The strict working conditions and the extreme lack of food resulted on January 5, 1945, in the first prisoner death. Three more deaths followed. According to Baumgartner, many of the women suffered from hunger edemas (mostly on the eyelids and legs), skin diseases, and tuberculosis. On the other hand, many women did not report their illnesses because there was a directive from the main Mauthausen camp that no more than 50 women could be simultaneously sick in the subcamp. The camp doctor, Dr. Bauer, threatened the sick women with transport back to Mauthausen (which probably would have meant their deaths). The files do not reveal,

however, any return transports from Lenzing to Mauthausen. There is a record that on April 17, 1945, four Soviet prisoners escaped.

On January 11, 1945, there was a serious incident when the prisoners were on their way to work. The female SS forced the column of women to cross railway tracks immediately in front of an oncoming train. Five women, all Hungarian Jews, were killed by the train. Shortly after the incident the factory ceased production, probably because there were no longer supplies of raw materials. The women were then occupied in cleaning, repairing, and painting. The SS guards fled the camp on May 4, 1945, as Allied troops approached. Only the factory security guards remained. The subcamp was liberated by U.S. troops on May 5, 1945.

SOURCES Andreas Baumgartner describes the subcamp in *Die vergessenen Frauen von Mauthausen: Die weiblichen Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen und ihre Geschichte* (Vienna: Verlag Österreich, 1997), pp. 148–159. See also Florian Freund's article on the Lenzing subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 389–391; and Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995), p. 75. For further information, see also Christian Hawle, Gerhard Kriechbaum, and Margret Lehner, *Täter und Opfer: Nationalsozialistische Gewalt und Widerstand im Bezirk Vöcklabruck 1938–1945; Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1995). 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: 179; and in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1821. For investigations against female guards at the Lenzing camp (not one was ever put on trial), see Jeanne Touissant, “Unter Ausnutzung ihrer dienstlichen Gewalt. Österreichische Volksgerichtsverfahren gegen ehemalige SS-Aufseherinnen aus Oberdonau: 1945–1950,” in *Frauen in Oberdonau. Geschlechtsspezifische Bruchlinien im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Gabriella Hauch (Linz, 2006), pp. 399–423.

The AG-M includes documents on the Mauthausen subcamp under references K 4 D/1 to 6 (copies of Rectification of 36 false names of female inmates from various prisoner reports); K5/6, E20/17 (SS list of prisoners' and guard personnel status from March 19 to April 30, 1945); K4d/4 (English-language statutory declaration by five prisoners on April 18, 1945, before Major Eugene Cohen, the investigating officer of the liberating army); K 4 A1 to K 4 F 1 (copies of various reports on female prisoners in the subcamps); K/11/01 (memoirs of six French female prisoners); and K 4d/4 (statutory declarations by five prisoners on April 18, 1945). The ZdL investigated the Lenzing subcamp. Its investigations here are held in file record IV 419 AR-Z 287/77 at BA-L. Hella Wertheim, a former Lenzing prisoner, describes the camp in Hella Wertheim and Manfred Rockel, eds., *Immer alles geduldig getragen: Als Mädchen in Theresienstadt, Auschwitz und Lenzing, seit 1945 in der Grafschaft Bent-*

heim (Nordhorn: Museumsverein für die Grafschaft Bentheim, 1993), pp. 61–67.

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NOTES

1. See the statements by prisoners in the AG-M, K4d/4 (statutory declaration dated April 18, 1945, by five prisoners before the YS investigating officer of the liberating army, Major Eugene Cohen).

2. Hella Wertheim and Manfred Rockel, eds., *Immer alles geduldig getragen: Als Mädchen in Theresienstadt, Auschwitz und Lenzing, seit 1945 in der Grafschaft Bentheim* (Nordhorn: Museumsverein für die Grafschaft Bentheim, 1993), p. 63.

LINZ I

Following the successful cooperative venture in the construction of the aircraft engine factory in Steyr in 1941 between the SS, on the one hand, and the Reichswerke “Hermann Göring” (RWHG) and its subsidiary company Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG (SDP), on the other, the RWHG looked for other cooperative ventures in which concentration camp labor could be used. A venture between RWHG and the SS for processing timber in Bachmanning failed in the autumn of 1941 because the SS did not want to participate in armaments industries external to the concentration camp system. However, a few months later, in May 1942, there was a “successful” cooperative venture in the construction of a hydroelectric power plant at Ternberg, where on May 15, a Mauthausen subcamp was erected. It was also in 1941 that the SS-owned German Earth and Stone Works (DESt) in Prambachkirchen wished to construct a large brick mill, which—with the exploitation of concentration camp prisoners—was intended to produce 30 million bricks per year. However, Reich Minister for Armaments and Munitions Albert Speer stopped the project because it was not important enough for the war effort.

The blast furnace ovens at the RWHG commenced operation in Linz in the autumn of 1941 and produced large quantities of clinker (or slag). At this point, both the RWHG and DESt became interested in cooperating with each other to recycle the clinker into building materials. In July 1942, the RWHG's managing board chairman, Paul Pleiger, suggested to the SS that they should cooperate in constructing a plant to process the clinker. While agreement was quickly reached between chief of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Oswald Pohl and Pleiger, pursuant to which the RWHG was “to hand over the processing of the clinker to the SS in a generous way,” there followed long and difficult negotiations in settling the contract for the establishment of the undertaking and the distribution of profits.¹

It was only the pressure of Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler that resulted in a conclusion—“for all undertakings

Pleiger-SS, fifty-fifty is to be the sacred rule.”² A contract was then signed on November 7, 1942, to establish the DEStHochofenschlackenwerk (Blast Furnace Oven Slag Factory), Linz/Donau. This contract provided that the DESt on behalf of and at the cost of the Hütte Linz (metallurgical plant) was to construct a clinker processing facility and a labor camp, both of which were to be leased from the Hütte Linz. The DESt processed the slag produced by the Hütte Linz’s blast furnaces.³

The construction of the factory and the camp was managed by the construction team headed by engineer Fischer, who originally was to supervise the construction of the large brick factory at Prambachkirchen. Until 1944, the operation was directed from Prambachkirchen. Beginning in the middle of December 1942, a work detachment consisting of 30 prisoners was taken daily from Mauthausen to Linz, where at first they built four prisoner barracks.⁴ Once the first two barracks had been finished, 100 Mauthausen prisoners were transferred on January 11, 1943, to the “SS-Labor Camp Linz.”

The prisoners were first busy constructing the factory buildings. The production of building material began on July 1, 1943. Despite the ongoing production, the majority of the prisoners continued to be occupied with construction work. Pohl inspected the clinker processing facilities and the concentration camp on May 25, 1943, and promised additional prisoners for the construction work. In July 1943, the WVHA allocated an additional 400 prisoners to complete the exit road for the clinker works facility and for the construction of an entrance road to the facility. Approximately 100 of these prisoners were transferred to Linz I on July 31, but the transfer of the remainder was delayed due to the limitations of the camp’s capacity to house the prisoners. The lack of building material meant that construction of the fourth barrack began only in January 1944.

Other organizations not directly involved also requested the use of concentration camp prisoners. The local Nazi group Spallerhof was successful in obtaining labor for the construction of air defense facilities at Bindermichl.

The RWHG intended from the spring of 1944 to extend the use of prisoners to the ever more important task of tank production at its subsidiary Alpine Montanbetriebe Hermann Göring Linz, the iron works factory Oberdonau GmbH, and the steel factory Stahlbau GmbH. The general director of the RWHG in Linz, Wilhelm Schilken, successfully negotiated the allocation of 6,000 prisoners for this task. As a result, on May 22, 1944, the construction of a second subcamp for the RWHG began in Linz. This camp is known as Linz III. A large number of prisoners destined for this camp were temporarily held in Linz I.

On July 25, 1944, Linz I was largely destroyed in an Allied air raid on the Linz industrial area. A large number of prisoners, at least 73, died during the bombing raid, but many corpses or body parts could not be identified. As a result of the destruction, Linz I could no longer be used. It was dissolved on August 3, 1944, and the remaining 631 prisoners were transferred that day to Linz III.

Altogether, 1,756 prisoners were transferred to Linz I. Between August 1943 and April 1944, the number was between 520 and 569 prisoners. After April 14, 1944, the number of prisoners increased constantly because the prisoner tasks were always being extended. On July 14, 1944, the high-water mark for prisoner numbers, 958, was reached.

It is possible to reconstruct the prison composition for 1943: 39 percent of the prisoners were Poles, 30 percent were Yugoslavs, 13 percent were from the Soviet Union, and 12 percent were from the German Reich. Some 72 percent of the prisoners were political prisoners. Another 19 percent were being held in limited “preventive custody” or as “Reich forced labor” (AZR). In Linz I, there were also a smaller number of “Russian civilian workers” (6 percent), prisoners of war (POWs), and Wehrmacht members.

Even though the prisoners who were in both Linz Reichswerke camps state that they preferred Linz I, the conditions there were poor. Food was inadequate, as were the accommodations in stone barracks. The camp was overcrowded from the spring of 1944. The prisoners had to do heavy physical work. The so-called clinker detachments were feared by the prisoners—the prisoners had to work in the clinker pits, located in the open air, and there were often accidents. From the camp’s inception, SS-Obersturmbannführer Fritz Miroff was its leader. Miroff was not only Lagerführer in Linz I, but he served also at the main camp and the subcamp of Gusen. He also was camp leader of Bretstein, Leibnitz, and Peggau. Miroff was sentenced to death in proceedings against Eduard Dlouhy and others. He was executed on November 26, 1948.⁵

The Dachau war crimes trials, conducted by the U.S. military judicial authorities, were proceedings against 31 people who were accused of having committed crimes in Linz I or Linz III. Three of the proceedings related predominantly to events in the RWHG subcamps in Linz: the proceedings against Hans Bergerhoff and others, which included the camp Lagerführer of Linz III, Karl Schöpferle, three members of the camp guard, and block and work detachment leaders. Of the 12 accused, 5 were sentenced to death, and 1 was acquitted.⁶ Proceedings against Josef Bartl and others included 4 members of the camp guard as well as 2 civilian skilled workers. Prison terms of between 3 and 25 years were handed down.⁷ There was a proceeding solely against the Rapportführer of Linz I and Linz III, Hermann Sturm. He was sentenced to a 25 year imprisonment.⁸

Linz I, Linz III, and the RWHG were the subject of proceedings in the main Nuremberg Trials. The RWHG’s managing board chairman, Paul Pleiger, was sentenced to 15 years in jail in the subsequent United States Nuremberg Trial No. 11.

SOURCES A comprehensive history of the RWHG subcamps in Linz, on which this article is based, is to be found in Bertrand Perz’s publication “KZ-Häftlinge als Zwangsarbeiter der Reichswerke ‘Hermann Göring’ in Linz,” in *NS-Zwangsarbeit: Der Standort Linz der Reichswerke Hermann*

Göring AG Berlin, 1938–1945, ed. Oliver Rathkolb (Vienna, 2001), pp. 449–590. The same author has also published “Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager in Linz,” in *Nationalsozialismus in Linz*, ed. Fritz Mayrhofer and Walter Schuster (Linz, 2001), 2: 1041–1094. The first academic study of the Linz subcamps was by Helmut Fiereder, “Nebenlager des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen in der Hütte Linz der ‘Reichswerke Hermann Göring,’” *HJSL* (1986): 95–113; at a later date he contributed to a catalog for an exhibition in Linz on the camps—see *Betriebskörperschaften der Voest-Alpine Stahl Linz GmbH und Jubiläumfond*, eds., *50 Jahre Voest* (Linz: Gedenkstätte KZ Linz I/III, 1999). Reference should also be made to the contribution by Fiereder in the volume *Der Nationalsozialismus in Linz* (as above) which includes the prisoner statistics referred to: “Die Häftlinge in den Konzentrationslagern Linz I/III und Linz II,” 2: 1095–1106. Hans Maršálek’s *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen* (Vienna, 1995) should also be mentioned. Information on the high-temperature-oven clinker factory can also be found in Enno Georg, *Die wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen der SS* (Stuttgart, 1963); and Walter Naasner, *SS-Wirtschaft und SS-Verwaltung: “Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungsbauptamt und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen” und weitere Dokumente* (Düsseldorf, 1998).

The AG-M holds the report of survivor Ottokar Merinsky. This archive contains numerous lists of names, transport lists, and roll-call reports. Material on the Reichswerke camps is to be found in numerous locations, some of which are as follows: in Austria, in the ASt-Ln, IfZ-UW/ÖGZ, and the Oö.La; in Germany, in BA-B, the ASt-N, and the IfZ; in Poland, at APMO and IPN. The NARA and the BA-L (formerly ZdL) also hold relevant documents relating to postwar trials. The NARA reference is RG 338, Records of US Army Commands, 1942–, Records of Headquarters, US Army Europe (USA-REUR), War Crimes Branch, War Crimes Case Files (“Cases Tried”), 1945–1959. Christian Bernadac, “Linz I–Linz III, in *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III* (Paris, 1976), pp. 149–205, has published reports of French survivors. Pio Bigo was a prisoner in both Reichswerke camps and reported on his experiences in *Il triangolo di Gliwice: Memoria di sette Lager* (Alessandria, 1998).

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NOTES

1. Telex, Pohl to Wolff dated July 28, 1942, Nuremberg Document NID 12833.

2. Copy Telex, RFSS to Generaldirektor Pleiger, February 29, 1942, copy dated October 23, 1942, Nuremberg Document NID 12829.

3. DESt Composition and Analysis of the Examination Reports for 1941–1943, BA-B, NS 3/719; Agreement between Pohl and Pleiger, November 7, 1942, Nuremberg Document NG 2915.

4. Memoir by Ottokar Merinsky, 1962, AG-M, V/3/41.

5. NARA, RG 338, Records of US Army Commands, 1942–, Records of Headquarters, US Army Europe (USA-REUR), War Crimes Branch, War Crimes Case Files (“Cases Tried”), 1945–1959; hereafter NARA, War Crimes: Case 000-50-5-14, *USA v. Eduard Dlouby, et al.*

6. NARA, War Crimes: Case 000-50-5-1, *USA v. Hans Bergerhoff, et al.*

7. NARA, War Crimes: Case 000-50-5-24, *USA v. Josef Bartl, et al.*

8. NARA, War Crimes: Case 000-50-5-41, *USA v. Hermann Sturm.*

LINZ II

The region of “Ostmark” became a target within reach of the Allied air forces after the American and British troops had captured North Africa and Sicily. The first air raid on the Ostmark was carried out on Wiener Neustadt on August 13, 1943. The city of Linz was an important target for the Allied air raids because of the numerous industrial concerns, first of all, the Reichswerke “Hermann Göring” (RWHG). Since the beginning of 1943, the city of Linz had taken measures to protect the civilian population. However, there were delays in the expansion of the existing air-raid shelters. From March 1944 at the latest, all available resources from the construction sector were committed to the extension of the “Stock Cellar” (*Aktienkeller*)—the steel rolling mill (*Wälzlagerwerk*) of the Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG (SDP) was transferred there after the air raid on Steyr-Münichholz. Therefore, there was almost no workforce or work material left available for anti-aircraft defense construction for the civilian population.

Adolf Hitler paid special attention to this city where he spent his youth and personally looked into issues regarding the anti-aircraft defense for the civilian population. He appointed the Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler to look into this matter.¹ With the involvement of the SS and Hans Kammeler, head of the Office Group C in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which was responsible for the construction done by the SS—the responsibility for anti-aircraft defense as a rule belonged to the city administration and the police—the use of prisoners became obvious at the time. The head of the WVHA, Oswald Pohl, could report to Himmler on February 7, 1944, that the deployment of 300 concentration camp prisoners, 30 percent of whom were skilled construction workers, was secured.² With the extension of the existing tunnels in the vicinity of downtown Linz, the capacity of these anti-aircraft defense facilities should have been considerably expanded.

The role of the SS in the construction of anti-aircraft defense in Linz was limited mainly to the “lending” of concentration camp prisoners to construction companies. It is known from the testimony of a survivor that the companies Karl Pöchtrager, Karl Schwarz, and Asphalt und Dachdeckungs-gesellschaft GmbH (Asphalt and Roofing Company, Ltd., AS-DAG) used prisoners for the work done in the air-raid shelters. Documents from the Pöchtrager company show that the prisoners were used for reinforcing, digging, assembling, and plumbing work as well as for transport.³

On February 21, 1944, 100 prisoners from Mauthausen were transferred to Linz for anti-aircraft defense construction.

930 MAUTHAUSEN

Since the camp in the RWHG in Linz already functioned as a subcamp, the newly established one was called Linz II.

Over the course of the subcamp's existence, a total of 380 prisoners were transferred to Linz II. The highest occupancy at any one time was reached on August 21, 1944, when it had 285 prisoners. From 240 prisoners whose names are known, about 49 percent came from the Soviet Union, 33 percent from Poland, and 7 percent from the German Reich; 40 percent of these prisoners were listed under the category of political prisoner, 37 percent as Russian civilian workers, and 7 percent each were Soviet war prisoners and prisoners "watched over in secure conditions."⁴

The conditions of imprisonment in the Linz II camp were extremely bad. On the one hand, this is explained by the hard physical work the prisoners had to do underground during the daytime. On the other hand, it is explained by the fact that the prisoners were housed directly in the shelters and spent most of their imprisonment time without daylight or fresh air. However, the food provided by the city of Linz was better than in other camps. Eight prisoners died in the Linz II camp, which would correspond to a death rate of approximately 2 percent. But with this number, one has to take into consideration that the prisoners from this camp who were critically ill and unfit for work were transferred back to the main camp. Moreover, Linz II did not have its own infirmary. The camp was served by the medical personnel from the Linz III camp.

There is almost no documentation about the guarding of the camp. There is also only a little information from memoirs. The camp was guarded by approximately 50 guards belonging to the SS. SS-Oberscharführer Christoph Werner was in charge of the camp. Members of the theater orchestra of Linz became responsible for the guarding of the camp on instructions of Nazi Gauleiter August Eigruber in April 1945. They were described as "very friendly" by a survivor.

SOURCES This essay is based mainly on Bertrand Perz's account of the Linz II camp, "Auf Wunsch der Führers . . . : Der Bau von Luftschutzzstollen in Linz durch Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Linz II," 22: 9–10 (1995): 342–356. Perz subsequently published this essay in a slightly changed version in Fritz Mayrhofer and Walter Schuster, eds., *Nationalsozialismus in Linz*, 2 vols. (Linz, 2001), 2: 1041–1094. The only text about this subcamp before this publication was the short presentation in Gisela Rabitsch's "Konzentrationslager in Österreich (1938–1945): Überblick und Geschehen" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Wien, 1967). Information about the air-raid defense measures in Linz can be found in Richard Kutschera, "Die Fliegerangriffe auf Linz im Zweiten Weltkrieg," *Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz* (Linz, 1966).

To a larger extent, there is material on the construction measures regarding the air-raid defense in the ASt-Ln. Most likely because the prisoners in Linz were mainly Soviet citizens and Poles, only a few accounts about this camp are known to exist. One account comes from the German prisoner Fritz Grabowski, June 1, 1945, ITS, Arolsen Historic Section (His-

torical Documents Concerning Various Concentration Camps, File 279); another can be found in the private archive of Bertrand Perz (Letter by Stefan Szulborski, Piaseczno, Poland, to Bertrand Perz, August 19, 1985). Documents on the negotiations at the leadership level of the SS can be found in the BA-B.

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NOTES

1. Telex, Himmler to Pohl from January 4, 1944, BA-B, NS 19/1900.
2. Telex, SS-WVHA Pohl to Himmler concerning the air-raid defense constructions in Linz from February 7, 1944, BA-B, NS 19/1900.
3. Construction company Karl Pöchtrager, invoices regarding performed management work and missed hours at the shelter construction Märzenkeller, ASt-Ln, B 29a, "Luftschutz 1944–1963, Part 1."
4. Roll-call book of the outside details, daily reports from February 21, 1944, to March 15, 1945, E/6/11; Movements in the KL Mauthausen in the month of April 1945, E/6/7, both AG-M; or AG-M, Data Bank Project "Erfassung aller dokumentierten Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen." Data bank questionnaire for prisoners from the subcamp Linz II (unfinished project, as of July 30, 2003).

LINZ III

As a result of the expansion of the prisoner deployment at the Reichswerke "Hermann Göring" (RWHG) in Linz, another camp had to be set up in addition to the already existing Linz I camp. Prisoners were deployed to the RWHG's weapon-producing subsidiary businesses Alpine Montanbetriebe Hermann Göring, Linz; metal plant Eisenwerk Oberdonau GmbH; steel enterprise Stahlbau GmbH; and Hütte Linz (to support the expansion of this iron and steel work). The space for imprisonment was too small in the Linz I camp for the housing of additional prisoners.

The prisoners of the Linz III camp were deployed initially mainly in the weapons production business at the Oberdonau metal plant and Stahlbau steel factory. As a result of the closure of the Linz I camp, the prisoners from Linz III also had to work for the German Earth and Stone Works (DESt) in the blast furnace slag processing plant (*Hochofenschlackenwerk*) Linz/Donau. The work at the iron and steel work became the most important deployment location, and the prisoners were used for different jobs there; 60 percent of the prisoners were deployed at Hütte in March 1945.¹ In addition to the prisoners deployed at the Hütte iron and steel work, a large number of prisoners were also included who actually had to work outside the RWHG at clearing up operations for the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways), for the construction of air-raid shelters, or for the post administration. The deployment at the railroad in particular became more and more important. As a whole, 49 percent of the prisoners were engaged in the extraction of raw material for the Hütte Linz and DESt.

Another 39 percent of the prisoners were deployed for weapons production at the Oberdonau metal plants and at the Stahlbau steel factory.²

Because of a lack of construction material as a result of the war conditions, the location chosen for the subcamp, Linz III, was the already existing Camp 54. Italian military internees (IMIs) had been housed there earlier. The camp was located on an island between the Traun and the Mühlbach rivers and was consequently easy to guard, though exposed to flooding. On May 22, 1944, an advance party (Vorkommando) consisting of 30 prisoners was transferred to Linz to modify the existing Camp 54 into a subcamp of Mauthausen. The actual opening of the camp took place on May 26, 1944.³ The occupancy of the camp rose very fast. On June 6, 398 prisoners were transferred to Linz III, and on June 30, there were already 1,402 prisoners in the subcamp.

In the course of Allied air raids on the Linz industrial zone on July 25, 1944, the subcamps existing in the area were hit. After this air raid, 19 prisoners from the Linz III camp were reported dead and 97 missing. The large number of missing prisoners can be explained by the fact that many corpses could no longer be identified—it can be assumed that the majority of the ones reported missing were actually dead. The Linz I camp was damaged to such an extent during this air raid that it could not be used anymore. This was the reason why the remaining 631 prisoners were transferred on August 3, 1944, to the Linz III camp. The number of prisoners in Linz III went up to 2,817 after this transfer.

The highest occupancy was reached on October 6, 1944, with 5,660 prisoners. A total of 6,787 prisoners were brought to the Linz III camp,⁴ of which 5,037 are known by name.⁵ The evaluation of that data concerning the prisoners known by name reveals that people from 21 nations were deported to this subcamp. About 38.2 percent of the prisoners came from the Soviet Union, 37.1 percent were from Poland, 7 percent were from France, 5.6 percent were from the German Reich, 4.7 percent were from Italy, 4.1 percent were from Yugoslavia, and a smaller number came from other European nations. If classified in categories, the largest group of prisoners were the political prisoners (49.2 percent); 35 percent were “Russian civilian workers,” 8.9 percent were Jews, and 2.4 percent were prisoners “watched over in secure conditions.” There were a smaller number of prisoners belonging to the following categories in the Linz III camp: “§ 175” (homosexuals), “Forced Labor Reich” (AZR), “Bible Students” (Jehovah’s Witnesses), “Limited preventative incarceration,” prisoners of war (POWs), “Red Spaniards,” members of the Wehrmacht, and French and Polish civilian workers.

As can be seen from the number of prisoners, the conditions of imprisonment in the Linz III camp were totally different from those in the Linz I camp, where there were at most 958 prisoners. Survivor Ottokar Merinsky compared the two RWHG camps as follows: “Camp III was in comparison to camp I like a home for the poor and the Hotel Sacher.

Instead of stonewall blocks there were old wooden huts. When there was high water the streets were under water. Along the huts were boardwalks. There were no toilets in the huts; the latrines were 20 to 100 m (66 to 328 feet) away from the blocks. The camp was filled above its capacity, and the block leaders were like raging dogs. Nobody could be sure that he could not be pushed into the water from the boardwalk simply because of a leader’s moody impulse and shot dead with a revolver.”⁶ The different living conditions in the two camps cannot be explained only by the much higher number of prisoners, by the inferior construction material used for the Linz III camp, and by the fact that the camp was located near high water. The difference also has to be seen in connection with the existence of the Linz III camp at a later moment in time. As the war progressed, the increasing pressure on weapons production as well as the deterioration of the supply of basic goods for everyday use had a detrimental effect on the prisoners’ working conditions. In the last weeks before the liberation of the camp, getting supplies to the camp broke down completely. These conditions generated a large number of illnesses. For this reason, Linz III set up its own infirmary and, later on, also a second hut for the critically ill.⁷ On March 21, 1945, 998 of the 5,324 prisoners were reported sick, about 20 percent.⁸

The different imprisonment conditions can be noticed when comparing the death rates in the two camps. While 129 deaths were recorded in the Linz I camp, 701 were recorded in Linz III—these numbers do not include the prisoners who were unable to work and who were transferred back to the main camp. If one leaves aside the victims of the Allied air raid from July 25, 1944, then it can be concluded that the death rate for Linz I was about 0.5 percent in the time span of one and a half years; for Linz III, it was about 9 percent. Most deaths in Linz III were recorded in the weeks before liberation; 314 prisoners died in April 1945 alone. In this phase, the camp leader, Schöpferle, is supposed to have given the order to kill the prisoners in the infirmary by lethal injection, by starvation, and by electric chair (*elektrischen Stuhl*).⁹ About 50 sick prisoners were killed in May 1945 by alternating hot and cold showers. Between 110 and 112 Jewish prisoners were isolated in a hut in order to kill them by starvation. According to the statement of one of these prisoners, five days later, only 60 prisoners in the hut were still alive.¹⁰

The prisoners from Linz III were liberated on May 5, 1945, by U.S. forces. The accounts of the liberation diverge from one another. While the sick remained in the camp, the rest had been evacuated to the surrounding area of the city of Linz. One account states that these prisoners were liberated there, while according to other accounts the prisoners disarmed the guards and started to march back to the camp.

The guarding of the camp was done by the 6th Guard Company of the SS-Totenkopfsturmbann (Death’s Head Guard Battalion) Mauthausen as well as by members of the Wehrmacht and probably also the 10th SS-Totenkopf Guard

Company.¹¹ Up to 370 members of the SS guarded the Linz III camp. In addition, members of the RWHG's plant protection (*Werkschutz*) were also assigned to guard prisoners. Civilians recruited for the Volkssturm (German Home Guard), "men sixty years and older," were also assigned to guard duty toward the end of the war. This circumstance was perceived as a relief by the prisoners.¹²

The leader of the camp from its opening until May 1945 was SS-Obersturmbannführer Schöpplerle. His civilian profession was that of an architect; for this reason, he was deployed to some camps for camp construction, starting in May 1941, in the subcamps Vöcklabruck, Bretstein, Grossraming, Wiener Neustadt, Schwechat, and Redl-Zipf. Schöpplerle was sentenced to death in one of the trials against war criminals run by the U.S. Army in Dachau and executed in 1948.¹³

In addition to the postwar trials mentioned in the entry for Linz I, two succeeding trials run by the U.S. military court in Dachau are to be mentioned. In both trials the death sentence was pronounced against members of the SS who had performed duties in the Linz III camp. SS-Sanitätsdienstgrad Christian Wohlrab was sentenced to death for the murder of sick prisoners by injecting them with gasoline and executed on May 15, 1948.¹⁴ The temporary Rapportführer in Linz III, Franz Kofler, was executed after being given the death sentence on May 24, 1948.¹⁵

SOURCES This article relies essentially on the outstanding essay by Bertrand Perz on the subcamps of the RWHG in Linz: "KZ-Häftlinge als Zwangsarbeiter der Reichswerke 'Hermann Göring' in Linz," in *NS-Zwangsarbeit: Der Standort Linz der Reichswerke Hermann Göring AG Berlin, 1938-1945*, ed. Oliver Rathkolb (Vienna, 2001), pp. 449-590.

The AG-M and NARA hold primary sources useful for this essay. Svatá Jarmila published the report of the camp clerk from Linz III, Vaclav Vaclavik, *Milenci SS smrti* (Plzen, 1945). Vaclavik also wrote an unpublished report from memory, probably in 1963. See Mauthausen/Linz I for additional resources.

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NOTES

1. Bertrand Perz, "KZ-Häftlinge als Zwangsarbeiter der Reichswerke 'Hermann Göring' in Linz," in *NS-Zwangsarbeit: Der Standort der Reichswerke Hermann Göring AG Berlin, 1938-1945*, ed. Oliver Rathkolb (Vienna, 2001), p. 506: The utilization of various resources from the file Reichswerke Alpine Montanbetriebe "Hermann Göring" Linz, KZ-H Häftlinge ab I.III. 44, 1944-1945, NARA, T83, Roll 226.

2. Perz, "KZ-Häftlinge als Zwangsarbeiter der Reichswerke 'Hermann Göring' in Linz," p. 509.

3. Report of the activity of the administrative department of the concentration camp Mauthausen, entry from May 26, 1944, French translation published in Christian Bernadac, *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III* (Paris, 1976), p. 363.

4. Roll-call book, daily reports from May 22, 1944, until March 15, 1945, E/6/11; movements in the KL Mauthausen in the month of April 1945, E/6/7, both AG-M.

5. AG-M, Data Bank Project, "Erfassung aller dokumentierten Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen." Data bank questionnaire for prisoners from the subcamp Linz III (unfinished project, as of July 30, 2003).

6. Ottokar Merinsky memoirs, 1962, AG-M, V/3/41.

7. Letter by Karl Kaufmann to the Supreme Allied Court of Appeal, Munich, October 2, 1947, NARA, RG 338. Records of US Army Commands, 1942-, Records of Headquarters, US Army Europe (USAREUR), War Crimes Branch, War Crimes Case Files ("Cases Tried"), 1945-1959 (hereafter cited as "NARA, War Crimes"): Case 000-50-5-41, *USA v. Sturm*.

8. List of the sick prisoners in Mauthausen and subcamps from March 21, 1945, AG-M, H/14/1.

9. Vaclav Vaclavik memoirs (unpub. MSS, Plzen, ca. 1963), p. 56; testimony Dr. Josef Pla from February 5, 1947, NARA, War Crimes: Case 000-50-1, *USA v. Karl Schöpplerle, et al.*

10. Courtroom examination of Markus Griebler, NARA, War Crimes: Case 000-50-5-1, *USA v. Karl Schöpplerle, et al.*, record of the court proceedings, p.29.

11. Roll-call list of the 6th Company KLM; Labor camp Linz III and roll-call list of the Unterführer and men detailed to the KL Mauthausen, labor camp Linz III, both July 28, 1944, Nuremberg document PS 2176.

12. Ottokar Merinsky memoirs, 1962, AG-M, V/3/41.

13. NARA, War Crimes: Case 000-50-51-1, *USA v. Schöpplerle, et al.*

14. NARA, War Crimes: Case 000-50-5-21, *USA v. Josef Kattner, et al.*

15. NARA, War Crimes: Case 000-50-5-23, *USA v. Franz Kofler, et al.*

LOIBLPASS

During 1943, two connected camps were established on the Loiblpass: from June 3, 1943, at an altitude of approximately 950 meters (3,117 feet) above sea level, a concentration camp located on the southern side of the territory of present-day Slovenia; and from November 29, 1943, at an altitude of 1,100 meters (3,609 feet), a concentration camp on the northern side in Carinthia. According to the official terminology, they were "Waffen-SS labor camps." The main concentration camp at Mauthausen supplied the labor camps with approximately 1,650 prisoners in the period from 1943 to 1945.

Following the German invasion of Yugoslavia, the first preparations commenced in 1941 for improving the Loiblpass road and constructing a tunnel 1,561 meters (5,121 feet) long through the highest section. The first planning contracts were signed in May 1941 between civilian construction firms and the relevant Nazi department responsible for construction based in Klagenfurt. Soon thereafter, the state construction company, Organisation Todt (OT), started the surveying and road construction work.

During 1943, the following camp facilities were installed on both sides of the Loiblpass: a camp for civilian workers,

intended for state employees overseeing the construction work and those belonging to the private construction companies; an SS and police camp to house the concentration camp guards; and the actual concentration camp intended for prisoners from Mauthausen. The first prisoner transport arrived from Mauthausen on June 3, 1943, comprising 330 prisoners, including 316 French prisoners, who had been selected in Mauthausen for the "Detachment X" at Loibl.

The concentration camp guards were recruited from men of the 3. SS-Totenkopfsturmbann (Death's Head Guard Battalion) based in Mauthausen. They were supplemented and reinforced by police guards from the SS-Alpenland unit.

New prisoner transports arrived in Loibl almost every month: Poles, Soviets, Yugoslavs, Czechs, Germans, Norwegians, Luxembourgers, Spaniards, Hungarians, and prisoners of other nations.

In the summer of 1943, the northern Loibl concentration camp was also established, to which initially the prisoners were taken every day from the southern Loibl camp on the old road over the pass. Transfer to the northern camp on the Carinthian side was seen as an additional punishment. On account of the extreme conditions (cold temperatures and deep snow in winter, heat and lack of water in summer), and due to the special brutality of the guards, the northern Loibl camp became known as "hell in the mountains."

On August 1, 1943, SS-Hauptsturmführer Dr. Siegbert Ramsauer became the camp doctor. Dr. Ramsauer was responsible for all three camp facilities, including the concentration camp on the Carinthian side.

In the southern Loibl concentration camp, SS-Hauptsturmführer Jakob Winkler served as commandant; in the northern Loibl concentration camp, SS-Hauptscharführer Lemmen was in charge until the end of April 1943; he was succeeded by SS-Oberscharführer Paul Gruschwitz. His deputy, SS-Oberscharführer Walter Brietzke, was in charge of the work detachments.

By December 4, 1943, the breakthrough linking up the two ends of the tunnel was achieved in the presence of Gauleiter Rainer, SS-General Edwin Rösener, camp commandant Winkler, and numerous senior officials of the state construction administration (all high-ranking members of the Nazi Party).

During 1944, the number of prisoners in both concentration camps reached its peak, with a total of 1,274 prisoners. In the years from 1943 to 1945, the in- and outflow of prisoners fluctuated considerably. The prisoner transports, which went back to Mauthausen, were full of worn-out, exhausted, and sick prisoners. Some prisoners were also returned to Mauthausen as a punishment.

Dr. Ramsauer was responsible for selecting the prisoners to be sent back to the main camp. Excluded from the return transports were the prisoners that Ramsauer deemed "unfit for travel," who he killed himself.

In the northern camp as well as the southern camp, there was a "crematorium" in which the corpses were burned. The crematorium consisted of a ditch constructed with brick walls, upon which an iron grid was placed. On top of this a bonfire

was built for burning the corpses of the prisoners. Generally, Dr. Ramsauer was present when corpses were burned at the southern Loibl concentration camp.

On December 4, 1944, exactly one year after the two ends of the tunnel were linked, the first Wehrmacht vehicle was able to drive through the Loibl tunnel.

On April 15, 1945, the Germans started to dissolve the northern Loibl subcamp, which had become unsafe due to the increased partisan activity in the area. The dissolution of the southern Loibl subcamp started on May 7, 1945: about 100 Yugoslav prisoners and some 20 sick prisoners remained behind in the southern camp. Approximately 950 prisoners set out through the tunnel on foot toward the north. Their aim was to reach the bridge over the Drava River close to Klagenfurt, which had already been taken by the British. Since the Loibl Valley and the bridge over the Drava were already controlled by the partisans, the SS guards marched "under the protection" of the prisoners. On account of the heavy fighting between the German forces streaming back from the Balkans and the partisans, the prisoners had to divert their march into a side valley. Here the partisans finally liberated the prisoners from the clutches of their SS guards.

In Loibl itself, 33 prisoners lost their lives. Of these, 15 were shot "while trying to escape": that is, the prisoners were selected due to inadequate work or other "transgressions" and sentenced to death. In most cases, on the way to the work site the prisoner was forced through the cordon of guards and then shot. The camp commandant would then order an "investigation" after the shooting and write in the report that the prisoner had tried to escape.

At least eight prisoners died in the infirmary or were murdered there by Dr. Ramsauer. In other cases, the prisoners died of exhaustion, starvation, disease, or as a result of the tortures and beatings they received from the guards. Especially feared were the "Corridas": the prisoners were forced to load up wheelbarrows with heavy stones, and the SS guards and Kapos then forced them to run back and forth, driving them on with cruel beatings from whips and rubber truncheons, until the prisoners collapsed. The first "Corrida" was conducted on July 14, 1943, that is, on Bastille Day, the French national holiday. It lasted from 7:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. Also feared were visits by the "dentist," usually an unqualified dental technician or even a mechanic who simply ripped or broke out all the teeth of some of the prisoners. Like the SS doctor, Dr. Ramsauer, he did not use any medicine, and he sent the badly injured prisoners immediately back to work.

Although the SS constantly invented new punishments for their sadistic entertainment, otherwise they had absolutely no imagination with regard to organizing the prisoners' free time. In both camps, there were boxing matches, which were also popular with some Kapos and prisoners. In the southern Loibl subcamp, there was also for a while a soccer field, where "national" teams made up from the ranks of the civilian workers and the prisoners played against each other.

As in almost every camp, there was also a flourishing black market in Loibl, although the range of items traded remained very modest: cigarettes, bread, sweets, and other food products. Occasionally, clothing or medicine was also exchanged. Letters and parcels, which officially should have been passed on to the prisoners by the camp leadership, only started to reach their intended recipients on a regular basis in 1944. Deliveries smuggled into or out of the camp through contacts to the civilian workers were a rarity. With respect to this type of "post," the Slovenian civilian worker Janko Tišler was the most important link to the outside world. As early as September 1943, he posted the first prisoner letter in Neumarkt marked with an address in France.

The political organization among the French prisoners, who had mostly been members of the resistance in France, began in the southern Loibl subcamp immediately upon the arrival of the first transport in 1943; it started at the end of April 1944 in the northern Loibl subcamp. Later on, the Polish prisoners also organized a resistance cell. For all groups, Tišler was the contact to the outside world, especially to the partisans who were active in the area.

From the diary entries of Tišler, it can be deduced that 29 prisoners escaped from the two Loibl camps, or at least made escape attempts. Most of them were Frenchmen, the others being Poles, Russians, Italians, Slovenes, and 1 German; 24 prisoners probably succeeded in escaping. This large number is most likely due to the assistance of civilian workers, who as members of the resistance working undercover had contacts with the partisans, and also to the courage of the (Slovenian-speaking) population in the villages and on the farms both north and south of the Loiblpass.

All the escapes were planned and carried out from the work details on the way to the work sites or from the tunnel. No escape was possible from the camp sites, as they were heavily guarded and surrounded by several layers of tall barbed-wire fencing. After an escape became known, there were the usual collective punishments; for example, the prisoners were made to stand the whole night in front of the camp gate in the deep snow. Escapees that were recaptured were in most cases beaten terribly and then sent back to Mauthausen.

During an escape by 3 Soviet prisoners, one guard was killed and two others seriously wounded. In consequence, more than 100 Soviet prisoners were arrested and physically punished for a day and a night, before being sent to the gas chamber in Mauthausen.

In 1946 and 1947, a British military tribunal in Klagenfurt investigated the events in the concentration camps on the Loiblpass. On November 10, 1947, it issued these verdicts: the SS men Winkler and Brietzke, who were found to have been the main persons responsible for numerous cases of murder, were sentenced to death by hanging. (These verdicts were carried out on March 10, 1948.) The commandant of the northern camp, Paul Gruschwitz, was sentenced to 12 years in prison, and the SS-Rapportführer of the northern camp, Karl Sachse, received 20 years. Six additional SS men who had held senior positions as guards at the camp were sentenced to

prison terms of from 3 to 9 years. All of those sentenced who did not receive the death penalty were released after only a few years, in most cases before 1955.

Three other SS men who served at Loibl were only arrested and tried years later. Two of them were acquitted, although they were adjudged to have committed murder or to have severely maltreated prisoners. One was sentenced (not in Carinthia but before a local court in Slovenia) to 10 years in prison.

The verdict of the British military tribunal in the case of Dr. Ramsauer attracted much public attention. Most people, including the accused himself, expected that he would get the death sentence, as the euthanasia killings were clearly documented. The sentence, however, was "life imprisonment." Dr. Ramsauer was released in March 1954 and soon thereafter was employed again as a doctor in the regional hospital and had his own private practice in the center of Klagenfurt. Until his death in 1991, he was viewed as a highly respected doctor and citizen of Klagenfurt.

SOURCES The history of the two subcamps on the Loiblpass has scarcely been touched by academic research. Until now, the only monograph on the Loibl camps in German was authored by Josef Zausnig, *Der Loibl-Tunnel: Das vergessene KZ an der Südgrenze Österreichs*, foreword by Peter Gstettner (Klagenfurt, 1995). The book is based on interviews conducted by the author personally and source materials made available by Janko Tišler. Certain detailed aspects of the history of the Loibl camps have been discussed in various publications, including, for example, Josef Nischelwitzer, "Loibl—Baustelle des Todes," in *Josef Nischelwitzer 1912–1987: Skizzen aus seinem Leben und seiner Zeit* (Klagenfurt, 1988), pp. 91–93; and Florian Freund, "Wieviel 'kostet' ein KZ-Häftling? KZ Loibl-Pass," *JDÖW* (1989): 31–51. The groundbreaking work of Hans Maršálek, *Mauthausen*, 3rd and exp. ed. (Vienna, 1995), which has also been translated into German, English, and Italian, contains a number of references to the subcamps on the Loiblpass. Maršálek was a camp clerk in Mauthausen, and after 1945 he played an important role in the establishment of the museum at the Mauthausen memorial site and in making the history of the camp public.

It was initially, above all, former prisoners from France, Poland, and Yugoslavia who collected information and recorded their experiences about Loiblpass. The autobiographical novel of André Lacaze, *Le tunnel* (Paris, 1978), attracted some attention on its publication (but has since been largely forgotten). All of these early sources have been used by Janko Tišler and Jože Rovšek in the book *Mauthausen na Ljubelju* (Klagenfurt, 1995). This work only appeared in the Slovenian language. It comprises the most important primary source, since Tišler has processed a wide variety of authentic sources: testimonies and reports of former prisoners, letters, protocols, and transport lists, which he has gathered—and above all his own personal experience as a civilian worker on the Loiblpass and, from July 1944, as a resistance fighter with the partisans.

Peter Gstettner
trans. Martin Dean

MELK ("QUARZ") [AKA KOMMANDO "QUARZ"]

In January 1944, a Mauthausen subcamp was established in the abandoned Wehrmacht Freiherr-von-Birago pioneer barracks in the lower Austrian city of Melk (until 1945: Reichsgau Niederdonau), about 100 kilometers (62 miles) to the east of Linz. An advance detachment of around 500 prisoners arrived at the camp on April 11, 1944. They were to prepare part of the barracks for around 7,000 prisoners. The camp was then opened on April 20–21, 1944. The prisoners were accommodated in 18 blocks, which, in part, were furnished with Wehrmacht equipment. The company, Quarz GmbH, which used the prisoners, supplied beds, sacks of straw, and blankets. The camp was better equipped than most concentration camps; however, this was soon to change as a result of the overcrowding and catastrophic hygienic conditions.

Altogether there were 14,390 prisoners from at least 26 countries held in Melk. It was only in the middle of September that the planned prison capacity of 7,000 inmates was reached. From September 1944, prisoners evacuated from the Natzweiler main camp began to arrive in Melk and, from January 1945, prisoners from Auschwitz. According to historian Hans Maršálek, the camp reached its maximum capacity

on January 30, 1945, with 10,352 prisoners. The larger national groups included Poles, Hungarians, French, Soviet citizens, Germans, Italians, Greeks, and Yugoslavs. However, there were also in Melk prisoners from Albania, Egypt, Denmark, Portugal, Turkey, the United States, and other countries. Around 30 percent of the prisoners in Melk were Jews. The last prisoner transport reached the camp on January 29, 1945: among the 2,000 prisoners from Auschwitz were 119 children between ages 9 and 15.

A camp crematorium had been erected in the autumn of 1944. Between December 1944 and April 1945, more than 3,500 deceased prisoners were cremated in it. According to transport reports, 1,440 sick and injured prisoners were returned to Mauthausen as "unable to work" (*arbeitsunfähig*). The Standortarzt (garrison doctor) recorded in the register of deaths 4,802 prisoners who died in Melk, including 1,019 in January 1945, or more than 30 per day. One-third of the prisoners who were brought to Melk died within the first six months of the camp's existence. SS statistics list the nationalities of the dead: 1,575 Poles; 1,432 Hungarians; 546 French; 388 Soviet citizens; 302 Italians; 174 Yugoslavs; 150 Germans and Austrians; 101 Greeks; 36 Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians; 26 Dutch; 22 Czechs; 17 Norwegians; 12 Spaniards; 9 Belgians; 3 Swiss; 4 Luxembourgers; 2 Turks; 1 Portuguese; 1 Albanian; and 1 stateless person.



New arrivals assemble for roll call at the Melk subcamp of Mauthausen, 1944–1945.
USHMM WS #02009, COURTESY OF NARA

According to statements by Jean Varnoux, a former prisoner, there were fewer than 10 SS members in the camp. The remaining guards consisted of around 500 Luftwaffe soldiers who had been put under the command of the SS. The first camp leader, Hauptsturmführer Anton Streitwieser, was replaced in May 1944 by Obersturmbannführer Julius Ludolph. The Rapportführer was SS-Oberscharführer Curt Jansen, and the Arbeitsdienstführer was Oberscharführer Ernst Schindler. Hauptscharführer Otto Striegel was in charge of food transports.

A barracks for the sick was established in June 1944 in the camp; a second was established in September 1944. First, SS-Unterscharführer und Sanitater Gottlieb Muzikant was in charge of medical care. The prisoners have described him as brutal and without feeling. He is responsible for countless cases of prisoner mistreatment and deaths. It was only months later that a Luftwaffestabsarzt, Medizinalrat Dr. Josef Sora, was to take up duties in the camp. French camp doctor Guy Lemordant stated that from January 1945 there were 2,000 seriously ill prisoners in the infirmary, which had a capacity for only 100 prisoners.

Quarz GmbH, a subsidiary of the armaments company Steyr-Daimler-Puch (SDP), employed the prisoners. As part of the program of the SS-Sonderstab Kammler, Quarz GmbH excavated in Roggendorf near Lossdorf underground caverns to be used as sites for the production of ball bearings. The prisoners worked three shifts around the clock, excavating six caverns in the mountain, each several hundred meters long. They also laid rails, poured concrete for the approaches to the cavern, constructed barracks for equipment and machines, laid cables and water pipes, and transported building equipment and machines from the Lossdorf railway station to the construction site. Despite the enormous effort, by the winter of 1944–1945, only a fraction of the planned cavern could commence production. Two-thirds of the planned cavern of 65,000 square meters (700,000 square feet) was not complete when the camp was dissolved in April 1945.

In addition to working underground and producing armaments, the prisoners built houses for Luftwaffe members as well as barracks for SDP employees and laborers. They worked in a munitions factory in Merkendorf, constructed a high-water barrier, and worked for the company Hopperwieser in Amstetten, preparing timber and posts to support the cavern. The prisoners were often leased to local construction companies including Braun & Boveri; Czernilofsky; Himmelstoss & Sittner; Hofmann & Maculan; Philipp Holzmann AG; Lang & Manhoffer; Latzel & Kutscha; Mahal & Co.; Mayreder, Kraus & Co.; Bau AG Negrelli; Rella, Stigler & Rous; Strassenbauunternehmen AG (STUAG); Schachtbau Wayss & Freytag; and Überland AG.

Maršálek stated that there were several prisoner executions in Melk. For example, on May 11, 1944, a prisoner was shot while “trying to escape.” During an air raid on July 8, 1944, 250 camp inmates were killed and 197 were injured—the injured were probably murdered in the next few days with injections into the heart. A similar event occurred on Febru-

ary 19, 1945, when a transport of 250 Slovakian prisoners from Melk was attacked by Allied fighters; 7 prisoners managed to escape, and 20 died; 49 injured prisoners were murdered in Melk. Prisoners in the labor detachments in the “Quarz” construction area often tried to escape: according to the SS, there were 29 escape attempts; it is known that 9 of these attempts failed and 1 was successful.

According to Maršálek, there was an international prisoners’ organization in Melk whose members had contact with civilian workers and individual members of the guards. At the beginning of 1945, Hungarian Jewish prisoners, with the assistance of civilian workers, smuggled seven pistols into the camp from the construction site. The camp doctor at Melk, Dr. Josef Sora, also had close connections with the prisoners. He passed on news from the BBC to specific camp inmates, boycotted the order by the camp commandant to allow 50 prisoners suffering from tuberculosis to starve to death, and in April 1945 negotiated with the Melk district president (Landrat) and Niederdonau Gauleiter Dr. Hugo Jury to prevent the planned murder of the camp inmates at the Roggendorf cavern.

Production ceased on April 1, 1945, as a result of the advance by Soviet troops. At this time, there were around 7,500 prisoners in the camp. On March 12, 1945, a group of 34 Scandinavian prisoners were transferred by the Red Cross back to their home countries via Mauthausen and Neuen-gamme. The remaining camp prisoners were then evacuated to Ebensee, Mauthausen, and Gusen. On April 11, a transport to Mauthausen of 1,500 youths and sick prisoners was put together, and Muzikant murdered 30 to 40 seriously ill prisoners in the infirmary. Two more transports left Melk on April 13, with 1,440 prisoners in total sent to Ebensee. They went by goods train and barge. The last transport of 1,500 prisoners left the camp on April 15 in the direction of Ebensee. According to documents from the Mauthausen main camp, the Melk subcamp existed officially until April 19, 1945.

Members of the Melk guards were convicted after the war in the Dachau military trials. Camp leader Julius Ludolph was executed in July 1947. The head of the infirmary, Muzikant, was sentenced by the Fulda Landgericht (regional court) in 1960 to life imprisonment in a penitentiary for the murder of 90 seriously ill prisoners by phenol injections and for strangling at least another 100 prisoners. Streitwieser, the first camp commandant, who at first escaped successfully, was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1967 and died in prison in 1972. Leading members and employees of the SDP were never brought before the court.

SOURCES Bertrand Perz describes the Melk subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 405–408. Perz is also the author of the most detailed and well-researched work on the Melk camp and its role in the National Socialist armaments program: *Projekt Quarz: Steyr-Daimler-Puch und das Konzentrationslager Melk* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1991). There is an appendix to the work with a detailed list

of sources. Perz also published a brochure on this camp that lists the nationalities of the prisoners. See Perz, *Konzentrationslager Melk, Begleitbroschüre zur ständigen Ausstellung* (Vienna, 1992), p. 52. Hans Maršálek in *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995) describes the camp at pp. 76, 92, 145 (executions), 241 (executions and death), and 316 (international prisoner organizations). Descriptions on the camp are found in Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, ed., *Kurzgeschichte Mauthausen, Gusen, Ebensee, Melk* (Vienna, n. d.). The entanglement of SDP personnel with the Third Reich, which was decisive for the Melk subcamp, has been researched by Bertrand Perz in "Nationalsozialistisches Management: Zur Person des Generaldirektors der Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG Dr. Georg Meindl," in *Glühendrot/Krisenbleich: Zeitmontagen zur Arbeit und Kultur in der Industrieregion Steyr*, ed. Reinhard Mittensteiner and Brigitte Kepplinger (Steyr, 1998), pp. 168–176; and in "Politisches Management im Wirtschaftskonzern: Georg Meindl und die Rolle des Staatskonzerns Steyr-Daimler-Puch bei der Verwirklichung der NS-Wirtschaftsziele in Österreich," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen, 1996), pp. 95–112. Claims that in the cavern facilities at Roggendorf heavy water was produced by means of "fractioned distillation" as part of the process to construct an atomic bomb have not been substantiated. On these claims, see Markus Schmitzberger, *Was die US Army in der Alpenfestung wirklich suchte: Eine Theorie zum Decknamen der Anlage 'Quarz' in Roggendorf bei Melk* (Schleusingen: Amun-Verlag, 2001). For more detail on the intervention by the Luftwaffe medical doctor for the prisoners, see Erika Weinzierl, *Zu wenig Gerechte: Österreicher und Judenverfolgung 1938 bis 1945* (Graz: Styria-Verlag, 1997), p. 178. 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: 181; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1824.

The AG-M holds documents on the Melk subcamp including the following: Signaturen F 4/1 (Angaben des im Arbeitseinsatz eingesetzten Häftlings Wolfgang Sanner); B 40/1 to 40/10; B 30/1 to B 30/16; B 12/36 (Berichte und Kopie von Transportlisten, u.a. von Melk); E 6/11 (Rapportbuch, Gesamtstand der Häftlinge in den Nebenlagern, Tagesaufstellungen); B 60/11 (Aufstellung der Lager-schreibstube vom 9. April 1945 über die Nebenlager-Häftlinge); E 10/6 (Veränderungsmeldungen April 1945); B 60/5 und 6 (Todesmeldungen von Evakuierten); B/30/09 (Skizze des Lagers Melk mit Beschriftungen); B/30/12 (Lageplan mit Beschriftungen der einzelnen Objekte, mit einer Aufstellung der Funktionshäftlinge); and B/30/13a (Lagerplan). There are also held here microfilms from the collection of the ZBoWid, VHU, and the ITS on Melk. Numerous archival documents according to Bertrand Perz are held in the A-SDP, including the collections "History of the Company, Ownership and Descriptions of the Balance Sheets of the Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG," dated April 19, 1947 (with two supplements), as well as the files of the Darlehensvertrag

OKH, Führungsaufbau Walzlagerwerk, Führungsaufbau, Statistische Informationen, Unter-Tag Quarz, Verlagerungen Quarz, and others. There are also documents on the camp in A-BMdI, Abt. IV/4, and in the DÖW. The USHMMA holds the following original documents on the Melk camp: Acc.1995.A.077—Andrew Woolrich (prisoner report) and Josef V. Czarski, RG-02.149, Acc.1994.A.171 (prisoner report), as well as several oral history interviews with camp survivors, for example, Bernard Weinstein (RG-50.002*0047; 1993.A.0088), Cedomir Markovic (RG-50.030*0308), and Norman Belfer (RG-50.030*0367). Other collections, including those relating to the role of the U.S. Army in Melk are held in the NARA, Collections T-990 (Totenbuch des SS-Standortarztes KL Mauthausen), T 83 (Records of Private Austrian, German and Dutch Enterprises), M-1100 (Records of US Army War Crimes Trials), Case 000-5-5-2, *USA v. Ernst Dura, et al.*, M-1191 (Records of US Army War Crimes Trials, Case 000-50-5-6, *USA vs. Hans Joachim Geiger, et al.*), M-1019 (including *USA v. Hans Altfuldisch, et al.*, Case 000-50-5, *USA v. Josef Kattner, et al.*, Case 000-50-5-21), as well as RG 243 (including damage assessments photo intelligence reports, III.1.1835 Melk, USSBS Records, Section 4, European Target Intelligence, and Plant Report on Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG, Wälzlagerwerk Steyr, Austria, USSBS Records, Section 1, European Documents, report 53 c/2). In RG 165, Entry 179, Box 376, there are two detailed interrogation reports on SDP dated 28. December 1945 and 16. February 1946.

The YVA holds statements by Dr. Hirsch Simon (O3/3399) and Dr. Alexander Puder (O2/1030). Other documents particularly relating to SDP are held in the IWM in the collections German Underground Installations (CIOS Section Intelligence Division Office, chief engineer, US-FET, Washington, DC, 1945), FD 787/46 (Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG, company organization, meetings of boards of directors and working committees . . .), as well as FD 784/46 (Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG, Vienna—data on contracts with directors and senior personnel . . ., 1937–1945). Investigations by the ZdL are held in File 419 AR-Z 4/64 at BA-L. Trial documents relating to the Melk subcamp are held in the following archives and collections: LG Wien (VG 5d Vr 211/48, Strafsache gegen Franz Judmann, and VG 12 Vr 5709/47, Strafsache gegen Hermann Schultze), Sta. LG Fulda (Ks 1/60, Strafsache gegen Gottlieb Muzikant), Sta. LG München 1 (Ks 1/58, Strafsache gegen Wilhelm Reischenbeck), and Sta. Köln (24 Ks 1/66, Strafsache gegen Karl Schulz and Anton Streitwieser). Other descriptions of the camp, some by former prisoners, are to be found in Jean Varnoux, *Sonderschrift über das SS-Arbeitslager Melk (Niederösterreich), Konzentrationslager von Mauthausen* (deutsche Sonderschrift des französischen Originals, 1991); Moshe Ha-Elion, *The Straits of Hell: The Chronicle of a Saloniki Jew in the Nazi Extermination Camps Auschwitz, Mauthausen, Melk, Ebensee* (Cincinnati, OH: Bowman & Cowdy, 2005); Pierre Saint Macary, *Mauthausen, percer l'oubli* (Paris: Harmattan, 2004); Alexander Marton, *186 ba-madregot: korotav shel na'ar Yebudi bama-bananot Oshvits, Ma'utha'uzen, Melk ve-Ebenezeb* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999); Jeremia P. Eisenbauer, "Die vergessenen Toten von Melk: Das Melker Konzentrationslager und die Roggendorfer Stollenanlage," *MeM* 146 (July

1984), p. 33; and the DÖW, *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Niederösterreich 1934–1945: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1987).

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PASSAU I (WITH PASSAU III)

Plans were in place by the end of the 1930s to improve the Passau electricity supply by constructing an additional hydroelectric power station on the River Ilz. The proposed site, called Oberilzmühle (Upper Ilz Mill), was handed over to the Arno Fischer Research Institute in May 1942. Arno Fischer, a senior civil servant in Munich, had been active in the Organisation Todt (OT) and was the founder of the aerodynamic research institute named after him. At that time, he was the head of Rhein-Main-Donau AG. With political assistance and technical innovation, Fischer wanted to construct in Passau a new type of underwater power plant, a plant safe from air raids. By the end of the war, the development of the power station had not progressed beyond its infancy. After the war, what had been built underwater was dynamited.

The Passau I camp was established as a Dachau subcamp on October 19, 1942. Only one month later, on November 19, 1942, the administration of the camp, together with the Dachau subcamps St. Lambrecht (men's camp) and the castle Schloss Lind, was taken over by the Mauthausen concentration camp administration.

In addition to working on the construction of the underwater power plant, the prisoners had to clean up Passau after air raids. Another labor detail worked at the saw plant "Upper Ilz Mill." The prisoners also worked in quarrying and on the construction of a road.

Of all the prisoners at Passau I, only 39 prisoners are named, the majority of whom were Polish political prisoners.¹ Initially, Passau I was said to have been comprised of mostly political prisoners. Later it was allegedly to hold "temporary preventive custody" (*Befristete Vorbeugehaft*) prisoners. Prisoner strength is only documented from September 2, 1943, onward. On October 3, 1943, the prisoner numbers climbed from 38 to 88, reaching the highest documented number. Transfers back to the main camp reduced the numbers so that by February 2, 1945, there were 67 prisoners in the camp. On February 3, 1945, 47 prisoners were transferred to the main camp so that only 20 prisoners remained in Passau I. For the month of April 1945, there were 35 prisoners.² A letter from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) to Fischer indicates that 50 of the 70 prisoners in Passau I in September 1944 were employed as skilled construction workers.³

On August 10, 1944, three Polish prisoners were shot "trying to escape," and on September 27, 1944, a German political prisoner was shot in "self defense" by camp leader Wilhelm Werner.⁴ One witness stated that it was a planned

murder. There is no other evidence of cases of death in the camp.

At the end of April or the beginning of May 1945, the 26th Infantry Division of the U.S. Third Army liberated the camp without a fight. The SS had left the prisoners to themselves. Details on the guards' strength vary considerably: probably the camp was initially guarded by 7 to 8 SS men; later there were 14. Most of the SS were ethnic Germans from Yugoslavia. The camp leader was SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Werner.⁵ Werner was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in a Dachau trial. Fischer was sentenced in absentia by a denazification court in Munich to 6 years in jail.

PASSAU III

There was another camp—Passau III—that was dependent on Passau I. This subdetachment existed from March to May 1945 and was comprised of between 18 and 50 prisoners who worked during the day at the Passau Danube port at Jandelsbrunn for the inland shipping company Bayerischer Lloyd. They loaded and unloaded ships.

SOURCES The secondary sources on the Passau I camp are limited. There are few documents, and they contain limited information. Despite this, Elmar W. Eggerer and Anna Elisabeth Rosmus have attempted to write on the camp's history: Elmar W. Eggerer, "Waldwerke' und 'Oberilzmühle': Die Passauer KZ-Aussenlager und ihr Umfeld," in *Passau in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus. Ausgewählte Fallstudien*, ed. Winfried Becker (Passau, 1999), pp. 527–542; and Anna Elisabeth Rosmus, *Out of Passau: Von einer, die auszog, die Heimat zu Finden* (Basel, 1999).

SS documents that deal with the prisoners and Passau I are very scarce.

A survivor, Johann Kunei, has had his recollections published in "Nationalsozialismus in Passau. Die Inszenierung des Alltags," in *Mahnmal für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Dokumentation und Aspekte zur Geschichte des "Dritten Reiches" in Passau*, by Stefan Rammer with Peter Steinbach Jr. and Herbert W. Wurster (Passau, 1996), pp. 107–136. The ASt-Lht holds two further witness statements. Documents from the trial against camp leader Wilhelm Werner are located in NARA, RG 338, Records of US Army Commands, 1942–, Records of Headquarters, US Army Europe (USAREUR), War Crimes Branch, War Crimes Case Files ("Cases Tried"), 1945–1959, Case 000-50-5-5, *USA v. Wilhelm Werner, et al.*

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NOTES

1. AG-M, Data Bank Project: "Recording of all documented prisoners in the Mauthausen Concentration Camp. Databank inquiry regarding prisoners of Passau I subcamp" (project unfinished as of July 30, 2003).

2. Arbeitsberichte des Arbeitsdienstführers, Schutzhaftlager Mauthausen, F/2/15; Rapportbuch Aussenkommandos, Tagesmeldungen from February 17, 1944, to March 15, 1945,

E/6/11; re Mauthausen concentration camp movements April 1945, E/6/7, AG-M.

3. Copy of a letter from WVHA to Arno Fischer, September 28, 1944, AG-M, B/33/2.

4. The book “Unnatürliche Todesfälle,” M/1/9; re Häftlingszugangsbuch der politischen Abteilung. Y/36, AG-M.

5. NARA, RG 338 Case 000-50-5-5, *USA v. Wilhelm Werner, et al.*

PASSAU II

The construction of the forest factory (*Waldwerke*) and the resultant erection of the Passau II subcamp have to be seen in light of the demand by the Army High Command (OKH) for a massive increase in the production of tank gear boxes. The Zahnradfabrik (Gear Wheel Factory) Friedrichshafen, a subsidiary of Luftschiffbau Zeppelin (Airship Construction Zeppelin), which manufactured gear wheels for heavy trucks and tanks, needed an additional production site for this purpose. The construction of the factory was planned as a cooperative enterprise between the Zahnradfabrik Friedrichshafen and the OKH. The latter, to be precise, the army-owned company Verwertungsgesellschaft für Montanindustrie GmbH (Mining Industry Reprocessing Company, Montan), made available the site; the Zahnradfabrik Friedrichshafen made available the technical equipment and the personnel. The site was a parcel of land on the northern bank of the Danube near Passau. The final phase of construction of the Waldwerke would consist initially of 2,000 workers, growing to between 3,000 and 4,000. Even before the commencement of production in June 1943, the Reich Ministry of Armaments and Munitions had demanded of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) on September 13, 1942, the establishment of a concentration camp at the Waldwerke.¹ However, the Passau II subcamp was not established until March 9, 1944.

The first transport of 100 prisoners from the Mauthausen concentration camp arrived at Passau II on March 9, 1944. On September 12, 1944, the camp recorded its highest number of prisoners—340. Altogether, 353 prisoners were transferred to the Passau II camp. Of these, only 1 would die in the camp. However, 15 prisoners were transferred back to Mauthausen. Most likely those that were transferred back to Mauthausen were seriously ill and could no longer work. It can be concluded from the low death rate that the prison conditions were better than in other subcamps.

Of the 353 prisoners deported to the subcamp, 329 are known by name.² The names in turn give a relatively accurate description of the composition of the prisoners: the majority came from Poland (36.2 percent), the Soviet Union (27.6 percent), and France (26 percent). There were smaller groups from Italy (5.7 percent), the German Reich, Spain, and other countries. The majority of prisoners were political prisoners (71.4 percent), and 20.7 percent were “Russian civilian workers.” Another 5.8 percent were Soviet prisoners of war

(POWs). The other categories were “temporary preventive custody” (*Befristete Vorbeugehaft*), “Red Spaniards” (*Rotspanier*), “security custody” (*Sicherheitsverwahrung*), and “Reich Forced Labor” (*Arbeitszwang Reich*).

Ten prisoners tried to escape from the camp. The name of the camp leader, SS-Oberscharführer Vogelsang, is only known because his name was mentioned in a report to the main camp following the escape of a Soviet prisoner on September 14, 1944.³

On October 29 and November 7, 1944, 150 and 177 prisoners, respectively, were transferred to the Flossenbürg concentration camp. The Passau II camp was then closed.⁴

SOURCES Elmar W. Eggerer has written a history of the camp, “‘Waldwerke’ und ‘Oberilzmühle’: Die Passauer KZ-Aussenlager und ihr Umfeld,” in *Passau in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus: Ausgewählte Fallstudien*, ed. Winfried Becker (Passau, 1999), pp. 527–542.

The prisoners of the Passau II subcamp are relatively well documented in AG-M. Documents on the history of the Passau “Waldwerke” and the Zahnradfabrik Friedrichshafen are said to be held by the Passau Zahnradfabrik but have not been released to researchers. There are a few documents in ASt-Lht.

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NOTES

1. Letter of the Technisches Amt of the RMfBM to SS-WVHA, Oswald Pohl, September 13, 1942, BA-BNS, 19/1542.

2. AG-M, Data Base Project “Erfassung aller dokumentierten Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen,” Data Base Questionnaire to Prisoners at the Passau II subcamp.

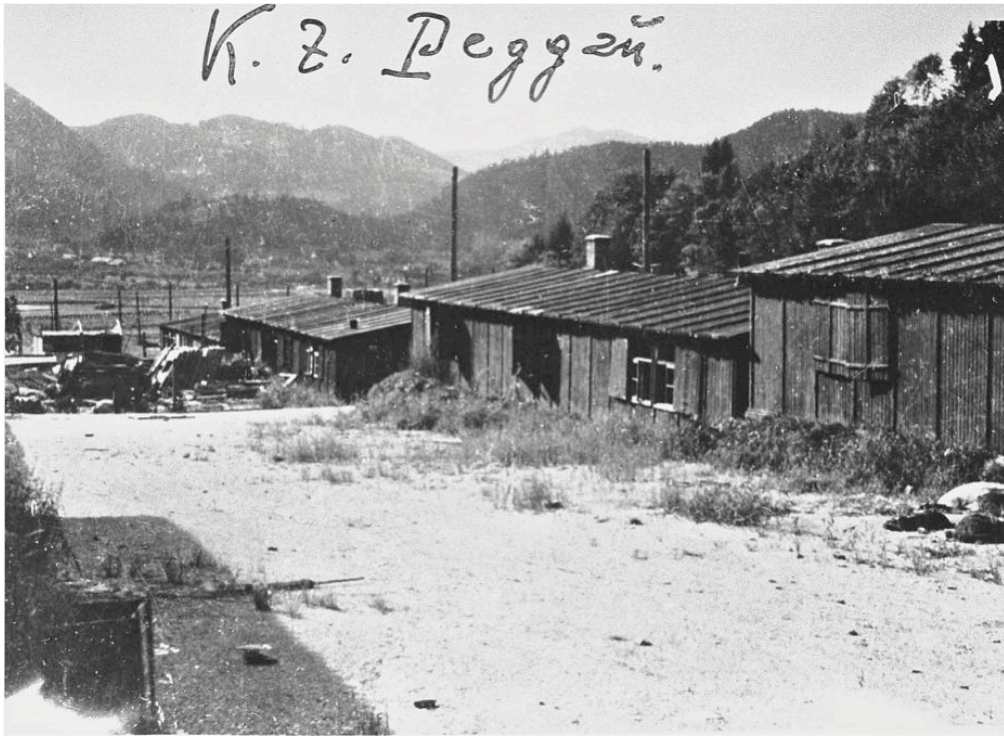
3. AG-M, B/33a/1.

4. Rapportbuch Aussenkommandos, Tagesmeldungen, October 29, 1944, and November 7, 1944, AG-M, E/6/11.

PEGGAU

The establishment of the Peggau subcamp is connected with the accelerated production of fighter aircraft due to Germany’s inability to prevail in its air war against the Allies. As in Wiener Neudorf, close to Vienna, the construction of a large Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG (SDP) aircraft engine factory began in August 1941 on the southern edge of Graz. Daimler-Benz aircraft engines were to be manufactured under license. There was an acute shortage of labor, so—as in all areas of the armaments industry—the Steyr factory in Graz-Thondorf largely used foreign workers. In April 1942, more than half of the Thondorf factory workers were foreign. These forced laborers were accommodated by SDP in the labor camps for Eastern workers, “Murfeld I and II.”

As the “Ostmark” was increasingly under threat of Allied air attacks from the summer of 1943 onward, the armaments



View of the Peggau subcamp of Mauthausen.
USHMM WS #17597, COURTESY OF DÖW

industry saw itself forced, where feasible, to relocate its most important strategic production sites underground. The Steyr factory in Graz-Thondorf was also to be relocated underground. Following an air raid on the Steyr factory on July 26, 1944, the village of Peggau, about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) in the north from Graz, as well as the finished site at Leibnitz were chosen as suitable locations for the establishment of an underground facility for the manufacture of aircraft engines for the Graz-Thondorf factory. In Peggau, as with most of the underground relocations, concentration camp prisoners were to be used to construct the facility.

The so-called Peggau Wall is a steep mountainside close to Peggau. Several tunnels were excavated in the wall so that parts of Daimler-Benz aircraft engines could be manufactured there, together with parts for tanks and trucks. Each of the tunnels was about 7 meters (23 feet) high, 6 meters (20 feet) wide, and about 200 meters (656 feet) long. There were connecting caverns between each of the six main caverns. The tunnels for SDP were a cooperative enterprise with "ARGE Marmor" (a code word), being a subsidiary of the SS-owned Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (German Earth and Stone Works, DESt). The managing director of the Steyr factory, Georg Meindl, had a good relationship with the highest SS functionaries. It was probably for this

reason that prisoners from the concentration camp at Mauthausen were provided.

The first transport of 400 prisoners from the main camp reached Peggau on August 17, 1944.¹ Another transport of 200 prisoners from Mauthausen arrived on September 3, 1944.² The number of prisoners thus reached nearly 600.³ On October 20, 1944, another 100 prisoners were transferred from Leibnitz. As some prisoners had already died in Peggau or had been transferred back to Mauthausen, altogether about 670 people were now imprisoned in Peggau. Additional prisoners were sent to the Peggau subcamp on December 5, 1944 (50 prisoners), December 26, 1944 (30 prisoners), and January 6, 1945 (50 prisoners), all from the subcamp at Leibnitz Graz. Following the dissolution of the Eisenerz camp and the evacuation of its 220 prisoners, the number at Peggau increased again.⁴ Another 9 Eisenerz prisoners who had remained behind followed on March 14, 1945,⁵ with the result that the camp reached its maximum number of prisoners of 888.

The majority of the Peggau prisoners came from the Soviet Union and Poland. In addition, there were Yugoslavs, Italians, and Frenchmen. They were accommodated in 10 barracks about 1 to 2 kilometers (0.6 to 1.2 miles) from the tunnels where they worked. The site had been expropriated

from the Catholic Voralpen Convent. The prisoner-functionaries were selected from among German and Austrian prisoners who wore the green triangle. The Peggau subcamp leader was SS-Untersturmführer Fritz Miroff, who had been sent from the Leibnitz subcamp. Besides him, there were another four to six SS members in Peggau. The remainder of the guards comprised around 15 members of the Municipal Police (Schutzpolizei) and about 80 Ukrainian guards who had deserted from the Wlassow Army to the Wehrmacht. All were under the command of the Revier-Leutnants der Schutzpolizei Franz Weber from Graz.

The prisoners had to march each day to the tunnel factory, thereby passing the periphery of the village of Peggau. The work, for the most part, was the excavation of the caverns, a task that was particularly exhausting. The type of work coupled with the merciless drive set by the guards led to many deaths and injuries. Allegedly, the prisoners would later be directly involved in production. Almost 3,000 workers and more than 1,000 machines had been relocated from Graz-Thondorf to Peggau. The prisoners worked in two shifts each of 12 hours. The severe working conditions were typical for camps such as Peggau. Besides this, the prisoners' survival chances were also diminished by the particularly brutal treatment by the guards. In addition to the working conditions, the victims were shot for "trying to escape"; the guards used this reason as an evasion. Several cases of prisoners being shot are documented in survivors' reports. Survivor Jean Germaine reported cases in which prisoners were killed in the infirmary with an injection into the heart.

There is one case of an attempted group escape from Peggau: on December 24, 1944, several Soviet prisoners successfully crossed the electrified fence. Their absence was only detected at roll call the following morning. The prisoners were nevertheless caught and forced to stand at attention for 48 hours at the camp fence. They were then driven by the guards onto the electrified fence and killed.

The Mauthausen concentration camp roll-call book gives evidence that between the date that Peggau was established to the middle of March 1945 at least 63 prisoners died in Peggau. Initially, the dead were cremated in the Graz crematorium. Some 117 other prisoners, the majority probably because they were ill or physically weak, were sent back to the main camp.⁶ Toward the end, when the number of dead dramatically increased, a mass grave was dug close to the camp. After the war, 138 bodies were exhumed from it (82 would remain in the grave, on which later was placed a tombstone). Altogether it can be assumed that between 150 and 200 prisoners died in Peggau alone.

The Eisenerz work detachment was transferred almost in toto to the Peggau camp at the beginning of March 1945. Peggau was evacuated on April 2, 1945. Before the evacuation march began, 15 prisoners who could no longer walk were shot in the tunnels. The remaining 850 prisoners were driven at first on foot to Bruck an der Mur. There, they were loaded onto cattle wagons and transported to Mauthausen, where

they arrived on April 7, 1945.⁷ Another 21 prisoners died during the evacuation, and 9 were officially recorded as successfully escaping.⁸

After the war, the camp leader Miroff was sentenced to death by hanging by a U.S. military court in Dachau.⁹ Weber, the commander of the guards, was tried before a People's Court (Volksgericht) in Graz and sentenced to 20 years in prison.¹⁰

SOURCES Peggau has been the subject of little attention. Barbara Stelzl has touched on the Peggau subcamp in an essay on National Socialist camps in Graz and its surroundings, "Lager in Graz: Zur Unterbringung ausländischer Zivilarbeiter, Kriegsgefangener und KZ-Häftlinge 1938–1945," in *Graz in der NS-Zeit 1938–1945*, ed. Stefan Karner (Graz, 1998), pp. 353–369. Anita Farkas wrote her dissertation on Mauthausen subcamps in the Styria, "Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungsbedarf in der Steiermark. Auf den Spuren der Erinnerung an die Konzentrationslager Aflenz, Peggau und Schloss Lind" (Ph.D. diss., Klagenfurt, 2001). The results of the research are also published in the article "Über den 'Erinnerungsbedarf' an die Konzentrations-Nebenlager von Mauthausen in der Steiermark," *Schl 1:105–106* (2002): 62–78. Anita Farkas has recently published a work on the culture of memorial sites with emphasis on Peggau as an example: "Sag mir, wer die Toten sind!" *Personalisierung des Opfergedenkens—ein Beitrag zur Gedenkstättenarbeit in der Steiermark am Beispiel der NS-Opfer von Peggau* (Klagenfurt, 2002).

The AG-M and the IPN hold primary but scattered sources on the Peggau subcamp—mostly lists of names, transport lists, and roll-call reports but also interviews with survivors. The files relating to the trial against Fritz Miroff are in NARA; those against Franz Weber are in the LG Graz. The underground relocation plans of SDP are to be found in the files of the RmfRK held in BA-B. For testimonies, worth mentioning is Jean Germaine's "Konzentrationslager Peggau (Peggau Concentration Camp)," which appeared as an attachment to *BAM 210* (1982): 4–37.

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NOTES

1. Transport List, August 17, 1944, AG-M, Y/45.
2. Transport List, September 3, 1944, AG-M, Y/45.
3. Rapportbuch Aussenkommandos, AG-M, E/6/11.
4. All details are from Rapportbuch Aussenkommandos, AG-M, E/6/11.
5. Transport List, March 15, 1945, AG-M, Y/45.
6. Rapportbuch Aussenkommandos, AG-M, Memorial E/6/11.
7. Meldungen der Lagerschreibstube über Häftlingsbewegungen während der Evakuierungsmärsche from April 9, 1945, AG-M, B/60/11.
8. Meldungen der Lagerschreibstube über Häftlingsbewegungen während der Evakuierungsmärsche from April 11, 1945, AG-M, B/60/13.
9. *USA v. Eduard Dlouby, et al.*, Case 000-50-5-14, NARA RG 153.
10. LG Graz, File Franz Weber 1962/727.

REDL-ZIPF (“SCHLIER”)

The subcamp in the Upper Austrian town of Redl-Zipf had the code name “Schlier.” It is connected with the acceleration of production of the “miracle weapons” that were the result of the ever-increasing threat of German defeat. Beginning in June 1943, work began on the construction by concentration camp prisoners of a factory for the serial production of the so-called A4 (Aggregat 4) rockets in Wiener Neustadt. However, at the end of August 1943, the decision was made, due to the increasing air bombardment on factories where the A4 rockets were produced, to relocate underground and to separate the areas of research and development from production. The serial production of the A4 rockets would be centralized in the underground facilities of the Mittelwerk GmbH in Nordhausen. Simultaneously, a subterranean rocket research facility would be constructed in Ebensee.

As a result of the relocations, it was decided on August 30, 1943, to transfer the production of liquid oxygen required for the rocket development program from the “Rax Factory” in Wiener Neustadt to the brewery cellars at Redl-Zipf. This required renovation work, which included an expansion of the facility. The work at the cellars was managed by the SS-Sonderstab Kammler. Work commenced within a few days after the decision was made to begin. As with most of the Kammler projects, concentration camp prisoners were required to do the work.

The first documented transfer of 68 prisoners from the Mauthausen concentration camp arrived on October 11, 1943, at the Redl-Zipf subcamp. Several more prisoner transports from the main camp and the Wiener Neustadt subcamp quickly followed in short intervals. Prisoners were not only busy working for the dummy company Steinbruchverwertungs GmbH, Betrieb Schlier (Quarry Processing Ltd., Schlier Branch). Behind the Steinbruch company were the Army High Command (OKH) and the Armaments Ministry. Prisoners also worked for, among other places, Mayreder & Co., Ferro Betonit Werke AG, Rella, and the Fiebinger engineering office, which was responsible for the preparations for the excavation of the underground tunnels. The prisoners were primarily used to expand the brewery cellars, establish a bunker to hold the testing equipment for a rocket propulsion chamber, and construct a transformer bunker and a connecting railway line. Plans were also prepared to use concentration camp prisoners to produce fuel and to inspect the rocket propulsion chambers.

The construction of the facility was delayed by accidents in the factory, partly caused by prisoners’ sabotage. An explosion in one of the tunnels on February 28, 1944, resulted in the death of 14 civilian engineers and technicians working at the Schlier factory. None of the prisoners were injured or killed. A Slovenian prisoner was suspected of being the saboteur; he was murdered by the Gestapo while being interrogated.

There was another large explosion on August 29, 1944, when an oxygen tank blew up; 28 people were killed, all of

whom were civilian engineers or skilled tradesmen. Investigations could not determine whether this was an act of sabotage or an accident.

During this period of expansion of the underground facility, the living conditions in the camp were the worst possible. The death rate in Redl-Zipf was at its highest between December 1943 and February 1944. The very heavy labor in the tunnels filled the infirmary with the wounded and seriously ill. The infirmary was under the command of SS-Medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad) Christian Wohlrab. As in many other subcamps, there are documented cases where the SS killed those prisoners from the infirmary designated as “incurable” by means of a benzene injection into the heart.

The highest number of prisoners in the Redl-Zipf subcamp was more than 2,000, recorded in the middle of December 1943.¹ The largest national groups were from France, Italy, Poland, the Soviet Union, and Spain (these included prisoners from the so-called Caesar detachment from Vöcklabruck, who were initially transferred to Ternberg and later to Redl-Zipf via the Mauthausen main camp). Due to the high death rate and the transfer of prisoners back to the main camp as well as large transports of prisoners to the Ebensee subcamp (on May 11, 1944, about 499 prisoners were transferred to Ebensee),² the prisoner numbers had fallen by the middle of May 1944 to about 600.

Following the commission of the fuel factory in the summer of 1944, the prisoner numbers were reduced to about 160 as a first step (a report from June 5, 1944, states that there were 163 prisoners in the Redl-Zipf subcamp, 500 fewer than on June 1). At the end of 1944, there were again about 1,000 prisoners in the camp, however.³ These remaining prisoners were mainly involved in production. There are many indications that from this point on the subcamp living conditions in Schlier dramatically improved.

The camp command was again changed in connection with the reduction in prisoner numbers. The first leader was Georg Bachmayer. He was succeeded in November 1943 by Karl Schöpferle, who was later transferred to the newly established Linz III subcamp. On June 3, 1944, Alfons Bendele took command of the Redl-Zipf subcamp.

As a result of prisoner transfers to the Gusen and Ebensee subcamps as well as the Mauthausen main camp, prisoner numbers at the Redl-Zipf subcamp had fallen by April 1945 to about 330.⁴ Toward the end of the war and as a result of the collapse of the Eastern Front, prisoners from the so-called Operation Bernhard, also known as the Forgery Detail, were transferred from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp via the Mauthausen main camp to Redl-Zipf. It was only on April 13, 1945, after the prisoners had been in the Mauthausen camp for several weeks, that the 142 Jewish prisoners in this detachment became the responsibility of the Mauthausen main camp.⁵ The detachment was sent to the Redl-Zipf subcamp, where it resumed production of, inter alia, counterfeit pound banknotes.

The order to evacuate the Redl-Zipf subcamp was finally given on May 3, 1945. At this point, there were about 470

prisoners remaining in the camp.⁶ Some of the prisoners were evacuated by truck and others on foot to the Ebensee subcamp. Several prisoners were able to escape on the march to Ebensee.

The subcamp's register of deaths, which was protected from destruction, provides a victims' ledger for the Redl-Zipf subcamp.⁷ There are 266 entries (however, it should be remembered that large numbers of prisoners who were no longer capable of working were regularly sent back to Mauthausen; many of them died from illness or wasted away in the main camp).

Some of the principal perpetrators at the Redl-Zipf subcamp were tried in various trials before the U.S. military court in Dachau. According to statements by former prisoner Paul Le Caër, the last camp leader, Bendele, was handed over to the Americans by the prisoners. He and his predecessor Schöpferle were sentenced to death in Dachau.⁸ In two other trials the medical orderly Wohlrab, who was accused of murdering many prisoners, and former roll-call leader Franz Kofler both received the death sentence.⁹ The first camp leader in Redl-Zipf, Bachmayer, who had been at the Mauthausen main camp since March 1940 and was the first Schutzhaftlagerführer there (he also was responsible for the construction of Redl-Zipf and Ebensee), committed suicide in May 1945. Before he committed suicide, he killed his family.

SOURCES References to the Redl-Zipf subcamp and its connections with the rocket development program in the "Ostmark" are to be found in Florian Freund's work on the Ebensee subcamp, *Arbeitslager Zement: Das Konzentrationslager Ebensee und die Raketenrüstung* (Vienna, 1989); as well as in the work by Freund and Bertrand Perz on the "Rax factory" in Wiener Neustadt, *Das KZ in der Serbenhalle: Zur Kriegsindustrie in Wiener Neustadt* (Vienna, 1987).

Original sources on the Redl-Zipf subcamp are scattered among several archives, including IPN (transport lists) and the AG-M (among them, records of interviews of survivors). The AG-M holds the official memorial record prepared by a former prisoner of "Detachment Bernhard," Kurt Lewinsky. The original Redl-Zipf subcamp death register was handed by former prisoner Paul Le Caër to the French Camp Association. It is held in the AN. The files of the military proceedings against Schöpferle, Wohlrab, and Kofler are to be found in NARA. The memoirs of former French prisoner Paul Le Caër are particularly important for the history of the Redl-Zipf subcamp: *Schlier: Redl-Zipf 1943–1945* (Paris, 1984); Paul Le Caër and Etienne Le Caër, *K.L. Mauthausen: Les cicatrices de la mémoire* (Paris, 1996); Paul Le Caër, *Ein junger Europäer in Mauthausen 1943–1945* (Vienna, 2002). In 1945, former prisoner and camp secretary in Redl-Zipf, Vaclav Vaclavik, published his memoirs in Czech, *Milenci SS Smrti* (Pilsen, 1945). The memoirs of Adolf Burger, a former member of the "Bernhard Detachment," are important for the history of this detachment: *Unternehmen Bernhard: Die Geldfälscherwerkstatt im KZ Sachsenhausen* (Berlin, 1992).

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NOTES

1. Arbeitsberichte des Arbeitsdienstführers KLM, AG-M, F/2/15.
2. Rapportbuch Aussenkommandos, AG-M, E/6/11.
3. All details come from the Rapportbuch, AG-M, E/6/11.
4. Ibid.
5. AG-M, B/36/5.
6. Verzeichnis der Bewegungen im K.L. Mauthausen, April 1945, AG-M, E/6/7.
7. A copy is to be found in AG-M, Collection B/36/15.
8. *USA v. Hans Bergerhoff, et al.*, Case 000-50-5-1, NARA RG 153
9. *USA v. Josef Kattner, et al.*, Case 000-50-5-21; and *US v. Franz Kofler, et al.*, Case 000-50-5-23; both in NARA RG 153.

SCHLOSS LIND

The Schloss Lind subcamp is closely connected to the camps at the St. Lambrecht Monastery, which was also administered by Güterdirektion Admont und St. Lambrecht (Admont and St. Lambrecht Manor Administration), which was under the direction of Hubert Erhart.

The prisoners at the Schloss Lind subcamp did agricultural and construction work. They were accommodated on the third floor of the castle. There were also French and Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) at Schloss Lind. For a Mauthausen subcamp, the prison conditions at Schloss Lind were relatively bearable. This in part was due to the small size of the camp. Working on a farm also meant that there was sufficient food for the prisoners.

The Schloss Lind subcamp was established on June 22, 1942, when 20 prisoners were transferred from the Dachau concentration camp. The subcamp was administered by Dachau until November 19, 1942. On November 20, it, together with the subcamps Passau I and St. Lambrecht (men's camp), came under the administration of the Mauthausen concentration camp. At Schloss Lind there was also presumably a change in the guards, which resulted in a considerable increase in the mistreatment of the prisoners and in a deterioration of the detention conditions.

Between September 1943 and April 1945, there were 19 or 20 prisoners at any one time in the subcamp at Schloss Lind.¹ The names of 24 of the Schloss Lind prisoners are known,² 19 of whom appear on a list dated November 26, 1942, of prisoners who had been transferred from Dachau to Mauthausen.³ Of those whose names are known, 9 were Poles, 6 came from the German Reich, 4 were Spaniards, 3 were Czechs, and 1 was French. Other than the 4 Red Spaniards (Rotspaniern), all were categorized as "protective custody" prisoners.

It is not known if any prisoners died at the camp. As part of events that took place at the male camp at St. Lambrecht on July 5, 1943, three prisoners from Schloss Lind, two Poles and a German, were transferred to the concentration camp at Gusen.⁴ Three Red Spaniards from St. Lambrecht were transferred to Schloss Lind to replace them. There were then

occasional transfers of individual prisoners back to the Mauthausen concentration camp.

On May 3, 1945, Erhart is said to have given the order to evacuate the prisoners to Mauthausen. However, due to the rapid advance of the Allied forces, the prisoners on the evacuation march had to return to the camp. Schloss Lind was liberated on May 5 by members of the Austrian Freedom Movement (Österreichischen Freiheitsbewegung). British units reached the camp on either May 11 or 12.

Survivors reported that at Schloss Lind there was only a small SS detachment. When the camp was administered from Dachau, it was said that an SS-Unterscharführer named Fritz was in charge. When the camp was administered by Mauthausen, there were presumably three different camp leaders, the last being SS-Unterscharführer Josef Schmidt, described as someone who “brutally beat” the prisoners.

SOURCES Dietmar Seiler has published a detailed description of the camp at Schloss Lind, “Abgelegen: Anmerkungen zum KZ-Aussenlager Schloss Lind,” in *AEIOU: Drausst bist du, drausst bist du noch lange nicht . . .*, ed. Aramis (pseud.) (Neumarkt, n.d. [1996]), pp. 47–65; and “Die SS im Benediktinerstift: Aspekte der KZ-Aussenlager St. Lambrecht und Schloss Lind” (Graz, 1994). A short history of the subcamp is also to be found in a work by Barbara Distel, “KZ-Kommandos an idyllischen Orten: Dachauer Aussenlager in Österreich,” *DaHe* 15 (1999): 54–65. Anita Farkas’s dissertation focuses on the culture of memory in Styria, “‘Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungsbedarf in der Steiermark’ Auf den Spuren der Erinnerung an die Konzentrationslager Aflenz, Peggau und Schloss Lind.” (Ph.D. diss., Universität Klagenfurt, 2001).

The Oral History Archive at the IfWSg holds an interview with former prisoner Tadeusz Korczak. Dietmar Seiler’s private collection on Schloss Lind holds, among other things, the reports of two camp survivors.

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NOTES

1. Work Report of the Work Leader, Schutzhaftlager Mauthausen, F/2/15; Roll Call Book Work Detachment, Daily Reports, February 17, 1944, to March 15, 1945, E/6/11; Movements in Mauthausen concentration camp April 1945, E/6/7—all in AG-M.

2. AG-M, Data Bank Project: “Recording of all documented prisoners in the Mauthausen Concentration Camp. Databank inquiry regarding prisoners of Schloss Lind subcamp” (project unfinished as of July 30, 2003); as well as variation report for July 5, 1943, Camp Record Office, Mauthausen concentration camp, IPN, KZ Mauthausen 26, k. 89.

3. Dachau concentration camp list for Lind subcamp: St. Lambrecht and Passau transferred 124 prisoners to Mauthausen, Camp Record Office, Mauthausen concentration camp, November 26, 1942, IPN, KZ Mauthausen 7, k. 244–246.

4. Variation Report, July 5, 1943, Camp Record Office, Mauthausen concentration camp, IPN, KZ Mauthausen 26, k. 89–90.

SCHLOSS MITTERSILL, SCHLOSS LANNACH

As part of the massive expansion of the concentration camp system, the Ravensbrück female concentration camp established over 60 subcamps; 2 of these subcamps were established in the Ostmark (Austria). One of them, established in 1944, was located in Mittersill, Salzburg.

In Schloss Mittersill, the SS established a research institute called the Reich Institute Sven Hedin. This institute required labor, and a prisoner work detachment consisting of Jehovah’s Witnesses was sent from Ravensbrück. The institute was part of the Ahnenerbe association, which specialized in Asian research with emphasis on pseudoscientific studies on race and ethnology. The Ahnenerbe’s goal was to prove the superiority of the Germanic race and culture. In 1942, war shortages and its poor scientific reputation caused the Ahnenerbe’s activities to be suspended, and Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler’s personal staff took over control of the association. The Sven Hedin Institute in Mittersill was involved not only in race research but also in pseudo-archeological research. Himmler demanded female concentration camp prisoners from Ravensbrück. In addition, two male prisoners from the Bernau penitentiary and two female Ukrainian forced laborers were requisitioned to work at the Schloss Mittersill subcamp.¹

A female prisoner detachment of 15 Jehovah’s Witnesses was transferred on March 24, 1944, from the Ravensbrück main camp to Mittersill.² All the female prisoners were accommodated in Schloss Mittersill. A 52-year-old female SS overseer accompanied the transport. She would be responsible for security inside the subcamp. There were also 13 male SS guards allocated to the subcamp; they were commanded by SS-Hauptscharführer Geer. The camp commandant had his quarters in a Mittersill inn. The remainder of the SS guards were most probably accommodated in the castle.

A prisoner subdetachment, consisting of nine female Jehovah’s Witnesses, was transferred from Mittersill to Styria a few days after the establishment of the subcamp at Schloss Mittersill. At the end of March 1944, the SS established at Schloss Lannach, approximately 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) to the southwest of Graz, a Schloss Mittersill subcamp. The transport to this new subcamp consisted of nine female prisoners, the SS female warden and an SS-Untersturmführer Dr. Vareschi, and one other SS member. Six German female Jehovah’s Witnesses remained at Mittersill.³

Schloss Lannach was leased by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). Here there was a plant genetics department for research and teaching. Its main task was the development of heat- and drought-resistant grains to be used by the settlements in the east. Furthermore, the department was preoccupied with the development of a particular type of plant that could be used for cooking oil.⁴ In addition to the 9 female concentration camp prisoners, there were also 17 prisoners of war (POWs) who were used as forced laborers at Schloss Lannach.⁵

At 45 years, the average age of the female prisoners at Schloss Mittersill and Schloss Lannach was relatively high. When the camp was established in 1944, the youngest female prisoner was age 32 and the eldest was almost 60. Four of the Jehovah's Witnesses had behind them long years of imprisonment and had already been held in early concentration camps such as Moringen and Lichtenburg.⁶ The prisoners included 12 Germans, the largest national grouping. There were 2 female Poles and 2 female Jehovah's Witnesses from the so-called Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (present-day Czech Republic). The female prisoners were used for cleaning and other domestic duties. They also worked in the fields and the gardens.⁷ As the women lived and worked mostly within the castle walls, they had almost no contact with the local population.

The female prisoners were apparently fed from the common SS kitchen. There is an invoice for food for the prisoners from May 1944.⁸ The female Jehovah's Witnesses probably received food that had a higher nutritional value than prisoners received in other concentration camps.

Historian Andreas Baumgartner provides three explanations why the prisoners received increased rations at the rate of 2 Reichsmark (RM) per day—the costs may have been higher than those of the large kitchens in the concentration camps or the Jehovah's Witnesses in fact received better and more costly meals at Schloss Mittersill and Schloss Lannach. The most probable explanation is that the camp administration in fact calculated a rate of 2 RM per day per prisoner but only used part of that for the prisoners and pocketed the rest.

What is known about the female prisoners' treatment is that there were neither killings nor deaths in the Schloss Mittersill or Schloss Lannach subcamps. There was practically no change in prisoner numbers. Baumgartner states that there was probably an exchange of prisoners whereby the eldest Jehovah's Witness was returned to the main camp and a Jehovah's Witness from Ravensbrück was sent to Schloss Lannach as her replacement.⁹ The woman sent back to the main camp survived more than five and one-half years in the concentration camps and was liberated in Ravensbrück. Another female Jehovah's Witness was transferred from the Schloss Mittersill subcamp to Mauthausen. She almost did not survive her time in Mauthausen but was finally liberated.¹⁰

The living conditions in the camps at Schloss Mittersill and Schloss Lannach are estimated to have been much better than in the female concentration camps at Ravensbrück and Mauthausen.

Both subcamps, originally part of the Ravensbrück camp system, were taken over by the Mauthausen camp for administrative reasons in September 1944.¹¹ This organizational measure did not result in any personnel changes. There are also no reports of any changes in the guards.

In the final phase of the Third Reich, obviously no consideration was given to the evacuation of the camps at Schloss Mittersill and Schloss Lannach, because of the long distance from the Mauthausen main camp and the collapsing trans-

port network. The female prisoners at Schloss Mittersill were liberated by American troops on May 8, 1945. A U.S. infantry division pushing east from the Tyrol in the direction of Pinzgau, where Mittersill is located, liberated the Jehovah's Witnesses at the Schloss Mittersill subcamp.

The women at Schloss Lannach were liberated a little later. On May 9, a motorized unit of the Red Army reached the area to the west of Graz, where Schloss Lannach is located. The guards had most probably fled by this time.

Details on the SS guards are lacking. There was only a general investigation into acts of homicide in the Schloss Mittersill and Schloss Lannach camps. The investigation did not proceed due to a lack of evidence.¹²

SOURCES A scholarly publication on these subcamps was written by Andreas Baumgartner, *Die vergessenen Frauen von Mauthausen: Die weiblichen Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen und ihre Geschichte* (Vienna, 1997), which forms the basis of this essay. Some details were taken from a work by Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen* (Vienna, 1995). Hermann Kaienburg's detailed study *Die Wirtschaft der SS* (Berlin, 2003) contains details about how Schloss Lannach fitted into the SS economy.

Archival sources used by Baumgartner mostly come from the AG-M and from Baumgartner's private archive. A collection of data relating to the Jehovah's Witnesses who were imprisoned in these two subcamps is to be found in GAZJ. There are few documents in AG-R. Material on the SS economy in relation to Schloss Lannach is to be found in the BA-B. The BA-L (formerly ZdL) holds a report on possible criminal acts in the subcamps at Schloss Mittersill and Schloss Lannach.

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NOTES

1. AG-M, K4e.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. BA-B, NS 19-773, NS 2583.
5. BA-B, NS 3-722.
6. GAZJ, Collection KZ Mittersill/ KZ Lannach.
7. BA-B, NS 3-722.
8. AG-M, K4e.
9. AG-M, K5/6.
10. GAZJ, Collection KZ Mittersill/ KZ Lannach.
11. AG-M, K5/6.
12. BA-L, B 162 AR 6901606.

ST. ÄGYD AM NEUWALDE

The St. Ägyd am Neuwalde subcamp was located in the village of St. Ägyd am Neuwalde in southern Niederösterreich (Lower Austria; until 1945: Reichsgau Niederdonau). It was opened on November 2, 1944, and closed on April 1, 1945, according to historian Hans Maršálek (or according to the International Tracing Service [ITS], on April 4, 1945).

Usually, this camp is seen in connection with the Kraftfahrtechnische Lehranstalt der Waffen-SS (Motor Vehicle

Technical Education Institute [SS], KTL), which had its headquarters in Vienna. But Bertrand Perz argues that the employment of the inmates could perhaps also be seen in connection with a larger construction project such as the erection of a production site for car engines, a giant facility for the production and storage of fuel, or a production site for V-weapon components. Whatever project was planned, the isolated location of St. Ägyd, hidden deeply in the mountains of Lower Austria, would have provided ideal conditions. However, due to the advancing front line, none of these plans was ever realized, and until April 1945 the prisoners were only used to construct the camp, to expand a cavern, and to prepare the planned construction work. Probably some inmates were indeed employed by the KTL to maintain and repair truck engines. Other employers of prisoners from the St. Ägyd camp were the companies Schmitt & Junk (a construction company from Munich) and the Stephansdach Holzbau GmbH, which operated a sawmill and a carpenter shop.

The camp was located on a property that had been confiscated from the Catholic Church in the summer of 1944. It consisted of two barracks for the inmates, as well as some administrative and technical buildings, and was surrounded by barbed wire and watchtowers. Next to the camp, there were a number of barracks in which the guards were accommodated. They consisted of about 30 to 40 Volksdeutsche SS men. The camp commander was SS-Hauptscharführer Willi Auerswald, who had earlier been on duty at the Steyr-Münichholz camp. The roll-call leader (Rapportführer) was Anton Perschl.

On November 2, 1944, the first 300 prisoners arrived. More than half of them were Poles; the others were Yugoslavians, Soviets, and Germans. Of this group, 125 were considered skilled laborers, and 14 were assigned to be prisoner-functionaries. Due to the severe work and living conditions in the subcamp, there was a high fluctuation of inmates. Repeatedly, prisoners from St. Ägyd were sent back to Mauthausen. Until January 8, the number of inmates dropped to 268—about 10 percent of the inmates had died within the first two months of the camp's existence, and some had been sent back to the main camp. On January 8, more than 90 prisoners who were incapable of working were sent back to Mauthausen; on February 20, 50 more. On February 21, 184 inmates were brought from Mauthausen, mostly Soviets but also Italians, Poles, and Germans. Out of 497 inmates that had been transferred in total to St. Ägyd, about 46 died.

The 391 remaining prisoners were evacuated on April 1. They had to walk to the railway station in St. Ägyd and were taken by train to St. Pölten. From there, they walked to Krems an der Donau and continued by train to Mauthausen. On April 4, 1945, 297 prisoners arrived there; 4 had died.

Camp commander Willi Auerswald was sentenced to death in the Dachau Trials. In 1948, his sentence was reduced to life, then early in the 1950s to 10 years of imprisonment. Anton Perschl was sentenced in Vienna in 1952 to seven months of imprisonment.

SOURCES A detailed description of the camp by Bertrand Perz can be found in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 426–429. A further description can be found by Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen. Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995), p. 77. For more information, see Christian Rabl, “Vergessen oder verdrängt? Das Mauthausen-Aussenkommando St. Ägyd am Neuwalde und seine Rolle im NS-Lagersystem” (Ph.D. diss., University of Vienna, 2006); and Hans Heppner and Friedrich Enk, *Chronik der Marktgemeinde St. Ägyd am Neuwalde* (St. Ägyd, 1998). Also see the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:183. This camp is also listed in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1842.

Files on the subcamp St. Ägyd am Neuwalde are located in the AG-M under call numbers B/60/11 and B/42/01 (Nebenlager St. Ägyd am Neuwalde: Lage- und Höhenplan).

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STEYR-MÜNICHHOLZ

The ball-bearing factory Münichholz, “one of the most important specialist industries for German air armaments,” according to Hans Maršálek, was located in the Münichholz district of the city of Steyr in Oberösterreich (Upper Austria) during World War II.¹ Guidance equipment and later aircraft engines were produced in the facility. The rolling mill in Steyr-Münichholz had been founded in 1941 and quickly became the third-largest producer of ball bearings in the German Reich; almost half of the labor force consisted of male and female forced laborers from all European countries. The rolling mill belonged to Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG (SDP).

By no later than September 1938, the city of Steyr had close relations with the nearby Mauthausen concentration camp. As Karl-Heinz Rauscher states, from that time the corpses of prisoners who died in Mauthausen were cremated in the Steyr crematorium. Until 1945, victims of Mauthausen and its subcamps comprised 86 percent of all people cremated at the Steyr crematorium.

From the end of 1941, prisoners from Mauthausen were required to work for SDP. At first they were sent on a daily basis to Münichholz on buses and later on trains, but this approach turned out not to be efficient enough for the SDP managers. According to Rauscher, from January 1942, following the initiative of the managing director of the SDP, Meindl, prisoners were required to construct a temporary barracks camp in Steyr-Münichholz that was to accommodate Mauthausen prisoners who were to work in the SDP's new aircraft engine factory. From January 1942 on, about 300 inmates, the majority of them Spaniards, worked on erecting this camp. It was intended that permanent accommodation would be the Steyr-Garsten prison. However, due to political intrigue, the

prison was not made available for the concentration camp inmates. The result was that on March 14, 1943, the temporary camp in Steyr-Münichholz was opened as the new Mauthausen subcamp. The camp consisted of six accommodation barracks, an infirmary, stores barracks, toilet barracks, kitchen, one barracks for the camp command, and one for the guards.

Not only the SDP but also the Steyr community benefited from the prisoners' labor. Prisoners were used to construct the camp and various air-raid defense buildings, to build aircraft engines and perform quality control on them, to produce ball bearings, and to assemble aircraft engines and tank components. They worked in two 12-hour shifts. The city of Steyr used the prisoners in building streets, cellars, and bunkers. Initially there were 300 male prisoners in the camp. By the end of February 1944, there were 1,022 prisoners, and by the end of 1944, about 2,000 prisoners. Rauscher states that the prisoners were mostly of Russian, Yugoslav, and Polish nationality. In Steyr-Münichholz, there were also Spanish International Brigadists and French resistance fighters. From fall 1944 on, there were also Jewish prisoners in the camp. Otto Heess was the camp commander from August 27, 1943, to May 6, 1945. The roll-call leader (Rapportführer) was Willi Auerswald.

After reviewing the city of Steyr's record of the number of cremations, Rauscher estimates the number of prisoners who died in the Steyr subcamp or who were returned to Mauthausen as "unable to work" (*arbeitsunfähig*) and probably murdered there as 900. Several prisoners died while trying to escape, while others—with the help of the local Münichholz parish—appeared to have succeeded. During a heavy air raid on Steyr on April 2, 1944, prisoners were killed. Even before that raid, the ball-bearing factory had been repeatedly bombed, as, for example, on February 23 and 24, 1944.

A group of prisoners from the camp Wiener Neustadt arrived in the camp on April 9, 1945. A few days later, these prisoners and a first group of prisoners from the Steyr-Münichholz subcamp marched to Gusen; those who could not walk were taken to Mauthausen and murdered. These measures reduced the almost 2,000 prisoners to around 1,200. Evacuation marches from other camps meant that the last officially recorded number of prisoners in the camp at the end of April 1945 was 2,918, but when the camp was liberated on May 5, 1945, there were 3,090 prisoners.

A number of postwar trials dealt with events at the Steyr-Münichholz subcamp. For killing an inmate, Czech SS guard Franz Kautny was sentenced to death in a case that dealt with crimes committed at the Mauthausen main camp and its subcamps. Heess was sentenced to life in prison; Auerswald (who later became the camp commander in St. Ägyd), to death by hanging. The sentence was later reduced to 10 years of imprisonment. The Austrian inmate Franz Steuerer who had been the block elder of Block 4 in Münichholz was sentenced to a life term in a penitentiary.

SOURCES Bertrand Perz is the author of a description of the Steyr-Münichholz subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara

Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 437–440. A detailed and comprehensive description of the Steyr-Münichholz subcamp is by Karl-Heinz Rauscher, *Steyr im Nationalsozialismus: Politische, militärische und soziale Strukturen* (Gnas: Weishaupt-Verlag, 2003), pp. 197–202. On p. 196, the author describes the long history of the relationships between the city of Steyr and the Mauthausen concentration camp, which predated the camp. Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995), pp. 7, 9, 77, describes the Steyr-Münichholz camp. Further references to the subcamp are to be found in Florian Freund and Bertrand Perz, *Das KZ in der Serbenhalle: Zur Kriegsproduktion in Wiener Neustadt* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1987); Christian Bernadac, *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III* (Paris, 1976); Bertrand Perz, "Der Arbeitseinsatz im KZ Mauthausen," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998), pp. 533–557; Perz, "Steyr-Münichholz. Ein Konzentrationslager der Steyr-Daimler-Puch A.G.," *JDÖW* (1989), pp. 52–61; Perz, "Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager in Linz," in *Nationalsozialismus in Linz*, ed. Fritz Mayrhofer and Walter Schuster (Linz, 2001), 2:1041–1094; Perz, "Politisches Management im Wirtschaftskonzern. Georg Meindl und die Rolle des Staatskonzerns Steyr-Daimler-Puch bei der Verwirklichung der NS-Wirtschaftsziele in Österreich," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 1996), pp. 95–112; David Wingate Pike, *Spaniards in the Holocaust: Mauthausen, the Horror on the Danube* (London, 2000); Martina Schröck, *Vom Spanischen Bürgerkrieg ins Konzentrationslager: Die republikanischen Spanier im KZ Mauthausen* (Passau, 1996); Waltraud Neuhauser-Pfeiffer and Karl Ramsmaier, *Vergessene Spuren: Die Geschichte der Juden in Steyr* (Linz: Edition Sandkorn, 1993); Helmut Retzl, "Sadismus und qualvoller Tod," *ABSS*, March 9, 1988; the published dissertation of Gisela Rabitsch, *Die Konzentrationslager in Österreich 1938–1945: Überblick und Geschehen* (Vienna, 1967); and *Konzentrationslager Melk: Begleitbroschüre zur ständigen Ausstellung* (Vienna, 1992). See also the report of former inmate Josef Felsberger, "Erlebnisse meiner Schutzhaft im Konzentrationslager Mauthausen (Münichholz, Gusen I), dated Dec. 13, 1945; the radio feature "Ehemalige KZ-Häftlinge erzählen" (*DöW*, 1803); and a video documentation from 2001 by Leo Weidinger, *Das KZ-Nebenlager Steyr-Münichholz. Zwangsarbeit für die Steyr-Werke*. 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), 1:186; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977), Teil I, p. 1842.

Details on the Steyr-Münichholz subcamp are held in AG-M under references B/38/03 (Nebenlager Wien-Saurerwerke: Evakuierungsliste von Wien-Saurerwerke nach KL Steyr, 1282 Namen, 2.4.1945–23.4.1945); and V/03/45 (Interviews und Häftlingsberichte: Bericht des Franz Kalteis, ehemaliger Häftling im Konzentrationslager Mauthausen sowie im Nebenlager Saurerwerke, September 15, 1969). The use of the

prisoners by the city of Steyr is documented in various construction files held in the ASt-Sty; in the DÖW under reference 112111; and in the IfZ-UW under reference T 83/77. Records regarding the trial against former personnel of the Steyr-Münichholz subcamp can be found at the following sources: *US vs. Kurt Otto* (NARA, 000-Mauthausen-5); *US vs. Wilhelm Kauffeld* (NARA, 000-Mauthausen-10); *US vs. Laurianc Navas* (NARA, 000-50-5-25); *US vs. Hubert Frisch et al.* (NARA, 000-50-5-38); *US vs. Fabian Richter et al.* (NARA, 000-50-5-40); Franz Steurer trial (People's Court of Vienna, I d Vr 4845/48.

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NOTE

1. Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995), p. 77.

ST. LAMBRECHT (MEN)

The St. Lambrecht Monastery was the first Austrian monastery to be confiscated by the National Socialists. This occurred in May 1938, and the Gau Steiermark (Styria) became the registered proprietor. Together with other monasteries, St. Lambrecht was administered by the Manor Administration Admont and St. Lambrecht (Güterdirektion Admont und St. Lambrecht), which was under the command of SS-Obersturmbannführer (later SS-Standartenführer) Hubert Erhart.¹ The Güterdirektion Admont und St. Lambrecht in turn was controlled by the German Association for the Care of Ethnic Germans and Settler Assistance (Deutscher Reichsverein für Volkspflege und Siedlerhilfe e.V., Berlin). This association originated from the SS-Race and Settlement Main Office (Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt, RuSHA), and in 1942 it came under the jurisdiction of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The association's chairman at this time was Oswald Pohl, head of the WVHA. The association was originally established with the main task of resettling Germans in non-German border areas of the German Reich so as to strengthen the ethnic Germans within those areas. It also managed church confiscated property.² The association was unsuccessful in its attempt to gain ownership of the monastery assets, and so a lease was negotiated with the Gau Styria over the monastery lands.

In St. Lambrecht, the Deutscher Reichsverein aimed to restructure the ownership of 10 percent of the monastery grounds so that it became so-called hereditary farms. They would be leased on favorable conditions to farmers. One further goal at St. Lambrecht was to establish a farm laborer settlement. To establish the settlement, the association demanded concentration camp prisoners. The first transport of 80 to 100 Dachau prisoners arrived in St. Lambrecht on May 13, 1942. The camp was administered until November 19, 1942, by the Dachau concentration camp. On November 20, 1942, St. Lambrecht, together with the subcamps at Schloss

Lind and Passau I, came under the administration of the Mauthausen concentration camp.

At first the prisoners were put to work within the monastery, constructing the camp and the SS accommodations. After that work was done, the majority of the prisoners had to construct the farmer settlement, and up to 30 prisoners were put to work on the farm and in the forests. Some also worked in the kitchens and as cleaners. From the winter of 1942–1943 onward, the prisoners were also used by Erhart to build a villa for his family not far away from the monastery. At the beginning of 1944, the Office for Publications, Vienna (Publikationsstelle Wien) was relocated to the St. Lambrecht monastery. A few prisoners then worked for this institution.

In the summer of 1943, there was a rotation of almost all the prisoners. On June 29, 1943, 15 German and Polish prisoners were transferred back to the main camp. On July 1, 1943, 14 of these prisoners were reported as having been shot while “trying to escape.” A few days later, on July 5, 1943, 79 prisoners, mainly Polish and German political prisoners as well as Red Spaniards (Rotspaniern), were forced to march to the Gusen camp; 3 Red Spaniards were forced to march to the Schloss Lind subcamp, and 1 Red Spaniard to the main camp.³ At the same time, 99 Red Spaniards and a Polish “protective custody” prisoner were transferred from the main camp.⁴ The 79 prisoners who were transported to Gusen were allocated to a punishment company. Only a few are said to have survived. The reasons for this action are not documented, but survivor Josef Nischelwitzer thinks that the leader of a construction detail, who came from Upper Silesia, had overheard Polish prisoners discussing escape plans.⁵

Little can be said about the composition of the prisoner population in the period when the camp was administered from Dachau. According to one report, the prisoners in the first transport were mostly Poles, but there were also Germans and people from the former Czech Republic.⁶ The names of 103 prisoners sent to the St. Lambrecht subcamp before July 1943 are known:⁷ 45 came from the German Reich, 33 were Poles, 19 were Spaniards, 5 were Czechs, and 1 was a Yugoslav; 73 were categorized as political prisoners, 19 as Red Spaniards, 7 as “asocials” (*Arbeitszwang Reich*), and 2 as temporary preventive custody (*Befristeter Vorbeugungshaft*) prisoners.

The names of 129 prisoners transported to the subcamp after July 2, 1943, are also known.⁸ These names allow one to discern the nationalities of the prisoners: 109 (84.5 percent) were Spaniards, 6 Poles, 5 Italians, 3 Soviets, 3 Frenchmen, 2 Reich Germans, and 1 Hungarian. In addition to the Red Spaniards, there were 13 political prisoners (10.8 percent); 2 percent were in security arrest (*Sicherheitsverwahrung*); there was 1 Soviet prisoner of war (POW); the remainder were (1 each) categorized as a Russian civilian worker, or rather a civilian worker, as “Jewish,” and as a temporary preventive custody prisoner.

It can no longer be determined how many prisoners in total were sent to St. Lambrecht. The first strength report was dated from September 2, 1943, when 121 prisoners were sent from

the main concentration camp to the subcamp; 44 of these were sent back to the main camp, including 31 Red Spaniards, in a transport on December 1, 1943. These Red Spaniards apparently were not sent back to the main camp for punishment or to die. Rather, as skilled workers, they were reallocated to another work detachment. Between September 1943 and May 1945, there were on average 80 prisoners in the camp. The highest documented number of prisoners was on October 2, 1943, when there were 101 prisoners in the camp. No prisoners died in the camp after September 1943, but it should be noted that in addition to the Red Spaniard transport another 13 prisoners were transferred back to the main camp.⁹

Conditions in the camp deteriorated considerably when the Mauthausen concentration camp took control. Mistreatment of prisoners increased with the new camp guard. Nevertheless, the food was better than in other subcamps—if only for the reason that the Manor Administration operated its own farm.

Unlike the subcamp at Schloss Lind, which was also administered by the Güterdirektion Admont und St. Lambrecht, the evacuation of St. Lambrecht was not attempted. However, in its last days, there were allegedly no guards in the camp. It was liberated shortly after Schloss Lind, after May 11 or 12, by British forces.

The camp leader was initially SS-Unterscharführer Remle.¹⁰ He was replaced by SS-Hauptscharführer Ernst Angerer, who came from Munich. According to a report by Josef Nischelwitzer, who enjoyed privileges as a construction detachment Kapo, Angerer was not “an oppressor and not a murderer . . . he was basically different from the others. The detachment was relatively bearable.”¹¹ Angerer is said to have been arrested because he gave favors to the prisoners. He is said to have been convicted and punished by being transferred to the SS-Sondereinheit Dirlewanger for probation.

When the Mauthausen administration took over, Angerer was replaced as camp commander by SS-Untersturmführer Erich Schöller. The camp guard, which consisted of between six and eight men, was also replaced.¹² A member of the guard was convicted in proceedings before a U.S. military court in Dachau for mistreating prisoners and sentenced to 10 years’ imprisonment.¹³

SOURCES A history of the three camps administered by the Güterdirektion Admont und St. Lambrecht has been written by Dietmar Seiler: *Die SS im Benediktinerstift: Aspekte der KZ-Aussenlager St. Lambrecht und Schloss Lind* (Graz, 1994). Barbara Distel has also written about the camps: “KZ-Kommandos an idyllischen Orten. Dachauer Aussenlager in Österreich,” *DaHe* 15 (1999): 54–65. Stefan Jagoschütz concentrated on the St. Lambrecht Monastery in his theological diploma “Das Benediktinerstift St. Lambrecht im Nationalsozialismus: 1938–1945” (Diplomarbeit, Salzburg, 1990). Information on the Deutscher Reichsverein für Volkspflege und Siedlerhilfe e.V., Berlin, can be found in a work by Walter Naasner, *SS-Wirtschaft und SS-Verwaltung: “Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungsbauplatz und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmen” und weitere Dokumente* (Düsseldorf, 1998).

The report by survivor Josef Nischelwitzer has been published as “St. Lambrecht: Die Geschichte eines Häftlingskommandos,” in *Josef Nischelwitzer 1912–1987: Skizzen aus seinem Leben und seiner Zeit*, ed. KPÖ Kärnten (Klagenfurt, 1988), pp. 55–74. Dietmar Seiler’s interviews with local inhabitants and persons who were in contact with the camp are held by the Oral History Archive of IfWSg. The AG-M holds copies of the transport list, the subcamp roll-call book, statements by Josef Nischelwitzer, and 71 prisoner cards. The IPN holds a few transport lists. There is further information in the Sti-A-StLam and the Seiler private archive collection St. Lambrecht. For the trial of an SS guard from the St. Lambrecht camp, see NARA, RG 338, Records of U.S. Army Commands, 1942, Records of Headquarters, USAREUR, War Crimes Branch, War Crimes Case Files (“Cases Tried”), 1945–1959, Case 000-50-5-8, *USA v. Willi Auerswald et al.*

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NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 3/900 and 1462.
2. BA-B, NS 3/312, fol. 19.
3. Variation Report for June 29, 1943, Mauthausen Concentration Camp Record Office. KZ Mauthausen 26, k. 85; Variation Report for July 5, 1943, Mauthausen Concentration Camp Record Office, KZ Mauthausen 26, k. 89–90, both in IPN.
4. Variation Report for July 2, 1943, Mauthausen Concentration Camp Record Office, AG-M, B/44/3.
5. Josef Nischelwitzer, “St. Lambrecht: Die Geschichte eines Häftlingskommandos,” in *Josef Nischelwitzer 1912–1987: Skizzen aus seinem Leben und seiner Zeit*, ed. KPÖ Kärnten (Klagenfurt, 1988), p. 65; AG-M, B/44/5.
6. Jan Kosinski, Report and List of fifty-six prisoners of the first transport to St. Lambrecht on May 13, 1942, AG-D, 23.387.
7. Variation Report July 5, 1943, Camp Record Office Mauthausen Concentration Camp, IPN, KZ Mauthausen 26, k. 89–90; AG-D, 23.387.
8. Variation Report for July 2, 1943, Camp Record Office Mauthausen Memorial Concentration Camp, B/44/3; Report of the St. Lambrecht Town and the St. Lambrecht Police Office, list of seventy-one prisoners in the camp at its liberation B/44/1/1, AG-M; as well as AG-M, Data Project, List of All Documented Prisoners in the Mauthausen Concentration Camp, Data Bank Questionnaire to St. Lambrecht Prisoners (project incomplete as of July 30, 2003).
9. Work Leader Report Mauthausen Protective Custody Report F/2/15; Subcamp Daily Reports, February 17, 1944, to March 15, 1945, E/6/11; Movements in Mauthausen Concentration Camp, April 1945, E/6/7—all in AG-M.
10. Jan Kosinski, Report, AG-D, 23.387.
11. Nischelwitzer, “St. Lambrecht: Die Geschichte eines Häftlingskommandos,” p. 60.
12. Ibid. Copies of a record of interview of Josef Nischelwitzer by the Federal Police Office Klagenfurt, State Police Department, March 6, 1970, AG-M, B/44/5.
13. NARA, RG 338, Case 000-50-5-8, *USA v. Willi Auerswald et al.*

ST. LAMBRECHT (WOMEN)

As with the men's subcamp, the female prisoners at St. Lambrecht worked for the Manor Administration Admont and St. Lambrecht (Güterdirektion Admont und St. Lambrecht), part of the German Association for the Care of Ethnic Germans and Settler Assistance (Deutscher Reichsverein für Volkspflege und Siedlerhilfe e.V. Berlin). The work was forestry work, cleaning, and working in the kitchens. At the beginning of 1944, the Office for Publications, Vienna (Publikationsstelle Wien) was relocated to the monastery at St. Lambrecht. Some of the prisoners also had to work for this organization.

In February or March 1943, 30 women from the Ravensbrück concentration camp are said to have been transferred to St. Lambrecht. The St. Lambrecht subcamp for women, erected with the arrival of these prisoners, was physically and organizationally separate from the subcamp for men. It remained under the administration of the Ravensbrück concentration camp until September 15, 1944. When the camp was transferred to Mauthausen, the remaining 23 prisoners were entered into the Mauthausen prisoner register. The prisoners, together with some prisoners from the main camp and the Schloss Mittersill subcamp, were given the first prisoner numbers ranging from 1 to 58.

All the women at St. Lambrecht were Jehovah's Witnesses. The members of the International Association of Bible Researchers (Internationaler Bibelforscher-Vereinigung) had been persecuted by the National Socialists since 1933. They were persecuted because they refused to undertake military service, to swear allegiance to the state, and to obey the rules of state institutions. This group of Jehovah's Witnesses remained incarcerated in St. Lambrecht until the subcamp was liberated. This is noteworthy because in September 1943 the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) gave a directive that Jehovah's Witness groups in the concentration camps were to be scattered, and the individuals were to be separated from each other.

Of the 23 women, 12 were from the German Reich; there were 5 Poles, 5 Dutch, and 1 Belgian. The eldest was born in 1889. The women had an average age of 41 years when they were liberated.¹ There are no documented cases of any deaths or of any transfers back to the main Mauthausen concentration camp after September 15, 1944. This suggests that the prison conditions were bearable in the St. Lambrecht female subcamp.

Toward the end of the war, the International Committee of the Red Cross was able to negotiate the release of the Belgian, French, and Dutch prisoners. A list of prisoners to be handed over to the Red Cross included the names of St. Lambrecht prisoners from the Netherlands and Belgium.² However, the rapid advance of Allied forces prevented the evacuation of the subcamp or prisoner transports to the main camp. As with the subcamp for men, the subcamp for women is likely to have been liberated by British units shortly after Schloss Lind was liberated, after May 11 or 12, 1945.

According to a statement by a prisoner from the subcamp for men, the female guards were just as bad as the male guards.³ According to the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, Jane B., a female St. Lambrecht overseer, appears in a number of proceedings relating to the Ravensbrück concentration camp.⁴

SOURCES Dietmar Seiler describes the history of the three subcamps assigned to the Güterdirektion Admont und St. Lambrecht in *Die SS im Benediktinerstift: Aspekte der KZ-Aussenlager St. Lambrecht und Schloss Lind* (Graz, 1994). Probably because of the dearth of documents, only a small chapter is devoted to the subcamp for women. Based largely on Seiler, a short history of the subcamp is to be found in Andreas Baumgartner's work on the female prisoners of the Mauthausen concentration camp, *Die vergessenen Frauen von Mauthausen: Die weiblichen Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen und ihre Geschichte* (Vienna, 1997); as well as in an essay by Barbara Distel on the Dachau subcamps in Austria, "KZ-Kommandos an idyllischen Orten. Dachauer Aussenlager in Österreich," *DaHe* 15 (1999): 54–65.

Only a few documents on the subcamp for women at St. Lambrecht are known. They are held in the AG-M, the StA-StLam, and the Seiler private archive, collection St. Lambrecht. Dietmar Seiler has conducted interviews with the local population and with people who had contact with the camp. These interviews are kept by the Oral History Archive of the IfWSg. A report of a former prisoner of the St. Lambrecht subcamp for men mentions the subcamp for women: Josef Nischelwitzer, "St. Lambrecht: Die Geschichte eines Häftlingskommandos," in *Josef Nischelwitzer 1912–1987: Skizzen aus seinem Leben und seiner Zeit*, ed. KPÖ Kärnten (Klagenfurt; 1988), pp. 55–74.

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NOTES

1. A copy of the Admissions Register of the female Mauthausen Concentration Camp, AG-M, K/5/6; original held by ITS.
2. AG-M, K/6/2.
3. AG-M, B/44/8.
4. AG-M, K/10/09/06A.

ST. VALENTIN

St. Valentin is located in the district of Amstetten in Lower Austria (Niederösterreich; until 1945: Reichsgau Niederdonau). The Nibelungenwerke, one of the largest tank production sites during World War II, was located in St. Valentin. Hans Maršálek states that during the war mostly Type IV tanks were built here: 4,340 of the 8,209 Type IV tanks that were produced during World War II came from St. Valentin, or more than 50 percent of the total production in the German Reich.¹ Of the 3,366 Type IV tanks manufactured in Germany in 1944, 2,809 originated from St. Valentin. Even in April 1945, 65 tanks were delivered to the Wehrmacht's Heeresgruppe Süd.² The *Jagd tiger* and *Elefant*

tanks were also manufactured in St. Valentin but in lesser numbers.

Already in 1938 the Army High Command (Oberkommando des Heeres) had prepared plans to increase the capacities for the production of tanks in the Ostmark, the former Austria. Thus, the production site for tanks was created in St. Valentin, in close proximity to the iron production sites in Linz (Hütte Linz) and the Eisenwerke Oberdonau, both managed by the Reichswerke “Hermann Göring.” Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG (SDP), a former Austrian and then, from 1938, German armaments manufacturer, was first a leaseholder of the production site through the Nibelungenwerke, a subsidiary solely created for this purpose. In 1942, SDP finally acquired the company. At the same time, production was upgraded from repairing to producing tanks. The close cooperation of SDP with the SS also included the use of slave labor: between March 1942 and the autumn of 1943, the SDP engaged around 10,000 prisoners in different sites. Later, the number would increase to 14,000.

The St. Valentin camp was opened on August 21 (other sources: August 22), 1944, with the arrival of 500 male prisoners, among them 481 Jews. The latter had arrived in Mauthausen only one day earlier from Krakau-Plaszow. On August 28 and September 7, two more transports followed, each with 500 prisoners. Due to deaths on-site and transports back to the main camp, the subcamp never exceeded a maximum number of 1,480 inmates. The inmates were kept in approximately 10 barracks that were located about 300 meters (984 feet) behind the company grounds, close to the testing area for the assembled tanks. The camp was guarded by about 110 SS men under the command of a certain Heidingsfelder; the roll-call leader (Rapportführer) was Johann Schiller. During the existence of the camp, at least 150 inmates died, and six attempts to escape were reported.

The inmates were used in the vital war industry of tank manufacture. They worked within the company where they were kept in specific areas, separate from other employees, and they erected the testing area for assembled tanks and an air-raid bunker. In April 1945, when parts of the tank production were relocated to Ebensee, 695 inmates from St. Valentin were also relocated, between April 19 and 23. Then the camp was closed as Allied forces approached. But the exact date of its closure differs according to various sources: the International Tracing Service (ITS) states that the camp probably closed on April 19, 1945—the date when the first prisoners were evacuated to Ebensee. This information is based on the files of the Mauthausen camp and eyewitness statements. The German *Bundesgesetzblatt* gives April 21 as the closure date, whereas Maršálek puts the date as April 23—after the transports of prisoners to Ebensee had ceased.

After the war, a number of trials dealt with events at the St. Valentin subcamp, among others the U.S. Mauthausen military tribunals that took place in Dachau. For the severe mistreatment of inmates, leading to death, Rapportführer Schiller was sentenced to 30 years in prison. Former camp clerk Hans Carl von Posern was sentenced to life imprisonment

for the mistreatment and killing of inmates. The Landgericht (Regional Court) Vienna sentenced Ferdinand Polsterer, former leader of the factory security force in the Nibelungenwerke, to 12 years in a penitentiary. The Landgericht Munich I sentenced Wilhelm Lipinsko, a former prisoner-functionary, to 6 years of imprisonment for the mistreatment of prisoners.

SOURCES Bertrand Perz is the author of the essay on St. Valentin in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 433–436. Hans Maršálek mentions St. Valentin in his *Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995), pp. 19, 78. References to the camp are also found in *Konzentrationslager Melk: Begleitbroschüre zur ständigen Ausstellung* (Vienna, 1992); DÖW, *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Niederösterreich 1934–1945: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1987); and Bertrand Perz, “Politisches Management im Wirtschaftskonzern. Georg Meindl und die Rolle des Staatskonzerns Steyr-Daimler-Puch bei der Verwirklichung der NS-Wirtschaftsziele in Österreich,” in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen, 1996), pp. 95–112. On St. Valentin’s role in armaments manufacturing, see Norbert Schausberger, *Rüstung in Österreich: 1938 bis 1945* (Vienna, 1970). On SDP, see Bertrand Perz, *Projekt Quarz: Steyr-Daimler-Puch und das Konzentrationslager Melk* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1991). 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), I: 184; and in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1843.

The AG-M holds information on the St. Valentin subcamp under the references B 45/1 and 2 (Berichte über das Nebenlager St. Valentin); M F 4/1 (Angaben des im Arbeitseinsatz eingesetzten Häftlings Wolfgang Sanner); B 40/1 to 40/10, B 30/1 to B 30/16, B 12/36 (Berichte und Kopien von Transportlisten); as well as E 6/11 (Rapportbuch, Gesamtstand der Häftlinge in den Nebenlagern, Tagesaufstellungen). Information on postwar trials regarding the events at St. Valentin can be found at the following sources: *US vs. Johann Schiller* at NARA (Case 000-50-5-39); *US vs. Hans Carl von Posern* at NARA (Case 000-50-5-46). At NARA, see also *US vs. Peter Baerens et al.*, (Case 000-50-5-22), which contains details about Ebensee. For the trial against Polsterer, see LG Vienna, Vg I a Vr 6923/46; for the case against Lipinski, see LG Munich I, 1 Ks 17/49. The USHMMA lists the names of 25 prisoners who survived the St. Valentin subcamp. The account of former prisoner Nathan Gutman, “The Angel of St. Valentin,” is under the reference Acc.1996.A.0373. It describes his last weeks of the war in St. Valentin.

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NOTES

1. Norbert Schausberger, *Rüstung in Österreich: 1938 bis 1945* (Vienna, 1970), p. 197.

2. Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen; Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995), p. 87.

TERNBERG

The Reichsgau Oberdonau underwent a phase of rapid industrialization immediately following the *Anschluss* of Austria to the German Reich. This resulted in an enormous demand for electrical energy. The National Socialists turned to an idea developed in the 1920s and 1930s to supply electricity to the Gau Oberdonau. The idea was to construct a series of hydroelectric power stations along the River Enns. Following resolution of some disputes concerning responsibility for the construction of the Enns power station, the Österreichische Kraftwerke AG (Austrian Power Generator) was chosen to construct power stations at Grossraming, Staning, and Mühlradring. The Reichswerke “Hermann Göring” (RWHG), Linz, was chosen to build the power station at Ternberg. Its subsidiary Deutsche Bergwerke und Hüttenbau GmbH (German Mining and Steelworks Construction) was the general contractor. In turn, it contracted with Allgemeine Hoch- und Ingenieurbau AG (AHI-Bau) for the construction of the Ternberg hydroelectric power plant.

Construction in Ternberg began in the autumn of 1939 with the installation of the infrastructure necessary to construct a power station. Actual construction began in October 1941. By this time, there was a shortage of labor in Oberdonau. To make up for the shortage, foreign civilians, prisoners of war (POWs), penal prisoners, and concentration camp prisoners were used. With a peak in February 1944, there were around 2,000 such people working on the construction of the Ternberg power plant. The Wohnlager 75 (Accommodation Camp 75) was established to accommodate about 1,200 workers including Polish and French POWs, Eastern workers, penal prisoners, and civilian workers. The camp included six prisoner barracks that were separated from the other barracks by barbed wire.

The camp was established on May 15, 1942, to deal with the labor shortage. The Mauthausen concentration camp was unable to provide the number of prisoners required. It dissolved the Vöcklabruck subcamp on May 14 and transferred all of its concentration camp prisoners to Ternberg.¹ On May 16, 1942, according to a local police report, there were 320 Red Spaniards in the camp. They were guarded by 45 SS men and worked at the AHI-Bau.²

The Mauthausen concentration camp categorized veterans of the Spanish Civil War, that is, Spanish Republicans and members of the International Brigades, as Red Spaniards. Initially, these prisoners were placed by the SS at the lowest level in the Mauthausen hierarchy. Some 4,200 of the approximately 7,000 prisoners brought to the camp had been killed by the end of 1942. The Red Spaniards rose in the camp hierarchy as newer prisoners arrived, prisoners who were even more discriminated against. In time, their work discipline enabled them to assume a privileged position.

From June 1941, the “Cäsar Detachment,” which consisted exclusively of Red Spaniards and was named after its Kapo, César Orquín Serra, was sent to the subcamps at Vöcklabruck and Ternberg and eventually on to Redl-Zipf. Very few prisoners in this detachment died despite the heavy physical work. This was in large part due to the strong solidarity among the Red Spaniards. According to one prisoner report, Orquín Serra was able to get the SS to provide adequate food supplies; other reports state that Serra was duplicitous. The Kapos ensured that when the work details were put together, there was a combination of the physically weak with the healthy prisoners.

It can be assumed that the Red Spaniards were the majority of Ternberg’s prisoners. Only 13 of 408 prisoners died in the camp, a relatively low number when one considers the large size of the construction camp. In the nearby subcamp at Grossraming, where the prisoners were also constructing a power plant on the Enns, 227 of the 1,013 prisoners died between January 14, 1943, and August 29, 1944.

The majority of the Ternberg prisoners worked on the construction site. The excavation for the foundations, where the prisoners had to break up the hard rock with heavy hammers and carry it, was physically draining work. Some of the prisoners are said to have worked in the nearby quarry. Not only did the Deutsche Bergwerke require the prisoners to construct the power plant; the construction firm Hummel and Baumann used them to reroute Reichstrasse 95. The Reich Road Administration (Reichsstrassenverwaltung) paid the Deutsche Bergwerke for the use of the prisoners.

On September 18, 1944, 395 prisoners were transferred back to the main camp, and the subcamp at Ternberg was dissolved.³ Although well advanced, work ended on the power plant. The project was no longer important enough for the war effort.

When questioned after the war before the state criminal court, SS-Scharführer Josef Schiller stated the “company commander” [Kompaniechef] was an SS-Obersturmführer Kieserle.⁴ SS-Hauptsturmführer Anton Ganz was the camp leader (Lagerführer) at Ternberg from the end of 1942 to May or June 1943. He was later commander at Wiener Neustadt and Ebensee.⁵ Ganz was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1972. He was particularly noted for his brutality in Ebensee—a survivor described him as arbitrary, dictatorial, and brutal.

SOURCES The history of the Ternberg camp has been described in two publications: Florian Freund, “Zwangsarbeit beim Bau der Ennskraftwerke,” in *NS-Zwangsarbeit in der Elektrizitätswirtschaft der “Ostmark” 1938–1945: Ennskraftwerke—Kaprun—Draukraftwerke—Ybbs-Persenbeug—Ernsthofen*, ed. Oliver Rathkolb and Florian Freund (Vienna, 2002); and Adolf Brunthaler’s *Strom für den Führer: Der Bau der Ennskraftwerke und die KZ-Lager Ternberg, Grossraming und Dipoldsau* (Weitra, 2000). Information on Spanish Republicans at Mauthausen can be obtained from Martina Schröck, *Vom Spanischen Bürgerkrieg ins Konzentrationslager: Die republikanischen Spanier im KZ Maut-*

hausen (Passau, 1996); David Wingeate Pike, *Spaniards in the Holocaust: Mauthausen, the Horror on the Danube*. (New York, 2000); Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1995).

As with just about all subcamps that were dissolved toward the end of the war, there are scarcely any SS documents other than the scattered transport lists. This camp was not the subject of postwar trials. There is a relatively large amount of material dealing with the construction of the Enns power station in the BA-B and in the Oö.La. Additional primary sources may be found in BA-L and a published document, translated into French, in Christian Bernadac, *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III* (Paris, 1976).

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NOTES

1. Mauthausen Administration Activity Report, May 15, 1942, in Christian Bernadac, *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III*, (Paris, 1976), p. 334.

2. Report of the Ebenboden near Ternberg Police Station to the Steyr District Council, May 23, 1942, Oö.La, BH Steyr, Sch. 190 AZ 10/13-1942.

3. Subcamp Roll Call Book, Daily Report, September 18, 1944, AG-M, E/6/11.

4. Copy of a letter from the Landesgerichts für Strafsachen Wien to the KZ-Verband, November 10, 1948, AG-M, B/46/3.

5. BA-L, ZdL, Ludwigsburg, AZ 419 AR-Z 4/64.

VÖCKLABRUCK

The subcamp at Vöcklabruck opened in June 1941 in the Wagrain district of the city of Vöcklabruck. It was the third subcamp of the Mauthausen concentration camp after Gusen and Bretstein. The prisoners were generally not used in armaments production in the early stages of the founding of the camp. The assumption was made that the camp was opened at the instigation of the SS-owned company German Earth and Stone Works (DESt). Its prisoners were engaged mainly in road construction work.

The first transport of about 300 prisoners was transferred to Vöcklabruck on June 6, 1941. The prisoners—with the exception of 2 prisoners from the German Reich and 1 Moroccan—were said to have been exclusively so-called Red Spaniards.

The camp's prisoners were deployed to different labor details in the surrounding area of Vöcklabruck. The two biggest details, Strassenbau I and Strassenbau II, were assigned to do road construction work in the south of the city. Three smaller labor details, Vöcklabrücke, Agerbrücke, and Tiefenweg, were engaged in bridge construction. Other small labor details worked on the construction of a water pipe, in a stone quarry, in the nearby town of Attnang-Puchheim, and at demolition work.

The labor details were supposedly led by one or more civilians.

According to the statement of a survivor, a so-called gas van (*Gaswagen*) was used repeatedly for the killing of prisoners who were unable to work anymore. Two Spaniards and a Moroccan tried unsuccessfully to flee the camp on April 5, 1942. The Spaniards were supposedly recaptured; the Moroccan froze to death.

The Reichswerke “Hermann Göring” (RWHG) asked for concentration camp prisoners to be deployed at the construction of the power station Ternberg in the spring of 1942. Because the commandant's headquarters of the Mauthausen concentration camp were not in a situation to provide the requested number of prisoners, the Cäsar Detachment, which consisted of Red Spaniards and was named after its Kapo, César Orquín Serra, and its guard force were transferred to the newly opened subcamp Ternberg on May 14, 1942. Consequently, the camp Vöcklabruck was closed.¹

The Vöcklabruck subcamp was supposedly guarded by 30 SS men.

SUBKOMMANDO VÖCKLABRUCK OF THE REDL-ZIPF SUBCAMP

Between September 30, 1943, and March 24, 1945, a subcommando of the subcamp Redl-Zipf also existed in Vöcklabruck.² From a transport list it can be concluded that 48 prisoners were transported from the subcamp Wien-Schwechat to this detail on October 13, 1943. The majority of these prisoners were of Polish, Spanish, and Soviet origin.³

SOURCES The fact that there is no extensive account of the Vöcklabruck subcamp is explained mainly by the poor documentation. The first one who attempted to write a history of the subcamp is Christian Hawle. His account is based essentially on the interview with a survivor: “Vöcklabruck-Wagrain,” in *Täter und Opfer: Nationalsozialistische Gewalt und Widerstand im Bezirk Vöcklabruck 1938–1945. Eine Dokumentation*, ed. Christian Hawle, Gerhard Kriechbaum, and Margret Lehner (Vienna, 1995), pp. 21–35. The Vöcklabruck subcommando of the Redl-Zipf 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: 154.

As is the case with most of the camps that were closed before the end of the war, almost no SS documents about Vöcklabruck have been preserved. Pictures of the camp as well as the record of an interrogation of former prisoner Bernardo Martinez Castillo can be found in the AG-M. The most important source for the representation of the Vöcklabruck subcamp is the interview with prisoner B. The interview was conducted in 1985. In the collection of the ITS, there are documents about Vöcklabruck as well as about the subcommando of the Redl-Zipf subcamp. There is also some documentation in IPN. Christian Bernadac's *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III* (Paris, 1976) reproduces some documentation for this camp in French translation.

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NOTES

1. Report of activity of the administrative office of the Mauthausen concentration camp, entry from May 15, 1942, in Christian Bernadac, *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III*, (Paris, 1976), p. 334.

2. Report of activity of the administrative office of the KZ Mauthausen, entry from September 30, 1943, published in *ibid.*, p. 351.

3. Change of status report for October 13, 1943, camp orderly room Mauthausen concentration camp, IPN, KZ Mauthausen 26, k. 160.

WEYR

Weyr was located approximately 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) from the Grossraming subcamp, and it dates from the spring of 1943, probably mid- or late April. At that time, a detail of about 30 prisoners from Grossraming began clearing the forest land, leveling the ground in preparation for the construction of barracks. During the first few weeks at the Weyr site, the prisoners returned daily to Grossraming. After the site was enclosed with a barbed-wire fence and four barracks had been constructed, the prisoners stayed there. Additional barracks were built outside of the compound for the SS guards and the civilian workers. Weyr held about 100 prisoners, perhaps as many as 250, from various European nations, as well as 20 SS guards. Prisoners did road work and labor for civilian firms and were supervised by German Kapos. The Weyr subcamp was evacuated in October 1944, and the prisoners were returned to Mauthausen.

SOURCES There are no separate sources on Weyr. Readers should refer to the source section for Grossraming.

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WIEN (SAURERWERKE)

[AKA SAURERWERKE, WIEN-WEST]

The subcamp Wien (Saurerwerke) was located in District IX, Simmering, in Vienna. Here the prisoners worked for the former Austrian Saurerwerke AG in the Heidequerstrasse (sometimes also referred to as Haidestrasse).

The Austrian Saurerwerke performed production under license of the Swiss Company Adolph Saurer, which produced trucks and buses. Until 1938, the company employed approximately 1,000 people. By 1944, this number increased to about 5,000 including a high percentage of foreign forced laborers. In 1938, after Germany's *Anschluss* with Austria, the production site in Vienna-Simmering had been expanded, and a new factory building had been erected. Here, mainly armored reconnaissance vehicles, tank transporters, and tank engines were produced.

The camp was established on either August 20 or 21, 1944, with the arrival of the first 500 prisoners from Mauthausen. They had to erect the camp, which was established in a now-separated part of the camp for foreign forced laborers. Also, according to Bertrand Perz, they had to build the roll-call grounds and the work site for the inmates who were mainly

employed in the tank transporter production. For that purpose, they had to block the doors of Hall C to make sure that the concentration camp inmates remained as separate from the general workforce as possible.

On September 24, 1944, after the camp was finished, 850 more inmates arrived from Mauthausen. The company now employed prisoners exclusively. In February 1945, the number of inmates reached its peak, at 1,489. The majority of inmates were Poles, Soviets, Czechs, Yugoslavs, French, and Italians; about 150 inmates were considered Jews. According to Perz, in the course of the existence of the camp, 136 prisoners were transferred back to Mauthausen because they had become incapable of working; at least 35 died, and 12 inmates tried to escape. Hans Maršálek also states that several small groups of prisoners, comprising 3 to 5 prisoners each, managed to escape from the subcamp. Austrian prisoner Josef Lauscher succeeded in escaping with the assistance of an illegal prisoner organization, which had been operating in the Melk and Saurerwerke subcamps from the autumn of 1944 on. This illegal prisoner organization worked very efficiently—it was one of its largest successes to install Franz Kalteis, a Communist from Vienna, as the camp elder. Kalteis succeeded in establishing contacts with civilian workers at the company, individual members of the guard, and members of the resistance movement outside the camp.

The camp was guarded by members of the Wehrmacht who had been taken over by the SS and by members of the Austrian Home Guard (Landeschützen). Their number was about 130. The camp commander was Wehrmacht captain Johann Gärtner, then an SS-Hauptsturmführer.

The evacuation of the Saurerwerke subcamp began on April 2, 1945, when there were 1,466 inmates in the camp. The camp elder was able to convince Gärtner not to follow orders by the Mauthausen commander to kill all the inmates that were considered too ill to be evacuated. Thus, 190 prisoners were left behind at the Saurerwerke, to be liberated a few days later by the Red Army. The other inmates, together with prisoners from other Mauthausen subcamps such as St. Ägyd, Hirtenberg, Melk, and Amstetten, were evacuated and arrived on April 18, 1945, in the Gusen camp. From there they marched on to Steyr-Münichholz, where, on April 23, 1,076 survivors of the death march from the Saurerwerke were registered. Since 16 inmates had died during the march, and 25 had escaped, at least 157 inmates disappeared without a trace.

In 1949, the Landgericht (Regional Court) Wien put former camp commander Gärtner on trial. The former acting commandant, Wittkowski, a German, escaped trial in Austria in 1946 by fleeing to Germany.

SOURCES Bertrand Perz wrote the essay on Wien (Saurerwerke) in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 4, *Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 445–448. Hans Maršálek has documented the Wien (Saurerwerke) subcamp in *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1995), pp. 76, 260 (escape of Josef Lauscher), 293, and 316

(international prisoners' organization). See also Herbert Exenberger, "2. April 1945—Evakuierung des KZ-Nebenlagers Saurer-Werke," MDÖW Folge 171 (April 2005), pp. 5–8. For information on the Saurerwerke, see Franz Mathis, *Big Business in Österreich. Österreichische Grossunternehmen in Kurzdarstellungen* (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1987), 1: 252–253; and Norbert Schausberger, *Rüstung in Österreich 1938–1945* (Vienna: Hollinek, 1987), p. 204. 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), 1:189; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977), Teil I, p. 1849. For trials at the LG Vienna, see LG Vienna, Vg GE Vr 2156/49 (Härtner) and Vg 3c Vr 1626/45 (Wittkowski).

The AG-M contains documents on the Wien (Saurerwerke) subcamp under references V/03/45 (Interviews und Häftlingsberichte: Bericht des Franz Kalteis, ehemaliger Häftling im Konzentrationslager Mauthausen sowie im Nebenlager Saurerwerke, September 15, 1969); and B/38/03 (Nebenlager Wien-Saurerwerke: Evakuierungsliste von Wien-Saurerwerke nach KL Steyr, 1282 Namen, April 2, 1945–April 23, 1945), B 38/04 (Bericht Kalteis), and B 38/6 (Evakuierungslisten).

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WIENER NEUDORF

The founding of the subcamp Wiener Neudorf is directly related to the increasing demand of the aircraft industry in the German Reich as a consequence of the emerging defeat in the aerial warfare against Britain. Special importance was given to the construction and further development of aircraft engines. These were to be produced in a modern assembly line and with the use of special machine tools, in the mode of production developed by Henry Ford. The Flugmotorenwerke Ostmark were founded as an enterprise of the Reich Air Ministry and the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke AG (Junkers Aircraft and Motor Works, Inc., JFM) in April 1941 as a license factory for the production of the Junkers aircraft engine (Jumo 222). Another factory for injection pumps in Brünn (Brno) and a propeller factory in Marburg on the River Drau (Maribor) were to be built next to the main factory in Wiener Neudorf. The choice for the location was supposedly explained by the protected location of Wiener Neudorf from Allied air raids. The construction of the factory was to be carried out in the shortest possible period of time in accordance with the so-called Göring Program. The goal of this program was the quadrupling of the armament production for the German Luftwaffe. The production of 500, later of 1,000, engines a month was planned to commence by March 1943.

Because it soon became obvious that the Junkers engine Jumo 222 had not reached the point where it could be manufactured by serial production, the plans were switched to a li-

cense production of Daimler-Benz (DB) engines initially of the type DB-603, later of the type DB-605, at the end of the year 1943. The further construction of the plant and, as a result, also the production of aircraft engines were to be carried out, because of a growing lack of workers, by foreign prisoners of war (POWs) and civilian forced laborers. However, the assignment of workers did not fulfill the high demands of the planning for the construction of the Flugmotorenwerke Ostmark. The lack of labor was responsible for the fact that the construction works fell behind the given time schedule. As a consequence, there were changes in the management personnel at the Flugmotorenwerke Ostmark in August 1943. The general director of Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG (SDP), Georg Meindl, was named the new managing director.

Meindl's good personal relationship to high-ranking SS officials was also probably behind the decision for the setting up of a concentration camp in Wiener Neudorf. He asked Heinrich Himmler in a personal letter dated July 14, 1943, for about 2,000 concentration camp prisoners for the further construction and operation of the Flugmotorenwerke Ostmark.¹ This request was granted immediately by Himmler. A first transport of 201 prisoners from the Mauthausen concentration camp arrived on August 2, 1943.² The prisoners' task was to remodel a former hut camp for construction workers into a concentration camp for future prisoners. The production of aircraft engines finally began at the end of 1943, and the number of concentration camp prisoners in Wiener Neudorf grew close to 2,000 by January 1944. The subcamp arrived at its maximum capacity in November 1944 with almost 3,000 prisoners. The majority of the people imprisoned in the camp were Poles; other larger national groups included prisoners from the Soviet Union, France, Yugoslavia, Italy, Germany, and Austria.

The Wiener Neudorf subcamp was first located in the village of Guntramsdorf (a few kilometers south of Vienna) and consisted of 17 huts for the housing of the prisoners, 2 infirmary huts, and 9 administrative huts. As was common for subcamps set up for the armament industry, the guarding of Wiener Neudorf was taken over by that branch of the Wehrmacht that benefited from the respective production. That is why, to a large extent, the guard force included soldiers from the Luftwaffe subordinated to a smaller permanent staff of the SS guard force. The camp leader was SS-Hauptsturmführer Kurt Schmutzler. The function of Rapportführer was assigned to SS-Scharführer Rudolf Lamm. Hauptmann Ludwig Stier was the commander of the Luftwaffe soldiers.

Several cases of torture and deliberate killings of prisoners are detailed in the eyewitness report of the former prisoners' physician, Dr. Rudolf Busch-Waldeck.³ They were performed and ordered by different members of the SS and the Luftwaffe guard. It is believed that a total of about 400 to 450 prisoners died in the Wiener Neudorf subcamp as a result of undernourishment, illness, and ill-treatment.

The Flugmotorenwerke Ostmark became more and more the target of Allied air raids, starting in the early summer of 1944. The subcamp was hit and mostly destroyed during one of these raids on July 26, 1944. A total of 31 prisoners were

supposedly killed.⁴ The surviving prisoners were transferred the following day to a new camp in the village of Wiener Neudorf (Mitterfeld) because of the wide destruction of the subcamp.

Due to the intensified Allied air raids on strategically important factories of the armament industry, the decision was made in November 1943 to decentralize and move sections of the Flugmotorenwerke Ostmark underground. The partial transfer of the production from Wiener Neudorf to an underground factory in Dubnica, Slovakia, started in the summer of 1944. In spite of the reduced production, the Wiener Neudorf subcamp continued to operate.

The subcamp was evacuated on April 2, 1945, before the approaching Soviet troops. At this point, 2,517 prisoners were in the Wiener Neudorf subcamp.⁵ Supposedly 38 prisoners who were unable to march were left behind in the camp and murdered. The remaining prisoners were sent on a 13-day march in the direction of the Mauthausen main camp. The report of Busch-Waldeck mentions 243 deaths; other sources cite almost 150 deaths during the march.⁶ A minimum of 70 prisoners must have managed to flee during the march.⁷ The survivors finally arrived at the Mauthausen concentration camp on April 14, 1945.

The persons responsible for the violent crimes committed in the Wiener Neudorf subcamp were called to account in several trials. A few members of the SS guard as well as the captain of the Luftwaffe unit sat on the bench before a U.S. military court in Dachau in June 1947.⁸ The trial ended with the death penalty for the camp leader, Kurt Schmutzler; the captain of the Luftwaffe guard, Ludwig Stier; and the block leader, Alois Höllriegel. The executions took place in Landsberg. Another member of the guard unit, Franz Doppelreiter, was sentenced to death in 1946 before the Vienna state court.⁹ This sentence was then changed to lifetime imprisonment. Doppelreiter was granted amnesty in 1955. The block leader, Karl Lehnert, was sentenced to death in Poland in 1947. The last known trial concerning Wiener Neudorf took place before the Duisburg regional court in 1993. Accused were the SS canine officers Bruno Blach and Dominik Gleba. Blach, who had emigrated earlier to the United States and had been expelled after his real identity became known, was acquitted because of lack of evidence. Gleba was sentenced to two years of limited confinement.

SOURCES From the literature on the Wiener Neudorf subcamp, one can point especially to the articles published by Bertrand Perz: "Die Errichtung eines Konzentrationslagers in Wiener Neudorf. Zum Zusammenhang von Rüstungsexpansion und Zwangsarbeit von KZ-Häftlingen," *JDÖW* (1988): 89–116; and "Der Todesmarsch von Wiener Neudorf nach Mauthausen. Eine Dokumentation," *JDÖW* (1988): 117–137. The publication of the Neu-Guntramsdorf parish about the history of the camp is interesting from the point of view of local history: André Grossberger, *Das ehemalige Konzentrationslager in Guntramsdorf 1943/44* (Pfarre Neu-Guntramsdorf, 1995). Christian Bernadac, too, dedicates a larger chapter to the Wiener Neudorf subcamp in *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III* (Paris, 1976).

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

A 180-page report from personal experience comes from the former prisoners' physician in the infirmary, Dr. Rudolf Busch-Waldeck. The typewritten original can be found in the DÖW. Other scattered accounts on Wiener Neudorf can be found, among other places, in AG-M, where interviews with survivors are also available, as well as at the IPN. NARA, RG 153, Records of the US Army War Crimes Trials holds the trial against Mauthausen/Wiener Neudorf personnel. Extensive resource material on the construction of the Flugmotorenwerke Ostmark can be found in BA-MA.

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trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. Letter from Meindl to Himmler, AG-M, B/49/7.
2. Transport list from August 2, 1943, AG-M, B/49/5.
3. AG-M, B/49/1 and 2.
4. See also the report of Dr. Rudolf Busch-Waldeck, AG-M, B/49/1 and 2.
5. The number of prisoners in the subcamps, list from April 9, 1945, AG-M, B/60/11.
6. The number of 150 would coincide also with the information that can be gathered from the list of the prisoners' movements in KLM in the month of April 1945 (AG-M, E/6/7).
7. Changes of status report from April 12, 1945, IPN, KZ Mauthausen 24 k. 79–80.
8. NARA, RG 153, Case 000-50-5-2, *USA v. Ernst Dura*, *et al.*
9. Proceedings against Franz Doppelreiter, LG Vienna, Vg 1 e Vr 1140/49.

WIENER NEUSTADT

Following the annexation of Austria by Germany in March 1938, the German company Henschel & Sohn took over the Austrian company Wiener Neustädter Lokomotivfabrik and manufactured up to 1943 mostly locomotive tenders. In 1942, the factory was given a new name, Rax-Werke Wiener Neustadt (Rax Factory Wiener Neustadt) and was restructured as an independent subsidiary of Henschel GmbH. Plans to expand production to include armaments (initially flak guns) made necessary an expansion of the factory. The Army High Command (OKH) gave a factory to the Rax-Werke that had been seized during the Balkan campaign in Kraljevo, Yugoslavia, dismantled, and rebuilt in Wiener Neustadt. This factory was known as the Serbenhalle.

Plans for the production of flak guns by the Rax-Werke were abandoned, and in April 1943, the Special Committee A4, established a short time before by the Reich Ministry for Armaments and Munitions to accelerate the production of rockets, chose the Rax-Werke as one of three locations (the others being the testing grounds at Peenemünde and the Zeppelin factory at Friedrichshafen—later there was also the Deutsche Maschinenfabrik AG [Demag] at Falkensee, Berlin) for the mass production of the A4 (Aggregat 4, otherwise known as V-2) rockets.

The decision to use concentration camp prisoners in the A4 project had been made as early as the spring of 1943. A camp was built on the Rax-Werke site to hold prisoners from the Mauthausen concentration camp. The first transport of approximately 500 prisoners arrived on June 20, 1943. The prisoners were first used to complete the assembly halls and to install the machines. Only later was it decided to involve the prisoners in the production of the rockets. On August 8, 1943, an additional 722 prisoners were transferred to Wiener Neustadt.¹

During the first phase of the Wiener Neustadt subcamp, from June to November 1943, the prisoners were mostly Frenchmen. There were also large groups of Polish and Soviet prisoners. The number of prisoners reached a peak at 1,200. The majority of the prisoners were political prisoners.

During the first phase, it was planned to have about 70 SS men as guards under the command of the camp leader SS-Hauptsturmführer Anton Ganz, who later was to serve at Ebensee. As in some of the other camps that formed part of the armaments industry, the treatment of the prisoners in the Wiener Neustadt subcamp was relatively good. Nevertheless, there are several reported cases of mistreatment. There was a minimum of medical care in the infirmary. The infirmary was under the control of the Sanitätsdienstgrad (SDG) Gottlieb Muzikant, who served also in Melk and Grossraming as well as in the Mauthausen main camp. During the first period of the camp (June–November 1943), 30 prisoners died.

The Rax-Werke was bombed for the first time on August 13, 1943, and the subcamp was also hit. As the serial production sites of the A4 were the target of such raids, the decision was made in August 1943 to separate the production of the rockets from their development and to establish a central subterranean production plant, namely “Mittelwerke” in Nordhausen in Thuringia, which resulted in the establishment of the concentration camp at Mittelbau.

At the end of August 1943, the facilities for the production of fuel and examination of the propulsion chambers were transferred from the Rax-Werke to the Redl-Zipf beer cellars in Upper Austria. This was the beginning of the step-by-step dissolution of the subcamp at Wiener Neustadt. A bombardment on November 2, 1943, so severely damaged the Rax-Werke that not even minimal production could continue. As a result, all equipment, building parts, machines, and the skilled workers were transferred to the Mittelwerk in Nordhausen. The prisoners were transferred in a number of transports to the newly established subcamps at Redl-Zipf (transport dates October 26, 1943,² and November 9, 1943)³ and Ebensee (November 17, 1943).⁴ The last transport left Wiener Neustadt on November 20, 1943. It headed to the Mittelbau main camp (Dora) via the Buchenwald main camp.

The Rax-Werke resumed the production of tenders after the relocation of the manufacture of rockets from Wiener Neustadt and the dissolution of the subcamp. Attempts to get back into the armaments business were soon successful. The Rax-Werke received an order to produce naval artillery barges (*Marine-Artillerie-Leichter*) as part of the naval construction program. Production began at the end of May 1944, and concentration

camp prisoners were requested as laborers. A new Mauthausen subcamp was thus established in Wiener Neustadt.

A transport of 300 prisoners arrived in Wiener Neustadt on July 5, 1944;⁵ other transports followed on July 31, with 204 prisoners, on September 18, with 150, and on September 28, with 50 prisoners. All the transports originated in Mauthausen. On December 26, 1944, 150 prisoners were transferred to the subcamp at Floridsdorf in Vienna.⁶ During the second phase of the subcamp at Wiener Neustadt, prisoner numbers fluctuated between around 500 and 700. Most of the prisoners were from Poland, the Soviet Union, and Italy. Between July 1944 and April 1945, 42 prisoners died in the subcamp. This number incorrectly distorts the death rate, as there were a number of transports of prisoners who were no longer capable of working or who were seriously ill back to the main camp.

As was common with subcamps established for the armaments industry in Wiener Neustadt during this phase, security was provided by that branch of the Wehrmacht that benefited from the production. During the second period of the subcamp's existence, from July 1944 to April 1945, the majority of the 120 to 140 guards were naval soldiers under the command of the camp leader Prchal.

On April 1, 1945, the subcamp at Wiener Neustadt was finally dissolved in the face of advancing Soviet troops. The prisoners were first marched in the direction of the Steyr-Münichholz subcamp. According to the camp records, 25 prisoners died on the march, and 10 went missing.⁷ On April 6, 1945, 496 of the former Wiener Neustadt work detachment reached the Steyr subcamp as their first destination.⁸ On April 10, 1945, 494 prisoners presumably arrived at the Mauthausen concentration camp.

After the war, indictments were laid against several SS members at the Wiener Neustadt subcamp. The first Lagerführer, Anton Ganz, was only sentenced by a Memmingen court in the 1970s to life imprisonment for crimes committed at the Ebensee subcamp.⁹ The Rapportführer during the first phase, Hans Bühner, was sentenced to death by a French military court for crimes committed in Hinterbrühl and Ebensee. He was executed.¹⁰ His successor, Heinz Bollhorst, was sentenced by a U.S. military court to life imprisonment.¹¹ The SDG, Gottlieb Muzikant, who saw service in several other subcamps, was arrested in the 1960s and received 21 life sentences from a court in Fulda in Germany, especially for crimes committed in Melk, Lower Austria.

The Rapportführer from August 1944, SS-Scharführer Paul Tremmel, was convicted by a U.S. military court in Dachau for crimes committed on the evacuation march to Steyr. He was also sentenced to death.¹² Prchal, the camp leader during the second phase, disappeared after the war. Proceedings commenced in the 1970s but soon stopped.¹³

SOURCES The most detailed work on the subcamp at Wiener Neustadt is by Florian Freund and Bertrand Perz: *Das KZ in der Serbenhalle: Zur Kriegsindustrie in Wiener Neustadt* (Vienna, 1987). Further details can be found in the works by Freund on the planned rocket industry in Ebensee,

Arbeitslager Zement: Das Konzentrationslager Ebensee und die Raketenrüstung (Vienna, 1989); as well as the use of concentration camp prisoners in rocket production, "Die Entscheidung zum Einsatz von KZ-Häftlingen in der Raketenrüstung," in *Zwangsarbeit und die unterirdische Verlagerung von Rüstungsindustrie*, ed. Torsten Hess (Berlin, 1994), pp. 20–35.

There are scattered original sources of the camp administration such as transport lists or variation reports. They are held in the APMO, IPN, and the AG-M. The latter archive also holds some survivors' reports. Material on the postwar trials of the camp's SS members is located in NARA, ZdL (now BA-L), and LG Vienna.

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NOTES

1. Variation Report, August 8, 1943, AG-M, B/50/4.
2. Variation Report, October 26, 1943, IPN, KZ Mauthausen 36.
3. Transport List, November 9, 1943, AG-M, B/50/2 and B/50/6.
4. Variation Report, November 17, 1943, AG-M, B/50/5.
5. Transport List, July 5, 1944, AG-M, B/50/5.
6. All details are from the Roll Call Book Mauthausen Concentration Camp, AG-M, E/6/11.
7. List of the Camp Record Office re Prisoners' Movements following the Evacuation of the Subcamps of April 11, 1945, AG-M, B/60/13.
8. List of the Camp Record Office re Prisoners' Movements following the Evacuation of the Subcamps of April 9, 1945, AG-M, B/60/11.
9. BA-L, ZdL, AZ 419 AR-Z 4/64.
10. LG Vienna, AZ 20 Vr 3625/75 (Gogl) Bd.1, fl. 375.
11. NARA, RG 338, *USA v. Heinz Bollhorst*, Case 000-50-5-48.
12. NARA, RG 338, *USA v. Paul Tremmel*, Case 000-50-5-44.
13. BA-L, ZdL, AZ 419 AR 48/79.

WIEN-FLORIDSDORF AND JEDLESEE [AKA FLORIDSDORF I AND II]

The history of the two subcamps in Wien-Floridsdorf is closely connected with the Schwechat work detachment. The subcamp at Schwechat was closed and evacuated on July 13, 1944, following a heavy aerial bombardment that resulted in the destruction of the camp. The prisoners were at first taken to Wien-Floridsdorf; later, many went on to the subcamps at Hinterbrühl and Santa I, II, and III near Schwechat. The prisoners who remained in Floridsdorf were distributed to two detachments, one at Hofherr & Schrantz or Akkumulatoren Fabrik AG (AFA) and one at Jedlesee. The prisoners from the first detachment were accommodated in a subcamp in Shuttleworthstrasse on the site of Hofherr & Schrantz, which served as a production site for AFA, while the prisoners of the Jedlesee detachment were accommodated in what is the present-day Hopfengasse. The detachment Floridsdorf I

(Hofherr & Schrantz) operated as the command for the large Wien-Floridsdorf complex, which included the Jedlesee detachment and the Hinterbrühl subcamp. The Jedlesee camp was established on July 13, 1944, and the Floridsdorf I camp on July 14, 1944.

The history of the subcamps at Wien-Floridsdorf has generally not been the subject of research and in part still lies in the dark. What is known is that the prisoners in Floridsdorf, as in Schwechat, were used to produce parts for various types of Heinkel (He) aircraft. During the years 1942 and 1943, the Ernst-Heinkel-Werke had relocated large parts of its production and eventually its management from Rostock to Schwechat. Due to the increasing labor shortage, concentration camp prisoners were made available for the production of several aircraft types, among them the He 219 and He 280. Following the aerial bombardment of Schwechat, part of this production was relocated to Jedlesee in the 21st Viennese district (Floridsdorf) and continued there. The detachment AFA (or Hofherr & Schrantz, respectively) has to be seen separately from Heinkel. Before the war, Hofherr & Schrantz had specialized in the manufacture of agricultural machinery. During the war, it produced armaments. It has been suggested that its operation in Floridsdorf produced directional components for the A4 (Aggregat 4) rockets, but the possibility has not been verified. Originally based in Hagen, Germany, AFA was a specialized battery producer that during the war supplied batteries for different types of submarines. After bombardments of the AFA fabric in Hagen, the production had been relocated to Vienna and was accommodated in the facilities of the company Hofherr & Schrantz.

As in the other subcamps at the various Heinkel factories, it can be assumed that, as in Schwechat, the guards were at least in part members of the Luftwaffe.

It is difficult to determine how many prisoners were actually held in the Floridsdorf subcamps, how many died there, and how many were transferred to other subcamps in Vienna. The difficulty with the empirical data is that Floridsdorf was a camp complex comprising several subcamps. When the Schwechat subcamp was closed, the prisoners were distributed among several new camps, all of which were under the command of the former Schwechat camp leader Anton Streitwieser. He moved his headquarters from Schwechat to Floridsdorf, and it was from here that he commanded the camps at Floridsdorf, Jedlesee, Hinterbrühl, Schwechat (the remainder of the original subcamp at Schwechat), and the work detachments Santa I, II, and III. All these work detachments are classified in the documents of the Mauthausen main camp administration under "Floridsdorf," thus making it almost impossible to separate out data about the individual detachments.

The Floridsdorf detachment reported on July 14, 1944, the day that it was established, that it had 1,993 prisoners. Over the succeeding months, the prisoner numbers remained more or less constant. The peak for the whole Floridsdorf complex was reached in the final months. In January 1945, there were more than 2,700 prisoners.¹ The majority of them were from Poland and the Soviet Union. There were other large groups

from Italy and France. When the Floridsdorf complex was dissolved, there were 829 prisoners alone in Floridsdorf I and Floridsdorf II,² of whom about 450 were in Floridsdorf I and the rest in Floridsdorf II.³

Both Floridsdorf subcamps were evacuated on April 1, 1945. The prisoners were not evacuated via the subcamp at Hinterbrühl, which was used as a collecting point for several other detachments in the area around Vienna, but via the subcamp of Steyr. The evacuation march reached the Mauthausen concentration camp on April 11, 1945. According to a list prepared by the camp clerk, 121 prisoners were killed on the march; 22 were reported as missing or as having escaped. Floridsdorf I reported 45 dead and 12 missing or escaped prisoners; Floridsdorf II had 76 dead and 10 reported as missing or escaped.⁴

The Lagerführer of the Vienna-Floridsdorf camp complex, Streitwieser, was initially held captive by the Americans. He was able to escape and assumed a false identity. In 1953, he was officially declared dead. However, he was subsequently identified and was arrested for the first time in 1956. Streitwieser was arrested and released several times again, but in 1967 he was sentenced by the Cologne state court to life imprisonment.⁵ He died in prison.

SOURCES The publications on the subcamps at Wien-Floridsdorf reflect the state of research—there are scarcely any. Worth mentioning is a local history of Floridsdorf by the youth branch of the SPÖ, Junge Generation Floridsdorf, ed., *Braune Jahre in Floridsdorf 1938–1945: Eine Broschüre der JG Floridsdorf* (Vienna, 1988). Christian Bernadac's book *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III* (Paris, 1976) devotes one large chapter to the subcamps at the Heinkel factories, including Floridsdorf and Jedlesesee.

Some source material on Floridsdorf is to be found in AG-M. Interviews with survivors are also held here, as in the IPN. Sources on the Ernst Heinkel factories are to be found in the BA-MA.

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NOTES

1. The prisoner numbers are from the Roll Call Book, AG-M, E/6/11.

2. Reports from the Camp Record Office on Prisoner Movements during the Evacuation Marches from April 9, 1945, AG-M, B/60/11.

3. Reports from the Camp Record Office on Prisoner Movements during the Evacuation Marches from April 11, 1945, AG-M, B/60/13.

4. Ibid.

5. LG Cologne, 24 Ks 1/66 (Z) 40-9/65 Lg.

WIEN-HINTERBRÜHL ("LISA")

The history of the subcamp at Hinterbrühl, near Mödling, is closely connected with that of the work detachments at Schwechat and Floridsdorf. The subcamp at Schwechat was closed and evacuated on July 13, 1944, following the de-

struction of the camp caused by Allied bombing raids. As a result, the Ernst Heinkel factory relocated parts of its aircraft production facilities underground, first to Floridsdorf and later also to Hinterbrühl and to the brewery cellars at Schwechat.

The so-called Sea Grotto in Hinterbrühl was an ideal underground location for the Heinkel operation. The cave system, which is a present-day tourist attraction, was a former gypsum mine, which had been closed in 1912 after groundwater had flooded the mine. In the early 1930s the mine, which was still partly submerged, became a tourist attraction and was developed as such.

Once the Armaments Inspectorate became aware of the grotto, it was requisitioned for the Ernst Heinkel group. This was in May 1944, before the evacuation of the Schwechat subcamp. Expansion of the grotto started to allow for the subterranean production of the Heinkel (He) 162 aircraft known as the People's Fighter (*Volksjäger*). As the grotto was affected by groundwater, it was necessary to install a permanent pumping system to keep the underground area dry. A heavy Allied air raid on the Sea Grotto on May 24, 1944, during the construction period, also hit the village of Hinterbrühl and killed several civilians.

The decision to establish a Mauthausen subcamp at Hinterbrühl was probably made shortly after the Sea Grotto had been requisitioned for the Heinkel factory. Nevertheless, the camp was only established later. The first prisoner transport is said to have arrived at the camp in September 1944.

The subcamp at Hinterbrühl was part of the camp system administered from Wien-Floridsdorf that comprised several camps for Heinkel factories in the area around Vienna. Once the Schwechat subcamp was closed, its prisoners were distributed among several newly erected camps, all of which remained under the command of the former Lagerführer at Schwechat, Anton Streitwieser. He had moved his headquarters from Schwechat to Floridsdorf, and from there he commanded the following camps: Floridsdorf, Jedlesesee, Hinterbrühl, and Schwechat (what was left of the former subcamp at Schwechat) and the work detachments Santa I, II, and III. As in the other subcamps at the various Heinkel factories, the guards at the subcamp at Hinterbrühl were at least in part members of the Luftwaffe.

The documents of the Mauthausen main camp administration group all the subcamps of the Wien-Floridsdorf camp complex together using the term "Floridsdorf." It is nearly impossible, therefore, to analyze the sources by reference to each individual work detachment. Verified statements regarding the prisoner demographics can be made only for the whole camp complex. When considering the average prisoner numbers in the subcamp at Hinterbrühl, it is only possible to rely on statements by prisoners. Marian Siczynski, a Polish survivor of the subcamp at Hinterbrühl, refers to an average number of 800 prisoners.¹ The majority of the prisoners came from Poland and the Soviet Union. There were also large groups of Italians and French prisoners.

The total number of prisoners in the Floridsdorf complex varied only slightly during the period in which the subcamp

at Hinterbrühl was established.² One can, therefore, assume that the majority of prisoners from Floridsdorf and Jedlese were transferred to Hinterbrühl. At least one transport of prisoners came from the subcamp at Wiener Neustadt in the middle of December 1944.³

The camp was given the code name "Lisa." It was only a few meters away from a vertical pit through which the prisoners passed daily to their work in the underground production area. During the first weeks, before production started, the prisoners were involved in excavating the underground production facility and in constructing the subcamp. Mass production began in November. The underground factory was known as Lobster (*Languste*). The grotto had two levels, which were divided into a number of sections. In these sections, parts for the fuselage of the aircraft He 162 were produced. The prisoners worked in two shifts each of 12 hours. Once the fuselage had been assembled and fitted out with the complete technical equipment, it was shipped from the Hinterbrühl Sea Grotto to Schwechat, where the final assembly of the aircraft took place.

In comparison with the working conditions in other underground armaments production sites, the conditions for the prisoners in Hinterbrühl were presumably somewhat better. There was an existing cave system that did not, as in St. Georgen, Melk, Ebensee, or Peggau, require excavation. Nevertheless, the 12-hour shifts and the lack of rest and nutrition made the conditions difficult. In addition, there are documented cases of torture, mistreatment, and murder of the prisoners carried out by the SS, in particular by camp leader Anton Streitwieser and Rapportführer Hans Bühner. The documented treatment of the subcamps in the Wien-Floridsdorf complex, mentioned above, makes it impossible to determine how many prisoners died in Hinterbrühl. One can assume that repeatedly sick prisoners and those incapable of working were transferred back to the main camp, with the result that the number of victims of this subcamp exceeds the number of those who actually died in Hinterbrühl. Some of the prisoners who died in Hinterbrühl were cremated in the Vienna city crematorium.

The order to evacuate all camps within the greater Vienna area was given at the end of March 1945 as the Red Army approached the city. The subcamp at Hinterbrühl functioned as a collection camp for prisoners from the Schwechat-Heidfeld detachments and presumably also for those from the Santa I, II, and III detachments in Schwechat. On March 31, 1945, 1,884 prisoners from these detachments⁴ were concentrated in the Hinterbrühl subcamp. On April 1, 1945, the prisoners were sent in the direction of Mauthausen.

The day before the march to Mauthausen began, there was one of the largest mass killings of prisoners in the various subcamps: on the order of Streitwieser, the Lagerführer, a list was prepared of all prisoners in the infirmary who could not walk. There were originally 80 names on the list. The SS intended to kill them with an injection to the heart; 51 prisoners were actually murdered and their remains buried in a mass grave on the camp grounds; 1 prisoner was shot by Bühner.

According to the former prisoner doctor, Josef Krakowski, the remaining 29 prisoners from the infirmary were saved at that occasion but died later on the evacuation march to Mauthausen.⁵ The prisoners' corpses were exhumed in 1946 and reinterred at the Vienna central cemetery.⁶

The evacuation march that left Hinterbrühl on April 1, 1945, reached the Mauthausen main camp on April 7. In addition to the 52 prisoners who were murdered the day before the march started, another 152 died on the march, and 56 were reported as either missing or escaped.⁷

After the war, Lagerführer Streitwieser was held by the Americans as a prisoner of war (POW). He was able to escape. He assumed a false identity, and in 1953, he was officially declared dead. His real identity was later discovered, and he was arrested again in 1956. After being arrested and released several more times, he was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Cologne state court in 1967.⁸ He died in prison. Rapportführer Bühner was sentenced to death by a French military court for crimes committed in Hinterbrühl and Ebensee and executed.⁹ SS-Rottenführer Willy Brünning, SS-Unterscharführer Franz Huber, and the Kapo in the infirmary, Georg Gössl, were convicted by a U.S. military court in the first Mauthausen trial held at Dachau.¹⁰ The former orderly Karl Sasko and the Kapo Franz Dieplinger were tried before the Vienna state court.¹¹ Sasko was accused of the murder of 51 prisoners in the infirmary and died during the trial. Dieplinger was sentenced to six months in jail for mistreating prisoners.

SOURCES There are only a few references to Hinterbrühl in the literature, such as in Christian Bernadac, *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III* (Paris, 1976); or in the essay by Werner Eichbauer, Florian Freund, and Bertrand Perz, "Die Aussenlager des KZ Mauthausen in Niederösterreich," in *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Niederösterreich*, ed. DÖW (Vienna, 1987), 3: 602–608. Alfred Hiller, who has written on the history of the development of the He 162, also refers to the subcamp at Hinterbrühl in *Heinkel He 162 "Volksjäger": Entwicklung, Produktion, Einsatz* (Vienna, 1984). Finally, reference should be made to two articles that are the result of a school oral history project on Hinterbrühl: Karin Eichberger, Andreas Freisinger, Monika Halbritter, John Morrissey, and Christian Rauscher, "Vergangenheitsbewältigung": Die Hinterbrühler Seegrotte 1944/45 als KZ-Nebenlager und Flugzeugwerk, Teil I," *BzFdd* 3 (1987): 1–6; and Eichberger, Freisinger, Halbritter, Morrissey, and Rauscher: "... dann soll er zu einem Psychiater oder sonst wo hingehen!" "Vergangenheitsbewältigung": Die Hinterbrühler Seegrotte 1944/45 als KZ-Nebenlager und Flugzeugwerk, Teil II," *Beiträge zur Fachdidaktik* 2 (1988): 1–6.

There are some documents on Hinterbrühl in the AG-M, including the memoirs of former prisoner Marcello Martini as well as survivor interviews. The trial files of Anton Streitwieser are held by the LG Cologne. Those of the trial against Hans Bühner are held by LG Vienna. The files to the first Mauthausen trial held at Dachau, which include the Hinterbrühl perpetrators, are held in NARA, RG 338. Files on the Ernst-Heinkel-Werke are in BA-MA.

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NOTES

1. AG-M, B/16/13.
2. See Roll Call Book Subcamps, AG-M, E/6/11.
3. See the memoirs of former prisoner Marcello Martini, AG-M, B/16/11.
4. Report of the Camp Record Office on Prisoner Movements during the Evacuation Marches, April 11, 1945, AG-M, B/60/13.
5. Statement by Dr. Josef Krakowski, AG-M, B/16/7.
6. Correspondence between Anton Mayer and Hans Maršálek, AG-M, B/16/5.
7. Report of the Camp Record Office on Prisoner Movements during the Evacuation Marches, April 11, 1945, AG-M, B/60/13.
8. LG Cologne, 24 Ks 1/66 (Z) 40-9/65 Lg.
9. LG Vienna, AZ 20 Vr 3625/75 (Gogl), vol.1, p. 1375.
10. NARA, RG 338, *USA v. Hans Altfuldisch, et al.*, Case 000-50-5; see also the statement by Rudolf Halaba to LG Vienna available at AG-M, B/16/7.
11. LG Vienna, Vg 8e Vr 781/55.

WIEN-SCHÖNBRUNN [AKA SONDERKOMMANDO WIEN]

The establishment of the Schönbrunn subcamp, also known as the Sonderkommando Wien (Vienna Special Detachment), is connected to the hopeless situation of Hitler's Germany and the utopia of "miracle weapons" that were to turn Germany's impending defeat into victory. The Austrian forester Viktor Schauberg, who since the 1920s had been a researcher of the optimal use of kinetic energy (*Bewegungsenergie*), presumably met Hitler in 1934 in Berlin in an attempt to convince Hitler of the benefits of his plans for an alternative source of energy.

The looming defeat of Germany and the belief in a turn of the course of events through miracle weapons gave even esoteric projects such as those promoted by Schauberg a chance that they would not otherwise have had. The motive behind that was the desperate hope to change the course of the war in Germany's favor. In the late summer of 1944, Schauberg was given an opportunity to undertake physical experiments at the Mauthausen concentration camp. Although his records do not explain what they exactly involved, Schauberg talked about "implosion," and various sources refer to the development of alternative methods of propulsion. Schauberg himself has referred to "flying submarines." Schauberg was first given five prisoners (two Czechs, two Germans, and one Pole) who had technical skills for the experiments. Originally, the experiments took place at Mauthausen. However, at Schauberg's insistence, the detachment was transferred to Wien-Schönbrunn on September 28, 1944.¹ The detachment was accommodated in a separated room at the SS-Kraftfahrtechnischen Lehranstalt (Motor Vehicle Technical Education Institute), located within the area of present-day Maria-Theresien-Kaserne. The date that the Schönbrunn subcamp was established is the date of the transfer.

As early as October 28, 1944, one of the prisoners was transferred back to Mauthausen. The prisoner was replaced the next day, October 29, by a prisoner from the main camp.² There is one reported case where a prisoner guarded by one SS man slept overnight at his wife's apartment. As punishment, he was transferred back to Mauthausen in January 1945.³ It is likely that in January 1945 another prisoner was sent back to the main camp. As a result, the detachment only consisted of three prisoners. During its existence, there were a total of six prisoners (two Germans, two Czechs, one Pole, and one Austrian). The treatment of the prisoners was relatively good. According to the report of one former prisoner, he and his comrades were not exposed to any mistreatment.⁴ On Sundays it was even possible occasionally to leave the barracks accompanied by one of the SS guards.

The head of the SS-Kraftfahrtechnischen Lehranstalt, also known as the SS-Engineer's School, where the detachment Wien-Schwechat was accommodated, was SS-Sturmabführer Dr. Hermann Schröder. Military supervision was under the command of Hauptsturmführer Lindner. Schauberg was the scientific head of the detachment. According to his own statements, he had to pay a use fee to the SS for the prisoners.

The SS barracks in Schönbrunn were bombed several times. As a result, the remainder of the detachment, three prisoners, was transferred to a requisitioned scythe factory at Leonstein in Upper Austria. The experiments continued there until early May 1945.⁵ The detachment is said to have been dissolved shortly before the liberation of the Mauthausen main camp, and the remaining three prisoners were sent back to Mauthausen. All six prisoners of the Wien-Schönbrunn subcamp are said to have survived imprisonment.

Proceedings against unnamed perpetrators suspected of National Socialist crimes carried out in the Wien-Schwechat subcamp began at the Vienna state criminal court in the 1960s but ceased after a short time.

SOURCES It is Viktor Schauberg's memoirs and various biographical studies that are focused on his life and his scientific work, which largely provide the details of the history of the detachment at Schönbrunn. The biography by Siegbert Lattacher should also be mentioned: *Viktor Schauberg; Auf den Spuren des legendären Naturforschers* (Steyr, 1999); as should the magazine *Implosion* 113 (1995), which published Schauberg's memoirs.

Variation reports and the transcription of an interview with a former prisoner are held in the AG-M.

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NOTES

1. Variation Report, September 28, 1944, AG-M, B/39/1.
2. Variation Reports, October 28–29, 1944, AG-M, B/39/2.
3. Transcription of an interview with Anton Cerny, AG-M, B/39/3.
4. Ibid.
5. A list of movements in the Mauthausen main camp during April 1945 (AG-M, E/6/7) refers to three prisoners of the detachment "Kraftfahrtechnischen Lehranstalt" on April 29.

VOLUME I: PART B

WIEN-SCHWECHAT-HEIDFELD

In the summer of 1942, the Ernst Heinkel factory, following a series of massive Allied air raids, relocated part of its aircraft production from Rostock in northern Germany to the air base at Schwechat, close to Vienna. A delegation from the factory inspected the site in June 1942, whereupon the fighter training school based at Schwechat was relocated and the air base was handed over to the Heinkel factory. Initially, only the departments for construction, plans, and samples were transferred to Schwechat. Civilian forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) were used to construct a runway, assembly halls, and administrative buildings. In the late spring of 1943, the Heinkel main office was transferred to Schwechat.

The growing labor shortage and increasing Allied air superiority, which accelerated the production of fighters, resulted in an increasing use by the armaments industry of concentration camp prisoners as labor. In August 1943, a subcamp of the Mauthausen concentration camp was erected at Schwechat next to the existing forced labor and POW camps. The prisoners were to produce different types of Heinkel (He) fighter aircraft.

The first verifiable transport of 92 skilled workers from the Mauthausen main camp, the majority of whom were Republican Spaniards, arrived at Schwechat on August 30, 1943.¹ Successive transports quickly increased the numbers of prisoners. One of the largest transports consisting of 600 prisoners from the main camp arrived at Schwechat on September 19.² In April 1944, there were 2,600 prisoners in the camp, the maximum that would be reached.³ Poles were the largest national group, followed by Soviet prisoners. Italians were also a large percentage of the prison population.

The guards in Schwechat, as in most subcamps that were connected with armaments production, were from the section of the Wehrmacht that profited most from the production. The majority of the guards were Luftwaffe soldiers commanded by a small group of SS. The first camp leader was SS-Obersturmführer Erich Engelhardt. He died during a bombing raid on the camp on April 23, 1944. His successor was SS-Untersturmführer Anton Streitwieser. Other than for a few short breaks, Streitwieser had served at the Mauthausen concentration camp since 1938. He had been work leader and a roll-call leader at the Gusen subcamp and third detention camp leader at the main camp. Between March and April 1944, he was Lagerführer at Melk. He then assumed command in Schwechat. One of the roll-call leaders was Rapportführer Hans Bühner, who had seen service at Wiener Neustadt.

The prisoners' living conditions in Schwechat, as in many of the other subcamps that served the armaments industry, were relatively good. However, there are indications that the camp was overcrowded from the spring of 1944, which must have made the conditions worse. There are also numerous documented cases of torture and murder by the guards. A particularly gruesome form of torture and murder practiced

at Schwechat was to lock a prisoner in a wooden box, hammer long nails into the box, and then roll the box for several hours around the roll-call square. Lagerführer Streitwieser and Bühner often set their dogs on the prisoners who were severely injured and in several cases died.⁴

It can be assumed that more than 200 prisoners died at the Schwechat subcamp, the majority during Allied air raids on the Ernst-Heinkel-Werke. As small groups of prisoners or individual prisoners were constantly being sent back to the main camp at Mauthausen,⁵ it can be assumed that the ill and those who were no longer capable of working were sent back to Mauthausen to die and were replaced by healthier prisoners.

Beginning in the spring of 1944, the Heinkel factory at Schwechat was subject to repeated Allied bombing raids. One of the heaviest was on April 23, 1944. At least 47 concentration camp prisoners died during this raid, together with 16 guards and the camp commander Engelhardt. There was another raid on the factory on June 26, 1944, which again hit the camp and killed 140 prisoners.⁶ The Heinkel factory was completely destroyed. The Schwechat subcamp was therefore evacuated on July 13, 1944, and the prisoners were transferred to the camps at Wien-Floridsdorf or Jedlese. Later they were transferred to Hinterbrühl, where they resumed work for Ernst Heinkel in manufacturing aircraft. The camp command was also transferred from Schwechat to Floridsdorf.

From this point, the history of the Schwechat subcamp is less clear. It is not completely certain that all the prisoners were evacuated on July 13, 1944, only later to be brought back to Schwechat, or whether some remained in Schwechat. What is certain is that from July there was a small work detachment in Schwechat that was under the command of the camp administration now based in Floridsdorf. There are also indications that on August 15, 1944, 350 prisoners from the detachments Santa I, II, and III based in the brewery cellars at Schwechat were sent back to the Schwechat camp.⁷ The prisoners who remained in Schwechat worked on the final assembly of the He 162 jet fighter. The fuselages for these aircraft were delivered from the Hinterbrühl subcamp.

The remaining prisoners of the Schwechat detachment were marched on March 31, 1945, to the Hinterbrühl subcamp and then evacuated to Mauthausen. On April 1, 1945, 1,884 prisoners from the detachments at Hinterbrühl and Schwechat (possibly also the inmates of the camps Santa I, II, and III) marched from Hinterbrühl in the direction of the Mauthausen main camp. On April 7, 1945, 1,624 prisoners reached Mauthausen.⁸ On the march, 204 prisoners were killed, and 59 escaped.⁹

Lagerführer Streitwieser was captured by the Americans but was able to escape. He assumed a false identity and was officially declared dead in 1953. However, Streitwieser's cover identity was detected. He was arrested again in 1956 (the first of several arrests), released several times, and in 1967 sentenced by the state court in Cologne to life imprisonment.¹⁰

He died in prison. Rapportführer Bühner was sentenced by a French military court to death for crimes committed at Hinterbrühl and Ebensee. He was executed.¹¹ Former Kapo Franz Dieplinger was tried before the Vienna state court.¹² Dieplinger was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for mistreating prisoners.

SOURCES The Schwechat subcamp is still one of the least-researched Mauthausen subcamps. There is hardly any published material on the camp. Christian Bernadac's *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III* (Paris, 1976) devotes a large chapter to the Schwechat work detachment. The ASt-Schw published a collection of documents on the subcamp: Adolf Ezsöl, "Das KLM-Arbeitslager Wien-Schwechat 2," *Schw ANach* 2 (1995).

Adolf Ezsöl has collected a considerable number of source documents for the ASt-Schw. The AG-M also holds a collection on Schwechat, including interviews with survivors. There is also a collection in the IPN. Source material on the Ernst Heinkel group and the construction of the factory at Schwechat are kept by the BA-MA. Some documents involving Schwechat may be found in DÖW, ed., *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Niederösterreich, 1933-45: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1987).

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NOTES

1. Transport List, August 30, 1943, AG-M, B/53/2.
2. Variation Report, September 19, 1943, AG-M, Y/49b.
3. Subcamp Roll Call Book, AG-M, E/6/11.
4. See the documents on the subcamp at Schwechat in DÖW, ed., *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Niederösterreich 1934-45: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1987), 3:620-623.
5. Various Variation Reports, AG-M, Y/45.
6. List of Prisoners Killed during the Bombing Raid on June 26, 1944, AG-M, B/53/4.
7. Report by Marian Kryszak, AG-M, B/53/3.
8. List of the Evacuation Transports from the Subcamps, AG-M, B/60/11.
9. List of Prisoners' Movements during the Evacuation, AG-M, B/60/13.
10. LG Cologne 24 Ks 1/66 (Z) 40-9/65 Lg.
11. LG Vienna, AZ 20 Vr 3625/75 (Gogl), vol. 1, 375.
12. LG Vienna, Vg 8e Vr 781/55.

WIEN-SCHWECHAT-“SANTA” KOMMANDOS

The work detachments Santa I, II, and III, which were located in the cellars of the brewery in Schwechat, a village a few kilometers east of Vienna, are some of the least researched subcamps of the Mauthausen concentration camp. For that reason, there is scarcely any reliable information on these camps. However, the history of these work detachments is presumably closely connected with the history of the work detachments at Schwechat-Heidfeld and Floridsdorf. The Schwechat-Heidfeld subcamp was heavily damaged during an Allied air raid on July 13, 1944. As a result, the camp was

closed and evacuated, and parts of the Ernst Heinkel factory producing airplanes were relocated underground first to Floridsdorf and later to Hinterbrühl and also to the brewery's cellars in Schwechat. The entire complex of camps was referred to as Wien-Floridsdorf.

A report by former Polish prisoner Marian Kryszak refers to the detachments known under the code name "Santa."¹ Kryszak mentions the bombing and the following transfer of the detachment Schwechat-Heidfeld to Floridsdorf. Some of the prisoners transferred to Floridsdorf, according to Kryszak, were transferred partly to the subcamp at Hinterbrühl and partly to the work detachments Santa I, II, and III at Schwechat.

Different dates are given for the establishment of the Santa detachments. The former camp recorder Hans Maršálek states in his book on Mauthausen, the standard work on the camp, that the detachments were formed in December 1944. Some hints given by Kryszak, on the other hand, allow the conclusion to be drawn that prisoners were allocated to the Santa I, II, and III detachments even before August 15, 1944.

The discrepancies presumably are a result of the confusion of the various detachments. This is the result of the imprecise and contradictory recording of the subcamp names in the camp administration records. For example, the International Tracing Service (ITS) lists Wien-Floridsdorf II and III with the code names Santa, whereas some camp administration documents, when referring to Floridsdorf I and II, are obviously referring to the detachments at Floridsdorf and Jedlesee.

The prisoners were presumably involved in the manufacture of aircraft parts for the Ernst Heinkel group. However, there are suggestions that the Santa detachments were connected somehow to the Flugmotorenwerke (Aircraft Motor Works) Ostmark, which was located in Wiener Neudorf. It is very likely that the detachments Santa I, II, and III were part of the Wien-Floridsdorf camp complex and were under the direction of its commander Anton Streitwieser.

At the end of March 1945, when the Red Army was getting close to Vienna, the order was given to evacuate all camps from the Vienna region. There is no direct evidence when the Santa detachments were evacuated or the manner of their evacuation. Reports on prisoner movements suggest that it is most likely that these detachments were evacuated on March 31, 1945, via the subcamp at Hinterbrühl to Mauthausen.² Hinterbrühl served as a collecting point. On April 1, 1945, 1,884 prisoners were sent from Hinterbrühl on a death march in the direction of Mauthausen; 204 prisoners died on this march, and 56 were reported as either missing or having escaped.³

SOURCES There is no concrete information on the Santa I, II, and III detachments in the literature. Christian Bernadac's book *Des jours sans fin: Mauthausen III* (Paris, 1976) devotes a chapter to the Mauthausen subcamps established for the Ernst Heinkel group.

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There are hardly any archival sources that explicitly refer to the Santa I, II, and III detachments. Marian Kryszak's report and some survivor interviews are held in the AG-M. The ASt-Schw also holds a few documents referring to these detachments.

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NOTES

1. AG-M, B/53/3.
2. List of the Evacuation Transports from the Subcamps, AG-M, B/60/11.
3. Reports from the Camp Record Office on Prisoner Movements during the Evacuation Marches from April 11, 1945, AG-M, B/60/13.

MITTELBAU



Camouflaged entrance to the underground rocket factory at Mittelbau concentration camp, April 12, 1945.

USHMM WS #66285, COURTESY OF NARA

MITTELBAU MAIN CAMP [AKA DORA]

The Mittelbau (Central Construction) concentration camp was the last main camp created by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the only one not named after a specific place. It officially came into being on October 28, 1944, but its origins stretched back to the founding of a subcamp of Buchenwald, code-named “Dora,” on August 28, 1943. On that date, the SS trucked 107 Buchenwald prisoners to tunnels in the southern Harz Mountains, near the small central German city of Nordhausen. These unlucky individuals were to pave the way for the thousands of their comrades tasked with converting a central petroleum reserve for the Reich into a secret factory for the A4 (*Aggregat 4*) ballistic missile, later christened the Vengeance Weapon (*Vergeltungswaffe*) 2, or V-2. While Dora was far from the first location where prisoners were sent out of a main camp to be used in the armaments industry, rather than exploited in SS camp industries, it also proved to be highly influential—a model for the many new and often grotesquely unrealistic underground projects that the Nazi leadership ordered into existence in response to the Anglo-American strategic bombing offensive. The Nordhausen region got a number of such projects, and Mittelbau emerged as the camp system that embodied in its purest form the final phase of the SS concentration camps: that of large-scale exploitation of prisoners for work in the war economy.

In the end, Mittelbau proved true to its name. In a system of up to 40 subcamps attached to Dora, most of the prisoners worked in the construction of underground and aboveground facilities under murderous conditions. Other than the V-2, and later V-1, missiles that came out of the underground plant, very few weapons were actually produced in Mittelbau camps. Thus, the emphasis on Mittelbau as a weapons production complex in much of the historiography is certainly exaggerated, as German scholar Jens-Christian Wagner has pointed out. In fact, out of the approximately 40,000 prisoners in Mittelbau in March 1945 (of whom approximately 16,000 were in the main camp), under 6,000 at the main camp and those at a few small subcamps were actually employed in production. The majority were construction workers and miners, supplemented by thousands of utterly ill and exhausted survivors of the evacuations of Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen since the beginning of the year.

The first seven months of Dora’s existence were devoted entirely to the conversion into a V-2 factory of tunnels owned by the Wifo (Wirtschaftliche Forschungsgesellschaft mbH, Economic Research Co., Ltd.), a state-owned enterprise devoted to strategic underground war reserves. A British air raid against the German Army rocket research center at Peenemünde on the Baltic on August 17–18, 1943, had provoked precipitate action on the part of Adolf Hitler, Albert Speer, and



Mittelbau prisoners work on the tail assembly of the V2 rocket, possibly in Hall 35, 1944.

USHMM WS #31596, COURTESY OF ULLSTEIN BILD

Heinrich Himmler to evacuate rocket production to an underground site. The assembly-line machinery had to be moved to the Nordhausen region from Peenemünde and also from two other unfinished V-2 assembly plants at Friedrichshafen and Wiener Neustadt. Along with them eventually came the SS prisoners who had been in subcamps at Peenemünde and the Rax-Werke in Wiener Neustadt, along with civilian personnel. On September 21, Speer’s Armaments Ministry created a state-owned firm, Mittelwerk GmbH (Central Works Ltd.—a veiled reference to the geographic location) to assemble the missiles and, together with the army, struggled to maintain the upper hand vis-à-vis the SS. During the discussions at Führer headquarters immediately after the Peenemünde raid, Himmler had named as his key man SS-Brigadeführer Dr.-Ing. Hans Kammler, the head of WVHA Amtsgruppe C, Construction. Kammler was an exceedingly energetic, ambi-

tious, and ruthless man. While the Mittelwerk company would never formally leave the control of Speer's ministry, and the camp reported to Buchenwald and later directly to the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL), WVHA Amtsgruppe D, Kammler would be the decisive personality throughout the history of Mittelbau.

Camp commandant throughout most of the short history of Dora and Mittelbau was SS-Sturmbannführer Otto Förschner, who had served in subsidiary positions at Buchenwald since February 1942, after service on the Eastern Front. Förschner was a noncommissioned officer (NCO) in the Reichswehr before transferring to the SS in 1934 as a military instructor. He was thus not of the cadre of long-serving camp SS officers schooled at Dachau and elsewhere and was not noted for particular cruelty—but neither did he care much about the horrendous suffering at Dora in the early months. On the Buchenwald model, he relied on “red triangle” German political prisoners in non-SS administrative positions, notably Communists like Albert Kuntz, who supervised camp construction; Georg Thomas; and Ludwig Szymczak, the camp elder (*Lagerältester*). When the latter two refused to carry out an execution of a prisoner in March 1944, they were removed from their posts and thrown in the Bunker, and a “green triangle” criminal prisoner, Willi Zwiener, was briefly put in their place. But Thomas and Szymczak were released back to the barracks, and Förschner put other political prisoners, notably Christian Beham, into the position of *Lagerälteste* again in the summer and fall of 1944.

During the first phase of Dora, Kammler placed little emphasis on the aboveground camp on the south side of Kohnstein Mountain, next to the tunnel exits, because it diverted labor from the building of the infrastructure and the conversion of the tunnels, both subcontracted through the local Wifo office. Thus, the unfortunate inmates of Dora were forced to sleep and live underground, in some cases, not to see daylight for months. Early arrivals from Buchenwald lived in tents near the entrance to main tunnel B, but by the end of September 1943, the ever-growing number of prisoners were bedded on straw on the bare rock of cross-tunnel 39 until wooden bunks four levels high were built into dead-end tunnels 43 to 46 at the south end of main tunnel A. (The tunnel system formed a ladderlike network connecting the north and south sides of the mountain, with 46 cross-tunnels between the two main tunnels.) Tunnel A had not been completed when Mittelwerk took over, so mining and blasting operations to break through to the south side of the Kohnstein continued right next to the “sleeping tunnels” (*Schlafstollen*).

The noise, dust, and noxious gases from the blasting and from trains hauling rock exacerbated an already catastrophic health situation for the prisoners. Water was in short supply; the only toilets were oil barrels cut in half with boards over them, but they were too few in number; many relieved themselves in the tunnels. The stench became intolerable, and disease and vermin proliferated. Soon cases of pneumonia, tuberculosis, typhoid, and dysentery took a dreadful toll, combined with total exhaustion inflicted by 12-hour days of

backbreaking labor with poor sleep and minimal equipment. Registered deaths shot up from 5 in September 1943 to 669 in January 1944. By the end of January, there were 12,682 registered prisoners, the highest total in the early history of Dora; and 8,000 to 10,000 of them still lived underground. The catastrophic death rate continued in February and March 1944, and three transports, each of 1,000 extremely ill and dying prisoners—to Lublin-Majdanek on January 15 and February 6, and to Bergen-Belsen on March 27—raised the de facto death toll to nearly 6,000 by the beginning of April. The camp population in these months was all male and non-Jewish; the predominant prisoner groups in order of size were Soviet, Polish, French, German, Belgian, and Italian.

From the standpoint of Kammler, Speer, and others, however, the catastrophic working conditions of the winter of 1943–1944 served their purpose: V-2 assembly began in late December. But production numbers only rose slowly in the spring, and quality was poor. “Sabotage” inevitably became a great concern; prisoners were hanged for it, often with little proof. It appears, however, that the mostly individual attempts at sabotage do not explain the frequent failures of the V-2s, which were riddled with technical problems.

With the arrival of better weather, the evacuation of the remaining prisoners from the tunnels into the barracks camp, and the beginnings of V-2 production in the Mittelwerk, the situation in Dora much improved; the death rate fell dramatically. At the same time, Kammler's many new underground projects in the Harz region necessitated the creation of new subcamps, the largest of which were Ellrich (“Erich”) and Harzungen (“Hans”). Although subordinate to Buchenwald, they increasingly came under the control of Dora, to which they were closely tied, in part because they gave Förschner a new mechanism for ridding Dora of exhausted and unskilled inmates. The best educated and technically qualified prisoners, primarily from Western Europe, were selected to serve on the missile assembly line, while the others were put on the harsher outdoor, transport, and construction Kommandos. In the words of Wagner, the SS in Mittelbau-Dora developed a system of “mobile selection,” where inmates who were worn out or less valuable were transferred to Kommandos, subcamps, infirmaries, or “death blocks” of increasing harshness, so that the weakest died off.

In this system, the best-treated inmates, other than the mostly German and Czech “reds” and “greens” in administrative and Kapo positions, were the assembly-line workers for the Mittelwerk company, which employed between 5,000 and 6,000 prisoners (and 2,000 to 3,000 German civil workers) on two 12-hour shifts, six days a week. (A roughly equal number of Dora prisoners worked on Wifo construction projects.) In an effort to secure better labor, Mittelwerk supplied shoes and other items to the SS camp and instituted a premium wage system, where chits could be earned for use in the camp canteen. Yet however much the factory came to resemble a modern high-technology enterprise, as demonstrated in color propaganda photos from mid-1944, it remained a fundamentally barbaric production site. In June, the company

Table 1

Prisoner Population and Deaths in Mittelbau-Dora August 1943 to March 1945

Month	Number of Dora Prisoners	Deaths in Dora	Number of Sub-Camp Prisoners	Deaths in Sub-Camps
Aug. 1943	107	0	0	0
Sep. 1943	3394	5	0	0
Oct. 1943	6918	22	0	0
Nov. 1943	9887	170	0	0
Dec. 1943	10475	630	0	0
Jan. 1944	12682	669	0	0
Feb. 1944	12242	570	0	0
Mar. 1944	12263	721	200	0
Apr. 1944	10948	240	1663	10
May 1944	12386	136	4787	21
June 1944	11757	101	8161	18
July 1944	11804	89	9349	38
Aug. 1944	12537	54	14387	105
Sep. 1944	14643	56	15729	56
Oct. 1944	13816	160	18659	120
Nov. 1944	14226	48	19067	235
Dec. 1944	14959	64	18838	507
Jan. 1945	14867	129	16144	634
Feb. 1945	19360	306	22714	1035
Mar. 1945	18398	300	20280	2250

Source: Jens-Christian Wagner, *Produktion des Todes: Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2001), Anlage 5, p. 647, based on sources in Yad Vashem, National Archives microfilm M-1079, Hauptstaatsarchiv Düsseldorf/Zweigarchiv Kalkum, and Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar. Prisoner numbers are totals at the end of the month.

directors found it necessary to issue a confidential decree to the German civilian workers forbidding them from beating the prisoners and even stabbing them “with sharp instruments”!¹ Cold, hunger, accusations of sabotage, and the threat of violence were constant companions for the Mittelwerk prisoner workforce.

As time went on, and subassembly production was evacuated into the tunnels because of Allied air attacks, the number of prisoners working for companies other than Mittelwerk GmbH increased to several hundred in number. Askania was among the firms with Kommandos. V-2 production was disrupted, however, by political interventions because of the slowness of the weapon to develop technically and also by a takeover of 40 percent of the tunnel area by the state-owned Junkers Aircraft Co., which set up the Nordwerk (North Works) aircraft engine plant in the northern part of the tunnel system in late spring. With a tiny number of exceptions, Junkers did not employ SS prisoners but, rather, moved its civilian forced laborers to the Nordhausen area. Mittelwerk

then consolidated its V-2 production line into tunnels 21 to 42 and, in August 1944, accepted a contract for production of the V-1 cruise missile. The former “sleeping tunnels” (43 to 46) were outfitted for this purpose, and 300 skilled Hungarian Jewish SS prisoners were transferred from the Volkswagen company, which ultimately lost the V-1 lead contractor role to Mittelwerk in October. Earlier in the summer, Dora got 1,000 other Hungarian Jews from Auschwitz via Buchenwald, but these Jews were employed primarily in the worst construction jobs in Dora, Harzungen, and Ellrich.

The creation of the Junkers Nordwerk and the rise of the Mittelbau subcamps beginning in March 1944 were provoked by the same phenomenon: near panic in the Nazi leadership as a result of American daylight assaults on the aircraft industry in late February. On March 1, Speer created a “Fighter Staff,” led by the Armaments and Air ministries, with its primary goal the rapid increase in fighter production for air defense. This gave powerful backing to plans already under way to transfer aircraft production underground; SS-General

Hans Kammler thus came to play a central role through his new position as Sonderstab Kammler (Special Staff Kammler). He supervised a number of underground projects given “A” or “B” numbers, as well as some of the SS-Construction Brigades (Baubrigaden) that were transferred to the region beginning in May 1944 for various road and railroad-building projects. The prisoners of the Baubrigaden were subordinated to Dora/Mittelbau until January 1945, at which time they were put under the jurisdiction of Sachsenhausen. The largest and most important underground projects in the Nordhausen region were on either side of the valley on the northeast side of the Kohnstein, especially B3, near Woffleben, and B11 and B12, on the other side of the existing Mittelwerk tunnels. On April 1, 1944, the SS founded Harzungen, which supplied laborers to B3 and later also to B11. It was originally built as a civilian labor camp and was thus better outfitted; the SS guard force was also supplemented with transfers from the Luftwaffe, which lessened the brutality but certainly did not eliminate it. The main camp for B3, however, was founded on May 2 at the town of Ellrich in the Juliushütte, an abandoned gypsum factory that had processed the anhydrite rock mined from the original tunnels. The conditions in this camp were especially disastrous and the treatment of the prisoners especially brutal. Further subcamps in the region proliferated to the end of the war, for the Mittelwerk and for the Geilenberg program of underground oil production but mostly for Kammler’s various projects.

The formal subordination of these new camps to Buchenwald did not prevent the growing centralization of authority under commandant Förschner in Dora in order to save resources and gain flexibility. On June 8, the main camp received the designation “Mittelbau I,” while Harzungen and Ellrich-Juliushütte were grouped as “Mittelbau II”; in mid-July the SS guard force at the various subcamps in the region was unified into one Mittelbau Kommando under the supervision of the Buchenwald Death’s Head Unit. On September 10, Förschner renamed Ellrich “Mittelbau II” and Harzungen “Mittelbau III” and reorganized the subordination of various Kommandos. The official WVHA order creating Mittelbau, which was made on September 30 and which came into effect on October 28, 1944, was thus almost a formality. On November 1, the SS counted 32,471 prisoners in the system, of which 13,738 were in the main camp still informally known as Dora; over half were Russian or Polish.

During the last phase of Mittelbau’s existence, the production lines in Mittelwerk continued to run smoothly almost to the last day before evacuation, but the persecution and suffering of the prisoners in the main camp, not to mention the subcamps, dramatically increased. Although Mittelwerk never reached its specified output of 900 V-2s per month, beginning in September it produced between 600 and 700 monthly—over 20 complicated ballistic missiles per day. Between November and March, the company also assembled 6,000 much simpler V-1s, about equivalent to its total production of V-2s during the war. The death toll in Dora did not begin climbing again until after the beginning of the year, when large num-

bers of evacuated prisoners from Auschwitz, Gross-Rosen, and other eastern camps began arriving, but November marked a significant change in atmosphere. An alleged plot among the Soviet prisoners to stage an armed uprising on the anniversary of the October Revolution provoked the Gestapo not only to arrest alleged ringleaders but also to smash the informal resistance leadership in the camp, which included the German Communists Thomas, Kuntz, Szymczak, and Beham, as well as prominent French prisoners. Those arrested were thrown in the Mittelbau-Dora Bunker and other local Gestapo prisons and tortured. The pace of executions increased. Förschner and his SS subordinates now permanently installed “green” criminal prisoners in positions of responsibility, including Roman Drung as Lagerältester.

The repression was ratcheted up yet further when on February 1, 1945, Himmler replaced Mittelbau commandant Otto Förschner with Richard Baer, the last commandant of Auschwitz. The Gestapo-SD security apparatus had criticized Förschner for his reliance on Albert Kuntz and other “Reds” who turned out to be resistance leaders, but the last straw was the discovery that he failed to report a 10,000 Reichsmark (RM) bonus he had received from Mittelwerk. The evacuation of Auschwitz in late January left many hardened SS camp officers without posts, and Baer promptly installed his former subordinates throughout the Mittelbau hierarchy. Yet the great increase in executions in February and especially in March, including a number of mass hangings in the camps and in the tunnels, was largely the responsibility of SS-Obersturmbannführer Helmut Bischoff, the head of security for Mittelwerk and the V-weapons program. Effectively Bischoff reported directly to Kammler. The executions reached grotesque proportions after an attempted breakout of about 20 Soviet prisoners in the Mittelbau-Dora Bunker on the night of March 9. Two days later, 57 Soviets were hanged, and on March 21 and 22, 30 again each day. The German Communist leaders who had survived torture were shot in the last days of the camp.

At about the same time as Baer became commandant, evacuation trains began arriving from Auschwitz and later from Gross-Rosen, which had the most profound impact on the Mittelbau camp system of all events of the last few months. Over 16,000 inmates, many in disastrous condition, were dumped into the Mittelbau system by the end of March, 10,000 of them from Gross-Rosen alone and a large percentage of them Jewish. These trains also had many dead who were not even registered; the corpses were piled up, and when the crematoria could not handle the load, they were burned outside. Dora’s population temporarily shot up from 14,000 to 21,000 in February, before many were transported to Ellrich-Juliushütte and other subcamps, including a new location for mass suffering, the former Luftwaffe base in Nordhausen, Boelcke-Kaserne. The seriously ill were dumped onto straw laid out in the airplane hangers and left to die. Even before the final evacuation, 2,250 from there and Ellrich were shipped off to Bergen-Belsen in an “annihilation transport.”²

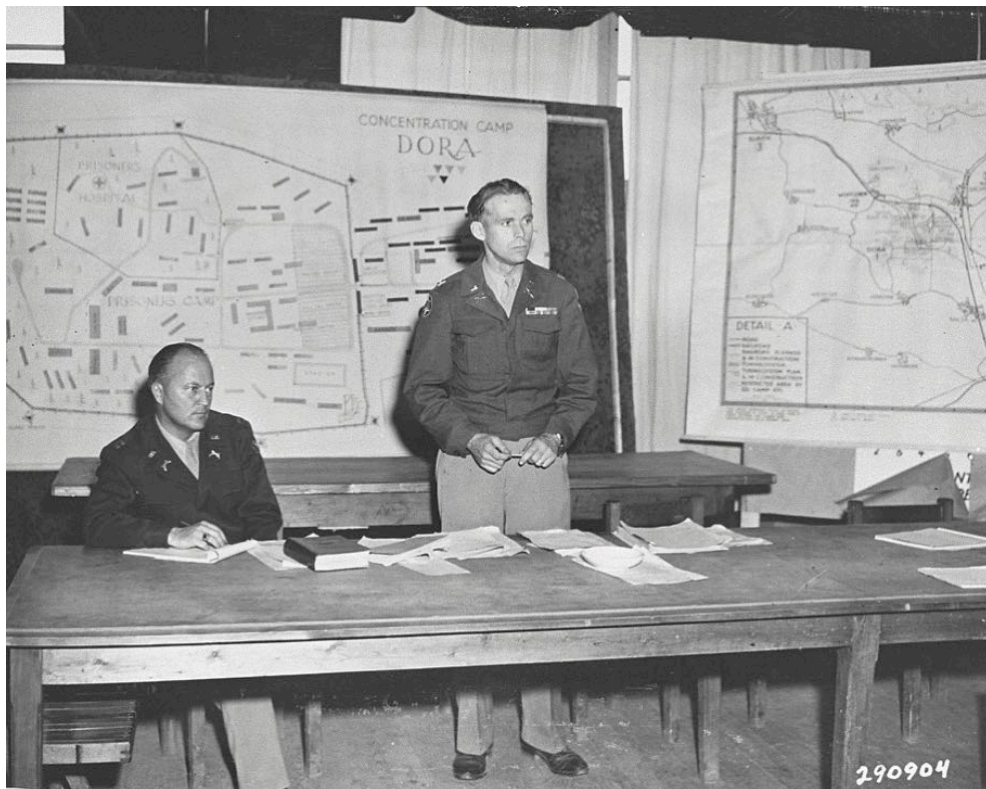
970 MITTELBAU

The end came at the beginning of April. On April 1, work stopped in Mittelwerk. On April 3 and 4, the Royal Air Force burned down much of Nordhausen in two raids that also killed up to 1,500 at Boelcke-Kaserne. Baer and the camp leadership began the evacuation on April 4 by train and foot, abandoning only several hundred seriously ill in Dora and Boelcke-Kaserne. The ensuing death marches and trains had the same catastrophic and senseless pattern seen elsewhere; surviving Mittelbau inmates ended up at Bergen-Belsen, Ravensbrück, and many other places as far away as Austria, with a death toll in the thousands. The most infamous crime of the evacuation took place at the village of Gardelegen, where 1,016 marchers from Mittelbau and Neuengamme subcamps were locked in a barn and burned alive or shot if they tried to escape. Only 20 to 25 prisoners survived. Wagner estimates that over 8,000 died during the evacuations, raising the final Mittelbau toll to over 20,000.

On April 11, 1945, elements of the U.S. 3rd Armored and 104th Infantry Divisions reached Nordhausen and discovered the horrific situation at Boelcke-Kaserne, where sick and dying survivors lay with the corpses of the prisoners burned in

the air raids. Not much later, the liberators also found the Mittelwerk tunnels and Dora. The scene in Nordhausen provoked outrage among the occupiers; the U.S. Army made a propaganda film that made the name of the city briefly infamous. But soon afterward came a different set of U.S. Army personnel who were only interested in the technology. Before the Soviets could move forward into their prescribed occupation zone, U.S. forces removed large numbers of missile parts and personnel. The operation to exploit German science and technology that came to be known as Operation Paperclip had one of its most important origins here. After the Soviets moved forward on July 5, they too were eager to grab the fruits of German rocket and missile technology and used some Mittelwerk facilities to assemble and refurbish some V-2s and later sent many German engineers and technicians to the USSR.

The first SS functionaries from the camp to be tried were 12 charged by the British in the Bergen-Belsen trial of fall 1945; 3 were hanged, including the last Mittelbau Schutzhaftlagerführer, Franz Hößler, better known for his role at Auschwitz. The longtime commandant, Otto Förchner, was



US prosecutors Captains John J. Ryan and William F. McGarry listen to testimony during the Nordhausen trial, September 19, 1947. In the background is a map of Mittelbau-Dora.
USHMM WS #43067, COURTESY OF NARA

executed in May 1946 by the U.S. Army for his actions in the Dachau subcamps at the end of the war. At Dachau in late 1947, the army also held the only dedicated Allied trials for Dora/Mittelbau; of the 18 SS members and 5 Kapos tried, 1 was executed, and 18 received prison terms. Also tried was the general director of Mittelwerk from May 1944 to the end, Georg Rickhey, but he was acquitted because of the narrow focus on individual mistreatment of prisoners. In the Soviet Zone and German Democratic Republic (GDR), 1 SS officer was sentenced to 20 years, another executed, but during most of the 1950s, little further interest was paid to the issue on either side of the border. After the founding in 1958 of a central authority in West Germany for investigating war crimes, however, renewed investigations were made into Mittelbau. Ultimately, they led to the “Dora Trial” in Essen from 1967 to 1970. Richard Baer had earlier been discovered living under an assumed name during the investigations for the Auschwitz Trial, and he committed suicide in prison in 1963. So the court tried Helmut Bischoff, security chief of the Mittelbau region; Erwin Busta, an infamous SS guard; and Ernst Sander, a Gestapo officer. Just before the announcement of the sentencing on May 8, 1970, Bischoff was released on grounds of poor health (yet somehow lived to 1991); Busta and Sander got terms of 7.5 and 8.5 years, respectively, but also were allowed on health grounds to avoid further imprisonment.

Thus ended the last trials on this subject, but the name Dora has lived on because of its connection to the group of German rocket engineers around Dr. Wernher von Braun who became so prominent in the U.S. space program. The case of Arthur Rudolph, a close subordinate of von Braun and a key figure in the Apollo lunar landing project, attracted particular attention; he left the United States in 1984 rather than fight a denaturalization hearing initiated by the Justice Department for his role as production manager for Mittelwerk. Rudolph settled in Hamburg, but the German prosecutor decided that there was no longer sufficient evidence to make a case; he died at the beginning of 1996. One thing definitely came of the Rudolph case: the story of Mittelbau-Dora can no longer be left out of the history of the German rocket program, as it was for much of the Cold War.

SOURCES The first person to take a scholarly interest in the Mittelbau camp was a native of the Nordhausen region, Manfred Bornemann. His article with Martin Brozsat, “Das KL Dora-Mittelbau,” in *Studien zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager*, ed. Martin Brozsat (Stuttgart: Deutsche-Verlags-Anstalt, 1970), pp. 154–198, and his book *Geheimprojekt Mittelbau* (1971; repr., Bonn: Bernhard & Graefe, 1994) focus on the underground plant, V-2 production, and Dora, the primary emphasis of most historians until recently. The lit-

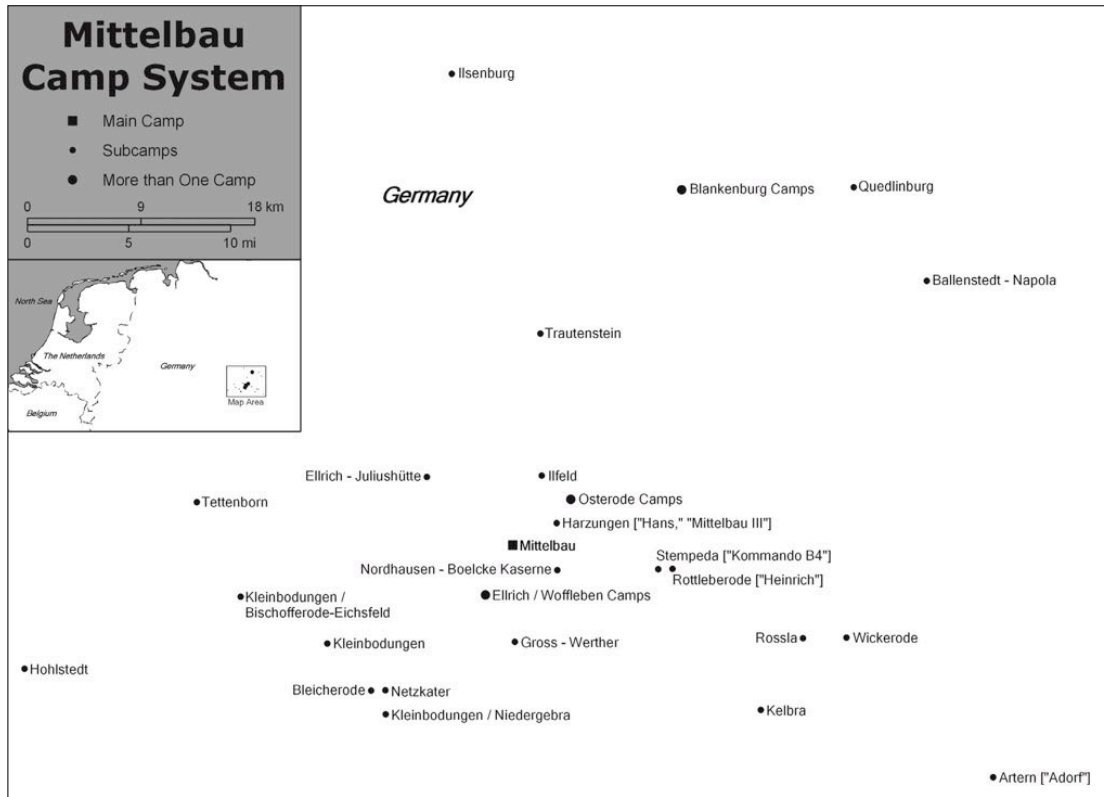
erature on the rocket program is large; see especially Michael J. Neufeld, *The Rocket and the Reich* (New York: Free Press, 1995). For V-1 production in the Mittelwerk, see the relevant sections in Hans Mommsen and Manfred Grieger, *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf: ECON, 1996). Recently discovered stunning color photographs of the underground plant and French prisoner art from Dora are featured in the exhibition catalog of Yves Le Maner and André Sellier, *Images de Dora 1943–1945* (St. Omer: La Coupole, 1999). Recently three new histories of the camp and camp system have ushered in a new era of scholarly work on Mittelbau. Joachim Neander’s *Das Konzentrationslager “Mittelbau” in der Endphase der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur*. (Clausthal-Zellerfeld: Papierflieger, 1997) is strongest for the evacuation of the camps. A French survivor of Mittelbau-Dora, André Sellier, has published *Histoire du camp de Dora* (Paris: Éditions la découverte, 1998), which emphasizes the experience of French workers in the Mittelwerk. In English, it is available as *A History of the Dora Camp*, trans. Steven Wright and Susan Taponier, foreword by Michael J. Neufeld, afterword by Jens-Christian Wagner (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, published in association with USHMM, 2003). But the standard scholarly work on the camp is that of Jens-Christian Wagner, *Produktion des Todes: Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2001), which is superbly researched and for the first time sets the whole Mittelbau camp system in balanced perspective. This book is based upon the author’s dissertation, “Verlagerungswahn und Tod: Die Fiktion eines Rüstungszentrum und der KZ-Komplex Mittelbau-Dora 1943” (Ph.D. diss., Göttingen, 1999).

Only remnants of KL Mittelbau and Mittelwerk GmbH records survive, most notably in the BA-BL in RG NS 4 Anhang but also in R 121, Industriebeteiligungsgesellschaft, which includes Mittelwerk GmbH, and R 125, Wifo. There are also Mittelbau-Dora records in the THStA-W, RG NS 4/Bu, in the Buchenwald records. For the Nordhausen trial at Dachau in 1947, see NARA, *United States of America vs. Kurt Andrae, et al.*, Microfilm Publication M-1079, 16 Reels (originals in RG 238, NARA); and for the Essen trial of 1967 to 1970, NWStA-(D), Zweigarchiv Kalkum, Gerichte Rep. 299; duplicates of the latter are in the ZdL (now BA-L). Also useful are the Peenemünde correspondence with Mittelwerk GmbH, in the DMM, Peenemünde records, File GD 638.8.2, and ITS records on Buchenwald and Mittelbau in the YVA, Microfilms BD3-Bu19-44 and BD11-Do1-6.

Michael J. Neufeld

NOTES

1. Rickhey and Kettler, “Sonder-Direktions-Anweisung,” June 22, 1944, BA-BL, NS 4 Anh./3.
2. Jens-Christian Wagner, “Verlagerungswahn und Tod: Die Fiktion eines Rüstungszentrum und der KZ-Komplex Mittelbau-Dora 1943” (Ph.D. diss., Göttingen, 1999), p. 223.



MITTELBAU SUBCAMP SYSTEM

The Mittelbau concentration camp is regarded as the last National Socialist main concentration camp. It was established in the autumn of 1944 from a dense system of Buchenwald subcamps in the area around Nordhausen, the center of which was the Dora camp. This camp was established in the late summer of 1943 for the purpose of expanding the subterranean Mittelwerk. Rocket production began in January 1944. The Mittelbau concentration camp was known to the public as a rocket concentration camp (Raketen KZ). The establishment of the majority of the other camps in the Mittelbau complex was only indirectly connected with the assembly of rockets. Using the subterranean rocket factory as a model, countless new underground facilities were to be established for Junkers, which was to relocate its various factories underground, and for the development of subterranean facilities for the oil industry. The SS, whose construction arm was under the command of SS-General Dr.-Ing. Hans Kammler, gathered tens of thousands of concentration camp prisoners, for which subcamps would be established close to the planned subterranean facilities. The name of this gigantic construction project was formulated in March 1944 at the headquarters of the Junkers company: Unternehmen Mittelbau. In October 1944, it became the name for a concentration camp complex independent of Buchenwald. Dora, on the other hand, was the name of a Buchenwald subcamp that later became the main camp of the Mittelbau concentration camp (the name "Mittelbau-Dora" encompasses both phases of the camp's development: the Dora subcamp and the independent Mittelbau concentration camp).

From March 1944, as part of the relocation of the Junkers sites, several Buchenwald subcamps were established in the vicinity of the Dora camp. The camp at Rottleberode (code name "Heinrich" or "Kommando A5") was established in the middle of March 1944. There followed at the beginning of April the Harzungen camp (code name "Hans") and, at the beginning of May 1944, the Ellrich-Juliushütte camp (code name "Erich"). The latter was the largest and most feared camp in the subcamp complex. Here, on the site of an unused gypsum factory, an average of 8,000 prisoners labored under catastrophic conditions, packed together very tightly, until they were evacuated at the beginning of April 1945. In Harzungen there was an average of 4,000 prisoners, and in Rottleberode, around 1,000 prisoners.

The camps established after April 1944 were a little smaller in size. Their inmates were used on construction work to improve the infrastructure for the armaments center that was being established in the Nordhausen area, for example, the construction of the Helmetalbahn (the railway at Helme Valley). Along this planned railway line, which was to improve the connection from Nordhausen to northwestern Germany, there arose in the summer and autumn of 1944 several smaller subcamps, whose inmates were the 1,000 prisoners that were

assigned to the SS-Baubrigaden (Construction Brigades) III and IV.

Although the newly established camps were part of the Buchenwald main camp, there was from the very beginning a tendency to centralize administrative matters in the Dora camp. This was especially so for the Ellrich-Juliushütte and Harzungen camps, whose prisoners were used to excavate the shafts for the new underground facilities close to the Mittelwerk. The Labor Deployment (Arbeitseinsatz) Office in the Dora camp made the decision to send newly arriving prisoners or prisoners who had been in the Dora camp for a longer period of time and who, because of their physical constitution or lack of skills, did not seem usable in the rocket production that had begun in January 1944 to the surrounding camps. In the seven months from April 1944 to the time when the Mittelbau-Dora complex became an independent concentration camp, more than 17,000 prisoners were transferred in this way to the camps at Ellrich, Harzungen, and Rottleberode. The Arbeitseinsatz office in Dora was given extra tasks, which if the guidelines of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WHVA) had been followed should have been allocated to the Arbeitseinsatz office in the main concentration camp. The WVHA took this development into account when in the summer of 1944, at the insistence of the camp commandant Förschner, it assigned to the Dora camp SS-Untersturmführer Alois Kurz, from Auschwitz, as Arbeitseinsatzführer.¹

Gradually, the Dora camp took over other administrative areas of the main camp. For the SS this was a saving in time and cost, as it could forego the establishment of facilities in the new subcamps, as they were already in the Dora camp. Seriously ill prisoners were treated, if they were treated at all, not in the subcamps but in the Dora camp's infirmary or they were transferred back to the main Buchenwald camp. Here were located arrest cells in which prisoners from the subcamps were incarcerated. From no later than the autumn of 1944 the administration at the Dora camp took over the distribution of food and clothing. Altogether there were countless cases of interdependence and interplay between the Dora camp and the other subcamps in the region.

It was not only functional factors that prompted the Südharz (south Harz) subcamps to strive for independence but the fact that the SS camp leadership, despite its formal connection to the Buchenwald concentration camp, was under the direct command of SS-Gruppenführer Kammler. This meant that as early as June 1944 there was an organizational shift. The Dora camp was named "Mittelbau I," and the surrounding camps were all named "Mittelbau II." This change was of short duration, as the strong growth of the Ellrich and Harzungen camps meant that the Mittelbau complex was again reorganized on September 10, 1944: the Dora camp was known as "Mittelbau I," the camps in Ellrich and Harzungen were now known as "Mittelbau II" and

“Mittelbau III.”² At the same time, the guards from the SS and the Luftwaffe in the Mittelbau garrison were put under the command of the five companies of the SS-Wachkommando of the Standortführung Mittelbau, which included the guards for the camp of the Baubrigaden III and IV in Wieda, Nüxei, Mackenrode-Tettenborn, Osterhagen, and Ellrich. A little later the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade I in Berga and the SS-Baubrigade I in Sollstedt became part of the Mittelbau garrison.³

The independence of the Mittelbau concentration camp in October 1944 was therefore a purely formal act. In addition to the already mentioned camps, on October 28, 1944, the Buchenwald subcamps of Klosterwerke Blankenburg, the camp at the company Curt Heber in Osterode, the Heinrich camp in Rottleberode, and the SS-Baubrigade V were transferred to the Mittelbau concentration camp.⁴

After Mittelbau became an independent concentration camp, it established other subcamps, many of them as part of subterranean construction projects, for example, the camps “Dachs IV” near Osterode (November 1944) and Regenstein near Blankenburg (February 1945), which with 400 to 900 inmates were part of the medium-sized Mittelbau camps. Other camps were much smaller. The first camp established in March 1945, Ilsenburg, whose inmates had to construct a high-voltage power line, had only 15 Italian military internees (IMIs). When the SS, at the beginning of April 1945, evacuated the Mittelbau camps in the face of the approaching U.S. troops, the Mittelbau concentration camp with its 40 subcamps had more than 40,000 inmates. This includes the SS-Baubrigaden stationed in the Nordhausen region, which in January 1945 were formally under the command of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. They remained based at their garrisons even though functionally they were part of the Mittelbau concentration camp.

The SS established its most horrid Mittelbau camp in January 1945 in the Nordhäuser Boelcke-Kaserne. Initially planned as accommodations for prisoner detachments at the Nordhäuser armaments manufacturers, it developed into the main sick and death camp for the Mittelbau concentration camp. This development occurred no later than after the arrival of the evacuation transports from the dissolved Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen concentration camps at the end of January 1945. At the end of March 1945, there were almost 6,000 prisoners in the camp. During its three-month existence, it was the place of death for almost 3,000 people.

The subcamp at Boelcke-Kaserne reflects the character of the Mittelbau concentration camp as a system. Contrary to most other main concentration camps, the Mittelbau concentration camp was a camp system that was given specific functions within the overall camp system. It was the totality of camps that made the Mittelbau concentration camp, a camp that stretched over the whole of the Harz. The towns and villages in the region, in one sense, formed islands of civilian life in a dense landscape of concentration camps.

SOURCES The first academic publication to deal with the Mittelbau-Dora concentration camp subcamp system was by Manfred Bornemann and Martin Broszat in *Studien zur Ge-*

schichte der Konzentrationslager (Stuttgart: DVA, 1970), pp. 154–198. The most important of the more recent studies of the whole Dora concentration camp, including the development of Mittelbau concentration camp, include works by Joachim Neander, *Das Konzentrationslager Mittelbau in der Endphase der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur: Zur Geschichte des letzten im “Dritten Reich” gegründeten selbständigen Konzentrationslagers unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Auflösungsphase* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld: Papierflieger, 1997); André Sellier, *Histoire du camp de Dora* (Paris: Éditions la découverte, 1998); and Jens-Christian Wagner, *Produktion des Todes. Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2001). The latter has contributed the only work that focuses solely on the subcamp system: “Das Aussenlagersystem des KL Mittelbau-Dora,” in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 1998), pp. 707–729. The work by Erhard Pachaly and Kurt Pely, *Konzentrationslager Mittelbau-Dora: Zum antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf im KZ Dora 1943–1945* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1990), contains long passages on the genesis of the subcamp system but is not recommended due to trade defects and factual errors.

The most important source on the prisoner transports to the Mittelbau concentration camp and individual camps within the system are the Veränderungsmeldungen der Lagerverwaltung as well as transport lists and prisoner lists from the Mittelbau camps (*Transportliste und Häftlingsaufstellungen*), which are, however, only fragmentary and held in a variety of archives (including the ITS: Mittelbau-Ordner und Sachdokumentenarchiv; THStA-W: Bestände, NS 4 Bu, and KZ und Haftanstalten Buchenwald; YVA: Microfilms BD3-Bu19-BD3-Bu44 and BD11-Do1-BD11-Do6). An important documentary collection is the files from the U.S. military trial of those responsible for the Mittelbau-Dora concentration camp that took place in Dachau in 1947 (NARA, RG 238, Microfilm Publication M-1079, United States Army Investigation and Trial Records of War Criminals, *USA v. Kurt Andrae, et al.*, 16 Reels).

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. NARA, M-1079, Roll 12, frame 239, *USA v. Kurt Andrae, et al.*, Interrogation of Wilhelm Simon (former SS member in the Dora camp Arbeitseinsatzbüro).
2. The final reorganization of the camp was ordered in a “Sonderbefehl der SS-Standortführung Mittelbau,” September 10, 1944, AG-MD, 50.1.4.3/3.
3. Schreiben der “Zentralverwaltung der SS-Kantinen im Standortbereich Mittelbau” an die Standortkantine Buchenwald, September 30, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Bu/229.
4. Verfügung des SS-Wirtschaftsverwaltungs-Hauptamtes zur Verselbständigung des KZ Mittelbau, October 28, 1944, StA-N, NO-2317. As with the subordination of the SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigaden VII and VIII, the incorporation of SS-Baubrigade V, based in Stuttgart, was of a purely formal nature. Functionally, there was no connection between these mobile prisoner detachments deployed in parts of Germany and the German-occupied areas in the autumn of 1944 and the Mittelbau concentration camp.

ARTERN [AKA ADORF, REBSTOCK NEU]

As part of the underground relocation of rocket production in the autumn of 1943, the steel construction firm Gollnow und Sohn, originally based in Stettin, commenced production in an unused railway tunnel near Dernau in Ahrtal (Rheinland-Pfalz). The underground facility was used to produce the ground-based mounts for the A4 (Aggregat 4) rocket. Formally, the facility, called “Rebstock” or “Vorwerk West,” was owned by the Mittelwerk GmbH. From the end of August 1944, Gollnow und Sohn used a few hundred concentration camp prisoners from the nearby Buchenwald Rebstock subcamp, established to support the underground production facilities.

The Rebstock camp did not last long. In the face of an advancing front, the Gollnow company relocated its machines and personnel in stages in the autumn of 1944 to Artern, about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) southeast of Nordhausen. It recommenced production, under the code name Fa. Geyer und Sohn, in facilities confiscated from the Kyffhäuserhütte and the Malzfabrik “Goldene Aue” AG. Even though the relocation of the machines had begun in October 1944, the production of A4 ground facilities in Artern did not get beyond the initial phases by the end of the war.

The Gollnow/Geyer firm relocated not only its machines from Ahrtal to Thüringen but also its personnel, including the concentration camp prisoners in the Rebstock camp. At the end of November 1944, the first transport left Dernau with just 100 prisoners. With the transfer of the remaining 199 prisoners to Artern, the SS finally closed the Rebstock camp in December 1944. At the same time, the Artern camp (also known as “Adorf” or “Rebstock neu”) was then under the control of the Mittelbau concentration camp. On November 20, 1944, 30 prisoners and, five days later, 20 prisoners were sent from Mittelbau to Artern as an advance work detachment.

The Gollnow or Geyer civilian employees were quartered in a number of private dwellings. The SS initially accommodated the prisoners in temporary facilities in a gymnasium. Later, they were transferred to a newly established barracks camp close to the Malzfabrik (malt factory), which had a barbed-wire fence and guard towers.

For the prisoners, the relocation to Artern meant a dramatic reduction in the quality of their living conditions. They were no longer used primarily in production but in the physically draining work of construction and transport in building the production halls. In addition, the sanitary conditions in the gymnasium and later in the incomplete barracks camp were extremely poor, and the prisoners were crammed into the barracks. At the beginning of 1945, there were around 350 male prisoners in the camp, who had been transferred to Artern from Dernau and the Mittelbau camps at Dora and Kleinbodungen. Overwhelmingly, the prisoners were Polish, French, and Russian. The number of prisoners decreased in the middle of January 1945, when around 80 prisoners were transferred to Mittelbau, but increased a month later when more than 100, mostly Jewish, prisoners, some of whom were severely injured, were taken into the camp from a rail trans-

port. The prisoners had left Buchenwald in the middle of February 1945. They were moving in the direction of Halberstadt when, while close to Artern, they were attacked from the air. The SS left a few of the injured in the Mittelbau infirmary. At least 18 died in Artern, where there was scarcely any chance of medical care for the injured.

The SS recorded 30 deaths in the camp for February and March 1945. They were victims not only of inadequate medical care but also of the poor sanitary conditions in the camp and mistreatment by SS members and Kapos. The camp leader, SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Schmidt, was feared by the prisoners. From 1943–1944, he had been in command of the infamous Buchenwald subcamp “Laura.” His deputy, SS-Unterscharführer Hans Klerch, who had arrived in Artern in January 1945 from Auschwitz, was also feared. The SS installed as prisoner-functionaries mostly German prisoners who wore the green triangle of the “criminals.” The camp elder was Gustav Hartmann. An exception was the camp recorder, Dr. Hans Wolff, a political prisoner.

At the beginning of April 1945, both camp leaders ordered the evacuation of the camp in the face of the approaching U.S. Army. Around 100 prisoners left the camp by rail in the first days of April in the direction of Bergen-Belsen. On April 5, 1945, the remaining prisoners in Artern were forced by the SS to march in two columns from the camp. They marched for three days to the Buchenwald subcamp at Rehmsdorf (Tröglitz). A few days later, they were loaded into open goods wagons. Thus began a journey by rail that lasted for a week, as they wandered through Saxony and Czechoslovakia. The journey ended on May 8, 1945, when the survivors were freed by Czech partisans close to the Austrian border.

After the war, the Gollnow und Sohn firm relocated to West Germany, where it was later taken over by Rheinmetall. None of the SS perpetrators in the Artern camp were tried. Several investigations that took place in the 1970s and 1980s into members of the SS, including the former camp leader Schmidt, were discontinued. However, the statements by former prisoners and Gollnow civilian employees, which were taken as part of the investigation, today form the basic source for the camp’s history.

SOURCES Uli Jungbluth published the most comprehensive history of the Artern camp, *Wunderwaffen im KZ “Rebstock”: Zwangsarbeit in Dernau/Rheinland-Pfalz und Artern/Thüringen im Dienste der V-Waffen* (Briedel: Rhein-Mosel-Verlag, 2000). A former German Gollnow civilian employee published in a local magazine a documentary report on the company and the Artern camp: Willi Bleisteiner, “Zur Geschichte der ‘Geyerfirma,’” *Aratora* 5 (1995): 88–92. A few years later, the same magazine published a short article by Joachim Neander on the camp’s evacuation, “Dreiunddreissig Tage ‘auf Transport’: Die Evakuierung des Konzentrationslagers ‘Adorf,’” *Aratora: Zeitschrift des Vereins für Heimatkunde, Geschichte und Schutz von Artern e.V.* 8 (1998): 137–148. Finally, there are references to the Artern camp in a study by Frank Baranowski, *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke Druck und Verlag, 2000);

and the Mittelbau monograph by Jens-Christian Wagner, *Produktion des Todes. Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2001).

The most important source for prisoner transports to and from Artern are the Mittelbau-Dora Veränderungsmeldungen (THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395). Extensive collections of the investigation files on the history of the Rebstock and Artern camps are held at the ZdL (now BA-L), which has file 429 AR-Z 191/72; and the Sta. Koblenz, which has Aktenzeichen 101 4 Js 268/86. Files on the Kyffhäuserhütte and Malzfabrik "Goldene Aue" are held in the postwar Demontageakten in the LHSA-Ma (Rep. K 6 MW, Nr. 5951).

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BALLENSTEDT (NAPOLA)

Very little information is available on the Ballenstedt subcamp established on March 17, 1945, in the building of the Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalt (Institution of National Political-Education, Napola) on the Ziegenberg near Ballenstedt. Its purpose, the date it was closed, and the fate of its inmates remain to be uncovered.

According to a former Napola student, the camp's almost 60 inmates were accommodated in the assembly hall of the main Napola building. The assembly hall was separated from the rest of the building.¹ The SS guards were accommodated elsewhere on the Napola grounds. A few prisoners are said to have worked on constructing a pond for firefighting on the Napola grounds. It is possible that the camp was established for the Junker firm's construction department, which for air-raid protection reasons had been based in Ballenstedt since 1944, where it administered the Junkers construction projects of the Mittelbau firm.

SOURCES There is no published research on the history of the Ballenstedt camp, and there are no known prisoner memoirs. The establishment date of the Ballenstedt camp is based on the Mittelbau concentration camp strength reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*) that are held in the THStA-W (KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395). Eyewitness reports are held in the collection on the Ballenstedt camp located in AG-MD.

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Bericht Ulrich G., Mai 2003, AG-MD, Materialsammlung Ballenstedt.

BLANKENBURG-OESIG ("KLOSTERWERKE")

The two camps close to Blankenberg, "Klosterwerke" and "Turmalin," were an exception within the Mittelbau complex:

unlike most of the other Mittelbau camps, they were not in Südharz. These subcamps were located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) to the north of Nordhausen on the northern edge of the Harz Mountains, and their inmates did not have to work on the Kammler Staff construction sites but were employed by the Organisation Todt (OT). However, their labor was used exactly the same: the prisoners had to excavate underground caverns for the construction of planned subterranean factories.

Planning for both of the Blankenburg underground projects began in March 1944 when representatives of a number of Magdeburg armaments manufacturers traveled with geologist Professor Fritz Dahlgrün from the Reichsamt für Bodenforschung (Reich Office for Soil Research, RABF) to the north Harz to inspect sites that could be suitable for relocating armaments factories underground. They were successful in Blankenburg and other areas, particularly in the sandstone area at Regenstein and in the area around the ore-processing plant at Braunesumpf. After the trip, the representatives of the Magdeburg firms Krupp-Gruson and Schäffer und Budenberg announced that they wished to commence with excavation for underground factories. Shaft work began in May 1944 for the Blankenburg projects "Porphy" (also known by the code name "Klosterwerke") and "Turmalin" (also known by the code name "Odawerke").

The files that have survived do not clearly reveal for which company the "Porphy" caverns, excavated on the mine shaft entrance of the Braunesumpf mine under Michaelstein Mountain, were excavated. It was probably for the Krupp factory in Hamburg-Glinde, which planned to relocate the manufacture of crank shafts into the caverns, but it could also have been the Magdeburg Krupp-Gruson-Werk, which in the spring of 1944 planned to relocate its production facilities to another underground facility in nearby Hoppelberg near Halberstadt (subcamp Langenstein-Zwieberge).

German and civilian workers were first employed on the site, and later 60 Italian penal prisoners were used in construction. Concentration camp prisoners were not allocated to the construction site despite repeated requests to the SS. It was only in the summer of 1944 when the labor shortage increasingly hindered construction that the SS gave into the demands of the OT. On August 24, 1944, the SS transferred around 500 concentration camp prisoners from Buchenwald to Blankenburg, where they were accommodated in the newly established "Klosterwerke" subcamp close to the Blankenburg suburb of Oesig. Around three-quarters of the camp's inmates were from Belgium. They had only recently been deported from Belgian prisons to Buchenwald in the face of the advancing Allies. Initially, the new subcamp was under the control of the Buchenwald concentration camp, but on October 28, 1944, it was transferred to the Mittelbau concentration camp.

As often happened when subcamps were first established, the prisoners initially had improvised accommodations. Albert van Hoey, who arrived with the first 500 prisoners in Blankenburg at the end of August 1944, later described the

camp as a “desolate place, secured with a three-meter [almost ten feet] high barbed-wire fence and high guard towers. There was a wooden barracks for the SS and forty-two Hitler Youth tents. Twelve prisoners slept in each tent. We slept on straw with our heads facing out and our feet to the middle.”¹ A prisoner detachment of which van Hoey was a member had the task to construct barracks for the prisoners in the following months. The first barracks was occupied in October 1944, but it had no doors or windows. The other five accommodation barracks as well as a kitchen and infirmary barracks were ready by the winter.

All prisoners, with the exception of the functionaries and those constructing the camp or engaged in transport duties, were forced to work on the Porphyr construction site, either above or below ground. Another work detachment was for a time involved in the construction of the nearby Gestapo camp for “Half Jews and Jewish Relatives.” Those prisoners were also forced to work on the OT construction site at the Porphyr project.

Many prisoners quickly fell ill due to the harsh working conditions, chronic hunger, and the completely inadequate sanitary conditions in the Klosterwerke camp. There were no bathing or shower facilities. From the autumn of 1944, the death rate in the camp increased. Initially, the corpses were taken to the Quedlinburg city crematorium for cremation. Later, the SS had the corpses hurriedly buried in a trough outside the camp fence. After the end of the war, local citizens were ordered by U.S. soldiers to exhume the corpses and reinter them in the Blankenburg cemetery.

By the winter of 1944–1945, the number of prisoners had not increased in the Klosterwerke camp, initially controlled by Buchenwald and from the end of October 1944 by Mittelbau. In February and March 1945, the SS transferred more than 100 prisoners from the main camp and Boelcke-Kaserne to Blankenburg. Included in the transfer were many Polish Jews who shortly before had arrived in Nordhausen from Auschwitz. They, in particular, suffered from the terror and mistreatment by the SS and Kapos.

The treatment was to get worse when, in March 1945, the camp leader, SS-Oberscharführer Dieterich, was replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Hans Mirbeth from Auschwitz. The end of the Klosterwerke camp began on April 4, 1945, when 48 sick prisoners were transferred to the main camp. Two days later, the remainder of the camp’s inmates, as well as the inmates from the nearby camp at Turmalin, were forced to set forth on foot under SS supervision toward the Elbe River. The survivors of both camps (dozens of exhausted prisoners had been shot by the SS along the way) were loaded onto a river barge to the north of Magdeburg. The barge took them to Lübeck. From there the prisoners of the Klosterwerke sub-camp began a march on April 13, 1945, in a northwesterly direction toward the Glasau Manor. Upon their arrival, they were put in a barn while the SS guards under the command of Mirbeth established themselves in the manor house. Around two weeks later, on April 30, 1945, the West European prisoners, who were the majority, were liberated. They were taken

away by truck by the Swedish Red Cross to Lübeck and then were taken by ship to Sweden. All the remaining prisoners, including the Polish Jews, were taken on the same day by the SS on foot in the direction of Neustadt on the Baltic, where they were put onto two ships, already laden with thousands of Neuengamme concentration camp prisoners that were at anchor in the bight. One of the ships, the *Cap Arcona*, sank a few days later when attacked during a British air raid and became the tomb for an unknown number of prisoners from the Klosterwerke subcamp.

There has never been a judicial investigation into the Klosterwerke camp and the crimes committed on the death marches. The last camp leader, Mirbeth, was sentenced by the Bremen Landgericht (Regional Court) in 1953 to six years in prison, but only for crimes he committed in Auschwitz.

SOURCES Details on the camp and the Porphyr construction project are to be found in the Mittelbau monograph by Jens-Christian Wagner, *Produktion des Todes: Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen, 2001).

Besides the relevant files left behind by the SS, and which are held in microfilm in the YVA (Microfilms BD11-Do1-6, ITS records on Mittelbau), there are documents on forced labor held in the collection of the Ast-Blb. The judgment of the Bremen Landgericht on the camp leader Hans Mirbeth of November 27, 1953, has been published in the documents contained in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen* (Amsterdam, 1974), 11:497–658. The memoir by a surviving prisoner, Albert van Hoey, “Todesmarsch und Befreiung,” is included in Gerhard Hoch and Rolf Schwarz, eds., *Verschleppt zur Sklavenarbeit: Kriegsgefangene und Zwangsarbeiter in Schleswig Holstein* (Alveshohe, 1988), pp. 7–12. Van Hoey published a second memoir: “Das Aussenslager ‘Klosterwerk’—Blankenburg/Harz,” in *Erinnern: Aufgabe, Chance, Herausforderung* (Magdeburg, 2002), pp. 12–18.

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Albert van Hoey, “Todesmarsch und Befreiung,” in *Verschleppt zur Sklavenarbeit: Kriegsgefangene und Zwangsarbeiter in Schleswig Holstein*, ed. Gerhard Hoch and Rolf Schwarz (Alveshohe, 1988), p. 9.

BLANKENBURG-REGENSTEIN (“TURMALIN”)

At the end of October 1944, the “Klosterwerke” camp in Blankenburg, established two months earlier, was put under the control of the Mittelbau concentration camp. At the beginning of February 1945, a second subcamp was established in Blankenburg, “Turmalin.”

The Turmalin project was the excavation of a subterranean facility under the Regenstein Mountain, a unique rock formation and popular excursion destination to the east of Blankenburg. Measuring devices were to be manufactured

here for the Magdeburg armaments producer Schäffer und Budenberg GmbH under the code name “Odawerk.” These were probably manometers for the A4 (Aggregat 4) rockets, which the company Schäffer und Budenberg had long been delivering to the Mittelwerk. This would probably explain why in February 1945 a Mittelbau subcamp was established close to the construction site.

The 400 prisoners in the camp, together with around 500 German and 300 foreign laborers, which at times included 200 Italian penal prisoners, were to excavate the caverns and construct the external facilities. The Turmalin project began in the spring of 1944 but was not completed by the end of the war. However, according to an American Combined Intelligence Objectives Sub-Committee (CIOS) team, the production of measuring devices did begin in part of the facility shortly before the arrival of U.S. military forces in April 1945. There were around 120 people producing the devices.¹

An essential reason for the slow progress in construction was the labor shortage. In the summer of 1944, the Grossdeutsche Schachtbau AG, which had been contracted by the construction department of the Armaments Ministry to excavate the cavern system, repeatedly demanded additional labor from the Einsatzgruppe IV of the Organisation Todt (OT), whose construction management oversaw the project. The construction firm was particularly keen in being allocated forced laborers. However, except for the 200 Italian penal prisoners, which were obtained through the firm Schäffer und Budenberg in July 1944 and who worked temporarily on the construction site, hardly any forced laborers were allocated to the site. It remains unclear why, unlike many other construction sites in the region, no concentration camp prisoners were used. For example, in the caverns only a few kilometers away at the Malchit underground project, several thousand prisoners from the Buchenwald subcamp at Langenstein-Zwieberge were used, and a few armaments firms in the Blankenburg area had used concentration camp prisoners since the spring of 1943—in Halberstadt and Wernigerode. That the OT Turmalin project was not allocated prisoners for a long time can only be put down to rivalry between the OT and the SS construction organization under SS-Gruppenführer Hans Kammler.

It was only at the beginning of 1945 when thousands of prisoners arrived in Nordhausen from the evacuated concentration camps at Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen that the SS acceded to the demands of the OT. On February 1, 1945, it relocated 400 prisoners, mostly Jews from the dissolved Auschwitz subcamp at Fürstengrube with their SS and Wehrmacht guards, from the main camp to Blankenburg. Here they occupied an OT barracks camp in a forested area at the foot of the Regenstein Mountain. The camp had been used by the OT, but it had never been finished. It was close to the so-called Lessingplatz and about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the Blankenburg suburb Heers. For this reason, the camp was called by the local population the “Lessing camp.” As was customary with the establishment of a new subcamp, the SS camp command had the prisoners put a fence around the

camp and erect guard towers. After that, most of the camp inmates were used at the nearby construction site for project Turmalin in excavating the caverns.

The Mittelbau concentration camp appointed SS-Oberscharführer Max Schmidt as camp leader. He had previously been in command of the camp at Fürstengrube, working closely with German political prisoner Hermann Joseph, the camp elder. Schmidt led the evacuation of the camp, which began on the morning of April 6, 1945. With the exception of the inmates in the infirmary, who presumably were left in the camp, the SS drove the prisoners by foot past Magdeburg, where the survivors—a few dozen exhausted prisoners had been shot by the guards along the way—together with inmates from the second Blankenburg Mittelbau subcamp, Klosterwerke, were loaded onto a river barge on April 8. After the barge arrived in Lübeck, Schmidt marched the prisoners to the small village of Siblin, where the majority were crammed into a barn. Around 20 privileged prisoners, including members of the Fürstengrube camp orchestra, were taken by Schmidt to his parents’ nearby farm. Schmidt’s prisoners remained in the Siblin barn and on the farm between April 13 and 30. They were then marched to Neustadt on the Baltic, where, with the exception of West European and Czech prisoners who were put under the care of the International Red Cross, they were loaded onto ships, including the *Cap Arcona*. The *Cap Arcona* was attacked by British fighters on May 3, 1945, and became the tomb for more than 4,000 prisoners from the Neuengamme and Mittelbau concentration camps.

It is scarcely possible to determine how many prisoners survived the deportation from the Turmalin camp and the evacuation to the Baltic. What is certain is that many prisoners died in Blankenburg while suffering from the harsh working conditions in excavating the caverns. Finally, for many prisoners, their stay in Blankenburg was a murderous interlude on a monthlong death march from Fürstengrube to the Baltic, where many drowned with the sinking of the *Cap Arcona*.

The crimes committed in Fürstengrube, in Blankenburg, and on the death march to the Baltic were the subject of at least two proceedings. In 1948, the Ansbach Landgericht (Regional Court) sentenced former camp elder Hermann Joseph to several years’ imprisonment. Former camp leader Max Schmidt lived at first undetected on his parents’ farm near Siblin. In 1964, the Kiel state prosecutor commenced investigations into his wartime activities, but they were discontinued in 1973 without any convictions.

SOURCES Important passages on the history of the Turmalin camp are contained in a publication by Gerhard Hoch on the long death march of the prisoners from Auschwitz/Fürstengrube via Blankenburg to Schleswig-Holstein: *Von Auschwitz nach Holstein: Der Leidensweg der 1200 Häftlinge von Fürstengrube* (Hamburg, 1990). Joachim Neander summarized the most recent research in a short essay, “Die Aussenlager ‘Turmalin’ (Regenstein), Quedlinburg und Trautenstein des KZ Mittelbau-Dora,” in *Erinnern: Aufgabe, Chance, Herausforderung* (Magdeburg, 2000), pp. 1–11. Details on the camp and

the Turmalin construction project are to be found in the Mittelbau monograph by Jens-Christian Wagner, *Produktion des Todes: Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen, 2001).

The relevant sources left by the SS have been microfilmed and are held in YVA (Microfilm BD11-Do1-6, ITS records on Mittelbau). There are other documents relating to forced labor in the collection of the ASt-Blb. Details on the Turmalin Relocation Project are contained in a report prepared by Allied experts after the war: CIOS, "Report on Underground Project Turmalin, 1945," Report No. XXXIII-38.

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. CIOS, "Report on Underground Project Turmalin, 1945," Report No. XXXIII-38, p. 49.

BLEICHERODE

From the autumn of 1944, prisoners from the Mittelbau concentration camp were forced to construct power lines in Bleicherode. Initially, they were not accommodated in Bleicherode but in the main camp. At the end of each shift, the SS brought them back to the camp. In October 1944, the SS established a small labor detachment of 15 inmates in the cellar of the Bürgerhaus Hotel (the present-day city cultural center), all of whom were Italian military internees (IMIs). They worked for the construction and excavation firm Ohl & Vattrodt. There are contradictory statements about the nature of their work; it is possible that the Italians felled timber and transported materials, but they also could have been used to construct the power line from Frose to Bleicherode. The latter possibility is supported by the fact that in other sectors IMIs were forced to work on overland power lines (see Mittelbau/Trautenstein) but also because of the allocation of the camp to the SS-Baustab B-13, which coordinated all important infrastructure projects for the Mittelbau enterprise (Unternehmen Mittelbau).

There are no records of any deaths in the camp. The last time the camp is mentioned is in a surviving SS file from March 5, 1945; the camp most likely was in operation until April 1945. Its inmates were probably not evacuated by the SS but liberated by the Americans when they entered Bleicherode on April 10, 1945.

SOURCES The AG-MD holds a few reports on the Bleicherode camp.

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ELLRICH ("ERICH," "MITTELBAU II") [AKA ELLRICH-JULIUSHÜTTE]

Founded May 1 or 2, 1944, Ellrich began as a subcamp of Buchenwald but was always intimately linked to the Dora subcamp in the southern Harz Mountains near the city of

Nordhausen. On October 28, 1944, Dora became the Mittelbau main camp. Ellrich was officially named "Erich" and later "Mittelbau II," designations that were scarcely used outside SS correspondence. It has also been called Ellrich-Juliushütte by later historians to distinguish it from other, much smaller camps in and around the town that gave it its name. It quickly became the largest subcamp of Mittelbau—and its most infamous. Health conditions were disastrous in the abandoned gypsum factory, the Juliushütte, that provided the main buildings for the camp, and the suffering caused by the exhausting construction work and long hours getting to and from the main work sites were further compounded by a particularly callous SS camp leadership.

The SS founded the camp to absorb part of the rapidly growing number of forced laborers needed for its many new underground projects in the region, which were created in the wake of great concern in the Nazi leadership over the Anglo-American bomber offensive. A particularly concentrated series of attacks on the German aircraft industry in late February 1944 led Armaments Minister Albert Speer to create a joint government-industry "Fighter Staff" on March 1 to promote a rapid buildup in fighter production. On the model of the Mittelwerk, the underground V-2 rocket factory moved to Dora, where much of this production was to be evacuated to tunnels, retrofitted or dug out by concentration camp prisoners, with construction leadership given to SS-Gruppenführer Hans Kammler, chief of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amtsgruppe C (Construction). Kammler initiated a number of new tunnel projects in the soft anhydrite rock of the Harz Mountains near Dora, the most prominent being B-3, between the towns of Ellrich and Woffleben, and B-11 and B-12, on either side of the Mittelwerk tunnels. After taking over a camp intended for civilians, creating subcamp Harzungen ("Hans") on April 1, and a large estate house at Bischofferode, where a small camp, "Anna," was set up at about the same time, the SS decided to make use of the Juliushütte buildings for another large camp. But these facilities were in such poor condition that they had to be repaired for some weeks in April. Even so, when the first 300 prisoners arrived on May 1, 1944, from "Anna," there were not even roofs over some blocks housed in the abandoned factory, and the washroom and toilet facilities were disastrously inadequate.

Ellrich's first commandant was SS-Untersturmführer Hans Joachim Ritz, but he is little mentioned in survivor accounts. In about August, he was replaced by SS-Untersturmführer Karl Fritzsich, an infamous sadist who had served as the first Schutzhaftlagerführer of Auschwitz from 1940 to 1942. After allegedly being removed from that position for incompetence at the behest of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss, the SS sent Fritzsich to Flossenbürg and then Ellrich. Fritzsich, who was an early Nazi Party and SS member, had been trained in Theodor Eicke's school of terror as a camp guard in Dachau in mid-1933. Survivors stated that Fritzsich personally murdered and tortured prisoners and also harassed the guard force, which was largely drawn from the

Luftwaffe and officially transferred to the Waffen-SS only on September 1, 1944. At some point in the fall, Mittelbau commandant SS-Sturmbannführer Otto Förschner sent Fritzsche to the Eastern Front and replaced him with Wilhelm Stötzler, who, like Ritz, made little impression on the prisoners, in large part because shortly thereafter SS-Hauptscharführer Otto Brinkmann was transferred from Mittelbau as de facto Schutzhaftlagerführer. Brinkmann rapidly acquired a reputation for sadism and brutality as appalling as Fritzsche's. Stötzler and Brinkmann served until the dissolution of the camp on April 5, 1945. Also infamous for his indifference to the suffering of the prisoners and for the poor condition of the makeshift infirmary was the camp physician, Dr. Günther Schneeman, originally from the Luftwaffe. The vicious, arbitrary, and sometimes incompetent camp leadership was rounded out by a series of "green triangle" (criminal) prisoners who served in prisoner administrative positions; although Förschner ran Mittelbau on the Buchenwald model, using educated Communists, Ellrich became a dumping ground for both SS men and prisoners that Förschner did not want. Ellrich often received the most ill and exhausted prisoners from Mittelbau and other camps, apparently on the assumption that they would have low chances of survival.

The impact of the bad sanitary and living conditions on the prisoners' health was greatly exacerbated by the work in outdoor construction and tunneling at B-3, B-11, B-12, and other sites but also by the incredibly long hours of work, plus travel times by rail and foot and the roll calls that had to take place before and after each activity. A typical schedule in the summer and fall of 1944 was awakening at 3:30 A.M., "breakfast" and roll call, march to the train station at 5:10, and labor from 6:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M., with a one-hour break. With luck the train would come on time to return the exhausted prisoners to Ellrich, followed by another roll call and watery soup that passed for dinner. All that was left was about five hours for sleep, assuming that there were no lengthy delays with train transport and roll calls. Chief SS physician Professor Dr. Joachim Murgowsky, later hanged in 1948 after the Nuremberg "Doctors Trial" for his role in human experiments, warned Kammler that with this schedule "many prisoners [were dying] without any acute cause, only out of exhaustion. In no other camp does this appear so often."¹

Ellrich's all-male prisoner population grew rapidly from 1,696 at the end of May 1944 to 4,104 at the end of July, to 6,187 at the end of August, and to 8,189 by the end of September. During the last months of 1944, it stabilized at around 8,000. The camp population paralleled that of Mittelbau, the predominant groups being Soviet, Polish, French, Belgian, and German, but Ellrich did receive a large number of the 1,000 "qualified" Hungarian Jews that arrived in Dora from Auschwitz at the end of May, many of them scarcely more than boys. Also in evidence were a number of Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), some of whom served in positions of authority. The SS registered only 17 deaths in Ellrich up to the end of August, in part because very ill prisoners were transferred to the Mittelbau and Harzungen infirmaries, but the situation then

deteriorated catastrophically, despite further transfers: 29 deaths in September, 107 in October, 144 in November, 381 in December, 498 in January 1945, 541 in February, and 1,021 in March.

A particularly appalling manifestation of the disastrous health and living conditions were the presence in late 1944 of over 1,000 "unclothed." With no wash facilities, either for inmates or their clothes, the Ellrich camp population soon became filthy, infested with lice, and dressed in rags. When an emergency delousing of uniforms was attempted in about October, many disintegrated, leaving a significant fraction of prisoners with nothing. The camp leadership showed its usual indifference and lack of initiative; the ample supplies of civilian clothes confiscated from prisoners were not touched until after new transports from Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen began arriving in January–February. Many of the "unclothed" had to spend the entire day in bed shivering under thin covers in filthy, unheated blocks, and some had to make outdoor roll calls in their underwear. Because these prisoners did not work, their rations were eventually cut in half, accelerating starvation and death. As the clothing situation improved in early 1945, the food situation deteriorated further to an episodic state of outright famine. There were even cases of cannibalism, and organized bands of prisoners stole from and terrorized the weak. As the transports from the east arrived with their utterly exhausted, mostly Jewish prisoners, overcrowding and disease only grew worse—hence the massive death toll in March. Yet this toll did not even include the 1,602 in bad condition who had been sent to the dumping ground of the Boelcke-Kaserne in Nordhausen on March 5.

As with the other Mittelbau camps, evacuation took place on April 4 to 5, 1945, with the approach of U.S. forces. Most of those evacuated were sent by rail in the direction of Bergen-Belsen. One survivor report stated that the last SS man shot a dozen sick prisoners in the head just before leaving, so that no one was liberated at Ellrich—the camp was empty when the U.S. 104th Infantry Division occupied the town on April 12. Soon thereafter the camp fell into almost complete obscurity; it straddled an old political boundary that became the demarcation line between West and East. Only the survivor groups remembered Ellrich, especially the French, who constituted a disproportionate fraction of the dead. Justice was also scarcely served. In the Mittelbau-Dora trial at Dachau in 1947, only 2 of the 17 convicted were singled out for their role in Ellrich: Otto Brinkmann, who received a life sentence, later commuted, and Richard Walenta, a camp elder (Lagerältester) noted for his collaboration with the SS in denunciations, who received a 20-year sentence, also later shortened. It was only with the increased attention paid to Mittelbau-Dora in the later 1980s, as a result of growing interest in rocket production in the Mittelwerk, that Ellrich finally began to be more widely remembered.

SOURCES Other than Manfred Bornemann's chronology, *Chronik des Lagers Ellrich 1944/45: Ein vergessenes Konzentrations-*

tionslager wird neu entdeckt (Nordhausen: Landratsamt Nordhausen, 1992), there are no significant secondary publications that focus exclusively on this subcamp. All scholarly work on the topic has taken place within the general studies of the Mittelbau camp system cited in the main camp bibliography, most notably Jens-Christian Wagner's *Produktion des Todes: Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen, 2001), which is based on his "Verlagerungswahn und Tod" (Ph.D. diss., Göttingen, 1999).

Similarly, what little is left of the Ellrich archival record must be sought in the Mittelbau records discussed above, especially those in Weimar and the ITS microfilms at YV. A Dutch memoir, Edgard Van de Castele, *Ellrich* (1946; bilingual ed., Bad Münstereifel: Westkreuz, 1997), is the only other significant publication.

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NOTE

1. Murgowsky to Kammler, July 20, 1944, BA-BL, NS 48/26, quoted in Jens-Christian Wagner, "Verlagerungswahn und Tod" (Ph.D. diss., Göttingen, 1999), pp. 315–316.

ELLRICH/WOFFLEBEN (LAGER B-12)

Woffleben was a spin-off of Ellrich, the largest subcamp of the Mittelbau concentration camp. On January 3, 1945, the SS moved 242 Ellrich prisoners from the night shift of tunnel project B-12 to a barracks outside the tunnel entrance, near the village of Woffleben. This project to dig out a new underground factory was just to the west of the north entrances of the Mittelwerk/Nordwerk underground complex, in which Junkers Aircraft assembled aircraft engines and parts in the north section using civilian forced laborers, and Mittelwerk GmbH assembled V-2 missiles in the south section using SS prisoners from the Mittelbau main camp. The new tunnels of B-12 were to be used by Junkers for the assembly of last-minute weapons such as the Heinkel (He) 162 fighter but were never finished, as was the case with virtually all of the new tunnel projects launched in the spring of 1944.

For the prisoners, the January 1945 move was an immediate improvement, as conditions in Ellrich had been catastrophically bad, and the long transport by train to and from the work site, with accompanying marches and roll calls, made life even more miserable and cut significantly into their time to sleep. A further transport of 102 prisoners from Ellrich on February 4 and 650 from the main camp on February 21 greatly enlarged the camp, ushering in a period of overcrowding in spite of the addition of new barracks. The camp fluctuated in size from about 800 to 900 prisoners through the end of March. The first camp commandant is unknown; in mid-March, SS-Oberscharführer Kleemann, a Waffen-SS veteran who had been transferred in 1941 to camp duty after a war injury, took over Woffleben. He had been camp commandant at Bismarckhütte, a subcamp of Auschwitz. The camp elder (Lagerältester), Bruno Brodniewicz, was also a veteran of Auschwitz, and both contributed to a further brutalization of prisoners in the camp. The death toll is unrecorded, as the

dead were sent to Ellrich for cremation; some severely ill were transported to the infirmaries at Ellrich and the Mittelbau main camp. On April 1, immediately before the evacuation of the camp, Mittelbau transferred around 700 very ill survivors of transports from Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen to the Woffleben subcamp, where they were scarcely able to work. The camp was dissolved on April 4 with an evacuation of prisoners by train in the direction of Bergen-Belsen. In 1951, Kleemann was tried in Itzehoe in Schleswig-Holstein for his barbaric behavior at Woffleben and during the evacuation but was set free because of insufficient evidence.

SOURCES Virtually nothing has been published on the Woffleben subcamp other than passages in Wagner's and Sellier's books (cited in the Mittelbau main camp bibliography) and a section in Manfred Bornemann's chronology *Chronik des Lagers Ellrich 1944/45* (Nordhausen: Landratsamt Nordhausen, 1992), pp. 63–68.

The trial of Kleemann is to be found in Adelheid L. Rüter-Ehlermann, H.H. Fuchs, and C.F. Rüter, eds., *Justiz und NS Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1966* (Amsterdam: University Press of Amsterdam, 1972), 8: 333–350. Transports to and from Ellrich can be found in the YVA microfilm of ITS records (see the Mittelbau entry). See also the THStA-W Record Group NS 4/Bu., Buchenwald and Mittelbau records.

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GROSSWERTHER

On Thursday, March 15, 1945, 294 women prisoners arrived at the Mittelbau-Dora main camp. They came from Morchenstern, a subcamp of Gross-Rosen, in the Sudetenland east of Gablonz. After registration, 290 of them were marched to the nearby village of Grosswerther. There, the SS had requisitioned the dance halls of two neighboring inns situated in the village center, Gaststätte Nolze and Zur Weintraube (aka Schönemann), to set up a new concentration camp—Aussenkommando Grosswerther, a subcamp of Mittelbau. The women were divided into two groups of roughly equal size, and each took up quarters in one of the dance halls.

All the women were Jewish, and all had started their odyssey through the gamut of Nazi concentration camps at Auschwitz: 248 of the prisoners were from Hungary and had been arrested in the course of the *Judenaktionen* during the spring and summer of 1944; 44 were of Polish origin; 1 came from France; and 1 from the Soviet Union. Most of the women were between 20 and 25 years old, and many of them had worked in textile manufacturing before their arrest.

There is evidence that during the three weeks of Grosswerther camp's existence, only one single work detail of about 30 women was sent to a—still unidentified—factory at Nordhausen. No sooner had they begun work when they were interrupted by heavy air attacks of Nordhausen by Allied aircraft.

The Grosswerther camp's provisional character was clearly evident by both its appearance and the living conditions.

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From the outside, nothing particular indicated the existence of a concentration camp: no barbed wire, no watchtower, no people in the characteristic blue-and-gray-striped prisoner outfit. Both “blocks,” the former dance halls, were situated on the second floors of the inns, accessible to the prisoners only by the fire escapes, narrow flights of stairs that led into the courtyards, whose entrances were guarded by the SS.

The SS personnel were billeted in neighboring private homes and in the schoolhouse. These included SS-Oberscharführer Werner Beest, the camp leader (Lagerführer); 4 SS guards, elderly Wehrmacht soldiers who had been drafted into concentration camp service; and 18 SS wardresses, who were responsible for “garrison duty” (*Inmendienst*). Only the men carried firearms; the SS women had sticks with which they occasionally beat the prisoners.

The detail leader and chief of the female SS was Erna Petermann. “She was a sympathetic but stern woman,” a survivor testified, “hated the Jews in particular, however, but never beat us,” quite in contrast to her alternate, Gertrud Sieber.¹ Villagers still tell stories about the orgies the SS women had with men from the neighborhood, probably SS men from the Mittelbau concentration camp.

The prisoners at the Grosswerther camp, however, had nothing to celebrate. In the halls there were neither beds nor even pallets. The women slept on the bare ground, wrapped in their blankets. The stage of one of the halls had been transformed into an infirmary, where a Ukrainian prisoner doctor took care of her sick comrades. Sanitary conditions were appalling. There was no water and no toilet upstairs. Provisional toilets had been installed on the edge of the manure pit, and water had to be pumped from a well in the courtyard, which did not yield enough for so many people.

There were also no cooking facilities for the prisoners. Every day around noon a truck would arrive from Boelcke-Kaserne, Nordhausen, one of the big subcamps of Mittelbau, and would bring food in large, uncovered tubs. “It was kind of slop in which only a few pieces of carrots, potatoes, or rutabagas were floating. If one of the Jewish prisoners would jump the line . . . she would be beaten on her hands by the female SS, her mess tin would be knocked out of her hands, and she would get nothing to eat.”² The thin soup that the German eyewitness remembered so precisely still 43 years later surely was the infamous *Judensuppe* (Jew’s soup), which was absent of any nutritive value toward the end of the war.

The poor living conditions, however, apparently did not undermine the prisoners’ morale. Eyewitnesses from the village reported that the women were busy knitting sweaters, gloves, socks, and similar articles, which they offered to the villagers in exchange for food—not at all an easy task, as it had to be done secretly, unseen by the SS. We have also read about prisoners, probably Polish, who used to sing melancholy Yiddish songs in the evening, alone or in a group. These tunes occasionally even touched an SS woman’s heart. As the weather was fine that spring, the prisoners were even granted a walk in the open air—under SS guard, of course.

On the morning of Wednesday, April 4, 1945, the evacuation order from the Mittelbau main camp arrived at Grosswerther, and in the afternoon, the entire Grosswerther camp, 290 prisoners together with their camp leader, SS guards, and SS wardresses, started marching westward. In the morning of April 6, 1945, at Bischofferode, the prisoners refused to march further. The SS guards called Wehrmacht soldiers for help. Together they rounded the women up at the village square. There, the prisoners collectively fell down on their knees and complained bitterly “that they could not go ahead because they had no food. . . . [T]hey were too weak and not able to go on any more.”³ SS and soldiers gave in. They had the women stand up again. The Wehrmacht soldiers even arranged for a meal⁴ and also for trucks, which brought the whole group to Herzberg, the next railway station. Some 35 women had taken advantage of the general confusion at Bischofferode and had managed to escape. Some of them were caught and arrested. Those who hid successfully—among them at least 1, who was hidden by a German farmer’s wife—were liberated by the Americans on April 10, 1945.

At Herzberg station the remaining 255 Grosswerther prisoners were crowded into three boxcars, which were connected to an evacuation transport of the Dora camp. On April 7, 1945, U.S. fighter bombers attacked the train. Some courageous German prisoners opened the women’s cars in defiance of the orders of the SS. They paid a high price for this humane act, because the SS fired on those prisoners: 1 was killed, another severely wounded.⁵

When the evacuation train had reached Austria, the cars with the Jewish women were disconnected and directed toward Mauthausen. Some 221 former Grosswerther prisoners were registered as “intakes” (*Zugänge*) for the women’s camp on April 15, 1945, 33 fewer than had been present at Herzberg. At least 1 of the missing had died in the air attack; the others had died en route or had managed to escape, as survivor testimonies suggest.

At Mauthausen, 44 women of the Grosswerther group still were put on work details. They were liberated by the Americans on May 5, 1945. Most of the former Grosswerther inmates, however, were marched off in a terrible death march toward Guns kirchen at the end of April 1945. The few survivors were liberated there also on May 5, by U.S. troops. No exact calculation can be made of the number of victims of the evacuation. If we estimate the number of dead until arrival at Mauthausen at 20, and the number of those who died in this camp, on the death march to Guns kirchen, and in that camp to half of the intake, we arrive at about 130 dead. This means that nearly every second woman who had left Grosswerther on April 4, 1945, was already dead four weeks later.

SOURCES On the Grosswerther camp, see Paul Lauerwald, “Das Aussenlager Grosswerther des Konzentrationslagers Mittelbau-Dora,” *BH SKN* 15 (1990): 26–31. The author, a local amateur historian, describes the living conditions in the camp, based above all on an interview with the daughter of one of the inns’ owners. Situating the Grosswerther camp within the framework of the forced labor concentration camps

of the last phase of World War II is Joachim Neander's "Auschwitz—Grosswerther—Gunskirchen: A Nine Month's Odyssey through Eight Nazi Concentration Camps," *YVS* 28 (2000): 287–310.

The main sources referring to the Grosswerther camp are the records of two war crimes trials: "The Belsen Trial," Lüneburg, September 17 to November 17, 1945: evidence of former female SS guards: Klara Opitz, Ilse Steinbusch, Hildegard Kahlbach, and Gertrud Naumann, PRO WO309/1699; excerpts in Raymond Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others (The Belsen Trial)* (London, 1949); and "The Nordhausen Case," Dachau, August 7 to December 30, 1947: Niederschrift der Vernehmung des Johann Demange (former SS guard), examination of Vera Gombosová [i.e. Vera Gombosová-Oravcová; former inmate (camp clerk)] by Major Fulton C. Vowell, War Crimes Investigating Team #6822, U.S. Army, April 18, 1945, at Nordhausen; and list of inmates of the Grosswerther camp, as given by Vera Gombosová-Oravcová; *USA vs. Kurt Andrae et al.*, NARA Microfilm Publication M 1079; and the testimonies of Hungarian survivors, kept in the *Magyar Auschwitz Alapítványi—Holocaust Dokumentációs Központ* (Budapest, n.d.). Other documents as well as sources referring to the evacuation train, the "Taifun-Express" from Dora to Fischbach, can be found in the trial transcripts of the Nordhausen Case, in AG-MD, and in Nuremberg document PS-2222. Survivor testimonies can also be found in the Stm.-MöWa.

Joachim Neander

NOTES

1. NARA, M-1079, Examination of Vera Gombosová-Oravcová, War Crimes Investigating Team #6822, U.S. Army, April 18, 1945, p. 8.

2. Paul Lauerwald, "Das Aussenlager Grosswerther des Konzentrationslagers Mittelbau-Dora," *BHSKN* 15 (1990): 29.

3. Examination of Vera Gombosová-Oravcová, p. 8.

4. Testimony of Helena Halperin (née Helén Blobstein; former inmate) by Herbert J. Oswald, 1978, Stm.-MöWa.

5. Testimony of Oskar Büschler and Theo Webers, given before a U.S. commission on April 24, 1945, at Leipzig; Nuremberg Document PS-2222.

GUT BISCHOFFERODE ("ANNA")

The history of the "Anna" subcamp at the Gut (Manor) Bischofferode near Woffleben (not to be confused with the Bischofferode/Eichsfeld subcamp) is closely connected with the history of the Ellrich-Juliushütte and Harzungen camps. These three camps were established in April–May 1944 to accommodate concentration camp prisoners who were to work in the nearby construction sites B-3a and B-3b in the villages of Woffleben and Niedersachswerfen. SS-Gruppenführer Hans Kammler's construction organization was in charge of the B-3 construction project, which envisaged the creation of a cavern system where, in underground aircraft factories, the Junkers company would produce aircraft. As with most of the other subterranean construction

projects run by Kammler's organization, the B-3 project was never completed.

The Anna camp was close to the B-3a construction site, at the foot of the Himmelsberg on the Bischofferode Manor. It was probably established on April 2, 1944. The approximately 300 male prisoners were held, according to surviving Czech prisoner Rotislav Ministr, in a barn.¹ It would appear that the camp from the beginning was regarded as a temporary camp, as it was dissolved on May 9, 1944, when the inmates were transferred to the newly established camp at Ellrich-Juliushütte.² The manor's buildings in Bischofferode from then on served as the base for Kammler's SS-Sonderinspektion II, which coordinated all the Mittelbau construction projects.

At times the prisoners were probably accommodated a few hundred meters away in the Mittelwerk civilian labor camp. This camp was located on the north edge of Woffleben and had not been completed in April 1944. It was intended that this camp would hold up to 2,500 prisoners while the Harzungen camp was being expanded. It is possible that this was the Anna camp.³

The SS operated the Anna camp together with the Ellrich-Juliushütte and Harzungen camps as "Arbeitslager B-3." The three camps had a common SS camp administration, which initially was headed by 21-year-old SS-Untersturmführer Hans Ritz. The trained bank officer had been transferred from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in the winter of 1943–1944 to Dora, where he served as adjutant to camp commandant Otto Förschner. In September 1944, he was removed as camp leader of the Ellrich-Juliushütte and Harzungen camps and transferred to the SS-Führerreserve at Bad Tölz.⁴

It can be assumed that the temporary camp scarcely differed from the horrendous accommodations and sanitary conditions at the infamous Ellrich-Juliushütte camp.

SOURCES No secondary literature is available that specifically deals with the Anna camp. The camp is mentioned in the chronicles of the Ellrich camp by Manfred Bornemann, *Chronik des Lagers Ellrich 1944/45: Ein vergessenes Konzentrationslager wird neu entdeckt* (Nordhausen: Landratsamt, 1992); and in Jens-Christian Wagner's Mittelbau monograph *Produktion des Todes: Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2001).

The establishment and dissolution of the Anna camp is referred to in the Veränderungsmeldungen des "Kommandos B 3," the original of which is held in the ITS (Mittelbau-Ordner 22). A microfilm copy is held in YVA (Microfilm BD11-Do2). A few additional documents are held in BA-B and BA-L.

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NOTES

1. Aussage R. Ministr, April 28, 1967, BStU, ZM 1625, Bd. 61, p. 219.

2. Veränderungsmeldungen der Lager Bischofferode und Ellrich, April 2–June 15, 1944, YVA, Microfilm BD11-Do2.

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3. Aktenvermerk Dr. Schiedlausky (Standortarzt KZ Buchenwald) about a "Besuch des Werkes B III" on April 8, 1944, AG-MD, 50.1.5; as well as Aktenvermerk Dr. Ding (SS-Sonderinspektion II) about a meeting in Ellrich on April 18, 1944, BA-B, NS 48/26, n.p.

4. Aussage Hans Ritz, April 2, 1963, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 224/72, fr. 554.

HARZUNGEN ("HANS," "MITTELBAU III")

The history of the "Hans" subcamp in Harzungen, which initially was part of the Buchenwald concentration camp and later the Mittelbau concentration camp, is connected with the history of the camps at Ellrich-Juliushütte and Gut Bischofferode. The three camps were established in April–May 1944 to accommodate concentration camp prisoners who were to work on the nearby construction sites B-3a and B-3b near the villages of Woffleben and Niedersachswerfen.

The initials B-3a (code name "Anhydrit") concealed a plan under which 5 drivable and 30 traversable tunnels would be excavated under the Himmelsberg Mountain. They would be excavated in accordance with the Mittelwerk model and used as a subterranean facility for the Junkers AG. The SS brought the first 40 concentration camp prisoners from the Dora camp to the construction site on March 1, 1944.¹ The numbers rapidly increased after commencement of the preparatory work: at the end of March, there were almost 1,000 prisoners, and by the end of May, just over 3,000 prisoners were working on the B-3a construction site. This number remained constant until the beginning of April 1945.² Two almost complete traversable tunnels were occupied by electronics firms in March 1945. They produced the steering mechanisms for the air defense rocket Hs 117. The facility, which was planned to have an area of 10,000 square meters (11,960 square yards), was never completed despite the extensive deployment of prisoner labor.³

The neighboring facility B-3b (code name "Anhydrit-Ost") was even larger, with an area of 12,000 square meters (14,352 square yards). However, it was not until the end of July 1944 that the first shaft work began for what was most likely a Junkers AG underground facility in Mühlberg near Niedersachswerfen. Work stopped in November 1944. Although there were on average 700 prisoners from the Harzungen camp at work when the project ceased, only a few meters had been excavated at the entry into the cavern.⁴

The construction project manager, Wifo (Wirtschaftliche Forschungsgesellschaft mbH, or Economic Research Co., Ltd.), and Junkers AG planned to accommodate the prisoners working on the B-3 project close to the proposed underground factory. This was in accordance with the example set by the Dora camp on the northern edge of the Himmelsberg. A camp for at least 5,000 concentration camp inmates was planned, together with an adjoining SS camp. The plan was soon given up. Instead, the SS established on April 1, 1944, the Harzungen camp and a little later a small provisional camp at the Gut Bischofferode ("Anna"). At the beginning of

May 1944, the camp Ellrich-Juliushütte ("Erich") was established.

The SS referred to the three camps initially as "Arbeitslager B-3." There was one camp leader for the three camps, SS-Untersturmführer Hans Ritz. In the early summer of 1944, other projects—B-11, B-12, and B-13—were added to the overall plan. As a result, the SS administratively separated the camps and established for each camp its own camp administration. At first the camps were administered from the Buchenwald concentration camp. However, in the summer of 1944, the Dora camp and other camps in the area were combined together as the "SS-Standort Mittelbau," and two Mittelbau subcamps became known as Mittelbau II (Ellrich) and Mittelbau III (Harzungen).

The concentration camp prisoners occupied an unfinished barrack camp in Harzungen that was originally planned as accommodation for 1,000 German Mittelwerk civilian workers. Dora prisoners had been constructing the camp from the autumn of 1943. Once the camp had been surrounded by guards' towers and a 2.5-meter-high (8.2-foot-high) electrified fence, the SS transferred around 4,000 prisoners to the camp. At the beginning of 1945, there were about 5,000 prisoners. At first they worked on the B-3 construction project and later on the B-11 construction site, where they did excavation work for an underground facility in Kohnstein.⁵

In Harzungen, sanitary facilities for bathing and a second toilet block had to be constructed, but overall all the conditions were not so bad when compared to the other Mittelbau camps, especially the infamous Ellrich-Juliushütte camp. The SS also made sure, at least until February 1945, that the number of prisoners in Harzungen did not exceed the camp's capacity.

The relatively good sanitary conditions in Harzungen also meant that the camp was less feared by the prisoners than most of the other construction camps in the Mittelbau concentration camp complex. The Harzungen prisoners, unlike their fellow sufferers in Ellrich, worked in three shifts a day of 8 hours each in the caverns of the B-3 project and not 12 hours a day. The SS construction managers had an obvious interest in preserving the prisoners, who had not yet quite wasted away, unlike in the Ellrich camp, where the prisoners, already very weakened, were literally worked to death.

Finally, the comparatively "humane" Harzungen camp administration had a favorable effect on camp conditions. The camp was initially commanded by SS members Ritz and Eduard Hinckelmann. They were followed for a short time by former Wehrmacht officers, and from the autumn of 1944, the camp was administered by a former Luftwaffe Hauptmann who had been transferred to the SS, SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Frohne. As Schutzhaftlagerführer he was assisted by a Luftwaffe sergeant who had been transferred to the SS, SS-Oberscharführer Josef Fuchsloch. According to reports by surviving prisoners, they both contributed to an improvement in the camp's conditions.⁶

However, in evaluating prisoners' reports on Frohne and Fuchsloch, there is an important problem to be addressed.

Fuchsloch was one of the accused in the Dachau Dora Trial and faced a heavy sentence. During the trial, his defense lawyers named a number of former German and Czech political prisoners as witnesses for the defense, all of whom had held the important prisoner-functionary positions during their time in Harzungen. Their reports, which had obviously been planned with the defense, dominated the trial and the subsequent history of the Harzungen camp. Former prisoner and camp elder Jupp Wortmann played a significant role, speaking out at the trial in defense of Fuchsloch.⁷

Another choice of witnesses could have put the conditions in the Harzungen camp in a totally different light. Reservations are also justified when the statements of Wortmann's group are considered. Notwithstanding this, it is correct to say that under Frohne and Fuchsloch, the treatment of prisoners in Harzungen was essentially better than the feared Mittelbau camps, Ellrich-Juliushütte and Rottleberode, which were under the command of the SS. This is at least correct for the political prisoners and, among these, for the Germans and Czechs who stood at the apex of the SS racial hierarchy.

The ethnic composition of the exclusively male prisoner population at Harzungen in essence corresponded with the composition of the Mittelbau concentration camp complex. Around 33 percent of all prisoners came from the Soviet Union, 25 percent from Poland, and 12 percent from France. Until February 1945, there was a disproportionately high number of Belgians, more than 18 percent. However, this number declined due to a high number of deaths and transfers in other camps. By the beginning of April 1945, it had been reduced to 6.5 percent.⁸ There are features that distinguished the camp from other Mittelbau camps: the number of Roma and Sinti (Gypsies) in Harzungen, 10 percent of the entire camp population, was unusually high. The first large group of Gypsies, around 200 prisoners, was transferred in the middle of April 1944 from Buchenwald to Harzungen. In the middle of May 1944, a second larger Gypsy transport of 600 prisoners was transferred via Buchenwald and Dora to the camp.⁹ Just about all of the prisoners from these two transports—including many children and youths—had been held in the Gypsy family camp (*Zigeuner-Familienlager*) in Birkenau before being transferred via Auschwitz to Buchenwald. There were also a few hundred Hungarian Jews who were transferred from Auschwitz to Buchenwald, before being transferred via Dora to Harzungen in May 1944.

For a long time, the Harzungen camp, with its 4,000 inmates, was not so tightly packed as most of the other Mittelbau camps. This changed at the end of February 1945, when the SS leadership, in the face of the arrival of evacuation transports from Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen, transferred countless sick and dying prisoners from the camps at Mittelbau and Ellrich-Juliushütte to Harzungen. Not only did the total number of prisoners increase (at the beginning of April 1944, the camp held more than 4,700 prisoners), but so did the death rate. According to SS files, 350 prisoners died in March 1945 in Harzungen alone. Altogether at least 600 prisoners did not survive the camp.

The camp was evacuated on April 4, 1945. The SS took around 4,500 prisoners in two rail transports to Bergen-Belsen, where they arrived a week later. Another 2,000 inmates were driven by the guards under the command of Frohnes and Fuchsloch by foot through the Harz Mountains to Blankenburg. Here the transport separated into several marching columns, the majority of which headed in the direction of Schönebeck an der Elbe, from where they headed along the Elbe in a southeasterly direction. The Americans liberated many survivors in the area of Schönebeck. The last 1,000 inmates in the Harzungen camp, who after a three-week march arrived in the Czech town of Rabenstein on April 26, were liberated by the Red Army on May 8, 1945.

The Dachau Dora Trial in 1947 included the accused Josef Fuchsloch, a central figure in the Harzungen camp administration. The exculpatory statements by former political prisoners from the camp administration helped in his acquittal. There have been no other proceedings against perpetrators in the Harzungen camp.

There is located in the Harzungen cemetery a grave in which 27 concentration camp prisoners are buried. They were discovered after the U.S. liberation in a grave on the site of the subcamp. Most of these prisoners were from France, Belgium, and Italy. They probably died shortly before the camp's evacuation as a result of the forced labor and of malnutrition but possibly also because they were killed by the SS as resistance members.

SOURCES André Sellier devotes a large part of his Mittelbau monograph to the Harzungen camp, *Histoire du camp de Dora* (Paris: Éditions la découverte, 1998); as does Jens-Christian Wagner, *Produktion des Todes: Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2001). Joachim Neander describes the evacuation of the camp briefly in his Mittelbau study, *Das Konzentrationslager Mittelbau in der Endphase der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur: Zur Geschichte des letzten im “Dritten Reich” gegründeten selbständigen Konzentrationslagers unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Auflösungsphase* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld: Papierflieger, 1997).

The BA-K (Bestände NS 4 Anhang und R 121, Industriebeteiligungsgesellschaft) holds documents on the construction projects on which the prisoners were forced to work. The archive also holds the remaining Mittelwerk files and those of the Mittelbau concentration camp. Also in the BA-K are the files of the Wifo (Bestand R 125), which contracted for the construction of the Harzungen camp. A useful source of information is the files of the U.S. Dora Trial in Dachau (NARA, *United States of America v. Kurt Andrae, et al.*; Microfilm Publication M-1079, 16 Reels. Originals in RG 238, NARA). Prisoners' reports on the Harzungen camp are mostly held in the AG-MD. The original files of the construction administration for the B-3 construction project are also held here. Other important SS camp files (Stärkemeldungen, Transportlisten, and others) are held in the collections NS 4/Bu in the THHStA-A and the microfilms BD3-Bu 19 to 44 and BD11-Do 1 to 6 in YVA (they are files microfilmed from ITS, which until recently was closed to researchers). A member of the Luftwaffe who had been transferred to the SS and was a guard at Harzungen published his memoirs after

the war. They were published after his death and give a detailed account of daily life in the camp from a guard's perspective. See Willy Mirbach, "Damit du es später deinem Sohn einmal erzählen kannst . . .": *Der autobiographische Bericht eines Luftwaffensoldaten aus dem KZ Mittelbau (August 1944–Juli 1945)*, ed. Gerd Halmann (Geldern: Verlag des Historischen Vereins für Geldern und Umgegend, 1997).

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NOTES

1. KZ Buchenwald, Arbeitseinsatz-Bericht März 1944, Kostenstelle Anhydrit, ITS, Sachdokumenten-Ordner Buchenwald 52, p. 403.
2. Ibid.; as well as Arbeitseinsatzmeldungen KZ Buchenwald, 1944/45, THStA-W, NS 4 Bu/230.
3. Zusammenstellung der in der Entwicklungsgemeinschaft Mittelbau zusammengefassten Entwicklungsgruppen, March 16, 1945, BA-MA, RH 8/v.1265; Letter Dir. Wagner (Stab Dornberger) to v. Braun bez. "Stollenbelegung B" 3, 15.3.1945, *ibid.*
4. For the planning and cessation of work on project B-3b, see Protokoll einer Besprechung bei der Wifo Niedersachswerfen on April 21, 1944, AG-MD, 50.1.2.1; Schreiben Zentral-Arbeitseinsatz Mittelbau an Arbeitseinsatzführer Buchenwald, July 28, 1944, ITS, Sachdokumenten-Ordner Buchenwald 45, S. 263; Arge Woffleben, Baubericht 1944, February 20, 1945, AG-MD, 50.1.2.1, sowie KZ Buchenwald, Arbeitseinsatz-Bericht B 3b, Oktober 1944, ITS, Sachdokumenten-Ordner Buchenwald 54, p. 168.
5. Aktenvermerk Wifo Niedersachswerfen bez. Lager Harzungen, October 2, 1944, BA-B, R 125/241; as well as ITS-Material, AG-MD, 1.4.3./3.
6. Numerous former prisoners testified in favor of both camp leaders in the Dachau Dora Trial in 1947: Ludwig Schiller is representative of those prisoners.
7. Statement Jupp Wortmann, NARA, microfilm publication M-1079, Roll 10/7252.
8. Stärkemeldungen der Einzellager des KZ Mittelbau, November 1, 1944, and April 1, 1945, AG-MD, 1.4.3./3.
9. Veränderungsmeldungen KZ Mittelbau-Dora, THStA-W, KZ u. Hafta Buchenwald Nr. Dora Dok./K 395.

ILFELD

There are sparse details on the short history of the Ilfeld camp. According to the existing SS files, the camp was established on January 9, 1945, when 4 prisoners were transferred from the Mittelbau main camp. By the end of March 1945, as a result of further transfers, the numbers had increased to more than 260.¹ According to an SS guard, there were between 350 and 400 prisoners in the camp.²

Concentration camp prisoners were part of daily life from the autumn of 1943 onward for the citizens of Ilfeld. Around 100 prisoners from the Dora camp, about eight kilometers (five miles) away, constructed a barracks camp on the so-called Schafswiese (sheep's field) between October 1943 and the

spring of 1944. The work was done for the Wifo (Wirtschaftliche Forschungsgesellschaft mbH, Economic Research Co., Ltd.) construction management firm in Niedersachswerfen. The Schafswiese was an unimproved parcel of land in the center of the village of 2,000 inhabitants. The barracks camp was initially for accommodation for around 450 Wehrmacht soldiers and another 450 German laborers and technicians who worked for the Mittelwerk GmbH. After a prisoner detachment from the Dora camp had put a barbed-wire fence around the camp, the German inmates of the community camp (*Gemeinschaftslager*) were replaced by foreign forced laborers, who worked in the "Nordwerk" in Kohnstein, where they assembled aircraft engines for the Junkers company.³

During the course of 1944, other prisoner detachments from the camps at Dora and Harzungen were forced to expand the Mittelwerk infrastructure in several locations in Ilfeld, including the laying of water pipes in the main street (Adolf-Hitler-Allee), the construction of air-raid shelters on the eastern edge of the village (Herzberg), and the construction of a waterworks (Kommando Rosensteg). There were to be other labor detachments, especially in Mittelwerk's tailor shop based in the Ilfeld Kloster school, which since the autumn of 1943 had been the seat of the Mittelwerk GmbH administration, and the Günther paper mill, where prisoners worked for the Mittelwerk in establishing an assembly hall for the "Volksjäger" (People's Fighter) He 162.⁴

Initially, the prisoner detachments working in Ilfeld marched daily from the Dora and Harzungen camps to their work sites. Later, they were transported on the Harz narrow gauge railway. However, because of the fuel shortage and the constant Allied air attacks, there were more and more disruptions to the train service in the winter of 1944–1945. For this reason, the SS established at the beginning of January a subcamp in Ilfeld, where all the prisoners from the various work detachments were gradually transferred.

The location of the subcamp cannot be exactly determined. The witness statements contradict each other. Several reports state that the prisoners were accommodated in part of the barracks on the Schafswiese. What is more likely is that the camp was located above the paper mill in an empty two-story storehouse of the former hotel Talbrauerei. The prisoners were housed on the first floor, while the guards' accommodation was on the ground floor. At the beginning of the 1940s, foreign forced laborers had been held here, and they were transferred to other camps before the concentration camp prisoners were transferred here.

Compared to other Mittelbau camps, the number of Jewish prisoners in Ilfeld was comparatively high. At the end of March 1945, there were around 60 Hungarian and Polish Jews in the camp. There were large groups of non-Jewish prisoners from the Soviet Union, Poland, and France. In all probability, the living and working conditions were no different from the catastrophic conditions in the other Mittelbau camps.

There are hardly any survivors' reports because the camp's inmates were the victims of the massacres that occurred dur-

ing the death marches of April 1945. As with most of the other Mittelbau camps, the Ilfeld subcamp was evacuated by the SS at the beginning of April 1945 in the face of the approaching U.S. forces. On either April 4 or 5, the prisoners were driven by their guards on foot to Niedersachswerfen and from there in a northwesterly direction. In Walkenried or Osterode in the Harz Mountains, the survivors of the march joined a railway transport of prisoners from the Rottleberode camp. This transport ended for many Ilfeld prisoners in the Gardelegen massacre. The SS shot others in the vicinity of Estedt and Jävenitz in the county of Salzwedel.

At the end of March 1945, there were around 30 members of the guard. For the few weeks prior to the dissolution of the camp, they were under the command of 47-year-old SS-Unterscharführer Werner Wachholz. He had been transferred in the summer of 1944 from the Wehrmacht to the SS. Wachholz commanded some of the guards from December 1944 to March 21, 1945, in the “Dachs IV” subcamp near Osterode in the Harz. Wachholz was questioned as a witness in the middle of the 1960s during a trial regarding the death of prisoners in the Dachs IV camp. He himself was never charged. It would seem that all the other members of the guard in Ilfeld were never tried.

SOURCES Manfred Bornemann from Ilfeld, in addition to his study on the Mittelbau concentration camp, *Geheimprojekt Mittelbau. Vom zentralen Öllager des Deutschen Reiches zur größten Raketenfabrik im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Bonn, 1994), has put together two works that deal explicitly with the war and Ilfeld: *Ilfeld 1940–1950: Beiträge zu einem Jahrzehnt Heimatgeschichte* (Hamburg, 1984); and “Zwanzig Tage im April: Die Kriegsergebnisse bei Ilfeld vor 50 Jahren—eine Chronik,” *BHASKN* 20 (1995): 107–130, which have sections that deal with the subcamp. Bornemann’s work is based on his own experiences and witness reports.

An Ilfeld Transport- und Arbeitskommandoliste, dated March 25, 1945, is held in the Mittelbau-Ordner 18 of the ITS (a copy is held in YVA, Microfilm BD11-Do2). References to the prisoner transport to the Ilfeld subcamp are to be found in the Veränderungsmeldungen des KZ Mittelbau (THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395). The Ilfeld A/245 file in the AKr-N contains correspondence on the Schafswiese camp in Ilfeld from the years 1943 to 1945. The record of interview of the former SS camp leader Werner Wachhold is contained in the files of the trial against Gerhard Herdel, who replaced Wachhold as commander of the Dachs IV camp in Osterode before he was transferred to Ilfeld (Statements W. Wachholz, April 28, 1965, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 241/72, Bl. 4 ff., u. 16.8.1965, NHStA-H, Nds 721 Gö Acc. 99/81, Nr. 41, p. 24).

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NOTES

1. Veränderungsmeldung KZ Mittelbau, January 9, 1945, THStA-W, KZ u. Hafta Buchenwald Nr. Dora Dok./K 395, as well as Transportliste Ilfeld, March 25, 1945, YVA, Microfilm BD11-Do2.

2. Statement Wilhelm Syskowski, April 28, 1947, NARA, Microfilm Publication M-1079, Roll 3, fr. 20.

3. Wifo Niedersachswerfen, Bauunterlagen Gemeinschaftslager Ilfeld, 1943/44, BA-B, R 125/241; Bürgermeister Ilfeld, Korrespondenz zum Lager Schafswiese, 1943–1945, AKr-N, Ilfeld A/245.

4. Aktenvermerk Albin Sawatzki (Planungschef Mittelwerk GmbH) bez. Programm Schildkröte, October 19, 1944, BA-B, NS 4 Anh./31, p. 61.

ILSENBURG

Little information is available about the history of the Ilsenburg subcamp in the North Harz Mountains. As with a number of other smaller Mittelbau subcamps, it was exclusively occupied by Italian military internees (IMIs). It was established on March 1, 1945, when 16 Italians were transferred from the Mittelbau main camp.¹ There are no records of other prisoner transports.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the prisoners worked in a paint and varnish factory run by the firm Drube. However, it is more likely that the prisoners had to do the same type of forced labor as the inmates of the camps at Trautenstein, Quedlinburg, and Wickerode, which also were camps that used IMI labor exclusively. There the prisoners had to construct electricity and gas lines that provided the energy supplies to the Mittelbau armaments complex.

SOURCES The reference to the Drube firm as the work location originates from a Lagerverzeichnis held by ITS; see *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), which in turn is probably based on information in the original documents held in ITS (but only recently opened to historians).

Except for an entry in the Mittelbau concentration camp Veränderungsmeldungen (THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395), there is no known document that refers to the Ilsenburg camp.

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NOTE

1. Veränderungsmeldung KZ Mittelbau, March 1, 1945, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395.

KELBRA

The Kelbra camp was one of a number of smaller Mittelbau camps whose inmates were forced to work in branch factories of the Mittelwerk GmbH. From the autumn of 1944, Mittelwerk stored parts for the construction of the A4 (Aggregat 4) rocket, including fuel tanks, in the expansive cellars of the former Kelbra brewery. As in all other Mittelwerk branch factories, concentration camp prisoners were used here.

According to witnesses, a prisoner detachment was dispatched at first daily from the Rottleberode camp to work in Kelbra. On November 2, 1944, the SS established its own subcamp in the city. Eventually, around 60 mostly Soviet and Polish inmates from the Mittelbau main camp and Rossla subcamp would be transferred to Kelbra.¹ Finally, it should be mentioned that the Rossla camp was administratively responsible to the newly established Kelbra camp.

The prisoners were accommodated in the so-called *Sängerhalle*, a hotel with an assembly hall and dance room, about a kilometer (0.6 miles) from the brewery's cellars, where the prisoners worked. The dayrooms and the sleeping rooms for the prisoners were on the ground floor of the building. The hastily erected washing facilities and toilets were located in the fenced-in rear courtyard. The windows were covered with barbed wire, and at both doors stood armed guards.

The guards were also accommodated in the *Sängerhalle* in a separate room. There were around 15 Wehrmacht and SS members under the command of SS-Unterscharführer Walter Christoph. They guarded the prisoners while they were in their quarters and on the way to work. At work, German technicians and civilian employees of the Mittelwerk GmbH trained while the Kapos supervised their work.

Food for the prisoners and the guards was delivered from the Mittelbau main camp and prepared by the cooks in the *Sängerhalle*. Because the food was for prisoners who had to work on the production line, it was not as bad as in other camps where the prisoners had to work on construction sites. The improvised sanitary conditions in the former hotel were also not as bad as those in other Mittelbau camps, and the prisoners' survival chances were higher. It is thought that one prisoner died of malnutrition during the four months of the camp's existence.

As with most of the other Mittelbau camps, the SS evacuated the *Sängerhalle* at the beginning of April 1945 when U.S. forces approached from the west. Shortly before the evacuation, on the night of April 4–5, 1945, four Soviet prisoners managed to escape from the camp. On the morning of April 5, 1945, the camp leader Christoph gave the order to evacuate the camp. The prisoners were driven by the guards in a day-long march across the Harz Mountains to Blankenburg and from there to Wittenberge an der Elbe. Exhausted prisoners were shot or beaten to death by the guards. After they crossed the Elbe River, Christoph directed the march in a northerly direction to avoid the approaching Soviet troops. The Kelbra death march ended in the middle of April 1945 in the Wöbbelin subcamp in Mecklenburg, where the survivors were liberated by U.S. troops on May 2.

Christoph had to answer for the murders committed on the death march before a West German court in Krefeld in 1976. He was acquitted due to a lack of evidence. There were no other trials connected with the Kelbra subcamp.

SOURCES There is no single work devoted to the Kelbra camp. The camp is referred to in a work by Frank Baranowski, *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt, 2000); and

in an older doctoral dissertation by Brigitte Müller, Eva-Maria Proske, and Günther Weick, a chapter in “Die Aussenkommandos des KZ Buchenwald im Bezirk Halle” (Ph. D. diss., University of Halle-Wittenberg, 1979), pp. 72–91: “Das ehemalige Aussenkommando des KZ Buchenwald in Kelbra.” However, the value of the latter is limited due to numerous factual errors (beginning with the title because the Kelbra camp was never part of the Buchenwald concentration camp).

The Mittelbau concentration camp *Veränderungsmeldungen* (THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395) allow the reconstruction of the prisoner transports to and from Kelbra. There are no known prisoner reports on Kelbra. The only known eyewitness report is that of a German who lived in the area from 1997, which is located in the AG-MD (Zeitzeugenbefragungsprojekt, Bericht 42: Bericht Fritz Rössler). The verdict in the proceedings against Walter Christoph is to be published in a new publication: (*Justiz und NS-Verbrechen. Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen*, ed. von C.F. Rüter: Verfahren Nr. 837.

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NOTE

1. *Veränderungsmeldungen KZ Mittelbau, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395.*

KLEINBODUNGEN (“EMMI”) [AKA WERK III]

The production areas in the underground Mittelwerk factory at Kohnstein were inadequate by far. As a result, the Mittelwerk managers established a branch factory in June 1944 in an unused potash factory in Kleinbodungen, about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) west of Nordhausen. Defective rockets were stored and repaired in Kleinbodungen. At the beginning of October 1944, the repair factory, known as “Werk III,” commenced operations.¹ A little later the branch factory established its own branches in Bischofferode and Niedergebra, where individual parts of the A4 (Aggregat 4) rockets were stored.

The SS and works' administration used concentration camp prisoners in expanding the repair works. Initially, a subcamp was not established. Instead, from June 1944 the SS transported to Kleinbodungen up to 140 prisoners daily by truck from the Ellrich-Juliusshütte camp. It was only after the repair works began operations that the SS established on the factory grounds a Mittelbau subcamp, which had the code name “Emmi.” It was not for the prisoners from Ellrich—they had to work on other construction sites—but for 510 inmates from the Mittelbau main camp, who arrived on October 3, 1944, in Kleinbodungen. Until their arrival at Kleinbodungen, they had been working at the Zeppelin factory in Friedrichshafen on Lake Constance, from where they were deported to the South Harz Mountains.²

The prisoners had worked on the assembly of rockets at the Zeppelin factory. As skilled workers who could not be

easily replaced, the SS and works' administration in Kleinbodungen took care to ensure that their strength was preserved as much as possible. The reports by former prisoners state that the work and living conditions in the camp were markedly better than in most of the other Mittelbau camps. That the racial hierarchy of prisoner groups and the economic aims of forced labor often went hand in hand is shown by the ethnic composition of the prisoners in Kleinbodungen: German prisoners constituted more than 21 percent of the camp inmates—this included political as well as “criminal” prisoners—a percentage that was much higher than in other Mittelbau camps. Even higher were the proportions of Polish and Soviet prisoners—they each constituted about a third of the inmates. The remaining prisoners came from France, Czechoslovakia, and other German-occupied countries. Most of the foreign prisoners wore the red triangle of political prisoners. Two Hungarian inmates were classified as Jews.³

The approximately 650 prisoners in the camp were accommodated in two three-story buildings in the former potash factory, which were surrounded with an electrified barbed-wire fence. On the ground floor of both buildings there were sanitary facilities and the dayrooms. The prisoners' sleeping dormitories were on the two upper floors. The rocket repair factory was located in one of the two buildings, which was connected to the German railway. The proximity of the accommodation to the work sites may be another ground for the comparatively bearable prison conditions in Kleinbodungen, as in other camps the prisoners usually had a long and exhausting march to work.

Around 50 SS members, including many so-called Volkdeutsche, guarded the camp. The camp leader was SS-Hauptscharführer Franz Stärfl, who was born in 1915. His deputy was SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Dörr (born 1921).

The SS evacuated the camp on April 4, 1945. Driven on by the guards, the camp's inmates marched via Herzberg, Seesen, and Salzgitter to the Bergen-Belsen barracks camp. They arrived there on April 11. Of the original 610 prisoners who started out on the march, there were only around 570 alive when they reached Bergen-Belsen at midday on April 11. A few days later, on April 15–16, the survivors were liberated by British soldiers.

The camp leader Stärfl and his deputy Dörr were soon taken into British custody. They were both sentenced to death during the British Bergen-Belsen Trial, which took place in the autumn of 1945, for the crimes they committed in Kleinbodungen and on the death march to Bergen-Belsen. On December 13, 1945, they were hanged in Hameln. A third person accused, a member of the Kleinbodungen guards, SS member George Kraft, was acquitted by the court. During the 1960s, the West German state prosecutors conducted a number of investigations into former members of the SS guards at the Kleinbodungen camp. Each investigation ceased without any further action. However, in the German Democratic Republic in 1962 the Gera District Court (Bezirksgericht) convicted

the former camp elder, Max Lell, who had been a “criminal” prisoner in the concentration camp. He was sentenced to eight years in prison.

After the Americans occupied Kleinbodungen on April 10, 1945, they removed the rockets that had been left behind by the Germans. After their withdrawal, the Soviet Army in the summer of 1945 established a branch of the “Zentralwerk” on the site. German engineers under Soviet supervision rebuilt the V-2 rockets, whose blueprints had been taken by the Americans into the Western occupation zone or to the United States. In the autumn of 1946, the Soviet military relinquished the site and took its material and personnel to the Soviet Union.

SOURCES To date there is no single work devoted to the history of the Kleinbodungen subcamp. Frank Baranowski's *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke Druck und Verlag, 2000) contains a number of longer passages on the camp. Important details on the evacuation of the camp are contained in documents published by Raymond Philipps on the Bergen-Belsen Trial, *Trial of Joseph Kramer and Forty-Four Others [The Belsen Trial]* (London: William Hodge & Co, 1949). Mathias Uhls' study on the transfer of German rocket technology to the Soviet Union contains important details on the use of the Kleinbodungen production facilities in 1945–1946, *Stalins V-2: Der Technologietransfer der deutschen Fernlenkwaffentechnik in die UdSSR und der Aufbau der sowjetischen Raketentechnik 1945 bis 1959* (Bonn: Bernard & Graefe, 2001). Joachim Bornschein's brochure *Raketenschmieden und KZ-Aussenkommandos im Eichsfeld und Südbarz 1944–1945* (Weimar, 2003) is not recommended because it lacks academic rigor and contains numerous factual errors.

Prisoner lists of individual labor detachments and the total composition of the Kleinbodungen camp are held in the ITS (YVA, Microfilm BD11-Do2 ([ITS, Mittelbau-Ordner 20]). References to prisoner transports to and from Kleinbodungen are contained in the Mittelbau concentration camp Veränderungsmeldungen (Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395). Statements by former prisoners and German civilian workers are held in the AG-MD and in the files of the U.S. Dora Trial in Dachau (NARA, Microfilm Publication M-1079, Roll 4, fr. 166, Statement Günther Haukohl, October 14, 1947); as well as in the collections of the ZdL (BA-L, 429 AR-Z 216/72, Bl. 196 ff., Aussage Emil B., June 13, 1973) and the PRO (WO 309/423, Statement Otto Tempelmann, April 28, 1945).

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NOTES

1. Statement by Günther Haukohl (former engineer in Peenemünde and Kleinbodungen), October 14, 1947, NARA, Microfilm Publication M-1079, Roll 4, fr. 166.
2. Häftlingsliste Kdo. “Emmi,” n.d. (probably October 21, 1944), YVA, Microfilm BD11-Do2 (ITS, Mittelbau-Ordner 20).
3. Ibid.

KLEINBODUNGEN/BISCHOFFERODE-EICHSFELD

Established at the beginning of November 1944, the Bischofferode-Eichsfeld subcamp was about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) to the west of the Mittelbau main camp, on the Bischofferode manor near Woffleben. It should not be confused with the Woffleben subcamp. There were about 60 inmates who were probably held in a tent camp close to the Bischofferode railway station and worked in a Mittelwerk factory that used forced laborers. The factory stored defective A4 (Aggregat 4) rockets and repaired them ("Kommando 48a").

The branch factory in Bischofferode was part of the Mittelwerk "Werk III," which was based in Kleinbodungen about 7 kilometers (4.3 miles) away. Mirroring the company structure, the Bischofferode subcamp was a subcamp of the Kleinbodungen subcamp (also known as "Emmi"), which in turn was controlled by the Mittelbau main camp.

It is possible that the Bischofferode prisoners were forced to work not only in the above-mentioned Mittelwerk branch factory but also in a stores depot of the SS-Sonderinspektion II, which was established in the autumn of 1944 on the grounds of the nearby Wintershall AG potash factory. The Elektromechanische Werke Karlshagen, which specialized in the development of rockets, had been evacuated from Peenemünde at the beginning of March 1945. It had a weapons depot and assembly-line facilities in Bischofferode. It is possible that the prisoners from the local concentration camp worked there.

The few surviving sources provide no details on whether there were any deaths in Bischofferode. The Mittelbau concentration camp files refer to the camp for the last time on March 23, 1945. Its inmates were probably evacuated on April 4, 1945, with other prisoners from the Emmi camp in Kleinbodungen in the direction of Bergen-Belsen.

There were no postwar trials involving Bischofferode-Eichsfeld personnel.

SOURCES The history of the camp was considered for the first time in the 1980s by Paul Lauerwald in a short essay, "Das Arbeitskommando Bischofferode/Eichsfeld des Konzentrationslagers Mittelbau-Dora," *EfHb* 25 (1985): 225–231.

The most important source for prisoner transports to and from the camp are the Mittelbau concentration camp Veränderungsmeldungen (THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395). The camp's prisoner lists are held in ITS (Mittelbau-Ordner 20); and as microfilm copies in YVA (Microfilm BD11-Do2).

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

KLEINBODUNGEN/NIEDERGEBRA ("KOMMANDO 48A")

From the beginning of November 1944, around 40 Polish, Soviet, and Dutch concentration camp prisoners were held in a forced labor camp on the site of the Fiesel factory, which had

been relocated to Kassel. The SS files name the camp as "Kommando 48a." It was administered by the Kleinbodungen camp, which repaired defective A4 (Aggregat 4) rockets.¹ It is therefore likely that the inmates were used to maintain and repair stored A4 rocket parts for the Mittelwerk GmbH. On the other hand, Frank Baranowski suspects that the prisoners were forced to work on the Fiesel factory's aircraft production line.

It is possible that the Niedergebra prisoners, together with the inmates of the Kleinbodungen camp, were sent on the evacuation march on April 5, 1945, in the direction of Bergen-Belsen.

SOURCES The Niedergebra subcamp is scarcely mentioned in the literature. It is only Frank Baranowski, *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke Druck und Verlag, 2000), p. 116, who devotes a few lines to the camp.

The Niedergebra subcamp is mentioned in lists of work detachments of the Kleinbodungen subcamp file (Kommando "Emmi"), which are held in ITS. Microfilmed copies of these documents are held in YVA (Microfilm BD11-Do2).

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NOTE

1. Unterlagen zum Kdo. Emmi (Kleinbodungen), ITS, Mittelbau-Ordner 20.

NORDHAUSEN (BOELCKE-KASERNE)

American soldiers made a gruesome discovery when they entered the Thüringen city of Nordhausen on April 11, 1945. In the ruins of the Luftwaffe barracks, destroyed during a British air raid, they found the corpses of more than 1,000 emaciated concentration camp prisoners and forced laborers. A few hundred lay dying among the corpses. For these people, help had come too late. In the following weeks and months the photographs and film that were taken in the courtyard of the barracks of the dead laid out in rows (they included many young children and babies) went around the world. In many places they became the defining image of National Socialist camp terror.

The barracks (*Kaserne*) in which the dead were found was named after a fighter pilot, Oswald Boelcke. The dead came from a number of forced labor camps and prison camps that had been established on the barracks grounds during the last year of the war. The Boelcke-Kaserne showed in microcosm the varied hierarchy of the National Socialist camp system: SS labor camps (*Arbeitslager*) directly adjoined Gestapo special camps (*Sonderlager*) and forced labor camps for local industry and relocated industries. Altogether, there were at the beginning of 1945 more than 10,000 forced laborers and prisoners of various categories held on the expansive barrack grounds. The gruesome kernel of this National Socialist camp system was the Mittelbau subcamp, a death zone.



Post-liberation view of the Boelcke-Kaserne (Nordhausen) subcamp of Mittelbau-Dora concentration camp, April 11–20, 1945.

USHMM WS #13384, COURTESY OF NANCY AND MICHAEL KRZYZANOWSKI

The Boelcke-Kaserne subcamp was established on January 8, 1945 and lasted for only three months. It was originally planned as a collection camp (*Sammellager*) for prisoner detachments, which had to work on the B-11 construction site near Niedersachswerfen and in more than 20 Nordhausen factories. They had been previously held in the Mittelbau main camp.¹ From the end of January 1945, countless transports with exhausted, sick, and dead concentration camp prisoners arrived from the dissolved Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen concentration camps in the South Harz Mountains. At the same time the number of sick in the Mittelbau camps dramatically increased. As a result, the SS administration changed the function of the camp to become the central Mittelbau camp for the sick and the dying. In the middle of February 1945, more than 3,500 totally exhausted and emaciated prisoners arrived from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. With this arrival, increasingly large numbers of inmates could not be used for labor, even according to SS standards. In the end, the camp held thousands of dying prisoners who were provided no amenities. Dozens died daily, and toward the end, they died in the hundreds.

The “accommodation” in the Boelcke-Kaserne was, even according to concentration camp standards, completely inadequate. It consisted of two long two-story garages on the northern edge of the barracks area, which were bordered by an electrified fence. The first garage held Blocks 1 to 4 and the kitchen. The prisoners who could “work” were held here in comparatively bearable conditions, at least when compared to the conditions in the second garage. The second garage, isolated from the rest of the camp by a second barbed-wire fence, was the location for the infamous Blocks 6 and 7 on the ground floor. They held the ill and the dying. The first floor held the infirmary and Block 5, which from March 1945 became the central infirmary for those prisoners from the main camp and other Mittelbau subcamps who were suffering from

tuberculosis. Death occurred by organized neglect. Those classified as incapable of working were regarded as useless and were allowed to die.

It is difficult to describe in words the conditions in this building. At times the SS forced more than 3,000 dying prisoners into Blocks 6 and 7, which together had an area of not even 1,800 square meters (2,153 square yards). There were no beds in these blocks. Instead, the prisoners were forced to lie one next to the other on the concrete floor on which there was a thin layer of sawdust. There was a toilet area, but it could not be used because there was no water. In any event, many of the weakened prisoners, because of their condition, would not have been able to get to the toilets. The dying lay on the concrete floor. Every now and then, they would be hosed down to clean them from the worst of the human excrement.

According to the SS files 1,662 prisoners died in this camp between January 8 and April 2, 1945.² An additional unknown number of deaths must be added to this official record as well as the 2,250 sick and dying prisoners who were transferred from Bergen-Belsen to the Boelcke-Kaserne around March 8, 1945.³

The Boelcke-Kaserne subcamp had the largest proportion of Jewish prisoners in the Mittelbau-Dora concentration camp system. The reason for this was because a large number of exhausted Jewish prisoners arrived in Mittelbau in January 1945 from Gross-Rosen and Auschwitz. The exception to this was the Gross-Werther camp, which held only Jewish women. However, while there are no exact numbers, it can be assumed that the large majority of Polish prisoners, who from April 1, 1945, accounted for more than 40 percent of the total numbers in the camp, were Jews. There were also relatively large numbers of Russian and French prisoners as well as Hungarian Jews.⁴

As the camp only lasted for three months, the survivors were able to report little on the behavior of the SS camp administration. The camp leader was 50-year-old SS-Obersturmführer Heinrich Josten, who had arrived in Nordhausen from Auschwitz. His deputy was SS-Hauptscharführer Josef Kestel, who had been the Rapportführer in the Dora main camp.⁵ Both men do not figure in survivors’ memoirs, which is hardly surprising, as the SS scarcely entered the camp. This also applied to SS-Obersturmführer Dr. Heinrich Schmidt, who was the camp doctor for a few weeks. His presence is most noted for his inactivity. The catastrophic conditions in the Boelcke-Kaserne subcamp can largely be attributed to him. The SS installed mostly German prisoners as prisoner-functionaries in Boelcke-Kaserne. They wore the green triangle of the “criminals.” Their appointment worsened the conditions in the camp.

There were around 5,700 inmates in the camp on April 1, 1945. The camp’s dissolution began on April 2–3, 1945, when around 3,000 prisoners were transferred to the camps at Mittelbau and Ellrich-Juliushütte. British bomber squadrons attacked Nordhausen on the afternoon of April 3 and on the following day. The garages in Boelcke-Kaserne were heavily damaged. Although a prisoner infirmary, it had not been

marked with a Red Cross symbol. The garage that held Blocks 6 and 7 suffered heavy damage and was almost completely destroyed. The guards had sought refuge in the air-raid shelters, but the prisoners were left where they were to the mercy of the bombs. On April 3, there were 450 dead during the first attack in the afternoon in the block for those suffering from tuberculosis.⁶

The SS evacuated Nordhausen after the air raid, leaving the survivors behind, most of whom were more dead than alive. Hundreds lay dying in the rubble in the garages; no one cared for them. Some prisoners had managed to escape during the air raids, hiding in the rubble of Nordhausen and the nearby forests until they were liberated by the Americans on April 11, 1945.

The Americans immediately established a hospital after they entered Nordhausen. They brought in additional medical units, who treated the sick and injured in the barracks. For more than 1,300 prisoners, this help came too late. Many of those who survived the air raids died in the days that followed from starvation and exhaustion. On April 16, 1945, five days after liberation, the U.S. military administration had the Nordhausen local population bury the corpses from Boelcke-Kaserne, including women and children, in the city's main cemetery.

At the same time, the U.S. Army began investigations into those responsible for the crimes committed in the Mittelbau concentration camp. The former camp doctor, Dr. Schmidt, was tried in the 1947 Dachau Dora Trial, as was one other SS member from Boelcke-Kaserne. Schmidt was acquitted for lack of evidence. Likewise, he was acquitted for lack of evidence in the 1979 Majdanek Trial in Düsseldorf. There were no other trials regarding crimes committed in the Boelcke-Kaserne subcamp.

SOURCES Jens-Christian Wagner has written two essays on the history of the Boelcke-Kaserne subcamp: "Die Apotheose des Lagererrors: Die Boelcke-Kaserne in Nordhausen (1944/45)," *SOWI* 29 (2000): 152–158; and "Gesteuertes Sterben: Die Boelcke-Kaserne als zentrales Sterbelager des KZ



US troops view corpses at the Nordhausen Boelcke-Kaserne subcamp of Mittelbau-Dora, April 11–15, 1945.

USHMM WS #04544, COURTESY OF DONALD S. ROBINSON

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

Mittelbau," *DaHe* 20 (2004): 127–138. Brigitte d'Hainault and Christine Somerhausen refer to prisoner accounts of Boelcke-Kaserne in their complete history *Dora 1943–1945: 2500 prisonniers politiques belges fabriquent dans l'usine souterraine de la mort, annexe du camp de concentration de Buchenwald, les premiers missiles de l'histoire pour Hitler*, (Brussels, 1991); as does André Sellier in *Histoire du camp de Dora* (Paris: Éditions la découverte, 1998). In Manfred Schröter's local study on the last months of the war in Nordhausen, there are a number of references to events in Boelcke-Kaserne: *Die Zerstörung Nordhausens und das Kriegsende im Kreis Grafschaft Hohenstein 1945* (Nordhausen, 1988).

The most important sources on the prisoner transports to Boelcke-Kaserne are the camp administration's Veränderungsmeldungen as well as individual Mittelbau Transportliste and Häftlingsaufstellungen. However, they are incomplete and held in various archives (including ITS: Mittelbau-Ordner und Sachdokumentenarchiv; THStA-W: Bestände "NS 4 Bu" und "KZ und Haftanstalten Buchenwald"; YVA: Microfilms BD3-Bu19–BD3-Bu44 and BD11-Do1–BD11-Do6). An important source is the files from the U.S. military trial against those responsible for the Mittelbau-Dora concentration camp that took place in Dachau in 1947 (NARA: *United States of America vs. Kurt Andrae, et al.*, Microfilm Publication M-1079, 16 Reels; originals in RG 238, NARA). Several survivors after the war wrote about their imprisonment in National Socialist concentration camps. The Boelcke-Kaserne is referred to in only a few passages in these accounts. See Léon-E. Halkin, *À l'ombre de la mort* (Brussels: Pauli, 1965), p. 168; Emile Samyn, *Mijn naam was een nummer* (Izegem: Uitgeverij Hochepeid, 1995), pp. 95–109; and Jules Hofstein, "D'évacuation à évacuation," in *De l'Université aux Camps de Concentration. Témoignages Strasbourgeois* (Paris, 1947), pp. 511–518.

Jens-Christian Wagner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Befehl SS-Hauptsturmführer Staupendahl (Führer des SS-Totenkopfsturmbanns Mittelbau), January 4, 1945, reproduced in Manfred Bornemann, *Geheimprojekt Mittelbau. Vom zentralen Öllager des Deutschen Reiches zur grössten Raketenfabrik im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Bonn, 1994), p. 217.

2. NARA, M-1079, Roll 11, p. 627, Prosecution Exhibit P-81A.

3. Veränderungsmeldungen KZ Mittelbau-Dora, March 8, 1945, and March 13, 1945, THStA-W, KZ u. Hafta Buchenwald Nr. Dora Dok./K 395.

4. Übersicht über die Zusammensetzung der Lagerbelegenschaften in den Lagern des KZ Mittelbau, April 1, 1945, AG-MD, 1.4.3./3 (files from ITS).

5. Josten was sentenced to death in 1947 in the Polish Auschwitz Trial in Kraków and executed on January 24, 1948—see Einstellungsverfügung Zentrale Stelle Köln, April 29, 1964, NWHStA-(D), ZA-K, Gerichte Rep. 299/26, p. 6255. Kestel was tried in 1947 in the U.S. Buchenwald Trial in Dachau and executed on November 19, 1948, in Landsberg—see Harry Stein, ed., *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald 1937–1945: Begleitband zur ständigen historischen Ausstellung* (Göttingen, 1999), p. 308.

6. See the report by former prisoner doctor Jules Hofstein, "D'évacuation à évacuation," in *De l'Université aux Camps de Concentration. Témoignages Strasbourgeois* (Paris, 1947), pp. 511–518.

OSTERODE-FREIHEIT (FIRMA CURT HEBER)

The suburb of Freiheit in the Harz district city of Osterode was the site of a subcamp for the company Curt Heber. In retrospect, in many ways it represents a unique type of Mittelbau subcamp. It was, for a start, around 50 kilometers (31 miles) away from the Mittelbau main camp, outside the core area of the Mittelbau camps. On the other hand, its inmates did not have to work on construction sites but in a working factory that had nothing to do with the production of rockets for the Mittelwerk. The most important products produced by the Heber company were bomb-release devices. A section of the company from 1944 was working on the development of a cannon for fighter aircraft, including the jet fighter Messerschmitt (Me) 262, whose engines were produced in Nordwerk, which was not far from the Mittelwerk. The development of this weapon and the fact that the head of the company, Curt Heber, had close connections to the Reich Air Ministry could have led to the establishment of a Mittelbau camp.

September 25, 1944, is regarded as the date the camp was established. On this day, 10 prisoners from Buchenwald were sent as an advance detachment to Osterode.¹ In October, another 300 prisoners from the Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen concentration camps arrived in Osterode.² In order to accommodate the prisoners, the company's management cleared four wooden barracks on the factory's grounds, which had been a forced labor camp, and fenced them in with barbed wire. A fifth barrack served as accommodation for the guards.³

Initially, the camp was administered from Buchenwald. At the end of October 1944, it was transferred to the newly established Mittelbau concentration camp. However, by all accounts, the transfer to Mittelbau was purely of a formal nature. The Osterode-Freiheit subcamp did not develop close connections with the Mittelbau main camp or the Mittelbau "Dachs IV" subcamp in Osterode-Petershütte, which was only a few kilometers away. In December 1944 and January 1945, members of the Heber company inspected concentration camp prisoners in Buchenwald who were to be sent directly to Osterode.⁴ It was only at the end of February 1945 that the first prisoners from the Mittelbau main camp were transferred to Osterode.⁵ As a result, the number of prisoners increased to more than 400, of whom more than half came from Poland.

The prisoners were production prisoners (*Produktionsschäftlinge*). If they were unable to work, this would mean economic loss for the Heber company. As a result, the prisoners in the Osterode-Freiheit camp were exposed to less arduous working conditions than were to be found in the numerous Mittelbau-Dora construction camps. Work in a production detachment also offered a certain degree of protection from

the terror and mistreatment. Nevertheless, an unknown number of prisoners died, especially in the last few months of the camp's existence. Most of the dead were cremated in the Mittelbau crematorium, but a few were buried in the Osterode cemetery.

At first the subcamp was commanded by a Wehrmacht noncommissioned officer who had been transferred to the SS. Survivors later stated that he treated the prisoners acceptably. In January 1945, he was replaced by SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Petz (the correct spelling of the name is not certain), who treated the prisoners in an extraordinarily brutal way. The prisoners nicknamed the 25-year-old the "Tiger." He personally beat the prisoners and encouraged his subordinates and Kapos to do the same.⁶

The terror introduced to the camp by the new SS camp leader and the declining rations increased the rate of illness among the camp inmates from January 1945. In March 1945, more than 70 debilitated prisoners were sent to the main camp and the death camp in the Nordhausen Boelcke-Kaserne. The dissolution of the Osterode-Freiheit camp followed on April 5, 1945, when the prisoners were driven by their guards along the western edge of the Harz in a northerly direction. After four days of marching, the survivors of the death march were separated into several groups in Gifhorn and were marched in a northerly and easterly direction. Most of the survivors were liberated by the Americans between April 9 and 13, in the area between Gifhorn and Salzwedel.

SOURCES A short sketch on the history of Firma Heber appeared in an essay by Hans-Heinrich Hillegeist, "Die Firmen OIGEE und HEMAF in Osterode/Harz," in *Rüstungsindustrie in Südniedersachsen während der NS-Zeit* (Mannheim: Verlag Peter Wagener, 1993), pp. 119–141. The essay also deals with the subcamp. The work and living conditions in the camp are dealt with in the Mittelbau monograph by Jens-Christian Wagner, *Produktion des Todes: Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2001). Joachim Neander has researched the evacuation of the camp in his work on the Mittelbau death marches in *Das Konzentrationslager "Mittelbau" in der Endphase der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur: Zur Geschichte des letzten im "Dritten Reich" gegründeten selbständigen Konzentrationslagers unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Auflösungsphase* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld: Papierflieger, 1997).

Details on the prisoner transports to and from Osterode can be obtained from the almost complete Stärkemeldungen and Transportlisten, which are held in ITS (copies are held in the YVA, Microfilm BD3-Bu20) and in the THStA-W (Bestand NS 4 Bu). The BA-L holds the files from the investigation conducted in 1972 by the ZdL into former guards from the Osterode-Freiheit camp (Bestand IV 429 AR-Z 241/72). Transport lists for this camp were published in *BADRDE 6–7* (June–July 1946): 23.

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NOTES

1. ITS, Buchenwald-Ordner 295 (YVA, Microfilm BD3-Bu-43).

2. Ibid.; and Transportliste October 5, 1944, NARA, Microfilm Buchenwald 34, p. 31109; and Transportliste October 20, 1944, USHMMA, RG-04.006M, Reel 18.

3. See the statements by the former prisoner Leopold B., December 17, 1969, and Zygmunt S., September 29, 1967, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 241/72, pp. 72, 105.

4. THStA-W, NS 4 Bu/231: "Facharbeitermusterungen Firma C. Heber" im KZ Buchenwald, December 14, 1944, and January 1, 1945, as well as Transportlisten Buchenwald-Heber, December 19, 1944, and January 9, 1945. It was mostly mechanics and electricians and those from similar professions who were chosen.

5. KZ Mittelbau Transport Lists for February 26, 1945, and March 28, 1945, reproduced in *BADRDE 6-7* (June–July 1946): 23.

6. Statements of the surviving prisoners Stefan T., July 20, 1967, Mieczislaw D., June 27, 1967, and Marian M., June 30, 1967, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 241/72, pp. 86, 95, 98.

OSTERODE-PETERSHÜTTE ("DACHS IV")

The subcamp "Dachs IV," which was established rather late, was in some ways different from the other camps and construction sites in the Mittelbau-Dora complex: it lay outside the core geographical area of the concentration camp complex (the camp was located around 50 kilometers [31 miles] to the northwest of the main camp). Its inmates did not have to excavate underground facilities for the Junkers company, as was mostly the case in other Mittelbau concentration camp construction projects. Instead, they were to excavate an underground oil refinery for the Hamburg oil company Rhenania-Ossag. It was for this reason that the construction project, unlike most of the other Mittelbau projects, was not controlled by SS members from the Kammler-Stab but by the Sonderstab (special staff) of the Armaments Ministry, which was under the control of Edmund Geilenberg. Geilenberg's special staff was to secure the production of petroleum in Germany. His staff appointed the Organisation Todt's (OT) Einsatzgruppe IV as construction project manager.

The Geilenberg staff initially planned to locate the underground refinery Dachs IV in the Heimkehle caves near Rottleberode. In March 1945, concentration camp prisoners from the Heinrich camp, which was under the control of the Kammler-Stab, had commenced converting the caves into a store depot for the Junkers branch factory Schönebeck. Following a dispute between both special staffs regarding responsibilities, the Geilenberg staff abandoned its plans and acquired the gypsum quarry owned by the Schimpf company at Osterode-Petershütte in September 1944. The underground oil refinery would be located there.

This was a relatively small project when compared to the other construction projects around Nordhausen. Construction began in October 1944. As with most other construction projects in the last year of the war, there were constant changes to the plans for Osterode. Even the use of different groups of workers showed all the hallmarks of improvisation. There were German civilian laborers on the construction site

as well as several thousand foreign laborers and prisoners of war (POWs), a few hundred German and Czech "half Jews and those with Jewish blood" from the Gestapo camp located close to the construction site, and—from the end of November 1944—also concentration camp prisoners. From the winter of 1944–1945, there were around 3,000 laborers on the site. Despite this, the facility was not completed. It is true that the Rhenania-Ossag was able to locate part of its machinery to Osterode. However, the machines could not be installed into the first cavern that had been excavated.

The beginnings of the Dachs IV subcamp can be traced to November 20, 1944, when an advanced detachment of 100 prisoners from the Buchenwald concentration camp was transferred close to the construction site in Osterode-Petershütte. A little later, the camp, which had been under the control of the Buchenwald concentration camp, was transferred to the Mittelbau concentration camp. At the beginning of February 1945, the numbers in the camp increased with the arrival of a transport of 412 prisoners, almost all of whom were Jews. They had been sent from Auschwitz via the Mittelbau main camp to Osterode. There were now more than 500 inmates in the camp. There were more transfers from the Mittelbau main camp (on February 21, more than 200 mostly Polish prisoners and, a few days later, another 100 prisoners from a number of different countries were transferred). By the beginning of March 1945, the number in Dachs IV had increased to around 800 inmates.¹

The camp consisted of six makeshift barracks and was surrounded by a high barbed-wire fence. It was severely overcrowded. Hunger and poor sanitary conditions accelerated the prisoners' loss of strength as they undertook forced labor in the caves. Emaciated prisoners and those no longer capable of working were regularly transferred to the main camp infirmary and later to the camp for the dying in the Nordhausen Boelcke-Kaserne.

There was one thing above all that distinguished this camp from other Mittelbau camps: the SS did not evacuate the camp at the beginning of April 1945 but on March 21, when its inmates were transferred to the Nordhausen Boelcke-Kaserne. The evacuated subcamp was then for a short time occupied by 1,000 Soviet POWs who continued the work on the subterranean Dachs IV project. Very few prisoners transferred to the Boelcke-Kaserne are likely to have survived.

SS-Oberscharführer Werner Wachholz (born 1898), who had been transferred from the Wehrmacht, was in command of the camp. The prisoners have described him as "correct" in his command. The camp regime, however, dramatically worsened when Wachholz was replaced in February 1945 by SS-Hauptscharführer Gerhard Herdel.² Wachholz remained in command of the 70-man-strong guards, who were also Wehrmacht members who had been transferred to the SS. The camp command was now under the control of the 34-year-old Herdel who had previously occupied the posts of deputy Arbeitseinsatzführer and Rapportführer in the Auschwitz III-Monowitz concentration camp and was apparently well adapted to his role. He was sentenced in 1953 to one year's

imprisonment by a jury court in Göttingen for crimes committed in Auschwitz and Osterode. He did not have to serve time, however.³ It would seem there were no other criminal proceedings relating to criminal acts committed in the Dachs IV camp.

SOURCES Hans-Heinrich Hillegeist's essay on the Dachs IV armaments project, "Dachs IV—ein Projekt des Geilenberg-Programms in Osterode/Harz," in *Rüstungsindustrie in Südniedersachsen während der NS-Zeit*, ed. Arbeitsgemeinschaft Südniedersächsischer Heimatfreunde e.V. (Mannheim: Verlag Peter Wagener, 1993), pp. 317–333, is a little old. In Jens-Christian Wagner's Mittelbau monograph, *Produktion des Todes. Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2001), the camp is mentioned in several places, and there are additional source references. Those who are interested in the technical details on the Dachs IV construction project should refer to Jürgen Müller's *Dachs IV—der Bau des unterirdischen Hydrierwerkes Dachs IV bei Osterode im Harz zum Ende des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld: Papierflieger, 2004).

Details on prisoner transports between the Dachs IV subcamp and the main camps at Buchenwald and Mittelbau are to be found in the transport lists compiled by the administration in the Buchenwald concentration camp (ITS, Buchenwald-Ordner 165), as well as the Mittelbau Stärkemeldungen (THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395). The ZdL (today BA-L) holds the investigation files into the Dachs IV subcamp from 1972 (IV 429 AR-Z 193/72). The 1953 files regarding the trial of former SS camp leader Herdel before the Landgericht Göttingen are held in the NHStA-H (Nds 721 Gö Acc. 99/81, Nr. 41). The judgment on Herdel has been published in C.F. Rüter's collection of documents, *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam, 1974), 10: 515–524. For details on the Dachs IV construction project, see the files in the AOCZ (Akte W 7705: Bauprojekt Dachs IV, 1944/45); as well as CIOS, *Report on Underground Factories in Central Germany, 1945*, Report No. XXXII-17.

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NOTES

1. KZ Buchenwald, Transportliste Dachs IV, November 20, 1944, ITS, Buchenwald-Ordner 165 (YVA, Microfilm BD3-Bu20), as well as Veränderungsmeldungen Mittelbau-Dora, 1944/45, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395.

2. Statement Hugo G. (former member of the OT-Bauleitung), August 24, 1950, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 241/72, Bl. 17 f.

3. Judgment against G. Herdel, March 4, 1953, in C.F. Rüter, *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam, 1974), 10: 515–524; as well as statement Herdel, August 16, 1965, NHStA-H, Nds 721 Gö Acc. 99/81, Nr. 41, p. 25.

QUEDLINBURG

One of five Mittelbau subcamps that held only Italian military internees (IMIs) was located in Quedlinburg. The district city in the northern Harz plain was well-known during

the National Socialist regime for its Gothic cathedral, which Heinrich Himmler wished to convert into an SS cult site.

The Quedlinburg camp was about 50 kilometers (31 miles) away from the Mittelbau main camp and was the most distant of the subcamps. It was probably established on September 17, 1944, when 21 IMIs were transferred from the main camp. A second transport with 19 Italians followed on September 28.¹ There are no records of any other transfers. An undated camp list (it could have been created on November 1, 1944) lists the names of 58 prisoners.² The same number is also recorded on a list dated March 31, 1945.

Gregorio Piali wrote the only known report by a survivor of the camp. He was transferred from the main camp to Quedlinburg in the late summer of 1944.³ According to Piali, the prisoners were at first shifted from one building to another in the city. Later, a camp was established in a dilapidated building on the edge of the city, which was fenced in with barbed wire.

The prisoners, as with the inmates of the Trautenstein subcamp, which also exclusively held IMIs, worked in Quedlinburg on the construction of the planned high-voltage power line at Frose-Bleicherode, which was to provide additional electricity to the Mittelwerk industrial complex near Niedersachswerfen in the northeast Harz region.

According to a set of directions from the Mittelbau main camp labor administration office, the IMIs were allowed to work without guards from the summer of 1944.⁴ It is probably for this reason that the Quedlinburg and Trautenstein camps, whose prisoners worked solely on the construction of the high-voltage power line, were occupied by Italian military internees. In this way, the SS could spare the use of guards. There was no construction work done in January and February 1945 due to severe frost. During this period, the prisoners cleared away the snow.

Concerning deaths at Quedlinburg, what is known is that Giovanni Tomei probably died after being sent back to the main camp.

As with the other Mittelbau camps that held only IMIs, the Quedlinburg camp was not evacuated at the beginning of April 1945 when the Americans approached. Piali stated that the prisoners were still cleaning up rubble in the streets of Quedlinburg following an air raid on April 11, 1945. The following night, the SS guards disappeared. Fearing attacks, he and his fellow prisoners approached the Americans only on April 14. With that, the Quedlinburg camp was closed.

SOURCES Joachim Neander contributed an essay on the Mittelbau/Quedlinburg subcamp located in the North Harz Mountains, "Die Aussenlager 'Turmalin' (Regenstein), Quedlinburg und Trautenstein des KZ Mittelbau-Dora," in *Erinnern: Aufgabe, Chance, Herausforderung* (Magdeburg, 2002), pp. 1–11.

Except for the Mittelbau Veränderungsmeldungen (THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395), and a few prisoner lists (AG-MD, Microfilm B 1), there are no written records that have survived on the Quedlinburg subcamp. Gregorio Piali, a concentration camp survivor, has

published his memoirs on his concentration camp imprisonment in Quedlinburg, *Una voce da Buchenwald. Campo Dora Buchenwald* (Vicenza, 1973).

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NOTES

1. Veränderungsmeldungen KZ Mittelbau-Dora, September 17, 1944, and September 28, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395.

2. List Kommando Quedlinburg, n.d., AG-MD, Microfilm B 1.

3. Gregorio Piali, *Una voce da Buchenwald. Campo Dora Buchenwald* (Vicenza, 1973).

4. See Schreiben Arbeitseinsatzbüro Mittelbau an Arbeitseinsatzführer Buchenwald, June 30, 1944, ITS, Sachdokumenten-Ordner Buchenwald 53, p. 179.

ROSSLA

The Junkers company had been allocated the northern section of the Kohnstein underground production facility. As a result, the Mittelwerk facilities were insufficient for production and storage in Kohnstein, and the company established several branch factories in the summer of 1944 in the Nordhausen area, where the parts for the Aggregat 4 (A4) rockets were stored. One of these branch factories was established at the beginning of August 1944 in the factory buildings of a unused sugar factory in Rossla, about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) to the southeast of Nordhausen.

As with all Mittelwerk branch factories, concentration camp prisoners were initially deployed in Rossla. Initially, from August 1, 1944, around 100 prisoners were taken daily by rail from the Mittelbau camp to Rossla. Here they had to load and unload rail wagons that arrived from the main factory in Kohnstein. At the same time, the SS had the prisoners convert two barracks of the Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich Labor Service) camp, which had been constructed in 1936, into accommodation for the concentration camp prisoners. One of the two barracks was fenced in with barbed wire and a security fence. On August 31, 1944, the new camp was opened when 82 prisoners from the Mittelbau camp moved in. The kitchen and infirmary were located in the second of the two barracks. There were around 20 SS guards accommodated in the barracks as well.

Scarcely any SS documents have survived that relate to the Rossla camp. The memoirs of Max Dutilleux, a French prisoner in Rossla, provide a striking report on the camp. Statements by the camp Kapo, Wilhelm Schmidt, have also survived. The statements were made to American officers a few days after the camp was liberated in April 1945. Finally, around the year 2000, a former Ukrainian prisoner reported on his time in the Rossla camp. According to the survivors' reports, the prisoners were held in the fenced-in accommodation barracks. There were two sections in the barracks: the

“Noble Quarter,” as Dutilleux named his section, was where the prisoner-functionaries as well as Polish, Czech, French, and Belgian prisoners were held, while in the “Proletarian Quarter” very young Russian prisoners were squeezed together tightly. The morning and evening roll call took place on the 10-meter-square (33-foot-square) area between the two barracks.

There were on average between 110 and 120 prisoners in the camp, the overwhelming majority of whom came from the Soviet Union, France, and Poland. The prisoner-functionaries were Germans. There was also a German medical doctor who looked after the infirmaries. Officially the infirmary was under the control of a local doctor, who was contracted to the infirmary. The sparse SS files refer to one death. It concerned a prisoner who was shot between December 21, 1944, and January 20, 1945, while “trying to escape.”¹ This prisoner could be German Communist Hans Merker, who is said to have been a member of a resistance group in the Mittelbau camp.

The prisoners who were transferred to Rossla did not find the living and working conditions too bad when compared to the exhausting cavern excavation work that they had to do in Kohnstein. Loading and unloading rocket parts was very difficult work, but not as murderous as in the subterranean construction sites of many of the other Mittelbau-Dora camps. In addition, the arbitrary mistreatment by the guards and Kapos was kept within limits.

The camp leader was initially an SS noncommissioned officer. He was replaced in February 1945 by SS-Oberscharführer Welzel.

According to the former camp Kapo, on April 4, 1945, the day before the camp was evacuated, 30 prisoners who had been injured in an air raid on the Boelcke-Kaserne in Nordhausen arrived in Rossla. On the next morning, April 5, the SS camp leader ordered the camp's evacuation. By foot in a column the prisoners marched via Rottleberode and Stolberg into the Harz. Between 8 and 10 prisoners each had to push 10 small flat trolleys that had been used in the camp to move rocket parts and that were now laden with supplies for the march and SS baggage. Marching via Halberstadt and Magdeburg, covering about 30 kilometers (19 miles) a day, they reached the Heinkel factory in Oranienburg. Prisoners who could not keep up or who tried to escape were shot by their guards, the first being shot on the first day of the march near Stolberg. The survivors arrived in Oranienburg on either April 17 or 18. They did not stay there for long, as the Oranienburg camp was evacuated on April 21. This time the prisoners from Rossla, who the SS maintained as a group, were forced to march in a northwesterly direction. After nine long and exhausting days, the guards disappeared just to the south of Schwerin—on May 1, 1945, the surviving Rossla prisoners were free.

The Rossla camp played no role in the Dachau Dora Trial in 1947, and even later there were no investigations or criminal proceedings in connection with the Rossla camp. In the local cemetery, there is the grave of a Pole who died in Octo-

ber 1944 in Rossla. Most likely the deceased was not, despite public speculation, a concentration camp prisoner.

SOURCES The Mittelbau-Dora concentration camp Veränderungsmeldungen produced by the SS administration refer to the transports to and from Rossla (THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395). A copy of an undated list of all of the camp's inmates, possibly created on November 1, 1944, is to be found in the AG-MD (Microfilm B 1). Details on the work and living conditions in the camp, such as the death march route from Rossla via Oranienburg to Schwerin, are to be found in survivors' memoirs (Report Viktor Tumizkij, 5.9.1996, AG-MD, EB/H Ukr 1; Statement Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt, 20.4.1945, NARA, Microfilm Publication M-1079, Roll 2, fr. 751). Max Dutilleux, a former prisoner, published his memoirs in France on his imprisonment in the concentration camps in Dora and Rossla: *Le camp des armes secrètes Dora-Mittelbau* (n.p., 1993).

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NOTE

1. Monatsbericht Häftlingskrankenbau Lager Rossla, December 21, 1944, to January 20, 1945, NARA, Microfilm Publication M-1079, Roll 1, fr. 563.

ROTTLEBERODE ("HEINRICH")

As with many other Mittelbau camps, the camp "Heinrich" near Rottleberode was established as part of the plan to relocate part of German air armaments underground. In the spring of 1944, the Jägerstab (Fighter Staff) authorized the Junkers aircraft factory at Schönebeck to convert the Heimkehle caves, close to the villages of Rottleberode and Ufrungen (present-day Sachsen-Anhalt), into an underground facility for the assembly of aircraft frames. SS-Führungsstabe A5 was in charge of the construction work. It was part of SS-Gruppenführer Hans Kammler's construction organization.

On March 13, 1944, 200 prisoners from the Buchenwald concentration camp commenced excavation in the caves, which until then had been a favorite destination for day trips by tourists. In the following months, the number of men increased from 500 to 700 prisoners. To accommodate the prisoners, the SS established the Heinrich subcamp on the edge of Rottleberode. It was at first administered from Buchenwald, but from October 1944, it became part of the Mittelbau concentration camp.¹

The Junkers company had leased a three-story building owned by the porcelain factory Max Schuck. The prisoners were held in this building, which was surrounded with an electrified fence and guard towers. A courtyard, about 50 meters (164 feet) long, between the building and the electrified fence served as the roll-call square. The ground floor of the building held the kitchen, washrooms, and storerooms. The prisoners' sleeping and day quarters were on the two upper floors. The prisoners had to march 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) to

the Heimkehle caves, which was a relatively long way to the production site. It would seem that Junkers and the SS in this case preferred that the prisoners were held in a relatively large stone building rather than establish a barracks camp closer to the Heimkehle caves.

The A5 construction project, with an area of 7,400 square meters (8,850 square yards), was a relatively small construction project. The "Thyra Werk" (the name given to it for purposes of secrecy) could soon commence operations, as the underground facilities were essentially in place except for the ventilation and the entrances to the caverns. From the end of July 1944, the Junkers (Ju) concentration camp prisoners and civilian workers were producing springs and parts for the Ju 88 and Ju 188 aircraft.²

Preferred were prisoners who had already worked in the factory at Schönebeck before it was relocated. They were used to working with the machines that were moved to Rottleberode. Prisoners were also preferred whom Junkers had examined in Buchenwald or who were transferred from the Junkers branch factory in Mühlhausen to Rottleberode. The prisoners who had wasted away in constructing the production facilities for the Thyra factory in the Heimkehle were then used on Project B-4, another construction project in nearby Stempeda. In August 1944, work began here in caverns for another Junkers relocation project. Unlike the A5 facility, this project would not be completed by the end of the war.

The Thyra Werk's production prisoners (*Fertigungshäftlinge*), as they are called in the SS documents, and the Project B-4 construction prisoners (*Baubäftlinge*) were at first accommodated together in the Heinrich camp in Rottleberode. The prisoners' poor working conditions in the Project B-4 caverns and the resultant poor health in turn affected the camp conditions in Rottleberode: the infirmary was filled with exhausted prisoners from the detachment B4, and the camp was threatened with an outbreak of epidemics. Junkers then pressed for the separation of the Project B-4 Bauhäftlinge from the Thyra Werk Fertigungshäftlinge, because if they could not work, there would be economic consequences: there was not an unlimited supply of qualified and physically fit prisoners in the concentration camp to replace those prisoners who could not work.

At first, Junkers tried to get the SS to separate the Bauhäftlinge from the Fertigungshäftlinge in the porcelain factory. At the beginning of 1945, the SS finally established a separate camp in Stempeda for the construction project. From February 1945, an increasing number of Bauhäftlinge were permanently accommodated here.

However, the number of prisoners held in Rottleberode remained fairly constant. After production commenced in the Thyra Werk, 800 additional prisoners were sent by October 1944 to Rottleberode from Schönebeck, Mühlhausen, and Buchenwald. During this period, the SS moved around 230 Bauhäftlinge as forced laborers to the underground Project B-3, the Mittelbau main camp, and other subcamps. However, by the autumn of 1944, there were around 1,000 prisoners in the Heinrich camp. Additional transfers from

Schönebeck increased this number by the beginning of January 1945 by another 100 prisoners.

A decisive point in the history of the Heinrich camp occurred at the end of January 1945 when around 450 Jewish prisoners, whom the SS had evacuated in the face of the advancing Red Army from Tschenstochau (Częstochowa) via Buchenwald and the Dora camp, arrived at Rottleberode. Until this time, the camp prisoners were mostly non-Jewish Poles (in November 1944, they comprised around 45 percent of the camp inmates), Russians, French, Czechs, and Germans. Until January 1945, there were no Jewish prisoners in the camp. Most of the new Jewish prisoners were sent as forced labor to the caverns at the B-4 construction project near Stempeda. Here they were the victims of brutal mistreatment by SS, Kapos, and German civilian workers. Many Jews drowned in a pool at the entrance to the cavern.³

Until the end of 1944, the Heinrich camp was regarded by the concentration camp prisoners as relatively bearable, as a large number did not have to work on the debilitating construction work but were used in production at the Thyra factory. There are no deaths recorded in the camp up to the end of 1944 and beginning of 1945. However, this changed with the murder of the Jewish camp inmates: alone in February and March 1945, the SS files record 50 deaths.

The dramatic worsening in conditions was also a result of a change in the camp leadership's personnel. At first the camp leader was SS-Untersturmführer Heinz Grabowski. There are no known negative reports on him. His removal in the autumn of 1944 probably had to do with a change of direction in his life and internal SS disputes.

The 30-year-old SS-Hauptscharführer Erhard Brauny was Grabowski's replacement. He had previously been Rapportführer in the Dora camp. Brauny himself rarely appeared alone. The reports of surviving prisoners always refer to him in the company of his official deputy, the 40-year-old SS-Unterscharführer Hermann Lamp. In Heinrich, Brauny and Lamp established a reign of terror that was based on corrupt and brutal Kapos and prisoner-functionaries. The Jewish prisoners from Tschechenstochau especially suffered under both. Brauny and Lamp were often drunk and, according to former Kapo and camp recorder Walter Ulbricht,⁴ shot at the prisoners every night. Other prisoners have accused Ulbricht himself of involvement in the mistreatment and murder of Jewish prisoners.⁵ Brauny and Lamp not only covered up the antisemitic outrages of their Kapo Ulbricht but were themselves particularly brutal toward the Jewish prisoners. As camp leader in the Stempa camp, Lamp was also responsible for the terror and murder in that camp.

Conditions worsened even more in the camp when Fritz de la Cour arrived. He had been sent to a concentration camp because he was a homosexual. He replaced the camp elder, Robert Hagen, who wore the green triangle of the criminals, on March 22, 1945. Hagen is said to have treated his fellow prisoners properly. De la Cour had been a feared Kapo in the Mittelbau-Dora camp before he was transferred to Heinrich. It is possible that he was transferred as a result of the ap-

proaching front to take over security measures as a prisoner-functionary.

The Heinrich subcamp was evacuated on the night of April 4–5, 1945. The 1,500 inmates from the Heinrich and Stempeda camps were marched in two columns in the direction of Niedersachswerfen, which was not far from the Mittelbau main camp. Only the smaller column led by Brauny arrived. Lamp turned his group around following an air attack and commenced to march the next day across the Harz. Both groups were to meet dreadful fates: Lamp drove his 1,100 exhausted prisoners in daylong marches and by rail to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. A few days after their arrival, the survivors were driven on a new march, this time in a northwesterly direction. Only a few prisoners survived this death march.

Brauny's evacuation transport of around 400 prisoners ended at Gardelegen, where most of them died in the massacre at the Isenschnibber barn. Around 1,000 prisoners from different concentration camps, including many from the SS-Baubrigade III and the Heinrich camp, were driven on the evening of April 13 not far from the city into the barn by members of the SS, Wehrmacht, and Volkssturm. The murderers then set the barn on fire and shot anyone who tried to escape the burning building. Only 20 to 25 prisoners were able to escape, using the darkness as protection, and stay hidden until they were rescued on the evening of the following day by the Americans.

A few of the survivors of the massacre came from the Heinrich camp, including Jewish prisoner Romuald Bak, who would be an important witness in the 1947 Dachau Dora Trial. He would seriously incriminate camp leader Erhard Brauny. Brauny was sentenced to life imprisonment and died in prison in 1950 in Landsberg. The former camp recorder, Walter Ulbricht, was also tried in Dachau. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment. Brauny's deputy Lamp was never called to account before an Allied or German court. At the beginning of the 1980s, Hermann Ebender and a former Kapo were tried in the Rottleberode trial in Fulda: Lamp was a witness in the preliminary investigations. Ebender was acquitted.

SOURCES The Rottleberode Heinrich subcamp is not only well documented in the sources but in academic works. Worthy of mention are Mittelbau monographs by André Sellier, *A History of the Dora camp* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, published in association with USHMM, 2003); and Jens-Christian Wagner, *Produktion des Todes: Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2001), which devote several passages to Rottleberode. Two publications deal with the death marches from Rottleberode to Gardelegen: Joachim Neander, *Gardelegen 1945: Das Ende der Häftlingstransporte aus dem Konzentrationslager "Mittelbau"* (Magdeburg, 1998); and Diana Gring, "'... immer zwischen zwei Feuern': Eine Annäherung an die Biographie des kommunistischen Funktionshäftlings Karl Semmler," *BGN SVND* 4 (1998): 97–105. Jens-Christian Wagner concentrates on the conditions of Jewish prisoners in Rottleberode in "Noch einmal: Arbeit und Vernichtung.

Häftlingseinsatz im KL Mittelbau-Dora 1943–1945," in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung Öffentlichkeit. Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich: Saur, 2000), pp. 11–41.

There are numerous detailed witness statements from former prisoners and SS perpetrators in the files of the U.S. Dora Trial in Dachau in 1947 (*U.S.A. vs. Arthur Andrae et al.*, NARA, RG 549. Microfilm Copy M-1079, Rolls 1–16). Documents from the SS camp administration (Transportlisten, Belegschaftslisten des Lagers, Stärkemeldungen, Rechnen der SS an Firmen, die KZ-Häftlinge als Zwangsarbeiter einsetzen) are to be found in the THStA-W (NS 4 Bu/136, Überstellungsmeldungen KZ Buchenwald, 1943–1945; KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395, Veränderungsmeldungen KZ Mittelbau-Dora, October 1, 1943–March 27, 1945). The surviving Junkers documents relating to Schönebeck and that contain references to the number of concentration camp prisoners used as forced labor are in the LASA-DO (Bestand Junkers-Werke). Finally, there are the judicial files: proceedings against Hermann Ebender are well documented in the files held by the BA-L (429 AR-Z 192/72). In his autobiography, Willy Mirbach, a former Luftwaffe soldier and concentration camp guard in Rottleberode, provides the perspective of a perpetrator, "*Damit Du es später einmal deinem Sohn erzählen kannst . . .*": *Der autobiographische Bericht eines Luftwaffensoldaten aus dem KZ Mittelbau (August 1944–Juli 1945)*, ed. Gerd Halmanns (Geldern: Verlag des Historischen Vereins für Geldern, 1997).

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NOTES

1. KZ Buchenwald, Aufstellung der Transporte in Aussenlager, THStA-W, NS 4 Bu/136a u. NS 4 Bu/136b, as well as Arbeitseinsatzmeldungen KZ Buchenwald, March to July 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Bu/230. For the integration into the newly established Mittelbau concentration camp, see "Bericht zur Übergabe der Dora Betriebe [*sic*] als selbständiges Konzentrationslager am 28.10.1944," Nuremberg Document NO-2317. Initially, only the Rottleberode prisoner detachments A5 and B-4 were subordinated to the Mittelbau concentration camp, that is, only the prisoners working on the Kammler staff construction sites, whereas those prisoners working for Junkers remained part of the Buchenwald concentration camp. On November 23, 1944, the prisoners from this detachment came under the control of the Mittelbau concentration camp; see KZ Buchenwald, Stärkemeldungen der Aussenlager, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Bu/210, Bl. 403 ff.

2. Verlagerungsübersicht Junkers Flugzeugwerke Schönebeck, March 15, 1945, LASO-DO, Junkers-Werke 1375, Bl. 10 u. 15.

3. Several survivors from the camp at Tschenstochau and Rottleberode later made statements in investigations into the Rottleberode camp, for example, statements by the former prisoners Hersch J., May 14, 1968, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 192/72, p. 88; Abraham E., May 23, 1968, *ibid.*, p. 86; and Romuald Bak, September 25, 1947, *ibid.*, p. 103.

4. Statement Walter Ulbricht, May 13–15, 1947, NARA, Microcopy M-1079, Roll 11, fr. 518.

5. Statement Roman Drung, 1947, NARA, M-1079, Roll 6, fr. 570; and Romuald Bak, 1947, *ibid.*, Roll 7, fr. 1408.

STEMPEDA ("KOMMANDO B-4")

The history of the Stempeda camp is closely connected with the nearby Heinrich camp in Rottleberode, whose inmates had to work in a Junkers subterranean aircraft factory, which had been relocated from Schönebeck an der Elbe in the South Harz Mountains. In the summer of 1944, the Junkers AG decided to relocate its branch at Schönebeck to Stempeda in the Harz, where three main shafts and seven cross-shafts with a total area of 12,000 to 14,000 square meters (14,352 to 16,744 square yards) in the Stolberg were to be excavated.¹ The construction work was undertaken by the SS-Führungsstab B-4 commanded by SS-Gruppenführer Hans Kammler, whose Jägerstab (Fighter Staff) was responsible for so-called *Sonderbauvorhaben*, or special construction projects, including securing the relocation of production of fighter aircraft underground.

The construction of the Project B-4 (code name "Lava") began in August 1944. On August 25, the first 50 concentration camp prisoners from the Heinrich camp arrived at the construction site.² This number remained constant during the autumn of 1944. At the end of January 1945, the number increased to more than 700 with the arrival of around 450 Jewish prisoners from Tschechenstochau (Częstochowa).³ As with most Jägerstab construction projects, the construction project B-4 was never completed, despite the ruthless exploitation of the prisoners. At the beginning of April 1945, the three caverns for vehicles had reached a length of between 150 and 200 meters (164 and 219 yards). Together with the completed cross-tunnels, there was a surface area of 3,700 square meters (4,425 square yards).⁴

The prisoners working on the construction site B-4 were at first accommodated in the Heinrich camp at Rottleberode. After repeated protests from the Junkers company, which operated Heinrich as a prisoner camp for its branch factory relocated from Schönebeck (the Thyra Werk) and not as accommodation for the construction prisoners (*Baubüflinge*) of the Arbeitskommando B-4, the SS decided to establish at the end of 1944 a barracks camp close to the construction site, which from January 1945 was gradually occupied by concentration camp inmates.

The prisoners feared the Arbeitskommando B-4 for its murderous work conditions in the caverns. The Jewish prisoners from Tschechenstochau, in particular, suffered from mistreatment by the guards, Kapos, and civilian foremen. Some of those working in the caverns were beaten and died from their injuries.⁵ Surviving prisoners reported later that in the winter of 1944–1945 SS members repeatedly drove Jewish prisoners into the ice-cold water in a pool at the entrance to the caverns, killing them.⁶ The SS described these murders of Jewish prisoners as "baptisms" (*Taufe*).⁷ This was obviously an indication of violent antisemitism, instigated by SS-Untersturmführer

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Hermann Lamp, who was in command of the work detachment from the autumn of 1944. From January 1945, he was also in command of Stempeda. Many of the Jewish prisoners died working in the caverns. Foremen and Kapos in the caverns beat them to death in the caverns or drove over them with heavily laden tip carts.⁸ The SS-Bauleitung (Construction Management) and the building companies lost a large number of its workforce in this way but apparently did nothing to prevent these actions. It can be assumed that at least 50 prisoners did not survive working in the caverns B-4 and imprisonment in the Stempeda camp. It was possibly more.

Due to the debilitating work conditions, most of the prisoners from Stempeda were totally exhausted when the Americans approached the camp at the beginning of April 1945. In the night of April 4–5, two groups of prisoners were marched from Heinrich and Stempeda to the Niedersachswerfen railway station. However, only one of the groups arrived. The approximately 500 inmates of the Stempeda subcamp were in all probability part of the second group under the command of SS-Unterscharführer Lamp. Along the way, they were caught in an air raid and turned around. After spending the night near Rottleberode, the 1,000 prisoners on this death march were driven on April 5 by foot through Stolberg and Güntersberge through the Harz Mountains to Quedlinburg and from there across the Elbe to Genthin, where they arrived on April 12. The 800 survivors were loaded onto a train. Four days later, they arrived at the Sachsenhausen subcamp at Heinkelwerken in Oranienburg. From there the SS drove the few remaining prisoners still capable of walking on April 21 on a new death march—this time in a northwesterly direction. The last camp survivors from the Stempeda camp were liberated by the Red Army at the beginning of May 1945 near Schwerin.

Lamp, who led the death march until its arrival in Oranienburg and after the war lived near Lübeck, was never the subject of judicial proceedings. In 1984, former Kapo Ebender was tried before a Fulda court on the charge that he drowned Jewish prisoners from the work detachment B-4 in the Heinrich camp. He was acquitted for lack of evidence.

SOURCES There are no secondary sources on the history of the Stempeda subcamp. The Stempeda camp takes up a relatively large section of an essay by Jens-Christian Wagner, who compares the conditions of Jewish and French prisoners in Stempeda and Heinrich in “Noch einmal: Arbeit und Vernichtung. Häftlingseinsatz im KL Mittelbau-Dora 1943–1945,” in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich, 2000), pp. 11–41. Joachim Neander has reconstructed the course of the death march after the camp’s evacuation in *Das Konzentrationslager Mittelbau in der Endphase der NS-Diktatur* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld: Papierflieger, 1997).

This essay is largely based on statements by surviving prisoners before the U.S. military court in the Dachau Dora Trial in 1947. The files are in NARA (RG 549) and were published on microfilm in 1979 (Microfilm Publication M-1079, Rolls 1–16, Dora Trial at Dachau, 1947). Other statements by surviving prisoners are to be found in the files of the trial of the

former prisoner-functionary Hermann Ebender (BA-L, 429 AR-Z 192/72). Remnants of the files of the SS administration in Stempeda and the Buchenwald and Mittelbau-Dora concentration camps are held in the THStA-W (NS 4 Bu/136, Überstellungsmeldungen KZ Buchenwald; KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395, Veränderungsmeldungen KZ Mittelbau-Dora, October 1, 1943–March 27, 1945). Finally there is the company file of the Junkers-Werke in Schönebeck, which is part of the Junkers collection in the LASA-DO. Passages on the prisoners’ work and living conditions from the perspective of a guard are to be found in the autobiography of Luftwaffe soldier Willy Mirbach, “*Damit Du es später einmal deinem Sohn erzählen kannst . . .*”: *Der autobiographische Bericht eines Luftwaffensoldaten aus dem KZ Mittelbau (August 1944–Juli 1945)*, ed. Gerd Halmanns (Geldern: Verlag des Historischen Vereins für Geldern, 1997).

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NOTES

1. Verlagerungsübersicht Junkers Flugzeugwerke Schönebeck, March 15, 1945, LASO-DO, Junkers-Werke 1375, Bl. 10 u. 15.
2. KZ Buchenwald, Arbeitseinsatz-Abrechnung Kdo. B-4, August 1944, ITS, Sachdokumenten-Ordner Buchenwald 53, S. 414.
3. Figures from the Buchenwald concentration camp administration exist for the period until the camp was transferred to the newly formed Mittelbau concentration camp on October 28, 1944 (THStA-W, NS 4 Bu/221). At the end of January 1945, 400 Jewish prisoners from Tschechenstochau were transferred from the Buchenwald concentration camp and the Dora camp to Stempeda. At this point, there were supposed to have been 200 to 300 prisoners. Therefore, the estimated number of up to 700 prisoners is probably realistic—see the statements by former prisoner Hersch J., May 14, 1968, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 192/72, p. 88; Abraham E., May 23, 1968, *ibid.*, p. 86; and Romuald Bak, September 25, 1947, *ibid.*, p. 103.
4. Rat des Kreises Sangerhausen, Bericht über den Stollen Stempeda, n.d. [1947], LHSA-Ma, Rep. K 6 MW Nr. 5951, p. 51.
5. Statement by Boruch Seidel, NARA, Microfilm Publication M-1079, Roll 6, fr. 489.
6. Surviving prisoners estimate the number of dead murdered in this way as up to 170—see statement by B. Seidel, 1947, *ibid.*, fr. 483; Statement by J. Hersch, May 14, 1968, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 192/72, p. 88; Statement by Romuald Bak, 1947, NARA, M-1079, Roll 7, p. 1406.
7. Statement by Josef S. (former Kapo in Rottleberode), June 25, 1947, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 192/72, Bl. 312.
8. Statement Max L., May 21, 1968, *ibid.*, p. 39.

TETTENBORN

Little is known about the subcamp in the small village of Tettenborn, about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) to the west of Nordhausen. There are only two sources that refer to the camp: the Mittelbau concentration camp variation report

(*Veränderungsmeldung*) of February 27, 1945, refers to the transfer of 2 prisoners from Tettenborn to the Mittelbau camp's infirmary;¹ and in the British Bergen-Belsen Trial of 1945, former Tettenborn camp elder Oskar Schmitz gave evidence. His statement provided nothing more than that the camp existed and that it had 28 inmates.²

According to the former camp elder, some of the prisoners loaded the Aggregat 4 (A4) rockets at the Tettenborn railway station. The others probably, like their fellow prisoners in the SS-Baubrigade III camps at Nüxei and Mackenrode, worked at the construction sites for the planned Helmetalbahn.

It is possible that there were two subcamps in Tettenborn. The two prisoners transferred on February 27, 1945, to the Mittelbau camp's infirmary came, according to the *Veränderungsmeldungen*, from different camps: a "Kdo. Tettenborn" of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp—this can only refer to a Sachsenhausen subcamp of the SS-Baubrigade III, which came under the command of Sachsenhausen on January 15, 1945, and a "Kdo. Tettenborn" of the Mittelbau-Dora concentration camp. This could only have been a small camp that had held Schmitz since March 1945.

The camp in which Schmitz was the camp elder was evacuated on the evening of April 5, 1945, when its inmates were loaded onto the wagon of a railway transport that had shortly before left the Mittelbau main camp and that, after wandering through the Lüneburge Heide, arrived on April 10, 1945, at the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp's "barracks camp" (*Kasernenlager*).

Some years after the war's end, in April 1960, a mass grave with the human remains of 26 concentration camp prisoners was found close to the Tettenborn railway station. The death of these people had nothing to do with the subcamp in the village. They were prisoners who attempted to escape from an evacuation transport from the Mittelbau main camp on April 7–8, 1945, as it was standing at the Tettenborn railway station, two days after the evacuation of the Tettenborn camp. At least 26 prisoners were shot by the SS guards, and their bodies were hastily buried by a prisoner detachment close to the railway embankment. In 1961, the dead were reinterred at the cemetery of honor at Holzen near Holzminden.

SOURCES The Tettenborn camp is mentioned only in two sources—the Mittelbau concentration camp D *Veränderungsmeldung* of February 27, 1945 (THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395); and in the witness statement by former camp elder Oskar Schmitz in the British Bergen-Belsen Trial in the autumn of 1945 and reprinted in Raymond Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others (the Belsen Trial)* (London, 1949), p. 286.

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NOTES

1. *Veränderungsmeldung* KZ Mittelbau, February 27, 1945, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395.

2. Witness statement by Oskar Schmitz, October 19, 1945, in Raymond Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others (the Belsen Trial)* (London, 1949), p. 286.

TRAUTENSTEIN

Even before it became the independent Mittelbau concentration camp, the Dora camp had a number of subcamps that held only Italian military internees (IMIs). One of these camps was in Trautenstein, a small village in the Harz, about five kilometers (three miles) to the west of Hasselfelde.

The camp was established on either September 17 or 18, 1944, when 20 Italians were transferred from the Dora camp.¹ Among them was a soldier, Antonio Bortot, whose memoirs of the camp constitute the only known survivor's report.² According to Bortot, the camp inmates were accommodated in barracks in which there were two-tiered wooden bunk beds. The guard was the sole SS member, with the rank of SS-Scharführer, who, in comparison to others, treated the prisoners as human beings.

However, the working conditions were hard. Without sufficient winter clothing and feet covered only with wooden clogs, the prisoners spent the autumn of 1944 and the following snowy winter cutting a trail planned for a high-voltage electricity line through the forest. This section near Trautenstein was part of a line planned to extend from Frose to Bleicherode, but it was never completed. It was planned to supply energy to armaments factories around Mittelwerk near Niedersachswerfen. Formally, the clearing of the forest was under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Wilhelm Hünefeld of the SS-Führungsstab B-13. The SS-Führungsstab B-13 had engaged local sawmiller Wenneis und Tippe to process the timber.

The camp lasted for seven months. During that time, the number of prisoners greatly fluctuated. On December 12, 8 IMIs were transferred from the Mittelbau camp.³ With that, there were just 30 prisoners in the camp. Surviving records for the whole of the Mittelbau camps indicate that on April 2, 1945, there were only 11 prisoners in the Trautenstein camp.⁴ The files do not reveal what happened to the other prisoners. There are no records of any deaths.

Unlike most of the other Mittelbau camps, the Trautenstein camp was not evacuated in April 1945. According to Bortot, the camp inmates were forced to march to a large city in the area (most likely Blankenburg or Wernigerode) but returned the same day with their guards to Trautenstein. The SS guards disappeared, and the prisoners were freed by the Americans on April 16 or 17. Trautenstein was the last Mittelbau camp to be liberated.

SOURCES The only secondary source on Trautenstein is an essay by Joachim Neander, "Die Aussenlager 'Turmalin' (Regenstein), Quedlinburg und Trautenstein des KZ Mittelbau-Dora," in *Erinnern: Aufgabe, Chance, Herausforderung* (Magdeburg, 2000), pp. 1–11.

The sole surviving SS documents on the Trautenstein

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subcamp are the Mittelbau-Dora Veränderungsmeldungen (THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395). For details on the construction of the high-voltage power line from Frose to Bleicherode, see the files from the ASt-Blb. (Akte Fo II, Korrespondenz der Herzoglichen Forstverwaltung Blankenburg, 1943–45), the LASO-DO (Akte Kreisbehörden Blankenburg 6378, Bau der Starkstromleitung Frose-Niedersachswerfen, 1944/45), and the THStA-W (Akte Landesplanungsgemeinschaft Thüringen 261, Bau der Starkstromleitung Frose-Bleicherode, 1944/45). Prisoner Antonio Bortot published his memoirs as *Oltre il tunnel la spreza: Raccolta da Luciano Tentonelle* (Silea Treviso, 1994).

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NOTES

1. Veränderungsmeldung KZ Mittelbau-Dora, September 18, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395.
2. Antonio Bortot, *Oltre il tunnel la spreza: Raccolta da Luciano Tentonelle* (Silea Treviso, 1994).
3. Veränderungsmeldung KZ Mittelbau-Dora, December 12, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395.
4. In his memoirs, Italian Antonio Muscaritolo also refers to 12 prisoners in Trautenstein. Muscaritolo escaped from the death march from the Dora camp across the Harz near Trautenstein. He was liberated with other Trautenstein inmates whose guards had already fled. See Bericht Antonio Muscaritolo, November 2003, AG-MD, P1, vol. 28.

WICKERODE

The Wickerode subcamp is one of a number of smaller Mittelbau subcamps that were solely occupied by Italian military internees (IMIs). The people of the small village, which had around 300 inhabitants and which was located about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) to the east of Nordhausen, could clearly distinguish the IMIs from other Mittelbau prisoners. They did not wear the usual blue-gray prisoners' uniform but olive drab military uniforms.

The Wickerode camp was established in the middle of January 1945 when 30 Italians were transferred from the main Mittelbau camp to improvised accommodations most likely in the Herbig Inn.¹ According to German eyewitnesses, the IMIs worked for the Dietrich company based in Calbe doing earthworks for the construction of an aboveground gas pipeline. This corresponds with a postwar statement by the Mittelbau "Arbeitseinsatzführers," according to which the Wickerode camp was part of the SS-Führungsstab B-18, in turn, part of the SS-Gruppenführer Hans Kammler con-

struction organization.² The Bauvorhaben B-18 most likely functioned to improve the infrastructure in the Nordhausen armaments centers.

The daily Mittelbau change reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*) do not refer to any other prisoner transports to the Wickerode camp. It is therefore likely that the camp had no more than 30 inmates. There are no records of any deaths.

The camp leader was SS-Unterscharführer Hübner.³ According to German eyewitnesses, the prisoners worked without guards, which, as reports from other Mittelbau camps show, was not unusual for IMIs. It is possible that in Wickerode there was in addition to SS-Unterscharführer Hübner another one or two SS members who were guards.

It still remains unclear whether the Wickerode subcamp was evacuated at the end of the war and the prisoners sent on a death march. Taking into account the small subcamps at Trautenstein and Quedlinburg, which also held internees and were not evacuated, it is likely that the prisoners were liberated by American troops while still in the camp. If this is so, the camp would have existed on the morning of April 12, 1945, when units of the U.S. Third Armored Division took the village.

SOURCES SS sources refer to the camp twice, once in an Überstellungsmeldung of 30 prisoners from January 16, 1945 (Veränderungsmeldungen KZ Mittelbau-Dora, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395); and the other in a note from February 20, 1945, which refers to the camp leader as an SS-Unterscharführer Hübner (NARA, M-1079, Roll 1, fr. 796). Finally, there is a list of the SS-Baustäbe and camps within the Mittelbau concentration camp area, prepared in 1947 by former Mittelbau concentration camp Arbeitseinsatzführer Wilhelm Simon for the U.S. Dora Trial in Dachau (NARA, M-1079, Roll 12, fr. 251).

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NOTES

1. Veränderungsmeldungen KZ Mittelbau, January 16, 1945, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald u. Hafta Nr. Dora Dok./K 395; as well as Thilo Ziegler, *Auf Spurensuche: Der Kreis Sangerhausen 1939–1945; Eine Dokumentation über die Ereignisse der Kriegszeit 1939–1945, die Rüstungsindustrie und den Einsatz von Arbeitskräften sowie das Ende des NS-Regimes* (Sangerhausen, 1999), p. 119.
2. See Zusammenstellung der Lager und SS-Baustäbe im Bereich des KZ Mittelbau-Dora, compiled in 1947 by former Mittelbau "Arbeitseinsatzführer" Wilhelm Simon, NARA, M-1079, Roll 12, fr. 251.
3. Vermerk "1. Lagerführer SS-Kommando Wickerode," February 20, 1945, NARA, M-1079, Roll 1, fr. 796.

NATZWEILER-STRUTHOF



French resistors guard the entrance to the newly liberated Natzweiler-Struthof concentration camp, December 2, 1944.
USHMM WS #77581, COURTESY OF NARA

NATZWEILER-STRUTHOF MAIN CAMP

[AKA NATZWEILER, STRUTHOF]

The Natzweiler concentration camp (Le Struthof-Natzweiler) is the only one to have been built by the Nazis on French territory. It was set up in Alsace, whose two departments had been annexed to the Reich in July 1940. The occupiers considered Alsace and Moselle to be German lands destined for radical Germanization. Alsace was joined with the Nazi Party province (Gau) of Baden, whose Nazi Party provincial chief (Gauleiter) was Robert Wagner, and Moselle was joined with that of the Palatinate, under the leadership of Gauleiter Josef Bürckel. A civilian administration was installed in Strasbourg, and an internment camp was created as early as July 2, 1940, just two weeks after the entry of German troops into Strasbourg. Doctor Scheel, the first commandant of the SS and of the SD in Alsace, organized the construction of a small camp able to handle the internment of 150 people. The construction order gave a list of people to be held in the camp: (1) Germans who had fought in the international brigades; (2) Alsatian insubordinates; and (3) opponents of the German army.

The first camp was built next to a small town in the Vosges, Schirmeck, about 50 kilometers (31 miles) from Strasbourg, and received the name of Schirmeck-Vorbrück (French: Schirmeck-La Broque). Some 60 Alsatians who had led anti-German activities before the war or who had deserted the German army during World War I were immediately interned. The camp functioned throughout the entire war but never became a concentration camp. It was more of a local work camp, labeled education camp (*Erziehungslager*) or detention camp (*Sicherungslager*). During the entire annexation period, the Schirmeck camp was used for the internment of Alsatians who had attempted to cross the new border with France, Jehovah's Witnesses, those accused of black market activity, and family members of the opposition. The camp was guarded by Germans of the Order Police (*Ordnungspolizei*, Orpo). The SS tried to obtain control of the camp but never managed to do so. Some Schirmeck inmates were transferred to Natzweiler.

Some months after the creation of the Schirmeck camp, the SS created a second camp, not far from the first. The official date for the establishment of a second camp is May 1, 1941. The chosen site was Natzweiler, in the Bruche valley, because of the existence of a granite quarry there. The construction order for the camp came from Heinrich Himmler himself. The SS-Deutsche Erd und Steinwerke GmbH (German Earth and Stone Works, DEST) enterprise expropriated the site and organized the exploitation of the quarry. They founded an office in Rothau, a village in the valley, where the train station nearest to the camp was located. The mayor of Schirmeck was SS-Standartenführer Blumberg. Before the war, Struthof was known throughout Alsace. A small ski and winter sports resort had been installed there (the site's alti-

tude is 720 meters [2,362 feet]). There was a hotel where the SS guards stayed, as well as a farm. Work on the construction of the camp began in April 1941. Some prisoners from the Schirmeck camp were used to build the first barracks.

The first convoy of prisoners, around 150 men, arrived on May 21, 1941, at the Rothau station. They came from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp and were initially lodged in the farm's pigsty. The second convoy arrived three days later. On June 28, the first French prisoners arrived in the third convoy. These men worked to complete the construction of the camp. The first four buildings were not finished until November 1941. The inmates soon worked in the quarry as well. Until the spring of 1942, the Natzweiler concentration camp remained small, only amounting to around 200 prisoners. They built the structures for the administration of the camp. The number of inmates then increased rapidly and considerably. At the end of 1942, 2,000 inmates had already been registered. The construction of the camp was not completed until the beginning of 1943. There were 17 blocks within its confines and 12 other buildings outside it. On March 12, 1942, a large convoy of German Communists arrived in Rothau. On June 15, 1943, a convoy of 71 Norwegians arrived. They were resisters who had been imprisoned in the Grini camp or in the Akershus fortress. They had been sent by boat as far as Aarhus in Denmark and, from there, sent by train to Strasbourg, via Hamburg. Nine convoys of Norwegians, with a total of 504 men, arrived in Natzweiler, the last day in August 1944. All of these were classified under the prisoner category Night-and-Fog (*Nacht-und-Nebel*).

In June 1943, a total of 4,430 prisoners had been registered at Natzweiler. In 1944, their numbers fluctuated between



A section of the Natzweiler concentration camp, December 2, 1944. USHMM WS #10102, COURTESY OF NARA

NATZWEILER-STRUTHOF MAIN CAMP [AKA NATZWEILER, STRUTHOF] 1005



A view of the Natzweiler-Struthof concentration camp, November 30, 1944.

USHMM WS #77583, COURTESY OF NARA

6,000 and 7,000. In total, 52,000 prisoners were registered in the camp or in the exterior subcamps. The mortality rate at Natzweiler was quite high, and it is estimated that around 20,000 prisoners died there of exhaustion, hunger, illness, and maltreatment. The inmates came from many different countries. There were many Alsations and Mosellans imprisoned for insubordinate conduct or acts of resistance. Others were Alsations or Mosellans who had resisted forced enlistment in the German army (*Malgré-nous*), starting in 1942. Also numerous were French, Dutch, Luxembourgers, Germans, and Eastern Europeans. There were Sinti and Roma (Gypsy) prisoners. Not one inmate was recorded as Jewish in the main camp; Jews who were sent to the Natzweiler complex went directly to the subcamps. There were no women prisoners in Natzweiler. In the interior of the camp itself, there was a Nacht-und-Nebel section, as well as a political branch of the Gestapo. The majority of inmates were political opponents or resisters.

The camp had several commandants. The first was Hans Hüttig, replaced first by Egon Zill, then by Heinrich Schwartz. Josef Kramer, an SS-Obersturmführer, stayed in the post for the longest time, from June 1942 to April 1944. He had previously been posted to Dachau, Sachsenhausen, Mauthausen, and Auschwitz. He had worked in the concentration camps since 1934. In April 1944, he was named commandant of the camp at Auschwitz II-Birkenau. It was under his command that Natzweiler became a large concentration camp. His replacement, Fritz Hartjenstein, had previously worked in Birkenau. The camp's surveillance was provided by 200 SS, of which 150 were wardens and 50 handled administrative tasks. The commandants lived in a requisitioned villa, which was located in the mountains above the camp.

The Natzweiler camp had at least 42 subcamps at any given moment (and up to 92 in total, according to some sources), located in Alsace, Moselle, and southwest Germany. Certain subcamps were not created until the autumn of 1944, in Germany, when the main camp had been evacuated. In Natzwei-

ler, the majority of inmates worked in the quarry. They also built a road between Rothau and the camp. In the autumn of 1943, the quarry was enlarged toward the east, and a wide esplanade was cleared. It was on this plot that two buildings and 13 barracks were built to serve as workshops for the Junker airplane manufacturing firm of Dessau, which had previously taken over workshops in Alsace. In Natzweiler, inmates worked to strip down and repair airplane motors. There were also civilian employees in these workshops.

Inmates' corpses were burned first in a mobile crematorium, until a permanent structure was built outside the camp, in October 1943, next to the hotel. All of the deaths, except those of the Nacht-und-Nebel inmates, were recorded at the city hall of the village.

The inmates could only establish contact with the valley's residents with difficulty. During the marches to the work sites, some residents would try to give a little food to the inmates, sometimes by leaving it along the roadside. The Rothau station was also a place where fleeting contacts could be made. It appears that during the last period of the camp, in 1944, discipline was somewhat less severe, and contacts were easier. The large number of inmates also prevented the possibility of constant surveillance. The locals may have even bribed certain SS guards to be able to feed the inmates.

There were medical experiments performed at the Natzweiler camp, on the effects of mustard gas, typhus, and hereditary diseases. A gas chamber was built for this purpose, outside the camp, in an outbuilding of the hotel where the camp administration was based. It was used from the summer of 1943. The experiments took place at the research center of the University of Strasbourg (Versuchabteilung der Reichsuniversität Strassburg). The director of this center was August Hirt, professor of anatomy at the Reichsuniversität. Another scientist, Professor Eugen Hagen, head physician of the Luftwaffe and professor of hygiene at the University of Strasbourg, was responsible for research for a vaccine against typhus. Dr. Bickenback led studies on urotropine, used as an antidote for phosgene gas, and Dr. Eusele practiced vivisection. Gypsies



A snow detail at the Natzweiler-Struthof concentration camp, 1944. USHMM WS #13011, COURTESY OF ECPAD

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were sent particularly from Auschwitz to Natzweiler to serve as guinea pigs in these experiments. However, the only murders in the gas chambers that can be regarded as certain are described in testimony at one of the trials of Nazi doctors at Nürnberg: 86 Jews, including 30 women, arrived from Auschwitz in August 1943; they were gassed on August 11, 13, 17, and 19, with potassium cyanide. It took them 30 to 60 seconds to die. Their bodies were sent to the anatomy institute at the Medical University of Strasbourg, where they were reduced to a skeletal state. At the liberation of Strasbourg, in November 1944, 17 bodies, 3 of which were women, were discovered. The dissection work had barely been started.

There were escapes from the camp, with the goal of reaching the border that separated Alsace from the rest of occupied France, which was not far away. In March 1942, some Czech and Polish inmates organized a resistance network, led by Communist leaders. They succeeded in establishing a liaison with Communist militants in the Bruche river valley. The three leaders of the group were Pole Joseph Cichusz, who had fought in the Spanish Civil War; German Edwald Motzkat, a Communist from Wiesbaden; and a Czech, Mautner. Only one escape succeeded, organized by Alsatian inmate Martin Wintenberg. He had arrived at Natzweiler on November 12, 1941, from the Schirmeck camp. He was put to work in the garage of the SS guards, then in a detention commando, and then in the SS laundry. With a German inmate, Alfons Christmann, he set about preparing his escape. He obtained the help of an inmate named Karl Haas, who worked in the SS garage and reserved some gasoline for an escape by car. Since they worked in the laundry, Wintenberg and Christmann got hold of two uniforms left to be washed. On July 4, 1942, they were both able to leave the camp, in a car, dressed in the uniforms. There were three other inmates hidden in the vehicle. The five men succeeded in reaching France, then the unoccupied zone. They left Christmann, quite weakened after his imprisonment in the camp, at the home of some of his family members who lived in the south of France. The Gestapo found him there in October, arrested him again, and sent him back to Natzweiler, where he was hanged in front of the other inmates. The four other escapees succeeded in reaching Spain.

Another resistance group, French Communists led by the FTP (Franc-Tireur Partisan), organized ties with the valley. A massive escape was planned, but the German guards found the plan in a satchel where one inmate had hidden it. The members of this network were executed. Some were hanged, others shot. A similar escape attempt by Russian prisoners was harshly suppressed in June 1943: 15 men were killed after a long public punishment.

The Natzweiler camp was evacuated on August 31, 1944, before the advance of the Allied armies. There were still 7,000 men at Natzweiler at that time. Some trucks took the weakest inmates to the Rothau train station, but the largest number made the journey on foot. At the station, freight trains took them into the interior of the Reich. The evacuation operation was completed on September 4. Only a few SS men remained

at Natzweiler. Convoys of inmates from Natzweiler arrived at Dachau, where they were redistributed to different commandos in southwest Germany, either attached to Natzweiler or not. On September 7, the 1,127 patients from the infirmary (*Revier*) arrived there. The camp administration was reinstalled at Guttenbach, in Germany, on the Neckar.

The administration of Natzweiler continued its work of managing prisoners who were spread out in many subcamps, several of which had just been created, and it even continued to register new inmates. In April 1945, all the prisoners were transferred to the control of the administration of the Dachau concentration camp.

Those principally responsible for the Natzweiler camp were judged at Wuppertal by a British military tribunal, from May 29 to June 1, 1946. The main charge was only the execution of four women, three of whom were identified as members of the SOE (the British Special Operations Executive): Denise Borrell, who was French, Diana Rowden and Vera Leigh, and a fourth woman whose identity remained unknown. They were killed in the camp on July 6, 1944. Among the nine accused were Magnus Wochner, head of the Political Department (Politische Abteilung), and the head of the camp, Fritz Hartjenstein. The latter was sentenced to life in prison. Werner Rohde, the camp physician who administered at least one of the fatal injections, was sentenced to be hanged. SS-Oberscharführer Eugen Buttner, who directed the quarry commando, was sentenced to death by a French military tribunal and to forced labor for life by a Soviet tribunal. He was pardoned in 1956.

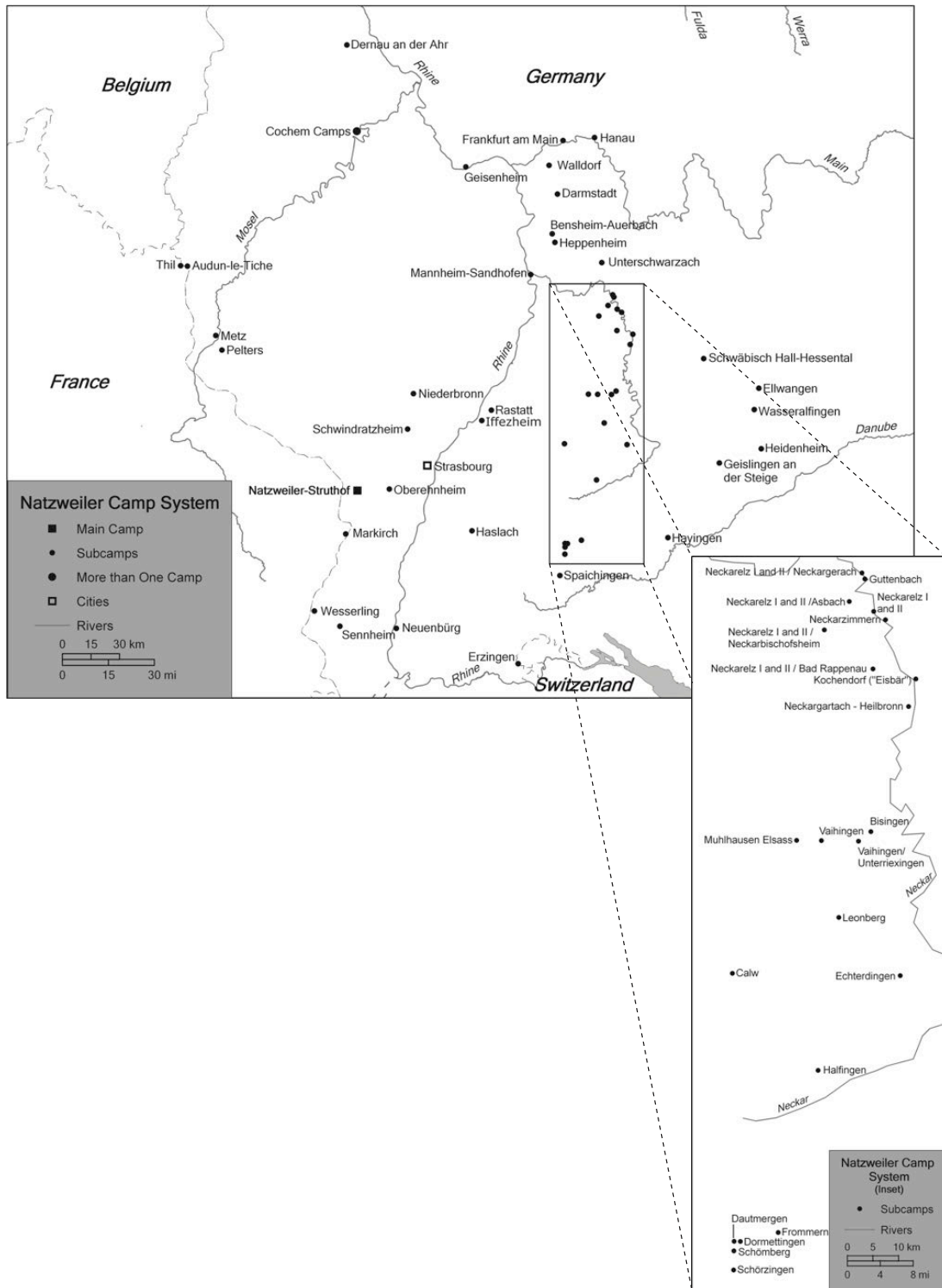
SOURCES Only two complete works on the history of the Natzweiler concentration camp have been published: Robert Steegmann, *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005); and Kristian Ottosen, *Nuit et Brouillard. Histoire des prisonniers de Natzweiler-Struthof*, trans. from Norwegian by Elisabeth and Christine Eydoux (Brussels: Le Cri éditions, 1994); original Norwegian edition: *Natt og tåke. Historien om Natzweiler-fangene* (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1989). The other existing literature about the camp, listed below, can be divided into two parts: memoirs of prisoners and the works of Alsatian historians about their region under the German occupation. A few articles deal specifically with medical experiments in the camp.

See: Henry Allainmat, *Auschwitz en France: La vérité sur le seul camp d'extermination nazi en France, le Struthof* (Paris: Presses de la Cité, 1974); Floris B. Backels, *Nacht und Nebel: Der Bericht eines holländischen Christen aus deutschen Gefängnissen und Konzentrationslagern*, trans. from Flemish (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1982), pp. 182–262; Charles Béné, *Du Struthof à la France libérée* (Raon-l'Étape: Fetzner, 1971); Béné, "Le camp de concentration du Struthof (Bas-Rhin) et l'activité de l'Institut d'anatomie de Strasbourg pendant l'occupation," *NÉd* 140 (1950); National Committee for the Erection and the Preservation of a Memorial of the Deportation to Struthof, with the collaboration of the Committee on the History of the Second World War, *Natzwiller-Struthof* (Paris: Imprimerie municipale, 1955); Udo Dietmar, *Häftling X in der Hölle*

auf Erden! (Weimar: Thüringer Volksverlag, 1946); Emile Erhard, *Un lieu d'épouvante. Le Struthof tel que je l'ai vu* (Mulhouse: Imprimerie Union, 1945); Jacques Granier, *Schirmeck, histoire d'un camp de concentration* (Strasbourg: Editions des Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace, 1970); Jean-Paul Haas, "A l'ombre d'un crématoire," *Sd'A* 127 (Spring 1995): 257–269; Jacques Héran, "Les sinistres expériences médicales du Struthof," *Sd'A* 121 (Fall 1993): 65–73; Albert Hornung, *Le Struthof, camp de la mort* (Paris: Editions de la Nouvelle revue critique, 1945); Frederik H. Kasten, "Unethical Nazi Medicine in Annexed Alsace-Lorraine: The Strange Case of Nazi Anatomist Professor Dr August Hirt," in *Historians and Archivists: Essays in Modern German History and Archival Policy*, ed. Georges O. Kent (Fairfax, VA: George Mason University Press, 1991), pp. 170–208; Wolfgang Kirstein, *Das Konzentrationslager als Institution totalen Terrors: Das Beispiel des KL Natzweiler* (Pffaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1992); François Kozlik, *Der Berg des Grauens. Streiftlichter aus dem Lager Struthof* (Strasbourg: SEDAL, 1945); Joseph de La Martinière, *La procédure nuit et brouillard, tome III, 3ème liste alphabétique, Natzweiler, Nord-Pas-de-Calais, nomenclature des*

déportés NN: Matériaux pour l'histoire des prisons et des camps, des tribunaux (Lignières-de-Touraine: J. de La Martinière, 1997); F. Marcoux, "Un aspect des crimes contre l'humanité. L'extermination nazie au Struthof," *Sd'A* (1977): 64–69; Jean-Claude Pressac, *The Struthof Album: Study of the Gassing at Natzweiler-Struthof of 86 Jews Whose Bodies Were to Constitute a Collection of Skeletons: A Photographic Document* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1985); Jean-Claude Richez, "Struthof-Natzwiller," in *Encyclopédie d'Alsace*, pp. 7164–7165; Aimé Spitz, *Struthof, bagne nazi en Alsace, reportage, mémoires du déporté patriote n° 4596* (Sélestat: Imprimerie Alsatia, 1945); Anthony M. Webb, *Trial of Wolfgang Zeuss. The Natzweiler Trial* (London: Hodge, 1949); Herwart Vorländer, ed., *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegführung. Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1978); Jürgen Ziegler, *Mitten unter uns: Natzweiler-Struthof: Spuren eines Konzentrationslagers* (Hamburg: VSA, 1986).

Jean-Marc Dreyfus
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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

NATZWEILER SUBCAMP SYSTEM

The Natzweiler concentration camp's subcamps stretched across all of southwestern Germany and occupied Alsace (France) but were primarily located in the areas of northern Baden and Württemberg. Several camps were located in the southern areas of Hessen.

The first Natzweiler subcamps were established at the beginning of 1942. The majority were to follow much later, mostly in 1944, with a few at the beginning of 1945 after the Natzweiler main camp had been abandoned in September 1944 due to the approaching front. The command was not dissolved after the camp was abandoned but relocated to Guttenbach in northern Baden. The subcamp administration was based here as well as the administration responsible for the labor demands of regional firms and the preparation of statistics, which served as the basis for the SS-Business Administration Main Office's (WHVA) accounting of labor use. The administration and storage offices of the former main camp were relocated to Schloss Binau, the vehicle pool and its maintenance to Neunkirchen, and the mail service to Rothau. The establishments in these locations should not be seen as actual subcamps but rather as installations where the leadership and administration of the Natzweiler main camp and its satellite system of subcamps were located.

The use of prisoners in the Natzweiler subcamp system was mostly for armaments purposes. There were two basic uses for prisoner labor: on the one hand, subcamps were attached to existing or newly established armaments firms; on the other hand, the prisoners were used to relocate production underground as a result of the increasing Allied bombing raids. The prisoners in the subcamps in the caverns, tunnels, and mines were often not used in armaments production per se but in the creation of the means necessary to commence production. Here they had, as a rule, the heaviest physical labor to perform under extreme conditions—for instance, by being detained for long periods underground in an atmosphere of high humidity and insufficient ventilation—which necessarily resulted in a high death rate.

Although the existing and newly created subcamps continued to be under the control of the Natzweiler camp administration after the main camp was dissolved, they were, because of their specific roles, often connected to the projects and their command structures, such as the Geilenberg Staff, the Fighter Staff (Jägerstab), and the Kammler Staff. For example, the Natzweiler subcamps of the Gruppe Wüste in present-day Zollernalb district were subordinated to the Geilenberg Staff, which drove forward the extremely important war project of excavating shale oil rock. The camps of Gruppe Wüste were infamous for the extreme work and living conditions that prevailed and the resultant mortality rates. (A more extensive discussion of the Gruppe Wüste camps follows separately.)

Many Natzweiler subcamps were subordinated to the Jägerstab, founded in March 1943, which with a rigorous exploitation of labor set the foundations for a manifold increase in the production of fighter aircraft. The Jägerstab worked closely with the Kammler Staff, which, under the command of Hans Kammler, chief of Amtsgruppe C (Construction) of the WVHA, was entrusted with the task of protecting armaments production from Allied bombardment and relocating the armaments firms underground. By January 1945, the Kammler Staff was using tens of thousands of prisoners in the most inhumane conditions, preparing around 425,000 square meters (508,296 square yards) of subterranean production areas.¹ Natzweiler subcamps were also integrated into the Kammler Staff. Within the Jägerstab, many enterprises, such as Daimler-Benz, Heinkel, Junkers, Messerschmitt, and Siemens-Schuckert, profited from the use of prisoner labor. The camps of the Jägerstab represented the largest camp complex within the system of Natzweiler subcamps. They included the "Unternehmen Goldfisch" camps (also called Neckarelz camps), the site of the underground relocation of armaments production to the gypsum mine "Friede" near Obrigheim. The Reich Aviation Ministry chose this pit with an area of about 50,000 square meters (59,800 square yards) to relocate the Presswerk Sindelfingen and the airplane motor production of the Daimler-Benz AG in Genshagen near Berlin in the spring of 1944. From March 1944 on, Natzweiler inmates worked on this project, code-named "A8" by the SS and "Goldfisch" by the Reich authorities. In June 1944, the Goldfisch camps around Neckarelz already held more than 2,500 inmates.

The subordination of subcamps to the various project commands has meant that the Natzweiler subcamp system is largely difficult to analyze and is inadequately researched due to the lack of source material. The later a subcamp was established—and this applies to the majority of the Natzweiler camps—the worse it is documented; many camps, such as Thionville, for example, appear never to have left the planning stage due to the rapidly advancing front.

The prisoners in the subcamps also worked in constructing roads and airfields; by the war's end, the prisoners were often involved in removing rubble or were lent to local manufacturers. Two Natzweiler subcamps, the death camp (*Sterbelager*) at Vaihingen and the auxiliary hospital (*Hilfskrankenhaus*) Unterschwarzach lacked any productive function. They were used solely, or at least most likely in the case of Unterschwarzach, to hold prisoners who were no longer capable of working.

The subcamps' leadership and guards were as a rule, even after the main camp was dissolved, selected from the pool of men at the main camp. As a result, the subcamps most often did not have their own command offices, which due to the reduction in personnel costs led to an increase of profit from

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the use of prisoner labor. The subcamps were commanded by camp leaders (Lagerführern) and work detachments (Arbeitskommandos) by detachment leaders (Kommandoführern). The guards were members of the SS, the Organisation Todt (OT), and the Wehrmacht or the Luftwaffe. Male guards secured the female camps, while the supervisory personnel within the camp and during working hours were often a company's female employees assigned to guard the prisoners. These women were usually trained as overseers in Ravensbrück before they took on their new roles.

The number of Natzweiler subcamps cannot be exactly stated. Some of the camps never went beyond the planning stage; the existence of others can only be surmised; and with others one cannot be certain that they formed part of the Natzweiler system. Altogether, Natzweiler, the smallest and most westerly of the German concentration camps, had around 50 subcamps. A few sources mention up to 80 subcamps, but this number is probably too high, even if one includes all the indirect connections of subcamps and all the work details, that is, work sites without accommodations for the prisoners. More than 40 of the Natzweiler subcamps held male inmates. There were no females in the Natzweiler main camp. However, there were a few subcamps, including Calw, Geisenheim, Geislingen an der Steige, Hayingen, and Walldorf, that did hold women. There are a few camps where the sex of the occupants is either unknown or uncertain. In a few other camps, for example, the Hilfskrankenhaus Unterschwarzach and the Sterbelager Vaihingen, prisoners of both genders may have been held.

On average, there were in the subcamps around 20,000 prisoners, including 1,000 to 2,000 women. By the end of 1944, the prisoner numbers reached their high point of 22,587. Thereafter, the numbers declined despite new admissions. Documented numbers for January 15, 1945, for the Natzweiler subcamps are 20,961 male and 1,209 female prisoners.²

West European Night-and-Fog (*Nacht-und-Nebel*) prisoners, who represented a dominant category of prisoners within the main camp, due to security reasons were hardly represented in the subcamps. Around 70 percent of the prisoners in the Natzweiler subcamps were from Eastern Europe: they were forcibly evacuated Soviet civilian workers, deported Poles who had been arrested after the extensive roundups in Poland, or Jewish prisoners from Eastern Europe, so-called Arbeitsjuden, who were mostly from the work camps at Radom and Płaszów, but some also came from Auschwitz. In addition, especially in the last phase of the war, there were contingents of prisoners from other concentration camps: the women were mostly transported from Ravensbrück and Auschwitz, the men from Dachau, Flossenbürg, Lublin, and other concentration camps. In addition, there was a constant exchange of prisoners between the Natzweiler subcamps caused by the need to evacuate the camps as the front approached but above all by the specific labor demands of individual subcamps, both quantitative and qualitative.

French prisoners, who constituted 10 percent of the prisoners, were the largest group of Western European prisoners.

The Reich Germans (Reichsdeutsche) represented 5 percent of the prisoners. Many of the prisoners in the subcamps did not go through the main camp, which was dissolved in September 1944; when the prisoner numbers were handed out in the subcamp, however, the number system of the main camp continued to be used. As in the main camp, there was also in the subcamps a limited prisoner administration.

The dissolution of the Natzweiler subcamps took place in stages in the last two months of the war as a result of the front moving from east to west. Many of the prisoners were sent on death marches, whose destination, as a rule, was Dachau and its subcamps. The last of these evacuation marches took place at the end of April or beginning of May 1945. The concentration camp command relocated from Guttenbach via Stuttgart to Dürmendingen in Saugau, where it dissolved itself. Members of the Natzweiler camp administration as well as the guards were tried toward the end of the 1940s in the Rastatt Trials.

SOURCES The history of the Natzweiler subcamp system remains largely unresearched. This is primarily because many files were destroyed when the camp was evacuated. A second difficulty is the dual nature of the languages of the sources: too few works have attempted to deal with both German and French sources so as to provide a comprehensive review of the Natzweiler camp complex including the subcamps. Above all, one must note Christine Glauning, Konrad Pflug, and Georg Fischer, *Arbeit und Vernichtung. Das Aussenlagersystem des KZ Natzweiler-Struthof* (Stuttgart: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2004). Important German works that investigate individual subcamps or subcamp complexes within regional and time-specific contexts are Tobias Markowitsch and Katrin Rautnig, *Goldfisch und Zebra. Das Konzentrationslager aussenkommando Neckarelz. Konzentrationslager des Verlagerungsprojektes A8 und Aussenkommando von Natzweiler-Struthof* (Neckarelz: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neckarelz e.V., 2005); Herwart Vorländer, ed., *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegsführung: Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass* (Stuttgart, 1978); Jürgen Ziegler, *Mitten unter uns: Natzweiler-Struthof; Spuren eines Konzentrationslagers* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1986) (the camp in Neckartal); and Karl Giebeler and Christoph Schubert, eds., *KZ-Aussenlager der letzten Kriegsphase in Baden-Württemberg* (Bad Boll: Evang. Akademie Protokollendienst 22, 1997). In addition, there are a few German works that attempt to deal with the history of the Natzweiler concentration camp and all of its subcamps or at least parts of it. The most important works include Wolfgang Kirstein, *Das Konzentrationslager als Instrument totalen Terrors: Das Beispiel des KL Natzweiler* (Pffaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1992); Bernhard Brunner, *Auf dem Weg zu einer Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler; Forschungsstand, Quellen, Methode* (Stuttgart, 2000), available at www.lpb.bwue.de/publikat/natzweiler/natzweiler.htm; and Antoine Greffier, *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des KL Natzweiler-Struthof*, ed. LPB-BW (Stuttgart, 2002). For further information, see also Michael Schmidt and Hellmuth Bauer, "‘Wir waren ja niemand.’ Ein ehemaliger Zwangsarbeiter berichtet über die Jahre 1942 bis 1945 in Genshagen-

Obrigheim,” in *Das Daimler-Benz-Buch. Ein Rüstungskonzern im Dritten Reich* (Nördlingen, 1987), pp. 471–481; Rainer Fröbe, “‘Wie bei den alten Ägyptern.’ Die Verlegung des Daimler-Benz-Flugzeugmotorenwerkes Genshagen nach Obrigheim am Neckar 1944/45” in *Das Daimler-Benz-Buch*, pp. 392–470; Michael Schmid, “Goldfisch. Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung. Eine Lokalhistorie zum Umgang mit Menschen,” in *Das Daimler-Benz-Buch*, pp. 482–513; Neil Gregor, *Stern und Hakenkreuz. Daimler-Benz im Dritten Reich* (Berlin, 1997); and Birgit Weitz, “Der Einsatz von KZ-Häftlingen und jüdischen Zwangsarbeitern bei der Daimler-Benz AG (1941–1945). Ein Überblick,” in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen, 1996).

The first comprehensive French work on the Natzweiler concentration camp appeared in 1988, Arnod Kientzler, ed., *Le camp de concentration du Struthof. Konzentrationslager Natzweiler: Témoignages* (Collection Documents—Tome III) (Schirmeck, 1988). The most comprehensive monograph on the Natzweiler concentration camp system is Robert Steegmann, *Struthof: Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: La Nuée Bleue, 2005). However, the subcamp system is not comprehensively dealt with in the book but is dealt with as part of the camp’s history, with a focus on the

formation of the camps in each relevant chapter. Steegmann lists the camps not under their German names at the time (the most relevant names for researchers) but under today’s French names, which adds a layer of difficulty to the work. However, his monograph provides a good overview of the state of research on individual subcamps.

Archival sources on the Natzweiler subcamps are listed with the individual subcamps. For the Neckarelz (Goldfisch) camps, the Imperial War Museum London holds a collection of records at FD 2228/45. This includes Daimler-Benz correspondence regarding the relocation of production from Genshagen to Obrigheim. Also, BA-BL holds material on the Neckarelz camps under 419 AR-1831/67 Obrigheim.

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NOTES

1. For more detailed information, see *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), Teil 1: “Das Lagersystem,” pp. 68–69.

2. BA, Sammlung Schumacher 1329.

GRUPPE “WÜSTE” COMPLEX

The code name “Wüste” was used for the extraction of oil from Württemberg shale oil, which was part of the Geilenberg project from July 1944 onward. However, the use of shale oil has a longer history. As part of the rearmament and autarky program from 1936 onward, engineer Freiherr Hans Joachim von Kruedener (employed by the Benzin-Benzol-Verband and Reichsstelle für Mineralöl Berlin) promoted the economic exploitation of shale oil. The “Amt für den Vierjahresplan” rejected this idea, as it thought that fuel production would be met by the construction of hydrogenation plants.

During the war, shale oil was the cause of many disputes between different agencies, initially between Carl Krauch (chairman of IG Farben, Generalbevollmächtigter für Chemie [GeBeChem], and head of the Reichsamt für Wirtschaftsausbau), who was in charge of fuel production, and SS-Brigadeführer Walther Schieber (head of the Rüstungslieferungsamt in the Rüstungsministerium). Schieber, who was always getting involved in the affairs of GeBeChem, pushed Krauch in 1942 to use shale oil more intensively.¹ This resulted in the formation of the first of three shale oil companies in Württemberg, which experimented with different ways to extract shale oil and which conducted practical tests based on those experiments: the Lias-Ölschieferforschungsgesellschaft Frommern in September 1942.²

At the beginning of 1943, Erhard Milch (Generalinspekteur der Luftwaffe) ordered the recall of engineer Kruedener to Berlin from the front and instructed him to continue working on the shale oil question and appointed him as the shale oil expert in the Reichsluftfahrtministerium. The reason for this decision was the inadequate supply of fuel, coupled with the almost hopeless order by Hermann Göring in January 1943 to supply by air the Sixth Army trapped in Stalingrad. The ambitious Kruedener, who in the meantime had become an SS-Führer in the SD-Hauptamt,³ together with Schieber, whom he had appointed as his consultant on questions of oil extraction, drove the issue forward.⁴ A second shale oil exploration company was established in July 1943: the Kohle-Öl-Union based in Berlin, which at the end of October 1943 began construction of a subterranean carbonization facility.⁵ The most important company was the Deutsche Ölschieferforschungsgesellschaft (DÖLF) based in Schömberg, which was established on October 20, 1943: it was to scientifically research and test all issues regarding shale oil, and it developed the primitive “Meilerschwelverfahren,” the process that later would be the technical foundation for the Wüste Project.⁶ Kruedener, Schieber, and Krauch were among those who occupied key positions in the management and board of the company.⁷

In August 1943, Kruedener, at the request of Schieber, made contact with the Reichsführer-SS Himmler to bring

the SS into the project. Up to this point of time, attempts by the SS to take control of armaments industries had failed due to resistance by Albert Speer and private industry. Driven by Himmler, who was still searching for suitable armaments projects for the SS, the south Württemberg shale oil project quickly developed into a prestigious SS project, but where profitability was not the key focus. Himmler, who had the absurd idea to secure “the oil supply for the Waffen SS and the Heimatarmee from shale oil,” instructed the head of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Oswald Pohl at the end of October 1943 to secure shale oil for the SS.⁸ Kruedener was to be the SS-WVHA’s consultant on shale oil questions, and he was the only person who was able to strengthen his position within the chaos of competing interests.⁹

Pohl, who traveled several times to the Württemberg shale oil area, agreed to supply the shale oil companies with labor. This resulted in the establishment of three concentration camp subcamps: in Schömberg (October 1943), in Frommern (January 1944), and in Schörzingen (February 1944). There were several attempts by the SS to take over test factories that were in the course of being established. The SS then decided to establish its own shale oil plant near Erzingen.¹⁰ Pohl, in order to more effectively represent the interests of the SS, established on May 2, 1944, the Deutsche Schieferöl (German Shale Oil) GmbH Erzingen—which was the only SS company established and operating in 1944 within the “Altreich.”¹¹

The economic aims of the SS had long collided with the goals of the Armaments Ministry (Rüstungsministerium). Rüstungsminister Speer really only began to take an interest in the production of shale oil for fuel after a dramatic reduction in fuel production following the Allied air raids on German hydrogenation plants in the spring of 1944. Speer conferred with Hitler on July 5, 1944, “to get a decision on questions regarding shale oil,” as an unsettled Pohl noted on the same day.¹² A week later during a meeting in the Rüstungsministerium Planning Office (Planungsamt), it was decided that the Wüste Project would be part of the Geilenberg-Program. A new crisis office (Krisenstab), based on the Jägerstab, equipped with almost unlimited power, was to be established. It was to rebuild the damaged hydrogenation plants and to construct new fuel plants.¹³

Edmund Geilenberg, who was appointed at the end of May 1944 as Generalkommissar für Sofortmassnahmen, immediately ordered the construction of 10 plants to extract shale oil in Württemberg. Some 5,000 prisoners were to be used in the construction. He appointed the Deutsche Bergwerks- und Hüttenbau Gesellschaft (DBHG), a subsidiary of the Hermann-Göring conglomerate, as head contractor, which

with the assistance of the Organisation Todt (OT) and countless other firms would construct the factories.¹⁴

The Wüste Project was a special case because even though this armaments project was under the auspices of the Armaments Ministry, the SS had an option to take over the 10 shale oil plants once construction was complete. This did not come to fruition because of the eventual course of the war. The production of shale oil was doomed from the start because of the poor technology and the high death rate among the concentration camp prisoners. Only 4 of the 10 plants were ready by the end of the war. The Wüste-Werk 2 in Bisingen was the first shale oil plant to commence production on February 23, 1945—but only in a makeshift way.¹⁵

Despite doubts by some individuals that the plans could be realized, and despite the numerous difficulties (e.g., transport of machines and materials), those involved remained wedded to their decision until the end. Competing interests added to the chaos that reigned in the last stage of the war. Those involved followed their own interests: construction firms focused on securing machines, materials, and labor for the postwar period; technical personnel in the shale companies, chemists, and engineers attempted to promote and secure their future careers.

It was with this background that the employees in the many firms and research organizations closed their eyes to the public suffering of the prisoners and did nothing to change the situation in the camps, which from a production perspective should have been done. It is true that there are some reports, which were sent to Berlin and resulted in Pohl traveling to the shale oil area. However, in the end, all that happened in light of the disastrous physical conditions of the majority of the prisoners was that those who could no longer work were selected and sent to so-called camps for the dying (*Sterbelager*) such as Bergen-Belsen.

The number of prisoners in the existing four subcamps increased dramatically once Project Die Wüste began in the summer of 1944. The largest Wüste camps were established in August 1944 in Bisingen and Dautmergen, with the last camp being established in Dormettingen in 1945. Altogether, there were around 15,000 concentration camp prisoners involved in this armaments project with an unknown number of Italian and Russian prisoners of war (POWs) as well as civilian forced laborers.

SS-Hauptscharführer Josef Seuss was in charge of the Wüste camps in the initial phase. He was executed in Landsberg after the end of the war. From the middle of October 1944, SS-Hauptsturmführer Franz Hofmann was the overall camp commander and was responsible for the largest camps at Bisingen and Dautmergen. He was a long-serving member of the concentration camp elite. SS-Untersturmführer Eugen Wurth took on this role for the other Wüste camps. After Hofmann was removed from his position in February 1945, Wurth, as the highest-ranking SS leader, was responsible for all the shale oil camps.

There are around 3,500 dead buried in the three concentration camp cemeteries at Bisingen (1,158), Schömberg

(1,773), and Schörzingen (549). It must be assumed that the number of dead is significantly higher when one considers that initially the corpses of the victims were cremated in the crematoria in Reutlingen, Schwenningen, and Tuttlingen and that there were many transports of seriously ill prisoners to other camps. The death marches from the Wüste camps resulted in an unknown number of victims. Those prisoners who could not march were relocated to Dachau/München-Allach, and after the evacuation of that camp between April 16 and 18, 1945, the prisoners were moved in a southerly direction. The survivors were liberated in Oberschwaben, Bavaria, or in Austria. There are numerous graves of the victims of the death marches in Upper Swabian villages.

SOURCES The basis for this essay is the author's doctoral thesis on the "Wüste" Project and the Bisingen concentration camp, which was published by the Metropol-Verlag, Berlin, in the spring of 2006. The author also published a number of essays that deal with the use of shale oil during World War II in the context of the war economy, forced labor, and the concentration camp system: "Schieferöl und Zwangsarbeit. Das Unternehmen 'Wüste' und das Konzentrationslager in Bisingen," in *Konzentrationslager. Geschichte und Erinnerung. Neue Studien zum KZ-System und zur Gedenkkultur*, ed. Petra Haustein, Rolf Schmolling and Jörg Skriebeleit (Ulm: Klemm u. Oelschläger, 2001), pp. 153–164; "Das Unternehmen 'Wüste'—Ölschieferwerke und Konzentrationslager in Baden, Württemberg und Hohenzollern 1943–1945" and "KZ Bisingen (Unternehmen 'Wüste')," both essays in *Möglichkeiten des Erinnerns. Orte jüdischen Lebens und nationalsozialistischen Unrechts im Zollernalbkreis und im Kreis Rottweil* (Hechingen: Alte Synagoge Hechingen, 1997), pp. 43–59. A general overview of shale oil and SS interests is by Enno Georg, *Die wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen der SS* (Stuttgart: DVA, 1963). Immo Opfermann deals extensively with the shale oil project in "Das Unternehmen 'Wüste.' Ölschieferwerke und Konzentrationslager entlang der Bahnlinie Tübingen-Rottweil," in *Leitfaden und Materialien zur Ausstellung in der ehemaligen Baracke auf dem Gelände des Obereschulamtes Tübingen 7. Mai–31. Juli 1997* (Schömberg: Selbstverlag, 1997). Michael Grandt brings together the current state of research in *Unternehmen Wüste. Hitlers letzte Hoffnung. Das NS-Ölschieferprogramm auf der Schwäbischen Alb* (Tübingen: Silberburg, 2002). Other information on shale oil is in "Ölschiefer und Konzentrationslager. Das Unternehmen 'Wüste,'" in Heinrich Haasis, *Der Zollernalbkreis* (Stuttgart und Aalen: Theiss, 1989), pp. 157–165; and Andreas Zekorn, "Das Unternehmen 'Wüste,'" in *Verblendung, Mord und Widerstand. Aspekte nationalsozialistischer Unrechtscherrschaft im Gebiet des heutigen Zollernalbkreises von 1933–1945* (Hechingen: Zollernalbkreis-Jugendring, 1995), pp. 55–70. Immo Opfermann provides further details on shale oil, including the postwar period, in his essay "Kriegsfolgen. Ölschieferabbau in Frommern 1943–1949," in *1200 Jahre Endingen, Frommern, Heselwangen, Weilstetten, Zillhausen* (Balingen: Stadtarchiv, 1993), pp. 422–431.

The BA-B holds extensive file collections on the topic of shale oil: the files of the SS-WVHA, the RFSS, the RWA, and the RMFRK. The BA-DH holds the files of the DBHG. The AKr-Bal holds an even larger collection regarding the

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Wüste Project. The AOC also holds numerous documents on shale oil. The large collection of investigation and trial files in the StA-L also holds much information on the Wüste Project.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, NS 19/1386.
2. The planned experimental facility was financed by the RWA but for “formal reasons” was operated by Lias. BA-BL, NS 19/1386, Schreiben Himmler an Kehrl, Oktober 1943.
3. BA-BL, Schreiben RFSS/Chef der SS-Personalkanzlei an das RuSHA, January 31, 1939, ehem. BDC, Personalakte Kruedener. Spätestens Ende August 1943 war Kruedener SS-Obersturmführer. Vgl. Vermerk über einen Besuch Kruedeners beim persönlichen Stab Himmlers, August 31, 1943, in BA-BL, NS 19/1386.
4. BA-BL, NS 19/1386, Schreiben Schieber an Himmler, September 16, 1943.
5. Charakterisierung der Kohle-Öl-Union, o.D. [nach 1945], in AOC, AEF, c. 1855 d. 36 a.
6. BA-BL, NS 3/823: Schreiben Pohl an Grimm, May 26, 1944. Work by the DÖLF was financed by the RWA. For technical matters, the DÖLF was subordinate to the Planungsamt.
7. Organisation der DÖLF, June 8, 1944, in AOC, AP/PD, c. 1304, p. 15 bis, d. 4, S. 51. Die “Wüste”-Ölschieferwerke in Württemberg, o.D. [nach 1945], in AOC, AP/PD, c. 1304, p. 15/4, S. 10.
8. BA-BL, NS 13/1386, Schreiben Himmler an Pohl, November 24, 1943.
9. BA-BL, NS 13/1386, Schreiben Himmler an Milch, ende November 1943.
10. The factory was to be constructed by DÖLF, operated by it, and then transferred to DEST. BA-BL, NS 19/1386, Schreiben Pohl an Himmler, December 21, 1943. Die “Wüste”-Ölschieferwerke in Württemberg, o.D. [nach 1945], in AOC, AP/PD, c. 1304, p. 15/4, S. 16.
11. BA-BL, NS 3/823.
12. BA-BL, NS 19/1386, Telegramm Pohl an Himmlers Referenten Brandt, 5.7.1944.
13. BA-BL, R 3/1635, Erlass Hitlers, May 30, 1944. Erläuterungen zum Organisationsplan des Geilenberg-Vorhabens “Wüste,” 19.4.1946, in StA-L, EL 317 III, Bü 1252, Bl. 3155.
14. BA-BL, R 3/1907, Bericht Nr. 43—“Wüste” (Besprechung des Arbeitsstabes Geilenberg), July 28, 1944. Vgl. BA-BL, D-H, R 121 (zahlreiche Akten zur DBHG).
15. BA-BL, NS 3/823: Schreiben Jacobi an Pohl [vermutl. 20].3.1945. StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1250: Bericht Dönitz über das Unternehmen “Wüste,” Februar–März 1946. Vgl. auch BA-BL, NS 3/823: Schreiben Pohl an Himmler, March 29, 1945.

AUDUN-LE-TICHE ("ROWA")

[AKA DEUTSCH-OTH]

The Natzweiler subcamp at Audun-le-Tiche lay in the former Gau Westmark, the present-day district of Moselle, France. The camp's opening is dated as somewhere between August 24 and 30, 1944. There were a maximum of 100 male prisoners in the camp who worked for Minett GmbH and in abandoned ore mines near Longwy. Parts for the V-1, produced at the Volkswagen factory in Wolfsburg, were stored in the mine. Robert Steegmann states in *Struthof* that the Bosch facilities from Stuttgart were to be relocated in Audun-le-Tiche at an underground facility of 60,000 square meters (71,759 square yards). The plan was to have 1,300 laborers at work there.

Transfer records from the Audun-le-Tiche subcamp to other camps have survived; for example, there was a transfer of prisoners to the Kochendorf subcamp on January 9, 1944.

Audun-le-Tiche was probably closed in September 1944 as the front was getting ever closer. (Antoine Greffier offers a date of February 1945, but this is highly unlikely.)

SOURCES The camp is not mentioned in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979). A collection *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler*, compiled by Antoine Greffier and published in 2002 by the Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, refers to Audun-le-Tiche as a secured Natzweiler subcamp.

Robert Steegmann describes the camp in *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos: Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: La Nuée Bleue, 2005), p. 279.

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BENSHEIM-AUERBACH

The Natzweiler subcamp in the Hessian town of Bensheim-Auerbach is mentioned, according to the International Tracing Service (ITS), for the first time on September 11–12, 1944. According to a witness report, the prisoners had been held in the Darmstadt subcamp and following the bombardment of that camp were brought to Bensheim-Auerbach. Horst Riegert, in his detailed report, states that the Bensheim-Auerbach camp is mentioned for the first time in the Natzweiler files on October 10, 1944.

There were 45 male prisoners in the camp—Germans, Czechs, and French. They worked in the underground factory of Dr.-Ing. Frank H. Heymann, Darmstadt, located in a former marble mine in Hochstätten, 125 Mühlthal Strasse. The caverns in this mine were excavated and outfitted for armaments production. Stabilizers for the V-2 manufactured in Peenemünde were produced here. The prisoners worked mostly as technical draftsmen; 4 prisoners worked in Darmstadt.

The prisoners in the Bensheim-Auerbach subcamp were accommodated in wooden barracks near the mine. They worked each day of the week. In October 1944, there was an average of 25 prisoners attached to the subcamp. The Natzweiler camp office charged 6 Reichsmark (RM) per prisoner per day for each prisoner, of which 0.80 RM was deducted as costs for rations. Prisoners who died were buried in the Auerbach cemetery. Their number is not known.

According to a witness report, the camp was dissolved by the guards on March 25 and 26, and the prisoners were driven away from the camp in a southeasterly direction, reaching Dachau on April 3, 1945.

SOURCES The *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, published by the ITS (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), mentions the subcamp at Bensheim-Auerbach in vol. 1, p. 199.

Horst Riegert mentions the Bensheim-Auerbach subcamp in his article in Lothar Bembenek, ed., *Hessen hinter Stachel- drabt. Verdrängt und vergessen. KZs, Lager, Aussenkommandos* (Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn-Verlag, 1984), p. 57, but describes it as a work detachment.

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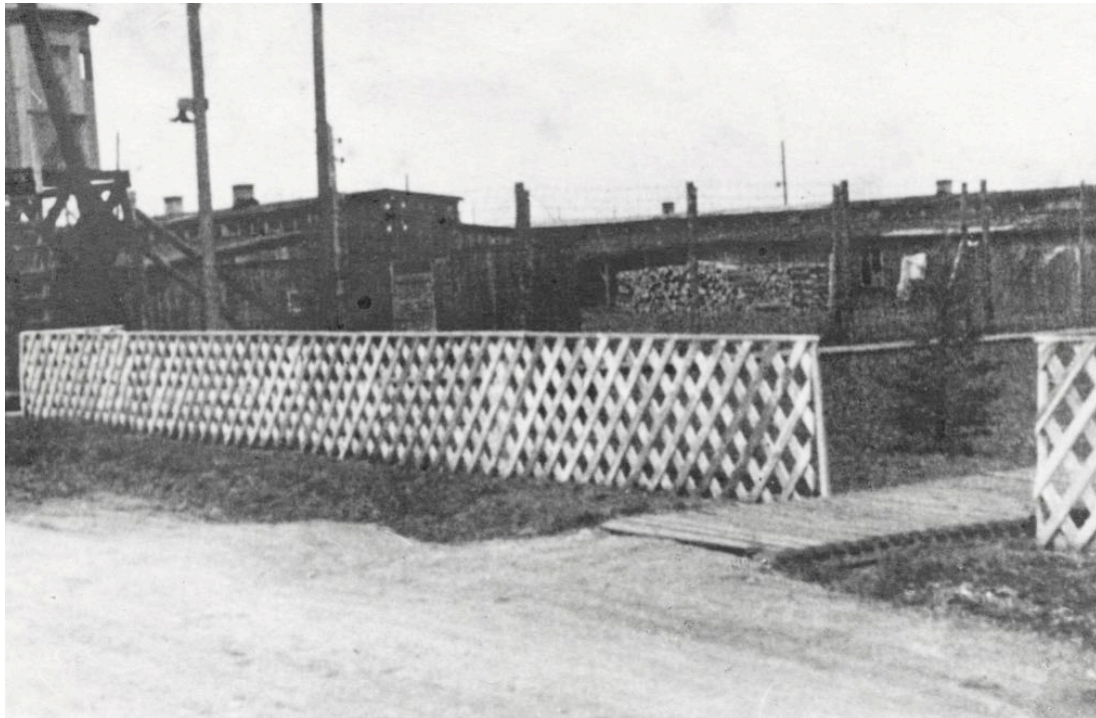
BISINGEN

Bisingen was the second largest of the "Wüste"-Lager. Between August 24, 1944, and March 1945, at least 4,163 prisoners, including no less than 1,250 Jews, were sent to the camp in five large transports and several individual transfers from other camps. There were approximately 1,000 Poles from Auschwitz; 1,500 East European prisoners from Stutthof; 250 Polish Jews from Vaihingen/Enz; 400 prisoners most probably from Dachau, including Sinti and Roma (Gypsies); and 1,000 Jews from Buchenwald.¹

The camp was not ready when the first transport arrived. The prisoners were accommodated in tents that were later replaced by horse stables. Contrary to all SS security requirements, the camp site had neither guard towers nor barbed-wire fences. The prisoners' first work was to construct and secure the camp under the direction of the Organisation Todt (OT).²

The camp inmates worked primarily in the shale oil plant Wüste 2 in Bisingen but also in Wüste-Werk 3 in Engstlatt and Wüste-Werk 1 in Dusslingen/Nehren. These temporary production facilities also had to be constructed by the prisoners. Bisingen was a typical construction camp where the prisoners had to do physically exhausting work on construction sites and in quarries. The replaceable auxiliary labor had far worse survival chances than the generally better qualified skilled workers in the factory camps (*Fabriklagern*).

In Bisingen, around 1,200 prisoners (about 38 percent) died; 1,158 were hastily buried in a mass grave outside the town; 10 prisoners were cremated in the Reutlingen crematorium, and around 30 victims were buried on the



A view of the factory at the Bisingen subcamp of Natzweiler, 1944-1945.
USHMM WS #98829, COURTESY OF GFH

construction sites in Bisingen. The actual number is higher, as prisoners who were no longer capable of working were transported to the so-called camps for the dying (*Krankenlager*). At the insistence of companies using the labor and the Deutsche Ölschieferforschungsgesellschaft (German Oil Shale Research Association, DÖLF), the SS, between the end of October 1944 and the beginning of April 1945, transferred several hundred seriously ill prisoners to the concentration camps at Vaihingen/Enz, Dachau/München-Allach, and Bergen-Belsen, where an unknown number of prisoners died.³

The head of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Oswald Pohl, who pushed the SS to quickly establish shale oil plants, inspected the Bisingen concentration camp at the end of 1944 because of its high death rate. Pohl publicly and sharply criticized the senior camp commander Franz Johann Hofmann because of the catastrophic conditions in the camp and transferred him to the Natzweiler main camp. Pohl's appearance is interpreted as an act of "publicity." No one could imagine that he disapproved of the conditions in the subcamp "which he must have known from other areas."⁴ The average death rate increased from December 1944, to the middle of April 1945, being almost double that of the preceding months.⁵

The high death rate had little to do with the chaotic conditions toward the end of the war. What was critical was the behavior of the SS camp command, which had little interest in the economic necessity of maintaining the prisoner labor. The SS camp command was more fixed on ideological matters. The senior camp commander of Bisingen and Dautmergen, SS-Hauptsturmführer Hofmann, was a long-serving SS man and, according to statements by his superior, a "fanatical National Socialist." His SS career had begun as early as 1933 in Dachau and had led him to the position of Schutzhaftlagerführer in the "Gypsy Camp" in Auschwitz II-Birkenau and finally to Schutzhaftlagerführer at the Auschwitz I main camp.⁶ These experiences greatly influenced his brutal behavior in the Bisingen subcamp, behavior described by survivors and other witnesses.

One of the most decisive changes in the final phase of the concentration camp system was the mass transfer of Wehrmacht soldiers into the camps from the spring of 1944. Countless former Wehrmacht soldiers now served as camp personnel with long-serving SS men. The Wehrmacht soldiers were transferred either from the Luftwaffe or Landes-schützenbataillons to the SS. This was not a temporary phenomenon but the result of a lack of personnel and was widespread in the many new concentration camps that were

established from the summer of 1944. The guards company in Bisingen, which escorted the prisoners to the shale oil plant and guarded them while they worked, consisted almost exclusively of members of the Wehrmacht.⁷ These men did not play by any means a subordinate role in the concentration camp system but took over central positions in the camp administration as block leader (Blockführer), work detachment leader (Arbeitskommandoführer), or camp doctor (Lagerarzt).⁸

The camp commander and SS-Oberscharführer Johannes Pauli came from the Wehrmacht. This was not an isolated case. Pauli's behavior toward the prisoners was no different from that of the long-serving concentration camp functionary elite. His career shows that the use of violence in a society over a long period of time, together with a long period of portraying the same groups as enemies, determined his behavior. Serving at the front during World War I, Pauli was a member of a Freikorps whose fighting in the east was motivated by antisemitic and anti-Bolshevist motives. In 1941–1942, Pauli was a member of the Feldgedarmarie in Ukraine, taking part in the murder of the civilian population, murder disguised as “partisan warfare.”⁹ As Bisingen camp commander, he was not a follower but a driving force in the excess of violence. Pauli shot a prisoner who was accused of stealing food after an air raid and gave the order to kill two other prisoners.¹⁰ He mistreated the camp inmates not only within the camp but also on the construction site.¹¹

At least 10 prisoners managed to escape. A few were shot by the police not far from Hechingen. An accounts clerk, forester, and two policemen shot, on the orders of the Sigmaringen Police Commander, 4 prisoners in the area around Gammertingen/Neufra. Two of the perpetrators were later praised by the head of government in Sigmaringen.¹² Some of the dead prisoners were hastily buried in Neufra; others were brought back to the Bisingen concentration camp and left to lie at the camp entrance as a deterrent.¹³ Several prisoners were hung on the roll-call square after their escape attempts failed.¹⁴

The concentration camp was located on the edge of the town and was not cut off from its surroundings; on the contrary, the civilian world was closely intertwined with the camp world. The daily presence of the prisoners meant that the camp's existence was not hidden from the local population. The prisoners marched daily through Bisingen to the nearby town of Engstlatt, laid water pipes through Steinhofen and Bisingen to the shale oil plant, and removed rubble after air raids, repaired the church roof, and were leased out as labor to local firms. The SS men were friendly with the local women and visited the local pubs; the deputy mayor played cards with the camp commander. The SS did not hide the terror and violence from the population and openly mistreated the prisoners on the public roads. The camp dead were recorded in the civilian death registers; owners of horse-drawn carts had to transport the corpses to a mass grave.¹⁵ The borders between a concentration camp and its civilian surroundings were never so blurred and the local population was never so confronted

with the concentration camp system as in the last phase of the war.

Behavior toward the camp ranged from indifference, individual acts of help, and profit making to participating in tracking down escaped prisoners. However, in the collective consciousness, acts of assistance stand out most.¹⁶ The Bisingen myth arose as a result of an article that appeared in the French newspaper, *Le Figaro* in 1946. The author of the report stated that the Bisingen population had systematically supported the prisoners and protested against their treatment—“an undoubtedly unique act in Germany.”¹⁷ However, the acts were those of individuals motivated by humanitarian or religious grounds. There was no systematic support, and there is no evidence of a strong protest.

The evacuation of the Bisingen concentration camp occurred in the middle of April 1945. Prisoners who could not walk, the majority, were taken by rail to Dachau/München-Allach or by truck to the Natzweiler subcamp at Spaichingen. The remainder of the camp inmates marched to Schörzingen or Dautmergen, where they joined a death march to the south. A few prisoners were shot along the way; several mass shootings were planned, but none took place. The survivors were liberated in Oberschwaben, Oberbayern, or Austria.¹⁸

In 1947, a French military tribunal sentenced three SS men and an OT member to death; three were hung on August 26, 1947. The sentence of the fourth was commuted to 20 years' imprisonment. He was released in 1962. Another SS man was sentenced to life in prison, two to 20 years, one to 8 years, and one to 18 months. Another OT member was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment.¹⁹ Camp commander Pauli fled to Switzerland, where in a unique trial he was sentenced on February 11, 1953, by the Basel Criminal Court to 12 years' hard labor.²⁰ The Schwurgericht Hechingen acquitted Hofmann in 1966.²¹ Many other investigations of SS men or the camp elders were stopped largely as a result of the passage of time. None of the perpetrators were found guilty by a German court.

The concentration camp cemetery was consecrated in 1947. A memorial with an exhibition and history recalls the Bisingen concentration camp.

SOURCES The basis for this essay is the author's doctoral dissertation on the “Wüste” Project and the Bisingen concentration camp, which was published in the spring of 2000 by Metropol-Verlag Berlin. The author has also written a few additional essays on the Bisingen concentration camp and the use of shale oil during World War II: “Schieferöl und Zwangsarbeit. Das Unternehmen ‘Wüste’ und das Konzentrationslager in Bisingen,” in *Konzentrationslager. Geschichte und Erinnerung: Neue Studien zum KZ-System und zur Gedenkkultur*, ed. Petra Haustein, Rolf Schmolling, and Jörg Skriebeleit, (Ulm: Klemm u. Oelschläger, 2001), pp. 153–164; “‘Schwierigkeiten des Erinnerns’: Das Heimatmuseum Bisingen als KZ-Gedenkstätte,” *GeRu* 92: 12 (1999): 3–12; “Das Unternehmen ‘Wüste’—Ölschieferwerke” and “Konzentrationslager in Baden, Württemberg und Hohenzollern 1943–1945 sowie KZ Bisingen (Unternehmen ‘Wüste’),” both essays in

Möglichkeiten des Erinnerns. Orte jüdischen Lebens und nationalsozialistischen Unrechts im Zollernalbkreis und im Kreis Rottweil (Hechingen: Alte Synagoge Hechingen, 1997), pp. 43–59. The earliest study on the Bisingen subcamp is by Wolfgang Sörös, “Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager und Kriegswirtschaft im regionalgeschichtlichen Unterricht, dargestellt am Beispiel des Konzentrationslagers Bisingen” (unpub., Ludwigsburg, 1977). The Juso-AG Bisingen published the first work on the camp that was taken seriously in Bisingen and that was the subject of discussion: *Das KZ Bisingen* (Bisingen: Selbstverlag, 1996).

There are several survivors’ reports on the Bisingen camp including Otto Gunsberger, *Berufswahl: Botschaft eines Überlebenden an die nachfolgende Generation*, trans. Ines Mayer, Horst Prautzsch, and Ilona Schneider (Bisingen: Selbstverlag, 1998); Alfred Korn, “Ich glaube, die Hölle ist ein Paradies im Vergleich zu dem, was wir mitgemacht haben,” in Bettina Wenke, *Interviews mit Überlebenden. Verfolgung und Widerstand in Südwestdeutschland* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1980), pp. 196–214; Stanislaw Sagan, *Food Carriers Out!* (Toronto: S.J. Sagan, 1982); and Isak Wasserstein, *Ich stand an der Rampe von Auschwitz* (Norderstedt: Horst Prautzsch, 2001).

There are numerous but scattered archival materials on the Bisingen concentration camp. The largest collection is the numerous investigation files and trial files in the StA-L. A few files relating to the preliminary investigations are held in the ZdL (Aubenstelle des Bundesarchivs), now at BA-L. Prisoner lists are held in the archives of the memorials Auschwitz and Danzig-Stutthof. The Natzweiler concentration camp Nummernbuch 6, which has the names of the prisoners in the transports including to Bisingen, lies in the AN in Paris. The BA-B holds SS files and Reich authority files with numerous details on the camp and the shale oil project, documents on the SS economic interests in armaments firms, and the particular role of Bisingen (Pohl’s visit). In YVA, there are records of interviews and written statements by survivors. The same are also to be found in the archive of the Bisingen Concentration Camp Memorial. The AOC in Colmar has an extensive collection of files on the camp, mass grave, shale oil, the institutions involved, and the behavior of the civilian population (questionnaires after 1945). The files of the Kreiersnährungsamt in the StA-S deal with the prisoners’ food supplies and provide details on the troops in the camp. The investigation files as well as the trial files of the Bisingen camp commander are held in the BAR as well as the StA-KBS and can be easily accessed.

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NOTES

1. Lagerstärke des KZ Bisingen, zusammengestellt nach Dokumenten der historischen Abteilung des Internationalen Suchdienstes in Arolsen, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 379, Bl. 68.
2. Stanislaw Sagan, *Food Carriers Out!* (Toronto: S.J. Sagan, 1982), p. 41.
3. Liste der Opfer des KZ Vaihingen, in ASt-Va/E. Transportliste Bisingen-Allach, April 6, 1945, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 379, Bl. 148–151. Weitere Krankentransporte vgl. Aufstellung über das KZ Bisingen, [nach 1945], in AGe-Bi, Flattich 12309.

4. Vernehmung Haenlein (Betriebsführer DÖLF) vor dem Schwurgericht Hechingen, August 2, 1965, S. 8, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1328.

5. Schreiben Jacobi an SS-WVHA (Stab W) mit einem Schaubild über die Sterberate von Oktober bis Anfang Dezember 1944, December 4, 1944, in BA-BL, NS 3/823.

6. SSO Hofmann, in BA-BL, ehem. BDC.

7. Vernehmung Giese (Wachmann), November 30, 1953, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1362, Bl. 36f.

8. Mappe Mahlerwein, in StALB, EL 317 III Bü 347. Vernehmung Rühle, October 7, 1960, in *ibid.*, Mappe Ehrmantraut, Bl. 77–79. Vernehmung Bruder, August 2, 1956, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1238, Bl. 8f. Vernehmung Steinicke, July 15, 1959, durch die Staatsanwaltschaft Hechingen, in *ibid.*, Bü 1240, Bl. 549–553.

9. Vernehmung Pauli vor dem Strafgericht Basel, February 9, 1953, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1262, Bl. 754.

10. Vernehmung Pauli in Basel, March 15, 1951, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1262, Bl. 741–747. Vernehmung Pauli in Basel, October 25, 1961, in *ibid.*, Bl. 749–752.

11. Vernehmung Müller, July 30, 1956, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1238, Bl. 7.

12. Schreiben Staatskommissariat für die politische Säuberung Tübingen an Bürgermeister Bisingen, April 26, 1951, in AGe-Bi, Flattich 12404. Verfügung der Staatsanwaltschaft Hechingen, November 9, 1961, in ZdL (BA-L), 419 AR-Z 33/61 Bd. 3.

13. Vernehmung Ehrmantraut in Rastatt, July 4, 1947, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1260, Bl. 4869–4870.

14. Z.B. Vernehmung Win vor dem Schwurgericht Hechingen, August 26, 1965, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1328, Bl. 1–7. Verfügung der Staatsanwaltschaft Stuttgart, November 3, 1966, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 378, o. Bl.

15. Interviews mit Bisingern und Überlebenden, geführt von d. Verf. Zahlreiche Aussagen von Zeugen, die im Zuge der Ermittlungsverfahren und während des Prozesses in Hechingen vernommen wurden, in StALB, EL 317 III.

16. Vernehmungen von Bewohnern und Bewohnerinnen aus Bisingen und Steinhofen durch die französische Militärregierung, in AOC, W-H, c. 1184, p. 2a. Zeitzeugeninterviews, geführt von d. Verf.

17. *Fig*, November 30, 1946, veröffentlicht im Heimatbuch Bisingen.

18. Zahlreiche Aussagen von Überlebenden und anderen Zeugen, in StALB, EL 317 III.

19. Badische Neueste Nachrichten, Ausgabe Karlsruhe, May 31, 1947. Einstellungsverfügung, November 16, 1970, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 872.

20. Urteil Strafgericht Basel, February 11, 1953, in StA-B, Gerichtsarchiv KK 2. Pauli had both German and Swiss citizenship.

21. Urteil Hechinger Prozess, March 18, 1966, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1236. Hofmann was sentenced to life imprisonment in the parallel-running Auschwitz Trial.

CALW

The International Tracing Service (ITS) puts the opening date for the Natzweiler subcamp in Calw, Württemberg, as

January 14, 1945. This date is confirmed by the files of the former concentration camp and an eyewitness report.

The camp probably held between 135 and 200 women. They worked on the night shift at the Luftfahrtgerätegesellschaft (Lufag), manufacturing parts for airplanes. They were accommodated on the second floor of a building directly under the roof. Wash and shower facilities were located in the basement of the building. It is possible that the camp also held French and Italian prisoners of war (POWs) later.

On April 1 and 2, 1945, the healthier women and those capable of walking were evacuated in the direction toward Bavaria. The sick were taken to the Dachau subcamp at München-Allach, arriving on April 11, 1945. They were liberated by U.S. troops at the end of April—beginning of May 1945.

SOURCES The Calw subcamp is mentioned in the ITS’s *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), 1: 200.

A short description of the camp, from which details for this essay are taken, is to be found in Herwart Vorländer, ed., *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegführung: Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass*. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer-Verlag, 1978), p. 11.

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COCHEM-BRUTTIG (“ZEISIG”)

[AKA KOCHEM-BRUTTIG]

Cochem-Bruttig, in the former Prussian Rhine Province, was the site of a Natzweiler subcamp, which administratively was connected to the Cochem-Treis subcamp. Some sources, among them the International Tracing Service (ITS), state that the Cochem-Treis subcamp was a subdetail of the Cochem-Bruttig subcamp. Sometimes both camps are generically described as Cochem (also known as Kochem).

Bruttig and Treis were connected by a disused railway tunnel that had been constructed at the end of World War I. In 1944, it was integrated into the Jägerstab (Fighter Staff) project. The Bauinspektion Reich-West (Building Inspectorate Reich-West), part of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Amtsgruppe C, was in charge of the tunnel and operated it as “Project A7” (code name “Zeisig”).

According to files from the Natzweiler concentration camp, the camp in Cochem-Bruttig was established on March 10, 1944. The ballroom of the Zum guten Onkel hotel, which was on the outskirts of the town, was requisitioned by the SS to accommodate the first prisoners. The prisoners remained there until they had constructed the new subcamp located at “Auf der Kipp” (i.e., on the railway embankment constructed from fill obtained when the tunnel was excavated).

The first prisoner transport left Natzweiler on March 5, 1944. There were 300 French prisoners, 232 of whom were *Nacht-und-Nebel* prisoners, who for security reasons actually

should not have been permitted to work outside the main camp. After four weeks it was realized that these prisoners should not have been there, and the Frenchmen were removed from the camp and replaced by more than 700 new prisoners—417 Poles, 286 Russians, 5 Croats, 2 Frenchmen, 1 Italian, 5 Germans, and 2 stateless persons. An additional 850 Polish and Russian prisoners from Auschwitz arrived on May 3, 1944. Prisoners were also sent from Buchenwald and in July 1944 from Hinzert to the camps at Bruttig and Treis. The Zeisig construction project involved Frenchmen, Poles, Russians, Dutch, Belgians, Luxembourgers, Yugoslavs, Italians, Croats, Greeks, Norwegians, and a few Germans. Most probably there were no Jewish prisoners. The prisoners were from just about all prisoner categories—convicts transferred from the judicial system to a concentration camp (Security Custody, SV), temporary and preventive remand, asocials, foreign civilian workers, prisoners of war (POWs), prisoners for political reasons, homosexuals, Jehovah’s Witnesses, Special Section Wehrmacht (SAW)—and all types of trades and professions: tradesmen, laborers, farmers, technicians, officers, teachers, traders, white-collar workers, a few apprentices, pupils, students, and doctors. The youngest prisoner in Cochem turned 16 on April 2, 1944. A Frenchman, aged 61, was the oldest. On July 24, 1944, there were 1,527 prisoners in the subcamps at Bruttig and Treis. There was a regular exchange of prisoners between the Natzweiler main camp and the subcamps. It is not known how the prisoners were distributed between the two camps at Bruttig and Treis.

The railway tunnel Bruttig-Treis, with an area of 21,000 square meters (25,116 square yards), was to be expanded by the prisoners for use by Bosch, Stuttgart, so that spark plugs could be produced in the tunnel. To expand the tunnel, the SS-Führungsstab (Command Staff) A7 listed the following materials: 550 metric tons (606 tons, short U.S.) building iron, 275 metric tons (303 tons, short U.S.) machine iron, 145 cubic meters (190 cubic yards) raw timber, 610 cubic meters (798 cubic yards) cut timber, 1,500 metric tons (1,653 tons, short U.S.) cement, and 200 metric tons (220 tons, short U.S.) bricks. The total cost of construction was 3.5 million Reichsmark (RM). The lead construction company was Fix from Dernau.

The names of some members of the Führungsstab (management) of Project A7 are known: it was first led by SS-Obersturmführer Meyer from March 1944. In May 1944, he was replaced by SS-Sturmbannführer Gerrit Oldeboershuis, also known as “Oldenbuhr,” who also was head of the Special Inspectorate (Sonderinspektion) III in Bad Wimpfen on the Neckar River. By the end of the war, Oldeboershuis was the camp commandant at Ohrdruf. The deputy commander was SS-Untersturmführer Karl-Heinz Burkhardt (who was given the special task of supervising the construction site in the Bruttig-Treis tunnel). Other names of men who served there are Wachtmeister Funke and SS-Mann Felder. The local representative of the Amtsgruppe D with the A7 project was SS-Obersturmführer Rudolf Beer (also spelled “Bär”). SS-Sturmscharführer and Kreissekretär (District Secretary)

1020 NATZWEILER-STRUTHOF

Friedrich Schulze was given security responsibility by the Koblenz Gestapo.

The commander in the Bruttig and Treis subcamp was initially SS-Obersturmführer Beer. He was followed by SS-Obersturmführer Scheffe and later SS-Untersturmführer Wicker. The prisoners were guarded by a Luftwaffe detachment commanded by Hauptmann Rückert. However, some sources state that SS members or Wehrmacht members constituted the guard.

Working conditions in the tunnel were catastrophic. Ernst Heimes wrote:

Everyone goes into the tunnel. That is the worst of the work columns. It is really mean. The dead are no longer counted. . . . The old water drainage system is to be removed and a larger ditch is to be constructed. At the entrance civilians supervise the work; insults are in German, the baton at the ready. . . . And the hunger. . . . The prisoners never get even the smallest portion of sausage or margarine. Packages arrive, but the SS takes them. Even most of the bread is stolen from them. The prisoners eat only weeds and white snails. . . . There are four water cans for 400 prisoners. It is impossible to get to them.¹

There were constantly attempts to escape, which generally failed because of the local geography—close settlements, hills, and the Mosel River loop. There are more than 20 documented escape attempts from the camps at Bruttig and Treis. In general, the recaptured prisoners were executed in the camp at Cochem-Bruttig on a gallows located on the camp grounds. As the camp was located in the middle of the village, the villagers were daily witnesses to the crimes committed on the prisoners. They were also required to be present at executions. At the Bruttig cemetery are the grave stones of 12 prisoners from the year 1944. Not all the prisoners were buried in Bruttig; some corpses were cremated in the Mainz crematorium. The death toll is therefore likely to be much higher—at least 50 but more likely much more.

A few prisoners were used outside the tunnel in local workshops or households, at a blacksmith's at Cochem, or loading goods at the railway yard. Supplies for the subcamp most probably came by rail to Karden (present-day Treis-Karden), and the machines required by Bosch most likely arrived at the Cochem railway station.

Bombing raids began at the end of August 1944 and were probably the reason why the camps in Bruttig and Treis were dissolved. The Cochem-Bruttig camp is mentioned for the last time in the files of the Natzweiler concentration camp on September 29, 1944. According to a report from the Protective Detention Camp, dated September 30, 1944, 1,081 Cochem prisoners were transferred on September 29, 1944, to Buchenwald. According to Natzweiler records, the prisoners were transferred in the middle of September. A member of the guard wrote in his diary that the evacuation of approxi-

mately 600 Bruttig prisoners took place on September 14–15, 1944. They were taken via Nordhausen to Ellrich in the southern Harz region. The ITS records the dissolution of the camp as occurring on September 29, 1944.

In July 1947, a trial began before the Tribunal Général in Rastatt against eight former members of the camps at Cochem-Bruttig and Cochem-Treis. SS-Sturmbannführer Gerrit Oldeboershuis was sentenced to life imprisonment with hard labor for the cruel crimes he had committed personally. SS-Obersturmführer Scheffe, occasional camp commander, who had 13 prisoners hung for trying to escape, was sentenced to death. On November 8, 1947, the sentence was commuted to 15 years' hard labor. Scheffe was pardoned and released from prison on July 9, 1956.

SS-Untersturmführer Burkhardt, who was under Oldeboershuis's direct command to supervise the construction work in the tunnel, was sentenced to 10 years in jail. Oswald Allhäuser, a senior foreman in charge of some of the prisoners, was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment. Mathias Schneider, a bricklayer and office worker at the Treis construction site, together with the foremen Anton Zimmer and Oskar Kröber, received sentences of less than 5 years. The former mayor and Nazi Party local group leader at Bruttig, Alois Mentenich, was acquitted.

SOURCES The Cochem-Bruttig subcamp is described by Robert Steegmann in *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 75, 274. Ernst Heimes, *Ich habe immer nur den Zaun gesehen. Suche nach dem KZ-Aussenlager Cochem* (1992, Koblenz: Fölbach, 1996), provides a detailed description of the research on the camps at Treis and Bruttig and includes numerous photographs. Two Bruttig and Treis prisoners have written their memoirs: Bert Aerts, *Advokaat en Nacht en Nevel* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1972); and Henry Allainmat, *Auschwitz en France* (Paris: Presses de la Cité, 1987). Albert Pütz describes Cochem in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945. Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (The SS Special Camp/Concentration Camp Hinzert 1940–1945. Proceedings against Paul Sporrenberg) (Frankfurt: Ministerium der Justiz Rheinland-Pfalz, 1998) as a subcamp of Hinzert and a Natzweiler work detachment (map at p. 277). In *Schattenmenschen* (Shadow men) (Frankfurt am Main: Brandes and Apsel, 1996), Ernst Heimes relates the events in the Cochem camp and in the subcamps at Bruttig and Treis.

Archival records on Cochem and the subcamps Treis and Bruttig are to be mostly found in the archival collections of the Natzweiler concentration camp. Incomplete details on the victims in both camps during the Natzweiler period are to be found in *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*. There are also two newspaper articles about the proceedings against commanding officers of the Natzweiler subcamps 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. Reinhold Schommers has published two articles on Cochem: “Die Last drückt immer noch,” in *RzC*, ca. 1985; and “Ein Mahnmal deutscher Vergangenheit,” *St. Ald*, ca. 1985. The ITS’s *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979) mentions the Cochem-Bruttig subcamp at 1:200.

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NOTE

1. The French inmate Henry Allainmat, quoted from Ernst Heimes, *Ich habe immer nur den Zaun gesehen. Suche nach dem KZ-Aussenlager Cochem* (1992; Koblenz: Fölbach, 1996), pp. 58–59.

COCHEM-TREIS (“ZEISIG”) [AKA KOCHEM-TREIS]

Cochem-Treis on the Mosel River in the former Prussian Rhine Province was the site of a Natzweiler subcamp that organizationally was connected to the Cochem-Bruttig subcamp. Some sources, among them the International Tracing Service (ITS), state that the Cochem-Treis subcamp was a subdetail of the Cochem-Bruttig subcamp, whereas other sources describe both camps as Natzweiler outside details usually known under the common term “Cochem” (also known as Kochem).

Bruttig and Treis were connected by a disused railway tunnel that shortened the Mosel loop between both locations. The tunnel had been built at the end of World War I. In 1944, it was integrated into the Jägerstab (Fighter Staff) project and was known as “Project A7” (code name “Zeisig”) and administered by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Amtsgruppe C, Building Inspectorate (Bauinspektion) Reich-West.

The Cochem-Treis camp is mentioned for the first time in an official report dated March 27, 1944. Confirmation of that report is to be found in the files of the Natzweiler concentration camp. Thus, Cochem-Treis is about two weeks younger than the Bruttig camp. According to a prisoner statement, the Treis camp existed in 1942, but this cannot be confirmed by official documents or from other witnesses.

As temporary accommodation for the prisoners, the SS had requisitioned some rooms in the Treis Wildburg hotel on the Mosel River. The hotel’s hall was separated from the rest of the hotel by barbed wire, and the first 150 prisoners were held there. Presumably, business continued as normal in the rest of the hotel. The prisoners stationed at the hotel constructed the subcamp that was located in Treis “Auf der Kipp” (i.e., on the railway embankment constructed from material excavated from the tunnel). It was to this camp that the prisoners were transferred at the end of March—beginning of April 1944.

Initially, the Treis camp consisted of a two-level prisoner barrack and three other barracks (one for the kitchen and two

barracks for the guards) as well as a kennel. The camp was surrounded by barbed wire, and at each of the four corners, there was a watchtower with a height of approximately 4 meters (13 feet). The guards in the towers were armed with machine guns, and searchlights were mounted on the towers. Another six or seven prisoner barracks were very quickly added, the foundations in part being on the railway embankment. It is probable that, as a result, a number of the barracks even had cellars. Outside the camp there were other barracks for the guards, and further up the Mosel, there were three stone buildings, whose purpose remains unclear (most probably they were administration buildings and garages).

The first transport of prisoners from Natzweiler to Bruttig and Treis left on March 5, 1944, and consisted of 300 French prisoners, 232 of whom were *Nacht-und-Nebel* prisoners. For security reasons, these prisoners usually were not permitted to work outside the main camp. Once this error was realized, four weeks later, the French prisoners were withdrawn and replaced by more than 700 new prisoners—417 Poles, 286 Russians, 5 Croats, 2 French, 1 Italian, 5 Germans, and 2 stateless persons. Another 850 Polish and Russian prisoners arrived from Auschwitz on May 3, 1944. Prisoners were also sent from Buchenwald and, in July 1944, from Hinzert. French, Poles, Russians, Dutch, Belgian, Luxembourgers, Yugoslavs, Italians, Croats, Greeks, Norwegians, and a few Germans (but most likely no Jews) were the prisoners who made up the construction project Zeisig. They were from just about all prisoner categories—convicts transferred from the judicial system to a concentration camp (Security Custody, SV), temporary and preventive remand, asocial, foreign civilian workers, prisoners of war (POWs), prisoners for political reasons, homosexuals, Jehovah’s Witnesses, SAW (Sicherheits-Abteilung/Security Section Wehrmacht), and all types of trades and professions: tradesmen, laborers, farmers, technicians, officers, teachers, traders, white-collar workers, a few apprentices, pupils, students, and doctors. The youngest prisoner in Cochem turned 16 on April 2, 1944; a French prisoner aged 61 was the eldest. On July 24, 1944, the Natzweiler documents recorded 1,527 prisoners in the subcamps at Bruttig and Treis. There was a constant exchange of prisoners between the main camp and these subcamps. It is not possible to determine for every individual whether they were sent to Bruttig or Treis.

The prisoners’ task was to expand the Bruttig-Treis railway tunnel with its 21,000 square meter (25,116 square yards) area. Once complete, the tunnel was to be used by Bosch, Stuttgart, to manufacture spark plugs. The SS-Führungsstab A7 listed the following material for construction: 550 metric tons (606 tons, short U.S.) building iron, 275 metric tons (303 tons, short U.S.) machine iron, 145 cubic meters (190 cubic yards) raw timber, 610 cubic meters (798 cubic yards) cut timber, 1,500 metric tons (1,653 tons, short U.S.) cement, and 200 metric tons (220 tons, short U.S.) bricks. The total cost of the construction work was 3.5 million Reichsmark (RM), and the construction firm Fix from Dernau had primary responsibility for the work.

From March 1944, Project A7 was commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Meyer and, from May 1944, by SS-Sturmbannführer Gerrit Oldeboershuis, who was known as “Oldenbuhr” and who simultaneously was head of the Special Inspectorate (Sonderinspektion) III at Bad Wimpfen on the Neckar River. At the end of the war, Oldeboershuis was in command of the camp at Ohrdruf. The second in command was SS-Untersturmführer Karl-Heinz Burkhardt (he had the special task of securing the Bruttig-Treis tunnel construction work). Noncommissioned officers included Wachtmeister Funke and SS-Mann Felder. The regional representative of Amtsgruppe D was SS-Obersturmführer Rudolf Beer (also spelled “Bär”). SS-Sturmscharführer and Kreissekretär (District Secretary) Friedrich Schulze was given responsibility for security by the Koblenz Gestapo.

The commanders of the Bruttig and Treis details were SS-Obersturmführer Beer, followed by SS-Obersturmführer Scheffe and finally by SS-Untersturmführer Wicker. The guards were supplied by a Luftwaffe detachment under the command of Hauptmann Rückert, although some sources refer to SS or Wehrmacht members.

The working conditions in the tunnel were disastrous. Belgian prisoner Albert Aerts, a former lawyer, describes his time in Treis as follows: “The Germans felt that it had become a race against time, and although we only had picks, they drove us with kicks and blows to a hellish working tempo. The road had to be constructed within one week, and that’s the way it happened. Practically, we received no food at all. The guards sold off our rations to the local population, who themselves suffered from hunger. For the first time, we were starving day and night.”¹ There were constant escape attempts that, due to the geography, close settlements, hills, and the Mosel loop, as a rule failed. More than 20 escape attempts are documented for the Bruttig and Treis subcamps. The official documents reveal that the local Treis gendarmerie actively participated in the hunt for the escapees. Recaptured prisoners were regularly executed—in the subcamp at Cochem-Treis, the prisoners were hanged from the acacia or linden trees. Aerts reports that on Good Friday 1944 two inmates were crucified for their attempt to escape. The camp inmates had to watch their death struggles for hours. Only at the very end, after many hours, one guard shot them to death.

The punishment was just as severe for those who tried to assist the prisoners. Two civilian forced laborers from Luxembourg working in the tunnel for Bosch, Johann-Peter Wilwert and Wilhelm Braun, gave information, money, and food to some Italian prisoners in the Treis subcamp. They were detected and held as concentration camp prisoners in Treis. Wilwert was later sent to the so-called Education Camp at Neuwied. He died in Buchenwald at the end of 1944—beginning of 1945.

A few prisoners were used outside the tunnel by local tradesmen or in homes, at a smith in Cochem, or for unloading goods at the railway station. Supplies for the subcamps probably came via the Karden railway station (present-day

Treis-Karden). The Bosch machines probably came via the Cochem railway station.

Bombing of the camps began at the end of August 1944, and this probably resulted in the decision to close the subcamps. The Cochem-Treis camp is mentioned in official documents for the last time on October 7, 1944. The Treis and Bruttig prisoners were transferred to Buchenwald. A trial began in July 1947 before the Tribunal Général in Rastatt of those in charge of the subcamps at Cochem-Bruttig and Cochem-Treis. SS-Sturmbannführer Oldeboershuis was sentenced to life imprisonment with hard labor for aggravated crimes committed by him personally. SS-Obersturmführer Scheffe, occasional camp commander, who ordered 13 prisoners to be hung for trying to escape, was sentenced to death. The sentence was commuted on November 8, 1947, to 15 years’ imprisonment with hard labor. Scheffe was released early from prison on July 9, 1956.

SS-Untersturmführer Burkhardt, who, pursuant to Oldeboershuis’s direct order, was responsible for supervision of the construction in the tunnel, was sentenced to 10 years in jail. Oswald Allhäuser, a foreman of some of the prisoners, also received a sentence of 5 years in jail. Mathias Schneider, a mason and office worker at the Treis construction site, and foremen Anton Zimmer and Oskar Kröber received sentences of less than 5 years.

SOURCES Ernst Heimes provides a detailed report on his research into the camps at Treis and Bruttig as well as numerous photographs in *Ich habe immer nur den Zaun gesehen. Suche nach dem KZ-Aussenlager Cochem* (1992; Koblenz: Fölbach, 1996). Robert Steegmann describes the Cochem-Treis subcamp in *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 75, 274. Two Bruttig and Treis prisoners have written their memoirs: Bert Aerts, *Advokaat en Nacht en Nevel* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1972); and Henry Allainmat, *Auschwitz en France* (Paris: Presses de la Cité, 1987). Albert Pütz describes Cochem in *Das SS-Sonderlager/KZ Hinzert 1940–1945. Das Anklageverfahren gegen Paul Sporrenberg* (Frankfurt: Ministerium der Justiz Rheinland-Pfalz, 1998) as a subcamp of Hinzert and a Natzweiler work detachment (map at p. 277). In *Schattenmenschen* (Frankfurt am Main: Brandes and Apsel, 1996), Ernst Heimes relates the events in the Cochem camp and in the subcamps at Bruttig and Treis. Incomplete details on the victims in both camps during the Natzweiler period are to be found in: *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*. There are also two newspaper articles about the proceedings against commanding officers of the Natzweiler subcamps 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.

Reinhold Schommers has published two articles on Cochem: “Die Last drückt immer noch,” *RZC*, ca. 1985; and “Ein Mahnmal deutscher Vergangenheit,” *St. Ald*, ca. 1985. The ITS’s *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-*

SS (1933–1945) (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979) mentions the camp at Cochem-Treis, 1:200.

The archives at the Natzweiler concentration camp hold documents on the Cochem subcamp and the Treis and Bruttig camps.

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NOTES

1. Quoted from Ernst Heimes, *Ich habe immer nur den Zaun gesehen. Suche nach dem KZ-Aussenlager Cochem* (1992; Koblenz: Fölbach, 1996), p. 55.

DARMSTADT

The Natzweiler subcamp at Darmstadt was opened on August 31, 1944, according to the files of the main camp. The prisoners were accommodated in Darmstadt and taken daily to Bensheim-Auerbach, where they worked supposedly as draftsmen in a decommissioned tunnel of a marble quarry used by the company Dr. Hans Heymann of Darmstadt. They worked on the gyro stabilizers for the V-2 rocket produced in Peenemünde.

Following the heavy bombardment of Darmstadt on September 11–12, 1944, the Darmstadt subcamp was closed, and the prisoners were permanently transferred to Bensheim-Auerbach.

SOURCES Robert Steegmann describes the Darmstadt subcamp in *Strutbof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 92, 263. Horst Riegraf refers to the subcamps at Bensheim-Auerbach and Heppenheim in Lothar Bembek's book *Hessen hinter Stachel-drabt. Verdrängt und vergessen: KZs, Lager, Aussenkommandos* (Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn-Verlag, 1984), p. 57, and briefly mentions the Darmstadt subcamp. The ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), 1:200, refers to the Darmstadt subcamp.

Information regarding the Darmstadt subcamp and the work of the inmates at Bensheim-Auerbach can also be obtained from NWHStA-(D), RG H 13 Darmstadt (Staatsanwaltschaft beim Landgericht Darmstadt), 1124—here especially AZ: 2 Js 263/72, the records of the investigations undertaken in 1970 to 1972.

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DAUTMERGEN

Dautmergen was the largest of the seven Wüste camps, with an average of around 3,000 prisoners. On February 1, 1945, the camp reached its peak number with 3,181 prisoners.¹ In addition to the Lithuanian Jews, survivors of the Warsaw Uprising, and resistance members from France, Holland, and Norway, Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) were also held there.

There are records that confirm the following transports: August 23, 1944, 1,000 Poles from Auschwitz; August 31, 1944, 1,000 Poles from Bisingen; September 19, 1944, 15 prisoners from Sachsenhausen; September 27, 1944, 400 prisoners from Dachau; at the beginning of October 1944, 1,000 Jews from Wilna (Vilnius), who had previously been working in Estonian shale oil plants; November 8, 1944, 250 prisoners from the Vahingen Krankenlager.² The Natzweiler concentration camp Nummernbuch 6 lists three additional transports: 32 prisoners of unknown origin; 599 prisoners who, no later than the beginning of December 1944, arrived at Dautmergen; and 138 prisoners who left Buchenwald on December 21, 1944.³ The last Buchenwald transport with 280 prisoners reached Dautmergen on March 30, 1945.⁴ To these 4,714 prisoners must be added an unknown number of Jewish prisoners who were transferred to Dautmergen in the middle of February 1945.

There were initially 50 to 60 guards; 24 were from a former Russian prisoner-of-war (POW) factory security unit that had been formed in Estonia.⁵ At the end of 1944, 188 men guarded around 3,000 prisoners.⁶ The camp inmates were mostly deployed at the Wüste 9 construction site in Schömburg. This factory commenced initial operation on March 11, 1945.⁷

According to a list composed after the end of the war but that starts on November 1944, 1,468 men died in the Dautmergen concentration camp.⁸ Among the victims (so far as is known) were 356 Jews.⁹ The total number of victims is not known, as sick prisoners were shunted off to death camps where most did not survive. On November 9, 1944, 500 prisoners were transferred to the Vaihingen/Enz concentration camp. The first of these died two days later.¹⁰

SS-Hauptscharführer Liskan was the camp commander from the beginning of October 1944, having been transferred a few months previous from the Territorial Guardsmen (Landeschütze) to the SS. His successor, Braunwarth, also came from a Landeschütze unit.¹¹

The last camp commander, SS-Unterscharführer Erwin Dold, took over the leadership of the camp at the beginning of March 1945.¹² The 24-year-old Luftwaffe noncommissioned officer had previously been camp commander at the Haslach concentration camp and is probably the only camp commander who tried to improve the conditions in the camp. He obtained building material, improved barracks and sanitary conditions, and obtained additional food from the black market. Survivors have described Dold as the “Angel of Dautmergen”¹³ and as a “great moral support.”¹⁴

SS-Unterscharführer Stefan Kruth, who arrived at the end of August 1944 at Dautmergen via the concentration camps Neuengamme, Lublin-Majdanek, Radom, and Vaihingen/Enz, was at first in charge of the camp office and later became the Rapportführer. Kruth, who had the nickname “hare” or “Hase,” because he was constantly hunting the prisoners, engaged in systematic mistreatment of the Jewish prisoners. Survivors have described him as the “prisoners’ nightmare” and as a “prototype sadist.”¹⁵

Kruth and Hofmann (commandant of the Natzweiler/Bisingen subcamp) implemented a delousing action in January 1945 that resulted in many victims. The prisoners, including many seriously ill, were forced to bathe in cold water and run back to the camp through the snow either naked or with a minimum of clothing.¹⁶ Kruth, Hofmann, and Wurth ordered the hanging of an unknown prisoner and the shooting of 22 prisoners on April 7, 1945, who had been brought to Dautmergen for their execution. Dold refused to assemble the execution squad. Finally, Wurth led the execution. Among the victims were 20 Russian officers and 2 German clergymen.¹⁷

Prisoner-functionaries also mistreated prisoners: the feared Polish camp elder and Kapo and his successor, a German prisoner, as well as another Polish Kapo and a young Jewish block elder were all abusive to prisoners.¹⁸

Dold, the only SS member to face trial, was acquitted by a French military court in Rastatt in 1947 on the evidence provided by survivors. The camp elder and a Kapo were sentenced to death; the Jewish block elder was sentenced to life imprisonment. Six other SS members received the death sentence; there were two life sentences; and two received prison terms of 20 years. An SS member was sentenced to 10 years, two to 5 years, and one to 1 year in prison.¹⁹

At the trial at the Hechingen Schwurgericht (Court of Assizes) in 1966, the court sentenced Rapportführer Kruth to 12 years in prison in a penitentiary for 2 counts of attempted murder. He had originally been charged on 129 counts of murder and 23 counts of accessory to murder.²⁰ The court took into account that Kruth “since then had not offended” and that “as a Volksdeutsche he was proud to be serving in the SS.”²¹ Hofmann was acquitted of all charges for crimes committed in the Dautmergen concentration camp.²² On appeal, the Schwurgericht Ulm reduced Kruth’s sentence to 6 years.²³

SOURCES Information on the Dautmergen concentration camp is to be found in a variety of sources. For example, Immo Opfermann, *Das Unternehmen Wüste. Ölschieferwerke und Konzentrationslager entlang der Bahnlinie Tübingen-Rottweil 1944/45* (Tübingen: Schömburg, 1997); and Michael Grandt, *Unternehmen Wüste. Hitlers letzte Hoffnung. Das NS-Ölschieferprogramm auf der Schwäbischen Alb* (Tübingen: Silberburg Verlag, 2002). Thomas Seiterich-Kreuzkamp has written an essay on the Dautmergen camp commander, “Der Fall Erwin Dold,” in *Widerstand gegen die Judenverfolgung*, ed. Michael Kissener (Konstanz: Universitätsverlag, 1996), pp. 261–283. Johannes Winter is working on Dold’s life and has published an article in the *FASz*, “KZ-Kommandant und Lebensretter,” October 24, 2004.

Floris B. Bakels has written exhaustively about time in the Dautmergen concentration camp in *Nacht und Nebel. Der Bericht eines holländischen Christen aus deutschen Gefängnissen und Konzentrationslagern* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1979). Norwegian Helge Norseth wrote about the Dautmergen camp in his autobiography *Gefangen und doch frei* (Stuttgart: Neuhäuser, 1995).

The largest source on the Dautmergen concentration

camp is to be found in the StA-L (Akten der Ermittlungsverfahren und Prozessakten). A few survivors’ reports as well as prisoner lists are held in YVA (including a list of Jewish victims), in the NARA, as well as in the ANFP. In the AOC, there are files on the mass grave, the exhumation after 1945, and the shale oil project. In the StA-S, there are the files of the Kreisernährungsamt, which provide detail on the camp troops.

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NOTES

1. Tägliche Stärkemeldungen für das KZ Dautmergen im Februar 1945, February 28, 1945, in StA-S Wü 65/4 Bd. 2, 1416.
2. Anlagen zum Schutzhaftlagerrapport des KZ Natzweiler vom September 30, 1944, October 14, 1944, October 31, 1944, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1312, Bl. 219–223. Verschiedene Dokumente über den Transport von 1000 Juden (einschliesslich Transportliste), in AMS, I-IC-3. Urteil Hechinger Prozess, March 18, 1966, S. 54, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1236. Namensliste der von Vaihingen nach Dautmergen überstellten 250 Häftlinge, November 8, 1944, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1312, Bl. 204–208.
3. Nummernbuch 6 des KZ Natzweiler, in ANFP, 72 AJ 2171. Transportliste Buchenwald—“Wüste,” December 19, 1944, in NARA, Target 0011614-0011885.
4. Zugangsliste Buchenwald nach Dautmergen, March 30, 1945, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1312, Bl. 200–202.
5. Urteil Hechinger Prozess, S. 58.
6. Schreiben 8. SS. Totenkopfsturmbann KL Natzweiler/Dautmergen an das Ernährungsamt Balingen, December 7, 1944, in StASIG, Wü 65/4 Bd. 2, Nr. 1416.
7. Bericht über das Unternehmen “Wüste,” Februar–März 1946, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1250, Bl. 2712–2716.
8. Schaubild der Opfer der KZ Dautmergen und Schömburg, nach 1945, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1250, Bl. 2859.
9. Liste der im KZ Dautmergen gestorbenen Juden, in YV, M-1 DN/53.
10. Namensliste der 500 aus dem KZ Dautmergen in das KZ Vaihingen am November 9, 1944, überstellten Häftlinge und der 40 aus Dautmergen nach Vaihingen am November 20, 1944, 40 überstellten Häftlinge, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1312, Bl. 200–202. Liste der Opfer des Konzentrationslagers Wiesengrund bei Vaihingen an der Enz (Nachkriegsaufstellung), in ASt-Va/E. Namensliste der von Dautmergen nach Dachau überstellten arbeitsunfähigen 973 Häftlinge, April 7, 1945, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1312, Bl. 6–24. Namensliste der von Dautmergen nach Dachau überstellten arbeitsunfähigen 101 Häftlinge, April 13, 1945, in *ibid.*, Bl. 25–26.
11. Schreiben SS-Aussenkommando Dautmergen an SS-Hauptscharführer Hubert Lisken, October 5, 1944, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1346, Bl. 2. Vernehmung Lisken durch das Landgericht Hechingen, July 13, 1960, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1244, Bl. 1541–1544.
12. Urteil Hechinger Prozess, S. 57.
13. Bericht des Überlebenden Stanislaw Gladyszek in www.laehnemann.de/auschwitz/seitel6-1.htm.

14. Urteil Rastatter Prozess, February 1, 1947, cited in Michael Grandt, *Unternehmen Wüste. Hitlers letzte Hoffnung. Das NS-Ölschieferprogramm auf der Schwäbischen Alb* (Tübingen: Silberburg Verlag, 2002), pp. 181–204, 198.

15. Anklageschrift Hechinger Prozess, August 1, 1963, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1236, S. 56–60. Urteil Hechinger Prozess, S. 59.

16. Urteil Hechinger Prozess, S. 173–174.

17. Urteil Hechinger Prozess, S. 203–208. Anklageschrift Hechinger Prozess, S. 131–145.

18. Urteil Rastatter Prozess, February 27, 1947. Urteil Hechinger Prozess, S. 89–90. Floris B. Bakels, *Nacht und Nebel. Der Bericht eines holländischen Christen aus deutschen Gefängnissen und Konzentrationslagern* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1979), p. 269.

19. Urteil Rastatter Prozess, February 1, 1947, cited in Grandt, *Wüste*, pp. 181–204.

20. Anklageschrift Hechinger Prozess, S. 6f.

21. Urteil Hechinger Prozess, S. 3, 141.

22. *Ibid.*, S. 3.

23. Urteil des Schwurgerichts Ulm in der Strafsache gegen Kruth und Schnabel, September 8, 1969 (rechtskräftig bezüglich Kruth am May 1, 1970), in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1237, S. 2.

DERNAU AN DER AHR [AKA REBSTOCK]

There were several railway tunnels and caverns in the Ahrtal Valley that were of interest to the Reich for the construction of underground munitions plants, especially toward the end of the war. Among other things, the Luftwaffe leadership planned to assemble the V-1 rockets there in underground facilities. One of the participating companies was Volkswagen (VW).

The so-called Rebstock subcamp in Dernau an der Ahr consisted of a number of different camp types and categories. The camp held military internees, forced laborers, German and foreign laborers, and also concentration camp prisoners. Wolfgang Gückelhorn estimates the percentage of concentration camp prisoners in the Rebstock camp was around 20 percent; the camps had been in existence long before the first concentration camp prisoners arrived (that probably took place in 1944) and held prisoners of a number of nationalities: Germans, Poles, Russians, French, Czechs, Hungarians, Italians, Spanish, Dutch, Yugoslavs, and one Canadian flyer.

It is difficult to follow the trail of the Natzweiler subcamp in the Dernau camp complex. Most research works focus on the Dernau camp, but they inadequately differentiate its parts according to main camp. In Dernau, there was also a significant Buchenwald subcamp and a concentration camp for prisoners from the Amersfoort concentration camp.

The Natzweiler/Dernau subcamp originally probably consisted of prisoners from the Natzweiler/Thil subcamp, who in August 1944 were brought to Dernau for construction work. They were followed at the beginning of September by a group of 300 Jewish specialists to work in an underground iron ore mine in Tiercelet that would be used to assemble the V-1.

However, the machines and tools remained in the Lothringen town of Tiercelet, and the training of these prisoners could not be used in Dernau. It is likely that in the first two to three weeks of their stay in Dernau they were used in general construction work in the tunnels before they were transported to Mittelbau/Nordhausen in September 1944, when plans for armaments production in Ahrtal were abandoned in the face of the incessant bombardments.

Details on work and living conditions in the Natzweiler subcamp cannot be filtered out from the general information on the Dernau camp complex. The same applies for the prisoners' death rate. The Natzweiler subcamp in Dernau is not referred to in the published International Tracing Service (ITS) works, nor was it the subject of investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL).

SOURCES Wolfgang Gückelhorn describes production, camp categories, and the history of Dernau in his *Lager Rebstock. Geheimer Rüstungsbetrieb in Eisenbahntunnels der Eifel für V2-Bodenanlagen 1943–44* (Aachen: Helios-Verlag, 2002), whereas Uli Jungbluth in his *Wunderwaffen im KZ "Rebstock." Zwangsarbeit in den Lagern "Rebstock" in Dernau/Rheinland/Pfalz und Artern/Thüringen im Dienste der V-Waffen* (Briedel: Rhein-Mosel-Verlag, 2000) focuses on the Dernau camps and their later relocation into Thüringen.

General documents on the Dernau camp and its armaments production—most without any specific reference to the Natzweiler subcamp—are held in various archives. The BAMA holds the following relevant collections: RW 21/34-7, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9; RH 8/1265 and 1267; RH 26/1022 and 1023. The DMM holds documents on Dernau in the collections GD 639.5.13, GD 639.5.18, GD 639.5.21, and GD 639.51.6, Folder 3226 b. At NARA, collection RG 243 is relevant. The "Beschreibung der unterirdischen Tätigkeiten bei Dernau/Marienthal, Deutschland: Aufklärungsbericht Nr. U.16" at PRO, Kew Richmond, Surrey AIR 20/ 5857 (10 pp.), is based on reconnaissance photos taken by the Royal Air Force between the summer and the end of 1944. It holds information on the camp, its geography, geology, size, railway facilities, road connections, facilities, water, and accommodation for the laborers, but there is no specific mention of the Natzweiler subcamp.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

DORMETTINGEN

The Dormettingen concentration camp was the last "Wüste"-Lager to be opened. It was ready at Christmas 1944, but it was only at the end of February–beginning of March 1945 that the first prisoners arrived.¹ According to the mayor of Dormettingen, the number of prisoners in the camp was 3,000,² but this number cannot be confirmed. On September 20, 1944, the commander of the Stutthof concentration camp, Hoppe, suspected that the planned transport of 3,000 prisoners to Dormettingen was a mistake.³ According to investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL), around 500 prisoners were ultimately interned in

Dormettingen.⁴ According to statements by two SS men, the camp functioned as a camp for sick prisoners from Bisingen and Dautmergen.⁵

Three slate oil plants were planned for Dormettingen (Wüste 6–8). Only the Wüste-Werk began operation before the war, but it was not fully commissioned. Work on Wüste 6 and 7 ceased at the beginning of March 1945.⁶ The camp commander was at first SS-Unterscharführer Fritz Bauer, until he was replaced, probably at the beginning of April 1945, by the Rapportführer and deputy commander of the Bisingen concentration camp, Franz Ehrmantraut.⁷

The Dormettingen register of deaths records the death of 16 prisoners. The victims were probably buried in Dautmergen.⁸ Among the dead were 6 prisoners who attempted to escape after the first air raid on the slate oil plant at the end of March or beginning of April 1945; 2 of them, Hungarian Jews, hid in the house of a leading Dormettingen National Socialist. The camp commander, Ehrmantraut, was in the house at the time. When he discovered the prisoners in the cellar, he shot them. The other prisoners were held in rooms in the local castle and were probably also shot.⁹ The Schömberg gendarmerie daily logbook (*Geschäftstagebuch*) notes the escape of Nikolai Kierew from Dormettingen, his capture, and his “departure” on April 5, 1945, to the Oberndorf Gestapo.¹⁰ Nothing is known of his fate.

The Catholic priest in Dormettingen reported after 1945 that the security at the camp shortly before the end of the war was not tight and that the prisoners entered the village. He visited several times a clergyman from Lothringen who was held in the camp. Directions by the camp commander that during religious services the local population should be told not to give food to the prisoners were ignored by him.¹¹ The Dormettingen concentration camp was evacuated in April 1945. Between April 6 and 13, 1945, 428 prisoners were evacuated to Dachau. The remainder most probably set forth on a death march. The number of victims is not known.¹²

The Dormettingen concentration camp is anchored less in the collective consciousness of the population than a private, “wild” concentration camp established after the end of the war. This camp was established by former concentration camp prisoners and forced laborers who worked at the Deutsche Ölschieferforschungsgesellschaft (German Oil Shale Research Association, DÖLF) in Schömberg. The camp was to intern perpetrators from the local Dormettingen concentration camp and local National Socialist bigwigs. They were to be punished here. However, most of the SS at the Dormettingen concentration camp had long gone. Around 40 Germans from Dormettingen and its surrounding area were arbitrarily imprisoned. Among them were a few women who were raped by the guards. At least 16 people were mistreated and died. Among them was an Organisation Todt (OT) construction leader, the former Ortsgruppenleiter in Dotternhausen, the mayor of Dotternhausen, an SS man, and a builder from Metzgingen who had mistreated prisoners at the Schömberg concentration camp. Among these perpetrators was the local Dotternhausen commander installed by the French mil-

itary government, Alfons Scheerer (also known as Deletre or de Laitre). A Frenchman, he had apparently worked during the National Socialist period for the SD. Also responsible for mistreating the prisoners was a Czech who during the war had worked for a Czech OT labor detachment as well as an engineer and master mechanic Helmer-Sandmann, who had worked for DÖLF in Schömberg.¹³

The French military tribunal in Rastatt sentenced Ehrmantraut on May 29, 1947, to death for the murder of the two Jewish prisoners who escaped from the Dormettingen concentration camp (as well as for other crimes committed in the Bisingen concentration camp). His sentence was finally commuted to 20 years’ imprisonment, and he was released from prison in 1962. Investigations by the Stuttgart state prosecutor into Ehrmantraut were temporarily halted as the result of a German-French treaty on the exchange of prisoners and were permanently halted after his death in 1974.¹⁴ In 1951, the Rottweil Schwurgericht (Court of Assizes), after extensive investigations, sentenced the person most responsible for the wild camp in Dormettingen, Helmer-Sandmann, to 15 years’ imprisonment in a penitentiary.¹⁵

SOURCES There has been little research on the Dormettingen concentration camp. Michael Grandt has devoted part of his book *Unternehmen Wüste: Hitlers letzte Hoffnung: Das NS-Ölschieferprogramm auf der Schwäbischen Alb* (Tübingen: Silberburg-Verlag, 2002) to the camp.

Most information on this subcamp is to be found in the investigation and trial files held in the StA-L (on the camp commander). A few files, mostly on the topic of shale oil, are held in the AOC, Colmar, as well as the StA-S. In Sigmaringen there are the investigation files (Verfahren der Staatsanwaltschaft Rottweil) regarding the time of the wild camp.

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NOTES

1. Schlussvermerk ZdL, October 23, 1970, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 872, Bl. 212–216.
2. Charnier de Schömberg, 1947, S. 24, in AOC, AP/PD, c. 1304, p 15 bis, d. 5.
3. Telegramm Hoppe an das SS-Wirtschaftsverwaltungs hauptamt, Amtsgruppe D, September 20, 1944, in AMS, I-IC-3.
4. Schlussvermerk ZdL, October 23, 1970, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 872, Bl. 212–216.
5. Vernehmung Franz Hofmann durch die Staatsanwaltschaft Hechingen, May 22, 1959, in StASIG, Ho 400 Bd. 2, Nr. 588. Vernehmung Franz Ehrmantraut durch die Kriminalpolizei, September 11, 1968, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 872, Bl. 67–68.
6. Schreiben Pohl an Himmler, March 29, 1945, in BA-BL, NS 3/823.
7. Vernehmung Franz Ehrmantraut vor dem Cour d’Appel (Oberlandesgericht) in Caen, January 12, 1961, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1248, Bl. 2335–2338. Schlussvermerk ZdL, October 23, 1970.

8. Bericht des Kriminalkommissariats Hechingen, June 8, 1959, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 1239, Bl. 428–433.

9. Mappe Strafsache der Staatsanwaltschaft Hechingen gegen Ehrmanntraut wegen Mordes im KZ Dormettingen, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 347. Verfahren gegen Ehrmanntraut wegen Verbrechen im KZ Dormettingen, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 872.

10. Original in StALB, EL 48/2 II, Bü 114.

11. Vernehmung Johannes Haug, February 12, 1968, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 872, Bl. 34.

12. Schreiben ITS Arolsen an ZdL, July 6, 1970 (Transportliste in Arolsen), in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 872, Bl. 97.

13. Verfahren der Staatsanwaltschaft Rottweil gegen Franz Helmer-Sandmann, 1950/51, in StASIG, Wü 29/2 Bd. 2, Acc. 9/1985, Nr. 1048.

14. Einstellungsverfügungen der Staatsanwaltschaft Stuttgart vom November 16, 1970, und November 5, 1974, in StALB, EL 317 III, Bü 872.

15. Urteil, October 6, 1951, in StASIG, Wü 29/2 Bd. 2, Acc. 9/1985, Nr. 1048.

ECHTERDINGEN

The Echterdingen camp was founded in November 1944 as a subcamp of Natzweiler, under the supervision of the Organisation Todt (OT)-Bauleitung Esslingen am Neckar. On September 23, 1944, the OT required 600 workers from Oranienburg to work on the military airport; at the beginning of October, a member of the Kommandanturstab Natzweiler visited Echterdingen (a town of 3,054 inhabitants in 1939) in order to prepare for the establishment of the camp. The whole administration of the camp was in the hands of the SS; an SS-Untersturmführer who had been active in Natzweiler since January 1942 and later became block leader (Blockführer) was appointed to oversee the guards; he finished the war as head of the women's camp Geislingen an der Steige. All the other guards belonged to the German air force.

As early as November 22, an inmate died in Echterdingen. His death was registered at the Bernhäuser city hall, the neighboring town, which indicates that inmates arrived very shortly after the OT had requisitioned them. Six days later, the first eight inmates were incinerated in the Esslinger crematorium, eight Jews. The inmates arrived from Oranienburg but also from the Konzentrationslager (KZ) Stutthof near Danzig, in one single transport. Some were transported in ordinary passenger trains that split at the Stuttgart train station between Echterdingen and Spaichingen, another Natzweiler subcamp.

Before the arrival of the Jewish inmates from Oranienburg, foreign workers, mostly East European prisoners of war (POWs), had already worked on the airport compound and also on the surrounding farms. They lived in the empty hangar, as the planes were no longer kept in it because of the Allied air attacks. They were provided with minimum furniture, beds, coal heating, and even cupboards and with makeshift quarters for doctors and the camp elder (Lagerältester). Four

watchtowers were built to guard the prisoners and were surrounded by a nonelectrified fence. A kitchen barrack and an OT office were built outside the camp. Some 600 inmates, all male Jews, were registered under Natzweiler numbers 42904 to 43503. The main camp kept the records of the death registry.

The camp was widely self-administrated, and four inmates worked in the kitchen. There were three doctors among the inmates. All of the prisoners had been registered for labor on the transport list, most as officially unskilled manual workers. The transport list kept in the Arolsen archives shows that the inmates were of different nationalities, including Dutch, Italian, Lithuanian, Hungarian, Estonian, Belgian, and Russian. The largest number came from Poland; some inmates were registered as Spaniards, others as political Jews (*politische Juden*) who were in fact German. Many of the inmates arrived in Echterdingen in poor health, sick and undernourished. They received no food during the transport to Stuttgart. While the conditions of living in the new camp were much better than in Stutthof or Oranienburg, the food supplies remained insufficient. No evidence of ill treatment in Echterdingen is documented due to the composition of the guards and of the prisoner administration; the Lagerältester, a Polish Jew named Jakob, behaved quite decently toward his fellow prisoners. The death rate in Echterdingen was high, though still below many other concentration camps. A maximum of 111 inmates perished of the 600 who arrived in Echterdingen: 8 in November 1944, 49 in December, and 54 in January 1945. The first 19 bodies were burned in the Esslingen crematorium, and the ashes were transported to the Jewish section of the Ebershalden cemetery. The cremations had to be stopped for lack of adequate facilities, and the bodies were then buried in two mass graves in the communal forest, about 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) from the camp. In January 1945, a typhus epidemic raged through the camp. The deaths were also registered in a special volume at the city hall, following the instruction of the mayor, but a secretary of the municipality burned it in April 1945 when French troops entered the village.

Doctors treated the ill in the camp. One to three doctors worked at any given time, among them a Doctor Goldberg from Kraków. The German air force, the OT and the Esslinger hospital provided a small amount of medicine.

The inmates had four work assignments: the construction of a road between the airport and the neighboring motorway, so that the planes could be moved to them for takeoff; the camouflaging of planes to protect them from air raids; the cleaning of the airport runways after air attacks; and the mining of rock from a quarry. The quarry was located 6 kilometers away (3.7 miles) from the Echterdingen camp, between Bernhausen and Sielmingen. It belonged to the Bernhausen municipality as well as to several private individuals and had been idle before the war. German civilians worked alongside the inmates, probably as skilled workers. The SS received 6 Reichsmark (RM) a day per skilled worker and 4 RM per unskilled worker.

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All contacts between the inmates and the civilian population were strictly forbidden. Nonetheless, the senior inmate met frequently with the mayor of the village, as the municipality was in charge of providing the ration cards for the inmates. Some inhabitants gave food to Jews on their way to work, even though this was forbidden by the head of the camp.

The SS administration dismantled the Echterdingen subcamp at the end of January 1945, following the typhus epidemic. At that time, air raids on the airport were frequent, and the village was almost entirely destroyed. Two transports of 50 men each left the camp on January 9 and 10 and eventually reached the Natzweiler/Vaihingen subcamp. On January 21, a transport of 12 train cars left the Echterdingen train station, taking the remaining inmates to Ohrdruf, a subcamp of Buchenwald. These cars were heated; the transport bore the number 6782554 and took two days to reach its final destination. A fourth transport left Echterdingen, also on January 21; 59 men were sent to Celle/Hannover. They might possibly have arrived in Bergen-Belsen, but their fate remains unknown.

After the war, American forces ordered the bodies of the deceased inmates to be reburied in the Jewish section of the Esslingen cemetery. A ceremony was held there in October 1945. The American air force occupied the airport and took over the still-standing hangar that had housed the inmates.

SOURCES The most complete survey, using many interviews with survivors and bystanders, is Barbara Keuerleber-Siegle, "Das Lager Echterdingen," in *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegsführung. Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass*, ed. Herwart Vorländer (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1978). The Echterdingen camp is also mentioned in Christine Grabinger, *Bernhausen, Ortsgeschichte* (Bernhausen: Gemeindeverwaltung, 1974), p. 344. A book describes the bombings of Echterdingen, with many pictures of the airport, but does not mention the subcamp: Gerhard Schlecht, *Ein Dorf am Rande des Abgrunds, Echterdingen 1939–1945. Eine Dokumentation von Kriegereignissen in Echterdingen von 1939–1945* (Stuttgart: Karl Scharr, 1993).

Documents on the camp can be found at ITS, Hängemappe Akdo Echterdingen, and at BA-L (AZ. IV 419 AR 1775/67).

Jean-Marc Dreyfus

ELLWANGEN

A Natzweiler concentration camp for male prisoners was located in the Württemberg town of Ellwangen on Stettin Strasse. The camp is mentioned for the first time in the Natzweiler files on June 28, 1943. Other sources refer to the date that it is first recorded as June 18, 1943. Herwart Vorländer's work states that the camp was probably completed in August 1943 and that it commenced operation then. The number of prisoners exploited in Ellwangen is unclear: in September 1943, it was probably 50, and another 50 arrived at the end of 1944. In March 1945, there were 102 prisoners in the camp,

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mostly foreigners. There were very few German prisoners. All the prisoners were accommodated in barracks.

The men worked for the SS-Grenadier-Ersatz-Ausbildungs Bataillon 5 (Grenadier Replacement Training Battalion 5) in the Neunheim quarry, the charcoal-fueled power station (*Holzkoblemeilern*) in Schwabsberg, where they produced charcoal for carburetors. They constructed bunkers, roads, and dwellings; repaired military barracks; and did other work in the barracks. Julius Schätzle states that five prisoners died in the Ellwangen camp.

According to an official report, the camp was evacuated on April 6, 1945 (following Gudrun Schwarz) via Hesselental to Dachau (other sources conclude that the prisoners were sent to Dachau/München-Allach). The first night of the prisoners' evacuation march was spent in their former work site, the Neunheim quarry. Around 30 of the prisoners lost their lives during the night. The survivors finally joined prisoners from the Schwäbisch Hall-Hesselental subcamp on the Hesselental death march, reaching Dachau/München-Allach sometime between April 19 and 21.

SOURCES The Ellwangen subcamp is listed in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), 1:201. A short description of the camp, some details of which have been used in this essay and which differ from the account in the ITS, is to be found in Herwart Vorländer, ed., *NS Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegsführung. Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des KL Natzweiler/Elsass*. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Reihe B: Forschungen, 91. Band (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer-Verlag, 1978), p. 11. The camp is also mentioned in *Heimatgeschichtliche Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstands und der Verfolgung 1933–1945, Baden-Württemberg I, Regierungsbezirke Karlsruhe und Stuttgart*, vol. 5 (Frankfurt am Main: Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand, 1991).

Julius Schätzle lists Ellwangen in his monograph *Stationen zur Hölle: Konzentrationslager in Baden und Württemberg 1933 bis 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Bibliothek des Widerstandes, Röderberg-Verlag GmbH, 1980), p. 64. Gudrun Schwarz also mentions the camp in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verlag, 1990), p. 180.

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ERZINGEN

The SS-Deutsche Schieferöl (German Shale Oil) GmbH, founded on May 2, 1944, part of the Amtsgruppe (Office Group) W des SS-Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungshauptamt (SS-Business Administration Main Office) and a subsidiary of the SS economic enterprise Deutsche Wirtschaftsbetriebe (German Business Enterprises) GmbH, was responsible for the construction of a factory to process shale oil in Erzingen. The SS wanted to keep open all possible options for the production of oil so that it would be in control of the ever-decreasing supplies. Russian prisoners of war (POWs) were to

provide the labor, and the SS established a camp called Hungerberg for them in Erzingen. The local population called it the Russian camp (*Russenlager*). The factory was to be operational by May 1945.

The SS-Schieferöl and its primitive attempts to extract oil from shale using a charcoal-fired power station became part of Unternehmen Wüste. On May 30, 1944, the Arbeitsstab Geilenberg began construction of Wüste 4 and Wüste 5 in Erzingen. The Erzingen concentration camp was completed on May 22, 1944. It was situated opposite the railway station. The first prisoners arrived a month later.

Although the SS-Schieferöl was officially established in May (meaning that it was then entered into the *Handelsregister*), equipment was being transported by rail to Erzingen from March 1944. A list prepared by the company Ernst König, Magdeburg, which was involved in the construction, makes this clear.

The subcamp was constructed by the 20 prisoners from the Schömberg concentration camp, including Julien Hagenbourger, who later was prisoner recorder (Häftlingsschreiber) in the concentration camps at Erzingen and Schörzingen. They were brought each day by rail to Erzingen from Schömberg: construction took two months, from March to the end of April, taking place during the period that materials were supplied by the König company.¹ The barracks were prefabricated, and the Organisation Todt (OT) was the project manager. Initially, the newly constructed barracks held the work detachments, and later Erzingen became a camp for political prisoners. It existed from May 22, 1944, to April 17, 1945 (331 days). It was the fourth of the seven Wüste camps and was, like the main camp, a *Nacht-und-Nebel* Lager; its prisoners were mainly resistance fighters from the German-occupied states of Western and Northern Europe. The first 200 prisoners arrived in Erzingen on June 22, 1944. In the *Natzweiler Nummernbuch*, the Erzingen concentration camp was abbreviated with the letter *E*, which conforms to the Dutch camp elder Jan Albertus Cleton's prisoner population book (*Häftlingsbestandsbuch*), containing a list of transports. Some 125 prisoners from the transport on August 28, 1944, remained in Erzingen. The highest number of prisoners in the camp was 339, but numbers were reduced as prisoners were transferred to other camps. On September 26, 1944, the camp reached its "ideal" number of 200 prisoners, the number of the first transport. At the beginning of January 1945, the numbers increased for a time to 245. There were two transports from Erzingen to Dachau on April 12, 1945 (33 prisoners) and on April 17 (126 prisoners), so that at the camp's end there were 159 prisoners.

The camp consisted of three large barracks in which the prisoners lived, as did the guards, who were recruited from SS ethnic Germans and Luftwaffe members. There were also a kitchen and a draftsman's office. The largest barracks was divided in two: the barbed-wire fence that surrounded the camp went straight up to the walls of this barracks so that the camp was passable both from the "outside" and the "inside" of the camp: a prisoner drawing "vom 11.XI." refers to "here in the

shadows" (*Hier im Schatten*), "there in the light" (*dort im Lichte*), and both areas are separated by a rose, borne by a prisoner's hand. Erzingen was an extremely unusual concentration camp, "aussergewöhnliches KZ," conspicuous from the many other barracks of the OT by its barbed-wire fence and the little guard's house and the camp's entry. Nevertheless, the guards' tower and roll-call square suggested a concentration camp. The Kommandoführer/Lagerkommandant was SS-Oberscharführer Paul Olesch, who, according to Hagenbourger, was replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Haas. The deputy was SS-Oberscharführer Rühling. SS-Hauptsturmführer Jakobi is also named as camp leader (Lagerleiter). He was the Chef, Sonderbeauftragter des Wirtschaftshauptamtes Berlin and operational manager (Betriebsführer) of the SS-Deutsche Schieferöl GmbH.

The accused tried in the postwar trial in Rastatt also included SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Rieflin; SS-Aufseher Anton Geisel, nicknamed by the prisoners as "White Glove" (*weisse Handschube*); and Simon Kellinger, the "Machine Pistol" (*Maschinenpistole*). Paul Marek, König's head foreman, also played a special role at the camp. He was convicted with the other accused in Rastatt: he had the nickname "Croqui-gnole" (or Nasenstüber).

The SS lived in the village of Erzingen, as did Marek and the other mine inspectors (Schachtmeister). The Erzingen concentration camp is an example of how the SS hierarchical structures meshed with those of the OT and civilian firms who did the construction work: here were the "anarchical gray zones" where the Erzingen prisoners could profit.

The prisoner hierarchy (*Häftlingshierarchie*) included the prisoner-functionaries (Funktionshäftlinge) of the camp, including Dr. Léon Bouthbien, who looked after the prisoners as well as the guards. "Thanks to the French prisoner doctor . . . the sick were able to get indispensable care," in reference to the small infirmary in the Erzingen concentration camp.² The block elder (Blockältester) was Bernhardus Hemmer, a Dutchman, as was camp elder (Lagerältester) Jan A. Cleton. All three received birthday wishes in the form of cards from their fellow prisoners in 1944–1945. This reveals the unusual character of the Erzingen camp, as the birthday cards were a sign of resistance against the National Socialist regime, which wanted to destroy the *Nacht-und-Nebel* prisoners. The birthday cards for Cleton's thirty-first birthday on December 15, 1944, were from prisoners of each nationality in the camp—Norwegians, French, Belgians, and Dutch. This was the composition of the Erzingen camp and is confirmed by the *Häftlingsbestandsbuch*.³

There was also a close connection between the prisoners and the civilian employees, as shown in the case of Dr. Bouthbien and Frau Ziebarth. For Christmas 1944, she organized "cakes" that Bouthbien thanked her for with the following note: "I am very much touched that Saint Nicholas did not forget us—and I rejoice at the fine presents! Once again I thank you—Leon."⁴ Ziebarth also gave the prisoners a work by Goethe, and in return, Isaak Wirschup, the only Jew in the camp, drew a portrait of her and Cleton; the connection was very strong.⁵ All of them, including the SS (it is said that

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Olesch was “bearable when he was drunk”), prevented the transfer of Wirschup to Berlin, as he was “urgently needed” in Erzingen.⁶

There were a few prisoners who died. One event makes it clear that this had something to do with the work the prisoners were forced to do. Cleton records the deadly accident (*Unval*) of the Belgian Gastwirt Marcel Groevoet, born on August 8, 1909, prisoner number 17392, on “30–11–44.” Paul Marek had to answer for this “accident” after the war in the Rastatt Trials, as he was accused of deliberately loosening the last screw while pipes were being unloaded at the Erzingen railway station. This could not be proven. Marek, as a civilian mine inspector, supervised small groups of prisoners who worked on the supplies for Erzingen including unloading railway wagons, heavy labor for which there were additional rations. Erzingen concentration camp prisoners worked on the construction sites of the Wüste-Werke 4 and 5, at other Wüste construction sites that they reached by traveling by rail, and on building a light field railway that would connect the “Abbaufeld” and “Kondensation.”

The prisoners mined shale at the Wüste 4 and 5 construction sites of the Deutsche Bergwerks- und Hüttenbau Gesellschaft (DBHG); worked the shale oil ovens run by the Bossert company; and dug caverns, as the prisoners had to help the Erzingen villagers construct air-raid shelters, which are today remembered by the villagers as “Jakobibau,” in memory of the leader (Gefolgschaftsführer) of the operation, Jakobi.

SOURCES The basis for this essay is the author’s third brochure for the exhibition (after Balingen and Rottweil): *Das Unternehmen “Wüste” Ölschieferwerke und Konzentrationslager entlang der Bahnlinie Tübingen-Rottweil 1944/45. Leitfaden und Materialien zur Ausstellung in der ehemaligen Baracke auf dem Gelände des Oberschulamtes Tübingen 7. Mai–31. Juli 1997* (Schömberg: Opfermann, 2000) and Michael Grant’s *Unternehmen “Wüste”—Hitlers letzte Hoffnung* (Tübingen: Silberburg-Verlag, 2002).

There are numerous archival sources on the Erzingen concentration camp in the ASt-Bal. The estate of Frau Ingeborg Ziebarth, who worked in the geological office and who had good contact with the prisoners, also provides a wealth of information.

The author possesses original documents relating to Erzingen, including the birthday cards prepared by the Nacht- und Nebel prisoners for Cleton’s thirty-first birthday.

The StA-S also contains numerous unpublished archival sources including postwar documents from the Zentralverwaltung der Württembergischen Ölschieferwerke and documents from the National Socialist period on the Wüste Project.

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NOTES

1. Julian Hagenbourger, *Aus schwerem Traum erwachen: Bericht des ehemaligen KZ-Häftlings Julien Hagenbourger, Lagerschreiber im Aussenlager Schörzingen mit der Natzweiler-Nummer 7244*, revised by Gerhard Lemp

(Deisslingen-Lauffen: Initiative Gedenkstätte Eckerwald, 1999), p. 29.

2. “Journal Officiel” vom April 15, 1947, cited in Immo Opfermann, *Das Unternehmen “Wüste.” Ölschieferwerke und Konzentrationslager entlang der Bahnlinie Tübingen-Rottweil 1944/45. Leitfaden und Materialien zur Ausstellung in der ehemaligen Baracke auf dem Gelände des Oberschulamtes Tübingen 7. Mai–31. Juli 1997* (Schömberg: Opfermann, 2000), p. 102.

3. This card is displayed in the Natzweiler main camp.

4. A secret message in the estate of I. Ziebarth, Opfermann, “Wüste.”

5. Verbally by I. Ziebarth.

6. Ibid.

FRANKFURT AM MAIN [AKA KATZBACH]

A Natzweiler subcamp was located in Frankfurt am Main in the Prussian province of Hessen-Nassau. According to concentration camp files, the subcamp was opened on August 22, 1944. The subcamp, which lasted for seven months, held 1,600 prisoners, many of whom were Poles. The prisoners mostly came from the Natzweiler, Dachau, and Buchenwald concentration camps. Many of them were in poor condition and suffered from tuberculosis. It is likely that very few survived the camp.

The prisoners worked at the Vereinigte Dente OTA (VDO, previously known as Heinrich Kleyer), Kleyer Strasse 45, Frankfurt am Main. They manufactured replacement parts for tanks and trucks, but they were also used within Frankfurt in cleanup operations after bombing raids. They were accompanied by SS guards as they were taken to and from work. The camp was cut off from the outside world. There are reports of frequent executions in the Adler factories where skilled tradesmen from Western Europe, laborers from Eastern Europe, prisoners of war (POWs), and Italian military internees (IMIs) all worked. All of them were forced workers.

There were still 474 prisoners in the camp in March 1945, many of whom were suffering from tuberculosis. On March 24–25, 1945, the prisoners were evacuated on foot to Gelnhausen, via Dörnigheim, and on to Hünefeld. More than 80 prisoners died on this death march. From Hünefeld the prisoners were sent on March 30 to the Buchenwald concentration camp, where many of them, because of their weakened condition, were murdered in the infirmary by lethal injection.

There are few witness statements on the subcamp and the prisoners’ treatment. Two of those statements were made in 1946 by a former employees’ spokesman and by the deputy director of the factory. There are said to have been investigations against the last managing director of the Adlerwerke, but they were stopped in 1949. It is claimed that after the liberation of the subcamp by U.S. forces, 516 urns, marked with wooden crosses and nameplates, were buried in the vicinity of the camp; however, the locations of these graves are no longer known.

SOURCES The ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1939–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979) refers to the Frankfurt am Main subcamp on p. 202 of volume 1. Some details on the camp and the prisoners are to be found in the article “Spurensicherung: Katzbach Frankfurt/Main” in Lothar Bembek, ed., *Hessen hinter Stacheldraht: Verdrängt und vergessen: KZs, Lager, Aussenkommandos* (Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn Publishing House, 1984), p. 60.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

FROMMMERN

At the war's unexpected reversal of fortunes in 1942, certain circles in the Wehrmacht remembered the Swabian shale oil rocks and commissioned geological investigations on the edge of the Albtrauf with the aim of securing a limited degree of self-sufficiency in oil production and so as not to be outdone by the SS, which planned a shale oil plant in Erzingen. Test wells were drilled in Frommern, Endingen, and Rosswangen. Frommern was chosen as the site for a factory that would extract oil from shale using the Lurgi-Schweitzer method.

Before the war, there had been planned a shale oil test plant at the Dotternhausen cement factory. In 1936, there were plans for eight shale oil-processing plants on the “Ölschieferplateau Schönberg-Dotternhausen,” geologically part of the Frommern location.

The Frommern concentration camp was located close to the Lias factory (one of the 11 facilities that processed oil shale and so loosely connected with Gruppe “Wüste”) because it was here that the concentration camp prisoners would work, just as they worked in the Wüste camps. The camp is unusual because it did not have a large number of prisoners: only 120. A “Forderungsnachweis Nr. 34/44 über den Häftlingseinsatz” dated June 1, 1944, and sent by SS-Obersturmführer Ehrmanntraut to the Lias-Ölschiefer-Forschungsgesellschaft (Oil Shale Research Association) in Frommern, documents the origin of the prisoners who came from the Natzweiler main camp.¹ (The invoice differentiated between skilled and unskilled labors. It was for 11,933 Reichsmark [RM], less 1,704 RM costs for food [*Verpflegungskosten*]. It is here that the number 120 prisoners appears for special food costs on May 28, 1944, for Whitsuntide [*Pfingsten*]. From this, one can conclude that on this holy day the prisoners were given special rations.)

The prisoners were accommodated in barracks. A British aerial photograph from March 15, 1945, shows the number of barracks and their location. The Allies could not but see the quickly expanding construction site between the dividing line of the “Ohnra” and “Kohl” fields.²

The Frommern concentration camp functioned as a subcamp from March 1, 1944, to April 17, 1945. Its commander was Hartjenstein, the superior to the Forderungsnachweis signatory. On July 14, 1944, he arranged for 20 prisoners from the Frommern concentration camp to be transferred to Ebingen to remove unexploded enemy ordinance. This pro-

vides further proof that Frommern was administered by the Waffen-SS and the “KL Natzweiler Elsass” office.³ In the concentration camp's *Nummernbuch*, which lists all the prisoners that were sent from the main camp to this camp, the Frommern concentration camp is abbreviated with a simple “F.”⁴

SS-Hauptscharführer Wilhelm Seith, born March 25, 1896, was the camp commander in Frommern. He headed the camp from March to December 1944. He arranged for the paint that gave the barracks a more friendly appearance, as one has “to be able to see from the outside that the barracks hold humans and not animals.”⁵ His successor was either SS-Obersturmführer Wurth or Hauptscharführer Driziwicki: this is an indication of the personnel connections with the other concentration camps because Wurth administered Dautmergen and Bisingen as was revealed in the Hechinger trial.

Poles, Russians, French, Italians, Alsations, Croats, and Germans were used as laborers (*Hilfsarbeiter*). There were skilled workers, for example, three carpenters and two painters: the relationship between the two was about 2:1, as there were around 80 laborers and 40 skilled workers.⁶ The skilled workers, as with those higher up the hierarchy, lived in private homes in Frommern.

The Frommern camp infrastructure resembled that of a large concentration camp: an SS squad of 20 to 28 men formed the guards, in part recruited from men from the nearby villages such as Weilstetten; there was an SS cook; and Fritz Böttiger managed the canteen, suggesting a separation between meals for the guards and the prisoners. There was medical care from two local Frommern doctors and later a camp doctor, a Polish prisoner. One of the three barracks was the infirmary, and there was a shower-bath that was adequate, according to eyewitnesses. There is nothing to suggest that there were executions in Frommern or that prisoners died there. It is possible that this had something to do with the camp's prisoner hierarchy. As a German prisoner, Wilhelm Kratt, a salesman in civilian life, born on March 21, 1905, in Trossingen, was for a long period of time the camp elder, Kapo, and camp scribe. His successor, the French prisoner Edmond Heiter from Forbach in Lothringen, was also probably able to prevent the worst in Frommern because of its small size.

Death certificates of the deceased in Frommern were signed by SS-Stabsarzt Dr. Steinicke or the SS-Standortarzt Dr. Rohde, well known in Bisingen and Dautmergen.⁷

There are eight foreign “protective custody” prisoners (*Schutzhäftlinge*) listed in the Frommern register of deaths. Of these, three died between January and March 1945. Their deaths were listed as the typical causes of death and noted by the doctors on the death certificates, real or otherwise, namely, as “acute heart weakness” or “tuberculosis.” The prisoner numbers of these prisoners suggest that they came from the Natzweiler main camp or another large camp.

The Frommern concentration camp was fenced in with a 2-meter-high (6.6-foot-high) electrified barbed-wire fence.

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The Royal Air Force photo shows four rather large barracks. A comparison with other photos from the early days of construction of the Lias factory suggests that it was only the concentration camp area that was fenced in with barbed wire.⁸ Three large prisoners' barracks are separated from the SS guards' area and a barracks for mine inspectors (*Schachtmeisterbaracke*) by a double barbed-wire fence.

The prisoners worked daily for 11 hours. The sick were not permitted to remain in the barracks and, on orders issued by the camp command, were forced to stay in the area of the construction site until those who could work returned.

Some 55 concentration camp inmates were taken by rail to Dachau and given Dachau numbers: 17 on April 12, 1945, and 38 on April 13. The remainder of the prisoners embarked on a death march on April 17 with prisoners from the other camps, marching in the direction of Bodensee and Oberland.

SOURCES This essay is based on the brochure for the author's third exhibition (after Balingen and Rottweil): *Das Unternehmen "Wüste" Ölschieferwerke und Konzentrationslager entlang der Babnlinie Tübingen-Rottweil 1944/45. Leitfaden und Materialien zur Ausstellung in der ehemaligen Baracke auf dem Gelände des Oberschulamtes Tübingen 7. Mai–31. Juli 1997.* (Schömberg: Opfermann, 2000); and essays on Frommern: *Ölschieferabbau in Frommern.* (In 1200 Jahre Endingen, Frommern . . . Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Balingen Band 5, Balingen 1993. S. 422–431) and *Die "Lias": Ölschieferver-schmelzung und das KZ Frommern 1942–1949.* (In *Ölschieferwerk Frommern Industriereportage 1947.* Schwäbisches Kulturarchiv des Schwäbischen Albvereins (Hg.) Stuttgart und Albstadt-Ebingen 2002, p. 4–15. This publication contains photos from 1947 on the completion of the oil shale plant. The author wrote the foreword. Also of note is *Unternehmen "Wüste"—Hitlers letzte Hoffnung* (Tübingen, 2002), by Michael Grant.

There are many archival documents on the Frommern concentration camp in the AKr-Bal. The estate of Frau Ingeborg Ziebarth, who worked in the geology office and who had good contacts with the prisoners, is a source of information.

Original documents from the Dotternhausen cement factory regarding the technology used at the Wüste factories, Lias at Frommern, and Kohle-Busse-KG in Schörzingen, were used, for example, "Technische Forschungen und Verwirklichungen industriellen Masstabes ausgeführt in den Jahre 1945–1948 von der Zentralverwaltung der württembergischen Ölschieferwerke in Dotternhausen," 1948; a "vertrauliches Exemplar," or confidential copy, of a German translation of "Deux ans de Recherches Techniques et de Realisations Industrielles," in the "Sequestre Français de Mines et Usines a Schistes Butimineux de Wuerttemberg," 1945–1948, Tome I-III.

The StA-S holds numerous unpublished archival sources either from the postwar Zentralverwaltung der Württembergischen Ölschieferwerke or original Wüste documents from the National Socialist period.

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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

NOTES

1. Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, StA-S, Wü 120 T 4 Nr. 585, "Forderungsnachweis Nr. 34/44," June 1, 1944.
2. University of Keele, Geograph. Abteilung Nr. 4149, Serie G vom March 15, 1945.
3. ZdL (at BA-L), Prozess-Akten gegen Franz Hofmann, Aktenzeichen IV 419 AR 1773/67.
4. "Nummernbuch 1-bis 6499" des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler (copies only).
5. Statement of concentration camp prisoner Schneider.
6. Statement of concentration camp prisoner Schneider. Questioned by Fritz Müller, Nr. 23160.
7. Totenbuch Frommern für 1945.
8. StA-S, Wü 120 T 4 Nr. 585.

GEISENHEIM

Geisenheim, in the Prussian province of Hessen-Nassau, was a subcamp for female prisoners of the Natzweiler concentration camp. The earliest reference to the subcamp, contained in a prisoner statement, is December 12, 1944. Geisenheim existed only for 100 days and was evacuated as early as March 22, 1945, when the women were transferred via Neckargerach to Dachau.

Lothar Bembenek's research has revealed that the Geisenheim subcamp was established following a special order given by the Natzweiler commandant's headquarters on September 26, 1944. The subcamp comprised three barracks located on the factory grounds. They were to hold 200 female prisoners who were admitted to the camp on December 12, 1944. The prisoners were mostly Polish Jewish women from the Łódź ghetto who had been selected in Auschwitz as "capable of working." There were also a few Hungarian Jewish women. They were all sent to Geisenheim via Bergen-Belsen. It is likely that the prisoners had also been processed through the camp at Ravensbrück.

Bembenek has shown that as early as August 1944 seven female workers from the machine factory, each of whom had just turned 20, were sent to Ravensbrück for training so that they would be ready to assume the roles of female wardens in the subcamp. Of the 200 prisoners, 80 worked for the machine factory Johannisberg GmbH. The remainder, about 120 in number, worked for Krupp. They finished off the seals for flak guns. The female wardens accompanied the prisoners to work and back and guarded them while they were working. The type and the duration of work were determined, however, by the foremen and skilled tradesmen at Krupp. Prisoner statements vary significantly about the type and degree of difficulty of the work.

In the camp there were 10 SS male guards under the command of SS-Lagerführer Schack. In addition, there were seven female wardens in the factory. Prisoners have described the camp as clean, the food as tolerable, and the treatment by the guards as humane. Schack was soon replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Lenzi. He mistreated the women severely.

The prisoners have also stated that, except for Lenzian, no SS male ever entered the camp. The real security was provided by five SS uniformed women in the barracks who, as a rule, properly treated the prisoners and never beat them. Medical care was provided by an SS noncommissioned medical orderly and a Polish Jewish woman. According to the prisoners, when one of the prisoners was suffering from inflammation of the lungs, a senior SS doctor was called. After the war, the Wiesbaden state prosecutor investigated an incident in which a female prisoner and her newly born baby were said to have died because the SS was intentionally negligent in providing the appropriate care. The proceedings were stopped 25 years after the event, as it was not possible to prove the allegation. Overall, there were few deaths in the subcamp.

Following the evacuation of the subcamp on March 18, 1945, the women were forced to march seven weeks via Geislingen and Neckargerach to the Dachau/München-Allach camp. A couple of women were shot along the march (which took place only during the night), and others were mistreated when they arrived in München-Allach.

SOURCES The ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979) refers to the Geisenheim subcamp at 1:202.

Lothar Bembenek describes the Geisenheim subcamp in detail in his article "AK Geisenheim," in *Hessen hinter Stachel-draht: Verdrängt und vergessen. KZs, Lager, Aussenkommandos*, ed. Lothar Bembenek (Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn Publishing House, 1984), p. 50. On p. 51, there is an aerial photograph of the Krupp factory, and the Johannisberg machine factory, both taken by the USAAF on March 13, 1945. The four barracks are clearly visible.

The HAK contains an essay defending the use and treatment of the Geisenheim workforce. It is to be found in the file WA 40/681. It was prepared in June 1948 by lawyer Dr. W. Siemens and presented to the U.S. military tribunal as part of Krupp's defense.

The investigation files of the ZdL (held at BA-L) hold statements by two female wardens and four former prisoners.

Investigations by the Wiesbaden state prosecutor into the negligent death of a female prisoner and her baby are to be found in that court's file 8 Js 232/71.

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GEISLINGEN AN DER STEIGE

The Natzweiler Geislingen an der Steige subcamp for women was located in what is Kreis Göppingen in present-day Baden-Württemberg. The women were accommodated in a section of a barracks camp for East European forced laborers on the Heidenheim Strasse/Robert-Bosch-Strasse. The site was leased by the city to Württembergische Metallwarenfabrik (WMF). The company, in return for the lease, agreed to accommodate all of Geislingen city's foreign labor force.

In February 1944, the WMF entered an agreement with the Organisation Todt (OT) where an area of 100×100 meters (109×109 yards) on the site was fenced off with a 1.5-meter-high (5-foot-high) barbed-wire fence. On the inside of the fence a ditch was dug. Wooden screens hid the view of the camp from the road. In the camp, there were five (some sources say six) one-level accommodation barracks with a surface area of 8×26 meters (26×85 feet), an infirmary barracks, and an office barracks that held the camp's administration and the guards. In the summer of 1944, the WMF negotiated with regional Höherer-SS und Polizeiführer Obergruppenführer Hoffmann for the dispatch of concentration camp prisoners to the new camp. On July 28, 1944, 600 Hungarian Jewish women arrived at the camp; with the arrival of the transport the camp was open. The women were aged between 15 and 45. Their heads had been shaved. They were put in quarantine for a fortnight; this respite may also have been because the WMF had initially not been able to find a sufficient number of its employees (there had to be at least 15) who would volunteer to be wardresses.

The WMF supplied the prisoners' accommodations and food. The women working the night shift received per person an extra liter (4.2 cups) of soup; there was a camp vegetable garden, and the company made tools and seed available. The prisoners stated that the food in the factory was markedly better than that in the camp. This was not because of any philanthropic motive but because of the necessity of preserving the prisoners' strength. Within a few weeks of the camp opening, additional security measures were put in place including rolls of barbed wire, searchlights, guard towers, and probably an electrified fence.

The first camp commander was SS-Oberscharführer Christian Ahrens. He was soon transferred to Natzweiler and replaced by a person named Schopp. In January 1945, Rene Roman took over command of the camp.

With the arrival of transports from Ravensbrück, the prisoner administration came into operation: in October 1944, 6 political and 10 asocial women arrived in the subcamp who were appointed the block elders. On November 29, 1944, 130 women arrived from Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen. The total number of women in the camp was at least 800 and possibly as high as 1,050. The women worked in the Württemberg metal factory, producing munitions, engines for jet fighters, machine guns, and empennage (tail assemblies) for aircraft. Mostly, they produced coops for the jet engines and worked on the presses, working in two shifts, each of 12 hours, with shift changes at 6:00 A.M. and 6:00 P.M. The women were separated from the other workers both at work and on their route to work by wooden partitions. The SS guards accompanied the women to work, where the wardresses took over. The behavior of the wardresses and the German foremen is described as correct in prisoner statements, and in a few cases, they supported the women with food and medicine.

Nevertheless, living conditions in the camp were hard. There was a lack of food, which, coupled with the long working hours, resulted in many accidents at work. The prisoners

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were mistreated, with survivors reporting whippings. In the camp, there was an infirmary that was under the control of a Hungarian female doctor. On average, around 10 percent of the prisoners were ill—and this despite the fact that the women knew that being in the sick bay was accompanied by the risk of being selected. As a rule, women who could no longer work were transported to Auschwitz (which usually meant to the gas chambers). Details of at least two transports to Auschwitz have survived. Pregnant women were also transported—at least one child who was born in the camp died in the camp. At least 8 (some sources say 12) women died in the subcamp and were buried in the local cemetery or cremated.

On March 28, 1945, an evacuation transport of 230 women arrived in Geislingen. It had originated in Auschwitz, traveling via Bergen-Belsen, Neckargerach, and Calw to Geislingen. For a short time, the number of women in the camp climbed to over 1,000, but no more work was being done. The WMF refused to feed the newly arrived women and asked the SS to evacuate the camp. A few days later, on April 4, 1945, the women were taken by train in the direction of Dachau/München-Allach. However, before they arrived at that camp, they were liberated by Allied troops on April 17, 1945.

Arthur Burkhardt, of the WMF, who was in charge of the use of the concentration camp prisoners, was interned by the Allies between 1946 and circa 1948. After that, he was released and was in charge of the WMF for the next 21 years.

SOURCES This essay closely follows a report of the Geislingen city administration at www.geislingen.de/formulare/Aussenlager.pdf. The camp's history is told in several essays including one by Annette Schäfer: "Das Aussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler in Geislingen/Steige," 1999 3 (1990). Ullrich Haller describes the camp in his essay on the complex web of forced labor in the city (foreign forced laborers, military internees, POWs, and concentration camp prisoners) in "Zwangsarbeit und Rüstungsproduktion in Geislingen an der Steige, 1939–1945," *ZfwLg* 57 (1998): 305–368. The essay contains numerous statistical details including the WMF turnover between 1939 and 1945 and the total number of people employed by the company including POWs and concentration camp prisoners.

Other depictions of the camp are by Richard Wagner, "Das KZ-Aussenlager in Geislingen," *Gesch-r.* 2 (1982): 98–111; Volker Hecht, "Die Württembergische Metallwarenfabrik Geislingen/Steige 1853–1945. Geschäftspolitik und Unternehmensentwicklung," *BsWuSg*, 19: 292; and *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, vol. 5, *Baden-Württemberg, Regierungsbezirke Karlsruhe und Stuttgart, Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag für akademische Schriften HG, 1991), pp. 180–183. An article by Sönke Iwersen in the *StutZ* of February 15, 2003, "Messer, Gabeln und Patronenhülsen. Der 1853 gegründete Besteckerhersteller WMF war einst der grösste Industriebetrieb in Württemberg," contains some detailed information and was used in this essay.

Richard Steegmann describes the Geislingen an der Steige subcamp in several sections of his comprehensive history of the Natzweiler concentration camp: *Struthof. Le KL-*

Natzweiler et ses kommandos: Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945 (Strasbourg: La Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 83, 112, 261. The *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler*, comp. by Antoine Greffier and published in 2002 by the Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, describes the Geislingen an der Steige subcamp on pp. 113–115. The city of Geislingen has a description of the camp on its Web site at www.geschichtsbuero.de/pdf/Stuttgart.pdf.

The subcamp is listed in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), 1:203.

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GUTTENBACH [ALSO BINAU AND NEUNKIRCHEN (FAHRBEREITSCHAFT)]

Guttenbach is located in Nordbaden, 14 kilometers (8.7 miles) to the northwest of Mosbach in the Neckar River Valley between the cities of Heidelberg and Heilbronn. After World War II, it was incorporated into the town of Neckargerach, which lies to the south of the Neckar River.

It is uncertain whether there was in fact a Natzweiler subcamp in the Baden-Württemberg town of Guttenbach. The village provided accommodation for the guards of the Neckargerach subcamp, which was only 500 meters (547 yards) from the town; the assumption that there was a subcamp in Guttenbach might be the result of this arrangement.

From November 23, 1944, on, the Natzweiler concentration camp administration was transferred, in the face of the advance by Allied troops, to Guttenbach, just opposite Neckargerach, on the opposite side of the Neckar River. The approximately 15 to 20 SS men who worked in the Guttenbach command remained responsible for organizing the guard units for the various subcamps, for assessing labor requests by regional companies, and for preparing information that served as the basis for the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) when determining labor allocations. At the end of February or the beginning of March 1945, the members of the camp command retreated to Stuttgart and from there farther south.

Between November 23, 1944, and March 2, 1945, 30 to 35 (other sources: 10 to 15) prisoners worked in the command office and on farms around Guttenbach.

Like the prisoners put to work in Guttenbach, the inmates who were employed at Binau were also transferred on a daily basis from the Neckargerach subcamp. At the Binau Castle, in the village of Binau between Neckargerach and Neckarelz, about 10 (other sources: 8 to 17) inmates were employed in the administration and clothing storage depot in auxiliary functions. A last detachment to leave the Natzweiler main camp was the carpool (*Fahrbereitschaft*), which was transferred to Neunkirchen, about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from Neckarelz. Some 15 SS men were in charge of approximately six

trucks, supported by 3 inmates who were taken to Neunkirchen on a daily basis from the Neckargerach subcamp.

Like the other inmates of the Neckargerach subcamp, also the inmates employed at Guttenbach and Binau were evacuated at the end of March 1945. In Neunkirchen, the SS had already left the premises, and the inmates only had to wait for the arrival of the U.S. troops. Several SS men and inmates who were involved in the administration at Guttenbach, Binau, and Neunkirchen stood trial after the war. Adolf Rieg, who was in charge of food supply, was acquitted in the second case during the Rastatt Military Tribunal. Some prisoner-functionaries were tried and sentenced in the same court trial.

SOURCES There is little information on Guttenbach or on Binau and Neunkirchen. Tobias Markowitsch and Kattrin Rautnig refer to the subcamps/work detachments repeatedly in their study *Goldfisch und Zebra. Das Konzentrationslager-aussenkommando Neckarelz. Konzentrationslager des Verlagerungsprojektes A8 und Aussenkommando von Natzweiler-Struthof* (Neckarelz: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neckarelz e.V., 2005). Robert Steegmann does not mention Guttenbach in his history of the Natzweiler concentration camp, *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005). The *Heimatgeschichtlichen Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, vol.5, *Baden-Württemberg, Regierungsbezirke Karlsruhe und Stuttgart*, ed. Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag für akademische Schrifte, 1991), p. 100, has a short description of Guttenbach. Jürgen Ziegler mentions the Guttenbach command office in his *Mitten unter uns. Natzweiler-Struthof. Spuren eines Konzentrationslagers* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1986), p. 262. Antoine Greffier in *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des KL Natzweiler-Struthof*, ed. Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg (Stuttgart: Landeszentrale, 2002), p. 250, does not refer to Guttenbach as a subcamp but as part of the camp administration and as a production site. There are also short references in Wolfgang Kirstein, *Das Konzentrationslager als Institution totalen Terrors. Das Beispiel des KL Natzweiler* (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1992); and Julius Schätzle, *Stationen zur Hölle. Konzentrationslager in Baden und Württemberg 1933 bis 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1980). Guttenbach is not referred to in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, vol.1 (Arolsen, 1979).

At BA-BL, some witness statements and documents have been gathered dealing with events and conditions in Guttenbach. For further information, see BA-BL, 419 AR-1835/67. For information on Binau, see 419 AR-1771/67.

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HAILFINGEN

Very little is known on the prehistory of the Hailfingen subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp. In 1937, the building of a military airport started near Hailfingen (district

Rottenburg, near Tübingen) on a place known as Hailfingen/Tailfingen where land had been expropriated. The Reich Labor Service (Reichsarbeitsdienst) started the construction project on a small airport where Messerschmitt planes and about 100 people from the German air force were stationed. It is not known which workforce built the camp itself, whether the Reichsarbeitsdienst or the inmates that were soon to arrive after the war broke out. In the second half of 1941, around 100 Russians were transported to the camp. It is not known if they were prisoners of war (POWs) or civilians submitted to forced labor. As postwar testimonies describe a 12-year-old prisoner and as some inmates were sent to work on surrounding farms, the Russians may have been used as slave laborers. They worked at extending the airport facilities, as did the 350 Greeks who arrived in the camp on September 20, 1944. These Greeks were all men, aged between 14 and 60, and had been arrested in a roundup in Athens on August 9 before they were transported to the Reich as hostages. At least 2 Greek inmates died in Hailfingen. Most of them were sent to other labor camps in December 1944. Only 4 remained and worked as locksmiths.

The Hailfingen subcamp was founded in early December 1944, when 600 inmates were sent there by the Office II in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The transport had been requested two months earlier. All the prisoners were male and Jewish, with numerous different citizenships (Baltic States, Belgium, Hungary, the Netherlands, Greece, France, Italy, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Turkey, and Germany), all registered as “political inmates” and most coming from different concentration camps. Inmates of the newly founded subcamp were registered under Natzweiler numbers 40448 to 41047. They wore a Star of David on their clothes, made of a red triangle (political) and a yellow one (Jew).

The camp facilities were simple. Jewish inmates lived in a hangar surrounded by a wired fence. A watchtower allowed an easy view of the prisoners. Outside this area, several buildings were used for air defense, a coal store, the inmates’ kitchen, and five barracks for the guards. A street divided the compound into two parts. On the other side of it, the building for the Russians was near the Organisation Todt (OT) building and the Mattes firm office. The head of the camp was an SS-Unterscharführer. He commanded about 60 guards, most of them older air force soldiers who, according to postwar accounts, behaved decently toward the Jews. Testimonies were gathered after the war of ill treatment and killings of inmates by the head of the camp, as well as by the work supervisor (a member of the OT) who received the nickname “Chess Master” (*Schachmeister*). Some Lithuanian and Ukrainian guards may also have been active in the camp.

Conditions of living were terrible; inmates were undernourished, ill-treated, and beaten. No medical treatment was available. It was almost impossible to wash. On their way to work, prisoners kept trying to steal potatoes or fruits in the surrounding fields. If caught, they could be shot. The death rate was especially high if compared to that of other Natzweiler

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subcamps of this region in southwest Germany. Corpses were first transported to the Reutlingen cemetery, where they were burned in the crematorium. After January 31, 1945, the corpses were buried on the airport compound in a mass grave. When the Allies opened it, they exhumed between 72 and 96 bodies (testimonies differ from one another). Between 300 and 390 inmates died, most of them of hunger, which means a death rate between 50 and 65 percent.

Working conditions were extremely hard. Some local firms employed the inmates: Gärtner & Sohn, Härer, Mattes, Meyer, Kirchhoff, and the OT. The Jews continued the building of the airport runway and built streets on the compound, one leading to the neighboring train station at Nebringen. Most of the inmates worked in two quarries, in Hailfingen and Reusten.

On February 14, 1945, the Hailfingen subcamp was dismantled, and all the surviving Jews were evacuated in two transports. One, of about 110 people, arrived in the subcamp Vaihingen; the second, with about 100 Jews, went to the subcamp of Dautmergen and other subcamps of Natzweiler. After the evacuation of Hailfingen, only 4 Greeks and 1 Pole from the previous transports remained at the airport. French troops entered the village and searched the compound. A survivor, a former inmate, is said to have shown them the location of the mass grave. On June 2, 1945, inhabitants of the surrounding villages were forced by the French to gather around the grave. Former Nazi Party (NSDAP) members had to exhume the corpses as the other Germans were watching. Workers were beaten, some were wounded, and two died on this day. The corpses of the prisoners were transported to the Tailfingen cemetery and reburied in a common grave, under a wooden cross.

The head of the camp died in December 1945 as a POW and thus was never put on trial. A historical project conducted in the 1970s in the region of Tübingen revealed that the women of Hailfingen used to sing a song, to the tune of the famous melody "Ich liebte einst ein Mädchen." The words of the song follow:

Es war am 2. Juli,
Ein heisser Sommertag,
Wir standen auf dem Flugplatz,
Bei einem Judengrab.
Und als wir so standen,
Erwachten Reu und Leid,
bekamen wir noch Schläge,
Mit einer langen Peitsch.
Ach Gott, wo sind die Juden,
Die Juden sind ja tot,
Man hat sie ja erschossen.
Ihr Blut floss rosenrot.
(It was on July 2,
A hot summer day,
We stood at the airport,
Near a Jewish grave.
And as we so stood,
Waiting for remorse and grief
We got beaten

With a long whip
O God, where are the Jews,
The Jews are dead,
They have been shot
Their blood streamed rose-red.)

Before leaving the airport, the Wehrmacht blew up some buildings, as did the French occupation troops a few months later.

SOURCES The Hailfingen subcamp is described in Utz Jeggle, "Ach Gott, wo sind die Juden? Tödliche Erfahrungen beim Flugplatz Hailfingen/Tailfingen," in *900 Jahre Hailfingen. Ein Gaudorf und mehr als 900 Jahre Geschichte*, ed. Karlheinz Geppert, (Hailfingen: Heidi Heusch, 1993), pp. 245–253; Monika Walter-Becker, "Das Lager Hailfingen," in *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegsführung. Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass*, ed. Herwart Vorländer (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1978), pp. 149–174.

Documents on the camp can be found at ITS (Hänge-mappe Akdo Hailfingen), in the BA-L (AZ. IV 419 AR-Z 171/69), at the Prosecutor's Office (Staatsanwaltschaft) Stuttgart (16 Js 326/52), and in files pertaining to the Natzweiler-Struthof Trial at the Landgericht Hechingen (Ordner 23 Bl. 5030).

Jean-Marc Dreyfus

HANAU

The Natzweiler subcamp in Hanau is not listed in the International Tracing Service (ITS) list and was never the subject of an investigation or court proceedings.

Lothar Bembenek states that this subcamp was to be established at the Dunlop factory. The only mention of its existence is to be found in a special order of the Natzweiler concentration camp, dated September 26, 1944, dealing with the assignments of the companies of guards. The order stated that the future camp should be guarded by the 2nd Company.

It is possible that a heavy bombing raid on the Dunlop factory toward the end of the war wiped out any trace of the camp.

SOURCES The only mention of the camp is to be found in N.N., "Spurensuche Aussenlager Hanau," in *Hessen hinter Stacheldraht: Verdrängt und vergessen; KZs, Lager, Aussenkommandos*, ed. Lothar Bembenek (Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn-Verlag, 1984), p. 61.

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HASLACH ("BARBE") [ALSO VULKAN, KINZIGDAMM]

In Haslach, located in the Baden district of Wolfach near Offenburg in Baden-Württemberg, three camps were erected in

summer and fall 1944 in connection with the relocation of armaments production underground, using the tunnel system of the Hartsteinwerke Vulkan. The company had been erected in 1902, and until the outbreak of World War II, it had produced large quantities of gravel for streets and railways, paving stones, undressed stone, and other related building materials. With the start of World War II, Vulkan received enormous government contracts, especially in connection with the erection of strategic highways to the east and the construction of the Siegfried Line (Westwall). When these orders ceased in 1943, Organisation Todt (OT) recruited personnel and machinery from the company for employment in the Ukraine. The grounds of the property were confiscated by the Reich Armaments Ministry and came under the control of OT. Plans were developed to have Mannesmann produce parts of the V-weapons in the underground areas, and the Messerschmitt company was also interested in using the grounds for producing crankshafts for airplanes. The code name of the project was "Barbe," and it was to cover 18,488 square meters (21,111 square yards) of underground area. In June 1944, OT began planning the erection of 14 larger prisoner barracks along the road between Haslach and Mühlbach.

The first inmates, males only, arrived in Haslach on September 16, 1944. The transport consisted of 450 inmates who had been evacuated from Struthof via Dachau and Allach. Two-thirds of the prisoners were French; the others came from Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg, and some from Poland and the USSR. They were kept in a wooden shed near the Haslach sports fields that formerly had belonged to the Wehrmacht. From there they had to walk for about one hour to their work sites, the underground area of the former Hartsteinwerke, where they had to prepare the access road to the area. The prisoners were employed by two local firms, Wayss & Freytag and Dohrmann in Mühlheim, which cooperated with OT. Plans to prepare the production of V-weapons and crankshafts for airplanes were quickly changed after the severe bombardment of the Daimler-Benz facilities at Gaggenau on October 3, 1944. Now the Armament Office in Berlin decided to have Daimler-Benz use the underground facilities, and the partial transfer of production began in November 1944.

The living and working conditions of the inmates at the Sportplatz camp were hard. According to survivor statements, they had to be up at 4:00 A.M. Roll call was accompanied by yelling and beatings. Afterward, they marched in long columns through the town. Their work was physically challenging: They had to build roads, lay pipe, break stones, and pour concrete on the tunnel floors. The guards were brutal, and SS-Rottenführer Lindau was considered the most brutal of them all. Survivors report that he killed several inmates.

Due to their poor condition, inmates began to die quickly. There was no medical treatment available, and the food was bad. Inmates also died from mistreatment, were executed after failed attempts to escape, or died as a result of the exploitation at the job site. When, early in December 1944, a transport

of 248 inmates from Flossenbürg arrived, the conditions in the Sportplatz subcamp became even worse. Dysentery, typhoid, and tuberculosis began to spread; by the end of the year, more than 100 inmates had died. Many inhabitants of Haslach who witnessed the brutal treatment of the inmates and observed their poor physical condition tried to provide food, especially apples and potatoes. The local minister, Vetter, got in touch with ministers among the inmates and used these contacts to help severely sick prisoners by providing food and medication.

Numerous transports of prisoners incapable of work left the subcamp for other camps. In February 25, 1945, the remaining 265 prisoners—all of them in very weak condition—were sent to the sick camp in Vaihingen/Enz. But since the Sportplatz camp was not the only camp in Haslach, the work on the project "Barbe" was continued by the inmates of two other camps that had also been erected in the fall of 1944. The Sportplatz camp was put to use one final time from March 28 until mid-April 1945, when the remaining inmates of the Vulkan camp were accommodated there.

On December 10, 1944, when 300 more prisoners arrived from the Work Education Camp (AEL) Niederbühl, there was no room left for them at the Sportplatz camp. For one night, the newly arrived prisoners were kept at the Haslach city hall, and immediately afterward they were taken to the premises of the Kaufmann Co. From there, they were taken in groups to the Kinzigdamm camp, which probably consisted of two barracks near the Arche Inn, between the houses along Fischerbacher Strasse and the Kinzigdamm, not far from the bridge across Kinzig creek. The camp had been erected by Dutch forced laborers in the fall of 1944, and it existed from fall 1944 until March 1945 and is sometimes also referred to as Protective Custody Camp (Sicherungslager) Kinzigdamm. The Kinzigdamm camp was the smallest of the three Haslach camps, but it was notorious for its horrible hygienic conditions, the poor food supply, and the mistreatment of inmates that resulted in several deaths. The inmates of this camp were employed with numerous local companies and craftsmen. On March 1, 1945, most of them were taken to the Sülz camp, where they were put to work again.

The last Haslach camp was the Vulkan camp, which was erected on December 4, 1944, with the arrival of about 700 male inmates, mainly from the Schirmeck-Vorbrück (Elsass) protective custody camp. Many of them were members of the French resistance, about 100 were hostages from Alsace, and about 350 were Soviet prisoners. The Vulkan prisoners lived under inhuman conditions in the former Hartstein tunnels. They slept on the plain floor, which was covered with straw. The straw was never renewed and became saturated with water and waste from the prisoners, who had no toilets to relieve themselves. The prisoners of the Vulkan camp were employed to prepare the Hartstein tunnel for armaments production; their tasks consisted of laying wastewater pipes, digging tunnels, pouring concrete floors, and breaking and cutting stone.

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The camp leader was SS-Scharführer Kraus. Survivors report that on a regular basis he had prisoners' excrement from the infirmary poured out over the kitchen waste to prevent the inmates from eating the garbage, but the inmates were so starved that they ate it nevertheless. Kraus also owned a dog trained to attack human beings—at least one inmate was killed this way, and another one was severely injured. In general, the conditions at the Vulkan camp were worse than in the main camp: Lice were everywhere, and many inmates suffered from typhoid. Inmates who tried to escape were shot, among them several Russian prisoners. A plot among Ukrainian inmates was betrayed, and they were all killed; 10 officers, members of the French resistance, disappeared without a trace; it is very likely that they were shot. Despite the arrival of additional inmates, the production in the tunnel never commenced. The poor condition of the prisoners, the lack of materials and supplies (especially of trucks to transport machinery to the tunnel), and Allied air raids made it impossible to reach any of the planned goals.

In September 1944, there were 1,700 inmates in the three Haslach camps, of which the names of 750 are known. Among them were *Nacht-und-Nebel* prisoners, hostages, prisoners of war (POWs) and hundreds of forced laborers. All three Haslach camps were under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Buck, who had a long career as an SS officer: in 1933, he had been the commandant of the Heuberg concentration camp; afterwards, of the Ulm-Oberer Kuhberg and Welzheim camps. From July 1940 until November 1944, Buck had been the commandant of the Schirmeck-Vorbrück camp, until he took over command of the Haslach camps. Detlef Ernst and Klaus Riexinger state that the guards at the Haslach subcamp were from the Sixth Waffen-SS Guard Company.

There is no clear indication how many prisoners died in the three Haslach camps. Originally there had been plans to transport the dead back to the main camp and burn them there. Very soon, this became impossible: The main camp was dissolved, and no trucks or gas were available to transport the dead to crematoria in other camps. On September 21, 1944, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) therefore issued a decree (*Anweisung*) to bury the dead at local cemeteries: They were to be dressed in a way that they could not be recognized as concentration camp inmates, and they should be buried in a remote area, where usually suicides and forced laborers were buried. No local, outside personnel had to be involved in the burial. Inmates who died at the Haslach camps were buried at the western edge of the local cemetery; their graves were not marked. Inmates who died at the Vulkan camp were buried next to the camp, on the mountain. After the war, 135 corpses were exhumed, identified, and taken back to their home countries. It is estimated that at least 400 inmates died in the three Haslach camps, among them 192 who succumbed to an epidemic of dysentery in the fall of 1944.

In March 1945, the prisoners were evacuated in a number of transports, either by truck, train, or on foot.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

In 1946, Karl Buch was sentenced to death by a British court for his killing of four American and two British pilots who had parachuted from their planes. In 1953, he stood trial again, this time for crimes committed at the Schirmeck-Vorbrück camp, and he was sentenced to death again. Later this sentence was reduced to penitentiary for life in Great Britain, but in 1955 he was transferred to the German authorities who released him shortly after. Further attempts by the Office of the District Attorney to put him on trial were not successful.

SOURCES A detailed description of the Haslach camps can be found in "Gedenkstätte Vulkan—Haslach im Kinzigtal," in *Ortenau, Jahrsband 2001*, ed. Historischen Verein Mittelbaden, p. 533. There is also information available online at <http://gedenk.vulkan.t-online.de>. Robert Steegmann describes the Haslach subcamp in *Struthof: Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 112, 286. Detlef Ernst and Klaus Riexinger refer briefly to the Haslach subcamp in *Vernichtung durch Arbeit: Die Geschichte des KZ Kochendorf/Aussenkommando des KZ Natzweiler-Struthof* (Bad Friedrichshall: D. Ernst, K. Riexinger, 1996), p. 18. The ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979) mentions the Natzweiler subcamp at 1:203.

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HAYINGEN [AKA EBINGEN]

The prisoners in the Natzweiler Hayingen subcamp (French: Hayange) in the former Gau of Westmark were deployed to Ebingen (French: Ebange). The camp is sometimes referred to in the literature as Ebingen.

The camp was opened on August 24, 1944. There were around 500 women who entered the camp on August 28. They were employed by the Hüttenwerkverwaltung Westmark GmbH, in a Hermann Göring Reichs factory in Ebingen. The number of prisoners who died in the camp is uncertain: Antoine Greffier estimates the number as five.

According to concentration camp files and prisoner statements, the prisoners were transferred by foot on September 11, 1944, via Saarlautern to the Ravensbrück concentration camp; it is most likely that the camp was then dissolved. Of the 500 women who marched out of Hayingen, only 363 arrived in Ravensbrück on September 29, 1944; 135 women were able to escape along the way, and only a few of them were recaptured.

SOURCES Robert Steegmann focuses on the subcamp in his monograph *Struthof: Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 74, 261.

Antoine Greffier deals with the history of the Hayingen subcamp in *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des KL Natzweiler-Struthof* (Baden Württemberg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2002), p. 125.

The subcamp is listed in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), 1:203.

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HEIDENHEIM

In mid-December 1944, evacuees from the concentration camp Natzweiler were housed in a barrack at the Police School Heidenheim, which in 1941–1942 had already held prisoners from Dachau.

Immediately before that, the Police School had been evacuated from Heidenheim. From the end of November, part of the SS-Signal Intelligence Female Assistants' School Oberehnheim/Elsass had occupied the empty rooms. This school was forced to leave Oberehnheim on November 22–23, 1944, because of the approaching front. The labor detail, which from September 24, 1944, consisted of 20 prisoners, had been assigned to the SS-Signal Intelligence Female Assistants' School Oberehnheim. It was transferred together with the assistants via Geislingen an der Steige to Heidenheim. The labor detail does not appear on the International Tracing Service (ITS) lists, perhaps because it has always been known as the evacuated subcamp "Oberehnheim." From January 13, 1945, the school was officially known as the SS-Female Assistants' School Heidenheim.

The labor detail was kept busy with all the work required by the school: hauling boxes of supplies, felling trees in the forests and cutting them into firewood (there was an acute shortage of coal), cleaning, clearing snow, and so on. Under guard, the prisoners acquired supplies in the city and did work there, partly of an official nature and partly as private work for the SS from the school; skilled craftsmen (cobblers, tailors, painters, carpenters) applied their skills in the camp and in the town.

The identity of the 20 prisoners is known; 7 of the 8 Germans were "criminals"; the eighth, a long-standing Communist, was the camp elder. The foreigners (7 from Luxembourg, 3 Poles, 1 Frenchman, and 1 Russian) were all "protective detention" prisoners; the prisoners from Luxembourg had been arrested because of illegal political activity. There were no Jews. There was no nurse, but there was a (German) clerk.

The strength and composition of the labor detail changed—one of the Luxembourgers was transferred to the subcamp Leonberg on December 31, 1944, and on February 23, 1945, two of the German "criminals" escaped. They were able to cut through the fence of the Police School at night. The SS guard intentionally paid no attention to their escape. The prisoners should have been punished for an infringement, according to a relative's statement, possibly with the death penalty. They were not caught, and there were no reprisals against the remaining prisoners. There were no deaths in Heidenheim.

The commander of the SS squad was Oberscharführer, later Hauptscharführer, Hermann Stiefel, born in 1890 in Erfurt. He joined the Nazi Party in 1933 and the SS only in

November 1941. From then until May 1942, he was stationed in Auschwitz; thereafter, until March 1943, he was in the Natzweiler main camp and then in Oberehnheim. Stiefel was relatively old, small, and fat. His behavior was not what one would expect from a member of the SS. The prisoners did not have any difficulties either with him or the other four guards. This could have been because the end of the war was near, plus the personal interest of the SS that the labor detail remained as a unit to avoid being sent to the front.

The prisoners' barrack most probably was the same as the one used by the Dachau prisoners. However, because of their fewer numbers, they were quartered in one room. The SS occupied the other room. Barbed wire covered the windows. Other barracks existed on the remaining vacant land of the school area. Again, the school kitchen provided food for the prisoners. Even cigarettes were distributed to them from time to time. With the help of the guards, it was also possible to obtain additional food supplies in the town.

The Female Assistants' School and the prisoners were evacuated with trucks on April 5, 1945, further to the south. To the south of Ulm, in Altenstadt-Illereichen, another eight prisoners were able to escape with the passive assistance of the guards. Finally, Stiefel simply dismissed the remaining prisoners. The Americans arrested Stiefel on May 1, 1945, as he tried to return home.

SOURCES There is only a Luxembourg documentary report written in the Luxembourg language about the end of a number of Natzweiler subcamps, including the subcamp Oberehnheim: Ernest Gillen, "D'Enn vun den Niewelager vum K.Z. Natzweiler," *Rappel* Nr. 1–3 (1985): 174. Besides that, only Alfred Hoffmann has written about the Natzweiler subcamp at Heidenheim: Alfred Hoffmann, *Verschwunden, aber nicht vergessen. KZ-Nebenlager in der Polizeischule* (Heidenheim: Verlag Hans-Joachim Kopp, 1996).

The subcamp has scarcely been acknowledged until more recent times. It has definitely not been acknowledged in Heidenheim. Hints of its existence were found by chance in a number of denazification court files and through statements made for the ZdL (files held at BA-L). File IV 410 AR 1209/69 is on Heidenheim, and file IV 419 AR-Z 170/69 is on the subcamp Oberehnheim. Other incomplete records are scattered in the BA-B, NS 32 II (SS-Female Signal Intelligence Assistants' School Oberehnheim). NS 4 Na Büschel 81 (Subcamp Oberehnheim) contains a compiled list of the prisoners. Further worthwhile and precise information was obtained in 1995–1996 from former Luxembourg prisoner Marius Pauly and through contacts with another Luxembourger, Ernest Gillen, who had extensively studied the Natzweiler subcamps and conducted interviews with survivors who have subsequently died.

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HEPPENHEIM

Documents from the Dachau concentration camp show that between May 28, 1942, and December 18, 1942, a Dachau subcamp existed in the town of Heppenheim in Hessen.

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On June 15, 1943, the camp was reopened and placed under the administration of the Natzweiler concentration camp. Horst Riegert has shown that the camp held 66 male prisoners, some of whom were from Yugoslavia. The prisoners constructed the “Trokofa” dried vegetable factory (Trockenkonservenfabrik) and worked there and on the farm of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amt W V/1 at the German Experimental Institute for Nutrition and Provisions (Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung GmbH, DVA). During the cold winter, they had to sort, wash, and trim vegetables in unheated rooms. They were accommodated in wooden barracks on the “Trokofa” site. Occasionally, they were assigned to work in the Schriesheim quarries.

The Heppenheim subcamp was evacuated on March 22–23, 1945. Witnesses stated that most of the prisoners were taken to Dachau. The remaining prisoners were liberated on March 27, 1945.

SOURCES The ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979) mentions Heppenheim at 1:204.

Horst Riegert, in “Aussenkommandos Bensheim-Auerbach und Heppenheim,” in *Hessen hinter Stacheldraht: Verdrängt und vergessen; KZs, Lager, Aussenkommandos*, ed. Lothar Bembek (Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn-Verlag, 1984), p. 57, provides a short description of the camp.

The BA collections, NS 4, KL Na (Natzweiler) refer to the camp in the following subcollections: 49–102: *Häftlingsangelegenheiten*; within that range, number 85—*Errichtung und Besichtigung einzelner AK*—and also number 102—*Kommando Heppenheim: “Häftlingsküche Heppenheim”*; *Kontrollbuch über Zu- und Abgänge bei Lebensmitteln, 1943*.

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IFFEZHEIM

A Natzweiler subcamp with male prisoners was located at Iffezheim in Baden. The first reference to the subcamp in the Natzweiler files is on October 14, 1943. The Waffen-SS, Baden/Oos, Sandweier Office, Hauptwirtschaftslager (HWL) II employed the prisoners, who put up barracks for the Waffen-SS in Sandweier and Iffezheim and also worked for the Müller Wine Cellars in Rastatt in loading operations.

The camp is mentioned for the last time in the Natzweiler files on April 22, 1945.

SOURCES The ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979) mentions Iffezheim at 1:204.

The BA collection, NS 4, KL Na (Natzweiler) refers to the camp in the following files: 72—*AK Iffezheim*; 83—*Namensliste AK Iffezheim*; 85—*Errichtung und Besichtigung einzelner AK*.

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KOCHENDORF (“EISBÄR”)

A Natzweiler subcamp for male prisoners was located in the Württemberg town of Kochendorf (incorporated into the city of Bad Friedrichshall in 1933) near Heilbronn. According to the Natzweiler files, the Kochendorf camp was opened on September 3, 1944. At first it held 635 prisoners, but by the time it was dissolved in March 1945, between 1,700 and 1,900 prisoners occupied the camp. Detlef Ernst and Klaus Rie-xinger have written that just under half of these prisoners were Jewish, many of them from Auschwitz and Sachsenhausen. Other prisoners were from Poland, France, the Soviet Union, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Italy, Serbia, Croatia, Greece, and Romania. There were also Czechs, Bulgarians, a Spaniard, a Swiss, and probably crew members of American and British aircraft that had been shot down. The youngest prisoners in Kochendorf were most likely the Polish brothers Abram and Lolek Frydmann from Łódź, 16 and 14 years old.

The subcamp, which was constructed just beneath the present-day district hospital in Bad Friedrichshall, was to be a collection point for prisoners evacuated from Natzweiler subcamps in Lothringen, Audun-le-Tiche, and Thil-Longwy. The former commander of Thil-Longwy, SS-Oberscharführer Eugen Walter Büttner, became camp commander in Kochendorf. The guards were from the Waffen-SS Guard Company 6 commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Lautenschlager, who had been commander in Vaihingen an der Enz. The German SS guards were complemented by members of the Africa Corps and the Luftwaffe, as well as by Ukrainian SS members. In October 1944, there were 77 guards. Additional armed guards were later supplied by the Organisation Todt (OT).

The first prisoner barracks were erected by the OT, but prisoners who arrived from September 3 onward at the latest continued construction. At the beginning of October 1944, there were just under 1,400 prisoners in the camp, which was surrounded by an electric barbed-wire fence. Inside the camp there were, as described by Ernst and Rie-xinger, 11 barracks (8 of them for prisoners, including a special barrack for Jewish prisoners), as well as a jail, a kitchen, and an infirmary. At the rear of the camp there were 3 or 4 transit barracks for prisoners who were only temporarily in Kochendorf. Outside the camp were the administration building, guards' quarters, the food warehouse, the commander's blockhouse, the guards' washhouse, and the laundry room.

The camp was set up in the immediate vicinity of a sloping tunnel that led to underground armaments manufacturing sites, the SS construction venture called “Eisbär,” which was part of a still-active salt mine. Ernst and Rie-xinger provide evidence that the construction companies Hochtief AG and Veruschacht, which had constructed these underground facilities, were among the first and the largest recipients of prisoner labor. Another major taskmaster was Ernst Heinkel AG, Werk Hirthmotorenbau (Hirth Engine Construction

Plant), which in this underground location produced prototypes for Heinkel (He) S 011 jet engines (probably only blades and crankshafts). It is not known exactly when production began; the prisoners were initially busy preparing the manufacturing sites. By December 1944 at the latest, other armaments firms, primarily metalworking, had begun production in the mine. Among them were facilities to produce machine guns and gearboxes for the *Panzerkampfwagen* III tank. Ernst and Riexinger list about 40 companies at work in the mining tunnel (*adit*). (It has not been possible to confirm the rumors that the V weapons were produced in Kochendorf. Ernst and Riexinger suspect that such statements arose from prisoners because the slim Heinkel turbine resembled the V rockets and that the production of both required printed circuit boards.)

Kochendorf prisoners also worked under OT construction management in Weinsberg and Kochendorf and for the Kiebitz OT site management in Heilbronn. They were furthermore deployed to work in agriculture, to fill bomb craters at the nearby military airfield in Oedheim, and to work at the Neckarsulm Motorwerke AG (NSU) factory in Neckarsulm. The prisoners also performed forced labor for the Bad Friedrichshall community, where, among other things, they cut grass, removed rubble from bombed houses, dug graves for bombing victims, cleared snow, and fortified the banks of the Neckar canal.

Sanitary conditions in the Kochendorf subcamp were catastrophic. The camp only existed during the coldest part of the year (September to March), but neither the buildings nor the prisoners were suitably outfitted: cold, constant dampness, infestations of lice, systematic malnutrition, and ruthless exploitation resulted in a high rate of illness and death among the prisoners. According to Ernst and Riexinger, the death rate in the infirmary, where a Czech and a French doctor worked under the supervision of an OT doctor, was 90 percent.

Reports of prisoner abuse, escape attempts, and executions have emerged from the subcamp. Thus, in October 1944, Hungarian prisoner Miklos Klein was executed for alleged sabotage. In November 1944, a Russian prisoner, who had tried to escape with two others, was executed. His companions were apparently successful in their escape attempt, as was a Russian who had already fled in October.

After a U.S. bombing raid in March 1945 destroyed a shaft-head frame and as the front moved steadily closer, armaments production gradually shut down during that month. On March 28, 1945, at least 398 no longer ambulant prisoners were evacuated by freight car to Dachau. On March 30, between 1,200 and 1,500 prisoners started the Kochendorf death march headed by Commandant Büttner. Conservative estimates are that at least 220 people died on this march. The prisoners arrived at Dachau in several batches: the transport of nonambulant prisoners arrived on April 2 (354 prisoners and 44 dead); on April 8, another 753 prisoners; a further 5 prisoners on April 12. Kochendorf prisoners were also joined with the Schwäbisch Hall-Hessental death march to Dachau,

while others were sent to Dachau/München-Allach and from there to München-Riem.

The number of surviving Kochendorf prisoners ranges between 1,000 and 1,300; a closer estimate is impossible. Within the camp itself, 234 deaths have been verified, along with a further 213 on the evacuation marches. Nevertheless, the numbers are unreliable because many of the dead could not be identified. In addition, the numbers do not include those prisoners who were selected in Kochendorf and sent to the death camps.

During the Rastatt Trials from October 6 to November 21, 1947, 42 members of the guard and camp command of the Natzweiler subcamps at Hessental, Kochendorf, Vaihingen/Enz, and Unterriexingen were tried for war crimes and crimes against humanity. The Tribunal Général of the French Military Government in Rastatt sentenced 7 of the accused to death. Of the 4 executions that were carried out, 2 involved defendants from Kochendorf: SS-Unterscharführer Richard Maurer, a dog handler who had trained his dog to attack prisoners and tear off their flesh, had also allegedly buried a prisoner alive; the second person to be executed was Obergefreite Joseph Kaiser (nicknamed the "African"), an Africa Corps soldier, alleged to have killed at least three prisoners. Furthermore, the Rastatt Trials imposed one life sentence, and 11 received either maximum or normal-security prison terms.

Subcamp commander Büttner had commanded the Natzweiler Quarry subcamp from the spring of 1941. In the summer of 1944, he became the commander of the subcamp at Thil-Longwy and served from September 3, 1944, as Waffen-SS Oberscharführer commander of Kochendorf. At the end of 1945, a denazification court in Berlin exculpated him as a follower (*Mitläufer*), but in 1949, a Soviet military tribunal in Berlin sentenced him to forced labor for life, which he served in penitentiaries in Berlin and Bautzen. In 1954, a French military court in Metz sentenced him in absentia to death. After he was released from prison in 1956, the Stuttgart state prosecutor began investigations in 1962, during which he was interrogated twice, once in 1962 and then in 1969. The proceedings ceased in November 1970 because of insufficient evidence. Büttner died in 1975.

SOURCES Kochendorf is listed as a Natzweiler subcamp in ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933-1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), 1:204.

Detlef Ernst and Klaus Riexinger have described the history of the subcamp and its connections with the German armaments industry in *Vernichtung durch Arbeit. Die Geschichte des KZ Kochendorf/Aussenkommando des KZ Natzweiler-Struthof* (Bad Reichenhall: Welker, 1996). The book contains many reproductions of documents on the camp history, witness reports, and pictures, as well as a comprehensive bibliography.

Collection RG-50.042*0007, Acc. 1994.A.447 of the USHMM in Washington, DC, contains the witness statements of Shony Braun about his odyssey through German

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concentration camps. Among other things, he reports on the death of his father in the Kochendorf subcamp after severe mistreatment by guards and the SS. These archives also contain a report by George Freshman about his experiences as a prisoner at Kochendorf, Vaihingen, and Vaihingen/Unterriexingen in Collection Acc. 1997.A.0829. Furthermore, at USHMMMA, Collection Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 44, has the names of 700 prisoners transferred from Sachsenhausen to Kochendorf in October 1944. The BA-MA in Freiburg holds documents on Kochendorf in Collection RW 19/1788, RL 3/1172 and R 3/1757.

Files on Ernst Heinkel AG are held in the ASt-Ros. The files of the ZdL (held at BA-L) on Kochendorf are cataloged as IV 419 AR-Z 180/1969. Other documents are to be found in the ASt-B-FI, which also holds documents on the camp's cemetery.

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LEONBERG

The city of Leonberg is located in Württemberg, about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from Stuttgart. It was chosen as the site for a large subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp because an airplane parts manufacturing plant (*Presswerke*) for the firm Augsburg Messerschmitt AG was located there. The workshops were built in the Etlingen area. Next to Leonberg ran a section of the Munich-Heilbronn highway, and a double tunnel had been dug before the war. At the end of 1943, the ends of the tunnel were blocked and the factory was relocated there. Production began at the end of spring 1944. All that was needed was a labor supply. A Natzweiler subcamp (*Aussenlager*) was created for that purpose, just a few hundred meters from the tunnel's entrance. The exact date of the camp's creation is unknown, but it appears that the first transport of prisoners arrived on April 10, 1944, bringing 398 inmates from the Dachau subcamps of Haunstetten and Gablingen. They were put in barracks built on a plot on Seestrasse in Leonberg.

New transports of inmates arrived regularly. On June 1, 1944, there were 650 men in the camp; on July 1, 852; July 9, 798; July 12, 1,032; September 30, 1,162; October 31, 1,555. The number of inmates rapidly increased until reaching around 3,000. The largest number of convoys came from Dachau or its subcamps. At least 13 convoys arrived from the Dachau main camp; 5 from Dachau/Augsburg-Pfersee, with a total of 748 men; 2 from Dachau/Kaufering, with 268 inmates; and a single convoy of 129 people from Dachau/Gablingen. At least 1 convoy arrived from Sachsenhausen (216 men) and 1 from Auschwitz (200). It is thus possible to calculate that at least 3,329 inmates were registered at Leonberg. Some were sent back to other camps; for example, 31 of them were sent to Dachau on November 1, 1944; two groups of 60 each to Natzweiler/Vaihingen/Enz, and 258 to Bergen-Belsen on March 11, 1945. The inmates arrived at the train station in

Leonberg, and then they had to walk 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) to the camp. They came from all over Europe, from at least 21 countries (including Switzerland and Spain). The most widely represented nationalities were Polish, Hungarian, French, Russian, and Yugoslav. The categories of inmates present in the camp were also diverse. While the majority were registered as "protective custody" (*Schutzhaft*) prisoners, there were Jews, political prisoners, Gypsies, "asocials," and prisoners of war (POWs). The first Jewish prisoners did not arrive until November 1944. There were in total 659 Jews registered in Leonberg.

The camp was made up of five wooden barracks on concrete foundations; one served as an infirmary (*Revier*). The other buildings each included four sections into which prisoners were crowded. The camp, surrounded by electrified barbed-wire fences, was guarded from about four or six towers. The roll-call yard was small. The surveillance of the camp was in the hands of the SS. On July 29, 1944, there were 12 SS noncommissioned officers (*Unterführer*) and 21 guards assigned to Leonberg. With the number of inmates increasing rapidly, the number of guards was increased to 15 *Unterführer* and 45 guards. During at least the first few months of the camp's existence, certain wardens were not with the SS but were soldiers in the Luftwaffe. It is even possible during the early period that the head of the subcamp himself might have been an officer in the Luftwaffe. Before the evacuation, the head of the subcamp was an SS-Obersturmführer.

The inmates' sanitary situation was relatively adequate in the camp's first few months but rapidly deteriorated after November 1944 with the arrival of a large number of prisoners. The number of deaths increased beginning in November, and the situation was catastrophic up until the evacuation. A typhus epidemic broke out. Numerous inmates were evacuated to the SS hospital camps (*Krankenlager*). Whereas there had only been 1 or 2 deaths a month until October, there were 6 in November, 21 in December, and 51 in January. In February, 162 inmates died. At least 291 deaths were recorded at the city hall prior to the evacuation (including 99 Polish, 49 Hungarians, 41 French, and 39 Italians), but the actual number of dead was higher. The bodies were buried in a mass grave dug near the camp, in a place called Blosenbergr. After the war, the grave was opened, and 374 bodies were found.

Some inmates escaped; 13 succeeded in leaving the camp between May 22 and August 16, 1944, of whom 9 were recaptured. Their fate is not known. Three Russian prisoners were sentenced to 15 baton blows for "preparation to escape" (*Vorbereitungen zur Flucht*). On August 6, Russian prisoner Wladimir Golowin succeeded in fleeing. Recaptured, he was hanged in the camp on September 28. On December 1, 1944, a German prisoner was beaten during an attempted escape.

The Leonberg *Schreibstube* sent daily reports on the inmates' work to the Natzweiler camp administration, which, after the evacuation of the camp from Alsace, was installed at Guttenbach/Baden as of November 23, 1944.

The vast majority of camp prisoners worked in the tunnel, manufacturing airplane parts, in particular, wings for Messerschmitt (Me) 262 series aircraft. The majority of the factory's workers were inmates, but there were also German foremen and foreign forced laborers. For this last group, barracks were built at one of the entrances of the tunnel. Messerschmitt AG sent at least one engineer and several technicians to Leonberg. The inmates worked 12-hour periods, with shift changes at 6:00 A.M. and 6:00 P.M. In December, a single 18-hour workday was imposed, with stoppages of 48 consecutive hours. Some inmates were also employed outside the tunnel. We know, for example, of the existence of a mine clearance team. Other groups worked on small construction sites in Leonberg; another in a nearby quarry. After the aerial bombardments on the city, some inmates were put to work clearing the ruins.

In mid-April 1945, facing the advance of Allied troops, the inmates were evacuated on foot to Stuttgart. The inmates received 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread for the journey. Many among them were beaten during the death march, for example, at Mitterskirchen. At the train station in Stuttgart, they were loaded into freight cars, as many as 100 per car. Some inmates died in the cars. Fights broke out. There was no food distribution. After three days of travel, the train arrived at the Kaufering station, close to Landsberg, about 60 kilometers (37.3 miles) from Munich, where there was a Dachau subcamp. According to the testimony of one of the inmates, Ernst Bornstein, one-fourth of the men died on the train. The majority of the inmates, 1,989, remained in this subcamp; a smaller contingent of 724 men was transported to the Mühlendorf subcamp, which was also under the control of Dachau.

Before the arrival of the Allied armies, the barracks of the Leonberg camp were burned down. The remains were razed after the war, and apartment buildings were constructed on the site.

In 1953, the mass grave was opened, and the bodies were buried in the municipal cemetery. In addition to the 291 recorded deaths, 82 bodies were found.

On December 28, 1979, an inhabitant of Leonberg, Margarete Stingege, received a Merit Cross (*Verdienstkreuz*) from the president of the Federal Republic of Germany for the help she had given to the camp's inmates.

SOURCES Documentation pertaining to the Leonberg subcamp can be found at ITS (Hängemappe Akdo Leonberg; Zuwachsortner KL Natzweiler); the VVN, Stuttgart (Ordner Leonberg); BA-L (AZ IV 419 AR-Z 171/69). Among the few secondary sources on the camp are Jürgen Klingel, "Zur Funktion und Entwicklung der Konzentrationslager. Das Lager Leonberg," in *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegsführung. Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass*, ed. Herwart Vorländer (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1978), pp. 19–69; Friedrich E. Wolf, ed., *KZ in Leonberg. Eine Dokumentation* (Leonberg: Haus der Begegnung Erwachsenenarbeit der Evang. Kirchenbezirke Leonberg/Ditzingen, 1980). A former Jewish inmate of Leonberg wrote a memoir:

Ernst Israel Bornstein, *Die lange Nacht. Ein Bericht aus sieben Lagern* (Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1967).

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MANNHEIM-SANDHOFEN

[AKA MANNHEIM-WALDHOF]

On September 27, 1944, a subcamp of the concentration camp Natzweiler was opened at Sandhofen, a suburb of the city of Mannheim, in Baden. This subcamp was also known by the name Mannheim-Waldhof. A convoy of 1,060 men arrived from Dachau on that September day. Some inmates had only briefly passed through Dachau, like the Pole Zdzisław Siwak, who came from the transit camp of Pruszkow and who left a testimony of his internment at Mannheim-Sandhofen. The journey lasted three days, despite the short distance between the two camps. The inmates were allocated prisoner numbers from 29241 to 30300. Once they arrived at the train station in Mannheim, they went through town on foot, in rows of five, to reach their new camp. On October 7, the camp management asked the administration of the Natzweiler main camp for seven German Kapos and a doctor for the inmates (*Häftlingsarzt*). A doctor arrived at the camp. His name was Andreas Barhard, and he was an Iraqi, born on November 13, 1914. He had internment number 14903. The camp elder (*Lagerältester*) was Karlos Walter. There were some Jewish inmates in the camp, including survivors of the Warsaw ghetto. A group of Polish prisoners had taken part in the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944.

The camp was established in three schools. The main school was the Friedrich School (Friedrich Schule), located at Kriegstrasse 28 in Sandhofen. The two other schools were on the same street, at numbers 15 and 18. Five supplementary Kapos who spoke Polish were sent to the camp. Surveillance was provided by 40 soldiers from the Luftwaffe and by a few SS men. The main building, the former Friedrich School, consisted of eight classrooms on each of the two floors, each room measuring about 60 square meters (646 square feet). There were 13 toilets on the first floor and two small administrative offices. The inmates were crowded into the classrooms, with more than 60 per room. Behind the building there was a courtyard and a gymnasium (*Schulturnhalle*) where a kitchen was installed for the inmates. Siwak reports in his testimony that a small orchestra was formed around that time, to entertain the guards.

The inmates' sanitary situation was quite poor. They would arrive at the camp already weakened and in poor health. They were frequently beaten. Their uniforms were only washed one time during the camp's entire existence. The prisoners were able to take advantage, however, of a weekly shower or bath, in the school's facilities. The guards carried out death sentences by hanging prisoners from a tree in the camp's courtyard. A box would be placed under the inmate's

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feet, and the youngest prisoner, who was 14 years old, would have to push it away. Some children from the neighborhood attended the hangings. For example, inmate Marian Kraiński, born in 1914, was hanged, accused of having sabotaged production at the Daimler-Benz factory where he worked. He was executed on January 4, 1945. The camp's dead were buried in the Mannheim cemetery. Frequently the prisoners faced sadistic treatment from the guards who "amused" themselves with the inmates. Abuse of prisoners declined following intervention from the management of the Daimler-Benz factory where the inmates worked, due to dissatisfaction with low productivity. There were escapes from the camp: a group of three prisoners in November 1944 and an isolated escape, that of one of the Kapos dressed in the uniform of an SS guard.

The majority of inmates worked in the Daimler-Benz factory in Luzenberg, about 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) away from the camp. They went there on foot and returned each night to the camp. The workweek was six and a half days, at a rate of 11 hours a day. One Sunday night in three was idle, but the day was taken up with interminable roll calls in the courtyard, accompanied by forced marches and poor treatment. Daimler-Benz AG paid the SS 6 Reichsmark (RM) for a day of work by a skilled laborer and just 4 RM for an unskilled laborer. In October 1944, the company paid 106,181.20 RM to the management of the Natzweiler concentration camp. The inmates of Mannheim-Sandhofen worked in manufacturing crankshafts and trucks. They were employed as lathe operators or on an assembly line. The factory supplied the camp with supplementary food rations, which were frequently stolen by the guards.

A few days before Christmas 1944, Mannheim and Ludwigsburg were bombed. A bomb fell on the camp's kitchen, killing the inmates who worked there and injuring several others. The school was damaged, and some inmates were temporarily housed in a bunker that had originally been intended to serve as a civilian shelter.

Starting in December 1944, on Christmas, several hundred inmates were removed from the camp and sent to Buchenwald. The rest of the prisoners were housed in the building of the preschool next door, which until then had housed Italian forced laborers. Space was lacking. Inmates lived under the roof, where the temperature was terribly low. In mid-March, a selection took place, and inmates deemed unfit for labor were sent to the Vaiblingen/Enz camp. About 400 men remained at Sandhofen. They were evacuated on March 20, 1945, to the camp at Kochendorf, another Natzweiler subcamp, located near Stuttgart. They were put to work in an airplane factory built inside a salt mine. The camp was evacuated on March 30, with the 1,500 surviving inmates. The death march lasted eight days, until reaching Dachau. Only 175 men made it there alive. There were a small number of survivors, just a few hundred, from the Mannheim-Sandhofen camp. When American troops entered Mannheim on March 26, 1945, the camp had been entirely evacuated.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

SOURCES Little literature exists on the Mannheim-Sandhofen subcamp; see Jürgen Ziegler, *Mitten unter uns. Natzweiler-Struthof: Spuren eines Konzentrationslagers* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1986), pp. 161–182.

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MARKIRCH

The Markirch (French: Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines) subcamp is first mentioned in the Natzweiler concentration camp files on March 13, 1944. According to Robert Steegmann, the subcamp was opened with 25 prisoners on this date. Immediately thereafter a transport of 500 prisoners arrived from Dachau, of whom 36.6 percent were Italians, 23.4 percent were Soviets, and 22.6 percent were Yugoslavs. Some 96 percent of the prisoners were political prisoners; 12 were "asocials"; 7 were security prisoners; 1 was a prisoner who refused to serve with the Wehrmacht; 2 were foreign civilian forced laborers; and 2 were prisoners of war (POWs). By the autumn of 1944, 59 of these prisoners are thought to have died in the Markirch subcamp. Initially the camp consisted solely of the Markirch site; later Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) established a second camp in Otto-Hütten, with the camps being known as Camp I and II. From the end of April 1944 to the end of December 1944, the Markirch camp commander was Eugen Wur.; Andreas Göb. was senior Kapo (the abbreviated names have been taken from the court proceedings).

According to Steegmann, a second transport of 500 prisoners arrived at the end of March 1944; 48.7 percent of the prisoners were Italians, 26.4 percent were Yugoslavs, 24.6 percent were Soviets, and 10.1 percent were Germans; but there were also 25 French and 28 Greeks. The overwhelming majority of prisoners, 96.7 percent, were political prisoners. The men from both transports were set to work in Markirch, constructing the camp and preparing a disused railway tunnel as the production site for aircraft engines by BMW. Supplies and production material mostly came from the Dachau/München-Allach (BMW) subcamp, which had been largely destroyed during Allied bombing raids.

Other transports arrived in the following months: 56 prisoners on May 25, 1944; 16 on June 1; 60 on June 17; and 537 on June 18. All the transports originated from München-Allach and consisted mostly of Soviet political prisoners, who had been chosen for their professional skills—construction workers and metalworkers. Two other transports from München-Allach arrived in Markirch between July and August 1944: on July 19, 223 prisoners; and on July 23, 139 prisoners (61.3 percent Italian, 6.3 percent Yugoslav, 18.5 percent Soviet, 8.2 percent Dutch). Documents from the Natzweiler concentration camp reveal that these prisoners were not chosen because of their professional skills. A final, large transport from München-Allach arrived in the camp in August 1944—57.3 percent of the prisoners in this trans-

port were Soviet citizens. The 226 prisoners did not remain in Markirch but were distributed between other Natzweiler subcamps in Neckartal, including camps of the Gruppe “Wüste” and the subcamp in Spaichingen. Steegmann states the source material on the transports to Markirch is generally chaotic and that not all were put together in the Natzweiler main camp.

It is likely that two prisoners were executed in the camp for trying to escape: the execution of Italian prisoner Agsdino Campo (escaped on July 30, 1944; hanged on September 14, 1944) is documented.

On August 14, 1944, there were 1,857 prisoners registered in Markirch as capable of working: 816 for the construction detachment Markirch A9 [Ste Marie A9] and 1,041 for BMW (Elsässische Spezial Grosskellerei). The Markirch A9 work site was a tunnel that was constructed close to Saint-Die. The tunnel was 6,875 meters (about 7,519 yards) long, 6.15 meters (6.7 yards) high, and 7.8 meters (8.5 yards) wide. Under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Fritsch and SS-Obersturmführer Losacker, a Mannheim architect, railway track laying, electrical, and concreting work was to be done on the surface of 50,000 square meters (538,195 square yards). Ventilation and heating equipment was also to be installed. After the tunnel was constructed, it was to be prepared so that BMW could commence production of aircraft engines. Work in the tunnel was extraordinarily difficult, and the high humidity resulted in many illnesses. At least 100 prisoners died while working in the tunnel. These numbers do not include those prisoners who could no longer work and who were returned to the main camp, where they were exchanged for new prisoners.

At the end of August 1944, there were between 1,600 and 1,700 prisoners in the camp. However, production in the A9 tunnel never commenced due to the advance of the front line. During September, most of the prisoners were evacuated in different transports to Dachau (mostly to the München-Allach subcamp). At least 62 prisoners died while being transported. Other prisoners were taken to the Neckarelz and Neckargartach subcamps.

SOURCES Robert Steegmann describes Markirch in his history of the Natzweiler concentration camp in *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 67–69, 276–277. SS-Untersturmführer Eugen Wur. was tried in 1965–1966 before the court (Landgericht) in Hechingen for the execution of a foreign prisoner but was acquitted for lack of evidence. The judgment is to be found in *JuNS-V*, vol. 23, lfd. Nr. 625, pp. 369–426.

Archival material on the Markirch camp can be found in the ACCS as well as in the AAC-C (Collection NAT 55: Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines, 1 box). Records from investigations by the state prosecutor on crimes committed in the Markirch subcamp are held at the BA-L (419 AR 2191/67; 419 AR-Z 33/61).

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METZ

During the German occupation, from 1940 to 1944, there was a Natzweiler subcamp for male prisoners in the city of Metz, which belonged in that period to the German administrative unit Gau Westmark. The first mention of the camp is on August 6, 1943, and the last, a year later, on August 16, 1944.

The prisoners were used by the Waffen-SS Building Administration as well as by the police and SS-Intelligence School in Metz. They were accommodated in the Fort Göben Casemate I.

SOURCES The Metz subcamp is mentioned in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), 1:206.

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MÜHLHAUSEN

The Mühlhausen subcamp (French: Mulhouse) was located in the former Reichsgau Bade-Elsass. It came into existence during the liquidation of the Natzweiler main camp, lasting for only a few weeks.

The camp is first mentioned in the Natzweiler files in the period after August 24, 1944. Around 200 male prisoners were taken from Dachau to Mühlhausen on August 30, 1944, to construct a factory for Elsässische Maschinenbau GmbH (Elmag), which was to be used to produce armaments.

Robert Steegmann determined the composition of the prisoners: around 18 percent were Italians, 12.5 percent were Poles, and 48.5 percent were Soviets. The large majority of the prisoners were political prisoners.

The prisoners never commenced work because of the approach of Allied troops. The camp is mentioned for the final time in the files of the main camp on September 29, 1944, when 198 inmates were sent back to Dachau.

SOURCES A description of the Mühlhausen subcamp is provided by Robert Steegmann in *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos: Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 75, 261. Antoine Greffier states that the Mühlhausen subcamp was a secure Natzweiler subcamp in *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des KL Natzweiler-Struthof*, published by the Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg in 2002, at p. 157.

The Mühlhausen subcamp is listed in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), 1:206.

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NECKARELZ I AND II

At the end of the war, as Allied bombardments on the Reich intensified, the production of war equipment went underground.

VOLUME I: PART B

The gypsum mine in Obrigheim/Neckar was used as the site for Daimler-Benz workshops to manufacture engines for Messerschmitt planes. Previously, the mine had been operated by the Heidelberg company Portland-Zementwerke. Two subcamps of the Natzweiler concentration camp in Alsace were created to supply labor to the subterranean factories. They were built in the town of Neckarelz, located on the other side of the Neckar River. The first subcamp was set up in the Neckarelz school on March 21, 1944, with the arrival of a convoy of 500 inmates from Dachau, where they had been selected for the work. The lack of security installations permitted 3 inmates to escape shortly after their arrival; quickly, however, the grounds of the school were surrounded by barbed-wire fences. The Neckarelz subcamps were built in the following months, as the Daimler-Benz labor demand increased. In April, three other convoys with prisoners arrived from Auschwitz, Natzweiler, and Gross-Rosen. In May, 600 men were sent from Oranienburg. Between July 22 and 24, 1944, 1,100 inmates, all French, arrived from Dachau, where they had been transported from the camp at Compiègne on July 1. A convoy sent from Markirch brought another 600 men in September 1944.

In the Neckarelz I camp and the three subcamps there were 2,129 inmates in June 1944 (1,100 in Neckarelz alone) and 2,944 in September. In Neckarelz II, there were an average of 1,400 inmates. The group of five camps included 3,000 inmates at the time of its evacuation. There were some women among them, mostly French prostitutes imprisoned in France and sent to concentration camps by the Germans.

The Neckarelz camp had a rectangular shape. The school yard served as the roll-call area. The barracks were built around it, 12 in all, with several infirmaries (*Revier*), a warehouse for food, two disinfectant rooms, and another for the block leader (*Blockführer*). The inmates were housed in the school building's eight classrooms where trilevel bunk beds were put up. The inmates' office (*Schreibstube*) was in the cellar, along with the office of the "protective custody" camp chief (*Schutzhaftlagerführer*).

In December 1944, a second camp was built, near the entrance of the Obrigheim mine, designated as Neckarelz II. It was located next to the old Neckarelz train station, beside the tracks. It consisted of one or two housing barracks but depended on Neckarelz I for the rest of its facilities (kitchen, infirmary). Inmates deemed unfit for work were sent to Neckarelz I and replaced by prisoners from there. The camp guard was made up of a few SS men and 300 to 400 Luftwaffe soldiers from the Gotha and Vienna units.

The first commandant, transferred from the Auschwitz camp administration, was SS-Obersturmführer Hössler. He was replaced after two months by SS-Hauptsturmführer Franz Hofmann, who also came from Auschwitz. In October 1945, he was put in charge of the Gruppe "Wüste" camps. The protective custody camp chief replaced him.

The commander of Neckarelz II was an SS man with the rank of Rottenführer. The director of labor named Lutz murdered many inmates and was sentenced to death after liberation by a military tribunal in Rastatt. The camp elder

(*Lagerältester*) of Neckarelz I was Max Schwaiger. A former lieutenant in the Wehrmacht, he had been denounced for seditious intentions and sent to a concentration camp. The *Lagerältester* of camp II was a homosexual, Walter Haufe; according to survivor accounts, he displayed sadistic behavior.

At Neckarelz, there existed the position of *Oberkapo* to supervise the group of *Kapos*. The position was held by someone named Hermann, a procurer from Berlin. Some *Kapos* behaved particularly brutally and killed dozens of inmates. Positions within the camp's administration were held by political prisoners. There was a political department (*Politische Abteilung*) at Neckarelz, directed by a criminal policeman (*Kriminalsekretär*) of the Karlsruhe Gestapo. There were at least six executions, five for attempted escape and one for sabotage.

The prisoners' food was prepared by a group of 11 prisoners in the Neckarelz camp and brought to Obrigheim by truck. The meals at 9:00 A.M. and at noon were taken on the work site. The food was insufficient for the inmates, despite the 2,000 Reichsmark (RM) paid monthly by Daimler-Benz to purchase supplementary rations. Clothing was even scarcer, as the delousing hut at Neckarelz I burned down at the end of August 1944, along with many clothes. The inmates tried to protect themselves from the cold by putting sheets of paper or empty cement sacks under their shirts, even though that was forbidden.

The majority of inmates worked in the old gypsum mine, where they had to enlarge the subterranean chambers to set up workshops. This immense project carried the code name of "A8." The existing subterranean chambers were enlarged, others were dug, the corridors were reinforced with concrete, and electricity was provided. An enormous heating installation, the *Kesselbaus*, was built and fortified to resist bombardments. It was a matter of building workshops for Daimler-Benz to manufacture airplane engines for the Messerschmitt and Heinkel aviation factories. At the end of the war, a floor space of 71,000 square meters (84,915 square yards), together with 34 kilometers (21 miles) of subterranean corridors, had been created underground.

The hardest excavation work was reserved for camp inmates. Forced laborers were employed at the manufacturing plant. They were housed in hospitals and in a requisitioned home for the disabled. In all, 5,000 men and women worked in the mine. Other inmates from Neckarelz were employed in construction work by the SS-Construction Special Inspectorate (*Bausonderinspektion*) III Obrigheim and by different local public works companies, like Dyckerhoff und Widmann (D & W). One group of inmates worked in the galleries of the mines at Obrigheim and Neckarzimmern; another group was employed in a cement factory, and a third in a pickle plant (*Gurkenkonservenfabrik*). Small labor details, often temporary, existed too. There was one at the train station in Neckarelz where the inmates were unloaded from the train cars. The one at Asbach built barracks. The Mosbach detail worked for an Alsatian company where there were free Alsatian workers who when on leave would run small shopping errands for the French inmates.

The official list of deceased French inmates at Neckarelz I and II and at Neckargerach includes 232 names. The bodies of the dead inmates were first sent to the crematory in Heidelberg. Beginning in mid-October 1944, in order to save the costs of cremation and transportation, they were buried in a mass grave in the Jewish cemetery of Binau, situated between Neckarelz and Neckargerach.

At the end of March 1945, the order to evacuate the camps arrived. The inmates of the sub-subcamps of Asbach, Bad Rappenau, and Neckarbischofsheim were sent to Neckarelz I. From there, all of the prisoners left on foot on March 25 or 26. On March 29, they arrived at Kupferzell, where they stayed two days. The death march continued in the direction of Schwäbisch-Hall, where approximately 2,000 prisoners boarded a freight train that took them to Dachau; 1,655 arrived alive. On April 28, 441 additional Neckarelz inmates arrived at Dachau, having covered the distance on foot. A freight train transported another 287 inmates incapable of walking. Because bombardments had destroyed the tracks, the train stopped at Osterburken. After four days of waiting, the prisoners were liberated by American troops.

The machines that were found in the mine were dismantled and sent to the Soviet Union. In 1952, the bodies in the Binau cemetery were exhumed, and those of the French prisoners, after being identified, were sent to the military cemetery in Strasbourg. The other corpses were buried again, near the entrance of the Jewish cemetery.

SOURCES A complete description of the history of the camp can be found in Jürgen Ziegler, *Mitten unter uns. Natzweiler-Struthof: Spuren eines Konzentrationslagers* (Hamburg: VSA Verlag, 1986), pp. 183–237. Philippe Bent, a French doctor, wrote a book of memoirs: *L'attente de la mort dans les camps du Neckar* (Montclar-de-Quercy: Dr Philippe Bent, 1957). A member of the Resistance arrested in Toulouse, Bent was first deported to the camp of Compiègne, then to Dachau on July 1, 1944, before July 22, when he was sent to Neckarelz. Another member of the Resistance from Toulouse, Jacques Barrau, was deported on the same convoy. In Neckarelz, with the help of other inmates, he started to make some drawings of daily life in the camp. These drawings were saved and completed after liberation. They are published, with commentaries in both French and German: Jacques Barrau, *Dessins d'un camp. Le camp de Neckarelz, Zeichnungen aus einem Lager. Das Konzentrationslageraussenkommando Neckarelz* (Karlsruhe: Verlag Michael Schmid, 1992). For another survivor testimony, see Alice Landau, *Neuf mois de chirurgie au camp de déportation de Neckarelz* (Toulouse, 1947).

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NECKARELZ I AND II/ASBACH

In the Baden village of Asbach, male Natzweiler concentration camp inmates were stationed to erect barracks for employees of the Daimler-Benz company. The camp was part of the

Neckar camp complex, and the work done here was closely connected with the project “Goldfisch,” the relocation of the Daimler-Benz production site from Genshagen to Obrigheim, not far from Asbach, and the “Kormoran” project. After the work was completed, the prisoners were to return to the camps they had originally come from, Neckarelz and Neckargerach. In recent literature—for instance, by Tobias Markowitsch and Katrin Rautnig—the Asbach camp is therefore referred to as Barackenbaukommando (barracks construction detachment).

The original SS plans consisted of erecting 32 barracks for approximately 1,200 Ostarbeiter (Eastern forced laborers), with the construction work to be concluded on August 20, 1944. Due to short supplies of material and slave labor, however, construction work only began on September 14, 1944, when 60 male prisoners from Neckargerach, under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Heinrich Meyer and guarded by 10 SS men, were taken to Asbach, to the camp site in the village forest at Daudenzell. For the first two weeks, the prisoners were taken back to Neckargerach every night. From September 25 on, they were accommodated in the first barracks that was finished in the camp. In the course of fall 1944, the number of inmates increased to 150, now also including inmates from Neckarelz I.

At the same time, other projects within the Neckar camp complex gained a higher priority, and increasing Allied air raids made the construction work harder and harder. In December 1944, the project was mostly complete: The pipeline that brought drinking water into the camp was laid, the kitchen barracks were all but finished, and a wash barracks was under construction, as were 8 to 10 barracks that were to be used as living quarters. Also, the road leading to the camp and the pathways within the camp were completed. By the end of 1944, the plans were reduced: now only 9 barracks were to be erected, and the number of concentration camp inmates in the camp was reduced to 45. Asbach remained a provisional camp. In January 1945, Dr. Jean Andréis, who at that time was the prisoner physician at Neckarzimmern, was called to Asbach to take care of the SS commando leader who had taken a bad fall. As Markowitsch and Rautnig report, Andréis received permission to visit the local pharmacy, and while buying the necessary medication for the SS man, he also bought some medication for the inmates, mainly vitamin pills, and surgical gauze. Besides this doctor's visit, there was no medical care in the camp, which apparently had no infirmary.

On March 23, 1945, the work at the camp officially ceased, and the inmates were transferred back to Neckarelz. Afterward, the camp was dissolved.

SOURCES Tobias Markowitsch and Katrin Rautnig deliver detailed information on the role of the Asbach camp within the Neckar camp complex in *Goldfisch und Zebra. Das Konzentrationslageraussenkommando Neckarelz. Konzentrationslager des Verlagerungsprojektes A8 und Aussenkommando von Natzweiler-Struthof* (Neckarelz: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neckarelz e.V., 2005). Robert Steegmann describes the Asbach subcamp in *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg:

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Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 76, 110. Neckarelz I and II/Asbach labor details are mentioned in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:207.

A reference in the BA-B (NS 4, KL Na, Catalogue 49-102, Häftlingsangelegenheiten) mentions the camp in Asbach as follows: "93—AL Neckarelz: Prisoners Transferred Back to Natzweiler, 93a—AK Neckarzimmer, Neckargerach, Asbach." At BA-BL, see call number 419 AR-1781/67 Asbach-Daudenzell for information on the Asbach camp.

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NECKARELZ I AND II/BAD RAPPENAU

A work detachment of the Natzweiler subcamps Neckarelz I and II for male prisoners was located in the Baden town of Bad Rappenau. It was part of the Neckar camp complex and specifically dedicated to the machinery that was to be used by the Daimler-Benz company after its relocation from Genshagen near Berlin to Obrigheim.

According to an official report, the Bad Rappenau camp was opened between September and October 1944 with the arrival of about 15 inmates from the Neckarelz camp in the town of Bad Rappenau, about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from Bad Wimpfen. Inmates were to prepare a giant machinery park in the old salt pit of Bad Rappenau; therefore, the inmates had to clean the salt pit first to prepare it for storing the machines there. This equipment came from the local SS-Bauhof, which was in charge of paints, engines, machines, air filtration systems, clothing supply, modular barracks, and other items—all of them booty from the occupied areas and evacuated goods from areas that had fallen into the hands of the Allies. Inmates had to unload the arriving equipment and place it in the fabric halls. The prisoners were located in the two former drilling houses of the salt pit: in one of them, they installed two-tier bunk beds; the second building was used as the inmates' kitchen. Most likely, the camp administration and the guards' quarters were also in this second building. The camp was surrounded by barbed wire.

Like the guards, the majority of inmates had come from the Natzweiler subcamp at Wesserling, which had been evacuated in late fall of 1944 to Neckarelz. This transfer is confirmed by the memoirs of Zacheus Pawlak, a Polish inmate first of Auschwitz, then of Wesserling and Bad Rappenau. The criminal inmate Toni, who had been camp elder in Wesserling, also became the camp elder in Bad Rappenau. Pawlak reports that the living and working conditions at the Bad Rappenau subcamp apparently were bearable, depending on the inmates' work assignments. In general, the guards (SS and Luftwaffe) did not mistreat the prisoners, and the local population (including the nuns of the Bad Rappenau orphanage) frequently supplied the inmates with food. Beside the salt pit and the SS-Bauhof, inmates worked at the railway station, where they loaded and unloaded trains; at the Neckar

River, where they loaded and unloaded ships and boats; and for local farmers. For the farm work, inmates were sometimes able to receive some extra food rations. On December 5, 1944, one day after the devastating air raid on Neckarsulm (about 15 kilometers or 9.3 miles away), inmates of the Bad Rappenau subcamp were taken to the town to clean up. The Bad Rappenau salt pit itself had been attacked repeatedly from the air, but no inmates had been killed. Only in March 1945 were four inmates killed, when they were sent to clean up after an Allied air raid, and a bomb exploded. There are no reports on the number of inmates who may have died during the camp's existence; most likely, inmates considered too weak to work were sent to other camps such as Vaihingen/Unterriexingen and died there.

At the end of March 1945, the prisoners were evacuated to the Neckarelz subcamp. From there, they were taken only a few days later by foot and train to Dachau and its subcamps. During this evacuation, on Easter Sunday 1945, their train was attacked by Allied planes, and numerous inmates died.

SOURCES Robert Steegmann describes the Bad Rappenau subcamp in *Strutbof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 76, 110, 258; also Tobias Markowitsch and Katrin Rautnig in their *Goldfisch und Zebra. Das Konzentrationslageraussenkommando Neckarelz. Konzentrationslager des Verlagerungsprojektes A8 und Aussenkommando von Natzweiler-Strutbof* (Neckarelz: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neckarelz e.V., 2005). An especially important document on the Bad Rappenau subcamp is the memoirs of Zacheus Pawlak, "Ich habe überlebt." *Ein Häftling berichtet über Majdanek* (Hamburg: Hoffmann and Campe, 1979). Only very few survivor statements on this subcamp are available, and Pawlak's memoirs are the only ones of a survivor from Eastern Europe. For further information on the subcamp, see Heinz Tisel, *Das "SS-Arbeitslager Steinbock" in Neckargartach. Augenzeugenberichte—Dokumente—Tatsachen mit Material über Kochendorf und Bad Rappenau* (Heilbronn, 1987). The ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 207, refers to the Bad Rappenau labor detail as part of the Neckarelz I and II subcamp.

At BA-BL, see call number 419 AR-1772/67 for more information on the Bad Rappenau subcamp.

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NECKARELZ I AND II/ NECKARBISCHOFSSHEIM

The town of Neckarbischofsheim in Baden was the seat of a labor detail of the Natzweiler subcamp Neckarelz I and II and belonged to the complex of the Neckarlager (camps along the Neckar River). According to a decision by the SS-Führungsstab Ost (Leadership Staff East), inmates from Neckarelz and Neckargerach were to erect a barracks camp that was to house a Daimler-Benz workforce that was to be evacuated from their locations in central Germany due to the increasing number of air raids.

The grounds for this barracks camp at Neckarbischofsheim were located on the edge of the city, next to a field and the Schwarzbach Creek. The close proximity to the railway track between Neckargmünd and Obrigheim was another important factor for choosing the site.

Between September 14 and 25, 1944, every day about 80 prisoners were taken from Neckargerach to Neckarbischofsheim, where they started to work on erecting the camp. On September 25, they moved into the first barrack that was completed. In the plans of the SS-Leadership Staff, the amount of workforce needed to erect the camp was estimated at 90 specialists (construction workers) and about 225 unskilled workers. The plans called for the erection of 12 barracks within 70 days; additionally, barracks for special purposes (administration, kitchen, washing, infirmary, delousing, toilets) were also to be built. The building of roads and pathways, of canals, and of fences was also planned. When finished, the camp was to hold about 1,000 Daimler-Benz laborers.

Since the SS-Führungsstab was not able to provide a sufficient number of inmates, all planning became unrealistic. Neckarbischofsheim always remained a small camp, with approximately 200 male inmates. During the construction phase, the conditions in the camp became unbearable quickly. Prisoners had no chance to shower for months; their bathroom consisted of a tree trunk that was laid across Schwarzbach Creek. Very soon, the inmates started to suffer from typhus and typhoid, and only then were some measures taken to slightly improve the sanitary conditions.

In November 1944, it became obvious that other projects within the Neckarlager complex had a higher priority. Additionally, air raids at a number of the camps delayed the construction work significantly. By the end of the war, only six barracks were completed in Neckarbischofsheim; also constructed were the road leading to the entrance of the camp, a provisional bridge crossing the creek, and some pathways. To accomplish this, SS men mercilessly exploited the emaciated and starving inmates. On March 15, 1945, 30 inmates not able to work were exchanged for new prisoners from Neckarelz II. The small size of the detachment even increased the exploitation of the inmates. Only temporarily, between October 1944 and mid-February 1945, a prisoners' physician was present in the camp: Dr. Joseph Leccia, a French resistance fighter, who afterward was transferred to Neckarelz II.

Presumably, the Neckarbischofsheim inmates came from a number of different nationalities, like all inmates in the Neckarlager complex. Among them were French, Poles, Russians, Italians, Germans, Norwegians, Belgians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Czechs, Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), Latvians, Hungarians, Luxembourgiens, Dutch, Romanians, Slovaks, Yugoslavs, Spaniards, and Greeks. Robert Stein, one of the few German inmates in Neckarbischofsheim, was the camp Kapo.

By the end of March 1945, Neckarbischofsheim was evacuated, and the inmates were sent back to Neckarelz. From

there, they joined the evacuation marches of the Natzweiler inmates. On March 29, all prisoners still able to walk were taken via Öhringen to Kupferzell. From there, 2,000 inmates were taken by train to Dachau, where they arrived on April 2. Another group of inmates walked from Neckarelz to Dachau, where they arrived almost a month later, on April 27. Sick inmates who were no longer able to walk were to be taken by train to Dachau, but these plans were never realized, and the inmates were set free on April 2, 1945, after their guards had escaped.

There is no clear information as to how many inmates died in the Neckarlager. According to records, the death rate was about 10 percent. But this death rate is unrealistically low since many inmates who were no longer able to work were sent to Vaihingen/Enz, a camp that within the compound of the Neckar camps served the purpose of a camp solely for the dying. The victims of that camp do not show up in any statistical records.

SOURCES There are two substantial studies available on the Neckarbischofsheim camp based on recent research: Peter Beisel, "Im schönsten Wiesengrund. Das Arbeitslager Neckarbischofsheim," *Be-Nbh-Hg* 4 (2003); and Tobias Markowitsch and Kattrin Rautnig, *Goldfisch und Zebra. Das Konzentrationslager aussenkommando Neckarelz. Konzentrationslager des Verlagerungsprojektes A8 und Aussenkommando von Natzweiler-Struthof* (Neckarelz: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neckarelz e.V., 2005), which gives a detailed analysis of all camps in the Neckarlager complex. In addition, there are two publications by survivors on the Neckarbischofsheim camp. Maurice Voutey published his memoirs under the title *Gefangener des Unwahrscheinlichen oder Ein Traum geht ans Äusserste. Vier Jahreszeiten in Dachau und in den Neckarlagern*, trans. Dorothee Roos (Elztal-Dallau, 2002); it is one of the rare reports by a historian who survived the concentration camps. Former Kapo Robert Stein wrote an article titled "Vom Wehrmachtsstraflager zur Zwangsarbeit bei Daimler-Benz. Ein Lebensbericht," published in 1999, 2 (1987), Heft 4, pp. 20–51, in response to *Das Daimler-Benz-Buch. Ein Rüstungskonzern im "Tausendjährigen Reich"* (Nördling: Stiftung für Sozialgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts, 1987), to which Stein wanted to add his own experiences. A further source on the Neckarbischofsheim camp is Robert Steegmann's *Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), but information on the camp is scattered throughout the book. The Neckarelz I and II work detachment Neckarbischofsheim is listed in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 207.

There are some archival sources on the Neckarlager in general and on Neckarbischofsheim specifically. The results of investigations by the ZdL on the Neckarbischofsheim camp can be found in BA-L today (419 AR-1778/67). Also, the ACCS holds some further information.

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VOLUME I: PART B

NECKARELZ I AND II/NECKARGERACH

A detachment of the Natzweiler subcamps Neckarelz I and II was established in Neckargerach in Baden on April 7, 1944, on the site of a former Reich Labor Service (RAD) camp. In fact, Neckargerach was the first subcamp erected after the establishment of the Neckarelz I and II subcamp. After more and more inmates had arrived at Neckarelz I and II and were to be employed in the construction of accommodations for Daimler-Benz employees, the Neckarelz I and II camp was not able to take in any more prisoners. By the end of April the former RAD camp was confiscated for the purpose of erecting the new subcamp. The camp was located in Neckargerach at Seebach Creek, about 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) down the river from Neckarelz. The RAD camp provided barracks and sanitary installations, as well as access to the Neckarelz-Obrigheim train tracks connecting Neckargerach with its superior camp and the project Goldfisch at Obrigheim, the work site of the inmates as well.

Since early April, inmates of Neckarelz I and II had worked on preparing for the opening of the camp. Most likely, the camp was opened on April 27, 1944, already very crowded. Some 400 of the inmates who arrived that day were sent to work in the underground tunnels of the Goldfisch project, while 450 remained in the camp and continued working on its construction; 4 inmates worked in the kitchen, and 19 were prisoner-functionaries. In May 1944, 600 more inmates arrived in the Neckarelz region from Sachsenhausen. Among the prisoners were 370 Soviets, 163 Poles, 36 Germans, 7 Dutch, 7 Czechs, 6 French, 5 Belgians, 2 Lithuanians, 2 Yugoslavs, and 2 stateless persons. Again, most of the prisoners were political prisoners. On the transport, 31 had died. Of the surviving inmates, about 340 remained in Neckargerach, while the others were taken to Neckarelz I and II. With about 1,240 inmates (the peak was reached on June 18, 1944, when 1,321 prisoners were in the camp), Neckargerach between May and December 1944 was the largest camp in the Neckar area. At that time, there were more inmates in the camp than the barracks could hold, and an additional tent was erected to hold 300 inmates.

Originally, the camp consisted of five barracks, each of them divided into nine rooms (*Stuben*); one barrack was used as the kitchen. The rooms were each equipped with two-tier bunk beds, two tables, benches, and a stove—but no fuel was provided. Outside the camp, there were two more barracks, one for the guards and one used as an office building. Open latrines were placed at the outskirts of the camp. For more than 1,200 inmates, there were only five faucets. Franz Hössler, the commander of all the Neckar camps, was initially also in charge of the Neckargerach subcamp. But within a few days he was replaced by a local camp commander: between April 30 and July 12, 1944, this was SS-Oberscharführer Josef Brandauer, followed by Luftwaffe-Feldwebel Zimmermann until early September 1944. Until September 23, 1944, the staff of the guard unit Spangenberg was in charge, and from October 15, 1944, on, SS-Oberscharführer Steinbach.

Detlef Ernst and Klaus Riexinger state that the guards were part of the 6th Waffen-SS Guard Company, commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Lautenschlager. The 6th Company was responsible for guarding the subcamps and detachments in Vaihingen, Kochendorf, Neckargerach, Hesselental, and Unterriexingen. On the other hand, Tobias Markowitsch and Katrin Rautnig state that, according to a special order of the commander of the Neckar camps, the 5th Guard Company under Wilhelm Streit was in charge of guarding Neckargerach and some other camps in the area.

Two-thirds of the inmates of the Neckargerach camp worked the day shift at the Obrigheim tunnel, to prepare the underground relocation of the Daimler-Benz production site from Genshagen to Obrigheim. One-third of the inmates worked the night shift, and about 45 inmates worked within the camp. The inmates' day started at 4:45 in the morning; roll call was at 5:15 A.M. At 5:30 the inmates were marched to the Neckargerach railway station and from there taken by train to Neckarelz and Obrigheim, where they started to work at 7:00 A.M. Proof of the severe living and working conditions in the camp can be seen in the fact that already by May 1944, less than one month after the camp in Neckargerach had opened, 70 prisoners were transferred back to the Natzweiler infirmary.

Until October 1944, according to survivor statements, prisoners who tried to escape or were accused of sabotage were executed in the camp. Such executions took place especially during the reign of the second commander of the Neckar camps group, Franz Johann Hofmann. For instance, according to Robert Steegmann, 23 prisoners stated to be Polish partisans were executed in June, and 27 were shot in July—either in Neckarelz or Neckargerach (sources differ). One prisoner, Boleslaw Schesyk, was hanged in June 1944 following an unsuccessful escape attempt. Prisoners Ilja Prokuda (Soviet Union), Rene Brunet (France), and Eugen Florczak (Poland) were shot in August and September 1944, probably while trying to escape.

In December 1944, Neckargerach underwent a transformation: it completely ceased to be a work camp and became a so-called hospital camp (*Krankenlager*) for all camps of the Neckar region instead, while all inmates still capable of work were taken to Neckarelz I and II. In mid-July, a camp physician began to work in Neckargerach; on July 25, 1944, a second physician was sent to the camp; and on August 13, a third one. From November 1944 on, four to five physicians were working at Neckargerach. Thanks to the research of Markowitsch and Rautnig, the names of the inmates-physicians at the Neckar camps are known: they were French inmates Prof. Dr. Francois Rohmer, Dr. Joseph Helluy, Dr. Jacques Gernal, Dr. Stephane Fuchs, and Dr. Jean Bernex, German Dr. Werner Vohl, and Norwegian Dr. Leif Paulson. Originally the *Revier* (infirmary) only held about 25 patients a day—probably because there was no more space or because a larger number of patients were not allowed by the camp commander. In the second half of the year, the number of inmates at the infirmary began to rise to 70 and later 80 to 90 per day.

This number did not significantly increase since sick prisoners were regularly selected and sent to the “dying camp” (*Sterbelager*) Vaihingen/Enz, as happened with 120 inmates on December 20 and a further 2 in March 1945. A local German physician, Dr. Hans Wey, who had been central in saving the lives of inmates in some of the Neckar camps, also helped the prisoners of the Neckargerach camp: by warning them early about upcoming selections, he saved the lives of many prisoners. Markowitsch and Rautnig provide statistical information regarding the number of deaths in the Neckargerach camp: in April 1944, no inmates died; in May, 10; in June, 25; in July, 5; in August, 6; in September, 8; in October, 3; in November, 18; in December, 13; in January 1945, 13; in February, 15; and in March, 21. In total, these are 137 cases of death, not including those Neckargerach inmates who were transported to other camps (like the main camp or Vaihingen) to die or to be killed there.

At the end of March 1945, the evacuation of the prisoners began. By then, the number of inmates in the Neckargerach camp was over 2,000 and included numerous prisoners who had been evacuated from other subcamps to Neckargerach. Those who could walk were taken to Dachau; the last transport with 1,920 prisoners, according to eyewitness statements and files, arrived there on April 10, 1945. Those who could not walk, roughly 900, were taken at the end of March 1945 to Osterburken, where between 250 and 300 of them died. The Allies freed 887 survivors from Neckarelz/Neckargerach, on April 2, 1945.

Hofmann was sentenced in the first Auschwitz trial in 1961 by the Landgericht (Regional Court) München II to life imprisonment with hard labor for 1,938 homicides. The Landgericht Hechingen also sentenced him to imprisonment with hard labor in 1965 for his activities at Neckargerach. The sentence was revoked and the proceedings stayed, as Hofmann had already been sentenced to life imprisonment for killings committed in 1938.

SOURCES Tobias Markowitsch and Katrin Rautnig provide detailed information on the Neckargerach subcamp in *Goldfisch und Zebra. Das Konzentrationslagerausenkommando Neckarelz. Konzentrationslager des Verlagerungsprojektes A8 und Aussenkommando von Natzweiler-Struthof* (Neckarelz: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neckarelz e.V., 2005), esp. pp. 68–86, 112, 157–161, 178. Information of the Neckarelz/Neckargerach subcamp can also be found in Robert Steegman, *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 76–81, 110–112. Detlef Ernst and Klaus Riexinger refer to details on the guards in their *Vernichtung durch Arbeit. Die Geschichte des KZ Kochendorf. Aussenkommando des KZ Natzweiler-Struthof* (Bad Reichenhall: D. Ernst, K. Riexinger, 1996). The camp is also mentioned by Jürgen Ziegler, *Mitten unter uns. Natzweiler-Struthof. Spuren eines Konzentrationslagers* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1986). The court verdict against camp commander Franz Johann Hofmann is published in *JuNSV* 23, lfd. Nr. 625, pp. 369–426. J.H. de la Teyssonière, one of the few survivors of the Sterbelager Vaihingen who had been an inmate at Neckargerach, published

his memoirs under the title *A la mémoire de . . . Témoignage* (Doullens Somme, 1972).

Archival sources on the Neckarelz/Neckargerach subcamp are to be found at the AAC-C (NAT 56: Neckarelz, 21 boxes; NAT 57: Neckargerach, 8 boxes), the ACCS (Neckar Camps' Collection 4046/19, 4088/61, 4089, and specifically on Neckargerach 4092; 3644 Neckargerach and Neckarelz, 3646 Neckarlager, and 3644 Neckarelz and Neckargerach). The ITS archive lists the Neckargerach labor detachment as part of its Natzweiler Collection, Signatur 494. The following files at the BA-L contain witness statements and investigation reports on Neckargerach; see especially call numbers 419 AR 1833/67 and 419 AR 2192/67, as well as Ordner Verschiedenes 301 AAn 121 (Arbeitstagebuch Neckargerach). The ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 208, mentions the Neckarelz I and II subcamp Unterkommando Neckargerach.

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NECKARGARTACH-HEILBRONN

Neckargartach, a subcamp of the Alsatian concentration camp of Natzweiler, opened in August 1944. Neckargartach is a suburb of Heilbronn in Württemberg. The camp was established next to an athletic field, not far from the Neckar River. The chosen site, outlined by Bollinger and Wimpferer Strassen, was surrounded by vegetable gardens. It occupied an area of 100 meters×150 meters (328 feet×492 feet). About 200 inmates were transferred to Neckargartach on September 4, arriving from Kochendorf, another Natzweiler subcamp. The inmates built the first three barracks in just three days. The work was managed by the Higher-SS Construction Directorate (Oberbauleitung) Kiebitz-Stuttgart. The project carried the code name “Steinbock in Heilbronn.” It appears that the Organisation Todt (OT) was not involved in the camp's construction; instead, the work was managed by the SS with the help of civilian foremen.

A second transport arrived around the same time, bringing inmates from the Longwy and Adun-le-Tiche subcamps in Lorraine. As the camp was not yet finished, the convoy was directed to another subcamp. On September 15, a transport of 600 inmates from the Markirch subcamp in Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines in Alsace arrived in Neckargartach. The prisoners had worked in the construction of Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) airplane engines in a factory installed in a railroad tunnel. The convoy was composed of 150 skilled and 450 unskilled laborers. Another convoy arrived from the camp of Wessering, also in Alsace. Neckargartach thus served as the evacuation link for several of Natzweiler's subcamps under the threat of advancing Allied troops. The exact number of camp inmates is not precisely known; it was probably around 1,200.

The camp's organization included a political department (Politische Abteilung), controlled by the Gestapo. According to oral accounts, included among the inmates were labeled

Night-and-Fog (*Nacht-und-Nebel*) prisoners, common criminals, political prisoners, Gypsies, and at least one homosexual. One inmate was a former deputy in the German parliament (Reichstag). Jews were probably not very numerous among the inmates; 2 deceased were buried in the Jewish cemetery of Heilbronn-Sontheim. Polish inmates were the most numerous. There were also Italians, Russians, Yugoslavs, Germans, and French, as well as others from Luxembourg and Alsace-Moselle. The number of dead is also not known in detail, but there were at least 295 dead, of which 31 were cremated in the Heilbronn crematorium; others were buried in a mass grave. The highest number of deaths occurred in January 1945. At least two escapes are recorded. The final fate of the escapees is not known, but they were not returned to the camp.

A doctor worked in the camp, a Polish inmate. A German doctor from Neckargartach treated the guards and wrote the death certificates. Sick inmates were sent to the hospital camp (*Krankenlager*) in Vaihingen, another subcamp of Natzweiler, most often to die there. The camp elder (Lagerältester) was a German, a bookseller from Heidelberg. He was later replaced by Vally Greska, a Jehovah's Witness.

The camp's commander was Johannes Gillbert, an SS-Oberscharführer and a native of the Duisburg area. Accounts indicate that he did not beat inmates. He even tried at times to improve the condition of the prisoners' lives, in particular by providing them with shoes. This was a necessity to enable them to report to their work site. The camp was protected by about 80 guards from the SS and soldiers from the Luftwaffe. Many guards were ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche) who had previously been stationed in the concentration camps of Radom (a subcamp of Lublin-Majdanek) and Lublin. About 20 brutal Kapos inflicted cruel treatment on the inmates. There were no regular executions of inmates; instead, they died of weakness and exhaustion. Some residents of Heilbronn attempted to come to their aid by giving them food. For example, apples were left along the path the prisoners had to take to get to work. Their poor physical condition was visible to the residents. It was even possible to see inside the camp from the neighboring streets. The camp had been built in Neckargartach because of its proximity to a salt mine, which was used as a shelter for the workshops necessary to the war industry. The inmates worked at digging a second entry tunnel, then a third, for the mine chamber, where a workshop was built.

Accounts differ on the work carried out in this underground chamber. In any case, it was a matter of war production, perhaps spare parts for airplanes or even for V-2 rockets. Inmates worked there in three shifts of eight hours each. The work took place six and a half days per week. Other inmates were employed in the fields, in groups of 8 or 10. The main employers for manual labor in the camp were the OT and the local excavation company Julius Berger. On December 4, 1944, the city of Heilbronn suffered extensive aerial bombing. The work in the mine was stopped, and the inmates were employed to clear the rubble, to bury the corpses, and to disable unexploded bombs. When the neighboring town of Neckars-

ulm was hit by bombs on March 1, 1945, the inmates of Neckargartach were sent there as well.

The subcamp was evacuated between March 28 and April 1, 1945. At the time of their departure, the SS burned the camp archives. On April 1, the local management of the OT moved to Rosenheim, in Bavaria, bringing 100 men in seven trucks. On April 2, American troops entered Heilbronn. The inmates had already been evacuated to Dachau, one part by railroad convoy and another on foot. The death march was punctuated by several massacres. The inmates of Neckargartach were registered in Dachau on April 10, 1945. At the end of the month, some had to undergo the evacuation of Dachau to Tyrol. The camp commander Gillbert was arrested by American troops and interned at the camp of Ludwigsburg. Handed over to the French army, he was tried in the Natzweiler trial before the general tribunal of Rastatt and sentenced to death. He was pardoned and returned to settle in Duisburg. Former camp wardens came back to live in Heilbronn, where they had formed relationships with local women.

SOURCES As the camp files were destroyed before the evacuation, only fragmentary documentation remains at ITS (Hängemappe Akdo Neckargartach) and BA-L (IV 419 AR-Z 171/69). More has been published on the Neckargartach commando than on other small camps in southwest Germany. A complete description of the camp based on interviews can be found in Heinz Risel, *KZ in Heilbronn. Das "SS-Arbeitslager Steinbock" in Neckargartach. Augenzeugenberichte-Dokumente-Tatsachen mit Material über Kochendorf und Bad Rappenau* (Nordheim: Heinz Risel, 1987). The same author wrote a shorter history of the camp titled "Das Lager Neckargartach," in *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegsführung. Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass*, ed. Herbert Vorländer (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1978), pp. 109–130; as well as articles: Risel, "Die Konzentrationslager Neckargartach und Kochendorf," *LgUr* III-23 (1982): 23–32, 75–88; "Das KZ Neckargartach bei Heilbronn," *SchwH* 1 (1983): 29–33. Information on the camp is also included in Uwe Jacobi, *Das Kriegsende. Szenen 1944/1945 in Heilbronn im Unterland und in Hobenlobe* (Heilbronn: Verlag Heilbronner Stimme, 1985); Michael Schmid, "Das Konzentrationslager-aussenkommando Neckarelz. Seine Entstehung und Bedeutung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der kriegswirtschaftlichen Bedingungen und der Funktionserweiterung der Konzentrationslager" (Ph.D. diss., Heidelberg, 1981). See also the testimony of an inmate from Luxembourg: Jean Nothar, "Die Flucht," *Rappel* 12: 6 (1948): 917–920.

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NECKARZIMMERN

Few details are known about Neckarzimmern, a Natzweiler subcamp in the Neckarelz complex of camps. Tobias Markowitsch and Katrin Rautnig confirm that Dr. Jean Andréis, a pri-

soner physician, was also in Neckarzimmern for a short time to take care of sick inmates unable to work. Despite being the camp physician, he had to work like all the other inmates and had no medical instruments or medication for treatment available.

SOURCES Tobias Markowitsch and Katrin Rautnig provide some information on the Neckarzimmern subcamp in their study *Goldfisch und Zebra. Das Konzentrationslagerausenkommmando Neckarelz. Konzentrationslager des Verlagerungsprojektes A8 und Aussenkommando von Natzweiler-Struthof* (Neckarelz: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neckarelz e.V., 2005). The camp is listed in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 1827.

The camp is not mentioned in the ITS list kept in Arolsen, nor was it the subject of an investigation by the ZdL in Ludwigsburg or any other German prosecutor's office after the war. The German Bundesarchiv in Berlin holds a few documents that verify the existence of the camp: BA-B collection NS 4, KL Na (Natzweiler) refers to the camp in the subgroup 49-102: Häftlingsangelegenheiten. In List 85 there are documents on the creation and inspection of some labor details. The labor detail Neckarzimmern is listed, along with Neckargartach and Asbach, in 93a. At BA-BL, call number 419 AR-1833/67 provides some further information on Neckarzimmern.

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NEUENBÜRG

The Baden-Württemberg town of Neuenbürg an der Enz was traditionally the site of iron ore, quartz, and fluorite mined in the Neuenbürger Revier and processed in a nearby IG Farben factory. Toward the end of World War II, these raw materials became vital for the German war effort.

In the spring of 1945, around 170 foreign forced laborers were held in Neuenbürg, but the exact site where they worked is uncertain. Eventually they were put to work in the Neuenbürger Revier mining raw materials; beginning in the autumn of 1944, they were also exploited for the project "Dachsbau" to relocate the Daimler-Benz factory at Gaggenau. For this purpose, a provisional camp was established in a forest near Neuenbürg. It held around 90 prisoners from Natzweiler who were to prepare a permanent camp built by the Organisation Todt (OT). The so-called Waldwerk was not finished by the end of the war. It is not known when this provisional camp was established and dissolved.

Antoine Greffier mentions Neuenbürg as a probable Natzweiler subcamp, as the prisoners could have originated from the Natzweiler Vaihingen I subcamp, while Robert Steegmann does not refer to the camp in his monograph on the Natzweiler concentration camp.

SOURCES A brief description of the camp in Neuenbürg and its significance for the war effort can be found in *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, vol. 5, *Baden-Württemberg, Regierungsbezirk*

Karlsruhe und Stuttgart (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag für akademische Schriften, 1991), p. 22. The question as to whether Neuenbürg was a Natzweiler subcamp remains unanswered. Antoine Greffier deals with the uncertain state of research on Natzweiler in his *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des KL Natzweiler-Struthof* (Stuttgart: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, 2002), p. 315.

The camp is mentioned neither in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979) nor in Robert Steegmann's *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005).

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NIEDERBRONN

Niederbronn's (French: Niederbronn-les-Bains) status as a Natzweiler subcamp remains uncertain. Niederbronn is located in the French Vogesen in present-day Département Bas-Rhin. Although Antoine Greffier mentions Niederbronn as a possible Natzweiler subcamp, there is no supporting evidence for this classification.

SOURCES A short essay by Antoine Greffier, *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des KL Natzweiler-Struthof* (Stuttgart: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, 2002), pp. 319–320, refers to Niederbronn. However, Robert Steegmann in his *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), does not list Niederbronn as a Natzweiler subcamp. The same applies to the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen, 1979); also "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, as well as its 1982 edition.

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OBEREHNHEIM

The Oberehnheim subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp was created in December 1942 in Obernai, a small town of 7,000 inhabitants located in Alsace, west of Strasbourg, in the foothills of the lower Vosges Mountains. Designated as Aussenkommando Oberehnheim, the camp was set up at a small manor, the Oberkirch manor, surrounded by a large park located on the outskirts of town. The plot of land was 30 hectares (74 acres); the proprietors, the Hell family of Oberkirch, had left Alsace, and the manor had been requisitioned. In February 1942, Heinrich Himmler ordered the setup of a school to train female communications assistants for the SS (SS-Nachrichtenhelferinnenschule) on the property. Young German women—3,000 in all—were trained

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there, starting in June of 1942. In conjunction with the school, it was seen necessary to renovate the chateau and to build additional structures. The school had a total of 13 requisitioned properties at its disposal in Obernai or in the surrounding villages, including the Leonardsau manor and the city's elementary teacher training college. The labor supply necessary to carry out the construction work explains the creation of the subcamp, which was set up on the construction site itself. Himmler visited the school on June 5, 1943.

The camp itself was established in the manor house, which was surrounded by barbed wire. There was a guard station at the entrance, and the guards had police dogs.

A convoy of 200 inmates arrived at the camp. They were housed in the stables of the manor, where they slept on straw. The living conditions were harsh, due to malnutrition and maltreatment. Over the course of a year, 80 of the prisoners died. New inmates were sent to Obernai at the end of 1943 as part of frequent prisoner transports between the Obernai subcamp and the main camp. The total number of dead is estimated to be around 100. Bodies were sent back to the main camp. There was no doctor or infirmary in the subcamp—only a nurse. The wounded and the ill were sent to the infirmary (*Revier*) in Natzweiler. At least 2 prisoners were shot by guards as they were trying to flee. A third was killed at the Obernai train station because, according to testimonies, he had either stolen or received a bottle of alcohol from a local resident.

The inmates were, for the most part, registered as political prisoners. They were from Poland, Russia, Germany, Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg. They were all skilled laborers who worked to move furniture from manors and properties that had been requisitioned for the school. In the courtyard of the manor, they built barracks to house students of the SS school as well as an air-raid shelter. The inmates also worked to repave roads, to clean a river, and to paint and maintain the school buildings. According to one account, they also refurbished individual houses in Obernai. Some inmates who worked outside the camp could establish contacts with the local population.

The Natzweiler construction management (Bauleitung) organized the work. The camp architect was August Schlachter, who was sent to Kiev. His successor was named Heider.

According to one account, the camp elder (Lagerältester) was named Böhler, a German from Mannheim, where he had been a Communist member of the city council.

The camp surveillance was provided by about a dozen SS men who were housed in a building outside the estate. The majority of them were from the southwest of Germany. One of the SS men was a dog handler, an Alsatian by the name of Fuchs.

The first camp commandant was SS-Hauptscharführer Seuss, a native of Nürnberg. He was the brother of Rapportführer Wolfgang Seuss, who was responsible for the administration of the main camp. It was under his direction that the living conditions in the subcamp were at their harshest. He showed sadistic behavior toward the inmates, forcing them to

remain standing against a wall for hours, beating them, and commanding his dog to bite them. After his departure in the spring of 1944 took over direction of the Natzweiler subcamp created in Leonberg near Stuttgart, he was replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Nikolaus Busch, a native of Saarbrücken, who only remained in the position for about six or eight weeks. His successor was Herman Stiefel, who came from Erfurt. After Seuss's departure, the living conditions improved somewhat, and mortality rates decreased. The subcamp's workforce was judged to be insufficient, and a camp for Soviet prisoners was set up in the building of the teacher training college. The camp's dead were buried in a mass grave dug in the Jewish cemetery in Obernai.

The subcamp was dismantled in two steps: on September 29, 1944, facing the advance of Allied troops, 91 inmates were sent to the Dachau concentration camp. The remaining inmates, about 20, left the camp on foot on November 22, 1944, just before the liberation of the town. They arrived at the camp of Geislingen, where they stayed several days, then were evacuated to the Heidenheim subcamp, near Ulm. The school of communications was evacuated at the same time and reestablished near Berchtesgaden, where it functioned until the end of the war. Wolfgang Seuss was tried by an American tribunal at Landsberg, sentenced to death, and executed.

SOURCES References to Oberehnheim can be found in the following publications: *Le camp de concentration du Struthof. Konzentrationslager Natzweiler. Témoignages* (Schirmeck: Es-sor, 1998), 3:245–246; Bernard Le Marec and Gérard Le Marec, *L'Alsace dans la guerre 1939–1945* (Horvarth: Le Coteau, 1988), pp. 107–108; Charles Béné, *L'Alsace dans les griffes nazies*, vol. 5, *Organisations policières nazies, prisons et camps de déportation en Alsace* (Raon-l'Étape: Fetzter, 1980), pp. 203–204. Source material is held at ITS (Hängemappe Akdo Oberehnheim) and BA-L (IV 419 AR-Z 170/1969).

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PELTERS

In Pelters, south of Metz (1940–1944: Gau Westmark; present-day Peltre, Moselle department, France), there existed a subcamp of Natzweiler. It was opened at the end of March 1942 and is last mentioned in a letter of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) dated August 17, 1944. The camp leader (Lagerführer) was SS-Oberscharführer René Roman. The average number of prisoners in Pelters was 50 (reaching at one point a maximum of 60), and they were initially housed in an ancillary building of a local company and later in another nearby building in the center of the settlement. The main function of the camp and its prisoners was to take care of the horses of the SS-Cavalry Remount School (Remonte-Schule) in Pelters. According to the testimony of one of the prisoners, however, the inmates were also used for digging a large hole in the ground some 12 meters×20 meters (39 feet×66 feet) at an excavation site about 15 minutes away from the camp. It is suspected that this excavation was inten-

ded for use as a swimming pool by the SS, once completed. The work may have been conducted under the authority of the construction department of the Waffen-SS and Police (Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei). Antoine Greffier suspects that 1 prisoner died while serving in the subcamp.

At the end of August 1944, the camp was dissolved, and the inmates were sent back to the main camp on a forced march that lasted three days.

SOURCES Antoine Greffier summarizes the state of research in his *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des KL Natzweiler-Struthof* (Stuttgart: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, 2002), p. 185. Pelters is mentioned in Robert Steegmann, *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), p. 256; and ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:209.

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RASTATT

It is unresolved whether Rastatt really was a subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp. The male prisoners housed there were possibly attached to the “security camp” at Schirmeck-Vorbrück instead.

According to Antoine Greffier, the Rastatt subcamp could also have been under the dual administration of both Natzweiler and Schirmeck-Vorbrück. Greffier adds that the camp may also have been called Iffezheim, which seems unlikely in view of Iffezheim’s location (10 kilometers [6.2 miles] south of Rastatt). The notion that the Rastatt subcamp is the same as the one in Iffezheim probably arises from the fact that—as Robert Steegmann states—at least in the summer of 1944, prisoners from the subcamp in Iffezheim were working for the Wehrmacht, bottling liquor in the Müller spirits factory located in Rastatt. According to the current state of research, however, these prisoners were not housed in a separate subcamp in Rastatt.

The first mention of a subcamp in Rastatt can be found in documents of the Natzweiler concentration camp dated November 6, 1943, and the last reference is on December 30, 1943. No detailed information is known about the camp, such as its location, its layout, the number of prisoners, or their work deployments.

There is a second reference to Rastatt in connection with the Natzweiler concentration camp at the end of 1944. From October 1944, several transports of prisoners were brought to Rastatt for a short period from the security camp in Schirmeck-Vorbrück. The camp in which they were housed was located on parts of the site of the Labor Education Camp (AEL) Niederbühl (established at the end of 1941/beginning of 1942), as well as in redoubt number 12 of the Rastatt fortress, the former fortress prison.

It is very likely that prisoners from various Natzweiler subcamps were also temporarily housed here, since at this time individual Natzweiler subcamps were being cleared before the advancing Allied troops. Rastatt was one of the evacuation points for prisoners coming from the Natzweiler subcamps located in Alsace. For the prisoners from the security camp in Schirmeck-Vorbrück, it is known that they were transferred on to Haslach (Vulkan factory), where they had to work for Daimler-Benz. Haslach was a Natzweiler subcamp, which again demonstrates the close connection between the camps of Schirmeck-Vorbrück and Natzweiler, with respect to the camp in Rastatt.

SOURCES Antoine Greffier, *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des KL Natzweiler-Struthof* (Stuttgart: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, 2002), p. 355, describes the camp in Rastatt as a Natzweiler subcamp in 1943. The *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, vol. 5, *Baden-Württemberg, Regierungsbezirke Karlsruhe und Stuttgart* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag für akademische Schriften, 1991), pp. 123–128, refers to the use of the AEL Niederbühl and the former fortress prison for housing the prisoners from Schirmeck-Vorbrück and Natzweiler. Robert Steegmann, *Struthof. Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), does not mention Rastatt as a subcamp in his history of the concentration camp but only the subcamp Iffezheim (p. 257). The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:209, lists the subcamp of Rastatt (in 1943).

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SCHÖMBERG

The Schömberg concentration camp, the first concentration camp devoted to the extraction of shale oil, was established only a few weeks after the founding of the Deutsche Ölschieferforschungsgesellschaft (German Oil Shale Research Association, DÖLF), at the Schömberg railway station next to the DÖLF administration building. On December 16, 1943, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) made available 120 concentration camp prisoners and promised 180 more to DÖLF for the construction of a test facility for the production of shale oil in Schömberg.¹ However, the chief executive of DÖLF, Fortmann, demanded still more prisoners: at the beginning of February 1944, he requested 540; only three weeks later, 611 workers.² In March 1944, there were 230 prisoners in the camp.³ The number of inmates then increased after the start of Operation Desert (*Unternehmen Wüste*), reaching 788 prisoners by the end of October 1944, as more workers were necessary for the construction of the shale oil factory code-named Wüste 9.⁴ At this time, some 50 SS men guarded the camp.⁵

The prisoners mostly came from the Natzweiler and Dachau main camps and from the Natzweiler subcamp at Ste.

Marie-aux-Mines (Markirch), which, like the main camp, was evacuated in the fall of 1944.⁶ Among the prisoners there were many from France, Luxembourg, and Alsace-Lorraine but also some East Europeans (above all Russians) and Scandinavians. The prisoners from Luxembourg occupied the central positions in the “prisoner self-administration.” During the initial months, the number of deaths was comparatively small: from January 1 until mid-July 1944, 11 prisoners died there. However, the situation deteriorated from the summer of 1944 on, with the start of Operation Desert. In the autumn and winter of 1944, the number of victims at the Schömberg concentration camp climbed rapidly. In total, between mid-July 1944 and April 1945, nearly 300 prisoners died.⁷ The first corpses at the Schömberg camp were burned in the crematorium in Schwenningen; most of them, however, were buried in a mass grave, which was exhumed after the end of the war. Alongside the concentration camp prisoners, DÖLF also exploited Eastern forced laborers (Ostarbeiter), as well as forced laborers from Italy and France.⁸

Since the test facility in Schömberg was intended to provide the technical basis for the running of all 10 planned factories of Operation Desert, its completion was accelerated, and the prisoners from the Schömberg camp were primarily deployed there.⁹ On the instructions of Edmund Geilenberg, a senior figure in the Armaments Ministry, the Organisation Todt (OT) took over responsibility for construction of the test facility.¹⁰ Among the civilian workers were also members of the Baltic Oil Limited Company, who had been deployed in Estonia producing shale oil and were transferred to DÖLF after the evacuation of Estonia by the Germans in the summer of 1944.¹¹ From the end of July until the end of December 1944, the DÖLF test facility produced 228 metric tons (251 short tons) of shale oil. The Wüste 9 plant only came provisionally online on March 11, 1945.¹²

Starting on October 20, 1944, the camp leader was SS-Oberscharführer Helmut Schnabel. He joined the SA in 1933 as an unemployed workman, entering the SS in 1936. He served initially in the Buchenwald and Fallersleben concentration camps, before being appointed in 1942 as head of the administration (Verwaltungsführer) in the concentration camp and ghetto camp for Jews in Debica in the General Government. From the summer of 1943 and into 1944, he was a camp commandant (Lagerführer) at the concentration camp at Vaivara, Estonia, and in various of its subcamps (Vivikoni, Ereda, Lagedi), as well as deputy commandant in Narva. In Estonia, Schnabel took part in “selections” of Jewish prisoners and personally murdered countless Jews. In addition, he directed a shooting *Aktion* (operation), in which Jewish children were among the victims.¹³

At the end of 1944, camp commandant Schnabel together with Eugen Wurth ordered and carried out the shooting of at least 2 prisoners who had been captured while attempting to escape. Two additional Russian prisoners who also tried to flee were hanged in the presence of two Gestapo men on the orders of Schnabel and Wurth.¹⁴ This execution is also mentioned by the camp elder (Lagerältester), Roger Hoffmann, who kept a journal of events at the Schömberg concentration

camp from March 3, 1944, until April 17, 1945. On January 21, 1945, he recorded: “Two Russians were hanged in front of all the prisoners of the camp.”¹⁵ Hoffmann listed other special events in the camp, for example, on March 28, 1944: “Alexandrow Wasili put into the dog pound by SS-man Reichenbach, biting wounds”; on May 31, 1944: “Matwejo shot while trying to escape.” Just between September 9 and October 11, 1944, a total of 10 prisoners escaped, of which 2 were brought back to the camp and one “drowned during the escape attempt.” A prisoner died following the amputation of his leg; another hanged himself in a shed. On the other hand, 9 Norwegians were released from the camp following the intervention of the Red Cross, on March 22, 1945. According to the records kept by the senior Kapo, 63 prisoners were occupied working within the camp itself; of these, 16 belonged to the “prisoner self-administration,” 26 camp inmates worked as craftsmen, 6 as cooks, and 15 as potato peelers. One of the two prisoner doctors was Léon Boutbien, later highly decorated as a French Resistance fighter and doctor, who was interned at Natzweiler, Schömberg, Erzingen, and Dachau.¹⁶

The prisoners were subjected to chicanery from their supervisors not only in the camp but also on the construction site. The German in charge of construction, Kirchhardt from Metzingen, who arrived in Schömberg in 1943 and worked on behalf of DÖLF, was notorious for the fact that he physically abused the roughly 30 prisoners assigned to him as workers.¹⁷

At the Rastatt Trial in 1947, a French military tribunal sentenced a block leader (Blockältester), the report leader (Rapportführer), the head of the kitchen, and a craft supervisor (Werksmeister) to death and also gave three SS guards 5 years in prison.¹⁸ In 1966, a German court in Hechingen sentenced Schnabel to 10 years in prison for crimes committed at the concentration camps in Vaivara and Vivikoni; he was not punished for the crimes at the Schömberg concentration camp.¹⁹ Wurth was also acquitted of the killings at the Schömberg camp, as the court assumed in his favor that these were possibly the “implementation of legal verdicts.”²⁰

SOURCES Several publications contain information on the Schömberg concentration camp, including Immo Opfermann, *Das Unternehmen Wüste. Ölschieferwerke und Konzentrationslager entlang der Babylinie Tübingen-Rottweil 1944/45* (Balingen: Oberschulamt Tübingen, 1997); and Michael Grandt, *Unternehmen Wüste. Hitlers letzte Hoffnung. Das NS-Ölschieferprogramm auf der Schwäbischen Alb* (Tübingen: Silberburg Verlag, 2002).

A considerable amount of documentation regarding the Schömberg concentration camp can be found in StA-L (both investigative and trial files). At the BA-B, BDC records, there are additional details concerning the SS in the camp, while in the BA-DH the documents of the Deutsche Bergwerks- und Hüttenbau Gesellschaft (DBHG) reveal certain aspects of everyday life and forced labor in the camp. Finally, the Schömberg concentration camp is also mentioned in the files of the District Food Supply Office (Kreisernährungsamt), located in StA-S.

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NOTES

1. Letter of Pohl to Himmler, December 21, 1943, in BA-B, NS 19/1386 (first mention of the concentration camp).

2. Letter of Fortmann to Krüdener, February 24, 1944, in AOC, AP/PD, c. 1304, p. 15 bis, d. 4, p. 52.

3. List of supplies provided by the community in Kreis Balingen, 60th distribution period [March 1944], in StA-S, Wü 65/4 Bd. 2, Nr. 1412.

4. Letter of DÖLF to Wirtschaftsamt Balingen, November 30, 1944, in StA-S, Wü 65/4, Bd. 2, Nr. 1418, Ordner Deutsche Ölschieferforschungsgesellschaft Schömberg/Ost-arbeiter, KZ-Häftlinge. Appendix to the camp internment reports of KZ Natzweiler, September 30, 1944, and October 31, 1944, in StA-L, EL 317 III, Bü 1312, pp. 219, 222.

5. Request for supply coupons for 49 SS-Wachmänner for the 68th distribution period (October 1944), in StA-S, Wü 65/4 Bd. 2, Nr. 1418, Ordner SS-Wachkommando Schömberg.

6. Translation of the witness statement of Henri Muller before the Tribunal/District Court in Metz, February 9, 1961, in StA-L, EL 317 III, Bü 1249, pp. 2632–2635. Interrogation of an (unnamed) witness, in *ibid.*, Bü 1260, pp. 4974–4978. Journal (Kalendarium) of the Lagerälteste, published in Immo Opfermann, *Das Unternehmen Wüste. Ölschieferwerke und Konzentrationslager entlang der Bahnlinie Tübingen-Rottweil 1944/45* (Balingen: Oberschulam Tübingen, 1997), p. 25.

7. Table on the development of the number of deaths in the Schömberg camp, undated [after 1945], in StA-L, EL 317 III, Bü 1250, Bl. 28598 (in total 305 deaths).

8. Letter from DÖLF to Wirtschaftsamt Balingen, January 30, 1945, in StA-S, Wü 65/4 Bd. 2, Nr. 1418, Ordner DÖLF. Letter from DÖLF to Wirtschaftsamt, May 3, 1945, in *ibid.*, Ordner DÖLF/Mappe Werk Schömberg.

9. File note of DBHG, July 30, 1944, in BA-DH, R 121/1527.

10. Note of DBHG regarding the transfer of the responsibility for the construction of the test facility in Schömberg to the OT, August 5, 1944, in BA-DH, R 121/1523.

11. Interrogation of Wilhelm Baryga, February 23, 1961, in StA-L, EL 317 III, Bü 1251, p. 2880. Interrogation of Arno Schreiber by the Landespolizei Balingen, February 1, 1961, in *ibid.*, Bü 1287, pp. 774–775.

12. Report of Dönitz on Unternehmen “Wüste,” February–March 1946, in *ibid.*, Bü 1250. Letter from DÖLF to Hauptbergamt Stuttgart, January 2, 1945, Bergamt Freiburg.

13. Verdict of Schwurgericht Ulm, September 8, 1969, pp. 6–8, in StA-L, EL 317 III, Bü 1237. Indictment from the Hechinger trial, pp. 60–64, 115–128, in *ibid.*, Bü 1236.

14. Indictment from the Hechinger trial, *ibid.*, pp. 158–160.

15. Journal of the Lagerälteste, in Opfermann, *Wüste*, p. 25.

16. *Ibid.*; obituary of Boutbién in *JA*, February 26, 2001.

17. Investigation by Staatsanwaltschaft Rottweil of Franz Helmer-Sandmann, 1950/51, in StA-S, Wü 29/2 Bd. 2, Acc. 9/1985, Nr. 1048, p. 417.

18. Verdict of February 1, 1947, published in Michael Grandt, *Unternehmen Wüste. Hitlers letzte Hoffnung. Das NS-Ölschieferprogramm auf der Schwäbischen Alb* (Tübingen: Silberburg Verlag, 2002), pp. 181–204. The death sentence for the Werksmeister was declared invalid on January 27,

1947, and converted into a life sentence of forced labor. See *ibid.*

19. Verdict in the Hechinger trial, pp. 3, 130–133, 139, in StA-L, EL 317 III, Bü 1236.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 227–232.

SCHÖRZINGEN

At the end of 1943, the company management of the Kohle-Öl-Union (KÖU), that is, the manager Hübner and his secretary Hagedorn, as well as mining engineer Bockhorst, requested from Office D II of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) that concentration camp prisoners be made available for work underground.¹ Around the same time, a KÖU report from the town hall in Schörzingen confirms the work deployment of prisoners there. In his letter to Heinrich Himmler on December 21, 1943, Oswald Pohl stated under point three: “From the middle of January 1944, three hundred prisoners will be directed to the underground facility of the Kohle-Öl-Union von Busse KG (a subsidiary of the Göring Works) in Schörzingen near Rottweil, as the housing facilities will not be completed before this time.” Pohl wanted to ensure “that from the start it was clear, how much oil would be available to the SS from the plant’s production.”² In return for providing the concentration camp prisoners, however, the SS demanded for itself the entire future production of shale oil from the plant, so that up to the beginning of February 1944 it still remained unclear how many prisoners would be made available to the KÖU. After a lengthy period of negotiation, in which the KÖU director, von Busse, also intervened, the 300 prisoners that were already in Schörzingen were permitted to remain. The deployment of prisoners was no longer “to be dependent on the benefit accruing to the SS.”³

From January 1944, between 20 and 50 prisoners were in Schörzingen, so that the “official date” for the establishment of the concentration camp may have been February 1, 1944. The establishment of the Schörzingen subcamp accordingly took place only in connection with the underground carbonization operations of the KÖU, whose management requested prisoners from the SS, although in this factory, which operated like a coal mine, only civilian workers, “including some requisitioned from the mine in Pegnitz,” were supposed to be deployed.⁴ The Numbers Book (*Nummernbuch*) of the Natzweiler concentration camp, however, indicates for Schörzingen, abbreviated as “Schz,” other categories of workers. These were designated on the list as “AZA [foreign civilian worker] Poles,” “AZA Russians,” and “Kgf Russians (POWs [prisoners of war])” who were sent to Schörzingen from the Natzweiler main camp. It has not been possible to clarify whether the prisoners were treated any differently on account of these separate designations. The reality of work in the underground carbonization plant or on the construction of the camp erases any differentiations indicated by the Numbers Book.

The prisoners constructed the camp on the road to Wilflingen at the end of the village of Schörzingen, first working on the building for the SS, then on the barracks for the prisoners, which were “made from wooden planks” with “floorboards simply laid loosely on the ground.” The site of the buildings was adapted to the terrain, as demonstrated by British aerial photographs. The camp was surrounded by a double “security fence;” the inner fence was electrified with high-voltage current, as shown on a sketch of the entire campsite. Outside the fence there was one barrack containing the administration and quarters for the SS; inside, four barracks (Blocks I to IV), each intended for “one hundred prisoners,” were planned; of these, Block I housed the camp office and the room of the camp elder (Lagerältester). Directly at the camp gate there was a dog cage, opposite the kitchen and the entrance to the mine.

In the triangle formed between the kitchen and two of the barrack buildings was the parade ground, which was enclosed to the south by the “clothes store.” The sketch dated October 29, 1944, indicates four guard towers, one directly by the exit onto the Wilflinger Strasse, on both sides of which today small bunkers still make it possible to discern the former entrance to the concentration camp, as well as the entrance to the mine and air-raid tunnels. The site of the KÖU’s above-ground facilities was also protected by a 3-meter-high (9.8-foot-high) fence constructed of wood and barbed wire. Located outside, directly on the road in the direction of Schörzingen village, were also an additional “residential camp” and “kitchen,” which perhaps confirms that, outwardly and qualitatively, certain distinctions were made between the prisoners and the civilian workers. Perhaps the kitchen located close to the KÖU building also supplied the civilian workers of the factory.

The aforementioned sketch also makes clear one very important change at the Schörzingen camp: it designates an “expansion for Zepfenhan,” as the KÖU camp was expanded by a new section for “Wüste 10” (Desert 10), the “external work detail Zepfenhan.” Wüste 10 was the most southerly of the Wüste production facilities, which was constructed by Schörzingen concentration camp prisoners from September 1944. Two large barracks in the style of “horse stables” served as housing for the Zepfenhan prisoners: they extended the wedge-shaped concentration camp complex to the southwest. At least 500 of the Wüste prisoners were housed in one of the barracks; the other was subdivided into an infirmary (*Revier*), a quarantine section (*Schonungsblock*), and a section for sick prisoners given up for dead (*Totenblock*).

The expansion for the Wüste 10 construction site created two classes of prisoners at the Schörzingen concentration camp: one group comprised those who worked underground in the KÖU shale mine, a task that entailed the breaking up and piling up of the shale by hand. These prisoners worked from 10 to 16 hours in two shifts, going down into the tunnels via steel steps. The prisoners assigned to the Zepfenhan work detail had to cover the 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) to the building site at Eckerwald twice a day: the very heavy labor

in the mud and cold between these marches cost many prisoners their lives. From the continually rising death rate, it can be seen that the SS implemented its program of “destruction through work.” The categories of prisoners also changed over time: out of a transport of 1,000 Polish political prisoners—noted in the Numbers Book as “pol.Pole(n),”—that arrived from Auschwitz on August 24, 1944, 164 were sent to Schörzingen. On September 16, 1944, a transport comprising 500 men of various nationalities arrived in the Schörzingen camp from Dachau.⁵ An alphabetical list with the names of 50 men, partly from the French region of La Petite-Raon, demonstrates how real and alleged political opponents were treated, especially in the later period of the Third Reich.⁶

A payment demand (no. 148/44) dated October 1, 1944, issued by the Natzweiler office with regard to the “deployment of prisoners” for the “Fa, D, B, H, G, Balingen/Württemberg” calculates the charge to be made for the use of about 100 prisoners in September 1944, indicating that the SS profited from the exploitation of the prisoners. For this reason, too many deaths would be inconvenient, and therefore the payment demand requested that a new tally be made of how many “sick and non-working” prisoners there were in Schörzingen, also due to a “lack of clothing.”

As a Wüste camp, Schörzingen was subordinated to the Natzweiler main camp. The hierarchy within this camp complex can be seen from the signature of the Natzweiler camp commandant, SS-Sturmbannführer Hartjenstein. Subordinated to him was SS-Untersturmführer Eugen Wurth, who was the commander of the 9th SS-Guard Company in Natzweiler and also the leader of the Operation Desert detachment. Subordinated to Wurth in turn was SS-Rottenführer Herbert Oehler, who became the subcamp commandant in Schörzingen. Oehler and Lagerältester Walter Günther Telschow were the first to be mentioned at the Rastatt Trial, since they both “behaved like real tyrants, tormenting and torturing the inmates.”⁷ The “Journal Officiel” additionally names the Kapo Lorentz Stach (the head cook in the camp); SS-Sturmmänner Johann Dornauer and Winterbauer (as block leaders); SS-Hauptscharführer Jakob Hermann (head of the guard company); SS guards Rolf Pfefferkorn, Jakob Link, and Wolfgang Danek; and the head of the Zepfenhan work detachment, Josef Patollo, who worked for the Organisation Todt (OT). All of them were accused of having beaten and tortured prisoners.⁸

The Schörzingen camp existed until April 17, 1945; on Wednesday, April 18, the “evacuation transport” of 650 prisoners set off on foot in a southeasterly direction, guarded by about 40 SS men. The death march took them toward Lake Constance in columns varying in size from 50 to 300 men; the SS had carts to transport their own families and the weakest prisoners, which the other prisoners had to drag along. As the front line approached, the SS guards deserted, and the death march was redirected toward Ostrach and Königseggwald, where the prisoners from Schörzingen were liberated.

SOURCES The basis for much of the information in this entry is the brochure prepared by the author for the third exhibition on Operation Desert (after those in Balingen and Rottweil): *Das Unternehmen "Wüste": Ölschieferwerke und Konzentrationslager entlang der Bahnlinie Tübingen-Rottweil 1944/45* (Balingen: Oberschulamit Tübingen, 1997). The book by Michael Grant, *Unternehmen "Wüste"—Hitlers letzte Hoffnung* (Tübingen: Silberburg Verlag, 2002), draws partly on the publications of the author of this entry. The findings and recollections of former camp recorder (Lagerschreiber) Julien Hagenbourger have also been incorporated here; see Julien Hagenbourger and Gerhard Lempp, *Aus schwerem Traum erwachen: Bericht des ehemaligen KZ-Häftlings Julien Hagenbourger, Lagerschreiber im Aussenlager Schörzingen mit der Natzweiler-Nummer 7244* (Deislingen-Lauffen: Initiative Gedenkstätte Eckerwald, 1999). Other relevant publications include Rudi Holoch, "Das Lager Schörzingen in der 'Gruppe Wüste,'" in *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegführung. Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass*, ed. Herwart Vorländer, (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1978); and Gertrud Graf, *Gedenkpfad Eckerwald: Das südwürttembergische Schieferölprojekt und seine sieben Konzentrationslager: Das Lager Schörzingen und sein Aussenkommando Zepfenhan* (Deislingen-Lauffen: Initiative Gedenkstätte Eckerwald, 2001).

The StA-S also contains numerous unpublished sources concerning the "Central Administration for the Württemberg Shale Oil Factories" from the postwar period, as well as original documentation on Operation Desert from the Nazi period.

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NOTES

1. Julien Hagenbourger and Gerhard Lempp, *Aus schwerem Traum erwachen: Bericht des ehemaligen KZ-Häftlings Julien Hagenbourger, Lagerschreiber im Aussenlager Schörzingen mit der Natzweiler-Nummer 7244* (Deislingen-Lauffen: Initiative Gedenkstätte Eckerwald, 1999), p. 35.

2. Rudi Holoch, "Das Lager Schörzingen in der 'Gruppe Wüste,'" in *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegführung. Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass*, ed. Herwart Vorländer (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1978), p. 231.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 231.

4. Gertrud Graf, *Gedenkpfad Eckerwald: Das Lager Schörzingen und sein Aussenkommando Zepfenhan* (Deislingen-Lauffen: Initiative Gedenkstätte Eckerwald, 2001), p. 9.

5. Hagenbourger and Lempp, *Aus schwerem Traum erwachen*, pp. 37–38.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

7. Published in Immo Opfermann, *Das Unternehmen "Wüste": Ölschieferwerke und Konzentrationslager entlang der Bahnlinie Tübingen-Rottweil 1944/45* (Balingen: Oberschulamit Tübingen, 1997), p. 43.

8. Hagenbourger and Lempp, *Aus schwerem Traum erwachen*, p. 45; and "Journal Officiel," in Opfermann, "Wüste," pp. 107–108.

SCHWÄBISCH HALL-HESSENTAL

In 1936, a military airport was built in the town of Schwäbisch Hall, in an area called Hessental. Schwäbisch Hall is located north of Württemberg, near Heilbronn. A Reich Labor Service (RAD) camp provided the labor for the excavation and maintenance work. On September 13, 1944, the airport was almost entirely destroyed by an aerial bombardment. Its reconstruction was immediately undertaken, and to help the effort, a subcamp of Natzweiler was set up there. The decision to establish the Schwäbisch Hall-Hessental subcamp was made at the same time as the main camp was evacuated to the interior of the Reich. The first major inmate transport arrived on October 14, 1944; it included 600 men who had come from the Radom subcamp, after passing through another camp in Vaihingen an der Enz (other inmates may have arrived earlier, to prepare the barracks, but this has not been confirmed). In November and December, further transports, also coming from Vaihingen, brought an additional 200 men. The inmates were almost all Polish Jews, with a few German and Hungarian Jews. When they arrived, their physical condition was already quite poor. Many had no shoes. On December 8, 1944, 53 inmates who were unfit for work were sent to the so-called hospital camp (*Krankenlager*) at Vaihingen.

The Hessental camp was built on a piece of land belonging to the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways), and the prisoners were housed in barracks that had previously been used by the RAD. A new barrack was added at the end of 1944. The camp was in the shape of a rectangle, monitored by four towers. Outside of the perimeter, which was marked by barbed-wire fences, stood several small buildings: the offices of the SS guards, their kitchen, a small warehouse, and an office for three employees of the Organisation Todt (OT), including a Frontführer.

The camp was under the control of the OT initially, but on October 17, 1944, SS-Hauptscharführer August Walling, formerly a Luftwaffe officer, took over as commandant; he would remain in control until the camp's evacuation. The guards for the camp itself consisted of five SS men. According to testimonies, Walling's attitude was rather ambivalent: he made some effort to improve daily life for the prisoners, even authorizing some of them to go into town to bring back medicine, lenses for glasses, and cobbler's tools. Days off were organized, and a disinfection room was installed. On the other hand, he imposed cruel punishments on the inmates, such as standing up for hours between two rows of barbed wire. One of the inmates, Alexander Donat, left a long account in which he tells how Walling shot his revolver at a young inmate to punish him for straying from his work site to beg for food. The inmate was only wounded, and Walling then spent long hours at his bedside, watching him in his struggle against death. When the prisoner's condition had improved, Walling brought him an apple.

The guards for the external work details were soldiers in the Luftwaffe. Their number varied, reaching as high as 70. During the last months of the camp's existence, Ukrainian

guards worked at Schwäbisch Hall-Hessental. Inmates were subjected to maltreatment and were constantly beaten.

There were two Polish prisoner physicians (*Hilfslingsärzte*) for the inmates that arrived with the first convoy. Walling approved the installation of an infirmary (*Revier*) and a shower room. The two physicians were allowed to establish contact with the airfield hospital, whose doctor provided them with bandages and medical instruments. The infirmary occupied four rooms in Block I, of which two were recovery rooms and one a treatment room. The sanitary situation stabilized somewhat, until the arrival of a second convoy of inmates who were quite weak. Between 100 and 150 inmates a day were declared to be unfit for work. A special barrack was built to accommodate them; the inmates called it "U" (for *unfähig*, "incapable"). Donat was put in charge of inmate health at the airfield, where he reported each day. There, on premises used as an ammunition depot, he received inmates who needed first aid. This place rapidly became a restful haven, and the prisoners could benefit from a few minutes' break.

Inmates worked 9 hours a day, instead of the usual 11 or 12 hours in the concentration camps, but they walked to work.

Weekly reports preserved in the Ludwigsburg archives describe the work carried out in the early weeks of the camp's existence. The large majority of the inmates, 364, worked at the airfield, 80 others in construction work, 50 in a nearby quarry, and 20 in the construction of a railroad track. On the airfield, inmates repaired runways and removed snow. Some worked assembling airplane parts in a workshop in Hasenbühl, a wooded area near the airport. The others remained in the camp, where they were kept busy with the upkeep of the barracks, cooking, or clerical work (*Schreibstube*), or were declared sick. Inmates were also given the responsibility of clearing the rubble after aerial bombardments on the airport and on the town of Schwäbisch Hall. They buried the dead bodies. Some were also employed by businesses in Schwäbisch Hall and Hessental and on neighboring farms.

The mortality rate in the camp climbed with time. A total of 182 corpses were buried in 18 mass graves in the town cemetery. Hunger was the leading cause of death; 32 inmates died following maltreatment, and at least 16 were shot, including 7 for attempted escape. The camp's SS subjected inmates to a number of sadistic ordeals, for example, marching the sick through the snow. They entertained themselves by throwing food in front of the inmates gathered for roll call; the inmates had to restrain themselves from pouncing on the food under the threat of murder.

On March 3, 1945, the airport was bombed again, and the runways were destroyed. A few days later, the town's train station was likewise destroyed. All the residents of Schwäbisch Hall were mobilized to clear the ruins. The inmates only worked for one day, because, as Donat recounts, the town council did not want them to mix too closely with the residents.

In March, a typhus epidemic broke out in the camp. The inmate sanitation team burned mattresses and embarked on a disinfection and delousing campaign. The epidemic was thus limited but still killed 15 inmates. On April 5, 1945, the Hes-

sental camp was evacuated on the order of an SS officer from Stuttgart. The destination was München-Allach. A train arrived at the gates of the camp, and the inmates were loaded onto it. They had to wait three days in the cars without food. The inmates of Kochendorf, another of Natzweiler's sub-camps, were in the front cars. A few kilometers after departing, the train was bombed, and the locomotive was hit; 6 inmates were killed, and 6 or 7 others were wounded. The evacuation continued on foot, and inmates had to march in rows of five. They made stops in small villages, where the residents made an effort to feed the inmates, for whom no food had been planned. During the distributions, fights broke out. The SS guards intervened violently. There were some deaths; 4 inmates were buried in the cemetery in Bühlertann. During a stop at the Neunheim quarry, between 27 and 30 inmates died and were buried on the spot. There were 42 deaths at the stop in Zöbingen. The survivors reached Augsburg. From there they were sent in livestock cars to Dachau, where they were liberated by American troops on April 19, 1945. The death march had cost at least 170 men their lives.

In November 1947, Walling was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment by the French Tribunal Général in Rastatt for crimes against humanity. He served 10 years.

SOURCES Published sources include the booklet by Folker Förtsch and Siegfried Hubele, *KZ-Gedenkstätte Schwäbisch Hall-Hessental* (KZ-Gedenkstätte Hessental e.V., n.d.); based upon the research of Liselotte Kratochvil. A local journalist of the *HT* wrote a complete and detailed book about the airport compound and the concentration camp of Schwäbisch Hall-Hessental: Michael S. Koziol, *Rüstung, Krieg und Sklaverei. Der Fliegerhorst Schwäbisch Hall-Hessental und das Konzentrationslager. Eine Dokumentation* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1986); the camp is described on pp. 92–128. A survivor of the camp, Michael Berg, wrote an account of his journey through numerous camps, under his new name, Alexander Donat, *The Holocaust Kingdom. A Memoir* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, 1965); a revised version was published by USHMM (Washington, DC, 1999). After surviving in the Warsaw ghetto until its final liquidation, the author was sent to the Majdanek subcamp in Radom, then to the Natzweiler subcamp of Vaihingen. He spent five months in Schwäbisch Hall-Hessental (see pp. 258–279). See also Elke Schabet-Berger, "Der Lager Hessental," in *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegführung. Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass*, ed. Herwart Vorländer (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1978), pp. 71–107.

Archival sources can be found at ITS (Hängemappe Akdo Hessental) and the BA-L (AZ. IV 419 AR-Z 171/69).

Jean-Marc Dreyfus
trans. Gina Cooke

SCHWINDRATZHEIM

Schwindratzheim in the former Gau Baden-Elsass, present-day Bas-Rhin (France), was a Natzweiler subcamp. It was

most likely a construction camp, and its approximately 600 male prisoners did road work as part of the so-called A-Massnahme 11. They were accommodated in the ZEH gypsum factory outside the town of Schwindratzheim.

The Schwindratzheim subcamp existed for only a short period of time; it is mentioned for the first time in the Natzweiler concentration camp files on August 29, 1944. According to an official report, the camp was evacuated in October, possibly on October 21, 1944.

SOURCES Antoine Greffier details the state of research on Schwindratzheim in *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des KL Natzweiler-Struthof* (Stuttgart: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, 2002), p. 347. Robert Steegmann refers to the camp in *Struthof: Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005). The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 210, lists Schwindratzheim as a Natzweiler subcamp.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SENNHEIM

The Sennheim (French: Cernay) subcamp was located in the then Gau Baden-Elsass, which is in the present-day District Haute-Rhin (France), 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) to the east of Mulhouse. It was established as part of an SS training camp (*Ausbildungslager*) that had been in the same location since at least 1942 to train low-ranking non-German SS members. It is known that SS members from France, Norway, the Netherlands, Croatia, and Ireland were drilled there and received infantry and ideological training.

The Sennheim subcamp was opened in 1943 (probably on October 1, 1943, according to Robert Steegmann) or March 1944 and consisted initially of 80 male inmates, later increasing to 250 (other sources refer to 300), most of whom came from the Soviet Union and Poland. According to Antoine Greffier, the inmates were accommodated in the attic of a Luftfahrtgerätegesellschaft (Lufag) building. However, Henri Mounine states that Italian military prisoners were brought from Natzweiler to Sennheim and were first used to construct the barracks.

According to Mounine, who cites the report by Luxembourg resistance fighter and Natzweiler prisoner Roger Hildgen, the subcamp's prisoners built accommodations for the local police and the Waffen-SS and Police Construction Directorate (Bauleitung) and administration barracks for the SS. Several Alsatian firms were also involved in the construction project. Hildgen also describes the difficult working conditions as well as the physical mistreatment of the prisoners. The camp commander in Sennheim was SS-Unterscharführer Witzig; the camp elder (Lagerältester) was the criminal prisoner (green triangle) Telschow; and the construction administration lay in the hands of an engineer named Nicolas Wilgé. According to Hildgen, the camp had a small infirmary (*Revier*)

and a “bunker” that functioned as a prison. According to prisoner statements, Sennheim was a particularly brutal camp with up to 25 deaths among the prisoners.

Hildgen states that the camp was evacuated on September 10, 1944, and that the prisoners were taken to Dachau. Greffier dates the evacuation as September 20, 1944. The SS-Ausbildungslager Sennheim was dissolved in November 1944.

Greffier states that there were in Sennheim from January 23, 1944, Norwegian students, following an order by the Reichsführer-SS that they should be given lectures at the SS-Forschungs- und Lehrgemeinschaft “Das Ahnenerbe.” Additionally, Norwegian students were transferred from the Buchenwald concentration camp to Sennheim from July 1944; in December 1944, they were sent back to Buchenwald. Whether these Buchenwald prisoners were inmates that were sent to work in the Sennheim subcamp or, as is more likely, were foreigners who had been recruited by the Waffen-SS cannot be ascertained from the files.

After the war, Kapo Telschow was sentenced to death and executed.

SOURCES Henri Mounine’s monograph *Cernay, 40–45: Le SS-Ausbildungslager* (Ostwald: Polygone, 1999) is to date the only work on the SS-Ausbildungslager in Sennheim; on pp. 410–415, Mounine provides a report on the “Les Déportés—Travailleurs Forces,” quoting the Sennheim prisoner Roger Hildgen, the Dutch SS volunteer Andréas Terveer, and a newspaper report from *LAI* dated May 29 and 30, 1946, on the work and living conditions in the camp. Greffier deals with the state of research on the Sennheim subcamp in *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des KL Natzweiler-Struthof* (Stuttgart: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2002), p. 61, but without referring to Mounine. Robert Steegmann describes the Sennheim subcamp in his *Struthof: Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 72, 256–257. The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 210, lists the Sennheim subcamp.

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SPAICHINGEN

Spaichingen in Württemberg was the site of a subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp. The Spaichingen subcamp for male prisoners was located in the Gewinn Lehmgrube (a clay pit formerly part of a strip field), which is presently the Spaichingen city center.

The Spaichingen camp was part of the German effort toward the end of the war to relocate German armaments manufacturing. In the summer of 1944, the Metallwerke Spaichingen put a plan before the city of Spaichingen to construct three barracks (one with two levels) to hold concentration camp prisoners who were to work in its metal factories.

According to files from the Natzweiler concentration camp, the Spaichingen subcamp is referred to for the first time on September 26 or 29, 1944. Historians Herwart Vorländer and Gudrun Schwarz put October 1944 as the time when the camp opened. The camp remained operational until April 18, 1945. It held 300 to 400 political prisoners who were used to construct housing. The prisoners originated from a variety of European countries including Hungary, Italy, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, France, Switzerland, Austria, and the Soviet Union.

The exact number of prisoners who died in the Spaichingen subcamp is unknown. Numbers vary between 80 and 110.

When the camp was closed, there were two completed barracks and one still under construction. Metallwerke Spaichingen probably never commenced production. The prisoners did preparatory work, metal processing, and transport and construction work on the campsite in the clay pit.

According to a prisoner's statement, the camp was evacuated between April 15 and 18, 1945, in the direction of Wurzach. Schwarz puts the date the camp was closed as April 18, 1945.

After the war, SS members, guards, and detachment leaders from the Spaichingen subcamp were charged with murder, accessory to murder, theft, and war crimes and tried in the spring of 1946 in the Rastatt Trial, the first Allied war crimes trial that occurred in the French Occupation Zone. Of the seven accused, three were sentenced to death, one to life imprisonment with hard labor, two to 20 years' imprisonment with hard labor, and one to 5 years in jail. The director of the Metallwerke, Hartmann, received a prison sentence, as he was responsible for the miserable food provided to the prisoners. The camp leader Schnabler was not tried, as he had not been captured at this time.

SOURCES The Spaichingen camp is described in Alte Synagoge Hechingen, ed., *Möglichkeiten des Erinnerns: Orte jüdischen Lebens und nationalsozialistischen Unrechts im Zollalbkreis und im Kreis Rottweil* (Bisingen, n.d.), p. 80; and in Herwart Vorländer, *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegführung: Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1978), p. 12; and in Julius Schätzle, *Stationen zur Hölle: Konzentrationslager in Baden und Württemberg 1933 bis 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag GmbH, 1980), p. 66. It is also mentioned in Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand, ed., *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstands und der Verfolgung 1933–1945, Baden-Württemberg I, Regierungsbezirke Freiburg und Tübingen*, vol. 5/2 (Frankfurt am Main, 1997). Gudrun Schwarz refers to the Spaichingen subcamp in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verlag, 1990), p. 181. Journalist Jochen Kastilan has researched the history of the Spaichingen subcamp in several articles, including his essay "Das Konzentrationslager in Spaichingen," *Spai-Sc* (1990); and in a series of articles in *HeuBo*, January 22, 1982. The Spaichingen subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter*

dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945), 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 211.

Original documents on the Spaichingen subcamp are located in the AKr-TUT, Kreisarchiv Tuttlingen, *Schriften-sammlungen F 389 and D 1645*. Documents on the Rastatt Trial are held in AOC, in the collection Tribunal Général du Gouvernement Militaire de la Zone Française d'Occupation en Allemagne, Série AJ, no. 4028, cartons 2A, 2B, 3, 4, 5, dossier no. 3/46, but are subject to a 100-year access bar, and only selected documents may be seen with special permission.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

THIL ("ERZ") [AKA ARBEITSKOMMANDO LONGWY-DEUTSCHOTH, LONGWY-THIL, LONGWY-THIL-AUDUN-LE-TICHE]

The Thil subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp was located outside the small town of Thil in a narrow valley close to the Luxembourg border in the Département Meurthe-et-Moselle in the northeastern part of France that Germany annexed in 1940 under the name of Lothringen. The camp was established on June 15, 1944, on the initiative of Volkswagen chief executive officer (CEO) Ferdinand Porsche after agreements with Heinrich Himmler and the Fighter Staff (Jägerstab). It was a subcamp of the Natzweiler main camp under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The Thil concentration camp is mentioned in contemporary sources under various names: Arbeitskommando Longwy-Deutschoth, Longwy-Thil, Longwy-Thil-Audun-le-Tiche, and Erz (after the project code name). The camp was evacuated in early September 1944, when Allied forces approached, and the prisoners were transported to other concentration camps.

Thil was a slave labor camp with the main purpose of providing manpower for the construction of underground production facilities for the Minette GmbH, a Volkswagen daughter company, and for its manufacturing of Fi 103 cruise missiles (V-1) and fighter aircraft. The Thil facility consisted of a system of mines that belonged to the Syndicat de Tiercelet and were part of the Minette iron ore district. The underground production facilities were to cover an area of 230,000 square meters (275,078 square yards). Volkswagen was in charge of V-1 series production and used its special status to expand into other lucrative high-priority armaments programs like the manufacturing of fighter aircraft. There were plans to occupy 10,000 workers at the facility, and Porsche's vision was that all laborers except for German foremen and guards would be concentration camp inmates.

On March 4, 1944, Himmler promised him 3,500 concentration camp prisoners for the project. Production lines from the air-raid-vulnerable Volkswagen main factory in Fallersleben as well as machinery looted in France were

transferred to Thil and to other Minette facilities in Dernau and Eschershausen. Several trains with equipment arrived in Thil, as did thousands of forced laborers from various occupied countries meant to serve as labor for the construction project under the coordination of the Organisation Todt (OT).

The first concentration camp prisoners in Thil erected huts for the SS's and prisoners' accommodation as well as barbed-wire fences surrounding the prisoners' barracks and a crematorium intended for the burning of corpses. In the beginning, some of the prisoners were brought to work in the Deutsche Erzbergwerke AG iron ore mines in Longwy. Soon, most prisoners had tough refurbishing assignments such as concrete work and the laying of railway tracks, piping, and cables in the underground spaces under the supervision of Volkswagen and OT specialists. They worked alongside Germans, voluntary and forced laborers from other occupied countries, and local French labor. By early August, a growing number of prisoners worked in manufacturing V-1 parts, while others—as construction was interrupted due to lack of building materials—were commanded to work in a quarry under the guards' excessive brutality and at road construction and cable work in the nearby town of Deutschoth (present-day Audun-le-Tiche).

The commandant of the Thil concentration camp was SS-Oberscharführer Eugen Büttner. The first 12 prisoners arrived on June 15, 1944, from the Natzweiler main camp and were assigned to prisoner-functionary (*Funktionshäftlinge*) posts. On June 20, a transport of 500 Hungarian Jews that had been selected by a Volkswagen engineer in Auschwitz followed. An additional 51 non-Jewish prisoners arrived on June 29 and July 3, and on July 6, the total number of prisoners rose to 861, at the arrival of a transport of 300 Jews who had been selected and deployed to V-1 manufacturing at the Volkswagenwerk main factory until this facility was damaged by Allied bombing. No provisions had been made to receive this group, so the prisoners were accommodated in primitive tents with almost no food or drink for days in a fenced-in area while having to erect additional huts under a most brutal guards' regime. The Thil camp had only male prisoners, 85 percent of whom were Hungarian Jews. The total prisoner strength remained stable until the evacuation, as only 3 prisoners died, while 1 escaped and 1 was returned to the main camp.

The 66 guards in the Thil camp (as of August 5) were SS and Luftwaffe soldiers. The prisoners' living conditions were awful, and accommodations were primitive. The diet was poor, so even if the prisoners were in good shape when they arrived after having spent only a few days in Hungarian ghettos and in Auschwitz, some reached the "Muslim" (*Musel-man*) stage in the course of their short stay in Thil. By early August, some 30 prisoners were constantly stationed at the camp infirmary, and some 40 convalescent prisoners (*Scho-nungshäftlinge*) were allowed to stay in the camp and perform easy maintenance tasks. Many survivors and local witnesses report that guards practiced random beatings and elaborate,

sadistic ways of torture, but due to the priority given to construction progress and manufacturing, there was no systematic killing of prisoners.

Prisoners from the later transport were considered "bearers of secrets" (*Geheimnisträger*), and they were banned by threat of death from communication with other prisoners and other laborers. Their camp elder, Gyula Gross, had gathered well-educated, older Hungarian Jews around himself as Funktionshäftlinge. Some survivors remember their regime as brutal and authoritarian; others appreciate what they consider their attempt to protect the prisoners against the SS. Non-Jewish Funktionshäftlinge were in charge of the early arrivals.

In the traditionally Socialist mining community, miners and their families provided help by placing food and fruit, tobacco, newspaper clippings, and encouraging notes along the prisoners' marching route and at the work site. Survivors recollect a feeling of the camp being watched by protective locals, and prisoners managed to establish contact with the anti-Nazis outside. An escape attempt by a group of young Jews was partly successful since they got away and—helped by French resistance—crossed the front line in order to provide the Allies with secret V-1 information. As collective punishment, the rest of the camp had to stand at alert an entire night without food or drink, and the escapees' closest friend was beaten unconscious and left for days on the roll-call square; the conspiracy, however, remained undisclosed.

Allied advances on the Western Front thwarted plans of a collective breakout supported by local resistance, as prisoners were ordered to dismantle manufacturing equipment quickly, load it onto railway cars, and evacuate—the 300 "specialists" to another Volkswagen facility in Dernau, the rest to the Ko-chendorf concentration camp.

SOURCES This description of the Thil concentration camp is based on research by the author and Peter Lessmann for Hans Mommsen et al., *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf, 1996), p. 803; Eugene Gaspard, *Les Travaux du IIIe Reich entre Alzette et Fensch* (Thil, n.d.); Gaspard and Alain Simne, *Le canton du fer* (Metz, 1978); *Le Camp de Thil* (Nancy, n.d.); and the Luxembourgian journal *Hém* (1985); central documents in Klaus-Jörg Siegfried, *Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit im Volkswagenwerk 1939–1945* (Frankfurt am Main, 1986); preliminary data in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). A chapter on the camp is included in the author's forthcoming book, *The Volkswagen Jews*.

Archival material on the Thil concentration camp is rich but scattered. The VWA and the ASt-WOB hold company records and copies of documents from APMO, NARA (CIOS reports), BA-B, BA-MA, and ZdL (now BA-L). The Thil Memorial (AMRCCT-L, www.outoftime.de/thil) holds copies of documents from French archives, as does the ACCS. Witness and survivors' accounts can be found in Dezsö Schön, *As*

Örökseg (Tel Aviv, 1960), p. 158; and at the VWA, the ASt-WOB, the AMRCCT-L, YVA, VHF, and USHMMA.

Therkel Straede

UNTERSCHWARZACH

It is questionable whether there was a Natzweiler subcamp in Unterschwarzach. It is likely that the connection to the Natzweiler concentration camp has more to do with an auxiliary hospital (*Hilfskrankenhaus*) that was established there in 1944.

Since 1936, the “Schwarzacher Hof” in Unterschwarzach, Neckar-Odenwald-Kreis, had been part of the Institute for the Education and Care of the Mentally Ill (*Erziehungs- und Pflegeanstalt für Geistesranke*) in Mosbach, an institution operated by the Innere Mission. In the early summer of 1944, Daimler-Benz insisted that part of the Schwarzacher Hof be evacuated and made available as a Hilfskrankenhaus for Project “Goldfisch”—Goldfisch was a code name for the underground relocation of Daimler-Benz AG production of aircraft engines in Genshagen to the “Friede” mine at Obrigheim. Those responsible at Daimler-Benz AG for the project had inspected Schwarzacher Hof, which at the beginning of 1944 accommodated more than 200 children, youths, and adults, to check its suitability as a Hilfskrankenhaus for Project Goldfisch.

The Institute’s management protested against the planned takeover and urged relatives of patients who were in the Institute to take their relatives home; 71 patients were rescued, but despite the protests, another 49 were “transferred,” which meant they were sent to institutes where they were killed. The remainder of the patients remained in the Schwarzacher Hof in a much more confined area so as to create space for the Hilfskrankenhaus.

The research on prisoners housed at the Schwarzacher Hof—their number and categories, and indeed their very presence—remains inconclusive. If German and foreign forced laborers were brought to the Hilfskrankenhaus, then according to regulations they would have been accommodated in separate areas. The *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler* refers to Unterschwarzach as a company hospital for Project Goldfisch; if this is so, then it is questionable whether there would have been concentration camp prisoners in the building. Even if the hospital in theory was planned for the medical care of the prisoners, it could have functioned as a type of death camp (*Sterbelager*), holding prisoners who could no longer work without care and food.

Also unknown is the number of dead: there are no reports for 1944; in 1945 the deaths of 12 forced laborers were registered in Unterschwarzach—8 in the Hilfskrankenhaus: 7 from typhus and 1 from a lung inflammation. The dead were buried in the local cemetery.

SOURCES The use of the term “Hilfskrankenhauses” Unterschwarzach is taken from Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand, ed., *Heimatgeschichtlichen Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, vol. 5, *Baden-*

Württemberg, Regierungsbezirke Karlsruhe und Stuttgart (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag für akademische Schriften OHG, 1991), pp. 105–106. Antoine Greffier’s, comp., *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler* (Stuttgart, 2002), p. 274, lists Unterschwarzach in a list of the camp’s establishments and production sites, but with the note that the company hospital for Project Goldfisch was located in Unterschwarzach and that it did not treat prisoners. This contradicts details in the Unterschwarzach Register of Deaths, which states that eight prisoners died in the Hilfskrankenhaus. Robert Steegmann does not refer to Unterschwarzach in *Strutbof: Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005). The ITS’s *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), does not refer to Unterschwarzach; but it is listed in “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBL* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1501.

Archival documents on Unterschwarzach are held in the Unterschwarzach Register of Deaths (AGe-USZ), which lists the dead who died in 1945 in the Hilfskrankenhaus.

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VAIHINGEN/ENZ

The reason behind the choice of the town of Vaihingen/Enz—located between Ludwigsburg and Pforzheim—to establish a Natzweiler subcamp is not precisely known. The existence of an unused quarry belonging to Baresel AG had drawn the attention of the armaments sector, which was directed by Albert Speer, who was responsible for the displacement of factories to places protected from aerial bombardment. The quarry was already being used as a test site for V-1 rocket engines. For the most part, inmates worked in underground rooms on several levels in the quarry, where workshops had been installed and the construction of which had begun even before their arrival in the camp. At the beginning of the summer of 1944, work on the construction of the camp began. A wheat field, located on the outskirts of Vaihingen on the road to Ensigen, was chosen. Attaining the level of a proper SS camp, the road was blocked by trees and framed by police posts. The camp was just one small part of a larger project. This subcamp occupied a 150×80-meter (492×263-feet) plot. The camp was surrounded by a double row of barbed-wire fences, and its four corners were flanked by watchtowers. At night, it was lit up by floodlights. Inmates came from the Radom camp, which had been evacuated in the face of the advance of Soviet troops; 3,000 inmates had left the camp on foot: men, women, and children. The women, the children, and the sick were separated from the convoy at Tomaszow. The men were transported in livestock cars to Auschwitz, where a selection was made. Around August 15, 1944, 2,188 men arrived in Vaihingen. The majority of the inmates were Polish Jews who had passed through several different concentration and work camps.



French troops and survivors at the newly-liberated Vaihingen subcamp of Natzweiler, April 7–15, 1945.
USHMM WS #18094, COURTESY OF ECPAD

The inmates were housed in four wooden barracks, with 500 prisoners per barrack. After the war, the detention conditions were described as more favorable than those known by inmates in Poland. Alexander Donat, a Polish Jewish journalist from Warsaw, spent two months in the Vaihingen camp and left his published memoirs as a testament. The camp was composed of one building for the inmates' kitchen, an infirmary (*Revier*), and open-air latrines. On the outside of the barbed wire stood the buildings for the SS guards, the secretary's bureau (*Schreibstube*), and—according to one account—workshops for the camp, including a sewing workshop. The camp commandant had the use of a small house built for him by the Organisation Todt (OT). He belonged to the 215th Panzergrenadiersersatzbataillon of Reutlingen, which was put at his disposal in June 1944 by the SS construction management, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), centered at Oranienburg. He was part of a group of 200 officers, all intended to support the framework of the ever-expanding concentration camp system. He was sent to Natzweiler. At the end of July, he received orders to report to Vaihingen, where the construction

of the camp had not yet been completed. The surveillance of Vaihingen was provided by 80 men, soldiers in the army, in the Luftwaffe, and the SS. An assistant physician (*Assistenz-Arzt*) of the Luftwaffe was responsible for the health of the guards. The internal administration of the camp was in the hands of Polish Jews who had arrived with the first convoy. The camp elder (*Lagerältester*), Friedman, had already fulfilled the same function at the Radom camp. On October 15, 1944, 600 inmates from Vaihingen were sent to the new subcamp at Schwäbisch Hall-Hessental. Between November 8 and 16, 1944, 1,200 more inmates were transferred to other Natzweiler subcamps at Dautmergen, Bisingen, and Unterriexingen. At the end of November, only about 380 men remained in Vaihingen, half of whom were unfit for work. In the meantime, the camp had been transformed into a camp for the dying (*Krankenlager*); however, no changes in the camp's facilities were put into effect until December 1944, when a fifth barrack was built, with running water, bath, and toilet facilities. The plan to build a permanent structure, with an operating room and real medical facilities, was never carried out.

Two prisoner physicians, Dr. Boogaerts, who was Belgian, and Dr. Paulson, a Norwegian, arrived at the camp in the month of January. They had previously been interned at Neckarelz. Dr. Paulson was actually a dentist. Starting in November 1944, sick inmates arrived from different Natzweiler subcamps, from Dautmergen, Schörzingen, Bisingen, Schömberg, Frankfurt, and so on. In December 1944, a total of 1,500 sick inmates had arrived in Vaihingen. The last patient transport, which had come from Mannheim-Sandhofen, took place on March 11, 1945. In all, 2,442 inmates were transferred there from 17 different subcamps. The physical condition of the new arrivals was terrible. Many died en route. A detachment was established to handle the corpses (Leichenkommando). The camp population, until then relatively homogeneous, became far more diverse with the arrival of the convoys of sick inmates—25 nationalities were represented. The living conditions for the weakest inmates were extremely harsh, the food as insufficient as the medicine. In Block 5, an isolation ward was set up for contagious patients. Block 2 received inmates who had been excused from work and were officially in convalescence. Even they were subjected to two roll calls per day. In mid-February 1945, a typhus epidemic broke out in the camp. The disease spread rapidly. The entire health-care staff was contaminated. Block 4 in Vaihingen was used to isolate infected prisoners. Beginning on March 11, 1945, no more transports of sick inmates were directed to Vaihingen, perhaps because of the epidemic. A convoy from the Leonberg subcamp was sent to Bergen-Belsen. The general mortality was quite high, even if the archives do not permit a precise breakdown of all the deaths. There were at least 1,578 deaths. The camp at Vaihingen was a hospital in name only. It primarily served to empty out the other subcamps of their sick inmates who were unable to work. Despite Vaihingen's status as a hospital camp, inmates who were capable of work were put to work.

Camp inmates mixed with forced laborers of different nationalities, Poles, Soviets, and French. Germans who were forced to work acted as foremen. Exchanges took place, measured in number of apples or loaves of bread. The inmates at Vaihingen found themselves responsible for the hardest chores, such as continuing to dig out halls in the mine and to reinforce their infrastructures. Thus, they performed excavation work. A group of inmates worked outside to remove stones. Some groups of prisoners were also employed in a soap plant, a shoe factory, a foundry, and in agricultural work in Kleinglattbach. After the bombing of Stuttgart, some inmates were sent there to clear the ruins.

The Vaihingen camp was evacuated toward the beginning of April 1944. Inmates unable to walk were left behind. Some inmates were registered at Dachau. Two groups were registered at the München-Allach subcamp. On April 7, the First Free French Division entered Vaihingen, liberating the inmates left behind, whose exact number could not be determined. Many died in the days between the evacuation and the liberation. On the order of French officers, the civilians of Vaihingen were required to care for the surviving patients and to take them to the Vaihingen hospital. The barracks were al-

most immediately burned to limit the risk of epidemic. At least 31 inmates died after the liberation, as well as 7 residents of Vaihingen, who had contracted typhus in caring for the sick.

The work supervisor, SS-Oberscharführer M., who had terrorized the inmates and boasted of having participated in the Operation Harvest Festival (*Aktion Erntefest*) massacres in Lublin-Majdanek, was imprisoned and handed over to Poland. He was sentenced to death and executed in Lublin on October 6, 1948.

SOURCES The secondary literature on Vaihingen is more extensive than that on other subcamps in southwest Germany. See Bärbel Böckle, "Das Arbeits- und Krankenlager Vaihingen (Enz)," in *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegsführung: Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elzass*, ed. Herwart Vorländer (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1978), pp. 175–223. Steven Tenenbaum, the son of Holocaust survivors, told of his pilgrimage to Vaihingen, where his uncle had died: "In the Valley," *Tog* 11 (December 2000): 11. See also *Initiative KZ-Gedenkstätte Vaihingen-an-der-Enz* (Vaihingen, 1996).

Primary sources on Vaihingen begin with ITS, HM Akdo Vaihingen, Ordner KL Natzweiler-Aussenkommando Vaihingen/Enz; ZdL (now BA-L), AZ. IV 419 AR 1267/67, p. 243; Sta. Heilbronn, Ermittlungsakten, 1 JS 10942/59. Published testimonies and contemporary accounts include Arthur Crockett and David Parr, "Mass Grave Near Vaihingen Holds 1,500 Victims of Miniature Dachau," *The RR 2*, Vaihingen, First Bn (1945), pp. 1–8. Alexander Donat, a survivor of the Warsaw ghetto, was an inmate of Vaihingen, among several other camps. He left a book of memoirs, *The Holocaust Kingdom* (1963; Washington, DC: USHMM, 1999). On Vaihingen, see pp. 252–258. A collection of oral and written testimonies can be found in Manfred Scheck, *Das KZ vor der Haustüre: Augenzeugen berichten über das Lager "Wiesengrund" bei Vaihingen an der Enz* (Vaihingen an der Enz, 1995). Roger Audibert, a French soldier, wrote a few pages in his memoirs on the liberation of the camp by the French: *De la prise de Notre-Dame de la Garde à la libération du camp de la mort de Vaihingen* (Marseille: Autres temps, 1994), pp. 151–155. A member of the French Resistance wrote his recollections of Vaihingen: Jean-Henry de la Teyssonnière, *A la mémoire de . . . Témoignage* (Paris, 1972). See also Emile Juillard, "Vaihingen, le camp-Revier," in *Tragédie de la déportation 1940–1945: Témoignages de survivants des camps de concentration allemands*, ed. Olga Wormser and Henri Michel (Paris: Hachette, 1954), p. 330.

Jean-Marc Dreyfus
trans. Gina Cooke

VAIHINGEN/UNTERRIEXINGEN (WITH GROSS-SACHSENHEIM)

Unterriexingen was a subcamp of Vaihingen (a subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp in Württemberg), located some 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) outside Vaihingen and 30 kilo-

meters (18.6 miles) northwest of Stuttgart. It was established on the road between Unter- and Oberriexingen and enclosed by a double barbed-wire fence 3 meters (almost 10 feet) in height. On an area of approximately 7,000 square meters (8,372 square yards), between 400 and, at maximum, 550 prisoners were to be accommodated here. Of the two barracks, one was never completed; in addition, there was a barrack for the guards on duty and a lodging barrack for the guard unit. The camp had no running water; a small wooden shed outside the camp grounds served as a kitchen (the food was delivered by the Organisation Todt [OT]).

For 500 inmates, many of them afflicted with dysentery, there was only one four-seated latrine. Jules Schelvis, a prisoner in Unterriexingen, provides a description of the resulting drastic conditions:

Already before you reached the pit, the ground was covered with excrement. Many of the prisoners had not managed to reach the seat in time and relieved themselves beforehand. I hadn't even reached the latrine when my wooden clogs got stuck in the shit. But these shoes were indispensable, so I took them with me anyway. I had to wait for one of the seats to be vacant. There was a slapping and a spraying in the pit on account of the dysentery, a disease to which everyone had gotten accustomed and with which you lived until you could not go on any longer. After all, what other choice was there. There was no paper to wipe oneself. Like everyone else, I used the middle finger of my left hand for this purpose. . . . My bare feet covered with excrement, my wooden clogs in hand, I returned to the barrack. . . . Who can imagine such a situation? From this instant on, I knew that Unterriexingen was a death camp.¹

The Unterriexingen camp was opened on or after November 16, 1944. The camp was guarded by the 6th Waffen-SS Guard Company under SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Lautenschlager, the lead of the Vaihingen/Enz concentration camp. According to historian Herwart Vorländer, there were also other organizational links between the two camps: for example, Unterriexingen had been constructed by Vaihingen/Erz prisoners, and in November 1944, 500 Jewish prisoners were transferred from Vaihingen to Unterriexingen. In early 1945, 150 to 200 Polish prisoners, survivors of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, were transferred to Unterriexingen from the Mannheim-Sondhofen camp, as well as a group of approximately 50 to 100 Italian military internees (IMIs). Thus, the overall number of prisoners will presumably have far exceeded the prisoner number of 300 cited by author Julius Schätzle.

Schelvis, p. 66, states that the camp leader's name was SS-Hauptscharführer Bruno Fedrowitz. Like a proportion of the prisoners themselves, Fedrowitz would have come to Unterriexingen from Radom with the Romanian SS guard unit.

Schelvis also said that 40 of the SS men in Unterriexingen had been supplied by the Vaihingen camp and 10 by the Natzweiler main camp.

The prisoners, all males, had their lodgings in barracks. They worked for the "Gallinit" construction project and the Eple Company. Gallinit was the code name for an underground construction project in the context of which parts of the Mannheim Daimler-Benz production operations were to be moved to a tunnel in Gross-Sachsenheim. The prisoners moreover built barracks and worked in the Unterriexingen/Gross-Sachsenheim quarry (between Enz Bridge and Gross-Sachsenheim airfield), where at least 80 prisoners were on duty. There they had to break stones for repair work at the airfield and on nearby roads. Other inmates worked at the Gross-Sachsenheim air base; occasionally, they were sent to Stuttgart and vicinity, for example, Pforzheim and Kornwestheim, to carry out clearing work following air raids.

The last mention of the Unterriexingen camp is found in an official report of April 1945. At this time, the inmates were evacuated to Vaihingen and, later, from there in the direction of Dachau. After the war, 250 corpses were found on the camp grounds—testimony to the horrendous living conditions in the camp. Due to the fact that, until a few months before the dissolution of the camp, the bodies of the prisoners who perished in the Unterriexingen camp had been transported to the Vaihingen subcamp, it can be assumed that many more than 250 prisoners died in the Unterriexingen camp.

From October 6 to November 21, 1947, within the context of the Rastatt Trial, 42 members of the camp administration and guard units from the Natzweiler subcamps Hessental, Kochendorf, Vaihingen/Enz, and Unterriexingen were charged with war crimes and crimes against humanity. The Rastatt Trial before the Tribunal Général (supreme military court) of the French military administration was the first Allied war crimes trial to be carried out in the French-occupied zone. Altogether 7 death sentences were imposed (of which 4 were enforced); 1 defendant was sentenced to life imprisonment and 11 to prison and penal servitude.

SOURCES The Vaihingen/Unterriexingen subdetachment is described in Herwart Vorländer, ed., *NS Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegsführung: Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des KL Natzweiler/Elsass* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1978), p. 12. Detlef Ernst and Klaus Riexinger mention details pertaining to the guard operations at Vaihingen/Unterriexingen in *Vernichtung durch Arbeit: Die Geschichte des KZ Kochendorf/Aussenkommando des KZ Natzweiler-Struthof* (Bad Reichenhall, 1996), p. 18. Further mention is found in Julius Schätzle, *Stationen zur Hölle: Konzentrationslager in Baden und Württemberg 1933 bis 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag GmbH, 1980), p. 66. The Unterriexingen subcamp is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 211.

In USHMMA, a four-page typewritten report by George Freshman on his experiences as a prisoner in Kochendorf,

Vaihingen, and Vaihingen/Unterriexingen is to be found under File No. Acc. 1997.A.0289. Documents pertaining to the Rastatt Trials are located in the AOC, in the file Tribunal Général du Gouvernement Militaire de la Zone Française d'Occupation en Allemagne, Série AJ, no. 4028, cartons no. 2A, 2B, 3, 4, 5, dossier no. 3/46. A 100-year prohibition was imposed on access to these files, and they can only be inspected with special permission and only in parts. A striking description of the living and working conditions at the Unterriexingen subcamp is found in Jules Schelvis, "Eine Reise durch die Finsternis: Die Lager Vaihingen und Unterriexingen," in *Das KZ vor der Haustüre: Augenzeugen berichten über das Lager "Wiesengrund" bei Vaihingen an der Enz*, ed. Manfred Scheck (Vaihingen an der Enz, 1995), pp. 57–80.

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trans. Judith Rosenthal

NOTE

1. Jules Schelvis, "Eine Reise durch die Finsternis: Die Lager Vaihingen und Unterriexingen," in *Das KZ vor der Haustüre: Augenzeugen berichten über das Lager "Wiesengrund" bei Vaihingen an der Enz*, ed. Manfred Scheck (Vaihingen an der Enz, 1995), pp. 57–80.

WALLDORF

The Walldorf subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp was officially in operation from August 27, 1944 (the date August 22, 1944, occasionally cited in the literature refers to the arrival of the first prisoner transport), to October 31, 1944. It was part of the complex of camps set up around the Rhine-Main Airport. Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) had been put to work at this airport as early as 1942. Disguised as lumberjacks, they worked on the expansion of the airport and the creation of shelters for the fighter formations stationed there. Beginning in the autumn of 1944, interceptors of the type Messerschmitt (Me) 163B were stationed at this site, making it necessary to build an additional runway, a project requiring the employment of additional workers.

For this reason, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) commissioned Construction Administration V (Heidelberg) of the Organisation Todt (OT), in cooperation with the construction company Ed. Züblin & Cie., with the construction of the Walldorf subcamp, which was placed under the administration of the Natzweiler concentration camp. The subcamp was located between Nordenstrasse on the northern periphery of the town of Walldorf and the Rhine-Main Airport, on the grounds of a former chicken farm that had been seized from its Jewish owners and used in the 1930s as a Reich Labor Service (RAD) camp. The prisoners were guarded by male and female guard units from Natzweiler as well as by members of the OT. According to testimony by former prisoner Susanne Farkas, the camp consisted of five

barrack blocks in which the women slept on bunk beds without blankets, as well as a kitchen building, an infirmary, and administration rooms.

On August 22, 1944, 1,700 female prisoners arrived in Walldorf from the Auschwitz concentration camp. The majority of them were Hungarian Jews; many of the others came from Romania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia. According to accounts by witnesses, the women were between 14 and 65 years of age. As early as the first day, one of the women died—officially of heart failure, but according to witness accounts, she had been shot to death. The women began working on August 24: approximately 80 of them worked in the camp; at the request of the Züblin AG company, about 40 of them were put to work breaking stone in Frankfurt am Main. All of the others worked at the Rhine-Main Airport, where they cut down and transported trees, unloaded railroad cars, dug ditches for cables and tank facilities, carried out foundation work, and leveled runways.

According to an expert report by journalist Anette Raab-Neff, the prisoners in the Walldorf subcamp were subjected to harsh treatment. The rations provided the women working for the Züblin company were completely inadequate. During air raids, the women were left to lie on the earth on the airport grounds entirely unprotected, while the guard units sought shelter. Former prisoner Helena Halperin recalls:

We carried out various types of work at the airport. We unloaded large stones from railway cars; they were wet from snow and rain in October. When one of them fell beneath the car, we had to retrieve it. Then we uncovered cables in the forest. We dug up the earth, uncovered the brick, lifted them, and inside there were cables. Then we, many girls and women, took the cables and assembled them in one place. At the airport we were often shot at and bombed. One time there were six women under a tree; one of them was killed, one of them was hit by a bullet, one of them was grazed by a bullet; I had a head shock and couldn't hear anything for three days. During attacks we had to stay seated, were not permitted to move from the spot, and the SS guards ran under the trees and watched where the bombs were falling, where the bullets were falling, and they protected themselves and we were not allowed to move from the spot. Sometimes there were deaths; sometimes there were no deaths.¹

When there was nothing else for the prisoners of the subcamp to do, the guard units gave them senseless tasks such as raking the forest soil. Officially only 6 women met their deaths during the camp's existence. Due to the working and living conditions prevailing there, however, only 500 of the 1,700 prisoners were still fit for work by the end of October 1944. The subcamp was dissolved on November 23, 1944, and the work taken over by Soviet POWs. Already in

October 1944, 34 pregnant women had been transported to an unknown destination; they were presumably murdered.

The remaining women, numbering approximately 1,650, were taken to the Ravensbrück concentration camp between mid-November and mid-December. When Ravensbrück was dissolved, many of them died on death transports and marches to Zillertal, Grosswerten, Reichenberg, Theresienstadt, Mauthausen, and Gunskirchen-Wels.

In the second half of the 1970s, the Darmstadt Public Attorney's Office instituted proceedings against the former camp leader Reinhold Loehs (born 1909) and others on charges of murder and aiding and abetting murder. The proceedings were suspended in June 1980 due to the fact that, according to the Public Attorney's Office, "no proof of participation in criminally relevant, still prosecutable acts can be ascertained for any of the defendants."²

SOURCES The brochure *Nichts und niemand wird vergessen: Zur Geschichte des KZ-Aussenlagers Natzweiler-Struthof in Walldorf* (Mörfelden-Walldorf, n.d.) provides a wealth of information on the Walldorf subcamp, including excerpts from the expert report by Anette Raab-Neff (pp. 10–13) and witness accounts by former prisoners (Helena Halperin, pp. 14–16; Jolan Freifeld, pp. 17–18; Susanne Farkas, pp. 19–22). The camp is moreover mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 211; and the Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand, ed., *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945, Hessen I, Regierungsbezirk Darmstadt* (Frankfurt-Bockenheim, 1995). Further mention can be found in Gudrun Schwarz, *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verlag, 1990), p. 181.

Evidence of the existence of the Walldorf subcamp is found in BA-BL, File No. NS 4, KL Na [Natzweiler], 49–102 Häftlingsangelegenheiten, above all in 80—Walldorf. Information on the legal proceedings against camp leader Reinhold Loehs and others is available in the files of the Sta. Darmstadt at the LG Darmstadt, File No. 2 Js 590/76.

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trans. Judith Rosenthal

NOTES

1. Helena Halperin, quoted in *Nichts und niemand wird vergessen: Zur Geschichte des KZ-Aussenlagers Natzweiler-Struthof in Walldorf* (Mörfelden-Walldorf, n.d.), p. 14.

2. Sta. Darmstadt, 2 Js 590/76.

WASSERALFINGEN

A subcamp of the Natzweiler concentration camp was located in Wasseralfingen near Aalen in Württemberg. A camp for male inmates, it was first mentioned in the Natzweiler concentration camp files on September 27, 1944, when 400 inmates from the Dachau concentration camp arrived in Was-

seralfingen. In November 1944, another transport to Wasseralfingen took place, consisting of 200 to 300 Polish prisoners arrested in the wake of the defeat of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. The prisoners were lodged in a barrack camp along the street then called Moltkestrasse.

The prisoners worked for various companies and institutions, among them the Organisation Todt (OT) Higher Construction Administration Kiebitz in Heilbronn, the companies Heilmann & Littmann, Staud and Suka, and the Alfing Kessler KG machine works. One of the prisoners' chief tasks was the expansion of underground tunnels to accommodate a Hamburg crankshaft factory. When the plant went into operation in the winter of 1944–1945, the men were also put to work directly at the machines. The harsh working conditions cost at least 33 prisoners their lives. Moreover, on each of two transports in January and mid-February 1945, 30 prisoners "unfit for work" were transferred to the Vaihingen subcamp.

The guards for the subcamp were supplied by the 6th Waffen-SS Guard Company, which was under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Lautenschlager, the commandant of the Vaihingen subcamp. In May 1944, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler had issued an instruction to the effect that a large number of soldiers unfit for field duty were to be integrated into the Waffen-SS. Accordingly, this unit consisted not only of members of the Waffen-SS but also of Luftwaffe soldiers, members of the Afrika Korps, and several Ukrainian SS men. According to historians Detlef Ernst and Klaus Riexinger, altogether 8 SS-Unterrührer and 26 members of the 6th Guard Company performed guard duty at the Wasseralfingen camp.

The last mention of the subcamp in Wasseralfingen is to be found in the records of the Natzweiler concentration camp pertaining to February 2, 1945. An official report confirms the evacuation of the subcamp to the Neckarelz subcamp.

SOURCES Detlef Ernst and Klaus Riexinger mention several details on the Wasseralfingen subcamp in *Vernichtung durch Arbeit: Die Geschichte des KZ Kochendorf/Aussenkommando des KZ Natzweiler-Struthof* (Bad Reichenhall, 1996), esp. pp. 18–19. Barbel Böckle refers to Wasseralfingen subcamp in her essay "Das Arbeits- und Krankenlager Vaihingen (Enz)," in *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager im Dienst der totalen Kriegsführung: Sieben württembergische Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Natzweiler/Elsass*, ed. Herwart Vorländer (Stuttgart, 1978), pp. 175–224; a brief description of the camp is found on p. 13. Gudrun Schwarz includes the camp in *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verlag, 1990), p. 181. The Wasseralfingen subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 212.

In the holdings of USHMMA under Acc. No. 2004.35.1, Manfred Macuse Papers, there is an archive pertaining to the Wasseralfingen subcamp.

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**WESSERLING (“KRANICH,” “A10”)
[AKA URBES, HÜSSEREN-WESSERLING,
COLMAR]**

The Natzweiler subcamp in Alsatian Wesserling (French: Urbes) is also referred to in the literature as Hüsseren-Wesserling, Colmar, and Urbes. Wesserling is one of the subcamps to have emerged in the phase of the dissolution of the Natzweiler main camp. The prisoners of the camp, which was located near Thann in Alsace, were to prepare a tunnel located between the towns of Urbes and Bussany in order to accommodate Daimler-Benz armaments production operations. In this tunnel, the company intended to undertake the production of propeller parts under the code name “A10 Kranich.”

The camp was first mentioned on March 25, 1944. On that day, 300 male prisoners from Dachau arrived. Nearly 90 percent of the prisoners on this transport were political prisoners; as for nationality, one-third of them (36.3 percent) were Italians, followed by Soviet citizens (26.3 percent), Poles (13 percent), Yugoslavs (5.3 percent), Frenchmen (8.5 percent), Germans (5.6 percent), Greeks (3 percent), and Luxembourgers (3 percent). A second transport of 200 prisoners followed on March 29.

In the weeks that followed, further prisoner transports arrived in Wesserling, among them 502 prisoners from Lublin-Majdanek on April 4; 1,350 prisoners on May 5; and 1,350 on May 31, 1944. Most of the prisoners were Polish forced laborers and Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) or forced laborers. On June 6, 550 prisoners came from Auschwitz, including 302 Poles and 248 Soviet citizens. Nearly all of the inmates on this transport were classified as political prisoners. One of the inmates arriving was Zacheus Pawlak, who described that the camp was located about 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) from the railway station and that the inmates had to walk to the camp from the station. The camp consisted of a number of barracks—three of them were accommodation for the inmates—and was fenced with barbed wire. Guards and administration were housed in a building outside the inmates’ camp. The camp was guarded by SS men and Luftwaffe soldiers, and in the beginning, it had no infirmary and no camp physician. The camp elder was Toni, a criminal prisoner.

According to Pawlak, the barracks of the camp had been erected on top of a former camp that had been burned down, and right behind the barbed wire that surrounded the subcamp there was another camp for civilian workers from Poland, Russia, and Italy. The tunnel where the inmates were put to work was located about 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) from the camp. Already since 1935, the French had worked on building the tunnel through the Vosges Mountains and had made about 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) of progress.

In the summer of 1944, according to Pawlak, about 20 inmates tried to escape. They had arranged contact with the civilian population, organized maps, and bribed the guards. But their attempt to escape failed; 5 inmates were hanged in the subcamp, the other ones sent back to the Natzweiler main camp. At about the same time, in August 1944, 50 Soviet

women arrived in the camp, presumably having been sent there with the intention of having them carry out kitchen, laundry, and cleaning tasks. On August 31, 1944, the final transport to arrive in Wesserling brought 465 Jews from Flossenbürg, including 444 of Polish nationality, 9 Soviet, and 11 German Jews. These prisoners had worked for Daimler-Benz as “labor Jews” in the Reichshof (Rzeszów) ghetto and subsequently in Dębica and had come to Wesserling by way of Krakau-Plaszow, Wieliczka, Auschwitz, and Flossenbürg. In Wesserling, they were lodged in the so-called Block 3.

The management of the construction project was assigned to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Section C (Construction), SS-Command Staff A10, Wesserling. SS-Hauptsturmführer Josef Janisch was responsible for overseeing the prisoners’ work; the camp commandant was SS-Untersturmführer Arno Brendler. According to Luxembourgish Ernest Gillen, a prisoner in Wesserling, the commander of the construction site goaded the prisoners on, screamed at them, and beat them, while—according to Pawlak—the camp commander was good-natured and never mistreated the inmates.

Gillen describes the working conditions in the camp as being harsh: the prisoners worked in 12-hour shifts or, when the shifts were changed, even 24-hour shifts. The tunnel had not been broken all the way through and had only one entrance. Due to the fact that the base of the tunnel was under water, the prisoners often worked standing in water. The air circulation in the tunnel was poor, since there was no ventilation, and to make matters worse, a diesel engine was constantly driving in and out. Survivor Pawlak worked with a group of inmates who had to clean the tunnel and to prepare it for pouring the concrete floor. Afterward, he and his comrades worked on covering the ceiling with plates of fiber cement. While these preparations were still going on, machines, equipment, and personnel already arrived to begin production. Once production commenced, inmates began to work with the German Messerschmitt personnel in armament production. They were put to work in 12-hour shifts that changed weekly between day and night.

Pawlak indicated that there were also other work commands within the Wesserling subcamp: one group of inmates worked at the railway station, loading and unloading gravel, sand, stones, and machinery. Another group in summer 1944 began to work at the Wesserling Castle, where they worked in the kitchen and cleaned the park. A further command of inmates began to construct barracks next to the tunnel entrance. According to Pawlak, there were many French and Russian inmates in this work detachment, and they suffered enormous hunger and unbearable conditions. Most likely, the erection of these barracks can be seen in the context of more and more prisoner transports that arrived from Dachau and Buchenwald and temporarily brought the number of inmates to about 3,000.

Gillen describes the administration of Wesserling subcamp as being relatively humane. The food supply came from the Messerschmitt company and was better than in the Majdanek camp where Gillen had come from. In the morning

the prisoners received bread and margarine; at lunch, soup and bacon; in the evening, another substantial soup—and twice a week, even a salad. Pawlak reports that there were regular delousings and disinfections for the inmates, which took place in a public bath in nearby Rothau, and that the inmates’ clothes and bedlinen were changed weekly. Survivors confirm that there were a good number of Alsatian civilian workers at the construction site who behaved decently toward the prisoners and even provided them with food.

Due to the advancing front, the relocation project was discontinued in October 1944; October 10, 1944, is the date of the subcamp’s last mention in the concentration camp files. It is not known how many prisoners were in the camp at the time of its evacuation. At least 300 prisoners had already been transferred to the Neckar camp complex (Project “A8”) in late August–early September 1944, as confirmed by Pawlak. Another 300 prisoners were sent to the Schwindratzheim subcamp (Project “A11”), and 465 prisoners—probably the last remaining inmates of the camp—were taken to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. As historian Robert Steegmann reports, from there they were taken to Elster GmbH in Kamenz, Saxony, to work.

SOURCES The most comprehensive description of the camp can be found in the memoirs of former inmate Zacheus Paw-

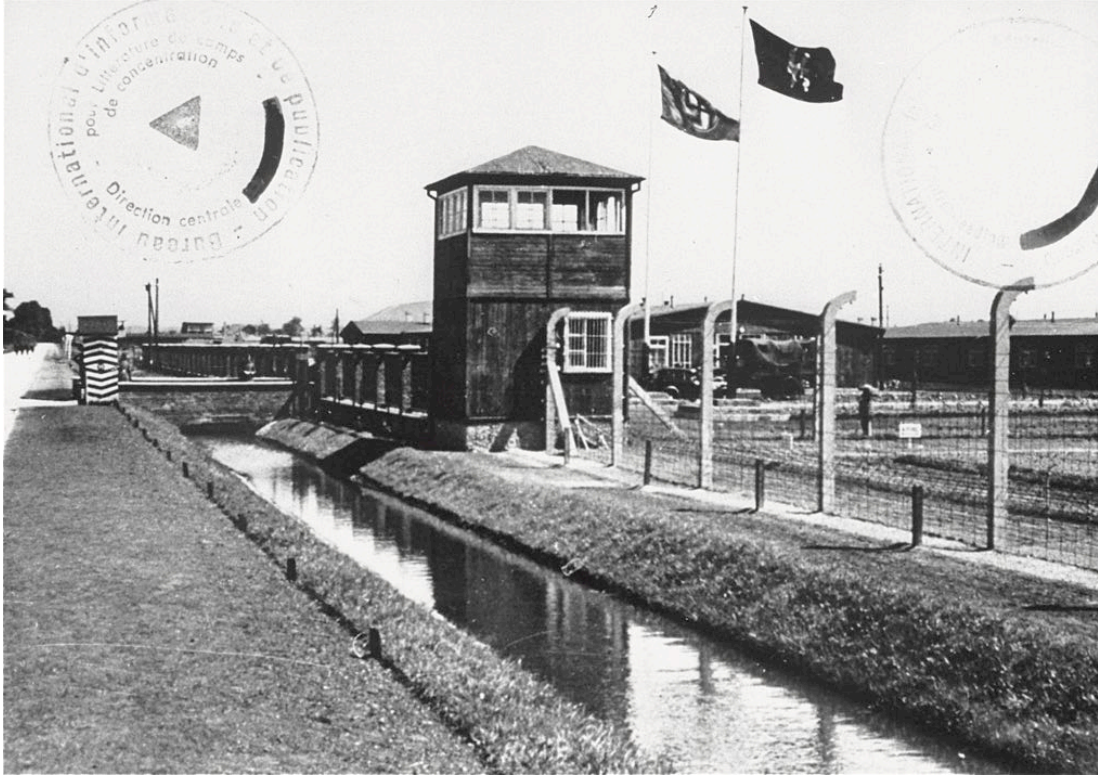
lak, *“Ich habe überlebt.” Ein Häftling berichtet über Majdanek* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1979). Robert Steegmann also describes the camp in *Struthof: Le KL-Natzweiler et ses kommandos. Une nébuleuse concentrationnaire des deux côtés du Rhin, 1941–1945* (Strasbourg: Nuée Bleue, 2005), pp. 69–72, 275. In *Ich habe immer nur den Zaun gesehen. Suche nach dem KZ-Aussenlager Cochem* (1992; Koblenz, 1996), p. 158, Ernst Heimes quotes a survivor of Wesserling camp, prisoner Ernest Gillen of Luxembourg. Gillen provides numerous details on the working conditions in the tunnel. Antoine Greffier describes the Wesserling camp in the LPB-BW, ed., *Materialien zum Stand der Forschung über die Aussen- und Nebenlager des KL Natzweiler-Struthof* (Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 217–218. In the Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand, ed., *Heimatgeschichtlichen Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, vol. 5, *Baden-Württemberg, Regierungsbezirke Karlsruhe und Stuttgart* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag für akademische Schriften OHG, 1991), pp. 119, 161, the Wesserling tunnel construction site is mentioned. The Wesserling subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 212.

At BA-L (formerly ZdL), there is an investigation file on Wesserling subcamp. Ernst Gillen’s testimony is in ACCS.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Judith Rosenthal



NEUENGAMME



The main entrance to the SS camp at Neuengamme, 1941 - 1942.
USHMM WS #55243, COURTESY OF AG-NG

NEUENGAMME MAIN CAMP

The Neuengamme concentration camp was established in 1938 as a Sachsenhausen subcamp. In the spring of 1940, it became an independent concentration camp, the central concentration camp for northwest Germany. By 1945, around 104,000 people were held in the main camp and its more than 75 subcamps, including 13,500 women. The Gestapo also brought around 2,000 additional prisoners to Neuengamme to be executed.

The Neuengamme site was chosen, as with Buchenwald, Mauthausen, Flossenbürg, and other concentration camps, because it was connected to the economic interests of the SS: the prisoners were to work in a brickworks where clinker would be produced for the transformation of the Hansestadt Hamburg. On August 31, 1938, the SS acquired for the Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (German Earth and Stone Works, DES) an unused brickworks with 50 hectares (123.6 acres) of land in the Hamburg suburb of Neuengamme on the Dove Elbe, a dead-end branch of the Elbe River, no longer used by ships. The first 100 prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp arrived there on December 12, 1938, via Berlin, to work in the factory and to expand it. A decision to establish a larger concentration camp had not been made at this time. Critical for the decision to establish a concentration camp was a visit by Heinrich Himmler to Hamburg in January 1940. The Reichsführer-SS was looking for new places to accommodate concentration camp prisoners as a result of the large number of people arrested after the outbreak of war. He appointed SS-Sturmabführer Walter Eisfeld as commandant, who in February began to expand the camp.

At the end of 1940 and the beginning of 1941, there were just about 3,000 prisoners; in 1941–1942, 4,500 to 4,800; in August 1943, around 10,000; and in April 1945, 53,000 to

54,000, of whom 12,000 were women (including subcamps). At the end, there were 13,000 to 14,000 people in the hopelessly overcrowded main camp and around 40,000 in the subcamps.

The prisoners were guarded by SS-Totenkopf (Death's Head) units. The Neuengamme concentration camp was classified in Camp Category II (*Lagerstufe II*) in 1940. As a practical matter, this distinction had little significance. The camp held all three categories of concentration camp prisoners.

The composition of the prisoners reflected, albeit belatedly, the course of the war. Until 1940, mostly German prisoners were brought to Neuengamme from other concentration camps, including a large number sent as punishment detachments. In the following years, Neuengamme held mostly people from the occupied countries. From March 1941, Poles and, from 1942–1943, Soviet prisoners formed the largest group in Neuengamme. Many of the detainees were foreign laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) from different camps in northern Germany who, having either breached the work rules or after trying to escape, were sent to the concentration camp. Other than for prisoners sent directly to the camp by the Gestapo, most of the prisoners came from other concentration camps. Just from Auschwitz, Neuengamme received more than 10,000 prisoners in 1943–1944. Judicial authorities also transferred many prison inmates to the concentration camp.

Initially, there were only a few hundred Jews in Neuengamme. It was only with the numerous transports of Jewish prisoners from the east in April 1944 that thousands of Jews, the majority of whom were women, arrived in Neuengamme and its subcamps. It is estimated that there were around 13,000 Jewish prisoners in the Neuengamme concentration camp.

As resistance increased in the occupied western and northern European countries, large transports of prisoners arrived from these countries in 1944, especially from France and Denmark. The mass arrests in the occupied countries, often at random, during the German retreat showed that the SS leadership had identified a method to recruit forced labor. In the last weeks of the war, thousands of Danish and Norwegian prisoners were transported to Neuengamme. The Swedish Red Cross successfully negotiated with Himmler for Scandinavian prisoners from all camps and prisons in Germany to be brought to Neuengamme. From there they would be evacuated as the front got closer.

Until February 1940, the conditions in the camp were more bearable than later: there was enough to eat and scarcely any serious mistreatment. This changed dramatically when Commandant Eisfeld took over at the beginning of 1940 and transformed Neuengamme into an independent concentration camp. His successors Martin Weiss (April 1940 to August



Prisoners work beside the fence separating the "protective custody" section of Neuengamme from the industrial section. In the distance the crematorium and the Walther armaments works can be seen, n.d.

USHMM WS #83540, COURTESY OF AG-NG



A view of Neuengamme concentration camp, 1943.
USHMM WS #06024, COURTESY OF AG-NG

1942) and Max Pauly (September 1942 until the end of the war) made sure that violence, hunger, cold, sickness, and death ruled the lives of the prisoners.

Beatings and arbitrary punishments accompanied the prisoners from early morning until late evening. Countless commands, regulations, and prohibitions gave the SS overseers and the prisoner-functionaries (above all, the camp elder, block elders, and Kapos) the opportunity to mete out punishment as they wished, to beat and kill the prisoners, without the need to justify their acts. Official punishments such as standing to attention for several hours at the camp entrance, arrest, beatings, hanging from posts, and transfer to punishment companies were handed out less frequently but were especially feared.

During the war, hunger was the worst scourge of the prisoners. In 1940–1941 the food supply was better than in the other concentration camps; obviously, the authorities felt that all the prisoners' strength was needed to erect the camp. In 1941 the portions declined; they no longer were sufficient to maintain the prisoners' strength. Rations were reduced in April 1942, and the number of emaciated prisoners increased dramatically. In the autumn of 1942 the death rate jumped dramatically. In the winter of 1942–1943, it reached at times more than 10 percent of the inmates per month. In the following winters, it was lower as a result of measures introduced by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), in particular, permission granted to receive packages, the increased allocation of extra rations for heavy labor, and hygienic and medical improvements. However, in 1944–1945, the food supplies in the main camp and in most of the sub-camps were further reduced. Even tradesmen, armaments workers, and other skilled workers were living mostly on the bare minimum to survive. Most of the other prisoners died as a result of hunger and its effects, as they did not have the chance to "organize" other food supplies, that is, to steal.

During the first three years, the prisoners wore striped concentration camp uniforms that scarcely gave protection

against the cold and the wet. In 1943–1944, there were improvements for some prisoners, especially for important laborers. Used civilian clothes, owned by murdered Jews and from concentration camp prisoners in Eastern European countries, were distributed, first in the main camp and later in many subcamps.

The camp was heavily overcrowded. From 1944 on, often 2 prisoners had to share a bed; later it was 3. In the blocks where the new prisoners were held, the camp leadership sometimes crowded 800 to 1,000 prisoners into 400 square meters (478.4 square yards).

The hygienic conditions were terrible. When the camp was established in 1940–1941, the prisoners, who wore wooden shoes, often sank knee deep into the mud in the swampy ground during the rain. Dirt and dampness were carried into the barracks. Water could only be obtained from hand-operated pumps located close to the latrines. The conditions improved in the summer of 1941 when the sewage system was built, and the roll-call square was covered with concrete. However, as the number of inmates increased markedly, there were soon, once again, catastrophic hygienic conditions. One of the biggest problems was washing clothes. The prisoners often got very dirty when working. During the day they were not allowed to go to the toilet, so that their trousers were smeared with urine and excrement. It was practically impossible to wash clothes. Many prisoners stank of urine and fecal matter; there was an unbearable smell in the barracks.

The majority of the prisoners suffered from illnesses and injuries. Simple colds often developed into high fever and lung inflammations. Common were diarrhea, hypothermia, and stomach and intestinal problems caused by the poor quality of the water and the eating of rotten food, scraps, and grass. Many prisoners suffered from circulatory problems and dropsy (*Wassersucht*). Tuberculosis, an exception in 1940, took hold in 1941 as the prisoners weakened. In the winter, the prisoners often suffered from chilblains, and their limbs froze. Vermin spread due to the poor hygiene. At the end of 1941, a louse-borne typhus epidemic broke out, and the camp had to be put under quarantine. Work accidents and mistreatments resulted in wounds that did not heal, and sometimes there were severe injuries. Medical care was a farce. The operating theater was relatively well equipped and was often shown to visitors. But as everything else was missing, the efforts by many prisoners in the infirmary to help their comrades as best they could were useless. New sick barracks were established between November 1943 and the summer of 1944 so that there was enough room for the sick. At the end of July 1944 the commandant ordered the evacuation of two infirmaries, despite the increased numbers reporting sick, so as to make room for prominent prisoners from France. At the same time, he had a new crematorium built.

Until 1943, the long-term ill and weakened prisoners were regularly transported away by the SS to Dachau and in 1944–1945 above all to Lublin-Majdanek and Bergen-Belsen. A medical commission visited Neuengamme in April 1942 to select weakened prisoners and to a lesser extent handicapped

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prisoners, Jews, and other “useless eaters,” as part of *Aktion 14f13*. A few weeks later, the chosen prisoners were sent to Bernburg an der Saale to be gassed.

At the beginning of 1942, weakened prisoners in Neuengamme began to be murdered by injection, at first in a separate area of the camp for Soviet POWs but soon even in the main infirmary. This murderous campaign generated such fear in the prisoners that often the seriously ill would not dare go to the infirmary. The killing stopped in the summer of 1943.

From the autumn of 1944 on, the Neuengamme main camp developed into a sort of death camp. In 1944, a large number of subcamps were established. As the economic enterprises attached to the subcamps did not want the sick and weakened prisoners, the SS returned them to the main camp and replaced them with new prisoners who were capable of working. At the end of 1944 and the beginning of 1945, the majority of prisoners in Neuengamme were incapable of working: they were left to themselves in appalling hygienic conditions in the so-called *Schonungsblocks* (convalescent blocks) with reduced rations. In the last months of the war, the death rate (including the subcamps) was around 5 percent.

Beginning in 1942, in the main camp the prisoners were used for different medical experiments including trials with medicines to combat louse-borne typhus and with water poisoned with gas. The SS doctor Kurt Heissmeyer conducted experiments with tuberculosis bacteria on 20 Jewish children brought to Neuengamme from Auschwitz. To hide the traces of this crime, members of the SS murdered the children in April 1945 at the Bullenhuser Damm School in Hamburg.

Between 1940 and 1942, most of the prisoners were used in excavation work for the camp, for the clinker factory, for deepening the Dove Elbe (“Kommando Elbe”), and for transport work. The work was in the open air. Later the majority of the inmates worked on construction sites around the camp. Mistreatment and arbitrary treatment made life hell. Prisoners worked regardless of the weather so that the concentration camp prisoners often wore wet clothes the whole day. Those who could not keep up with the pace of the work were tortured and beaten. Just about every day when returning to work, those who had collapsed were put on carts that were pulled into the camp. The sick, weak, and dead were put aside at the roll-call square until the evening roll call was complete.

Around 10 to 20 percent of the inmates worked in the prison camp or the SS camp or did administrative duties with the construction companies and the old clinker factory. Here the conditions were better. The erection of the new industries and of the industrial administration of the construction management resulted in an increase in the number of prisoners in the main camp who worked on production or other areas with bearable conditions. By the end of 1944, the number of such people in the main camp was around 25 percent.

Until 1942, except for Kommando Elbe, few prisoners worked outside the camp territory. At times the work detach-



Neuengamme prisoners dig the Dove-Elbe Canal, 1941 – 1942.
USHMM WS #06027, COURTESY OF AG-NG

ments were assigned to tradesmen and salesmen located close by, who supplied the concentration camp, including the Ohde Bakery, the ironmonger Glunz, and the timber merchant Behr. From time to time the prisoners were assigned to rural work.

The SS was ruthless in dealing with the slightest sign of help or resistance. The SS built a network of spies to uncover resistance in the camp. It used national and political tensions to stir up the prisoners against each other. Although each prisoner was fighting for his survival, there were many attempts to work together to improve conditions. Friends grouped together, as did other small groups to support each other. Groups of the same nationality, based on the same language and culture, developed a broad consciousness of what they had in common, which in turn led to the will to assert themselves. Language differences were a great barrier to understanding the other groups; it was always difficult to



The camp commandant, SS-Obersturmbannführer Max Pauly (far right), conducts a tour of Neuengamme, n.d.
USHMM WS #83703, COURTESY OF GÜNTHER SCHWARBERG



"Punishment Drill," n.d. by Hans P. Sorensen, a Holocaust survivor.
USHMM WS #27519, COURTESY OF FRIIHEDSMUSEET

maintain connections across national barriers. It was mostly the Communist prisoners who spoke of attempts to make contact across international barriers. Jehovah's Witnesses showed strong solidarity based upon religious motives.

Chances to escape the terror by flight were small. It was almost impossible to escape the main camp. No known escape attempt was successful before April 1945.

It was in the infirmaries that the prisoners organized assistance and solidarity despite the terror. In the main camp the infirmary Kapo, Mathias Mai, would step in to protect prisoners from seizure by the SS. In 1942, several prisoners who worked as orderlies in the infirmary refused to participate in killing prisoners with injections. Sometimes an endangered prisoner would exchange his number with a prisoner who had just died to give the impression that he was no longer alive.

There were prisoner-functionaries who did office work and who were prepared to help their comrades in need by sending them to the better work detachments. Worthy of mention are Arbeitsdienstkapo Albin Lüdke and Belgian prisoner André Mandrycx. On the other hand, the camp elder Jakob Fetz followed the orders of the SS and personally participated in hangings.

Neuengamme prisoners remember the assistance given to Soviet prisoners in the autumn of 1941. When these completely weakened prisoners arrived in the camp and were fed worse than the other prisoners and treated more inhumanely than the normal concentration camp inmates, there was a broad attempt to help, which involved collecting bread.

It was possible on a few work sites in the main camp and the subcamps to commit acts of sabotage. No real damage was done; the acts were more symbolic. If there were gaps in the controls, work slowed down, machines were incorrectly set, supplies disappeared, and there were other disturbances. Skilled tradesmen sometimes took on prisoners without the necessary skills to protect them from certain overseers. In the repair shops, the prisoners sometimes illegally listened to foreign radio broadcasts.

From the beginning of 1945 on, as the front approached, more and more of the Neuengamme subcamps were dissolved. At the end of March 1945, the main camp, which held 14,000 inmates, was in such a catastrophic state that the SS shunted the prisoners off to other camps, especially to Bergen-Belsen, Sandbostel bei Bremervörde, and Wöbbelin bei Ludwigslust. There the accommodation and food supplies were inadequate, so that thousands died within a few days from hunger, cold, filth, and disease.

The final command to evacuate the main camp was given on April 19. Most of the prisoners were taken by rail or by foot to the Lübecker Bucht, where they were put on ships no longer capable of maneuvering. More than 7,000 concentration camp prisoners drowned in the Baltic as a result of an attack by British aircraft on May 3, 1945.

It is difficult to determine the number of prisoners who survived the liberation of the Neuengamme concentration camp, as during the years an unknown number of prisoners were transported to other camps. Some were completely emaciated; it can be assumed that there was a high death rate among these prisoners. It is likely that around 44,000 to 55,000 of those held in Neuengamme and its subcamps did not survive.

About 120 SS members of the Neuengamme concentration camp and its subcamps were tried between 1946 and 1948 in the main proceedings and more than 20 subsidiary proceedings before British military courts. The main trial, from March 18 to May 3, 1946, in the Hamburg Curio-Haus (located at Rothenbaumchaussee) resulted in death sentences for the commandant Max Pauly, the camp leader Anton Thumann, two SS doctors, and seven other SS members. They were executed in October 1946 in the Hameln Prison. In later proceedings there were approximately another 15 death sentences that were carried out. Other perpetrators, including the former commandant Weiss, gave evidence against the SS in other concentration camps. Most of those convicted waited for a few years in prison and were pardoned at the beginning or the middle of the 1950s.¹

Many of those less involved, who were, for example, in the concentration camp administration or the guard force, had to answer before denazification courts in the British occupation

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zone. In the main, the courts were lenient. Only a few of the accused were sentenced to prison.²

The state prosecutors attached to the German district courts focused from 1946 on the criminal acts committed in the Neuengamme concentration camp and its subcamps. There were a considerable number of investigations, but the number of convictions was small. For example, by the end of the 1980s, there were more than 80 investigations in Hamburg, but only seven were charged; there has been no conviction since 1953.³ Many perpetrators escaped punishment by living under assumed names or overseas. Others were safe because the judicial authorities did not commence investigations. According to the Zentrale Stelle zur Aufklärung von NS-Verbrechen in Ludwigsburg, the number of investigations began to increase in 1958, but most proceedings went nowhere because the evidence for individual crimes was often not supported by sufficient witness statements. Witnesses living overseas were rarely questioned. The accused were also helped by the fact that at the end of the war the majority of files were destroyed to wipe out the traces of the crimes. From the middle of the 1960s, all crimes, except murder, were subject to the statute of limitations. This had the result that the proceedings were stopped against two SS block leaders accused of aggravated mistreatment in the Neuengamme concentration camp.⁴ The commander of the Hamburg-Eidelstedt women's subcamp was acquitted by a Hamburg court in 1982 even though he had been convicted in connection with the death of a newborn child; his acts were not treated as murder.⁵ Altogether only a small proportion of the more than 4,000 SS in the Neuengamme concentration camp were the subject of investigations. Less than half of those mainly responsible, for example, detachment and block leaders and the commanding officers, were tried.

SOURCES The following works, among others, contain information on this camp: Detlef Garbe and Harriet Scharnberg, eds., *Häftlinge im KZ Neuengamme: Verfolgungsverfahren, Häftlingssolidarität und nationale Bindung: Eine Tagung der KZ-*

Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Freundeskreis KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, der Amicale Internationale KZ Neuengamme und der Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte in Hamburg 1.-3. September 1998 (Hamburg: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, 1999); Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme* (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz Nachf., 1997); Ulrich Bauche et al., eds., *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938-1945; Katalog zur ständigen Ausstellung im Dokumentenhaus der KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme* (Hamburg: VSA, 1986); Jorgen H. Barfod, *Helvede bar mange navne* (København: ZAC, 1969); Werner Johe, *Neuengamme: Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1981); Edgar Kupfer-Koberwitz, *Die Mächtigen und die Hilflosen*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1957); Hans Mommsen and Manfred Grieger, *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf: Econ, 1996). See also the student paper by Matthias Hütgens, "Das Aussenlager Eidelstedt des KZ Neuengamme: Der Alltag im Lager und Berichte von Anwohnern" (unpub. MSS, AG-NG, Hamburg, 1982).

The most important archival collections are to be found in AG-NG. The British Neuengamme cases are found in PRO, WO 235. One published memoir of this camp is Marcel Prenant, *Toute une vie à gauche* (Paris, 1980); there are many others.

Hermann Kaienburg
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. The trial files are held in the PRO (WO 235), in particular: Neuengamme Concentration Camp Case and 9 succeeding trials.
2. The files are held today in BA-BL, Bestand Z 42.
3. *Aufstellung der Sta. bei dem LG Hamburg v. 3.9.86* (AG-NG).
4. Sta. beim LG Hamburg, Aktenzeichen 147 Js 32/65.
5. LG Hamburg, Verfahren 2000 Js 19/77. Also Matthias Hütgens, "Das Aussenlager Eidelstedt des KZ Neuengamme: Der Alltag im Lager und Berichte von Anwohnern" (unpub. MSS, AG-NG, Hamburg, 1982), p. 31.

NEUENGAMME SUBCAMP SYSTEM



With more than 75 subcamps, the Neuengamme concentration camp was one of the medium-sized camp complexes that deployed prisoners for the benefit of the German war economy, and it also played an important role in the first attempts to do so: at the beginning of the spring of 1942, Staatsrat Walther Schieber (Reich Ministry for Armaments and Munitions, later War Production) suggested, as one of the first projects, that a Neuengamme subcamp be established at the Francke factory in Bremen.¹ This suggestion was not implemented, and the subcamp was established at the Phrix factory in Wittenberge. This was the first Neuengamme subcamp. When it was constructed in August 1942, it was also the first subcamp in Germany located within a privately owned company. The Salzgitter-Drütte camp at the Reichswerke “Hermann Göring” (RWHG) was also one of the early detachments within Germany.

Eventually the expansion of the Neuengamme subcamps almost came to a halt: in 1943 there were “only” two new camps. At the insistence of the navy, one camp was established in Hannover-Stöcken so as to guarantee the production of U-boat batteries at the Akkumulatoren-Fabrik (battery

factory), and the other was in Bremen-Farge for the construction of the U-boat Bunker “Valentin,” the most important of the naval projects at the time. It was only at the beginning of 1944, when it became obvious that with the retreat of the Wehrmacht the Generalbevollmächtigter für den Arbeitseinsatz (General Plenipotentiary for Labor Allocation, GBA) Fritz Sauckel would no longer be able to supply new foreign forced laborers, that concentration camp prisoners were seen as the last available labor force, thereby becoming a much desired resource. As a result, a net of subcamps spread across northern Germany like a plague: if at the beginning of the year there were only 4 subcamps, by the end of the year there were around 70. The majority of the camps were established in the second half of 1944: in the first quarter, there were 4 new camps; in the second, 11; and in each of the third and the fourth quarters, 24. In the last year of the war, another 9 new camps were established. Three-quarters of the Neuengamme subcamps only came into existence in the 12 months prior to the capitulation of the German Reich.

The more than 75 camps can be roughly grouped as follows, with some overlap. There were approximately 30 production



Prisoners' bunks at the Wöbbelin subcamp of Neuengamme, May 5, 1945.

USHMM WS #10262, COURTESY OF NARA

camps in which the majority of the prisoners were used in the industrial production of armaments. Further, there existed about 20 construction camps, where the majority of the prisoners constructed factories, accommodations, or bunkers. Then there were 6 subcamps in which the type of work was similar to that in the construction camps—the prisoners were put to work in constructing military fortifications, that is, antitank ditches for the so-called Friesenwall (a set of fortifications ordered by Hitler). Likewise, there were 7 subcamps in which the prisoners worked underground, where they did both construction and production work. In 20 camps the prisoners had primarily to remove unexploded ordnance and rubble. Ten of the Neuengamme subcamps can be classified as *Kleinlager* (small camps), with fewer than 100 prisoners. (Only a few of the *Kleinlager* have been included in the totals above.) Women were held in 25 subcamps.

The death rate in four of the six male camps for the construction of the Friesenwall was the highest. The Ladelund camp existed for 11.5 months. During this time, 300 of the 2,000 prisoners died; in Aurich-Engerhufe, 200 of the 1,500 prisoners died within 3 months; and in Husum-Schwesing, 300 prisoners died within 3 months. (In all three camps, the number of exhausted prisoners who were taken to Neuengamme and died there is at least as high. In Husum, for example, 750 ill prisoners were sent back to Neuengamme before the camp was dissolved after 3 months.)² In the 4 months the Meppen-Versen camp existed, almost 600 prisoners died, making this short-lived camp the one with the highest death rate in the Neuengamme system. (There were a larger number of prisoners who died in Salzgitter-Drütte, but that camp lasted for almost 3 years as well as functioning as the death camp for the nearby camps in Braunschweig and Salzgitter.) A few of the construction subcamps had a relatively high death rate (e.g., Bremen-Farge, with a camp population of around 2,000, had around 400 deaths within 1.5 years), as did a few of

the bomb disposal and rubble removal camps—especially Hamburg Hammenbrook (Spaldingstrasse), with a camp population of around 2,000 and almost 500 dead within 6 months. On average, the death rate in the production camps was lower. The chances of survival were especially high in the *Kleinlager*, where there is not known to have been more than 1 fatality in any of the 10 camps. The women's camps had a significantly lower death rate than the men's camps. One of the reasons for this is that of the 25 women's camps, about 15 were production camps. Even compared to the men's production camps, though, the death rate was considerably lower.

It is useful to look at the figures for the quarter from December 26, 1944, to March 25, 1945, which are best verified by a report of the Neuengamme SS-Standortarzt. During the reporting period, there were on average 40,393 male and 11,768 female prisoners in the Neuengamme camp system. In that period, 6,129 male prisoners and 95 female prisoners died. Thus while the female prisoners constituted 20 percent of all prisoners, less than 2 percent of the deceased were female. During the period, around three-quarters of the male prisoners were in the subcamps. Of the 6,129 deceased male prisoners, however, just over 50 percent (3,089) died in the main camp. (The death rate in Neuengamme and its subcamps climbed rapidly to this high level only from November 1944 on. Between January and October 1944 there were, on average, between 70 and 350 deaths in the main camp, with a similar number in all the subcamps.)³ The main camp remained the central death camp for the subcamp system until the end of the war. It was only with the evacuation of the subcamps that the collection camps at Wöbbelin and Sandbostel developed similarly shocking conditions as in the death zone of the main camp.

There were 52,000 prisoners in the Neuengamme system. At the beginning of 1945, there were 2,211 SS members guarding the prisoners, of whom 1,800 were stationed in the subcamps. In addition, there were 2,400 guards in the subcamps who were not part of the SS.⁴ As the naval war economy was largely based in north Germany, and there were subcamps at the most important naval construction projects and naval shipyards, naval soldiers formed a large part of the non-SS guards. However, older or injured soldiers from other branches of the armed forces, customs officers, members of the Volkssturm, and employees of firms where the subcamps were located were also called up to guard the prisoners.

In administering the subcamps, the *Stützpunktleiter* (base commanders) were installed between the Neuengamme command and the commanders of each subcamp, as an additional administrative level. In March 1945, there were eight *Stützpunkte*, to which almost all the subcamps were subordinated. (The *Stützpunkte* were: Hamburg, Bremen, Hannover, Braunschweig, Druette, Watenstedt, Helmstedt, and Porta. The *Todesfallmeldung*, or fatality report, in the SS-Standortarzt's quarterly report lists most of the subcamp deaths according to the corresponding *Stützpunkte*. Meppen-Versen and Wöbbelin were the only subcamps listed separately, as they were not subordinated to any *Stützpunkt*.) It would seem that Max Pauly, commandant of Neuengamme, established the role of

Stützpunktleiter, as he wanted to regulate their assigned tasks on the spot. The tasks of the Stützpunktleiter included the collection of the death reports from the subordinate camps and passing on mail and supplies to the camps. The Stützpunktleiter in Hannover also, once or twice, inspected the subordinated camps. In a few cases, injured Wehrmacht officers were appointed as subcamp commanders. However, the commanders of the Stützpunkte were long-serving SS officers. This was most obvious in Bremen: The commander of the largest and oldest subcamp in Farge, Hauptmann Hans Wahl was not appointed Stützpunktleiter, rather, the commander of the smaller and more recent Neuenland camp (later known as Osterort) was appointed, SS-Hauptsturmführer Hugo Benedict.

The evacuation of the Neuengamme subcamps began on March 25 with the evacuation of Meppen-Versen, the most westerly of the subcamps. The evacuation of the largest subcamps is roughly as follows: from Bremen the Jewish prisoners were sent to Bergen-Belsen and the others to Sandbostel or via Neuengamme to the Neustädter Bucht. The majority of prisoners in the Hannover camps, including the non-Jews, were taken to Bergen-Belsen. The majority of prisoners in the area of Braunschweig, Salzgitter, Fallersleben, and Porta were taken to Wöbbelin, while a few of the Salzgitter detachments were sent to Bergen-Belsen. The Hamburg detachments were sent largely in three directions: Sandbostel, Bergen-Belsen, and via the main camp to Neustädter Bucht. Around 9,400 prisoners were sent to the Neustädter Bucht, of whom 7,000 lost their lives on the *Cap Arcona* and *Tbielbek*. In Sandbostel, there were 6,800 prisoners alive of around 8,000 to 9,000 prisoners when the camp was liberated, whereas in Wöbbelin around 3,000 to

3,500 prisoners lived to see the arrival of Allied troops. Roughly another 1,000 sick prisoners would die, however. Around 8,000 prisoners were transported from Neuengamme to Bergen-Belsen in the last days of the war. Some 3,000 female Jewish prisoners were liberated at the Salzwedel subcamp. Around 4,200 Danish and Norwegian prisoners were taken by the Red Cross on April 20 to Denmark, in the so-called *Aktion Bernadotte*. The remainder of the Neuengamme prisoners were sent on evacuation marches, where many died, either of hunger or because they were shot or incinerated alive by the SS or were killed during air raids. Others were lucky and were liberated at the end of their march.

SOURCES The information in this essay comes largely from secondary sources that are listed under the main camp entry.

Documents useful for this essay may be found in AG-NG and StA-N.

Marc Buggeln
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See “Niederschrift über eine Besprechung im Büro von Karl-Otto Saur am 16.3.1942,” StA-N, KV-Anklage, NO-659; Vermerk für Schieber am 17.3.1942, *ibid.*, NO-2548.

2. The numbers given here are based on an electronic database at AG-NG.

3. See the “Vierteljährige Bericht des SS-Standortarztes des KL Hamburg-Neuengamme vom 29.3.1945,” StA-N, KV-Anklage, 2169-PS.

4. The numbers are taken from the quarterly report in *ibid.*

ALT-GARGE

The Alt-Garge subcamp existed from August 24, 1944, to February 15, 1945. Alt-Garge was a suburb of the city of Bleckede on the south bank of the upper Elbe River. The concentration camp prisoners were sent to this provincial town to construct the coal-fired power station Ost-Hannover, which was owned by the Hamburgische Electricitätswerke AG (HEW). Building had been taking place since 1941. However, the shortage of labor had lengthened the project. To move the project along, prisoners of war (POWs) from Yugoslavia had been held in what was to become the subcamp.¹ However, there was soon a renewed labor shortage after they lost their status as POWs following the breakup of Yugoslavia.

It would seem that it was HEW that requested concentration camp prisoners.² The prisoners arrived in a transport from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. Around 500 Polish prisoners, who had been arrested by German army and police detachments during the Warsaw Uprising, were gathered together in the middle of August 1944 in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. The prisoners, officially classified as evacuees, were specially treated. As a former prisoner stated: "What was noteworthy was that a few days before our transport to Alt-Garge that we were given a specially prepared form to fill out and sign. The form literally stated that we were not prisoners but had been evacuated from the Warsaw Uprising and were to be interned until the end of the war."³ On the other hand, there is no evidence to suggest that their special status meant that they were treated better than other Polish prisoners.⁴ In addition to the almost 500 Polish prisoners, there were around another 20 prisoners of different nationalities, who mostly had been held in Sachsenhausen for longer periods, who were added to the detachment. The more experienced prisoners were given the essential tasks in prisoner administration. The transport was accompanied by 20 SS men, who remained in Alt-Garge as guards. The detachment reached the empty camp on August 25, 1944, where they received the Neuengamme numbers 46870 to 47370.⁵

The homogeneous composition of the group changed as sick and weak prisoners were transported to Neuengamme and replaced with other prisoners from the main camp. In October and November, three transports arrived with new prisoners, consisting of around 90 Danish and 20 Norwegian prisoners.⁶ There were around 70 Danish resistance fighters, mostly members of the Communist or Socialist parties, and around 20 policemen. The intercession of the Danish government resulted in the policemen's release and return to Denmark in January 1945. There were three camp elders in the camp: the first was a young SS man who had been dishonorably discharged from the SS and arrested. He lost this position due to his extreme brutality. He was followed by a Dutch man who left a positive impression in the minds of the prisoners. Finally, until the evacuation of the camp, there was a German with a green triangle (signifying police "protective custody" prisoner), who is remembered mostly for his thefts and em-

bezzlement. Survivors have also not forgotten a few of the other violent prisoner-functionaries.⁷

The subcamp was under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Walther or possibly Walter. He is remembered by the prisoners not for his brutality but because of his ruthlessness in driving the prisoners to work. Not even the sick prisoners were allowed a rest. On the other hand, SS-Unterscharführer Johann Reese is recalled for his extraordinary brutality. Reese, who was noted for his brutality in several other Neuengamme subcamps, was sentenced to death in the British Curiohaus Trial against Neuengamme concentration camp SS guards. A few of the other SS guards were also described by the prisoners as being particularly brutal.

The camp consisted of three larger barracks that accommodated the prisoners; a large stores barracks; four smaller barracks that served as washrooms, toilet blocks, and a store-room for firewood; and a large barracks for the SS guards. The SS guarded the camp from three guard towers, which—as with their accommodation barracks—were located inside the camp's fence.

The prisoners had to do a variety of tasks in constructing the power plant. They were distributed to a number of different construction companies working on the power plant. The larger detachments worked on railway lines, roads, the port, and excavation work as well as earthworks including leveling the ground.⁸ The work began each day at 6:00 A.M. and ended at 6:00 P.M., broken only with a short break for a noon meal. In theory, the prisoners had every second Sunday free, but this did not occur often. Just about all work was done in the open air through all types of weather. Accidents were the order of the day, as a former prisoner stated: "Colleague Majewicz witnessed how a few prisoners were squashed by large rocks which fell from the scoop of a crane on a barge on the Elbe. . . . There were such accidents just about every day and sometimes several a day."⁹ German foremen also made survival difficult: "The foreman that I knew the best . . . was 64, strong, diligent and conscientious: full of German values but at the same time as full of Prussian meanness as his moustache. In his youth he had worked with slaves in German East Africa—when the German Emperor had demanded more space for the German Reich in the sun. Today . . . this old Prussian was a slave driver again. . . . His bitter hatred forced me to struggle for my life."¹⁰

A few prisoners tried to escape from the catastrophic conditions in the camp and at work. Three such incidents are described by survivors. In one case the escapee was shot; in the second, two recaptured prisoners were taken to Neuengamme. The third attempt remains etched in the minds of the other prisoners: three prisoners managed to escape. Two were recaptured by the SS. One of those was shot by the SS on the spot. The camp commandant used the case to make an example for the other prisoners in Alt-Garge: the dead prisoner was exhibited in a coffin while his fellow escapee had to stand in front of him. "The poor shoeless man was bound by the feet and his hands were bound behind his back, even though the temperature was several degrees below zero. After he had stood there for several hours he was severely mistreated."¹¹

For unknown reasons, the camp was evacuated on February 15, 1945. All remaining prisoners in Alt-Garge were taken by boat to Hamburg and from there transported to Neuengamme. There are different accounts on the number of evacuated prisoners, with estimates varying between 250 and 350 prisoners. According to a Dutch prisoner, there were around 250 prisoners in the camp, but only 150 went on the first transport.¹² This would mean that around 350 prisoners who arrived on the first transport had died in Alt-Garge or had been evacuated because they could no longer work. There were few deaths among the Danes and Norwegians who arrived later, but the death rate among the Polish prisoners was very high. One of the surviving Polish prisoners who compiled a list supports the following supposition: 117 of the 216 identified prisoners on the transport from Sachsenhausen had died before the Allies liberated the others.¹³ Around 50 prisoners are buried in the Barskamp Cemetery not far from the subcamp. There are also indications that there is a mass grave of prisoners in a nearby forest.¹⁴ It is probable that most of the other prisoners on the lists of those transported as sick to Sachsenhausen died in the main camp.

SOURCES This essay builds on the study of the Alt-Garge subcamp by John Hopp, *Die Hölle in der Idylle: Das Aussenlager Alt-Garge des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme*, 2nd ed. (Winsen/Luhe, 1993). On Polish participants in the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising at Neuengamme, see Georg Erdelbrock, “Das Schicksal der bei der Niederschlagung des Warschauer Aufstandes in das KZ Neuengamme und seine Aussenlager deportierten Polinnen und Polen,” in *Häftlinge im KZ Neuengamme: Verfolgungserfabrungen, Häftlingsolidarität und nationale Bindung*, ed. KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Hamburg, 1999), pp. 85–92.

Just about all primary information stems from former prisoners’ statements, the majority of which are held at AG-NG. A German translation of the published Danish testimony, Niels Jorgensen, *Paa det tyske Slavemarked* (Copenhagen, 1945), is also available at AG-NG.

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NOTES

1. John Hopp, *Die Hölle in der Idylle: Das Aussenlager Alt-Garge des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme*, 2nd ed. (Winsen/Luhe, 1993), p. 31.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

3. Completed questionnaires of two Polish prisoners, AG-NG, 2.8/644.

4. Georg Erdelbrock, “Das Schicksal der bei der Niederschlagung des Warschauer Aufstandes in das KZ Neuengamme und seine Aussenlager deportierten Polinnen und Polen,” in *Häftlinge im KZ Neuengamme: Verfolgungserfabrungen, Häftlingsolidarität und nationale Bindung*, ed. KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Hamburg, 1999), p. 87.

5. Hopp, *Die Hölle in der Idylle*, p. 35.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

8. Completed questionnaires of two Polish prisoners, AG-NG, 2.8/644.

9. *Ibid.* The quotation has been orthographically corrected.

10. Niels Jorgensen, *Paa det tyske Slavemarked* (Copenhagen, 1945).

11. Report of a Danish survivor, AG-NG, 2.8/562.

12. AG-NG, 2.8/210.

13. Printed in Hopp, *Die Hölle in der Idylle*, p. 188. Part of the list is based on information extracted from the subcamp’s and the Neuengamme main camp’s death list. There are no comparable lists of survivors. It is likely that a death rate of more than 50 percent cannot be applied to the whole transport of 500 prisoners.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

BEENDORF (“AIII”) [AKA HELMSTEDT]

Not far from the former inner German border are two salt mines, “Bartensleben” and “Marie,” located in the communities of Beendorf and Morsleben in Saxony-Anhalt. The salt mines were owned by the Magdeburg-based Burbach-Konzern (Burbach Group). In the last two years of the war, various vital war industries were relocated underground in caves, adits, mines, railway tunnels, and bombproof bunkers. Armaments suppliers to the aircraft industry were relocated to the salt pits at Beendorf and Morsleben for protection against Allied air raids. Male and female inmates of the Neuengamme concentration camp’s subcamp at Beendorf were deployed there, both for the relocation of the facilities as well as for armaments production. They were quartered in two large hangars of the Aerial Ammunition Institute (Luftmunitionsanstalt) aboveground, close to the adits. Hangar No. 13 accommodated 2,000 prisoners—about 800 men on the first floor and roughly 1,200 women on the second floor. In addition, some 500 Jewish women were accommodated in Hangar No. 14. The hangars were massively built and had barred windows. Washrooms, latrines, the infirmary, and the room where the prisoners received their provisions were located along the corridor near the sleeping quarters.

Members of Hermann Göring’s Reich Aviation Ministry (Reichsluftfahrtministerium) inspected the two mines, Bartensleben and Marie, in December 1943 and February 1944, respectively, and requisitioned them for armaments production. The Askania-Werke AG (Askania Corporation), based in Berlin-Friedenau, together with some of its subsidiaries and the Luftfahrtgerätewerk Hakenfelde GmbH (Aircraft Instrument Factory Hakenfelde, Ltd.), a subsidiary of Siemens & Halske AG (S&H) and the Siemens-Schuckert-Werke (Siemens-Schuckert-Works, SSW) based in Berlin-Spandau, were to be relocated to the pits. The first male prisoners arrived in Beendorf just a few days after the mine complex had been inspected and began construction to relocate the Berlin Askania-Werke to the Bartensleben pit. By the time the underground factory was completed at the beginning of August

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1944, a number of transports of several hundred male prisoners from the main camps at Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, and Neuengamme had arrived at the Beendorf subcamp. They were all deployed in the Bartensleben pit, to support preparations for the relocation.

Once the factory was completed in August 1944, the Askania-Werke began armaments production on three levels in the Bartensleben mine: II, IIa, and IIIa, each with four large rooms about 100 meters long, 25 to 30 meters wide, and 15 meters high (109 yards long, 27 to 33 yards wide, and 16 yards high). The production area totaled about 30,000 square meters (35,880 square yards), but later it may have been expanded to about 38,000 square meters (45,448 square yards). Initial plans were for the deployment of about 2,000 workers, 1,000 of whom were to be prisoners. However, during the course of production, the number was increased to 2,000 workers per shift, which meant that about 2,000 prisoners were deployed.

The first 500 prisoners to work on production in the Bartensleben mine, mostly German and French women from the Ravensbrück concentration camp, arrived in Beendorf in early August 1944. Further transports of female inmates from Ravensbrück, including numerous Polish women, followed in September and October 1944. Furthermore, around 500 Jewish women from the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp arrived in Beendorf at the beginning of December 1944. All the women were deployed in the Bartensleben pit. Among them was Krystyna Razinska, who wrote the following about the on-site work:

The Askania-Werke was located in a former salt mine, about 700 to 800 meters [766 to 875 yards] underground. They were giant two-level halls dug into the salt; a lot of ammunition was lying around. The trip down in the two elevators was very dangerous. Down below, aircraft parts, cannons and weapons were then assembled on precision workbenches. We worked in artificial light on lathes, milling machines, drills, and vises. The halls were very clean and excellently equipped for the work. Because our mouths were always dry and we were allowed neither to drink nor wash, we were plagued with thirst. . . . A civilian German foreman allocated the work. . . . I worked on a lathe. The work was very hard and difficult. I often ruined what I was doing, but the foreman was quite understanding.¹

The women produced not only air force munitions but also various parts for Hitler's "miracle weapons" (*Wunderwaffen*) the Me 262 and the V-1 and V-2 rockets, such as autopilots, controls and steering mechanisms, or other electromechanical parts. In addition, the Askania-Werke produced periscopes for submarines. The prisoners worked a total of 72 hours a week in two shifts of 12 hours each.

While the female prisoners worked exclusively on manufacturing in the Bartensleben pit, the male prisoners readied

the Marie pit for the relocation of a second factory. The Luftfahrtgerätewerk Hakenfelde plant was supposed to be located on two pads at a floor level of 360 meters (394 yards), one to the northwest and the other to the southeast of the pit. For the factories, the prisoners had to prepare 34 "normal workrooms" (*Normalarbeitsräume*), each with a size of 400 square meters (478 square yards), and two large workrooms—each 3.5 meters high by 67.5 meters wide by 100 meters long (3.8 yards by 73.8 yards by 109 yards.) On each shift, 1,000 people were to work there: 640 in assembly and 360 in the storage facility, in the office, and as supervisors.

The production line and the crew arrived in Beendorf from Berlin in December 1944. By shortly before the end of the war, about two-thirds of the factory was completed. Thus, actual production could be started and maintained for several weeks.

Altogether there were between 700 and 750 male prisoners employed in constructing the Marie pit. One of them was Albert Rohmer, who related the following about his work:

The Salt Column [Salzkolonne], the largest group, did the main work in the mine: the excavating and leveling of the chambers, halls of twenty to forty meters [22 to 44 yards]. . . . There are around one hundred chambers. The men work there in the salt dust under the low roofs (two meters [2.2 yards]), bare from the waist up. Large blocks were blasted away with dynamite, and for an hour after an explosion you look through a thick, dark cloud of salty dust. The salt air at least has the advantage of drying out and damaging nasal passages. . . . The terrible problem of having to blow your nose did not come up until the evening.²

Gerhard Poppenhagen was the only camp commander of the Beendorf subcamp. Poppenhagen was born in Hamburg on September 26, 1909. After his elementary and secondary schooling, he was trained as a merchant, whereupon he worked in his father's business until it went bankrupt in 1932. From 1932 to 1934, he was a traveling salesman for various businesses and was intermittently unemployed for a few months. He began training as a member of the Criminal Police in September 1935. He joined the Nazi Party (NSDAP) on August 1, 1932, and the General-SS (Allgemeine-SS) on September 9, 1933. In May 1935, he was appointed administrative leader (Verwaltungsführer) of the 22nd SS Regiment (22. SS-Standarte). From 1936, he worked as a Gestapo official and Criminal Police inspector in Breslau, Lüneburg, and Hamburg. He joined the Waffen-SS on June 26, 1940. In the second half of 1940, he was sent to Neuengamme with the rank of SS-Rottenführer. On September 1, 1940, he was promoted to Unterscharführer, and on May 1, 1942, he became Oberscharführer. He took an officer's training course in 1943 and then assumed command of a guard company in Neuengamme. He took command of the Beendorf camp in 1944, remaining in this position until the end of the war.

Apart from the camp commander, 300 Luftwaffe soldiers and a few SS personnel were in charge of guarding the prison-

ers. In addition, the female prisoners were guarded by about 52 female guards. Some of these guards are known by name: Anton Jansen Brunken, Karl Adolf Brettschneider, and Hans Bloecker, as well as Ilse Riemann, Luise Bongartz, Lottchen Ostermann, Luise Linke, Gertrud Reinl, and Anna Meinl.

In the course of evacuating many camps in the German Reich during the final period of the war, the Beendorf subcamp became the destination for a few transports. As early as January 1945, 600 male prisoners from an operation of the Askania-Werke in Hirschberg (Silesia) arrived at the pits in Beendorf and Morsleben. With the Red Army drawing closer, these men had been transferred from the Gross-Rosen concentration camp to the Neuengamme camp system. Moreover, in late February or early March 1945, about 500 women arrived in Beendorf from the Neuengamme subcamp at the SS-Reitschule (Riding School) in Braunschweig, as well as the female and male prisoners from Porta Westfalica, also a Neuengamme subcamp, which was evacuated in early April 1945. The entire Beendorf camp was probably evacuated on April 8, 1945. According to estimates, about 1,350 male and 3,000 female prisoners left the camp by train, moving northward. The train wandered for days until it arrived in Wöbbelin via Magdeburg, Stendal, Wittenberge, and Sülstorf. The male prisoners left the train at Wöbbelin, probably on April 16, 1945, and were interned in the local Neuengamme subcamp. The female prisoners, however, were transported further to Hamburg, where, most probably on April 20, 1945, they were distributed among various female subcamps in the city, such as Hamburg-Sasel-Poppenbüttel, Hamburg-Eidelstedt, Hamburg-Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll), and Hamburg-Wandsbek. From there, most of the prisoners were evacuated to Sweden in early May 1945.

SOURCES This description of the camp at Beendorf is based on the following publications: Björn Kooger, “Das Aussenlager Helmstedt/Beendorf (SS-Führungsstab A 3),” in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager in Norddeutschland: Kriegsende und Befreiung*, ed. KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1995), pp. 76–83; and Björn Kooger, “Das Aussenlager Beendorf—SS-Führungsstab A,” in *Jahresschrift der Museum des Obrekreises: Haldensleben und Wolmirstedt* (Haldensleben, 1995), 2: 50–70.

The AG-NG and the Beendorf Memorial currently hold a few Beendorf survivor interviews and memoirs. The prisoner cards kept by the SS-WVHA have been rediscovered in the last few years and shed new light on various prisoner transports that reached the camp. Copies of these are located at the AG-NG. Information on Gerhard Poppenhagen is to be found in the records of the British Military Court Proceeding, which are held in the BA-K. The same applies to records of other male guards whose names are known. Further information on the female guards named in this article can be found at the USHMM and the ZdL-L. Information on the rest of the guards at Beendorf is to date unavailable. It also remains unclear precisely when the hangars of the Luftmunitionsanstalt were converted into accommodations for the prisoners.

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NOTES

1. “Bericht Krystyna Razinska,” in *“Und vielleicht überlebte ich nur, weil ich sehr jung war”: Verschleppt ins KZ Neuengamme; Lebensschicksale polnischer Jugendlicher*, ed. Projektgruppe für die vergessenen Opfer des NS-Regimes/KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1999), pp. 92–93.

2. Report by Albert Rohmer, cited by Björn Kooger, “Das Aussenlager Helmstedt/Beendorf (SS-Führungsstab A 3),” in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager in Norddeutschland: Kriegsende und Befreiung*, ed. KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1995), p. 79.

BOIZENBURG

Boizenburg, a subcamp of the Neuengamme main concentration camp, probably operated between August 1944 and late April or early May 1945. During this period, only female prisoners were incarcerated in the camp. The camp was located directly on top of the Elbbergkuppe at the edge of the small town of Boizenburg in Mecklenburg.

The barracks camp was most likely built at the Elbberg in the early 1940s. Since relevant documents are missing, it is not possible to say when exactly the barracks were built. Until the incarceration of female inmates from Neuengamme, the camp held prisoners of war (POWs). It seems that the camp consisted of four accommodation barracks with two large and two small rooms each, a lavatory, and a toilet, and barracks for the kitchen and a sick bay. In addition, there were SS administration barracks and barracks for accommodation outside the camp.

Approximately 400 Hungarian Jewish women¹ were incarcerated at Boizenburg in the second half of August 1944. They had been transported from Auschwitz to northern Germany. These women were expelled from their Hungarian hometowns in the spring of 1944, incarcerated in various Hungarian ghettos, and from there deported to the Auschwitz concentration camp. Most Jewish women in Auschwitz II-Birkenau were held in Camp C, the so-called transit camp (Durchgangslager), where these women were selected for labor details in Boizenburg.

The Boizenburg female prisoners worked in the armaments industry for Thomsen & Co. Together with German civilian workers and POWs, they had to work in 12-hour day or night shifts, supporting warship production and repairing airplanes. According to reports of survivors, Thomsen & Co. assembled warships on the factory’s ground floor, whereas mainly Focke-Wulf wings were repaired on the second floor. Many women working for Thomsen & Co. operated welding devices and drills. As the prisoners were not given any protective clothing, many suffered severe injuries in the factory. Survivor Eva K. reported, for example, that while drilling into the wing of an airplane, a metal splinter got into one of her eyes. As a result of this injury, she went blind in this eye.² Other female prisoners doing welding work suffered severe burns and unbearable pain in the eyes.

Production and maintenance at Thomsen & Co. probably discontinued in March 1945, when Boizenburg was increasingly targeted by Allied air raids. Several survivors remember that from this time on female prisoners were deployed to remove rubble caused by air raids at the Boizenburg harbor and on factory grounds.

The names of the Boizenburg camp commandants are not known. According to several survivors, three camp commandants were in charge of the camp. There was a change in the camp leadership in December 1944 and again shortly before the end of the war. Apart from the camp commandants, female SS guards were responsible for guarding the prisoners inside the camp. Male guards, probably members of the Wehrmacht, were on duty outside the camp. Estimates suggest that there were about 20 additional guards.

Boizenburg was evacuated in late April 1945. It is possible that the female inmates left the camp by foot toward Ludwigslust on April 28, 1945. The exact destination of this march remains unclear. It is likely that the prisoners were to march to the so-called receiving camp Wöbbelin, also a Neuengamme subcamp. According to reports of survivors, the Boizenburg prisoners were denied access to the Neustadt-Glewe camp on their evacuation march, a subcamp of the Ravensbrück concentration camp, because of a typhus epidemic.

The inmates from the Boizenburg camp were liberated after a five-day march in Gross Laasch by the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division.

SOURCES This account on the Boizenburg camp is based upon Ilse Ständer, *Das Aussenlager Boizenburg des KZ Neuengamme* (Boizenburg: Heimatmuseum der Stadt Boizenburg, 1996). Not far from the former camp grounds, a memorial and a tablet commemorate the history of this subcamp. The camp's remaining kitchen cellar was placed under monument protection in 1991 and restored. The camp's barracks were demolished by the GDR.

A few interviews with female survivors, who report on the camp's history, are located in the AG-NG. The author conducted interviews with several former prisoners of this camp. YV and the BA-L hold further reports, including the records of the preliminary proceedings on Boizenburg during the 1960s and 1970s. Sources reporting on the exact construction date of the barracks, the prisoners' arrival from Auschwitz, and their evacuation in late April–early May 1945 do not exist. The same applies to documents about female and male guards of the female subcamp Boizenburg.

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NOTES

1. For the numbers, see the "Krankenbericht über den Krankenstand im KZ Neuengamme des SS-Standortarztes Dr. Alfred Trzebinski vom 29.03.1945," reproduced in Werner Johe, *Neuengamme: Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg*, 3rd. ed. (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1982), p. 76.

2. "Aussage von Eva K," in Ilse Ständer, *Das Aussenlager Boizenburg des KZ Neuengamme* (Boizenburg: Heimatmuseum der Stadt Boizenburg, 1996), p. 17.

BRAUNSCHWEIG (BÜSSING NAG)

The Braunschweig Büssing Vereinigte Nutzkraftwagenwerke AG (Büssing United Utility Vehicle Factory, or Büssing NAG) played an important role in armaments production. The factory requested concentration camp inmates to be utilized in the manufacture of trucks for the Wehrmacht. For the Büssing subcamp, five barracks were constructed close to the main factory on Wörthstrasse (later Schillstrasse).¹

At first, a construction team of 126 inmates was sent to Braunschweig from the Neuengamme main camp. The construction team consisted of 74 French, 42 Soviet, 8 German, and 2 Polish prisoners. All 8 German prisoners wore the green triangle and were thus considered "criminals" by the SS. They occupied key positions as prisoner-functionaries in the camp.

A large number of the prisoners deployed in Braunschweig near Büssing were Polish Jews. They had survived the Łódź ghetto and, after the ghetto's liquidation, were deported to Auschwitz. In Auschwitz, representatives of the Büssing NAG selected them for labor details in Braunschweig. Above all, metalworkers were in demand. In addition to the prisoners' claims of being skilled laborers, their physical appearance was the main criterion for selection.² The prisoners arrived at Braunschweig in three transports between September and November 1944. The first transport of 350 prisoners left Auschwitz in mid-September 1944. As the camp at Braunschweig was not completed, around 100 prisoners were accommodated in a nearby forced labor camp. They were deployed to assist the prisoner construction team in building the camp. The remaining 250 prisoners were transferred to the recently completed camp in Vechelde, where they also were to work for Büssing.³ A second transport of about 500 prisoners arrived in Braunschweig in mid-October, and some 150 of these prisoners were sent to Vechelde. A third transport of 350 prisoners left Auschwitz for Braunschweig on November 3, 1944; again, the majority were Polish Jews, along with a few Hungarian and Czech Jews.

Once the camp was completed at the end of October 1944,⁴ the prisoners were deployed in two shifts at Büssing NAG: a day shift from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. and a night shift from 6:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M. The prisoners working on the day shift were awakened at 4:00 A.M. They had to walk about 1.2 kilometers (0.7 miles) to the factory. Bad weather and inadequate clothing made this walk particularly difficult.

At the factory, prisoners received their own time cards, which they had to stamp at the beginning and the end of their working hours.⁵ They were deployed in three areas of the factory: parts (*Maschinenteilauswechsellabteilung*), repair (*Maschinenreparaturabteilung*), and crankcase locksmithery (*Schlosserei für Motorgehäuse*). To increase the prisoners' motivation, factory management arranged, in consultation with

the SS, a system of bonus certificates that foremen of the respective areas could distribute. Former inmate Jerzy Herszberg summarized the work at Büssing as follows: “The work in the factory, however, was fairly easy, and often, when the supply was low, we had nothing to do. . . . But we had to be alert at all times as a loss of concentration resulted in paying a high price. Clearly, a 12-hour shift, 7 days or nights, in alternate weeks, was exhausting, and I felt an acute lack of sleep.”⁶

The prisoners had a 30-minute break, during which they received a bowl of poor-quality soup from the Büssing factory kitchen, where food was prepared for Russian forced laborers. Initially, the Büssing NAG also distributed other meals, but from mid-November onward, the SS gave out the rations in the subcamp. Rations for prisoners progressively decreased, as the SS was also using the supplies.

The subcamp was set up for approximately 300 prisoners, but at times more than twice that number was accommodated. Consequently, the conditions in Braunschweig were very poor. The prisoners were almost constantly covered with lice. There was no soap and only cold water for showers. Moreover, the Kapos were violent. Herszberg, previously interned in Auschwitz, assessed conditions as follows: “Braunschweig was the worst camp I stayed in. . . . The rumors were that the Kapo in charge of the camp had been previously a hangman in Dachau . . . and I can recall at least six [Kapos], memorable for their sadism. . . . They never seemed to tire of torturing and humiliating us.”⁷

The commander of the subcamp, SS-Hauptscharführer Max Kierstein, also contributed substantially to the poor conditions in the camp. According to most prisoner reports, he made a far less negative impression as commander of the Wittenberge subcamp. Thus it is likely that his behavior in Braunschweig was also driven by his antisemitic attitude. A former prisoner recalled Kierstein saying: “If a Jew devours too much, then he will become fat, lazy, and finally, cheeky as well.”⁸ Other prisoners also remember similar statements from Kierstein.

The prisoners’ situation deteriorated steadily. The French prison physician Dr. Salan said: “In December 1944, conditions became intolerable. . . . At that time there were 18 three-tiered bunks in the infirmary, in other words, 54 beds. Since some bunks were occupied by two patients, the infirmary held 60 bedridden patients with diarrhea and other diseases.”⁹

The death rate in the subcamp was extraordinarily high. By the end of 1944, around 300 prisoners had died of hunger, illness, and maltreatment. Their corpses were transported by train to the Watenstedt subcamp. After a large number of incapacitated prisoners were sent to the infirmary at the Watenstedt subcamp in early 1945, the death rate actually declined. Nevertheless, the funeral parlor Pietät had transferred 80 more corpses from the subcamp to the Braunschweig city crematorium by March 20, 1945.¹⁰

The SS evacuated the subcamp at the end of March 1945 in the face of the steadily approaching front line. The prisoners were first taken to the subcamp at Watenstedt, and on April 7, together with the prisoners of this subcamp, they

were transported for many days by rail to the Ravensbrück concentration camp. They arrived on April 14. When Ravensbrück was evacuated at the end of April, the men were driven forth on foot. With further transportation, a large group made it to the receiving camp at Wöbbelin, where they were liberated by American troops on May 2.¹¹

Even though Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany initiated preliminary proceedings against the people in charge at Büssing NAG and the Braunschweig camp, in neither case were the proceedings seen through.¹²

SOURCES The two most important studies about the subcamp include Karl Liedke and Elke Zacharias, *Das KZ-Aussenlager Schillstrasse: Der Arbeitseinsatz von KZ-Häftlingen bei der Firma Büssing*, 2nd ed. (Braunschweig: Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge, 1996); Karl Liedke, “Destruction through Work: Łódź Jews in the Büssing Truck Factory in Braunschweig 1944–1945,” *YVS* 30 (2002): 153–179. Both studies are mainly based upon accounts by former prisoners and German witnesses.

The records of a German state attorney’s office, which are now located in the NStA-Wf, served as additional sources. Further records of preliminary proceedings are located at the PRO and the ZdL-L. They contain, however, little information beyond the files at the NStA-Wf.

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NOTES

1. Karl Liedke and Elke Zacharias, *Das KZ-Aussenlager Schillstrasse: Der Arbeitseinsatz von KZ-Häftlingen bei der Firma Büssing*, 2nd ed. (Braunschweig: Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge, 1996); Karl Liedke, “Destruction Through Work: Łódź Jews in the Büssing Truck Factory in Braunschweig 1944–1945,” *YVS* 30 (2002): 153–179; Gerd Wysocki, *Gedenken für die Verfolgten von Terror und Zwangsarbeit der nationalsozialistischen Herrschaft im Land Braunschweig; Part I: Forschungsstand und zum Umgang mit der Vergangenheit* (Braunschweig, 1995).

2. Liedke, “Destruction,” p. 157.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

4. Liedke and Zacharias, *Das KZ-Aussenlager*, p. 15.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

6. Jerzy Herszberg, “A Survival Story of 1939–45 War,” *AG-NG*, Ng. 2.8/393, p. 19.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

8. As cited by Liedke, “Destruction,” p. 171.

9. Georges Salan, *Prisons de France et bagnes allemandes* (Nîmes, 1946), p. 160.

10. Liedke, “Destruction,” p. 174.

11. *Ibid.*; and Katja Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung; Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945; Katalog zur Wanderausstellung* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000), 2:15.

12. PRO, WO 309/1241; NStA-Wf, 62 Nds Fb 2, no. 445; and ZSL-L, IV 404 AR 111/67.

BRAUNSCHWEIG (SS-REITSCHULE)

The city of Braunschweig instigated the installation of the SS-Riding School (SS-Reitschule) camp. The city's objective was to receive concentration camp inmates who could remove the debris caused by Allied air raids. According to concurrent reports of survivors, the female prisoners arrived in Braunschweig shortly before Christmas 1944, probably on December 20. Former prisoners still vividly recall the city's festive Christmas decorations.¹

The inmates consisted of some 800 Jewish women, the majority of them Hungarians and a smaller number of Czechs.² The women had been transported from Auschwitz to Bergen-Belsen in late November or early December 1944. Shortly before Christmas, the SS transferred them from the women's camp in Bergen-Belsen to Braunschweig.

The inmates were accommodated in the SS-Reitschule. This complex of buildings had the shape of a horseshoe, stretching from Schefflerstrasse to Hans-Porner-Strasse. It had been constructed during the war.³ The women were housed in a large stable that was absolutely unsuitable for the winter months. The roof leaked, and rain and snow constantly fell into the stable. Emmy Massmann recalled the accommodation as follows: "It was not really a camp. It was a large stable where we had to live with 800 people. There were only two water faucets above the horses' manger. The sick urinated into it, people washed themselves in it, and they also rinsed their food bowls. This had nothing to do with hygiene. We did not have towels and soap at all."⁴ Since there were no stoves, the stable was extremely cold. In addition, the women had to sleep on the floor, which was covered only with straw. The straw was full of lice, so that the women were soon covered with bites.

The inmates were deployed cleaning up debris within the Braunschweig city limits. They were taken to different parts of the city in columns of about 100. From dawn to dusk, they had to clear away destroyed buildings and sort out the still-usable stones. Judith Petrover, a Hungarian survivor, remembers above all the cold during the labor deployment: "It was terribly cold. Sometimes the SS allowed two girls to make a small fire. There was also a lot of snow. It was so cold that we cried. The whole commando cried. We could not stand it. We had only a thin dress and a thin, unlined coat. And nothing else."⁵

Due to the hard labor, extreme cold, and inadequate accommodation, the SS-Reitschule subcamp, in spite of its short period of existence, had the highest death rate of all Neuengamme women's subcamps. During the two months of the camp's existence, 16 women died.⁶ In mid- or late February 1945, the SS evacuated the camp. About 150 to 200 sick or weak prisoners were transferred to Watenstedt, where several women died. A larger group of about 600 women capable of working was transported to the subcamp at Beendorf.⁷

SOURCES Mainly reports and interviews with survivors as well as several extant prisoner cards from the SS-WVHA

serve as sources for this description of the SS-Reitschule subcamp. A booklet written by Bernhild Vögel provides only a brief summary of the SS-Reitschule subcamp: Bernhild Vögel, . . . *und in Braunschweig?: Materialien und Tips zur Stadterkundung 1930–1945* (Braunschweig: JURB, 1994). Hans Ellger's not-yet-published dissertation is more informative: "Weibliche Häftlinge in Neuengamme: Die Geschichte der Frauenaussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der jüdischen Häftlingsgruppe" (Ph.D. diss., University of Hamburg, 2004). Sections dealing with the SS-Reitschule can be found throughout the book.

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NOTES

1. Report by Piroška Braun, July 11, 1945, YVA, O-15/2791; report by Roszi Markovics, July 8, 1945, YVA, O-15/1763; interview with Eva Timar, April 17, 1997, AG-Dr.

2. Hans Ellger, "Weibliche Häftlinge in Neuengamme: Die Geschichte der Frauenaussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der jüdischen Häftlingsgruppe" (Ph.D. diss., University of Hamburg, 2004), p. 94.

3. Bernhild Vögel, . . . *und in Braunschweig?: Materialien und Tips zur Stadterkundung 1930–1945* (Braunschweig: JURB, 1994), p. 37.

4. Emmy Massmann, "Eckernförde—Auschwitz—Schweden: Ein Dokument aus dem Jahre 1945," in *Jüdische Vergangenheit—Jüdische Zukunft*, ed. Ole Harck (Kiel: Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung Schleswig-Holstein, 1998), p. 70.

5. Interview by Hans Ellger with Judith Petrover, February 28, 2002, as cited in Ellger, "Weibliche Häftlinge", p. 199.

6. See prisoner data bank at AG-NG.

7. Ellger, "Weibliche Häftlinge", p. 99.

BRAUNSCHWEIG**(TRUPPENWIRTSCHAFTSLAGER)**

In addition to other subcamps attached to Neuengamme that were created in Braunschweig, for example, at Büssing NAG and the SS-Reitschule, a Truppenwirtschaftslager (Army Supply Depot) subcamp was established in Braunschweig on March 25, 1944. Inmates deported to the Neuengamme subcamp system were used as laborers in construction, repairs, and various other economic and rearmaments efforts. The creation of satellite camps at work sites diminished transportation time for inmates between the main camp and the outlying sites. Between 8 and 10 male inmates were transferred to Truppenwirtschaftslager, presumably from the main Neuengamme camp, to construct an office barracks for the SS.¹ They were employed by the SS-Central Recruiting Office (Ergänzungsstelle Mitte) in Braunschweig. The satellite operated briefly until June 5, 1944, when it was evacuated to another satellite work site in Warberg.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the Truppenwirtschaftslager in Braunschweig. Brief informa-

tion on the existence of the camp in secondary literature is found in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and includes a reproduction of the quarterly report filed by SS garrison doctor (Standortarzt) Trzebinski. This information is duplicated (except for the opening date of the camp) in the Braunschweig entry in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979). For similar brief information (opening and closing dates, type of work, and so on), see Ulrich Bauche, *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme, 1938–1945* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1986).

Primary documentation that provides data on the Braunschweig camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG may yield additional information. The original quarterly report filed by SS garrison doctor Trzebinski, which lists “Truppenwirtschaft” (Braunschweig) and which is published in various secondary sources, can be found at the FGNS-H.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTE

1. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FGNS-H, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original report). The archives of the USHMM (RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also contain a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (British Army of the Rhine, BAOR, trial of Max Pauly and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp. 123–126.

BREMEN (BORGWARD-WERKE)

A satellite camp attached to Neuengamme was created in Bremen for the automobile manufacturer Borgward-Werke on August 25, 1944. Some 1,000 male inmates, possibly transferred from Auschwitz to Neuengamme, and then eventually to Bremen, were brought to a camp on the grounds of the factory, located on Niedersachsendam, Schützenweg, and Föhrenstrasse in Bremen.

As in other subcamps attached to Neuengamme, the inmates were brought to the satellite camp at the Bremen Borgward-Werke to be used as laborers in the factory. There is no specific information as to the kind of work the prisoners were forced to perform; however, they were most likely employed in the production of heavy-duty vehicles.

The camp at Borgward-Werke was in operation only until October 12, 1944, when the plant was bombed and destroyed during an Allied aerial attack. The inmates were transferred back to Neuengamme, where they arrived on October 14.

Some prisoners may have also been transferred to Porta Westfalica, to the Aussenlager Lerbeck.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the satellite camp in Bremen at Borgward-Werke. Brief information on the existence of the camp in secondary literature is found in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme, 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps. This information (opening and evacuation dates, number of prisoners, and so on) is duplicated in Ulrich Bauche, *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme, 1938–1945* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1986); and Werner Johe, *Neuengamme: Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1982). For specific information on the location of the camp, see Ursula Krause-Schmitt and Gottfried Schmidt, eds., *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung, 1933–1945*, vol. 6, Susanne Engelbertz, *Bremen: Stadt Bremen, Bremen-Nord, Bremerhaven* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag für Akademische Schriften, 1992). For the history of the Borgward-Werke company, see Klaus Brandhuber, *Die Insolvenz eines Familienkonzernes: Der wirtschaftliche Niedergang der Borgward-Gruppe* (Cologne: Müller Botermann, 1988).

Primary documentation that sheds light on the Borgward-Werke camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG may yield additional information.

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BREMEN (HINDENBURGKASERNE)

On two occasions during World War II, concentration camp prisoners were incarcerated in the horse stables of the Hindenburg Military Barracks (Hindenburgkaserne) in Bremen. Male prisoners of Neuengamme’s 2nd SS-Construction Brigade (SS-BB II) were interned in the stables probably from September 1943 to April 1944. Later on, the stables accommodated Ukrainian forced laborers for several weeks. In August 1944, two transports of female prisoners from Auschwitz arrived in Bremen. They were also quartered in the stables. The Hindenburgkaserne was located on Bossdorfstrasse in Huckelriede, a subdivision of a newly constructed area of Bremen.

A lease details which parts of the Hindenburgkaserne were used to incarcerate prisoners. The lease states the following:

Between Reich exchequer Hoer, represented by defense district administration X in Hamburg (Wehrkreisverwaltung X), further represented by the army station administration Bremen (Heeresstandortverwaltung Bremen), under the agency of senior staff paymaster Schulz, as landlord, and the Reich Ministry of the Interior, represented by the Hanseatic city of Bremen, furthermore represented by the senator for construction, acting as director of emergency measures, as tenant, the following lease agreement has been concluded:

§1

The landlord rents the following to the tenant for the establishment of a work camp in the rear of the Hindenburgkaserne:

- (a) the stable, including the riding arena and riding square
- (b) the veterinary and quarantine stables
- (c) the terrain west of the veterinary stables, including the tennis court
- (d) the square south of the officers' quarters (Doppel-Offizierheim) for the construction of a barrack.

§2

The monthly rent is 1,018 RM [Reichsmark], calculated on the basis of an annual rent of 4.50 RM per square meter floor space. The floor space applies to:

- (a) the stable, including the riding hall
 - the northern stable—731.61 sqm [875 square yards]
 - riding hall—922.73 sqm [1,104 square yards]
 - southern stable—683.82 sqm [818 square yards]
- (b) the veterinary and quarantine stables—375.56 sqm [449 square yards] totaling 2,713.72 sqm [3,246 square yards].¹

In addition, correspondence between the city of Bremen and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in Oranienburg near Berlin of August 1944 shows exactly when the female prisoners arrived in the Bremen subcamp. A letter to Oberregierungsrat Köster states: “500 female concentration camp inmates have been sent to Bremen to construct emergency housing. They arrived at the Hindenburgkaserne subcamp on August 2, 1944. It is expected that 300 additional female concentration camp inmates will be sent there shortly.”²

According to the recollections of several survivors, the Jewish women reached Bremen during the night of August 1 or 2, 1944. Most likely, this transport to Bremen was composed exclusively of Hungarian women, who had been expelled from their homes in the spring of 1944, incarcerated in various ghettos in the country, and from there deported to Auschwitz. In Auschwitz II-Birkenau, many of them were held in Camp C, the so-called transit camp (*Durchgangslager*), where they were selected for work in Bremen.

The “300 additional female concentration camp inmates” mentioned by Köster were all Jewish women from Poland. Some of them had been held in the Łódź ghetto since early 1940 and worked as forced laborers until the ghetto’s liquidation in the summer of 1944. From Łódź, these women were deported to Auschwitz and, after a selection, then transported to Bremen. The letter to Oberregierungsrat Köster of August 16, 1944, makes no mention of an expected arrival

date, apart from “shortly.” Some Polish survivors stated that they arrived about three weeks after the Hungarian women in Bremen.

Although the city of Bremen had requisitioned the Jewish women from the WVHA for the construction of emergency accommodations, most of them were deployed to remove debris in Bremen. The women worked for a number of demolition and construction firms: Abbruch- und Verschrottungsunternehmen Karl Gesselmann (Karl Gesselmann Demolition and Scrap), Baugeschäft und Abbruchunternehmen Hermann Bödecker (Hermann Bödecker Construction and Demolition), Abbruchunternehmen Heinrich Ebeling (Heinrich Ebeling Demolition), Abbruchunternehmen Kirbitz & Breiter (Kirbitz & Breiter Demolition), Strassenbau- und Tiefbaugeschäft Stehmeyer & Bischoff (Stehmeyer & Bischoff Road Construction and Civil Engineering), Baugeschäft Joh. Heitmann (Joh. Heitmann Construction), Bauunternehmen Friedrich Rodieck (Friedrich Rodieck Construction), Bauunternehmen Dietrich Rohlf (Dietrich Rohlf Construction), Unternehmen Siemer & Müller (Siemer & Müller Enterprise), and Betonsteinwerk Lünig & Sohn (Lünig & Sohn Concrete). All these private building and demolition companies leased women as laborers from the city of Bremen, which in turn requisitioned them from the WVHA. The companies had to recompense the Bremen senator for construction for the prisoners’ working hours.

Those prisoners deployed to construct emergency accommodations mainly had to level the ground on the different building sites, transport the building materials on lorries to the building sites, pour the foundations, or assist in the construction of buildings. Other women worked for Lünig & Sohn manufacturing precast concrete parts. Those prisoners deployed for the removal of debris from daily air raids removed countless bricks, heavy beams, and broken windows from the city.

The Bremen Hindenburgkaserne had two commandants. Unterscharführer Peter Pittmann assumed command on August 2, 1944. Pittmann was said to be about 34 years old at the time. Johann Hille replaced him after only about four weeks. Hille was born on December 8, 1890, in Tellingstedt. After completing elementary school, he worked as a laborer. He had joined the Nazi Party (NSDAP) on June 2, 1929, but left the party again on February 1, 1930, rejoining two years later on March 1, 1932. Following the Nazi seizure of power, he joined the General-SS (Allgemeine-SS). As a guard at Neuengamme, he was promoted to Oberscharführer on September 1, 1941, and Hauptscharführer on November 1, 1943. In September 1944, he left his position at the Neuengamme main camp and assumed command of the Bremen-Obernheide women’s camp.

In addition to the two camp commandants, an unknown number of former Luftwaffe soldiers handled external security, and probably about 20 female guards were responsible for security inside the subcamp.

The subcamp on the grounds of the Hindenburgkaserne was completely destroyed during an air raid on Bremen on September 26, 1944. As a result, the female prisoners had to be transferred on that very day to a camp at Bremen-Obernheide.

On October 11, 1944, Oberregierungsrat Köster reported the following to Max Pauly, commandant of Neuengamme: “The subcamp for female concentration camp prisoners at Hindenburgkaserne, Huckelriede, which accommodated 800 female concentration camp inmates whom you allocated to me, was completely destroyed during an air raid on Bremen on September 26, 1944. As Obersturmführer Benedikt probably already has reported to you, we could transfer the inmates to another good camp on the same day.”³

SOURCES This article is based on Harmut Müller, *Die Frauen von Oberneide: Jüdische Zwangsarbeiterinnen in Bremen 1944/45* (Bremen: Donat, 1988).

The AG-NG holds transcripts of interviews with female survivors who report on the history of the camp. The author conducted several interviews with former inmates. Lilly Kertesz published her recollections: Lilly Kertesz, *Von den Flammen verzehrt: Erinnerungen einer ungarischen Jüdin* (Bremen: Donat, 1999).

Further records are located at YV and AG-BB. All written documents, including the lease and reports about the prisoner transfer, are archived at the StA-Br. These files also contain information about the two camp commandants. A source providing information on the exact arrival date of the second Jewish group from Auschwitz is not available.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Mietvertrag (ohne Datum) Aussenlager Bremen-Hindenburgkaserne, StA-Br, Holding 9, 9-17, Binder No. 66.

2. Schreiben vom SS-Wirtschaftsverwaltungshauptamt in Oranienburg bei Berlin an den Oberregierungsrat Köster der Stadt Bremen vom 16.08.1944, in *ibid*.

3. Schreiben des Oberregierungsrates Köster beim Senator für das Bauwesen an den Herrn Kommandeur des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme, SS-Sturmbannführer Pauly vom 11.10.1944, StA-Br, Holding 9, 9-17, Binder No. 66.

BREMEN-BLUMENTHAL [AKA BREMEN-DESCHIMAG, BAHRSPATE]

The Bremen-Blumenthal subcamp existed from August–September 1944 to April 9, 1945. The camp was located on the Bahrsplate, a large vacant area of land in Blumenthal, on the Weser River. Immediately to the rear of the vacant land were residential buildings. The camp must have been clearly visible from the village. During the Third Reich, the site was owned by the Krupp Company, Deschimag AG, a Bremen shipyard. Deschimag had its chief site toward the town of Bremen-Gröpelingen. Since the beginning of the 1940s, the shipyard had operated a forced labor camp. Most of the forced laborers were from the “East.” In 1943 the shipyard leased parts of the camp to the Bauamt Bremen-Nord, which in turn used it to hold French prisoners of war (POWs). In October 1943, the camp administration of the De-

schimag AG camp requested the Bauamt Bremen-Nord to vacate part of the barracks so that they could be put at the disposal of Oberbaurat Meiners.¹ Oberbaurat Meiners was head of the Marineoberbauamt Bremen and responsible for the construction of the U-boat bunkers “Valentin” (Bremen-Farge) and “Hornisse” (Bremen-Neuenland and Bremen-Osterort). It remains unclear whether the evacuation of the barracks was a portent of the subcamp or whether Meiners wanted Blumenthal as a temporary measure to accommodate civilian forced laborers who were used on the construction of the bunker “Valentin” in Farge. According to the available documents and witness statements, there is no indication that concentration camp prisoners arrived in Blumenthal prior to August 1944.

The subcamp was located next to the Ostarbeiterlager (Eastern Workers’ Camp) on the Bahrsplate, separated only by barbed wire and four barracks, which accommodated the naval infantry, who guarded the prisoners. There are two conflicting statements about the size of the camp: according to a Belgian prisoner, the camp consisted of eight barracks and five other buildings that served as a dispensary, wash-room, kitchen, administration, and storeroom. On the other hand, a German prisoner has stated that there were only four prisoner barracks and three other buildings.²

There were probably around 800 prisoners in the camp in August–September. The largest national groupings were Belgians, Poles, Soviets, and Ukrainians. The most important positions in the prisoner hierarchy, however, were filled by 8 German prisoners. The camp elder was known by the nickname “Langer Karl.” His real name is thought to have been Karl Lange. “He is thought to have suffered from TB and was regarded inside the camp as ‘a pig.’ He repeatedly beat prisoners.”³ Germans were appointed as the camp scribe and in several Kapo positions. The majority were probably classified as criminals. According to a German prisoner, the German prisoners got on very well with the SS and naval infantry. Together they went looking for food and schnapps in the local area and “lads were permitted (under SS guard) to go to the brothel in Bremen.”⁴ However, there were Polish and Soviet Kapos and block elders. There were also 2 Russian block elders, with the nicknames Ivan the Terrible (Iwan der Schreckliche) and Red Terror (Rote Schrecken), who stood out because of their extreme brutality. Both are thought to have been killed by Polish prisoners during Christmas 1944.⁵

The commandant of the camp was Oberfeldwebel Richard-Johann vom Endt, who was born on January 3, 1904, close to Düsseldorf, and who, according to the Federal German State Prosecutor, died on April 8, 1962. On taking command, he was appointed SS-Oberscharführer. It is believed that proceedings were commenced against him after the war before a military court in Brussels, but the German prosecutors were not aware of the outcome.⁶ The prisoners’ reports do not reveal much about vom Endt. There is only a mention that he participated in the hanging of two Polish prisoners. The prisoners were guarded essentially by elder soldiers from the Naval Reserve Corps (Marineersatzkorps) Number Sixteen from Zeven.⁷ There were also six SS men in the camp or with the guards.⁸

The prisoners were deployed at various work sites. A detachment worked in Gröpelingen at the Deschimag AG shipyard. Here the prisoners had to get up at 4:30 A.M. At 5:15 A.M. they embarked on a small barge that took them on a 1.5-hour trip on the Weser to the shipyard. The prisoners worked from 7:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., with a half-hour meal break. After they finished their work, they were returned to the camp by boat. There were 190 Jewish prisoners in the detachment, the first of whom arrived in Blumenthal in November 1944. Due to the long way to work, the prisoners in the detachments were transferred at Christmas 1944 to the newly established camp Bremen-Schützenhof, in the vicinity of the shipyard.⁹

The camp's second large work detachment also worked for the Deschimag AG. These prisoners only had to march about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) to their work site, however. Having leased part of the nearby Bremen Wollkämmerei factory, Deschimag put the prisoners to work constructing turbines for submarines. The sources do not confirm that there was a third detachment that worked on the construction of the U-boat bunker "Valentin."¹⁰

The withdrawal of some of the prisoners to the Schützenhof subcamp in Blumenthal was compensated by the arrival of new prisoner transports. Shortly before the evacuation of the camp, there were 929 prisoners in the Blumenthal camp.¹¹ When the camp was evacuated, the Jewish prisoners from Blumenthal as well as the Jewish prisoners transported to the Schützenhof subcamp were separated from the other prisoners. They were crammed into two railway grain wagons and traveled around for several days without food before they finally reached Bergen-Belsen, where some of them were liberated.¹² The remaining prisoners were taken between April 7 and April 9, 1945, to the Bremen-Farge subcamp. They were then sent on a death march from Farge to Neuengamme.

It should be noted that the Blumenthal subcamp had a relatively high death rate for a camp whose prisoners were used mostly for manufacture, which can largely be accounted for by the brutality of the guards and prisoner-functionaries. Two examples of the extreme brutality in the camp are as follows: "If in winter you failed to work three times you were punished for your so-called laziness in the following manner: the guards filled a large vat with water. The prisoner's hands were bound and he was put into the vat so that only his head was above the water. With the very cold wind and the frost the water froze, freezing the prisoner at the same time."¹³ The second example: "A favorite punishment in addition to the Bath in the Vat (Bad in der Tonne) was to throw the prisoners into the air. Four Kapos held the prisoners by the hands and legs and counted 'One, two, three!' and hurled as high as possible into the air. The prisoner then fell to the ground. This was repeated until the prisoner was half dead. Finally the camp elder danced on his chest until the ribs broke and the prisoner's heart and intestines were damaged."¹⁴

There is a record of another, more gruesome incident: two Polish prisoners were hanged on the roll-call square, as they were caught stealing a driving belt. According to witnesses,

this was a spectacle in which Neuengamme camp commandant Max Pauly as well as a large number of Blumenthalers participated as witnesses.

After the establishment of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, the Bremen State Prosecutor began proceedings in the 1970s. However, it questioned only German prisoners, and as they could not remember any particularly gruesome incidents in the camp, the proceedings ceased in 1976.¹⁵

SOURCES On forced labor on the construction of submarines in Bremen, see Barbara Johr and Hartmut Roder, *Der Bunker: Ein Beispiel nationalsozialistischer Wabns, Bremen-Farge 1943–45* (Bremen, 1989).

Almost all the primary information on this subcamp comes from former prisoners' statements. The majority of the texts are held in AG-NG. The names of 123 deceased prisoners have been identified in AG-NG's database. The investigations by the Bremen Sta. were helpful in identifying the SS guards, the names of whom can be seen in the StA-Br and the ZdL (now BA-L). StA-N holds 2169-PS, the Neuengamme Standortarzt report submitted to the IMT. A published memoir about Bremen-Blumenthal is Heinz Rosenberg, *Jahre des Schreckens: . . . und ich blieb übrig, dass ich Dir's ansage*, trans. Hannah Vogt (Göttingen, 1992).

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NOTES

1. Letter of Lagerverwaltung der Deschimag AG to Bauamt Bremen-Nord, October 13, 1943, StA-Br 4, 29/1-1422 (np).

2. See both drawings in AG-NG 6.4.13 AL Blumenthal. To what extent the differences can be explained by the extension of the camp is not known. Allied aerial photographs assisted in analyzing the question.

3. According to the Bremen Sta., see BA-L ZdL 404 AR-Z 129/74.

4. Report in AG-NG 6.4.13. The report reflects the cooperation between the German prisoners and the camp administration and the reporter admits to boxing other prisoners around the ears.

5. Heinz Rosenberg, *Jahre des Schreckens: . . . und ich blieb übrig, dass ich Dir's ansage*, trans. Hannah Vogt (Göttingen, 1992), p. 136.

6. BA-L, ZdL IV 404 AR 611/67.

7. ZdL, 404 AR-Z 129/74.

8. Report in AG-NG, 6.4.13.

9. Rosenberg, *Jahre des Schreckens*, p. 137.

10. Without references but mentioned in Barbara Johr and Hartmut Roder, *Der Bunker: Ein Beispiel nationalsozialistischer Wabns, Bremen-Farge 1943–45* (Bremen, 1989), p. 44.

11. Report of SS-Standortarztes, KZ Neuengamme, March 29, 1945, StA-N, KV-Anklage, 2169-PS.

12. Rosenberg, *Jahre des Schreckens*, p. 140.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

15. BA-L, ZdL 404 AR-Z 129/74.

BREMEN-FARGE

In the autumn of 1943, the fourth Neuengamme subcamp was established in Bremen-Farge. According to the register of inmates, from the time it was established, Farge was the second-largest Neuengamme subcamp. (The only official number is from March 25, 1945. At that point, there were 2,092 prisoners in the Bremen-Farge subcamp.)¹ The majority of prisoners were used to construct an underground U-boat shipyard with the code name “Valentin.” It was one of the most important of the new construction projects for the German Navy. The bunker was situated in the north of Bremen on the Weser River. Once it was complete, prefabricated U-boat sections were to be welded together on a production line and then equipped.² Marineoberbauplatz Edo Meiners from the Marineoberbauamt Bremen was in charge of the site. On July 20, 1944, the Amt Bau Organisation Todt (OT) took over the whole naval construction program. Meiners remained responsible for the construction in Farge, but he was now in command of the OT-Oberbauleitung Unterweser. He worked closely with the two large Bremen shipyards, which were some of the largest manufacturers of U-boats in Germany. The Deschimag AG, part of the Krupp Group, was in charge of a smaller U-boat bunker in the center of Bremen (located at Bremen-Neuenland and Bremen-Osterort). The Bremen Vulkan-Shipyard, part of the Thyssen Group, took control of the Project Valentin. When constructed, the gigantic bunker was to be 426 meters long and 97 meters wide, with a height of up to 33 meters (466 yards by 106 yards by 36 yards). In order to complete the project, around 10,000 workers, the majority of whom were forced laborers, had to work daily on the construction site. Prisoners of war (POWs), civilian forced laborers, and concentration camp prisoners were employed.

The first transport of concentration camp prisoners to arrive in Farge was a small detachment required for the construction of the camp. This detachment consisted of a few German *befristeten Vorbeugungsbüchtlingen* (BV, or Greens)—police “preventive custody” prisoners—as well as Polish and Soviet prisoners. The camp elder was Erich Meissner, a German political prisoner. A prisoner described him as an alcoholic and brutal madman. (After the war, Meissner became the Leipzig mayor.)³ The higher prisoner-functionary positions were allocated to the German “greens.” The lower prisoner-functionary positions, especially the Kapos, were mostly Polish prisoners. Work on the foundations for the U-boat bunker began in the spring of 1944. At that time, one or two transports arrived daily in Farge, so that the number of prisoners increased to between 800 and 1,000. The heavy work must have caused a high death rate in the camp, as by the summer the number of prisoners had already dropped back to around 500.⁴

On August 1, 1944, a transport of 2,000 prisoners reached Farge. The majority of these prisoners were French. Other large national groups in the transport were Poles, Soviets, and Greeks. The majority of the existing reports and inter-

views from survivors originate from prisoners of this transport. Little is known about the period during the camp's construction, but there are more details for the period from the summer of 1944.

The concentration camp prisoners worked in Farge in two shifts, each of 12 hours. The prisoners in the day shift were awakened around 4:00 A.M. and had to set forth to the bunker around 6:00 A.M. They worked from 7:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M., with only a break for a noon meal. The prisoners rarely got to go to bed before 10:00 P.M., as they had to march back to the camp, attend roll call, and eat their dinner.⁵ At most, they had 6 hours' sleep a day. The concentration camp prisoners were used on the heaviest and most unpleasant work that there was on the construction site. This was, above all, the cement detachments, where the prisoners had to shift heavy bags of cement or fill the cement mixers. The dust from the cement was a torture for the prisoners: “During the night the cement, which had settled on the nasal hairs, formed a crust which made breathing difficult. You had to use your fingers to get the concrete out—as well as the hairs as they were part of the concrete. . . . It sometimes happened that when I was coughing that I spat out a white ball, which just about ripped apart my chest.”⁶

The worst work was on the so-called iron detachments (Eisenkommandos), where iron and steel girders had to be transported. French survivor Raymond Portefaix has stated that one's life expectancy fell dramatically on being allocated to such a detachment. He described such iron detachments as suicide squads (Himmelfahrtskommandos).⁷

The camp was about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the construction site in the Reikum Feldmarsch. Initially, the prisoners went to work by foot directly through the local community. Later they were taken in little railway wagons. The SS and Kriegsmarine took few steps to hide the subcamp and the prisoners from the local population. A local photographer was even able to enter the subcamp and take a number of photographs. The prisoners were accommodated in an underground navy fuel tank. The circumference of the tank was 50 meters (55 yards), and inside it had a height of 6.8 meters (7.4 yards). The cover was made of cement and camouflaged with sand. Inside the fuel tank there were separate quarters for the Kapos, a couple of showers, a toilet block, and a long row of tables for washing. The remainder of the tank consisted of bunk beds separated into five prisoner blocks. On the surface of the camp there were initially three barracks that functioned as the kitchen, sick bay, and office. The result was that all the prisoners, with the exception of the sick and a few prisoner-functionaries, were held in the underground fuel tank. Following the arrival of the transport of August 1, 1944, another two surface barracks were constructed, which at times were used to accommodate the prisoners. As in most subcamps, the food was scarcely sufficient to ensure the prisoners' survival.

At first the prisoners were guarded by the SS, but as the subcamp system expanded, there were insufficient SS personnel for this task. In Farge, it was mostly naval infantry who took over the SS role. From the summer of 1944, a

Marine Reserve Detachment of around 250 men took over guarding the prisoners. At this time an injured Army Hauptmann, Ulrich Wahl, was appointed commander of the Farge subcamp. The SS was represented only by a handful of men who held the few positions within the subcamp. On the construction site, the prisoners were supervised by German foremen. They were driven to work by the Kapos. It was left to the prisoner-functionaries to maintain order within the camp. This situation gave privileged prisoners advantages. It changed little in the daily destruction of life. The camp personnel and the guards seldom interfered in the camp. Portefaix wrote the following: "What is typical in Bremen-Farge is the almost complete dependence of the prisoners on the lower ranks. The SS relied for discipline and work on them on the basis of the privileges they would get. . . . When the Kapos were preoccupied with their own affairs we could stretch out on the plank beds. . . . On the other hand—the brutality they showed when an SS man appeared in order to justify their privileges!"⁸

Due to the heavy nature of the work, Farge was one of the Neuengamme subcamps with a relatively high number of victims. The exact numbers are difficult to ascertain due to the lack of sources. Heiko Kania identified 553 named victims, but the real number is likely to be higher. The majority of the victims who have been identified were French prisoners. Their identification is based on postwar lists prepared by surviving French prisoners. As it is only the French prisoners who were able to compile lists, it can be assumed that more prisoners of other nationalities died than are officially recorded. Despite the high number of victims in the subcamp, postwar investigations in Farge concentrated on the nearby Arbeitserziehungslager (Labor Education Camp, AEL). The reason for this was that the British investigators determined that British soldiers had been imprisoned in the AEL.⁹ The Bremen State Prosecutor's Office, which later conducted investigations, appeared to have little interest in pursuing criminal acts. It concentrated on questioning a former head of the AEL, and as a result, so far as known, there were no convictions of any of the perpetrators in Farge, including the subcamp.¹⁰

The evacuation of the Farge subcamp began on April 10, 1945. In the days before, the evacuated prisoners from other Bremen subcamps had been sent to Farge. The majority of the prisoners were forced to march to Neuengamme, where they arrived on April 15. An unknown number of prisoners marched straight to the Sandbostel POW camp, where they were liberated by the British Army. A transport of sick prisoners wandered for a week between Bremen and Hamburg before it, too, ended up in Sandbostel.

SOURCES For a discussion on the relationship between the subcamp and the village, see Marc Buggeln, "Das Aussenlagersystem des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme," in *Abgeschlossene Kapitel? Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager und der NS-Prozesse*, eds. Sabine Moller, Miriam Rürup, and Christel Trouvé (Tübingen, 2002), pp. 15–27. On the history of camp labor deployment in the Bremen U-boat bunkers, see Barbara

Johr and Hartmut Roder, *Der Bunker: Ein Beispiel nationalsozialistischen Wabns, Bremen-Farge 1943–45* (Bremen, 1989); and Rainer Christochowitz, *Die U-Boot-Bunkerwerft "Valentin": Der U-Boot-Sektionsbau, die Betonbautechnik und der menschenunwürdige Einsatz von 1943 bis 1945* (Bremen, 2000). On the identification of Farge prisoners, see Heiko Kania, "Neue Erkenntnisse zu Opferzahl und Lager im Zusammenhang mit dem Bau des U-Boot-Werftbunker Valentin in Bremen-Farge" (unpub. MSS). Having the MSS available, proved invaluable. Information about the evacuation of Farge prisoners to Sandbostel may be found in Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung; Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen, 2000), 2:19.

Most knowledge about conditions in the Bremen-Farge subcamp originates from survivors' statements. Most of the material is to be found in AG-NG. There are a few files in the BA-MA, Navy collection, as well as in the collection RMfRK (R 3) in BA-BL, that provide details on the history of the "Valentin" U-boat bunker. Of particular importance are the photographs in the Photographic Archive in BA-K as well as a film made in 1944 by a Marinebaurat showing the construction of the bunker, which is now in BFA. StA-N holds 2169-PS, the Neuengamme Standortarzt report submitted to the IMT. For the history of the construction of the bunker and its military significance, see USSBS, *Submarine Plant Report No. 7: Submarine Assembly Shelter at Farge* (New York, 1947). Raymond Portefaix's testimony of 1947, originally published in French, is reproduced in "Vernichtung durch Arbeit: Das Aussenkommando Bremen-Farge," in *Hortensien in Farge. Überleben im Bunker "Valentin,"* by Raymond Portefaix, André Migdal, and Klaas Touber (Bremen, 1995), pp. 19–114.

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NOTES

1. Quarterly Report, Standortarzt, KZ Neuengamme, March 25, 1945, in StA-N, KV-Anklage, 2169-PS.
2. See USSBS, *Submarine Plant Report No. 7: Submarine Assembly Shelter at Farge* (New York, 1947).
3. Raymond Portefaix, "Vernichtung durch Arbeit: Das Aussenkommando Bremen-Farge," in *Hortensien in Farge. Überleben im Bunker "Valentin,"* by Raymond Portefaix, André Migdal, and Klaas Touber (Bremen, 1995).
4. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
5. Sunday talk with Lucien Hirth on November 24, 1996, AG-NG, N.g.2.8/1243; interview with Josef Smejkal, May 1, 1997, *ibid.*, N.g.2.8/303.
6. Portefaix, "Vernichtung durch Arbeit," p. 57.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
9. Proceedings of JAG, Nr. 295. A copy of the proceedings and the judgment, which resulted in seven of the accused being sentenced to prison, is held in BA-K, Alliierte Neuengamme Prozesse 8, FC 2877 FXb. The original investigation files are held by PRO.
10. Copies of the Bremen Sta. investigation files are in BA-L, ZdL Ludwigsburg, IV 404 AR 608/67.

BREMEN-NEUENLAND

[AKA BREMEN-KRIEGSMARINE]

The Bremen-Neuenland subcamp, situated close to the Bremen airport, most likely existed from the middle of August to the end of November 1944. The prisoners, who were used to construct the U-boat bunker “Hornisse,” named the detachment Bremen-Kriegsmarine, after the organization that used their labor. The first detachment consisted of 1,000 men, who were gathered together on August 15, 1944, in Block 9 of the Neuengamme concentration camp. On August 16 the detachment was transported to Bremen.

The Neuenland camp had existed for some period of time, being used for prisoners of war (POWs). However, when the concentration camp prisoners arrived, the camp was empty. The day after their arrival the prisoners were set to work. The route to work that the prisoners had to cover was about 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) long and led through several Bremen suburbs. Usually they were taken by truck. So far as is known, just about all of the prisoners were used to construct the U-boat bunker Hornisse. The construction of the bunker was undertaken at the request of the navy but occurred in close cooperation with the Bremen shipyard Deschimag AG, part of the Krupp Group. However, it was the construction firms that were responsible for the work and distribution of the prisoners. There are two documents that have survived concerning the prisoners’ labor. These, together with survivors’ reports,¹ are the main sources that are used to establish a rudimentary history of the Neuenland camp. One is a list of work accidents at Hornisse between September 15, 1944, and March 22, 1945. The other is a list of work done at Hornisse from September 8, 1944, to April 4, 1945.² The lists show that the majority of prisoners in the first transport were French and Soviet prisoners, who had Neuengamme prisoner numbers between 36000 and 42000. The French were those who were sent by the transports on July 15 and July 28, 1944, from Compiègne to Neuengamme. According to a French prisoner, the Soviet prisoners in the majority had been seized by the Germans for labor and taken to work in the northern French coal region. Here they were arrested by the Gestapo for sabotage and taken to Neuengamme. There were also a few Belgian, Spanish, and Italian prisoners in Neuenland.

The camp commandant was SS-Obersturmführer Hugo Benedict, who was also the Stützpunktleiter (base commander) of all Neuengamme Bremen subcamps. According to one prisoner report, he was not noted for his brutality toward prisoners and at times even stopped the violent acts committed by the camp elder and the Kapos. The Rapportführer was an Oberfeldwebel der Marine, who is also said to have treated the prisoners properly. The guards were infantry soldiers and naval reservists. The highest positions in the prisoner hierarchy were German prisoners with *befristete Vorbeugungsbüfilinge* (BV, or Green, the color of their identifying triangle). The camp elder was Hans Rohl, who is said to have been predis-

posed to violence. At the end of the war, he is thought to have been condemned to death by a French court in Rastatt. The closest confidants of the camp elder were other German BVs with relatively low prisoner numbers. As Kapos they were in charge of the largest work detachments and included Lubitz (prisoner number 3273), Kraus (13519), Werner (13955), and Kiebach (26284). There were also Polish Kapos who appear to have been chosen for the role because they hated the two largest national groupings, the French and Soviets. On the other hand, the two camp doctors, a Pole and a Soviet, are seen in a very positive light.

Those in charge of the use of the prisoner labor in constructing the U-boat bunker separated the prisoners at the site into small groups every day. The Kapos in charge recorded the prisoner numbers and handed the detachment over to a foreman. The majority of foremen are thought to have been foreign polishers, the majority of whom were Dutch. Both prisoner reports and the work lists suggest that the composition and strength of each detachment changed daily. It is therefore probable that the concentration camp prisoners were primarily used for the heavy manual labor where there was little need for direction. That labor was mostly carrying building material. Civilian laborers and POWs also worked on the construction site. The concentration camp prisoners were well guarded so that it was rarely possible for them to make contact with the other workers. This was only possible during the air-raid alarms.

Compared to other construction subcamps, the death rate appears to have been relatively low. There are 90 known deaths for the Neuenland subcamp and the Osterort subcamp, where the prisoners were transferred in November 1944. The majority of deaths occurred in the Osterort subcamp.³ A detailed French prisoner’s report states that there were only 2 deaths among the French prisoners during the period of the Neuenland camp. The French comprised approximately half of the detachment. On the other hand, there were frequent work accidents where the prisoners were often severely injured. On average, there was an accident every three days. In the majority of cases, the injuries were bruises and contusions that in some instances were so severe that the prisoners had to be taken to the hospital. The following case will serve as an example: “At 2:00 p.m. Prisoner F39367 slipped while carrying an iron beam and suffered a contusion to the back of his head.”⁴

The majority of accident reports, as with this example, were not dramatic. However, it needs to be recalled that accidents such as these would not have occurred as frequently to well-nourished and -rested workers. Injuries such as these could have serious consequences, including loss of food rations that would exacerbate the malnourishment. There is no recorded case of this in Neuenland. However, there were accidents, which appear to have been much more serious in the reports: “At 9:30 a.m. Prisoner R41732 received an open head wound from a drilling machine.” The climax in the series of accidents occurred on September 25, 1944, when the side of a

railway wagon, overloaded with prisoners, broke open, and the prisoners fell out of the moving train; 62 prisoners were injured in this accident. In October, a Naval Oberstabsarzt inspected the camp following a report by a prisoner about the high number of cases of blood poisoning and contusions in the sick bay. In the following days, there appears to have been an improvement in the distribution of medicines.

One question remains difficult to answer: there were around 1,000 prisoners in the camp. However, the work lists refer to between 380 and 500 prisoners working on the construction of the U-boat bunker Hornisse. Where were the other prisoners who were not in the camp or the sick bay? One possibility, referred to in prisoner accounts, is that they were used in Bremen to remove the rubble caused by the frequent bombing raids. This is possible, as in June 1944, the SS-Baubrigade II, previously used for this task, was pulled out of Bremen. Other possibilities include working at the aircraft factory Weserflug or the shipyard Deschimag AG.⁵

At the end of October, around a thousand prisoners from the Bremen Borgward-Werke subcamp, whose barracks had burned down, were transferred to Neuenland. These prisoners, mostly Polish political prisoners, stayed here for two days before they were transported to the Neuengamme main camp. During the short period they were there, the Polish Borgward prisoners told the French prisoners about Auschwitz. This was the first time the French prisoners had heard about Auschwitz. At the beginning of November, five French priests from the detachment were transferred to the Dachau concentration camp. The Neuenland camp was evacuated on November 28, and the whole detachment was transferred to the new Bremen-Osterort camp.

SOURCES Just about all of the primary information comes from former prisoners' statements, especially the reports by French survivors listed as AG-NG, ANg 2.8/154 and 2.8/1257. The majority of this essay is based on an evaluation of both reports. Other information regarding the work lists as well as the sick reports of prisoners who worked on the construction of the U-boat bunker "Hornisse" is held in AG-NG. Another source is the record of an interview of the operational director of the Norddeutsche Hütte held in the StA-N.

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NOTES

1. AG-NG, ANg, 2.8/154 and 2.8/1257.
2. Both files are held in AG-NG, Best. 6.4.15 (Hornisse/Riespott).
3. AG-NG, Databank.
4. AG-NG, ANg, 6.4.15.
5. The use of concentration camp prisoners at Weser-flug and Deschimag is mentioned in the examination by the Allies of the operational director of the Norddeutsche Hütte, Otto Hofmann; see StA-N, KV-Anklage, NIK-9207.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

BREMEN-OBERNHEIDE

Bremen-Obernheide operated as a subcamp of the Neuengamme concentration camp from late September 1944 until early April 1945. During this period of time, it held only female prisoners. The camp was located on the edge of Bremen, directly on Obernheider Strasse in the Obernheide district of the Lower Saxon community of Stuhr.

Shortly before the outbreak of the war, the Organisation Todt (OT) had constructed the barracks camp in the meadows of Hans Katerkamp, an Obernheide farmer. At first, the camp accommodated only German workers who assisted in the construction of the Autobahn. After the outbreak of war, the Luftwaffe took over the camp and in turn, at the end of 1940, put it at the disposal of the city of Bremen to quarter German and foreign construction workers. They were deployed in the Bremen city area to construct bunkers and shelters for the civilian population. In 1941, the German Labor Front (DAF) assumed control of the camp. In January 1942, it was temporarily closed, until French prisoners of war (POWs) arrived in Obernheide at the end of the year. They were deployed clearing debris from air raids in Bremen and remained in Obernheide until late April 1944. Other than for occasional use, the camp then remained empty until female prisoners arrived from Neuengamme around the end of September 1944.

The camp consisted of three accommodation barracks, a guard barracks, a latrine, and an infirmary. In addition, accommodation and administration barracks for the SS camp personnel were located outside the camp fence.

The female prisoners arrived from Bremen (Hindenburgkaserne), another women's subcamp of Neuengamme, at the Bremen-Obernheide camp on the evening of September 26, 1944. The female prisoners had to be transferred to the empty barracks at Obernheide since the Hindenburgkaserne camp had been completely destroyed during an Allied air raid on the same day. On October 11, 1944, Oberregierungsrat Köster reported the event in a letter to Max Pauly, commander of Neuengamme: "The subcamp for female concentration camp prisoners at Hindenburgkaserne, Huckelriede, which accommodated 800 female concentration camp inmates whom you allocated to me, was completely destroyed during an air raid on Bremen on September 26, 1944. As Obersturmführer Benedikt has probably already reported to you, we could transfer the inmates to another good camp on the same day."¹

The 800 female prisoners in Obernheide consisted of 500 Hungarian and 300 Polish Jewish women. Prior to their internment at Hindenburgkaserne, the Hungarian women had been expelled from their homes in the spring of 1944, held in various ghettos in Hungary, and then deported from there to Auschwitz. In Auschwitz II-Birkenau, many of these Jewish women were held in Camp C, the so-called transit camp, where they were selected for work in Bremen. The Jewish women from Poland, then again, probably arrived in Bremen in late August 1944. Since the beginning of 1940, some of them had been in the Łódź ghetto, where they worked as forced laborers until the ghetto's liquidation in the summer of

1944. From Łódź, the women were deported to Auschwitz and, after a selection, then transported to Bremen.

Although the city of Bremen had requisitioned the Jewish women from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) for the construction of emergency accommodations, most of them were deployed to remove debris in Bremen. Former inmate Lily Kertesz recalls:

The city was bombed almost daily. An ever increasing part of the city was turned into an uninhabitable desert of rubble. . . . Large placards warned: "Entering the ruins is perilous and prohibited!" These warnings and prohibitions, however, did not apply to us. We were ordered to search out and remove bricks from the ruins. It was very dangerous. A wall collapsed here, a wall collapsed there. The rain softened the mortar, and in a strong wind, the walls collapsed as if nothing had ever held them together. An especially violent storm raged one day. The guards and foremen had taken off, while we had to continue working. Suddenly a wall collapsed. With a deafening sound the walls smashed everything that stood in their way. Dust whirled upward. We could no longer see anything. Our eyes, mouths and noses were full of dust; we coughed and sneezed. Screams and cries for help came from all sides. Some of us were injured; one was dead.²

The women worked for a number of demolition and construction firms: Abbruch- und Verschrottungsunternehmen Karl Gesselmann (Karl Gesselmann Demolition and Scrap), Baugeschäft und Abbruchunternehmen Hermann Bödecker (Hermann Bödecker Construction and Demolition), Abbruchunternehmen Heinrich Ebeling (Heinrich Ebeling Demolition), Abbruchunternehmen Kirbitz & Breiter (Kirbitz & Breiter Demolition), Strassenbau- und Tiefbaugeschäft Stehmeyer & Bischoff (Stehmeyer & Bischoff Road Construction and Civil Engineering), Baugeschäft Joh. Heitmann (Joh. Heitmann Construction), Bauunternehmen Friedrich Rodieck (Friedrich Rodieck Construction), Bauunternehmen Dietrich Rohlf (Dietrich Rohlf Construction), Unternehmen Siemer & Müller (Siemer & Müller Enterprise), and Betonsteinwerk Lünig & Sohn (Lünig & Sohn Concrete). All these private building and demolition companies leased women as laborers from the city of Bremen, which in turn requisitioned them from the WVHA. The companies had to recompense the Bremen senator for construction for the prisoners' working hours.

Those prisoners deployed to construct emergency accommodations mainly had to level the ground on the different building sites, transport the building materials on lorries to the building sites, pour the foundations, or assist in the construction of buildings. Other women worked for Lünig & Sohn, manufacturing precast concrete parts. Those prisoners deployed for the removal of debris from daily air raids removed countless bricks, heavy beams, and broken windows from the city.

The only camp leader (Lagerleiter) of the female subcamp in Obernheide was Johann Hille, who was born in Tellingstedt on December 8, 1890. After elementary schooling, he worked as a laborer. He had joined the Nazi party (NSDAP) as early as June 2, 1929, but left the party again on February 1, 1930, rejoining it two years later on March 1, 1932. Following the Nazi seizure of power, he joined the General-SS (Allgemeine-SS). As a guard at Neuengamme, he was promoted to Oberscharführer on September 1, 1941, and Hauptscharführer on November 1, 1943. In September 1944 he ended his guard duties at the Neuengamme main camp and took command of the Obernheide women's camp.

In addition to the camp leader, an unknown number of former Luftwaffe soldiers were responsible for guard duty outside the camp, alongside some 20 female guards who did internal guard duty. One of these guards was Gertrud Heise, who was born in Berlin on July 23, 1921. From October 1942 onward, she was in the service of the SS. Deployed at the Ravensbrück concentration camp until March 1943, she was then transferred to Lublin-Majdanek, where she managed the prisoners' and SS kitchens, remaining there until April 1944. From Majdanek she was transferred in April 1944 to Krakau-Plaszow, where she worked until September 1944, followed by a one-month assignment in Auschwitz. Thereupon, Heise was transferred to the Obernheide women's subcamp in October 1944, where she was a so-called commando leader (Kommandoführerin), in charge of cleanliness, order, and maintaining discipline in the camp. Following the dissolution of the Bremen camp at the beginning of April 1945, Heise was transferred to the Hamburg-Eidelstedt camp, where she remained until her discharge. She was arrested by British military police on June 11, 1945, and sentenced to 15 years, imprisonment at the end of May 1946 for maltreating concentration camp prisoners. The sentence was reduced to 7 years in August 1946.

The Bremen-Obernheide camp was probably evacuated on April 4, 1945. The women were transferred on foot, by truck, and by train to Bergen-Belsen, where they most likely arrived on April 8 or 9, 1945. Those who managed to survive the conditions in the "receiving camp" were liberated by English troops on April 15, 1945.

SOURCES This article is based on Harmut Müller, *Die Frauen von Obernheide: Jüdische Zwangsarbeiterinnen in Bremen 1944/1945* (Bremen: Donat, 1988). Today, a memorial and various commemorative plaques at Obernheider Strasse, Obernheide (community of Stuhr), commemorate this women's subcamp of Neuengamme.

The AG-NG holds transcripts of some interviews with female survivors who report on the history of the camp. Hans Ellger conducted several interviews with former inmates. Lily Kertesz published her recollections: Lily Kertesz, *Von den Flammen verzehrt: Erinnerungen einer ungarischen Jüdin* (Bremen: Donat, 1999). Further records are located at YV and AG-BB. Documents relating, among others, to the use of the camp barracks before the arrival of the Jewish women and the transfer of the prisoners are located at the StA-Br. These rec-

ords also contain information about the camp leader Johann Hille. Documents relating to Getrud Heise are located in British trial records in the BA-K.

Hans Ellger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Schreiben des Oberregierungsrates Köster beim Senator für das Bauwesen an den Herrn Kommandeur des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme, SS-Sturmbannführer Pauly vom 11.10.1944, StA-Br, Holding 9, 9–17, Binder No. 66.

2. Lilly Kertesz, *Von den Flammen verzehrt: Erinnerungen einer ungarischen Jüdin* (Bremen: Donat, 1999), p. 114.

BREMEN-OSTERORT [AKA BREMEN-RIESPOTT, BREMEN-KRIEGSMARINE]

The Bremen-Osterort camp became a Neuengamme subcamp on November 28, 1944. On that day all the prisoners at the Bremen-Neu-land subcamp—probably fewer than 1,000—were transferred to Osterort. The conditions in the Osterort camp in many respects resembled those in the previous camp: the commandant, camp elder, and Kapos were largely the same, and the majority of the prisoners continued to work at the U-boat bunker Hornisse, while others worked in removing rubble or possibly at the Weserflug or Deutsche Schiff- und Maschinenbau AG (Deschimag).

There were several reasons for the transfer from Neu-land to Osterort, the most important being that the distance the prisoners traveled to work decreased, and the route no longer passed through a densely populated part of the city. Some prisoners were now working at the Norddeutsche Hütte, which owned the campsite. The existing barracks had been previously used as a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp.¹ The Norddeutsche Hütte was part of the Krupp conglomerate and operated several high-temperature ovens, a vanadium operation, and a cement factory. The company director from 1935 to 1945 was Otto Hofmann, who had been a member of the Nazi Party since 1931 and later a Nazi Ortsgruppenleiter.²

With the transfer of the camp, a work detachment was established of around 50 concentration camp prisoners who worked in the tailings operation of the conglomerate. The company transferred operational control to engineer Strieder's department.³ A French prisoner had the following to say about the detachment: "The men did not report to a 'Hütte' foreman but a Kapo, who was usually a political prisoner. His sadism was given a free reign. Just as the midday soup was the most nourishing received by the prisoners, the work site was the most feared."⁴ A French Kapo named Muller is remembered by survivors of the tailings detachment for his violence. It is believed that he was sentenced to death after the war by a French court but that he was later pardoned.

In general, it would seem that conditions for the prisoners deteriorated with the transfer to Osterort. In the evenings,

the exhausted prisoners were tortured with sport exercises. Roll calls were longer, and during air raids, the guards drove the prisoners during the night into a bunker in which there were 30 centimeters (almost a foot) of water. The prisoners had built their own radio, and the news broadcast by the BBC in December 1944 on the German counteroffensive at the Ardennes had a shattering effect on the prisoners.

As the situation worsened, so did the death rate in the Osterort camp. Hardly any prisoners had died in the Neu-land camp. In Osterort, prisoners were dying each day. "The corpses were carried by the prisoners' comrades into a small building, next to the washroom, which served as a mortuary. Now and then, in the early morning a driver would appear with a four-wheeled cart, something similar to a manure cart, and took the corpses away. One day he took away seventeen at one go."⁵ As a result of the prisoners' increasing weakness, the first and only transport of such prisoners took place on January 11, 1945. Around 100 so-called Muslims (Muselmänner—men too weak to work) were taken back to the Neuengamme main camp by train. Of the approximately 50 French prisoners on the train, only 3 survived the end of the war.

These prisoners were replaced at the end of January by a transport of 100 prisoners from the Farge subcamp. "The group was under the control of Kapos whose extreme brutality surprised us. One of them, called 'Typhus,' was particularly sadistic. Life in Bremen-Osterort became even harder than ever."⁶ In February, a convalescence block (*Schonungsblock*) was set up, but this did little to stop the death rate. The end of the subcamp began with the Allied air raid on Bremen on March 30, 1945. During the bombardment, the Norddeutsche Hütte was heavily attacked. Two bombs fell close to the Osterort camp, killing one of the guards. The U-boat bunker Hornisse was heavily damaged and was made practically useless. Nevertheless, the prisoners continued to work at the bunker until April 4.⁷ The majority of the prisoners in the last days worked on repairing the Adolf Hitler Bridge as well as the railway bridge across the Weser River.

The evacuation of the Bremen-Osterort camp began on April 6, 1945. A report of the Neuengamme SS-Standortarzt on March 25, 1945, refers to 869 prisoners in the camp.⁸ The detachment was divided into two groups on April 6: Muselmänner and prisoners who were seen as capable of working. The Muselmänner were transported on April 6 to the Bremen-Farge subcamp, where they were crammed into a train with Muselmänner from other detachments. The train traveled back and forth for a week between Bremen, Hamburg, and Hannover, finally coming to a halt on April 13 at the Bremervörde station. From here the prisoners were taken to the Sandbostel camp. Those in the group of workers left Osterort by foot for Farge on April 9. They marched with the majority of other prisoners who had been sent to Farge, in the direction of Neuengamme. It seems that in Bremervörde the march was divided: prisoners weakened by the march were taken to the Sandbostel camp, while the large majority was transported to Neuengamme.⁹

If one attempts to estimate the mortality in the camp, one must consider that the detachment consisted of 1,000 prisoners when it arrived in Bremen-Neuenland, of whom around 10 prisoners died before the transfer to Osterort. That means that of the approximately 990 prisoners who arrived at Osterort on November 28, 1944, 120 died in the camp up to March 25, 1945.¹⁰ A further 100 other prisoners, who are not included in that group because they were replaced by other prisoners, were taken in January to Neuengamme as Muselmänner. If one accepts figures provided for the French group, then at least 90 percent of them were dead by the end of the war. It would seem that in the six months of the camp's existence until its evacuation, every fifth prisoner in Osterort died. These numbers do not include those who died on the evacuation marches or on the ships in the Neustädter Bucht.

SOURCES On the evacuation of this and other Neuengamme subcamps, see Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung; Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen, 2000), 2:21.

Just about all the information represented here is based on statements of former prisoners. The majority of the texts are held in AG-NG. There are further sources including the work details lists and prisoner sick reports for those who were working at the U-boat bunker Hornisse. They are likewise held in AG-NG. Another source is the interrogation of the operations director at the Norddeutsche Hütte, which is held in the StA-N. Published reports about this camp may be found in Kollegengruppe der Klöckner-Hütte Bremen, ed., *Riespott: KZ an der Norddeutschen Hütte; Berichte, Dokumente und Erinnerungen über Zwangsarbeit 1935-45* (Bremen, 1984).

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NOTES

1. Hans Schröder report in Kollegengruppe der Klöckner-Hütte Bremen, ed., *Riespott: KZ an der Norddeutschen Hütte; Berichte, Dokumente und Erinnerungen über Zwangsarbeit 1935-45* (Bremen, 1984), p. 54.

2. Hofmann was interned by the Allies at the end of war and questioned as part of the pretrial proceedings against the Krupp Conglomerate about the use of concentration camp prisoners; see StA-N, KV-Anklage, NIK-9207 und KV-Anklage, Interrogations, H 172.

3. Hofmann interview.

4. Statement by P.B., AG-NG, 2.8/154. The extensive report is a central source for the history of the Neuenland camp as well as the Osterort camp. As the majority of this essay is based on this report, it will not be referred to hereafter.

5. P.B. report.

6. Ibid.

7. Arbeitseinsatzlisten "Hornisse" vom 8. September 1944 bis 4. April 1945, AG-NG, Bestand 6.4.15.

8. Vierteljährige Bericht vom 29. März 1945, StA-N, KV-Anklage, 2169-PS.

9. P.B. report.

10. To date, the names of 99 prisoners who died in Osterort or Neuenland have been identified; see AG-NG, Datenbank.

BREMEN-SCHÜTZENHOF [AKA BREMEN-DESCHIMAG]

The Schützenhof camp was one of the last Neuengamme subcamps to be established. The first transport of concentration camp prisoners arrived at Bremen-Schützenhof late in December 1944. All the prisoners were sent from the Bremen-Blumenthal camp. There they had worked for the Deutsche Schiff- und Maschinenbau AG (Deschimag) shipyards, which was part of the Krupp company. To reach the shipyards, the prisoners had to travel for two and a half hours by boat along the Weser from Blumenthal. As the journey was becoming ever more difficult and dangerous due to the increasing bombing raids, it was decided to relocate the prisoners closer to the shipyard.

The camp was located in the barracks of a shooting club in the Bremen suburb of Gröpelingen, which was where the shipyard was located. There were four barracks that were used to accommodate the prisoners. There was, in addition, a kitchen barracks, an infirmary, and barracks where the prisoners could wash themselves. When the prisoners arrived, the barracks were in good condition, and the beds were described as being comparatively comfortable. On the other hand, it seems that the lack of food in the camp and the cold meant that the prisoners began to deteriorate rapidly, which in turn meant that within a very short period of time sanitary conditions in the camp became catastrophic. From the beginning there was no flowing water in the camp and no heating. In addition, the windows were nailed shut.

The advantage of the camp was that the prisoners had to rise each day at 6:00 A.M. instead of 4:30 A.M., as the camp was close to where they worked. Miroslav Tamchyna worked in the grenade turning mill. Heinz Rosenberg wrote the following: "Kurt and I worked in a department on ventilators."¹ The statements suggest that the concentration camp prisoners worked in particular departments of the shipyard.² One of the remaining pages of the camp's asset register lists the prisoners as mechanics. Other trades listed include welders, carpenters, and electricians.³ The prisoners had direct contact with German shipyard workers when they were at work. The German workers reacted in a number of different ways. Rosenberg writes the following: "Many of the German foremen were very nice. Some of them gave us every now and then a piece of beet. Others wrote down the numbers and the punishments in the . . . Schützenhof were . . . very bad."⁴ Czech prisoner Tamchyna stated that at his workstation he would roll cigarettes and in exchange would receive half a loaf of bread from the German workers.⁵

In January 1945, there were repeated air raids on the shipyard. Increasingly, the German foremen failed to appear at

work, and a large part of the facility was damaged. As a result, the prisoners ceased working at the shipyard: "Regular work ceased at the end of January. We were forced to clean up but under strict security. . . . A large yellow cross was painted on our striped prisoner uniforms so that anyone could recognize us."⁶ It would seem that it was above all the Jewish prisoners who were used to clean up the bomb rubble. Tamchyna, on the other hand, continued to work in the grenade turning mill at the shipyard until the evacuation.⁷ During an air raid in January, defenseless prisoners, who had been locked in their barracks, had to witness the bombs falling on the camp. They were lucky—it was only the SS kitchen barracks that was destroyed.

Hardly anything is known about the guards. Rosenberg mentions only that the camp's security changed little and that the camp commandant was an SS-Oberscharführer from the Blumenthal camp. Whether it was SS-Oberscharführer Richard-Johann vom Endt, the camp commandant from Blumenthal, or whether, after the evacuation of the Schützenhof group, Endt was transferred to Blumenthal is not known. It is thought most likely that a handful of SS men and a few naval infantrymen from the Blumenthal camp accompanied the prisoners to the Schützenhof camp.

The sources suggest that there were four large prisoner groups. There were prisoners from the Soviet Union, Poland, and Belgium, and Jews from a number of different countries. The Jewish prisoners stood at the bottom of the hierarchy and had no chance of being appointed to the higher functionary posts. It would seem that shortly after the camp was opened, there were around 1,000 prisoners in the camp. The large majority were the prisoners from Blumenthal. However, at the end of December, a prisoner transport arrived from the main camp. Rosenberg, writing from the perspective of a Jewish prisoner, wrote mostly about the Russian and Polish Kapos: "The antisemitism or the hatred of the Poles and Russians toward the Jews was terrible."⁸

However, something extraordinary happened on New Year's Day. Rosenberg writes: "We were told on January 1, 1945, to expect an SS-Oberscharführer. He arrived and made the following speech: 'Prisoners—don't imagine the war is over. We will show the world that Hitler will win this war. But if we lose there will be plenty of time to deal with you. Every prisoner is now to receive a cigarette and an extra slice of bread and can send a postcard home.' That was something new. Was the Oberscharführer fearful of the future . . . ? We did not know; but we had to do squats for a quarter of an hour and were then chased around the yard until most of us dropped from exhaustion, unable to go on."⁹ Rosenberg used the free afternoon to send a postcard to his Christian half-Jewish relatives. He asked for toothbrushes and toothpaste. "Four weeks later a small packet really did arrive . . . with toothbrushes and toothpaste. And with something else—bread and a cookie. The only thing was that there was no letter, nothing."¹⁰ This would have been one of the few packets that a Jewish prisoner in a concentration camp would have received in 1945.

In April 1945, the camp was evacuated. According to the Neuengamme SS-Standordarzt, there were 582 prisoners in

Bremen-Schützenhof on March 25, 1945. Rosenberg, on the other hand, states that there were only around 300 prisoners alive when the camp was evacuated. The evacuation train, which left the camp at the beginning of April, took the prisoners to their old camp in Bremen-Blumenthal. "After half a day, we, the Jewish prisoners, had to gather together. . . . There were only about one hundred of us left. There were around fifty Jews from other camps. . . . We were taken to two grain wagons, pushed in and the iron doors were closed behind us. . . . This was the worst of all the transports. There was nothing to eat and nothing to drink. It rained and it was cold. Illness and death traveled with us."¹¹ The transport finally reached its destination, the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Rosenberg was one of the few Jewish prisoners to survive the Bremen subcamp. The remaining prisoners from the Schützenhof camp were transported from Blumenthal to Farge, from where they set out on a large death march. The prisoners either reached Sandbostel or the Neustadt Bucht by boat. Many died during the march.¹²

The death rate in Bremen-Schützenhof appears to have been relatively high. This is particularly so when compared with Bremen-Blumenthal. Here the prisoners speak of extreme brutality. Nevertheless, in the Blumenthal camp there were 123 documented deaths, whereas for the Schützenhof camp, which existed for half the time, there were 268 documented deaths.¹³ A possible explanation is the fact that some of the prisoners, in particular the Jewish prisoners, from January on worked in the open air on bomb disposal squads, where they were exposed to the elements. On the other hand, the Blumenthal prisoners worked inside factory buildings.

SOURCES On the evacuation of the camp, see Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt. Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung. Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen, 2000), 2:25.

Just about all the primary information is from former prisoners. The majority of the texts are held in AG-NG. The most important are the memoirs of Heinz Rosenberg, which have been published as *Jahre des Schreckens . . . und ich blieb übrig, dass ich Dir's ansage* (Göttingen, 1992)—pp. 137–141, which concern Schützenhof. Another important source is the Register of Deaths at the Bremen Riensberg Cemetery.

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NOTES

1. Heinz Rosenberg, *Jahre des Schreckens . . . und ich blieb übrig, dass ich Dir's ansage* (Göttingen, 1992), p. 131. In addition there is held in AG-NG an interview with Heinz Rosenberg, AG-NG, OH-Projekt 1586. As all statements on the Schützenhof camp are based on the same two sources, I have refrained from constantly repeating them and only referred to the pages from which quotations are taken. Less reliable is the video interview with Czech prisoner Miroslav Tamchyna, AG-NG, Video 1997/0093 (27 minutes).

2. The local memorial committee suspects that the prisoners were deployed on the construction of the U-boat bunker "Hornisse." The fact that Rosenberg, Tamchyna, and other concentration camp prisoners do not refer to the bunker, but rather to Neuenland, suggests the committee is wrong.

3. AG-NG, 6.4.17 (Aussenlager Deschimag).

4. Heinz Rosenberg interview, p. 40.

5. Video interview with Miroslav Tamchyna.

6. Rosenberg, *Jahre des Schreckens*, p. 139.

7. Video interview with Miroslav Tamchyna.

8. Interview with Heinz Rosenberg, p. 40.

9. Rosenberg, *Jahre des Schreckens*, p. 138.

10. Interview with Heinz Rosenberg, p. 42.

11. Rosenberg, *Jahre des Schreckens*, p. 140.

12. Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt. Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung. Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen, 2000), 2:25. Miroslav Tamchyna survived the sinking of the *Cap Arcona*. He writes that around a quarter of the prisoners died during the evacuation march. See video interview with Miroslav Tamchyna.

13. Datenbank, AG-NG.

BREMEN-UPHUSEN (BEHELFSWOHNBAU)

The small barrack camp at Bremen-Uphusen existed as a Neuengamme subcamp from February 1945 until early April 1945. It was a camp exclusively for female prisoners. The camp was located on Bruchweg, a small side street off Uphuser Heerstrasse at the edge of Uphusen.

On October 11, 1944, Oberregierungsrat Köster, who worked with the Bremen senator for construction, suggested the establishment of the subcamp in a letter to Max Pauly, commandant of Neuengamme. At the time, Köster wanted to transfer some of the prisoners from the subcamp in Bremen-Obernheide to Uphusen, thereby decreasing the prisoners' commuting distance to their workplace. He wrote:

The subcamp for female concentration camp prisoners at Hindenburgkaserne, Huckelriede, which accommodated 800 female concentration camp inmates whom you allocated to me, was completely destroyed during an air raid on Bremen on September 26, 1944. As Obersturmführer Benedikt probably already has reported to you, we could transfer the inmates to another good camp [this refers to the Bremen-Obernheide camp] on the same day. Unfortunately, this is located far away on the edge of the city. Considering the current shortage of vehicles and fuel, it has become almost impossible to transfer the prisoners to their work sites, apart from the loss of valuable work time regrettably arising from the huge distance the prisoners need to travel. The following female prisoners are engaged in constructing prefabricated parts for emergency housing: 50 at the Lüning company in Hemelingen; 80 at the Rodieck company in

Uphusen. Moreover, as of Monday, October 16, 1944, 100 women will be deployed in Üsen near Achim to level the ground and lay the foundations for 100 emergency homes. The distance from the Obernheide subcamp to Hemelingen is 26 km [16 miles], to Uphusen, 29 km [18 miles], and 33 km [20.5 miles] to Üsen. Because the route is through the entire city, truck commuting time alone takes up to one hour.

I managed to obtain a barrack to accommodate some 200 prisoners near the Rodieck factory grounds. Requirements set forth by the SS for surveillance and security will be fulfilled. I shall arrange that other necessary work will be done. After inspecting the work sites, Obersturmführer Benedikt also examined the prisoners' accommodation and the premises and will be able to offer more details on the practicality of my proposal. I request your consent that a branch camp of the Obernheide subcamp be established here in Uphusen for 200 prisoners. I would be very grateful if you comply with my wishes in view of the serious difficulties that transportation now poses.¹

On October 18, 1944, Pauly approved the establishment of a subcamp in a letter to Oberregierungsrat Köster, provided that "accommodation and security requirements are met."² Construction began on November 15, 1944. The subcamp, a long stone barrack surrounded by a high fence, was completed in early February 1945.

As a note to the file by Köster indicates, 100 female prisoners, all Hungarian and Polish Jewish women, as well as five guards, were transferred from the Obernheide subcamp to Uphusen on February 7, 1945.³ Before their arrival in Bremen in August 1944, they had been driven from their homes, incarcerated in various ghettos in the country, and deported to Auschwitz. At Auschwitz II-Birkenau, many of them were held in the C Camp, the so-called transit camp, where they were selected for work in Bremen. The Jewish women from Poland, then again, probably arrived in Bremen in late August 1944. Since the beginning of 1940, some of them had been in the Łódź ghetto, where they worked as forced laborers until the ghetto's liquidation in the summer of 1944. From Łódź, the women were deported to Auschwitz and, after a selection, then transported to Bremen.

As Köster mentions in the letter cited above, the Jewish women in Uphusen were deployed solely to erect emergency housing and produce prefabricated building components, hence the name Behelfswohnbau. The construction companies Friedrich Rodieck, Lüning & Sohn, and Diedrich Rohlfs employed the women. Most of the women worked for Rodieck, where they had to pour concrete blocks and make prefabricated building slabs for emergency housing. Similarly, the Jewish prisoners at Lüning & Sohn mainly produced prefabricated concrete components. At the construction sites of the Rohlfs construction company, the women had to level the

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building ground, transport the construction material on flat-bed carts to the work sites, pour foundations, or assist in constructing emergency housing.

Even though Uphusen was a branch camp of the Bremen-Obernheide subcamp, it remains uncertain whether Johann Hille, the camp leader (Lagerleiter) at Obernheide, was also in charge of Uphusen.

Just as the identity of the commandant of the Uphusen subcamp is unknown, no information is available on the five guards Köster mentions in his note to the file.

The Uphusen camp was probably evacuated on April 4, 1945. Partly on foot, by truck, and by train, the female prisoners from both Uphusen and Obernheide were transported to Bergen-Belsen, where they arrived on April 8 or 9, 1945. Those who managed to survive the conditions in the “receiving camp” were liberated by British troops on April 15, 1945.

SOURCES This description of the Uphusen camp is based on Harmut Müller, *Die Frauen von Obernheide: Jüdische Zwangsarbeiterinnen in Bremen 1944/1945* (Bremen: Donat, 1988).

The AG-NG holds transcripts of some interviews with female survivors who report on the history of the camp. The author conducted several interviews with former inmates. Further records are located at YV and AG-BB. Documents on the construction of the camp barracks as well as reports about the prisoner transfer are held in the StA-Br. These files also contain information on Johann Hille.

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NOTES

1. Schreiben des Oberregierungsrates Köster beim Senator für das Bauwesen vom 11. Oktober 1944 an den Herrn Kommandeur des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme, SS-Sturmabführer Pauly, Hamburg-Neuengamme, StA-Br, 9, 9–17, Folder no. 66.
2. Schreiben des SS-Sturmabführer und Kommandant Max Pauly vom 18. Oktober 1944 an den Oberregierungsrat Köster beim Senator für das Bauwesen, StA-Br, Holding 9, 9–17, Folder no. 66.
3. Aktenvermerk ohne Datum, StA-Br, Holding 9, 9–17, Folder no. 66.

BREMEN-VEGESACK

A satellite camp attached to Neuengamme was created in the Vegesack district of Bremen from July 1944 to September 1944. As in other subcamps attached to Neuengamme, the inmates deported to Bremen-Vegesack were used as laborers to clear rubble from bombed-out areas of the city. In Vegesack, the inmates' demolition of partially destroyed buildings may have cleared space for the construction of temporary housing for displaced residents (*Ersatzwohnungen*).

As many as 500 female inmates were deported to the Bremen-Vegesack satellite camp, although it is unclear where they were originally from. Most female inmates were de-

ported directly to Neuengamme subcamps from other camps, such as Auschwitz II-Birkenau, rather than first to the main camp. These women may have been Polish Jews selected for work in Auschwitz and deported to Bremen in August 1944.¹

In September 1944, the Vegesack inmates were most likely transferred to another Neuengamme subcamp in Bremen-Obernheide, located on the edge of Bremen on Obernheide Strasse. Various firms employed these women in construction and clearing.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources outlining information about the Neuengamme satellite camp in Bremen-Vegesack. Secondary literature that contains brief information on the existence of the camp includes Werner Johe, *Neuengamme: Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1982); and Bogdan Suchowiak, *Die Tragödie der Häftlinge von Neuengamme* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1985). This information (opening and closing dates, number of inmates) can also be found in the Bremen-Vegesack entry in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979).

Primary documentation that offers details on the Bremen-Vegesack camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG, which contains many witness reports from former prisoners, may yield additional information about this camp.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTE

1. See Neuengamme/Bremen-Obernheide.

DARSS-WIECK

The first subcamp attached to Neuengamme was created on the Darss peninsula near the Baltic Sea. A detachment of 50 male inmates was deported to Darss-Wieck in January 1941. They were forced to cut reeds, which were collected and sent to the SS-Weaving Contingent (Rohrmattenflechterei) in the women's camp at Ravensbrück. The 50 male inmates were most likely Jehovah's Witnesses who had been deported to the Neuengamme camp from Gestapo prisons and other concentration camps, such as Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald. They were used in Darss-Wieck for reed cultivation until late February 1941. These inmates were most likely deployed again from Neuengamme to Darss-Zingst later that same year in December 1941.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources outlining information about the Neuengamme satellite camp in Darss-Wieck. Secondary literature, which contains brief information on the existence of the camp, includes Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), which covers a broad analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps. For an analysis of Jehovah's Witnesses in

the Neuengamme camp system, see Detlef Garbe, *Zwischen Widerstand und Martyrium: Die Zeugen Jehovas im "Dritten Reich"* (Munich, 1999), pp. 473–489.

Primary documentation that provides information on the Darss-Wieck camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG may yield additional information.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

DARSS-ZINGST

A satellite camp attached to Neuengamme was established in Zingst on the Darss peninsula near the Baltic Sea. A detachment of 50 male inmates was deported to Darss-Zingst in December 1941. They were forced to cut reeds, which were collected and sent to the SS-Weaving Contingent (Rohrmatenflechtere) in the women's camp at Ravensbrück. The 50 male inmates were most likely Jehovah's Witnesses who had been deported to the Neuengamme camp from Gestapo prisons and other concentration camps, such as Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald. They were used in Darss-Zingst for reed cultivation until April 1942. These may have been the same inmates who were deployed from Neuengamme to Darss-Wieck in early 1941.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources outlining information about the Neuengamme satellite camp in Darss-Zingst. Secondary literature, which contains brief information on the existence of the camp, includes Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), which covers a broad analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps. For an analysis of Jehovah's Witnesses in the Neuengamme camp system, see Detlef Garbe, *Zwischen Widerstand und Martyrium: Die Zeugen Jehovas im "Dritten Reich"* (Munich, 1999), pp. 473–489.

Primary documentation that provides information on the Darss-Zingst camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG may yield additional information.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

DRÜTTE

Drütte was a key Neuengamme subcamp in the Braunschweig/Salzgitter region, built to provide labor to the armaments manufacturer Reichswerke "Hermann Göring" (RWHG). Planned expansion of the plant in 1942 necessitated more labor, so in a private meeting in September managing director Paul Pleiger obtained Heinrich Himmler's permission to use concentration camp prisoners.¹ On this basis, planning commenced for the first and largest Neuengamme subcamp, which was to house 2,577 prisoners. Monthly transports from November 1942 to May 1943 would ensure that the planned numbers were reached.²

The camp was established in the pithead bathing and dressing rooms (*Waschkauen*) on the Hochstrasse, one of the main roads inside the RWHG. It was originally known as Camp 27 and had been built in 1939 to hold around 1,000 Polish civilian laborers.

The first 50 prisoners and 10 guards from the Buchenwald concentration camp arrived at the Drütte subcamp on October 18, 1942. They took over the construction work on the main road. Each month transports arrived from the Neuengamme concentration camp. With the completion of the accommodation blocks in the spring of 1944, the camp population reached the goal of 2,600 prisoners. At the same time the construction of the new assembly factory and the technical building for *Aktion 88* (a program to produce 8.8 cm artillery shells) were completed.

The work was done in different areas: one group worked on the production of 7.5 cm and 10.5 cm shell bodies; another group, the Blockbrecher- und Blockputzerkommando (block breaking and cleaning detachment), worked at presses to break up the glowing steel blocks; and still others worked on the production line for *Aktion 88*. The prisoners worked in two 12-hour shifts but occasionally in three 8-hour shifts. From the summer of 1944 on, an average of 2,000 prisoners worked daily in *Aktion 88*.³

It was only in May 1944 that the SS and the Reichswerke "Hermann Göring" concluded a contract regarding Drütte.⁴ The RWHG paid the usual 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled and 4 RM per unskilled prisoner to the SS. The accommodations for the SS and prisoners were provided free of charge by RWHG, as was water, electricity, heating, and construction and cleaning of the barracks.

Food supplies were very poor in Drütte. The minimum quantities set for prisoners were often not reached. The food supply bore no correlation to the heavy labor. In the summer of 1944 the camp command attempted to increase the prisoners' output by introducing a bonus system.⁵ It is not clear who distributed the bonus cards and whether there was in fact additional food in the canteen. According to former prisoners, it was possible, now and then, to exchange the bonus cards for a type of beet salad.⁶

In September 1944, the Reichsführer-SS allowed the camp strength to be increased to 3,150 prisoners. This was done on the basis of the official line that there were sufficient accommodation and beds. However, even before this permission was granted, Drütte was short of at least 600 beds.⁷

As the prisoner numbers increased, the standards of the living conditions declined. Between 600 and 800 men lived in each accommodation block on the Hochstrasse, sleeping in three-tiered bunk beds. There was a constant coming and going caused by the different shifts, which meant a great deal of noise. In addition, there were the factory sounds and the noise of cars and trucks on the Hochstrasse.

The average age of the 3,000 prisoners was around 20 years old. Most of them were Europeans and were classified as "political prisoners." In spite of their youth, they could only bear the heavy physical labor and poor nutrition for a short time. Many fell sick or were injured while carrying out their work, to which they were not accustomed.

Initially there were only 60 beds in the infirmary. When the camp was expanded, the infirmary was shifted and enlarged to around 150 to 180 beds. It became more difficult to

obtain access to the infirmary, as it was separated from the rest of the camp by a fence. The Neuengamme camp doctor was responsible for medical care. This responsibility was taken over in 1942 by Reichswerke medical doctor Dr. Edmund Schauf. Paul Michael, a tailor, was the SS medical orderly in the sick bay between May 1943 and April 1945. Treatment of the prisoners was undertaken by prisoner doctors.⁸ The infirmary was inadequately equipped for the high number of sick prisoners. Often 2 prisoners shared a bed; there was no isolation bay and scarcely any medicines and bandages.⁹ Officially, 682 prisoners died in Drütte through illnesses, accidents, and executions.¹⁰

During construction the camp commandants were SS-Hauptsturmführer Hermann Florstedt and SS-Obersturmführer Anton Thumann; from the end of 1942 to the middle of 1943, SS-Hauptsturmführer Georg-Heinrich Forster; from then until the spring of 1944, SS-Hauptsturmführer Herbert Rautenberg; from then until March 1945, SS-Obersturmführer Arnold Strippel; and from then to the evacuation of the camp, SS-Obersturmführer Karl Wiedemann.¹¹

The Drütte subcamp was evacuated three days before American troops reached the Salzgitter area. On April 7, 1945, all the prisoners were confined to barracks. It was only in the evening that they were loaded onto goods and cattle cars. The train was standing on a railway line behind the camp fence. The transport was to take all the concentration camp prisoners to Bergen-Belsen. At midday on April 8, 1945, the train halted at the Celle goods railway yard. Around 6:00 P.M. the air-raid sirens were heard, and several squadrons of the U.S. 9th Air Force bombed the railway goods yards. To the extent that they were able to, prisoners tried to escape, fleeing to a nearby forest, hiding in house entrances and in cellars. After the air raid the SS, Wehrmacht, Celle citizens, and Hitler Youth hunted down the prisoners. More than half of the 4,000 prisoners on the transport did not survive the bombing and the hunt that followed. Those who could march were driven by foot to Bergen-Belsen. The injured and weak were left behind in the former stables of the Heide barracks.

Those responsible for the Drütte concentration camp were tried between March 18 and April 2, 1947, in the Hamburg Curio-Haus by a British military court. Only seven men were tried for the mistreatment and killing of Allied citizens in the Drütte labor camp at the RWHG, even though many SS and factory employees had been investigated in the years preceding the trial. Only three of the accused were convicted.

Karl Hecht, who from December 1942 to May 1943 was Rapportführer in Drütte, was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. Karl Sokola, an SS guard, received six months, and Walter Mehnert, an engineer at the factory, was sentenced to six years' imprisonment. The other accused were acquitted due to a lack of evidence.¹²

SOURCES Information on the Drütte subcamp is to be found in a number of publications, often in chapters focus-

ing on a particular theme. To date, there is no comprehensive study on the camp. Gudrun Pischke has described the camp and its development in her book *“Europa arbeitet bei den Reichswerken . . .” Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem in Salzgitter* (Salzgitter, 1995). Gerd Wysocki in his book *“Arbeit für den Krieg”—Herrschaftsmechanismen in der Rüstungsindustrie des Dritten Reiches* (Braunschweig, 1992) deals with the use of concentration camp prisoners in the armaments industry. The essay by Elke Zacharias deals with the evacuation of the camp: “Die Räumung der KZ Aussenlager in der Region Salzgitter/Braunschweig,” which is included in a book published by the Neuengamme Concentration Camp Memorial: *“Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung”: Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945* (Hamburg, 2005). The author's book *Ein Ort mit Geschichte: Der “Ausländerfriedhof” Jammertal in Salzgitter-Lebenstedt* (Salzgitter, 2006) includes for the first time the names of all known Drütte concentration camp prisoners who died there. On the Celle air raid and the massacre of camp prisoners, see Mijndert Bertram, *April 1945: Der Luftangriff auf Celle und das Schicksal der KZ-Häftlinge aus Drütte* (Celle, 1989); and the author's “Wir dachten, die Befreiung sei ganz nah . . .,” in *Hasenjagd in Celle: Das Massaker am 8. April 1945* (Celle RWLE Möller Stiftung, 2005).

There are collections in various archives. The archives of the RWHG did not survive intact: there was a targeted destruction of files before the end of the war; in addition, those files that did survive were broken up when the company was privatized in the 1980s. In the BA-K, there are parts of the files from the Peine-Salzgitter AG, which also include files on Drütte. Of particular importance are the investigation and trial files on the third Drütte Trial, which are held in the PRO. Other files on the Drütte subcamp are scattered. There are some in NARA, and these were used in preparing the Nuremberg Trials. A comprehensive collection of interviews and memoirs is held in the archives of the AG-Dr and the AG-NG.

Elke Zacharias
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BA-K, SAG 12/312/10, Schreiben vom 2.10.1942.
2. BA-K, SAG 12/312/10, Schreiben vom 29.9.1942.
3. BA-K, SAG 12/312/10, Forderungsnachweis.
4. BA-K, SAG 12/312/10, Vertrag vom 22.5.1944.
5. BA-K, SAG 12/312/10, Vorgaben für Prämienscheine.
6. AG-Dr, Interview Modrzejewski 1991.
7. BA-K, SAG 12/312/10, Schreiben vom 29.9.1944.
8. PRO, WO 309/411.
9. Ibid.
10. StA Salzgitter, Friedhofskartei, AG-NG, Die Toten, CD 2005.
11. Gudrun Pischke, *“Europa arbeitet bei den Reichswerken . . .” Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem in Salzgitter* (Salzgitter, 1995), p. 276.
12. PRO, WO 309/411.

DÜSSIN

A satellite camp attached to Neuengamme was created in Düssin (Mecklenberg province) on September 15, 1944. Inmates deported to the Neuengamme subcamp system were used as laborers in construction, repairs, and various other economic and rearmaments efforts. The creation of satellite camps at work sites diminished transportation time for inmates between the main camp and the outlying sites. At least 80 male inmates were transferred to the Düssin camp, presumably from the main Neuengamme camp, to be used as laborers. They performed various duties, including loading potatoes onto freight trains.

The Düssin camp existed until March 1, 1945, when the inmates were transferred to another Neuengamme subcamp located at Hamburg Hammerbrook (Spaldingstrasse). There they were employed in clearing rubble from bombed-out areas of Hamburg, reconstructing buildings, and burying corpses. The fate of the Düssin prisoners in particular is unknown; however, the camp at Spaldingstrasse was evacuated after an Allied air raid destroyed the camp on April 14, 1945. The inmates were transferred to the Sandbostel camp, where they were liberated by British and Canadian troops on April 19, 1945.¹

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources outlining information about the Neuengamme satellite camp in Düssin. Secondary literature, which contains brief information on the existence of the camp, includes Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), which covers a broad analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps; and Ulrich Bauch, *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme, 1938–1945* (Hamburg, 1986). This information (opening and closing dates, number of inmates) can also be found in the Düssin entry in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen, 1979). Finally, for the dates and path of the evacuation of the camp, see the second volume of the two-volume work *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung; Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, ed. Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, Freundeskreis KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme e.V., with contributions by Detlef Garber and Nina Holsten (Bremen, 2000).

Primary documentation that provides information on the Düssin camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG may yield additional information.

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NOTE

1. See Neuengamme/Hamburg-Hammerbrook (Spaldingstrasse).

ENGERHAFE [AKA AURICH-ENGERHAFE]

The Neuengamme subcamp in Engerhufe was established in October 1944 and was located in the vicinity of the town of Aurich. The original Engerhufe barracks had been constructed

in 1941 and had capacity for about 500 prisoners. In 1942, Organisation Todt (OT) employed foreign workers confined in the camp for the construction of air-raid bunkers in the nearby town of Emden. From early 1944 until October 1944, the camp remained empty. After the camp was incorporated into the Neuengamme camp system, a commando of about 400 to 500 inmates was transferred from Neuengamme to Engerhufe on October 21, 1944. The commando reconstructed and expanded the camp to prepare for the arrival of additional prisoners. The Engerhufe subcamp prisoners were to be used in the construction of the so-called Friesenwall, a set of fortifications ordered by Hitler in August 1944 and planned for the western border regions and the coast of the North Sea.

The original Engerhufe camp, which consisted of three barracks including a kitchen and wash area, was expanded in October 1944 with the arrival of the first prisoners from Neuengamme. The commando built four new watchtowers at the perimeter of the camp, constructed two additional large barracks, and surrounded the camp with barbed wire. One of the barracks was partitioned to form space for a prisoner infirmary. The barracks were overcrowded and unheated, and inmates sometimes had to sleep two to each bunk level. The sanitary conditions in Engerhufe were primitive. There were no toilets, only pits with benches built around them; these quickly overflowed. The prisoners had no change of clothing, and their thin garments and wooden shoes offered little protection against the weather or harsh working conditions.

During its two-month existence, some 2,000 inmates were incarcerated in the Engerhufe subcamp. In addition to the first transport of about 500 inmates, other transports from Neuengamme followed after the camp was expanded. Many of the prisoners had been incarcerated in other camps prior to Neuengamme, including Sachsenhausen and its subcamps, such as Berlin-Lichterfelde. The prisoners in Engerhufe were all men and were predominantly Polish. The second largest national group included about 200 Dutch inmates; on November 9 and 10, 1944, an unknown number of Dutch men were deported from the town of Putten to Neuengamme. There were also many French, Latvian, and Russian prisoners, as well as some Belgian, Danish, Lithuanian, Estonian, Spanish, Czech, and Italian prisoners. Jewish prisoners were also imprisoned in the camp, many deported from Lithuania; at least 15 Jews were reported to have died in the Engerhufe camp. (There is no specific breakdown of numbers of prisoner groups in the camp, including the exact number of Jews imprisoned in the camp.)¹ On December 15, 1944, about 500 to 600 inmates, who were too exhausted or ill to work, were transported back to the Neuengamme main camp. By the time of the dissolution of the Engerhufe camp in December 1944, about 1,200 inmates remained.

The commandant of the Engerhufe subcamp was SS-Oberscharführer Erwin Seifert. Seifert entered the SS-Death's Head Units (Totenkopfverbände) in 1938 and was assigned to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in 1939. He became the Lagerführer of Berlin-Lichterfelde, a sub-

camp of Sachsenhausen, from September 1943 to March 1944. After the evacuation of Berlin-Lichterfelde, Seifert was transferred to Neuengamme, and shortly after, he was appointed Lagerführer in Engerhabe. According to postwar trial documentation, Seifert asserted that, other than himself, there were few other SS guards in Engerhabe. Most of the guards in Engerhabe were naval soldiers (Marinesoldaten) and were answerable to Seifert.

In addition to Oberscharführer Seifert, his assisting SS officers, and the naval soldiers, some inmates were given positions of authority over their fellow inmates. Kapos oversaw the inmates at work sites and terrorized the prisoners within the camp. Former Engerhabe inmate Christian Georges characterized a Kapo as “a man who beat other men for one more piece of bread, for soup, for good clothing, good shoes . . . for his survival, he would have beaten his own mother.”⁷² The camp elder (Lagerältester) and block elder (Blockältester) were responsible for discipline and order within the camp. Prisoner positions within the camp gained some privileges, including extra food and less stringent physical work. With few exceptions, the Kapos and other special assignment prisoners (*Funktionshäftlinge*), generally German and Dutch criminals, were brutal toward the other inmates.

Daily activity in the Engerhabe camp was dominated by work on the Friesenwall, an operation led in part by the Marine-Oberkommando Nordsee (Wilhelmshaven) and the Generalkommando X in Hamburg. The Engerhabe prisoners were sent daily on a two-hour march to Aurich, where they were forced to dig antitank trenches for the “Rundumverteidigung Aurich.” The work was grueling and performed manually, often knee-deep in mud. With only shovels and spades, the inmates dug trenches 4 to 5 meters (13.1 to 16.4 feet) wide and 2 to 3 meters (6.6 to 9.8 feet) deep. The Kapos and guards drove the prisoners to exhaustion and beat them with rubber truncheons while they worked. The Engerhabe inmates worked uninterrupted for 12 hours each day, until they were marched back to the camp for roll call and a sparse evening meal. A Polish former political prisoner in Engerhabe, Jozef Ścisło, recalled that the inmates nicknamed the camp “Hitler’s morgue.”⁷³

Due to the terrible living and work conditions in the Engerhabe subcamp, many inmates died from exhaustion, malnutrition, and lack of proper medical care. They succumbed to diseases such as dysentery, typhus, and pneumonia, and the death rate was considerably high. A special prisoner commando, called the Corpse Unit (Leichenkommando), carried corpses in wagons to the nearby Engerhabe cemetery, where they buried the bodies in mass graves. Over a two-month period, 188 inmates died in Engerhabe (excluding the prisoners transferred to Neuengamme in mid-December). Prisoner deaths and burials were recorded in the “Friedhof-Lagerbuch der Kirchengemeinde Engerhabe” as well as in the Neuengamme death book (*Totenbuch*). The Service Technique de la Délégation Générale pour l’Allemagne et l’Autriche du Ministère des Anciens Combattants et Victimes de Guerre confirmed this number after exhuming and identifying the bodies buried in mass graves in Engerhabe in 1952. The death

rate was at its highest between November 21 and December 15, 1944, when 143 inmates died.

The maximum exploitation of the Engerhabe inmates in the construction of the Friesenwall and the poor conditions within the camp thwarted organized resistance or escape attempts. Most prisoners were consumed by overwhelming hunger and tried to avoid beatings meted out by the Kapos and guards. According to testimony from former inmates, solidarity formed within the various national groups, which were grouped together in blocks. Some individual attempts to assist fellow inmates were made; for example, the Czech prisoner who worked in the kitchen sometimes hid extra food and distributed it to other inmates. A Dutch camp elder assigned ill or weakened inmates to lighter workloads.

As the Allies closed in and the front neared, the Engerhabe subcamp was dissolved. The inmates were evacuated either on foot or by train to Neuengamme on December 22, 1944. Because they had little food and water for the often weeklong march, additional inmates died during the evacuation or were shot by the SS. According to witness testimony, at the time of the evacuation, a large number of Polish inmates were transferred to Mauthausen, and many Dutch and Belgian prisoners were transferred to Hamburg or Bergen-Belsen and ultimately to the prisoner-of-war (POW) camp Sandbostel.

The Landgericht (Regional Court) Aurich brought criminal charges against former Oberscharführer Seifert in 1965.⁷⁴ He was accused of murdering at least 20 inmates throughout his career in the camps; however, Seifert was never sentenced. No further information about Seifert’s trial or other members of the Engerhabe camp is available.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the seminal study on the Engerhabe camp by Elke Suhr, *Das Konzentrationslager im Pfarrgarten: Ein Panzergraben-Kommando für den Friesenwall-Aurich/Engerhabe 1944* (Oldenburg, 1984), which examines nearly all aspects of the camp and includes excerpts of witness testimony. See also Eva Requardt-Schohaus, “Der verdrängte Herbst von Engerhabe,” *Ostf-M* (November 1994), for an updated overview of the status of research on the camp and the memorial in Engerhabe. For a broad overview of the Neuengamme subcamp system, see Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997); and Werner Johe, *Neuengamme: Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1982). For further information on the Armed Forces High Command (OKW) defense strategy in Ostfriesland and Emsland and the role of the Marine-Oberkommando Nordsee, see *Kriegstagebuch des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht (Wehrmachtsführungsstab) 1940–1945*, ed. Percy Schramm, with Hans-Adolf Jacobsen (Augsburg, 2002); and Herbert Schwarzwälder, *Bremen und Nordwestdeutschland am Kriegsende 1945* (Bremen, 1972).

Primary documentation on the Engerhabe subcamp, used extensively by Suhr in *Konzentrationslager im Pfarrgarten*, is located at the FZH (formerly the FGNS-H), especially the Hans Schwarz archive that includes the Neuengamme “Totenbücher.” Files containing detailed information on prisoner deaths derived from an investigation of mass graves in Aurich-Engerhabe and conducted by the grave commission of the Ser-

vice Technique de la Délégation Générale pour l'Allemagne et l'Autriche du Ministère des Anciens Combattants et Victimes de Guerre are stored at the NStA-Os, and grave lists from the delegation are stored at the AGe-Sü. Documentation from the 1965 trial against Erwin Seifert by the Landgericht Aurich is located in the AStALG-Au (2 Js 820/65). For other administrative records attached to the camp, such as a list of French inmates in the camp (NE 24) and postwar testimony from a former inmate (NE 24), see the archives of the USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045, which constitutes a collection copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Numbers of prisoners who died in Engerhufe can be found in the Totenbücher of Neuengamme and its subcamps, stored at the FZH.

2. Testimony of Christian Georges, as quoted in Elke Suhr, *Das Konzentrationslager im Pfarrgarten: Ein Panzergraben-Kommando für den Friesenwall-Aurich/Engerhufe 1944* (Oldenburg, 1984), p. 94.

3. Report of Jozef Ścisło to French consulate, Kraków, May 2, 1966 (NE 24), AN, Secretariat d'Etat aux Anciens Combattants as reproduced in the archives of the USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 40.

4. Documentation from the trial is stored at the AStALG-Au (2 Js 820/65).

FALLERSLEBEN (VOLKSWAGENWERKE)

The Fallersleben (Volkswagenwerke) concentration camp was a subcamp of the Neuengamme main camp under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). It operated from early June 1944 to April 7, 1945, first as a men's camp and, from August 1944, then as a women's camp. It was located on the second floor of the Volkswagen (VW) company's main factory in Wolfsburg. (Wolfsburg was called "Stadt-des-Kraft-durch-Freude-Wagens bei Fallersleben," that is, city of the Strength-through-Joy-motorcar near Fallersleben, since the VW motorcar was named after the Nazi Party's Strength-through-Joy organization.)

The Fallersleben (VW) camp was established on the initiative of leading Volkswagen chief Ferdinand Porsche after a meeting he and his son, Ferry Porsche, had with Heinrich Himmler on March 4, 1944. VW had a long history of cooperation with the SS. As early as 1941, the SS had agreed to provide the company with forced laborers from concentration camps. It started to do so in 1942 when the "Arbeitsdorf" main camp started operating on the factory premises. Chief executive officer (CEO) and developer of the "people's car" Ferdinand Porsche, an Oberführer of the General-SS (Allgemeine-SS), belonged to Hitler's inner circle. He staged cooperation projects with Himmler and the SS on several occasions. Ferdinand Porsche constantly attempted to increase the number of laborers in order to expand the company. Even though the German Labor Front (DAF) owned

the company, he treated it as if it were his private property. Since VW had a key role in the Fieseler (Fi) 103 (V-1) program, Porsche could expand production, employment, and the exploitation of forced and slave labor.

The Fallersleben (VW) concentration camp provided slave laborers for V-1 and small arms production in the VW factory. Its history falls into two distinct periods. Until July 5, 1944, the camp held 300 male Hungarian Jewish prisoners. They had been recruited by a VW engineer and SS-Hauptscharführer in Auschwitz as metalworkers, technicians, and civil engineers for the manufacturing of cruise missiles in a top-secret area of the factory just above the prisoners' quarters. After Allied air raids had partly destroyed the factory, V-1 production was moved to underground facilities in Schönebeck an der Elbe near Magdeburg and Tiercelet in occupied Lorraine. The 300 "V-1 specialists" were taken by train to Thil, a Natzweiler subcamp, where they arrived on July 6, and were put to work for the VW subsidiary company Minette in nearby Tiercelet.

During the second period, from August 1944 to April 7, 1945, a larger number of female prisoners, the majority of them Hungarian Jews who had been selected for slave labor in Auschwitz, manufactured land mines and bazookas at assembly lines located next to the concentration camp area.

The Fallersleben (VW) camp consisted of two large, sealed-off former workers' changing rooms on the factory ground floor. The rooms were barren but clean, with bunk beds, wooden tables, and benches. Hot showers remained and could be used by the prisoners. Daylight could only come through one window opening to a closed yard. Air-raid shelters were part of the camp area, and prisoners frequently had to spend their short off-duty hours there.

The guards' accommodations were located in separate quarters next to the prisoners' rooms and in a nearby Waffen-SS barrack. Another Neuengamme subcamp, Fallersleben-Laagberg, was in charge of camp administration. Its commandant, until February 1, 1945, Hauptscharführer Johannes Pump, then Army Hauptmann Karl Werringloer, commanded the guards of both camps. During the first period, SS, Luftwaffe, and elderly Wehrmacht personnel mainly composed the guard units. During the second period, female SS guards were also deployed, some having been recruited among VW employees and rushed through a short, brutalizing training program at the Ravensbrück women's camp. Since the prisoners' accommodations were inside the factory building, there were no special security measures. The prisoners' work areas, however, were sealed off from the rest by wire fences and walls. Prisoners were not allowed to communicate with the German foremen and foreign laborers who did transport and repair jobs. Nevertheless, the different groups of workers talked to each other.

The first transport of 300 male Jewish prisoners remained intact until its transfer to Thil. The arrival of the second transport of 500 Jewish women from Auschwitz in August transformed the Fallersleben VW camp into a women's camp. Additional transports arrived on November 18 from Bergen-

Belsen, numbering 50 Jewish women, and on January 14, 1945, from Dachau through Bergen-Belsen, carrying 100 mostly non-Jewish women who had been arrested as participants or supporters of partisan activities in Yugoslavia and Hungary. A large evacuation transport of Jewish and non-Jewish women from the Porta Westfalica camp almost doubled the total number of inmates on April 2, 1945. By then, at least 4 prisoners had died because of infectious diseases. Two babies were born in the camp in December 1944. According to eyewitness accounts, one was killed at once, while the other died after two weeks despite joint efforts by prisoners to hide and provide for it.

As there were no German prisoners, the camp elder, Gyula Gross (later Brana Heller) and other prisoner-functionaries were Hungarian Jews. Although survivor accounts differ about their behavior, they generally seem to have administered SS orders with moderation.

Slave labor was the purpose of the Fallersleben (VW) camp. The prisoners performed specialized metal processing operations for which they received brief training during the first days of their stay at the factory by German workers and Luftwaffe personnel. Work frequently was delayed due to a lack of materials. On various occasions, prisoners had to “volunteer” to remove debris after air raids, load and unload railway cars, or work in vegetable fields that surrounded the factory. According to survivor testimonies, one prisoner was shot at point-blank range by a female guard for attacking her verbally. Occasionally, guards distributed blows and whiplashes, but most former inmates report the level of violence as low. There were no ritualized punishment procedures as in other concentration camps. Verbal abuse was, however, common, and male guards took pleasure in sexually harassing the female prisoners in the showers.

Hygiene in the Fallersleben (VW) camp was good, but food was clearly insufficient. Eventually, rations were reduced. By the time of liberation, most prisoners suffered from dire emaciation. A sick bay managed by a prisoner (a dental aide) and supervised by a VW factory physician only had five or six beds, so on company orders only prisoners with more than 39 degrees Celsius (102.2 degrees Fahrenheit) of fever were exempt from work. A few seriously ill prisoners were treated in the nearby company-owned hospital, where they were kept in isolation during their stay. That the prisoners were protected from the weather and excessive violence mainly accounts for the low mortality rate in spite of the deplorable food situation.

Male prisoners successfully sabotaged the V-1 devices, and female prisoners managed to engage in acts of symbolic resistance. Headed by intellectuals, they organized a “camp university” with lectures, recitals of poetry, plays, and Italian operas. A small group of orthodox Jewish women was protected by other inmates when performing religious rituals. Attempts to escape did not occur, as the prisoners were constantly kept behind locked doors in the factory building.

The first commandant, Pump, was excessive in his sexual abuse of female inmates. While committing various acts of violence in the Laagberg camp, which he also commanded, he generally left day-to-day business in the women’s camp to the female guards. They, however, took more interest in partying

with soldiers from the nearby Waffen-SS barracks and only made sporadic appearances inside the camp area.

On April 7, 1945, some 1,600 remaining female inmates of the Fallersleben (VW) camp were evacuated by train to Salzwedel, another Neuengamme subcamp. They were liberated by U.S. Army troops a week later.

SOURCES The description of the Fallersleben (VW) camp is based on Therkel Straede’s research. Most useful sources included: Hans Mommsen and Manfred Grieger, *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf: ECON, 1996), pp.864, 896; Therkel Straede’s articles in *Proceedings of the Xth International Oral History Conference* (Rio de Janeiro, 1998), p.1748, and *Lessons & Legacies 1998* (Chicago, 2002). Further secondary sources include Klaus-Jörg Siegfried, *Das Leben der Zwangsarbeiter im Volkswagenwerk 1939–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1988); Siegfried, *Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit im Volkswagenwerk 1939–1945: Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1987); and incomplete data in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). A chapter on the camp is included in the author’s forthcoming book *The Volkswagen Jews*. Some survivors have published accounts on the camp. See, for example, the gravely erroneous account by Kitty Hart-Moxon, *Return to Auschwitz: The Remarkable Story of a Girl Who Survived the Holocaust* (New York: Atheneum, 1983); Atie Siegenbeek van Heukelom in ‘t venster 6/1946 (Amsterdam); and Julia Kertesz, “Von Auschwitz ins Volkswagenwerk: Erinnerungen an KZ-Haft und Zwangsarbeit,” *DaHe* 8 (1992): 69–87.

Sources on the Fallersleben (VW) camp are scattered. The VW archive and the ASt-WOB hold company and municipal documents as well as second provenance collections of documents from the AG-NG, YV, the NIOD, the NHStA-H, the BA-B, and the ZdL-L. These collections include several accounts and testimonies by survivors and eyewitnesses, as do the VHF and the USHMM.

Therkel Straede

FALLERSLEBEN-LAAGBERG

The Fallersleben-Laagberg concentration camp was a sub-camp of the Neuengamme main camp under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). It operated from May 31, 1944, until April 7, 1945. The camp was located 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from the Volkswagen (VW) company’s main factory in Wolfsburg. (Wolfsburg was called “Stadt-des-Kraft-durch-Freude-Wagens bei Fallersleben,” that is, city of the Strength-through-Joy-motorcar near Fallersleben, since the VW motorcar was named after the Nazi party’s Strength-through-Joy organization.)

The Laagberg camp was established on the initiative of VW management after negotiations with the Army Armaments Inspectorate (Rüstungsinspektion) and the SS. At that time, VW already had a long history of cooperation with the

SS. As early as 1941, the SS had agreed to provide the company with slave laborers from concentration camps. It started to do so in 1942, when the “Arbeitsdorf” main camp started operating on the factory premises. Chief executive officer (CEO) and developer of the “people’s car” Ferdinand Porsche, an Oberführer of the General-SS (Allgemeine-SS), belonged to Hitler’s inner circle. He staged cooperation projects with Himmler and the SS on several occasions. Porsche constantly attempted to increase the number of laborers in order to expand the company. Even though the German Labor Front (DAF) owned the company, Porsche treated it as if it were his private property.

Laagberg provided manpower for the construction of a brick barracks settlement intended to accommodate German workers employed in the Fieseler (Fi) 103 (V-1) cruise missile program. VW coordinated V-1 production until October 1944 and hoped to expand the company, as this weapon system ripened to serial production. It used the V-1 program as a pretext to accumulate capacities, including workers’ housing, in order to prepare for postwar civilian production. Thus, both wartime and peacetime economic considerations motivated VW to employ concentration camp slave laborers.

The Laagberg concentration camp was surrounded by a high-voltage barbed-wire fence and four wooden watchtowers equipped with searchlights and machine guns. Four unfinished one-story brick barracks with a capacity of 768 inmates were located inside the camp. For several weeks, there was neither running water nor washing facilities and only primitive outdoor latrines. Thirst drove prisoners to drink surface water from muddy holes. Eventually, the prisoners installed a sewage water system and erected toilets and lavatories. In the winter of 1944–1945, two additional watchtowers and another barrack, serving as a morgue, were built. With the arrival of new transports in April 1945, however, it also accommodated prisoners. The roll-call area (*Appellplatz*) and the gallows were located in the center of the prisoners’ compound. Brick barracks outside the fenced-in area accommodated the guards as well as the SS camp administration, offices of the company building site administration, and from November on, also a camp kitchen. During working hours, the entire 450×600-meter (492×656-yard) building site was encircled by a chain of guardposts (*Postenkette*).

Initially, SS-Death’s Head Units, partly of Eastern European origin, served as guards. In August 1944, army personnel and elderly territorial guardsmen (*Landeschützen*) replaced some SS men.

On May 31, 1944, some 800 prisoners from Neuengamme arrived. Indications that some prisoners were transferred to Neuengamme in order to receive punishment or because they were too weak to work have not been confirmed. The incomplete Neuengamme death register contains a list of 35 Laagberg casualties. The total estimated loss of lives due to undernourishment and the extremely violent abuse is substantially higher. By March 25, the camp held 656 prisoners. Additional prisoners arrived with evacuation transports from subcamps in the Kassel area on April 1, 1945 (460 prisoners) and from Porta Westfalica on April 2.

Half of the prisoners were French resistance fighters and hostages; others were largely of Dutch, Spanish, Soviet, and Polish origin. The Kapos and foremen came from different countries and generally administered SS orders with great cruelty. According to survivors’ testimonies, the camp elder (*Lagerältester*), Waclaw Dyba, a Polish political prisoner, however, treated his fellow prisoners decently. Except for a few of the late arrivals, there were no Jews in the camp.

Laagberg was basically a forced labor camp. The prisoners performed construction labor. They had to work outdoors under harsh weather conditions with temperatures as low as -16° Celsius (4° Fahrenheit). They lacked proper clothing and were severely punished for making protective vests from paper sacks. When the primitive wooden boots broke, no replacement was handed out, so a growing number of prisoners had to work barefoot. Work assignments included the laying of concrete floors, masonry, carpentry, and plumbing. A large work detail moved heavy materials along a pushcart rail 3 to 4 kilometers (1.9 to 2.5 miles) uphill from the train station to the building site and was subject to extremely violent treatment by Kapos and guards. Work was conducted under the surveillance of the SS, VW chief architect Ernst Döring, representatives of the DAF-owned construction company Deutsche Bau AG (German Construction Corporation), and private German subcontractors. Civilian foremen and technicians commanded work details, but their number was small.

Some prisoners were commanded to remove debris after air raids and to make building repairs; others to do maintenance work at a nearby Waffen-SS barracks. On Sundays, many were forced to “volunteer” to unload railway cars and riverboats on the factory premises. Some performed heavy tasks in the factory blacksmith’s shop or in a nearby quarry that was being turned into an underground skip (*Metallpresse*) facility. Kapos and SS constantly strove to speed up the pace by punishing the “idle” and resorted to random violence. Toward the end of the Third Reich, work frequently was delayed due to lack of materials.

Provisions were clearly insufficient. Initially, the factory kitchens delivered the meals. When the camp kitchen started operation in November, rations and quality were reduced substantially. By Christmas 1944, more than 100 prisoners had reached the *Muselman* stage of total emaciation. In spite of heroic efforts by French prisoner physicians, the 50-bed sick bay was insufficient to cope with the high morbidity in the camp. Even so, seriously ill prisoners were denied transfer to the nearby VW-owned hospital.

Despite the desolate conditions in the camp, acts of symbolic resistance occurred. French prisoners celebrated the July 14 Bastille Day by wearing tricolor flowers and the November 11 World War I Armistice Day by a minute’s silence. At Easter, a Catholic priest read a Mass. News was received on an illegal radio and circulated in the camp, and messages about the death of prisoners were smuggled out through forced laborers who were eventually accommodated in the finished barracks next to the camp compound. They also

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smuggled food and medicine into the camp. A number of escape attempts occurred; few were successful.

The first commandant of the Laagberg camp was SS-Hauptscharführer Johannes Pump, who also commanded the nearby VW Fallersleben camp. Pump committed numerous acts of brutality and inspired his staff to follow his example. Eventually, he left day-to-day business to his deputy, SS-Scharführer Anton Peter Callesen, while he himself spent time in heavy drinking and sexual abuse of female prisoners from the VW Fallersleben camp. Callesen treated the prisoners with more cruelty than Pump and killed several. Around February 1, 1945, Pump was replaced because of black marketeering by Army Hauptmann Karl Werringloer. He tried to improve conditions, establishing a “reposing block” (*Schonungsblock*) for prisoners who were too weak to work and issuing a soon-disregarded ban on the guards’ carrying sticks and beating prisoners. As provisions and hygiene did not improve, the number of Muselmen and deaths continued to rise. The camp was evacuated on April 7, 1945. The approximately 1,600 prisoners ended up in the Wöbelin camp.

SOURCES The description of the Fallersleben-Laagberg camp is based on Therkel Straede’s research. Most useful sources included: Hans Mommsen and Manfred Grieger, *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf: ECON, 1996), pp.766–799; Christian Jansen, “Zwangsarbeit für das Volkswagenwerk: Häftlingsalltag auf dem Laagberg bei Wolfsburg,” in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit: Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Lagerpolitik*, ed. Norbert Frei, Sybille Steinbacher, and Bernd C. Wagner (Munich: KG Saur, 2000), pp.75–107; Klaus-Jörg Siegfried, *Das Leben der Zwangsarbeiter im Volkswagenwerk 1939–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1988); *ibid.*, *Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit im Volkswagenwerk 1939–1945: Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1987); and incomplete data in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). A chapter on the camp is included in the author’s forthcoming book *The Volkswagen Jews*. A witness account is included in Henk’t Hoen, *Twee jaar Volkswagenwerk* (Amsterdam, 2002).

The most important sources on the Fallersleben-Laagberg camp are the records of the Danish war crimes trial against Anton Peter Callesen in the DAA/DK. The VW archive and the ASt-WOB hold documents and second provenance collections from the AG-NG, YV, the NHStA-H, the BA-B, and the ZdL-L; these sources include numerous survivor and eyewitness records.

Therkel Straede

GOSLAR

A subcamp attached to Neuengamme was created in Goslar (Hannover province) on October 20, 1944. Inmates deported to the Neuengamme subcamp system were used as

laborers in construction, repairs, and various other economic and rearmaments efforts. The creation of satellite camps at work sites diminished transportation time for inmates between the main camp and the outlying sites. Some 15 inmates were transferred to the Goslar camp, presumably from the main Neuengamme camp, to work for the Goslar construction administration of the SS-Construction Management unit (Bauleitung Goslar).¹ There is no information about the exact work the Goslar inmates performed.

Little other specific information about this small satellite commando can be found. According to an attachment to a translated copy of the report filed by SS garrison doctor (Standortarzt) Trzebinski, which lists the SS doctors in charge of overseeing medical care within the Neuengamme camps, Dr. Hintzelmann and his assistant SS-Rottenführer Joerss supervised the health of the Goslar inmates.²

The camp in Goslar existed until March 23 or 25, 1945, when, according to historian Werner Johe, the commando was most likely liberated by Allied troops. A slate panel was erected in Goslar to commemorate the death of Henry Jens Sørensen, one of the inmates who died in the Goslar camp.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the subcamp in Goslar. Brief information on the existence of the camp in secondary literature is found in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and includes a reproduction of the quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski. The brief details on the Goslar camp are duplicated in Werner Johe, *Neuengamme: Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1982). Information on the memorial stone in Goslar, which commemorates the death of a prisoner in the Goslar camp as well as in a subcamp of Buchenwald, is found in Hans-Joachim Höhler, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager* (Hamburg, 2000).

Primary documentation that provides information on the Goslar camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG may yield additional information. The original quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski, which lists the subcamp of the SS-Bauleitung Goslar, published in various secondary sources, can be found at the FZH.

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NOTES

1. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FGNS-H, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original report). The archives of USHMM, RG-59.016 M, Reel 5, also contain a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (BAOR trial of Max Pauly and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), pp. 123–126.

2. *Ibid.*

HAMBURG (BOMBENSUCHKOMMANDO NO. 2)

After extensive destruction from air raids of large areas of Hamburg from July 24 to August 2, 1943, inmates from the Neuengamme concentration camp were deployed throughout the city to clear rubble, reconstruct buildings, detonate unexploded bombs, and bury corpses. To lessen the inmates' transportation time between the camp and work sites, various subcamps affiliated with the main Neuengamme camp were established throughout Hamburg and its environs.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) camp index, a subcamp was created in a Hamburg prison, although its exact location is not known. A work commando, presumably quartered at the prison, was deployed to clear rubble from bombed-out areas for one month.

SOURCES There are few sources on the Hamburg Bombensuchkommando attached to Neuengamme. The main secondary source of information is the entry in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). Although not always consistent with other sources, this publication provides information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, type of prisoner work, and so on. Another important secondary source of information on the Hamburg subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps. See also Werner Johe, *Neuengamme. Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1982).

Although limited, primary documentation on the Hamburg Bombensuchkommando is most likely stored at the AG-NG in Hamburg.

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HAMBURG (HOWALDTWERKE)

In October 1944, a subcamp of Neuengamme was established at the Howaldtwerke firm in Hamburg at Ferdinandstrasse 58. The Howaldtwerke subcamp was 1 of more than 15 Neuengamme subcamps in Hamburg and its surroundings, and it was one among several subcamps attached to the Hamburg shipyards. In the aftermath of the destruction of large areas of Hamburg in late July and August 1943 through Allied air raids, commandos of inmates from Neuengamme were deployed throughout the city to clear rubble, reconstruct buildings, and bury corpses. To lessen the inmates' transportation time between the camp and work sites, satellite camps were created throughout Hamburg and its surrounding districts. In addition to clearing rubble from the streets, many of the subcamps also provided labor to private firms, including shipbuilding companies such as Blohm & Voss, Stülcken-Werft [Stülckenwerft], Deutsche Werft, and Howaldtwerke.

Nazi Party Provincial Chief (Gauleiter) Karl Kaufmann and head of the Armaments Commission (Rüstungskommission, RüKo) Otto Wolff arranged for the introduction of concentration camp inmates as laborers in the Hamburg shipyards in late summer 1944. According to a report issued from a meeting of RüKo in July 1944, private firms in Hamburg would be assigned between 4,000 and 5,000 inmates from Neuengamme. Companies agreed to pay 6 Reichsmark (RM) for each worker per day, and the SS would supply meals for the prisoners, as well as guard personnel for inmates. Due to a marked increase in U-boat production in the latter half of 1944, coupled with a severe shortage of skilled workers, at least 2,000 inmates were allotted to the shipbuilding industry in Hamburg in August 1944. An agreement between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and Dr. May, the labor allocation group leader (Arbeitseinsatzgruppenleiter) for the Hamburg shipyards authorized the use of concentration camp inmates as workers in the shipbuilding industry.

The camp at Howaldtwerke was in operation from October 1944 until April 1945, when the subcamps in Hamburg were dissolved due to the closing in of the front. All of the inmates at Howaldtwerke were male, although there is no further information as to how many inmates were deported to this camp. (Unlike other subcamps in the Hamburg shipbuilding industry, Howaldtwerke did not appear on the quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski.)¹ As they were most likely transported from the main Neuengamme camp, the inmates represented various nationalities and prisoner groups.

There is no information about the guards in the Howaldtwerke camp nor about the commandant of the camp. Like all other Neuengamme subcamps in Hamburg, the guards answered to and were administered by the Support Center (Stützpunkt) Hamburg, which was located at the Spaldingstrasse subcamp—see Neuengamme/Hamburg-Hammerbrook (Spaldingstrasse)—and they fell under the leadership of SS-Obersturmbannführer Karl Wiedemann.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources specifically on the Howaldtwerke subcamp of Neuengamme. For contextual information on the use of concentration camp inmates in the Hamburg shipbuilding industry, see Ludwig Eiber, "Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften," *1999 2* (April 1995): 57–73, and by the same author, "Das KZ-Aussenlager Blohm & Voss im Hamburger Hafen," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg, (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 1996)—although these essays focus mainly on the subcamp at Blohm & Voss. Another important secondary source of information on the Hamburg subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps. For a broad history of the Howaldtwerke company, see Bruno Bock, *Gebaut bei HDW: Howaldtwerke-Deutsche Werft AG: 150 Jahre* (Herford: Koehler, 1988), although this text includes no information about the subcamp.

Primary sources on the Howaldtwerke camp are scarce. In his essay, Ludwig Eiber has noted the usefulness and location

of scant materials related to the Hamburg shipyard subcamps. The StA-HH has some files that pertain to the creation and dissolution of subcamps in Hamburg, but they contain little to no information about conditions within the camps. Finally, the HJMA contain thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by the DE-GOB. Several protocols briefly describe conditions in specific camps, but none mention Howaldtwerke by name. Others refer to Hamburg shipyards in general but give little specific information as to location or name of the employing firm (see especially protocols 2990, 875, and 1492).

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NOTE

1. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original report). The archives of USHMM (RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also contain a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (BAOR trial of Max Pauly and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp.123–126.

HAMBURG-EIDELSTEDT

The Eidelstedt subcamp existed from September 1944 to early May 1945. It was a camp exclusively for female prisoners and was located at Friedrichshulder Weg (in what later became Lurup, a Hamburg suburb). During the war, the barracks camp was part of Hamburg-Eidelstedt. It was based on the edge of the Eidelstedter Heide in a sparsely populated area with few houses. The railway line from Hamburg to the north ran right along the campsite. The Eidelstedt railway station, one of the largest marshaling yards of its time, was very close to the subcamp. Not far from the subcamp were the railroaders' houses where German Reich Railway Deutsche Reichsbahn, (DR) employees lived. Following the large air raids on Hamburg in the summer of 1943, more and more people fled to Eidelstedt or were relocated there as refugees from their bombed-out homes. To accommodate them in Eidelstedt, emergency housing from prefabricated slabs were being built since 1943. Those were built at least in part by female inmates from the Neuengamme concentration camp.

It is difficult to say when exactly the former barracks camp, which became a Neuengamme subcamp in 1944, was constructed. The Nazis destroyed all relevant files at the end of the war. According to the recollections of local residents, Italian prisoners of war (POWs) had been interned in the wooden barracks since 1943 until they were replaced by the Jewish prisoners. The POWs had also constructed prefabricated slab houses. A contract dated September 23, 1942, shows that the city of Hamburg purchased the site of the later barracks camp from the Hamburg Vereinsbank on behalf of the DR. This at

least proves that the camp could not have been built before the end of 1942.

The barracks camp consisted of two large sleeping barracks, each with several sleeping rooms, and another large barracks housing the washroom, the toilets, and a storage room. In addition, there was a sick bay and a clothing store as well as a canteen for the prisoners in the camp. Outside the camp, an air-raid bunker was built for the guards at the main entrance; directly next to it were the premises for the guards, including sleeping quarters for the camp command.

Most likely on September 27, 1944, 500 Czech and Hungarian Jews were interned at the Eidelstedt women's subcamp. This was on Yom Kippur, the most solemn of Jewish festivals. Survivor of the camp Paula Hermann wrote the following: "And it was on Yom Kippur that we were told that we were to be transferred to a new camp. After our poor belongings had been thoroughly searched, we ended up on the floor of some open trucks. Scarcely had our journey begun when it began to rain and hail. We were completely wet and the hail beat on to our heads. We were gripped by hunger, cold, and despair. 'Why are we being punished on this holiest of days?' we all cried. The new camp was in Eidelstedt, where no joy awaited us."¹

Other survivors also reported about being transferred to the subcamp at Hamburg-Eidelstedt in the evening hours of Yom Kippur. The women have clear memories of the transfer because they, despite the heavy burdens of their work, remained true to Jewish traditions and fasted. On the evening of Yom Kippur, the women returned starving and completely exhausted back to their camp in the expectation that they would soon receive their evening soup. They were to be disappointed by the SS, however, as even before the soup allocation, all the women were transferred to another camp. This transfer remains in their memories because of the enormous physical strain it caused.

The Jewish prisoners arrived at Eidelstedt from the women's camp in Wedel, also a Neuengamme subcamp, where they had been interned in mid-September 1944. Earlier, they had been incarcerated in Auschwitz and in another women's Neuengamme subcamp named Hamburg-Geilenberg (Desauer Ufer).

Walter Kümmel was camp leader (Lagerleiter) at Eidelstedt. He had been in command of the approximately 500 Jewish women in the Wedel subcamp. In late 1933, Kümmel, as a 28-year-old, applied for admission to the General-SS (Allgemeine-SS). He was admitted in early 1934. In 1937 he joined the Nazi Party (NSDAP). He volunteered in April 1941 and received basic military training with the Waffen-SS. Due to health problems, Kümmel was at first deployed to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp guard battalion and, after a few months, then transferred as a telephone operator to the battalion's orderly room at Neuengamme. During his time at Neuengamme, Kümmel took part in two noncommissioned officer courses, receiving intensive military training.

His promotion to Unterscharführer on December 1, 1943, marked the end of his military training. He became

block leader at the “protective custody” camp at the Neuengamme main camp. After being promoted to the main camp’s 2nd roll-call leader, he was put in command of a bomb disposal squad consisting of prisoners from Neuengamme in February 1944. This squad was dispatched to Kiel. Following the dissolution of the squad in Kiel, Kümmel received orders to take command of the 500 female prisoners. The Jewish prisoners were under his command at both camps, Wedel and Eidelstedt. Following Germany’s defeat, the British arrested Kümmel. Together with 13 other former members of the Neuengamme staff, he was tried by the Superior British Military Court in Hamburg for manslaughter and mistreatment of Allied citizens and sentenced to 10 years’ imprisonment. The court convicted Kümmel for his role as 2nd roll-call leader at Neuengamme, not for his role as leader of the Eidelstedt camp. Kümmel was released early from prison in 1952.

Only in 1970, the Hamburg State Attorney’s Office began to investigate Kümmel on suspicion of murder of two newly born children in the Eidelstedt subcamp. The testimony of former prisoners heavily incriminated Kümmel in the murder of the two children. The court, however, could not determine whether Kümmel personally killed the children or allowed them to be killed. Accordingly, the Hamburg regional court found him guilty as an accessory to murder on August 30, 1982. However, as the statute of limitations for accessory to murder for Nazi crimes applied, Kümmel was acquitted.

Female SS wardens guarded the female prisoners inside the camp. Retired customs officers provided security outside the camp. There are no files documenting the number and identities of the female SS guards at the camp. Survivors unanimously state, however, that the guards were particularly brutal. Personnel files indicate that about 20 customs officers watched over the camp in rotating shifts. They guarded the female prisoners both in Eidelstedt and in Wedel.

As already stated, the Jewish women were mostly employed to construct emergency housing for bombed-out railroad employee families. Supervised by skilled German tradesmen, the women had to build the houses from the foundations to the roof. In addition, they had to carry various building materials, such as cement, sand, small bricks, and stone beams, from the delivery point at the Eidelstedt railway station to the various building sites by small railway carts.

Toward the end of the war, several women from the Eidelstedt camp were deployed to remove debris after air raids in Hamburg and also to remove snow, particularly at the larger Hamburg railway stations. The women were taken to work in the inner city by means of a special tram.

Eidelstedt was probably evacuated on April 4, 1945. The women reached the “receiving camp” at Bergen-Belsen after a three-day odyssey. Those who managed to survive the stresses and strains were liberated by the British on April 15, 1945. As part of the evacuation of numerous camps in Germany during the last days of the war and after the evacuation of Eidelstedt’s Jewish prisoners, the camp was used again to intern female prisoners from camps at Beendorf, Hamburg-Wandsbek, and

Hamburg-Langenhorn (Ochsenszoll), all of which were women’s subcamps of Neuengamme.

SOURCES The following essays are the basis for this description of the Eidelstedt subcamp: Hans Ellger, “Die Häftlingsgruppe der Jüdinnen am Beispiel des Frauenaussenlagers Hamburg-Eidelstedt,” in *Häftlinge im KZ Neuengamme: Verfolgungserfahrungen, Häftlingsolidarität und nationale Bindung*, ed. KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Hamburg: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, 1999), pp.144–157; and Ellger, “Ein Barackenlager am Friedrichshulder Weg: Ein Frauenaussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme,” in *Fischkistendorf Lurup: Siedlungsprojekte, Schrebergärten, Bauwagen und Lager von 1920 bis 1950*, ed. Anke Schulz (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag 2002), pp. 104–115. There are not any original sources verifying Eidelstedt’s exact dates of operation. Today, a memorial stone and a commemorative plaque at Randowstrasse in Hamburg-Lurup are a reminder of the camp’s existence.

The AG-NG holds transcripts of some interviews with female survivors who report on the history of the camp. Hans Ellger also conducted several interviews with former inmates of the Eidelstedt camp. Hedi Fried’s memoirs have been published: Hedi Fried, *Nachschlag für eine Gestorbene: Ein Leben bis Auschwitz und ein Leben danach* (Hamburg: Krämer, 1992). Further records are located at YV and AG-BB. The trial records of Walter Kümmel are held in the archives of the Hamburg Regional Court. They provide information about his career and the male customs officers at the Eidelstedt subcamp.

Hans Ellger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Paula Hermann, “Unvergessliche Tage in Hamburg: Report form 1990,” AG-NG.

HAMBURG-FINKENWERDER

In October 1944, a subcamp of Neuengamme was established in the Finkenwerder district of Hamburg. The Finkenwerder subcamp was 1 of over 15 Neuengamme subcamps in Hamburg and its surroundings and one of several subcamps attached to the Hamburg shipyards. In the aftermath of the destruction of large areas of Hamburg in late July 1943 through Allied air raids, commandos of inmates from Neuengamme were deployed throughout the city to clear rubble, to reconstruct buildings, and to search for and bury corpses. To lessen the inmates’ transportation time between the camp and work sites, satellite camps were created throughout Hamburg and its environs. In addition to clearing rubble from the streets, many of the subcamps also provided labor to private firms, including shipbuilding companies such as Blohm & Voss, Stülcken-Werft, and Deutsche Werft.

Nazi Party Provincial Chief (Gauleiter) Karl Kaufmann and head of the Armaments Commission (Rüstungskommission) Otto Wolff arranged for the introduction of concentration camp inmates as laborers in the Hamburg shipyards in

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late summer 1944. According to a report issued from a meeting of the Rüstungskommando in July 1944, private firms in Hamburg would be assigned 4,000 to 5,000 inmates from Neuengamme. Companies were to pay 6 Reichsmark (RM) for each worker per day, and the SS would supply meals for the prisoners, as well as guard personnel for inmates. Due to a marked increase in U-boat production in the latter half of 1944, coupled with a severe shortage of skilled workers, at least 2,000 inmates were allotted to the shipbuilding industry in Hamburg in August 1944.

In September 1944, Kaufmann recommended that around 1,000 inmates from Neuengamme be transported to Finkenwerder. Estimates of the number of inmates actually incarcerated in the Finkenwerder subcamp vary. Between 308 to 600 inmates were deported to Finkenwerder over its five- to six-month period of operation.¹ They were housed in barracks on the grounds of the shipyard. According to former inmates in the Finkenwerder camp, living conditions were terrible and overcrowded. The prisoners suffered constant beatings from the Kapos and SS guards.² Further research at the KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, especially an examination of former prisoner reports, may yield additional details about living conditions within the camp.

The inmates were deported to Finkenwerder from the Neuengamme main camp and other subcamps, where they were imprisoned for various reasons including resistance activity, political affiliation, sexual orientation, religion, and other so-called crimes. They were all male. Most of the prisoners in the Finkenwerder subcamp were originally from the Soviet Union, Poland, and France. At least one transport of inmates arrived in Finkenwerder in late March 1945 from the Steinwerder subcamp in Hamburg; this transport included an unknown number of Hungarian Jews.³

The inmates in the Finkenwerder camp were used as laborers at the Deutsche Werft company, as well as at the nearby Reiherstieg shipyard. Inmates performed shipbuilding work and were employed as welders, metalworkers, and electricians. They also had to repair railway lines and clear rubble from the shipyards, as they were frequent targets of Allied bombing. During the air raids, some inmates were permitted to take shelter in a dry submarine dock, where they were beaten by the SS and often cut off from food and water for several days.⁴ One attack at the end of December 1944 killed at least 91 inmates, and over 100 were wounded; 24 prisoners were reported missing. In late March 1945, another air raid resulted in the death of 180 inmates.

There is no specific information on the names or ranks of the guards in the Finkenwerder camp, and the name and rank of the commandant are unknown. However, a quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski on March 29, 1945, which details medical conditions in many of the Neuengamme subcamps, includes a list of SS-assigned doctors for each subcamp, as well as the number of prisoner doctors and number of SS guards in each camp. Dr. Hintzelmann oversaw medical treatment in Finkenwerder, and one prisoner doctor worked in the Finkenwerder infirmary. The report also listed that there were

45 SS guards in the camp during the period summarized in the report (December 26, 1944, to March 25, 1945).⁵

At the end of March or early April 1945, the Finkenwerder camp was evacuated to the subcamp Hamburg-Geilenberg (Dessauer Ufer), where the surviving inmates were briefly kept in overcrowded conditions.⁶ From Dessauer Ufer, some of the inmates were evacuated to an overflow camp (*Auffanglager*) at the Sandbostel prisoner-of-war (POW) camp, and another group was deported to a ship in the Lübeck bay.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the Finkenwerder subcamp. This entry builds predominantly upon the research of Max Andree, who compiled a series of essays for the Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, titled *Konzentrationslager in Hamburg: Ansichten 1990* (Hamburg, 1990). This publication also includes a photograph (in 1990) of the former camp land. For further contextual information on the use of concentration camp inmates in the Hamburg shipbuilding industry, see also Ludwig Eiber, "Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften," 1999, 2 (April 1995): 57–73, although this essay focuses mainly on the subcamp at Blohm & Voss. Another important secondary source of information on the Hamburg subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and includes a reproduction of a quarterly report on numbers of inmates in the Finkenwerder camp (among others) by Trzebinski (March 29, 1945).

Primary sources on the Finkenwerder camp are equally scarce; in his essay, Ludwig Eiber has noted the usefulness and location of scant materials related to the Hamburg shipyard camps. The AG-NG contain reports from former inmates of the Finkenwerder camp. The StA-HH contains some files that pertain to the creation and dissolution of the subcamp (Aussenlager) system in Hamburg but contain little to no information about conditions within the camps.

The IGA/ZPA-B contains a small file on the Finkenwerder camp collected by the "Komitee ehemaliger politischer Gefangener." Finally, the HJMA contains thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees that were recorded in 1945 and 1946 by the DEGOB. Several protocols describe conditions in the Deutsche Werft subcamp; see especially protocols 3484, 2990, 250, and 1950.

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NOTES

1. Max Andree, for MHG, has estimated between 308 to 600; while a quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski for the period between December 26, 1944, and March 25, 1945, lists 308 prisoners in the Finkenwerder camp (March 29, 1945). Original report, FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), pp. 123–126. The archives of the USHMM, RG-59.016M, Reel 5, also have a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167, with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos.

2. Protocol 3484 (G.W.), protocol 2990 (A.S.), protocol 250 (A.W.), and protocol 1950 (I.B. and K.B.), HJMA, DEGOB Protocols. All DEGOB protocols translated from Hungarian to English by historian Gábor Kádár.

3. Protocol 3484 (G.W.), protocol 2990 (A.S.), protocol 250 (A.W.), and protocol 1950 (I.B. and K.B.), HJMA, DEGOB Protocols.

4. Protocol 3484 (G.W.), protocol 250 (A.W.), and protocol 1950 (I.B. and K.B.), HJMA, DEGOB Protocols.

5. See translated version of quarterly report by SS- Standortarzt Trzebinski, PRO, WO 235/167, reproduced in USHMM (RG-59.016M, Reel 5).

6. Protocol 1950 (I.B. and K.B.), HJMA, DEGOB Protocols.

HAMBURG-FUHLSBÜTTEL

The Neuengamme Fuhlsbüttel subcamp existed from October 26, 1944, to February 14, 1945. The SS established the camp at the end of October 1944 in part of the Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp to temporarily hold male prisoners from the Hamburg-Geilenberg (Dessau Ufer) subcamp. The Dessau Ufer subcamp, which from the middle of September held around 2,000 men from the Soviet Union, Poland, France, the Netherlands, and Germany, had been largely destroyed during a bombing raid on the Hamburg port at the end of October 1944.¹ According to former prisoner Miron Dawidowitsch Tschernoglasow, “just about all those in the sick bay” at Dessau Ufer died during the bombing raid. The prisoners, who during the attack were working as part of a labor detachment, had to assemble that evening and were transported to Fuhlsbüttel, where they were accommodated in a building of the Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp.² According to Hermann Kaienburg and Ludwig Eiber, around 1,300 men were held in the Fuhlsbüttel subcamp.

The prisoners had to do a variety of work for the Geilenberg staff, including cleaning up at refineries and other fuel-producing installations. This crisis agency, which also decided on the allocation of concentration camp prisoners for work details, had been formed at the beginning of June 1944 under the command of Edmund Geilenberg, head of the Main Committee—Munitions in the Armaments Ministry. Its task was to keep fuel production going in the face of the air raids on the fuel industry. According to Kaienburg, the prisoners worked for companies such as Rhenania (Shell), Schindler, and Jung-Ölwerke, as well as the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways). The cleanup detachments were put under the control of Hamburg Generalbevollmächtigten für die Baubewirtschaftung (Hamburg Plenipotentiary for Construction) Wilhelm Tegeler. On February 15, 1945, the SS transferred the prisoners from the Fuhlsbüttel subcamp back to Dessau Ufer. They were then evacuated to Sandbostel at the beginning of April 1945.

SOURCES This essay is based mainly on research done by Hermann Kaienburg and Ludwig Eiber: Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn:

J.H.W. Dietz Nachf., 1997); Kaienburg, “*Vernichtung durch Arbeit*”: *Der Fall Neuengamme*, 2nd ed. (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz Nachf., 1991); Ludwig Eiber, “Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften,” *1999 2* (1995): 57–73; Herbert Diercks, *Gedenkbuch “Kola-Fu”: Für die Opfer aus dem Konzentrationslager, Gestapogefängnis und KZ-Aussenlager Fuhlsbüttel* (Hamburg: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, 1987); as well as a report by survivor Miron Dawidowitsch Tschernoglasow (Odessa, 1984, trans. Horst Koop), which is held in the AG-NG.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Miron Dawidowitsch Tschernoglasow, Odessa, 1984, AG-NG.

2. Ibid.

HAMBURG-GEILENBERG (DESSAUER UFER) (MEN)

In the aftermath of the bombing destruction of large areas of Hamburg in late July 1943, inmates from the main Neuengamme concentration camp were deployed throughout the city to clear rubble, reconstruct bombed-out buildings, and bury corpses. To lessen the inmates’ transportation time between the camp and various work sites, several Neuengamme subcamps were established throughout Hamburg and its surrounding areas. On September 19, 1944, a subcamp for male inmates was created at a recently evacuated grain warehouse on Dessauer Ufer in the port of Hamburg. Prior to the arrival of the inmates, the warehouse had been used as a camp for over 1,000 Czech and Hungarian Jewish women who had been deported to Hamburg from Auschwitz II-Birkenau in July 1944 for forced labor. The Dessauer Ufer camp served as a central distribution camp for laborers to various work sites in Hamburg, and the women were evacuated in mid-September to camps at Hamburg-Sasel-Poppenbüttel, Wadel, and Hamburg-Neugraben.

Like the female inmates, the male prisoners in the Dessauer Ufer camp were used for forced labor under the Geilenberg Program, a plan initiated by the Reich Housing Commissar (Reichswohnungskommissar) to rebuild and clear rubble from Hamburg’s industrial areas after the destruction in the city caused by Allied air raids. The legal adviser to General Plenipotentiary for Building Management (Generalbevollmächtigter für die Baubewirtschaftung Senatssyndikus) Wilhelm Tegeler, Nazi Party Provincial Chief (Gauleiter) Karl Kaufmann, and head of the Armaments Commission (Rüstungskommission) Otto Wolff arranged for the introduction of concentration camp inmates to Hamburg industries, including the shipyards. The inmates worked for various firms, including Rhenania Ossag (Shell), Schindler, Jung-Ölwerke, and the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways).

They performed various kinds of work, such as clearing rubble, reconstructing bombed-out areas, and digging antitank trenches in Hittfeld.

According to several secondary sources, between 1,500 and 2,000 male inmates of various nationalities were deported from Neuengamme to Hamburg-Geilenberg in September 1944. In late October 1944, during an Allied air raid that destroyed parts of the camp, at least 150 prisoners were killed. Many inmates were evacuated to subcamps at the Fühlshüttel prison and Spaldingstrasse in Hamburg following this air raid.¹ After the camp was repaired, inmates from Fühlshüttel were brought back to the Dessauer Ufer camp on February 15, 1945. According to a quarterly report submitted by SS garrison doctor Standortarzt Trzebinski, 3,464 inmates were incarcerated in Hamburg-Geilenberg between December 26, 1944, and March 25, 1945.² However, this figure far exceeds any other source on the Dessauer Ufer camp. As the report covers the period during which the Dessauer Ufer camp was at least partially evacuated due to the October air raid, it is possible that the number refers to all commandos in the Geilenberg Program and thus may include numbers of inmates in both the women's and men's camp at Dessauer Ufer.

The inmates were imprisoned in Lagerhaus G, which was situated on the edge of a canal. There is no further information as to how this three-story warehouse was divided and used as a camp. According to Hedi Fried, who had been deported from Sighet to Auschwitz II-Birkenau and then "selected" for work and deported to Hamburg, the women arrived at the warehouse "and entered a big hall with gigantic windows overlooking the River Elbe. Beds were laid out in two tiers."³ They endured roll calls each morning before being sent to work and were generally fed at the work sites on brief breaks from their long shifts. According to Fried, some of the work sites provided better meals than others (for example, the Schindler Wharf), and the labor, which included clearing rubble and digging trenches, was less strenuous at certain firms. According to historian Ludwig Eiber, the Hittfeld commando where inmates dug antitank trenches was particularly harsh, and the work and treatment from the guards resulted in many deaths and illnesses.

Detailed information about the commandant or guard staff of the Hamburg-Geilenberg men's camp is also lacking. According to a study conducted by Max Andree for the Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte (MHG), SS-Hauptscharführer Friedrich Wilhelm Kliem worked in the clerical office of the Dessauer Ufer subcamp and later became the commandant of Hamburg-Neugraben and Diago-Tiefstack subcamps, beginning in mid-October 1944. Therefore, his service in the men's camp at Geilenberg lasted for only one month before he was transferred. In addition to members of the SS, the camp was most likely guarded by customs officers (Zollbeamter) recruited specifically to oversee operations within the camps.

As the Western Front closed in, the Hamburg-Geilenberg men's camp was dissolved in April 1945. On April 14, the inmates were evacuated by train to either Bremervörder or Brillit, and then on foot to the receiving camp at Sandbostel. The evacuation

transport most likely lasted two days. There is little information about postwar trials in relation to the Hamburg-Geilenberg camp. Friedrich Wilhelm Kliem was tried by a British military tribunal in 1946 for crimes committed in Neugraben. He was sentenced to a 15-year prison term but was released in 1955.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources specifically on the Hamburg-Geilenberg men's satellite camp. This entry builds predominantly upon the research of Max Andree, who compiled a series of essays for the MHG, titled *Konzentrationslager in Hamburg: Ansichten 1990* (Hamburg: MHG Hamburger Stiftung zur Förderung von Wissenschaft und Kultur, 1990). This publication also includes a photograph (in 1990) of the land of the former camp. For further contextual information on the use of concentration camp inmates in Hamburg for the Geilenberg Program, see also Ludwig Eiber, "Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften," 1999, 2 (April 1995) pp. 57–73; and Ludwig Eiber, "Das KZ-Aussenlager Blohm & Voss im Hamburger Hafen," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 1996). Another important secondary source of information on the Hamburg subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and includes a reproduction of a quarterly report on numbers of inmates in the "Geilenberg Hamburg" camp (among others) by garrison doctor Trzebinski (March 29, 1945).

Primary source material on the Geilenberg men's camp at Dessauer Ufer is most likely stored at the AG-NG in Hamburg, which contains witness reports from the women's camp at the same location and which may provide insight into conditions within the camp in general. Likewise, see former Dessauer Ufer inmate Hedi Fried's memoir *The Road to Auschwitz: Fragments of a Life* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), which provides a description of life in the women's camp and at some of the work commandos. The Dessauer Ufer camp is briefly mentioned in the questioning of Hamburg base camp commander (Stützpunktleiter) Karl Wiedemann during his 1946 trial; see documentation of the Curiohaus-Prozess, PRO (London), WO 235/162–169, as reproduced in the archives of the USHMM, RG-59.016M, JAG, War Crimes Case Files. The original files at the PRO in London most likely hold documentation related to the trial of Friedrich Wilhelm Kliem. Information about Wilhelm Tegeler, the plenipotentiary of the construction program, is located in the ZdL-L, IV 404 AR.

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NOTES

1. Curiohaus-Prozess, PRO (London), WO 235/162–169, Examination of Karl Wiedemann by Dr. Lappenberg (WO 235/165), as reproduced in the archives of the USHMM, JAG's Office: War Crimes Case Files, Second World War, RG-59.016M (Reel 5).

2. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original

report). The archives of the USHMM (RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also contain a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (BAOR trial of Max Pauly and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp. 123–126.

3. Hedi Fried, *The Road to Auschwitz: Fragments of a Life* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), p. 114.

HAMBURG-GEILENBERG (DESSAUER UFER) (WOMEN)

The Neuengamme subcamp for women Dessauer Ufer, Hamburg-Geilenberg, was located at the Hamburg city free port, on the southern bank of the North Elbe (an area later known as Saalenhafen). Jewish women were held prisoner in this camp from July until September 1944. They had been transported as forced laborers from Auschwitz to Hamburg in the course of the Geilenberg Program.

The disused granary G at Dessauer Ufer was made ready for the accommodation of the Jewish women probably in June 1944. Wilhelm Tegeler, syndic of the Hamburg city senate, was in charge of the prisoners' accommodation and their deployment as forced laborers. The roughly 1,500 women traveling from Auschwitz to Neuengamme arrived in northern Germany in two transports. According to Danuta Czech, the first group of around 1,000 Hungarian and Czech Jewish women left Auschwitz on July 14, 1944. The survivors recall that the journey lasted about two or three days. Thus, the women probably arrived at the Dessauer Ufer subcamp at the Hamburg harbor on July 16 or 17, 1944. Another group of around 500 Polish Jewish women followed, which probably arrived at the Dessauer Ufer subcamp in mid-August 1944.¹ The Polish inmates had been transported from the Łódź ghetto to Auschwitz and had there been selected for forced labor in the Third Reich. The Czech inmates had been incarcerated in the Theresienstadt ghetto for several years before they were transported to Auschwitz. The Hungarian women, then again, had been interned in various Hungarian ghettos since late March or early April 1944 before they arrived in Auschwitz in several transports.

In the framework of the Geilenberg Program, the female prisoners had to clean up the Hamburg harbor and restore the destroyed production facilities of the fuel industry. They were mostly deployed at oil refineries and storage depots heavily damaged during air raids in June 1944. Companies using the female forced laborers included the Rhenania Ossag (Shell), Ebano-Oehler, Schindler, and other companies at the Hamburg harbor. A survivor, Ruth Bondy, recalled the following: "Two days after we had arrived in Hamburg from Auschwitz in July 1944 . . . we—a work detachment of Jewish prisoner women in grey overalls made of jute—were taken by boat from the former tobacco storage depots at Dessauer Ufer, where we were accommodated, to clean up the Rhenania

refinery, which had been heavily damaged by Allied air raids."² According to Hedi Fried's memoirs:

Hamburg. Our train went via the railway station to the harbor where it stopped in front of gigantic warehouses. So this was our final destination. This was where our new life would begin, far away from the chimney's shadows. The sun was shining, the river glistening, when we were commanded to leave the train and get into the warehouse, which was to become our new home. We entered a large hall with gigantic windows, from where one could see the Elbe. There were bunk beds. . . . The bright hall was in stark contrast to our gloomy barracks in Auschwitz. We had left hell and arrived in heaven. We were given bread and coffee; coffee that actually tasted like coffee. Then I fell asleep. . . . I was awakened by a whistle and the roll call. Our first morning in our new prison gave us hope, even though the new routine was not that much different from the old one. . . . During the roll call we were separated into smaller groups. The rows of five became groups of 30 and were taken to the harbor. We got on boats, which tooted, released their lines and set on up the Elbe. If it had not been for the ruins on the banks, we could have believed that we were on summer holidays. None of us had ever been in a boat before. The water splashed on to our clothes, the wind brushed our cheeks as we stood holding hands at the railings. We reached our goal, Schindler's wharf, in about 30 minutes. . . . We had to remove bomb debris, dig dykes, carry cement sacks and form a long chain to pass bricks: entire bricks on one heap, broken bricks on another.³

The female prisoners probably remained at Dessauer Ufer until about mid-September 1944. Most likely, the 1,500 women were divided into three groups of about 500 each on September 13, 1944,⁴ and taken to three other Neuengamme female subcamps—Wedel, Hamburg-Neugraben, and Hamburg-Sasel-Poppenbüttel. In mid-September 1944, male prisoners were interned in the Dessauer Ufer subcamp.

It is not known who was in command of the female subcamp at Dessauer Ufer. It is also unclear who was in charge of guarding the prisoners. According to survivors, discharged Wehrmacht soldiers and retired customs officers guarded the women. Information on whether there were also female SS guards in the camp is unavailable. In addition, sources are lacking that document the exact period of internment of the two female groups in the camp at the Hamburg free port.

SOURCES The following articles constitute the basis for this essay on the Dessauer Ufer women's subcamp: Rita Bake, Jutta Dalladas-Djemai, and Birgit Kiupel, *Frauen im Hamburger Hafen* (Hamburg: Christians, 1989), pp. 90–94; Ludwig Eiber, *KZ-System und Zwangsarbeit: Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme im Hamburger Hafen 1944/45* (Hamburg, 1988), especially pp.

45–47; Eiber, “Das KZ-Aussenlager Blohm & Voss im Hamburger Hafen,” in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 1996), pp. 227–238; Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Dietz, 1997); Ulrich Bauche, ed., *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945; Katalog zur ständigen Ausstellung im Dokumentenhaus der KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme; Aussenstelle des Museums für Hamburgische Geschichte*, 2nd ed. (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1991); and Danuta Czech, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz–Birkenau 1939–1945* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1989), especially pp. 811, 817, 822.

The AG-NG holds interviews with and memoirs of survivors. These are the main source of information about the camp. Further information about the living and working conditions at the Dessauer Ufer subcamp can also be obtained at the AG-NG. In addition to accounts by Ruth Bondy and Hedi Fried, the memoirs of Lucille Eichengreen and Ruth Elias are available: Ruth Bondy, *Mein Glück als Verstand: Eine Autobiographie* (Gerlingen: Bleicher, 1999); Hedi Fried, *Nachschlag für eine Gestorbene: Ein Leben bis Auschwitz und ein Leben danach* (Hamburg: Krämer, 1992); Lucille Eichengreen, *Von Asche zum Leben: Lebenserinnerungen* (Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz, 1992); Ruth Elias, *Die Hoffnung erhielt mich am Leben: Mein Weg von Theresienstadt und Auschwitz nach Israel*, 7th ed. (Munich: Piper, 2000).

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NOTES

1. There are no documents on this transport. The Polish Jewish women inmates recall that they were still in Łódź in early August 1944. Thus, they could not have arrived in Hamburg before mid-August 1944.

2. Ruth Bondy, *Mein Glück als Verstand: Eine Autobiographie* (Gerlingen: Bleicher, 1999), p. 135.

3. Hedi Fried, *Nachschlag für eine Gestorbene: Ein Leben bis Auschwitz und ein Leben danach* (Hamburg: Krämer, 1992), p. 118.

4. There are no longer any details on the transfers. According to personnel files of former customs officers and auxiliary customs officers, they commenced guarding female prisoners at the women's subcamps Hamburg-Neugraben, Hamburg-Sasel-Poppenbüttel, and Wedel on September 13, 1944. Thus, this date is considered the date the women were transferred. Copies of the files are located in the records of the preliminary proceedings of the State Attorney's Office at the Hamburg Regional Court against Walter Kümmel (2000 Js 19/77, vol. 4, p. 422.; vol. 10, p. 1569). This suspected transfer date is confirmed by the fact that male prisoners were interned in the Dessauer Ufer subcamp, probably on September 15, 1944.

HAMBURG-HAMMERBROOK (BOMBENSUCHKOMMANDO)

After extensive destruction from air raids of large areas of Hamburg from July 24 to August 2, 1943, inmates from the Neuengamme concentration camp were deployed throughout

the city to clear rubble, reconstruct buildings, detonate unexploded bombs, and bury corpses. To lessen the inmates' transportation time between the camp and work sites, various subcamps affiliated with the main Neuengamme camp were established throughout Hamburg and its environs.

In mid-1944, 35 men were deployed to the Hammerbrook district of Hamburg to detonate unexploded bombs.¹ The inmates may have been housed in the former Brackdamm School, and the work commando existed here until at least March 25, 1945.

SOURCES The main secondary source of information is the Hammerbrook entry in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). Although not always consistent with other sources, the ITS catalog provides information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, type of prisoner work, and so on. There are few sources on the Hammerbrook Bombensuchkommando attached to Neuengamme. An important secondary source of information on the Hamburg subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and includes a published reproduction of the quarterly report filed by the garrison doctor Trzebinski, as well as a listing of Neuengamme subcamps. See also Werner Johe, *Neuengamme. Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1982).

Although limited, primary documentation on the Hamburg-Hammerbrook Bombensuchkommando is most likely stored at the AG-NG in Hamburg.

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NOTE

1. See entry for “Bombens Hamburg” in the quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original report). The archives of the USHMM, RG-59.016M, Reel 5, also contains a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (BAOR trial of Max Pauly and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp. 123–126.

HAMBURG-HAMMERBROOK (SPALDINGSTRASSE)

After extensive destruction from air raids of large areas of Hamburg from July 24 to August 2, 1943, inmates from the Neuengamme concentration camp were deployed throughout the city to clear rubble, reconstruct buildings, detonate unexploded bombs, and bury corpses. To lessen the inmates'

transportation time between the camp and work sites, various subcamps affiliated with the main Neuengamme camp were established throughout Hamburg and its environs. In October or November 1944, the SS established a subcamp in the St. Georgsburg apartment building at Spaldingstrasse 156/158 in the Hammerbrook section of Hamburg. Located less than 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from the main train station, the Spaldingstrasse subcamp became the base from which all Hamburg subcamps were administered under the central leadership of SS-Obersturmbannführer Karl Wiedemann (September 1944–February 1945), followed by his successor SS-Obersturmbannführer Arnold Strippel.¹

The Spaldingstrasse subcamp was the largest Hamburg subcamp of Neuengamme, with over 2,000 prisoners from October 1944 to April 1945. (According to a quarterly report filed by SS garrison doctor Trzebinski on March 29, 1945, there were 3,464 inmates in the camp from December 26, 1944, to March 25, 1945.)² The St. Georgsburg structure was only partially destroyed during the raids on Hamburg, and the eight-story building situated behind the courtyard was refurbished as a camp. The ground floor was reserved for the SS and commandant's quarters, and the second through sixth floors served as the inmates' living areas. The top floor was transformed into a makeshift infirmary. Roll calls were carried out in the courtyard between the two buildings of the St. Georgsburg.

Inmates imprisoned in the Spaldingstrasse subcamp represented many nationalities and had been incarcerated in Neuengamme for various reasons.³ The Spaldingstrasse inmates included Soviet and Latvian prisoners of war (POWs) and members of the resistance from Poland, Belgium, France, and Denmark. Men rounded up during a counterresistance operation in the Dutch village of Putten were also incarcerated at Spaldingstrasse. According to former infirmary doctor Paul Lohéac, there were also Hungarian Jews in the camp, as well as Serbian and Czech prisoners. The exact dates of incoming transports to the camp are unknown. Lohéac has noted that a group of prisoners from the Dessauer Ufer commando arrived at Spaldingstrasse on April 15, 1945, shortly before the camp was evacuated. There were few German prisoners in the camp, and the SS appointed most of them as supervisors (Kapos) over the work and other daily activities of their fellow inmates.

The Spaldingstrasse inmates woke each day at four o'clock in the morning, ate a small breakfast with ersatz coffee, and gathered for roll call that often lasted for hours. The prisoners were then deployed, either on foot, by streetcar, or by train, to various work commandos in 12-hour shifts throughout Hamburg.⁴ For example, inmates repaired railroad lines and telephone cables for the railroad and the postal service. One of their most dangerous work assignments was the detonation of unexploded bombs.⁵ Other inmates were sent to clear rubble and bury corpses from the bombed-out Hamburg streets. Many prisoners sought to be selected for the "botanical garden commando," for which prisoners performed light gardening work and received a warm meal.

The commandant of the Spaldingstrasse camp was SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Weber. According to postwar

court testimonies of Wiedemann and a former guard in the camp, Bruno Hahn, the guard contingent consisted of naval and army officers as well as customs officials (Zollbeamter) specifically recruited to perform sentry duties within the camp. Hahn himself was a customs official and guard in the Spaldingstrasse camp.⁶ Hahn also testified that under Wiedemann's supervision, the roll-call leader (Rapportführer) in the camp was SS officer Fegus. SS-Scharführer Kurt Otto Kemmerich was in charge of the Spaldingstrasse infirmary. Kemmerich had some medical training and supervised the infirmaries of all Neuengamme subcamps in Hamburg that fell under the jurisdiction of the base.⁷ According to Paul Lohéac, the Kapo in charge of the infirmary was André Van Steenberghe, a Belgian prisoner.

Piecing together information gathered from the death books (*Sterbebücher*) kept by the civil registry offices in Hamburg, Neuengamme, and Ohlsdorf, as well as from the infirmary books (*Revierbücher*) from the Spaldingstrasse camp, historian Thomas Krause has estimated that at least 800 inmates died in the camp. Historian Ludwig Eiber has estimated that at least 528 deaths were registered in Spaldingstrasse by the end of December 1944, although the exact number of deaths is unknown. The death rate in the camp was high, especially during the winter months. Many inmates died from diseases such as typhus, tuberculosis, and dysentery, which spread easily because of the terrible sanitary conditions in the camp (for instance, the upper floors had no water). Inmates succumbed to exhaustion from harsh working conditions, hunger, and daily abuse meted out by the SS and Kapos on the marches to work sites, during work, and within the camp. The infirmary was constantly overcrowded, and the prisoner doctors had no means to care for exhausted and ill patients. The SS conducted selections periodically in the infirmary and transported inmates who were too weak and ill to work back to the Neuengamme main camp; however, there is no specific information about exactly how many prisoners were sent back. Bodies of prisoners who died during the day in the commandos or in the infirmary were heaped in a pile on the roll-call area and transported daily to Neuengamme and Ohlsdorf for burial or cremation. In some instances, inmates who were still alive were thrown onto the pile and taken for dead.

There is no record of organized resistance or escape attempts in the Spaldingstrasse camp; however, some inmates made efforts to ameliorate the miserable daily conditions. To supplement their meager food rations, inmates attempted to "organize" extra food when possible. Former inmate Stanislaw Sterkowicz reported that on the daily marches to the work sites inmates secretly searched through trash cans to find discarded remains of food when the columns made a brief pause.⁸ According to Lohéac, in March 1945, at least one inmate escaped after convincing the guards that he needed to rest in the infirmary. The prisoner doctors were accused of assisting him, investigated by the SS, and received corporal punishment for their alleged collaboration. Lohéac also noted that the infirmary became a kind of "Franco-Belgian enclave," and the doctors attempted to

assist French and Belgian prisoners until the evacuation of the camp.

During an Allied air raid on Hamburg on April 14, 1945, several bombs struck the Spaldingstrasse camp. In the ensuing panic, two camp guards were killed as well as an unknown number of inmates. With the nearing of the front, the SS began to evacuate the subcamps in the Hamburg area. The first transport from the Spaldingstrasse camp left on April 13 or 14 and reached a provisional satellite camp created near or attached to the Sandbostel POW camp three days later. The Sandbostel camp, including the surviving inmates from Spaldingstrasse, was liberated by British and Canadian troops on April 19, 1945.

There is little information about postwar trials of SS officers who guarded the Spaldingstrasse camp. It is also hard to know whether the commandant SS-Hauptsturmführer Weber was tried. Wiedemann was tried by a British military court in 1946. He was sentenced to a 15-year prison term, released in 1955, and died in 1968. A British military tribunal brought Kemmerich to trial in 1947. He was charged with the murder of a Polish national in the infirmary of the Hamburg-Sasel-Poppenbüttel concentration camp. Kemmerich was found not guilty.⁹

SOURCES Most of the information for this entry comes from the extensive analysis of the Spaldingstrasse camp by Thomas Krause, “St. Georgsburg. Das KZ-Spaldingstrasse,” in *Kein Ort für anständige Leute: St. Georg, Geschichte und Gegenwart eines lebenswerten Stadtteils*, ed. Michael Joho (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1990). Paul Lohéac, a former prisoner doctor in the infirmary of the Spaldingstrasse camp (among other camps and prisons), published his memoir as *Un médecin français en déportation: Neuengamme et Kommandos* (Paris: Bonne Presse, 1949). Lohéac’s memoir contains a detailed chapter on his experiences in the Spaldingstrasse camp. For references as to the number of deaths in the Spaldingstrasse camp, see Ludwig Eiber, “Das KZ-Aussenlager Blohm & Voss im Hamburger Hafen,” in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 1996). Eiber’s essay “Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften,” 1999, 2 (April 1995): 57–73, also describes the transfer of prisoners from Spaldingstrasse to the subcamp at Blohm & Voss (however, no date is given).

There are few primary sources on the Spaldingstrasse subcamp, and most of these are derived from Krause’s research and essay noted above. The AG-NG contains infirmary reports and witness reports related to the Spaldingstrasse camp. Some information on the number of deaths in the camp was reconstructed by Krause from the death book kept by the civil registry offices in Hamburg, Neuengamme, and Ohlsdorf and from the Spaldingstrasse camp infirmary reports. A report from former Spaldingstrasse inmate Manfred Zichmannis is published in Christoph Ernst and Ulrike Jensen, eds., *Als letztes starb die Hoffnung: Berichte von Überlebenden aus dem KZ Neuengamme* (Hamburg: Rasch und Röhring, 1989). For information related to the trials of Wiedemann and Kemmerich, see the trial documentation of the

Curiohaus-Prozess, PRO (London), WO 235/162–169, as reproduced in the archives of the USHMM, RG-59.016M, JAG, War Crimes Case Files. Finally, photographs of concentration camp prisoners removing corpses and clearing rubble in the Hammerbrook area of Hamburg are stored at the USHMPA, designation 59.935, WS 79113, 79114, 79115, although it is unclear whether these photos depict prisoners specifically from the Spaldingstrasse camp. The photos originate from the StA-HH, which may contain additional documentation on the Spaldingstrasse camp and the exact origin of the photos.

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NOTES

1. Curiohaus-Prozess, PRO (London), WO 235/162-169, Examination of Karl Wiedemann by Dr. Lappenberg (WO 235/165), as reproduced in the archives of the USHMM, RG-59.016M (Reel 5). (The proceedings do not mention Strippel; this information has been gathered from secondary sources on the camp.)

2. Original quarterly report, FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp. 123–126. The archives of the USHMM (RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also have a translated copy (from which this number is taken) reproduced from the PRO, WO 235/167, with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. [Secondary sources are contradictory and note that the number is closer to 2,000.]

3. Still to be confirmed after more research on the Geilenberg male camp: Although sources differ on the exact opening date of the camp, former commandant of the central administration Karl Wiedemann noted in his trial that the first group of prisoners to Spaldingstrasse were evacuated from Dessauer Ufer (Hamburg-Geilenberg) after it was bombed out in late October 1944 (some were sent to Spaldingstrasse, some to Hamburg-Fuhlshüttel). The female contingent of prisoners at Dessauer Ufer was evacuated in September 1944 to Wedel, Hamburg-Neugraben, and Hamburg-Sasel-Poppenbüttel and replaced with male inmates—however, ITS dates the evacuation of the male camp to April 1945. It is possible that only some of the inmates from Dessauer Ufer were evacuated to the two camps in October 1944.

4. Manfred Zichmannis witness testimony in Christoph Ernst and Ulrike Jensen, eds., *Als letztes starb die Hoffnung: Berichte von Überlebenden aus dem KZ Neuengamme* (Hamburg: Rasch und Röhring, 1989), p. 91.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 91–93.

6. Trial proceedings against Karl Wiedemann, USHMM, RG-59.016M (Reel 5), p. 140, and questioning of witness Bruno Hahn by Major Stewart, same file, pp. 149–156.

7. Trial proceedings (Sasel II) against Kurt Otto Kemmerich (1947), JAG’s Office: War Crimes Case Files, Second World War, USHMM, RG-59.016M (Reel 8).

8. Stanislaw Sterkowicz witness testimony, as quoted in Thomas Krause, “St. Georgsburg. Das KZ-Spaldingstrasse,”

in *Kein Ort für anständige Leute: St. Georg, Geschichte und Gegenwart eines liebenswerten Stadtteils*, ed. Michael Joho (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1990), pp. 95–96.

9. Trial proceedings (Sasel II) against Kurt Otto Kemmerich (1947), JAG's Office: War Crimes Case Files, Second World War, USHMMA, RG-59.016M (Reel 8).

HAMBURG-LANGENHORN (HEIDBERG) (SS-KASERNE)

In the aftermath of air raids on Hamburg in late July 1943, inmates from the Neuengamme main camp were deployed throughout the city to clear debris, reconstruct buildings, and bury corpses. To decrease the inmates' transport time between the camp and various work sites, Neuengamme subcamps were established throughout Hamburg and its environs. In an SS barracks (SS-Kaserne) on Tangstedter Landstrasse in the Hamburg-Langenhorn district, the SS created a subcamp of Neuengamme. In addition to the SS-Kaserne subcamp, there was another subcamp in Hamburg-Langenhorn on Essener Strasse. In the latter, at least 500 Jewish women were interned for forced labor from September 1944 onward.

In the summer of 1942, some 60 inmates were transported to the SS barracks on Tangstedter Landstrasse. They came from the Neuengamme main camp and represented various nationalities; age; and prisoner groups, including political prisoners, "asocials," and so-called habitual criminals. The inmates were deployed to clear debris after air raids. In April 1945, 368 inmates evacuated from Neuengamme were temporarily interned in the barracks. The Langenhorn subcamp was evacuated to Schleswig-Holstein (the exact destination is unknown) on May 2, 1945. Some inmates may have been able to escape during evacuation.

Further information on living conditions within the subcamp, the demographics of the prisoners, the commandant or the guards, working conditions, and resistance is not available. In September 1945, the former SS barracks and concentration subcamp were transformed into the Heidberg General Hospital (*Allgemeines Krankenhaus Heidberg*). No information about postwar trials associated with the Langenhorn subcamp is available.

SOURCES Few primary or secondary sources on the Langenhorn camp exist. This entry builds predominantly upon the research of Max Andree, who compiled a series of essays for the MHG: Max Andree, *Konzentrationslager in Hamburg: Ansichten 1990; Ausstellung der Hamburger Stiftung zur Förderung von Wissenschaft und Kultur* (Hamburg: MHG, 1990). Additional information on the subcamps in Langenhorn can be found in Karl-Heinz Zietlow, *Unrecht nicht vergessen: 1933–1945; Zwangsarbeiter und KZ-Häftlinge in Hamburg-Langenhorn* (Hamburg: Selbstverlag, 1995). Another important secondary source of information on the Hamburg subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Dietz, 1997). It offers a broad analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps.

Primary source material on Langenhorn is scarce. Some documentation is most likely located at the AG-NG. This archive contains witness reports and other relevant documents that may provide additional insight into conditions inside the camp as well as on the camp administration.

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HAMBURG-LANGENHORN (OCHSENZOLL)

The Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll) subcamp operated as a subcamp of the Neuengamme concentration camp between September 1944 and the end of April or the beginning of May 1945. It was a camp solely for female prisoners. (The camp grounds were later to be found in Essen Strasse, Langenhorn, a suburb in north Hamburg, on the city's edge.)

As early as August 1942, a building application was lodged at the Hamburg City Planning Office for the construction of a camp consisting of barracks for East European male and female workers, on the grounds of Essen Strasse. The camp was quickly built and expanded in 1943. In the summer of 1944, part of the camp was set aside for the proposed subcamp of the Neuengamme concentration camp. This section of the camp was further expanded by the construction of two additional wooden barracks. The newly constructed camp consisted of two large prisoner barracks, a kitchen barracks together with a small infirmary, and a small storage room. The SS accommodation barracks was probably outside the camp directly next to the camp entrance.

Thanks to the Stutthof concentration camp commandant's Order No. 61, it is known when the female prisoners left the Stutthof concentration camp in the direction of north Germany. That surviving document states as follows:

According to FT [*Funktelegramm*, radio telegram] of the Head of Office Group D of the SS-Business Administration Main Office [WVHA] on 25.08.1944 and on 29.08.1944, 500 female Jewish prisoners are to be transferred from the Stutthof concentration camp to the Neuengamme concentration camp—Hamburg-Ochsenzoll. The names of the transferring prisoners have already been recorded and examined by the camp doctor. The head of administration is to ensure that the prisoners are correctly dressed. The prisoners will leave Stutthof for Tiegenhof at about 3.00 pm on 12.09.1944. The exact time of their departure will soon be ordered. The prisoners will leave Tiegenhof by rail in 7 carriages at 6.35 pm. The transport leader will be SS-Oberscharführer Redder of the 1st Company. He will have as support 9 men from the 1st Company and 6 men from the 2nd company. The head of administration has two days' supplies for both prisoners and guards. SS-Oberscharführer Redder has been ordered to hand the prisoners over at their destination. The hand-over is to be reported to me by telegram. SS-Oberscharführer Redder is to return to

Stutthof with the accompanying guards once he has successfully handed over the prisoners. Traveling papers are to be collected by SS-Oberscharführer Redder at the adjutant's office on 12.09.1944 at 12.00 pm.¹

According to the survivors' recollections, the trip from Stutthof to Hamburg lasted three to four days. The documents that could exactly identify the arrival date no longer exist.

According to a report of the SS camp doctor, Dr. Alfred Trzebinski, dated March 29, 1945, 740 female prisoners were admitted to the subcamp Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll) on March 25, 1945.² It is most probable that in addition to the 500 Jewish women who arrived at the camp Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll) from Stutthof in September 1944, there was a further transport of about 250 women from the female concentration camp Ravensbrück at the beginning of March 1945. These women included so-called female criminal prisoners and Gypsies.

The nationalities of the Jewish inmates are known, thanks to the surviving WVHA prisoners' index cards.³ According to the cards, the women were predominantly from Lithuania. Some were from Estonia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and also Germany. Prior to their incarceration in Stutthof and Neuengamme, many of them had been held in different ghettos such as Kaunas, Wilno, and Theresienstadt. From these ghettos they were transferred to concentration camps in the east, such as Vaivara or Riga-Kaiserwald, until most of them were deported from those camps during the course of 1944 to the concentration camp Stutthof.

The commandants of the Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll) camp remain unidentified. The survivors recall three camp commandants. According to their reports, there was a change in the camp command shortly before Christmas in 1944 and again in February 1945. In addition to the camp leadership, SS female guards were responsible for security within the camp. Male guards, some of them customs officials, were responsible for security outside the camp. Survivors' reports indicate that there were about 20 female guards and an unknown number of male guards.

The female prisoners of the Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll) camp were put to work in armaments production. They worked predominantly in a two-shift system, each shift of 12 hours for the Hanseatic firms Kettenwerk and Messap. The women had to produce mostly guns and ammunition, for example, flak grenades and bazookas, on metal-processing machines. Both prisoners of war (POWs) and German workers worked for both firms, and the concentration camp guards were careful to ensure that the Jewish prisoners did not make any contact with the other workers.

It is possible that a few of the female prisoners from the Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll) camp were also used for excavation work or gardening in the newly constructed project homes in the direct vicinity of the female subcamp. But firm evidence for this is unavailable.

The Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll) subcamp was probably evacuated on either April 3 or 4, 1945. After a three-day odyssey, the

women reached the "reception camp" Bergen-Belsen, where, if they survived the tribulations in that camp, they were freed by the British on April 15, 1945. Following the evacuation of the female prisoners, the external subcamp Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll), as part of the evacuation of countless camps in Germany in the last days of the war, was filled with female prisoners from Beendorf, also a subcamp of Neuengamme. These women were freed at the beginning of May 1945 by British soldiers.

SOURCES This article is based on the book by Karl-Heinz Zietlow, *Unrecht nicht vergessen: 1933–1945; Zwangsarbeiter und KZ-Häftlinge in Hamburg-Langenhorn* (Hamburg, 1995). On the Trzebinski report, see Werner Johe, *Neuengamme: Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg*, 3rd ed. (Hamburg, 1982).

A few interviews and memoirs from the female survivors about the history of the camp Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll) are to be found in AG-NG. The author interviewed a few survivors of this camp. Other accounts are to be found in YVA and AG-BB. Sima Skurkovitz published her memoirs under the title *Simas Lieder: Hoffnung und Trost in finsterner Nacht* (Jerusalem, 1993). Documents prepared by the architect Konstantin Gutschow, which are found in the StA-HH, provide information about the construction dates of the first barracks in Hamburg-Langenhorn. Copies of the concentration camp Stutthof commandant's order and the WVHA's prisoners' cards are to be found in AG-NG. Documents confirming the arrival date of the women in Hamburg or their departure at the beginning of April 1945 are just as unlikely to be found as documents regarding the female and male guards of the camp at Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll).

Hans Ellger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. See Commandant's Order No. 61 of the Commandant of the Concentration Camp Stutthof on September 11, 1944, AG-NG, Best.: Lists and Transports to Neuengamme, NG 3.2.3.10. In addition to this order, there is also a transport list in which 100 Jewish women who were on this transport are mentioned by their names.

2. See the report by SS doctor Dr. Alfred Trzebinski, dated September 29, 1945, cited by Werner Johe in *Neuengamme: Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg*, 3rd ed. (Hamburg, 1982), p. 76.

3. See the prisoners' cards of the SS-WVHA, AG-NG.

HAMBURG-NEUGRABEN

The Neuengamme/Hamburg-Neugraben subcamp is said to have existed between September 1944 and February 1945. It was a camp solely for females. It was located along what was later Falkenbergweg in the middle of the Neugraben Heath (Neugrabener Heide) on the southern edge of the city of Hamburg.

On this site just to the south of Falkenberg there had existed, probably since the end of the 1930s, a camp with 30 wooden barracks. At first German construction workers and

later prisoners of war (POWs) and forced laborers were accommodated here. In the summer of 1944, a small part of the camp was separated from the rest of the camp with fence posts and barbed wire. This area was to hold female prisoners from Neuengamme, while the rest of the camp continued to hold forced laborers and POWs.

The subcamp consisted of five barracks, two of which were used to accommodate the prisoners. In another two wooden barracks were located the camp kitchen, the sick bay, the washroom, and the toilets. A fifth, unfinished barracks also belonged to the camp.

It is most probable that the Neugraben women's camp was occupied by about 500 Czech Jews on September 13, 1944, since it was on this day that most customs officers, who were to guard the women, commenced their service at the camp. It is therefore assumed that the camp opened on the same day.

The Jewish women reached Neugraben from the Neuengamme subcamp (Dessauer Ufer), of Hamburg-Geilenberg where they had been brought from Auschwitz in the middle of July 1944. The Czech women were held in the so-called Family Camp in Auschwitz II-Birkenau, where they had been brought in December 1943 and May 1944 from the Theresienstadt ghetto.

The Neugraben camp for women was commanded by Friedrich-Wilhelm Kliem, who was born in 1896 in Paderborn. Kliem was drafted into the Wehrmacht as a noncommissioned officer on August 26, 1939. Because of his age, he was forced to end his service with the frontline troops on the Eastern Front in May 1944. On July 6, 1944, he was transferred to the Allgemeine-SS. While serving in the SS, he reached the rank of Hauptscharführer. At first Kliem worked in the office of the Dessauer Ufer subcamp. However, on October 18, 1944, he became commander of the female camp at Neugraben. Kliem replaced Untersturmführer Otto Schulz, who had been in command of the subcamp for a month since it had been established in September 1944.

Kliem was arrested in November 1945 and sentenced by the British War Crimes Court in Hamburg in November 1945 to 15 years' imprisonment for mistreating prisoners at the Neugraben subcamp. Kliem was released from Werl Prison in 1955 for good behavior.

The female prisoners in Hamburg-Neugraben were supervised inside the camp by female SS wardens and outside the camp by retired customs officers. According to Kliem, five female SS wardens were instructed to supervise the female prisoners inside the camp. One of them was Anneliese Kohlmann, who was born on March 23, 1921, in Hamburg. She joined the Nazi Party on April 1, 1940. On November 4, 1944, she was appointed senior warden in the Neugraben subcamp. In February 1945, she and the prisoners were transferred to the camp at Hamburg-Tiefstack, where she remained as senior warden until April 1945. She was arrested as early as April 17, 1945. On May 16, 1946, she was charged in Hamburg with mistreating prisoners. Kohlmann was found guilty on May 16, 1946, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. She died on September 17, 1977, at the age of 56.

According to the surviving personnel files, the custom officers or customs auxiliary officers, between 20 and 25 in number, were responsible for security outside the camp at Neugraben. They worked in changing shifts.

The survivors unanimously state that the female prisoners in Neugraben were used mostly for construction at the so-called Falkenberg Emergency Housing Estate. Under the leadership of German skilled tradesmen from the construction company Prien, Holst, and Weseloh, the women built a settlement for bombed-out Hamburg families who had been made homeless as a result of the heavy bombing raids on the city commencing in the summer of 1943, on the southern edge of Hamburg. Some of the prisoners dug the ground to lay water pipes or electricity cables. They also had to transport building materials such as cement, sand, and small building stones or steel beams from the delivery point not far from the railway station at Hamburg-Neugraben. This was done with the help of a specially laid mine-car system that had been installed at the construction site. However, in order to get the building materials to the building sites, a group of women first had to construct a few streets in the housing estate because the building lots had not yet been opened up.

Aside from helping to construct the estate, the women were used to manufacture concrete slabs and hollow bricks (Malo-Stein) for the companies Gizzi and Malo. The slabs and bricks were used in constructing the Falkenberg Emergency Housing Estate.

Toward the end of the war, the female prisoners were used to remove rubble from Hamburg, Neugraben, and Buxtehude, excavating tank traps to defend Hamburg, and removing snow in the Hamburg inner city. However, it remains unclear whether this work was done by the women from the subcamp at Neugraben or the camp at Tiefstack.

Most probably the women were transferred on February 18, 1945, from the Neugraben camp to Tiefstack.

SOURCES This depiction of the Neugraben subcamp is based on the article by Karl-Heinz Schultz, "Das KZ-Aussenlager Neugraben," in *Harburg: Von der Burg zur Industriestadt; Beiträge zur Geschichte Harburgs 1288–1938*, ed. Jürgen Ellermeier, Klaus Richter, and Dirk Stegmann (Hamburg, 1988), pp. 493–503.

The AG-NG contains numerous interviews and memoirs of the female survivors. The author has conducted many interviews with the former prisoners. Other reports are to be found in YVA and AG-BB. Ruth Bondy has written about the camp in her book *Mein Glück als Verstand: Eine Autobiographie* (Gerlingen, 1999); as has Hana Greenfield in *Von Kolin nach Jerusalem: Erinnerungen* (Hamburg, 1999). Some of the trial files relating to Friedrich-Wilhelm Kliem, which provide details about his life, are located in BA-K. The trial files for Anneliese Kohlmann are also located here. Files of the male guards are located in the investigation proceedings against Walter Kümmel (commander of the subcamp at Hamburg-Eidelstedt), which are held by the Hamburg State Court. There are no original sources that, for example, provide de-

tails about the period in which the camp operated or when the wooden barracks were constructed.

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HAMBURG-ROTHENBURGSORT **[AKA BULLENHUSER DAMM]**

The Neuengamme subcamp in the former high school at Bullenhuser Damm in the Hamburg suburb of Rothenburgsort existed from October 1, 1944, to April 21, 1945. The establishment of the camp was the result of a cooperative effort between the city of Hamburg and the SS enterprise German Earth and Stone Works (DESt). In September 1944, the Hamburg Gauleiter Kaufmann asked the SS to allocate concentration camp prisoners so that construction material could be extracted from rubble. A short time later, on October 12, 1944, the SS and the city of Hamburg agreed that concentration camp prisoners could be used to manufacture concrete blocks from the rubble for DESt.¹ The concentration camp prisoners and the SS guards were to be accommodated in the former high school at 92/94 Bullenhuser Damm in the bombed-out suburb of Rothenburgsort. The city of Hamburg put the school at the disposal of DESt, financed renovations to the building, and secured the area as a concentration camp. The city also undertook to supply the brick rubble and take out the concrete blocks. DESt, in return, was to carry out the production with the concentration camp prisoners. Office Group D of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) guaranteed to DESt the use of 1,000 concentration camp prisoners.

The first male prisoners arrived at Bullenhuser Damm in November or December 1944. They put the school buildings in order, removed rubble from the work grounds, and secured the site with a barbed-wire fence.² In January 1945, the city of Hamburg and DESt entered into a contract for the use of concentration camp prisoners at Bullenhuser Damm.³ Historian Hermann Kaienburg stated that additional male prisoners arrived in the camp at the beginning of February. The prisoners stored the rubble to be used as construction material in a factory hall bordering the school grounds. In addition to the prisoners, there were some Scandinavian prisoners who, as a result of negotiations between Heinrich Himmler and the Swedish Red Cross representative Count Folke Bernadotte, were relocated from throughout Germany in March 1945 to Neuengamme. From there they were taken in April 1945 by the Red Cross in buses to Denmark. The SS established a medical center at Bullenhuser Damm at the beginning of 1945. Numerous disabled prisoners of the Neuengamme concentration camp were relocated to this center.

Details about the number of prisoners in Bullenhuser Damm vary. According to Danish historian Jørgen H. Barfod, there were in all 600 prisoners at Bullenhuser Damm.⁴ This

number corresponds to the quarterly report of SS-Standortarzt Alfred Trzebinski made to the WVHA on March 29, 1945, which refers to 592 prisoners. Kaienburg, on the other hand, considers the numbers to be higher, especially when one takes into consideration the prisoners in the medical center and the Scandinavian prisoners. Kaienburg is of the opinion that there were at least 1,000 prisoners at Bullenhuser Damm.

The subcamp was under the command of SS-Unterscharführer Ewald Jauch. The SS evacuated the Bullenhuser Damm subcamp in April 1945.

Following the evacuation of the camp on April 20, 1945, the SS murdered 20 Jewish children and 28 adults in the cellars of the Bullenhuser Damm camp. The children, 10 boys and 10 girls, aged between 5 and 12 years, had been deported from Auschwitz to Neuengamme in November 1944. The SS physician Dr. Kurt Heissmeyer began conducting medical experiments with tuberculosis cells on the children in January 1945. Under strict secrecy, Heissmeyer had begun the experiments in June 1944 on concentration camp prisoners, including many Russian prisoners of war (POWs). Heissmeyer believed that he could develop a vaccine against tuberculosis. He infected the adults and children with tuberculosis cells. He then removed the lymph nodes from the armpits of the seriously ill victims, as he suspected that here he could find the vaccine against the disease. Heissmeyer concluded his medical experiments on the children in March 1945. For his crimes to be hidden, the children together with two Dutch nurses and two French doctors were hanged in the cellars of the evacuated subcamp on April 20, 1945. A few hours after the murder of the children, 24 Soviet POWs from the Spaldingstrasse subcamp were also executed in the former school.

Those responsible for the murders were the base commander (Stützpunktleiter) for all the Hamburg subcamps, Arnold Strippel, and the camp commander at Bullenhuser Damm, Jauch. The SS garrison physician in Neuengamme, Trzebinski, and SS-Unterscharführer Johann Frahm carried out the murders.

The British military court sentenced Trzebinski, Jauch, and Frahm to death in the Curio-Haus Trial from March to May 1946.⁵ The former SS doctor Heissmeyer was arrested in December 1964 in Magdeburg in the German Democratic Republic and in June 1966 was sentenced to life imprisonment for crimes against humanity. Strippel was arrested in 1948 in Frankfurt am Main. He was sentenced in 1949 at a trial by jury to 21 life sentences for the murder of 21 Jewish prisoners in 1939 at the Buchenwald concentration camp. A Frankfurt court reduced the sentence in 1970 to 6 years. The reduction was justified on the basis that he had already spent 20 years in prison. He received compensation of 121,500 deutschemark (DM) for the "innocent prison time." The Hamburg State Prosecutor stopped investigations into the murder of the children at Bullenhuser Damm.

SOURCES The most important source on the history of the Bullenhuser Damm subcamp is Hermann Kaienburg's published dissertation on the Neuengamme concentration camp

“Vernichtung durch Arbeit”: *Der Fall Neuengamme*, 2nd ed. (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz Nachf., 1991); as well as his general study *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz Nachf., 1997). Research by journalist Günther Schwarberg was instrumental in ensuring that the murder of the children at Bullenhuser Damm was not forgotten: *Der SS-Arzt und die Kinder. Bericht über den Mord vom Bullenhuser Damm* (Hamburg: Gruner und Jahr, 1979); and *Der SS-Arzt und die Kinder vom Bullenhuser Damm* (1988; Göttingen: Steidl Verlag, 1997). Fritz Bringmann, a former prisoner orderly at Neuengamme, published a report on the murder of the children at Bullenhuser Damm, *Kindermord am Bullenhuserdamm* (Frankfurt am Main, 1978). An earlier account of the Bullenhuser Damm subcamp is by Danish historian Jørgen H. Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne* (Copenhagen: Forlaget Zac, 1969), pp. 239–240.

References to the Bullenhuser Damm subcamp are found in a number of archives that are referred to by Hermann Kaienburg. The SS-Quarterly Report by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski dated March 29, 1945, is located in the bequest by Hans Schwarz that is held in FZH. The draft contract between the city of Hamburg and the DEST is located in BA, and the actual contract dated January 3, 1945, is located in StA-HH. Of fundamental importance (especially for the murder of the children at Bullenhuser Damm) are the files of the Third Neuengamme Trial by a British military court, which took place between March and May 1946 at the Curio Building in Hamburg. They are located in AG-NG. The investigation files are held at FZH.

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NOTES

1. Draft Contract Hamburg-DEST and covering letter October 25, 1944 (BA NS, 3-1344).
2. Yearly Report of the DEST Neuengamme 1944 (Excerpt Point IVe, FZH in Hamburg 13-6-13); Affidavit Johann Frahm 2. May 1946 (Ng. 3rd Case, 1/96); Statement Ewald Jauch (Ng. 3rd Case, 1/44); Ewald Gondzik, Report 22. September 1945; Nachlass Hans Schwarz, FZH.
3. Contract January 13, 1945 (StA-HH, FBI 21-602-1/1).
4. Jørgen H. Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne* (Copenhagen: Forlaget Zac, 1969), p. 239.
5. Neuengamme 3rd Case, 13-7-6-3, FZH.

HAMBURG-SASEL-POPPENBÜTTEL

The Neuengamme subcamp at Hamburg-Sasel-Poppenbüttel most probably existed between September 1944 and the end of April or the beginning of May 1945. While it operated, it was a camp solely for women prisoners. It was situated not far from the Mellingburg Lock (Mellingburger Schleuse), between what was later to become Hohensasel Strasse and Saseler Mühlenweg, in the Hamburg suburb of Hamburg-Sasel.

The barracks camp at the Mellingburger Schleuse, which had previously held prisoners of war (POWs), consisted of several accommodation barracks for women, a kitchen barracks, a sick bay, a washroom, and toilets.

The Sasel-Poppenbüttel camp for women was probably occupied by 500 Polish Jewish female prisoners on September 13, 1944. This date is taken as the date the camp opened because most of the customs officials who were to guard the women commenced duty at the camp on September 13, 1944.

The prisoners had been sent from the Neuengamme/Hamburg-Geilenberg (Dessauer Ufer) subcamp for women to the camp at Sasel-Poppenbüttel. Before that they had been in Auschwitz and then sent to Dessauer Ufer in the middle of August 1944. Most of the Polish women were held for a short time in the so-called C Camp of Auschwitz II-Birkenau, arriving there in early August 1944. Prior to that they had been in the Łódź ghetto.

There were probably two camp leaders at Sasel-Poppenbüttel. Hauptmann Mercker was in charge for the first six weeks after the establishment of the camp. On November 1, 1944, Leonhard Stark took command. According to the British trial files, Stark was born on September 30, 1891. Before he joined the SS, reaching the rank of Oberscharführer, he had worked as a gardener. In 1946, he was sentenced by the British military court in Hamburg to 15 years in prison for war crimes.

The female prisoners at Sasel-Poppenbüttel were guarded inside the camp by female SS wardens. Outside the camp they were guarded by retired customs officials. There were about 25 female SS wardens in the camp. Some of them were charged together with Stark in 1946 before a British military court in Hamburg and sentenced to prison terms of between a few months and several years for mistreating prisoners. Those charged included Ursula Eberstein, Lieselotte Müller, Johanna Freund, Elfrieda Ignatowitz, Magdalena Roper, Ilse Sass, Sofie Wisch, Elisabeth Luth, Ida Römer, and Hildegard Lenz. According to some surviving personnel files, the number of male guards was about the same as the number of female guards. After the customs officials retired, they were forced to join the Waffen-SS and undertake guard duty. In rotating shifts they had to secure the external perimeters of the camp at Sasel-Poppenbüttel and accompany the prisoners to their various work sites, together with the female SS wardens.

The female prisoners were used in the first instance in the construction of emergency accommodations for bombed-out Hamburg families. They worked under the supervision of German tradesmen from the construction firms Möller, Kowal & Bruns, Wayss & Freytag, and Volkenreich, building houses at the “Plattenbüttel” settlement, as it was called by the local population. They built the houses from the foundation to the roof. They also pushed the building material on small mine cars to the storage facilities, under the supervision of civilian workers from the railway station at Poppenbüttel. According to former inhabitants of the houses, the prisoners constructed about 50 slab-built homes. Emergency housing was still being built at the end of the war, and in the first post-war year, work was continued by the owners of the houses.

About 50 women from the camp at Sasel-Poppenbüttel did not work directly in the construction of the Plattenbüttel housing estate but worked for the companies Möller, Kowal & Bruns in the so-called Beef Hall (Rinderhalle) in

the Heiligengeistfeld district of the inner city of Hamburg. Here the women had to grind the rubble, which was made into concrete slabs. The prisoners not only produced the slabs but were also responsible for transporting them to Poppenbüttel.

Some of the women who were originally to work on the construction of the emergency housing were also used to remove rubble from the Hamburg city area, as Hamburg continued to be bombed right up to the end of the war. The prisoners were taken daily, either by foot or on a special train, to the inner city of Hamburg to remove the rubble from the streets. Madeleine Schulps, a survivor of the camp, recalls the following: "From the middle of the winter we were itinerant workers. We never stayed at one place for too long. We always went where we were needed. . . . Driven on by the SS men we worked until we were exhausted. . . . We [were] required to remove the rubble from a foundry after a bombing raid. There was a large square there and most of the work was done in the open air. There were other workers besides our group—French and Russian prisoners of war. . . . It was strenuous working the whole day in the open in the cold weather. We did not have gloves and had to lift the cold heavy concrete blocks with our bare hands."¹

The Sasel-Poppenbüttel subcamp was probably evacuated on April 7, 1945. After a two- or three-day odyssey, the women reached the holding camp at Bergen-Belsen, where, if they survived that camp, they were liberated by the British on April 15, 1945. As part of the evacuation of numerous camps in Germany in the last days of the war, the Sasel-Poppenbüttel subcamp after the evacuation of the Jewish prisoners was occupied by female prisoners from the subcamp at Beendorf and possibly the Hamburg female subcamps at Hamburg-Langenhorn (Ochsenzoll), both of which were Neuengamme female subcamps.

SOURCES The basis of this essay on the Sasel-Poppenbüttel camp are two studies by students at Gymnasium Oberalster: Gymnasium Oberalster, ed., *Geschichte eines Aussenlagers: KZ Sasel* (Hamburg, 1981); and *Lebenszeugnisse aus dem KZ Sasel* (Hamburg, 1998). Reference should also be made to Thomas Krause, *Gedenkstätte Plattenbaus Poppenbüttel: Geschichte des KZ-Aussenlagers Hamburg-Sasel* (Hamburg, 1990).

The AG-NG holds numerous interviews and memoirs of the female survivors of the camp at Sasel-Poppenbüttel. I have also conducted a number of interviews with former camp prisoners. Other reports are held in YVA and AG-BB. Lucille Eichengreen has published a report titled *Von Asche zum Leben: Lebenserinnerungen*, 2nd ed. (Hamburg, 1993). The British trial files are in BA-K and provide details on the female guards and the camp commander. Files on the male guards are held in the investigation files of Sta. Hamburg. They are now held in the LG-Hamburg. There are no original documents that, for example, provide details of the period that the camp at Sasel-Poppenbüttel existed or when the accommodation barracks were constructed.

Hans Ellger
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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

NOTE

1. Report by Madeleine Schulps in Gymnasium Oberalster, ed., *Lebenszeugnisse aus dem KZ Sasel* (Hamburg, 1998), p. 43.

HAMBURG-STEINWERDER

(BLOHM & VOSS)

The decision to use concentration camp prisoners at the Hamburg shipyards of Blohm & Voss was made in August 1944 by the local Hamburg Business Committee (Wirtschaftsgremien). Shortly after that, the shipyard management made contact with a manager of the Drägerwerk in order to gain details of its experiences with concentration camp prisoners. Once the report was received, which was positive about the prisoners' labor, the most important owner of the shipyard, Rudolf Blohm, decided to house the prisoners in the Male-reigebäude (paint buildings) in the shipyards. This was after the shipyard's management had skeptically viewed the establishment of a camp.

At the beginning of October 1944, the first prisoners arrived at the shipyard: 68 prisoners in the first detachment were from the Alt-Garge subcamp, where they had been chosen by shipyard employees. On October 19, the manager of Machine Hall I at the shipyard, Dechow, inspected the Neuengamme concentration camp and chose another 84 prisoners. The detachment probably quickly reached its planned strength of 500 prisoners. However, the conditions in the camp meant that there were soon transports of sick prisoners back to the Neuengamme main camp. These prisoners were replaced with several transports from the Hamburg-Hammerbrook (Spaldingstrasse) subcamp.

Shortly after the war, a committee of former political prisoners compiled a list of 572 names of prisoners who worked at Blohm & Voss. The list then categorized the prisoners according to nationality, including 202 Poles, 201 Soviets, 45 French, 34 Belgians, 30 Dutch, 15 Yugoslavs, and 12 Germans.¹ All that is known about the prisoner-functionaries is that a German Polish Kapo was noted for his brutality. It is most likely that the few German prisoners had the key positions in the prisoner hierarchy. A survivor has stated that the camp elder was a German prisoner with a green triangle. According to another Soviet prisoner, a few German criminal prisoners, notorious for their violence, were once beaten by German Communist prisoners.² The commandant of the camp was SS-Oberscharführer Peitz. It is known that he often beat the prisoners with a rubber truncheon or set dogs on the prisoners. Security was largely provided for by naval infantrymen.

Some 1,500 square meters (16,146 square feet) in the former shipyard's paint building were available to accommodate the 500 prisoners. In justifying its actions after the war, a representative of the shipyard stated that the prisoners were given iron bed frames with sacks of straw and two woolen blankets per man. On the other hand, a wharf laborer stated that the prisoners had to sleep on a blanket on the floor. In the building's cel-

lar, there were washbasins and six showers. There were also toilets and a separated sick bay in the paint building.

There is a record of a dispute between Blohm and the Neuengamme commandant, Max Pauly, on the prisoners' food supply. Pauly had originally insisted that the paint building have its own kitchen, which would be operated by the camp administration. Rudolf Blohm successfully insisted that the prisoners be fed by the factory kitchen. However, this seems not to have brought any advantages to the prisoners. The food available to them was basically no different to the hunger rations in other subcamps. A Dutch prisoner described the situation as follows: "We were badly treated. There was insufficient food, inadequate breaks. . . . In the evening we were given a piece of bread and a little brown, warm water, occasionally coffee. The food came from the factory kitchen. When this was struck during a bombing raid there was for weeks no warm food."³

The concentration camp prisoners were put to work in the shipyard's Machine Hall I. Here they were assigned work by the Blohm & Voss foremen. Blohm wished to increase the hours worked to 69 per week, and even this was exceeded. At the end, the prisoners worked 72 hours a week. This meant that, after deducting breaks, the prisoners worked 11 hours a day from Monday to Saturday and 6 hours on Sunday. The hours worked each week by prisoners were at least 10 hours above that worked by other shipyard workers. The prisoners worked mainly in producing U-boat parts using a lathe, drilling, and assembly tools.⁴ An advantage for the prisoners was the lack of resources. There was little sense in trying to work at breakneck speeds when the raw materials were unavailable.

Despite the relatively good working conditions inside a fairly dry building, sickness and death ruled in the Blohm & Voss subcamp. Rashes, ulcerated wounds, and dropsy were prevalent. The death rate for the production detachments was relatively high. In 1946, a shipyard laborer swore in a statutory declaration that a political prisoner had told him that 227 prisoners had died in the six months of the camp's existence.⁵ The Neuengamme Memorial identified the names of 89 dead prisoners.⁶ This number includes almost exclusively those prisoners who died in the subcamp and not those sick prisoners who were transported back to Neuengamme.

A report by the SS-Standortarzt, prepared shortly before the evacuation, reveals that of the originally healthy detachment only 419 prisoners were alive in the subcamp.⁷ The shipyard management from the beginning of 1945 became increasingly concerned that Allied troops could find the prisoners in the shipyard and lobbied within the Hamburg Wirtschaftsgremien and the relevant SS offices for the timely evacuation of the prisoners. The prisoners of the Blohm & Voss camp were transported back to the Neuengamme main camp on April 12, 1945, before the arrival of Allied forces.

After the war, a committee of former prisoners collected information on the Blohm & Voss subcamp to use it, inter alia, for a trial by a British military court. The committee was supported by the shipyard's management, which collected statements from its employees. However, none of the members

of the shipyard management or the camp command were prosecuted.⁸ The establishment of the Central Office for State Justice Administrations in Ludwigsburg (ZdL) and the search for information by the Hamburg State Prosecutor did not proceed beyond preliminary investigations.⁹

SOURCES The secondary sources used in this essay are Ludwig Eiber, "Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften," 1999, 2 (1995): 57-73; and Andreas Meyerhoff, *Blohm und Voss im Dritten Reich: Eine Hamburger Grosswerft zwischen Geschäft und Politik* (Hamburg, 2001), pp. 484-490. Both authors disagree with the claim by Susanne Wiborg, in *Walter Blohm: Schiffe und Flugzeuge aus Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1993), p. 102, that the use of prisoners at the shipyard was a result of a decision by the Hauptausschuss Schiffbau. See also Ludwig Eiber, "Das KZ-Aussenlager Blohm & Voss im Hamburger Hafen," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939-1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Oppladen, 1996), pp. 227-238. On the guards, see p. 233 of the latter article. On the evacuation of this camp, see Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung. Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen, 2000), 2: 33.

Information on the subcamp is largely based on original Blohm & Voss files, which were handed over to the StA-HH. Another important source is the statements by the brothers Blohm as well as several company employees after the end of the war, which are held in the BA-BL (SAPMO, BY 5/V 279/66). A few statements by former prisoners are held in the archives of the Neuengamme Concentration Camp Memorial.

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NOTES

1. As cited in Ludwig Eiber, "Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften," 1999, 2 (1995): 64.
2. Report of the Soviet prisoner B., in AG-NG, 2.8./1247; Report M.T., in AG-NG, 2.8./1069.
3. Cited by Eiber, "Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften," p. 63. Eiber notes that the kitchen ceased to operate from March 1945.
4. Report of Soviet prisoner M.T., in AG-NG, 2.8./1069.
5. As cited in Eiber, "Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften," p. 65.
6. Datenbank, AG-NG.
7. See the "Vierteljährige Bericht des SS-Standortarztes vom 29. März 1945," in StA-N, KV-Anklage, 2169-PS.
8. As cited in Eiber, "Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften," p. 67.
9. BA-L, ZdL 404 AR 1545/67, p. 57.

HAMBURG-STEINWERDER (STÜLCKENWERFT)

In October 1944, a subcamp of Neuengamme was established in the Steinwerder district of Hamburg near Norderelbstrasse/Rohrweg. The Stülckenwerft subcamp was 1 of over 15 Neuen-

gamme subcamps in Hamburg and its surroundings and one of several subcamps attached to the Hamburg shipyards. In the aftermath of the destruction of large areas of Hamburg in late July 1943 from Allied air raids, commandos of inmates from Neuengamme were deployed throughout the city to clear rubble, reconstruct buildings, and bury corpses. To lessen the inmates' transportation time between the camp and work sites, subcamps were created throughout Hamburg and its surrounding districts. In addition to clearing rubble from the streets, many of the subcamps also provided labor to private firms, including shipbuilding companies such as Blohm & Voss, Stülcken-Werft (Stülckenwerft), and Deutsche Werft.

Nazi Party Provincial Chief (Gauleiter) Karl Kaufmann and head of the Armaments Commission (Rüstungskommission) Otto Wolff arranged for the introduction of concentration camp inmates as laborers in the Hamburg shipyards in late summer 1944. According to a report issued from a meeting of the armaments commando (Rüstungskommando) in July 1944, private firms in Hamburg would receive between 4,000 and 5,000 inmates from Neuengamme. Companies were to pay 6 Reichsmark (RM) for each worker per day, and the SS would supply meals for the prisoners, as well as guard personnel. Due to a marked increase in U-boat production in the latter half of 1944, coupled with a severe shortage of skilled workers, at least 2,000 inmates were allotted to the shipbuilding industry in Hamburg in August 1944. An agreement between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and Dr. May, the labor allocation group leader (Arbeitseinsatzgruppenleiter) for the Hamburg shipyards, authorized the use of concentration camp inmates as workers in the shipbuilding industry.

In October–November 1944, an unknown number of inmates were deported from Neuengamme to the Stülckenwerft factory in Steinwerder. Although various secondary sources have listed the opening date of the Stülckenwerft camp as October 1944, several former inmates including Laszlo Kohn, as well as testimonies from Hungarian former inmates given to the National Committee for Attending Deportees (DEGOB), have noted that they were deported to the camp on or around November 22, 1944.¹ The inmates were all male and had been deported from various countries, including Hungary, Holland, and Germany. According to a quarterly report submitted by SS garrison doctor Trzebinski, who oversaw medical treatment in the Neuengamme camp system, there were at least 230 inmates in the Stülckenwerft subcamp during the time period covered in the report from December 26, 1944, to March 25, 1945.² There is no further information about exact numbers, demographics, or rate of death of the inmates imprisoned in the camp.

The inmates were housed in a factory building on the grounds of the Stülckenwerft firm. According to one former inmate, who had been deported from Budapest to Neuengamme and from there to the Stülckenwerft subcamp, "The factory building was a proper brick building with stories; we were lodged on the highest, third floor. We were all kept in a big room, everybody had their own beds, there was central heating, electric lighting, so we could wash ourselves, [and]

everybody had their own dish and cutlery."³ At some point during the camp's existence, during one of the many air raids, the building where the inmates were housed was hit, and the inmates were moved to the second floor.⁴ The inmates were awakened at 5:00 A.M. every morning and were given little to no food before they were sent to work in the shipbuilding factory. In some cases, the Kapos stole food from the inmates.⁵

Inmates in the subcamp were employed in the ship construction factory at Stülckenwerft, where they performed electrical and welding work or cleared rubble after air raids. The prisoners made up about 10 percent of the Stülckenwerft staff, and during their work, German foremen (most likely Kapos, although this is unclear from the protocols or from secondary literature) supervised the inmates. According to one former inmate, the foremen were particularly cruel and beat the inmates constantly; some inmates were reported to have died from this brutal treatment.⁶ The prisoners suffered constant bombardments during the 12-hour work shifts but were permitted to take shelter. Upon their return from work assignments, the inmates endured roll calls, which could last for hours.⁷ From December 31 to March 22, 1945, female inmates from the Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel camp were forced to clear rubble at Stülckenwerft. However, they were most likely not housed in the barracks there but rather in a labor education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*) in Wilhelmsburg.

There is no information about the guards in the Stülckenwerft camp or about the commandant of the camp. Like all other Neuengamme subcamps in Hamburg, they answered to and were administered by the Hamburg base, which was located at the Hamburg-Hammerbrook (Spaldingstrasse) subcamp, and fell under the leadership of SS-Obersturmbannführer Karl Wiedemann. According to a list of subcamps attached to the translation of Trzebinski's quarterly report (which includes the names of SS overseeing doctors, number of prisoners, and number of guards for each), the SS doctor who oversaw medical care at Stülckenwerft was Dr. Hintzelmann, and his assistant was SS-Rottenführer Joerss. The report also lists 44 guards at Stülckenwerft; however, there is no further information about their ranks or affiliations.⁸

Just prior to the dissolution of the camp in April 1945, a group of inmates from Stülckenwerft was most likely evacuated to barracks at the nearby Deutsche Werft in March 1945, where they were employed again in the clearing of rubble. Living conditions were terrible, and they suffered several air raids, which destroyed parts of the camp. Inmates transferred from Stülckenwerft at this time may have been housed in the subcamp barracks in Hamburg-Finkenwerder, the location for inmates deployed to work at the Deutsche Werft.⁹

With the nearing of the front, the subcamp at Stülckenwerft was evacuated on April 21, 1945. Some of the inmates may have been evacuated to Bremervörder or Brillit by train or on foot to the receiving camp at the Sandbostel prisoner-of-war camp.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the Steinwerder (Stülckenwerft) subcamp. This entry builds predominantly upon the research of Max Andree, who com-

piled a series of essays for the MHG, titled *Konzentrationslager in Hamburg: Ansichten 1990* (Hamburg: MHG, Hamburger Stiftung zur Förderung von Wissenschaft und Kultur, 1990). This publication also includes a photograph (in 1990) of the former grounds of the camp. For further contextual information on the use of concentration camp inmates in the Hamburg shipbuilding industry, see also Ludwig Eiber, "Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften," 1999, 2 (April 1995): 57–73, although this essay focuses mainly on the subcamp at Blohm & Voss. Another important secondary source of information on the Hamburg subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and includes a reproduction of a quarterly report on numbers of inmates in the Stülckenwerft camp (among others) by the SS garrison doctor (Standortarzt) Trzebinski (March 29, 1945). For a broad history of the Stülckenwerft company (but no relevant information on the subcamp), see Ernst Hieke, *H.C. Stülcken Sohn: Ein deutsches Werftschicksal* (Hamburg: Hanseatischer Merkur, 1955). The two volumes of *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung*, ed. Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000), contain some brief information about the evacuation of the Stülckenwerft subcamp.

Primary sources on the Stülckenwerft camp are scarce; in his essay, Ludwig Eiber has noted the usefulness and location of scant materials related to the Hamburg shipyard subcamps. The AG-NG contain reports from former inmates of the camp. The StA-HH has some files that pertain to the creation and dissolution of subcamps in Hamburg but contain little to no information about conditions within the camps. Finally, the HJMA contains thousands of DEGOB protocols from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946. Several protocols briefly describe conditions in the Stülckenwerft camp; see especially Protocols 3484, 250, and 1950. Others refer to Hamburg shipyards in general but give little specific information as to the location or name of the employing firm (Protocols 2990, 875, and 1492).

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. See report from former inmate Laszlo Kohn, AG-NG, as quoted in Max Andree, *Konzentrationslager in Hamburg: Ansichten 1990* (Hamburg: MHG, Hamburger Stiftung zur Förderung von Wissenschaft und Kultur, 1990), n.p. See also testimony of Hungarian inmates: HJMA, DEGOB Protocols, Protocol 3484 (G.W.); Protocol 250 (A.W.) (states November but no exact date); and Protocol 1950 (I.B. and K.B.). [All DEGOB protocols translated from Hungarian to English by Gábor Kádár.]

2. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original report). The archives of the USHMM, RG-59.016M, Reel 5, also contains a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (BAOR trial of Max Pauly and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Her-

mann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp. 123–126.

3. Protocol 3484 (G.W.), HJMA, DEGOB Protocols.

4. Ibid.

5. Protocol 250 (A.W.), HJMA, DEGOB Protocols.

6. Protocol 3484 (G.W.), HJMA, DEGOB Protocols.

7. Protocol 250 (A.W.) and Protocol 1950 (I.B. and K.B.), HJMA, DEGOB Protocols.

8. Trzebinski report, p. 2 of attachment.

9. Protocol 3484 (G.W.), Protocol 250 (A.W.), Protocol 1950 (I.B. and K.B.), HJMA, DEGOB Protocols.

HAMBURG-TIEFSTACK

The Hamburg-Tiefsack subcamp existed probably between the beginning of February and the end of March or beginning of April 1945. It was a subcamp of the Neuengamme concentration camp and during its short existence solely held female prisoners. It was located on a street known later as Andreas-Meyer Strasse, not far from Billwerder Cove in that part of Hamburg known as Billbrook.

According to workers of the optical factory Müller & Co., the camp comprised three wooden barracks. Two barracks were used to accommodate the prisoners, and the third served as a kitchen, canteen, and washroom. Within the enclosed area of the camp there was also a latrine and two bunkers.

Former employees of the optical factory, where some of the women were employed, have reported that most probably about 500 Czech Jewish female prisoners were admitted to the Tiefstack subcamp on February 6, 1945. They had been sent from the Hamburg-Neugraben subcamp for women.

Prior to their arrival at Neugraben, the Jewish women had been held in Hamburg-Geilenberg (Dessauer Ufer), also a subcamp of Neuengamme. They had been held there since the middle of July 1944 after they had arrived from the Auschwitz concentration camp. In Auschwitz II-Birkenau, the Czech Jewish female prisoners were held in the so-called Family Camp. They had been sent there from the Theresienstadt ghetto between December 1943 and May 1944.

The Tiefstack subcamp, like Neugraben, was under the command of Friedrich-Wilhelm Kliem, who was born in 1896 in Paderborn. Kliem was called up by the Wehrmacht on August 26, 1939, as a noncommissioned officer. Because of his age, he was recalled from active duty on the Eastern Front in May 1944. He was transferred to the Allgemeine-SS on July 6, 1944. In the SS he reached the rank of Hauptscharführer. Kliem worked in the office of the Neuengamme concentration camp's Dessauer Ufer subcamp until he was appointed commandant of Neugraben on October 18, 1944, and subsequently commandant of Tiefstack.

Kliem was arrested in November 1945. The British War Crimes Court found him guilty on July 3, 1946, of mistreating the camp prisoners in Neugraben and Tiefstack. He was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. Kliem was released from Werl Prison in 1955 for good behavior.

Female SS wardens guarded the prisoners inside the Tiefstack camp. Retired customs officers were responsible for external security. One can assume from the survivors' reports that the Neugraben camp guards were transferred in toto to the Tiefstack camp together with the prisoners. According to a statement by Kliem, five female SS wardens were responsible for guarding the female prisoners. One of the wardens was Anneliese Kohlmann, who was born on March 23, 1921, in Hamburg. She joined the Nazi Party on April 1, 1940. She worked as a tram conductor until the beginning of November 1944. On November 4, 1944, she became a warden at the Neugraben subcamp. In February 1945, she was transferred, together with the prisoners, to the Tiefstack camp, where she remained as a warden until the beginning of April 1945. She was arrested on April 17, 1945. On May 16, 1946, she was charged as a member of the Hamburg camp personnel with the mistreatment of the prisoners. Kohlmann was found guilty on May 16, 1946, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. She died on September 17, 1977, at the age of 56.

According to the surviving personnel records, there were probably between 20 and 25 customs officers or auxiliary customs officers who, in shifts, guarded the external perimeters of Tiefstack.

The optical factory workers stated that the female prisoners were put to work in the factory producing concrete slabs for emergency accommodation. During the last weeks of the war, some of the prisoners were put to work removing rubble in the southern parts of Hamburg and in Buxtehude, digging tank trenches for the defense of Hamburg, and removing snow from the inner city of Hamburg. However, it is unclear whether the women were first engaged in this work when they were in the Tiefstack subcamp or whether they had already been engaged in this work when they were still in the Neugraben camp.

Margit Hermann, a survivor, who as an inmate of Tiefstack was put to work in the removal of rubble, had the following to say in her memoirs:

In February 1945 we were transferred to another part of Hamburg, the industrial area Tiefstack. Countless air raids had transformed the city into a stone desert. . . . We worked in what can only be called a no man's land, in a people-less environment, between the ruins of burnt-out houses, threatened by the collapse of unsound walls. In the middle of the ruins a light railway had been laid down. It was our task to load the small tip-wagons with bricks. Our hands were grazed and bloody. We were hungry and frozen and dropping like flies. It was a work site difficult to survey and our guards carefully avoided the ruins so as to avoid injury. They lit a fire, warmed themselves and did not bother about us. . . . We worked at a snail's pace and hid behind the remaining walls which protected us from the wind. . . . The war had lasted too long; we were physically and spiritually demoralized and our chances of survival diminished from day to day.¹

According to Kliem, the Tiefstack subcamp was destroyed during an Allied air raid on Hamburg at the end of March 1945, possibly on March 20, 1945. Following the destruction of the camp, the Jewish female prisoners were temporarily held on the grounds of the optical factory, before they were transported in the direction of Bergen-Belsen. One can only assume the women reached Bergen-Belsen at the beginning of April 1945, where, if they survived, they were freed by Allied troops on April 15, 1945.

SOURCES The Hamburg-Tiefstack subcamp is only incidentally mentioned in publications on the Neuengamme concentration camp. Some information is provided in an article by Karl-Heinz Schultz, "Das KZ-Aussenlager Neuengamme," in *Harburg: Von der Burg zur Industriestadt; Beiträge zur Geschichte Harburgs 1288–1938*, ed. Jürgen Ellermeyer, Klaus Richter, and Dirk Stegmann (Hamburg, 1988), pp. 493–503.

In AG-NG there are records of numerous interviews with and memoirs of female survivors, a few of which give some information about the Hamburg-Tiefstack camp. The author conducted many interviews with the former prisoners of the camp. Further records are to be found in YVA and AG-BB. Ruth Bondy published her recollections in a book titled *Mein Glück als Verstand: Eine Autobiographie* (Gerlingen, 1999). This book contains some information on the camp. Margit Hermann's memoir is published as "Hamburger Intermezzo," *HarJb* 18 (1993): 175–192. Some of the court documents relating to the trial of Friedrich-Wilhelm Kliem, which give information about his career, are to be found in BA-K. These documents also provide information about the Hamburg-Tiefstack camp. The court documents relating to the trial of Anneliese Kohlmann are also in BA-K. Documents about the male guards are to be found in the preliminary proceedings against Walter Kümmel (camp commander of the subcamp Hamburg-Eidelstedt). These documents are kept in the archives of the Hamburg District Court. Original documents, which, for example, could provide information about the dates the camp was occupied or when the wooden barracks were erected, have not survived.

Hans Ellger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Margit Hermann, "Hamburger Intermezzo," *HarJb* 18 (1993): 186.

HAMBURG-WANDSBEK

The Hamburg-Wandsbek subcamp existed between the summer of 1944 and the beginning of May 1945. It was a subcamp of the Neuengamme concentration camp and during its existence solely held female prisoners. It was located at 162 Ahrensburger Strasse, close to the Tonndorf cemetery, in the Wandsbek part of Hamburg.

A section of the camp (two accommodation and wash barracks), used from the summer of 1944 as a Neuengamme subcamp, had been erected in June 1942 to accommodate 200

female forced laborers from Eastern Europe. These facilities were expanded in 1944 with the construction of a kitchen barracks, another two accommodation barracks, and barracks to house SS personnel. According to a letter by the Building Authority of the Tenth District of the city of Hamburg, approval was given on June 8, 1944, to expand the camp. The camp complex bordered directly on the Drägerwerke factory premises in Hamburg.

Studies of the Wandsbek subcamp, relying on prisoners' reports, have assumed that the approval to build at the beginning of June 1944 also marked the arrival of a minimum of 500 female prisoners from the Ravensbrück concentration camp. The SS-Business Administration Main Office's (WVHA) prisoner card index file kept in Oranienburg near Berlin, which has recently been discovered, contradicts this assumption. According to the prisoner index, following a selection in Ravensbrück, the women departed from that camp on August 31, 1944. Presumably they arrived in Hamburg on the following day.

The female prisoners were of different nationalities. The largest group probably was composed of Poles, Russians, and Ukrainians; Germans and Slovenians each constituted 10 percent of the women. In addition, there were Czech, Dutch, Belgian, French, and Hungarian women in Wandsbek. All the women were so-called political prisoners. Because the women offered some form of resistance to the German occupiers, they had been removed from their homelands and brought to Ravensbrück. Most of them arrived in Ravensbrück during the course of 1944, but some had arrived earlier.

So far as is known, Wandsbek had two camp leaders. Unterscharführer Johannes Heinrich Steenbock had responsibility for the camp from August 1944 to December 3, 1944. Steenbock joined the SS in October 1938. In 1941 he was appointed as a guard in the main Neuengamme camp, where he rose to the rank of Unterscharführer. In December 1944, Friedrich Wilhelm Hinz replaced Steenbock as commander of Wandsbek. He held this position probably until April 27, 1945. Hinz joined the Nazi Party on March 1, 1933. He joined the Wehrmacht in February 1940, serving at a Wehrmacht prison camp in Munster, which was operated by the Wehrmacht's military police (Feldgendarmerie). As with Steenbock, prior to service at the Wandsbek camp, Hinz had been a guard at the main Neuengamme camp.

Apart from the camp commandants, the prisoners were guarded in the camp by between 15 to 20 SS female wardens. About 10 retired customs officials were responsible for external security. The following SS female wardens are known: Johanna Edith Anders, Anita Brennfeld, Helga Bramberger, Loni Gutzeit, Adolphine Horn, Hildegard Knoedler, Georgina Pehlcke, Maria Schulz, Mrs. Wilke, Emmi Wanschura, Ursula Krahl, and Annemarie van der Huelst.

Proceedings against the Wandsbek guards took place before the British military court in Hamburg between May 15 and July 21, 1947. The proceedings were against the two camp commanders, Steenbock and Hinz, one of the male guards, Hermann Ludwig Dreier, and the SS female wardens Anders, Bramberger, and Knoedler. Steenbock, Dreier, and Anders were

found guilty of mistreating the prisoners and were sentenced to 20, 15, and 5 years in prison, respectively. Hinz, Bramberger, and Knoedler were acquitted because of lack of evidence.

The female prisoners in the Wandsbek camp worked in the Drägerwerke factory in two shifts, each of 12 hours. They produced gas masks and tubes for oxygen and diving equipment. The production in the Hamburg Drägerwerke factory was part of the so-called Brandt Equipment Program. The Nazi leadership feared a gas attack by the British in retaliation for the German attacks using the secret V-1 and V-2 weapons. By means of the Brandt Equipment Program, it aimed to accelerate the production of gas masks. The production of gas protection devices strongly declined until the end of 1943, and it was planned to dramatically increase the production at the beginning of 1944. Hitler's special representative, his personal physician Dr. Karl Brandt, was appointed to obtain sufficient supplies of the requisite raw materials, to procure additional labor, and to accelerate production. The Drägerwerke firm assumed a leading role in the production of the gas masks because in addition to its other products, it supplied firms with tools and machines to produce gas masks and managed the production process in other factories. Tanja Jaklic-Florjancic, a survivor, had the following to say about the production of the gas masks:

I was young and healthy and for that reason I was assigned to the heavy labor working at the presses. In the large hall there were several connected rows, each of six presses. In front of each press there was a long table with an iron plate and next to it was a vat filled with cold water. On the table were iron molds in the shape of faces, pieces of rubber, chalk (white, red and yellow), and gloves. Each prisoner operated two presses. I did the following: I placed a piece of rubber in the opening of the press, laid the iron mold on top and pressed them together by operating a lever on the press. At the high temperatures and after a certain period of time vulcanization took place. I then opened the press by hand, removed the hot mold, and put it in the water. I did the same work interchangeably on both presses in the prescribed manner. I then removed the rubber from the cooled mold. The rubber had the shape of a face and served as the foundation for the production of the gas mask. I had to examine every gas mask and mark a cross on it with the chalk: a white cross meant "good," yellow meant "repairs required" and red meant "reject." The last was often disastrous for us.¹

During the last weeks of the war, as production in the Drägerwerke factory decreased and at the same time the attacks on the city of Hamburg increased, many prisoners were put to work removing rubble and constructing barricades in the center of Hamburg. Production in the Drägerwerke factory finally ceased at the end of April 1945.

Most of the female prisoners left the Wandsbek camp at the end of April or the beginning of May 1945. However, prior to

this, the camp was the final destination of many evacuation transports that took place in Germany during the last days of the war. Some of the female prisoners of the Beendorf camp, also part of the Neuengamme concentration camp, probably reached the Hamburg female subcamp on April 20, 1945.

Most of the female prisoners from Wandsbek were marched to the Hamburg railway station, Altona. Here the Swedish Red Cross took control and sent the women by train to Denmark. The remaining women from Wandsbek were sent to the Hamburg-Eidelstedt subcamp, where they were freed by a British tank unit on May 5, 1945.

SOURCES This article is based on the following publications about the Hamburg-Wandsbek camp: Stefan Romey, *Ein KZ in Wandsbek. Zwangsarbeit im Hamburger Drägerwerk* (Hamburg, 1994); and Bernhard Lorentz, *Industrieelite und Wirtschaftspolitik 1928–1950; Heinrich Dräger und das Drägerwerk* (Paderborn, 2001).

In AG-NG there are records of a few interviews with and memoirs of female survivors, which give details about the history of the Wandsbek camp. Some references are to be found at AG-R. Documents of architect Konstantin Gutschow, which give details about the construction dates of the first barracks in Wandsbek, are kept in StA-HH. British court records in BA-K provide information about the former guards and the camp commanders. A copy of the SS-WVHA prisoners' card index file, which at least verifies the date on which the female Ravensbrück prisoners departed for Hamburg, is to be found in AG-NG and AG-R. Documents that could provide details about the transport of the women at the end of April or the beginning of May 1945 have not survived.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Report by Tanja Jaklic-Florjancic in 1985, quoted by Stefan Romey, *Ein KZ in Wandsbek. Zwangsarbeit im Hamburger Drägerwerk* (Hamburg, 1994), p. 69.

HAMBURG-WILHELMSBURG

Several Neuengamme subcamps were created in Hamburg and its surrounding areas in the aftermath of severe damage caused by Allied bombing in late July 1943. Inmates from the main Neuengamme camp were deployed throughout the city to perform clearing work, to rebuild bombed-out areas, and to search for bodies. To lessen transportation time between the main camp and the work sites, several subcamps were established at or near work sites, including at various factories and firms such as the Hamburg shipyards as well as the railroad.

The accelerated effort to rebuild Hamburg industrial and living areas fell under the Geilenberg Program, a plan initiated by the Reich Housing Commissar (Reichswohnungskommissar) to enable further wartime production. The Senate Attorney for the General Plenipotentiary for Construction Management (Generalbevollmächtigter für die Baubewirt-

schaffung Senatssyndikus) Wilhelm Tegeler, Nazi Party Provincial Chief (Gauleiter) Karl Kaufmann, and head of the Armaments Commission (Rüstungskommission) Otto Wolff arranged with the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) for the use of concentration camp inmates in the Geilenberg Program. According to the stipulations of the plan, a Neuengamme subcamp was created in the Wilhelmsburg district of Hamburg on October 12, 1944.

Between October 12, 1944, and April 1945, 100 to 300 male inmates were imprisoned in the Wilhelmsburg subcamp. The inmates were deported to Hamburg-Wilhelmsburg from Neuengamme and represented various nationalities, ages, and prisoner groups, including political prisoners, "asocials," so-called professional criminals, and others. According to a quarterly report submitted by SS garrison doctor (Standortarzt) Trzebinski on March 29, 1945, 84 inmates were imprisoned in the "Jung Wilhelmsburg" camp between December 26, 1944, and March 25, 1945.¹ There is no further demographic information about the prisoners in Wilhelmsburg or exact numbers of prisoners on incoming or outgoing deportations.

The subcamp in Wilhelmsburg was located on Witternstrasse 14/16. The inmates in Wilhelmsburg worked for Jung Mineralöl-Werke and Schindler Ölfabrik. Additional guarded commandos of prisoner workers were deployed to Wilhelmsburger Bleiwerk and Firma Dittmers (both located on Witternstrasse), Firma Frank, and the Wilhelmsburg Bahnhof.

There is no information about the commandant of the Wilhelmsburg camp or the guard staff. According to an attachment to the copy of Trzebinski's quarterly report stored in the archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), the SS doctor who inspected the Wilhelmsburg infirmary was Dr. Spieler. SS-Unterscharführer Genth assisted him.

The Wilhelmsburg subcamp was evacuated in April 1945; the precise date is unknown. Immediately following the end of the war, the occupying British forces took over Jung Mineralöl-Werke.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources specifically pertaining to the Hamburg-Wilhelmsburg camp. This entry builds predominantly upon the research of Max Andree, who compiled a series of essays for the MHG titled *Konzentrationslager in Hamburg: Ansichten 1990* (Hamburg: MHG, Hamburger Stiftung zur Förderung von Wissenschaft und Kultur, 1990). This publication also includes a photograph (from 1990) of the former camp land. For other specific, although brief, information on the Wilhelmsburg camp, see Klaus-Dieter Brüggemann et al., *Die Anderen: Widerstand und Verfolgung, in Harburg und Wilhelmsburg, Zeugnisse und Berichte 1933–1945* (Hamburg: VVN, Landesverband Hamburg, 1984). Further contextual information on the use of concentration camp inmates in Hamburg for the Geilenberg Program can be found in Ludwig Eiber, "Aussenlager des KZ Neuengamme auf den Hamburger Werften," 1999, 2 (April 1995): 57–73; and Eiber's "Das KZ-Aussenlager Blohm & Voss im Hamburger Hafen," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaenig (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 1996). Another important secondary source of information on the Hamburg

subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and includes a reproduction of a quarterly report on numbers of inmates in the Jung Wilhelmsburg camp (among others) by Trzebinski (March 29, 1945).

Primary documentation on the Wilhelmsburg camp is scarce. Some relevant materials may be stored at the AG-NG, which contains witness reports, including that of the former inmate Victor Baeyens, as well as other files related to Neuengamme and its subcamps. The StA-HH has some files related to the creation and dissolution of subcamps in Hamburg, but they contain little to no information about conditions within the camps. A copy of the Trzebinski report, originally filed at the FZH (File Hans Schwarz), is stored in the archives of the USHMM, JAG War Crimes Case Files, Second World War, RG-59.016M (Reel 5).

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NOTE

1. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original report). The archives of the USHMM (JAG, War Crimes Case Files, Second World War, RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also contains a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (BAOR trial of Max Pauly and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp. 123–126.

HANNOVER-AHLEM

At the end of November 1944, SS-Untersturmführer Otto Harder received orders to move his camp from Hannover-Stöcken at the Continental Gummiwerke factory to the nearby town of Ahlem. Prior to the official transfer of the prisoners from Stöcken, Harder sent a group of 100 inmates under the supervision of SS-Rottenführer Wilhelm Damann to prepare the site. The camp was created to supply prisoners for labor to the nearby asphalt tunnels, which were to be cleared to accommodate the underground, accelerated construction of aircraft and panzer parts for Continental Gummiwerke and Maschinenfabrik Niedersachsen Hannover (MNH). This program came under the jurisdiction of the “Special Staff” (Sonderstab) of SS Hans Kammler. About 850 inmates were marched from Stöcken to Hannover-Ahlem on November 30, 1944.

Removed from residential areas, the Ahlem subcamp was surrounded by electrified barbed-wire fencing. Four watchtowers flanked the camp’s perimeter, and the SS barracks stood outside the entrance of the camp. There were five barracks in total in the camp. The only stone building had toilets, washbasins, and showers, although the plumbing system did not function. Instead, the prisoners used a centrally located ditch near the roll-call area as a “latrine.” Near the

stone building stood the barracks for the laundry and infirmary. The kitchen building also had living quarters.

The prisoners’ living quarters had narrow, two- and three-tiered bunks. Often two inmates slept on one straw mattress for lack of space. Each barracks had two small stoves, although fuel was seldom available. Typically, the inmates were awakened at 4:00 A.M., spent an hour cleaning the barracks, and then received a sparse breakfast. Next they endured morning roll call, standing outside for long periods during harsh weather. The Kapos meted out punishments and beatings arbitrarily throughout the morning, the entire work period, the evening roll call, and at mealtimes. Kapos beat the prisoners into submission with shovels. Their beatings sometimes resulted in death.¹

The inmates in Ahlem were marched to work daily to the asphalt tunnels; they worked underground in narrow pathways that were damp, cold, and filled with water. According to one former inmate, in one instance an elevator that transported materials to the surface had been destroyed during a bombing, “so [the excavated material] was piled and closed [off] the air, thus we could hardly breathe.”² The inmates had to break apart boulders with hammers and pickaxes, and for larger impasses, they used dynamite to blast through the rock. They loaded the debris onto trucks and hauled it away. Working conditions were dangerous. According to Benjamin Sieradzki, an inmate who survived the Ahlem camp, “People committed suicide in the tunnel, and we had to carry them out on wooden boards.” Sieradzki witnessed the death of his work partner who was flattened by falling rock.³

Although the inmates initially worked in three 8-hour shifts, they soon were divided into two 12-hour shifts. The prisoners alternated day shifts and night shifts each week. The Kapos replaced the SS once the inmates entered the underground tunnels. The only chance the inmates had of escaping the Kapos’ cruelty was to remain as inconspicuous as possible, although this did not always exempt them from “punishment.”



A German Red Cross worker administers medicine to a Polish survivor of the Hannover-Ahlem subcamp of Neuengamme, April 11, 1945. USHMM WS #07600, COURTESY OF NARA

In addition to work in the asphalt tunnels, some inmates worked within the camp itself. Kitchen duty was the most coveted position because of the possibility of obtaining extra food. Other inmates worked in the SS laundry, as carpenters performing maintenance work, or as tailors repairing SS uniforms.

The prisoners in Ahlem were initially all male Jews, predominantly Polish, who had been transported from Auschwitz II-Birkenau to Stöcken, and from Stöcken to Ahlem. As the rate of death increased due to the harsh conditions and lack of food, others, from Russia, Poland, Denmark, Netherlands, France, and Latvia, were brought in to replace the original transport. By December 1944, about 25 of the initial larger transport of 850 had died. In January 1945, the commandant of Neuengamme, Max Pauly, visited Ahlem, and about 250 to 350 weak inmates were deported to Neuengamme; in exchange, some 300 to 350 inmates of various nationalities were transported to the camp. On March 26, 1945, a final group of about 200 to 250 prisoners, mostly Hungarian Jews, were marched into Ahlem from the Hildesheim camp.⁴ The exact total number of prisoner deaths in Ahlem is difficult to ascertain; historian Christoph Gutmann has determined that over 200 of the first large transport from November 30, 1944, died. Historian Hermann Kaienburg has estimated that between 230 and 850 inmates died in total in Ahlem.

As in Hannover-Stöcken (Continental), SS-Untersturmführer Harder was the commandant of the Ahlem camp. "Tull" Harder was a celebrated soccer player prior to his entry into the Nazi Party in 1932, the SS in 1933, and his service as a guard in the Sachsenhausen camp. He requested reassignment to the Neuengamme camp in 1939 and took over the Hannover-Stöcken camp in August 1944. In early March 1945, he was transferred to another camp; his replacement was a Wehrmacht captain named "Dirks."⁵

Most of the SS who served under Harder in Ahlem were sentries; a few performed administrative duties in the camp. SS-Oberscharführer Hans Harden supervised the guards at their posts and conducted roll calls. SS-Rottenführer Damann was Harden's assistant and patrolled the camp with his dog. He received daily reports from the senior camp inmate (Lagerältester) Johann Heinrich Wexler on prisoner deaths and illnesses. Other inmates appointed to positions within the camp were the block elders (Blockälteste) Hans Deckert and Ferdinand Grosse. Heinrich Lindner (SS rank unknown) ran the SS canteen and distributed the guards' rations, and Peter Fuchs (SS rank unknown) supervised the kitchen. One SS guard, the Czech-born Stefan Streit (nicknamed "Palästina") was especially known for his cruelty.

There were few escape attempts from Ahlem. According to Sieradzki, some of the Russian inmates who had been transported into the camp as "replacements" escaped the camp by throwing blankets over the barbed-wire fence and scaling it at night. Sieradzki recalled that during roll call the following day the other inmates were told that the escapees had been captured and hanged.⁶ Other inmates escaped during the evacuation of the camp.⁷

In early April 1945, the SS prepared to dissolve the camp. They compiled lists of incapacitated prisoners, and on April 6, they supervised a group of about 600 inmates as they marched out of the camp toward Bergen-Belsen. Those remaining prisoners were locked inside the camp.⁸ Two German Red Cross workers, Karl Bade and Ernst Koch, entered Ahlem on the evening of April 6 and attempted to collect food and clothing for the prisoners. On April 7, 1945, an SS guard and two civilians returned to the camp in a truck to gather about 18 inmates. According to David Klipp, who was among those taken away, the officer was supposed to deliver them to a location to be executed but instead released and abandoned the prisoners.⁹

On April 10, 1945, the 335th Regiment of the 84th Infantry Division of the U.S. Army arrived at Ahlem and attempted to assist the surviving inmates, many of whom died in the following weeks from tuberculosis and other conditions. In April–May 1947, a British military tribunal in Hamburg tried several of the Ahlem guards and Kapos. Otto Harder was convicted and sentenced to 15 years in prison; Wilhelm Damann and Stefan Streit were sentenced to death. Harden was sentenced to a 1-year imprisonment. Ferdinand Grosse was sentenced to death and executed.¹⁰ Camp elder Wexler, tried in 1975–1976 by the regional court of Hannover, was sentenced to life imprisonment. The sentence was changed to 15 years, but he was released in 1982. Wexler died in 1985.

SOURCES There are several primary and secondary sources that contain detailed information about the Hannover-Ahlem subcamp of Neuengamme. Most of the information for this entry builds upon the research of Christoph Gutmann's "KZ Ahlem: Eine unterirdische Fabrik entsteht" in the extensive, two-volume study of concentration camp prisoner labor in Hannover by Rainer Fröbe et al., *Konzentrationslager in Hannover: KZ-Arbeit und Rüstungsindustrie in der Spätphase des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Hildesheim: Verlag August Lax, 1985). Another extensive resource on the Ahlem camp and vital to this entry is Janet Anshütz and Irmtraud Heike, *"Wir wollten Gefühle sichtbar werden lassen" Bürger gestalten ein Mahnmal für das KZ Ahlem* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2004). This text documents the creation of a memorial at Ahlem but also includes an exhaustive list of archival resources on the camp, as well as some witness reports. Another important secondary source of information on the Hannover subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and some specific information about the Ahlem subcamp, including an account by former inmate Moritz Widawski as well as a reproduction of a quarterly report on numbers of inmates in the Ahlem camp (among others) by SS garrison doctor (Standortarzt) Trzebinski (March 29, 1945). For information about the U.S. military's encounter of the camp, see Theodore Draper, *The 84th Infantry Division in the Battle of Germany, November 1944–May 1945* (New York, 1946). Analysis of the trials of former SS guards and Kapos in Ahlem can be found in "Zur Nachkriegsgeschichte der hannoverschen Konzentrationslager," in Fröbe et al., *Konzentrationslager in Hannover*, pp. 573–574.

Several archives and repositories contain materials relevant to the history of the Hannover-Ahlem subcamp, and both Gutmann's work and Anshütz and Heike's texts make extensive use of these materials. Documentation related to the trials of Harder and the other guards from the Ahlem camp can be found at the PRO (London) under the JAG's Office WO 235/348. Harder was called as a witness in the trial of Neuengamme commandant Max Pauly (WO 235/163), and some information on Ahlem and Hannover-Stöcken at Continental Gummiwerke is also provided here. The WO files are copied in part at the USHMMA, "JAG's Office, War Crimes Case Files, Second World War," RG-59.019M. Information about Ahlem originating from the trial against camp elder Johann Heinrich Wexler is stored at the AStALG-H (11 Ks 1/74). For business reports and other information related to the asphalt tunnels in Ahlem, see the BA-K, R 7/1185 and R 7/1217. For personal accounts of life in the Ahlem camp, see the oral history conducted with David Klipp, USHMMA, RG-50.030*0345, as well as the collection of Vernon Tott, USHMMA, Acc.1997 A0287. Tott's collection also includes a series of black-and-white photographs of the Ahlem camp at the time of the liberation. Another group of materials from a liberator of the Ahlem camp is in the collection of Jennifer Orth and Dr. William Hagood Jr., including testimony about the U.S. liberation of the camp, photographs, and cartoons drawn of Ahlem by Dutch former inmate Jan Dirk van Exter. Finally, the HJMA contains thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by the DEGOB. Several protocols describe conditions in the Ahlem camp; see especially Protocols 1693, 509, and 1964. A series of 25 photos of the Ahlem camp at the time of liberation is also located in the USHMMPA, designation 53.495; these photos are stills from a short film taken by the U.S. 168th Signal Corps, stored at NARA: NWDNM (m)-342-USAF-12900; Record Group 342.

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NOTES

1. HJMA, DEGOB Protocol 1693 (L.H., E.M., and G.M.), Protocol 509 (E.K.), Protocol 1964 (S.G. and I.G.).

2. HJMA, DEGOB Protocol 509 (E.K.). All DEGOB protocols translated from Hungarian to English by Gábor Kádár.

3. Benjamin Sieradzki, "A Teenager Survives the Holocaust," (p. 27) Vernon Tott collection, Hannover-Ahlem concentration camp records and photographs, USHMMA, Acc. 1997 A 0287.

4. See testimony of Hungarian inmates: HJMA, DEGOB Protocol 1963 (L.H., E.M., and G.M.), Protocol 509 (E.K.), and Protocol 1964 (S.G. and I.G.)

5. Curiohaus-Prozess trial documentation, PRO (London), WO 235/348 and WO 235-163 (copied in part in USHMMA, "JAG's Office: War Crimes Case Files, Second World War," RG-59.016M).

6. Sieradzki, pp. 29–30.

7. HJMA, DEGOB Protocol 509 (E.K.)

8. There are several discrepancies as to how many inmates were remaining in the camp at the time of the U.S.

Army's arrival. According to Gutmann, there were 200 to 250 inmates remaining; other sources, including Sieradzki and Tott, who was part of the U.S. medical detachment that first encountered the camp, note that there were only about 30 inmates alive; sources from the Hagood collection (another liberator) recall 100 inmates. Further research is needed (possible viewing of footage in NARA); also, some inmates may have left the camp in the period between the Red Cross entrance and the opening of the camp by the U.S. military.

9. Oral history with David Klipp, USHMMA, RG-50.030*0345, transcript, p. 43.

10. See records of the PRO, London, WO 235/348, 235/129.

HANNOVER-LANGENHAGEN

The Hannover-Langenhagen subcamp operated as a subcamp of the Neuengamme concentration camp from October 2, 1944, to January 6, 1945. During this period, it was occupied solely by female prisoners. The camp was located on Hackenthalstrasse, not far from the street Am Brinker Hafen, in Hannover-Langenhagen.

According to factory workers, the camp barracks were probably constructed in the middle of 1944. The camp consisted of seven barracks, built in a row, four of which accommodated the prisoners. The camp kitchen, washrooms, latrines, and infirmary were in the other barracks. The SS personnel were housed outside the camp.

On October 2, 1944, 500 Polish, Russian, Latvian, and Lithuanian so-called political prisoners from the Stutthof concentration camp occupied the Langenhagen subcamp for women. The Poles were by far the largest national grouping. There is hardly any information about the persecution suffered by the Russian, Latvian, and Lithuanian women. It is known that the Polish prisoners were arrested during the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944. They were carried off to the Pruszków transit camp and from there, probably on August 31, 1944, deported to the Stutthof concentration camp. The prisoners remained in Stutthof until the end of September 1944, when following a "selection" they were sent in the direction of Hannover. The relocation of the prisoners is referred to in the Stutthof concentration camp Commandant's Order Nr. 64, which provides as follows (although reference is made to Jewish prisoners, other correspondence referring to the transport simply refers to "protective custody" prisoners):

According to FS [*Fernschreiben*, telegram] Nr. 9485 from the head of Office Group D of the SS-Business Administration Main Office [WVHA] dated 8 September 1944, 500 female Jewish prisoners will be transferred to the Hannover-Vinnhorst railway station siding no. 2 on 29.9.1944. The Neuengamme concentration camp will make the prisoners available for the Brinker factory. The transferees were chosen in accordance with discussions with the camp protective custody commander, SS camp doctor, and the

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labor supervisor. The head of administration is to ensure that the transferees are impeccably dressed. He is personally responsible to me that the prisoners are given proper clothes and footwear. The departure of the prisoners will be on 29.9.1944 at 2.30 pm from Stutthof-Waldlager. The exact departure time will follow. At 6.35 pm the prisoners will depart from Tiegenhof by means of the Deutsche Reichsbahn in 8 G and 1 C carriages. The prisoners are to be loaded between 5.00 pm and 6.00 pm. SS Oberscharführer Mertens, of the 3rd Company, will be in charge of the transport. For support he will have an escort of 5 men from the camp commandant's office and 10 female wardens, who will be chosen by SS-Hauptsturmführer Meyer. The head of administration is to give the escort and prisoners rations for one day. In accordance with regulations SS-Oberscharführer Mertens is to hand over the prisoners at Hannover-Vinnhorst. The handover is to be immediately confirmed either by telegram or telephone. Following the successful handover SS-Oberscharführer Mertens and the escort are to immediately return to Stutthof. SS-Oberscharführer Mertens is to collect the travel papers from the adjutant's office at 12 noon on 29.9.1944.¹

The "handover" confirmation for the Stutthof female prisoners, which SS-Oberscharführer Mertens received from SS-Obersturmführer Klebeck at the Hannover-Vindhorst railway station, has survived. We therefore know when the prisoners reached Hannover. The handover notice states as follows: "On 29.9.44, in accordance with the FS dated 9.9.44 from the head of Office Group D of the SS-Business Administration Main Office, 500 female protective custody prisoners from the Stutthof concentration camp were transferred to the Hannover-Vinnhorst railway station and put at the disposal of the Neuengamme concentration camp. The transport arrived here on 2.10.44 and control was assumed in accordance with the regulations. Personnel files were handed over for delivery to the Neuengamme concentration camp."² Max Pauly, commandant of the Neuengamme concentration camp, confirmed the next day the arrival of the women from Stutthof. A telegram to the commander of the Stutthof concentration camp reads as follows: "500 female prisoners arrived at Brinker Hannover on 2.10.44. From 4.10.44 they will be kept at current strength—signed. Pauly."³

The female concentration camp prisoners were put to work in Hannover at the Brinker Iron Factory. According to survivors' reports, the prisoners were divided into two groups. One group was put to work in Factory I, manufacturing munitions, and the other group worked in Factory II, producing airplane fuselages and dismantling airplane wrecks. The women had to remove airplane parts that could be reused from the wrecks; they cleaned, painted, and riveted them and forwarded them to that part of the factory where

airplanes were produced. Elzbieta K., a Polish survivor, reported the following about the work in Factory II:

I worked with a woman from Latvia in the airplane industry in Langenhagen. We could not communicate with one another because we did not have a common language. . . . We worked together as riveters. I had to put a rivet into a hole and work with it so that it was completely smooth. I held the whole thing together and the Latvian used the rivet gun so that the rivet was flush with the surface. What we were working on was raised off the ground. It was large, semi-oval, and narrower at the top than at the bottom. It looked as if it was half of something. It was screwed onto the thing that raised it off the ground. The parts could not wobble; otherwise the rivets would have been askew. I had no idea what the purpose of these parts was. Sometimes I was totally exhausted. The Latvian operated the gun because she was older than me. I put the rivets in from the other side and held the pieces together. Everything had to be riveted together exactly; otherwise we would be screamed at. The Latvian stood between both parts and I stood on the outside. We worked for 12 hours with a 15-minute break. . . . If you wanted to go to the toilet you had to raise a finger and give a sign. Then you waited for the warden's permission."⁴

All the prisoners in both factory halls of the Brinker Iron Works worked under a two-shift system. The day shift was from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M., and the night shift lasted from 6:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M.

The name of the Langenhagen commandant remains unknown. According to survivors' reports, he could have been an Oberscharführer. The prisoners secretly called him "Oberek." In addition to the commandant, 20 SS female wardens were responsible for security inside the camp, and male guards, probably older Wehrmacht soldiers, had the responsibility outside the camp.

As with other large cities, Hannover toward the end of the war became more and more frequently the target of Allied air raids. During the raid on January 6, 1945, the Langenhagen subcamp was completely destroyed. The Brinker Iron Works factory halls were severely damaged. All the prisoners, bar two women, survived the attack, because they were escorted to the factory bunker. A former prisoner, Genowefa J., described the situation as follows:

When we were all together we were led into the bunker. It was on the factory grounds. In the meantime the next attack took place. It was called carpet-bombing. The earth trembled. If you looked up the sky was brightly lit up as if it was New Year's Eve. Then the bombs fell, which destroyed everything. There were incendiary and explosive bombs. During the next raid smoke and flames penetrated the bunker.

We were on the top floor. The whole bunker rocked. The women were screaming. They had a terrible fear of being burnt alive. The whole place was full of smoke. After a while fresh air entered the bunker. It seemed to us as if the whole thing lasted an eternity. When we were allowed to leave the bunker next morning it was very cold outside—between approximately minus 10 and 15 degrees. Although we only had on our worn out and ripped striped uniforms we had to wait outside. We must have looked like monsters.⁵

After the raid the female prisoners of Langenhorn were gathered together, counted, and sent to the Hannover-Limmer subcamp for women in the Neuengamme concentration camp system. The women remained there until the camp was evacuated at the beginning of April 1945. Many of them continued to work in Factory I of the Brinker Iron Works. They were taken there from Limmer, either by truck or by streetcar.

SOURCES This article on the Hannover-Langenhagen camp is based on the following publications: Claus Füllberg-Stolberg, “Frauen im Konzentrationslager: Langenhagen und Limmer,” in *Konzentrationslager in Hannover: KZ-Arbeit und Rüstungsindustrie in der Spätphase des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, by Rainer Fröbe et al. (Hildesheim, 1985), 1:277–329; and Janet Anschutz and Irmtraud Heike, *Man hörte auf, ein Mensch zu sein. Überlebende aus den Frauenkonzentrationslagern in Langenhagen und Limmer berichten* (Hamburg, 2003).

The AG-NG, AG-BB, and YVA today contain a few interviews with and memoirs of the female survivors. Around the turn of the century, a research project on Langenhagen was conducted, with 21 Polish survivors interviewed. The results are kept in the ASt-Lang. Documents about the transport from Stutthof to Hannover are kept in AMS and USHMMA (RG 04.058 M). Documents about the construction of the Langenhagen camp and sources that could give information about the guards have not survived.

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NOTES

1. See Stutthof concentration camp Commandant's Order No. 64, dated September 28, 1944, AG-NG, Best.: Lists and Transports to Neuengamme, AG-N 3.2.3.10.

2. See the Handover Confirmation dated October 2, 1944, USHMMA, Collection: Stutthof Concentration Camp, RG-04.058 M, Reel 213.

3. See Telegram from the Neuengamme Concentration Camp to the Stutthof Concentration Camp dated October 3, 1944, USHMMA, Collection: Stutthof Concentration Camp, RG-04.058 M, Reel 213.

4. Report of Elżbieta K, quoted by Janet Anschutz and Irmtraud Heike, *Man hörte auf, ein Mensch zu sein. Überlebende aus den Frauenkonzentrationslagern in Langenhagen und Limmer berichten* (Hamburg, 2003), p. 65.

5. Report of Genofewa J., quoted in *ibid.*, p. 95.

HANNOVER-LIMMER

The Hannover-Limmer subcamp most probably existed as a subcamp of the Neuengamme concentration camp from the end of August 1944 to the beginning of April 1945. During this period, the camp contained only female prisoners. The camp was located on undeveloped land between the Continental Rubber Factory and the old village of Limmer, on Wunstorfer Strasse and the Leineabstieg Canal.

It is possible that a part of the barracks was used at an earlier time to accommodate prisoners of war (POWs). The camp itself consisted of three wooden barracks for the prisoners' accommodation, a room for washing and latrines, kitchen, infirmary, and possibly an office.

Descriptions of Limmer are based on prisoners' reports. It is assumed that the camp was first occupied in June 1944 by 266 women from the Ravensbrück concentration camp. This assumption is contradicted by the more recently discovered prisoners' index cards kept by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in Oranienburg near Berlin. According to the index cards, a “selection” took place in Ravensbrück on August 31, 1944. Following the selection, the women left Ravensbrück and probably on the same or the following day arrived at Limmer. According to a report dated March 29, 1945, by SS-Standortarzt Dr. Alfred Trzebinski, 1,011 women were incarcerated in the camp on March 25, 1945.¹ Female prisoners from the Watenstedt subcamp, probably in either November or December 1944, and female prisoners from Hamburg-Langenhagen, following the destruction of that camp on January 6, 1945, were also relocated to the Limmer camp.

Only so-called political prisoners occupied Limmer. The women came from many different countries in Europe, but the largest group originated in France. They all had been deported from their homeland to Ravensbrück because they had resisted, in some form or another, the German occupiers. Most of them were sent to Ravensbrück during the course of 1944, but some had arrived earlier.

The largest group of female prisoners in the Limmer camp was put to work at the Continental Rubber Factory. As part of the “Brandt Equipment Program,” they manufactured gas masks in a system of two shifts, each of 12 hours. Fearful of a British gas attack in reprisal for the German secret weapons V-1 and V-2, the National Socialist leadership accelerated the production of gas masks with the help of this special program. The production of gas protection devices had steadily declined until the end of 1943, with the result that at the beginning of 1944 a dramatic increase in production was planned. Hitler's special representative, his personal physician Dr. Karl Brandt, was appointed to obtain sufficient supplies of the requisite raw materials, to secure additional labor, and to accelerate production. Stephanie Kuder, a survivor, commented on the production as follows:

The rubber is cut in slabs, lined, and molded on the iron-mold. The “heads” follow each other on the conveyor belt always at the same distance; the edges

are marked on the conveyor belt by a white line. The conveyor belt has its own tempo, which can be shortened by each person's dexterity. . . . Each of the women, who are sitting around in a chain, when it's her turn, lifts up the iron head of the future gas mask, attaches it to a hook, does the precise hand movements required and puts the mask back on to the conveyor belt. Another mold has arrived in the meantime. You can't afford to make a superfluous movement as the mask is not allowed to go past you to the end of the chain. . . . Rejecting them meant punishment. Especially during the small hours, when your arms are tired and you can barely lift the iron heads, when your eyes can't see anything, the masks became insatiable gods demanding a human sacrifice. The conveyor belt is unrelenting. It constantly delivers new heads, one goes and another is there and 10, 20, 30 are on the conveyor belt, 10, 20, 30 motionless heads at constant pace, moving forward and we must serve them. . . . A few women do men's work: they operate the presses, transport the masks on badly oiled carts, and operate the furnace. German civilian workers from the factory make a final check of the gas masks. After about six weeks after our arrival in Hannover our apprenticeship was over and we became regular workers, which meant that we had to achieve a minimum target. In each shift of 11 hours we had to produce 12,000 masks.²

The women who were not involved in the production of gas masks (in part, meaning the women who at the beginning of January 1945 were transferred from Langenhagen to Limmer) produced munitions at the Brinker Iron Works in Hannover or were put to work in removing rubble from the factory, caused by the bombing. In addition, another group of female prisoners worked on the grounds of the Harry Habag Bakery, which had been destroyed by the bombing raids on Hannover. Wanda J. had the following to say on that work: "We were forced to go to Hannover to remove rubble. The factory was very big. It was a large parcel of land. At the beginning, i.e., in the vicinity of the entrance gate, baking continued, but the other buildings had been destroyed. In the bakery we found a lot of conserved food destined for soldiers at the front. Then we discovered a type of syrup used in the manufacture of Lebkuchen [a type of ginger bread]. Our work in the bakery lasted for about a week. It was a very big bakery. We passed fresh bread and sweet smelling bread rolls and could not control ourselves. One after another took something."³

Little is known about the commanders of the Limmer camp. It is only known that SS-Hauptsturmführer Otto Thümmel took command of the camp for about six weeks at the beginning of March 1945. Thümmel was born on October 10, 1896, in Braunschweig. He was a farmer. As a reserve officer he was called up on September 1, 1939. In April or May 1944, he was

released from military service due to his age. He arrived at Oranienburg in May 1944 and a little later was sent to Neuengamme for training. In October 1944, he assumed command of the Wilhelmshaven camp. Differences arose with Max Pauly, and as punishment, he was transferred at the end of December 1944 to Salzgitter. He arrived in Hannover at the beginning of 1945, where he assumed command of the Limmer camp.

In addition to the camp commanders, SS female wardens were responsible for guarding the female prisoners within the camp, and male guards, probably older soldiers, had the responsibility for external security. Of the male and female guards, only Lina Hillebrecht has been identified. Hillebrecht was born on December 14, 1919. Until June 1944 she worked at the Continental Factory. She then volunteered for the SS and was trained in Ravensbrück as a guard. At first she was deployed to the Buchenwald subcamp Magdeburg (Polte), where she remained until October 1944. She was then transferred back to Hannover. She remained there as a guard until April 5, 1945.

Probably on April 6, 1945, over a thousand women from the Limmer camp, excluding some prisoners who were ill or incapable of marching, were forced to march north. British soldiers liberated those who remained in the camp on April 10, 1945. An order had been given to evacuate Hannover on April 6, 1945. All subcamps in the Hannover and Braunschweig areas were to be evacuated in the direction of Neuengamme. This destination could not be reached, most probably due to the Allied advance. The destination was changed so that all prisoners from Hannover were to be delivered to Bergen-Belsen. The women had to march from Hannover to Bergen-Belsen within three days and arrived there on the evening of April 8. It is most likely that the women during the march slept at Fuhrberg and again at Oldau, either in an open barn or in a sand pit. Those women who survived the catastrophic conditions in the "reception camp" Bergen-Belsen were liberated by British troops on April 15, 1945.

SOURCES This article on Hannover-Limmer is based on the following publications: Claus Füllberg-Stolberg, "Frauen im Konzentrationslager: Langenhagen und Limmer," in *Konzentrationslager in Hannover: KZ-Arbeit und Rüstungsindustrie in der Spätphase des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, by Rainer Fröbe et al. (Hildesheim, 1985), 1:277–329; and Janet Anschutz and Irma Traud Heike, *Man hörte auf, ein Mensch zu sein. Überlebende aus den Frauenkonzentrationslagern in Langenhagen und Limmer berichten* (Hamburg, 2003). On the Trzebinski report, see Werner Johe, *Neuengamme: Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg*, 3rd ed. (Hamburg, 1982).

The AG-NG, AG-BB, and YVA today contain a few interviews with and memoirs of the female survivors of the Limmer camp. Around the turn of the century, a research project on Langenhagen had been conducted, with 21 Polish survivors interviewed. During the interviews, the survivors also reported on Limmer. The results are kept in the ASt-Lang. The surviving prisoners' card index of the SS-WVHA is kept in AG-NG. Documents on Otto Thümmel are kept at ZdL (now BA-L). Details about Lina Hillebrecht are taken from the British military court proceedings, copies of which, in part, are kept in

AG-NG. Written records on the construction of the Limmer camp and the rest of the guards have not survived.

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NOTES

1. See the report by SS-Standortarzt Dr. Alfred Trzebinski, dated March, 29, 1945, quoted by Werner Johe, *Neuengamme: Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg*, 3rd ed. (Hamburg, 1982), p. 76.

2. Report by Stephanie Kuder quoted in Claus Füllberg-Stolberg, "Frauen im Konzentrationslager: Langenhagen und Limmer," in *Konzentrationslager in Hannover: KZ-Arbeit und Rüstungsindustrie in der Spätphase des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, by Rainer Fröbe et al. (Hildesheim, 1985), 1:324.

3. Report by Wanda J., quoted by Janet Anschutz and Irma-traud Heike, *Man hörte auf, ein Mensch zu sein. Überlebende aus den Frauenkonzentrationslagern in Langenhagen und Limmer berichten* (Hamburg, 2003), p. 106.

HANNOVER-MISBURG

A subcamp of Neuengamme was established in Hannover-Misburg in late June 1944 to supply labor for the Gewerkschaft Neue Deutsche Erdöl-Raffinerie Aktiengesellschaft firm (Deurag-Nerag). Crucial to the German war effort, Deurag-Nerag manufactured oil and aircraft fuel. An Allied air raid severely damaged the Misburg Deurag oil refinery on June 20, 1944. Therefore, negotiations were accelerated between the Deurag-Nerag administration and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) to introduce concentration camp inmates into the labor force. Only one week separated the partial destruction of the refinery—and ensuing acute need for workers—from the arrival of the initial group of Neuengamme prisoners in Misburg.

The first group of about 500 inmates from Neuengamme was transported to Misburg on June 25 or 26, 1944, and was used to clear rubble from the bombing of the Deurag-Nerag factory and to begin building the camp. The SS selected prisoners for the initial transports from three groups in Neuengamme: newly arrived prisoners—mostly Frenchmen who had been deported to Neuengamme between May and July 1944; prisoners recuperating in the convalescent blocks (*Schonungsblocks*), who had been assigned to "lighter work"; and Reichsdeutsche (German nationals), who continued to serve as Kapos and senior camp inmates (Blockälteste) in Misburg. The inmates began to construct the camp shortly after their arrival. They slept in large tents provided by the Wehrmacht until the barracks were built.

The construction site for the camp was located about 91 meters (100 yards) west of the Deurag-Nerag refinery. As in other camps, prisoner areas were cordoned off from outer areas in the Misburg subcamp. The inner prisoner area was surrounded by barbed wire and included four barracks for prisoner living quarters with an infirmary attached to one of these, a kitchen barracks, roll-call area, two latrines, and a

makeshift shower area. Four watchtowers were built in the corners of the prisoner area. The outer area included the administrative barracks, commandant's office, and guards' living quarters. The construction of the camp was completed over several months despite frequent aerial attacks throughout the winter of 1944–1945. For shelter during air raids, bunkers were built for the guards, and small covered trenches were available to the prisoners.

After the initial group of prisoners was brought to Misburg, additional transports arrived throughout the summer months. On July 14, 1944, another 500 prisoners were transported from Neuengamme, and on July 23, 200 arrived from Buchenwald. By September 1944, there were nearly 1,600 prisoners in the camp. The total number of prisoners in Misburg fluctuated because often weakened prisoners were exchanged for "healthy" prisoners from Neuengamme.¹ The prisoners were all male, and their countries of origin reflected national groups imprisoned in Neuengamme and Buchenwald: Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), Ukrainians, Poles, French who were imprisoned in Compiègne for political reasons and deported to Neuengamme, some 38 Reichsdeutsche who mostly held functionary positions within the camp; 20 to 25 Dutch, 15 Belgians, and 40 Danes who remained in Misburg from February 20 to mid-March 1945, when they were transferred to the Hannover-Stöcken (Akkumulatorenfabrik) camp. The few Jews imprisoned in Misburg were there due to resistance activities or political affiliations, not for racial reasons. Half of all Misburg prisoners were younger than 30 years of age, and only 20 percent were older than 40.

Prisoners in the Misburg camp were divided into various work commandos, mostly deployed to the Deurag-Nerag firm. The Deurag-Nerag administration recruited laborers from lists drawn up by Misburg roll-call leader Heinrich H. The prisoners were generally not responsible for skilled labor at Deurag-Nerag but were used to clear debris from bombed-out areas. Work shifts usually lasted from 10 to 12 hours. At least one guard supervised every commando, depending on the number of prisoners in the group. Kapos also supervised the prisoners while at work. To ensure the rapid work pace of prisoners in the commando, the Kapos beat the inmates, which often resulted in serious injury or death. Certain commandos were more dangerous than others. Especially dangerous work assignments included the Abbruchkommando, in which prisoners had to remove rubble, or the Bombensuchkommando, in which prisoners detonated unexploded bombs. There were many accidents and injuries, and prisoners had no protective clothing, shoes, or any other kind of protection against the hazards of their work.² Moreover, the inmates were provided little protection against frequent air raids.³

In addition to Kapos who supervised the prisoners at work, SS men and other guard units patrolled the camp. Police officers (Polizeibeamten) accompanied the original transport of prisoners from Neuengamme under the direction of a police lieutenant. A Wehrmacht officer who served in Misburg for three weeks replaced the lieutenant. Little other information

about these first two commandants of Misburg can be found. Between the arrival of the transports on July 14 and 23, 1944, SS-Obersturmbannführer Max Pauly, the commandant of Neuengamme, appointed SS-Obersturmbannführer Karl Wiedemann as the commandant of Misburg. Wiedemann, who entered the SS in 1933, arrived in Misburg on July 20, 1944. He remained in Misburg until mid-September 1944, when he became commander of the Hamburg base camp (*Stützpunkt*) and then commandant of the subcamp Dritte near Salzgitter. Wiedemann was replaced by SS-Hauptscharführer Hans Gehrt, who oversaw Misburg until its evacuation in April 1945. The few SS men in the camp, about 15 in total, served as the commandant's staff and supervised the kitchen and storage cellar. The largest group of guards in Misburg—between 50 and 80 men—consisted of territorial guardsmen (*Landeschützen*).

Living conditions in the Misburg camp were harsh. The prisoners endured grueling work, minimal food rations, minimal shelter, poor sanitary conditions, lice, disease, and frequent abuse meted out by the guards. Their miserable daily routine hindered organized resistance or escape attempts. However, former inmate Jean-Pierre Renouard has recalled that some individuals attempted to flee, and Misburg Gestapo records confirm the escape of Soviet POW Viktor K.⁴ According to the trial testimony of Karl Wiedemann, another Soviet inmate named Romanenko escaped from a work detachment in June or July 1944.⁵ Those who were caught escaping were brought back to the camp and executed.

The exact number of deaths in the Misburg subcamp is difficult to reconstruct. The death rate of the inmates varied over the camp's 10-month period of operation. According to historian Rainer Fröbe's analysis, between June 1944 and April 7, 1945, 55 prisoners died. However, this number does not include every death in Misburg, the hundreds of ill and weak prisoners who were deported back to Neuengamme in exchange for "healthy" prisoners in late November 1944, and those who succumbed to exhaustion or were murdered during the camp's evacuation.

Misburg was evacuated beginning on April 7, 1945. The SS sent those capable of walking on a march to Bergen-Belsen. On April 8, the remaining 214 prisoners were gathered in trucks for transport toward Bergen-Belsen; there are no exact numbers of survivors of this transport.

After the war, a Belgian military tribunal tried the *Landeschützen* Richard W. for the murders of Belgian and French inmates in February 1945; he was sentenced to death by shooting in 1949. However, he was released in 1954 after a short prison term because his sentence was changed. In 1967, a new trial was brought against W. by the *Landeskriminalamt* (State Criminal Police Office, LKA) in Nordrhein-Westfalen, but W. died before a verdict was reached. In connection with the same incident, former *Rapportführer* Heinrich H. was tried; he too died during the proceedings, and on April 4, 1978, the case was closed. Wiedemann was tried in 1946 by a British military tribunal. He was sentenced to a 15-year prison term but was released in 1955. He died in 1968.⁶

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

SOURCES Several primary and secondary sources contain detailed information about the Hannover-Misburg subcamp of Neuengamme. Most of the information for this entry builds upon the research of Rainer Fröbe, "Arbeit für die Minerallöfindustrie: Das Konzentrationslager Misburg," in the extensive, two-volume study of concentration camp prisoner labor in Hannover by Rainer Fröbe et al., *Konzentrationslager in Hannover: KZ-Arbeit und Rüstungsindustrie in der Spätphase des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Hildesheim: Verlag August Lax, 1985). For analysis of the evacuation of the Misburg camp and other camps in Hannover, see Herbert Obenaus, "Die Räumung der hannoverschen Konzentrationslager im April 1945," in the same volume. Another important secondary source of information on the Hannover subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and some specific information about the Hannover-Misburg subcamp. It includes a personal account of the *Abbruchkommando* (pp. 219–220); a reproduction of a quarterly report on numbers of inmates in the Misburg camp (among others) by the SS garrison doctor (*Standortarzt*) Trzebinski (March 29, 1945); as well as a reproduction of a Gestapo report on the escape of the Soviet POW Viktor K. (p. 230). Two memoirs that provide detailed, personal information about life in the Misburg camp include Jean-Pierre Renouard, *My Stripes Were Earned in Hell (Uniforme rayé d'enfer)* (J.P. Renouard, 1993); and Bernard Morey, *Le voyageur égaré* (Paris: France-Empire, 1981). For specific information on the Danish prisoners transported from Misburg to Stöcken, see Jørgen H.P. Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne. En Beretning om Koncentrationslejre og Fængsler, hvor der sad Danskere 1940–1945* (Copenhagen: Frihedsmuseets Venners Forlags Fond, 1994).

Primary documentation on the Hannover-Misburg camp is located in various archives, and Rainer Fröbe's extensive analysis has made ample use of these resources. Documentation related to the trial of Karl Wiedemann can be found at the PRO (London) under the JAG's Office WO 235/162-169 (reproduced in part at USHMMA, RG 59-016M). Information related to the trials of Richard W. and Heinrich H. is located at the AStALG-H, 11 Js 12/73. For information related to the bombing of the Deurag-Nerag factory, see the USSBS (Oil, Chemical and Rubber Division): Deurag-Nerag Refineries at Misburg (Porta) and Peine near Hannover Germany, NARA, RG 243/110. This file also includes photographs of the Deurag-Nerag firm (published in Fröbe et al.). For aerial photos of Deurag-Nerag taken by the British military on September 12, 1944, see PRO, AIR 40/737. For other photographs of the Deurag-Nerag firm, including stills that chronicle the damage caused during air raids, see the archives of the *Gewerkschaft Erdöl-Raffinerie Deurag-Nerag* in Hannover-Misburg.

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NOTES

1. According to a quarterly report filed by SS-*Standortarzt* Trzebinski, there were 672 prisoners in Misburg in March 1945; FZH, *Nachlass Hans Schwarz* (original report). The USHMMA (RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also contains a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (BAOR trial of Max Pauly

and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp. 123–126.

2. See Jean-Pierre Renouard, *My Stripes Were Earned in Hell* (J.P. Renouard, 1993), pp. 11–12, for his account of two coworkers who were crushed under falling brick.

3. Bernard Morey, *Le voyageur égaré* (Paris: France-Empire, 1981), p. 181.

4. See Renouard, p. 37; Gestapo report regarding the flight of Soviet POW Viktor K. on 12 September 1944 during an air raid, Fahndungsmeldung der Staatspolizeileistelle Hamburg (5 October 1944), BA-K, R70 Lothringen, p. 27, as reproduced in Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945*, p. 230.

5. See examination of Karl Wiedemann by Dr. Lappenburg, Curiohaus-Prozess, PRO (London), WO 235/165, reproduced in USHMMA, RG-59.016M (Reel 5).

6. See the records of the Curiohaus-Prozess, PRO (London), WO 235/162–169, reproduced in part in USHMMA, RG-59.016M.

HANNOVER-MÜHLENBERG-LINDEN

In the Mühlenberg-Linden district south of Hannover, a subcamp of Neuengamme was established in early February 1945 to supply labor to either Hannoversche Maschinenbau (Hanomag) or Rheinmetall-Borsig, firms that produced anti-aircraft weapons. The inmates in the Mühlenberg subcamp were transferred from Laurahütte, a subcamp of Auschwitz III-Monowitz, where they had been forced to work in armaments production for Rheinmetall-Borsig. According to historian Rolf Keller, it is not completely clear whether Hanomag or Rheinmetall-Borsig requested the inmates for work at the factories. Of the two firms, Rheinmetall most likely continued to employ the Laurahütte inmates, but it also may have rented two work halls in the Hanomag factory to continue its anti-aircraft weapons production. Keller has noted that the archives of neither Hanomag nor Rheinmetall-Borsig have documentation that would clarify this question.¹ Although the Mühlenberg subcamp operated for only about two months, its prisoners continued performing the same labor functions they had begun in Laurahütte in April 1944.

Ahead of approaching Soviet troops, the SS dismantled the Auschwitz III-Monowitz camp complex, including its subcamps, in early 1945. The Laurahütte camp was evacuated on January 23; nearly 1,000 inmates were transported by freight train to the Mauthausen camp, where they arrived six days later. From there, they were marched to Mauthausen subcamp Gusen II, where they stayed for two days. The SS “selected” about 500 inmates, considered “skilled workers” or “capable of work,” for transfer to Hannover. The transport left on February 1, 1945, and arrived in Mühlenberg on February 3, 1945.

The Mühlenberg camp was located on the outskirts of Hannover in the industrial Mühlenberg-Linden area. Situated just north of a large slave labor camp (*Zwangsarbeiterlager*) that

also provided labor to Hanomag, the subcamp consisted of 10 stone barracks surrounded by barbed wire. Fencing separated the prisoner area from the SS and guard barracks. In the first days after their arrival in Mühlenberg, the inmates reconstructed various areas of the camp; for example, fencing had to be mended and electrified, searchlights erected, and toilets repaired. The prisoners were sent to work outside the camp to the Hanomag factory beginning on February 12, 1945. Due to increasingly intensive Allied air attacks, and after the halt in production at Laurahütte, manufacturing anti-aircraft weapons gained special urgency. Hanomag produced half of the Reich’s supply of this artillery.

Some 95 percent of the prisoners in the Mühlenberg subcamp were Jews, most of whom had been deported from Poland and Hungary to Auschwitz. The rest of the Jewish inmates had been deported from Western Europe—France, the Netherlands, and Belgium. There were also small numbers of Romanian, Czech, Slovak, and Italian Jews.² German nationals (Reichsdeutsche), prisoners in “protective custody,” and so-called professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*) were also incarcerated in Mühlenberg. Most of the prisoners were between the ages of 21 and 30. The youngest prisoners, 2 Hungarian Jews, were 14 and 15 years old; the oldest prisoner was a Polish Jew aged 59. In addition to the original transport of 500 inmates, the Swedish Red Cross (the so-called Bernadotte Action) transferred about 500 “weak inmates” (*Muselmänner*) from Neuengamme to subcamps in Hannover; about 72 arrived in Mühlenberg in late March 1945.³

Daily, the inmates were marched to the Hanomag factory some 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from the camp, where they were divided into various work details; for example, some drilled holes in metal plates, and others performed locksmith tasks. The prisoners worked in two 12-hour shifts, which changed weekly. Conditions in the factory were terrible. Portions of the work halls had been destroyed during bombing attacks and were thus open to the elements. The inmates were poorly fed and suffered abuse from the Kapos and SS. Former inmate Moshe O. has recalled that as the prisoners were forced to run through the camp gates after their work assignments were over, camp elder (Lagerältester) “Otto” hit them arbitrarily with a hammer. Some weaker inmates did not survive this beating.⁴

In the Hanomag factory, the subcamp inmates worked together with civilian workers, foreign workers, and prisoners of war (POWs). Although contact between the groups was strictly forbidden, some were able to organize extra food rations or exchange lighter workloads with their fellow laborers. Organized sabotage attempts generally could not be implemented, as most of the finished weapons were tested on the grounds of the factory itself. However, some individual acts of sabotage caused the breakdown of production equipment.

During work in the factory, Kapos and guards from the subcamp supervised the inmates’ work. The administration and guard contingent consisted of 51 men, 11 SS officers, and 40 naval soldiers (Marinesoldaten). The commandant of the camp was SS-Oberscharführer Walter Friedrich Wilhelm Quakernack. Quakernack joined the SS in 1929, was deployed

to the front in 1939, and returned home after he was wounded. He was assigned to the political office in the Auschwitz main camp, and in 1944, he became a block leader (Blockführer) in Monowitz. Quakernack was appointed to command the Laurahütte subcamp in April 1944, and in January 1945, he transferred with the prisoners to Mühlenberg.

SS-Oberscharführer Quakernack's assistant was SS-Oberscharführer Otto B., who also transferred from Laurahütte. The office of roll-call leader (Rapportführer) alternated between Rottenführer Alfred Grams and Rottenführer Friedrich-Wilhelm Rex. Born in Poland, Grams was an ethnic German who worked in Neuengamme, Sachsenhausen, Auschwitz, and Laurahütte. Rex, a member of the German Labor Front (DAF), served in the Wehrmacht until the end of 1943 when he was injured. He was transferred to oversee a small POW camp in Domnitzsch. From there, he was assigned to Auschwitz in June 1944 and then Laurahütte. Other SS officers in the Mühlenberg camp included SS-Rottenführer Hans Tauschek, SS-Unterscharführer Plasa, and SS-Rottenführer Hans Rebtschuk.

There is comparatively little information on the sentries in Mühlenberg, which consisted of naval soldiers declared unfit for the front due to age and other reasons. The naval soldiers patrolled the camp outside the fencing that enclosed the prisoner area, supervised the inmates en route to work, and guarded the entrances of the factory halls. Prohibited from entering the prisoner area of the camp, they had little direct contact with the prisoners. According to most prisoner reports, the guards behaved less cruelly than the SS.

Due to poor working conditions, unsanitary living conditions, lack of food, and inadequate medical care, several inmates died in the Mühlenberg camp. They suffered from dysentery, exhaustion, starvation, and pneumonia; some died from beatings they received from Kapos and SS men. It is difficult to reconstruct the exact number and prisoner death rate because the only known records, those of the local Seelhorst cemetery, do not account for every prisoner death.⁵ Historian Rolf Keller has estimated that between 110 and 180 prisoners died in the camp from February 3, 1945, until its evacuation on April 6, 1945. This number does not include inmates who died or who were murdered during the evacuation of the camp.

The SS conducted a final roll call on April 6, 1945. Those prisoners who were determined capable of marching were separated from those who were not. About 110 inmates, including the 72 inmates transported to Mühlenberg by the Swedish Red Cross, remained behind. A few SS officers returned with trucks to evacuate them the following day; about 50 inmates who tried to hide were shot. The SS marched the rest to Bergen-Belsen, where they arrived after three days. Quakernack and his SS officers murdered at least 36 inmates during the march.

After Quakernack was found guilty of the murder of inmates on the evacuation march to Bergen-Belsen and guilty of ordering guards to shoot those too weak to march, he was sentenced to death by a British military tribunal in 1946. He was hanged in October 1946. Also accused of murder during the evacuation, the former Rottenführers Rex and Grams were

tried before the regional court (Landgericht) of Hannover beginning in 1980. At the conclusion of the trial in 1981, Grams was found innocent. Rex was sentenced to a six-year prison term; however, the higher regional court (Oberlandesgerichts) in Celle exempted him from serving the sentence.⁶

SOURCES Several primary and secondary sources contain detailed information about the Hannover-Mühlenberg-Linden subcamp of Neuengamme. Most of the information for this entry builds upon the research of Rolf Keller, "Das KZ Mühlenberg: Auschwitz in Hannover," in *Konzentrationslager in Hannover: KZ-Arbeit und Rüstungsindustrie in der Spätphase des Zweiten Weltkriegs*, by Rainer Fröbe et al. (Hildesheim: Verlag August Lax, 1985). For an analysis of the final days of the Hannover subcamps, including Hannover-Mühlenberg, see Herbert Obenaus, "Die Räumung der hannoverschen Konzentrationslager im April 1945," in the same volume. Another important secondary source of information on the Hannover subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and includes a reproduction of a quarterly report on numbers of inmates in the Mühlenberg camp (among others) by the SS garrison doctor (Standortarzt) Trzebinski (March 29, 1945). For further information on Mühlenberg, see Markus Deckert, *Das KZ-Aussenlager Hannover-Mühlenberg: "Vernichtung durch Arbeit"* (Hannover: Freizeit- und Bildungszentrum Weisse Rose, 1981).

Primary sources related to the Hannover-Mühlenberg camp can be found in various archives and repositories, and Rolf Keller's extensive analysis has made ample use of these resources. See especially the FZH for a transport list to KZ Mühlenberg (13-6-13) and report by Arnost Basch on Laurahütte, Hanomag, and Hannover-Linden (13-6-17). Trial proceedings of the case against Walter Quakernack, although scanty in detail, are stored at the PRO London, WO 235/658 (Second Belsen Case). This file is copied partially at USHMM, JAG's Office: War Crimes Case Files, Second World War (1945–1953), RG-59.016M. Another file related to Quakernack in Celle, currently listed as "wanting" or missing from the PRO, is WO 235/152. Trial proceedings against Friedrich Wilhelm Rex and Alfred Grams are located at the AStALG-H (11 Ks 3/76 and 11 Js 6/79). The ASt-H contains production statistics for Hanomag dated August 23, 1945. Reports from former inmate Arthur Lehmann are stored at YV; see especially 02/309, "Das Arbeitslager Hannover-Mühlenberg" (3.2.1945–6.4.1945) [1946]. Aerial photographs of Mühlenberg can be found at the IWM, London. Finally, further information, including photographs and plant reports, are located at the NA, Washington, DC, USSBS Plant Report No. 107a (I), Hannoversche Maschinenbau AG, 22/23 May 1945, RG 243.

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NOTES

1. Only one document, the quarterly report filed by Dr. Trzebinski, notes the number of inmates in "Hannover-Hanomag," although this most likely refers to the inmates' workplace, not the firm that actually submitted the request

for inmates to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA).

2. See Rolf Keller, "Das KZ Mühlenberg: Auschwitz in Hannover," in *Konzentrationslager in Hannover: KZ-Arbeit und Rüstungsindustrie in der Spätphase des Zweiten Weltkriegs*, by Rainer Fröbe et al. (Hildesheim: Verlag August Lax, 1985), p. 448, for a detailed chart based on the transport list of Laurahütte prisoners from Mauthausen to the Neuengamme camp system. The transport list dated February 7, 1945, is located at the Forschungsstelle für die Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus in Hamburg, Hamburg, 13-6-13, and is reproduced in part in Fröbe et al., Abb. 106–107.

3. Herbert Obenaus, "Die Räumung der hannoverschen Konzentrationslager im April 1945," Fröbe et al., *Konzentrationslager in Hannover*, pp. 526–527.

4. Moshe O., as quoted in Keller, "Das KZ Mühlenberg," pp. 466–467.

5. See Keller, "Das KZ Mühlenberg," pp. 476–484, for a reconstruction of the monthly death rate from the Seelhorst cemetery records as well as from witness accounts.

6. "Todesmarsch von Hannover: Sechs Jahre für Ex-SS-Mann Rex," *Neue Presse* (1./2. August 1981), reproduced in Markus Deckert, *Das KZ-Außenlager Hannover-Mühlenberg: "Vernichtung durch Arbeit"* (Hannover: Freizeit- und Bildungszentrum Weisse Rose, 1981).

HANNOVER-STÖCKEN (AKKUMULATORENFABRIK)

The first Neuengamme subcamp in the Hannover area was established in Stöcken in July 1943. The camp was created to supply prisoner labor to the nearby Akkumulatorenfabrik AG (later Varta Batterie AG), a firm that manufactured batteries for submarines and torpedoes. At a time of increased submarine production and shortage of skilled laborers, an agreement forged by the Naval High Command (OKM), the Reich Ministry for Weapons and Ammunition, the Armaments Detachment (Rüstungskommando) Hannover, and the Akkumulatoren firm introduced the use of prisoner labor into the factory's workforce. The Neuengamme main camp financed the transport of prisoners to and from Hannover, and it also provided for clothing, food, and other supplies for the inmates and guards. In turn, Akkumulatoren paid the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) a wage for each prisoner. The prisoners did not receive compensation for their work. At the height of wartime production, Akkumulatoren employed more than 6,500 workers, including some 1,500 concentration camp prisoners and 3,700 slave laborers.

The camp was built 120 meters (394 feet) south of the Akkumulatoren factory. Originally, the structure was intended to accommodate 500 prisoners; the actual number of prisoners incarcerated in the camp throughout its years of operation far exceeded that number. On July 17, 1943, the first commando from Neuengamme was transported to Hannover-Stöcken to begin construction of the camp under the leadership of SS-Oberscharführer Johannes P. The group of 50 prisoners, including Germans, Serbs, and Poles, was

treated brutally by the Oberscharführer and his Oberkapo "Toni." In the following weeks, additional transports arrived from Neuengamme; by March 1944, the numbers rose to 790 prisoners, and by August 1944, 1,533 prisoners.¹

In the Stöcken-Akkumulatorenfabrik camp, there were large groups of prisoners from Belgium, Denmark, Germany, France, Poland, and the Soviet Union. A smaller number of prisoners had been deported from Greece, Italy, Latvia, Estonia, and Czechoslovakia, although the exact number in each of the groups is unknown. In the fall of 1943, there were two large transports of 500 prisoners each, and in the summer of 1944, another transport of 500 prisoners arrived, all from Neuengamme. Some inmates had been imprisoned for their political or religious affiliations or sexual orientation (especially the German prisoners), others for their resistance activities or their status as "asocials" or criminals. A final group of weakened inmates was transported from Neuengamme to Stöcken days before its dissolution in April 1945 as part of an action by the Swedish Red Cross. Because of the difficult work the inmates performed, the sparse food rations they received, and the abuse they suffered by the guards and Kapos, there were many ill and weakened inmates whose conditions remained untreated. Inmates too feeble to work were exchanged for "healthy" prisoners from Neuengamme.

The Stöcken camp at the Akkumulatoren factory consisted of five prisoner barracks, an infirmary, a kitchen barracks, a roll-call area, and an execution area with gallows. The camp was surrounded by electrified barbed wire, and the barracks for the commandant, his guard staff, and administrative offices were located outside the camp's entrance. Watchtowers stood at the four corners of the camp, and a fenced-in pathway (distinct from the entrance to the camp) led to the Akkumulatoren factory.

The working conditions at the factory were brutal. Prisoners were separated into labor divisions—such as the lead or the plastics departments—and split into 12-hour shifts. Because inmates were not given protective equipment, there were several accidents and cases of poisoning from harmful gases. According to Theodor M., a Greek prisoner transported from Neuengamme to Stöcken, the inmates were prohibited from drinking water at work and thus resorted to drinking from the toilets.

The administration of the Hannover-Stöcken camp changed a number of times. SS-Untersturmführer Benediek replaced Oberscharführer Johannes P. as commandant in August 1943. SS-Obersturmführer Herbert Griem, infamous for his cruelty, succeeded him. During Griem's service as commander of the camp, Oberscharführer P. became the roll-call leader (Rapportführer) and oversaw the administrative duties of the camp. SS-Hauptsturmführer Kurt Adolf Klebeck, who came to Stöcken at the last stage of construction, replaced Griem in July 1944. SS-Untersturmführer Paul Maas took over as roll-call leader. Klebeck had entered the Nazi Party in 1933 and served in the Waffen-SS beginning in February 1940. He was a guard in Sachsenhausen from March to July 1940, then a supervisor in the Oranienburg subcamp, as well as in various other work commandos. Klebeck was also the chief of the SS-



German civilians view corpses outside Gardelegen, April 18, 1945, where the SS burned 1,016 prisoners in a barn. The prisoners originated from various camps, including from the Hannover-Stöcken (*Akkumulatorenfabrik AG*) subcamp of Neuengamme and the Mittelbau subcamp of Rotterode.

USHMM WS #08054, COURTESY OF JAMES HERRIMAN

7th Wachkompanie and supervised some 600 SS in the Hannover area.

The guard staff was mostly drawn from the SS; however, from July 1944, the OKM ordered guards to Hannover-Stöcken from Wilhelmshaven. SS guards and Kapos controlled the prisoners at work and within the camp. The SS were divided between those who served as sentries in the camp and those who supervised the administration of the camp.

In addition to deaths caused by poor living conditions and brutal work detail, there were also executions in the camp. Inmates selected for a death sentence were hanged, and all other inmates in the camp were gathered to witness it. The SS also executed prisoners by shooting, which was implemented outside the camp. At work, in the camp, and especially during roll calls, the SS guards and Kapos beat the prisoners arbitrarily, and this maltreatment, coupled with diseases like dysentery and tuberculosis, resulted in many prisoner deaths.² The inmates also died from frequent air raids; they were not provided with adequate

shelter. Over 400 prisoners died in the Stöcken camp, excluding an unknown number of prisoners returned to Neuengamme in exchange for “healthy” inmates.

The inmates responded to and coped with daily tyranny in various ways. Some inmates were able to barter for food to supplement their meager rations, which helped sustain their physical health. For example, Theodorus M. recalled that Danish prisoners received packages from the Red Cross, a privilege not afforded to other prisoners in the camp. He exchanged cigarettes for extra food.³ Several inmates engaged in resistance and sabotage activities. Theodorus M. also recalled that he produced faulty parts deliberately.⁴ Other testimony emphasized that some inmates smuggled a radio into the camp and were able to listen to foreign broadcasts. French prisoner René Baumer clandestinely sketched several scenes of camp life and portraits of his fellow inmates, and the sketches survived the war.⁵ Finally, according to the records of the nearby Seelhorst cemetery, there were at least eight in-

mates who attempted to escape the Stöcken camp. All of these attempts failed. The inmates were caught and either shot or brought back into the camp and hanged.

The SS began to evacuate the camp in two stages on April 7 and 8, 1945. During roll call, prisoners who were too weak to walk were separated from those who were able. The latter group was marched out of the camp to Bergen-Belsen, guarded by armed SS. The remaining 600 prisoners, many of whom were part of the Swedish Red Cross transport from Neuengamme, were gathered and transported by train. Those who survived the transport were marched to Gardelegen, where they were locked in a barn with inmates from other evacuated camps (1,016 in total) and burned alive. On April 15, members of the 102nd Infantry Division of the U.S. Army encountered the charred remains of the dead.⁶ The Allies occupied the grounds of the Akkumulatorenfabrik on April 20, 1945.

SS-Hauptsturmführer Klebeck was tried by a British military court in 1947 and was sentenced to 10 years in prison. Rapportführer Paul Maas was tried in 1964 and was given a 3.5-years prison sentence.

SOURCES There are several primary and secondary sources that contain detailed information about the Hannover-Stöcken subcamp of Neuengamme at the Akkumulatorenfabrik. Most of the information for this entry builds upon the research of Hans Hermann Schröder, “Das erste Konzentrationslager in Hannover: Das Lager bei der Akkumulatorenfabrik in Stöcken,” in the extensive, two-volume study of concentration camp prisoner labor in Hannover by Rainer Fröbe et al., *Konzentrationslager in Hannover: KZ-Arbeit und Rüstungsindustrie in der Spätphase des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Hildesheim: Verlag August Lax, 1985). Another important secondary source of information on the Hannover subcamps is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and some specific information about the Stöcken subcamp, including a personal account of the evacuation to Gardelegen (p. 277) as well as a reproduction of a quarterly report on numbers of inmates in the Stöcken camp (among others) by the SS garrison doctor (Standortarzt) Trzebinski (March 29, 1945). See also Janet Anschutz and Irmtraud Heike’s *Feinde im Eigenen Land: Zwangsarbeit in Hannover im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2000) for an overview of Hannover-Stöcken at the Akkumulatorenfabrik in the context of slave labor in the Hannover region; it also includes a personal account of life in the camp. Günther Wackernagel’s witness report can be found in the collection *Als Letztes Starb die Hoffnung: Berichte von Überlebenden aus dem KZ Neuengamme*, ed. Christoph Ernst and Ulrike Jensen (Hamburg: Rasch und Röhring Verlag, 1989). For specific information on the Danish prisoners in Stöcken, see Jørgen H.P. Barfod, *Helvede har mange Navne. En Beretning om Koncentrationslejre og Faengsler, hvor der sad Danskere 1940–1945* (Copenhagen: Frihedsmuseets Venners Forlags Fond, 1994). For an account of the Gardelegen massacre, see Diana Gring, *Die Todesmärsche und das Massaker von Gardelegen: NS-Verbrechen in der Endphase des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Gardelegen: Stadtmuseum Gardelegen, 1993).

Primary documentation about the Stöcken camp is stored in various archives, and the research of Hans Hermann Schröder has made extensive use of many of these resources in his study in *Konzentrationslager in Hannover*. For documents from the trial of Paul Maas and other relevant files, see the AStALG-H, 2 Ks 2/63. Documentation related to Klebeck’s trial can be found at the PRO (London) under the JAG’s Office WO 235/348. For correspondence, lists of deaths, and other relevant files, see the Nachlass Hans Schwarz at FZH. A collection of René Baumer’s drawings is stored at the Musée de l’Ordre de la Libération, Paris. Archives at USHMM contain files related to the Allied recovery of the remains of the Gardelegen massacre; see the Chris Battersby collection, RG-09.036; the 1981 International Liberators Conference collection, Gardelegen, RG-09.005*15; KZ Bilderbericht aus fünf Konzentrationslager, RG-04.045 (with photos); and signatures of Gardelegen witnesses, RG-09.017*01. The USHMM also has an extensive collection of photographs of Gardelegen at liberation, in particular of the barn where inmates from Stöcken were murdered; see USHMMPA, designation numbers 535.5455 and 535.4542.

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NOTES

1. Janet Anschutz and Irmtraud Heike, *Feinde im Eigenen Land: Zwangsarbeit in Hannover im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2000), p. 193.
2. See testimony of Theodorus M., in *ibid.*, pp. 193–195.
3. See testimony of Theodorus M., in *ibid.*, pp. 193–194.
4. Anschutz and Heike, *Feinde im Eigenen Land*, p. 193.
5. Rainer Fröbe et al., *Konzentrationslager in Hannover: KZ-Arbeit und Rüstungsindustrie in der Spätphase des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Hildesheim: Verlag August Lax, 1985); See “René Baumer—Ein Zeichner im KZ. Kunst, Widerstand und Identität im Konzentrationslager,” pp. 109–130.
6. For reports on the Allied encounter with Gardelegen, see USHMMA, RG-09.036, RG-09.005*15, RG-04.045, and RG-09.017*01. See also Diana Gring, *Die Todesmärsche und das Massaker von Gardelegen: NS-Verbrechen in der Endphase des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Gardelegen: Stadtmuseum Gardelegen, 1993), p. 22.

HANNOVER-STÖCKEN (CONTINENTAL)

In August 1944, SS-Untersturmführer Otto “Tull” Harder, who worked in the administrative office of the Neuengamme main camp, received orders from the commander of Neuengamme, SS-Sturmbannführer Max Pauly, to take over the administration of a work commando that was to be sent to Hannover. In the late summer of 1944, a subcamp of Neuengamme was established in Hannover-Stöcken for the Continental-Gummiwerke AG, a rubber factory located in Stöcken. The creation of the camp stemmed from a contractual agreement between the SS and Continental to use camp inmates for labor in the armaments industry. The camp was located on Stelinger Platz (later Stelinger Strasse) in close proximity to the factory.

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View of the Continental rubber factory where prisoners from the Hannover-Stöcken (Continental) subcamp of Neuengamme were sent to work, 1944–1945.

USHMM WS #98827, COURTESY OF GFH

On September 10, 1944, about 1,000 Jews were brought from Auschwitz to Hannover on a grueling transport by freight train that lasted several nights. According to one survivor of the deportation, they received little, if any, food during the trip, and a single bucket in the corner of the car served as a toilet for about 80 people.¹ Upon their arrival, some of the prisoners were taken directly to the infirmary, and three days later, the first inmate died, weakened from the brutal conditions of the transport.

The inmates were brought to a former slave labor camp that consisted of three prisoner barracks surrounded by electrified barbed wire. Outside the barracks stood the living quarters for the SS as well as the barracks for the kitchen and infirmary. Each of the five buildings measured 63.75 meters long by 12.5 meters wide (209 feet long by 41 feet wide). Four watchtowers guarded the camp's perimeter, and air-raid shelters reserved for the guards were located outside the camp.

Barely a week had passed after their arrival when the inmates were forced to work in the Continental factory. The commander of the camp, SS-Untersturmführer Harder, requested 20 German prisoners—most of whom were considered criminals—from Neuengamme's main camp to serve as Kapos to oversee prisoner work. Some of the most notorious Kapos were camp elder (Lagerältester) Johann Heinrich Wexler, block elder (Blockältester) Hans Deckert, and inmates Emil Krause (nicknamed "Zigeuner"), and Ferdinand Grosse. Civilian foremen employed by Continental entered the camp to divide the prisoners into work groups. The prisoners were employed in the fabrication of rubber for airplane tires as well as electrical and galvanizing work.

The prisoners were divided into two 12-hour shifts. Those who worked the day shift were awakened at 4:00 A.M. and given a small breakfast, which included about 80 grams (2.82 ounces) of bread and unsweetened coffee. After the morning roll call, work began at 6:00 A.M. The prisoners were marched daily to the factory guarded by armed SS and Kapos. Conditions in the factory were terrible—the prisoners were exposed to noxious gases, were given no protective equipment, and

suffered brutal mistreatment and abuse from the Kapos and the Continental foremen. At around noon, work was briefly interrupted. Lunch, which consisted of a liter (4.2 cups) of turnip soup with no fat, was served in the factory canteen. Work in the rubber factory then recommenced after lunch and continued until 6:00 P.M.

When the inmates returned to the camp, they received a sparse evening meal and then endured evening roll call. During the work shift, the Kapos had compiled a list of prisoners whose work performance was slow or who had otherwise attracted the guards' attention. The list was submitted to Wexler. The Kapos then beat the inmates ruthlessly with rubber truncheons as punishment for their "inadequate" work performance.

Some prisoners were employed in other intermittent work assignments, including clearing debris after bombings. Benjamin Sieradzki, a former inmate in the Stöcken Continental camp, had been assigned to one of the commandos sent to clean out demolished houses not far from the camp. "We had to dig out and remove all kinds of rubble, people's household items and personal possessions, dead animals, piled up old bricks, lumber, metal, et cetera," recalled Sieradzki. "We always looked for old food inside the ruins, and sometimes we found some raw potatoes, stale bread, or other old rotten food."² Other inmates were recruited for work in the infirmary, kitchen, and other duties within the camp. Two prisoners employed in the infirmary were Leon Fajlowicz and Dr. Ilja Margolis.

The prisoners in the Hannover-Stöcken camp at the Continental factory were male Jews who had been deported from the Łódź ghetto to Auschwitz and selected for work outside the camp. The exact dates and rate of death of the inmates are unknown; however, former inmates noted that many died from the terrible conditions and abuse meted out by the Kapos and guards. "A lot of us got sick or injured," Sieradzki has noted, "and soon after we arrived, people started to die on a daily basis. I saw several people dying during a roll call and after severe beatings."³ In October 1944, between 80 and 85 ill and weakened inmates were transferred from Stöcken to the Neuengamme main camp, where they most likely died. One month later, at the end of November 1944, the remaining 850 inmates were evacuated to Hannover-Ahlem. Therefore, there were some 65 other deaths in the Stöcken Continental subcamp during its three-month existence.

SS-Untersturmführer Harder was the officer in charge (Lagerführer) of the Hannover-Stöcken subcamp at Continental. After his service in World War I, Harder began his career as a professional soccer player, known then as "Tull" Harder. He joined the Nazi Party in 1932, the SS in 1933, and became a guard in Sachsenhausen prior to his service in Neuengamme in 1939. Harder was in charge of 60 SS men who were transferred from Neuengamme to serve as sentries in the Stöcken camp. They were organized under the 7th Wachkompanie, which provided guards for the Hannover camps. At least a part of the guard troop in Stöcken-Continental changed sometime between October and November 1944. About 25 SS men were sent from Neuengamme to Stöcken, among them at least one soldier from the Luftwaffe.

The only successful flight from the Stöcken camp was carried out by one of the Kapos, Karl H. He fled from the Continental factory on October 9, 1944. The camp administration and chief of the 7th Wachkompanie contacted the Gestapo office in Hannover immediately. The Gestapo investigated the Kapo's connections with the woman who worked in the factory canteen, Emmi W. Unlike other inmates who worked in the Continental factory, the Kapos were permitted to circulate the grounds, and if they had money, they purchased drinks from the canteen. Although camp commander Harder had prohibited the canteen to sell goods to the prisoners or the Kapos, Emmi W. believed that her superiors at the factory had given her permission. Thus she was seen communicating frequently with the Kapo Karl H. and was suspected of aiding him in his escape.

The Stöcken Continental camp was evacuated on November 30, 1944. The surviving inmates were summoned and then marched to another subcamp of Neuengamme in Hannover-Ahlem, about 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) away. Harder and his guards were also transferred to the new camp. Harder was tried by a British military tribunal in 1947 for crimes committed in the Hannover-Ahlem subcamp; he was sentenced to a 15-year prison term. In 1946, Grosse was tried, sentenced to death, and executed. Wexler was tried by the Regional Court (Landgericht) Hannover in 1975–1976 and sentenced to life imprisonment. The sentence was changed to 15 years, but he was released in 1982. Wexler died in 1985.

SOURCES Several primary and secondary sources contain detailed information about the Hannover-Stöcken (Continental) subcamp of Neuengamme. Most of the information for this entry builds upon Christoph Gutmann's "Das Lager der Continental Gummi-Werke AG in Hannover" in the extensive, two-volume study of concentration camp prisoner labor in Hannover by Rainer Fröbe et al., *Konzentrationslager in Hannover: KZ-Arbeit und Rüstungsindustrie in der Spätphase des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Hildesheim: Verlag August Lax, 1985). Additional information on the transfer of inmates from Stöcken to Ahlem, as well as several witness testimonies from both the Stöcken and Ahlem camps, can be found in Janet Anschütz and Irmtraud Heike, "Wir wollten Gefühle sichtbar werden lassen." *Bürger gestalten ein Mahnmal für das KZ Ahlem* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2004). Another important secondary source of information on the Hannover subcamp is Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and some specific information about the Continental and Akkumulatorenfabrik subcamps in Hannover.

Primary sources with information on the Stöcken (Continental) subcamp are located in various archives and are extensively documented in Christoph Gutmann's essay in the two-volume *Konzentrationslager in Hannover* as well as the exhaustive listing of resources in Anschütz and Heike. Most information gathered from primary documentation can be found in files associated with the Hannover-Ahlem camp, to which the inmates and guards were transferred in November 1944.

The evidence gathered for several postwar trials conducted for crimes committed in Ahlem also contains information about the Continental camp. In London, the IWMA holds aerial photos of the Stöcken Continental grounds (taken October 20, 1945); one of them is also reprinted in Fröbe et al. Also see the archives of the War Office Military Tribunal in the PRO (London) for information about the trial conducted against Harder and other SS leaders (WO 235/348) (WO 235 is copied in part at USHMMA, "JAG's Office, War Crimes Case Files, Second World War," RG-59.016M). Harder was called as a witness in the trial of Neuengamme commandant Max Pauly (WO 235/163), and some information on the Ahlem and Stöcken Continental camps is also provided here. The BA-K contains information related to the entry of Continental into the armaments industry in the files of the Reichsministerium für Rüstungs- und Kriegsproduktion (RMfRK). Letters from the Continental factory to municipal authorities in Hannover, architectural plans for the Continental subcamp, and other information are located at the ASt-H. Information about the trial against camp elder Johann Heinrich Wexler is stored at the AStLG-H (11 Ks 1/74). Finally, the Historische Seminar at the Universität Hannover also contains various records related to the Stöcken camp. For personal accounts of survivors recorded after the war, see the Vernon Tott collection (Acc. 1997 A 0287) and the oral history of David Klipp (RG-50.030*0345) at USHMMA, as well as those published in Anschütz and Heike (Moshe Miedzinski, Katriel Monitz, and Benjamin Sieradzki). A photograph of the Continental rubber factory in Hannover-Stöcken, taken in 1944 or 1945, can be found at USHMMPA, WS # 98827 (RG 10851).

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NOTES

1. Benjamin Sieradzki, "A Teenager Survives the Holocaust," Vernon Tott Collection, Hannover-Ahlem concentration camp records and photographs, USHMMA, Acc. 1997 A 0287, p. 21.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 24–25.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

HILDESHEIM

The establishment of a subcamp in Hildesheim was a reaction to the massive destruction during a bombing raid on February 22, 1945, of the goods railway yard and the main railway line from Hildesheim to Dresden via Leipzig. Labor was needed to repair the destruction. Nevertheless, there are contradictory statements about the exact dates for the establishment of the camp: survivors state they were sent from Bergen-Belsen to Hildesheim at the end of February; the guards date the arrival as February 24,¹ while the Bergen-Belsen transport lists put March 2 as the date on which the detachment left for Hildesheim. This latter date is supported by an instruction by the Hildesheim mayor to prepare accommodations for March 1.²

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The Hildesheim prisoners had been evacuated to Bergen-Belsen from Riese/Wüstegiersdorf, a Gross-Rosen subcamp, as part of the evacuation of camps in the eastern parts of Germany. Of the original 800 prisoners, only 500 arrived, and this group, almost unchanged, was sent on to Hildesheim. The prisoners were all Jewish—there were around 340 Hungarian Jews and 160 Jewish prisoners from Italy, Poland, Russia, Yugoslavia, Austria, and Germany. This mix did not change.³ A young Hungarian was shot on a work site, the only concrete example of a homicide at Hildesheim. However, it is hardly possible to calculate the exact number of prisoners who died, as the camp lists are not available. Most prisoners presumably did not die of mistreatment, malnutrition, and the heavy work but in the heavy bombing raid on March 22, 1945, which destroyed large parts of Hildesheim including the goods railway yard and the city hall where the prisoners were accommodated. Some 250 prisoners probably died, but the number is only an estimate, as the Bergen-Belsen transport lists merely refer to a prisoner transport to Hildesheim without giving details on the number of prisoners.

In Hildesheim, Reichsbahnoberinspektor Laurenz Rappers, who described himself as responsible for the “Acquisition and Use of Labor to Reinstate the Railway Facilities,” had demanded the labor.⁴ The prisoners were required by the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways) to clean up the railways, remove the damage, and reinstate the railway facilities.

Members of the SS, who had accompanied the prisoners part of the way from Wüstegiersdorf, accompanied the prisoners on the transport to Hildesheim and remained at the camp.⁵ The only details known on the SS guards are from the camp commandant, SS-Hauptsturmführer Otto Heinrich Paul Thümmel.⁶ Originally a captain of the artillery, he was discharged from the Wehrmacht in March 1944 due to his age and transferred to an SS-Guards Battalion in Oranienburg. His first assignment as camp commandant was in October 1944 when he was assigned to the subcamp at Wilhelmshaven-Banter Weg. At the end of 1944, he was sent via Wedel to one of the subcamps at the Salzgitter Hermann-Göring-Werke.⁷ He remained there until the end of January 1945. At the beginning of March, he commanded the Hildesheim camp for 10 days; 3 days after the attack on March 22, 1945, the camp was evacuated to Hannover-Ahlem.

The prisoners from Hildesheim remember, much more than the SS, the Volkssturm men who guarded the prisoners on the way to work. The Volkssturm platoon was not part of the normal chain of command but was responsible directly to the district party leader, Meyer, or the camp commandant. Albert Rosin was in command of the platoon. Their duty was accomplished in two rotating daily shifts. The Volkssturm soldiers had not been called up to the Wehrmacht because of their age or because they had proved to be indispensable for their jobs. Although they had been recruited directly from their jobs and at the direction of the SS, some of them treated the prisoners with extraordinary brutality.⁸ Besides Rosin, one cruel guard was Volkssturm private Hermann Dettmer. A building cleaner from Hildesheim born in 1887, Dettmer

had been a member of the Nazi Party from May 1933.⁹ He is described as being about 1.6 meters (5 feet 3 inches) tall, wearing a leather jacket and armed not only with a gun but with a thick stick, with which he often beat the prisoners unconscious.¹⁰

Not only was Dettmer feared, but so was his superior, platoon leader Rosin. The son of a miner, he was born on September 15, 1900, in Sarstedt near Hildesheim. He served in World War I as a soldier and worked finally as a clerk at a mill in Sarstedt. It was here that he was called up to the Volkssturm.¹¹ He had been a member of the Nazi Party from May 1937.¹² Rosin did the only known shooting at the Hildesheim subcamp. It happened at the railway goods yard when a young Hungarian who had taken a tin of food from a destroyed railway wagon was shot on railway premises. No investigation was carried out into the theft despite the fact that other Volkssturm members had allowed the prisoners to take damaged food from the destroyed wagons.

The dissolution of the Hildesheim camp followed the attack on Hildesheim on March 22, 1945, in which large parts of the city, the prisoners’ workplace, and accommodation were destroyed. It made no sense to attempt to repair the damage done.

The surviving prisoners then commenced a march lasting several days to Hannover to the Ahlem subcamp. They were evacuated from there on April 6, with the Ahlem prisoners, to Bergen-Belsen.

The events in Hildesheim were investigated in several trials after the end of the war: Dettmer, the former member of the Volkssturm, was convicted by a British military court on August 28, 1946, and sentenced to five years’ imprisonment.¹³ New investigations began in 1949 against Dettmer and another Volkssturm member, Hermann Schröder, at the Hildesheim Local Court. However, the proceedings ceased on June 19, 1950.¹⁴ Rosin was convicted of shooting the young prisoner and in the appeal case was sentenced by the State Court at Hildesheim on January 25, 1952, to five years in jail.¹⁵ Thümmel, on the other hand, was convicted by a British military court in 1947 and sentenced to five years’ imprisonment for mistreating and killing Allied subjects in the Wilhelmshaven-Banter Weg work detachment. The events at Hildesheim were only a peripheral matter during this trial.

SOURCES Secondary sources useful for this essay are Eberhard Kolb, *Bergen-Belsen: Vom “Aufenthaltslager” zum Konzentrationslager 1943–45* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1985), p. 68; Mandy Gur, “Von Bergen-Belsen nach Bergen-Belsen,” *YalMor* 29 (May 1980): 7–18; and Studienkreis zur Erforschung und Vermittlung der Geschichte des Widerstandes 1933–1945 und Präsidium der VVN—Bund der Antifaschisten, ed., *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–45*, vol. 3, *Niedersachsen II Regierungsbezirke Hannover und Weser-Ems* (Köln: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1986), p. 79. The latter source furnishes a mortality estimate for the Hildesheim bombing raid.

Primary sources for this essay are found in PRO, WO 235/144; NHStA-H, Nds 721 Hi Acc 90/99 Nr. 160 and Acc

106/80 Nr. 119; ASt-Hild, Best. 803, Nr. 113; AG-BB; BA-L, ZdL 404 ARZ 159/73; and BA-BL.

Kathrin Clausing
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. NHStA-H, Nds 721 Hi Acc. 106/80 Nr. 119, p. 9, Statement by Albert Rosin; and *ibid.*, p. 28, Statement by Erich Kinder.
2. ASt-Hild, Best. 803, Nr. 113.
3. PRO, WO 235/144 Bl. 84, Statement Heinrich Wilhelm August Fischer.
4. NHStA-H, Nds 721 Hi Acc. 106/80 Nr. 119, p. 21.
5. AG-BB, Interview with G.F. 14 March 1995, p. 20.
6. For details, see Sta. Hannover 2 KS 2/63 Bl. 53f, Criminal matter of Wilhelm Genth and Paul Maas charged with murder in BA-L, ZdL 404 ARZ 159/73, B. 35–39.
7. BA-L, ZdL 404 ARZ 159/73, Bl. 37.
8. NHStA-H, Nds 721 Hi Acc. 106/80 Nr. 119, p. 26; Statement Wilhelm Werth, p. 27; Statement Erich Kinder, p. 28; and Statement Alex Schwarz, pp. 38–39.
9. NSDAP-Member Card Index, BA-BL.
10. Statement Heinrich Wilhelm August Fischer, PRO, WO 235/144, p. 84.
11. NHStA-H, Nds 721 Hi Acc. 106/80 Nr. 119, p. 7.
12. NHStA-H, Nds 721 Hi Acc. 106/80 Nr. 119, p. 10.
13. PRO, WO 235/144.
14. NHStA-H, Nds 721 Hi Acc 86/60 Nr. 33, p. 91.
15. NHStA-H, Nds 721 Hi Acc 106/80 Nr. 120, p. 42.

HORNEBURG

The Horneburg subcamp probably existed as a subcamp of the Neuengamme concentration camp from the end of October 1944 to the end of April 1945. During this period, it was exclusively occupied by female prisoners. The camp was located outside the small Lower Saxony town of Horneburg, Stade County, on the road to Bliedersdorf.

The prisoners' accommodation barracks at the Horneburg camp had been constructed during the summer months of 1944. On February 17, 1944, the Hamburg company Valvo Röhren- und Halbleiterwerke GmbH (Valvo Pipe and Semiconductor Factory, Ltd.) applied to the Building Plenipotentiary at Albert Speer's Reich Ministry for permission to build three wooden barracks. Because of the sustained air raids on Hamburg, Valvo, which had its headquarters in Hamburg, for security reasons began to relocate parts of its factory to Horneburg in 1943. In addition to the three prisoners' accommodation barracks, there was an additional barracks for the camp guards.

In October 1944, two groups of prisoners arrived at the Horneburg women's camp. According to the prisoners' card index of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), 48 mostly Dutch women from the Ravensbrück concentration camp arrived in Horneburg probably on either October 9 or 10, 1944. A transport list has survived for this transport, although it is dated October 19, 1944. A comparison of the prisoners' numbers on this list with the prisoners' cards of the WVHA,

which have survived, reveals that the departure of the women from Ravensbrück occurred on October 9, 1944.¹ A few days later, 200 Hungarian Jewish women arrived from the Auschwitz concentration camp. Most of the Dutch women had been arrested at the beginning of 1944 and transported to the Herzogenbusch concentration camp, from where, during the course of 1944, they were transferred to Ravensbrück. The Hungarian women were expelled from their homes in the spring of 1944 and locked up in various ghettos throughout the country. From the ghettos they were deported to Auschwitz. In Auschwitz the women were held in C Camp, the so-called transit camp, where following a "selection" they were chosen for work in Horneburg.

The Horneburg prisoners were put to work at the Valvo Röhren- und Halbleiter factory as part of the armaments industry. According to survivors' reports, the Horneburg camp prisoners, together with German employees and prisoners of war (POWs), produced mostly radio valves and lightbulbs. Some reports suggest that telephonic equipment was also manufactured there. Most probably the lightbulbs were manufactured at Valvo for use in military aircraft and warships. Many survivors from Horneburg reported the production of the lightbulbs. It was precise mechanical work using magnifying glasses and tweezers. Each workday was 12 hours long. The work caused a great deal of eyestrain. Magda Eggens, a survivor, has the following to say about the work: "My section produced lightbulbs. A few girls had to learn how to blow the glass for the bulbs. I had to put the small wires into the bulbs. I quickly learned the work and my section leader said that I was diligent. It is much more difficult to blow glass and turn the hot glass. The glass blowers were always being burned."²

A report by the Dutch survivors suggests that the Dutch women not only were put to work in the factory but, from time to time, were engaged in different open-air tasks outside the factory. For example, they dug and built fortifications in the small Horneburg harbor and unloaded bricks, among other things, from a few ships.

Horneburg was commanded by Peter Klaus Friedrich Hansen. Hansen was born on June 21, 1905, in Kiel. After he completed elementary school, he became a salesman. From 1930 to 1937, he was in charge of a grocer's shop. In 1937 he took over his father's cattle agency. He joined the Allgemeine-SS in 1934 and reached the rank of Rottenführer. He joined the National Socialist Party on May 1, 1937, and the Waffen-SS on November 7, 1939, where he received military training until the beginning of January 1940. From the beginning of 1940 until March 1941, Hansen was a sentry in Gusen (a subcamp of the Mauthausen concentration camp). At the beginning of March 1941, he was transferred to Neuengamme, where he was at first a sentry and from September 1942 a clerk in the commandant's office. During this period he reached the rank of Unterscharführer. Hansen's work in the commandant's office came to an end on September 1, 1944, when he took command of a prisoner clean-up squad, composed of Neuengamme prisoners, in Kiel. Finally, at the beginning of October 1944, he assumed command of Horneburg, where he remained until the end of April 1945.

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According to Hansen, about 10 female wardens guarded the female prisoners inside the camp. Former Wehrmacht soldiers were responsible for the camp's external security.

Probably at the end of February 1945, the Hungarian and Dutch women were evacuated from the Horneburg camp. They were transferred to the subcamp Porta Westfalica, also a subcamp of Neuengamme.

According to the surviving workers' logbook for the Jewish prisoners of the Weisswasser women's subcamp, a satellite of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, the prisoners from that subcamp were transferred to Horneburg at the end of February 1945. About 300 Jewish women reached the Horneburg camp on February 24, 1945. These women had to do the same work as the other Hungarian women before them.

Most probably at the end of March 1945, the women remaining in Horneburg were divided into two groups. A small group of about 60 women was transferred to the Porta Westfalica camp. The remaining Jewish prisoners were evacuated from the camp on April 8, 1945 (this date is mentioned in the logbook), in the direction of Bergen-Belsen. The logbook also records that they arrived in Bergen-Belsen on April 11. Those who survived the rigors of Bergen-Belsen were freed by British troops on April 15, 1945, after four days in the "reception camp."

SOURCES This article is based on a description of the Horneburg camp by Ingo Lange, "Das Arbeitslager Horneburg—Auslenkommando des KZ Neuengamme. Eine Zwischenstation auf dem Wege zum KZ Bergen-Belsen" (unpub. MSS, Horneburg, n.d.); and "Mitten unter uns mussten sie durch die Hölle: Das Frauen-Arbeitslager in Horneburg N.E." (unpub. MSS, Horneburg, 2000). In addition, Harmut Lohmann discusses the Horneburg camp in "*Hier war doch alles nicht so schlimm*". *Der Landkreis Stade in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus* (Stade, 1991), pp. 316–323. On the transfer from Ravensbrück to Horneburg, see also Grit Philipp, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Frauen-Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück 1939–1945* (Berlin, 1999), p. 173.

The AG-NG contains a few interviews with female survivors who recount the history of the camp. I have also interviewed many former camp prisoners. Magda Eggens and Rosa Lagercrantz published their memoirs as *Was meine Augen gesehen haben* (Frankfurt am Main, 1999). Further accounts are to be found at the memorial site at YVA, including the surviving work logbook. A copy of the SS-WVHA's prisoners' card index is kept at AG-NG. Also kept there are the transport lists for the transport from Ravensbrück to Horneburg, which names the 48 Dutch women. This list is also kept in the Ravensbrück concentration camp collection at USHMMA, RG-04.006 M, Reel 20. The military court files, which are kept at BA-K, are a source of information about Peter Klaus Friedrich Hansen's career. Sources that can verify the exact arrival date of the Jewish inmates from Auschwitz in Horneburg or that could provide details about the male and female guards of the female subcamp Horneburg have not survived.

Hans Ellger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

NOTES

1. Transfer list of October 19, 1944, from Ravensbrück concentration camp to Neuengamme concentration camp, USHMMA, RG-04.006 M, Reel 20.

2. Magda Eggens and Rosa Lagercrantz, *Was meine Augen gesehen haben* (Frankfurt am Main, 1999), p. 51.

HUSUM-SCHWESING [AKA HUSUM, SCHWESING, LAGER ENGELSBURG]

The concentration camp work detachment at Husum-Schwesing was located some five kilometers (three miles) northeast of Husum in the North German marshes close to the North Sea shore. The camp was established in September 1944 on the initiative of the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht. It was a subcamp of the Neuengamme main camp under the authority of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The Husum-Schwesing camp is also mentioned in contemporary sources under the names "Husum," "Schwesing," and "Lager Engelsburg," the latter stating its exact location. It was evacuated in late December 1944.

Husum-Schwesing was a slave labor camp that provided manpower for the construction of a complex of earth fortifications along the North Sea shore known as the Frisian Wall (Friesenwall) and the German border with Denmark. These fortifications were intended to prevent an Allied landing on the shores of western Schleswig and bar the entry of Allied troops from Denmark. Due to the Allied advance on the lower Western Front, the project soon lost its strategic significance and was abandoned by late December 1944 and the involved slave and forced laborers withdrawn. Thus, the Husum-Schwesing camp ceased to exist well before the German forces in the area capitulated to the Allies on May 5, 1945. The surviving prisoners were transported back to Neuengamme by train.

During its short period of operation, the Husum-Schwesing camp belonged to the most horrific German slave labor camps and had a high death rate. The prisoners were forced to dig trenches and antitank ditches in marsh soil that was soaked with water and very heavy. They worked outdoors under harsh fall weather conditions without proper clothing or protection. Work mainly consisted of moving huge masses of earth and mud, and because of the abundant supply of concentration camp slaves, it was performed with shovels and wheelbarrows without the use of earthmoving machinery. For this reason, and because of disastrous living conditions and extreme hunger, work progress was slow. Despite the constant efforts by Kapos and guards to speed up the work pace by means of violent blows and abusive language, productivity remained low. There are examples of prisoners being hit so severely with shovels that they died and of large numbers of prisoners from the infirmary who, despite being so weak they could hardly walk, were commanded to do heavy work. The prisoners, who were without

proper footwear, were frequently forced to work in water up to their knees. Work continued seven days a week. Prisoners had to march up to 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) each way to and from the work site every day.

The camp commandant was SS-Untersturmführer Hans-Hermann Griem, an early joiner of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) and SS, born in 1902 in Berlin. He had served as deputy Schutzhaftlagerführer in Neuengamme from 1942 to September 1944. From November 1 to December 16, he also commanded the nearby Ladelund subcamp. The deputy camp commandant was SS-Oberscharführer Eichler; the only Blockführer of the camp was SS-Rottenführer Erwin Klingler. According to survivors' testimony, Griem was an alcoholic who sold provisions meant for the prisoners' consumption to local peasants in order to get money to buy liquor. He was feared for his brutality and frequently used his revolver against the prisoners, once killing a Russian prisoner at short distance. He and the few other SS men, however, mostly stayed in the camp so the daily beatings on the work site were usually administered by Kapos. Guards who were older servicemen from the Marine Infantry performed acts of violence as well. Griem and Klingler were sentenced to death in the first Curio-Haus Trial in 1946 for atrocities committed against prisoners in Husum-Schwesing and other camps, but Griem managed to escape, and Eichler received a short prison sentence. Five German Kapos received long prison sentences by British military courts; a Dutch Kapo received 20 years' imprisonment by a Dutch court.

The first prisoners' transport arrived on September 26, 1944. Further transports arrived on October 4 and October 15. Some 200 prisoners from Husum-Schwesing were transported to Ladelund on October 4 in order to prepare this new subcamp. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) records, the average strength of the Husum-Schwesing camp was 2,000 male prisoners. Toward the end, there were 2,500 prisoners in the camp, apparently all non-Jewish. Three transports arrived in the course of time with replacement for sick and exhausted prisoners who were returned to Neuengamme for annihilation. Prisoners were from Denmark (98 resistance fighters), France, Holland, Poland, and the Soviet Union.

The Husum-Schwesing camp was originally erected in 1938 to accommodate 250 German workers employed at constructing a military airfield. By 1944, its buildings were extremely run-down. It was located on an area between the railroad and the main road leading from Husum to Flensburg and consisted of eight prisoners' huts that were very overcrowded, a kitchen building, and a storage building with a tailors' workshop and accommodation for those prisoners who worked in the camp kitchen. Four toilet shacks were very primitive and unhygienic. The quasi-rectangular camp compound was surrounded by a double-barbed-wire fence and had watchtowers at each corner. The camp administration and guards' accommodations were in three huts outside the fence. On the enclosed area was also a *Revier* hut (infirmary),

which had two Danish and one Dutch prisoner physicians assigned to them. Paul Thygesen, the only one of them to survive the camp, at times had more than 700 sick and emaciated prisoners to attend to.

Provisions in the camp were very poor. There was no systematic killing of prisoners, but several deaths occurred due to illness, exhaustion, and random violence by Kapos and guards. An estimated 300 to 500 prisoners died in the Husum-Schwesing camp during its three months of operation. Some 300 were buried in 11 mass graves at the city cemetery of nearby Husum.

SOURCES This description of the Husum-Schwesing camp is based on Klaus Bästlein et al., eds., *Das KZ Husum-Schwesing* (Bredstedt, 1983). Another account is Jørgen Barfod, *Helvede bar mange navne* (Copenhagen, 1969), p. 171, based on numerous early survivors' accounts; and Poul Riis, ed., *Husum-Schwesing og Ladelund* (Slagelse, n.d.). Preliminary data are found in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990); and Gudrun Schwarz, *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990). This camp is briefly mentioned in various popular books, pamphlets, and articles about the Neuengamme concentration camp and on North Friesland local history. Observations by a Danish physicians' team on the health conditions in Husum-Schwesing and other Nazi camps have been published by Paul Thygesen et al. in *Ams* and other medical journals over the years.

Archival material on the Husum-Schwesing camp is scarce. For documents found in AG-NG and LA-Sch-H, see the references in Bästlein et al. The Hans Schwarz Archive at the FZH holds copies of documents on the camp and its commandant Hans-Hermann Griem. Published and unpublished survivors' accounts are held at the FM-C, ASt-Put, and NIOD. For references to trials against Husum-Schwesing SS personnel and Kapos, see Bästlein et al. The same volume also includes a detailed account by Danish prisoner physician Paul Thygesen, earlier published in Danish by Thygesen, *Læge i tyske koncentrationslejre*, 2nd ed. (Copenhagen, 1964), as well as references to further survivors' accounts such as P. Jorand, *Les Camps de la mort: Husum . . . ici on extermine!* (Nancy, 1946).

Therkel Straede

KALTENKIRCHEN

In light of the possible use of the German Luftwaffe against Great Britain and Scandinavian countries, construction of a military air base was begun in 1938 near Kaltenkirchen in Schleswig-Holstein. In time, this project expanded to include units of the Luftwaffe, the navy, the Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich Labor Service, RAD), and numerous quarters for civilian and foreign laborers. The complex stretched along a road from Hamburg to Kiel (later named

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Bundesstrasse 4), about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) to the north of Hamburg.

For some years the air base was not used. In late September 1944, the site was chosen for the Messerschmitt (Me) 262 jet fighter, as well as for the Arado 234 jet bomber. The existing runways had to be lengthened, and the shortage of labor caused the Luftwaffe command to use prisoners from the larger concentration camps. They, therefore, established a Neuengamme work detachment at Kaltenkirchen and offered the SS leadership the use of the existing wooden barracks, which would be secured with a barbed-wire fence. The Luftwaffe also put at the disposal of the SS 85 elderly Luftwaffe soldiers who were too old for frontline service.

The largest proportion of prisoners consisted of citizens from the Soviet Union, most of whom were prisoners of war (POWs), followed by Poles, men from the resistance in France, and Belgians, Dutch, and Germans, as well as Italians, Yugoslavs, Spaniards, and North Africans. There were a few criminal prisoners, who were appointed as Kapos by the SS. Johannes Wehres, held in concentration camps since 1933 for being part of the Communist resistance, was the camp elder and responsible for camp order. The number of prisoners varied between 550 and a number close to 1,000. If the number of prisoners declined, they were replaced with new transports from Neuengamme.

The approximately 80-kilometer (50-mile) journey for the prisoners took place by rail. The prisoners were locked in sealed railway cattle trucks. The journey took more than two days. Many prisoners did not survive the tribulations of the trip without food or drinking water and without the chance to either sit or lie down. At the end of the rail trip the prisoners had to march to the camp, carrying with them those who died on the rail journey—this under the eyes of the local population.

The camp was close to the very popular Reichsstrasse 4, and opposite the settlement of Springhirsch, where women and children mostly lived. It was in the northern area of the military base. As a result, many people, both soldiers and civilians, could daily watch events in the camp. The camp was about 100 meters square (328 feet square). The prisoners were accommodated in two large wooden barracks. The camp office was located in another barrack that also held the camp elder's room, the sick bay, and the isolation station, which was established for prisoners suffering from dysentery. There was an additional barracks that served as the washroom and toilet block. In a very small wooden building, known as the "Bunker," prisoners were painfully tortured as punishment. The guards were housed in a roomy barracks outside the camp fence.

The SS appointed a camp leader and two noncommissioned officers to the camp. The leader, SS-Hauptsturmführer Otto Freyer, had been transferred from the Wehrmacht to the SS. The Neuengamme SS command formed the view that he was too mild and weak with the prisoners. His demands to be returned to his southern German home were acceded to without any negative consequences for him. His

successor, Bernhard Waldmann, displayed much greater brutality.

Many Neuengamme prisoners had volunteered for Kaltenkirchen because they hoped to increase their survival chances. They would be disappointed.

The work sites were several kilometers from the camp. Many people witnessed daily the screams of the guards as the prisoners marched and saw the exhausted figures on their return, who had to drag or carry their dead comrades back to the camp. Under the armed guard of the Luftwaffe soldiers, the prisoners were used by private construction firms or put to work on the air base. It is claimed that employees of the construction firms considerably increased the prisoners' suffering by forcing them to work hard and by beating them. (Firms named are Bassow & Torkuhl from Lübeck and the Ohlendorff'sche Baugesellschaft from Hamburg.)

The daily work was made more difficult by the limited and poor-quality rations. There was no food other than a slice of bread and a watery soup in the evening consisting of cabbage and beets. Unanimously, the prisoners reported that civilians and personnel from the camp command pilfered a large amount of the food destined for the prisoners, either to eat it themselves or to sell it on the black market.

The prisoners' clothes were not at all suited for the cold and wet seasons. There was a shortage of underwear, and the prisoners had to wear wooden shoes, usually without socks. The prisoners often returned filthy from their work, and the washroom was too small for them all to fit in. It was impossible to maintain adequate hygiene. Small injuries or illnesses remained untreated. The Russian camp doctor lacked an adequate supply of medicines and instruments. Diarrhea spread, and this in turn led to dysentery. The camp, as a result, was populated by "Muslims" (*Muselmänner*) wandering around the camp, prisoners who were literally skin and bones, suffering from edemas and ulcerated abscesses. Few prisoners survived if they reached this state.

The SS principle of "Destruction through Work" (*Verichtung durch Arbeit*) meant that each morning the prisoners had to set off to work and return in the evening in an exhausted state, after standing for hours at roll call. The original intent of the roll call, to determine the exact number of prisoners, had long become an instrument to victimize the prisoners. Frequent beatings and humiliations of every sort possible ate away the physical and psychic well-being of the prisoners. The comfort that they could have found from national groups was destroyed as the prisoners were mixed with different nationalities. At the work sites the prisoners were shot and hanged. The Poles and Soviets were treated especially brutally, a consequence of the prevailing German attitude of despising Slavic people. When they died, it was said, "Get rid of the filth!" (*Weg mit dem Dreck!*). All of these factors increased the death rate.

During the first few months, there were several French Catholic priests who had been kidnapped as hostages with their comrades. It is said that they prayed with the rosary as the prisoners marched to work. They helped enormously in

giving the prisoners the will to resist. Later, the priests were transferred to Dachau, where they survived.

There were few escape attempts. The prisoners seemed to have sensed the hostility of the local population. As the camp was within a military complex and on the edge of a large moor, recapture was easy. Each failed escape attempt resulted in the death sentence. A shining example of humanity, however, was the case of a guard who helped a Ukrainian prisoner to escape.

The dead were laid out in the toilet next to the cesspit. From here they were taken away each morning. There were 185 named dead who are buried in the Kaltenkirchen area of Moorkaten. The command of the burial detachment was given to a French prisoner, Richard Tackx. Tackx and the Polish prisoner clerk Sergiusz Jaskiewicz, as well as others, have stated that there must have been other burial places because there were many corpses that they had to hastily bury. These mass graves have not been located.

Tackx was able to attach an identification mark to many of his French comrades who were buried and to make secret recordings of the burials. He hoped in this way that what he did, which was punishable with death, would help in exhuming the bodies after the war and make identification easier. He was able to hide his notes with German women on the other side of the street in Springhirsch. The camp scribe, Jaskiewicz, did the same. During an Allied air raid on the air base, a few French prisoners, including Tackx, escaped into the moor. Two German women, Herta Petersen and Else Stapel, took the prisoners in during the cold night and fed them. They risked their lives by saving these prisoners. In 1951, Richard Tackx was in charge of a group appointed by the French government to exhume the burial sites in Moorkaten. Most of the French who had been buried were identified and their remains sent back to France.

The air base was completely destroyed by Allied bombers on April 7, 1945. The Kaltenkirchen detachment was transferred on April 16 to Wöbbelin in Mecklenburg. The majority were liberated by Allied forces on May 2 in Wöbbelin.

SOURCES Published sources about this camp include Gerhard Hoch, *Hauptort der Verbannung: Das KZ-Aussenkommando Kaltenkirchen*, 3rd ed. (Bad Segeberg, 1983); Hoch, *Zwölf wiedergefundene Jahre: Kaltenkirchen unter dem Hakenkreuz* (Bad Bramstedt, 1980–1981).

Detailed knowledge about the camp is to be found in the State Prosecutor's investigation files: Kiel Sta., Kiel LG, Ermittlungsverfahren gegen Unbekannt wegen des Verdachts der Teilnahme an NS-Gewaltverbrechen—2 Js 680/72. The investigation ceased on July 10, 1972. Additionally, there are written reports from former prisoners and verbal reports from survivors living in France and Poland given after 1975, as well as in an exhumation report from 1951, *Rapport sur les exhumations dans les cimetières concentrationnaires de Kaltenkirchen-Moorkaten et Springhirsch* (1951); the same report is available in German as *Bericht über die Exhumierungen in den Friedhöfen Kaltenkirchen-Springhirsch und Moor-*

katen (1951). Written survivors' reports almost always refer to specific circumstances. Of importance are the illegal notes of the Polish camp scribe Sergiusz Jaskiewicz about the prisoner population, which are held in AG-NG, as well as the illegally made notes of prisoner Richard Tackx on the burials in Kaltenkirchen-Moorkaten. On the other hand, the Sta. Kiel investigation files marked "unknown" are of little value. They show negligence by the State Prosecutor, because not even the camp leader Freyer was questioned, even though his address was known.

Gerhard Hoch
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

KIEL

A subcamp attached to and administered by the main Neuengamme concentration camp was created in Kiel (Schleswig-Holstein province) in April or July 1944. Some 50 male inmates were transferred from the main Neuengamme camp to Kiel. As in many other subcamps of Neuengamme, the prisoners were deported to the camp to be used as laborers. They cleared rubble from bombed-out areas and searched for unexploded bombs.

There is little other information about the subcamp created in Kiel. The Kiel subcamp existed until either September or October 1944 (possibly until October 5 or 6, 1944), when the inmates were evacuated to the main Neuengamme camp.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources outlining information about the Neuengamme satellite camp in Kiel. Secondary literature that contains brief information on the existence of the camp includes Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broad analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps; and Ulrich Bauch, *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme, 1938–1945* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1986). This brief information can also be found in the Kiel entry in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979), although the exact dates of the opening and closing of the camp differ in these sources.

Primary documentation that sheds light on the Kiel camp is equally scarce.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

LADELUND

The concentration camp work detachment at Ladelund was located northeast of the village of Ladelund in northern Germany, just south of the Danish border. The camp was established on October 4, 1944. It was a subcamp of the Neuengamme main camp and under the authority of the SS-

Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). It was evacuated on December 16, 1944.

Ladelund was a slave labor camp that provided manpower for the construction of earth fortifications along the German-Danish border. These fortifications were intended to bar the entry of Allied troops from Denmark into Germany. Due to the Allied advance on the Western Front in France, the project, however, soon lost its strategic significance, and by mid-December 1944, the Ladelund prisoners were transported back to Neuengamme. Thus, the Ladelund camp ceased to exist well before the German forces of the area capitulated to the Allies on May 5, 1945.

During its short period of operation, the Ladelund camp became one of the most horrific German concentration camps, and its death rate was among the highest in the subcamp system. The prisoners were forced to dig antitank ditches in marsh soil that was soaked with water and very heavy. They worked outdoors under harsh fall weather conditions without proper clothing and protection. Work mainly consisted of moving huge masses of earth and mud, and because of the abundant supply of concentration camp laborers, it was performed with shovels and wheelbarrows without the use of earth moving machinery. For this reason, and because of disastrous living conditions and extreme hunger, work progress was slow. Despite the constant efforts by Kapos and guards to speed up the work pace by means of violence, productivity remained low. The prisoners who were without proper footwear were frequently forced to work in water up to their knees.

The camp commandant was SS-Untersturmführer Hans-Hermann Griem, an early joiner of the Nazi Party and SS, born in 1902 in Berlin. Griem had served as deputy Schutzhaftlagerführer in Neuengamme from 1942 to September 1944. From September 26 to the end of 1944, he was the commandant of the nearby Husum-Schwesing concentration camp, another Neuengamme subcamp providing manpower to the fortification project; thus he commanded two of the most horrific subcamps at the same time. According to survivors' testimony, Griem was an alcoholic who sold provisions that were meant for the prisoners' consumption on the black market. He was feared for his brutality and frequently used his revolver against the prisoners, killing several. The daily administration of the camp was, however, taken care of by Lager- und Verwaltungsführer SS-Oberscharführer Friedrich Otto Dörge, and the daily beatings on the work site were left to the Kapos, who were criminals and extremely brutal. Several prisoners died because of acts of violence committed by them. The guards were naval servicemen numbering some 200. Griem was sentenced to death in the first Curio-Haus Trial, primarily for atrocities that he committed in other concentration camps; however, he managed to escape before the execution.

Sources to the Ladelund camp history are scattered, but all deaths in the camp are well documented due to the Lutheran pastor of the village, Johannes Meyer. Despite being a Nazi, he insisted that the prisoners be properly registered and the dead given a Christian burial.

The first group of approximately 200 prisoners arrived on October 4, 1944, from the Husum-Schwesing subcamp. Some 2,000 prisoners were added on November 1 and 2, arriving on two railway transports from Neuengamme. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the average strength of the camp was 2,000 prisoners. Prisoners were non-Jewish and came from 13 countries under German occupation. The largest group were hostages from the Dutch town of Putten who had been deported as a reprisal for an attack on German soldiers by the Dutch resistance.

The Ladelund camp was originally erected in 1938 as accommodation for 250 German workers from the Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich Labor Service, RAD) employed in forestry, fieldwork, and road construction. By 1944, its buildings were extremely run-down. The guards, however, were accommodated in hired private rooms in the village and nearby farms. Hygiene and provisions in the camp were very poor. There was no systematic killing of prisoners, but 301 prisoners died of illness, exhaustion, or random violence by Kapos and guards during the few weeks the camp was in operation. The dead were buried in nine mass graves at the Ladelund village cemetery.

SOURCES This description of the Ladelund camp is based on Jørgen Barfod, *Helvede har mange navne* (Copenhagen, 1969); Poul Riis, ed., *Husum-Schwesing og Ladelund* (Slagelse, n.d.); Heinrich Eichhorn, "Das Lager in Ladelund," *JfSchGeest* (1961): 168–176; and Tj. Wouters, *Opdat bet nageslacht bet wete* (Putten, 1948). Preliminary data are found in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990); and Gudrun Schwarz, *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990). The camp is mentioned many times in several popular books, pamphlets, and articles about the Neuengamme concentration camp and on North Friesland local history.

Archival material on the Ladelund camp is scarce. Some documents can be found at AG-NG and the LA-Sch-H. The Hans Schwarz Archive at FZH holds copies of documents on camp commandant Hans-Hermann Griem. An important source is Pastor Johannes Meyer's wartime town chronicle, published as *Beretning om en sydslesvigsk koncentrationslejr* (Soro, 1947), partially reproduced in Wolfgang Weimar et al., eds., *Quellen zur Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins, Teil III* (Kiel, 1982). Local published and unpublished survivors' accounts are held at the FM-C, ASt-Put, and NIOD. Further, there are the records of the first Curio-Haus Trial in Hamburg in 1946.

Therkel Straede

LENGERICH ("A1")

The Neuengamme subcamp A1 in Lengerich was erected between March 1944 and June 1944.¹ Members of the Organisation Todt (OT) as well as concentration camp prisoners and civilian workers constructed the camp. Prisoners and civilian workers arranged the work area, a tunnel, for armaments pro-

duction. The building foreman operated a tiling business in Münster.² The subcamp is mentioned for the first time on March 26, 1944, in the concentration camp death lists. The closed old railway tunnel on the line from Münster to Osnabrück was the deciding factor in the decision to construct a subcamp in Lengerich. Because of the tunnel, it was possible to relocate armaments production underground, thereby giving protection from possible Allied bombing attacks.

The prisoners in Lengerich were "political" prisoners, "protective custody" prisoners, and forced laborers. The prisoners were accommodated in a hall of the Brunsmann Inn, Horst-Wessel-Strasse 15 (later Lienener Strasse 15), about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the tunnel.³

The prisoners operated milling machines and manufactured parts for the production of airplanes and rockets. They also did other work. There was no production in the tunnel during Christmas 1944. The prisoners during this period were put to work in excavating an underground air-raid shelter for the Lengerich civilian population.⁴ A female eyewitness has reported that when there was a great deal of gardening work to be done at the Hotel Heckmann and help was required, the commander of the SS assigned 10 prisoners and an SS man to the work.⁵

Airplane parts and wing sections produced by Vereinigte Leichtmetall-Werke (United Light Metal Works, Hannover-Linden) and sections for the V-1 and V-2 (Aldinger, Stuttgart) were produced in the armaments factory, which had been relocated into the tunnel. The underground armaments factory was equipped with milling machines of all sizes, a lathe, a large press, and a band saw, together with a number of instruments for sharpening and repairing saw blades. Production occurred at the front of the tunnel, which was already usable. The nearby overland electricity supply from the Ibbenbüren power station supplied the underground armaments factory with electricity by means of a transformer located at the northern exit of the tunnel.⁶ Civilian workers from Vereinigte were responsible for the production and quality. They had a rented room in Lengerich or nearby and took over the technical supervision of the concentration camp prisoners.

There were almost 200 concentration camp prisoners in the subcamp. In addition to the Germans, French, Poles, Russians, and Belgians, there were also an Italian and a Swiss person.⁷ It is not known to what extent the prisoners, who were completely exploited physically and were seriously ill, were returned to the Neuengamme concentration camp and replaced with prisoners capable of working. The number of prisoners from the Lengerich subcamp who died because of the inhuman living and working conditions varies according to each source: the register of deaths in the city hall of Lengerich for 1945 records the death of five concentration camp prisoners. The Memorial Book "Fellowship of Former Soldiers" for the period from April 1944 to the end of the war in 1945 lists the names of six concentration camp prisoners.⁸ The causes of death were recorded as "suicide," "natural death," and "death by accident"—causes that ignore the inhuman living and working conditions of the concentration camp prisoners as

well as their treatment by the SS. A concentration camp prisoner had the following to say about an SS man: "He was unbearable. Without a thought he beat people for the slightest trifle."⁹ A member of the guard unit also confirmed that in general the prisoners were brutally treated.¹⁰ Punishment was often meted out by beatings for an "offense." Examples of offenses included: protecting one's feet against the cold by covering them with rags without permission, losing one's cap, or not carrying out an order quickly enough.¹¹ The beating was usually carried out with an electrical cable, about 3 centimeters (1.2 inches) wide and about 70 centimeters (27.6 inches) long. There were 25 blows to the naked posterior, which often resulted in the prisoner being sent to the infirmary.¹²

Death by hanging was the punishment for a concentration camp prisoner who attempted to escape; committed an act of sabotage, real or suspected; or who assaulted a supervisor. Eight concentration camp prisoners were hanged in the subcamp for attempting to escape: a Russian on April 19, 1944; a Russian and a German on June 6, 1944; two Germans on June 16, 1944; and before the evacuation of the camp, which took place on March 24, 1945, a Pole, a Russian, and a German in the spring of 1945. In March 1945, a Pole and another prisoner were hanged, respectively, for the alleged sabotage of a machine and for allegedly damaging tools. A Pole was also hanged who allegedly attacked his supervisor.¹³ At an execution the prisoners and the guards were required to gather in an open square:

In the middle of the square was a large wooden trestle about two meters (6.7 feet) tall. An interpreter, on behalf of the SS camp leader, announced that the three prisoners were to be hanged for attempting to escape. The three prisoners had to undress completely. A carpenter's wooden trestle was then placed in the middle of the first wooden trestle. The three men had to climb one after the other onto the carpenter's trestle. A noose was then put around their necks and a SS man, who was behind the prisoners, pushed the trestle, whereupon the prisoners fell and were killed. They did not even remain hanging for five minutes. The whole execution lasted about fifteen minutes. When the third man was dead, all three were thrown onto a railway cart and pushed to a road works site, about thirty minutes away. They were tipped out into a bushy bank and buried in the bank. The street, an extension of the tunnel, followed the railway line in the direction of Osnabrück. It was the bank on the left side in the direction of Osnabrück."¹⁴

A female witness later reported that the guards had a party after one hanging.¹⁵

The senior SS leadership in Lengerich was under the command of SS-Untersturmführer Karl-Heinz Rüster. His deputy was Eduard W. The quarters for the senior SS leadership were at the Hotel Heckmann, Horst-Wessel-Strasse 38. The headquarters of the senior leadership was at the Hitler Youth building at Hermann-Göring-Strasse 107 (later

Bahnhofstrasse 107). Born in 1910 in Hessen, Rüster took part in the Russian campaign (between 1941 and 1943) and had a long career in the SS.¹⁶

The camp commandant was Georg Janszen. Within the subcamp he had responsibility for the treatment of the concentration camp prisoners. Born in Oldenburg in 1910, Janszen completed his secondary school studies but only after first completing his apprenticeship as a bricklayer. He later studied the building trade at the Berlin Technischen Hochschule so that he could be a technical teacher. Janszen, who could speak English and French, determinedly pursued his SS career. Commencing in the summer of 1941 as an ordinary SS man, he reached the rank of Obersturmführer by November 1944.¹⁷ He died in the garden of the Brunsmann Inn on March 13, 1945, during an Allied air raid on Lengerich.¹⁸ After his death, Konrad Karl Friedrich Wangerin, SS-Hauptscharführer and Kriminalsekretär of the Münster Gestapo, took control of the subcamp and the functions of the SD. He was directly responsible to the Münster Gestapo and not the main camp commandant.¹⁹

A 30-man Luftwaffe squad from southern Germany (Markt Schwaben) guarded the concentration camp prisoners.²⁰ They were accommodated at Wichmann's household supply store, Hermann-Göring-Strasse 103.

Although an exception rather than the rule, the actions of a few German civilian workers were not insignificant in ensuring the survival of a number of concentration camp prisoners. One concentration camp prisoner, who worked with a civilian worker as a milling machine operator, had the following to say: "It was marvelous with this German. He brought me bread every day—if an animal was slaughtered at home he brought me some meat the next day."²¹ Another concentration camp prisoner explained as follows: "A few Germans [the skilled tradesmen] were responsible for the technical scope of the work and were there to show us how to operate the machines. In Lengerich I never knew of a case where one of the skilled tradesmen mistreated a prisoner. Personally, I spoke good German, and had a very good relationship with my supervisor who allowed me to read his newspapers and did not pay too much attention to my pace of work."²²

SOURCES This entry on the Lengerich subcamp is based on the autobiographical details by Lengerich concentration camp prisoner Paul Kern. He has published the following two books in French: Paul Kern, Marcel Angles, Maurice Choquet, and Pierre Brunet, *Les jours de notre mémoire (1940–1945): Neuengamme, quatre survivants témoignent* (Neuengamme, 1975); and *Un "Toboggan" dans la tourmente en Franche-Comté 1940–1945* (Besancon, 1989). See also Norbert Ortgies and Ursula Wilm-Chemnitz, *Tage im Tunnel: Das KZ-Aussenlager A 1 Lengerich 1944–1945* (Osnabrück, 2001); Gert Schumann, "Sklavenarbeit für den Krieg," *WN*, April 5, 1985. The interview with the concentration camp prisoner Josef K., "Es war Pfingstmontag 44, als ich nach Lengerich kam," was published in the weekly newspaper *WiL*, May 15, 1991.

The Lengerich subcamp is well documented in archival sources. As a result of the specific nature of this essay, the au-

thor has limited the number of references to the essential archival sources. Files held in the BA-B are of great significance for the SS-Führungsstab in the subcamp. The following archives provide information on some aspects such as escape attempts, punishment, execution, and death of the Lengerich concentration camp prisoners: BA-P, DN, AG-NG, ABL/LPD-N/O, ASt Lengerich, and the Friedhofskapelle Lengerich. As part of the author's report in the series on Nordrhein-Westfalen, published in Jan-Erik Schulte, ed., *Konzentrationslager im Rheinland und in Westfalen 1933–1945: Zentrale Steuerung und regionale Initiative* (Paderborn, 2005), the author conducted numerous interviews with eyewitnesses in 2002. These interviews are of significant importance as they provide details of local knowledge, individual perceptions, and evaluations of the events, which often enrich the material held in the archives. (Written records of the interviews are in the author's private collection.)

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NOTES

1. Interview with a witness, July 1, 1997, private collection Milling.
2. Interview with a witness, July 1, 1997, *ibid.*
3. Paul Kern et al., *Les jours de notre mémoire (1940–1945): Neuengamme, quatre survivants témoignent* (Neuengamme, 1975), p. 148.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
5. Interview with a witness, July 1, 1997.
6. Kern et al., *Les jours de notre mémoire*, p. 147; Gert Schumann, "Sklavenarbeit für den Krieg," *WN*, April 5, 1985; Letter by Robert B., March 28, 1998, in Norbert Ortgies and Ursula Wilm-Chemnitz, *Tage im Tunnel: Das KZ-Aussenlager A 1 Lengerich 1944–1945* (Osnabrück, 2001), p. 26.
7. Kern et al., *Les jours de notre mémoire*, p. 142.
8. Sterbebuch der Stadt Lengerich 1945; Stadt Lengerich. Totengedenkbuch der "Kameradschaft ehemaliger Soldaten," Friedhofskapelle Lengerich.
9. Report by the prisoner Frantisek Sterba, AG-NG.
10. Record of interview of George A. conducted by the Bavarian Police, State Police Headquarters, Lower Bavaria/Oberpfalz II a 1 in Regensburg, May 26, 1967.
11. Paul Kern, *Un "Toboggan" dans la tourmente en Franche-Comté 1940–1945* (Besancon, 1989), p. 97.
12. Robert B., letter, March 28, 1998, in Ortgies and Wilm-Chemnitz, *Tage im Tunnel*, p. 31.
13. Kern, *Un "Toboggan" dans la tourmente en Franche-Comté*, p. 97; Kern et al., *Les jours de notre mémoire*, p. 162; BA-P, Doc. Film Record Nr. 56308, Photo 321(Z); Extract from archive Neuengamme Documentary Collection, "Neuengamme Concentration Camp Prisoners in the External Sub-Camp A1," May 12, 1997; Ortgies and Wilm-Chemnitz, *Tage im Tunnel*, p. 35; Interview with Josef K., "Es war Pfingstmontag 44, als ich nach Lengerich kam," *WiL*, May 15, 1991.
14. George A., record of interview, May 26, 1967.
15. Interview with a witness, July 1, 1997.
16. SS Files—Karl-Heinz R.; SS Files Eduard W, BA-BL, formerly BDC; Witness interview July 1, 1997, and Witness interview September 9, 2002, private collection Milling.

17. Files George J., BA-BL.
18. Witness interview, 09.12.1996, private collection Milling; Robert B. Oral Report, August–September 1999 in Ortgies and Wilm-Chemnitz, *Tage im Tunnel*, p. 43.
19. Files Konrad W., BA-BL.
20. Record of interview George A., May 26, 1967; Witness interview February 9, 2002.
21. Prisoner's report, Frantisek Sterba.
22. Robert B., letter, March 28, 1998, in Ortgies and Wilm-Chemnitz, *Tage im Tunnel*, p. 45.

LÜBBERSTEDT [AKA BILOHE]

About halfway between Bremerhaven and Bremen, in the middle of a thick forest, is the Lübberstedt railway station. Close to the station a branch line leads to a restricted military area. During World War II, a secret factory, “Muna Lübberstedt,” produced munitions for the German Luftwaffe there. The plant was officially listed as LW (Luftwaffe) 2/X—Lufthauptmunitionsanstalt Lübberstedt.

From the end of August or the beginning of September 1944 to the end of April 1945, a Neuengamme subcamp was located close to the factory. It was known as “Bilohe” or “Lübberstedt.”

The camp was originally built around 1941 by a Luftwaffe battalion. It initially held both male and female Ukrainian workers.

The subcamp included buildings for both the SS and the prisoners. The whole area was surrounded by a tall barbed-wire fence that was said to have been lit at night.¹ Watchtowers were placed at critical points.

As soon as the prisoners entered the camp, they stood on the camp street, their only connection to the outside world. On the left-hand side of the street there were probably two barracks for the SS and the guards. They were separated from the prisoners' area by barbed wire. One can assume that there was one barracks for male and one for female personnel. In one of the barracks there was an “office” where the commandant was based and administrative matters were attended to. There was another building in which the heating for the camp and a garage for vehicles were to be found. Next to the SS barracks was a kitchen barracks. In front of it was the roll-call square.

In the kitchen barracks, the only barracks erected with bricklike material, the meals were prepared and distributed. There was also a food store and a tailor's shop. The infirmary was connected to this building. On the east and southern side of the roll-call square were the washrooms and showers. The latrines were in the southernmost corner of the camp, within sight of the SS building.

To the right of the camp road were the prisoners' barracks. An aerial photograph shows at least 6 barracks in this area. Others say that there were 8, possibly 25 barracks, but this cannot be verified.² The barracks were described as follows: “One room held sixteen girls. In each barracks there were three such rooms.”³ There were 48 women in each barracks.

There were 500 Jewish women from Hungary in Lübberstedt. They had been selected in Auschwitz in August 1944. The selection aimed at the formation of work detachments that would mostly work in the armaments industry in the Third Reich. In contrast to Auschwitz, Lübberstedt was regarded by the women as “pleasant.”⁴

The subcamp had three commandants who all were members of the SS. They were older men, and it was only the last commandant who brought “fear and terror” to the prisoners.⁵

The commandant was supported by female SS. There are said to have been four to six female guards. Most accounts speak of five SS women. There were probably two senior female overseers and four female work detachment leaders who accompanied the women to work and supervised their work at the munitions plant.

The remaining guards at the camp were mostly older, disabled Wehrmacht veterans. There were about 10 such veterans.

A day in summer began between four and five in the morning with a morning roll call. All the prisoners in a barracks had to be counted. Breakfast was then eaten. It consisted of a quarter of a pan loaf of bread, a little jam, a little piece of margarine, and half a liter (two cups) of a warm brew called “coffee.” Finally, the barracks were cleaned, the beds made, and the prisoners attended to their personal hygiene.

At 6:00 A.M. the prisoners picked for outside labor marched out of the camp to work. They were all tied to one another with strings around their stomachs as they marched the few kilometers to Muna, singing in German. They worked to late in the afternoon, with a half-hour break at midday. Alternatively they could work in a 12-hour shift. Lunch at Muna consisted of more or less a liter (a quart), of thin beet soup, in which sometimes there was a piece of horse meat. In spring, there was sometimes a small piece of pickled herring. After the end of their work, they walked back to the camp, where there was an evening roll call. The evening meal was basically what they had for breakfast—the only difference was that now and then they got a spoonful of curds, a little sausage, or some warm soup.

The work described here is only that of the outside work detachments. Other women were chosen to work in a Luftwaffe munitions factory. The largest detachment manufactured bombs. At Muna in Lübberstedt, sea mines, flak grenades, and other aerial bombs were made. Among other things, the prisoners had to make the gunpowder, fill the shells, and transport the finished products on small mine cars for loading.

Another detachment was busy in the parachute tower. Toward the end of the war, the prisoners worked outside Muna because there was a shortage of raw materials. They dug trenches, put up blockades, made fortifications, and erected camouflage.

Because of their experiences in Auschwitz, the women feared the infirmary and only went there when it was absolutely unavoidable. There were many infections in Lübberstedt caused by injuries from the prisoners' wooden shoes.

The prisoners were treated for scabbylike rashes, middle ear infections, fever, sore throats, dizziness, and toward the end of the war, an illness similar to diarrhea. In January 1945, about 25 prisoners were ill (4 percent of 495 prisoners); in February, 12 percent; and in March, around 9 percent.⁶ There were 5 deaths in Lübberstedt, but only 4 were reported to the authorities. A woman died shortly after her arrival from a lung inflammation, and a weak heart resulted in the death of another on September 4, 1944.

A woman was severely mistreated in September or October 1944, as she had saved a potato and a piece of bread for the following morning so that she would not go to work hungry. This was not allowed. She died because of her mistreatment by the SS female guards. The burial is said to have taken place on Yom Kippur.⁷

A 19-year-old inmate died on March 28, 1945, because of mistreatment by an SS female warden when the prisoner was no longer able to pull a heavy mine car. She was beaten with a stick and did not have the strength to walk back to the camp. She died that evening in the barracks.⁸

On the morning of April 4, 1945, a prisoner failed to appear at the morning roll call. She was so weak that her body had swollen, and she could not stand. She had been heavily beaten a few days before. No one believed that she was sick, so the camp commandant or the last senior female overseer entered the barracks and beat her to death.⁹

Another prisoner died on April 5, 1945. The cause of death was "blood poisoning."

The dead were buried in a communal grave with other camp victims in the Lübberstedt cemetery. The perpetrators were not brought to justice, as there was insufficient evidence to identify them.

Most of the women were evacuated from Lübberstedt on April 20, 1945, by train. After several stops, the train arrived at Eutin in Schleswig-Holstein on May 2, where it was attacked by British aircraft. Over 150 women lost their lives in that attack. The injured were treated in the hospitals at Eutin and were taken in the middle of May to United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) refugee camps at Sierksdorf and Haffkrug.

SOURCES The basis for this entry on the Lübberstedt subcamp is the book published by members of the Muna Lübberstedt Arbeitskreis, *Lw. 2/XI—Muna Lübberstedt, Zwangsarbeit für den Krieg* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1966). It depicts not only the subcamp but camps for prisoners of war, the forced labor of the so-called Eastern workers, and of course the history of the munitions plant. The conclusion deals with the end of the war in Lübberstedt as well as the cemetery at Lübberstedt.

Initially it was very difficult to find references to the subcamp. As part of the research, it was possible to check the archives. Of importance are the war diary of the Muna Lübberstedt from January to May 1945 (BA-MA); a questionnaire of former Hungarian prisoners from August 1945 by the Jewish Agency for Palestine (HAFHDCB). The private photograph album of the son of a former officer of Muna was also

made available to the author, which is a valuable source of information. Finally, the HJMA holds thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by DEGOB. Several protocols describe conditions in the Lübberstedt camp; see especially 1236, 1574, 1801, and 1827.

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NOTES

1. Witness statements by Lilli Regina Kallos and Malvina Einhorn, Questionnaire of former Hungarian prisoners, August 1945, DEGOB.

2. Witness statements by Ilonka-Elka Friedmann, Barbara Lorber, Ann Zand, Fritzi Friedmann, and Edith Las, DEGOB.

3. Witness statement by Edith Las, DEGOB.

4. Ibid.

5. Witness statements by Tova-Kornelia Hochmann, Helena Kohn-Einhorn, and others, DEGOB.

6. War Diary Muna Lübberstedt, pp. 9, 22, 46, in BA-MA, RL-25/168.

7. Witness statement by Lilli Regina Kallos, DEGOB.

8. Witness statement by Ann Zand, DEGOB.

9. Witness statement by Helena Kohn-Einhorn, DEGOB.

LÜTJENBURG (HOHWACHT)

In December 1944, a subcamp of Neuengamme was created in Lütjenburg (Schleswig-Holstein province). Inmates deported to the Neuengamme subcamp system were used as laborers in construction, repairs, and various other economic and rearmaments efforts. The creation of satellite camps at work sites diminished transportation time for inmates between the main camp and the outlying sites. At least 197 male inmates were deported to Lütjenburg to be used as laborers for various firms, including Anschutz und Co. and Zweigwerk Hohwacht.¹ The inmates worked in the manufacture of navigational and other equipment for the aviation industry.

According to an attachment to a translated copy of the report filed by SS garrison doctor (Standortarzt) Trzebinski, which lists the SS doctors in charge of overseeing medical care within the Neuengamme camps, Dr. Geese and his assistant SS-Unterscharführer Kurt Otto Kemmerich supervised the health of the Lütjenburg inmates. The report also notes that there were 26 SS officer guards in the camp.²

The camp in Lütjenburg existed until March 25, 1945, when the prisoners were evacuated to Rathmannsdorf on foot, then further to Kiel and Neumünster. The fate of the Lütjenburg inmates is unknown.

A British military tribunal brought Kemmerich to trial in 1947. He was charged with the murder of a Polish national in the infirmary of the Hamburg-Sasel-Poppenbütte concentration camp. Kemmerich was found not guilty.³

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources outlining information about the Neuengamme satellite camp in Lütjenburg. Secondary literature, which contains brief information on the existence of the camp, includes Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broad analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and a reproduction of the Trzebinski report; Werner Johe, *Neuengamme. Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1982); and Ulrich Bauch, *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme, 1938–1945* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1986). This information (opening and closing dates, number of inmates) can also be found in the Lütjenburg entry in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). Finally, for the dates and path of the evacuation of the camp, see the second volume of the two-volume work *Ein KZ wird geräumt. Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung: Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, ed. Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000).

Primary documentation that offers details on the Lütjenburg camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG, which contains many witness reports from former prisoners, may yield additional information about this camp. For information related to the trial of Kemmerich, see documentation of the Curiohaus-Prozess, PRO (London), WO 235/162–169, as reproduced in USHMMA, RG-59.016M, JAG, War Crimes Case Files.

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NOTES

1. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original report). USHMMA (RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also contains a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (BAOR trial of Max Pauly and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp. 123–126.

2. Ibid.

3. Trial proceedings (Sasel II) against Kurt Otto Kemmerich (1947), JAG's Office: War Crimes Case Files, Second World War, USHMMA, RG-59.016M, Reel 8.

MEPPEN-DALUM

The Neuengamme subcamp Dalum, located southwest of Meppen, was constructed in the spring of 1938 with a capacity for about 1,500 inmates. However, Dalum was not absorbed into the Neuengamme camp system until January 1945, when over 1,000 inmates from Neuengamme were transported there. Prior to this transport, the Dalum camp served various functions within the Nazi camp system. Its

changing administration reflected the shifting needs of the Nazi regime, including repression of opponents of the Nazi regime, incarceration of those sentenced by civil and military courts, and detention of prisoners in the Neuengamme camp system.¹

Beginning in 1933, the camps in the Emsland region were first constructed to incarcerate opponents of the Nazi regime who were kept in “protective custody” (*Schutzhaft*). Prisoners in protective custody were used to cultivate the marshland (*Moore*) near the border for future development. In 1938 construction began on the Dalum camp, one of the eight newly built penal prison camps (*Strafgefangenenlager*) in the Emsland, and was completed in May 1939. The Armed Forces High Command (OKW) took over the Dalum camp in September 1939, and it became one of nine camps in the prisoner-of-war (POW) camp complex (*Kriegsgefangenen-Mannschaftsstandlager*, or “Stalag”) VI C Bathorn. The camp then served as a transit camp (*Durchgangslager*) for Polish, French, and Soviet POWs. In June 1942, the Luftwaffe took over the administration of the camp, and men from Rotterdam between the ages of 17 and 40 were deported to Dalum to work as slave laborers.

On January 3, 1945, over 1,000 inmates were deported to Dalum from the Neuengamme main camp. According to most secondary sources on the Meppen subcamps, 2,500 inmates were transferred from Neuengamme to both Versen and Dalum.² However, the exact number of inmates in each camp is unknown. The prisoners in the Dalum subcamp were all men, and as was the case in Neuengamme, they had been imprisoned for various reasons, such as resistance activities, political affiliation, or religion. The prisoners were housed in at least 10 wooden barracks. According to Polish prisoner Zdzisław Sokół, who accompanied the commandant SS-Obersturmführer Hans Griem on his rounds of Ladelund, Husum, Dalum, and Versen, some conditions in Dalum were “the best of the four camps. . . . All camps except Dalum were overcrowded.” However, “the clothing and feeding [were] bad. The sanitary installations . . . at Dalum were still worse [than the other camps].” Moreover, the inmates did not have adequate medical care.³ Captain Walter Rose, of the postwar War Crimes Investigation Unit, emphasized in a deposition that Versen and Dalum were altered considerably immediately after the war. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) detachment in Meppen, together with the British Military Government detachment, established a displaced persons camp for Polish civilians there.⁴

Working conditions for the Dalum inmates were dreadful. Similar to inmates imprisoned in other Emsland camps, the Dalum prisoners were used for forced labor on the so-called Friesenwall, a Wehrmacht defense installation planned for the Dutch border. With only shovels and spades, the prisoners had to dig massive trenches near the border in a marshland area that was filled with mud from constant rain. Although he was incarcerated in the nearby Versen camp, former inmate Morton Ruge endured the same kind of labor as inmates in Dalum. “The work was completely futile,” Ruge

has emphasized, “because ‘the enemy’ hardly ever came through the forests [over the border], but rather more easily on the streets.” According to Ruge, although the digging was not particularly difficult, the long hours, inadequate clothing, insufficient food, and lack of heat and shelter made for unbearable working conditions.⁵

The Dalum subcamp was administered chiefly by the SS. The commandant of the subcamp was SS-Obersturmführer Hans Griem. According to Sokół’s postwar trial depositions, Griem was either the Lagerführer (camp leader) or a deputy commandant and later supervised the Husum, Ladelund, Dalum, and Versen subcamps. Also according to Sokół, Griem was especially brutal toward the prisoners on his rounds of the camps.⁶ SS-Rottenführer Joseph Klingler, a Volksdeutsche from Romania, was appointed as block leader (Blockführer) in Dalum. Klingler joined the SS in 1941, trained in Oranienburg, and was transferred to Dachau in 1943, then to the Neuengamme subcamp Drütte. In April 1944, he returned to the Neuengamme main camp, was reassigned to Husum as Blockführer in October 1944, and after Husum closed, was transferred to Dalum in January 1945. Klingler noted in a postwar deposition that orders to punish prisoners were handed down to him from both Griem and SS-Oberscharführer Seifert, who may have been the Lagerführer in Dalum. Both Griem and Seifert ordered the punishment of prisoners, according to Klingler. In his deposition, Sokół corroborates Seifert’s presence in the administration of the Dalum camp; however, he noted that Seifert was the commandant. It is likely that Griem oversaw the group of camps (judging by the rounds he made) and that Seifert supervised daily operations within the camp (perhaps as Lagerführer).⁷ SS-Rottenführer Uhling oversaw the kitchen barracks.

Neither the exact number of prisoner deaths nor the death rate in the Dalum subcamp can be determined. Historians Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter have concluded that 566 inmates died between November 16 and March 25, 1945, in both the Versen and Dalum subcamps, mostly from exhaustion, hunger, and lung and intestinal diseases.⁸ Some prisoners were punished and beaten for not working to the satisfaction of the Kapos or the guards. According to the postwar deposition of Wilhelm Anton Schneider, a Kapo in the Dalum camp who had been transferred from Husum after it was closed, the Kapos were given the responsibility of monitoring the prisoners en route to the work sites. “If the prisoners did not work properly or committed other offenses we were supposed to report them to the camp commandant,” Schneider recalled. “But on some occasions we took the punishment into our own hands, more or less the Kapos had the liberty to do as they pleased. . . . Griem himself preferred that the Kapos ran about all the time with sticks.”⁹ Just prior to the evacuation of the Dalum camp, a quarterly report filed by SS garrison doctor (Standortarzt) Trzebinski noted that on March 29, 1945, 807 prisoners occupied Dalum, indicating that several hundred prisoners either died in Dalum or were transferred back to the Neuengamme main camp.¹⁰

The Dalum camp was evacuated as Allied troops approached, beginning in late March 1945. Under an agreement forged between Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler and Count Folke Bernadotte of the Swedish Red Cross, an unknown number of Danish prisoners from Dalum were sent to Neuengamme by cattle car on March 15 or 16, 1945. On March 24, 1945, the Hamburg Commander of the Order Police (Befehlshaber der Ordnungspolizei Hamburg, BdO) issued orders to evacuate camps in the Emsland area. The Dalum prisoners were evacuated to the nearby Versen subcamp on the same day. The following day, those capable of walking were rounded up and marched to Cloppenburg; the ill were transported by train and followed the march in closed cattle cars. From Cloppenburg, the inmates were evacuated to Neuengamme. An unknown number of inmates died during the evacuation.¹¹

Griem was tried and sentenced to death, but he escaped before he was executed.¹² He died in 1971. Klingler was tried by a British military court, found guilty of the murder and ill treatment of Allied nationals, and was sentenced to death by hanging in 1947. Schneider was tried by the same court for ill treatment of Allied nationals and was sentenced to four years in prison.

SOURCES There are scant primary and secondary resources on the Dalum subcamp. However, the most extensive secondary sources on Dalum and other Emsland camps include the studies by Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Stafgefängenenlager im Emsland, 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985); Elke Suhr, *Die Emslandlager* (Bremen: Donat & Temmen Verlag, 1985); and Elke Suhr and Werner Boldt, *Lager im Emsland, 1933–1945: Geschichte und Gedenken* (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg, 1985). For a broad overview of the Neuengamme subcamp system, including the reproduction of a quarterly report submitted by SS garrison doctor Trzebinski on numbers of surviving inmates in Dalum and elsewhere, see Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997). For information on the evacuation, liberation, and subsequent creation of displaced persons camps at Dalum, see Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung, Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000); Andreas Lembeck, “—to Set Up a Polish Enclave in Germany”: *Displaced Persons in the Emsland, 1945–1950* (Papenburg: DIZ Emslandlager, 2001); and Andreas Lembeck and Klaus Wessels, *Befreit, aber nicht in Freiheit: Displaced persons im Emsland 1945–1950* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1997).

Primary documentation on the Dalum subcamp, used extensively by Suhr and Boldt and Kosthorst and Walter, is located at the FZH Archiv Hans Schwarz, which includes a witness report from former Versen inmate Morton Ruge and the original quarterly report filed by Trzebinski (13-6-11) as well as other related materials. The DIZ-EL in Papenburg contains textual records and photo archives pertaining to the Emsland camps (1933–1945) on the Internet at www.diz-emslandlager.de. Documentation related to the orders from the

Befehlshaber der Ordnungspolizei Hamburg for the evacuation of the Emsland camps is stored at the StA-Br. Some information about the layout of the Dalum camp can be found in the records of the PRO (London) 235/302 (duplicated at USHMMA, RG-59.016M, Reel 9), in the court deposition of Captain Walter Rose, War Crimes Investigation Unit. These files also contain specific information about Hans Griem, the commandant of Dalum and other camps, as well as other individuals who were in charge of the camp. Finally, information about Griem can be found at the NARA, files of the BDC, SS-Officer Personnel files, series SSO-031A and SSO-131B.

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USHMMA (RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also has a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167, with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos.

11. Andreas Lembeck and Klaus Wessels, *Befreit, aber nicht in Freiheit: Displaced Persons im Emsland 1945–1950* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1997), p. 23.

12. Further research at the NARA, BDC, SS-Officer Personnel files, Series SSO-031A, may provide additional information. See also French Maclean's, *The Camp Men: The SS Officers Who Ran the Nazi Concentration Camp System* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publications, 1999) for brief biographical information on Griem and Seifert.

NOTES

1. According to the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979), Dalum was a subcommando of Meppen-Versen. Additional research at the DIZ may clarify whether Dalum was attached to Versen or directly to Neuengamme as a subcamp.

2. Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Stafgefängenenlager im Emsland, 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), p. 109; Elke Suhr and Werner Boldt, *Lager im Emsland, 1933–1945: Geschichte und Gedenken* (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg, 1985), p. 30

3. Deposition of Zdzisław Sokół (trans.) to Captain Ronald Walter Rose, Essex Regiment, British Army of the Rhine Translation (25 April 1946), PRO (London), WO 235/302 (reproduced in USHMMA, RG-59.016M, Reel 9).

4. Deposition of Captain Ronald Walter Rose, War Crimes Investigation Unit, HQ/BAOR Translation (24 May 1946), PRO (London), WO 235/302 (reproduced in USHMMA, RG-59.016M, Reel 9); includes sketched plans of the camps Husum, Ladelund, Dalum, and Versen. The plans provided for Rose's deposition come from the UNRRA.

5. Morton Ruge, "Aussenkommando Versen bei Meppen des Konzentrationslager Neuengamme," reproduced partially in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 113–114.

6. Sokół Deposition, p. 2.

7. Deposition of Joseph Klingler to Captain Walter Rose, BAOR Translation (17 May 1946), PRO (London), WO 235/302 (reproduced in USHMMA, RG-59.016M, Reel 9). Additional research in NARA SSO personnel files may yield further information that might clarify the exact positions of both Griem and Seifert.

8. Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, p. 109.

9. Deposition of Wilhelm Anton Schneider to Captain Walter Rose, BAOR Translation (27 April 1946), PRO (London), WO 235/302 (reproduced in USHMMA, RG-59.016M, Reel 9).

10. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original report). The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp. 123–126.

MEPPEN-VERSEN

Located in the borderland area near the Netherlands, the Emsland camp Meppen-Versen (or Veerssen) was absorbed into the Neuengamme concentration camp system on November 16, 1944. Prior to the deportation of prisoners from Neuengamme, Versen served various functions within the Nazi camp system and reflected the changing needs of the administration and German military, including repression of opponents of the Nazi regime, incarceration of those sentenced by civil and military courts, and the establishment of satellite camps in the Neuengamme camp system.

Beginning in 1933, the camps in the Emsland were first constructed to incarcerate opponents of the Nazi regime, who were kept in "protective detention" (*Schutzhaft*) in several camps in the area. Prisoners in protective custody were used to cultivate the marshland (*Moore*) near the border for future development. Versen was constructed in 1938 in the area allocated to the Reich Labor Service (Reichsarbeitsdienst), which had been withdrawn from the Emsland in early 1938 due to the disappointing results of its laborers' work service. The Armed Forces High Command (OKW) took over the Versen camp in 1939. It became one of nine camps in the prisoner-of-war (POW) camp complex (*Kriegsgefangenen-Mannschaftsstammlager* or "Stalag") VI B in Emsland. Following this administrative change, Versen became a transit camp (*Durchgangslager*) for thousands of POWs from Poland, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. In May 1942, Stalag Versen was absorbed into the Stalag VI C Bathorn system, and from September 1943, Italian military internees (IMIs) were incarcerated in the camp. Although most had been transferred to other camps by November 1944, some Italian prisoners were still interned in Versen when it was shifted to the Neuengamme camp system.

In November 1944, over 1,500 inmates were transferred from the Neuengamme main camp to Versen. According to most secondary sources on the Meppen subcamps, 2,500 inmates were transferred from Neuengamme to both Versen and Dalum. However, the exact number of inmates in each camp is unknown.¹ The prisoners in Versen were men of various nationalities, including Belgian, French, Dutch, Danish, Russian, Polish, as well as some IMIs. As was the case in the

Neuengamme main camp, inmates had been imprisoned for their resistance actions, political affiliation, religion, or other “criminal activity.” They arrived in Meppen by train and were marched from the train station through the town to the camp.² The prisoners were housed in several wooden barracks. At first, there were no bunks or straw in the barracks, and the prisoners had to sleep on the bare floor. The roofs of the barracks were damaged and leaked constantly; as Danish historian and former inmate Morton Ruge has recalled, “From November 16 to January 10, 1945 [when packages from the Danish Red Cross were distributed to Danish prisoners], we never had dry clothing.” The inmates first received straw to lie on in mid-December 1944, several weeks after they arrived in the camp. According to Ruge, one barracks served as a washroom; however, prisoners were prohibited from using it.³ Captain Rose, of the postwar War Crimes Investigation Unit, emphasized in a deposition that Versen and Dalum were altered considerably immediately after the war. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), Detachment Meppen, together with the British Military Government detachment established a displaced persons camp for Polish civilians there.⁴

Working conditions for inmates in the Versen camp were likewise dreadful. Similar to inmates imprisoned in other Emsland camps, the Versen inmates were used for forced labor on the so-called Friesenwall, a defense installation for the Wehrmacht along the Dutch border. Every morning, foremen selected work commandos composed of 50 men each. With only shovels and spades, the prisoners had to dig massive ditches along the border, a marshland area that was filled with mud from constant rain. “The work was completely futile,” Ruge has emphasized, “because ‘the enemy’ hardly ever came through the forests, rather more easily on the streets.”⁵ According to Ruge, although the digging was not particularly difficult, the long hours, inadequate clothing, insufficient food, and lack of heat and shelter made for unbearable working conditions.

The inmates were fed insufficiently and infrequently for the amount of work they had to perform. Before the commandos were sent to the Friesenwall each morning, the prisoners were provided with one-quarter liter (one cup) of thin soup. On occasion, they received a supplement of sugar or syrup. In the evenings, they ate soup with two small pieces of bread. All food was distributed outdoors, and as Ruge has noted, this practice was particularly cruel for inmates who were severely ill.⁶ Although some Danish prisoners received packages from the Red Cross in January 1945, the packages provided clothing and no supplemental food.

The death rate in Versen was especially high. Ruge has reported that in the first few months, 8 to 10 inmates died per day from hunger, exhaustion, and the terrible work and living conditions in Versen. Between November 16 and December 6, 1944, 199 deaths were recorded in the Versen death register. On December 12 or 13, some 600 ill or weakened inmates were transferred from the Versen camp back to Neuengamme, in exchange for 150 “healthy” inmates. Historians Erich

Kosthorst and Bernd Walter have concluded that 566 inmates died between November 16, 1944, and March 25, 1945, in the Versen and Dalum subcamps, mostly from exhaustion, hunger, and lung and intestinal diseases. These numbers most likely do not include the 600 inmates transferred from Versen back to Neuengamme due to illness or exhaustion.⁷ Just prior to the evacuation, a quarterly report filed by the SS garrison doctor Trzebinski noted that on March 29, 1945, there were 1,773 prisoners in the Versen camp.⁸

There is little information about the SS administration, guards, and foremen of the Versen subcamp. In his deposition during the 1947 trial of three SS officers (Klingler, Eichler, and Schneider) accused of murder and maltreatment of Allied nationals in Neuengamme and its subcamps, former inmate and witness Zdzisław Sokół stated that the commandant of Husum, Ladelund, and Dalum was SS-Obersturmführer Hans Griem—said to be particularly cruel. Griem had been transferred from his post in Neuengamme and may have also commanded the subcamp. The information in the deposition is unclear because Sokół did not recall the names of any SS in Versen, but other depositions in the file corroborate that Griem was the commandant of Husum and Dalum.⁹ Attached to Trzebinski’s report is a partial list of camps administered by the Neuengamme main camp, which includes the SS doctor who oversaw medical treatment in each camp, as well as the assistant to the doctor, number of SS guards, and number of inmates. According to the report, the supervising doctor in Versen was head doctor (Oberarzt) “Stalag” with assistant SS-Rottenführer Haeger. The report also notes that there were 255 members of the guard staff and 1,778 prisoners.¹⁰

The Versen camp was evacuated as Allied troops approached, beginning in March 1945. On March 24, 1945, the Hamburg Commander of the Order Police (BdO) issued orders to evacuate camps in the Emsland area.¹¹ Under the agreement forged between Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler and Count Folke Bernadotte of the Swedish Red Cross, 76 Danish prisoners were marched out of the camp on March 15 or 16 and, together with Danish prisoners from Dalum, were sent to Neuengamme by cattle car. Prisoners well enough to march were evacuated on foot from the camp to Cloppenburg, Bremen-Farge, and then by train to Neuengamme. On April 1, the weakened and severely ill inmates were transported to Neuengamme by train. According to historian Andreas Lembeck, nearly 400 prisoners died during the transportation of the ill inmates and the evacuation of the camp. In April, the 1st Polish Armored Division under supervision of the British and Canadian armed forces occupied the camp.¹²

There is no information regarding trials associated with the administration of the Versen camp. Trial documentation related to the Dalum camp, from which little information on Versen can be extrapolated, is stored at the PRO (London) and reproduced in part at the USHMM. Further research onsite at the FZH may yield more detailed information about the guards who administered the Versen camp.

SOURCES Although both primary and secondary sources on the Versen subcamp are scarce, the most extensive secondary sources on Versen and other Emsland camps include the studies by Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland, 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985); Elke Suhr, *Die Emslandlager* (Bremen: Donat & Temmen Verlag, 1985); and Elke Suhr and Werner Boldt, *Lager im Emsland, 1933–1945: Geschichte und Gedenken* (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg, 1985). For a broad overview of the Neuengamme subcamp system, including the reproduction of a quarterly report submitted by the SS garrison doctor Trzebinski on numbers of surviving inmates in Versen and elsewhere, see Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997). For information on evacuation, liberation, and subsequent creation of displaced persons camps at Versen, see Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung: Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000); Andreas Lembeck, “—to Set Up a Polish Enclave in Germany”: *Displaced Persons in the Emsland, 1945–1950* (Papenburg: DIZ Emslandlager, 2001); and Andreas Lembeck and Klaus Wessels, *Befreit, aber nicht in Freiheit: Displaced Persons im Emsland 1945–1950* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1997).

Primary documentation on the Versen subcamp, used extensively by Suhr and Boldt and Kosthorst and Walter, is located at the FZH (formerly FGNS-H), Archiv Hans Schwarz, which includes a witness report from former inmate Morton Ruge and the original report filed by Dr. Trzebinski (13-6-11) as well as other related documents. Files containing detailed information derived from an investigation of mass graves in Versen conducted by the grave commission of the Service Technique de la Délégation Générale pour l'Allemagne et l'Autriche du AN-MACVG (1953) are stored at the NStA-Os. The DIZ-EL in Papenburg contains textual records and photo archives pertaining to the Emsland camps (1933–1945) (see www.diz-emslandlager.de). Documentation related to orders from the Hamburg Commander of the Order Police for the evacuation of the Emsland camps, including Meppen-Versen, is stored at the StA-Br. Finally, vague information about the layout of the Versen subcamp can be found in the records of the PRO (London), WO 235/302 (as duplicated at USHMMA, RG-59.016M, Reel 9), in the court deposition of Captain Walter Rose, War Crimes Investigation Unit. Although these files contain documentation from trials of individuals accused of crimes against Allied nationals in various Neuengamme subcamps, there is no specific information about or identification of the commandant, guards, or administration of the Versen camp.

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NOTES

1. Kosthorst Erich and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland, 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), p. 109; Elke Suhr and Werner Boldt,

Lager im Emsland, 1933–1945: Geschichte und Gedenken (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg, 1985), p. 30.

2. Morton Ruge, “Aussenkommando Versen bei Meppen des Konzentrationslager Neuengamme,” reproduced partially in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 113–114.

3. Ruge, in *ibid.*, p. 114.

4. Deposition of Captain Ronald Walter Rose, War Crimes Investigation Unit, HQ/BAOR (24 May 1946), PRO (London), WO 235/302 (reproduced in USHMMA, RG-59.016M, Reel 9); includes sketched plans of the camps Husum, Ladelund, Dalum, and Versen. See Andreas Lembeck, “—to Set Up a Polish Enclave in Germany”: *Displaced Persons in the Emsland, 1945–1950* (Papenburg: DIZ Emslandlager, 2001); and Andreas Lembeck and Klaus Wessels, *Befreit, aber nicht in Freiheit: Displaced Persons im Emsland 1945–1950* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1997).

5. Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, p. 114.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

8. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original report). The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp. 123–126. USHMMA (RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also has a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167, with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos.

9. Deposition of Zdzisław Sokół, Production No. 170, PRO (London), WO 235/302 (reproduced at USHMMA, RG-59.016M, Reel 9).

10. Report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski, PRO (London), WO 235/167, as copied at USHMMA, RG-59.016M, JAG's Office: War Crimes Case Files, Second World War. There is a slight discrepancy between the number of prisoners (1,773) noted by Trzebinski in the report and the number (1,778) in the list of camps and their medical supervision.

11. Lembeck and Wessels, *Befreit*, p. 23.

12. Lembeck, *Polish Enclave*, p. 31.

MEPPEN-VERSEN/GROSS-HESEPE

Located in the borderland area near the Netherlands, the Emsland camp XI, Gross-Hesepe, was absorbed into the Neuengamme concentration camp system in November 1944. Prior to the deportation of prisoners from Neuengamme to Gross-Hesepe, Meppen-Versen, Meppen-Dalum, these and other Emsland camps served various functions within the Nazi camp system and reflected the changing needs of the administration and German military, including the repression of opponents of the Nazi regime, the incarceration of those sentenced by civil and military courts, and the establishment of satellite camps in the Neuengamme camp system.

Beginning in 1933, the camps in the Emsland region were first constructed to incarcerate opponents of the Nazi regime who were kept in “protective custody” (*Schutzhaft*). Prisoners

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in protective custody were used to cultivate the marshland (*Moors*) near the border for future development. In 1938, construction began on the Gross-Hesepe camp, one of the eight newly built penal camps (*Strafgefangenenlager*) in the Emsland. It had a capacity for 1,000 prisoners, but the actual occupancy far exceeded this number. The Armed Forces High Command (OKW) took over the Gross-Hesepe camp in September 1939, and it became one of nine camps in the prisoner-of-war (POW) camp complex (*Kriegsgefangenen-Mannschaftsstamm-lager*, or Stalag) VI C Bathorn. The camp then served as a transit camp (*Durchgangslager*) for Polish, French, and Soviet POWs, as well as Italian military internees (IMIs).

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog, the Gross-Hesepe camp was used to incarcerate Neuengamme camp prisoners as a subcamp to the Meppen-Versen subcamp. It also stated that the average number of prisoners was 100. The inmates most likely were forced to work in developing the marshlands and to create the so-called Friesenwall, a Wehrmacht defense installation planned for the Dutch border.

Living conditions in the other camps used as Neuengamme subcamps in the latter years and months of the war were dreadful, and we can surmise that conditions and work assignments were the same or similar in Gross-Hesepe.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary resources on the Gross-Hesepe subcamp. For brief information on Gross-Hesepe, such as opening and closing dates and kind of work, see Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). The most extensive secondary sources on the Emsland camps include the studies by Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland, 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985); Elke Suhr, *Die Emslandlager* (Bremen: Donat & Temmen Verlag, 1985); and Elke Suhr and Werner Boldt, *Lager im Emsland, 1933–1945: Geschichte und Gedenken* (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg, 1985). For a broad overview of the Neuengamme subcamp system, including the reproduction of a quarterly report submitted by SS garrison doctor Trzebinski on numbers of surviving inmates in Dalum and elsewhere, see Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997). For information on the evacuation, liberation, and subsequent creation of DP camps in the Emsland, see Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung. Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000); Andreas Lembeck, “—to Set Up a Polish enclave in Germany”: *Displaced Persons in the Emsland, 1945–1950* (Papenburg: DIZ, 2001); and Andreas Lembeck and Klaus Wessels, *Befreit, aber nicht in Freiheit: Displaced Persons im Emsland 1945–1950* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1997).

The DIZ contains textual records and photo archives pertaining to the Emsland camps (1933–1945); brief summaries on the camps, including Gross-Hesepe, can be found on the archive’s Web site at www.diz-emslandlager.de. Documenta-

tion related to the orders from the BdO for the evacuation of the Emsland camps is stored at the StA-Br.

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MÖLLN

A subcamp attached to Neuengamme was created in Mölln (Schleswig-Holstein province) in either October or December 1944. Inmates deported to the Neuengamme subcamp system were used as laborers in construction, repairs, and various other economic and rearmaments efforts. The creation of satellite camps at work sites diminished transportation time for inmates between the main camp and the outlying sites. At least 20 inmates were transferred to the Mölln subcamp, presumably from the main Neuengamme camp, to work in the Gülzow Sägewerk (Sawmill).¹ They were employed by the Mölln construction administration of the SS (SS-Bauleitung Mölln), and therefore they most likely performed some kind of construction work at the sawmill.

According to an attachment to a translated copy of the report filed by garrison doctor Trzebinski that lists the SS doctors in charge of overseeing medical care within the Neuengamme camps, Dr. Hintzelmann and his assistant SS-Rottenführer Jorers supervised the health of the Mölln inmates.²

In his study of the *Kap Arcona* disaster on Lübeck Bay, historian Wilhelm Lange has asserted that there were other work commandos in Mölln at this time. However, it is unclear whether these detachments were connected to the Neuengamme camp system or whether they were part of the same work commando at the sawmill. Lange has noted that at least 200 inmates worked in the armaments industry in Mölln-Breitenfelde, and a smaller group of skilled laborers were employed at the Metallwerke Mölln.

The Mölln subcamp at Sägewerk Gülzow, as well as the other commandos Lange has described, were evacuated to a ship called the *Westpreussen* on Lübeck Bay of the Baltic Sea on April 30, 1945. According to Lange, the *Westpreussen* carried about 254 inmates from various camps, including the labor education camp (*Arbeitszerziehungslager*) of Nordmark in Kiel. The ship remained in the bay for several days, during which several inmates died; their bodies were thrown overboard. On May 8, 1945, the ship fell under the control of the Swedish Red Cross.

The fate of the inmates—particularly from the Mölln commando aboard the *Westpreussen*—is unknown. According to Lange, inmates on this ship most likely evaded the lot of other prisoners, who had been evacuated to the *Cap Arcona* and other ships, which the Nazis crowded with camp inmates and then abandoned to be bombed and destroyed by the Allies. Over 8,000 prisoners died during British aerial attacks on the bay on May 3, 1945.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the satellite camp in Mölln. Brief information on the existence of the camp in secondary literature is found in Her-

mann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and which includes a reproduction of the quarterly report filed by SS garrison physician Trzebinski. This information is duplicated—except for the opening date of the camp—in the Mölln entry in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). Additional details, which are not corroborated by other secondary sources, come from Wilhelm Lange, *Cap Arcona: Dokumentation* (Eutin: Struve, 1988), pp. 43–45.

Primary documentation that provides information on the Mölln camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG may yield additional information. The original quarterly report filed by Dr. Trzebinski, which lists the subcamp of the SS-Bauleitung Mölln and which is published in various secondary sources, can be found at the FZH.

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NOTES

1. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original report). USHMMA (RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also contains a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (BAOR trial of Max Pauly and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1997), pp. 123–126.

2. *Ibid.*

NEUSTADT IN HOLSTEIN

Among the more than 80 subcamps of the concentration camp Neuengamme, a satellite camp was created in Neustadt in Holstein in December 1944. Inmates deported to the Neuengamme subcamp system were used as laborers in construction, repairs, and various other economic and rearmaments efforts. The creation of satellite camps at work sites diminished transportation time for inmates between the main camp and the outlying sites. Fifteen men were transported to Neustadt in Holstein to be employed by the Neustadt Construction Administration of the SS (SS-Bauleitung Neustadt).¹ The inmates built barracks for a military hospital (*SS-Lazarett*) in Neustadt. The 15-prisoner subcamp existed until May 1, 1945, when the small camp was evacuated, eventually to a ship, the *Westpreussen* on Lübeck Bay of the Baltic Sea.

Little other specific information about this small satellite commando can be found. However, in his analysis of the *Cap Arcona* disaster in Lübeck Bay, historian Wilhelm Lange has asserted that the 15 inmates had originally been part of the Breitenfelde-Neustadt commando and were transferred to Neustadt in Holstein for construction work. The Breitenfelde commando consisted of Danes, Poles, Russians, and at least

one Dutch and one German prisoner. According to Lange, the guards of the Neustadt subcamp were an unnamed SS-Scharführer and six other ill and recuperating SS officers. On May 1, 1945, the group was evacuated to the work education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*) Nordmark (the Kiel camp), where the prisoners were reunited with the original Breitenfelde commando. The inmates were evacuated to the *Westpreussen*, which held 254 inmates in total. The ship remained in the bay for several days, during which a few died; their bodies were thrown overboard. On May 8, 1945, the ship came under the control of the Swedish Red Cross.

According to an attachment to a translated copy of the report filed by SS garrison physician Trzebinski, which lists the SS doctors in charge of overseeing medical care within the Neuengamme camps, Dr. Hintzelmann and his assistant SS-Rottenführer Joerss supervised the health of the Neustadt inmates.²

The fate of the inmates particularly from the Neustadt commando aboard the *Westpreussen* is unknown. According to Lange, inmates on this ship most likely escaped the fate of other inmates who were evacuated to the *Cap Arcona* and other ships, which the Nazis crowded with prisoners and then abandoned to be bombed and destroyed by the Allies. Over 8,000 prisoners died during British aerial attacks on the bay on May 3, 1945.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the satellite camp in Neustadt in Holstein. Brief information on the existence of the camp in secondary literature is found in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and includes a reproduction of the quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski. This information (opening and evacuation dates, number of prisoners, and so on) is duplicated in Ulrich Bauche, *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme, 1938–1945* (Hamburg, 1986). Additional information (although not corroborated by other secondary sources) comes from Wilhelm Lange, *Cap Arcona: Dokumentation* (Eutin, 1988), pp. 43–45. Finally, for dates and the path of the evacuation of the camp, see the second volume of the two-volume work *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung; Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, ed. Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, Freundeskreis KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme e.V., with contributions by Detlef Garbet and Nina Holsten (Bremen, 2000).

Primary documentation that provides information on the Neustadt camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG may yield additional information. The original quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski, which lists the subcamp of the SS-Bauleitung Neustadt and is published in various secondary sources, can be found at the FZH.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original

report). USHMMA (RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also contains a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (BAOR trial of Max Pauly and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), pp. 123–126.

2. Ibid.

PORTA WESTFALICA/A II BARKHAUSEN [AKA PORTA I, KAISERHOF], LERBECK- NEESEN, HAUSBERGE “HAMMERWERKE”

The Porta Westfalica complex of the Neuengamme concentration camp consisted of three subcamps established between March 1944 and February 1945 for the purpose of war production. Under the command of the Stützpunktleiter, SS-Obersturmführer Hermann Wicklein, the three subcamps were Barkhausen (also known as Porta I, A II, and Kaiserhof), Lerbeck-Neesen, and Hausberge (“Hammerwerke”).¹

After the Jägerstab (Fighter Staff) tasked SS-Gruppenführer Hans Kammler, the head of Office Group C (construction) of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), with tunneling operations for the transfer of German aircraft production in March 1944, Kammler dispatched the SS-Führungsstab (Leadership Staff) A II to Porta Westfalica, where there were several existing tunnels. On March 18, 1944, Neuengamme established a subcamp in the ballroom (*Festsaal*) of the Hotel Kaiserhof in Barkhausen, located to the west of the Weser River. Initially populated by 250 Buchenwald prisoners dispatched under the code name “Max I,” Barkhausen had a strength of 983 on March 29, 1945.² Although Wicklein was the commandant, his Lagerführer, SS-Rottenführer Hermann Nau, stood out in prisoners’ memories as the camp’s driving force.³ The camp elder was a green triangle (criminal) prisoner from Buchenwald, Georg Knögl. Nicknamed “Red” because of his hair color, as well as “Popeye” and “Lucifer,” he was recalled in many testimonies as sadistic and an alcoholic.⁴ According to historian Rainer Fröbe, there were between 500 and 600 deaths at this camp between March 1944 and April 1, 1945, excluding weakened prisoners returned to Neuengamme. Between 25 and 30 prisoners attempted escape, 7 of whom were hanged.

Barkhausen’s prisoners consisted of many nationalities, especially Ukrainians and Poles, but none were Jewish. Beginning on September 15, 1944, a consignment of 225 Danish political and criminal prisoners entered the camp in several transports. Although favored in the “racial” hierarchy and able to receive Red Cross parcels, 44 percent of the Danes died at Barkhausen, before the remainder were evacuated as part of *Aktion Bernadotte* in late March 1945.⁵ This high mortality was traceable to the harsh working conditions, the Danes’ difficulties in “organizing” (stealing) additional food, and their vulnerability to parcel theft by the SS, prisoner-

functionaries, and other prisoners.⁶ According to former Auschwitz prisoner Wiesław Kielar, the Danes who consumed their parcels ironically put themselves at the greatest risk of death: the fear of theft led many to devour their parcels in one sitting, which overwhelmed their digestive systems after prolonged hunger.⁷

Most of the tunnel projects were located in the Jakobsberg Mountain, situated across the Weser River from the Barkhausen camp. The site’s location necessitated a lengthy march to and from work via the Weser bridge. The first tunnel project, for the aircraft parts company Firma Ambi-Budd, involved the expansion of a tunnel to accommodate fuselage and aircraft parts manufacturing. In May 1944, a small arms factory, code-named “Stöhr II,” was established inside the “Memorial Tunnels” (Denkmalstollen), inside Wittekindsberg Mountain at a shorter distance from the Barkhausen camp.

In the summer of 1944, the prisoners expanded Jakobsberg’s “Big Tunnels” (Grossen Stollen) to accommodate an underground petroleum refinery operated by Deurag-Nerag (Deutsche Raffinerie AG, Neue Erdölraffinerie AG). Code-named “Dachs I,” the refinery was more than four-fifths complete when the Germans evacuated Porta Westfalica.⁸ The U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey (USSBS) concluded that, with a planned capacity of more than 9,000 tons of crude oil per month, “This is a very pretentious plant. . . . [It] is in no sense a makeshift but was planned as a permanent installation.”⁹

In the fall of 1944, Barkhausen built a nine-story factory, code-named “Hammerwerke,” inside the tunnel “Stöhr I.” Hammerwerke belonged to the German subsidiary of the Dutch company Philips, which relocated its radio assembly factory from the Herzogenbusch main concentration camp [aka Vught] after the German retreat. To install the equipment, Philips selected a 172-man “skilled” work detachment consisting of non-Jews from Sachsenhausen/Oраниenburg and other camps in November 1944.¹⁰ This work detachment was accommodated at Barkhausen.

Before the establishment of the Lerbeck camp, 15 Barkhausen prisoners worked as a detachment for the Firma Weber in Lerbeck-Neesen. As a subcontractor for SS-Führungsstab A II, Firma Weber prefabricated ferroconcrete construction materials in late spring and summer of 1944. In September 1944, with the German retreat, the Luftwaffe relocated its Utrecht-based aeroengine repair station at Lerbeck. Subcontracted to the Klöckner Flugmotorenbau GmbH of Hamburg, but for security reasons given the cover name “Firma Bense & Co.,” the station inspected and repaired Type-801 Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) aircraft motors. On September 30, 1944, approximately 100 Neuengamme inmates arrived at Lerbeck, where they were housed in a military barracks catercorner to Firma Weber and opposite the Klöckner station. The difficulty obtaining guards for this camp prompted Reich Armaments Minister Albert Speer to lodge a complaint with Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler.¹¹ Wehrmacht personnel and the civilian Plant Protection Force (Werkschutz) from Weber and Klöckner guarded the prisoners. On March 29, 1945, there were 469 prisoners, all of whom

were non-Jewish, including some long-detained Poles and Austrians from Auschwitz. Although the working conditions were good, the vicious conditions inside the camp and the lack of food caused between 31 and 55 deaths, according to Fröbe. This estimate excluded weakened inmates returned to Neuengamme. The brutal conditions were due to the two commandants, SS-Unterscharführer Heinz Rast (to January 15, 1945) and SS-Oberscharführer Richard Emanuel Eichler, and the camp elder, Heinz Hagenah, a green triangle prisoner and former soldier. Eichler and Hagenah murdered 7 prisoners in the infirmary by lethal injection.¹²

Situated southeast of the Hammerwerke, at the junction of the Kreuzung Mindener Weg and Frettholzweg, the Hausberge subcamp consisted of 967 Dutch and Hungarian Jewish women who arrived in February 1945. The Dutch women had already worked for Philips while imprisoned at Vught, until the SS deported them to Auschwitz in June 1944. At Philips's behest, Deutsche Telefunken selected the women for its Gross-Rosen/Reichenbach radio factory until its destruction in a December 1944 air raid. After briefly working for Philips-Valvo in Hamburg, the women proceeded to the Hammerwerke. Some 300 Hungarian Jewish women who had worked at Philips's Horneburg Kommando were also brought to Hausberge. Because they were skilled workers, Philips took steps to ensure their protection. Under the commandant, an SS-Unterscharführer, the 55 male and 27 female guards harassed the prisoners en route to work; 5 women died in the Hausberge camp.

At Hammerwerke, the Dutch women experienced a sense of déjà vu. One had inscribed her initials in their machinery at Vught and was surprised to see the same equipment located underground.¹³ As was true for Barkhausen prisoners, the women worked for 84 hours per week.

The Germans evacuated Porta Westfalica on April 1, 1945. Barkhausen's inmates were evacuated to Beendorf and Schandelah, Lerbeck-Neesen's to Fallersleben, and Hausberge's to Beendorf via Bergen-Belsen. Many of the evacuated prisoners eventually ended up in Neuengamme/Wöbbelin. Former Auschwitz prisoner Hermann Langbein escaped during Lerbeck's evacuation.¹⁴

In 1947 and 1948, French military tribunals condemned Hermann Nau and camp elder Georg Knögl to death. In 1947, in connection with his prior stint at Neuengamme/Husum-Schwesing, a British military court in Hamburg sentenced Richard Eichler to five years' imprisonment. The Hamburg Schwurgericht (Court of Assizes) sentenced the female SS guard, Lottchen Wilma M., to prison for one year and one month in 1951 for mishandling Hausberge prisoners.¹⁵

SOURCES This entry builds upon the most detailed study of the Porta Westfalica complex, Rainer Fröbe's "‘Vernichtung durch Arbeit?’ KZ-Häftlinge in Rüstungsbetrieben an der Porta Westfalica in den letzten Monaten des Zweiten Weltkriegs," in *Verdrängte Geschichte: Verfolgung und Vernichtung in Ostwestfalen, 1933–1945*, ed. Joachim Meynert and Arno Kloenne (Bielefeld: AJZ, 1986), pp. 221–297. Additional sec-

ondary sources useful for this essay are Reinhard Busch, "Zur Geschichte der KZ-Aussenlager an der Porta Westfalica," in *‘Das Leben ist schön!’ Überlebensstrategien eines Häftlings im KZ Porta*, ed. Wiebke von Bernstorff et al., trans. Gerd Adolf-Hermening (Bielefeld: AJZ Verlag, 1987), pp. 1–14; Helweg Larsen et al., *Famine Disease in German Concentration Camps: Consequences and Sequels, with Special Reference to Tuberculosis, Mental Disorders, and Social Consequences* (Copenhagen, 1952); Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung; Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000), 2: 95, 97, 99; for a detailed map of the Philips Kommando's movements from June 1944 to May 1945, P.W. Klein and Justus van de Kamp, *Het Philips-Kommando in Kamp Vught* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Contact, 2003), p. 191; for Porta Westfalica's memorials, Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus, Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999); and the Web site www.team-porta.de/lager.html. The Porta Westfalica complex 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: 188; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 224, 226, 229; and *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), pp. 109, 452–453.

As cited in Fröbe, archival sources for Porta Westfalica may be found in BA-K, BA-L (former ZdL), NWStA-(D), NWStA (De), and PRO. For the Neuengamme Standortarzt report of March 29, 1945, 2169-PS, see Fritz Bringmann, *KZ Neuengamme: Berichte, Erinnerungen, Dokumente* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag), n.p. There are many prisoner testimonies available for the Porta Westfalica complex, and the Danish testimonies are especially extensive. Two chapters of Pierre Bleton's *Le Temps du purgatoire* (1953; repr., n.p.: Obsidiane, 1990) dealing with Porta Westfalica are available in the German edition cited above. Fröbe reproduces two Danish prisoners' reports in translation, Biørn Karbo, "Bergmann in Porta Westfalica," pp. 298–309 (originally in Johannes Fosmark, ed., *Danske i tyske Konzentrationslejre*, 2nd ed. [Copenhagen, 1945], pp. 104–114); and Jørgen Diemer, "Porta in Westfalen," pp. 310–320 (originally in "Porta i Westfalen," in *I tysk Fangenskab*, ed. Anders Georg [Copenhagen, 1945], pp. 109–118). The testimony of Barkhausen survivor Gunnar Hjelholt is available in Benedicte Madson and Søren Willert, *Survival in the Organization: Gunnar Hjelholt Looks Back at the Concentration Camp from an Organizational Perspective*, preface by Veronika Dalheimer, trans. Edith Matteson (Aarhus, Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1996). According to Hjelholt, the Danish political prisoners published a memorial book, *In memoriam, 50'erne fra Porta* (n.p., 1950). The testimony of Danish bishop Vincent Lind is reproduced in Ulrike Jensen,

Ulrike Jureit, and Karin Orth, *Lebensgeschichten: Gespräche mit Überlebenden des KZ Neuengamme* (Hamburg, 1992), pp. 35–53. The testimony of Jørgen Kieler, Barkhausen's inmate doctor, is available in USHMMA, RG-50.391.*0001, Oral History Interview with Jørgen Kieler, June 10, 1994, interviewed by Alexandra Moltke Isles. Auschwitz survivors Wiesław Kielar and Hermann Langbein deal with their experiences in Barkhausen and Lerbeck, respectively, in Kieler, *Anus Mundi: 1,500 Days in Auschwitz/Birkenau*, trans. Susanne Flatauer (New York: Times Books, 1980); Langbein, *Die Stärkeren: Ein Bericht aus Auschwitz und anderen Konzentrationslagern* (1949; repr., Cologne: Bund-Verlag, 1982), pp. 255–261; and Langbein, . . . *nicht wie die Schafe zur Schlachtbank: Widerstand in den nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern, 1938–1945*, foreword by Eugen Kogon (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1980), pp. 55, 101. As cited in Fröbe, the testimony of Hausberge prisoner Rita Koopman is found in Dick Walda, *Een huilbui van jaren: Episoden uit het leven van Rita Koopman* (Amsterdam, 1979). As part of its investigation of the German oil industry, the USSBS surveyed “Dachs I” in May 1945. Its detailed report, with accompanying diagrams, is USSBS, Oil Division, *Underground and Dispersal Plants in Greater Germany* (Washington, DC, 1947), pp. 56, 132–135, 152. As cited by Fröbe, CIOS investigated the “Hammerwerke” in 1945 and produced a detailed report with schematics, which is reproduced in his article on p. 276. On the postwar trials and investigations, see Lfd. Nr. 321 in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam, 1972), 9: 743–770, for the trial of Lottchen Wilma M. As cited in Fröbe, information on the British and French trials may be found in “Vermerk der OSta. Köln zu 24 Js 61/62 (Z),” November 15, 1963, which deals with Nau and tangentially other camp staff; and PRO, WO 235/302–303, which concerns Eichler.

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NOTES

1. “Vermerk der OSta. Köln zu 24 Js 61/62 (Z),” November 15, 1963, as cited in Rainer Fröbe, “‘Vernichtung durch Arbeit’? KZ-Häftlinge in Rüstungsbetrieben an der Porta Westfalica in den letzten Monaten des Zweiten Weltkriegs,” in *Verdrängte Geschichte: Verfolgung und Vernichtung in Ostwestfalen, 1933–1945*, ed. Joachim Meynert and Arno Kloenne (Bielefeld: AJZ, 1986), p. 287 n.98.

2. For all the population totals for the Porta Westfalica subcamps of Barkhausen, Lerbeck, and Hausberge, dated March 29, 1945, see “Bericht des SS-Standortarztes von Neuengamme, Dr. Trzebinski,” 2169-PS, reproduced in Fritz Bringmann, *KZ Neuengamme: Berichte, Erinnerungen, Dokumente* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1982), n.p.

3. “Vermerk der OSta. Köln zu 24 Js 61/62 (Z),” November 15, 1963, as cited in Fröbe, “‘Vernichtung durch Arbeit’?” p. 287 n.98.

4. See, for example, the testimony of Gunnar Hjelholt in Benedicte Madson and Søren Willert, *Survival in the Organization: Gunnar Hjelholt Looks Back at the Concentration Camp from an Organizational Perspective*, preface by Veronika Dal-

heimer, trans. Edith Matteson (Aarhus, Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1996), p. 40.

5. As reported by former inmate doctor Jørgen Kieler in Helweg Larsen et al., *Famine Disease in German Concentration Camps: Consequences and Sequels, with Special Reference to Tuberculosis, Mental Disorders, and Social Consequences* (Copenhagen, 1952), p. 68, and cited in Fröbe, “‘Vernichtung durch Arbeit’?” p. 320. The Danish testimonies disagree on the precise date of the Bernadotte evacuation.

6. Hjelholt testimony in Madson and Willert, *Survival in the Organization*, p. 43.

7. Wiesław Kielar, *Anus Mundi: 1,500 Days in Auschwitz/Birkenau*, trans. Susanne Flatauer (New York: Times Books, 1980), pp. 280–281.

8. USSBS, Oil Division, *Underground and Dispersal Plants in Greater Germany* (Washington, DC, 1947), p. 132.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

10. Kieler, *Anus Mundi*, pp. 268–269.

11. BA-K, R3/1583 fol. 110, as cited in Fröbe, “‘Vernichtung durch Arbeit’?” p. 256.

12. Statement of former Kapo Hans Biederer, n.d., NHStA-(D), 130 (24) Js 61/62, 1: 93, as cited in Fröbe, “‘Vernichtung durch Arbeit’?” p. 291.

13. Rita Koopman testimony in Dick Walda, *Een huilbui van jaren: Episoden uit het leven van Rita Koopman* (Amsterdam 1979), p. 96, as cited in Fröbe, “‘Vernichtung durch Arbeit’?” pp. 274–275.

14. Hermann Langbein, *Die Stärkeren: Ein Bericht aus Auschwitz und anderen Konzentrationslagern* (1949; repr., Cologne: Bund-Verlag, 1982), pp. 259–260.

15. “Vermerk der OSta. Köln zu 24 Js 61/62 (Z),” November 15, 1963, PRO, WO 235/302–303 (Eichler case), all cited in Fröbe, “‘Vernichtung durch Arbeit’?” p. 287 n.98; Lfd. Nr. 321, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam, 1972), 9: 743–770 (Lottchen Wilma M.).

SALZGITTER-BAD

In the late summer of 1944 a women's subcamp was established in Salzgitter-Bad and placed under the control of the Neuengamme concentration camp. There are almost no documents on the Salzgitter-Bad subcamp. The documents that did exist were destroyed in the Neuengamme concentration camp and the Reichswerke “Hermann Göring” (RWHG) before the end of the war.

The new detachment was accommodated in barracks that were owned by the AG für Bergbau- und Hüttenbedarf, a subsidiary of the RWHG. This former camp, named Number 43, was located about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) to the south of Salzgitter-Bad on the edge of the Südholz Forest. It had been established in the 1940s for about 120 female civilian employees of the Bergbau AG.

The Salzgitter-Bad subcamp was not expanded. It consisted of four accommodation barracks, three operational barracks, and a number of smaller buildings.¹ According to survivors, the camp included punishment bunkers, guard towers, and storage facilities.² The camp was surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire fence and signs with the inscription “No Standing! We

Will Open Fire!" (*Nicht stehen bleiben, es wird geschossen!*) on the track to Liebenburg. The signs were visible for everyone to see.³

The first transport of women arrived on September 19, 1944, from the Ravensbrück concentration camp. It included mostly women who had been taken prisoner during the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944 and who had been transported to the Ravensbrück and Bergen-Belsen concentration camps. At the end of October, another group of about 250 women arrived from Ravensbrück. Altogether there were about 500 prisoners in the camp. On March 25, 1945, Standortarzt Dr. Trzebinski gave the number of women as 472.⁴

A few of the women came from Germany, the Soviet Union, and France. However, the great majority were from Poland, Yugoslavia, and Greece. Most of the deportees were registered by the SS in Salzgitter-Bad as political prisoners. According to survivors, there were also Jews. When the women arrived in the Salzgitter-Bad subcamp, they were given prisoner numbers that were then registered in the Neuengamme main camp.

The women worked in the armaments production of the AG für Bergbau- und Hüttenbedarf and in the Kleineisenwerk am Gittertor. Both factories were subsidiaries of the RWHG.

In both factories the prisoners worked in three shifts. They were mostly used in producing parts for grenades. The production lines, equipped with presses and lathes, were located in part of the factory buildings. They were separated from the rest of the factory. There was only limited contact with the civilian workers. Nevertheless, a few prisoners were able to make contact. A Yugoslav prisoner was able to get pencil and paper and smuggle out letters to her parents.⁵

The camp was about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) away from the AG für Bergbau- und Hüttenbedarf. The women had to walk to work under the guard of SS men and SS women. Their path led them by an *Ostarbeiterlager* (Eastern workers' camp) and the newly constructed settlement for German workers at the "Hermann-Göring-Werke."

The Kleineisenwerk was located on the northwestern edge of Salzgitter-Bad. The prisoners who worked there were taken to work on a company-owned truck under SS guard. Living conditions in the small camp were bad, but when compared with other subcamps in the region, they were relatively good. The barracks were divided into separate rooms in which there were double bunk beds. Each prisoner had her own bunk. The operational barracks were located close to the camp. There was an infirmary there. Medical care was initially provided from the Drütte camp, but at the end of 1944, a female prisoner doctor took over.⁶ The deaths of four women are recorded for the Salzgitter-Bad camp. They are buried in the Jammertal Cemetery in Salzgitter-Lebenstedt.⁷

In 1949, Ursula Lemke was arrested on suspicion of mistreating prisoners. She arrived at the end of September 1944 in the camp as an SS overseer. She had undergone a six-day training course in Neuengamme. She remained at Salzgitter-

Bad until the camp was evacuated. When questioned, she stated that she was engaged to the Lagerführer (camp leader) of the Salzgitter-Bad camp, Longin Bladowski.⁸ Bladowski returned to the main camp before the end of the war, where he took charge of the prisoners' kitchen.⁹

On April 7, 1945, four days before American troops reached the Salzgitter area, the Salzgitter-Bad subcamp was evacuated.

The dissolution of the subcamp surprised the imprisoned women. On the morning of April 7, 1945, the detachment, as usual, was taken by lorry to work the early morning shift at the Kleineisenwerk, and those working at the AG für Bergbau- und Hüttenbedarf went by foot to work. The women remaining in the camp, who worked the night shift, were not allowed to sleep. They had to clean up the camp and prepare for the evacuation.¹⁰ The detachments did not return to the factories for the afternoon shift, as the final evacuation of the camp had begun. Following the final roll call, the prisoners were loaded onto trucks and driven to the Drütte subcamp, about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) away. Roll call was taken again, and then the approximately 500 women on the camp grounds had to board a train that was waiting for them. After they boarded the train, it left the Salzgitter area. On April 8, 1945, the transport arrived at the goods railway station in Celle, where that evening it became a target of an Allied air raid. More than half of the women from the Salzgitter-Bad subcamp lost their lives during the bombardment. The survivors were taken by truck and on foot to Bergen-Belsen.

The Salzgitter-Bad subcamp was forgotten after the war. Other than the investigations into the wardress Lemke, there were no other proceedings against those responsible for the Salzgitter-Bad subcamp. Lemke was acquitted due to a lack of evidence.¹¹

SOURCES There is no published work on the Salzgitter-Bad concentration camp. It is one of the least-studied subcamps. On Bladowski, see Hans Ellger, "Weibliche Häftlinge in Neuengamme: Die Geschichte der Frauenaussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der jüdischen Häftlingsgruppe" (Ph.D. diss.); on the evacuation to Bergen-Belsen, see Mijndert Bertram, *April 1945. Der Luftangriff auf Celle und das Schicksal der KZ-Häftlinge aus Drütte* (Celle, 1989); and Elke Zacharias, "Wir dachten, die Befreiung sei ganz nah . . ." *CeHe* (2005).

There is little archival material. The camp and its topography have been reconstructed from aerial photographs that are available at the TARA-KU. In the last 15 years the AG-Dr has collected worldwide more than 50 memoirs and eyewitness interviews. These sources, supplemented by former prisoners' personal belongings, are held in the AG-Dr and in the AG-NG. Some witness statements and archival material about RWHG is available in ASt-Salz, BStU, and BA-DH. The March 29, 1945, report by the Neuengamme garrison doctor is reproduced in Ulrich Bauche et al., *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme, 1938–1945: Katalog zur*

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staendigen Ausstellung im Dokumentenbaus der KZ-Gedenkstaette Neuengamme, Aussenstelle des Museums fuer Hamburgische Geschichte (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1986).

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. TARA-KU, US 33-2780, Nr. 1047.
2. AG-Dr, Interviews: Joanna Fryczkowska, Ida Desandre, Stefka Frangez.
3. ASt-Salz, Zz (Bericht Franziska Wegener).
4. Vierteljahresbericht an das SS-Wirtschaftsverwaltungshauptamt vom 29.3.1945, reproduced in Ulrich Bauche et al., *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme, 1938–1945: Katalog zur staendigen Ausstellung im Dokumentenbaus der KZ-Gedenkstaette Neuengamme, Aussenstelle des Museums fuer Hamburgische Geschichte* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1986), p. 209.
5. AG-Dr, Stefka Frangez (Briefsammlung).
6. AG-Dr, Interview Joanna Fryczkowska, 1991.
7. ASt-Salz, Friedhofskartei; AG-NG, Die Toten, CD 2005.
8. Aussage von Ursula Lemke vom 08.09.1949, BStU, Best.: MfS–BV Schwerin ASt 385/49, 1:13, 29, 88.
9. Hans Ellger, *Zwangsarbeit und weibliche Überlebensstrategien: die Geschichte der Frauenaussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme 1944/45* (Berlin: Metropol, 2007), p. 224.
10. AG-Dr, Joanna Fryczkowska, Interview vom 26.11.1991.
11. BStU, MfS–BV Schwerin ASt 385/49, vol. 1; BA-DH, ZM 327, File 12.

SALZWEDEL

The Salzwedel subcamp began operations in July or August 1944. The camp complex was based on the already existing camp for female forced laborers who were working in the largest industrial complex in the area, the Draht- und Metallwarenfabrik GmbH Salzwedel. There were 1,000 female forced laborers in the camp. In addition to this camp, there were several other barracks of varying sizes. The area of approximately 11,000 square meters (13,156 square yards) was secured with a security fence 540 meters (591 yards) in length. The prisoners in the subcamp were destined from the beginning to work in the Draht- und Metallwarenfabrik Salzwedel.

The unfavorable course of the war for Germany in 1942 resulted in an increased recruitment of males who had until this time been excluded from military service. The loss of these men from the production lines caused the National Socialist leadership to mobilize German female labor, to use more female foreign forced laborers, and at a later point in time, to use concentration camp prisoners as a means to compensate for the loss of labor.

There were roughly 1,500 to 1,550 women in Salzwedel between October 1944 and March 1945. In the camp's early period, the late summer of 1944, there were 700 to 800 female

Jewish Hungarians in the camp. These women had been transported from Auschwitz directly to Salzwedel. In the autumn of 1944, there followed a contingent of female Jewish Poles, roughly the same number. The majority of them reached the camp via Bergen-Belsen. There were women of other nationalities (Germans, Greeks, Italians, and Czechs) in the subcamp, but their numbers were smaller; most likely, they arrived at the camp toward the end of the war when other subcamps were being evacuated.

All the women in the subcamp were used at the city's largest industrial site, the Draht- und Metallwarenfabrik GmbH Salzwedel. This factory produced mostly ammunition for the infantry. The women worked primarily in the delivery of raw materials, the processing of prefabricated metal components, the production of explosives and bullets, and in storing the same. Little regard was given to the health risks and safety. The work was done in two shifts; that is, when half of the women were in the camp, the others worked for 12 hours in the factory, with a 15-minute meal break.

The women in Salzwedel worked on the production line at the Draht- und Metallwarenfabrik. The factory produced items other than munitions but had been manufacturing infantry munitions since 1928. In 1937, it employed approximately 600 workers, and in 1939, 1,000. This development continued during the war, with the labor force being strengthened with forced laborers, both male and female. The ever-increasing production demands, especially those toward the end of the war, could only be met with the ruthless exploitation of the approximately 1,500 female concentration camp prisoners. At the end of 1944, there were approximately 1,800 workers as follows: 234 German employees, 1,500 concentration camp women, and about 70 female forced laborers.

The reasons for the female inmates' imprisonment can only be guessed. Some women could have been imprisoned for their political activity.

At the end of March 1945, the camp functioned as a collecting point for transports from evacuated camps. Within a short period of time, the number of women in the camp doubled (to approximately 3,000). During the last days of the camp, there was a relatively large group of Dutch women evacuated from Ravensbrück to Salzwedel.

Some women reported murders and attempted murders of the imprisoned women by members of the guard force. Despite the brutality, this was not an everyday occurrence in the camp. More often, however, women who were about to give birth and refused to abort were sent to either Bergen-Belsen or Auschwitz, a calculated step, as it meant the death of the women.

The prisoners were forced to work in a privately owned factory. They were supervised by foremen and skilled tradesmen. In addition, female SS overseers guarded the women while they worked. The SS personnel had full power to force the women to work at maximum speed and at the slightest disturbance stepped in and meted out punishment. The prisoners stood for the 12-hour shifts and were under

constant surveillance, being watched from two sides. The civilian workers distrusted the women; some were indifferent, but they were seldom well disposed, and the presence of the female SS guards exerted enormous pressure on the prisoners.

The subcamp guards were comprised as follows: external camp security was provided by Wehrmacht soldiers no longer suited for frontline service. Internal security was provided exclusively by the SS. The 10 to 12 male SS members were in charge of the camp's senior positions, while the female guards (about 10) were mostly used for direct control of the prisoners. The camp commander is said to have been an elderly SS-Hauptsturmführer. A majority of eyewitnesses did not condemn him, but the Rapportführer was described as violent and brutal.

The prisoners, in an attempt either to forget or put aside for a few moments the horrors of everyday life, tried to foster contact with relatives or maintain friendly relations with their fellow prisoners. "[W]e were like sisters, we shared everything and looked after each other."¹ Friends described themselves as "camp sisters" (*Lagerschwwestern*). Friendship in turn meant solidarity with their unknown fellow sufferers, helping those who were weaker.

Concrete help, support, and solidarity were one side of the coin in a brutal environment. Another side was the cultural work (*Kulturschaffen*) of a few women who, together with their camp sisters, withdrew for a short time in so-called "slots" (*Zeitnischen*) where, temporarily cut off from the outside world, they were close to one another: "I was asked to tell stories and talk about books that I had read."

A constant statement in many interviews is that not a few women were "glad" to have been in the Salzwedel subcamp, avoiding death in Auschwitz or the slow death in Bergen-Belsen. One woman, more than 50 years after the war, summed up the view of the majority of the women: "Sabotage, never. I would have been killed. I wanted to survive and tell the world."

On the other hand, some women, a minority, attempted to slow down the speed at which they worked or to sabotage the machines in order to reduce the output of ammunition. Some were successful. Their identities were never discovered.

The Salzwedel subcamp was liberated on April 14, 1945, by units of the U.S. 84th Infantry Division. The camp guards had begun to break up before liberation, but there are claims that there were attempts by individual SS members to blow up the camp and its inmates. The attempts were supposedly stopped by the camp commandant.

There were no acts of violence when the camp was liberated, although one guard was shot by U.S. soldiers while trying to escape.

The women were taken immediately to a nearby barracks. The U.S. Army looked after and registered them, and they were soon released into the care of various aid agencies. A number of women died after being liberated. They are buried in a nearby cemetery.

After May 8, 1945, a number of investigations in the British Occupation Zone questioned former SS female subcamp

guards. There were no criminal prosecutions against any of the Salzwedel subcamp guards. The investigation files of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg provided details of the relationship between the Neuengamme concentration camp and the Salzwedel subcamp. Preliminary investigations into a number of individuals did not progress.

SOURCES Until 1989, the history of the Salzwedel subcamp was only available, in parts, to those in the local area who were interested in the camp. There was a model of the camp at the Daneihl Museum in Salzwedel with a short accompanying description. The SED Magdeburg District Branch had a brochure that provided a few details of the camp. It was to form the basis for an exhibition regarding the solidarity and sacrifice by a number of workers who, despite the prohibition, had made contact with a number of inmates. The focus was on members of the working class, which reflected the state ideology of the GDR. Before 1991, there was no exhaustive description of the subcamp either in the GDR or the FRG. It was only after an exhibition on "Flüchtlinge," in the neighboring district of Lüchow-Dannenberg (FRG) in 1990 that the author published a catalog on the exhibition (1991) that included a short description of the subcamp. He based his work on work done by a foreman at the Draht- und Metallwarenfabrik, who was grateful to liberated Hungarian Jewish women who saved him from being shot by American soldiers, as he was in possession of a weapon. The women stood up for him, as he had treated them humanely during their imprisonment.

The basis of this research and essay is a small collection of documents (2 folders) at the ZdL (now BA-L), which contain the investigation files into members of the guard. These guards were named but could not be located by the State Prosecutors or they lived in the GDR, thereby being out of reach of West German investigating authorities—that is, the border was not opened to allow suspects to be questioned. In this collection there are also protocols of interviews with survivors (former female prisoners): the interviews were done overseas (in the United States) in front of German embassy officials. In 1996, the city of Salzwedel invited around 20 women, former prisoners of the subcamp, to the city for a week. As part of the reconciliation process, employees of the Neuengamme Memorial and the Daneihl Museum in Salzwedel, together with the author, conducted detailed interviews with the guests. The interviews were later written down. The tapes and original protocol are held in the archives of the Daneihl Museum, with copies in AG-NG. These exhaustive interviews are the basis of this essay. They have been supplemented by a consideration of the records made by British occupying officers on interviews of guards immediately after the war. These protocols are located in the PRO, with copies in the ZLpB-H, now called the AG-BB. Research in the LHSA-Ma did not locate any documents either from the Soviet Military Administration or from the courts of the German Democratic Republic showing that there were investigations into the guards at the Salzwedel subcamp for crimes committed there. As the labor of the subcamp was made available for the Draht- und Metallwarenfabrik Salzwedel, I researched the history and development of the company

in the period 1939 to 1945. In the ASt-Slwz there are a few documents that related to construction work (barracks, fence, and so on) and show the company's hunger for labor. The company was closed after 1945 when it was disassembled by the Soviet occupation forces, with the parts most probably being transported to the Soviet Union. I could not locate any archives specifically dealing with the company. Using quarterly reports provided by the company to the Rüstungsinspektion Hannover, later Magdeburg, it is possible to draw conclusions on the company's economic development during the war. These files are held today in BA-MA. As part of the *Erinnerungsliteratur*, there was published relatively early after the war in the Netherlands a book that describes, albeit without much detail, the subcamp's last days: Arie Siegenbeek van Heukelom, *Zeven Maanden in Duitse Concentratiecampen* (n.p., 1946).

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NOTE

1. All quotations in this essay refer to interviews of Salzwedel survivors with the author, Salzwedel, 1996.

SCHANDELAH

In 1943, the war resulted in a marked deterioration in the supplies for the German Reich. As a result, German oil reserves that had proven difficult to access once again became attractive. This included the largest German shale oil reserves at Schandelah close to Braunschweig. The driving force to access these oil reserves was at first Captain von Kruedener, Generalfeldmarschall (Field Marshal) Erhard Milch's Ordnance Officer, and Walther Schieber. They were able to get the support of the Braunschweig minister president, Klagges. There then followed the establishment of Steinöl GmbH, which was to exploit the Schandelah reserves. In October 1943, the firm's name was probably changed for security reasons to the Kalk- und Zementwerke. Steinöl was owned by Deutsche Asphalt AG (German Asphalt Corporation, DASAG), which in turn was owned by the state of Braunschweig. Klagges and Steinöl GmbH turned to Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler in October 1943 for his support for their being responsible for all shale oil reserves in Germany. This request was not completely successful, as Himmler decided that the southern German reserves were to be exploited by the SS. For this purpose, he established the Deutsche Schieferöl GmbH (German Shale Oil, Ltd.). However, Hitler granted Klagges's request to use concentration camp prisoners to construct a shale oil facility at Schandelah.

Negotiations on the use of the prisoners between the SS and Steinöl GmbH began on January 20, 1944.¹ The first 100 prisoners arrived at the beginning of May 1944. First they had to complete the construction of the camp. At the same time, the Steinöl GmbH and the SS finalized a contract that regulated the basic questions regarding the use of the prisoners and their accommodation.² By August, three smaller prisoner transports had arrived, and the number of prisoners had

increased to 505. By October, the number had increased to about 800 prisoners. It was possible to increase the number of prisoners because in August the project had become part of the Geilenberg Program, thereby becoming a high-priority project. The composition of the prisoners in Schandelah was varied. The strongest national groups by number were prisoners from the Soviet Union, Poland, Belgium, and France. There were also Dutch, Danish, Czech, Spanish, German, Italian, Greek, and Yugoslav prisoners. The most important positions were given to the Germans.

As the prisoner numbers grew, so did the Schandelah construction site. The construction company Debag was in charge of construction. It was also part of the DASAG conglomerate. The prisoners were used primarily in construction. The labor was largely heavy physical work. For example, the Staatsbahn Work Detachment had to construct an embankment for a planned rail connection. The prisoners had to excavate and level the ground without shovels. Once the embankment had been raised and was ready, the prisoners had to lay the railway sleepers, which weighed between 20 and 25 kilograms (44 to 55 pounds).³ Another detachment had the responsibility to dig shale for an experimental oven. They had to break open the hard ground with picks. There were only a few jobs for qualified men that required less physical labor. One of these was work at the experimental oven. Here it was warm and dry, even if the smell was unpleasant. (Saul Kroner was able to work in another job for qualified people at Schandelah. As a mechanic, he cleaned locomotive parts. A Soviet Jew, Kroner hid his Jewish identity and survived.)⁴

The first two accommodation barracks were built in May 1944 by civilian companies. The third barracks was built by the prisoners in September. There were three-tiered bunk beds in the barracks. In most of them, more than one person slept in each bed. A central reason for the deterioration in conditions was that for a long time there was no water connection. This was only put in place at the end of 1944. Until then, the prisoners had to get water from a source 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) away. The water was seldom adequate to satisfy the thirst of the prisoners, and washing could only be done on Sundays. The person in charge of the kitchen collected the food once a week from the Drütte subcamp. The rations were from the very beginning inadequate for the heavy labor, but they got even worse during the winter.

The first detachment leader in Schandelah was SS-Oberscharführer Ewald Jauch. He was replaced after two months. He was later convicted by a British military court and hanged for his role in the murder of the children at Bullenhuser Damm.⁵ His replacement was SS-Unterscharführer Friedrich Ebsen, whose deputy was SS-Unterscharführer Karl Truschel. Under their command the SS guards turned the camp into one of the most brutal in the whole of the Neuengamme subcamp system. The prisoners lived in constant fear.

The frequent beatings, the inadequate food, and the heavy labor meant that prisoners' strength, in comparison to the

other subcamps, quickly evaporated. Until November 1944, the dead were sent to the Drütte subcamp. The exact number remains unknown. From November 1944, the prisoners cremated the corpses at the edge of the Schandelah building site on the command of the SS. A British investigating commission later exhumed 113 corpses at this site.⁶ It is also known that following a visit by Neuengamme commandant Max Pauly, the company management was able to have 50 sick prisoners transferred back to the main camp in November 1944. They were replaced by healthy prisoners.⁷

The Neuengamme SS station doctor stated that in March 1945 there were 782 men at Schandelah. At the beginning of April, an evacuation transport from the camps at Porta Westfalica reached Schandelah, and the prisoner numbers increased to 1,300. On April 10, all the prisoners were evacuated. In goods wagons they were taken to a reception camp at Wöbelin near Ludwigslust, where they arrived on April 13. Their journey took them via Magdeburg, Stendal, and Wittenberge. On arrival they had to spend two days in the wagons before they were allowed into the overfilled camp on April 15. The camp lacked everything. Many died in Wöbelin before the camp was liberated by American troops on May 2, 1945.

Those responsible at the Schandelah subcamp were charged in January 1947. This was one of the most successful of the trials against perpetrators of a Neuengamme subcamp before a British military court. It ended with five death sentences against the firm's manager, three SS men (including Ebsen and Truschel), and a Kapo. Except for the firm's manager, all the sentences were carried out.⁸

SOURCES The main events, statistical information, and facts on the Schandelah subcamp are detailed in the two essays by Heike Petry, who has inspected all the primary sources and thoroughly examined them. See Heike Petry, "Der DASAG-Konzern unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des KZ Schandelah," in *Zwangsarbeit für Industrie und Rüstung im Hils 1943–1945*, ed. Detlef Creydt (Holzminden, 2001), 4:31–56; Petry, "Betr.: Einsatz von KZ-Häftlingen in Schandelah"—Zwangsarbeit für das Schieferöl-Projekt der Steinöl GmbH," in *Zwangsarbeit und Kriegswirtschaft im Lande Braunschweig 1939–1945*, ed. Gudrun Fiedler and Hans-Ulrich Ludewig (Braunschweig, 2003), pp. 237–256. On the evacuation of Schandelah, see also Katja Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt. Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung. Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen, 2000), 2: 111. For additional information on the shale oil program, see Jan-Erik Schulte, *Zwangsarbeit und Vernichtung: Das Wirtschaftsministerium der SS: Oswald Pohl und das Wirtschaftsverwaltungshauptamt 1933–1945* (Paderborn, 2001); and Hermann Kaienborg, *Die Wirtschaft der SS* (Berlin, 2003).

Compared to other Neuengamme subcamps, the sources for the Schandelah subcamp are excellent. The firm's files regarding the use of the prisoners remains intact and were used by the British investigators. They can be inspected in the Investigation and Trial Files at PRO. There are also written statements by former prisoners that were made for the

British military trial. They are exhaustive and detailed. There is also some early correspondence with the Reichsführer-SS relating to the construction, which is held by the BA-B, Best. NS 19.

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NOTES

1. Letter of the SS-WVHA to the Steinöl GmbH, March 16, 1944, in PRO, WO 309/399.
2. Agreement May 16, 1944, in PRO, WO 311/468, printed in Heike Petry, "Der DASAG-Konzern unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des KZ Schandelah," in *Zwangsarbeit für Industrie und Rüstung im Hils 1943–1945*, ed. Detlef Creydt (Holzminden, 2001), 4:46.
3. Interview with Pierre Verhaegen, in AG-NG, Ng.2.8/1622; Interview with Victor Malbecq, in AG-NG, Ng.2.8/1552-3.
4. Interview with Saul Kroner, in AG-NG, Ng.2.8./1538.
5. Neuengamme Camp Case No. 3, in PRO, WO 235/189.
6. PRO, WO 309/399.
7. Visitor's Report at the Kalk- und Zementwerke, November 11, 1944, in PRO, WO 309/399.
8. PRO, WO 235/283-289.

UELZEN

A U.S. bomber squadron destroyed the Uelzen Goods Railway Yard (Güterbahnhof) on February 22, 1945. Cleanup work began almost immediately. In addition to Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways) task groups (*Bau-Geräte- und Bergungszüge*, construction and salvage trains), Wehrmacht soldiers, units of the Organisation Todt (OT), the Volkssturm, prisoners of war (POWs), and around 500 prisoners from the Neuengamme concentration camp were used in this effort. In the first days of the cleanup, around 5,000 people worked day and night to restore the important rail junction to the north (Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein).

Details on the date that the Neuengamme Uelzen subcamp was established vary by more than six months. Some prisoners speak of a subcamp that existed from October 1944, while others put the date as much later (March 1945).

From the very beginning, the Uelzen subcamp was administered by the Neuengamme concentration camp. It was probably established around October–November as a work detachment, being expanded by the end of February or the beginning of March 1945 to hold 500 men.

Witnesses, including former German prisoners who ended up in the Uelzen subcamp, have stated that it "wasn't a bad camp." According to Neuengamme camp clerk Herbert Schemmel, the camp held a prisoner who, because of his political past and activities in the main camp, was under the threat of death. At the end of March 1945, a larger number of Dutch prisoners were relocated from the Neuengamme camp to Uelzen. To what extent this relocation had to do with *Aktion Bernadotte* remains uncertain.

The prisoners at the Uelzen subcamp, all males, belonged to different European nations that had been conquered by the German Reich during the war. They came from the Soviet Union, Poland, Holland, Belgium, and France. There were only a few Germans who belonged to the various categories of prisoners. According to witnesses, there were no Jewish prisoners. This was later confirmed by investigations of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg.

The prisoners were held on land owned by the Zuckerfabrik Uelzen AG, in a storehouse for raw sugar. The building's windows were covered with barbed wire. There was only external security. There was no permanent security inside the building. The prisoners were fed from the sugar factory's canteen.

Dutch prisoners who arrived later in the camp report that some of the Kapos were brutal. They tell of mistreatment by the guards that often ended in death. These claims were substantiated by preliminary investigations of the ZdL. However, the substantiation suggested manslaughter rather than murder.

The Uelzen subcamp had its own commandant and guards, roughly 20 to 25 persons. Exact numbers could not be confirmed by either the sugar factory's employees or the prisoners.

The camp commandant was an SS officer, someone whom neither the sugar factory employees nor the prisoners could forget. SS-Untersturmführer Otto "Tull" Harder took command of the Neuengamme subcamp Hannover-Ahlem at the end of February or the beginning of March. According to the prisoners, his style of command did not worsen the situation. Harder scarcely made himself visible. His quarters were close to the canteen. According to former prisoners, shortly before the camp was evacuated, he helped around six to seven German prisoners escape.

This rather positive description does not correspond with the course of proceedings and the judgment of the court in the Curio-Haus Trial, April 16, 1947, to May 6, 1947, where he was accused by the British occupying authority. He was charged with crimes against humanity strictly in relation to events at the Hannover-Ahlem subcamp and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. He served only 4 years in the Werl prison and died in 1956.

Witnesses have been unable to clearly identify the guards or whether they were military or paramilitary units. Some witnesses have claimed that at least in the initial stages the guards were SS members. Others said the guards were Landeschütze (territorial guardsmen) or members of the Volkssturm. They reached this conclusion because of the age of the guards and how they behaved: "They were much more relaxed, you could move around more freely, they gave you tobacco."

Some prisoners, however, have stated that they, together with three to four German prisoners, were allowed by the camp commandant to leave the camp a few days before it was evacuated. They fled in a northerly direction (Lüneburg),

constantly in fear of the Feldpolizei (military police) or marauding bands of disintegrated SS units. They reached the area of Bienenbüttels (District Uelzen), where they hid. A few days later, on April 18–19, 1945, they were liberated by British troops moving through the area.

At the beginning of April, the subcamp's prisoners were still working at the Uelzen railway goods yards. However, as the front got closer, the guards and the camp commandant became visibly unsettled and nervous. Their behavior, especially toward German prisoners, changed. They were prepared to exchange information or chat.

Witnesses have reported that they observed a few SS men with explosives threatening the violent death of the prisoners before Uelzen was captured. These threats turned out to be hollow, but on April 17, 1945, a day before Uelzen was captured by British troops, the prisoners were squeezed into cattle trucks by the Volkssturm to be taken back to Neuengamme. Many prisoners died during the transport. According to Dutch witnesses, about 400 prisoners reached the main camp on April 19, 1945, where they were locked in bunkers overnight. On the morning of April 20, 1945, around 150 prisoners left the bunker; their comrades were dead.

The surviving prisoners, together with other prisoners from the main camp, were taken by the SS on April 20, 1945, to Lübeck. Here many of them were put on the freighters *Athen* and *Thielback* and later on the *Cap Arcona*, where they vegetated in inhuman conditions. On May 3, 1945, British fighter bombers attacked the overloaded ships *Cap Arcona* and *Thielback*, fires broke out on the ships, and they sank or capsized. Among the 7,000 who drowned in the Baltic were many prisoners from the Uelzen subcamp. The third ship, *Athen*, which at the time of the attack was in the Neustadt in Holstein harbor and which was not attacked, contained a group of Dutch prisoners from the subcamp. They survived the war and later reported on their experiences in Uelzen.

SOURCES Before Dietrich Banse's book *Das Aussenlager Uelzen des KZ Neuengamme*, (Suhlendorf, 1991), there were no works on the events that relate to the Uelzen subcamp. The camp was only mentioned in regional or local histories.

The basis of this work is a small collection of files in ZdL (now BA-L), which contains the preliminary investigation files into members of the guard (Vermerk der Zentralen Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen vom 2. Februar 1972, Betr.: Das Lager Uelzen, Signatur: IV 404 AR 96/69). The author has also conducted interviews with a number of witnesses: Herr Eichstätt, Herr Mettbach, Herr Schulze, Herr Steinke, Herr Tabor, Herr Wedel, Frau Winke, and Herr Schmidt. These witnesses (former prisoners) were located by the author, three of them were visited in different parts of the FRG in 1989 and interviewed where they lived. After the war, former Dutch prisoners, at the request of state authorities, made official reports on their experiences at the Uelzen subcamp, and some of those reports were obtained from NIOD. These reports expand the information about the camp, particularly

in that during the last days of the war prisoners from other camps were temporarily held in Uelzen. From NIOD: Report of former prisoners from Groningen/Nederlande, June 19, 1946; Report of the former prisoner Tuinema from Groningen, November 21, 1946; Report of former prisoner from Den Helder, June 16, 1946: Signatur: C (16.05) 315.2 In addition, there are numerous details in the documents.

The Deutsche Bundesbahn, legal successor to DR, no longer holds files that could provide details. There is only one report (Zwernemann) that gives details about the material damage to the Uelzen railway goods yards, but it does not refer to the use of concentration camp prisoners. It is held in BA-K.

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VECHELDE

In the summer of 1944, two representatives of the Büssing Nationale-Automobil-Gesellschaft (National Automobile Company, NAG), headquartered in Braunschweig, traveled to the Auschwitz concentration camp in order to examine between 1,000 and 1,200 prisoners for their qualifications, as they were supposed to work at Büssing. Not only did the prisoners have to be skilled laborers, but the physical appearance of the prisoners was important in the selection. The prisoners arrived at Braunschweig between September and November 1944 in three transports. The first transport of 350 prisoners left Auschwitz in the middle of September 1944. As the camp in Braunschweig, at the Büssing-Werke (Schillstrasse) was not yet ready, 100 prisoners were housed in the nearby forced labor camp in order to construct the Büssing camp. The remaining 250 prisoners were transferred to the completed camp at Vechelde. The prisoners here were also supposed to work for Büssing. The second transport arrived in October with about 500 prisoners, of which 150 were sent on to Vechelde. As a result, around 400 prisoners were stationed at Vechelde, about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from Braunschweig. They were housed in a former jute mill on a field between the Spiegelbergallee and Spinnerstrasse. The Braunschweigische Aktiengesellschaft für Jute- und Flachs-Industrie (Braunschweig Company for Jute and Flax Industry) ceased operating the facility in 1926. It remained the owner of the site and permitted other companies to use it as a storage facility and for other purposes. In 1944, the Büssing Company was given the right to use the factory grounds. Büssing was relocating its production facilities to the edge of the town to avoid the increasing number of bombing raids on Braunschweig. This was also the reason why the site was regarded as particularly suitable for the establishment of a prison camp.

The prisoners were mostly Polish Jews who were survivors of the Łódź ghetto. Only the prisoner-functionaries were of German background. The prisoners had to work for Büssing manufacturing replacement parts for trucks, with an emphasis on the manufacture of rear axles for heavy vehicles. The

majority of the prisoners worked in the assembly building, which was equipped with lathes, drills, and milling machines. They were taught by the German skilled tradesmen at Büssing NAG and supervised by them. Former prisoner Adolf Diamant worked together with other prisoners on a lathe, making tank brake drums: "Working on the brake drums was naturally very, very difficult for we prisoners who had been weakened for years. It was a Sisyphus labor to lift the brake drums from the floor, drag them to the lathe, and then to fasten them down; after a while at the lathe, they were removed and when ten brake drums were ready, they had to be taken to the drilling machines, where the appropriate holes were drilled into them."¹

The work was done in two shifts each of 12 hours. The day shift was from 7:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. and the night shift from 7:00 P.M. to 7:00 A.M. Production went without a hitch. Sabotage was almost impossible.² The prisoners have described the German tradesmen as friendly and not violent.

The prisoners were probably housed close to their work in two buildings. They slept on wooden plank beds. Two men had to share a double plank bed. However, unlike the situation in other subcamps, each prisoner had his own blanket. Of great benefit, especially in winter, was that Vechelde prisoners were able to have hot showers. However, food supplies even at the beginning were inadequate. The prisoners were able to draw the attention of Büssing management to this problem, who in turn complained to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) about the inadequate food. According to former prisoners, the rations were then in fact increased. The midday soup ration was doubled, and there was an additional supply of bread.³ Nevertheless, unhygienic conditions and inadequate clothing prevailed in the camp. The biggest problem for the prisoners was the constant attack by lice, which during the entire time at Vechelde could not be avoided.

The commandant of the Braunschweig subcamp (Büssing/Schillstr.) was probably SS-Hauptscharführer Max Kirstein, who was also the base commander of all Braunschweig subcamps. Kirstein's deputy, an SS man called Sebrandke, was in charge of the work detachment in Vechelde.⁴ Otherwise, according to prisoner testimony, the majority of the guards in Vechelde were men between 50 and 60 years old. It is likely that they were discharged Wehrmacht soldiers or came from the Volkssturm.

Compared to other camps, the death rate in Vechelde was low, as there was only a short distance to work, rations were increased, there were warm showers, and there was a low level of violence. Diamant recalls three to four dead.⁵ There are no prisoner graves in Vechelde, and it is likely that the corpses, as in other Braunschweig camps, were taken, until January 1945, to Watenstedt and then to the Braunschweig crematorium.

The SS evacuated the camp at the end of March 1945 before the advancing fronts. The prisoners were first returned to the camp at Schilldenkmal in Braunschweig, where the prisoners also had to work for Büssing NAG. On March 26,

1945, they were taken from there to the Watenstedt/Leinde subcamp near the Braunschweig steel mill. They left this camp on April 7 and were taken via Berlin to the Ravensbrück concentration camp, where they arrived on April 14; 10 days later, they were taken by the SS to the camp at Wöbelin near Ludwigslust, which was liberated by American troops on May 2.

Both the British and German Federal Republic investigated those responsible for the Büssing NAG and the camp at Vechelde, but these investigations resulted in no prosecutions.⁶ Vechelde played an important role in early attempts by forced laborers and concentration camp prisoners to obtain compensation for their forced labor. In 1965 Diamant commenced proceedings against Büssing NAG and on June 20, 1965, was given the right by the Braunschweig District Court (Braunschweiger Landgericht) to claim compensation. While the 177.80 deutschemark (DM) awarded was small, it is one of the few cases in which a German court has awarded former forced laborers compensation.⁷

SOURCES The most detailed study on the Vechelde subcamp is and remains a brochure by Axel Richter. It is based largely on statements by former prisoners, as well as German witnesses. See Axel Richter, *Das Unterkommando Vechelde des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme: Zum Einsatz von KZ-Häftlingen in der Rüstungsproduktion*, ed. Gemeinde Vechelde (Vechelde, 1985). The study has been supplemented by an essay by Karl Liedke, who interviewed former prisoners and examined the files of the Deutsche Sta. in the NStA-Wf. See Karl Liedke, "Destruction Through Work: Lodz Jews in the Büssing Truck Factory in Braunschweig, 1944–1945," *YVS* 30 (2002): 153–179, esp. 157, 162, 165, 174. On the transports, see Katja Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt. Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung: Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen, 2000), 2: 15. On the restitution case of Adolf Diamant, see Benjamin B. Ferencz, *Lohn des Grauens: Die Entschädigung jüdischer Zwangsarbeiter—Ein offenes Kapitel deutscher Nachkriegsgeschichte* (1981; Frankfurt, 1986), p. 214. Ferencz represented Diamant at the court case.

The Deutsche Sta. investigation files are held in the PRO and the BA-L (ZdL), but the information reveals little more than is in the NStA-Wf.

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NOTES

1. Report by Adolf Diamant, September 17, 1984, printed in Richter, Axel *Das Unterkommando Vechelde des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme: Zum Einsatz von KZ-Häftlingen in der Rüstungsproduktion*, ed. Gemeinde Vechelde (Vechelde, 1985), p. 98.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

3. *Ibid.*

4. See the report by Policeman Knigge, in NStA-Wf, 62 Nds Fb 2, no. 445; and the British Investigation Files on the Braunschweig subcamps in PRO, WO 309/1241.

5. Diamant in Richter, *Unterkommando*, p. 57.

6. PRO, WO 309/1241; Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel, 62 Nds Fb 2, no. 445; and BA-L, ZdL, IV 404 AR 111/67.

7. Benjamin B. Ferencz, *Lohn des Grauens: Die Entschädigung jüdischer Zwangsarbeiter—Ein offenes Kapitel deutscher Nachkriegsgeschichte* (1981; Frankfurt, 1986), p. 214.

VERDEN

A satellite camp attached to Neuengamme was created in Verden on January 8, 1945. Inmates deported to the Neuengamme subcamp system were used as laborers in construction, repairs, and various other economic and rearmaments efforts. The creation of satellite camps at work sites diminished transportation time for inmates between the main camp and the outlying sites. At least eight male inmates were transferred from Warberg to Verden to construct the SS training site (*Schulungstätte*) Sachsenhain.¹ They were employed by the Verden Construction Administration of the SS (SS-Bauleitung Verden).

Few other details on the Verden subcamp could be found. According to an attachment to a translated copy of the report filed by SS garrison physician Trzebinski, which lists the SS doctors in charge of overseeing medical care within the Neuengamme camps, Dr. Hintzelmann and his assistant SS-Rottenführer Joerss supervised the health of the Verden inmates.² The archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum contain a photograph of one Frau Horn, the military secretary of SS-Sturmbannführer Blintzek, the commandant of the Verden subcamp. No other information about Blintzek or Horn could be found; further research at the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) holdings of the Berlin Document Center (BDC), SS Officer Personnel files (SSO series), may yield additional information.

The camp was evacuated in April 1945 to an unknown destination, and the fate of the prisoners is unknown.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the Verden camp. Brief information on the existence of the camp in secondary literature is found in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps and includes a reproduction of the quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski. This information is duplicated (except for the opening date of the camp) in the Verden entry in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen, 1979). For similar brief information (opening, closing dates, type of work, and so on), see Ulrich Bauche, *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme, 1938–1945* (Hamburg, 1986).

Primary documentation that provides information on the Verden camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG may yield additional information. The original quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski, which lists SS-Bauleitung Verden and is published in various secondary

sources, can be found at the FZH. The photograph of Frau Horn, the military secretary of Major Blintzek, is located at USHMPA, WS # 46600.

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NOTES

1. Quarterly report filed by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski (March 29, 1945), FGNS-H, Nachlass Hans Schwarz (original report). USHMPA (RG-59.016M, Reel 5) also contains a translated copy from the PRO, WO 235/167 (BAOR trial of Max Pauly and 13 others), with attached information about medical treatment in the various subcamps and attached commandos. The report is also published in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), pp. 123–126.

2. Ibid.

WARBERG

A satellite camp attached to Neuengamme was established in Warberg on June 5, 1944. Inmates deported to the Neuengamme subcamp system were used as laborers in construction, repairs, and various other economic and rearmaments efforts. The creation of satellite camps at work sites diminished transportation time for inmates between the main camp and the outlying sites. Between 8 and 10 male inmates were transferred from the Braunschweig Truppenwirtschaftslager subcamp to Warberg to continue construction work for the SS. The satellite operated until January 8, 1945, when the inmates were transferred to another satellite camp in Verden, northwest of Hannover.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the satellite camp in Warberg. Brief information on the existence of the camp in secondary literature is found in Hermann Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), which covers a broader analysis of the Neuengamme subcamps. This information is duplicated in Ulrich Bauche, *Arbeit und Vernichtung: Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme, 1938–1945* (Hamburg, 1986).

Primary documentation that provides information on the Warberg camp is equally scarce. Further research at the AG-NG may yield additional information.

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WATENSTEDT

In August 1939 the Reichswerke “Hermann Göring” (RWHG) and the Army High Command (OKH) formed the “Stahlwerke Braunschweig GmbH” in order to process steel produced from rolling mills. The factory was located to the southwest of Salzgitter-Watenstedt, close to the “Hütte Braunschweig.” The steelworks in Braunschweig produced tank tracks, equipment for torpedoes, barrels for guns, bombs, and grenades. By 1943 most of the production facilities were complete.

Directly opposite the village of Leinde was a camp complex of five individual camps, in which between 1941 and the early summer of 1944 Eastern workers (Ostarbeiter), both male and female, as well as civilian workers from Belgium, Italy, and Hungary were held. From the middle of May 1944 the camps were converted into the Watenstedt subcamp. A small part was retained as a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp.

Prisoners from the Drütte subcamp were used to do the conversion. They did carpentry work and constructed the electric fence.¹

The first transport of prisoners arrived from Neuengamme in the Watenstedt subcamp on May 27, 1944.² Additional transports in the middle of June and August increased the number of prisoners in the men’s camp to around 2,000.³ The SS guards were accommodated in the middle part of the camp. At the beginning of July 1944, the prisoners moved into the large area of the camp that consisted of stone barracks.

The first female transport arrived in Salzgitter from the Ravensbrück concentration camp on July 7, 1944.⁴ Altogether, there were around 300 women.⁵ There were additional transports on August 28⁶ and October 19, 1944.⁷ At the end of March 1945, there were 729 women in the Watenstedt subcamp.⁸

Male prisoners who could no longer work were returned to the Neuengamme main camp, and the women were returned to Ravensbrück.⁹ There were also transfers direct to other Neuengamme subcamps. In December 1944, a group of French women was transferred to Hannover. The number of the prisoners who went through the Watenstedt subcamp is much higher than the recorded number of prisoners, 2,000 men and 1,000 women.

The largest groups of prisoners were French, Soviet, and Polish political prisoners. At the beginning of 1945, the prisoner composition changed because, with the dissolution of the Braunschweig subcamps, a large number of Jewish prisoners were brought to the Watenstedt camp.

The prisoners worked in the Braunschweig steelworks, about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the camp. The prisoners walked to work. They worked in factory buildings 16 and 17. Here were the production lines for grenade and shell casings of different calibers and weight. The large presses that produced from steel blocks the hollow casings for shells and grenades were in factory building 16. In factory building 17, the mechanical work on the shell casings was done. Men and women from the Watenstedt subcamp worked in both factory buildings. Only a few prisoners were able to obtain work as toolmakers, avoiding the otherwise heavy labor. In the late summer and autumn of 1944, around 80 to 100 concentration camp prisoners were put to work in extracting iron ore from the Haverlahwiese mine in Gebhardtshagen. Accompanied by SS guards, they walked to and from the mine, 6 kilometers away (3.7 miles).¹⁰

The living conditions in the Watenstedt subcamp were similar to those in other subcamps. Clothing, hygienic conditions, and food were completely inadequate. The clothing for

women was totally unsuitable. Due to the lack of prisoner clothing, the women were given civilian clothes that were marked with paint.¹¹ The discrepancy between the food supply and the demands of the heavy physical work led to many accidents and illnesses. The two infirmaries were constantly overcrowded, and there was almost a complete lack of medicine and bandages. Medical care was practically nonexistent.¹²

Factory building 16 was heavily damaged on January 14, 1945, during an air raid, and the production of munitions was disrupted. The prisoners then had to work in the open air, cleaning up and undertaking repair work. If the machines were still working, they had to operate the machines.

At the beginning of 1945, the Watenstedt subcamp became a sort of holding camp for prisoners in the Braunschweig region who could no longer work. From the end of January, transports arrived with sick prisoners who could no longer work from the subcamps at Schillstrasse and SS-Reitschule (Riding School) in Braunschweig. The increasing number of such transports can be seen as the preliminary step to the final evacuation of subcamps in the region. The poor living conditions and the use of sick prisoners on the production lines are reflected in the increasing death rate from February in the Watenstedt camp.¹³ There are 526 recorded deaths.¹⁴ Most of the dead are buried in Jammertal Cemetery in Salzgitter-Lebenstedt.

At the beginning of April, the SS took the last prisoners in the Schillstrasse camp to the Watenstedt subcamp. The numbers in the camp increased dramatically. In addition to the original 2,000 men and 1,000 women in the Watenstedt subcamp, there were now 800 men from the Schillstrasse camp and, according to survivors' estimates, around 200 women from the SS-Reitschule subcamp. The conditions were catastrophic because the camp had not been built to hold so many prisoners. Many of the prisoners were no longer put to work and remained in the barracks. In the spring of 1945, the vice president of the Swedish Red Cross, Graf Folke Bernadotte, and Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler agreed on measures to rescue Danish and Norwegian prisoners. This agreement had unintended consequences on the Watenstedt subcamp. It was agreed that a collection camp would be established for 5,000 Scandinavian prisoners in the Neuengamme concentration camp. To create the space, sick and weak prisoners of different nationalities were taken to the subcamps in Hannover and the Watenstedt subcamp.

The SS began the dissolution of the Watenstedt subcamp on April 7, 1945. The evacuation consisted of at least two trains, but it is not impossible that there was a third transport. All the trains stopped at the provisional platform close to the camp. The survivors state that, as with other subcamps, the prisoners were still working on the day the camp was evacuated. The sick and weakened prisoners were taken from the infirmary and the protective block and put onto one train. The others were put on another transport. There must have been roll calls before the trains departed. A list of prisoners, probably compiled after one such roll call, has survived.¹⁵ It has surnames, first names,

prisoner numbers, birthdates, grounds for imprisonment, nationality, birthplace, and date of arrival in the camp. The lists hold around 2,000 names. An examination of the names reveals that neither women, prisoners from the infirmary, nor those who were in the protective block were on the list. The medical orderly, French prisoner Jean Bizien, stated that these prisoners were loaded during the night of April 8, 1945, into a special train. Around 80 dead were left on the platform.¹⁶

It would seem from the various reports that there were around 3,000 prisoners on a train. The reference to the numbers for the two transports also indicates another transport because at the time of the evacuation there were more than 5,000 prisoners in the camp. If one compares the composition of the transports, there is a unified picture. However, the trains' destinations remain conjecture. On April 15, 1945, one transport was in the vicinity of Berlin.¹⁷ This transport probably arrived the following day at Ravensbrück. Survivors later stated that around April 24–25, they were in Ravensbrück. Those who could march were driven in a westerly direction and reached the Wöbbelin subcamp at the beginning of May, which became a collecting camp for thousands of prisoners in the evacuation transports. The women left the camp and marched in a north-westerly direction. Another group was liberated in the Malchow camp while heading in a westerly direction.

The Watenstedt subcamp is referred to in the sources by a number of different names. The name "Stahlwerke Braunschweig" often results in the camp being seen as part of the Braunschweig region. It was only with the erection of a memorial stone and plaque at the camp's location in May 1991 that the camp has been known in research work as Watenstedt/Leinde.

SOURCES There are sporadic references on the Watenstedt subcamp in a number of publications, often one chapter focusing on a particular theme. There is no one work that focuses on the camp. Gudrun Pischke in her book *"Europa arbeitet bei den Reichswerken . . .": Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem in Salzgitter* (Salzgitter, 1995) describes the camp and its development. Gerd Wysocki in his book *"Arbeit für den Krieg"—Herrschaftsmechanismen in der Rüstungsindustrie des Dritten Reiches* (Braunschweig, 1992) focuses on the use of concentration camp labor in the armaments industry. The evacuation of the camp is focused on in Elke Zacharias's essay "Die Räumung der KZ Aussenlager in der Region Salzgitter/Braunschweig," in *"Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung": Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, ed. Detlef Garbe and Carmen Lange (Hamburg, 2005). See also Michael Grill, "Neuengamme war die erste Etappe auf dem Weg in die Heimat"—Das Skandinavienlager in Neuengamme und die Rückführung der skandinavischen Häftlinge mit den 'Weissen Bussen,'" in the same volume. In the author's book *Ein Ort mit Geschichte: Der "Ausländerfriedhof" Jammertal in Salzgitter-Lebenstedt* (Salzgitter, 2006), there is published for the first time the names of all prisoners who are known to have died in the Watenstedt subcamp.

There are only scattered archival records on Watenstedt. The archive of the Stahlwerke Braunschweig GmbH, a sub-

sidiary of RWHG, has not survived. There are a number of sources in BA-K. The IPN holds the transport lists, which give details on the number of prisoners. The AG-R holds the arrival and discharge books, with a particular focus on the female camp at Watenstedt. Also worthy of mention are numerous memoirs and interviews in the AG-Dr, AG-NG, AG-W, AG-R, YVA, and VHF. A published testimony on this camp is Jean Bizien, *Sous l'habit rayé: À chacun son destin* (Brest, 1987).

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NOTES

1. Hans Wolder Interview, 1993, AG-Dr.
2. Erinnerungsbericht Walter Riga, 1992; Interview Paul De Bievre, 1992, both in AG-Dr.
3. Jean Bizien, *Sous l'habit rayé: À chacun son destin* (Brest, 1987), p. 73.
4. Françoise Robin Interview, 1991, AG-Dr.
5. Madame Masson Bericht, AG-R, RA Bd. 30/547.
6. "Überstellung von Russinnen und Ukrainerinnen," in *ibid.*, RA Bd. 47.
7. Überstellungsliste von KL Ravensbrück nach KL Neuengamme. Arbeitslager: Watenstedt-Braunschweig, in IPN, KL Ravensbrück, Sygn. 17.
8. "Vierteljährlicher Bericht des SS-Standortarztes des KL Hamburg-Neuengamme vom 29.3.1945," in StA-N, KV-Anlage, 2169-PS.
9. Rücküberstellung Nr. 30 am 19. Oktober 1944 KL Neuengamme, Arbeitslager. Watenstedt, in IPN, KL Ravensbrück, Sygn. 73.
10. SS-Wachmann Hugo Behnke, letter to his wife, September 19, 1944, AG-Dr.
11. Robin Interview, 1991; and Therese Boudier Interview, 1992, in AG-Dr.
12. Walter Riga Interview, 1992; Erinnerungsbericht Jean Bizien, n.d., in AG-Dr.
13. Friedhofskartei, in Ast-Salz.
14. AG-NG, Die Toten, CD 2005.
15. Transportliste, in IPN, KL Ravensbrück, Sygn. 52.
16. Erinnerungsbericht Jean Bizien, n.d., in AG-Dr.
17. SS-Wachmann Hugo Behnke, letter to his wife, April 16, 1945, in AG-Dr.

WEDEL

The Wedel subcamp, which existed between September and November 1944, was located in the small town of Wedel, Holstein, on a street later known as Rissener Strasse. During its existence it was occupied by both female and male prisoners. The camp lay outside the town in a rural environment of fields and forests. It was on an unimproved road, between Wedel and the Hamburg city border. It was built on part of an area created in 1943 called "Marinesonderanlage Wenzel" in Wedel. By the spring of 1943, Grossadmiral Erich Raeder, Oberbefehlshaber of the German Navy, had already planned the construction of submarine bunkers as new bombproof wharves on

the Elbe River at Wedel. The bunkers were to hold 12 submarines. The navy planned to build a supply depot and naval base for 1,000 people. These camp barracks were located in the area between what was later to become Vossnagen and Industriestrasse, as well as Feldstrasse and Rissener Strasse. Construction of the submarine bunker was often stopped due to labor and material shortages that occurred during 1943 and 1944. The supply camp, however, was ready at the beginning of 1944 and included 50 wooden barracks. Since the construction of the submarine bunker facility continued to be delayed, the supply barracks were used at first to house prisoners of war (POWs). In the late summer of 1944, the northeastern section of the POW camp was separated from the rest of the camp, to house prisoners from the Neuengamme concentration camp. The Wedel camp consisted of 12 barracks for the prisoners, a kitchen, a medical barrack, and a headquarters for the guards.

In all probability, the Wedel subcamp was first occupied on September 13, 1944, by 500 Czech and Hungarian Jewish women. They came from the Neuengamme concentration camp's Hamburg-Geilenberg (Dessauer Ufer) subcamps. They had been sent there from Auschwitz in the middle of June 1944. According to some survivors, the female prisoners were primarily used to remove rubble caused by the bombing. The women were taken each day, either by foot or by truck, to the Elbe River, where they were taken by boat to Hamburg-Teufelsbrück. There, they removed rubble, loaded and unloaded trucks with bricks, and were engaged in heavy manual labor to help fortify the city. According to the survivors, a few women were put to work in Wedel. They had to help farmers with the harvest in the autumn of 1944.

Lagerkommandant Walter Kümmel commanded the Wedel subcamp. At the end of 1933, as a 28-year-old, Kümmel applied to join the Allgemeine-SS. He was accepted at the beginning of 1934. He joined the National Socialist Party in 1937. He volunteered for the Waffen-SS in April 1941 and was given basic military training. However, because of health problems, he was assigned to a Wachbattalion at Sachsenhausen. After a few months, he was transferred as a telephone operator to the battalion's operation room at the Neuengamme concentration camp. Kümmel took part in two noncommissioned officers' courses during his service at Neuengamme, where he received intensive military training. His training was completed with his promotion to Unterscharführer on December 1, 1943. He was appointed Blockführer in the "protective custody" camp of the Neuengamme main camp. After his promotion from Blockführer to second Rapportführer of Neuengamme in February 1944, he was transferred to Kiel as the commander of a bomb disposal squad, which also was made up of prisoners from Neuengamme. Following the dissolution of the squad in the late summer of 1944, Kümmel received the order to take over the command of the Wedel subcamp, which was composed of a group of about 500 female prisoners. The female prisoners were under Kümmel's command, at first in the camp at Wedel and subsequently in the Hamburg-Eidelstedt subcamp for women.

The British held Kümmel as a POW following the capitulation. In 1946, he and 13 others from the Neuengamme concentration camp were accused of manslaughter and the mistreatment of Allied nationals. They were sentenced by the Supreme British Military Court to 10 years in prison. He was convicted because of his role as the second Rapportführer in the Neuengamme main camp and not for his actions as commander of the Wedel camp or the Eidelstedt camp. Kümmel was released early from prison in 1952. Kümmel, who was suspected of murdering two babies in Eidelstedt, was investigated for this crime only in 1970 by the Hamburg State Prosecutor. On August 30, 1982, the Hamburger Landgericht (Regional Court) convicted Kümmel as an accessory to murder. However, as the statute of limitations for such crimes committed during the Nazi period applied, Kümmel was acquitted on all charges.

SS female wardens guarded the female prisoners in the Wedel camp, and retired customs officials provided external security. There are survivors' reports that unanimously testify to the brutality of these women. The surviving files of the customs officials reveal that 20 men, in rotating shifts, were responsible for the security of the camp.

According to the unanimous reports of the survivors, the Jewish women left the Wedel camp on the evening of September 27, 1944, in the direction of Hamburg-Eidelstedt. The prisoners are able to remember the date because that evening was the end of the Jewish holiday, Yom Kippur, because most were orthodox Jews and they had fasted. Consequently, the women were weak and ravenous and had expected to receive their evening soup. Before the soup was distributed, however, the women were evacuated. Because of the enormous physical effort required to transfer the camp, the evening has remained etched in the women's memory.

Sometime in the middle of October 1944, probably on October 17, 1944, about 500 male prisoners were housed for approximately five weeks in the Wedel subcamp. These prisoners were primarily from Russia, Poland, Austria, and the Netherlands. Some of them came from the small Dutch village of Putten in Geldern. The prisoners had to dig tank ditches for a planned line of fortification around the city of Hamburg and had to do heavy manual labor in fortification work in the Silldorf district of Hamburg. The Wedel camp for men existed for a little more than one month. According to surviving documents, 27 prisoners died. Their deaths were the result of the work conditions, particularly as the prisoners often had to stand for hours in cold water, digging tank ditches, and because of the lack of adequate food and warm clothing. Some of them were buried at the Wedel cemetery. The Wedel subcamp was most likely dissolved on November 20, 1944. The male prisoners were transported to Meppen-Versen, also a subcamp of Neuengamme. From there the men were also put to work digging tank ditches.

SOURCES This article on the Wedel subcamp is based on the following works: Christus Kirchengemeinde Schulau Wedel, *KZ Wedel: Das vergessene Lager* (Wedel, 1983); Oliver Wlekin-

ski, "Marinesonderanlage Wenzel: Ein Bauprojekt des III. Reiches in Wedel (Holstein) 1943–1945," in *Heimatverband für den Kreis Pinneberg von 1961* (Pinneberg, 1990), pp. 137–144; Hans Ellger, "Die Häftlingsgruppe der Jüdinnen am Beispiel des Frauenaussenlagers Hamburg-Eidelstedt," in *Häftlinge in KZ Neuengamme: Verfolgungserfahrungen, Häftlingsolidarität und nationale Bindung*, ed. KZ Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Hamburg, 1999), pp. 144–157; and Ellger, "Ein Barackenlager am Friedrichshulder Weg—ein Frauenaussenlager des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme," in *Fischkistendorf Lurup: Siedlungsprojekte, Schrebergärten, Bauwagen und Lager von 1920 bis 1950*, ed. Anke Schulz (Hamburg, 2002), pp. 104–115.

The AG-NG has records of a few interviews and memoirs of both female and male prisoners that relate to the Wedel camp. The author conducted a number of interviews with female prisoners. However, the female prisoners' recollections of their time at Wedel are not particularly strong, not least because they were only at Wedel for about two weeks. The court documents relating to Krümmel's trial are in AStaLG-H. They provide information about his career and that of the customs' officials. Records relating to the deceased male prisoners are kept at the Friedhofsverwaltung der Stadt Wedel and the Christuskirchengemeinde in Schulau, Wedel.

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WILHELMSHAVEN-BANTER WEG

[AKA KRIEGSMARINERWERFT]

The Wilhelmshaven subcamp existed from September 1944 to the beginning of April 1945. The camp was located on a site on Banter Weg, which was owned by the Kriegsmarinewerft (Naval Shipyards). It was located close to the shipyards. The barracks camp had existed for a long time. It could accommodate 500 men. The commandant of the Neuengamme concentration camp, Max Pauly, demanded that those in charge at the shipyards ensure that 1,000 prisoners could be held in the camp. The concentration camp prisoners were to replace 600 workers who in the summer of 1944 were being relocated to Hamburg. It remains unclear whether this initiative originated from the shipyard management or Otto Merker, head of the Hauptausschuss Schiffbau (Main Shipbuilding Committee).

At the beginning of September, a transport from the Neuengamme concentration camp with 999 prisoners reached the Wilhelmshaven subcamp. The first transport consisted of around 600 French and 200 Soviet prisoners. There were other prisoners from a number of European countries and around 20 German prisoners who held the most important prisoner-functionary positions. The prisoner composition changed with the arrival of further transports. Between October 1944 and January 1945, there are thought to have been another five transports, each with between 60 and 200 prisoners. At least two transports are thought to have returned to the main camp with sick prisoners. The largest group of new prisoners was 250 to 300 Hungarian Jews.

The camp was in a relatively good condition when the prisoners arrived. The prisoners were accommodated in four barracks, each with 13 rooms. There were around 1,000 beds, so that in the beginning each prisoner had his own bed. Later the prisoners had to share beds, rotating in day and night shifts. In theory, the barracks could be heated via a central heating system fired with coke, but the camp administration forbade its use. The camp was secured with a double electrical fence and five guard towers.

Members of the French SS were responsible for security in the first two months. They were soon replaced by a company of around 200 men from the naval artillery. (Around 20 naval soldiers were later questioned by a German state prosecutor. None of them could recall brutality or mistreatment.)¹ Following the withdrawal of the French SS, there remained five SS men in the camp. The commandant of the Wilhelmshaven camp was periodically replaced: within eight months there were four different commanders. From September to November 1944, Otto Thümmel was in command. He was a Wehrmacht officer, who had probably ended up in the concentration camp following a war injury. Survivors have described Thümmel as the best of the commandants because he stopped the SS and the prisoner elite from taking bribes and stealing and allowed the “simple” prisoners relatively generous rations. In addition, Thümmel did not beat the prisoners. A French prisoner claimed in the Curio Haus Trial that Thümmel was replaced on the insistence of Pauly because he thought the Wilhelmshaven camp was too humane.² His successor, Rudolf Günther, was an SS man who had been stationed in Neuengamme since 1940. He was commandant for only a few days because the navy insisted that the commandant be a naval officer. The last two commanders were Büscher and SS-Hauptsturmführer Schwanke. Because the navy persisted with its demand, it is likely that the two were injured officers. Of the other SS personnel in the camp, the Rapportführer SS-Unterscharführer Gustav Jepsen should be mentioned. Jepsen served as the commandant’s deputy. A Dane, with a German background, he had taken part in the Russian campaign as a member of the SS and was noted in Wilhelmshaven for his particular brutality. He was sentenced to death in a postwar British military trial and executed in 1947 in Hameln.³

Several, mostly German prisoners in functionary positions are thought to have mistreated the prisoners. The camp elder, Alfred Wagner, was shot by the SS. His successor, Walter Besch, is accused by several survivors of mistreating and killing prisoners: “He [a French prisoner] was accused of stealing cigarettes from Besch. I saw how Besch ordered him to squat. . . . Then Besch said to me: ‘You can fill out his death certificate.’”⁴ Another German Kapo, Heinrich Sürig (a political prisoner and German Social Democratic Party [SPD] member), was charged in a postwar British trial and sentenced to 18 months’ imprisonment.⁵

The majority of the prisoners worked in the naval shipyard in its workshops. They were separated from the rest of the yard by barbed wire. Around 80 shipyard employees were required to train and supervise the prisoners. They could enter

the prisoner area on presentation to the SS of a special identity card. The prisoners worked on technically challenging work and had to be trained. Instead of the usual two months, the foremen had only two weeks to train the prisoners. The prisoners worked in the following areas: the machine construction shop, lathes, mechanics, tinsmiths, carpentry, and rope walk (*Tampenmacherei*). The day shift was from 7:00 A.M. (sometimes from 6:15 A.M.) to 6:00 P.M., and the night shift was from 6:15 P.M. to 6:00 A.M.⁶ A smaller detachment was used to clean up bomb rubble from the shipyard and in the city of Wilhelmshaven.

Despite the relatively good working conditions for a subcamp, as the detachment worked in a covered area, the death rate in Wilhelmshaven was relatively high. One reason for the high death rate was that some in the shipyard management were fanatical National Socialists and slave drivers. For that reason, two of the men were charged after the war before a British military trial and sentenced to long periods of imprisonment. The manager of the shipyard, director and engineer (with the rank of an admiral) Hans Horstmann, and the manager of the prisoners’ work area, director and engineer Gottfried Drossen, were sentenced by a British military court to 15 years in jail but were released in 1952.⁷ Both were observed by wharf employees beating prisoners. In response to a comment by an employee on the weak state of the prisoners, Horstmann had replied that “if they fall over we can always get fresh prisoners from Neuengamme.”⁸ Drossen went even further: “The prisoners are going to disappear in any case. . . . They must be killed, liquidated! When there is nothing else left we will kill them with a hammer!”⁹

According to the Neuengamme SS-Standortarzt report on March 25, 1945, there were 1,129 men in the Wilhelmshaven subcamp. A few days later, between April 3 and 5, 1945, the camp was dissolved and the prisoners evacuated. Around 400 sick prisoners were loaded onto a train. The rail cars were struck by an Allied air raid on April 7 in Lüneburg, killing around 250 prisoners. Of the survivors, half were transported the next day to Bergen-Belsen. The remaining prisoners were murdered by the SS on April 11 in Lüneburg. On April 5, around 700 prisoners began one of the longest death marches of all Neuengamme subcamps. The column arrived on April 16 in Hamburg, after going through Bremen and Horneburg. As preparations were already under way in Neuengamme to evacuate the camp, the SS decided that the Wilhelmshaven prisoners should march to Sandbostel, where they arrived on April 18.¹⁰ Some of the prisoners from Western European countries, including a few prisoners from the Wilhelmshaven subcamp, were evacuated from the Sandbostel camp because of the catastrophic conditions there. They arrived in Kiel on April 25. There they were loaded onto ships. On board, they learned of the cessation of hostilities on May 8, 1945.¹¹

It is thought that at least 234 prisoners died in the Wilhelmshaven subcamp. A list shows the numbers as 125 Frenchmen, 32 Soviets, 25 Jews, 16 Poles, 15 Italians, 8 Belgians, 7 Yugoslavs, 2 Germans, 1 Czech, and 3 of unidentified nationality.¹² A large number of prisoners in the two transports of

the sick to the main camp also died. At least 300 prisoners died during the evacuation of the camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources useful for this subcamp are Hartmut Büsing and Klaus Zegenhagen, “Einmal werden froh wir sagen: Heimat, Du bist wieder mein!” in *KZ in Wilhelmshaven—Rüstringer und Wilhelmshavener im KZ* (Wilhelmshaven, 1987); Katharina Hertz-Eichenrode, ed., *Ein KZ wird geräumt: Häftlinge zwischen Vernichtung und Befreiung; Die Auflösung des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager durch die SS im Frühjahr 1945*, 2 vols. (Bremen, 2000), 2: 115.

The basic source for the history of the subcamp is the extensive investigation and trial files in the postwar British military trial against the guards and work personnel at the subcamp and the naval shipyard. A few statements of former prisoners are held in AG-NG. As cited in Büsing and Zegenhagen, the relevant files are held in PRO, WO 235/296 and 297. The proceedings are recorded as JAG 222. It took place between February 4 to March 6, 1946, in the Hamburg Curio Haus. Present research indicates that Gottfried and Drossen were the only employers convicted in one of the British Neuengamme trials.

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NOTES

1. BA-L (formerly ZdL), IV 404 AR-Z 159/73.
2. Statement by Henry le Druillenc in AG-NG, Aussenlager Wilhelmshaven, April 6, 1984.
3. BA-L, ZdL IV 404 AR-Z 159/73.
4. Cited in Hartmut Büsing and Klaus Zegenhagen, “Einmal werden froh wir sagen: Heimat, Du bist wieder mein!” in *KZ in Wilhelmshaven—Rüstringer und Wilhelmshavener im KZ* (Wilhelmshaven, 1987),” p. 92.
5. AG-NG, Aussenlager Wilhelmshaven, April 6, 1984.
6. Büsing and Zegenhagen, “Einmal werden froh wir sagen,” p. 64; and the statement of a French prisoner in AG-NG, 2.8/222.
7. AG-NG, Aussenlager Wilhelmshaven, April 6, 1984.
8. Cited by Büsing and Zegenhagen, “Einmal werden froh wir sagen,” p. 63.
9. Cited in *ibid.*, p. 64.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
11. See the statement by the French prisoner le Pajolec, in *ibid.*, pp. 106–109.
12. As listed in *ibid.* p. 93.

WITTENBERGE

The Wittenberge subcamp was formed in August 1942 and lasted until February 1945. It was the first Neuengamme subcamp established within an industrial facility.

The Kurmärkische Zellwolle und Zellulose AG (KZZW) in Wittenberge an der Elbe—one of five firms in the Phrix Group—was established between 1938 and 1940 with significant state support. The company was to produce a synthetic

celluloid wool to replace foreign textile imports. The product was produced in Wittenberge from straw from which cellulose was extracted as a by-product. As early as 1940, foreign civilian laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) were working in the KZZW. By the end of 1944, they comprised more than 60 percent of the labor force. Starting in February 1942, Polish Jews worked at the factory for a few months. From August 1942 on, concentration camp prisoners from Neuengamme were also working at the factory, building a new facility from which yeast could be derived as a by-product, yeast being an intermediate product from which cellulose could be extracted.

The Polish Jews were given food in such insufficient quantities that they soon lost their strength. By August 20, 1942, the factory had sent 160 of the 300 Jewish laborers to Poland because of their complete physical exhaustion—they were sent to a certain death. The first 150 concentration camp prisoners that arrived on August 28 from Neuengamme were quartered in a temporary camp and put to work the very next day. They were exclusively Soviet prisoners. On January 6, there arrived an additional 15 prisoners from Mauthausen and 150 from Neuengamme; 4 were already dead by the time they arrived. The remainder were so weak that they died in the following weeks.¹ When SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) chief Oswald Pohl inspected the factory on March 4, 1942, in the company of Ernährungsinspekteur der Waffen-SS Ernst Günther Schenck, he promised to send more prisoners. From then on, weak prisoners who could no longer work were replaced by new laborers. In July 1943 the subcamp held about 420 prisoners. At the end of August 1944, another 150 new prisoners arrived from Neuengamme. From that time the number of prisoners stayed constant at around 500.

There are scarcely any memoirs or other sources about the first few months of the camp. It would seem that the prisoners were mostly used to construct the new yeast factory. The poor food, clothing, and accommodation meant that the prisoners gradually lost their strength and that their output declined. The camp commandant Dreimann was infamous for his brutal mistreatment and sadistic torture. According to witnesses in the British Neuengamme Trial in 1946, he was dismissed because of his brutality in 1943; his mistreatment of the prisoners was such that they could no longer work. By the end of the year, 10 of the 150 prisoners were dead.

The health of the 165 concentration camp prisoners who arrived at the beginning of January 1943 in Wittenberge from the Neuengamme and Mauthausen concentration camps also suffered terribly. Of the 300 prisoners, 26 died in January, 16 in February, and 16 again in March. The cause of death is mostly described as “debilitation” (*Entkräftung*). Nevertheless, the death rate remained below the overall death rate for the Neuengamme concentration camp, where in January it was more than 10 percent and in February and March just under 10 percent. Sick prisoners and those who could no longer work were returned from Wittenberge to the main camp. However, those who remained were so weak that the con-

struction company Grün & Bilfinger was constantly complaining about prisoners incapable of working.

The conditions improved a little from the spring of 1943. There was less violence and mistreatment once Dreimann had been dismissed. It is true that the camp commandant Kierstein beat the prisoners, but in comparison to other concentration camps, Wittenberge remains in the memory of the prisoners as relatively bearable. The camp commandant, Major, who was in charge in the last few months, gave the camp elder Gräfe a free hand. His fellow prisoners have judged him positively.² By maintaining order and effective organization, he successfully kept the KZZW's management happy and was able to achieve bearable treatment for his fellow prisoners and sometimes even favors. The civilian foremen in Phrix mostly behaved correctly. Only a few Kapos have been characterized as "rather brutal and dumb."

From 1943 on, food was more or less adequate. Because of the heavy labor, the prisoners were allowed to have packages sent from relatives. In the canteen the prisoners could buy with bonus chits (company money) cigarettes and occasionally some pickled vegetables, fruit, broth, fish, or caramel beer.³

The accommodation was the usual, poorly heated wooden barracks. Important tradesmen were given better quarters in special rooms. The Neuengamme commandant Pauly recommended to the company representatives when he visited Wittenberge in July 1, 1944, that they only invest the bare minimum in the accommodation, as "today material should not be wasted." Each prisoner had a bed with a straw sack and a blanket. It was only in the last weeks of the winter of 1944–1945 that there were insufficient blankets for all, with the result that some prisoners had to sleep two to a bed. In 1943, the KZZW built additional barracks, a kitchen, a wash barracks with a water connection, and other facilities. However, things were very primitive. Often no water came from the taps, and underwear was only rarely changed; vermin were everywhere. Diarrhea was widespread. However, there were no epidemics, and scarcely anyone was seriously ill. Work accidents seem to have declined from 1943.

Initially there were no trained medical personnel in the infirmary. It would seem that from the middle of 1943 an imprisoned doctor, the Pole Jan Gruchalski, took over medical care in the camp. His only bandages were made of crepe paper, and he had scarcely any medicines. There was little he could do to help.

The Wittenberge prisoners were mostly used on construction sites. Later they were used to assemble machines and other production facilities. When working on the construction sites, they were under the supervision of the construction companies including Grün & Bilfinger and Philipp Holzmann. Particularly difficult was the Strohkommmando, where the prisoners had to unload, stack, and transport bales of straw. Often the prisoners were used for other transport and auxiliary work. After the bombing raids in 1944, they were used to clean up the rubble and to detonate unexploded bombs. In the winter of 1944–1945, they were used for the first time on the production lines. From January 1945 on, 50

concentration camp prisoners worked on the production of yeast and related departments. The work shifts were established according to guidelines of the WVHA. In effect there were no limits, and the prisoners worked according to the demands of the business. Officially Sundays were a rest day; however, during Sunday mornings the prisoners had to clean up the camp. In the last months of 1944–1945, the detachment was increasingly used for cleanup and transport work.

From 1943 on, a few prisoners received supplementary food bonuses (camp money) between 50 Reichspfennig (RPF) and 4 Reichsmark (RM) and later up to 8 RM per week. Hygiene improved, as did the food, with the result that the number of dead in Wittenberge declined in 1943, but this was not necessarily the case in the last years.

The Soviet prisoners formed a large group until the very end. Others included Poles, Dutch, Belgians, and Danes. The confined size of the detachment made communication and solidarity easier than in the large camps such as Neuengamme, regardless of the language barriers. It was possible for groups to help each other. Despite bans, it was not too difficult to make contact with civilian, POW, and other foreign workers in the factory. While they were working, the prisoners were almost exclusively under the control of the civilian foremen. It was forbidden to speak "more than the absolute minimum." Nevertheless, some prisoners used such contacts to get civilian clothes and to escape. Most seem to have been recaptured.

Beginning in 1944, the factory was hit several times during air raids. The concentration camp prisoners were used to fight the fires, rescue the wounded, and clean up.

In February 1945, it became obvious that the Allies would soon reach Wittenberge. The Neuengamme main camp telephoned the factory and informed it that since the firm no longer needed the prisoners, it should send them back. Neuengamme was not prepared to accept the 500 prisoners, however, because the camp was already overfilled. In the end, the WVHA ordered Neuengamme to take the prisoners.

SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in the *Erinnerungsberichte von J. Budkiewicz*, February 26, 1964, K. Gräfe, n.d., J. Jaroch, August 30, 1966, W. Lenz, December 10, 1961, K. Pippel, June 17, 1966, and A.J. Woitenko, n.d., which are found in FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz, Bestand Aussenlager Wittenberge. The Betriebsarchiv of KZZW is available at BLHA-(P). Some hearsay testimony by witnesses A. Lüdke, H. Schemmel, and E. Saalwächter is available in PRO, WO 235.

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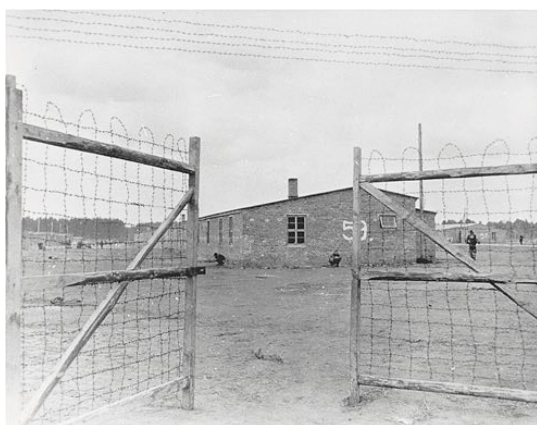
1. PRO, WO 235, JAG 145, A. Lüdke Statement (vol. 1, Part 1, p. 29), H. Schemmel (Part 5, p. 26), and E. Saalwächter (Part 5, p. 61).
2. See Jerzy Budkiewicz, Bericht, February 26, 1964, FZH, Nachlass Hans Schwarz, AL Wittenberge.
3. Betriebsarchiv der KZZW, BLHA-(P), 62:122.

WÖBBELIN

A satellite camp of Neuengamme was established in Wöbbelin on February 12, 1945. Unlike other subcamps in the Neuengamme system, it was not intended to house prisoners to be used as laborers. As the front neared in early 1945, several outlying satellite camps, including Wöbbelin, absorbed many prisoners from the overflowing Neuengamme camp. Wöbbelin was a receiving camp (*Auffanglager*) for inmates who had been evacuated from camps across the northwestern Reich in the last weeks of the war.

The first transport to the Wöbbelin area was sent to the "Reiherhorst" camp on February 12, 1945. Some 700 prisoners were transported from Neuengamme to this small temporary camp (most likely established in late 1944), where they were housed in unheated wooden barracks. Supervised by SS men and German civilian foremen, the prisoners were marched daily some 500 meters (547 yards) to the construction site of the larger Wöbbelin camp. In a short time, the prisoners built shells for five prisoner barracks, a kitchen, and another barracks intended for a washroom and latrine. The prisoners suffered from terrible conditions, and at least 53 died during the building phase.¹ At the beginning of April, the remaining 648 prisoners were moved from "Reiherhorst" to the incomplete Wöbbelin camp, as more inmates were expected to be evacuated there.

From April 1945, additional transports were directed toward the Wöbbelin camp from the Neuengamme main camp, from its satellite camps, and from other camps, such as Auschwitz, Sachsenhausen, and Ravensbrück. No register of the exact dates of the transports survives; however, between April 8 and 12, 1945, prisoners from the subcamp Porta Westfalica were sent to Wöbbelin after a brief stay in the Fallersleben camp. The satellite commando at Schandelah was also evacuated, as well as Lerbeck (April 16, 1945), Kreis Segeberg (April 17, 1945), Beendorf bei Helmstedt (April 20, 1945), Fallersle-



The main gate of the Wöbbelin subcamp of Neuengamme, May 4, 1945. USHMM VWS #80050, COURTESY OF NARA

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

ben, and women inmates from Ravensbrück (April 23, 1945) and Sachsenhausen (early May 1945), to Wöbbelin.

The inmates transported to Wöbbelin represented prisoners of every category, including "asocials," political prisoners, Jews, Jehovah's Witnesses, and so on. However, most witness reports emphasize the predominance of green (professional criminals) and red (political) triangles on prisoner clothing. The prisoners were mostly men and represented 16 different nations. A hierarchy developed among the prisoners, and the few German inmates were generally given privileged positions, such as Kapo or Blockältester. A Danish and a French prisoner were appointed inmate doctors, and without medication or supplies, they tried to ameliorate conditions as best they could in the infirmary. Many inmates suffered from dysentery or typhus.

Living conditions in the camp were dreadful. Barbed wire and watchtowers surrounded the camp, and a sign posted on the gates warned passersby to remain clear of the camp on threat of being shot. The stone buildings in which the prisoners lived were rudimentary and did not have heat, floors, glass windows, or doors.² The barracks thus provided no shelter from the cold. Because there were no beds or bunks in the barracks, the prisoners slept on the insect-infested floor. The inmates arrived in Wöbbelin with only the clothing they were wearing, which had generally been worn thin by years of incarceration, labor, and forced marches. The sanitary conditions were catastrophic. There was only one water hand pump for the entire camp, and the water, contaminated by the nearby mass graves and "latrine," was undrinkable. A former Hungarian inmate noted that "drinking from [the hand pump] meant death."³ The "latrine" was a deep pit filled with dirty water and waste. The barracks originally intended for the washroom was used instead to accumulate bodies of inmates.

Initially, the prisoners received food daily. A typical ration included 1 kilogram (2.2 pounds) of bread for 10 prisoners and a half liter (2 cups) of soup (made from contaminated water) each. The more prisoners transferred to the camp, the less food became available, and soon a daily ration was nonexistent. Because of the desperate situation, several witnesses reported that many prisoners resorted to cannibalism.⁴

Besides the initial group of prisoners brought in to construct the Wöbbelin camp, there were few organized labor groups, and no large outside armaments firms employed the inmates. As former inmate George Lucius Salton has recalled: "Life in this camp had no order or purpose. No prisoners worked, no one gave commands, and no one cared about the ill and dying. Skeletal prisoners . . . stood idly near the unfinished barracks. Others sat or lay on the muddy ground or wandered around aimlessly."⁵ A few prisoners were recruited for various jobs, including gathering wood, clearing trees, kitchen duty, or other work. Some prisoners were employed individually by small external businesses, which sometimes resulted in considerable aid to the prisoner. One group employed consistently in the camp was the "corpse commando," which included about 50 or 60 men. The commando had to bring bodies from the storage barracks to be buried in mass

graves. Many prisoners volunteered for this work because the commando received extra food rations; however, in the final days of the camp, burial was discontinued.⁶

During the 10 weeks of the Wöbbelin camp's existence, more than 1,000 inmates died from the conditions and maltreatment by the guards. However, not every transport was registered, making it difficult to ascertain exact numbers. From April 1945, about 40 prisoners died daily, and in the final days of the camp's existence, about 100 prisoners died daily. Although there were a few unsuccessful individual attempts to escape Wöbbelin, there was generally little opportunity for prisoners to do so. Those caught attempting to escape were executed.

Like the prisoners of Wöbbelin, much of the guard staff was transferred from other evacuated camps. The commandant was 35-year-old SS-Obersturmbannführer Paul Werner Hoppe who, prior to his service in Wöbbelin, was the commandant of the concentration camp Stutthof (from 1942 until its evacuation in January 1945). There is little information about his service in Wöbbelin because Hoppe rarely appeared in the camp. His assistant, most likely the Lagerführer, was SS-Hauptsturmführer Meyer. The Verwaltungsführer was SS-Obersturmführer von Bonin. The SS guards that patrolled the camp were transferred from Stutthof to Wöbbelin, as well as from other evacuated camps. After the war, Hoppe was interned briefly in a British prison camp, from where he fled to Sweden. After he returned to Germany in 1952, Hoppe was arrested and, after a lengthy trial, was sentenced to a nine-year prison term in 1957 for crimes he committed in Stutthof. He was released in 1960 and died in 1974.⁷

There were two attempts to dissolve the Wöbbelin subcamp. On the morning of March 1, 1945, the prisoners were gathered in a roll call and divided between those who were well enough to be transported and those who were not. The transportable inmates were marched out of the camp in columns to a waiting freight train and loaded into an open car. However, by the next morning, the train had not moved. The prisoners, who had been crammed into the car, were removed and driven back into the camp, during which several were shot or beaten by the guards and Kapos.⁸ They did not wait long for a second evacuation. The guards gathered German inmates and anyone else willing and able to march (some several hundred prisoners) and set out in the direction of Schwerin. More than 3,500 ill and weak prisoners remained behind. Divisions of the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division, under the command of General James Gavin, encountered the horrific conditions and surviving inmates at Wöbbelin on the afternoon of May 2, 1945. After forcing the residents of Wöbbelin to view the interior of the camp, the U.S. troops buried nearly 200 bodies in Ludwigslust, Hagenow, and Schwerin on May 8 and 9, 1945.⁹

SOURCES Numerous primary and secondary sources provide information about the Neuengamme subcamp Wöbbelin. The principal secondary source of information, and an essential resource for this entry, is Carina Baganz, *Zehn Wochen KZ*

Wöbbelin: Ein Konzentrationslager in Mecklenburg 1945 (Wöbbelin, 2000). Baganz's study provides a detailed analysis of various aspects of the Wöbbelin camp, including the history of its construction, prisoner daily life, SS personnel and commanders, relationship of the camp to Wöbbelin civilians, the memorial erected on the site, and so on. Another useful secondary source is Hermann Kaienburg's *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), which provides a detailed description of the liberation of Wöbbelin, as well as a reproduction of an important quarterly report by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski detailing the number of prisoners originally in Wöbbelin. For information on commandant Paul Werner Hoppe, see Karin Orth, "Die Kommandanten der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998). See also Brigitte Hoppe, *Konzentrationslager Neuengamme: Aussenlager Wöbbelin* (Rostock, 1994); and the memoir of former inmate George Lucius Salton, *The 23rd Psalm: A Holocaust Memoir* (Madison, 2002). In his memoir *On to Berlin: Battles of an Airborne Commander, 1943–1946* (New York, 1976), James M. Gavin has described the liberation of the Wöbbelin camp. The film *Die Gräber von Ludwigslust* (Wöbbelin: Volker Osterlin and the Förderverein Mahn- und Gedenkstätte, 2002) documents the history of the Ludwigslust cemetery, where inmates from Wöbbelin are buried and which was rededicated in October 2000.

Extensive primary sources, including several witness testimonies and other materials, are located at the AG-W and the Theodor Körner Museum in Wöbbelin. (For a complete list of sources available at the AG-W, see the extensive footnotes in Baganz's study.) For witness reports, see the ZdL-L, file grouping IV 404 AR-Z 21/76. Trial proceedings against Paul Werner Hoppe by the AStLG-B can be found in the NWStA-M, 8856-9239. For Hoppe's Personalakte, see the BA-B, SSO series. The testimony of former inmate George Salton can be found at USHMMA, RG-50.030*200 and RG-50.470*0018. The testimony of Leonard Linton, one of the liberators of the Wöbbelin camp, is also located at USHMMA, RG 50.002*0040. See also files RG 04.044, Acc. 1997 A 0215, RG-09.005*37, and RG-04.002*01, USHMMA, for materials on the liberation of the camp. A collection of 38 black-and-white original photographs of Wöbbelin can be found in the Louis Drucker file, Acc. 1997 A 0293. The USHMMA also has an extensive collection of photographs of Wöbbelin at the time of liberation; see designations 53.3359; 53.3352; 535.458; and 53.337. Finally, the MZML contains thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees that were recorded in 1945 and 1946 by the DEGOB. Several protocols describe conditions in Wöbbelin; see especially protocols 3199, 3378, 3338, and 3291.

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NOTES

1. Quarterly report by SS-Standortarzt Trzebinski, March 29, 1945, Nachlass Hans Schwarz, FZH, 13-6-11. Reproduced in full in Herman Kaienburg, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme 1938–1945* (Bonn, 1997), pp. 123–126. See

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also Carina Baganz, *Zehn Wochen KZ Wöbbelin: Ein Konzentrationslager in Mecklenburg 1945* (Wöbbelin, 2000), p. 17.

2. Protocol 3378 (J.E.), MZML, DEGOB Protocols. All DEGOB protocols translated from Hungarian to English by historian Gábor Kádár.

3. Protocol 3291 (L.W.), MZML, DEGOB Protocols.

4. See George Lucius Salton, *The 23rd Psalm: A Holocaust Memoir* (Madison, 2002), p. 211.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

6. Interview with George Salton, USHMMA, RG-50.030*200, transcript, p. 45.

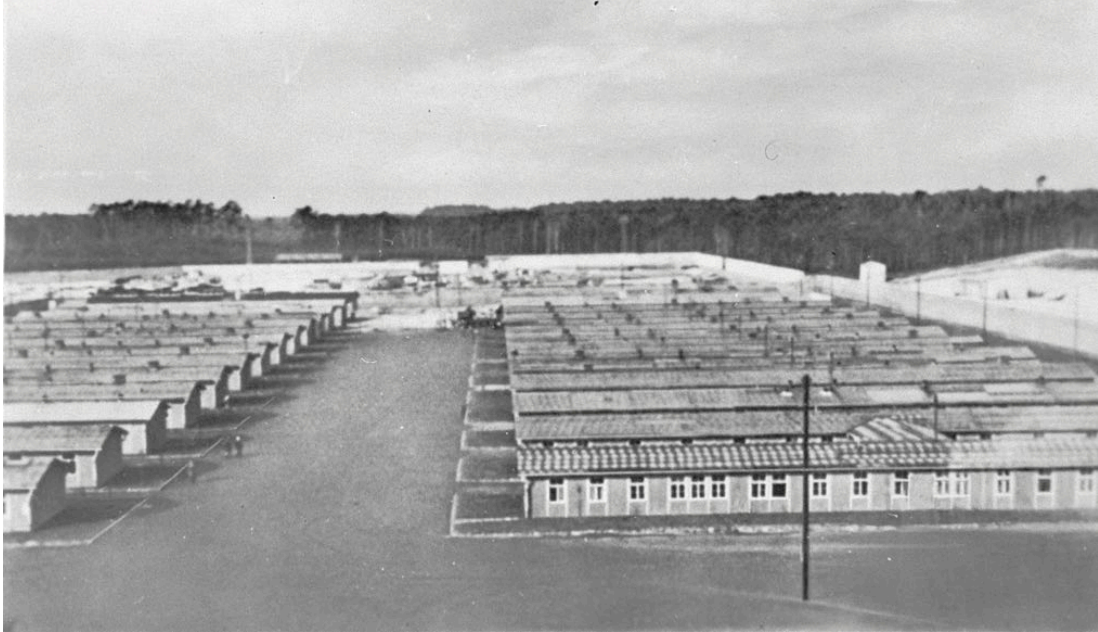
7. See ZdL (now BA-L) file grouping IV 404 AR-Z 21/76; and Hoppe trial proceedings, NWStA-M, SL Bochum,

8856-9239. See also Karin Orth, "Die Kommandanten der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998), pp. 763-775.

8. Protocol 3378 (J.E.) and protocol 3291 (L.S.), MZML, DEGOB Protocols.

9. United States Holocaust Memorial Council, 1981 International Liberators Conference Collection, Wöbbelin 1981 (copy of speech delivered by Henry Cain, U.S. Army Directory of Military Government in Hagenow), USHMMA, RG-09.005*37. See also Meyer Gilden file, USHMMA, RG 04.044, for other materials on the 82nd Airborne Division.

RAVENSBRÜCK



Panoramic view of the Ravensbrück concentration camp for an SS presentation album, 1940-1941.

USHMM WS #15010, COURTESY OF LYDIA CHAGOLL

RAVENSBRÜCK MAIN CAMP

During its almost six years of existence, from May 1939 until late in April 1945, approximately 123,000 women of over 40 nationalities were prisoners at Ravensbrück, “the women’s hell.” Next to the women’s section at Auschwitz II-Birkenau, Ravensbrück was the largest women’s camp, and between 25,000 and 26,000 female prisoners died there.¹ Over the course of its existence the camp became a complex of facilities that included a small men’s camp, nearby industrial facilities (some with their own separate barracks), part of a nearby “youth protection camp,” and more than 30 subcamps.

Ravensbrück’s first commandant was SS-Standartenführer Günther Tamaschke, who was in charge until August 31, 1939. He had held a similar position in the women’s Lichtenburg early camp, which had been in operation since December 1937 and from which Ravensbrück received its initial group of prisoners. His second in command, SS-Hauptsturmführer Max Koegel, officially replaced him on January 1, 1940, having been unofficially in charge for some time. After he was transferred to the Lublin-Majdanek concentration camp on August 20, 1942, the former “protective custody” camp leader (Schutzhaftlagerführer) at the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, SS-Hauptsturmführer Fritz Suhren, was appointed commandant and remained in that position until operations ceased.²

The guards in the women’s camp were exclusively women. While these women guards were not members of the SS but members of the female SS retinue (weibliches SS-Gefolge), they were, like the SS men, subject to SS jurisdiction. After early 1942, the Ravensbrück women’s concentration camp served as the central training camp for female SS guards for other camps, such as Auschwitz, Majdanek, and numerous subcamps. Suhren later testified that while he was commandant, approximately 3,500 women SS guards and 950 members of the Waffen-SS served for shorter or longer periods in Ravensbrück and in its subcamps.³

Ravensbrück opened on May 15, 1939, with the arrival of almost 1,000 female prisoners from the women’s early camp at Lichtenburg. The fragmentary lists of arrivals still available indicate the number of women prisoners sent annually to Ravensbrück:⁴

1939	somewhat over 1,000
1940	over 2,700
1941	approximately 3,600
1942	approximately 7,000
1943	approximately 10,000
1944	over 70,000
1945	approximately 35,000

The steady increase is mainly attributable to an ever-increasing number of foreign workers who arrived from the middle of 1942 on. These were generally Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, and French women who either had gone to Germany

“voluntarily” or were taken there by force to work and were subsequently arrested for various breaches of discipline. From 1943 on, moreover, the SS deported to Germany ever more women prisoners from jails and concentration camps in the occupied countries of Europe.

The number of new arrivals in Ravensbrück increased drastically in 1944, to over 70,000, due mainly to the deportation of approximately 12,000 women from Warsaw after the failed uprising there and the arrival of transports of Jewish women from Hungary, Slovakia, and other concentration camps, above all from Auschwitz.

The prisoner population varied by both category and nationality. Jehovah’s Witnesses represented the great majority to the end of 1939. Subsequently, the fastest-growing group of prisoners was the “asocials.” It was only from the late summer of 1941 that “political” prisoners outnumbered the asocials, as increasing numbers of women arrived from occupied countries. Since foreign prisoners were generally labeled “political,” the prisoner community began to differ less by category than by nationality. A preliminary evaluation of most of the available lists of arrivals (listing 55,549 individuals) offers an approximate breakdown by nationality over the six years the camp existed:⁵ 36 percent from Poland; 21 percent from the Soviet Union; 18 percent from Germany and Austria; 8 percent from Hungary; 6 percent from France; 3 percent from the former Czechoslovakia; and 2 percent each from the Benelux countries and Yugoslavia.

The proportional share of “racially” categorized female prisoners was recorded according to their country of origin. The actual numbers and percentages fluctuated widely, but the figures available—13 percent Jewish, 3 percent Sinti and Roma—are certainly too low. The number of Jewish prisoners shrank considerably due to the murder of 800 inmates during the 14f13 killing project in the spring of 1942 and also because 522 Jewish women were deported to Auschwitz on October 6, 1942.⁶ Only in the second half of 1944 did large numbers of Jewish women again arrive in Ravensbrück.

In addition to adults, 881 children aged 2 to 16, from 18 countries, show up on the women’s camp’s arrival lists. The existing birth register (for the period September 19, 1944, to April 22, 1945) shows another 522 births. In 48 cases, women had miscarriages or stillbirths, and half the newborns (260) died within days or weeks of birth. Eighty-four mothers and their babies were transferred to Bergen-Belsen during March 1945; many of these babies died in transit. In general, very few of the children in Ravensbrück lived to be liberated.

In 1940, the construction of the so-called Industrial Park began; the constantly growing compound housed the SS-owned Gesellschaft für Textil & Lederverwertung mbH (Texled), a textile company. By September 1942, about 60 percent of all the female prisoners—between 4,000 and

5,000—were working for Texled.⁷ Female prisoners also worked in an SS agricultural enterprise called the Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung GmbH (German Experimental Institute for Nutrition and Provisions Ltd., DVA). They were also “hired out” to private agricultural enterprises nearby.

From the middle of 1942 on, the prisoners also had to work in the armaments industry. From August 1942, female prisoners worked in the production plants of the electronics company Siemens & Halske (S&H), which was located nearby. In December 1944, when about 2,200 prisoners were already working in its 20 workshops, additional barracks were built next to the workshops; this was the so-called Siemens camp.

Starting in 1943, a significant change took place with the establishment of subcamps near armament factories; this made Ravensbrück into a main camp and transit station. Originally almost all the women’s subcamps in Germany proper were under the supervision of Ravensbrück. This changed with the restructuring of the subcamp system in the fall of 1944, when 50 percent of the subcamps for female prisoners were assigned to the main camps nearest to them, mainly Buchenwald, Flossenbürg, and Sachsenhausen, but Ravensbrück retained some nearby camps.

With the increasing numbers of prisoners after 1943, the conditions in the women’s camp deteriorated. From 1944, the number of prisoners in many of the barracks was triple and sometimes even quadruple the number originally intended. After that number finally exceeded the barracks’ capacity, a tent was erected to accommodate the many new arrivals of the late summer and fall of 1944. There were no blankets for the 3,000 women who occupied the tent, and only a thin layer of straw covered the floor, so the death rate was higher than average. Meanwhile, both the quantity and quality of the food fell steadily, adding to the death toll.

The infirmary buildings at Ravensbrück increasingly developed into “dying zones” since many of the women, who suffered from typhus, diphtheria, and other diseases, died there without receiving even minimal medical treatment.

Apart from this, the infirmary became a center for pseudomedical experiments between August 1, 1942, and August 16, 1943. SS physicians, under the leadership of Prof. Dr. Karl Gebhardt, carried out experiments on 74 Polish prisoners and 12 prisoners of other nationalities. These included the removal of bones, muscles, and nerves as well as operations that were intended to cause infections (gangrene) in order to disprove the possible effectiveness of sulfomanide treatment. In the camp vernacular, the women who had been subjected to these operations were called “guinea pigs”; 5 of the Polish prisoners and all 12 of the others died immediately following the operations, while 6 more were shot dead a short time later, with their surgical wounds not yet healed. Additionally, in early 1945, 120 to 140 Sinti and Roma women and girls—the youngest age eight—were subjected to sterilization experiments, as a result of which many died. At the same time, a number of Sinti and Roma were sterilized in the men’s camp, the youngest also being mere children.



Clandestine photograph of Polish political prisoners detained at Ravensbrück following the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising, October 1944. USHMM WS #69338, COURTESY OF ANNA HASSA JAROSKY AND PETER HASSA

From the middle of 1941, the SS began establishing brothels in several of the men’s camps. The women prisoners who had to work there came mostly from Ravensbrück; they were either forced to work there or persuaded to “volunteer” by false promises of subsequent release.

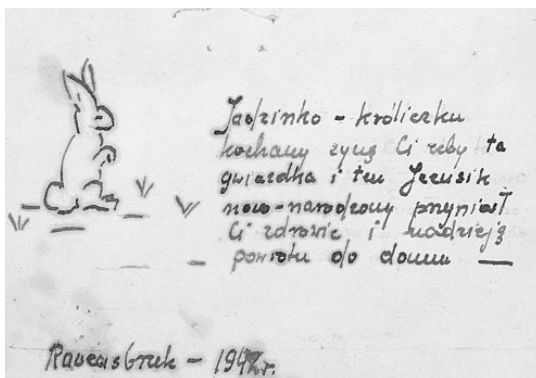
Between May 6, 1944, and March 11, 1945, 65 Russian women were executed in Ravensbrück on suspicion of sabotage. In addition, more than 160 Polish women and several British and French female parachutists, as well as several women of other nationalities, were shot. They had been actively involved in the fight against the German occupiers and had been sent to Ravensbrück after having been sentenced to death by special courts (Sondergerichte).

The men’s camp, which existed since April 1941, remained under the authority of the women’s camp commandant. It



Clandestine photograph of the disfigured leg of Maria Kusmierczuk, a Polish political prisoner and victim of medical experimentation, October 1944. USHMM WS #69339, COURTESY OF ANNA HASSA JAROSKY AND PETER HASSA

1190 RAVENSBRÜCK MAIN CAMP



A Christmas card presented to Jadwiga Dzido Hassa by a fellow prisoner at Ravensbrück concentration camp, December 25, 1942. The rabbit is a reference to the women's use in medical experimentation. In English, the greeting reads: "Jadzinka, dear bunny I wish [for you] that this Christmas and the new-born baby Jesus will bring you health and that you will get back home."

USHMM WS #63555, COURTESY OF ANNA HASSA JAROSKY AND PETER HASSA

served mainly to supply craftsmen and helpers to work on the constantly expanding camp complex. Up to the end of 1944, the men's camp did not accept new prisoners but, with a few exceptions, only those who were transferred from other camps to replace the sick and dead. The number of prisoners remained relatively constant until the end of 1944, between 1,500 and 2,000.⁸ The sick were sent to Dachau at first, then after 1944 to Bergen-Belsen; the majority died within days or weeks of arrival or, in the case of Dachau, were selected for extermination.

Until the end of 1942, the men's camp could be characterized as a penal camp. All work there had to be performed on the double, and many prisoners were worked to death. Beginning in the spring of 1943, the men's camp gradually became the headquarters for the subcamps in the northeastern part of Germany, which primarily served the aircraft industry. Most prisoners of these camps were taken directly there, where they received their Ravensbrück prisoner number.

The registers of the men's camp, which survived intact, indicate that of the slightly more than 20,000 registered prisoners, 30 percent were Poles, 20 percent came from the Soviet Union (including some prisoners of war [POWs]), 19 percent were Germans or Austrians, 12 percent were French, 4 percent were Czechs and Slovaks, somewhat over 2 percent were Hungarians, and 1.5 percent each were Italians, Belgians, and Dutch. Independent of these numbers, there were about 8 percent labeled Jews and 1.5 percent Gypsies. About 86 percent of the prisoners wore the red triangle of the political prisoner, even if not all of them were "political" in the strictest sense of the word. An additional 7 percent were marked as "criminals," 4 percent as "asocials," and 1 percent each as Jehovah's Witnesses and homosexuals. In addition, 136 POWs,

mainly Russians, and 35 imprisoned members of the Wehrmacht passed through the men's camp. A total of 1,742 deaths are recorded. To this number must be added the 300 victims of 14f13 in the spring of 1942 and at least 104 male prisoners who were killed in Ravensbrück's gas chamber at the end of March and in early April 1945.⁹

There were some targeted extermination programs, the first of which was 14f13, under which the Germans extended their "euthanasia" program to the concentration camps. Under this program, 1,600 female prisoners and 300 male prisoners of Ravensbrück—half of them Jewish—were killed in the spring of 1942, most probably in the gas chambers of the Sanitarium (Heil-und Pflegeanstalt) Bernburg. After the completion of these killings, "undesirable" female prisoners were killed with injections of phenol and morphine, murdered in the gas chambers of the distant sanatorium at Hartheim/Linz, or transported to Auschwitz or Majdanek. Between 1942 and the end of 1944, approximately 60 of these "black transports" left Ravensbrück with between 60 and 1,000 prisoners each.¹⁰

In January 1945, the camp administration began to make preparations for on-site mass killings. For this purpose, it partially cleared out the so-called youth protection camp (*Jugendschutzlager*) in Uckermark, about 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) from Ravensbrück. This site, where in January 1945 the older, weaker, and sick prisoners were taken from the main camp, quickly developed into a "death zone" because conditions there were even worse than in the main camp. The women were insufficiently clothed, got only half their previous rations, and received neither blankets nor medical attention. During the roll calls alone, which lasted five to six hours, 50 prisoners died daily during the cold winter months, of hunger, exposure, exhaustion, and the prevailing epidemics. A greater number were killed by Luminal—a barbiturate, called "white powder" by the prisoners—or by being given poisonous injections, or by being selected for mass shootings or death in the gas chambers. Up to mid-April 1945, over 8,000 women had been transferred to the Uckermark camp, of whom only between 1,300 and 1,500 returned to the main camp.¹¹

At the various Ravensbrück trials none of the accused SS members denied the existence of a gas chamber, which had been installed in early 1945. This was a wooden structure, in the immediate vicinity of the crematorium, which had served as a storage facility before it was transformed into a temporary gas chamber. Between 150 and 180 people could be killed there at once. The gassing, which began in late January or early February, was most probably stopped only one week before liberation. Altogether 5,000 to 6,000 prisoners died there.¹² A second, more advanced dual gas chamber is supposed to have been built at the end of March 1945 on the other side of the camp fence and behind the infirmary, but, in any case, it was never used. Also, in a number of reports by ex-prisoners there is mention of mobile gas chambers, but their use cannot be proven.

In early 1945, Ravensbrück held the greatest number of prisoners in its history. A letter to the SS-Business Administration

Main Office (WVHA) of January 15, 1945, reported the presence of 46,070 female prisoners and 7,848 male prisoners in Ravensbrück and its subcamps.¹³ The utterly unbearable overcrowding in the barracks as well as the increasingly catastrophic hygienic conditions led to an outbreak of a typhus epidemic in the women's camp. The greatest threats that the female prisoners faced, however, were the constant selections of the older, weaker, and sick prisoners for death at Uckermark or in the gas chamber. In addition, the camp administration relieved itself of a greater number of female prisoners (totaling about 5,600) in March 1945 by sending them on transports to Mauthausen and Bergen-Belsen.¹⁴ Meanwhile, in April the Swedish Red Cross evacuated approximately 7,500 female prisoners, most of them from Scandinavia, the Benelux countries, France, and Poland.

Of the male prisoners, 2,100 had been "evacuated" in early March to Sachsenhausen, but in mid-April transports with more than 6,000 male prisoners from the Mittelbau main camp Dora and the Neuengamme subcamp of Watenstedt arrived. These new arrivals were in bad shape to begin with and received no care, so many of them did not survive the short stopover in Ravensbrück. On April 24 and 26, the male prisoners were force-marched in several columns in a northwesterly direction. On April 27 and 28, about 20,000 female prisoners were made to march in the same direction. About 2,000 sick men, women, and children were left behind. On April 29, the last of the SS men left the camp. One day later, the vanguard of the Red Army arrived. On May 1, its regular units appeared and liberated the last of the Ravensbrück prisoners.¹⁵

SOURCES This essay is based on the author's book *Das KZ Ravensbrück: Geschichte eines Lagerkomplexes*, introduction by Germaine Tillion (Paderborn, 2003). The following research works should be mentioned: the book by Polish historian Wanda Kiedrzyńska, *Ravensbrück: Kobiety obóz koncentracyjny* (Warsaw, 1961); and the book by French ethnologist Germaine Tillion, *Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück* (Lüneburg, 1998). Both authors were prisoners in the Ravensbrück concentration camp. Tillion's book includes an essay by Anise Postel-Vinay, "Die Massentötungen durch Gas in Ravensbrück," on pp. 357–395. A comprehensive collection of essays that contains several essays on central aspects of the camp's history is by Claus Füllberg-Stolberg et al., *Frauen in Konzentrationslagern: Bergen-Belsen; Ravensbrück* (Bremen, 1994). Jack G. Morrison's *Ravensbrück: Everyday Life in a Women's Concentration Camp 1939–1945* (Princeton, NJ, 2000) provides a good overview in the English language. These works stand out among the large number of publications in recent years: Christa Schikorra, *Kontinuitäten der Ausgrenzung. "Asoziale" Häftlinge im Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück* (Berlin, 2001); Linde Apel, *Jüdische Frauen im Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück 1939–1945* (Berlin, 2003); and Simone Erpel, *Zwischen Vernichtung und*

Befreiung. Das Frauen-Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück in der letzten Kriegspphase (Berlin, 2005).

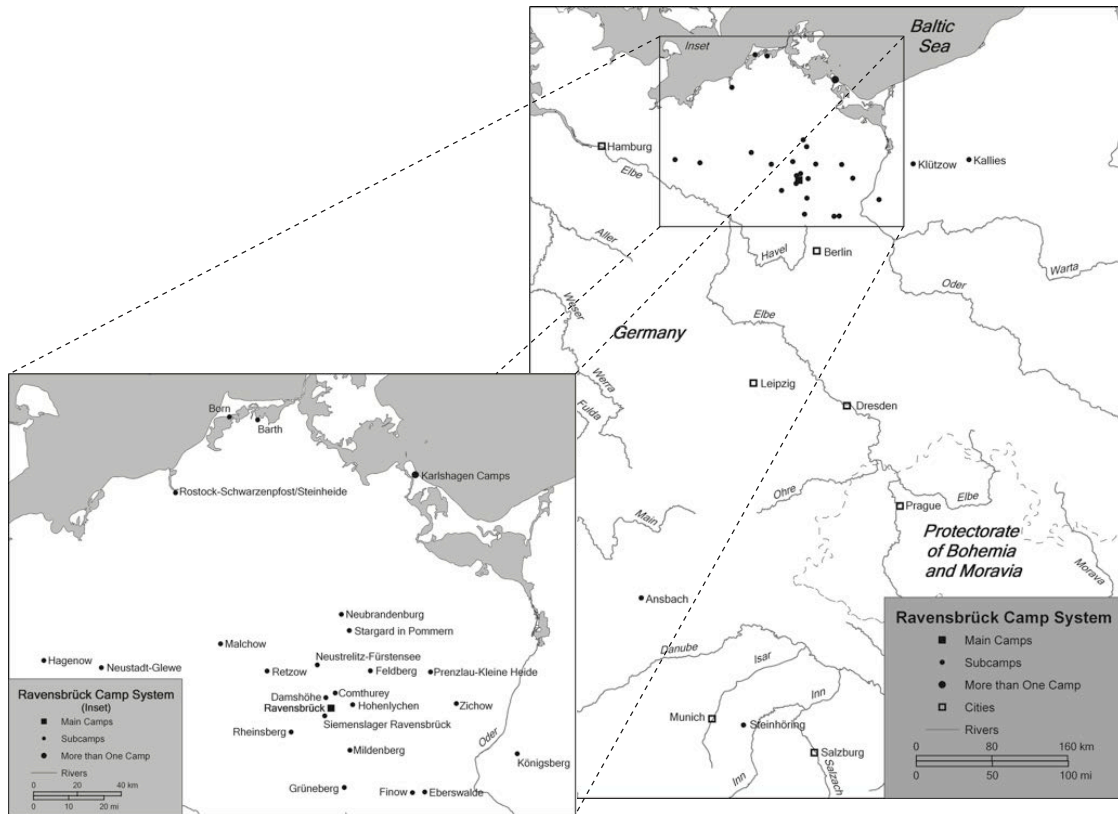
The essential archival sources on the Ravensbrück concentration camp are literally scattered throughout the world. The two most comprehensive collections of documents are located at the AG-R and in the DÖW. The most comprehensive collection of postwar judicial documents is held by ZdL at BA-L. There were seven Ravensbrück trials. The files of these trials, held before a British military court in Hamburg (1946–1948) can be viewed at PRO. The admissions lists for the female camp and the Numbers Books (*Nummernbüchern*) for the male camp are held by the IPN (copies at USHMMA). Other important documents are found in BA-B, BStU, YVA, NARA, SÚA, CChIdK, as well as the archives of other concentration camp memorials. In addition, there is a rich source of material written by former prisoners in just about every European language. The number of works has increased dramatically in recent years.

Bernhard Strebel
trans. Alfred Gutmann and Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Bernhard Strebel, *Das KZ Ravensbrück, Geschichte eines Lagerkomplexes*, introduction by Germaine Tillion (Paderborn, 2003), pp. 179, 505–509.
2. SSO Tamaschke, Koegel und Suhren, BA-BL, Bestand ehem. BDC.
3. Aussage Suhren, March 19, 1946, Nuremberg Document D-746b.
4. Information according to received Zugangslisten in IPN, copied in USHMMA.
5. Information according to an evaluation in Kristine Schlaefler and Frank Schröder, "Jüdische Häftlinge im Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück (1937/39–1942)" (Ph.D. diss., Berlin, 1987), appendix 3.
6. Danuta Czech, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau 1939–1945* (Reinbek, 1989), p. 315.
7. Texled, Personalübersichten für das Jahr 1942, BA-B, NS 3/1443.
8. Strebel, *Das KZ Ravensbrück*, p. 293.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 332, 486.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 320–339.
11. Wanda Kiedrzyńska, *Ravensbrück: Kobiety obóz koncentracyjny* (Warsaw, 1961), pp. 238, 251.
12. Anise Postel-Vinay, "Die Massentötungen durch Gas in Ravensbrück," in *Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück*, by Germaine Tillion (Lüneburg, 1998), p. 367.
13. "Letzte erhalten Übersicht über die Zahl der Wachmannschaften und der KZ-Häftlinge aus der Amtsgruppe D des WVHA vom 1. und 15.1.1945," BA-B, NS 3/439, p. 1.
14. Strebel, *Das KZ Ravensbrück*, pp. 488–492.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 501–504.

RAVENSBRÜCK SUBCAMP SYSTEM



There are only a few consolidated studies on the history of the Ravensbrück concentration camp system. As historian Bernhard Strebler shows, there are considerable differences in research, for instance, in the number and extent of the complex of subcamps. This is due largely to the comprehensive reconstruction of the Ravensbrück subcamp system that occurred in the summer of 1944.

The Ravensbrück subcamp system exhibits several peculiarities that distinguish it from the subcamp systems of other Nazi concentration camps. The first is that the Ravensbrück subcamp system, which began with the first subcamp at the end of 1942—beginning of 1943, was not, as was usually the case, restricted to a particular area but encompassed just about all the subcamps with female prisoners—with locations in the Prussian provinces of Brandenburg, Pommern, and Sachsen; in the states of Mecklenburg, Bayern, Thüringen, and Sachsen (that is, within the area of the later German Democratic Republic); and also in the Reichsgau Sudetenland and in all areas of the so-called Ostmark (Austria). It was only

with a reorganization in the summer of 1944 that this principle was abandoned in favor of a system based more on location, during which many Ravensbrück subcamps were handed over to main camps that were geographically closer. The result was that the Ravensbrück complex, unlike those associated with other concentration camps, had already reached its maximum extent in the summer of 1944, with approximately 40 subcamps. Of these, one-quarter (about 10) were large subcamps, with more than 1,000 prisoners, and one-half (around 20 camps) were medium-sized, with between 250 and 1,000 prisoners. At the end of 1944, however, when there were around 334 subcamps for women existing within the concentration camp system in total, only 20 were under the control of Ravensbrück—considerably fewer, for example, than the number of women's subcamps under the control of Neuengamme or Gross-Rosen. Despite this, and this is the second peculiarity, Ravensbrück remained administratively responsible for several of these camps not under its jurisdiction, in that it trained and/or paid the camp personnel. Third,

many Ravensbrück subcamps were directly connected with leading personalities, institutions, or interests of the SS, be it that they were established on estates operated by leading SS men or that they supported the operation of SS overflow institutions.

Within the Ravensbrück concentration camp, experience had been gained since August 1942 with the first use of concentration camp prisoners in industry, when the so-called Fertigungsstelle (Production Point) Siemens was erected. At that time, the shortage of labor was becoming more and more serious, and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) therefore had intensified its cooperation with industry, especially with Albert Speer's ministry. The SS insisted, however, that the use of prisoners could only take place inside the concentration camps. The result was that the Siemens & Halske camp, the Fertigungsstelle, was established on the camp's grounds in Ravensbrück. It was only in September 1942, on Speer's insistence, that the use of prisoners outside the concentration camps in industrial subcamps was considered. At this time, the first Ravensbrück subcamps were established. Comthurey and Born were two of these camps, but they were rather small and held only very few inmates. The first noteworthy subcamps were established only at the end of 1942—Grüneberg to the north of Berlin, where the prisoners produced munitions, and Neurohlau in the Sudetenland, where the prisoners manufactured porcelain. While Neurohlau, due to its distance from the main camp, had to be run as a real subcamp, one can only assume that Grüneberg was a true subcamp where the prisoners were kept permanently and not returned to the main camp at day's end.

There were, in essence, three groups of subcamps if one considers who operated and profited from them: in the first group, the prisoners, both male and female, were used from 1942 on by Higher SS leaders and their entourage (Heinrich Himmler, Oswald Pohl, and Felix Kersten, for example), to work mostly in gardens and houses of private estates as well as in construction and repairs. This group of camps also included the deployment of prisoners working in SS institutions such as the Reichsführer-SS Personal Staff, the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), WVHA branches or relocated offices, the German Research Institute for Nutrition and Provisions, Ltd. (DVA), "Lebensborn" homes, and SS research institutes. A second group of camps was operated by the Wehrmacht, which mostly cooperated with private armaments manufacturers. At least four subcamps—Karlshagen I and II, Retzow, and Königsberg—were directly operated by the Wehrmacht. Finally, there was a third group of subcamps operated by private firms. These included large companies in the armaments industry: the Luftfahrtgerätewerk Hakenfelde GmbH (LGW), a subsidiary of Siemens, which had assembly plants in Graslitz and Zwoda; the Ernst-Heinkel-AG; and the Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG); as well as a number of smaller companies.

As in other subcamp systems, it often happened in Ravensbrück that concentration camp prisoners were substitutes for forced laborers and were accommodated in former forced

labor camps. The establishment of subcamps often also arose due to the relocation of institutions and production sites as the result of the intensifying Allied bombing campaign. However, the Ravensbrück prisoners were rarely used in underground facilities (such as in the former Ravensbrück women's subcamp Beendorf, which was taken over by the Neuen-gamme concentration camp). That so few Ravensbrück prisoners were used underground had more to do with the geographical conditions around the Ravensbrück concentration camp and its subcamps than with any regard for the overwhelming majority of prisoners in its subcamps, women. Although the working and living conditions varied in individual subcamps, it is clear that no consideration was given to the gender of the prisoners when it came to their deployment. Historian Linde Apel shows that Jewish women in the late phase of the subcamps' existence were not necessarily used in the most dangerous and unhealthful deployments but were mostly used in mixed subcamps, which held prisoners of various categories. Surviving women, predominantly from the armaments industry, report that they worked with no protective clothing and were exposed to working with dangerous chemicals. The Malchow subcamp, for instance, where there were repeated accidents due to the handling of explosives, must be regarded as one of the most dangerous camps with regard to work and living conditions. For male prisoners, the Ravensbrück subcamps at Karlshagen I and Barth were the worst—the number of deaths among inmates in these two camps accounted for 60 percent of the deaths among all male Ravensbrück inmates. That other subcamps, especially those with female inmates, had a lower death rate does not prove that the work and living conditions in these camps were less fatal: prisoners who could no longer work were usually selected in these camps and taken back to Ravensbrück or, depending on the circumstances, to Auschwitz or Bergen-Belsen, where they were killed. Strebelt also states that, at least in 69 cases, pregnancy was the reason for the return of prisoners from the subcamps.

From 1944 on, the use of female labor in the Ravensbrück camp complex intensified. At this time, at least every second prisoner who was taken to the Ravensbrück camp was taken to one of its subcamps. Ravensbrück became a gigantic transit point for the deployment of labor in the subcamps. As historians Erika Schwarz and Simone Steppan show, prisoners from Ravensbrück were assigned to more than 200 locations. In the summer of 1944, the prisoners comprised three large groups: female Poles, who were victims of the crushing of the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising; women who were being evacuated from Auschwitz; and Hungarian Jewish women who escaped the gas chambers because they were useful for the armaments industry.

One special problem arising from the constantly increasing number of prisoners in the subcamps was the lack of guards. This was initially compensated for by an increased recruitment of ethnic Germans (Volkdeutsche), often as part of the SS, and the deployment of members of the Wehrmacht. From July 1944, female employees of industries that planned

to use the concentration camp prisoners were trained as supervisors. What had happened earlier on an individual basis now had become a systematic policy.

At the same time, in the summer of 1944, the Ravensbrück subcamp system was reorganized. Until this time, all subcamps that held women were the responsibility of Ravensbrück, regardless of their location. The only exceptions were the women's subcamps established in Silesia, which were under the control of Gross-Rosen. With a decree of the WVHA Office Group D, the scattered Ravensbrück subcamps were now reorganized along geographical lines. From the surviving sources, it is known that on September 1, 1944, Buchenwald and Flossenbürg took over Ravensbrück subcamps in their areas and that Mauthausen did the same on September 15. For other camps, the change occurred no later than October 1944. According to Strebel, Ravensbrück surrendered approximately one-half of its women's subcamps and at least a quarter of its female prisoners to other main camps that were geographically closer to those subcamps. The women in the camp brothels in Buchenwald, Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, and Sachsenhausen, previously under the administration of Ravensbrück, now also came under the control of the camps in which the brothels were located. It can be assumed that the reasons for this reorganization were rooted in organizational and administrative purposes: since other concentration camp subcamps increasingly held women, and the strict separation between men's and women's sections in individual subcamps was being relaxed, there was no longer any reason for the main camps' responsibility to be based strictly on the sex of the prisoners. With the redistribution of territorial responsibilities, the extent of Ravensbrück subcamps was mainly limited to the area north of Berlin.

Research does not completely reveal the extent to which Ravensbrück remained connected with guarding the female prisoners. Strebel states that Ravensbrück remained largely responsible for paying the female guards deployed at Gross-Rosen, Neuengamme, Flossenbürg, Auschwitz, Dachau, Stutthof, Sachsenhausen, and Ravensbrück itself. While Ravensbrück remained responsible for training the female guards based in Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen, Flossenbürg, Gross-Rosen, Neuengamme, and Stutthof trained their own female guards. However, male guards in the subcamps were often recruited from the command office personnel and the guards in the respective main camp.

Due to the lack of source material, it is difficult to reconstruct the final phase of the Ravensbrück subcamp system. What is clear is that from the summer of 1944, there were more and more prisoners in the camps. In August and September 1944, there were 27,600 women sent to Ravensbrück from camps located farther to the east that had been dissolved. Historian Simone Erpel estimates that between January and April 1945 there were 38,000 prisoners in the main camp and as many again in the subcamps of Ravensbrück. At

the beginning of 1945, with the evacuation of Auschwitz, the number of prisoners would dramatically escalate again. After a short stay in the main camp, the prisoners were often sent on to the subcamps, which also were hopelessly overcrowded. For example, in the Neustadt-Glewe subcamp, established for 900 inmates, there were 4,200 prisoners on April 10, 1945. In Malchow, which held an average of 1,200 prisoners, there were at the beginning of April 1945 more than 4,200 women. The same can also be proven for the Barth men's camp, which in the last months of the war was the destination for evacuations from the Ravensbrück subcamps and other subcamps. The overcrowding not only led to a dramatic decline in living conditions, but the number of deaths increased correspondingly. To deal with this, the SS at the end of the war conducted selections in the subcamps, for example, in Retzow, Malchow, Neustadt-Glewe, and Neubrandenburg. Sick prisoners and those no longer capable of working were returned to Ravensbrück and murdered, mostly in its death zone, the Uckermark. Around 7,500 women, mostly of Scandinavian nationality, were liberated as part of "Operation Bernadotte," just days or weeks before the end of the war.

Countless women from the subcamps died on death marches in the last days of the war. From the end of the war into the 1990s, there were investigations into SS personnel from at least four Ravensbrück subcamps—Barth, Retzow, Malchow, and Neubrandenburg—for the deaths of female prisoners on evacuation marches.

SOURCES The Ravensbrück subcamp system has only been partially analyzed in its complexity. Most articles deal with temporary and contextual aspects of this theme and are therefore not listed here. A comprehensive study of the Ravensbrück subcamp system is by Bernhard Strebel, *Das KZ Ravensbrück: Geschichte eines Lagerkomplexes* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2003), pp. 419–459. Linde Apel, in *Jüdische Frauen im Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück, 1939–1945* (Berlin: Metropol-Verlag, 2003), deals with the specific situation of Jewish women in the subcamps and labor detachments. As part of a larger research project, Erika Schwarz and Simone Steppan investigated the Ravensbrück subcamps in "Die Aussenlager Königsberg/Neumark, Zichow und Mildenberg des Frauenkonzentrationslagers Ravensbrück." Their results were published in *BFW* 20 (2003). The same authors and Angelika Meyer published "Vorstellung des Projektes Aussenlager—eine Bilanz," *Rabl* 109 (2001): 10–13. Details on the numbers and information on the situation inside the subcamps toward the end of the war can be found in the essay by Simone Erpel, "Kriegsende und Befreiung," in *Forschungsschwerpunkt Ravensbrück: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Frauen-Konzentrationslagers*, ed. Sigrid Jacobeit and Grit Philipp (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1997), pp. 47–59.

Detailed information, both source material and legal investigations, on individual subcamps is detailed in the individual subcamp essays.

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ANSBACH

The International Tracing Service (ITS) refers to a Ravensbrück subcamp in the Bavarian city of Ansbach. According to a prisoner, the camp came into existence no later than December 11, 1944. The prisoners had to work at the SS-Lebensbornheim. The SS-Lebensbornheim was established in 1935 with the racial and population policy goals of reducing the number of abortions and increasing the birthrate in order to strengthen the armed forces. There were only female prisoners at Ansbach. Although the women originated from Dachau, Ansbach was under the control of the Ravensbrück concentration camp. Just before the end of the war, the Lebensbornheim seemingly required additional labor. On April 4, 1945, a female prisoner was transferred from the Dachau concentration camp to the Ravensbrück Ansbach subcamp. Six days later, on April 10, 1945, the camp was evacuated, and the prisoners were taken over by the Ravensbrück outside detail at Steinhöring. The employer for this subcamp, about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) to the east of Munich, was also a Lebensbornheim.

SOURCES As the Ansbach subcamp was a small camp, it is only briefly mentioned in secondary sources: Diana Fitz, *Ansbach unterm Hakenkreuz* (Ansbach, 1994), p. 176; and Ino Arndt, “Das Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück,” *DaHe* 3 (1987): 146. The Ansbach camp is also listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 233; and *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. 553.

Sources on the Ravensbrück subcamp in the Bavarian city of Ansbach can possibly be found in AG-D and AG-R.

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BARTH

Located on the Baltic Sea between Rostock and Stralsund, the Barth subcamp was part of the Ravensbrück concentration camp and consisted of one section for men and one for women. It was a project of Ernst Heinkel AG, Rostock, which transferred a part of its aircraft production from its main Rostock factory to Barth in order to protect it from Allied air raids. At the end of April 1942, Rostock had become the target of massive air raids by the Royal Air Force. A quarter of the air raids had been aimed at the Heinkel factory, located on the edge of the city.¹ In addition, Heinkel was one of the first private companies to enter into arrangements with the SS, and as early as the end of 1941 to rely on male prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in a nearby factory at Oranienburg.

The history of the Barth subcamp begins with the arrival of the first 200 male prisoners from Buchenwald. Their first task was to fence in the camp and to convert the buildings on the Barth air base into factory buildings. About a month later,

the first 200 female prisoners arrived from Ravensbrück. In February 1944, there were already 1,721 male and female prisoners in Barth.² In the period that followed, the numbers increased to 4,000 prisoners. Altogether 6,000 male and female prisoners were deported to Barth, making it one of the largest Ravensbrück subcamps.

Internal security was provided by a handful of SS men and a number of SS female overseers. External security was provided in large part by SS members of German origin from Croatia, Hungary, and Romania.³

A little less than one-half of the female prisoners were Russian and Ukrainian. Approximately one-third were Poles. There were smaller numbers of Yugoslav, French, Hungarian Jews, and a few Germans, as well as a number of very young “Gypsies” (Roma) in Barth. The Roma—some 15 and 16 years old—from the Burgenland, were deported to Ravensbrück in June 1939.

In February 1944, a group of 56 female Russian prisoners, led by 12 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), refused to act as forced laborers for the German war effort. The SS unsuccessfully sought to break the resistance, on the one hand, by brutally mistreating the prisoners, and on the other, by promising additional rations. It was only when a few of them could no longer stand the torture, and the SS threatened to randomly kill selected prisoners, that the female Russian prisoners relented and attempted to continue their resistance by sabotage.

The Russians, followed by the Poles, were the largest group among the 2,900 male prisoners. Italians, Yugoslavs, French, Croats, Germans, and other nationalities were nowhere near as strongly represented. It was common in the male camp for weak and exhausted male prisoners to be placed in the outside detail of the infamous SS-Kommandoführer Zay. Survivors report that this detachment regularly returned to the camp with dead prisoners, who had been mistreated by Zay, beaten to death, or shot. Noteworthy is that the female camp at Barth was also marked by numerous examples of maltreatment of prisoners, resulting, though, in noticeably fewer deaths, which leads to the assumption that a more violent atmosphere prevailed in the male camp than in the female one.

In addition, from the middle of February 1945 on, the male camp at Barth was the goal of evacuation transports from Karlshagen I and the Stutthof subcamp of Pölitz. Many of these prisoners were at the end of their strength, emaciated and ill, further weakened by the privations of the evacuation transports. Many died in Barth just a few weeks and days before liberation. On April 30, 1945, the SS forced those prisoners capable to march in several columns in a westerly direction. There remained behind around 300 seriously ill and completely exhausted male prisoners who were liberated by the Red Army on May 1.

Altogether 438 prisoners died in the male camp at Barth. Thus, the male camp at Barth, together with the Karlshagen I subcamp, counted as one of the worst Ravensbrück subcamps for male prisoners. On the other hand, it is scarcely possible to estimate the number of dead in the women’s camp, as sick and exhausted prisoners were returned to the main camp at Ravensbrück. It is certain there were more than the 12 female prisoners known to have been cremated in the Barth crematorium.⁴

SOURCES There are two very different types of documents on Barth: Alfred Weber, *Stärker als der Tod: Die verbrecherische Rolle des Heinkel-Konzerns im KZ Aussenlager Barth* (Rostock, 1970); and the *und der, Widerstand der Häftlinge vieler Nationen* (Rostock: Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der örtlichen Arbeiterbewegung, n.d.). The latter work adopts a narrow ideological view. The first comprehensive review is by Helga Radau, *Nicht ist vergessen und niemand: Aus der Geschichte des KZ Barth* (Kückenshagen, 1994); but see also Ines Birth, “Das KZ Aussenlager Barth 1943–1945” (Ph.D. diss., Universität Rostock, 1988); Bernhard Strebel, “‘Verdammt sind meine Hände’: Zwangsarbeit für die deutsche Rüstungsindustrie in den Aussenlagern des KZ Ravensbrück,” *ZR-MM-V* 1:4 (2000): 4–8.

The most extensive collection of documents (camp documents and prisoner reports) is located in the ASt-Ba.

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NOTES

1. Olaf Gröhler, *Bombenkrieg gegen Deutschland* (Berlin, 1990), pp. 48–52.

2. List by the WVHA chief Pohl, February 21, 1944 (Annex to a letter from Himmler to Göring, March 9, 1944), Nuremberg Document PS-1584.

3. Statement by the Company Commander of the Guards, Arnold Zöllner, 1964, cited in Helga Radau, *Nichts ist vergessen und niemand: Aus der Geschichte des KZ Barth* (Kückenshagen, 1994), p. 36.

4. Details from “Aufstellung über Feuerbestattung der Häftlinge vom KZ Aussenstelle Barth,” ASt-Ba; “Liste der auf dem Friedhof in Barth beerdigten Häftlinge,” *ibid.*; Włodzimierz Kuliński, comp., “Kalendarium der Todesfälle im Männerlager des KZ Ravensbrück” (unpub. MSS, Warsaw, 1991; expanded by Bernhard Strebel, Hannover, 1997).

BORN

The village of Born, located in the southern part of the Baltic peninsula of Darss (during World War II, part of the province of Pommern, Landkreis Franzburg-Barth), is part of the present-day Federal German State of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. In a list of the Ravensbrück concentration camp detailing private companies, the subcamp is listed under the number “14KI DII-16/14c- SS-Standartenführer Müller, Born b. Wiek auf Darss.”¹

Before the Ravensbrück camps were established, there was a temporary Neuengamme subcamp on Darss. A group of 50 male prisoners (Jehovah’s Witnesses) were used to cut reeds in the winter of 1940–1941 and 1941–1942. The reeds were required as raw material for weaving mats in Ravensbrück. The reeds were to be used to produce camouflage mats.² The prisoners were held in Wiek and later in Zingst.³

Unlike the Neuengamme subcamp, which only existed during the winter months for the purpose of cutting the reeds, an independent subcamp was established in Born, probably in 1943, for male and female prisoners from the Ravensbrück concentration camp.

Reeds were not of much value to the Ravensbrück camp. The attempt to use reeds as an extraordinary material, to cultivate in large quantities and to process the reeds into a fiber, cellulosic or starch,⁴ failed in 1942 due to Oswald Pohl, head of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). Reeds were to be used in the Ravensbrück concentration camp for women solely for the production of mats.⁵ For large-scale production, there was a shortage of civilian labor, with the result that prisoners had to be used. For the industrial processing, there was a lack of specialists, and in any case there were plans to use the prisoners for more important work. It was probably for this reason that the cutting of reeds at Darss was stopped. The weaving mill for the raw material in the main camp at Ravensbrück ceased production at the end of September 1943 due to a lack of raw material. The Ravensbrück prisoners in the Born subcamp were given other tasks.

Four Jehovah’s Witnesses were held in the Born Forestry Office between May 1943 and April 1945. They were accommodated in the Master Forester Franz Müller’s laundry on the forestry grounds.⁶ In this building the women had to produce, among other things, feed for pigs. At night they slept in double bunk beds. The women were rarely given a proper meal. They ate potatoes while preparing the feed for the pigs.⁷ The women, dressed in prisoner clothing and wearing wooden clogs, were easily recognized by the villagers in Born. They were mistreated by private individuals while doing farmwork. On the whole, they worked without supervision, as escape from the peninsula was impossible and had no purpose. Shortly before the end of the war, the women were released.

In the summer of 1943, the windows of the Borner Hof, an inn, were equipped with iron bars. In the autumn of 1943, approximately 120 prisoners accompanied by approximately 20 SS guards arrived at the subcamp. This contingent of prisoners would be the first. The guards occupied the first floor of the inn. The office of the detachment leader, Willi P., was located here.⁸ The prisoners were held in the large room below. They slept on three-tiered bunk beds. At this time there were also Polish forced laborers in the Born Hof. There was no contact between the prisoner groups.

The prisoners worked at the SS-Meilereie, or charcoal works, about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) away from the Borner Hof, to the north of the Postweg. The SS-Meilereie was intended to convert wood to a fuel by coking it. In 1943, the SS bought part of a private farm from the state Forestry Office. Equipment to process hard wood was established in the buildings on the farm. During the winter, reeds were cut on the Saaler Bodden but only for the purpose of renovating Born dwellings. Müller was in charge of all the work.⁹

It is likely that a group of five fleeing prisoners were shot in the Darss Forest and buried on the edge of the cemetery. The Schwerin Criminal Police recorded on October 20, 1944, that during the night of October 12, 1944, three Eastern European men escaped from a labor detachment of the Ravensbrück concentration camp in Born on the Darss. The search

order emphasized that the escapees, once recaptured, were to be transferred back to the Ravensbrück concentration camp.¹⁰

The SS began to dissolve the camp in April 1945. Astonishingly, a group of 35 prisoners were deported to the Barth subcamp, which was located further east. This was unusual, given that the Red Army was advancing. The remaining prisoners were driven in the direction of Ribnitz. They were liberated by the Red Army near Wustrow. Camp commander Wilhelm P. and Master Forester Müller most likely fled in the direction of Hamburg.

There are no known trials against the SS members in the camp.

SOURCES Details on the subcamp are from a research project by the Mahn und Gedenkstätte Ravensbrück/ Stiftung Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten (January 2000–January 2002; A. Meyer, E. Schwarz, S. Steppan). Some additional material is available in Hermann Kaienburg, *Vernichtung durch Arbeit: Der Fall Neuengamme: Die Wirtschaftsbestrebungen der SS und ihre Auswirkungen auf die Existenzbedingungen der KZ-Gefangenen* (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz, 1991); and in Reinhard Plewe and Jan Thomas Köhler, *Baugeschichte Frauen-Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 2001). See also Bernhard Strebel, “Verdammt sind meine Hände,” *ZR-MM-V*, 1 (July 2000).

Archival materials are held in both the AG-R and AG-NG, as well as in the BA-B, BA-L, and VLA-G.

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NOTES

1. BA-B, Film 1575 unpubl. Aufstellung des Häftlingseinsatzes in Privatbetrieben, o.D. See also “Das Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” *BGBI.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1793. Here the opening date is put as December 1, 1942.

2. BA-L, AR 1476/66, Bl. 53.

3. Schriftwechsel A. Meyer Oktober 2000 mit D. Garbe Gedenkstätte Neuengamme. Vgl. Dokumentenhaus Neuengamme, Ng.2.8./380, Erinnerungsprotokoll Karl H.

4. BA-B, NS 19/ 412, Bl. 3-4. Abhandlung “Schilf als Rohstoff” von Oberführer Ludwig.

5. AG-R, SBG RA Bd. 11, Ber. I. Bl. 3. Rohrmattenweberei für die Gesellschaft für Textil und Lederverarbeitung GmbH. Ausrüstungs- und Bedarfsgegenstände militärischer und ziviler Art.

6. AG-R, SBG Projekt Aussenlager, Ordner Born. Brief von Gerda L.

7. VLA-G, Rep. V 6/17/24, Bl. 49.

8. The following details are taken from the written record of an interview between A. Meyer and Harald H. in June 2000 (in possession of the author).

9. VLA-G, Rep. V 6/17/24, Bl. 49 (Bericht der “Jungen Historiker,” Born 1965/66); VLA-G, Rep. 66a Fr-Ba/ 17, Bl.109. Zuständigkeiten des Forstmeister Mueller über den Jagdbezirk Born, September 22, 1940.

10. AST-RDG n.p.

COMTHUREY [AKA DABELOW]

The Comthurey subcamp was located at the Comthurey Manor in Mecklenburg, about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) to the northeast of the Ravensbrück concentration camp (on the road from Dabelow to Wokuhl). The manor house was used by SS-Obergruppenführer Oswald Pohl, the head of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), and his family as a country residence. The manor comprised about 338 hectares (835 acres) and had been bought in December 1940 or January 1941 by the German Research Institute for Nutrition and Provisions, Ltd. (DVA) (Amtsgruppe W, Amt W V/1 of the WVHA [Stand 1942]), an SS firm. Farming the manor was organized by the DVA.

The SS-Experimental Farm (Versuchsgut) Comthurey is connected to the first experimental Ravensbrück farm that began operation shortly after the opening of the Ravensbrück main camp in 1939. Female prisoners were to be used for the expansion of the farm for economic reasons. The DVA aimed to make the SS-Versuchsgut Comthurey an “exemplary example of a farm in bio farming”¹ and invested heavily in the expansion of the farm. By 1943 the Comthurey Manor was farming 570 hectares (1,408 acres).² The expansion of the Comthurey Manor occurred largely in accordance with the personal wishes of Pohl. In part, Pohl personally took over its administration even though he did not have the slightest understanding of agricultural matters. So-called enthusiasts’ buildings (*Liebbaherbauten*) were put in place to strengthen the representative character of the manor. The DVA goal was “to achieve outstanding agricultural production, as much as possible.” The farming interests included the nearby manors of Brückenthin and Dabelow. Pohl’s decision to establish a home within the DVA area and his personal influence on the economic expansion underline the significance of the Comthurey subcamp in the Ravensbrück subcamp system.

The *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS*, published by the International Tracing Service (1979), lists the Comthurey subcamp as the Dabelow Labor Detachment. The subcamp’s buildings were not located in Dabelow but on Comthurey Manor grounds. The camp was in fact two camps—one for male and a second for female prisoners. The exact location of the camp is unknown.

At the beginning of 1942, male prisoners from Ravensbrück were sent to the manor to build and expand its facilities.³ The camp was located close to the Pohl’s family house, on a field close to the Grosse Gadow See.

SS-Scharführer Wilhelm R. was initially in charge of the prisoners.⁴ They were guarded by eight SS men.

Unlike other subcamps, the prisoners’ barracks were not the normal barracks but 8 to 10 “caravans” or circus vans. As security, the wagons were fenced in with barbed wire. The wagons were equipped with three-tiered bunk beds. There were sanitary facilities, and washing and drinking water had to be brought from the nearby lake by the prisoners.⁵ The small windows were locked during the night. Due to the lack

of space, there was nowhere for the prisoners to sit. They could hardly move in the caravans.

The first group of prisoners were political prisoners, the “limited preventive custody” prisoners (*befristete Vorbeugehäftlingen BVers*).⁶ Initially between 80 and 100 prisoners (Czechs, Germans, Poles, French, and Russians)⁷ were busy pulling down part of the old manor and rebuilding the Pohl home. They also worked up until the middle of 1943 on the nearby garden, expanded the stables, and built a lodge in the forest.⁸ The pressure that was put on the prisoners to build Oswald and Eleonore Pohl a luxurious residence has been described by eyewitnesses as unbelievably inhuman. At times the prisoners worked day and night; skilled prisoner artisans worked up to 36 hours. Work was done on the run, and the SS personnel drove the prisoners on without a break. According to witnesses, the prisoners, who were mostly stigmatized as criminals, received little food; their labor was exploited to the maximum, and they were not allowed basic hygiene. Sick prisoners were returned to the Ravensbrück main camp.

After the initial expansion construction, the SS largely exchanged the prisoners in the summer of 1943. A second group of prisoners were deployed, the majority of whom were Jehovah’s Witnesses. Their task, according to Alois M., was to build in 1943–1944 Germany’s most modern piggery.

In the middle of 1944, the camp’s commander Wilhelm R. was transferred to the Natzweiler concentration camp. The name of his successor at the Comthurey subcamp is not known.⁹ The guards were replaced by Croatian SS men.

The prisoners built barracks in addition to the caravans. They were allowed to place tables in the barracks, and there was room to move—unlike the previous conditions. According to survivors, the Jehovah’s Witnesses were subject to special rules by the camp leadership. They were allowed to pick berries in the nearby forest. This guaranteed the prisoners’ survival. As with the previous group of prisoners, they had to care for all the agricultural requirements of the manor, focusing on the construction of farm buildings.¹⁰

Survivors recall three deaths in the subcamp. The prisoner Reinhold S. was witness in 1943 to the murder of two prisoners. Their escape over the lake did not succeed, and they were hung by the SS at the manor.¹¹

As the Comthurey subcamp was geographically close to the main camp, the SS had quick access to its prisoners and chose men with skilled qualifications so that they could exploit their skills in other subcamps.¹²

Little is known about the prison conditions and the history of the women’s persecution due to the lack of documentation.¹³ The camp probably existed from the spring of 1942 to April 1945. It consisted at first of one barracks and later of two wooden barracks. It was close to the Comthurey farm laborers’ settlement (Comthurey Oberstadt). The barracks were divided into a commercial barrack, which held the kitchen and sanitary facilities. The second functioned as a dormitory and canteen. In the spring of 1942, 80 Polish women were deported to the subcamp to expand the drainage ditches at Comthurey. This group of women worked on

the manor until they were transported back to Ravensbrück in the autumn of 1942. Many of the women suffered from kidney inflammations due to the heavy labor and the cold. Sick women were sent back to the main camp and were replaced by other prisoners.¹⁴ The female prisoners were mostly used in agriculture.

This camp is not to be confused with the female labor detachment “Gut Dabelow.” This manor lay only a few kilometers from the Comthurey camp. The labor detachment consisted of between 10 and 30 prisoners from the Ravensbrück concentration camp. They worked each day on the Boldt Manor (a grain mill) in Dabelow, returning in the evening, under the supervision of a wardress, to the Ravensbrück main camp.¹⁵

On March 23, 1943, on the order of camp commander Fritz Suhren, 10 women were transferred to the Auschwitz concentration camp as punishment. They were accused of sending uncensored letters with the help of a wardress to the outside world while they were working in the labor detachment at the Comthurey Experimental Farm. It remains unclear whether this was a day labor detachment or prisoners who were permanently based in the subcamp.

Later there were approximately 100 women in the Comthurey subcamp. They were of different nationalities.¹⁶ According to the wardress Frieda L., the women mostly did agricultural work and worked as servants in the Pohl’s residence. The women also worked in private homes and the bakery and did forestry work.¹⁷ The prisoner Alois M., from the male camp, was responsible for giving the women tools from the storeroom for work on the farm and the forest.¹⁸

According to the former wardress Frieda L., shortly before the end of the war, in February 1945, Jewish prisoners were brought to the camp. The health of these women was very poor. Their fate is not known. At the end of March 1945 the subcamp is thought to have been dissolved, with the prisoners being taken to the main camp, from where they were sent on a death march.

As the demand for prisoners depended on the decisions of the DVA, the number of prisoners varied considerably, particularly as the subcamp was close to the main Ravensbrück camp.

According to the provisional final report on the DVA from June 30, 1944, there were at this point 93 prisoners held in Comthurey (without distinction as to gender), nine SS members, two civilian employees, and 17 farm laborers. The use of prisoners was relatively high compared to other manors.¹⁹

According to a Comthurey local, just before the end of the war the main building in Comthurey was detonated by the SS. The stables remained, as did the terrace, which had been built by the prisoners, a sauna, a wooden pavilion, and an ornamental fountain close to Pohl’s house. The farm laborers’ settlement on the road to Wokuhl also survived. After the war, Comthurey was to hold approximately 30 German refugees.²⁰

Only parts of the foundations remain of what is thought to be the female prisoners’ accommodation. There is nothing to recall the history of the camp, and neither the perpetrators’ structures or the SS power structure in the area is docu-

mented. There were references to the killed prisoners. Both German states disregarded camp survivors until the 1990s.

Notwithstanding that, in 1969 the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) and the Federal Republic of Germany investigated former wardens and wardresses, although there were no court proceedings against them.

The German Democratic Republic's (GDR) criminal proceedings against the wardress Frieda L. have not been researched.

SOURCES The details on the Comthurey subcamp originate from the author's research as part of a project by the AG-R/SBG (January 2000–January 2002; A. Meyer, Dr. E. Schwarz, S. Steppan). See also Reinhard Plewe and Jan Thomas Köhler, *Baugeschichte Frauen-Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 2001); and Grit Philipp, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Frauen-Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück 1939–1945* (Berlin, 1999).

Comthurey is listed in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)* (Arolsen: Suchdienst, 1979), 235.

Archival records are available in the BA-B and the AG-R.

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NOTES

1. BA-B, NS 3/ 722, p. 22, Jahresabschlussbericht Chef W im SS-WVHA from April 12, 1944, für die DVA GmbH.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

3. BA-B, Film 11143, pp. 235–236, Schreiben vom January 9, 1942. Betr. der Zusammenstellung zu erstattender Ausgaben für Comthurey und Brückenthin.

4. BA-B, Film 1575, n.p.

5. Bericht Eduard. W, MGR/SBG, RA. Bd. 43, Ber. 940/27.

6. Alfred Ludwig Hillinger, *Kraft, die über das Normale hinausgeht: Zeugnisse unerschütterlichen Glaubens* (Linz: Oberwang, 1999), p. 31.

7. Sammlungen MGR/SBG, RA Bd. 43 Ber. 940/18.

8. Cf. Various reports: Sammlungen MGR/SBG, RA Bd. 36, Ber. 716 (Karl G), RA Bd. 43 Ber. 940/19, RA Bd. 43 Ber. 940/6 (Emil S.), RA Bd. 43 Ber. 940/15, RA Bd. 43 Ber. 940/18 (Fritz S.), RA Bd. 43 Ber. 940/33 (Horst S.).

9. BA-L, AR- 1439/66, p. 14.

10. BA-L, AR-Z 78/72, Bd. X, Bl. 2432, Vernehmung Horst. S, Ludwigsburg 1968.

11. BA-L, AR-1439/66, Vernehmungsprotokoll von Reinhold S., Landeskriminalamt NRW, 1969.

12. BA-L, AR-1439/66, Bl.68ff, Vernehmungsprotokoll Joseph S., Kommando Hohenlychen, Gut Harzwalde. Other prisoners were deported to Damshöhe or Prenzlau.

13. John M. Steiner, "Es war ja nicht so . . .," in *Jahrbuch 2000*, ed. Döw (Vienna, 2000). Interview with Alosia Hoisl.

14. Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie, Handschriftenabteilung, Wanda Kiedzrynska, AG-R/SBG, Erinnerung Irena B.

15. AG-R/SBG, RA Bd. 14/1 Arbeitseinteilungen im Juni 1942. Gespräch A. Meyer 12.07.2001 mit Zeitzeugin aus Dabelow.

16. Sammlungen MGR/SBG, Bd.39 Ber. 866.

17. See Sammlungen MGR/SBG, HA J.S. vom 14.6.1996; and Sammlungen MGR/SBG, HA J. Sa. Vom 30.03.1992.

18. Erinnerungsbericht, Alois. M.: 6 jährige Erfahrungen aus—7 KZ.- Lagern und von verschiedene "Aufbau" Nebenlagern, AG-N.

19. BA-B, NS 3, Nr. 722, unp.

20. AST-NZ, Org. 155, unp.

DAHMSHÖHE

The Dahmshöhe subcamp was located in what was then the Prussian district of Brandenburg. It was located on land belonging to the Dahmshöhe Manor in the area known as Althymen. The distance from Dahmshöhe to the city of Fürstenberg/Havel, Mecklenburg, and the Ravensbrück concentration camp was about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles). The manor, used primarily for agriculture, dated from 1865.¹ There are written records that show that female prisoners from Ravensbrück were sent to work at the Dahmshöhe Manor in May, July, September, and October 1942. The women left the camp in the morning and returned after completing their work.²

In the middle of 1943, the SS began to use part of the manor for military purposes. An SS-Cavalry Training Squadron (Lehrschwadron) was stationed there to train noncommissioned officers.³ The unit was accommodated in several barracks distributed on the manor grounds. An industrial barracks, in the form of a T, served as kitchen, dining hall, and cafeteria. Noncommissioned officers in Dahmshöhe received their cavalry training as squadron leaders for several months before they were sent to the front. They received instructions on the use of light and heavy weapons, explosives, and armored fighting vehicles, among other training programs. The instructors were mostly officers, graduates of the SS-Junker School at Bad Tölz in Bavaria. At first, the SS noncommissioned officer training squadron was divided into four platoons. Later, the first squadron with four platoons, armed with light infantry weapons, and the second squadron with three platoons, equipped with heavy machine guns and grenade throwers, belonged to the so-called SS-Cavalry Training Squadron. The Dahmshöhe subcamp was established in preparation for the stationing and expansion of the training squadron. Only male concentration camp prisoners were located at Dahmshöhe. The camp's occupants revealed details about the work and the appearance of the subcamp during a trial of SS-Obersturmführer Rudolf Beer, the former camp commandant, which took place in 1949 and 1950 before the Stuttgart District Court.

The first consignment of male prisoners from Ravensbrück to Dahmshöhe appears to have occurred in the spring of 1943. It is claimed that at first 30 and later up to 100 prisoners from Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Soviet Union, and Austria worked there. Most of the prisoners were skilled tradesmen. A few of them either had been or would be later deployed in other camps, such as Prenzlau, Comthurey, or Feldberg. The main work of the prisoners was the construction of housing for the soldiers and stables for the horses.

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They had to fell trees, level roads, construct barracks and garages, lay out a riding ring, and do other manual work. They were housed in a wooden barrack that was encircled by a barbed-wire fence. There was at least one watchtower (possibly several). A cordon of SS guards, transferred from Ravensbrück, was responsible for external security. One of the prisoners functioned as Kapo and another as cook. There are reports of two attempts by prisoners to escape in July 1943. Mischko Houbin, a Soviet prisoner, was unsuccessful and was murdered in Dahmshöhe on July 14, 1943. This crime resulted in the above-mentioned proceedings against Beer, who was acquitted on July 17, 1950, by a jury for lack of evidence.⁴

As the Eastern Front approached at the beginning of April 1945, the SS-Noncommissioned Officers Training Squadron was transferred to Bohemia to the military training ground at Beneschau (Benesov), about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) south of Prague. Investigations by the State Prosecutor at Stade, Niedersachsen, between 1975 and 1979 could not substantiate claims that members of the squadron shot, on April 7 and 8, 1945, 36 inhabitants at the Czech village Velké Popovic (Gross-Popowitz) and at Strančice.⁵

SOURCES There is no written history of the Dahmshöhe camp. Details on the Dahmshöhe subcamp are the result of a research project conducted by the AG-R and SBG between January 2000 and January 2002 by A. Meyer, E. Schwarz, and S. Steppan. To date, the only and most important sources on the Dahmshöhe subcamp are the investigations by ZdL (held at BA-L), as well as documents from the court proceedings at the Stuttgart District Court against the former camp commandant of the male camp at Ravensbrück. The investigation is also found in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlungen Deutscher Strafurteile wegen Nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1966*, ed. A.L. Rüter Ehlermann, H.H. Fuchs, and C.F. Rüter (Amsterdam, 1971), 6: 726. The NLStA-S has a collection of documents relating to the SS-Kavallerieschwadron.

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NOTES

1. See Landkreis Havel, Landkreis Oberhavel, der Landrat, Kataster- und Vermessungsamt Oranienburg, Alt-Thymen, Steuermutterrolle, Bd. IV, Nr. 74; as well as Alt-Thymen, Gebäudebuch; *Reinkarte Regierungsbezirk Potsdam*, Gemarkung, Alt-Thymen.

2. AG-R, SBG, vol. 14.

3. BA, Film 1567, “Verzeichnis der zuständigen Ersatztruppenteile der Waffen-SS vom 1.8.1944.” In this document, as in others, Dahmshöhe is written as Damshöhe.

4. BA-L, 985/94. See also *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlungen Deutscher Strafurteile wegen Nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1966*, ed. A.L. Rüter-Ehlermann, H.H. Fuchs, and C.F. Rüter (Amsterdam, 1971), 6: 726.

5. See NLStA-S, Rep. 171a Stade acc. 43/87, Nr. 193–201.

EBERSWALDE

The town of Eberswalde is a county seat located some 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) to the northeast of Berlin. Two barracks

have remained standing near the former Eisenspalterei railway station and serve as reminders of a subcamp operated by the Ravensbrück concentration camp on these and the adjoining grounds in 1944–1945. The two buildings—authentic testimonies to the National Socialist tyranny—were placed under monument protection in 1998.

Under National Socialism, Eberswalde and what was then still the independent town of Finow came to play a central role in armaments production. This first “industrial” center of the Mark Brandenburg region had already begun to emerge on the Finow Canal in the early seventeenth century. In the early days of its history, metalworking plants such as iron, copper, and brass works shaped its economy.

One of the largest enterprises in the Finow Valley was the Ardel Works, founded in 1902 by Robert Ardel and moved to Heegermühler Strasse in 1912. In the period before 1933, the company distinguished itself worldwide with the construction of cranes; during the Third Reich it developed into a leading armaments manufacturer. The Ardel family enjoyed the best of connections to the heads of the Reich departments and ministries and realized enormous profits in the execution of public orders. Antitank guns became among its most well known products. The expansion of the plant culminated in 1940 with the completion of a huge steelworking hall; construction of the “Nordwerk” facility on the Hohenzollern Canal (the present-day Oder-Havel Canal) had gotten under way in 1935. There, the Märkisches Stahlformwerk GmbH, a subsidiary of the Ardel Works, manufactured hand grenades and bombs.

During World War II, the company’s workforce was reduced by conscriptions to military service; at the same time, however, the demands on production were growing. The Ardel Works came to terms with these circumstances by employing an increasing number of “foreign workers” and concentration camp prisoners, who accounted for 3,000 of the 11,000 members of the company’s manpower (including the workforces of the Eberswalde Steel-Molding Works and the Breslau Works) after 1939.

Several barrack camps were established in the vicinity of the plant. In 1943, on an area of land owned by the Ardel Works, the Rüstungskommission III des Reichsministerium für Bewaffnung und Munition (Armaments Commission III of the RMfBM) ordered the construction of the camp known as the Camp Cooperative West (Gemeinschaftslager West). On September 13, 1943, the ministry officially responsible for construction projects informed the president of the administrative district of Potsdam of plans for a camp to be built according to “the stationary solid construction system for the accommodation of one thousand workers . . . of which the first subsection for 650 foreign workers and 200 German workers will be executed immediately.”¹

The Berlin architects Eckart Muthesius and Hellmut Remmelmann were responsible for the plans. The district president—in his capacity as senior building inspector—approved the project on September 23, 1941, “for the duration of the war” and granted his approval for two additional barracks on November 15.² The camp ultimately consisted of eight ac-

commodation barracks, two washroom and toilet barracks, one service barrack (including a kitchen, dining hall, shower room, etc.), a first-aid station, and a guard and camp command barrack. The Eberswalde-Finowfurt railway separated the factory grounds from the camp, whose entrance was located only a few meters from the Eisenspalterei railway station.

The first “residents” of the Gemeinschaftslager West were some 100 to 150 Belgian workers. When they arrived in early March 1944, the barracks had not yet been completed. As early as the beginning of May, all inmates were moved to the nearby Drehnitzlager. The Gemeinschaftslager West, now completely evacuated, was assigned a new function: it was to serve the Ravensbrück concentration camp as a subcamp. On September 5, 1944, the first Ravensbrück inmates arrived in Eberswalde from the main camp. Two weeks later (on September 21) the subcamp’s population already numbered approximately 730 prisoners.³

The utilization of the existing barracks was now adapted to the new requirements. The prisoner area was enclosed by two fences, of which the inner one was electrically charged. This arrangement, along with the guards posted in watchtowers, made escape attempts practically impossible. Like the original first-aid station, the four lodging barracks in the northeastern section of the grounds were located outside the enclosure. The infirmary (*Revier*) was housed in the service barrack. A former guard testified that approximately 18 women were employed as guards, along with 8 to 12 men for the “external control of the camp.”⁴

SS-Unterscharführer Friedrich (Fritz) Giese served as camp commander. A trained roofer, he had joined the SS in 1933 and served on the front in 1939, at the beginning of the war. No longer “conditionally fit for combat duty” due to a severe injury, Giese had been on the staff of Ravensbrück concentration camp since March 1942. He took command of the Eberswalde and Finow subcamps in September 1944.

The majority of the prisoners in Eberswalde were young women under the age of 21. Most of them came from Italy, Poland, and the Soviet Union. Other known countries of origin were Denmark, France, Greece, Yugoslavia, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Austria, and Hungary. Only a small number of German women were committed to the Eberswalde subcamp. All of the prisoners wore the red triangle identifying them as political prisoners.

The day began with wake-up at 4:00 A.M. The prisoners had to form up for roll call an hour later. Armed SS women with dogs accompanied the work gangs to the Ardelts Works. The working hours were Monday to Saturday from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. The workers usually had Sundays off and stayed in the camp. Some of the women were employed in the production of machine guns in an arms factory located in the former Eberswalde municipal theater about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from the camp. In addition to forced labor in the factories, prisoners were employed in the construction of temporary housing as well as in the excavation of trenches and antitank ditches.

Violations of the camp regulations were disciplined with draconian punishments. A prisoner recalls: “The Russian and

Polish women were often caught looking for potatoes and turnips in the cellar or informed on. . . . They had to stand at the camp fence in the severe cold with little on in the way of clothing, received 15–20 blows and nothing to eat until the following day. We Germans were often ordered by the SS to pick fights with the foreign women. We refused and were called ‘sissies’ from then on.”⁵ The prisoners also dreaded detention in the “Bunker,” a cellar partially filled with water.

Malnutrition led to a brief dysentery epidemic and tuberculosis. Due to the poor hygiene conditions, many of the women suffered from infections of the skin. The number of dead is not known, for the bodies were usually sent to the Ravensbrück main camp for cremation.

The history of the Eberswalde subcamp ended in April 1945. One record testifies to a population of 821 prisoners as late as April 10.⁶ In view of the advancing Red Army, the camp was evacuated a short time later. The prisoners were transported back to Ravensbrück on trucks, approximately 25 ill prisoners already having been taken back by rail.

After the war, the legal authorities called several members of the SS staff to account. The French military tribunal in Rastatt, for example, condemned the guard Lena Barth to a two-year prison term for her activities in the Eberswalde and Neubrandenburg subcamps. Three further Eberswalde subcamp guards had to answer for their actions before the Halle (Saale) District Court on October 13, 1949. Frieda Krüger, Hildegard Mannig, and Hilda Trocha, however, were cleared of all charges of crimes against humanity. The fourth defendant, Helene Röscher, evaded trial by fleeing to Western Germany. In the 1960s, the Public Attorney’s Office in Cologne instituted proceedings against the former camp commander Giese. By the time of Giese’s death in 1969, however, it had not proved possible to shed light on the homicides with which he was charged.

SOURCES A detailed overview on the history of the Eberswalde subcamp can be found in Carsten Seifert, “Das Außenlager Eberswalde des KZ Ravensbrück,” *EJfHKNg* (1999–2000): 49–62. Eyewitness testimony is contained in Karin Berger, Elisabeth Holzinger, Lotte Podgornik, and Lisbeth N. Trallori, eds., *Ich geb Dir einen Mantel, dass Du ihn noch in Freiheit tragen kannst: Widerstehen im KZ: Österreichische Frauen erzählen* (Vienna: Promedia, 1987), pp. 44–48, 277, 318; as well as in Stadt- und Kreismuseum Eberswalde, ed., *Eberswalde 1945: Eine Zusammenfassung von Ereignissen mit Dokumenten und Erinnerungen (Heimatkundliche Beiträge. Heft 3)* (Eberswalde: Stadt- und Kreismuseum, 1995), pp. 13, 17–18. Additional information can be found in Ilona Rohowski, *Landkreis Barnim. Teil 1: Stadt Eberswalde (Denkmaltopographie Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Denkmale in Brandenburg. Band 5.1)* (Worms am Rhein: Wernersche Verlagsanstalt, 1997), pp. 31, 206–208, 218; Karin Schmidt (MSS)/Leitung der Grundorganisation der SED des VEB Kranbau Eberswalde, ed., *Geschichte des Volkseigenen Betriebes Kranbau Eberswalde. Teil 1. 1902 bis 1945* (Neubrandenburg: Bezirksdruckerei “Erich Weinert,” 1985), pp. 57–59; Karlheinz Scholze, “Die Ardelts. Die Geschichte vom Aufstieg und Untergang der Ardeltswerke GmbH in Eberswalde von 1901 bis 1945,” *EJfHKNg* (1998–1999): 71–88 and (1999–2000): 21–47; Carsten

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Seifert, Harald Bodenschatz, and Werner Lorenz, *Das Finowtal im Barnim: Wiege der brandenburgisch-preussischen Industrie*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Transit, 2000), pp. 45–46, 85–90.

The buildings of the Eberswalde subcamp and the history of their construction are outstandingly well documented, particularly by the construction files (town of Eberswalde), which have survived in their entirety, as well as by aerial photographs of the years 1944 and 1945 (LAVM-Br). Eyewitness reports are to be found in the AG-R. Files of the BA-DH, BA-L, and the BStU provide information on the legal proceedings against former SS guards and camp commander Friedrich Giese after 1945.

The following archival collections contain information on the Eberswalde subcamp: BLHA (Potsdam), Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, I Hb, Nr. 1679; BA-B, RS/Giese, Friedrich/19.05.10; BA-DH, R 154/8999, VgM 10041/17; BA-L, AR 1492/66, AR 2485/66; BStU-H(S), BV Halle, ASt 6072/49; LAVM-Br, Landesluftbildsammelstelle (Potsdam) Aerial photographs dated May 30, 1944 (Film-Nr. K 074–44, Bild-Nr. 3034), April 15, 1945 (Film-Nr. K 178–45, Bild-Nr. 4107); SVG (Brussels) Ministère de la Reconstruction, Direction Générale des Dommages aux Personnes, 1ère Direction: Recherches, Documentation et Décès, Service “Camps,” *Rapport Définitif No 55. Eberswalde* [typescript, March 10, 1952, unpub.]; NARA, RG 339-000-50-II, Ravensbrück, vol. 2, Folder 3, Statement Danuta Tulmacka, May 13, 1945; Stadt Eberswalde, Untere Bauaufsichtsbehörde, Verwaltungsarchiv Bauakte Kranbau Eberswalde, File III; and SBG, MGR, RA Bd. 20, Bericht-Nr. 188; RA Bd. 22, Bericht-Nr. 211; RA Bd. 22, Bericht-Nr. 234; RA Bd. 36, Bericht-Nr. 721; RA Bd. 40, Bericht-Nr. 917; RA Bd. 40, Bericht-Nr. 918; RA Bd. 40, Bericht-Nr. 925.

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NOTES

1. Der Baubevollmächtigte des Reichsministeriums Speer im Bezirk der Rüstungsinspektion III (Brdbg.), II B Rü 220-4555-III, September 13, 1943, BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, I Hb, Nr. 1679; copy in Stadt Eberswalde, Untere Bauaufsichtsbehörde, Verwaltungsarchiv, Bauakte Kranbau Eberswalde, File III.

2. Regierungspräsident des Regierungsbezirks Potsdam I Hba. 3422, September 23, 1943, and I Hba. 4111, November 15, 1943, in Stadt Eberswalde, Untere Bauaufsichtsbehörde, Verwaltungsarchiv, Bauakte Kranbau Eberswalde, File III; drafts in BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, I Hb, Nr. 1679.

3. Reichsanstalt für Wasser- und Luftgüte, November 8, 1944, in BA-DH, R 154/8999.

4. Vernehmung der Marie, Emma, Ella La Fauche vor dem A.K. Dezernat 5, n.d., in SBG, MGR, RA Bd. 36, Bericht-Nr. 721, 3.

5. Aus dem Fragebogen von Erna Olga Hientsch, geb. Huth aus Grossweinböhla, n.d., in SBG, MGR, RA Bd. 40, Bericht-Nr. 925.

6. Gefangenen-Stärkemeldung, April 10, 1945, in NARA, RG 339-000-50-II, Ravensbrück, vol. 2, Folder 3, Statement Danuta Tulmacka, May 13, 1945.

FELDBERG

The village of Feldberg lies about 45 kilometers (28 miles) to the northeast of the Ravensbrück concentration camp and is located in the Mecklenburg lake district. In December 1943, the central administration of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amt W V (W-5), responsible for agriculture, forestry, and fisheries, was created in Feldberg/Mecklenburg as a part of the relocation of the key SS offices from Berlin. The central administration offices of the German Research Institute for Nutrition and Provisions (DVA) (SS-WVHA Amt W V/1) were also established there. The office was not located in existing dwellings. A temporary barracks was used as the place of business.¹ It was headed by SS-Obersturmbannführer Heinrich Vogel, who represented the economic interests of the DVA, and from 1944, by Dr. Max Horn, an accountant.²

The Feldberg subcamp was probably located close to the building complex of the former hydropathic sanatorium (*Wasserheilanstalt am Haussee*). Locals recall the time around 1943 when, as part of the program of evacuating children from the cities, children and teenagers were quartered in the facilities of the sanatorium. Survivors clearly remember that the camp was located close to the children's home.

The subcamp for male prisoners was located in a sort of inn or a boiler house.³ Male prisoners from Ravensbrück were probably accommodated there in the middle of 1943, with 20 to 30 prisoners in the cellars of the brick building. The prisoners were political prisoners, Jehovah's Witnesses, and so-called criminals.⁴

The guards were in another part of the same building. The forecourt of the building was enclosed with a high fence, about 2 meters (6.6 feet) high. Food in the camp was supplied from a cellar outside the fence that was kept under lock and key, as were the toilets.⁵ The prisoners were guarded by ethnic Germans (*Völkdeutsche*) from Yugoslavia, Romania, and Czechoslovakia who were members of the SS-Wachmannschaft at the Ravensbrück concentration camp. There were six guards.

The prisoners worked for the SS doing carpentry work in the SS quarters and building and expanding the so-called overflow (*Ausweichlager*) of Amt W V. Skilled prisoners also built the SS accommodation, offices, and barracks for the Reich Labor Service (Reichsarbeitsdienst, RAD). Little is known about the camp conditions for this small group of prisoners. A female eyewitness recalls that often the men spent time in the forecourt after they returned to the camp, thereby making contact with the outside world. The prisoners, either to go to the toilet or to organize their evening meals, had to report to the guards, who then accompanied the prisoners when they left the building. Albert Franz was able to leave the camp grounds in September 1943 without a guard. He was shot by SS-Wachmann Anton M. for supposedly leaving the camp without permission. It is not known if there were other deaths. The guard Anton M. was transferred in November 1943 to the Ravensbrück Barth subcamp.

The exact date of the camp's dissolution is not known. The prisoners were transferred in 1943 to the Prenzlau subcamp,

where they were used, for example, as electricians, on SS construction projects.⁶ Whether some of those held in Feldberg remained there until war's end is not documented.

Little is known about the restructuring of the SS buildings in Feldberg. Former areas of the Amt W V, two SS barracks on the Kuhdamm, were handed over in 1946 as part of the sequestration of the Feldberg property. They were in turn leased to the Landwirtschaftliche Hauptgenossenschaft-Reifeissen GmbH for grain storage.⁷

Proceedings against the alleged murderer and former SS guard Anton M., who was said to have murdered the prisoner Albert Franz on September 15, 1943, ceased in 1974.⁸ The Koblenz State Prosecutor determined that the SS member should not be charged on the basis that he shot for base motives but on the basis that he shot a prisoner trying to escape. As a result, the killing was not considered murder. The accused acted according to SS regulations in shooting escaping prisoners. The accused could not be charged with manslaughter, as the Federal German statute of limitations applied.

There were no proceedings in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) for crimes committed in the Feldberg subcamp. The State Security, in the summer of 1981, researched whether the Feldberg subcamp was connected with the production of secret weapons at the time.⁹

SOURCES There are no published sources specifically on this camp.

Archival records are held in the BA-BL, the BA-L, and other archives as indicated in the notes.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, NS 3, Nr. 751, Bericht des Chefs des Amtes W, Baier bei der DVA in Feldberg/Meckl, vom December 4–5, 1943 (Baier Chef des Stabes W und stellvertretender Chef der Amtsgruppe W).

2. BA-BL, NS 3/1428, p. 26.

3. BA-L, Ar 1491/66, p. 16.

4. Zeitzeugengespräch Angelika Meyer, Feldberg 23.07.01 mit Karin K.; Protokoll in possession of the author.

5. BA-L, AR 1491/66, p. 148, Beschuldigtenvernehmung Anton M., Staatsanwaltschaft Konstanz, May 1974.

6. BA-L, AR- Z 94/70, Vermerk zu Heinrich Q. vom January 25, 1968, p. 14.

7. MLHSN, Ministerium des Innern (1946–1952), Nr. 2935, unpubl.

8. BA-L, AR 1491/66, p. 141, Verfahrenseinstellungsbeurteilung Staatsanwaltschaft Koblenz vom July 9, 1974.

9. BStU, SV 25/81, Akte 13, pp. 3, 15–18.

FINOW

A subcamp of Ravensbrück existed in 1944–1945 only about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the Eberswalde subcamp, in the town of Finow (the present-day district of Eberswalde). Fol-

lowing the National Socialist assumption of power, the brass works located there had developed—like the Ardelts Works—into a major munitions supplier.

The plant, in operation since 1700, is one of the oldest industrial sites in the Finow Valley. The Prussian state privatized what had long been the Königliche Messingwerk (Royal Brass Works) in 1863. The new owner, the Halberstadt trading firm Aron Hirsch & Sohn, ran the firm as a public limited company (Hirsch, Kupfer- und Messingwerke AG) beginning in 1906. The *Neuwerk* (new plant) constructed in 1917–1920 produced for a worldwide clientele. In 1935, the enterprise had some 3,300 employees. The memory of the Jewish business family Hirsch, which because of economic difficulties had retired from the firm in 1932, was erased from the company name for good in 1941. Called the Finow Kupfer- und Messingwerke AG (FKM), the undertaking was incorporated into the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG) the following year.

A subsidiary founded especially for wartime production, the Finower Industrie GmbH was already established on the Hohenzollern Canal (the present-day Oder-Havel Canal)—approximately 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from the parent company—as early as 1934–1935. The plant manufactured rifle cartridges and antiaircraft munitions. In addition to the production halls, there were a magazine and a shooting gallery. Because of its concealed location in the forest, the local population referred to the site speciously as *Waldeslust* (forest delight).

In view of the large number of employees enlisted for military service, the FKM and its subsidiary made increasing use of foreign workers to satisfy the rising demand for munitions. At the end of May 1944, of the company's 6,260 workers, 1,000 were on war duty. A full 2,482—that is, 47 percent of the 5,260 workers remaining in Finow—were foreigners (including 306 Italian prisoners of war [POWs]).

A lodging camp for the Finower Industrie GmbH had already been set up in 1942–1943 between the factory grounds and the works railway to the south. In addition to an already existing air-raid shelter, initially four workers' barracks and one service barrack were built. A few months later, they were supplemented by an additional five lodging barracks, two toilet facilities, and a washroom with bath facilities.

It was at this site that the Ravensbrück concentration camp established the Finow subcamp in 1944. The FKM had applied for the assignment of 200 prisoners to meet its workforce demands in munitions production. The first transport from Ravensbrück to Finow took place in the summer of 1944. Initially, approximately 100 to 200 women shared two blocks. The first barrack (the Russian block) was divided into two sections, one accommodating Ukrainian women, the other primarily Polish. In the second barrack (the Polish block), all four sections were occupied by Polish women. The campgrounds were enclosed by two fences, with the inner one being electrically charged.

In the winter of 1944, in view of an expected—and later executed—transport of prisoners from the Auschwitz concentration camp, the Finow subcamp was expanded by the addition

of three barracks located nearby, which had previously provided living quarters for “free” Russian women. From this time on, one section of the Polish block served as an infirmary, which, however, had only very few medications and primitive medical supplies (for example, toilet paper for bandaging wounds and a kitchen knife for opening abscesses) at its disposal. The factory first-aid station had previously been responsible for the prisoners’ medical care. Frequently, though, the SS staff had refused sick prisoners access to that facility.

The prisoners performed forced labor for Finower Industrie GmbH 12 hours a day, from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. “The work considered heaviest was that at the shell and bullet sorting machines, since the workers had to stand the entire time, and the prisoners charged with operating those machines also had to put in night shifts,” a former prisoner recalls. “Two shifts were also worked in the so-called ‘paint shop,’ where . . . as a result of the vapors brought about by the heating of the lacquered shells, the work was particularly unpleasant and hazardous to the health. The night work was uncommonly arduous because of the fact that, even though you could theoretically sleep during the day, the noise in the barracks and the frequent roll calls, from which the night-shift workers were not exempt, prevented you from sleeping.”⁷¹ The quality control of the bullets was among the easier tasks.

On November 20, 1944, 416 of the 2,012 workers at Finower Industrie GmbH were concentration camp prisoners. The number of camp prisoners rose to 564 by December 11, 1944, and to 674 by January 8, 1945, as compared to the overall workforce of 1,999 and 2,245, respectively. In addition to citizens of Poland and the Soviet Union, the prisoners included Belgian, German, French, Yugoslavian, Dutch, and Hungarian women. German civilian workers were also employed in the factory.

Like the Eberswalde subcamp, the Finow subcamp was under the command of SS-Unterscharführer Friedrich (Fritz) Giese. The SS staff reacted to disobedience and escape attempts with blows, detention in darkened cells, deprivation of food, and other brutal punishments. Some of the prisoners were taken back to the Ravensbrück main camp. Nothing is known of their later fate. “Quite suddenly the conduct of the SS changed,” a prisoner who worked in the infirmary recalled. “We were no longer beaten indiscriminately in the courtyard but were taken into the so-called roll call hall individually and beaten there. The reason for the change soon became clear to us. Free workers from the East, Poles and German civilians gathered around the fence and complained audibly when the SS went about celebrating their sadistic orgies on us.”⁷² Prisoners no longer able to work to full capacity were transported to Ravensbrück and exchanged there for “fresh” workers. “It is therefore easily conceivable that no one dared to say she was sick, since the return to Ravensbrück meant: crematorium. So among the women in the infirmary there were always a few who were as good as dead.”⁷³

In view of the daily cruelties, every sign of solidarity aided survival in the camp. Evidence exists, for example, of contact

between a prisoner and a Czech factory worker (both women); the latter supplied current news from the front and mailed and received correspondence to and from the prisoner’s children under her own name. Furthermore, two members of the camp personnel enlisted for service with the SS, Johannes Gebhardt and Elfriede Reimer, are known to have helped the prisoners and thus endangered their own safety. They never doled out blows; they shared their rations, provided information on the course of the war, and occasionally conveyed news to family members.

A characteristic example of the misanthropic mentality of the SS is the order, issued shortly before the end of the war, “that in the case of an enemy tank breakthrough or airborne landing, all prisoners, regardless of their nationalities, are to be taken into the magazine . . . and the magazine is to be blown up.”⁷⁴ This horrendous deed was never committed, however. In early March 1945, Finower Industrie GmbH discontinued production due to a shortage of raw materials, and approximately 300 prisoners were returned to Ravensbrück in trucks. There were still 306 prisoners in the camp on April 10, 1945, according to a camp population report drawn up on that day.⁷⁵ That same month, the Finow subcamp—like the Eberswalde subcamp—was completely evacuated. The remaining inmates were likewise transported back to Ravensbrück by truck.

SOURCES See Carsten Seifert, Harald Bodenschatz, and Werner Lorenz, *Das Finowtal im Barnim. Wiege der brandenburgisch-preussischen Industrie*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Transit, 2000), pp. 45–46; Stadt- und Kreismuseum Eberswalde, ed., *Eberswalde 1945: Eine Zusammenfassung von Ereignissen mit Dokumenten und Erinnerungen (Heimatkundliche Beiträge. Heft 3)* (Eberswalde: Stadt- und Kreismuseum, 1995), pp. 16–18.

Several construction files (Barnim District, Town of Eberswalde) as well as aerial photographs of 1944 and 1945 (LAVM-Br) provide information on the construction history of the munitions factory Finower Industrie GmbH and the Finow subcamp. Firsthand reports of former prisoners (AG-R) provide insight into everyday life in the camp. Files of the BA-L and the BStU-H(S) supply information on the legal investigations into actions of the camp personnel.

The particular archival collections are as follows: BA-B, R 8119 F/P-1172 - P-1188 and RS/Giese, Friedrich/19.05.10; BA-L, AR 1492/66 and AR 2485/66; BStU-H(S), Zentralarchiv (Berlin) AP 3783/79; LAVM-Br, Landesluftbildsammelstelle (Potsdam) Aerial photographs dated May 30, 1944 (Film-Nr. K 006-44, Bild-Nr. 4036), and April 15, 1945 (Film-Nr. K 178-45, Bild-Nr. 4106); AKr-EW, Bauakten Finower Industrie GmbH; NARA, RG 339-000-50-II, Ravensbrück, vol. 2, Folder 3, Statement Danuta Tulmacka, May 13, 1945; Stadt Eberswalde, Untere Bauaufsichtsbehörde, Verwaltungsarchiv Bauakten Finower Industrie GmbH; and SBG, MGR (Fürstenberg/Havel) RA Bd. 22, Bericht-Nr. 211; RA Bd. 31, Bericht-Nr. 576; and RA Bd. 40, Bericht-Nr. 932.

Carsten Seifert
trans. Judith Rosenthal

NOTES

1. Teresa Werner, "Das Lager in Finow," n.d., in SBG, MGR, RA Bd. 31, Bericht-Nr. 576, p. 2.
2. Helene Freudenberg, "Meine Erlebnisse im Gestapo-Gefängnis Fehrbellin und im Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück," n.d., in SBG, MGR, RA Bd. 40, Bericht-Nr. 932, p. 10.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
5. Gefangenen-Stärkemeldung, April 10, 1945, in NARA, RG 339-000-50-II, Ravensbrück, vol. 2, Folder 3, Statement Danuta Tulmacka, May 13, 1945.

GRÜNEBERG

The village of Grüneberg is situated about 55 kilometers (34 miles) north of Berlin and close to a railroad track connecting the German capital and the town of Fuerstenberg an der Havel. The local Grüneberger Metallgesellschaft mbH was a subsidiary of the Magdeburg-based Polte company. The factory building—located in a copse close to the Grüneberg station—was founded in 1931. Workers there had produced 2 cm ammunition as well as ammunition for the infantry since September 1933.

The management of the Grüneberger Metallgesellschaft mbH counted 217 employees and 4,121 laborers who worked at the factory in the summer of 1944. Most of them were Germans (1,868), but there were also 124 workers from Italy, 205 workers from France, 894 workers from Eastern Europe, and 1,030 women and girls from the Ravensbrück concentration camp.¹

Grüneberg was the third of approximately 39 subcamps of the Ravensbrück concentration camp, following Comthurey in Brandenburg and Born at the Baltic Sea. The first 350 female prisoners—who were deported from the Soviet Union to Ravensbrück—reached Grüneberg on March 6, 1943. The number of prisoners increased continuously and reached a maximum figure with 1,703 in April 1945. Most of them were women and girls from the Soviet Union (Russians, Ukrainians). About 300 prisoners were deported from Poland; others were from Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia (most of them were Slovenes); there were also Latvians, Estonians, and a few prisoners of Dutch, French, German, and Greek origin.

The Grüneberg subcamp was located about 150 meters (492 feet) from the station. It was separated from the nearby factory building by the railway line. The subcamp—150 meters (492 feet) long and 118 meters (387 feet) wide—was surrounded by a fence under voltage and had two guarded gates used as an entrance.

The prisoners lived in eight huts of the make 501/34. These huts were 50 meters (164 feet) long and 10 meters (33 feet) wide. Every hut had space for 214 prisoners, who had to sleep in bunk beds without mattresses and pillows but with sheets and thin blankets. Every hut had a toilet room and a separate space with six washbowls. In three cases the toilet rooms were outside the hut, and during winter, all huts were bitterly cold.

In addition, there was a hut used as an infirmary, a kitchen, and a pantry and another hut used as a dining hall. The so-

called "Bunker" was a special place where prisoners were tortured. The Bunker was simply a deep, unlined hole.

The prisoners who worked in the factory building—only a few prisoners were forced to do housework in the subcamp instead of working in the factory—worked in 12-hour shifts with a break of about 15 minutes.

The labor time changed every week between a day shift (as a general rule from 7:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M.) and a night shift (from 7:00 P.M. to 7:00 A.M.).

Although there was no Allied air strike, air-raid warnings were frequent, and prisoners were sent to the factory's basement or to an underground area next to the subcamp during the alarm. The female SS guards controlled the prisoners in the subcamp, on their 15-minute walk to and from the factory building, and inside the factory. The leading female SS guard was Betty Herzinger. Her substitute, a woman called Hesse, was moved to the Auer Oranienburg subcamp in 1945.

The unhygienic living conditions and the hard work led to numerous diseases. In July 1944, hundreds of prisoners came down with food poisoning. A Russian and a Czech doctor were on duty in the subcamp's infirmary, but they were overtaxed because of an absence of medications. A huge number of prisoners died in the subcamp as well as after their deportation back to Ravensbrück, but it is not possible to give exact numbers.

The authorities evacuated Grüneberg between April 22, 1945, and April 26, 1945. At first, all prisoners from Poland were deported by trucks to Ravensbrück. The Swedish Red Cross liberated most of them in the so-called *Aktion Bernadotte* on April 24, 1945, when the SS allowed their release.

Most Grüneberg prisoners were deported by train or forced to walk to Ravensbrück, which was about 40 kilometers (25 miles) away. The authorities in Ravensbrück evacuated the concentration camp and forced the Grüneberg prisoners to be part of a second march. A huge number of weakened women and girls died; other prisoners reached the Mecklenburg town of Luebz—east of Parchim—where they were liberated by Soviet soldiers on May 1, 1945.

SOURCES Primary documentation on the Grüneberg subcamp is located at the AG-R, as well as at the AG-S, especially "Sammlung Thomas Irmer Recherche Aussenlager des KZ Sachsenhausen Ordner No. 8. Inhalt: Diverse Aussenlager 1/2 A-K."

For a comprehensive history on Grüneberg, see Susanne Neumayer, "Das Aussenlager des KZ Ravensbrück in Grüneberg und die Grüneberger Metallgesellschaft mbH. Ein Rustungsstandort in der Spaetphase des Zweiten Weltkrieges," Magister Artium an der Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, November 2002.

For an updated overview of the status of research on the subcamps of the Ravensbrück concentration camp, see Angelika Meyer, Erika Schwarz, and Simone Steppan, "Die Aussenlager des Frauenkonzentrationslagers Ravensbrück—eine Bestandsaufnahme," in *Zwangsarbeit und Gesellschaft: Beitrage zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung in Norddeutschland*, vol. 8 (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2004).

Alexander Jossifidis

VOLUME I: PART B

NOTE

1. AG-S, Gewerbeaufsichtsamt Neuruppin (April 11, 1944), in "Sammlung Thomas Irmer: Recherche Aussenlager des KZ Sachsenhausen Ordner Nr. 8, Inhalt: Diverse Aussenlager 1/2 A-K."

HAGENOW

Hagenow lies about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) to the west of Neustadt-Glewe and was part of the former state of Mecklenburg. In 1945, the People's School and Wehrmacht Senior Hospital Training School (Volksschule und Oberschule Wehrmachtslazarette) was established there.¹

In February 1945, 150 female prisoners from the Ravensbrück concentration camp were deported to Schwerin. There, the prisoners worked at a number of different places.² A group worked in a market garden and on farms; the others, in a clothing factory; 5 of the women from the transport arrived at Hagenow. There they had to work in a laundry, which formed part of the Wehrmacht hospital. The women were accommodated in the garden house of a private dwelling, which was surrounded with a 2-meter-high (6.6-foot-high) barbed-wire fence. Each morning the women were collected by Wehrmacht soldiers and taken to the laundry. The soldiers guarded and supervised the women. In May 1945, the women were liberated by American soldiers when they were on their way to the laundry. The women continued to help in the laundry until they returned home.

SOURCES There are no secondary sources specifically on this camp.

Archival records may be found in the BA-L.

Angelika Meyer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Karls, Kuno: Kiek'n hatt schrüb'n ut Hagenow . . . Erinnerungen an "44 Jahre Nachkriegszeit," Hagenow, 1995.
2. BA-L, AR-1585/69, p. 21

HOHENLYCHEN

Hohenlychen, part of the spa town of Lychen, lies 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) to the northeast of the Ravensbrück concentration camp. During the National Socialist era, Hohenlychen was the location for a well-known clinic for sport and work injuries headed by Professor Dr. Karl Gebhardt, a specialist in reconstructive surgery and a confidant of Heinrich Himmler. From 1936 onward, Gebhardt was a member of the SS-Medical Corps and then the Waffen-SS, where, by the end of World War II, he had reached the rank of SS-Gruppenführer and Generalleutnant. Even before the war, he established a special clinic for SS members in his sanatorium. During the war, members of the Wehrmacht were treated in a separate department, and a smaller section remained available for

civilian use. From 1936, Gebhardt maintained another ward where he had a private practice. Among his patients were members of various European royal families, diplomats, politicians, sports people, industrialists from various countries, as well as high-ranking members of the National Socialist political and military leadership.

The sanatorium was officially known as the Red Cross Sanatorium Hohenlychen. Its history is closely connected with the Ravensbrück concentration camp in two ways: first, through the human medical experiments conducted in 1942 and 1943 on Polish female resistance fighters by Gebhardt and at least two of his assistants. Second, prisoners from the Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück concentration camps were used as forced laborers in Hohenlychen. There is also a statement by a witness according to which Gebhardt conducted medical experiments at Hohenlychen in 1943 and 1944 on four male prisoners from Ravensbrück and a Jewish woman from the Uckermark youth camp. The victims were killed by means of an injection, once the experiments were complete.¹ As with the medical experiments, hardly any documents on the use of prisoners in the sanatorium have survived from the National Socialist era. The little information that is available on prisoners' labor is based mostly on witness statements or personal experiences of former prisoners and by a former female employee of the sanatorium. Whether the prisoners were used throughout the sanatorium or worked only in certain areas and the extent to which they were used as forced laborers remain unclear. Details about how the clinic organized the work details and the guards can only be gleaned from the prisoners' reports. It is not even possible to clarify whether Hohenlychen should be seen as a subcamp of Ravensbrück, because many work details were covered by the Ravensbrück main camp. Finally, the period during which prisoners worked at Hohenlychen is uncertain. All that can be ascertained with certainty, from statements by former prisoners and a few documents, is that the period is from 1941 to 1945.

The fragmentary clues, which point to prisoners' labor in the sanatorium, at least give an indication of the type of forced labor in Hohenlychen: there is evidence that a work detail comprising 29 prisoners from Sachsenhausen was put to work in the Hohenlychen Sanatorium on August 1, 1941.² Neither the type of work nor the prisoners' nationalities or group to which they belonged is known. All the remaining information relates to prisoners from the Ravensbrück camp. According to a statement by former prisoner Alois Moser, the sanatorium employed, from time to time, 30 to 50 Jehovah's Witnesses, that is, "serious Bible researchers."³ Moser, as a Jehovah's Witness, himself imprisoned in Ravensbrück, stated that between December 1944 and April 1945 he worked in the canteen and the SS clothing store. He described Hohenlychen as a subcamp of the Ravensbrück camp.⁴ A former sanatorium employee tells of a Jehovah's Witnesses' work detail that was put to work cleaning the streets in Hohenlychen.⁵ Worthy of note is the statement by Moser that the Jehovah's Witnesses working in Hohenlychen were treated in an

unusual way—they were dressed in civilian clothing, and their hair was not shorn.⁶

In addition to this group of prisoners, mostly the names of Polish prisoners, who worked as forced laborers in Hohenlychen, have been verified. Zofia Rys, a Polish woman, stated in an interview that she worked in the sanatorium's garden.⁷ She was held in Ravensbrück from September 1941. She does not state in her interview when she became a member of the Hohenlychen work detail. In the summer, the garden detail comprised 30 people and, in the winter, 15. The prisoners traveled each day by train from Ravensbrück to Hohenlychen. They wore prisoners' garb. According to Ryś, working in Hohenlychen was a privilege. She describes the peace in the well-cared-for sanatorium garden as a blessing, compared to the conditions in the Ravensbrück camp. The female wardens in the sanatorium were less strict and not as brutal. She and her coprisoners were able to smuggle fresh fruit from there into the Ravensbrück camp. According to her report, mostly civilian sanatorium employees supervised the prisoners' work. The employees, particularly the "director" and the gardener, chose the prisoners strictly according to their job performance. Ryś, in her report, states that because of her musical abilities she had a special function within the work detail: she had to sing for the head of the Hohenlychen kitchen and for this reason was chosen in the winter for the reduced work detail.⁸

The woman in charge of the Ravensbrück gardening work detail in the sanatorium was probably the Pole Teresa Taczukowa. Another eyewitness account states that during the years 1943 and 1944 she was successful in making contact in Hohenlychen with French prisoners of war (POWs), who were also working there. As a result of this contact, it was possible to forward to the resistance current details of the conditions and events in Ravensbrück. Ryś states in her report that the French POWs had hidden a radio in a pigsty. By this means, information flowed back to Ravensbrück. The work detail in Hohenlychen, with the help of Polish agricultural laborers, was able, for more than a year, to send and receive letters to and from families of the prisoners in Poland. According to the eyewitness report, victims of the medical experiments were able to work, despite a ban, outside the camp in the Hohenlychen loading work detail and in the garden work detail.⁹ As a result of these channels of information, the sanatorium played a special role also for the resistance of the "guinea pigs" in Ravensbrück.

In addition to the outside details, individual prisoners from Ravensbrück appear to have been assigned to the sanatorium for special technical work. The engineer Walter Jahn from Ravensbrück was technical supervisor of the x-ray equipment in Hohenlychen at various times between October 1941 and April 1945. He reported on the human experiments in Hohenlychen. He also claims that there was a prisoners' barracks in Hohenlychen.¹⁰ His report does not indicate whether he himself lived there. According to the prisoners' card index, another prisoner, Jaroslav Chmelar, also worked in Hohenlychen from April 1941. The nature of the work he did is not known.¹¹ Another example

proves that prisoners must have lived in Hohenlychen. In connection with the medical experiments in Ravensbrück, Gebhardt obtained a Polish doctor, Halena Chelmicka, a technical assistant in Ravensbrück, to work in Hohenlychen in 1942–1943. A letter by Gebhardt reveals that she worked in the sanatorium's photographic section.¹² According to statements of colleagues, Chelmicka lived at Hohenlychen isolated from patients and other employees. When Gebhardt fled in April 1945 from Hohenlychen to Flensburg, he took her with him.¹³ Her fate is unknown. The First American Military Tribunal in the "Nuremberg Doctors' Trial" in 1947 convicted Gebhardt of carrying out inhuman medical experiments. He was sentenced to death and executed a year later. The forced labor at Hohenlychen did not play any part in this and later trials.

SOURCES No sources or eyewitness statements that could give further information about the prisoners' work or the Hohenlychen subcamp are known, other than those referred to in the text. The names of the prisoners, death lists, and poems from the Hohenlychen external details, which were smuggled out of Ravensbrück and buried, have survived. Constanze Jaiser discusses these documents in her dissertation "Poetische Zeugnisse: Gedichte aus dem Frauen-Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück 1939–1945," in *Ergebnisse der Frauenforschung*, vol. 55, (Stuttgart: Weimar, 2000). The significance of Hohenlychen as part of the Ravensbrück resistance is referred to in several short passages in publications by former Ravensbrück prisoners: Germaine Tillon, *Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück* (Lüneberg, 1998); Dunja Breur, *Ich lebe, weil du dich erinnerst: Frauen und Kinder in Ravensbrück* (Berlin, 1997); Wanda Symonowicz, *Über menschliches Mass: Opfer der Hölle Ravensbrück sprechen* (Warsaw, 1970).

A work on Zofia Ryś is being put together by Gabriele Knapp, *Musik und Gesänge aus Ravensbrück* (to be published). Excerpts from Alois Moser's report are to be found in publications about the Jehovah's Witnesses in the Third Reich: Detlef Garbe, *Zwischen Widerstand und Martyrium* (Munich, 1993); Alfred Ludwig Hillinger, *Kraft, die über das Normal hinausgeht: Zeugnisse unerschütterlichen Glaubens* (Oberwang, 1999). Otherwise, Hohenlychen is usually only mentioned in connection with economic matters and Karl Gebhardt's medical experiments on the women from the Ravensbrück concentration camp; *Vernichten und Heilen: Der Nürnberger Ärzteprozess und seine Folgen*, ed. Angelika Ebbinghaus and Klaus Dörner (Berlin, 2001). An essay with further information about the Hohenlychen Sanatorium during the National Socialist era is to appear shortly: "Karl Gebhardt und die Heilanstalt Hohenlychen," by Judith Hahn, in *SudA*.

Judith Hahn
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See ZdL at BA-L, 409 AR 641/60, File 9 AR 641/60, pp. 2, 12.
2. See MGR, Häftlings-Kartei.

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3. See the report by Alois Moser dated May 23, 1986. Thanks to Detlef Garbe, who provided information about Alois Moser and provided access to his report. See also Detlef Garbe, *Zwischen Widerstand und Martyrium* (Munich, 1993), pp. 424–445.

4. See excerpts from Alois Moser's report in Alfred Ludwig Hillinger, *Kraft, die über das Normal hinausgeht* (Oberwang, 1999), p. 38.

5. See MGR, Document: "Elfriede Beckmann an MGR" (February 21, 1995).

6. See Alois Moser, "Erlebnisbericht" (May 23, 1986).

7. Interview by Loretta Waltz with Zofia Ryś on September 21, 2001. From the video collection series *Widerstand leben—Frauenbiographien* (1979-).

8. Ibid.

9. See excerpts from a report by Janina Iwanska, in Germaine Tillon, *Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück* (Lüneberg, 1998), p. 189. Iwanska was a victim of Gebhardt's medical experiments.

10. "I arrived in Ravensbrück on September 13, 1941. About four weeks later I had to service the equipment in the hospital at Hohenlychen (prisoner's barracks). The prisoners' barracks was part of the pathology department . . ." BA-L, ZdL, 409 AR 641/60, File 9 AR 641/60, p. 12.

11. See MGR, Häftlings-Kartei.

12. See Gebhardt's letter to the President of the Swedish Red Cross, Count Bernadotte (May 8, 1945), GStAPK, I. HA, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Rep. 335 Fall 1, Nr. 365, "Verteidigungsdokumentbuch" 1, Nr. 17, p. 85. The document originates from the files of the Nuremberg Doctors' Trials of 1946–1947. The document collection is now available as *Der Nürnberger Ärzteprozess 1946/47: Wortprotokolle, Anklage und Verteidigungsmaterial, Quellen zum Umfeld*, ed. Klaus Dörner, Angelika Ebbinghaus, and Karsten Linne (Munich, 1999).

13. See Gebhardt's letter to the President of the Swedish Red Cross, Count Bernadotte (May 8, 1945), GStAPK, I. HA, Rep. 335 Fall 1, Nr. 365 "Verteidigungsdokumentbuch" Nr. 1, Nr. 17, p. 85; MGR, Doc.: "Elfriede Beckmann an MGR" (February 21, 1995).

KALLIES

About 70 kilometers (44 miles) southwest of Gdańsk, a subcamp attached to Ravensbrück was created in Kallies (Pommern Provinz; later Kalisz Pomorski, Poland). An unknown number of male inmates were deported to Kallies, most likely from the men's camp at Ravensbrück. The Kallies subcamp was created to supply cheap labor to the Gerätewerk Pommern in mid-1944. The introduction of concentration camp inmates from Ravensbrück and other camps into the armaments manufacturing workforce stemmed from an agreement forged between the SS-Business and Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the administration of the armaments firms. Inmates were provided to the firms at a low, per-day "price" paid by the firms to the WVHA.

No further information about the subcamp at Kallies, including the number of inmates, camp guards, commandant,

living and working conditions, or postwar trials, could be found. The inmates were evacuated from Kallies to the main Ravensbrück camp in early 1945.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the Kallies subcamp of Ravensbrück. For a brief outline of the camp, including opening and closing dates, kind of prisoner work, and so on, see the entry for Kallies in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen, 1979).

The ZdL (now BA-L) in Ludwigsburg contains various files related to or that make note of the Kallies camp: see IV 409 AR-Z 99/70 VI/VIII; IV 409 AR 1485/66; and IV 409 AR 1591/66. Additional materials are most likely stored at the AG-R.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

KARLSHAGEN I AND II

The concentration camp Karlshagen I, near Peenemünde on the island of Usedom on the Baltic coast, was one of the largest Ravensbrück subcamps for male prisoners. Some 1,800 prisoners passed through it during its almost two years of existence, from May 1943 to the end of April 1945.

The testing unit of the Reich Air Ministry (RLM) operated the camp (for the testing of the aerial bomb Fi 103 better known as the V-1 rocket), which fell back on earlier experience in using large numbers of different categories of forced labor, such as prisoners of war (POWs) and foreign civilian workers.

The initiative to use concentration camp prisoners stemmed from the testing unit, which had applied for these services at the end of April 1943.¹ Four weeks later, the first 253 prisoners were transferred from Buchenwald to the Karlshagen I subcamp. There followed transports up to January 1945, above all from Buchenwald but also from Sachsenhausen and Natzweiler, totaling 1,540 prisoners. The majority of the prisoners came from the Soviet Union. The next largest groups were from Poland and France. There were other nationalities represented, but their numbers were by no means as great.

Karlshagen I and Barth were the worst of the Ravensbrück subcamps for male prisoners. In the period from June 1943 to March 1945, 228 prisoners died in Karlshagen I.² In addition, quite a few were evacuated in the four "sick transports" that took 600 prisoners in June and September 1944 and January 1945 to Bergen-Belsen. Another "invalid transport" from Karlshagen I headed in the middle of February 1945 for the Barth subcamp.³

SS-Obersturmführer Hans Baumgart was commander of the Karlshagen I subcamp until July 1944. Later, he was replaced by a lieutenant of the Wehrmacht. The SS guards were largely replaced in the summer by members of the Luftwaffe.⁴

The average of approximately 1,000 prisoners were used for heavy labor such as transport, earth and grading works, as well as working for the Schlempp construction unit and the Luftwaffe. The debilitating work was often made worse by abuse and mistreatment by the guards and a few Kapos.⁵

Not to be forgotten is the spectacular escape of 10 Soviet prisoners under the leadership of air force officer Michail Dewjatajew from the Karlshagen I subcamp in February 1945. They stole a Heinkel (He) 111 bomber and successfully reached Soviet lines.

At the end of March 1945, about 950 prisoners were taken to Ellrich, a subcamp of the Mittelbau concentration camp. A few days later the majority of these prisoners were taken to Bergen-Belsen. At the end of April, the remaining prisoners were taken by ship to Barth, and a few days after their arrival, they were forced to march in a westerly direction. They were liberated by the Red Army a short distance from Rostock.⁶

The Karlshagen II subcamp near Peenemünde on the island of Usedom was attached to the serial test works of the Army's Weapons Office (Heereswaffenamt) for the development and production of the A4 (aggregat 4), or V-2 rockets. It was established in the middle of June 1943 and administered by the concentration camp at Ravensbrück. The camp was dissolved in the middle of October 1943 after the massive air attack on Peenemünde on the night of August 17–18. The total number of male prisoners held in the camp on that date was 600.

From the beginning of the war, foreign and forced laborers (POWs and foreign civilian laborers) were used in Peenemünde in large numbers. As the production of the V-2 rockets came closer to reality in 1943, the already chronic shortage of labor worsened additionally because of the efforts to maintain secrecy. After initial thoughts to replace the civilian forced laborers with concentration camp prisoners, an A4 Committee delegation inspected the Heinkel factory in Oranienburg in the middle of April 1943. Here 4,000 prisoners from the nearby Sachsenhausen concentration camp were used by Heinkel.⁷

Two months later, the first transport of 200 prisoners from Buchenwald arrived; a second transport with another 400 prisoners from Buchenwald followed on July 9, 1943. Two-thirds of the prisoners were from France and the Soviet Union. There were also a large number of German "protective custody" prisoners. The prisoners were housed in the cellar of the large assembly building. This "advance detachment" was engaged primarily in heavy manual labor in construction and assembly. During the four-month existence of the Karlshagen II subcamp, 15 prisoners died, excluding those who died during air raids.

SS-Untersturmführer Arnold Strippel was commander of the Karlshagen II subcamp. A large number of the guards were ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche) and elderly Wehrmacht members.⁸

A heavy raid by the Royal Air Force during the night of August 17–18, 1943, hit the assembly factory, killing 18 prisoners. After this air attack, all plans for the mass production

of V-2 rockets in Peenemünde were dropped. The prisoners were kept for a few weeks in Peenemünde, where they cleaned up and dismantled the facilities. In the middle of October 1943, they were taken via Buchenwald to the recently established Mittelbau subcamp. Here they were housed in underground tunnels and again put to work in debilitating construction and assembly work in setting up this new underground production facility.

SOURCES A comprehensive study of the Karlshagen I subcamp remains to be written. The best overview is that by Jens-Christian Wagner, "Zwangsarbeit in Peenemünde (1939–1945): Praxis und Erinnerung," *ZR-MM-V* 1, (2000): 15–21. There are many works on the V-1, although most of them mention the Karlshagen I subcamp and forced laborers either in passing or not at all. See, for example, Heinz-Dieter Hölsken, *Die V-Waffen: Entstehung—Propaganda—Kriegseinsatz* (Stuttgart, 1984); Volkhard Bode and Gerhard Kaiser, *Raketenspuren: Peenemünde 1936–2000* (Berlin, 2001). For the use of concentration camp prisoners in the production of rockets, see Florian Freund, *Arbeitslager Zement: Das Konzentrationslager Ebensee und die Raketenrüstung* (Vienna, 1989), esp. pp. 39–48.

For the escape of the Soviet POWs, see M.P. Dewjatajew, *Flucht von der Insel* (1964; Berlin/Ost, 1972). There are other unpublished survivors' reports, as well as contemporary documents scattered throughout numerous archives.

A scholarly work on the Karlshagen II subcamp remains to be written. For research literature, see Michael J. Neufeld, *Die Rakete und das Reich: Werner von Braun, Peenemünde und der Beginn des Raketenzeitalters* (Berlin, 1999); also published in English: (*The Rocket and the Reich. Peenemünde and the Coming of the Ballistic Missile Era* (New York, 1995).

The most detailed report, published shortly after the liberation, is a report by a survivor, the then-19-year-old Frenchman Michel Flicex: *Pour délit d'espérance: Deux ans à Buchenwald, Peenemünde, Dora, Belsen* (Evreux, 1946). Other unpublished memoirs and statements by former prisoners, as well as contemporary documents, are kept in different archives, including BA-MA.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Typed report on flak/GL discussion dated April 27, 1943, cited by Florian Freund, *Arbeitslager Zement: Das Konzentrationslager Ebensee und die Raketenrüstung* (Vienna, 1989), p. 45.

2. Sources: "Kalendarium der Todesfälle im Männerlager des KZ Ravensbrück," compiled by Włodzimierz Kuliński (Warsaw, 1991), supplemented by Bernhard Strebel (Hannover, 1997); Nummernbücher des Männerlagers des KZ Ravensbrück, IPN (Warsaw), KL Ravensbrück, pp. 39–42.

3. Bernhard Strebel, *Das KZ Ravensbrück: Geschichte eines Lagerkomplexes: Mit einem Geleitwort von Germaine Tillion* (Paderborn, 2003), pp. 455, 498.

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4. Ibid p. 447.

5. Włodzimierz Kuliński, *Z pobytu w Peenemünde* (Warsaw, n.d.) (private collection), p. 8; Jean Fournier, *Vacances à Peenemünde* (Le Bourg, 1994) (private collection), p. 16.

6. Fournier, *Vacances à Peenemünde*, p. 20.; Kuliński, *Z pobytu w Peenemünde*, pp. 37–40.

7. Heeresanstalt Peenemünde, “Aktennotiz, betr. Besichtigung des Häftlings-Einsatzes bei den Heinkel-Werken, Oranienburg, am April 12, 1943, April 16, 1943,” BA-MA (Freiburg i. B.), RH 8/v. 1210, Bl. 105 f. 1210, p. 105.

8. History of the Creation of the Test Series Works at Peenemünde, vol. V, BA-MA, RH 8/v. 1210., p. 20; Michel Flicx, *Pour délit d'espérance. Deux ans à Buchenwald, Peenemünde, Dora, Belsen* (Evreux, 1946), p. 28.

KLÜTZOW

The Klützw subcamp (in the present-day town of Kluczewo) Kreis Pyritz (Pyrzyce)/Regierungsbezirk Stettin (Szczecin) was probably constructed in the late summer of 1942 and used from the spring of 1943 to the beginning of 1945 as a camp for male prisoners from the camp for men in the Ravensbrück concentration camp. It was located close to the Klützw airfield about 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) to the south of Stargard. As part of the process whereby production sites of industries vital for the war effort were relocated, the production facilities of the Gerätewerke Pommern GmbH Stargard were relocated to the site. The company's principal place of business had been located in Stargard since 1943.¹ The company was owned by the Askania Werke AG Berlin–Friedenau. The company manufactured aircraft armaments. The camp is described differently in a number of documents and reports, example, Aussenkommando Fliegerhorst Klützw, Aussenkommando Stargard, or Gerätewerk Pommern GmbH in Stargard im Pommern.

The camp's history can be divided into two phases: construction and operation. It was probably at the end of 1942 that the first 80 to 100 prisoners, most of them from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, were deported via the Ravensbrück concentration camp to Klützw to construct the camp. Three to five barracks were separated from the Wehrmacht accommodation on the military airfield and transformed into a concentration camp.² At times the camp was shielded from the outside world with a paling fence. To maintain security within the camp, it was planned to have four guard towers. Its size was approximately 80×100 meters (262×328 feet). The camp was divided into a section for the prisoners' barracks, an infirmary, and administrative and kitchen buildings. One of the three (or four) prisoners' barracks had sanitary facilities, the so-called bathhouse (*Badehaus*). One of the rooms in the support barracks, the so-called Bunker, was part of the SS punishment system. At the entrance to the camp there was the guards' office and the roll-call leader (Rapportführer) building. The factory was about 300 meters (984 feet) from the camp and was located in the former hangars on the airfield. During the first phase, the

buildings were cleaned and facilities installed for the manufacture of aerial torpedoes. The prisoners constructed shrapnel trenches on the site.³ Little is known about the prisoners' work conditions (or their treatment by company employees and SS men). The company not only produced torpedoes but probably tested them at the site.⁴ There were labor detachments that brought the raw material from the railway station, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) away.

The first prisoners were probably under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Ahrens. He was transferred from the Natzweiler concentration camp to supervise the construction of the Klützw camp and in mid-1943 was transferred again.⁵ There were approximately 25 SS men as guards.⁶ Some of the prisoners were deported from the camp under construction to other subcamps. A number of different concentration camp transfer lists (*Überstellungsliste*) document the largest deployment of prisoners from the spring of 1943. Several transports of between 50 and 100 people were deported from the Buchenwald concentration camp to the Klützw subcamp.⁷ The majority of the prisoners originated from the Soviet Union and Poland. To improve the efficiency of the prisoners, so-called skilled prison laborers (*Häftlingsfacharbeiter*) were transferred in October 9, 1943, from the Flossenbürg concentration camp to the Arbeitslager Gerätewerk Pommern GmbH in Stargard. According to an SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amt D letter dated September 23, 1943, seven plumbers, mechanics, and machinists were to be sent. SS-Oberscharführer Franz Pribil⁸ was in charge of the Klützw camp⁹ from 1943 to October–November 1944 after Ahrens was transferred back to Natzweiler.¹⁰ Pribil worked for the Ravensbrück camp commander, Kögel, as his personal secretary in the command office in 1942. In February 1945, he was the last commander of the Ravensbrück subcamp at Neustadt-Glewe.

From the autumn of 1943 to the summer of 1944, SS-Rottenführer H. Wolter was the responsible labor allocation officer (Arbeitseinsatzführer) and guard duty officer. Wolter had previously been a member of the Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler, later serving in the command office of the Buchenwald concentration camp and in 1942 in the command office of the Ravensbrück concentration camp as accommodation administrator (Unterkunftsverwalter). On December 16, 1942, he married the wardress Georgine F. in Fürstenberg/Havel, who also served in the command office at Ravensbrück.¹¹

Wolter is described as a sadist regardless of when witnesses made postwar statements and regardless of which country they were made in. His brutal behavior remains in their memories. The SS murder of prisoners and the excess of violence in the Klützw camp are constantly described by survivors.

Wolter himself came under pressure in the summer of 1944 following an escape attempt. In a letter dated July 2, 1944, from the Gendarmerie group station Dölitz, Kreis Pyritz, to Landrat in Pyritz, it was stated that on June 26, 1944, three Russian concentration camp prisoners had escaped from the Gerätewerk Pommern.¹² On July 2, the three escaped prisoners were found in the Sallentin Forest, 15 kilometers (9.3

miles) south of Klützw. SS-Rottenführer and head of the Guards' Company (Wachkompanie) Helmut Wolter, who took part in the search, shot at the prisoners. Two of the men were killed and the third wounded. According to the report by the Gendarmerie, the third prisoner was able to get away. The dead prisoners, Wasil Prichodjko (prisoner number 4013) and Prochor Tkalschenko (prisoner number 5821) were collected by an SS squad.

The main reason that this report was written was that when the shooting began, Ernst Pawilkowski, an assistant shepherd who was helping in the search, was shot and injured by one of the searchers and later died from his wounds. The death resulted in an investigation by the State Prosecutor. Wolter was questioned on July 4, 1944.¹³ The question to be determined was whether the shot came from Wolter's machine gun. The results of the investigation are not known. It is also not known if and where the dead were buried.

The dissolution of the camp is described by the former commander Suhren in the Rastatt Trial.¹⁴ He gave details on the number of prisoners in the camp as 600. In February 1945, on the order of SS-Obergruppenführer Heissmeyer, the subcamp was to be relocated to Ravensbrück. As no train was available, the prisoners were ordered to march by foot. The survivors were then sent on a death march from the Ravensbrück main camp.

The record from interviews largely confirms that this was the camp's dissolution date and also confirms the march to the Ravensbrück main camp.¹⁵

SOURCES Details on the Klützw subcamp originate from the initial research of the MGR/SBG (January 2000–January 2002; A. Meyer. Dr. E. Schwarz, S. Steppan).

There are no published sources specifically on this subcamp.

Archival records are held in the BA-L and other repositories, as indicated in the notes.

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NOTES

1. BA, R3, Nr. 2005/0216, Reichsbetriebskartei, Stand February 29, 1944.

2. BA-L, AR-Z 99/70, Bd. VII, p. 1087.

3. BA-L, AR-Z 99/70, Vernehmungprotokoll von Willi K., Bd. II, p. 217.

4. BA-L, AR-Z 99/70, Bd. VI, p. 741.

5. Vgl. BA, BDC NS 4 Na/ p. 114.

6. BA-L, AR-Z 33/73, B119.

7. Sammlungen MGR, Bd. 20, Ber. 188, AG-B, 46/21, Transport Glützkow vom 18.05.1943, Schreibstube Buchenwald; see also AG-B, NARA, Rg. 242, Film 16. The village Glützkow should refer to the camp at Klützw.

8. It cannot be exactly determined from the files of ZdL, at BA-L, whether the prisoners recalled a third camp commander, Drehpfahl (phon.) Rudolph, in the period either before or after Pribil. BA-L, Bd. VII, p. 1089.

9. BA-L, Bd. VIII, p. 1144.

10. BA-L, Bd. VIII, p. 1221.

11. BA-L, Bd. VII, p. 881.

12. BA-L, Bd. VII, p. 1180. The Polish Main Commission for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes in Poland transferred copies of the original documents to the ZdL (BA-L) in July 1974.

13. BA-L, AR-Z, Bd. VIII, p. 1182. Kopie einer Vernehmungsschrift vom July 4, 1944; Waffen-SS Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück, Arbeitslager Klützw.

14. Tribunal Général de Gouvernement Militaire pour la Zone Française d'Occupation en Allemagne 1949, Rastatt. See Sammlungen MGR/SBG n.p.

15. BA-L, entnommen Britisches Militärverfahren JAG 225, pp. 216–222; siehe auch AR 1492/66, pp. 80–86.

KÖNIGSBERG (NEUMARK)

The Königsberg (Neumark) subcamp was located on the grounds of an airport, 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) south of Königsberg (present-day Chojna, part of the Polish administrative district of Szczecin).¹ The town, in the northeast of the Prussian province of Brandenburg, formed a part of the Frankfurt/Oder government district and was also its administrative center. It was about 80 kilometers (50 miles) from the Ravensbrück main camp and the city of Fürstenberg/Havel in Mecklenburg. The main airport in Königsberg (Neumark) was apparently constructed in 1938–1939.² The so-called work centers at Märkisch-Friedland and Gabbert in Pomerania, 75 and 44 kilometers (47 and 27 miles) east of Stargard, as well as Mohrin, 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) south of Königsberg, were part of the airport. The airport was given the code name Fuggerhaus. The Königsberg (Neumark) airport was used to engage in hostilities from the first days of the war in action against Poland. The main airport and its work centers then served as training grounds for pilots. The developments on the Eastern Front from 1943, as well as the Allied air raids on the Reich, revealed the inferiority of the Luftwaffe and changed the nature of the air war. The airport at Königsberg (Neumark) was given new and additional tasks and functions. German fighters left Königsberg (Neumark) to attack the Anglo-American four-engine bomber units. Fighter pilots received crash training courses. Obviously, the airport conditions up to then were not equipped for the additional demands. In 1944, it was expanded, above all to extend its takeoff and landing runway. The Wehrmacht, specifically the Luftwaffe, was responsible for the construction. A number of sources state that the Organisation Todt (OT), using Italian military internees (IMIs), French prisoners of war (POWs), Polish forced laborers, and concentration camp prisoners, was also involved with the project.

The Königsberg (Neumark) subcamp was opened around October 20, 1944, with the arrival of female prisoners from the Ravensbrück concentration camp. The camp existed until its closure at the end of January 1945 and was administered by the main camp administration.³ French prisoners called the

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camp “Petit-Koenigsberg” so as to distinguish the town in Neumark from the city of Königsberg in East Prussia.

The exact location of the camp is unknown. The area in which the camp was thought to be is covered with grass. According to descriptions by former prisoners, a barbed-wire electric fence surrounded the camp, which consisted of a number of barracks. Within the fence were several wooden barracks, which housed the prisoners. There was a barrack outside the camp, which was a warehouse and sewing room. The SS guards and the female wardens were housed here, and a sentry box gave shelter to the sentries.

Written records do not provide any information on the exact number of women who were held in the Königsberg camp. According to statements by survivors, it is probable that there were between 800 and 900 female prisoners in the subcamp. The largest group of prisoners came from occupied Poland. The majority came from Warsaw and were captured after the uprising in 1944. They were sent by Special Transport (Sondertransport) Number 105 on October 8, 1944, first to Ravensbrück, from where they were transported to Königsberg. The French women held in Königsberg came with an earlier transport, which left France on August 15 for Ravensbrück.⁴ At a later stage, the largest group of these prisoners were transported to Torgau in Saxony, where they were forced to work in the army’s munitions factory. Refusal to work and acts of sabotage resulted in their being removed from Torgau on October 6, 1944, and 250 were sent to the airport at Königsberg. According to other sources, prisoners from the Soviet Union, Holland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia were also in Königsberg. The transport from Torgau also included three English women. They were members of the secret service “Special Operation Executive” whose members, in the struggle against fascism, were sent on special missions into different occupied countries. They were brought back to the Ravensbrück main camp in January 1945 and summarily shot.

Details of the strength of the SS-Kommando and the names of its members who guarded the camp have not survived. One can assume, however, that the members of the Luftwaffe, who were assigned to SS guard details, were responsible for security. As a result of judicial investigations and prosecutions, five female wardens are known by name.⁵ The behavior of the head warden, Wilhelmine Pielen, was regarded by the prisoners as particularly sadistic. Her efforts to care for the sick were inadequate. Food was withdrawn at the slightest infringement. Those who attempted to escape were imprisoned in a special unheated cell. She had women stand outside her office window for days (but not nights) in strict parade formation.

All the activities of the women were designed to keep the airport at Königsberg (Neumark) operational and to ensure that planes could take off and land. The women were assigned to heavy work details, which free women would not be expected to do. The majority of the women were used to widen the takeoff and landing runways. Others worked in the forest or on excavation required for the construction of roads, hangars, barracks, or other buildings. The prisoners’ watery soup was prepared in the camp and brought in wooden vats to the

work sites. The women were housed mostly in unheated barracks with several-layered wooden bunks, which were covered with paper-filled sacks. The diet, low in calories, and the heavy work in extreme weather, first in autumn and later in winter, permanently weakened the women’s condition. They suffered above all from colds and flu, abscesses, stomach illnesses, general weakness, and tuberculosis.⁶ The sick and those who could no longer work were taken to the infirmary or were put to work inside the camp. Basic care was given to the patients by a female French and Polish doctor and nurses from the Soviet Union, Poland, and France. The efforts of these doctors and nurses were highly praised by several survivors. A month after the camp was opened, a transport with 30 sick prisoners returned to the Ravensbrück main camp.

The approaching front had a direct effect on the Königsberg (Neumark) camp. The SS guards and staff of the airport fled on February 1, 1945, in front of the rapidly advancing Soviet troops. However, the prisoners’ freedom lasted only for two days, as units of the Wehrmacht and the SS appeared, who again imprisoned most of the women. The fate of these women differed. A group of the women, capable of being moved, were brought back to Ravensbrück. Those weakened women who could not stand up to the exertions of the journey were shot. A group of those who reached Ravensbrück was immediately sent to other subcamps, including the Lärz airport, and the testing ground of the Luftwaffe at Rechlin in Mecklenburg. Only a few survived this torture. Those too sick to work were put in the infirmary. Not all had the luck of those who were evacuated by the International Red Cross in a transport to Sweden. Others were murdered in the gas chamber. Another group consisted of prisoners from the infirmary and those who were able to hide in the sick barracks before the transport back to Ravensbrück. They were liberated on February 5, 1945, by troops of the Soviet Army. About 10 days later, these women, numbering more than 100, were taken by truck into the hinterland. After several months of medical care in Polish hospitals, they could return to their homes and countries.

The airport was used by the Soviet military from 1945 until the beginning of the 1990s. After their withdrawal, a residential and industrial park was constructed there.

SOURCES Simone Steppan and Erika Schwarz were the first to provide a detailed analysis of the history of the Königsberg (Neumark) camp in the *BWF* 20 (2003): 3–43. Details about the camp can be found in the publication by Christian Bernadac, *Kommandos de femmes: III. Ravensbrück* (Editions France-Empire, 1973), pp. 177–201; as well as in newspaper articles about the living conditions in the camp, above all the conditions for the French prisoners.

The most important sources on the Königsberg (Neumark) subcamp are the preliminary investigations by the ZdL (now BA-L) into a female warden, SS men, and the camp commander of Ravensbrück. Essential are the reports of the former prisoners.

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NOTES

1. The details on Königsberg (Neumark) originate from a research project of the MGR/SBG (January 2000–January 2002, A. Meyer, E. Schwarz, S. Steppan).

2. BLHA, Rep. 3B, Reg. Frankfurt/Oder, Abt. IS, Nr. 5.

3. The first description of the Königsberg (Neumark) camp is to be found in a note by the Central Committee of the Red Cross dated January 3, 1945, in Archive of ICRC, G 44 13-19 unnp.

4. Germaine Tillion, *Frauen Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück* (Lüneberg, 1998), p. 339. Also see “Les 57 000” compiled by Germaine Tillion based in part on the oral reports of survivors.

5. BA-L, AR-Z 135/72, Preliminary investigations of the ZdL of a female guard, as well as unknown SS men and Fritz Suhren, Lagerkommandant of the Ravensbrück concentration camp. See also the Militärgericht in Rastatt, 1950 proceedings against Suhren and the Rastatt-Prozess against Oberscharführer Hans Pflaum, head of the “Arbeitseinsatzes” at the Ravensbrück concentration camp, in MGR/SBG, Collection of the Ministerium der sozialen Angelegenheiten der Volksgesundheit und der Umwelt, Brussels.

6. See Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie, Handschriftenabteilung, Wanda Kiedrzyńska, AG-R, akc 12013/3, infirmary and internal work lists.

MALCHOW

In March 1942, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) decided to employ concentration camp prisoners for work in the ammunition industry. Initially, branches of the industry were built inside the concentration camps. However, from 1943, external camps of the main concentration camps were built near existing plants. One of the external camps of the Ravensbrück women’s concentration camp was located at Malchow/Mecklenburg.

The construction of the ammunition plant Munitions- und Sprengstoffwerk Malchow had begun in 1938. The plant was part of the Dynamit Aktien Gesellschaft vormals Alfred Nobel und Co. The order to build the plant came from the supreme command of the army, while a state company, Montan Industrierwerke GmbH, owned the plant and was involved in its construction. It was operated by the Gesellschaft zur Verwertung Chemischer Erzeugnisse. At that time, the approximately 5,000 residents of Malchow were experiencing serious economic difficulties. The construction of the plant, which lasted until 1943, provided them with immediate financial opportunities.

The transfer of prisoners from Ravensbrück to the camp that was erected in Malchow to provide cheap labor for the ammunition plant began in the winter of 1943–1944. During the first months, about 900 women were imprisoned in the camp. From the autumn of 1944 until May 1945, with the detention of the Hungarian Jews and the evacuation of the concentration camps in the east, about 4,000 women were brought to Malchow. The women were Polish, French, Hungarian, Czech, Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Italian, German, and Greek.¹

The majority of the women who were brought to the camp at the end of 1944 and the beginning of 1945 were Jewish. By the time the Jewish girls and women arrived in Malchow, they had years of persecution behind them. For many of them, Malchow was the last phase on their Holocaust route.

The camp consisted of living barracks, a wash barrack, a kitchen, and an infirmary barrack.² The prisoners were guarded by SS men in the outer circle and by female guards (Aufseherinnen) in the inner circle. Wehrmacht soldiers who had been disqualified for the front guarded the women prisoners on their way to and from work.

Several of the female guards had come from Ravensbrück; some had been recruited from the ammunition industry according to the requirement of the SS to supply workers as guards for the hired-out prisoners. Another group of the SS staff had been transferred from the evacuated eastern camps. Among these was Luise Danz, head of the female guards (Oberaufseherin) of Malchow during the last months of the war. The male camp leader of Malchow was SS-Oberscharführer Lothar Kleinschmidt.³

The directors of the plant were Dr. Reuter and Dr. Vervoorst. Special guard units of the plant, headed by Herr Minderop, guarded its inner areas. Another unit guarded the plant from the outside, under the command of Freiherr von Hausen. The ammunition plant was divided into four separate areas. The different departments of the plant were scattered in separate bunkers to avoid having to shut down the entire plant in case of an explosion.

The plant’s workers consisted of German workers, foreign laborers, prisoners of war (POWs), and women prisoners from the concentration camp. The testimonies of the Jewish survivors refer to eight months between October 1944 and May 1945. That period can be divided into two according to the conditions in the camp and the change in its purpose: from October 1944 to the beginning of February 1945, and from February to May 1945.

The women who reached Malchow during the first period were surprised to find bearable living conditions.⁴ They worked in the plant in 12-hour shifts, day and night. The work included weighing the explosive material, filling different molds with it, then compressing it, and packing the final product.⁵ At noon the women had a lunch break.⁶ The prisoners considered the plant a good working place, as it was indoors, in a warm, clean area. Life in Malchow from October 1944 to February 1945 was an improvement compared with the prisoners’ experience in other camps.

Conditions in the camp deteriorated radically during the second period. The women who reached Malchow in February 1945 had arrived in Ravensbrück from Auschwitz. Within two days, 3,000 women arrived in Malchow. The shortage in raw materials had reduced production in the plant so that most of the new prisoners were not assigned to work there. About 1,000 women were put in what some of them refer to as the “stable,” where they lay on straw on the floor.⁷ The rest were squeezed into the blocks of the veteran prisoners, bringing filth and disease with them; boils and typhus spread rapidly.

If they were lucky, the late arrivals were able to get work in the forest or inside the camp. The policy during this second period was to keep the working women alive and to starve the rest to death. Danz boasted that she could kill an unlimited number of Jewish women.⁸ The women realized that they were about to be starved to death.⁹ They testified that the agony of starvation made Malchow the most atrocious camp they had been in. During the roll calls, Danz would pick out women, sometimes beating them to death. The camp leader would arrive on horseback at the end of the roll call and hit women with his whip.¹⁰

By the end of March 1945, the concentration camp was on the verge of collapse. On April 2, about 2,000 women were put on a transport to Leipzig. Women testified that the train, which traveled along a heavily bombarded route, was expected to be bombed. They overheard Danz saying: "We have to send a death transport on its way."¹¹ Contrary to Danz's expectations, the train arrived in Leipzig, where the prisoners were divided into two groups, one being sent to Taucha, the other to Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) Leipzig-Schönefeld.

During the last days of April, Red Cross packages were brought into the camp of Malchow, but most of them were stolen by the SS.¹² As part of the agreement among Folke Bernadotte, the representative of the Swedish Red Cross, Norbert Masur, representative of the World Jewish Congress in Sweden, and Heinrich Himmler, Red Cross trucks set out for Sweden on April 26, with 300 to 500 prisoners from Malchow.¹³ At that stage, the remaining prisoners in the camp were given food only every 36 hours.¹⁴

On May 1, the remaining women who were still strong enough to walk were led out of the camp; they marched for about four days, during which several of them who were too weak to continue were shot.¹⁵ The sick and wounded remained in the camp's infirmary. On May 2, Soviet soldiers entered the camp.

The Polish court in Kraków sentenced Oberaufseherin Luise Danz to life imprisonment in 1947, but she was released in 1957 and returned to her hometown in Germany. In 1996, the prosecutor of Meiningen decided, after years of investigations, to press charges against Danz for the murder of a young Jewish girl in Malchow;¹⁶ nonetheless, her case was closed in 1997.¹⁷ The juridical inquiry of 1990 against camp leader Lothar Kleinschmidt was discontinued since he had died in 1988.¹⁸

It is not known how many prisoners died in Malchow. However, it is clear that the role of the camp, which was originally erected as a "labor camp," changed with the evacuation of the eastern concentration camps and the decline in industrial production. From February 1945, the main purpose of the overcrowded Malchow camp was to get rid of as many prisoners as possible. Under the circumstances, and given the location of the camp in the midst of German civilians, starvation seemed to be the most "appropriate" extermination method.

SOURCES The main secondary source on the ammunition plant of Malchow is the booklet *Stadt Malchow* (Meckl.), ed., *Das Munitions- und Sprengstoffwerk in Malchow* (Meckl.),

1938–1945: *Heft 2 zur Geschichte der Stadt Malchow* (Meckl.) (Malchow, 1995), which contains information on the construction of the plant, the state and private or semiprivate enterprises involved, the ammunition it produced, and the manufacturing process. It also mentions the workers of the plant.

Primary source material can be found in the ASt-MCW, in particular, background documents pertaining to the financial arrangements between the town and the companies that built the plant. The AG-R contains various testimonies and documents. The BA-L and YVA contain the results of the legal investigations into the crimes perpetrated in the camp. The collection of testimonies at YVA also contains testimonies of women who were imprisoned in Malchow. Valuable interviews with survivors are located in the LUS (Lakocinski, Zygmunt, Deposition 1974, PIZ); HAFHDCB; and WL. Information on some of the camp perpetrators is located in the TStA-M (Bestand Suhl). Several memoirs published by survivors who were imprisoned in the Malchow subcamp provide valuable information and insight into the experience of the prisoners. For example: Inka Wajsbort, *Im Angesicht des Todes* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 2000); Miriam Biderman, *Ne'urim betzel hamavet* (Tel Aviv: Davar Press, 1960); Raya Kagan, *Nashim belishkat hagebenom* (Merhavia, Israel: Sifriat Hapoalim, 1947); and Halina Nelken, *Freiheit will ich noch erleben* (Gerlingen: Bleicher Verlag, 1996).

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NOTES

1. BA-L, AR-Z 55/71.
2. The number of barracks varies in the testimonies between 10 and 20; LUS, Zygmunt Lakocinski, Deposition 1974, PIZ, no. 240; BA-L, AR-Z-55/71(NY RH SE 50627/18/70); YVA, 033/3388.
3. TStA-M, Bestand Suhl 1112.
4. PIZ, nos. 102, 240, 174, 277.
5. PIZ, nos. 102, 240, 174; YVA, 03/5802
6. PIZ, no. 174.
7. YV, 03/9416.
8. Ibid.
9. PIZ, no. 487.
10. YVA, TR11/462; and BA-L, AR-Z-55/71 (379).
11. HAFHDCB, A-81019; BA-L, AR-Z-55/71 (Stadtgericht Bratislava SP 1893/70); WL, PIII h 441; YVA, 03-9416.
12. ASt-MCW, Archiv Gedenkstätte Report of R.F. Schwerin, March 25, 1946, Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus, Berlin.
13. PIZ, no. 102.
14. HAFHDCB, A-5700.
15. BA-L, IV 409 AR 1483/66.
16. TStA-M, Bestand Suhl 1121.
17. Ibid., 1113.
18. BA-L, AR-Z 55/71.

MILDENBERG

The Mildenberg subcamp was located on the grounds of a brickyard in the Mildenberg district, Templin region, in the

former Prussian province of Brandenburg. It was about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) to the southeast of the city of Fürstenberg/Havel, Mecklenburg, and the Ravensbrück concentration camp. H.C. Kröger & Co. bought the brickworks, situated in north Mildenberg, from the beneficiaries of Julian Prerauer, the Jewish owner, after his death in 1939. The facilities were buildings typical for a brickworks including, among others, two furnaces, a circular kiln, and numerous drying sheds. According to witness statements, production ceased in 1943. In the dormant brickworks, an overflow facility was located for the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) Amt II C 3, which comprised a unit of 32 men, responsible for a vehicle supply unit. The facility was given the code name "Werkstoff." Due to the bombing on the German capital city, hundreds of vehicles were to be relocated in the course of 1943 from Berlin to the brickworks, which was about 72 kilometers (45 miles) from Berlin. The 100-meter-long (328-foot-long) drying sheds and the ring kilns were particularly suited for garaging the vehicles.

Male prisoners from Ravensbrück were engaged to construct additional buildings, such as housing barracks and buildings for the maintenance of the vehicles and for storage of building materials. Initially, these men were transported early each day to work at Mildenberg and in the evening returned to the main camp. Only after the prisoners had built quarters for themselves could they remain on the grounds of the brickworks. The prisoners' barracks, according to one prisoner, were located close to a small river, the Welsengraben. A 1945 aerial photo shows other barracks in the immediate vicinity of the prisoners' quarters, which apparently were used by the vehicle supply unit personnel and the security guards.

It is believed that in Mildenberg there were at first about 30 and later about 80 prisoners from Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, and Germany. Among the prisoners were Kapos, as well as a cook who also prepared meals for the SS. The prisoners were guarded by SS guards, including the commander of a dog squad, who had been ordered away from Ravensbrück. The prisoners, once they had completed their work in the autumn of 1944, were sent back to Ravensbrück. During this period, the Mildenberg subcamp was administered by the main camp.

SOURCES Simone Steppan and Erika Schwarz were the first to describe the history of the Mildenberg camp in *BWF* 20 (2003): 44–52.

A former Czech prisoner of the Mildenberg subcamp only alludes to the existence of the camp in the AG-R. An entry in the BA collection on the RSHA also refers to the existence of the additional facility.

Erika Schwarz
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NEUBRANDENBURG

The Neubrandenburg subcamp was one of the first of the Ravensbrück subcamps for female prisoners. It was also the

largest. In the course of its two-year existence from March 1943 to the end of April 1945, at least 7,000 female prisoners passed through its gates. At the end of 1944 a camp for about 500 male prisoners was added there.

The Mechanischen Werkstätten Neubrandenburg (MWN) appears as the motivating force behind the establishment of the subcamp. This company was established in 1934 by the Reich Air Ministry (RLM). The know-how was supplied by the Carl Heber Mechanische Werkstätten from Berlin-Britz, a company that specialized in the construction and development of bomb-launching devices. The RLM provided the financing. The MWN had already used other types of forced laborers (foreign civilian laborers), which made up approximately 44 percent of the workforce by the end of 1943.¹

A camp leader and a few SS men were responsible for the camp, as well as SS female guards trained in Ravensbrück, who were responsible for internal security, one for every 100 prisoners. Survivors have described the behavior of the female guards as extraordinarily brutal. External security was provided by elderly men from the MWN security guards.

The use of concentration camp prisoners was initiated by the MWN. The number of female prisoners increased continually, beginning with 200 in March 1943 to almost 2,000 at the end of February 1944. At the end of August 1944, when production had been exclusively switched over to concentration camp prisoners, there were 5,200 female prisoners in Neubrandenburg.² They were primarily female Poles, Russians (including a few prisoners of war [POWs]), Ukrainians, Yugoslavs, French, and Czechs.

The female prisoners were mostly used in the production, in particular, of bomb-dropping devices. Sometimes they had to engage in heavy manual labor, including the construction of a semisubterranean overflow camp, Waldbau, about 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) away. German civilian workers were in control, and their behavior is variously described. Another form of control was the sophisticated use of informers. As a result, in May 1944 the Pole Klara Jeziorska was denounced for sabotage and executed in November 1944, following a brutal interrogation in Ravensbrück.

There was an infirmary for 150 patients, which in the last few months was completely overcrowded with 400 to 500 female prisoners. The more seriously ill and those who were no longer capable of working were returned to the main camp at Ravensbrück, where at the end of 1944—beginning of 1945 they were in danger of being selected for extermination.

The SS evacuated the camp on April 27, 1945, and drove the female prisoners on foot marches toward the northwest. Two days later, the 100 sick prisoners left behind in Neubrandenburg were liberated by Soviet troops.

An unusual form of resistance was the "Neubrandenburg Manifest," which in the spring of 1944 was put together by a group of female political prisoners of different nationalities as a form of ideal testament. A copy reached the main Ravensbrück camp.

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SOURCES The most comprehensive overview of the Neubrandenburg subcamp is by Heinz Barche, *Mahnung und Verpflichtung: Leben, Ausbeutung und antifaschistischer Widerstandskampf weiblicher Häftlinge in den Konzentrationslagern Neubrandenburgs 1943–1945; Kommentare, Dokumente, Berichte* (Neubrandenburg, 1980). Details on the national composition of the subcamp and on the execution of Klara Jeziorska may be found in Wanda Kiedrzyńska, *Ravensbrück: Kobiety obóz koncentracyjny* (Warsaw, 1961), p. 165. On the use of informers, see Bernhard Strebel, *Das KZ Ravensbrück: Geschichte eines Lagerkomplexes*, intro. by Germaine Tillion (Paderborn, 2003), p. 454.

The most comprehensive report by survivors is by Micheline Maurel, *Kein Ort für Tränen: Bericht aus einem Frauenlager* (Hamburg, 1960); published in French as: *Un camp très ordinaire* (Paris, 1957).

Further reports, including unpublished ones by former prisoners and some fragmentary documents, are to be found in the AG-R and in BA-B.

Bernhard Strebel
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. “Bericht der Deutschen Revisions- und Treuhand AG über die MWN,” Jahresabschluss 1943, BA-B, R 8135/2217.

2. Details from Statement by WVHA chief Pohl on February 21, 1944 (enclosure to a letter by Himmler to Göring, March 9, 1944), Nuremberg Doc. PS-1584; Dr. v. Lepel, “Erfahrungen mit weibliche Häftlingen bei den MWN,” August 21, 1944, AG-R, 422.

NEUSTADT-GLEWE

The Ravensbrück concentration camp subcamp in Neustadt-Glewe went into operation on September 1, 1944. It was set up as a result of negotiations between the manager in charge of the Dornier Works in Wismar, Schulte-Frohlinde, and the head of labor deployment at the Ravensbrück women’s concentration camp, SS-Oberscharführer Flaum.¹ The Dornier Works had been evacuated in 1943 and moved to Neustadt-Glewe. The Ravensbrück women’s concentration camp was to guarantee the workforce required to keep production going in the aircraft works in Neustadt-Glewe by supplying able workers.

The subcamp was established at the military airfield 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) south of Neustadt-Glewe, district of Ludwigslust (Mecklenburg).

The barracks of the ground personnel in the eastern section of the air base were evacuated, and the grounds were enclosed with electric and barbed-wire fences and equipped with watchtowers. The two barracks of the SS camp command as well as the guards’ and overseers’ lodgings were located outside the enclosure.

The camp is thought to have been under the command of an SS officer by the name of Heinrich Weiss until February 1945.² In handwritten documents from the Ravensbrück main

camp, the names Anna St., Helene Sch., and Ruth W. are mentioned as overseers at the Neustadt-Glewe subcamp.³

The camp was under the control of SS guard units; in the spring of 1945, these SS guards were replaced and/or supplemented to a certain extent by older Wehrmacht soldiers.

In the fall of 1944, an initial 300 women were committed to the subcamp; by the end of that year, the number had risen to approximately 900. The majority of these women, who arrived on transports from Ravensbrück, were Poles who had been arrested in connection with the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, as well as women from the countries of the Soviet Union and those of other nationalities from the German-occupied territories, including Sinti and Roma (Gypsies).

The prisoners were assigned to forced labor in the workshops of the Dornier Works as well as on the air base. The work, generally carried out in two shifts of 12 hours each, consisted primarily of the production and repair of airfoils for aircraft assembled in other factories. Moreover, the prisoners were employed in the assembly of aircraft engines and undercarriages and, on the airfield, as camouflage and roll squads responsible for rolling the aircraft out of their protective pits and onto the runway and, after landing, returning them to the pits and camouflaging them. The work was supervised by master workmen and foremen and carried out under the surveillance of the camp overseers.

A portion of the inmates were forced to carry out shaft and excavation work for the construction of air-raid shelters and trenches on the airfield and at the nearby Reich Labor Service (RAD) camp. One labor detachment was employed in the Kurz cement works in Neustadt-Glewe.

Beginning in mid-February 1945, transports of primarily Jewish women and girls from Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Romania, Holland, Germany, France, Belgium, Greece, and other countries arrived—prisoners who had survived the death march from Auschwitz. Among them were 12 women who had been victims of medical experiments at Ravensbrück and had been saved by fellow prisoners at the last minute before their intended murders by being smuggled onto the transports under false names.⁴ Members of the Auschwitz underground resistance—Antonina Piatkowska, the doctor Slava Klein, and Vera Foltynowa—also were sent to Neustadt-Glewe.

The population of the Neustadt-Glewe subcamp, which had been set up to accommodate a maximum of 900 prisoners and was already severely overcrowded, now grew to approximately 5,000. (Due to the lack of records, the exact number cannot be reconstructed.)

The Neustadt-Glewe camp prisoners, who were already dangerously enfeebled by their previous sufferings and the death march, lived in disastrous conditions. The women were crowded into unheated storage rooms, factory halls, and barracks. There was hardly enough room to sleep, and the hygiene facilities were completely inadequate. The majority of the women suffered from undernourishment and disease. Some of the most severely ill were taken “back” to Ravensbrück on trucks.

Nearly 1,000 women and girls did not survive the inhumane conditions and died at the Neustadt-Glewe camp (88 of them in the hospital on the days following liberation).⁵ The high death rate is to be attributed above all to the prisoners' undernourishment, which provided favorable conditions for the spread of epidemics such as typhoid, tuberculosis, and dysentery. The women who died in the camp were buried at the cemetery and in mass graves in the nearby woods by fellow prisoners who had been assigned to the so-called corpse unit. (In 1946, a mass grave with the bodies of 46 women was discovered in the forest. These bodies were moved to the cemetery.)

There is no specific information on the overall number of dead, since neither documents nor name lists pertaining to the subcamp exist. The above-named figure is derived from the reconstruction of the memories of former subcamp prisoners (eight), among them members of the corpse unit, in correspondence with other eyewitness accounts and surviving notes.

Prisoner transports continued to arrive in Neustadt-Glewe until the end of April 1945.

On the morning of May 2, 1945, the members of the guard units left the camp in plainclothes and left the inmates locked in the barracks. The women broke down the doors and window bars. On the afternoon of May 2, the Red Army occupied the airfield, the camp, and the town of Neustadt-Glewe. Some 300 severely ill women received medical care in the infirmary, which was placed under the command of the Soviets on May 4, and in the town school, which had been in use by the Wehrmacht as a field hospital. Alone or with the aid of the Red Army, a number of the women still capable of traveling left the camp immediately. Others remained to regain strength before leaving the camp and the town.

SOURCES Information on the Neustadt-Glewe subcamp may be found in the following sources: *Der Totenkopfgeneral* (Schwerin: Schweriner Volkszeitung, 1959); *Der antifaschistische Widerstandskampf unter Führung der KPD in Mecklenburg von 1933 bis 1945* (Rostock: Ostseedruck, 1970); and Karl Heinz Schütt, *Ein vergessenes Lager?* 4 vols. (Schkeuditz: GNN-Verlag Sachsen/Berlin, 1997–2002).

Primary sources for this subcamp are available at MPW, Signatur A-882 (Krankenbuch KZ-Revier Neustadt-Glewe). Files, testimonies, and minutes of the public attorney's investigation into the war crimes committed at the Neustadt-Glewe subcamp are archived in BA-L, AR-Z 23/70. Eyewitness reports and manuscripts are to be found in the AG-R, AM-BN-G, APMO, and ALR-LWL. Additional material is in MLHSN, Bezirksleitung der SED Schwerin, V/1/137 (n.d.). At the time of the dissolution of Ravensbrück concentration camp by the SS, the majority of documents and files were destroyed, among them all documents that could have shed light on the Neustadt-Glewe subcamp. The information now available on the Neustadt-Glewe subcamp is based primarily on firsthand reports by women who experienced the Neustadt-Glewe subcamp as prisoners (compiled by the author); research carried out by the author and reports by other

eyewitnesses are included in the two publications in *Ein vergessenes Lager?*

Karl Heinz Schütt
trans. Judith Rosenthal

NOTES

1. Sammlungen Ravensbrück, AG-R, Bd. 25/372 (Bericht 228-SS-Suhren).
2. According to information provided the author by Ms. Krystyna Smorzewska on April 6, 1998, and January 17, 2001, as well as by Ms. Janina Popkow on March 24, 1999.
3. AG-R, Sammlungen Ravensbrück, Bd. 2/994.
4. Anna Piatkowska, "Z Oświęcimia—na wolność," APMO, Wspomnienia, t 85 Sygn. wsp/475 Nr. Inw. 157606, 45, 54/62.
5. Krankenbuch KZ-Revier Neustadt-Glewe, MPW, Signatur A-882.

NEUSTRELITZ-FÜRSTENSEE

About 100 kilometers (62 miles) north of Berlin, a subcamp attached to Ravensbrück was created in Neustrelitz-Fürstensee (Mecklenburg province). An unknown number of male inmates were deported to Neustrelitz-Fürstensee most likely from the men's camp at Ravensbrück sometime in 1943. During the trial of several Ravensbrück staff members in 1946, former Ravensbrück block elder (Blockältester) and witness Hermine Salvini confirmed in cross-examination that Neustrelitz was attached to Ravensbrück and tentatively totaled the number of prisoners in Neustrelitz, Konterei, and Kellehelt between 70 and 100. No further breakdown of the number of inmates in Neustrelitz is available.¹

There is no further information about the subcamp in Neustrelitz, including the number of inmates, kind of prisoner work, camp guards, commandant, living and working conditions, or postwar trials. The camp was occupied on April 30, 1945, by Allied troops.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the Neustrelitz-Fürstensee subcamp of Ravensbrück. For a brief outline of the camp, including the dates of occupation, and so on, see the entry for Neustrelitz in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen, 1979).

The ZdL in Ludwigsburg contains some files related to the Neustrelitz camp: see BA-L, IV 409 AR-Z 39/59 and IV 409 AR 1592/69. The camp is briefly mentioned in the postwar trial documentation of several Ravensbrück staff members, copies of which are located in USHMMA: Judge Advocate General's Office: War Crimes Case Files, Second World War, RG-59.016M, Reel 10 (originals stored in the PRO, London, WO 235/305). Additional materials are most likely found at the AG-R.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTE

1. Trial of members of Ravensbrück staff, Judge Advocate General's Office: War Crimes Case Files, Second World War [1945–1953], PRO (London), WO 235/305 (as copied in USHMMA, RG-59.016M, Reel 10).

PRENZLAU-KLEINE HEIDE**[ALSO HINDENBURG, BIRKENHAIN]**

A specific date for the establishment of the Prenzlau-Kleine Heide subcamp of the Ravensbrück concentration camp is unknown. The existing statements by former prisoners are very contradictory and range from May 1943 to the autumn of 1943.

In all likelihood, a labor detachment of about 30 prisoners was brought to the vicinity of Prenzlau to construct the camp in the late summer of 1943. The camp itself changed locations from Prenzlau-Kleine Heide to Hindenburg (present-day Lindenhagen). At the latter site, an existing windmill, circus wagons, and barracks constructed at a later date served as a camp. The transfer of the prisoners to the vicinity of the Birkenhain construction site was intended as a means of economizing on fuel. The distance to the place of work was now 2 kilometers (1.2 miles), which had to be traveled on foot. A proportion of the prisoners also had their living quarters directly in Birkenhain.

According to an official report, the camp's dissolution took place on April 27, 1945. This date is presumably incorrect, however, in view of the fact that the personal staff of Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler had already left Birkenhain—code name “Birkenwald”—at the end of March 1945, and the existing buildings were occupied by military operations of- fices until the war came to an end in the Uckermark.

The prisoners were initially assigned the task of construct- ing alternative headquarters for the personal staff of the Reichsführer-SS. To this end, large buildings were confis- cated, and a considerable number of prefabricated wooden barracks were erected. The completion of the various facili- ties dragged on into the spring of 1945. In isolated cases, prisoners were employed at the Birkenhain site as custodians, gardeners, and cleaning staff.

The entire facility was under the command of the personal staff of the Reichsführer-SS. The guard units assigned to oversee the prisoners at their living quarters and at work were deployed from Ravensbrück.

On the basis of eyewitness interrogations and the evalua- tion of the existing archives, it was possible to ascertain the following prisoner insignia: red triangles for political prisoners, purple triangles for Jehovah's Witnesses, green triangles for criminals. In a few cases, foreign (Eastern European and French) prisoners were also assigned to labor in Birkenhain.

The precise size of the workforce employed in Birkenhain at any given time cannot always be reconstructed since the SS records did not survive. On May 14, 1944, 59 prisoners were on labor duty in Birkenhain; on August 25, 1944, 172.

According to the few existing documents and eyewitness reports, the prisoners were not tortured at their place of work, and there were no murders.

Witnesses to the events stated that, at their living quar- ters, prisoners were beaten for the slightest violations of the camp regulations.

The identities of this subcamp's leaders are not ascertain- able. The names of the guards are known. They were de- ployed from the guard units of the main camp. According to eyewitness interrogations, it came about on occasion that prisoners were hired out to the people of Hindenburg as skilled workers. Jobs for electricians were mentioned in this context.

For one resident of the town of Hindenburg (the owner of the windmill), the prisoners painted two oil paintings in re- turn for his help in the form of additional food. These paint- ings are still in the family's possession.

At least one attempt must have been made to escape from the camp, since there is a document regulating the collabora- tion between the SS and the local police/gendarmerie in the event of a further escape attempt.

One witness to the events spoke of two prisoners who were allegedly caught, shot to death, and then buried in the forest; however, it has not been corroborated.

The dissolution of the camp along with its workforce pre- sumably took place in late March 1945. Individual laborers— women and Jehovah's Witnesses who worked as cleaning personnel—are reported to have been present in the officers' lodgings until April 1945. Proceedings against individual members of the SS who belonged to the guard units from Ravensbrück were carried out in the Federal Republic of Ger- many between the 1940s and the 1960s.

SOURCES The author's research uncovered just a few key bibliographical references. These include Elisabeth Kinder, “Der Persönliche Stab Reichsführer-SS: Geschichte, Aufga- ben und Überlieferung,” in *Aus der Arbeit des Bundesarchivs: Beiträge zum Archivwesen, zur Quellenkunde und Zeitgeschichte*, ed. Heinz Boberach and Hans Booms (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag, 1977), pp. 379–397; Axel Klätte, “Von der Randow zur Ucker—Die Kampfhandlungen am 25. und 26. April 1945 im östlichen Vorfeld Prenzlau,” MUGP 6 (1997): 147–166; Marion and Reinhard Timm, “Aktion ‘Bir- kenwald,’” HKFKrP (1989): 87.

Numerous documents on the history of the subcamp are to be found in the BA-K, Bestandsnummer NS 19, Persönli- cher Stab RFSS. File No. AR Z 94/1971, Prenzlau, in the BA-L is likewise significant. It contains statements by former prisoners on the working and living conditions in Birkenhain. In the holdings of the BA-B is a film of documents (Film No. 3612) on the Birkenhain camp containing reports on the labor deployment of the prisoners from the perspective of the SS. The author's archive contains records of numerous eyewit- ness interrogations.

Reinhard Timm
trans. Judith Rosenthal

RETZOW [AKA RECHLIN]

Retzow is a district of the town of Rechlin and is located southeast of Müritzt (district of Waren, state of Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania).

The barracks camp in Retzow was built between 1939 and 1942. It was to provide lodgings for workers employed in the construction of the Lärz airport. The airfield was part of the Luftwaffe testing site in Rechlin. The camp was located 500 meters (1,640 feet) from the northern entrance to Lärz airfield. Until 1943, the camp provided lodging primarily for members of the Reich Labor Service (RAD) and Italian workers. In 1943, 4 of the 12 barracks in the camp as well as a large proportion of the social barrack were fenced in. On the basis of the type of enclosure that was built, it was soon clear that a special type of camp was being set up—a concentration camp. In the early summer of 1943, 1,000 to 1,200 male prisoners were committed to this camp.

It is very difficult to determine what camp the men came from. In any case, they were not from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. It is assumed with some certainty that they came from the men's camp in Ravensbrück.

For the most part, the prisoners were put to work carrying out excavations for the construction of the Lärz airfield and of a pilot's shelter. Some witnesses to the events have claimed, however, that there were specialists among the prisoners who were assigned to help with assembly tasks at the airfield or the testing site. During the performance of their labor assignments, the prisoners were subjected to rigorous treatment by the guard units. The rations were relatively satisfactory. In the early summer of 1944, a large majority of the men were transferred. To replace them, women were sent from Ravensbrück on July 9, 1944. By the late autumn of 1944, the camp population had risen to 3,000 at times. The number fluctuated strongly during this period.

Whether women or men, the prisoners were put to work primarily in the construction of the Lärz maneuvering area. As a rule, they carried out excavation work. This labor was often much too strenuous for women.

Beginning in the autumn of 1944, the majority of the women were employed building so-called camouflage pits.¹ These pits were depressions dug into the ground, over which—on a wooden framework—a camouflage net was spread to hide the aircraft from enemy pilots flying overhead. Here again, excavation constituted the major proportion of the work. At times, smaller groups of men were also assigned to help with the harvest. The women, for their part, were assigned to work in the halls in smaller groups. The work in the halls was considered easier. The greatest burdens placed on the women were the trench work and the clearing work following air raids. The work was organized by the management of the testing site or by the command of the air base. Among the male as well as the female prisoners, various nationalities were represented in the camp. According to the memories of former prisoners, a conspicuous number of French people were imprisoned in Retzow. From the autumn of 1944 onward, due

to lack of space in the barracks, the cinema of the social barracks was also used as living quarters. The prisoners lodged in the cinema were primarily Jewish women who had previously been imprisoned in Auschwitz. This was also the period in which the camp population rose to as many as 3,000. The death rate fluctuated sharply. Relatively few men died. Several of them were shot to death during alleged escape attempts. A great deal more of the women died. In the period from the end of 1944 to April 1945, the rations were severely reduced.² Moreover, the prisoners suffered increasingly from vermin of all kinds, ranging from rats to head lice. As a result, the incidence of many kinds of disease increased to the point where they could be classified as epidemics.

The dissolution of the Eastern European extermination camps and the resulting deportations of Jewish prisoners to concentration camps in the West caused the situation in the Retzow subcamp to change. The Jewish women had separate lodgings, being literally crammed into the cinema of the social barracks.³ There, selections were carried out regularly, and the selected women were taken back to the Ravensbrück main camp, presumably for extermination.⁴ Every Friday, a transport of women classified as "unfit for life" was sent to the Ravensbrück concentration camp. In her monograph on Ravensbrück, Germaine Tillion, a prisoner in the main camp, describes a scene she witnessed on March 27, 1945. That evening, there was a transport from Rechlin on the camp street. She passed close by it on her way back from work. The women were lying in front of the washroom wing on the ground, and five or six of the women had died during this time. The others were horribly emaciated, very tan from the sun, but pale at the same time. Their gazes were full of fear and agitation.⁵ In February 1945, even more prisoners were detained in the cinema, among them a large number of French women.⁶ Even prisoners who had been in various concentration camps in the course of the years and were sent to the cinema barrack described the conditions there as especially atrocious. There is no evidence as to whether any of the women held in the cinema survived. Anise Postel Vinay recounts that, on April 26, 1945, women who had previously been in the Retzow subcamp were transported in trucks from the Uckermark camp to the main camp and then murdered.⁷

The memoirs of Tillion, Postel Vinay, and Renault indicate that, at least in certain phases, the camp was divided in its functions: Some of the prisoners were forced to perform the heaviest conceivable labor—but were out in the fresh air. Other women were doomed to vegetate in locked rooms day and night with minimal rations. Hunger, thirst, overcrowding, and disastrous hygienic conditions led to the deaths of the women.

Many of the prisoners who died in Retzow were taken to Ravensbrück for cremation.⁸ A large number of women were killed during air raids. They were not evacuated but merely subjected to the bombing without any form of protection. Another considerable portion were killed in work-related accidents.⁹ The extension of the runway was carried out while the planes were in operation, and the women were frequently

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blown to the ground by landing aircraft with such force that they subsequently died.

Altogether 251 dead prisoners—men, women, and children—were buried at three sites in Retzow.¹⁰ In 1948, 30 of the corpses were exhumed, identified as French women, and transported to France. The remaining 221 were dug up in 1950, cremated in Schwerin, and buried at a memorial in Waren (Müritz). Three other bodies were buried in a neighboring village. The overall death toll of the Retzow subcamp, however, has never been determined.

It is difficult not only to find the names of the dead today but also to describe the routes taken by the prisoner transports. It is known for certain that major relocations of prisoners took place in February 1945. At that time, the men who had remained in the camp in the summer of 1944 and many women prisoners were deported by train to the Ellrich concentration camp in the Harz (a subcamp of the Mittelbau concentration camp). These prisoners had been selected because they were still in relatively good physical condition. At Ellrich they were put to work in the construction of underground industrial facilities. In Ellrich, as well, there was little chance of survival.

No information concerning acts of resistance in Retzow has been found. In February 1944, one man succeeded in escaping from the camp. He was found by a forest worker 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the camp in a wooded area, suffering from a severe chill. He allowed himself to be taken back to the camp without resistance.¹¹

On April 30 and May 1, 1945, the majority of the prisoners were driven on foot in the direction of Röbel-Malchow under the close surveillance of guards.¹² They were ultimately liberated by U.S. troops. The number of prisoners who died on the road is not known. The guards not needed for the evacuation were ordered to report to Neustadt-Glewe. Altogether, 71 women remained behind in the camp. At this point in time, 56 women were dead. The remaining prisoners were liberated by soldiers of the Red Army on the morning of May 2. At the instruction of the first in command of the Red Army in the town, Karl Wulf, a citizen of Retzow, assumed the medical care of the living prisoners and the burial of the dead. An additional 10 women died in May, the last in July. The women of the town were assigned to help Wulf. He succeeded quite well in caring for these severely enfeebled people, particularly in view of the fact that he initially had no medical personnel at his disposal.

Beginning in 1969, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg instituted legal proceedings against alleged criminals of the Retzow subcamp. In 1974, criminal proceedings were initiated against the guard Paul P. on charges of murder. Paul P. claimed that he had been a guard at the Ravensbrück women's concentration camp, that he guarded male prisoners during the construction of stables at the Damshöhe subcamp, and that he was assigned to guard duty as a concentration camp guard at the Rechlin runway and transferred to Barth, a subcamp of Ravensbrück, in the winter of 1944.¹³ In 1975 he was sentenced to youth custody for three years by the District Court of

Kleve. The verdict was amended by the 3rd Criminal Division of the Federal Supreme Court after the defendant lodged an appeal (on account of a procedural error). The charge was changed from consummated murder to attempted murder. The 1976 sentence was for two years and six months.¹⁴

No other trials were carried out. No original documents on the SS guard personnel have been uncovered.

SOURCES Material relevant to this subcamp may be found in Heinrich Baetke and Heinrich Ross, *Aus der Geschichte der Erprobungsstelle Rechlin* (Waren, 1999); Christian Bernadoc, *Les Mannequins Nus* (Paris, 1973); Heinrich Beauvais et al., *Flugerprobungsstellen bis 1945: Johannistal, Lipezk, Rechlin, Travemünde, Tarnowitz, Peenemünde West* (Bonn, 1998); Magistrat der Stadt Mörfelden-Walldorf, ed., *„Das Geheimnis der Erlösung heisst Erinnerung“: Ein Begleitbft zum Historischen Lehrpfad am ehemaligen KZ-Aussenlager Walldorf* (Mörfelden-Walldorf, 2000). Useful information may also be found in Grit Philipp, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Frauen-KZ Ravensbrück 1939–1945* (Berlin, 1999).

As is the case of many of the Ravensbrück subcamps, there are hardly any primary sources on Retzow. The only existing detailed memoirs pertaining to the history of the Rechlin-Retzow camp were provided by French women formerly imprisoned at the camp; they are available in the form of written testimonies. Various set pieces of the memories of individual inmates are in the “Erika Buchmann” file in the AG-R. In this source, however, often neither the point in time nor the specific context of the events described is known. The documents of the ZdL were transferred to the holdings of the BA-L in the year 2000. The public attorney investigations comprise records of hearings of men and women formerly imprisoned in the Retzow subcamp, carried out between 1968 and 1971. Because of the author's personal interest in the history of this subcamp, he conducted interviews with eyewitnesses for many years. Many of these people were already very old at the time of the interviews and insisted on remaining anonymous. Their memories have been incorporated into this text. Two published testimonies on this subcamp are Maisie Renault, *La Grande Misère* (Vannes, 1948); and Germaine Tillion, *Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück* (Lüneburg, 1998).

Heinrich Ross
trans. Judith Rosenthal

NOTES

1. Cf. Marie Moulan, “Les Colonnes,” Sammlung AG-R/SBG, RA-Nr. 32, Bericht 286. Cf. Maisie Renault, *La Grande Misère* (Vannes, 1948).

2. Interviews with witnesses to the events conducted by Heinrich Ross.

3. In 1998, an international student group developed a memorial at the authentic site. In a personal interview conducted there with Johanna Krause, who was 90 years old at the time, she stated with regard to her period of imprisonment in Retzow that having been a political and Jewish concentration camp prisoner for many years, she had become accustomed to a great deal. The accommodation in this so-called cinema was an especially devastating and unforgettable experience.

4. On the subject of transports, cf. Ilse Hunger, Briefe an die VVN Berlin, Sammlung MGR/SBG, RA-Nr. 18, Bericht 74; interviews with former residents of Retzow conducted by Heinrich Ross.

5. Germaine Tillion, *Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück* (Lüneberg, 1998), p. 312; Katalyn Weinberger, Interview 1996, YVA.

6. In Tillion's memoirs there is an account of a transport of 2,000 French women to Rechlin on February 14, 1945. As in the Uckermark camp, the treatment of the women was aimed at their murder. Selections were carried out in March and April in this subcamp as well. The selected prisoners were picked up by trucks and probably murdered in the Ravensbrück gas chamber. See Grit Philipp, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Frauen-KZ Ravensbrück 1939–1945* (Berlin, 1999), pp. 194, 201.

7. Philipp, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Frauen-KZ Ravensbrück 1939–1945*, p. 202.

8. Sammlung AG-R/SBG, RA-Nr. 20, Bericht 188/1.

9. Heinrich Ross, interview with witnesses to the events.

10. MLHSN, SED Bezirksleitung Neubrandenburg Abt. V Bezirkskomitee Antifaschistischer Widerstandskämpfer, Nr. V/10/8, August 12, 1950.

11. Memories of a forestry worker in interview with Heinrich Ross.

12. Before the liberation of the subcamp, a so-called death march of some 3,000 women left the Ravensbrück main camp on March 22, 1945, and headed toward Rechlin by way of the town of Wesenberg. In the process of the so-called evacuation, the subcamps thus served as "catch basins" for the main camp. Philipp, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Frauen-KZ Ravensbrück 1939–1945*, p. 201.

13. BA-L, AR-Z 120/70, Bl. 554–557.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 708–713.

RHEINSBERG

About 80 kilometers (50 miles) north of Berlin, a subcamp attached to Ravensbrück was created in Rheinsberg (Brandenburg province). An unknown number of male inmates were deported to Rheinsberg, most likely from the men's camp at Ravensbrück. The inmates were transferred there to perform clearing work after air raids; however, there is no specific information about the date the camp was established.

Moreover, no further information about the subcamp in Rheinsberg is available, including the number of inmates, kind of prisoner work, living and working conditions, evacuation or occupation date, or postwar trials of guards or the commandant. The fate of the Rheinsberg inmates is unknown.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the Rheinsberg subcamp of Ravensbrück. For a brief outline of the camp, including the kind of work, gender of inmates, and so on, see the entry for Rheinsberg in the ITS's, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen, 1979).

Relevant materials may be found at the AG-R.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

ROSTOCK-SCHWARZENPFOST/ STEINHEIDE

In 1943, one year after the especially heavy bombardment of the Hanse city of Rostock, the idea was formulated to relocate essential armament production facilities to well-camouflaged sites. One such top-secret project lay concealed behind the code name "Robert" in the extensive forests of the Rostock Heath. Illusionary plans for constructing a large new aircraft factory were under consideration. Following the bombing of the Heinkel Works in Rostock-Marienehe, the plant had been divided into 40 small- and medium-size operations spread all over Mecklenburg, a solution that, however, did not guarantee acceptable production figures. Now a large facility was to be constructed on an area measuring 97 hectares (240 acres). The plant was built from the ground up almost exclusively by concentration camp prisoners and foreign workers. In addition, there was also a lodging camp for female prisoners in Oberhagen, a district of Rövershagen. It was enclosed by an electrically charged barbed-wire fence and kept under surveillance from three watchtowers manned by heavily armed guards belonging to the Ravensbrück unit of the SS-Totenkopfstandarte (Death's Head Regiment). In addition to an administration building, five barracks had been built to serve as lodgings for approximately 300 prisoners. Every day the emaciated inmates were driven on foot a distance of more than 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) to a forest near Schwarzenpfort to carry out 12 hours of the heaviest conceivable construction work.

A large number of eyewitness documents were discovered in the estate of Alfred Weber in the Western Pomeranian Landesarchiv in Greifswald (VLA-G). Among them is a letter written from Bulgaria by Mara Zanewa Beltschewa Göbelsmann, excerpts of which are reproduced here:

One day—the picture that I still see in my mind's eye even today—two hundred women and young girls came from the Barth camp and were taken to join the other prisoners. They also had to work in the same factory [Schwarzenpfort]. They were so dirty, so infested with lice, that I could not possibly take them to the other prisoners. I left them standing in the courtyard and ran to the overseer to ask for fresh underwear and clothing for them. They hadn't changed for months and the shirts on their backs were like hard boards. The shirt . . . [?] them more than it warmed them. Their backs, their bodies were covered with sores. . . . These women were primarily journalists, doctors, teachers. They had deliberately been insulted, humiliated in this way, simply not given any change of clothing for eight months. . . . Then I took two hundred dresses and two hundred shirts for all of them.¹

Magdalena Szabolcsi Imrene of Hungary recounted her memories of the Schwarzenpfort camp in 1964:

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In April 1945 we were taken to Schwarzenpfost to work in an aircraft factory, but because of our weakness, we were no longer in a position to do so. There was no kitchen whatsoever; we survived on what we found on the ground. The camp was not far from the road, and we could see that the people were fleeing from the advancing front. . . . In Schwarzenpfost camp there were approximately three hundred women. There were also men there, but they were separated from us by a wire fence; how many of them there were I do not know, because contact of any kind with them was entirely impossible. As far as the nationality of the inmates was concerned, there were Germans, Czechs, Hungarians, Yugoslavs, Dutch, and above all Russians. The overseers were SS women. Our lodgings were in Schwarzenpfost, as I remember. I can remember with absolute certainty that there were several barracks there, though I can no longer say exactly how many. During the death march which ended in Warnemünde and led from Schwarzenpfost through the forest, many women were killed. . . . On the night of April 29, 1945, the advancing front forced the SS to evacuate the camp. The prisoners—in April, male inmates had arrived from the east, some on foot, some in trucks—were driven through the forest to Hinrichshagen. From there the march went on to the Hohe Düne by way of Markgrafenheide. When the SS guard troops learned that the Red Army was already close to Warnemünde, they put on civilian clothing. One SS officer who had always treated us with such fine expressions as “scumbags,” “sows,” and “bitches” suddenly called out to us: “You’re free, ladies!” Now suddenly we were “ladies.” . . . On the way, we heard shots again and again; prisoners who were too weak to go on were “finished off,” murdered, by the SS.²

What Weber concealed and negated as he was gathering the witnesses’ reports on behalf of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) was the circumstance that among the prisoners there were hundreds of Jewish men and women of various nationalities, Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), homosexuals, so-called asocials, criminals, and others. Even in the internal, unpublished documents, antifascism was equated exclusively with the concept of communism. As a consequence, many of the documentations were decried because of their obvious bias in the recounting of historical events.

References to the Schwarzenpfost/Steinheide camp are also found in the rationality of indexes and statistics, often concealed behind code names such as “Robert” and “Sturm.” The organizational plan of the Heinkel aircraft works includes a depiction of the company hierarchy showing not only the chief branches in Rostock, Oranienburg, Vienna, and Stuttgart but also a number of subsidiaries under the administration of the Rostock branch. The sites Patriotischer Weg, Werftstrasse, Bleicherstrasse, Pütznitz bei Ribnitz-Damgarten Kraków, Lübz,

Güstrow, Rövershagen, Oelsnitz, and Adorf in Voigtland as well as the underground facility Kabel und Leitungswerke AG (Cable and Conductor Works, Inc., KALAG) in Stassfurt were listed in conjunction with the Rostock main factory.

In the International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog, the following memo is found on Schwarzenpfost: “Schwarzenpfost, District of Rostock, Russian Zone, CC-Kommando of Ravensbrück (Concentration Camp Kommando) May 1944—one thousand women at Heinkel Company.”³ In another list published by the ITS, the following can be read in connection with the Schwarzenpfost camp: “Opened in mid-1943 according to a statement by a chief department head of the SS-WVHA (Business Administration Main Office).”⁴

The Central Archive of the Federal Commissioner for the Documentation of the State Security Service (BSTU) also holds documents that shed light on the history of Schwarzenpfost camp. Particularly in the 1960s, the Ministry for State Security (Staatssicherheit, Stasi) of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) carried out a considerable number of investigation procedures on the concentration camps in Mecklenburg and Western Pomerania. In this context, it is conspicuous that quite a few persons decisively involved in the camp hierarchy carried out their offices and functions in the GDR until their deaths, although they had been proven guilty.

In April 1964, Prof. Dr. Köhler, who as head of operations in the Heinkel company was responsible for the establishment of the concentration camps in Barth and Schwarzenpfost, among others, was interrogated on this subject. In the course of the hearing, he stated the following about a conversation with higher-ranking SS men in Ravensbrück: “The only thing I remember about the negotiations was that the conditions of the already existing Oranienburg concentration camp [by this he meant the Sachsenhausen concentration camp] were included in the basis for the agreements.”

Köhler also claimed: “Shortly before the divestiture a proportion of the prisoners from Barth concentration camp were employed in the construction of a forest plant for the Heinkel company near Rövershagen. The prisoners’ wages were paid by the Heinkel company as a flat rate, two to three Reichsmark per day. The payments were settled with Office D (SS-Economic Office). This form of payment brought the Heinkel company a financial advantage which was passed on to the Ministry of Aviation only in part. Through this form of payment, the services actually performed by the prisoners were by no means compensated.”⁵

Finally, two drawings were found in which the camp grounds, the course of the electric fence, and, to some extent, the locations of individual buildings are depicted. These drawings are of particular value for the endeavor to carry out targeted research work on the former camp grounds themselves.

SOURCES There is to date no completed publication on the Schwarzenpfost/Steinheide concentration camp near Rövershagen. More specifically, a brochure was issued by Prof. Dr. Karl Bittel titled *Wir klagen an—Die Wahrheit über die faschistischen Konzentrationslager im Ostseegebiet* (Stralsund, 1966),

but its documentary value is extremely doubtful since—in keeping with the state doctrine of East Germany at that time—facts were concealed or purposely changed. This assessment also applies to the work carried out by Alfred Weber during the same period. The first objectively correct publication on this camp is in volume 5 of the *Schriften der Geschichtswerkstatt Toitenwinkel* (Rostock, 1998) in an article titled “Kriegsgefangene und Zwangsarbeiter zwischen Warnow und Barthe.” Since 2002, a research group has undertaken a thorough investigation of the camp.

As far as is known, there is little in the way of archival material on the concentration camp. In the ASt-Ros, among the forestry records, the files 1.10.537 “Mitbenutzung der Holzverladestelle u.a. Heinkel AG” and 1.10.477 “Einsetzung von Kriegsgefangenen in der Rostocker Heide” are to be found. A number of isolated documents were found in the AG-R. In BStU the following material pertaining to this concentration camp was found: “Untersuchungsvorgang Zöllner, Arnold,” the “Bildbericht zur Exumierung von zehn ermordeten KZ-Häftlingen aus zwei Gräbern in der Gemeinde Rövershagen Krs. Rostock.”

Wilfried Steinmüller
trans. Judith Rosenthal

NOTES

1. Excerpt from the file Rep. BI V / 5 Nr. 326, VLA-G.
2. Excerpt from the file Rep. Bi Nr. 3069, VLA-G.
3. Quoted 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. 632.
4. Quoted 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: 197.
5. Excerpt from the file HA IX/11 Archiv ZUV 4 Akte 3, BStU.

SIEMENSLAGER RAVENSBRÜCK

The Siemens subcamp (Siemenslager) was located on a swampy rise above Lake Schwedt in the immediate vicinity of the Ravensbrück women’s concentration camp and the Ravensbrück “production center” of the Siemens concern. On December 3, 1944,¹ detainees of the so-called Siemens detail were transferred to the Siemens subcamp. The history of the Siemens detail is the history of the Siemens subcamp as well as the Siemens & Halske (S&H) firm’s involvement with the Ravensbrück women’s concentration camp.

At the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942, following the failure of the Blitzkrieg, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler and Generalluftzeugmeister Erhard Milch arranged for the utilization of concentration camp prisoners to produce Luftwaffe armaments.² Siemens quickly assumed a key role in the arrangement: out of the companies already using concentration camp detainees as labor at this time, Siemens had the

largest share—at that time, over 1,500 of the 6,400 female detainees at Ravensbrück. In addition, Siemens at this initial phase had the responsibility for coordinating the use of female detainees as labor at other firms. The reason for this was that Siemens had full order books, but its Berlin factories were desperately short of labor.³ The Reich Air Ministry’s (RLM) interest in the expansion of production by its important supplier was such that Siemens could shift a large proportion of its investment costs to the Reich. The factory erected next door to the Ravensbrück concentration camp, built at the cost of the RLM, was ready for use. The factory buildings were then leased to Siemens, which in turn fitted out the buildings with the relevant machinery.⁴

The project became a reality on June 8, 1942, when male and female prisoners from Ravensbrück constructed, from precast materials, the factory buildings next to the concentration camp. Production began in the factory on August 21, 1942, in one of the first buildings constructed.⁵ Adroit female detainees with finger dexterity and good eyesight were chosen for the production line. The women manufactured relays, microphones, toggle switches, and other electronic parts. The items were manufactured from precast parts from Berlin. All the products were destined for use by the Luftwaffe.⁶ A total of 20 buildings were erected over a period of time. With its “own Ravensbrück operation,”⁷ Siemens increased its production capacity of telephone terminals (WWFg), radios, building components (WWR), telegraphic equipment (WWT), and meters (WWM).⁸

Records of the numbers of people in the Siemens detail are fragmentary and incomplete. In January 1945, Siemens used 2,307 prisoners, the largest number. In February 1945, 2,298 female concentration camp detainees, the biggest production detail of female prisoners, were still being used for labor by the Siemens complex.⁹

The workplaces were fitted out with ergonomic facilities. They were adequately heated and lit because of the work required on the delicate material. Nevertheless, the work was very demanding and burdensome. The prisoners worked initially in 8-hour shifts and later in 12-hour shifts, day and night. The work required a high degree of concentration. In addition, there was the constant supervision and demands by Siemens employees and female SS guards. In cooperation with the SS, the factory management established a system, based on an assumed piecework rate of production, to measure an individual’s “learning” and production rates. For adequate or good performance, there were additional rations; for inadequate performance, as punishment, there was additional work or rations were withheld, or the detainees were subjected to a hierarchy of beatings, or they were reported to the SS. Notwithstanding the burdensome work, the prisoners feared being dismissed from the detail; it was considered a “disconnection” because those affected went back into the pool of “disposable” people who were allocated the most strenuous work, largely unprotected in the open air. By manipulating the account settlement statements, the prisoner-functionaries employed in the workshops and offices of the firm tried to support and protect their

fellow detainees. The extent and effectiveness of this sabotage, which is given a prominent account in survivors' reports, are difficult to gauge. All that is known for certain is that Siemens was so satisfied with the detainees' work that it used the Ravensbrück "production center" model, for example, at the Flossenbürg Graslitz and Zwodau subcamps.¹⁰

The main camp, in which the Siemens detail prisoners were originally quartered, had filled beyond capacity. The cumulative catastrophic overcrowding, together with typhoid and dysentery epidemics and general camp disorganization, resulted in the creation of the Siemens subcamp in the second half of 1944. Probably the firm expected a reduction in downtime from this camp, by shortening the period in which the more than 2,000 detainees marched to and from the camp. Also hoped for was an increase in control over the food supply.

Some 13 barracks, enclosed by an electric fence, were constructed between the factory and Lake Schwedt. The barracks functioned as lodgings, kitchen, dispensary, and washing facilities. Unlike the main camp, the lodgings consisted of a single, large room. There were no toilets. The latrine consisted of simple ditches with long boards across them. The women detainees found it particularly degrading when they had to relieve themselves under the gaze of the SS guards.¹¹ The lodgings are described as unheated, overcrowded, and stifling. Until the beginning of 1945, most of the detainees had to share their bunks. Bedding on the bunks was sacks of straw. There were approximately 250 to 300 prisoners per barracks. This was a marked contrast to the overcrowded main camp where, in many barracks, between 700 and 800 detainees were crowded together.¹²

The Siemens camp was under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Grabow and SS-Oberaufseherin Holthöver. The head of the Kapos of the Siemens subcamp, Anna or Anni Vavak, acted as the unofficial camp elder (*Lagerältester*).¹³ Some prisoners claim that Grabow beat them, while others report that they were "justly treated." Many survivors hold him responsible for the fact that during their work-free periods they were required to transport peat to the camp for flowerbeds. It is said of Holthöver that she personally often beat detainees and represented the "old camp methods," that is, the common practice of humiliating and mistreating the prisoners. The behavioral patterns created in the main camp were transferred to the Siemens subcamp with the results that the block elders (*Blockältester*) also often beat the detainees, and prisoner-functionaries of the so-called prominent block enjoyed privileges such as daily showers.¹⁴ The detainees successfully maintained their cultural activities (thereby asserting themselves against the SS) in the Siemens camp. Reports mention theater performances, group singing, and New Year's festivities.¹⁵

Overall, the transfer from the main camp represented only a small improvement in living conditions. The most significant was the food: less was misappropriated from the kitchen in the Siemens subcamp than in the main camp. In the infirmary with some 20 beds, presumably with double occupancy, and in the face of a shortage of medicine and bandages, the detainees' chief doctor, Dr. Court, and chief nurse, Countess

zu D., could not provide adequate care for the sick. Seriously ill detainees were transferred back to the main camp. Yvonne Useldinger strikingly described those conditions in her diary—on a visit to the dentist in the main camp, she had to step over corpses. The Siemens subcamp itself supposedly had no deaths among the prisoners.¹⁶

Production decreased in the last few months of the war because of air-raid alarms and difficulties in the supply of energy and components for production. This resulted in production decreases and reductions in the size of the Siemens detail, which were dangerous for the prisoners because selections then took place. Elderly and "less productive" women were the main targets. The firm management was directly and decisively involved in determining who would be "disconnected" and transferred either to the main camp or to the youth camp Uckermark.¹⁷ An additional life-threatening danger arose in the spring of 1945 for those "unproductive" detainees when a gas chamber at Ravensbrück commenced operation.¹⁸

The Siemens subcamp was probably evacuated on April 13 and 14, 1945. With the evacuation of the subcamp, the Siemens model project, its "own Ravensbrück production center," came to an end. Male detainees of an "evacuation transport" from Mittelbau or Buchenwald then occupied the empty barracks.

Between 1946 and 1948 in Hamburg, the British occupying authorities conducted 7 "Ravensbrück Trials" against members of the SS camp and security personnel as well as against prisoner-functionaries of the women's concentration camp. Only in 2 of the trials did the accused have a connection with Siemens' use of detainees or the Siemens subcamp. In the first trial, lasting from December 5, 1946, to February 3, 1947 (Judge Advocate General [JAG] 225), Eugenia Skene, the block elder in the Siemens subcamp, was sentenced to more than 10 years' imprisonment. On the other hand, the military tribunal in the 6th trial that took place between July 2, 1948, and July 21, 1948 (JAG 334), acquitted Christine Holthöver, the senior female guard at the Siemens subcamp, because of a lack of evidence. The French occupying authorities also prosecuted Ravensbrück SS personnel and prisoner-functionaries. Between 1946 and 1950, 11 trials were conducted in Reutlingen and Rastatt. Only the proceedings against Emmy Kowa and Ruth Schumann had a connection with Siemens. Kowa, a temporary guard in the Siemens factory, was sentenced on February 20, 1948, in Rastatt to 20 years' imprisonment with hard labor. Schumann, a former Siemens employee, was acquitted on appeal. Under the Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SMAD) and in the German Democratic Republic (DDR), a number of trials against Ravensbrück SS personnel were conducted. However, the trials did not meet the requirements of the rule of law. The accused were tried before a military tribunal. Most of the accused had neither legal representation nor translators, so the accused were not in a position to defend themselves. Later trials in the DDR in the 1960s were conducted in accordance with the requirements and under the supervision of the Ministry for State Security (MfS). They were mainly characterized by political opportunism and doubtful verdicts relating

to the social behavior of the accused in the social milieu of the DDR. They should thus be seen as being politically motivated and as a means for securing power. The trials played neither a role in appraising nor explaining the National Socialist crimes committed in the Ravensbrück concentration camp.

SOURCES As it is difficult to provide a complete overview of the scholarly literature dealing with the Ravensbrück Siemens subcamp and the prisoners' forced labor, only a selection will be given here. Reinhard Plewe and Jan Thomas Köhler provide a history of construction of the women's concentration camp and its typology, including the Siemens subcamp, in *Baugeschichte Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück* (Berlin, 2001). A calendar of the camp history appeared in Grit Phillip, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Frauen-Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück 1939–1945* (Berlin, 1999). Carola Sachse and Tilla Siegel analyzed Siemens's strategy and practical application of detainee labor in Ravensbrück in their respective articles in *IWK* 27:1 (1991): "Zwangsarbeit jüdischer und nicht-jüdischer Frauen und Männer bei der Firma Siemens, 1940–1945," pp. 1–12; "Die doppelte Rationalisierung des 'Ausländereinsatzes' bei Siemens," pp. 12–24. This work still forms the basis for all subsequent studies. The works by Ursula Krause-Schmidt (1993), Ulrike Brandes et al. (1994), and Sigrid Jacobeit (1999) should also be mentioned in this context. Karl Heinz Roth has compared a number of cases where Siemens used 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. The thesis prepared by the author, "Zwangsarbeit von Konzentrationslagerhäftlingen in der letzten Phase des Zweiten Weltkrieges: Das Beispiel Siemens unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Aussenlager Siemens-Haselhorst und 'Siemenslager' Ravensbrück" (Master's thesis, Technische Universität Berlin, 1997), contains a study of the structured typology of Siemens forced labor. 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). Its obvious apologetics should be noted, above all the generous use of annotations from documents in the unregistered files of the Siemens temporary archive, which are inaccessible to the public.

The location of the SMAD files is unclear. They are most likely located in CAFSSRF and are probably inaccessible. The BStU holds the files of the DDR trials. Included in these files are numerous statements made by former SS female guards. These statements were made before 1950, so they are, like numerous other National Socialist documents, not codified the way such documents in later decades were. In 1959, the ZdL, now BA-L, conducted an exhaustive preliminary investigation into the Ravensbrück women's concentration camp (AR-Z 39/59), including the Siemens subcamp (AR-Z 39/59 SH). As there were no killings in the Siemens subcamp, the results of the investigations were not handed over to the state prosecutors. The holdings of the AS-M are apparently quite extensive. Regrettably, to a large extent the "unregistered files of the temporary archive" are not accessible for independent researchers. This includes the Ravensbrück production center's monthly "production

center reports," including information about the genesis of the use of detainees and cooperation between management and the SS and the Siemens subcamp. Researchers are therefore forced to rely on state archives. In addition to the already mentioned trial documents, the BA-B has micro-filmed records of the Deutsche Bank. Deutsche Bank was Siemens's banker, and representatives of the bank sat on the board of directors of S&H. The detailed information kept by the bank and now in the BA contains valuable information on the origins and development of the use of Ravensbrück detainees by Siemens. Also kept in the BA are microfilms of documents seized by the OMGUS. These documents deal with the production of armaments by Siemens. The original documents are held by NARA. Additional extensive collections dealing with armaments and economic administration are held in the BA-MA. Reports by former, mostly Communist, detainees of the Ravensbrück women's concentration camp, which are unrelated to judicial proceedings, are kept at a number of locations. The reports deal mostly with issues of solidarity and resistance. They are found at the AG-R, DÖW, as well as in the former BPASSED-B(O), which is now part of LA-B. This latter archive keeps in particular the records of Bruno Baums, a former concentration camp prisoner. The Compensation Treuhand GmbH has collected other important records. Dating from the beginning of the 1960s, the records concern compensation claims by Jewish survivors against large German companies. As a result of the claims, the German companies made available their management files. Excerpts from these files can be found in the preliminary investigations conducted by the ZdL. Probably the most valuable collection of documents is the record group M32 in YVA. However, the author was not granted access to those records on the basis that they contained personal confidential information. Other sources have been quoted in the text. In many of the publications of survivors of Ravensbrück, the Siemens subcamp plays a role as an important provider of work in the main Ravensbrück camp. A drawing of the Siemenslager by prisoner Astrid Petersen Blumensaad is reproduced in Sigrid Jacobeit, "Arbeitsalltag Ravensbrück: Aus der Lebensbeschreibung von Rita Sprengel, Häftling Nr. 12867," in *Verfolgung, Alltag, Widerstand, Brandenburg in der NS-Zeit, Studien und Dokumente*, ed. Dietrich Eichholtz (Berlin, 1993), pp. 303–321. Prisoner-functionaries have published reports about their activities with Siemens, such as Margaret Buber-Neumann, *Als Gefangene bei Stalin und Hitler: Ein Welt im Dunkel* (1958; repr., Frankfurt am Main, 1993); or Rita Sprengel, *Im Schatten der eisernen Fesse* (Berlin [East], 1949); and *Der rote Faden: Lebenserinnerungen; Ostpreussen, Weimarer Republik, Ravensbrück, DDR, Die Wende*, ed. Sigrid Jacobeit (Berlin, 1994); as well as Maria Montuoro, "Schicht 'B,'" *DaHe* 3 (187): 221–230, a worker on the production line.

Records of the trials are kept at AG-R and PRO.

Rolf Schmolling
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

VOLUME I: PART B

NOTES:

1. Yvonne Useldinger, "Selbstkritik an den Rand geschrieben: Aus meinem Tagebuch, geschrieben im Siemens-Lager-Ravensbrück," AG-R, 475; BA-L, ZdL, Ordner Häftlingsberichte/Vorläufige Zeittafel des FKL Ravensbrück, AG-R, 475, AG-R, 918.

2. See Peter Witte et al., eds., *Der Dienstkalender Heinrich Himmlers 1941/42* (Hamburg, 1999), p. 325; as well as "Protokolle der Amtschefbesprechungen beim Stab Generalluftzeugmeister," January 27, 1942, February 17, 1942, and March 10, 1942, BA-MA, RL3/45, pp. 449/854, 437/8134, 427/8116.

3. On the order situation, see Wilfried Feldenkirchen, *Siemens 1918–1945* (Munich, 1996), p. 257; as well as a memo by Dr. Lohse, August 15, 1940, Betr.: "Lage im Wernerwerk F," p. 74; further, BA-MA, RL3/4117, especially "Gesamt-Umsatzentwicklung LGW 1941/42" P 114; as well as "Gesamt-Bestellengang u. Umsatz," p.141; on the labor situation, see "Entwicklung der S&H- und SSW-Belegschaft in Berlin und ausserhalb Berlins 1929–1944," "Referat Direktor Leifer [Fabrikenoberleitung] für die Vorstandssitzung 22.4.1944," BA-MA, RL3/4497; on the labor situation esp. re: female workers, see Niederschrift über die Berichte, gegeben beim Besuch von Herrn Gauleiter Sauckel, September 25, 1942, in the Wernerwerken der S&H in Siemensstadt, AS-M, 14Lt 397.

4. See memo S&H Betr.: "Kz-Lager Ravensbrück [sic]"—Besprechung im RLM am 16.4.[1942], April 18, 1942, AS-M 10235–2.

5. On the timing of the start of construction, see Schreiben SS-OGruF Pohl und RFSS Himmler, October 20, 1942 Betr.: Herstellung von Nachrichtengerät in den KL, BA-B, NS19/968; on the construction of the factory, see Vernehmungsniederschriften Rudolf Karl August Kn., September 25–26, 1967, in Steinfurth/Oberhessen, BA-L, ZdL, 405AR1485/66 Ordner K; as well as Aussage Sara H. geb. Gr., November 30, 1970, in Naharya, Israel, ZdL, 409 AR-Z 39/59 SH5, S. 38ff; on the start of production, see ZdL, Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück: Eine Gesamtdarstellung, ZdL, AR-Z 39/59, p. 130; as well as AG-R, RA V/1, Nr. 28, RA Bd. 14, Arbeitseinteilungen FKL Ravensbrück.

6. Interview with Irma Trksak, April 2, 2001, in Vienna, in the possession of the author, as well as [Oberkapo] Anna Vavak, "Siemens & Halske A.G. im Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück" (np. [Vienna], n.d.); ZdL, 409 AR-Z 39/59 SH5, pp. 104–109; Vernehmungsniederschrift Josef J. v. December 16, 1971, in Kattowitz, ZdL, 409 AR-Z 121/64 (StA Köln) Ordner I+].

7. Verlagerungsbefehl d. Rüstungsamtes, April 14, 1944, S&H, WWR nach "eigenes Zweigwerk Ravensbrück," Messwiderstände, Potentiometern, Heissleitern, Kleintransformatoren, Glimmer-Sikatrop- u. Styroflexkondensatoren, BA-B, R3/253, p. 24.

8. See map "Geplante Verlegungsstellen von S&H u. zugeh. Ges. (ohne TB | Stand Anfang April 44)" aus Referat Dir. Leifer, Aktenvermerk S&H AG Dr. Lohse, April 15, 1940.

9. All numbers from NARA, RG260, Box 173. For the time before, see statements of Oberkapo Anna Vavak of the Siemens commando. See Anna Vavak, "Siemens & Halske AG im Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück," ZdL; the "Monatsberichte der Fertigungsstelle Ravensbrück" in AS-M are not available for research. See Feldenkirchen, *Siemens*, p. 552.

10. On work productivity, see die Rechtfertigungsschrift "Einsatz ausländischer Zivilarbeiter, Kriegsgefangener, Juden und KZ-Häftlinge im Hause Siemens," October 31, 1945, p. 32, AG-S, XXXIX/2.

11. See Edith Klemmich, "Sein oder Nichtsein in Ravensbrück, Tatsachenbericht von Edith Klemmich," AG-R, Bericht 649, S. 10ff. On the latrine, see Interview with Irma Trksak.

12. See Astrid Petersen Blumensaad, "Siemenslager, KZ Ravensbrück," Jacobbeit, "Arbeitsalltag Ravensbrück: Aus der Lebensbeschreibung von Rita Sprengel, Häftling Nr. 12867," p. 307; Yvonne Useldinger, "Unmenschliche Ausbeutung bei Siemens-Ravensbrück," AG-R, 480; Vgl. Vernehmung Eva L., June 24, 1969, in Freiburg, ZdL, 409 AR-/39/59SH5, p. 1.

13. On Grabow und Holthöver see ZdL, Gesamtdarstellung FKL Ravensbrück, p. 133.

14. Bericht Hilde St.-S., December 1957, ZdL, 409 AR-Z39/59SH5, pp. 13–14.

15. See Boza Velikonja-Legisa, "Wir feierten Neujahr im KZ"; Cirila Kozjak Curk and Marta Urbancic, "Kulturpolitisches Leben," AG-R, 895.

16. See Yvonne Useldinger, "Selbstkritik an den Rand geschrieben: Aus meinem Tagebuch, geschrieben im Siemens-Lager-Ravensbrück," AG-R, 475, entry of February 19, 1945.

17. See Yvonne Useldinger, "Unmenschliche Ausbeutung," AG-R, 480.

18. See Grit Phillip, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Frauen-Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück 1939–1945* (Berlin, 1999), p. 187.

STARGARD IN POMMERN

About 40 kilometers (25 miles) southeast of Stettin (Szczecin), a subcamp attached to Ravensbrück was created in Stargard in Pommern (later Stargard Szczecinski, Poland). Created in mid-1943, a contingent of both male and female inmates was deported to the Stargard camp from both the Flossenbürg and Ravensbrück main camps.¹ The Stargard subcamp was created to supply cheap labor to the Gerätewerk Pommern GmbH in Stargard. The introduction of concentration camp inmates from Ravensbrück and other camps into the armaments manufacturing workforce stemmed from an agreement forged between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the administration of the armaments firms. Inmates were provided to the firms at a low, per-day "price" paid by the firms to the WVHA.

No further information about the subcamp at Stargard, including the number of inmates, camp guards, commandant, living and working conditions, or postwar trials, is available. The inmates were evacuated from Stargard to the main Ravensbrück camp in early 1945. The further fate of the Stargard inmates is unknown.

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on the Stargard in Pommern subcamp of Ravensbrück. For a brief outline of the camp, including opening and closing dates, kind of

prisoner work, and so on, see the entry for Stargard in the ITS's *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen, 1979).

The ZdL (now BA-L) contains various files that may provide additional information on the Stargard camp: see files IV 409 AR 1475/66; VI 302 AR-Z 47/65; IV 409 AR-Z 39/59; IV 410 (F) AR 2629–67; IV 409 AR-Z 99/70; and IV 409 AR 1479/66. Additional materials are most likely stored at the AG-R.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTE

1. See BA-L, ZdL, files IV 410 (F) AR 2629/7 and IV 409 AR-Z 99/70.

STEINHÖRING

The village of Steinhöring is situated east of Munich. In the summer of 1944, it became a headquarters of the SS organization Lebensborn e.V., which was established by Heinrich Himmler on December 12, 1935. “Lebensborn” was part of National Socialist ideology: The SS authorities supported German women to deliver babies. They established so-called Lebensborn homes (*Lebensbornheime*) where—in most cases, unmarried—women and girls could deliver their babies. The first Lebensborn home was “Haus Hochland” in Steinhöring, which was built in September 1936. About two-thirds of the approximately 1,400 children at Steinhöring had mothers who were unmarried.

The first Lebensborn headquarters was located in Berlin, but it was transferred to Munich in 1938. On July 11, July 12, and July 13, 1944, Allied air strikes destroyed the buildings of the Lebensborn in Munich. The SS started the evacuation to Steinhöring in July 1944 and completed the evacuation on September 20, 1944.

Steinhöring was a subcamp in the broadest sense, because the SS authorities allowed the female prisoners to walk around. In addition, the prisoners wore civilian clothes. There was a maximum of 24 female prisoners from the Ravensbrück concentration camp and about 27 male prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp. SS authorities counted 27 male prisoners in Steinhöring on April 3, 1945, and 24 female prisoners were counted by Allied authorities after the liberation on May 3, 1945. Most of the female prisoners were Jehovah's Witnesses and worked between 1943 and 1945 at the Lebensborn e.V. The female inmates had a German background. However, 3 prisoners came from Austria, 2 others came from the Netherlands, and 1 woman was a prisoner from Poland. The work they were forced to do was housework at the Hochland maternity clinic or at the local Lebensborn administration department. At first they lived in a hut outside the maternity clinic, but later authorities gave them some beds inside the Hochland house. Only in the case of serious diseases were female prisoners deported back to the Ravensbrück main camp.

The male prisoners arrived from the concentration camp of Dachau: They were forced to work in the establishment of

huts outside the maternity clinic—there were six huts, each 42.5 meters (139.4 feet) long and 12.5 meters (41 feet) wide. The huts were used as living space, stores for textiles and equipment, and offices. Moreover, some prisoners built the house of SS member Max Sollmann in Steinhöring. The first male prisoners were a bricklayer, a tailor, and an electrician. In October and November 1944, a shoemaker, a cook, and two tailors from Poland as well as a cook, a baker, and a welder from France arrived as prisoners in Steinhöring.

A small SS unit controlled the whole area, while Dr. Gregor Ebner led the maternity clinic, together with one hospital matron and five or six nurses. The SS deported the male prisoners from Steinhöring to Dachau on April 28, 1945, and left Steinhöring one day later. In contrast, the female prisoners were asked by the hospital matron to stay and help with the babies even after the liberation; as a result, most of the female prisoners left Steinhöring two months after the end of the war.

SOURCES Secondary sources on Steinhöring include Johannes Wrobel, “Steinhöring (männliche KZ-Häftlinge),” in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich, 2005), pp. 500–502. Steinhöring is listed as a Ravensbrück subcamp in Gudrun Schwarz, *Die Nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), p. 220. On the “Lebensborn” program, the standard work is Georg Lilienthal, *Der “Lebensborn e.V.”: Ein Instrument nationalsozialistischer Rassenpolitik* (1985; repr., Stuttgart: Gustav Fischer Verlag, 2003).

Primary sources for the Steinhöring subcamp of Ravensbrück may be found at AG-R.

Alexander Jossifidis

ZICHOW

The Zichow subcamp was established 75 kilometers (46.6 miles) from the city of Fürstenberg-Havel in Mecklenburg and from the Ravensbrück concentration camp that was within Fürstenberg's municipal area.¹ The subcamp was located near Gramzow on the manor of the same name. The farm, in Uckermark in the northeast part of the Prussian province of Brandenburg, was owned by Adolf Julius Albrecht Bernd Count von Arnim,² member of an extended aristocratic family that owned a large number of manors.

Von Arnim owned the Kleinow and Netzow manors, 15 and 60 kilometers (9.3 and 37.3 miles), respectively, from Zichow. Servants and day laborers worked on his manor, and then beginning in 1940, first Polish, later French, and from 1942 on, Russian prisoners of war (POWs) also worked on the farm.³ As the labor force in the German Reich was getting scarcer in the armaments industry, due to the war, the number of POWs on the manor went from 60 to 13 in 1944.⁴ These people and the German and foreign agricultural workers were insufficient labor for harvesting the 608 hectares (1,502 acres) that were under cultivation—220.75 hectares (545.5 acres) of grain, 315.25 hectares (779 acres) of root crops,

43 hectares (106.3 acres) of oil and fiber plants capable of being woven, and 29 hectares (71.7 acres) of forage crops. Von Armin must have had good connections directly to the SS or via the offices and people of the Wehrmacht. This is the only way that he could have ensured that detainees from the Zichow subcamp could be made available for work at his manors in a time of severe labor shortage where the priority lists for the use of detainees, POWs, and forced laborers rapidly changed.

The exact date when the Ravensbrück concentration camp prisoners arrived at Zichow cannot be determined. All that is certain is that at the beginning of 1944, at the commencement of the harvest, 70 female prisoners were assigned to von Armin's manor. They were housed in a brick building with iron bars over the windows, a former storehouse, not far from the manor house. Inside, there was a lounge and bedroom, both 147 square meters (176 square yards). Both rooms were drafty and unheated. The detainees' kitchen is said to have been located in the cellar of the farm building opposite the storehouse. The Zichow subcamp closed, and the detainees were transported back to Ravensbrück on February 3, 1945.⁵

The population of the detachment fluctuated during the seven months of its existence, as the prisoners were rotated several times. This was necessary because not all of the women were able to do the heavy farmwork, especially since they had been weakened by a long period of detention. Those who could not meet the demands were promptly returned to the main camp. On December 16, 1944, for reasons that are not fully clear but possibly because there was less work, a transport of 28 women left the subcamp in the direction of Ravensbrück. It is possible to identify approximately 100 prisoners who for either a shorter or longer period were brought to Zichow as forced laborers. The Ravensbrück concentration camp administered Zichow from the moment it opened to its closure.

All the women came from Germany, except for one Polish woman. The youngest was 18 and the oldest 43; 35 of the women were between the ages of 22 and 24. They all wore a red triangle, so Gestapo officials had classified them as political detainees. The reasons for their arrest have not been clearly determined, but it is certain that some had been sent to the concentration camp for "adulterous relations" with foreign forced laborers.

The leader of an SS detachment was in control of the Zichow subcamp. He maintained a line of communication to the main camp and organized matters relating to the detainees, including exchanging detainees, basic medical care, clothes, mail, and recommendations for awards. SS men guarded the camp. At least three female guards, sent from Ravensbrück, were present and ensured that the detachment's work was done without any trouble.

The women primarily worked in the field from Monday to Saturday, regardless of the weather. By November they had harvested hay, grain, rapeseed, flax, root crops, as well as

vegetables. After that they loaded sugar beets, cabbage, straw, and potatoes.⁶ Sick detainees and those incapable of doing this work worked inside, mostly in the kitchen. Two prisoners had special functions, one in the kitchen and the other doing things outside the camp. The detainees were encouraged to exceed work norms by means of an award system. The detainees were given award cards valued at either 1 or 2 Reichsmark (RM), which, among other things, they could exchange for stamps. Conversely, the prisoners were punished if, in the opinion of a supervisor, they had not worked hard enough or had not carried out an instruction. In September 1944, two women were not given lunch for four days.

The heavy work in the heavy clay Uckermark soil, for which the detainees had inadequate clothing and footwear, produced many colds and flu, rheumatic pains, stomach and intestinal problems, boils and abscesses, and abdominal complaints. The Zichow subcamp did not have an infirmary. A dentist in Gramzow, 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) away, dealt with minor dental problems—but only after the detachment leader had spoken with the head of the dental unit in the Ravensbrück main camp and after a transfer pass was presented. The detainees' mail was sent by the detachment leader to be checked in Ravensbrück, from where the mail was sent out.

On October 7, 1944, three women attempted to escape after they had succeeded in taking a key from one of the female guards. Their absence was discovered the following day during morning roll call. They were discovered that morning hiding in an adjacent barn where Russian POWs were held. The following day the three women were returned to Ravensbrück. On October 21, 1944, the manor received replacement laborers.

SOURCES The history and purpose of the Zichow subcamp were first mentioned by Simone Steppan and Erika Schwarz in *BWF* 20 (2003): 30–42. A research project of the MGR/SBG, from January 2000 to January 2001, by A. Meyer, E. Schwarz, and S. Steppan, began to collect further information about the Zichow subcamp.

The most important source on the Zichow subcamp is a file on the camp's internal organization, which is located in the collection of AG-R. The BLHA holds other documents on the manor.

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NOTES

1. Details about the internal operations of the subcamp are found in surviving documents in the Sammlungen AG-R/SBG, Bd. 45, Bericht 1030.
2. Further information, in particular about the manor, can be found in BLHA, Rept. 37, Zichow.
3. See BLHA, Ber. 37 (Rept. 37), Zichow, Nr. 69, n.p.
4. See BLHA, Rept. 37, Zichow, Nr. 30, n.p.
5. See Sammlungen AG-R/SBG, vol. 45, Bericht 1030/1.
6. See BLHA, Bericht 37, Zichow, Nr. 378, pp. 72–95.

RIGA-KAISERWALD



Post-liberation photograph of an execution site in the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp.
USHMM WS #96909, COURTESY OF STA. LG HAMBURG

RIGA-KAISERWALD MAIN CAMP [AKA MEŽAPARKS]

On March 15, 1943, the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) established the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp, with SS-Sturmbannführer Albert Sauer as commandant.¹ Situated at the Mežaparks Forest resort near Riga, Latvia, the camp was divided into male and female sections separated by barbed-wire fencing. Some 47 German and Polish criminal, political, and “asocial” inmates from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp set up the “prisoner self-administration.” This contingent grew to 500 prisoners, but most were returned to the Reich by December 1943. A Ravensbrück detachment, including “asocials,” opened the women’s section. Under the supervision of the Wolf & Döring construction firm, Jews from the Riga ghetto built the camp, which had three accommodation barracks per section and an infirmary.² Located in the camp’s rear was the Anode Kommando, a battery recycling detachment, which was accessed by a narrow path between the men’s and women’s sections. Holding approximately 2,000 to 3,000 prisoners at a time, Kaiserwald was a clearinghouse for an estimated 15,000 Jewish prisoners deployed in 12 to 14 subcamps, called quartering sites (*Kasernierungen*).³ Although Kaiserwald registered the prisoners, some were moved from one site to another without entering the main camp. Kaiserwald’s prisoner statistics are scant, because shortly after the camp opened, SS-Brigadeführer Richard Glücks, the head of IKL, exempted the newly established camps in the East from reporting admissions and deaths to IKL and because most of its records were destroyed prior to evacuation.⁴ An incomplete mortality list, from December 15, 1943, to August 8, 1944, recorded 484 deaths.⁵ To these must be added the numerous prisoners killed in shooting opera-

tions (*Aktionen*), the synonym for “selections” that carried over from the ghetto. The victims were placed on trucks and dispatched to the forests for shooting. Prisoners and staff referred to the killing sites by the euphemism, “base command” (Stützpunktkommando).

Although ostensibly a concentration camp, Kaiserwald differed from other IKL camps in three salient respects. First, family life and friendships formed in the Riga, Vilna, and Libau ghettos carried over into the camp. Husbands and wives and, in some cases, their children communicated across the fences dividing the men’s and women’s sections. Friendships from the ghetto fostered a reliable rumor mill between Kaiserwald and its subcamps. The placement of friends and relatives at other sites and regular transfers between the sites made this source of unofficial news possible.⁶ Second, except for the Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück inmates, the Kaiserwald prisoners did not normally wear prisoner uniforms with color-coded triangles. Most were ordered to paint or sew yellow stars and prisoner numbers on their civilian clothes; in some cases, they had to paint white stripes on the sleeves and trouser legs as well. Many did not get “zebra” uniforms, as the prisoners called them, until just prior to the evacuation in the summer of 1944, at which time they also got prisoner haircuts, with a stripe shaved down the middle of the scalp for males and shaved heads for females.⁷ Finally, as discussed below, the establishment of *Kasernierungen* rather than a full subcamp system distinguished Kaiserwald from other IKL camps.

Prefiguring the establishment of Kaiserwald and its quartering sites was a dispute between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the Reich Commissariat Ostland (Reichskommissariat Ostland, RKO) over the status of the Salaspils police camp. On December 1, 1942, the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) in Berlin asked the Commander of the Security Police and SD (BdS) Riga, Dr. Rudolf Lange, whether Salaspils was a concentration camp and, if so, why it did not fall under WVHA jurisdiction.⁸ Located to the southeast of Riga and built by Riga ghetto labor in 1941, Salaspils held non-Jewish Latvians, Estonians, and Lithuanians. An SS-Obersturmbannführer, later Standartenführer, in the SD (Nazi Party no. 290308), Lange emphatically denied it was a concentration camp, instead calling Salaspils a work education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager* [AEL]) and police prison (*Polizeigefängnis*).⁹ That Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler found this explanation unsatisfactory was evident shortly after Kaiserwald’s establishment, when he called Salaspils a concentration camp in everything but name, pointing out that it properly belonged to the WVHA and ordering that it perform war-related tasks, not construction or “peat work” (*Torfstich*).¹⁰ In a demonstration of Lange’s autonomy,



Interior of a barracks at Riga-Kaiserwald shortly after evacuation in September 1944.

USHMM WS #85598, COURTESY OF THE BELARUSSIAN STATE ARCHIVE OF DOCUMENTARY FILM AND PHOTOGRAPHY

Salaspils remained under Security Police (Sipo) control until the German abandonment of Latvia.

On June 21, 1943, Himmler decreed the closure of all ghettos in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia (the Ostland) and the formation instead of IKL camps by August 1, 1943. Jews were to perform war work, especially for Wehrmacht units but not for “private firms.” Those deemed unfit were to be deported “to the East,” a euphemism for mass murder.¹¹ With the important exception that Kaiserwald never had a gas chamber/crematory complex, Himmler’s model was the Lublin-Majdanek concentration camp, which confined Jews from liquidated ghettos in the General Government. Himmler’s order similarly affected the concentration camps at Kauen (Kaunas) and Vaivara. In Riga, Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Ostland Friedrich Jeckeln informed his superior, Reichskommissar Hinrich Lohse, about the reorganization. The ghetto authorities quickly closed 125 old Kasernierungen, and, according to historian Andrew Ezerailis, 312 employers lost Jewish labor, while additional firms underwent drastic workforce cuts.¹² In early August 1943, Lohse altered the meaning of Himmler’s decree, calling for the establishment of “big” and “small” concentration camps. Focusing on the alleged security “threat” posed by Jewish prisoners, Lohse demanded their strict separation from Riga’s population.¹³

On August 18, 1943, the RKO’s and BdS Riga’s interference became apparent when the Riga Stadtkommissar announced the creation of “Jewish camps” (*Judenlager*). Naming 13 “big” Kasernierungen, the Stadtkommissar claimed they were answerable to the Sicherheitsdienst (SD)—that is, to Lange of BdS Riga—not to the WVHA. The list included “old,” ghetto-administered, as well as “new” quartering sites designed for big projects. They were (1) Kaiserwald, (2) Dünawerke, (3) SD-Werkstätte (Lenta), (4) Truppenwirtschaftslager (TWL), (5) Spilwe airport, (6) Heereskraftfahrzeugpark (HKP), (7) Papierfabrik Schlock, (8) Reichsbahn, (9) Armeebekleidungsamt (ABA) 701, (10) Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG), (11) Zementfabrik Riga, (12) Strasdenhof, and (13) Generalkommissar (GK) Abteilung Finanzen. Not all of these quartering sites became subcamps. Of the 16,450 Jews to be allocated, over 7,800 prisoners had already been deployed.¹⁴

The Stadtkommissar’s list was misleading. The paper factory utilized Kaiserwald prisoners, and it has yet to be established whether GK was a quartering site or a Kaiserwald work detachment. In the fall of 1943, Kaiserwald opened a complex of camps near the Baltic Sea in Kurland (Kurzeme), for the erection of the Dondangen (Dundaga) SS “sea camp” (*Seelager*). The camps consisted of Dondangen I, Dondangen II (Poperwahlen), and Kurben. The HKP and ABA sites spawned subcamps, respectively, at Hirtenstrasse and Krottingen. Kaiserwald also formed a quartering site in October 1943 for railway work at Elley-Meiten. The International Tracing Service’s (ITS) claim that AEG had a battery-producing subcamp at Strasdenhof appears to be unfounded,

because witnesses place this detachment in the Kaiserwald camp. The Kaiserwald detachment was contracted to the Wehrmacht, not to AEG. In the class-action suit brought against AEG in the late 1950s, one witness mentioned working in the Anode Kommando, but she was removed from it by truck to work at the AEG camp at Strasdenhof.¹⁵ Depending upon whether the Dondangen complex is counted as one camp or three, then Kaiserwald had 12 to 14 subcamps. According to the ITS, Kaiserwald also furnished work details for Gummifabrik “Meteor,” a rubber factory, and for a number of SS construction projects.

Although Himmler ordered the Ostland ghettos’ closure by August 1, 1943, the liquidations concluded between September and November 1943. From Lithuania, the Germans dispatched the survivors of the Vilna (Vilnius, Wilno) ghetto to Kaiserwald in late September 1943. From Kurland, the Libau (Liepāja) ghetto’s survivors arrived in early October 1943. In October 1943, the Germans stopped assigning Riga ghetto inhabitants to the Kasernierungen. On November 2, 1943, the Riga Sipo sent its remaining inhabitants to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, where 850 were gassed upon arrival.¹⁶ In addition to the Ostland ghettos, Kaiserwald received approximately 2,000 Hungarian Jewish women from Birkenau in June 1944.

Several Kaiserwald staff members had lengthy IKL experience. Born on August 17, 1898, in Misdroy, Sauer (Nazi Party no. 862698; SS no. 19180) served at the Berlin Columbia Haus early camp in 1935, was the commandant of the Bad Sulza early camp during its dissolution in 1937, and worked in Sachsenhausen’s administration. He was the first commandant of the Mauthausen concentration camp but was dismissed in early 1939 after a dispute with the Austrian police. Working for the Reich Commissariat for the Strengthening of Germanism (RKFDV) until 1943, he was briefly attached to the Auschwitz staff before assuming command at Riga. Posted to Ravensbrück after Kaiserwald’s evacuation, Sauer was killed in action on May 3, 1945.¹⁷ Kaiserwald’s administrators were SS-Obersturmführer Eberhard von Bonin, until June 1, 1944, and SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Vogler from the Stutthof concentration camp, from that date until Kaiserwald’s closure. The chief of labor allocation (Arbeitsinsatzführer) was SS-Hauptscharführer Hans Brüner.

Born on August 8, 1894, Kaiserwald’s camp doctor, SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Eduard Krebsbach, had previously occupied the same position at Mauthausen. His eagerness to murder patients by phenol injection at Mauthausen gave rise to his nickname “The Needle” (Spritzbach).¹⁸ In the Mauthausen Trial, the U.S. Army condemned him to death and executed him on May 28, 1947. Krebsbach’s assistant SS-Sanitätsdienstgrad (SDG) Heinz Günther Wisner was born Heinz von Wisotzky in Danzig on December 5, 1916. Joining the Allgemeine-SS on March 14, 1935, he worked in the Danzig sanitarium and trained as an SDG. On February 1, 1939, he joined the Nazi Party and became a police reservist on August 22, 1939. Before Stutthof became an IKL camp,

Wisner served as its SDG and from May 27, 1942, held the same post at the Flossenbürg concentration camp. After joining the Waffen-SS in June 1943, he underwent ideological training in Berlin and was promoted to Unterscharführer in the summer of 1943. On November 1, 1943, Wisner joined Kaiserwald's staff and was later promoted to Oberscharführer. Wisner selected numerous Jews in Kaiserwald and its subcamps for murder and killed infirmary patients by lethal injection. Many of the infirmary victims were from the subcamps, especially Dondangen, which consumed lives at a catastrophic rate.

Kaiserwald's camp elder (Lagerältester) was Xavier Abel, known to the prisoners as "Mr. X." A Sachsenhausen criminal, he committed homicides at Kaiserwald and carried on illicit relationships with younger female prisoners. According to Josef Katz, a Jewish prisoner from Lübeck, Abel drowned the Riga ghetto's police chief, Haar, in the latrine during a drinking party for the German prisoners. According to Katz, "Mr. X" and other German prisoners still at Kaiserwald shortly before its evacuation were recruited for the Dirlwanger Brigade, a Waffen-SS unit composed chiefly of German green and black triangle prisoners in 1944.¹⁹ Kapos Hans "Hannes" Bruhn and Reinhold Rosemayer also brutalized the inmates. For a time, Bruhn was the camp elder at the Strassenhof subcamp. The prisoner-functionaries instituted penal drills, forcing new prisoners, like Ernest Kan, to remove caps with the appropriate snap.²⁰ In 1961, the Hamburg State Prosecutor inconclusively investigated Bruhn for his activities at Sachsenhausen.²¹

Approximately 30 male and female prisoners worked in the Anode Kommando. The men unloaded large Wehrmacht truck batteries from an adjacent train depot, and in a small workshop, the women dismantled them in order to extract their carbon anodes. One prisoner, Schoschana Rabinovici (born Susanne Weksler), credited the detachment leader, a German army Feldwebel, with protecting her during an Aktion. For the women at least, the work took place indoors, but it required the handling of corrosive and noxious chemicals that blackened and burned the hands.²²

"Children's operations" (*Kinderaktionen*) occurred regularly at Kaiserwald and in the subcamps. Especially endangered were children who stayed in the blocks while their parents worked. Thanks to alert adults, a few youngsters managed to evade these selections. As an 11-year old, Rabinovici was deported in late September 1943 from Vilna to Kaiserwald with her mother and older stepsister. Her mother, Raja Indurski-Weksler, used subterfuges with the connivance of friends from Vilna to prevent the Germans from discovering that Schoschana was prepubescent, including standing in front of her when prisoners were ordered to undress and awakening her earlier than the rest of the block so that she could clean up in private. At Kaiserwald, Rabinovici usually worked in the Anode detail, but when her mother perceived a change in SS behavior, thereby indicating an imminent Aktion, she was told to report to an outside detail for the day.²³

From May to September 1944, the Sonderkommando (SK) 1005 B under SS-Obersturmführer Walter Helfsgott attempted to obliterate evidence of the "Final Solution" in the Riga area, exhuming mass graves that dated back to 1941. At Lange's insistence, Helfsgott deployed only Jews for this task. At his 1969 jury trial in Stuttgart, where he was acquitted on technical grounds, the court noted that the likely source of this labor was Kaiserwald. In succession, two detachments of 30 inmates disinterred mass graves in the Rumbula and Bikernieki forests, cremated the bodies, and scattered the ashes and bones. As "bearers of secrets" (*Geheimnisträger*), the groups were shot after completing their tasks.²⁴

With the Red Army advancing on Riga, Kaiserwald commenced preparations for evacuation in late June and July 1944. Among them Krebsbach and Wisner conducted a series of selections, including the "Krebsbach Aktion" on July 28, 1944, which involved the main camp and every subcamp in Riga. Apart from some prisoners who reached Stutthof overland via Libau, most were marched to the port of Riga, where they boarded ships bound for Danzig. On August 6, 1944, the *Bremerhaven* departed Riga with 6,382 Jews from the subcamps. Subsequent sea evacuations took place in mid-September 1944 (called the Rosh Hashanah Transport by prisoners) and on September 24 or 25 (the Yom Kippur Transport).²⁵ On the latter, the *Kanonier* carried 3,155 prisoners to Danzig. A final 190-member cleanup detail left Riga on October 11, 1944. Held below decks for three days with few provisions, the inmates suffered from overcrowding and seasickness caused by rough seas. To distribute food and remove excrement from the holds, the Kapos improvised a bucket-and-winch system, but the high seas caused food and excrement to spill onto the prisoners below. A few prisoners got fresh air by relaying buckets to the deck. Landing at Danzig, the survivors were marched to the Vistula River, where they boarded 500-person barges for two or three days before entering Stutthof.²⁶ According to Rabinovici, the vessel carrying her family sailed under a Red Cross flag, which protected it from attack. Katz remembered that the last vessel in the Rosh Hashanah Transport was sunk by a Soviet submarine.²⁷ Most of Kaiserwald's survivors were scattered among the Stutthof subcamps. Others were sent to Dachau/Mühlendorf, Buchenwald/Magdeburg (Polte), and Nevengamme/Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel.

SOURCES The Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp is discussed in chapters and articles on the Latvian Holocaust, but to date there is not a one-volume history of the camp. The most recent and best-documented study is Andrej Angrick and Peter Klein, *Die "Endlösung" in Riga: Ausbeutung und Vernichtung 1941–1944* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006). Another useful work is Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia, 1941–1944: The Missing Center* (Riga: Historical Institute of Latvia; published in association with USHMM, 1996). Ezergailis erroneously terms Kaiserwald and other IKL camps "SD" camps. The source of his confusion is the Riga Stadtkommissar's announcement of August 18, 1943. Additional information may be gleaned

from three contributions by historian and Latvian Holocaust survivor Mārgers Vestermanis, *Juden in Riga: Auf den Spuren des Lebens und Wirkens einer ermordeten Minderheit; ein historischer Wegweiser* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1995); “Die nationalsozialistischen Haftstätten und Todeslager im okkupierten Lettland, 1941–1945,” in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 1998), 1:472–492; and “Das SS-Seelager Dondangen—Ein Modell für die geplante nazistische ‘Neuordnung Europas,’” *MiGe* [GDR] 25:2 (1986): 145–146. For an overview of the Kaiserwald, Vaivara, and Kauen concentration camps, see Alfred Streim, “Konzentrationslager auf dem Gebiet der Sowjetunion,” *DaHe* 5 (1989): 174–187. The earliest treatment of Kaiserwald is Max Kaufmann, *Churbn Lettland: Die Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands*, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn, intro by Steven Springfield (1947; repr., Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 1999). Kaufmann was a survivor of the Riga ghetto, Kaiserwald, and Riga (HKP, Hirtenstrasse). Another survivor’s account that covers Kaiserwald and selected Kasernierungen is Alfred Winter, *The Ghetto of Riga and Continuance* (Monroe, CT: Self-pub., 1998). Based in large measure on other survivors’ memoirs, it must be used with due caution because the sources are not cited. Essential background on Kaiserwald, including evacuation statistics, may be found in Anita Kugler, *Scherwitz: Der jüdische SS-Offizier* (Cologne: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 2004). Kugler discusses the IKL-BdS Riga rivalry to show how SS-Untersturmführer Fritz Scherwitz, the camp leader of Riga (Lenta), used his connections with Lange in order to maintain a degree of autonomy from Kaiserwald. Riga-Kaiserwald and its work detachments are listed as separate men’s and women’s camps in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:247. On Sauer, see French L. MacLean, *The Camp Men: The SS Officers Who Ran the Nazi Concentration Camp System* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Pub., 1999), p. 197; Gordon J. Horwitz, *In the Shadow of Death: Living Outside the Gates of Mauthausen* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1991), pp. 31–32; and Tom Segev, *Soldiers of Evil: The Commandants of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1987), p. 89. On Sauer and Krebsbach, additional information may be found in Evelyn Le Chêne, *Mauthausen: The History of a Death Camp* (London: Methuen, 1971), pp. 30, 38, 88–93. The Wisner case (Lfd. 896) will be included in a forthcoming volume of *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* but is listed cursorily on the publication’s Web site, www1.jur.uva.nl/junsv. The author would like to thank Dick de Mildt for furnishing supplementary biographical information on Wisner.

Primary sources for Riga-Kaiserwald start with Heinrich Müller’s announcement of its opening in USHMMA, RG 11.001 M.05, Reel 75, RGVA, fond (record group) 504, opis (inventory) 2, delo (file) 8 (504/2/8), which also contains documentation on the Salaspils police camp. On the Kasernierungen and BdS Riga’s intervention, see Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im “Reichskommissariat Ostland”: Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998),

Docs. 253–254, pp. 265–266, which reproduces Lohse’s announcement of early August 1943 and the Riga Stadtkommissar’s memorandum on the Kasernierungen of August 18, 1943. According to the ITS Archival Catalog, Kaiserwald transports are mentioned in the following pre-1955 holdings: Inventory No. 107: Buchenwald GCC 2/189 a-c Ordner 10, “Zugänge vom KL Riga, Sachsenhausen, und, Sachsenburg,” December 11, 1943, August 20, 1942, to March 31, 1945, and July 27, 1937; Inventory No. 112: GCC2/193/d-f Ordner 15, “Transportlisten, Abgänge vom KL Buchenwald nach KL Riga,” March 15, 1943; Inventory No. 150: Buchenwald GCC2/189 IC/6 Ordner 159, “Zugänge vom KL Riga und Sachsenhausen,” December 11, 1943, August 20, 1942, to July 31, 1944; Inventory No. 164: Buchenwald GCC 2/193 Ordner 170, “Abgänge nach KL Ravensbrück und KL Riga,” April 24, 1941, to January 26, 1945, and March 15, 1943; and Inventory No. 276, Buchenwald GCC 2/119 IIB/19 Ordner 236, “Listen um überstellten Häftlingen, deren Effekten vom KL Buchenwald dem KL Ravensbrück, Riga, Sachsenhausen, Stutthof, und Warschau übergeben wurden,” April 26, 1941, to August 20, 1944, and March 17, 1943, to May 5, 1943. These lists apparently concern only the German and Polish prisoners sent to Kaiserwald and returned to the Reich in 1943. The ITS received the documents on loan from the U.S. Army. Further research is required to determine whether any of the Reich prisoners originated from Buchenwald instead of Sachsenhausen. As cited by Angrick and Klein, additional archival sources on Kaiserwald may be found in BA-B, R 92 (GK Riga). For the partial death list, Vestermanis cites LVVA, P 132/30/43a, pp. 1–44. Himmler’s query to Lange, March 18, 1943, concerning Salaspils is reproduced 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: xxxi. The Krebsbach trial is listed as US 401 Case No. 000–50–5, *USA v. Hans Altfurdisch, et al.* The Helfsgott trial (Ks 22/67) is summarized in Lfd. 701, JuNS-V 31: 693–798. As cited by Kugler, BA-L holds witness testimony in connection with Kaiserwald’s involvement in SK 1005 B’s operations. As cited by Angrick and Klein, the investigation of Bruhn is listed as Hamburg Sta. 141 Js 534/60. The personnel files of Lange and Sauer are available at BA-B and NARA. Lange was a participant in the Wannsee Conference of January 20, 1942. See NG-2586 in John Mendelssohn, ed., *The Holocaust: Selected Documents in Eighteen Volumes*, vol. 11, *The Wannsee Protocol and a 1944 Report on Auschwitz by the Office of Strategic Services*, intro. Robert Wolfe (New York: Garland, 1982). Unpublished prisoner testimony from Riga-Kaiserwald may be found at USHMMA. In RG-12.004.02 *02 and *04, Benjamin Ferencz Collection, Claims against German Industrial Firms Records, 1952–1994, AEG Correspondence, there are several affidavits on the Riga AEG camp, which help to document Kaiserwald’s role as a registration center. In RG-12.004.02*02, see Betty Rothschild Willner (notarized affidavit, October 13, 1958) and Golda Geller Lewinsohn Klein (unsigned

affidavit, October 1, 1958); in RG-12.004.02*04, see Hilde Diamant (n.d.); Tauba Maskin Buchhalter (September 19, 1958); Marga Hahn (undated letter); and Luba Klot Slodov (statement of May 24, 1960). USHMMA also holds a substantial collection of oral histories by Kaiserwald survivors, some of which have been transcribed. Interviews helpful for this essay are RG-50.431*1076, Ernest Kan interview, June 7, 2001, by HDEC; RG-50.030*0150, Lily Margules interview, January 3, 1990; RG-50.030*0176, Bella Simon Pasternak interview, April 21, 1994; RG-50.030*0216, Rochelle Blackman Slivka interview, June 15, 1990; and RG-50.030*0220, Steven Springfield interview, March 30, 1990. In a follow-up telephone interview with the author, September 27, 2006, and an email exchange, Ernest Kan furnished additional details on Kaiserwald's subcamps and the camp's rumor mill. The interview summary is to be deposited at USHMMA. There are many unpublished witness statements on Kaiserwald at WL and reproduced in *Testaments to the Holocaust* (originally WL), <http://159.104.6.6/testaments/en/t3h.asp>. Particularly useful for this essay is P III H No. 286 (Riga), Herman Voosen, "Report on the Criminals of Riga," July 28, 1945. Riga-Kaiserwald is mentioned or alluded to in several published documents in *USA v. Oswald Pohl, et al.* (NMT Case IV) in *TWC* 4: 382–383, 387, 626; NO-020 a (Pohl to Himmler, April 5, 1943, on the expansion of the camp system); NO-1558 (Glücks circular, April 26, 1943); NO-2403 (an English translation of Himmler's order of June 21, 1943); and 1469-PS (Pohl to Himmler, September 30, 1943, on death cases). On the Riga transport to Auschwitz, see Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939–1945* (New York: Henry Holt, 1990), p. 519. Published prisoner testimonies include Josef Katz, *One Who Came Back: The Diary of a Jewish Survivor*, trans. Hilda Reach (New York: Herzl Press and Bergen-Belsen Memorial Press, 1973); and Schoschana Rabinovici, *Thanks to My Mother*, trans. James Skofield (New York: Dial Books, 1998), pp. 101–190. Brief testimonies may be found in two compilations by Gertrude Schneider, ed., *Muted Voices: Jewish Survivors of Latvia Remember* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1987); and *Unfinished Road: Jewish Survivors of Latvia Look Back* (New York: Praeger, 1991).

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NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG 11.001 M.05, Reel 75, RGVA, 504/2/8, RSHA IV C 2 (Heinrich Müller), Rundschreiben Nr. 43086, Betr.: "Konzentrationslager (Arbeitslager) Riga," April 2, 1943, p. 170.
2. On the barracks, Josef Katz, *One Who Came Back: The Diary of a Jewish Survivor*, trans. Hilda Reach (New York: Herzl Press and Bergen-Belsen Memorial Press, 1973), p. 140.
3. As estimated by Margers Vestermanis, "Die nationalsozialistischen Haftstätten und Todeslager im okkupierten Lettland, 1941–1945," in *Die nationalsozialistischen*

Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 1998), 1:487.

4. NO-1558, Glücks circular, April 26, 1943, *TWC* 14: 387.

5. LVVA, P 132/30/43a, pp. 1–44, cited in Vestermanis, "Die nationalsozialistischen Haftstätten und Todeslager im okkupierten Lettland, 1941–1945," p. 487.

6. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0220, Steven Springfield interview, March 30, 1990; RG-50.431*1076, Ernest Kan interview, June 7, 2001; Kan telephone interview with the author, September 27, 2006.

7. See, for example, USHMMA, RG-50.030*0150, Lily Margules interview, January 3, 1990; but compare with RG-50.030*0216, Rochelle Blackman Slivka interview, June 15, 1990; on "zebra" clothing, RG-50.431*1076, Kan interview, June 7, 2001.

8. RG 11.001 M.05, Reel 75, RGVA, 504/2/8, SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr. Berndorff, RSHA IV C 2, to BdS Riga, Allg. Nr. 42485, n.d. (received December 1, 1942), FS Nr. 16488, "Dringend," p. 156.

9. RG 11.001 M.05, Reel 75, RGVA, 504/2/8, BdS Ostland, IV C 2—5198/42, to RSHA IV C 2, December 19, 1942, IV C 2 Allg. Nr. 42485, p. 169.

10. RFSS to Oswald Pohl, WVHA, and Ernst Kaltenbrunner, RSHA, March 18, 1943, Geh./111/10, reproduced in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderen Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1969), 1:xxxii.

11. NO-2403 in *TWC* 4: 626. The original is quoted in Andrej Angrick and Peter Klein, *Die "Endlösung" in Riga: Ausbeutung und Vernichtung 1941–1944* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006), p. 386.

12. Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia: The Missing Center* (Riga: Historical Institute of Latvia; published in association with USHMM, 1996), p. 364.

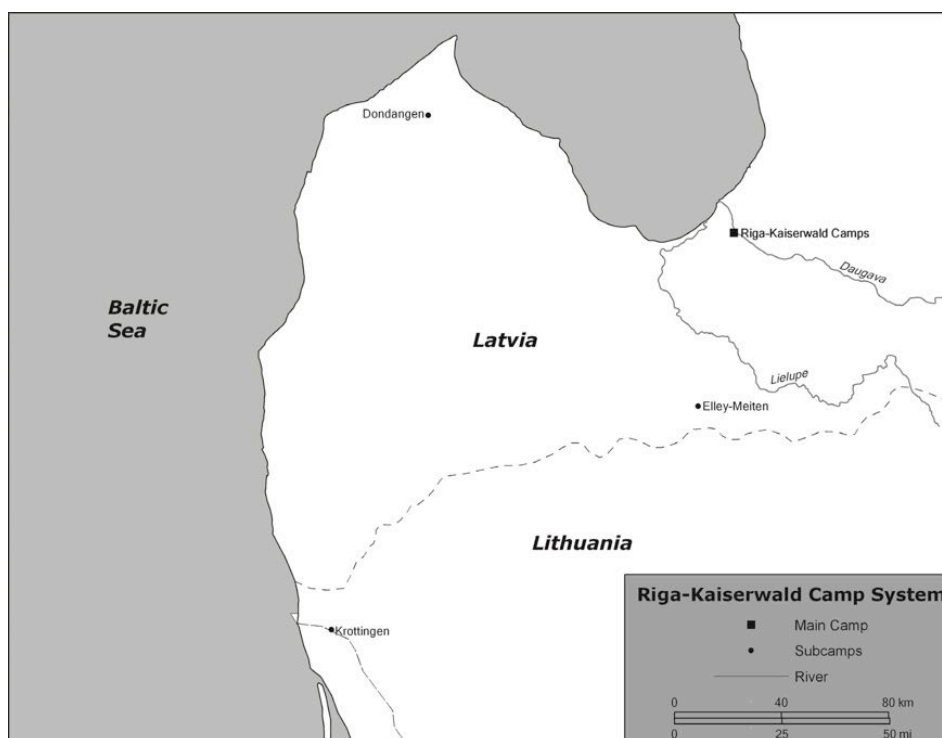
13. Schreiben des Reichskommissars für das Ostland an die Generalkommissare vom August 1943, über die "Zusammenfassung von Juden in Konzentrationslagern" [LVVA, R69-1 A-6, fol. 129, copied in USHMMA, RG 18.002M, Reel 2], reproduced in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 253, p. 265.

14. Auszüge aus einem Schreiben des Stadtkommissars Riga an den Generalkommissar, Abt. III, August 18, 1943, Betr. "Umsetzung' von Juden in Konzentrationslager" [reproduced from NARA, T-459 Reel 19, fr. 503], *ibid.*, Doc. 254, pp. 265–266.

15. Schoschana Rabinovici, *Thanks to My Mother*, trans. James Skofield (New York: Dial Books, 1998), pp. 128–129; Katz, *One Who Came Back*, p. 180; RG-12.004.02*04, Betty Rothschild Willner, Notarized Affidavit, October 13, 1958.

16. Entry for November 5, 1943, in Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939–1945* (New York: Henry Holt, 1990), p. 519.

17. Sauer BDCPF summarized in French L. MacLean, *The Camp Men: The SS Officers Who Ran the Nazi Concentration Camp System* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Pub., 1999), p. 197.



18. Quoted in Evelyn Le Chêne, *Mauthausen: The History of a Death Camp* (London: Methuen, 1971), p. 88.

19. Katz, *One Who Came Back*, pp. 143–144, 192; P III H No. 286 (Riga), Herman Voosen, “Report on the Criminals of Riga,” July 28, 1945, p. 4.

20. RG-50.431*1076, Kan interview, June 7, 2001.

21. Hamburg Sta. 141, Js 534/60, cited by Angrick and Klein, *Die “Endlösung” in Riga*, p. 392.

22. Rabinovici, *Thanks to My Mother*, pp. 151–153.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 102, 105, 112, 124, 135, 150–151; see also Katz, *One Who Came Back*, pp. 151, 181–182, for a Kinderaktion at a subcamp; also Max Kaufmann, *Churbn Lettland: Die Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands*, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn, intro. by Steven Springfield (1947; repr., Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 1999), p. 388; at the AEG Kasernierung, RG-12.004.02*04, Luba Klot Slodov statement, May 24, 1960, pp. 4–7.

24. Ks 22/67, Lfd. 701, JuNS-V 31: 733; Sta. Stuttgart, 17 Js 270/64, Hans Sohns indictment, December 11, 1967; and BA-L, 204 AR-Z 419/62, Erich Brauer statement, February 10, 1949, pp. 985, 989, cited in Anita Kugler, *Scherwitz: Der jüdische SS-Offizier* (Cologne: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 2004), pp. 418–419.

25. On the Krebsbach Aktion, P III H No. 286 (Riga), Voosen, “Report on the Criminals of Riga,” p. 5; for the Rosh Hashanah Transport, see Katz, *One Who Came Back*, pp. 201–202; for the Yom Kippur Transport, Kaufmann, *Churbn Lettland*, p. 427.

26. Rabinovici, *Thanks to My Mother*, pp. 171–183; Katz, *One Who Came Back*, pp. 201–208.

27. Rabinovici, *Thanks to My Mother*, p. 178; Katz, *One Who Came Back*, p. 202.

DONDANGEN I AND II, WITH KURBEN **[AKA SEELAGER DONDANGEN, DUNDAGA,** **POPERWAHLEN]**

In the late summer of 1943, Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp established a subcamp for the SS “sea camp” (*Seelager*) at Dondangen (Dundaga). The camp was intended to erect an SS colony near the Baltic coast in Kurland (Kurzeme), Latvia. According to a West German report, Dondangen held 12,000 prisoners.¹ A more conservative estimate by Margers Vestermanis puts the total number of prisoners, mostly Latvian, Lithuanian, and Hungarian Jews, at 5,000.² Dondangen’s catastrophic death rate, 10 to 20 prisoners per day, may help to reconcile these estimates, because the camp was constantly replenished by fresh Kaiserwald prisoners. Unlike other camps and quartering sites (*Kasernierungen*) in the Riga-Kaiserwald complex, the prisoners at Dondangen wore striped uniforms with yellow stars.³

Dondangen had two successive camp leaders (Lagerführer), SS-Oberscharführer Gröschel and SS-Hauptscharführer



SS-Hauptscharführer Gustav Sorge, camp leader of the Heereskraftfahrzeugpark and Spilwe camps in Riga, and subsequently of the Dondangen complex. At the time this mug shot was taken, Sorge was a defendant in the Soviet Sachsenhausen trial, 1947.
 USHMM WS #33598, COURTESY OF CAFSSRF

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933 - 1945

Gustav Sorge. Gröschel’s mismanagement prompted the commandant of Riga-Kaiserwald, SS-Sturmbannführer Albert Sauer, to replace him with Sorge on January 30, 1944. Gröschel assumed command at Sorge’s former post, the Kaiserwald Kasernierung at Riga-Spilwe. An Esterwegen and Sachsenhausen concentration camp guard whose career in the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) dated back to 1934, and who had been a guard at the Esterwegen early camp in 1933, Sorge lived up to his nickname “Iron Gustav” (Eiserne Gustav). During the two years prior to commanding Dondangen, he had been Arbeitseinsatzführer at Vught, the Herzogenbusch main concentration camp in the Netherlands, and served in the summer of 1943 in a “bandit”-hunting (anti-partisan) detail for the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Ostland. In the Riga complex, he had previously commanded Spilwe and the neighboring Heereskraftfahrzeugpark (HKP) Kasernierung.⁴

Designed as a “Germanization” colony, the SS-Seelager Dondangen was to become a permanent SS base.⁵ At Dundaga, the SS displaced some 15,000 Latvian farmers in the summer of 1943. For the SS, one of Dondangen’s attractive features was Dundaga Castle, erected in 1249 for the Livonian Order of crusaders, which served as the SS headquarters. Critical to the project was the erection of a troop training base (*Truppenübungsplatz*) for SS-Panzer personnel. To create the base, Dondangen’s prisoners cleared forests, built roads, and erected troop barracks. A survivor of Dondangen II (Poperwahlen), Vestermanis observed that the Seelager “was probably Himmler’s only colonization experiment in the temporarily occupied Soviet territories that was half-way realized. It shows how the ‘European New Order’ strived for by the Nazis should have looked.”⁶

The living conditions at Dondangen (and subsequently the Poperwahlen and Kurben subcamps) were by far the worst in the Riga-Kaiserwald complex. Prisoner Abraham Shpungin characterized Dondangen as an “extermination camp,” but historian Andrew Ezergailis described it as a camp for “extermination through labor” (*Vernichtung durch Arbeit*).⁷ While the prisoners erected SS troop accommodations, they lived in “Finnish tents” (*Finnenzelter*), plywood structures with dirt floors and a stove in the center, somewhat like primitive Quonset huts.⁸ The overcrowded tents did not protect against the cold Baltic winds. The SS never bothered to erect a barracks camp at Dondangen or in its subcamps. The prisoners’ rations consisted of thin soup, bread, and very little else.

Compounding the lethal conditions was the brutal behavior of Gröschel and Sorge. Gröschel dealt with Dondangen’s staggering mortality by ordering the bodies dumped into the half-frozen Baltic Sea.⁹ In the spring of 1944, as the ice thawed, fishermen discovered some corpses, which prompted Sorge, who had already assumed command, to institute the “bathing Kommando.” Consisting primarily of weakened prisoners, this detail removed the bodies from the sea and cremated them in improvised pyres on the beach. According to Shpungin, the detachment also had a high mortality rate.¹⁰

Despite the frightful conditions, the Truppenübungsplatz opened by the spring of 1944. Training at this facility were the Nachrichten-Ausbildungs- und Ersatz-Abteilung 1, SS-Panzer-Ausbildungs- und Ersatz-Regiment 1, and the Fourth SS-Panzer-Aufklärungs-Ausbildungs-Abteilung 2. Some of the Waffen-SS troops were Dutch volunteers. Sorge ordered the Waffen-SS to shoot escaping prisoners on sight.¹¹

A small exception to Dondangen's brutal conditions was the troop supply depot (*Truppenwirtschaftslager* [TWL]), which was situated in the city of Dundaga. Not to be confused with Kaiserwald's separately listed TWL Kasernierung, this detachment consisted of 20 Jewish men and 5 Jewish women. Fearing epidemics, the detachment leader, SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Wichmann, had the prisoners cleaned up and ensured that they received a steady supply of nutritious rations. Eventually, he secured Sorge's permission to quarter them in an apartment in Dundaga, with the women held in the smaller and the men in the larger room. The detachment's prisoners included Shpungin and Mendel Poliak, who escaped in late July 1944, when word came to evacuate Dondangen. In the city of Dundaga, the Vanags family (parents Anton and Klara and daughter Skaidrite) gave them food and shelter until the Soviet liberation, which in Kurland did not take place until the German surrender on May 8, 1945.¹² For their efforts in saving Shpungin and Poliak, Yad Vashem awarded the Vanags family the Righteous among the Nations medal in 1993.

Dondangen opened a second subcamp for both male and female Jewish prisoners at Poperwahlen (Popervāle), also known as Dondangen II. Under SS-Rottenführer Baufeldt, this subcamp also consisted of Finnish tents. The first 165 prisoners, 15 of whom were female, entered the camp in November 1943, but the camp swelled to 1,000 prisoners by June 1944, including some Hungarian Jewish women dispatched from Auschwitz II-Birkenau.¹³ The prisoners cleared swamps in preparation for the erection of an airfield. Some Poperwahlen prisoners were redeployed inside the Reich in May 1944, in fulfillment of a March 1944 order from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA).¹⁴ According to Vestermanis, Poperwahlen opened a crematorium for the disposal of Dondangen's dead in the spring of 1944.¹⁵

The sources disagree on the existence of the third Dondangen subcamp at Kurben. While the International Tracing Service (ITS) counted Kurben as a Dondangen subcamp, Vestermanis does not list it. Shpungin claimed that Kurben was the third "entity" of Dondangen, which held as many as 5,000 Hungarian Jewish women dispatched from Birkenau, an estimate that is exceedingly high.¹⁶ Prisoner Ernest Ābols likewise called Kurben a Dondangen subcamp. Survivor Helen Rodak-Izso, a Jewish woman from Kassa, Hungary, who was deported to Birkenau on June 4, 1944, and shortly thereafter dispatched to Kaiserwald, was held at Kurben, which she called "Kurbe." Rodak-Izso built roads and felled trees for approximately one month. An Oberscharführer headed the camp, and the guards included female SS, who oversaw the work details.¹⁷

With the Red Army's approach, Dondangen II (Poperwahlen) closed in late June or early July 1944, after which the prisoners were moved to Dondangen. En route, the prisoners had to cross the Venta River by swimming and holding on to one another, as the main bridge had been bombed out and only German troops were permitted to use the temporary bridge. A number of Poperwahlen prisoners escaped during the march, including Vestermanis, who shortly joined the partisans.¹⁸ Like those from Poperwahlen, the Kurben prisoners undertook a similar crossing of the Venta before arriving at Dondangen.¹⁹ Dondangen I closed on July 26 or 27, 1944, and the prisoners proceeded in the direction of Goldingen (Kuldīga). The SS dumped many of the dead in a mass grave at Zlekas.²⁰ From Windau, most of the prisoners were dispatched by sea to the Stutthof concentration camp in Poland. A smaller group marched to Libau (Liepāja) and then were sent by train to Stutthof.

A Bonn court sentenced Lagerführer Sorge to life imprisonment plus 15 years for 67 murders and 20 attempted murders. None of the charges brought against him arose from his service in Latvia, however.²¹

SOURCES Dondangen I and II are discussed extensively in the partially autobiographical studies of Mārgers Vestermanis, "Die nationalsozialistischen Haftstätten und Todeslager im okkupierten Lettland, 1941–1945," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 1998), 1: 488–489; and "Das SS-Seelager Dondangen—Ein Modell für die geplante nazistische 'Neuordnung Europas,'" *MiGe* [GDR] 25:2 (1986): 145–146. The latter article furnishes extensive background on the SS-Seelager project. The first chronicler of the Latvian Holocaust, Max Kaufmann, discusses Dondangen and Poperwahlen at some length in *Churbn Lettland: Die Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands*, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn, intro by Steven Springfield (1947; repr., Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 1999), pp. 418–422. The most important English-language account of Dondangen is Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia, 1941–1944: The Missing Center* (Riga: Historical Institute of Latvia; published in association with USHMM, 1996), pp. 364, 367. The Dondangen project is also recounted in Andrej Angrick and Peter Klein, *Die "Endlösung" in Riga: Ausbeutung und Vernichtung 1941–1944* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006), pp. 399, 402, 424. Angrick and Klein also mention Poperwahlen in passing. Dondangen is also mentioned in Alfred Streim, "Konzentrationslager auf dem Gebiet der Sowjetunion," *DaHe* 5 (1989): 177. Some information on Dondangen may be gleaned from the account by Riga-Kaiserwald survivor and chronicler Alfred Winter, in *The Ghetto of Riga and Continuance* (Monroe, CT: Self-pub., 1998), pp. 81–93. Winter's account must be used with due caution, however, because he did not cite his sources. A useful account of the Dutch troops at Dondangen and Poperwahlen can be found in L.M. Bruyn, "KZ-Lager Poperwahlen (Latvia)" (unpub. MSS, n.d.), www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/popervale. The Dondangen I, Dondangen II (Poperwahlen), and Kurben camps are listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 248–249. The opening and closing dates found in these listings are

erroneous. The Vanags family is listed in *Index to the Righteous Gentile Registry of Yad Vashem* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2002), p. 166. Some background on Dundaga Castle may be found at www.castle.lv/castles4/episkop-eng.html.

Primary documentation for the Dondangen complex is scattered. On the SS-Seelager, Angrick and Klein cited documentation in BA-B, R 92. The trial of Gustav Sorge is listed as 8 Ks 1/58, Lfd. Nr. 473, in JuNS-V, 15: 399–658. As cited in Angrick and Klein, Poperwahlen is mentioned in the Wehrwirtschaftskommando Riga, Lagebericht, March 30, 1944, available at BA-MA. An unpublished Dondangen testimony is P III h. No. 1023, Statement of Max Bunzl (Salaspils & other Latvian Camps), “The Sadism of Nazi Camp Leaders,” August 31, 1948, *Testaments to the Holocaust*, originally WL, <http://159.104.6.6/testaments/en/t3h.asp>. As cited by Ezer-gailis and Vestermanis, three survivors who contributed unpublished testimonies were Ernest Ābols, Joseph Berman, and Lagersanitäter A. Jakobsen. Published testimonies on Dondangen include the account by Basja Zin, *Wie ein grauenhafter Traum: Vier Jahre zwischen Leben und Tod; Jüdische Schicksale aus Lettland, 1941–1945*, trans. Kurt Foss, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 1998), pp. 27–31. Although she named the camp where she and her husband were held as “Dondangen,” from context it appears that she was held in Poperwahlen. The TWL detachment and other parts of the Dondangen camp are recorded in Abraham Shpungin, “The Terrors of Dundaga,” trans. Isaac Leo Kram, in *The Unfinished Road: Jewish Survivors of Latvia Look Back*, ed. Gertrude Schneider (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1991), pp. 151–166. A firsthand account of Kurben is Helen Rodak-Izso, *The Last Chance to Remember* (Montreal: Concordia University Chair in Canadian Jewish Studies and the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, 2001), pp. 30–31, 39–41, 44–47. On the mass grave at Zlekas, Vestermanis cites a newspaper article in *VBal*, March 30, 1993.

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NOTES

1. Gustav Sorge Urteil, 8 Ks 1/58, Lfd. Nr. 473, JuNS-V 15: 420.
2. Margens Vestermanis, “Das SS-Seelager Dondangen—Ein Modell für die geplante nazistische ‘Neuordnung Europa,’” 25:2 (1986): 145.
3. P III h. No. 1023, Statement of Max Bunzl (Salaspils & other Latvian Camps), “The Sadism of Nazi Camp Leaders,” August 31, 1948, p. 4, *Testaments to the Holocaust*, originally WL, <http://159.104.6.6/testaments/en/t3h.asp>.
4. Sorge Urteil, 8 Ks 1/58, Lfd. Nr. 473, JuNS-V 15: 418–420.
5. BA-B, R92/1004, n.p., Bericht über die geplante Errichtung eines Truppenübungsplatzes, n.d., cited in Andrej Angrick and Peter Klein, *Die “Endlösung” in Riga: Ausbeutung und Vernichtung 1941–1944* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006), p. 399.
6. Vestermanis, “Das SS-Seelager Dondangen,” p. 146.
7. Abraham Shpungin, “The Terrors of Dundaga,” trans. Isaac Leo Kram, in *The Unfinished Road: Jewish Survivors of*

Latvia Look Back, ed. Gertrude Schneider (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1991), p. 151.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

9. P III h. No. 1023, Statement of Bunzl (Salaspils & other Latvian Camps), “The Sadism of Nazi Camp Leaders,” August 31, 1948, p. 4.

10. Shpungin, “The Terrors of Dundaga,” pp. 155–156.

11. P III h. No. 1023, Statement of Bunzl (Salaspils & other Latvian Camps), “The Sadism of Nazi Camp Leaders,” August 31, 1948, p. 4.

12. Shpungin, “The Terrors of Dundaga,” pp. 159–165.

13. Report by Lagersanitäter A. Jakobsen, cited in Margers Vestermanis, “Die nationalsozialistischen Haftstätten und Todeslager im okkupierten Lettland, 1941–1945,” in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 1998), 1: 488.

14. BA-MA, RW 30/72, pp. 52–54, Wehrwirtschaftskommando Riga, Br. B. Nr. 819/44g, Lagebericht für die Zeit vom 1.3. bis 31.3.1944, March 30, 1944, p. 52, as cited in Angrick and Klein, *Die “Endlösung” in Riga*, p. 424.

15. Vestermanis, “Die nationalsozialistischen Haftstätten und Todeslager im okkupierten Lettland, 1941–1945,” p. 488.

16. Quoted in Shpungin, “The Terrors of Dundaga,” p. 151.

17. Helen Rodak-Izso, *The Last Chance to Remember* (Montreal: Concordia University Chair in Canadian Jewish Studies and the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, 2001), pp. 44–47.

18. Vestermanis interview, February 20, 1996, cited in L. M. Bruyn, “KZ-Lager Poperwahlen (Latvia)” (unpub. MSS, n.d.), www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/popervale.

19. Rodak-Izso, *The Last Chance to Remember*, p. 47.

20. *VBal*, March 30, 1993, cited in Vestermanis, “Die nationalsozialistischen Haftstätten und Todeslager im okkupierten Lettland, 1941–1945,” p. 488.

21. Sorge Urteil, 8 Ks 1/58, Lfd. Nr. 473, JuNS-V, 15: 415.

ELLEY-MEITEN

Between October 1943 and June 1944, the SS deployed nearly 3,000 male and female Jewish prisoners from Lithuania and Poland at Elley-Meiten (Eleja-Meitene). Elley-Meiten was 1 of about 12 to 14 subcamps, called quartering sites (*Kasernierungen*), that were absorbed or established by the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp. The date of its foundation indicated that Elley-Meiten was a “new” Kasernierung. Living in 16 barracks at a disused tractor factory, the prisoners performed railway repair work for the construction firms of Rippel, Berger, and Ottlieb. The SS returned the prisoners to Riga-Kaiserwald beginning in May 1944, well before the dissolution of other Kasernierungen, most of which closed in August 1944 in connection with the Red Army’s advance.

SOURCES This subcamp is briefly discussed in Margers Vestermanis, “Die nationalsozialistischen Haftstätten und Todeslager im okkupierten Lettland, 1941–1945,” in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 1998), 1: 488. It is listed

as separate men's and women's camps in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 248. It is also listed with some information on the construction firms 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. 661.

As cited by Vestermanis, the primary sources for this subcamp may be found in LVVA, in file P-132/26/13, p. 197.

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KROTtingEN

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), Krottingen originated as a Buchenwald subcamp that was transferred to Riga-Kaiserwald's administration in order to supply female Jewish labor for the Army Clothing Office 709 (Armeebekleidungsamt [ABA]). The subcamp was the second Riga-Kaiserwald quartering site (*Kasernierung*) established for the ABA; the first was Mühlgraben, which furnished female Jewish inmates for ABA 701. Krottingen opened in May 1944, when 200 Mühlgraben prisoners were transferred to the new site. Eventually, the subcamp grew in size to approximately 700 prisoners, according to survivor Johanna Rosenthal.¹

Appointed a prisoner forewoman (Vorarbeiterin) after two weeks in the camp, Rosenthal reported that cold, hunger, and "heavy labor" made existence difficult.² There were several selections at Krottingen, which in the language of Kaiserwald were called "operations" (*Aktionen*). The largest took place on July 28, 1944, when 200 weakened prisoners were removed for killing. In preparation for Riga-Kaiserwald's evacuation, the Krottingen inmates were given concentration camp haircuts in early July 1944, but the issuance of "zebra clothing" (*Zebra-Kleidung*) only took place in August 1944.³ Although Krottingen officially closed in August 1944, with most of the prisoners removed by sea and evacuated to the Stutthof concentration camp in Poland, Rosenthal and a small group remained behind at Krottingen until Yom Kippur 1944. The remaining prisoners were evacuated to Libau (Liepāja).⁴

SOURCES This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 248.

Mühlgraben and Krottingen prisoner Johanna Rosenthal described Krottingen in her testimonies, listed in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, <http://159.104.6.6/testaments/en/t3h.asp>, which were originally collected by WL. Rosenthal's undated statement said that the major selection took place on July 28, 1944, while her June 26, 1945, statement placed the date on June 28, 1944.

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NOTES

1. P III h No. 538 (Riga), Statement of Johanna Rosenthal, June 26, 1945, pp. 2–3; P III h No. 283 (Riga), Rosenthal

Statement, n.d., p. 4, in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, <http://159.104.6.6/testaments/en/t3h.asp>.

2. Quoted in P III h No. 538 (Riga), Rosenthal Statement, June 26, 1945, p. 2.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 3; P III h No. 283 (Riga), Rosenthal Statement, n.d., p. 4.

4. P III h No. 538 (Riga), Rosenthal Statement, June 26, 1945, p. 3.

RIGA (BALASTDAMM)

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), Riga-Kaiserwald had a men's and women's quartering site (*Kasernierung*) located at Balastdamm (Balasta) on Kipsala Island in the city of Riga. Listed as "Zementwerk Riga" by Detachment III of the Riga Stadtkommissar, it was 1 of 13 *Kasernierungen* absorbed from the Riga ghetto or established by Kaiserwald on August 18, 1943. Balastdamm had a planned capacity of 300 prisoners but an effective strength at the time of 205.¹ The cement factory was the Sägewerk Zunda, which manufactured prefabricated construction parts. According to chronicler of the Latvian Holocaust Max Kaufmann, the camp reached the planned strength of 300 prisoners, of whom 30 were females, and had Latvian SS guards. The prisoners also worked for the SS-Bauhof, a construction unit, and for a carpentry workshop.

According to Riga (Lenta) prisoner Abraham Bloch, prisoners from Balastdamm reported, in early August 1944, that the SS had just concluded a "children's operation" (*Kinderaktion*) in their subcamp, during which 25 young Jews were selected for killing.² Kaufmann subsequently listed 22 young victims of this Aktion and stated that most of its remaining Balastdamm prisoners were murdered at the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp after Balastdamm's closure on August 7, 1944.

SOURCES The Riga (Balastdamm) *Kasernierung* of Riga-Kaiserwald is described in Max Kaufmann, *Ciburin Lettland: Die Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands*, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn, intro. by Steven Springfield (1947; repr., Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 1999), pp. 415–416; and in Anita Kugler, *Scherwitz: Der jüdische SS-Offizier* (Cologne: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 2004), pp. 415–416. The subcamp is also mentioned in Margers Vestermanis, *Juden in Riga: Auf den Spuren des Lebens und Wirkens einer ermordeten Minderheit; ein historischer Wegweiser* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1995), pp. 70–71. It is listed as separate men's and women's camps in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 250.

Primary sources for this subcamp begin with the documents compiled by Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, pp. 265–266, which reproduces the Riga Stadtkommissar's memorandum on the Riga-Kaiserwald *Kasernierungen* of August 18, 1943. As cited by Kugler, Abraham Bloch's memoirs are available in Yiddish and Russian in MSS form at MEL.

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VOLUME I: PART B

NOTES

1. Auszüge aus einem Schreiben des Stadtkommissars Riga an den Generalkommissar, Abt. III, August 18, 1943, Betr. "Umsetzung" von Juden in Konzentrationslager [reproduced from NARA, T-459 Reel 19, fr. 503], in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, p. 266.

2. Anita Kugler, *Scherwitz: Der jüdische SS-Offizier* (Cologne: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 2004), pp. 415–416, citing Abraham Bloch memoirs, MEL.

RIGA (DÜNOWERKE)

Established in the city of Riga, with a planned capacity of 1,500 male and female Jewish prisoners, Dünawerke was 1 of 13 old and new quartering sites (*Kasernierungen*) formed or absorbed by the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp on August 18, 1943. On the date of its foundation, the subcamp had 398 prisoners.¹ Important information on this *Kasernierung* comes from survivor Lily Margules, who entered Kaiserwald and Dünawerke after the liquidation of the Vilna ghetto in September 1943. According to her account, the inmates performed construction work under the supervision of Organisation Todt (OT) personnel and older German guards who were unfit for frontline duty. The prisoners wore civilian clothing with white rings and white stripes painted on them in order to prevent escape. At Dünawerke, Margules and other prisoners hauled sand in wheelbarrows. "Russian" civilians who worked on the same job site were kind to the prisoners. The men's and women's compounds, she recalled, were in the same building but separated by "a very heavy door." The availability of water and beds made this *Kasernierung* relatively tolerable. Margules recalled that the camp leader (Lagerführer), who was an SS-Obersturmführer, had an illicit relationship with a Jewish woman from Berlin that benefited the prisoners, as his treatment softened somewhat. According to Riga survivor and historian Alfred Winter, the Lagerführer was actually an Oberscharführer, which is more consistent with the ranks of known *Kasernierungen* leaders.²

Margules's sister, who for a time worked for the camp administration, contracted rheumatic fever while at Dünawerke. Unlike the fate suffered by many patients in the infirmaries of the Kaiserwald *Kasernierungen*, she received care from a German doctor, who gave her more than three weeks to recover. As Margules recognized, patients who stayed longer than three days were usually selected in operations (*Aktionen*) and murdered in the forests near Riga.³

As evidenced by the account of Golda Geller Lewinsohn Klein, there were some transfers of prisoners between Dünawerke and the other *Kasernierungen*. Dispatched to Kaiserwald from the Vilna ghetto in late September 1943, Klein was sent to Dünawerke three days later. After five months, she and other prisoners were returned to Kaiserwald and reassigned to the

Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG) camp at Riga-Strasdenhof.⁴

At Dünawerke, the prisoners composed poetry and songs to keep up their morale. Margules's friend Tosha, who subsequently perished, composed a song called "Dünawerke," which "tells us that . . . [the camp was] an island surrounded by waters and forests, and there are Jews from all [over] the world that work very hard and are constantly freezing in the cold weather. In the morning, it is still dark, but the bell rings and we have to go out, stand up and go to work. And we are asking the world why are the Jews punished? . . . For whose things are Jews being punished?"⁵

As part of the dissolution of Kaiserwald's *Kasernierungen*, Dünawerke closed in the summer of 1944. The prisoners were evacuated by ship via Danzig to Stutthof.⁶

SOURCES This subcamp is briefly mentioned in Andrej Angrick and Peter Klein, *Die "Endlösung" in Riga: Ausbeutung und Vernichtung 1941–1944* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006), p. 405. Dünawerke is described in some detail in Alfred Winter, *The Ghetto of Riga and Continuation* (Monroe, CT: Self-pub., 1998), pp. 112–113. This account must be used with due caution, as the author, who was a survivor of the Riga ghetto and Kaiserwald concentration camp, synthesizes many uncited survivors' accounts and continually employs the first-person plural in describing Kaiserwald and its *Kasernierungen*, making it difficult to distinguish what he personally witnessed from what he pieced together from other survivors' accounts. It is listed as having separate women's and men's camps in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 250.

Primary sources for Dünawerke begin with its listing in the documents compiled by Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, pp. 265–266, which reproduces the Riga Stadtkommissar's memorandum on the Riga-Kaiserwald *Kasernierungen* of August 18, 1943, and copied from NARA. The affidavit of Golda Geller Lewinsohn Klein was submitted in the class-action suit against AEG brought by the Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany. It is located in USHMMA, RG-12.004.02*04, Benjamin Ferencz Collection, Claims against German Industrial Firms Records, 1952–1994. The most detailed account of Dünawerke is found in USHMMA, RG-50.030*0150, Lily Margules oral history interview, January 3, 1990, which is available in videotape and transcript.

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NOTES

1. Auszüge aus einem Schreiben des Stadtkommissars Riga an den Generalkommissar, Abt. III, August 18, 1943, Betr. "Umsetzung" von Juden in Konzentrationslager [reproduced from NARA, T-459 Reel 19, fr. 503], in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum*

und in *Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, p. 265.

2. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0150, Lily Margules oral history interview, January 3, 1990, transcript, pp. 1, 13, 15 (quotation), 16.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 16–17.

4. USHMMA, RG-12.004.02*04, Benjamin Ferencz Collection, unsigned affidavit of Golda Geller Lewinsohn Klein, BM-SG/HI/Imi, October 1, 1958, Betr.: AEG, p. 1.

5. Margules interview transcript, p. 17.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

RIGA (HEERESKRAFTFAHRZEUGPARK, HIRTENSTRASSE) [AKA PARK]

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), Riga-Kaiserwald established a quartering site (*Kasernierung*) at Hirtenstrasse, Riga, at the end of January 1944. Called “Park,” Hirtenstrasse provided male and female Jewish prisoner labor for an army vehicle repair facility (Heereskraftfahrzeugpark [HKP]). It was the second HKP *Kasernierung* formed in Riga; the first had already been established by August 18, 1943. The subcamp closed on August 6, 1944, as the SS closed the *Kasernierung* during the Red Army’s advance, and the survivors were eventually sent by ship and barge to Stutthof.

SOURCES The only source for the Hirtenstrasse subcamp is ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 251, where the men’s and women’s camps are listed separately.

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RIGA (HEERESKRAFTFAHRZEUGPARK)

On August 18, 1943, the SS established a quartering site (*Kasernierung*) for male Jewish prisoners for the army vehicle repair installation (Heereskraftfahrzeugpark, HKP) in the city of Riga. Located near the Spilwe (Spilva) airport, this camp held 1,000 male Jewish prisoners from the Riga ghetto, then in the process of being liquidated by the Germans. According to the Stadtkommissar of Riga, it held 375 prisoners when it began operating. HKP was 1 of the original 13 *Kasernierungen* established or absorbed by the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp.¹ According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the SS established a second HKP *Kasernierung* at Hirtenstrasse in Riga in late January 1944 [see Riga-Kaiserwald/Riga (Heereskraftfahrzeugpark, Hirtenstrasse)]. According to survivor Max Kaufmann, the prisoners from the two *Kasernierungen* were able to maintain some informal communications.²

On December 15, 1943, the camp leader (Lagerführer) of Riga-Spilwe, SS-Hauptscharführer Gustav Sorge, also assumed command at HKP. He had only been appointed camp leader at Spilwe on December 1. A staff member at the Esterwegen and Sachsenhausen concentration camps whose career in the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) dated back

to 1934, and who had even been a guard at the Esterwegen early camp in 1933, Sorge lived up to his nickname “Iron Gustav” (Eiserne Gustav). During the two years prior to taking command at Spilwe, he had been Arbeitseinsatzführer at the Herzogenbusch main concentration camp [aka Vught] in the Netherlands and served in the summer of 1943 on a “bandit”-hunting (antipartisan) detail for the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Ostland. At Spilwe, Sorge had already imposed a severe regime along IKL lines. On January 31, 1944, he was transferred from Spilwe and HKP to the massive Kaiserwald subcamp at Dondangen. At HKP, Sorge’s replacement was SS-Hauptscharführer Ludwig Blatterspiel (called in some survivor testimonies “Platterspiel”). After the September–October 1944 evacuation of Kaiserwald, Sorge assumed command of SS-Baubrigade XII (Construction Brigade XII) in November 1944, which was organized at Sachsenhausen. U.S. troops captured him on April 28, 1945, and held him in the SS internment camp at Bad Kreuznach.³

Prisoners at HKP repaired vehicles for the German army. Although the ITS listed HKP as a men’s camp, there were some Jewish women held there as well, according to survivor Josef Katz. Katz was a German Jew from Lübeck who entered HKP in the late spring or early summer of 1944. At Kaiserwald, Katz was assigned to a gardening detail to be established at HKP, but upon arrival at HKP, he was arbitrarily dispatched to Spilwe, where he worked on airstrips. After repeated entreaties, he finally gained admittance to HKP’s gardening detail, where he worked with another Jewish man and five Jewish women. The Kommando raised vegetables, fruit, and flowers. As Katz recalled, the Red Army Air Force bombed HKP in July 1944. Unlike other concentration camps inside and outside the Reich, the prisoners were able to enter an air-raid shelter during the attack.⁴

According to Katz, Kaiserwald’s SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad), SS-Oberscharführer Heinz Günther Wisner (misspelled “Wiesner” in Katz’s account), carried out a mass selection at HKP in June 1944. During this “operation” (*Aktion*), the euphemism used at Riga for selections for murder, Wisner ordered 40 men and 30 women to board trucks, which took them, in another Riga euphemism, to the “base command” (Stützpunktkommando), the nearby forests where they were murdered. Born Heinz von Wisotzky, Wisner had served since 1939 as an SS orderly at Stutthof and Flossenbürg. Promoted to Unterscharführer in the summer of 1943, Wisner joined the Kaiserwald staff on November 1, 1943, where he subsequently advanced in rank to Oberscharführer. Known to the prisoners as “Dr. Wisner,” he was sentenced in 1985 to five years’ imprisonment by a Düsseldorf court, in connection with the selections committed at Riga *Kasernierungen*, as well as homicides committed in the Riga-Kaiserwald main camp. The prosecution did not charge him in connection with selections at HKP, however. By the time of his arrest in 1979, Wisner had retired from a mechanical engineering firm located in Düsseldorf.⁵

HKP was closed on August 6, 1944, and the prisoners were marched to the port of Riga, where they boarded the

Bremerhaven with almost 6,400 other prisoners. After three days below decks in overcrowded and filthy conditions, the *Bremerhaven's* prisoners were sent via barges on the Vistula River to Stutthof.

In 1959, the Bonn Landgericht (Regional Court) sentenced Spilwe's former Lagerführer, Sorge, to life imprisonment plus 15 years for the murder of 67 prisoners and for 20 additional attempted murders. Inexplicably, the charges against him did not involve his service in Riga.

SOURCES The Heereskraftfahrzeugpark Kasernierung of Riga-Kaiserwald is described in Max Kaufmann, *Churban Lettland: Die Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands*, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn, intro. by Steven Springfield (1947; repr., Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 1999), pp. 373–381, and from his personal testimony about Hirtenstrasse, in pp. 382–393. It is listed as a men's camp in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 251. The Wisner case (Lfd. Nr. 896) will be included in a forthcoming volume of *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* but is listed cursorily on the publication's Web site at www1.jur.uva.nl/junsv. The author would like to thank Dick de Mildt for furnishing supplementary biographical information on Wisner. Anita Kugler, *Scherwitz: Der jüdische SS-Offizier* (Cologne: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 2004), p. 411, reports that 6,382 boarded the *Bremerhaven*.

Primary sources for Riga (Heereskraftfahrzeugpark) begin with the document collection by Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, pp. 265–266, which reproduces the Riga Stadtkommissar's memorandum on the Riga-Kaiserwald Kasernierungen of August 18, 1943, and copied from NARA. Investigation files for Wisner are available at ZLNW-K under the heading 130 Js 2/78 (Z). The case of Gustav Sorge (8 Ks 1/58) is found in Lfd. Nr. 473, *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 15: 399–658 (Amsterdam, 1976). A published testimony of HKP is Josef Katz, *One Who Came Back: The Diary of a Jewish Survivor*, trans. Hilda Reach (New York: Herzl Press and Bergen-Belsen Memorial Press, 1973).

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NOTES

1. Auszüge aus einem Schreiben des Stadtkommissars Riga an den Generalkommissar, Abt. III, August 18, 1943, Betr. "Umsetzung" von Juden in Konzentrationslager [reproduced from NARA, T-459 Reel 19, fr. 503], in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, p. 266.

2. Max Kaufmann, *Churban Lettland: Die Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands*, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn, intro. by Steven Springfield (1947; repr., Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 1999), p. 387.

3. Sorge Urteil, 8 Ks 1/58, Lfd. Nr. 473, *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 15: 415–421 (Amsterdam, 1976); Josef Katz, *One Who Came Back: The Diary of a Jewish Survivor*, trans. Hilda

Reach (New York: Herzl Press and Bergen-Belsen Memorial Press, 1973), pp. 159–160.

4. Katz, *One Who Came Back*, pp. 159–163.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 168–169.

RIGA (LENTA) (SD-WERKSTÄTTE)

On August 18, 1943, the Stadtkommissar for Riga listed the Lenta Security Service (Sicherheitsdienst [SD]) Workshop (Werkstätte) as 1 of 13 quartering sites (*Kasernierungen*) established or absorbed by the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp. On that date, this Kasernierung held 1,083 Jews, with a planned capacity of 2,000.¹ Named after the Latvian word for "ribbon," Lenta was located in the Dūna area, near the Dünawerke Kasernierung, but originated as an old Kasernierung at Washington Platz and Peter-Holm-Strasse in downtown Riga. Lenta consisted of three separate sites: the textile workshop at Washington Platz; a small SS clothing depot at Peter-Hohn-Strasse; and Lenta, which was formed only in July–August 1943 and which by itself held over 900 prisoners. The camp had bathing facilities and an infirmary. The International Tracing Service (ITS) erroneously listed Lenta as a men's camp, but according to historian and journalist Anita Kugler, it held women prisoners as well.

Under the commandant, SS-Untersturmführer Fritz Scherwitz, Lenta consisted of a multifaceted complex of lucrative workshops. Although its core mission was to supply high-quality tailored uniforms for the SS, the Kasernierung also held furriers, bookbinders, photo developers, gold- and silversmiths, automobile repairmen, and skilled construction workers. Scherwitz, a police official before his promotion to Untersturmführer in August 1943, deployed skilled artisans from the Riga ghetto. For two weeks in August 1943, he participated in Operation Heinrich, an antipartisan campaign in Minsk organized by the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Ostland, SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Jeckeln, serving as a supply officer and bringing with him a detail of 20 Lenta prisoners for assistance.² Inside Lenta, he often protected Jewish forced laborers and their families in order to raise productivity. Scherwitz "aryanized" his Jewish girlfriend, Tamara Sherman, with false identity papers and did the same for Boris Rudow, although not for Rudow's brothers. Rudow managed the Washington Platz workshop. These incidents and the generally lax discipline prompted the Riga SD allegedly to call him the "King of the Jews" (*Judenkönig*).³ Although Riga-Kaiserwald rarely interfered with the running of the Lenta camp, which most closely fit the SD model of quasi-autonomous small concentration camps, not an Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) camp, Scherwitz's perceived softness and devotion to productivity led to the appointment of harsh co-commandants, called "guard officers" (Bewachungsoffizieren).⁴ These appointments took place at the behest of Chief of the Sicherheitspolizei (Sipo) and SD in Riga Dr. Rudolf Lange, who had overseen Einsatzgruppen killings in Latvia, was an attendee at the Wannsee Conference on January 20, 1942, and was Scherwitz's superior.⁵

From August 1943 until April 1944, Sipo official SS-Untersturmführer Eduard Roschmann directed the camp along with Scherwitz. A Jewish affairs specialist, Roschmann exercised little influence at Lenta until the completion of the Riga ghetto's liquidation on November 2, 1943, and the departure of Scherwitz on a business trip to France, in December 1943, for the procurement of luxury goods. In Scherwitz's absence, Roschmann arrested Tamara Sherman. After his return in January 1944, Scherwitz reportedly offered a bribe of 20,000 Reichsmark (RM) to secure her release. Imposing a harsh regime, Roschmann instituted the IKL practice of 25 cane blows for punishment and construed work accidents as sabotage. Dismissing two Latvian Jews from the subcamp's ghetto-like prisoner police force (Jewish ghetto police, Ordnungsdienst), he appointed a German Jew, named Levi or Levy, from Cologne as its head. As Roschmann's factotum, Levi instituted a search for so-called organizers (thieves), seizing stolen goods and punishing the offenders, in some cases, resulting in their torture. Roschmann transferred 250 less productive prisoners to the SS factory (*Betrieb*) at Strasdenhof on the orders of Kaiserwald commandant SS-Sturmbannführer Albert Sauer. According to Kugler, Lenta's population declined to 550 by January 1944. In light of these conditions, 4 male prisoners, Hirschberg, Schnaider, Juter, and Juter's son, escaped and reached the home of Janis and Johanna Lipke. The Lipkes sheltered almost 40 Jews, nearly two-fifths of the 103 Jews rescued in Latvia. In 1989, Yad Vashem honored them with the Righteous among the Nations medal.

According to Kugler, the combination of mismanagement and escapes led to Roschmann's removal in April 1944. Roschmann's successor as co-commandant was the lower-ranking SS-Hauptscharführer Robert Nickel, whom Roschmann had appointed as a guard in February 1944 on the strength of Nickel's performance at the Salaspils police camp. More pragmatic than Roschmann, Nickel cooperated with Scherwitz and the prisoner staff in the improvement of production and somewhat relaxed his predecessor's regime. According to prisoner Werner Sauer, Scherwitz and Nickel even organized tennis and European football matches for the prisoners. Sauer's building Kommando team wore red-trimmed black pants with red shirts with a mason's trowel as team symbol, while the furriers had blue-and-white-striped shirts emblazoned with a fox symbol.⁶

In June 1944, Scherwitz returned to France for another procurement trip. After his return, as other Kasernierungen prepared for evacuation, Scherwitz marched nearly all of Lenta's prisoners to the police camp at Salaspils on July 31, 1944. At Salaspils the Lenta inmates were segregated by gender but housed in a separate part of the camp. They were not generally subjected to Salaspils's harsh regime. As Kaiserwald's camp doctor (Lagerarzt) Sturmbannführer Eduard Krebsbach and SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad) SS-Oberscharführer Heinz Günther Wisner undertook mass selections in the various Kasernierungen for the killing of Jews no longer capable of working, called *Aktionen*, it is pos-

sible that Scherwitz sought by this abrupt move to forestall a selection. If this were the case, then he only delayed it, because after the prisoners' return to Lenta, on August 8 or 9, 1944, 110 prisoners by Kugler's estimate were dispatched to the "base command" (Stützpunktkommando), the Kaiserwald euphemism for murder in the neighboring forests. Scherwitz used his influence to spare at least one family. Some 300 of the surviving Lenta prisoners boarded the *Kanonier* on August 24 or 25, 1944, in a transport that totaled 3,155 prisoners. After crossing the Baltic, the prisoners disembarked at Danzig, where barges then took them to the Stutthof concentration camp. Separately, Scherwitz took a smaller group of prisoners with him to Libau (Liepāja).

During the U.S. occupation of Bavaria, Scherwitz posed as a Lithuanian Jewish refugee named Eleke Scherwitz and claimed to be a Riga camp victim. As he worked for a survivors' association, former Lenta prisoners identified him to the Americans. Transferred from U.S. to Bavarian custody, where he called himself Elika (Eleken) Sirewitz, a Jew who joined the SS in 1943, Scherwitz was tried for murdering three escapees in August 1944. Listed in the case under a variant spelling of one of his aliases, "Elke S.," the court described him as a "full Jew" (*Volljude*).⁷ Kugler argues that the Bavarians eagerly tried him because of his alleged Jewishness. As discovered by investigator Christel Paulsen in 1950 at the Berlin Document Center (BDC), then run by the U.S. Department of State, Scherwitz's Nazi Party card revealed his date of birth as August 21, 1903, not August 8, 1910. While the BDC card listed his SS number as 51561, which indicated entrance into the SS before the Nazi takeover, his SS autobiography (*Lebenslauf*) showed an SS number of 241935 with entry into the SS in 1933.⁸ After a complicated series of legal proceedings, Scherwitz was sentenced to six years' imprisonment with credit for two years of time served. He died in 1962.

SOURCES The most important source for the Lenta Kasernierung of the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp and its commandant is the provocatively titled book by Anita Kugler, *Scherwitz: Der jüdische SS-Offizier* (Cologne: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 2004). For a less sympathetic interpretation of Scherwitz, see Andrej Angrick and Peter Klein, *Die "Endlösung" in Riga: Ausbeutung und Vernichtung 1941–1944* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 251. A short biography of Janis Lipke may be found at www1.yad-vashem.org/righteous/index-righteous.html.

Primary sources for this subcamp begin with the documents compiled by Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, pp. 265–266, which reproduces the Riga Stadtkommissar's memorandum on the Riga-Kaiserwald Kasernierungen of August 18, 1943. Scherwitz's trials are summarized in Lfd. Nr. 227, *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 7: 137–146, Amsterdam, 1971, but the excerpts

contain little useful information on Lenta and reproduce Scherwitz's false identity. The Scherwitz cases are listed as LG München 1 Ks 26/49, OLG München 1 Ss 70/49, and Bayerischen OLG I, III 16/50. Kugler makes extensive use of the original prosecution and trial records, which include testimonies and Scherwitz's scanty personnel records. The trial records are held at BHStA-(M), Sta. München, Sirewitz Verfahren, 17434; and Gsta. OLG München Nr. 207 (Sirewitz). Scherwitz's personnel card is available in the SSO collection at BA-B. Kugler reproduces his Lebenslauf in the photographic section. As cited by Kugler, two unpublished survivors' accounts for this camp are Werner Sauer's "Mensch unter Menschen" (unpub. MSS, n.d., YVA 033/4126); and Abraham Bloch's letters and memoirs in Russian and Yiddish, which are available at MEL. Lange's listing as a participant in the Wannsee Conference may be found in John Mendelsohn, ed., *The Holocaust: Selected Documents in Eighteen Volumes*, vol. 11, *The Wannsee Protocol and a 1944 Report on Auschwitz by the Office of Strategic Services*, intro. Robert Wolfe (New York: Garland, 1982).

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2. Scherwitz statement, StA-M, Sta. München, Sirewitz Verfahren, 17434, as cited in Anita Kugler, *Scherwitz: Der jüdische SS-Offizier* (Cologne: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 2004), p. 371.

3. Scherwitz statement, August 1, 1950, Sta. I München, in *ibid.*, p. 384.

4. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 354.

5. NG-2586, Wannsee Protocol, January 20, 1942, in John Mendelsohn, ed., *The Holocaust: Selected Documents in Eighteen Volumes*, vol. 11, *The Wannsee Protocol and a 1944 Report on Auschwitz by the Office of Strategic Services*, intro. Robert Wolfe (New York: Garland, 1982), p. 2.

6. Werner Sauer, "Mensch unter Menschen" (unpub. MSS, n.d., YVA 033/4126), n.p., cited in Kugler, *Scherwitz*, pp. 395–396.

7. As quoted in Schwurgericht Urteil, OLG München, July 13, 1949, 1 Ss 70/49, Lfd. Nr. 227, *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 7: 141, Amsterdam, 1971.

8. BDCPF Scherwitz, BA-B, cited in Kugler, *Scherwitz*, p. 342.

RIGA (MÜHLGRABEN) [AKA ULTRA]

On July 7, 1943, Chief of the Sicherheitspolizei (Sipo) und Sicherheitsdienst (SD) in Riga Dr. Rudolf Lange designated Mühlgraben (Milgravis) a quartering site (*Kasernierungen*) for the deployment of at least 1,000 Jewish inhabitants from the Riga ghetto, which was then in the process of being liqui-

dated.¹ On August 18, 1943, the Stadtkommissar Riga confirmed Mühlgraben's inclusion among the *Kasernierungen* absorbed or established by the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp. Although the site was supposed to hold 1,300 prisoners, it had 737 at the time.² Other accounts place the camp's total population at 1,500 Jewish prisoners.³ The Mühlgraben inmates worked for the Army Clothing Office 701 (Armeebekleidungsamt [ABA]), which sorted and repaired soiled and damaged uniforms for the German army. The camp was situated inside a former Latvian chemical factory called Lēverkūzi Ultramarina fabrics, which once had commercial ties to the German IG Farbenindustrie AG chemical concern. Called "Ultra" by some prisoners, the camp betrayed signs of its original purpose, as everything inside the complex had been painted blue, according to survivor Hilde Sherman-Zander, and the main sorting operations and roll calls took place in the former "gas hall" (*Gashalle*). Segregated by gender, the prisoners lived in two "community rooms" (*Gemeinschaftsräumen*). The camp population originally included children as well as adults.⁴

The camp administration belonged exclusively to the German army. Unteroffizier Heinz Müller was the camp leader (Lagerführer), and his deputy was Obergefreiter Franz Schwellenberg (or Schwellenbach). It is possible that Schwellenberg may have been an SD or police member.⁵ The soldiers mistreated and harassed the prisoners. Former Mühlgraben prisoners attested to the brutality, recalling that Schwellenberg threatened to beat "black and blue" anyone caught stealing military uniforms.⁶ Jakov Galanter remembered that punishments included 25 blows with a cane. The work pace imposed upon the prisoners, he reported, was frenetic.⁷

Mühlgraben had a penal column (Strafkommando), which held prisoners deemed guilty of minor infractions or whose work pace was too slow. Hilde Sherman-Zander was assigned to the penal detachment on two occasions, respectively, for three and four weeks. In one instance her work performance was judged inadequate, and in the second, she was caught with books in her possession and thus punished for holding contraband.⁸ Another prisoner in the penal detachment, Erwin Sekules, hauled wagons filled with wood at the double for six hours straight, which resulted in his being brought to the camp infirmary in a state of utter exhaustion. The prisoner doctor, Dr. Josef (called "Dr. Joseph" in some survivors' accounts), a Jewish physician from Vienna, warned that additional labor would kill him. Nevertheless, Sekules was dispatched on yet another penal detail shortly afterward.⁹

As was the case at the Riga (Lenta) quartering site, Mühlgraben had a Jewish Ordnungsdienst (OD) that kept internal order. From Zander's testimony, which named some of the Jewish "police," the army displayed a degree of favoritism toward German over Latvian Jews in the appointment of OD members.¹⁰

In May 1944, the ABA opened a second *Kasernierung* at Krottingen, on behalf of ABA 709. For this camp, the army dispatched approximately 200 Mühlgraben inmates to form this subcamp.¹¹

According to Max Kaufmann, who produced the earliest chronicle of the Holocaust in Latvia, Kaiserwald camp doctor (Lagerarzt) SS-Sturmbannführer Eduard Krebsbach and SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad) Heinz Günther Wisner selected children at Mühlgraben. The selections, called “operations” (*Aktionen*) at Kaiserwald, involved the removal by truck of weakened and youthful prisoners who were then shot in the forest. In the Kaiserwald euphemism, the unknown destination of these victims was the “base camp command” (Stützpunktkommando). Although Mühlgraben was not cited in Wisner’s indictment, Kaufmann’s claim accorded with the pattern of the Aktionen that took place in other Kaiserwald subcamps in the Riga area, for which Wisner was held responsible at his 1985 trial in Düsseldorf. Survivor testimony further underscored Kaufmann’s charge. According to Sherman-Zander, three major selections occurred at Mühlgraben: the first was the “January [1944] Aktion,” during which 24 children and about half the adult population were selected for murder. The second selection occurred while Sherman-Zander was kept in the infirmary. The timely intervention of Dr. Josef prevented her selection, but most of the patients were taken away. The third Aktion occurred on or around August 6, 1944, shortly before the camp was evacuated.¹²

Most of the remaining Mühlgraben prisoners were evacuated by sea on a harrowing three-day journey aboard the *Bremerhaven* to Danzig. From the port of Danzig, the survivors proceeded via barges on the Vistula River to Stutthof. Although the International Tracing Service (ITS) listed the official closure date for the Mühlgraben men’s and women’s camps as August 6, 1944, Sherman-Zander recalled that a small detachment of prisoners, including herself, remained behind to operate the clothing depot, until shortly before the Germans abandoned Riga to the Soviets. Sherman-Zander dated her evacuation, aboard the *Sanga*, to late October 1944. The prisoners in her transport were dispatched to Libau (Liepāja).¹³

SOURCES The earliest mention of the Mühlgraben Kasernierung of the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp appears in Max Kaufmann, *Churban Lettland: Die Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands*, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn, intro. Steven Springfield (1947; repr., Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 1999), pp. 402–403, where Kaufmann accused Krebsbach and Wisner (misspelled Kressbach and Wiesner) of conducting selections at Mühlgraben. The subcamp is briefly mentioned in Andrej Angrick and Peter Klein, *Die “Endlösung” in Riga: Ausbeutung und Vernichtung 1941–1944* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006), pp. 400, 403; and Margers Vestermanis, *Juden in Riga: Auf den Spuren des Lebens und Wirkens einer ermordeten Minderheit; ein historischer Wegweiser* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1995), pp. 70–71. Mühlgraben is listed as men’s and women’s subcamps in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 252. The Wisner case (Lfd. Nr. 896) will be included in a forthcoming volume of *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* but is listed cursorily on the publication’s Web site at www1.jur.uva.nl/junsv. The author would like to thank Dick de Mildt for furnishing supplementary biographical information on Wisner.

Primary sources for Mühlgraben begin with its listing in the documents compiled by Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im “Reichskommissariat Ostland”: Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, pp. 265–266, which reproduces the Riga Stadtkommissar’s memorandum on the Riga-Kaiserwald Kasernierungen of August 18, 1943, and copied from NARA. As cited by Angrick and Klein, Lange’s conference discussing Mühlgraben can be found in BA-B, R 91 (Gebietskommissare im Geschäftsbereich des Reichskommissars für das Ostland)/164. Investigation files for Wisner are available at ZLNW-K under heading 130 Js 2/78 (Z). Unpublished testimony may be found in P III h. No. 1034, Erwin Sekules (and 11 others), Evidence against “Unteroffizier” Franz Schwellenberg, August 17, 1947, in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, originally WL, <http://159.104.6.6/testaments/en/t3h.asp>. The survivors listed in this testimony are Erwin Sekules, Else Sekules, Rosa Federmann, Malli Federmann, Sofi Billig, Karl Schneider, Heinz Rosenhain, Cläre Rosenhain, Hilde Lehmann, Erika Manne, Martin Manne, and Ilse Herzberg. In the same collection may be found P III h. no. 1034a, Statement of Karl Schneider, Evidence against “Unteroffizier” Franz Schwellenberg, August 17, 1947; and P III h. No. 1034 c, Statement of Jakov Galanter, Evidence against “Unteroffizier” Franz Schwellenberg, September 3, 1947. Two testimonies by the same witness on the subcamps at Mühlgraben and Krottingen are also found in *Testaments: P III h. No. 283* (Riga), Statement of Mrs. Johanna Rosenthal, n.d.; and P III h. No. 538 (Riga), Statement of Mrs. Johanna Rosenthal, June 26, 1945. Also see the detailed published testimony by Hilde Sherman-Zander, *Zwischen Tag und Dunkel: Mädchenjahre im Ghetto* (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein, 1993).

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1. BA-B, R 91/164, n.p., Der Geb.-Komm. Riga, Judeneinsatz, Bericht betr.: “Umsetzung der Juden in Lager nicht unter 1000 Mann,” July 8, 1943, cited in Andrej Angrick and Peter Klein, *Die “Endlösung” in Riga: Ausbeutung und Vernichtung 1941–1944* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006), p. 403.

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4. Hilde Sherman-Zander, *Zwischen Tag und Dunkel: Mädchenjahre im Ghetto* (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein, 1993), pp. 90–91; P III h. No. 1034, Erwin Sekules (and 11 others), Evidence against “Unteroffizier” Franz Schwellenberg, August 17, 1947, p. 2.

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5. P III h. No. 1034a, Karl Schneider, Evidence against “Unteroffizier” Franz Schwellenberg, August 17, 1947, in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, pp. 1–2.

6. Quoted in P III h. No. 1034, Erwin Sekules (and 11 others), Evidence against “Unteroffizier” Franz Schwellenberg, August 17, 1947, p. 3.

7. P III h. No. 1034c, Statement of Jakov Galanter, Evidence against “Unteroffizier” Franz Schwellenberg, September 3, 1947, p. 1.

8. Sherman-Zander, *Zwischen Tag und Dunkel*, p. 94.

9. P III h. No. 1034, Erwin Sekules (and 11 others), Evidence against “Unteroffizier” Franz Schwellenberg, August 17, 1947, pp. 3–4.

10. Sherman-Zander, *Zwischen Tag und Dunkel*, p. 92.

11. P III h. No. 538 (Riga), Statement of Mrs. Johanna Rosenthal, June 26, 1945, p. 4.

12. Sherman-Zander, *Zwischen Tag und Dunkel*, pp. 91, 95–96, 99–100.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 101–103.

RIGA (REICHSBAHN)

The SS established a quartering site (*Kasernierung*) for 600 male and female Jewish prisoners on August 18, 1943, to work for the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways). This Kasernierung was 1 of the original 13 absorbed from the Riga ghetto, then in the process of liquidation, or established by the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp. On the date of its first mention, in a memorandum from the Stadtkommissar of Riga concerning the reorganization of the ghetto's Kasernierungen, the Reichsbahn camp held 192 Jewish prisoners.¹

According to Riga ghetto and Kaiserwald survivor Alfred Winter, who has compiled prisoner testimonies on this camp, the inmates were mostly skilled workers who repaired railway equipment under the direction of Reichsbahn personnel. The work pace was unrelenting, but the prisoners had marginally better living conditions, including weekly showers, than in other Kasernierungen. Some overseers took care of their work detachments in the name of improving performance. The work day began with a scramble for usable tools, which were in perennially short supply. As was common elsewhere in the Riga camps, the imposition of concentration camp uniforms and haircuts, including the cropping of women's hair, began only shortly before the camp's dissolution.

In preparation for the evacuation, the Kaiserwald medical staff conducted a selection, or *Aktion*, as Riga prisoners called it, at the Reichsbahn camp on July 27, 1944. Present were Kaiserwald's camp doctor (*Lagerarzt*) Dr. Eduard Krebsbach and the SS medic (*Sanitätsdienstgrad*) Heinz Günther Wisner. Forcing the male and then the female prisoners to run naked past a reviewing area, Krebsbach and Wisner dispatched the weakest by truck to the “base camp command” (*Stützpunktkommando*), a Kaiserwald euphemism for murder in the nearby forests. Krebsbach was previously the *Lagerarzt* at Mauthausen, where, in a play on his name, he was called “The Needle” (*Spritzbach*). Born Heinz von Wisotzky, Wis-

ner had served since 1939 as an SS orderly at Stutthof and Flossenbürg. Promoted to Unterscharführer in the summer of 1943, Wisner joined the Kaiserwald staff on November 1, 1943, where he subsequently advanced in rank to Oberscharführer. Known to the prisoners as “Dr. Wisner,” he was sentenced in 1985 to five years' imprisonment by a Düsseldorf court, in connection with the selections committed at this and other Riga Kasernierungen, as well as homicides committed in the Kaiserwald main camp. By the time of his arrest in 1979, Wisner had retired from a mechanical engineering firm located in Düsseldorf.

On August 6, 1944, as the Red Army closed on Riga, the SS conducted the remaining Reichsbahn prisoners to the port of Riga, where they boarded the *Bremerhaven* with almost 6,400 other prisoners from Riga's Kasernierungen. This departure marked the first stage in the evacuation of the Kaiserwald camps. After a harrowing three-day journey aboard ship, they arrived in Danzig and proceeded by barge to the Stutthof concentration camp.

SOURCES This subcamp is discussed at some length in Alfred Winter, *The Ghetto of Riga and Continuance* (Monroe, CT: Self-published, 1998), pp. 114–115. This account must be used with caution, as the author does not cite his sources and often employs the first-person plural, making it difficult to separate his personal testimony from other accounts. The Reichsbahn subcamp is listed as separate men's and women's camps in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 242. The Wisner case (Lfd. Nr. 896) will be included in a forthcoming volume of *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* but is listed cursorily on the publication's Web site at www1.jur.uva.nl/junsv. The author would like to thank Dick de Mildt for furnishing supplementary biographical information on Wisner. Anita Kugler, *Scherwitz: Der jüdische SS-Offizier* (Cologne: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 2004), p. 411, reports that 6,382 boarded the *Bremerhaven*.

Primary sources for this subcamp begin with its listing in the document collection by Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im “Reichskommissariat Ostland”: Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, pp. 265–266, which reproduces the Riga Stadtkommissar's memorandum on the Riga-Kaiserwald Kasernierungen of August 18, 1943, and copied from NARA. Investigation files for Wisner are available at ZLNW-K under heading 130 Js 2/78 (Z).

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. Auszüge aus einem Schreiben des Stadtkommissars Riga an den Generalkommissar, Abt. III, August 18, 1943, Betr. “Umsetzung” von Juden in Konzentrationslager [reproduced from NARA, T-459 Reel 19, fr. 503], in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im “Reichskommissariat Ostland”: Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, p. 266.

RIGA (TRUPPENWIRTSCHAFTSLAGER)

According to the Stadtkommissar of Riga, the Troop Supply Camp (Truppenwirtschaftslager, TWL) was one of the quartering sites (*Kasernierungen*) established or absorbed by the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp during the liquidation of the Riga ghetto. First mentioned on August 18, 1943, the subcamp was intended to hold 700 prisoners, of whom 419 were already quartered at TWL on that date.¹ Located only a few miles from the Kaiserwald main camp at Mežaparks, some of its prisoners originated from the old Kasernierung for the Reichskommissariat Ostland (RKO). According to survivor and Riga chronicler Max Kaufmann, some 350 men, women, and children entered TWL from the Reichskommissariat's quartering site during the reorganization. TWL's prisoners sorted clothing and other supplies for the German army.

Among the TWL prisoners was Steven Springfield, who volunteered to work in this subcamp in order to escape the vicious conditions inside Kaiserwald. After learning that his older brother and father had been dispatched from the ghetto to Kaiserwald, Springfield attempted to get word to them to volunteer for TWL as well. Regular exchanges of prisoners resulted in the establishment of tenuous lines of communication between prisoners in the TWL and Kaiserwald camps. In particular, TWL prisoners having dental problems had to report to Kaiserwald for treatment, which created opportunities for communications and smuggling. Feigning a toothache, Springfield reported for one such transport, bringing with him contraband socks stolen from the warehouse, in order to contact his family. Upon realizing that the prisoners faced a close search at the Kaiserwald gate, Springfield surreptitiously handed over the socks to a Latvian SS man. His move was too late, however, as another prisoner who had also tried to sneak socks into the main camp panicked and dropped his contraband on the ground. As Springfield's fellow prisoners knew he was carrying ill-gotten goods, and had not seen him hand them over to the Latvian guard, they pressured him into confessing to the SS, lest the remainder face retaliation. Springfield did so in the knowledge that someone else had committed the offense. Tortured in the Kaiserwald bunker, Springfield credited the TWL camp elder, David Kagan, who accompanied two infuriated German guards, with saving his life:

[A]s they entered the bunker, before the Germans had a chance to draw their guns, the camp *Ältester* [elder] started beating me, saying you lousy son of a gun. . . . How dare you . . . steal from the Germans, and kicked me and beat me and kicked me and beat me. I started bleeding profusely from all over my body and he beat me into unconsciousness. But somehow, ironically, that saved my life. He beat me so much that the Germans assumed that I was dead or close to dead. They just turned around and walked out, which I was told later because I was uncon-

scious. I was laying in this bunker for another two or three days and then finally the camp elder came and got me and took me back to [the TWL] camp and it is something which I have never forgotten. Mr. Kagan who did not have a very good reputation from everybody because a lot of people felt that he was too strict and sometimes too merciless, but I must, if I want to be honest, I really have to admit that if not for him I wouldn't be alive today.²

Just prior to the camp's evacuation in the summer of 1944, the Kaiserwald medical staff conducted a mass selection of weakened prisoners at TWL. Present were Kaiserwald's camp doctor (Lagerarzt) Dr. Eduard Krebsbach and the SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad) Heinz Günther Wisner. Krebsbach and Wisner dispatched the victims by truck to the "base camp command" (Stützpunktkommando), a Kaiserwald euphemism for murder in the nearby forests. Krebsbach was previously the Lagerarzt at Mauthausen, where, in a play on his name, he was called "The Needle" (Spritzbach). Born Heinz von Wisotzky, Wisner had served since 1939 as an SS orderly at Stutthof and Flossenbürg. Promoted to Unterscharführer in the summer of 1943, Wisner joined the Kaiserwald staff on November 1, 1943, where he subsequently advanced in rank to Oberscharführer. Known to the prisoners as "Dr. Wisner," he was sentenced in 1985 to five years' imprisonment by a Düsseldorf court, in connection with the selections committed at this and other Riga Kasernierungen, as well as homicides committed in the Kaiserwald main camp. By the time of his arrest in 1979, Wisner had retired from a mechanical engineering firm located in Düsseldorf.

After succeeding in getting his father and older brother to transfer into TWL, Springfield witnessed the selections that took place in the camp. As his account makes clear, he had to protect his father against the selections:

In the meantime, periodically the Germans would come into our camp, line everybody up in front of a table where one of the Germans would sit. Everybody had to undress naked and walk in front of him, and if there was something he would not like on your body, any scar or anything like that, you went to the left, and left meant certain death. And my father who was an invalid and who was with us at that time yet still on many occasions he would have been doomed if . . . we're [un]able to save him by not letting him go into the line, by sneaking him out. When once I remember my father was taken out and sent to the left, and he was still standing there and waiting [for] the truck to take him away, and the German guard was walking back and forth, and as he turned his back I snuck in. I grabbed my father and pulled him out of there which at that time saved his life.³

Springfield's father subsequently perished at Stutthof concentration camp.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the TWL men's camp was dissolved on June 28, 1944, and the women's camp closed in October 1944. According to Springfield, however, the men did not evacuate the TWL subcamp until the fall of 1944. After the sea evacuation, which took them first to Stutthof near Danzig, some of the survivors were moved to one of the Magdeburg subcamps near Buchenwald, according to Kaufmann.

SOURCES The Riga (TWL) Kasernierung of Kaiserwald is briefly mentioned in Max Kaufmann, *Cburbn Lettland: Die Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands*, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn, intro. Steven Springfield (1947; repr., Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 1999), pp. 412, 424. TWL is listed as men's and women's subcamps in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 254. The Wisner case (Lfd. Nr. 896) will be included in a forthcoming volume of *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* but is listed cursorily on the publication's Web site at www1.jur.uva.nl/junsv. The author would like to thank Dick de Mildt for furnishing supplementary biographical information on Wisner.

Primary sources for this subcamp begin with its listing in the document collection by Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, pp. 265–266, which reproduces the Riga Stadtkommissar's memorandum on the Riga-Kaiserwald Kasernierungen of August 18, 1943, and copied from NARA. Investigation files for Wisner are available at ZLNW-K under heading 130 Js 2/78 (Z). Steven Springfield provided an oral history of his ordeal in the Riga ghetto, Kaiserwald, and TWL, which is available in video and transcript form in USHMMA, RG-50.030*0220, March 30, 1990. Born in Riga in 1923, Springfield is the former president of the Jewish Survivors of Latvia.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Auszüge aus einem Schreiben des Stadtkommissars Riga an den Generalkommissar, Abt. III, August 18, 1943, Betr. "Umsetzung" von Juden in Konzentrationslager [reproduced from NARA, T-459 Reel 19, fr. 503], in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, p. 266.

2. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0220, Steven Springfield interview (transcript), March 30, 1990, pp. 7–9.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

RIGA-SPILWE

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the SS established a quartering site (*Kasernierung*) for Jewish women at the Spilwe (Spilva) airport on July 5, 1943. On August 5, 1943, a men's camp also opened at the same site. The Luft-

waffe deployed the prisoners on construction and repair details at the airport, whose military significance increased with the Red Army's approach. On August 18, 1943, the Stadtkommissar of Riga reported that Spilwe's planned capacity was 1,500 prisoners, of which 775 were already on-site. Spilwe was 1 of the 13 original Kasernierungen absorbed or established by Kaiserwald.¹ The constant turnover due to horrific working conditions, mistreatment, selections, and epidemics has led one chronicler, Riga ghetto and Kaiserwald survivor Alfred Winter, to estimate that as many as 3,000 Jews passed through this camp.

Before the establishment of the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp in March 1943, a small Kasernierung of the Kovno ghetto existed at this site but worked only in support services for the Luftwaffe, not construction. Situated in the Ilgezener Brewery adjacent to the airport, this structure subsequently served as living quarters for the much-larger Spilwe Kasernierung under Kaiserwald's jurisdiction. Its limited space produced catastrophic overcrowding.

On December 1, 1943, SS-Hauptscharführer Gustav Sorge became Spilwe's camp leader (*Lagerführer*). A staff member at the Esterwegen and Sachsenhausen concentration camps whose career in the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) dated back to 1934, and who had even been a guard at the Esterwegen early camp in 1933, Sorge lived up to his nickname "Iron Gustav" (*Eiserne Gustav*). During the two years prior to taking command at Spilwe, he had been *Arbeits-einsatzführer* at Vught, the Herzogenbusch main camp, in the Netherlands and served in the summer of 1943 on a "bandit"-hunting (antipartisan) detail for the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Ostland. At Spilwe, the new *Lagerführer* imposed a harsh regime along IKL lines, in a departure from many of Kaiserwald's other Kasernierungen.² According to Winter, in one incident Sorge emptied the men's barracks one night and forced the prisoners, already weakened by hunger and exhaustion, to perform penal exercises and endure beatings. One former prisoner called this ordeal the "witches' dance," which was similar to collective punishments practiced in the early Emsland camps.³ On December 15, 1943, Sorge also assumed command of the neighboring camp for army vehicle repair, the Heereskraftfahrzeugpark (HKP). Sorge's deputy at Spilwe was a Luftwaffe Gefreiter, Schuhmacher, who had already been an administrator at the Spilwe Kasernierung before its absorption by Kaiserwald. Schuhmacher enjoyed setting dogs upon the prisoners and otherwise complemented Sorge's brutality. Worsening the situation for the prisoners was the second camp elder (*Lagerältester*), "Mr. X," the nickname of Xavier Abel, the notorious camp elder and German criminal prisoner at Kaiserwald. After replacing the first camp elder, a German Jew named Kohn, Mr. X beat and otherwise harassed the Spilwe prisoners. On January 31, 1944, Sorge was transferred from Spilwe to the Kasernierung at Dondangen. After the September–October 1944 evacuation of Kaiserwald, Sorge assumed command of SS-Baubrigade (Construction Brigade) XII in November 1944, which was organized at Sachsenhausen.

U.S. troops captured him on April 28, 1945, and held him in the SS internment camp at Bad Kreuznach. Sorge's replacement at Spilwe was Dondangen's erstwhile camp leader SS-Oberscharführer Gröschel. Gröschel lost his post at Dondangen because of chronic alcoholism and mismanagement. At Spilwe, he proved susceptible to bribery and drink, in the form of alcohol pilfered by a prisoner, which somewhat tempered his violent behavior.⁴

Spilwe's male and female prisoners worked for the construction firms of Wolf und Döring, Firma Müller, and Organisation Todt (OT), which repaired and maintained the Spilwe airport. The work consisted of laying steel matting on airstrips, hauling heavy construction materials, and other hard labor. Some of the women were transferred to the Kauen/Schaulen subcamp in the spring of 1944, but the ITS erred in claiming that the women's camp closed in April of that year, because Hungarian Jewish women were dispatched to Spilwe from Auschwitz II-Birkenau in June 1944. According to Winter, these women brought the Spilwe prisoners the first reports about gas chambers and crematories.

Josef Katz, a German Jew from Lübeck, was held at both the Spilwe and HKP camps in the spring of 1944. Although he was originally dispatched to work in a garden at HKP, the SS on-site arbitrarily transferred him to Spilwe, where he worked on airfield repair under OT supervision. The Hungarian women at Spilwe, reported Katz, were worked to death. After repeated importuning, Katz succeeded in gaining a place in the garden Kommando at HKP.⁵

The infirmary at Spilwe was little more than a place to die or to be selected for murder. In the spring of 1944, Emil Würth-Tscherne entered Spilwe as a prisoner orderly (Sanitäter). A political prisoner who held the same post at Dachau until late 1943, Würth had no medical experience. During his time at Spilwe, many Jewish women suffered from typhoid fever, which led to numerous selections.⁶

Just prior to the camp's evacuation in the summer of 1944, the Kaiserwald medical staff conducted a mass selection of Spilwe's weakened prisoners. Present were Kaiserwald's camp doctor (Lagerarzt) Dr. Eduard Krebsbach and medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad) Heinz Günther Wisner. Krebsbach and Wisner dispatched the victims by truck to the "base command" (Stützpunktkommando), a Kaiserwald euphemism for murder in the nearby forests. Krebsbach was previously the Lagerarzt at Mauthausen, where, in a play on his name, he was called "The Needle" (Spritzbach). Born Heinz von Wisotzky, Wisner had served since 1939 as an SS orderly at Stutthof and Flossenbürg. Promoted to Unterscharführer in the summer of 1943, Wisner joined the Kaiserwald staff on November 1, 1943, where he subsequently advanced in rank to Oberscharführer. Known to the prisoners as "Dr. Wisner," he was sentenced in 1985 to five years' imprisonment by a Düsseldorf court, in connection with the selections committed at this and other Riga Kasernierungen, as well as homicides committed in the Kaiserwald main camp. By the time of his arrest in 1979, Wisner had retired from a mechanical engineering firm located in Düsseldorf.

Spilwe was closed on August 6, 1944, when the surviving prisoners were marched to the port of Riga, where they boarded the *Bremerhaven* en route to the Stutthof concentration camp in Poland. The conditions aboard ship, which held about 6,400 Jews for three days, were lethal. According to ITS, a small group of Jewish men were retained at Spilwe after the closure, to undertake "clearance work" (*Aufräumungsarbeiten*).⁷

In 1959, the Bonn Landgericht (Regional Court) sentenced Spilwe's former Lagerführer Sorge to life imprisonment plus 15 years for the murder of 67 prisoners and for 20 additional attempted murders. The charges included homicides committed at Esterwegen as early as 1934 and included cases at Sachsenhausen as late as 1942, but the prosecution inexplicably did not charge him with causing any deaths at Spilwe, HKP, or Dondangen.

SOURCES This subcamp is discussed at some length in Alfred Winter, *The Ghetto of Riga and Continuance* (Monroe, CT: Self-published, 1998), pp. 97–102. This account must be used with caution, as the author does not cite his sources and often employs the first-person plural, making it difficult to separate his personal testimony from other accounts. The Spilwe subcamp is listed as separate men's and women's camps in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 253. The Wisner case (Lfd. Nr. 896) will be included in a forthcoming volume of *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* but is listed cursorily on the publication's Web site at www1.jur.uva.nl/junsv. The author would like to thank Dick de Mildt for furnishing supplementary biographical information on Wisner. Anita Kugler, *Scherwitz: Der jüdische SS-Offizier* (Cologne: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 2004), p. 411, reports that 6,382 boarded the *Bremerhaven*.

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NOTES

1. Auszüge aus einem Schreiben des Stadtkommissars Riga an den Generalkommissar, Abt. III, August 18, 1943, Betr. "Umsetzung" von Juden in Konzentrationslager [reproduced from NARA, T-459 Reel 19, fr. 503], in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum*

und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944 (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, p. 266.

2. Sorge Urteil, 8 Ks 1/58, Lfd. Nr. 473, *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam, 1976) 15: 415–421.

3. As quoted in Alfred Winter, *The Ghetto of Riga and Continuance* (Monroe, CT: Self-published, 1998), p. 100.

4. P III h No. 1007 (Riga-Kaiserwald, Spilwe), Emil Würth-Tscherne, “Report of an ‘Aryan’ Political Prisoner,” in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, orig. WL, <http://159.104.6.6/testaments/en/t3h.asp>, p. 2.

5. Josef Katz, *One Who Came Back: The Diary of a Jewish Survivor*, trans. Hilda Reach (New York: Herzl Press and Bergen-Belsen Memorial Press, 1973), pp. 159–163.

6. Würth-Tscherne, “Report of an ‘Aryan’ Political Prisoner,” pp. 1–2.

7. Quoted in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:253.

RIGA-STRASDENHOF (AEG/VEF)

In 1942, the second-largest German electronics enterprise the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG) took over the Latvian state-owned electronics factory Valsts Elektrotehniska Fabrika (VEF) in Riga-Strasdenhof (Strazdumīža). Between 1943 and 1944, around 800 female Jewish prisoners from the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp worked as forced laborers for the AEG, manufacturing cables.

In 1941, after the German occupation of Latvia, the AEG established a sales office in Riga to promote its products mostly produced in Berlin with the Reichskommissariat Ostland (RKO). Products such as plugs, heating elements, cook tops, and electric ovens, which the AEG sent to Riga until October 1941, could only be sold in compliance with the Reich Economics Ministry (RWM) to the Wehrmacht for its winter quarters, workshops, and accommodations.

In the same period, the AEG prepared to take over the VEF, which had been compulsorily acquired by the German Military Administration. The VEF was the largest Latvian industrial enterprise. One of the best-known VEF products was a small camera, the Minox, which had been mass-produced in Riga beginning in 1938.

When the Wehrmacht took over the factory in the summer of 1941, it appointed an AEG representative as temporary director. Factory production valued at approximately 7 million Reichsmark (RM) was set with the production almost exclusively for the Wehrmacht. The factory was to supply the needs of the army, Luftwaffe, and navy, producing radios, batteries for flashlights, hand held microphones, head microphones, transmitting and receiving devices, as well as other electrical equipment.¹ The AEG continued producing these items even after it leased the VEF factory in 1942. “The new factory,” as it was referred to in an AEG directive in October 1942, “shall supply primarily the Wehrmacht, so that for the time being there shall be no supplies for civilian requirements.”² The factory was formally operated by the AEG through a new company, AEG Ostlandwerk GmbH, but from a technical and production point of view, it was ad-

ministered by the AEG-owned Apparatewerk Treptow in Berlin. Berlin supplied all the employees for the management of the Riga factory. The majority continued with their careers after the war in management positions in the AEG concern.

The VEF factory was the largest AEG production site in occupied Eastern Europe, even larger than the Krakau Kabelwerk, if measured by the number of employees. In May 1943, it had 4,800 Latvian employees both on the production floor and in offices.

In the late summer of 1943, the AEG began to use female Jewish prisoners from the Kaiserwald concentration camp in the production process. The decision to use a large number of concentration camp prisoners arose probably as the result of a decline in the number of Latvian employees from 4,600 to 3,350. Additionally, Jews, beginning July 1943, could only be used outside the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp in large enterprises vital for the war effort that had their sub-camps (called “quartering sites,” or *Kasernierungen*) to accommodate the prisoners.³

In August or September 1943, around 200 mostly young women were used in the factory to test their suitability. The numbers were eventually increased to approximately 800.⁴ Among them were Latvian Jewish women from Riga and Libau as well as German, Lithuanian, Czech, Polish, and Hungarian Jewish women.⁵

The women were taken by truck from the Kaiserwald concentration camp to factory grounds opposite the main VEF factory building on the then Grosse Freiheitsstrasse. Here they were accommodated in a factory building equipped with three-tiered wooden bunk beds. Hygiene was better in the subcamp than in the Kaiserwald concentration camp.

Each day the women had to assemble for roll call, before and after work in the factory. From the end of 1943, the women working in the factory wore prisoner uniforms and wooden shoes. They worked alternatively in three eight-hour shifts in different departments without protective clothing, producing lightbulbs, cables, and batteries.⁶ They worked under the supervision of Latvian foremen.⁷

“The people were afraid,” according to Eugenia Borvoskaja, a survivor from Riga born in 1922. “They tried to work good [so] they [would] not to be shot or punished.”⁸

The food from the Kaiserwald concentration camp was always inadequate.⁹ Sometimes the women were secretly given food while working by Latvian workers.¹⁰ The survivor, Paula Zaltzman-Frankel, states that they could secretly roast potatoes in the factory.¹¹

According to Else Schwarz-Katz, technical director of the factory Herbert Dallmann declined to make additional food available.¹² On the other hand, he intervened for the return of Zaltzman-Frankel and four other concentration camp prisoners after they had been transported by the SS to the Kaiserwald main camp because they were “good workers.”¹³

The use of prisoners ceased in the summer of 1944 in Riga, and the factory was evacuated in the face of the Red Army advance. The AEG transported raw materials such as

copper, lead, and iron from Riga to the Apparatefabrik Trep-tow in Berlin, where some of it was distributed to other AEG factories.¹⁴ Preparations were made to relocate part of the production process to Thorn in Poland, where production would recommence in a 900-square-meter (1,076-square-yard) cellar in the air-raid-safe fortress called Fort XIII. Fort XIII was the most southern part of a defense ring established in the city of Thorn in the nineteenth century.

The concentration camps for women were also to be relocated from Riga to Thorn. On August 9, 1944, approximately 450 women were taken in goods train cars from the Riga factory grounds to the Thorn central railway station, and they were initially held in Fort XIII.

The female concentration camp prisoners were to work in Thorn on the machines also transported from Riga, but the machines would not work. Wehrmacht soldiers were to be quartered in the cellars of Fort XIII in October 1944. As a result, the women were transferred to a newly erected wooden barrack camp on the Vistula. It had three accommodation barracks. The Thorn-Winkenau subcamp was under the control of the Stutthof concentration camp.¹⁵ The SS camp commander was SS-Hauptscharführer Ludwig Blatterspiel, who had been the leader of Kaiserwald's AEG, Strasdenhof (SS-Betriebe), and Heereskraftfahrzeugpark (HKP) subcamps in Riga.¹⁶

In addition to the first transport of female prisoners at the beginning of August 1944, there were other transports until mid-October 1944 of female prisoners from Riga in the direction of Thorn.¹⁷ The SS did not transport these women in a train to Thorn but by ship via Danzig to the Stutthof concentration camp.¹⁸ From there, at the direction of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in Oranienburg, 250 female concentration camp prisoners were transported on September 13, 1944, most likely to Thorn.¹⁹ On October 30, 1944, another 280 women were transported from the Stutthof concentration camp to Thorn. They were to replace 230 women also transported from Riga to Thorn, who were to be sent by the SS to Stutthof.²⁰ A Stutthof concentration camp strength report from January 1945 puts the number of female concentration camp prisoners in the Thorn subcamp at 510.²¹

The women in the AEG production process in Thorn put rubber around the cables and probably produced weapons, grenades, and munitions. They also built the barracks for the subcamp.²²

In January 1945, again in the face of the Red Army advance, it was planned to relocate the AEG assembly line from Thorn. The Thorn subcamp was dissolved at the end of January 1945.²³ The remaining female concentration camp prisoners were forced to march by the SS for 50 kilometers (31 miles) to the city of Bromberg (Bydgoszcz). Shortly before Bromberg, the women were freed when the SS guards fled the Red Army.²⁴

SOURCES The principal secondary sources that discuss the Riga-Strasdenhof (AEG) subcamp are Max Kaufmann,

Chubn Lettland: Zur Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn (Konstanz: Hartung-Corre Verlag, 1999), p. 404; and Benjamin B. Ferencz, *Lohn des Grauens: Die verweigerte Entschädigung für jüdische Zwangsarbeiter* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1981), p. 152. Background on the Minox camera may be found in Hubert E. Heckmann, *Minox—Variationen in 8x11: Die autorisierte Geschichte der Kleinstbildkamera*, foreword by Walter Zapp (Hückelhoven: Wittig, 1992), p. 31. On the Thorn subcamp, see Marek Orski, *Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Danzig: Muzeum Stutthof w Sztutwie, 1992); Danuta Drywa, *Zagada Zydów w obozie koncentracyjnym Stutthof 1939–1945* (Danzig: Muzeum Stutthof w Sztutwie, 2001), pp. 215–216. The Riga-Strasdenhof (AEG) is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:254.

The archival sources on the history of the VEF and the AEG are held in LVVA, the BA-B, LA-B, and BA-MA. Individual documents in the AEG-Firmenarchiv in DTM contain few details on the use of the forced labor. Unpublished survivors' accounts may be found in USHMMA in RG-12.004.02 *02 and *04, Benjamin Ferencz Collection, Claims against German Industrial Firms Records, 1952–1994, AEG Correspondence. Published memoirs on the AEG subcamp include Paula Zaltzman-Frankel, *Häftling No. 94771*, ed. M. M. Shafir (Montreal: Concordia University Chair in Jewish Studies and Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Right Studies, 2003); Hartmut Schmidt, *Zwischen Riga und Locarno: Bericht über Hilde Schneider, Christin jüdischer Herkunft, Diakonisse, Ghetto- und KZ-Häftling, Gefängnispfarrerin* (Berlin: Wichern, 2001); and Vanessa Schwarz, "My Great Grandmother [Else Schwarz-Katz]," *EI 7* (June 1999): 35–38.

Thomas Irmer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Rüstungsinspektion Ostland, KTB, September 1–December 31, 1941, entry September 30, 1941, BA-MA, RW 30/1, p. 9.

2. AEG-Direktion, Rundschreiben Nr. 13/42, October 21, 1942, Betr.: "Gesellschaftsgründung im Ostland," DTM, I.2.060 A, Nr. 5989, p. 1.

3. Wehrwirtschaftsinspektion Ostland, KTB Nr. 8, July 1–September 30, 1943, entry July 26, 1943, BA-MA, RW 30/8, p. 8RS.

4. Wehrwirtschaftsinspektion Ostland, KTB, Nr. 8, July 1–September 30, 1943, Vierteljahresbericht für die Zeit vom 17-30.9.43, BA-MA, RW 30/8, p. 35RS.

5. Interview of the author with Eugenia Borovskaja, March 26, 2000; Paula Zaltzman-Frankel, *Häftling No. 94771* ed. M.M. Shafir (Montreal: Concordia University Chair in Jewish Studies and Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, 2003); as well as Hartmut Schmidt, *Zwischen Riga und Locarno: Bericht über Hilde Schneider, Christin jüdischer Herkunft, Diakonisse, Ghetto- und KZ-Häftling, Gefängnispfarrerin* (Berlin: Wichern, 2001), p. 163.

6. Vanessa Schwarz, "My Great Grandmother [Else Schwarz-Katz]," *EI 7* (June 1999): 35–38; Borovskaja interview.

7. Borovskaja interview; and Schmidt, *Zwischen Riga und Locarno*, p. 163.
8. Borovskaja interview.
9. Schwarz, "My Great Grandmother [Else Schwarzkatz]"; Schmidt, *Zwischen Riga und Locarno*, p. 164.
10. Schwarz, "My Great Grandmother [Else Schwarzkatz]."
11. Zaltzman-Frankel, *Häftling No. 94771*.
12. Schwarz, "My Great Grandmother [Else Schwarzkatz]."
13. Zaltzman-Frankel, *Häftling No. 94771*.
14. Aufstellungen, LA-B, A Rep. 227-05, Nr. 175.
15. Schmidt, *Zwischen Riga und Locarno*, p. 168.
16. Kommandanturbefehl Nr. 73 der Kommandantur des KL Stutthof, October 30, 1944, AMS, I-113-3.
17. Schwarz, "My Great Grandmother [Else Schwarzkatz]."
18. Zaltzman-Frankel, *Häftling No. 94771*; Schmidt, *Zwischen Riga und Locarno*, p. 273.
19. Kommandanturbefehl Nr. 61, September 12, 1944, AMS, I-1B-3.
20. Zaltzman-Frankel, *Häftling No. 94771*; Schmidt, *Zwischen Riga und Locarno*, p. 272.
21. Stärkemeldung, January 24, 1945, AMS, I-IIIB-6.
22. Schwarz, "My Great Grandmother [Else Schwarzkatz]."
23. Zaltzman-Frankel, *Häftling No. 94771*.
24. Schmidt, *Zwischen Riga und Locarno*, p. 175; Borovskaja interview.

RIGA-STRADENHOF [AKA SS-BETRIEBE, STRADENHOF]

Situated near the Widzemer-Chaussee Bridge on the Jugla River, the SS factory (*Betriebe*) at Stradsdenhof (Strazdumviža) was one of the original quartering sites (*Kasernierungen*) absorbed or established by the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp with the dissolution of the Riga ghetto. According to the Stadtkommissar of Riga, the subcamp, misspelled Stradsdenhof, held 820 Jewish prisoners on August 18, 1943, with a planned deployment of 3,000 male and female prisoners.¹ After the final liquidation of the Riga ghetto on November 2, 1943, the *Kasernierung* held approximately 2,000 inmates, including many children and elderly. While most prisoners manufactured SS uniforms on-site at the SS-owned textile factory, other detachments performed street construction. This *Kasernierung* is not to be confused with the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG) subcamp at Stradsdenhof, which fell under separate administration.

Under the camp leader (*Lagerführer*), SS-Unterscharführer Hermann "Usche" Dering, the guards consisted of ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) from Transylvania. Some prisoner accounts also listed Dering's rank as *Untersturmführer*. Dering's deputy was Hans Hoffmann. According to survivors, Dering and Hoffmann were responsible for Stradsdenhof's harsh conditions. Prisoners were routinely forced to perform "sport," an SS euphemism for penal exercises de-

signed to exhaust, humiliate, and kill; roll calls were used for beatings and humiliation; and the food conditions were completely inadequate for the camp population.²

Compounding Dering's and Hoffmann's brutal rule was the first of three successive camp elders, Hans Bruhn. A German "green" prisoner who was at Sachsenhausen and then a Kaiserwald block elder, Bruhn imposed a vicious regime at Stradsdenhof. In 1949, survivor Jacob Efrat described Bruhn:

I was later transferred to Stradsdenhof where, to my misfortune, Bruhn [misspelled Bruns] was put in charge at the same time, so that I had to remain under his control for a longer period. He saw to it that the conditions in the camp were so bad that many died daily of starvation and ill-treatment. He supervised any possible attempts at smuggling food into the camp so strictly by examining all incomers at the gates, that it was impossible to supplement the hopelessly inadequate ration. Besides this he instituted the custom of awaiting the prisoners on their return from work in the evening, when they were tired to exhaustion and then forcing them to take part in various exercises, marching in the grounds and generally sapping their last remaining energies. His brutality rose to such heights at the camp that he beat 2 men to death with his own hands and buried them on the banks of the Jugle [*sic*].³

Bruhn's successors were Reinhold Rosenmeyer and Rago. According to Efrat, conditions somewhat improved after Bruhn's transfer.

The conditions in this subcamp prompted many escape attempts. According to the first chronicler of the Latvian Holocaust, Max Kaufmann, the following prisoners attempted to flee: Rachil Bermann, Brudner, Luba Drujan, Liolia Gittelson, the Keile sisters, Raja (a female prisoner), Salgaller, the Seidemann brothers, and the column leader (*Kolonnenführer*) Morein. According to Samuel Atlas, 10 prisoners caught hiding in the factory incurred severe beatings from Hoffmann after their discovery.⁴

Eyewitness accounts and West German trial reports document two major selections or "operations" (*Aktionen*) at Stradsdenhof, as the roundups of weakened Jews were termed at Kaiserwald. Survivor Bella Gepen Mirkin accused Hoffmann of overseeing the "Children's Operation" (*Kinderaktion*) in March 1944, which resulted in the removal of between 60 and 90 young prisoners.⁵ Taken to "base camp command" (*Stützpunktkommando*), the Kaiserwald euphemism for a shooting site in the forest, the children's selection was part of an overall targeting of Jewish children in the Riga *Kasernierungen* in the spring of 1944. The second, much larger *Aktion* occurred in early August 1944, shortly before the camp's evacuation. Estimates place the number of victims in this selection at around two-thirds of the camp's population, as all Jews over 30 and under 18 were boarded on trucks and taken to the forests. Efrat estimated that the SS removed some 1,300 prison-

ers during this Aktion, leaving only 500 in the camp. Hoffmann allegedly coaxed the victims to cooperate by promising their imminent evacuation from Riga aboard ship.⁶

The SS participants in the second selection included Kaiserwald's Sanitätsdienstgrad Heinz Günther Wisner. If this selection followed the pattern found in other Riga Kasernierungen preparing for evacuation in the summer of 1944, then it is likely that Kaiserwald Lagerarzt Dr. Eduard Krebsbach was present as well. Born Heinz von Wisotzky, Wisner had served since 1939 as an SS orderly at Stutthof and Flossenbürg. Promoted to Unterscharführer in the summer of 1943, Wisner joined the Kaiserwald staff on November 1, 1943, where he subsequently advanced in rank to Oberscharführer. Known to the prisoners as "Dr. Wisner," he was sentenced in 1985 to five years' imprisonment by a Düsseldorf court, in connection with the selections committed at this and other Riga Kasernierungen, as well as homicides committed in the Kaiserwald main camp. By the time of his arrest in 1979, Wisner had retired from a mechanical engineering firm located in Düsseldorf.

When Stradsdenhof (SS-Betriebe) was evacuated on August 6, 1944, the camp population stood at approximately 700. The survivors boarded the *Bremerhaven* at the port of Riga for a harrowing three-day journey to Danzig, where barges then took them to Stutthof, via the Vistula River.

SOURCES The Stradsdenhof (SS-Betriebe) Kasernierung of Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp is described in Max Kaufmann, *Churbn Lettland: Die Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands*, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn, intro. by Steven Springfield (1947; repr., Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 1999), pp. 408–411. Kaufmann recounts the escape attempts and brutal treatment and places the estimate of the camp population at the time of the evacuation. The subcamp is briefly mentioned in Anita Kugler, *Scherwitz: Der jüdische SS-Offizier* (Cologne: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 2004), p. 354; and in Margers Vestermanis, *Juden in Riga: Auf den Spuren des Lebens und Wirkens einer ermordeten Minderheit; ein historischer Wegweiser* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1995), pp. 70–71. Stradsdenhof (SS-Betriebe) is listed as separate men's and women's camps in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arosen, 1979), 1:255. The Wisner case (Lfd. Nr. 896) will be included in a forthcoming volume of *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* but is listed cursorily on the publication's Web site at www1.jur.uva.nl/junsv. The author would like to thank Dick de Mildt for furnishing supplementary biographical information on Wisner.

Primary sources for Stradsdenhof (SS-Betriebe) begin with its listing in the documents compiled by Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, pp. 265–266, which reproduces the Riga Stadtkommissar's memorandum on the Riga-Kaiserwald Kasernierung-

gen of August 18, 1943, and copied from NARA. Investigation files for Wisner are available at ZLNW-K under heading 130 Js 2/78 (Z). Unpublished testimonies on Stradsdenhof (SS-Betriebe) may be found in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, <http://159.104.6.6/testaments/en/t3h.asp>, and are based upon the collection of WL. The testimonies are P III h. No. 1019 (Stradsdenhof), Statement of Ida Atlas, "The Activities of 'Sturmführer' Hans Hoffmann and Hermann Dehring at the Strassenhof [sic] Camp," August 8, 1949; P III i. No. 1003 (Latvia), Jacob Efrat, Letter to H. Michaelson, May 11, 1949; P III i. No. 1003 (Latvia), Translated letter of Jacob Efrat to H. Michaelson, July 9, 1949; P III h. No. 1025 (Strassenhof near Riga), Samuel Atlas, "Evidence against Hans Hoffmann and Hermann Dehring [sic]," October 5, 1949; P III h. No. 1019a (Stradsdenhof), Bella Mirkin, née Gepen, "'Kinderaktion' (Selection of Children) by SS man Hoffmann," February 29, 1950. A published testimony on Stradsdenhof, by a survivor of Vilna ghetto, is Mascha Rolnikaite, *Ich muss erzählen: Mein Tagebuch 1941–1945*, trans. Dorothea Greve, foreword by Marianna Butenschön (Berlin: Kindler, 2002).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Auszüge aus einem Schreiben des Stadtkommissars Riga an den Generalkommissar, Abt. III, August 18, 1943, Betr. "Umsetzung" von Juden in Konzentrationslager [reproduced from NARA, T-459 Reel 19, fr. 503], in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), Doc. 254, p. 266.

2. *Testaments to the Holocaust*, <http://159.104.6.6/testaments/en/t3h.asp>; P III h. No. 1019 (Stradsdenhof), Statement of Ida Atlas, "The Activities of 'Sturmführer' Hans Hoffmann and Hermann Dehring at the Strassenhof [sic] Camp," August 8, 1949, p. 1; P III i. No. 1003 (Latvia), Jacob Efrat, Letter to H. Michaelson, May 11, 1949, p. 1; P III h. No. 1025 (Strassenhof near Riga), Samuel Atlas, "Evidence against Hans Hoffmann and Hermann Dehring [sic]," October 5, 1949; P III h. No. 1019 a (Stradsdenhof), Bella Mirkin, née Gepen, "'Kinderaktion' (Selection of Children) by SS man Hoffmann," February 29, 1950, p. 1.

3. P III i. No. 1003 (Latvia), Translated letter of Efrat to Michaelson, July 9, 1949, p. 1.

4. P III h. No. 1025 (Strassenhof near Riga), Atlas, "Evidence against Hans Hoffmann and Hermann Dehring [sic]," October 5, 1949.

5. Mirkin, "'Kinderaktion,'" February 29, 1950, p. 1; see also P III i. No. 1003 (Latvia), Efrat, Letter to Michaelson, May 11, 1949, p. 1.

6. P III i. No. 1003 (Latvia), Efrat to Michaelson, May 11, 1949, p. 2; P III h. No. 1019 (Stradsdenhof), Statement of Ida Atlas, "The Activities of 'Sturmführer' Hans Hoffmann," August 8, 1949, p. 2.



SACHSENHAUSEN



Undated photograph of the "roller detachment" marching to work.
USHMM WS#82927, COURTESY OF AGS

SACHSENHAUSEN MAIN CAMP

Situated next to the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL, later Office Group D of the SS-Business Administration Main Office, or WVHA) at Oranienburg, just north of Berlin, Sachsenhausen stood at the center of the Nazi concentration camp system. Begun in the summer of 1936, just before the Berlin Olympics, it was the first new concentration camp built after Hitler gave full control of that system to the SS in 1934. As such, Sachsenhausen was intended to be a model facility; indeed, the Nazi press corps toured it for propaganda purposes in March 1938. Nevertheless, the camp's striking triangular layout—an unwieldy blend of art deco and Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon—proved ill-suited to expansion, and subsequent camps would follow more conventional patterns.

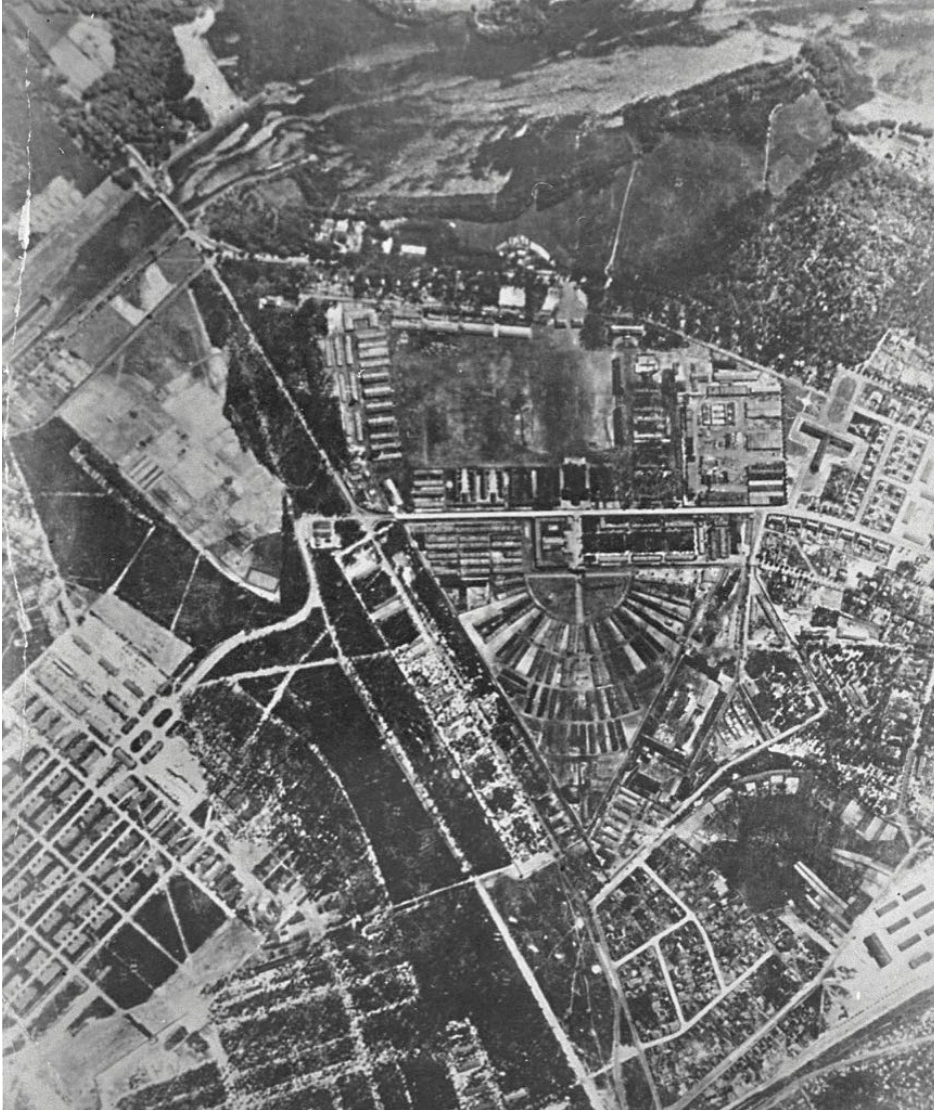
The SS brought the first 50 prisoners to the proposed site from Esterwegen in July 1936, followed by another 200 before the month was out. Construction began immediately. The protective detention camp, where the prisoners would be housed, took the shape of an isosceles triangle, with a narrow, rectangular headquarters area superimposed over the left side of the triangle's base. Entrance to the camp was through an imposing gatehouse, topped by a guard tower. With the camp barracks laid out below in a radial, fanlike pattern, guards in this tower had an unobstructed line of sight virtually throughout the camp. Additional towers punctuated the camp's stone perimeter wall, inside of which ran an electrified barbed-wire fence. Just inside the main gate was the camp's sprawling, semicircular roll-call area. Painted on the ends of the barracks abutting it was one of the implausibly exhortative slogans favored in the 1930s-era camps: "There is one path to freedom! Its milestones are: diligence, obedience, honesty, order, cleanliness, sobriety, truthfulness, spirit of sacrifice, and love of the Fatherland!"

At the beginning of 1937, the number of prisoners at Sachsenhausen stood at about 1,650.¹ Many were former inmates of Esterwegen, who had arrived when that camp closed in September 1936. By early 1938, Sachsenhausen's population had grown to over 2,500. Most inmates were either political prisoners under "protective" detention (47 percent) or criminal prisoners under "preventive" detention (40 percent). The next largest group comprised Jehovah's Witnesses (9 percent), followed by homosexuals (1 percent).² These proportions changed dramatically in June, when the arrival of 6,232 "asocial" or "work-shy" prisoners almost tripled the camp's population, pushing it above 9,200.³ This number gradually receded over the next few months, until November, when the temporary presence of at least 6,000 Jewish prisoners after *Kristallnacht* caused the total to surge briefly above 14,000.⁴ By the year's end, this number had retreated to about 8,300, with the asocials constituting an absolute majority (62 percent), the political prisoners a strong minority (32 percent), and the criminals only a relative handful (5 percent).⁵

With the construction of additional barracks in 1939, Sachsenhausen attained a design capacity of approximately 10,000 prisoners. The war, however, soon led to renewed overcrowding. More than 2,500 Polish prisoners arrived during the first six months of the conflict, as did some 1,200 Czech students following anti-German demonstrations in Prague in November 1939. By mid-February 1940, the total number of prisoners had reached nearly 11,900, while Sachsenhausen's first two subcamps, at Wewelsburg and Berlin-Lichterfelde, held over 300 more.⁶ In May 1940, another 1,200 Polish prisoners arrived from the Pawiak Prison in Warsaw. Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) began to arrive in August 1941, only to be shot by the thousands. As of early December, some 1,500 remained alive. Not counting the POWs, the number of prisoners at the main camp had fallen to about 8,000 by that time, while the population of the subcamps, which now numbered eight, had risen to around 2,350. The wartime internationalization of the camp continued apace, with Poles reaching 30 percent of the civilian prisoners, and Czechs, 12 percent.⁷

Together with its subcamps, Sachsenhausen began 1943 with more than 16,500 prisoners and ended the year with more than 28,000.⁸ At the conclusion of the year, 35 percent were designated as "protective custody" detainees, now a thoroughly heterogeneous, multinational category. Counted separately, Soviet civilian prisoners constituted nearly as large a group, at 32 percent (with the surviving 761 Soviet POWs another 3 percent). Polish prisoners, also counted separately, formed another significant block at 20 percent. The next largest group, amounting to 6 percent, comprised the common criminals in "preventive detention" (as distinct from an additional 1 percent who were actual convicts from the German penitentiary system being held in "security custody"). Asocials constituted another 3 percent; Jehovah's Witnesses, less than 1 percent. Other categories of prisoners were present at Sachsenhausen only in small numbers at this time.⁹

The year 1944 saw explosive growth in the number of subcamps throughout the concentration camp system, and Sachsenhausen was no exception. Most of its new subcamps were located either in Berlin or within the province of Brandenburg. Some of them, including several taken over from Ravensbrück late in the year, held female prisoners. The main camp, however, remained restricted to men, with the exception of the handful of inmates at the camp brothel, opened in mid-1943. Effective January 1, 1945, Sachsenhausen expanded further by taking over responsibility from Mittelbau for the SS-Baubrigaden (Construction Brigades), a group of mobile subcamps assigned to repair bomb damage. As of that date, the entire Sachsenhausen system encompassed nearly 61,000 prisoners, including over 13,200 women. Two weeks later, the total had risen to more than 66,000.¹⁰ In the final months of the war, this number would swell further, with the evacuation of camps closer to the front.



An aerial view of Sachsenhausen concentration camp, revealing its distinctive triangular shape, May 19, 1944.
USHMM VWS #32064, COURTESY OF YVA

At Sachsenhausen, as at other Nazi camps, Jewish prisoners were singled out for harsh treatment. Their numbers, however, fluctuated considerably over time. On January 3, 1937, there were only 21 Jewish prisoners at Sachsenhausen.¹¹ The number remained small until the campaign against the work-shy in June 1938 brought over 800 Jews to the camp.¹² Of these, 457 remained by the time Kristallnacht flooded the camp with Jewish prisoners in November, creating nightmarish conditions. Releases began almost immediately in exchange for commitments to emi-

grate. As of December 31, 1938, Sachsenhausen had 1,345 Jews, some 16 percent of the camp's total population: 958 were classified as protective custody prisoners, 386 as asocials, and 1 as a homosexual.¹³ By February 18, 1940, the number had dropped to 1,218; by December 5, 1941, to 559.¹⁴ In October 1942, most of the remaining Jewish prisoners were sent to Auschwitz, after Heinrich Himmler ordered the expulsion of Jews from the concentration camps within Germany's prewar borders. Sachsenhausen retained only a few with specialized skills needed either for the se-

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Sachsenhausen prisoners assemble in columns, 1938. Note the enlarged triangles symbolizing reasons for arrest. The triangle system was only standardized during the previous year.
USHMM WS #76278, COURTESY OF NARA

cret Operation Bernhard, which counterfeited foreign banknotes, or for the so-called clock detail, which processed watches stolen from the Jews murdered at Auschwitz. The number of these prisoners grew gradually from 45 at the end of January 1943 to 159 at the end of December.¹⁵ There was no large-scale return of Jews to Sachsenhausen until the second half of 1944, when labor shortages forced Himmler to bring thousands of mostly Hungarian and Polish Jews to concentration camps in Germany. Additional Jewish prisoners arrived as a result of camp evacuations.

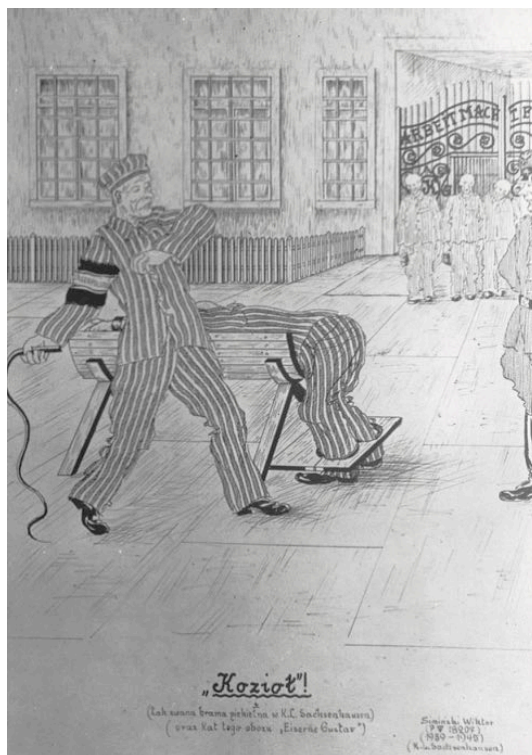
Sachsenhausen maintained special facilities to segregate politically prominent prisoners, such as the former Austrian chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg and the anti-Nazi pastor Martin Niemöller. Many of those seized in connection with the attempt on Hitler's life on July 20, 1944, also passed through Sachsenhausen. Politically significant POWs were held there as well, including Joseph Stalin's eldest son, who was killed by a guard in April 1943.

Early in Sachsenhausen's existence, the focus of prisoner work assignments was the construction of the camp and other facilities in the immediate vicinity, such as the large industrial and construction yards nearby. By the beginning of 1938, roughly half the prisoners were assigned inside the camp and roughly half in 47 work details outside.¹⁶ In the late summer of 1938, after the SS founded the German Earth and Stone Works, Ltd. (DESt) as a moneymaking enterprise, the prisoners began construction of what was intended to be the largest brickworks in the world, the Klinkerwerk in nearby Lehnitz. Some 1,500 prisoners marched to and from the site each day until 1941, when the camp administration decided to house the prisoners there and turn the Klinkerwerk into a subcamp.

The war inevitably brought about changes in the work done by concentration camp prisoners. In March 1942, plans

were made to increase the use of the camps for armaments production, and 6,000 Sachsenhausen prisoners were designated for that work initially. By the end of the year, the camp was heavily involved in war production, manufacturing everything from fighter planes to gas masks. The prisoners at the Klinkerwerk, for example, began to produce shells instead of bricks, while an unfinished stone-processing plant was converted into a facility for recycling military wreckage. The push for increased production continued, feeding the proliferation of subcamps in 1944, as the SS increasingly hired out the prisoners to private firms.

When there was work to be done in the concentration camps, the SS generally had the prisoners do it. This principle extended to much of the organizational work within the camp, which fell largely to privileged prisoners, who carried out such important functions as determining work assignments. They were also in a favorable position to monitor the activities of the headquarters staff and in some cases to obstruct the implementation of harmful policies. At the head of the prisoner self-administration was the camp elder (Lagerältester), who answered directly to the SS officer in



"Kozioł!" (Stocks!), by Sachsenhausen prisoner, Wiktor Siminski, shows a prisoner enduring a lashing by a Kapo with the slogan of the camp gate, "Work Will Make You Free" (*Arbeit macht Frei*) in the background, nd.
USHMM WS #26852, COURTESY OF ALEKSANDER KULISIEWICZ

charge of the protective custody camp. This difficult and dangerous post often changed hands, as different groups of prisoners schemed to obtain it for themselves. The political prisoner Harry Naujoks, who was camp elder from April 1939 to October 1942, is generally regarded, at least among his fellow politicals, as having acted with integrity and courage. Some other camp elders had less honorable records, particularly those selected from among the criminals and asocials.

Sachsenhausen had six commandants in less than nine years. The first was Karl Koch, who established the camp and then left in July 1937 to make his reputation at Buchenwald. The incompetent Hans Helwig became Sachsenhausen's second commandant, serving for one year before entering a forced retirement. The hard-driving Hermann Baranowski succeeded him, running the camp with a heavy hand from July 1938 until his death in February 1940. Taking Baranowski's place was the hapless Walter Eisfeld, who immediately fumbled a visit by Himmler, and was removed in March. His replacement, Hans Loritz, came to grief in the great concentration camp corruption scandal of 1942, which brought down the commandants of Dachau, Lublin-Majdanek, Gross-Rosen, and Flossenbürg as well. Anton Kaindl, a grimly efficient administrator, took charge thereafter, shaking up the camp headquarters staff upon his arrival in August 1942 and remaining firmly in power until the end.

Sachsenhausen's earliest guards were members of the Death's Head guard unit SS-Ostfriesland, who accompanied the first prisoners from Esterwegen. When Esterwegen closed in September 1936, the rest of that camp's guards came to Sachsenhausen as well, followed by guards from SS-Brandenburg after the closure of Columbia-Haus in November. In September 1937, the existing SS-Death's Head Units were consolidated, organized by camp, and renamed, with the one at Sachsenhausen becoming the SS-Totenkopfstandarte

II "Brandenburg." The autumn of 1939 saw a tremendous turnover in personnel, as SS reservists were called up to release active-duty guards for service in the nascent SS-Death's Head Division. The guard unit was renamed the SS-Totenkopfsturmbann Sachsenhausen in about September 1940, then renamed again the SS-Totenkopfwachbataillon Sachsenhausen in January 1943.

Gustav Wegner commanded the guard force from December 1940 until April 1945. He rebuilt the unit from the ground up, paying special attention to the military and ideological training of new recruits. By November 1941, there were 9 companies of guards, numbering over 1,400 men.¹⁷ By December 1944, there were 13 companies, with nearly 2,700 guards, while the camp headquarters staff numbered another 277.¹⁸ As of January 1, 1945, the total number of SS guard personnel assigned to Sachsenhausen was 3,356, including 351 female guards at the subcamps for women prisoners.¹⁹

The SS-Death's Head guards at Sachsenhausen were little different from those at other concentration camps. The war quickly mingled the prewar cadres, who had specifically volunteered for service as camp guards, with Waffen-SS personnel of every kind. Hundreds of ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe received their initial Waffen-SS training at Sachsenhausen in 1942 and 1943; others arrived already trained from different camps or from combat units. In November and December 1943, several hundred mostly Ukrainian guards came to Sachsenhausen from the Trawniki training camp near Lublin, Poland, after the WVHA took control of it and began to siphon off its personnel for use in the Reich. Sachsenhausen acted as the hub in a distribution system that fed these men to camps throughout the WVHA system. In 1944, large numbers of Wehrmacht soldiers were absorbed into the Waffen-SS and assigned to guard duty at Sachsenhausen, as at other camps. Finally, in early 1945, many middle-aged men from around Berlin were called up for guard service at Sachsenhausen.

Prisoners at Sachsenhausen were tormented and killed in many different ways. A gallows in the roll-call area was used for hangings. Shootings were more common and often took place in a special pit in the industrial yard. This shooting pit was next to the so-called Station Z, a killing facility built in 1942 to replace a wooden structure used during the shooting of Soviet POWs the previous year. Station Z held a gas chamber (built in 1943), the camp crematorium, and a room where prisoners who believed they were having their height measured were shot in the nape of the neck through a hole in the wall. Although Kaindl later testified that he ordered the gas chamber built because other killing methods were insufficient, it does not appear to have seen heavy use. Random killings, meanwhile, could take place virtually anywhere in the camp, and no prisoner was ever safe. Sachsenhausen also provided unwilling subjects for often fatal medical experiments.

Nazi concentration camps were noted for their sadistic punishments. In addition to standard techniques such as



"Lorry Fatigue-Party," by Sachsenhausen prisoner Odd Nansen, c. 1944; the sign on the barracks reads, "For freedom."
USHMM WS #73557, COURTESY OF AG-S

whipping or close confinement, Sachsenhausen had specializations of its own, most notably the “Saxon salute” (*Sachsengruss*), in which prisoners had to squat over a bayonet for hours with their arms outstretched. Sachsenhausen also had a special punishment detail. Initially assigned to the Klinkerwerk, its luckless prisoners later tested artificial shoe leather on grueling forced marches around a special track, an ordeal few survived.

Disease, malnutrition, and exhaustion claimed the majority of lives lost at Sachsenhausen. As bad as conditions were, however, they did not become so dire as at many other camps until late in the war. Thus, the death rate for Sachsenhausen was 0.7 percent in August 1943, compared to 2.1 percent for the concentration camp system as a whole during that month.²⁰ Sachsenhausen officially recorded 6,356 deaths from January 1, 1940, to June 30, 1942.²¹ Another 3,807 deaths were recorded during 1943.²² It was during the chaotic last months of the war, for which few statistics survive, that the death rate spiraled upward, while the final evacuation cost thousands of lives as well. When the Red Army arrived at the main camp on April 22, 1945, only about 3,000 incapacitated prisoners remained there. The rest were marching to the northwest, where those who survived were gradually liberated over the next two weeks.

It is impossible to determine the total number of dead for Sachsenhausen, but the figure of at least 100,000 reached by a Soviet Military Tribunal in 1947, and subsequently accepted by many, appears high. A more plausible estimate would be somewhere between 40,000 and 50,000.

SOURCES Far less secondary literature has been published on Sachsenhausen than its importance warrants, but some valuable recent studies include Hermann Kaienburg, *Der Militär- und Wirtschaftskomplex der SS im KZ-Standort Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg: Schnittpunkt von KZ-System, Waffen-SS und Judenmord* (Berlin: Metropol, 2006); and the essay in vol. 3 of *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006). Günter Morsch of the Sachsenhausen Memorial has also edited or coedited a number of useful volumes of collected articles for the series “Schriftenreihe der Stiftung Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten.” Full-length studies of a popular character include: *Sachsenhausen: Dokumente, Aussagen, Forschungsergebnisse und Erlebnisberichte über das ehemalige Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen*, 4th rev. ed. (Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1982); AOS, *Sachso: Au coeur du système concentrationnaire nazi* (Paris: Minuit/Plon, 1982); Jean Bezaud, *Oranienbourg 1933–1935, Sachsenhausen 1936–1945: Étude* (Maulévrier: Hérault, 1989); Manuela R. Hrdlicka, *Alltag im KZ: Das Lager Sachsenhausen bei Berlin* (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 1992).

A relatively large number of records from Sachsenhausen survived the war. Most were captured by the Red Army and are now held by the RGVA in fond 1367, a collection that has been selectively microfilmed by the USHMMA. A portion of the guards’ personnel records passed from Moscow to the East German security services and now reposes at the

BA-DH. Records of the guard unit’s 7th Company fell into American hands. Some now reside at BA-BL, as collection “NS4 Sa,” and are also available from NARA, as microfilm collection T580, roll 321, Ordner 88. The 7th Company’s personnel records, however, went to the BDC (now incorporated into the BA), where they were irretrievably broken up and cataloged by personal name. Some archival materials, mostly copies, are available at the Sachsenhausen Memorial in Oranienburg. Records from postwar Soviet trials of former Sachsenhausen personnel are held at the CAFSSRF, where they remain inaccessible to the general public, although copies of some materials are held by USHMMA. For information regarding West German trials, see C.F. Rüter and D.W. de Milde, comps., *Die westdeutschen Strafverfahren wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1997* (Amsterdam: APA—Holland University Press and K.G. Saur, 1998). The 573-page verdict in the case against Gustav Sorge and Wilhelm Schubert (Landgericht Bonn 8 Ks 1/58) provides detailed information about the camp. Survivor accounts include: Arnold Weiss-Rüthel, *Nacht und Nebel: Ein Sachsenhausenbuch* (Berlin: VVN-Verlag, 1949); Harry Naujoks, *Mein Leben im KZ Sachsenhausen 1936–1942: Erinnerungen des ehemaligen Lagerältesten* (Cologne: Röderberg, 1987); Albert Christel, *Apokalypse unserer Tage: Erinnerungen an das KZ Sachsenhausen* (Frankfurt am Main: Materialis, 1987); Jan Religa, *Wspomnienia o Sachsenhausen* (Warsaw: Spółdzielcze, 1990). The Sachsenhausen Memorial has published a CD-ROM featuring six hours of interviews with 20 survivors under the title *Gegen das Vergessen: Häftlingsalltag im KZ Sachsenhausen 1936–1945*, 2nd rev. ed. (Munich: United Soft Media, 2004).

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NOTES

1. RGVA, fond 1367, opis’ 1, delo 17, fol. 362.
2. Ibid., delo 19, fol. 2.
3. Ibid., delo 20, fols. 279–398.
4. Ibid., fols. 134, 137. Records for the key period of November 11 to 20, 1938, are missing, making it impossible to determine either the full number of newly arrived Jews or the peak total the camp attained during that period.
5. Ibid., fol. 1.
6. Ibid., delo 4, fol. 6.
7. Ibid., delo 227, fol. 2.
8. AG-S, R 214/M58, prisoner strength figures for 1943, n.d.
9. Ibid., prisoner strength figures for 1943, by category, n.d.
10. NARA, T-580, roll 68, Ordner 329, list of camps with numbers of guards and prisoners as of January 1 and 15, 1945, n.d. These figures are unlikely to include the newly acquired SS-Baubrigaden, which were slow to report to their new command.
11. RGVA, fond 1367, opis’ 1, delo 17, fol. 362.
12. Ibid., delo 20, fols. 279–398.
13. Ibid., fols. 1–137. See note 4.
14. Ibid., delo 4, fol. 6; delo 227, fol. 2.
15. AG-S, R 214/M58, prisoner strength figures for 1943, by category, n.d.

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16. RGVA, fond 1367, opis' 1, delo 19, fol. 2.
17. Ibid., delo 79, fols. 199–235.
18. Ibid., delo 60, fol. 8.
19. See note 10.
20. NARA, RG 238, Nuremburg Document 1469-PS.
21. Cited in the judgment against Gustav Sorge and Wilhelm Schubert (LG Bonn 8 Ks 1/58), p. 84. This figure excludes the unregistered slaughter of some 12,000 to 18,000 Soviet POWs in 1941.
22. AG-S, R 214/M58, prisoner strength figures for 1943, n.d.

