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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

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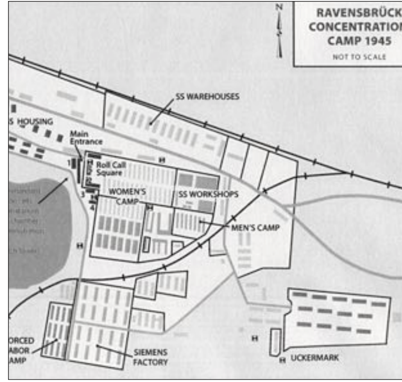

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THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM

Encyclopedia of CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

VOLUME I

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

Part A

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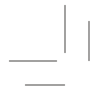

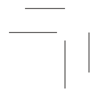
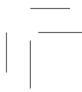

For the victims of the Holocaust and for the survivors
who became the eyewitnesses to this devastating
period of history.

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

—Deuteronomy 4:9

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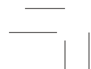
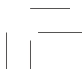

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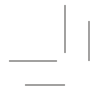

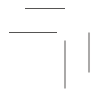
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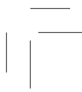


FOREWORD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

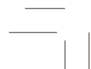
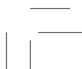
I don't think that I am deceiving myself too much by saying that since the end of the Second World War, the interest in the absolute Evil incarnated by the followers of the "Final Solution" has never been as large or quasi-universal.

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

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

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

Elie Wiesel
Translated from French by Radu Ioanid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PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

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Academic Committee of the United States
Holocaust Memorial Council

SARA J. BLOOMFIELD, DIRECTOR
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION TO THE SERIES AND VOLUME I

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GEOFFREY P. MEGARGEE

March 2009

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READER'S GUIDE TO USING THE ENCYCLOPEDIA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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INFORMATION ON THE ORGANIZATION OF A TYPICAL CONCENTRATION CAMP

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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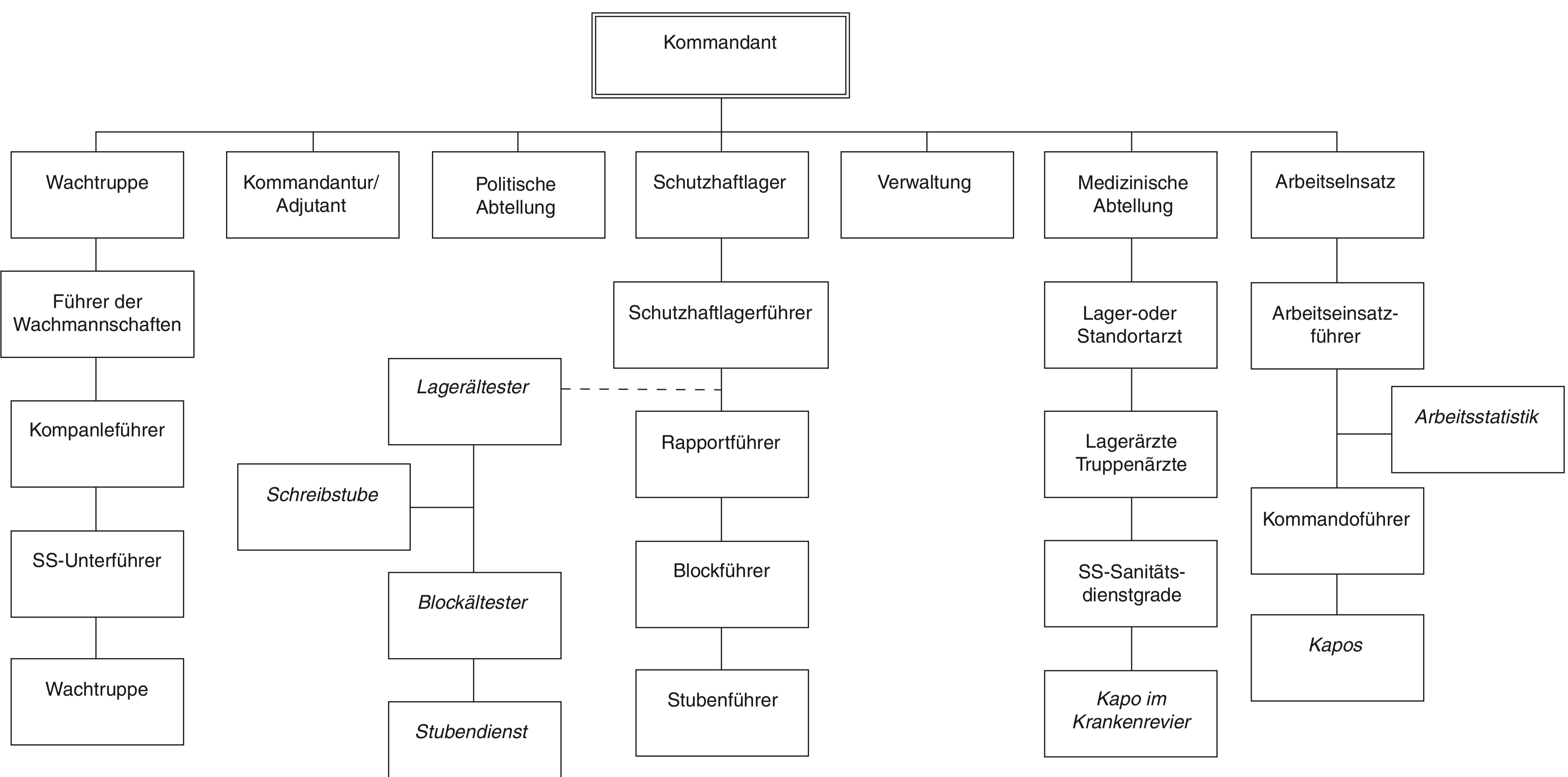
Organization of a typical concentration camp

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



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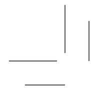
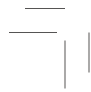
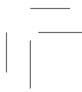
SECTION I

THE EARLY NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONCENTRATION CAMPS

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

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INTRODUCTION TO THE EARLY CAMPS

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

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

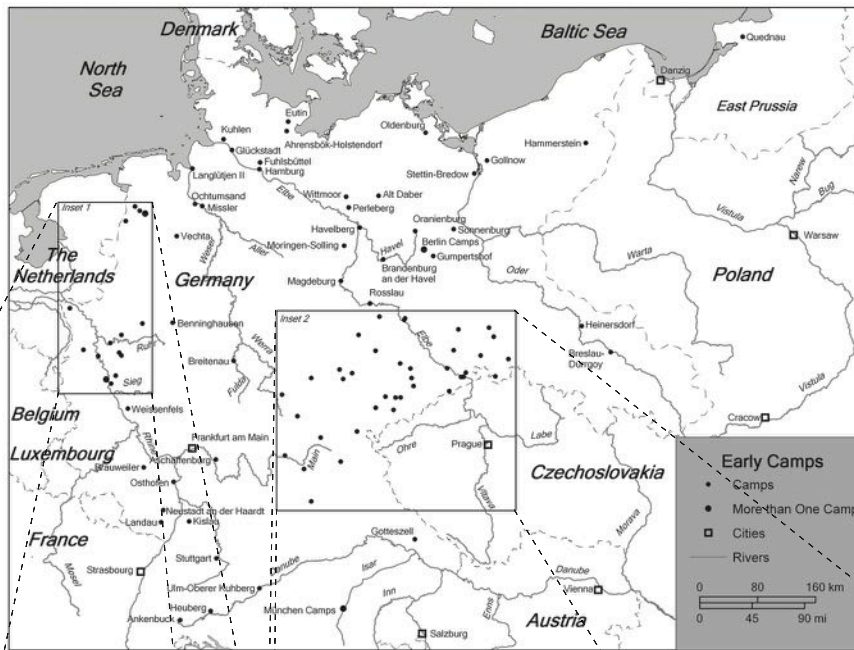
When a backroom deal brought Adolf Hitler to power with Papen as vice-chancellor on January 30, 1933, Nazi Reich Interior Minister Wilhelm Frick inaugurated a crackdown on leftist opposition in advance of the election. Issued on February 4, 1933, the "Reich Presidential Decree for the Protection of the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

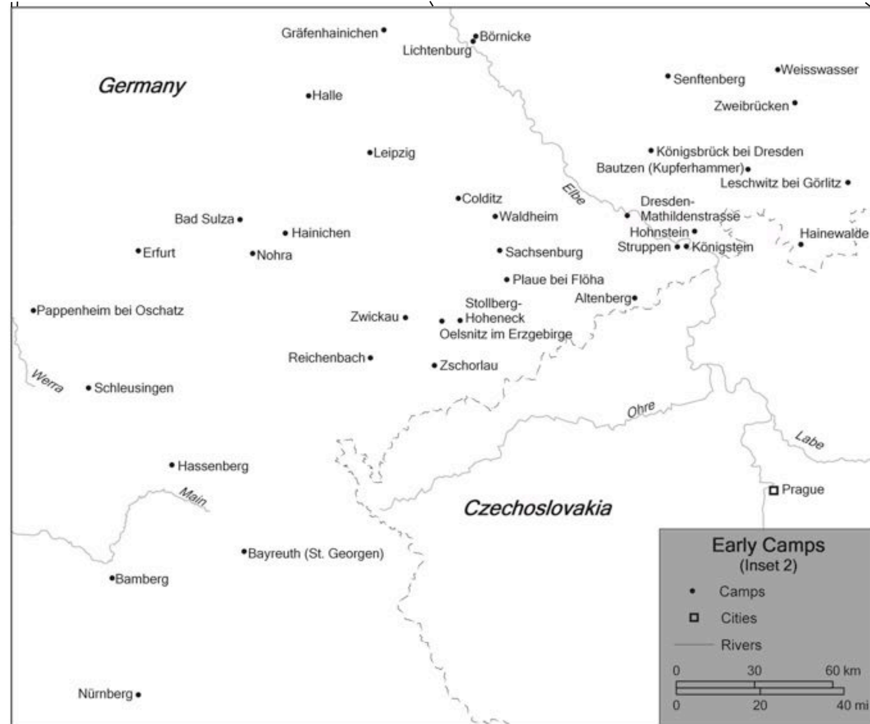
In February 1933, Papen assumed the office of Reich commissar in Prussia, while Nazi Hermann Göring held the post of Reich commissar for the Prussian Interior Ministry. Papen and Göring quickly synchronized Prussia, replacing county and police presidents (Regierungs- und Polizeipräsidenten) with Nazis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

"PROTECTIVE CUSTODY"

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

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





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

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

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

SITES OF IMPROVISATION

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

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

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

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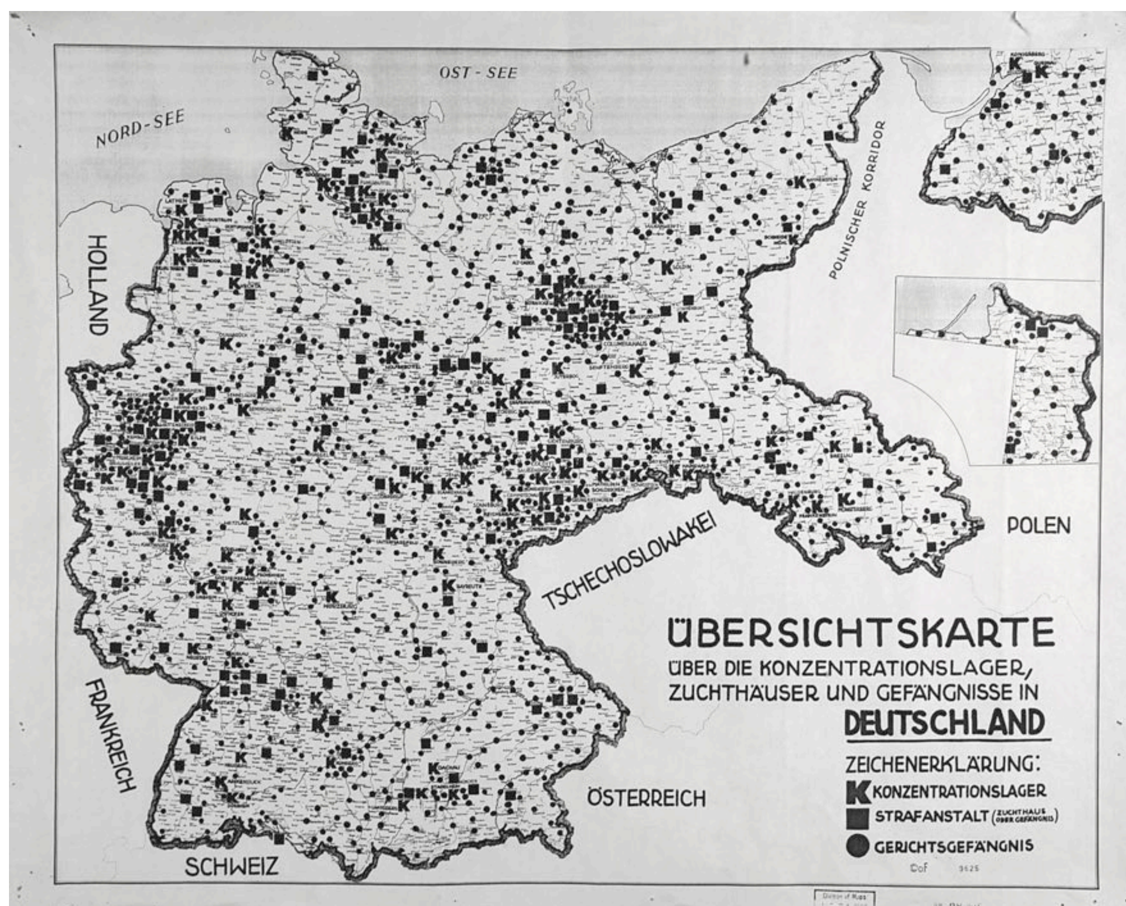

Exiled German Communists produced this map of early camps, prisons, and penitentiaries in 1936 and smuggled it into Germany during the Berlin Olympics. Most of the concentration camps, indicated by a "K," closed in 1933.
COURTESY OF LC

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

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

THE PRUSSIAN MODEL

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE DACHAU MODEL AND IKL

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE PRISONERS

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

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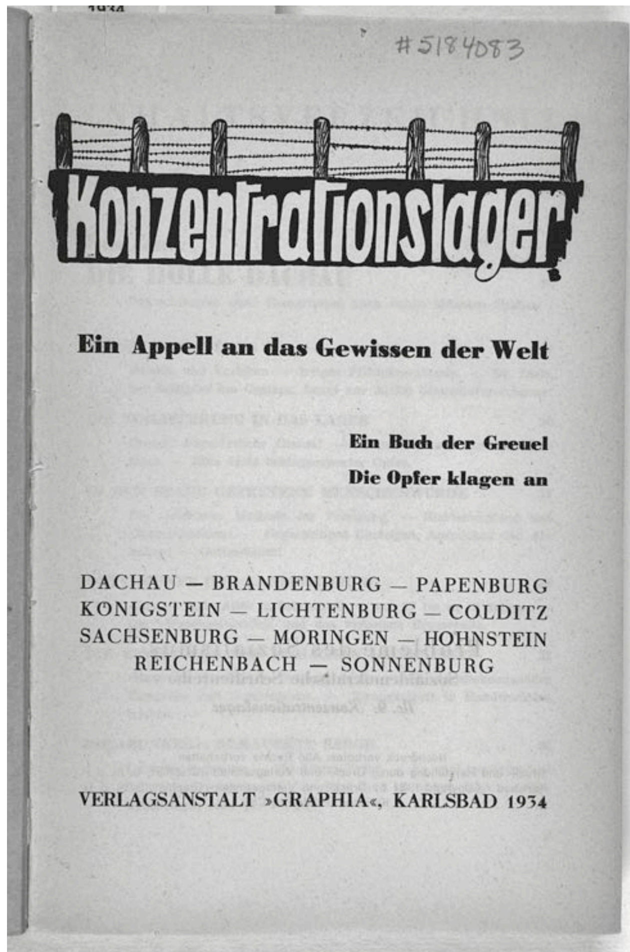

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Konzentrationslager

Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt

Ein Buch der Greuel

Die Opfer klagen an

DACHAU — BRANDENBURG — PAPENBURG
KÖNIGSTEIN — LICHTENBURG — COLDITZ
SACHSENBURG — MORINGEN — HOHNSTEIN
REICHENBACH — SONNENBURG

VERLAGSANSTALT »GRAPHIA«, KARLSBAD 1934

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

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

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

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

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

TREATMENT

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

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

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

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

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

PROTEST, DISSENT, AND ESCAPE

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

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

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

LEGAL INVESTIGATIONS

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

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

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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AHRENSBÖK-HOLSTENDORF

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jörg Wollenberg
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

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

ALT DABER

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

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

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

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ALTENBERG

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

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

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

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ANKENBUCK

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTES

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

ANRATH BEI KREFELD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTES

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

BAD SULZA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Udo Wohlfeld
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BAMBERG

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BAUTZEN (KUPFERHAMMER)

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

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

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

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

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BAYREUTH (ST. GEORGEN)

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

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

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

Joseph Robert White

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BENNINGHAUSEN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Joseph Robert White

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

BERGISCH GLADBACH [AKA STELLAWERK]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Johann Paul
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BERGKAMEN-SCHÖNHAUSEN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Martin Litzinger
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BERLIN (GENERAL-PAPE-STRASSE)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kurt Schilde
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Heinrich Orb, *Nationalsozialismus: 13 Jahre Machtrausch* (Olten, 1955), p. 111.
2. "Betr. SA-Terror und Misshandlungen," dated April 25, 1933, report by a Communist informant to the Central Committee of the German Communist Party in Moscow, BA-B, SAPMO, I 213/43, pp. 65–66.

BERLIN-CHARLOTTENBURG (MAIKOWSKI-HAUS)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTES

1. State Prosecutor at the Berlin regional court, Proceedings against Schukar and Comrades (Genossen) for breach of the peace, "Maikowski-Trial," LA-B, A Rep. 358-01 Nr. 7085-8003.
2. Group Order Nr. 27 13.5.1933, LA-B, A Rep. 244-03 Nr. 47.
3. General Secretariat VVN, BA, DY 55 V 278/3/189, Bl. 167; Heinrich-Wilhlem Wörmann, *Widerstand 1933–1945: Widerstand in Charlottenburg* (Berlin, 1998), pp. 56–57.
4. General Secretariat VVN, in BA, DY 55/V241/7/25, Bl. 145.
5. Wörmann, *Widerstand 1933–1945*, p. 56; Stefan Szende, *Zwischen Gewalt und Toleranz: Zeugnisse und Reflexionen eines Sozialisten* (Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlaganstalt, 1975), p. 17; Oskar Hippe, *Und unsere Fahn' ist rot: Erinnerungen an sechzig Jahre in der Arbeiterbewegung* (Hamburg: Junius, 1979), p. 152; Kurt Bürger, *Aus Hitlers Konzentrationslagern* (Moscow: Verlagsgenossenschaft ausländischer arbeiter in der UdSSR, 1934), pp. 40–41.
6. Szende, *Zwischen Gewalt und Toleranz*, p. 19.
7. Hippe, *Und unsere Fahn' ist rot*, p. 152.
8. Wörmann, *Widerstand 1933–1945*, p. 57; Szende, *Zwischen Gewalt und Toleranz*, p. 25.
9. Bürger, *Aus Hitlers Konzentrationslagern*, p. 41; General Secretariat VVN, in BA, DY 55/V241/7/25, Bl. 145; DY 55 V 278/3/189, Bl. 172.
10. General Secretariat VVN, BA, DY 55 V 278/3/189, Bl. 172; Preussisches Justizministerium in GStAPK I. HA Rep. 84 a Nr. 53359, pp. 2, 7, 11.
11. Szende, *Zwischen Gewalt und Toleranz*, pp. 15, 17; Bürger, *Aus Hitlers Konzentrationslagern*, p. 40; General Secretariat VVN, BA, DY 55 V 278/3/193, pp. 537, 542; DY 55 V 278/3/189, pp. 167, 170, 172.
12. Wörmann, *Widerstand 1933–1945*, pp. 56–57.

BERLIN-KÖPENICK

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTES

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

BERLIN-KREUZBERG (FRIEDRICHSTRASSE NR. 234)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTES

1. Bauakte Friedrichstrasse 234, in LAB, B Rep. 206 Nr. 5410; Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, p. 33.
2. Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, p. 34.
3. Ibid., pp. 39–40, 90; Theodor Balk, *Ein Gespenst geht um . . .* (Paris: Éd. Combat, 1933), p. 4.
4. Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, p. 61; Ernst Testis, *Das Dritte Reich stellt sich vor . . .* (Prag: Litera, 1933), p. 25.
5. Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, p. 45 Rs; *Angeklagter Hitler: Protokolle, Augenzeugen- und Tatsachenberichte aus den faschistischen Folterhöllen Deutschlands* (Zürich: Mopr-Verlag, 1933), pp. 5–6.
6. Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, pp. 51, 54, 61; *RPWA* 7, (March 1933): 175–176.
7. Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, pp.148 Rs; Testis, *Das Dritte Reich*, pp. 49–50; Theodor Krämer, *Blut-März 1933: Hakenkreuzbanditentum; Enthüllungen zum Reichstagsbrand* (Luxemburg: Selbstverlag, [1934]), p. 20.
8. *RPWA* 6 (March 1933): 138; *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitlerterror* (1933; repr., Frankfurt am Main, 1978), p. 333; *Braunbuch II: Dimitroff contra Göring; Enthüllungen über die wahren Brandstifter* (Paris: Edition Carrefour, 1934), p. 414.
9. *Angeklagter Hitler*, p. 9.
10. Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, p. 56; Testis, *Das Dritte Reich*, p. 6.
11. Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, p. 25.
12. Ibid., p. 59; Cassie Michaelis, *Die braune Kultur: Ein Dokumentenspiegel* (Zürich: Europa-Verlag, 1934), p. 108.
13. Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1, p. 36 Rs; *Der braune Tod über Deutschland* (Paris: Comité d'aide aux victimes du fascisme hitlerien, ca. 1933).
14. Neugliederung der Brigade Berlin-Süd, 12.8.1933, in LAB, A Rep. 244-03 Nr. 33; Bauakte Friedrichstrasse 234, in LAB, B Rep. 206 Nr. 5411.
15. Verfahren gegen Kurt Buchmüller, in BA, ZB II 2903 A. 1., o.A.

BERLIN-KREUZBERG (HEDEMANNSTRASSE)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

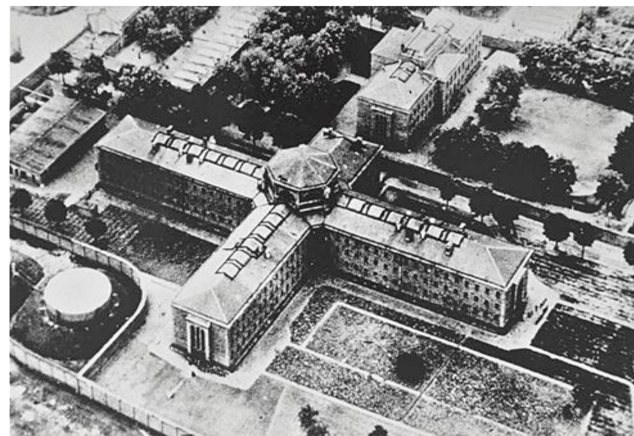
BERLIN-PLÖTZENSEE

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTES

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

BERLIN-PRENZLAUER BERG [AKA WASSERTURM]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTES

1. Bezirksverwaltung Prenzlauer Berg, Wasserturm 1916–1952, LA-B, A Rep. 034-08, Nr. 28, p. 38; folder "Wasserturm," BPA, p. 133.
2. Bezirksverwaltung Prenzlauer Berg, Wasserturm 1916–1952, LA-B, A Rep. 034-08, Nr. 28, pp. 154, 173.
3. SA-Akte "Willi Protsch," BA-BL, BDC, SA-P, Protsch, Willi, February 9, 1899, p. 337.
4. Interview with Karl Ziegler, August 20, 2002.
5. "Zur Geschichte des Wasserturmgeländes," in Annett Gröschner, *Ybbotaprag* (Berlin, 1998), p. 68.
6. Folder "KZ Wasserturm," VVN-B, district group Prenzlauer Berg; SA-Akte "Willi Protsch," BA-BL, BDC, SA-P, Protsch, Willi, February 9, 1899, p. 26; *DAN*, June 20, 1933.
7. SA-Akte "Willi Protsch," BA-BL, BDC, SA-P, Protsch,

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

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

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

10. Ibid., p. 86.

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

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

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

14. Ibid., p. 364.

15. Ibid., p. 38.

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

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

18. *DAN*, June 20, 1933.

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

20. Folder "Wasserturm," BPA.

BERLIN-SPANDAU

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Helmut Bräutigam
trans. Eric Schroeder

BERLIN-TIERGARTEN (UNIVERSUM-LANDESAUSSTELLUNGSPARK)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Irene Mayer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

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

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BOCHUM

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

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

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

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

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

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Hans Mugrauer, "'Deutschland erwache'—Rückblick auf die Vorgänge um die Vernichtung der Weimarer Republik," *GWM* 26: 7 (July 1975): 422.
2. *BA*, June 12, 1933, reproduced in Günter Gleising and VVN-BdA, Kreisvereinigung Bochum, eds., *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Bochum und Wattenscheid: Ein alternativer Stadtführer zur Geschichte in den Jahren 1933–1945* (Bochum: WURF Verlag, 1988), p. 19.
3. Mugrauer, "'Deutschland erwache,'" p. 423.
4. Johannes Volker Wagner, *Hakenkreuz über Bochum: Machtergreifung und nationalsozialistischer Alltag in einer Revierstadt* (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1983), p. 198. Wagner does not identify the witnesses in question.

BÖRGERMOOR [AKA PAPENBURG I]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BÖRNICKE [ALSO MEISSNERSHOF]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Klaus Woinar with Joseph Robert White

NOTES

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

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BRANDENBURG AN DER HAVEL

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

22. Ibid., p. 105.

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

24. Ibid., 108.

BRAUWEILER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Michael Zimmermann
trans. Eric Schroeder

BREITENAU

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

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

BRESLAU-DÜRRGOY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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trans. Fritz Gluckstein

NOTES

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

COLDITZ

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

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

COLUMBIA-HAUS

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

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

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

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

The first commandant of Columbia-Haus (Leiter des Columbiahauses) on record is Walter Gerlach, who served in this position until December 1, 1934.[1] This man, born in 1896, had belonged to the Nazi Party (NSDAP) since 1930 and was a member of the SS from 1931. An SS-Obersturmbannführer, he was named commandant of Columbia-Haus on August 1, 1934. Dr. Alexander Reiner succeeded him. The only preparation that this dentist—born in 1885, a member of the NSDAP since 1931 and member of the SS since 1932—had before taking over the Columbia concentration camp on December 1, 1934, was a mere eight-day visit to the Dachau concentration camp. In the following year, SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Otto Koch arrived. He was born in Darmstadt in 1897; as of March 1931, he was a member of the NSDAP, and from September 1931, a member of the SS. He served as commandant from April 21, 1935, to April 1, 1936. Heinrich Deubel was the last commandant. He was born in 1890 and joined the SS one year after joining the NSDAP in 1925. Deubel was relieved of his duties on September 22, 1936, because Inspector of the Concentration Camps Theodor Eicke viewed his apparently too lenient treatment of the prisoners as "unsuited" for the camp. Following this, Max Koegel served as commandant until September 1, 1936, without ever being formally appointed to this position. Koegel was born in Füssen in 1895 and first became part of the NSDAP and SS in 1932. Between July and November 1936, Kurt Eccarius was appointed to the headquarters of the Columbia concentration camp. He was born in 1905 and had been a member of the SS and NSDAP since 1929.[2] For the commandants of Columbia-Haus, this position was the beginning or intensification of a career that was distinguished above all by the readiness to unscrupulously fight against opponents of the National Socialist system.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOURCES This contribution is based on Kurt Schilde, *Vom Columbia-Haus zum Schulenburgring: Dokumentation mit Lebensgeschichten von Opfern des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung von 1933 bis 1945 aus dem Bezirk Tempelhof* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1987), pp. 41–67; and Johannes Tuchel, *Columbia-Haus: Berliner Konzentrationslager 1933–1936* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1990). In addition to these works, Schilde went back to local historical brochures and essays, among others, Emil Ackermann, ed., *Aus der Tempelhofer Geschichte: Naziterror und Widerstand* (Berlin: Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes Westberlin [VVN], Verband der Antifaschisten, 1984); Helmut Bräutigam and Oliver C. Gliech, "Nationalsozialistische Zwangslager in Berlin I: Die 'wilden' Konzentrationslager und Folterkeller 1933/34," in *Berlin-Forschungen II* (Berlin, 1987), pp. 141–178; Laurenz Demps, "Konzentrationslager in Berlin 1933 bis 1945," *Jahrbuch des Märkischen Museums*, Nr. III (1977): 7–19. Biographical information was taken from the published memoirs of former prisoners along with relevant reference works, including, among others, Kurt Hiller, *Schutzhäftling 231* (Neue Weltbühne 1935, Nos. 1–5); Henry Marx, "Als es noch kein Konzentrationslager war . . . Bericht über einen achttägigen Aufenthalt im Columbia-Haus," *Aufbau* (New York, June 17, 1988), pp. 24–25; Stefan Szende, *Zwischen Gewalt und Toleranz. Zeugnisse und Reflektionen eines Sozialisten*, with a foreword by Willy Brandt (Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1975). Important information also came from contemporary texts, such as the *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror* (1933; repr., Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1978); Kurt Bürger, *Aus Hitlers Konzentrationslagern* (Moscow: Verlagsgenossenschaft Ausländischer Arbeiter in der UdSSR, 1934); *Das deutsche Volk klagt an: Hitlers Krieg gegen die Friedenskämpfer in Deutschland; Ein Tatsachenbuch* (Paris: Carrefour, 1936); *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934). In addition to this exile literature, one can include the book by Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager: Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager" 1934–1938* (Boppard am Rhein: H. Boldt, 1991), with which the historical classification in the system of the concentration camp was carried out.

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

Kurt Schilde
trans. Lynn Wolff

NOTES

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

DRESDEN (MATHILDENSTRASSE)

In March 1933, the police utilized the remand prison of the Dresden court of appeals at Mathildenstrasse as a "protective custody" camp. An undetermined number of prisoners from the dissolved early camp at Bautzen (Kupferhammer) were transferred to this jail on June 26, 1933. Known as "Mathilde" or the "little Mathilde castle," it functioned as an early camp until 1934.[1]

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

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

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

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

DÜSSELDORF (ULMENSTRASSE) [AKA ULMER HÖH]

On February 28, 1933, the remand prison at Ulmenstrasse 95 in Düsseldorf became a "protective custody camp." Called "Ulmer Höh," the camp held approximately 300 prisoners, mainly Communists, Social Democrats, trade unionists, and intellectuals. Although professional policemen originally guarded the prisoners, SS, SA, and Stahlhelm deputies replaced this force after the German national election of March 5, 1933.[1] Responsibility for this camp was given to the Düsseldorf police president, SA-Obergruppenführer Fritz Philip Weitzel, and the leader of the city's SA, Standartenführer Lohbeck. Among the guards was an SS man named ter Heiden.[2]

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

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

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

The SS guards dressed down Langhoff because of the letter and transferred him to a four-person cell. To combat boredom, the group played skat, did deep kneebends, and ran in place. When the guards went on Sunday leave, the whole cell block took the opportunity to sing. In the distance, a lone guard on duty could be heard barking, "Stop! Enough with the glee club!"[6]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A member of Das junge Rheinland artistic group, Schwesig infuriated the Nazis before their takeover with the appearance of *Maskenball* (1932). The painting depicted Reichsbank president Hjalmar Schacht sitting beside a woman wearing a gas mask, with boxer Max Schmeling and others in the background. This well-aimed attack on Nazi warmongering landed him in protective custody on July 11, 1933.[12] For three days, the SA tortured him in the basement of the Schlegel Brauerei, after which he was dispatched to police headquarters. On August 11, 1933, Schwesig was sent to Ulmer Höh to await trial on a spurious treason charge.

Schwesig's *Schlegelkeller* cycle of charcoal drawings, produced in the late 1930s, documented Ulmer Höh during and immediately after the closure of the protective custody camp. One drawing, *Spaziergang*, showed prisoners walking around the yard, with a guard standing in the center. Although the guard's unit is not clearly indicated in the drawing, the prisoners did not march during the exercise period, which contrasted with the SS-imposed routine.[13] With *Becher und Krug, Ulmer Höh, 1933*, the drawing of a pitcher, cup, and table, Schwesig expressed the monotony and frustration of confinement at Ulmenstrasse. He returned to this theme in the sketch *Zellenkrug Nr. 12 (Ulmer Höh I)*, which shows a pitcher in his cell.[14] During his time at Ulmer Höh, the highly publicized Reichstag Fire Trial took place in Leipzig. Schwesig recounted the prisoners' reaction to news that the principal defendant, Bulgarian Communist leader Georgi Dimitrov, had publicly rebutted Nazi accusations of a Communist plot: "Dimitrov's words before the court warmed us in winter, even as the heating pipe did nothing to relieve our miserable freezing."[15] After his release from Wuppertal-Bendahl prison in November 1934, Schwesig fled to Belgium. There he organized anti-Nazi art exhibitions, which included the *Schlegelkeller* and *Ulmer Höh* series.

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

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

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

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten: 13 Monate Konzentrationslager*, foreword by Werner Heiduczek (Zürich: Schweitzer Spiegel, 1935; repr., Köln: Röderberg, 1988), pp. 49–50.
2. Ibid., p. 56; Albert Mainz, "Esterwegen—KZ Lager III" (unpub. MSS, n.d.), p. 411, as cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 124.
3. Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten*, p. 64; Mainz, "Esterwegen," p. 411, in Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, p. 124.
4. Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten*, p. 46.

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

ERFURT (PETERSBERG AND FELDSTRASSE)

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

In April 1933, the overcrowding of the Petersberg's police prison prompted the Erfurt State Police Office to establish an early concentration camp at an abandoned metalworks factory located at Feldstrasse 18. The orders came at the behest of Kriminalkommissar Böning. The camp leader was Polizeiwachtmeister Böttcher, and the guards belonged to the SA. Feldstrasse held approximately 120 prisoners, and they were forced to work in gravel pits. The SA removed some prisoners from this camp to be tortured elsewhere. In at least three cases, this maltreatment resulted in the death of the prisoner. First, Communist editor Josef Ries was taken to Blumenthal, a local restaurant, and beaten to death on June 28, 1933. Second, Communist prisoner Heinz Sendhoff was removed to a wooded area and similarly killed on July 8, 1933. And finally, a Jewish prisoner, Waldemar Schapiro (born Chaim Wulf), was brought to the same woods as Sendhoff and murdered on July 15, 1933. Schapiro was a businessman accused of distributing the *Thüringer Volksblatt*, an illegal Communist publication. Feldstrasse was dissolved on September 9, 1933, and its remaining prisoners were transferred to the early SS camp at Esterwegen.

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

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

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

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

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

ESTERWEGEN, IKL

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

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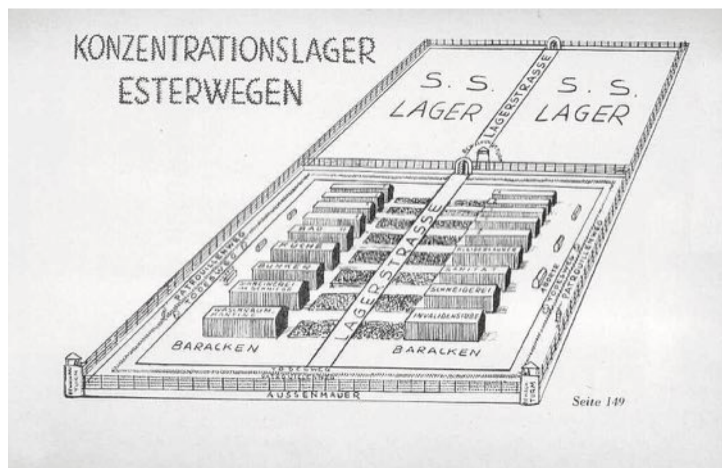

A map of Esterwegen concentration camp, sketched by an imprisoned Jehovah's Witness and which appeared in *Das Goldene Zeitalter* (Feb. 15, 1938). Bisecting the SS and prisoners' camps was "Camp Street," which the SS called Hitler Alley (*Hitlerallee*), but which the prisoners referred to as the "Alley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

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

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

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

Most detainees cut peat in the wetlands, but Jewish "returnees" and Jehovah's Witnesses underwent what was called "education." Their details consisted of a 40-member "sullage gang" (*Jauchekolonne*), in which they handled excrement, underwent punitive "sport," and participated in sand-carrying details, in which they pushed wheelbarrows at a furious pace. On February 12, 1936, after Swiss Nazi leader Wilhelm Gustloff's assassination by a Jew, Jewish detainees endured seven hours of punitive labor and exercises.[4]

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

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

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

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

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The imprisonment at Esterwegen of *Weltbühne* editor and pacifist Carl von Ossietzky galvanized international opinion. Held in this camp from March 1934 to May 1936, Ossietzky contracted tuberculosis, thanks in part to the moor labor for which he was certified by the camp physician. Beginning in 1935, he remained in the infirmary, where Sturmmann Albert Lütkemeyer once threatened his life. In reports to Himmler and Göring, Eicke and Reinhard Heydrich justified Ossietzky's continued detention, despite the greater publicity that arose from his receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in November 1936.[9]

In 1935 and 1936, Corder Catchpool, Carl Burckhardt (International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC]), and a Dutch delegation attempted to visit Ossietzky. As the British Quakers' representative in Germany, Catchpool visited him in June 1935. In October 1935, Loritz granted Burckhardt permission to see Ossietzky only after considerable pressure. As Burckhardt recalled, the prisoner's face was swollen, and his leg was broken. Representing the exiled Zentral-Wuppertal-Komitee, Clara Enthoven, H. van Zutphen, and Father N. Padt asked to see Ossietzky on May 22, 1936, but Koch dismissed their request. On Göring's orders, the police moved him a few days later to Berlin's State Hospital of the Police, Scharnhorststrasse 13, where he remained until his death on May 4, 1938.[10]

As Eicke's "exemplary prison camp," Esterwegen was a springboard for IKL careers. After Dachau, Loritz commanded Sachsenhausen from 1940 to 1942. In January 1946, he committed suicide in Allied custody. After a short stint at Sachsenhausen, Koch was Buchenwald's first commandant from 1937 to 1942, then commandant at Lublin-Majdanek in 1942. Following a corruption investigation, the SS executed him in April 1945. Unterscharführer Gustav Sorge was a Papenburg SS guard who returned to Esterwegen from 1934 to April 1936. In October 1958, the regional court Bonn sentenced him to life in a penitentiary plus 15 years for 67 murders and 20 attempted murders, including the Esterwegen deaths of Schild, Friedrich Ravensgaard, and an unnamed detainee. In February 1934, master baker Bernhard Rakers joined Papenburg VI/Oberlangen's SA staff. From 1934 to 1936, he headed Esterwegen's prisoner kitchen, earning the name "slave driver." Becoming Rapportführer at Auschwitz III-Monowitz in 1944 and Lagerführer at Buchenwald/Weimar (Gustloff-Werke) in 1945, he was sentenced to life in a penitentiary plus 15 years for 7 murders in 1953 by the regional court Osnabrück. Known as "Sharpshooter," Lütkemeyer was an Esterwegen guard from 1934 to 1936. At Neuengamme in 1943, he served as Schutzhaftlagerführer. In Neuengamme Case 8, the British executed him on June 26, 1947.[11]

In June 1936, Eicke ordered Esterwegen's closure. On July 12, the first 50 prisoners departed to construct Sachsenhausen. The remaining 900 prisoners followed by September 5. Although Konstantin Hierl's Reich Labor Service (RAD) contended for the property, the SS sold Esterwegen on September 23 to the Reich Justice Ministry, where it became Papenburg's seventh penal camp. The SS applied a portion of the 1.05 million Reichsmark (RM) proceeds to the financing of Sachsenhausen.[12]

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

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

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

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

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Deutschen Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1967). On music in the early camps, the standard work is Guido Fackler, *"Des Lagers Stimme"—Musik im KZ: Alltag und Häftlingskultur in den Konzentrationslagern 1933 bis 1936* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000). On post-1945 forced labor, see Christof Haverkamp, *Die Erschliessung des Emslandes im 20. Jahrhundert: Als Beispiel staatlicher regionaler Wirtschaftsförderung* (Sögel: Emsländische Landschrift, 1991); and the DIZ-EL, Papenburg, Web site, www.diz-emslandlager.de. On the Papenburg memorial, see Kurt Buck, *Das Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum Emslandlager (DIZ) in Papenburg: Informationen, Hinweise und pädagogische Anregungen für einen Besuch vor Ort* (Papenburg: Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum [DIZ] Emslandlager, 1997). On the memorial plaque, see Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus, Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). Information on the Bundeswehr base closure may be found at https://wwwbpa.init-ag.de. The new study by Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *"Der Ort des Terrors": Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager: Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), appeared after this entry was written.

Primary documentation for Esterwegen begins with its listing in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:102. In draft form with handwritten corrections, Esterwegen's IKL regulations may be found in USHMMA, RG-11.001 M.20, RGVA, Fond 1367, Opis 2, Concentration/POW Camps in Germany, Reel 91. The BDCPFs of Loritz and Koch are summarized cursorily in French MacLean, *The Camp Men: The SS Officers Who Ran the Nazi Concentration Camp System* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Military History, 1999); and more extensively in Tom Segev, *Soldiers of Evil: The Commandants of the Nazi Concentration Camps*, trans. Haim Watzmann (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1987). On SS guard strength, Drobisch and Wieland cite *Statisches Jahrbuch der Schutzstaffel der NSDAP* (Berlin, 1937). Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, cites Esterwegen death lists in the NStA-Os and the NStA-Ol. Lichtenberg's 1935 protest, Best's and Eicke's responses, and excerpts from the Rakers and Sorge judgments are found in Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985). Kosthorst and Walter also reproduce the IKL regulations, which may be compared against the draft available at USHMMA. Additional information on Sorge and Rakers is found in Fritz Bauer et al., eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen, 1945–1966*, 22 vols. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1968–2005), 10: 347–391 (Rakers, 4 Ks 2/52) and 15: 399–659 (Sorge, 8 Ks 1/58). The Lütkemeyer trial is found in Great Britain, War Office, Judge Advocate General's Office, War Crimes Case Files, Second World War, Public Record Office WO 235/301, USHMMA, RG 59.016 M, Reel 9, File of Albert Lütkemeyer, Neuengamme Case 8. Based upon interviews with Sachsenhausen prisoners, the camp *Lied* (song), "Esterwegen," is reprinted in Inge Lammel and Günter Hofmeyer, comps., *Lieder aus den faschistischen Konzentrationslagern* (Leipzig: Veb. Friedrich Hofmeister, 1962). The third volume of *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (Sopade)*, 7 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Petra Nettelbeck, 1980), contains valuable information on Esterwegen. On Ossietzky's confinement, see Carl von Ossietzky, *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 7, *Briefe und Lebensdokumente*, ed. Bärbel Boldt, Gerhard Kraiker, Christoph Schottes, and Elke Suhr (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1994), which reproduces documents from the NStA-Ol, the NIO, the PAAA, and the IISG. See also Carl J. Burckhardt, *Meine Danziger Mission, 1937–1939*, 3rd ed. (Munich: Verlag Georg D.W. Callwey, 1980). Ossietzky's imprisonment was a cause célèbre in the exile and English press, as can be seen in "Ossietzky in Höchster Gefahr! Morddrohung des Kommandanten von Papenburg," *PT*, June 28, 1935. Published Esterwegen testimonies include Willi Dickhut, *So war's damals . . . Tatsachenbericht eines Solinger Arbeiters 1926–1948* (Stuttgart: Verlag Neuer Weg, 1979); Alfred Lemmnitz, *Beginn und Bilanz: Erinnerungen* (Berlin [East]: Dietz Verlag, 1985); Robert Neddermeyer, *Es began in Hamburg: Ein deutscher Kommunist erzählt aus seinem Leben*, foreword by Heinz Heitzer (Berlin [East]: Dietz, 1980). Union für Recht und Freiheit, ed., *Der Strafvollzug im III. Reich: Denkschrift und Materialsammlung; Im Anhang: Die Nürnberger Rassengesetze* (Prague: URF, 1936) contains anonymous testimony. Jehovah's Witness accounts, some available in English translation, can be found in "Aus einem deutschen Konzentrationslager (Ein von einem schlichten, jungen Mann geschriebener Bericht—Amtlich beglaubigt)," *GZ*, September 1, 1936, pp. 6–7, 10–11; "Im Konzentrationslager Esterwegen," *GZ*, February 15, 1938, pp. 12–13; Arthur Winkler, "Im Konzentrationslager Esterwegen," *GZ*, March 1, 1938, pp. 12–13. The February 15, 1938, article has an excellent sketch map drawn by a prisoner. The Zentral-Wuppertal-Komitee's report, anonymous Jewish testimony from August 1936, Dr. Fritz Friedländer's 1958 interview with Leo Zimmermann, and Paul Stargardt's statement are found in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series 1, Archives of the WL, Section 2, Eyewitness Accounts, Reel 9. For Esterwegen under Justice authority, see Ernst Walksen, *Warten auf die Freiheit: Zeichnungen und Aquarelle eines Moorsoldaten, 1935–1939*, foreword by Johannes Rau (Wuppertal: P. Hammer, 1984).

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NOTES

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

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

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

5. "Esterwegen," in *Lieder aus den faschistischen Konzentrationslagern*, comp. Inge Lammel and Günter Hofmeyer (Leipzig: Veb. Friedrich Hofmeister, 1962), p. 28; Stargardt statement in *Testaments*, 1/2/9; Winkler, "In the Esterwegen Concentration Camp," p. 12; January 1936 Report, *Sopade*, 3:48.

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

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8. "Der Protest des Berliner Domkapitulars Lichtenberg wegen Gefangenenmisshandlung im KL Esterwegen (1935)" and "Stellungsnahme der pr[eussische] Geheimen Staatspolizei zur Beschwerde des Domkapitulars Lichtenberg," reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 104–108.

9. Doc. D 455, "Bericht des Lagerarztes von Esterwegen, 27.8.1934"; Doc. D 504, "Amtsarztliches Gutachten des Kreisarzten von Meppen 632 im Auftrag der Staatspolizei," July 24, 1935; Doc. D 581, Eicke to RFSS, April 3, 1936; D 590, Heydrich to Göring, May 22, 1936, all reproduced in Carl von Ossietzky, *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 7, *Briefe und Lebensdokumente*, ed. Bärbel Boldt, Gerhard Kraiker, Christoph Schottes, and Elke Suhr (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1994), pp. 577–578, 631–632, 718, 725–727; "Ossietzky in Höchster Gefahr! Morddrohung des Kommandanten von Papenburg," *PT*, June, 28, 1935.

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

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

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

ESTERWEGEN II [AKA PAPENBURG II]

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

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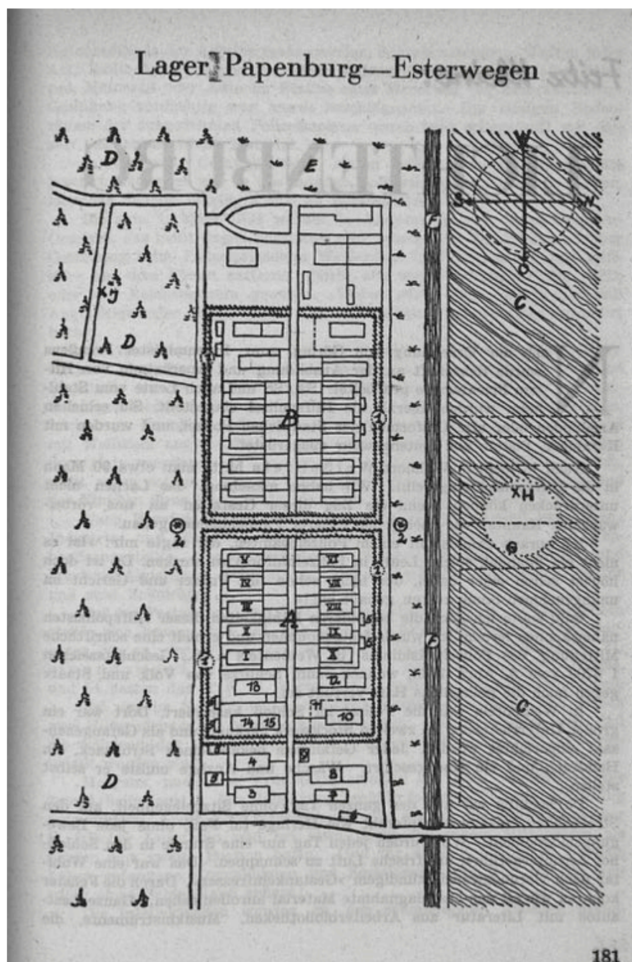

A prisoner's sketch map of Papenburg-Esterwegen II (A) and III (B), as it appeared in 1933. Letter C represents the moors; F is the canal; and H and J indicate the murder sites of Hans Alexander and Otto Eggerstedt. Inside the camp, number 10 is the "bunker" or arrest cells, encircled by a separate fence; number 15 is the infirmary, and numerals I to X indicate prisoner barracks. Numbers 3 and 4 are the cultivation and commandant's offices.
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chief camp commandant, SS-Standartenführer Paul Brinkmann, dispatched three SS officers to Esterwegen II, Sturmführer Heinrich Katzmann (Nazi Party [NSDAP] No. 113151), Sturmführer Ludwig Seehaus, and Sturmführer Emil Faust (NSDAP No. 151165). At first, Katzmann and Seehaus shared command, after which Katzmann directed Esterwegen II and Seehaus headed Esterwegen III. Until he assumed command of Neusustrum in late September 1933, Faust served as Esterwegen II's adjutant but moved freely between the camps. Like Brinkmann and Börgermoor's Sturmhauptführer Wilhelm Fleitmann, SS-Group West's chief (SS-Gruppe West) Obergruppenführer Fritz Weitzel nominated Katzmann, Seehaus, and Faust for Emsland service, according to historian Hans-Peter Klausch. Esterwegen II's brutality contributed to the Prussian Secret State Police Office's (Gestapa) decision to dismiss the SS from Papenburg.[3] From November 6 to December 20, 1933, the Prussian police controlled the camp.

Esterwegen II's first tasks were the completion of prisoner accommodations and the construction of Esterwegen III. According to prisoner "A.E.," the daily rations, divided among 1,000 men, consisted of 50 kilograms (110 pounds) of peas, 150 kilograms (330 pounds) of potatoes, and 11 kilograms (24 pounds) of meat.[4] As Börgermoor detainees contacted Esterwegen II's inmates during work assignments, they organized modest food relief until the guards stopped the practice.[5] The long distance between Esterwegen II and its work assignments necessitated the use of field trains. Called the "Moor Express," transport like this one continued to operate during the Prussian Justice Ministry's penal camp phase, as can be seen in a photograph album by SA-Mann Walter Talbot from 1935.[6] According to anonymous testimony from Esterwegen II, a prisoner's daily work quota consisted of digging a ditch 18 meters long, 80 centimeters wide, and 90 centimeters deep (59 feet by 2.6 feet by 3 feet).[7] Until their reassignment to Lichtenburg on October 17, 1933, Jewish prisoners installed pipes for the camp's water supply and experienced constant abuse.[8]

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

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

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

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

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

Two escape attempts took place at Esterwegen II. Imprisoned Silesian miners dug a tunnel beneath barracks 9 and 10, but an informant betrayed their plan before it could be implemented. Another Silesian prisoner, Werner Hesse, fled on September 1, 1933, but was rearrested near Hamburg, placed in Esterwegen III, and murdered on September 26.[16]

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

From December 20, 1933, to April 30, 1934, SA-Sturmhauptführer Heinrich Remmert became commandant. On December 22, two days after the SA handover, a Christmas amnesty reduced the population by 380 detainees. Under Remmert, the camp entered another violent phase. For mistreating prisoners at Esterwegen, the regional court Osnabrück sentenced him to 15 months' imprisonment in November 1934 and preempted a complete dismissal of the verdict by crediting him with time served in investigative custody. Remmert subsequently became camp leader at Lichtenburg. Just as Börgermoor's 467 remaining inmates entered the camp on April 25, 1933, Esterwegen II had 373 prisoners.[17]

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

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

Primary documentation for Esterwegen II begins with its listing in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:103. Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), reproduce extracts from the Groten Trial judgment (9 Ks 25/49), which quote in full the Altona Police president's letter to Papenburg concentration camp, August 11, 1933, and an article from the *EZ*, December 23, 1933. Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, cites or quotes extensively a wealth of archival sources and published testimonies: the BDCPFs of Katzmann, Seehaus, and Faust; testimonies and investigations deposited at the NStA-Os, the NStA-Ol, and the BA-P; Fritz Erichsen, "Esterwegen 1933," h-IM, September 10, 1966; "'Auf der Flucht erschossen': Im Moor von Esterwegen," *DAN*, March 3, 1934; Paul Krüger, "Schutzhaft 1933–KZ Esterwegen" (unpub. MSS, DIZ, n.d.); Herbert Baade, "Eine Mahnung an die Lebenden" (unpub. MSS, Hamburg, n.d.); and *OsnT*, December 24, 1933. Remmert's BDCPF is cited in Lothar Gruchmann, *Justiz im Dritten Reich: Anpassung und Unterwerfung in der Ära Gürtner*, 3rd ed. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2001). Nazi accusations against Eggerstedt can be found in "Die rote Einheitsfront richtet in Altona ein furchtbares Blutbad an," *VB*, Berlin Ausg., July 19, 1932. For "barracks camps" terminology, see Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zürich: Interverlag AG, 1949). A.E.'s testimony in Kurt Bürger, comp., *Aus Hitlers*

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Konzentrationslagern (Moscow: Verlagsgenossenschaft ausländischer Arbeiter in der UdSSR, 1934), should be compared with K. Posener's testimony in USHMMA, RG 11.001 M.20, RGDA Fond 1367 Opis 2 Delo 33, Testimonies of Former Prisoners in Concentration Camps, March to October 1933, pp. 3–4. An account that documents changes in Esterwegen's administration from 1934 to 1935 is Alfred Lemmnitz, *Beginn und Bilanz: Erinnerungen* (Berlin [East]: Dietz Verlag, 1985). Carl von Ossietzky's letters to Maud are found in Bärbel Boldt et al., eds., *Sämtliche Schriften—Carl von Ossietzky*, vol. 7, *Briefe und Lebensdokumente* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1994). An anonymous, detailed account of Esterwegen II with excellent map can be found in "Papenburg-Esterwegen," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 170–181. On contacts between Börgermoor and Esterwegen II, see Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten: 13 Monate Konzentrationslager; Unpolitischer Tatsachsenbericht* (Zürich: Schweizer Spiegel, 1935). On the distance between the two camps, see Max Abraham, *Juda verrecke: Ein Rabbiner im Konzentrationslager*, foreword by K.L. Reiner (Templitz-Schünau: Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1934), reprinted in Irene Dieckmann and Klaus Wettig, eds., *Konzentrationslager Oranienburg: Augenzeugenberichte aus dem Jahre 1933* (Berlin: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2003). A Jehovah's Witness drew a sketch map of Esterwegen after its consolidation that appeared in "Im Konzentrationslager Esterwegen," *GZ*, February 15, 1938, pp. 12–13. A German press reference to Hans Alexander's murder is found in *FZ*, September 9, 1933. Photographic documentation of a field train is located in Walter Talbot, "Die alte SA in der Wachtmannschaft der Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland," Album Presented to Adolf Hitler, December 25, 1935, LC Prints and Photographs Division LOT 11390 (H).

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NOTES

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2. "Papenburg-Esterwegen," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 180–181 (map of Esterwegen II and III with legend); on distance from Börgermoor, see Max Abraham, *Juda verrecke: Ein Rabbiner im Konzentrationslager*, foreword by K.L. Reiner (Templitz-Schünau: Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1934), reprinted in Irene Dieckmann and Klaus Wettig, eds., *Konzentrationslager Oranienburg: Augenzeugenberichte aus dem Jahre 1933* (Berlin: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2003), p. 147.

3. BDCPF of Heinrich Katzmann, Ludwig Seehaus, and Emil Faust, as cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 127, 130, 184, 222.

4. A.E.'s testimony in Kurt Bürger, comp., *Aus Hitlers Konzentrationslagern* (Moscow: Verlagsgenossenschaft ausländischer Arbeiter in der UdSSR, 1934), p. 83.

5. Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten: 13 Monate Konzentrationslager; Unpolitischer Tatsachsenbericht* (Zürich: Schweizer Spiegel, 1935), pp. 199–201.

6. Quotation in Paul Krüger, "Schutzhaft 1933–KZ Esterwegen" (unpub. MSS, DIZ, n.d.), cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 203–204; for an image of a prisoners' field train, Photograph LC-USZ62–93204 in Walter Talbot, "Die alte SA in der Wachtmannschaft der Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland," Album Presented to Adolf Hitler, December 25, 1935, LC Prints and Photographs Division LOT 11390 (H).

7. "Papenburg-Esterwegen," p. 174.

8. NStA-Os, Rep. 430, Schmieder, Aktenvermerk, October 17, 1933, in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 98.

9. Clemens Lessmann statement, Düsseldorf, December 17, 1949, NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 362, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 132.

10. "Papenburg-Esterwegen," p. 171.

11. Lessmann statement, Düsseldorf, December 17, 1949; "'Auf der Flucht erschossen': Im Moor von Esterwegen," *DGA*, March 4, 1934; and Fritz Erichsen statement, Osnabrück, April 4, 1950, NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 362, all cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 136–138.

12. Verfügung des LG Osnabrück (II. Strafkammer), April 23, 1953, NStA-Ol, Best. 140–144 No. 847; Paul Schwarzer, Augustusburg, February 23, 1949, NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 610 Teil I; and Alfred Bartneck, December 6, 1949, NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 612, all cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 150–152; *FZ*, September 9, 1933.

13. Dr. Alfred Stecker statement, Baden-Baden, July 1, 1950, NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 610 Part 2; Deutsche Justizverwaltung, Sowjetische Besatzungszone/Deutschland, to Oberstaatsanwalt, LG Osnabrück, October 1, 1946, BA-P, Z/M 1283; and Rudolf Podschwadek statement, November 3, 1950 (Abschrift), NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 363, all cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 157–158.

14. Quotation from Altona Polizei Praesident to Staatliche Konzentrationslager Papenburg, August 11, 1933, found in "Urteil gegen Theodor Groten vor dem Schwurgericht des LG Oldenburg (2.-12. November 1949) wegen eines Verbrechens gegen die Menschlichkeit und Mord" and reproduced in Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), p. 80; "Die rote Einheitsfront richtet in Altona ein furchtbares Blutbad an," *VB*, Berlin Ausg., July 19, 1932; Katzmann quotation in Herbert Baade, "Eine Mahnung an die Lebenden" (unpub. MSS, Hamburg, n.d.), available at DIZ and quoted in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 133.

15. "Urteil gegen Theodor Groten," reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 79–84; Ernst Stoltenberg, June 12, 1945, NStA-Ol, Best. 140–145 Acc. 38/97 No. 31; Heinrich Bringmann statement, Hamburg, November 26, 1947, NStA-Ol, Best. 140–145 Acc. 38/97 No. 31; and Urteil des Landgerichts Osnabrück gegen HK [Heinrich Katzmann], 6/5/1951, in NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 363, all cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 160–161, 175.

16. Fritz Erichsen, "Esterwegen 1933," h-IM, September 10, 1966, n.p.; and Otto Schwarz statement, n.d., in NStA-Os,

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17. *EZ*, December 23, 1933, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, p. 66; *OsnT*, December 24, 1933, and NStA-Os, Rep. 675 Mep. No. 356, "Zusammenstellung der Belegstärke und der zur Verfügung gestellten Anzahl politischer Schutzhäftlinge aus den Lagern II u. III Esterwegen in der Zeit vom 1.4.1934 bis 18.8.1934," both cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 285; Remmert BDCPF, cited in Lothar Gruchmann, *Justiz im Dritten Reich: Anpassung und Unterwerfung in der Ära Gürtner*, 3rd ed. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2001), p. 365.

18. "Zusammenstellung der Belegstärke," NStA-Os, Rep. 675 Mep. No. 356, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 287; Ossietzky to Maud von Ossietzky, July 13, 1934, Doc. 447, reproduced in Bärbel Boldt et al., eds., *Sämtliche Schriften—Carl von Ossietzky*, vol. 7, *Briefe und Lebensdokumente* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1994), p. 571; Alfred Lemmnitz, *Beginn und Bilanz: Erinnerungen* (Berlin [East]: Dietz Verlag, 1985), p. 53; sketch map by anonymous prisoner reproduced in "Im Konzentrationslager Esterwegen," *GZ*, February 15, 1938, p. 12.

ESTERWEGEN III [AKA PAPENBURG III]

On August 14, 1933, Esterwegen III in Gemeinde Hümmling, Emsland, became the third subcamp of the State Concentration Camp Papenburg (Staatliches Konzentrationslager Papenburg). After their camp opened three days earlier and even as it was still being outfitted, Esterwegen II prisoners started building this prisoner "barracks camp." Under SS-Sturmführer Ludwig Seehaus (Nazi Party [NSDAP] No. 9154, SS No. 705), Esterwegen III admitted detainees when Esterwegen II reached full capacity. Built to Esterwegen II's west and along the Küstenkanal's (Coastal Canal's) southern bank, the camp's distance from the canal bridge necessitated a longer march than its twin in order to reach Emsland reclamation sites. Violence at Esterwegen III, which resulted in three murders and one suicide, in addition to fights with locals, helped to spur the Prussian Secret State Police (Gestapa) Office's removal of the Papenburg SS in November 1933.[1]

Prisoners wearing disused Prussian police uniforms march at one of the Esterwegen camps, circa 1933.
USHMM WS # 78425, COURTESY OF IPN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

During the police takeover, the Special Duty State Police Group Wecke (Landespolizeigruppe Wecke z.b.V.) arrived at Esterwegen III. Under Walter Wecke's command, it set up mortars near the perimeter. His group thus came closest to fulfilling Gestapa chief Rudolf Diels's original proposal for deploying artillery against the SS. Esterwegen III staff did not resist but burned the administration building and camp records before evacuating on November 6, 1933.[8]

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

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

From December 20, 1933, to April 30, 1934, SA-Obersturmführer August Linnemann ran Esterwegen III. Two days after he assumed command, 380 prisoners were released during the Christmas amnesty. On April 25, 1934, Esterwegen III's population stood at 322.[13]

By March 25, 1934, Carl von Ossietzky entered Esterwegen III, where he was prisoner number 384. Editor of *Weltbühne* and renowned pacifist, Ossietzky had been in "protective custody" since March 1933 and remained at Esterwegen until May 1936. In contrast to IKL regulations, which strictly curtailed prisoners' letter-writing privileges, he was able to compose lengthy letters to his wife, Maud, during the SA phase.[14]

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

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

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

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and Faust; testimonies and investigations deposited at the NStA-Os and the NStA-Ol; "Mord im Moor," DGA, December 12, 1934; Kurt Elling, "Als es um ihren 'Job' ging, versuchten die SS-Mörder, sich mit ihren Opfer zu verbrüdern," available at DIZ-Emslandlager, Papenburg; Paul Krüger, "Schutzhaft 1933—KZ Esterwegen" (unpub. MSS, DIZ, n.d.); Albert Mainz, "*Deutsche Schande auf griesischer Erde*" (self-published, n.d.); and *OsnT*, December 24, 1933. For "barracks camps" terminology, see Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zürich: Interverlag AG, 1949). Alfred Benjamin's unpublished testimony can be found in P III h. No. 280 (Esterwegen-Papenburg), "KZ Papenburg und Lichtenburg; Bericht für das Comitée für jüdische Flüchtlinge," in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series 1, Section 2, Reel 56. Paul Elflein's memoir, *Immer noch Kommunist?* ed. Rolf Becker and Claus Bremer (Hamburg: VSA, 1978), is based upon taped interviews with the editors that began in 1973. Another testimony is Hermann Kempf, *Erinnerungen*, *Teil II: Kampf gegen den Faschismus—Widerstand unter schwersten Bedingungen—Politische Arbeit bis heute* (Bad Marienburg: H. Kempf, 1980). An account that documents changes in Esterwegen's administration from 1934 to 1935 is Alfred Lemmnitz, *Beginn und Bilanz: Erinnerungen* (Berlin [East]: Dietz Verlag, 1985). Carl von Ossietzky's letters to Maud are found in Bärbel Boldt et al., eds., *Sämtliche Schriften—Carl von Ossietzky*, vol. 7, *Briefe und Lebensdokumente* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1994). An anonymous account from Esterwegen II that comments on Esterwegen III and contains an excellent map is "Papenburg-Esterwegen," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 170–181. A Jehovah's Witness drew a sketch map of Esterwegen after its consolidation that appeared in "Im Konzentrationslager Esterwegen," *GZ*, February 15, 1938, pp. 12–13. Photographic documentation of a field train is located in Walter Talbot, "Die alte SA in der Wachtmannschaft der Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland," Album Presented to Adolf Hitler, December 25, 1935, LC Prints and Photographs Division LOT 11390 (H).

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NOTES

1. Quotation in Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zürich: Interverlag AG, 1949), p. 191; "Mord im Moor," *DGA*, December 12, 1934; and BDCPF of Ludwig Seehaus, both cited in Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommandanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005), pp. 131, 179–180; map in "Papenburg-Esterwegen," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 180–181.

2. BDCPFs of Seehaus, Heinrich Katzmann, and Emil Faust, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 127, 130, 184, 222.

3. "Mord im Moor"; and Paul Krüger, "Schutzhaft 1933—KZ Esterwegen" (unpub. MSS, DIZ, n.d.), both cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 184, 203–204 (Krüger quotation on p. 203); for an image of a prisoners' field train, Photograph LC-USZ62-93204 in Walter Talbot, "Die alte SA in der Wachtmannschaft der Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland," Album Presented to Adolf Hitler, December 25, 1935, LC Prints and Photographs Division LOT 11390 (H).

4. Quotation from Karl Mache statement, December 1, 1947, NStA-Ol, Best. 140–145 No. 1218; Theodor Meier statement, Dortmund, August 8, 1950, NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 612; quotation from Albert Mainz, *Deutsche Schande auf griechischer Erde* (Meerbusch-Lank: Albert Mainz, ca. 1989); Karl Schmengler statement, Koblenz, August 11, 1950, NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 354; Albert Mainz statement, Hohenmölsen, NStA-Os, Rep. 947 Lin. I No. 791, all cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 186–187, 189.

5. On Hesse's murder, "Mord im Moor"; and Peter Saar statement, Köln April 26, 1951, NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 542, both cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 193–194; on Bergmann's murder, Wilhelm Hasenberg statement, Hagen, April 25, 1950, NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 354; and Karl Hofmeister, Hagen, August 25, 1950, NStA-Os, Rep. 945 Akz. 6/1983 No. 354, all cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 196, 198–199; "Papenburg-Esterwegen," p. 178.

6. "Mord im Moor"; and Krüger, "Schutzhaft 1933," both cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 203–204 (Krüger quotations on p. 203).

7. P III h. No. 280 (Esterwegen-Papenburg), Alfred Benjamin, "KZ Papenburg und Lichtenburg; Bericht für das Comitée für jüdische Flüchtlinge," *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series 1, Section 2, Reel 56.

8. On artillery, see Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas*, p. 193; on Wecke's force, see Kurt Elling, "Als es um ihren 'Job' ging, versuchten die SS-Mörder, sich mit ihren Opfer zu verbrüdern," available at DIZ-Emslandlager, Papenburg; and Franz Holländer statement, Dannenberg, January 5, 1948, NStA-Ol, Best. 140–145 No. 1219, both cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 211.

9. Seehaus BDCPF, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 212–214.

10. Holländer statement, Dannenberg, January 5, 1948, NStA-Ol, Best. 140–145 No. 1219, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 280.

11. Quotation in Paul Elflein, *Immer noch Kommunist? Erinnerungen von Paul Elflein*, ed. Rolf Becker and Claus Bremer (Hamburg: VSA, 1978), p. 89.

12. Ibid., p. 90.

13. *EZ*, December 23, 1933, reproduced in Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), p. 66; *OsnT*, December 24, 1933; and "Zusammenstellung der Belegstärke und der zur Verfügung gestellten Anzahl politischer Schutzhäftlinge aus den Lagern II u. III Esterwegen in der Zeit vom 1.4.1934 bis 18.8.1934," NStA-Os, Rep. 675 Mep. No. 356, both cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 285.

14. Carl von Ossietzky to Maud von Ossietzky, March 25, 1934, Doc. D 428, reproduced in Bärbel Boldt et al., eds., *Sämtliche Schriften—Carl von Ossietzky*, vol. 7, *Briefe und Lebensdokumente* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1994), p. 550.

15. "Zusammenstellung der Belegstärke," NStA-Os, Rep. 675 Mep. No. 356, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 287; Ossietzky to Maud von Ossietzky, July 13, 1934, Doc. 447,

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

EUTIN

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

Eutin's monthly ration records between April 1933 and March 1934 indicated a prisoner population that ranged from 4 to 37.[7] These figures are misleading, however, because many detainees were released shortly after paying a "fine," posting bail, or paying detention costs or an "allowance." There was a positive correlation between the imposition of fines and expedited release. For example, Otto Jäde, a Stahlhelm member arrested on June 20, 1933, left detention the next day, after paying a 2,000 Reichsmark (RM) fine. Altogether the protective custody account recorded 7,325 RM in fines, but the dividing line between fines and bail or detention costs was ambiguous.[8] The financial irregularities prompted a Nazi Party (NSDAP) court investigation of Böhmcker in the mid-1930s. Despite problematic bookkeeping, the court cleared him on the charge of misappropriating camp finances.[9]

Böhmcker was the driving force behind the Landesteil Lübeck camps. Holding the office of Regierungspräsident for the Landesteil since July 1932, he mobilized SA troops as deputy police in order to intimidate the political opposition during the July 1932 national election. As indicated in the *Anzeiger für das Fürstentum Lübeck* (*AFL*) in July 1933, he held political prisoners in contempt: "From now on all these obstructionists are to be processed ruthlessly, without consideration for position, age, sex, and political attitude. They are to be viewed as saboteurs of the National Socialist reconstruction and therefore have no place in one national community, which is inspired by the unanimous will to bread and freedom. Their destruction serves people and Fatherland."[10]

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

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

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

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

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

Tenhaaf transferred his command from Eutin to Holstendorf on October 3, 1933. As he indicated to Böhmcker on September 20, 1933, the influx of "undesirables" in the previous month necessitated the search for a larger camp. In the meanwhile, he dispatched the prisoners to two road-building assignments at Neukirchen and Nüchel. Communist prisoner Otto Ehler experienced these institutional changes. Already imprisoned on political grounds when the Nazis came to power, he was placed in protective custody at Eutin in June 1933. After toiling at Nüchel, Ehler was finally released with Ahrensbök's closure in May 1934.[17]

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

SOURCES This essay is based upon the groundbreaking scholarship of Lawrence D. Stokes. In a series of publications spanning three decades, Stokes has documented the Landesteil Lübeck camps. His articles relating to this camp include: "Adolf Buhrke (1908–1978)," *Dem-Gesch: Jahrbuch zu Arbeiterbewegung und Demokratie in Schleswig-Holstein* 3 (1988): 441–446; "Böhmcker, Johann Heinrich Adolf," in *Biographisches Lexikon für Schleswig-Holstein und Lübeck*, ed. Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte und des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde (Neumünster, 1991), vol. 9; "Das Eutiner Schutzhaftlager 1933/34: Zur Geschichte eines 'wildes' Konzentrationslagers," *VfZ* 27: 4 (1979): 570–625; "Konzentrationslager im Spiegel der Provinzpresse: Eutin 1933/34," *DaHe* 17 (2001): 60–77; "Das oldenburgische Konzentrationslager in Eutin, Neukirchen und Nüchel, 1933," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus, 1933—1935*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin, 2001), pp. 189–210. These articles have recently been reissued together with several others in Stoke's anthology *"Meine kleine Stadt steht für tausend andere": Studien zur Geschichte von Eutin in Holstein, 1918–1945* (Eutin, 2004). Also helpful for researching Eutin is Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin, 1993). This camp is briefly described in Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg*, *Bayern*, *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Hessen*, *Niedersachsen*, *Nordrhein-Westfalen*, *Rheinland-Pfalz*, *Saarland*, *Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn, 1999). Helpful background on the transfer from Eutin to Holstendorf may be found in Jörg Wollenberg, "Das Konzentrationslager Ahrensbök-Holstendorf im oldenburgischen Landesteil Lübeck," in Benz and Distel, *Terror ohne System*, pp. 223–250. A listing for Eutin can be found in "Dritte Verordnung zur Änderung der Sechsten Verordnung zur Durchführung des Bundesentschädigungsgesetzes (3. ÄndV-6. DV-BEG), vom 24. November 1982," in *Bundesgesetzblatt*, ed. Bundesminister der Justiz, Teil 1 (1982): 1574.

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

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NOTES

1. Eutin Amtgerichtsgefängnis Hauptbücher, 1933–1934, LA-Sch-H, 260 (Landeskasse Eutin) /1704, cited in Lawrence D. Stokes, "Das oldenburgische Konzentrationslager in Eutin, Neukirchen und Nüchel, 1933," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus, 1933–1935*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin, 2001), p. 197.

2. *AFL*, March 14, 1933; Gefangenen-Verzeichnis des Gerichtsgefängnis Eutin 1930–1933, no. 520, LA-Sch-H, 355 (Amtsgericht Eutin)/265, reproduced in Lawrence D. Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus: Ausgewählte Dokumente zur Geschichte von Eutin, 1918–1945* (Neumünster, 1984), p. 521; "Aus dem Arbeitsprogramm der Regierung underes Landesteils," *AFL*, September 3, 1933, cited in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 527 n.3.

3. Böhmcker to Polizeihauptmann I., Bad Schwartau, June 17, 1933, NStA-Ol, 205 (Revierabteilung der Ordnungspolizei Bad Schwartau)/631, file "Schutzhäftlinge—Ausweisung lästiger Ausländer," in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 525; "Schutzhaft verhängt," *AFL*, September 22, 1933, in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 531.

4. Reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 555, these statistics are based primarily upon LA-Sch-H, 355 (Landgericht und Staatsanwaltschaft Lübeck)/265–266, 352/535–537; ASt-Eu, Nr. 1752, "Polizeihaft"; Böhmcker to Polizeihauptmann I., Bad Schwartau, June 17, 1933, NStA-Ol, 205/631, file "Schutzhäftlinge—Ausweisung lästiger Ausländer," reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 567.

5. Vermerk der Lagerführers T[enhaaf] und Erwiderung Böhmckers, September 20, 1933, LA-Sch-H, Reg. Eutin, A Vd 7.

6. Eutin Amtgerichtsgefängnis Hauptbücher 1933/1934, LA-Sch-H, 260/1704, cited in Stokes, "Das Eutiner Schutzhaftlager 1933/34: Zur Geschichte eines 'wildes' Konzentrationslagers," *VfZ* 27:4 (1979): 594, table 1.

7. The protective custody population estimate was derived by dividing the detainees' ration days by the number of days per month. It is based upon "Bericht des Vorstehers der Gefangenen-Anstalt O 4 (Amtsgerichtsgefängnis), Eutin, to Minister der Justiz, Oldenburg, Aug. 14, 1934," NStA-Ol, 133 (Ministerium der Justiz)/592, reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 535. The report separates ration days into "Without Protective Custody" and "With Protective Custody," which necessitates an initial calculation to isolate detainee daily rations from other prisoners.

8. LA-Sch-H, 260/1704, as cited in Stokes, "Eutiner Schutzhaftlager," pp. 594–595, table 1.

9. BDC, Oberparteigericht, Böhmcker file, cited in Stokes, "Eutiner Schutzhaftlager," p. 595.

10. "Bekanntmachung der Regierung Eutin," *AFL*, July 28, 1933, reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 538.

11. BDC, BDCPF for Theodor Tenhaaf, reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 568; ASt-Eu, 2481 (Polizeidienst in der Stadt Eutin), Stoffregen to Böhmcker, October 31, 1932, cited in Stokes, "Eutiner Schutzhaftlager," p. 597.

12. BDC, Central Party card for Siegfried Beilisch, cited in Stokes, "Eutiner Schutzhaftlager," p. 600, table 5.

13. BDCPF Heinz Seetzen, cited in Stokes, "Das oldenburgische Konzentrationslager," pp. 193–194.

14. Eutin Amtgerichtsgefängnis Hauptbücher 1933/1934, LA-Sch-H, 260/1704, cited in Stokes, "Eutiner Schutzhaftlager," p. 594; on Ontjes, BDC, Oberparteigericht, Böhmcker file, cited in ibid., p. 593.

15. "Findet die Bluttat an dem Eutiner SS-Mann Karl Radke doch noch ihre gerechte Sühne?" *AFL*, August 24, 1933, reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 550; BDC, Central Party card for Walter Tiesch, cited in Stokes, "Eutiner Schutzhaftlager," p. 600; Vernehmung der Arbeiters Ernst L., Stockelsdorf, March 5, 1946, LA-Sch-H, 352/536, reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, pp. 550–551.

16. Photograph in Jörg Wollenberg, "So fing es an: Arbeitslose im Arbeitsdienst; Vom Freiwilligen Arbeitsdienst zum Konzentrationslager," in *Ahrensbök: Eine Kleinstadt im Nationalsozialismus; Konzentrationslager—Zwangsarbeit—Todesmarsch*, by Wollenberg with Norbert Fick and Lawrence D. Stokes (Bremen, 2000), p. 107; "Tatkräftige Aufbauarbeit der Eutiner Regierung—22 Tonnen Land werden urbar gemacht," *AFL*, July 2, 1933, reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 526. Stokes notes that this article reproduced verbatim a Landesteil Lübeck press release, found in Presseamt der Oldenburgischen Regierung/Landesteils Lübeck, June 29, 1933, LA-Sch-H, Reg. Eutin/A XXIII 13, cited in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 526. Böhmcker to Polizeihauptmann I., Bad Schwartau, June 17, 1933, NStA-Ol, 205/631, file "Schutzhäftlinge—Ausweisung lästiger Ausländer"; "Aus dem Arbeitsprogramm der Regierung unseres Landesteils," *AFL*, September 3, 1933, cited in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 527n.3.

17. LA-Sch-H, Reg. Eutin, A Vd 7, reproduced in Stokes, *Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 555; Aussagen von Otto Ehlers vor dem Wiedergutmachungsausschuss, Eutin, LA-Sch-H, 320/Eutin, nos. 64, 75, 83 (1945–1946).

18. Trial records for Tiesch (4a KLs 8/48), Tenhaaf (14 Ks 11/49), and Beilisch (2 Ks 7/50), LA-ScH-H 352/535–537, cited in Stokes, "Eutiner Schutzhaftlager," p. 572; quotation in "Unmensch zu Zuchthaus verurteilt," *LFP*, May 17, 1949.

FUHLSBÜTTEL [AKA HAMBURG-FUHLSBÜTTEL]

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

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

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

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

First and foremost, members of Social Democratic and Communist resistance groups as well as well-known opponents of the Nazi regime from all of northern Germany were interned at Fuhlsbüttel.[2] From 1934 on the Stapo increasingly arrested Jehovah's Witnesses, whom they also viewed as political opponents, and sent them to the Fuhlsbüttel camp.[3] Jews followed from 1935 on after the pronouncement of the Nuremberg Laws.[4] By 1933, individuals who were not political opponents of the Nazis were also sent to the concentration camp such as those considered "asocials," "community aliens," "harmful to the Volk," "abnormal," and "dangerous." Among others, this group included homosexuals, beggars, and prostitutes.[5]

At first the Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp was solely for men, but from August 1934 on, women were also detained in a special section of the camp.

Ten prisoners died in Fuhlsbüttel in the months from September 1933 to January 1934 alone. They died from torture by the political police and mistreatment by the guards.

One of the murdered individuals was Social Democratic editor Dr. Fritz Solmitz from Lübeck. In March 1933, the Lübeck Gestapo arrested him for being an active anti-Fascist and a Jew, and he was taken publicly through Lübeck in a hay cart. Along with other Gestapo prisoners, Solmitz was transferred to Fuhlsbüttel in May 1933, where he was severely mistreated by the guards. Solmitz secretly kept a diary during his imprisonment by writing on thin cigarette paper and hid these notes in his pocket watch. They have been preserved as a unique document testifying to the inhumanity of the guards. The notes of Solmitz end shortly before September 19, 1933, the day of his violent death.[6]

Terror was a part of the Fuhlsbüttel prisoners' everyday life. The SS guards let their lust for vengeance and their sadism run wild. Beatings with pizzles, whips, rubber truncheons, chair legs, and steel rods were commonly employed to degrade, humiliate, and torture prisoners or to force confessions from them. At night the guards, some under the influence of alcohol, would roam through the stations and beat up prisoners.

The prisoners, in particular those in solitary confinement, could count on being beaten into unconsciousness by the guards at any time of the day. Prisoners were sometimes put "in irons" for a week with their hands and feet chained together behind their backs.

In the basement of the prison, two "kennels," that is, iron cages, had been installed in the detention cells. A prisoner would be fastened for many days to the iron bars of the cage in the position of a crucifixion, while the guards would beat him repeatedly. Other prisoners would have their arms locked to an iron pole, then be hung at a height of two meters (almost seven feet) or more for many days at a time.

Prisoners were systematically driven to death, and murders were covered up as suicide. The Gauleitung (Nazi Party Province Administration), the State Judicial Administration, and the Stapo all knew of these crimes and helped cover them up.

The systematic terror was supposed to keep prisoners in a constant state of fear and excitement, to humiliate them, to take away their privacy, and to break their will.

Paul Ellerhusen (born in 1897) was appointed camp commandant in September 1933. He was adjutant and confidant to Gauleiter Karl Kaufmann and had been a member of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) and SA since March 1927. As camp commandant he was in charge of the camp administration and the camp employees.

Ellerhusen was considered an alcoholic and a rather idle person, and he treated the prisoners in a rampantly brutal way. At the end of 1934 he was arrested in connection with the "Röhm-Putsch," the murder of SA Chief of Staff Ernst Röhm and others. Gauleiter Kaufmann successfully petitioned Heinrich Himmler for Ellerhusen's release, but he could not resume his position as camp commandant.

Johannes Rode (born in 1889), secretary of the Criminal Police (Kriminalsekretär), who had become a member of the NSDAP in May 1933, succeeded Ellerhusen in July 1934. While Rode, who had worked for the Hamburg police since 1919, prohibited arbitrary cruelty toward prisoners by the guards, he nevertheless claimed the right to bully and beat "protective custody" prisoners as he liked and at his own discretion. He particularly targeted Jews, homosexuals, transvestites, and prostitutes.

By the end of 1933, 80 members of the SS and SA had been employed as guards for the newly set-up Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp. Almost all of them had long been unemployed. Many of them were still young and often poorly educated. Several of them were fanatical supporters of National Socialism and had previously been convicted for participating in violent political battles during the Weimar Republic or other criminal offenses. To them, working in the camp was primarily a continuation of their political struggle.[7]

From August 1934 on, some of the guards at Fuhlsbüttel were women, who worked as employees of the Gestapo in the women's section of the concentration camp. Their behavior toward the prisoners did not differ from that of their male colleagues.

For the "defense against agitation and atrocity propaganda," Heinrich Himmler ordered that the Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp be renamed Police Prison Fuhlsbüttel

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(Polizeigefängnis Fuhlsbüttel) in 1936. This did not affect the actual character of the camp nor the composition of its staff. It existed as such until April 1945.

For the hundreds of former persecuted individuals, the names of the male guards at Fuhlsbüttel became synonyms for despotism, cruelty, and blackmail. Many reported to the state attorney's office and testified as witnesses to the cruelty toward prisoners and the extortion of statements from them.

In August 1948, the first guard from Fuhlsbüttel to be tried by a Hamburg court was found guilty of "crimes against humanity" and received a prison sentence. A series of other trials followed. Until 1952 at least 19 former guards of the Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp as well as Commandant Ellershusen were tried and received prison sentences. All of them were pardoned during the 1950s.

The trial against the deputy of Fuhlsbüttel's first commandant, Willi Dusenschön, was conducted in the early 1960s and was the only trial for murder carried out by a Hamburg court against former staff of Fuhlsbüttel. The end of the trial in October 1962 created a stir when the court acquitted Dusenschön. The numerous crimes Dusenschön had committed fell under the statute of limitations.[8]

SOURCES The following secondary sources contain information on the camp: Herbert Diercks, "Fuhlsbüttel—das KZ im Justizgefängnis," in *Die frühen Konzentrationslager in Deutschland*, ed. Karl Giebler, Thomas Lutz, and Silvester Lechner (Bad Boll: Evangelische Akademie 1996), pp. 101–129; Diercks, "Fuhlsbüttel—das Konzentrationslager in der Verantwortung der Hamburger Justiz," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus 1933–1935*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 261–308; *Gedenkbuch "Kola-Fu": Für die Opfer aus dem Konzentrationslager, Gestapogefängnis und KZ-Aussenlager Fuhlsbüttel*, comp. Herbert Diercks (Hamburg: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, 1987). The author's research, which began in 1982, is in tune with Henning Timpke's work: Timpke, ed., *Dokumente zur Gleichschaltung des Landes Hamburg 1933* (1964; repr., Hamburg: Christians, 1983), pp. 227–266; Timpke, "Das KL Fuhlsbüttel," in *Studien zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager*, ed. Martin Broszat (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1970), pp. 11–28.

Because the Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp was administered by the city of Hamburg from 1933 to 1936, the collections of many city authorities (among others, the State Judicial Administration and Police Authorities) in the StA-HH provide extensive sources on the history of this early concentration camp. After the war, British and German courts held the members of the guard staff accountable. The prosecution and trial records are available at the PRO and the StA-HH.

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trans. Lynn Wolff

NOTES

1. Willy Klawe, "Wittmoor—das erste Konzentrationslager Hamburgs," in *Die frühen Konzentrationslager in Deutschland*, ed. Karl Giebeler, Thomas Lutz, and Silvester Lechner (Bad Boll: Evangelische Akademie, 1996), pp. 251–259.
2. Ursel Hochmuth and Gertrud Meyer, *Streiflichter aus dem Hamburger Widerstand 1933–1945: Berichte und Dokumente* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1969).
3. Detlef Garbe, "'Gott mehr gehorchen als den Menschen': Neuzeitliche Christenverfolgung im nationalsozialistischen Hamburg," in *Verachtet—verfolgt—vernichtet: Zu den "vergessenen" Opfern des NS-Regimes*, ed. Projektgruppe für die vergessenen Opfer des NS-Regimes in Hamburg e.V. (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1986), pp. 172–219.
4. Detlef Garbe and Sabine Hofmann, "Jüdische Gefangene in Hamburger Konzentrationslagern," in *Die Juden in Hamburg 1590 bis 1990. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Universität Hamburg zur Ausstellung "Vierhundert Jahre Juden in Hamburg,"* ed. Arno Herzig with Saskia Rohde (Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz, 1991), pp. 545–559.
5. *Verachtet—verfolgt—vernichtet*.
6. Christian Jürgens, *Fritz Solmitz: Kommunalpolitiker, Journalist, Widerstandskämpfer und NS-Verfolgter aus Lübeck* (Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild, 1996).
7. Herbert Diercks, "Die Wachleute des Konzentrationslagers Fuhlsbüttel ab 1948 vor Gericht," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung in Norddeutschland: Die frühen Nachkriegsprozesse*, ed. KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1997), pp. 75–92.
8. Ibid.

GLÜCKSTADT

In March 1933, the Altona police presidium, with support from Gauleiter Hinrich Lohse, established Schleswig-Holstein's first concentration camp at the Glückstadt workhouse. Founded in 1870, the workhouse originally served as Schleswig-Holstein's prison, but its mission was expanded during the Weimar period to include an institution for alcoholics. Joachim Hampe became the director in 1923 and was still in charge during the time of the concentration camp.[1] As a former imperial army officer, he imposed a strict regimen on the institution, as evidenced by two photographs, one of Hampe with his staff, most of whom wore gendarmerie uniforms, a second showing the inmates' spotless sleeping accommodations.[2] Commanded by SA-Sturmführer Schöning, the guards consisted of six SA men from Sturm 24/213 (Glückstadt). Nazi mayor Wilhelm Vogt oversaw the guards' appointment. The prisoners addressed guards by police, not SA, titles. One guard, Paul Gravert, died of natural causes while on duty. Some 731 political detainees from all parts of Schleswig-Holstein passed through Glückstadt. No prisoners died at this camp. According to the *Glückstädter Fortuna* newspaper, the first 150 detainees arrived in early April 1933.[3]

Through labor, Nazi ideology, and religious instruction, Glückstadt attempted to reeducate political detainees. The prisoners wove mats, bags, and fishnets or worked on the 50-hectare (124-acre) farm.[4] A small number were assigned to private contracts. Prisoners were compelled to read Nazi

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newspapers and to parrot Nazi positions on Socialist or Communist propaganda. They were also required to participate in Protestant religious services. As part of his reeducation, Communist prisoner Wilhelm Passing painted a portrait of Martin Luther. Undermining the prisoners' reeducation was access to the anti-Nazi publication *Blick in die Zeit*. Prisoner Friedrich Hansen's subscription to this weekly paper, which was still published in Berlin during the Nazi regime's first year, prompted Hampe to query his superiors about appropriate reading material.[5]

Prisoner testimony presented the Glückstadt staff in mixed terms. According to prisoner Waldemar Vogeley, the guards Schulz and Paulsen were "two wonderful people."[6] Richard Hansen of the exile organization Sopade in Copenhagen reported that prisoners were not harmed, according to information furnished by newly released inmate Friedrich Hansen.[7] In fact, a small number did suffer maltreatment. On Gestapo orders, Communists were denied a midday meal for three days in August, in retaliation for the alleged vandalism by leftists of the German Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Tempelhof on May 1, 1933. Among the camp's torture victims were Johannes Klünder and Fritz Wollert. Karl Scheer was sexually abused, but the perpetrator's identity is not known.[8] The camp also had a bunker for close arrest.

Two important events at Glückstadt concerned the food relief of certain prisoners and the November plebiscite. Upon arrival, detainees from Eckernförde received what prisoner Heinrich Reumann called "grub packets."[9] These parcels included the little smoked fish popular in northern Germany, *Kieler Sprotten*. It is unclear who initiated this effort or precisely when it took place. On November 12, 1933, Glückstadt participated in the Nazi plebiscite. Twenty-four prisoners spoiled their ballots, but there was no retaliation.

According to the *Schleswig-Holsteinische Landeszeitung* newspaper, eleven Elmshorn prisoners were released on August 15, with the remaining 13 from that community dispatched to the Kuhlen concentration camp.[10] Among the Elmshorn prisoners was Ernst Behrens, a Socialist town council member and poet.

Although the majority of Glückstadt's prisoners were released in December 1933, most of those remaining in custody were dispatched to the Papenburg, Esterwegen, and Oranienburg early camps.[11] The transfers began in June 1933 but increased greatly during the autumn months. Glückstadt concentration camp was officially dissolved on February 26, 1934, but the institution remained a workhouse throughout the Nazi period. Schöning subsequently headed a forced labor camp for Poles and Eastern workers (Ostarbeiter) at this facility during World War II.

SOURCES This entry is based upon the excellent studies by Reimer Möller: "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt: Das Konzentrationslager Glückstadt," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 101–109; "Widerstand und Verfolgung in einer agrarisch-kleinstädtischen Region: SPD, KPD, 'Bibelforscher' im Kreis Steinburg, 1933–1945," *ZSHG* 114 (1989): 125–228; and "KZ Glückstadt," in *Bei uns . . . 1933–1945*, ed. Klaus-Joachim Lorenzen-Schmidt (Engelbrechtsche Wildnis [Herzhorner Rhin 23]: K.-J. Lorenzen-Schmidt, 1983). According to Möller, the Glückstadt workhouse was torn down at the end of the 1970s. See also Gerhard Paul, with Erich Koch, *Staatlicher Terror und gesellschaftliche Verrohung: Die Gestapo in Schleswig-Holstein* (Hamburg: Ergebnisse Verlag, 1996). Glückstadt is also briefly mentioned in Harald Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933* (Rickling: Landesverein für Innere Mission Schleswig-Holstein, 1988). A commemorative bronze tablet for this camp is reported in Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. I, *Baden-Württemberg*, *Bayern*, *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Hessen*, *Niedersachsen*, *Nordrhein-Westfalen*, *Rheinland-Pfalz*, *Saarland*, *Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). Also helpful is Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

As cited by Möller, primary sources for Glückstadt begin with LA-Sch-H, Abteilung 320 Steinburg No. 189. This file includes Hampe's query about Friedrich Hansen's reading material. The order for the camp's dissolution is found in ASt-Gl, No. 2048 II. Several photographs are also located in the same archive, as reproduced in Gerhard Köhn, Reimer Möller, and Walter Wilkes, eds., *Alt-Glückstadt in Bildern*, vol. 2 (Glückstadt: n.p., 1984). Unfortunately, this volume does not specify individual photo credits. Richard Hansen's report is found in AdsD-FES Best.-, Emigration Sopade, Folder 48. Möller conducted oral history interviews with Glückstadt detainees, including Heinrich Reumann and Waldemar Vogeley. He also accessed prisoner case files, such as Karl Scheer's, available at the VVN-AH. Additional information on Glückstadt and Director Hampe comes from the *GF* (December 20, 1923; April 9, December 23, 1933), as cited by Möller and Paul; *LAnz* (December 8, 1933), as cited by Möller; and the *SHZ* (August 16, December 20, December 27, 1933), as cited by Möller and Jenner. A listing for Glückstadt is found in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:75.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. *GF*, December 20, 1923, cited by Reimer Möller, "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt: Das Konzentrationslager Glückstadt," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 101–109.

2. These images appear in Gerhard Köhn, Reimer Möller, and Walter Wilkes, eds., *Alt-Glückstadt in Bildern*, vol. 2 (Glückstadt: n.p., 1984), pp. 197, 199.

3. *GF*, April 9, 1933, cited by Gerhard Paul with Erich Koch, *Staatlicher Terror und gesellschaftliche Verrohung: Die Gestapo in Schleswig-Holstein* (Hamburg: Ergebnisse Verlag, 1996), p. 61.

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4. Möller, "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt," p. 103, reproduces a photograph of prisoners weaving mats, from the ASt-Gl; the same photograph appears under a different caption in *Alt-Glückstadt in Bildern*, p. 200.

5. Hampe to Steinburg Landrat, October 24, 1933, LA-Sch-H, Abteilung 320 Steinburg No. 189, cited in Reimer Möller, "Widerstand und Verfolgung in einer agrarisch-kleinstädtischen Region: SPD, KPD, 'Bibelforscher' im Kreis Steinburg, 1933–1945," *ZSHG* 114 (1989): 182–183 n.223.

6. Waldemar Vogeley interview, n.d., cited by Möller, "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt," p. 102.

7. Richard Hansen to Otto Wels, June 23, 1936, AdsD-FES, Bestand: Emigration Sopade, Folder 48, cited by Möller, "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt," p. 105. It is not clear whether Richard and Friedrich Hansen were related; Möller, "Widerstand und Verfolgung in einer agrarisch-kleinstädtischen Region," p. 183.

8. Report on Karl Scheer, VVN-AH, cited by Möller, "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt," pp. 105–106.

9. Heinrich Reumann interview, n.d., cited by Möller, "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt," p. 104.

10. "Elf Entlassungen aus dem Konzentrationslager," *SHZ*, August 16, 1933, cited in Harald Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933* (Rickling: Landesverein für Innere Mission Schleswig-Holstein, 1988), p. 47.

11. *GF*, December 23, 1933; and *SHZ*, December 20 and December 27, 1933, both cited by Möller, "Schutzhaft in der Landesarbeitsanstalt," p. 107. Also *LAnz*, December 8, 1933; Steinburg Landrat, Politische Bericherstattung, October 15–December 31, 1933, LA-Sch-H, Abteilung 320 Steinburg No. 189; and Steinburg Landrat, Rundschreiben, n.d., ASt-Gl, No. 2038 II, all cited by Möller, "Widerstand und Verfolgung in einer agrarisch-kleinstädtischen Region," p. 174.

GOLLNOW

Beginning in March 1933, the *Zentralgefängnis* (central prison), formerly a fortress at Gollnow (later Goleniów, Poland), a small town not far from Stettin (Szczecin), served as an internment center for "protective custody" prisoners from the surrounding area. In April 1933, the prison increasingly assumed regional importance when Stettin Police President Eldor Borck ordered that the prison at Gollnow be used extensively for protective custody prisoners, since local police detention centers were overcrowded. As a result, the president of the Correctional Bureau, Dr. Wilhelm Mosler, declared that he was willing to make 110 spots available in the Zentralgefängnis for political prisoners. The total prison capacity amounted to 621 male prisoners. An entire four-story wing of the building, the so-called E-wing or North wing, was now available to the police. The original inmates were subsequently transferred to other prisons.[1] Women taken into protective custody were not held at the Zentralgefängnis but rather at the local prison in Gollnow.

On April 11, 1933, the first 40 prisoners were brought by truck from Stettin to Gollnow, and in the coming days, another 33 arrived from Stargard.[2] Nineteen additional prisoners arrived on April 20, and another 51 prisoners from Stettin were interned in Gollnow on May 5.[3] All told, there were around 200 people whose names are known that passed through Gollnow's central prison as protective custody prisoners. As not all departures and arrivals were recorded, however, it is assumed that many more people had been prisoners in Gollnow for longer or shorter periods. The average age of the prisoners was 35, and most were craftsmen and manual laborers.

On April 13, 1933, the *Pommersche Zeitung* newspaper reported the internment of Stettin's Communists in Gollnow and took this opportunity to emphasize the necessity of a Pomeranian concentration camp due to "the increased activity" of the German Communist Party (KPD).[4] In fact, since the middle of April, a possible location for a Pomeranian concentration camp was intensively being sought. From its initial use, the Gollnow Zentralgefängnis had been considered an interim arrangement.

Nevertheless, the head of the penitentiary endeavored to work out guidelines for the handling of protective custody prisoners in Gollnow, about which the police administration was informed a few days after the prisoners' arrival. According to these guidelines, the police authorities that ordered the arrest of a prisoner could issue visiting passes for immediate relatives. Visitors were allowed twice a month, letters every 10 days. If necessary, the prisoners could also receive dental treatment from the institutional dentist to be paid for by the responsible police administration.[5]

The prisoners were detained in single cells equipped with a mattress and a toilet bucket. They could only communicate with each other upon coming and going to their recreation period. Many of them knew each other from their joint activities in the KPD, Rotfrontkämpferbund, Rote Hilfe Deutschlands (RHD), Revolutionäre Gewerkschaftsopposition, Erwerbslosenstaffeln, Kampfbund gegen Faschismus, and other political groups. Despite the solitary confinement, they found various ways to communicate with and support each other. When the prisoners were forced to listen to a radio broadcast speech by Adolf Hitler on May 1, 1933, they did not stand up at the playing of the national anthem, and they began singing "The Internationale" in the corridors. The prisoners' submitted a written request to the director of the penitentiary asking for a march in the courtyard in honor of May Day, but it was not granted.[6]

A group of prisoners succeeded in producing an illegal newspaper and distributing it among fellow inmates. Two copies existed, and it carried the title "Signal—Organ of the Proletarian Protective Custody Prisoners in Gollnow" (*Fanal—Organ der proletarischen Schutzhaftgefangenen in Gollnow*). During the recreation period, it would be passed around from cell to cell. According to an account from Hans Geffke, one of the publishers, the paper's main concern was to "continue the struggle in the spirit of the party and the antifascist struggle behind prison walls and at the same time to give all comrades instructions on how to behave in solitary confinement."[7] It reported, for instance, that books and papers could

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be officially exchanged through the sentry and also encouraged political discussion with cell neighbors: "It's easy: one writes down a discussion question and gives it to his neighbor at the beginning of free period. During the next free period the other returns his answer and posts a new question. The discussion over the question continues until it is settled." Suggestions for "sample questions" follow, for example, the reasons why massive political protests did not take place when Hitler took power. A tap alphabet for conversation from cell to cell was also developed and explained. In addition, there were tips on dealing with guard personnel and employees.

Judicial officers employed in the penal institution guarded the prisoners. By and large it does not appear that there was much abuse of prisoners at the hands of the guard personnel. Former prisoner Karl Lawonn reported that the officers operated with the motto "Calm in the prison, everything clean, don't bother me and I won't bother you." They were lazy and did not wish to be bothered. SA auxiliary police supported the guards, but they mainly remained in the background.[8] There were only beatings when the Stettin detectives came to Gollnow to interrogate prisoners. Kurt Groth reported that a prison guard came to help as two Stettin detectives beat him, and he also spoke out against the beating of prisoners.[9]

Nevertheless, there was often harassment. It became worse when the prison newspaper, after a short time in circulation among the cells, fell into the hands of guard personnel while being passed on. All cells were searched, and the prisoners were ordered into the hall of the cell building to be interrogated by the prison police officer. The investigation, however, was unsuccessful: the culprits were not found and did not turn themselves in. As a punishment, visits, letters, and packages were banned for all prisoners; smoking and borrowing books were also forbidden, and all private books were taken away from the prisoners. Many prisoners protested these measures by going on a hunger strike.[10] In order to end the reprisals, Geffke came forward as publisher of the paper one week later. He was put in a completely dark cell, and criminal proceedings were initiated against him.[11] On June 1, 1933, the director of the penitentiary lifted the ban on visitors and packages that had been imposed on the protective custody prisoners. Visitor permits would only be allowed in urgent cases with immediate family members, and visits could last no longer than 15 to 20 minutes.[12]

The paper *Fanal* also ended up on the desk of Rudolf Diels, head of the Secret State Police Office (Gestapa), who immediately informed all district presidents (Regierungspräsidenten) about the emergence of the "inflammatory communist newspaper." All heads of prisons and concentration camps should be on their guard against "a revival of communist agitation." Surveillance and control measures were intensified.[13]

In the middle of May 1933, the Gestapa in Berlin announced to the Stettin district presidium the transportation of political protective custody prisoners to the central concentration camp at Sonnenburg. Due to prisons overflowing with protective custody prisoners, the penitentiary directors had increasingly put pressure on Regierungspräsident Konrad Göppert. On May 22, 1933, he inquired at the Gestapa "when the promised transport of prisoners to Sonnenburg internment camp can be expected, as the overcrowding of prisons in the district has led to conditions that must be described as simply intolerable."[14]

A week later Gestapa Chief Diels personally called Regierungspräsident Göppert and requested a list of names of 150 Communist prisoners from Stettin and the surrounding area who could soon be transferred to the Sonnenburg concentration camp. As a result, a transport of "Gollnowers" was prepared. This concentration camp now became the central internment site for political opponents of National Socialism in Pomerania. The penitentiary at Gollnow was, however, still used as a prison and "transit station" for protective custody prisoners beyond June 1933. Most of these prisoners were transferred to the Papenburg and Sonnenburg concentration camps and in some cases to Lichtenburg and Brandenburg.[15]

SOURCES Extensive material on the organization of the internment of prisoners at Gollnow can be found in the files of the Stettin district presidium at the APSz, Szczecin Notary, President's Department (APSz, Rejencja Szczecińska, Wydział Prezydialny). At the BA-B there are personal accounts from former Stettin KPD functionaries, some of whom were inmates in the protective custody section at Gollnow Zentralgefängnis. Original publications about the history of the central prison in 1933/34 are not available.

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trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. APSz, Rejencja Szczecińska, Wydział Prezydialny Nr. 12045, p. 591; ibid., Nr. 12047, p. 17; ibid., Nr. 12041, p. 591.
2. Ibid., Nr. 12047, p. 17; ibid., Nr. 12041, p. 591.
3. BA-B, R 58/2518, pp. 33; APSz, Rejencja Szczecińska, Wydział Prezydialny Nr. 12045, p. 437.
4. *PZ*, April 13, 1933.
5. APSz, Rejencja Szczecińska, Wydział Prezydialny Nr. 12045, p. 379.
6. Erlebnisbericht Richard Friedel, BA-B, Sgy 30/EA 1586, p. 26.
7. Erlebnisbericht Hans Geffke, BA-B, Sgl/30/1615, pp. 1–10.
8. Erlebnisbericht Karl Lawonn, BA-B, Sgy 30/1070, p. 18; APSz, Rejencja Szczecińska, Wydział Prezydialny, Nr. 12045, pp. 543, 619.
9. Erlebnisbericht Kurt Groth, BA-B, Sgy 30/1498, pp. 48–49.
10. Erlebnisbericht Richard Friedel, BA-B, Sgy 30/EA 1586, p. 26; Hans Geffke, BA-B, Sgl/30/1615, pp. 1–3; Karl Lawonn, BA-B, Sgy 30/1070, p. 16.
11. BA-B, R58/2518, p. 67.
12. Ibid., p. 74.
13. APSz, Rejencja Szczecińska, Wydział Prezydialny Nr. 12045, p. 619.
14. Ibid., Nr. 12045, pp. 93, 95.
15. Ibid., Nr. 12045, pp. 101, 159, 963, 985, 999.

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GOTTESZELL

When in March 1933 political opponents were arrested in all of the Reich, "approximately 1,700 Communist and Social Democratic functionaries were taken into protective custody in Württemberg between March 10 and 15."[1] These arrests took place on orders from the Württemberg Ministry of the Interior. The Decree of the Reich President for the Protection of People and State (Reichstag Fire Decree), issued on February 28, 1933, provided the legal basis for the arrests. Due to overpopulated prisons, the Ministry of the Interior ordered in mid-March 1933 that an autonomous concentration camp for men be built on the Heuberg in Stetten am kalten Markt (see Early Camp Heuberg), as well as a separate "protective custody section" for females with the same function at the Gotteszell women's prison. One can assume that it was simply not profitable to construct an autonomous camp for the small number of female protective custody prisoners—there were merely 50 to 100 in comparison with the large number of men.

This corresponds to previous knowledge about how female protective custody prisoners were dealt with in other parts of the Reich: in the first years, no autonomous concentration camps were set up for women with the exception of Moringen. Accordingly, women were placed either in separate protective custody sections in prisons similar to that in Gotteszell, which were used as concentration camps, or they were sent to small sections set up separately for female prisoners within already existing concentration camps for men in 1933–1934. The only autonomous early women's concentration camp with a centralized structure was the Moringen provincial workhouse (*Provinzialwerkhaus*) in the region of Hildesheim. As of June 1933, Moringen had become the central women's camp for Prussia and central Germany and later for the entire Reich.

In a letter from the police presidium of Stuttgart, Württemberg State Office of the Criminal Police (Landeskriminalpolizeiamt), dated March 17, 1933, the decision was announced that women, held in protective custody in local prisons since the wave of arrests, were to be transferred to the local branch Weimarstrasse of the Court Prison I Stuttgart (Gerichtsgefängnis I Stuttgart-Zweigstelle Weimarstrasse).[2] In the days following this order, a decision must have been made for the establishment of a concentration camp in the women's prison in Gotteszell. The above-mentioned statement of affairs from mid-July 1933 states: "From the very beginning female prisoners were interned separately from male prisoners. To this end a section was set up in the women's state penitentiary (*Frauenlandestrafanstalt*) in Gotteszell for protective custody."[3] One can assume that March 31, 1933, the day when the majority of women were brought by truck from Gerichtsgefängnis I to Gotteszell, marked the opening of the concentration camp. In the case of 30 women, their first date of imprisonment in Gotteszell is known to have been March 31, 1933. Initially there were 50 to 60 women at the Gotteszell concentration camp, but their numbers decreased steadily throughout the year.[4]

In November 1933, six women were still in protective custody at Gotteszell.[5] The last women were released from this section of Gotteszell on January 21, 1934. Their release brought an end to existence of the concentration camp section of the Gotteszell women's prison.

The Political Police, part of the Württemberg Ministry of the Interior, was responsible for the protective custody section in the Gotteszell prison. Then, on April 28, 1933, orders came for the formation of an autonomous Württemberg Political Police Office within the Ministry of the Interior, which would be responsible for protective custody prisoners. The Ministry of Justice, however, retained its responsibility for the penitentiary.

With regard to this separation between the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Justice, one can assume that the Ministry of the Interior indeed had the authority to imprison and release women but could not directly intervene in the Ministry of Justice's jurisdiction in specific cases dealing with prisoners in jail. This can be concluded from various documents that the Ministry of the Interior addressed to the protective custody camp Heuberg and the Gotteszell penitentiary, which deal with the treatment of protective custody prisoners.[6]

There was a clear arrangement between the Ministries of Justice and of the Interior with regard to financing the camp. The Ministry of the Interior covered the costs of all expenditures for prisoners who were interned in state penitentiaries or local prisons. Included in these costs was the procuring of necessary clothing, medicine, and treatment by dentists or other medical specialists.[7]

In March 1933, Government Councilor (Regierungsrat) Henning was the director of the Gotteszell state penitentiary and therefore also director of the Gotteszell concentration camp. Earlier, he had been director of the Moringen workhouse. Soon, however, he was transferred from this position. His successor as director of the prison and concentration camp was Siebert, a man who kept a tight rein on operations and who did not differentiate between criminal and political prisoners.

During the time of the concentration camp's existence (March 31, 1933, to January 21, 1934), between 60 and 80 women had been imprisoned in Gotteszell. The duration of imprisonment ranged from less than one month to the entire time the prison was in operation. The youngest woman was 20 years old at the time of her incarceration, while the oldest was 54. The reason for this particular age range was involvement in political activities, which all of them had in common.[8]

Of the 39 female prisoners for whom information is available, it can be proven that 21 were members of the German Communist Party (KPD). The same can be assumed for many others. Membership in the KPD was the primary reason for internment. Whereas around 3,000 men in Württemberg alone were arrested in the first months after the National Socialists assumed power, the arrests of women were limited in many cases to those who had held leading positions within political parties, primarily the KPD. Often, married women

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had organized resistance with husbands who had been well-known KPD functionaries, and they were arrested at the same time.

In a series of cases the arrest and imprisonment of women served as a way to extort information about the activities or the whereabouts of their husbands. Religious or social grounds for internment in the Gotteszell concentration camp—in the sense of "racial general prevention" (*rassischen Generalprävention*) as formulated by historian Ulrich Herbert—are not known at this time.

Some women lost their jobs because of their time in Gotteszell. Other women suffered for years afterward from health problems that were a result of their imprisonment. Several women emigrated due to their persecution. The evidence shows that 10 women continued to fight actively against the National Socialist state. This led to further persecution in prisons and penitentiaries, in the women's concentration camps Moringen, Lichtenburg, and Ravensbrück, and, in the case of Gertrud Schlotterbeck and Emmi Ramin, to their execution.

The protective custody section was set up in a separate part of the Gotteszell women's prison. These premises had previously been used for regular prisoners. In their function as part of the concentration camp they were also divided into spaces for sleeping and "recreation."

Women were not allowed to work and were therefore not integrated into the employment programs of the prison. Accordingly, these women had to find a way to keep themselves busy on their own. Gertrud Leibbrand stated, "Whoever could sought handicraft from their relatives. Most women knitted. One could not stand being idle all day long. We kept ourselves busy in other ways, of course. For example, I initiated a stenography group. Paula Acker (née Löffler) tried to teach some Spanish to those who were interested. If I'm not mistaken, we also had a group for those interested in literature, however I can't swear to that."[9]

The women in Gotteszell chose the song "Thoughts Are Free" ("Die Gedanken sind frei") as their anthem, to which both Leibbrand and Julius Schätzle attest.

Leibbrand wrote in one of her letters, "We not only sang the song 'Thoughts are free, who can guess them' . . . (as Julius Schätzle writes). It was our song and we sang it especially when bad news from outside dampened our spirits. It almost always helped to turn disheartenment into courage."

On May 1, 1933, the women in Gotteszell sang this song while getting together for a special occasion: a breakfast with somewhat wilted flowers and a piece of red fabric was transformed into a celebration.

After the authorities caught wind of this action, the women were interrogated while the guards looked for the red flag that allegedly had been used. All the prisoners remained silent until Lotte Weidenbach leaped onto the table, lifted her skirt to reveal her petticoat, and shouted: "This is our red flag." Puzzled, the guards left the room.

SOURCES This contribution on the Gotteszell concentration camp is based on Marcus Kienle's book *Gotteszell—das frühe Konzentrationslager für Frauen in Württemberg* (Ulm: Verlag Klemm & Oelschläger, 2002) and an article with the same title in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Terror ohne System. Geschichte der Konzentrationslager 1933–1945* (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 65–79.

Former prisoners are quoted directly for the first time after the war in Julius Schätzle, *Stationen zur Hölle: Konzentrationslager in Baden und Württemberg 1933–1945*, ed. Lagergemeinschaft Heuberg-Kuhberg-Welzheim (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1974).

Lina Haag, a former prisoner of Gotteszell, described her experiences there in *Eine Handvoll Staub*, (1985; Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1995).

A few scattered records exist on the concentration camp. A few documents in the records of the RMdI in the BA-B make references to Gotteszell. Further references to most of the prisoners of the Gotteszell concentration camp can be found in the records of post-1945 indemnification of victims of Nazi rule. The original files of the reparations process are located in the StA-S (Bestand: Wü 33) for South Württemberg and in the StA-L (Bestand: EL 350) for North Württemberg.

An important resource are prisoners' reports from different perspectives, located in the archive of the VVN in Stuttgart and in the archive of the DZOK in Ulm.

The most important references with regard to oral history were provided by Gertrud Leibbrand, who passed away in 2003, in her correspondence with the author during the years 1998–2001.

Marcus Kienle
trans. Lynn Wolff

NOTES

1. BA, R 13/25734, Secret Situation Report of the Württemberg Political Police from July 1, 1933, pp. 22–23.
2. AKr-SH, B137/1.
3. Secret Situation Report of the Württemberg Political Police from July 1, 1933, pp. 22–23; BA, Bestand, R 13, shelf mark 25734.
4. Ibid.
5. Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 58.
6. AKr-SH, B 137/Schutzhaft allgemein, p. 39.
7. AKr-RM, A 5 Oberamt Schorndorf 6220 Schutzhaft, p. 50.
8. The basis for these statements are the author's evaluations of the reparations files of those prisoners in the Gotteszell concentration camp known by name.
9. All citations of Gertrud Leibbrand come from letters to the author on August 29, 1998; February 16, 2001; and October 19, 2002.

GRÄFENHAINICHEN

In 1933, the SA formed a "protective custody" camp in Gräfenhainichen, Prussian Saxony.[1] The camp was situated in the abandoned Stolzenberg factory, which was located at a railway crossing. The number of political prisoners and camp personnel is not known. In August 1933, the camp was closed

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and the detainees dispatched to the large early concentration camp at Lichtenburg.

SOURCES This entry is based upon Stefanie Endlich et al., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999), which also records a memorial to political opponents held at this camp. Other than the memorial plaque, Endlich does not cite other sources in connection with Gräfenhainichen.

One available primary source for this camp is its listing in the German Social Democratic exile newspaper article "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, August 27, 1933.

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NOTE

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

GREATER NÜRNBERG CAMPS

In March 1933, the directorate of the Bavarian State Police in Nürnberg-Fürth established at least two and possibly three "protective custody" camps in Nürnberg and Fürth, in Gau Central Franconia. The known camps were the Nürnberg pretrial detention center at Fürther Strasse and the "emergency prison" (*Notgefängnis*) at the Polizeidirektion (Police Head Office) in Fürth. The third suspected camp was the Nürnberg Rathauswache (City Hall Guard Post), located at Rathausplatz, then called Adolf-Hitler-Platz. The Nürnberg SA also established at least five torture sites: the SA headquarters at Breitegasse; the Hotel Deutscher Hof at Frauentorgraben 29; Georgenstrasse police station; Nürnberg Castle; and Arbeitersamariterwache (Workers Benevolent Association), Hallplatz 4, an erstwhile emergency aid center.[1] By April 3, 1933, Greater Nürnberg held 978 protective custody prisoners, including local politicians, Jews from Nürnberg and Fürth, and numerous leftists.[2] In late March 1933, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, then chief of the Munich Political Police, assumed control of the police directorate and, through his newly appointed subordinate SS-Oberführer Johann von Malsen-Ponickau, arranged for the removal of Greater Nürnberg's detainees to Dachau concentration camp. An immediate consequence of Malsen's appointment, noted the *Fürther Anzeiger* newspaper, was the roundup of "50 of the worst Muscovites [Communists]."[3] Three major convoys of police wagons departed for Dachau in April 1933.

The Nürnberg pretrial detention center operated under the supervision of Oberregierungsrat Hop. One protective custody prisoner, Willi Gesell, had already been held there for Communist activities beginning on February 20, 1933, well before the Reichstag Fire Decree and the March 9, 1933, Nazi takeover of Bavaria.[4] Nürnberg's former Socialist mayor Hermann Luppe, prosecutor Dr. Alfred Rosenfelder, physician Dr. Theodor Katz, Communist youth organizer Dr. Rudolf Benario, and Arthur Kahn were also confined at the pretrial detention center, as well as Staudt, a local Socialist politician, and Riepekohl, a local editor. Prisoners could read newspapers and books, take walks, and have access to Protestant and Catholic clergy. The detainees shared cells with common criminals but quietly exchanged information among themselves on walks. The police arrested Luppe on March 18, 1933, and brought him to the police barracks at Bärenschanzstrasse, where he was held in an officer's quarters for two days. On March 28, Luppe entered the pretrial detention center, where he remained until his release on April 25, 1933. At the time of his arrest and while in custody, he experienced comparatively decent treatment. According to historian Hermann Hanschel, the claim that Luppe suffered humiliating treatment at the SA's hands at the time of his arrest appears to be apocryphal.[5] Upon release, the police expelled the Luppes from Nürnberg. They relocated to Berlin, where the former mayor endured further arrests and harassment.

In contrast to the pretrial detention center, the Fürth emergency prison had primitive accommodations and brutal conditions. Two noncommissioned officers, SS-Scharführer Faschingbauer and SS-Scharführer Bräu, were in charge. Further research is needed to establish their career tracks. The detainees included Wilhelm Galsterer, Ernst Goldmann, Anton Hausladen, possibly Hausladen's wife Kunigunde, Karl Pfeiffer, and Richard Schumann. All but possibly Goldmann were Communists. The accommodations, as Pfeiffer recalled, consisted of approximately 25 "field beds" with two prisoners per bed. Galsterer reported that he was tortured while in Fürth. Schumann's ordeal in Nazi custody only started with confinement in this camp. He remained a prisoner in Dachau, Flossenbürg, Neuengamme, and related camps until his liberation in 1945.[6]

Pfeiffer furnished testimony about the Rathauswache camp. Arrested on April 21, he was tortured at the Georgenstrasse police station, then dispatched to the Rathauswache, where he spent four days. On April 25, the Polizeidirektion Nürnberg-Fürth transferred him to the emergency prison with 15 other detainees under SA guard. It is not clear whether the others were also held at the Rathauswache. It is not clear whether Rathauswache was a protective custody camp or a temporary detention site.[7]

Composed of prisoners from both confirmed Nürnberg camps, the first major Dachau transport took place on April 11. The transferred detainees included Benario, Gesell, Goldmann, Katz, Rosenfelder, and Schumann. Because they were Jewish, the SS shot Benario, Kahn, and Katz on the following day. Together with a Jew from Munich, they were the first murder victims recorded at Dachau.[8] The second transport included Galsterer and Lehrburger. The site of Lehrburger's detention in Nürnberg is not known. The last major transport occurred on April 26 and included the last 96 detainees from Fürth. Among the Fürth prisoners were Anton Hausladen, Pfeiffer, and a Jewish student named Rosenbusch. The SS and SA beat the prisoners on the way to the wagons. En

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route to Dachau, Pfeiffer offered Rosenbusch part of an orange, which prompted the Bavarian State Police to strike him. While doing so, they condemned him for showing kindness to a "Jewish pig."[9]

A key figure in Polizeidirektion Nürnberg-Fürth was Kriminalrat Ottomar Otto. A veteran of Bavaria's 1919 counterrevolution against the short-lived "Soviet Republic," he had closely monitored local Communist activity for almost a decade. In the summer of 1933, Otto established a special duty SA-Sturm (SA-Sturm z.b.V.) in order to torture political suspects. Under the successive commands of SA-Sturmbannführer Eugen Korn and SA-Sturmführer "Braun" (a pseudonym assigned by German prosecutors at his postwar trial), SA-Sturm arrested Communists in advance of the September 1933 Nazi Party rally, the first held after the regime's takeover. On August 17–18, Korn's unit murdered Oskar Pfläumer at the Workers Benevolent Association (Arbeitersamariterwache). A Jewish detainee, Schmitz, sustained such severe injuries in the Sturm's hands that he died three days after transfer to Dachau, on August 29, 1933. The Nürnberg Castle was a favorite torture site for Korn's unit. The SA beat victims in its cellar, oblivious to the tourists within earshot. Pfläumer's murder prompted a legal investigation by Bavarian Justice Minister Dr. Hans Frank. Despite strong evidence, Adolf Hitler quashed the legal proceedings against Korn. In spite of Otto's role, the ministry's investigation did not focus upon him. Otto remained with the political police and committed suicide in April 1945. Korn died in 1946. In 1948, Oberlandgericht (Higher State Court) Nürnberg-Fürth tried other members of SA-Sturm, including Braun, but the judgments and sentences are not readily available. On-site research is needed to determine whether any Sturm victims were held at Nürnberg's pretrial detention center.[10]

Further research is also needed to ascertain the degree of Franconian Gauleiter Julius Streicher's culpability in the early arrests. Streicher's dispute with Mayor Luppe certainly contributed to the latter's detention. In 1925, Luppe brought a libel action that resulted in the Nazi publisher's brief imprisonment.[11] A conflict shortly before the Nazi takeover between Streicher and Nürnberg's SA leader SA-Obergruppenführer Wilhelm Stegmann resulted in Stegmann's dismissal on Hitler's orders. On three occasions in the spring of 1933, the police arrested him on the trumped-up charge of attempting to murder the Franconian Gauleiter. According to historian Eric G. Reiche, the Stegmann dispute may have spurred the Nürnberg SA in 1933 and 1934 to exaggerated displays of loyalty through political violence.[12] Although Streicher later asserted, in a letter to Rudolf Hess on October 12, 1933, that he ordered the SA to avoid anti-Jewish violence for fear of international repercussions, the targeting of prominent Jews during the regime's first months contradicted this claim.[13] Although Streicher specifically denied in this letter responsibility for the arrest of 50 local Jews, a Jewish prisoner observed in 1934: "Most Jews [at Dachau] had been arrested in Nürnberg and Central Franconia."[14] The same anonymous source listed other Jewish prisoners from Greater Nürnberg at Dachau: Dr. Hans Max Cohn, Eric Gans, Max Gottlieb, Heinrich Heilbrunn, Siegfried Klein, and Martin Stiebel.[15]

SOURCES This essay builds upon the standard history of the early Nazi camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). Helpful information about the Greater Nürnberg camps and torture sites can be found in Hermann Hanschel, *Oberbürgermeister Hermann Luppe: Nürnberger Kommunalpolitik in der Weimarer Republik* (Nürnberg: Selbstverlag des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg, 1977); Eric G. Reiche, "From Spontaneous to Legal Terror: SA, Police, and the Judiciary in Nürnberg, 1933–34," *European Studies Review* 9:2 (1979): 237–264; Hermann Schirmer, *Das andere Nürnberg: Antifaschistischer Widerstand in der Stadt der Reichsparteitage* (Frankfurt am Main: Bibliothek des Widerstandes, 1974); and Heinrich Strauss, *Fürth in der Weltwirtschaftskrise und nationalsozialistischen Machtergreifung: Studien zur politischen, sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung einer deutschen Industriestadt 1928–1933* (Nürnberg: StA-N, 1980). Background about Polizeidirektion Nürnberg-Fürth, Ottomar Otto, and SA-Sturm can be found in Reiche, Strauss, and Martin Faatz, *Vom Staatsschutz zum Gestapo-Terror: Politische Polizei in Bayern in der Endphase der Weimarer Republik und der Anfangsphase der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur* (Würzburg: Echter, 1995). On the murder of Greater Nürnberg Jews at Dachau, see Hans-Günter Richardi, *Schule der Gewalt: Die Anfänge des Konzentrationslagers Dachau 1933–1934; Ein dokumentarischer Bericht* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1983). The standard biography of Julius Streicher is Randall L. Bytwerk, *Julius Streicher: Nazi Editor of the Notorious Anti-Semitic Newspaper* Der Stürmer (1983; repr., New York: Cooper Square, 2001). On the Stegmann-Streicher affair, see Edward N. Peterson, *The Limits of Hitler's Power* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969).

Primary documentation for Greater Nürnberg camps begins with the BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR KZ- und Haftanstalten Collection No. 8, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland. The testimonies of Willi Gesell, Georg Hausladen (the son of Anton and Kunigunde), and Karl Pfeiffer are available in Schirmer, *Das andere Nürnberg*. Helpful testimony about the Nürnberg Untersuchungsgefängnis can be found in the posthumous autobiography of Hermann Luppe, *Mein Leben*, comp. Mella Heinsen-Luppe (Nürnberg: Selbstverlag des Stadtrats zu Nürnberg, 1977). The papers on which it was based are found in Nachlasse Luppe, available at the BA-K and ASt-N. Anonymous but valuable testimony about Jewish prisoners from Nürnberg at Dachau can be found in "Als Jude in Dachau," *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934).

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NOTES

1. On Breitegasse, Hotel Deutscher Hof, and Nürnberg Castle, see AStaLG-NF, KLs 110/49, 250/48, and 287/47, as cited by Eric G. Reiche, "From Spontaneous to Legal Terror: SA, Police, and the Judiciary in Nürnberg, 1933–34," *European Studies Review* 9:2 (1979): 261nn. 8, 13; 263n.61; on Georgenstrasse, see the testimony of Karl Pfeiffer in Her-

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mann Schirmer, *Das andere Nürnberg: Antifaschistischer Widerstand in der Stadt der Reichsparteitage* (Frankfurt am Main: Bibliothek des Widerstandes, 1974), p. 105; on Arbeitersamariterwache, see Document 923-D, Correspondence related to Bavarian Justice Ministry's Investigation of Eugen Korn, August 1933 to July 1934, in IMT, *Trial of the Major War Criminals* (Nürnberg: Secretariat of the IMT, 1949), 36:23 (hereafter 923-D, *TMWC*, with volume and page).

2. BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR KZ- und Haftanstalten Collection No. 8, as cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 45.

3. *FüA*, March 28, 1933 (quotation), and *NBZ*, March 29 and 30, 1933, as cited in Heinrich Strauss, *Fürth in der Weltwirtschaftskrise und nationalsozialistischen Machtergreifung: Studien zur politischen, sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung einer deutschen Industriestadt 1928–1933* (Nürnberg: StA-N, 1980), p. 426.

4. Gesell testimony, in Schirmer, *Das andere Nürnberg*, p. 103.

5. Hermann Luppe, *Mein Leben*, comp. Mella Heinsen-Luppe (Nürnberg: Selbstverlag des Stadtrats zu Nürnberg, 1977), pp. 290–293; Hermann Hanschel, *Oberbürgermeister Hermann Luppe: Nürnberger Kommunalpolitik in der Weimarer Republik* (Nürnberg: Selbstverlag des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg, 1977), p. 328n.27.

6. Testimonies of Pfeiffer and Georg Hausladen and reports about Galsterer and Richard Schumann, in Schirmer, *Das andere Nürnberg*, pp. 106–108, 112–113, 173–174.

7. Pfeiffer testimony, in ibid., p. 106.

8. *NBZ*, April 15, 1933, cited in Strauss, *Fürth in der Weltwirtschaftskrise*, p. 446; "Als Jude in Dachau," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), p. 82.

9. Pfeiffer testimony, in Schirmer, *Das andere Nürnberg*, p. 107.

10. 923-D, in *TMWC*, 36:11–36 (for Otto, 21); for SA-Sturm cases, KLs 110/49, 250/48, and 287/47, as cited by Reiche, "From Spontaneous to Legal Terror," pp. 261nn. 8, 13, 263n.61; on Schmitz, "Als Jude in Dachau," p. 79.

11. BA-K, Nachlasse Luppe Folder 10, pp. 548–549, as cited by Randall L. Bytwerk, *Julius Streicher: Nazi Editor of the Notorious Anti-Semitic Newspaper* Der Stürmer (1983; repr., New York: Cooper Square, 2001), pp. 20–23.

12. Stegmann BDC Personnel File, cited by Edward N. Peterson, *The Limits of Hitler's Power* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 229; Reiche, "From Spontaneous to Legal Terror," p. 238.

13. Streicher to Hess, October 12, 1933, in BDC Streicher Berlin Police File, as cited by Peterson, *The Limits of Hitler's Power*, p. 231.

14. "Als Jude in Dachau," p. 83.

15. Ibid., p. 82.

GUMPERTSHOF

In October 1933, the Merker-Meseritz district administrator established an early concentration camp for itinerant Germans at Gumpertshof. Anticipating the aggressive campaign later waged against "asocials," Gumpertshof demonstrates that not all early camps were organized for the purpose of political persecution. In a misrepresentation of the concentration camps typical of the Nazi press, the party's official newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, published a photograph of Gumpertshof on October 4, 1933. Titled "The First Concentration Camp for Beggars in Germany," the image shows a staged display of joviality as the guards and the front rank of prisoners smile at each other. In the background, a few inmates avert their eyes or stare at the camera. The prisoners are clad in civilian garb. In the foreground a female prisoner wears a white work smock. The caption reads: "At the instigation of the district administrator of Merker-Meseritz, a concentration camp for beggars and tramps was erected in Gumpertshof near Meseritz, which currently accommodates 50 inmates, for combating the presence of beggars and tramps. Here beggars are employed with agricultural labor, in order to be placed as farm workers after a probationary period."[1]

It is not known when this camp was disbanded.

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

The primary documentation for Gumpertshof consists of the *VB* article of October 4, 1933.

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NOTE

1. "Das erste Konzentrationslager für Bettler in Deutschland," *VB*, Norddeutsche-Ausg., 46: 277 (4.10.1933).

HAINEWALDE

On March 27, 1933, the SA established a "protective custody" camp at Hainewalde Castle in Saxony. Initially SA-Sturm III (Dresden), under SA-Sturmführer Ernst Jirka, guarded the camp, but in May this responsibility fell to SA-Standarte 102 (Zittau) under SA-Standartenführer Paul Unterstab. Altogether there were about 150 guards. The camp's commandant was SA-Sturmbannführer Müller, and the adjutant was SA-Sturmbannführer Mittag. On April 12, 1933, the camp held 259 prisoners, but that number subsequently increased to almost 400. In total, approximately 1,000 prisoners passed through the camp. An itemization for Hainewalde revealed that protective custody cost the Saxon government over 130,000 Reichsmark (RM).[1] When the camp was dissolved on August 10, 1933, the remaining prisoners were transferred to larger early concentration camps at Hohnstein Castle and Sachsenburg.

Hainewalde's prisoners consisted mainly of leftists and Jews. About 150 were crammed into one barrack, where the prisoners slept on multitiered bunks with straw mattresses. The prisoners were required to attend Protestant religious services, as well as nightly Nazi indoctrinations. For the latter

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Nazi propaganda photo of prisoners and guards at the Hainewalde early camp.
PUBLISHED IN KONZENTRATIONSLAGER: EIN APPELL AN DAS GEWISSEN DER WELT, 1934

purpose, younger and older prisoners were housed separately, on the theory that the young prisoners would be more susceptible to Nazification if isolated from their elders. The SA forced the prisoners to perform penal exercises, conducted torture under the pretext of interrogation, and directed all but the most serious cases of injury or illness to a cellar for warehousing without medical treatment. The SA used an administrative office and a special bunker for interrogations. Prisoners were also compelled to work in woodcutting and latrine details. Jews and intellectuals were singled out for humiliation and brutal treatment.

The outlawed German Social Democratic Party (SPD) continued to assist Hainewalde's prisoners. For example, the Prague-based Socialist newspaper *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung* reproduced the photograph of a Hainewalde detainee. A sympathetic SA guard had smuggled the image out of camp, which revealed a prisoner in terrible condition. Zittau's underground Communist organization also smuggled propaganda into the camp that let the prisoners know their suffering had not been forgotten: "We know that you have remained loyal to the cause of the working classes with unfaltering courage, in spite of all the terror and despite the harassment to which you have been exposed. . . . We know very well—and also the working classes know—what you have suffered. If we send you this greeting despite all difficulties of illegality inside the concentration camp, take it as an avowal of our undivided solidarity with you."[2]

The camp administration imposed strict conditions for release from custody. On pain of arrest, released prisoners signed a declaration swearing not to discuss conditions in Hainewalde. According to another declaration, dated August 5, 1933, the released detainee promised not to associate again with "Marxist parties." Well-known screenwriter, playwright, and novelist Axel Eggebrecht recalled a rumor that the prisoners would be released on May Day, but it turned out not to have any foundation.[3]

Eggebrecht was held at Hainewalde from April to May 1933. A resident of Berlin, he was visiting his father in Leipzig at the time of his arrest, March 5, 1933, which coincided with Germany's election day. After a month in jail, he was delivered to Hainewalde. As the prisoners entered the gate, a teacher among them joked that the castle once held the "favorites" of the Saxon king, August the Strong. A guard then put them through a mindless initiation rite. With the command "Right leg, high!" Eggebrecht raised his leg like a "stork." When the SA next issued the impossible order to raise the left leg as well, he refused to do so, in the gruff language of the barracks. In the exchange that followed, the guard ascertained that Eggebrecht was a World War I veteran. Eggebrecht soon realized, however, that his military service meant little to the guards. Stereotyped as an intellectual, he was ordered to work in a humiliating labor command. "Aha—the scriptwriter from Berlin!" Sturmführer Jirka exclaimed, "I have something extra fine for you—the shit detail!"[4]

Eggebrecht's bunk mate, a Jewish prisoner named Benno Berg, experienced a rare moment of humor after a reeducation session. A Nazi Kreisleiter lectured the detainees on the Jewish threat, quoting the stock phrase, "The Jews are our misfortune." After the speech, he inspected the prisoners and stopped in front of Berg. In response to the Kreisleiter's questions, Berg gave his name and birthplace: "Berg, from Reichenberg, Bohemia." Not realizing that the prisoner was Jewish, the Nazi announced: "A Sudeten national comrade! Bravo! All of you will come to us again!" Eggebrecht added: "The big shot's fat hand struck the 'non-Aryan' appreciatively on the shoulder. 'For myself, you are the model of the true SA man! Heil Hitler!' Hand raised, he strutted away."[5]

Eggebrecht was interrogated but not tortured. In this regard his experience contrasted with other Hainewalde prisoners. Eggebrecht recalled the interrogator's interest in how he had gotten mixed up with the Communists, after growing up in a "good home." His release came through his father's intercession with an influential Saxon official, Professor Apel. Eggebrecht's father wrote him about Apel's interest in his case. Sometime later, his father visited him at the camp. Exclaiming that the conditions were "unworthy" of his son, the father added that he should be patient, because "it won't last much longer!" Several days later, Eggebrecht was released after signing a promise not to circulate "atrocity stories."[6]

In 1948, the Bautzen State Court sentenced 39 guards to penitentiary terms for their role in the maltreatment of Hainewalde prisoners. The trial was conducted under the auspices of the Soviet occupation, but further details are not known.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). See also Mike Schmeitzner, "Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen 1933–1945," in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenhauer Verlag, 2002), pp. 183–199. A listing for Hainewalde can also be found in "Dritte Verordnung zur Änderung der Sechsten Verordnung zur Durchführung des Bundesntschädigungsgesetzes (3. ÄndV-6. DV-BEG), vom 24. November 1982," in *Bundesgesetzblatt*, ed. Bundesminister der Justiz, Teil I (1982): 1575. The camp is recorded in Stefanie Endlich,

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Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). A very good history of this camp, which unfortunately does not cite primary sources, is found at the Web site "Mahnung gegen Rechts-Städte und Gemeinden in der Zeit von 1933–1945—Zittau," www.mahnung-gegen-rechts.de/pages/staedte/Zittau/pages/wahlschlager.htm.

Primary documentation for Hainewalde begins with File Nos. 4842 and 4852 in the SHStA-(D), Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland and by Schmeitzner. Additional primary documentation may be found in the AVB-StFA (formerly the SHStA-B), Amtshauptmannschaft Bautzen, No. 7542, as cited in Drobisch and Wieland. An important personal account is Axel Eggebrecht, *Der halbe Weg: Zwischenbilanz einer Epoche* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag GmbH, 1975). Eggebrecht's camp testimony constituted a small portion of his autobiography. As a screenwriter, he faithfully recaptured the guards' poor German. Hainewalde was also mentioned in the National Socialist and exile press. See "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, August 27, 1933. As cited in Drobisch and Wieland, it was mentioned in the OlsTZ, March 28, April 15, and August 30, 1933; and an unspecified issue of the *AIZ* (Prague). Photographs of the castle, the latrine and woodcutting details, and certain SA leaders, including Standartenführer Paul Unterstab, and the reproduction of the release document for Fritz Seiler may be found at the "Mahnung gegen Rechts" Web site.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. These figures are listed in AVB-StFA, Amtshauptmannschaft Bautzen, no. 7542, as cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 87.
2. Ibid., pp. 159, 178. Drobisch and Wieland do not cite a date for the *AIZ*. For the Communist message, they cite Heinz Vosske, ed., *Im Kampf bewährt: Erinnerungen deutscher Genossen an den antifaschistischen Widerstand von 1933 bis 1945* (Berlin: Dietz, 1977), p. 193.
3. Erklärung, August 5, 1933, stamped Schutzhaftlager Hainewalde, reproduced in Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, p. 138. Drobisch and Wieland do not cite a provenance or archive for this reproduction. Axel Eggebrecht, *Der halbe Weg: Zwischenbilanz einer Epoche* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag GmbH, 1975), pp. 279, 282.
4. Eggebrecht, *Der halbe Weg*, pp. 275–276.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., pp. 281–282.

HAINICHEN

On April 4, 1933, Amtshauptmann Döbeln ordered the formation of a labor camp in a community and sports center located at Öderanstrasse in Hainichen, Saxony. Ortsgruppenleiter Georg "Zuff" Ziegler was the commandant, and Friedrich Zill served as his deputy. The guards were from SA-Sturm 5/139, later supplemented by SA-Sturmbann II/148 from Colditz. Despite the nomenclature, Hainichen was an early concentration camp for leftist detainees. Its population fluctuated from an initial 50 prisoners to 144 by April 12, then to nearly 300 before its dissolution on June 13, 1933.

Hainichen prisoners were divided into three arrest categories. These categories depended upon the degree of suspected involvement with leftist political parties: nonmembers, who were supposed to be immediately released; party members, who faced detention for an indefinite period; and party officials, who were considered to be the most serious cases. Although the SA occupied a community center, the prisoners were made to sleep on a garbage heap. After Hainichen's closure, the detainees were dispatched to early concentration camps at Colditz and Sachsenburg.

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

Primary documentation for this camp, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland, consists of File No. 551 in ASt-Lsn. The camp is also listed in the German Social Democratic exile newspaper, *NV*, August 27, 1933.

Joseph Robert White

HALLE (MERSEBURGER UND PARACELCIUSSTRASSE)

In the barracks at Merseburger- und Paracelciusstrasse in Halle, the Prussian police and the Stahlhelm established an early concentration camp in April 1933. Following the camp's dissolution in June 1933, the prisoners were dispatched by rail to another early concentration camp at Lichtenburg. Townspeople in Halle gave the prisoners food on their march to the train station.

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

Primary sources are not available for this camp. Drobisch and Wieland do not cite a specific source for the gifts of food to Halle prisoners.

Joseph Robert White

HAMBURG (*STADTHAUS UND UNTERSUCHUNGSGEFÄNGNIS*)

In March 1933, the Hamburg "townhouse" (*Stadthaus*) police headquarters at Stadthausbrücke 8–10 and the neighboring remand center at Holstenglacis 3 became "protective custody"

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camps. Under 14-year police veteran Kriminalinspektor Peter Kraus, the institutions operated as camps at least through November 1933. Although the total number of detainees is not known, the Stadthaus and Holstenglacis held many Communists, Social Democrats, young leftists, trade unionists, and Jews. Among the Social Democratic detainees were Gustav Dahrendorf and Karl Meitmann. In May and June 1933, according to prisoner Heinrich Braune, there were about 150 prisoners.[1]

Instrumental in arresting, interrogating, and guarding the prisoners were the Special Duty Detachments (K.z.b.V.). Established on March 24, 1933, the unit consisted of 310 SS, SA, and Stahlhelm police deputies.[2] The unit was disbanded on January 4, 1934. Its commander, Polizeioberleutnant Franz Kosa, garnered fulsome praise from Hamburg Gauleiter Karl Kaufmann. In a letter dated July 21, 1933, Kaufmann wrote: "You have dedicated the greatest prudence and sacrifice to the difficult task according to K.z.b.V.'s mission assignment, so that it is actually thanks to your energy and determination, if the Kommando's previous work has contributed to a decisive defeat of Marxism in Hamburg."[3]

At the Stadthaus, K.z.b.V. tortured certain detainees. One prisoner under interrogation, Gustav Schönherr, died after falling or being pushed out of a five-story window. K.z.b.V. had several interrogation sites within the Stadthaus complex. According to an anonymous prisoner's account that circulated in some Hamburg churches, the Stadthaus had separate rooms for the interrogation of Socialist and Communist prisoners, each outfitted with pictures of the respective parties' heroes. Lenin's portrait decorated the Communists' room.[4] Another detainee, Albert Peldszus, learned that torture took place "in the second-story room."[5] His account supported the anonymous prisoner who identified the place as "Room 203." Based on the report of his late comrade Communist Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Matthias Thesen, Fuhlsbüttel detainee Willi Bredel claimed in his novel *Die Prüfung* that the torture site was "the feared Room 103."[6] Other prisoners recalled that torture took place at K.z.b.V.'s headquarters, located in a building adjacent to the Stadthaus called Grosse Bleichen.

In *Die Prüfung*, Bredel reveals the pattern of torture. The interrogation subject anxiously awaited summons in overcrowded basement cells. The professional police would politely question him about his political activities. After denying the allegations, he would be returned to the cells, only to be summoned by K.z.b.V. K.z.b.V would conduct him to the special room, make him stand facing the wall, beat him unconscious, and revive him with cold water, all the while berating him as a Communist, leftist sympathizer, or Jew. After this ordeal, he would be transferred to Holstenglacis, pending a decision on his fate. In broad outline, Bredel's novelistic account of the Stadthaus accords with Stadthaus testimonies.[7]

Not every Stadthaus detainee suffered torture, however. Several witnesses, such as Socialist Karl Schmalbruch and Braune, reported hearing about mistreatment or seeing injured prisoners but did not personally experience violent interrogation. It is not clear whether their nonviolent treatment resulted from cooperation or whether the Communists were singled out for special harassment. Nevertheless, many Social Democratic and trade union witnesses reported nonviolent treatment. Twice held at the Stadthaus in 1933, Braune "was treated completely differently" during interrogation. Confined to a "mass cell" with 30 to 45 detainees, Peldszus was not beaten at the Stadthaus but experienced maltreatment later at Fuhlsbüttel. The police detained Peldszus for having a fight with an SA man in the early 1930s, for which he had already served a year's imprisonment. Another Socialist, Ernst Bähr, was delivered to the Stadthaus from the Holstenglacis prison for interrogation in a "cellar room." Although questioned for two hours, he was not harmed. As he explained, "The arrests were not carried out so entirely brutally in the first years of National Socialism as later—the regime was not yet so solidly established." By contrast, prisoners with affiliations to Communist groups such as the Kommunistische Jugendverband (Communist Youth Association) or Kampfbund gegen den Faschismus (Fighting League against Fascism), like Helmut Heins and Herbert Baade, suffered torture.[8]

The Holstenglacis prison functioned as a way station for the early concentration camp at Fuhlsbüttel. The detainees recuperated from wounds suffered at the Stadthaus, shared experiences, and sang songs to combat boredom.[9] The prison's physician, Schädel, cared for many victims and got into trouble with the Nazis for submitting frank reports about K.z.b.V. activities.[10] Certain detainees remained at Holstenglacis in preparation for show trials, such as Schmalbruch, who was tried in November 1933 as part of the Socialist Workers Youth trial and sentenced to four months' imprisonment.[11] The prison also served the purpose of judicial terror. Approximately 1,850 prisoners were executed by gallows and guillotine between 1933 and 1945. The first three executions took place between August 1933 and January 1934.

Among the execution victims taken into custody during the protective custody camp phase was Fiete Schulze, a member of the German Communist Party (KPD) arrested in the spring of 1933. His confinement documented the transformation from protective custody camp to political prison. While at Holstenglacis, he carried on a censored but nevertheless illuminating correspondence with his wife and other relatives. His letters showed that some prisoners could communicate with relatives, receive parcels, and see visitors. The censors let pass Schulze's occasional Stalinist remarks, such as crediting the First Five-Year Plan for transforming the Soviet Union or commenting to his daughter about the "conditions of dying capitalism." The Hanseatic Higher Regional Court condemned Schulze to a triple death sentence plus 240 years, because of his participation in the October 1923 Hamburg Uprising. His execution took place on May 6, 1935.[12]

Information on whether any Hamburg police or K.z.b.V. members faced postwar criminal proceedings in connection with prisoner maltreatment is unavailable.

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SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). Also helpful is Ursula Büttner and Werner Jochmann, *Hamburg auf dem Weg ins Dritte Reich: Entwicklungsjahre, 1931–1933* (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1983). For the Untersuchungsgefängnis's role as execution site, see Andreas Seeger, with Fritz Treichel, "Hinrichtungen in Hamburg und Altona 1933 bis 1944," *Kein abgeschlossenes Kapitel: Hamburg in "Dritten Reich,"* ed. Angelika Ebbinghaus and Karsten Linne (Hamburg: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1997), pp. 319–348. Memorials to victims held at these detention sites between 1933 and 1945 are listed in Ulrike Puvogel, Martin Stankowski with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). For the memorial's documentary background, see Gewerkschaft Öffentliche Dienste, Transport und Verkehr, Bezirksverwaltung Hamburg, ed., *Dokumentation Stadthaus in Hamburg: Gestapo-Hauptquartier von 1933 bis 1943* (Hamburg: ÖTV, 1981). A helpful account about Willi Bredel's novel *Die Prüfung: Roman aus einem Konzentrationslager* (1935; repr., Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1946) is Lilli Bock, *Willi Bredel: Leben und Werk* (Berlin [East]: Volk und Wissen Volkseigner Verlag, 1973).

Primary sources for this camp begin with two documents from StA-HH, as reproduced in Büttner and Jochmann. These papers consist of the regulations governing Nazi police deputies from March 16, 1933, and Kaufmann's letter to Kosa dated July 21, 1933. Prisoner testimonies by Herbert Baade, Ernst Bähr, Heinrich Braune, and Helmut Heins, and testimonial summaries for Albert Peldszus and Karl Schmalbach, can be found in ÖTV, Bezirksverwaltung Hamburg, ed., *Dokumentation Stadthaus in Hamburg.* This collection also reprints the leaflet containing anonymous prisoner testimony, culled from A-Osta-H 461a. Also included are reproductions of the investigative reports that ÖTV conducted in support of the memorial site, as well as photographs of witnesses and Stadthaus blueprints. A useful contemporaneous fictional account of the Stadthaus, the Untersuchungsgefängnis, and Fuhlsbüttel is Willi Bredel's *Die Prüfung.* It was the first novel about Nazi concentration camps. While generally accurate, Bredel erroneously places Fuhlsbüttel officers SA-Brigadeführer Paul Ellernhausen and SS-Sturmführer Willi Dusenschön in charge of K.z.b.V. In Bredel's account, their names and Ellerhausen's rank slightly differ. While Bredel used mostly composite characters for the prisoners in his novel, he reproduced the actual names of the perpetrators, so the inaccuracy in this case reflects problems with secondhand testimony. An excellent collection of prisoner letters from the Holstenglacis prison is Fiete Schulze, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen aus dem Gestapo-Gefängnis in Hamburg*, introduction by Erich Weinert (Berlin [East]: Dietz Verlag, 1959). Weinert unfortunately did not elaborate on the provenance of these letters, other than to report that they were found in Gestapo files.

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NOTES

1. Heinrich Braune testimony reproduced in *Dokumentation Stadthaus in Hamburg: Gestapo-Hauptquartier von 1933 bis 1943*, ed. ÖTV, Bezirksverwaltung Hamburg (Hamburg: ÖTV, 1981), p. 24.
2. Die Polizeibehörde Hamburg, March 16, 1933, Betr.: "Einberufung und Verwendung von Hilfspolizei," Anlage III, in StA-HH, Polizeibehörde Ablieferung 45 Liste 1, No. 310, reproduced in Ursula Büttner and Werner Jochmann, *Hamburg auf dem Weg ins Dritte Reich: Entwicklungsjahre, 1931–1933* (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1983), pp. 139–142.
3. Gauleiter Karl Kaufmann to Polizeioberleutnant Kosa, Betr.: "Kommando zbV," July 21, 1933, in StA-HH, Senatskanzlei Präsidialabteilung 1933 A 94, reproduced in Büttner and Jochmann, *Hamburg auf dem Weg ins Dritte Reich*, p. 143.
4. Streckenbach, Staatspolizei, to Generalstaatsanwalt Drescher, February 7, 1934, Betr.: "Anonymes Rundschreiben über die Behandlung der Schutzhäftlinge," in A-Osta-H 461a, reproduced in ÖTV, *Dokumentation Stadthaus in Hamburg*, Document 3; hereafter "Anonymes Rundschreiben."
5. Summary of Albert Peldszus testimony in ÖTV, *Dokumentation Stadthaus in Hamburg*, p. 15.
6. Willi Bredel, *Die Prüfung: Roman aus einem Konzentrationslager* (1935; repr., Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1946), pp. 5, 42; citations refer to the Aufbau edition.
7. Ibid., pp. 49–62.
8. Quotations from testimonies and testimony summaries for Herbert Baade, Ernst Bähr, Braune, Helmut Heins, Peldszus, and Karl Schmalbruch, in ÖTV, *Dokumentation Stadthaus in Hamburg*, pp. 13, 15–17, 22 24.
9. On singing, see Bredel, *Die Prüfung*, p. 67.
10. "Anonymes Rundschreiben."
11. Schmalbruch summary in ÖTV, *Dokumentation Stadthaus in Hamburg*, p. 14.
12. Letters of July 19, 1933 (to Hedde Schulze), August 26, 1934 (to Wilma Schulze), and March 3, 1935 (to Hedde Schulze), in Fiete Schulze, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen aus dem Gestapo-Gefängnis in Hamburg*, introduction by Erich Weinert (Berlin [East]: Dietz Verlag, 1959), pp. 61–62 (quotation), 86 (quotation), 98.

HAMMERSTEIN

Beginning on June 28, 1933, around 250 "protective custody" prisoners were detained in a former military training area at Hammerstein (later Czarne, Poland), located in the Prussian district of Schneidemühl. The camp at Hammerstein was one of the official concentration camps recognized and financed by the Prussian Ministry of Interior. The property itself belonged to the Prussian Finance Ministry, which in April 1933 had the grounds' suitability as a concentration camp for political prisoners evaluated by the Schneidemühl district presidium. At the site, which also included a military training section, a forest rangers' farm, residential buildings, garages, a retraining center, and vacation lodgings, two empty barracks, each with a capacity for 100 men, were determined suitable for

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prisoner accommodation. As a result, the Prussian Finance Ministry made the grounds available to the Interior administration, and the Prussian Ministry of Interior made money available for the expansion. The local government in Schneidemühl, in cooperation with the police, the rural district administrator in Schlochau, the fiscal authorities in Neustettin, and the structural engineering office (*Hochbauamt*) in Schlochau, assumed responsibility for the construction of the camp. Construction contracts were given to local construction workers, some furniture items were extracted from the inventory at the military training camp, and other items were delivered by the Berlin and Königsberg police administration as well as by the Norddeutsche Lloyd supply administration. The expansion of the barracks into a prison camp cost 5,800 Reichsmark (RM). The Schlochau rural district office was responsible for the routine administrative work, while the Schneidemühl police directorate oversaw the economic management of the camp.[1]

Citing its proximity to the Polish border, the president of the State Financial Office in Stettin objected to the construction of the concentration camp: "With consideration for the protection of this area in case of complications, in my opinion this site should be kept free of unreliable persons."[2] The Neustettin headquarters (Kommandantur) also raised serious reservations about filling the camp with Communists, because it felt significantly more exposed to the threat of espionage.[3] The Schneidemühl district president, however, supported the building of a concentration camp but did speak out against the suggestion by the Prussian Ministry of Interior to expand the camp's capacity up to 1,000 men. The renovation of more empty barracks would cause a lot of expenses; in addition, they would be difficult to guard due to the tree and shrub population, and the military training courses would no longer be practicable "in a military acceptable manner."[4]

Little is known about the prisoners in Hammerstein. There are only short accounts from two former prisoners, Paul Schulz and Otto Gerdtke.[5] It can be assumed that most of the prisoners came from the small cities and communities of the Posen-West Prussian borderland and were admitted to Hammerstein on the orders of the rural district police departments (i.e., in most cases the rural district administrator) after they had already spent some time imprisoned in the local police stations or local prisons. Later, prisoners from East Prussia and Pomerania also were interned in the camp. Primarily, the prisoners were Communists and other opponents of National Socialism. The type of work they had to carry out is not known, but as the camp existed for only one and a half months, it is assumed that they primarily took part in construction work. In a report before the camp was opened, the district president drew attention to the fact that although there were enough eating utensils, they were "in a condition requiring cleaning. But in my opinion, the necessary cleaning can be carried out by the prisoners themselves."[6]

The provisional Polizeidirektor of Schneidemühl drew up camp rules for Hammerstein, according to which the prisoners had no right to lodge complaints, and if they tried to escape, they would be shot immediately. Once a month the prisoners could write a letter to relatives, but receiving visitors was forbidden. The prisoners were prevented from having any direct contact with the outside world. There were different levels of designated penalties for disobeying camp rules. In addition to inflicting certain random punishments during the daily routines, like punitive service (*Strafdienst*), or showing up to report, there were also various detention punishments: mild detention (up to three weeks), in which prisoners were kept in solitary confinement but could use books and writing instruments; medium detention (up to three weeks), in which prisoners were held in uncomfortable conditions with only water and bread; and severe detention (up to 14 days), in which prisoners were kept in a dark cell. On the fourth, eighth, and every third day thereafter the prisoner had a so-called good day, on which he or she received a bed, full rations, and access to fresh air.[7]

There was no systematic murder of prisoners at Hammerstein. Some prisoners, however, did die as a result of torture. Several witnessed the death of the Jewish prisoner Siegmund Salinger, who succumbed as a result of physical abuse at the hands of the SS. Prisoners would also be pulled from their barracks at night and shot while "trying to escape." We also know of the June 30, 1933, murder of Russian revolutionary Wladimir Kotkow, who—along with prisoners Paul Prüfert and Paul Schabe—was murdered by the SS on the way from Hammerstein to Sonnenburg.[8]

In the first two weeks, Polizeileutnant Gieraths ran the camp. He was supposed to train and instruct SS-Sturmführer Furbach and the SS guards. Later, SS-Sturmführer Furbach was named camp commandant, and the camp was handed over to the SS. Up to that point, 10 Polizeiwachtmeister had reinforced the SS guard commando. Later, only SS men were active as guards. Usually they were unemployed men from the area. They were hired on as auxiliary police, under the immediate supervision of the district president, and paid accordingly.[9] The original plan to use SA personnel as camp guards was dropped on the expressed wish of Kurt Daluege, director of the police department in the Prussian Ministry of Interior, as only the SS should now undertake the guarding of all concentration camps. According to statements from former prisoners, camp commandant Furbach and SS-Truppführer Adrian and Deutsch stood out because of their cruelty. Heinz Adrian's violent outbursts, also known as "re-education methods," even led to protests from the foreign press and resulted in his demotion to a "simple" SS-Scharführer and transfer to Sonnenburg concentration camp.[10]

Little is known about everyday life in the camp, but it is doubtful that an independent prisoner culture developed because the camp existed for only a short time, and most of the prisoners did not know each other from earlier political connections.

In the course of the Prussian Ministry of Interior's attempt to centralize the concentration camps, Hammerstein was abandoned. The dissolution of the camp probably took place on August 8, 1933, but in any case before August 14,

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1933.[11] The prisoners were either released or transferred to the concentration camps at Sonnenburg or Lichtenburg. After dissolving the concentration camp the site was used as a police training ground and as an SA sports school; beginning in 1939, it became a prisoner-of-war camp.[12]

In 1948, supervisor SS-Truppführer Adrian was sentenced to death by the District Court Schwerin German Democratic Republic [GDR] for abusing prisoners. Primarily, however, this concerned prisoner abuses in the Sonnenburg concentration camp, where he later worked.[13]

SOURCES There are both German and Polish essays about Hammerstein concentration camp: Andrea Rudorff, "'Anhäufung vaterlandsfeindlicher Elemente': Das Konzentrationslager Hammerstein im Regierungsbezirk Schneidemühl," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus 1933–1935*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 179–185; Andrzej Czarnik, "Hitlerowski obóz koncentracyjny w Czarnem w 1933 r.," in *Zbrodnie hitlerowskie na ziemi koszalińskiej 1933–1945*, ed. Andrzej Czechowicz (Koszalin, 1968), pp. 42–48.

There are additional accounts on Hammerstein in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); and Bogusław Drewniak, *Początki ruchu hitlerowskiego na Pomorzu Zachodnim* (Poznań, 1962).

A comprehensive source base on the construction of the camp is located in the files of the Schneidemühl local government, which are kept in the APP. Occasional notes on Hammerstein can also be found at the BA-B (Sammlung von Häftlingberichten) and in the AAN (Akten des Polnischen Konsulats in Stettin).

Andrea Rudorff
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. APP, Regierung Schneidemühl, pp. 3, 7, 23, 41, 61.
2. Ibid., pp. 28–29.
3. Ibid., pp. 30–31.
4. Ibid., pp. 32–33, 37–38.
5. BA-B, KL/Hafta/Sammlung Nr. 17, KL Hammerstein, Berichte von ehemaligen Häftlingen.
6. APP, Regierung Schneidemühl, p. 25.
7. Ibid., p. 64.
8. BA-DH, KL/Hafta/Sammlung Nr. 17, KL Hammerstein, Reports from former prisoners; AAN, Konsulat der Republik Polen in Stetting, Mikrofilm B-4045, pp. 24–26; Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 129.
9. APP, Regierung Schneidmühl, pp. 61ff.
10. BA-B, KL/Hafta/Sammlung Nr. 17, KL Hammerstein, Reports from former prisoners; Erich Wiesner, *Man nannte mich Ernst: Erlebnisse und Episoden aus der Geschichte der Arbeiterjugendbewegung*, 4th ed. (Berlin: Verlag Neues Leben, 1978), p. 187.
11. APP, Regierung Schneidemühl Nr. 500, p. 91; Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, p. 135.
12. APP, Regierung Schneidemühl Nr. 500, p. 93; Czesław Pilichowski, et. al., Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–45: informator encyklopedyczny, Warszawa 1979, pp. 141–142.
13. BA-B, DP 1/SE 3508.

HASSENBERG

The Hassenberg "protective custody" camp existed from April 13 to July 10, 1933. At Hassenberg, opponents of Nazism from the city of Neustadt near Coburg were interned and suppressed. The rural district of Coburg is located on the northern edge of Bavaria. Until 1918 it was an independent duchy in a confederation of three small Thüringen states (Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha). After a plebiscite in 1920, it joined Bavaria. The small city of Neustadt on the edge of the Thüringen Forest, which had approximately 10,000 inhabitants, was rather petit bourgeois and proletarian in contrast to the seat of the duchy Coburg. The majority of the population worked in factories or at home, mostly in the toy and doll industry. They were mostly Protestants in the Thüringen tradition. During the Weimar Republic the workers' parties Social Democratic Party (SPD) and German Communist Party (KPD) played a dominant role in the political and social life in Neustadt.[1]

In the process of consolidating political power, the National Socialists there began to persecute political opponents in March 1933. This included SPD and KPD functionaries and their closely allied associations and clubs, others who were out of favor for political reasons, and individual Jews. At first all political opponents were held in the prison or in specially set up rooms in the town hall or the police caserne in Coburg. They were guarded by SA commandos who supposedly severely mistreated some of the prisoners.

By April 1933, the synchronized Neustadt city council started to make plans for its own protective custody camp, most likely because Coburg's capacity to intern political opponents reached its limits. The right place was found in the former women's prison in Hassenberg, about eight kilometers (five miles) from Neustadt. The building in which the camp was established was situated on a hill in the village of Hassenberg (later part of Sonnefeld, Coburg rural distict) and was visible from afar. For years the prison had been considered a symbol of the state's power. However, this is only partially in accordance with its history. It was established toward the end of the seventeenth century as the castle of a Franconian nobleman. It had three floors. In the middle of the nineteenth century a fourth floor was added, and from 1870 it was used as a prison for women. From the beginning of the twentieth century, it was used as a textile and toy factory; during World War I, part of it was used as an internment camp for civilian prisoners. In 1933, it was owned by a Neustadt small businessman who produced glass wool and similar products in the building. The top floor remained available to be rented by the town of Neustadt.

The rooms on the top floor were used from the middle of April 1933 by the National Socialists to hold their political opponents. A report by the Neustadt police stated: "On 13

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April, the 13 prisoners from Neustadt held in Coburg in protective custody were transferred to Hassenberg near Coburg. The Neustadt council has rented rooms in the former castle to intern protective custody prisoners. An SA commando from Neustadt near Coburg will guard the protective custody prisoners."[2] Six of the prisoners were SPD members, five were members of the KPD, and the political affiliations of the remaining prisoners remain unknown. It is not known whether they were subjected to physical or mental torture, but it can be assumed that the common background of the victims and perpetrators kept the mistreatment in check.

An article in the *Coburger Nationalzeitung* (*CoNZ*) on April 15, 1933, gives an idea of how the National Socialists saw the prison. To some extent they considered the imprisonment of their opponents in Hassenberg like a stay in a sanatorium. "The rooms are in every way suitable for their current use. An SA guard unit from Neustadt takes care of security and order. . . . Perhaps now Messieurs Geuss and his companions can reflect in Hassenberg on how they have sinned against the workers over the last years. Other than for the loss of their freedom, the prisoners are in good shape and even 'Reichsbanner Uncle' (*Reichsbanneronkel*) Bender praises their treatment and their food, which is the same as for the guards."[3] Whether the protective custody in Hassenberg really was so harmless, as claimed in the *CoNZ*, cannot be answered.

All in all, probably between 20 and 25 opponents of the Nazis from Neustadt were interned in Hassenberg. They were held for a few weeks. The aim of the National Socialists was to cut them off from political life while the dictatorial National Socialist rule was consolidated. The Hassenberg protective custody camp was dissolved on July 10, 1933. The last 6 prisoners were released with restrictions on where they could live.[4] A few days earlier, at the beginning of July 1933, those Nazi opponents who were regarded as politically more dangerous had been transferred to the Dachau concentration camp, which had become the main concentration camp for south Germany. Here awaited them a longer, more torturous imprisonment. A few of them were allowed to return home only in December 1933.

Toward the end of the Third Reich, the rooms of the Hassenberg camp were used once again by the Nazis. During the last months of the war in 1944–1945, prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp were held in the attic of the former castle to develop instruments essential to the war effort for the Reich Postal Research Institute (Reichspostforschungsanstalt).[5]

SOURCES Hassenberg was a small camp that was established during the Nazi consolidation of power in the spring of 1933 near the north Bavarian industrial town of Neustadt. Altogether approximately 20 to 25 opponents of the Nazis were held there for a few weeks. Due to its provisional character, few sources on the camp exist.

The following works are worth mentioning: Helmut Scheuerich, *Geschichte der Stadt Neustadt bei Coburg im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert* (Neustadt bei Coburg: Stadt Neustadt, 1989). The author based his work on the material in the ASt-Ne/Co and knowledgeably depicts the struggles between the Nazis and the workers' parties, the KPD and SPD, at the local level. This analysis benefits from individual archival records in the ASt-Ne/Co, particularly the semimonthly reports of the Neustadt police for the first half of April 1933 and the first of July 1933.

In addition, the *CoNZ* of April 15, 1933, reports about the imprisonment of Nazi opponents from a National Socialist perspective. It mentions the names of two protective custody prisoners.

Information on the history of the building in which the camp was located was obtained from Dr. Hans-Ulrich Hofmann.

Horst Thum
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Details from Dr. Hans-Ulrich Hofmann, Protestant minister in Gnodstadt/Unterfranken. For a long time Hofmann was the local Hassenberg minister and has conducted numerous conversations with his parish about the local history.
2. Halbmonatsbericht der Polizei Neustadt bei Coburg (1. Hälfte April 33), ASt-Ne/Co, XVI G 2 Nr. 2, p. 149.
3. *CoNZ*, April 15, 1933.
4. Halbmonatsbericht der Polizei Neustadt bei Coburg für die Zeit vom 1. bis 15. Juli 1933, ASt-Ne/Co, XVI G 2 Nr. 2, p. 169. This report deals with Rudi Hanft, Emil Luthardt, Hans Sonntag (all KPD), Konrad Köhn, Franz Neubauer, and Robert Kehr (party affiliation unclear).
5. Kurt Höfer, "Frühling in Berlin und Hassenberg. Die Tage zwischen Krieg und Frieden" (unpub. autobiographical MSS). MSS in the possession of Hans-Ulrich Hofmann, Gnodstadt; see note 1.

HAVELBERG

On May 16, 1933, the SA formed an early concentration camp in a vocational secondary school at Havelberg in Potsdam. The approximately 95 prisoners performed forced labor, first on roads and then in the establishment of the early concentration camp Perleberg. The detainees were officially transferred to the latter camp on May 31, 1933.

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

As cited in Drobisch and Wieland, primary documentation for Havelberg can be found in the Regierungsbezirk Potsdam Polizeipräsidium, which is available in the BLHA.

Joseph Robert White

HEINERSDORF

In early April 1933, the former sport school at Heinersdorf Castle in Prussia/Liegnitz was converted into an early

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concentration camp. SA personnel guarded leftist political prisoners. On April 6, in a letter addressed to Reich President Paul von Hindenburg, the deputy chair of the Liegnitz committee of the General Federation of German Trade Unions (ADGB), David Grausurt complained about brutal treatment at Heinersdorf. Grausurt stated:

> It has been reported to us that on the night of the 5th and 6th of April of this year, officials of the SPD and the trade unions, who are in protective custody, were taken from the local police and court prison to the camp of the SA at Heinersdorf and maltreated.
>
> Among these cases of ill-treatment, Mr. Israel and the brothers Kurt and Georg Moser are supposed to have suffered particularly severely.
>
> Most honored Mr. President, we politely request that care be taken that such cases not happen again in the future, and that the sternest investigation is ordered in the cases of last night.
>
> Please permit us to assume that you share our view that it is not permissible to maltreat defenseless prisoners in protective custody.[1]

Two Czechoslovakian nationals were confined at Heinersdorf, which prompted their government to lodge an official complaint.

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

Primary documentation for Heinersdorf can be found in the Reichsministerium des Inneren papers at BA-BL (R1501). This collection includes the Grausurt letter, reproduced in Drobisch and Wieland (p. 174).

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. David Grausurt, ADGB, Liegnitz, to Reichspräsident von Hindenburg, April 6, 1933, in BA-BL, R1501 (Reichsministerium des Inneren), Nr. 25727, p. 149, cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 174.

HEUBERG [AKA STETTEN AM KALTEN MARKT]

After the Reichstag election on March 5, 1933, Reich Minister of the Interior Dr. Wilhelm Frick appointed Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Dietrich von Jagow as Reich commissar for the Württemberg police force. Dr. Frick determined that the maintenance of safety and order was no longer guaranteed in the state of Württemberg, where Eugen Bolz, member of the German Center Party (Deutsche Zentrumspartei) was acting as prime minister.

Von Jagow began his service on March 10 by forming an auxiliary police force, drawn primarily from members of the SA and SS as well as members of the Stahlhelm. During the night of March 10 and into the next day, the first statewide wave of arrests began in Württemberg. As can be gathered from a secret situation report of the Württemberg Political Police of July 1933, "approximately 1,700 Communist and Social Democratic functionaries were taken into protective custody in the days from March 10–15, 1933."[1] Due to the fact that the prisons were overfilled, in mid-March von Jagow gave Stuttgart Police President Rudolf Klaiber the orders to set up a "closed concentration camp for political prisoners" on the military training area Heuberg near Stetten am kalten Markt.

On March 20 and 21, "protective custody" prisoners from most of the local prisons and larger municipal prisons in Württemberg were taken to Heuberg.[2]

Already by mid-August it was decided that the Heuberg military training area would be reinstated to full military use, and therefore the Heuberg concentration camp was supposed to be closed by the end of the year. This is why those in charge in Stuttgart decided in October 1933 to prepare the fortress of Oberer Kuhberg as a successor concentration camp.

While releasing prisoners before Christmas, the Heuberg camp was permanently vacated over the course of the month of December. During the second half of December, the remaining prisoners from Baden in the Heuberg camp were taken to the Ankenbuck concentration camp (a former state-owned country estate between Bad Dürrheim and Donaueschingen) and Kislau Castle (near Bad Schönborn in the Karlsruhe area). The remaining 264 prisoners from Württemberg were sent to the Oberer Kuhberg near Ulm. The prisoners in Heuberg came from similar backgrounds as those of other early camps from the time of the "seizure of power." Since the camp only operated in 1933, political prisoners, especially members of the German Communist Party (KPD) and its affiliated organizations, made up the vast majority of the prisoners. In addition, there were members of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and a few members of other parties, such as the German People's Party (DVP) and the German Democratic Party (DDP). In 1933 it was for the most part still too early for the internment of Catholic priests. As in other early camps, Jewish prisoners were interned not only because of their beliefs and backgrounds; they were also, always, political prisoners. There are references to imprisoned Jehovah's Witnesses ("Ernste Bibelforscher"), but no further information about them is available.

There are likewise few references to other groups of prisoners, like Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), beggars, and "asocials." Various reports mention criminals, but one can assume that their imprisonment at Heuberg was limited to that of singular cases.

In total, between 3,500 and a maximum of 4,000 men from Württemberg, Baden, and Hohenzollern were held prisoner for a certain period of time in the concentration camp. The

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Heuberg camp was thus the largest concentration camp in the Reich at the beginning of the takeover.

The camp was under the control of the Stuttgart police presidium and, from the end of April 1933, was controlled by the independent section "Württemberg Political Police," and thus it was always part of the Württemberg Ministry of Interior and therefore a state-run institution.

The guards were from the Württemberg municipal police and the SA men recruited as auxiliary police, who in many cases only first received any training—and a meager preparation at that—upon deployment to Heuberg on the grounds of the SA Sportschule, where they were housed. Former Polizeioberst Gustav Reich led the camp after its opening but handed over the power to former Major Max Kaufmann after only a few days. In April Nazi Party (NSDAP) Kreisleiter and SA-Führer Karl Gustav Wilhelm Buck became camp commandant.

During the 12 years of National Socialist rule, Buck served as commandant in several camps (Heuberg, Kuhberg, Welzheim, Schirmeck). After the war, he was sentenced to death. The sentence, however, was not carried out, and Buck was released from prison in 1955.

Although there is no written documentation and only very sparse and contradictory information exists, the daily routine in the camp was probably as follows: Wake-up at 5:00 or 6:00 A.M. (probably summer/winter). Afterward, washing at the water troughs in the yard and breakfast. At 6:30 (in winter probably an hour later), departure for work. The way to work has been variously described, which is probably due to the different places of employment. The path to work could be as long as one and a half hours. Prisoners worked primarily in road construction, in clearings, and in building roll-call areas for the military. Sometimes the prisoners came back at noon and received a bowl of soup before marching back to work. Around 5:00 or 6:00 P.M. they washed at the water troughs and had dinner; there was an irregular and not standardized roll call, then afterward leisure time in the living area. Quiet hours began around 9:00 P.M.. The evening roll call was often incalculable; many times no end was in sight. It could happen that the prisoners were made to stand outside in the freezing cold until well into the night or forced to do knee-bends in the snow. The night's sleep was disturbed from time to time by unexpected attacks from the guards.

The work experience in the Heuberg concentration camp varied among prisoners. Many viewed work as a way to escape the boredom of camp life. Those who were physically fit felt that work in the Heuberg concentration camp was a privilege, since there was not enough work for everyone despite propaganda to the contrary. Many prisoners were simply not up to the physically demanding work of laying down streets and clearing trees. For those who were not used to this physical work, it became torturous.

Work was especially used as a means of oppressing and degrading the prisoners of the "celebrity block" (*Prominentenblock*). They were explicitly not permitted to do "meaningful work"; rather, they had to do punitive labor from time to time. Emptying baskets of pebbles only to recollect the stones, pulling out grass, or splitting wood with dull saws and axes are all examples from the wide range of Sisyphean tasks, which are also known from other early concentration camps. Those in charge used work not only as punishment but also as a way of demonstrating power and humiliating the prisoners.

Cruelty and torture had been part of the everyday life of the Heuberg camp ever since the change in camp leadership from Kaufmann to Buck in mid-April. Roughly two forms of mistreatment can be distinguished at this time: against the body and against the psyche of the prisoners. The body was beaten with wooden clubs and belts and stomped on with police boots. Prisoners were beaten into unconsciousness in the attic or in the "beating cell" (*Schlagzelle*); they were chased up and down the stairs and tortured at the water trough.

The threat of being shot to death led to nervous breakdowns and irreparable psychological damage.

In addition, prisoners were constantly humiliated, which amounted to further psychological attack. The prisoners were made to feel their own powerlessness in order to recognize the power of the rulers. Some prisoners were left with a swastika on their heads after being shorn of their hair; and little swastika-shaped noodles were placed in the soup. A high point of the absolute disregard for any acceptable bounds was illustrated on the occasion when certain prisoners were forced to clean the toilets with toothbrushes.

Violence was exercised unexpectedly and was seldom attributable to a concrete act for which the prisoner could count on a punishment. Many were tortured and humiliated daily and others, virtually not at all. Arbitrariness dominated, and the treatment was often dependent upon the mood of single members of the guard force.

Only one case of murder in the concentration camp has been proven. However, there are clues to a series of other fatalities in the camp. In Heuberg, the death of prisoners was not a clear goal, even if prisoners were threatened daily with death. The murder of Simon Leibowitsch, a Communist of Jewish descent, who succumbed to the results of gruesome torture in Heuberg, demonstrated in September 1933 what would later on be the order of the day in other concentration camps.

SOURCES This text is based on Markus Kienle's book *Das Konzentrationslager Heuberg bei Stetten am kalten Markt* (Ulm: Klemm & Oelschläger, 1998) and the author's article of the same title in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Terror ohne System: Geschichte der Konzentrationslager* (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 65–79.

After the end of National Socialism, a few prisoners of the Heuberg concentration camp put their experiences down in writing. Notable above all are Erich Rossmann, the former SPD leader in Württemberg, *Ein Leben für Sozialismus und Demokratie* (Stuttgart: Wunderlich, 1946); Georg Bayer, *Dabei bis zu den Pyramiden von Miramas* (Tübingen, 1979); and Werner Gross, whose life story was written by Joachim Schlör, *In einer Nazi-Welt lässt sich nicht leben: Werner Gross; Lebensgeschichte eines Antifaschisten* (Tübingen: Tübinger Vereinigung für Volkskunde, 1991).

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Julius Schätzle, himself a prisoner of Heuberg, wrote an account of the early concentration camps in Württemberg and Baden: Julius Schätzle, *Stationen zur Hölle: Konzentrationslager in Baden und Württemberg 1933–1945* (commissioned by the camp community Heuberg-Kuhberg-Welzheim; repr., 1974). This account is based on testimonies by former prisoners immediately after the end of the war.

A complete inventory of files on the Heuberg concentration camp does not exist. All of the records, which were reviewed for the author's research, are scattered in various archives, of which only a small selection is cited here. A complete index can be found in the author's aforementioned book.

The Heuberg concentration camp is mentioned in the documents of the Reich Ministry of Interior (RMdI) in the BA-B. The "secret situation reports of the Württemberg police," which contain important basic information about the Heuberg concentration camp, are also located there. Further references to the majority of prisoners of the Heuberg concentration camp can be found in the reparations files, which originated after 1945 within the framework of the trial for compensation of those persecuted under National Socialism. The original files of the reparations trial for Südwürttemberg are located in the StA-S (holding: Wü 33), and for Nordwürttemberg in the StA-L (holding: EL 350).

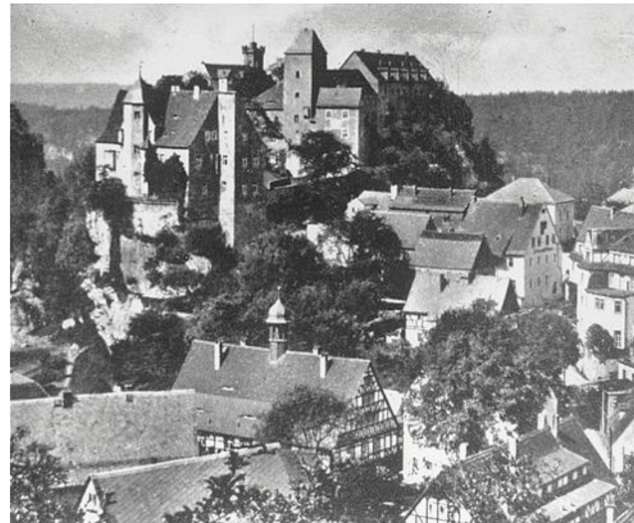
The main part of the available files are the records (Oberamtsakten) that were created in 1933 on the level of rural district head offices (Oberämter), which are located in the StA-L and StA-S as well as partly in the archives of the rural districts (Kreisarchive). Besides edicts and decrees of the Ministry of Interior, for which the rural district head offices were the recipients, prisoner lists are still available for a few rural district head offices. These lists, which were written down at the instruction of the Ministry of Interior, contain details on the composition of the prisoners, their times of arrest, and their origin. These details had to be ascertained, and copies remained in the records of the rural district head offices. Prisoner reports of varying character are kept in the VVN archive in Stuttgart and in the archive of the DZOK. A "special edition on Konzentrationslager Heuberg/Kuhberg (Sonderheft Konzentrationslager Heuberg/Kuhberg)" containing additional important information can be found at the ZdL.

Markus Kienle
trans. Lynn Wolff

NOTES

1. Secret situation report of the Württemberg Political Police from July 1, Juli 1933, 22/23, BA-P, R 13/255734.
2. AKr-RM, A6 Bü Po.

HOHNSTEIN



Hohnstein concentration camp, 1933–34.
USHMM WS # 63216, COURTESY OF DÖW

On March 14, 1933, the SA established a "protective custody" camp at Hohnstein Castle. Located on a mountain peak in Saechsische Schweiz, the castle had served as a youth hostel during the 1920s. The early camp had 439 detainees on April 12, 1933, and 600 in August 1933. In total, Hohnstein had 5,600 prisoners by August 1934. The predominantly Communist prisoner population also included Social Democrats, Jews, Christians, and intellectuals; a few Czechoslovakian, French, and Polish citizens; and one person of African descent. Approximately 400 teenaged and 109 female detainees were also imprisoned at this camp. In May, June, and August 1933, Hohnstein admitted prisoners from dissolved Saxon camps at Struppen, Königsbrück, Königstein, Bautzen (Kupferhammer), and Hainewalde. Additional detainees came from the Sachsenburg concentration camp and the Bautzen prison complex. Several persons arrested during the Night of the Long Knives entered the camp in June and July 1934. A total of 140 people died at Hohnstein. Among the suicide victims were Emmerich Ambross, Kurt Glaser, Gerhard Schubert, and Pastor Rudolf Stempel. In September 1933, the SA murdered Eugen Frisch, editor of the *Volkszeitung für Vogtland*, during a transport to Hohnstein.[1]

SA-Sturmbannführer Rudolf Jähnichen was camp commandant, and his deputy was SA-Sturmbannführer Friedrich. The adjutant was SA-Sturmführer Heinicker. The 90-member guard force included the SA-Sturm 177 from Pirna and the SA-Stürme 5, 14, 22, 23, and 25 from Dresden SA-Standarte 100. The guards devised novel methods to torment detainees, including an apparatus for water torture.[2] Certain staff members were accused of sexually molesting male and female prisoners.[3]

The SA forced detainees to perform penal exercises and sing nationalist or Nazi songs. New arrivals were normally held in House IV and put through two weeks of unceasing abuse.[4] According to an anonymous account, the detainees performed "calesthenics, knee bends, and military exercises: drop, stand up, drop, stand up . . . and in the stomach only a little bit of water and a little piece of bread."[5] Compounding the prisoners' misery was a shoe shortage, which forced many to exercise in stocking feet. According to Otto Urban,

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imprisoned at Hohnstein from November 1933 to June 1934, "sport" did not cease with initiation, because Sundays were reserved for camp exercise. Neither the physically infirm nor wounded veterans were exempt.[6]

Another anonymous prisoner, identified as a Social Democrat, described a typical day during the camp's early months. At dawn the prisoners gave the Hitler salute and offered a prayer for the Fatherland. After breakfast, they sang the "Horst Wessellied" and exercised. After three hours of work, they ate a noon meal of bread and soup. Twice weekly meat was served with this meal. After completing two more hours of penal exercises, the prisoners had an indoctrination class, with more singing of the "Horst Wessellied." The day closed with the singing of the "Deutschlandlied."[7]

After completing the two-week initiation, Hohnstein inmates performed forced labor. The early detachments hauled sand and wood from nearby forests into the camp or constructed barracks inside the castle.[8] In order to build roads connecting the castle and town, the camp imported 250 prisoners from Sachsenburg, including Urban, on November 29, 1933.[9]

A few detainees worked or remained inside the camp. These prisoners wore special armbands color-coded by function: foreigners (red), skilled craftsmen (green), camp elders (yellow), the sick (blue), and camp functionaries (white). For security concerns, "Reds" were not permitted on external work details. It is not clear what work they performed. "White" included musicians, canteen attendants, or "staff swings." Otto Urban defined a *swing* as a "boy, cleaner, chamber servant, or however you will call it." "Whites," "Greens," and "Yellows" had the run of the camp, and only high-ranking SA issued orders to "Whites." Hohnstein prisoners all wore a crew cut, except for "Whites." On January 22, 1934, Urban became a swing for Jähnichen, Friedrich, Heinicker, Küchler, Schupp, and Flott.[10]

At a given time, Hohnstein held between 25 and 44 female detainees, whose ages ranged from 16 to 60. The women were confined to a single room. Many were hostages taken after their husbands escaped the Reich. Most of the women worked in the camp laundry; two exceptions were Frau Schulz and Eva Knabe, who painted portraits for the camp staff. Hohnstein's lack of female guards contributed to the concerns about sexual misconduct by the staff.[11]

Hohnstein had two bunkers and a standing cell for close arrest. Located beneath Houses I and IV, the bunkers had low ceilings without fresh air or illumination. Bunker inmates subsisted on bread and water. According to Urban, SA guards Walther and Sauer dispatched a swing, Miede, to a bunker after discovering his notes about Hohnstein guards. In the standing cell, a prisoner could neither lie nor sit down. A 22-year-old woman endured six days' confinement in this cell.[12]

Hohnstein's most prominent visitor was Saxon Gauleiter Martin Mutschmann. In the company of almost 100 dignitaries, he participated in the ritual humiliation of a prisoner, the Saxon Social Democratic minister Liebmann. Mutschmann brought a transcript of Liebmann's address to the Saxon parliament especially for the occasion. The minister was forced to read it for the Nazis' amusement. After the spectacle ended, the guards beat him.[13]

On June 30, 1934, during the Night of the Long Knives, a small number of right-wing prisoners were sent to Hohnstein. Among them was Saxon Stahlhelm leader Prince Ernst Heinrich of the Wettin family, who was held for five days. After receiving a uniform, he was placed in "honorary custody," presumably because of his title. Upon release, the camp billed the prince 176.50 Reichsmark (RM) for five days' detention.[14]

Hohnstein prisoners resisted in several ways. First, the local underground organization, United Climbing Detachment (VKA), quietly exchanged information with and distributed illegal newspapers among Hohnstein prisoners assigned to road details. The police caught VKA members Kurt Bretschneider, Alfred Richter, and Karl Täubrich, however, and placed them in the camp. Second, in the clerk's office, the former editor of the *Dresdener Volkszeitung* (DrVZ), Sieber, sneaked detainees' mail past camp censors. Finally, in the event of a "mass liquidation," certain prisoners planned a mass escape, with the goal of fleeing to the nearby Czechoslovakian border. Although this plan was never implemented, approximately 30 prisoners successfully escaped from Hohnstein.[15] After each flight, the SA imposed two weeks of penal exercises and a smoking ban on the camp's remaining prisoners. In June 1934, Jähnichen discontinued the smoking bans because the collective punishment hurt the canteen, which enjoyed a monopoly on tobacco and alcohol sales.[16]

Under the new SS Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL), Hohnstein was closed on August 25, 1934. It is not known where the remaining detainees were dispatched, but Sachsenburg was the most likely destination.

In spring of 1935, the state court of Dresden convicted Jähnichen and 24 others for the torture of Hohnstein detainees. Under pressure from Gauleiter Mutschmann to reduce or dismiss the sentences, Reich Justice Minister Franz Gürtner commented: "Such oriental sadism as these atrocities could find no explanation or excuse, even in the most bitter struggle."[17] In an example of Nazi antisemitism's effect on the German judicial system in the months before the enactment of the Nuremberg Racial Laws, Gürtner proposed the lowering of Jähnichen's prison sentence. He reasoned that Jähnichen's torture of the Jewish prisoner Ambross, who subsequently committed suicide, was excusable because the victim in question was a "race defiler."[18] Gürtner's pleas for punishing the Hohnstein guards fell on deaf ears. Hitler dismissed all Hohnstein-related verdicts and proceedings.[19]

Between 1946 and 1949, the Soviet Military Administration and the German Democratic Republic tried 83 Hohnstein guards in four legal proceedings. Most defendants were sentenced to lengthy terms of confinement. The highest-ranking administrators, including Jähnichen, were not among them, although the Soviets executed Heinicker without trial in 1950.[20]

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Gün-

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ther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). A brief entry can be found in Wolfgang Benz, s.v. "Hohnstein (KZ)," in *Enzyklopädie des Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Wolfgang Benz, Hermann Graml, and Hermann Weiss (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1997). See also Klaus Drobisch, "Frühe Konzentrationslager," in *Die frühen Konzentrationslager in Deutschland; Austausch zum Forschungsstand und zur pädagogischen Praxis in Gedenkstätten*, ed. Karl Giebeler, Thomas Lutz, and Silvester Lechner (Bad Böll: Evangelische Akademie, 1996), pp. 41–60. Another helpful source is Mike Schmeitzner, "Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen, 1933–1945," in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag, 2002), pp. 183–199. The camp is recorded in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). Guido Fackler, *"Des Lagers Stimme"—Musik im KZ: Alltag und Häftlingskultur in den Konzentrationslagern 1933 bis 1936* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000), believes that Hohnstein may have had a camp orchestra. About Hohnstein Castle, including the protective custody camp, see "Geschichte der Burg Hohnstein," at Naturfreundehaus, Burg Hohnstein, www.nfh.de/burg/gesch.htm. The most important sources for the Hohnstein trials are Lothar Gruchmann, *Justiz im Dritten Reich, 1933–1940: Anpassung und Unterwerfung in der Ära Gürtner*, 3rd ed. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2001); and Annette Weinke, "Dem 'Klassengegner' hingegeben? Die Dresdner Prozesse gegen das SA-Wachpersonal des 'Schutzhaft'-Lagers Hohnstein," in *Münchner Platz, Dresden: Die Strafjustiz der Diktaturen und der historische Ort*, ed. Norbert Haase and Birgit Sack, with Gerald Hacke (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag, 2001), pp. 153–170. Weinke focuses on the preparations for the Arlet trial.

Primary documentation for Hohnstein begins with the testimony of Otto Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 217–238. As a swing, Urban was unusually well situated to report on the camp administration. His account revealed the guards' debauched behavior, one possible source of postwar misconceptions about Nazi perpetrators. A second, anonymous testimony appeared in "SPORT: Wie er in den Sportkommandos der Konzentrationslager getrieben wird . . . Bericht eines jungen Arbeiters über Hohnstein," in *Lernen Sie das schöne Deutschland kennen: Ein Reiseführer, unentbehrlich für jeden Besucher der Olympiade*, ed. Paul Prokop (Prague: Prokop, 1936). German Communists smuggled this *Tarnschrift* (disguised anti-Nazi publication) into Germany during the 1936 Berlin Olympics. The anonymous Social Democrat's account was published in World Committee for the Victims of German Fascism, *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror*, foreword by Lord Marley (Basel: Universumbücherei, 1933), pp. 289–290. Another helpful testimony is Prinz Ernst Heinrich von Sachsen's *Mein Lebensweg vom Königsschloss zum Bauernhof* (Munich: List, 1968). As cited in Drobisch and Wieland, documentation on the Hohnstein population includes File No. 4842 in the SHStA-(D), Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten. As cited by Schmeitzner, the August 1933 population figure may be found in File No. 8186, also in SHStA-(D), Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten. On Eugen Frisch's death, see "Unsere Totenlist! Die Opfer der gemordeten Mörder," *DF*, July 19, 1934. The Gürtner correspondence can be found in documents 783, 785–788, and 3,791 PS, reproduced in the International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals* (Nürnberg: Secretariat of the IMT, 1949), 26:321–327 and 33:56–63. Useful reports on Hohnstein's female detainees are Käte Kenta's articles, "Konzentrationslager für Frauen," *DNW*, January 23, 1936, pp. 100–104; and "Im Konzentrationslager für Frauen," *DNW*, February 20, 1936, pp. 236–238. The second is an excerpted brochure, which appears to be a fictional synthesis of eyewitness accounts. The exile weekly magazine, *DNW* published numerous anti-Nazi articles of various political views in the period from April 6, 1933, to August 31, 1939. The VVN published two accounts of resistance at Hohnstein, *Widerstandgruppe Vereinigte Kletter-Abteilung* (Berlin [East]: VVN-Verlag, 1948) and *Von der Jugendburg Hohnstein zum Schutzhaftlager Hohnstein* (Berlin [East]: VVN-Verlag, 1949), which are excerpted in *Damit Deutschland lebe: Ein Quellenwerk über den deutschen antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf, 1933–1945*, ed. Walter A. Schmidt (Berlin [East]: Kongress-Verlag, 1958). Schmidt does not explain whether these sources were primary or secondary. The imprimatur and early publication dates strongly suggest that they were probably written by former Communist detainees. The 21 sentences issued in the Arlet trial (Case No. Az 1 gr 111/48) may be found in Der Generalstaatsanwalt der DDR, Ministerium der Justiz der DDR, ed., *Die Haltung der beiden deutschen Staaten zu den Nazi- und Kriegsverbrechen: Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin [East]: Staatsverlag der DDR, 1965). Following East German practice, only the defendants' first names and last initials are provided. As cited in Weinke, the trial of Hohnstein guard Helmut Haupold is Case No. 1 Ks 35/46. The remaining two trials against Hohnstein defendants, cited by Weinke without case numbers, were *Kurt Stachowski alias Staak, et al.* (1949), with 30 defendants, and *Felix Sikora, et al.* (1949), with 31 defendants. The Hohnstein camp is listed in "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, August 27, 1933, which placed the camp population at 600.

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NOTES

1. "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, (August 27, 1933; Otto Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 217, 231, 233; "Unsere Totenliste! Die Opfer der gemordeten Mörder," *DF*, July 19, 1934.

2. Document 785-PS, Franz Gürtner, Unsigned Memorandum for Adolf Hitler on Hohnstein Proceeding (n.d.), in International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals* (Nürnberg: Secretariat of the IMT, 1949), 26:313; hereafter *TMWC*.

3. Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," pp. 221, 234; Käte Kenta, "Im Konzentrationslager für Frauen," *DNW*, February 20, 1936, pp. 236–238.

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4. Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," p. 227.

5. "SPORT: Wie er in den Sportkommandos der Konzentrationslager getrieben wird . . . Bericht eines jungen Arbeiters über Hohnstein," in *Lernen Sie das schöne Deutschland kennen: Ein Reiseführer, unentbehrlich für jeden Besucher der Olympiade*, ed. Paul Prokop (Prague: Prokop, 1936), n.p.

6. Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," pp. 223, 228; Document 785–PS, p. 312.

7. World Committee for the Victims of German Fascism, *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror*, foreword by Lord Marley (Basel: Universumbücherei, 1933), pp. 289–290.

8. Ibid., p. 289.

9. Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," pp. 217, 219.

10. Ibid., pp. 219, 221, 223–224.

11. Ibid., pp. 233–235; Käte Kenta, "Konzentrationslager für Frauen," *DNW*, January 23, 1936, pp. 101–102; Kenta, "Im Konzentrationslager für Frauen," p. 236.

12. Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," pp. 220, 227, 230; Kenta, "Konzentrationslager für Frauen," p. 103.

13. Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," pp. 229, 236.

14. Prinz Ernst Heinrich von Sachsen, *Mein Lebensweg vom Königsschloss zum Bauernhof* (Munich: List, 1968), pp. 221, 223–225.

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

16. Urban, "Burg Hohnstein," pp. 222–223.

17. Document 783-PS, Gürtner to Mutschmann, January 18, 1935, in *TMWC*, 26:301.

18. Document 785-PS, p. 313.

19. Document 3791-PS, Gürtner to Frick, May 14, 1935, in *TMWC*, 33:56–63; Document 787-PS, Gürtner to Hitler, June 18, 1935; Document 786-PS, Kaulbach to Gürtner, November 29, 1935; and Document 788-PS, Meissner to Gürtner, June 25 and September 9, 1935, in *TMWC*, 26: 321–327.

20. For the sentences from the trial of *Paul Arlet, et al.* (Case No. Az 1 gr 111/48), see Der Generalstaatsanwalt der DDR, Ministerium der Justiz der DDR, ed., *Die Haltung der beiden deutschen Staaten zu den Nazi- und Kriegsverbrechen: Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin [East]: Staatsverlag der DDR, 1965), p. 35.

KISLAU

Kislau Castle, which was to become Baden's first concentration camp, is situated about 20 miles north of Karlsruhe. In the eighteenth century it was used as a residence by the bishop of Speyer and, after secularization, as a state prison. On April 23, 1933, the local Nazi daily, *Der Führer*, announced the establishment of a "protective custody" camp for North Baden on the castle grounds, while the manor house continued to be used as a men's workhouse (*Arbeitshaus*), as it was for the previous 50 years. There was a close relationship between the two institutions. This is illustrated by the fact that they not only shared a common interim administration; they also shared a rather lax division of inmates—for example, political prisoners and inmates of the Arbeitshaus labored together at some of Kislau's several workshops. Even the Baden administration had problems differentiating between the two institutions and continued to send political prisoners to Kislau long after the protective custody camp had been closed down. During its existence, the concentration camp remained under the jurisdiction of the Baden Ministry of Interior, even though most other concentration camps at the time came under the control of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL).

Baden's first concentration camp was established as a protective custody camp for political adversaries. However, it also served as a model camp and place of detention, especially for Social Democrats and Communists, whom Gauleiter Robert Wagner regarded as his personal enemies. Wagner used the shooting of two policemen by the Freiburg Social Democrat Christian Nussbaum, who had panicked during a police visit to his home, as the pretext to arrest most members of the regional political Left. On May 16, 1933, seven prominent Social Democrats, among them the country's former ministers Adam Remmele (Interior) and Ludwig Marum (Justice), were brought to Kislau from Karlsruhe, where they were paraded on the back of an open truck. Their journey along the main street of Karlsruhe was met by a howling and hissing mob of spectators. The regional Nazi papers commented that "Das Wandern ist des Müllers Lust" ("Hiking is the Miller's Pleasure"),[1] a quotation from an old German folk song, which alluded to the former profession of Adam Remmele. The few people who protested about this public humiliation, such as Albert Nachmann, a lawyer and former partner of Marum, risked joining their colleagues on the truck. Marum and his comrades made up 7 of the 65 political prisoners who arrived at camp Kislau during May and June 1933. This was roughly the average number of inmates held at the camp at any one time, although in 1937 the total peaked at 173. Due to the camp's limited capacity, several prisoners had to be sent to the Heuberg camp at Württemberg and later even to Dachau. Meanwhile, Kislau also became a transit camp for Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, and others viewed as undesirables by the Nazis, who had served sentences in state prisons and were "being sent into 'protective custody'" at Dachau, Sachsenhausen, or Buchenwald. In December 1934, returning German Foreign Legionnaires were temporarily imprisoned at Kislau as potential French spies and underwent questioning as well as indoctrination for 4 to 12 weeks.[2] As a result, the former Legionnaires worked alongside the other inmates in the camp's workshops, making baskets, brushes, shoes, and clothing or alternatively working in the kitchens and gardens or farming Kislau's 270 acres. Although the products were of interest to local companies in neighboring Mingolsheim and Bruchsal, there is nothing to suggest that any firms or institutions profited from the labor of prisoners. The working day at Kislau lasted from quarter past seven in the morning until bedtime at eight o'clock. Camp inmates had about one and a half hours of spare time. They could write and receive letters once a fortnight and receive visits once a week

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SA and SS personnel take seven SPD prisoners to Kislau concentration camp, in a staged procession along Kaiserstrasse in Karlsruhe, May 16, 1933. Among the prisoners is SPD Reichstag member Ludwig Marum, who was murdered at Kislau on March 29, 1934.
USHMM WS # 04034, COURTESY OF YIVO

from a single family member, a priest, or a local Bruchsal physician. Remmele was even released on parole for several days to attend the funeral of his wife.

Kislau was neither the model camp Nazi propaganda made it out to be nor a camp with a high mortality rate. The only documented death was the murder of Marum on the night of March 29, 1934, on the orders of the Gauleitung. Among the executioners sent by Wagner were the vice-commander of the camp, Karl Sauer, and the leader of the guards, Heinrich Stix. Together they strangled Marum in his cell and then hung him from a window bar to make the murder look like a suicide. Nazi officials claimed that the former minister had suffered from depression, as he could not hope to be released from Kislau.[3] However, Marum's family and friends never accepted this version of events and had the corpse secretly examined by a physician who was able to ascertain the real cause of Marum's death. The perpetrators also helped to undermine the official version of events by talking about their crime in public.[4]

On the night of the murder, camp commander Franz Konstantin Mohr (1882–1950) was away on holiday. Mohr, who was a former member of the colonial troops in southwest Africa and who later retired from the police as a captain, seems to have been on bad terms with the SA and SS guards whom he detested for being brutal and primitive. This attitude was already in evidence at his previous post, Baden's second concentration camp, Ankenbuck. Mohr went to Kislau on June 7, 1933, and stayed there until his move to the Administration of Justice in 1937. For the last two years of this period, he was also director of the workhouse. The reason he gave on his application to the Baden administration for wanting this move was: "I don't want to spend the rest of my youth among the beggars, tramps and Jews imprisoned here."[5] While some of the prisoners described Mohr as comparatively humane, working relationships between officials and the administration seem to have suffered due to his overbearing behavior.

Commander Mohr's relationship with the 18 SA and SS guards of the concentration camp was tense. However, these Nazi activists were not the only guard personnel at Kislau. At the various work sites, political prisoners normally encountered guards who had worked and even lived at the workhouse for decades. Some of these guards, who were comparatively older, seemed to have been less watchful and turned a blind eye to inmates' dealings in tobacco.[6] At least one spectacular escape from the camp was documented. In October 1933, the Communist functionary Robert Klausmann not only escaped imprisonment but also managed to flee to France. In reaction to this, the camp commander proposed installing higher fences but could not obtain the necessary resources for such a move.[7]

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The Marum murder was brought to court at Karlsruhe in 1948. The main perpetrator, Sauer, received a life sentence, while his two surviving accomplices both served long terms of imprisonment.[8] Mohr as well as the Kislau guards merely had to undergo denazification.

SOURCES Published literature on the Kislau concentration camp is scarce. Jürgen Stude provides a small chapter on North Baden's concentration camp in his *Geschichte der Juden im Landkreis Karlsruhe* (Karlsruhe, 1990), pp. 185–189, 317–318; Ursula Krause-Schmitt et al. include a cursory article in *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, vol. 5, pt. 1, *Baden-Württemberg I: Regierungsbezirke Karlsruhe und Stuttgart* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), pp. 52–56. *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin, 2002), includes a contribution on KZ Kislau by Angela Borgstedt.

Kislau was subordinated to the Baden Ministry of Interior, the source material of which was nearly completely destroyed at the end of World War II. However, fragments can be detected in other record groups such as the Ministry of State or the Ministry of the Attorney General, which are preserved at the GLA-K (GLA 233/28351; 237/36353 and 508/425–429; 309/4807–4824 as well as 309/Zug. 1987/54). The prisoners' files from Kislau's times as a state prison in the nineteenth century till the end of World War II are deposited in their own record group (521/Zug. 1982/48), and those of the guards can be found among the personal documents of Baden's judicial officers (240/Zug. 1997/38). Further information on them can be obtained from their denazification files (e.g., 465a/51/12/14998; 465a/51/68/664; 465a/51/68/863; 465a/51/69/84). Camp commander Franz K. Mohr's career can be reconstructed from his different personnel files (444/Zug. 1983/65; 465e/1164; 466/12819).

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NOTES

1. *DFü*, May 16, 1933; *DA*, May 17, 1933.
2. GLA-K, 309/Zug. 1987/54, no. 723.
3. "Suicide of the Jew Marum," *DFü*, March 29, 1934, evening edition.
4. GLA-K, 465a/51/69/84; 465a/51/68/664; and 480 EK 7700.
5. Letter by Mohr, dated August 16, 1935, GLA, 466/12819.
6. GLA-K, 240/Zug. 1997/38, nos. 2053–2055.
7. GLA-K, 311/Zug. 1992/15, no. 621.
8. GLA-K, 309/4807–4824. The sentence is partly published in *Ludwig Marum: Briefe aus dem KZ*, ed. Elizabeth Marum-Lunau Kislau and Jörg Schadt, 2nd ed. (1984; Karlsruhe, 1988), pp. 150–158.

KLEVE

On April 1, 1933, the SA and Stahlhelm established a "protective custody" camp in the prison at Kleve near Aachen.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); see also Johannes Tuchel, "Organisationsgeschichte der 'frühen' Konzentrationslager," in *Instrumentarium der Macht: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1937*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), pp. 9–27.

Primary documentation for Kleve consists of an ITS entry in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:224.

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KÖLN (BONNER WALL)

The detention center at Bonner Wall 114–120 came into being on the grounds of a former prison fortress dating from the second half of the nineteenth century. Originally used as a military detention center, the building had already served as a prison in the 1920s until it was shut down due to economic reasons in 1930.[1] The Bonner Wall was located at the southern edge of the inner city, flanked by a railroad line. The use of the building for the accommodation of political prisoners between 1933 and 1934, however, was not concealed from the population.[2]

On March 4, 1933, the Cologne police presidium put the Bonner Wall into operation on a "provisional basis."[3] The authorization was triggered by the mass arrest of Communist functionaries after the Reichstag Fire. More detention space was evidently needed for housing "protective custody" prisoners after the Cologne prison Klingelpütz (see Early Camps/Köln (Klingelpütz)) became overcrowded and could no longer take in any political prisoners.

No exact information exists on the number of prisoners and staff at Bonner Wall. While during the 1920s up to 400 people were supposedly interned on the premises, a report from 1936 speaks of 200 detention places.[4] This corresponded to the capacity of the central fortress building.[5] The capacity limit appears to have been reached for the first time in mid-April 1933 at the latest. Thus, prisoners from Bonner Wall had to be transferred to out-of-town prisons.[6] As protective custody prisoners were coming and going during the following months, several hundred men may have passed through the prison.

Generally, prisoners remained incarcerated for several weeks before they were deported to camps such as the Brauweiler workhouse (*Arbeitsanstalt*), the Emsland moor camps, or the Sonnenburg camp.[7] Some of the prisoners were handed over to courts at the initiation of proceedings or temporarily to the local Gestapo office for interrogation. Thus, the police prison at Bonner Wall served as a kind of assembly camp for the Cologne area. From here, political prisoners were allocated to local institutions and larger, national camps.

In the early months of the Nazi regime, terror in the Cologne area was mainly directed at members of the German Commu-

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nist Party (KPD) and its suborganizations. Thus, this group comprised the majority of prisoners at Bonner Wall.[8] From late June 1933 onward, after the Social Democratic Party (SPD) had been banned, Social Democrats were also incarcerated.[9] According to eyewitness accounts, the Cologne police also sent several Jewish residents of Cologne, who previously had been victims of antisemitic riots by SA and SS, to the police prison in early April.[10] In exceptional cases, members of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) would also be taken into custody at Bonner Wall for "behavior damaging to the Party."[11] There are no indications that female prisoners were interned at Bonner Wall.

Detailed information about the prison staff is lacking. Evidently, the local detention site at Klingelpütz provided personnel to take care of cooking and medical attendance for the prisoners.[12] The Cologne police were in charge of guarding the prisoners; it remains unclear whether the camp received support from the local auxiliary police. The police prison appeared, however, to be accessible to members of the NSDAP and its suborganizations. Evidence suggests that besides the police, members of the SS and the National Socialist Factory Cells Organization (NSBO) delivered and interrogated prisoners at Bonner Wall.[13]

Indeed, the police prison was not a torture site per se, for "detailed interrogations" were generally carried out in the Gestapo office at the Cologne police presidium on Krebsgasse, where most abuses and extortions of statements took place. According to contemporary witnesses, prisoners at Bonner Wall were nevertheless assaulted, primarily by party formations.[14] In view of the high fluctuation of inmates, it is not very likely that a permanent prisoner aid organization came into being. As in many other protective custody sites in 1933, however, it seems that the prisoners at Bonner Wall informed one another about the situation outside the prison walls, talked about their experiences with the police and the party, and coordinated their statements. This was evidently aided by the prison's construction, which allowed some cells to hold 15 prisoners.[15] After Klingelpütz stopped admitting protective custody prisoners in the early fall of 1933, the police prison at Bonner Wall temporarily became the central protective custody site in Cologne. When the camp system was centralized, however, it too was shut down on March 26, 1934. The remaining prisoners were moved to Klingelpütz, where they presumably awaited transfer to pretrial confinement or transportation to other prison sites.[16]

After 1945, the State Attorney's Office neither investigated the Bonner Wall police prison's role as a camp for political prisoners nor the reported prisoner abuses. Judicial authorities in Cologne initiated several investigations and conducted trials dealing with police arrests and terror measures after the Nazi seizure of power.[17] They concentrated, however, on events at the Cologne Gestapo office in the former police presidium and did not include Bonner Wall.

SOURCES The police prison at Bonner Wall is mentioned in a general survey of the history of the camps: Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 74. Various articles about National Socialism in Cologne refer to the prison as well: Carl Dietmar and Werner Jung, *Kleine illustrierte Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, 8th rev. and enlarg. ed. (Cologne: Bachem, 1996), p. 240; Manfred Huiskes, ed. and intro., *Die Wandinschriften des Kölner Gestapogefängnisses im EL-DE-Haus: 1943–1945* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1983), p. 10; Wilfried Viebahn and Walter Kuchta, "Widerstand gegen die Nazidiktatur in Köln," in *Das andere Köln: Demokratische Traditionen seit der Französischen Revolution*, ed. Reinhold Billstein (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1979), pp. 283–361. All references are rather short, at times inaccurate, and rarely exceed a mention of the camp. The most detailed reference is Severin Roeseling, *Das braune Köln: Ein Stadtführer durch die Innenstadt in der NS-Zeit*, ed. NS-Dokumentationszentrum der Stadt Köln (Cologne: Emons, 1999), pp. 80, 82.

The nature of the sources accounts for the few references to Bonner Wall in the secondary literature. Original records exist only from the time of the Weimar Republic: NWHStA-(D), Regierung Köln Nr. 8090; NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/216–219. Since the Cologne district president, the Cologne police presidium, and the local Gestapo office hardly left any relevant documents behind, the prison's role during the Nazi period is poorly documented. The reports of the Cologne Gestapo to the Gestapa (BA-B, R 58) and the reports of the Cologne State Attorney's Office to the Prussian Ministry of Justice—NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 21—also do not explicitly mention the police prison at Bonner Wall. One thus has to rely on selective references in the files of the Cologne general state attorney (NWHStA-(D), Düsseldorf Gerichte Rep. 22), in records of the rural district office (NWHStA-(D), Landratsamt Köln Nr. 365), but primarily in accounts of former protective custody prisoners. Books by former prisoners are relevant sources: Deutsche Kommunistische Partei (DKP)/Ortsgruppe Bergisch Gladbach, ed., *Antifaschisten aus Bergisch Gladbach berichten* (Bergisch Gladbach, 1979). Also testimonies from postwar trials in Cologne: NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231. In addition, there are relevant collections of contemporary witness interviews at the HAStK (Best. 1344) and the NS-Dok (Best. Z). Due to the complex situation with regard to sources, it is possible that new material will be discovered in the future. Additional information might possibly be found in the prisoner files of the Cologne penitentiary (NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 132) or in the records of contemporaneous political trials against Communists and Social Democrats.

Thomas Roth
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. For the early history, see NWHStA-(D), Regierung Köln Nr. 8090; NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/216; *KöSa*, December 3, 1930; HAStK, Best. 903/94, p. 114.

2. *WdtB*, July 27, 1933; Deutsche Kommunistische Partei (DKP)/Ortsgruppe Bergisch Gladbach, ed., *Antifaschisten aus Bergisch Gladbach berichten* (Bergisch Gladbach, 1979), p. 41.

3. Amtliche Bekanntmachung vom 04.03.1933, in NS-Dok, *NbStPVK*.

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4. Polizeipräsident Köln an Regierungspräsident Köln vom 20.10.1921 und 6.12.1926, in NWHStA-(D), Regierung Köln Nr. 8090; Strafanstaltsoberdirektor Köln an Generalstaatsanwalt Köln vom 21.10.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 321/875, p. 52.

5. See Bericht vom 12.7.1919, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/216, p. 150.

6. Strafanstaltsvorsteher Trier an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 14.04.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/353, p. 34; HAStK, Best. 1344/118.

7. Staatsanwaltschaftliche Vernehmung des Peter G. vom 09.10.1934, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/16692, p. 78; NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/241, p. 3; Aussage des Ludwig F. vom 09.04.1952, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/460, p. 95; DKP, *Antifaschisten aus Bergisch-Gladbach berichten*, pp. 9, 41, 185. References also in ALVR, Pulheim-Brauweiler 15113 and 15114.

8. See DKP, *Antifaschisten aus Bergisch-Gladbach berichten*, p. 41; and the various references in HAStK, Best. 1344.

9. See the prisoner lists in NWHStA-(D), Landratsamt Köln Nr. 365; and NS-Dok, Z 10029.

10. Statement of Helene F. vom 08.08.1946, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/120, 4R; HAStK, Best. 1344/118.

11. See Strafanzeige des Josef H. vom 27.03.1935, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/1473, p. 1; Gesuch des Friedrich H. an Adolf Hitler vom 18.09.1933 (Abschrift), in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/5004, p. 2; Schreiben des Emil R. an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln vom 12.07.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/2494, p. 1.

12. Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 04.03.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, p. 179; Schreiben des Rechtsanwalts Heribert L. an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln vom 21.04.1934, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/5004, p. 9.

13. DKP, *Antifaschisten aus Bergisch-Gladbach berichten*, p. 185; Schreiben des Emil R. an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln vom 12.07.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/2494, p. 1.

14. See note 13 and NS-Dok, Z 10013.

15. NSDAP-Reichsleitung an Geheimes Staatspolizeiamt, Abt. III vom 16.01.1934, in BA-B, R 58/2047, p. 103; Aussage des Josef B. vom 12.11.1951, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/460, 30R.

16. Amtliche Bekanntmachung vom 26.03.1934, in NS-Dok, *NbStPVK*.

17. Vgl. NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/229, pp. 275–299, 460–461.

KÖLN (KLINGELPÜTZ)

The Cologne "Klingelpütz," the central court prison for Cologne since 1838, not only served as a regular penitentiary under the Nazis but also temporarily functioned as a detention site for political "protective custody" prisoners during the period of mass arrests following February 28, 1933.

The Cologne penitentiary's administration and the correctional bureau, which at this time still supervised the penal system in the southern Rhine province, were responsible for accommodating the new prisoners. The police apparatus, however, was not without influence over prison conditions. A higher police leader in the West (Höherer Polizeiführer im Westen) had been appointed a coordinating position for the Rhineland and Westphalia provinces in October 1932. Not only did he collect data on organizations, personnel, and activities of the leftist workers' movements; he was also, as a February 11, 1933, decree from Prussian Minister of Interior Hermann Göring stipulated, special commissar in charge of allocating protective custody prisoners to individual detention sites. He also attempted to provide unified guidelines for the treatment of prisoners. These special responsibilities were soon rescinded, however, and taken over by the interior administration in June 1933.[1]

The use of Klingelpütz as a protective custody prison began on March 1, 1933. On this day the penitentiary reported the admission of 170 "radical left-wing" political prisoners.[2] After further arrivals, the prison reached its highest occupancy in April 1933 with around 350 prisoners, before leveling off in May and June to an average number of 220, including 10 to 20 women. As an additional 800 to 850 prisoners and detainees were being held at Klingelpütz, and the prison at this time was designed for 975 inmates, constant overcrowding prevailed. The local judiciary administration reacted by moving regular prisoners to the local jails or suspending the sentences of minor offenders, demanding a ban on admittances for further protective custody prisoners or requesting relocation from Klingelpütz to other detention sites.[3] Some of the prisoners were also transported to the Brauweiler camp northwest of Cologne.

The protective custody prisoners at Klingelpütz did not come exclusively from the municipal area. A large number came from the cities around the Cologne region. According to several surviving lists of names from the administrative district, the prisoners were almost exclusively members of the German Communist Party (KPD) and its suborganizations, the Communist Youth (Kommunistische Jugend), the Red Labor Union Opposition (Rote Gewerkschaftsopposition), Red Help (Rote Hilfe), or the Fighting League against Fascism (Kampfbund gegen den Faschismus). After the first wave of arrests, ordinary KPD members, members of workers' sports clubs, or representatives of clubs and culture organizations associated with the KPD occasionally were interned.[4] Members and functionaries of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Free Unions (Freie Gewerkschaften) were in the minority. In the second week of March, however, several prominent Cologne Social Democrats were sent to Klingelpütz. As symbolic figures of the SPD and the "Weimar system," they had previously been arrested and at times been severely abused by SA and SS units. Among them were former Cologne police chief Otto Bauknecht, city councilors Dr. Ernst Fresdorf and Johannes Meerfeld, editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* Hugo Efferoth, and Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Wilhelm Sollmann.[5] Occasionally, members of the Catholic milieu were also interned. In addition to the politically active university professor Benedikt Schmittmann, several people in leading positions in local authorities or businesses during the Weimar Republic were detained on the basis of usually groundless accusations of corruption.[6]

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The prison administration incarcerated all prisoners in the C-wing of Klingelpütz, which had been made available by relocating other prisoners and crowding cells with multiple occupants. Prison officials took over supervising the prisoners and in principle were supposed to follow the traditional penitentiary rules.[7] Due to the increased workload, however, four assistants were hired.[8] In contrast to other penal institutions, such as in the Düsseldorf district, for instance, neither state police officers nor the auxiliary police had significant influence on conditions in the protective custody wing. Indeed, a security detachment consisting of a regular police officer and eight auxiliary policemen was created at the prison in early March. Yet they were only to be put into action in cases of unrest inside the prison or outside attacks.[9]

Due to the deployment of penal institution officers in the protective custody wing, violent outbursts and harassment of the prisoners appear not to have occurred. At least in the accounts from contemporary witnesses, there are no references to mistreatment.[10] Medical treatment for the prisoners was also ensured at Klingelpütz, while the lack of sanitary conditions can be primarily explained by the old age of the penitentiary.[11] Traces of Nazi terror were always present, however, as the local Gestapo consistently brought prisoners to the penitentiary with clearly visible injuries. In addition, the prison sickbay admitted victims of abuse by Nazi Party (NSDAP) units, for example, from the Braunes Haus on Mozartstrasse.[12]

As far as prison conditions allowed, the protective custody prisoners used the time in Klingelpütz to catch up on the situation in the city's workers' quarters with the newly arrived prisoners, evaluated the political situation, and developed strategies for Gestapo interrogations. In early March, around 40 KPD prisoners collectively took action and protested against the unlawful imprisonment and revocation of their voting right for the upcoming Reichstag and local elections with a hunger strike. After talks with the prison administration, however, the strike ended after a few days.[13]

While some of the few "prominent" prisoners were able to leave Klingelpütz after only a short time, most of the remaining prisoners spent several months in protective custody. In the course of the reorganization and centralization of the camp system, prisoners were released in a more systematic way. Thus, the better part of the protective custody prisoners from the Cologne rural district were set free in several waves, beginning in August 1933.[14] In the course of these releases, the protective custody wing at Klingelpütz was gradually emptied. It cannot be determined precisely when it was finally shut down. Yet since a directive from the Prussian Ministry of Interior from October 14, 1933, allowed no further admittance of protective custody prisoners to local penal institutions, it is likely that Klingelpütz was closed in late October or early November 1933.[15] In 1934, the penitentiary still reported one protective custody prisoner, kept there with special permission.[16]

The use of Klingelpütz as a protective custody prison was resumed once again toward the end of World War II.[17] As the Cologne Gestapo required more detention space, it set up its own section for state police prisoners in Wing III of the penitentiary in November 1944. At first it was designated as a "reception center" (*Auffangstelle*) or "auxiliary police prison" (*Polizeihilfsgefängnis*).[18] A state police officer headed the section. At his disposal were several guards and a few prisoners as trustees. The prison administration had no influence on the conditions in the "Gestapo wing" (*Gestapoflügel*). As the other parts of the complex were for the most part unusable after air raids, the administration gave up Klingelpütz and moved most of the regular judicial prisoners to the Siegburg and Rheinbach penitentiaries in November 1944.[19] In contrast, the Cologne Gestapo's mass arrests led to extreme overcrowding in the Gestapo wing. A contemporary witness estimated that on average 500 prisoners were incarcerated here. In November 1944, this number rose to 800 prisoners, so that in some cases up to 14 people shared a single cell. The inmates were designated as "political" or "criminal" prisoners. Reasons for imprisonment were membership in a resistance group, "remarks hostile to the state" (*staatsfeindliche Äuşerungen*), "crimes related to the war economy" (*Kriegswirtschaftsverbrechen*), or "gang formation" (*Bandenbildung*). The majority were foreign laborers who were imprisoned on "racial" grounds and often for minor offenses. They awaited further transport to a concentration camp or to the Gestapo office at Elisenstrasse, a major Gestapo execution site since 1944. Until early March 1945, several hundred Klingelpütz prisoners, most of them foreigners, were presumably killed this way. In the Gestapo wing, poor nutrition, catastrophic hygienic conditions, a typhus epidemic, and the physical terror of the guard personnel resulted in several fatalities. At the end of May 1945, the American military authorities found seven bodies in the inner courtyard of the prison, which evidently had been buried there in February 1945.

Similar to inmates of other Cologne camps, prisoners at the Klingelpütz Gestapo wing were evacuated to the right bank of the Rhine as the Allies drew closer. In the first days of March, prisoners still able to walk were transported by foot to the Wipperfürth and Hunswinkel labor education camps in the Upper Bergische region; around 80 prisoners, most of whom were ill with typhus, stayed at Klingelpütz. They were liberated on March 7, 1945.

After the war, there were several preliminary proceedings against members of the guard personnel and the prison physician at Klingelpütz.[20] Due to a lack of suspicion or evidence, however, the investigations were discontinued. They focused on a complex of crimes, such as the use of Klingelpütz as an execution site for inmates and Night-and-Fog prisoners, or Gestapo crimes committed during the final period of the war. The internment of protective custody prisoners in 1933, however, remained unmentioned.

SOURCES Several general surveys of camp history and camp memorials make reference to the role of Klingelpütz during the Nazi period: Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie

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Verlag, 1993), p. 74; Stefan Kraus, *NS-Unrechtsstätten in Nordrhein-Westfalen: Ein Forschungsbeitrag zum System der Gewaltherrschaft 1933–1945; Lager und Deportationsstätten* (Essen: Klartext, 1999), pp. 73–74; Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, 2nd ed. (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1995), 1: 570–571; Severin Roeseling, *Das braune Köln: Ein Stadtführer durch die Innenstadt in der NS-Zeit*, ed. NS-Dokumentationszentrum der Stadt Köln (Köln: Emons, 1999), pp. 101–102. Also, various contributions on National Socialism in Cologne mention Klingelpütz: Carl Dietmar and Werner Jung, *Kleine illustrierte Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, 8th rev. and enlarg. ed. (Cologne: Bachem, 1996), p. 240; Manfred Huiskes, ed. and intro., *Die Wandinschriften des Kölner Gestapogefängnisses im EL-DE-Haus: 1943–1945* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1983), p. 11; Adolf Klein, *Köln im Dritten Reich: Stadtgeschichte der Jahre 1933–1945* (Cologne: Greven, 1983), p. 263; Wilfried Viebahn and Walter Kuchta, "Widerstand gegen die Nazidiktatur in Köln," in *Das andere Köln: Demokratische Traditionen seit der Französischen Revolution*, ed. Reinhold Billstein (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1979), pp. 283–361; *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Köln 1933–1945: Ausstellung HAStK* (Cologne: HAStK, 1974), p. 366. Publications on Cologne judicial history also touch on this topic: Leo Günter, "Vorgeschichte und Geschichte des alten 'Klingelpütz' in Köln," *ZfSV* 11 (1962): 32–45; Adolf Klein, "Strafvollzug in Köln," in *Rheinische Justiz. Geschichte und Gegenwart; 175 Jahre Oberlandesgericht Köln*, ed. Dieter Laum et al. (Cologne: O. Schmidt, 1994), pp. 503–551. These contain few details and mainly focus on the use of the prison as an execution site for the western German special courts. Its role as a protective custody prison in 1933 is at most touched upon. Additional references to the internment of prisoners at Klingelpütz can be found, however, in biographical studies of former prisoners such as Wilhelm Sollmann or Benedikt Schmittmann. The use of Klingelpütz by the Gestapo, its role as an execution site, and the evacuation marches in 1944–1945 are examined by Gabriele Lotfi, *KZ der Gestapo: Arbeitserziehungslager im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 2000), p. 293; and Bernd-A. Rusinek, *Gesellschaft in der Katastrophe. Terror, Illegalität, Widerstand—Köln 1944/45* (Essen: Klartext, 1989), p. 441. Liberation of the Klingelpütz prisoners is described by Reinhold Billstein and Eberhard Illner, *You Are Now in Cologne, Compliments: Köln 1945 in den Augen der Sieger; Hundert Tage unter amerikanischer Kontrolle* (Cologne: Emons, 1995), p. 52.

Archival sources on the use of Klingelpütz as a protective custody prison are sparse. With regard to numbers of prisoners and their internment, however, there are accumulative files (Sammelakten) from the penitentiary and the Cologne correctional bureau: NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322 and 22/353. The prisoner lists of the Cologne rural district provide information on the political profiles of the prisoners: NWHStA-(D), Landratsamt Köln Nr. 365. Neither the reports of the Cologne Gestapo to the Gestapa in Berlin (in BA-B, R 58) nor the Colonge State Attorney's Office reports to the Prussian Ministry of Justice—in NWHStA-(D) Gerichte Rep. 21—specifically mention the protective custody prison at Klingelpütz. As far as the perspectives of former prisoners are concerned, there are sparse references in the records of the Cologne postwar trials—NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231—and in a collection of interviews with contemporary witnesses kept by the NS-Dok Cologne, Best. Z. A blend of memoirs, original research, and personal comments are provided by Ekkhard Häussermann, ed., "Die Henker vom Klingelpütz 1933–1945: Aus den Aufzeichnungen und Erinnerungen des Gefängnispfarrers Dr. Johannes Kühler," *KöRS*, Nr. 61 (March 13, 1971) to Nr. 112 (May 14, 1971). Additional information might be found through a systematic inspection of the still existing prisoner files from Klingelpütz—NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 132—and by examining political trials of the Nazi period. More documents exist on the history of the Gestapo wing in 1944–1945. They are accessible through two postwar preliminary proceedings—NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/95 and 248/265–266—that specifically dealt with Klingelpütz. In addition, various proceedings on Cologne Gestapo crimes of the final period refer to the Gestapo wing (e.g., NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/492). The PRO, War Office 309/1145, provides information on the evacuations.

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trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. On the activities of the Höherer Polizeiführer im Westen, see the references in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/353; Landratsamt Siegkreis Nr. 44; Regierung Aachen Nr. 22757, p. 7, and Nr. 23886, p. 11. On the replacement of the Höherer Polizeiführer im Westen, see Rundschreiben der Landespolizei-Inspektion West vom 12.06.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/353, p. 120, and ALVR, Pulheim-Brauweiler Nr. 8228, p. 12.

2. Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 02.03.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, p. 177.

3. See Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 02.03.1933 and Strafvollzugsamt Köln an Preussisches Justizministerium vom 11.05.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, pp. 177, 199, as well as the numerous references in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/353.

4. See the prisoner lists in NWHStA-(D), Landratsamt Köln Nr. 365.

5. See Bericht Sollmann in HAStK, ed., *Wilhelm Sollmann II: Zum hundertsten Geburtstag am 1. April 1981* (Cologne: HAStK, 1981), p. 64; Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Cologne an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 13.03.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, p. 182; for another case, see NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 21/364, p. 57.

6. Ekkhard Häussermann, ed., "Die Henker vom Klingelpütz 1933–1945: Aus den Aufzeichnungen und Erinnerungen des Gefängnispfarrers Dr. Johannes Kühler," *KöRS*, Nr. 61 (March 13, 1971) to Nr. 112 (May 14, 1971)—see in this case Nr. 77 (January 4, 1971); NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/15693–15697 and 231/334–335; Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 17.03.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, p. 187.

7. Vermerke des Strafvollzugsamtes Düsseldorf vom 02.04.1933 and 05.04.1933 and Schreiben des Höheren Polizeiführers im Westen vom 05.04.1933, both in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/353, pp. 29, 65, 108; Häussermann, "Die Henker vom Klingelpütz 1933–1945," Nr. 70 (March 24, 1971) and Nr. 77 (January 4, 1971).

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8. Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 02.03.1933 und Verfügung des Strafvollzugsamtes Köln vom 03.03.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, pp. 177–178.

9. Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 15.03.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, p. 185; Vermerk des Obertstrafanstaltsdirektors Köln vom 18.04.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/353, p. 35 as well as the reference in note 7.

10. See also the complaints of the Cologne SS about the supposedly too "mild" prison conditions at the state-run detention sites in the Cologne region: Nachrichtenführer 58. SS-Standarte an SS-Abschnitt V vom 12.06.1933, in BA-B, R 58/3859, p. 6.

11. See, for example, Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 07.03.1933 und 13.03.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, pp. 180, 182.

12. Häussermann, "Die Henker vom Klingelpütz 1933–1945," Nr. 77 (January 4, 1971); Schreiben des Friedrich H. an Adolf Hitler vom 18.09.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/5004, p. 2; Oberstaatsanwalt Köln an Preussischen Justizminister vom 14.12.1933, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 21/87, p. 2380.

13. Oberstrafanstaltsdirektor Köln an Strafvollzugsamt Köln vom 07.03.1933 and 09.03.1933, both in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/322, pp. 180–181.

14. According to references in NWHStA-(D), Landratsamt Köln Nr. 365.

15. The Fernspruch des Landrates Köln vom 31.10.1933, in ibid., also refers to this.

16. Vermerk des Generalstaatsanwalts Köln vom 19.01.1934, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 22/353, p. 164.

17. Unless otherwise noted, the following details are based on the Ermittlungsakten in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/95, 231/492, 231/522, and primarily 248/265–266. There are slight variations in numbers and dates, depending on the source.

18. Bericht der Gestapo Köln vom 09.11.1944, in NWHStA-(D), RW 34/8, p. 1; Rundverfügung der Gestapo Köln vom 14.11.1944, in NWHStA-(D), RW 34/24. According to Häussermann, "Die Henker vom Klingelpütz 1933–1945," Nr. 61 (March 13, 1971) to Nr. 112 (May 14, 1971), the Gestapo supposedly already had its own section in Klingelpütz in 1942. This information, which has also been incorporated in some of the literature, cannot be confirmed elsewhere.

19. See also Vermerk vom 02.11.1944 and Bericht des Generalstaatsanwalts Köln vom 30.01.1945, both in BA-B, R 3001/3374, pp. 152–153, 158.

20. See NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/72, 231/95, 231/166, 231/212, 248/265–266, 248/304, 248/334–337. The preliminary proceedings dealing with the crimes of Cologne Gestapo and the executions at Elisenstrasse are not mentioned here.

KÖLN (MOZARTSTRASSE) [AKA BRAUNES HAUS]

The so-called Brown House (Braunes Haus), a building at Mozartstrasse 28 in Cologne, accommodated the Nazi Party (NSDAP) Province Administration (Gauleitung) Cologne-Aachen from October 1932 until November 1934. In 1933, it served for several months as a detention and torture center for opponents of the Nazi regime. The 1st Company of the Cologne SS (1. SS-Sturm Köln) provided the majority of the guard personnel, who were also housed in the building. The detention facility was under the command of SS-Regiment 58 (Standarte 58), established in April 1933, which belonged to SS-Upper Sector West (Oberabschnitt West) under Gruppenführer Fritz Weitzel (1904–1940). In practice, however, the Braunes Haus was not just a self-contained SS facility; it was also used by other Cologne Nazi groups: in addition to the SS, SA patrols, the Gauleitung's intelligence service, and the National Socialist Factory Cells Organization (NSBO) also brought in prisoners.[1] At the same time, the Braunes Haus was part and parcel of the police terror system. The Cologne Gestapo had apparently approved of the establishment of a detention and torture center and—from May 1933 at the latest—maintained regular contact through separate liaison officials who came to Mozartstrasse to "hand over" and take back prisoners, examine confessions, and verify information.[2]

The first references for the use of the Mozartstrasse building as a detention and torture site can be found in March 1933. During the summer months, the Braunes Haus became the center of Nazi terror in Cologne.[3] Among the prisoners were numerous functionaries of the German Communist Party (KPD) and its suborganizations; there were also ordinary supporters of the Communists who were apprehended for distributing leaflets or making dissident comments, as well as members of other left-wing oppositional groups. Social Democratic Party (SPD) Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Wilhelm Sollmann was the most prominent victim of the Cologne workers' movement. He recorded his experiences at Mozartstrasse in a memoir shortly after his release. Together with Hugo Efferoth, editor of the Social Democratic newspaper *Rheinische Zeitung*, he was repeatedly mistreated on March 9, 1933, and subsequently turned over to the Cologne police presidium.[4]

Since various Nazi groups and organizations took part in the arrests and did not always strictly follow political principles, not only political activists or members of the workers' movement ended up among the prisoners at Mozartstrasse. The SS and party intelligence services also brought ordinary citizens to the Braunes Haus, if they had attracted public attention for "indiscipline" (*Disziplinlosigkeiten*) or "defeatism" (*Miesmacherei*) or were considered Jewish.[5] In addition, several members of the SA, SS, and NSDAP were brought to Mozartstrasse as punishment for embezzlement or other criminal offenses.[6]

The detainees were interned in a room in the basement that on average held 10 to 20 people.[7] Generally, political prisoners were incarcerated until they signed a confession concerning their political activities or disclosed information about other dissidents. Afterward, they were released or turned over to the political police. Though most prisoners remained only a few days at the Braunes Haus, some had to spend several weeks in the so-called district cellar (*Gaukeller*). Thus, the Braunes Haus can be considered a combination of

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interrogation site, torture site, and early concentration camp. As prisoners were constantly being brought in and transported to other sites, it is probable that the total number of victims reached triple digits. During the interrogations, abuse was common practice and could not even be avoided by confessing quickly. Violence was not only a means of extorting statements about the political opposition; it also aimed at the permanent intimidation and humiliation of dissidents. Thus, the prisoners were exposed to torture both before and after interrogation. Torture often was accompanied by degrading rituals: the SS forced prisoners to put on ridiculous costumes, to sing satirical songs about themselves, to destroy leftist writings or party material, to abuse fellow prisoners, or to jump into a sump where the prisoners' excrement had been poured. The torture did not stop at the physical destruction of political opponents: it led to self-inflicted wounds and attempted suicides among the prisoners who tried to avoid the suffering. At least one person died at Mozartstrasse.[8] In view of this situation and the fact that prisoners in the basement at Mozartstrasse were constantly subject to surveillance, joint actions or detailed discussions among the prisoners were out of the question. Solidarity, however, manifested itself at certain times, for example, when prisoners helped each other after abuse, shared food, or gave each other moral support. The prisoner Ludwig Jacobsen, who did time at Mozartstrasse from mid-June to mid-July because he was a functionary of the left-wing German Communist Party Opposition (KPO), grew into the role of a trustee and "camp elder." He gave newly arrived prisoners support and assistance in standing up to the terror. The personnel at Mozartstrasse consisted of several SS guards, a rotating torture commando of 3 to 10 SS men, and several men who performed arrests and interrogations. In addition to SS men, NSDAP functionaries took part in interrogations and abuses. Those substantially responsible included SS-Truppführer Josef Balzer (born in 1898) from the staff of SS-Regiment 58. He was both chauffeur and close confidant of Cologne Gauleiter Josef Grohé (1902–1987) and was involved in abuses, as was special duty SS-Sturmführer Arthur Ruhland (born in 1907), who led most of the questionings and stood out due to his exceptional cruelty. Their immediate superior was Adolf Marx (born in 1898), leader of the SS-Regiment and also a Cologne "old fighter," who headed the local SS since 1931 and belonged to the local Nazi elites' inner circle. His office was at Mozartstrasse, and he regularly inspected the detention center.[9] Gauleiter Josef Grohé resided in the same building. In 1934, he stated in an internal party investigation that he knew nothing about the prisoner abuses in the district cellar. Due to the mere fact that it occurred in the same building, this is highly implausible.[10]

Arrests and prisoner abuses ended at Braunes Haus after the Nazi leadership announced the completion of the "national revolution" and prohibited nonstate camps. According to a report from the Cologne district president, the "private" SA and SS prisons were disbanded by the end of July 1933.[11] SS-Gruppenführer Weitzel oversaw the official closing of the detention site on Mozartstrasse; he visited the district cellar in late July (probably on July 27) and ordered the transfer of the remaining prisoners to the political police.[12]

The scale of prisoner abuses at Mozartstrasse, however, led to further investigations. At the behest of the NSDAP Reich Leadership, special duty Reichsinspekteur Wilhelm von Holzschuher examined the extent of the Cologne District leadership's involvement in the terror at the Braunes Haus in late July 1934. In August 1934, an investigation by the Reich Leadership SS (Reichsführung) carried out by a representative in Cologne who interrogated witnesses followed.[13] Apparently the widespread knowledge in Cologne of the events at Mozartstrasse was the starting point for the proceedings. Not only the victims and members of the workers' movement but also the general public knew about the prisoner abuses; one could clearly hear the screams of the tortured on the streets, and numerous rumors circulated about the Braunes Haus.[14] It was more important for the regime, however, that former or displeased "Party comrades," some of whom had themselves been victims of abuse, turned to the party leadership with complaints or pressed charges.[15]

Based on these complaints, investigations were initiated against several Mozartstrasse activists. The consequences, however, were minimal. The State Attorney's Office closed its proceedings. Holzschuher's final report on Mozartstrasse cleared Gauleiter Grohé of any responsibility. Indeed, the central figures at the Gaukeller, Ruhland and Marx, and several other guards were expelled from the SS. At Grohé's urging, however, the NSDAP Party Court abstained from imposing further sanctions. The responsible SS men were honored as "merited" and "unselfish" members of the "movement," while the mistreated "Party comrades" were portrayed as "criminals" who had "crept their way into the Party."[16] As compensation for losing their SS posts, Ruhland and Marx were assigned positions in the party apparatus; Balzer was allowed to continue his career as Gauleiter Grohé's adjutant and in 1942 even took over the provisional leadership of SS-Regiment 58.[17]

After 1945, the mistreatment of MdR Sollmann and the fact that a well-known athlete had been a member of the guard unit at Mozartstrasse both led to judicial proceedings in Cologne.[18] The State Attorney's Office and the Regional Court were able to reconstruct the events in the Braunes Haus; however, they could not identify direct participants, nor could they doubtlessly assign any of the reported abuses to specific perpetrators. The proceedings ended with dismissals and court acquittals.

SOURCES Several general surveys of camp history mention the detention site at Mozartstrasse: Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 74; Stefan Kraus, *NS-Unrechtsstätten in Nordrhein-Westfalen: Ein Forschungsbeitrag zum System der Gewaltherrschaft 1933–1945; Lager und Deportationsstätten* (Essen: Klartext, 1999), p. 65. In addition, studies of local history refer to the camp: Carl Dietmar and Werner Jung, *Kleine illustrierte Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, 8th

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rev. and enlarg. ed. (Cologne: Bachem, 1996), p. 240; Manfred Huiskes, ed. and intro., *Die Wandinschriften des Kölner Gestapogefängnisses im EL-DE-Haus: 1943–1945* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1983), p. 10; Adolf Klein, *Köln im Dritten Reich: Stadtgeschichte der Jahre 1933–1945* (Cologne: Greven, 1983), pp. 66–67; Severin Roeseling, *Das braune Köln: Ein Stadtführer durch die Innenstadt in der NS-Zeit*, ed. NS-Dokumentationszentrum der Stadt Köln (Cologne: Emons, 1999), p. 64; Wilfried Viebahn and Walter Kuchta, "Widerstand gegen die Nazidiktatur in Köln," in *Das andere Köln: Demokratische Traditionen seit der Französischen Revolution*, ed. Reinhold Billstein (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1979), pp. 283–361, here p. 290. The authors usually limit themselves to a few details and refer to the testimony of Wilhelm Sollmann. As Mozartstrasse is seen as the center and symbol of local Nazi terror, it is occasionally misinterpreted in the literature, i.e., some attribute the detention site to the Cologne SA or Gestapo: Helmut Fussbroich, *Gedenktafeln in Köln: Spuren der Stadtgeschichte* (Cologne: Bachem, 1985), pp. 131–132; Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, 2nd ed. (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1995), 1: 572–573.

The sparse documents of the Cologne NSDAP, SA, or SS that remain do not contain any direct references to the detention and torture site on Mozartstrasse. Two testimonies from victims, however, offer rather detailed information. For one, there is a short account by MdR Wilhelm Sollmann, which has been published numerous times. See, for example, Stadt Köln, ed., *". . . vergessen kann man die Zeit nicht, das ist nicht möglich . . . :" Kölner erinnern sich an die Jahre 1929–1945; zum 40. Jahrestag des Kriegsendes*, ed. by Horst Matzerath at the HAStK (Cologne: HAStK, 1985), p. 67; HAStK, ed., *Wilhelm Sollmann II: Zum hundertsten Geburtstag am 1. April 1981* (Cologne: HAStK, 1981), p. 64; *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Köln 1933–1945: Ausstellung HAStK* (Cologne: HAStK, 1974), p. 112. Furthermore, there is Ludwig August Jacobsen's account *So hat es angefangen. Ein Bericht aus den Tagen der "nationalen Erhebung" in Köln* (Cologne: Kölner Volksbl.-Verlag, 1987). Jacobsen delivers not only a solid and differentiated picture of the conditions in the prison and prisoner abuses but also valuable information about his fellow inmates and the personnel at Mozartstrasse. References from other sources confirm the account's high level of accuracy and credibility. In addition to Jacobsen's account, postwar documents from the Cologne courts—NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/12 and 231/241—as well as records of contemporaneous preliminary proceedings in the inventory of the Cologne special court—NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112—are available. A trial against a former NSDAP member documented the rumors circulating about Mozartstrasse in Cologne. He had gathered incriminating material on the Cologne Gauleitung and also tried to document the prisoner abuses at Mozartstrasse. In 1936, he was convicted of "spreading horror stories" (*Verbreiten von Gräuelmärchen*) and false accusations; see NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/15166 and 112/16692–16694. A systematic examination of the Cologne special court files might turn up similar finds. More detailed information on the perpetrators can be found in the collections of the former BDC in the BA-B. Information on Josef Grohé's role can be found in his Spruchgerichtsverfahren (BA-K, Z 42 IV/1806 and 1806b).

Thomas Roth
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. See numerous references in Ludwig August Jacobsen, *So hat es angefangen. Ein Bericht aus den Tagen der "nationalen Erhebung" in Köln* (Cologne: Kölner Volksbl.-Verlag, 1987); in the NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/1148, 112/5004, and 112/16692; and in the BA-B (former BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur.

2. See Jacobsen, *So hat es angefangen*, pp. 22, 26, 50, 66, 129; Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, Stadtverband Köln an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln from 04.06.1949, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/278, p. 722; Statement from Ludwig F. from 09.04.1952 in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/460, p. 95; NSDAP Gauleitung Köln-Aachen an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln from 22.07.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/2494, p. 11; Gauleiter Grohé an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln from 08.10.1934, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/16692, p. 81; Urteil des Sondergerichts Köln from 08.01.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/16693, p. 485; excerpt from report of the Reichsinspekteur z.b.V. Holzschuher an den Stellvertreter des Führers from 01.08.1934 and Gutachten der Reichsführung SS, Abt III Nr. G. 378 [August 1934], in BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur.

3. See the references in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/12 and 231/241.

4. See Bericht Sollmann in HAStK, ed., *Wilhelm Sollmann II: Zum hundertsten Geburtstag am 1. April 1981* (Cologne: HAStK, 1981), p. 64.

5. See Jacobsen, *So hat es angefangen*, pp. 44, 47–48, 58–59, 77–78, 120.

6. See NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/1148, 112/5004, and 112/16692, p. 27; and Berichte in BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur.

7. On conditions in the prison and prisoner abuses, see Jacobsen, *So hat es angefangen;* the testimonies in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/241; and Vernehmung des Max Sch. vom 28.07.1933 and Bericht des Christian H. vom 16.10.1933, both in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/1148, pp. 2–3, 20; Schreiben des Friedrich H. an Adolf Hitler vom 18.09.1933 (Abschrift) and Schreiben des Rechtsanwalts Heribert Ley an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln vom 21.04.1934, both in NWHStA-(D) Gerichte Rep. 112/5004, pp. 2, 9; NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/16692, p. 27; Staatsanwaltschaftliche Vernehmung des Peter G. vom 09.10.1934, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/16692, p. 78; Eidesstattliche Erklärung des Walter N., in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/241, p. 2; HAStK, Best. 1344 Nr. 185 (Archiv Walter Kuchta/VVN). Part of these records can also be found at the BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur.

8. Jacobsen, *So hat es angefangen*, pp. 106, 116–117, 126.

9. References to the central roles of Balzer, Ruhland, and Marx in Jacobsen, *So hat es angefangen*; in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/1148, 112/2494, 112/5004, 112/16692, and 231/12; and in BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur. For the past history of the Cologne SS, see the references in the LHRP-Ko, Best. 403/16749, 16750, and 16753.

10. Gauleiter Grohé an NSDAP Oberstes Parteigericht vom 03.01.1935, in BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur; NSDAP Gauleitung Köln-Aachen an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln vom 22.07.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/2494, p. 11; Urteil des Sondergerichts Köln vom 08.01.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/16693, p. 485.

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11. Lagebericht des Regierungspräsidenten Köln vom 14.08.1933, in BA-B, R 58/2047, p. 94.

12. Vernehmung des Max Sch. vom 28.7.1933 and Bericht des Christian H. from 16.10.1933, both in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/1148, pp. 2–3, 20; and numerous references in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/5004, and BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur.

13. Excerpts from the Bericht des Reichsinspekteurs z.b.V. Holzschuher an den Stellvertreter des Führers vom 01.08.1934 and Gutachten der Reichsführung SS, Abt III Nr. G. 378 [August 1934], in BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur; NSDAP Gauleitung Köln-Aachen an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln vom 22.07.1936, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/2494, p. 11; Staatsanwaltschaftliche Vernehmung des Emil R. vom 18.09.1934 and Gauleiter Grohé an Oberstaatsanwalt Köln vom 08.10.1934, in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/16692, pp. 55, 81; and numerous references in the NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/9455.

14. Jacobsen, *So hat es angefangen*, pp. 84, 120; NS-Dok, Z 1008 and Z 10037.

15. See references in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/1148, 112/5004, 112/9172, 112/9455, 112/15166, and 112/16692–16694.

16. See note 13 as well as Gauleiter Grohé an NSDAP Oberstes Parteigericht vom 03.01.1935 and Bericht der 2. Kammer des Obersten Parteigerichts vom 04.02.1935, both in BA-BL (BDC), OPG, Ruhland, Arthur.

17. References in NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 112/5126 and 112/6177; BA-BL (BDC), SSO, Balzer, Josef.

18. NWHStA-(D), Gerichte Rep. 231/12 and 231/241.

KÖNIGSBRÜCK BEI DRESDEN

On March 22, 1933, the Saxon State Criminal Office ordered the establishment of a labor service camp for "protective custody" prisoners at Königsbrück bei Dresden. Situated in Hostel Stenz, Königsbrück existed until May 28, when the 71 prisoners were transferred to Hohnstein, a larger early concentration camp.

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

As reproduced in Drobisch and Wieland (p. 48), primary documentation about Königsbrück can be found in the files of the Ministerium für Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten, located in the SHStA-(D).

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KÖNIGSTEIN

On March 15, 1933, the Königstein SA converted a workers' nature retreat on the Elbe River into an early concentration camp. SA-Sturmführer Erich Rossig headed the camp, and SA-Sturmführer Johannes Delin commanded the guard unit. The number of guards is not known. On April 12, 1933, the camp population stood at approximately 215 prisoners. The prisoners included Communists, Social Democrats, and at least one Jew.

At Königstein, the guards forced the prisoners to conduct demoralizing and debilitating exercises. An anonymous prisoner left an account of this "sport": "We had to run on the double for three-quarters of an hour, then stood at attention for an hour without stirring, at the same time we were threatened with a revolver and beaten with rubber hoses, horsewhips, and carbines. Then we had to kneel for an hour, head facing the ground. If this drill were carried out sloppily we were kicked in the face and neck, namely with hob-nailed boots. Then we got another hour-long beating. Individuals were beaten half to death."[1]

The five-day ordeal of Max Tabaschnik demonstrated the antisemitism, sadism, and greed of Königstein's guards. Born in Ukraine on April 20, 1893, Tabaschnik had lived in Germany as a stateless person since 1910. He practiced dentistry in Pirna near Dresden after World War I. On March 25, 1933, the police took him into "protective custody" at Pirna's Fronfest prison on suspicion of circulating atrocity stories against the regime, a common Nazi allegation against Jews. About protective custody, he observed, "From whom should I be 'protected,' or who from me?"[2]

With other Fronfest prisoners, Tabaschnik was transferred to Königstein on May 5, 1933. The initiates were kicked and verbally abused, but the guard commander ordered Tabaschnik to step forward because he was Jewish. On the first day, while working in the stone quarry an SA guard ordered him to run. Remembering that others had been "shot while attempting to escape," he stood pat. While working, the guards shouted antisemitic epithets at him: "Isidor, Sahra [*sic*], garlic, onion!" When the others returned to the camp, Tabaschnik endured "extra training": "Forward march! Lie down! Stand up! Lie down!" After striking him several times, the guards played a joke, prepared in advance, by presenting him a certificate of permission for emigration to Palestine. The reverse bore Nazi slogans, however: "Germany awake! Perish Juda!"[3]

Denied food and water, Tabaschnik was returned to the cellar. The guards disrupted his sleep by "pouring water over [his] feet." Rossig and Delin summoned him to the camp leaders' office at 10:30 P.M., where they demanded that he surrender the 100 Reichsmark (RM) in his possession. He did so and admitted to having an additional 250 RM at home but refused to let them have it, because he would not leave his wife and 10-year-old son in distress. Rossig nevertheless called Frau Tabaschnik at midnight to demand the money. Returned to the cellar before 2:00 A.M., he was roused three hours later, when Rossig wanted another 20 RM, allegedly in order to pay for the fueling of the quarry truck.[4]

As his involuntary fast entered a second day, Tabaschnik watched the other prisoners eat lunch. A guard kicked him when he attempted to drink some water. By now, his thirst

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was all-consuming. In the cellar, the guards made him do 150 deep knee bends. The guard adjutant, Baron von Pose, stood over him, screaming, "Faster! Faster!" He was exhausted after 80 repetitions. Delin exclaimed, "But he still has not licked up our spit!"—at which point the SA made him lick the ground. The camp cook then presented him with his first bread and water in two days, but only to drag out the torture, because the concoction consisted mainly of salt and pepper. When Tabaschnik refused to eat it, the "ruffian" punched and kicked him, forcing him to admit, "That is a rump steak, that is a little piece of apple, that is a glass of beer." Afterward, he was made to sing Russian songs, as the guards danced Russian style. Before this session was over, Rossig and Delin told him, "Either you go to [the early camp at] Sonnenstein . . . or you die. One of the two."[5]

Tabaschnik's third day began with the SA bringing him before a policeman. The SA announced that if he did not pay any more, the policeman would shoot him. Rossig later handed him a pistol so that he could commit suicide. Without food or rest for three days, he pulled the trigger but discovered that this was another joke at his expense, because the firearm was unloaded. Conducted to the quarry, the guards told him, "There is no Sunday for Jews." After lifting heavy stones, he performed penal exercises. Two guards struck him in the chest and put their boots on his head, so that he ended up with "sand in his eyes." When work resumed, he had to load huge stones onto a truck. The guards harangued him when he proved unable to do so.[6]

In camp, the guards gave Tabaschnik a rough-hewn Mohawk. Around his arm they placed a band in Reichsbanner colors—black, red, and gold. Although the publication of his testimony in a Social Democratic compilation suggested that he was a Social Democrat, he never explicitly indicated his political leanings. The Nazis probably labeled him as Reichsbanner because he was Jewish. In another extortion tack, Delin asked about his business associates. The prisoner mentioned his dental goods supplier, Firma Zahndepot Timmel in Dresden, with which he had enjoyed a standing line of credit for a decade. The testimony never indicated whether the SA contacted the Timmel firm. In the cellar, Tabaschnik attempted suicide by slitting his wrist with a razor blade. The SA stopped the bleeding, but the torture continued. Catching him with some food, Baron von Pose "tore the bowl from my hands and poured out the contents, as if I had committed a terrible crime." The cycle of "quarry—exercise place—quarry—exercise place" began anew on the fourth day.[7]

On his fourth night at Königstein, Tabaschnik's treatment began to change. The guards allowed him to rest undisturbed. On Tuesday morning, the SA sheared off his Mohawk, which he took as a sign of his imminent execution. Summoned to the camp leader's office, Rossig instead prepared him for the visit of his wife and child. The camp leader listed some rationalizations to explain away Tabaschnik's terrible appearance: "Your hair was shaved off—good, in the camp your beard was plaited! Your hand is bandaged—you injured yourself in the quarry! Your clothes are filthy—that's from the work!"[8]

The visit was painful for father and son. Werner Tabaschnik recalled: "I didn't even think that he was our father." Tabaschnik was released on May 10 and sent to recover in a Pirna hospital. Upon release, Rossig returned half of his 100 RM but threatened to kill him if he talked about Königstein. In late March 1934, the Tabaschniks illegally crossed the Czech border.[9]

It is also known that guards stomped Communist prisoner Fritz Gumbert to death. Anonymous prisoner testimonies singled out SA-Mann Bienert and Truppenführer Fuhrmann as especially cruel. An account that ran in the Prague *Sozialdemokrat* alleged that these guards engaged in "sadistic orgies" of torture and sexual abuse.[10]

Königstein was dissolved on May 31, 1933. The remaining prisoners were transferred to the larger early camp at Hohnstein. It is not known whether Rossig, Delin, or other camp staff were tried after the war.

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

The most important primary documentation for this camp comes from the testimonies of Max and Werner Tabaschnik, which were published in the Social Democratic compilation *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934). Despite the stated place of publication, the book was printed in Prague. A second primary source consists of an anonymous letter by a Königstein prisoner that was secretly smuggled into Germany by the Communist Party. It was published in Paul Prokop, ed., *Lernen Sie das schöne Deutschland kennen: Ein Reiseführer, unentbehrlich für jeden Besucher der Olympiade* (Prague: Prokop, 1936). This ostensible guide to the 1936 Berlin Olympics was a piece of camouflage containing several brief camp testimonies and an accurate map of concentration camps and detention centers. The account originally ran in longer form in World Committee for the Victims of German Fascism, *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror*, foreword by Lord Marley (Basel: Universumbücherei, 1933).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. "SPORT: Wie er in den 'Sportkommandos' der Konzentrationslager getrieben wird . . . Aus dem Brief eines Gefangenen aus Königstein," in *Lernen Sie das schöne Deutschland kennen: Ein Reiseführer, unentbehrlich für jeden Besucher der Olympiade*, ed. Paul Prokop (Prague: Prokop, 1936), n.p. A longer version of this account with slightly different wording appeared earlier in World Committee for the Victims of German Fascism, *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror*, foreword by Lord Marley (Basel: Universumbücherei, 1933), pp. 290–291.

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2. Max Tabaschnik, "Königstein," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 90–94.
3. Ibid., pp. 95–97.
4. Ibid., pp. 97–98.
5. Ibid., pp. 100–101.
6. Ibid., pp. 102–103.
7. Ibid., pp. 104–105, 107.
8. Ibid., pp. 107–108.
9. Ibid., pp. 108–112; Werner Tabaschnik, "Ein Kind erzählt vom Dritten Reich," in *Konzentrationslager*, p. 115.
10. The accounts are reproduced in World Committee, *Braunbuch*, pp. 290–291.

KUHLEN [AKA RICKLING, FALKENRIED, INNERE MISSION]

On July 18, 1933, Segeberg rural district administrator Werner Stier established a small concentration camp outside Rickling (Gemeinde Rickling), at the Landesverein für Innere Mission (State Association for Inner Mission) in Schleswig-Holstein. This camp had several names, including Kuhlen, Rickling, Falkenried, and Innere Mission. Founded in 1875, the Landesverein was a psychiatric and relief institution owned by the Evangelical state church. By the time of the concentration camp's foundation, the Innere Mission had come under the pro-Nazi German Christian movement (Deutsche Christen). In 1933, the Mission's director was Dr. Oskar Epha. Intended to relieve overcrowding at Schleswig-Holstein's first early concentration camp at Glückstadt, Kuhlen occupied the Falkenried barracks, one of several barracks established at Innere Mission for work relief during the Great Depression. The first detainees, recalled prisoner Albert Stange, refitted the civilian barracks as a concentration camp, including the digging of post holes for the camp fence.[1] The Innere Mission's deacon, Franz Schuba, handled camp finances through the Mission's estate administration. Mission documents indicated the administrative relationship: "Landesverein für Innere Mission, Det[achment] Concentration Camp Kuhlen."[2] The Mission did not issue direct orders to the prisoners, however.

Kuhlen had a mixed SS and SA administration. The commandant was SS-Mann Othmar Walchensteiner. His deputy was Erwin H., an SS trooper from Neumünster. The remaining eight guards, called "camp police," were SA members. The prisoners addressed the guards by police, not SA, titles, such as "Hauptwachtmeister." For a brief period, Innere Mission contributed to the guards' health insurance but ceased to do so after Oberlandjägermeister Denker of the Bad Segeberg police informed the deacon that it was not necessary.[3] The Austrian-born Walchensteiner belonged to the Artamanen youth movement. He joined the Nazi Party in 1925 (membership number 1083), but his membership lapsed while he was studying at an Evangelical monastery for the deaconry.[4] In the early 1930s, he reactivated his party membership. A letter from the Schleswig-Holstein Gauleitung (Nazi Party province Administration), dated August 5, 1933, praised his concentration camp work: "How valuable and how necessary is your activity in the interests of the National Socialist State." The Gauleitung suggested that Walchensteiner's name was under consideration for promotion as head of "one of the larger institutions."[5] This possibility failed to materialize; Walchensteiner headed the Innere Mission's barracks for chronic alcoholics for approximately two years after the concentration camp's closure. In the late 1930s, he served at Sachsenhausen concentration camp and at SS academies at Vogelsang and Krössinsee. After military service from 1939 to 1941, he was promoted to SS-Obersturmbannführer and served with an Einsatzgruppe in the Soviet Union. He was killed near Minsk on December 10, 1943, while holding the post of Gebietskommissar.[6]

In total, Kuhlen held 191 mostly political prisoners. Nearly all originated from Schleswig-Holstein, with the exceptions of 3 prisoners from East Prussia, Sweden, and Switzerland.[7] No Jewish prisoners were interned in the camp. Of the 191 prisoners, the majority (133) came from Neumünster, Pinneberg, and Segeberg. The prisoners' ages ranged from 18 to 63. Most detainees were Social Democrats and Communists, although at least 2 were held for alleged petty theft and spreading rumors.[8] On August 31, 1933, the *Schleswig-Holsteinische Landeszeitung* newpaper boasted that with the admission of 13 Communists and 7 Socialists to Kuhlen "a blow" had been struck "against Marxism in Bad Oldesloe" and Altona.[9] The majority of detainees were imprisoned between 31 and 40 days, but no one remained in the camp for the entire time span. Although there were no deaths recorded, the prisoners suffered maltreatment. Walchensteiner had a reputation for harsh and arbitrary behavior.

The camp population exceeded available space. Although the *Norddeutsche Rundschau* newspaper reported that it could accommodate 60 prisoners when Kuhlen opened, reports in the *Pinneberger Kreisblatt* and the *Schleswig-Holsteinische Landeszeitung* subsequently alleged that space was available for 100 prisoners.[10] As indicated by an Innere Mission report, prepared when Falkenried was still a civilian labor camp, the barracks were originally designed to house 40 people.[11] After the first weeks, Kuhlen's population exceeded the Nazi press estimates: the camp had 19 prisoners in July, 102 in August, 141 in September, and 115 in October. The presence of arrest cells contributed to the space shortage. Falkenried also had a library for political reeducation. The camp lacked an infirmary, however. As prisoner Christian Zabel recalled, the sick and healthy shared bedding space. Serious cases were transferred to local hospitals.[12]

The detainees performed agricultural labor for Innere Mission. In total they worked 75,000 hours for the Mission, against an outlay for the camp of slightly more than 9,000 Reichsmark (RM).[13] Kreis Segeberg paid the Mission for inmate deployment, at a daily rate of 1.50 RM per person per day, but Deacon Schuba unsuccessfully attempted to secure a higher rate. The prisoners worked from 6:30 A.M. to 6:00 P.M.[14] After work, they sang Nazi songs.

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On August 21, 1933, the *Pinneberger Kreisblatt* painted a highly idealized picture of detainee labor. Claiming that "the prisoners find themselves in an outstanding food situation," the article cited a "camp administrator" who averred "that educational labor [shows] great early success. By and large the prisoners are polite and willing to work." One "of our Elmshorn prisoners," the *Kreisblatt* continued, a legal counselor, performed kitchen duty before setting off for agricultural labor. In peeling potatoes, "he finds himself in the best society of a former mayor." Former Communist Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Reinhold Jürgensen, depicted in the same article as "the pride of Elmshorn," reported that he "feels well and gladly works in the fresh air."[15]

Visitors to this camp included the Elmshorn mayor and the Hamburg Swedish consul. Mayor Krumbeck inspected the prisoners from his town and contrasted the Nazis' alleged humanity with the Communists'. After giving the Hitler greeting, he announced: "Lord God, we Nazis are so humane. Where would we be if the Communists had managed to gain control over the State[?]"[16] Consul Jänson visited Kuhlen to interview Swedish citizen "P.," an unemployed sailor who lived in Trittau. Conversing with the detainees alone in Swedish, Jänson discovered that P. got into trouble while joking with someone he thought was a friend, who in turn denounced him to the authorities. P. also complained that Walchensteiner threatened that the sailor would "never see his wife again" if he failed to carry out the commandant's orders to the letter.[17]

The Kuhlen detainees included the Zabel family, Adolf and sons Herbert and Christian, who entered the camp on August 18, 1933. Accused of being an "intellectual" who flouted Nazi press decrees, the 63-year-old Adolf was compelled to work on the farm. Walchensteiner called Herbert a "Jew and Bolshevist." A World War I veteran with a weak heart, Herbert received permission from Hauptwachtmeister D. not to participate in morning exercises, but Walchensteiner furiously belayed the order. Breaking several of Herbert's teeth, Walchensteiner ordered the same guard to strip Herbert's Iron Cross from his uniform. The commandant similarly maltreated Christian. When Christian replied sarcastically to a question, Walchensteiner flew into a rage. Threatened with the Emsland camps, Christian was escorted off premises at gunpoint. Either Walchensteiner staged this scene or his anger quickly abated, because he suddenly led Christian back to camp and had him returned to quarters.[18]

Kuhlen was formally dissolved in October 1933, and the prisoners were transferred to the Emsland camps. In a postwar account, director Epha attempted to distance himself from the concentration camp by claiming that he was in Berlin in the fall of 1933, lobbying at the Prussian Ministry of Interior for its dissolution.[19] The Kiel Regional Court tried Erwin H. in 1948 in connection with his Kuhlen activities. Dissatisfied with the court's lenient sentence (one year), the British occupation authorities ordered H.'s retrial, which resulted in a three-year penitentiary sentence. Credited with time served in an Italian camp at war's end, the former camp deputy was released in July 1950.[20]

SOURCES This essay is based upon three excellent studies by Harald Jenner: *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933* (Rickling: Landesverein für Innere Mission in Schleswig-Holstein, 1988), which contains an extremely helpful statistical abstract of prisoners, in addition to numerous reprinted documents; "Ein Lager im Bereich der Inneren Mission—das KZ Kuhlen," in *Die Frühen Konzentrationslager in Deutschland; Austausch zum Forschungsstand und zur pädagogischen Praxis in Gedenkstätten*, ed. Karl Giebeler, Thomas Lutz, and Silvester Lechner (Bad Böll: Evangelische Akademie, 1996), pp. 130–175; and "In Trägerstadt der Inneren Mission: Das Konzentrationslager Kuhlen," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 111–128. Also helpful is the standard study of the early Nazi camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). A listing for Kuhlen may be found in "Dritte Verordnung zur Änderung der Sechsten Verordnung zur Durchführung des Bundesentschädigungsgesetzes (3. ÄndV-6. DV-BEG) vom 24. November 1982," *BGBl.*, ed. Bundesminister der Justiz, Teil I (1982): 1576. Listed under Rickling, the Kuhlen memorial is recorded in Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg*, *Bayern*, *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Hessen*, *Niedersachsen*, *Nordrhein-Westfalen*, *Rheinland-Pfalz*, *Saarland*, *Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). The Landesverein für Innere Mission in Schleswig-Holstein has a Web site at www.landesverein.de.

Primary documentation for this camp begins with the ALIM, as cited by Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*. Particularly valuable are the Mission's 1932 report, File DD 410, which furnishes an estimate for Falkenried's accommodations as a "free labor service camp" and the Mission's accounting records. Jenner also reproduces some reports related to this camp from the LA-Sch-H. These include the 1948 proceedings against Erwin H.; Jenner does not cite a case number for this trial. Reproduced as the appendix to this volume is a Swedish consular report from Hamburg to the Berlin embassy, dated September 12, 1933, which is from FMAS-(S). As cited by Jenner, information on Walchensteiner's career may be found in his BDCPF. Jenner reproduces the testimonies of Adolf, Christian, and Herbert Zabel but does not cite an archival source. Christian Zabel's report is dated Neumünster, November 30, 1933, but it is not clear when or where the other two reports were produced. Press reports for Kuhlen include a Socialist exile article, "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, August 27, 1933, which lists this camp as "Rickling." Jenner reproduces many local press reports from the *HoCu*, October 14 and 17, 1933; *NdtRu*, July 18, 1933; *PiKb*, August 21, September 23, and October 5, 1933; *SHZ*, August 17, 21, 28, and 31, 1933; and *SKTb*, September 7, 1933.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Albert Stange interview, 1987, cited by Harald Jenner, "Ein Lager im Bereich der Inneren Mission—das KZ Kuhlen," in *Die Frühen Konzentrationslager in Deutschland: Austausch*

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zum Forschungsstand und zur pädagogischen Praxis in Gedenkstätten, ed. Karl Giebeler, Thomas Lutz, and Silvester Lechner (Bad Böll: Evangelische Akademie, 1996), p. 138.

2. KZ Kuhlen to Blaschenhagen, November 29, 1933, ALIM, reproduced in Harald Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933* (Rickling: Landesverein für Innere Mission in Schleswig-Holstein, 1988), p. 97.

3. Innere Mission to Denker, September 9, 1933, ALIM, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 84.

4. Othmar Walchensteiner, BDCPF, cited in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 83.

5. NSDAP Gauleitung Schleswig-Holstein to Walchensteiner, August 5, 1933, ALIM, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 81.

6. Walchensteiner BDCPF, cited in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 83.

7. "Schwedischer Seemann beschimpft SA und kommt ins Konzentrationslager," *SHZ*, August 21, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 61; Schweizerisches Konsulat, Hamburg, to Frau Emilie S., September 21, 1933, reproduced without archival source in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 63; Alfred Stamer interview, March 11, 1988, cited in Jenner, "Ein Lager im Bereich der Inneren Mission," p. 139.

8. "Ins Konzentrationslager geschickt," *HoCu*, October 14, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 57; "Ein Gerüchtemacher ins Konzentrationslager eingeliefert," *SHZ*, August 17, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 58.

9. "Ein Schlag gegen den Marxismus in Bad Oldesloe," *SHZ*, August 31, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 55.

10. "Konzentrationslager bei Rickling," *NdtRu*, July 18, 1933; "Besuch im Konzentrationslager Kuhlen," *PiKb*, August 21, 1933; and "Es ist noch Platz im Konzentrationslager," *SHZ*, August 28, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, pp. 41, 68, 71.

11. Innere Mission Bericht, 1932, File DD 410, in ADW-B, as quoted in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 68.

12. Christian Zabel testimony, November 30, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 75; KZ Kuhlen, Bericht, 32. Woche, über das Konzentrationslager Kuhlen, to Ratzeburg Landrat, LA-Sch-H, Abteilung 320, Ratzeburg, File 1355.

13. Christian Zabel testimony, November 30, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 75; KZ Kuhlen, Bericht, 32. Woche, über das Konzentrationslager Kuhlen, to Ratzeburg Landrat, LA-Sch-H, Abteilung 320, Ratzeburg, File 1355.

14. Swedish Consul-General in Hamburg to Embassy in Berlin, September 9, 1933, Royal Swedish Foreign Ministry, Stockholm, as reproduced and translated by Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 119.

15. "Besuch im Konzentrationslager Kuhlen," *PiKb*, August 21, 1933, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 71.

16. Ibid.

17. Swedish Consul-General in Hamburg to Embassy in Berlin, September 9, 1933, Royal Swedish Foreign Ministry, Stockholm, reproduced and translated by Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 119.

18. Testimonies of Adolf, Christian, and Herbert Zabel, reproduced in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, pp. 75–77.

19. Oskar Epha, "Der Landesverein für Innere Mission in Schleswig-Holstein in der Zeit der Weimarer Republik und des Dritten Reiches," in *Festschrift zur Feier des 100 jährigen Bestehens des Landesvereins am 30. September 1975* (Rickling: Landesverein für Innere Mission in Schleswig-Holstein, 1975), p. 60, cited in Jenner, *Konzentrationslager Kuhlen 1933*, p. 103.

20. LA-Sch-H, Abteilung 352 Kiel file 1702, cited in Jenner, "Ein Lager im Bereich der Inneren Mission," p. 157.

LANDAU [AKA SCHUTZHAFTLAGER IN DER LANDAUER FORTKASERNE]

On March 9, 1933, the National Socialists seized power in Bavaria and therewith also in the Bavarian Palatinate. The government, sustained by the Bavarian People's Party (BVP), was removed from office and fled Munich. As in Bavaria, Nazi sympathizers also celebrated this event in the Palatinate with mass rallies on March 10, 1933. Simultaneously, the new rulers began arresting political opponents, primarily members of the German Communist Party (KPD), the Social Democratic Party (SPD), and the Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold (RB). By March 11, 1933, 13 citizens of Landau had been taken into "protective custody" and brought to the local court prison: 9 of these individuals were Communists, 2 were members of the RB, 1 was a Social Democratic city councilor, and 1 was a member of the German Democratic Party (DDP). The latter 2 were Jews.[1]

The number of protective custody prisoners increased rapidly as political opponents of the Nazis not only from Landau but also from the entire southern Palatinate and from Speyer were brought to the Landau local court prison. By April 3, 1933, their number had grown to 50 people, and the prison was completely overcrowded. As a result the political leadership in Landau sought out and found a solution to this problem: "When during the days of the National Socialist revolution many protective custody prisoners were delivered to the Landau local court prison, Obersturmbannführer Keim, special commissioner for the Landau district office, agreed with the provisional mayor of Landau that protective custody prisoners had to work."[2]

In order to enforce this decision, a working place for the Landau prisoners was set up in the second half of March 1933. From this point on, it was referred to as "protective custody camp in the Landau fort barracks" (*Schutzhaftlager in der Landauer Fortkaserne*). The prisoners had to clear away the torn-up cement floor of the military barracks of the fort and prepare the area as a sports field for the SA.[3] The city council of Landau, represented by the welfare office, had to provide the necessary tools and aids for the job, as well as suitable work clothes for the prisoners.[4] Also, the accommodations for prisoners and their guards (SA and SS men), which provided shelter during bad weather, were financed with state funds. In total the costs for the city of Landau amounted to 1,138.53 Reichsmark (RM).[5]

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The prisoners working in the Fortkaserne also received their meals there. They were, however, still housed in the Landau local court prison, where the SS picked them up, took them to work, and brought them back in the evenings.[6]

The local press reported extensively about the prisoners' work. On April 11, 1933, and again on May 18, 1933, the *Landauer Anzeiger* reported on the work of approximately 35 to 40 prisoners in an article replete with photographs under the title: "A sports field emerges from the stony desert: the work of the protective custody prisoners in the Landau Fort for the creation of an SA club house with a sports field."[7] The photographs show the prisoners working, preparing lunch, and having lunch with SA and SS men. The caption reads, "We can see from their happy faces that it tastes good."[8] Both articles represent Nazi propaganda of that time that intended to play down the situation in the camps. They reveal little truth about the daily life of the prisoners.

Nevertheless, the conditions in the Landau camp still seem to have been bearable in comparison with many other camps. The prisoners received meals from the SA kitchen in addition to their prison rations.[9] They were also allowed to receive visitors and move around freely with them in a designated area.[10]

Only one case of prisoner abuse in the Landau camp is known. In June 1933, an arbitrary action initiated by the SS and later stopped by the district leader took place against Landau's Jews. Jewish citizens were arrested and first brought to the "Schwan" hotel, an SS clubhouse, and then imprisoned in a barrack at the Fortkaserne. The SS men abused the prisoners cruelly: "I was injured, beaten so severely in the Fortkaserne that I had to go to the hospital in Basel, Switzerland, for treatment and was unable to work for a year."[11]

After the sports field was completed, the protective custody camp was dissolved. On July 15, 1933, the local press reported the release of the last protective custody prisoner.[12] From mid-March 1933 to July 15, 1933, a total of 135 prisoners had been interned at Landau. The length of imprisonment varied greatly and ranged from a few days up to three months.[13]

The authorities had to deal with the camp's funding well into 1935. The city of Landau attempted to get reimbursed for the funds that they had spent on setting up and maintaining the prison. The city argued that neither the local police authorities nor the welfare authorities should have to pay for political protective custody.[14] The Palatinate government in Speyer deferred all responsibility in a countermove: it did not even know of the Landau camp's establishment.[15] In August 1933, the four Jewish prisoners in the protective detention camp received a request for payment from the city of Landau. They were supposed to pay a retroactive allowance for food of 10 RM per day.[16] This form of refunding failed, however, due to the insolvency of the Jewish citizens.[17] Also, SA-Regiment 18 (Standarte 18), which had benefited from the prisoners' work, was not willing to cover the costs, since it supposedly did not have the necessary financial means. In addition, the prisoners' work had been carried out on state property; since that area of land now supposedly possessed a higher value, no financial damage had been inflicted on the city of Landau.[18]

SOURCES The Landau protective custody camp has not been extensively researched; references to the camp in literature are correspondingly sparse. The comprehensive work by Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), mentions Landau twice in connection with other early concentration camps. The Landau camp is briefly explored in Ursula Krause-Schmitt, Angelika Arenz-Morch, and Hans Berkessel, "Von 'Schutzhaft' and 'Umerziehung' zur Vernichtung: Zu einigen Aspekten des nationalsozialistischen Lagersystems in Rheinland-Pfalz," in *Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus in Rheinland-Pfalz*, vol. 2, *"Für die Aussenwelt seid ihr tot!,"* ed. Hans-Georg Meyer and Hans Berkessel (Mainz: H. Schmidt, 2000), pp.17–31. The most complete is Rolf Übel, "Das Landauer Schutzhaftlager (März bis Juli 1933)," *Heimatjahrbuch 1989 des Landkreises Südliche Weinstrasse*. This essay offers a good overview on the seizure of power in Landau and the development of the camp.

There are only a few sources on Landau. The records of the city welfare office with special reference to "protective detention camp" are located at the ASt-Ld, A II 3062. The thin folder contains documents that deal primarily with the costs and refunding of the camp.

The prisoner book (*Gefangenenbuch*) of the Landau penitentiary for the period between January 19, 1932, and April 22, 1936, can be found at the LA-Sp, J 87, No. 4. It contains information on numbers and origin of protective custody prisoners as well as duration of their imprisonment. The records of the trial against Johann Meyer, who was sentenced for crimes against humanity in October 1948, are located in the files of the state attorney's office at the Landau Regional Court (the LA-Sp, J 74, No. 5375). The abovementioned action against the Jews of Landau prompted the proceedings against Meyer. The interrogation protocols, witness statements, and detailed opinion of the court contain few and partially very contradictory references to the conditions in the camp, particularly with regard to Jewish prisoners.

Contemporaneous press coverage, particularly the *LdAnz*, may also provide additional sources; the propagandistic intention of these articles, however, must always be taken into account.

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trans. Lynn Wolff

NOTES

1. LA-Sp, J 87, No. 4.
2. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Schreiben des SA-Sturbannes II-18, Landau, an die Kreisleitung der NSDAP, 03.02.1934.
3. Ibid.
4. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, various orders and invoices.
5. ASt-Ld A II 3062, Schreiben des Städtischen Wohlfahrtsamtes an das Bezirksamt, 26.05.1933.
6. LA-Sp, J 74, No. 5375, Aussage von Johann Meyer; ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Schreiben des SA-Sturbannes II-18, Landau, an die Kreisleitung der NSDAP, 03.02.1934.
7. "Aus der Steinwüste entsteht ein Sportplatz: Die Arbeiten der Schutzhäftlinge in Landauer Fort zur Herrichtung eines SA-Heims mit Sportplatz," *LdAnz*, May 18, 1933.
8. Ibid. The caption read: "Dass es schmeckt, sehen wir an den fröhlichen Gesichtern."

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9. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Schreiben des SA-Sturbannes II-18, Landau, an die Kreisleitung der NSDAP, 03.02.1934.

10. LA-Sp, J 74, No. 5375, Aussage von Johann Meyer; *LdAnz*, May 18, 1933.

11. LA-Sp, J 74, No. 5375, Schreiben von Sally Dreyfuss an Staatsanwalt Dr. Rebholz, 13.09.1949.

12. *DRbPf*, July 15, 1933.

13. LA-Sp, J 87, No. 4.

14. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Schreiben des Städtischen Wohlfahrtsamtes an das Bezirksamt, 26.05.1933.

15. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Schreiben der Regierung der Pfalz an den Politischen Polizeikommandeur München, in Abschrift an das Städtische Wohlfahrtsamt Landau, 14.07.1933.

16. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Formbrief des Städtischen Wohlfahrtsamtes betr. Verpflegung im Schutzhaftlager, einzusetzen bei Juden, 16.08.1933.

17. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Schreiben von August Schönfeld an das Bürgermeisteramt Landau, 19.08.1933; Schreiben von Kurt Levy an das Bürgermeisteramt Landau, 19.08.1933.

18. ASt-Ld, A II 3062, Schreiben der SA-Standarte 18 an das Städtische Wohlfahrtsamt Landau, 23.06.1934.

LANGLÜTJEN II

In February 1933, Hermann Göring decreed that auxiliaries from the ranks of the so-called national associations would reinforce the regular police.[1] Göring's decree was also implemented in Bremen at the beginning of March. The government assembled the auxiliary police (Hilfspolizei) from the ranks of the SS, SA, and the Stahlhelm, which supported not only the municipal police (Schutzpolizei) but the Criminal Police as well. The Bremerhaven Hilfspolizei, brought into being on March 7 and, like its Bremen counterpart, equipped with rubber truncheons, service weapons, service identification, and armbands (which read "Hilfspolizei"), initially reached a strength of 25 men but grew to over 100 men by the end of April. From this group, which was originally supposed to secure bridges, water- and gasworks, the guards for the Bremen concentration camps Missler, Ochtumsand, and Langlütjen II were assembled. After the SS was found guilty of serious excesses in Missler, they were replaced by the SA in May 1933, which then also provided the guard unit for Ochtumsand and Langlütjen II.

Both the SA and SS, however, had only a supporting function, as the actual penal system was in state hands, those of the Bremen Schutzpolizei. Thus, regular police officials had been assigned as superiors to the SS and SA at every camp, which often led to serious conflicts as the National Socialists, who mostly came from ordinary backgrounds, only unwillingly submitted themselves to police commands, since they considered themselves the victors in the "national" revolution.

When a massive wave of arrests began in the fall of 1933, the new leaders were unprepared for the resulting organizational problems. From the beginning, one question kept coming up: where were the numerous political opponents, suddenly arrested, to be kept? The existing possibilities, which were the police prisons and other detention centers, had quickly exhausted their capacities. Due to the overcrowding, there was constant improvisation. On July 11, 1933, Police Senator (Polizeisenator) Theodor Laue announced that he was considering closing the Missler concentration camp and interning the prisoners at another location.[2] A small number of prisoners were to be kept at the former fort Langlütjen II across from Bremerhaven, while a larger number were to be kept at a yet-to-be-built camp on the embankment of the Ochtum, the Ochtumsand, a small tributary of the Weser on the heights around Bremen. The transportation of the prisoners to both new camps did not take place until several weeks after the resolution had been passed.

As defense against potential attacks from enemy naval forces, between 1869 and 1880 the German imperial navy had built two fortresses, Langlütjen I and II, on the sandbar between the right and left shipping channels of the Weser. Langlütjen II consisted of a gun emplacement and an outer wall that were separated from each other by a roughly 8 meters (26.2 feet) wide by 5 meters (16.4 feet) deep moat. In the middle of the fortress stood the guns: five 280 mm and two 150 mm turrets. Centered around the gun emplacement were several levels of casemates as well as large and small rooms as if predestined to become communal and single cells. When the Bremen senate decided to rent the fort, these rooms were in a state of neglect, as the island had not been used in the Weimar years.[3] Indeed, the Bremerhaven Gestapo department had been busy establishing the camp since September 9, 1933; the traces of decay, however, had to be removed by the first prisoners, among whom were several skilled workers who came from Bremen and arrived on the island on September 13 or 14, 1933, accompanied by 10 SA men and several regular police.

Polizeihauptmann Möller, head of the police station at Bremerhaven Kaiserhafen, ran Langlütjen II and twice a week ferried over to the island to check that everything was all right. Under his command were 10 to 12 Schutzpolizei officers who operated shifts on the island in groups of three: after seven days at a time they were relieved and brought back to land with the supply ship. In addition, there were roughly the same number of SA men: they were armed with pistols, carbines, and rubber truncheons and wore a white armband with the inscription "Hilfspolizei." The police officers were in charge of the provisions for the prisoners and the SA, detailing the guards and controlling their schedules, reading the names of prisoners at roll call, and performing the morning exercises with them. Möller emphatically exhorted his police not to tolerate any excesses from the SA. To rule out from the beginning incidents such as those at Missler, the SA was not allowed to enter prisoner cells. These measures had little chance of success, however, for the SA people only reluctantly obeyed the police orders. Möller intervened and issued warnings when after only a short time he received complaints about individual SA men who carelessly performed their duty and conducted themselves defiantly vis-à-vis the police. Through his visits to the island, he received additional information: prisoners, who later characterized him as an upright and respectable officer, came to him and complained about the SA harassment, so that Möller forced the dismissal of the guilty. In this way, by around the end of October 1933, SA men, who had been in the interim newly recruited

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from Bremerhaven, replaced almost the complete guard staff from the city of Bremen. With the new guards, there were few excesses worth mentioning in the treatment of inmates.

There are no definite references as to how space within the camp was divided. It can be assumed that guard units were accommodated in a separate living house that no longer exists, while the prisoners stayed in the casemates. As the camp was only designed for a maximum of 50 people, there may have been 7 to 10 rooms, 3 communal cells, and 4 provisional detention cells that served as single cells. These deep, dark, and damp basement rooms were located in the center of the embankment structure, in a narrow passage, rather far down, inaccessible, and difficult to ventilate. They primarily served to isolate those prisoners who refused to give evidence to the Gestapo. Hardly anything is known about the furniture of the cells, but they were probably similar to those on Barge 86 and also limited to the necessities: long tables with several seats and beds with thin straw mattresses arranged on top of each other.

As at Ochtumsand, separate kitchens were set up for prisoners and guard personnel; guards apparently also had a small canteen available to them. There are contradictory statements concerning provisions. They were probably rather modest but not nearly as bad, however, as in the later camps. The prisoners' relatives, who were very well informed of the prisoners' whereabouts, could send them mail and tobacco on a weekly basis. On the occasion of a visit to the island fortress in June 1933, the head of the Bremen Office in Bremerhaven (Bremisches Amt), along with a doctor, became convinced that the prisoners required medical treatment due to the dampness in the cells. In conversations with the Gestapo and others involved, he asserted that regular examinations were necessary.

On November 9 and at Christmas in 1933, the authorities granted amnesties that applied to the prisoners of both Bremen camps. Langlütjen II was closed on January 25, 1934, after only four months in operation. There were three deciding factors: (1) high costs, (2) relatively low numbers of prisoners, and (3) the dependency on the tides, which resulted in constant organizational and administrative problems. From that point on, only the Ochtumsand concentration camp was available for interning Bremen "protective custody" prisoners. This camp, however, was also closed on May 15, 1934. Those who up to that point had not yet been released were transferred to one of the new camps outside of Bremen, to Dachau, or to the Emsland moor camps.

The Bremen concentration camps of 1933 are not to be compared with the several "wild" camps that came into being around the same time and were controlled by the SA and SS; nor are they the equivalent of those camps that were to systematize the terror on the basis of "special regulations." The Bremen camps were stopgaps, improvisations that developed from a lack of space in the first months of the dictatorship. Correspondingly, they still had characteristics from the transitional period: they did not have specific unified camp regulations, and no systematic program of terror was employed. In several areas the principle of chance prevailed.

On March 28, 1951, proceedings were opened before the Bremen Regional Court, which was to deal with the crimes committed "at Bremen and Langlütjen"; those proceedings, however, were soon referred to by the public as the "Missler trial," as the camps Ochtumsand and Langlütjen came up merely in passing.[4] Only under point 28 of the indictment does the Skrotzky case—the abuse and subsequent suicide of a prisoner on Langlütjen—receive mention. The defendant was a former SA Hilfspolizei officer who in the end was sentenced to eight months in prison (part of which he had already served) for bodily harm on duty concomitant with severe bodily harm in four cases. The remaining sentence was suspended. Those politically responsible for the camp, such as Police Senator Laue, for example, were not called to account.[5]

SOURCES The source base is severely lacking, as several files were destroyed around the end of the war. This primarily refers to Gestapo files, which are of the utmost importance. Relevant material exists only in the StA-Br; there are the attorney's files from the Bremen regional court, which concern the so-called Missler trial. These documents, which are otherwise very informative, remain sparse on the construction of the camp. The former prisoners primarily spoke of their suffered mistreatments after 1945—organizational or infrastructure problems were then of secondary importance. The history of both concentration camps had not been explored until 1992. Up to that date there existed highly contradictory information and rumors. In 1992, the author published the first relevant work: *Die Konzentrationslager Langlütjen und Ochtumsand* (Bremerhaven: Wissenschaftsverlag NW, Verlag für Neue Wissenschaft, 1992).

Lothar Wieland
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. On the auxiliary police in Bremen and Bremerhaven, see StA-Br, file "Löblich," 8 KMs 1/51, vol. 1; and ASt-Br, file "Gestapo 1946–47."

2. On the senate's motives, see ZdL, collection "Verschiedenes," Folder 207: Copies from the file "Schutzhaft politischer Gefangener" of the Senatsregistratur Bremen, primarily minutes of the senate meeting on July 18, 1933.

3. See various witness statements in StA-Br, file "Löblich," 8 KMs 1/51, vol. 3.

4. Anklageschrift der Oberstaatsanwaltschaft bei dem Landgericht Bremen v. 26.9.1950, in StA-Br, 8 KMs, 1/51, Bd. 3.

5. See verdict in StA-Br, file "Löblich" 8 KMs 1/51, vol. 2: "Handakten der Staatsanwaltschaft."

LEIPZIG

On March 10, 1933, the Leipzig Police Prison and related facilities became a "protective custody" camp. With the arrest of numerous leftists in Saxony after the promulgation of the Reichstag Fire Decree, the police president of Leipzig also sent detainees to the prison on Beethovenstrasse and to an annex of the police headquarters on Wächterstrasse. On

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April 12, 1933, Beethovenstrasse by itself held 191 prisoners. Although the details are sketchy, the Wächterstrasse prisoners worked under SS and SA supervision in the erection of a shooting range. Some may have been held in a pub frequented by the SA. Although Leipzig remained operational as a protective custody camp until at least September 1933, the detainees were transferred to larger camps at Colditz Castle, Hainichen, and Sachsenburg.

The Leipzig detainees included Walter Liebing, Helmut Müller, and Arno Henschel. The three formed what Liebing later characterized as a "resistance group" inside the prison. In nine weeks' detention in the "Gestapo cellar," Liebing was subjected to "lengthy interrogations and tortures." On approximately September 15, 1933, he and his comrades were dispatched to Colditz.[1]

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). Drobisch and Wieland do not furnish any details about the SA pub, except that it was an early camp with the Leipzig Police Prison. See also Mike Schmeitzner, "Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen 1933–1945," in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenhauer Verlag, 2002), pp. 183–199.

Primary documentation for this camp begins with File No. 4842 of the Ministerium für Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten in the SHStA-(D), as cited by Drobisch and Wieland and by Schmeitzner. There is a listing for the Leipzig investigative prison in Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, Ursula Krause-Schmitt, and ITS, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1: 241. A brief personal account of Leipzig can be found in Walter Liebing, "Mutiger Widerstand im faschistischen Konzentrationslager Colditz," in *Damit Deutschland lebe: Ein Quellenwerk über den deutschen antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf, 1933–1945*, ed. Walter A. Schmidt (Berlin [East]: Kongress-Verlag, 1958).

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. Walter Liebing, "Mutiger Widerstand im faschistischen Konzentrationslager Colditz," in *Damit Deutschland lebe: Ein Quellenwerk über den deutschen antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf, 1933–1945*, ed. Walter A. Schmidt (Berlin [East]: Kongress-Verlag, 1958), p. 273.

LESCHWITZ BEI GÖRLITZ [AKA WEINHÜBEL]

As early as March 1933, the Görlitz SA established a so-called private concentration camp in the former town of Leschwitz, on the bend of the Neisse River. Official documents referred to the camp as Weinhübel. It was located in the unused Hossner cloth factory, which, according to Paul Schwerin, had been owned by a Czech. Prior to the establishment of the camp, the so-called Braun Haus (Schützengasse 6) in the center of Görlitz had been used for a number of purposes, including torture.

The camp population probably ranged between 1,300 and 2,000. According to contemporary documents, only around 300 prisoners from Görlitz and its surrounding area were permanently held in the camp. This suggests a large fluctuation in the prisoner numbers. The facility was not a large one, with the result that the prisoners were quartered together in confined spaces. They were political opponents of the Nazi regime, Communists (KPD), Social Democrats (SPD), and anti-Fascists without party affiliation.

The SA occupied the Görlitz community center (*Volkshaus*) on Mittelstrasse as well as the trade union center (*Gewerkschaftshaus*) on March 13, 1933. The SPD officials and unionists were arrested and taken to the Leschwitz concentration camp or the police prison. According to Karl Würzburg, on May 2, 1933, 70 members of the leftist parties the KPD and 120 members of the SPD were arrested. Schwerin refers to new arrestees, mostly KPD members from towns to the north and northwest of Görlitz such as Rothenburg, Weisswasser, and Niesky. In a letter dated June 3, 1933, reporting to the president of Liegnitz, there is an accurate list of the camp inmates, including the following information: (1) number; (2) first name and surname; (3) date of birth; (4) residence; (5) location of "protective custody"; and (6) cursory details of the reasons for protective custody. In the relevant files for July 1, 1933, it is recorded that 2 members of the SPD and 2 KPD leaders were taken from Neu-Tschöpeln bei Muskau as protective custody prisoners to the Leschwitz concentration camp.

The concentration camp was under the control of SA-Standarte 19, which had its base at Furtstrasse 3 in Görlitz. It was still located at this address in 1941–1942, the last telephone book to be published before 1949–1950. Memoirs also refer to the SA-Sturm 19. The commander was SA-Truppführer Ernst Krüger from the town of Kohlfurt (Węgliniec) to the northeast of Görlitz. He and his wife lived on the first floor of the former factory's administration building. On the ground floor were the guards' room and the kitchen, as well as a cobbler's workshop, where the prisoners repaired the shoes and boots of their oppressors. According to Schwerin, the SA stole the furniture and kitchen utensils from the homes of the prisoners. In February 1938 there was a trial of former Leschwitz guards, in which Krüger and 15 others were called to account.

There was no real productive work in Leschwitz. Ten to 20 prisoners worked on large farms in the area, guarded by the SA. The prisoners who remained in the camp peeled potatoes, swept the yard, worked on Krüger's vegetable garden, or did other personal jobs for Krüger. A few had to do tasks that were clearly aimed at humiliating the prisoners. For example, sand had to be shifted without any obvious reason for the whole day from one corner of the courtyard to another. According to Alex Horstmann, the leading KPD comrades were not allowed to work on the farms, were not allowed to receive visitors, and were subject to mistreatment and torture.

Schwerin was transferred with his colleagues from the Görlitz police prison to the Leschwitz concentration camp on

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June 26, 1933. The Brown rulers helped them along the way, beating them and kicking them. Camp Commandant Krüger was also present with sarcastic jokes and depraved insults. Pictures of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and August Bebel were obtained to mock the prisoners. For the amusement of the SA, the prisoners had to take part in so-called sport. The SA chased them up trees and then made jokes about the apes in the trees. Fritz Pobig has described the interrogation room as the room of a "thousand fears." There was a special rack where the unlucky prisoners were held while they received up to 25 lashes. Especially feared were the gallows. The prisoners were locked into a dark room that held the transmission wheels of the former cloth factory. Here they were forced to stay in confined spaces in the most unusual positions. Otherwise, the prisoners were confined every evening at 8:00 P.M. (work stopped at 6:00 P.M.) to their quarters. Initially the prisoners slept on the concrete floor, then later on, wooden plank beds. According to Schwerin, the Communist prisoners, but not the Social Democrats, had their heads shaved. They were even threatened that their heads would be branded with the hammer and sickle. Concentration camp reports reflect the different treatment of Communist and Social Democratic prisoners. These reports should not be accepted without care. What is certain is that the most famous of Social Democrats in Görlitz, Member of the Reichstag Otto Buchwitz, was held in a special cell in Leschwitz that was half filled with water. Buchwitz escaped, living at first illegally in Berlin and later emigrating to Denmark. However, not all survived—Max Hirschel from Schmiedberg (probably Riesengebirge) died on May 14, 1933, in Leschwitz from mistreatment. A 17-year-old Jewish prisoner and one unknown Czech prisoner were murdered, and two prisoners committed suicide. Those two escaped their mistreatment—one prisoner slashed his wrists while under arrest, and the other hanged himself.

The camp inmates who wanted could go to the usual Sunday services in the local church, about 200 to 300 meters (656 to 984 feet) away, but under the supervision of uniformed SA guards. On other days, guarded by the SA, the prisoners returned from work, singing. Screams could be heard from the camp, which suggested torture. Religious care was only temporary in the Leschwitz concentration camp. According to contemporary reports, Görlitz Superintendent Georg Bornkamm was not impressed. As part of the Deutsche Christen movement, he wanted to bring Christians into the National Socialist fold. He protested against the inhuman terror at Leschwitz.

Krüger was eventually removed from his position as camp commandant because he incarcerated "nonpolitical citizens" in the camp. For example, he arrested a tradesman who he required for his personal use. In a letter dated August 10, 1934, Krüger, looking back, wrote that because of his sudden release from command, he was not in a position to hand over leadership to his successor Sturmführer Langner, in accordance with the regulations. According to Schwerin, Langner did not publicly beat any of the prisoners. The interrogations took place in the factory's former administration building. A Gestapo man from Liegnitz (Legnica) and two SA Truppführers did the interrogations. Efforts were made not to use particularly brutal forms of torture. Did this have something to do with the imminent end of the camp? Contemporary records show that Leschwitz was dissolved on August 30, 1933, due to the constant and increasingly vocal protests from the local population. The protests reflect the population's civil courage. Nevertheless, there are doubts whether that was the main reason for the closure of the camp. Perhaps the Nazis had plans that extended beyond the region. In any event, the report in the next sentence states that the prisoners were transferred to other concentration camps, mostly to Sonnenburg, Hainewalde, and Hohnstein in the Sächsische Schweiz.

The regional daily press reported relatively extensively in a number of articles on the trial of former personnel at Leschwitz. This was done in rather emotional tones. The former camp commandant Krüger admitted that he had joined the SA and the party in 1929 and was the longest-serving SA man who "looked after the camp."[1] Unlike most of the other guards, he admitted his deeds. On the other hand, he denied the existence of the gallows as alleged by the prisoners or that he buried two prisoners alive. The state prosecutor had argued for lifelong imprisonment. He was sentenced to 15 years. On March 6, 1948, the other guards were sentenced to terms of between 2 months and 8 years. Krüger was stripped of his citizen's rights for life and the others for 10 years. All the convicted were sentenced accordingly. The Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes (VVN) called the people of Görlitz together on March 11, 1948, to a demonstation against the Nazi criminals in the Evangelical Vereinshaus. Former prisoners from Leschwitz, Stadtrat Horstmann and Kleinert spoke at the demonstration. More than a year later, on June 23, 1949, the press reported on another trial of a former member of the guard staff before the Zweite Grosse Strafkammer des Landgerichts Bautzen (Second Major Criminal Division of the State Court of Bautzen) in Görlitz.[2]

SOURCES A longer version of this essay appears as Roland Otto, "Rache an politischen Gegner und Privatinteressen: Das Konzentrationslager Leschwitz bei Görlitz," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 237–244. An older study by Ernst Kretzschmar, *Widerstandskampf Görlitzer Antifaschisten 1933–1945* (Görlitz, 1973), reproduces the most important extracts from the memoirs and provides a commentary. Kretzschmar puts more emphasis on the SPD resistance than was usual in the early 1970s. A chronicle of documents, which reproduces press and other articles from the archives, is Erich Koksch and Gustav Ohlig, *Chronikdokumentation*, vol. 2, *1918–1945* (Görlitz, 1984). As part of an eight-part series, there is a useful illustrated history of the town in *Görlitz unter dem Hakenkreuz* (n.p., 1982), which deals with the Leschwitz concentration camp. The pictures are reproduced from the city's art collections.

One press article about this camp was published in the Nazi publication *NGA*, May 13, 1933. Press reports on the postwar trials may be found in the *LR*, 1948. Further details are to be found in a collection of newspaper articles compiled in 1948 at the RAG on the themes of justice and the proceedings. Two

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other articles were published in 1961 and 1974. In RAG, there are only a few files that deal directly with the Weinhübel (Leschwitz) concentration camp. A few files of the VVN touch on the subject. Memoirs of mostly Communist resistance fighters from the area deal with Leschwitz in more or less detail. Understandably, they are often emotional and reflect the tensions with the Social Democrats. Paul Schwerin's report "Erinnerungen aus meiner 10½-jährigen politischen Inhaftiertung" (unpub. MSS, RAG) is more informative. Useful are the still unpublished documents of the Weinhübler local historians Fritz Wünsch and Joachim Morgenstern. See also the files of the RAG, 1188, Konzentrationslager Weinhübel May 13, 1933 to August 11, 1934, Rep. IV, S. 6, Nr. 189, R34; F7.

Roland Otto
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. "Der SA-Schläger vom Lager Leschwitz," *LR*, March 8, 1948.
2. Ibid.

LICHTENBURG

The Lichtenburg concentration camp, a so-called collection camp (*Sammellager*), was established in June 1933 in a Renaissance castle in Prettin an der Elbe, between Wittenberg and Torgau in the then-state of Prussia (province of Saxony, Government District of Merseburg). The camp existed as a camp for males until 1937; the prisoners were transferred in August to Buchenwald. Between December 1937 and May 1938, it functioned as the main women's concentration camp for the whole of Germany. After May 1939 the women were taken to Ravensbrück. In its early period, Lichtenburg was the main concentration camp in central Germany.

Despite sanitation problems that led to the closure of an earlier prison on the site in 1928, the president of the district government and police president in Halle decided in 1933 to use the castle for 1,000 "protective custody" prisoners (*Schutzhäftlinge*). The impetus for the decision stemmed from the Prussian Ministry of Interior, which on March 17, 1933, issued an inquiry as to a possible site for a camp that could hold political opponents of the National Socialist regime. At the beginning of June, a prisoner detachment began work to prepare the castle for the prisoners. On July 13, it was announced that the camp had opened. It was overcrowded shortly after it was opened. There were 1,600 prisoners in the castle in July 1933, and in September there were 2,000. A directive of the Merseburg district president on July 7, 1933, stated the following: "The primary function of the Sammellager in Lichtenburg is to hold elements opposed to the state, who in the interests and preservation of state security must be held under arrest for a long period of time."[1]

A postwar view of the inner court of the Lichtenburg concentration camp.
USHMM WS # 56158, COURTESY OF BA

The prisoners were brought to Lichtenburg from a variety of torture sites, police prisons, and judicial prisons—for example, from the police prison in Halle in June; from the Magdeburg barracks camp in the Magdeburg sports stadium Neue Welt in August; from the Emsland camp Börgermoor in the autumn and winter of 1933; from the Sonnenburg concentration camp in March 1934; and from the SS prison in Berlin, Columbia-Haus, in August 1934. Until the summer of 1934, the Lichtenburg concentration camp functioned primarily as a holding camp for prisoners from the early SA camps. For example, inmates from the early Oranienburg concentration camp were brought here after its closure in July 1934. This camp functioned for several years as the second main camp in the eastern section of central Germany.

Initially, the Lichtenburg concentration camp was secured by a regular detachment of the Schutzpolizei (municipal police). These guards were replaced in the middle of August 1933 by an SS detachment under the command of SS-Wachtruppenführer Edgar Entsberger. "We could observe in this unit how quite normal young men developed into sadists, killers and murderers," wrote the former prisoner Walter Kramer, whose memoir is one of the most important witness testimonies on the camp.[2] In September–October the camp was classified as a state concentration camp and reorganized according to Prussian requirements. These requirements envisaged that prisoners would be treated as if they were in prison. Civilian administration would be separated from the security and control provided by the SS. In reality, this practice failed, as can be seen from the example of Lichtenburg. The civilian camp directors, August Widder and Hans Faust, were no match for the infamous SS-Wachtruppenführer Edgar Entsberger, who was notorious for his brutality. Widder even feared for his life.

SS-Brigadeführer Theodor Eicke was in command of Lichtenburg between May 29 and July 1934. He established a political department (*Politische Abteilung*) and by June 1, 1934, had reorganized Lichtenburg along the lines of the Dachau model, which envisaged an elaborate system of rules, mistreatment, and punishment. In June 1934, Heinrich Himmler transferred control of all civilian camps to the SS; at the same time, he took control of Lichtenburg from the Merseburg district president.

There were five SS commandants of the men's camp between May 1934 and its dissolution in August 1937 (Eicke, Bernhard Schmidt, Otto Reich, Hermann Baranowski, Hans Helwig) and at least five camp directors. The commandants of

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the women's camp were Günther Tamaschke, until February 1938; Alex Piorkowski, until September 1938; and Max Koegel, until its dissolution in May 1939. In December 1935 there were 359 male SS guards. In July 1936, the SS-Totenkopfsturmbann Elbe" (Death's Head Battalion Elbe), which was stationed in Lichtenburg, had 538 men. The little Elbe town of Prettin only had a population, on the other hand, of 2,000 inhabitants. The SS wardresses who guarded the female prisoners between 1937 and 1939 were trained for service in Ravensbrück.

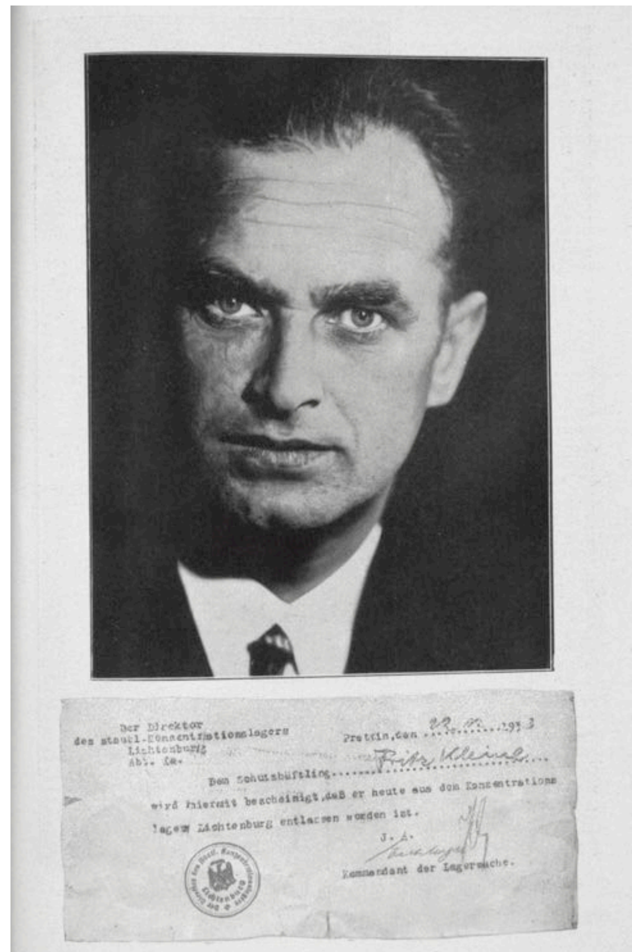
More than 5,000 names of Lichtenburg's male prisoners are known. According to the political conditions, the numbers varied between several hundred and around 2,000. The variations were large.

The men's camp was dissolved on August 18, 1937. Four months after its dissolution, the whole contingent of female prisoners in the Moringen women's concentration camp was transferred to Lichtenburg. The first transport of 200 women arrived in December 15, 1937. Other transports followed, with the last on March 21, 1938. As with the men's camp, the numbers increased rapidly, above the predetermined number of 600. In November 1938 there were 800 women. Other sources say 1,200 women. When the women's camp was dissolved on May 15, there were between 900 and 950 women who were taken in several transports to Ravensbrück. It is estimated that there were 1,400 women in Lichtenburg, all told. The names of 1,115 are known.

If one looks at the reasons why prisoners were held at Lichtenburg, there is a changing picture over the course of the years. It reflects the stages and emphases of persecution by the National Socialist state between 1933 and 1939: in the initial phase the focus was on political opponents, and in later years this was expanded to the persecution of other groups who for various reasons were excluded from the National Socialist "people's community" (*Volksgemeinschaft*).

In the initial phases, the prisoners were almost exclusively opponents of the National Socialist regime, mostly Communists but including Social Democrats and citizens who were active politically but not as part of any political group. A large number were Jewish prisoners. In the autumn and winter of 1933, targeted Jews and intellectuals were taken from the Emsland camps to the Lichtenburg concentration camp. "Unlike as in the prisons 'Aryans' and 'Jews' were differentiated in the camp," according to the Jewish prisoner Ernesto Kroch, who arrived at the Lichtenburg concentration camp in 1936.[3] For a while they were separately held under tight security. Between 1937 and 1939, Jewish women were allocated to the most difficult labor detachments. The Lichtenburg concentration camp clearly shows the antisemitic and racial characteristics of early National Socialist terror.

In addition to opponents of the regime, there were other groups who for a time were the majority of the prisoners in the camp. After the "Röhm Putsch" (Night of the Long Knives) of 1934, there were around 60 SA members held in July 1934. In June 1935, after the use of Paragraph 175 was intensified, there were 325 homosexuals registered among 711 prisoners. They especially suffered from mistreatment and



Der Direktor
des staatl.-Konzentrationslagers
Lichtenburg
Abt. [illegible]

Prettin, den 22. 12. 1933

Dem Schutzhäftling Fritz Kleine

wird hiermit bescheinigt, daß er heute aus dem Konzentrationslager Lichtenburg entlassen worden ist.

J. A.
[signature]
Kommandant der Lagerwache.

Photograph and release certificate of Lichtenburg prisoner Fritz Kleine, December 22, 1933.
PUBLISHED IN *KONZENTRATIONSLAGER: EIN APPELL AN DAS GEWISSEN DER WELT*, 1934

discrimination. Other groups were the so-called asocials—beggars, alcoholics, and others who were rounded up because their lifestyles did not conform or because they had prior convictions and were punished with forced labor and taken to concentration camps—and preventive custody prisoners (*Vorbeugungshäftlinge*), people classified as "common criminals" (*Gewohnheitsverbrecher*), or "professional criminals" (*Berufsverbrecher*) who were transferred to concentration camps after they had served their time in prison.

A large proportion of the prisoners were Jehovah's Witnesses (Ernste Bibelforscher), who were banned within Germany in 1935. They were a majority of the female prisoners. Most were classified as incorrigible and were held in a special punishment area. Reports relate that they were brutally punished because they refused to give the Hitler salute (*Hitlergruss*) and were not prepared to listen to Hitler's speeches broadcast over the loudspeakers. "They attached fire hoses to the hydrants. In the evening when they demanded that we listen to the speech and when we refused they turned the hydrants on and turned the strong jets of water on us. Station

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Four was soon under water, running down the stairs. If the water did not force you outside the door you were forcibly taken out to the court yard. Wet to the skin we had to stand for the duration of the speech in a cold October evening in the court yard. We were given fourteen days' arrest and Station Four was given three weeks' arrest."[4] Seventy male and 424 female Jehovah's Witnesses were held here. There were also a few female "Gypsies" in Lichtenburg concentration camp.

The female Lichtenburg prisoners included all important prisoner groups in the area under National Socialist control in the years 1937 to 1939, including Austria, which was annexed in March–April 1938.

The building greatly influenced the prison conditions in Lichtenburg: a worn-out, cold, damp structure with hygienic conditions from the Middle Ages, large dormitories in a Renaissance building, and tiny cells in a multifloor prison that had been added in 1872. In 1928 the authorities decided that Prussian criminals could not be held there because the conditions were so poor. The 1937 decision to establish a women's concentration camp there following the transfer of the men to the "modern" Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald camps marks the lack of respect that the National Socialist regime had for its female prisoners in the prewar period.

Everyday prison life was hard. The prisoners were treated with great brutality by the SS. The new arrivals had to undergo a spiteful, humiliating procedure. The men were driven into the castle with cudgels and rifle butts. The women had to stand for hours at roll call. The men and women were threatened with death, told that they would only leave Lichtenburg in a coffin. The castle courtyard, which functioned as the roll-call square and exercise yard, was called by the prisoners the Death Curve (*Todeskurve*). Visits from relatives were permitted in the beginning; they could meet and speak with the prisoners in the courtyard, but they were separated by a 2-meter (6.6-feet) control distance. Later, even letter-writing became difficult. Food was of poor quality and deteriorated during the years, with the result that many prisoners did not have sufficient strength to do their work.

The prisoners were forced to do meaningless work, the sole purpose of which was to humiliate them. For example, there was "drawing water" (*Wasserschöpfen*) done at negative temperatures. On the other hand, the prisoners were caught up in a network of forced labor both inside and outside the institution: working in gravel pits, on farms, on drainage systems, or on community projects such as building city parks or the Prettin training ground; laying gardens in the castle grounds; and building. There was also handicraft work, for example, making wooden slippers, basket weaving, tailoring, shoe making, carpentry, electrical work, and book binding. The prisoners worked inside the camp, cleaning toilets, carrying coal, and doing other general tasks and cleaning work for the guards, the majority of whom were based in the castle.

Overcrowding was the norm. Up to 300 male and 140 female prisoners slept in the halls inside the old castle walls, sometimes under the damaged roofs, sometimes without heating. In the small cells in the Prussian prison, there were between 3 and 6 prisoners. Sanitary conditions were completely inadequate. For example, in one large dormitory there were two to five toilets, sometimes only a bucket.

As at Dachau, official visitors, National Socialist sympathizers, and foreign journalists were shown a fictitious show camp. Sometimes the SS were depicted as prisoners and the SS accommodations as the prisoners' accommodations. For the prisoners, everyday life was determined by a system of torture and mistreatment: food deprivation, bans on letters, confiscation of spectacles and walking sticks, hour-long roll calls, being bound to posts, beatings, and whippings, some of which took place on a whipping block (from 1938 this punishment was also meted out to women). It has also been reported that prisoners' heads were stuck in excrement. Yet there were cultural activities. There is said to have been a prison library, readings, musical evenings, and even a cabaret.

Part of the castle had been converted to a jail even when the castle was used as a prison. It had cells for special arrest: the Bunker. The prisoners called it the "paint room" (*Färberei*) because here they were beaten until they were red and blue. "One night a comrade was taken from our dormitory for interrogation. . . . When he returned three days later we scarcely recognized him. He had not eaten for three days and had been in the Bunker. His backside and his back had been beaten so that there was no white skin to be seen. . . . Our comrade often fainted because of the pain. The smell of pus permeated the area."[5] In the 12 unheated cells there was confinement in darkness (*Dunkel-Arrest*), and there was a standing cell (*Stehzelle*). A particularly brutal torture method that was first applied here was the *Krummschliessen*, where a prisoner's arms were pushed backed under the shoulder blades and held in place with chains; the twisted body was then affixed with rope to the bars of the cell. Murders committed in the Bunker were classified as suicides.

Prettin city registers recorded 14 deaths, including a woman who died as the result of SS mistreatment. There were almost certainly more deaths, including at least one female prisoner who died soon after her release as the result of her treatment in prison; others also died at home after their release, and a Prettin bricklayer was beaten to death by the SS because he had greeted the prisoners on the street with the "Red Front" greeting. Many Lichtenburg prisoners were to die later in Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, and Ravensbrück. Twenty deaths are documented in the archives of the memorial.

In postwar trials, the Lichtenburg concentration camp hardly rated a mention. The SS personnel were transferred to other camps where the conditions were worse. The result was that there were few trials of former Lichtenburg guards that attracted attention. The commandants of the camp died, if they survived the war, without being prosecuted. SS-Truppführer Edgar Entsberger was sentenced to five years' prison in February 1936 for homicide and five counts of physical abuse; the historian Johannes Tuchel suspects that his conviction had something to do with Entsberger's questioning of Hitler's authority. A 1964 proceeding against Entsberger and three other SS men, as well as police members, for the

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suspected murder of five Lichtenberg prisoners was halted in 1966, not because there was any doubt as to the deaths but because the prisoners' participation in the acts could not be proven and a charge of accessory to murder was subject to the statute of limitations. In 1948, former SS-Wachmann Martin Schneider and in 1961 former SS-Hauptscharführer Wilhelm Schäfer were sentenced to death. The camp commandant Egon Zill—later based in Ravensbrück, Dachau, Natzweiler, and Flossenbürg—was sentenced in 1955 to life imprisonment but was released early. The camp commandant Heinrich Remmert was sentenced in 1966 to two years' prison for crimes committed in Esterwegen and Lichtenburg. Other proceedings were halted.

SOURCES This essay is based on an extensive article that the author wrote for the second volume of the new series *Geschichte der Konzentrationslager*: Stefanie Endlich, "Die Lichtenburg 1933–1939: Haftort politischer Prominenz und Frauen-KZ," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz und Barbara Distel (Berlin, 2002). See also Stefanie Endlich, "Lichtenburg," in Das Ort des Terrors: *Geschichte der nationalsoziallistischer Konsentrationslager*, ed. Wolfgang, Benz and Barbara Distel, Bdz: *Frühe Lager*, (Munich, 2005), pp. 151–159. The first book on the Lichtenburg concentration camp was published in 1987 in Weimar by Klaus Drobisch; it was republished in 1997 without the ideological constraints imposed by the German Democratic Republic: Drobisch, *Konzentrationslager im Schloss Lichtenburg* (1987; repr., Wittenberg, 1997). There are two comprehensive works on the early concentration camps and the Inspektion der Konzentrationslager (IKL) that research the development and role of the Lichtenburg concentration camp: Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin, 1993); and Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager: Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager" 1934–1938* (Boppard am Rhein: Harold Boldt Verlag, 1991). A book on the Jehovah's Witnesses in concentration camps deals extensively with Jehovah's Witnesses in Lichtenburg: Hans Hesse and Jürgen Harder, "Und wenn ich lebenslang in einem KZ bleiben müsste," in *Zeugen Jehovas in Moringen, Lichtenburg und Ravensbrück* (Essen, 2001). About Prettin today and its association with the concentration camp, see the television film by Silke Heinz and Steffen Lüddemann in the MDR-Reihe, "Heimat unterm Hakenkreuz" (November 22, 1999), *Das KZ am Rande der Stadt.*

The AG-L in the Museum Schloss Lichtenburg has collected copies of the most important archival records and has begun to compose a list of prisoners; there is a review of documents that are held in the ASt-Pre and in regional archives. Documents on the development of the concentration camp are primarily held in the LHSA-Me, BA-B (BA-BL and BA-DH), AG-B, AG-R, GDW-B, DIZ-EL, as well as GAZJ. The autobiographical works that should be mentioned are: Lina Haag and Eine Handvoll Staub, *Widerstand einer Frau 1933–1945* (1947; repr., Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1995); Ernesto Kroch, *Exil in der Heimat—Heim ins Exil: Erinnerungen aus Europa und Lateinamerika* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990); Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten* (1935; repr., Berlin and Weimar, 1975); Irmgard Litten, *Eine Mutter kämpft gegen Hitler* (1940; repr., Frankfurt am Main, 1984); Fritz Kleine, "Lichtenburg," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel, die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: "Graphia," 1934), pp. 182–212.

Stefanie Endlich
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. LHSA-Me, Rep. C 48, Tit. Le, Nr. 1189a.
2. In the KZ Lichtenburg. AG-L, G 831, p. 259, original document in AG-B.
3. Ernesto Kroch, *Exil in der Heimat—Heim ins Exil: Erinnerungen aus Europa und Lateinamerika* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), p. 70.
4. Memoirs of Ilse Unterdörfer, GAZJ.
5. Memoir of Gustav Flohr, Reichstagsabgeordneter der KPD und Mitglied der Internationalen Brigaden, AG-L, 809 G, p. 10.

MAGDEBURG

At the close of May 1933, the SA established an "assembly camp" at Neue Welt Stadium in Magdeburg, Prussia. The republican paramilitary organization Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold (RB), was the stadium's rightful owner. Despite the nomenclature, Neue Welt was an early "protective custody" camp. Formed at the behest of the Magdeburg police president, it was intended to relieve the overcrowded town jail of political detainees. The prisoners from another temporary camp, a gymnasium belonging to the river police, were also dispatched to Neue Welt. Magdeburg held approximately 200 leftist prisoners, including Social Democrats, Communists, trade unionists, and Reichsbanner members.[1]

The Magdeburg police president's adjutant, SA-Führer Gabel, held mock court for Neue Welt detainees. In this connection, some prisoners were conducted to nearby Dornburg Castle for torture. They remained in a cellar, into which they had been rushed at gunpoint, until their kangaroo trial. An account by Richard Stuwe, a Dornburg torture victim but not a Neue Welt prisoner, made clear that the prisoners were beaten bloody during their ordeal.[2]

The authorities dissolved the Magdeburg camp in August 1933, and the prisoners were transferred to Lichtenburg.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); and Martin Schuster, "Die ersten Konzentrationslager in der Region 1933/34," in *Verfolgung, Terror und Widerstand in Sachsen-Anhalt, 1933–1945: Ein Wegweiser für Gedenkstättenbesuche*, ed. Verena Walter (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 45–50. The camp is listed in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999).

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Primary documentation consists of eyewitness testimony by Richard Stuwe, which is available in Gerhard Vokoun, Herbert Matthias, Werner Dillmann, eds., *Quellensammlung zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung im Bezirk Magdeburg*, part 2, *1917 bis 1945* (Magdeburg: SED, Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der örtlichen Arbeiterbewegung, 1970). According to Drobisch and Wieland, the AG-L also possesses a file, No. 249, on Neue Welt.

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NOTES

1. Richard Stuwe testimony in *Volksstimme*, *V.* October 13, 1952, reproduced in Gerhard Vokoun, Herbert Matthias, Werner Dillmann, eds., *Quellensammlung zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung im Bezirk Magdeburg*, part 2, *1917 bis 1945* (Magdeburg: SED, Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der örtlichen Arbeiterbewegung, 1970), p. 62.

2. Ibid.

MISSLER (WALSRODER STRASSE) [AKA BREMEN-FINDORF]

To mark the first anniversary of the National Socialists' coming to power, Bremen's mayor, Dr. Markert, presented on March 6, 1934, a "current balance" of persecution and arrest:

> From March 6, 1933 through March 5, 1934, a total of around thirty-one thousand new detainees have been processed by the Secret State Police; of these around 4,200 have been dealt with by the executive. Around 950 houses have been searched, around 450 people have been arrested in high treason proceedings, around 260 people brought before court. . . .
>
> A total of 1,305 people have found themselves in "protective custody" from March 6, 1933 through March 5, 1934, and at this time fifty-five people are in protective custody at Ochtumsand concentration camp, five are in prison awaiting trial, thirty-seven are in prison, one person is in the hospital; all told ninety-eight people.[1]

These numbers document the extent of persecution during the first year of the Nazi seizure of power. Most of the 1,305 people who found themselves in Bremen "protective custody" passed through the Missler concentration camp. How did it happen that of all places the Missler halls of Norddeutscher Lloyd in Bremen-Findorff—in the middle of the city and situated close to the main train station—were converted into a concentration camp?[2]

Dr. Markert, appointed head of the Reich Commissariat for Bremen on March 6, 1933, by edict of Nazi Reich Interior Minister Frick gave the office of police chief to SA-Sturmbannführer Theodor Laue on March 8, 1933. Laue, for his part, assigned the police administration to the head of the Criminal Police, Dr. Georg Pott. Thus the names are mentioned of those responsible for the setting up of the Bremen concentration camp—as a state institution under the superintendence of Police Senator (Polizeisenator) Laue.[3]

After February 28, 1933, the number of arrests surpassed the capacity of the prisons in Bremen. Like many new leaders in those parts of Germany where concentration camps came into being in the first months after the Nazis' seizure of power, the Bremen police chief was also compelled by March 1933 at the latest to seek out a concentration camp for his numerous protective custody prisoners. On March 31, 1933, the police president delegated the administration and supervision of the prisoners to 40 auxiliary police officials from the ranks of the SS. While the SS took over "looking after" the protective custody prisoners in Missler, beginning on April 13, 1933, the SA administered the confiscated German Communist Party's (KPD) clubhouse and there took on the dirty work of torture in the so-called *Gosselhaus* of the Gestapo.[4]

The arrest of opponents during the "struggle for power" period initially affected members of the KPD. Already on March 4, 1933, the Bremen police took 40 Communist functionaries into protective custody. Prominent Socialists and unionists soon followed, including Social Democratic Party (SPD) Members of the Reichstag (MdRs) such as Alfred Faust and Bremen state parliament members. The population of Bremen was informed about the arrests in detail, especially about the "reeducation methods" in the Missler concentration camp.[5]

The Missler halls were well known in Bremen. In 1905, Johann Friedrich Missler set up the emigration halls for Norddeutscher Lloyd on the Walsroder Strasse grounds, with four halls for 250 East European emigrants. During World War I, the building was used as a reserve sick bay. In 1919, it served as lodging for the "Freikorps Caspari," which defeated troops of the Bremen Soviet Republic on February 4, 1919.

In August 1932, the four camps of the Volunteer Labor Service (FAD) came into being for members of the Reichsbanner, the Labor Welfare, Wehrwolf, and the Deutsch-Nationaler Handlungsgehilfen-Verband (German National Clerks' Association). In accordance with a senate resolution, the emigrant halls were converted into a concentration camp at the end of March 1933.[6]

The conditions at the Missler concentration camp were not concealed from the Bremen population. In addition to the numerous reports about Missler in both Bremen newspapers, information made its way outside through released prisoners and relatives who had visited. Mothers and wives publicly displayed the bloody laundry of tortured concentration camp prisoners, and some prisoners could inform their relatives about the conditions while on short-term leave due to a death in the family. In addition, the grounds were visible for residents of Bremen-Findorf, who became eye- and ear witnesses to mistreatment. Residents on neighboring streets (Walsroder Strasse and Hemmstrasse) had a direct view from their balconies and windows of events in the camp. At the beginning of May 1933, Laue had to investigate complaints in Missler with a senior public prosecutor. The Polizeisenator felt compelled to replace the SS guard unit with SA people. In

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the senate file there is a short note from May 6, 1933: "SS guards relieved, replaced by SA."[7]

The senate's press campaign as well as the numerous warnings and orders published in the daily papers did not have the desired success. On the contrary—with the publications the camp inmates were certain that the resistance would be continued despite all deterrents. The Nazi concept of reeducation did not work. At the beginning of July 1933, the Polizeisenator proposed to dismantle Missler and transfer the prisoners outside of Bremen. On July 11, 1933, the senate protocol records: "in view of continuous communist machinations he (Laue) intends to abolish the concentration camp on Walsroder Strasse and house around fifty especially dangerous prisoners at Fort Langlütjen II. . . . The remaining prisoners will be appropriately enlisted for profitable work at the so-called Ochtumsand."[8] Only in September 1933, however, was the Bremen concentration camp moved to less accessible outlying districts. Langlütjen II concentration camp was closed on January 25, 1934. The inmates went to Ochtumsand concentration camp, which had been established in September 1933 on a former Norddeutscher Lloyd barge. On May 15, 1934, this concentration camp closed its small holds, in which up to 100 prisoners had been held, guarded, and often abused by 30 SA men.[9]

Laue was put on trial before the Bremen Spruchkammer in January 1949. He was sentenced as a "major activist" (*Grossaktivist*) to four years of special labor and was stripped of 25 percent of his assets. As Laue was given credit for three years and four months in internment, he was able to immediately resume his successful job as a businessman.[10]

In March and April of 1951 several Nazi staff stood before the Grand Criminal Court of the Bremen Regional Court. Former members of the guard at Missler were pronounced guilty, sometimes collectively and sometimes individually, of doing bodily harm while on duty; to the extent that they beat with a rubber truncheon or kicked with boots, they were also pronounced guilty of causing severe bodily harm. The regional court proved in the "Missler Trial" that the 15 accused had abused 78 protective custody prisoners. They got off with sentences from six months to two years and six months. Because of time served in internment and labor camps, most of the accused were in this case immediately released as well.[11]

SOURCES The author's article goes back to an earlier study: "Vom Auswanerlager zum KZ. Zur Geschichte des Bremer Konzentrationslagers Missler," *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte Bremens* 5 (1982): 81–150. A recently updated version appeared under the title "Gleichschaltung, Unterdrückung und Schutzhaft in der roten Hochburg Bremen: Das Konzentrationslager Bremen-Missler," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt. Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 245–273. References to the concentration camp are also in Herbert Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen* (Bremen: Verlag Friedrich Röver, 1985), 4: 102; Inge Marssolek and Rene Ott, *Bremen im Dritten Reich: Anpassung—Widerstand—Verfolgung* (Bremen: Schünemann, 1986), p. 121; Lothar Wieland, *Das KZ Langlütjen II und Ochtumsand* (Bremerhaven: Wirtschaftsverlag NW, Verlag für Neue Wissenschaft, 1992).

The main files are stored in StA-Br, primarily among the files of the Polizeidirektion 4.65/17. On the Gestapo, State Police Office Bremen, for 1933–1934, see 3-D.9, Nr. 86; on the protective detention of political opponents, see the Senatsregistratur 3–5.1a. On the Missler trials after 1945, see the files of the attorney at the Bremen Regional Court (4.89, 2–8). As for oral sources, I refer to the 30 former concentration camp prisoners who got a chance to speak in the author's 1982 study.

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trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. StA-Br, 3-s 1a, Nr. 27.
2. On the history of the Missler halls, see Jörg Wollenberg, "Vom Freiwilligen Arbeitsdienst zum Konzentrationslager: Zur Geschichte der frühen KZ am Beispiel von Bremen Missler und Ahrensbök/OH," *Information zur Schleswig-Holsteinischen Zeitgeschichte* 36 (1999): 16.
3. Herbert Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen* (Bremen: Verlag Friedrich Röver, 1985), 4:102; Inge Marssolek and Rene Ott, *Bremen im Dritten Reich: Anpassung—Widerstand—Verfolgung* (Bremen: Schünemann, 1986), p. 121; Jörg Wollenberg, "Vom Auswanerlager zum KZ: Zur Geschichte des Bremer Konzentrationslagers Missler," *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte Bremens* 5 (1982): 81–150.
4. StA-Br, 4.65/17 (Polizeidirektion).
5. *BrN*, April 2, April 6, April 29, June 17, 1933; *BNZ*, July 7, July 23, August 13, 1933.
6. *BrN*, March 25, 1933; Annegret Waldschmidt, "Der freiwillige Arbeitsdienst in Bremen," *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte Bremens* 5 (1982): 62–80.
7. StA-Br, Senatsregistratur 1a Nr. 277, 64, Nr.1.
8. StA-Br, Senatsregistratur 1a Nr. 277.
9. *BrN*, September 13, 1933.
10. *WeKu*, January 20–25, 1949.
11. *WeKu*, April 17, 1951.

MORINGEN-SOLLING (MEN)

On April 8, 1933, the Hannoverian police opened a concentration camp at Moringen, located inside the existing provincial workhouse. Polizeioberleutnant Müller was its first commandant.[1] Situated near the Solling River, northwest of Göttingen in Prussian Hannover, Moringen had successively served as an orphanage, penitentiary, and workhouse between 1738 and 1933. In the summer of 1933, it officially became a state workhouse (*Landeswerkhaus*), while maintaining its role as a detention site for political prisoners. Its correctional inmates (*Korrigenden*), who were criminals, beggars, vagrants, welfare recipients, alcoholics, and prostitutes, performed therapeutic labor. During the Great Depression, the correctional population dwindled. Except for political content and SS violence, the concentration camp, which the Nazis grafted onto Moringen's multiple functions, followed a workhouse model of reeducation.

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On March 15, 1933, Oberinspektor Gottschick of Hannover telephoned workhouse Director (Lagerdirektor) Hugo Krack, to inquire about the establishment of a 200-prisoner camp on the premises. Space was immediately available for 4 women and 10 men; indeed, two male detainees entered Moringen in March. Krack relocated the infirmary and the male nurse dorms, originally found in the men's long house, to the women's house, thus opening space in the infirmary for the camp. He announced that the detainees' daily charge would be 1.45 Reichsmark (RM).[2]

Although the male population averaged 321 detainees per month during its seven-month existence, turnover was rapid. The extant prisoners' medical files reviewed by historian Hans Hesse show that 59 were released after three weeks, 32 after one month, 30 following two months, and 31 after three months.[3] Most detainees were Communists. According to Hermann Wenskowski, the first Jehovah's Witness entered Moringen in June 1933.[4] Unlike male and female correctional inmates, who wore black uniforms, the detainees wore civilian clothing. The political prisoners were strictly segregated from correctional inmates.

Müller and 50 Hannoverian municipal police officers (Schupos) arrived on April 8. Augmenting their force were 30 SA, SS, and Stahlhelm deputies, mostly from Göttingen or Moringen. Patterned after asylum orders, Krack and Müller established the camp's House and Day Regulations (*Haus- und Tagesordnungen*), providing for political reeducation and nonviolent punishment, such as mail restrictions and isolation.[5] Detainee labor was voluntary. A recurrent source of friction existed between Krack, who assumed the title of camp director, and the four successive commandants, because Krack demanded their deference. The first 100 male detainees arrived from Hannover on April 11.

Prisoners were encouraged to attend religion services in the institutional chapel. Initially few did so, but attendance jumped to 264 by April 30. Müller soon discovered that the prisoners were holding secret political discussions in the chapel.[6]

On May 1, 1933, the National Labor Day, the camp authorities put the detainees on public display and made them listen to Nazi broadcasts. On May 2, the day of the trade union ban, the *Northeimer Beobachter* newspaper boasted that Moringen's "iron discipline" prepared detainees for admission into the Nazi Socialist Factory Cell Organization (NSBO).[7] By May 31, 300 detainees had been released. Some 177 of the 264 prisoners, or 67 percent, worked in the workhouse or on external projects.[8]

On June 1, the Hannoverian police appointed Polizeihauptmann Stockhofe as the new commandant. On June 3, the first two female detainees arrived at Moringen, thus opening the "women's protective custody detachment" (*Frauenschutzhaftabteilung*).

On the evening of June 21, Stockhofe heard prisoners chanting songs of the German Communist Party (KPD). Drawn pistols silenced the detainees, but the guards were unable to stop the ensuing hunger strike. Organized by August Baumgarte, Johannes Engelke, Kurt Fröse, August Steffens, August Tünnermann, and Viktor Zudrowitz, 28 prisoners protested political reeducation and demanded improvements in food and working conditions.[9] Stockhofe blamed the incident on the recent arrival of 15 Osnabrück detainees, accustomed, he claimed, to generous quantities of good food.[10] Stockhofe's press blackout did not prevent unofficial news about the strike from spreading beyond Moringen's walls.[11]

To suppress the strike, Krack moved the women's section to the women's house, segregated the strikers in the emptied room, and ordered them to be deprived of water. For health reasons, Stockhofe and the workhouse physician, Dr. Otto Wolten-Pecksen, initially objected to the latter course. To Polizeimajor Bergin of the Hannoverian Schupo, Krack made clear that the consequences did not bother him: "We must not shrink away from the implementation of this measure, even if it yields around thirty-forty deaths."[12] At 7:00 P.M. on June 24, Stockhofe closed the taps but opened negotiations with the strikers the next day. The protestors felt the immediate effects of Krack's order, as Baumgarte recalled: "It was a hot summer. We had awful thirst. Soon the sanitary facilities also had no more water!"[13] On June 26, the protest ended with the (unfulfilled) promise of better food. During the strike, Stockhofe, Wolten-Pecksen, and Krack force-fed a weakened detainee.[14]

In retaliation for the strike, the Hannoverian police curtailed mail privileges.[15] Parcels were now accepted only on Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. Effective August 1, prisoners could write two, two-page letters monthly to a single addressee on the second and fourth Tuesdays; letters addressed to prisoners were accepted monthly on the first and third Fridays and returned to sender if received on other days. Under the new regulations, prisoners could receive 5 RM monthly and exchange one washing packet per month.[16]

On August 1, SS-Sturmführer Otto Cordes assumed command of Moringen. Although Krack had demanded that Bergin replace the Schupo with SS staff during the hunger strike, the handover followed Heinrich Himmler's appointment the previous June as ministerial commissar for deputized police officers of the Secret State Police Office (Gestapa). The guards consisted of 41 SS and SA, including 24 locals. Cordes secured new labor contracts, including rock quarrying and assignments at the German Air Sport League (DLV) and the Töneshof airport, but only 31 percent (117 out of 380) of the detainees worked in August. In collective punishment imposed upon Prussian detainees for the May 1, 1933, Hindenburg Tree incident, Moringen's prisoners were denied noon rations for three days in early August.[17]

On September 1, SS-Sturmhauptführer Friedrich Flohr became Moringen's last commandant and imposed a harsher regime. Prisoners had to give the Hitler salute, wear military haircuts, and listen to Nazi broadcasts on a loudspeaker specially ordered in time for the Nürnberg party rally. Under Cordes, the SS tortured detainees in isolation cells, but Flohr restricted beatings to the "joy room" (*Freudenzimmer*), in an unsuccessful attempt to muffle the screams. One prisoner,

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Otto Bokelmann, died from torture at Moringen, and a second, August Witte, succumbed due to injuries sustained at police prison Leonhardtstrasse. Krack repeatedly complained to the Hannoverian police about SS violence.[18]

From July to October 1933, the Prussian Ministry of Interior and the Moringen staff discussed the camp's future. On June 27, Krack urged the admission of more women, in the expectation that they were easier to control and could provide a niche for the underused facility. On October 12, the Prussian Ministry of Interior dispatched 80 men from Moringen to Papenburg, in exchange for 150 women. On November 1, Moringen became a women's state concentration camp. On November 28, the Ministry of Interior sent the remaining 168 men to Oranienburg, thus closing the men's camp. Krack headed the Moringen women's camp from 1933 to 1938 and remained the workhouse director until 1944. In 1948, he resumed this post until retiring in 1954.[19]

Cordes died at St. Mère Église in June 1944.[20] In 1948, the Göttingen Court of Assizes sentenced Flohr to six years in a penitentiary for crimes against humanity. The Göttingen Spruchgericht also sentenced him to one and a half years for SS membership. Krack and Wolter-Pecksen testified against him in both proceedings.

SOURCES The standard work about the Moringen men's camp is Hans Hesse, with Jens-Christian Wagner, *Das frühe KZ Moringen (April–November 1933): ". . . ein an sich interessanter psychologischer Versuch . . ."* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2003). A helpful overview of the three Moringen camps is Hans Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung': Das Konzentrationslager Moringen 1933–1945," in *Instrumentarium der Macht: Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1937*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), pp. 111–146. A valuable survey of the workhouse is Cornelia Meyer, *Das Werkhaus Moringen: Die Disziplinierung gesellschaftlicher Randgruppen in einer Arbeitsanstalt (1871–1944)* (Moringen: KZ-Gedenkstätte Moringen, 2004). On the Moringen memorial, see Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus, Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). Gedenkstätte Moringen maintains an informative Web site at www.gedenkstaette-moringen.de.

As cited in Hesse's publications, primary sources for this camp begin with the NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1–9 (No. 1 consists of Krack's files on the men's and women's camps); NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1 (Verschiedenes, 1933–34, including Meldungen der Kommandanten des KZ Moringen), No. 3 (Krankenakten der Insassen des KZ Moringen), and No. 4 (Entlassungen); BDCPF for Wolter-Pecksen, Flohr, and Cordes; and the judicial proceedings against Flohr: BA-K, BA Z 38/419, Schwurgerichtsverhandlung gegen Flohr; NHStA-H, 721 Göttingen, Acc. 93/79, No. 58, Gerichtsverfahren gegen Friedrich Flohr; and BA-K, BA Z 42 VII/2164, Entnazifierungsakte Flohr. Many of the patient files (Krankenakten) were lost at the end of World War II. The most important prisoner testimony for this camp consists of letters by Hannah Vogt, Moringen's first female detainee, which contain information applicable to the men's camp. Hannah Vogt, *Hoffnung ist ein ewiges Begräbnis: Briefe von Dr. Hannah Vogt aus dem Gerichtsgefängnis Osterode und dem KZ Moringen 1933*, ed. Hans Hesse (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1998). Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, reproduces the memoir of Hermann Wenskowski, "Die antifaschistische Widerstandsbewegung im Harz" (unpub. MSS, Goslar, 1964). The testimonies of prisoner Karl Ebeling and August Baumgarte are located in Gerda Zorn, *Stadt im Widerstand* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1965); and more of Baumgarte's testimony can be found in Zorn, *Widerstand in Hannover: Gegen Reaktion und Faschismus, 1920–1946* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1977). The latter source also reproduces a photograph of Moringen detainees with Schupo guards. An interview with former prisoner Otto Kreikemeier is located in Wolfgang Schäfer, " 'Schutzhaft' im Konzentrationslager Moringen: Otto Kreikemeier erinnert sich," in *Von der Werkbank zum Computer: Bilder, Berichte und Dokumente zur Sozialgeschichte der Sollinger Holzarbeiter*, ed. Helmut Kassau and Wolfgang Schäfer (Göttingen: Verlag die Werkstatt, 1993), pp. 80–82. Anonymous testimony by witnesses 3A1 (M) and 63 Ge (as encoded by URF) about SS torture can be found in Union für Recht und Freiheit, ed., *Der Strafvollzug im III. Reich: Denkschrift und Materialsammlung; Im Anhang: Die Nürnberger Rassengesetze* (Prague: URF, 1936). On the hunger strike, useful testimony by the wife of prisoner Theodor Gassmann can be found in Dora Gassmann, "Für Frieden und Fortschritt," in *Antifaschistische Reihe*, vol. 2, *Hannoversche Frauen gegen den Faschismus 1933–1945; Lebensberichte, ein Beitrag zur Stadtgeschichte* (Hannover: VVN-Bund der Antifaschisten-Niedersachsen e.V., Kreisvereinigung Hannover, 1982), pp. 40–45. Gassmann's account also reproduces Stockhofe's report to Bergin, dated June 24, 1933.

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NOTES

1. Kommandobefehl, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1570, cited in Hans Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung': Das Konzentrationslager Moringen 1933–1945," in *Instrumentarium der Macht: Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1937*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), pp. 118–119.

2. Krack Memorandum, March 29, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, cited in Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung,' " pp. 114–115.

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4. August Baumgarte testimony in Gerda Zorn, *Stadt im Widerstand* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1965),

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p. 72; Hermann Wenskowski, "Die antifaschistische Widerstandsbewegung im Harz," reproduced in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 134.

5. Haus- und Tagesordnungen, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, pp. 1582–1585, cited in Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung,'" p. 120.

6. Müller Report in NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1602, cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, pp. 41, 47.

7. Quotation in "Fruchtbringende NSBO-Arbeit in dem Konzentrationslager Moringen," *NB*, May 2, 1933, reproduced in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, pp. 51–52.

8. NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1626, in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 35.

9. Hannover Regierungspräsident to PrIM, October 3, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1775, and Stockhofe to Bergin, June 23,1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1726, both cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 68.

10. Stockhofe to Bergin, June 22, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1768, cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 66.

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12. Quotation in Krack to Bergin, June 24, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, p. 92, quoted in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 68.

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14. Stockhofe to Bergin, June 25, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, pp. 1770–1771; and NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, 96, both cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, pp. 69–70.

15. NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1704, cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 72.

16. Letters of July 19, 1933; July 27, 1933; and August 5, 1933, in Hannah Vogt, *Hoffnung ist ein ewiges Begräbnis: Briefe von Dr. Hannah Vogt aus dem Gerichtsgefängnis Osterode und dem KZ Moringen 1933*, ed. Hans Hesse (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1998), pp. 127, 128, 130.

17. On labor, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1826, cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 88; Letter of August 5, 1933, in Vogt, *Hoffnung ist ein ewiges Begräbnis*, p. 130.

18. Flohr to Bergin, September 1, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 180, Hannover 752, p. 1937, reproduced in Wolfgang Schäfer, "'Schutzhaft' im Konzentrationslager Moringen: Otto Kreikemeier erinnert sich," in *Von der Werkbank zum Computer: Bilder, Berichte und Dokumente zur Sozialgeschichte der Sollinger Holzarbeiter*, ed. Helmut Kassau and Wolfgang Schäfer (Göttingen: Verlag die Werkstatt, 1993), p. 82; Karl Ebeling testimony in Zorn, *Stadt im Widerstand*, p. 33; witnesses 3A1 (M) and 61 Ge in Union für Recht und Freiheit, ed., *Der Strafvollzug im III. Reich: Denkschrift und Materialsammlung; Im Anhang: Die Nürnberger Rassengesetze* (Prague: URF, 1936), pp. 18, 26; testimonies of Hugo Krack, Otto Wolter-Pecksen, Niels-Joachim Krack, and Dr. Tolle in BA-K, BA Z 38/419, Schwurgerichtsverhandlung gegen Flohr; and BA-K, BA Z 42 VII/2164, Entnazifierungsakte Flohr, cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, pp. 102–106.

19. NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, pp. 85, 90, 169, cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, pp. 79, 83.

20. Otto Cordes BDCPF, cited in Hesse, *Das frühe KZ Moringen*, p. 187.

MORINGEN-SOLLING (WOMEN)

On November 1, 1933, the state workhouse (*Landeswerkhaus*) at Moringen-Solling in Prussian Hannover became a women's concentration camp.[1] Camp Director (Lagerdirektor) Hugo Krack headed the staff, which consisted of the chief overseer, Frau Rehmer, and four unarmed members of the National Socialist Women's Association (NSF).[2] Although local SS escorted outside details, Moringen was never a camp administered by the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL). Averaging 90 female detainees per month, it held approximately 1,350 women between 1933 and 1938. Peaking at 450 in the fall of 1937, its population consisted of Communists, Social Democrats, regime critics, Jewish "returnees," and most prominently, Jehovah's Witnesses.[3] With the introduction of Bavarian and Swabian women in February 1936, Moringen became the only women's camp in the Reich.[4] In 1937, some criminals and prostitutes entered the camp, instead of the workhouse, where they would have been female "correctional inmates" (*Korrigendeninnen*).[5] Until 1937, the detainees occupied the second floor of the women's house, then moved to a bigger space in the men's long house. Called the "black maidens" (*schwarze Mädchen*) because of their uniforms, the female correctional inmates lived on the first floor of the women's house. The administration strictly separated the two groups.

Beginning on March 15, 1933, Hannover planned to hold female detainees at Moringen.[6] The "women's protective custody detachment" (*Frauenschutzhaftabteilung*) opened on June 3, with the admission of Communists Hannah Vogt and Marie Peix. The female prisoners moved twice that month, first to a larger room in the men's long house infirmary and then to the women's house, while their former quarters were used for the isolation of those men who were conducting hunger strikes.[7]

When Polizeihauptmann Stockhofe was commandant, Krack asserted exclusive control over the women's detachment. Less deferential to him were commandants Sturmführer Otto Cordes (August 1 to 31) and Sturmhauptführer Friedrich Flohr (September 1 to November 28), whose SS guarded the section until November 1, 1933. The SS were strict with the women but—unlike their treatment of male prisoners—stopped short of torture.

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On October 3, 1933, Prussian Ministry of Interior officials Janich and Schubotz inquired about the establishment of a 150-prisoner women's camp at Moringen. Since June, Krack had called for expanding the women's detachment. Calculating that detention would create a niche for the underused workhouse, he expected that holding female prisoners would obviate the need for guards and that daily confinement costs could thus be reduced from 1.45 to 1.35 Reichsmark (RM) per prisoner.[8] On October 12, the Ministry of Interior ordered the transport of 80 men from Moringen to the State Concentration Camp Papenburg (Staatliches Konzentrationslager Papenburg) and dispatched 150 women to the camp. In a bid to secure employment for the camp, Krack offered to establish laundry services for the 4,000 prisoners at Papenburg.[9] Papenburg's recent command shake-up may explain why he did not receive a response. During the 1933 Christmas amnesty, 102 women were released. When the Prussian Ministry of Interior closed Brauweiler in March 1934, Moringen became the only women's camp in Prussia.

In April 1934, Krack's "Service and House Regulation for the Women's Protective Custody Camp Moringen" prescribed a daily routine, which included work, exercise, and coffee breaks. It also provided for religious services, originally including the observance of Jewish high holidays, and for nonviolent punishments, like deprivation of mail. The smoking ban reflected the regime's disapproval of tobacco use by German women. Particularly onerous were collective postal bans because with their husbands often in custody elsewhere and their children with relatives or in institutions, the detainees attempted to hold their families together through correspondence. Rehmer censored the mail, as evidenced by her trademark initial found on prisoners' letters. The library furnished Nazi propaganda, and listening to regime broadcasts was compulsory.[10]

On August 19, 1934, the prisoners voted in a Reich plebiscite. According to Elizabeth von Gustedt, a former NSF member imprisoned after the "Night of the Long Knives," only two detainees cast ballots against the regime. In order to avoid prolonging time in custody, Rehmer advised the women to take their families into consideration when voting.[11]

In the spring of 1935, Elizabeth Fox Howard and her cousin, Marion Fox, of the British Society of Friends' Germany Emergency Committee visited Moringen. They interviewed Milli Beermann, a Jewish woman who appealed for assistance from the American Friends and who subsequently attributed her release to their visit. Howard and Fox also met the other prisoners and commented favorably on the Witnesses' sacrificial attitude.[12]

The women worked, ate, and talked in day rooms. Named after arrest categories or places of origin, the rooms were the Prussian Hall (Preussensaal), the Jews' Hall (Judensaal), the Bavarians' Hall (Bayernsaal), and the Jehovah's Witnesses' Hall (Bibelforschersaal). Although Jews were not supposed to enter the "Aryan" halls, the women often ignored this restriction. The other accommodations were Spartan: the detainees shared two toilets and slept on bunks in a drafty attic.[13]

Lack of privacy, family worries, and boredom took a hard toll. Some women, such as Ilse Rolfe (née Gostynski), volunteered for summertime agricultural work.[14] In order to earn income for family support, many prisoners embroidered handbags, pillows, and other goods in the evenings. The intricate patterns attested to the considerable time on their hands.[15] According to historian Hans Hesse, health records indicated that 77 percent of the prisoners gained weight in custody. This figure reflected Moringen's lack of work and edible, if monotonous, rations.[16]

In the winter of 1936–1937, most prisoners worked for the Winter Relief Campaign (WHW). The absence of laundry facilities rendered impossible the cleaning of filthy clothes, and the availability of only two sewing machines slowed repairs. Many donations ended up as fuel for the stove. Detainee Gabriele Herz considered the overseers' mismanagement of WHW goods a scandalous waste.[17]

The Jehovah's Witnesses refused to work for the WHW or other activities that supported the Nazis. In November 1936, Krack retaliated by segregating them in a hall and imposing a six-week postal ban. Ironically, the isolation stiffened their resolve and led to an intensification of their Bible studies. Responding to an anguished letter by Hans Thönes, Krack reported that Thönes's mother, Katharina, was well but not permitted to write for shunning WHW work.[18]

After Heinrich Himmler visited Moringen on May 27, 1937, the Gestapo prepared for its closure. The desire to integrate women detainees into the IKL system figured in this decision. In transports dated December 15, 1937, February 2, 1938, and March 21, 1938, 514 Moringen women were sent to Lichtenburg.[19] Many of the Jehovah's Witnesses later were sent to Ravensbrück. From 1940 to 1945, Moringen operated as a "Youth Concentration Camp."

Before becoming workhouse director in 1930, Krack was a teacher. A member of the German Democratic Party (DDP) during the Weimar Republic, he joined the Nazi Party (NSDAP) and SA on May 1, 1933. Facilitating the release of some prisoners, he also ordered the sterilization of one detainee and occasionally threatened to denounce released prisoners or their relatives to the Gestapo. The prisoners' files revealed that the former democrat had little difficulty in appropriating Nazi language. Directing the workhouse until its closure in 1944, he served during World War II with the Armaments Detachment (Rüstungskommando) Hannover. Acquitted of Nazi activities by the Göttingen Spruchgericht in 1948, he resumed the directorship until his retirement in 1954. The Federal Republic awarded him the Federal Cross of Merit (*Bundesverdienstkreuz*) for alleged acts of resistance while Lagerdirektor. He died in 1962.[20]

In 1966, the workhouse became the Lower Saxon State Hospital for Forensic Psychiatry (Niedersächsischen Landeskrankhaus für forensische Psychiatrie). A memorial site was established in 1993.

SOURCES This essay follows the careful scholarship of Hans Hesse, *Das Frauen-KZ Moringen: 1933–1938* (Moringen: Lagergemeinschaft und KZ-Gedenkstätte, 2002); "Von der

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As cited in Hesse's publications, the primary sources for this camp begin with NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1–9 (including Lagerdirektor files and prisoners' Gesundheitsblätter); and NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 105/96, No. 1-327 (Personalakten, including 133 health reports). As cited by Hesse and Kuse, two files concerning Krack's denazification and the award of the Bundesverdienstkreuz are NHStA-H, 171 Hildesheim, No. 39367, Entnazifierungsakte Hugo Krack; and BA-K, B 122/38575, Krack file. A partial reproduction of the "Dienst- und Hausordnung für Frauenschutzhaftlager Moringen" and Krack's letter to Hans Thönes may be found in Jutta von Freyberg and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, eds., *Moringen, Lichtenburg, Ravensbrück: Frauen im Konzentrationslager 1933–1945; Lesebuch zur Ausstellung "Frauen im Konzentrationslager: Moringen, Lichtenburg, Ravensbrück 1933–1945"* (Frankfurt: VAS, 1997). On the Society of Friends' visit, see Elizabeth Fox Howard, *Across Barriers*, intro. by Henry W. Nevinson (London: Friends Service Council, 1941). Reports about this camp can also be found in *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (Sopade), 1934–1940*, 7 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Petra Nettelbeck, Zweitausendeins, 1980). An important memoir recently published in English is Gabriele Herz, *The Women's Camp in Moringen: A Memoir of Imprisonment in Germany, 1936–1937*, ed. and intro. by Jane Caplan, trans. Hildegard Herz and Howard Hartig (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006). As cited by Caplan in Herz, additional information about the Friends' visit may be found in Milli Beermann letter, November 1, 1935, in FHLA-(L), FCRA Political Prisoners, Correspondence 1933–1938, FCRA/19/1. Centa Beimler-Herker's interviews are found in Barbara Distel, "Im Schatten der Helden: Kampf und Überleben von Centa Beimler-Herker und Lina Haag," *DaHe* 3 (1987): 21–57; and in Hanna Elling, *Frauen im deutschen Widerstand: 1933–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1978); another published testimony is Rita Sprengel, *Der rote Faden: Lebenserinnerungen; Ostpreussen, Weimarer Republik, Ravensbrück, DDR, Die Wende*, ed. Sigrid Jacobeit, afterword by Wolfgang Jacobeit (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1994). For the early history of this camp, see the letters of Hannah Vogt, *Hoffnung ist ein ewiges Begräbnis: Briefe von Dr. Hannah Vogt aus dem Gerichtsgefängnis Osterode und dem KZ Moringen 1933*, ed. Hans Hesse (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1998). Unpublished testimonies about Moringen include P III h 159 (Moringen) Testimony of Ilse Rolfe (née Gostynski), taken by Mrs. Midia Kraus, November 1955, in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series 1, WLA, Section 2, Eyewitness Accounts, at www.tlemea.com/testaments/index.htm. As cited by Hesse, Elizabeth von Gustedt's 70-page diary is found in BA-K, Best. N 1121 Gustedt No. 5, KZ Moringen. Hesse also cites the GAZJ, which contains numerous Jehovah's Witness testimonies.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, p. 168, cited in Hans Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung': Das Konzentrationslager Moringen 1933–1945," in *Instrumentarium der Macht: Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1937*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), p. 126.

2. NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, p. 189, cited in ibid., p.127.

3. NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, Nos. 6, 7 (Personalblätter); NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 105/96 (Personalakten); and NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 2 (Belegungsstärke des Direktors), all cited in Hans Hesse, *Das Frauen-KZ Moringen: 1933–1938* (Moringen: Lagergemeinschaft und KZ-Gedenkstätte, 2002), pp. 41–45.

4. Centa Beimler-Herker testimony, November 1976, reproduced in Hanna Elling, *Frauen im deutschen Widerstand: 1933–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1978), p. 107.

5. *Sopade*, IV (July 1937): 713.

6. Krack memorandum, March 29, 1933, NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, cited in Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung,'" pp. 114–115.

7. Letters of June 4, 1933, June 12, 1933, and July 4, 1933, in Hannah Vogt, *Hoffnung ist ein ewiges Begräbnis: Briefe von Dr. Hannah Vogt aus dem Gerichtsgefängnis Osterode und dem KZ Moringen 1933*, ed. Hans Hesse (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1998), pp. 103, 107, 122.

8. PrMdI to Lagerdirektor, October 3, 1933, in NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, pp. 160, 168, cited in Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung,'" pp. 125–126.

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9. Krack to Lagerdirektion Papenburg, November 11, 1933, in NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 1, p. 185, cited in Hans Hesse with Jens-Christian Wagner, *Das frühe KZ Moringen (April-November 1933): ". . . ein an sich interessanter psychologischer Versuch . . ."* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2003), p. 86.

10. Dienst- und Hausordnung für das Frauenschutzhaftlager Moringen, April 1934, NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 2, p. 144, cited in Hesse, *Das Frauen-KZ Moringen*, pp. 45–50; partial reproduction of this document in Jutta von Freyberg and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, eds., *Moringen, Lichtenburg, Ravensbrück: Frauen im Konzentrationslager 1933–1945; Lesebuch zur Ausstellung "Frauen im Konzentrationslager: Moringen, Lichtenburg, Ravensbrück 1933–1945"* (Frankfurt: VAS, 1997), p. 19; for Rehmer's initial, indicating his reading of prisoner mail, Anna Remmy letter, November 7, 1937, reproduced in Hans Hesse and Jürgen Harder, *". . . und wenn ich lebenslang in einem KZ bleiben müsste . . .": Die Zeuginnen Jehovas in den Frauenkonzentrationslagern Mohringen, Lichtenburg und Ravensbrück* (Essen: Klartext, 2001), p. 54; Gabriele Herz, *The Women's Camp in Moringen: A Memoir of Imprisonment in Germany, 1936–1937*, ed. and intro. by Jane Caplan, trans. Hildegard Herz and Howard Hartig (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), pp. 92–94.

11. BA-K, Best. N 1121, Gustedt, No. 5, KZ Moringen, cited in Hesse, *Das Frauen-KZ Moringen*, p. 39n.132.

12. Elizabeth Fox Howard, *Across Barriers*, intro. by Henry W. Nevinson (London: Friends Service Council, 1941), pp. 89–91; Milli Beermann letter, November 1, 1935, in Friends House Library and Archives, London, FCRA, Political Prisoners, Correspondence, 1933–1938, FCRA/19/1, cited in Caplan introduction to Herz, *The Women's Camp in Moringen*, p. 24.

13. *Sopade*, IV (July 1937): 713; Beimler-Herker interview, quoted in Barbara Distel, "Im Schatten der Helden: Kampf und Überleben von Centa Beimler-Herker und Lina Haag," *DaHe* 3 (1987): 30; Herz, *The Women's Camp in Moringen*, p. 100.

14. P III h. 159 (Moringen) Testimony of Ilse Rolfe (née Gostynski), taken by Mrs. Midia Kraus, 11/1955, in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series 1, WLA, Section 2, Eyewitness Accounts, at www.tlemea.com/testaments/index.htm.

15. Photographs of Moringen needlepoint in Freyberg and Krause-Schmitt, *Moringen, Lichtenburg, Ravensbrück*, p. 47.

16. NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 105/96, No. 1-327, cited in Hesse, *Das Frauen-KZ Moringen*, p. 52.

17. Herz, *The Women's Camp in Moringen*, p. 151; Beimler-Herker testimony, 11/1972, in Elling, *Frauen im deutschen Widerstand*, p. 107.

18. Herz, *The Women's Camp in Moringen*, pp. 110–111; Krack to Hans Thönes, January 11, 1937, reproduced in Freyberg and Krause-Schmitt, *Moringen, Lichtenburg, Ravensbrück*, p. 21.

19. NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 2, p. 119, cited in Hesse, *Das Frauen-KZ Moringen*, p. 40; NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 84/82, No. 8, 5, 14, 17, 19, 20, 55, in ibid., pp. 110–111.

20. NHStA-H, 171 Hildesheim, No. 39367, Entnazifierungsakte Hugo Krack, cited in Hesse, *Das Frauen-KZ Moringen*, pp. 97, 98, 103, 107; on sterilization, NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 105/96, No. 235, in Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung,'" p. 134; for a denunciation case, Krack to Flora K., April 23, 1935 (*sic*), NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 105/96, No. 326, cited in Hesse, *Das Frauen-KZ Moringen*, p. 83; on Krack's comments, Prisoner "H" file, in NHStA-H, Hann. 158 Moringen, Acc. 105/96, No. 140, p. 22, cited in Hesse, "Von der 'Erziehung' zur 'Ausmerzung,'" p. 135.

MÜNCHEN (ETTSTRASSE)

In March 1933, the police prison at München (Ettstrasse) became a "protective custody" camp. Under Bavarian police, SA, and SS guards, it served as the clearinghouse for München-Stadelheim prison and the neighboring early SS concentration camp at Dachau. The protective custody population, which consisted of Communists, Bavarian People's Party (BVP) members, monarchists, and journalists, ranged between about 60 and 150 in the spring and summer of 1933. Other sections of the jail held common law prisoners.[1]

Ettstrasse's superintendent, SS-Sturmbannführer Karl Ostberg, exemplified the National Socialist term "Old Fighter." On March 1, 1933, the official Nazi newspaper, *Völkischer Beobachter* (*VB*), celebrated his thirteenth anniversary as a party member. His membership number was 1035. Serving in the List Regiment during World War I, the same unit as Adolf Hitler, he participated in right-wing politics immediately following the war. In 1924 these activities resulted in his dismissal as Ettstrasse's Oberwachtmeister. Originally joining SA-Sturm 1, Neuhausen-München, he became the Sturmführer of Sturm 18 in 1928 and Adjutant of SS-Standarte 1 in September 1930. In a bar fight with Social Democrats at Ramersdorf in December 1930, he sustained a head injury that necessitated a three-week recovery. For the SS, he worked as a public spokesman. In this capacity, he drew criticism from the *Münchner Post*, whose staff subsequently languished in his custody in 1933.[2]

Ostberg was a fanatical antisemite. Stefan Lorant, a prisoner of Hungarian nationality, the editor of the *Münchner Illustrierte Zeitung* (MIZ), described in his diary the superintendent's joy in tormenting Jewish prisoners: "Now that he has been made prison superintendent, he thinks himself Lord God Almighty. He is always prancing along the corridor in his SS uniform. Jews, to him, are like a red rag to a bull. He'd like to hang the lot of them."[3]

Generational and professional tensions surfaced between the youthful Nazi guards and older Bavarian police. The professional guards treated the detainees with respect and occasional leniency, in contrast to the younger and less disciplined SA and SS. Although the older guards seemingly sympathized with the new regime, they found bewildering the concept of protective custody. Lorant paraphrased a conversation among guards: "If a man does anything wrong, he should come up before the magistrate . . . and either be sentenced or discharged. But to lock people up and never tell them what they're in the jug [under arrest] for—well, we've never heard of such a thing here before."[4]

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At Ettstrasse, the SS tortured prisoners. A case in point was Communist Reichstag deputy Hans Beimler, held at Ettstrasse from April 11 to 25, before transfer to Dachau. In one session, the SS hit him over 60 times with a rubber truncheon, poured water on his face, and then, when he did not dress himself quickly enough, beat him once more. As discussed below, the torture of Dr. Fritz Gerlich sparked an exchange between the Austrian and German press. Lorant was more fortunate. He credited not being tortured to a professional warder's firm refusal to leave him alone with SS interrogators.[5]

Ettstrasse's conditions reflected both the improvised use of this jail as a protective custody camp and the tensions between established and Nazi methods of prisoner treatment. The protective custody ward contained several cell configurations, but all were filthy and most were dark. Some prisoners remained in solitary confinement, while others shared space with two, three, or more detainees. Initially kept in close confinement, the prisoners were finally permitted to pace the corridor outside the cells in April 1933. To combat boredom when not permitted to exercise, some detainees played chess with partners in other cells by shouting the moves to each other. The corridor walks became known as the "bourse" because they afforded opportunities for exchanging information. Only on May 15 were the prisoners permitted to go outside. This privilege, they discovered, had been intended for the amusement of visiting Nazis, who took satisfaction in their misery. Because he was Jewish, a prisoner named Dr. Kahn was not permitted outside his cell.[6]

The better-off detainees augmented prison rations with parcels from home or purchases from the prison canteen. Prisoners who ran out of money depended on Ettstrasse's Spartan and monotonous meals, as Lorant described: "On Monday we have vermicelli soup, on Tuesday potato soup, on Wednesday cabbage soup with dumplings, on Thursday rice soup, on Friday macaroni and *Sauerkraut*, on Saturday pea soup with a piece of stinking sausage, and on Sunday rice soup. . . . Supper is invariably the same every day. Watery soup and breadcrumbs. Although I always feel ravenous, I have never yet managed that evening meal. I can't stand the smell of it."[7]

Female protective custody inmates occupied a ward one floor below the males. Among them were the wives of Beimler and Lorant. Arrested on April 21, Centa Beimler-Herker was held at Ettstrasse for two days before being dispatched to Stadelheim, where she remained for three years. In the course of transfer to the early women's concentration camp Moringen in January 1936, she was once more incarcerated at Ettstrasse. Niura Lorant was detained at Ettstrasse from May 19 to June 30, 1933. Because the cell had three prisoners and one bed, she slept on a straw mattress on the floor.[8]

Foreign governments and organizations worked on behalf of certain Ettstrasse detainees. Lorant, Walter Tschuppik, and Gerlich were politically moderate or apolitical journalists who were arrested, along with their colleagues, in March 1933. Unlike the Beimlers, who were Communists and therefore high priority, the non-Communist journalists remained in limbo at Ettstrasse until July 1933. Among the detainees were the publishers and staff of the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten* (*MNN*), *Süddeutsche Sonntagspost* (*SüdS*), *Münchner Post* (*MP*), and *MIZ*. Arrested on March 14, Stefan Lorant was held at Ettstrasse until July 24, when he joined the journalists, editors, and publishers who had already been dispatched to Stadelheim. The Hungarian government worked tirelessly on his behalf. On September 20, he was sent back to Ettstrasse. The Hungarian efforts bore fruit when, on September 25, Lorant was allowed to return to Budapest.[9]

Tschuppik, editor of the *SüdS*, was a Czechoslovakian citizen of German nationality who similarly owed his freedom to international protest. An outspoken anti-Nazi, he was arrested on March 9. *Aufruf* (*ASfM*), a publication of the Prague-based League of Human Rights, pressed the Czechoslovakian government and the German embassy for his release. The publicity may have helped, because he returned to Prague in early November 1933. He then became a contributor to the journal that had agitated for his release.[10]

International pressure did not bring about the release of Fritz Gerlich, however. The Austrian newspaper *Vorarlberger Volksblatt* (*VorVB*) reported on May 19, 1933, that the respected Catholic journalist had *not* been murdered in custody as previously thought but had been blinded in one eye under torture; his other eye had been seriously injured; and he was not permitted contact with his wife. At Ettstrasse, the SS forced him to sign a denial of these allegations, which was published in the *VB*: "The determination that I am alive corresponds with the truth. It is untrue, however, that I am 'blind in one eye and in danger of losing the other,' 'owing to kicks,' with which my 'eyeglasses were driven into my eyes.' What is more I have never received such a kick and possess complete health and vision in both eyes. My wife has been repeatedly given permission to see and speak with me."[11] Gerlich was imprisoned at Ettstrasse and Stadelheim until June 30, 1934, when he was murdered during the "Night of the Long Knives."[12]

Although Ettstrasse remained a holding and interrogation center throughout the Nazi period, its use as a protective custody camp effectively ended in the fall of 1933. It is not known whether any postwar proceedings arose out of the torture of prisoners at this camp.

In the SS, Ostberg rose to the rank of Standartenführer. He died on June 4, 1935.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

For München (Ettstrasse) the most important primary source is the diary of Stefan Lorant, *I Was Hitler's Prisoner*, trans. James Cleugh (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1935). Originally published in English, it was smuggled out of Ettstrasse in two parts, the first by Niura Lorant and the

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remainder by Lorant. The Munich edition of the *VB* contains tendentious stories on Superintendent Karl Ostberg and Fritz Gerlich. The SS weekly newspaper *Das Schwarze Korps* (*SchK*), contains Ostberg's obituary and the funeral. The biweekly journal *ASfM* documented the efforts on Walter Tschuppik's behalf. Upon release, he published his testimony in the November 15, 1933, issue. Hans Beimler was the first escapee from the Nazi concentration camps and published the first camp testimony, *Im Mörderlager Dachau: Vier Wochen in den Händen der braunen Banditen*, 2nd ed., foreword by N. Riedmüller (1933; repr., Berlin: Militärverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1980). It was originally published in Moscow in 1933. Centa Beimler-Herker's testimony deals briefly with her stints at Ettstrasse, in Hanna Elling, *Frauen im deutschen Widerstand, 1933–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg Verlag, 1978).

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1. Stefan Lorant, *I Was Hitler's Prisoner*, trans. James Cleugh (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1935), pp. 176, 298 (entries of June 3, August 30, 1933).

2. "Einer der ersten: Pg. Ostberg, München, 13 Jahre im Kampf für die Bewegung," *VB*, March 1, 1933, Münchner-Ausg.; E.S., "Wir trugen SS-Mann Springer zu Grabe," ibid., March 27, 1933.

3. Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, p. 142 (entry of May 18, 1933).

4. Ibid., pp. 58–59 (entry of March 22, 1933).

5. Hans Beimler, *Im Mörderlager Dachau: Vier Wochen in den Händen der braunen Banditen*, 2nd ed., foreword by N. Riedmüller (1933; repr., Berlin: Militärverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1980), p. 15; Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, p. 232 (entry of July 6, 1933).

6. Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, pp. 98, 141, 230 (entries of April 24, May 15, July 5, 1933).

7. Ibid., p. 191 (entry of June 16, 1933).

8. Testimony of Centa Beimler-Herker, November 1976, in Hanna Elling, *Frauen im deutschen Widerstand, 1933–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg Verlag, 1978), pp. 105–106; Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, pp. 150, 202 (entries of Niura Lorant, May 19, June 30, 1933); Walter Tschuppik, "Gemartete Frauen," *ASfM* 4: 10 (February 15, 1934): 282.

9. Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, pp. 9, 204–206, 279, 307–311, 316–317 (entries of March 19, June 25, August 1, September 20, 22, and 25, 1933).

10. "Helft Walter Tschuppik!" *Auf* 3: 11 (July 1, 1933): 11–12; "Walter Tschuppik," *ASfM* 3: 16 (September 15, 1933): 13; Walter Tschuppik, "Acht Monate in der Hölle," *ASfM* 4: 4 (November 15, 1933): 104–105.

11. "Der 'erblindete' Gerlich: Die beispielose Lügenhetze der roten Pest in Österreich," *VB*, June 14–15, 1933, Münchner-Ausg.

12. Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, p. 188 (entry of June 14, 1933); Walter Tschuppik, "Dr. Fritz Gerlich, ermordet in München, am 30. Juni 1934: Ein Ermorderter spricht," *ASfM* 4: 24 (September 15, 1934): 595–596.

MÜNCHEN-STADELHEIM

In March 1933, the Bavarian Justice Ministry and the SA established a "protective custody" camp at the München-Stadelheim prison. The camp held approximately 100 male and female political opponents and hostages. Located near Giesing, Stadelheim was established in 1894. Four years later, overcrowded conditions led to the construction of a southern wing, known even in the Nazi period as the New Building. In addition to the protective custody camp, the Nazis used the prison as a penitentiary and execution center. In Munich, detainees were normally taken into custody at the Ettstrasse police prison and transferred either to Stadelheim or to the early SS concentration camp at Dachau. According to prisoner Hans Beimler, sick or injured Dachau prisoners were temporarily moved to Stadelheim in the spring of 1933. Male detainees were held in both the old and newer buildings.[1]

The protective custody inmates shared cells with common criminals and imprisoned Nazis. According to Stefan Lorant, who kept a diary in Ettstrasse and Stadelheim, the male detainees were not allowed to work, except for making "paper bags" in their cells. The cells were designed either for solitary confinement or for three or more prisoners but "[n]ever two." The latter policy was intended to forestall homosexual relations. Rebellious prisoners, such as a Communist who protested a Nazi religious service, were placed in a so-called dark cell. In daytime, prisoners were not permitted to lie down on the beds. Prisoners could borrow books from the prison library, however. According to Dr. Karl Alt, Stadelheim's Lutheran pastor from 1934 to 1945, the authorities removed books offensive to the new regime, including the Old Testament.[2]

Stadelheim had stern disciplinary regulations. Prisoners were subject to search at any time, and incorrigibles could be placed in chains. Penalties for disobedience ranged from simple warning to "close arrest." On July 29, 1933, Lorant described "A typical day at Stadelheim": "Rise at seven. Place bucket outside cell, fetch wash-basin, breakfast on thin coffee and a piece of bread. Eight-thirty to nine-thirty, exercise in the yard. Lunch at eleven-thirty, consisting of a plate of vegetables, including some potatoes, and a piece of bread. Supper at five-thirty, consisting of soup and a piece of bread. Then the folding bed is let down and we are left in peace for the night."[3]

Despite the strict regimen, the detainees secretly communicated between cells. The prisoners tapped Morse-coded messages on the walls, which their neighbors then relayed to the intended recipient. Lorant said: "There is not a sound to be heard all through the day. It is like being in a cemetery. But later, after the warder has done his rounds, a sound of knocking begins. . . . I cannot yet quite make out what all the raps mean, but some letters are already familiar."[4]

From mid-July until September 1933, Stadelheim held a small number of non-Communist journalists from Munich. Until late August, they were not allowed to communicate with each other, possibly because the regime was building a legal case against them. Among them were Lorant, the editor

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of the *Münchner Illustrierte Zeitung* (*MIZ*), Walter Tschuppik, the anti-Nazi editor of the *Süddeutsche Sonntagspost* (*SüdS*), and Dr. Fritz Gerlich, who published articles for various Catholic papers. On August 30, the authorities inexplicably placed the journalists together in one cell and released most via München (Ettstrasse) within one month's time.[5]

The case of Munich trade union leader Gustav Schiefer demonstrated the role that chance played in protective custody. Arrested on May 5, 1933, he was briefly detained at Ettstrasse, then sent to Stadelheim. Schiefer attributed his "extraordinarily fortunate circumstance" of neither being transferred to Dachau nor tortured to prison physician Dr. Geisendorfer. The two had known each other for many years, because Schiefer sat on the managing board of the local health insurance fund. Geisendorfer refused to permit Schiefer's interrogation by the Bavarian Political Police no fewer than five times, explaining that the prisoner suffered from an intestinal rupture. Schiefer was released on health grounds on August 25, 1933.[6]

Although the men's camp was closed in the fall of 1933, the women's camp was operational until January 1936. After his release in November 1933, Tschuppik drew public attention to the women confined at Stadelheim, in an article for the Prague human rights journal *Aufruf* (*ASfM*). Among the prisoners were a newspaper editor's secretary, Fräulein Federschmidt, and a Jewish legal counsel's wife, Frau Kaiser. To these non-Communist prisoners should be added four Communists not mentioned by Tschuppik—Centa Beimler-Herker, Dora Dressel, Maria Götz, and Emma Stenzer. The exact number of female detainees is not known.[7]

Centa Beimler-Herker was the focus of international attention during her three years at Stadelheim. Her husband, Hans Beimler, fled Dachau in May 1933 and became the first concentration camp escapee. Already detained at Stadelheim, Beimler-Herker was informed that her release was contingent upon her husband's surrender, which effectively made her a hostage. In September 1933, her sister Maxi was arrested and also placed in Stadelheim. Beimler-Herker participated in resistance activities. After hearing about Franz Stenzer's murder at Dachau, she staged a hunger strike with other prisoners in order to agitate for his wife's, Emma Stenzer's, release. The female detainees were permitted to work outside their cells, which facilitated, Beimler-Herker later recalled, "a lively exchange of news" between the male and female camps. As a laundress, she surreptitiously circulated banned political publications among the prisoners. The German exile press took up Beimler-Herker's cause. A visit by an international delegation to Stadelheim resulted in her improved treatment, but further details about this visit are not available. In January 1936, she and her sister were transferred from Stadelheim to the early women's concentration camp at Moringen.[8]

During the "Night of the Long Knives," SA-Stabschef Ernst Röhm was murdered at Stadelheim. On his first day as pastor there, June 30, 1934, Alt saw SS men surrounding the prison. Arriving from Berlin, they carried orders from Hitler to liquidate top SA leaders and certain regime opponents, including Gerlich. According to Alt, when the prison director, Dr. Robert Koch, protested Stadelheim's use as a killing site, the SS put him on the telephone with Nazi Party secretary Rudolf Hess. Koch summarily dropped his objections. The newly appointed Inspector of Concentration Camps, SS-Brigadeführer Theodor Eicke, shot Röhm in his cell on July 1, after the former SA chief refused Hitler's offer of committing suicide.[9] Between 1933 and 1945, 1,035 persons were executed at Stadelheim, including numerous political prisoners. Alt described three execution methods: hangings, shootings, and beheadings by guillotine. The most common was hanging by slow strangulation. Perhaps in order to distance himself from personal responsibility for what transpired, Alt attempted to distinguish between Stadelheim and the concentration camps, alleging that "penal institutions had . . . nothing to do with KZ [concentration camp] methods." In the 1930s, the hangings were so commonplace, he recalled, that the authorities dispensed with the customary execution witnesses except for a spiritual adviser.[10]

Little is known about the protective custody camp superintendent, Müller, or Stadelheim's director, Koch. Alt described the latter as a "humane" individual concerned about the prisoners' well-being, but his degree of culpability with the early protective custody camp is not clear. Alt's predecessor as Lutheran pastor, Schöbel, was an outspoken Nazi whose sermons stressed the "Aryan" origins of Jesus Christ. Witnesses recalled that two Roman Catholic priests, Fathers Sigisbert and Karl Kinle, treated the prisoners with great consideration.[11] It is not known whether postwar legal proceedings were undertaken against any Stadelheim staff.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The camp is recorded in Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg*, *Bayern*, *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Hessen*, *Niedersachsen*, *Nordrhein-Westfalen*, *Rheinland-Pfalz*, *Saarland*, *Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). An excellent historical overview of Stadelheim can be found at the Web site Justizvollzug in Bayern," www.justizvollzug-bayern.de/JV/Ueberblck/Geschichte/muehist. A helpful account of Röhm's murder is Charles W. Sydnor Jr., *Soldiers of Destruction: The SS Death's Head Division, 1933–1945* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977). On Centa Beimler-Herker, see Barbara Distel, "Im Schatten der Helden: Kampf und Überleben von Centa Beimler-Herker und Lina Haag," *DaHe* 3 (1987): 21–57.

Primary documentation for München-Stadelheim starts with the diary of Stefan Lorant, *I Was Hitler's Prisoner*, trans. James Cleugh (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1935). Originally published in English, it was smuggled out of München-Ettstrasse in two parts, the first by Stefan's wife, Niura, and the remainder by Lorant. Lorant's comrade Walter Tschuppik published several articles in the biweekly journal of the Liga der Menschenrechte (Prague), *ASfM*, about Stadelheim. The United States entered Gustav Schiefer's statement into

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evidence before the IMT at Nürnberg. The first concentration camp escapee, Hans Beimler, was held briefly at Stadelheim. His account, *Im Mörderlager Dachau: Vier Wochen in den Händen der braunen Banditen*, 2nd ed., foreword by N. Riedmüller (1933; repr., Berlin: Militärverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1980), was first published in Moscow. Centa Beimler-Herker's testimony is available in Hanna Elling, *Frauen im deutschen Widerstand, 1933–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg Verlag, 1978). The international protest that attended Beimler-Herker's confinement is available in "Frauen als Geiseln: Der Nazi-Terror schreckt vor nichts zurück," *PT*, July 5,1934, and *Das deutsche Volk klagt an: Hitlers Krieg gegen die Friedenskämpfer in Deutschland: Ein Tatsachenbuch* (Paris: Éditions du Carrefour, 1936). Another important account of Stadelheim is Karl Alt, *Todeskandidaten: Erlebnisse eines Seelsorger im Gefängnis München-Stadelheim mit zahlreichen im Hitlerreich zum Tode verurteilten Männern und Frauen* (Munich: A. Gross, 1946). Quoting at length prisoners' correspondence and religious poetry, Alt included drawings of Stadelheim during the Nazi years. His intentional or unintentional ignorance of the protective custody camp limits this source's value. According to Drobisch and Wieland, papers relating to Stadelheim may also be found in the AG-D (testimony of Claus Bastian) and the BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR.

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NOTES

1. Hans Beimler, *Im Mörderlager Dachau: Vier Wochen in den Händen der braunen Banditen*, 2nd ed., foreword by N. Riedmüller (1933; repr., Berlin: Militärverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1980), pp. 40–42; Stefan Lorant, *I Was Hitler's Prisoner*, trans. James Cleugh (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1935), pp. 269, 274, 277 (entries for July 26, 27, and 29, 1933).

2. Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, pp. 268, 273, 277, 284, 289–291, 303 (entries for July 26 and 27, August 17 and 20, September 5, 1933); Walter Tschuppik, "Gemartete Frauen," *ASfM* 4: 10 (February 15, 1934): 282; Karl Alt, *Todeskandidaten: Erlebnisse eines Seelsorger im Gefängnis München-Stadelheim mit zahlreichen im Hitlerreich zum Tode verurteilten Männern und Frauen* (Munich: A. Gross, 1946), p. 12.

3. Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, pp. 275–277 (entries for July 28 and 29, 1933).

4. Ibid., p. 285 (entry for August 11, 1933).

5. Ibid., pp. 277–278, 296 (entries for July 29, August 30, 1933).

6. Sworn Statement of Gustav Schiefer, November 19, 1945, USA-748, 2277-PS, IMT, *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, 14 November 1945–1 October 1946* (Nuremberg: Secretariat of the IMT, 1947–1949), p. 30.

7. Tschuppik, "Gemartete Frauen," p. 282; Centa Beimler-Herker testimony, November 1976, in Hanna Elling, *Frauen im deutschen Widerstand, 1933–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1978), p. 107.

8. Beimler-Herker testimony, pp. 105–110; Beimler, *Im Mörderlager Dachau*; "Frauen als Geiseln: Der Nazi-Terror schreckt vor nichts zurück," *PT*, July 5, 1934; *Das deutsche Volk klagt an: Hitlers Krieg gegen die Friedenskämpfer in Deutschland: Ein Tatsachenbuch* (Paris: Éditions du Carrefour, 1936), p. 100.

9. Alt, *Todeskandidaten*, pp. 8–9; Walter Tschuppik, "Dr. Fritz Gerlich, ermordet in München, am 30. Juni 1934: Ein Ermorderter spricht," *ASfM* 4: 24 (September 15, 1934): 595–596.

10. "Justizvollzug in Bayern," www.justizvollzug-bayern.de/JV/Ueberblick/Geschichte/muehist; Alt, *Todeskandidaten*, pp. 10n., 12–13, 35–38, 43, 65, 86.

11. Alt, *Todeskandidaten*, pp. 11, 13; Lorant, *Hitler's Prisoner*, pp. 289–291, 301 (entries for August 17 and 20, September 9, 1933).

NEUSTADT AN DER HAARDT [AKA RHEINPFALZ]

In Bavaria, and therefore also in the Bavarian Palatinate, the National Socialists seized power on March 9, 1933. The government of the Bavarian People's Party (BVP), led by Dr. Heinrich Held, was removed and fled from the state capital of Munich. As in many parts of the German Reich, this event in the Palatinate was celebrated with large-scale marches, and Swastika flags were hoisted up on public buildings. At the same time as these festivities, the persecution of National Socialism's political opponents began. The new holders of power wanted "in the interest of public safety to take all Communist functionaries and Reichsbanner leaders into protective custody and to perform weapons searches."[1]

In the Palatinate Neustadt an der Haardt, those in charge immediately translated this March 10, 1933, order into action: on the same day 32 political opponents were taken into "protective custody."[2] Some of these prisoners were housed in the local prison on Lindenstrasse; others were delivered directly to the newly estabished protective custody camp in the former airmen's barracks (*Fliegerkaserne*).[3] In these barracks, built by French occupational troops, the camp "Rheinpfalz" had already been in existence since October 1932 as a section of the Volunteer Labor Service (FAD).

Soon, the number of prisoners in the newly created protective custody camp increased rapidly. One week after the establishment of the camp, approximately 200 political prisoners were interned there.[4] Only a few days later, the press reported that there were between 275 and 300 prisoners in the "protective custody camp Rheinpfalz."[5] With that, the Neustadt camp was hopelessly overfilled, and a transport of prisoners from Landau was not carried out, due to the overcrowding of the camp.[6]

The prisoners were political opponents of National Socialism, functionaries of the German Communist Party (KPD), the Social Democratic Party (SPD), the Socialist Workers' Party (SAP), and the Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold (RB). They were not only from Neustadt; prisoners were also delivered to the Neustadt camp from all areas of the Palatinate, especially from Kaiserslautern, Pirmasens, and the area of Kusel.[7]

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SA and SS men, who were housed in a block of the larger barrack grounds alongside members of the Labor Service and prisoners, took on the task of guarding the camp.[8] Approximately 200 SA and SS men, as well as members of the Stahlhelm, participated in ongoing educational and professional training courses. A large number of the SS men came from an SS unit in Ludwigshafen. "Most of the SS men were unemployed and hoped to become employed again through these courses and similar activities."[9] The participants in these courses were enlisted into guard duty in the prison camp.[10] The SA and SS men were placed under Standartenführer Adam Durein.

The Neustadt camp is particularly relevant to historical research since the first preserved set of concentration camp regulations comes from there. This "camp regulations for political prisoners" from March 18, 1933, regulated the daily routine and lives of the prisoners in the camp. The times for labor service were precisely established. Prisoners older than 50 years, as well as prisoners who were not in proper physical condition, were exempted from labor service. Prisoners who did not work were allowed to spend two hours outside everyday. Smoking was prohibited but was promised for good conduct during the time outside. The prisoners could receive visitors on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, for two hours each. Visitors were allowed to bring food, clothing, blankets, and reading material. Political magazines and books with Marxist content were exempt from this allowance. As the representative of the prison camp, Colonel Durein signed the camp regulations.[11]

In the labor service, the prisoners were deployed in the construction of an airfield near Lachen-Speyerdorf (later part of Neustadt an der Weinstrasse)[12] and also in work on the grounds of the barracks themselves, for there was most likely not enough work outside the camp.[13] Guards frequently used this work to humiliate prisoners. Intellectuals in particular were forced to do this physical work, which they were not accustomed to, and they were mocked in the process.[14] The guards never passed up an opportunity to torture and intimidate the prisoners: "The prisoners had to haul straw into the courtyard and they were then forced, by both pushing and pulling, to move a wagon on which two SA men sat. . . . Several guards accompanied the transport. In the course of this they shot into the area with a pistol."[15]

No specific details exist regarding the provisions of prisoners. The press, however, described the food in typical harmless-sounding propaganda articles as "good home cooking"[16] and "simple yet nourishing and sufficient."[17] The prisoners as well as the SA and SS men who guarded them received their food from the FAD kitchen. This quickly brought the city of Neustadt into financial distress. In a letter to the district office on March 17, 1933, the provisional mayor of Neustadt asked for help, since due to the feeding of prisoners, the financial means of the FAD had been fully used up.[18] On March 22, 1933, the city commissar of Neustadt reported to the Palatinate government in Speyer that the city was 12,800 Reichsmark (RM) in debt due to the provisions for the SS, SA, and prisoners.[19] The Bavarian Ministry of Interior ultimately took responsibility for the costs of 15,000 RM, which the ministry allocated to the "Rheinpfalz" camp on April 26, 1933.[20]

Not only harassment and humiliation during work but also physical mistreatment was the order of the day in Neustadt. "Some of the prisoners were severely beaten with rubber truncheons and steel rods by the SA and SS men. These violent acts were carried out by bringing individual prisoners to a separate room where they were randomly beaten by several SA and SS men at the same time."[21] One prisoner was forced to clean a backed-up toilet with only his bare hands. When he hesitated, an SS man kicked him in the backside and hit him on the head with a rubber truncheon.[22] Another guard took his anger out on prisoners by threatening them with a truncheon and forcing them to stand upright and give the "Heil Hitler" greeting and sing National Socialist songs.[23] Another prisoner reported about "running the gauntlet" (*Spiessrutenlauf*): the prisoner had to run through a cordon of SS men, and each one hit the prisoner with a rubber truncheon. Especially notorious for such punishments were the SS men from Ludwigshafen, against whom a trial was carried out after 1945 for crimes against humanity.[24]

After Nazi Party (NSDAP) Gauleiter of the Palatinate Josef Bürckel visited the camp on March 18 or 19, 1933, and heard the complaints of prisoners, the mistreatment supposedly decreased.[25]

The most sensational incident in Neustadt occurred on March 16, 1933. Hermann Zahm, the Neustadt RB leader, had particularly aroused the ire of the guard staff because he was suspected of having taken part in an attack on two SA men in February 1933.[26] From the first day of his imprisonment, he was beaten with steel rods and rubber truncheons and questioned again and again. Fearing further mistreatment, he jumped out a third-story window after only a few days. He suffered serious injuries to his legs, three dorsal vertebrae, and his head. He received treatment in a hospital for one year and four months, but he remained largely incapable of working.[27] Another prisoner attempted to commit suicide by cutting his throat with a razor.[28]

The Neustadt barracks was supposedly closed in June 1933. After this point in time, prisoners from the Palatinate were taken to the Dachau concentration camp. The barracks were used by the Wehrmacht as of 1936.

SOURCES The most important sources on the protective custody camp in Neustadt an der Haardt are in the LA-Sp and consist primarily of files of the judicial authorities. Probably the most important source are the files of the trial against Eugen Huber et al., guards in the Neustadt concentration camp, for crimes against humanity, located in the files of the State Attorney's Office in the Frankenthal Regional Court under the shelf marked J 72 No. 332 and 378. Additional important information on the Neustadt camp can be found in the files of the Court of Honor against Dr. Rudolf Hammann at the Higher Regional Court Zweibrücken J 71, No. 428. Both files contain extensive statements on the mistreatment of prisoners. One can consult the prisoner book of the local

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prison Neustadt (under the shelf marked J 89 No. 1) for information about the numbers of prisoners and their social backgrounds. Other important sources can be found in the extensive collection of the Antifa-Archive of Hermann Morweiser in Ludwigshafen. The camp order of Neustadt, for example, can also be found there.

In addition, there are many articles in contemporaneous newspapers, above all in the *LdAnz* and in the *NSZR*. Downplaying the situation in the camps, they are, however, prime examples of the propaganda at that time as well and thus must be viewed very critically.

There is no monograph on the Neustadt protective custody camp. Hermann Morweiser reports about the camp and on the events surrounding prisoner Zahm in an article in *dt* from October 23, 1981, titled "Deported from the Rheinpfalz Camp to Dachau. The Provisional Concentration Camp in Neustadt Is Virtually Forgotten." The booklet *Neustadt an der Haardt 1933 bis 1945: Das Geheimnis der Versöhnung ist die Erinnerung; Stätten des Leidens, der Verfolgung, des Terrors und Widerstandes*, ed. Eberhard Dittus, Karl Fücks, and Heiko Müller, (Neustadt: Arbeitsstelle Friedensdienst der Evangelischen Kirchen der Pfalz, 1998), mentions the camp as one of many places of pain, persecution, and resistance in Neustadt.

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trans. Lynn Wolff

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12. *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror* (1933; repr., Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980), p. 293.
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NEUSUSTRUM [AKA PAPENBURG V]

On October 2, 1933, Neusustrum became the fourth and final subcamp of the State Concentration Camp Papenburg (Staatliches Konzentrationslager Papenburg). Commanded by SS-Sturmführer Emil Faust (Nazi Party [NSDAP] No. 151165), this 1,000-man "barracks camp" furnished labor for Emsland cultivation.[1] Unlike Börgermoor and the two Esterwegen subcamps, Neusustrum was situated near the Dutch border, within the Sustrum and west of the Bourtanger Moors. As its numerical designation suggested, the Prussian Ministry of Interior once intended it to be the fifth subcamp. Hermann Göring's state secretary Ludwig Grauert allocated the same financial resources for Neusustrum as for the two Esterwegen camps, 700,000 Reichsmark (RM), because he originally foresaw it being a 2,000-prisoner camp.[2] The details of Neusustrum's construction are not available, but the task probably belonged to the first inmates. Prisoner Gerd Nixdorf remembered the camp's unfinished state from his arrival at the beginning of October 1933.[3] Violence at this and other

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Papenburg camps prompted the Prussian Gestapa (Secret State Police Office) to remove the SS in November 1933. Neusustrum heightened the level of violence, as three murders and one suicide took place there in a 10-day period.

On October 2, the first 240 prisoners arrived at the Lathen railway station from Anrath, Brauweiler, Köln (Bonner Wall), and Wuppertal-Barmen. Before they set off on an 11-kilometer (6.8-mile) journey by foot and field train to camp, Faust warned would-be escapees about his staff's shooting prowess.[4] His outburst was typical. Detainee Josef Hawlas, who entered the camp on October 19, recalled Faust saying to his group: "You pigs, shooting you down is the dearest wish of me and my comrades, the carpenter's shop will make the coffins." He continued: "All of you are very close to St. Peter. If you don't believe it, then you will get out quickly. My comrades shoot well, as you have already learned for yourself."[5] Faust's last statement alluded to the murders committed en route of Russian inmate Simon Koje on October 10 and of Recklinghausen Communist Wilhelm Wieden on the day of Hawlas's arrival.[6]

Two additional deaths occurred the next day, October 20. Former Polizeimeister Paul Guse committed suicide, after enduring torture and penal exercises. In their rush to cover up their involvement, the SS recorded the time of death as "0715 hours in the afternoon."[7] At 2:30 P.M., in front of the commandant's headquarters and at Faust's behest, a guard ordered Jewish prisoner Isaak Baruch to run, then shot him as he obeyed. Shortly after these incidents, according to Fritz Schulte, the SS emptied the barracks in a nightlong beating similar to incidents at Börgermoor and the two Esterwegen camps.[8]

New prisoners underwent harsh rituals. According to Nixdorf, Faust announced that his staff would "smack them down." The initiates then ran through a gauntlet of SS ranks and suffered blows "from all sides." According to Peter Meter, the SS chose 10 prisoners from his group of detainees from Cologne's Bonner Wall camp. They made them strip and race, with guard dogs chasing them.[9]

At Neusustrum, music performed the dual roles of prisoner coping and SS harassment. Prisoner Kaufmann composed the camp's song, "Exiled to the Emsland's Far North." In contrast to the "Börgermoorlied," it closed in a more somber tone: "We long for our wives / our joy at home— / we now look again inconsolably; / Freedom when will you return?"[10] The SS employed nationalistic music for reeducation and as an excuse for brutality. Rudolf Nagorr remembered that the prisoners were forced to sing "Oh, Deutschland, hoch in Ehren" on the way into camp. Artur Korn recalled that when the guards demanded a song on return from work, one prisoner was too exhausted to comply. Struck with a "birchwood cudgel," he nearly collapsed but got help from another prisoner, Paul. A detainee shouted, "Comrades, don't let yourselves be provoked. They want a blood bath!" After striking Paul for intervening, the SS ordered him to beat the prisoner with the cudgel. When Paul refused, they thrashed him.[11]

Like other Papenburg commandants, Faust received his Emsland assignment from SS-Group West (Gruppe West) chief Gruppenführer Fritz Weitzel. But according to historian Hans-Peter Klausch, he was transferred from his native Koblenz because of his poor disciplinary record. Faust served time in youth prison in 1914 and 1915 for theft and was prone to violent rages. Earning the Iron Cross Second Class in 1918, participating in Free Corps Förster-Löwenfeld from 1919 to 1920, and fighting Communists in the SS in the early 1930s explained why he had not been dismissed earlier. Between the Free Corps and SS stints, he joined the French Foreign Legion from 1920 to 1924. According to Hawlas, the prisoners knew about this detail from Faust's past. In early August 1933, he became Esterwegen II's adjutant and helped to organize the notorious "Special Duty Detachment" (Abteilung z.b.V.) at Esterwegen III. The exact circumstances of Faust's September 27, 1933, appointment as commandant are unclear.[12]

At Neusustrum, medical attention was nonexistent. At Esterwegen II, Faust met Silesian prisoner and medical student "Dr." Albert Thiel. After Neusustrum opened, he arranged for Thiel's release and appointed him camp physician. Thiel's extreme nationalism and brutality—Hawlas called him a "sadist"—made him an SS ally. In 1935, Osnabrück Regional Court (4 J 403/34) sentenced him to five years in a penitentiary and denied him a medical license for his actions at Neusustrum. Unlike other Nazi-era cases against early camp perpetrators, the regime did not quash this verdict because Thiel was a former detainee.[13]

On November 6, 1933, the SS surrendered the camp to the Prussian police. Before doing so, they sabotaged the camp's rations. As was the case at Börgermoor, a rumor circulated of their intention to arm prisoners in preparation for resisting the police. About the takeover, Hawlas exclaimed, "Now the camp is occupied by the police. As a reward therefore the churches hold a service of thanksgiving, because this horde of people is gone!"[14]

Faust's violent outbursts continued after Neusustrum. The SS did not take action against him when he assaulted a Krupp director in 1935 but dismissed him in 1936 when his role in the Thiel case came to light. In World War II, he served in France with Organisation Todt (OT), but the Hauptamt SS-Gericht denied his Waffen-SS enlistment in 1944. Arrested by the British in July 1946, Osnabrück Regional Court (4 Js 172/49) sentenced him to life in a penitentiary for crimes against humanity on November 30, 1950. Released in December 1965, he died on April 13, 1966.[15]

From December 20, 1933, until April 1934, the SA administered Neusustrum under the command of Hans Giese. On December 22, 1933, 380 prisoners were released because of a Christmas amnesty, including German Communist Party (KPD) prisoner Albert Stasch. Under Giese, the killing of prisoners resumed once more. In early January 1934, the SA shot to death the Schmalkalden *Volksstimme*'s editor Ludwig Pappenheim and Düsseldorf's KPD town councilor August Henning. Neusustrum's closure on April 1, 1934, marked the first step in the Prussian Justice Ministry's establishment of Papenburg penal camps. The "protective custody prisoners"

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entered Börgermoor before proceeding with that camp's population to Esterwegen II on April 25.[16]

As a penal camp, Neusustrum continued the regime's persecution of outcast groups, including homosexuals convicted under Paragraph 175 and Jehovah's Witnesses.[17] From 1940 to 1945, it held Polish and Jewish penal prisoners.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the careful research by Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommandanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005). Other important secondary sources for Neusustrum are Dirk Lüerssen, "'Moorsoldaten' in Esterwegen, Börgermoor, Neusustrum: Die frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland 1933 bis 1936," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 157–210; for Neusustrum's closure date, see Willy Perk, *Hölle im Moor: Zur Geschichte der Emslandlager, 1933–1945*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1979); Elke Suhr, *Die Emslandlager: Die politische und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Emsländischen Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager 1933–1945* (Bremen: Donat & Temmen, 1985); and Elke Suhr and Werner Bohlt, *Lager im Emsland, 1933–1945: Geschichte und Gedenken* (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg, 1985). On music in the early camps, the standard work is Guido Fackler, *"Des Lagers Stimme"—Musik im KZ: Alltag und Häftlingskultur in den Konzentrationslagern 1933 bis 1936* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000). On the Papenburg memorial, see Kurt Buck, *Das Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum Emslandlager (DIZ) in Papenburg: Informationen, Hinweise und pädagogische Anregungen für einen Besuch vor Ort* (Papenburg: Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum [DIZ] Emslandlager, 1997). On Neusustrum today, Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus, Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). Information on the plaques may be found at www.diz-emslandlager.de. The new study by Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *"Der Ort des Terrors": Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager: Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), appeared after this entry was written.

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NOHRA

The Nazi Party (NSDAP) received 11.3 percent of the votes in the Thuringia state elections in December 1929. That vote translated into 53 seats in the state parliament. The conservative parties and the NSDAP joined together to form a government. Hitler gave his blessing to the coalition only after Dr. Wilhelm Frick was assured of the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Education. Frick had been a close associate of Hitler since 1923 and was a convinced Nazi and a determined opponent of the Weimar Republic. He took part in the attempted putsch on November 9, 1923, in Munich and from 1927–1928 was leader of the NSDAP parliamentary group in the Reichstag. On January 25, 1930, Frick became the first Nazi minister in one of the German states. During the 15 months as a member of the government, Frick laid the foundations for National Socialism in Thuringia. On April 1, 1931, he was forced to leave the government following a vote of no confidence.

Hitler gained the majority of votes in the presidential elections in March–April 1932 in Thuringia—with 44.3 percent of the votes, he received 8 percent more than his average throughout the rest of the Reich. It seemed for the National Socialists in Thuringia that the time had come to decide their struggle for power. The elections on July 31, 1932, for the

Nohra concentration camp (n.d.), showing the Heimatschule Mitteldeutschland e.V.
COURTESY OF UDO WOHLFELD

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sixth Thüringia state parliament gave the NSDAP the breakthrough. They gained 42.5 percent of the votes and 26 of 61 seats. Together with the Thüringian Farmers' Alliance (TLB) they formed a coalition government. Head of government and minister of the interior was Fritz Sauckel. The TLB received a state council (*Staatsrat*), a ministerial office without portfolio. This Nazi-led ministry commenced operations on August 26, 1932. Between August 1932 and March 1933, Sauckel and other members of the government publicly threatened their political opponents over and over again. For instance, Sauckel announced on October 19, 1932: "We might become brutal beyond your imagination." However, there are no direct hints of plans for camps in Thuringia.

By February 1933, the new power structures had been consolidated and were stable. For example, the industrial towns of Suhl and its surroundings and Meiningen in the Thuringia Forest, both areas heavily effected by the world economic crisis, developed from bastions of the workers' parties into Nazi strongholds. Measures taken to repress the Communists and the Social Democrats were easier to push through in Thuringia than in the rest of the Reich.

Following the Prussian model, an auxiliary police (Hilfspolizei) was established in Thuringia on February 28, 1933. It consisted of members of the SA, the SS, and the Stahlhelm. The Hilfspolizei officers were armed with pistols. They continued to wear the uniforms of their respective organizations, but they wore a white armband with the police star for the state of Thuringia on the upper left arm. They were only allowed on duty while under the command of the municipal police (Schutzpolizei) or a gendarmerie post. They had to swear an oath of allegiance and were subordinate to Minister of the Interior Sauckel. In the spring of 1933, the Hilfspolizei was a part of the state police force. There are no details about the number of Hilfspolizei in proportion to the police in Thuringia. All that is known is that 592 SA men served 732 days in supporting the Thuringia police and that 1,185 SS men served 31,758 man-days.

The National Socialists had formed part of the Thuringia government from 1930. Following the Reichstag fire on February 27, 1933, several hundred Communists were quickly arrested. The district and regional court prisons were immediately overcrowded. In order to relieve the situation, the Thuringia Ministry of Interior decided to establish a concentration camp in the military-oriented Homeland School (Heimatschule) Mitteldeutschland e.V. on March 3, 1933. The Heimatschule Mitteldeutschland e.V. was founded in 1928. The first Nazi concentration camp in Germany was based at the former Nohra airfield, 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) from Weimar.

The Heimatschule in Nohra consisted of two buildings that were connected by a low-rise building. The Volunteer Labor Service (FAD) was accommodated in the left building. The ground floor of the building on the right accommodated the school's administration and a large refectory. The first floor was reserved for military sport training camps (*Wehrsportlager*) of the Stahlhelm. The concentration camp was established on the floor above the Wehrsportlager. It was divided into three large rooms, each of which was equipped with straw and blankets. The hygienic conditions were catastrophic, as there were too few toilets and washing facilities. At times, the camp was completely overcrowded. Several Hilfspolizei officers guarded the entrances to the rooms, as the Heimatschule was surrounded neither by barbed wire nor a fence or a wall. It was not isolated from the rest of the world. At first Nohra was referred to as an "assembly camp." The term *concentration camp* is used in relation to Nohra for the first time on March 8, 1933, in a newspaper. The choice of wording had no relevance for the camp's character.

The Thuringia Ministry of Interior was in charge of the guards and camp administration. The guards consisted of Hilfspolizei and selected students from the Heimatschule. They were supported by members of the SA and Stahlhelm. The supervisors of the Heimatschule were also in charge of the Nohra concentration camp guards. The Ministry of Interior established a police station in the school where the prisoners were interrogated. It was from here that the prisoners were transferred to other detention centers or released. The chief of the police station in the Heimatschule Mitteldeutschland—his name is unknown—can be considered the commander of the Nohra concentration camp.

On March 3, 1933, the first day of the camp's existence, 100 prisoners arrived directly from the Weimar Schutzpolizei barracks, via the Weimar regional court prison or from various other regional court prisons. Many of the prisoners came from Thüringian industrial cities, which traditionally counted as "red" bastions. On the second day, the number of prisoners increased to 170. Around March 12, 1933, the camp reached its maximum number of prisoners, 220. In March 1933, a large number of prisoners were released, but on March 31 the camp still held 60 prisoners. The releases were offset by only a few new arrivals. On average, there were 95 prisoners in Nohra.

Nohra exclusively held Communists from the free state of Thüringia. Five of the 10 Thüringia Communist members of the state parliament were interned here: Fritz Gäbler, Richard Eyermann, Rudolf Arnold, Erich Scharf, and Leander Kröber. A large proportion of the Communist city councilors and other Thuringian Communist functionaries, such as the German Communist Party (KPD) local chairmen, the treasurers and the members of the Rot-Front-Kämpfer-Bund (RFKB), and activists of the Rote Hilfe Deutschlands (RHD) were also taken to Nohra. A few women were also held in the Heimatschule for a short period of time.

The prisoners did not work in the Nohra concentration camp. They were locked up in the dormitory during the day. This monotony and isolation was only interrupted by interrogations and the arrival of new prisoners. In the early days of the camp, new prisoners used to arrive every day. The prisoners had no contact with the outside world. In their memoirs, former prisoners mention that they were mistreated by the guards.

"Protective custody" in Thuringia was a form of police-administered protective custody; accordingly, the Communists were prisoners of the police. As a result, they were allowed

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to vote in the Reichstag elections. Nohra's inmates voted on March 5 at the same polling station as other Nohra inhabitants. Thus, the KPD gained 172 votes in Nohra, whereas a few months earlier at the local elections in December 1932, it had only received 10 votes.

The Nohra concentration camp was one of the first to be closed; it lasted only until April 12, 1933. By then around 250 people had been interned in the camp.

The remaining 32 prisoners were taken on April 12, 1933, to the Ichtershausen penitentiary near Arnstadt. This prison already had a protective custody section. Therewith, the Nohra concentration camp was dissolved. By September 1933, just about all the former Nohra prisoners had been released from Ichtershausen. A few remained there until the Bad Sulza concentration camp was opened—among them were the two members of the state parliament, Richard Eyermann (Bad Salzungen) and Leander Kröber (Meuselwitz), who received the prisoner numbers 23 and 24 in Bad Sulza.

SOURCES The basis for this article on the Nohra concentration camp is the author's book *das netz: Die Konzentrationslager in Thüringen 1933–1937* (Weimar: Geschichtswerkstatt Weimar/Apolda, 2000). Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland also refer to the Nohra camp in their book *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1945* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

The very few archival files on the Nohra concentraton camp are mainly to be found in the THStA-W. Other primary sources are the VdN files in the THStA-W, the TStA-R, TStA-M, the THStA-G, and the BA-B. References can alse be found in the smaller city archives.

Udo Wohlfeld
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

OBERFRANKEN AND UNTERFRANKEN CAMPS

Following the March 9, 1933, Nazi takeover of Bavaria, the police established at least 10 small "protective custody" camps in the northern Gaue of Oberfranken and Unterfranken (after 1935: Mainfranken). In Oberfranken, the Coburg local prison, Hof an der Saale state court prison, and Straubing penitentiary became camps, in addition to the Bayreuth (St. Georgen) workhouse, Bamberg Wilhelmsplatz state court prison, and Hassenberg women's prison. In Unterfranken, the Aschaffenburg, Hassfurt, Schweinfurt, and Würzburg local prisons had protective custody camps. Aschaffenburg, Coburg, Hassfurt, Hof, Schweinfurt, Straubing, and Würzburg confined more than 600 detainees in March 1933. According to the Bamberg state prosecutor's memorandum to the Bavarian Justice Ministry, March 11, 1933, Bad Kissingen's local prison may also have held detainees, but additional information is needed to verify this claim.[1]

OBERFRANKEN CAMPS

In June 1929, Coburg elected the first Nazi-dominated government in Germany. Since 1930, its mayor was Franz Schwede, the Bezirksleiter and future Gauleiter of Pomerania. In March 1933, Schwede wasted little time in settling old scores against leftists and others critical of his three-year rule. On March 10, the police dispatched 15 Communists to the prison, together with some members of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). The prisoners included SPD city council members (Dürrkopp, Christian Reichenbecher, Schneider, and Voyé); the business manager of the SPD-affiliated *Coburger Volksblatt*; Reinhold Scheller and several others, for harboring an arms cache at the Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold (RB) headquarters; agricultural officials Voll and Görner; and Jewish physician Dr. Engel, who was tortured in custody. On March 26, two consumer association leaders entered the camp.[2] When the prison exceeded capacity, Schwede set aside the city hall's "old hostel" for temporary confinement.[3] The state hospital admitted several prisoners for the treatment of wounds sustained in custody. By April 5, Coburg prison released most detainees, but 13 were transferred to Hassenberg.[4] The local prison continued to take in protective custody prisoners, such as cattle dealer Ludwig Goldmaier, a Jew from Lichtenfels arrested on April 19 in a probable case of economic persecution. By mid-May, 14 Coburg citizens went to Dachau, with 12 transported to the camp on May 18.[5] In a speech before the city council on October 13, 1933, Schwede took responsibility for the arrest of 84 citizens, 34 of whom went to Dachau. Invoking the Nazi slogan "Community benefit before private gain," he vowed that those not working for or racially fit to belong to the national community would face similar treatment.[6] In 1935, Hitler honored Schwede's role in the town's nazification by giving him a second surname, "Coburg." On September 29, 1951, the Coburg Regional Court sentenced Schwede to 10 years' imprisonment, in connection with the March 1933 persecutions. Amnestied in 1956, he died in Coburg on October 9, 1960.[7]

The Hof an der Saale prison held at least 260 detainees between March and June 1933. By March 12, the Hof police had arrested "hundreds" and detained at least 43 Communists and 8 Social Democrats. The Social Democrats included the *Oberfränkische Volkszeitung*'s editors, Döhler and Münchmener, town council member and trade unionist Arthur Mähr, and councilman Fraas. With their editors in custody, the *Oberfränkische Volkszeitung* laid off its 34 employees for one week. SPD Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Hans Seidel entered the camp on March 14, as did two SPD youth leaders.[8] By March 21, the population swelled to 200, double its capacity, which led the prison to refuse the admittance of 4 Social Democrats from Plauen, Saxony. Arrested for convening "a secret conference" in Hof, Emmerich, Fritsch, Nitzsche, and Steinkamp were dispatched to Grafenwöhr, en route to Plauen.[9] By March 31, Hof had admitted SPD council member Rauh, businessman Hermann Starer, agricultural unionists Drechsel and Weiss, and 5 "foreign Jews, of whom 4 are stateless."[10] Among those held for a prolonged period were Mähr, who remained in Hof until June 6, and Seidel, whose first detention lasted until April 13.[11] Rearrested on June 30, 1933, with other SPD

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leaders throughout Bavaria, he was transferred to St. Georgen on July 15 and released on August 29.[12]

In March 1933, the maximum security prison at Straubing held 200 detainees. On account of the massive influx, 50 detainees were housed in the prison gymnasium. Built at the turn of the twentieth century, the penitentiary had also housed a criminal psychiatric ward since 1917.

UNTERFRANKEN CAMPS

Already on March 1, one day after the Reichstag fire, the Aschaffenburg police placed local Communists under surveillance.[13] Between March and May 1933, the prison held at least 31 political prisoners. On March 9, the police arrested 6 Communists plus 3 Social Democrats. Twelve or more members of the German Communist Party (KPD) and the SPD entered Aschaffenburg in the coming days. Among the political prisoners were Alois Brand, August Büttner, Josef Büttner, Georg Dewald, Fritz Fronoher (briefly), Karl Griesemer, Josef (Seppl) Grimm, Matthias Haab, Xaver Haberl, Otto Kläre, Josef Koch, Valentin Köhler, Josef Kraus, Franz Kuhn, Josef Mensch, Eugen Ostheimer, Friedrich Panocha, Martin Pfarrer, Alfred Richter, Alois Schallenberger, Johann Schwarzmann, Heinrich Siemen, Jean Stock, and August Volz. After the police banned Stock's SPD paper *Aschaffenburger Volkszeitung*, he entered the camp on March 15. Nine trade union secretaries, arrested by the SA for harboring weapons, were taken to Aschaffenburg on March 20. Released days later because of insufficient evidence, they were Johann Brummer, Otto Dietz, Albert Krimm, Paul Lill, Adam Mantel, Karl Opel, Eugen Ostheimer, Sebastian Rollmann, and Leonard Schäfer.[14] Communist writer Kuhn entered the camp on March 29 and was let out on April 29. In an indication that Weimar custom still prevailed in Aschaffenburg, the authorities permitted political inmates to have family visits.

At least four Aschaffenburg detainees went to Dachau. Dewald was at Dachau from April 24 to May 18, after a brief stay at Würzburg prison. Communist inmates Koch, Richter, and Schallenberg entered Dachau on May 8.[15]

On March 12, the Hassfurt prison admitted 15 Communists and Eiserne Front (Iron Front, EF) members. Two local councilmen, Süssmann and Georg Wirth, entered Hassfurt on March 17, but another, Baum, was released. Two Hassfurt prisoners went to Dachau as part of the April 25, 1933, Northern Bavarian transport. By early May, Hassfurt's remaining detainees were sent to Bamberg before dispatch to Dachau.[16]

On March 11, 1933, the Schweinfurt prison admitted 40 detainees. Most were Social Democrats, including the mayor, Dr. Merkle, and councilmen Dietz, Goldmann, Groha, and Mauer. On March 24, 3 Jewish prisoners, Arthur Bildstein, Lehmann, and Max Dreyfus, were also taken into protective custody. Because Bildstein and Lehmann were horse dealers and Dreyfus was a banker, their arrests probably involved economic persecution. On May 8, the prison released Dietz, Goldmann, Groha, Mauer, and Merkle, but the June 22 SPD ban led to their rearrest on June 25.[17]

On March 10, 1933, the Würzburg prison admitted over 100 detainees. Among them were more than 50 Communists, 9 Social Democrats, RB members, and Bavarian People's Party (BVP) leaders. On March 17, the editor of the Christian Socialist weekly *Neue Volk*, Vitus Heller, became a detainee. The editor of the *Fränkischen Volksblatt* (*FräV*), Page, left custody on April 14, but his arrest date is not known. On April 19, a Jewish cattle dealer, Bernhard Goldener, was arrested, on the likely spurious charge of cheating local farmers. The Bamberg Special Court sentenced Siegmund Weissmann to an unspecified term of imprisonment for spreading news about the maltreatment of Jews in Würzburg prison. On May 5, 37 Würzburg detainees, including Communist leader Dr. Kellner, were sent to Dachau.[18]

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard work on the early Nazi camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). On arrests in Coburg and on Schwede, see Joachim Albrecht, *Die Avantgarde des "Dritten Reiches": Die Coburger NSDAP während der Weimarer Republik 1922–1933* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2005). Additional information on Coburg's early Nazi government, but not the arrests in 1933, may be found in N.F. Hayward and D.S. Morris, *The First Nazi Town* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988). About Hassenberg, see Horst Thum, "Das Schutzhaftlager Hassenberg bei Neustadt (Coburg)," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), pp. 231-235. The background for Hans Seidel may be found in "Seidel, Hans" s.v., in *MdR: Die Reichstagsabgeordneten der Weimarer Republik in der Zeit der Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Martin Schumacher (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1994). Some background on Straubing, unfortunately not including the protective custody camp, may be found at the Bavarian Justice Ministry Web site at www.justizvollzug-bayern.de. On Aschaffenburg arrests and on Georg Dewald, see Anton Grossmann, "Milieubedingungen von Verfolgung und Widerstand: Am Beispiel ausgewählter Ortsvereine der SPD," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, vol. 5, *Die Parteien KPD, SPD, BVP in Verfolgung und Widerstand*, ed. Martin Broszat and Hartmut Mehringer (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1983), pp. 433–540; and Monika Schmittner, *Verfolgung und Widerstand 1933 bis 1945 am bayerischen Untermain* (Aschaffenburg: Alibri Verlag, 2002). Some information on arrests in Würzburg may be found in Bruno Fries, *Würzburg im Dritten Reich* (Würzburg: Selbstverlag, 1983).

Primary documentation for this camp begins with the Bamberg prosecutor general's report to the Bavarian State Justice Ministry, March 11,1933, in the KZ and Haftanstalten collection, now in BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR, as reproduced in Drobisch and Wieland. The ITS lists the Aschaffenburg, Bad Kissingen, Hassfurt, Hof an der Saale, Straubing, and Würzburg prisons in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:178, 188, 205, 219, 221. As cited by Thum, a police report mentioning the transfer of Coburg prisoners to Hassenberg is the "Halbmonatsbericht der Polizei Neustadt bei

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Coburg (1. Hälfte April 33)," in ASt-Ne/Co, XVI G 2, No. 2, p. 149. As cited by Albrecht, Schwede's order allocating space at Coburg City Hall for detainees (A-7.870), his October 1933 speech before the city council (A-8.074), and his prosecution (Staatsanwaltschaft No. 80) may be found in the ASt-Ne/Co. As cited by Schumacher, Seidel's name appears on an undated Gestapo List, in BA-P, RSHA St. 3/312. Schmittner cites an Aschaffenburg police report of March 1, 1933, which lists many KPD members taken into custody after the takeover. It is found in StA-Wü, Best. Landesratsamt Asch(affenburg) 2309. As cited by Grossmann, information on Aschaffenburg prisoners sent to Dachau comes from undated reports in the *AschZ* and the file of Alfred Richter, Oberlandesgericht München OJs 44/35. In the period from March to June 1933, the "Fränkische Nachrichten" features in the National Conservative's *BT*, and the BVP's *BV* supplied numerous reports about Northern Bavarian protective custody camps.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

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

2. "Fränkische Nachrichten: In Coburg," *BV*, March 11, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Coburg (In Schutzhaft genommen)," *BV*, March 20, 1933.

3. ASt-Ne/Co, A-7.870 Schwede Order, March 22, 1933, as cited in Joachim Albrecht, *Die Avantgarde des "Dritten Reiches": Die Coburger NSDAP während der Weimarer Republik 1922–1933* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2005), p. 186.

4. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Coburg (Misshandlungen)," *BV*, March 16, 1933; ASt-Ne/Co, XVI G 2 No. 2, "Halbmonatsbericht der Polizei Neustadt bei Coburg (1. Hälfte April 33)," p. 149, as cited in Horst Thum, "Das Schutzhaftlager Hassenberg bei Neustadt (Coburg)," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), p. 232.

5. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Lichtenfels (In Schutzhaft genommen)," *BV*, April 20, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Coburg (Ins Konzentrationslager nach Dachau verschickt)," *BT*, May 19, 1933.

6. ASt-Ne/Co, A-8.074 Stadtratsprotokolle, 1931–1934, October 13, 1933, as reproduced in Albrecht, *Avantgarde*, pp. 218–219.

7. ASt-Ne/Co, Staatsanwaltschaft No. 80; and *NPC*, April 10, 1951, as cited in Albrecht, *Avantgarde*, p. 188.

8. Quotation in "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hunderte von Festnahmen, Hof," *BV*, March 13, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hof (Neue Verhaftungen)," *BV*, March 15, 1933.

9. Quotation in "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hof (Verhaftungen)," *BV*, March 22, 1933.

10. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hof (Verhaftungen)," *BV*, March 27, 1933; quotation in "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hof (Verhaftet)," *BV*, April 1, 1933.

11. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hof (Aus Schutzhaft entlassen)," *BT*, June 7, 1933.

12. BA-P, RSHA St. 3/312, undated Gestapo List, as cited in "Seidel, Hans" s.v., in *MdR: Die Reichstagsabgeordneten der Weimarer Republik in der Zeit der Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Martin Schumacher (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1994).

13. StA-Wü Best. Landratsamt Asch(affenburg) 2309 "Polizei Bericht No. 918," March 1, 1933, as cited in Monika Schmittner, *Verfolgung und Widerstand 1933 bis 1945 am bayerischen Untermain* (Aschaffenburg: Alibri Verlag, 2002), p. 65.

14. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Aschaffenburg. (Zum Kommissar für das Bezirksamt)," *BT*, March 23, 1933.

15. *ABZ* (n.d.), and Oberlandesgericht München OJs 44/35 (Richter file), as cited in Anton Grossmann, "Milieubedingungen von Verfolgung und Widerstand: Am Beispiel ausgewählter Ortsvereine der SPD," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, vol. 5, *Die Parteien KPD, SPD, BVP in Verfolgung und Widerstand*, ed. Martin Broszat and Hartmut Mehringer (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1983), p. 530.

16. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hunderte von Festnahmen . . . Hassfurt," *BV*, March 13, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Hassfurt (In Schutzhaft genommen)," *BV*, March 18, 1933; "Aus Stadt und Umgebung: Ins Konzentrationslager Dachau verschickt," *BT*, April 26, 1933; "Aus Stadt und Umgebung: Ins Arbeitslager Dachau transportiert," *BT*, May 13, 1933.

17. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Schweinfurt (In Schutzhaft genommen)," *BT*, March 25, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Schweinfurt," *BT*, May 8, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Schweinfurt (In Schutzhaft genommen)," *BT*, June 26, 1933.

18. "Fränkische Nachrichten: Massenverhaftungen in Unterfranken," *BV*, March 11, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Im Zeichen der neuen Zeit," *BT*, March 11, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Würzburg (Kommunistische Brandstifter), Würzburg (Polizeiliche Aktion gegen Kommunisten.)," *BV*, March 15, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Würzburg (Neue Kommunisten-Razzia)," *BV*, March 20, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Würzburg (Aus der Schutzhaft entlassen)," *BV*, April 15, 1933; "Fränkische Nachrichten: Würzburg (Verhaftet)," *BT*, April 19, 1933; "Bamberger Nachrichten: Tagung des Sondergerichts Bamberg; Vier weitere Fälle," *BV*, May 6, 1933.

OCHTUMSAND

In February 1933, Hermann Göring decreed that auxiliaries from the ranks of the so-called national associations would reinforce the regular police.[1] Göring's decree was also implemented in Bremen at the beginning of March. The government assembled the auxiliary police (Hilfspolizei) from the ranks of the SS, SA, and the Stahlhelm, which supported not only the municipal police (Schutzpolizei) but the Criminal Police as well. The Bremerhaven Hilfspolizei, brought into being on March 7 and, like its Bremen counterpart, equipped with rubber truncheons, service weapons, service identification, and armbands (which read "Hilfspolizei"), initially reached a strength of 25 men but grew to over 100 men by the end of April. From this group, which was originally supposed to secure bridges, water- and gasworks, the guards for the Bremen concentration camps Missler, Ochtumsand, and Langlütjen II were assembled. After the SS was found guilty of serious excesses in Missler, they were replaced by the SA in

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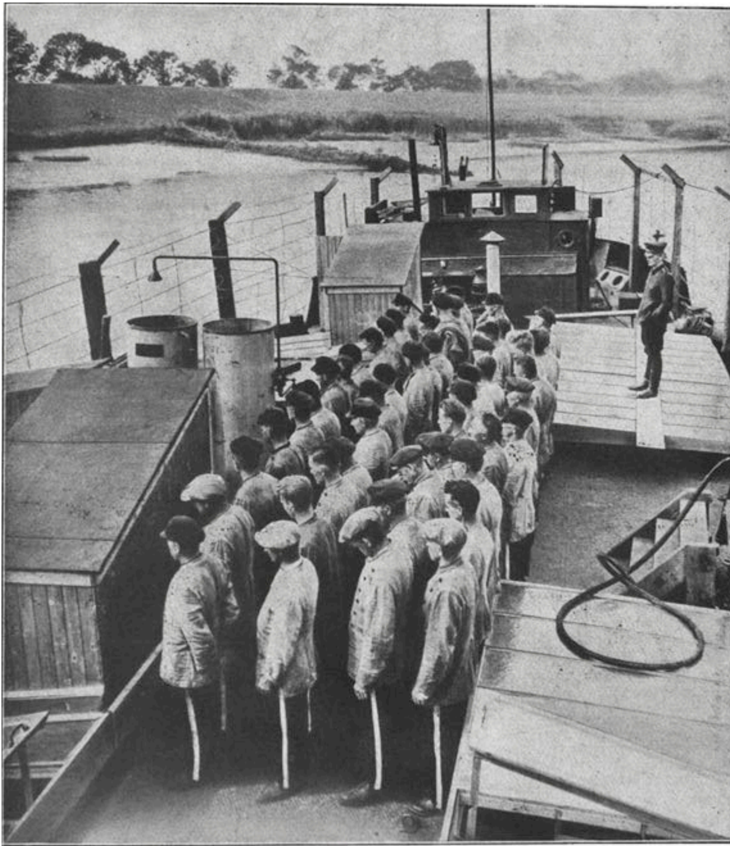

Roll call at Ochtumsand concentration camp, 1933.
PUBLISHED IN KONZENTRATIONSLAGER: EIN APPELL AN DAS GEWISSEN DER WELT, 1934

May 1933, which then also provided the guard unit for Ochtumsand and Langlütjen II.

Both the SA and SS, however, had only a supporting function, as the actual penal system was in state hands, those of the Bremen Schutzpolizei. Thus regular police officials had been assigned as superiors to the SS and SA at every camp, which often led to serious conflicts, as the National Socialists, who mostly came from ordinary backgrounds, only unwillingly submitted themselves to police commands, since they considered themselves the victors in the "national" revolution.

When a massive wave of arrests began in the fall of 1933, the new leaders were unprepared for the resulting organizational problems. From the beginning, one question kept coming up: where were the numerous political opponents, suddenly arrested, to be kept? The existing possibilities, which were the police prisons and other detention centers, had quickly exhausted their capacities. Due to the overcrowding, there was constant improvisation. On July 11, 1933, Police Senator (Polizeisenator) Theodor Laue announced that he was considering closing the Missler concentration camp and interning the prisoners at another location.[2] A small number of prisoners were to be kept at the former fort Langlütjen II across from Bremerhaven, while a larger number were to be kept at a yet-to-be-built camp on the embankment of the Ochtum, the Ochtumsand, a small tributary of the Weser on the heights around Bremen. The transportation of the prisoners to both new camps did not take place until several weeks after the resolution had been passed.

The Ochtumsand concentration camp was improvised to an even greater degree than the Missler camp in that the prisoners were housed on a former barge, No. 86, of Norddeutschen Lloyd, which had washed ashore on the embankment of the Ochtum in the heights of Altenesch.[3] The ship, rented from the Bremen senate, had four storage rooms; the two in the middle were for the prisoners, and the ones fore and aft were used by the guards. The prisoners' quarters received only basic necessities: beds pushed together in groups of four, a long table with chairs, and hooks on the wall for hanging clothes. A stairway led to the deck. In both rooms a total of around 100 prisoners could be penned up. As there was no heat, the rooms were cold and damp, corresponding to the seasons. Both groups of prisoners chose a respective room elder in addition to a camp elder as speaker for the collective. Communist municipal council member Hermann Prüser was the first camp elder and simultaneously elder for room one. On deck two kitchens were installed, one each for the guard unit and the prisoners (who also had to provide cooks). According to the kitchen plan, both groups would receive the same food, which was checked once a week by a police doctor.

To prevent escape attempts, a barbed-wire fence as high as a man was installed on the rails of the barge. A small tower on the foredeck superstructure ensured the guard posts a good overview of the entire camp. A shower installation was located midship, with more washing facilities as well as toilets and an equipment shed on land. The way off the ship led over a wooden plank and a tubelike footbridge made from planks

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and surrounded by barbed wire. The prisoners had to report at 7:00 A.M. for roll call and exercise, followed by the march to the work sites. Work was interrupted for an hour at midday when the prisoners received a warm meal. Around 5:00 P.M. the work troops returned to the barge. After the evening meal the prisoners had time for diversions, chess playing, or even to read the paper, which may be surprising at first but corresponded perfectly well with the ideas of Laue, who hoped to convince political opponents of the positive aspects of National Socialism.

For the guarding of Ochtumsand, which not only had a higher prisoner capacity than Langlütjen II but also offered prisoners more opportunities to escape simply because of its location, around 30 SA men and 3 policemen were detailed there from the Bremen police directorate. Although there were no written regulations governing the daily routine at Ochtumsand, it was strictly organized and regimented. According to the disciplinary regime, the prisoners had to "stand at attention" at every opportunity, "click their boots," and ask any guard for permission, for example, when they wanted to go to the bathroom. The smallest incident could have terrible consequences, as abuses—despite the presence of the Schutzpolizei—were also the order of the day at Ochtumsand. Most of the excesses happened in the sleeping room of the SA, where—in order to remove the possibility of screaming—a woolen blanket was first thrown over the head of the prisoners who were then dragged across a table and beaten with rubber truncheons.

On November 9 and at Christmas in 1933, the authorities granted amnesties that applied to the prisoners of both Bremen camps. Langlütjen II was closed on January 25, 1934, after only four months in operation. There were three deciding factors: (1) high costs, (2) relatively low numbers of prisoners, and (3) the dependency on the tides, which resulted in constant organizational and administrative problems. From that point on, only the Ochtumsand concentration camp was available for interning Bremen "protective custody" prisoners. This camp, however, was also closed on May 15, 1934. Those who up to that point had not yet been released were transferred to one of the new camps outside of Bremen, to Dachau or to the Emsland moor camps.

The Bremen concentration camps of 1933 are not to be compared with the several "wild" camps that came into being around the same time and were controlled by the SA and SS, nor are they the equivalent of those camps that were to systematize the terror on the basis of "special regulations." The Bremen camps were stopgaps, improvisations that developed from a lack of space in the first months of the dictatorship. Correspondingly, they still had characteristics from the transitional period: they did not have specific unified camp regulations, and no systematic program of terror was employed. In several areas the principle of chance prevailed.

On March 28, 1951, proceedings were opened before the Bremen Regional Court, which was to deal with the crimes committed "at Bremen and Langlütjen" but which, however, was soon referred to by the public as the "Missler trial," as the camps Ochtumsand and Langlütjen came up merely in passing.[4] Only under point 28 of the indictment does the Skrotzky case—the abuse and subsequent suicide of a prisoner in Langlütjen—receive mention. The defendant was a former SA Hilfspolizei officer who in the end was sentenced to eight months in prison (part of which he had already served) for bodily harm on duty concomitant with severe bodily harm in four cases. The remaining sentence was suspended. Those politically responsible for the camp, like Police Senator Laue, for example, were not called to account.[5]

SOURCES The source base is severely lacking, as several files were destroyed around the end of the war. This primarily refers to Gestapo files, which are of the utmost importance. Relevant material exists only in the StA-Br; there are the attorney's files from the Bremen Regional Court, which concern the so-called "Missler trial." These documents, which are otherwise very informative, remain sparse on the construction of the camp. The former prisoners primarily spoke of their suffered mistreatments after 1945—organizational or infrastructure problems were then of secondary importance. The history of both concentration camps had not been explored until 1992. Up to that date there existed highly contradictory information and rumors. In 1992, the author published the first relevant work: *Die Konzentrationslager Langlütjen und Ochtumsand* (Bremerhaven: Wissenschaftsverlag NW, Verlag für Neue Wissenschaft, 1992).

Lothar Wieland
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. On the auxiliary police in Bremen and Bremerhaven, see StA-Br, file "Löblich" 8 KMs 1/51, vol. 1, and ASt-Br, file "Gestapo 1946–47."
2. On the senate's motives, see ZdL, collection "Verschiedenes," Folder 207: Copies from the file "Schutzhaft politischer Gefangener" of the Senatsregistratur Bremen, primarily minutes of the senate meeting on July 18, 1933.
3. See the witness statements in StA-Br, file "Löblich" 8 KMs 1/51, vol. 1.
4. Anklageschrift der Oberstaatsanwaltschaft bei dem Landgericht Bremen v. 26.9.1950, StA-Br, 8 KMs 1/51, Bd. 3.
5. See verdict in StA-Br, file "Löblich" 8 KMs 1/51, vol. 2: "Handakten der Staatsanwaltschaft."

OELSNITZ IM ERZGEBIRGE

On March 9, 1933, SA-Standarte 183 in Saxony formed an early camp in the basement of the bank at Oelsnitz/Erzgebirge. The camp was established only a few days after this unit had attacked political opponents on the streets of Oelsnitz. Neither the camp population nor the guard strength is known. Among the victims was Communist Party member Dalmatius Konietzny, whom the SA murdered in the course of interrogation. Konietzny's interrogator was a Nazi against whom he had previously brought a lawsuit for an injury suffered during a bar fight. His murder is an example of the SA's settling of old scores in the early camps. The date of Oelsnitz's dissolution is

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not known. On December 7, 1948, the Chemnitz state court in the Soviet Zone of Occupation convicted 12 defendants for the brutal treatment of political prisoners at Oelsnitz. Two, including Edwin Eckhardt, received life sentences, and the remainder were sentenced to various lengths of confinement in penitentiaries or prisons.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard work on the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); additional information on Oelsnitz/Erzgebirge can be found in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). On the Oelsnitz trial, see Der Generalstaatsanwalt der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik/Ministerium der Justiz der DDR, ed., *Die Haltung der beiden deutschen Staaten zu den Nazi- und Kriegsverbrechen: Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin [East]: Staatsverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1965).

Primary sources about Oelsnitz are available at the BA-BL's collection of former East German papers. These documents include reports to the Rote Hilfe Deutschlands (Red Aid of Germany) and the Archiv des Generalstaatsanwalts der DDR, File No. 243-20-1975. The Oelsnitz trial is case number StKs 43/48.

Joseph Robert White

OLDENBURG

In March 1933, the SA, SS, and Stahlhelm established a "protective custody" camp in the police prison in the city of Oldenburg. Before the camp opened, the SA, SS, and Stahlhelm were publicly deputized as police near the Oldenburg horse market. The first 15 Communist Party detainees were admitted to the camp on the night of March 3; by July, there were 90 prisoners. In August, however, the camp population decreased to 60. The detainees resisted by sneaking illegal manuscripts for publication outside the camp. Oldenburg served as a clearinghouse for the neighboring early concentration camp and prison at Vechta.

SOURCES This entry follows Karl-Ludwig Sommer, "Oldenburgs 'braune' Jahre (1932–1945)," in *Geschichte der Stadt Oldenburg, 1830–1995*, ed. Udo Elerd (Oldenburg: Isensee Verlag, 1996), 2:391–486. See also the standard work on the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

Primary documentation for the Oldenburg early camp, as cited in Sommer, consists of files in the ASt-O, Best. 133, 136, 205, and 298. According to Sommer, the *OSZ* reported on this camp on April 15, June 29, and July 6, 1933. See also the ITS listing in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:100.

Joseph Robert White

Prisoners bring pails of food into Oranienburg concentration camp with an SA guard outside the wire in the foreground.
USHMM WS #73936, COURTESY OF NARA

ORANIENBURG

The Oranienburg concentration camp was established as one of the first concentration camps on March 21, 1933, overshadowed by the Day of Potsdam. After the "Night of the Long Knives," the SA-run camp was taken over by the SS in July 1934 and dissolved a little later.[1] The Oranienburg concentration camp is not to be confused with the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, which was established by the SS in July 1936 on the edge of the town of Oranienburg.

Initially SA-Regiment 208 (Standarte 208) established the Oranienburg concentration camp without notifying the responsible authorities in Berlin beforehand.[2] The first inmates were 40 prisoners who were dragged to the small town 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) north of Berlin on the evening of March 21, 1933. The first concentration camp in Prussia was thus situated on the grounds of a former brewery on a main road in Oranienburg. From September 1933, subcamps existed at the Elisenau manor in Blumberg near Bernau and in Börnicke.[3]

Only a few days after the establishment of the camp, SA-Standartenführer Werner Schulze-Wechsungen transferred control of the camp to the Potsdam district president.[4] Henceforth the camp as well as the guards were paid from tax money. In total, the German tax payer paid 280,000 Reichsmark (RM) between August 1933 and July 1934 to sustain the camp.[5] Internment in the camp was initiated not only by the police and party authorities but also by local administrative authorities. Only because of its location in the town, the camp proved to be a "transparent concentration camp."[6] The town of Oranienburg had the political prisoners perform communal work.[7] The camp commander, SA-Sturmbannführer Werner Schäfer, compiled an apologetic "Anti-Brown Book" (*Anti-Braunbuch*), in which he characterized allegations about the Oranienburg concentration camp as "atrocious propaganda."[8] Repeatedly he invited German and foreign journalists to tour the camp.[9] A radio program "reported" from the

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New prisoners stand at attention at Oranienburg, August 10, 1933. Among them are Ernst Heilmann (foreground far left) and beside him Fritz Ebert, the son of the Weimar Republic's first president, Friedrich Ebert.
USHMM WS # 61450, COURTESY OF LYDIA CHAGOLL

concentration camp.[10] The local press wrote extensively about the new institution.[11] Also, movie theaters showed propagandistic photos of the new concentration camp.[12]

About 3,000 prisoners were deprived of their liberty in the Oranienburg concentration camp. The number of prisoners varied considerably. It rose rapidly until August 1933, from 97 to 911, but declined by the end of June 1934 to 271. The prisoners were mostly between the ages of 20 and 40, laborers, unemployed, from Berlin and from the area north of Berlin. Many were taken to Oranienburg after the dissolution of smaller Brandenburg concentration camps (including Alt Daber, Börnicke, Havelberg, and Perleberg) in June and July 1933. Prisoners from the concentration camps in Börgermoor, Lichtenburg, and Sonnenburg were interned at Oranienburg in September and October. Most of the inmates were members of the German Communist Party (KPD), the Social Democratic Party (SPD), and smaller left-wing organizations such as the Socialist Workers' Party (SAP) and the German Communist Party Opposition (KPO). It is noteworthy that about 50 Jewish youths were also carried off to the camp from a home dedicated to advanced pedagogical ideas that was operated by the German Jewish Community Association (Deutsch-israelitischer Gemeindebund) in Wolzig. They had been abducted because of "Communist activities."

In addition to mostly working-class prisoners, a few celebrities were held in Oranienburg, including the son of the former Reich president, Friedrich Ebert; the director of the Reich Broadcasting Association (Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft), Dr. Kurt Magnus; the chairman of the Prussian SPD parliamentary group, Ernst Heilmann; the editor in chief of the official KPD organ Rote Fahne, Werner Hirsch; the pacifist writers Kurt Hiller and Armin T. Wegner; and SPD Member of Parliament Gerhart Seger. Seger managed to escape in December 1933, fleeing first to Czechoslovakia and later to the United States of America. His book on the terror in Oranienburg was one of the first books written about the conditions in a concentration camp from firsthand experience.[13]

Usually, the prisoners were held for two or three months in the camp. The main goal for holding the prisoners was to prevent representatives of the workers' movement from being politically active. In principle, the killing of the prisoners was not intended. However, as the prisoners were exposed to the whims of their political opponents, some lost their lives. They became victims of mistreatment, torture, and lack of medical care. At least 16 prisoners, including the writer and anarchist Erich Mühsam, died in Oranienburg.

The guards at Oranienburg were recruited from the ranks of "proven" SA men, many of whom had previously been

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unemployed. Their numbers increased from March to summer from 50 to 170 but declined to 74 by June 1934.[14] The camp command was composed of men of petit bourgeois background who were born in the first decade of the twentieth century in agricultural areas and had not participated in World War I. They were active in radical right-wing organizations in the first years of the Weimar Republic and had later joined the Nazi Party (NSDAP).

SA-Standartenführer Schulze-Wechsungen initiated the construction of the Oranienburg concentration camp. A farmer by training, he had joined the NSDAP and SA in 1925. He had a prior conviction for a raid in 1932 on a Berlin allotment settlement, which was mostly used by Communists. The camp commander was Werner Schäfer, a former member of the Free Corps "Olympia" and policeman, who had joined the NSDAP in 1928. At first SA-Sturmbannführer Hans Krüger was in charge of the "interrogation unit" (Vernehmungsabteilung). He was succeeded by SA-Sturmführer Hans Stahlkopf. Both revealed extreme brutality. Stahlkopf had joined the People's Freedom Party (Völkische Freiheitspartei) in 1921 and had been a member of the Free Corps "Rossbach" from 1922 to 1927 and a member of the NSDAP since 1930. Between 1923 and 1931 he earned his living as the manager of a large farm. From May 1933, Stahlkopf was in charge of the Vernehmungsabteilung. Seger characterized him as "a stereotypical sneaky, especially disgraceful sadist."[15] After the Oranienburg concentration camp was dissolved, Stahlkopf became a member of the SS-Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler. In 1935 he committed suicide.

Stahlkopf's predecessor, Krüger, a farmer by training, had joined the right-wing radical organization Wehrwolf in 1925 and the NSDAP in 1930. For unknown reasons he was relieved of all his official duties in October 1933. Having joined the SS in 1938, Krüger was appointed Kommandeur der Sipo und des SD (KdS) for the District of Galicia after the attack on the Soviet Union. Here he siginificantly participated in the systematic murder of the Jewish civilian population. His career reflects the radicalization of terrorist capacity of the Nazi regime. Krüger was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Münster Schwurgericht in 1968. Dr. Carl Lazar, a Bernau phycisian and SA functionary who was in charge of the camp's "medical unit" (Sanitätsabteilung), regularly tried to cover up the mistreatment and murders at the Oranienburg concentration camp.

Criminal acts at Oranienburg were ignored by the German judicial authorities. Complaints against guards never resulted in an indictment. Also, after 1945, none of the perpetrators at the Oranienburg concentration camp were brought to justice. Then again, people who during the Nazi period distributed information about the criminal acts committed at the camp were repeatedly sentenced to imprisonment for spreading "atrocity propaganda" by the Berlin Regional Court's Special Court (Sondergericht beim Landgericht Berlin). No one would have dared to criticize the conditions in the camp, which were well known through press coverage, the radio, and rumors.

SOURCES The best overview of the history of the Oranienburg concentration camp is the collection of essays by Günter Morsch, ed., *Konzentrationslager Oranienburg* (Berlin: Ed. Hentrich, 1994). The essays provide details about various aspects of the concentration camp. Special attention should be paid to the contributions by Klaus Drobisch, "Oranienburg: Eines der ersten Konzentrationslager" and Martin Knop, Hendrik Krause, and Roland Schwarz, "Die Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Oranienburg." A short overview on the topic is to be found in Bernward Dörner, "Ein KZ in der Mitte der Stadt: Oranienbug," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus 1933–1935*, ed. by Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 123–138. An important work for putting the Oranienburg concentration camp into the context of the concentration camp system is Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

The main sources on the history of the Oranienburg concentratoin camp system are contemporaneous publications that deal with the conditions inside the camp: Gerhart Seger, *Oranienburg: Erster authentischer Bericht eines aus dem Konzentrationslager Geflüchteten* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934); Max Abraham, *Juda verrecke: Ein Rabbiner im Konzentrationslager* (Teplitz-Schönau: Druck- und Verlags-Anstalt, 1934); Werner Hirsch, *Hinter Stacheldraht und Gitter: Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen in den Konzentrationslagern und Gefängnissen Hitlerdeutschlands* (Zürich: Mopr-Verlag, 1934). The most important unpublished sources on the history of the Oranienburg concentration camp only became accessible after German Reunification in 1989–1990. They are held today at the BLHA-(P), Rep. 35 G KZ Oranienburg Rep. 2 A Reg. Potsdam; the GStAPK, Rep. 90 P; and the BA-B, R 3001.

Bernward Dörner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. BLHA-(P), Rep. 2 A Reg. Potsdam I Pol Nr. 1192, p. 72.; and Nr. 1193, p. 2.
2. BLHA-(P), Rep. 2 A Reg. Potsdam I Pol Nr. 1193, pp. 2, 7; and Nr. 1192, p. 72.
3. BLHA-(P), Rep. 2 A Reg. Potsdam I Pol Nr. 1183, p. 198.
4. BLHA-(P), Rep. 2 A Reg. Potsdam I Pol Nr. 1191, p. 21.
5. BLHA-(P), Rep. 2 A Reg. Potsdam I Pol Nr. 1193.
6. Winfried Meyer, Günter Morsch, and Roland Schwarz, "Einleitung," in *Konzentrationslager Oranienburg*, ed. Günter Morsch (Berlin: Ed. Hentrich, 1994), p. 9.
7. BA-DH, ZD 9209 A. 13.
8. Werner Schäfer, *Konzentrationslager Oranienburg: Das Anti-Braunbuch über das erste deutsche Konzentrationslager* (Berlin: Buch- und Tiefdruck-Gesellschaft, 1934).
9. Ibid., pp. 106–107; BLHA-(P), ehem. Oranienburg Nr. 8.
10. Gerhart Seger, *Oranienburg: Erster authentischer Bericht eines aus dem Konzentrationslager Geflüchteten* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), p. 29.
11. For example, *OBGZ*, March 29, 1933.
12. Photographs by the Emelka-Filmgesellschaft taken on April 13, 1933, were shown at movie theaters in Berlin and Oranienburg.
13. Seger, *Oranienburg*.
14. BLHA-(P), former Oranienburg Nr. 4 and Nr. 8.
15. Seger, *Oranienburg*, p. 31.

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OSTHOFEN

The publication by Dr. Werner Best, a lawyer and National Socialist Member of the Hessen State Parliament, of an article in the autumn of 1931 caused a political scandal. In the article he specified the emergency decrees and proclamations that would be made, should the National Socialists seize power. The smallest infraction against the state authority was to be met with the death penalty. Immediately after he was named state commissar of police–Hessen, at the beginning of March 1933, he put his views into practice and created the Osthofen concentration camp, the first in Hessen. According to an ex post facto decree, dated May 1, 1933, all who were arrested by the police in Hessen for political reasons and "whose imprisonment had lasted more than a week or would last longer than a week" were to be taken to the concentration camp. The Hessen Central Police Office carried the responsibility for sending the prisoners to the concentration camp—that is, the political police, which had been separated from the general police by Best and which was later to be renamed the Gestapo (Secret State Police). There were precise rules governing the length of imprisonment, the prison conditions, and the grounds for arrest.[1] As early as March 13, larger groups were sent to the concentration camp. Orders to take someone into "protective custody" were in the main issued by the distict council offices in Hessen.

The first wave of prisoners was composed primarily of Communists. Among the earliest inmates of the Osterhofen concentration camp were leading officials of the Communist Party but also leading Social Democrats, trade unionists, and members of the Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold (RB) and the Eiserne Front (Iron Front, EF). They were followed by Jewish civilians, especially those who were members of left-wing political groups. By August 1933 at the latest, Jews were arrested even if they did not fall under the detention provisions of the Reichstag Fire Decree (Reichstagsbrandverordnung). From the summer of 1933, members of the Center Party, Catholics, Seventh-Day Adventists, Separatists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and others also increasingly became the target of the persecuting authorities.

Best named the Osthofen SS man Karl d'Angelo, who was also temporary chairman of the local Nazi Party (NSDAP) group, as the "honorary head of the Hessian concentration camp." Although he was never accused of massive personal involvement in the mistreatment of prisoners, he did nothing to prevent severe violations of human dignity in the Osthofen concentration camp or to put a stop to the daily mistreatment and harassment of prisoners. After the Osthofen camp was dissolved, d'Angelo became head of the protective custody section in the Dachau concentration camp. He was, however, soon demoted by Theodor Eicke and dismissed from the camp guard detail on the basis that he was "as soft as butter" and completely unsuitable for service in a concentration camp.[2] Despite this, he still had a career in Nazi Germany. He advanced to police president in Cuxhafen and later in Heilbronn. He died, presumably in a motorbike accident, in his Hessian home state on the Rhine.

In the first few months, the guard detail consisted of SS and SA men who had been appointed as auxiliary police as well as regular auxiliary police from Osthofen, Worms, and the surrounding areas. Former prisoners consistently point to the fact that a number of individual guards were feared for their beatings, and others were more humane. In the autumn of 1933, all the SA men were withdrawn from guard duty. They were replaced with SS men from the special units and guard detachments from Darmstadt and Offenbach. These men were particularly feared in the camp. After 1945, not a single guard was called to account for his actions at the Osthofen concentration camp.

Accommodations and hygienic circumstances in the empty former Jewish paper mill were extremely primitive. At the beginning, the prisoners slept on the bare concrete floor; later they built double wooden bunks as well as tables and benches. As it became colder, they were given a rough woolen blanket, in addition to their straw sacks. In autumn they built chimneys for small wood-fired stoves. These efforts, however, never warmed the drafty, wet, and cold factory hall. Many prisoners suffered from the cold, and some developed kidney and bladder problems, which continued to plague them for the rest of their lives. Despite the miserable conditions, not one prisoner died in Osthofen. Terror and disregard for any human dignity were, however, the order of the day. The Jewish prisoners particularly suffered from mistreatment and indignities. One Jewish prisoner was forced to eat pork on Yom Kippur, the most solemn of Jewish holidays. When at first he refused, he was beaten until he was unconscious.[3] Other Jewish prisoners were put on a stand and were insulted and abused by the camp commandant and then chased for hours inside a barbed-wire enclosure. Almost worse than the living conditions was the attention given to hygiene. Only on rare and exceptional occasions were the prisoners given a bit of fluid soap to wash themselves and their clothes. As a rule, they had to wash themselves and their clothes with sand and cold water running from three taps in the open air. Altogether almost 3,000 prisoners, nearly all men, were held in the Osthofen concentration camp until it was closed. On average, the camp housed about 200 inmates at any time during its existence.

At the morning roll call, the prisoners were separated into working groups. They either worked on the camp's own construction or were allocated to outside detachments. For example, there was a labor detail for construction and decorative work at the "Brown House" in Worms, while others had to clean the blood from the torture cellars of the SA and SS. Local National Socialists, above all Karl d'Angelo, profited from the cheap or unpaid labor. Several prisoners had to work regularly in his printing establishment. This kind of work was only stopped when d'Angelo ran into difficulties with his superiors. Farmers and landowners could also use the prisoners for no charge for their harvesting. Often the work was used as a means solely to humiliate and victimize the prisoners. Jewish prisoners, for example, had to clean the latrine ditches with tins or with their bare hands. The Worms police president Maschmeier, who had been removed by the Nazis, was exposed to the mockery of the local population. He had to sit in the street in front of the concentration camp and grind coffee. Another prisoner, almost 2 meters (6.6 feet) tall, had to

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sweep the yard with a broom, the handle of which had been sawn off. And Dr. Carlo Mierendorff, the former Member of Parliament and spokesman for Social Democrat Minister of Interior Wilhelm Leuschner, was forced for days to straighten nails, which his fellow prisoners had to bend.[4]

A few prisoners were able to escape, particularly in the first few months. Prisoners who were the subject of particular suffering or mistreatment by certain guards were slipped into safer outside work details by their fellow inmates. A well-known Jewish lawyer from Mainz escaped in July 1933 with the help of his friends from Mainz and of his fellow prisoners. Even as late as May 1933, he had courageously defended members of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and RB, who had been accused of political "offenses." Also, at the beginning of March 1933, he had published a very detailed and critical newspaper article directed against the Reichstag Fire Decree. After his escape, the camp leadership imposed a ban on mail and visitors.

For detention under aggravated conditions, Camp II was constructed in an empty sawmill in the vicinity of the concentration camp.[5] Occasionally, this kind of detention was also imposed in the prison of the Osthofen local court. Conditions were much more severe under such a regime. Thus, several prisoners were locked up in a wire enclosure, in the middle of which was the so-called Devil's Wheel. This was a kind of sleeping bench that had been placed on an angle. To add to this harassment, the light burned day and night so that it was impossible to sleep. The food consisted of watery soup and occasionally a small ration of bread.

Following power struggles and a restructure within the police leadership in Hessen, Best was deposed as State Police president in the autumn of 1933. From the end of March 1934, responsibility for ordering that someone be sent to Osthofen concentration camp was exclusively in the hands of Hessian State Minister Philipp Jung and the Hessian State Police Office, which, since December 1933, was formally headed by Heinrich Himmler. According to the state minister's implementation decree of March 28, 1934, as of April, 15, all ordered protective custody measures were suspended unless the State Police Office had ordered their extension.[6] In practice, this signaled the end of the Osthofen concentration camp. It was one of the last of the early concentration camps to be dissolved in July 1934 as a result of Himmler's centralization program. Until then, the number of protective custody prisoners in Hessen had fallen dramatically. Thus, from May 1, 1934, to August 8, 1934, only 84 persons from the People's State of Hessen remained in protective custody, among whom was Dr. Mierendorff, who was held in the Lichtenburg concentration camp; 2 others were in the Dachau concentration camp, 1 in Börgermoor, and the others in the state police jail in Darmstadt or the Offenbach police jail.

SOURCES In 1946, the state of Rhineland-Palatinate was formed from parts of the former Hessian, Prussian, and Bavarian states. In 1933–1934 Osthofen belonged to the state of Hessen, which included the provinces of Rheinhessen (later Rhineland-Palatinate), Starkenburg, and Oberhessen. The seat of government was Darmstadt. As a result, the relevant files are today in the HStA-D (Hessen Districts) and the Rheinland-Pfalz LA-Sp (Rhein Hessen Districts). The collections in Darmstadt are in particular (HStD): G 15, Dieburg, G 15, Friedberg, G 15, Alsfeld, G 15, Erbach and G 15, Heppenheim: foremost "Schutzhaftangelegenheiten" (protective custody issues) and the collections H5 (Reichsstatthalter-Reich Governor) and G 12A 25/8 (Hessian Police) as well as the collections in Speyer H 51, H 53.

The files of the Worms Police Office, which was responsible for the administration of the Osthofen concentration camp, were almost totally burned during the war. Apparently also destroyed were the files that were kept at the camp itself.

In her novel *The Seventh Cross* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1942), first published in the United States in 1942, Mayence author Anna Seghers erected a literary "memorial" to the Osthofen prisoners. She tells of the escape of seven prisoners from the imaginary Westhofen concentration camp. However, there was never a concentration camp in Westhofen, but there was one in neighboring Osthofen. The story is fictitious but includes much information on everyday life in Nazi Germany, which Seghers obtained while in French exile, where she wrote the novel between 1937 and 1938, from eyewitness reports, newspapers, and information gathered from other exiles. So the story is both "true" and "fictitious."

In 1979 the Röderberg-Verlag Frankfurt published the first set of documents by Paul Grünewald on the Osthofen concentration camp, *KZ Osthofen: Material zur Geschichte eines fast vergessenen Konzentrationslagers*. This was followed by the "Projekt Osthofen" with the title *Osthofen—Erinnern und Vergegenwärtigen*, another set of documents by Angelika Arenz-Morch and Eike Hennig (Frankfurt, 1986). In *Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus in Rheinland-Pfalz*, vol. 2, *Für die Aussenwelt seid ihr tot!* ed. Hans-Georg Meyer and Hans Berkessel (Mayence: Verlag Hermann Schmidt Mainz, 2000), there are further contributions on the Osthofen concentration camp: Angelika Arenz-Morch, "Das Konzentrationslager Osthofen 1933/34" (pp. 32–51); Volker Gallé, "Karl d'Angelo—Lagerleiter des Konzentrationslagers" (pp. 69–79); Heribert Fachinger, "Leben und Alltag in einem frühen Konzentrationslager im Spiegel von Häftlingsberichten und Erinnerungen" (pp. 80–90); and Alexander Stephan, "Authentizität und Fiktion: Das KZ Osthofen und der Roman 'Das siebte Kreuz' von Anna Seghers" (pp. 104–115). Alexander Stephan published *Anna Seghers: Das siebte Kreuz; Welt und Wirkung eines Romans* (Berlin: Aufbau Taschenbuch Verlag, 1997).

Angelika Arenz-Morch
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. HStA-D, G 24/360, Bl. 38.
2. Letter of the SS-Section Rhine to the SS-Administration, dated February 29, 1936, BA-B, former ZSA-P Film Nr. 8681, AN 407369–407370.
3. Ernst P. Katz, "Die Geschichte eines Juden aus Hungen," in *Juden in Hungen*, ed. Arbeitsgemeinschaft "Spurensuche Hungen" (Hungen, 1990), pp. 40–59.
4. Karl Schreiber, "Schriftliche Erinnerungen im Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand Frankfurt," n.d.
5. HStA-D, G 24/360, Bl. 75.
6. HStA-D, G 15, Friedberg, Q 290, Bl.16 and 17.

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PAPENBURG [AKA EMSLAND]

On August 2, 1933, Papenburg became a Prussian State Concentration Camp (Staatliches Konzentrationslager Papenburg). Intended for reclaiming the vast Ems River wetlands, its four subcamps held 4,000 detainees by October 1933.[1] Papenburg was the senior camp commandant's (Oberlagerkommandant's) headquarters and location of the hospital and railway station. In 1933, the subcamps were Börgermoor (camp I of the complex) (opened July 15), Esterwegen (II) (August 11), Esterwegen (III) (August 14), and Neusustrum (V) (October 2). In early 1934, Brual-Rhede (IV) and Oberlangen (VI) opened as Justice Ministry penal camps. (The apparent misnumbering was intentional.)

The Reich Settlement Law of 1919 spotlighted Emsland cultivation. In 1923, Osnabrück county founded the "Emsland"–Society for the Facilitation of Wasteland Reclamation (Gesellschaft zur Erleichterung der Urbarmachung von Oedlaendereien) and slowly created settlements before the Nazi takeover. In 1933, the new regime greatly expanded these efforts for four reasons. First, new farms theoretically reduced food imports, eased Germany's foreign exchange crisis, and promoted autarky. Second, new peasant settlements lent force to the nebulous "Blood and Soil" ideology. Third, with over 15,000 detainees in the summer of 1933, Prussia wanted to recoup incarceration costs through forced labor. Finally, the Emsland embarrassed Prussia. In 1934, the Prussian Justice Ministry's Rudolf Marx contrasted its "desolate, endless marsh" with the neighboring Dutch Groningen province's "fields, green meadows, and pastures."[2]

In February 1931, Adolf Hitler listed the "increasing" of arable soil as an immediate economic goal.[3] On March 15, 1933, the Reich cabinet noted that hardliners of the German Communist Party (KPD) would "eventually" proceed to "labor camps."[4] Prussian Prime Minister and Interior Minister Hermann Göring then authorized the Emsland camps. On March 17, his state secretary, Ludwig Grauert, commissioned Osnabrück's county president, Bernhard Eggers, to locate accommodations for 250 to 300 detainees.[5] On April 4, Eggers was dispatched again to find sites for 3,000 to 5,000 prisoners. On June 22, 1933, 90 Düsseldorf (Ulmenstrasse) inmates arrived to build Börgermoor. On the same day, Grauert outlined the moor cultivation plan, which called for four camps scheduled to open, respectively, on July 15, August 1 and 15, and September 1, 1933. Only Esterwegen II and Neusustrum failed to meet Grauert's timetable. Each camp would hold 1,000 to 2,000 prisoners, 100 prisoners per barrack, and have guard, administration, bathing, and kitchen buildings. A barbed-wire fence and guard towers would enclose them. Signifying their innovative design, Secret State Police Office (Gestapa) chief Rudolf Diels referred to them as "barracks camps."[6]

Papenburg underwent numerous staff changes. On June 7, 1933, the Prussian Interior Ministry's SS-Gruppenführer Kurt Daluege secured Heinrich Himmler's appointment as ministerial commissar for deputized police officers of the Gestapa. Himmler detailed Gruppenführer Fritz Weitzel of SS-Group West (Gruppe West) to staff Papenburg. As Düsseldorf police president, Weitzel directed Ulmer-Höh, so it was not accidental that Börgermoor's first prisoners came from there. Weitzel named his protégé, Standartenführer Paul Brinkmann, Oberlagerkommandant, and assigned other officers who would become subcamp commandants: Sturmhauptführer Wilhelm Fleitmann (Börgermoor), Sturmführer Heinrich Katzmann (Esterwegen II), Sturmführer Ludwig Seehaus (Esterwegen III), and Sturmführer Emil Faust (Neusustrum). Weitzel did not consider all of them suitable for command, however. According to historian Hans-Peter Klausch, the Papenburg SS commandants came from cities with strong KPD enclaves, had distinguished war records, participated in nationalist-racist organizations, joined the Nazi Party (NSDAP) and SS before 1930, and were enthusiastic street fighters.[7]

In the fall of 1933, 11 suspicious deaths and international publicity concerning the treatment of Jews and "bigwigs" called the SS administration into question. The Prussian Interior Ministry moved 150 Jews and prominent prisoners from Papenburg to Lichtenburg on October 17. In the same month, Himmler directed SS-Court III (Gericht III) in Munich to investigate the camp, but little came of his effort to forestall outside interference.[8] In November 1949, the regional court Oldenburg trial of Esterwegen II guard Theodor Groten established Brinkmann's culpability in Otto Eggerstedt's murder.[9]

In October 1933, Diels visited Papenburg. Finding that the SS "move through this region like marauding Swedes in the Thirty Years' War," he sent State Prosecutor Günther Joel with 50 Berlin policemen to seize the complex.[10] Organized as "Free Corps Fleitmann," the Börgermoor SS fired on the police, who retreated, which led Diels to secure Hitler's permission to deploy Reichswehr artillery. Figuring in Hitler's and Göring's decision for removal was the rumor that the SS were arming their prisoners. On November 6, the Prussian police under Polizeioberst Hans Stieler von Heydekamp deposed the SS without firing a shot. For several years, Brinkmann was persona non grata in the SS. He died in 1941. None of the Papenburg SS commandants ran another camp.[11]

Papenburg's new commandant and office manager, Polizeioberst von dem Knesebeck and Polizeimajor Gümbel, stipulated that future staff consist of 80 percent SA and 20 percent SS and that previous guards never be rehired.[12] Thus when SS-Mann Fritz Kaiser applied for his old post, his request was rejected.[13] The November 12, 1933, Reich Plebiscite embarrassed the regime because Börgermoor and Esterwegen III detainees overwhelmingly voted against Nazi rule.[14]

On December 20, 1933, the SA relieved the police of their responsibilities. Polizeimajor Gotthilf Hoffmann and his adjutant, SA-Obersturmbannführer Engel, commanded 420 SA and 80 SS. On December 22, 1933, 1,500 detainees were released in a "Christmas amnesty." Diels attended the Börgermoor and Esterwegen ceremonies.[15] Except for Börgermoor, the SA were violent overseers: Ludwig Pappenheim's murder at Neusustrum in January 1934 was one of five committed under their administration.[16] On March 11, 1934, Göring

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banned the creation of new camps and, in a bid to assert control, demanded that camp guards become state employees.[17]

Except for Esterwegen, the Prussian (later Reich) Justice Ministry converted Papenburg into penal camps on April 1, 1934. The penal prisoners included many political convicts and members of outcast groups. Merging party and state functions, it staffed the camps with SA-Pioneer Regiment "Emsland" (Pionier-Standarte-Emsland) under Oranienburg's controversial commandant, SA-Obersturmbannführer Werner Schäfer. At Christmas 1935, SA guard Walter Talbot produced a photographic album for Hitler that represented prisoner labor in the moors. These images roughly accorded with early camp testimonies: prisoners cut peat, removed it by railed handcarts, dispersed sand and granite, and unloaded barges along the Küstenkanal.[18] Under wartime pressure, the Justice Ministry suspended moor cultivation in 1942.

Because Göring appointed Himmler Gestapo inspector on April 20, 1934, the SS reestablished control over Esterwegen. The consolidation of political detainees at Esterwegen took part in two stages, with Neusustrum's population transferred to Börgermoor on April 1 and Börgermoor's moved to Esterwegen II on April 25. On the latter date, the total "protective custody" population was 1,162.[19] On June 20, 1934, Esterwegen III closed, and its population moved to Esterwegen II. Esterwegen continued as an Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) camp from August 1, 1934, to September 23, 1936. After its closure, the Reich Labor Service (RAD) and Reich Justice Ministry competed for the property. In January 1937, the SS sold it to the Justice Ministry for 1.05 million Reichsmark (RM), using some proceeds to finance Sachsenhausen.[20]

Papenburg exemplified what Johannes Tuchel calls the failed "Prussian model" of state-run concentration camps. For the Emsland project, it registered modest gains, creating 66 settlements and opening 722 hectares (1,784 acres) to cultivation in 1933 but a negligible proportion of the 1934 reclamation output.

By 1939, Papenburg consisted of 15 camps, of which some became Wehrmacht or Neuengamme subcamps in wartime.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the following secondary sources: Dirk Lüerssen, "'Moorsoldaten' in Esterwegen, Börgermoor, Neusustrum: Die frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland 1933 bis 1936," in *Herrschaft und Gewalt: Frühe Konzentrationslager, 1933–1939*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), pp. 157–210; Kurt Buck, "Die frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland 1933 bis 1936," in *Die frühen Konzentrationslager in Deutschland; Austausch zum Forschungsstand und zur pädagogischen Praxis in Gedenkstätten*, ed. Karl Giebeler, Thomas Lutz, and Silvester Lechner (Bad Boll: Evangelische Akademie, 1996), pp. 176–184; Elke Suhr, *Die Emslandlager: Die politische und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Emsländischen Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager 1933–1945* (Bremen: Donat & Temmen, 1985); and Elke Suhr and Werner Bohlt, *Lager im Emsland, 1933–1945: Geschichte und Gedenken* (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg, 1985). On the Prussian model, see Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager: Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager," 1934–1938* (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag, 1991). The standard study of German prisons under the Nazis, Nikolaus Wachsmann, *Hitler's Prisons: Legal Terror in Nazi Germany* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), sets the Justice Ministry phase in context. Essential economic background is found in Christof Haverkamp, *Die Erschliessung des Emslandes im 20. Jahrhundert: Als Beispiel staatlicher regionaler Wirtschaftsförderung* (Sögel: Emsländische Landschrift, 1991). As cited in Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), more cultivation statistics for 1933 and 1934 come from Hubert Herzog, "Die grosszügige Siedlungsarbeit des Staates im Emsland," *Jahrbuch des Emsländischen Heimatbundes* 1 (1953): 26–37. A careful collective biography of Papenburg SS commandants is Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommandanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005). On the memorial, see Kurt Buck, *Das Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum Emslandlager (DIZ) in Papenburg: Informationen, Hinweise und pädagogische Anregungen für einen Besuch vor Ort* (Papenburg: Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum [DIZ] Emslandlager, 1997). DIZ maintains a Web site, with brief histories of the 15 camps, at www.diz-emslandlager.de. The new study by Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *"Der Ort des Terrors": Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager: Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), appeared after this entry was written.

Primary sources for Papenburg begin with its listing in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:103. A recently discovered document sheds light on Hitler's pre-1933 economic goals and is fully reproduced in Ralf Banken, "'An der Spitze aller Künste steht die Staatskunst': Das Protokoll der NSDAP-Wirtschaftsbesprechungen Februar/März 1931," in *Die Wirtschaftssteuerung durch Recht im Nationalsozialismus. Studien zur Entwicklung des Wirtschaftsrechts im Interventionsstaat des "Dritten Reichs,"* ed. Johannes Bähr and Ralf Banken (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann GmbH, 2005), pp. 511–557. The Reich cabinet minutes are found in Karl-Heinz Minuth, ed., *Akten der Reichskanzlei: Regierung Hitler 1933–1938*, 2 vols. (Boppard-am-Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag, 1983). Important but biased information on the November 1933 police takeover may be found in Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zürich: Interverlag AG, 1949). The BDCPFs of Brinkmann, Faust, Fleitmann, Katzmann, and Seehaus, NStA-Os documents, and the *OsnT*, December 24, 1933, are cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*. Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945*, reproduce numerous Papenburg documents from the NStA-Os and the BA-K, including Grauert's June 1933 memorandum and the Groten trial. An important policy statement on the Justice Ministry takeover is Ministerialrat [Rudolf] Marx, "Die Kultivierung der Emsländischen Moore, eine Kulturaufgabe des Staates," *Deutsche Justiz: Rechtspflege und Rechtspolitik* 96:23 (June 8, 1934): 732–734. One of the most important prisoner testimonies for the

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Papenburg complex is Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten: 13 Monate Konzentrationslager; Unpolitischer Tatsachsenbericht* (Zürich: Schweizer Spiegel, 1935). A report on the Pappenheim murder appeared in "Auf der Flucht erschossen," *FZ*, January 10, 1933. USHMMPA, CD # 0430, WS #55152, contains a series of images of Rudolf Diels at Papenburg in December 1933. Valuable if tendentious photographic documentation of moor labor can be found in Walter Talbot, "Die alte SA in der Wachtmannschaft der Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland," Album Presented to Adolf Hitler, December 25, 1935, LC Prints and Photographs Division, LOT 11390 (H).

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NOTES

1. Daluege, Prussian Interior Ministry (PrMdI), to Verwaltungsdirektionen der staatlichen Konzentrationslager in Papenburg (Bez. Osnabrück), in Sonnenburg (Bez. Frankfurt a/O), und in Lichtenburg (Bez. Merseburg), II 1600/4, August 2, 1933, reproduced in Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland 1933–1945: Zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz; Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1985), p. 57.

2. Ministerialrat [Rudolf] Marx, "Die Kultivierung der Emsländischen Moore, eine Kulturaufgabe des Staates," *Deutsche Justiz: Rechtspflege und Rechtspolitik* 96:23 (June 8, 1934): 732.

3. Ralf Banken, "'An der Spitze aller Künste steht die Staatskunst': Das Protokoll der NSDAP-Wirtschaftsbesprechungen Februar/März 1931," in *Die Wirtschaftssteuerung durch Recht im Nationalsozialismus. Studien zur Entwicklung des Wirtschaftsrechts im Interventionsstaat des "Dritten Reichs*," ed. Johannes Bähr and Ralf Banken (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann GmbH, 2005), p. 550.

4. Ministerbesprechung vom 15. März 1933, reproduced in Karl-Heinz Minuth, ed., *Akten der Reichskanzlei: Regierung Hitler 1933–1938*, 2 vols. (Boppard-am-Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag, 1983), 1:214.

5. PrMdI to Reg. Präs. Eggers, March 17, 1933, NStA-Os, Rep. 430 Dez. 201-204 5/66 No. 17, cited in Elke Suhr, *Die Emslandlager: Die politische und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der emsländischen Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager, 1933–1945* (Bremen: Donat & Temmen, 1985), p. 231n.26.

6. Ludwig Grauert, PrMdI, to Reg. Präs. Osnabrück, Eggers, No. II G 1610, Betr.: "Begründung für die Errichtung staatl. KL im Emsland," June 22, 1933, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 59–61; quotation in Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zürich: Interverlag AG, 1949), p. 191.

7. Wolfgang Langhoff, *Die Moorsoldaten: 13 Monate Konzentrationslager; Unpolitischer Tatsachsenbericht* (Zürich: Schweizer Spiegel, 1935), pp. 105–106; BDCPFs of Paul Brinkmann, Emil Faust, Wilhelm Fleitmann, Heinrich Katzmann, and Ludwig Seehaus, cited in Hans-Peter Klausch, *Tätergeschichten: Die SS-Kommandanten der frühen Konzentrationslager im Emsland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2005), pp. 21, 28, 51, 64, 128–129, 222.

8. NStA-Os, Rep. 430 Schmieder, Aktenvermerk, October 17, 1933; and SS-Gericht III, München, report in Wilhelm Fleitmann BDCPF, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 51, 98.

9. "Urteil gegen Theodor Groten vor dem Schwurgericht des Landgericht Osnabrück," (9 Ks 25/49), reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 80, 82.

10. Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas*, pp. 192–194; quotation on p. 193.

11. Ibid., p. 193; Brinkmann BDCPF, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, pp. 53–59.

12. *EZ*, November 10, 1933, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 52; Gümbel to Reg. Präs. Osnabrück, November 15, 1933, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, p. 64.

13. Reg. Präs. Osnabrück to SS-Mann Fritz Kaiser with Freiherr v. Oeynhausen, Reg. Präs. Minden i.W., IF 15/24, December 1, 1933, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, p. 65.

14. Langhoff, *Moorsoldaten*, p. 242.

15. *EZ*, December 23, 1933, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, p. 66; *OsnT*, December 24, 1933, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 285; USHMMPA, CD #0430, Three Photographs of Diels addressing Börgermoor and Esterwegen Prisoners, 12/1933.

16. "Auf der Flucht erschossen," *FZ*, January 10, 1933.

17. Göring to Inspekteur der Geheimen Staatspolizei die nachgeordneten Poliziebehörden, March 11, 1934, reproduced in Kosthorst and Walter, *Konzentrations-*, pp. 65–66.

18. Walter Talbot, "Die alte SA in der Wachtmannschaft der Strafgefangenenlager im Emsland," Album Presented to Adolf Hitler, December 25, 1935, LC Prints and Photographs Division LOT 11390 (H).

19. "Zusammenstellung der Belegstärke und der zur Verfügung gestellten Anzahl politischer Schutzhäftlinge aus den Lagern II u. III Esterwegen in der Zeit vom 1.4.1934 bis 18.8.1934," NStA-Os, Rep. 675 Mep. No. 356, cited in Klausch, *Tätergeschichten*, p. 285.

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

PAPPENHEIM BEI OSCHATZ

On April 8, 1933, the SA converted a school vacation hostel at Pappenheim bei Oschatz, Saxony, into an early concentration camp. Under the command of SA-Sturmführer Schiemann, approximately 20 SA men guarded between 120 and 150 prisoners at Pappenheim. Conditions were brutal. For example, the guards forced the prisoners to hang from a stake or on beams for hours on end. In another form of torture, the prisoners' hair was shorn by bayonet. A Communist cell was active at Pappenheim but was subsequently suppressed. As in other early camps, church attendance was mandatory, but this requirement afforded the prisoners the opportunity to make furtive contact with the outside world. On May 27, 1933, the camp was disbanded and the prisoners transferred to the much larger Saxon camps at Colditz Castle and Sachsenburg.

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

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Primary documentation for this camp, as cited in Drobisch and Wieland, consists mainly of the Kreisleitung Oschatz der Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (SED), ed., *Kampferlebnisse: Persönliche Erinnerungen und biographische Skizzen bewährter Genossen des Kreises Oschatz im Kampf um die Herausbildung einer einheitlichen marxistisch-leninistischen Partei der Arbeiterklasse* (Oschatz, 1976).

Joseph Robert White

PERLEBERG

At Perleberg in Potsdam, the SA and SS established an early concentration camp in an artillery depot. Prisoners from the then dissolving early camp at Havelberg refitted the structure and became the first inmates. Under the commander, SA-Standartenführer Felix Marnette, Perleberg lasted from May 24 to June 28, 1933, after which the prisoners were dispatched to the much larger concentration camp at Oranienburg. Because of transfers and releases, Perleberg's population fluctuated a great deal, with 95 detainees on May 31, 31 on June 8, and 40 on June 23.

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

As cited in Drobisch and Wieland, primary documentation for Perleberg can be found in the Regierungsbezirk Potsdam Polizeipräsidium, in the BLHA.

Joseph Robert White

PLAUE BEI FLÖHA

The SA opened an early concentration camp at Plaue bei Flöha on March 8, 1933. The first concentration camp in Saxony and, after Nohra in Thuringia, the second concentration camp in Nazi Germany, Plaue was situated in a workers' gymnasium. Categorized as a "labor service camp," it held 174 "protective custody" detainees by April 12. The SA humiliated prisoners by cutting swastikas into their hair. Most prisoners worked in agriculture, but 40 were reassigned to build the huge early concentration camp at Sachsenburg on April 19. The Plaue camp was dissolved on June 10 and its remaining prisoners transferred to Sachsenburg.

SOURCES This entry follows the standard work on the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). See also Mike Schmeitzner, "Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen, 1933–1945," in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenhauer Verlag, 2002). The camp is listed in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999).

As cited in Drobisch and Wieland and in Schmeitzner, primary documentation about Plaue can be found in the files of the SHStA-(D), Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten.

Joseph Robert White

PORZ [AKA HOCHKREUZ]

At the instigation of the mayor of the community of Porz (Rheinisch-Bergischer Kreis), an SA "protective custody" camp was established in a former explosives factory at the "Hochkreuz" near the village of Eil in July 1933.[1] The camp was under the command of a "special commissar" (Sonderkommissar), SA-Sturmbannführer Schreiber (Sturmbann III/65) from the district town of Bergisch Gladbach. The guard squad came from Porz, Cologne, and the surrounding district.[2]

On July 14 and 15, 1933, more than 45 members of the German Communist Party (KPD) and the Social Democratic Party (SPD) were interned in the camp. They were interrogated in an extremely brutal manner in order to find out information about the publishers and distributors of the underground newspaper *Roter Sender*.[3] At the end of June, the men were released; proceedings were initiated against 4 of them for high treason. Three of the men were convicted.

One week later, seven more men were interned. The Bergisch Gladbach police had arrested them on suspicion of criminal activities, but as the police had not made progress in their questioning, they decided to have the SA thugs in the camp at Hochkreuz continue the interrogation.

Their torture methods led to numerous other arrests without a court order. Proceedings were initiated against 24 prisoners for high treason and other criminal activities, while the others were released at the beginning of August. At the beginning of August 1933, the camp was shut down by order of the Cologne district president.

Several of the prisoners retracted their confessions and through their lawyers brought charges for bodily harm and extortion. The Cologne State Attorney's Office began proceedings against several SA members. A few were taken into pretrial confinement, but the proceedings were closed in August on higher orders. The records survived World War II and served as the basis for criminal proceedings that led to convictions of several former SA men in 1946–1947.

SOURCES The author's chapter on the Porz camp formed the basis for this article: "Das Schutzhaftlager der SA am Hochkreuz in Porz-Gremberghoven," *Rechtsrheinisches Köln: Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Landeskunde* (ed. Geschichtsverein Rechtsrheinisches Köln e.V.) 8 (1982).

This chapter was based to some extent on several interviews with eyewitnesses but above all on the 1933–1934 Cologne State Attorney's Office records, which are located in the NWHStA-(D), Best. Rep. 9 Nr. 288–291. The prosecution of the perpetrators after the war was carried out on the basis of these records. During the author's initial research in 1981, however, the corresponding trial records were not available. Photocopies from these files and from the personnel file

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of Hermann Odekoven, Nazi mayor of Porz, as well as the eyewitness interviews are located in the HAStK-P, Best. E Nr. 117 and M Nr. 14.

Gebhard Aders
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. The community of Porz—about 13 kilometers (8 miles) southeast of Cologne—was elevated to city in 1951 and in 1975 was incorporated into Cologne.

2. This information is based on the investigation records of the Cologne State Attorney's Office at the NWHStA-(D), Rep. 9 Nr. 288–291.

3. According to witness statements, there was a list with 45 to 65 names, 32 of which could be identified by the author. See HAStK-P, Best. E Nr. 117; and Best. M Nr. 14.

QUEDNAU

The Quednau Fortress was built between 1872 and 1884 as 1 of 12 large forts of the new belt of fortifications to the north of Königsberg. Supposedly a camp was erected there in January 1933 by the Königsberg police and other agencies in order to house the leaders of the East Prussian Nazi Party (NSDAP) who were to be arrested in the event of an anti-Nazi coup that Kurt von Schleicher was allegedly planning. Between March and June 1933, the camp was used for male opponents of the NSDAP and then was closed in August of the same year.

During the course of the persecution of political opponents, 400 officials of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the German Communist Party (KPD) were arrested in March alone in the district of Königsberg. Entire Königsberg apartment complexes were surrounded, combed through systematically, and thousands of apartments were searched. The prisoners were taken to the police prison, where they were treated relatively well, or to the temporary detention camp at Fort Quednau (Übergangslager Fort Quednau), which was generally considered a "forerunner of a concentration camp" and was guarded by the SA and Stahlhelm. Hardly anything is known about the conditions of the detention. The prisoners were held in the casemates of the fortress, in each of which 8 to 12 men had to sleep on straw. The costs for running the camp of 3,000 Reichsmark (RM) until June 1933 were extremely low, which could indicate a short period of existence or very poor living conditions for the prisoners. Some reports written in exile about the terror in the early camps only mention the name Quednau; others speak in detail about religious services but also about draconian punishment and torture.

Quednau was, however, not a "wild concentration camp" but one of the six state camps officially recognized and financed by the Prussian Ministry of Interior. In June 1933 the district president of Allenstein reported the transfer of 55 prisoners to Quednau; according to a report by the district's Stapo, 47 political opponents were imprisoned here in September 1933. It appears that the East Prussian prisoners were assembled here and then transported farther into the Reich. At first the transports went, among other places, to Hammerstein near Schlochau and later mostly to the Emsland moor camps.

SOURCES The basis for this entry is the essay by Wilhelm Matull and Max Sommerfeld, "Der Anteil der ostpreussischen Arbeiterbewegung am Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus," *Jahrbuch der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg* 17 (1967): 164–178. Besides historical findings, this essay also deals with the Social Democrat Matull's experiences in the camp. Further references to Quednau can be found in the book by Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1993); as well as in the two volumes by Fritz Gause, *Geschichte der Stadt Königsberg in Preussen*, 2 vols. (Cologne: Böhlau, 1968, 1971). A few references to the existence of the Quednau camp are also found in Richard Bessel's analysis of the rise of the SA in East Prussia, *Political Violence and the Rise of Nazism: The Storm Troopers in Eastern Germany 1925–1934* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984); and in Christian Tilitzki, *Alltag in Ostpreussen 1940–1945: Die geheimen Lageberichte der Königsberger Justiz 1940–1945* (Leer: Rautenberg, 1991).

Stefanie Schüler-Springorum
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

REICHENBACH [AKA LANGENBIELAU]

On March 8, 1933, the Nazi SS established a "transit camp" in the Social Democratic Party (SPD) community center at Reichenbach, Saxony. Despite the nomenclature, Reichenbach was a concentration camp in everything but name. The commandant was Albert Greiner, and the guards came from SS-Standarte 7. The detainees consisted mainly of Social Democrats but also included Communists and at least two Stahlhelm members. The size of the camp population is not known.

Under the pretext of interrogation, the SS tortured the prisoners. These sessions normally took place at night, after the guards' drinking binges. Those who did not cooperate faced an escalating series of punishments: 5 blows for "stuttering," 10 for lying, 15 for "silence," and 20 for "pausing to think." These regulations were posted in the former restaurant where portraits of Marxists Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg continued to hang on the walls. Prisoners who fainted under torture were revived with cold water, and the thrashings began anew. To muffle the screams, the guards held a cushion over the prisoners' faces.[1]

Among the Reichenbach perpetrators were Toni Grunwald and Dr. Kassebaum. Grunwald, a former Communist, forced prisoners to injest castor oil, after announcing his intention of releaving their "thirst." The camp physician, Kassebaum, berated detainees for "faking" injuries sustained during interrogation.[2]

On March 22, one day after Reich President Paul von Hindenburg officially received Hitler's government at Potsdam, the SS celebrated by parading battered SPD members through

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the neighboring marketplace. At least two torture victims, Social Democrat Hermann Schencker and Communist leader Albert Janka, died as a result of their injuries. Among the Reichenbach prisoners was SPD Reichstag deputy Erwin Hartsch.[3]

On May 11, the camp was moved to the nearby foundry at Greizerstrasse. Reichenbach was disbanded in late May or early June 1933, and its detainees were transferred to the early concentration camps at Zwickau, Colditz, and Sachsenburg.

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

The one primary source available for this camp is a contemporary report by Colditz and Sachsenburg prisoner Otto Meinel, who gathered secondhand information from transferred Reichenbach prisoners: *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 164–169.

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1. *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), p. 165.
2. Ibid., p. 168.
3. Ibid., pp. 166–167.

REMSCHEID-LÜTTRINGHAUSEN

In March 1933, the Gestapo ordered the Lüttringhausen penitentiary at Remscheid in Prussian Düsseldorf to make a wing available for "protective custody" detainees. The prisoners numbered in excess of 100 and consisted mainly of Communists and some Social Democrats. Justice Ministry guards administered the wing, but the supervisor's name is not known.

In 1983, former Communist Reichstag member and Lüttringhausen detainee Willy Spicher described the conditions at this camp. Prisoners subsisted on inadequate rations. Communists faced the additional burden of enforced isolation, as the authorities would not permit them to mail letters or receive visitors. Torture was commonplace. A prison guard conducted Spicher to a police interrogation. After the guard left the room, two policemen tortured him on the pretext of his "hiding a box of dynamite," a common charge that the Nazis leveled against Communists in 1933.[1]

At Lüttringhausen, Spicher participated in two protests. The first, a hunger strike, took place because of the communications ban against Communist prisoners. During exercise times, he organized this strike with other prisoners, but the result is not known. The second strike occurred after one detainee suffered ill treatment at the hands of a guard. As Spicher recalled, "A storm of protest broke out. All the political prisoners thundered against the cell doors. At the time it was labeled a mutiny by the political police."[2]

As the alleged ringleader of the spontaneous protest, Spicher was placed in a so-called dark cell for an unknown period. Stripped naked, he was unable to stand up or lie down in the pitch-dark cell but rested on his knees. Another prisoner, Social Democrat Emil Hirsch, had just entrusted him with a letter intended for Hirsch's wife. Rather than risk its discovery, Spicher quickly disposed of the letter while proceeding to the dark cell.[3]

In August 1933, an unknown number of Lüttringhausen detainees were dispatched to the early concentration camp at Wuppertal-Barmen (Kemna). This transport included Hirsch and Spicher.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). A brief but useful history of the protective custody camp can be found in Ernst Hinz, *Jahre in Lüttringhausen: Endstation Wenzelnberg: Berichte von antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfern* (Düsseldorf: VVN-Bund der Antifaschisten, Landesvorstand NRW, [ca. 1983]). This book focuses mainly on the penitentiary's role in the legally sanctioned terror against political opponents between 1933 and 1945. The Nazi-era victims of Lüttringhausen are mentioned in Ulrike Puvogel and Martin Stankowski, with Ursula Graf, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer der Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1, *Baden-Württemberg*, *Bayern*, *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Hessen*, *Niedersachsen*, *Nordrhein-Westfalen*, *Rheinland-Pfalz*, *Saarland*, *Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999).

Primary documentation for this camp begins with its listing in the ITS, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:140. Hinz reproduces an abbreviated form of Spicher's 1983 interview in the *Ronsdorfer Zeitung* (*RonsZ*).

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1. Willy Spicher interview in *Ronsdorfer Zeitung*, October 22, 1983, abbreviated in Ernst Hinz, *Jahre in Lüttringhausen: Endstation Wenzelnberg: Berichte von antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfern* (Düsseldorf: VVN-Bund der Antifaschisten, Landesvorstand NRW, [ca. 1983]), n.p.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

ROSSLAU

On August 30, 1933, the SA converted a Rosslau community center owned by a local trade union into a transitional concentration camp for "protective custody" detainees. The camp was established in order to relieve Anhalt's remand

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prisons of overcrowding. The first 25 prisoners entered the camp in October. Forty more detainees were subsequently transferred to Rosslau from the early Oranienburg concentration camp, because they hailed from neighboring Dessau. The prisoners consisted of leftist opponents and at least two hostages. Under the commandant, Wachtmeister Otto Marx, 12 to 14 SA guards oversaw the camp. Custody of Rosslau passed to the SS and Gestapo in January 1934.

Rosslau was a site of murder and torture. Communist Party member Franz Wilkus, who was suspected of murdering an SA man, was himself murdered at Rosslau. After the SS takeover, two unidentified Communists were hanged in the presence of the camp population. The prisoners were compelled to sing during the execution. The SS may have appropriated this technique from the torture sessions taking place in this camp, in which the prisoners were made to sing in order to drown out the victims' screams.

As was the case in other early camps, Rosslau prisoners participated in the November 12, 1933, national plebiscite. As the detainees voted, the authorities bent a corner of their ballots so their votes could be singled out for propaganda or retaliation. A sympathetic citizen from Dessau seized this opportunity to display solidarity with the persecutees, by earmarking her ballot in like manner.

Rosslau became the focus of an international cause célèbre. On December 4, 1933, Social Democratric Party (SPD) Reichstag deputy Gerhart Seger escaped from Oranienburg. In exile, he published one of the first concentration camp testimonies.[1] In retaliation, the Nazis arrested his wife and two-year-old daughter in the same month. They remained in custody at Rosslau until late May 1934. On April 23, 1934, the London *Daily Herald* reported: "A 20 months old baby has been labeled by the Nazis 'Political Prisoner No. 58.' With her mother, 'Political Prisoner No. 57,' she is booked for an indefinite stay at a concentration camp in Rosslau. . . . The baby is Renate Seger, daughter of the exiled Reichstag member, Gerhard [*sic*] Seger . . . [stated:] 'When people showed sympathy with my wife during her unguarded walks outside the camp with Renate, the governor had them stopped. Now they can only go out accompanied by two warders and a dog.'[2] Seger's tireless publicity on his family's behalf attracted the attention of Lady Nancy Astor, a Member of Parliament. Astor appealed to the German ambassador in London and secured the Seger family's release.[3]

After the appointment of SS-Brigadeführer Theodor Eicke as inspector of the concentration camps, Rosslau was closed on July 31, 1934, as part of the effort to consolidate the SS concentration camps. At the time of dissolution, the camp held approximately 18 detainees. It is not clear whether these prisoners were transferred or released.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). Also useful are Klaus Drobisch, "Frühe Konzentrationslager," in *Die frühen Konzentrationslager in Deutschland: Austausch zum Forschungsstand und zur pädagogischen Praxis in Gedenkstätten*, ed. Karl Giebeler, Thomas Lutz, and Silvester Lechner (Bad Boll: Evangelische Akademie, 1996), pp. 41–60; and Martin Schuster, "Die ersten Konzentrationslager in der Region 1933/34," in *Verfolgung, Terror und Widerstand in Sachsen-Anhalt, 1933–1945: Ein Wegweiser für Gedenkstättenbesuche*, ed. Verena Walter (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 45–50. A listing for Rosslau can be found in "Dritte Verordnung zur Änderung der Sechsten Verordnung zur Durchführung des Bundesentschädigungsgesetzes (3. ÄndV-6. DV-BEG), vom 24. November 1982," in *Bundesgesetzblatt*, ed. Bundesminister der Justiz, Teil I (1982): 1572. The camp is also listed in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999).

As cited in Drobisch and Wieland, primary documentation for this camp consists of File St 3/226 (on the Seger affair) and various papers from the KZ und Haftanstalten collection. Both of these references can be found in the BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR. The Rosslau camp was also mentioned in the German and British press, including the *Anh-A*, August 30, 1933; *FZ*, September 1, 1933; *DH* (London), April 23, 1934; and *T-LO*, May 24, 1934. The *Anh-A* and *FZ* articles are cited in Drobisch and Wieland.

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1. Gerhart Seger, *Oranienburg*: *Erster authentischen Bericht eines aus dem Konzentrationslager Geflüchteten*, foreword by Heinrich Mann (Karlsbad: "Graphia" Verlag, 1934).
2. "Baby Labeled 'Political Prisoner No. 58,' " *DH*, April 23, 1934.
3. "Frau Seger Released—Woman MP's Efforts," *T-Lo*, May 24, 1934.

SACHSENBURG (AND SUBCAMPS)

On May 2, 1933, the SA formed a "protective custody" camp inside the abandoned Tautenhahn mill in Sachsenburg near the city of Frankenberg. Situated on the Zschopau River, the four-story building required renovation before it could be occupied. This task fell to the SA's first 100 prisoners. By May 30, Sachsenburg had 376 inmates. Its history is divided into two phases, with administration by the SA (1933–1934) and then the SS (1934–1937).[1]

Sachsenburg was the largest Saxon camp. Its prisoners were Communists, Social Democrats, Jews, Protestant and Catholic clergy, Jehovah's Witnesses, some nationalists, criminals, and "asocials." The camp's population fluctuated significantly. Between May 1933 and February 1934, it grew with transfers from the dissolved camps at Pappenheim, Zschorlau, Hainewalde, and Zwickau. In August 1933, the population stood at over 1,200 detainees but fell to 750 by November and 456 in December. A year later, in August 1934,

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The Sachsenburg early camp, n.d.
PUBLISHED IN *KONZENTRATIONSLAGER: EIN APPELL AN DAS GEWISSEN DER WELT*, 1934.

there were 316 detainees. The population rose to 576 on April 8, 1935, then peaked at 1,305 on October 31, 1935. On March 18, 1936, there were 877 prisoners.[2]

Sachsenburg's first commandant was SA-Standartenführer Hähnel, commander of SA-Standarte 182 (Flöha). The second commandant was SA-Obersturmbannführer Kleditsch, who relieved Hähnel after the November 1933 plebiscite (see below). By November 1933, 300 SA guarded the camp.[3]

The SA converted the windowless wool mixing room into an arrest bunker and torture chamber. The interrogation room, under SA-Scharführer Vinne, was used to break "stubborn deniers," in prisoner Otto Meinel's words. Among the tortured victims was Bruno Kiessling, whose death on October 31, 1933, was officially attributed to a lung embolism.[4]

In August 1933, the prisoners composed an unauthorized camp song, "Das Lied von Sachsenburg." Credited variously to prisoners R. Seidel or Rudi Reinwarth, it circulated among the prisoners in an illegal pamphlet. The opening of the song commented on the irony of so many workers trapped in an abandoned mill: "Its machines don't rattle, the wheels stand still, / But you find many working people there." From a Marxist viewpoint, the second stanza resolved the contradiction by claiming ownership of the camp, who "is now the world of the [Marxist] fighting group, who has been imprisoned in battle." A prohibition against singing it on outside detachments came too late to prevent some Frankenberg civilians from learning the lyrics.[5]

On November 12, 1933, the camp participated in the Reich plebiscite. Unlike most camps, the prisoners resisted considerable pressure and rejected the Nazis. Of the 650 eligible prisoners, 516 cast "no" votes in answer to the question of whether they supported the Hitler regime. Detainee treatment worsened considerably thereafter.[6]

From 1933 to 1934, Sachsenburg established five subcamps: Augustusburg (May 1–December 31, 1933), Chemnitz (May 22, 1933–September 4, 1934), Colditz (May 31–August 15, 1934), Dresden Trachenberge (September 4–October 31, 1934), and Lützelhöhe (officially listed from April 19 to August 16, 1934, but eyewitness testimony indicated activity already in mid-1933). The Augustusburg labor camp had 120 prisoners in the summer of 1933. According to Meinel, Lützelhöhe was an SA housing project subcontracted to the Kell construction firm. Colditz had 31 prisoners in July 1934. The SS closed Chemnitz, Colditz, and Lützelhöhe but opened Trachenberge.[7]

The SS phase began in August 1934, when Inspector of Concentration Camps SS-Gruppenführer Theodor Eicke dispatched special commander "Sachsen" to the camp. By 1936, this guard unit was renamed the 3rd SS-Death's Head Battalion "Sachsen." Eicke's protégé, SS-Sturmbannführer Max Simon, became the first commandant and later headed the guard unit. Between October 1934 and April 1935, Sachsenburg had several commandants: SS-Oberführer Alexander Reiner, SS-Obersturmführer Karl Otto Koch (future Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, and Majdanek commandant), SS-Obersturmbannführer Walter Gerlach, and SS-Standartenführer Bernhard Schmidt. Schmidt held the post until July 1937. Schmidt's first protective detention camp leader was SS-Scharführer Gerhard Weigel, whom the prisoners ironically called "the uncle." Promoted to Untersturmführer by 1936, Weigel became Schmidt's adjutant, and SS-Obersturmbannführer Arthur Rödl was appointed protective detention camp leader. A Nazi Old Fighter, Rödl was Higher SS and Police Leader in Ukraine and South Russia during World War II. Three commanders of prisoner companies were SS-Scharführers König, Plaul, and Kampe.[8]

Schmidt implemented the "Eicke system," which meant rigorous procedure and institutionalized brutality. The service diary recorded the prisoners' routine: wake-up at 5:30 A.M., breakfast at 6:00, roll call by 6:30, labor from 6:35 to 11:30, lunch at noon, labor from 12:30 to 5:00 P.M., evening roll call at 6:00, and lights out at 9:00 P.M. On Sundays, prisoners awoke an hour later, attended a mandatory church service, showered, and played sports in the afternoon. Another characteristic of the Eicke system was careful recordkeeping, which included Labor Service reports. A record from January 19, 1936, showed that 18 inmates were allocated to the "football" detachment, presumably building an SS sports field, but 1 was removed after reporting for medical treatment.[9]

The SS instituted flogging in May 1935 under their new system. According to prisoner Hugo Gräf, the first victim was held over a desk, but the furniture broke under the blows. Schmidt then had inmate carpenters build a wooden stand for use during beatings. At evening roll call, the victim would be fastened against the stand in a leaning position, his arms strapped below and legs trapped in a pillory. Before the first blow commenced, the victim sang, "I am going to climb the mountain over there, that gives me great joy." Two SS took turns lashing the victim with bullwhip or rubber truncheon. With the first blow, the prisoner started singing the "Deutschlandlied." The last was timed to coincide with the anthem's final note, but often the victims passed out beforehand. Many prisoners, such as Helmuth Kademann, received lashes far

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exceeding the normal 25. The SS twice imposed a 25-lash punishment on Jewish prisoner Dr. Curt Boas, a World War I army physician. Boas responded, "A German officer can stand anything." Because Sachsenburg lacked an infirmary, the SS regularly dispatched flogging victims to the Chemnitz hospital for treatment. The hospital became an important conduit for information about the camp.[10]

Scharführer König commanded the Jewish and Penal Company, for which labor was torture. Originally consisting of criminals and recalcitrant prisoners, this company added at least 40 Jews in the summer of 1935. Deployed to the Zschopau's banks, the prisoners quarried stone, performed demoralizing tasks, and endured penal exercises or "sport." Transferred from Bautzen penitentiary in early 1935, Communist prisoner Walter Janka got into trouble on his first day and was immediately dispatched to the Penal Company. For six weeks, he broke rock with a sledgehammer, at a pace of three swings per minute. Communist prisoner Hugo Gräf, who headed the camp library and bookbindery, secured Janka's transfer to his detachment under false pretenses. Jewish "returnee" Paul Wolff, at Sachsenburg between May and October 1935, recalled that the Jews, mainly returning emigrants and "race defilers," experienced unceasing harassment at the quarry. Intellectuals among the Jews were singled out for "ladling" liquefied manure. At least 2 members of the Jewish company were murdered: Wertheimer, who was arrested due to "race defilement," and Dr. Max Sachs, business editor of the *Dresdner Volkszeitung*.[11]

Although Eicke ordered commandants on May 24, 1935, to report unusual death cases to the Reich Interior Ministry and to other authorities, the Sachs case demonstrated how easily the camp's commandant could circumvent this directive. According to Wolff, Schmidt warned prisoners not to talk about Sachs's death immediately before a Saxon prosecutor came to the camp to investigate. Wolff dismissed the prosecutor's interviews with the prisoners as a farce. Meanwhile, one of Sachs's former employees, Röbricht, was placed in the Bunker for 42 days in order to prevent his talking about the murder.[12]

Two important events occurred at Sachsenburg in the spring of 1935. First, 10 trombonists from Pastor Georg Walther's Thomaskirche in Leipzig performed Easter hymns near camp, in protest of his imprisonment. As a scare tactic, the Nazis confined them to Sachsenburg until evening. Walther was 1 among 21 Protestant clergymen in Sachsenburg custody until early June 1935. The SS made them quarry stone and subjected them to racist indoctrination. Second, a British Quaker inspected Sachsenburg in late April or early May. After interviewing inmates, he complained to the SS on behalf of one detainee who had been in camp for two years. The SS feebly tried to dismiss this case as an isolated incident.[13]

Sachsenburg's commandants devised elaborate insignia to designate reasons for arrest and prisoner rank. Under the SA, the prisoners wore green jackets and gray pants, but the SS supplied them with blue-and-gray-striped uniforms. All prisoners wore a red triangle, but criminals also bore a green stripe. Jews wore a yellow star, and homosexuals, a violet triangle. Jewish "returnees" bore red arm- and leg bands. The prisoner hierarchy simulated the military: a company Gefangenefeldwebel (prisoner sargeant) displayed three triangles, foremen two, and valets ("swings") one.[14]

In July 1937, Eicke ordered Sachsenburg's dissolution. The remaining 700 prisoners were dispatched to Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald by October 1937. The first Buchenwald transport consisted of 75 skilled workers. The camp staff, including Rödl, was transferred to Buchenwald, while Schmidt became protective detention camp leader at Sachsenhausen and later Dachau. It is not certain whether any guards were tried in connection with their activities at Sachsenburg.[15]

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The Sachsenburg subcamps are listed in Gudrun Schwarz, *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1996). Also helpful is Mike Schmeitzner, "Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen, 1933–1945," in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenhauer Verlag, 2002), pp. 183–199. On music in the early camps, the standard work is Guido Fackler, *"Des Lagers Stimme"—Musik im KZ: Alltag und Häftlingskultur in den Konzentrationslagern 1933 bis 1936* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000). The camp is listed in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). Photographs of the textile mill are available at the Kommunistischer Jugendverband Deutschlands Web site, "Gedenkstätten Arbeiterbewegung und Mahnung gegen Kriege und Unterdrückung," www.gedenkstaetten.kjvd.de/sachsen/sachsen.html. A chronology of the Augustusburg Castle subcamp is available at www.die-sehenswerten-drei.de. Valuable biographical information about Max Sachs may be found in Museum für Geschichte der Stadt Dresden, *Biografische Notizen zu Dresden Strassen und Plätzen, die an Persönlichkeiten aus der Arbeiterbewegung, dem antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf und dem sozialistischen Neuaufbau erinnern* (Dresden: Museum für Geschichte der Stadt Dresden, 1976).

Primary documentation for Sachsenburg begins with BA-K, NS4/Buchenwald, Files 10 (Sachsenburg Quittungsbuch über Postsendungen, 1934–1936), 11 (Dienst-Tagebuch, April 7, 1935–January 18, 1936), 12 (Sachsenburg Allgemeine Anordnungen vorgesetzler Stellen, 1935–1937), 13 (Sachsenburg Dienst-Tagebuch, January 19, 1936–July 27, 1936), and 14 (Sachsenburg Arbeitsdienst-Zettel, 1936–1937), available on microform at the USHMMA, RG-14.023M. Especially helpful are the handwritten Dienst-Tagebücher, which contain daily schedules, total camp population, available labor, transfers, and releases. Each page bears the protection detention camp leader's signature. As cited by Drobisch and Wieland, data on camp population and subcamps can be found in SHStA-(D), AH Flöha, No. 3393. As cited by Tuchel, the BDCPF are available for Walter Gerlach, Karl Otto Koch, Bernhard Schmidt, Max

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Simon, and Gerhard Weigel. Sachsenburg is listed in ITS, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 2:638. This volume also documents the Augustusburg and Lützelhöhe subcamps, but the dates for Augustusburg are inaccurate. For Chemnitz, Colditz, and Dresden-Trachenberge, Drobisch and Wieland cite the ITS, Arolsen, Abteilung Sachsenburg, Files 1 and 12. "Das Lied von Sachsenburg" is reproduced in Fackler, p. 276. Detailed reports on Sachsenburg can be found in *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (Sopade), 1934–1940*, 7 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Petra Nettelbeck, Zweitausendeins, 1980). Published and unpublished testimonies support many *Sopade* reports. As cited by Drobisch and Wieland and Tuchel, a valuable collection of detainee testimony is Karl Otto, ed., *Das Lied von Sachsenburg: Tausend Kameraden Mann an Mann; Beiträge zur Geschichte des antifaschistischen Widerstandskampfes im Konzentrationslager Sachsenburg*, 2nd ed. (Hainichen: Kreisleitung der SED, 1978). The most important eyewitness testimonies are by Otto Meinel and Otto Urban, available in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934). Detained in Colditz and Sachsenburg, Meinel was released on November 9, 1933, three days before the plebiscite. Before his transfer to Hohnstein, Urban worked in the camp clerical office, a privileged position, between August 1 and November 29, 1933. The testimony of Helmuth Kademann (in camp from February to November 1935) is found in *Das deutsche Volk klagt an: Hitlers Krieg gegen die Friedenskämpfer in Deutschland: Ein Tatsachenbuch* (Paris: Éditions du Carrefour, 1936); and Heinz Pol, "Konzentrationslager," *DNW*, December 19, 1935, pp. 1614–1617. Another important witness is Hugo Gräf, a former Communist Reichstag member, who was confined at Sachsenburg from circa May 1934 to around September 1935. Gräf published several articles in the mid-1930s, including "Prügelstrafe," *DNW*, March 19, 1936, pp. 353–358. Gräf's comrade Walter Janka, who subsequently headed the East German film corporation DEFA, devoted a chapter of his autobiography to Sachsenburg (he was in the camp from circa January to August 1935): *Spuren eines Lebens* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1991). His testimony must be used with caution because the chronology is convoluted; perhaps under the influence of postwar accounts, Janka significantly overestimated the camp's population. The testimony of Paul Wolff (in Sachsenburg from late May to the end of October 1935) may be found in File P III h. No. 689 (Sachsenburg), "Bericht eines 'Rückwanderers' über Sachsenburg, 1936," *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series 1, WLA, Section 2, Eyewitness Accounts, Reel 58. The typewritten copy of Wolff's letter, titled "Summer 1936," came into the Wiener Library's possession in 1957. Composed while the author was in the Netherlands awaiting emigration to Paraguay, it appears to be addressed to the Vorstand of the Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden, Berlin. Wolff's testimony helps to document the Wertheim and Sachs murders. The Wertheim case was published in "Ein Rassenschänder," *DNW*, February 27, 1936, pp. 263–264. A report about the Sachs murder is also found in File P III h. No. 572 (Sachsenburg), "Geheimnisse einer Todesanzeige. Der Fall Sachs," Sept. 25–Oct. 11, 1935, in *Testaments*, 1/2/58. On the Quaker visit and the trombonists' protest, see file P III h. No. 570 (Sachsenburg), "Der verhaftete Posaunenchor. Geistliche im Konzentrationslager," 1936, in *Testaments*, 1/2/58. Other Nazi and non-Nazi newspaper reports on Sachsenburg can be found in *NV*, August 27, November 26, 1933; *SchK*, June 12, 1935, September 3, 1936; and *BanZ*, January 12, 1938.

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NOTES

1. Otto Meinel, "Sachsenburg," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt: Ein Buch der Greuel: Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 157–158; SHStA-(D), AH Flöha, No. 3393, cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 63.

2. Meinel, "Sachsenburg," p. 157; "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, August 27, 1933; "Sachsenburg gegen Hitler: Sensationelles Wahlergebnis in einem Konzentrationslager," *NV*, November 26, 1933; SHStA-(D), AH Flöha, No. 3393, cited by Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, p. 63; *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (Sopade), 1934–1940*, 7 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Petra Nettelbeck, Zweitausendeins, 1980), 3 (1936): 1023 (hereafter *Sopade* with volume, year, and page); USHMMA, RG-14.023M, BA-K, NS4/Buchenwald File 11 (Sachsenburg Dienst-Tagebuch, Apr. 7, 1935–Jan. 18, 1936), Apr. 8, 1935, p. 2 (hereafter NS4/Bu with file, date, and page); NS4/Bu 13 (Sachsenburg Dienst-Tagebuch, Jan. 19–July 27, 1936), March 18, 1936, p. 60; ITS, Arolsen, Historische Abteilung, Sachsenburg, File 2, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, p. 204.

3. Meinel, "Sachsenburg," pp. 157, 161; Otto Urban, "In der Schreibstube Sachsenburg," in *Konzentrationslager*, p. 231; "Sachsenburg gegen Hitler," *NV*, November 26, 1933.

4. Meinel, "Sachsenburg," p. 160.

5. *Das Lied von Sachsenburg*, reproduced in Guido Fackler, *"Des Lagers Stimme"—Musik im KZ: Alltag und Häftlingskultur in den Konzentrationslagern 1933 bis 1936* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000), p. 276.

6. "Sachsenburg gegen Hitler," *NV*, November 26, 1933; Meinel, "Sachsenburg," p. 163; *Sopade* 3 (1936): 1022.

7. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr. with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweiundtausendeins, 1990), 2:638; Arolsen, Historische Abteilung, Sachsenburg, Files 1 and 12, ITS, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, p. 191; Meinel, "Sachsenburg," p. 158.

8. *SchK*, June 12, 1935; "Saure Wochen, frohe Feste," *SchK*, September 3, 1936; BDCPF for Walter Gerlach, Karl Otto Koch, Bernhard Schmidt, Max Simon, and Gerhard Weigel, as cited in Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager: Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager," 1934–1938* (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag, 1991), pp. 195, 375, 379, 387, 389–391, 393–394; P III h. No. 569 (Sachsenburg), "Prügellager Sachsenburg," n.d., p. 6, in *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series 1, WLA, Section 2, Eyewitness Accounts, Reel 58 (hereafter *Testaments*, 1/2/58).

9. NS4/Bu 11, Apr. 11, June 30, 1935, pp. 5, 60; NS4/Bu 14 (Sachsenburg Arbeitsdienst, 1936–1937), Konzentrationslager Sachsenburg, SS-Oberscharführer vom Arbeitsdienst, Arbeitstrupp Fussball, January 19, 1936, n.p.

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10. Hugo Gräf, "Prügelstrafe," *NWB*, March 19, 1936, pp. 356–357; Heinz Pol, "Konzentrationslager," *DNW*, December 19, 1935, pp. 1614–1615; "Aus deutschen Konzentrationslagern . . . Sachsenburg," *BaNZ*, January 12, 1938; *Sopade* 3 (1936): 1022–1023.

11. Alfred Richter, "SS-Karrieren," *DNW*, July 9, 1936, p. 881; P III h. No. 569 (Sachsenburg), "Prügellager Sachsenburg," n.d., p. 6, in *Testaments*, 1/2/58; Walter Janka, *Spuren eines Lebens* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1991), pp. 48, 56–59; P III h. No. 689 (Sachsenburg), Paul Wolff, "Bericht eines 'Rückwanderers' über Sachsenburg, 1936," pp. 3–5, in *Testaments*, 1/2/58; "Ein Rassenschänder," *DNW*, February 27, 1936, pp. 263–264; *Das deutsche Volk klagt an: Hitlers Krieg gegen die Friedenskämpfer in Deutschland: Ein Tatsachenbuch* (Paris: Éditions du Carrefour, 1936), p. 91.

12. NS4/Bu 12 (Sachsenburg Allgemeine Anordnungen vorgesetzter Stellen, 1935–1937), Eicke to KL Commandants, Betr: "Unnatürlichen Todesfällen," May 24, 1935, n.p.; Wolff, "Bericht eines 'Rückwanderers' über Sachsenburg, 1936," pp. 4–5, in *Testaments*, 1/2/58.

13. P III h. No. 570 (Sachsenburg), "Der verhaftete Posaunenchor. Geistliche im Konzentrationslager," ca. 1936, pp. 1–3, in *Testaments*, 1/2/58; *Sopade* 2 (1935): 1293; *Sopade* 4 (1937): 760–707; "Aus deutschen Konzentrationslagern . . . Sachsenburg," *BaNZ*, January 12, 1938.

14. Karl Otto, ed., *Das Lied von Sachsenburg: Tausend Kameraden Mann an Mann; Beiträge zur Geschichte des antifaschistischen Widerstandskampfes im Konzentrationslager Sachsenburg*, 2nd ed. (Hainichen: Kreisleitung der SED, 1978), p. 20, as cited in Drobisch and Wieland, *System*, p. 207; *Sopade* 4 (1937): 705–706.

15. BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR, Dokumentationszentrum der Staatlichen Archivverwaltung, Bestand KZ und Haftstätten, No. 19, cited in Drobisch and Wieland *System*, p. 269; Otto, *Das Lied von Sachsenburg*, p. 24, as cited in Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager*, p. 199.

SCHLEUSINGEN

In the spring of 1933, the SS and Prussian police opened a "protective custody" camp in the district court prison at Schleusingen, near Erfurt.

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

Primary documentation about this camp is not available except for an entry in the ITS list of German prisons and concentration camps. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, eds., *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1: 222.

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SENFTENBERG

In March 1933, the police and SA established a "protective custody" camp at the police prison in Senftenberg (Oberspreewald-Lausitz County [Landkreis]), Prussia. The director's name is not known. The first detainees included leading leftists and deputies from the Brandenburg Landtag (parliament). On the night of June 25–26, 1933, the police and SA deputies rounded up 265 Communists and Social Democrats. On June 26, the *Potsdamer Tageszeitung* newspaper averred that they were "taken into protective custody for their own security. The operation proceeded without incident."[1] The authorities temporarily dispatched the prisoners to the gymnasium (*Turnhalle*) at Senftenberg's Elementary School I (Volksschule I), where the SA had established a torture site. The police moved most or all female detainees to the prison on June 27 and dispatched at least some male prisoners to the same location before month's end.[2] It is not known how long the gymnasium at Elementary School I remained a torture site.

The official announcement about the June 25–26 raid sharply contrasted with eyewitness testimony. According to Martha Wölk, the police tore apart families and ransacked homes. She recalled that when her husband, Arthur, inquired about the reason for this—his second—arrest, the police replied, "That you know best and if a question is going to be asked, then we'll do it! You Communists are finally done for."[3] In fact, the June raid did not eliminate anti-Nazi activity in Oberspreewald County, because in August 1933 more Communists were arrested after distributing leaflets among SA and SS members.[4] In addition to Wölk, Senftenberg held Elsa Barufka, Max Birke, Hans Blaczewski, Andreas Dembinski, Christian Fabricus, Anna and Karl Freter, Paul Handke, Robert Harnau, Max Homa, Willi Karich, Reinhold Kaspar, Ernst Kosul, Max and Josef Kowall, town councilor Marianne Seidel, Felix Spiro, Hans Stecklina, Gerhard Tschieter, and August Ulbrich. Seidel, who was pregnant at the time of arrest, was the camp's only murder victim.[5]

Inside the police prison, detainee treatment ranged from tolerable to brutal. A June 1933 photograph of prisoners Fabricus, Harnau, Blaczewski, and Wölk created an impression of domestic tranquility. Seated on benches in the sunshine, the four prisoners peeled potatoes. Harnau was shirtless, and Blaczewski sat with his sleeves rolled up in the front. Over Blaczewski's shoulder, Wölk smiled at the camera. A kitchen knife appeared conspicuously in the foreground. By contrast, a second photograph taken that summer showed Anna Freter behind bars. While she and her husband remained in custody, a "Nazi family" cared for her children. In the image, her face betrayed a desperate look. It is not certain whether the guards took these photographs.[6]

Seidel's murder demonstrated that the torture of inmates begun at the gymnasium continued in the police prison. When Elfriede Dembinski visited the prison, she found her neighbor, Marianne Seidel, in terrible shape. Seidel had a "high fever" and "red spots" on her body. She also suffered great mental anguish. Dembinski recalled: "At night she was not able to listen to the cries of beaten prisoners any more and for that purpose wrapped a blanket around her head." So serious was Seidel's condition that the physician, Dr. Beiche, arranged her release and transfer to a local hospital. Injuries sustained under torture jeopardized Seidel's pregnancy, and she died on July 10, 1933, her second day

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in the hospital. The authorities unsuccessfully attempted to forestall public knowledge of her murder. Armed with truncheons, SA deployed along the streets to obscure the view of the hearse transporting Seidel's body to the town crematory.[7]

SOURCES This essay builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin, 1993). The camp is listed in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen* (Bonn, 1999). Although Endlich categorizes the gymnasium as a protective custody camp, Drobisch and Wieland list it as a torture site.

Primary documentation for Senftenberg may be found in Bezirksleitung Potsdam der SED—Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der örtlichen Arbeiterbewegung, ed., *Ausgewählte Dokumente und Materialien zum antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf unter Führung der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands in der Provinz Brandenburg, 1933–1939* (Potsdam, 1978), vol. 1, which reproduces testimonies by Elfriede Dembenski, Anna Freter, Richard Koal, and Martha Wölk; photographs in the Senftenberg police prison of Hans Blaczewski, Christian Fabricus, Anna Freter, Robert Harnau, and Arthur Wölk (1933); and the article from the *PoT*, June 26, 1933. The volume also contains the Volksgerichtshof judgment against Kurt Uhlich et al., August 23, 1934 (14 J 327/33) and Anklageschrift des Generalstaatsanwaltes beim Kammergericht Berlin, August 28, 1934 (10. O.J. 240/34). The latter is an indictment against Arthur Wölk et al. for the illegal distribution of leaflets. The collection extracted the Wölk and Freter testimonies from *Zum 25: Jahrestag der SED* (Senftenberg, 1971). Senftenberg is listed in the German Social Democratic exile publication *Das Deutsche Volk klagt an: Hitlers Krieg gegen die Friedenskämpfer in Deutschland* (Paris, 1936).

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NOTES

1. "265 Funktionäre der KPD und SPD in Schutzhaft," *PoT*, June 26, 1933, reproduced in Bezirksleitung Potsdam der SED—Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der örtlichen Arbeiterbewegung, ed., *Ausgewählte Dokumente und Materialien zum antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf unter Führung der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands in der Provinz Brandenburg, 1933–1939* (Potsdam, 1978), 1:181.

2. Report by Elfriede Dembinski [n.d.], testimony of Anna Freter, photographs from Senftenberg police prison of Hans Blaczewski, Christian Fabricus, Anna Freter, Robert Harnau, and Arthur Wölk (1933) and Anklageschrift des Generalstaatsanwaltes beim Kammergericht Berlin, August 28, 1934 (10. O.J. 240/34), in Kommission, *Ausgewählte Dokumente*, pp. 182–183, 261; Freter's testimony originally appeared in *Zum 25. Jahrestag der SED* (Senftenberg, 1971), p. 10.

3. Testimony of Martha Wölk in Kommission, *Ausgewählte Dokumente*, p. 181; Wölk's testimony appeared originally in *Zum 25. Jahrestag der SED*, pp. 8–9.

4. Volksgerichtshof Judgment against Kurt Uhlich et al., August 23, 1934, (14 J 327/33), in Kommission, *Ausgewählte Dokumente*, pp. 230–235.

5. Wölk testimony, in Kommission, *Ausgewählte Dokumente*, p. 181.

6. Photographs from Senftenberg police prison of Hans Blaczewski, Christian Fabricus, Anna Freter, Robert Harnau, and Arthur Wölk (1933) and Freter testimony, in Kommission, *Ausgewählte Dokumente*, pp. 182–183.

7. Reports by Dembinski and Richard Koal [n.d.], in Kommission, *Ausgewählte Dokumente*, p. 261.

SONNENBURG

The Sonnenburg concentration camp near Küstrin in Neumark existed from April 3, 1933, until April 23, 1934. It was located in the Sonnenburg penitentiary, which originally had been established in 1832–1833 as a Royal Prussian penitentiary. (After the war, Sonnenburg became the Polish town of Słońsk in the county of Gorzow.) The penitentiary was located 600 meters (656 yards) outside of the town on the arterial road leading to Posen (Poznan). In 1931, this relatively large prison, which accommodated 637 inmates and was economically significant for the town, was closed due to catastrophic sanitary conditions. Wilhelm Kube, the local Nazi Party (NSDAP) leader and later Gauleiter of the Gau Kurmark, promised during the 1931 election campaign to reopen the prison as soon as possible. The wave of arrests that followed the Reichstag fire after February 28, 1933, quickly exhausted the capacity of the Berlin prisons and SA cellars. As a result, the former Sonnenburg penitentiary was requisitioned and placed under the control of the Berlin Police Headquarters as a state concentration camp (*Staatliches Konzentrationslager*).

An inspection of the Sonnenburg penitentiary complex by Berlin Correctional Bureau officials on March 23, 1933, revealed that in three wings there was room for 941 prisoners, in both single cells or in dormitory cells, which held 20, 30, and 60 prisoners. Heating and plumbing in part did not function, and water would have to be obtained from the well in the courtyard. The Correctional Bureau provided 900 bed frames and 300 stools free of charge.

The first prisoners, from Berlin, were overwhelmingly functionaries of the German Communist Party (KPD). They arrived on April 4, 1933. Two days later, a group of prominent Nazi opponents was transferred to Sonnenburg, including Carl von Ossietzky, Erich Mühsam, Ernst Scheller, and Hans Litten. The *Sonnenburger Anzeiger* newspaper reported about this event on April 7, 1933: "The prisoners had to march from the railway station to the former penitentiary singing the national anthem and were driven by the rubber truncheons of the Berlin auxiliary police [Hilfspolizei]."[1]

The large majority of the prisoners in Sonnenburg were left-wing parliamentarians and intellectuals. A few National Socialists, however, were incarcerated for various reasons; most of these were supporters of Gregor Strasser.

There were only a few Jewish prisoners in Sonnenburg. The only Jewish prisoner to leave a memoir behind, Hans Ullmann, who was imprisoned in Sonnenburg in mid-September 1933

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Sonnenburg prisoners pose for a group photograph, June 1933. Second from left in the back row, with his hands crossed, is Carl von Ossietzky.
USHMM WS #62057, COURTESY OF ROSALINDA OSSIETZKY-PALM

with his father and brother on account of "economic espionage," recalls four other Jewish prisoners. "Only Christian prisoners were sent to Sonnenburg. The Jews went to Papenburg."[2] Many eyewitness accounts unanimously report that the guards particularly targeted Jewish prisoners, especially the three Ullmanns, and mistreated them brutally.

From October 1933 on, several freemasons were supposedly interned in Sonnenburg, including Dr. Leo Müffelmann, the grandmaster of the Symbolic Grand Lodge of Germany (S.G.L.v.D.), who died on August 29, 1934, from the consequences of his internment.

Hans Ullmann also refers to a "head foreman in a brown coal mine who got drunk at a rally instead of listening to the Nazi orator" and an "owner of a basalt quarry in west Germany. Someone had offered him illegal newspapers, he declined the offer as he was not interested but said to the offeror that perhaps this person or that person would be interested. He was denounced to the authorities and arrested. He was a civilized man and said that he would probably go bankrupt."[3]

All in all, far more than 1,000 men were interned and tortured in Sonnenburg. According to Willi Harder, who several times received orders from the Kommandantur to determine the exact number of prisoners, reports that the prison population reached its peak at 1,226 "protective custody" prisoners.[4] A criminal police examination report dated November 30, 1933, speaks to "approximately one thousand prisoners." Due to a significant fluctuation in prisoners during the camp's year of existence and a lack of archival sources, it remains difficult to determine the exact number of prisoners.

The prisoners, who wore discarded police uniforms, were employed in various ways. In addition to a locksmith's shop, a blacksmith's shop, plumber's shop, and a carpentry, there was a tailor's workshop with 81 sewing machines, a willow cultivation, and a cane chair manufacture. Other prisoners had to construct a shooting range, which was used to train SS men. In addition, the prisoners undertook other tasks. For example, there were barbers who cut the prisoners' hair on a regular basis and shaved them twice a week, kitchen hands, and laundry workers. There was also a "toilet paper cutter, who cut old newspapers—discarded by the political police, who had marked selected articles in different colours—into small pieces and distributed them to the various toilets."[5]

From September 1933 to the closing of the camp in April 1934, a nationwide "regulated camp counseling" (*geregelte Lagerseelsorge*) was conducted in Sonnenburg, which had been initated by the Committee of the German Protestant Church (Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchenausschuss) in June 1933. The counseling was basically limited to regular church services with mandatory attendance for all prisoners.

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All contemporaneous reports published outside Germany in the years 1933 and 1934 unanimously testify that even in comparison with other concentration camps the guards in Sonnenburg were exceptionally brutal and high-handed. The camp quickly became known as "torture hell" (*Folterhölle*) outside Germany. Rudolf Diels, the head of the Gestapo at the time, later on remembered a visit to Sonnenburg:

> The appearance of the prisoners was simply indescribable. They were reminiscent of spooks or guises of some demonic dream. Their swollen heads stuck out of their rags like pumpkins; yellow, green and bluish faces that no longer bore any resemblance to human faces. Their bare skin was covered with weals and congealed blood. A shiver ran through my body as if I had seen a ghost. . . . When I asked for Kasper [Wilhelm Kasper, the former treasurer of the KPD parliamentary group in the Prussian Landtag, Kasper Nürnberg (KN)], a creature reported to me; only his smouldering eyes were reminiscent of a once lively and vital man. Notwithstanding I would see worse things, seeing this agonized man was the most shocking experience of that year.[6]

The "dark cell" (*Dunkelzelle*) and the "eastern cellar" (*Ostkeller*) were notorious places, especially for sexual abuse. Harder reports: "Any imaginable form of sadist cruelty was practiced in the Ostkeller. The prisoners were forced to place their genitals on the edge of a table and whereupon those beasts slapped them!"[7]

The guard units were initially composed of SA men from Berlin SA Stürme (companies) I ("Horst Wessel") and 33 ("Mordsturm Maikowski"). From the middle of April they were joined by members of the Police Detachment Wecke (Polizeiabteilung Wecke), named after Polizeimajor Walther Wecke, who in 1933 commanded three large police detachments (which reached regimental strength in May 1933) and operated a large torture chamber in the police garrison Friesenstrasse in Berlin-Kreuzberg. By the end of April, SA members from Frankfurt an der Oder replaced the Berlin SA. According to the testimony of SS-Scharführer Heinz Adrian, 150 SS men from SS-Regiment 27 (Standarte 27), after having received basic training and instructions, replaced first the SA and then the police by the end of August 1933. From then on, they were in charge of security at Sonnenburg. Adrian was sentenced to death by the grand criminal court of the Schwerin regional court on September 29, 1948, and was executed in November 1948 at the Dreibergen penitentiary.

The camp's commanders also reflect the changes in responsibility between the SA, police, and SS: Polizeioberleutnant Gerhard Paessler and his colleagues Leutnant Bark and Oberleutnant Siegmund succeeded SA-Sturmführer Bahr. SS-Truppführer Paul Bruening was appointed camp commander in late summer. In December he was given responsibility for administrative matters, which was withdrawn from Polizeioberinspektors Pelz and Reschke.

Following its dissolution in the spring of 1934, Sonnenburg was converted once again to a penitentiary under the supervision of the Reich Ministry of Justice. Mainly criminals were interned here but still also political prisoners. Later on the inmates included deserters, recalcitrant forced laborers, and following arrests after the so-called Night-and-Fog-Decree of August 8, 1942 ("Nacht-und-Nebel"-Erlass), Norwegians, Danes, Dutch, Belgians, French, and Luxemburgers. Among them were Jean Baptiste Lebas, the postal minister in Leon Blum's government, who died in Sonnenburg on May 10, 1944. Herschel Grynszpan had supposedly been brought to Sonnenburg in the spring of 1944 and remained there until his transfer to the Brandenburg penitentiary in early 1945. Sonnenburg gained notoriety again on the night of January 30–31, 1945, when SS men, before fleeing to the west, shot almost all the remaining prisoners, leaving a huge heap of corpses for the approaching Soviet soldiers. The soldiers buried the dead and erected a memorial with the following inscription: "Here are buried 819 citizens, bestially shot and burned by the Germans when they gave up Sonnenburg. Soldier! Remember and retaliate."

SOURCES The history of the Sonnenburg concentration camp has not been researched in great detail. The only monograph is a history of the camp in Polish: Przemysław Mnichowski, *Obóz koncentracyjny i wiezienie w Sonnenburgu* (Słońsku) (The Sonnenburg Concentration Camp and Prison) (Warsaw, 1982).

In addition, the Research Group Former Concentration Camp Sonnenburg (Arbeitskreis Ehemaliges KZ Sonnenburg) has published three volumes of source material: *Geschichte und Funktion des KZ Sonnenburg: Sonnenburger Häftlinge: Carl von Ossietzky*, *Hans Litten*, *Erich Mühsam*, *Ernst Schneller*, ed. Arbeitskreis Ehemaliges KZ Sonnenburg, vol. 1 (Berlin: C. Niess, 1987); *Bibliographie zum KZ Sonnenburg: Verzeichnis der Sammlungen des Arbeitskreises: Amtliche Schriftstücke*, *Erinnerungsberichte*, *Flugschriften*, *Presseberichte*, *wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen*, *Fotos*, *Filmdokumente*, ed. Arbeitskreis Ehemaliges KZ Sonnenburg and arranged by Peter Gerlinghoff and Erich Schulz, vol. 2 (Berlin: Ed. Neue Wege, 1992); *Bausteine zu einer Liste der Sonnenburger Häftlinge in der Zeit vom 4. April 1933 bis 23. April 1934*, ed. Arbeitskreis Ehemaliges KZ Sonnenburg and arranged by Peter Gerlinghoff and Erich Schulz, vol. 3 (Berlin: Ed. Neue Wege, 1991).

The most important sources from the 1930s include the eyewitness account of Willi Harder, in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 117–133; a section in the *Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror* (1933; repr., Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1980), pp. 285–289; two anonymous reports in the *DNW* on June 21, 1934, and July 5, 1934; "Die Hölle Sonnenburg: Tatsachenbericht von einem deutschem Arbeiter," *AIZ* 12 (1933): 740, 758, 762; and the publication *Folterhölle Sonnenburg: Tatsachen- und Augenzeugenbericht eines ehemaligen Schutzhäftling* (Paris: Mopr-Verlag, 1934).

Also worthy of mention are Irmgard Litten, *A Mother Fights Hitler* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1940); and Kreszentia

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Mühsam, *Der Leidensweg Erich Mühsams* (1934; repr., Berlin: Harald-Kater-Verlag, 1994). Litten and Mühsam both devote a chapter to Hans Litten's and Erich Mühsam's imprisonment in Sonnenburg. A few recent publications need to be mentioned: Erwin Nippert, "Die Hölle Sonnenburg," in *Die Maske des Kunsthändlers*, ed. Erwin Nippert (Berlin: Militärverlag der DDR, 1983), pp. 170–203; Hans Ullmann, "Das Konzentrationslager Sonnenburg," *DaHe* 13 (1997): 76–91.

The personal papers of an independent scholar and local resident of the Sonnenburg region, Erich Schulz, at the GStAPK (PK VI. HA N1 Erich Schulz), include a substantial collection of sources on the history of the penitentiary and the Sonnenburg camp. Further sources can be found in the Bestand KL Hafta, Sonnenburg, at the BA-DH.

Kaspar Nürnberg
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. SonA, April 7, 1933.
2. Hans Ullmann, "Das Konzentrationslager Sonnenburg," *DaHe* 13 (1997): 82.
3. Ibid., 83–84.
4. Willi Harder, "Sonnenburg," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), p. 127.
5. Ullmann, "Das Konzentrationslager Sonnenburg," p. 89.
6. Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante Portas: Zwischen Severing und Heydrich* (Zürich: Interverlag AG, 1949), p. 256.
7. Harder, "Sonnenburg," pp. 128–129.

STETTIN-BREDOW [AKA VULKANWERFT]

The construction of a concentration camp in the Bredow district of Stettin (today Szczecin-Drzetowo) went back to an initiative of SS-Abschnittsführer Fritz-Karl Engel, who, since September 1933, was also acting police president in Stettin. Officially it served as an additional police detention center for "protective custody" prisoners. The camp, located on the grounds of the Vulkanwerft, which had been closed and torn down in 1928, became a special interrogation and internment site for the Stettin Gestapo and SS. The camp was under the jurisdiction of SS-Sturmführer Dr. Joachim Hoffmann, a Criminal Police employee with the Stettin State Police Office since the fall of 1933.[1]

By the end of October 1933, between 25 and 40 male prisoners were permanently interned in the Vulkanwerft camp. Only a few of them were active political opponents of National Socialism, as most political opponents in Stettin had already been arrested in the first months after Hitler took power. Often members of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) or its organizations were imprisoned at Stettin-Bredow.[2] Various trivial "offenses" could result in being taken into protective custody and being sent to Stettin-Bredow. Some were arrested due to denunciations by company superiors or party offices, while others had complained to various authorities about administrative measures. Drunks were arrested in pubs and carried off to the camp. Landlords were punished in Stettin-Bredow for supposedly demanding too much rent.[3] Several prisoners who found themselves in pretrial confinement for criminal offenses were blackmailed into confessions at Stettin-Bredow—they had been taken there sometimes without consent, sometimes at the instigation of the criminal police.[4] Several well-off Stettin citizens were brought to the camp with the intention of extorting money and payment in kind in order to finance the camp. At this time the Prussian Ministry of Interior only financed the central state concentration camps (*staatliche Konzentrationslager*), to which Stettin-Bredow did not belong. Thus, independent money sources had to be developed; large sums of money or payment in kind like food items, clothes, or items of furniture were extorted from prisoners; property of prisoners was confiscated, or houses from imprisoned home owners were held, and the rent was taken. In addition, a special fund of 50,000 Reichsmark (RM) was available from the SS district (SS-Abschnitt).[5]

At Stettin-Bredow, prisoners were systematically beaten with whips in a cellar room called the "bunker." The beatings were ordered most often by Hoffmann but also in some cases by Fritz-Karl Engel. The number of blows administered was based on the Berlin Columbia House example of "wind strength" (*Windstärken*): "wind strength 1" indicated 25 and "wind strength 2" 50 double-blows on the naked buttocks. The guard units also carried out numerous individual and collective abuses on their own initiative. The camp had at its disposal its own SS physician, Dr. Wilhelm Seegers; however, he pretended not to notice the prisoners' injuries.[6]

The work the prisoners were forced to do also bordered on torture. While at a jog and under whip lashes, the prisoners had to carry gravel, stones, and other building materials. This work was intended for the expansion of the camp.[7] Whether there were fatalities in Stettin-Bredow cannot be clarified. The judicial investigations in 1934 and 1950 did not confirm any deaths. Nevertheless, several eyewitnesses and newspapers reported that bodies, with hands and feet tied and weighted down by a stone, were found in the Oder.[8]

An on-site camp leader managed the camp. The first camp leader was SS-Scharführer Bruno Vater, who was relieved at the beginning of November by SS-Obertruppführer Otto Meier. From February 1 through February 28, 1934, SS-Truppführer Karl Salis was camp head, followed by SS-Truppführer Fritz Pleines, who ran the camp until it closed on March 9, 1934. None of them had had careers in police service and had been hired as criminal police employees at the Stettin State Police Office in 1933. About 10 to 12 SS men from Stettin, in most cases unemployed, guarded the camp and were paid out of the camp budget.[9]

Very little is known about everyday life at Stettin-Bredow camp, since the primary sources of information about the camp were trials, which focused on the mistreatment of prisoners rather than on their living conditions.

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Apart from isolated cases of refusals to work and verbal protests against their treatment, nothing is known about active prisoner resistance. Several prisoners attempted to inform the police president about abuses whenever he visited the camp. It was not clear to them that he actually knew about the abuses and tolerated or supported them.[10] One prisoner successfully managed to escape from the camp. Nothing is known about the circumstances of the escape or the reaction it caused.[11]

The cruel treatment of the protective custody prisoners at Stettin-Bredow soon became the talk of the town. Requests for legal counsel from relatives of the prisoners piled up at lawyers' offices in Stettin. The senior state attorney in Stettin, Dr. Reinhard Luther, began investigations into the matter that were, however, hampered by SS authorities.[12]

Stettin District President Konrad Göppert learned about the camp at the end of November 1933 when the Swedish consulate inquired about the whereabouts of a Swedish citizen who was imprisoned at the camp. He demanded an account from Engel about the operation of the camp and submittal of a document of the camp's authorization issued by the Prussian Ministry of Interior. Police President Engel endeavored in Berlin to obtain such permission for running the camp several times but without success.[13]

During a visit to the Stettin-Bredow camp in mid-February, the head of the Secret State Police Office Rudolf Diels did not detect any peculiarities; the camp functioned "like everywhere else." However, the visit had previously been announced. Police President Engel and the guard units considered this visit a confirmation of the legitimacy of their conduct.[14]

A few weeks later, high-ranking Stettin police officials took advantage of the absence of the police president, who was on vacation in Austria, to complain to Göppert about the conditions at the Stettin State Police Office and the abuses of prisoners at the Vulkanwerft camp. Göppert sent an investigation committee to the camp and turned to Hermann Göring with the request to take action against the camp. Göring also had a complaint from influential Feldmarschall August von Mackensen, who learned about the mistreatment of prisoners from a former inmate.[15]

After a directive from Hermann Göring, Vulkanwerft was closed on March 9, 1934, and a large number of guards as well as Hoffmann were arrested. The Berlin Central State Attorney's Office, headed by Werner von Haacke, brought a case before the Stettin Regional Court against Joachim Hoffmann, Karl Salis, Fritz Pleines and four SS guards for misuse of authority and grievous bodily harm. On April 6, 1934, they were sentenced to several years in prison or penitentiary.[16] The trial caused an international sensation, as even the *New York Times* reported on it.[17]

The central state attorney's office initiated further proceedings against Engel in June 1934; however, the evidence did not at first suffice for an indictment. Only after their conviction did the former camp leaders and guard units incriminate him. This case was dismissed at Heinrich Himmler's instigation.[18]

After the war, the Flensburg State Attorney's Office became aware of Engel. In 1949 proceedings against him were initiated for crimes against humanity. Over 50 witnesses to the events were found. On May 23, 1950, Engel was sentenced to a total of five years and one month in prison for crimes against humanity, causing grievous bodily harm while on duty, and grave deprivation of liberty. This sentence was reduced on appeal to two years and six months on April 22, 1952, and on June 16, 1952, a plea for clemency for a remittance of the remaining sentence was granted.[19]

SOURCES Several authors have written about the Vulkanwerft camp at Stettin-Bredow: Bogusław Drewniak, *Początki ruchu hitlerowskiego na Pomorzu Zachodnim* (Poznań, 1962); Robert Thévoz, Hans Branig, and Cécile Lowenthal-Hensel, *Pommern 1934/35 im Spiegel von Gestapo-Lageberichten und Sachakten: Die geheime Staatspolizei in den preussischen Ostrprovinzen 1934–36*, vols. 11–12 (Köln: Grote, 1974); Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); Hans-Gerd Warmann, "Vergangen und vergessen?—Das Schutzhaftlager Bredow," *StBü* 26 (2000): 49–59.

The extensive files of the Prussian Ministry of Justice on the criminal proceeding against Engel from June 1934 are located at the GStAPK. A copy of the sentence from April 6, 1934, against Joachim Hoffmann (and others) is also there. The records of the 1949–1950 trial against Fritz-Karl Engel for crimes against humanity before the Flensburg Regional Court are at the LA-Sch-H.

Andrea Rudorff
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, pp. 50, 155–156.
2. Ibid., p. 13.
3. Ibid., pp. 35, 42, 52, 56, 88, 150, 226; VLA-G, Rep. 79 Polizeipräsident Stettin Nr. 598, p. 1.
4. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, pp. 38, 57, 65–66, 69, 93–94, 127; LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Aussage Erich Wegner am 4.10.1949, Paul Dost am 1.11.1949.
5. Urteil vom 23.5.1950; Aussagen Carl Weiss am 2.11.1949, Konrad Schmidt am 1.7.1946, Hans Homann am 19.5. and 25.5.1950, Heinrich Vitzdamm am 4.6.1946; Liste Erpresster von Hans Homann (n.d.); GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, pp. 13, 57, 114, 116–117, 137, 181–182, 195; ibid., Nr. 54827, p. 28a; ibid., Rep. 90 P. Nr. 104, pp. 102, 104; APSz, Wydział Prezydialny Nr. 11987, pp. 53, 209; ibid., Nr. 12211, p. 101; *PZ*, January 14, 1934; AAN, Konsulat der Republik Polen in Stettin Mikrofilm B-4279, p. 303.
6. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826: extensive descriptions in the indictment and sentence in the trial against Joachim Hoffmann and comrades, in addition, pp. 90, 109, 112, 117–118, 121, 145, 147, 173, 178, 182–183, 187, 195, 232, 235; AAN, Konsulat der Republik Polen in Stettin Mikrofilm B-4279, p. 305; LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Aussage Carl Weiss am 2.11.1949.
7. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, p. 53; AAN, Konsulat der Republik Polen in Stettin Mikrofilm B-4279, p. 305.

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8. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, pp. 102, 180, 185, 187; LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Aussage Eugen Hoffmann am 26.11.1949, Martha Elze am 5.12.1949; *VSS*, May 17, 1934; *NV*, May 27, 1934; Erich Wiesner, *Man nannte mich Ernst: Erlebnisse und Episoden aus der Geschichte der Arbeiterjugendbewegung*, 4th ed. (Berlin: Verlag Neues Leben, 1978), p. 178.

9. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, pp. 34–35, 50–51, 69, 100, 109, 110, 130–131, 134,157, 234.

10. Ibid., pp. 52, 111, 116, 161; LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Aussage Carl Weiss am 4.10.1949, 2.11.1949 und 21.5.1950; Aussage Fritz-Karl Engel am 21.10.1949; Urteil vom 23.5. 1950.

11. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, p. 60.

12. AAN, Konsulat der Republik Polen in Stettin Mikrofilm B-4279, p. 307; GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, p. 128; LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Aussage Carl Struck am 25.10.1949; Aussage Victor Knipp am 16.9.1949; Aussage Günter Joel am 7.10.1949.

13. LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Urteil vom 23.5.1950 und schriftliche Aussage Konrad Göppert am 30.12.1949; GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, pp. 166–167.

14. GStAPK I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, pp. 166–167, 187, 224, 226–227, 231–232; LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Aussage Fritz-Karl Engel am 5.9.1949; Aussage Heinrich Schnitzler am 16.12.1949; Aussage Rudolf Diels am 26.10.1949; *PZ*, February 16, 1934.

15. Aussage Heinrich Vitzdamm am 13.3.1946; schriftliche Aussage Konrad Göppert am 30.12.1949.

16. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, p. 49.

17. *NYT*, April 8, 1934.

18. GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 84 a Justizministerium Nr. 54826, p. 148; ibid., Nr. 54827, p. 2.

19. LA-Sch-H, Abt. 354 Nr. 1010, Strafakten Fritz-Karl Engel wegen Verbrechens gegen die Menschlichkeit.

STOLLBERG-HOHENECK

In March 1933, the SA established a "protective custody" camp in the Hoheneck penitentiary.

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

The only primary documentation available for Stollberg-Hoheneck is its ITS listing, available in Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, eds., *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:234.

Joseph Robert White

STRUPPEN

In March 1933, the SA converted their leaders' school at the former manor at Struppen, Saxony, into an early concentration camp. Among the detainees was leftist political opponent Artur Tiermann. The camp was dissolved in May 1933, and the prisoners were transferred to the early concentration camp at Hohnstein Castle.

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

No primary sources have been found for this camp.

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STUTTGART

On March 1, 1933, the barracks at the Stuttgart women's prison became a "protective custody" camp. The present location of this facility is not known. Under the direction of Polizeiwachtmeister Nauer, the female detainees received decent treatment. The number of detainees is not known. The most memorable event at Stuttgart took place when an SS officer addressed the detainees. The officer, named Jagow, proclaimed: "The Third Reich has begun, all misery and moaning ends now."[1] The women later invoked these words humorously in order to bolster morale. The camp was dissolved on March 31, 1933, and the detainees were dispatched to the first women's concentration camp, Gotteszell in Schwäbisch Gmünd.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The most detailed information about Stuttgart comes from Julius Schätzle, *Stationen zur Hölle: Konzentrationslager in Baden und Württemberg, 1933–1945*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag GmbH, 1980).

Primary documentation for Stuttgart consists of a file in the BA-BL, SAPMO-DDR, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland. The file number is Zentrales Parteiarchiv St 10/138/22 a. As also cited by Drobisch and Wieland, another file about this camp is found in the BA-P. It is Reichsministerium des Inneren, No. 26,058.

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NOTE

1. Julius Schätzle, *Stationen zur Hölle: Konzentrationslager in Baden und Württemberg, 1933–1945*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag GmbH, 1980), p. 25. Schätzle does not cite the source for this quotation.

ULM–OBERER KUHBERG

The Württemberg concentration camp, "Württembergisches Schutzhaftlager, Ulm a.D. (an der Donau,)" existed between

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November 16, 1933, and July 11, 1935, in Ulm an der Donau, which is located on the border of Württemberg and Bavaria.

The Ulm–Oberer Kuhberg camp was the direct successor to the Heuberg [aka Stetten am kalten Markt], concentration camp, which was closed at the end of 1933 and transferred to Ulm. The camp was located in a purpose-built military building, Fort Oberer Kuhberg.

There were around 600 Württemberg prisoners who were held in the Ulm camp, the "hard core" of political resistance and other opponents of the regime who were deemed incapable of "improvement."

Both Heuburg and Kuhberg were state concentration camps under the administration, from the end of April 1933, of the Württemberg Ministry of Interior's Political Police Office. The Ulm camp was an instrument of the political police whose task was defined in the Stuttgart *NS-Kurier* on January 30, 1934, "to research the enemies of the Third Reich, to observe them and if necessary to take immediate ruthless action against them."

In practice that meant that, until its closure, the Ulm concentration camp was under the authority of the state and not under Theodor Eicke's authority via the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL). From 1934 on, the Reich assumed about a quarter of the costs of the Ulm concentration camp. The majority of the costs were paid for by the state. The prisoners had to bear a small percentage of the "accommodation costs" (*Unterkunftskosten*).

The first president of the Württemberg Political Police and Chief of the State Concentration Camps was the Württemberg judge and SA-Standartenführer Dr. Hermann Mattheiss (1893–1934), who was shot on July 1, 1934, during the so-called Röhm Putsch. His successor until 1937 was SS-Mann Walther Stahlecker (1900–1942).

From April 1933 on, the former Württemberg professional officer and later engineer Karl Buck (1894–1977) was the commandant of Heuberg and, later, commandant of Ulm–Oberer Kuhberg. He joined the National Socialist Party and the SA in 1931. As a member of the Württemberg Political Police, he was appointed concentration camp commander in 1933 and retained that post until the end of the war. Three months after the closure of Ulm, on October 1, 1935, a new Württemberg state concentration camp was opened in the Police Prison Welzheim. Buck was also the commandant of that camp. From 1941, with the rank of SS-Hauptsturmführer, he was the commandant of the Elsass "security camp" (*Sicherungslager*), which held mostly French political prisoners who were incarcerated by the German occupation authorities.

The prisoners at Heuberg and Ulm have stated that Buck was brutal, but he exercised brutality with a degree of cynicism. He had a basic education, was intelligent, and exercised self-control. His deputy at Ulm is described as primitive and brutal. The deputy, Hermann Eberle (1908–1949) from Württemberg, was an unemployed tradesman who joined the party and the SA in 1931. He was appointed an auxiliary guard in the Heuberg concentration camp. He was Buck's deputy at Ulm and continued in that role at the Welzheim concentration camp until Buck's departure to Schirmeck-Vorbruck at the beginning of 1941. From then until 1945, he was the commandant at Welzheim.

In November 1933, there were 120 guards and 5 administrative personnel in Ulm. With the subsequent reduction in prisoner numbers, the guards' numbers also declined so that when the camp closed, there were only 29 guards and 3 administrative personnel. Initially the guards were members of the Schutzpolizei (municipal police) and a few SS members. This situation changed following the Röhm Putsch, and in the following months, the guards were absorbed into the SS.

The names and other data of 430 of the approximately 600 prisoners in the Ulm-Oberer Kuhberg concentration camp are known. They were aged between 19 and 71 and were mostly from Württemberg. More than half were from Stuttgart and the other large cities, that is, from areas where industrialization was most advanced and the Socialist workers' movements' organizations were most developed.

All the prisoners were classified as "enemies of the National Socialist State," opposed politically, ideologically, and socially to the regime. This was sufficient reason for arrest. About half the prisoners had connections to the German Communist Party (KPD), and a fifth to the German Social Democratic Party (SPD). Two virulent opponents of the National Socialists from before 1933 were KPD Member of the Landtag Alfred Haag (Schwäbisch Gmünd, 1904–1982) and SPD Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Kurt Schumacher (Stuttgart, 1895–1952). For the National Socialist persecutors, they were the "enticers and manipulators" (*Verführer und Drahtzieher*) of the people and were the target of mistreatment and other special measures in the punishment bunkers in Ulm (particularly Schumacher after 1933).

Of particular political significance, extending beyond Württemberg, was the news that appeared in the press (which was still free) in January 1934 that three Catholic priests who had publicly criticized the National Socialist authorities as part of their pastoral duties had been classified as "Saboteurs of State Order" (*Saboteure der staatlichen Ordnung*) and sent to Ulm.

The prisoners who did not fit into the above-mentioned groups have not been the subject of biographical research. They were not defined as party politicals. However, they represented a political/ideological and social protest potential within the population. The use of racial labels such as "asocial" (*asozial*) or "work shy" (*arbeitsscheu*) appears instead.

What can be stated with certainty is that until 1938 the Jews and "Gypsies" (*Zigeuner*) were not separately classified as "enemies of the national community" (*Feinde der Volksgemeinschaft*). If such people were imprisoned, they were held as members of the SPD or KPD.

Half of the prisoners were held for around three months and the others for between three and nine months. In exceptional cases, such as with Schumacher, prisoners were held from the first to the last day of the Ulm-Oberer Kuhberg concentration camp.

According to surviving prisoners, the prison conditions and everyday life inside Ulm were worse than in Heuberg.

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The April 1933 confinement regulations (*Haftordnung*) for Heuberg, which were very similar to those for the Justice Department's prisons consisting of stages of imprisonment (Entry Stage, Stages I to III), were cast aside by the "almighty" Commandant Buck. He determined the day-to-day rules; he interrogated, blackmailed, verbally humiliated, punished, beat, or had others beat the prisoners.

The hallmarks of everyday life were the withdrawal of meager rations, alarms at night, punishment roll calls, military-type abuse, senseless heavy labor, withdrawal of postal privileges and any other beneficial activity, holding fake executions, and torture. The aim of such actions was to have prisoners betray other prisoners or to reveal underground activities so as to arrest those members of the resistance who had not yet been arrested.

But according to the postwar reports of surviving prisoners, what was worst was the site itself, the nightmarish fort with its damp, cold, dark, stinking casemates, in which the prisoners lived and in which were missing nearly all means for personal hygiene.

The psychological survival of the prisoners was made possible by some strong personalities within the prisoner population and because most of the prisoners identified themselves as political opponents to the regime. It was also facilitated through political discussions, conducted in whispers; the singing of Swabian songs or songs from the workers' movement; and games of chess (the figures were made by the prisoners and were rather primitive). The prisoners' solidarity was relatively intact because the prisoners had relatively similar social and intellectual backgrounds, and there was not yet a strong Kapo system.

Those responsible at Ulm were brought to justice after 1945, albeit in a limited way: Buck was arrested in Elsass in 1945 and sentenced to death by a French and a British Military Court for homicides committed in Schirmeck-Vorbruck. In 1953–1954, his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, and he was extradited from France to the German Federal Republic in April 1955 as a war criminal. He was released and lived until his death close to Welzheim. An attempt by former Heuberg, Kuhberg, and Welzheim prisoners to bring him before a court after 1955 was unsuccessful. He could not be charged because of the statute of limitations (it could not be proven that he had committed murder in these camps) and because of the defense that he was "acting in accordance with orders" (*Befehlsnotstand*). Eberle was arrested in 1945 and sentenced by a British Military Court to 13 years' imprisonment. He committed suicide while in prison in 1949. Only 1 guard was tried, and that was in 1947. He was sentenced to jail. The other 41 guards were investigated around 1950.

SOURCES Information on this camp can also be found in the following published sources: Haus der Geschichte Baden-Württemberg, ed., *"Doch die Freiheit, die kommt wieder": NS-Gegner im Württembergischen Schutzhaftlager Ulm 1933–1935* (Stuttgart, 1994); Erich Kunter, *Weltreise nach Dachau: Ein Tatsachenbericht nach den Erlebnissen des Weltreisenden und ehemaligen politzischen Häftlings Max Wittmann*, 2nd ed. (Wildbad, 1947); Silvester Lechner, *Das KZ Oberer Kuhberg und die NS-Zeit in der Region Ulm/Neu-Ulm* (Stuttgart, 1988); Lechner, "Das Konzentrationslager Oberer Kuhberg in Ulm," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus 1933–1935*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin, 2001), pp. 79–103;. DZOK e.V., *Mitteilungen*, vols. 1–38 (1983–2002).

There are no complete administration files for the Ulm-Oberer Kuhberg camp. In particular, a list of admissions and releases is missing. The LA-B-W in Stuttgart, Ludwigsburg, and Sigmaringen have some files regarding administration matters during the period of the concentration camp. Files of the "compensation" (*Wiedergutmachung*) after 1945 are also held here but particularly in the archive of the state branch of VVN in Stuttgart. Files on the criminal trial of Karl Buck and other members of the camp staff are mostly held in BA-L (formerly ZdL). Probably the most complete file on the concentration camp history is the Ulm DZOK, but most of the material consists of copies from private collections and provided by prisoners.

Silvester Lechner
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

VECHTA

Vechta, a district town in Lower Saxony, lies between Bremen and Osnabrück. Until 1946, it was part of the state of Oldenburg. The Free State Oldenburg (since 1934, Land Oldenburg) had an overwhelmingly Evangelical population and a strong agricultural economy. Next to the Oldenburg area, the state included the distant areas of Lübeck (Eutin) and Birkenfeld until 1937. The National Socialists very early gained greater support here than anywhere else. From 1928, they were represented in the state parliament, and from June 1932, they were able to form a state government on their own.

From as early as March 1933, there was talk of establishing a concentration camp in the Oldenburg district. It was to be based on the Dachau model. It was established in July of that year in a former women's prison in Vechta, which from 1931 had stood empty. It was administered by the Oldenburg Ministry of Interior. At the beginning of August, the camp contained about 60 police prisoners, that is, prisoners in "protective custody." It was envisaged that their numbers could be increased to 100. From August on, those held in protective custody for longer periods of time were taken from the local police cells and jails to Vechta, mostly in group transports via Oldenburg.[1]

In the beginning, the protective custody arrest orders were issued by the city magistrates (in Oldenburg, it was mostly the city Police Department, which became subordinate to the Secret State Police Office [Gestapa] once its office had been established) or by the senior administrative officials (comparable to the Prussian rural district administrators). More and more, however, these orders came from the interior minister. From 1935, such orders, first occasionally and from 1936 more frequently, came from the Gestapa, which by 1937 seemed to have become exclusively responsible for them.

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Most of the concentration camp inmates were Communists. They came primarily from Oldenburg, Wilhelmshaven-Rüstringen, Delmenhorst, and Nordenham. In addition, there were some Social Democrats, members of the Center Party and the Stahlhelm, and people with no party affiliations. There were also Jews who had fallen into political disfavor. The prisoners were held in one- or two-man cells. According to witnesses, the food was the usual prison food. Occasionally there were special rations. An early inmate recalls, however, that the food was served in small portions (in the morning, two slices of black bread with a tablespoon of watered-down jam; at lunch, a bowl of stew). Forced labor and protective custody went together. The prisoners had to work usually between 10 to 10.5 hours a day. Some of the prisoners had to work on the moors; others had to peel potatoes daily for the whole prison institution.[2] The protective custody prisoners had a relatively large degree of freedom. In exceptional cases, prisoner conditions were even relaxed. There are documented examples of this. In August 1933, the Communist underground newspaper *Dimitroff* was published in the prison.

The number of prisoners increased from 50 in July to 75 in August, to 90 in September, to 100 in October, and to 113 at the beginning of November. Thereafter, the numbers averaged 80 a month. Following the 1933 Christmas amnesty, the numbers were 20 at the end of December, and in January 1934, 25.[3] As the numbers of protective custody prisoners receded in the spring of 1934, the building was used also, from April 1, for prisoners on remand and for convicts. From the spring of 1934, the operation of the Vechta concentration camp gradually wound down. Between July 1933 and July 1934, more than 100 prisoners alone were transferred from the Oldenburg jail to the Vechta concentration camp. From July on, the transfers ceased.[4]

The 113 prisoners in the concentration camp on November 12, 1933, were able to vote (as a separate polling district) in the Reichstag elections and on the referendum on whether Germany should remain in the League of Nations. Of the 88 returned votes for the Reichstag elections, 22 percent were held to be invalid. For the referendum, 7 percent voted "no," while 4.5 percent of the votes were listed as invalid. The election results were even published in the newspapers. Note also that in the referendum on the unification of the offices of Reichs president and Reichs chancellor of August 19, 1934, the "State concentration camp" with its 11 prisoners formed one of the city's seven electoral districts.[5]

The head of the camp was an official from the judiciary, Senior Prison Superintendent Friedrich (Fritz) Fischer (1888–1965). Prisoners, after the war, described him as correct and spoke about him in positive terms. On March 1, 1935, he was transferred as court secretary to the remand prison at Oldenburg. In Vechta, he ensured that the SS guards from Oldenburg and the surrounding area were not permitted to exceed their authority, although there were isolated cases of harassment. The SS was mostly deployed externally. Its only internal function was to lock the prisoners in their cells. When there were visitors, it was the judicial officials who supervised. At the suggestion of the SS-Standarte 24 in Oldenburg and with the approval of the minister of interior, the SS became responsible for guard duty and were appointed as auxiliary guards. From the summer of 1934—from June, to be precise—they wore disused uniforms of the Oldenburg order police with shoulder pads denoting their function as prison auxiliary guards.[6]

The Gestapo officials, who regularly came to Vechta from Oldenburg for interrogations, were considerably more ruthless and brutal and, at the very least, employed methods of psychological terror. Nonetheless, their interrogation methods were less feared than those of their Bremen colleagues.

So far as is known, only one person died in the concentration camp, namely, a protective custody prisoner who committed suicide after being held in remand.[7]

As judicial official, Fischer remained subordinate to the director of penal institutions in Vechta and thus also to the Oldenburg chief state prosecutor. The concentration camp itself, headed by Fischer as "prison chairman," fell under the Oldenburg minister of interior, however. The responsible police official in the ministry was also head of the Oldenburg Gestapo office, which was formed in November 1933. The Gestapo itself had, however, nothing to do with the concentration camp administration. Its activity was restricted to the interrogation of protective custody and political remand prisoners.

The dissolution of the concentration camp was decided upon no later than February 1935. The six guards (SS men) were given their notice on February 28, and three of them went to work for the judiciary as auxiliary guards. On April 1, 1935, the concentration camp formally ceased to exist, and the building was again used as a normal male prison until 1937, after which it once again became a prison for women.[8]

Notwithstanding that the Vechta concentration camp was situated in a former female prison, it was a camp for men only. According to statements of witnesses, the concentration camp, which existed from July 1933 to the end of March 1935, was not of the worst type, in part due to the moderating influence of its head, Fischer. It is not clear, however, where within the Justice Department Fischer and his assistants received the authority to act.

SOURCES There are four essays on the Vechta concentration camp by Albrecht Eckhardt: "Vechta," in *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager*, *Dachau*, *Emslandlager*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), pp. 212–215; "Das Konzentrationslager in Vechta (Oldenburg) 1933–1935," in *Archiv und Geschichte: Festschrift für Friedrich P. Kahlenberg*, ed. Klaus Oldenhage, Hermann Schreyer, and Wolfram Werner (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2000), pp. 700–726; "Das KZ in Vechta 1933–1935: Kurzfassung," in *Nationalsozialismus im Oldenburg Münsterland*, ed. Heimatbund für das Odenburger Münsterland (Cloppenburg, 2000), pp. 89–97; ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, "Das Konzentrationslager in Vechta," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus 1933–1935*, ed. Angelika Königseder (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 211–221. The author first came across a reference to the

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establishment of the concentration camp when working on publication of the Oldenburg Gestapo reports. His findings were published as *Gestapo Oldenburg meldet—: Berichte der Geheimen Staatspolizei und des Innenministers aus dem Freistaat und Land Oldenburg, 1933–1936*, collated and commented upon by Albrecht Eckhardt and Katharina Hoffmann (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2002). Those who are interested in the history of the state of Oldenburg to 1946 and the Nazi period should consult the *Geschichte des Landes Oldenburg: Ein Handbuch*, 4th ed., ed. Albrecht Eckhardt in collaboration with Heinrich Schmidt (1987; Oldenburg: H. Holzbery, 1993).

There is only fragmentary material in the archives on the Vechta concentration camp. The prison books for the Oldenburg jail and the Vechta jail, housed in the StA-Ol, provide the most detail about the prisoners (Best. 145-1 Akz. 9/84 Nr. 23, Best. 145-2 Akz. 19/1985 Nr. 2). However, a prisoners' log and lists of the inmates of the Vechta camp are missing. Otherwise, there are only scattered files in the collections of the Ministry of Interior (Best. 136), Ministry of Justice (Best. 133), and others. For the initial period at least, the regional and local newspapers such as the *OSZ* and the *NSLO* or the *OVV* contain important information. The surviving Gestapo reports on the camp for the years 1933–1936 and the reports of the Minister of Interior in Oldenburg to Berlin contain little information (see the publication by Eckhardt and Hoffman listed above).

Albrecht Eckhardt
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NOTES

1. StA-Ol, Best. 136 Nr. 2897, Bl. 326ff., 514ff.; cf. Best. 133 Nr. 590, Bl. 505.
2. *OSZ*, August 3, 1933 1. Beilage; *OVZ*, August 4, 1933, 3. Blatt, August 10, 1933.
3. *OSZ*, January 25, 1933 1. Beilage S. 2; *OVZ*, January 11, 1934 2. Blatt.
4. StA-Ol, Best. 145-1 Akz. 9/84 Nr. 23; Best. 145-2 Akz. 19/1985 Nr. 2.
5. StA-Ol, Best. 262-11 Nr. 772; Best. 136 Nr. 795; Best. 231-4 Nr. 18; also *OVZ*, November 14, 1933 2. Blatt, August 20, 1934.
6. StA-Ol, Best. 133 Nr. 331, Bl. 617.; Best. 136 Nr. 2884; Best. 205 Nr. 590.
7. StA-Ol, Best. 133 Nr. 387, Bl. 306ff.
8. StA-Ol, Best. 133 Nr. 331, Bl. 692–693, and Nr. 363, Bl. 292–803; Best. 136 Nr. 30190 (Nr. 4677).

WALDHEIM

Between March 18 and May 12, 1933, a section of Waldheim, the largest penitentiary in Saxony, served as a "protective custody" camp. The camp maintained strict discipline. The administration censored the detainees' letters and refused to permit the discussion of political topics during visits by relatives. A document from 1935 noted that the penitentiary guards included 31 SA. Whether these personnel guarded the early camp in 1933 is not certain but possible.[1] Neither the number of prisoners nor their destination following the closure of this camp is known. Throughout the Nazi dictatorship, Waldheim held male and female political prisoners who were sentenced to lengthy terms of confinement.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). The camp is recorded in Stefanie Endlich, Nora Goldenbogen, Beatrix Herlemann, Monika Kahl, and Regina Scheer, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999); see also Bert Pampel, Norbert Haase, and Stiftung Sächsische Gedenkstätten zur Erinnerung an die Opfer Politischer Gewaltherrschaft, *Spuren, Suchen und Erinnern: Gedenkstätten für die Opfer politischer Gewaltherrschaft in Sachsen* (Leipzig: Kiepenheuer, 1996). For an excellent history of the penitentiary during the Nazi period, which unfortunately does not discuss the protective custody camp, see Martin Habicht, *Zuchthaus Waldheim, 1933–1945: Haftbedingungen und antifaschistischer Kampf* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1988). Habicht lists many anti-Nazi resisters among the Waldheim penitentiary population. Nikolaus Wachsmann, *Hitler's Prisoners: Legal Terror in Nazi Germany* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), situates the abysmal treatment of Waldheim prisoners in the overall context of Nazi terror.

Primary documentation for this camp begins with SHStA-(D), Zuchthaus Waldheim, File No. 804, as cited in Habicht. The penitentiary is also listed in Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, Ursula Krause-Schmitt, and ITS, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:236. As cited by Wachsmann, the volume by Union für Recht und Freiheit, eds., *Strafvollzug im III. Reich: Denkschrift und Materialsammlung* (Prague, 1936), includes a contemporary account of conditions in Waldheim.

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NOTE

1. SHStA-(D), Zuchthaus Waldheim, File No. 804, as cited in Martin Habicht, *Zuchthaus Waldheim, 1933–1945: Haftbedingungen und antifaschistischer Kampf* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1988), p. 41.

WEISSENFELS

The baroque castle Neu-Augustusburg was constructed between 1660 and 1694 as the residence for the dukes of Sachsen-Weissenfels. Between 1869 and 1920, it was used as a noncommissioned officers' school. From 1928 to 1945, municipal police squads (Schutzpolizei) were based at the castle. The Weissenfels police president and the criminal investigation unit of the police (Kriminalabteilung) were based in the castle from 1931.

A concentration camp was established in the castle in early March 1933. After a large number of people, mostly functionaries of the German Communist Party (KPD) and the Social

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Democratic Party (SPD), had been arrested in the region and local prisons as well as police detention centers were overcrowded, it became necessary to establish a concentration camp. The prisoners were initially interned in a large police classroom on the second floor of the castle. As the numbers of "protective custody" prisoners continued to grow, the camp expanded into the gymnasium. Fritz Kleine, a former prisoner, recalls his internment in the classroom: "We had to squat the whole day on the straw sacks, crammed together like herrings in a can. It was impossible to move. We were taken downstairs into the courtyard only for one hour a day to get a breath of fresh air. That really felt good after having 'eaten the stench' (*Gestankfressen*) for twenty-four hours."[1]

Nearly all of the prisoners in Weissenfels had been active in the workers' movement. The camp on average held 180 prisoners, the majority of whom were male and under 40.

Kleine describes everyday life in the camp: "Everyone was given a sack of straw, a towel and cookware. Linen and clothes had to be obtained by the prisoners. . . . There were only two toilets in the camp for two hundred prisoners. They could only be used between 6 A.M. and 7 A.M., 1 P.M. to 2 P.M. and in the evening from 7 P.M. to 8 P.M. The SS ensured that everyone left the toilet as quickly as possible by scattering chlorinated lime on the floor, into the toilet pit and on the toilet seat so that you could not breathe in. It was impossible to stay in there for longer than one minute, even if the next one in line had not urged you to hurry."[2]

Although it was planned to use the prisoners to reconstruct the gymnasium, they were never forced to do physical work during the camp's existence. After breakfast, however, the prisoners had an opportunity to volunteer for work. "Working had several advantages: one was exempt from cleaning the rooms and the toilets as well as getting water. One could spend the whole day in the fresh air and if there was some food left over at lunch you could be first to get an extra serving. Imprisoned Communists and Social Democrats built a shooting stand for the SS to be able to enjoy these personal freedoms!"[3] Those working were also subject to victimization. Above all, "the intellectuals were forced to do the dirtiest work. The SS and SA had a lot of fun watching the school's inspector Benda, the Jewish engineer Lomitzsch, the teacher Gleitsmann, and others, who were not at all accustomed to physical labor, struggle with the toilet barrels (old herring vats), whose contents squirted onto their clothes and faces."[4]

Political indoctrination of the camp inmates was emphasized. Each week there were two hours of lectures on National Socialism, and there were regular radio broadcasts of selected speeches and rallies.

There were several cases of physical mistreatment in the Weissenfels camp. The news spread very quickly among the auxiliary police (Hilfspolizei) when SPD Member of the Reichstag (MdR) Albert Bergholz was brought to the camp. He "had been beaten blue and green by the SA in Zeitz and then been thrown in the Elster River." "Bergholz is here. . . . Two auxiliary policemen even drew their revolvers and forced Bergholz to take a full spittoon in each hand, which he had to carry around the gymnasium. He was threatened that 'if he spilt a drop he would get a bullet in the stomach' and forced to run in front of the drawn pistols, despite the fact that Bergholz could barely move after the mistreatment he suffered in Zeitz!"[5]

There are no known fatalities in the Weissenfels camp. There was, however, one suicide attempt. "The prisoner Zippe from Berlin, who lived in Zeitz, was so deranged by the miserable, pointless camp life, that he slit his wrists with a razor blade."[6]

The attempted escape by 22-year-old SPD and Reichsbanner member Helmuth Fritz is also known. He had been attacked by Nazi Party (NSDAP) members in 1930 or 1931. Fritz attempted to defend himself with a pocket knife, mortally wounding the Zeitz leader of the Hitlerjugend, Gerhard, by stabbing him in the stomach. Fritz was sentenced to one and a half years' imprisonment because he exceeded appropriate self-defense by killing Gerhard. He was released from prison before the end of his sentence. He was arrested again on March 11, 1933, for the same offense and taken to the Weissenfels camp. Simultaneously a memorial was erected to the Hilterjugend leader. Fritz, fearful of what could happen on the Sunday that the memorial was to be unveiled, escaped from his work detachment outside the camp. All the remaining prisoners were punished—for a fortnight they were neither allowed to receive visitors nor permitted to smoke. Fritz was caught only a few days later and taken to the Lichtenburg concentration camp.[7]

The guards in Weissenfels were mainly recruited from the SA, SS, and Stahlhelm. The men were mostly between 21 and 35 years old, often unemployed, and predominantly from Weissenfels and the surrounding area. They wore armbands identifying them as auxiliary policemen. They were armed with rifles, pistols, side arms, and rubber batons. Initially, the camp commander was probably Oberleutnant Hennecke. He was later on supported by Polizeiobermeister Schmale as his deputy. The prisoners were guarded round the clock by the auxiliary police, escorted to meals and the toilets, and supervised while working. Two of the police officials were permanently stationed in the prisoners' dormitory. Nevertheless, according to Kleine, it was possible for the prisoners to have political discussions, and it is even said that some of the auxiliary police participated in those discussions.[8]

Many of the prisoners were interned in Weissenfels for only a few days. Others were held for weeks or months. From June 1933, there were prisoner transports to the Lichtenburg concentration camp, which opened in the same month. That camp was located near Prettin in what became Sachsen-Anhalt after the war. The Weissenfels camp had served as the regional model for the Lichtenburg camp. A last transport of 60 inmates to the Lichtenburg camp took place on August 12, 1933, while 48 prisoners were released from Weissenfels. The auxiliary police was dissolved, and Police President Neubauer bid them farewell. In the context of these events, the camp was eventually dissolved as well. In isolated cases, the gymnasium of the castle was still used after the camp's closure to intern protective custody prisoners.

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SOURCES Extensive information on the Weissenfels camp and the prisoners held there can be found in Ramona Ehret, "Schutzhaft im Schloss Neu-Augustusburg: Das Gefangenensammellager in Weissenfels," in *Instrumentarium der Macht: Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1937*, ed. Wolfang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2003), pp. 239–259. Further details are to be found in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).

Fritz Kleine reported in detail about his experience in Schloss Neu-Augustusburg in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 182–188.

During the period of the establishment of the early camps, the Nazis wanted the public to know about protective custody and reeducation measures in order to frighten the population and to prevent the formation of new opposition. For these reasons the local press reported at regular intervals on the Weissenfels camp. Articles were published in the *WeiTb*, *MNZ*, and the *HaNa* between March and August 1933.

Relevant source material is to be found in the ASt-WsF, HZ 37 Hochbauamt Zeitz/Schloss, Bauliche Unterhaltung 1933–1934, 1936; and in the LHSA-Ma, Regbez. Merseburg Rep. C 48 Ie Polizeiregistratur Nr. 1189a.

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NOTES

1. Fritz Kleine, "Lichtenburg," in *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt; Ein Buch der Greuel; Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt "Graphia," 1934), pp. 182–183.
2. Ibid., p. 182.
3. Ibid., p. 183.
4. Ibid., p. 184.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p. 185.
8. Ibid., p. 183.

WEISSWASSER

In March 1933, the SA established the Weisswasser early concentration camp in an SA hostel in Liegnitz, Prussia.

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

Primary sources are not available for this camp.

Joseph Robert White

WERDEN

In the spring of 1933, the detention center in Werden, Prussian Düsseldorf, became a "protective custody" camp under unknown authority. The camp was dissolved in June 1933.

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

Primary documentation for Werden can be found in the BA-BL, Abteilung Potsdam, Film 14929.

Joseph Robert White

WITTMOOR

After Hitler took power, the Nazis began to put the police and justice system in Hamburg under their control. At the same time, the number of imprisoned political opponents rapidly increased to 1,750 people between March and May 1933 alone.[1]

The prisoners held in "protective custody" were initially interned in the Hamburg remand center at Holstenglacis. In view of the constantly growing number of prisoners and the increasing length of imprisonment, the correctional service made an empty building complex on the grounds of the Fuhlsbüttel penal complex available in March 1933. The dreaded Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp later emerged out of this provisional camp.

At the same time, the police president tried to find accommodations for protective custody prisoners that would make it possible for them to be employed in productive agricultural work. The choice fell on the site at Wittmoor. (From a legal point of view, Wittmoor was considered a "protective custody camp." In original documents, however, it is again and again referred to as a "concentration camp for Communists.") A visit to the site revealed that the rooms in the Wittmoor peat factory were adequate for the immediate accommodation of those prisoners currently on hand. For the further accommodation of around 200 people, the interned Communists were supposed to make the necessary preparations.[2] The construction of the Wittmoor camp was therefore ordered on March 31, 1933.

Wittmoor was initially occupied by 20 prisoners who were watched by a guard unit of 14 police officers. The camp was under the supervision of the police authority. The first inmates were to repair the buildings on the construction site. Occupancy of around 150 prisoners was planned.

In the following months the number of prisoners at Wittmoor steadily increased; already in May, 100 prisoners were accommodated at Wittmoor. The highest occupancy was reached in October 1933 with 140 prisoners, then went down to 110 in October.[3]

The prisoners were deployed—in addition to the extension and maintenance work on the buildings—in peat extraction and processing: cutting peat, laying it out to dry and piling (curling) it, and processing it into bales or fuel. A witness reports: "During the day we had to meet our quota in the bog or on the bank. In our free time we could go walking outside. I still have a picture from when I had a visitor. In any case I had already had a girlfriend. We still went into the bogs; we could do that, we could receive visitors and the women passed themselves off as fiancées. We could only receive visitors on Sundays. Our camp leader was a police officer and he was really humane. We were

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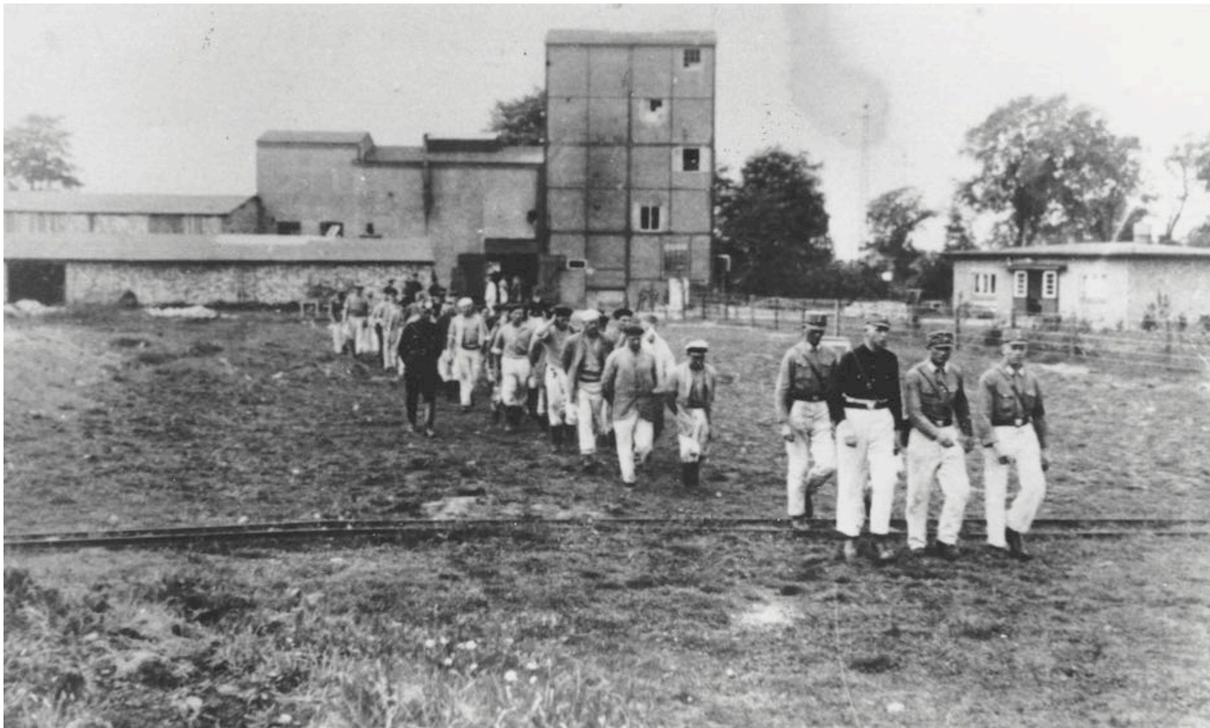

Prisoners at Wittmoor concentration camp, near Hamburg, perform penal exercises under SA supervision, 1933.
USHMM WS #25686, COURTESY OF LUBA WIEN ROSENKRANTZ

after all prisoners, our freedom had been taken; but he recognized us as political prisoners, as was right."[4]

In the early days of the camp, there were protests from the prisoners:

> The food was delivered from the Glasmoor penal institution. This institution, however, was not provided with extra provisions for us, so the kitchen at Glasmoor diluted the soup. They were watery soups with hardly any potatoes and no meat at all. When I then one day also found a dirty washcloth in my food, I went to the commandant with my cup and explained to him that my comrades refused to go back to work. "We'll stay seated in front of the mess kit (cup) and won't pick up anything until we get something decent to eat!" At that time that was still possible. Later in any one of the other camps no one would have had the courage to go to the camp commandant at all. The commandant was rather shocked and immediately called the Gestapo. Then a number of officers showed up and there was a meeting in which a representative of camp leadership and the boss of the peat factory participated. In the following days the food became better. For the time being though, we stayed on hunger strike.[5]

In the meantime, the public also learned about life in the Wittmoor camp. The Hamburg newspapers published several reports (some with pictures), and Reich Governor Karl Kaufmann visited the camp several times.[6] The author and Communist Willi Bredel, who was later incarcerated at Fuhlsbüttel and who described that time in his novel *Die Prüfung*, published a short story about one of these visits.

The business of selling the extracted peat was going well. Simultaneously the need for further accommodations increased. In this context and because there was evidently a large demand for the peat that the prisoners had cut, the police authority considered expanding Wittmoor to a size of 400 to 500 men in August 1933. For reasons of time and money, the plan to construct a solid building was discarded, and an extension of the camp with three barracks of approximately 6 meters by 30 meters (19.7 feet by 98.4 feet) for 80 prisoners each was suggested instead.[7] In order to bring off this extension the police authorities requested 25,000 Reichsmark (RM) from the treasury, explicitly remarking "that the governing mayor has declared that approval is necessary as state security renders the expense essential."[8] Neither the monies nor the planned extension came about.

After a visit to Wittmoor in August 1933, Reich Governor Karl Kaufmann ordered the camp to be handed over to the penal authorities since "there was too little beating up there."

Justice Senator Rothenberger rejected that order for reasons of security and ordered the prisoners to be transferred to Fuhlsbüttel; after that the Wittmoor camp would once again be made available to the police.

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On October 18, 1933, Wittmoor was shut down. Due to peat deliveries and cleaning still to be conducted, 30 prisoners remained temporarily on the grounds.

The prisoners of Wittmoor were transferred to Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp. The sudden and, for those responsible, probably surprising closure of Wittmoor and the transfer of the prisoners to the female wing of the Fuhlsbüttel penitentiary presented police authorities with the problem of keeping prior commitments to the tenant of the peat processing factory, as well as fulfilling outstanding delivery agreements, in addition to completely exploiting the remaining materials. For these reasons, the police chief suggested in a letter to the provincial administration dated October 17, 1933, that even after the closing of the camp 30 prisoners should be driven from Fuhlsbüttel to Wittmoor every day in order to process the remaining peat there.[9]

Wittmoor differed from other concentration camps in various ways. With a maximum of 140 inmates, it was a small camp; it was subordinate to the Hamburg police authority and was run by a police officer; and finally, it only existed for a short time. These circumstances prevented Wittmoor from becoming a "typical" concentration camp—that is, it lacked several characteristics of later concentration camps. Thus, the institutionalization of a distinct, sophisticated camp hierarchy was not necessary and in the short time also not possible.

Even if there were only a few victims at Wittmoor itself, this camp was a link in the chain of Nazi instruments of power and played its role here. Even the short time of its existence reflected fundamental aspects of the camp system established later: deterrence—reeducation—exploitation of labor. "Extermination through work" and purely exterminatory measures were reserved for the later camps.

SOURCES The history of Wittmoor concentration camp was reconstructed for the first time in 1983–1984 by a project of the Department of Youth Didactics at the Norderstedt Adult Education Center. Within the framework of this project, "Searching for traces: National Socialist everyday life in Hamburg and its vicinity" ("Spurensuche: Nationalsozialistischer Alltag in Hamburg und Umgebung"), a research group, including the author, by chance discovered a document about Wittmoor in an exhibition on Fuhlsbüttel concentration camp. As a result, the group conducted interviews with contemporary witnesses and did research in various archives. The results of nearly two years of research were published for the first time in the book by Willy Klawe, *"Im übrigen herrscht Zucht und Ordnung . . .": Zur Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Wittmoor* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1987), as well as in Heimatverein des Kreises Segeberg e.V., Kreisgruppe des Schleswig-Holsteinischen Heimatbundes e.V., *Heimatkundliches Jahrbuch für den Kreis Segeberg* (Sülfeld: Heimatverein des Kreises Segeberg, 1987).

In 2001, Klawe published another article on Wittmoor, which basically referred to the data in the first publication and at the same time served as the basis for this essay: "Wittmoor—das erste Konzentrationslager Hamburgs," in *Terror ohne System: Die ersten Konzentrationslager im Nationalsozialismus 1933–1935*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2001), pp. 251–259. A few of the former prisoners at Wittmoor have written about their internment in the camp—for instance, Helmuth Warnke in his memoir *Der verratene Traum: Langenhorn; das kurze Leben einer Hamburger Arbeitersiedlung*, 2nd ed. (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1995). Hamburg author Heinz Liepmann, who portrayed the Nazi seizure of power in his novel *Das Vaterland: Ein Tatsachenroman aus Deutschland* (Hamburg: Konkret-Literatur-Verlag, 1979), also published an article on Wittmoor: "Ein Alltag im Konzentrationslager [Wittmoor bei Hamburg. Erlebnisbericht. Mit einer Vorbemerkung der Redaktion]," *Weltbühne* 38 (1933): 1179–1182. Author Willi Bredel, who was imprisoned in Fuhlsbüttel as a Communist (his experiences there are depicted in detail in his novel *Die Prüfung*, 4th ed. [1946; repr., Berlin: Aufbauverlag, 1985]), published a short story on Wittmoor under the title "Das missglückte Experiment" (no bibliographical information available). Presumably he himself was never kept there but used one of the scattered articles that appeared on Wittmoor in the Hamburg newspapers as inspiration.

The number of sources on Wittmoor in archives is sparse, which is due not only to its short period of existence but also to the fact that as a small, temporary protective custody camp Wittmoor was not considered especially important. Finally, it was also subordinate to different authorities. Accordingly, the StA-HH primarily holds documents relating to costs and the profitability of the camp operation. The same can be said about the AG-NG. All of the documents and materials that the above-mentioned research group found and used in the framework of its project, as well as a small exhibit, are located in the ASt-No, the archive of the community in whose area the grounds of the former Wittmoor camp are located today.

Willy Klawe
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. From Henning Timpke, quoted in Werner Johe, *Neuengamme: Zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager in Hamburg*, 2nd ed. (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1981), p. 9.
2. AG-NG, Schreiben der Domänenverwaltung vom 0l.04.1933.
3. Henning Timpke, ed., *Dokumente zur Gleichschaltung des Landes Hamburg 1933* (Hamburg: Christians, 1983), p. 266.
4. See the statement of Arthur Stapelfeldt as quoted in Willy Klawe, *"Im übrigen herrscht Zucht und Ordnung . . .": Zur Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Wittmoor* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1987), p. 35.
5. See the statement of Helmuth Warnke as quoted in Klawe, *Wittmoor*, p. 44.
6. *HHNa*, May 26, 1933; *HHFb*, June 4, 1933; *HHTb*, June 2, 1933.
7. StA-HH, Baubehörde l. Hochbauabteilung am 18.08.1933.
8. StA-HH, Polizeibehörde an Finanzdeputation am 22.08.1933.
9. AG-NG.

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WUPPERTAL-BARMEN [AKA KEMNA]

The Wuppertal-Barmen concentration camp was established in Wuppertal at the beginning of July 1933. Wuppertal was an industrial metropolis at the southern border of Germany's principal industrial region, the Ruhr Valley. To most locals the camp was known as "Kemna" because it was located in the Wuppertal neighborhood of Kemna. The date of the camp's opening is not precisely known. On July 6, 1933, a representative of the district presidium in Düsseldorf first mentioned the camp in a report addressed to the Prussian minister of interior. The representative requested permission to establish and use the factory building as a concentration camp as 15 prisoners had already been detained there temporarily.

Although the Prussian Ministry of Interior denied the authorization, the district president of Düsseldorf and the provisional police president in Wuppertal considered the Kemna concentration camp a necessary institution. As the records show, Kemna was not a "wild" camp, since it was not created spontaneously or irrespective of the existing administrative structure. Rather, the establishment of the camp was discussed by the responsible authorities, and they supported it at least for a short period of time. The camp was thus an integral part of the evolving Nazi state and fulfilled what was deemed a necessary task, namely, detaining and maltreating political opponents.

The initiative to establish the Kemna concentration camp apparently arose from the SA-Oberführer and Nazi Party (NSDAP) local branch leader in Wuppertal, Willi Veller, who had been the provisional police president in his hometown since the beginning of July 1933.

The camp was established in an abandoned cotton waste factory in Wuppertal. On the first floor of the main building, a guard room, a registry for new prisoners, and a kitchen were installed. The second floor was used as a sleeping and common room for the guards. The other two floors and the other factory buildings at ground level were used as living quarters for the prisoners. A former coal cellar, called "the bunker," was used as a cell. About 200 to 300 prisoners were supposed to be accommodated in these factory buildings. In the fall of 1933, however, there were around 1,000 inmates imprisoned in Kemna. About 4,500 prisoners were interned in the camp at one time or another.

The first commandant of Kemna was SA-Sturmbannführer Hugo Neuhoff. SA-Obersturmbannführer Alfred Hilgers soon replaced him. Hilgers was the decisive personality in the camp and formed its character. He was commandant until December 1933. His successor, SA-Sturmbannführer Wolters, only led the concentration camp for a few weeks until it was closed in January 1934.

Like the commandants, the camp guards were also SA members. About 35 SA men were permanently assigned to the camp. They were on duty in the areas of the barracks, the administration, and the kitchen and were responsible for camp security. For guard duty, the SA men were divided into three groups of 10 men. Nearly all the SA men came from Wuppertal and were "Old Fighters" of the Nazi movement. The majority of the guard personnel were between 22 and 28 years old and were recruited overwhelmingly from the ranks of workers, skilled laborers, and craftsmen.

The prisoners came from a similar social background as their guards. This can be explained by the fact that in the early days of Nazi rule it was primarily the members of the workers' parties who were persecuted. Many prisoners also came from Wuppertal and were likewise involved in street fights in preceding years with the SA men who were now guarding them. However, some prisoners were brought to Kemna from other cities and regions of the Lower Rhineland. The most prominent prisoners included the former deputy of the Prussian prime minister and welfare minister, Heinrich Hirtsiefer, member of the German Center Party (Deutsche Zentrumspartei); later Rhineland-Palatinate Minister of Labor Wilhelm Bökenkrüger; the editors Oskar Hoffmann and Emil Quitzau, both members of the Social Democratic Party (SPD); German Communist Party (KPD) member and Member of the Reichstag (MdR), Willy Spicher; and several Wuppertal police officers who had monitored the Nazi movement before the "seizure of power."

From the beginning, living conditions in the camp were very poor. Food consisted of thin soup and a few slices of bread. SA men often stole the meat or fish that was actually provided for the prisoners. The hygienic conditions were miserable: most of the prisoners had to sleep on the bare cement floor in the living quarters. Only a little straw was distributed for some insulation. Just shortly before the camp was closed, beds were installed and paillasses were distributed. Buckets in the dormitories were used as latrines. The buckets were small, and they overflowed regularly.

The camp commander and the guards believed that sufficient medical care for the prisoners was not necessary. Practicing physicians, two of whom were SA members, performed rounds of the wards, but the daily medical "care" was under the supervision of an incompetent and brutal SA man. Therefore, as was common in later SS concentration camps, some prisoners took care of other inmates who had fallen ill.

Work in the Kemna concentration camp was torturous. Only a few prisoners were employed "usefully," working in the camp office, in the kitchen, or as skilled laborers, when things had to be repaired. The majority of the prisoners had to exercise in the factory yard, in any kind of weather, or they had to collect stones from the nearby Wupper River and dump them at another place in the river.

As many prisoners reported after the war, they were tortured at every opportunity. Upon their arrival at the camp, they were beaten with cudgels and straps. The torture continued in the receiving room during registration. Eventually, all new prisoners were kicked and struck as they were driven into the dormitories or the bunker. At night, the prisoners were taken away for "interrogation." There, the SA men and sometimes even camp Commandant Hilgers beat the defenseless prisoners. The prisoners then had to undress and lie down on

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a table in the SA common room. They were then thrashed until they lost consciousness. After being revived with cold water, they were forced to count the lashes or to sing songs. It is understandable, then, why the guards called their torture chambers "singing cells" (*Singstube*).

Torture was not carried out by the guard detail alone. Every once in a while, the police came to the camp to question the inmates regarding hidden weapons or in an effort to extract the names of KPD members. If the interrogated persons did not provide the information, both the policemen and the SA would beat the prisoners.

During a weapons search action at a sewage plant on August 26, 1933, prisoners were forced to search for weapons in the sludge. A group of onlookers gathered around the prisoners and the guards to watch them working. To drive away the onlookers, the SA fired into the crowd and killed a child. The crime remained unpunished, legal proceedings were discontinued, and the father of the child was paid compensation. No prisoners were killed in Kemna. At least two prisoners, however, died after their release from maltreatment and injuries they had suffered in the camp.

As the killing of the child illustrates, the Kemna concentration camp was relatively well known in Wuppertal. Newspapers also reported about the camp. After a visit of Prussian Crown Prince August Wilhelm to the concentration camp, an article describing the "idyllic camp" appeared in the local coordinated press on September 18, 1933.

When the camp was closed on January 19, 1934, most of the prisoners had already been released. Around 200 prisoners who had been classified as particularly dangerous, however, were taken to the Börgermoor concentration camp, one of the so-called Emsland moor camps.

The first legal investigations began only a few months after Kemna was closed. The Prussian Ministry of Justice authorized the State Attorney's Office in Wuppertal to initiate investigations into the abuses at Kemna. The leading investigating officer, state attorney Gustav Winckler, questioned numerous former prisoners and came to the conclusion in his final report on December 29, 1934, that "many protective custody prisoners had been exposed to serious abuses."

At the same time as the state attorney's investigation, the Supreme Nazi Party Court in Munich carried out its own proceedings against those chiefly responsible at the Kemna camp. On April 1, 1935, the party court acquitted them of the accusations of extreme cruelty. Virtually, this also put an end to the state attorney's proceedings. On February 25, 1936, it was struck down by a Führer Decree.

The Führer Decree, however, only temporarily suppressed judicial reckoning of the atrocities committed in Kemna. After the end of World War II, former Kemna prisoners successfully appealed to have the case reopened. On February 28, 1948, the first German concentration camp trial of the postwar period began at the Wuppertal Regional Court. Twenty-six former guards—among them Hilgers—sat in the defendants' dock. More than 200 witnesses appeared, and during the 43 days of hearings, they reported on 220 different cases of abuse.

On May 15, 1948, the presiding judge, Landgerichtsdirektor Dr. Heineberg, pronounced the judgment: Former camp commandant Hilgers was condemned to death, and four other accused were sentenced to life imprisonment. Some of the other accused received extended imprisonment, and eight men were acquitted. In the ruling of the court, Judge Heineberg spoke of "a torture chamber of the worst kind." Later the death penalty against Hilgers was changed to life imprisonment and finally into a 15-year prison sentence. Shortly before Christmas 1956, Hilgers, the last of the former SA guard staff still imprisoned, was released.

The Kemna concentration camp was representative of the early camps; in these camps, the characteristics of the later concentration camp system could already be recognized. Admittedly, no one was systematically murdered in Kemna. Nevertheless, the camp was rightly referred to as—as the prisoners had named it—the "Hell of Kemna."

SOURCES Hardly anything has been published on the Kemna camp. Besides some local historical studies, there is a memoir by Karl Ibach, *Kemna: Wuppertaler Lager der SA; 1933* (Wuppertal: VVN, 1948).

In 1984, the ASt-W published a small volume of source material: *KZ Kemna 1933–1934. Eine Quellendokumentation* (Wuppertal: Stadtarchiv, 1984). Most of the source material is located in the NWHStA-(D) and mostly consists of investigation and trial records.

Jan Erik Schulte
trans. Irene Mayer

ZSCHORLAU

On April 21, 1933, the SS, SA, and Aue police established an early concentration camp in Zschorlau, Saxony. The authorities occupied the grounds of an abandoned factory, Firma August Wellner & Söhne, without paying rent. Although Zschorlau had a capacity for holding approximately 500 detainees, the total population did not exceed 207. Eighty percent of the prisoners were Communists. One prisoner was Jewish. The commandant, SS-Scharführer Robert Philipp Weissmann, was a fanatical National Socialist. The camp administration used Communist Party funds for the procurement of prisoners' eating utensils, clothing, and other supplies. Confined to an industrial waste pit, the prisoners were chained by the legs to prevent escape. Zschorlau's harsh conditions and rough interrogations caused the deaths of Otto Hempel, Paul Höhl, Albert Höhnel, Erich Pilz, and Alfred Schädlich. The camp was disbanded on July 12, 1933, and its prisoners removed to larger early concentration camps at Sachsenburg and Zwickau.

The trial of Weissmann reveals the career pattern of an early camp commandant. Joining the Nazi Party (membership number 147328) and SA on August 1, 1929, and the SS on December 22, 1930, Weissmann expressed early hostility toward Jews and Communists. In the late 1920s he quit a job as store assistant at Firma Nickel und Co., on grounds of its

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allegedly "Jewish" character.[1] Weissmann participated in anti-Communist street brawls in the early 1930s. After Zschorlau's dissolution, he joined the Security Police in 1935. For the mass murder of Jews in the Nowy Targ district in Zakopane, Poland, in 1942 and 1943, the Freiburg state court sentenced him in 1965 to seven years' imprisonment. He was not held accountable, however, for crimes perpetrated at Zschorlau.

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

Primary sources about Zschorlau include AKr-A-Sch, Komitee der Antifaschisten Widerstandskämpfer der Kreis Stollberg-Aue-Schwarzenberg, ed., *83 Tage KZ Zschorlau* (Aue, 1978), as cited in Endlich et al. Additional references appear in the SHStA-(D), Kreishauptmannschaft Zwickau, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland. Robert Weissmann's *Lebenslauf* (curriculum vitae) appears in his trial summary, case number 1 Ks. 1/64, in Irene Sagel-Grande, H.H. Fuchs, and C.F. Rüter, eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen, 1945–1966* (Amsterdam: University Press of Amsterdam, 1979), 21:175–178. A gloss of the Weissmann case is available at the Justiz und NS-Verbrechen Web site at www1.jur.uva.nl/juns/brd/files/brd593.htm.

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. Case 1 Ks. 1/64, Lebenslauf of Robert Weissmann, in Irene Sagel-Grande, H.H. Fuchs, and C.F. Rüter, eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen, 1945–1966* (Amsterdam: University Press of Amsterdam, 1979), 21:176.

ZWEIBRÜCKEN

The penal institution at Zweibrücken, in Bavaria, served from March to June 1933 as a "protective custody" camp under unknown authority. The detainee population fluctuated considerably during these months: there were over 400 prisoners in April, 91 in late May, and approximately 300 by June 30.

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

An ITS listing for Zweibrücken can be found in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, ed. Martin Weinmann, Anne Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmitt (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1:174.

Joseph Robert White

ZWICKAU

On approximately March 10, 1933, the SA and SS in Zwickau established a "protective custody" camp inside Osterstein Castle, located at Katherinenhof 12. Used as a penitentiary from 1775 to 1962, Osterstein was the second early concentration camp in Saxony, following the establishment of Plaue bei Flöha. On April 12, 1933, the camp held 108 detainees. By August 1, 1933, the population had increased to 275. Overall, some 750 prisoners were held at Zwickau, primarily leftists, Christians, and Jews. Among them was a Social Democratic deputy to the Saxon Diet, Eugen Fritsch.

Zwickau imposed a severe regimen. The diet consisted of thin soups with little nutritional value. For at least one month, the detainees slept in dank cells without light or warmth. Their beds were retractable cots suspended from the walls. As a form of degradation, they had to march in an enclosure in view of the local population.

The SA designated a room in the castle expressly for interrogation and torture. Passersby reported hearing the victims' agonies from adjacent streets, but the details are not available. Among the victims was Communist official Martin Hoop, who had been held at Zwickau for less than one week. Hoop was shot to death on the night of May 12, 1933. As per convention, the SA blamed his death on an escape attempt.[1] Still other prisoners committed suicide following maltreatment.

The Osterstein protective custody camp was dissolved on February 1, 1934, and its detainees were removed to the early concentration camp at Sachsenburg.

On April 17, 1948, during the Soviet occupation, the Zwickau State Court convicted four Osterstein guards for their activities in 1933. The published record does not specify the charges, their unit, or following German practice, their last names. Convicted were Kurt B., who received life imprisonment; Wilhelm Sp., confined to penitentiary for 15 years; Willi R., sentenced to 6 years in penitentiary; and Kurt K., who was also sentenced to 6 years in penitentiary.[2]

SOURCES This entry builds upon the standard study of the early Nazi concentration camps, Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). An excellent overview of this camp may be found in Stefanie Endlich et al., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999). Osterstein does not have a memorial. See also Mike Schmeitzner, "Ausschaltung—Verfolgung—Widerstand: Die politischen Gegner des NS-Systems in Sachsen, 1933–1945," in *Sachsen in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Clemens Vollnhals (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenhauer Verlag, 2002), pp. 183–199.

Primary documentation for Zwickau-Osterstein, as cited by Drobisch and Wieland and Schmeitzner, begins with File No. 4842 in SHStA-(D), Ministerium für Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten. Also available in the same archive is file KH Zwickau, No. 3045/I, concerning the death of Martin Hoop. As cited by Drobisch and Wieland, there

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is also survivors' testimony for Zwickau and three other camps in a booklet by Felix Burger (pseud. Kurt R. Grossmann), *Juden in brauner Hölle* (Prague, 1933). During the first years of the Nazi regime, Grossmann interviewed 270 early camp survivors in Prague on behalf of the Liga der Menschenrechte. An overview of the Zwickau proceeding, case number St Ks 25/48, is found in Der Generalstaatsanwalt der DDR, Ministerium der Justiz der DDR, ed., *Die Haltung der beiden deutschen Staaten zu den Nazi- und Kriegsverbrechen: Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin [East]: Staatsverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1965). The Zwickau camp is also listed in the ITS, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), 1: 233. The Social Democratic exile press also listed the early camp. See "Stätten der Hölle: 65 Konzentrationslager—80,000 Schutzhaftgefangene," *NV*, August 27, 1933.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. KH Zwickau, No. 3045/I, SHStA-D, as cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 129.

2. Der Generalstaatsanwalt der DDR, Ministerium der Justiz der DDR, ed., *Die Haltung der beiden deutschen Staaten zu den Nazi- und Kriegsverbrechen: Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin [East]: Staatsverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1965), p. 41.

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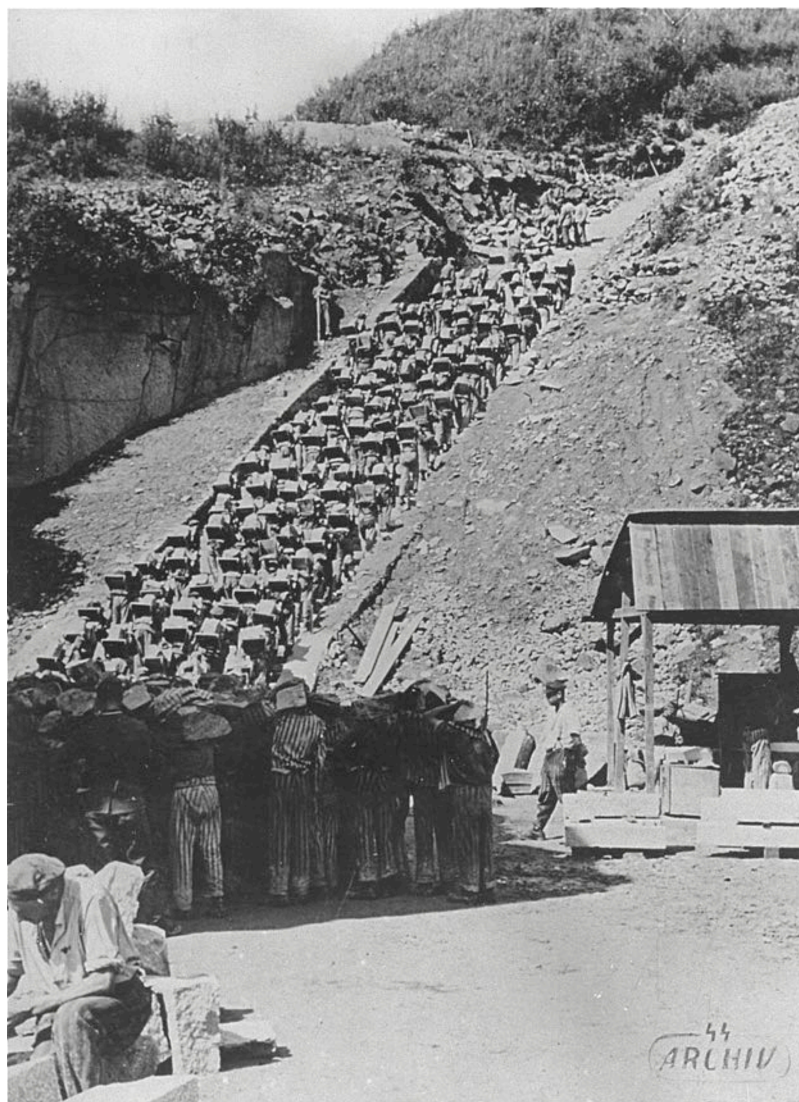
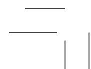
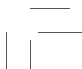
SECTION II

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



The “stairs of death” at Mauthausen’s Wiener Graben granite quarry, 1942.
USHMM WS # 15622, COURTESY OF AG-M

THE GENESIS AND STRUCTURE OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONCENTRATION CAMPS

FROM POLITICAL PROTECTIVE CUSTODY CAMP TO CONCENTRATION CAMP

During the first year of the National Socialist regime, the National Socialists established a large number of prisons that soon held tens of thousands of prisoners.[1] The prisons were established to terrorize the regime's opponents. The orgy of violence that took place was aimed, first, against the political opponents of the National Socialists. It marked a fundamental break with the Weimar Republic, even though Weimar was marked by a comparatively high level of violence. German and international opinion noted that the violence had escalated to a new level.

In hindsight and in light of the later years of the National Socialist regime, this assessment becomes relative. The terror in 1933–1934 was the consequence of the establishment of an authoritarian dictatorship. It was not necessarily the first step of a plan to establish a comprehensive system of terror and extermination. The camps created in 1933–1934 show little uniformity and were fundamentally different from those that were established after 1936. The differences relate to the institutional support for the camps, the organizational structures, the persecution methods, the groups targeted for persecution, the prison conditions, and the number of victims. If one wants to grasp this analytically, for this phase the term *concentration camp* has to be discarded. The more appropriate term, which is already used by some researchers, is the term *early camp*.

The appointment of Heinrich Himmler in April 1934 as head of the Prussian Geheimes Staatspolizeiamt (Secret State Police Office, Gestapa) and the murder of Ernst Röhm and the SA leadership in June of that year marked a change: the Bavarian group of the SS leadership under Himmler and Reinhard Heydrich prevailed in their struggle with the rival SA, the newly appointed heads of the states, and Nazi Party provincial chiefs (Gauleiter) for control over the Political Police and the camps. These events formed the basis for Himmler's unification of the Political Police throughout the Reich, as well as the subsequent unification of the existing camps and prisons. In 1933, Theodor Eicke had developed in Dachau,

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the earliest SS camp, the model for camp governance. Himmler appointed Eicke as inspector of concentration camps and instructed him either to dissolve the existing camps or to restructure them in accordance with the Dachau model. He also established a subordinate and at first a small administrative office, the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL). This office would in time develop into the central administrative body for all concentration camps: the IKL regulated all matters related to the conditions of concentration camp inmates and ultimately decided on the life or death of the prisoners. The only matters that the IKL did not decide were the admission and the release of prisoners from the concentration camps (although the camps later were places from which most people did not return, prisoners did obtain releases before the war and even sometimes after it began). These decisions rested not with the IKL but with the Political Police.

The period between 1934 and 1936 is marked by the dissolution and reorganization of the existing camps and by Himmler's efforts to remove the camps from the influence of other authorities. However, this change did not automatically result in the development of the camp system. During this period there was open discussion on whether to dissolve the whole camp system and to hand over the "protective custody" prisoners to the judicial authorities who would integrate them back into the normal prison system. This shows that the establishment phase of the National Socialist regime had come to an end—it had politically isolated its opponents, locked them up, or murdered them. The number of prisoners sank to its low point, as did the number of camps, which had been subordinated by Eicke to the IKL during the reorganization.

That the protective custody camps were retained is the result of a number of fundamental decisions made by Hitler in 1935: using Himmler's model, Hitler decided not only that prisoners would continue to remain under the control of the SS but that the guards would be expanded into a military organization. By the middle of the 1930s there existed five so-

Official portrait of SS-Obergruppenführer Theodor Eicke, the first Inspector of Concentration Camps (1934–1939), taken after he assumed wartime command of the SS-Totenkopfsdivision.
USHMM WS #80530, COURTESY OF NARA

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called SS-Death's Head Battalions (Totenkopfsturmbanne), which were stationed at the early IKL camps, designated Upper Bavaria (stationed at Dachau), East Friesia (Esterwegen), Elbe (Lichtenburg), Sachsen (Sachsenburg), and Brandenburg (Columbia-Haus).[2] Hitler also approved Himmler's suggestion that the state finance both the guards and the protective custody camps and that the camp system be removed from the judicial system.[3]

The consolidation process came to an end in the summer of 1936 with the third Gestapo Law, the appointment of Himmler as chief of the German police, and the consolidation of the Political Police and the Criminal Police (Kripo) under the roof of the Security Police (Sipo). Himmler, with the express support of Hitler, had once again prevailed over the state premiers, the Ministry of Interior, and the Ministry of Justice. From this point on, the traditional authorities lost all influence over the camps. It was only now that the preconditions for a camp system had been created. Within a year, Himmler had dissolved those camps that were already under the control of the IKL. They proved to be too small for his plans. In the summer of 1937, all the camps, with the exception of Dachau, were dissolved or handed over to other institutions (for example, the Gestapo or the judicial authorities). In their place appeared a new type of camp—the National Socialist concentration camp.

Five new concentration camps were established between 1936 and the beginning of the war—Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, and Ravensbrück. Dachau was significantly enlarged during the same period. These concentration camps are to be treated as part of a system, separate from the earlier camps and prisons not only because they were established within the same period and were under the same organizational umbrella of the IKL but because the SS leadership strived to ensure that it was only these camps that were called "concentration camps." There were a number of other factors that made these camps novel: all the camps were structured on the basis of the Dachau model with a uniform administrative and organizational structure. An essential structural element was, first, the separation of the guards and the camp command. Depending on the size of the concentration camp, the guards were divided into several companies, while the camp command split into several subgroups, the so-called departments: the command/adjutant's office, the political department, the protective custody camp, administration, and the camp or station doctor, as well as the guards.[4] The basic features of this division of the command staff remained in force in all concentration camps until the collapse of the Third Reich.[5]

Second, all the prisoners were subject to the same "camp order," which is characterized by the attempt to systematize terror by standardizing it. Further, the expansion of the concentration camp system after 1936 was closely connected with preparations for war. As an example, one can mention political security aspects such as considering whether to establish a concentration camp in the border areas of the German Reich or in central regions (such as close to the capital city or in areas regarded as politically unstable, such as Thüringen) or whether to establish a wide net of SS-controlled detention sites. Himmler was also successful in building the armed SS formations into the "nation's second bearer of arms." He had the SS-Death's Head Units, which supplied the concentration camp guards, transformed into a military unit.[6] The SS leadership merged the SS-Death's Head Battalions into three units. Known from April 1, 1937, as the SS-Totenkopfstandarten (Death's Head Regiments), the units were transferred to the Dachau, Sachsenhausen, and Buchenwald concentration camps as the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Totenkopfstandarten, respectively. In the autumn of 1938, the 4th SS-Totenkopfstandarte Ostmark was sent to the Mauthausen concentration camp.

Another, but decisive, factor that justifies designating the camps established after 1936 as National Socialist concentration camps is the fundamental change in persecution. From the middle of the 1930s the principle of "racial general prevention" (Ulrich Herbert) began to prevail within the Gestapo leadership. The waves of arrests in 1937 and 1938, which were aimed at so-called asocials (and no longer at the regime's political opponents), show that viewing the opposition in socioracist and racial-biological terms had gained hold in the practice of the persecuting authorities.[7] The number of prisoners in the concentration camps grew considerably in 1937–1938—the result of expanding the definition of those groups seen as a threat to the state and the German Volk and massive arrests of "criminals" and "asocials." They reached a high-water mark with the 1938 November pogrom (*Kristallnacht*). Dragging around 30,000 Jews into concentration camps for six to eight weeks and their barbarous treatment served to increase the pressure on the Jews to emigrate from Germany, while leaving behind their property.[8]

From 1937 to 1938 one has to assume an increase in the exploitation of the concentration camp prisoners. During the first years of National Socialist rule, prisoner labor involved completely senseless tasks or was used to expand the camps. Now the SS used the prisoners for its own economic interests. Oswald Pohl, the SS administrative head, coordinated economic activities, in particular, those of the SS-owned companies such as the Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (German Earth and Stone Works Ltd., DESt) or the Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH (German Equipment Works Ltd., DAW), both of which Himmler ordered formed in this period. In 1938, he offered to supply building materials for the planned National Socialist city building program; the materials were to be produced by concentration camp prisoners. Albert Speer, in his role as general building inspector for the Reich Capital, seized the offer because at this time there was a noticeable shortage of labor in the building sector. The location of new concentration camps was now dependant on whether quarries or clay sites were in the vicinity. The prisoners were to produce the necessary building materials in specially constructed brickworks. However, productivity fell far short of Himmler's promises. The quarries were particularly brutal work detachments where the SS caused the deaths of many people. The waves of arrests in 1937–1938 that had been directed in particular against the so-called asocials,

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professional criminals, and the "work-shy" were a "preventative measure to protect the racial community" and to forcibly recruit labor.[9] Both aims complemented one another.

From 1937 to 1938 there was a fundamental change in the composition of the prisoner population. The SS adapted to the changes by altering the means of camp control: in reaction to the admission of new victim groups, they now began to mark the prisoners. It was only now that the prisoners were categorized according to a uniform scheme and marked with a triangular patch whose color indicated the supposed or actual reason for imprisonment. The systematic categorization of the prisoner groups proved to be an instrument of control. The division of the prisoners into subgroups enabled the SS to shift the terror to the prisoner groups. This was also achieved by transferring defined administration and guard duties to selected prisoners, the so-called prisoner-functionaries.

The transfer of a comprehensive sociobiological and racial concept into the practice of the persecuting authorities proved to be a decisive moment. Not only political opponents of the National Socialist regime were threatened with persecution and imprisonment but also, and even foremost, social groups that for social-hygienic or racial reasons had to be "kept safe." Until its collapse the National Socialist regime followed both goals—the persecution of political as well as "racial" opponents of the state and the racial community. As the camps were transformed into enforcement sites for "racial general prevention" and the composition of the prisoner groups fundamentally changed, a new type of camp arose that was historically unique: the National Socialist concentration camp.

THE FIRST HALF OF THE WAR

The concentration camp system expanded once the war began. During the first half of the war, the IKL opened five new concentration camps: Auschwitz, Neuengamme, Natzweiler, Gross-Rosen, and Majdanek (as well as the concentration camp at Niederhagen near Paderborn and the SS-Special Camp Hinzert in the Hunsrück, which had a special position within the concentration camp system). In less than three years the number of prisoners quadrupled: from around 21,000 in August 1939 to an estimated 70,000 to 80,000 in the spring of 1942.[10]

The number of SS guards had also increased considerably: since the end of the 1930s the SS-Death's Head Regiments had gradually lost their importance as a pure concentration camp guard force. In order to have a replacement force for the SS-Special Assignment Troops (SSVT) in case of war, Himmler expanded and militarized the SS-Death's Head Units. Hitler supported this development with a fundamental order. The decree of August 17, 1938, required that the SS and police tasks be redefined and that those of the SS be distinguished from those of the Wehrmacht. The decree (and the supplementary decree of May 18, 1939) enabled the armed SS units, especially the SSVT, to become the "Nation's second bearer of arms."[11]The militarization of the SS-Death's Head Units occurred not least because the Wehrmacht was successful in preventing an enlargement of the SSVT. According to a report by Eicke to Himmler, by the middle of 1939, the strength of the Death's Head Units had increased to 22,033 men.[12] If this is correct, then the number of SS guards at this time exceeded the number of concentration camp prisoners.

The expansion and training of the Death's Head Units did not occur solely with the aim of deployment in war. The SS anticipated that after the outbreak of war there would be an increase in the numbers of "enemy elements" within the state and in the conquered countries, which were to be "fought" inside the concentration camps. Simultaneously, with the military training of the Death's Head Units, the reservists were called up and added to the concentration camp guard force.[13] The so-called reinforcement of the Death's Head Units (also referred to as police reinforcements) essentially consisted of older men from the Allgemeine (General) SS. The call up was based on the "emergency decree" of October 15, 1938.[14] An important stage on the road to a unified "state security corps" (to which, first and foremost, the fusion of police and SS personnel was an essential part) was the dovetailing of the SSVT and Death's Head Units, the pace of which had increased since summer 1938.[15] At the beginning of the war, Himmler gave Eicke, who until this time had been

SS-Gruppenführer Richard Glücks, the second Inspector of Concentration Camps (1939–1945).
USHMM WS #79545, COURTESY OF BA

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the inspector of concentration camps and leader of the Death's Head Units, the military command of the SS-Death's Head Regiments, which until now had been based in the concentration camps. In October 1939, these units were merged into one division: the SS-Totenkopf Division.[16]

At the commencement of the war, the SS-Death's Head Regiments marched into Poland and later were merged into the SS-Totenkopf Division under Eicke's command. While this was happening, the police reinforcements took over the role of guarding the concentration camp prisoners. At the same time, many SS members who were serving in the concentration camp command offices remained at their posts. The IKL needed them to expand the concentration camp system: they developed into the leadership group of the "SS concentration camps," into a group expert in terror.[17] In the middle of November, Himmler named Richard Glücks as Eicke's successor. He had been Eicke's deputy for many years and was chief of the IKL staff.[18] For the time being, the IKL continued to be subordinate to the SS-Main Office (Hauptamt). In August 1940, when the SS-Main Command Office (Führungshauptamt) was formed, Himmler ordered that IKL be subordinate to this office.[19] The SS Main Command Office had the task of coordinating and organizing the military leadership of the Waffen-SS, so the SS personnel deployed in the concentration camps were now members of the Waffen-SS.[20] This bureaucratic restructure had scarcely any practical consequences; it was essentially a matter of form. The IKL remained, as it did before the war, directly responsible to Himmler. Likewise, the authority over admissions to and release from the concentration camps changed in form but not in substance. The Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), which had been formed in September 1939, now had the responsibility. Reinhard Heydrich was appointed chief of the RSHA. It represented the organizational fusion of the Security Police (that is, the Kripo and the Gestapo) and the Security Service (SD) of the SS. It was the core of the planned "state security corps" that came to be under the command of the SS leadership.

Shortly after the outbreak of war, a number of actual or potential National Socialist opponents were placed in protective custody, including those who had been in prison but subsequently released (for example, members of the labor movement or Jews who had not emigrated after their release from concentration camps in 1938–1939). However, for the first time, other groups were taken into custody, such as members of the clergy, those who had previous convictions, those accused of being "work-shy," or those who were suspected of causing "unrest" in the population. The significant increase in prisoner numbers was, however, first and foremost the result of the incarceration of people from countries conquered by the Wehrmacht.

The arrests in Western Europe were primarily directed against resistance groups and saboteurs; in Eastern Europe, they also partially took the form of summary waves of arrests that were aimed to support the implementation of National Socialist population policy as well as the forcible recruitment of labor. From 1940, the non-German prisoners, especially Poles, constituted a significant percentage of the prisoners; in some concentration camps they constituted the majority of the prisoners during the first half of the war. This tendency steadily grew stronger. Leaving aside the differing developments in the different concentration camps, one can say for the concentration camp system as a whole that during the war the German prisoners became a small minority. The group of "Reich Germans," that is, the German and Austrian prisoners, constituted by the end of the war around 5 to 10 percent of all concentration camp prisoners.

The increasing internationalization of the prisoners fundamentally changed the internal structure of the prisoner groups, possibly to an even greater degree than that which occurred in 1937–1938. The triangle marking system of the prewar period was replaced by a national hierarchy of prisoner groups, based on "racial" criteria. For the most part, the SS gave the so-called Reich German concentration camp prisoners a privileged position (regardless of which triangle they wore) within the system of prisoner-functionaries or a protected position in a work detachment. However, Slavic or Jewish prisoners were subject to exceptional persecution and the worst work detachments.

The outbreak of the war resulted in a worsening of the prisoners' conditions: the SS reduced the food and increased the work as well as the mistreatment. From the first winter of the war, the most common reason for deaths in the concentration camps may have been malnourishment. The reduction in food, the worsening accommodations, and the nonexistent or limited medical care in the concentration camps increased the rate of malnutrition, disease, and epidemics; the death rate increased dramatically, especially in winter.[21] The effect of this worsening situation was not the same for the different national and social groups. Prisoners in the punishment companies, Jewish concentration camp inmates, Slavic prisoners, and the "Red Spaniards" in Mauthausen/Gusen had the highest death rates. The SS exposed most of the prisoners to conditions that were on the edge of a subsistence level of survival but did not intend their extermination. However, some groups in the first half of the war were the target of a deliberate policy of extermination. The deadly terror of the SS was directed in the first instance against prisoners of Slavic origin as well as Jews.

In the first half of the war, the IKL concentration camps were not an instrument that served primarily to imprison and terrorize the Jewish population. Jews were held in the concentration camps, but their numbers, both relatively and absolutely, were small. The majority of the Jews who came within the German sphere of power during the war were driven into other places of detention, above all, to the numerous ghettos and "forced labor camps for Jews." The concentration camp system was only one element of the National Socialist policy of persecution and extermination. There were other types of camps and forms of terror, especially against the Jews. Within the concentration camp system, the Jewish prisoners, though, were exposed to special, sometimes fatal, harassment.

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PLANNED MASS KILLINGS AND PILOT PROJECTS ON LABOR USE

The year 1941 marked a qualitative new level of terror in the concentration camp system. The SS had used the concentration camps since the very beginning to kill particular individuals or prisoner groups; in a few concentration camps the murders in part took on a systematic nature. In the spring of 1941, there occurred the first planned and systematic mass murder throughout the entire concentration camp system.[22] The murders are to be regarded not only as typical for individual concentration camps but as typical for all the camps. The first such action was directed against the sick and weakened prisoners, who were increasingly regarded by the SS as a burden in the overcrowded camps. The second action was against Russian prisoners of war (POWs) designated as "Russian commissars." From April 1941 on, a doctor's committee engaged in "euthanasia," a killing organization known as "T4" after its location in 4 Tiergarten Strasse, Berlin, toured the concentration camps to select out the ill and weakened prisoners. T4 was active in at least 10 concentration camps between April 1941 and April 1942. The selected prisoners were killed by carbon monoxide in the "euthanasia institutions" at Bernburg, Sonnenstein, or Hartheim. The camp SS also used the killing actions to have Jewish and politically unwanted prisoners murdered. At least 10,000, possibly between 15,000 and 20,000, prisoners were killed.[23] From the summer of 1941 the murder program, named "14f13" after the IKL file, overlapped with the murder of Soviet prisoners of war.

Himmler had formed an agreement with the Wehrmacht that some Soviet prisoners of war would come under his jurisdiction. Beginning in October 1941, he ordered two large camp complexes established for this purpose: the Waffen-SS prisoner of war camps Majdanek and Birkenau. Both were subordinate to the IKL; Majdanek was an independent concentration camp, while Birkenau was a subcamp of Auschwitz until 1943. In the autumn of 1941, the Wehrmacht handed over to Himmler several tens of thousands of Soviet POWs. They were distributed among the existing concentration camps and the so-called prisoner of war camps (or prisoner of war labor camps), which were now adjunct to all concentration camps. In essence, they were specially fenced off areas of the protective custody camps into which the SS crowded the Soviet soldiers (who were not entered in the camp registers). Apparently, Himmler planned to use them as a labor force if required; de facto, without food, they were left to die.

The soldiers were not only exposed to hunger and epidemics, but it is known that at least in Auschwitz a Gestapo special commission selected the so-called political commissars and shot some of them.[24] The majority of the "political commissars" who were killed in the concentration camps came from Wehrmacht camps. A decree of the Armed Forces High Command (OKW) provided that Soviet prisoners of war who were determined to be "commissars" were to be handed over to the SS-Einsatzgruppen or the Einsatzkommandos of the Security Police and the SD. Heydrich's *Einsatzbefehl Nr. 8* of July 17, 1941, set the criteria for determining who were "political commissars" and how they were to be "eliminated" from the POW camps. On July 21, Heydrich determined that they were to be murdered in the nearest concentration camp.[25] Mass shootings began in all concentration camps in the late summer of 1941; it is thought that at least 34,000 (possibly more than 45,000) Soviet POWs were victims of the shootings.[26]

It would be a mistake, however, to view 1941 only from the perspective of planned, mass killings. During the same time period, the foundations were laid for the use of concentration camp prisoners in industry.[27] There were only a few "pilot projects" at this early juncture: since the spring of 1941, the IKL had leased a few hundred prisoners from Auschwitz to IG Farben and 300 prisoners from Mauthausen to Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG. Both companies were trying to compensate for a labor shortage by using forced laborers; both initially used the concentration camp inmates exclusively for construction work and unskilled labor. Admittedly, however, the majority of personnel during the first half of the war were not recruited from concentration camp prisoners.

The SS leadership accommodated attempts by the companies to access concentration camp labor so long as the demands did not run contrary to its own interests. Himmler was speculating about material gain: in the case of Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG, on cheaper armaments for the Waffen-SS, and in the case of IG Farben, on urgently required building material for the expansion of the Auschwitz concentration camp. Moreover, the SS did not relinquish control over the prisoners, who continued to be accommodated in the respective main camps and who were guarded by SS men while working.

From the companies' point of view, the cooperation with the SS was anything but smooth. They complained that the daily transport of the prisoners to and from work reduced their output and that the prisoners were inefficiently used because there was a shortage of guards. Complaints about the mistreatment of the prisoners had little effect. After about a year, both companies, independently of one another, suggested that the prisoners should be quartered close to the construction sites. After some initial resistance, the SS agreed with the suggestion.

Cooperation with industry during the first half of the war, when considered in light of the whole concentration camp system, was of only small significance. It was only when the function of the concentration camps changed once again and they came to be seen as a labor reservoir for the armaments industry that the cases outlined here came to be seen as a type of model.

The reorganization of labor utilization that the IKL undertook in the autumn of 1941 was at first not aimed at the war industry but primarily on the extensive plans for settlement "in the east." In the summer of 1941, Himmler had commissioned the Generalplan Ost (General Plan East, GPO), which provided an overall plan for population and settlements in the east. The settlement plans were supplemented by an extensive construction program, the "preliminary peace construction program." Himmler wanted to realize his plans almost exclusively with forced labor: with Soviet POWs, concentration

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camp prisoners, Jewish prisoners, and foreign civilian workers. It was for this reason and with a view to the "later settlement of the Danzig-West Prussian Gau" that Himmler, at the end of 1941, decided to place the camp at Stutthof, near Danzig, which had been established at the beginning of the war, under the control of the IKL.[28]

FORCED LABOR AND GENOCIDE WITHIN THE CONCENTRATION CAMP SYSTEM

Himmler dropped the idea of the "preliminary peace construction program" when it became clear during the winter of 1941–1942 that the war against the Soviet Union would be drawn out. It was replaced with a focus on the armaments sector, whose significance in the eyes of the National Socialist leadership rapidly increased. For reasons of pure power politics, Himmler intended to restructure the concentration camps, which had an apparently inexhaustible supply of labor, into a labor reservoir for the war economy. In the first half of 1942, a number of measures were introduced that were aimed to restructure the concentration camp system. In March, Himmler integrated the IKL into the recently established SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) as Office Group D. In doing so, he was trying to prevent Fritz Sauckel, who had been appointed plenipotentiary general for labor deployment, from seizing control of the concentration camp system. With Pohl's appointment as head of the WVHA, and the subordination of the IKL under the WVHA, Himmler cemented a long-standing development: Pohl's constantly increasing influence on the concentration camp system.

Pohl began to restructure his office in order to "mobilize all prisoner labor."[29] Moreover, he began negotiations with the Armaments Ministry and private industry. The plans that were initially pursued for the production of weapons in the concentration camps quickly faltered because the Armaments Ministry feared that Himmler would succeed in expanding the power of the SS by virtue of its own armaments production. In September 1942, Hitler, Himmler, and Speer agreed that concentration camp prisoners would be leased to armaments firms and would be accommodated in specially constructed subcamps.[30] It was only now, in the winter of 1942–1943, that the IKL began to open subcamps on any meaningful scale; in 1944–1945, the numbers increased significantly.

The fundamental decision made in the autumn of 1942 had different consequences for the various concentration camp prisoner groups. The decision meant the death penalty for Jews held in concentration camps within the Reich. A directive was sent to all concentration camp commands at the beginning of October 1942 that Himmler wished "to free the concentration camps within the Reich of Jews."[31] At least 1,559 Jewish concentration camp prisoners (1,037 men and 522 women) were deported to Auschwitz, where they were probably murdered.[32]

For non-Jewish concentration camp prisoners, the decision meant the implementation of institutionalized forced labor in private or state armaments factories. In order to force the use of prisoner labor, the SS command stopped the two planned mass shootings for 1941. Moreover, they succeeded in significantly increasing the number of concentration camp prisoners. In the winter of 1942–1943, Reich Minister for Justice Otto Thierack handed over to Himmler 12,000 so-called *Sicherungsverwahrte* ("preventive detainees" transferred from the judicial system to the concentration camp system) for, in the express words of the minutes of the meeting between the two, "Vernichtung durch Arbeit" (extermination through work).[33] In addition, large-scale roundups and mass arrest operations took place in the German Reich, largely against Polish and Soviet forced laborers. Within the course of six months, the number of concentration camp inmates almost doubled: from around 110,000 prisoners in September 1942 to 203,000 in April 1943. In August 1943, there were 224,000 prisoners in the concentration camps, and one year later, 524,286.[34]

The SS-WVHA chief, SS-Obergruppenführer Oswald Pohl (left) and an IG Farben official drink wine at a hunting party for Auschwitz SS officers in late 1944.
USHMM WS #34786, COURTESY OF ANONYMOUS DONOR

The chief of the SS-WVHA Office Group D II (labor allocation), SS-Standartenführer Gerhard Maurer (left), in civilian clothes with an SS officer at the Solahütte retreat near Auschwitz in late 1944.
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The intended restructuring of the concentration camp system into a labor reservoir for the war economy did not lighten the lot of the concentration camp inmates; it is true that there are many surviving WVHA directives that aimed to improve the efficiency of the labor deployments and to increase the concentration camp prisoners' productivity. However, a look at the camps shows that most of the directives were not put into practice. Only two directives brought about an improvement: first, the camp SS applied for and actually distributed food supplements for those doing heavy labor; and second, from the autumn of 1942, Himmler allowed food packages to be sent to the concentration camps.

The question of the evolution of the death rate is more difficult to judge. What can be shown is that the WVHA explicitly required the camp doctors and commanders to lower the death rate. Viewed in relation to the entire concentration camp system, the death rate in fact did decline: from 10 percent in the second half of 1942 to 2.8 percent in June 1943.[35] However, there are three arguments that can be made against the thesis that this represented a general improvement in conditions.[36] First, the absolute number of murdered concentration camp prisoners declined far less than the percentages would suggest, due to the large number of new prisoners entering the camps; second, the numbers given to Himmler about the decline in the death rate were partially falsified (so as to demonstrate to him that his demands had been met); and third, the death rates in the concentration camps partially declined because the SS sent the sick and dying prisoners to the killing centers and murdered them there, without registering them.

The rise in value attributed to the labor force did not increase the survival chances of the concentration camp prisoners. On the contrary, the SS valued the labor force even less because it had a mass supply. The chances of surviving a concentration camp were dependent upon the position one had within a work detachment or within the prisoner hierarchy, which was based on "racial" criteria. The restructuring of the concentration camps into a labor reservoir and the actual use of a large number of the prisoners as forced labor did not result in an improvement in prison conditions but rather in their deterioration.

For only a minority of prisoners at the top of the camps' racial hierarchy, or whose professional qualifications benefited the SS, did this not apply. These groups, mostly the German prisoner-functionaries as well as the slowly emerging group of skilled prisoner laborers, were permitted by the SS to have better working and living conditions. It was these two groups alone that benefited from the so-called bonus system introduced in May 1943 and that promised financial bonuses and improved prison conditions for special achievements.[37] However, the idea for such a system did not come from the WVHA but from the industries that were using the concentration camp prisoners.

Moreover, in the second half of the war the concentration camp system was not exclusively characterized by attempts on the part of the SS leadership to enforce the principle of forced labor. Along with the concentration camps, most of which lay in the Old Reich (Altreich), Auschwitz-Birkenau and Majdanek developed into killing centers during this period. Both of these developments, which had already become apparent in 1941, marked the concentration camp system in the second half of the war: the simultaneity of forced labor and genocide. These factors did not contradict each other because they affected different groups of victims: Jews, on the one hand, and non-Jewish concentration camp prisoners, on the other hand.

The basic features of the history of the Auschwitz II-Birkenau killing center are known. The genocide of European Jews in Auschwitz II-Birkenau began at the beginning of 1942; it took on its systematic form in the summer of 1942.[38] At first sporadically—but from July 4, 1942, on a regular basis—SS doctors and members of the command staff selected Jews who had been transported to Auschwitz.[39] The majority, probably around 80 percent, were sent directly to their deaths.[40] Those regarded as "capable of working" were deployed in Auschwitz or one of its numerous subcamps until they were physically no longer capable of working. Himmler stopped the extermination in the late summer of 1944. At least 1.2 million people, of whom around 1 million were Jews, had been murdered by the SS.[41]

The history of the Majdanek camp falls into four phases. Polish historians describe the camp as a "multi-functional provisional arrangement" because the camp's function often changed and because it never really got out of the planning stage.[42] The first period (October 1941 to the middle of 1942) is marked by the construction of the camp; the second (to the end of 1942) is marked by an increase in the number of prisoners (mostly Jews and Poles from the Lublin area but also Polish Jews from the Warsaw and Białystok ghettos).[43] Majdanek functioned as a killing center from 1943; the SS also used

SS-Standartenführer Dr. Enno Lolling (*second from left*) attends the handover of the SS troop hospital at Birkenau, September 1, 1944. Lolling headed the SS-WVHA's Office D III (Hygiene). To his right is the Auschwitz camp doctor, Eduard Wirths. To his left are: Auschwitz I commandant, SS-Sturmbannführer Richard Baer; Baer's adjutant, SS-Obersturmführer Karl Höcker; and the head of SS-WVHA Office D I (Personnel), SS-Obersturmbannführer Rudolf Höss.
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it as a holding area for Polish and Soviet farmers. While Majdanek was developing into a center of genocide of the Jews, there were attempts to integrate the few remaining Jewish prisoners in the General Government (GG) into the economic empire of the WVHA. Indeed, Pohl was able to take the first steps in this direction, but in the autumn of 1943 the National Socialist leadership decided to murder these Jews. They were shot on November 3–4, 1943. The mass murders took place almost simultaneously in three camps—Poniatowa, Trawniki, and Majdanek. The SS units, which gathered at these camps, killed an estimated 40,000 to 43,000 people. In Majdanek, 17,000 Jews were shot, including the camp's approximate 8,000 Jews as well as others from nearby camps.[44] Operation Harvest Festival (Aktion Erntefest), the code name for the shootings, is one of the largest mass shootings in the history of the National Socialist extermination of the Jews.

In the last phase of the camp's history, until the evacuation of Majdanek, Pohl attempted to reorganize the use of labor for the DAW factories in the Lublin area. The attempts failed. Majdanek functioned more as a place of execution for Polish civilians and a reception camp for sick and weakened concentration camp prisoners. The number of victims at Majdanek lies between 170,000 and 250,000 people, of whom at least 90,000 were Jews.[45]

A final expansion of the concentration camp system occurred in the summer of 1943. Between July and September 1943, Pohl took over the Jewish ghettos, the Reichskommissar Ostland's so-called forced labor camps for Jews, and the Gestapo prison in Warsaw. In January 1944, he took over the forced labor camp for Jews in Kraków. These camps were turned into the independent concentration camps Riga, Kauen [aka Kaunas], Vaivara, Warschau, and Krakau-Plaszow.[46] He also established in January 1943, in the occupied Netherlands, the Herzogenbusch concentration camp. From the summer of 1943, the WVHA administered 20 independent main camps.

Little is known about the camps that the WVHA took control over in 1943–1944. They were not converted into concentration camps in the strict sense, except for the Warsaw concentration camp, which Himmler established to remove the traces of the crimes committed in Warsaw. There is only a limited structural similarity with the concentration camps located inside the German Reich if one considers the internal administration and organizational structure, the composition of the prison groups, and the personnel. Herzogenbusch functioned as a transit camp for Jewish prisoners on their way to the killing centers, whereas, because of the murderous nature of the living and working conditions in the Baltic camps, which held Jews almost exclusively, they must perhaps be regarded, at least in part, as killing centers.

THE CONCENTRATION CAMP SYSTEM IN THE LAST YEAR OF THE WAR

The last year of the war was marked by a significant increase in the number of prisoners, as well as the number of newly opened subcamps. Attempts by the National Socialist regime to ward off the impending defeat by all means possible were accompanied by ever more urgent demands by the war economy for labor, which in turn resulted in a broadening of the scope of arrests. The retreat of German troops was accompanied by roundups and waves of arrests, now also in Western and Northern Europe. The number of prisoners increased to 524,286 in August 1944, and in January 1945, to almost 715,000.[47]

In the spring of 1944, moreover, the demand for labor led the authorities to abandon the principle of keeping the Reich "free of Jews." Himmler exempted some of the Hungarian Jews, who had fallen within the German sphere of control, from immediate extermination and transferred them from Auschwitz to concentration camps in the Reich. Moreover, starting in the summer of 1944, Pohl ordered the concentration camps in the Baltic to be evacuated to the west. As a result of both these events, within a short period of time, several tens of thousands of Jewish prisoners reached the Reich and the concentration camps that existed there. The people who were held in the concentration camps experienced the onset of this dramatic overcrowding as the emergence of a life-threatening chaos in the conditions within the camps. The drastic reduction in resources, which was accompanied by an intensification in mistreatment and an expansion of forced labor, led to a mass mortality that reached previously unknown levels in the concentration camps.

Different types of concentration camps now emerged within the concentration camp system, each of which served a different function: the killing center Auschwitz II-Birkenau, the main concentration camps, and the network of subcamps must be mentioned. Now, there also appeared two completely new forms of concentration camps, which could be called "subterranean factory camps" and "mass mortality camps."

The genocide in Birkenau reached its terrifying climax in the late autumn of 1944: within a few weeks the SS killed 350,000 Hungarian Jews, those held in the "Theresienstadt Family Camp," the prisoners in the "Gypsy Camp," as well as those deported from the Łódź ghetto. However, the might of the SS had its limits. Resistance began to increase in 1944 (for example, the uprising by the Jewish "Special Details"), as did the number of escape attempts. These facts, plus the approach of the Red Army, caused the SS to relocate 70,000 prisoners from Auschwitz to concentration camps in the Old Reich in the second half of 1944.[48]

In the last year of the war, the main concentration camps registered another burst of growth. They increasingly developed into reception and transit camps, that is, into distribution centers for their subcamps. Looking solely at the number of prisoners, the relationship between the main camps and the subcamps gradually turned around. Proportionately and in absolute numbers, the SS held ever more concentration camp inmates in the subcamps.

Beginning in 1944, the number of subcamps rapidly increased; even in the first months of 1945 this trend continued.[49] State and private armaments firms grabbed at the labor reservoir in the concentration camps to overcome the drastic

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shortage in labor. This was so even though their performance, when compared to free workers or even forced laborers, was significantly poorer and even though their productivity remained low. Initial estimates suggest that their output did not reach more than 15 percent of that in private industry.[50]

At least two types of subcamps gained significance because of the large numbers of prisoners they held: the factory camp (*Fabriklager*), on the one hand, and the construction camp (*Baulager*), on the other hand. It is thought that these two types of camps used by far the majority of concentration camp prisoners who were assigned as forced labor. The essential difference between both types of camps is in the type of work done: in the factory camps, the prisoners were primarily used in the production of armaments, whereas in the construction camps, the prisoners were used for construction, excavation, and rubble clearance operations. It would also seem that the death rate mirrored the type of camp: lower in the factory camps than in the construction camps. The distinction between factory and construction camps already points to the fact that in the last year of the war there were a multitude of different subcamps with a large variance in confinement and work conditions. Over and above that, a new structure developed as some subcamps developed into extensive complexes, to combinations of diverse subordinate and satellite camps where often several thousand prisoners were held.

The subterranean factory camps (*Konzentrationslager der Verlagerungsprojekte*) also consisted of a whole complex of subcamps.[51] The origins of these camps can be traced back to 1943. At first they served exclusively the goal of relocating the production and assembly of "revenge weapons" (*Vergeltungswaffen*) to bombproof locations. Himmler agreed to the use of concentration camp prisoners for the gigantic construction projects and ordered the opening of the Buchenwald subcamp Nordhausen ("Dora") in August 1943. The prisoners excavated a gigantic cavern in the Harz where the V weapons were to be produced. Himmler also appointed Hans Kammler, until then head of the Office Group C (Construction) in the WVHA, as special emissary for construction.

The organizational and expertise structure that developed in Dora had only limited similarities with the administrative structures in the existing concentration camps. It developed into a model for the relocation underground of armaments industries, which in 1944 took on immense proportions. Senior management and coordination was under the control of the Armaments Ministry; specially incorporated companies (in the case of Dora, it was the Central Works Ltd. [Mittelwerk GmbH]) were responsible for the entrepreneurial leadership; while the Sonderstab Kammler (Special Staff Kammler) coordinated the extensive construction activities. In addition, many other organizations were involved in the relocation projects, including numerous industrial firms, construction firms, and the Organisation Todt (OT). Half of the estimated 480,000 concentration camp prisoners who were classified by the SS at the end of 1944 as "capable of work" (the total number of prisoners was around 600,000) worked as forced labor for private industries, and the other half were involved in the Kammlerstab relocation projects and OT construction projects.[52]

A second new type of concentration camp developed in the last year of the war: the "mass mortality camp."[53] By 1944, all main concentration camps (and also in most subcamp complexes) contained "zones of impoverishment" where newly delivered prisoners or severely overworked, sick, or completely weakened prisoners were left to die. The camp SS did not kill here with shootings or poison but through hunger, thirst, epidemics, cold, and the systematic withholding of provisions. Only one of these camps was raised to the status of an independent concentration camp: Bergen-Belsen.

Himmler established Bergen-Belsen in 1943 as a holding camp (*Aufenthaltslager*); he wanted to concentrate certain groups of Jews in one place and use them as bargaining chips, before they were deported to the killing centers, for a possible exchange for German citizens. In fact, such exchanges occurred only on a small scale. Beginning in 1944, a transformation process gradually developed that accelerated rapidly in the second half of the year. Bergen-Belsen became a receiving camp for a constant stream of new transports full of the sick, the dying, and the dead. It developed into a camp for the dying, the infernal destination of the collapsing concentration camp system.

THE EVACUATION OF THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS

The evacuation of the concentration camps took more than a year.[54] It is marked by monstrous brutality and huge numbers of dead; the "evacuation marches" are indeed correctly called "death marches."

One must not overlook the fact that, despite the chaotic course of the evacuations, they were preceded by detailed planning. The camp commanders worked out the evacuation plans apparently in partial consultation with the responsible Higher SS and Police Leaders (HSSPF) or the Gauleiter and acted accordingly.

There were three stages to the evacuation of the concentration camps: from April to September 1944, from the middle of January to the middle of February 1945, and from the end of March to the end of April 1945. Pohl ordered the evacuation of the Majdanek killing center in the spring of 1944 and of the concentration camps in the Baltic states in the summer of that year. In the autumn of 1944, he ordered the evacuation of the most westerly concentration camps—Herzogenbusch and Natzweiler. The second stage of the evacuation was triggered by the Soviet winter offensive: from the middle of January the SS began marching at least 113,000 concentration camp prisoners in a westerly direction: 58,000 from Auschwitz, 11,000 from Stutthof (a large number of prisoners remained in Stutthof, and it was only in April 1945 that they were "evacuated"), and 44,000 prisoners from Gross-Rosen. At least 24,500 prisoners did not survive the marches; the total is probably higher, as it is not even possible to estimate how many prisoners died on the marches from Gross-

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Rosen.[55] The arrival of the completely weakened, sick, and dying prisoners in the concentration camps inside the German Reich led to a last stage of the escalation.

Up until the end of March 1945, there was still no order to evacuate the remaining concentration camps. The camp SS used this interim period to prepare its own escape and to remove all traces that could provide evidence of the crimes that had been committed in the concentration camps. Moreover, as part of this process, the SS proceeded to kill two groups of concentration camp prisoners: those who, from the SS point of view, would not be able to survive the exertions of the "evacuation march" and those who might prove "dangerous" at the approach of enemy troops.

While these groups were being murdered, the plans for the evacuation of the remaining concentration camps became more concrete and radical. Consideration was now given to murdering all concentration camp prisoners at the approach of Allied troops. Himmler, for tactical reasons, rejected such ideas in March 1945 because he was now attempting to begin negotiations with the Western Powers for a separate peace. He used the Jewish prisoners as hostages and ordered that no more Jews were to be killed. This order had no effect on the reality in the concentration camps.

During this period, Himmler met with Carl J. Burckhardt, the president of the International Committee of the Red Cross, as well as Count Folke Bernadotte, the vice president of the Swedish Red Cross. Himmler agreed to the demands of Bernadotte to gather together all Scandinavian concentration camp prisoners and release them. In fact, the Scandinavian prisoners were relocated to Neuengamme and then taken to Sweden before the end of the war. More than 20,000 concentration camp inmates, including around 8,000 Scandinavians, gained their freedom because of "Operation Bernadotte."[56]

The remaining concentration camps were not dissolved until the beginning of April. Pohl first had Mittelbau (formerly Dora) evacuated, followed by Buchenwald (at least in part). American troops arrived at these two camps on April 11 and 13, respectively, and two days later Bergen-Belsen was surrendered to the British. The surrender of this mass mortality camp is a unique event in the history of the evacuation of the camps; it occurred because of a local cease-fire that was arranged between the Wehrmacht commander and the British chief of staff, Brigadier Taylor-Balfour.[57] Both feared the spotted fever epidemic that was raging in Bergen-Belsen and the possibility of combat in this infected area. In the end, however, the surrender took place only because Himmler had not given the order to evacuate Bergen-Belsen.

Himmler gave the order to "evacuate" Flossenbürg and Dachau immediately after the Allies had taken Mittelbau, Buchenwald, and Bergen-Belsen. The order included a directive that no prisoner was to be allowed to fall into the hands of the enemy.[58] In the remaining concentration camps, there then occurred two developments: first, the conclusion of the killing of those prisoners who were not able to march or who were regarded as dangerous, which had been going on since the end of January or the beginning of February (as well as the destruction of the camp files and removal of all traces of the crimes): second, the removal of all prisoners who were declared capable of marching. There were two routes for the marches: the southern route for the columns from Flossenbürg and Dachau, whose goal was the so-called Alpine Fortress; and the northern route for the prisoners from Neuengamme, Sachsenhausen, Stutthof, and Ravensbrück, who marched in the direction of the Northern Fortress. The division into a northern and southern route was precipitated by the Red Army's major offensive that accelerated the division of Germany into northern and southern halves.

The Alpine Fortress, contrary to National Socialist propaganda, was basically a chimera.[59] Plans to construct a fortress in the Ötztal Alps were never realized, not even conceptually. It would seem, however, that the Northern Fortress (which was to be not only a collecting point for concentration camp prisoners but also the area where the numerous retreating SS units and Himmler would assemble together) was more than just an illusion.[60] After the war, a few camp commanders testified that the northern route had a concrete destination. They named Lübeck, Fehmarn, or Sweden. There are also a number of indicators that lead to the conclusion that the first steps were actually being taken to construct a concentration camp in Norway. The SS made great efforts to keep the concentration camp prisoners under their control and to move them north. Allied formations prevented the prisoners from Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück from reaching their goal; the prisoners were liberated while on their way to Schleswig-Holstein.

The prisoners from Neuengamme, on the other hand, were taken via Lübeck to the Neustadt harbor, where at the end of April or the beginning of May they were loaded onto three ships. A short time later, the prisoners from Stutthof also arrived in the Bay of Lübeck. They had been shipped on lighters across the Baltic to Neustadt where they were crammed into ships in the Neustadt harbor; a few were unloaded onto the beach. It should not be assumed, as the prisoners feared, that the SS planned to sink the ships. They lay for another five days in the Bay of Lübeck without any such attempt being made by the SS; in any event, there were many SS men on board the ships. Lack of source material means that it cannot be proven that the ships were to steer in the direction of Fehmarn, Sweden, or Norway, but it is conceivable. However, before the plans of the SS could be realized, whatever they may have been, British fighters on May 3, 1945, bombed the *Thielbek* and *Cap Arcona*, which were lying in the Bay of Lübeck, as well as the *Athen*, which had just returned to the Neustadt harbor. The attack was made because it was thought that they were war ships with German crews. The *Athen* was only slightly hit and remained largely undamaged. The almost 2,000 prisoners in the ship's hold survived. However, the *Cap Arcona* and *Thielbek* caught fire. Only a few hundred prisoners could rescue themselves from the foundering ships and reach what they thought would be the safety of the beach. However, neither they nor the Stutthof prisoners who had been left on the beach survived; they were massacred.

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THE VICTIMS—A BALANCE SHEET

The number of Holocaust victims is known: at least 5.29 million—with a maximum of just over 6 million—Jews were murdered.[61] The various forms of death are known: mass shootings; dying of misery in the ghettos, camps, and other places of detention; and murder by poison gas. Almost 3 million Jews were murdered by gas. Around 2 million died in Chełmno and the killing centers of Operation Reinhard (Aktion Reinhard): Sobibór, Treblinka, and Bełżec. More than a million Jews were murdered by Zyklon B in the death camps of the WVHA: at least 1 million in Auschwitz II-Birkenau and at least 50,000 in Majdanek.[62] In addition, the SS murdered another 40,000 Jews in these concentration camps by means other than gas.[63]

The number of dead in the concentration camps is less accurately known; until now there have been only old estimates. On the basis of research through 2005, the total number of people killed in the concentration camps of the IKL and the WVHA (including Jews murdered in Auschwitz and Majdanek) ranges from more than 1.8 million to more than 2 million.[64] The SS probably murdered many more prisoners, however. Only the number of registered deaths is known; beyond that, there are only estimates—and sometimes not even those.

The majority of the concentration camp victims died in the second half of the war. If one excludes the WVHA death camps and focuses solely on the concentration camps, then it must be emphasized that the majority were not murdered directly; they died because of the catastrophic conditions of their confinement. During the last weeks of the war, the death rate reached a terrible climax. At least a third of the more than 700,000 registered concentration camp prisoners in January 1945 died, perhaps even half, on the death marches or in the mass mortality camps; the percentage of Jewish prisoners among the dead was high.[65]

SOURCES Sources on the concentration camps are many and varied, but most of the works that touch on the subject do so only peripherally or focus on particular facilities. This bibliography will only address a few of the specific sources that are not already shown in the notes; readers should also examine the source sections within the entries that interest them.

Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager* was still a work in progress as of this writing, but several volumes have been printed, and they represent some of the best new work in German on the subject. While Eugen Kogon's *The Theory and Practice of Hell: The German Concentration Camps and the System Behind Them* (New York, 1950) is dated, it is still a standard work on the subject. Hermann Kaienburg, *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945* (Opladen, 1996), provides valuable information on the links between the concentration camps and the German economy, while Michael Thad Allen approaches the subject differently, but with no less value, in *The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor, and the Concentration Camps* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2002).

The recent release of the records of the ITS, while coming too late to contribute much to the creation of this volume, will nevertheless be extremely useful for future volumes in this encyclopedia.

Karin Orth
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. The following contribution is based on Karin Orth, *Das System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager. Eine politische Organisationsgeschichte* (Hamburg, 1999).

2. There was also to be a guard unit for the planned but never realized camp at Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel (Hansa). Martin Broszat, "Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager 1933–1945," in *Anatomie des SS-Staates*, ed. Hans Buchheim et al., 3rd ed. (Munich, 1982), 2: 62.

3. See Ulrich Herbert, *Best: Biographische Studien über Radikalismus, Weltanschauung und Vernunft 1903–1989* (Bonn, 1996), pp. 168–170; Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager: Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager" 1934–1938* (Schriften des Bundesarchivs, 39) (Boppard, 1991), pp. 307–315.

4. For example, see "Zweck und Gliederung der Konzentrationslager" o.D. [prior to 1.9.1939], BA-K, NS 3/391, as well as "Aufgabengebiete in einem Konzentrationslager" o.D., ebd.

5. Occasionally, the sources, or literature, refer to other command staff departments such as "Weltanschauung Education," "Motorpool," or "Judges." However, they were not to be found in all concentration camps. If they did exist, it was most often one person combining more than one function (for example, the adjutant was often the judge; the administration commander was the motor pool commander); or because of the increasing duration of the war, they remained vacant, either temporarily or permanently.

6. See the extensive analysis by Bernd Wegner, *Hitlers politische Soldaten: Die Waffen-SS 1933–1945*. Studien zu Leitbild, Struktur und Funktion einer nationalsozialistischen Elite, 2nd ed. (Paderborn, 1983), pp. 95–105, 112–123.

7. Wolfgang Ayass, *"Asoziale" im Nationalsozialismus* (Stuttgart, 1995), pp. 139–165; Karl-Leo Terhorst, *Polizeiliche planmässige Überwachung und polizeiliche Vorbeugungshaft im Dritten Reich. Ein Beitrag zur Rechtsgeschichte vorbeugender Verbrechensbekämpfung* (Studien und Quellen zur Geschichte des deutschen Verfassungsrechts, Reihe A: Studien, 13) (Heidelberg, 1985), pp. 115–130.

8. For the National Socialists' anti-Jewish policies during this period, see the extensive analysis by Saul Friedländer, *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden*, vol. 1, *Die Jahre der Verfolgung 1933–1939* (Munich, 1998), pp. 291–328.

9. Broszat, "Konzentrationslager," 2: 77; Patrick Wagner, "'Vernichtung der Berufsverbrecher': Die vorbeugende Verbrechensbekämpfung der Kriminalpolizei bis 1937," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager. Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998), p. 98.

10. The numbers are from Hermann Kaienburg, *"Vernichtung durch Arbeit": Der Fall Neuengamme. Die Wirtschaftsbestrebungen der SS und ihre Auswirkungen auf die Existenzbedingungen der KZ-Gefangenen* (Bonn, 1990), p. 229n.9.

11. Wegner, *Soldaten*, pp. 112–123.

12. Charles W. Sydnor, *Soldiers of Destruction. The SS Death's*

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Head Division 1933–1945, 2nd ed. (Princeton, 1990), p. 34. The Stärkemeldung (strength report) of SS-Totenkopfverbände according to the 1939 budget names 15,496 members; BA-K, NS 3/479, B. 111 f, cited in Klaus Drobisch and Günther Wieland, *System der NS-Konzentrationslager 1933–1939* (Berlin, 1993), p. 338.

13. Wegner, *Soldaten*, pp. 112–124.

14. Notdienstverordnung vom 15.10.1938, *Reichsgesetzblatt* 1938, Teil I, p. 1441.

15. Hans Buchheim, "Die SS—das Herrschaftsinstrument," in Buchheim et al., *Anatomie*, vol. 1: 101–113; Wegner, *Soldaten*, p. 124.

16. For the history of the division, see Sydnor, *Soldiers*.

17. Karin Orth, *Die Konzentrationslager-SS. Sozialstrukturelle Analysen und biographische Studien* (Göttingen, 2000).

18. Glücks was named on November 18, 1939, but with effect from November 15, 1939. Ernennungsurkunde, BA-BL/BDC, Pa. Glücks, SSO. The head of the SS-Hauptamt, August Heissmeyer, was in command of the IKL during the transitional phase. Broszat, *Konzentrationslager*, p. 83.

19. Buchheim, "SS," p. 205; Broszat, "Konzentrationslager," p. 83.

20. The term "Waffen-SS" began to be used in the winter of 1939–1940 and replaced the older terms used for armed SS units (i.e., "Verfügungstruppe" or "Totenkopfverbände"). Wegner, *Soldaten*, pp. 127–129.

21. Falk Pingel, *Häftlinge unter SS-Herrschaft. Widerstand, Selbstbehauptung und Vernichtung im Konzentrationslager* (Historische Perspektiven, 12) (Hamburg, 1978), pp. 81, 259n.73.

22. For more detail, see Orth, *System*, pp. 113–131.

23. Numbers from ibid., p. 116.

24. Danuta Czech, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau 1939-1945* (Reinbek, 1989), p. 143; Pingel, *Häftlinge*, p. 12.

25. Einsatzbefehl Nr. 8 des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD vom 17.7.1941, printed in Alfred Streim, *Sowjetische Gefangene in Hitlers Vernichtungskrieg. Berichte und Dokumente 1941-1945* (Heidelberg, 1982), pp. 202–211; Einsatzbefehl Nr. 9 des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD vom 21.7.1941, printed in *Die Behandlung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener im "Fall Barbarossa." Eine Dokumentation* (Heidelberg, Karlsruhe, 1981), p. 322.

26. Number from Orth, *System*, p. 130.

27. On the following, see ibid., pp. 142–148.

28. Brief Himmler an Pohl vom 19.12.1941, BA-BL, NS 3/52. For a more extensive analysis on Stutthof, see Orth, *System*, pp. 69–76, 152–156.

29. Brief Pohl an Himmler vom 30.4.1942, Dienststelle des Generalinspekteurs in der Britischen Zone für die Spruchgerichte, ed., *Beweisdokumente für die Spruchgerichte in der Britischen Zone* (Hamburg, 1947), G.J. Nr. 110.

30. For more extensive details, see Ulrich Herbert, "Arbeit und Vernichtung. Ökonomisches Interesse und Primat der "Weltanschauung" im Nationalsozialismus," in *Europa und der "Reichseinsatz": Ausländische Zivilarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ Häftlinge in Deutschland 1938–1945* (Essen, 1991), pp. 406–408.

31. Runderlass WVHA an die Lagerkommandanten vom 5.10.1942, Nürnberger Dokument PS-3677.

32. Numbers from Orth, *System*, p. 174.

33. Protokoll der Besprechung zwischen Thierack und Himmler vom 18.9.1942, *Beweisdokumente für die Spruchgerichte in der britischen Zone*, G.J. Nr. 104.

34. Numbers from: Broszat, "Konzentrationslager," p. 131.

35. Pingel, *Häftlinge*, p. 182.

36. Miroslav Kárný, "'Vernichtung durch Arbeit': Sterblichkeit in den NS-Konzentrationslagern," in *Sozialpolitik und Judenvernichtung: Gibt es eine Ökonomie der Endlösung?* (Beiträge zur nationalsozialistischen Gesundheits und Sozialpolitik, 5) (Berlin, 1987), pp. 133–158.

37. Prämien-Vorschrift Pohls vom 15.5.1943, Nürnberger Dokument NO-400.

38. Franciszek Piper, "Die Rolle des Lagers Auschwitz bei der Verwirklichung der nationalsozialistischen Ausrottungspolitik. Die doppelte Funktion von Auschwitz als Konzentrationslager und als Zentrum der Judenvernichtung," in Herbert, Orth, and Dieckmann, *Konzentrationslager*, pp. 392–394; as well as ders., *Die Zahl der Opfer von Auschwitz. Aufgrund der Quellen und der Erträge der Forschung 1945 bis 1990*, (Oświęcim, 1993), table D, pp. 144–145.

39. Czech, *Kalendarium*, pp. 241–243

40. For the calculation of the percentage, see Martin Broszat's explanations in *Rudolf Höss, Kommandant in Auschwitz, Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen des Rudolf Höss*, ed. ders., 13th ed. (Munich, 1992), p. 163n.1.

41. On the number of the victims and the debate about the numbers, see Piper, *Zahl*.

42. Tomasz Kranz, "Das KL Lublin—zwischen Planung und Realisierung," in Herbert, Orth, and Dieckmann, *Konzentrationslager*, p. 381.

43. Kranz, "KL Lublin," p. 372.

44. Yisrael Gutman et al., eds., *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust: Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden*, German ed. (Berlin, 1993), 3: 418; Kranz, "KL Lublin," p. 377; Raul Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden*, German ed. (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), 3: 559.

45. Numbers from: Kranz, "KL Lublin," pp. 373, 380; for a discussion on the number of dead, see p. 380 as well as p. 388nn. 72, 73.

46. Orth, *System*, pp. 213–221.

47. Stärkemeldung des WVHA 15.8.1944, Nürnberger Dokument NO-399; Liste der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Belegung vom 1. und 15.1.1945, BA-BL, Slg. Schumacher/329.

48. Andrzej Strzelecki, *Endphase des KL Auschwitz. Evakuierung, Liquidierung und Befreiung des Lagers*, German ed. (Oświęcim, 1995), pp. 89–92.

49. At the end of 1943, there were 186 subcamps; in June 1944, there were at least 341; and in January 1945, at least 662. The often-mentioned number of 1,000 or even 1,200 subcamps that are said to have existed at the turn of 1944–1945 is a cumulative number that does not take into account the closure of numerous camps at this time.

50. Ulrich Herbert, "Das System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager," in *Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten für die Verfolgten des NS-Regimes: Perspektiven, Kontroversen und internationale Vergleiche*, ed. Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Forschung und Kultur des Landes Brandenburg (Berlin, 1992), p. 25.

51. For a detailed analysis on the following, see Orth, *System*, pp. 243–255, as well as the literature that is referred to.

52. Vernehmung Pohl vom 25.8.1947, cited in Herbert, "Arbeit und Vernichtung," p. 413.

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53. For a detailed analysis on the following, see Orth, *System*, pp. 260–269.

54. Ibid., pp. 270–336.

55. Numbers from ibid., p. 286.

56. Numbers from ibid., p. 304.

57. For a detailed analysis, see Eberhard Kolb, *Bergen Belsen: Geschichte des "Aufenthaltslagers" 1943-1945* (Hannover, 1962), pp. 157–164. The text of the cease-fire agreement is printed on pp. 225–227.

58. For an extensive review of the existence and history of this order, see Stanislav Zámećnik, "'Kein Häftling darf lebend in die Hände des Feindes fallen': Zur Existenz des Himmler-Befehls vom 14./18. April 1945," *DaHe* 1 (1985): 219–231.

59. Klaus-Dietmar Henke, *Die amerikanische Besetzung Deutschlands* (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte, 27) (Munich, 1995), pp. 937–939.

60. For the following, see Orth, *System*, pp. 328–335.

61. Wolfgang Benz, ed., *Dimension des Völkermords: Die Zahl der jüdischen Opfer des Nationalsozialismus* (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte, 33) (Munich, 1991), p. 17; Hilberg, *Vernichtung*, p. 1299.

62. Numbers from Benz, *Dimension*, p. 19; see also Hilberg, *Vernichtung*, p. 1299; on Auschwitz-Birkenau, see Piper, *Zahl*, p. 202. For an extensive review on issues regarding problems with source material and the public perception of the number of dead in Western and Eastern Europe, see Piper, *Zahl*, pp. 54–100.

63. On Majdanek, see Kranz, "KL Lublin," pp. 373, 380; for a discussion on the number of dead, see p. 380 as well as p. 388nn.72–73.

64. Numbers from Orth, *System*, pp. 345–347.

65. Broszat, *Konzentrationslager*, p. 132 (a third); Yehuda Bauer," The Death Marches January–May 1945," in *The Nazi Holocaust. Historical Articles on the Destruction of European Jews*, ed. Michael R. Marrus (Westport, CT, 1989), 9: 492 (50 percent).

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ARBEITSDORF

The light metal foundry erected by Arbeitsdorf prisoners, nd
STIFTUNG AUTOMUSEM VOLKSWAGEN

ARBEITSDORF MAIN CAMP

The *Arbeitsdorf* (labor village) camp was one of the very first concentration camps created in affiliation with the German armaments industry. It was located on the premises of the Volkswagen corporation's main factory in the Lower Saxon city of Wolfsburg, which, at that time, principally consisted of huts and barracks. The city carried the awkward name Stadt-des-Kraft-durch-Freude-Wagens bei Fallersleben, since the Volkswagen automobile was being marketed by, and was named after, the Nazi Party organization for mass leisure program Kraft durch Freude (Strength through Joy KdF). Arbeitsdorf was, technically, an independent camp under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), but it never became a fully operational main camp. From its creation on April 8, 1942, until its closure late that same year, it maintained close connections to—if not semidependency upon—the Neuengamme main camp in Hamburg, from which it received the majority of its prisoners, SS guards, and managerial personnel, including its camp commandants, Martin Weiss (initially) and Wilhelm Schitli (from September 1, 1942).

Following the frustration of Germany's attempt to achieve a rapid victory over the Soviet Union and the German declaration of war upon the United States, Nazi armaments, economic, and labor policies were submitted to major scrutiny. Early in 1942, Albert Speer was appointed minister of armaments after the deceased Fritz Todt, and Fritz Sauckel, as Generalbevollmächtigter für den Arbeitseinsatz, was made responsible for relieving the Reich's serious manpower deficit by way of recruiting—by various degrees of force—foreign labor from the territories occupied by Germany. In this new situation, the SS expanded its activities into the armaments sector and, according to some scholars such as Hans Mommsen, aimed at building an outright economic empire. In postwar statements that were part of his Nuremberg Tribunal defense efforts, Speer—diminishing his responsibility for the Nazi forced and slave labor programs—vastly exaggerated the role and aggressiveness of the SS. Recent research does not support Speer's contention but instead stresses the reactive and defensive nature of the SS venture into armaments and the priority of Heinrich Himmler's civilian postwar goals. The SS began leasing slave laborers to German industry in order to keep control over the concentration camp system and to stock up capacities for its grand settlement drive in Eastern Europe. Ideas for expanding the SS economic activities had already surfaced in 1940, and plans of opening concentration camps for Jewish slave laborers were close to becoming a reality in early 1941 in the Stadt-des-KdF-Wagens and other major industrial sites but were wrecked by Hitler, who forbade all import of Jewish labor into the Old Reich. The initiatives were, however, primarily on the side of private and state-run enterprises and corresponded to no long-term economic planning or strategy on behalf of the SS.

The decision to establish a concentration camp at the Volkswagenwerk main factory was taken at a meeting that brought together Volkswagen chief executive Ferdinand Porsche, Reichsführer-SS Himmler, and Hitler on January 11, 1942. Porsche, the leading personality in the Volkswagen triumvirate, belonged to the Führer's inner circle and had staged cooperation projects with Himmler and the SS on a number of occasions since the early days of his developing the "People's Car." Thus, at the Volkswagenwerk, special SS units performed the factory police duties. Porsche, an Oberführer of the Allgemeine (General) SS since early 1942, was always short of labor for the expansion of the company that he—in spite of its being owned by the Nazi labor organization Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front)—treated as his own private property. It seems that Porsche, possessing inside information about the approaching change in labor policy, rushed to approach Himmler in order to gain privileged access to the new pool of manpower that was about to be opened: the concentration camp inmates. The company wished to resume the construction of a light alloy foundry that had been halted in the summer of 1940 because it lacked military relevance. To Himmler, Porsche's initiative provided an opportunity to test a model for SS cooperation with industry.

The order (*Führerweisung*) he arranged for Hitler to issue did, however, go too far, as it provided for the foundry to be constructed and run by concentration camp prisoners (*Häftlinge*) under SS responsibility. Thus, Arbeitsdorf would gain permanency, and the SS would take control of a major armaments enterprise with an expanding production of motor vehicles, airplane parts, and small arms. The Arbeitsdorf camp would have been the first concentration camp to be opened at an existing industrial facility outside the concentration camps, but its establishment was delayed by a typhus epidemic in Neuengamme, which caused the main camp to be placed under quarantine and took a heavy toll among the prisoners who had been selected for Arbeitsdorf. Only after the quarantine was lifted on March 31 could the prisoners and replacements leave for Fallersleben. By this time, negotiations had proceeded between Volkswagen, the WVHA, and Speer's Ministry of Armaments, which was not keen on the SS/Volkswagen cooperation. A narrower commission was agreed upon: the SS would provide the manpower for completing the construction of the foundry, but the purpose of the facility would be reviewed once again by military authorities in the meantime. By September 1942, Speer had strengthened his foothold in the Nazi regime so much that he could make the Führer concede in halting anew the Volkswagen foundry project, once again because of its alleged lack of military relevance. The construction of the huge melting and foundry complex, supervised by the leader of the SS department for engineering, SS-Oberführer Hans

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Kammler, and company engineers, was completed on time by mid-September, but the plan for equipping it was shelved until further notice. The majority of the prisoners were transferred to Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald by early October, with only a small labor detachment remaining to clear and clean the site. By late 1942, the Arbeitsdorf concentration camp was closed, and the remaining prisoners and SS were transferred to other camps.

After inspection of the building site and future camp location on January 30, 1942, Kammler—whose hope of including the camp in a new system of SS-Baubrigaden (construction brigades) under his command was frustrated—estimated the number of prisoners needed at 800, but the fact that more than 150 SS-Totenkopf guards seem to have been assigned to the camp by mid-April indicates that the envisioned prisoner strength would be 1,500 or more. The number of prisoners probably never exceeded 500, but quantitative information on this camp is scarce, and witness testimony extremely contradictory. A first transport of 100 to 150 prisoners arrived from Neuengamme on April 8, 1942, followed by a larger transport from Sachsenhausen. The prisoners had been trained in construction work on the SS brickyard building sites of these camps. Many nationalities were represented, including a number of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The proportion of German political prisoners who would be available as Kapos and work foremen (*Vorarbeiter*) was rather high, just in case the prisoner population was enlarged. Among the political prisoners were a small number of Jews. Information found in some literature indicating that a large number of Arbeitsdorf prisoners were Sinti and Roma ("Gypsies") is not confirmed.

Arbeitsdorf did not resemble the typical main camp, nor the decentralized subcamps that grew so numerous during the later years of the war. Its prisoners were accommodated in a row of concrete air-raid shelters on the lower level of the unfinished foundry building. Seven standard huts were raised to accommodate the SS guards and offices as well as offices of the civilian companies involved in the construction project; a small number of skilled and "prominent" inmates were also placed in these huts and allowed the "privilege" of access to daylight and fresh air. The security was atypical, as there were no watch towers or barbed-wire fences; the area was surrounded by a chain link fence typical for building sites but guarded by a string of SS guards armed with submachine guns and patrolled by SS dog patrols. Since the concentration camp area was identical with the building site, and was located inside the larger factory compound, a prisoner who attempted to flee from the camp would have to escape the SS factory police who frequently patrolled the outer compound and cross the barbed-wire fence surrounding it. No prisoner is actually known to have attempted to escape.

Slave labor was the sole purpose of the Arbeitsdorf camp. The work involved heavy construction: the laying of concrete floors and roofs, masonry, plumbing, glazing, and so on. A large number of the prisoners were assigned to pushing trolleys with liquid concrete from a centralized cement mixing station; others functioned as *Träger*, carriers of iron profiles and other heavy materials. Work was conducted under the surveillance of the SS and civilian construction management that represented the German private companies Wiemer und Trachte (Berlin, main contractor), Philip Holzmann (Hannover), Christian Salzmann (Leipzig), and Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Baugewerbe/Bauinnung Osnabrück. Civilian foremen and technicians from these companies were in command of the various groups of prisoners and provided them with instruction, but there were normally no civilian workers at the building site, so it can be considered a model concentration camp enterprise (*KZ-Betrieb*) and obviously was viewed as such by leading SS personalities such as Oswald Pohl.

In the interest of the swift and orderly completion of the project, prisoners' provisions were substantially better than in most concentration camps. Three daily meals were served: breakfast consisted of bread, marmalade, cottage cheese, and ersatz coffee; the noon meal was distributed at the work site and consisted of good and plentiful hot stews, low in fat but rich in protein; and bread, cheese, and cold meat or a hot meal of surplus food from the Volkswagen factory lunch rooms were served in the air-raid shelters after work. Food distribution was, however, neither even nor just, for extra rations were used as awards primarily to the privileged prisoners who performed Kapo and Vorarbeiter jobs or who operated valuable machinery. The majority of the carriers and other prisoners with heavy duties were rarely given extra rations. All testimony underlines, however, the high quality of the food that was delivered by the Volkswagenwerk factory kitchen and the model hygienic conditions. Prisoners who were weak and skinny after the Neuengamme typhus epidemic were even able to regain weight and strength in spite of performing hard work at the building site. For the same reason, morbidity was low, and the medical orderlies who were in charge of the small infirmary (*Revier*), under the surveillance of camp doctor SS-Obersturmbannführer Vetter, mostly were occupied with treating victims of the work accidents that frequently occurred. No deaths were registered at Arbeitsdorf, but survivors' testimonies indicate that some prisoners were transferred to other main camps in order to receive punishment or because they were too weak to go on working.

Clearly, Volkswagen and the subcontracting companies had a common interest in facilitating the project by providing tolerable living and working conditions for the inmates, while the SS wanted this camp to give private companies a taste of exploiting concentration camp slave labor, so that they would enter into similar arrangements in the future. This explains why the prisoners were given new prison uniforms, including underwear, and used leather shoes, instead of wooden clogs, and why clean clothing was handed out twice a week. Considering the large number of inspection visits by SS, political, and business leaders, the inmates had to present themselves as efficient workers; cleanliness clearly constituted an important part of this image.

Even if the productive exploitation of the prisoners was now the centerpiece in Arbeitsdorf and future "industrial"

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concentration camps, the established, notorious SS regime of terror, which envisioned work as a form of punishment aiming at breaking the opponents of the Nazi Party, was only slightly modified. Arbeitsdorf prisoners worked from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. with a 30-minute meal break as their only rest period, and they had to perform their work at a speedy pace; there was no walking, only "Running, always running" ("Laufschritt, immer Laufschritt").[1] Civilian foremen, Kapos, and SS overseers would incite them with a flow of curses and insults. There was, however, little beating and brutality on the work site, and according to survivors' testimony, the prisoner-functionaries (*Funktionshäftlinge*)—mostly political prisoners with a labor movement background—generally administered their difficult task with decency, avoiding excess violence and encouraging prisoner solidarity and mutual help. The Porsche hagiography, however, ascribes the low level of violence to an intervention by the leading executive, forbidding public punishments on the work site, but the evidence—recollections of an SS physician who was facing a war crimes sentence—is doubtful. Instead of immediate punishment, the SS men who were in charge of the individual work details reported prisoners whom they suspected of sabotage or slowing down work, as well as anyone they disliked for some reason, to be punished after the end of the working day. One air-raid shelter was fitted with a flogging bench (*Prügelbock*) and various other instruments of torture—as well as with a miniscule prisoners' canteen (*Häftlingskantine*) where prisoners who were allowed to receive money from family outside the camp, or who were awarded bonus vouchers, could buy conserves from a vegetable farm on the Volkswagenwerk premises. For reasons of discretion, punishments were carried out in this air-raid shelter, not in front of civilian personnel and passersby. Apart from floggings, the hideous torture of binding a prisoner's arms behind him and hanging him by his wrists from the ceiling (*Pfahlhängen*) was used to enforce discipline and work eagerness. From what company personnel could see, the camp presented the impression of a quasi-militarily organized work site, where the prisoners (allegedly criminals and Jews) had to work hard but where just treatment would prevail. This was also the picture presented to them in a briefing by camp commandant Weiss on the day the first prisoners arrived.

Unseen by anyone, prisoners spent their off-duty hours in the air-raid shelters, which were rarely inspected by the SS. The low, narrow bunkers were crowded and lacked proper ventilation. Furniture was restricted to two-tier bunk beds with straw mattresses, plank tables, and benches, but at least the prisoners were left largely to themselves. They could visit other bunkers, discuss or engage in barter and black marketeering, even listen to Nazi radio since the so-called People's Radios (*Volksempfänger*) that were part of the original air-raid shelter equipment had not been disconnected. Sleeping was the preferred activity, however, as the work was extremely exhausting. Extra work occurred on Sundays because building materials arriving by rail had to be speedily unloaded that same day. This assignment was voluntary and was rewarded with extra rations, but prisoners who did not volunteer frequently and willingly enough were punished corporally or by being deprived of a meal or an entire day's rations.

The SS's interest in developing Arbeitsdorf into a model for the exploitation of concentration camp labor in industrial enterprises was reflected in the choice of the Neuengamme camp commandant to command Arbeitsdorf simultaneously. SS-Hauptsturmführer Martin Gottfried Weiss had a long career at Dachau behind him, ending as adjutant before he was appointed the first camp commandant of Neuengamme in 1940, when this camp gained the status of a main camp. Weiss was an electronics engineer by profession and combined a strong devotion to Nazi ideology with a "technocratic" approach to prisoner treatment. This balance allowed economic goals to exist alongside the more purely destructive practices that had dominated within the camp system. Weiss spoke the language of business decision-makers at the same time as being popular among the SS rank and file. He did not perform acts of cruelty himself but instigated his men to maintain the system of terror, thus consciously using terror, together with minor improvements and petty material incentives, to "motivate" prisoners. As reward for demonstrating that concentration camp labor could be productive, he was promoted to camp commandant of Dachau on September 1, 1942. SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Schitli, who had been Schutzhaftlagerführer in Neuengamme and Weiss's second in command in Arbeitsdorf, succeeded him as the second and last commandant of the camp.

The Arbeitsdorf concentration camp was a main camp and was probably intended to be expanded well above the level attained; however, it never did obtain the full structure of a main camp during its short existence. Its main historical significance is that it tested a new form of SS cooperation with German industry—which proved successful. Even if the organizational model of Arbeitsdorf remained unique, it provided the SS with experience in dealing with slave labor in a modern profit-oriented production process and thus paved the way for the subcamp system that was to expand vastly during the last two years of World War II. The tolerable prisoners' conditions as compared to other concentration camps must be ascribed to its intended function as a "model camp," meant to impress industrial decision-makers, as well as to the acts of solidarity by its prisoner "self-administration."

SOURCES The Arbeitsdorf camp is referred to in numerous works on the Nazi concentration camp system and on automotive history. This essay is based primarily on the author's research for the book by Hans Mommsen et al., *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf, 1996), pp. 766–799; see the detailed source references in this work. See also Lutz Budrass and Manfred Grieger, "Die Moral der Effizienz: Die Beschäftigung von KZ-Häftlingen am Beispiel des Volkswagenwerks und der Henschel Flugzeug-Werke," *JWg* 34 (1993): 89–136; Klaus-Jörg Siegfried, *Das Leben der Zwangsarbeiter im Volkswagenwerk 1939–1945* (Frankfurt am Main, 1988); Jan-Erik Schulte, *Zwangsarbeit und Vernichtung: Das Wirtschaftsimperium der SS* (Paderborn, 2001), p. 211; Karin Orth, *Das System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentra-*

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tionslager (Düsseldorf, 1999), p. 169; and Michael Thad Allen; *The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor, and the Concentration Camps* (Chapel Hill, 2002), pp. 167, 207. Preliminary data on Arbeitsdorf may be found in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990); and Gudrun Schwarz, *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990).

Key documents about the Arbeitsdorf camp have been published by the city archivist of Wolfsburg, Germany: Klaus-Jörg Siegfried, *Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit im Volkswagenwerk 1939–1945* (Frankfurt am Main, 1987), pp. 56, 152. The ASt-WOB and VWA hold original documents and copies from AG-NG, NHStA-H, BA-B, BA-K, ZdL (now BA-L), and other archives. This material includes survivors' and eyewitness records. Some Arbeitsdorf SS functionaries faced postwar trials for atrocities committed in other camps, such as camp commandant Martin Weiss in the Dachau main trial (available at NARA), but only scanty information can be gained from these trial records about the Arbeitsdorf camp.

Therkel Straede

NOTE

1. Arbeitsdorf survivor Willi Leeuwarden in an interview with Therkel Straede, Munich, September 22, 1989.

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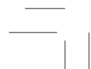
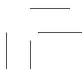
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AUSCHWITZ

Postwar photograph of the Auschwitz I camp gate, with the sign, “Arbeit Macht Frei” (Work Will Make You Free).
USHMM WS #00001, COURTESY OF IPN

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AUSCHWITZ I MAIN CAMP

The Auschwitz complex of SS concentration camps was the largest and most lethal that the Germans built. In less than five years, the SS and their auxiliaries killed nearly 1.3 million people in the Auschwitz camps. Over 90 percent of the victims were European Jews, and for many people, Auschwitz remains synonymous with the Holocaust itself. The Auschwitz main camp, also known as Auschwitz I, located outside the small Polish city of Oświęcim, was the center of the Auschwitz system.

The camp came into being because of the efforts of Heinrich Himmler's plenipotentiary in Breslau (later Wrocław), the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) for Silesia, SS-Obergruppenführer Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski, together with his deputy, the inspector of the Security Police (Sipo) and the Security Service (SD) in Breslau, SS-Brigadeführer Arpad Wigand. By December 1939, these two SS leaders wanted to establish a concentration camp for Polish resisters and criminals in Silesia, since the jails in the region were already overcrowded. Eventually they succeeded in persuading Himmler to establish a camp; Himmler issued the order on April 27, 1940, and on May 4, he named SS-Haupsturmführer Rudolf Höss camp commandant. The camp's initial capacity was to be at least 10,000 inmates.[1]

The first prisoners—300 local Polish Jews—arrived shortly thereafter to begin work on the site. By early June, the original fence was complete, and Höss had approved arrangements with the Erfurt firm of J.A. Topf & Sons to build and install the first crematorium. By midsummer, renovation was also

Aerial photograph of the Auschwitz complex, from December 21, 1944. The Allied aerial reconnaissance mission photograph was enhanced and cropped in 1978 by Central Intelligence Agency photo analysts Dino Brugioni and Robert Poirier. Pictured at top is Auschwitz II-Birkenau, to the lower left is Auschwitz I, and to the lower right is the IG Farben chemical complex.
USHMM WS # 91529, COURTESY OF NARA

Post-liberation photograph of the Block 11 execution wall at Auschwitz I.
USHMM WS #14843, COURTESY OF NARA

completed on the building designated Block 11, which housed large holding cells, offices, and interrogation rooms for the Auschwitz camp Political Section and the regional Gestapo, as well as a basement complex serving as a punishment block of torture rooms, darkened cells, and tiny standing cubicles, where prisoners would be crammed in and left to starve. On June 14, 1940, Auschwitz received the first transport of 728 Polish political prisoners. More than 7,800 prisoners were registered in Auschwitz by the end of the year.[2]

During the camp's first months in operation, Höss received only meager assistance from the SS and virtually no support from other government or military agencies or private companies. The situation changed dramatically, however, when Auschwitz attracted Himmler's attention for its economic and ideological potential. Within a year, plans for the facility were expanded to incorporate construction, industrial production, agriculture—and mass killing.

Meanwhile, the camp's role in terrorizing the inmates remained. Prisoner transports arrived regularly, and by the spring of 1941, Höss had established a firm collaboration with the regional SS and police in carrying out the growing number of killings in Block 11. There, SS camp personnel shot uncounted numbers of Polish hostages and Gestapo detainees, prisoners they never registered or noted in Auschwitz records, after perfunctory trials by Gestapo courts that sat at least monthly in Block 11.

Auschwitz grew steadily. In March 1941, in connection with the recently agreed establishment of the IG Farben project at the neighboring hamlet of Dwory and the preparations for the invasion of the Soviet Union, Himmler ordered Höss to increase the inmate capacity to 30,000. By that spring, the Germans had already registered 15,000 prisoners, and 3,000 had died. All told, between May 1940 and January 1945, approximately 405,000 men, women, and children from every country in Europe and from many lands overseas arrived at Auschwitz I for registration, tattooing (after August 1942), and assignment to one of the other camps in the complex. Of those 405,000, approximately 200,000 perished. The 49 percent mortality rate for registered inmates was much higher than that of the SS concentration camps at Dachau, Sachsenhausen, or Buchenwald and higher even than the death rate at Mauthausen, which by SS classification standards was a harsher concentration camp than either the Auschwitz main camp or Auschwitz II-Birkenau.[3]

Within the diverse inmate population, different groups occupied different roles and places in the camp hierarchy. Originally, German violent and professional criminals ("greens," in the SS color designation for inmate categories) held the most trusted positions as prisoner-functionaries in Auschwitz: camp elder (*Lagerältester*), block elder (*Blockältester*), room leaders (*Stubendienste*), work overseers (Kapos), and work foremen (*Vorarbeiter*). The SS counted on them, as violent criminals, to physically mistreat the inmates under their authority. During 1941, however, Polish political prisoners gradually replaced the German greens as the most numerous inmate functionaries. Until early 1941, the heaviest influx of prisoners into Auschwitz consisted of Poles, followed by German, Austrian, and Western European transfers from other SS concentration camps. These inmates were enemies of the state by Nazi definition—politicals, "asocials," Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, and Protestant and Catholic clergymen. Between July and December 1941, approximately 10,000 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were sent to Auschwitz, and by May 1942, most of these soldiers had been murdered or had died of starvation, disease, and exhaustion. About one-half of all the inmates registered in Auschwitz each year were Jews. The remaining non-Jews were overwhelmingly Poles.

Jews from all over Europe began arriving in Auschwitz on deportation trains in the spring of 1942. Only a fraction of these people survived the on-arrival selections. By mid-1943, all registered Jewish inmates had been moved from the Auschwitz main camp to the Birkenau main camp. Small numbers of "Gypsies" were registered in the Auschwitz main camp in 1942 and then deported en masse to a special compound in Birkenau until their murder in August 1944. "Gypsies," Soviet POWs, and Jews were considered the lowest-ranking inmates. They were the most frequent

Mug shot of Jerzy Gumiński (26596), born March 20, 1923, shot to death at Auschwitz August 14, 1942. Note the triangle on the left breast with "P" for Pole.
USHMM WS # 02708, COURTESY OF APMO

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"Roll Call," by Auschwitz prisoner Wincenty Gawron, 1942
USHMM WS # 27942, COURTESY OF APMO

objects of SS and prisoner-functionary abuse and were routinely selected for systematic killing.

In practice, all inmates at Auschwitz had to work. Forced labor was essential to the SS culture of inmate persecution as well as to economic priorities. Inmates worked within the Auschwitz camps in administrative, service, and clerical jobs and in skilled trades and crafts. Outside, they worked on roads, farms, swamps, fish hatcheries, factories, mines, chemical plants, armaments works, utilities, and other industrial concerns. Between June 1940 and January 1945, the SS and the Nazi state cleared in net profit more than 60 million Reichsmark (RM) from the exploitation of Auschwitz inmates.[4] The inmates received no payment of any kind; the SS, the German state, private industries, and individuals used them as slaves.

In 1943, the number of Auschwitz subcamps near regional industrial and chemical plants multiplied rapidly, and by mid-1944 the Auschwitz main camp served as the SS command and administrative center for a network of more than 30 smaller outside subcamps. The number of private or non-SS concerns using inmate forced labor grew to include IG Farben's coal mining works at Fürstengrube, Janinagrube, and Günthergrube; Siemens-Schuckertwerke AG's electrical components plant; the Reich Railway Rolling Stock Repair Yard; the Oberschlesische Hydrierwerke AG (Upper Silesia Synthetic Gas Works); the Trzebinia oil refinery and reprocessing plant; as well as approximately 150 smaller German firms that subcontracted with the SS for slave laborers in smaller ventures such as textile mills, shoe factories, and retail businesses.

Thousands of men and women perished at slave labor from hunger, dehydration, exposure, disease, and exhaustion. Others were beaten to death by Kapos, killed or maimed in accidents and bombing raids, or shot by SS guards for sport or for minor infractions or while trying to escape. Still others were torn to pieces by SS guard dogs or, at the end of their strength, pulled from ranks by SS doctors and sent back to the Auschwitz main camp or Birkenau to be killed by toxic injection or gas. The endless stream of new arrivals constantly replenished the supply of victims, and the relentless selections and gassing of exhausted, broken, and enfeebled inmates completed the self-renewing process of exploitation and extermination.

The gas chambers in Auschwitz give the camp its distinctively horrible character in most people's minds. In addition to registered prisoners, the Germans gassed approximately 1.1 million Jews and others (some "Gypsies," physically and/or mentally disabled, and transfers from other concentration camps) who never appeared in the camp's records. Most of these killings took place in Auschwitz II-Birkenau. From early 1942 on, the only Jews who survived arrival and selection to be registered in Auschwitz were those who could work. Gassing in Auschwitz claimed more than 90 percent of the Jewish victims who perished there. Thus, the development of gassing techniques—in an unauthorized experiment—was one of the most important events in the camp's history. At the end of August 1941, while Höss was away on business, his deputy, SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Fritzsch, sealed the basement of Block 11 and gassed to death several hundred Soviet POWs with a powerful commercial-grade prussic acid gas, then commonly known as Zyklon B and used in the camps for delousing inmate clothing. When Höss returned to Auschwitz, Fritsch repeated the procedure for him several days later, using more Soviet POWs.[5] Höss and Fritsch grasped the possibilities and modified the original crematorium in the Auschwitz main camp into the first permanent gas chamber. Later the gassing operations moved to Birkenau.

The task of guarding the Auschwitz main camp, as well as Auschwitz II-Birkenau, Auschwitz III-Monowitz, and all the subcamps, was the responsibility of the SS-Death's Head Guard Battalion (Totenkopfsturmbann) for Auschwitz. This unit grew along with the camp, from 500 guards in late 1940 to 2,000 in July 1942 and over 4,500 in January 1945. It started with a mix of older men from the police, SS reservists, and transfers from the SS guard units in other concentration camps, from the Allgemeine (General) SS, and from Waffen-SS reserve and replacement formations. Later, it received increasing numbers of wounded or older Waffen-SS men from the Russian front. In March 1942, the first SS women guard auxiliaries (Aufseherinnen) arrived to guard the women's compound that had opened in the Auschwitz main camp. Beginning in early 1943, large numbers of young ethnic German SS recruits from Slovakia, Croatia, Hungary, Romania, Estonia, and Latvia began to arrive. Many of these younger SS guards were subsequently called into front-line service with the Waffen-SS, most especially with the SS-Panzer Division "Viking" and the SS-Mountain Division "Nord." And finally, in June 1944, Höss brought in 500 Wehrmacht veterans, gave them SS uniforms, and used them as additional manpower during the extermination of the Hungarian Jews.

Survival in Auschwitz involved obtaining extra food and avoiding physical abuse by the guards and functionaries. This was done by "organizing," which meant stealing or smuggling valuables that could be bartered for food or privileges. Organizing brought physical advantages and also raised an inmate's

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stature by proving he had the ability or the connections that could help others survive. The scope and scale of organizing in Auschwitz was so vast as to be unique among all the wartime SS concentration camps, mainly because the luggage and personal effects of gassed Jewish victims provided the inmates with unequaled access to valuables: food and spirits, currency, jewelry, watches and clocks, precious stones, art, medicine, medical supplies and instruments, tools, and hundreds of other items of practical value for survival. Organizing in Auschwitz improved the odds of surviving for thousands. It also strengthened the inmate resistance movement by fostering an underground economy, by providing material support for successful escapes, and by facilitating contacts with the Polish underground outside Auschwitz. Equally important, organizing saved lives and eased suffering by completely corrupting and compromising the SS guard companies and the security at Auschwitz. The scale of bribery involving the SS guards was so great by 1944 that the inmate resistance even procured and smuggled high explosives into Birkenau. The Jewish Sonderkommando used the dynamite in early October 1944 to try to blow up the crematoria and halt the gassings. (The attempt failed, and the SS killed all the inmates involved.)[6]

There were several successful escapes from Auschwitz—dozens, in fact, beginning in June 1940 and continuing to December 1944. The most famous escape was on April 7, 1944, when two Slovak Jews in the Canada Kommando, Rudolf Vrba and Alfred Wetzlar, fled successfully and traveled to Slovakia to inform the Allies about Auschwitz and warn the Hungarian Jews of the SS plans for their extermination. Their report eventually reached President Franklin Roosevelt via the Slovakian underground and through Switzerland.

Approximately 7,000 SS personnel who served at Auschwitz between June 14, 1940, and January 18, 1945, survived the war. Less than 10 percent of those, only about 630, were apprehended and tried after 1945 for their participation in persecution and mass murder. Most of the trials of Auschwitz SS personnel took place in Poland immediately after the war and in West Germany between 1963 and 1976. There were no Auschwitz SS defendants at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials, although Rudolf Höss testified as a witness in the Ernst Kaltenbrunner phase before the International Military Tribunal. The Allies then extradited Höss to Warsaw to face the Polish Supreme National Tribunal, which came into being in January 1946 to try the most important Nazi and SS criminals who committed crimes in Poland. The Tribunal tried Höss between March 11 and 29, 1947, sentenced him to death, and had him hanged in the Auschwitz main camp on April 16, 1947. Sitting in Kraków from November 26 to December 16, 1947, the Supreme National Tribunal then tried 40 members of the Auschwitz SS, including Höss's successor as Auschwitz commandant, Artur Liebehenschel. Liebehenschel and six others were sentenced to death and hanged, six received life sentences, and another seven drew 15-year sentences. In all their postwar Auschwitz trials, the Poles indicted 602 SS men and women from Auschwitz, tried 590, convicted 584, and sentenced 97 percent of those to prison terms ranging from 6 months to 15 years.

West German courts began investigating crimes committed by Auschwitz SS personnel in 1950. Over the next 30 years, they convened four separate legal proceedings in Frankfurt am Main against a score of Auschwitz SS defendants. The most notable Frankfurt trial took place between December 1963 and August 1965, when 22 former SS defendants were tried, with 17 of them convicted and sentenced to prison—6 to life and 11 to terms ranging from 3 to 20 years. The Auschwitz trials lasting from 1966 to 1968 brought charges against 5 defendants and resulted in 4 convictions. The last Frankfurt trial of Auschwitz SS figures lasted from December 1973 to February 1976 and involved 2 defendants. German prosecutors ultimately dropped both cases because of health and age problems affecting both the defendants and the witnesses. Richard Baer, the last commandant of Auschwitz (May 1944–January 1945), was arrested in 1960 and died in detention in 1963.

The East Germans tried only one senior SS officer from Auschwitz. In 1966, the former SS camp doctor Horst Fischer was tried, convicted, and executed for the selection and gassing of inmates at Auschwitz. In postwar Austria, there were only two trials of Auschwitz SS, both of which ended in acquittals. The Czechs brought three cases against former SS personnel, all of whom they convicted, sentenced to death, and hanged. There was also a British Military Tribunal proceeding in 1945 against the SS administration at the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, at which the main SS defendant was Josef Kramer. Kramer had served at Auschwitz in 1940 as adjutant and deputy commandant and then again in 1944 as commandant in Birkenau. The British tried, convicted, and executed him.

SOURCES In the historical literature in English on Auschwitz, there are a number of excellent studies that include bibliographies, extensive reference material, and suggestions for further reading, as well as citations to documents and archival sources on the Auschwitz main camp. These books include Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, published in association with USHMM, 1994); Debórah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt, *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present* (New York: Norton, 1996); Jean-Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, trans. Peter Moss (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989); Robert Jan van Pelt, *The Case for Auschwitz: Evidence from the David Irving Trial* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002); Sybille Steinbacher, *Auschwitz: A History*, trans. Shaun Whiteside (New York: ECCO, 2005); the massive, copiously annotated and documented work by Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle 1939–1945* (New York: H. Holt, 1995), published for the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum; *Auschwitz: A History in Photographs*, compiled originally and edited by Teresa Świebocka, English edition by Jonathan Webber and Connie Wilsack (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993); Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981); and the English translation of the five-volume history of Auschwitz by Wacław Długoborski and Franciszek

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Piper, *Auschwitz 1940–1945: Central Issues in the History of the Camps*, trans. William Brand (Auschwitz: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, in cooperation with the United States Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad, 2000). The standard work on slave labor and industry at Auschwitz is Peter F. Hayes, *Industry and Ideology: I.G. Farben in the Nazi Era*, 2nd ed. (1987; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Important also is the older but still substantial work by Josef Buszko, *Auschwitz: Nazi Extermination Camp*, 2nd ed. (Warsaw: Interpress Publishers, 1985). The classic history of the Holocaust, containing a wealth of information about the Auschwitz camps, remains the magisterial study by Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

Searching through the memoir literature, primary sources, and archives essential to a broader understanding and deeper knowledge of the experiences of both the victims and the perpetrators at Auschwitz, the reader should consult, especially, Rudolf Höss, *Death Dealer: The Memoirs of the SS Kommandant at Auschwitz*, ed. Steven Paskuly and trans. Andrew Pollinger (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1992). This is the most recently edited and revised edition of the extraordinary Höss memoir-autobiography to appear. Among the dozens of published memoirs by inmates, three in particular merit notation. Rudolf Vrba and Alan Bestic's *I Cannot Forgive* (New York: Bantam, 1964) is the account by the most famous escapee of Auschwitz. Primo Levi's *The Drowned and the Saved*, trans. Raymond Rosenthal (New York: Summit Books, 1988) is the last personal reflection left by the most poetic and tragic Auschwitz survivor. And Hermann Langbein's *People in Auschwitz*, trans. Harry Zohn, foreword by Henry Friedlander (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, published in association with USHMM, 2004) is the recently translated classic by a key figure in the Auschwitz inmate resistance. On the Sonderkommando, an important memoir is Filip Müller with Helmut Freitag, *Auschwitz Inferno: The Testimony of a Sonderkommando*, ed. and trans. Susanne Flatauer (London: Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1979). An important compilation of early testimonies by Polish prisoners at Auschwitz is Janusz Nel Siedlecki, Krystyn Olszewski, and Tadeusz Borowski, *We Were in Auschwitz/6643 Janusz Nel Siedlecki; 57817 Krystyn Olszewski; and 119198 Tadeusz Borowski*, trans. Alicia Nitecki (1946; repr., New York: Welcome Rain Publishers, 2000).

The most important archives for the history of Auschwitz are in Poland and Russia. They are the APMO, on the site of the former Auschwitz main camp, which houses the most extensive and complete collection of documents, records, and Auschwitz artifacts in the world. The archive may also be previewed on the World Wide Web at www.auschwitz-muzeum.oswiecim.pl. In addition, and in Warsaw, the IPN houses the postwar trial records of the Supreme National Tribunal and extensive collections of wartime SS documents from Auschwitz. In Moscow, RGVA contains extremely important SS records relating to the construction and expansion of Auschwitz and a mass of individual SS personnel and employee files and Auschwitz prisoner records. Some of these records are available in microfilm at USHMMA in RG 11.001 M.03, Zentralbauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Auschwitz collection. A helpful published compilation of the Auschwitz garrison orders is Norbert Frei et al., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000). Those interested in further study of the archival records, memoir literature, and rapidly expanding field of scholarly and general books about Auschwitz should consult the recent extensive bibliography in Długoborski and Piper, *Auschwitz 1940-1945*, 5:235–284.

Charles Sydnor

NOTES

1. The original SS command group assigned to Auschwitz is listed in "Führerstellenbesetzungsplan für den Stab des Inspekteurs der Konzentrationslager mit den Konzentrationslagern," effective June 1, 1940, BA-B, NS 3/438, as cited in Henry Friedlander and Sybil Milton, eds., *Archives of the Holocaust*, vol. 20, *Bundesarchiv of the Federal Republic of Germany, Koblenz and Freiburg* (New York, 1992), Doc. No. 192, p. 497.

2. Regulations for SS guards and prisoners at Auschwitz, as at all other concentration camps, were the same as those originally drafted at Dachau in October 1933 by the then Dachau commandant Theodor Eicke. NARA, RG 238, 778-PS and 1216-PS. The first of these is reprinted in *TMWC*, 26: 291–297. See Rudolf Höss, *Death Dealer*: *The Memoirs of the SS Kommandant at Auschwitz*, ed. Steven Paskuly and trans. Andrew Pollinger (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1992), pp. 91–105, 243–250: Höss's account of his SS guard service before Auschwitz and his biographical profile of Theodor Eicke. See Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle 1939–1945* (New York: H.Holt, 1995), entry for Thursday, June 14, 1940.

3. Höss, *Death Dealer*, pp. 124–164. NARA, RG 238, Nuremberg Doc. 1063-A, "Einstüfung der Konzentrationslager," a general order issued by Reinhard Heydrich on January 2, 1941. Ten months before construction of Birkenau began, the SS classified the Auschwitz main camp as a less severe concentration camp than Auschwitz II—which is mentioned for the first time in this document from early 1941.

4. NARA, RG 238, NO-1290, "Arbeitseinsatz der KL Häftlinge," an order by Oswald Pohl as Chief of the SS-WVHA to all camp commandants, dated January 22, 1943, prescribing season work hours for inmates in all the camps.

5. Rudolf Vrba and Alan Bestic's *I Cannot Forgive* (New York: Bantam, 1964) is the memoir of one escapee. Höss, *Death Dealer*, pp. 155–157, is the recollection Rudolf Höss recorded.

6. Höss, *Death Dealer*, pp. 38–42. See Filip Müller with Helmut Freitag, *Auschwitz Inferno: The Testimony of a Sonderkommando*, ed. and trans. Susanne Flatauer (London: Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1979): the personal account of an eyewitness and one of only a few survivors of the crematoria corpse-burning detail.

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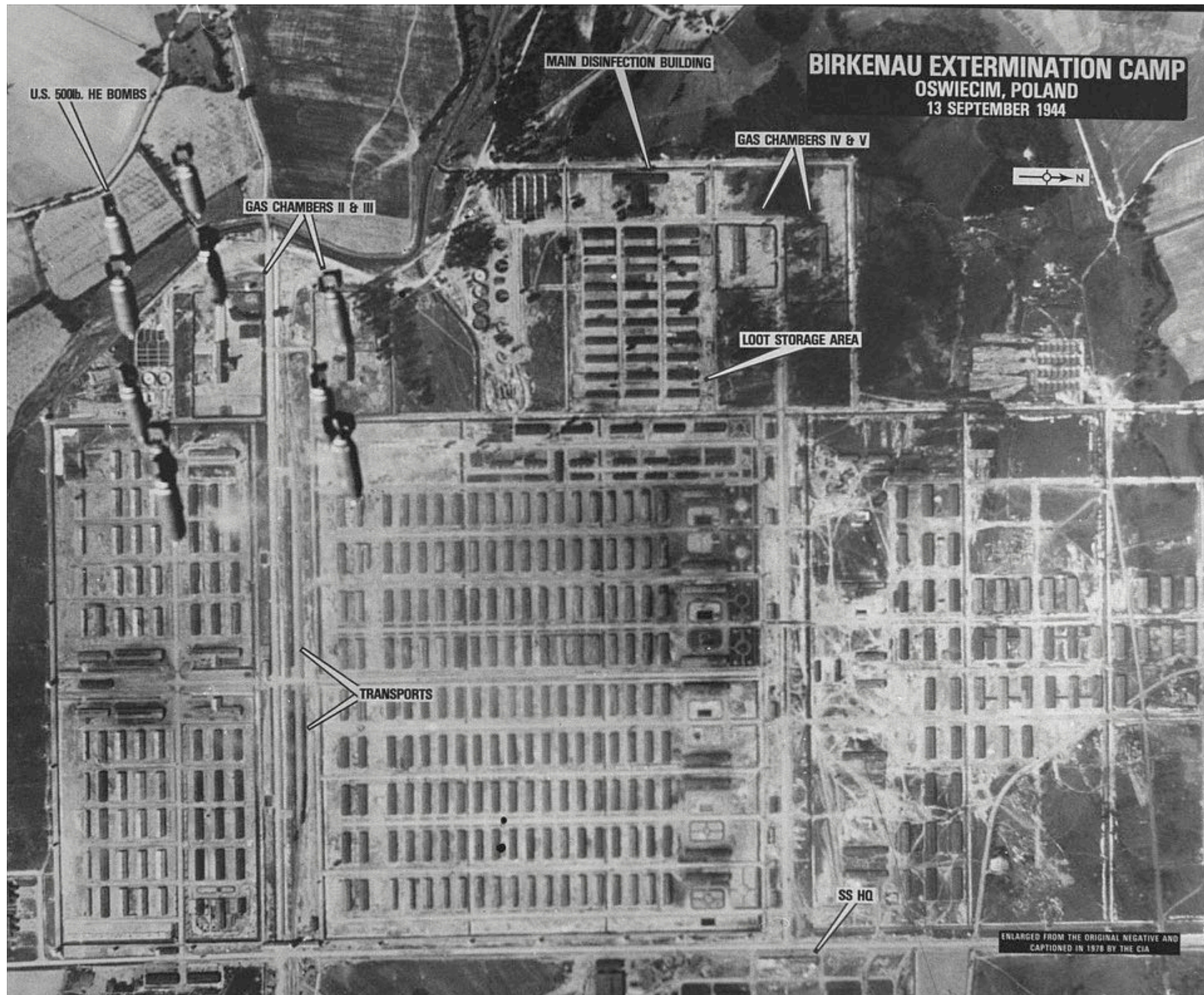
AUSCHWITZ II-BIRKENAU MAIN CAMP

The Birkenau camp (designated Auschwitz II between November 22, 1943, and November 25, 1944) was the largest of the approximately 40 camps and subcamps included in the Auschwitz complex. It was unique in that it combined the function of a killing center, like Treblinka or Bełzec, with the aim of contributing directly to the "Final Solution" through the use of gas chambers, with that of a concentration camp. In the last part of its existence it also became a source of manpower for industrial plants deep within the Reich.

The majority of the victims of the Auschwitz complex, presumably about 90 percent, perished at Birkenau—an approximate total of 1 million people, the decided majority of whom (over 90 percent) were Jews. In addition, a significant portion of the roughly 70,000 Poles who died or were killed in the Auschwitz complex perished at Birkenau, as well as about 20,000 Gypsies, Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), and thousands of prisoners of other nationalities.[1]

The idea of establishing a camp in Brzezinka (Birkenau), a village located near the original Auschwitz concentration camp, first came up on March 1, 1941, during Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler's first inspection of Auschwitz, when he



Aerial photograph of Auschwitz II-Birkenau, from a September 13, 1944, Fifteenth Army Air Forces mission against IG Auschwitz enhanced and cropped in 1978 by Central Intelligence Agency photo analysts Dino Brugioni and Robert Poirier. Pictured at top left is a cluster of nine bombs appearing to fall on the camp but actually falling on the IG Farben complex to the east. From left to right are sectors BI, BII, and the unfinished BIII. At the top are the killing centers and the loot storage complex called "Kanada."
USHMM WS #03198, COURTESY OF NARA

issued a series of orders for the camp's enlargement and for prisoner deployment, including a "camp for one hundred thousand prisoners of war." Himmler subsequently chose the village of Brzezinka, which the German occupation forces renamed Birkenau (The Birch Woods), as the site for the POW camp.[2]

The camp's first designs and plans originated at the SS-Main Office for Budget and Buildings (HHB), which in February 1942 became part of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). These plans initially provided for a camp with a capacity of 125,000 people, but in October 1941, during preliminary construction, the Germans increased the capacity to 200,000. According to those plans, the camp would eventually consist of four sections, called building sectors (*Bauabschnitte*), numbered BI to BIV: the first sector was to hold 20,000 people, while the other three would hold 60,000 people each. The entire camp was to occupy 175 hectares (432 acres).[3]

The prisoners performed most of the camp construction. In October 1941, the Germans deployed 10,000 Soviet POWs from the Neuhammer am Quais (later Świętoszów) POW camp and probably from Lamsdorf (later Łambinowice) for this purpose. Temporarily placed in nine assigned and separately fenced barracks of the Auschwitz camp, they were brought daily to the village of Brzezinka, where construction began on sector BI.[4] Construction continued right up to 1944, using successive drafts of prisoners, and only stopped because of the approach of the Soviet armies, by which time the Germans had progressed as far as section BIII (called "Mexico" by the prisoners). In total, over an area of about 140 hectares (346 acres), the Germans erected about 300 barracks and residential, administrative, and utility buildings, 13 kilometers (8 miles) of drainage ditches, 16 kilometers (10 miles) of barbed-wire fencing, a dozen or so kilometers (7 or more miles) of roads, and—between early 1942 and June 1943—four gas chamber/crematory complexes in their own compound. Adjacent to the killing complex were warehouses that collected the loot amassed from the killing centers' victims. Called "Kanada," because the prisoners imagined Canada as a land of great wealth, the warehouse contents stimulated SS corruption and furnished barter goods for "organizing" by some prisoners.

From March 1, 1942, to November 22, 1943, Birkenau was under the command of SS-Obersturmbannführer Rudolf Höss, along with the rest of the Auschwitz complex. As a result of the reorganization and division of the Auschwitz complex into three separate camps at Himmler's orders in November 1943, Birkenau was renamed Auschwitz II and placed under SS-Sturmbannführer Fritz Hartjenstein. Josef Kramer replaced Hartjenstein on May 8, 1944.[5] On November 25, 1944, the Germans recombined Auschwitz I and Auschwitz II into one camp called Konzentrationslager Auschwitz, over which the Auschwitz I commandant, SS-Sturmbannführer Richard Baer, took charge.[6]

On September 8, 1944, there were 908 SS guards.[7]

Between 1942 and 1945, the Birkenau administration divided the camp's existing sectors into smaller compounds—also called camps—each with its own purpose and chain of command. Camp leaders (*Lagerführer*) supervised these compounds through noncommissioned report officers (*Rapportführer*) and block leaders (*Blockführer*). These compounds included separate men's and women's areas, hospital and quarantine camps, transit camps, and "family" camps, one for "Gypsies" and one for the Jews from Theresienstadt. The family camps, where men, women, and children lived in the same compound, were primarily a propaganda tool, as the Germans forced prisoners to write letters painting a false picture of camp conditions.

The mass extermination facilities (gas chambers and crematoria) were a separate complex of buildings generally subordinate to the camp commandant, who was responsible for the progress of the extermination operations, and immediately subordinate to the camp administration's political detachment (Politische Abteilung). After the November 22, 1943, division of Auschwitz into three camps, the garrison senior (Standortälteste) issued Order No. 53/43 entrusting the supervision of the extermination facilities to the commandant of Auschwitz II, who was also the director of Auschwitz Post Command for Special Tasks (Befehlsstelle Auschwitz für besondere Einsätze).[8]

Both during the time when Birkenau was under the Auschwitz commandant and afterward, when it became an individual concentration camp, it was closely associated with the other camps, that is, Auschwitz I and Auschwitz III-Monowitz (which controlled various subcamps). In part this cooperation came about because of Order No. 53/43, in which the Auschwitz garrison senior stipulated that the commandants of these camps work closely together, with the Auschwitz I commandant serving as Auschwitz garrison senior and being officially designated as the senior staff member (Dienstältester) with respect to the other commandants and with powers to resolve disputes.[9] The Auschwitz I camp continued to house the garrison administration, central employment office, political branch, and headquarters of the garrison physician (Standortarzt), who was the chief of health services in all the camps.

Although the Germans had begun building the Birkenau compound as a POW camp (*Kriegsgefangenenlager*) and continued this designation in building records (letters, plans, and reports) until 1944, the camp never served that function. The Germans gradually decided, while the camp was still being built (by February 1942 at the latest), to change the nature of the camp and to incorporate it into the Auschwitz complex as an integral component. The failure to achieve the expected quick victory over the Soviet Union and the attendant need for labor that the prospect of a long war created, combined with the decision to exterminate the Jews of Europe, set up the conditions that led to Birkenau's further development into a center for extermination and forced labor.

The Soviet POWs whom the Germans had brought in to build the camp were the first victims. Out of the original 10,000 prisoners who arrived in Auschwitz in October 1941,

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Jews from Carpathian Ruthenia await selection at the Birkenau railway ramp, May 1944. Prisoners from the Kanada detachment and some SS men stand to the left. USHMM WS # 77405 COURTESY OF YVA

over 9,000 died in five months, mainly due to the primitive conditions under which they had to live and work while building the Birkenau camp.[10] When the 945 surviving prisoners were transferred to Birkenau on March 1, 1942, the newly formed camp was already a part of the Auschwitz complex, and from that point forward, Jews constituted the vast majority of arriving prisoners. The camp subsequently housed a portion of the approximately 140,000 Poles registered at the Auschwitz complex, about 23,000 "Gypsies," and prisoners of other nationalities.

Immediate death awaited the vast majority of the arriving Jews; out of approximately 1.1 million Jews transported to Birkenau, a maximum of 200,000 were temporarily saved when selected for labor.[11] Selections took place either before Jews climbed aboard the trains that brought them to Auschwitz or, more commonly, upon arrival. The exact sequence of events varied somewhat, but typically the Jews selected for death were marched to the extermination compound, ordered to undress (under the pretext of bathing and disinfecting before entering the camp proper), and herded into the gas chamber. Specially trained SS technicians then dumped hydrogen cyanide tablets (Zyklon B) into the chamber. When the prisoners were dead, the chamber was ventilated, and the special detachment (Sonderkommando), made up of other Jewish prisoners, removed the bodies, cut off women's hair, removed any gold dental work, and burned the corpses in the crematoria.

Birkenau's prisoner population grew steadily with its expansion and the selection of some incoming prisoners for labor. There were approximately 90,000 male and female prisoners living in the camp on August 22, 1944 (including approximately 60,000 registered prisoners marked with camp numbers and about 30,000 unregistered ones; the latter were called "depot prisoners"). Seventy-four percent of the prisoners in Birkenau at that time were Jewish.[12] Those whom the Germans selected for work faced a slower but usually no less certain fate than those who went straight to the gas chambers. A few lucky ones—usually those with connections of some sort—could work in the camp administration, in the kitchens, or in some other relatively easy position indoors. For most prisoners, however, the work was extremely hard and often dangerous; the Nazi aim was "destruction through labor" (*Vernichtung durch Arbeit*). Demolition and construction on the camp itself or other nearby facilities formed a major part of the workload, as did agricultural labor; other prisoners worked in Kanada or in nearby armaments factories (Union, which manufactured fuses, and Zerlegebetriebe, where the prisoners dismantled wrecked aircraft). In any case, the guards and Kapos drove the prisoners

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furiously and beat anyone who faltered—often to the point of death. Roll calls at the beginning and end of every day, often lasting for hours, added to the torment and fatigue.

The living conditions further lessened the prisoners' chances for survival. Sleeping arrangements consisted of wooden shelves, with a minimum of straw bedding, on which the prisoners were packed. The camp uniform consisted of a striped shirt and trousers of rough cloth, never changed or washed, stiff with dirt, sweat, and excrement, infested with lice, and completely inadequate to protect against the weather. Wooden shoes were the only footwear. The diet consisted of the lowest-quality food in amounts that could not sustain life; the only hope for survival lay in "organizing" additional food, and such opportunities were scarce. Prisoners that fell sick either got well by themselves or died; there was no medical care to speak of. Prisoners who managed to stay alive, but became too weak to work, were subject to periodic selections: the Germans wanted to make room for new arrivals and were uninterested in feeding "useless eaters."

Birkenau also served as a transit camp and source of prisoner labor for other locations. In 1942 and 1943, it sent prisoners mostly to local subcamps and to the industrial complex of Monowitz. Then, beginning in the spring of 1944, Germany's military and economic situation was so desperate that the SS decided to use concentration camp labor more extensively in hundreds of industrial plants in German-controlled areas and in the Reich proper. To that end, they opened new camps near Auschwitz and shipped thousands of prisoners from Birkenau to other WVHA camps.

Resistance groups existed in all parts of the Auschwitz complex. Their task was to save lives by acquiring additional food, clothing, and medication. Furthermore, these groups documented the crimes and gathered intelligence, through Poles who lived near the camps, for the Polish Government in Exile in London to inform the world concerning the mass murders committed in the camp. Requests to put pressure on Nazi Germany to stop these crimes were also directed to world public opinion. In the last stage of the existence of the camp it was the clandestine groups that prepared for resistance in case the Germans should attempt to kill the inmates during the camp's possible liquidation.

Resistance groups were mainly organized by nationalities, political ideology, or professions (such as Polish officers). On June 10, 1942, a mutiny took place in the penal company that included about 400 Polish inmates. Unfortunately, only 9 inmates were able to escape, 2 of whom were tracked down. During the mutiny, 13 inmates were shot, 20 were killed during an examination that took place immediately afterward, and about 300 were killed in the gas chambers.

Other forms of resistance included escapes that in most cases served only to save one's life. On June 24, 1944, the Polish inmate Edward Galiński stole an SS uniform and escaped from Birkenau with Mala Zimetbaum. Both were caught and killed after an interrogation in the camp.

In Birkenau, Jews who worked in the Sonderkommando formed a resistance group. On October 7, 1944, during an attempt to forestall the escape of a group of inmates, they revolted, attacking SS men with hatchets, hammers, and stones. The Sonderkommando mutiny ended with the SS killing the majority of its members (451 people) and the burning down of gas chamber and crematorium IV.

Another resistance activity was the documentation of Nazi crimes by copying (*sporządzanie*) German documents and writing their own observations. The Jews of the Sonderkommando gathered and buried such notes in the ground. Discovered after the war, they constitute a precious source of information regarding the crimes committed at Birkenau. Information was also regularly gathered and preserved by Polish inmates regarding the crimes committed in the camp, its organizational structure, and the perpetrators.

Important information was also delivered by escapees and was published in Poland and abroad during wartime. The most valuable information of this kind was included in the reports of the Pole Jerzy Tabeau and the Jews Alfred Wetzler, Walter Rosenberg (Rudolf Vrba), Arnost Rosin, and Czesław Mordowicz. These reports were presented to the Allied governments, including Britain and the United States, and were published in Washington, DC, in November 1944. These reports led Jewish groups in Britain and the United States to call for bombing the Birkenau killing center or its approaching railways.

With the approach of Soviet forces in January 1945, the Germans decided to evacuate the Auschwitz complex. They had begun dismantling the gas chambers and crematoria in late 1944, in order to remove the industrial fixtures; in January, on the eve of the evacuation, they blew them up. On January 17, 1945, after the inmates' partial evacuation, 15,000 male and female inmates still remained in Birkenau. As in other Auschwitz camps and subcamps the majority were led out of the camp the next day. They were taken by foot to a site about 63 kilometers (39 miles) from Auschwitz, at Loslau (Wodzisław Śląski) and Gleiwitz (Gliwice). Many inmates died during this march, either shot by the guards or from hunger and cold. The survivors were put on open cattle cars and taken to camps in Germany.

During its five-year existence, about 8,000 SS men served at the Auschwitz concentration camp. They all shared responsibility for the death of about 1 million people. Only about 1,000 stood trial after the war. About 800 were turned over by Germany to Poland and were sentenced in Poland. The first one to be sentenced was the camp's founder and first commandant, Rudolf Höss, who was sentenced to death by the Supreme People's Court of Poland and executed on the site of the former camp on April 16, 1947. A second trial took place in Kraków against Auschwitz SS men, including 40 members of the camp administration. On December 22, 1947, 22 were sentenced to death, 6 to life imprisonment, and others to 3 to 15 years in prison. One was acquitted. The remaining SS men who had been delivered to Poland for sentencing were tried in regional, county, and special courts.

Between 1963 and 1976, four trials against Auschwitz SS personnel took place in Frankfurt am Main. Thirty SS men

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had to stand trial. Furthermore, SS men from Auschwitz were tried by various Allied courts in a number of postwar trials that dealt with the staff of other concentration camps.

SOURCES The published sources on Auschwitz are legion. Here are some of the most important publications pertaining to Birkenau: Wacław Długoborski and Franciszek Piper, eds., *Auschwitz 1940–1945: Central Issues in the History of the Camp*, 5 vols. (Oświęcim: Auschwitz Birkenau State Museum, 2000); Franciszek Piper and Teresa Świebocka, eds., *Auschwitz: Nazi Death Camp* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz Birkenau State Museum, 1996); Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, published in association with USHMM, 1994); Franciszek Piper, *Die Zahl der Opfer von Auschwitz aufgrund der Quellen und Erträge der Forschung 1945–1990* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz Birkenau State Museum, 1993); Franciszek Piper, *Arbeitseinsatz der Häftlinge aus dem Auschwitz Kouzentrationslager* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz Birkenau State Museum, 1995); Jean Claude Pressac, *Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989); Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939–1945* (New York: H. Holt, 1997); Sybille Steinbacher, *Auschwitz: A History* (London: Penguin Books, 2005); Robert Jan van Pelt, *The Case for Auschwitz: Evidence from the Irving Trial* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001); Hermann Langbein, *People in Auschwitz*, trans. Harry Zohn, foreword by Henry Friedlander (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Ernst Klee, *Auschwitz, die NS-Medezin und ihre Opfer* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1997). On the controversy concerning the nonbombing of the Birkenau killing center, see Michael Neufeld and Michael Berenbaum, eds., *The Bombing of Auschwitz: Should the Allies Have Attempted It?* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, published in Association with USHMM, 2003).

During the liquidation of the camp, the SS men destroyed the majority of the documents that dealt with the administration and functioning of the camp. The most important losses are the copies of the transport lists of Jews containing several hundred thousand names; the *Zugangslisten* (acquisition lists) containing the names of numerous new inmates for the years 1940, 1942, 1943, 1944, and 1945; questionnaires and index cards; inmate registration cards; the ledgers of the camp; the card index; and the files containing the death records of inmates for the years 1944–1945. Among the documents that survived by accident or were not destroyed, the most valuable documents (which are available in APMO) are about 70,000 death registration records for a portion of the registered inmates, from July 1941 to December 1943; Zugangslisten for the year 1941, containing about 28,000 names; the *Stärkebuch* (strength book) from January to August 1942; the *Hauptbuch* (main book) for the camp of the "Gypsies," containing about 21,000 names of Roma and Sinti; the death register of Soviet POWs, containing 8,420 names and some inmate numbers; a collection of records of the construction management (Bauleitung) of the camp, among others maps and technical documentation of the gas chambers and crematories; the records of the SS-Hygiene Institute, containing names of inmates and the results of laboratory analyses. In addition, APMO houses about 4,000 statements and memories of inmates and numerous trial testimonies; some 10,000 photographs, among them 4,000 photographs of inmates taken during their registration at the camp and photographs of buildings and objects in the camp during its construction. To the most valuable sources outside of APMO belong the transport lists stored in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, the Czech Republic, Germany, and Norway, which contain the names of Jews deported from these countries; the registers of the names of a part of the Hungarian Jews deported from Hungary to Auschwitz, which are stored today in Hungary; the records of Polish prisons from which Poles were sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp; the records in local German archives regarding the registration, imprisonment, and deportation of "Gypsies" to the Auschwitz camp; records of trials against the SS personnel of the Auschwitz camp; and records of German authorities like WVHA and RSHA related to the administration of Auschwitz. Copies of many of these collections are held at USHMMA and YVA. USHMMA also holds microforms of captured German documents from the Soviet Union and Soviet investigation records, which concern the planning, construction, and liberation of Auschwitz II-Birkenau. They include RG 11.001 M.03, Zentralbauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Auschwitz collection, copied from RGVA, fond 502 (reels 18 to 71); and RG-22.008, Records relating to Auschwitz and other camps from TsGAMORF, 1940–1945. Music sung by Birkenau prisoners was the subject of a research project by former Polish prisoner Aleksander Tytus Kulisiewicz. The fruits of his work are found in USHMMA, RG-55.003. A recent addition to USHMMA is the newly discovered "SS-Auschwitz Album," Acc. 2007.24. From internal and external evidence, it was apparently arranged by the last adjutant of Auschwitz I, Karl Höcker, and includes images of ranking SS staff and female SS Hilferinnen during moments of recreation at the nearby SS retreat at Solahütte. Featured in this album are photographs of Rudolf Höss, Richard Bär, Josef Kramer, Josef Mengele, and others. Many of the images date from June 1944, which means the creation of this album coincided with the destruction of the Hungarian Jews. The F-B-I and the Auschwitz State Museum have recently published a DVD of the Frankfurt Auschwitz trial (4 Ks 2/63), as *Der Auschwitz Prozess: Tonbandmitschnitte, Protokolle, Dokumente* (Berlin: Directmedia Publishing, 2004). The U.S. War Refugee Board published the Auschwitz Protocols in November 1944. They are listed as *German Extermination Camps—Auschwitz and Birkenau* (Washington: WRB, 1944); and reprinted in David S. Wyman, ed., *Bombing Auschwitz and the Auschwitz Escapees' Report*, vol. 12 of *America and the Holocaust*, 13 vols. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), Doc. 1. A helpful published compilation of the Auschwitz garrison orders is Norbert Frei et al., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000). For the testimonies of the Sonderkommando, see *Amidst a Nightmare of Crime, Manuscripts of Members of Sonderkommando* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz Birkenau State Museum, 1973). The first published testimonies on Birkenau appeared in Polish in wartime. They include [Natalia Zarębina], *Obóz śmierci* (Warsaw, 1942), reprinted as *Obóz śmierci; Zbiór relacji z obozu w Oświęcimiu opublikowanych w kraja przez ruch oporu mas pracujących* (London, 1943), trans. as *The Camp of Death* (London, 1943), *The Camp of Disappearing Men: A Story of the Oswiecim Concentration Camp; Based on Reports from the Polish Underground Labor*

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Movement; Poland Fights (New York, 1944); *Oświęcim, campo de la muerte* (Mexico City, 1944); Zofia Kossak, *W piekle* (Warsaw, 1942), trans. as *In Hell* (London, 1944); and Halina Krahelska, *Oświęcim: Pamiętnik więźnia* (Warsaw, 1942). For enhanced and cropped aerial photography of the Birkenau killing center, see Dino Brugioni and Robert Poirier, *The Holocaust Revisited: A Retrospective Analysis of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Extermination Complex* (Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1979).

Franciszek Piper
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, D-AuI-2/1-46 Sterbebücher, contains ca. 70,000 records of death registrations of inmates of different nationalities. D-AuI-3/1/5 Stärkebuch, D-AuI-5/2 Leichenhalle, D-AuI-3/1 Bunkerbuch, D-AuII-3/1 Hauptbücher des Zigeunerlagers.
2. APMO-B, D-AuI-3a, Folder 14, Report of Himmler visit by Heinrich Schwarz of March 17, 1941, Höss trial, 21:33.
3. APMO, Entwurf, HHB betr. KGL Auschwitz, November 1, 1941. Microfilm number 1034; BW 2/2. Lageplan des KGF—Auschwitz OS, October 14, 1941; BW 2/5, Lageplan des KGL BA I, II, III; IV, August 15, 1942.
4. APMO-B, D-AuI-3/1-7646 Index of the Russian Prisoners of War.
5. APMO-B, D-AuI-1 Standortbefehl Nr. 53/43, November 22, 1943.
6. APMO-B, D-AuI-1 Standortbefehl Nr. 29/44, November 25, 1944.
7. APMO-B, Mat. RO, 2:147–151 (Resistance Movement Report of September 8, 1944).
8. APMO-B, D-AuI-1 Standortbefehl Nr. 53/43, November 22, 1943.
9. Ibid.
10. APMO-B, D-Aul-3/1/1, p. 90, Stärkebuch.
11. APMO-B, D-RO/123 Transportlisten (Nuremberg Doc. NOKW-2824).
12. APMO-B, D-RO/2:94–115 (Report of the secret military council of the camp).

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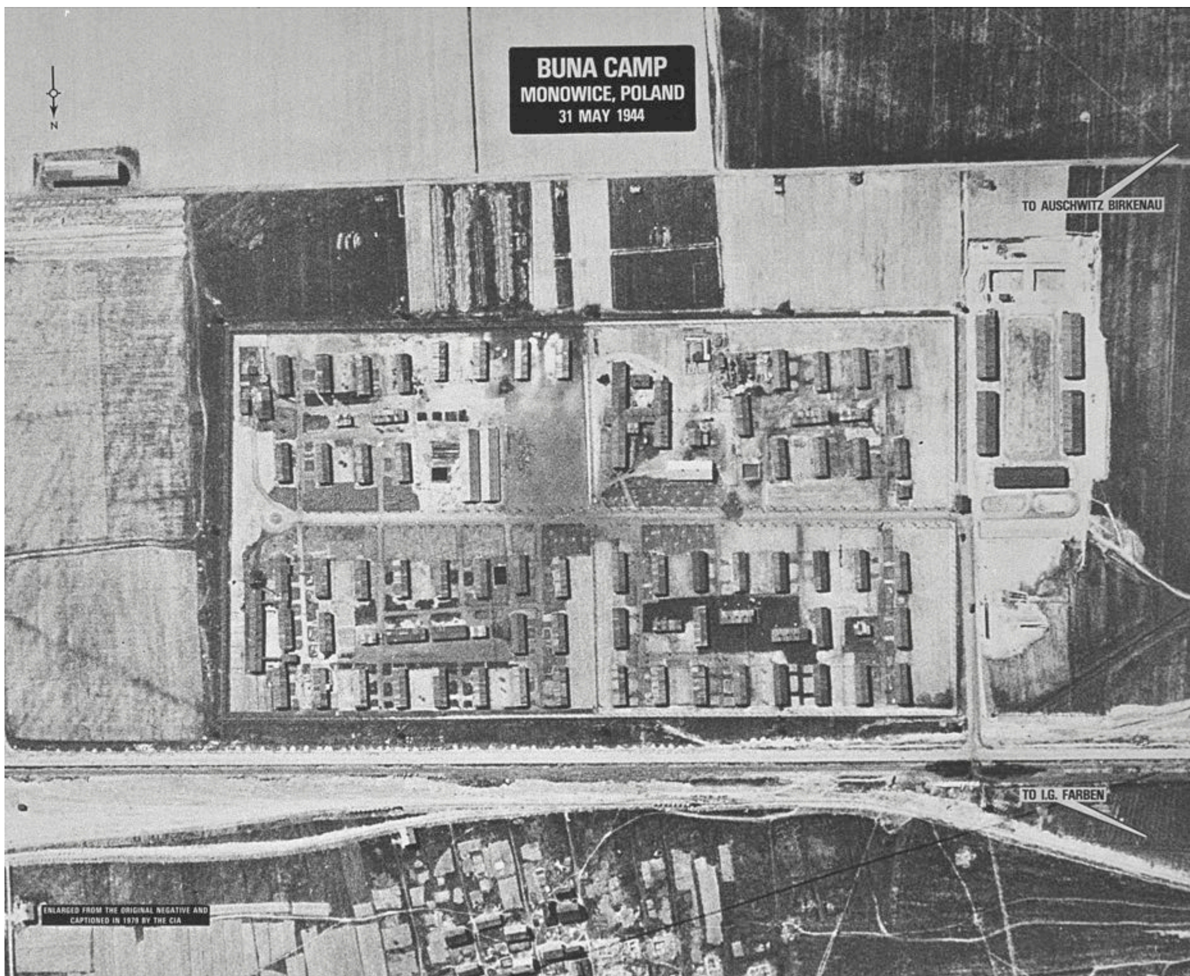
AUSCHWITZ III-MONOWITZ MAIN CAMP [AKA BUNA]

The Monowitz main camp lay about 6.5 kilometers (4 miles) east of the Auschwitz I main camp, near the Polish town of Monowice. In the neighboring hamlet of Dwory, on a construction site of several square kilometers in area, the German chemical firm IG Farben built a huge chemical complex for the production of synthetic fuels and rubber (*Buna*), starting in April 1941. Besides access to nearby coal mines and convenient transport connections, the availability of thousands of prisoners played an important role in the choice of this site. Leading managers of IG Farben approached Hermann Göring when they learned of SS plans—part of the Germanization policy—to forcibly resettle the Polish inhabitants and deport the Jewish population from Auschwitz and the surrounding villages. On February 18, 1941, the company persuaded Göring to order Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler to delay the forced migration and to support the building of the Buna plant by providing prisoners from the camp as slave laborers.[1] Himmler issued an order in February 1941 to support the plant's construction, and the following month an agreement was reached between IG Farben and the leadership of the SS. That agreement became a key model for the deployment of concentration camp inmates in the German war industry.

In April 1941, prisoners from the main camp started work as the Buna-Aussenkommando to build the factory for IG Farben. In the beginning, the Buna-Aussenkommando was populated by Polish prisoners; from the spring of 1942 onward, it was reinforced with French Jews. The prisoners had to complete an exhausting march from the main camp to the



Aerial photograph of Auschwitz III-Monowitz, May 31, 1944, enhanced and cropped in 1978 by Central Intelligence Agency photo analysts Dino Brugioni and Robert Poirier.
USHMM WS # 91362, COURTESY OF NARA

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construction site and back every day. From the end of July, the 1,000 to 1,300 prisoners in the Aussenkommando were transported by rail to conserve their strength.[2] On October 21, 1941, IG Farben proposed to the camp administration that the number of prisoners be raised to between 4,000 and 5,000 prisoners and that they be housed on the factory grounds. Due to a lack of SS guards and resources, the camp commandant, Rudolf Höss, was unable to fulfill that request at the time.[3] The exact timing of the decision to build a subcamp on the Buna site is subject to debate. It is known that construction began in March 1942.[4] With 57 living-quarter barracks, 5 wash barracks, and five latrines, the planned dimensions were extraordinarily large for a subcamp.

By the end of October 1942, more than 2,000 prisoners had arrived at Monowitz.[5] From that point, the camp population grew steadily and, with the introduction of large numbers of Hungarian Jews in the spring and summer of 1944, reached a high point of 11,000.[6] Inside the subcamp, Staatspolizeileitstelle Kattowitz established a so-called work education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*).[7] Five blocks separated with barbed wire were used to imprison about 400 to 500 inmates, the goal being to discipline forced laborers who were uncooperative, came to work late, or attempted sabotage. While the administration lay in the hands of the Gestapo, the SS guarded this camp, which existed until the evacuation of Monowitz.

Eventually, more than 90 percent of the inmates of Monowitz were Jews, who came from Germany, Austria, Poland, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Norway, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, and Czechoslovakia. The majority of the non-Jewish inmates were citizens of Poland, the USSR, and Germany. About 1 to 2 percent of the camp's population were "Gypsie" of unknown nationality.[8] In response to successful escapes in the summer of 1943, the SS transferred many Polish and Czechoslovakian inmates to Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen, where foreign prisoners' chances to survive after escaping were much smaller. Due to the mass deportation of the Hungarian Jews in the spring and summer of 1944, their proportion of the camp population increased markedly.

Street construction detail at IG Auschwitz, 1943–1944.
USHMM WS # 79489, COURTESY OF BA

The inmates of Monowitz were almost exclusively male. The exception was a small group of 10 to 20 women who were forced to work as prostitutes. From at least the summer of 1944 onward, and possibly from the end of 1943, they were placed in a separate block surrounded by barbed wire.

The prisoner-functionaries, such as block elders, prisoner physicians, or overseers, were mainly prisoners from Germany, Austria, or Poland. Besides political or personal links, the decisive factor for their nomination was often the ability to understand orders by the SS in German.

The commander of Auschwitz III-Monowitz was SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Schwarz, who was born in Munich in 1906. By the end of 1931, he had joined the SS (No. 19691) and the Nazi Party (NSDAP) (No. 786871). He started his career in the camp SS in September 1939, first in Dachau and later in Mauthausen. In September 1941, he was assigned to Auschwitz, and he became the commandant of the newly designated Auschwitz III camp on November 22, 1943.[9] He kept this position until Monowitz was evacuated. On February 1, 1945, he became the commandant of Natzweiler-Struthof.[10]

By Himmler's order of November 22, 1943, Auschwitz was partitioned into three administrative units: Auschwitz I (main camp), Auschwitz II (Birkenau), and Auschwitz III (Monowitz and subcamps). From that time onward, the Monowitz headquarters was responsible for the administration of all Auschwitz subcamps.[11] In December 1943, the camp, which until then was named Lager Buna, was renamed Arbeitslager (work camp) Monowitz.[12] In November 1944, the administration was reorganized once again. By order of the garrison senior of Auschwitz, the camp at Birkenau was assigned to the main camp, and the "Monowitz work camp" was renamed "Monowitz concentration camp" and became an independent administrative unit.[13]

On November 22, 1943, the guard units Wachkompanie Buna and the 5th Wachkompanie were subordinated to Schwarz.[14] On May 22, 1944, the SS-Totenkopfsturmbataillon (Death's Head Storm Battalion) Auschwitz III was established by Schwarz's order. It was seven companies strong. The 1st Company, under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Paul Heinrich Theodor Müller, was to guard Monowitz, while the other six companies as well as the 8th Company (established later) guarded the subcamps.

The prisoners were exploited by private enterprises and the SS inside and outside the camp as slave laborers. A total of perhaps 100 to 120 prisoners worked inside the camp, in offices, the camp kitchen, the infirmary, and on various maintenance duties. Outside the camp several thousand prisoners had to work for private companies at the construction site. IG Farben put its prisoners to work in its own plant or lent them to subcontractors. The arrangement was profitable for IG Farben since the daily fee the firm paid to the SS per prisoner amounted to roughly one-third less than for labor at the regional wage level. In addition, the firm saved considerable amounts that it normally would have had to spend for such costs as housing, sick benefits, separation compensation,

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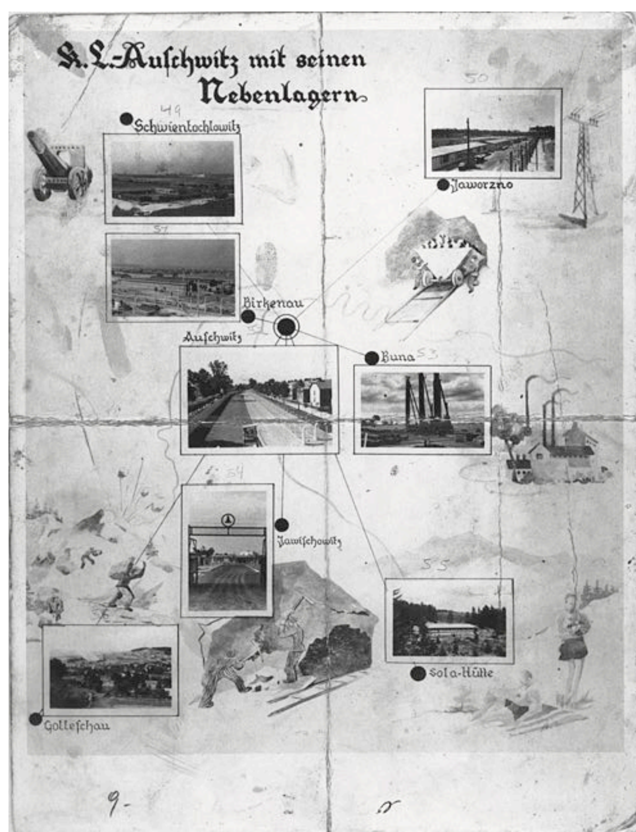
social welfare, and cultural activities, costs that could amount to approximately 25 percent of the wages of nonprisoner labor. These savings more than compensated the firm for the lower productivity of the emaciated, often diseased camp inmates.

Among the most dangerous details were the excavation Kommando and the transport Kommando, in which the prisoners suffered nearly continuous, brutal beatings. These murderous Kommandos also included the cement Kommandos, in which prisoners had to carry 50-kilogram (110-pound) cement sacks at a run. In other Kommandos, the prisoners had to build underground bunkers or lay cable, carry tree trunks, or even dig up unexploded bombs. The chances of survival were better in the electricians' Kommando, in which 120 to 180 Jewish prisoners were forced to build electrical power systems and switchboards. As the construction of the factory advanced, the job specifications changed. A growing number of prisoners were deployed as skilled laborers. They had to work as mechanics, masons, carpenters, painters, or welders. During 1943, more and more prisoners were put to work in the assembly Kommandos. And starting in 1944, an increasing number of prisoners worked in production Kommandos, where many of them performed highly skilled work in chemical laboratories, as exemplified by Primo Levi. In the camp administration, prisoners worked as scribes and dealt with correspondence and the camp statistics.



"Auschwitz Concentration Camp with Its Subcamps," 1944, depicting Auschwitz I, Auschwitz II-Birkenau, Auschwitz III-Monowitz (called "Buna"), and, clockwise from top: Schwientochlowitz, Jaworzno, Sola-Hütte, Jawischowitz, and Golleschau. Prisoner Myszkowski captioned the images, which were compiled for the Auschwitz photo album by SS-Hauptscharführer Bernhard Walter and SS-Unterscharführer Ernst Hoffmann for presentation to the commandant.
USHMM WS # 25680, COURTESY OF YVA

There are no estimates of how many prisoners of the Buna-Aussenkommando died between April 1941 and July 1942. The estimate of the number of prisoners who died and were killed from October 1942 onward, based on survivor accounts, fluctuates between 23,000 and 40,000.[15] Many died at the construction site in work accidents, often because of the absence of safety measures. The majority died of cachexia, as a consequence of malnutrition, overwork, and untreated diseases. At the instigation of IG Farben managers, prisoners were selected for the gas chambers in Birkenau when their work ability decreased and in cases of longer-term diseases or if they became invalids. Routine selections took place in the morning at the gate of the camp when the prisoners marched to work, in the prisoner infirmary, or at the roll-call square. The camp commandant, protective custody camp leader, SS members responsible for labor allocation, the SS camp physician, and according to a surviving prisoner physician, also several civilians from IG Farben all took part in the selections.[16] Selections started in the infirmary as soon as more than 5 percent of the inmates were ill. The average prisoner survived for three to four months in Monowitz.

In the face of everyday destruction, one of the major tasks of the camp resistance was to save lives. To that end, it worked to procure extra food and medication and generally tried to improve the prisoners' situation. It also conducted political education. An international network, mainly consisting of Poles and Jews from Germany and Austria, led the resistance. They took over important posts in the camp administration from which they could gather information and influence developments.

At the IG Farben factory, prisoners approached civilians, forced laborers, and POWs secretly to exchange information. Sabotage prolonged completion of the factory. The electricians' Kommando, for example, successfully caused a short circuit of the turbines during a test run. According to Walter Petzold, a former prisoner, the resistance also prevented IG Farben from starting synthetic fuel production during the so-called Day of National Work on May 1, 1943. Three days earlier, prisoners had caused an explosion of the high-pressure station, and in the vehicle park, prisoners destroyed 50 trucks and tractors through looting.[17]

After attempts to escape, the prisoners had to stand for roll calls for many hours as punishment. Prisoners who were captured again faced hanging. The camp inmates were forced to watch the cruel execution scenes.

The first major air raid on factory buildings at Monowitz took place on August 20, 1944, by bombers of the U.S. 15th Air Force. According to Siegfried Pinkus, a prisoner of Monowitz, about 75 inmates were killed, and more than 150 were slightly or severely injured.[18] Nevertheless, many prisoners appreciated the raids, which scared the SS, demolished

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war production facilities, and brought their liberation closer. Further air raids followed on September 13 as well as on December 18 and 26, 1944, and the last on January 19, 1945.

On January 18, 1945, Monowitz was evacuated. About 800 to 850 sick prisoners, too exhausted to leave, stayed behind. Many of the approximately 10,000 prisoners from Monowitz were forced to go on the death march.[19] Many thousands died from exhaustion, exposure, and starvation or were beaten to death or shot by the SS when unable to continue to march. The death march west went via Mikolów to Gleiwitz, where the surviving prisoners were loaded on open cattle cars and transported to concentration camps in the Reich. Many ended up in Mittelbau, where they were forced to work underground in German rocket production. The prisoners who stayed back in Monowitz were liberated by the 60th Army of the Red Army's First Ukrainian Front on January 27, 1945.

The crimes committed at Monowitz were documented in detail for the first time during the U.S. Military Tribunal at Nürnberg in Case 6 from 1947 to 1948, in which 24 top managers of IG Farben were, among other things, accused of plundering and despoliation and of using the slave labor of civilians, POWs, and concentration camp inmates. Five managers were sentenced to terms of between six and eight years for the exploitation and enslavement of camp inmates at Auschwitz. Ten defendants were acquitted. One defendant was released during the trial proceedings for health reasons. Four of the 13 IG Farben managers who were sentenced as war criminals were released immediately, and the others, before they served their full sentences.

Shortly after World War II, several members of the SS were sentenced to death by Allied Military Tribunals for crimes committed in concentration camps. Among them were the former Lagerführer of Monowitz, SS-Obersturmführer Vinzenz Schöttl, in the Dachau trial of 1945, as well as the former camp physicians of Monowitz, SS-Obersturmführer Friedrich Entress and SS-Hauptsturmführer Helmuth Vetter, in the Mauthausen trial in 1946. A French Military Tribunal at Rastatt sentenced the former commandant of Monowitz, Schwarz, to death in 1946 for crimes committed at Natzweiler.

Under Allied control, IG Farben was split up into the successor firms Badische Anilin und Sodafabrik (BASF), Hoechst, Bayer, Casella, and IG Farbenindustrie in Liquidation. Norbert Wollheim was the first survivor to claim compensation in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) against IG Farbenindustrie in Liquidation. The so-called Wollheim-Verfahren began in January 1952 and was finally closed in 1957 with the participation of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany. A private settlement was reached out of court. A sum of 30 billion Deutsche Mark (DM) was paid as compensation for slave labor in the IG Farben factories at Monowitz, Heydebreck, Fürstengrube, and Janinagrube. IG Farbenindustrie in Liquidation was thereby able to insist that compensation was paid voluntarily, without any legal claim by the survivors. Many survivors were not informed in time and therefore failed to meet the application deadline set in the agreement. The agreement of the Wollheim case became a model for the compensation of former slave laborers in subsequent cases against German industry.

Only a few perpetrators went to trial in the 1950s and 1960s in the FRG and German Democratic Republic (GDR) for crimes committed in Monowitz. Bernhard Rakers, former Kommandoführer and Rapportführer in Monowitz, was accused of murder in several trials from 1950 onward, for shooting prisoners during the death march. The trials, which took place before the Landgericht (state court) Osnabrück, ended with a sentence of lifelong imprisonment. In the GDR, the former SS-Lagerarzt of Monowitz, Horst Fischer, was arrested in June 1965 in Spreenhagen near Frankfurt an der Oder. Before the Supreme Court of the GDR, he was accused of taking part in selections of many thousands of prisoners. Fischer confessed to the crimes, which several witnesses had confirmed, and was sentenced to death on March 25, 1966. He was executed the same year.

In the first Auschwitz trial, which ran from December 1963 to August 1965 before the court in Frankfurt am Main, the former Sanitätsdienstgrad (SDG) of Monowitz, Gerhard Neubert, was released from trial for health reasons. In the second Auschwitz trial in Frankfurt, in 1966, Neubert received a sentence of three and a half years for accessory to murder in 35 selections. In the third Auschwitz trial in Frankfurt, in August 1966, Erich Grönke, Heinrich Bernhard Bonitz, and Josef Windeck were accused of murder. Bonitz, former block elder and Kapo in Monowitz, was sentenced to lifelong imprisonment. The former camp elder of Monowitz, Windeck, was sentenced to lifelong imprisonment for murder in 2 cases and attempted murder in 3 cases. The preliminary proceedings, which were opened by the public prosecutor in Frankfurt, against the former camp elder of the hospital (*Krankenbau*) Stefan Buthner (formerly Budziaszek), in 1966, were closed in 1975 because of the witnesses' contradictory testimonies.

SOURCES The most important studies on the history of the Monowitz concentration camp are by Bernd C. Wagner, *IG Auschwitz: Zwangsarbeit und Vernichtung von Häftlingen des Lagers Monowitz 1941–1945* (Munich, 2000); and Piotr Setkiewicz, *Z dziejów obozów IG Farben Werk Auschwitz 1941–1945* (Oświęcim: Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau, 2006); as well as Setkiewicz's valuable studies in German, "Ausgewähle Probleme aus der Geschichte des IG Werkes Auschwitz," *HvA* 22 (2002): 7–147, and "Häftlingsarbeit im KZ-Auschwitz III-Monowitz: Die Frage der Wirtschaftlichkeit der Arbeit," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager—Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen, 1998), 2:584–605. Additional studies on Monowitz include Karl Heinz Roth, "IG Auschwitz: Normalität oder Anomalie eines kapitalistischen Entwicklungssprungs?" *Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* 4:4 (1989): 11–28; Peter Hayes, "Die IG Farben und die Zwangsarbeit von KZ-Häftlingen im Werk Auschwitz," in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen, 1996), pp. 129–148; and Joseph Robert White, "IG Auschwitz: The Primacy of Racial Politics" (Ph.D. diss., University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 2000). For a valuable early study

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on the infirmary in Monowitz by a former camp physician, see Antoni Makowski, "Organisation, Entwicklung und Tätigkeit des Häftlings-Krankenbaus in Monowitz (KL Auschwitz III)," *HvA* 15 (1975): 113–181. In English one of the first studies on IG Farben's involvement in the exploitation of slave labor is the book of the former chief of the patent and cartel section of the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice, Joseph Borkin, *The Crime and Punishment of IG Farben* (New York, 1979), pp. 111–127; with corrections to Borkin's errors, see the chapter on Auschwitz in Peter Hayes, *Industry and Ideology: IG Farben and the Nazi Era*, 2nd ed. (1987; Cambridge, 2000), pp. 347–368. On the decision to establish Monowitz as the first camp inside an industrial complex, see Shmuel Krakowski, "The Satellite Camps," in *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*, ed. Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum (Bloomington, 1994), pp. 50–60. See also the author's "Die IG Farbenindustrie und der Ausbau des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1941–1942," *Sozial Geschichte: Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* 21:1 (2006): 33–67. On the controversy concerning the role the provision of slave labor played in the decision of IG Farben to build a chemical plant at Monowitz and to install the camp on the factory's premises, see Peter Hayes, "Zur umstrittenen Geschichte der IG Farbenindustrie AG," *GuG* 18 (1992): 405–417; Gottfried Plumpe, "Antwort auf Peter Hayes," *GuG* 18 (1992): 526–532; Thomas Sandkühler and Hans-Walter Schmuhl, "Noch einmal: Die IG Farben und Auschwitz," *GuG* 19 (1993): 259–267; Franciszek Piper, *Arbeitseinsatz der Häftlinge aus dem KL Auschwitz* (Warsaw, 1995), p. 239; Wagner, *IG Auschwitz*, pp. 37–58; and Florian Schmaltz and Karl Heinz Roth, "Neue Dokumente zur Vorgeschichte des IG Farbenwerks Auschwitz-Monowitz," *1999* 13 (1998): 100–116. On the Auschwitz trial in Frankfurt am Main, see Florian Schmaltz, "Im Spannungsfeld von Wissenschaft, Politik und Justiz—Das historische Gutachten Jürgen Kuczynskis zur Rolle der IG Farben und des KZ Monowitz im ersten Frankfurter Auschwitz-Prozess," in *"Gerichtstag halten über uns selbst . . .". Geschichte und Wirkung des ersten Frankfurter Auschwitz-Prozess*, ed. Irmtrud Wojak (Frankfurt am Main, 2001), pp. 117–140. On British prisoners of war as witnesses to the ordeal of Monowitz prisoners, see Joseph Robert White, "'Even in Auschwitz . . . Humanity Could Prevail': British POWs and Jewish Concentration-Camp Inmates at IG Auschwitz, 1943–1945," *HGS* 15:2 (Fall 2001): 266–295; and on U.S. and Soviet bombing raids on IG Farben Auschwitz, see his "Target Auschwitz: Historical and Hypothetical Responses to German Attack," *HGS* 16:1 (Spring 2002): 54–76.

A small but good selection of documents in English translation are in *TWC*, vols. 7–8. For a full documentation of Case 6, in German and English, see NARA, RG 238, M892, Reels 1–113, Records of the *United States of America versus Carl Krauch, et al.* (Case 6), August 14, 1947–July 30, 1948. These sources are completed by documents collected by the prosecution in the series of Nuremberg Industrialists (NI series) in T-301, Reels 1–163, Records of the Office of the United States Chief Council for War Crimes, Nuremberg. The Auschwitz garrison orders have been published in Norbert Frei et al., eds., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000). On SS personnel, see also Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, ed., *Auschwitz in den Augen der SS* (Warsaw, 1997). Further sources on the development of the IG Farben factory at Auschwitz can be found in the company archives of IG Farben successors Bayer Leverkusen, BASF (Ludwigshafen), and the Hoechst archives. Besides the great collection of testimonies of survivors, the APMO keeps the documents of the SS-Zentralbauleitung Auschwitz with many relevant sources on the development of the construction of the concentration camp at Monowitz. In the BA-BL, the files of the WVHA (NS 3), IG Farbenindustrie (R 8128), and Reichsamt für Wirtschaftsausbau (R 3112) are, among other finds, the most important ones. The first Auschwitz trial at Frankfurt is well documented on DVD: F-B-I and Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, ed., *Der Auschwitz-Prozess* (Berlin, 2004). The files of the following Auschwitz trials are kept by F-B-I. Among the numerous holdings on Monowitz at USHMMA is RG 50.042*0032, Oral history interview of Norbert Wollheim, February 18, 1992. For a description of the Buna-Aussenkommando that built the camp in Monowitz, see the famous book by Wieslaw Kielar, *Anus Mundi: Five Years in Auschwitz*, trans. Susanne Flatauer (Harmondsworth, 1980). Among the many testimonies and biographies of survivors, a very famous one is Primo Levi's *Survival in Auschwitz: The Nazi Assault on Humanity*, trans. Stuart Woolf (New York, 1996). Recently, the earliest report by Primo Levi and co-author, prisoner physician Leonardo De Benedetti, originally prepared for Soviet investigators and published in an Italian medical journal, has appeared in English. See Levi and De Benedetti, *Auschwitz Report*, ed. Robert S.C. Gordon and trans. Judith Woolf (New York, 2006). Two other impressive and detailed testimonies of survivors are Hans Frankenthal, *The Unwelcome One: Returning Home from Auschwitz*, ed. Andreas Plake, Babette Quinkert, and Florian Schmalz and trans. John A. Broadwin (Evanston, IL, 2002); and Bert B. Linder, *Condemned without Judgment: The Three Lives of a Holocaust Survivor* (New York, 1995). A good description of the Arbeitserziehungslager inside camp Monowitz was written by the former camp elder, Siegfried Halbreich, *Before—During—After* (New York, 1991).

Florian Schmaltz

NOTES

1. NI-1240, Göring to Himmler, February 18, 1941.
2. BA-B, R 5/3056, Bl. 480, Reichsbahndirektion Oppeln an Reichsverkehrsministerium, February 28, 1942; IG Auschwitz, Wochenbericht Nr. 33 für die Zeit vom 5. bis 11.1.1942, NI-15109.
3. APMO, D-AuIII Monowitz/4, Tygodniowe sprawozdania IG Farben, t. 2, p. 104, IG Auschwitz, Wochenbericht Nr. 22, October 27, 1941.
4. NI-11132, Protokoll der 16. Baubesprechung am 6.3.42 in Ludwigshafen, March 28, 1942.
5. Case No. 6, *U.S. v. Krauch* (IG Farben Case), in *TWC*, 8:480.
6. NI-14287, Affidavit of Martin Robbach, January 21, 1948; and Bernd C. Wagner, *IG Auschwitz: Zwangsarbeit und Vernichtung von Häftlingen des Lagers Monowitz 1941–1945* (Munich, 2000), p. 333.
7. APK, RK 2910, p. 19, Mildner (Staatspolizeileitstelle Kattowitz) an den Regierungspräsidenten in Kattowitz, February 11, 1943.

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8. APMO, Oświadczenia, t. 6, s 829, Syg. Ośw/Posner/14, p. 6; Wagner, *IG Auschwitz*, p. 105; report on Auschwitz-Monowitz (Buna) by Curt Posner, n.d.

9. Standortbefehl 53/43, signed Liebehenschel, November 22,1943, in Norbert Frei et al., eds., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle Konzentrationslager Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000), p. 367.

10. BA-BL, SSO Heinrich Schwarz (RuSHA and SSO). See Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, ed., *Auschwitz in den Augen der SS*, (Warsaw, 1997), p. 243.

11. Standortbefehl 53/43, November 22, 1943, in Frei et al., *Standort- und Kommandaturbefehle*, p. 366.

12. Standortbefehl 54/43, December 1, 1943, in ibid., p. 370.

13. Standortbefehl 29/44, November 25, 1944, in ibid., p. 514.

14. Standortbefehl 53/43, November 22, 1943, in ibid., p. 367; and APMO, D-Au-I-1/53, Microfilm Nr. 1041, p. 311, Kommandantur Konzentrationslager Auschwitz III - Kommandanturbefehl 1/43, December 2, 1943.

15. NI-7967, Affidavit of Erwin Schulhof, June 21, 1947; NI-12069, Affidavit of Gustav Herzog, October 21, 1947; NI-12070, Affidavit of Stefan Budziaszek, October 27, 1947; NI-11081, Affidavit of Dr. Moses Zlotolow, September 2, 1947.

16. NI-4830, Affidavit of Dr. Rudolf Vitek [Rudolf Weisskopf], March 3, 1947.

17. F-B-I, Frankfurt am Main, Landgericht Frankfurt am Main, 4 Js 444/59, Vernehmung von Walter Petzold (Berlin) am 10.2.1960, p. 2.

18. NI-10820, Siegfried Pinkus to USMT Nürnberg, August 29, 1947.

19. See F-B-I, Bestand Wollheim Verfahren 2/3 0 406/51, statement Josef Löwenstein, December 4, 1952, p. 11.

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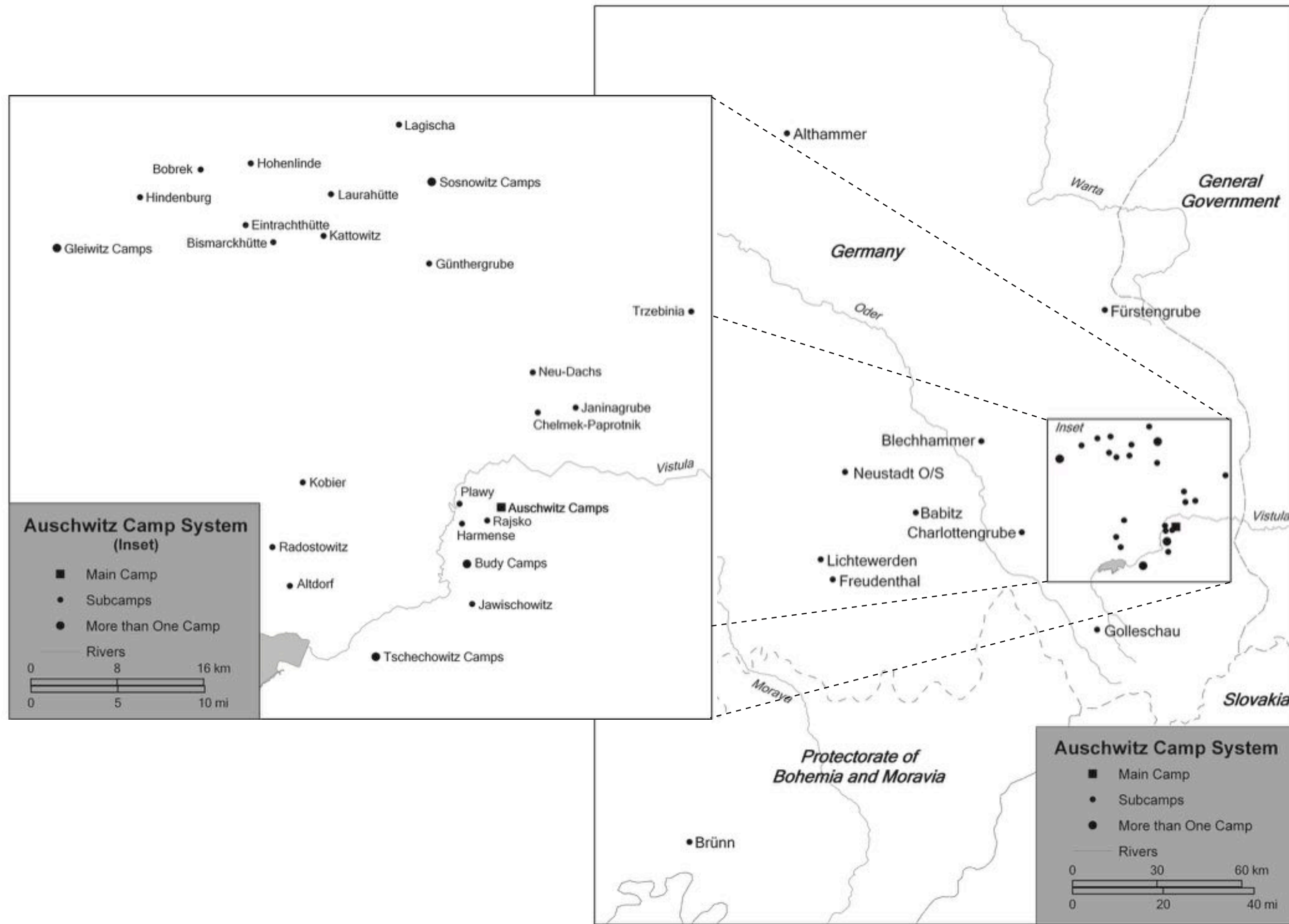
AUSCHWITZ SUBCAMP SYSTEM



The process of creating subcamps subordinate to the Auschwitz main camp got off to a slow start and then accelerated rapidly as the war economy's demand for labor increased, as was the case with other concentration camp complexes. The first 4 subcamps were formed at industrial plants away from the central camp in 1942. Five more were formed in 1943, and 19 more in 1944, at steelmills, mines, and other industrial plants. Besides the subcamps established at industrial plants, there were also a dozen or so other subcamps established at farms, forestry businesses, and other workplaces. Some of them existed for a short time—sometimes seasonally or for the time that a specific job was being done. They were formed from the very beginning of the main camp's existence.

Auschwitz had a total of about 40 subcamps, including those established at industrial plants. The definite majority of prisoners living in the subcamps (approximately 95 percent, sometimes almost 100 percent) were Jews. That percentage is due partly to the fact that Jews constituted a large part of the Auschwitz population overall (approximately 70 percent in 1944) and partly to the fact that non-Jews were sent to concentration camps in Germany, while until the spring of 1944 Jews were sent to Auschwitz subcamps located on the borderlands between Poland and Germany (under the policy, in effect until the spring of 1944, that the Reich was to be free of Jews).

Until November 21, 1943, the subcamps at industrial plants were under the commander of the Auschwitz main camp. When the Auschwitz camp split into three camps, they were under the commandant of Auschwitz III-Monowitz. SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Schwarz was the commandant of that camp, which oversaw all the Auschwitz subcamps until the camp was disbanded.

Each subcamp was headed by a superintendent (Schutzhaftlagerführer) whom the commandant appointed. He was responsible for keeping the camp premises, facilities, and equipment in proper condition; provisioning the prisoners; scheduling their labor assignments; and overseeing the productivity and proper supervision of the prisoners. Some camp superintendents also held the post of guard company commander.

The subcamp superintendent was aided by a noncommissioned officer (Rapportführer) who was responsible for

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conducting roll calls and keeping prisoner population records and who supervised the prisoner block superintendents (Blockführer). An SS man usually held the post of labor assignment superintendent (Arbeitseinsatzführer). There were also the posts of kitchen superintendent and medical orderly (Sanitätsdienstgrad, SDG). The latter supervised the infirmary, also called the camp hospital (*Häftlingskrankenbau*). His supervision over the infirmary was actually administrative in nature: SS orderlies were not qualified to treat prisoners, who were attended to by prisoner doctors. The infirmaries were very meagerly equipped, and the assortment and quantity of medicine brought in from the pharmacy at Auschwitz I was completely inadequate. The SS doctors who visited the subcamps from time to time were not interested in treating the prisoners. All they did was remove chronically ill prisoners and those unfit to work from the subcamps and send them either to the camp hospital at the Buna (Monowitz) subcamp or to Birkenau or directly to the gas chambers to die. Depending on the prisoner population at a subcamp, they would select upward of a dozen to several dozen—or even several hundred prisoners at a time.

The political department (Politische Abteilung) at the central camp at Auschwitz set up subsidiaries at several subcamps. The other subcamps were supervised directly by the political department at the central camp at Auschwitz (SS-Unterscharführer Federnel and SS-Rottenführer Broad). The political department was interested in anything concerning prisoner escapes from camp, forbidden communications between prisoners and the civilian population, distribution of political information among prisoners, sabotage, and other infractions of the rules. The subcamp superintendent dealt with minor breaches of order or discipline.

The prisoners were put to work at outside companies—those that did not belong to the SS—only upon the request of such companies. Any requests by companies seeking the allocation of prisoner labor had to be addressed to the DII office at the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). Before making a final decision on the time, place, and number of prisoner laborers, it considered the camp management's proposition as to lodging and supervision capabilities and the ruling of the proper arms inspectorate as to the urgency and importance of production where prisoners were to be put to work.

WVHA contracts with companies hiring prisoner labor set forth such things as the type of labor and fees to be charged as well as accommodation, food, and clothing conditions. Basically, besides the prisoner labor fees, the company doing the hiring was responsible for all costs associated with accommodation of prisoners outside the concentration camp. Therefore, the companies were required to erect a proper camp near the workplace, including barracks for the prisoners and the SS men, warehouses and kitchens, and to outfit those premises with the proper equipment, furnishings, sanitary facilities, as well as a security fence and watchtowers. On the other hand, the SS authorities covered the costs of feeding and clothing the prisoners and provided prisoner supervision.

Besides SS men, the prisoners were sometimes guarded by soldiers from the military formations for which a specific plant was producing goods or services. For example, the prisoners who were put to work at the Eintrachthütte works manufacturing anti-aircraft guns were guarded by soldiers from the Luftwaffe. The female prisoners who were put to work manufacturing ammunition at the Donnersmarck steelmill (Auschwitz/Hindenburg subcamp) were guarded by Wehrmacht soldiers, just as at the subcamps at Charlottengrube, Sosnowitz, Golleschau, and Laurahütte. At some camps, there were civilian plant guards (Werkschutz) that guarded the prisoners.

Due to the shortage of SS guards, their supervision was chiefly limited to guarding the fences, gates, and passages to prevent prisoner escapes. Work discipline was constantly monitored by prisoners—Kapos (prisoner foremen) and "head laborers" (Vorarbeiter)—and civilian staff were in charge of supervising workmanship.

Prisoners usually worked in detachments of several people, including civilian workers. The practice was either to put several trained prisoners under the supervision of a civilian skilled worker or to assign one or two prisoners to help several workers; the prisoners brought them raw materials, transported finished pieces, cleaned and maintained the machines, and kept the workstations in order. The system, which was a piecework arrangement, doubtless kept the civilian personnel interested in maintaining prisoner discipline and productivity.

In the majority of subcamps, the primary company that took on prisoner labor leased prisoners out to its subcontractors. The number of such companies reached several dozen in the case of the largest subcamps.

As a rule, the prisoners' working conditions were very hard. Although prisoners were put to work in very diverse branches of industry, such as mining, steelmaking, chemicals, and textiles, over half of them labored at various types of construction projects and did mainly heavy construction work: excavating earth, site leveling, and transporting materials. There was little mechanization, and the prisoners had to work quickly and without protective measures.

Prisoners who were put to work directly in manufacturing were somewhat better off: they were not exposed to adverse weather, and the SS men and Kapos tended to be more lenient.

At some subcamps, prisoners were put to work removing unexploded bombs from bombarded industrial plants. Removing unexploded bombs from the local refinery was the main occupation for prisoners at the Auschwitz/Tschechowitz I (*Bombensucherkommando*) subcamp.

Although the subcamps were mainly built in the immediate vicinity of the workplaces, at some subcamps prisoners had to walk several kilometers back and forth every day to work.

The working hours of prisoners laboring in industrial establishments were basically unlimited. The companies regulated both the length of the workday and the prisoners' schedule, and that is why there is such diversity in the system

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of labor assignments and working hours. Prisoners were put to work in systems of one, two, or three shifts, and working hours ranged from 8 to 12 hours per day.

Prisoners had only one or two free Sundays a month. Usually, however, as in their free time on weekdays, they did various kinds of work keeping the camp in order, repairing and cleaning clothing, and so on.

Practically speaking, considering their trips back and forth to work, the roll calls that went on and on despite orders to the contrary by higher SS officials, the waits for meals, and other activities, the time for rest was limited to a few hours each day.

Treatment at the different subcamps varied considerably. The nature of the work was a key factor. Work in the open air under constant watch by the SS men and Kapos presented more opportunities for beating and abusing prisoners than work operating machines, where the production process itself set the rhythm and pace to a large extent. The type of civilian supervision was also significant to the prisoners' situation. In general, civilian workers and lower-level supervisors were kinder toward prisoners, while mid- and upper-level supervisors were often just as bad as the SS and Kapos in their mistreatment of prisoners.

Besides beating, the regular replacement of prisoners was designed to be a significant factor in maintaining productivity at the proper level; prisoners who had used up their strength were replaced with stronger ones. At any rate, such rotation was included in the terms and conditions of the agreements between the SS and the companies that took on prisoner labor.

Some companies provided the prisoners with extra food on their own or rewarded prisoners with food for outstanding work. However, bonus vouchers were the most common material incentive—and also the least effective. For the underfed prisoners, the vouchers, which were mainly good for such low-value products as snails in vinegar, rutabaga, camp soup, toiletries, letter paper, thread, and other such odds and ends, had almost no value at all.

SOURCES For information about the subcamp system, readers should refer to the source descriptions for the main camps and for the individual subcamps.

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ALTDORF

The Pless (Pszczyna) Forestry Management Office (Oberforstamt) deployed a 20-prisoner forestry detail at Altdorf (Stara Wieś) from October 1942 to March 1943. The camp was located in the basement of a house. When the subcamp was dissolved, the prisoners, all of whom were Jewish, were transferred elsewhere in the Auschwitz complex. The Oberforstamt Pless established similar camps at Kobier (Kobiór) and Radostowitz (Radostowice). In a special commandant order of November 2, 1942, concerning "offenses with the use of motor vehicles," SS-Obersturmbannführer Rudolf Höss referred to these camps as the "Pless forest detachments" (Plesser Forstkommandos) but did not list them by name.[1]

SOURCES This entry is based upon Irena Strzelecka and Piotr Setkiewicz, "The Construction, Expansion and Development of the Camp and Its Branches," in Aleksander Lasik et al., eds., *The Establishment and Organization of the Camp*, vol. 1 of Wacław Długoborski and Franciszek Piper, eds., *Auschwitz, 1940–1945: Central Issues in the History of the Camp*, trans. William Brand, 5 vols. (Oświęcim: APMO, 2000), p. 130. Strzelecka and Setkiewicz cite Anna Zięba, "Podobóz Altdorf" (unpub. MSS, n.d.), available at APMO. Additional information about Altdorf can be gleaned from "Sub-Camps of Auschwitz Concentration Camp," www.auschwitz-muzeum.oswiecim.pl. This camp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:13.

The forest detachment reference is reproduced in Norbert Frei et al., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000).

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. Quotation in Rudolf Höss, Kommandantursonderbefehl, Betr.: "Verstösse bei Benutzung von Kraftfahrzeugen," November 2, 1942, reproduced in Norbert Frei et al., eds., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslager Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000), p. 192.

ALTHAMMER

The Germans established the Althammer subcamp in the town of Stara Kuźnia (Althammer) in September 1944. The prisoners lived in brick barracks in which the Germans had earlier confined Italian prisoners of war from Badoglio's army. The first group of 30 prisoners arrived at Althammer from Auschwitz in a truck in mid-September 1944.[1] Additional groups arrived later, and the prisoner population rose steadily; the camp held 486 prisoners on January 17, 1945.[2] The prisoners were almost exclusively Jews primarily from France, Poland, Hungary, and the Netherlands. In addition, there were a few German prisoners, one Pole, and one Gypsy in the subcamp. They served in various positions in the prisoner administration.

SS-Oberscharführer Hans Mirbeth was the subcamp's commandant. Like other subcamps, Althammer was under the administration of Auschwitz III. In this connection, the subcamp was inspected by that camp's commander, SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Schwarz, and by SS-Untersturmführer Dr. Hans König.[3] Since there was no Political Branch on site, SS men from the Auschwitz Political Branch would come to the subcamp when prisoners escaped and conduct investigations on the spot. Food and medicine were also brought into the subcamp from Auschwitz.[4]

The job of the first group of 30 prisoners was to enclose the barracks with a double fence of barbed wire and erect four watchtowers at the corners.[5]

The prisoners' chief place of work was the Walter thermal power plant construction site in Stara Kuźnia. To prevent prisoners from escaping, the entire construction site was fenced with barbed wire, and a cordon of guard stations surrounded it as well. The prisoners did such jobs as bricklaying and transport work. A large group of prisoners worked digging sewage ditches, which meant that the prisoners often had to stand in water without rubber boots. Several dozen other prisoners were also put to work building a railway siding. For a time, some prisoners were employed digging up potatoes. As necessary, others were used to unload railroad cars. Still other prisoners were put to work around the camp, in the SS men's kitchen; in the prisoners' kitchen; cleaning the camp rooms, yards, paths, and bathhouse; and building a new kitchen.

Living, working, and sanitary conditions were better than at Birkenau but still extremely unhealthful. The prisoners received food that was inadequate in both quality and quantity. They did not even get the food rations provided for in camp standards.[6] Also, their clothing was not adapted to the working conditions or the climate; the uniform consisted of a striped suit and wooden shoes. An infirmary was established for the sick and those unable to work, under the supervision of orderly SS-Sturmmann Kisel. Care was minimal, however, and prisoners who stayed in the infirmary for too long were taken away to the Auschwitz main camp.

Strict discipline prevailed in the camp. The SS treated the prisoners brutally. Even against standing orders to keep roll-call times to a minimum at Althammer, roll calls were often drawn out, and the prisoners were subjected to searches and persecution. If the guards found any contraband on prisoners, especially food, cigarettes, or paper put under their shirts as protection from the wind, they would beat the prisoners with whips or rubber bats. Similar treatment was the norm at the work site as well. There were also instances when the SS men would take prisoners who were too weak to work productively to the forest and shoot them. The subcamp's commandant Mirbeth set the example in tormenting prisoners. Not only did he beat them, but he also murdered them (he shot several prisoners and choked one). The bodies of those who died from abuse and exhaustion were stored in the camp latrine, after which they were taken away to Auschwitz II to be burned.[7]

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The Germans shut down the subcamp and evacuated the prisoners in January 1945 due to the approach of the Soviet army. On January 18 or 19, approximately 350 prisoners were led out of the subcamp on foot and escorted to Gliwice (Gleiwitz). From there they were taken to different camps within Germany. Some found themselves in places such as Mittelbau or Bergen-Belsen. On January 25, SS men selected several dozen of the approximately 150 sick people left in the subcamp and escorted them out of the camp in an unknown direction. The rest were left under the supervision of the local Selbstschutz (local paramilitaries). They were liberated by Soviet forces a few days later.

SOURCES Records pertaining to the Althammer camp may be found in the APMO Affidavits Collection, accounts of Mieczysław Francuz, Israel Lejbisz, Joanna Mryka [or Mryki], Jan Juraszczyk and Ludwik Cipa; Fahrbefehle; Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderung; Auschwitz concentration camp staff trial records; SS-Hygiene Institut Records; Nummernbuch.

The following published sources also contain information on Althammer: Franciszek Piper, "Das Nebenlager Althammer," *HvA* 13 (1971): 141–158; Aleksander Drożdżyński, "Mały spokojny obóz," *ZO* 8 (1964).

Franciszek Piper
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia [Affidavits Collection], account of former prisoner Mieczysław Francuz.
2. APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu [Resistance Movement Materials], vol. 3, book 208, p. 212.
3. APMO, Fahrbefehle dated September 22, 1944, and November 18, 1944.
4. APMO, Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderung dated November 22, 1944, in which the "collection of corpses and delivery of medicine" was listed as the purpose of a trip to Althammer and Eintrachthütte.
5. Living and working conditions and prisoner treatment have been depicted based on the accounts of former Althammer subcamp prisoners Mieczysław Francuz and Israel Lejbisz, the memoirs of former Althammer prisoner Aleksander Drożdżyński, as well as the accounts of the following residents of nearby towns and workers who had contact with prisoners: Joanna Mryka [or Mryki], Jan Juraszczyk, and Ludwik Cipa, on file at ANMA.
6. ANMA, Akta SS-Hygiene Institut, segr. 56/531-532 [Records of the SS-Hygiene Institut, File 56/531-532]. Results of a test of a sample of soup from the Althammer subcamp.
7. ANMA, Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderung dated November 22, 1944.

BABITZ

The SS created the Babitz subcamp on the site of the village of Babice, which had been evacuated in April 1941. Prisoners coming in from the Auschwitz concentration camp in labor detachments demolished some of the village buildings, and the material thus acquired was used to build the buildings of the farm that the SS designated "Wirtschaftshof Babitz." The farm's task was to cultivate the surrounding lands and raise cattle. It was under the charge of Joachim Caesar, the director of all camp farms.[1] Initially, numerous male and female prisoner detachments (Aussenkommandos) from the Auschwitz camp as well as Birkenau bred the animals and did the farming.

The SS established the subcamp in March 1943 with approximately 60 male and 50 female prisoners in the prewar school building and neighboring wooden barracks. The female prisoners lived in the school building, the male prisoners, in the barracks. The building and barracks were surrounded by a barbed-wire fence that was not electrified. At the corners of the fence there were elevated watch platforms where SS men stood guard. The first group of prisoners consisted mostly of Jews from 20 to 30 years old. However, they were killed a short time later (within six weeks), and about 200 Poles, Greek Jews, and Russians were brought in to replace them.[2]

The female prisoners lived in the classrooms called *sztubas*, from 12 to 40 in a room, depending on the size. They each slept alone on straw-filled mattresses on bunks with three blankets. The building's windows had been partially bricked up or secured with barbed wire. The rooms were cleaned daily, and the prisoners had no hygienic problems, as they had enough cold water from a well in the yard, and they also got warm water in the evening. The rooms were heated in the winter. There were permanent brick toilet facilities outside the building, while a portable wooden toilet was brought into the building at night. There was a dispensary in the building where female prisoners sick with noninfectious diseases could stay. A Russian prisoner took care of patients at the dispensary. Every so often, an orderly (Sanitätsdienstgrad, SDG) would come from the main camp to conduct a sanitary inspection of the prisoners of the Babitz subcamp. The dispensary was supplied with medicine, but in an inadequate amount. In 1944, the woman prisoners who worked raising cows were given medical examinations.[3] The school building also had an office for the SS men, as well as for the women prisoners' supervisor (Aufseherin). The mess for SS personnel was located in an addition to the school building.

Food for the prisoners was brought in from the Birkenau camp. They got a meal three times a day: only bitter black coffee in the morning. For lunch they had a soup based on rutabaga, cabbage, or potatoes or sometimes what were called *Pellkartoffeln*, potatoes cooked in their skins. In the evening, there was a piece of bread (250 grams, 8.8 ounces) with some margarine, sometimes a slice of sausage or jam, and coffee.[4] Because of the nature of the work being done, at this camp it was possible to "appropriate food" in the form of potatoes and sugar beets. The female and male prisoners could also receive food packages from the outside (which were not taken by the guards of prisoner-functionaries here). In the winter, the female prisoners dressed in striped clothing and illegally obtained sweaters; in the summer, they got gray and blue linen dresses as well as aprons. They wore white kerchiefs on their heads.

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They got underwear from the Birkenau women's camp, which they would wash on-site during typhus epidemics.

The prisoners from the Babitz subcamp only did work on that farm where they were assigned to respective detachments and specific jobs. Work lasted all day, with a break for lunch, which they ate in their rooms. The male prisoners were divided up into two detachments: one raised and maintained the horses, and the other worked the soil, using horse-drawn farm implements. The hardest work that the female prisoners did was plowing. When the horses were taken away in 1944 for the army's needs, women were harnessed to the plows. When there was slack in the fieldwork, the male prisoners were sent to demolish the still-standing village buildings, dig ditches, and level ground.

The female prisoners were divided up into four labor detachments, each of which had a designated SS man, a detachment commander, who was responsible for the work assigned to the prisoners. They included SS-Unterscharführer Ernst Kalesse (formerly of Mauthausen, he arrived at Auschwitz in February 1942 and stayed until the camp's evacuation in January 1945), SS-Unterscharführer Georg Paul Sauer, and an SS man of Ukrainian origin called Czarny (Blackie) who tormented the Polish women. SS sentries guarded each detachment. The first detachment, numbering 15 women, raised the cows, of which there were 30, plus two bulls. The cows' milk was tested at the SS-Hygiene Institut laboratory in Rajsko and transported to the camp dairy. There were 25 women, mainly Ukrainians, in the second detachment. They worked exclusively with the compost and manure, which they heaped in the winter and spread on the fields in the spring and autumn. In the other two detachments, the women worked in the field producing potatoes, rape, cabbage, and beets; in the winter they also pulled down buildings in Babice. Those latter two detachments were the most numerous, with 50 and 90 prisoners, respectively. Besides Poles and Ukrainians, there were also Russians among the female prisoners at Babitz. Women from the Birkenau camp were also sent to work on the land every day.

An SS-Oberscharführer named Rosenoff was the commandant of the Babitz subcamp. SS-Aufseherin Erna Kuck, called Kurką (Chicken) by the prisoners, was the first supervisor; she came to Auschwitz from Ravensbrück in October 1942. She was kindly disposed toward the women and knew how to stand up for them, for which she was dismissed in 1944. After her, that post was filled by Johanna Bormann, who was strict and demanding toward the women.[5]

The location of the Babitz camp facilitated prisoner contacts with the civilian population. Among the Poles living in the vicinity of the subcamp, there was an organized group of women who provided regular help to the prisoners in the form of food, medicine, and news from their families. There were two escapes from the Babitz subcamp. In the summer of 1943, a female prisoner named Lodka escaped successfully. The other one, which two Russian women organized in the summer of 1944, unfortunately failed. They managed to get to Kraków but were caught there, and although they were not identified as fugitives from Auschwitz (they had removed the camp numbers from their arms), they were put in the Ravensbrück concentration camp.[6]

At the end of July 1944, the female prisoners were moved to the Birkenau women's camp. The male prisoners remained at Babitz until the Auschwitz concentration camp was evacuated on January 17, 1945.

SOURCES Material on this camp may be found in Anna Zięba, "Wirtschaftshof Babitz, Nebenlager beim Gut Babice," *HvA* 11 (1970): 73–87. APMO holds the following records: Zespół Oświadczenia (Collected Affidavits, Accounts of Stanisław Kajtoch, Zofia Knapczyk, Stanisław Kłyczek, Halina Hertig, Tadeusz Jędrysik, Bolesław Staroń, Anna Zdanowska-Wiśniewska, Zofia Bondyra-Cendrowska, Janina Obtułowicz-Sarnowska, Teresa Wicińska, Anna Kot, Maria Zychowicz); Zespół Opracowania (Collected Studies); and files on Auschwitz concentration camp staff members from 1940 to 1945 (compiled by Dr. Aleksander Lasik).

Helena Kubica
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Auschwitz-Birkenau National Museum Archives (ANMA). Zespół rozkazy komendantury, Commander's headquarters order No. 5/42, December 3, 1942, Docket D-Au I-1/78.
2. ANMA, Zespół Oświadczenia, vol. 29, pp. 5–6, account of former prisoner Bolesław Staroń.
3. Ibid., vol. 47, p. 89, vol. 12, pp. 36–37, vol. 35, pp. 102–109, accounts of former prisoners Anna Zdanowska-Wiśniewska, Zofia Cendrowska, and Janina Sarnowska.
4. Ibid., vol. 47, p. 89, account of former prisoner Anna Zdanowska-Wiśniewska.
5. Ibid., vol. 12, p. 37, vol. 47, p. 90, accounts of former prisoners Zofia Cendrowska and Anna Zdanowska-Wiśniewska.
6. Ibid., vol. 12, pp. 38, 91.

BISMARCKHÜTTE [AKA KÖNIGSHÜTTE]

The SS established an Auschwitz subcamp in September 1944 in Chorzów-Batory (Bismarckhütte), a southern section of the city of Chorzów (Königshütte), at the Bismarckhütte steel mill. Approximately 200 Jewish prisoners, who had been deported originally to Auschwitz from different Nazi-occupied countries, were placed there. At least 45 of them were brought to Bismarckhütte from Auschwitz's Blechhammer subcamp.

Immediately following the subcamp's establishment, prisoners were put to work expanding it and doing all sorts of routine jobs. At the steel mill, which belonged to the Berghütte concern, prisoners apparently began working only in November 1944. They were escorted to work by several armed SS men with dogs; one of the escorts was SS-Unterscharführer Franz Monkos. The prisoners worked in both the steel mill's upper and lower plants, in such jobs as the handling and shipping of different materials, earthmoving, and generally every kind of support job not requiring any particular skills.

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Approximately 40 prisoners were put to work in Bismarckhütte's mechanical department, operating the machines. Since before the war, the department's output was reserved for military needs; it made armor plate and parts for antiaircraft guns. Foremen prisoners kept watch over the inmates at work, and SS men often made inspections. Sometimes they tormented the prisoners, especially during the short dinner break when prisoners were issued a watery soup.

According to surviving minutes of the supervisory board meeting of the Königs-und-Bismarckhütte AG company dated December 8, 1944, the management intended on putting prisoners to work immediately on building a new "Vergüterei" division, which would allow an increase in production of antiaircraft gun barrels.

No one has been able to determine the subcamp director's name. Bruno Brodniewicz, marked No. 1 of the transport to Auschwitz from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp on May 20, 1940, in a group of 30 criminal prisoners, served as camp elder (Lagerältester). The details of the prisoners' living conditions at the Bismarckhütte subcamp are not known. They probably were not much different than those that prevailed throughout the Auschwitz camp complex.

The Bismarckhütte subcamp was shut down on January 18, 1945. SS-Oberscharführer Klemann of Hamburg was the commandant of the evacuation transport headed toward Gleiwitz (Gliwice). In Gleiwitz, the prisoners of the Bismarckhütte subcamp and prisoners from the other Auschwitz subcamps were loaded onto open railroad cars and taken away to the Dora concentration camp, from where they were taken to Niedersachswerfen to work on building a mine tunnel. A few of them lived to see their liberation on May 4, 1945, during an evacuation march toward Hagenow.

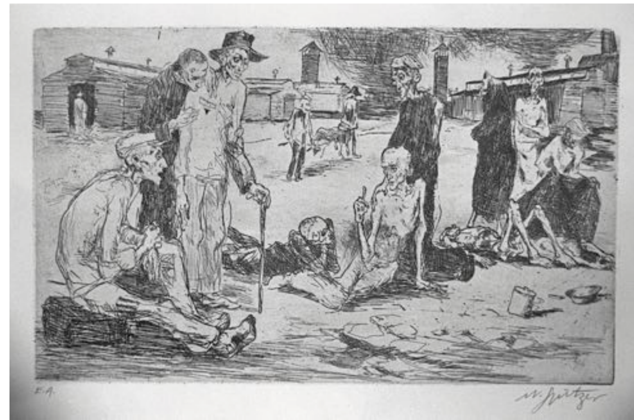
SOURCES Information on the Bismarckhütte subcamp may be found in Irena Strzelecka, "Podobóz 'Bismarcksmarckhütte,'" *ZO* 12 (1970): 145–158 (German version: "Das Nebenlager 'Bismarcksmarckhütte,'" *HvA* 12 [1971]: 145–159).

Relevant archival records may be found in APK or APKat, Berghütte Collection Catalog No. 1497; APMO, Collected Affidavits (accounts by former prisoner Józef Bruner, residents of Chorzów-Batory and neighborhood, including Edmund Belka, Karol Dyla, and Jerzy Dziadź).

Irena Strzelecka
trans. Gerard Majka

BLECHHAMMER

The Germans established a subcamp of Auschwitz on April 1, 1944, when they placed the Jewish forced labor camp near Blechhammer (now Blachownia Śląska) under the command of the Auschwitz III-Monowitz concentration camp.[1] Initially, there were about 3,000 men and around 200 women in the camp; in the following months, over 1,000 Jewish prisoners were sent to the subcamp. A total of approximately 4,500 male and female prisoners from 15 European countries went through the subcamp.[2] Blechhammer was the second-largest



"Square in Front of the Barracks," by Auschwitz-Blechhammer prisoner Walter Spitzer, circa 1943–1945.
USHMM WS # 27540, COURTESY OF APMO

Auschwitz subcamp, after Monowitz, as far as prisoner population was concerned.

The camp occupied an area of almost 4 hectares (10 acres).[3] It was fenced in by a concrete wall almost 4 meters (13 feet) high with concrete watchtowers. The prisoners occupied about 25 living and hospital barracks. The camp also had toilet, washroom, workshop, warehouse, and bathhouse barracks.

The prisoners were guarded by SS men who belonged to the Auschwitz III 7th Guard Company, commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Otto Brossmann and his deputy SS-Untersturmführer Kurt Klipp.[4]

Living conditions at the Blechhammer subcamp were similar to those prevailing in other subcamps of the Auschwitz concentration camp.[5] The prisoners' wooden barracks were greatly overcrowded; there were about 1.4 square meters (15 square feet) of space per person. The prisoners slept on two- or three-decker bunks. Because there were not enough toilets, washrooms, or bathhouses, the use of those facilities was limited. Camp clothing was also inadequate. Any attempts to augment it illegally met with severe punishments. Walking in wooden shoes was especially onerous for the prisoners. Camp food was also inadequate. Almost all the surviving punishment reports referring to Blechhammer prisoners have to do with illicit food dealing.[6]

The camp hospital was in two barracks and was supervised by SS orderlies, who were in charge of administrative and cleaning work. They treated the patients and prisoner doctors brutally. They would beat sick people waiting to be admitted to the hospital for treatment, then chase them out of the building. Not infrequently, they would also beat the prisoner doctors. The average patient population in the autumn and winter was about 100 people. As in other subcamps, the hospital was where selections took place. Those who were found to be unfit for work or further treatment were taken away to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, which often ended in their being put to death in the gas chamber. Selections were also conducted in the living quarter barracks and on the way back from work.

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Approximately 250 prisoners died in the camp over the nine and a half months it existed.[7] The bodies of dead prisoners were burned in the camp's own crematorium.

The prisoners were put to work building a synthetic gasoline factory owned by Oberschlesische Hydrierwerke AG (Upper Silesia Synthetic Gas Works) in Blechhammer. To the sounds of the camp orchestra, every day SS men would escort them to the work site almost five kilometers (three miles) away and put them under the supervision of civilian workers and prisoner-foremen. The SS men themselves would surround the entire construction site in a cordon until work was over and the prisoners in the respective detachments were counted. They started a search if a prisoner was missing. At that time, they tormented the prisoners, making them do punitive exercises in an attempt to force them to disclose the fugitive's escape route or hiding place.

The prisoners were divided into a few dozen detachments of 100 to 200 persons, which were assigned to the respective construction companies.[8] The labor the prisoners performed was typical construction work: excavating for foundations, building roads and structures, and transporting building materials. In the latter instance, they used prisoners to pull the wagons instead of horses or tractors. Eight prisoners would be harnessed to a wagon. They used physical coercion to force the hungry and weak prisoners to work. The prisoner-foremen supervising the prisoners during work never parted from their bats, which they put to use often. The prisoners worked all day, from dawn to dusk, for about 10 to 12 hours. They also worked at the construction site every other Sunday. On alternate Sundays, they were put to work at various jobs within the camp.

After the bombing of the Hydrierwerke plant, Jewish prisoners were used to remove duds, during which many of them met with fatal accidents. Prisoners also died in the bombing raids themselves, as they were not allowed to enter the bomb shelters.

Strict discipline prevailed in the camp. Not only were prisoners beaten randomly at work; they were also given what were called "regulation punishments." These included whipping (from 5 to 25 lashes), punitive labor on Sundays, and confinement in a special bunker.[9] There were also executions by hanging in the camp; that is how the SS would execute prisoners for acts regarded as sabotage, among other offenses.

The Germans began evacuating the prisoners on January 21, 1945, in connection with the Russian winter offensive. Approximately 4,000 prisoners were driven on foot to Gross-Rosen, which was reached 10 days later.[10] Weak prisoners who did not keep up in the march were shot along the way. Prisoners estimate that approximately 800 people were killed on the way. Mass graves of several dozen bodies each were found along the evacuation route after liberation.[11]

SOURCES APMO contains the following relevant records: Punishment Reports and Orders; Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts of Aron Goldfinger, Luzer Markowicz, Emanuel Luftglas, Aba Sztulberg, Gita Brandsztedter-Sztulbergowa, Abram Szeftel, Lucjan Radzik, Erwin Lagus, and Carl Demerer; Kommandanturbefehle KL Auschwitz III; Materials, Catalog Nos. 597, 598, 599; Materials of the camp resistance movement; Nummernbuch; Fahrbefehle; Häftlingspersonalbogen; Prämienscheine. See also Franciszek Piper, "Das Nebenlager Blechhammer," *HvA* 10 (1967): 19–39.

Franciszek Piper
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu/123, vol. 20, list of male transports, Nuremberg Document NO KW 2824.
2. APMO, Nummernbuch; akta SS-Hygiene Institut; Häftlingspersonalbogen; "Arbeitseinsatz" prisoner employment lists.
3. APMO, Neg. No. 10168. Blechhammer. Werkluftschutzplan—Oberschlesische Hydrierwerke.
4. APMO, Kommandanturbefehle KL Auschwitz III, May 22, 1944, and November 11, 1944.
5. Living and working conditions and prisoner treatment have been depicted based on accounts and other stories of former Blechhammer subcamp prisoners in the archives of the APMO: Aron Goldfinger, Luzer Markowicz, Emanuel Luftglas, Aba Sztulberg, Gita Brandsztedter-Sztulbergowa, Abram Szeftel, Lucjan Radzik, Erwin Lagus, and Carl Demerer.
6. APMO, Punishment Reports and Orders Collection (Strafmeldungen und Strafverfügungen).
7. APMO, Nummernbuch: 248 deaths were noted among Blechhammer subcamp prisoner numbers (176512–179567 and 184349–184891).
8. Some of the company names are listed in the punishment reports. APMO, Punishment Reports and Orders Collection (Strafmeldungen und Strafverfügungen).
9. APMO, Punishment Reports and Orders Collection (Strafmeldungen und Strafverfügungen).
10. APMO, D-AuIII-3a/78 women's employment list dated December 30, 1944 (157 people). Resistance Movement Materials, vol. 3, books 208, 212. Prisoner population on January 17, 1945 (3,858 people).
11. APMO, Sygn. Mat. 597, 598, 599. Reports of exhumations in the towns of Łąka and Prudnik.

BOBREK

Following Allied air raids on its factory in Berlin-Siemensstadt at the beginning of September 1943, Siemens began to plan the relocation of its operations at "Germany's largest electronics factory" (Alan S. Milward) to more secure areas. At the beginning of 1944, the Armaments Ministry planned for the Siemens-Schuckertwerke AG (SSW) to have 100,000 square meters (over 1 million square feet) of space, including 3,000 square meters (32,300 square feet) in a former phosphate factory near Auschwitz.[1]

Auschwitz, as an "SS collection camp," was an object of interest in July 1943 for the Siemens Central Factory Administration. The reason for the interest was the "100,000 strong unutilized labor force." In the same month, the SSW had negotiated with the SS-Central Building Administration-Auschwitz on the construction of a "short wave vermin

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destruction installation." The aim was to disinfect large quantities of prisoners' clothes by exposing them to shortwave radiation. The installation commenced operation in July 1944 in the collection and laundry center at the main camp.

The phosphate factory had been compulsorily acquired by the Treuhandstelle Ost (Eastern Trust Company). It was now bought by the 37-year-old senior Siemens engineer, Kurt Bundzus, who was in charge of the relocation. The plant was located on the edge of the village of Bobrek, about three kilometers (two miles) to the northeast of the goods railway station at Auschwitz. From there to Birkenau was a distance of eight kilometers (five miles). The site itself had an area of 47,000 square meters (506,000 square feet), the southern boundary of which bordered on the River Weichsel.

In November 1943, Bundzus and three other Siemens employees from Berlin examined the suitability of concentration camp prisoners for work in the factory. They chose 120 prisoners, who were either skilled tradesmen or had business qualifications.[2]

There was a planned increase in the use of the number of prisoners. A planning program prepared by Bundzus on January 3, 1944, for discussions with the SS-Central Building Administration on the "expansion of the labor camp on the site of the SSW small construction facility—Auschwitz" envisaged the expansion of the subcamp so as to hold 1,000 concentration camp prisoners.[3] The first stage of construction was conceived as including an SS guard house, a "kitchen facility for 200 prisoners, including troughs," as well as washing and toilet facilities.

The chosen concentration camp prisoners were mostly Jews. They were transferred to Barracks No. 11 in the camp B IId for men, known to the prisoners as a "punishment detachment." Barracks No. 13, in which the prisoners who worked in the crematorium were sometimes quartered, and Barracks No. 11 together formed part of the punishment detachment and were separated from other barracks by a wall. The engineer, George Preston, who was 30 in 1944, stated: "We were told that we were not sent there to be punished but to recover. We were to get better food and to wait until Siemens summoned us to work."[4] The block elder of the punishment detachment was the German Polish prisoner Emil Bednarek. He was convicted as one of the defendants in the post-1945 Frankfurt Auschwitz trial.[5] The prisoners saw him as an "unpredictable sadist" because, as with the SS, he victimized the prisoners and sometimes beat them to death.[6] Eight to 12 of the prisoners chosen for Bobrek were the subject of a selection by the SS on January 1, 1944. They are said to have escaped death because they were chosen for the "Siemens Detachment."[7]

Between January and May 1944, the concentration camp prisoners were taken daily by truck from Birkenau to the factory at Bobrek. At first they had to reconstruct the factory and build the subcamp. At the beginning of January 1944, the Siemens Detachment probably had 213 male and 38 female concentration camp prisoners, the latter from the female camp in Birkenau.[8] Among them were 24 youths aged between 11 and 18.[9]

In May 1944, the prisoners were transferred to the Bobrek subcamp, where, according to the then-43-year-old Nikolaus Rosenberg, "the conditions were somewhat better than in the gypsy camp."[10] Rosenberg had been transferred from the camp where the Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) were held to the Siemens Detachment. "There were five men to a bunk. Each had a straw sack as a base, a pillow filled with straw, and two blankets. In addition, each of us had cutlery, a spoon, and a hand towel, which was terrific as up to now we had had to eat with our hands from a communal, unbelievably filthy trough. We really had no chance to wash at all."[11] On the factory grounds, there was probably a vegetable garden from which the prisoners occasionally got extra nourishment.

The Bobrek subcamp was formally administered by Auschwitz III-Monowitz. It was guarded by 20 SS men under the command of SS-Unterscharführer Anton Lukoschek.

The male prisoners were primarily engaged by Siemens in manufacturing machine tools. At bench vices, presses for hand spindles, as well as turning machines, grinding machines, planes, and milling machines, the prisoners manufactured lapping machines and sections for the construction of electric motors and parts for electric switches. According to Bundzus, the prisoners were intended to produce "parts and technical accessories for the mass production of electronic products," but according to the SS, it was possible that the production of parts for night fighters was envisaged.[12] The female prisoners were required for the kitchen, cleaning, and the assembly of tapping machines.

The prisoners worked 10 hours a day. The Siemens workers determined that the youths should work 8 hours a day. The prisoners were trained by Siemens workers from Berlin. According to Rosenberg, who prior to his imprisonment was an engineer in Budapest, "the Siemens-Schuckert-officials were . . . relatively human and treated the Jewish prisoners with good intentions, sometimes closing their eyes when an exhausted prisoner could no longer work. They were well

Auschwitz-Bobrek prisoners work at the Siemens factory on aircraft parts. In the background Engineer Jungdorf converses with a foreman, circa 1944.
USHMM WS #95270, COURTESY OF HENRY SCHWARZBAUM

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informed. When a prisoner was mistreated outside the factory by either a female SS warden or a Kapo, the SSW people reported the incident to the proper authority, with the result that the mistreatment ceased. No one was beaten inside the factory."[13] Paul Schaffer, who was age 19 in 1944, stated that once he was threatened with a transfer back to Birkenau, when he produced an item that was 10 millimeters (.4 inches) short.[14]

The businessman Erich Altmann, who was age 40 in 1944, stated that Siemens workers brought their families to Bobrek. Their deployment was "protection from the front and the bombing. Work was ranked third in priority. . . . We were warned daily: 'Allow yourselves time to do the work. Work slowly and precisely, not quickly and imprecisely.' As everyone had time, private jobs were done."[15] According to Altmann, the prisoners exchanged or gave for food presents such as "rings, cigarette ends, wallets, combs, metal boxes, watch cases, lighters, arm bands, necklaces, and many other things."[16]

The Bobrek subcamp was dissolved on January 17, 1945. On January 18, 1945, the Bobrek prisoners, together with others from Auschwitz, were forced to march for about 70 kilometers (43 miles) through the cold and the snow to the Gleiwitz II subcamp. Numerous weakened prisoners died or were shot by the SS. When the prisoners who survived the death march arrived in Gleiwitz, a bloody fight started with other inmates for a dry place in a barrack: "The camp was turned into an absolute hellhole; everybody was beating whomever they could with whatever they could find," describes Gilbert Michlin, at this time almost 19 years old. "Everybody was trying to hold on to or find a little bit of warmth and rest."[17] From Gleiwitz the male prisoners were transported on January 21 in open coal wagons by rail via Prague to Buchenwald. Some, such as Schaffer, managed to escape. The female prisoners were taken to Mittelbau. Two days after their arrival, they were taken to Bergen-Belsen.

In February 1945, two Siemens Berlin workers arrived at Buchenwald. For Marcel Tuchman, who turned 21 in 1944, and his father, Ignaz, members of the prisoner detachment, their arrival in the catastrophic conditions appeared to be a "miraculous rescue." Eighty-eight of the 110 to 130 remaining Bobrek prisoners in Buchenwald on February 16, 1945, were taken by train to a station in Berlin and then by subway close to the Sachsenhausen subcamp in Berlin-Siemensstadt.[18]

According to Rosenberg, "The Siemens-Schuckert officials noticed our miserable physical condition when we arrived. As a result, they gave us a week of rest before we had to work. This did not help us a lot as we had to spend each day outside where it was very cold. Also the food was inadequate."[19]

On April 3, 1945, the SS transported the Bobrek prisoners to Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where they were deployed in removing rubble from the city of Oranienburg.[20] They were transferred back to Siemensstadt on April 13. Siemens at this time was preparing to evacuate its installations to southern Germany. The concentration camp prisoners together with the machines were transported by train via Dresden in the direction of Hof. Their destination was a disused porcelain factory in Arzberg in the Fichtelgebirge. Here they were to resume production. The transport was stopped at Meiben in Sachsen because the area around Hof had already been liberated by the U.S. Army. The SS took the prisoners back to Berlin and then on to Sachsenhausen. From there, they were forced on a death march in the direction of the Baltic. They were liberated on May 2, 1945, in Crivitz near Schwerin.

SOURCES In 1947 Erich Altmann published his memoirs, *Im Angesicht des Todes: 3 Jahre in deutschen Konzentrationslagern Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Oranienburg* (Luxemburg, 1947). In 2002 Paul Schaffer published *Le soleil voilé* (Paris, 2002), with an introduction by Simone Veil (from 1979 to 1982 the first female president of the European Parliament), who was with Schaffer as a forced laborer in Bobrek. See also Gilbert Michlin, *Of No Interest to the Nation: A Jewish Family in France, 1925–1945*, with an afterword by Zeev Sternhell (Detroit, 2004) and "*. . . warum es lebenswichtig ist, die Erinnerung wachzuhalten.*" *Zwangsarbeit für Siemens in Auschwitz und Berlin. Dokumentation einer Begegnung mit ehemaligen KZ-Häftlingen*," ed. Zwangsarbeit erinnern e.V., Red.: Thomas Irmer (Berlin: Metropol 2006).

In 1980 Erwin Wittwer, who as head of SSW machine tool production had been many times in Bobrek, privately published his memoirs, *Berufliche Erinnerungen* (1980). He included in his memoirs a series of photographs of the factory and the prisoners at work. In 1995 the head of the AS-M, Wilfried Feldenkirchen, published *Siemens 1918–1945* (Munich, 1995). For the National Socialist period, he referred to sources from the Siemens "Temporary Archive." Documents on the Bobrek subcamp are held in the Siemens Temporary Archive (Zwischenarchiv), which is not open for independent researchers. In addition to the archives in the Auschwitz Memorial (in the 1990s, documents from the Moscow Archives on the SS-Central Building Administration were made accessible), there are LA-B (denazification proceedings, Hanns Benkert), the HHStA-(W) (Frankfurter Auschwitz Trials), and the BA-B.

Thomas Irmer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See the statement by the Siemens senior engineer, Kurt Bundzus, at the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial, in Hermann Langbein, *Der Auschwitz-Prozess: Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt am Main, 1995), 1:65; questioning of Kurt Bundzus, HHStA-(W), 4 Ks 2/63, Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others, 137th day of proceedings, February 18, 1965; Formblatt Verlagerung SSW (Reporting Period 9.9.43–30.5.1944), BA-B, R3/252, bl.6; and Schreiben Beauftragter Verlagerung Elektroindustrie an Treuhandstelle Ost v. 26.11.1943, Betr.: Ausweichplanung Siemens-Schuckert-Werke, LA-B, Entnazifizierungsverfahren Hanns Benkert.

2. See questioning of Ignatz Tuchmann, LA-B, Entnazifizierungsverfahren Hanns Benkert, file "Verhandlungen Hanns Benkert," Teil 1, pp. iii/10; statement by the Siemens engineer, Kurt Bundzus, at the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial, in Langbein, *Auschwitz-Prozess*, 1:65; statutory declaration by

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the Siemens foreman Georg Hanke, dated June 27, 1947, LA-B; and statement by Georg Hanke, HHStA-(W), 4 Ks 2/63, Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others, 137th day of proceedings, February 18, 1965; as well as Erich Altmann, *Im Angesicht des Todes: 3 Jahre in deutschen Konzentrationslagern Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Oranienburg* (Luxemburg, 1947), p. 73; Gilbert Michlin, *Of No Interest to the Nation: A Jewish Family in France, 1925–1945* (Detroit, 2004), p.70; and Erwin Wittwer, *Berufliche Erinnerungen* (1980), p. 39.

3. Programm zur Besprechung mit SS-Zentralbauleitung in Auschwitz zwecks Ausbau des Arbeitslagers auf dem Gelände der Fa. Siemens-Schuckert-Werke AG Kleinbauwerk Betrieb Auschwitz v. 3.1.1944, as well as a handwritten list of iron requirements, April 1944, APMO, Au/BW 1/6/25.

4. Statement by George Preston, cited by Langbein, *Auschwitz-Prozess*, p. 809; see also statements by George Preston and Josef Zimmermann, HHStA-(W), 4 Ks 2/63, Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others, 140th day of proceedings, March 4, 1965.

5. See HHStA-(W), Proceedings 4 Ks 2/63, Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others.

6. See statements by Paul Schaffer, Erich Altmann, George Preston, and others, in Langbein, *Auschwitz-Prozess*, p. 809. See Teresa Cegłowska, "Strafkompanien im KL Auschwitz," *HvA* 17 (1985). See also statement by Pinchas Schwarzbaum, March 4, 1965, HHStA-(W), 4 Ks 2/63, Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others, 140th day of proceedings.

7. Altmann, *Angesicht des Todes*, p. 81; see also Schwarzbaum and Tuchmann (as well as note 2); and a letter by Leo Schwarzbaum, December 18, 1946, LA-B, BPA, IV L—2/6/270/1, Nr. 1708.

8. See also Kitty Hart, *Return to Auschwitz. The Remarkable Story of a Girl Who Survived the Holocaust* (New York, 1982), p. 77.

9. See statutory declaration by Siemens production engineer, Karl Jungtow, June 20, 1947, LA-B, BPA of the SED Berlin, IV L—2/6/27071, Nr. 1412; as well as Altmann, *Angesicht des Todes*, p. 98. Cf. Fanciszek Piper, "Die Ausbeutung der Arbeit der Häftlinge," in *Auschwitz 1940–1945: Studien zur Geschichte des Konzentrations- und Vernichtungslagers Auschwitz*, ed. Franciszek Piper et al. (Auschwitz, 1999), 2:138. On age, see the Siemens transport lists, YVA, GCC 10/25.

10. Tuchmann (see note 2). See statements by Erich Altmann, March 5, 1965, and George Preston, March 4, 1965, HHStA-(W), Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others.

11. Nikolaus Rosenberg, "Zwangsarbeiter für Siemens-Schuckert: Erlebnisse eines Budapester jüdischen Ingenieurs 1944–1945," Wien Library, P.IIIb, No. 116.

12. See statement by Kurt Bundzus, February 18, 1965, HHStA-(W), 4 Ks&2/63, Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others, 137th day of proceedings; also letter by Pohl to Himmler, dated February 22, 1944, Betr.: Einsatz von Häftlingen in der Luftfahrtindustrie, StAN, KV Prosecution Document PS-1584.

13. See Altmann, *Angesicht des Todes*, p. 97; Interrogation of George Preston (see also note 4); statements by Pinchas Schwarzbaum, March 4, 1965, and Erich Altmann, March 5, 1945, HHStA-(W), 4 Ks 2/63, Criminal Proceedings against Mulka and others, 140th day and 141st day of proceedings.

14. See Paul Schaffer, *Le soleil voilé* (Paris, 2002), p. 108.

15. Altmann, *Angesicht des Todes*, p. 100. Rosenberg also refers to the Siemens employees. See Rosenberg, "Zwangsarbeiter."

16. Altmann, *Angesicht des Todes*, p. 100.

17. Michlin, *Of No Interest to the Nation*, p. 91.

18. See transport lists, "Transport Siemens" (88 prisoners), February 16, 1945, YVA, GCC 10/25; as well as the statement by Karl Jungtow, June 20, 1947, LA-B, BPA, IV L—2/6/270/1, Nr. 1412.

19. Rosenberg, "Zwangsarbeiter."

20. See Michlin, *Of No Interest to the Nation*, p. 98.

BRÜNN

Brünn, a subcamp of Auschwitz that the SS established in the city of Brno (Ger. Brünn) in the protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, was the farthest away from the parent camp at Auschwitz.

Since the records are not complete, it has not been determined who ordered the formation of the Brünn subcamp. However, the prisoners there worked to finish the building belonging to the SS and Police Engineering Academy, where the SS was carrying out experiments with arms and equipment; thus the subcamp's formation probably came about at the order of the highest SS authorities, who were eager to supplement the German army's military equipment.

Fragments of camp records and those of the trial of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss contain references to the existence of the Brünn subcamp, without providing the date when it was formed. Former prisoners recounted, however, that the first transport of 251 prisoners arrived at Brno station on October 2, 1943; the number of prisoners is documented in the list of the Hygiene Institut der Waffen-SS in Auschwitz ("251 Häftlinge nach Brünn kommandiert").[1] From there the prisoners were taken to an unfinished multistory building belonging to the SS and Police Engineering Academy and placed in several already-finished rooms on the building's second floor, which were tightly secured and guarded by German police. A high fence and watchtowers secured the building on the outside.

Most of the prisoners were Poles whom the Germans had brought to Auschwitz concentration camp from various cities such as Katowice, Kraków, Lublin, and Poznań or other concentration camps such as Ravensbrück and Gross-Rosen. Approximately 70 percent of the transport were prisoners who had been at the Auschwitz concentration camp just a few weeks; the rest were prisoners who had been there a few years. The SS eventually returned most of these prisoners to the main Auschwitz camp when they became unfit for work—although from there the camp authorities usually shipped them out to other subcamps—and the Germans shot at least 1 prisoner. At least 20 new prisoners arrived at Brünn, but that influx did not make up the losses: there were only 36 prisoners in Brünn when it closed on January 17, 1945. (The arrival date of that transport could not be established. According to prisoner accounts,

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however, toward the end of 1944 a small group of inmates who had been arrested in Warsaw after the outbreak of the armed uprising were transferred from Auschwitz to Brünn.)

Alois Freiseisen, Austrian criminal prisoner (BV) No. 15472, was the camp elder (Lagerältester) until late autumn 1944. Upon his release from camp, Roman Kachel, Polish political prisoner No. 136079, filled that position. Polish political prisoner Dr. Czesław Jaworski, No. 31070, was the subcamp's doctor, while Eugeniusz Niedojadło, Polish political prisoner No. 213, was the nurse. German prisoners served as the labor squad foremen.

Officers from Brno's German police garrison served as the sentries guarding the subcamp.

SS-Hauptscharführer Gerhard Palitzsch, who brought the first prisoner transport to Brünn, was commandant from the day the subcamp was established until early February 1944. SS-Unterscharführer Rieger succeeded him in February 1944. SS-Oberscharführer Walter was the subcamp's third commandant, from the end of February 1944 to January 19, 1945. (Palitzsch was arrested at the Brünn subcamp in February 1944 in connection with the looting of a large amount of property of the people murdered at Auschwitz and his relationship with a female Jewish prisoner. His further fate is unknown, and information on the other camp leaders is unavailable.)[2]

On their first day in the subcamp, prisoners were already broken up by trade specializations and formed into detachments: carpenters, cabinet makers, bricklayers, glaziers, metalworkers, and electricians. These prisoners did all the interior finishing work in the Academy building. Czech firms did the specialist work, but the names of these companies remain unknown. Prisoner-foremen and the foremen of each firm supervised the prisoners' work.

Prisoners with no trade skills were put to work on earthmoving projects: leveling the site around the building, building an access road, digging sewage ditches, and making breaches in the rock to build ammunition warehouses. Those were the hardest jobs, out in the open, with the supervising foremen terrorizing the prisoners.

Later on, a small group of prisoners were put to work keeping the chemical laboratory equipment, which had been brought in from Kiev, in order. The inventory number stickers on each item attested to that. The goal was to prepare the laboratory to begin work associated with arms production and synthetic fuels, using German personnel.

Several prisoners were also put to work sorting type fonts that had been thoroughly mixed up when the poorly packed print shop had been shipped from Berlin to Brno. The manual printing machine had six printing tables with drawers containing the mixed-up type fonts that had to be arranged in sets according to typeface and size. The prisoners arranged approximately 60 type-font sets so that the print shop could be started up.

In the spring of 1944, a detachment was formed with 20 prisoners who were put to work on the nearby Einhorn estate. The estate belonged to a German officer. The prisoners worked on erecting outbuildings and repairing farm equipment.

The food rations at the Brünn subcamp were smaller than at the main Auschwitz camp. Since there was no kitchen on site, food was brought in from the Špilberk prison in the city of Brno. Breakfast consisted of only coffee. For dinner, prisoners received one liter of soup made of water with a small amount of barley or potatoes, very rarely with some fat or meat added. Sometimes the soup was thickened with dried beet leaves. Once a week prisoners would additionally get a slice of bread and a piece of horsemeat sausage. Hunger was a constant in the camp.

The illnesses from which prisoners most frequently suffered were starvation, diarrhea, vitamin deficiency ulcerations, and injuries caused by job accidents and beatings by the foremen. Since there was only a dispensary in the subcamp, serious cases of illness had to be sent to the hospital in the city of Brno, but the camp authorities were afraid that prisoners might escape, and therefore they were treated at the Špilberk prison hospital if necessary.

Even though the Germans attempted to enforce a ban on any contact between the Brünn prisoners and Czech civilian workers, bilateral communications were very quickly established. Both the managers as well as the civilian employees of the companies doing the work at the Academy would bring the prisoners food, with the knowledge that hunger was rampant in the subcamp. Likewise, Czech inmates from Špilberk, also working at the Academy, shared their meager food rations with the prisoners. Doctors from Brno hospital also helped the prisoners as much as they could by providing medicine to the subcamp.

The evacuation of the prisoners of the Brünn subcamp began in mid-April 1945. (The exact date of the evacuation of the subcamp could not be established. In their accounts, former inmates describe it as follows: "about four weeks before Germany capitulated"; "early spring 1944"; "toward the end of April 1944.") The Academy personnel evacuated with the prisoners, taking along laboratory equipment and arms. The evacuation train traveled for over a dozen days and only arrived at Traunstein in Upper Austria on April 28, 1945. All the Academy equipment and the prisoners of the Brünn subcamp were transported and housed at a munitions factory near Bergen.[3]

The prisoners were liberated by American forces on May 3, 1945.

SOURCES The following secondary works contain information on this camp: Czesław Wincenty Jaworski, *Wspomnienia z Oświęcimia/Oświęcim—Brno—Monowice* (Warsaw, 1962); Emeryka Iwaszko, "Podobóz Brünn," *ZO* 18 (1983): 223–244; Danuta Czech, *Kalendarz wydarzeń obozowych* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz National Museum Publishing, 1992).

Material on this camp is available in the following APMO records: Proces Hössa (Höss Trial), vol. 21; Proces Załogi Oświęcimskiej, vol. 39; Materiały Ruchu Oporu, vols. III, VII; and accounts of former prisoners Władysław Gazda, Stefan Gregor, Jan Hyla, Florian Jurowski, Józef Kołodziejek, and

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Fritz Wendler. See also the testimony of Eugeniusz Niedojadło, "Podobóz Brno—Ucieczka przed Bogerem," *PL* 1 (1966).

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NOTES

1. SS Collection—Hygiene Institute, document group number D. Hyg. Inst./33 binder 20[a] p. 626/20[a] NI 106118, APMO. The number is also documented in Eugeniusz Niedojadło, "Podobóz Brno: Ucieczka przed Bogerem," *PL* 1 (1966): 109; and the accounts of former prisoners Stefan Gregor and Fritz Wendler, APMO, Declarations Collection, vol. 46, p. 105; vol. 77, p. 168.

2. Niedojadło, "Podobóz Brno," pp. 109–110; and accounts of former prisoners Stefan Gregor, Florian Jurowski, and Józef Kołodziejka, APMO, Declarations Collection, vol. 46, pp. 4–5; vol. 47, p. 74; vol. 48, p. 49.

3. Accounts of Stefan Gregor, Władysław Gazda, Jan Hyla, and Fritz Wendler, APMO, Declarations Collection, vol. 46, p. 109; vol. 75, p. 178; vol. 77, pp. 62, 171.

BUDY

The Budy subcamp operated within the limits of the hamlet of Bór from April 1942 (with a pause in the autumn–winter period of 1942 to 1943) until the Auschwitz concentration camp was evacuated. (The men's subcamp and women's subcamp that were formed later were actually situated within the limits of the hamlet of Bór, while the subcamp's tree nurseries, greenhouse, and part of the farm buildings were in the neighboring village of Budy. However, camp records list both camps under the name Budy.) The Germans expelled the population of both Bór and Budy in March 1941, demolished many of the buildings using prison labor from Auschwitz, and began to set up a centralized farm and prison camp on the land. The first group of 40 male prisoners arrived in April 1942. Labor arrangements varied for the next year or so, but by the spring of 1943 the Germans had established the men's and women's subcamps on a permanent basis.

The men's camp and farm consisted of 19 structures by April 1943, including barns, stables, storehouses for machinery and fertilizer, workshops, and barracks for the SS staff and prisoners; the prisoners' quarters and the tool shop were fenced off from the rest of the compound. Ten watchtowers, where the guards served duty throughout the day, overlooked the camp. This subcamp, like the other Auschwitz agricultural and animal camps, was under the charge of SS-Obersturmbannführer Joachim Caesar, director of Oświęcim camp farms. SS-Oberscharführer Herman Etinger was commandant of the men's camp in Budy, and SS-Unterscharführer Bernhard Glaue succeeded him in April 1943.

The prisoner barracks were heated in the winter, and there was a toilet and sickroom in each. The prisoners slept on three-decker bunks with straw mattresses and blankets. Food was brought in from the Auschwitz II-Birkenau camp daily. In the evening, the prisoners were issued dry provisions for the next day.

The prisoners living in the Budy subcamp were of various nationalities: Poles; Frenchmen; Belgians; Czechs; Russians; a few Germans; Gypsies; and Polish, Czech, and Greek Jews. Prisoners from outside the subcamp who worked in Harmęże, on the fish farm in Pławy, or in the forest in Nazieleńce, also slept in the prisoner barracks.

The prisoners, like those in the main camp, wore striped camp clothing or civilian clothes with squares cut out on the back and a piece of striped cloth or material painted in colored stripes. There were 167 prisoners on April 25, 1943, and 388 a year later on March 23, 1944. Prisoners worked 12 hours a day, from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. They were put to work in the fields (they sowed grain and grew beets for fodder) and also raised pigs, cows, and horses. The attitude of the SS men and foremen toward prisoners, especially Jews, was cruel. They were beaten and killed during work for the slightest offenses. The bodies of those killed were carted in from the work sites in the evening to Budy, and their names were entered in the records with a false cause of death.[1]

The SS also established a women's subcamp in Budy with the installation of 200 women, mostly Poles and German prisoner-functionaries, in a separate compound on April 5, 1943. Later there were also Russians, Ukrainians, Yugoslavians, Czechs, and Jews there.[2] SS-Oberaufseherin Elfriede Runge was the camp commandant.

The prisoners in the women's camp were divided into several detachments depending on the type of work they did. The largest one was the detachment that did farmwork. It ranged in size from 120 to 150 women. Regardless of the weather, the detachment did all kinds of farmwork, from planting vegetables to harvesting them and fertilizing the soil. When there was no fieldwork, they cleaned the ponds, dug ditches, and demolished and dismantled houses in Bór. One detachment was employed making compost. The compost heap was made of layers of sod, manure, and human ashes from the crematorium. Each detachment had its own commander—an SS man—and a foreman. Armed SS men brought the prisoners to the work site and escorted them back to the camp.

Initially, the hygiene and sanitary conditions in camp were appalling. The situation changed for the better upon implementation of an order by Auschwitz concentration camp commandant Rudolf Höss dated May 27, 1943, and because of an inspection of the Budy women's camp by Rapportführerin Drechsel.[3] Sundays were set aside for delousing and mending clothing and underwear. SS-Aufseherin Elisabeth Hasse, subcamp commandant after Runge, ordered mandatory washing in the camp. For that purpose, instead of dinner, water was heated in the kettles every Saturday, with which the women got to wash themselves. That was the way it remained as long as the Budy women's camp existed. Hasse, born on December 24, 1917, arrived in Auschwitz in October 1942. She was commandant of the female detachments at the Rajsko subcamp, then at Budy until 1944. Later, she took the job of Arbeitsdienstführerin at the Birkenau women's camp, a post she held until the camp was evacuated.

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The prisoners slept two per bunk, covering themselves with one blanket. The barrack was not heated. Everyone was dressed alike in striped clothing, dark aprons, and white kerchiefs on their heads. Underwear was changed once a month.

Food for the prisoners was prepared on-site. They would get their first meal only around noon at the work site: herbal tea and a portion of bread with some margarine or jam. Upon returning from work in the evening, they would get soup made from rutabaga, rye, and nettles. Dry provisions were supplied by the Birkenau women's camp.

The prisoners could receive packages from outside, although either they did not get them in one piece or the products in them were ruined because they had been held by the prisoner foremen.[4] When Hasse left in 1944, SS-Aufseherin Johanna Bormann took over as camp commandant. She was a very severe and demanding person who punished every offense by prisoners but also looked after the kitchen, and for that reason the food improved and the prisoners were not robbed by the German prisoner foremen so often. Bormann, born on September 10, 1893, in Brinkenfelde (East Prussia), was a clerk by trade. She had been sent to Auschwitz on May 15, 1943, from Ravensbrück. She was commandant of the Budy women's camp until December 1944. Then she took the job of SS supervisor at the Auschwitz subcamp in Hindenburg (later Zabrze) until the camp was evacuated. She was later sentenced to death for her crimes in the Bergen-Belsen trial.

The prisoners were physically and mentally exhausted by the hard labor, hunger, and beatings. There were even instances of suicide among them.[5]

In the autumn of 1944, the women prisoners were taken away to camps within Germany, while the men were evacuated from the subcamp on January 18, 1945.

Due to the Budy camp's location on the edge of evacuated areas as well as those partially inhabited by Poles, there were frequent communications between the prisoners and the population. Heedless of the consequences (many families were arrested and sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp), people provided the prisoners with various forms of assistance. They would plant food and medicine at prisoner detachment work sites, help prisoners communicate with relatives, give help to runaways, and provide civilian clothes. That is also why at least 10 male and female prisoners escaped from the Budy camp, 9 of them successfully.

SOURCES See Anna Zięba, "Wirtschaftshof Budy," *ZO* 10 (1967): 84–100 (German version: "Wirtschaftshof—Budy," HvA 10 [1967]: 67–85).

APMO holds the following relevant records: Oświadczenia [Affidavits], accounts of former prisoners Stanisław Zyguła, Józef Warchał, Ryszard Nalewajko, Raisa Diemczenko (Mendigalevoy District), Stanisława Kowalska, Ružena Smolíkova-Maryškova, Wanda Koprowska, Eugenia Kurzelowa, Janina Ślimak, Aniela Koczur Stelmachowa, Eugenia Piwek, Alicja Zarytkiewicz; accounts of the villages (hamlets) of Bór, Budy, Nazieleńce: Anna and Józef Moroń, Maria Cyna, Zofia Wawro, Hermina Czuwaj, Sylwester Marusza. Proces Hössa, testimony of: Rudolf Höss, Józef Stawowczyk, Ignacy Barcik; Rozkazy Komendantury; Zespół Opracowania Syg. Opr./Lasik/299, files on Auschwitz concentration camp staff members from 1940 to 1945, compiled by Dr. Aleksander Lasik.

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NOTES

1. APMO, Oświadczenia (Affidavits), 69: 4, account of resident of village of Nazieleńce Józef Moroń.

2. Ibid., 22: 139–140, account of former prisoner Wanda Koprowska; 36: 98, 105, accounts of former prisoners Janina Ślimak and Eugenia Kurzelowa.

3. Ibid., Zespół Rozkazy komendantury, commander's headquarters Order No. 19/43, dated May 5, 1943.

4. Ibid., Oświadczenia (Affidavits), vol. 36, account of former prisoner Eugenia Kurzelowa.

5. Ibid., 36: 100, account of former prisoner Janina Ślimak.

CHARLOTTENGRUBE

By 1943, the management of Reichwerke Hermann Göring (RWHG) had already begun negotiations with the administration of the Auschwitz concentration camp about putting prisoners to work in the company's Charlottengrube mine. The two sides reached an agreement on September 19, 1944. At that time, the first transport of 200 Auschwitz prisoners—Jews from Hungary or Romania—was brought to Rydułtowy (Rydultau) and put to work at Charlottengrube. They were placed in a camp for forced laborers or prisoners of war (POWs), which had been in existence for some time, although the name of that camp has not been determined. An additional transport of approximately 600 to 700 prisoners from Auschwitz, including many Slovakian Jews, arrived in Rydułtowy around October 7, 1944. Later on, the SS also began putting prisoners into a camp behind the slag heap at Charlottengrube, on the road heading in the direction of Radoszowa (Radoschau), the northwestern quarter of town. The residents of Rydułtowy called it "Judenlager," "Berlin," or "Lager behind the Heap." Administratively, both sites were part of the same subcamp.

The Charlottengrube subcamp, like other Auschwitz subcamps at industrial plants, was under the command of the Auschwitz III-Monowitz concentration camp. The subcamp commandants were, in turn, SS-Oberscharführer Alfred Tschiersky and Kirchner (also spelled Kirschner or Kürschner). Tschiersky, born January 2, 1896, in Berlin, was a violin maker by profession and in September and October 1944 served as commandant at Charlottengrube; later he belonged to the staff of the Laurahütte subcamp. Kirchner served as commandant from November 1944 to January 1945 and was an extraordinarily zealous SS man. His treatment of the prisoners was brutal, as his punishment reports to the management of Monowitz indicate. The subcamp's staff was the SS guard detachment (Wachkommando) belonging to the Monowitz

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concentration camp 8./SS-Totenkopf Wachkompanie (8th Guard Company). There were 54 SS men in the Wachkommando at the beginning of December 1944.

The transports of autumn 1944 were most probably the largest. The rest of the transports brought prisoners into the subcamp chiefly to replace those who had died of hunger and overwork. There were approximately 1,000 to 1,100 prisoners living at the subcamp in mid-October 1944; the population decreased in the following months due to the high death rate. With few exceptions, the prisoners brought to Rydułtowy were Jews. They came from almost every European country occupied by the Third Reich. Many came from Jewish intellectual communities.

Prisoners' living conditions were basically the same in both sections of the Charlottengrube subcamp. The prisoners' food was severely inadequate and no better than at Auschwitz, as regards both quality and quantity. The SS men terrorized the prisoners, who never knew when and for what they would be punished.

According to a surviving report of the Rybnik Bergrevieramt (Rybnik District Mining Agency) for the Breslau Oberbergamt (Wroclaw Superior Mining Agency) dated December 11, 1944, approximately 50 percent of the prisoners put to work in the "Eleonora" bed (department I) at the Charlottengrube mine lost their fitness to work in the space of two months.[1] The situation was similar in the other departments. Dr. König, an SS doctor, conducted selections every so often at the camp hospital; prisoners found to be unfit for labor were taken away to the gas chambers at Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Additionally, several hundred prisoners died in the subcamp over its four months of existence. The bodies were buried at the Rydułtowy cemetery or were taken to Birkenau with the prisoners whom König had "selected." Construction began on a small crematorium at the Judenlager in late autumn 1944, but it was never completed.

Most of the prisoners put in the subcamp worked in the local mine, almost half of them underground and the rest on the surface. Representatives of RWHG personally selected prisoners at Auschwitz. Then SS men and Wehrmacht soldiers escorted the prisoners on the way to work at the mine and on the way back to the camp. There was no set limit to the time the prisoners worked underground; it was often prolonged to a dozen hours or more per day. Privileged prisoners, representatives of the mining concern (foremen, overseers, and managers), and SS guards supervised the prisoners constantly. Criminal prisoner foremen and some mine foremen beat and tormented the prisoners every step of the way, sometimes fatally.

In the mine, the prisoners loaded coal into conveyor troughs, moved the troughs, and arranged supporting timbers. Other prisoners transported materials (wood, rails, cables) to the headings, operated the conveyor belts in the galleries, or tidied the galleries. Prisoners had to match the output of the local miners; thus they were forced to maximum exertion. Many prisoners had accidents working underground, and there were also suicides. On the mine's surface, prisoners unloaded and transported the materials needed to do the underground work, carted coal onto the railway siding, cleaned the mine grounds, sorted coal, or labored in the mine workshops. A large group of prisoners also worked on the construction of the Charlotte electric power plant. SS men, foremen, Wehrmacht soldiers, and sometimes SA men guarded the prisoners at workstations on the surface. The prisoners were treated inhumanly, as they were underground.

Some groups of prisoners were put to work outside the mine, for tasks like installing water and sewer pipes in the vicinity of the subcamp or at the sawmill owned by the Karl und Reinhold Wieczorek company.

Some prisoners availed themselves of the help of Rydułtowy residents, both employees of Charlottengrube and people not associated with it. Despite the threat of severe punishment, some Rydułtowy residents handed prisoners various food products, above all bread and coffee, or planted them at the prisoners' work sites. Several prisoners managed to escape from Rydułtowy. The fugitives were helped by Poles—mine workers who provided them with civilian clothes or enabled them to leave their work posts illegally. A few prisoners joined miners in acts of sabotage, destroying mine equipment (for instance, they would damage the motors of the shaker conveyers, or the underground rails), so as to impede the Nazi's operation of the mine.

Evacuation of the subcamp began around January 19, 1945. Columns of prisoners under escort by SS men were led out of the subcamp westward. On the way, SS men shot at those who fell behind. After a day's march, the prisoners reached the town of Kreuzendorf (later Krzyżanowice) beyond the Oder River, where they spent the night. Then, for reasons that still have not been determined, they were sent back from there to Rydułtowy and thence to Wodzisław Śląski (Loslau) on about January 22. From Wodzisław, they were taken away to Mauthausen concentration camp in open railway cars.

At Wodzisław, approximately 50 prisoners from Rydułtowy were driven into a railway car in which there were already prisoners being evacuated from Auschwitz concentration camp, among them August Korzuch. After the war, he related the event as follows: "The prisoners who were brought in were dressed in striped denim and looked like skeletons. Their physical and health condition was much worse than that of the prisoners being evacuated from Oświęcim. I do not believe any of them lived to our arrival at Mauthausen. The transport lasted several days. On the way, we would throw the bodies of our companions, dead of emaciation, out of the car. I think it was precisely the bodies of prisoners from Rydułtowy that we were throwing from the car first."[2]

At the Mauthausen concentration camp, the prisoners were divided into four groups, which were sent to the Gusen II, Ebensee, Melk, and Ebensee Wels II subcamps. Only a few prisoners managed to survive until liberation.

There is no record that either the SS men in charge of Charlottengrube or the managers and foremen of RWHG were punished for their offenses.

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SOURCES Information on the Charlottengrube subcamp can be found in Andrzej Strzelecki, "Podobóz Charlottengrube w Rydułtowach, *ZO* 17 (1985): 41–89 (German version: "Das Nebenlager Charlottengrube in Rydułtowy," HvA 17 [1985]: 41–90). Records pertaining to this camp are held in the following locations: APKat, Charlotte Mine Records, Catalog No. 102; Zespół Okręgowy Urząd Górniczy w Rybniku (Rybnik District Mining Agency Collection) sygn. 86, 92, 1631, 1654; APMO, microfilm (No. 260) with correspondence (originals in Moscow) between the management of the Charlottengrube subcamp and that of the Monowitz concentration camp; APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts of former prisoners Eugen Michal, Ernest Mlynski, Leopold Mlynski, Koloman Wiener, and others; APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts of residents of Rydułtowy and environs (Stanisław Brückner, Wilhem Frydrych, Jan Grycman, Henryk Pozimski, and others).

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NOTES

1. Report of the Rybnik District Mining Agency of December 11, 1944, in the Katowice National Archives [APKat], OUG Rybnik Catalog No. 1654 book. 393 (copy at APMO).
2. Account of former prisoner August Korzuch, APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, vol. 52, book 139.

CHEŁMEK-PAPROTNIK [AKA CHEŁMEK]

The town of Chełmek lies eight kilometers (five miles) from Oświęcim (Auschwitz) on the Oświęcim-Trzebinia railway line.

The Chełmek subcamp was one of the external detachments of the Auschwitz concentration camp in the Chełmek-Paprotnik area. It was formed in order to clean the ponds from which Chełmek's Bata shoe factory, under German control, was to draw water for industrial purposes. That would considerably decrease the costs of taking water from the Przemsza River, which was farther away from the factory.

Surviving camp records do not provide the exact date on which the detachment was established. It was probably established in October 1942. An order from the Auschwitz concentration camp commander's headquarters dated November 2, 1942, attests to this, as it already mentions the Chełmek detachment.[1] This is also confirmed by entries in the Auschwitz morgue register, in which 10 separate shipments of bodies—47 in total—are shown as arriving from Chełmek between November 7 and December 3, 1942.[2]

The detachment numbered about 150 prisoners, of whom most were Jews from various countries. That makeup of the detachment is supported by the fact that out of the 47 dead Chełmek detachment prisoners whose numbers were listed in the Auschwitz morgue register, as many as 45 people had been brought by Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) transports, mainly from transit camps for Jews from Belgium, France, the Netherlands, and Yugoslavia. The prisoners who died in the Chełmek detachment, and whose numbers were noted in the mortuary register, came from the following countries: 6 from Holland, 1 from France, 1 brought in a mixed transport (as of November 7, 1942), 10 from Holland, 2 from Belgium, and 3 from France (as of December 3, 1942).

The prisoners lived in a primitive shed, heated by one small stove in the winter that did little to protect the inhabitants from the harsh weather. The prisoners slept on three-level board beds and never had enough blankets. Next to the shed was the latrine, which could be used only during the day. At night the shed was locked, and a barrel was placed inside for waste. The prisoners emptied it in the morning. They washed outside—over a trough with spigots that supplied water from a nearby ditch—always with cold water and without soap. They took a bath once a week at the Bata factory. The sanitary and hygienic conditions were all the more appalling because the prisoners worked entire days in slime and mud. There was a little pharmacy in the shed, but it was never fully stocked with basic medicines. A room was added onto the shed to accommodate a mortuary.

The prisoners worked on three connected ponds, about one and one-half kilometers (one mile) from the subcamp. The first of them, lying nearest the Bata factory, was where the prisoners worked; they were removing the silt and rushes and clearing tree roots. They reinforced the dike surrounding the pond with silt and mud. They also worked in the nearby Jazdówka quarry, where the stones for reinforcing the dikes were taken.

Food for the prisoners was provided by the Bata factory. The daily food ration consisted of one liter (one quart) of black coffee, one-half liter (one pint) of soup, and a piece of dry bread.

The hard labor and hunger caused a high death rate. Sick and dead prisoners were taken away to Auschwitz, from whence new prisoners were brought in to keep up the detachment's population. As previously mentioned, entries in the camp morgue register attest to prisoner mortality, as 47 bodies were listed in November 1942 as having been brought in from the Chełmek detachment, and 15 were listed on December 3, 1942. That day, 26 sick prisoners were also brought to Auschwitz.[3]

The hunger caused extraordinary weight loss and psychological breakdowns among the prisoners. One prisoner, the Austrian Ernst Toch (No. 70231), recalls in his report that in a moment of extreme emotional breakdown, he turned to one of the SS men at the work site and asked him to shoot him. The guard said that he would, on the condition that the prisoner made it look like he was attempting to escape. Toch made his way toward the latrine at the edge of the forest adjoining the pond that the prisoners had cleaned out. Then the guard set the dogs on him. They dragged him to the ground and began gnawing at his thighs.

SS-Oberscharführer Josef Schillinger and SS-Unterscharführer Wilhelm Emmerich served as the commandants (Emmerich took over for Schillinger after October 23, 1942, when a Jewish woman who had just arrived from Bergen-Belsen shot both men, Schillinger fatally). There

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were six SS men and police dogs that helped them guard the prisoners.

The Chełmek detachment was shut down on December 9, 1942. On that day the prisoners were trucked to Auschwitz. That is proven by a truck transport departure order stating that the detachment's shutdown was the reason for the trip. According to the reports of members of the local population, the prisoners were taken from Chełmek as soon as the frosts began.[4]

The Chełmek subcamp detachment was shut down even though the pond-cleaning work had not been finished. The shutdown was not because of the approaching winter, because if that had been the case, they would have started up the work again in the spring of 1943, and that did not happen.

SOURCES The one published account with information on this camp is Emeryka Iwaszko, "Aussenkommando Chełmek: Kommando zewnętrzne Chełmek," *ZO* 12 (1970): 47–55. The nationalities of the deaths at Chełmek are recorded in Danuta Czech, *Kalendarz wydarzeń obozowych* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz National Museum Publishing, 1992), entries for November 7 and December 3, 1942.

Information on Chełmek can be found in the following records: Proces przeciw członkom załogi obozu oświęcimskiego przed Najwyższym Trybunałem Narodowym w Krakowie, vol. 40; Chełmek—materiały różne—Sygn. D-Au III—/ Chełmek.

Emeryka Iwaszko
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. Kommandantur Sonderbefehl of November 2, 1942. Staff Members' Trial collection, 40: 17, APMO.
2. Leichenhallebuch—D-Au I-5/4, p. 8, APMO.
3. Trip orders for a car from KL Auschwitz to Chełmek. Fahrbefehl no. 3 of December 3, 1942, D-Au I-4/62, APMO; report of the former prisoner Ernst Toch.
4. Trip orders for a car from Auschwitz to Chełmek—Fahrbefehl no. 9 of December 9, 1942. The destination given was "Chełmek—Einziehung des Arbeitskommandos." D-Au I-4/55, APMO. Witness reports by Rozalia Szymutko, Anna Wanat, and Mieczysław Niedzielski.

EINTRACHTHÜTTE

The Germans established a subcamp of Auschwitz in Zgoda (Eintrachthütte), the southern part of the city of Świętochłowice (Schwientochlowitz) in Upper Silesia, on May 26, 1943.[1] The German arms company Oberschlesische Maschinen- und Waggonfabrik AG (Osmag) of Katowice (Kattowitz) initiated the subcamp's establishment. On May 4, 1943, Director Gömmer, the company's representative, negotiated with officials from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) branch D II in the matter, at which time they set forth the terms for hiring out prisoners. The terms were confirmed in a letter from WVHA D II to Osmag Werk Eintrachthütte dated May 7, 1943.[2]

The first group of 30 prisoners was moved from Auschwitz to the Eintrachthütte subcamp in a truck on May 26, 1943. Their job was to prepare the camp for more prisoners.[3] The main group of prisoners, numbering 500, arrived from Auschwitz by freight train on June 7, 1943.[4] More transports followed, so the prisoner population grew steadily; it was approximately 700 in late 1943 and reached a peak of around 1,370 in August 1944.[5] On January 17, 1945, shortly prior to evacuation, there were 1,297 prisoners in the camp.[6] Most prisoners were Jews from places such as France, Hungary, Slovakia, Bohemia, Greece, Poland, the Netherlands, and Belgium. In comparison to other subcamps, where Jews definitely predominated, Poles constituted a sizable group, and there were Russian prisoners of war (POWs) as well.

The Eintrachthütte arms works was the prisoners' chief workplace, where they manufactured anti-aircraft guns. Prisoners produced parts on machines (lathes, borers, grinders) and assembled the guns. They also worked maintaining machines and equipment and operating hoists and overhead cranes.[7]

Around 200 to 300 prisoners worked in what was called the Baukommando (construction detachment), knocking down unneeded old factory buildings and cleaning up the site.

When the camp first came into existence, a considerable number of prisoners worked building the barracks, barbed-wire fence, and watchtowers. Some prisoners were regularly employed inside the camp in the kitchen, canteen, infirmary, warehouses, and repair shops, and as barbers, as well as barrack and room foremen.

The SS ran the camp strictly and brutally. Any communications with civilian workers—getting food from them or even speaking to them—was prohibited. Inmates were not allowed to eat, smoke cigarettes, leave their machines, fall asleep, or have any money or valuables with them at the work site. Even for trivial offenses, the SS men and prisoner foremen beat prisoners, often until they lost consciousness and not infrequently to death. There were also instances when the SS men shot prisoners for talking to civilian workers, and they would shoot at prisoners for getting near windows—SS guards would get several days' leave for shooting a prisoner at a window, which qualified as preventing an escape.

Sometimes summary punishments were meted out to prisoners at work or in camp following denunciations by German civilian supervisors. Prisoners were punished in the camp by whipping, food deprivation, or additional labor on free Sundays (alternate Sundays were days off).

The work went on in two shifts, a day and a night one of 12 hours each. Prisoners received no pay for their labor. Only from time to time would the factory issue vouchers worth a few Reichsmark (RM) to the prisoners. One could buy things at the camp canteen with them, but it did not have the most sought-after food products. The prisoners' food was severely inadequate and no different from the typical fare of concentration camp prisoners.

An infirmary was set up in the subcamp for sick prisoners who were incapable of working; it was staffed by prisoner

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doctors. But the infirmary lacked basic drugs and equipment. For instance, there was no scalpel to perform any surgical procedures. Simple dental procedures, usually extractions, were performed in the camp dentist's office.

Every so often the SS men would hold prisoner selections on the assembly ground. The weak and injured were pulled out of the ranks and transported to Auschwitz.

Every week several prisoners would die from the exhausting labor, insufficient food, lack of proper medical care, and abuse. Their corpses were taken away to Auschwitz to be cremated.

The fees that the factory paid—6 RM for a day of a skilled worker's labor and 4 RM for that of an unskilled one—were transferred to the national treasury via the SS's bank account.[8]

Even before prisoners arrived at the factory, all the civilian employees had been notified that any communications with prisoners, or giving them food or cigarettes, was strictly forbidden, and they would be sent to a concentration camp themselves or even get the death penalty for violating that order.

In spite of that, Polish workers helped prisoners, especially Poles (although there are also examples of help for Jews and Soviet POWs), by passing along illegal correspondence, secretly supplying them with food and medications, and even providing assistance in escapes. The largest escape was on July 3, 1944, when nine prisoners, one Pole, one Jew, and seven Russians, got out through a tunnel dug under the fence.[9] The Germans arrested two local residents for aiding the prisoners: Maciński, a Polish pharmacist, who was put into Auschwitz, where he perished, and Magdalena Szymik, a Polish worker who was interrogated at Auschwitz and freed.

Because of the Red Army's rapid advance in January 1945, the camp was shut down, and approximately 1,200 prisoners were evacuated. Everyone able to be evacuated was loaded into freight cars and taken to the Mauthausen concentration camp. Many prisoners died in the course of the four-day trip, which they had to endure standing because of the enormous crowding.

Upon liberation, several dozen prisoners who had been left in the camp were taken to hospitals in Świętochłowice and Katowice.

SOURCES APMO contains the following relevant records: Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts by Fryderyk Skalec, Alfred Panic, Hieronim Kolonko, Jerzy Rogocz, Wiktor Konkol, Zygmunt Gajda, Władysław Rutecki, Leon Witt, Tadeusz Krupa, Alojzy Kleta, Leonard Chłądzyński, Józefa Zintel, Wacław Krzyżyński, Teodor Morys, Erwin Smieja, Alfred Swoboda, and Tomasz Dobiosz; Arbeitseinsatz; Akta Procesu Hössa; Fahrbefehle; Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderung; Meldunki i zarządzenia karne; Kommandantur-Befehle; Akta SS-Hygiene Institut; Nummernbuch; Kartoteka więźniów Mauthausen; Meldeblatt; Telegramy o ucieczkach. Also, Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach APKat holds records in collections BH-2405, -2484, -2511, and -2515. See also Franciszek Piper, "Das Nebenlager Eintrachthütte," HvA 17 (1985): 133–137.

Franciszek Piper
trans. Gerhard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, sygn. D-AuI-3a, account of prisoner labor for May 26–31, 1943; Zespół Oświadczenia (Affidavits Collection), accounts by former Eintrachthütte subcamp prisoners Alfred Panic and Fryderyk Skalec.
2. APKat, BH-2511, pp. 28–29 (microfilm at APMO)—letter from WVHA to Osmag dated May 7, 1943.
3. APMO, Catalog No. D-AuI-3a, monthly employment list of Auschwitz male and female prisoners; Affidavits Collection, accounts by former prisoners Alfred Panic and Fryderyk Skalec.
4. APMO, Catalog No. D-AuI-3a/318, letter from Auschwitz political unit director to various camp offices dated June 5, 1943.
5. APKat, BH-2405, pp. 11, 24–26, statistical reports of the Osmag and Ost-Maschinenbau companies.
6. APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu (Resistance Movement Materials), vol. 3, books 208, 212.
7. Prisoner working and living conditions have been depicted based on the accounts of former prisoners Fryderyk Skalec, Alfred Panic, Hieronim Kolonko, Jerzy Rogocz, Wiktor Konkol, Zygmunt Gajda, Władysław Rutecki, Leon Witt, Tadeusz Krupa, Alojzy Kleta, Leonard Chłądzyński, Józefa Zintel, Wacław Krzyżyński, Teodor Morys, and those of workers Erwin Smieja and Tomasz Dobiosz. ANMA [or APMO], Affidavits Collection.
8. APKat, BH-2511, pp. 28–29, letter from WVHA to Osmag dated May 7, 1943.
9. APMO, Catalog No. AuI-1/334–337, Meldeblatt No. 13 dated July 15, 1944, published by the State Police Unit in Wrocław. The document listed the escaped prisoners' names and descriptions.

FREUDENTHAL

An Auschwitz subcamp was formed in the town of Bruntal (Freudenthal) in the Czech Sudeten Mountains. The fragmentary surviving records do not provide the exact date on which it was established, but it probably came into being in October 1944. The first mention of the Freudenthal camp is in the daily work rolls of female prisoners from the Auschwitz III-Monowitz camp for October 14 to December 30, 1944.[1]

The Freudenthal camp was located on the southeastern edge of town, about 198 meters (650 feet) from the train station, on the grounds of the factory belonging to the German company Emmerich Machold.

The camp commandant was an SS man with the rank of SS-Oberscharführer, while the commander of the 21-person guard detachment assigned to guard the camp was SS-Hauptscharführer Paul Ulbort, born on April 13, 1893.[2] Starting October 1944, he was the chief of the Freudenthal subcamp's guard detachment, which was part of the 8th Guard Company headquartered at Auschwitz III-Monowitz. Three female German SS guards (Aufseherinnen) also belonged to the camp staff. One of them was Erna Bodem, a Sudeten German. Bodem, born in Zwodau on October 10, 1919, was a farm laborer by occupation and entered service in the SS in 1943. After serving as a supervisor at the Lublin concentration

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camp, she was at Auschwitz II-Birkenau from late April 1944 until October 10, 1944, before her transfer to the Freudenthal subcamp, where she stayed until May 3, 1945.

Guard duty was served by older soldiers or those unfit to serve on the lines, men from regular army formations who were enlisted into the SS after several weeks of training. They served 24-hour guard duty in shifts in the four guard stations around the camp and at the entrance, reinforced the guards at the factory's main entrance, and also escorted the women to and from work.

The Emmerich Machold textile factory, which did knitting, weaving, and made clothing, had at that time shifted over to war production to meet the Wehrmacht's needs. The women employed there sewed such things as uniforms for German soldiers.

In October 1944, the SS selected a group of 300 female Jewish prisoners, mainly Hungarian and Czech, from the transit camp for Jewish women (Sector BIIc) at Auschwitz II-Birkenau, and sent them to the Freudenthal subcamp.[3] The camp population probably remained at a constant level throughout the camp's operation (there were 301 prisoners as of October 19, 1944). The only number that changed was that of the working prisoners and those unfit to work because of sickness or emaciation. For example, on any given workday in October there were from 4 to 5 prisoners unfit for work; in November, that number grew to 11 or 12 persons a day; in December, it rose to 35 or 36 sick women in the camp hospital per day.[4] We can assume that the number of sick people and those unfit to work grew over the following months as a result of the cold conditions, hunger, and exhausting labor.

The women wore the striped camp clothing they had received in Birkenau prior to being transported to Freudenthal.[5]

The prisoners were liberated on May 6, 1945, by Russian forces.[6] The entire SS staff probably abandoned the camp several days before the Russians entered. Just after war operations ceased, the Emmerich Machold factory burned; therefore, practically no company records from before May 1945 survived on-site in Bruntal.[7]

Records at the International Tracing Service (ITS) show that the prisoners from the Freudenthal subcamp were also subhired for work by Freudenthaler Getränke GmbH, belonging to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amt W III/2. Getränke specialized in the manufacture of vitamin juices.[8] The fact that the corporation was hiring Auschwitz concentration camp prisoners from the Freudenthal subcamp was also confirmed by former Auschwitz concentration camp commander Rudolf Höss in his testimony given after the war in Kraków, in which he states: "The Freudenthal camp was located in the Sudeten Mountains. It had been established there for construction purposes, particularly the expansion of a company making vitamin juice for the provisions of forces stationed in Norway. Later, prisoners of that camp were also going to work in the company's factories, which were operated by the SS on its own account. In my time the camp numbered approximately three hundred prisoners."[9] However, a study of the records collected at the Auschwitz-Birkenau National Museum Archives does not confirm that statement.

Erna Bodem was tried in Kraków in 1948 and sentenced to four years in prison. There is no record that any of the other camp or industry personnel associated with Freudenthal were prosecuted.

SOURCES There are no published sources on this camp. Primary sources on Freudenthal may be found in APMO (microfilm collection; daily list of occupations of the female inmates at Auschwitz III-Monowitz; collection on the Höss trial; correspondence) and in ITS and its catalog.

Helena Kubica
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, Catalog No. D-Au III-3a/1, p. 342.
2. APMO, Microfilm No. 261/16. Report on the activity of the guard company at the Freudenthal camp dated December 1, 1944, sent to the superior authorities at Monowitz concentration camp, by its commander SS-Hauptscharführer Paul Ulbort.
3. APMO, Correspondence, syg. Kor. IV-3/4672-4676/3620/90, letter to the Museum from the former inmate Magda Kessler, née Klein, dated May 15, 1990.
4. APMO, daily list of occupations, pp. 432–509.
5. APMO, Vol.: IV-3/4672-4676/3620/90, letter by the former inmate Magda Kessler.
6. Ibid.
7. APMO, Vol.: I –8523/92/2669/86, correspondence with historian Dr. Franciszek Spurny of the Regional Museum in Šumperk, dated September 19, 1986.
8. Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Internationaler Suchdienst (Arolsen 1979), p. 18.
9. APMO, Proces Hössa, 21: 41.

FÜRSTENGRUBE

The Fürstengrube subcamp was organized in the summer of 1943 at the Fürstengrube hard coal mine in the town of Wesoła (Wessolla), now part of the city of Mysłowice (Myslowitz), approximately 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) from Auschwitz. The mine, which IG Farbenindustrie AG acquired in February 1941, was to supply hard coal for the IG Farben factory being built in Auschwitz. Besides the old Fürstengrube mine, called the Altanlage, a new mine (Fürstengrube-Neuanlage) had been designed and construction had begun; it was to provide for greater coal output in the future. Coal production at the new mine was anticipated to start in late 1943, so construction was treated as very urgent; however, that plan proved to be unfeasible.[1]

In the period before the Auschwitz concentration camp prisoners were sent to work at Fürstengrube, the mine employed Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), Jewish slave laborers, and forced laborers from the USSR, in addition to its regular

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staff. Negotiations in July 1943 between Auschwitz Commandant Rudolf Höss and representatives of IG Farbenindustrie AG and Fürstengrube GmbH led to an agreement to build a new camp for approximately 600 prisoners—increasing to 1,200 then to 1,300 later—from Auschwitz.[2]

Mainly Jews built the new camp; they lived in the mine's forced labor camp for Jews, which was under the so-called Organisation Schmelt; that camp was called Lager Ostland. The Jewish prisoners from that camp were taken away even before the prisoners were moved from the Auschwitz concentration camp. The camp report for August 1943 no longer mentions the number of Jews employed.[3] The prisoners moved from Auschwitz then continued the subcamp's construction and expansion.

In early September 1943, the SS began moving prisoners, probably including a few German prisoner foremen, from Auschwitz to the Fürstengrube subcamp, which appears as "Lager Süd" on mine maps. On September 4, 1943, the Auschwitz labor office reported that 129 prisoners were working at the Fürstengrube subcamp; by July 1944 that number had risen to approximately 1,200, 85 to 90 percent of whom were Jews. Polish Jews were the most numerous group, but Jews from Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Greece were also present. Starting in the spring of 1944, there were also several dozen non-Jewish Polish prisoners at Fürstengrube.[4]

For the first three months the subcamp was under the direct charge of Auschwitz headquarters; then after November 22, 1943, under Auschwitz III-Monowitz. Effective May 22, 1944, the 3rd Guard Company of Auschwitz III took charge of the guard duty.[5] SS-Hauptscharführer Otto Moll was named the subcamp's first commandant; he served in that position until March 1944. SS-Oberscharführer Max Schmidt succeeded Moll until the subcamp was shut down in January 1945. The SS staff at the beginning of 1944 consisted of 47 SS men and grew to 64 at the end of the year.

Prisoners from Auschwitz who went to the Fürstengrube subcamp were mostly put to work extracting coal in the old mine and building the new one.[6] Prisoners working in the old mine were divided up into three shifts: morning (5:00 A.M. to 1:00 P.M.), day (1:00 P.M. to 9:00 P.M.), and night (9:00 P.M. to 5:00 A.M.). Work at the mine was especially difficult and dangerous because of the low galleries and the abundance of water. Prisoners did not receive the required protective clothing, and they were constantly vulnerable to beatings and abuse from the mine's civilian staff as well as prisoner-foremen. The prisoners building the new mine faced equally brutal and exhausting work. They worked in one shift, a day shift, doing all sorts of construction and assembly jobs in groups of painters, bricklayers, welders, metalworkers, and assemblers. Additionally, when the shifts were over, many of the prisoners then had to work to expand the camp.

Only very sick prisoners were admitted to the camp infirmary. SS doctors conducted periodic selections there and among the other prisoners as well; prisoners who were no longer able to work were moved to the Birkenau hospital sector (BIIf).[7] The rotation of prisoners was significant, as new prisoners replaced those who had been selected. For example, from May 8 to 14, 1944, as many as 42 Fürstengrube prisoners entered the hospital sector of Birkenau.[8]

In spite of the hard conditions and fight for survival, despite the beatings and persecution, there were some poor substitutes for cultural life at the subcamp in the form of band concerts and plays.[9] Some prisoners secretly drew portraits of their fellow inmates.

Only a few escapes and escape attempts from the Fürstengrube subcamp are known. Gabriel Rothkopf, a Polish Jew, escaped during the night of December 18–19, 1943, while returning from work at the old mine.[10] In response, Commandant Moll personally shot a randomly selected group of prisoners in front of their fellows and left their bodies on the assembly ground until the next shift returned.[11] Ivan Potekhnin, a Russian prisoner, escaped on April 15, 1944.[12] In the spring of 1944, a group of prisoners dug a tunnel from a barrack, but during an inspection five German Jews were apprehended in it; they were later hanged.[13] In June 1944, Commandant Schmidt shot a Russian prisoner who intended to escape from the subcamp.[14] In late August 1944, yet another Russian prisoner was shot; he had attempted to escape in a freight car leaving the new mine construction site.[15] The escape attempt of a Polish prisoner named Górewicz, working in the forge, also ended with his execution.[16]

Polish miners on the site helped a group of Polish prisoners by smuggling messages, food, and news of the situation on the fronts. However, the camp's political branch got word of the activity, probably in late August 1944. The prisoners were sent to Auschwitz I, and after approximately two months of interrogation, they were brought back to Fürstengrube and hanged on October 10, 1944.[17]

In September, November, and December 1944, the Polish and Russian prisoners were moved to the Flossenbürg, Buchenwald, and Mauthausen concentration camps. As of January 17, 1945, 1,283 prisoners, chiefly Jews, remained in the subcamp.[18] On January 19, having burned the camp's records, the SS led approximately 1,000 prisoners out of the camp, headed for Gliwice (Gleiwitz) via Mikołów.[19] Severe cold and icy roads made the march difficult, and SS men killed anyone who fell out. On the evening of January 20, 1945, the Fürstengrube prisoners reached the Gleiwitz II subcamp, where they joined prisoners from Auschwitz III-Monowitz as well as some other subcamps. The next day, January 21, the SS loaded approximately 4,000 prisoners into open railway cars bound for Mauthausen. The authorities at Mauthausen did not accept the transport, however, as the camp was overcrowded, but sent the train on to Mittelbau-Dora, where it arrived on January 28. Out of 4,000 prisoners, only about 3,500 survived the seven-day trip.

On January 27, 1945, at about 4:00 P.M., a dozen or so SS men entered the Fürstengrube subcamp and killed most of the remaining prisoners; some they shot, and some burned to

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death when the SS set their barracks on fire. Only the sudden arrival of Soviet troops forced the SS to flee, thus sparing a few of the prisoners. A mine employee who was present afterward reported that they buried 239 bodies.[20] About 20 prisoners survived the massacre. One of them, former prisoner Rudolf Ehrlich, testified to these events on May 9, 1945, before the Investigation Commission for German Nazi Crimes at Auschwitz.[21]

In a U.S. Military Court trial in Dachau from November 15 to December 13, 1945, Otto Moll, the first commandant of the Fürstengrube subcamp, was sentenced to death by hanging.[22] The sentence was executed on May 28, 1946.

SOURCES The following secondary source contains additional information: Tadeusz Iwaszko, "Podobóz 'Fürstengrube,'" *ZO* 16 (1975): 71–151.

APMO holds materials in the Fürstengrube GmbH collection, as well as accounts of former Fürstengrube subcamp prisoners. Additional material is in APKat, Pszczyna Division, in the Fürstengrube GmbH collection. Also helpful is the account of Leo Klüger, *Lache, denn morgen bist Du tot. Eine Geschichte vom Überleben* (Munich: Piper, 1998).

Stanisława Iwaszko
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. "Fürstengrube GmbH," notes and correspondence, in APMO, Fürstengrube GmbH collection.
2. Note dated July 28, 1943, in APMO, D-AuIII/Fürstengrube/1a, book 46–47.
3. APKat, Pszczyna Division, Fürstengrube GmbH collection, Catalog No. 50.
4. See, for example, account of former prisoner Jan Ławnicki, in APMO, Oświadczenia [Affidavits], vol. 60, book 99.
5. Standortbefehl No. 53/43 in APMO, D-AuI-1; Kommandantur-Sonderbefehl KL Auschwitz III dated May 22, 1944, in APMO, D-AuIII-1/63.
6. Account of former prisoner Paul Halter, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 54, book 41–43.
7. Account of former prisoner Ervín Hekš, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 70, book 124.
8. APMO, H-Krankenbau B.II.f K.L.AuII Zugänge von Aussenlagern von 8 Mai 1944 bis 14 Mai 1944, chart, in APMO, D-AuII-5/2, book 28.
9. Accounts of former prisoners Paul Halter and Marian Waliński, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 54, book 35, vol. 40, book 55.
10. Telegram about the escape of prisoner Gabriel Rothkopf dated December 20, 1944, in APMO, IZ-8/Gestapo Łódź/3a, vol. 4, book 547, 548.
11. Accounts of former prisoners Paul Halter, Józef Łabudek and Jan Ławnicki, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 54, book 36, vol. 50, book 94, vol. 60, book 107.
12. Telegram about the escape of prisoner Iwan Potechin, in APMO, D-AuI-1/1a, vol. 2, book 374.
13. Accounts of former prisoners Marian Waliński, Józef Łabudek, Stanisław Łapiński, Paul Halter, and Jan Ławnicki, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 40, book 54–55, vol. 50, book 93, vol. 54, book 20, vol. 54, book 36, vol. 60, book 107.
14. Accounts of former prisoners Jan Ławnicki and Jan Skotnicki, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 60, book 108, vol. 57, book 51.
15. Account of former prisoner Jan Skotnicki, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 57, book 88.
16. Account of former prisoner Henryk Kowadło, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 21, book 71.
17. Accounts of former prisoners Jan Skotnicki, Leonard Chłądzyński, Paul Halter, and Józef Łabudek, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 57, book 88, vol. 61, book 54, vol. 54, book 37, vol. 50, book 94.
18. Smuggled message of the Resistance Movement at Auschwitz concentration camp dated January 17, 1945, in APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu, vol. 3, book 212.
19. Accounts of former prisoners Ludwik Frąszczak, Józef Tabaczyński, and Józef Łabudek, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 41, book 65, vol. 44, book 62, vol. 50, book 95.
20. Account of former mine employee Piotr Olej, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 41, book 59.
21. Record of testimony by former prisoner Rudolf Ehrlich, in APMO, Proces Hössa, vol. 1, book 123–128.
22. Rept. of Dachau concentration camp trial, in APMO, Dpr. [trial log] Dachau/1.

GLEIWITZ I

The Gleiwitz Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk (Reich Railways Repair Works, RAW), also called the Wagenwerk, initiated the establishment of the Gleiwitz I subcamp in Gleiwitz (later Gliwice) and financed the subcamp's construction and outfitting. The first prisoner transport was sent to the camp in March 1944. A dozen or so prisoners, mostly carpenters, arrived to prepare the subcamp for subsequent transports. When the first barracks were put up (some of which had most probably been moved from the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp), several dozen Poles, Russians, and Ukrainians were transferred to the subcamp from Auschwitz I. They were largely skilled tradesmen who had been employed until then in the Union-Werke detachment. Because there are no sources, we cannot determine the arrival dates, numbers, or ethnic composition of the other prisoner transports. The only source providing the number of prisoners at the Gleiwitz I subcamp is a list made by the secret prisoner resistance movement organization. Because of it, it is known that at the last roll call on January 17, 1945, there were 1,336 prisoners at the subcamp. We can therefore state that Gleiwitz I was the largest Auschwitz subcamp in Gliwice and was a large subcamp in comparison to other camps in the Auschwitz concentration camp system.

The subcamp's first commandant was SS-Hauptscharführer Otto Moll, born on March 4, 1915, in Hohenschönenberg, a gardener by trade and the former chief of the crematoriums and gas chambers at Auschwitz II-Birkenau who had come to Auschwitz in 1941 from the Gusen subcamp at Mauthausen. In May 1944, he resumed that earlier post in order to assist in

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the murder of the Hungarian Jews, but he returned to Gleiwitz I in late summer and probably served as commandant until mid-December. His deputies were SS-Oberscharführer Jansen (former muster officer of the Melk subcamp of Mauthausen) and SS-Oberscharführer Richard Stolten (beginning July 17, 1944). The staff included several dozen SS men from the 6th Guard Company of Auschwitz III-Monowitz, as well as SS-Oberscharführer Josef Klehr as SS medical orderly.

The surviving camp records list more detailed information on approximately 250 Gleiwitz I subcamp prisoners, most of whom were Jews who arrived in Auschwitz in 1943–1944 from concentration camps in Lublin-Majdanek and Krakau-Plaszow; from the Drancy and Westerbork transit camps; from the Białystok and Łódź ghettos; and from Bohemia, Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Italy. They underwent selections on the ramp at Birkenau; many of those found fit to work eventually went to the subcamps, including Gleiwitz I. The prisoner foremen were predominantly German.

The prisoners lived in several wooden barracks located about 2 kilometers (1.25 miles) from the Wagenwerk. Separate quarters were assigned to Jews, Poles, Russians, and Ukrainians. Former prisoners stress in their accounts that the food in the subcamp was even worse than what they had received at Birkenau. Many prisoners eventually succumbed to hunger and overwork. Most prisoners worked in small groups scattered throughout the Werkhalle, an enormous repair house approximately 4 hectares (9.9 acres) in area, doing general repairs to freight and tank cars under the direct supervision of civilian foremen and workers. There was a sign on each car specifying the quota of work to be done. Since the quotas were high and the foremen strictly enforced them, the prisoners had to work very strenuously. Initially, all prisoners worked the one day shift, but in the late summer of 1944 a night shift was introduced. Work on each shift lasted 12 hours, sometimes longer. There were even instances when some Werkhalle groups stayed at their workstations for about a week, sleeping in the cars for a few hours each day. Additionally, some prisoners worked in the metal shop, boiler house, and forge, building a road near the Wagenwerk, or at the airport near the brickyard. And for many prisoners, the end of the workday at the Wagenwerk did not mean they were through working. Some of them had to clean the toilet pits or bring stones and turf from several kilometers away to cover the slopes near the subcamp.

Treatment was harsh and capricious. Civilian and prisoner foremen and SS guards and officials alike abused the prisoners, either at the workplace or in the camp. Prisoners who could not keep up the brutal pace or who fell asleep were beaten; some were killed. Moll personally carried out executions, some for a minor breach of regulations, some for no apparent reason at all.

A camp hospital opened at Gleiwitz I only in the autumn of 1944. Up until then, there was only a dispensary, where prisoners could get first aid. Klehr conducted selections of the sick several times. Prisoners requiring extended treatment were taken away along with the corpses of the dead to Birkenau, where they perished in the gas chambers. Selections were also conducted outside the camp hospital, during roll calls, in the bathhouse, or in the barracks. Moll, Klehr, or the SS doctor from Monowitz decided whether prisoners would live or die. In October 1944, about 50 severely emaciated prisoners were picked during a selection and taken away from the subcamp shortly afterward.

Despite the rigorous control by the SS men and prisoner foremen, illegal contacts did occur at the Wagenwerk between prisoners and the civilian workers employed there. Some workers would secretly hand food to prisoners or leave it at designated spots, most often in the railroad cars. With their collaboration, prisoners could sometimes feign work or even sleep, and in several instances Polish prisoners were able to establish illegal communications with their families. There were also a number of individual prisoner escapes, with or without worker support, some of which were presumably successful, while others resulted in hangings or shootings.

Eleven Russian prisoners escaped without any outside help on the night of August 15, 1944, through a tunnel. Monowitz commander SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Schwarz came to the subcamp with several SS officers from the political branch to conduct an investigation. Shortly afterward, all the Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian prisoners were moved from the Gleiwitz I subcamp to Birkenau and then included in a prisoner transport to Neuengamme. Two of those 11 escaped Russians were captured and brought back to the subcamp. Although they could barely stand due to beating, they had to walk through the subcamp's streets several times with signs on their chests saying: "Hurrah! We are back again." They were hanged during a special assembly, which not only Gleiwitz I subcamp prisoners had to attend but those from neighboring Gleiwitz II as well. Just before his execution, one of the Russians managed to shout out: "Do not forget us, avenge us!"

The Gleiwitz I subcamp was shut down on January 18, 1945. Before escorting the prisoners out of the subcamp, the SS men selected several dozen sick, lame, and extremely emaciated prisoners, whom they led behind the barracks and shot. SS men also shot any prisoners who could not keep up during the evacuation march and threw the bodies into roadside ditches. The route of that death march led through Auschwitz's Blechhammer subcamp. In the early hours of January 21, 1945, the Gleiwitz I prisoners left Blechhammer, and in early February they reached Gross-Rosen. Shortly thereafter a group of about 200 Gleiwitz I prisoners were taken away from Gross-Rosen to Nordhausen. The rest were sent to Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen and their subcamps in different transports.

A small group of Gleiwitz I prisoners, taking advantage of the overall chaos that prevailed at Blechhammer, stayed at that subcamp. Some of them perished when the barracks were

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A post war oil painting by Holocaust survivor David Friedmann representing the death march from the Gleiwitz I subcamp to Blechhammer. USHMM#WS 27689, SOURCE UNKNOWN

shelled by SS men; others managed to escape and reach Allied lines.

Otto Moll was sentenced to death at the Dachau trial on December 13, 1945, and later executed.

SOURCES There are several published sources that contain information on Gleiwitz I: Edmund Całka, "Polacy z Gliwickiego w okresie drugiej wojny światowej," ZG 2 (1964): 117–131; Edmund Całka, "Hitlerowskie obozy w Gliwicach i w powiecie," ZG 4 (1966): 121–133; Irena Strzelecka, "Arbeitslager Auschwitz I," *ZO* 14 (1972): 65–94 (German version: HvA 14 [1973]: 75–106); Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej Strzelecki, "Podobozy oświęcimskie w Gliwicach," ZG 13 (1978): 119–167; Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej Strzelecki, "Zatrudnienie więźniów oświęcimskich w przemyśle Gliwic," ZG 9 (1972): 15–37; Mel Mermelstein, *By Bread Alone. The Story of A-4685* (Los Angeles: Crescent Publications, 1979).

Archival materials may be found in the APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts by former prisoners Emil Heran, Mieczysław Ruzga, Leon Trześniower, Antoni Głogowski, Martin Klein-Viggo, Leon Opatowski, Michał Popczyka, Ryszard Wojtusik, Czesław Niżnik, Melvin Mermelstein, Józef Szymczak, Lew Polakowand, Szulim Zang, and others; as well as accounts of other witnesses such as former forced laborer Helena Chmielewska and Józef Klos, a longtime employee of today's Rolling Stock Repair Works in Gliwice.

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trans. Gerard Majka

GLEIWITZ II

In the initial years of World War II, Deutsche Gasrusswerke GmbH of Dortmund, West Germany, began building a carbon black factory in Gleiwitz (later Gliwice). On the company's initiative, two forced labor camps were then established near the factory grounds, one for foreign workers (*Fremdarbeiterlager*), predominantly Poles, and a camp for Jews (*Judenlager*) that appeared in records as armaments camp (*Rüstungslager*) Degussa, Gleiwitz-Steigern, or as forced labor camp (*Zwangsarbeiterlager*) Degussa, Gleiwitz-Steigern Deutsche Gasrusswerke. There were approximately 600 Jews in the latter camp in 1943, including about 200 each of men and women from Silesia, brought to Gleiwitz in the spring of 1943 from transit camps in Sosnowitz (Sosnowietz) and Gogolin.

On May 3, 1944, the SS took over the Rüstungslager and placed it under Auschwitz III-Monowitz, with the designation Gleiwitz II. At that point there were 245 women in the camp, including approximately 200 Silesian Jews who had arrived in the spring of 1943; shortly after Monowitz took over control of the camp, these women received tattooed prisoner numbers from the general Auschwitz prisoner series. A major women's transport, probably numbering about 100 persons, mostly Hungarian Jews, arrived in the summer of 1944. In November, the population of women prisoners was 371, and that number remained unchanged until evacuation. The population of the men's portion of the camp was 261 Jewish prisoners in May 1944; on January 17, 1945, there were 740.

The entire staff changed with the reorganization. SS-Oberscharführer Becker became the new commandant, with SS-Unterscharführer Lukaszek his deputy. On September 15, 1944, SS-Oberscharführer Konrad Friedrichsen, on detail from the Neu-Dachs subcamp, replaced Becker; then on January 5, 1945, SS-Hauptscharführer Bernhard Rackers, previously the muster officer in Monowitz, took over the post. The subcamp staff consisted of about 70 SS men from the 6th Guard Company of Monowitz.

When Monowitz took over the camp, some of the women prisoners lost heart completely. Two or three days after the female prisoners were tattooed, 18-year-old Bela Londer of Sosnowiec committed suicide, as did teenager Melania Borenstein a few days after her. Unable to reconcile themselves to the new situation, they jumped out of the fourth floor of the factory building.

The reorganization did not change the nature of the women's work, but discipline tightened, and there were fewer opportunities to communicate with the civilian and forced laborers. The female prisoners worked at the Gasrusswerke in three shifts. A large percentage worked directly in production, that is, in operating the Verdampfer machines that processed anthracite, sulfur, and oil into carbon black. The temperature in the production halls ranged from 60 to 71 degrees Celsius (140 to 160 degrees Fahrenheit), but despite the heat the women worked in overalls tightly buttoned up to their necks. The fumes rising from the boiling oils attacked the eyes and settled in the lungs. Poor lighting and dust made working difficult. The production hall windows were tightly covered at night because of blackout regulations. On average, every prisoner produced about 4 to 5 kilograms (9 to 11 pounds) of carbon black per hour, operating one machine, and in the process also produced several kilograms of oily waste at 299 degrees Celsius (570 degrees Fahrenheit). Several women suffered serious burns

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while pouring this waste into a special tank on the factory grounds.

Some of the female prisoners worked in the packing department, where the carbon black was delivered in huge pipes from the production halls. The women weighed and packed the carbon black in large paper sacks. The greasy carbon black, which was hard to wash off, sprinkled down on them the entire time they worked and coated their bodies.

The male prisoners worked on expanding the factory, in machine repair and maintenance, sorting building materials in the factory yard, and at the nearby Borsig Koks-Werke (Borsig Coke Works).

The overall living and working conditions were similar to those prevailing throughout the Auschwitz complex. Civilian foremen, mostly Germans from Dortmund, pushed the workers hard and sometimes beat them. The SS guards and prisoner foremen were, if anything, worse. The prisoners suffered every day from hunger, hard labor, and bad treatment. Friedrichsen was especially strict; he personally searched the women prisoners and had them punished severely if he found them in possession of any food or other contraband.

In the summer of 1944, the prisoners founded an underground organization to keep up the spirits of the despairing women, conduct sabotage, and try to mitigate the civilian foremen's hostile behavior (through such things as intervening with Dr. Schenk, the Gasrusswerke engineering director).

On January 18, 1945, the women and men prisoners were ordered to prepare to leave camp. Several female and male prisoners took advantage of the confusion brought on by the evacuation and escaped, hiding on the factory grounds in such places as sewage pipes.

According to the accounts of former female prisoners, the women and men were evacuated from the subcamp at the same time. A strong escort of SS men commanded by SS-Hauptscharführer Rackers convoyed the columns of prisoners traveling on foot. After about 19 kilometers (12 miles) they stopped the prisoners and drove them into a barn to spend the night, but the terrible crowding made sleep impossible. Due to the approach of the Red Army, the prisoners were turned back toward Gleiwitz the next day and spent another night in the outskirts of the city. On the third day, the prisoners were loaded onto open railway cars for the trip into the Reich.

Former prisoner Anna Moszkowicz describes the conditions. She relates how the prisoners stood packed together the entire trip. The ones who got to be along the walls of the car were considered luckier as they could lean against the wall. At night the prisoners lay down on one another to sleep as best they could. The bread had been completely crushed and there was no water, so they licked the snow off their arms. There was no possibility of attending to bodily functions and many of the women went mad along the way. During a night stop at an unidentified place in Moravia, the local inhabitants rushed to the prisoners' aid. Heedless of the presence of armed SS men, they tried to get food and water to the railway cars. They managed to toss still-hot bread into some of the cars—but there were casualties. When prisoner Stanisława Müller (a nurse at the subcamp) leaned out of the car for a cup of water for the fainting people, SS-Hauptscharführer Rackers shot her. As the journey continued, few women prisoners managed to escape along the way. After about 10 days, the transport arrived in Oranienburg. The men were sent to Sachsenhausen concentration camp, the women to Ravensbrück and its subcamp at Neustadt-Glewe.

Two of the camp's leaders were put on trial for their crimes. Konrad Friedrichsen, born June 9, 1906, in Hamburg, a merchant by trade, and assigned to the Neu-Dachs subcamp in August 1944, and to Gleiwitz II on September 15, 1944, was tried in 1947 before the Kraków District Court and on January 22, 1948, was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment. Bernhard Rackers, born on March 6, 1905, in Sögel and prior to his assignment to Gleiwitz II a detachment commander and then muster officer at Monowitz, was sentenced to life in prison by a jury in Osnabrück.

SOURCES There are several sources that refer to Gleiwitz II: Edmund Całka, "Oświęcim nad Kłodnicą," NG 11–19 (1962) (series of articles); Edmund Całka, "Polacy z Gliwickiego w okresie drugiej wojny światowej," *ZG* 2 (1964): 117–131; Edmund Całka, "Hitlerowskie obozy w Gliwicach i w powiecie," *ZG* 4 (1966): 121–133; Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej Strzelecki, "Zatrudnienie więźniów oświęcimskich w przemyśle Gliwic," *ZG* 9 (1972): 15–37; Irena Strzelecka, "Arbeitslager Gleiwitz II," *ZO* 14 (1972): 95–114 (German version: "Arbeitslager Gleiwitz II," HvA 14 [1973]: 107–127); Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej Strzelecki, "Podobozy oświęcimskie w Gliwicach," ZG 13 (1978): 119–167.

Archival records may be found in APKat, Zespół VOH sygn. 8, 780, 1274, 1287/7, 1288; APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts by former female prisoners Anna Markowiecka, Anna Moszkowicz, Judit Csongor Barnabasne (Varga in camp); testimony of former female prisoner Franciszka Zajdman; and trial records of Gleiwitz II SS men.

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GLEIWITZ III

The organization of Auschwitz's Gleiwitz III subcamp started in the spring of 1944. At the end of 1944, the first prisoner transport was brought to a section of the Gleiwitzer Hütte in Gleiwitz (later Gliwice), which the Zieleniewski Works occupied after its evacuation from Kraków, and was put in one of the barracks erected near the former foundry building. Both the Gleiwitzer Hütte and Zieleniewski-Maschinen und Waggonbau GmbH, Kraków, were under the Vereinigte Oberschlesische Hüttenwerke AG concern (Oberhütten or VOH). During World War II, VOH, like other German companies, exploited the cheap manpower of thousands of forced laborers, prisoners of war (POWs), and beginning in mid-1944, Auschwitz concentration camp prisoners as well.

SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Spieker was the commandant of Gleiwitz III until the camp was dissolved. His assistants

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were SS-Unterscharführer Moritz and SS-Rottenführer Zahorodny. He had several dozen SS men under him from the Auschwitz III-Monowitz 6th Guard Company. Gleiwitz III, like the other Auschwitz subcamps in Gleiwitz, was inspected by SS officers, Auschwitz representatives, on several occasions, and by Monowitz commander SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Schwarz on September 16, 1944. The "prisoner government" was mainly composed of German criminals who treated their fellow prisoners brutally.

At least three prisoner transports arrived in Gleiwitz III from late July to mid-August 1944. The first consisted mainly of Polish Jews who arrived in Auschwitz on July 27, 1944, from the Pustków labor camp; prisoners from Lublin-Majdanek who arrived in Auschwitz on July 28 or August 6, 1944, made up the second transport. Several dozen Polish prisoners from Monowitz arrived in the subcamp on August 15, as did several dozen prisoners from the Terezin ghetto in the autumn. There were approximately 600 prisoners in the subcamp at the end of October and 609 just before evacuation.

The prisoners lived in a brick barrack with a basement and central heating. Living conditions at Gleiwitz III were better than those in Auschwitz II-Birkenau main camp, but the food was the same, if not worse. Sick prisoners or the bodies of those who had died of starvation were often taken away from the subcamp infirmary to Birkenau.

The SS men's behavior toward prisoners was characterized by brutality and sadism. They would beat prisoners or make them do punitive exercises for the smallest offense, or often for no reason at all. The prisoner foremen generally treated the prisoners as badly as the SS men did.

Camp conditions drove some prisoners to total nervous breakdown or apathy. For example, Libelt, a prisoner from Lvov, who had lost hope of living to see freedom, did not observe the basic rules of caution in assembling machines at the Gleiwitzer Hütte. When a Polish worker pointed this out to him, he replied: "What are you worried about, there will be one Jew less."[1]

Some Gleiwitz III prisoners were put to work outside the Gleiwitzer Hütte until the autumn of 1944; later almost all prisoners worked in the steel mill in a separate area occupied by the Zieleniewski Works. Work always lasted 10 to 12 hours per day.

Immediately after the subcamp was established, one of the prisoner commandos was sent daily to the area of the nearby cemetery to do digging and drainage work. Other groups unloaded and loaded building materials at different locations in the city or aircraft parts at the nearby airport. A dozen or so prisoners worked constructing two buildings across from the Friedrich Wilhelm Gymnasium. In the part of the Gleiwitzer Hütte that VOH had given to the Zieleniewski Works, prisoners worked at such places as the railway sidings, where they unloaded machines, equipment, and unfinished parts brought from Kraków, including parts for naval mines. They also repaired the industrial buildings and laid foundations for machines under the direction of civilian foremen. In the last quarter of 1944, some of the machines were put into operation, and they started manufacturing train wheel assemblies, anti-aircraft gun carriages, naval mines, and shells of various types. (Aerial bomb production was designated by the code names SD-1, SD-70, and SF 76–77 in correspondence.)

After production had started up and prisoners had been trained to work at the machines, they were put to work in various departments of the Works doing such things as operating lathes, drills, borers, millers, planers, benders, and pneumatic hammers. The largest prisoner commandos worked in the machine and assembly shops. Prisoners were also put to work in the forge and the warehouses, installing electrical and sewage lines, paving surfaces between buildings, and building a sewage settling tank. Prisoners were escorted to their respective workstations by SS men and plant guards (*Werkschutz*), who supervised them during work along with German civilian foremen. Some of these supervisors behaved properly toward the prisoners, while others persecuted them. The workers employed at the Zieleniewski Works were told that the prisoners were bandits and that if they gave them any help at all, they would join the prisoners in the subcamp.

Despite these threats, prisoners and some civilian workers cooperated to relieve the prisoners' plight to some extent. Under favorable circumstances prisoners would attempt to "organize" some extra food, and during work they would communicate with friendly Polish workers, foremen, and engineers from Kraków as well as Gleiwitz residents. These outside contacts would secretly provide prisoners with food, cigarettes, and medicine, and sometimes they helped in getting smuggled messages to families and friends. A few prisoners risked escape, but all known attempts ended in failure.

On January 19, 1945, Gleiwitz III was evacuated. SS men escorted the prisoners westward in a column. The march lasted several days. When the prisoners got to the left bank of the Oder River, they were turned back and sent back east via Koźle to the Blechhammer subcamp, which in January 1945 was one of the concentration points for the thousands of prisoners evacuated from the other Auschwitz subcamps at that time. Some of the prisoners from Gleiwitz III were soon added to the columns of prisoners being evacuated toward Gross-Rosen; others were kept at Blechhammer. Several dozen Gleiwitz III prisoners escaped, availing themselves of the general confusion. Some other prisoners lived to see freedom in Blechhammer.

SOURCES Several published sources contain information on Gleiwitz III: Edmund Całka, "Oświęcim nad Kłodnicą," NG 11–19 (1962) (series of articles); Edmund Całka, "Polacy z Gliwickiego w okresie drugiej wojny światowej," *ZG* 2 (1964): 117–131; Edmund Całka, "Hitlerowskie obozy w Gliwicach i w powiecie," *ZG* 4 (1966): 121–133; Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej Strzelecki, "Zatrudnienie więźniów oświęcimskich w przemyśle Gliwic," *ZG* 9 (1972): 15–37; Andrzej Strzelecki, "Arbeitslager Gleiwitz III," *ZO* 14 (1972): 115–135 (German version: "Arbeitslager Gleiwitz III," HvA 14 [1973]: 129–150); Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej

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Strzelecki, "Podobozy oświęcimskie w Gliwicach," *ZG* 13 (1978): pp. 119–167.

Records pertaining to Gleiwitz III may be found in these repositories: APKat, Zespół VOH sygn. 8, 780, 1274, 1287/7, 1288; APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts of former prisoners Karol Grot, Oskar Hala, Majer Roth, Samuel Roth, Leon Zygadła, and others; accounts of former Zieleniewski Works employees Kazimierz Lipnowski, Czesław Pieczara, Kazimierz Seremet, and others.

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trans. Gerard Majka

NOTE

1. Account of former prisoner Kazimierz Lipnowski, in APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia (Affidavits Collection), vol. 75, book 37.

GLEIWITZ IV

In June 1944, 80 prisoners from the Auschwitz III-Monowitz concentration camp, mostly Russians and Poles, were placed in a barrack on Wehrmacht land near the Keithkaserne and Schlagetterkaserne barracks in Gleiwitz (later Gliwice). Under the supervision of SS men, the prisoners built a second barrack and fenced in both barracks, after which they were taken back to Monowitz. This is how the Gleiwitz IV subcamp was established.

A transport of approximately 50 prisoners, mainly Jews, arrived from Auschwitz II-Birkenau between August 22 and 24, 1944. In late August and the first half of September, several more transports of Jewish prisoners arrived and were put to work expanding the camp. Some of them had been deported to Auschwitz from the Łódź and Terezin ghettos. According to the account of former prisoner Marian Zelman, there were approximately 700 to 800 prisoners in the subcamp in September 1944; that number dropped to 444 on the eve of evacuation.

SS-Unterscharführer Otto Arthur Lätsch was the commandant of Gleiwitz IV until October 1944, when he became the muster officer, and SS-Oberscharführer Grobert (aka Grübner) took over as commandant. By August 1944, there were 16 SS men in the subcamp staff. That number later grew to several dozen. Some guards wore Wehrmacht uniforms with SS badges; they were probably Wehrmacht drivers who had brought their vehicles in for conversion to a wood-burning propulsion system at the *Holzgas* (wood gas) works next to the subcamp and who had been delegated to the subcamp for that time. Those guards rotated frequently. Guards from the Organisation Todt (OT) also watched prisoners at many work locations, primarily at construction sites.

Most Gleiwitz IV prisoners were put to work expanding the Keithkaserne and Schlagetterkaserne barracks, in the Holzgas shops, and in the port on the Gleiwitz canal. In November or December 1944, many prisoners cleared bombed sites in the city of Gleiwitz of rubble. The Heeresbauverwaltung Gleiwitz, the army's construction office, was probably in charge of the barrack expansion. Prisoners were put to work in the barracks and the adjoining grounds constructing several buildings and air-raid shelters, cleaning up rubble, and repairing damaged property. At the Holzgas shops, prisoners used special pressurized guns to paint vehicles in military camouflage colors, all the while breathing paint fumes because they lacked proper protective masks. At the port on the Gleiwitz Canal, prisoners built railroad tracks and reloaded various materials, such as vehicles being sent to the Holzgas shops.

The conditions under which Gleiwitz IV prisoners lived were not much different than those in the other Auschwitz subcamps. Clothing and certain foods were brought in from the Auschwitz concentration camp. Meals were often prepared from food that Gleiwitz residents threw away. Because of the combination of hard work and poor nutrition, extreme emaciation became the rule.

The SS behaved brutally toward the prisoners, and Lätsch set the tone. He is known to have shot at least five prisoners—in one case, he shot three men for warming themselves at a fire where a barrel of tar was being heated—and to have beaten many others, sometimes fatally. He also ordered punitive exercises, as in the case of prisoners who had passed information about the camp to local residents; Lätsch sentenced them to several hours of exercise, during which the guards so abused them that several died. His successor, Grobert, was somewhat less cruel, because he wanted to obtain the greatest possible amount of work from the prisoners. During roll calls, the SS men would verbally and physically abuse the prisoners for little or no reason, and both SS and OT men were responsible for killing prisoners at the work sites.

Dr. Nicolaus Sebestyen, a prisoner from Hungary, was in charge of the infirmary, which contained about 20 to 30 sick patients on average. Most of these prisoners were extremely emaciated, sick with colds, suffering from starvation, diarrhea, or ulcerations and injuries. Since there was a shortage of medicine and bandages, the prisoner doctors were unable to provide effective help.

SS doctors came to the subcamp from Auschwitz every few weeks to conduct selections among the prisoners; Lätsch took part in these as well. In all, approximately 200 prisoners were selected as unfit to work and were sent away to the gas chambers at Birkenau. Sometimes the bodies of prisoners who died at the subcamp were sent back with those selected, to be burned in the crematorium.

The prisoners tried to improve the inhuman conditions of their existence in various ways. Ten or so Jewish prisoners from the Łódź ghetto, continuing the underground activity they had begun back in the ghetto, formed a secret organization at the subcamp. Its members helped one another and provided aid to their unorganized comrades. There were also prisoners who risked escape, like Józef Gębala in July or August 1944. Taking advantage of a guard's inattention, he walked away from his workplace, changed into civilian clothing he had prepared in advance, and jumped over the wall around the barracks, getting out to freedom. Others were not

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so lucky; one group of Russians and Poles was sent to Birkenau after the Germans learned of their escape plans.

On the night of January 18–19, 1945, the SS evacuated about 380 prisoners from the subcamp; 57 sick prisoners stayed behind, locked in the infirmary. At daybreak, Lätsch, OT foreman Gustav Günther, and several other Nazis set the barrack on fire and shot at the prisoners jumping out the windows. Only prisoners Dąbrowski and Rosenfeld survived, by hiding among their comrades' bodies.

The prisoners evacuated from the subcamp were taken toward the town of Kieferstädtel (later Sośnicowice). Several kilometers later they were turned back to Gleiwitz and then sent to the Blechhammer subcamp; the march lasted two or three days. Along the way, SS men shot about 50 prisoners who could not keep up with their comrades. Several thousand prisoners evacuated from other Auschwitz subcamps were already at Blechhammer. The Red Army was approaching, and there was a great deal of confusion; under those circumstances, several Gleiwitz IV prisoners managed to escape. Some Gleiwitz IV prisoners were evacuated from Blechhammer via Gross-Rosen to the Buchenwald concentration camp, while others lived to see the liberation of Blechhammer.

Lätsch was tried for his crimes after the war. Born on November 26, 1905, in Lichtenberg, and a driver by training, prior to being assigned to Gleiwitz IV he was block commander of Barrack 11 at Auschwitz, where he conducted executions at the Wall of Death. In 1947, the Supreme National Court of Justice in Kraków sentenced him to death.

SOURCES Several publications contain information about Gleiwitz IV: Edmund Całka, "Oświęcim nad Kłodnicą," NG 11–19 (1962) (series of articles); Edmund Całka, "Polacy z Gliwickiego w okresie drugiej wojny światowej," ZG 2 (1964): 117–131; Edmund Całka, "Hitlerowskie obozy w Gliwicach i w powiecie," ZG 4 (1966): 121–133; Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej Strzelecki, "Zatrudnienie więźniów oświęcimskich w przemyśle Gliwic," ZG 9 (1972): 15–37; Andrzej Strzelecki, "Arbeitslager Gleiwitz IV," *ZO* 14 (1972): 137–154 (German version: "Arbeitslager Gleiwitz IV," HvA 14 [1973]: 151–169); Irena Strzelecka and Andrzej Strzelecki, "Podobozy oświęcimskie w Gliwicach," ZG 13 (1978): 119–167.

The following archival collections contain relevant documents: APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts of former prisoners Aleksander Schimon Fischer, Józef Wrześniowski, Marian Zelman, and others; accounts of Gliwice residents Eugeniusz Franik, Hubert Grziwok, Teofil Jonda, and others.

Andrzej Strzelecki
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GOLLESCHAU

The town of Goleszów (Golleschau) is near the Polish-Czech border, over 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) southwest of Oświęcim (Auschwitz). Before the war broke out, a cement plant was located there, belonging to a company with Austrian capital. In 1939, the factory came under German control, and engineer Richard Goebel was named director of the Golleschauer Portland-Zement Aktiengesellschaft O/S in 1942. From then on, the SS administered the plant (Ostdeutsche Baustoffwerke GmbH) as part of the W II section in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) hierarchy.

The first Auschwitz prisoners arrived at the Golleschau subcamp in early August 1942;[1] they were mainly skilled workers: bricklayers and carpenters, whose job it was to change the building adjoining the factory production hall into living quarters for the prisoners. It was a three-story building with the kitchen and infirmary on the ground floor; the washrooms and toilets were on the second floor. The prisoners slept on three-decker bunk beds set up in the remaining rooms on the second and third floors.

Several dozen more prisoners were brought to Golleschau in mid-August 1942 and numbered 241 by the end of the month (160 were already working in the cement plant's quarries). Several small transports followed; from May 1943 to the spring of 1944, the camp had an average of 450 to 500 prisoners. In the summer and autumn of 1944, yet more transports arrived, including Hungarian Jews and 298 Jews from the Theresienstadt ghetto and from Łódź.[2] As a result, in late summer the total camp population exceeded 1,000 prisoners (up to 1,059 in late October 1944);[3] it stayed at a similar level until the evacuation.

Surviving records regarding the initial months of the subcamp's existence show that Jews were already the most highly represented ethnic group among the prisoners. For example, we know that on July 10, 1943, out of the 415 prisoners in the camp there were 15 Poles, 4 Germans, and 1 Russian,[4] while the rest of the prisoners were Jews (mainly Polish, French, Czech, and Greek), among whom part-Jewish residents were sometimes listed (*Juden-Mischlinge*).[5] Beginning in April 1944, precise figures on the number of Jews in camp started to appear systematically in the reports signed by the Golleschau camp commandant (Lagerführer); the percentage of them at that time was (until January 1945) up to 95 percent.

The prisoners were put to work at the cement plant doing different types of auxiliary work requiring a great deal of physical effort: laying railroad tracks, crushing stone, sifting coal, packing cement in paper sacks (where the air was filled with dust), doing carpentry work, operating the lime-burning furnaces, building a cable railway, and making barrels. A few prisoners were put to work on the subcamp premises: in the kitchen, laundry, and warehouse. The most difficult situation was in the commandos working in the cement plant's four quarries (Steinbruch I–IV), where prisoners were chiefly used to load crushed stone onto freight cars.[6] As the factory management estimated, "five Jews ought to load three freight-cars during one shift."[7] In those commandos, an especially great number of accidents occurred as a result of which many injured prisoners were sent back to the camp at Birkenau. Many prisoners also wound up in the infirmary due to brutal beatings by the Kapos; for example, in his report of December 7, 1944, SS orderly (Sanitätsdienstgrad, SDG) Kaufmann said that Kapo Jakob Weissmann had beaten six prisoners who

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had to stay in the hospital for many days.[8] The foremen employed by the cement plant also beat the prisoners;[9] they harassed and mocked them. One foreman, Paul Czysz, used to say to prisoners that "whether you work or not, you stinking Jews will go to the crematorium and come out the smokestack."[10]

The prisoners were guarded at work by several dozen or so SS men (51 noncommissioned officers and privates in August 1944)[11] who initially belonged to the Auschwitz Guard Battalion Third Company and later to the Auschwitz III-Monowitz Battalion Second Company. Besides the SS men, over a dozen armed members of the plant security staff (Werkschutz) also guarded the prisoners.

The subcamp commandants were Erich Picklapp (dismissed from his office because of complaints by the factory management for his "unprofessional treatment of the prisoners"), followed by SS-Oberscharführer Hans Mirbeth and SS-Oberscharführer Horst Czerwinski.[12] Former prisoners remember all three and most of their subordinates as particularly brutal and ruthless. Some of the prisoner-functionaries behaved in similar fashion, especially including Michael Eschmann and Josef Kierspel, the camp elder (Lagerälteste) at the Golleschau subcamp. As in the other sections of Auschwitz, Germans were favored when picking prisoner-functionaries and sometimes Poles as well. A dozen or so Mischlinge also played a significant role, of whom several were appointed Kapos.[13]

Due to the hard labor, accidents, beating, malnutrition, and diseases, prisoners quickly lost strength and were sent to the camp infirmary as unfit to work. The infirmary directors were SDG Herbert Scherpe, succeeded by Hans Nierzwicki, Franz Woyciechowski, Herbert Jörss, and Hans Kaufmann, who, however, were not very interested in the fate of the patients. A prisoner, Dr. Henryk Rutkowski, was in charge of treatment, aided by the cement plant doctor, Dr. Erwin Paździora,[14] as well as seven doctors and male nurses (all Jews).[15] However, in practice they could rarely help the people under their care, not only because of the insufficient medication and medical instruments but primarily because of the shortage of beds in the ward for bedridden patients.[16] Even Auschwitz's chief garrison physician, SS-Hauptsturmführer Eduard Wirths, noted with disapprobation in a letter to the SDG at Golleschau that "the prisoners brought here in the latest patient transport were in disastrous condition. . . . When they were asked, the prisoners explained that their bandages had not been changed for 10 days."[17] In reply, Scherpe provided a series of "objective" reasons for that state of affairs, also explaining that the prisoners were unable to bathe for three weeks because of a breakdown in the water supply system.

The most seriously ill patients were successively taken to the camp hospital at Monowitz or to the BIIf hospital camp at Birkenau, where a significant percentage of them fell victim to selections for the gas chambers. The few surviving transfer lists show that in 1944 alone almost 200 sick prisoners had been taken away from the subcamp. However, the actual figure must have been considerably higher. The Golleschau subcamp prisoner record book[18] contains 2,348 names, giving rise to the conclusion that since approximately 130 prisoners were killed or died at Golleschau (9 prisoners shot while escaping,[19] 10 dead due to accidents, 4 suicides, 1 "shot," and 110 who died, probably in the camp infirmary), and about 1,000 were evacuated in January 1945, the rest, being unfit for work, were sent to Monowitz or Birkenau. We also know that in the period from August 4, 1942, through March 26, 1943, the bodies of 82 Golleschau prisoners were stored at the morgue in the main camp, several of whom had been shot in circumstances not explained by the records.[20]

The Golleschau subcamp prisoners were evacuated in three groups on January 18 and 21, 1945. The first two of them (the largest) were escorted on foot to Wodzisław Śląski, where two transports were formed: one was sent to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, while the other was sent to the Flossenbürg concentration camp. The last group of 100 prisoners was escorted to the Golleschau train station, where four prisoners died. The transport list showed that the transport was en route for nine days, until January 29, when the stationmaster at Zwittau notified Oskar Schindler, the director of a factory at Brüssen-Brünnlitz, that there was a freight car standing on the railway siding full of freezing and starving prisoners. Schindler ordered the freight car to be moved onto factory premises. When the door was opened, it turned out that approximately half the prisoners had already died; over a dozen others died after a few days in camp.[21]

SOURCES Published information on Golleschau can be found in Jerzy Frąckiewicz, "Podobóz Golleschau," *ZO* 9 (1965): 103–119.

Primary source materials are available in APMO, D-Au III Golleschau/1–14; D-Au I–3a, monthly labor roster of male and female prisoners of Auschwitz concentration camp, vols. 1–8; Zespół Oświadczenia, 33: 102–194 (Ajzyk Szwarc); 40: 16–19 (Michał Kruczek); 15: 21–29 (Issak Grinberg); 5: 679–683 (Paweł Wałach); 5: 683a-685 (Jan Gibiec); 5: 686 (Paweł Staniczek); 5: 687–691.

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NOTES

1. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/4, p. 607, Wochenbericht for August 3–9, 1942, saying that 112 prisoners had been put to work; there was no such reference in the previous report for July 27–August 2, 1942. Former prisoner Michał Kruczek, APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, 40: 17, maintains that the first prisoners came to Golleschau in mid-July 1942.

2. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/12, pp. 72–73, 76–79, 82–84, 98–104.

3. Among them 988 Jews (APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/9, p. 94).

4. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/12, pp. 23–29.

5. There were 11 of them in the camp on December 27, 1943 (ibid., p. 37).

6. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/14, p. 2.

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7. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/4, p. 424.
8. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/9, p. 34.
9. One of the foremen beat prisoner Mayer Wolnerman severely and broke his glasses (APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/12, p. 15).
10. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/12, p. 12, report by Golleschau subcamp director dated April 20, 1944.
11. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/10, p. 34.
12. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/3/1, p. 24; D-Au III—Golleschau/13, p. 4. Erich Picklapp is mentioned in prisoner accounts as the camp director, although the source documents do not confirm that information.
13. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/12, p. 115, “Mischling” Kapo’s request to be released from camp and assigned to the Wehrmacht; infirmary director Dr. Rutkowski was also a “Mischling” (see ibid, p. 37).
14. APMO, Affidavits Collection, 5: 760, account of Erwin Paździora.
15. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/9, p. 372.
16. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/9, pp. 20–21, report by SDG Kaufmann dated December 23, 1944, saying that the infirmary was overcrowded and could not be enlarged.
17. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/9, p. 319.
18. APMO, D-Au III—Golleschau/12/2, Kommando Buch. Arbeitskommando Golleschau.
19. Reports have been preserved in the camp hospital records, saying that the bodies of 11 prisoners shot “while attempting to escape” had been delivered; 6 of them were listed in the commando’s record book, which also listed 3 other prisoners whose names had not been listed in the hospital records. That shows that at least 14 fugitives had been shot at Golleschau.
20. APMO, D-Au I—5/1 and 2, morgue record book.
21. Nathan Blumental, *Dokumenty i materiały z czasów okupacji niemieckiej w Polsce* (Records and materials from the time of the German occupation of Poland) (Łódź, 1946), p. 61.

GÜNTHERGRUBE

The Günthergrube subcamp was organized in late January and early February 1944 at the Piast hard coal mine and the new Günthergrube mine under construction in the town of Lędziny (Lendzin), about 24 kilometers (15 miles) from Auschwitz. The mines, which IG Farbenindustrie AG acquired in February 1941, were to supply coal for the IG Farben factory being built in Monowice (Monowitz), near Auschwitz. Administratively, the subcamp came under the command of Auschwitz III-Monowitz.

On January 31, 1944, on the eve of Günthergrube subcamp’s establishment, SS-Hauptscharführer Otto Moll, then commandant of the subcamp at the Fürstengrube mine, conducted a selection at Auschwitz II-Birkenau, and about 300 prisoners were sent to the Günthergrube subcamp.[1] The decided majority, around 95 percent, were Jews from the area of Będzin (Bendsburg), Sosnowiec (Sosnowitz), and Zawiercie, as well as from the Netherlands and France.[2] There were just a dozen or so non-Jewish prisoners, mainly Germans and Poles. In late 1944, larger transports were sent to the subcamp, consisting of Jews deported from Hungary and Jews brought to Auschwitz on July 31, 1944, from the Lublin-Majdanek subcamp in Bliżyn. At this point the population of the Günthergrube subcamp reached about 600 prisoners. There were still 586 prisoners there on January 17, 1945, a few days before it was shut down.[3]

Beginning on May 22, 1944, approximately 40 SS guards from the Auschwitz III Third Guard Company were assigned to the subcamp.[4] SS-Unterscharführer Alois Wendelin Frey was the subcamp’s commandant until it shut down in January 1945.[5]

The first prisoners were put into two barracks in an older camp for civilian forced laborers, called the Lager Heimat; the camp was located between the old Piast and the new Günthergrube mine.[6] A single barbed-wire fence, with watchtowers at the corners, surrounded the rectangular compound. Prisoners only stayed at Lager Heimat for five months, that is, from February to June 1944; at that time some of the prisoners were put to work building a new subcamp near the new Günthergrube mine. The new subcamp, Lager Günther III, was designed exclusively to house concentration camp prisoners.[7] Brick watchtowers overlooked the square compound from the corners of a 3-meter (10-foot) brick wall. Ten brick barracks were erected inside the camp, including three to house prisoners and one meant to be the prisoners’ hospital. Its construction was not yet finished when the camp was shut down.

The prisoners who worked outside the camp were divided into two basic labor squads: Detachment I and Detachment II. About 120 prisoners from Detachment I worked extracting hard coal in the Piast mine.[8] Prisoners from Detachment I were also put to work building the new Günthergrube mine, where they worked under the supervision of civilian foremen and were divided into groups according to their jobs. The prisoners assigned to Detachment II worked on the new subcamp; the work primarily included such things as leveling the site, delivering building materials, and bricklaying, electrical, plumbing, and finishing work. Only a small group of prisoners were put to work in the same camp as the prisoner-foremen, in the camp kitchen and prisoners’ hospital.

We know of several prisoners who attempted escape from the Günthergrube subcamp. On March 1, 1944, Szymon Lewenstein, born in Berlin and brought to Auschwitz on August 1, 1943, by a Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) transport from Będzin, escaped when he was outside the camp working with Detachment I.[9] In April or May 1944, a group of five Jews, most of them from Będzin, planned an escape, but the attempt miscarried (prisoners who survived assume it was because they were betrayed by a civilian foreman or SS man, whom the prisoners supposedly let in on their plans). One night SS guards surrounded the subcamp and conducted an additional roll call with their truck lights beaming. They read out the names of the five prisoners, whom they took to Auschwitz for interrogation. A dozen or so days later they were brought back to the subcamp and hanged on the assembly ground in the presence of the other prisoners, the purpose

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being to terrorize the other prisoners and to prevent further escapes.[10]

Evacuations began in December 1944 with the removal of the Polish prisoners. The remaining prisoners stayed at Günthergrube until January 18, 1945. The prisoners were sent to work even on the day of evacuation, and only in the evening were preparations for the march hurriedly begun. Approximately 20 sick prisoners were loaded onto a truck and taken away, presumably to the neighboring Fürstengrube subcamp, where they probably then perished in barracks set afire by SS guards.

On the night of January 18, 1945, at about 10:00 P.M., all the remaining prisoners, around 560, were escorted out of camp by 40 SS men. The severe cold and icy roads made the march difficult. At daybreak the next day the Günthergrube prisoners merged with columns of Auschwitz III-Monowitz prisoners near Mikołów (Nikolai) and were sent on to the Gleiwitz III subcamp (the prisoners of that subcamp had also been evacuated that same day). Some of the Günthergrube prisoners had already died during the death march to Gleiwitz III; the survivors, as well as prisoners from other subcamps and the Beuthen (later Bytom) prison, about 2,500 persons in all, were loaded into open railway (coal) cars and shipped off on January 21, 1945. That night the train stopped at the Rzędówka (Egersfeld) train station near Rybnik, approximately 18 kilometers (11 miles) south of Gleiwitz (later Gliwice), and the prisoners were ordered to form a march column that then moved farther westward via Rybnik. SS men shot any prisoners who were unable to get out of the train. After liberation, the bodies of 331 prisoners were found at the Rzędówka train station, Kolonia Rzędówka, and vicinity. Several hundred prisoners also perished in Rybnik, the next locality on the death march route. Approximately 1,000 prisoners died along the 40-kilometer (25-mile) stretch from the Rzędówka train station to Racibórz (Ratibor), which the column of prisoners reached on January 23. It was only about 18 days after they had marched out of Rzędówka station that some of the prisoners of the column, in a state of extreme emaciation and exhaustion, reached Gross-Rosen or its subcamps in the Sudeten Mountains. Of the approximately 2,500 prisoners who left from Gleiwitz III on January 21, about 1,900 died along the march route, among them probably the majority of prisoners from Günthergrube.[11]

On February 25, 1947, the authorities from Germany's U.S. zone handed over Alois Frey, former Günthergrube commandant, to the Polish government for the crimes he had committed at Auschwitz. On March 30, 1948, the Kraków District Court sentenced him to six years in prison for belonging to the SS and guard service; he was released on February 28, 1953. The only reason he received such a light sentence was because it was difficult to find witnesses. He was tried again in Frankfurt am Main in 1967 and acquitted.

SOURCES The following published sources contain additional information: Tadeusz Iwaszko, "Podobóz 'Günthergrube,'" *ZO* 12 (1970): 113–143. See also Jan Delowicz, *Śladem krwi. Marsz śmierci więźniów oświęcimskich przybyłych do Rzędówki i poprowadzonych na zachód* (Katowice: Towarzystwo Opieki nad Oświęcimiem, 1995). On the Gleiwitz transport, see Andrzej Strzelecki, "Arbeitslager Gleiwitz III," *ZO* 14 (1972): 115–135. On Frey's extradition and trial, see Elżbieta Kobierska-Motas, *Ekstradycja przestępców wojennych do Polski z czterech stref okupacyjnych Niemiec 1945–1950. Część II* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu—Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 1992); and Aleksander Lasik, "Ściganie, sądzenie i karanie członków oświęcimskiej załogi SS. Procedura. Zagadnienie winy i odpowiedzialności," *ZO* 21 (1995): 189–250.

APMO holds materials in the Günthergrube GmbH collection, as well as accounts of former Günthergrube subcamp prisoners.

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NOTES

1. Accounts of former prisoners Adam Laudon-Dobrzański and Józef Tabaczyński, in APMO, Oświadczenia [Affidavits], vol. 44, book 123; vol. 44, book 67.
2. Account of former prisoner Adam Laudon-Dobrzański, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 44, book 125.
3. Smuggled message of the Resistance Movement at Auschwitz concentration camp, in APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu, vol. 3, book 212.
4. Kommandantur-Sonderbefehl KL Auschwitz III dated May 22, 1944, in APMO, D-AuIII-1/63.
5. Accounts of former prisoners Adam Schepp, Józef Tabaczyński, Józef Dudziak, and Adam Laudon-Dobrzański, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 31, book 105; vol. 44, books 71, 73; vol. 44, book 118; vol. 44, book 128.
6. Account of former mine worker Józef Gryc, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 44, book 136.
7. Günthergrube notes, Sozialabteilung (Social Department), 7/10/1944, in APMO, D-AuIII/Günthergrube/7, book 14.
8. Lists of prisoners sent to work in the mine, in APMO, D-AuIII-3a/Günthergrube/1.
9. Telegram about the escape of prisoner Szymon Lewenstein, 3/1/1944, in APMO, D-AuI-1/1–278, vol. 2.
10. Accounts of former prisoners Józef Tabaczyński and Adam Laudon-Dobrzański, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 44, book 67; vol. 44, book 129.
11. Account of former prisoner Adam Laudon-Dobrzański, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 44, books 130–131.

HARMENSE

In November 1940, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, mindful of securing the Auschwitz camp and SS interests, decided to create an SS estate around the camp from which the Poles would be driven and where there would be farms for raising food, animals, and fish (because of the large number of ponds in the area); he issued orders to that effect on March 1, 1941.[1] The SS established the first farm in the 39-square-kilometer (15-square-mile) "zone of interest" in

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December 1941 on the site of the village of Harmęże (Harmense), which the Germans had evacuated in mid-April. The village land, totaling 286 hectares (707 acres), was incorporated into the farm, along with all the farm equipment and animals.

The Germans first established a poultry farm called, variously, Geflügelfarm, Geflügelzucht, or Geflügelhof Harmense. Initially a work detachment went out from the main camp every day to develop the site; the detachment numbered a dozen or so prisoners with various specialized skills. They demolished the old buildings, leveled the site, and built new facilities with materials salvaged from the old structures or brought from the main camp.[2]

By September 1941, the Harmense detachment already numbered about 50 prisoners: 6 Germans, among them 4 prisoner foremen, and 44 Poles, some of whom were put to work raising purebred poultry as well as rabbits, nutrias, and fish, while the others expanded the farm. Since the prisoners employed at Harmense had to cover over 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) each way every day, and since winter was approaching and the days were growing shorter, the camp authorities decided to move the detachment to Harmense permanently. The move was carried out on December 8, 1941, and thus the subcamp was established.[3]

The original group of prisoners, as well as the women prisoners who arrived from Auschwitz II-Birkenau in June 1942, lived in farmhouses and the former schoolhouse. Living conditions varied somewhat from building to building but in general were better than in the main camp. Sanitary arrangements were primitive—most of the buildings had no plumbing—and the bedding was by no means comfortable, but in terms of food, especially, the prisoners were relatively fortunate. Lunch came from the main camp, while breakfast and supper were prepared on-site. The detachment that worked on the fish farm also received an extra ration twice a week: for example, one loaf of bread for eight prisoners plus a piece of horse sausage, jam, or cheese. Most important, the prisoners' work gave them opportunities to "organize" additional food from the farm; similar proclivities on the part of the SS guards made this task somewhat easier.

The farm administration divided the prisoners into four detachments: farm, poultry farm, rabbit farm (which had been moved from the main camp when the prisoners moved permanently to Harmense), and fish farm. One prisoner foreman supervised each detachment. The farm detachment, which had two cows and six horses, transported construction materials, peat for the rabbits, and food and clothing from the main camp, in addition to working the fields.[4]

Work in the fish farming detachment consisted of stocking the ponds and feeding the fish, as well as catching and sorting them. In the winter, the prisoners cleared the snow from the ponds and made air holes in the ice. All fish farming experiments were done in a specially made ichthyological laboratory under the direction of German prisoner Dr. Diethelm Scheer, an ichthyologist by profession. There they tested the soil, water plants, microorganisms, and fish diseases and kept pond water temperature and soil temperature charts. The laboratory was well equipped with necessary instruments, laboratory glass, and three microscopes.[5] In 1941, human ashes brought from Crematorium No. 1 at the main camp were dumped into the fishponds.

SS-Oberscharführer Georg Paul Sauer, born October 18, 1911, in the town of Milicz in Lower Silesia, was the commandant of the fish farm, and after he left for the Babitz subcamp, SS-Unterscharführer Rudolf Martin took over the position.[6]

Of the women moved to Harmense in June 1942, some had undergone training in poultry farming earlier, at the Ravensbrück concentration camp. Among them were Poles, Slovak Jews, and Germans. The detachment numbered 50 female prisoners in October 1942, and the population remained the same throughout the subcamp's existence. Some of the women were put to work raising the birds, while the others worked to expand the farm, that is, leveling the terrain, making a fowl run for the chickens, and so on.

At Harmense they raised purebred poultry: chickens (about 2,000), ducks (about 1,000), geese (about 300), and turkeys (about 500). The chickens were mainly raised for their eggs; the farm also included a hatchery that produced 100,000 chicks at a time. Aside from the poultry farming, 11 women prisoners were put to work raising rabbits for their fur and meat. Breeding of partridge, nutria, and pedigree dogs—Great Danes—began in Harmense at the end of 1943.[7]

With such extensive animal breeding, Harmense's male and female prisoners (totaling 106 people on March 23, 1944) were unable to operate the entire farm, so numerous detachments came in to help daily from Auschwitz I and Birkenau.

SS-Unterscharführer Bernhard Glaue, born November 20, 1911, in Diepolz, was the commandant of the subcamp, as well as of the farm, until April 1943. When he was transferred to the Budy subcamp on April 13, SS-Rottenführer Xaver Franz Eidenschinkt became commandant. Marie Rendel was in charge of the women's work. The SS staff included Germans; Volksdeutsche (ethnic Germans) from Slovakia, Bohemia, and Hungary; and in the camp's final phase, convalescent soldiers from the Wehrmacht, who were inducted into the SS after several weeks of training. The camp was frequently inspected by SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr. Joachim Caesar, the commandant of all the Auschwitz camp farms. Himmler also visited the farm on July 17, 1942.

A total of two escapes from the Harmense camp were reported, both organized by Polish prisoners. On May 16, 1942, two male prisoners escaped successfully. Three male prisoners escaped on March 8, 1943, but in that instance, they were all caught and killed.

In the late summer of 1943, the men from Harmense were moved to the nearby subcamp in Budy, from where they continued to walk to work in Harmense under SS escort. The women stayed at Harmense until the camp was evacuated. On January 18, 1945, they and the prisoners from the Birkenau

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women's camp were evacuated on foot to Wodzisław Śląski (Loslau), from where they were transported to Bergen-Belsen in cattle cars. The poultry hatchery equipment was also loaded onto carts that day and sent to Ravensbrück with several female prisoners.

There is no record that any of the Harmense camp personnel were tried after the war.

SOURCES Information on Harmense may be found in Anna Zięba, "'Geflügelfarm Harmense' Farma hodowlana Harmęże," *ZO* 11 (1969): 37–67 (German version: Die "Geflügelfarm Harmense," HvA 11 [1970]: 38–72).

Primary sources are available in APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts by former prisoners Alojzy Drzazga, Danuta Drzazga, Jan Jakub Szegidewicz, Jadwiga Rumianowska, Ryszard Nalewajko, Izydor Kornacki, Aleksander Kalczyński, Antonina Kozubek, Waleria Lang, Karol Lang, and Janina Perun; Zespół Proces Hössa; Zespół Opracowania; files on Auschwitz concentration camp staff members from 1940 to 1945, compiled by Dr. Aleksander Lasik.

Helena Kubica
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, Zespół Proces Hössa (Höss Trial Collection), 21: 31–32.
2. APMO, Collection of testimonies, t.33, s.54, statement of former inmate Alojzy Drzazga.
3. APMO, Collection of testimonies, t.86, s.75, statement of former inmate Alojzy Drzazga.
4. APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, 45: 38–39, account of former prisoner Jan Jakub Szegidewicz.
5. APMO, Collection of testimonies, t.50, s.12, statement of former inmate Aleksander Kalczyński.
6. Ibid., 50: 11.
7. APMO, Collection of testimonies, t.33, s.109–111, statement of former inmate Antonina Kozubek.

HINDENBURG

During World War II, the Donnersmarckhütte steel mill in the city of Hindenburg (later Zabrze) belonged to Vereinigte Oberschlesische Hüttenwerke AG (Oberhütten or VOH), as it had before the war—but by this time the steel mill had converted its output over to military needs. And because so many German workers had been called into the armed forces, the firm brought in forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) to work at the mill.

In early August 1944, approximately 400 female prisoners from the Auschwitz concentration camp were sent to Donnersmarckhütte; 70 male prisoners joined them in the late fall of that year. The barracks allocated to them were located on the steel mill grounds near Foundries 3 and 4.

The subcamp commandant was SS-Unterscharführer Adolf Taube, former muster officer at the Birkenau women's camp, who was especially cruel toward the female prisoners. One of the female SS overseers was Joanna Bormann, who was previously the commandant of the Babitz subcamp and who was as evil and as cruel as Taube.

Over the subcamp's more than five-month existence, the number of women living there increased to 471. The decided majority of them were Polish Jews selected from among the female prisoners brought to the Auschwitz concentration camp on July 31, 1944, in Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) transports from Radom and Bliżyn, marked with numbers from A-14394 to A-16456. The rest were Czech and Slovak Jews or Gypsies. Most of them came from Jewish intellectual communities and were between 17 and 30 years old.

The subcamp's male Jewish prisoners had been brought to the Auschwitz concentration camp in RSHA transports from the Theresienstadt ghetto camp in early October 1944. They were marked with numbers from B-12997 to B-13065.

Most of the female prisoners were put to work in the steel mill's foundries, manufacturing ammunition, primarily casting bullets, grenade cores, and rings and parts for Luftwaffe weaponry. Several dozen women prisoners worked welding and assembling aerial bomb transport carriages as well as in the machine department, operating the machines and overhead cranes for lifting loads.

SS men and Wehrmacht soldiers escorted the women prisoners to work in the steel mill's respective departments and supervised them during work along with female prisoners serving as foremen. German foremen and skilled workers from Hindenburg also supervised how prisoners did their assigned jobs. Overseer Bormann would come with her dog for inspections to the steel mill departments where the women prisoners worked, as did commandant Taube.

Sunday was also a workday for most of the female prisoners.

According to the accounts of former female prisoners and steel mill employees, Hindenburg subcamp's male prisoners were most probably put to work in the coking plant and Concordia mine.

The living conditions of the Hindenburg subcamp prisoners were similar to those existing at the other camps of the Auschwitz concentration camp system. They lived in wooden barracks, wore camp clothing (stripes), and were limited to a starvation diet. Being Jews, they were not allowed to receive food packages. Sometimes they would receive some food assistance from some of the workers employed at the Hindenburg steel mill who were kindly disposed toward them.

Strict discipline prevailed in the camp, and women prisoners were summarily punished for any small offense or for no reason at all, with punitive exercises, kneeling, and most frequently, beating.

The subcamp was inspected on several occasions by SS men from Auschwitz. They conducted selections among the female prisoners (chiefly in the infirmary), in consequence of which at least several seriously ill women were taken away to Birkenau.

The subcamp was shut down on January 19, 1945. In the evening the women prisoners were escorted on foot to the

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Auschwitz Gleiwitz II subcamp, where they were loaded onto coal cars and moved to the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. Due to the enormous overcrowding at that camp, they were not admitted there but were sent to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. The trip took about two weeks, during which the women received little or no food and quenched their thirst with the snow falling into the train cars. Because of the terrible conditions prevailing at Bergen-Belsen in every respect, and the terrific overcrowding and typhus epidemic spreading there, few women lived to see the moment of liberation.

The Hindenburg subcamp male prisoners were also escorted to Gleiwitz II on January 19, 1945. On January 21, they were loaded into open freight cars (along with the prisoners from Gleiwitz II, Bobrek, and Monowitz subcamps who were evacuated there) and sent to the Buchenwald concentration camp.

Joanna Bormann, who also served at the Babitz and Budy subcamps before coming to Hindenburg, was sentenced to death in 1945 in Lüneburg, in the Bergen-Belsen trial, and ultimately executed.

SOURCES Information on the Hindenburg subcamp may be found in Irena Strzelecka, "Podobóz 'Hindenburg,'" *ZO* 11 (1969): 119–135 (German version: "Das Nebenlager 'Hindenburg,'" HvA 11 [1970]: 129–147).

Archival materials are available in APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts of former female prisoners, including Helena Adler and Berta Szachowska as well as accounts of Zabrze (Donnersmarckhütte) steel mill employees Karol Adamoszek, Wilhem Fuchs, Eryk Wróblik, and others.

Irena Strzelecka
trans. Gerard Majka

HOHENLINDE [AKA HUBERTUSHÜTTE]

The Hohenlinde subcamp was established in December 1944 on the initiative of the management of the Hubertus steel mill in the Beuthen (Bytom) suburb of Hohenlinde (Łagiewniki), owned by Berghütte. In the face of a shortage of labor needed to increase arms production, in September of that year the steel mill's management asked the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) to allocate 1,000 prisoners from Auschwitz for work in the mill.

On December 20, 1944, a group of 200 Jewish prisoners brought to Auschwitz in Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) transports in 1943 and 1944 were sent to Łagiewniki (some of them were marked with numbers ranging from 152060 to 199870). Because construction of the subcamp had not yet been completed, they were temporarily placed in a separate section of the camp for foreign laborers (*Fremdarbeiterlager*) and soon moved to barracks that had earlier been occupied by Italian prisoners. The subcamp's population on the eve of liberation was 202 prisoners.

The subcamp's commandant was SS-Unterscharführer Eckhardt, who had about 40 SS men under him.

Until mid-January 1945, the subcamp management evidently did not even consider the possibility of the German army's defeat, nor the impending evacuation, since it was waiting for another transport of 800 prisoners to arrive. This is proven by surviving orders for clothing, wooden shoes, and barracks furnishings that the subcamp management was sending to the steel mill management.

The prisoners were put to work in different sections of the steel mill doing the hardest and dirtiest labor (such as in the coking plant loading coke, loading and unloading gravel, etc.). Most of the prisoners were assigned to construct new buildings where production was to be started up just for the army. Civilian and forced laborers employed in sections where prisoners worked were warned that the prisoners were dangerous criminals and that anyone communicating with them could expect to be sent to Auschwitz.

On the night of January 18–19, 1945, the subcamp management received the order to evacuate. On January 19, SS men marched 202 prisoners from Łagiewniki on foot; only 58 of them reached the Leitmeritz camp in Litoměřice, Bohemia (a subcamp of the Flossenbürg concentration camp) in March 1945. An SS man's report of the evacuation dated March 12, 1945, said: "Departure ensued with 202 prisoners; 144 prisoners died under way, and this was reported periodically to the next state police station."[1]

SOURCES Published sources on the Hohenlinde subcamp include Irena Strzelecka, "Podobóz 'Hubertushütte' (Arbeitslager Hohenlinde)," *ZO* 12 (1970): 159–170 (German version: "Das Nebenlager 'Hubertushütte' (Arbeitslager Hohenlinde)," HvA 12 [1971]: 161–173).

Archival records on this camp are available in APKat, Zespół Berghütte sygn. 2224; APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts of inhabitants of Łagiewniki and vicinity: Jan Jakiełko (or Jakiełek), Bruno Kruszko (Kruszka), and others.

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NOTE

1. Photocopy of this report in APMO, Sygn. D-Floss/6 różne (nr inwentarza 170052).

JANINAGRUBE [AKA JOHANNAGRUBE, GUTE HOFFNUNGSGRUBE]

The town of Libiąż Mały, which was named Liebenzberg during the occupation, was about 18 kilometers (11.2 miles) from Auschwitz and about 6.5 kilometers (4 miles) from the city of Chrzanów (Krenau). Within the limits of Libiąż is the Janina hard coal mine, which changed names three times during the Nazi occupation: Janinagrube, Johannagrube, and Gute Hoffnungsgrube. In 1943, IG Farbenindustrie acquired the mine in order to supply coal to its chemical factory at Monowitz.[1]

A camp for British prisoners of war (POWs) occupied a site close to the mine, but the POWs' productivity was low,

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so IG Farbenindustrie pressed to have prisoners from Auschwitz sent to the camp. On July 16, 1943, Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss and IG Farbenindustrie representatives Dürrfeld and Düllberg conducted an inspection and determined that 300 Auschwitz prisoners should replace the 150 British POWs initially and that the camp would be expanded to accommodate 900 prisoners by the end of 1943. The British POWs were taken away from Libiąż on August 20, 1943.[2]

The Auschwitz subcamp Janinagrube was established on September 4, 1943, when the first transport of approximately 300 prisoners arrived. The largest portion of the transport, about 250 people, consisted of Polish Jews brought to Auschwitz on August 27–28, 1943, who received camp numbers in the 140000 to 142000 series.[3] Polish and German prisoners also arrived in that transport. Several hundred more prisoners arrived in 1944, although the exact numbers are impossible to determine.

The following table is based on surviving SS-Hygiene Institute records as well as camp resistance materials and shows the following Janinagrube prisoner population at different dates:[4]

Date	*Prisoners*
Jan. 20, 1944	437
Feb. 29, 1944	597
Nov. 14, 1944	877
Jan. 17, 1945	857

Approximately 80 percent of Janinagrube's prisoners were Jews from France, Italy, Hungary, Czechoslovakia (Theresienstadt), and Poland. The other 20 percent included Poles, Russians, and Germans.

Some 250 prisoners of non-Jewish descent were taken away from Janinagrube in late 1944. They were moved to Monowitz and then to Birkenau, and they departed in evacuation transports. The prisoner population did not change significantly between November 1944 and January 1945, however, which indicates that the SS sent in Jewish prisoners to replace the non-Jews they had evacuated.

One two-level building from the mine's Obieżowa housing camp was included in the subcamp; approximately 400 prisoners lived in it. The subcamp also had three living barracks, with 150 to 200 prisoners in each. The kitchen, camp hospital, washroom, and latrine were in separate barracks. A double row of electrified barbed wire ringed the camp. An SS guardhouse stood next to the gate, and half of the ground floor in the Obieżowa housing camp building, which bordered on the camp fence, was allocated for living quarters for the SS men and their families.

A small group of prisoners, consisting of professional bricklayers, carpenters, and metalworkers, which arrived at Janinagrube in the first transport on September 4, 1943, went to work immediately to expand the subcamp; it was called the camp detachment.

The camp detachment aside, all the other prisoners were assigned to work underground in the Janinagrube mine on September 6, 1943. The prisoners were put to work in the Wiktor (Squad I and II), Aleksander (Squad III and IV), and Zygmunt (Squad V and VI) beds. Some prisoners also worked in the squad that timbered the mine galleries or as help in operating electrical and motorized machines. A few worked on the mine surface at what was called the "yard," sorting the wood for timbering the mine galleries. At a later time, prisoners were also put to work in the machine repair shops and expanding the mine's railway tracks.

The prisoners who worked underground operated in three shifts—6:00 A.M. to 2:00 P.M., 2:00 P.M. to 10:00 P.M., 10:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M.—mining and moving coal. They often stood up to their waist in water or lay in the galleries for hours at a time in places where they could not assume any other position. Their strength faded quickly because of the unhealthy working conditions, the lack of protective clothing or proper food, and abuse by the supervisors. According to prisoner accounts, four to six weeks was the longest one could do mining work, even if one avoided accidents, which were common. Many prisoners suffered a variety of fractures and internal injuries. Losses were very great; most of the prisoners died, and those who did not were often found to be unfit for work during a selection at the subcamp hospital, which was equivalent to the death sentence, in the prisoners' opinion.

In the autumn of 1944, 70 persons were chosen from the Janinagrube prisoners for a detachment called the arms detail (Wehrkommando). They worked at the mine's railroad siding located next to the Leśniowa housing camp. Railway cars loaded with such ammunition as mines, torpedoes, and *Panzerfäuste* (rocket-propelled antitank grenades) were rolled onto the siding, where prisoners reloaded the ammunition onto trucks. The ammunition was hauled to the forest detail (Waldkommando) located in the forest near Libiąż.

During the day, the prisoners received less than 0.25 kilograms (8.8 ounces) of bread, along with some margarine, jam, or sausage (it was always just one supplement of a few grams), approximately 1 quart of black coffee, and the same amount of soup made of potatoes, carrots, or rutabaga. Sometimes noodles or beans were added to the soup; sometimes a piece of meat was added as well. Such food rations, combined with the very hard mining labor, brought on a quick loss of strength and consequent starvation.

The Janinagrube subcamp hospital was in a separate barrack, where there was a hospital room for a dozen or so patients as well as a dispensary and facilities for dental assistance. The chief orderly was SS-Oberscharführer Paul Ludwig, followed by SS-Sturmmann Johan Volland. Prisoners Erich Orlik and Walter Loebner, from Czechoslovakia, were the camp doctors.[5] Due to the large number of sick prisoners, the hospital suffered a constant lack of drugs. Besides illnesses caused by mining accidents, the most frequently encountered diseases were swelling from starvation, tuberculosis, typhus,

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ulcerations, phlegmon, and scurvy. Despite their sickness, some prisoners did not report to the hospital because of the selections conducted among patients. Prisoners who were selected were taken to Monowitz or Birkenau by truck transport. Once a week the bodies of dead prisoners were also taken to Auschwitz.

The commandants of the Janinagrube subcamp were SS-Unterscharführer Franz Baumgartner (September 1943 to March 1944), SS-Oberscharführer Herman Kleemann (March to September 1944), and SS-Unterscharführer Rudolf Kamieniczny (September 1944 to January 18, 1945).[6]

The guards were SS men from the Third Guard Company under the Monowitz guard battalion. There was a total of about 50 SS men at the subcamp.

There were 857 prisoners at the last roll call at the Janinagrube subcamp on January 17, 1945. The next day, approximately 800 prisoners were escorted out of the subcamp on a journey on foot to the Gross-Rosen camp. The march lasted about 18 days. According to subcamp doctor Orlik, approximately 200 prisoners reached Gross-Rosen in a state of extreme exhaustion.

Approximately 60 seriously ill prisoners who were not evacuated remained at the Janinagrube subcamp. Beginning with liberation day, January 25, 1945, the people of Libiąż gave help to the surviving prisoners.

SOURCES Information on this camp exists in the following works: Aleksander Lasik, *Załoga SS w KL Auschwitz w latach 1940–1945* (Bydgoszcz, 1994); Emeryka Iwaszko, "Podobóz Janinagrube," *ZO* 10 (1967): 59–82; Danuta Czech, *Kalendarz wydarzeń obozowych* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz National Museum, 1992), pp. 502–503.

The following records contain material on this camp: The IG Farben Trial (Case VIII: *USA v. Carl Krauch, et al.*), Prosecution Document Books 80 and 81, available in Poland at IPN; the Trial of Gerhard Maurer, vol. 7; records of the Janinagrube mine in Libiąż, vol.1–16-D-Au III (Janinagrube); and accounts of former Janinagrube prisoners Eugeniusz Ciećkiewicz, Jan Mydlarczyk, Zygmunt Szwajca, and Kazimierz Ślimak.

Emeryka Iwaszko
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. NI-10170, in IG Farben Trial, Pros. Doc. Bk., 81: 1.
2. Letter of August 11, 1943, from the command of the English prisoners of war to the administration of the Janinagrube mine, NI-10525, in IG Farben Trial, Pros. Doc. Bk., 81: 26.
3. Record of the investigation of Janinagrube documents found after the war in the archive of the "Janina" mine, APMO.
4. Materials of the camp Resistance Movement, 2: 60; 3: 208; 7: 475; and documents of the SS-Hygiene Institute, Binder 55/170–185 (APMO).
5. APMO, Maurer Trial—record group number Dpr. Mau./12[a]/, NI 12385, p. 244; NI 11652, p. 261.
6. Reports of former Janinagrube prisoners Eugeniusz Ciećkiewicz and Kazimierz Ślimak (APMO).

JAWISCHOWITZ

In the first half of 1942, the German government concern Reichswerke Hermann Göring (RWHG) entered into a contract with the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), under which the Auschwitz concentration camp was to provide 6,000 prisoners to the Brzeszcze-Jawiszowice (Jawischowitz) hard coal mine, which they owned. The mine authorities and the management of Auschwitz prepared barracks in which to put the prisoners, and the SS guarded the buildings.

The first transport of 150 Jewish prisoners arrived on August 15, 1942. The subcamp's population grew steadily and reached approximately 2,500 prisoners in mid-1944; 1,988 were there on January 17, 1945. Most of the prisoners were Jews from Poland and Western Europe, while Poles, Russians, and Germans made up most of the others.

Administratively, the Jawischowitz subcamp was under the command of the main camp at Auschwitz until November 22, 1943; after that it came under Auschwitz III-Monowitz.

SS-Unterscharführer Wilhelm Kowol, born May 13, 1904, in Handorf, was the commandant for two years; he also served at Flossenbürg and at Auschwitz and its Trzebinia subcamp. SS-Hauptscharführer Josef Remmele, born in Horgau on March 3, 1903, took Kowol's place in July 1944 and remained in command until the camp shut down; he had already served at Dachau, Auschwitz, and the Eintrachthütte subcamp. Both men were brutal; Kowol would get drunk and shoot at prisoners, and he also participated in selections. As a guard force, the commandants controlled at least 70 SS men at the turn of the year 1943–1944.

Jawischowitz was infamous among Auschwitz prisoners. Working conditions were extremely hard, and mortality was high. The living barracks were overcrowded. The portions of food issued to prisoners were small and low in calories. Ravenous prisoners often searched for food in the camp garbage heaps or picked up scraps thrown away by passersby on the route to work. There were times when they would pick the grass and eat it while waiting at the mine yard for the march out to camp. The SS men beat them for that.

The camp hospital mainly contained prisoners who had been injured on the job, as well as those suffering from starvation, diarrhea, ulcerations, pneumonia, and typhus. Every few weeks or so, SS doctors would conduct selections in the sickroom. Prisoners they found unfit for work—sometimes over a hundred at a time—went to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, where most died in the gas chambers, while others received phenol injections in the heart. SS doctor Horst Fischer usually conducted the selections, and mine director Otto Heine also participated in one. From the end of October 1942 through December 1944, at least 1,800 prisoners were sent back to Auschwitz. New transports replenished the camp population. The bodies of murdered prisoners or those who had died of hunger and overwork were also trucked away, to the crematoriums at Birkenau.

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Some prisoners "went to the wires," meaning they committed suicide by throwing themselves on the subcamp's electrified fence.

Eighty percent of Jawischowitz prisoners worked in the mine, most of them underground, the rest on the surface. Underground they dug, loaded, and hauled coal; drove and shored up new tunnels; and reclaimed shoring materials from caveins. Mine employees and prisoner foremen, mostly German, supervised the work; the SS men went below only to make spot inspections. With few exceptions, the German supervisors were hostile toward the prisoners, suspecting them of being averse to work and prone to sabotage. Some of them beat the prisoners under any pretext or without any reason at all. In contrast, almost all the Polish foremen tried to make the work easier for the prisoners, despite the danger of punishment.

Deaths and injuries occurred frequently in the mines, quite aside from the acts that supervisors perpetrated. Caveins and other accidents were common. Mentally broken prisoners also committed suicide, sometimes by throwing themselves under the locomotives traveling through the galleries. Prisoners often returned to camp with bodies of comrades on their shoulders.

On the surface, in what was called the "yard," several dozen to well over a hundred prisoners were generally put to work per month unloading and transporting wood, rails, and other materials needed to do the work underground, cleaning the mine grounds, sorting coal, or performing work at similar workstations. Several dozen young Hungarian Jews worked in the sorting plant at Brzeszcze in 1944, including some children under 14 years old.

Most prisoners who worked above ground worked building the Andreas Electric Power Plant in Brzeszcze and expanding various types of mine structures at Jawischowitz. The administration of RWHG had contracted construction work to the following companies: Franz Galehr, Fiebig, Gleitbau Klotz & Co. (Eisenbetonbau Hoch u. Tiefbau) Berlin, Hans-Schmidt (Anschlussgleisbau) Hannover, Hinz und Köhring, Kreuz & Loesch Oppeln, Kurt Hein, Norddeutsche Hoch u. Tiefbau, and Riedel & Sohn (Eisenbeton u. Hochbau) Bielitz. In consultation with the Auschwitz authorities, the mine leased prisoner labor to those companies. Almost all the foregoing companies were under the German Mine and Steelmill Construction Company, Deutsche Bergwerke- und Hüttenbau Gesellschaft (DBHG).

On the surface, besides SS men, the prisoners were supervised by civilian foremen, Wehrmacht soldiers, plant guards (Werkschutz), and members of the volunteer auxiliary guard service (Hilfswachmannschaft). Prisoners were treated so badly at the electric plant construction site that many called the place the "death trap."

Both inside Jawischowitz as well as at their work sites, prisoners tried to improve their situation as best they could. Some of them "appropriated" blankets, comforters, shoes, and other such items at the subcamp, smuggled them into the mine, and exchanged them with Polish workers for food products, primarily bread, fat, and saccharine. In the winter, when there was not enough fuel to heat the barracks rooms, prisoners would bring pieces of coal from the mine in their pockets or up their sleeves. Some prisoners put to work in the winter at construction sites tried to protect themselves from the cold and wind by putting on what were called "undershirts" under their clothes, meaning sheets from paper cement sacks torn in advance. Not infrequently, the SS men would discover these types of illegal action by prisoners and severely punish them.

Prisoner underground units operated at Jawischowitz in 1943 and 1944, headed by several dozen Austrian, German, Polish, and Russian prisoners. Well over 100 prisoners cooperated with them. In consultation with members of underground organizations at Auschwitz and members of the Polish Socialist Party's combat group operating at Brzeszcze-Jawiszowice, they conducted sabotage operations in the mine, tried to help sick prisoners as well as they could, took care of the young, and prepared escapes. Several prisoners escaped successfully with help from the inhabitants of Brzeszcze, Jawiszowice, and nearby areas, not only Polish Socialist Party (PPS) activists but also members of the Home Army (AK), Polish Workers Party (PPR), Peasant Battalions (B.Ch.), as well as people who did not belong to any underground organizations, despite the risk to their lives. Unsuccessful escapes often led to the deaths of both the escapee and those who rendered assistance.

In the final months of 1944, the SS men sent almost all the Poles as well as some of the Russians and Germans from Jawischowitz to Mauthausen and Buchenwald. The subcamp's final evacuation was in January 1945; 1,948 prisoners were joined to the prisoner columns evacuated from Birkenau. The SS men shot prisoners who could not keep up with the march. Some of the Jawischowitz subcamp prisoners were sent to Mauthausen and some to Buchenwald and its subcamps.

Josef Remmele was tried by an Allied court in West Germany and executed. There is no record that Wilhelm Kowol was ever tried.

SOURCES Several publications contain information on Jawischowitz: Natan Żelechower, "Siedem obozów," *BŻIH* 68 (1968): 5–68; Andrzej Strzelecki, "Podobóz Jawischowitz," *ZO* 15 (1974): 171–234 (German version: "Das Nebenlager Jawischowitz," HvA 15 [1975]: 183–250); Andrzej Strzelecki and Henryk Świebocki, *Brzeszcze Jawiszowice 1939–1945* (Brzeszcze 1983, commemorative pamphlet); Moshé and Elie Garbarz, *Un survivant Pologne 1913–1929. Paris 1929–1941. Auschwitz-Birkenau. Jawischowitz-Buchenwald 1942–1945* (Paris: Plon, 1984). The book by Andrzej Strzelecki, *Marsz śmierci. Przewodnik po trasie Oświęcim-Wodzisław Śląski* (Katowice: Towarzystwo Opieki nad Oświęcimiem, 1989), pp. 14–17, offers information on the Jawischowitz subcamp and a commemoration of its victims; also see Strzelecki, *The Evacuation, Dismantling and Liberation of the KL Auschwitz* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz State Museum, 2001), pp. 178–181. For survivor accounts, see Henri Moraud, ed., *Jawischowitz une annexe d'Auschwitz* (Paris: Amicale d'Auschwitz, section Jawischowitz, 1985); Erwin R. Tichauer, *Totenkopf und Zebrakleid. Ein Berliner Jude in Auschwitz. Bearbeitet und mit einem Nachwort*

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versehen von Jürgen Matthäus (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2000).

The following archival collections contain relevant documents: APMO, Zespół Akta kopalni Brzeszcze; Zespół Oświadczenia, accounts by former prisoners Leon Błoński, Jan Husarek, Józef Czechowski, Kazimierz Misiewicz, Zbigniew Kaźmierczak, Zygmunt Koehler, Jakub Sekuła, Kazimierz Szwemberg, Tomasz Stokłosa, Witold Tokarz, and others; accounts by residents of Brzeszcze-Jawiszowice and vicinity Wincenty Fornal, Emilia Klimczyk, Janina Pytlik-Bałuk, Franciszek Sobik, Leopold Szczepański, Aleksander Zachara, and others.

Andrzej Strzelecki
trans. Gerard Majka

KATTOWITZ

The Gestapo headquarters in Kattowitz (Katowice) deployed 10 Auschwitz prisoners in Special Detachment (Sonderkommando) Kattowitz from January 1944 to January 1945. Located in the capital of *Gau* (Nazi Party province) Ostoberschlesien (Śląsk) at Strasse der SA 49 (after 1945, Ulica Powstańców 31), the headquarters had a small jail. The Sonderkommando erected air-raid shelters and barracks and may also have conducted bomb disposal operations (*Bombenbeseitigung*). The establishment of U.S. air bases in Italy in the fall of 1943 brought southwestern Poland within bombing range, which accounted for the timing of the Sonderkommando's formation, as well as for the much larger detachments performing similar tasks elsewhere at Auschwitz.

SOURCES This entry is based partly upon Irena Strzelecka and Piotr Setkiewicz, "The Construction, Expansion and Development of the Camp and Its Branches," in *The Establishment and Organization of the Camp*, by Aleksander Lasik et al., vol. 1 of *Auschwitz, 1940–1945: Central Issues in the History of the Camp*, ed. Wacław Długoborski and Franciszek Piper, trans. William Brand, 5 vols. (Oświęcim: APMO, 2000), p. 132. Additional information about Sonderkommando Kattowitz can be found at "Sub-Camps of Auschwitz Concentration Camp," www.auschwitz-muzeum.oswiecim.pl. For the address of the Kattowitz Gestapo, and a photograph of the building taken in 1997, see Adolf Diamant, *Gestapochef Thümmler: Verbrechen in Chemnitz, Kattowitz und Auschwitz; Die steile Karriere eines Handlangers der nationalsozialistischen Morde und Vergehen gegen die Menschlichkeit* (Chemnitz: Heimatland Sachsen, 1999). This camp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 23.

There are no specific primary source collections for this camp.

Joseph Robert White

KOBIER

Kobier was located in a forest complex 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) north of Pszczyna (Pless) and approximately 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) west of Auschwitz. The exact date when this Auschwitz subcamp was established is uncertain. The name first appears in a dispatch order (*Fahrbefehl*) dated September 23, 1942; a five-ton truck was sent to the village of Kobier (Kobiór) that day to deliver wood to the camp, but it is not known whether there were prisoners there already.[1] The few surviving prisoner accounts say that the subcamp was in existence in the autumn (perhaps as early as October) of 1942 and certainly on December 19, when a truck with supplies for the prisoners was sent to Kobier.[2] Another probable piece of evidence that a subcamp existed at Kobier is a reference in an order of Auschwitz concentration camp headquarters dated November 2, 1942, which says that trips by SS men to the "Pszczyna forest commandos" (Plesser Forstkommandos) were to be treated as trips outside the camp's "Zone of Interest" (*Interessengebiet*).[3]

In all likelihood, civilian workers hired by the Pszczyna Forest Management Agency (Oberforstamt Pless) appeared in Kobier in autumn 1942; they began building barracks and a fence. The last barrack (for the SS men) was erected only in late January 1943.[4] The camp was rectangular and approximately 30×40 meters (98×131 feet) in area. It was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence running along cement posts. Makeshift watchtowers were put up at the outside corners of the fence. The first of three barracks inside the camp, to the right of the entrance gate, housed office space for the SS men, as well as the kitchen and food storeroom. Prisoners lived in the barrack opposite the gate; it contained a separate space housing a readily accessible storeroom for the subcamp's equipment. The third barrack, to the left of the entrance gate, also housed prisoners, as well as the infirmary and dentist's office. The barracks had windows; bunk beds, tables, and benches were set up in them. Heat was provided by quite efficient iron stoves, on which the prisoners attempted to dry their wet clothing. There was also a small toilet barrack with a shower near the camp entrance, and the well.[5]

There were approximately 150 prisoners in the camp, mostly Jews, mainly Polish, French, Belgian, and Czech, and several non-Jewish Germans, Poles, and Russians.[6] The German prisoners assumed the most important functions: the camp elder (Lagerälteste) was Alfred van Hofe, the camp Kapo (Lagerkapo) was Theo and was from Hamburg, and the kitchen Kapo was Rudolf Navratil; a few Poles were also put to work in the camp in relatively easier jobs.

The largest Kommando was named "Woodcutter" (Holzfäller), in which prisoners, mainly Jews, were put to work felling trees in the forest and preparing the trunks for further processing. The wood, especially branches and waste material, was used to burn the bodies of Holocaust victims in ditches and heaps at the Birkenau camp. The tree trunks were taken away to sawmills, where they were made into props to support the ceilings in mines. In the spring and summer of 1943, most of the prisoners were sent to remove trees brought down by wind and frost. The work was organized as follows: first a rectangle was marked out along the existing cuttings and clearings so that the respective guards would be able to see each other. Therefore, the prisoners first had to remove

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any branches blocking the line of sight along the sides of the rectangle. Next, the SS men took up positions along the clearings that had been marked out, and the prisoners set about cutting down the trees with saws and axes, removing branches, and carrying the wood to spots from where it could be carted away. Prisoners were also frequently put to work cleaning and repairing forest roads so that carts and trucks could get in.

For several weeks there was also a demolition detachment (Abbruchkommando) of approximately 20 prisoners at Kobier; it was assigned to dismantle old houses and farm buildings in the vicinity. Its major job was to reclaim bricks, which were cleaned of any remaining mortar and stacked in piles. Some prisoners also worked sporadically digging ditches and spreading lime on local meadows.

The subcamp's staff numbered approximately 20 SS men. SS-Unterscharführer Franz Baumgartner held the post of commander.[7] There are differing accounts about him; some say he behaved decently toward the prisoners, while other witnesses say the opposite, that he mistreated the prisoners and tolerated numerous incidents of his guards shooting prisoners for ostensibly trying to escape.[8] At least once he took the side of a Polish prisoner who had gotten into a conflict with Lagerältester van Hofe. Taking the opportunity, both Poles and Jews testified that van Hofe had helped SS men arrange prisoner "escapes" to give the SS men a pretext to use their weapons, after which he would drink alcohol with them. Baumgartner then held an inquiry, and the Lagerältester was thus stripped of his function and assigned to a penal company.[9] How many prisoners fell victim to such provocations is not known; there were presumably at least three of them. The bodies of prisoners who were shot or died in the subcamp were sent to the morgue at the parent camp; the first time was February 11, 1943, when the body of a Soviet prisoner was brought there, and the last time was on June 28. In that period, a total of 21 bodies from Kobier were delivered to the morgue at Auschwitz I, although it is uncertain whether that included all the subcamp's fatalities.[10]

The lives of the subcamp's prisoners were not much different than the familiar drill at Auschwitz I or Birkenau. The prisoners worked 6 days a week, often in pouring rain or low temperatures. The food, initially delivered from the parent camp, and later prepared on the premises, was not different in quality than the food issued in other parts of the Auschwitz complex. Similarly, the clothing was bad and worn, especially the uncomfortable footwear that injured the feet. Prisoners who were sick or had been injured at work reported to the dispensary in the evening, where an attempt was made to give them first aid. In more serious cases, a prisoner could be put in the "infirmary," meaning an alcove partitioned off by boards housing bunks where a maximum of nine people could be placed. Treatment basically could not exceed 7 to 10 days, because "bedridden patients" were taken away to Birkenau by the truck that brought food to the subcamp and came to Kobier in those intervals of time.

On Sunday morning the prisoners were sent to bathe under showers (without hot water), and there were systematic "louse inspections" (*Lausekontrolle*). The living quarters were also cleaned; the tables and benches were carried out of the barracks and scrubbed using lime. After lunch, the SS men, bored in the isolated camp, sat on benches at the gate and forced prisoners to have boxing matches; the "boxers" were then issued old work gloves. Singing performances enjoyed great success, including those by the especially popular Erich Purm. During the day the prisoners also had the opportunity to repair worn clothing, visit and talk with each other, usually concentrating on ways to get extra food.

There are a few surviving records that provide more detailed information about the operation of the Kobier subcamp; for example, there is a list of furnishings for the prisoners' barracks, itemizing 510 blankets, 20 triple-decker bunks (which means that two or three prisoners had to sleep on one level), 80 enamel bowls (one for every two prisoners), 75 stools, and so on; also surviving are several monthly reports on prisoner activity at the dentist's office, listing the number and type of procedures performed in the summer of 1943.[11] It is also known that on March 8, 1943, a prisoner attempted to escape from the Kobier subcamp, Max Franz Schaap, a Dutch Jew. He was caught and put in the basement of Barrack 11 at Auschwitz I; his transfer to the camp hospital was recorded the same day.[12] Also surviving are the prisoner leasing figures of the Oberforstamt Pless camp employment office; in February 1943, the Forest Management Agency paid 5,739 Reichsmark (RM) for 1,913 days' work of prisoners classified as unskilled laborers at 3 RM per day of work (from 64 to 102 prisoners were put to work per day).[13] In the subsequent months, the number of prisoners hired out by the Forest Management Agency gradually decreased, reaching the level of approximately 53 in August. In the middle of that month, several dozen prisoners were transferred from Kobier to the subcamp at Sosnowiec (Sosnowitz).[14] On August 28, a commando of 26 prisoners went out to work for the last time; therefore, this is presumably the date the camp was disbanded.[15] In his recollections, former prisoner Rudolf Löhr also says that the camp was disbanded at the end of August.[16] The prisoners who still remained in camp at that time were transferred to Auschwitz, and British prisoners of war took their places at the end of the year.

SOURCES The most valuable are the accounts of Rudolf Löhr and Stanisław Łapiński; also a few references in the various subcamp records available at APMO.

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NOTES

1. APMO, D-Au I—4/28.
2. APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, 45: 14, account of Stanisław Łapiński; 53: 202, account of Julia Kumor and Monika Koczar; D-Au I—4/25, Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderungen.
3. APMO, D-Au I—1/77, Kommandantur-Sonderbefehl.
4. APMO, D-Au I—4/47, Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderungen.

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5. APMO, Zespół Wspomnienia, 165: 53a, recollection of Rudolf Löhr; Affidavits Collection, 53: 202, account of Julia Kumor and Monika Koczar.

6. APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu, 1: 24, rept. of April 25, 1943; Kobiór—156 prisoners.

7. APMO, D.Hyg.Inst./23, File 17b, p. 687; entry dated June 22, 1943.

8. APMO, The Höss Trial, 16a: 202, testimony of Karol Sperber.

9. APMO, Affidavits Collection, 45: 15, 16 ; 53: 41, accounts of Stanisław Łapiński and Władysław Lewko; D-Au I—3/1, Penal company record book, p. 2, entry of July 20, 1943, stating that Alfred van Hofe had been put in a penal company.

10. APMO, D-Au I—5/2, Morgue record book, pp. 66–161.

11. APMO, D-Au I—4/45, inventory no. 171425, record dated 3/29/43; Monatliche Leistungs- und Personalmeldung des KL Zahnstation. Aussenkommando Kobier, Juli–August 1943.

12. APMO, D-Au I—3/1b, p. 2136, Barrack 11 bunker [underground isolation cell] record book.

13. APMO, D-Au I—3a/370, Monthly labor roster of male and female prisoners of Auschwitz concentration camp, 2: 68a, 3: 137a, 175a, 5: 264a, 298a.

14. APMO, D-Mau—3a/24538, Mauthausen Files, Affidavits Collection, 45: 16, account of Stanisław Łapiński.

15. APMO, D-Au I—3a/370, Monthly labor roster of male and female prisoners of Auschwitz concentration camp, 6: 318a.

16. APMO, Recollections Collection, 165: 68.

LAGISCHA

The town of Łagisza (Lagischa) is approximately 2.5 kilometers (1.6 miles) north of Będzin (Bendsberg) and approximately 40 kilometers (24.9 miles) northwest of Oświęcim (Auschwitz). In 1941, the German company Energie-Versorgung Oberschlesien (EVO) began the site preparation work for the construction of a power plant named "Walter," with a projected output of 300 megawatts.

After fencing the site of the future project, the "Klotz" and "Haga" companies, using local inhabitants who had been assigned to work for them, started building living barracks for the future staff. Part of the barracks complex was set apart from the rest of the barracks by a double barbed-wire fence running along concrete posts. Several brick barracks were put up inside; some of them were for the camp inhabitants, while some were used as storehouses. Watchtowers were put up along the fence. That is roughly how the camp looked when a group of Jews were put there at the turn of the year from 1941 to 1942; they were presumably sent to Lagischa by the Organisation Schmelt.

Jerzy Frąckiewicz, the author of the only essay on the history of the Lagischa camp, maintains that the Auschwitz concentration camp had taken over control of those Jews, and they had been included in its population, as happened in the case of Jewish prisoners at the subcamp in Blachownia Śląska (Blechhammer).[1] However, careful study of his arguments shows that such a takeover did not occur. The numerical series issued in the summer of 1943 do not contain a reference to the issue of approximately 100 numbers to prisoners coming from any camp that could be associated with the opening of a new subcamp. The day that Frąckiewicz determined as the founding date for the Lagischa subcamp (June 15, 1943) is probably inaccurate because that was the opening date of another EVO company subcamp at Jaworzno (Neu-Dachs).[2] However, it is known that on August 13, 1943, SS-Untersturmführer Sell, the chief of the camp employment office, notified the Auschwitz garrison command of the intent to form four new subcamps soon, including a camp at Lagischa.[3] According to what he said, there were plans to place 100 prisoners in the camp initially, but their number was to reach the target of 1,000. There were also plans to assign a guard staff to Lagischa, initially with a 1:25 SS-prisoner ratio, later to reach 1:40.

The date the subcamp was formed can be established based on an invoice (*Forderungsnachweis*) that the camp employment office issued to the Lagischa power plant management in September 1943.[4] It shows that the first 302 prisoners were put to work building the plant on September 10. However, since the previous day had been a Sunday, and September 8 was entered in one of the few surviving records of a Lagischa prisoner as the transfer date, we ought to assume that the subcamp was formed on that day.[5]

The aforementioned invoice and subsequent ones show that the "Walter" power plant paid 4 Reichsmark (RM) for a day's work by a skilled workman (44 prisoners) and 3 RM for a helper. In October, the number of prisoners put to work was at a level similar to that of September, but it rose to over 500 in early November, which proves that another transport or transports arrived at Lagischa.[6] But considering the fact that at other Auschwitz subcamps the actual prisoner population was approximately 20 percent greater than the number of those put to work (more or less 10 percent of prisoners worked inside the subcamp, and up to 10 percent were sick), it is probably safe to assume that there were over 600 prisoners in Lagischa in late 1943.

Among the several dozen prisoners with entries surviving in camp records, the most names that appear are those of Polish and French Jews; there were also Poles and Russians in the camp. There is similar information about the ethnic makeup of the Lagischa prisoners in the accounts of former prisoners; Polish laborers and local residents were employed building the power plant.[7] Former prisoners' accounts indicate that a Pole, Jerzy Jackowski, held the position of camp elder (Lagerälteste); the kitchen Kapo was Stanisław Łapiński, and the chief of the camp infirmary was a German, Hans Bock.

There were eight barracks inside the camp fence, of which four were used as quarters for the prisoners, one housed the camp infirmary, and the other three served as warehouses and

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office and utility space. A large water reservoir, used as a water supply for firefighting, was dug next to the infirmary near the assembly ground. Outside the fence near the gate was the SS guardhouse and living barracks for the SS men.

The prisoners slept on triple-decker bunks with straw mattresses. Meals were initially provided by the kitchen for civilian laborers, which was located on the power plant construction site, and later meals were cooked in facilities on the subcamp premises. The prisoners have described the food as inadequate, and according to their accounts, it was even worse in quality and less in quantity than the food issued in other sections of the Auschwitz concentration camp. The prisoners were put to work at hard physical labor: building a railway siding leading to the site of the future power plant, demolishing houses and farm buildings, digging ditches, and unloading machine parts and building materials. The work lasted 11 hours a day: from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M., with a one-hour lunch break from noon to 1:00 P.M. Dominant among the skilled workers listed in reports by the subcamp and factory management were ironworkers, bricklayers, electricians, and plumbers, which to some extent indicates the nature of the work the prisoners did; but the majority of the prisoners put to work were "helpers" and a group of 50 "apprentices" (it is not clear what their "apprenticeship" was supposed to have consisted of).[8]

As surviving accounts show, the prisoners of the Lagischa subcamp were treated with exceptional cruelty by the SS guards; often they repeatedly describe scenes of prisoner abuse, beating them with bats or rifle butts, chasing them into the firefighting reservoir at the assembly ground, and pushing anyone who tried to get onto the bank back into the water. Witnesses also maintain that many prisoners were shot by the SS men while "trying to escape," although such events have not been verified in any sources. Among the telegrams notifying of prisoner escapes, only one survives, mentioning the successful escape of three Russian prisoners on June 1, 1944: their names, rendered in Polish, were Nikolaus Milajew, Nikolaus Abakumow, and Stefan Staroszczuk. Milajew was caught that same day and delivered to the camp.[9]

The SS men at the Lagischa subcamp were under the command of the Sixth Birkenau Company (put under the commander of Auschwitz III effective November 11, 1943, as the Fifth Company), and later, effective May 22, 1944, they were under the Fifth Company of the newly formed Auschwitz III Guard Battalion. Their company commander was SS-Untersturmführer Bruno Pfütze.[10] The names of 40 SS men who served at the subcamp at various times have been successfully identified, although the amount of guard staff was usually slightly lower and numbered two noncommissioned officers and 30 to 32 privates.

SS-Unterscharführer Horst Czerwinski held the post of camp leader (Lagerführer) at the subcamp. When it was closed, he was transferred to Goleszów (Golleschau) on October 1, 1944. SS-Unterscharführer Hans Nierzwicki was the orderly in the camp infirmary, and SS-Rottenführer Hermann Klan and SS-Unterscharführer Hans Pfeuer were in charge of the kitchen.[11]

As time went on, the camp's population decreased as sick prisoners were sent back to the hospital at the main camp and probably to the hospitals at Monowice (Monowitz) or Birkenau; as is known from reports of the camp resistance, there were 477 prisoners in Lagischa on January 20, 1944, and 499 a month later.[12] Although more prisoner transports probably arrived at the subcamp in the following months, there is no direct evidence that the total camp population approached 1,000, as Frąckiewicz maintains. All we know is that there were 725 prisoners in Lagischa on August 10, 1944, their number probably decreasing to 674 on August 16; 517 on August 25; 217 on September 2; and just 100 on September 5.[13] Such a great drop in the number of prisoners is probably due to the plans to abandon the construction of the "Walter" power plant, of which the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) officially notified the Auschwitz concentration camp command on September 1, 1944. Six days later, Auschwitz commander SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Schwarz notified the camp administrative units under him of that fact, stating that the SS men from the Lagischa subcamp would be transferred to the newly formed Neustadt camp in Prudnik.[14]

The last report on the Lagischa subcamp's population (99 prisoners) is from September 23;[15] there is also a surviving telegram notifying the main camp that two Polish prisoners, Marian Batkowski and Stanisław Oszmaniec, had escaped from the subcamp on that day, which seems to suggest that the camp was closed a short time later.[16] The Lagischa prisoners were transferred to Sosnowiec (Sosnowitz) and later to the Neu-Dachs subcamp at Jaworzno, although some were also sent back to the main camp (Auschwitz I).

In his essay, Jerzy Frąckiewicz maintains that a small group of prisoners guarded by several SS men still remained in the camp until January 1945; there is not a reference to confirm that assumption in any of the records he cites or in any accounts of former prisoners or Lagischa residents.

SOURCES The only published source is Jerzy Frąckiewicz, "Podobóz Lagischa," in *ZO* 9 (1965): 55–69.

These records for Lagischa are scattered in many different collections at APMO (particularly see notes 4, 7, and 8). It is also mentioned in dispatch orders (Fahrbefehle), penal reports, and files of the SS-Hygiene Institute.

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NOTES

1. Jerzy Frąckiewicz, "Podobóz Lagischa," *ZO* 9 (1965): 58–60.
2. APMO, D-Au III—1/Jaworzno, 1: 1.
3. APMO, D-Au III—Monowitz/3a, Correspondence regarding IG Farben, p. 48.
4. APMO, D-Au I—3a/370/5, Monthly labor roster of male and female prisoners of Auschwitz concentration camp, p. 351a.
5. APMO, D-Au I—3a/986–1378, Employment office files, p. 104; file of prisoner Eli Goldfarb.

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6. APMO, D-Au I—3a/370/6, Monthly labor roster of male and female prisoners of Auschwitz concentration camp, pp. 361a, 394a; D-Au I—3a/370/7, p. 463a.

7. The most entries regarding prisoners of Lagischa subcamp are in the records of the camp employment office and in the numbers book (*Nummerbuch*). APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia [Affidavits Collection], relations of Zbigniew Tokarski (40: 140, 141); Zbigniew Mroczkowski (46: 42–44); Stanisława Dydak (44: 1–3); Antoni Górecki (44: 4, 5); Stanisław Drygalski (44: 6, 7); Otylia Piaskowska (44: 8, 9); Tadeusz Łapka (44: 10–13); Aniela Gwoździowska, Irena Kubik, Zofia Motoczyńska (44: 14–17).

8. APMO, Microfilm 1900, CHIDK. Fond 502–2-19, pp. 936–957; Microfilm 1898, CHIDK. Fond 502-2-17, pp. 186–206.

9. APMO, D-Au I—1/3, Zespół Telegramy, pp. 447–449.

10. APMO, Sturmbannbefehl No. 147/43 of 9/27/1943; Standortbefehl No. 53/43 of November 22, 1943 (item 12d); Sturmbann-Sonderbefehl of November 24, 1943; and Kommandantur-Sonderbefehl KL Auschwitz III of 5/22/1944 (D-Au III—1/6).

11. APMO, D-Au I—4/2, p. 140, Personalbefehl KL Auschwitz II of December 11, 1943, No. 2/43.

12. APMO, Książka ewidencyjna bloku 20 Auschwitz I, p. 39; Entry regarding prisoner Moszek Reisman, brought from the Lagischa subcamp, December 24, 1943; Zespół Materiały ruchu oporu, 2: 60, 7: 475; Repts. of January 20 and February 22, 1944.

13. APMO, Microfilm 1900, CHIDK. Fond 502-2-19, pp. 936–957; Microfilm 1898, CHIDK. Fond 502-2-17, pp. 186–206.

14. APMO, D-Au III—1/66, Kommandanturbefehl KL Auschwitz III No. 9/44 of September 6, 1944.

15. APMO, Microfilm 1898, CHIDK. Fond 502-2-17, p. 207.

16. APMO, D-Au I—1/3, Meldeblatt, p. 356.

LAURAHÜTTE

Laurahütte was organized in late March and early April 1944 at the Oberschlesische Gerätebau GmbH company, which was probably founded in 1941 at the existing Huta Laura (Laurahütte) steel mill in the town of Siemianowice Śląskie (Siemianowitz) near Katowice.[1] The subcamp was approximately 40 kilometers (25 miles) from Auschwitz and was under the administrative command of Auschwitz III-Monowitz. The company belonged to the German Rheinmetall-Borsig AG corporation. Since it was an arms plant, Oberschlesische Gerätebau GmbH was under military supervision. The company manufactured anti-aircraft guns for the navy.

No sources are available to indicate who established this subcamp or precisely when it was established. The earliest record in surviving Auschwitz documents is from April 8, 1944. A German prisoner named Karl Schmied, a cook, was moved from Eintrachthütte to Laurahütte on that day.[2] Transferring a prisoner with that job suggests that it was exactly at that time that the subcamp was established. A note made on April 14, 1944, by the muster officer of Auschwitz III-Monowitz, showing that on that day two prisoners were moved to the Laurahütte subcamp, seems to support that idea.[3] The camp definitely did not exist at the beginning of March 1944, as it is not on the list of subcamps in a letter by the SS garrison doctor dated March 8, 1944.[4] Three Polish prisoners were also moved to the new subcamp in very early April 1944, and several days later a larger group of prisoners joined them in order to get the future subcamp's premises in order and prepare space in one of the production facilities to house prisoners.[5] Inside that facility there were already three-tier wooden bunks, probably for prisoners in the forced labor camp for Jews that the Germans established in 1941 under the Organisation Schmelt; that camp was shut down before the Laurahütte subcamp was organized at Oberschlesische Gerätebau GmbH.[6]

In May 1944, once the subcamp was ready to house more prisoners, about 150 to 250 Jews were moved from Auschwitz III-Monowitz to Laurahütte. These prisoners had come to Auschwitz from the Netherlands, France, and Belgium; now they went to the new subcamp as slave laborers. Smaller transports of Auschwitz prisoners were also moved in the following months, predominantly Jews of different nationalities, including a transport of approximately 150 Jewish prisoners from Hungary in September 1944.[7] On January 17, 1945, several days prior to evacuation, there were 937 prisoners in the subcamp, mainly Jews.[8]

The subcamp's management was in the hands of SS men. SS-Oberscharführer Walter Quakernack held the position of commandant throughout the subcamp's existence; SS-Rottenführer Kramm was his deputy.[9] There were five or six SS men in all. However, the subcamp's guards were not SS men from the Auschwitz garrison but around 40 naval ratings from the coastal anti-aircraft artillery, commanded by Obermaat Adamczyk. Most of the ratings were older.[10]

In general, the subcamp was shaped like a triangle, whose northern and eastern side was formed by a wall approximately 3 meters (10 feet) high, topped with barbed wire. The subcamp's first buildings were a large factory hall, where prisoners were quartered, as well as a brick building that contained the camp storehouses. The barrack where the kitchen and secretarial office were set up, as well as the prisoner hospital barrack, was erected only after the prisoners had been brought to the subcamp. Construction of another barrack for prisoners was begun, although it was not completed. There were three watchtowers on the inside corners of the subcamp or on its outside fence, and a guardhouse next to the gate, through which prisoners exited the camp directly into the factory buildings. The entire subcamp formed a completely separate unit within the factory grounds, administered by the subcamp management.

Prisoners put in the Laurahütte subcamp worked directly in manufacturing as well as inside the subcamp. There were the following detachments: electricians, metalworkers, lathe and milling machine operators, draftsmen, painters, transporters (moving raw materials within the plant), and engineers,

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as well as detachments for the camp kitchen, infirmary, cleaners, and a secretarial office. Most prisoners worked producing coastal anti-aircraft guns.[11]

Civilian employees also worked at the company, and both civilian as well as prisoner foremen supervised the prisoners during the manufacturing process; such precision equipment required high-quality work. When they reported prisoners to the subcamp management for any alleged offenses, they directly contributed to the severe punishment imposed on the prisoners. Any little transgression was regarded as sabotage. For instance, one prisoner, a Dutch Jew (Juda Fransman), who was accused of laziness and sabotage, was punished by flogging. Another prisoner, also a Dutch Jew (Max Levy), who was accused of shirking work and feigning illness, was also given the flogging penalty.[12] Prisoners put to work in production initially worked in the daytime, then a night shift was also instituted.

After liberation, former Laurahütte prisoners recalled several escapes from the subcamp, among which one is documented in surviving records: Jan Purgal escaped from the subcamp on the night of August 18, 1944, with another prisoner's help. SS men from the Political Branch conducted an investigation, after which all Polish prisoners were moved to Auschwitz III-Monowitz in early September 1944 and on from there to other concentration camps within the Third Reich.[13] Two Jewish prisoners also escaped from the subcamp; their final fate is unknown. The Germans used that escape to justify extra suffering for the remaining Jewish prisoners, in the form of a roll call that lasted several hours. The escape of a young Russian prisoner ended tragically; he was caught, interrogated at Auschwitz, and brought back to Laurahütte, where he was hanged on the assembly ground in the presence of all the subcamp's prisoners.[14]

Resistance took several forms in this camp. Prisoners who worked in the engineering office were able to move about the factory buildings and availed themselves of that opportunity for a sabotage operation in which they damaged the mechanisms of guns that the plant manufactured. They carried out the sabotage after the final inspection, when the anti-aircraft guns were still on company premises, awaiting shipment by rail. Since civilian employees also worked at the plant, among them many Poles, prisoners had favorable conditions for establishing illegal communications. This had special significance for Jewish prisoners, who did not have the opportunity of receiving food packages and so could not obtain various products that way.[15]

Evacuation of the Laurahütte subcamp began on January 23, 1945. On that day, all 937 prisoners were loaded into train cars that had been put on the railway ramp near the plant. The company's civilian personnel were also evacuated on that same train. The prisoners were transported to the Mauthausen concentration camp. A total of 134 prisoners died during the trip, which lasted five days and nights. Several days later at Mauthausen, a group of about 400 prisoners was formed from the Laurahütte transport and sent to the Neuengamme subcamp in Hannover-Mühlenberg-Linden, where they were put to work at Hanomag and Rheinmetall-Borsig AG, manufacturing anti-aircraft guns. SS-Oberscharführer Walter Quakernack again became commandant of that subcamp. According to the account of former prisoner Arnošt Basch, of the approximately 400 prisoners brought to Hannover-Mühlenberg-Linden, only 254 survived the stay at that subcamp and the death march to the Bergen-Belsen camp.[16]

Walter Quakernack was sentenced to death by a British Military Court in Lüneburg in 1946.

SOURCES The following published sources contain additional information: Tadeusz Iwaszko, "Podobóz 'Laurahütte,' " *ZO* 10 (1967): 101–115, which includes a map prepared by the author on p. 102; and Aleksander Lasik, "Ściganie, sądzenie i karanie członków oświęcimskiej załogi SS. Procedura. Zagadnienie winy i odpowiedzialności," *ZO* 21 (1995): 189–250, on the Quakernack trial.

APMO holds fragmentary surviving documents on the Laurahütte subcamp in various collections of Auschwitz concentration camp records, as well as accounts of former Laurahütte subcamp prisoners. An eyewitness account of Jewish forced labor at this factory is Ernest Koenig, *Im Vorhof der Vernichtung. Als Zwangsarbeiter in den Aussenlagern von Auschwitz*, ed. with an afterword by Gioia-Olivia Karnagel (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2000).

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NOTES

1. Circular letter from the SS-WVHA to concentration camp commanders, employment unit re: Ergänzung zum Einheitsaktenplan dated June 9, 1944, Nuremberg Doc. NO-597, in APMO, Proces Maurera, vol. 6, books 99–100.
2. Häftlingspersonalkarte Karl Schmied, in APMO, D-AuIII-3a/46.
3. APMO, D-Au III/Monowitz/5/, book 522.
4. Letter from SS-Standortarzt dated March 8, 1944, in APMO, D-AuIII/Golleschau/, books 236 and 237.
5. Account of former prisoner Jan Purgal, in APMO, Oświadczenia [Affidavits], vol. 40, book. 70.
6. Ernest Koenig, *Im Vorhof der Vernichtung. Als Zwangsarbeiter in den Aussenlagern von Auschwitz*, ed. with an afterword by Gioia-Olivia Karnagel (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2000), p. 108.
7. Account of former Auschwitz prisoner Arnošt Basch, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 40, books 113, 115.
8. Smuggled message of the Resistance Movement at Auschwitz concentration camp dated January 17, 1945, in APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu, vol. 3, book 212.
9. Accounts of former Auschwitz prisoners Jerzy Kałka and Arnošt Basch, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 37, book 64, vol. 40, book 112.
10. Account of former Auschwitz prisoner Jerzy Kałka, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 37, book 64.
11. Accounts of former Auschwitz prisoners Jerzy Kałka, Jan Purgal, and Arnošt Basch, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 37, book 64, vol. 40, books 70–71, vol. 40, book 113.
12. Juda Fransman's Strafverfügung dated July 5, 1944, in

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APMO, D-Au I, II, III-2/301; Max Levy's Strafmeldung dated 6/29/1944, in APMO, D-Au I, II, III-2/299.

13. Accounts of former Auschwitz prisoners Jan Purgal, Jerzy Kałka, and Ryszard Sidowski, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 40, books 71–72, vol. 37, books 64–65, vol. 40, book 105.

14. Accounts of former Auschwitz prisoners Joseph Kupferman, Ryszard Sidowski, and Arnošt Basch, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 40, book 119, vol. 40, book 104, vol. 40, book 113.

15. Accounts of former Auschwitz prisoners Jerzy Kałka and Jan Purgal, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 37, book 64, vol. 40, book 71.

16. Accounts of former Auschwitz prisoners Joseph Kupferman and Arnošt Basch, in APMO, Affidavits, vol. 40, book 119, vol. 40, books 84, 113, 116–117.

LICHTEWERDEN

The Lichtewerden subcamp was established on November 11, 1944, at the thread factory in the town of Světlá (Lichtewerden) near the town of Bruntal (Freudenthal), located in the mountains of northern Moravia.[1] The factory belonged to the Gustav Adolf Buhl und Sohn textile firm, headquartered in Staré Město-under-Sněžník (Mährisch Altstadt). The company also owned a linen spinning mill in the town of Žacléř (Schatzlar), located to the south of the Karkonosze mountain range. Both Buhl und Sohn plants used the labor of Jewish women, among them Poles who had been put in forced labor camps as well as prisoners from the Gross-Rosen and Auschwitz concentration camps, starting in autumn 1944. The Auschwitz prisoners were put to work at the thread factory in Světlá.[2]

A selection of Jewish women took place on November 9, 1944, at the Auschwitz II-Birkenau women's camp. A group of 300 women were selected, bathed, given camp numbers that were tattooed on their arms, and then moved to Lichtewerden on November 11. The new subcamp, like others being established at industrial facilities, was under the administrative command of Auschwitz III-Monowitz. According to the accounts of prisoners who were in the selected group, SS men conducted the selection. One of them with the rank of SS-Oberscharführer, later the commandant of the Lichtewerden camp, looked at all the women's hands during the selection and picked those whose hands were tough from work. Polish Jews predominated among the women moved to Lichtewerden, but there were also Czechs and Slovaks selected. That was both the first and the last transport sent to this subcamp. The subcamp's buildings consisted of four wooden barracks painted green, including two accommodation barracks, a kitchen, and a washroom. The accommodation barracks for the prisoners contained three-decker bunks and were divided into rooms called *sztubas* holding 32 women each. There were stoves in the rooms, but the SS staff would beat any prisoners who tried to use them. Instead of striped uniforms, the prisoners wore civilian clothing marked lengthwise down the back with a stripe of red oil paint.

In the washroom, the prisoners could use cold running water; sometimes warm water was even available. They were issued soap in small quantities. The living and sanitary conditions were considerably better here in comparison to the camp at Birkenau.[3] A dispensary was also established for the prisoners in camp, as well as an infirmary—a poor substitute for a hospital—where a doctor and a nurse selected from among the prisoners were put to work.

The camp was fenced with barbed wire and had four watchtowers in which SS men kept guard all day through. These were Wehrmacht soldiers who had been removed from service at the front due to their age or incapacity to serve and who were incorporated into the SS after a few weeks of training. Unfortunately, no records have survived about the camp's SS staff. It is known, however, that the staff included 16 SS guards and four women supervisors.[4] The women called the camp commandant, who was disabled with one eye, "Schnauze," as he used that word most often in his communications with them. The prisoners all described him as a terrible brute and simpleton, and also as a ruthless sadist, who would beat them and threatened to send them back to Birkenau for the smallest offenses or for no reason at all. He always walked with a cane. An SS man by the first name of Martin was his assistant, whom the prisoners described as a harmless elderly man. There were also four women overseers. Three of them, especially one by the first name of Maria, had a very bad reputation. On the other hand, the fourth one, Luiza, was the opposite of the others. She always defended the prisoners against the SS personnel.[5]

The prisoners would leave for work in a tight group under the escort of SS men after the morning roll call. They returned from work the same way. A small group of women worked inside the camp in the kitchen, in the infirmary, or doing cleaning work.

Work at the factory lasted from 6:00 A.M. to 4:00 or 6:00 P.M. In the factory facilities, they worked at the same workstations with Czech female civilian employees from the factory personnel. These civilian workers supervised the prisoners' work but otherwise were prohibited from communicating with them. The camp escort purposely misled the factory staff, saying that the prisoners were common criminals. Therefore, their attitude toward the prisoners was rather indifferent. There were sporadic instances of furtively tossing some food or sometimes a newspaper to the prisoners, especially toward the end of the war, when discipline had slackened among the SS men supervising the prisoners.[6]

Some of the prisoners were put to work on the yarn-winding machinery; others worked in the linen spinning mill, where the labor was especially hard, as the dust hovering in the air made breathing difficult. Those who were put to work weighing and delivering 50-kilogram (110-pound) cotton bales to the respective workstations had equally hard labor. Some prisoners received serious injuries while operating the machines; the camp commandant treated every on-the-job accident as sabotage. There were also instances of hungry, exhausted prisoners fainting at work, as the hunger in the camp kept growing

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from month to month. Meals were only issued twice a day in camp: in the morning and in the evening upon returning from work. The prisoners got about one-seventh of a kilogram (one-third of a pound) of bread per day (two loaves per sztuba), plus a cup of unsweetened black coffee, and some soup made of rotten vegetables or potato peels in the evening.[7] The factory management provided the camp with some food rations for the prisoners working in the factory, but they were stolen by the camp's German personnel.

On May 6, 1945, the entire SS staff left the camp, headed by the commandant. Two days later the Russians entered Lichtewerden, liberating the 300 prisoners in that camp.[8]

SOURCES Primary sources on Lichtewerden may be found in APMO (e.g., a daily list of occupations of the female inmates at Auschwitz III; Syg. D-Au III-Lichtewerden/1; testimonies; correspondence) and at ITS.

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NOTES

1. APMO, Syg. D-Au III—3a/1, k. 432, daily employment list of female prisoners in the subcamps under the Monowitz concentration camp (Oświęcim III).
2. APMO, Syg. K: I-8523/92/2669/86, correspondence with the Okresním Vlastivědném Muzeum v Šumperku, dated September 19, 1986; Syg. D-Au III-Lichtewerden/1, pp. 1–6, list of inmates of the SS-Arbeitslager Lichtewerden (by names and numbers) dated December 23, 1944 (original at the Jewish Museum in Prague).
3. APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, 58: 23–33, 48–55, accounts of former prisoners Celina Hochberger Strauchen and Lola Gimpel née Landmann; 98: 67–68, account of Helena Celta.
4. APMO, daily employment list, pp. 462–509.
5. Testimony of former prisoner Mila Hornik in Natan Blumental, ed., *Dokumenty i materiały. Tom I Obozy* (Łódź: 1946), pp. 49–50; APMO, Collection of testimonies, 98: 68, statement by former inmate Helena Celta.
6. APMO, Testimonies, 58: 49–50, statement of Lola Gimpel; 98: 68, statement of Helena Celta.
7. APMO, Testimonies, 58: 50.
8. APMO, Testimonies, 58: 32, 54; 98: 69.

NEU-DACHS

The Germans established the Neu-Dachs subcamp on June 15, 1943, in Jaworzno. The German company Energie-Versorgung Oberschlesien AG (EVO) initiated the subcamp's establishment in order to put Auschwitz prisoners to work in Jaworzno's hard coal mines and building a thermal power plant.[1] The first group of approximately 100 prisoners arrived in the subcamp on June 15, 1943. Over the next six months, the population grew to about 2,000, and a year later, in January 1945, shortly before evacuation, there were 3,664 prisoners in the subcamp. This was 1,500 more prisoners than the Germans projected when they established the subcamp.[2] That growth came about because EVO kept asking for more prisoners. The decided majority of prisoners were Jews from all over Europe. Poles constituted the majority of the non-Jews.[3]

The living conditions, clothing, and food in the camp were no different from those at Auschwitz. Prisoners often would not get new clothes in exchange for worn-out clothing. They therefore went about in tattered clothes, and most of them did not have any underwear, socks, or gloves. The mines assigned leather or rubber shoes and overalls to some prisoners who worked in flooded places, but these were never repaired. Prisoners received neither helmets nor rubber capes, which civilian workers had.[4] Besides the camp food, the mines provided prisoners classified as hard laborers with a bowl of meatless soup during work, to increase work output. For good work, prisoners also received 10 cigarettes each from the mines and companies, plus vouchers worth 1 to 4 Reichsmark (RM) for use in the camp canteen. However, the canteen did not have what the prisoners most needed—food—and the companies distributed the vouchers in small quantities, so there was little real incentive to work harder. The SS authorities kept drawing attention to the small amount of vouchers being allotted and called on the mines and companies to increase them—most likely out of concern for the SS canteen's profits rather than the prisoners' welfare.[5]

The subcamp was an independent administrative and management unit: it had its own kitchen, hospital, clothing warehouses, food warehouses, laundry, workshops, baths, and delousing facilities. Clothes, food (except for bread, which was supplied locally in Jaworzno), medicine, and other materials were provided from the Auschwitz central warehouses.[6]

The subcamp was under the command of Auschwitz I until November 21, 1943, after which it was under Auschwitz III-Monowitz. SS-Obersturmführer Bruno Pfütze was the subcamp commandant.[7] The guard staff was composed of around 200 to 300 SS men who belonged to the Monowitz 4th Guard Company.[8]

Jaworzno's Rudolfgrube, Dachsgrube, and Friedrich-Augustgrube hard coal mines and the Wilhelm power plant were the prisoners' chief places of work. Prisoners worked in three shifts, with only one Sunday per month off. Prisoners comprised approximately 60 percent of the staff at the Jaworzno mines. The rest of the employees were mainly Polish workers.[9]

The prisoners marched to work under SS escort, fastened to metal bars that they had to hold with their bare hands, even in the coldest weather. To entertain themselves before sending the prisoners underground, the SS men would throw them cigarettes, then set their dogs on them. Thirty prisoners were packed into elevators designed for 8 persons.

Once underground, the prisoners were divided up into groups of several men each and assigned to civilian workers who were responsible for their output. In the mines, the prisoners did almost every job possible: excavating coal, loading it onto carts, conveying it, digging new galleries, deepening

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shafts, and so on. For the malnourished prisoners, it was work that exceeded their physical capabilities.

Some prisoners were hired out from EVO, which was the main employer, to various construction companies, large and small. For instance, the Breitenbach-Montanbau company employed several dozen prisoners to build a railroad siding for the Dachs mine. Quite a large group of prisoners worked building the new Richardgrube mine.

After they returned from work, the prisoners were also forced to perform various cleanup jobs in camp.

Brutal discipline was the preferred method for maintaining high output. Some of the German mine foremen would beat prisoners severely—sometimes fatally—for taking a moment's break from work. Especially after meetings of the SA to which most of the foremen belonged, they would go underground and abuse the prisoners on any pretext.[10] Eventually, the subcamp commandant intervened; in a special letter he notified the management of Jaworzno's mines that, regardless of their position, all civilian workers were prohibited from beating prisoners.[11]

In order to tighten discipline and step up work output, on June 28, 1944, mine inspector Bergmann asked subcamp commandant Pfütze to replace Jewish prisoner foremen with Aryan ones, which, as he stated, brought the desired results.[12]

Besides summary on-the-spot beatings, prisoners also received so-called regulation punishments such as flogging and confinement in a standing cell. A Polish prisoner was locked in the standing cell for 13 nights for having brought into camp a package with food and medicine, which he had secretly received from a prisoner's wife. Juda Kalvo, a Jew, was punished by flogging for having exchanged his two gold teeth for 5 kilograms (11 pounds) of bread.[13] Long roll calls each morning and evening, which sometimes lasted up to two hours, added to the suffering, especially in winter. If the SS found that someone had escaped, the punitive roll calls could last 12 hours or more.[14]

A hospital and dentist's office were set up in the subcamp for the sick and disabled prisoners. There were three wards: internal medicine, surgery, and diarrhea. The Jewish prisoner doctors there wanted to help the patients, but a lack of basic drugs hindered their efforts. They mainly treated people with aspirin and carbon, used disinfectants, and bandaged wounds. The hospital was only intended for those who were less seriously ill; SS doctors (including Horst Fischer from the Monowitz hospital) selected the rest to go to the Auschwitz hospital or straight to the gas chambers.[15] For example, a surviving list of selected prisoners dated January 18, 1944, shows 247 prisoners who were taken away to Birkenau and killed.[16]

Some Polish workers took the risk of aiding them by sharing food and helping to organize escapes, some of which were successful. The risks were substantial. Głowacz, a miner from the Rudolf mine, was arrested for supplying bread to the prisoners. He was taken away to the Auschwitz concentration camp and died in a few weeks. The Jewish prisoner who had helped him was tortured to death.

One escape attempt ended tragically when the SS arrested approximately 30 prisoners for treason after they tried to get out of the camp through a tunnel. After an investigation held at the Auschwitz I camp, the SS hanged 19 prisoners at the subcamp on December 6, 1943, and sent 7 to a penal company.[17]

The SS began shutting the camp down in January 1945. On January 17, after food from the camp warehouses had been distributed, approximately 3,200 prisoners found to be fit to march were escorted out via Mysłowice toward the Auschwitz subcamp of Blechhammer. The prisoners reached it after three days of marching in severe cold over snow-covered side roads. Many of those who could not keep up with the columns were shot along the way. The prisoners stayed at Blechhammer for one day, after which they were herded to Gross-Rosen, then taken by train to Buchenwald. Russian forces liberated the 400 seriously ill prisoners who remained in camp on January 19, 1945.[18]

SOURCES APMO holds the following relevant records: Kaufmännische Direktion EVO Kattowitz (hereinafter Jaworzno); Akta Procesu Hössa; Affidavits Collection, accounts of Adam Budak, Kazimierz Borowiec, Jan Broniowski, Antoni Kartasiński, Antoni Kucharz, Wiktor Pasikowski, Aron Piernat, Zbigniew Tokarski, Józef Tałach, Włodzisław Śmigielski, Stanisław Sadowski, Theodor Weil, and Mieczysław Zięć-Zewski; Fahrbefehl; Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderung; SS-Hygiene Institut; Materials of the camp resistance movement (Mat. RO); Kommandantur-Befehle KL Auschwitz III.

See also Franciszek Piper, "Das Nebenlager Neu-Dachs," HvA 12 (1971): 55–111; Henry Bulawko, *Les yeux de la mort et de l'espoire. Auschwitz-Jaworzno* (Paris: Recherche, 1980); Paul Heller, "Das Aussenlager Jaworzno," in *Auschwitz. Zeugnisse und Berichte*, ed. H.-G. Adler, Hermann Langbein, and Ella Lingens-Reiner (Cologne: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1984), pp. 169–171.

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trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, Kaufmännische Direktion EVO Kattowitz (hereinafter Jaworzno), segr. 1, book 37, letter from EVO to Amtsgruppe D dated June 22, 1943.
2. APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu, vol. 2, book 60; vol. 3, book 212.
3. APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia (Affidavits Collection), accounts of Mieczysław Zięć-Zewski and Wiktor Pasikowski.
4. APMO, Affidavits Collection, accounts by former prisoners Włodzisław Śmigielski and Wiktor Pasikowski, as well as civilian employees of Jaworzno mines: Stanisław Sadowski and Antoni Kartasiński.
5. APMO, KL Auschwitz III, Kommandantur Befehl Nr 6/44.
6. APMO, Affidavits Collection, accounts of former prisoners Mieczysław Zięć-Zewski and Theodor Hennequin.
7. Kommandantur-Sonderbefehl dated May 22, 1944.
8. APMO, Affidavits Collection, accounts of former prisoners Zbigniew Tokarski, Wiktor Pasikowski, Aron Piernat, and Zbigniew Mroczkowski.

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9. APMO, Affidavits Collection, account of engineer Jan Broniowski.
10. APMO, Affidavits Collection, account of civilian employee Kazimierz Borowiec.
11. APMO, Jaworzno, File 1, books 198–199.
12. APMO, Jaworzno, File 1, book 260.
13. APMO, Punishment Reports and Orders.
14. APMO, Affidavits Collection, accounts of former prisoners Theodor Hennequin, Augustyn Pietruszko, and Wiktor Pasikowski.
15. APMO, Affidavits Collection, account of former prisoner Theodor Weil.
16. APMO, Jaworzno, File 3, books 144–148, original list of those selected.
17. APMO, Książka bunkra (Bunker Book)—register of prisoners put into the Auschwitz I camp jail contains the names of those arrested.
18. APMO, Affidavits Collection, accounts of former prisoners Wiktor Pasikowski, Aron Piernat, Zbigniew Mroczkowski, and Theodor Hennequin.

NEUSTADT O/S

The Neustadt subcamp was established in September 1944 in the city of Neustadt (Prudnik) on the premises of a textile factory that had been owned by a Jew, Samuel Fränkl, before the war, and was renamed Schlesische Feinweberei AG Neustadt O/S after war broke out.

Like many other Third Reich industrial plants, during the war Schlesische Feinweberei used the forced labor of foreign workers, prisoners of war (POWs), and in 1944 it accessed the reserves of the cheap slave labor of Auschwitz concentration camp prisoners. Negotiations in the business of putting prisoners to work were finalized in September 1944. A surviving order of Auschwitz III-Monowitz commandant SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Schwarz, dated September 6, 1944, proves this; it assigned SS guard staff to the newly forming Neustadt subcamp from the Lagischa subcamp, which was shut down the same day. The first, and last, transport of 400 female Hungarian Jewish prisoners was brought to Schlesische Feinweberei on September 26, 1944.

The women brought from Auschwitz II-Birkenau were placed on the second floor of one of the factory buildings, in space that had previously housed a forced labor camp for Polish Jews. Bars were put on the windows of the rooms allocated for the prisoners, and the building and yard were fenced.

The commandant of Neustadt was SS-Obersturmführer Paul Müller, who had earlier been commandant of the women's camp at Birkenau and had also been the commander of the Monowitz staff prior to his assignment to Neustadt. Max Krause, the Neustadt area Gestapo chief, conducted random inspections on the factory premises. His chief characteristic was his particular sadism; Neustadt residents called him the "devil of Prudnik County."

Even when they arrived at Neustadt, the women were haggard and mentally broken. Hunger, hours of work in the factory, and anxiety over the plight of the loved ones with whom they had been brought to Auschwitz devastated them even more. Dead prisoners were buried in the Jewish cemetery in Neustadt.

The prisoners learned to weave as soon as they arrived at Neustadt, for about two to three weeks. They were then put to work in the weaving plant. Accounts of people who were employed there with the prisoners show that they were so physically exhausted and mentally broken that they did not have the strength to work. The SS men forced them to do so by beating them.

The subcamp was shut down on January 19, 1945, and the women there were evacuated on foot to the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, from where they were then taken to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.

SOURCES Information on the Neustadt subcamp may be found in Irena Strzelecka, "The Neustadt Subcamp," *ZO* 13 (1971): 153–166 (German version: "Das Nebenlager Neustadt," HvA 11 [1971]: 159–170).

Original records pertaining to this camp are held at APMO, Affidavits Collection, account of former female prisoner Charlota Karešova, as well as accounts of Prudnik residents and former Schlesische Feinweberei employees Zofia Kałwa, Józef Kanik, Anna Krawczyk, and others.

Irena Strzelecka
trans. Gerard Majka

PLAWY [AKA WIRTSCHAFTSHOF PLAWY, GUT PLAWY]

The small village of Pławy (Plawy) is approximately 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) south of Brzezinka (Birkenau). In late 1940, pursuant to an agreement between the concentration camp headquarters and the Katowice regency government, a decision was made to form an Auschwitz "zone of interest", within which there were plans to create an SS agricultural and breeding farm upon the personal wish of Heinrich Himmler. Although Plawy was in the center of the planned zone, there were probably no plans yet to establish a separate farm there. On March 8, 1941, all the inhabitants were removed from the village, and most of the homes belonging to them (55) were demolished over the next few months.[1] From 1942 to 1944, farm commandos made up of prisoners brought in from the Auschwitz II-Birkenau camp worked on the land belonging to the village.

In the spring of 1944, one large barrack—a barn—was erected on the site of the future camp as well as two somewhat smaller ones, where cows and horses were later kept. Photographs taken by Allied reconnaissance planes show that no other buildings were put up near them at least until August. Only the photographs of November 29 and December 21, 1944, show more structures on the site, including accommodation barracks for the prisoners and a fence.[2]

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It is hard to ascertain when prisoners were housed in the barracks on a permanent basis. Starting at least in early October 1944, three large commandos worked at Plawy: Sinschkowski (an average of 100 female prisoners), Haseloch (200), and Mokrus (320),[3] which were listed in the labor commando records of the women's camp at Birkenau until October 30. At the end of the month, only Mokrus and a Schinkowsky [*sic*] commando (under Kommandoführer Haseloch) of 200 female prisoners appear in the records. Those commandos are listed in the Birkenau labor roster of female prisoners for the last time on October 30, and on that same day, commando 21—Neuhof Plawy (203 women)[4]—appears in the commando roster for the Auschwitz I women's camp, meaning that from then on, those prisoners were under the command of the women's camp located in the camp extension (Schutzhaftlagererweiterung). Also surviving from October 31, 1944, is a document regarding the reorganization of commandos put to work at farm labor, mentioning the creation of the new "Plawy parent camp" (Stammkommando Plawy) numbering 193 prisoners. It was based on a disbanded commando led by SS-Unterscharführer Mokrus (he kept his position). In addition, Marschkommando Plawy (83 female prisoners) was formed out of commandos 9 and 22 and was commanded by SS-Unterscharführer Haseloch. The list also refers to the small 10-person Melker Plawy[5] commando. Every day from then on, the records of the women's camp employment office listed two commandos working in Plawy—a "parent camp" and a "marching camp"—and the approximate size of both, 260 and 100 women, respectively.[6] The name of the former would indicate that the prisoners in it were permanently put into Plawy on October 31, while the women from the "marching" commando went back and forth to work from the Auschwitz I women's camp. However, the fact that the commandos were included in the parent camp's population would suggest that there was not a separate subcamp at Plawy yet.

According to the account of former prisoner Anna Tytoniak, the Plawy subcamp was formed on January 3, 1945.[7] In it were placed approximately 200 women who had previously been at Birkenau, mainly Russian women, as well as prisoner-functionaries: two female German Kapos, a barrack chief (also a German woman), a living quarters chief (a Hungarian Jewish woman), and the commando scribe (a Polish woman).

The subcamp was rectangular in shape, 160 by 140 meters (525 by 460 feet).[8] It was surrounded by a double barbed-wire fence running along concrete posts. The fence was not electrified, and no watchtowers were put up around the subcamp. Inside, the camp was divided by an inner fence into a living section and a farming section. The former held two accommodation barracks for the women and the men (also separated by a barbed-wire fence). A large barn was erected in the center of the farm area, flanked by a quite large stable and cowshed. Barracks for the sheep, pigs, and geese were built a bit further away, as well as storehouses for the farm tools. There was a small office barrack near the entry gate, where the men's and women's commando scribes worked.

The barrack for the female prisoners was spacious and, compared to the barracks of the Birkenau women's camp, far better furnished; it had windows and electric lighting. The women slept alone on bunk beds and had clean straw mattresses and blankets. The space was heated by two stoves, which were regularly supplied with coal—which was a rarity at Birkenau. The prisoner-functionaries had their own room at one corner of the barrack, furnished with clean bedding and many "luxury" items that the barrack chief and Kapo had obtained at the "Canada" warehouses. A makeshift infirmary was set up in the opposite corner of the barrack, to the left of the entrance. Next to it was a washroom where a large barrel had been installed, filled every day with fresh water from a well that had been dug near the barrack.

The women were dressed in prisoners' stripes and jackets and wore white cloth kerchiefs on their heads. They got up at 6:00 A.M.; they washed and made their beds, then were issued "tea" or "coffee" brought in from the Auschwitz main camp. The women lined up in front of the barrack for roll call. Then some of them left for work in the farm barracks, where they fed and milked the cows (about 100), cleaned the cowshed, and carried out the manure; the others were sent to sift the fodder potatoes and beets that had been put up in mounds of earth and to transport the fodder to the camp. They were issued lunch at the work site. In the evening at approximately 6:00 P.M., the women returned to the subcamp, where they received bread with some margarine and jam after the roll call. The doors were closed for the night from the outside with a sliding bar and padlock. SS men served guard duty around the fence, and in principle they could not enter the camp during that time.

SS-Aufseherin Cichoń was in charge of the women's section of the subcamp. She behaved decently toward the prisoners, as did the SS men who had been assigned to guard them; they were often older men and were clearly frightened at the prospect of the Red Army suddenly arriving.

The male prisoners at Plawy were mainly Russians and Poles; also sent there were several Slovak Jews and Germans, who held Kapo positions and that of barrack chief.[9] They had been placed in Plawy presumably in the last days of December 1944. The barrack in which they lived was furnished like the women's barrack, with a separate room for the prisoner-functionaries, a makeshift washroom, and a space that was something like a dispensary. Patients with no prognosis of a quick recovery were sent back to the hospital at the main camp.

These Plawy prisoners mainly took care of the horses, of which there were about 70 to 80, and also transported farm produce and milk to the camp dairy, having 25 carts available (each one harnessed with 2 horses). A guard escorted every cart leaving the subcamp. A noncommissioned officer with the rank of SS-Oberscharführer was in charge of the men's camp.

The Plawy subcamp operated for only about three weeks. On the night of January 17–18, 1945, the SS men ordered the prisoners to slaughter the calves and pigs, after which they loaded the meat onto several carts. They loaded feed and hay

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for the cows and horses onto the carts that were left. The last roll call was held the following morning at the assembly ground, after which the 138 male[10] and the approximately 200 female prisoners set out westward on foot. The convoy was arranged as follows: the livestock was driven at the head of the column, with the female prisoners following a bit behind, then the carts loaded with the meat and feed, and the male prisoners marching at the end, driving along about 300 geese with them. At Pszczyna, where they stopped for the night, the SS men gave the geese to retreating Wehrmacht soldiers, in return for which they received bread and canned food. The next day the female prisoners reached Wodzisław Śląski. They were evacuated farther westward in freight cars. The male prisoners continued driving the livestock to the town of Zamberg, where the SS men sold the cows to local farmers, and the prisoners were sent to the nearby railroad station, from where they were later taken to Mauthausen.

SOURCES Primary source materials are available at APMO, Labor rosters of female prisoners of Au I and Au II; Zespół Oświadczenia, 49: 153–158, account by Anna Tytoniak, and 67: 218–222, account by Roman Wieszała.

Piotr Setkiewicz
trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, D-Au I—3a/1 Segr. 14, report of Heinrich Schwarz dated March 17, 1941, on the progress of the displacement operation; Zespół Oświadczenia (Affidavits Collection), 50: 152–153, account by Józef Świadek; 48: 14, account by Józef Paszek.
2. APMO, Zespół Opracowania (Essays Collection), vol. 64c, aerial photographs, neg. nos. 22379/6 and 22379/11.
3. APMO, D-Au II—3a/18b–30b, labor rosters of female prisoners of Au II concentration camp.
4. APMO, D-Au I—3a/27b, labor rosters of female prisoners of Au I.
5. APMO, D-Au I—Landwirtschaft/67a, 2: 80.
6. APMO, D-Au I—3a/28b and following, labor rosters of female prisoners of Au I.
7. APMO, 49: 153; 48: 198.
8. Calculated on the basis of aerial photograph dated December 21, 1944 (neg. no. 22379/18); APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia (Affidavits Collection), vol. 64c.
9. APMO, Affidavits Collection, 67: 218–222, account by Roman Wieszała.
10. APMO, Zespół Materiały Ruchu Oporu (Resistance Movement Materials Collection), 3: 208, 212.

RADOSTOWITZ

From 1942 to 1943, the Pless Forestry Management Office (Oberforstamt Pless) deployed approximately 20 Auschwitz prisoners on a forest detail at Radostowitz (Radostowice). The camp was located in a barn. All of the prisoners were Jewish. The killing center at Birkenau used the trees felled by this detachment for open-pit cremations, but the Oberforstamt suspended logging operations during wintertime. The Oberforstamt Pless established similar camps at Altdorf (Stara Wieś) and Kobier (Kobiór). In a special commandant order of November 2, 1942, concerning "offenses with the use of motor vehicles," SS-Obersturmbannführer Rudolf Höss referred to these camps as the "Pless forest detachments" (Plesser Forstkommandos) but did not list them by name.[1]

SOURCES This entry is based upon Irena Strzelecka and Piotr Setkiewicz, "The Construction, Expansion and Development of the Camp and Its Branches," in *The Establishment and Organization of the Camp*, by Aleksander Lasik et al., vol. 1 of *Auschwitz, 1940–1945: Central Issues in the History of the Camp*, ed. Wacław Długoborski and Franciszek Piper, trans. William Brand, 5 vols. (Oświęcim: APMO, 2000), pp. 130–131, who cite Anna Zięba, "Podobóz Radostowitz" (unpub. MSS, n.d.), which is available at ANMA. Additional information about Radostowitz can be gleaned from "Sub-Camps of Auschwitz Concentration Camp," www.auschwitz-muzeum.oswiecim.pl.

The forest detachment reference is reproduced in Norbert Frei et al., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000).

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. Quotation in Rudolf Höss, Kommandantursonderbefehl, Betr.: "Verstösse bei Benutzung von Kraftfahrzeugen," November 2, 1942, reproduced in Norbert Frei et al., *Standort-und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1940–1945*, vol. 1 of *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000), p. 192.

RAJSKO

The establishment of the Auschwitz concentration camp sealed the fate of neighboring localities such as Rajsko (Raisko). The Kattowitz (Katowice) Relocation Agency (Umwanderer Zentralstelle) made the displacement of the Polish population one of its top priorities. During his first visit to Auschwitz and tour of the camp zone of interest on March 1, 1941, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler ordered camp commandant Rudolf Höss to develop the entire area for agriculture and other uses to serve the Reich. The residents of nearby villages, Rajsko among them, were displaced in line with carrying out that order.

When preparing to create specialized agricultural, breeding, and experimental farms, the SS sent numerous prisoner detachments (including women's detachments, after a women's camp had been formed in the spring of 1942) to the site that were put to work doing a variety of jobs including demolition work, repairs, building dikes, cleaning fishponds, site leveling, draining fields, and building the

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roads, barracks, and other structures needed to operate the specialized farms. Work in the demolition detachments was especially dangerous; injured and dead prisoners were not infrequently pulled out of heaps of rubble after buildings collapsed on them.

After the population had been displaced from the village of Rajsko, 68 homes and 41 stables were demolished. Approximately 300 female and 150 male prisoners walked to work in Rajsko in 1942. They had to cultivate an area of about 65 hectares (161 acres). Women prisoners were put to work weeding, draining fields, reaping grain, site leveling, plowing, and raising vegetables and flowers. Otto Moll, later the chief of the crematoria at Auschwitz II-Birkenau, was the detachment commander of the gardening detachment that walked to Rajsko to work. Moll was cruel and ruthless; he committed bestial and calculated murders of prisoners, especially Jewish ones, toward whom he was inflamed with particular hate.

The work done by the outside detachments prepared the way for the establishment of subcamps associated with horticulture and breeding in the camp "zone of interest." The women's detachment that had been walking to Rajsko was moved there permanently on June 12, 1943, thus establishing the Rajsko subcamp. The camp stood in the northwest part of the village about 200 meters (656 feet) from the main road running from Auschwitz (Oświęcim) to Brzeszcze. The female prisoners were divided up into two detachments, one for gardening and one for plant breeding.

The SS men who supervised the women at their work were under the command of SS-Obersturmbannführer Joachim Caesar, who had a Ph.D. in agriculture and botany and was the director of the Auschwitz concentration camp farms.

The prisoners of the gardening detachment, mainly Polish and Russian women, raised vegetables for the SS kitchens and army units. Cucumbers initialed with their origin were already being sent to Berlin in April. SS men from the Auschwitz staff also bought Rajsko vegetables. The women also bred and cultivated flowers. According to the testimony of former prisoner Irena Halbreich, Rajsko flowers were famous throughout the Reich. In the summertime, the women worked raising vegetables and grain. In the winter, they shoveled the roads clean, removed snow, protected trees from freezing, and prepared wood for fuel. A large greenhouse and hotbeds was one of their work sites; there they sowed and forced early vegetables, seedlings, and flowers.

Since they were in close contact with SS men, the prisoners who were put to work in horticulture were assured better sanitary and hygienic conditions and a change of underwear, clothing, and shoes. However, their work was hard and was inspected daily. If even one small thing wrong was noticed, the woman at fault was punished by whipping, carrying rocks on holidays, or working in a penal company. The SS often conducted random inspections of the prisoners in the field, during which the prisoners had to take off their clothes, and if any civilian clothing or paper sacks were found under their dresses to protect them from the cold, they were punished.

The plant breeding research and experimental detachment consisted of a group of prisoners, mainly Polish women, with degrees in biology, horticulture, and chemistry. At Caesar's request, the first group of biologists was sent to Auschwitz from Ravensbrück on May 12, 1942. The detachment's population gradually increased to 150 prisoners. Under the supervision of civilian employees, German and Russian scientists, and agro-engineers, the women worked on raising a plant called the *kok-sagiz*, whose roots contained a rubber-producing substance. Making up for the shortage of natural rubber, the supply of which the Allies had blockaded, had grown into an issue of national importance. The rubber-producing substance the plant yielded was put through laboratory tests in the nearby IG Farbenindustrie plants. The purpose of the experiments was to transplant the plant from Asia to Western Europe and to grow a species of kok-sagiz whose roots contained the highest percentage of the rubber-producing substance. Himmler himself was in charge of cultivating this rubber-yielding plant. Scientists and army representatives visited the Rajsko experimental station. Caesar accompanied them and provided any explanations they might need.

Plant breeding was an exceptionally good detachment to be assigned to. Because of the important nature of the work being done for the German government, the prisoners put to work there were treated well. Due to the working conditions and camaraderie among the prisoners, the women could maintain a good level of mental stability and physical condition. They even held impromptu shows and evening discussions on various occasions and holidays. When circumstances permitted, they sent vegetables to the children and others hospitalized in Birkenau, via the prisoners walking from Birkenau to Rajsko to work. But even in this better detachment, there were instances of prisoners dying of typhus.

The Rajsko camp existed until January 18, 1945. On that day, the Rajsko female prisoners were joined with a column of male prisoners evacuated from the Auschwitz main camp.

SOURCES Published sources on the Rajsko camp include M. Dechavassine, "Le kommando Pflanzenzucht á Rajsko," ApAz 15 (1947): 3–4; Anna Zięba, "The Rajsko Subcamp," *ZO* 9 (1965): 71–102 (German version: Anna Zięba, "Das Nebenlager Rajsko," *HvA* 9 [1966]: 75–108); and Jadwiga Apostoł-Staniszewska, *Echa okupacyjnych lat* (Warsaw, 1973), pp. 322–335.

Archival materials may be found in APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia [Affidavits Collection], accounts of former female prisoners Józefa Kiwałowa, Maria Raczyńska, Zenobia Rządzińska, Stefania Szkutowa, Antonina Kopycińska, Hana Laskowa, Zofia Skurska, Wanda Tarasiewicz, Zofia Pajerska; Zespół Proces Hössa [The Höss Trial collection], testimony of former female prisoner Irena Halbreich.

Irena Strzelecka
trans. Gerard Majka

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SOSNOWITZ I

The Germans established a subcamp of Auschwitz in Sosnowiec (Sosnowitz), on occupied Polish lands, in August 1943.

The subcamp was established for the purpose of renovating a large building at 12 Targowa Street in Sosnowiec, which had previously housed the offices of the Central Office of the Jewish Councils of Elders in Eastern Upper Silesia (Zentrale der Jüdischen Ältestenräte in Ost-Oberschlesien), where approximately 1,200 people were employed. One hundred tradesmen-prisoners including bricklayers, painters, cabinetmakers, carpenters, metalworkers, electricians, glaziers, and stove-setters were sent to Sosnowiec in late August 1943 to do renovation work.[1] Most of the prisoners were Poles. Additionally, there were Jews from Poland and France, as well as several Germans who served as prisoner-foremen.

The prisoners were quartered on-site in the building being renovated. Their clothing and food were severely inadequate and not much different from that which the Auschwitz prisoners had. Since there was no infirmary on-site, prisoners were sent to Auschwitz if they became ill. There was also a kitchen on-site, to which food products were brought in from Auschwitz.

Work lasted about 10 to 12 hours daily. SS men and German prisoner-foremen supervised the prisoners at work. The SS men summarily whipped them for any real or alleged transgressions. Sometimes the punishment consisted of summary brutal beating and kicking.[2]

SS-Rottenführer Lehmann initially served as the subcamp's commandant, followed by SS-Unterscharführer Horst Czerwiński.[3] Fifteen SS men supervised the prisoners.[4]

When the amount of work decreased in December 1943, almost half the prisoners were moved to the Lagischa subcamp; the rest were moved in February 1944, and the Sosnowitz camp was shut down.[5]

SOURCES APMO holds the following relevant records: Affidavits Collection, accounts by Edward Spurtacz, Stanisław Łapiński, Januariusz Lengiewicz, and Zbigniew Tokarski; Arbeitseinsatz; Akta Procesu Hössa; Fahrbefehle; Kraftfahrzeug-Anforderung; Mauthausen prisoner files; Resistance Movement Materials; Correspondence on IG Farbenindustrie 9d-1.

See also Franciszek Piper, "Das Nebenlager Sosnowitz (I)," HvA 11 (1970): 89–96.

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trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

1. APMO, Correspondence on IG Farbenindustrie 9d-1, p. 48, letter from Auschwitz Arbeitseinsatz to Auschwitz Standortverwaltung dated August 13, 1943; Zespół Oświadczenia (Affidavits Collection), account by former prisoner Edward Spurtacz; Files of Mauthausen concentration camp prisoners, files of prisoners Franciszek Szast and Januariusz Lengiewicz.

2. APMO, Affidavits Collection, accounts by former prisoners Edward Spurtacz, Stanisław Łapiński, Januariusz Lengiewicz, and Zbigniew Tokarski.

3. APMO, Affidavits Collection, accounts by former prisoners Edward Spurtacz and Stanisław Łapiński.

4. APMO, Correspondence on IG Farbenindustrie 9d-1, p. 48, letter from Auschwitz Arbeitseinsatz to Auschwitz Standortverwaltung dated August 13, 1943.

5. APMO, Affidavits Collection, account by former prisoner Zbigniew Tokarski; Files of Mauthausen concentration camp prisoners, files of prisoner Franciszek Szast; Materiały Ruchu Oporu (Resistance Movement Materials), vol. 2, book 60, vol. 7, book 475 (subcamp prisoner populations).

SOSNOWITZ II

The Germans established a subcamp of Auschwitz in Sosnowiec (Sosnowitz) in May 1944, at the request of the Ost-Maschinenbau GmbH (Osmag) company. Company representatives held preliminary negotiations in Sosnowiec on March 12 with officials of the employment office at the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) on a plan to put prisoners to work. The terms for hiring out prisoners were set forth in a letter from WVHA DII to the company management dated April 26, 1944.[1] The Sosnowitz II subcamp was under the administrative control of Auschwitz III-Monowitz and was headed by commandant SS-Hauptscharführer Albin Vaupel. Several dozen SS men from the Monowitz 5th Guard Company watched the prisoners and escorted them to and from work. On the factory premises, guard duty was shared among SS men not on the camp guard staff, factory guards, and Wehrmacht soldiers.

The first group of approximately 600 prisoners arrived in the subcamp at the beginning of May 1944. Additional drafts added to that number as time went on. The highest prisoner population was approximately 900, at the end of 1944. The population fell to 863 people on January 17, 1945, after some prisoners were moved to Auschwitz.[2] This number was approximately 500 people less than the projected population of 1,400.

Ninety-five percent of the prisoners were Jews who had been brought to Auschwitz in late 1943 and early 1944 from Poland, France, Belgium, Italy, Greece, and Yugoslavia. There were also several dozen Poles, Russians, Germans, and French in the subcamp.[3]

Housing and clothing conditions were no different from those typical for Auschwitz camps. The prisoners slept in wooden barracks on three-decker bunks and wore striped clothes and wooden shoes. Some prisoners received clothes of black cloth instead of stripes. Red crosses were painted on the backs of that clothing, and stripes were painted on the pants along the seams. The food, although inadequate, was somewhat better than at the main camp. During work, in addition to typical camp food, prisoners were rationed the rest of the soup that remained in the plant cafeteria.

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The prisoners were put to work in the Ost-Maschinenbau arms plants in Sosnowiec, manufacturing barrels and shells for anti-aircraft guns. Some of the prisoners worked in 12-hour shifts and some in 8-hour ones. For the most part, the prisoners worked as helpers to the civilians who operated the plant's machines: they delivered raw materials to workstations, took out finished products, and cleaned the machines.[4] Burns and bruises occurred in handling the hot extruded barrels. Only a few prisoners received training and went on to operate the machines themselves.

The discrimination against prisoners as opposed to civilian workers was expressed in situations such as air raids, when civilian personnel went to the bomb shelters, while prisoners had to stay at their workstations under the supervision of prisoner-foremen.

Prisoner treatment on the job was better than at the main camp because of the nature of the work. That does not mean that prisoners were free from persecution and severe punishments. Punitive exercises combined with beating were a common form of punishment; the Germans meted it out for singing badly, low productivity, or being late for roll call.

Under the contract that the company signed with the SS, the company paid 6 Reichsmark (RM) for a day's work by a skilled worker and 4 RM for that of an unskilled laborer to the national treasury, via the SS bank account.

The bodies of the dead were taken to the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp to be cremated.

There were several escapes from the subcamp, mainly by Russians. Three Russians escaped from the factory in the night on September 6, 1944: Hryhorij Sijew, Nikolai Korolkow, and Potapow [Polish spellings], who dressed in civilian clothing that Niklaszyński, a Polish civilian worker, had provided to them and left via the plant gate.[5] A guard shot the fourth escapee as he was going across the gate. Two other prisoners caught escaping were hanged in the subcamp.

In early December 1944, the non-Jewish prisoners were taken away to the main camp and then to the Mauthausen concentration camp. The Sosnowitz camp was finally shut down and the approximately 863 prisoners evacuated in January 1945. The prisoners were taken on foot to Gleiwitz (later Gliwice), then via Ratibor (Racibórz) to Troppau (Opava), which they reached 12 days later. The escorts shot many prisoners who did not keep up with the march, the weak, and the sick. The survivors were loaded into boxcars in Opava and taken away to Mauthausen; the train journey took 4 days. From Mauthausen some prisoners went on to the Gusen subcamp.

SOURCES APMO holds the following relevant records: Affidavits Collection, accounts by Józef Słoń, Julius Engel, Mario Spizzichino, Augustyn Piotrowski, Hawrił Nikiszin, Stefan Gubała, Edward Ciesielski, Wiktor Bil, Antoni Lis, Władysław Wojciechowski, and Franciszek Depta; Camp Resistance Movement Materials; Meldeblatt; Fahrbefehle.

See also Franciszek Piper, "Das Nebenlager Sosnowitz (II)," HvA 11 (1970): 97–128.

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NOTES

1. APKat, Berghütte 2511, books 6–8a (microfilm at APMO), letter from SS-WVHA to Ost-Maschinenbau GmbH dated April 26, 1944.

2. APMO, Materiały Ruchu Oporu (Resistance Movement Materials), vol. 3, books 208, 212, prisoner population on January 17, 1945.

3. APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia (Affidavits Collection), accounts of former prisoners Julius Engel and Mario Spizzichino.

4. Prisoner living and working conditions have been depicted based on the accounts of former Sosnowitz II subcamp prisoners Józef Słoń, Julius Engel, Mario Spizzichino, and Hawrił Nikiszin, as well as Ost-Maschinenbau GmbH civilian plant employees Stefan Gubała, Edward Ciesielski, Wiktor Bil, Antoni Lis, Władysław Wojciechowski, and Franciszek Depta.

5. APMO, Meldeblatt No. 8, Breslau, October 1, 1944, p. 354, two of the three fugitives were listed in the arrest warrant: Hryhorij Sijew (real name—Hawrił Nikiszin) and Nikolai Korolkow. Hawrił Nikiszin writes more of the escape in his account held at APMO, Affidavits Collection.

TRZEBINIA

The Germans established a subcamp of the Auschwitz concentration camp in August 1944 in Trzebinia, a town located between Auschwitz (Oświęcim) and Kraków, at the request of the German Erdöl Raffinerie Trzebinia GmbH petroleum refinery, which planned to use the inmates' labor. In a letter to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amt D II, dated June 20, 1944, the refinery requested that the SS supply them with 1,000 prisoners.[1] That number was never achieved. The largest prisoner population in Trzebinia was over 800 in September 1944.[2] These prisoners arrived in August and September 1944 in several truck transports from Auschwitz II-Birkenau.[3] Except for seven German prisoner-foremen, they were all Jews, most of them Polish and

Post-liberation view of Auschwitz-Trzebinia from the south.
USHMM WS # 51035, COURTESY OF IPN

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Hungarian. There were 120 children aged 14 to 17 among the prisoners.[4]

The prisoners were housed in a camp that originally housed British prisoners of war (POWs), whom the Germans had removed from Trzebinia in early August 1944. Living conditions in the subcamp were very hard. Barracks that had previously housed 200 British POWs now were packed with four times as many prisoners. The food, as was typical of concentration camps, was completely inadequate.

As the SS had been requested, the prisoners were mainly put to work expanding the refinery: in bricklaying work, handling building materials, constructing sewers, and digging drainage ditches. Some prisoners were also put to work expanding the camp. Depending upon the time of year, the work lasted from 8.5 to 11 hours.[5] For the prisoners' work, the refinery paid the Reich treasury, via the SS, 6 Reichsmark (RM) for a day's work by a skilled worker and 4 RM for that of an unskilled one.[6] Some prisoners were employed directly by the refinery, but most were subhired from the refinery by various construction and installation companies.

Although the refinery management was aware that the prisoners were not being fed properly, in its monthly reports it continually expressed its displeasure with their low work output, which was rated at between 45 and 60 percent of the free laborers' productivity. One of the measures the management took in order to raise productivity was to replace the Jewish prisoner-foremen with Germans.[7] In its report for August 1944, the refinery stated that the change contributed to a rise in work output. However, in the very next report for September 1944, the management was again displeased with productivity and stated that "an increase in productivity can be achieved only if the block elders, guards, and prisoner foremen are all relentless in impelling prisoners to work."[8]

In response to that, the SS men and prisoner-foremen tormented the prisoners in a bestial manner in order to force them to expend maximum effort: they beat them with poles, iron bars, rubber cables, and shovel handles; kicked them; and not infrequently killed them. One witness, a Polish worker, saw how Oberkapo Albert Gumpricht put a pole onto the neck of a fallen prisoner and ordered two prisoners to stand on the ends, in consequence of which the prisoner was strangled. After work, the prisoners had to carry the bodies of those who had been murdered back to the camp or, if they did not have the strength, drag them back, pulling them by the arms.[9]

Not only were the prisoners tormented by being driven to labor; they were also abused for the smallest disciplinary transgressions. Accepting any food from the Polish workers was a strictly punishable offense. In one instance, when a prisoner picked up an apple that a worker had thrown to him, the prisoner-foreman killed him with one blow to the head with a pole.[10]

Any attempt to obtain additional clothing as protection against the cold was also punished. Once, when a prisoner put some newspaper under his striped clothing to protect himself from the cold, a prisoner-foreman brutally beat and kicked him. During the beating the prisoner had to take the pieces of newspaper out of his shirt.[11]

Many prisoners fell ill under such conditions. From October 1944 onward, there were always approximately 50 to 100 prisoners in the camp infirmary.[12] In January 1945, the number of infirmary patients, convalescents, and those treated as outpatients was approximately one-third of the total prisoner population.[13]

In order to raise productivity, sick prisoners were trucked away to Birkenau, and those fit for work were brought in.[14] The bodies of those prisoners who died on the spot from illness, starvation, or mistreatment were taken to Birkenau for cremation at first; then in November 1944 the Germans built a crematorium on-site in Trzebinia. SS men blew it up before leaving the camp in January 1945.[15]

Because the Red Army was approaching, the camp was shut down on January 17 or 18, 1945. Some prisoners who were unable to march were loaded into four railway freight cars over which a makeshift roof was put up and taken away. The other prisoners were issued extra clothes and food (bread and margarine) and prodded westward to march on foot in columns. The march took place during severely cold, snowy weather. Anyone who did not keep up with the march, especially on the first leg of the evacuation route from Trzebinia to Auschwitz, was shot. Some of those unable to march were left at the Birkenau camp. The rest marched on to Rybnik, but only half of those who had set out from Trzebinia arrived. In Rybnik they were loaded into open freight cars. Covered with snow, they rode toward Gross-Rosen, where they were not admitted, so they were sent to Sachsenhausen, then were sent to Bergen-Belsen two weeks later.[16]

Camp commandant SS-Unterscharführer Wilhelm Kowol, who was in charge of 60 SS men, bears direct responsibility for the crimes committed in Trzebinia. The names of over 20 SS men have been identified, including 3 who were tried in court in Poland after the war.

SOURCES On this subcamp, see Franciszek Piper, "Das Nebenlager Trzebinia," *HvA* 16 (1978): 93–135.

APMO contains the Trzebinia Collection, records on the former Trzebinia subcamp, which includes refinery correspondence with SS officials, refinery reports, invoices for prisoner labor, and records of construction companies that used prisoner labor. In the Affidavits Collection, see also the account of former Trzebinia subcamp prisoner Benjamin Pilicer. From OKBZNwK see Catalog No. Ds. 18/67, records of examinations of Trzebinia refinery civilian employees about the Trzebinia subcamp.

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NOTES

1. APMO, Zespół Trzebinia [Trzebinia Collection], 3/2, book 44.
2. Ibid., book 15, refinery report for September 1944.

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3. Ibid., book 47, invoice for prisoner labor dated September 2, 1944.

4. Ibid., books 19–22, 30–40, list of prisoners by name dated August 24, 1944, and list of those newly arrived dated September 17, 1944.

5. Ibid., books 2, 3, 14–15, 29, monthly refinery reports on prisoner employment.

6. Ibid., book 47, invoice for prisoner labor in August 1944.

7. Ibid., book 29, refinery report for August 1944.

8. Ibid., book 29, refinery report for September 1944.

9. OKBZNwK, sygn. [catalog no.] Ds. 18/67, testimony of civilian refinery employee Kazimierz Chrząszcz, May 5, 1969.

10. Ibid., testimony of female civilian employee Czesław Kalisiewicz, April 11, 1969.

11. Ibid., testimony of female civilian employee Maria Matonóg, April 28, 1969.

12. APMO, Trzebinia Collection, 3/2, books 2, 3, 14–15, 29, refinery reports for the period from August to November 1944.

13. APMO, Trzebinia Collection, 3/5, books 1–9, daily reports of subcamp management for January 1945.

14. OKBZNwK, catalog no. Ds. 18/67, testimony of civilian refinery employee Stanisław Pluto.

15. Ibid., testimonies of civilian refinery employees Rudolf Fasko, Erwin Michalik, Stanisław Struzik, and Edward Bucki.

16. APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia [Affidavits Collection], accounts of former prisoner Benjamin Pilicer.

TSCHECHOWITZ (*BOMBENSUCHERKOMMANDO*)

The Allied air raid on Tschechowitz (Czechowice) on August 20, 1944, was the immediate reason for establishing a subcamp of the Auschwitz concentration camp there. Such places as the Czechowice-Południowe train station, the nearby petroleum refinery owned by Vacuum Oil Company AG, and the brickyard in Bestwina were struck, as well as other sites. Many unexploded bombs remained throughout the bombed area.

Immediately after the raid, the Armaments Inspectorat VIIIb and the Organisation Todt (OT) began to ask that labor be assigned from Auschwitz to the task of repairing the bomb damage and to remove unexploded bombs. The bomb search detachment (Bombensucherkommando) most probably came into being upon the initiative of the Deutsche Reichsbahn Office in Tschechowitz. The first group of approximately 70 prisoners, among them around 60 Germans, was brought to Tschechowitz from the Auschwitz main camp just a few days after the bombing. They were immediately assigned to remove unexploded bombs between the tracks. Three days later, the German prisoners were moved back to the main camp, and approximately 100 Jews from such places as Belgium, Poland, Hungary, and France were brought in to Tschechowitz to replace them. The SS guards were replaced by guards provided by Tschechowitz's chief of police. Two ordnance technicians were assigned from the Luftwaffe to supervise the work of the prisoners.

The prisoners were quartered in the old beer bottling plant building near the Czechowice-Południowe train station. Before the war, the plant was owned by Henryk Feliks, a Jew, who had been taken away to the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp along with approximately 300 Jewish residents of Tschechowitz. The camp management and guards' rooms were in the building next door, where a restaurant and Feliks's residence had been before the war. The subcamp's commandant was SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Claussen, who had served several functions at the main camp, such as political unit officer and, in 1944, Rapportführer. He conducted executions at the Death Wall and participated in selections.

Because the Czechowice-Dziedzice-Bielsko railway line had to be reopened as quickly as possible, the prisoners worked both day and night shifts. They also worked at the refinery and the other sites in the bombing area. The labor the prisoners did was hard, tiring, and extremely dangerous. In his postwar testimony, Claussen said that the prisoners went through a living hell while removing the unexploded bombs, as they constantly contended with the possibility of sudden death.[1]

In the less than three weeks of the subcamp's existence, the prisoners retrieved and disarmed more than 80 unexploded bombs. The subcamp was shut down in early September 1944, and the prisoners there were taken back to the main camp.

Claussen was born in Alton, near Hamburg, on December 16, 1915. He came to Auschwitz from Buchenwald in 1941. In September 1944, he was assigned first to the Italian, then to the Hungarian front. U.S. Military Police arrested him after the war, and he died in prison in Poland in 1948.

SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in Irena Strzelecka and Tadeusz Szymański, "Podobozy Tschechowitz-Bombensucherkommando i Tschechowitz-Vacuum," *ZO* 18 (1983): 187–222 (German version: "Die Nebenlager Tschechowitz-Bombensucherkommando und Tschechowitz-Vacuum," *HvA* 18 [1990]: 189–224).

Original records pertaining to the camp are available in the APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia [Affidavits Collection], accounts of former prisoner Jeno Vamosi and accounts of Czechowice residents.

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trans. Gerard Majka

NOTE

1. APMO, Zespół Proces załogi [Staff Trial Collection], vol. 78, book 262.

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TSCHECHOWITZ [AKA TSCHECHOWITZ-VACUUM]

In September 1944, the Germans established a second subcamp of the Auschwitz concentration camp in Tschechowitz, the name of which appears in surviving records as Arbeitslager Tschechowitz-Vacuum. It stood on the grounds of the old Przemsza farm on the Czechowice-Dziedzice-Bielsko railway line. A brick stable building was adapted as space for the prisoners.

SS man Knoblik served as the subcamp's commandant. Members of the Organisation Todt (OT) and plant protection (Werkschutz) employees supervised the prisoners during work, as did German policemen brought to Czechowice from Moravska Ostrava. German criminal prisoners comprised what was called the "prisoner government."

The first prisoner transport arrived at the subcamp in the latter half of September 1944. The transport consisted of approximately 300 Polish Jews, whom the Germans selected from prisoners who had arrived in Birkenau from the Łódź ghetto. Slightly more than 300 Czech Jews who had come from the Theresienstadt (Terezin) ghetto to Auschwitz joined the first group on October 9, 1944. Besides those transports, several smaller transports were sent to the subcamp. There were 596 prisoners in the subcamp on November 9, 1944, and 561 on January 17, 1945.

The prisoners' living conditions were essentially the same as those in other Auschwitz subcamps. Józef Ogiegło, then a Czechowice resident, stated in his account that just the prisoners' appearance alone showed that they were starving. "The people in the camp looked like shadows," testified Ludwik Rup, whom the Germans employed as a forced laborer in the refinery. Only hunger could force prisoners to collect cabbage and rutabaga leaves from the rubbish heap they passed on the way to work, which was next to the kitchen for forced laborers. Some of the more decent guards would allow the prisoners to collect garbage. Others beat the prisoners or even shot at them for attempting to obtain additional nourishment. For example, an SS man shot a prisoner to death during work for picking up a rutabaga that a civilian worker had thrown to him. Two juvenile prisoners, brothers from the town of Hradec Kralove, were beaten so severely by SS men for breaking into a food warehouse that they died shortly thereafter. Prisoners were tormented with punitive exercises and hours of roll calls for the smallest offenses; they were whipped, and prisoners were beaten every day in camp as well as at their workplaces.

At least one prisoner attempted to escape to freedom, counting on the help of Czechowice residents. Although he did manage to get beyond the fence and hide in a sewer near the camp, SS men found him during a search of the area near the camp and shot him to death. Investigations of prisoner escapes were conducted by officials of the Auschwitz I political unit: SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Boger, SS-Unterscharführer Federsel, and SS-Rottenführer Pery Broad.

The prisoners' primary workplace was on the premises of the petroleum refinery. There they were mostly put to work demolishing the ruins of bombed structures; doing bricklaying, concrete work, and earthmoving; and repairing tracks and roads. The prisoners were constantly persecuted by the guards and prisoner-foremen who supervised them while they worked. There were also instances in which the guards shot prisoners who worked too slowly.

In early 1945, the approach of Soviet troops forced the management of Auschwitz to shut down the subcamp. Approximately 450 prisoners left the subcamp under armed escort on January 18, 1945, at about 7:00 P.M. The Germans left several dozen sick prisoners and the bodies of dead ones at the subcamp. On January 20, after two days of marching on the Dziedzice-Goczałkowice-Pszczyna road, the prisoners reached Wodzisław Śląski. Prisoners who could not keep up with their comrades were shot by the guards. Sixteen victims of this death march—Polish and Czech Jews—were buried at Suszcze-Łęg near Pszczyna. At the train station in Wodzisław Śląski, Tschechowitz subcamp prisoners encountered thousands of comrades from the Auschwitz main camp, from Birkenau, and from other Auschwitz subcamps. The prisoners were loaded onto open coal cars and sent to camps inside Germany. The cars holding Tschechowitz prisoners reached Buchenwald four days later. Of the approximately 450 prisoners who left the subcamp, about 300 were still alive. Some prisoners were kept at Buchenwald, while the rest were sent to its subcamps, such as Rehmsdorf near Leipzig. In a letter written just after the war to Erwin Habal, his friend from the subcamp, former prisoner Ctibor Erban recalls that it was "desperately bad" at Rehmsdorf. Prisoners received incredibly small food rations; they had no opportunity to wash or change underwear. Thousands of lice nested in the bunks and blankets. Under such conditions only a few of the prisoners evacuated from Czechowice lived to see liberation.

Almost all the prisoners left at the subcamp also perished. On Sunday, January 21, 1945, at about 1:00 P.M., an armed unit of OT members entered the subcamp. They ordered the prisoners to dig a ditch, ostensibly to bury the bodies of dead prisoners. A few hours later, several SS men or Sicherheitsdienst (SD) members arrived at the subcamp. They ordered the people living in the vicinity of the subcamp to leave their homes and warned them that if they helped escaped prisoners, they would all be shot. Accounts of the events unfolding in the subcamp were provided after the war by former prisoners Erwin Habal and Dr. Josef Weil as well as longtime Czechowice residents Antoni Chrapek, Aleksander Owsiński, and Józef Ogiegło, who observed the events in the subcamp from hiding. When the Nazis entered the camp hospital, they shot each bedridden prisoner in his bunk and ordered the few remaining prisoners who were still on their feet to carry the bodies of their dead comrades out to the ditch in the yard and cover them with straw mattresses. The Nazis then poured flammable liquids on the heap of human bodies and straw mattresses and set it on fire. Several prisoners

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managed to slip out of the subcamp and hide nearby, but patrols shot most of them. Probably only Habal and Weil survived, with three friends. After leaving the subcamp, Habal hid in Maria Adamaszkowa's chicken coop. The Polish Ogiegło family took care of the prisoner at the risk of their lives.

SOURCES Information on this camp may be found in Irena Strzelecka and Tadeusz Szymański, "Podobozy Tschechowitz-Bombensucherkommando i Tschechowitz-Vacuum," *ZO* 18 (1983): 187–222 (German version: "Die Nebenlager Tschechowitz-Bombensucherkommando und Tschechowitz-Vacuum," *HvA* 18 [1990]: 189–224).

Archival sources are available in: APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia [Affidavits Collection]: account of former prisoners Ctibor Erban, Pavel Nettl, Erwin Habal, Josef Weil; accounts of residents of Czechowice of that time, including Józef Borończyk, Antoni Chrapek, Józef Ogiegło, and Aleksander Owsiński; Zespół Opracowania [Studies Collection], reports of site inspections of the former subcamp by such organizations as the Jewish Congregation of Bielsko-Biała; Zespół Akta SS-Hygiene Institut [SS-Hygiene Institute Records Collection]: numerical listing of Tschechowitz-Vacuum subcamp prisoners; and the collections of Katowice division of the IPN, testimony of Ludwik Rup (sygn. akt [catalog no.] Ds. 19/66).

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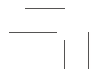
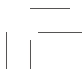
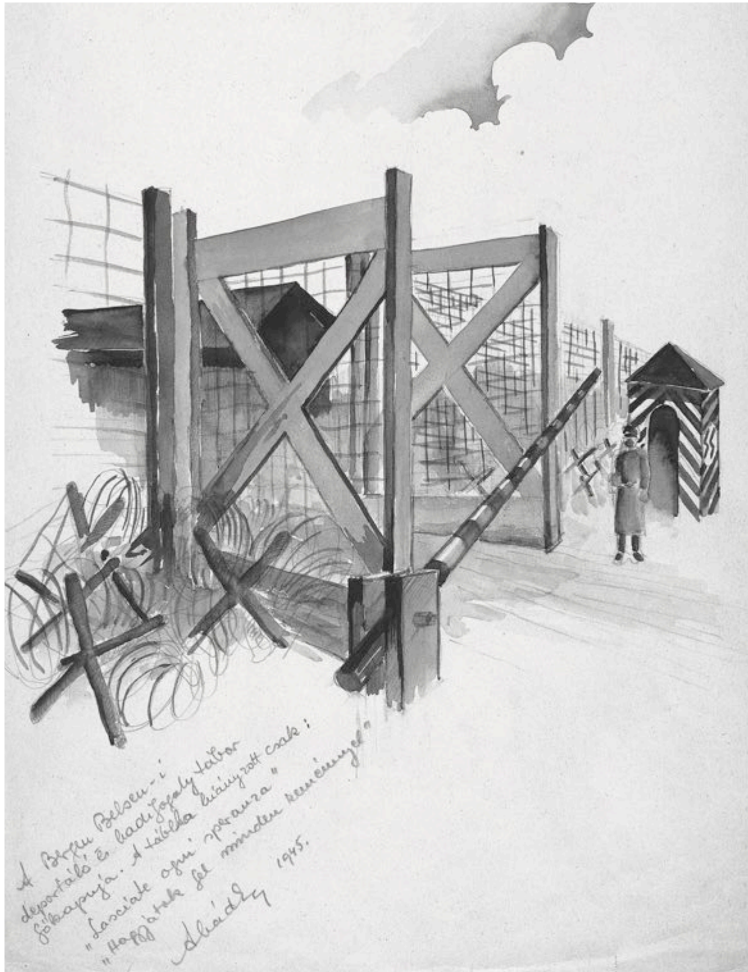




BERGEN-BELSEN



Watercolor and ink drawing of the Bergen-Belsen camp gate by survivor Ervin Abadi, 1945. The marginal comment reads: "The main gate of the deportation camp and POW camp in Bergen-Belsen. The only thing missing from it is a sign: '*Lasciate ogni speranza*' 'Abandon all hope' [signed] Abady, 1945." USHMM WS # 36742, courtesy of George Bozoki

BERGEN-BELSEN MAIN CAMP

The "detention camp (*Aufenthaltslager*) Bergen-Belsen," the official name for the camp, established in the spring of 1943, was to fulfill a very specific function within the National Socialist concentration camp system. It was to function as a transit camp for specific groups of Jewish prisoners who (initially) were excluded from the deportation into the extermination camps. They would be held to be exchanged for Germans interned in Western countries, as more Germans had been interned overseas than had foreigners in countries under German control.

Although the Foreign Affairs Office was involved in the initiative to establish the camp, it was, despite its specific function, nevertheless incorporated into the concentration camp system administered by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), a step that would have fatal results in its development. To establish this assembly camp the SS took over from the Wehrmacht the southern half of the Bergen-Belsen prisoner-of-war (POW) camp and its barracks, located on the edge of the largest military training ground in the German Reich.

It is true that the living conditions at first were better than those in other concentration camps. Those prisoners who were to be exchanged were not to know the true conditions in the National Socialist concentration camps. They were not to be in a position where they could report overseas on the conditions or provide evidence of those conditions by their own physical condition. Nevertheless, the living standards in Bergen-Belsen were somewhat worse than in the internment camps. The substitution of the initial name of the camp, "civilian internment camp (*Zivilinterniertenlager*) Bergen-Belsen" with the name "Aufenthaltslager Bergen-Belsen" on June 29, 1943, was justified on the grounds that a civilian internment camp would in accordance with the Geneva Convention be open for inspection by international commissions.

Even when the exchange prisoners (*Austauschhäftlinge*) in Bergen-Belsen were granted "privileges" not available to prisoners in concentration camps—for example, they could take their luggage to Bergen-Belsen and wear their civilian clothing in the camp, and the SS was forbidden directly to mistreat the prisoners physically—the exchange prisoners were subject in many respects to arbitrary acts by the SS, including hour-long roll calls and hunger rations.

The Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) issued guidelines on August 31, 1943, establishing criteria for the relocation of the Jewish prisoners to Bergen-Belsen as follows:

1. Jews who are either related to or have other relations with influential people in hostile overseas countries;
2. Jews who are key to an exchange of Germans either interned overseas or held prisoner overseas;
3. Jews who as hostages can be used to exert either political or economic pressure;
4. Key Jewish personalities.[1]

These guidelines determined the social structure of the Aufenthaltslager Bergen-Belsen. Disregarding the so-called prison camp (*Häftlingslager*), a strictly separate area of the camp in which prisoners lived in typical concentration camp conditions, Bergen-Belsen initially held exclusively Jewish prisoners. Until the end of 1944, Jewish prisoners represented the huge majority of the total prisoner population in Bergen-Belsen.

The exchange prisoners were not as a rule individuals. Whole families were deported to Bergen-Belsen with the result that right from the beginning there were a large number of children in all age groups. Men and women were held in separate barracks but could meet each other during the day. Children lived with their mothers in the women's barracks until they were 15.

The first transport of "exchange prisoners" arrived in Bergen-Belsen in July 1943. However, the planned number of transports only began to arrive from the beginning of 1944. At the end of July 1944, there were around 7,300 prisoners in Bergen-Belsen.

Unlike the other concentration camps, the Bergen-Belsen prisoners did not all live according to the same camp rules. Living conditions varied according to the SS's view of their legal status and their national origin. They lived in strictly separated parts of the camp.

In the *Sternlager* (so called because the prisoners had to wear the Jewish star) lived the strictly speaking "exchange Jews" (in July 1944 almost 4,400 prisoners) including the Dutch, who had arrived in Bergen-Belsen via the Westerbork transit camp. They were by far the largest group. Even elderly prisoners were forced to do labor in the Sternlager.

Several hundred Jews from neutral countries lived in the *Neutralenlager*, mostly from Spain, Portugal, Argentina, and Turkey. Unlike the other "camps" within Bergen-Belsen, the prisoners here lived in relatively bearable conditions until March 1945. The prisoners in this camp were not assigned to labor detachments.

In the middle of 1943, 2,300 to 2,500 Polish Jews were deported to the so-called special camp (*Sonderlager*). They held provisional papers issued by South American states. They also were not assigned to labor detachments. They were strictly isolated from the other prisoners probably because of their knowledge of massacres committed by the SS in Poland. By the middle of 1944, most of these people, after their citizenship had been examined, were deported to Auschwitz, where they were murdered. Only 350 remained in Bergen-Belsen.

The Hungarian camp (*Ungarnlager*) was established in July 1944 for 1,683 Hungarian Jews (the so-called Kasztner Group). A small group was released to Switzerland in August and a larger group in December 1944, not as part of an exchange of prisoners but as the result of negotiations between the SS and a Zionist aid committee represented by Reszö

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Aerial reconnaissance photograph of Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, 1945
USHMM WS # 04162, courtesy of NARA

Kasztner in Budapest. Heinrich Himmler had initiated the negotiations with a goal of making contact with the Western Allies via the release of the Jews with a view to finding a potential partner to negotiate a separate peace. The Hungarian Jewish prisoners in this part of the camp wore, as those in the Sternlager, civilian clothes. They were not forced to work. Shortly after the Kasztner Group was released, a new group of Hungarian Jews was brought into this part of the camp. They were also viewed by the SS as exchange prisoners.

The specific living conditions in the Aufenthaltslager Bergen-Belsen in the beginning made possible an astonishing variety of cultural and religious life, which as a rule was only tolerated by the SS and could only take place in secret. By allowing the prisoners in the Aufenthaltslager their luggage, they were given an important material foundation for a cultural and religious life inside the camp—they could bring in books, paper, pens, and a variety of religious ritual objects. There are known to be 30 diaries secretly written by prisoners in Bergen-Belsen—mostly in the detention camp—that have survived. In addition, more than 100 poems (mostly in Dutch and Polish) written in Bergen-Belsen as well as dozens of drawings drawn in the Aufenthaltslager have survived.

Very few prisoners in the Aufenthaltslager Bergen-Belsen were in fact exchanged. Some 222 Jews were able to leave the camp at the end of June 1944, reaching Palestine in the following months; 136, as the result of a German-American exchange of civilian personnel, reached Switzerland at the end of January 1945. And 1,683 prisoners from the Kasztner Group and a few hundred Jews from neutral countries were also freed.

The overwhelming majority of the prisoners remained caught between the hope of freedom and the despair of the ever-worsening living conditions in Bergen-Belsen, conditions that deteriorated from the middle of 1944. The hope of exchange meant that in the following months there was no open resistance and, except for the prisoner camp, presumably no attempts to escape.

Beginning in the spring of 1944, the SS began to relocate other groups of prisoners, who had nothing to do with the planned exchange program, to Bergen-Belsen. This turn of events began with a transport of sick prisoners, most no longer capable of working, from the Mittelbau concentration camp at the end of March 1944. They were exactly 1,000 prisoners who were sent to Bergen-Belsen supposedly to recuperate. There was in fact no medical care worthy of the name for these sick prisoners in Bergen-Belsen. In the following months, the SS sent other transports with sick prisoners from other concentration camps to Bergen-Belsen, all of whom suffered a similar fate as those in the first transport from the Mittelbau concentration camp. In the summer of 1944, 200 prisoners in the prisoner camp were murdered by a prisoner whom the SS called the "senior orderly" (*Oberpfleger*). They were murdered with an injection of phenol.

In autumn 1944, a tent camp was built. It bordered on the Aufenthaltslager. Initially, it functioned as a transit camp for transports of females from Poland, who were sent to work in the

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armaments industry. In August and September 1944, three work detachments were established not far from Bergen-Belsen in Hambühren, Unterlüss, and Bomlitz. Here also female Bergen-Belsen prisoners had to work in the armaments industry.

At the end of October/beginning of November 1944, the tent camp in Bergen-Belsen held about 8,000 women evacuated from Auschwitz II-Birkenau. After the tents were destroyed by a storm, the prisoners were squeezed into the already overfilled barracks. It was into this so-called small female camp that a transport from Auschwitz holding Anne Frank and her sister Margot was sent. Both died there in March 1945.

In the face of the Red Army advance, concentration camps close to the front began to be evacuated from the autumn of 1944 in a westerly direction in so-called evacuation transports. Bergen-Belsen, due to its geographical position inside the German Reich, became from the end of 1944 more and more a destination for these evacuation transports. To hold the new transports, the camp had to be expanded. In January 1945, the POW hospital in the northern half of the camp complex was dissolved and became part of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Here was the site of the "large women's camp" (*Grosses Frauenlager*).

As a result of this change of role for Bergen-Belsen and the rapid increase in prisoner transports, the camp changed from a detention camp, holding hostages for exchange, into a de facto death camp. With the handover of camp command to Josef Kramer, who had been the commandant of Birkenau and who replaced Adolf Haas on December 1, 1944, this transformation proceeded apace.

The numerous evacuation transports that were directed to Bergen-Belsen from the end of 1944 led to a catastrophic overcrowding in the camp. At the beginning of December 1944, there were around 15,000 prisoners in the camp; on February 1, 1945, approximately 22,000; and 41,250 on March 1, 1945.

In the hastily constructed, completely overcrowded, and mostly unheatable barracks there was often no furniture of any description so that countless prisoners had to lie on the ground. Hunger and illness, which the SS took no serious steps to deal with, determined the life of the prisoners in those areas of the camp where the living conditions had once been bearable. Vermin and diseases such as typhus, dysentery, and tuberculosis caused an ever-increasing number of deaths in the confined spaces where there was a complete lack of hygiene and medical care. In March 1945, alone, more than 18,000 prisoners died in Bergen-Belsen. The hunger reached an unimaginable dimension with the result that in the last weeks before Bergen-Belsen was liberated there are numerous documented cases of cannibalism.

As the Allied troops approached Bergen-Belsen, the SS attempted to remove the thousands of corpses on the camp grounds. Between April 11 and 14, 1945, those prisoners still capable of walking were forced to drag some of the corpses to mass graves. Shortly before, the SS had transported away the exchange Jews (*Austauschjuden*). Three trains evacuated around 8,000 Jews between April 6 and 11, 1945. For hundreds this meant death. One of the trains reached Theresienstadt; the other two, after roaming around for days, were liberated by U.S. troops near Magdeburg and by Soviet troops near Tröbitz.

The social structure of the prisoners in the camp changed with the numerous prisoner transports that arrived in Bergen-Belsen, especially after the end of 1944. Initially, if one ignores the Häftlingslager, Bergen-Belsen held exclusively Jews. From the beginning of the spring of 1944, more and more non-Jews arrived in Bergen-Belsen. At the time the camp was liberated, the camp held prisoners from all groups persecuted by the National Socialists: political prisoners, Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), "asocials," criminals, Jehovah's Witnesses, and homosexuals.

It is true that most of the prisoners were individual prisoners, but Bergen-Belsen was also a family camp. The number of imprisoned children (that is, prisoners under the age of 15) in Bergen-Belsen at various periods is estimated to total around 3,000, the majority of whom were Jewish children with a small group being non-Jewish Polish children or children of Sinti and Roma. Bergen-Belsen was also the destination for evacuation transports of pregnant women from other camps, who gave birth in Bergen-Belsen. Only very few of these children survived. For the orphans who were either alone because of the death of their parents in Bergen-Belsen or arrived in Bergen-Belsen as orphans, orphanages (*Waisenheime*) were set up in special barracks in the Sternlager as well as the Grosses Frauenlager, where prisoners (almost exclusively female) with the approval of the SS looked after the children.

When British soldiers liberated the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp on April 15, 1945, as part of a local cease-fire—both sides wanted to prevent the outbreak of epidemics—there were 55,000 prisoners in the camp. In the last days before liberation, several thousand male prisoners were held in the Lager II, located in part of the barracks on the nearby troop training ground at Bergen-Hohne. On the camp grounds and in the barracks in Bergen-Belsen, the British liberators found thousands of unburied corpses. Despite the efforts of the British—within a few weeks 14,000 emergency hospital beds were erected in the barracks complex on the troop training ground—help came too late for many of the liberated prisoners: in the first 12 weeks after liberation, more than 13,000 prisoners died as a result of the effects of their imprisonment in Bergen-Belsen. The total number of victims in this concentration camp is estimated at 50,000.

That the SS was able to destroy almost all the files of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp before the camp was liberated has made it difficult to determine statistical and biographical information not only on the prisoners but also on the SS personnel in the camp.

As in other concentration camps, there was a high fluctuation of SS personnel in Bergen-Belsen. It is known that there were 435 men and 45 women SS personnel. Most of them were transferred to Bergen-Belsen in two waves: one from the Wewelsburg-Niederhagen concentration camp with the first commandant at Bergen-Belsen, Adolf Haas, when the camp was established, and the second as so-called accompanying personnel (*Begleitpersonal*) with the evacuation transports

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Post-liberation view of Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, April-May 1945.
USHMM WS #74356, courtesy of NARA

from concentration camps near the front in the East, some only a few days before Bergen-Belsen was liberated. Female SS personnel in Bergen-Belsen, unlike its subcamps, were only deployed with the arrival of female prisoners from Auschwitz in the winter of 1944–1945.

The specific requirements of the liberation of Bergen-Belsen through a local cease-fire enabled the majority of the SS personnel to withdraw before the camp was taken over by the British Army.

Only around 50 SS men and 20 to 30 SS women remained behind in Bergen-Belsen. They were arrested by the British shortly after the camp was liberated. In the autumn of 1945, 21 of these SS men and 16 of the SS women as well as 11 prisoner-functionaries were tried by a British Military Court in Lüneburg. The commandant Josef Kramer was also tried. Those SS personnel who escaped capture by leaving the camp before it was liberated were not systematically pursued by the British Military government.

As some of the accused had been based in the Auschwitz concentration and death camp, they were tried in Lüneburg for crimes committed there. The Lüneburg "Belsen Trial" is not only one of the earliest war crimes trials but is in fact the first Auschwitz trial.

The court delivered its verdict on November 17, 1945: 11 accused were sentenced to death, 19 received prison terms, and 14 were acquitted. The death sentences were carried out in the middle of December 1945 in Hameln.

In May 1946, a second "Belsen Trial" took place in Celle; 10 defendants were tried, who in the fall of 1945 either were still not situated in British custody or were actually incapable of trial due to illness. Apart from terms of imprisonment, the court issued more death sentences: 4 of the accused were hanged in Hameln in October 1946.

SOURCES The following are some of the most important secondary works on Bergen-Belsen: Jo Reilly, David Cesarani, Tony Kushner, and Colin Richmond, eds., *Belsen in History and Memory* (London: Frank Cass, 1997); Claus Füllberg-Stolberg et al., eds., *Frauen in Konzentrationslagern: Bergen-Belsen, Ravensbrück* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1994); Wolfgang Günther, *"Ach, Schwester, ich kann nicht mehr tanzen . . .": Sinti und Roma im KZ Bergen-Belsen* (Hannover: Niedersächsischer Verband Deutscher Sinti, 1990); Rainer Hoffschildt and Thomas Rahe, "Homosexuelle Häftlinge im Konzentrationslager—Das Beispiel Bergen-Belsen," *BGNSVND* 5 (1999): 48–61; Paul Kemp, "The Liberation of Bergen-Belsen Concentration Camp in April 1945: The Testimony of Those Involved," *IWMR* 5 (1990): 28–41; Eberhard Kolb, *Bergen-Belsen: Geschichte des "Aufenthaltslagers" 1943–1945* (Hannover: Verlag für Literatur und Zeitgeschehen, 1962); Eberhard Kolb, *Bergen-Belsen vom "Aufenthaltslager" zum Konzentrationslager 1943–1945*, 5th rev. and expanded ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996); Thomas Rahe, "Kulturelle Aktivitäten jüdischer Häftlinge im Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen," *MJDJG* 4 (1993): 111–138; Rahe, "Aus 'rassischen' Gründen verfolgte Kinder im Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen: Eine erste Skizze," in *Kinder und Jugendliche als Opfer des Holocaust*, ed. Edgar Bamberger and Annegret Ehmann (Heidelberg: Dokumentations- und Kulturzentrum Deutscher Sinti und Roma, 1995), pp. 129–143; Rahe and Arnold Jürgens, "Zur Statistik des Konzentrationslagers Bergen-Belsen: Quellengrundlagen, methodische Probleme und neue statistische Daten," *BGNSVND* 3 (1997): 128–148; Rahe, "Jüdische Waisenkinder im Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen," *DaHe* 14 (1998): 31–49; Rahe, "Zeugen Jehovas im Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen," in *"Am mutigsten waren immer wieder die Zeugen Jehovas": Verfolgung und Widerstand der Zeugen Jehovas im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Hans Hesse (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1998), pp. 121–133; Rahe, "Rabbiner im Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen," *MJDJG* 9 (1998): 121–152; Joanne Reilly, *Belsen: The Liberation of a Concentration Camp* (London: Routledge, 1998); Alexandra-Eileen Wenck, *Zwischen Menschenhandel und "Endlösung": Das Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2000).

The following archives contain primary source materials on Belsen: Beit Lohamei Haghetaot, Oshrat, Nachlass Josef Weiss (Dossier Josef Weiss Nr. 317); BA-BL, Sammlung Schumacher. Bestand des ehem. BDC; NIOD, Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD (BdS), Den Haag; and PAAA, Abteilung Deutschland, Büro des Staatssekretärs, Büro des Unterstaatssekretärs, Inland II A/B, Inland II g, Politische Abteilung, Rechtsabteilung. The following published works contain primary sources on Bergen-Belsen: Rolf Keller et al., eds., *Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen: Berichte und Dokumente* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995); Raymond Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others (The Belsen Trial)* (London: William Hodge, 1949); G.L. Fréjafon, *Bergen-Belsen, Bagne sanatorium* (Paris: Librairie Valois, 1947); Abel Herzberg, *Zweistromland: Tagebuch aus Bergen-Belsen* (Wittingen: Erev Rav, 1997); Renata Laqueur, *Bergen-Belsen Tagebuch 1944/1945* (Hannover: Fackelträger, 1983); Hanna Lévy-Hass, *Vielleicht war das alles erst der Anfang: Tagebuch aus dem Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen 1944–1945* (Berlin: Rotbuch Verlag, 1991); Ceija Stojka, *Wir leben im Verborgenen: Erinnerungen einer Rom-Zigeunerin* (Vienna: Picus, 1995).

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. Unsigned RSHA decree, August 31, 1943, in NIOD, reprinted in Rolf Keller et al., eds., *Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen: Berichte und Dokumente* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), p. 36.

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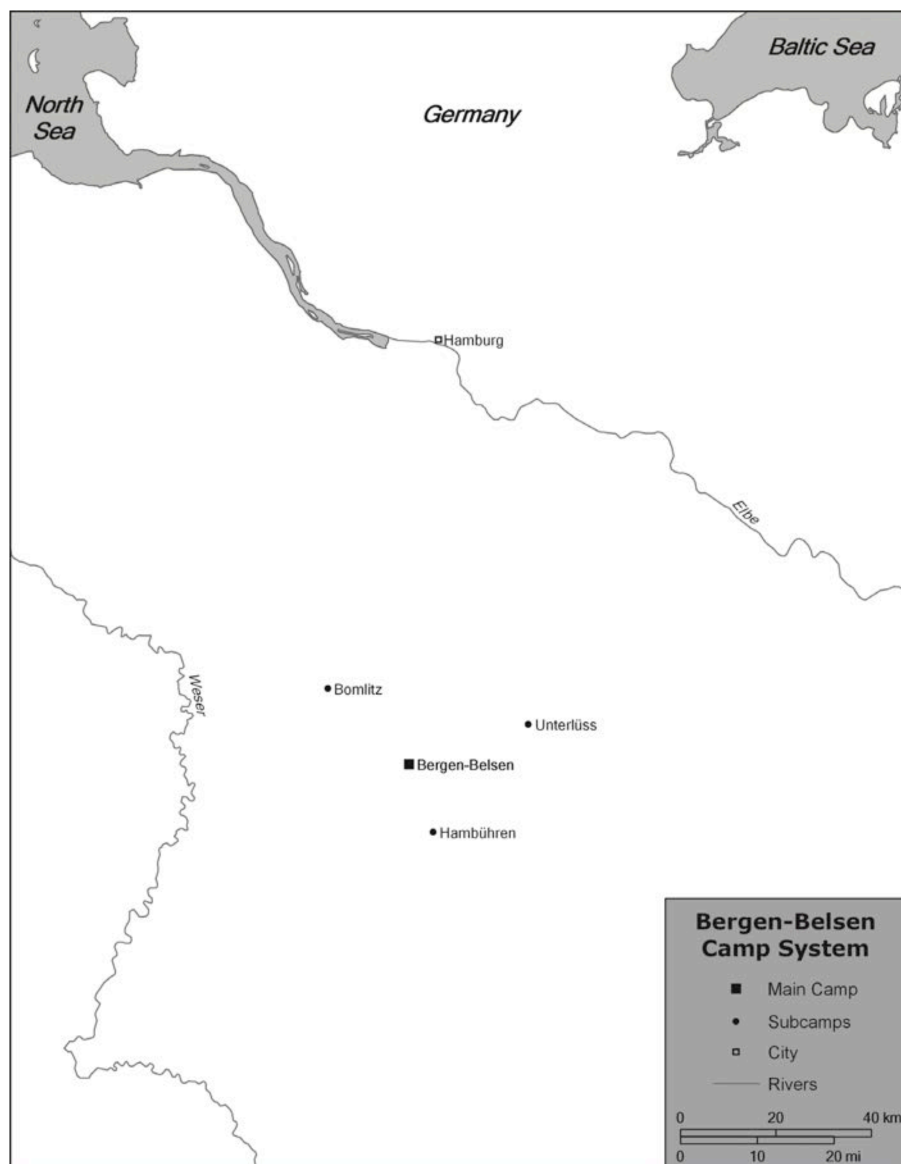

BOMLITZ [AKA BENEFELD]

The village of Bomlitz is located about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) northwest of Bergen-Belsen, in the rural district of Fallingbostel. The Bergen-Belsen subcamp was in the part of the village called Benefeld, on the so-called Sandberg. For this reason, apart from the common name Bomlitz, this outside detail is also known by the name Benefeld.

Even before 1939, the firm EIBIA & Wolff, Ltd., had established an explosives factory in Bomlitz. This plant consisted of numerous buildings spread across a large wooded area and had its own electric railway for the transport of goods. During the war, EIBIA, including all its factories, became the largest producer of gunpowder in the German Reich, in good part due to the work of thousands of forced laborers.

Source materials on this subcamp are not readily available. However, in the 1979 International Tracing Service (ITS) list of concentration camps and their outside details under the Reichsführer-SS, it is still true that Bomlitz, like the two other Bergen-Belsen subcamps, Hambühren and Unterlüss, is one of those detachments "for which it was impossible to find out to which concentration camp they reported."[1]

Since 1979, Bomlitz's link to the Bergen-Belsen main camp has been confirmed. A first hint was given in the 1950 ITS "Catalogue of Camps and Prisons," in which Bomlitz is named as a Bergen-Belsen detachment. The source for this information came from former inmates. In addition, a survey made by the district of Fallingbostel in 1945 on the use of forced laborers during the war mentions the EIBIA, Ltd., Benefeld. In the survey, "KZ [Konzentrationslager] Belsen" is indicated as the "main labor detail responsible" for prisoners deployed to Bomlitz.[2]

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On September 3, 1944, 600 Jewish women from Poland arrived in Bomlitz from Auschwitz. They were accommodated in wooden barracks with sanitary facilities, and each of them had a place to sleep with a woolen blanket. The camp was surrounded by a high electric fence. Zipora Posluszny-Finkelstein writes about the living conditions: "We arrived in a camp called Bomlitz, where we worked in an arms factory. Compared to Auschwitz, the living conditions at Bomlitz were like paradise. Of course the work was hard, but the cleanliness and the overall living conditions relieved us from the nightmare of Birkenau."[3]

Only a few, short statements from the prisoners exist that discuss the nature of the forced labor: "In July 1944, I was sent on to Auschwitz, where I stayed for only a short time, until I was transferred to Bomlitz near Hannover. There I worked in an arms factory with 'wet powder.'"[4] The wet powder was a liquid explosive that the plant produced along with other explosives. In addition to the work inside the factory, the prisoners were deployed outside, for example, laying tracks for the factory railway.

The summary of an interview with one Mrs. K., a saleswoman in the factory canteen, exemplifies how the German population perceived the female prisoners in Bomlitz: "Mrs. K. reported that every morning she could observe from her place of work about two hundred Jewish girls and women marching through Bomlitz in formation. The plant manager, however, forbade her after a few days to look at the Jewish women anymore."[5]

Some women arrived a little later in Bomlitz, directly from Bergen-Belsen. One of these women, Olga Bergmann, was brought from the Łódź ghetto, via Auschwitz, to the so-called tent camp (*Zeltlager*) in Bergen-Belsen, where she worked in the kitchen:

> Bergen-Belsen was halfway bearable. There we could rest and did not work. It was a rather beautiful autumn, and the food was not very bad either. One day I was selected to work in a kitchen where I definitely did not want to go to, because I did not want to be separated from my fellow sufferers. But I was told to do so, and the soldier who had chosen me remarked: "My wife was liberated from Russia, way back when, and now I want to do something for someone." So I went to Bomlitz, in the district of Fallingbostel, where there was a gunpowder factory. It did not take long until I had to leave Bomlitz again, because after about four weeks, it was bombed terribly, and I had to return to Bergen-Belsen.
>
> I believe that the time in Bomlitz was actually fairly good for me, because I lived with eighteen girls in one room, who all looked very bad, and I brought them as much as I could from the kitchen. They claimed that this helped them a lot to recover. After four weeks, we returned to Bergen-Belsen. There, I was selected once again, and went to Torgau on the Elbe river to a weapons factory called "Elsing" [*sic*], which belonged to the "Basag" [*sic*] firm.[6]

Apparently, representatives of the firm EIBIA & Wolff picked out female prisoners in Bergen-Belsen to do work in their factories.

On October 15, 1944, all of the female prisoners in Bomlitz were sent to the Bergen-Belsen tent camp, which most of them entered for the first time. With that, the Bomlitz subcamp was dissolved after existing for only six weeks. One can only speculate over the reasons for the camp's closure: perhaps the owners—the Wolff family—did not want to have a concentration camp in the village.

The management of the EIBIA firm never had to stand trial for its deployment of female camp prisoners from Poland. It is true that a report to the British Judge Advocate General of the Second Army reveals that the six directors of EIBIA were kept in custody for a short period of time. It seems, however, that the British Military government did not investigate further.[7]

The EIBIA plant factory buildings were disassembled or otherwise made unusable.

Information about the camp commander and other SS personnel is unavailable. However, Esther Winder mentions in a short report that the SS personnel consisted of men as well as women.[8]

SOURCES Only one essay in German exists that is dedicated exclusively to the three Bergen-Belsen subcamps. In one section the author examines the Bomlitz detachment: Stefanie Plattner, "'Schwere Balken und Steine . . .': Die Aussenlager von Bergen-Belsen," in *Frauen in Konzentrationslagern: Bergen-Belsen, Ravensbrück*, ed. Claus Füllberg-Stolberg et al. (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1994), pp. 76–78. Another short work in German on the three subcamps is unpublished: Rolf Keller, "Die Anfänge des 'Frauen-KL Bergen-Belsen': Das Zeltlager und die Aussenkommandos Bomlitz, Hambühren und Unterlüss" (B-B, unpub. MSS, 1991). There are two publications on the history of the firm EIBIA & Wolff that mention the subcamp Bomlitz: Andrea Hesse, "Prädikat 'Bestbetrieb': Die Eibia GmbH für chemische Produkte in Bomlitz," in *Aspekte der Bomlitzer Lokalgeschichte*, ed. Gemeinde Bomlitz (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1995), 3: 47–51; and Helge Matthiesen, "Geheime Reichssache EIBIA," WalsZ (1987): 26. The camp is listed in ITS, "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten (1933–1945)" (Arolsen, unpub. MSS, 1979).

No significant collection of documents on this camp exists. Most of the known published or unpublished sources on the Bomlitz subcamp are available at NHStA-H, YV, and PRO London (WO 309/463 War Crimes). Additional testimonies may be found in Mordekhai Tsanin, ed., *So geschah es: Zeugnisblätter Überlebender des KZ Bergen-Belsen*, trans. from the Hebrew by Gerda Steinfeld, vol. 2 (Tel Aviv, 1995); and in Raimond Reiter, *Frauenalltag im Zweiten Weltkrieg in Niedersachsen: Interviews mit Zeitzeuginnen* (Hannover, 1999).

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NOTES

1. ITS, "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten (1933–1945)" (Arolsen, unpub. MSS, 1979), p. xxxi.
2. Search for foreign nationals, NHStA-H, Han. 80 Lbg. III Acc. no. 672.
3. Zipora Posluszny-Finkelstein, "Auf der Waagschale des Lebens und des Todes," in *So geschah es: Zeugnisblätter Überlebender des KZ Bergen-Belsen*, ed. Mordekhai Tsanin, trans. from the Hebrew by Gerda Steinfeld (Tel Aviv, 1995), 2: 204–205.
4. Sworn statement by E.E. Afiki, October 31, 1954, in Tel Aviv, B-B, Lohheide, IRG A1 E.E. Afiki.
5. Testimony of Mrs. K. from Bomlitz, reproduced in Raimond Reiter, *Frauenalltag im Zweiten Weltkrieg in Niedersachsen: Interviews mit Zeitzeuginnen* (Hannover, 1999), p. 25.
6. Testimony of Olga Bergmann, June 1964, YVA, No. 32735, pp. 9–10.
7. Rept. by 309 FSS attached to letter, June 2, 1945, to JAG Second Army, PRO London WO 309/463 War Crimes. Repts. not disclosing war crimes. Part I.
8. Record of Esther Winder, February 13, 1947, YVA, M-1/E-2546 (trans. from Yiddish by Nicholas Yantian for BB); also the record of Bronia Beter, March 15, 1948, YVA, M-1/E-1875 (trans. from Yiddish by Nicholas Yantian for BB).

HAMBÜHREN [AKA HAMBÜHREN-OVELGÖNNE OR WALDESLUST]

The Hambühren subcamp was located about 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) south of Bergen-Belsen in the village Ovelgönne, a part of the Hambühren municipality. The subcamp was a little off the track in a wooded area and was also known as Waldeslust.

The first transport probably arrived in Hambühren on August 23, 1944, with 400 Jewish, predominantly Polish women. The women and girls were from the Łódź ghetto and had spent a few days in Auschwitz before being sent to Hambühren. The transport comprised altogether probably about 1,400 women, most of whom were brought to Bergen-Belsen, or to the Unterlüss subcamp, while the remaining 400 went directly to Hambühren. According to Estera Brunstein: "We came to a labour camp in Germany. . . . We came and soon found out that we were near Hanover in a small village, which was called Hambühren-Waldeslust. 'Waldeslust' means 'joys of the forest' or 'lust of the forest.' And there were four hundred of us placed in barracks."[1] The camp, which was fenced in with several layers of barbed wire, consisted of eight wooden barracks and two stone houses. Isabelle Choko, at the time 16 years old, describes the lodgings in her memoirs as follows: "We arrive in a forest. We walk a bit and discover a clearing with wooden barracks. We are divided up. There is an SS commander there. About forty women are sent to each room, and my mother and I enter our new 'home': There were bunk beds, but nonetheless beds! They each have a straw mattress and a blanket. There is a stove in the middle of the room, a true luxury."[2] The sanitary facilities were less "luxurious": there were no enclosed latrines but mere holes in the ground behind the barracks, where the women had to relieve themselves, even in the winter cold.[3]

As far as the circumstances permitted, the Jewish women tried to observe their religion: "I only can tell you from the barrack I was in. Every Friday we tried to do Shabbat prayer, if we were not caught."[4]

The Bergen-Belsen subcamp was not the only camp in Hambühren-Ovelgönne. There were labor camps with civilian workers, prisoners of war, and other forced laborers from West and East Europe. These people worked for the Haupt-Munitionsanstalt (main ammunitions factory) of the Luftwaffe or for the Wintershall AG, in oil drilling and mining potash.

In the spring of 1944, the Ministry of Armaments and War Production planned to create a manufacturing plant for the firm Focke-Wulf Flugzeugbau, Ltd., in Wintershall's potash mine "Prinz Adalbert," which would be safe from air attacks. This plan, code-named "Hirsch" (stag), was never realized but still resulted in an increased deployment of forced laborers and female camp prisoners in Hambühren.

Thus, some of the female prisoners had to work underground to prepare the potash mine for the aircraft factory. The work must have been exhausting because of the high temperatures in the mine, even in winter. SS-Oberscharführer Fritz Branders supervised the women during their work in the mine and often beat them. In 1945, the Hungarian sisters Irán and Edith Grünberger gave an account of a typical day:

> The work was done in two shifts. We were part of the night shift. This happened at the request of the camp leader (Lagerführer), because the workers on the night shift were paid more. However, we never saw any of these wages. We got soup in the morning and at midday, and in the evening two hundred grams of bread with some sort of spread. Our working hours lasted from 6:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. At 7:30, we were back in the camp. By the time we received our breakfast, it was 9:00 a.m. Then we were allowed to go to bed. Roll call was at noon. It lasted until 1:30 p.m., then we had lunch and we could rest until 5:00 p.m. At 5:00 p.m., we received our evening meal and then went to work.
>
> The work here was very hard. The salt had to be loaded on small carts. The day shift carried out blasting operations in the salt mine and we had to load the salt at night. Even the Germans would have admitted that such work had never been done by women before. The air was so heavy that we almost choked.[5]

The sisters came from Bergen-Belsen, together with a number of Jewish women from Hungary, at the beginning of December 1944. Choko remembers how horrified the

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Hungarian women and girls were on their arrival at the Hambühren camp. At some point in time, a few German Jewish women were also prisoners in Hambühren.

Irma Herzfeld, then the camp elder, observed: "It was the general practice to send all sick women to Belsen in exchange for healthy women."[6] It is known neither how many women were "exchanged" in this way nor how many women died in Hambühren.

In addition to the work in the salt mine, the women had to carry out other duties. They had to construct barracks for the main ammunition factory, lay cables and pipes, sort pieces of coal, and probably even remove rubble caused by bombing near Hannover.[7]

Some of the prisoners had to work for the building enterprise Hoch-Tief: "We mostly worked on the so-called Hoch-Tief railway, working on the tracks. We built this railroad line for the Germans. . . . We then had to carry stones from one side to the other."[8]

The forced labor of the female prisoners could not remain unnoticed by the German population. A female farmer from Ovelgönne recalled after the war: "Camp III was the Jewish camp, mainly occupied by women. They also did road work along the road to Oldau, carried stones, and shoveled sand. Some looked very good, even in their prisoners' uniforms, others bad. . . . The Jewish women that were here worked on the Oldauer Strasse; they unloaded stones and built the foundations for barracks in the excavation."[9] The warehouse administrator of the Wintershall company at the time gives an account of taking the bus to work: "Albert Köhler was with me on the bus. . . . And this street 'Hambühren II' was being built, where the sewers were laid four meters deep. . . . There were these women, Jewish women with their long striped smocks, wooden shoes, and shaven heads. And these SS women walked down the street with riding crops in their hands, such dogs among them. . . . And then Albert Köhler asked: 'Paul, what's all this?' 'These are KZ prisoners,' I answered, 'you can see that. There is a concentration camp in Belsen and this is a subcamp of Belsen.'"[10]

On February 4, 1945, the subcamp Hambühren was dissolved, and the women were sent on foot, some of them possibly also by truck, to Bergen-Belsen. The commander of the subcamp, SS-Oberscharführer Karl Reddehase, assumed control of the internal labor detail in Bergen-Belsen. He was indicted by a British military court at the Second Belsen Trial for abuse and murder. In his written deposition, he stated:

> In August 1944, I became chief commander of the labor camp HAMBÜHREN/WALDESLUST. The camp was four hundred strong with Jewish women from Poland and Germany. I was responsible for the work assignments and the general treatment within the camp. The prisoners were treated in a very humane way, and were well off with me. They had to do work clearing rubble. The food was good. Other than some slaps in the face, no one was beaten in the camp. If someone behaved badly, the punishment was solely a reduction of food. . . . In February 1945, I handed my prisoners over to the BELSEN concentration camp and assumed control of the work there, until mid-April 1945.[11]

The unanimous statements of the female witnesses from the Hambühren subcamp on Reddehase's numerous maltreatments, however, led to his conviction and execution.

SOURCES Two essays give a short description of this and the two other Bergen-Belsen subcamps: Rolf Keller, "Die Anfänge des 'Frauen-KL Bergen-Belsen': Das Zeltlager und die Aussenkommandos Bomlitz, Hambühren und Unterlüss," (B-B, unpub. MSS, 1991); Stefanie Plattner, "'Schwere Balken und Steine . . .': Die Aussenlager von Bergen-Belsen," in *Frauen in Konzentrationslagern: Bergen-Belsen, Ravensbrück*, ed. Claus Füllberg-Stolberg et al. (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1994), pp. 75–76. The subcamp is mentioned briefly in Paul Borstelmann, *Chronik der Einheitsgemeinde Hambühren* (Celle: Verlag Georg Ströher, 1977), p. 115.

No comprehensive collection of documents exists on the subcamp Hambühren. Most of the known sources are cited in the notes. PRO WO 235/154 contains in addition to several affidavits also a few transcripts of testimonies during the trial. Among the British investigation files of the War Crimes Investigation Teams there are further statements in WO 309/433 and WO 309/1698. There is a testimony by Estera Brunstein available at IWM. Some of the testimonies, as well as sources on the history of companies in the area of Hambühren that were involved in the forced labor, are found in Annette Wienecke, *"Besondere Vorkommnisse nicht bekannt": Zwangsarbeit in unterirdischen Rüstungsbetrieben. Wie ein Heidedorf kriegswichtig wurde* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1996), pp. 114, 155. A sketch of the camp is also published herein. Additional documentation is available in Rainer Schulze, *Unruhige Zeiten: Erlebnisberichte aus dem Landkreis Celle 1945–1949* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1990).

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NOTES

1. Interview with Estera Brunstein, IWM, London, Archive of Sound Records, No. 9122/5, Reel 4.
2. Memoirs by Isabelle Choko, "Ma première vie" (cited in German translation), 34, BB, Lohheide.
3. Letter by Irma Freudenreich-Herzfeld, January 17, 1995, BB.
4. Ibid.
5. Proceedings by Irán and Edith Grünberger, recorded on August 21, 1945, in Budapest (in Hungarian, cited from the German translation), YV, Jerusalem, No. 015/2825.
6. Deposition of Irma Herzfeld, 6/7/1945, Exhibit 100, PRO WO 309/1697, No. 1 War Crimes Investigation Team.
7. Sworn statement by Bela Gutman, October 31, 1954, in Tel Aviv BB IRG A1 E.E. Afiki; Interview with Estera Brunstein, IWM; letter by Fay Leder, November 16, 1994, BB.
8. Interview with Esther Reiss, 1991, BB, Audio 250 and 251.
9. Frieda Glier, farmer, June 26, 1947, Hanna Füss

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collection, AKr-C, File 331–01–4 (compartment 281 Nos. 1 and 2), cited in Rainer Schulze, *Unruhige Zeiten: Erlebnisberichte aus dem Landkreis Celle 1945–1949* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1990), documents 9, 91, and 94.

10. Interview with Paul Schang in Celle, BB, Audio 5.

11. Deposition of Karl Heinrich Reddehase, Neumünster, January 30, 1946, Production No. 92c, WO 235/154, Second Bergen-Belsen Trial.

UNTERLÜSS [AKA LAGER TANNENBERG OR ALTENSOTHRIETH]

The firm Rheinmetall-Borsig AG, one of the most important German arms and ammunition producers during the war, had already established a big ammunition factory in Unterlüss, before 1939. In 1944, several camps existed in this area, in which so-called foreign workers (*Fremdarbeiter*), prisoners of war (POWs), and other forced laborers of various nationalities lived.

The Tannenberg camp, where Italian military internees were housed until the middle of the year, was located in the Altensothrieth section of the municipality of Unterlüss. At this camp, about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) from the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, approximately 400 to 800 Jewish women and girls arrived with a first transport from Auschwitz toward the end of August 1944. Nelly Hronsky and her two sisters were part of this transport. She writes in a letter: "After 2–3 days travel in cattle wagons from Auschwitz we arrived somewhere and marched to the camp. We had no idea where we are. Our transport had about 800 women, better said young girls and very few women. . . . The camp was only for women and all of us were Jews. As far as I can remember, the nationalities were a group of Polish girls; very few from Yugoslavia and our group from Hungary."[1]

Besides these aforementioned nationalities, there were also a few Czech and Romanian women in Unterlüss. Nelly Hronsky's sister, Ilana, describes the camp in a letter:

> The camp was located deep in the woods. As we entered the gate, on our right was a long wooden structure which housed the kitchen. . . . Further up, on the same side where the kitchen was located, was the building of the German Headquarters. . . .
>
> Upon entering the gate, on our left was a fence which divided the part I have described from the barracks of the inmates. There were three barracks called block I, block II and block III. Inside there were bunkbeds and hundreds of us were placed in each of the barracks. I believe block II housed the tiny infirmary which was used only for minor services, such as getting bandages for injuries. Serious health problems were not reported. If they became obvious, the involved persons were taken away and never heard from again. Only after the war did we find out the fate of these girls—they all perished in Bergen-Belsen.[2]

As a rule, the women worked from Monday to Saturday, sometimes also on Sundays. They rose at 5:00 A.M. and received a little bread with some sort of spread before the roll call took place. They then marched, even in the wintry cold, in their convict's garb and wooden shoes to the labor details, which were up to 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) away. Here they had to build roads, remove rubble, lay rails, or fell trees. In the village of Neulüss they had to build the foundations for a new factory building. Rosalyn Gross Haber recalls: "The first thing we did was to dig and build bunkers near the ammunition factory. The bitter cold was always eating at our flesh. . . . When the bunkers were all built, the next job was to work at the ammunition factory on the night shift."[3]

A large number of the women had to work in the ammunition factory from 8:00 P.M. to 4:00 A.M. In an interview with seven Hungarian survivors from Unterlüss, Ricsy Sommer speaks about the factory work:

> **R.S.:** Everybody tried to get out from the ammunition factory, because we were filling these schrapnels [*sic*] . . . they were on a running band and filling it with this hot phosphor.
> **Interviewer:** An assembly line?
> **R.S.:** Yes, an assembly line. We turned red and yellow and orange, whatever it was. But it must have been such a dangerous work, that even the Germans . . . they fed us and have a cup of milk every day.[4]

The contact with the poisonous substances and the inhalation of the unhealthy vapors destroyed their health—and of course a glass of milk was not able to cure them.

German citizens from Unterlüss were well aware of the female prisoners. In 1948, two teachers commented on the miserable appearance of the women with their shaved heads during their daily march to work.[5]

In their free time and on Sundays, the women washed themselves and patched their clothes. Hronsky remembers: "In the evenings we would concentrate on trying to keep ourselves clean. The washrooms had cold water only, but we had access to them and we took advantage of it. We were too exhausted to socialize or engage in any activities. Sometimes on Sundays we would gather in the corner of one of the barracks, sing songs we used to know at 'home,' recite poetry and, in general, just to keep our spirits and each other's from sagging."[6] Haber relates that the Hungarian women composed a song about one of the SS women.

As far as the circumstances permitted, the Jewish women tried to observe the religious holidays. Sarah Berkowitz recalls that a few of them fasted during Yom Kippur in 1944.[7] Together with other women in her barrack, Dina Kraus secretly celebrated Seder and said the Haggadah prayer in late March 1945. She had previously written them down from memory in the camp.[8] For a while, Berkowitz kept a kind of

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diary, which she destroyed, however, out of fear of discovery by the SS.[9]

There are no precise records on how many transports arrived at or departed from the camp and when these transports took place. The reminiscences of Berkowitz and Regina Goschen indicate that a second transport arrived here by September, with 100 Polish women and girls from the tent camp (*Zeltlager*) at Bergen-Belsen.[10] A report by Rheinmetall-Borsig refers to the "use of eight hundred Jewish women" in September 1944.[11] In the period from October to November, the number was probably around 900 women. It is at least certain that in January 1945, 200 women who were sick and therefore no longer able to work were brought to Bergen-Belsen in completely frozen freight cars.[12] There must have been other losses during the winter, as one of the few surviving documents from the commandant's headquarters at Bergen-Belsen shows that in late February 1945 there were 517 female prisoners still in the Unterlüss subcamp.[13]

During an air raid by Allied troops on the Rheinmetall-Borsig grounds, on April 4, 1945, the ammunition factory was completely destroyed. The village of Unterlüss was hit as well. The SS barred the camp shut, and with that, the deployment of the women came to an end.[14]

On the morning of April 13, 1945, the SS personnel ran from the approaching British troops. When the prisoners became aware of their flight, they seized the food that was in the kitchen. Some women even left the camp.[15] Their freedom was brief, since after a few hours armed German civilians of the Volkssturm (German home guard) arrived and brought the women on trucks to Bergen-Belsen. "Of the original group of 800 out of Auschwitz, perhaps 500 were left alive. The 300 who died, died in Belsen, not Unterlüss."[16]

Of the 3 female and 18 male SS privates who were responsible for the camp,[17] some were identified through British investigations. One of the block elders in Unterlüss, Irene Glück, describes the guards. According to her, the "relatively harmless" camp commandant (Lagerkommandant), SS-Hauptsturmführer Friedrich Diercks, was not interested in the camp activities. The real power was held by the SS-Hauptsturmführer Rudolf Wandt, except for a three-month break from November 1944 to January 1945. During his absence, the SS-Unterscharführer Hans Stecker, supported by the SS female guard Susanne Hille, implemented more brutal treatment of the prisoners. The prisoners feared her as "the Brown one" (or Nazi). This statement was confirmed by the SS guard private Franz Kalitkowski, who was not indicted at the Belsen Trial himself; he further blamed the commander of Bergen-Belsen, Joseph Kramer, for all the crimes.[18]

None of the wanted SS staff from the Unterlüss subcamp were brought to trial.

SOURCES Besides a brief outline on the history of this subcamp by Benjamin Ferencz (in *Less than Slaves: Jewish Forced Labor and the Quest for Compensation* [Bloomington: Indiana University, 2002], pp. 150–151), three other short descriptions exist: Rolf Keller, "Die Anfänge des 'Frauen-KL Bergen-Belsen': Das Zeltlager und die Aussenkommandos Bomlitz, Hambühren und Unterlüss" (B-B, unpub. MSS, 1991); Stefanie Plattner, "Die Frauenlager im Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen," in *Frauen in Konzentrationslagern: Bergen-Belsen, Ravensbrück*, ed. Claus Füllberg-Stolberg et al. (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1994), pp. 74–75; and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945*, vol. 2, *Niedersachsen I* (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1984), p. 78.

No significant collection of documents on the Unterlüss subcamp exists. There are some brief accounts by former prisoners at PRO (WO 309/374 and WO 309/1698) and YV (protocol Rozsi Wolf, recorded on July 26, 1945, in Budapest, 015/1772). In the testimonies of higher SS officials, Unterlüss is mentioned as a Bergen-Belsen subcamp: Sworn statement of Karl Sommer, 10/4/1946, StA-N, Nuremberg document NI-1065; testimony of Oswald Pohl, Nuremberg Trials, Case 4: *USA v. Oswald Pohl et al.*, NARA, microfilm M-890. BB holds unpublished correspondence with survivors of the subcamp. In addition to this, prisoner testimonies are found in the following collections: OHPRIHS-CUNY, NIOD, HAF-HDCB. Published documents and testimonies may be found in Sarah Berkowitz (Bick), *Where Are My Brothers* (New York: Helios Books, 1965); Valerie Jakober Furth, *Cabbages & Geraniums: Memories of the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989); Anton Gill, *The Journey Back from Hell: Conversations with Concentration Camp Survivors* (London: Grafton Books, 1988); Rainer Schulze, *Unruhige Zeiten: Erlebnisberichte aus dem Landkreis Celle 1945–1949* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1990); Mordekhai Tsanin, ed., *So geschah es: Zeugnisblätter Überlebender des KZ Bergen-Belsen*, vol. 3 (German translation from the Hebrew by Gerda Steinfeld) (Tel Aviv, 1996); Alexandra-Eileen Wenck, *Zwischen Menschenhandel und "Endlösung": Das Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2000).

Bernd Horstmann
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Letter by Nelly Hronsky, January 19, 1995, BB, Lohheide, pp. 1–2.
2. Letter by Ilana Hronsky, February 7, 1995, BB (in this letter she also drew a sketch of the camp).
3. Letter by Rosalyn Gross Haber, November 1994, BB.
4. OHPRIHS-CUNY, interviews with Rozsi Furth, Nelly Hronsky, Malcsi Klein, Ricsy Sommer, Goldie Szmuk, Rella Seidenfeld, and Valerie Furth by Prof. Randolph Braham on November 17, 1993.
5. Wilhelm Kröger and Robert Busse, Teachers, 6/2/1948, "Sammlung Hanna Füss," AKr-C, File No. 331–01–4 (Compartment 281 Nos. 1 and 2), cited from Rainer Schulze, *Unruhige Zeiten: Erlebnisberichte aus dem Landkreis Celle 1945–1949* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1990), documents 45, 255.
6. Letter by Ilana Hronsky, BB, 2.
7. Sarah Berkowitz (Bick), *Where Are My Brothers* (New York: Helios Books, 1965), p. 91.
8. Passover Haggadah, handwritten by Dina Kraus, in Hebrew, Unterlüss, Germany, 1944, Museum of Jewish Heritage, New York, in the vitrine "Religion."
9. Berkowitz, *Where Are My Brothers*, pp. 91–92.

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10. Ibid., pp. 86–91; Regina Goschen (Gerszonowitz), "Hunger und Kannibalismus," in *So geschah es: Zeugnisblätter Überlebender des KZ Bergen-Belsen*, ed. Mordekhai Tsanin, trans. from the Hebrew by Gerda Steinfeld (Tel Aviv, 1996), 3: 232–234.

11. Operations Rept., September 1944, Rheinmetall-Borsig AG, Unterlüss plant, Unterlüss, November 13, 1944, BA-BL, R 8135, extracts published in Alexandra-Eileen Wenck, *Zwischen Menschenhandel und "Endlösung": Das Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2000), p. 345n.31.

12. Protocol Rózsi Moskovits and Aranka Volvovic recorded in Budapest on July 22, 1945, by the Hungarian Auschwitz Foundation, Holocaust Documentation Center, Budapest, DEGOB No. 1346.

13. Overview on number and deployment of female prisoners in the Bergen-Belsen holding camp, March 15, 1945, NIOD, C [II] 09/0.3.11.

14. Letter by Nelly Hronsky, BB, annex 2.

15. Valerie Jakober Furth, *Cabbages & Geraniums: Memories of the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), pp. 72–74.

16. Interview with Valerie Jakober Furth, in Anton Gill, *The Journey Back from Hell: Conversations with Concentration Camp Survivors* (London: Grafton Books, 1988), pp. 432–442.

17. Overview on number and deployment of female prisoners in the Bergen-Belsen holding camp, March 15, 1945, NIOD.

18. Deposition of Irene Glück, November 8, 1945, PRO, WO 309/425 KZ Bergen-Belsen, General Correspondence (see herein also the Wanted Repts. for H. Stecker, R. Wandt, F. Diercks, and S. Hille); Rept. Personalities at Concentration Camps at Belsen and Unterluess, undated, PRO WO 309/1588, Correspondence re Second Belsen Trial.

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BUCHENWALD

"To Each His Own": The camp gate at Buchenwald taken after liberation.
USHMM WS 27068, COURTESY OF AFP

BUCHENWALD MAIN CAMP

The Buchenwald concentration camp was established at the beginning of July 1937 on the climatically harsh north slope of the 478-meter-high (1,568-feet-high) Ettersberg, a hill north of the city of Weimar. The camp was to hold up to 8,000 prisoners, mostly from central Germany (Thuringia, Hessen, the Ruhr, and parts of Saxony), and was to replace several camps such as Bad Sulza, Sachsenburg, and Lichtenburg, which were in the process of being dissolved. The immediate reason for the establishment of the camp just north of Weimar was the clay to be found in the area, which could be used for the manufacture of bricks.

The first prisoners arrived at the camp on July 15, 1937. They were confronted with very difficult conditions: they had to clear the forest and construct the barracks and other buildings without excavators, cranes, tip carts, or tractors. These conditions, together with the completely inadequate rations, led to an enormous loss of life during the camp's construction.

The camp was built initially on 104 hectares (257 acres) and later expanded to cover 190 hectares (470 acres). It consisted of 33 wooden barracks, 15 two-story stone buildings, a roll-call square, a prisoners' infirmary (*Revier*), kitchen, laundry, canteen, storerooms, workshops for the camp's tradesmen, a disinfection building, market garden, and various other structures. Additional buildings included a crematorium built in 1940, another disinfection building in 1942–1943, and at the end of 1943 a railway station, as well as a brothel—the first in a concentration camp. About 16 female prisoners, most from Ravensbrück, were forced to prostitute themselves for German and Austrian non-Jewish prisoners and, from 1944 on, for foreign prisoners other than Soviets. The camp was secured by a double electrified barbed-wire fence more than 3 meters (9.8 feet) high and by 22 two-level guard towers.

The camp administration and SS facilities were located outside the prisoners' area. These comprised the command buildings, adjutant's offices, political department (headquarters of the Gestapo), and the SS canteen (*Führerkasino*), as well as administration and operational buildings such as garages, barracks for the commandant's men, workshops, armory, shooting range, central heating station, stables, kennels, and indoor rid-

Post-liberation aerial view of Buchenwald, 1945.
USHMM WS # 42923, COURTESY OF ROBERT MICHAEL MERRITT

ing arena. The SS-Totenkopfstandarte (Death's Head Regiment) 3 "Thüringen" was stationed here; it was responsible for securing the camp. Some of the members of the Standarte were very young and were called up to the front in September 1939. They were replaced by guards from the Concentration Camp Reserve (KL-Verstärkung), who were essentially older SS men, many of whom had been disabled in combat. Beginning in July 1944, more than 2,700 Luftwaffe members were transferred to the guard. By the end of the camp's existence, they were divided into 46 companies each of 150 men and were responsible for the main camp and the subcamps. Buchenwald also was the central base for the Waffen-SS Driver, Training, and Replacement Unit (Kraftfahrt-, Ausbildungs- und Ersatzabteilung). Furthermore, close to the camp were two settlements for SS members and their families, including living quarters for the camp commandant, SS-Standartenführer Karl Koch (July 1937 to December 1941) and his successor, SS-Oberführer Hermann Pister (January 1942 to April 1945). Buchenwald was a concentration camp, production site, military base, and civilian SS settlement, and in the spring of 1945, it became the last headquarters of the SS-Führungshauptamt.

There were numerous prisoner detachments in the area of the camp. The prisoners were used to clear forests and to work in the quarry detachment (Steinbruchkommando); they worked at the brick mill established in Berlstedt (part of the German Earth and Stone Works, or DESt) in 1938; and they served local firms, for which they constructed the Marschler Settlement in Oberweimar and laid water pipes between Tonndorf and Buchenwald. They worked for the workshops operated by the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Grossmarkthalle Weimar. They built gas lines for the Weimar Stadtwerke. Altogether, the prisoners worked at more than 90 locations for employers in Weimar and its surroundings. From 1940 on, there was a branch of the German Equipment Works (DAW) in the camp, where up to 1,400 prisoners worked in meeting SS war needs. In 1942, an armaments factory was established adjacent to the camp, which the SS leased in 1943 to the Weimar Wilhelm-Gustloff-NS-Industriestiftung. In 13 factory buildings, between 5,000 and 6,000 prisoners manufactured rifles and carbines, pistols, gun mounts, optical devices, and mechanical parts for the V-1 and V-2 (Vengeance weapons). The factory, secured by an electrified barbed-wire fence and 13 guard towers, was destroyed during an Allied bombing raid on August 24, 1944. Production just about ceased completely.

Prisoners perform forced labor near the entrance to Buchenwald, nd.
USHMM WS # 81241, COURTESY OF IPN

By 1940, construction of the camp was largely completed. Only in 1942–1943 did the camp's character change one more time when it became a main camp and transit camp. Likewise, the number and type of prisoners went through a similar transformation. During the early stages of the camp, German political prisoners formed one of the most important prisoner groups. They arrived with the first transports from Sachsenhausen, Sachsenburg, and Lichtenburg, which included leading Communists and other prominent personalities.[1] In the autumn of 1938, prominent Austrians arrived at the camp, including senior officials from the Dollfuss and Schuschnigg governments.

In the years that followed, several special prisons for prominent inmates were established close to the camp. French politicians were held in Falkenhof between 1943 and 1945; between 1942 and 1944 members of the Romanian Iron Guard were held in the "Sonderlager Fichtenhain." Political prisoners and conspirators from the July 20, 1944, coup attempt were held in an isolation barracks. SS detention facilities in a cellar of one of the troop barracks held special Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) prisoners from March 1945 on.

The camp was marked from the beginning by a bitter struggle between the criminal, so-called green prisoners (for the color of badge they wore) and the political or "red" prisoners, over positions in the camp's prisoner administration.[2] By 1943, the Communist prisoners with their allies had control of all the important camp positions, including the camp elder and almost all block elders, as well as foremen in the important detachments. Organized along Stalinist lines, schooled in conspiratorial work, and with the benefit of intensive cooperation before their imprisonment in Buchenwald, the Communists, as one of the most stable groups in the camp, could build an administrative structure that, on the one hand, became indispensable for the SS and, on the other hand, could channel the SS terror. Eugen Kogon, himself a Buchenwald prisoner, stated, "What the Communists did in service of the concentration camp prisoners . . . cannot be valued highly enough."[3] While this monopoly led to privileges held by a specific prisoner group, improved their chances of survival, and resulted in the pragmatic exercise of power, it could not exclude some collaboration with the SS. There also existed, parallel to the prisoner administration, a secret organization of (mostly German) Communists, the International Camp Committee Buchenwald (Internationales Lagerkomitee Buchenwald, ILKB). The ILKB was the largest Communist underground organization within the SS camp system, and it controlled and coordinated the prisoners' activities. This became obvious during the last years of the war, when the 100-strong Lagerschutz,

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the camp elder's mobile security force, became operational, including its own sanitation and rescue squads as well as a fire brigade. At least to some extent, the Lagerschutz was able to limit the SS presence in the camp. But this group also served as a supplier for the planned armed uprising by the prisoners, which was to be done on strict military lines with the few weapons that had been smuggled into the camp.[4]

There were not only Communists and criminals in the camp. The many other prisoner groups included Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), deserters, and others deemed "unworthy of military service" (*Wehrunwürdige*). Buchenwald was, in its early phase, the only concentration camp to which the so-called "work-shy" prisoners (*Arbeitsscheue*) were sent. Beginning in 1938, and especially following the 1938 Reich Pogrom (also called *Kristallnacht*), Jews were also sent to the camp. Between November 1938 and February 1939, around 10,000 so-called *Aktionsjuden* were held in a "Pogrom Special Camp" (*Pogromsonderlager*), a barnlike emergency accommodation without heating, windows, or foundations. Many died from the inhuman conditions. A short-lived tent camp was established in September 1939 at the edge of the roll-call square for 400 Viennese and 100 Polish Jews as well as 100 non-Jewish Poles (partisans or so-called *Heckenschützen*). By February 1940, more than 40 percent of these inmates had died.

In addition to these two temporary camps, there were other fenced-off special areas in the camp that served specific purposes. For example, between 1941 and 1945, three barracks held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), and several barracks functioned as a labor education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*). With the outbreak of World War II, more and more foreign prisoners were sent to Buchenwald, including Czechs, Slovaks, Dutch, Poles, French, Spaniards, and Soviets: POWs, forced laborers, and resistance fighters.[5] Eventually there were prisoners from 35 nationalities in the camp.

Dutch Jewish prisoners stand at roll call shortly after their arrival, on February 28, 1941, at Buchenwald. The letter "N" stands for the Netherlands.
USHMM WS # 83718, COURTESY OF AG-B

The total population varied between the period of comparative normality, in which the camp held 8,000 to 10,000 inmates, to periods of catastrophic overcrowding. The high point was reached on April 6, 1945, when the camp held roughly 48,000 prisoners. The frequent overcrowding, coupled with the inhuman work, horrific living conditions, and the abysmal hygiene, resulted in epidemics, which at times spread to neighboring villages.

Prisoners did not die just from the extreme work and poor living conditions. They were also deliberately murdered. The nefarious camp punishment system, with hours-long punishment roll calls, punishment labor during rest periods, food deprivation, arrests, and beatings, as well as labor in closed punishment companies (for example, the quarry and market gardens), resulted in physical injuries and exhaustion, which were deadly under the conditions of the camp. In addition, the prisoners were physically mistreated, for example, with "tree hangings" (*Baumhängen*). Occasionally, prisoners were deliberately driven across the sentry line (*Postenkette*) toward the camp fence, which meant that the guards could shoot them without warning. Buchenwald was the first concentration camp where a prisoner was publicly hanged; this took place in 1938, following an escape attempt in which an SS man was killed.

Prisoners were also killed on a much larger scale, however. In 1940, Roma from the Burgenland who were suffering from an infectious eye disease were killed by injection. In the middle of 1941, the same fate met all those prisoners who were obviously suffering from tuberculosis—approximately 500 victims. In 1941–1942, as part of the 14f13 Program, at least six transports with 517 incurable or handicapped prisoners, mostly Jewish, were taken to the euthanasia facilities at Bernburg and Sonnenstein bei Pirna and killed. The murder of prisoners who could no longer work reached its climax at the beginning of 1945, when completely exhausted prisoners from evacuation transports from Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen were selected to be *abgespritzt*, camp slang for death by injection.

Through about 1943, 8,000 Soviet POWs were killed in specially converted stables; they were shot in the neck by members of the so-called Kommando 99 while undergoing a fictitious medical examination. In autumn 1943, 36 Polish officers were hanged, and in autumn 1944, 38 members of Allied secret services were murdered in the camp. These executions took place mostly in the crematorium and its courtyard.

Buchenwald was also one of the execution sites for regional Gestapo offices. Civilians, prisoners, and foreign forced laborers who committed a "crime" were executed here. The most prominent victim of such executions was Ernst Thälmann, chairman of the German Communist Party (KPD) since 1925. He had been interned since 1933 and was murdered in the Buchenwald crematorium on August 18, 1944. Kogon estimates the number executed in Buchenwald at around 1,100.[6]

Medical experiments conducted in the camp also contributed to the number of deaths. Early in 1942, following discussions between government authorities, Wehrmacht offices, representatives of the chemical industry including IG Farben

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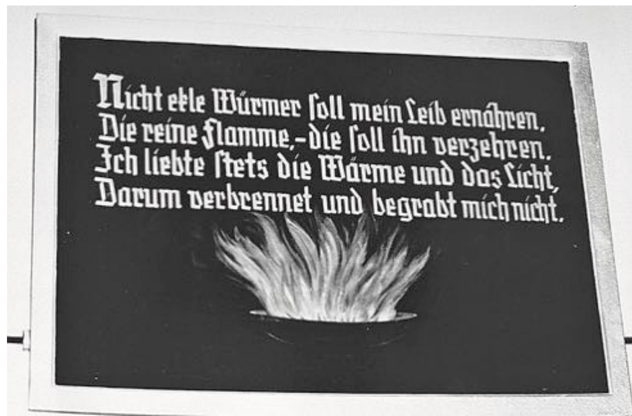

A sign on the crematorium wall at Buchenwald reads, "No loathsome worms should feast on my body. The pure flames should consume it. I always loved the warmth and light, and for that reason you should not bury but cremate me."
USHMM WS # 06494, COURTESY OF NARA

and Madaus AG, and the SS, Barracks 44 and 49 (later also Barracks 46) were converted into laboratories where the effectiveness of vaccines was tested on prisoners. Initially confined to epidemic typhus, the tests were expanded to include yellow fever, small pox, typhoid, paratyphus A and B, cholera, diptheria, various poisons, phosphorous rubber (the contents of incendiary bombs), and the effectiveness of blood plasma beyond its date of expiration. Block 50 was opened in 1943 by the department of the Institute of Hygiene—Department for Typhus and Viral Research (Hygiene-Institut der Waffen-SS [Berlin] Abteilung für Fleckfieber- und Virusforschung) as a production site for a typhus serum; medical practitioners from the Wehrmacht, the Robert-Koch-Institut in Berlin, and a number of companies were able to work in the guest laboratory (*Gästelabor*). Hundreds of prisoners died during the experiments.

In 1942–1943, the transformation of the camp into a main and transit camp led to the establishment of the so-called Kleines Lager (or small camp). Here, on the one hand, newly arrived prisoners were held in quarantine. On the other hand, the Kleines Lager served as a kind of waiting area for prisoners who had been selected for the work in subcamps. The conditions in the Kleines Lager, which was located in the northern area of the camp barracks, were even worse than in the main camp: it had 12, later 17, Wehrmacht stables, in each of which 1,000 to 1,500 people were accommodated in three- and four-level bunks. Sometimes there were also completely overcrowded army tents, which offered no real protection from the elements. The Kleines Lager was separated from the main camp by a double barbed-wire fence. Severe lack of food and catastrophic hygienic conditions (for example, there was only one mass latrine) turned the Kleines Lager into a camp of death and disease (*Siechen- und Sterbelager*), especially from the beginning of 1945, when it became the favorite depository for prisoner transports arriving from Gross-Rosen and Auschwitz. As the largest remaining concentration camp at this time, Buchenwald was required to take these transports. Within 100 days at the beginning of 1945, more than 5,200 died in Buchenwald. In the week from February 26 to March 2, 1945, 3,096 prisoners died, most of them in the Kleines Lager.[7]

Even the prisoner administration was helpless in the face of these conditions. Nevertheless, Buchenwald remained until the end a place of self-assertion and resistance, as can be seen in many examples, for instance, in the life of the Evangelical priest Paul Schneider[8] or the establishment, from 1943 on, of national prisoner assistance committees that undertook measures to save the lives of children sent to the camp. On the initiative of the camp elder, two *Kinderblocks* were established that held Jewish, Ukrainian, and Russian children, where they were educated in the so-called Poles' School (Polenschule). Nine hundred and four children survived Buchenwald; the youngest, Stefan Jerzy Zweig, son of a Polish Jewish lawyer, was three and a half years old.

The evacuation of the prisoners to Theresienstadt, Dachau, and Flossenbürg was planned for the first few days in April. But the camp elder's influence and the prisoners' passive resistance resulted in the continued delay of evacuation transports so that of the 48,000 prisoners in the camp at this time, only 28,000 were evacuated, mostly Jews and Soviet POWs. It is estimated that about a third of the prisoners did not survive these death marches.

The camp was liberated on April 11, 1945, after about 2,700 of the 3,000 SS men had fled the camp. Around midday, when a U.S. Army tank was seen at the edge of the camp, the military-trained prisoners took action and occupied the camp's guard towers. They patrolled the area around the camp, where they were able to capture around 80 SS guards and make contact with U.S. troops. Care for the approximately 21,000 prisoners who remained in the camp continued in the hands of the prisoner administration even when the U.S. Army officially took over the camp on April 13 and disarmed the prisoners. In the following months, around a quarter of the 4,700 seriously ill prisoners died. In all, approximately 56,000 of the 238,980 male prisoners sent to Buchenwald died.[9] At around 30 percent, Jews were the largest group of dead in Buchenwald. The last prisoners left the camp in July 1945.

Representatives of the SS guards were tried before a U.S. military court after the war in the so-called Buchenwald Trial in 1947. Thirty SS members were tried together with SS-Obergruppenführer Josias Erbprinz zu Waldeck und Pyrmont, the Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer of Oberabschnitt Fulda-Werra and the highest Buchenwald overlord. Included among the 30 SS members was the SS-Standortarzt Dr. Gerhard Schiedlausky, who was tried separately before a British military court, sentenced to death, and executed. Camp commandant SS-Oberführer Pister was sentenced to death in 1947 but died in prison. Members of the medical personnel were also tried, including Dr. Hanns Eisele, responsible for the murder of those suffering from tuberculosis. Ilse Koch, wife of the SS-Standartenführer and camp commandant Karl Koch, was brought to trial. Her husband had been arrested in December 1941 on suspicion of corruption. As punishment, he was posted to Lublin-Majdanek as commandant of that

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camp. He was sentenced to death by an SS police court and executed in April 1945.

The trial ended on August 14, 1947, when 22 death sentences, 5 life sentences, and 4 prison sentences of between 4 and 10 years were handed down. Twenty-five subsequent trials before a U.S. military court in Dachau investigated crimes committed in Buchenwald. By 1951, 9 members of the camp's command and a camp elder had been executed. By the middle of the 1950s, all the convicted were free except for Ilse Koch. Further court proceedings before German courts continued into the 1960s, for example, against Martin Sommer and Ilse Koch at the Bayreuth Landgericht in 1958, and in 1961 against SS-Hauptscharführer Wilhelm Schäfer, who had taken part in the murder of Soviet POWs.

SOURCES A bibliography on Buchenwald literature would comprise many volumes. Only a few key resources will be stated here. One of the earliest camp descriptions appeared in English and French with the title *Papers Concerning the Treatment of German Nationals in Germany 1938–1939* (London: HMSO, 1939). Six years later, the British Parliament published a report of a parliamentary delegation that inspected the camp: James Richard Stanhope, *Buchenwald Camp: The Report of a Parliamentary Delegation* (London: HMSO, April 1945). Another important source for the history of the camp is the *Bericht des Internationalen Lagerkomitees des KZ Buchenwald* (1945; repr., Offenbach: Verlag O. Benario und H. Baum, 1997), which was based upon 250 individual reports. Many Buchenwald prisoners have published their prison experiences, including Eugen Kogon's sociological analysis, *Der NS-Staat: Das System der deutschen Konzentrationslager* (Munich, 1947), which has been reissued numerous times since. It is available in English as *The Theory and Practice of Hell* (New York: Berkley, 1984). The Buchenwald concentration camp was used in the GDR as a means to legitimize the Communist struggle against National Socialism. From the early 1950s, publications focused strongly on this part of the camp's history including the brochure published by the Komitee der Antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfer der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Buchenwald (Berlin: Kongress-Verlag, 1959). There was a similar focus in the publication in 1958 on the establishment of the Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Buchenwald: Fritz Cremer, *Das Buchenwald-Denkmal* (Dresden: Deutsche Akademie der Künste, Verlag der Kunst, 1960); and Günther Kühn and Wolfgang Weber, *Stärker als die Wölfe: Ein Bericht über die illegale militärische Organisation im ehemaligen Konzentrationslager Buchenwald und den bewaffneten Aufstand* (1976; rev., East Berlin, 1988). In the following years, the *Buchenwaldheften* published by the Gedenkstätte Buchenwald focused increasingly on less researched aspects of the camp's history. The catalog *Ausstellung Konzentrationslager Buchenwald: Post Weimar/Thür* (West Berlin: Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, 1990) updated aspects of research and interpretation. A very critical view of the history of the camp and its prisoner administration based on documents from the Stalinist purges in the GDR in the 1950s is Lutz Niethammer's *Der "gesäuberte" Antifaschismus: Die SED und die roten Kapos von Buchenwald* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1994). The author investigates the postwar careers of former prisoner-functionaries in the Soviet Occupation Zone and later the GDR. The Gedenkstätte Buchenwald has published numerous works on the history of the camp, including specialized themes. A good review on the state of research and a detailed history of the camp is Harry Stein's article in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 301–356. Harry Stein has written several other essays on the camp, including *Juden in Buchenwald 1937–1942* (Weimar: Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, 1992); (with U. Schneider), *IG Farben—Buchenwald—Menschenversuche: Ein dokumentarischer Bericht* (Weimar-Buchenwald, 1986); "Die Vernichtungstransporte aus Buchenwald in die 'T4'-Anstalt Sonnenstein," SBGSSS 3 (2001): 29–50; and "Das Sonderlager im Konzentrationslager Buchenwald nach den Pogromen 1938," in *"Nach der Kristallnacht": Jüdisches Leben und antijüdische Politik in Frankfurt am Main 1938–1945*, ed. Monica Kingreen (Frankfurt am Main, 1999), pp. 19–54. Information on the camp brothel is to be found in Christa Paul, *Zwangsprostitution: Staatlich errichtete Bordelle im Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin, 1994); and Christa Schulz, "Weibliche Häftlinge aus Ravensbrück in Bordellen der Männerkonzentrationslager," in *Frauen in Konzentrationslagern: Bergen-Belsen*, *Ravensbrück*, ed. Claus Füllberg-Stolberg et al. (Bremen, 1994), pp. 135–146. A review of current questions on archeological research on the camp site is by Ronald Hirt in *Offene Befunde: Ausgrabungen in Buchenwald; Zeitgeschichtliche Archäologie und Erinnerungskultur* (Weimar: Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, 1999). In *Die Inszenierung der Stadt. Planen und Bauen im NS in Weimar* (Weimar, 1999), Karin Loos investigates the relationship between the city and the concentration camp, as does Jens Schley in *Nachbar Buchenwald: Die Stadt Weimar und ihr Konzentrationslager 1937–1945* (Cologne: Weimar; Vienna: Böhlau-Verlag, 1999). Information on camp commandant Koch is to be found in Tom Segev, *Soldiers of Evil: The Commandants of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1988), pp. 180–183; and for his wife, Ilse Koch, and her trials at the beginning of the 1950s, see Arthur L. Smith Jr., *Die "Hexe von Buchenwald"* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1983). For further specialized aspects of the camp history, see Katrin Greiser, "Die Buchenwald-Bahn," in *Mohn und Gedächtnis*, ed. Ute Wrede (Ostfildern-Ruit, 1999), pp. 27–60; Wolfgang Röll, *Homosexuelle Häftlinge im Konzentrationslager Buchenwald* (Weimar, 1992); Katrin Greiser, "'Sie starben allein und ruhig, ohne zu schreien oder jemanden zu rufen': Das 'Kleine Lager' im Konzentrationslager Buchenwald," *DaHe* 14 (1998): 102–124; and Werner Scherf, *Die Verbrechen der SS-Ärzte im KZ Buchenwald—der antifaschistische Widerstand der Häftlinge im Häftlingskrankenbau*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1987). Buchenwald concentration camp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 62; and the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1795.

The extensive collection of original documents in the AG-B collections and at ITS are the most relevant for the reconstruction of the history of the Buchenwald concentration camp. In addition, there are numerous files held in the collections of the ThHStA-W, in particular, NS 4 Bu with its numerous subgroups. See the same collection in USHMMA RG 14.023M, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp.

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USHMMA holds other collections on the Buchenwald concentration camp, including RG-04.029*01, Buchenwald construction drawings and a report by the Sixth Service Command from 1944 on conditions in Buchenwald, including statements by early prisoners; RG-09.005*08, USHMC, 1981 International Liberators Conference, Collection: Buchenwald; Acc. 1995.A.049, Alexander Szczucki letter, a description of the camp made shortly after its liberation; RG-02.127; Acc. 1994. A.211, "And where was God?" a 1960 MSS that describes the experiences of a prisoner in Prague, Łódź, Buchenwald, Nordhausen, and Bergen-Belsen; RG-02.166, the memoirs of Benjamin Klotz, 1939–1946, including his arrest and transfer to Buchenwald; RG-55.003*17 Acc. 1992.A.034, correspondence and statement by Aleksander Tytus Kulisiewicz on music in Buchenwald; and Acc. 1995.A.762, memoirs by Nicholas Burliuk regarding Buchenwald survivors on a hospital ship, as well as countless others. USHMMPA holds a collection of photographs from the time Buchenwald was liberated. Other files are held in NARA, including statements by the former camp commandant, Hermann Pister, to the U.S. military court and other trial documents in RG 153, Records of the JAG, *USA v. Prince von Waldeck, et al.*, in Modern Military Branch; Collection Fourth Armored Division, 604-2.2-Daily Reports, June 1944–May 1945, which includes the report of U.S. Army member Paul Bodot, who as a scout of the Fourth Armored Division of the Third U.S. Army entered the camp; and in RG 33, Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, a report by 1st Lt. Egon W. Fleck and Edward A. Tenenbaum, Psychological Warfare Department, Twelfth U.S. Army Group, with the title, "Buchenwald: Ein vorläufiger Bericht" of April 24, 1945. An interesting documentary source is held in the LMRD, a photo album apparently prepared at the request of the SS and titled "Buchenwald Jahresende 1943." Numerous details can be obtained from charges, trial records, and statutory declarations made during the Buchenwald trials, which are also not listed here. A statutory declaration by camp commandant Hermann Pister from July 2, 1945, is found in NO-254. Files on the SS court's investigation into the first camp commandant, Karl Koch, are in BA-B, Signatur NS 71/1020. Aside from Kogon's account, there are numerous autobiographies by Buchenwald prisoners: Benedikt Kautsky, *Teufel und Verdammte: Erfahrungen und Erkenntnisse aus sieben Jahren in deutschen Konzentrationslagern* (Vienna: Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1961); Julius Freund, *O Buchenwald* (Klagenfurt: Self-published, 1945); Moritz Zahnwetzer, *KZ Buchenwald: Erlebnisbericht* (Kassel-Sandershausen, 1946); Alfred Bunzol, *Erlebnisse eines politischen Gefangenen im KZ Buchenwald* (Weimar, 1946); Walter Poller, *Arztschreiber in Buchenwald* (Hamburg: Phönix-Verlag Christen & Co., 1946); Ernst Wiechert, *Der Totenwald* (Zurich: Rascher-Verlag, 1946) (which was written in 1939); and Wiechert, *Häftling Nr. 7188: Tagebuchnotizen und Briefe* (Munich, 1966); Isa Vermehren, *Reise durch den letzten Akt: Ein Bericht* (Hamburg: C.-Wegner-Verlag, 1946); Jorge Semprun et al., *Was für ein schöner Sonntag* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1999), originally available in English as *What a Beautiful Sunday*! (San Diego, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982); and Semprun, *Schreiben oder Leben* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1995). Other survivors' memoirs are Karl Barthel, *Rot färbt sich der Morgen: Erinnerungen* (Rudolstadt, 1959); Abram Korn, *Abe's Story: A Holocaust Memoir* (Atlanta: Longstreet Press, 1995); Giovanni Marcato, *Buchenwald il mio nome era 34989* (Treviso: Canova-Verlag, 2000); and Paul Vicctor, *Buchenwald: A Survivor's Memoir* (Tucson, AZ: Wheatmark, 2006). The former prisoner Bruno Apitz has provided a lasting but heroic memorial to the Communist resistance in the camp in his novel *Nackt unter Wölfen* (Halle an der Saale: MitteldeutscheVerlag, 1958), which has been translated into many languages.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. For a list of prominent Buchenwald prisoners including biographical details, see Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, ed. *Buchenwald Concentration Camp 1937–1945. A Guide to the Permanent Historical Exhibition* (Göttingen, 2004), pp. 293–305; and Lutz Niethammer, *Der "gesäuberte" Antifaschismus: Die SED und die roten Kapos von Buchenwald* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1994), pp. 493–519.

2. The early literature calls this administrative system the "Häftlingsselbstverwaltung." Harry Stein correctly points out that the functionaries only had a degree of autonomy, and this did not in any way reach the level of prisoner self-administration. See Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), p. 333.

3. Eugen Kogon, *Der NS-Staat: Das System der deutschen Konzentrationslager* (Munich, 1947), p. 330.

4. Although there is not room for a detailed examination of the issue here, the reader should know that the resistance's scope and degree of organization are disputed.

5. For more exact numbers, see *Ausstellung Konzentrationslager Buchenwald: Post Weimar/Thür* (West Berlin: Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, 1990), pp. 23–54; *Buchenwald Concentration Camp 1937–1945. A Guide to the Permanent Historical Exhibition*, pp. 60–85, 152–176.

6. Kogon, *Der NS-Staat*, p. 166.

7. The high number of dead is not only due to the generally catastrophic conditions in the camp but also to the mass killing of prisoners by injection of those who arrived on the evacuation marches from Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen in the camp in a completely weakened state. The number of the dead was 3,096, according to the *Bericht des Internationalen Lagerkomitees des KZ Buchenwald* (1945; repr., Offenbach: Verlag O. Benario und H. Baum, 1997), p. 7.

8. See *Der Prediger von Buchenwald: Das Martyrium Paul Schneiders*, intro. by Heinrich Vogel (Berlin, 1953); and Claude R. Foster, *Paul Schneider, the Buchenwald Apostle: A Christian Martyr in Nazi Germany; A Sourcebook on the German Church Struggle* (West Chester, PA: West Chester University Press, 1995).

9. This number is an estimate based upon the following: the number of registered dead to the end of March 1945 (33,462); 913 dead between April 1 and 10, 1945; around 27,000 prisoners who died in the Buchenwald subcamps, around 8,000 shot Soviet POWs, 1,100 other executions, and around 12,000 victims on the evacuation marches, as estimated in Stein in Benz and Distel, *Ort des Terrors*, p. 347.

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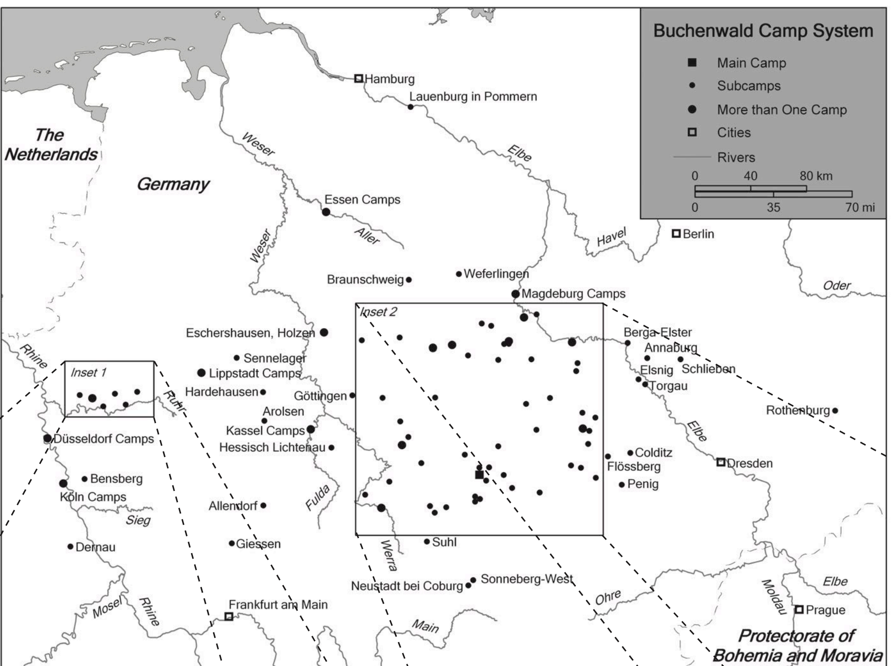
Buchenwald Camp System
Main Camp
Subcamps
More than One Camp
Cities
Rivers
0 40 80 km
0 35 70 mi
The Netherlands
Germany
Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia
Hamburg
Lauenburg in Pommern
Essen Camps
Berlin
Braunschweig
Weferlingen
Magdeburg Camps
Eschershausen, Holzen
Sennelager
Lippstadt Camps
Hardehausen
Göttingen
Arolsen
Kassel Camps
Hessisch Lichtenau
Düsseldorf Camps
Bensberg
Köln Camps
Allendorf
Giessen
Dernau
Frankfurt am Main
Suhl
Neustadt bei Coburg
Sonneberg-West
Berga-Elster
Annaburg
Elsnig
Schlieben
Torgau
Rothenburg
Colditz
Flössberg
Penig
Dresden
Prague
Inset 1
Inset 2
Rhine
Weser
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Elbe
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Oder
Ruhr
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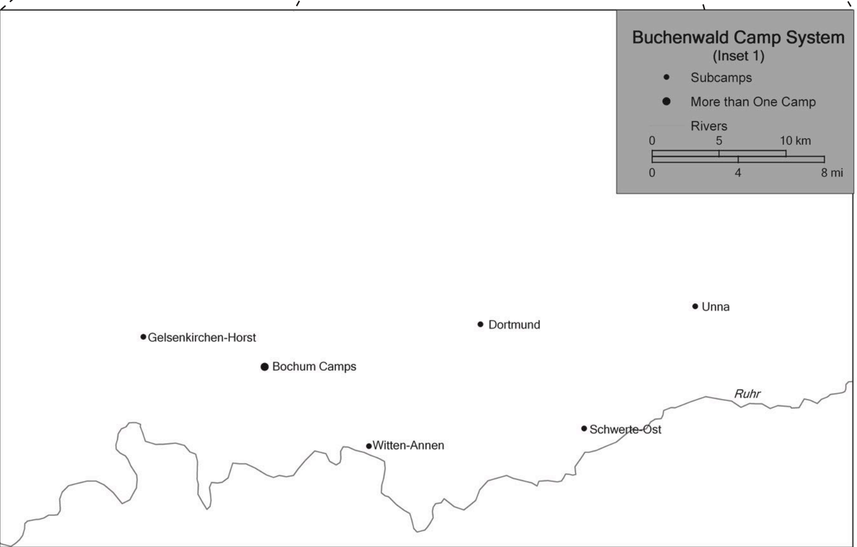
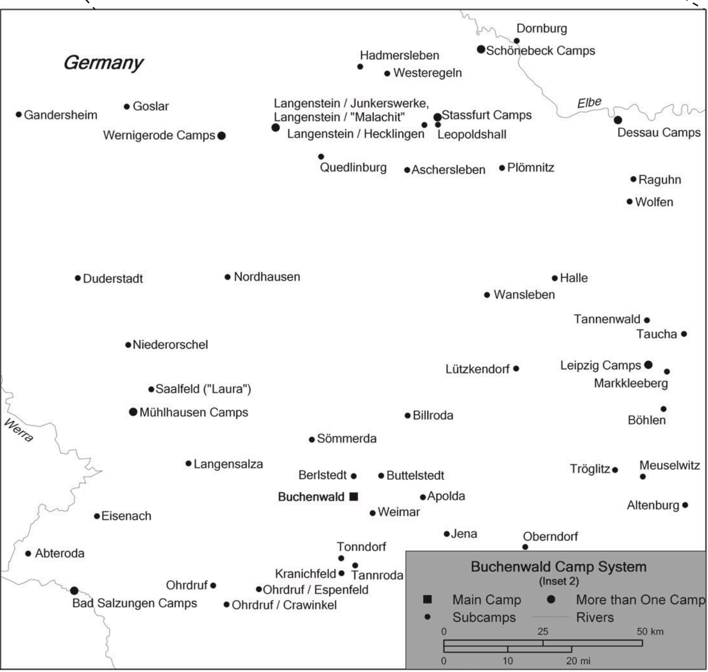

Buchenwald Camp System
(Inset 1)
Subcamps
More than One Camp
Rivers
0 5 10 km
0 4 8 mi
Gelsenkirchen-Horst
Bochum Camps
Dortmund
Unna
Witten-Annen
Schwerte-Ost
Ruhr


Germany
Dornburg
Schönebeck Camps
Hadmersleben
Westeregeln
Gandersheim
Goslar
Wernigerode Camps
Langenstein / Junkerswerke,
Langenstein / "Malachit"
Langenstein / Hecklingen
Stassfurt Camps
Leopoldshall
Dessau Camps
Quedlinburg
Aschersleben
Plömnitz
Raguhn
Wolfen
Duderstadt
Nordhausen
Halle
Wansleben
Tannenwald
Taucha
Niederorschel
Lützkendorf
Leipzig Camps
Markkleeberg
Saalfeld ("Laura")
Mühlhausen Camps
Billroda
Böhlen
Sömmerda
Langensalza
Berlstedt
Buttelstedt
Tröglitz
Meuselwitz
Buchenwald
Apolda
Weimar
Altenburg
Eisenach
Jena
Oberndorf
Tonndorf
Abteroda
Kranichfeld
Tannroda
Ohrdruf
Ohrdruf / Espenfeld
Bad Salzungen Camps
Ohrdruf / Crawinkel
Elbe
Werra
Buchenwald Camp System
(Inset 2)
Main Camp
More than One Camp
Subcamps
Rivers
0 25 50 km
0 10 20 mi

BUCHENWALD SUBCAMP SYSTEM

The subcamp complex of the Buchenwald concentration camp developed in similar ways to other subcamp systems in the Nazi concentration camp system, especially in relation to the administration's changing labor needs. Due to an ever-increasing demand for armaments production as the war continued, the camps were restructured to provide a supply of laborers to support the war economy. In 1942, the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) was subsumed within the new SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), and the camps previously under the IKL were administered under WVHA Office Group D. WVHA chief Oswald Pohl entered into negotiations with the Armaments Ministry and private industry to use prisoner labor to produce munitions. By September 1942, it was determined that renting out camp inmates to private and state-run armaments manufacturers was more economical. To lessen transportation time and increase cost-effectiveness, inmates were to be housed in subcamps that would be created at the work sites.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the Buchenwald camp system included over 130 subcamps (including subcamps attached to subcamps), opened between 1940 and 1945.[1] The Buchenwald subcamps were under the control and administration of the main camp and the WVHA. Private firms generally paid the WVHA 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled worker per day and 6 RM per skilled worker per day. SS-run enterprises had special "rental" agreements: for example, the Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH (DAW) and the Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (DESt) paid the WVHA 0.35 RM for an unskilled worker and 1.50 RM for a skilled worker per day.[2] The SS and SS-owned industries such as DESt and DAW made enormous profits from the use of prisoner labor; one estimate states that the hiring of prisoners from Buchenwald from June 1943 to February 1945 earned the SS 95,758,843 RM.

The subcamps of Buchenwald could be classified into six main categories, depending on the type of work assignment of the prisoners, according to the postwar testimony of the Buchenwald chief of labor allocation, Albert Schwartz: those classified under a private firm's notation; those grouped under the operation of Office Group D of the WVHA; "A" projects, which were secret construction efforts realized by WVHA Office Group C, for example, at Rottleberode and Hadmersleben, and were code-named A1, A2, etc.; "B" projects, secret above-ground construction projects also led by Office Group C, for example, at Langenstein; "S" projects, special top-secret construction projects, such as SIII in Ohrdruf; as well as other special construction efforts and manufacturing satellites, which were linked directly with the production and testing of V-weapons, such as Dora (before it became an independent camp in October 1944) and "Laura"/Saalfeld.[3] One of the first major subcamps of Buchenwald was created at the nearby Weimar Gustloff-Werke in February 1942, to which inmates were supplied to produce arms.

The few subcamps attached to Buchenwald and created prior to 1942 were generally assigned to special tasks for SS-run enterprises or institutions—for example, the inmates who were sent to work at a bakery that supplied bread for the SS in Apolda or those detailed to construction work at an SS officers' school in Lauenburg. These projects were generally temporary, and the camp's existence was relatively shorter, often being set up again in the same location at a later date (see, for example, Tonndorf and Berlstedt). Most camps were created after 1942, with the majority being opened in the latter half of the war. Work in the subcamps varied but was most often related to munitions production, construction, or the transfer of armaments factories to underground facilities. In some of the camps, construction work involved building the barracks in which the prisoners themselves would live, such as at Gandersheim and Leipzig-Thekla. In other camps, like Lützkendorf, inmates had to clear rubble after air raids or reconstruct bombed-out buildings. Some of the largest subcamps in the Buchenwald camp system were those that dedicated prisoner labor to the creation of subterranean production facilities and the transfer of manufacturing plants into them, especially for aircraft production, such as the massive efforts in the Harz Mountains that used labor from camps in and around Halberstadt. Because Allied air raids had become more and more precise, in 1944 either defunct mines with structural upgrades were used to house the production facilities or entirely new spaces were blasted from and reinforced in mountain interiors—these transfer operations required large amounts of manual labor, provided by subcamps such as those in Halberstadt, Westeregeln, Wansleben, and Stassfurt.

Inmates were transferred to the Buchenwald subcamps generally from the main camp but also from other camps, for example, Sachsenhausen, Gross-Rosen, Flossenbürg, Ravensbrück, and Auschwitz II-Birkenau. The inmates were often selected on the basis of reported skilled labor experience, sometimes by representatives of the firms themselves. In some cases, inmates from one subcamp were transferred to other subcamps within the camp complex, especially if the type of labor was similar. The inmate population was diverse and held many different types of prisoners, including Russian prisoners of war (POWs), so-called *Berufsverbrecher* or "professional criminals," common law prisoners, "asocials," homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, political prisoners, and Jews. Inmates came from all over Europe. Some subcamps, such as Leopoldshall, were camps consisting of mainly Jewish inmates (and referred to in notation as "Jüdische Aussenkommandos").[4] In 1944 and early 1945, thousands of Jewish women were also sent to Buchenwald satellite camps to work in munitions factories, including many Hungarian Jewish women (from May

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1944 on). Some camps, such as Abteroda, Aschersleben, Essen, and Dortmund, had both men's and women's camps. As of August 1944, when evacuations of camps in the west close to the front brought additional inmates to Buchenwald, the subcamps held some 43,500 inmates.

Working and living conditions within the camps were generally terrible, and inmates received the bare minimum of food rations, clothing, and shelter. In most cases, they were subject to the cruelties of the SS as well as prisoner overseers (Kapos) and foremen at the workplaces. Outbreaks of various diseases, such as dysentery and typhus, were common. The infirmaries of the subcamps, which were ill-equipped to manage the severely declining health of the inmates, served as transfer points—those inmates who were too ill to return to work were sent back to Buchenwald, where they generally died in the main camp infirmary. The creation of subcamps also allowed for some general changes in the prisoners' overall living conditions. For example, at the workplace they often came into contact with German civilian workers, which resulted in a few cases either in some sort of assistance (sneaking food, for instance) or in malicious behavior toward the inmates (such as reporting alleged sabotage to the foremen)—but generally more often the presence of the inmates was met with indifference. The creation of the subcamps also allowed for contact with the anti-Nazi underground, raising the possibility of participating in resistance activities, as well as an increase in the escape rate and in organized and individual forms of sabotage, either by directly destroying parts or machinery or purposefully slowing the work pace.

In February 1945, the Buchenwald camp complex was the largest remaining camp, in which 112,000 people were imprisoned in the main and subcamps. One-third of those imprisoned were Jews. As the front drew closer, the dissolving of those Buchenwald subcamps still in existence by the spring of 1945 (at least 95, including subcamps attached to subcamps) began in March and April of that year. Others were dissolved and transferred in January and February 1945 (8), and still others had been evacuated earlier, many in late 1944 (21). In the spring of 1945, the subcamps were either evacuated back to the main Buchenwald camp or in other directions and to other camps, depending on the position of Allied troops. For example, the men from the Abteroda and Mühlhausen camps were sent back to Buchenwald, but the women inmates were transferred to Bergen-Belsen and Eisenach. Between February and April 1945, it has been estimated that some 25,109 inmates were evacuated toward the Buchenwald camp. Thousands of inmates died in the terrible conditions of evacuations, which were generally guarded forced marches in columns over long distances, with little food, shelter, or rest. In some subcamps inmates, especially those too ill or weak to be evacuated, remained behind. In some cases, prior to the departure of the evacuation marches, many of these inmates were rounded up and executed (see, for example, Ohrdruf and Leipzig). Other inmates died from exhaustion, hunger, and air raids, until the camps were liberated by Allied troops.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources specifically focused on the Buchenwald subcamps; however, works more generally focused on the Buchenwald complex give overall insight into the workings and organization of the subcamp system. For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). Both contain important published primary resources related to the subcamps. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS); and Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, ed., *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald 1937–1945: Begleitband zur ständigen historischen Ausstellung* (Göttingen, 1999). Enno Georg's *Die wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen der SS* (Stuttgart, 1963) describes inmate labor used at SS-owned enterprises. See also Karin Orth, *Das System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Eine politische Organisationsgeschichte* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1999); and Michael Thad Allen, *The Business of Genocide* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002). Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, "Forced Labor and Sabotage in the Nazi Concentration Camps," in *The Nazi Concentration Camps*, ed. Yisrael Gutman and Avital Saf (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), also provides a good overview of labor in the subcamps. Finally, for a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, names of firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entries for Buchenwald in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records.

Primary source documentation generated about the subcamps includes numerous oral history collections and testimonies, including those stored at USHMMA, as well as other oral history repositories around the world. Testimonies taken from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees in 1945 and 1946 are particularly relevant to satellites that employed mainly Hungarian Jews (for example, Sömmerda and Markkleeberg); the MZML contains thousands of such reports recorded by the relief agency DEGOB. Transport lists to and from the subcamps, which yield information about demographics, camp size, and so on, can be found in the AN-MACVG and copied at USHMMA Acc. 1998 A.0045. See also administrative documentation mentioning the subcamps in the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA RG 14.023M. The AG-B and AG-MD are also a resource for documentation and information on the subcamps.

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NOTES

1. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951); repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

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2. Herbert Weidlich (April 1945), “Aussenkommandos: Bericht über das Kommando Arbeitsstatistik KZ Buchenwald,” in, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, *Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). See also extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

3. “Aus der eidesstattlichen Erklärung des Arbeitseinsatzführers im KZ Buchenwald, SS-Hauptsturmführer Albert Schwartz, im Prozess IV,” in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung* (1983), p. 286.

4. “K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt,” January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Bartel. *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung* (1960), p. 252.

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ABTERODA (MEN)

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Abteroda (Thüringen) sometime in July 1944 to provide labor to the Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) in the production of aircraft engine parts. The use of concentration camp inmates at the BMW firm stemmed from an agreement between the firm and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which "rented" inmates to the firm at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.[1] The Abteroda subcamp was code-named "Anton" or "An" in related documentation. See also Buchenwald/Abteroda (Women).

One of the first transports to the Abteroda Anton subcamp left the Eisenach subcamp (which had also provided labor to BMW) with 79 inmates on July 31, 1944.[2] The average strength of the Abteroda men's camp was about 230 inmates, and the camp population remained relatively constant until its closing in April 1945. Other smaller transports arrived in Abteroda from Buchenwald and from Eisenach throughout the camp's operation. Frequently inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald if they were too ill to continue to work, where they were exchanged for "healthier" inmates.[3] On March 17, 1945, 40 inmates may have been transferred to Berka, a subcamp of Buchenwald in Tonndorf, from Abteroda, although the transport list is not specific about the origin of the transfer.[4] Although there is not a breakdown of nationalities on the transport lists, the inmates appear to be mostly French, Russian, German, Italian, and Polish. All of the inmates were male.

The inmates were assigned to work in underground construction installations for the BMW firm as well as in the above-ground production of aircraft engine parts. Like other armaments facilities in late 1943 and 1944, labor at the Abteroda subcamp was targeted to transferring armaments production underground to protect it from Allied bombing, which had increased in the latter half of the war. The inmates were housed in two munitions halls, which were surrounded by 2-meter-high (6.6-foot high) fencing and flanked by four guard towers. Contact between the different categories of workers (concentration camp inmates, foreign workers, and so on) at the firm was strictly forbidden. Further information on living and working conditions within the camp, as well as possible resistance or escape attempts on the part of the inmates, is not available.

There is little information about the commandant or guards of the Abteroda men's camp. According to transport lists and inventories signed by the head of the work camp, it appears that one SS-Hauptscharführer John was the commandant of the camp. According to a report on the status of medical treatment and prisoner strengths in the various subcamps filed by the Buchenwald SS garrison doctor SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky in January 1945, the infirmary in Abteroda men's camp was headed by an SS doctor named Berendonck, and the SS medic assigned to the camp was named Carl. According to the report, there were 52 guard troops in the camp and 230 inmates at this time.[5]

The Abteroda subcamp was dismantled in early April 1945 due to the closing in of the front. The inmates were evacuated to Buchenwald in two stages, on April 4 and April 8. The only postwar trial proceeding related to the Abteroda camp was a preliminary investigation led by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in 1966 into murderous treatment by the SS personnel in the camp. However, the results of the investigation were inconclusive, and the process was ended in 1967.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Abteroda men's subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce; however, much of the information for this entry builds upon the research of Frank Baranowski, *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt, 2000). For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Abteroda in Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS).

Surviving primary documentation on the Abteroda subcamp is also limited. For sparse administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210. See also a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Abteroda camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from the ITS), stored at the archives of the USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially Bu 44. Some published documents are available in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

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NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. "Folgende Häftlinge wurden am 31 Juli 1941 von Arbeitskommando nach . . . ," Eisenach, July 31, 1944 (BU 44), AN-MACVG, reproduced in the archives of the USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. See transport lists, collection "Anton" Abteroda, (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. "Transport Berka," March 17, 1945 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

5. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm-und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," 1/31/1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 251.

ABTERODA (WOMEN)

A subcamp of Buchenwald for women inmates was created in Abteroda (Thüringen) in October 1944 to provide labor to the Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW). The use of concentration camp inmates at the BMW firm stemmed from an

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agreement between the firm and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which "rented" inmates to the firm at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled laborer per day.[1] The Abteroda subcamp was code-named "Anton" or "An" in related documentation.

The women were transported from Ravensbrück and women's subcamps of Buchenwald, such as Torgau, to Abteroda to work for BMW in the production of chemicals for blasting agents. For example, 125 women were transferred from Ravensbrück to Abteroda on February 19, 1945.[2] The average strength of the prisoner population in the Abteroda women's camp reached between 200 and 250 inmates. The inmates were also sent from Abteroda to other women's subcamps of Buchenwald, including Markkleeberg.

Few details about the working and living conditions within the Abteroda women's camp are available. According to one French former prisoner, Jacqueline Fleury, the inmates had to work very hard in all kinds of weather, whether or not they were ill or weakened. She recalled fellow camp inmates who persisted daily with tuberculosis and other diseases, and she herself suffered from dysentery prior to her deportation from Torgau to Abteroda. She noted that on Christmas Eve 1944, several prisoners gathered together with smuggled materials to build a crèche to celebrate the holiday. At no other time, she recalled, did she witness the other women in the camp crying except on that night. She also remembered that the women forged bonds of solidarity among themselves (most likely along national lines), which helped them withstand the daily cruelties and hardships of camp life. They sang songs, recited poetry, and told stories about their "own corners of France."[3]

There is little information about the commandant or guards of the Abteroda women's camp. According to a report on the status of medical treatment and prisoner strengths in the various subcamps filed by the Buchenwald SS garrison doctor SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky in January 1945, the infirmary in Abteroda women's camp (listed under "Aryan women's camps") was headed by SS doctor Berendonck, and the SS medic assigned to the camp was named Carl. These were the same names listed for the Abteroda men's camp, which suggests that the camps may have shared some facilities and administration. According to the report, there were 13 SS guards in the camp, 9 female guards *(Aufseherinnen)*, and 249 inmates at this time.[4]

The women's subcamp in Abteroda was evacuated in early April 1945 to the area of Eisenach.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Abteroda women's subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Abteroda in Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records.

Surviving primary documentation on the Abteroda subcamp is also limited. For sparse administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 4, 8. See also a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Abteroda camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from the ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045. For the testimony of Jacqueline Fleury, a former prisoner in the camp, see materials related to the online exhibition *Les femmes oublicées de Buchenwald* at the Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris/Musée Jean Moulin, April 22–October 30, 2005, www.paris-france.org/musees/memorial/expositions/fob_p2_jfleury.htm. This testimony and other documentation are also stored in the archives of ADIRN. Some documents are reproduced in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983); and in Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS).

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. KL Buchenwald Häftlingsverwaltung: Vermögensangelegenheiten von Häftlingen, 1944–45, BA NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 4, Fiche 1, p. 1.

3. Testimony of Jacqueline Fleury, *Les femmes oublicées de Buchenwald*, online exhibition, Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris/Musée Jean Moulin, April 22–October 30, 2005, www.paris-france.org/musees/memorial/expositions/fob_p2_jfleury.htm; and also in the ADIRN archives.

4. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 251.

ALLENDORF [AKA MÜNCHMÜHLE]

The Münchmühle camp, named after the nearby mill on the Münchbach, was located on the former Reichstrasse from Kirchhain to Neustadt, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) southwest of Allendorf.

The camp was built at the beginning of 1940 and consisted of 26 barracks. Civilian forced laborers, prisoners of war (POWs), and units of the Reich Labor Service (RAD) were all accommodated there. For the period between August 1944 and the end of March 1945, the Münchmühle camp, with 1,000 female prisoners selected from Auschwitz, served as a subcamp to Buchenwald concentration camp. At the end of March 1945, the detachment was evacuated.

Due to the lack of labor, civilian forced laborers, POWs, and criminals were increasingly used in the armaments industry, and from 1942 on, more and more concentration camp inmates were used as well.[1] To fulfill arms orders, the management of the Allendorf factory applied for prisoners.

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On June 6, 1944, a discussion took place in Allendorf between the camp commander (Lagerkommandant) of Buchenwald, Pister, and the managing director of the Allendorfer Verwertchemie, Ringleb. The memorandum about the discussion states that the female prisoners should be assigned to earthmoving, assembly lines to fill shells and bombs, and the laundry and tailor shop areas.[2] In order to improve the consistency of the work, the working hours were to be extended from three shifts in 24 hours to two shifts of 12 hours each. It was further intended to recruit female supervisors from the plant and to build an electric fence. For manufacturing and unloading work, managing director Ringleb wished, however, to have male prisoners. The pay was set at 3 or 5 Reichsmark (RM). In reality, however, the SS calculated a daily rate of 4 RM per day per prisoner for unskilled laborers.[3] In addition to the memorandum on the Allendorf discussion, another document exists that shows that there were problems between the SS and the factory.[4] At the time, the Allendorf factory was unable to supply the number of female supervisors required by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). In addition, Pister criticized the demand of the factory management to set forth the use of prisoners in a contract, claiming that so far it had been possible to come to an understanding with all of the many other firms that used prisoners from Buchenwald concentration camp without a contract. Considering that both sides profited from the trade in humans, the profiteers did not need written agreements, and the industry was thus able to create the myth that the prisoners were "forced on them" by the SS.

The statistical evaluation of the prisoners' ages is based on two different lists.[5] The transport list of August 13, 1944, stems from Auschwitz and includes the surnames, first names, dates of birth, and professions of the women. On October 20, 1944, the Buchenwald administration, which was responsible for the Münchmühle subcamp, compiled a new list based on the August list, which shows in addition the towns in Hungary from which the women originated. A comparison of the two versions reveals that three women named on the Auschwitz list do not reappear in the Münchmühle subcamp.[6] They had been replaced by three other prisoners, probably in Auschwitz. A correction of this, as well as of any misspelled names, took place only on October 12, 1944, when the unit commander (Kommandoführer) of the Allendorf labor detail sent 1,000 personnel files to the commander's headquarters (*Kommandantur*) of Buchenwald.[7]

The Buchenwald list was used for the analysis of the age breakouts.[8] It shows that the average age of the prisoners at the end of the war was 27.25 years. The oldest was 53, and the youngest, 15. More than 50 percent were between 15 and 25 years of age.

At the end of the war, a third version of the list was prepared, probably by the U.S. Army, which included additional information on the accommodation of the female prisoners during the first weeks after the war and on pregnant or deceased prisoners. According to this list, the following changes can be noted: On October 27, 1944, five pregnant women were returned through the Mühlhausen labor detail to Auschwitz. On November 8, 1944, one woman died due to the working conditions.[9] On December 23, 1944, a woman from the labor detail Allgemeine Transportanlagen GmbH, Leipzig (ATG-Leipzig) was transferred to Allendorf, and on January 26, 1945, a transport brought two women to Bergen-Belsen. At the time of evacuation, there were 993 prisoners in the Allendorf detachment.[10]

The claim vouchers (*Forderungsnachweise*) of the personnel administration in Buchenwald were based on the daily deployment reports (*Einsatzmeldungen*) from Allendorf. From these reports, the number of days worked could be calculated, which were then multiplied by the "salary" of 6 RM per day for skilled or 4 RM for unskilled workers. In the case of the Buchenwald subcamps, women were classified as unskilled laborers.[11] This amount was then charged to the armament plants. Daily deployment reports exist only for the month of August—and specifically for August 17 on and hence one day after the arrival of the transport.[12] For the time between August 1944 and the end of February 1945, the SS charged the Allendorf factory a total of nearly 650,000 RM.[13] Prisoners worked six days a week[14] in various shifts of 12 or 8 hours with a 30-minute break. Work was done in different departments of the factory, such as the laundry, the tailor shop, and the assembly lines for filling explosives. The 1944 annual report of the factory states that management was extremely satisfied with the work of the prisoners: "The experiences gained through the use of Jewesses since August last year are entirely satisfactory. The filling of the fifteen centimeter shells, weighing almost fifty kilograms, was accomplished with best results by Jewish female prisoners."[15] The working conditions on the filling lines were by far the hardest and accompanied by extreme health risks. "My face turned yellow from the poison, from inhaling it and we were extremely undernourished and weak,"[16] one of the women wrote. A postwar report states that "the work consisted of filling bombs and shells with explosives. These shells weighed 40 kg. And each prisoner had to handle 1000 of them per day."[17] A few women, for the most part the youngest, were assigned to work in the camp. Others reported working on farms, where in most cases the working conditions and food were better. The women who had been assigned to the filling lines suffered all their lives from health problems as a result of handling explosives.

The camp was fenced in, and male guards from Buchenwald and to some extent women employed by the Allendorf factory watched over the prisoners. Shortly before the dissolution of the camp, there were 46 SS privates and 47 female guards, two female doctors, and eight orderlies for the prisoners.[18] The majority of the women described the unit commander, Hauptscharführer Adolf Wuttke, as "humane," while they characterized his deputy, Ernst Schulte(r), as brutal.

On March 27, 1945, the camp was evacuated in the face of the approaching American troops. From the files it is no longer possible to determine the destination of the evacuation march. The march first headed east, toward Ziegenhain, and then northeast, toward Fritzlar. Throughout the march, groups of prisoners ran off, as did guards. The whole detach-

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ment eventually dissolved. Investigations by the district attorney's offices in the early 1970s did not reveal any indications of homicides, so that in November 1971, the case was dismissed.[19] The surviving women were cared for by the American troops and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) and were lodged in public buildings or with German families until a return to their homes or other countries could be organized.

Among the investigation files of the district attorney's office exists a list with names of 45 female guards. Eighteen of these women had been interned previously in various camps. Three women, including the head female guard, were sentenced by the women's chamber court of the Darmstadt camp to several years in a labor camp. All of the interned or convicted women, however, were released after serving sentences ranging from 1.5 to 3.5 years.[20] The commander of the Münchmühle subcamp, Wuttke, was the only member of the male guard force convicted. In the Dachau war crimes trial, he was sentenced to 4.5 years of confinement for beating prisoners in Buchenwald.[21]

SOURCES The source material available in the 1980s was not as comprehensive as it is presently. First, there are the papers of two school students, which deal with the everyday life and work of the forced laborers as well as with the subcamp. Both studies, part of a federal competition on German history, were awarded prizes by the president of the Federal German Republic and served as catalysts for further research and publications. These include: Harald Horn, *Allendorf unter dem Hakenkreuz* (Marburg, 1986); and Bernd Klewitz, *Die Münchmühle: Aussenkommando des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald* (Marburg, 1988). In particular, the public interest generated by the school studies led to the creation of a memorial on the site of the former Münchmühle camp.

A week of seminars and meetings in autumn 1990 resulted in the publication, created at the request of the former camp prisoners, Magistrat der Stadt Stadtallendorf und Förderverein für Stadt- und Regionalgeschichte 1933–1945 e.V., eds., *Dokumentation der Internationalen Tage der Begegnung in Stadtallendorf: KZ-Aussenlager Münchmühle/Nobel vom 21. bis 26.10.1990* (Stadtallendorf, 1991). The plans for a DIZ-St progressed considerably as a result of that week, because after their visit in autumn 1990 the women provided numerous reports, documents, photographs, and exhibits for the permanent exhibition and archive. The DIZ-St was inaugurated in autumn 1994, and a catalog was published: Magistrat der Stadt Stadtallendorf, *Ausstellungskatalog des DIZ*, ed. Fritz Brinkmann-Frisch (Stadtallendorf, 1994).

Since then, the DIZ has been a central site in the district Marburg-Biedenkopf where visitors are informed about Nazi history and its aftermath.

The most important primary sources are at the archive of YV and the THStA-W. The DIZ-St is a memorial located at a large former site of the Nazi explosives industry. Accordingly, the DIZ archive has photocopies not only of the archival documents on the Münchmühle camp but also of many other camps from federal, state, and private archives, as well as the NARA in Washington, D.C., on the history of both Allendorfer Sprengstoffwerke (explosives factories) and the related deployment of several thousand forced laborers. In addition, the archive holds numerous accounts of the former prisoners of the Münchmühle camp.

For information on the perpetrators, the files at the ZdL, the investigation files of the district attorney's office in Marburg, and the relevant archival documents at the AG-B were evaluated.

Fritz Brinkmann-Frisch
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Hermann Kaienburg, *Vernichtung durch Arbeit: Der Fall Neuengamme*, 2nd ed (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz, 1991), pp. 283–285.
2. Historical Section 7, File 149, YV.
3. THStA-W, Collection NS 4 Buchenwald, No. 8.
4. Ibid., letter by commander Pister to the director of the factory, Ringleb, September 8, 1944.
5. Copies of the three lists are at the DIZ-St.
6. This concerns Rosalia Aromovits, born on May 10, 1924; Magda Kun, born on April 7, 1920; and Ella Sajovits, born on October 25, 1925.
7. Basic Documents on Buchenwald 46, File 322, YV. A further adjustment of numbers and names was made by the personal effects storeroom (Effektenkammer) on November 3, 1944, Basic Documents on Buchenwald 20, File 172, YV.
8. In more than 30 cases, there are variations in both lists on the birthdates from 1 to 20 years, which are impossible to clarify.
9. In the death certificate in the municipality of Allendorf, the cause of death is indicated as "hemolytic icterus"; that is, the handling of highly toxic explosives most likely caused the death of Mrs. Hauer. Death Certificate Jolan Hauer, DIZ-St.
10. All details are from the Historical Section No. 12, File 160, YV.
11. Handwritten note in the Labor Statistics for Buchenwald, September 1, 1944, where the address of the Allendorf detachment, also written by hand, appears: "Allendorf Factory for the Processing of Chemical Products, Ltd., Allendorf district Marburg." THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald No. 8.
12. Labor detail KZ Allendorf from August 17 to 31, 1944, KZuHaftaBu 269/VIII, THStA-W.
13. Claim vouchers of the commander's headquarters KZ Buchenwald from August 1944 to February 1945; no evidence was found for March 1945. Historical Section No. 19, files 190–191, Historical Section No. 20, Files 192–193, YV.
14. As of mid-October 1944, smaller groups of prisoners (20–40) worked on Sundays as well; and between mid-January and late February 1945, much larger groups (400–700) worked on Sundays. See note 13.
15. Annual Report 1944, Allendorf Factory for the Processing of Chemical Products, Ltd., DIZ-St.
16. Communication from Elisabeth Berkovics, October 1987. In 1987, the city of Stadtallendorf organized a questionnaire, asking, among other things, about the living and working conditions of the prisoners in the Münchmühle detachment. The partially very detailed answers and reports are at the DIZ-St.
17. Report by J.A. Boucherat, French Liaison Officer, April 4, 1946; ZdL, Investigation Files IV 429 AR-Z 51/1970, pp. 14–16.
18. Strength report of the Allendorf work camp from March 20, 1945, Historical Section No. 12, File 163, YV.

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19. District attorney's office at the regional court of Marburg, Murder Investigation against "unknown," Js 400/70.

20. ZdL, Investigation File IV 429 AR-Z 51/1970, vols. 1–6.

21. Record of Trial in the Case of *U.S. vs. Adolf Wuttke, German National* (Case No. 000-Buchenwald-40), AG-B.

ALTENBURG (MEN)

Altenburg lies in Thuringia, approximately 80 kilometers (50 miles) to the east of Buchenwald. About four months after a camp for women was opened in Altenburg, a camp for men was opened on November 27, 1944, when 50 prisoners arrived from Buchenwald. The camp for men, as with the camp for women, was established at Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG), where the prisoners were deployed in armaments manufacture. The men's camp remained considerably smaller than the women's camp, which in large part was due to the fact that the male prisoners were seen as auxiliary labor for the women's camp. They were used in place of the women for the most difficult physical labor. The men, as with the women, worked in two shifts each of 12 hours assembling antitank grenades (*Panzerfäuste*) and shell casings. The organizational dependence upon the women's camp is reinforced by the fact that the men's camp, as with the women's camp, was under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Johann Frötsch.

HASAG was founded in 1863. At the end of the nineteenth century it was regarded as one of the world's most significant producers of petroleum burners. Just as it did during World War I, HASAG from 1933 switched its production to armaments, a more successful and lucrative area. HASAG became one of the most important armaments producers in the Third Reich and the General Government. In September 1944, the firm, at the request of Reichsminister für Rüstungs- und Kriegsproduktion Albert Speer, developed and put into production the Panzerfaust. Therefore, HASAG was given special authority to enable it during the winter of 1944–1945 to establish new production facilities and to open new subcamps. HASAG and its managing director, Paul Budin, relied heavily on concentration camp inmates for the required labor. Budin had promised Heinrich Himmler already in June 1944 to supply his forces with weapons and munitions, especially the Panzerfaust. Speer's authorization for the Schnellaktion Panzerfaust had the result that the HASAG was ensured the primary position in the list of the Wehrmacht's priority projects. In November and December 1944, the HASAG produced, according to Martin Schellenberg in his study on the Schnellaktion Panzerfaust, more than a million Panzerfäuste, relying on the brutal exploitation of concentration camp prisoners to do so. In the month of November 1944 alone, 300,000 Panzerfäuste were delivered directly to Himmler's SS.

In the middle of February 1945, a transport of 33 male prisoners increased the number of prisoners in the subcamp to more than 80. Another 115 prisoners arrived in the middle of March 1945. Among them were many Jews from Germany, Poland, Latvia, and Hungary as well as stateless people. The total number of inmates in the camp varied, as sick prisoners who were no longer capable of working were transferred back to the main camp in exchange for new prisoners.

Survivors reported being given a minimum of food—less than 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread and a watery soup each day.

The evacuation of the camp began on April 12, 1945. It occurred in several small groups.

SOURCES Charles-Claude Biedermann describes the Altenburg (men) subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 365–366. Details on HASAG and its subcamp have been taken from the following: Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271; Klaus Hesse, *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Eigenverlag des Autors, 2000, 2001)—Teil 1: *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe*, *ihre militärische Bedeutung*, *über Gewinne*, *Gewinner und Verlierer*, in particular pp. 29–63; and Teil 2: *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete*, *über Zwangsarbeiter*, *Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Aussenlager*, *über gesühnte und ungesühnte Verbrechen*, *Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–108. Also see ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:30; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil I, 1787.

The USHMMA holds the accounts of two survivors in its collections: the Lazar/Grünstein collection, and the memoirs of Sandor Stern, Acc.1995.A646. Other archival material on the subcamp is located in the collections of the AG-B; in the NS4 (Bu) Collection of the BA-K; and the ITS, Arolsen, such as ITS Buchenwald 292.

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ALTENBURG (WOMEN)

Altenburg lies in Thuringia, about 80 kilometers (50 miles) to the east of Buchenwald. On August 1, 1944, a women's subcamp was established at the Altenburg branch of Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG). Although the subcamp received its work instructions from the Buchenwald concentration camp, it remained until August 31, 1944, under the administrative control of the Ravensbrück concentration camp. The first transport of 850 female prisoners from Ravensbrück consisted of 727 Poles, 108 Soviets, 8 French, as well as Italians, Czechs, Norwegians, Hungarians, and Croatians. Shortly thereafter, two additional transports of female prisoners arrived, but this time from the HASAG subcamp in Buchenwald/Schlieben: 752 women on August 17, 1944, and 327 women on August 21, 1944. The last transport included mostly Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) from different European countries but also Soviet, French, and Yugoslav women. Five hundred Hungarian Jewish women arrived on September 5, 1944. On September 6, 600

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Polish women, who had fallen into German hands during the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising, were sent to Altenberg. Most of these prisoners had arrived at Ravensbrück via Auschwitz. A camp population report (*Bestandsmeldung*) dated September 7, 1944, lists 2,440 women, including 1,652 political female Poles, 500 Jews, and 288 "Gypsies." On the same day, 500 women from Altenburg were sent to Buchenwald/Taucha, where a new HASAG women's subcamp had been established. This transport is an example of the intensive exchange of prisoners within the HASAG system of subcamps. On October 12, 1944, another transport of 500 Hungarian Jewish women from Auschwitz arrived at Altenburg.

The subcamp was guarded by 34 SS men and 32 SS women. The camp was under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Johann Frötsch, who as Blockführer in Buchenwald had begun his infamous career. Survivors have described Frötsch and the Oberaufseherin, Elisabeth Rupper, also from Auschwitz, as brutal. Without reason, the prisoners were subject to punishment, which included whippings and confinement. Especially feared were the whippings, which often meant 25 blows with a cane.

The women were accommodated in a stone building, which was probably a former factory building. In the lower ground floor there were washing facilities including showers; in the upper floors were the dormitories, equipped with the typical concentration camp three-level bunk beds as well as tables and benches. The women slept in extremely cramped quarters; however, the "racially inferior" Sinti and Roma as well as the Jewish inmates were separated from the other prisoners. The camp also had an infirmary. The camp was fenced in with barbed wire and was further secured with two guard towers.

The women at the HASAG factory worked in two 12-hour shifts in a factory building not far from the camp, in the physically demanding areas where shells and *Panzerfäuste* (antitank weapons) were produced. In September 1944, as developer and producer of the Panzerfaust, HASAG had received special authority from Reichsminister für Rüstungs- und Kriegsproduktion Albert Speer, as part of the program "Schnellaktion Panzerfaust." This authority gave priority to the production of the Panzerfaust, ahead of all other urgent Wehrmacht projects. According to Martin Schellenberg, the HASAG produced in November and December more than 1 million Panzerfäuste—produced with the utmost brutal exploitation of concentration camp prisoners in the numerous HASAG subcamps. In the month of November alone, the HASAG gave 300,000 Panzerfäuste directly to Himmler's SS. Only at the end of 1944, around 50 men arrived in Altenburg to relieve the women from the most difficult of the physical labor. The men were held in a separate camp, which was also under the command of the Kommandoführer of the female camp, Johann Frötsch.

The use of the prisoners appears to have been in accordance with "racial criteria," whereby the Sinti and Roma as well as the Jewish women were allocated the most difficult and dangerous work. As a rule, this was work that involved the direct production, processing, and filling of munitions. The fumes from this activity damaged skin, hair, and breathing passages. The death of 8 women from tuberculosis in Altenburg is recorded. Without the transfer of sick women who could no longer work, the death rate in the subcamp would have been even higher. In September 1944, as early as four weeks after the camp was established, 123 Jewish women and 49 Sinti and Roma, all of whom could no longer work, were transferred back to Ravensbrück. By the middle of October 1944, another 216 women were transferred back, including an unknown number of pregnant women.

By the end of March 1945, there were 2,300 women in the camp. The evacuation of the camp began on April 11, 1945 (according to a statement by a survivor, Adrienne Friede Krausz), or April 12, 1945 (according to the International Tracing Service [ITS] and Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel's *Der Ort des Terrors*). The women were driven initially by foot via Meerane and Glauchau; a group of around 800 women was liberated by the U.S. Army on April 14, 1945, in the vicinity of Waldenburg/Sachsen. The other women marched over the ridge of the Erzgebirge in the direction of Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary).

In the 1970s the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL, now BA-L) commenced investigations into events at the camp and during the evacuation marches, but the investigations were inconclusive.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel has written about the Altenburg subcamp (female) in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 363–365. Details on the HASAG and its subcamps have been taken from the following publications: Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271; Klaus Hesse, *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Eigenverlag des Autors, 2000, 2001)—Teil 1: *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe*, *ihre militärische Bedeutung*, *über Gewinne*, *Gewinner und Verlierer*, pp. 29–63; and Teil 2: *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete*, *über Zwangsarbeiter*, *Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Aussenlager*, *über gesühnte und ungesühnte Verbrechen*, *Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–109. Hildegard Reinhardt Franz, a Sinti and Roma survivor of the Altenburg subcamp, is introduced in *Les femmes oublicées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 october 2005*, Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris) (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 97–99. The Altenburg women's subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:30; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1787.

Details of the subcamp are held in the AG-B and BA-K (NS 4 Bu). Investigations by ZdL (now BA-L) are under the file reference IV 429 AR-Z 13/74.

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ANNABURG

A satellite camp of Buchenwald was created in Annaburg (Saxony province) to provide labor to the Annaburger Gerätebau GmbH in January 1945. Like other subcamps administered by the Buchenwald main camp, the supply of prisoner labor to the firm followed from an agreement between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the administration of the Annaburger Gerätebau firm. Inmates in the Annaburg camp had been transferred from another Buchenwald subcamp in Halle an der Saale, where they had been employed at the Siebel-Flugzeugwerke factory (Siebel Aircraft Factory, Ltd.). The prisoners in Halle had been transferred from Buchenwald.

According to a monthly report filed by the Annaburg supervisor of labor groups (Kommandoführer) in February 1945, 100 inmates were transferred from the Halle an der Saale camp to Annaburg on January 8, 1945. On January 18, 1945, 2 inmates were returned to Halle, while 1 additional inmate was transported to Annaburg. Thus, the prisoners of the Annaburg camp in February 1945 numbered 99 inmates. Twenty SS guards were also transferred along with the 100 inmates from Halle to Annaburg on January 8.[1] The inmates named on the transport list (dated January 10, 1945), all male, appear to be Russian, Polish, and French; however, there is no breakdown by nationality or age to allow for further demographic analysis.[2]

The inmates in the Annaburg camp were employed at the Annaburger Gerätebau. According to the monthly report cited above, the inmates were also employed in the construction of a division of the Siebel-Werke Halle as well as the installation of prisoner barracks (presumably in Annaburg). The report also indicates that inmates worked 9.5-hour shifts, with 21,232.5 hours worked in total.[3] Further information about the specific kind of work inmates performed at Annaburger Gerätebau is lacking.

There is little information about conditions within the Annaburg camp, including the availability of food, treatment of the prisoners by the guards, resistance or escape attempts, and circumstances of prisoner deaths. The same monthly report shows that the prisoner nurse cared for an average of 12 ambulatory inmates in the infirmary (*Revier*) per day. The daily average number of inpatient cases was 2. The report also indicates that hygienic conditions within the camp were "satisfactory" (*zufriedenstellend*) and that the food supply was "good"; however, no witness reports from former Annaburg inmates could be found to corroborate this information.[4]

Furthermore, no information about the identity of the commandant or guards of the Annaburg camp is available. Further analysis of daily reports generated about the transfer of inmates to and from the Buchenwald main camp to its various subcamps (collected in the Bundesarchiv collection NS 4) may yield additional details about the Annaburg subcamp.

The Annaburg subcamp of Buchenwald was closed on March 16, 1945, and the inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp.

SOURCES The Annaburg subcamp of Buchenwald appears rarely in secondary literature. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Annaburg in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung; Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschafften, 1983).

Primary documentation on the Annaburg subcamp and other subcamps of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. For general correspondence, monthly and daily statistical reports, which list the number of prisoners working at Annaburg, as well as prisoner lists of the Annaburg subcamp and other subcamps, see the BA group NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, in particular, vols. 31, 54, 55, 176–185, 196. Other volumes from this collection contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp population. The BA, NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the USHMMA, RG-14.023M. Also contained at the USHMM archives is a transport list of inmates to the Annaburg camp copied from the AN-MACVG, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16. Additional transport lists or duplicates of the collection, as well as reports on numbers of prisoners in the camp from the AN, can be found in the archives of the USHMM 1996. A.0342 (originally copied from the NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180. Further research on these reports would yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the subcamps of Buchenwald.

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NOTES

1. Monatsbericht für Januar 1945 (dated February 1945), BA, NS 4 (Buchenwald), as reproduced in USHMM, RG-14.023M, Band 262.
2. Transport list of 100 inmates from Siebel-Halle to Kommando Annaburger Gerätebau GmbH, January 10, 1945 (BU 44), AN, as reproduced in USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16.
3. Monatsbericht, February 1945, BA, NS 4, Band 262.
4. Ibid.

APOLDA

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Apolda (Thüringen), about 70 kilometers (44 miles) southwest of Leipzig. Inmates were transferred from Buchenwald to Apolda most likely to work in a bread bakery that supplied the Third SS-Totenkopfstandarte (Death's Head Regiment) "Thüringen," as well as the Buchenwald camp. They may have also been

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used for work in the Reichsbahnbetriebsamt Weimar (Weimar Railway Administrative Office), constructing railway lines. The exact date of the camp's opening is unknown, but it may have been as early as December 1944. Inmates from Buchenwald worked in the bakery, and most of the prisoners were Jehovah's Witnesses. There were between 10 and 20 inmates. One transport list dated February 16, 1945, from Buchenwald to Apolda, included the names of 8 inmates.[1] It is also possible that the camp was an outlying work detail (Aussenkommando) of Buchenwald, sent daily from the camp to the work site. The small subcamp was headed by an SS-Unterführer until American troops liberated Apolda on April 11, 1945.

SOURCES There are few secondary and primary sources on the Apolda subcamp of Buchenwald. Brief information on Apolda during the war can be found in Franz Walter, "Von der rotten zur braunen Hochburg: Wahlanalytische Überlegungen zur Resonanz der NSDAP in den beiden thüringischen Industrielandschaften," in *Nationalsozialismus in Thüringen*, ed. Detlev Heiden and Gunther Mai (Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1995). Information about the bakery and its relation to Buchenwald can be found in Peter Franz, "Die Stadt Apolda und die umliegenden Konzentrationslager," in *Gefangen im Netz: Die Konzentrationslager in Thüringen, 1933–1945*, ed. Udo Wohlfeld and Peter Franz (Weimar: Taubach, 2000), pp. 123–125. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS).

There is scarce primary source material on the Apolda subcamp of Buchenwald. For transfer lists of prisoners in February 1945, see USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, which constitutes a collection copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from ITS.

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NOTE

1. "Transport Apolda," February 16, 1945 (BU 47), AN-MACVG, reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

AROLSEN

An SS-Officer School (Führerschule of the SS-Business Administration Main Office [WVHA]) was established in Arolsen at the beginning of 1944 in order to train candidates for the administrative service of the SS, which until then had taken place in Dachau. Arolsen was chosen as the location for this new SS station because the administrative headquarters of the SS region Fulda-Werra, which included Weimar-Buchenwald, was located here. A barracks for the SS-Special Assignment Troops (Verfügungstruppe) II/SS-"Germania" was established here in the mid-1930s, but it stood empty in the autumn of 1943.

Thirty-four prisoners from the Buchenwald concentration camp were requisitioned to adapt the barracks for its new use. The detachment with the code name "Arthur" arrived at Arolsen on November 14, 1943. Another 26 prisoners arrived from Dachau on January 8, 1944, together with instructors, and an additional 20 prisoners arrived on January 21, 1944, from Buchenwald, all to work in the SS-Clothing Camp (Bekleidungslager). Thus, the total number of inmates reached 80. This number remained relatively constant until the autumn of 1944, when it increased to 120.[1] Altogether, from November 1943 to March 1945, around 185 male prisoners from 13 countries were housed in the former munitions depot of the SS caserne.[2]

Prisoners sent to Arolsen were selected from the main camp based on their skills as locksmiths, carpenters, butchers, cooks, masons, barbers, and farmhands. Poles made up the largest group of prisoners at 35 percent, followed by Russians at 30 percent. The special assignment prisoners (*Funktionshäftlinge*) were recruited from the 28 German prisoners (15 percent), who, with a median age of 39.8 years, were considerably older than the average prisoner (30.3).[3]

The SS-Officer School and SS-Clothing Camp were only technically separate institutions, and among the external details of the Buchenwald concentration camp they were an exception to the rule, as they were not assigned to an armament plant or SS-owned business but rather to an SS duty station, which, as with Buchenwald, in turn reported to the WVHA in Berlin.[4]

With people of differing nationalities, backgrounds, vocations, and interests living together in very confined spaces, constantly fearing death, life was not without tension. There was a mistrust among prisoners that faded only gradually, after living together for some time. Those with experiences in common from Auschwitz, Dachau, or Buchenwald, or those of the same nationality, bonded more quickly. Once they built trust in each other, though, their friendships often survived the worst situations—indeed, even on the death marches (*Todesmärsche*), groups of Arolsen prisoners stayed together. It was difficult for many foreigners to accept German fellow prisoners. Their dislike was strengthened by the fact that some German prisoners treated the East Europeans condescendingly. Only the experiences they shared in the spring of 1944 helped to bridge the divide.

Once the school was established, the prisoners had to do nearly all of the auxiliary work. Their assignments ranged from the barracks kitchen, the workshops, or the wardrobe to working in the SS barbershop, serving in the mess hall, or cleaning the SS buildings. In addition, there was construction work to be done outside the barracks proper.

The daily life of the prisoners of necessity followed the school rhythm, which in turn broke down—at least to a degree—the absolute power of the SS. After all, certain types of work had to be finished by a prescribed time, while other work could only be done while the SS students were in class. Even though this rhythm was monotonous, it gave structure to the life of the prisoners, the significance of which cannot be overstated. The work was very hard, but the prisoners knew when it would stop, because only rarely did work have to be done after school hours in the barracks. The SS school could not extend the evening roll call at will, as any extension shortened the preparatory time for instruction. During such times, the prisoners were of no interest to the SS.

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At the same time, operation of the school was scarcely possible without the work of the prisoners. The morning roll call could not be extended as otherwise the meals would not have been ready on time; nor would the SS tolerate any delay when going to the barber; and the work in the motor pool garage and the classrooms had to be done punctually, efficiently, and properly. Any painful delays would have had a direct impact on the SS. In addition, it was in the self-interest of the SS to avoid having maltreated, filthy prisoners in the kitchen, dining room, canteen, or sleeping quarters of the school. For their own protection, then, the SS kept an eye on clean and proper hygienic conditions in the prisoners' accommodations. The prisoners subsisted on food that was qualitatively and quantitatively at, but not below, the lowest acceptable standards. The fact that the quality of life was inevitably linked for the school SS and the prisoners prevented the worst excesses, but there was still physical maltreatment of the prisoners in the cellars.

In the course of the year 1944, the prisoners "served" more and more as the personal lackeys of the SS-Führer. This tie to an individual SS man released the prisoners from total anonymity and there arose a "personal" relationship that served to mitigate some of the torments and even helped to develop a certain degree of sympathy. But the prisoners could not count on these newly won benefits. A "wrong" word or any given act could result in a total change of behavior in the SS man.

Within the confines of their walled-in living space, the prisoners faced the competing interests of the SS-Schulkommando, the SS officers in training (*Führerschüler*), the SS guards, and the civilians. Inside the barracks, contact with the civilian workers was the least problematic; a number of these workers even helped the prisoners. The guard force consisted of about a dozen mostly lower-ranking SS men, with a narrow range of duties, since the camp was guarded by the SS-Officer School.[5] The higher ranks in the school stayed in the background. The roughly 1,000 officers in training kept a low profile with the prisoners. They did not dare commit crude acts of violence, as contact with the inmates was prohibited under a school order; it was not known what effects such attacks could have on their evaluations.[6] After all, graduation qualified the SS cadet (*Junker*) from an officer school for duty in the WVHA and thus also in the Amtsgruppe D–Concentration Camps. As transfers from Arolsen to this main office (and the reverse, transfers from WVHA to the SS-Officer School) occurred, a growing number of those in the SS school knew about the living and work conditions in concentration camps, and some of them were aware of the murders. For example, Walter Dejaco, who had supervised the plans for the construction of the crematoriums in Auschwitz, passed his training as SS-Offizier in Arolsen in May 1944.[7]

The division of responsibilities within the SS, the importance of the prisoners for the operation of the school, the structured schedules, and the confined space all diminished the danger of the worst attacks and freed the prisoner during the day from immediate fear of death. Being beaten to death, shot, or hanged was hardly probable. In fact, there are no documented deaths for this subcamp. Still, the relief from suffering was only temporary. The real terror lay in the existential question of what the next morning would bring, as every transport to Buchenwald raised the acute threat of being brought back to the main camp. That this was not an unfounded fear is shown by the large numbers—every third prisoner—actually transferred there.[8] Many of them lost their lives there or in working other outside details.

For two prisoners who had been caught stealing food, the transfer to Buchenwald would almost certainly have been a death sentence. However, after they were secretly tipped off, they and two comrades made a daring escape. They took SS officers' uniforms from the wardrobe, while other prisoners readied a private car parked in the motor pool. On June 4, 1944, dressed in SS uniforms and armed with forged papers, they drove unmolested through the caserne's gate, past the saluting SS guard. They then drove through Koblenz until they reached their hiding place in Luxembourg.[9] The Officer School at first planned to punish the whole detachment but refrained from that in order not to interrupt the operation of the school and instead strengthened the surveillance. Two further escape attempts failed only a few hours later.

American troops approached Arolsen on March 30, 1945, but the hopes of being liberated were not to be fulfilled for the 117 prisoners, because they had been evacuated to the main camp just a few hours earlier.[10] Many of the Arolsen prisoners were forced on death marches from there, which not all of them survived.

The supervisor of labor groups (Kommandoführer) of Arolsen, Friedrich Demmer, was captured when Buchenwald was liberated. He was charged before the Superior Military Court in Dachau and was sentenced to 10 years of forced labor in 1947. However, following an appeal, he was released in 1948 after 3 years' imprisonment.[11] No proceedings against other SS officials in connection with the Arolsen subcamp are known.

SOURCES Important sources regarding this subcamp include Anke Schmeling, *Josias Erbprinz zu Waldeck und Pyrmont. Der politische Werdegang eines hohen SS-Führers* (Kassel, 1993); Günter Steiner, *Waldecks Weg ins Dritte Reich. Gesellschaftliche und politische Strukturen eines ländlichen Raums während der Weimarer Republik und zu Beginn des Dritten Reichs* (Kassel, 1990): Michael Winkelmann, *"Auf einmal sind sie weggemacht"* (Kassel, 1992); and Bernd Joachim Zimmer, *Deckname Arthur. Das KZ-Aussenkommando in der SS-Führerschule Arolsen* (Kassel, 1994).

Primary documentation can be found at BA-K: KL Buchenwald: NS 4 Bu 189, NS 4 Bu 205, NS 4 Bu 210, NS 4 Bu 229; BAMA: SS-Führerschule of the WVHA: RS 5/436–RS 5/445, RS 5/949, RW 19; YVA: Buchenwald documents: HS 12, HS 13, HS 17, HS 19, HS 20, Collection M 32–99; NARA: Buchenwald Trial 000–20; and ZdL 429 AR 1824/66.

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NOTES

1. ITS, Bad Arolsen: Transportlisten (transport lists) from November 14, 1943, January 8, 1944, January 21, 1944, and September 21, 1944.

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2. Review of all transport lists, reports of strength, and prisoner personnel cards in: Bernd Joachim Zimmer, *Deckname Arthur: Das KZ-Aussenkommando in der SS-Führerschule Arolsen* (Kassel: Verlag Gesamthochschul-Bibliothek, 1994), pp. 142–151.
3. Ibid., pp. 151–153.
4. YV, Jerusalem HS 19 (Forderungsnachweis).
5. BA-K, NS 4 Bu 229.
6. BA-K/MAF, RS 5/437-7.
7. A short biography is in Jean-Claude Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* (Munich: Piper, 1994), p. 177.
8. Zimmer, *Deckname Arthur*, pp. 241–245.
9. *Rappel: Organe de la Ligue Luxembourgeoise des Prisonniers et Deportes politiques* (Luxembourg, 1980), pp. 99–110.
10. ITS, Bad Arolsen.
11. NARA, Buchenwald Trial 000-Buchenwald-20.

ASCHERSLEBEN (MEN)

Aschersleben is located about eight kilometers (five miles) west of Bernburg and about the same distance to the east of Quedlinburg. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony. Here was located a branch factory of the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerken (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM), for which a Buchenwald subcamp for male prisoners was established in the summer of 1944. Although files from the Buchenwald camp mention the subcamp on July 28, 1944, it is most likely that the 177 male prisoners first commenced work on August 15, 1944. Other prisoners arrived at the camp in the following months with the result that by the middle of December 1944 the camp reached its peak with 653 prisoners. By the time the camp ceased to exist, at the beginning of April 1945, the numbers had sunk to 453.

The prisoner composition was varied. Prisoners from Germany, France, Greece, Albania, the Netherlands, Italy, Yugoslavia, Croatia, Poland, the Soviet Union, and Spain, as well as Czechs and stateless persons, were in the camp. The prisoners were categorized according to National Socialist prisoner categories including "work shy" (*Arbeitsscheue*), "asocial" (*Asoziale*), "career criminal" (*Berufsverbrecher/Befristete Vorbeugehaft*), and "political." The camp was guarded by SS, and the Lagerführer and Arbeitseinsatzführer was SS-Hauptscharführer Reuter. A few months later he also took command of the Aschersleben's women's subcamp.

The prisoners in the subcamp worked in two shifts constructing the Heinkel He 162, the so-called People's Fighter (*Volksjäger*). The factory had been converted to allow its production. The Volksjäger, a single-engine jet fighter with a fuselage and elevators made of aluminum and wings and rudder made of plywood, was a last desperate attempt to change the outcome of the war. During the last months of the war, completely inexperienced young pilots from the Flying Hitler Youth (Fliegende Hitler-Jugend), nicknamed the Home Guard of the Air (Volkssturm der Lüfte), were to fly the aircraft, which technically was still in need of development and was scarcely able to be steered and landed. Hitler demanded from Albert Speer a monthly production of 5,000 to 6,000 Volksjäger. To achieve this goal, it was planned to use the labor of concentration camp prisoners intensively. The fuselage and component parts of the He 162 were manufactured in Aschersleben, and the prisoners were employed in a number of different specializations during the production process.

This specialized use of the prisoners may explain why the SS placed comparatively great value on the health of the prisoners: in the subcamp there was a large infirmary where an SS doctor, an SS medical orderly, a doctor under contract, a doctor from among the prisoners, and a prisoner medical orderly were busy. The SS deloused the prisoners each week to prevent the spread of infectious diseases. Prisoners who were no longer capable of working were sent back to Buchenwald. The list of deadly accidents in Aschersleben shows the difficult nature of the work and living conditions. The causes of death included typhoid, heart and circulation illnesses, inflammation of the lungs, tuberculosis, as well as cystitis and nephritis. The prisoners who died in the camp were taken to Quedlinburg, where they were cremated.

The evacuation of the subcamp took place between April 6 and 11, 1945, as prisoners were sent in the direction of Torgau.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) between 1966 and 1975 remained inconclusive.

SOURCES Charles-Claude Biedermann describes the subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 371–372. The Aschersleben (men) subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 31; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1788.

Archival documents on the Aschersleben subcamp are located in a number of archives: the AG-B and the collection NS 4 Bu of BA-K as well as the ITS under Signatur ITS Buchenwald 7, 27, and 53. The ZdL investigations located at BA-L are under File IV 429 AR-Z 14/74.

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ASCHERSLEBEN (WOMEN)

Aschersleben is about eight kilometers (five miles) to the west of Bernburg and about the same distance to the east of Quedlinburg. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony. A branch factory of the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerken (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM) was located in Aschersleben where a Buchenwald subcamp for male prisoners was established in the summer of 1944. A women's subcamp was established in the same location in January 1945.

The first transport of 500 women arrived on January 2, 1945. All the women in the transport were Jews who had traveled via Bergen-Belsen from Auschwitz: there were 250 Poles,

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232 Hungarians, 13 Belgians, a German, a Soviet citizen, a Yugoslav, and 2 Slovaks. According to statements by survivors and eyewitnesses, there are two different descriptions of the accommodation provided to the women, but perhaps the women describe two different areas or sections of the subcamp. Some eyewitness accounts state that the women were accommodated in a camp secured with barbed wire, located about 10 minutes from where they worked. The building in this camp was a two-story stone building that held the prisoners and the female SS guards. Other reports refer to two barracks close to where the women worked, Factory Building 5. There were not enough beds for the women in these barracks, with the result that the women had to sleep in shifts. In the infirmary, which was attached to the camp, there was limited medical care. There were, however, no beds available for sick inmates.

Administratively, the camp was closely connected with the Buchenwald camp for men in Aschersleben. Its Kommandoführer, SS-Hauptscharführer Reuter, was also responsible for the women's camp. The SS guards at the men's camp were also used to guard the external perimeters of the women's camp. Additionally, there were 12 female SS guards inside the camp until the middle of March. Survivors have described these guards as downright brutal. Food deprivation, seclusion in a bunker, and other degrading punishments such as the cutting of the women's hair were the punishments that were usually mentioned by survivors. For the SS, especially beloved punishments were the sleep-depriving "special roll calls" (*Sonderappelle*), which as a rule lasted for hours, and the debilitating "calisthenics" (*Sportübungen*), which exhausted the already physically weak prisoners.

The women worked in two shifts each of 12 hours. There were two breaks during each shift. As with the men in their subcamp, the women manufactured aircraft, mostly the Heinkel He 162, called the People's Fighter (*Volksjäger*). They assembled the fuselages and in Factory Building 5 cut and assembled aircraft parts in the cutting and parts assembly rooms. Very quickly the women were physically exhausted by handling the heavy aircraft parts, working the machines, the harsh living conditions in the camp, and the lack of food. There were numerous illnesses including lung inflammations, heart problems, cystitis, and nephritis, as well as typhoid. Five women died in the relatively short period of the camp's existence.

The Junkers factory was closed in March 1945, following heavy bombing raids on Aschersleben. According to the SS, the prisoners worked for the last time on March 25. The women were evacuated in two groups between April 11 and 15, 1945, and the camp was closed. The women were initially evacuated with the inmates from the men's Aschersleben camp. The first group of 300 women was taken via Delitzsch and Torgau to Leitmeritz (after 1945, part of the Czech Republic), where 40 of them were liberated by the Soviet Army. The majority of the group, 259 women, continued under great deprivation on a march to their original destination, Theresienstadt, where they arrived on April 24. The second group of women marched in an easterly direction via Könnern, Halle, Bitterfeld, and Torgau to Bad Düben. Here the guards, in fear of the approaching enemy, drove the women back across the Elbe in the direction of Torgau. The women were liberated on April 15, 1945, close to Mühlbeck.

In the early 1970s, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) interviewed dozens of prisoners as part of investigations into the history of the subcamp. The investigations ceased in 1975 without any results.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel describes the camp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 369–371. The Aschersleben (women) subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 31; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1788.

Information on the Aschersleben women's subcamp is held in a number of archives including the collections NS-4 Bu (e.g., BA-K and the THStA-W). A list of 259 women who arrived in Theresienstadt on April 24, 1945, is held in the AG-T. Investigations by the ZdL (now BA-L) are held in File IV 429 AR-Z 14/74.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BAD SALZUNGEN (*HEINRICH KALB*)

The subcamp Bad Salzungen (Heinrich Kalb) came into existence when 500 prisoners were transferred from Buchenwald to work in the potash mine Heiligenroda III, near the villages of Dorndorf and Springen in the Werra region of Thuringia. The detachment was named after the town of Bad Salzungen, which was about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from the subcamp. It is first mentioned in the records on January 20, 1945.

The expansion of the Heiligenroda III pit was part of a larger project to shift production underground, in this case, the production of aircraft motors by Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW). This objective linked the Heinrich Kalb subcamp with the Ludwig Renntier subcamp even though it was located outside the town at another potash mine.

Leveling and concrete work had already been going on in Heiligenroda III since June 1944; by the end of the year approximately 30,000 square meters (36,000 square yards) of tunnel space had been prepared for the machines, and about 8,000 square meters (9,600 square yards) of concrete floor had been laid. Thus, BMW was able to start its underground production at least in part. In order to expand the mine further and prepare it for production, the Buchenwald prisoners were put to work on demolition and cleanup work and pouring concrete. One of their tasks was the transfer of loose potassium salt into unused areas of the mine and the transport of heavy tipping trucks with loose rock or potassium salt. The International Tracing Service (ITS) named Organisation Todt (OT) Construction Directorate in Springen and the

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construction management of the Heinrich Kalb company as employers of the inmates.

The number of prisoners remained relatively constant for the duration of the camp, at between 480 and 500 prisoners. This was largely due to the fact that injured and sick prisoners and those who could no longer work were returned to Buchenwald and were replaced with new prisoners. According to witness statements, there were at least 25 deaths in the Heinrich Kalb subcamp. The dead were cremated in the Bad Salzungen city crematorium.

The prisoners were mostly Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Yugoslavians, and Romanians. There were only seven German prisoners, and 30 to 35 SS men guarded the camp. According to prisoner statements, the Lagerführer was either SS-Hauptsturmführer Schlaf, who was notorious for his mistreatment of prisoners, or SS-Hauptscharführer Reichardt.

The prisoners were accommodated in an unused section of the mine in the most primitive of conditions. Initially they were taken at regular intervals to the surface, but later this practice stopped completely, as it took too much time and placed too much demand on the capacity of the mine's transport cage. The lack of sunlight as well as the murderous work and living conditions rapidly led to the physical and mental deterioration of the camp inmates. The poor nutrition, which as a rule consisted only of watery soup and bread, resulted in the prisoners eating the potash, which in turn led to deadly kidney and gallbladder failure.

Most likely the Buchenwald main camp dissolved part of the subcamp at the end of March 1945. It was decided to transfer 385 prisoners back to Buchenwald, "on account of the enemy's close proximity."[1] The prisoners' march (for many this was the first time they had seen daylight in weeks) was via Bad Salzungen, Ohrdruf, Crawinkel, Ilmenau, Stadtilm, Kranichfeld, and Bad Berka to Buchenwald, where they arrived on April 3, 1945.[2] At Ohrdruf alone six prisoners are said to have been shot by the SS.

Ninety-three prisoners remained in the camp, and their fate is unknown. They could probably not be evacuated to Buchenwald because of the rapid advance of Allied troops. The ITS suggested that they could have been evacuated to Flossenbürg instead. The camp is mentioned for the last time on April 4, 1945.

SOURCES Frank Baranowski describes the Bad Salzungen (Heinrich Kalb) subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 379–380. References to and descriptions of the subcamp are also to be found in Bianka Breitung, "Die Aussenkommandos des ehemaligen faschistischen Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Eisenach ('Emma'), Abteroda ('Anton') und Bad Salzungen ('Ludwig Renntier' und 'Heinrich Kalb')" (unpub. Diplomarbeit, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1989); Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992); and *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald: Ausstellungskatalog* (West Berlin: Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, 1990), p. 105, in which are described the conditions in the potash mines at the Heinrich Kalb subcamp and Ludwig Renntier subcamp; and Emil Carlebach, Eilly Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald: Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 2000), p. 134. This camp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 32.

Primary sources for this camp begin with NS 4 at THStA-W.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See Stärkemeldung, April 7, 1945, NS 4/ Bu 292, THStA-W, "Nach Buchenwald wegen Feindnähe zurückgenommene Kommandos"; also printed in Emil Carlebach, Eilly Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald: Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 2000), p. 134.

2. According to Frank Baranowski in *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), p. 379; ITS states that the camp's evacuation date was April 6, 1945.

BAD SALZUNGEN (*LUDWIG RENNTIER*)

The Bad Salzungen (Ludwig Renntier) subcamp, as with the nearby Bad Salzungen (Heinrich Kalb) subcamp, was created because of the relocation of the Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) production facilities to potash mines in the Werra district. During the course of 1944, it became apparent that the existing production sites were not sufficient. So at the beginning of 1945 the Heinrich Kalb and Ludwig Renntier subcamps, along with concentration camp prisoners from the Buchenwald concentration camp, became part of the process to relocate BMW production facilities underground.

The Ludwig Renntier subcamp was opened on January 5, 1945. It was located at the Kalischacht I (Kaiseroda) in Leimbach in the Werra district in Thuringia, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) west of the city of Bad Salzungen. It was located in a 400-meter-deep (437-yard-deep) shaft on the road that later became Herrmannsrodaer Strasse. It was to provide an additional 30,000-square-meter (about 36,000-square-yard) underground production facility in which Organisation Todt (OT) would operate the presses for the BMW company. The prisoners worked daily between 12 and 15 hours, pouring cement on the tunnel floors, transporting gravel in hand carts, and cleaning the area of potash salt.

According to Ernst Hausmann, the camp elder, most of the prisoners were taken directly into the mine shaft, where they slept on a thin layer of straw on the ground. As with the prisoners at the Heinrich Kalb subcamp, they remained underground for most of the time in the camp. The cages used to transport the prisoners from the tunnel could only carry between 20 and 25 prisoners on each trip, which would

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have made the exchange of prisoners very time-consuming. Therefore, inmates were only brought to the surface when necessary—for instance, when they had become incapable of further work due to the inhuman work and living conditions along with the high salt content in the air. In that case, prisoners of the subcamp had to be exchanged for new prisoners from Buchenwald. In the middle of February 1945, 350 new prisoners were brought from Buchenwald to Ludwig Renntier. On February 28, 71 prisoners who could no longer work were returned to the main camp. It seems that the camp had its own prisoner doctor, A. Gurin, who, according to the memoirs of the former camp elder, was returned to Buchenwald in March 1945. This relocation to the main camp, which also involved the camp elder, was probably connected with the replacement of the camp commandant at that time.

Around 150 to 180 prisoners in the subcamp were held above ground in an unused and fenced-in salt refinery in Bad Salzungen. These prisoners were kept busy during the day, erecting barracks and fitting out offices and camps.

Probably at the end of March 1945 the camp held its maximum number of prisoners, more than 700. A strength report (*Stärkemeldung*) dated March 29 lists 710 prisoners. The majority of the men were Russians, Poles, and Yugoslavs, but there were also French, Belgian, and Dutch prisoners as well as a few German prisoners, most of those being political prisoners. According to Frank Baranowski, the Lagerführer at Ludwig Renntier was initially SS-Oberscharführer Dietrich, who was probably seconded from Luftwaffe ground personnel. Dietrich treated the prisoners humanely and is said not to have followed all orders coming from Buchenwald, which resulted in a decline in productivity. According to the former camp elder Hausmann, Dietrich therefore was replaced in March 1945 by SS-Hauptscharführer Knauf, the previous deputy Lagerführer of the Duisburg (SS-Baubrigade) subcamp, who is thought to have murdered several prisoners at that camp.

The evacuation of the subcamp began at the beginning of April 1945: 464 prisoners were sent on a death march on April 6, 1945, to Buchenwald, and 183 followed on April 10. Based on prisoner statements, the International Tracing Service (ITS) states that some of the prisoners—as was the case with the Bad Salzungen (Heinrich Kalb) subcamp—were taken to Flossenbürg. The Bad Salzungen (Ludwig Renntier) subcamp is mentioned for the last time on April 10, 1945.

SOURCES Frank Baranowski provides a detailed description of the Bad Salzungen (Ludwig Renntier) subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006), pp. 380–382. The report of the Internationale Lagerkomitee des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald of May 1945 also listed the Bad Salzungen (Ludwig Renntier) subcamp in *Bericht des Internationalen Lagerkomitees des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald* (Offenbach: Verlag Olga Benario und Herbert Baum, 1997), p. 109. The camp is also mentioned in Emil Carlebach, Eilly Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald. Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 2000), p. 134; Bianka Breitung, "Die Aussenkommandos des ehemaligen faschistischen Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Eisenach ('Emma'), Abteroda ('Anton') und Bad Salzungen ('Ludwig Renntier' und 'Heinrich Kalb')" (unpub. Diplomarbeit, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1989); as well as Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992). The subcamp is also listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 32; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1789.

The statements by the former camp elder Ernst Hausmann of March 1982 are held under Signatur 31/1952 in AG-B. Further information on the subcamp is also found in the ThHStA-W, under Signatur NS 4/ Bu 229 (Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen in verschiedenen Aussenkommandos, 1943–1945).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BENSBERG (KDO. NAPOLA) (SS-BB III)

With only 10 inmates, what was probably the smallest subcamp of the Buchenwald complex existed from May to December 1944 in Bensberg, later part of Bergisch Gladbach. The Bensberg subcamp was established by SA-Gruppenführer Paul Holthoff, head of one of the Institutions of National Political Education (Napola), which had been located in the Bensberg castle since 1935. The roof and north wing of the castle had been damaged in an incident of arson by students on March 2, 1942, and Holthoff tried for months to find workers to restore them. Initially, beginning in the fall of 1943, he received from the SS-Baubrigade III (Construction Brigade III), stationed in Cologne, the occasional prisoner for construction work. Finally, on March 25, 1944, the above-mentioned 10 prisoners were sent as part of a transport destined for Cologne.[1] Not until the withdrawal of the SS-Baubrigade III on May 10, 1944, did the Bensberg camp become a subcamp of Buchenwald.

The prisoners were probably housed in a cellar room where bicycles had previously been stored. The group of inmates, whose identities are known, consisted of nine Czechs and one Russian.[2] As of November 1944, because Allied troops were advancing from the west, the Napola was moved from Bensberg to a Cistercian monastery in the East Westphalia village Hardehausen, which later became part of Warburg. The Buchenwald subcamp was transferred to Hardehausen as well, probably in December, and from then on was listed under Hardehausen.

SOURCES In the 1980s, school students were the first to gather findings on the Bensberg camp. See "Schülerwettbewerb Deutsche Geschichte um den Preis des Bundespräsidenten" in the archive of the Körber-Stiftung Hamburg, Wettbewerb 1982–83, No. 828, Sascha Balkow et al., *Kriegsgefangene—Fremdarbeiter—KZ-Häftlinge im Raum Bensberg*, pp. 26–33; Wettbewerb 1988–89, No. 10601, Martin Breitbach et al., *Unser Schloss—ein Ort für Fremde—aber auch Heimat?* pp. 22–33a. These scattered references were published by Klaus

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Schmitz in a 1989 essay, "Auf Spurensuche in der jüngeren Vergangenheit: Das Aussenlager Bensberg des KZ Buchenwald," HfBL 59 (1989): 209–215. In the course of his research on the subcamp Hardehausen, Dieter Zühlke studied the Bensberg camp as well and in 2003 deposited the manuscript with his findings at the Ast-Wb, "Das Konzentrationslager Bensberg-Hardehausen: Eine NAPOLA als Einsatzort von KZ-Häftlingen" (StA Warburg, unpub. MSS, October 2003). One year later, he summarized his results in an article that was published in collaboration with Jan Eric Schulte. See Jan Eric Schulte and Dieter Zühlke, "Vom Rheinland nach Westfalen: KZ-Aussenlager einer 'Nationalpolitischen Erziehungsanstalt' in Bensberg und Hardehausen," in *Konzentrationslager im Rheinland und in Westfalen 1933–1945: Zentrale Steuerung—Regionale Initiative*, ed. Jan Eric Schulte (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), pp. 113–130.

Very little documentation exists for the Bensberg camp at the ASt-BG (V 160, J 16/3, HS 313) and at the THStA-W (NS 4 Buchenwald, especially Nos. 250 and 253). Memoirs or testimonies by former inmates are unknown.

Karola Fings
trans. Ute Stargardt

NOTES

1. Transportliste (transport list) from March 25, 1944, in the AG-B, pp. 59–110.
2. Buchenwald concentration camp, register of June 23, 1944, in the NWHStA-(D), ZA-K, Zweigstelle Kalkum, Ger. Rep. 118/1176.

BERGA-ELSTER ("SCHWALBE V")

In the wake of increasing Allied bombing attacks, Germany's fuel reserves sank to a dangerously low level. In August 1944, as part of the Geilenberg Program, the Armaments Ministry established the Petroleum Securing Plan, whose implementation belonged to the Kammler Staff. As part of this plan, under code name "Schwalbe V" (Swallow V), the Kammler Staff supervised the construction of an underground hydrogenation plant for Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brown Coal-Gasoline AG, Brabag) in Zeitz in Berga an der Elster and appointed as project manager SS-Obersturmführer Willy Hack.

Hack was transferred to Berga on November 6, 1944, where his site manager and geologists tested the mountain rock for internal water channels. After Sonderinspektion I (Special Inspectorate I) reviewed drilling samples in Berlin, Brabag made concrete plans for the mining operation.

Braun und Co. Schieferverwaltung, a cover name for Brabag-Zeitz, functioned as the owner and Reich trustee. The company employed mining companies, major mining and civil engineering firms, and additional workers from the region and from all over Germany. Brabag planned to excavate 18 interconnected tunnels in the Zikraer Berg mountain, for the location of the synthetic oil plant.

On November 13, 1944, the first 70 male prisoners were brought to Berga from Buchenwald. Among them were the future administrative staff and the prisoner physician. This group built the camp.[1] The first large transport of 500 prisoners arrived on December 1, 1944, from the Buchenwald work detail "Wille" in Rehmsdorf near Zeitz, another Brabag camp.[2] Further transports arrived on December 13, 1944 (1,000); December 30, 1944 (500); January 1, 1945 (298); February 26, 1945 (500); and March 15, 1945 (500).[3] In all, over 3,300 prisoners were dispatched to Berga.

German civilians are forced to exhume the bodies of camp prisoners and U.S. prisoners of war at Berga-Elster, April 1945.
USHMM WS # 80921, COURTESY OF NARA

The largest prisoner groups were the Jews, who came from Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Russia, Ukraine, Belorussia, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, and Germany. Others were political, "work shy" (*arbeitsscheu*), and career criminals from all over Europe.

Most prisoners worked in the tunnels where they cleared and removed the detritus from explosions. The work was very hard and dangerous. They also had to work for various firms employed in the camp. The prisoners preferred assignment in the quarry, kitchens, or workshops, laying rail beds, or doing outdoor construction rather than working in the tunnels. A large group of 13- to 17-year-old boys in Berga mostly peeled potatoes in the prisoner and SS kitchens. Working in shifts, like the adult prisoners, some delivered food and coal briquettes from the city's rail station to the camp and cleaned the SS officers' rooms. The latter task was especially unpleasant.

Between November 28, 1944, and April 7, 1945, 313 prisoners died in the camps.[4] Berga survivors reported deaths from shootings, disease, starvation, physical abuse, and work accidents.[5] The overall number of prisoners did not diminish, however, because of replacement transports from Buchenwald. A roll call taken on March 11, 1945, established that there were 1,767 prisoners in Berga on that day.[6]

According to Hack's secretary, Berlin ordered the construction staff to evacuate Schwalbe V during a long-distance call.[7] Former prisoners testified to the subcamp's closure, which took place between April 10 and 12. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) recorded the date as April 10, 1945, while the International Tracing Service (ITS)

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placed the closure on April 11, 1945.[8] On the morning of Berga's closure, the SS ordered prisoners to form up in rows of five abreast and carry their blankets and bowls. Approximately 200 men unable to march were taken by train to Dachau.[9] From Dachau, some reached Seefeld near Innsbruck, Austria.

Fifteen hundred prisoners marched toward Theresienstadt-Leitmeritz, traveling in a southeasterly direction along the route Berga-Teichwolframsdorf-Gottesgrün-Reuth-Neumark-Hauptmannsgrün-Irfersgrün-Stangengrün-Obercrinitz-Bärenwalde-Albernau-Bockau-Sosa-Seinheidel-Breitenbrunn-Rittersgrün-Goldenhöhe-Gottesgab-Oberhals—a distance of 160 kilometers (almost 100 miles). Toward 9:00 PM on April 21, 1945, approximately 850 arrived in a snowstorm—the remainder had either fled or died.[10] On the way they climbed a height of over 1,200 meters (3,937 feet) in the Erz Mountains. The final climb from Goldenhöhe to a point somewhere between Schmiedeberg and Oberhals was extremely difficult, as indicated by the many prisoners who died along the way. Other groups may have taken routes through the Erz Mountains via Zwickau and Chemnitz.

From this point, according to survivors, prisoners from Eastern and Western Europe were separated, and the Jews were also segregated.[11] Small groups arrived by rail in Theresienstadt; by foot in Menetin, Netschetin, and Preitenstein; and some went in a westerly direction along the crest of the Erz Mountains toward U.S. forces.

In 1974, the Cologne State Attorney's Office investigated Lagerführer Rohr and other Berga SS. Its case was based upon an estimate of prisoner deaths in the Berga subcamp and during the death march but was halted on February 22, 1976, because Rohr had died on March 11, 1969; the whereabouts of the accused, SS-Unterscharführer Schwarzbach, were unknown; and other SS members could not be identified.[12]

After the war, Hack lived under his own name in Weissensand near Reichenbach in Saxony. Arrested in Zwickau on December 5, 1947, and interrogated at Schloss Osterstein, he was charged with causing the deaths of hundreds at Buchenwald/Berga because of his rigorous and demanding work methods. On September 22, 1948, under Allied Control Council Law No. 10 Article II3b, the Zwickau criminal court sentenced him to 8 years' imprisonment and 10 years' loss of citizenship rights. On April 23, 1951, the Zwickau criminal court, having retried Hack, sentenced him to death. He was executed in Dresden on July 26, 1952.[13]

[Note: American prisoners of war also worked at Berga, but they lived in a separate camp, not the Buchenwald subcamp. Their experiences will be addressed in a later volume of this encyclopedia, which will cover camps run by the German military. —Ed.]

SOURCES Berga is mentioned only a few times in the literature. Christine Schmidt has an essay on Buchenwald/Berga-Elster in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 386–388. Wolfgang Birkenfeld covers the history of Brabag in *Der synthetische Treibstoff, 1933–1945* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt Verlag, 1964). In the 1960s, Gerda Rutschmann, an Oberschule instructor in Berga, compiled a report on the working and living conditions of the prisoners in "Schwalbe V." Between 1967 and 1991, numerous articles were published in the local Berga newspaper, the *GrHe*, for instance, the article by Ulrich Jugel, "Das Lager Schwalbe V in Berga-Ein dunkeles Kapitel aus der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus," July 1991. Heike Kegel wrote a doctoral dissertation on Berga, "Die Versklavung von KZ-Häftlingen in der faschistischen Kriegswirtschaft und bei der unterirdischen Verlagerung der Treibstoffindustrie" (Ph.D. diss., Martin Luther University, Halle, 1990). Among the camps she researched was Schwalbe V, but aside from adding a few details, she relies heavily on Birkenfeld when writing about Berga, as does an article in Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2 (Bonn, 1991), pp. 660, 750, 801. The Buchenwald Berga subcamp is listed in ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 27.

Extensive material on the Berga camp and the transport lists may be found in AG-B and NARA (RG 242). Concerning the death march, material is held in the various regional archives in Germany, AG-D, as well as in the SpkA-KV, SpkA-CvK, and SDA-L. Material on the Berga construction site is also available in the ThHStA-G. Files containing the notices of prisoner deaths in the Berga camp are at BA-L. The criminal case files of construction manager Willy Hack are available through BStU. As the archives and prisoner testimonies found since 1997 have not been covered in any comprehensive way in the literature, it is now necessary to conduct new research on Berga. Christine Schmidt has in her possession numerous unpublished testimonies from surviving Berga prisoners.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Transport list, Buchenwald-Berga, November 13, 1944, AG-B, 59–110/3.
2. Transport list, Buchenwald-Berga, November 31, 1944, NARA, RG 242, A 3355, F 26.
3. Transport lists, Buchenwald-Berga, NARA, RG 242, A 3355, F 26.
4. Verzeichnis der in Berga verstorbenen KZ-Häftlinge, BStU, ZM 1625/A 28b/Bd.17/StA. Bd. I, pp. 381–390.
5. Berichte von Überlebenden, ZdL at BA-L, 429 AR-Z-15/74 Berga Bd. I, pp. 75–228, Bd. II, pp. 275–314.
6. Stärkemeldung in Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald, ZdL, (now BA-L) 429 AR-Z-15/74 Berga Bd. I, p. 3, from ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1969), 1: 27.
7. Prozess gegen Willy Hack, LG Zwickau; Aussage von Gerda Teichert, BStU, ZM 1625/A 28b/Bd. 17/StA.Bd. I, p. 377.
8. Auflösung des Lagers in Aussenkommandos des Konzen-

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trationslagers Buchenwald, ZdL, 429 AR-Z-15/74 Berga Bd. I, p. 3, from ITS, *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis*, 1: 27.

9. Befragung von Joel Pinkowits, ZdL, 429 AR-Z-15/74 Berga Bd. I,S. p. 216/21; Abraham Krygier/Krieger, ibid., pp. 158–161; AG-D, Dokumentation: Häftlinge, Gefangenenliste-laufende Numerierung: 106834.

10. SpkA-CvK, Bestand Kovarska (Schmiedeberg), Bericht von Margarethe Trux, June 5, 1945; Report of B. Zwaaf and Levie de Lange, ZdL, 429 AR-Z-3358/65.

11. Report of B. Zwaaf and Levie de Lange, ZdL, 429 AR-Z-3358/65 Buchenwald, Bd. II, pp. 217–238; and report of Josef Krauze from February 6, 2001, to Christine Schmidt; also report of Samuel Hilton from November 30, 2000, to Christine Schmidt.

12. Einstellungsverfügung des Verfahrens gegen Richard Rohr und unbekannte SS-Angehörige von Dr. Gehrling, OSta. Köln, February 25, 1976, ZdL, 429 AR-Z-15/74 Berga Bd. I, pp. 385–387.

13. The first trial against Hack was AZ.21.ERKs.116/51; Prozess gegen Willy Hack, LG Zwickau, Urteil, April 23, 1951, BStU, ZM 1625/A 28b/Bd. 17/Vollstreckungsheft, pp. 268, 272.

BERLSTEDT

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Berlstedt (Kreis Weimar) in December 1940 to provide labor to various projects, including the production of bricks and road construction. The exact opening date of the camp, often coded as "B" in related administrative correspondence, varies by source. These differences may correspond to the fact that the prisoners were forced to work in multiple work details (*Kommandos*) for different firms: the Kläranlage und Ziegelei Berlstedt bei Weimar and the Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke, Berlstedt (German Earth and Stone Works, DESt). In addition, the inmates were also used for the Neumark road construction project. Work for the Kläranlage und Ziegelei was said to have begun on October 9, 1941, and work for DESt, on September 27, 1943. The Neumark road construction project seems to have ended in late October 1943; 20 inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald on October 28 after its completion.[1]

Located about 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) from the main camp at Buchenwald, the prisoner population in the Berlstedt camp was all male. The number of inmates, with occasional additional transports to and from the camp, did not seem to fluctuate greatly and remained around 200 to 250 inmates. According to random prisoner lists that have survived, and a few transport lists to and from the Berlstedt camp, the inmates appear to have been German, French, Belgian, Czech, Russian, and Polish. According to a transport list of 10 inmates to Berlstedt on August 18, 1944, there were so-called professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*) in the camp, who most likely served as "functional inmates," as well as "asocial" and political prisoners.[2] The SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) was paid 2 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled and 1 RM per unskilled laborer per day in the Berlstedt subcamp.[3] In April 1942, the skilled workers included an electrician, blacksmiths, carpenters, a painter, and several masons.[4]

One of the Kommandos to which the Berlstedt prisoners were assigned supplied labor to DESt, an enterprise of the SS. A building supply company, it was founded in 1938 to supply materials to construction projects that were aimed at achieving Hitler's grandiose architectural vision throughout the Reich. Created to be a technologically advanced, modern venture, DESt aimed to exploit and excavate quarries and manufacture bricks. One of the many sites created at or near concentration camps to excavate and manufacture bricks, the Berlstedt Werk achieved production of about 8 million bricks per year and employed at least 200 inmates.

There is little information about other work performed in the Berlstedt subcamp for the Kläranlage und Ziegelei or the Neumark road construction project. According to Enno Georg, the punishment Kommando sent from Buchenwald to Berlstedt to work in the clay mines was not under the control of DESt; it is unclear if it was attached instead to Kläranlage und Ziegelei. According to a former prisoner in Berlstedt, Kurt Leeser, inmates had to work in groups of three in the clay mines, digging out 30 carts of material and breaking it into fist-sized chunks. The work was performed in all kinds of weather, often standing knee-deep in water. Leeser reported that the inmates not only had to endure the terribly difficult labor in the mine but also the cruelty of the prisoner overseers (Kapos), such as Johann Küppers, who beat the prisoners without mercy. Leeser added that the work in the brick ovens was also strenuous and performed in dreadful conditions; these inmates suffered from sulfur fumes and intense heat. According to prisoner and transport lists, on occasion inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp, presumably some too ill to work.[5]

Little information is available about the commandant or guards of the camp. Some correspondence surviving from the latter years of the war shows the signature of an SS-Sturmscharführer, but his name is illegible.[6] According to a report filed by the SS-Standortarzt Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, there were 34 guards in the camp at this time.[7] No further details about the camp itself, its exact location, living conditions within the camp, or resistance or escape attempts by the prisoners are available.

Finally, there is little information about the evacuation of the Berlstedt subcamp. It was last mentioned in Buchenwald-related records in late March or early April 1945, stating that there were 211 inmates. Likewise, no information about postwar trials of guards who served in the camp was uncovered.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Berlstedt subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Berlstedt in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins,

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1990), which derives from ITS records. More information on DESt can be found in Enno Georg, *Die Wirtschaftlichen Unternehmen der SS* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1963), pp. 42–58.

Surviving primary documentation on the Berlstedt subcamp is also limited. An excerpt of former inmate Kurt Leeser's recollection of his experiences in the Berlstedt clay mines can be found in David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), pp. 191–192. For sparse administrative documentation mentioning the Berlstedt subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206. See also a collection of prisoner lists in the Berlstedt camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 47, Reel 16. Other documentation may be found at AG-B.

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NOTES

1. "20 Häftlinge auf Transport nach K.L. Bu.," Berlstedt, October 28, 1943, Buchenwald (BU 47), AN-MACVG, reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
2. "Transport Berlstedt," Weimar-Buchenwald, August 18, 1944 (BU 47), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
3. Extracts from the rept. for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.
4. "Einsatz der Berufe im Lager Buchenwald," Stand am 30 April 1942, BA NS-4, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206, Fiche 1.
5. See memos to the Buchenwald Rapportführer, dated December 19, 1944 (2 inmates to Buchenwald); February 16, 1945 (2 inmates to Buchenwald); February 20, 1945 (1 inmate to Buchenwald) (BU47), USHMM Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
6. See memos to Buchenwald Rapportführer, dated December 19, 1944, and February 16, 1945 (Bu 47), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
7. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung. Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main, 1960), p. 251.

BILLRODA

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Billroda (Saxony province) to provide prisoner labor to an underground construction project to transfer and protect armaments production due to increased Allied bombardment in the latter half of the war. The exact opening date of the camp is unknown, though various sources site the creation of the camp in February or March 1945.

The first transport of prisoners to Billroda from Buchenwald, dated March 19, 1945, included some 500 inmates.[1] The population of the camp did not seem to fluctuate over its relatively brief period of existence, and there were few additional transports of inmates into the camp.[2] Periodically inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald due to various injuries or illnesses, such as tuberculosis, where they were sent to the infirmary. For example, 6 inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald on March 27, 1945.[3]

The majority of the inmates were assigned to perform various kinds of work related to construction of a facility for the transfer of portions of the Gustloff-Werk, Weimar, 600 meters (656 yards) underground in order to continue production. Some inmates may also have been delegated to duties on local farms. The inmates were employed by the firm Berg Burggraf to work in the mine shafts, to lay railroad tracks, and otherwise to prepare the area for the transfer of the Gustloff-Werk. As in other camps that used inmates to perform work in mines, working conditions in the Billroda subcamp were most likely terrible and dangerous, causing inmates to fall ill from diseases such as tuberculosis and to suffer injuries due to the dangerous work.

The inmates were all male, and although there is no breakdown by nationality on the transport lists, they appear to have been mainly Russian, Polish, French, Belgian, Dutch, and German. Some discrepancy exists about the exact location of the inmates' housing, and it seems that the prisoners were accommodated in several locations. Some were placed in a former guesthouse called "Weissenhorn" in the nearby village of Kahlwinkel. Others were housed in a shack on the Reichmuth farmstead, in a large storage camp not far from the Burggraf mine, as well as in a movie theater or in barracks in Billroda itself.

The Billroda camp, with 494 inmates, was evacuated in April 1945 to Buchenwald, where the arrival of the prisoners was registered on April 10, 1945.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Billroda subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Billroda in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS).

Surviving primary documentation on the Billroda subcamp is also limited. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 47, Reel 16. Copies of transport lists and documentation of arrivals to and from Buchenwald are also found at NARA, A3355 Buchenwald Daily Strength Reports (USHMMA, RG 1996 A0342, Reels 146–180). These reports may be useful for a more thorough statistical analysis of the demographics of and increases and decreases in the camp population. Other documents may be found in the AG-B.

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NOTES

1. "Transport Billroda," K.L. Buchenwald, March 19, 1945 (BU 47), AN-MACVG, reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.

2. See transport lists and memoranda (BU 47), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.

3. "Transport-Liste," to the Rapportführer, Buchenwald, March 27, 1945 (BU 47), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.

BOCHUM (*BOCHUMER VEREIN*)

By the end of the 1930s, the Bochum Verein für Gussstahlfabrikation AG, a subsidiary of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG (United Steelworks), had an annual production capacity of around 840,000 tons of raw iron and 1,320,000 tons of raw steel. At the outbreak of the war, it employed around 20,000 people. Within the German Reich, the Bochum Verein was the sixth largest producer of raw iron; within the nonmilitary market for finished products, it was one of the five largest producers of railway tracks and rolling railway equipment as well as high-quality wrought and cast iron.

Even in the first years following the National Socialist seizure of power, the Verein had cooperated with the German government and Wehrmacht leadership and had taken part, initially in secret, in the production of arms in violation of the Versailles Treaty. The Verein showed its symbiotic relationship to the regime with close cooperation with the National Socialist regime and its organizations, such as the Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front, DAF) and the Nationalsozialistische Betriebszellenorganisation (National Socialist Factory Cells Organization, NSBO). It realized the "synchronization" (*Gleichschaltung*) of its employees and their indoctrination: as head of the DAF, Robert Ley eventually awarded the Verein a prize as the first company to be a National Socialist Model Enterprise (*Nationalsozialistischer Musterbetrieb*).

With the outbreak of World War II, the Verein became one of the most important manufacturers of 8.8-centimeter flak guns, 8.8-centimeter to 38-centimeter gun barrels (which as semifinished products [*Halbfertigprodukte*] were delivered to other weapons manufacturers), as well as medium-sized bombs, shells of various calibers, torpedo parts, and cast-iron pieces for the production of aircraft engines.

As early as 1939, there already was a shortage of labor in the armaments sector. This situation dramatically worsened after the outbreak of the war as younger employees were called up. As a result, the company's management used its close connections with the National Socialist regime, relying on the strategic importance of the company to insist upon the allocation of foreign forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs).

In January 1944, forced laborers and POWs constituted more than 38 percent of the Verein's total labor force: 15,261 Germans (including 3,071 women); 820 male and 967 female "eastern workers" (*Ostarbeiter*); 1,149 male and 28 female laborers mostly from West European countries; 774 French and 1,509 Soviet POWs; and 575 Italian military internees (IMIs).

As the number of German employees continually and significantly declined due to call-ups to the Wehrmacht and the labor potential in areas occupied by German troops was largely exhausted due to the forcible recruitment of labor, the company's management examined the possibility of using concentration camp prisoners in the first half of 1944. It finally followed the examples of other armaments producers such as Rheinmetall-Borsig AG in Düsseldorf-Derendorf and demanded from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) concentration camp prisoners to assemble artillery and flak shells.

The agreement reached between the company management and SS meant that 3,500 prisoners would be used in the production of munitions. On June 27, 1944, a detachment of 446 prisoners with guards arrived in Bochum; the task of this advance detachment was initially to enlarge a small barracks camp to accommodate this number of prisoners; the barracks were located in the western area of the Stahlindustrie factory in the area of the Brüll- and Kohlenstrasse. About 1,000 prisoners were employed in the erection of standardized barracks.[1] To prevent the escape of prisoners, the area was surrounded with a 1,900-meter-long (2,078-yard-long) electrified barbed-wire fence.[2]

It would seem that leading members of the firm were active in the various death camps in recruiting prisoners for later labor detachments: journeys to Auschwitz and Buchenwald meant that the prisoners with relevant qualifications or work experience as well as the necessary physical constitution could be chosen for the heavy work to be done in the armaments foundry.

An intial labor detachment of 210 prisoners, the majority Soviet citizens as well as Poles, Lithuanians, Croats, and Czechs, who were recruited also from other concentration camps and transferred to Buchenwald left Weimar on August 11, 1944. There were other prisoner transports, but it is no longer possible, due to the destruction of files, to reconstruct completely those dates and figures: By September 23, 1944, the Bochum Verein subcamp had 1,213 prisoners, and by November 19, it had reached 1,706 prisoners, which would be the maximum number. On March 16, 1945, the day the camp was dissolved and the prisoners transported back to Buchenwald, there were 1,356 prisoners. (The date of March 3 is often mentioned as the date the camp was evacuated, but it is incorrect. A prisoner died and was buried in Bochum on March 16, 1945. Numerous references in the trial files from after 1945 suggest that the camp was evacuated on March 16.) The determining cause for the dissolution of the subcamp was the closeness of the front and the large-scale destruction of road and rail connections, which made practically impossible the dispatch of the shells produced by the Verein to the munitions firms that filled them with explosives.

The prisoners did heavy physical labor in the projectile foundry in high temperatures; mostly it was unskilled work. The company paid the SS command in Buchenwald 6 Reichsmark (RM) per day for skilled labor and 4 RM per day for

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unskilled labor. The Bochum Verein also initiated a system of reward for above-average production—for poor output and so-called loafing (*Bummelei*), the prisoners were beaten and mistreated by the SS guards, foremen, and the company. For good performance, bonuses were given of 0.30 to 0.50 RM per day, which could be cashed in at the camp's canteen for goods. The company revealed this bonus system in preparing its defense against a possible charge before the International Military Tribunal in Nürnberg.[3]

The claim of good and humane treatment of prisoners made by leading employees of the Verein initially before the U.S. military courts and later before the German criminal courts is in great contrast to the actual treatment of the concentration camp prisoners and must be seen as a defense strategy. Between July 6, 1944, and March 16, 1945, there were 93 recorded deaths at the subcamp, and the bodies were buried in Bochum cemeteries; at first they were interred in urns, but after the city crematorium was destroyed in an air raid on November 4, 1944, the prisoners who died were buried.[4] More than 62 percent of the dead were 45 or older. The oldest known victim was Márton Biro, born on December 5, 1878, and the youngest was the mechanic Hans Latter, born on July 7, 1928.

The exact number of victims is unknown, in part because in January 1945 the SS put together a transport of 198 "unusable labor" (*unbrauchbare Arbeitskräfte*), many of whom died from their injuries and illnesses after being sent to Buchenwald.[5]

Prosecution of the crimes against humanity committed between June 1944 and March 1945 in the Bochum Verein subcamp by members of the SS proved difficult due to the lack of evidence: the camp commander SS-Hauptsturmführer Hermann Grossmann was convicted by a U.S. military court, sentenced to death, and executed for crimes committed at Bochum and elsewhere. According to prisoners, the foreman Emil Vogel shot 3 Russian concentration camp prisoners during an air raid on November 4, 1944, for stealing potatoes from the camp kitchen and murdered another 30 prisoners on March 16, 1945, because they did not immediately obey his command to climb into the goods wagons lined up to evacuate the prisoners. It was also alleged that he tortured a prisoner because he did not produce enough and that the prisoner died from his injuries while being transported back to Buchenwald. Vogel was acquitted on October 7, 1947, for any homicides due to lack of evidence but was sentenced to four years' hard labor for injuring a prisoner, which caused death. His time in prisons from April 1945 was taken into account when determining the sentence.[6]

The bricklayers' foreman Wilhelm Korbhöfer, an employee of the Verein, was in charge of the construction of the barracks camp for the concentration camp work detachment and for repairing it after air raids. He later admitted to having beaten prisoners who did not produce enough or who loafed, with iron bars, work tools, and other objects. He was sentenced to one year's imprisonment in 1949 for aggravated assault in 200 cases.[7] Karl Lellesch, who had a supervisory role in the foundry, was sentenced in the same proceedings to three months' imprisonment on two accounts of aggravated assault; Heinrich Bischoff, who among other things was in charge of distributing the midday meal and had repeatedly beaten prisoners, was sentenced to jail for one month.

SOURCES During the evacuation of the Bochum Verein subcamp, it would seem that the camp files were completely destroyed. Historians, therefore, are limited to relying on the limited correspondence between Bochum and Weimar and the Veränderungsnachweise of the central Schreibstube, which are available at AG-B. There are remnants of files in the BA as well as in the files of cemetery administrations in Bochum and neighboring cities. The Bochum Friedhofsverwaltung kept detailed records of cremations of the concentration camp inmates until the destruction of the crematorium, and after its destruction on November 4, 1944, the burials were recorded. This was also the case for burials in neighboring cities. The ASt-Boc holds the trial records for Wilhelm Korbhöfer. Important details can be gained from the published memoirs of former prisoners and the documents of the ILKB, *Bericht des Internationalen Lagerkomitees des KZ Buchenwald* (Offenbach: VKS, 1997). Also important are the trial transcripts, which the U.S. military courts conducted against former SS guards in Buchenwald and its subcamps for crimes against humanity, which are available at NARA and AG-B. A document reproduced from AG-B, listing the known dead at the Bochum Verein subcamp, may be found in Manfred Keller et al., eds., *Gedenkbuch: Opfer der Shoa in Bochum und Wattenscheid* (Bochum: Kamp, 2000), pp. 36–39.

Gustav-Hermann Seebold
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Urteil des LG Bochum gegen Wilhelm Korbhöfer et al. vom 24. Mai 1949 (2 Ks 14/48), ASt-Boc, ZGS.
2. Details in *USA v. Max Paul Emil Vogel* (File No. 12–390-VOL-12), AG-B.
3. Fremdarbeitereinsatz beim Bochumer Verein, HAK, WA80794300.1, p. 17.
4. A list of named prisoners who died in the Bochum subcamp based on the Veränderungsmeldungen der Schreibstube des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald, AG-B.
5. ILKB, *Bericht des Internationalen Lagerkomitees des KZ Buchenwald* (Offenbach: VKS, 1997), p. 112. According to this source and the number of dead recorded in the *Gedenkbuch* (Manfred Keller et al., eds., *Gedenkbuch: Opfer der Shoa in Bochum und Wattenscheid* [Bochum: Kamp, 2000]), the number of dead in the Bochum Verein subcamp is at least 115. This number does not include the number of prisoners who, weakened by the inhuman treatment, physical abuse, or work accidents, were transported back to the main camp.
6. AG-B, Veränderungsmeldungen der Schreibstube des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald.
7. Ibid.

BOCHUM (*EISEN- UND HÜTTENWERKE*)

Among the over 100 camps established in Bochum, including prisoner-of-war (POW) and forced labor camps, three subcamps administered by the Buchenwald main camp were constructed to supply inmate laborers to various firms and construction projects in and around Bochum and Wattenscheid. In

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late August 1944, one such Buchenwald subcamp was opened on Castroper Strasse. This camp, distinct from both the SS-Baubrigade III (Construction Brigade III) work Kommando and the Brüllstrasse subcamp at Bochumer Verein, was built to provide workers to the Eisen- und Hüttenwerke AG (later Stahlwerke Bochum). The provision of labor to the factory stemmed from an agreement forged between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the administration of the Eisen- und Hüttenwerke. Eisen- und Hüttenwerke paid the WVHA a rate of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per day per skilled worker and 4 RM per day per unskilled worker. For the month of December 1944, the firm owed the WVHA 76,098 RM for the laborers it "employed."[1] The workers, however, were not compensated for their labor.

Eisen- und Hüttenwerke manufactured steel parts, including armor plating, sheeting for V-2 rockets, and other armaments production. With 400 inmates deported from the Buchenwald main camp to Bochum, a camp with several barracks surrounded by electrical fencing was opened on Castroper Strasse on August 20 or 21, 1944. On September 16, 1944, at least two transports of prisoners were deported from Buchenwald to Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke: one with 250 prisoners, the other with 185 prisoners.[2] The prisoners were predominantly Polish, Russian, and French. All were men, and there were both Jews and non-Jews in the camp. Several transports of Hungarian Jews were transferred from Buchenwald in July and August 1944 to Bochum, and although most were sent to the Buchenwald subcamp at Bochumer Verein, some Hungarian Jews may have been deported to the camp at Eisen- und Hüttenwerke as well. According to an examination of the fate of Jews in Bochum and Wattenscheid by Günter Gleising and others, the number of inmates imprisoned in the Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke camp reached at least 932 during its seven-month operation.

According to Gleising's study, working conditions in the Buchenwald subcamps in Bochum were generally similar. Prisoners worked at least 12 hours per day, often in the terrible heat of the steel and ammunition factories, under the brutal supervision of SS guards and civilian foremen. According to one former inmate who was deported from Györ (Hungary) to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, Buchenwald, and then Bochum, working conditions for the inmates were oppressive, and only the strongest inmates could survive the persistent hunger and the beatings meted out by their supervisors.[3] Food rations were meager and amounted only to small portions of bread, watery soup, and on occasion, margarine and sausage. Another inmate reported that as punishment for the slightest transgression or dissatisfactory work performance, the already inadequate rations were withdrawn.[4] According to former inmate reports, many prisoners died due to physical deterioration from the harsh conditions.[5]

Concerning prisoner demographics and increases and decreases in prisoner numbers, one report lists that by January 1945 there were 648 inmates in the Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke camp, and on March 6, 1945, there were 632 inmates.[6] A report submitted by the Standortarzt (garrison doctor) der Waffen-SS on January 31, 1945, listed the number of inmates in Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke at 634.[7] Some information about death rates and causes of death in the Bochum subcamps can be gleaned from reports submitted to the political department in Buchenwald from the SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad) who oversaw the operation of infirmaries in the outlying Kommandos. According to reports submitted in January and February 1945, at least 21 inmates died in "Bochum" (with no further specification as to which camp in Bochum) from "heart muscle degeneration," tuberculosis, "general bodily weakness," dysentery, and bronchial pneumonia.[8] According to a weekly report to the infirmary in Buchenwald submitted by the Standortarzt der Waffen-SS on March 25, 1945, 2,000 men from "Kommando Bochum" (no further breakdown by subcamp provided) were transferred back to Buchenwald on March 21, 1945: 35 percent were "physically weakened," 44 were to be placed in the infirmary, and 16 had died.[9]

The SS medic in charge of supervising the infirmary in Bochum was named Brinkmann. According to the same brief, there were 42 guards in Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke at the end of January 1945.[10]

With the approach of Allied troops, the camp at the Bochumer Eisen- und Hüttenwerke was dissolved at the end of March 1945, and the inmates were transported back to Buchenwald and registered there on March 21, 1945. A March 25 listing of Kommandos, from which inmates were evacuated due to "enemy approach," shows that 616 inmates were evacuated from Bochum Eisen- und Hüttenwerke.[11] Inmates transferred to the Buchenwald main camp in March were most likely sent to the Mittelbau main camp in Nordhausen because the Buchenwald camp was overflowing with prisoners by this time. Allied troops entered Bochum and the surrounding area on April 10, 1945.

SOURCES Little information about the Bochum subcamp at Eisen- und Hüttenwerke can be found in either secondary or primary sources. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Bochum in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979). For specific information about the various camps in Bochum prior to and during World War II, see Günter Gleising et al., *Die Verfolgung der Juden in Bochum und Wattenscheid: Die Jahre 1933–1945 in Berichten, Bildern und Dokumenten* (Altenberge: Wurf-Verlag, VVN Bochum, 1993).

Primary documentation on the Bochum subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See in particular a collection of transport lists to the Bochum camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially Reel 16. See also BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, especially volumes 176–185. These volumes contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp populations. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at USHMMA, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as "strength reports" for various subcamps, can be found in USHMMA,

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1996.A.0342 (originally copied from NARA A3355), Reels 146–180. Further analysis of these reports might yield additional detailed information about the exact daily "arrivals" to and "departures" from the subcamps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that provide information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242. Finally, firsthand witness accounts of living conditions within the camps in Bochum are recorded in various oral testimony repositories. See especially the MZML, which contain thousands of testimonies from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by DEGOB. Several protocols describe conditions in the Bochum camps; see especially protocols 1163, 1542, 2158, 1677, and 2049.

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NOTES

1. Extracts of report for December 1944 of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, dated January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, in *TWC*, 6: 759–767.

2. "Transport EW Bochum," September 16, 1944, Buchenwald (BU 47) and "Transport EW Bochum," September 16, 1944 (BU 47), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

3. MZML, DEGOB Protocol 2158 (M.F.).

4. DEGOB Protocol 1677 (L.J.), MZML.

5. DEGOB Protocols 2158 (M.F.), 1808 (S.E.), 1677 (L.J.), MZML.

6. "Aussenkommandos" (BU 39), AN reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

7. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung; Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaffen, 1983), p. 253.

8. "Verstorbene Häftlinge in den Aussenkommandos," Weimar/Buchenwald January 24, January 26, and February 27, 1945 (BU 36/3), AN copied in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

9. "Kurzer Wochenbericht Krankenbau KL Buchenwald," Weimar-Buchenwald, March 25, 1945, as published in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, pp. 257–258.

10. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, p. 253.

11. "Nach Buchenwald wegen Feindnähe zurückgenommene Kommandos," March 25, 1945 (BU 36), AN copied in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

BÖHLEN

As the last of the four refineries of the Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brown Coal-Gasoline AG, Brabag), the Böhlen facility requested workers from the Organisation Todt (OT) in mid- to late June 1944, in order to repair the damage from Allied air attacks. As of mid-May, Böhlen had had sufficient construction workers at its disposal and therefore did not consider requesting concentration camp inmates, while the remaining three Brabag facilities (Magdeburg, Schwarzheide, and Zeitz) immediately fell back upon camp prisoners to deal with the damage from the Allied bombardment. Weeks after the speaker of the board (*Vorstandssprecher*) and SS-Brigadeführer Fritz Kranefuss organized prisoner contingents for Zeitz and Magdeburg in negotiations with his friend and chief of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Oswald Pohl, Böhlen—which began operations in February 1936 as the first of Brabag's hydrogenation works—finally did become interested in additional workers and concentration camp prisoners. The OT-Einsatzgruppe IV "Kyffhäuser," which had begun to build up regional organization and personnel structures, was not in a position to deal with the request. The OT's difficulties in coordinating the requests angered Edmund Geilenberg, head of the war economy emergency program that bore his name. He intervened personally, threatening to inform Albert Speer of the OT's failure. In any event, Geilenberg kept Speer constantly up to date on the progress of the important Geilenberg construction sites, including the use of prisoners. Geilenberg demanded concentration camp prisoners by telegram from Gerhard Maurer (WVHA Office Group DII),[1] and at the end of July 1944, a Buchenwald subcamp was established at Böhlen. The SS transported 1,080 prisoners, mostly of East European origin, to Böhlen. Some publications have put the number at 800, but this is too low. SS-Hauptsturmführer Albert Schwartz, in charge of the labor deployment at the Buchenwald concentration camp, inspected the subcamp in accordance with the usual practice.

As in all Brabag factories, the prisoners were used to construct bunkers and do heavy cleanup and construction work in the destroyed factory and the surrounding area. Manager Herbert von Felbert, who was simultaneously the Geilenberg representative at the factory, coordinated construction work and had the power to give directions to and make decisions for the SS. Because the facility was thus embedded in the Geilenberg program, the prisoners' work for the factory was free. The Reich government reimbursed Brabag for the costs of hiring out the prisoners from the SS as well as for the cost of their accommodation and food. The factory's medical officer, Dr. Eckardt, was responsible for the prisoners' and guards' medical care.[2] At the beginning of September 1944, there were 80 guards; at the end of October, 113. Most of them were probably former Wehrmacht soldiers. There are scarcely any details about the prisoners' working and living conditions as the German Democractic Republic's successor to the Böhlen factory had all remaining contemporary documents destroyed in 1989–1990. In October 1944, the SS recorded that more than 10 percent of the prisoners were sick. More than 60 prisoners who could no longer work were transported via shuttle service back to Buchenwald and replaced with new prisoners. The dead were likewise transported from the subcamp back to the main camp on the Ettersberg. The usual cremation of corpses in a neighboring city crematorium did not take place. The death rate in Böhlen, in comparison to those in the Brabag camps in Magdeburg, Schwarzheide, and Zeitz, was low. Although the construction and cleanup work was similar in all four camps, and although these counted among the notorious construction commandos, no more than a dozen prisoners died in Böhlen. In contrast to the other three Brabag camps, which clearly ex-

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isted longer, in Böhlen the prisoners were not Jewish, and so the SS and the company allowed them much better chances for survival than were allowed to Jews. More than 30 prisoners, that is, more than 3 percent, were able to escape.[3]

On November 28, 1944, four months after its establishment, the SS and Brabag dissolved the camp so as to facilitate the transfer of the Brabag factory in Madgeburg to an underground site in Königstein, south of Dresden. Brabag sent 977 prisoners from Böhlen in two groups, on November 14 and November 28, to the Flossenbürg subcamp at Königstein, which was located at the foot of the Königstein castle in the Elbsandstein mountains. The factory manager, von Felbert, had organized the "internal" transfer of the prisoners to the newly established subcamp. In so doing he saved the Königstein Brabag management, who operated not under the name of Brabag but the dummy firm Sandsteinwerke Kohl & Co. Pirna, the time-consuming process of requesting labor from the WVHA.[4]

At the beginning of February 1945 the SS and Brabag in Böhlen reactivated their cooperation. Based upon special authority given by Heinrich Himmler to SS-Brigadeführer Hans Kammler (February 5, 1945), and upon a discussion with Kranefuss, an unknown number of prisoners under SS-Sturmbannführer Karl Bischoff were forced to recommence construction work. Bischoff had been in charge of the Zentralbauleitung (Central Construction Administration) in Auschwitz and had been responsible for the construction of crematoria and gas chambers. In Böhlen the factory manager, von Felbert, had the power to instruct the SS.[5]

SOURCES The Böhlen subcamp is mentioned in Karl-Heinz Gräfe and Hans-Jürgen Töpfer's work *Ausgesondert und fast vergessen. KZ-Aussenlager auf dem Territorium des heutigen Sachsen* (Dresden: Verein für Regionale Geschichte und Politik, 1996) and is referred to in the authors's book *Ein KZ in der Nachbarschaft: Das Magdeburger Aussenlager der Brabag und der "Freundeskreis Himmler"* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004). See also the authors's "Ingenieure als Täter. Die 'Geilenberg-Lager' und die Delegation von Macht," in *Lagersystem und Repräsentation. Interdisziplinäre Forschungen zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager*, ed. R. Gabriel et al. (Tübingen, 2004), pp. 46–70.

The Brabag factory files are held in part in the StA-Lg and the BrA-K. In YV as well as AG-B there are deportation lists, and in the BA-B—Bestand R 3 and R 121—are the Geilenberg files relating to Böhlen.

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NOTES

1. BA, R 3112/179.
2. Ebd. Bl. 179 u. 196; and BA, NS 4/ Bu, Nr. 210, passim; LHASA-Me, Brabag Zeitz, Nr. 156, p. 13.
3. YV, Microfilm Bu 16 and Bu 17; BA, NS 4/Bu, 136a, pp. 103–146.
4. AG-B, HKW 1, Transportverzeichnis; BA, R 3/1907, p. 79; and R121/1335, Schreiben Brabag an Inko, August 11, 1948.
5. BA, NS 3/457, p. 1.

BRAUNSCHWEIG

On September 13, 1941, a subcamp of Buchenwald was created at the SS-Junkerschule (Elite Officers' School) in Braunschweig. Opened in 1935 in a castle, the Braunschweig Junkerschule was one of three academies established to educate future members of the SS. The SS-Junkerschule, an educational system independent of Wehrmacht military training, was created to instill the tenets of National Socialist ideology and history in future SS members. The school system was steeped in the legendary ties of the SS to its alleged Teutonic past (*Junker* means "knight" or "cadet"). The pedagogy, coupled with the administrative independence and physical isolation of the Junkerschule, ensured total ideological and personal control over SS trainees.

Inmates deported to Braunschweig from the Buchenwald main camp were employed in construction and various kinds of repair work at the Junkerschule. In October 1941, the administration of the Junkerschule made a request to the labor service office in Buchenwald for 10 painters, 3 wallpaper hangers, 2 joiners, 1 metalworker, and 1 carpenter, for a total of 17 inmates. The Junkerschule "rented" the inmates at 4 Reichsmark (RM) per day per inmate, although the inmates were not compensated for their work.[1] According to the same request report, housing, food, and guard staff were to be provided by the SS-Junkerschule, and the Buchenwald camp would send one Blockführer (block leader). Moreover, an agreement for the transfer of prisoners to the Braunschweig Junkerschule was "personally reached" between the head of the administration at the SS-Junkerschule, SS-Sturmbannführer Mohr, and the commandant of Buchenwald, then SS-Obersturmbannführer Karl Koch (later Pister, see below). Those unfit for work in the detachment were selected by the chief of "protective custody" camp "E" (Schutzhaftlagerführer "E"). According to this report, prisoner work at Braunschweig was slated to begin on September 17, 1941, and would last until October 31, 1941.[2] However, as is noted below, inmates were reinstated in the camp in early 1942 after a temporary cessation of inmate work in November 1941. The first group of inmates was transferred back to the Buchenwald camp in October.

After the brief closure of the camp, the administration of the SS-Junkerschule submitted another request to the main camp for inmates for repair work at the school in February 1942. At least 20 prisoners were transferred to Braunschweig to paint and to perform other kinds of maintenance. According to a telex message undersigned by the commandant of Buchenwald, SS-Obersturmbannführer Hermann Pister, the Junkerschule requested the 20 inmates for a period of four weeks to work on the construction of a music school. Pister also noted that another block leader would have to be sent to the detachment from Buchenwald.[3] This initial four-week period was extended, and in April 1942, inmates were still stationed at the school. Correspondence between Mohr and the head of the labor service office (Arbeitserziehungsführer) in Buchenwald, SS-Hauptsturmführer Philipp Grimm, reveals that Mohr wished to continue inmate work at the school,

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although the original agreement stated that the prisoners were to be returned to Buchenwald in March.[4] However, arrangements were made to have these 20 exchanged for other prisoners, and additional skilled and unskilled inmate workers were transferred to the camp. A report on the prisoner labor service in the Braunschweig Junkerschule for the month of June 1942 shows that in the first half of the month there were between 25 and 30 skilled workers and 28 unskilled workers. In the latter part of that month, the number dropped to 13 skilled workers and no unskilled workers.[5]

According to a memo dated July 30, 1942, from the administration of the school to Office (Amt) IV of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), a request was submitted for 6 additional inmates for "urgent repair work" in the month of August.[6] No further information about the inmates, their working and living conditions, or possible escape and resistance attempts could be found. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) lists of camps, the camp was last mentioned in contemporary records on May 7, 1943. However, there is no indication whether the inmates were exchanged with Buchenwald on an as-needed basis—as was the case in 1941 and 1942—or if the same group of 13 inmates remained there until 1943.

SOURCES Little information about the Braunschweig subcamp can be found in either secondary or primary sources. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, and private firms that exploited camp labor, see the entry for Buchenwald/Braunschweig in Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which includes ITS information. For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). Additional information on the SS-Junkerschule can be found in Jay Hatheway's *In Perfect Formation: SS Ideology and the SS-Junkerschule-Tölz* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Pub., 1999); and Richard Schulze-Kossens, "Offiziersnachwuchs der Waffen-SS: Die SS-Junkerschulen," in *Deutsches Soldatenjahrbuch 1979* (Munich: Schild Verlag, 1979).

Primary documentation on the Braunschweig subcamp and other subcamps of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See, in particular, BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, particularly volumes 205 and 209. These and other volumes from this collection, including volumes 176–185, contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp populations. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as "strength reports" for various subcamps, can be found in the archives of the USHMM, 1996.A.0342 (originally copied from the NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180. Further research on these reports would yield additional detailed information about the exact daily "arrivals" to and "departures" from the subcamps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that yield detailed information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242.

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NOTES

1. "Instandsetzungsarbeiten in den Kasernen u. Unterkünften," October 8, 1941, BA, NS 4 (Buchenwald) Band 205, Fiche 1, as copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG.14.023M (hereafter BA, Band 205).
2. Ibid.
3. "Fernschreiben, Nr.: 379; Konzentrationslager Buchenwald/Weimar-Buchenwald," February 12, 1942, BA, Band 205, Fiche 1.
4. "Aktenvermerk," April 17, 1942, and "Aktennotiz," April 17, 1942, BA, Band 205, Fiche 1.
5. "Forderungsnachweis," June 1942, BA, Band 205, Fiche 1.
6. SS-Junkerschule Braunschweig Verwaltung, An das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt, "Gestellung von 6 Häftlingen," July 30, 1942, BA, Band 209.

BUTTELSTEDT

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Buttelstedt (Weimar district) in April 1941 with 30 male prisoners. The inmates, most likely transferred from the Buchenwald main camp, were deported to Buttelstedt to work for the Firma Schlosser company. The camp was last mentioned on September 27, 1943, with five prisoners.

SOURCES There are no secondary and few primary sources on the Buttelstedt subcamp of Buchenwald. This entry derives from the outline of basic information (opening and closing dates, location, and so on) provided in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

Likewise, primary documents with information about the Buttelstedt subcamp are scarce. For Buchenwald administrative records, see USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from ITS. This collection may contain further information on the Buttelstedt camp that can be derived from Buchenwald strength reports; a more thorough analysis of the collection may yield more details, such as prisoner demographics. Finally, additional records on the subcamps of Buchenwald, including the Buttelstedt camp, may be found at AG-B and AG-MD.

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COLDITZ

The Buchenwald Colditz subcamp was one of seven camps that were established by Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) in the last year of the war in Germany and that survived until the end of the war. This camp was established on a factory site 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) southeast of Leipzig. At its peak, a maximum of 650 Jewish men were engaged in construction work for an

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armaments factory.[1] The camp was opened on November 29, 1944, and closed on April 14, 1945, when the prisoners were forcibly marched out of the camp.[2] The subcamp should not be confused with the early concentration camp and the later prisoner-of-war (POW) camp (Oflag IV-C), which at different times were located in the castle in the small city of Colditz.

The Leipzig lamp manufacturer HASAG from 1934 manufactured munitions, grenades, and toward the end of the war, the *Panzerfaust*, an important antitank weapon. In six forced labor camps including Kielce, Częstochowa, and Skarżysko-Kamienna, the firm produced munitions from 1942, using thousands of Jewish forced laborers. As a result of German war losses, the HASAG began from the summer of 1944 to relocate to new and existing production sites in Saxony and Thuringia. In 1944, in Colditz, HASAG took over several production facilities from a porcelain manufacturer and contracted with construction firms for their conversion into a prison camp and assembly plant. The southern part of the site was separated from the rest with an electric fence and guard towers. Colditz was chosen as the site for a HASAG subcamp due to the existing connection of the site to the Reichsbahn railway network and its proximity to the main production site in Leipzig. Civilian Polish forced laborers worked on the site with the Jewish concentration camp prisoners. The former were accommodated in the Colditz guesthouse with their own barracks.

Colditz had been initially planned as a camp for women, but on November 29, 1944, 100 men were delivered to the camp. Others were soon to follow. The Buchenwald camp statistics record the camp as a Jewish labor detachment. The men had been selected for forced labor in Colditz, in Buchenwald, or at the HASAG Leipzig camp. Just about all of the Jewish prisoners in Colditz had been seized in Poland or Hungary. A few of the Poles had worked in HASAG factories in Poland. Among the Hungarian prisoners were probably many elderly men, even though the fragmentary records that have survived cannot confirm this. The prisoners were first engaged in the construction of the camp. Prisoners have reported that they worked on an air-raid bunker, on unloading railway wagons that were shunted into the company grounds, and on assembly operations, for example, removing screws from metal plates. It is not known whether the prisoners actually worked in the Colditz production sites producing weapons and Panzerfäuste. In addition to the construction work for HASAG, the prisoners worked outside the camp grounds. A group of 10 prisoners worked in the privately owned Colditz gravel pit, extracting sand for the HASAG.

After three transports, on December 5, 1944, the camp had approximately 300 prisoners. These numbers were to remain relatively constant until the middle of February. The transport lists show that occasionally "sick or prisoners incapable of work" were transferred back to Buchenwald and replaced with new prisoners.[3] A new transport on February 21, 1945, brought another 350 prisoners to the camp so that by the time the camp was dissolved in the middle of April, there were about 650 prisoners in the camp. On April 7, 1945, the last time the camp is referred to in the statistics of the work detachments' strength report (*Stärkemeldung*), there were 633 prisoners listed.[4] In the five months of the camp's existence to April 7, 1945, at least 23 prisoners died, 15 in the last three weeks alone.[5] Seventy-three prisoners were transferred back to the main camp. Of these, some could have died because of illness and exhaustion caused by forced labor. According to the change of status reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*), 719 prisoners went through the camp.

The accommodations in the camp were rudimentary. The prisoners lived in converted factory buildings where there were multitiered bunk beds. The small stoves in the sleeping quarters were inadequate to heat the rooms, according to the former prisoner Endre György, with the result that the prisoners constantly were cold during the winter months.[6] The infirmary was an area in the factory building separated by a wall of sacking. The prisoners had an open pit as a toilet located outside the factory building. A former HASAG worker stated that some SS enjoyed throwing bricks at the prisoners while they were using the toilet.

SS-Oberscharführer Gens was the detachment commander in Colditz. He is described in numerous reports by survivors as a sadist, who without the slightest reason would injure the prisoners with a bayonet. Gens's deputy was SS-Oberscharführer Zischka. Only the surnames of both are referred to in the documents. The prisoners also recalled that the head of the Colditz company security, Herrmann, was also a brutal character and had probably worked in a HASAG Polish factory. In addition to the SS and company security, Wehrmacht soldiers also guarded the prisoners.

While the prisoners were working, they were supervised by civilian foremen, who had considerable influence on the prisoners' situation. For example, there were foremen who beat the prisoners, and there were others who gave the prisoners additional food. A female inhabitant in Colditz gave the prisoners working in the gravel pit daily reports, based on Allied reports, on the course of the war. This news spread throughout the camp, encouraging the prisoners to survive.

The camp was dissolved on April 14, 1945, the day before a U.S. tank division arrived in Colditz.[7] A few prisoners tried to hide in the factory grounds, but they were discovered and shot in front of the other prisoners. It is likely that the prisoners, along with a group of 1,000 prisoners from Jena, were driven on a death march in the direction of Theresienstadt. Along the way the group was separated and went different ways. There is some evidence that during the march many prisoners were shot because they were too tired to go on or while trying to escape. Gelhard Szymon stated that it was an 18-day death march to Theresienstadt; Dezsó Lichtner said that he went part of the way by train.[8]

Inconclusive investigations began in 1948–1949 into individual HASAG employees and Colditz camp personnel as part of the Leipzig trials against HASAG perpetrators in Poland.

SOURCES The Colditz subcamp is referred to in an essay on the HASAG men's subcamps: Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG,"

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DaHe 21 (2005): 237–271. A local association is involved in researching the camp.

Documents on the Colditz subcamp are scattered through a number of archives. SS and HASAG documents relating to the camp have for the most part not survived. In YV, there are individual reports by surviving prisoners (Collections O.15. E, O.69, and O.3). Questionnaires were sent to survivors as part of the Leipzig "Tschenstochau (Czenstochowa) Trial" in 1948–1949 and also by Kriegsverbrecher-Referats des Jüdischen Zentralkomitees in Munich. They are also held in YV (Collections M.21.1 and M.21.3). Several detailed accounts by the Hungarian Endre György and a few documents are also held in the Colditz City Museum.

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NOTES

1. AG-B, 46–1–18.
2. NARA, Washington, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015724–38.
3. NARA, Washington, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015729.
4. ThHStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 9, Bl. 9.
5. ThHStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 1–166.
6. SM-Cd, Endre György: Kiesela und Albin (German translation of a Hungarian report).
7. Otto Schuricht (Antifaschistische Widerstandskämpfer des Kreises Döbeln, Bd. 8), published by the SED-Kreisleitung Döbeln, Döbeln 1976, S. 30.
8. Report Gelhard Szymon, YVA, O.3/1574; Interview Dezsó Lichtner 2.7.45 in Budapest, YVA, O.15.E/692.

DERNAU ("REBSTOCK," "RS," "RB," "MASSNAHME STEPHAN LAGER BRÜCK," "*FA. GOLLNOW UND SOHN*," "*VOLKSWAGENWERKE DERNAU*")

The concentration camp labor detachment at Dernau was located in Bad Neuenahr on the Ahr River in a narrow Eifel mountain valley in southwestern Germany between Koblenz and the Belgian border. The camp was established in early August 1944 on the initiative of Volkswagen executives after negotiations with the Jägerstab (Fighter Staff) and the SS. It was a subcamp of the Buchenwald main camp, under the authority of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The Dernau camp is mentioned in contemporary sources under various code names: "Rebstock," "Rs," "RB," "Massnahme Stephan Lager Brück" (so called after the leading Volkswagen engineer, Rudolph Stephan), "Fa. Gollnow und Sohn" (named after a Koblenz-based construction company), and "Volkswagenwerke Dernau." In late December 1944, when Allied forces drew close to the area, the camp was evacuated, and the prisoners were transported to other concentration camps.

Dernau was a slave labor camp that provided manpower for the construction of underground production facilities for the Minette GmbH, a Volkswagen company assigned the production of Fi 103 (V-1) cruise missiles and fighter airplanes, and the SS company Mittelwerk GmbH. The Dernau facility consisted of five tunnels that originally were part of the abandoned Ahr Valley railroad: the Silberberg, Kuxberg, Sonderberg, Herrenberg, and Trotzenberg tunnels, covering a total of 28,000 square meters (33,488 square yards). Under the code name "Kitz," the tunnels had been placed under the authority of the Mittelwerk GmbH and used as a support base for A4 (Aggregat 4, V-2) rocket launching batteries; but in June 1944, when Hitler decided to cut down on V-2 production and have it concentrated in the underground Mittelwerk facility in the Harz mountains, Wernher von Braun agreed to give up a substantial part of the Dernau space to Volkswagen, the company then in charge of V-1 production. There were plans to install a V-1 production line with an output of 3,500—later 5,000—missiles a month in the tunnels, and in mid-July, the first 22 railway cars with equipment arrived from the Volkswagenwerk. The Mittelwerk remained in charge of the refurbishing project. The Trotzenberg tunnel, at 1,300 meters (1,422 yards) the longest, and the Kuxberg tunnel actually got to the point of production machinery being installed. But the facility never got beyond the point of preparations before Allied advance necessitated its evacuation.

The Dernau prisoners were forced to do hard refurbishing work such as concrete work and the laying of railway tracks, piping, and cables in the underground spaces. Construction and production specialists from Volkswagen and from the Koblenz company Gollnow und Sohn supervised the work site. Apart from concentration camp inmates and Germans, the workforce consisted of voluntary and forced laborers from various occupied countries, including 500 Italian Military Internees (Italienische Militärinternierte, IMIs).

The Dernau concentration camp was established on the initiative of Ferdinand Porsche and Anton Piëch, Volkswagen chief executives. The first camp commandant was an SS-Untersturmführer Jansen, who was later replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Schmidt. After an on-site inspection by Volkswagen personnel manager Georg Tyrolt, the first prisoners arrived on August 4 and August 8, two transports of 168 and 299 male prisoners from the German concentration camp in Amersfoort, the Netherlands. Buchenwald agreed to deploy 800 female Hungarian Jewish prisoners to Dernau, but no female prisoners ever arrived. However, the number of male prisoners eventually surpassed that figure and reached 1,200. Four hundred and forty-two prisoners arrived from Buchenwald on transports on August 21, August 23, September 4, and September 14. Dutch, French, and Russian prisoners were represented as well as other, smaller groups. The majority was non-Jewish, but a group of Hungarian Jewish prisoners who had been trained as specialists in V-1 manufacturing at the Volkswagenwerk main factory arrived on September 6 from the Thil concentration camp in northern France, which also operated on behalf of Minette.

Volkswagen's failure to meet delivery and quality requirements led to the army's withdrawal of its role as coordinator of V-1 production. Consequently, the Dernau facility never became a V-1 factory. As the V-1 production, too, was concentrated into the Mittelwerk in Nordhausen/Harz, most Dernau prisoners were transported to this facility and incar-

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cerated in the Dora subcamp of the Mittelbau concentration camp. The first transports numbering some 500 prisoners left from Dernau on September 20 and 21, including the Hungarian Jewish group. The last transport of 199 prisoners from Dernau left for Dora on December 28, 1944; these prisoners had continued the underground refurbishing until then. Work was frequently delayed for shorter or longer periods due to lack of materials so that company payments to the SS for the prisoners' labor equaled only some 170 full-time workers in November and no more than 50 in December.

Evidence is scattered on the Dernau camp and its guard units, who were German SS. The prisoners' living conditions were awful, and accommodation was very primitive. The prisoners' barracks were located on the steep hillsides of the valley and apparently divided into a number of small separate compounds, each consisting of a few standard wooden huts with ordinary barbed-wire fences around them. Electrical fencing and watchtowers were lacking. The guards appear to have been just as brutal as in other camps, though. They frequently imparted punishments, floggings, and beatings when prisoners marching to or from work sneaked into the surrounding vineyards in order to ease their hunger and thirst with a few stolen grapes. Provisions in the camp were very poor. Even if there was no systematic killing of prisoners, several deaths occurred according to survivors' testimony.

SOURCES This description of the Dernau camp is primarily based on research by Therkel Straede and Manfred Grieger for Hans Mommsen et al., *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf, 1996); see pp. 703, 824, 867, and 920 for detailed references to specific decisions, transports, and so on. Further brief topographical details are in Michael Preute, *Der Bunker* (Cologne, 1989), p. 47. Preliminary data are in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). A chapter on the camp is included in the author's forthcoming book *The Volkswagen Jews*.

Material on the Dernau concentration camp is scarce and scattered, but a number of substantial company records are held at the VWA. This institution and the ASt-WOB also hold copies of documents from AG-B, NIOD, YVA, Beit Lohamei Haghetaot near Acco, Israel, NARA (USSBS), and BA-K. Survivors' accounts are plentiful but mostly consist of brief written and oral accounts, a substantial number of which were recorded by the author between 1988 and 2002 and are being held by VWA and USHMMA. Other accounts are held by YVA, MA, and VHF.

Therkel Straede

DESSAU (*DESSAUER WAGGONFABRIK*)

A subcamp attached to the main Buchenwald concentration camp was created in Dessau at the Dessauer Waggonfabrik in October 1944. Like other satellite camps, the camp was created close to a work site to provide labor to a private industrial firm, the Dessauer Waggonfabrik AG located in Dessau. To supplement their labor force, firms such as the Waggonfabrik "rented" concentration camp prisoners from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a rate of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day. For the month of December 1944, the Dessauer Waggonfabrik owed the WVHA 29,226 RM for the laborers (not limited to concentration camp prisoners) that it "employed."[1]

The first transport of 50 prisoners reached Dessau from Buchenwald on October 23, 1944.[2] Although there is no demographic breakdown on the transport list itself, the inmates appear to be predominantly Russian and Polish, and all were male. The largest transports of inmates to the Dessau camp arrived on November 29, 1944 (153 inmates) and December 4, 1944 (130 inmates).[3] These inmates also appear to have originated from Russia and Poland, as well as the Netherlands, France, Latvia, and the Reich. Throughout the autumn of 1944 and early 1945, some inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald at various intervals, most likely due to illness and, at least in one instance, to retrieve supplies from the Buchenwald main camp.[4] The average number of prisoners incarcerated in the Dessau plant during its five-month operation period was about 340.

There is no information available about the proximity or location of the subcamp to the factory. The company manufactured locomotives and railcars and was a subsidiary of the Orenstein & Koppel AG firm (Berlin). The prisoners were employed repairing railcars, among other kinds of work. A number of inmates were assigned specific "skilled" and functional positions, including roofers, carpenters, joiners, barbers, and electricians.[5] No additional information about working or living conditions within the camp could be found.

According to a medical report filed by the Standortarzt der Waffen-SS Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, there were 34 members in the guard staff of the subcamp. No name is listed for the SS medic (*Sanitätsdienstgrad*, SDG); however, one unnamed nurse is listed. According to this report, there were 341 inmates in the subcamp at this time.[6] A January 23, 1945, report on deaths in the Aussenkommandos lists three prisoner deaths in the Dessau subcamp: one Latvian, one French, and one Russian, all suffering from pneumonia.[7] A later report notes that on March 25, 1945, shortly before the camp was dissolved, there were 339 inmates in the camp.[8]

The camp closed on April 11, 1945.

SOURCES The Buchenwald subcamp located at the Dessauer Waggonfabrik appears infrequently in secondary literature. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, and companies who used laborers, see the entry for Buchenwald/Dessau (Waggonfabrik) in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945)*. Also see *Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979); and Martin Weinmann et al., *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The*

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Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

Primary documentation on the Dessau subcamp and other subcamps of Buchenwald may be found in several archival collections. See, in particular, a collection of transport lists to the Dessauer Waggonfabrik camp and other administrative records copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from the ITS), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially Reel 17. See the archives of the BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald concentration camp, especially volumes 176–185, 191–196, 200, 211, and 213–230. These volumes contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp populations. The BA, NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as "strength reports" for various subcamps, can be found in the archives of the USHMM, 1996.A.0342 (originally copied from the NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180 (especially 171 for Dessau). Further analysis of these reports may yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the satellite camps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that provide information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts of report for December 1944 of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, dated January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185; *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law no. 10* (New York: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.

2. "Transport Dessau," October 23, 1944, Buchenwald (Bu 64), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants as reproduced in the archives of the USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 17).

3. "Transport Dessau," November 29, 1944, and "Transport Dessau," December 4, 1944 (BU 64), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 17).

4. Transports of one to seven inmates on various dates, including December 5, 16, and 22, 1944; January 5 and 6, 1945. See also "Rücküberweisung des Häftlinge Martynow Wladimir," November 13, 1945, for a list of supplies from the Buchenwald camp (BU 64), Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 17).

5. See work assignments for inmates listed on transports for October 23, 1944, November 29, 1944, and December 4, 1944 (BU 8/12), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 7).

6. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 253.

7. "Verstorbene Häftlinge in den Aussenkommandos," January 23, 1945 (BU 36/3), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

8. "Aussenkommandos, Stand vom 6 März 1945," (BU 35), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

DESSAU (*JUNKERS FLUGZEUG- UND MOTORENWERKE*)

A subcamp attached to the Buchenwald concentration camp was established at the Junkers Flugzeug-und Motorenwerke (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM) in Dessau in July 1944. Like other satellite camps, the camp was most likely created to provide labor to a private industrial firm, whose efficient and cost-effective production output was deemed important for the German rearmament effort. Concentration camp prisoners were "rented" by private firms, such as the Junkers factory, which paid the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) for their use of prisoner labor.

The JFM in Dessau was one of several production facilities for the manufacture of Junkers aircraft and aircraft parts. Originally founded in 1895, the Junkers facility in Dessau had expanded considerably by the end of World War I. By the beginning of World War II, armaments needs had so increased that production of Junkers aircraft was increasingly decentralized and spread to various facilities throughout Germany. [See Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/Junkerswerke ("JUHA") and Buchenwald/Schönebeck.]

No information about the exact location of the subcamp in relation to the Dessau Junkers facility could be found. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) lists, the camp was opened on July 25, 1944. All 50 of its prisoners were male, presumably transferred to Dessau from the main Buchenwald camp.

The Dessau Junkers facilities experienced several damaging air raids by the Allies throughout 1944 and early 1945. A large part of JFM was destroyed in a bombing attack on May 30, 1944. Therefore, the inmates transferred from Buchenwald to the subcamp may have been employed in clearing rubble and performing construction work.

The camp was closed in November 1944, and the city of Dessau and the Junkers plant were occupied by the U.S. Army in April 1945.

SOURCES The Buchenwald subcamp located at the Junkers factory in Dessau appears infrequently in secondary literature. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, and firms that exploited laborers, see the entry for Buchenwald/Dessau (Junkers) in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolson: Der Suchdienst, 1979); and Martin Weinmann et al., *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Doku-*

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mente und Berichte (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). Further information on the Dessau Junkers plant and industrialization of the city can be found in Manfred Sundermann, *Mechanische Stadt? Junkers Dessau* (Dessau: Anhalt Edition Dessau, 2003). The Hugo Junkers Web site, www.junkers.de.vu, also offers considerable information, bibliographies, and photographs of the various Junkers facilities and their history.

Primary documentation on the Dessau Junkers subcamp and other subcamps of Buchenwald may be found in several archival collections. See the archives of the BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, especially volumes 176–185, 191–196, 200, 211, 213–230. These volumes contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp populations. The BA, NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as "strength reports" for various subcamps, can be found at USHMM, 1996.A.0342 (originally copied from the NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180 (especially 171). Further analysis of these reports may yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the satellite camps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that provide information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242. The Technik Museum "Hugo Junkers" Dessau may also have further archival holdings pertaining to the camp.

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DORNBURG

In the few remaining known sources on this subject, the prisoner detachment (Kommando) at Dornburg is listed as one of the smallest Buchenwald satellite camps. This subcamp, located on the River Elbe in the district of Zerbst, state of Anhalt, existed for only a short time.

Dornburg is first mentioned on March 21, 1945. This Kommando consisted exclusively of male prisoners. On that day four Russians, three Poles, and one German citizen were transferred from the main camp to this Kommando. For this "Dornburg Transport" the rations office provided them with food for one day's march.[1] The surviving documents suggest that in the course of its brief existence neither a variation in the number of prisoners nor a prisoner exchange occurred. On March 21, as on April 11, 1945, the last time the camp is mentioned, the number of prisoners is listed as eight.[2]

The existing documents do not reveal any reasons for the establishment of this Kommando. Moreover, the occupations of the transferred inmates—joiner, carpenter, locksmith, mason, factory worker, and agricultural laborer—also do not permit conclusions about their employers or their deployment. A comparison of their trades recorded in the Kommando lists and in various other documents shows discrepancies in three cases. A comparison of the inmates' numbers in Buchenwald's labor statistics and its transport lists reveals that those inmates ultimately dispatched to Dornburg were originally slated for the "Stein Transport." No connection between these two camps can be determined.

Since the Kommando at Dornburg appears only at the very end of the war, shortly before the liberation of the main camp, and so few prisoners belonged to it, the paths of their persecution leading there—quite different in each case—are traced below.[3]

1. In 1943, arrested by the Radom Gestapo; sent to Auschwitz concentration camp by the Radom SD; from there sent to the main camp Buchenwald; from Buchenwald to Kommando Halle; sent back to the main camp and then to Dornburg.
2. Admission by the Weimar Gestapo of two prisoners to the Buchenwald main camp in March 1945 before the transport to Dornburg.
3. In 1944 the arrest of two prisoners in Warsaw; admitted to Buchenwald by the Kraków SD; from there sent to the Düsseldorf-Derendorf satellite camp; returned to main camp before being sent to Dornburg.
4. In 1943, arrest by the Dortmund Gestapo; transfer through Buchenwald to the Düsseldorf-Derendorf Kommando; sent back to the main camp; continued on to Kommando Halle; returned once again to Buchenwald and finally to Dornburg.
5. In 1943, arrested in Stalino and sent to Dachau by the Sipo (Security Police); then to Buchenwald; sent to Kommando Saalfeld and back to the main camp; in July 1944 sent to Kommando Halle, back to Buchenwald, and then to Dornburg.
6. In November 1944, arrested in Wolot; sent to Buchenwald by Münster Gestapo (field office Bielefeld); from there sent to Kommando Halle; back to the main camp and then to Dornburg.

In spite of these differences in length and other details of their persecution, all eight prisoners were liberated.

SOURCES No secondary sources were available.

Although this satellite camp existed only for a very short time, original documents—a transport list dated March 21, 1945, Voucher No. 25 from the Buchenwald rations department also dated March 21, 1945, and a report on the size of this labor detail dated March 29, 1945—provide historical evidence. Due to the small number of inmates, documents in possession of ITS could be evaluated, which furnished additional information.

Charles-Claude Biedermann
trans. Ute Stargardt

NOTES

1. ITS (signatures Buchenwald 33 [169], p. 96, Voucher No. 25 [Request of the first Schutzhaftlagerführer, the protective custody camp chief warden, to provisions department KL Bu.) contains information concerning the dietary provisions of inmates through reports by appropriate camp officials from March 1, 1945, to April 5, 1945.

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2. ITS (signatures Buchenwald 160 [15], II, p. 641/labor details dated March 29, 1945)—the number of inmates is listed according to Kommando membership.

3. ITS contains such individual records as prisoners' personal information cards from Buchenwald, which frequently record the inmates' arrival and transfers.

DORTMUND

The first reference to the Buchenwald subcamp at Dortmund, in the area of the Dortmund-Hörder Iron and Steel Union, is found in the International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog.[1]

The Dortmund-Hörder Iron and Steel Union had belonged to Vereinigte Stahlwerke (United Steelworks) since 1926. This was the largest association of industrial firms in Germany and was headed by Albert Vögler from Dortmund. This Buchenwald subcamp was located in Dortmund on Huckarder Strasse (later the building at Huckarder Strasse 111).[2]

According to contemporary witness reports, 300 female prisoners who had been transferred from Ravensbrück to Dortmund were housed at the camp. Female concentration camp guards were previously recruited in Dortmund and trained at Ravensbrück. On April 1, 1945, 650 prisoners were reported to have been evacuated to Bergen-Belsen by train, after it was apparent that the advancing U.S. troops were moving closer to Dortmund. According to an account by an SS supervisor, however, while a detail was returning to the camp on March 16, 1945, the Dortmund-Hörder plant came under an air attack during which 86 female prisoners fled.[3] The company plants did not suffer severe damage from the bombings. SS members accompanied the 547 female prisoners that remained until April 1, 1945, most of whom were taken again to Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, or subcamps such as Magdeburg and Leipzig.

The Dortmund subcamp consisted of a multistory brick building that was connected by an underground passageway to the projectile factory. This passageway followed underneath a factory railroad line. The building's windows were barred, and the doors that led outside were sealed. According to the reports of the public prosecutor, primarily Polish female prisoners were kept on the first floor, and the second floor housed mostly Russians. There were, however, also prisoners from Hungary, Holland, and Germany interned in the building. A document verifies that on November 30, 1944, 398 female prisoners, 78 of whom were sick, were in the prisoner detail for Dortmund-Hörder, which had to work from 6:00 A.M. until 6:00 P.M. (with a one-hour break). According to former prisoners from Warsaw on the occasion of a visit to Dortmund, which had been organized by the Dortmund history workshop, the average age of the prisoners was probably just under 20 years old. Working conditions at the projectile factory of Dortmund-Hörder, which had also produced munitions in World War I, were described in more detail. They ranged from the production of bombs to grenade turning.

Concerning the terrorization of prisoners by guard personnel, appalling abuses were the exception. Moreover, it has been shown that beginning on March 31, 1943, part of "Construction Brigade II," which was under the authority of Buchenwald concentration camp, was temporarily active as "demolition squad Dortmund." Forty members reportedly belonged to this detail. Additional work details from the so-called Construction Brigade III operated in Dusseldorf-Kalkum, Essen, Cologne, and Duisburg; their total strength reached 1,300 prisoners.

SOURCES Hans Müller's publication *"Wir haben verziehen, aber nicht vergessen . . .": Das KZ-Aussenlager Buchenwald in Dortmund* (Dortmund, 1994) formed the basis for this essay. Otherwise, apart from the small article by Günther Högl, "Zwangsarbeiter unter verschärften Bedingungen: Das Aussenlager Dortmund des KZ Buchenwald und das 'Auffanglager Hüttenwerk' auf dem Gelände des Dortmund-Hörder Hüttenvereins 1944/45," HD 3 (2002), no studies of the subcamp exist. Information on the demolition detail may be found in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 366.

Scattered various records on the Dortmund subcamp of Buchenwald do exist. There are references to the prisoners' employment in the AG-B and in the THStA-W. In the file collections of the ZdL (now BA-L) (the same material as in NWHStA-(D)) are interrogation protocols of former prisoners, which are passed down in the context of a preliminary proceeding. In addition, files from the public prosecutorial investigations of the ZSSta-K for combating National Socialist mass crimes at the Dortmund public prosecutor's office are also worth mentioning.

Günther Högl
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. ITS, ed., *Catalogue of camps and prisons in Germany and German-occupied territories Sept. 1st, 1939–May 8th, 1945* (Arolsen, July 1949), p. 135.

2. Hans Müller, *"Wir haben verziehen, aber nicht vergessen . . .": Das KZ-Aussenlager Buchenwald in Dortmund* (Dortmund, 1994).

3. NWHStA-(D), Rep. 118, Nr. 942, p. 7.

DUDERSTADT

The Duderstadt subcamp was situated in the Prussian province of Hannover (in the south of today's Niedersachsen, Landkreis Göttingen), in the Untereichsfeld. It is connected with the company Polte OHG Magdeburg, which was founded in Magdeburg in 1885. In 1939, Polte incorporated the Duderstadt factory, which had been built that year, as a branch of its company. The site for the Duderstadt factory and the production plant were owned by the Luftfahrtanlagen GmbH (LAG), a company partly owned by the Reich Air Ministry. Therefore, the Polte works was only able to act as lessee and producer in its association with the Duderstadt factory. The Duderstadt Polte factory produced different types of ammunition, such as 30mm and 40mm shells, and filled them with the explosive nitropenta.[1]

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Already during the construction of the factory, foreign laborers were used. Later, the number of forced laborers continually increased. By the end of 1944, there were 2,549 people working in the factory including 633 German males (25 percent of the workforce), 548 German females (23 percent), 34 male Ostarbeiter (1 percent), 187 female Ostarbeiter (7 percent), 193 other male foreign workers (8 percent), 151 other female foreign workers (6 percent), 17 prisoners of war (1 percent), and 750 female Jewish concentration camp prisoners (29 percent).[2]

These female Jewish concentration camp workers, 747 Hungarians, 2 Poles, and a Czech, arrived in Duderstadt on November 4, 1944. They had been selected between May and August 1944 in Auschwitz for work in Germany and sent to Bergen-Belsen; from there they were sent to Duderstadt. According to Frank Baranowski, they were at first held on the site of the Steinhoff furniture factory close to the Polte factory grounds. A few women were also held in the Steinhoffsche Haus, where 20 to 30 of them lived in one room.

As with the munitions factory, the actual Duderstadt subcamp was located on the Euzenberg, south of the railway line Leinefelde-Duderstadt-Wulften, on the site of a former forced labor camp. It included two accommodation barracks and one wash barracks and was surrounded by a 2.5-meter-high (8.2-foot-high) electrified barbed-wire fence. Within the fence there was a second 1.5-meter-high (5-foot-high) fence. Views from the public road were screened off with boards. The accommodation was seen by the prisoners who had gone through Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen as comparatively clean and orderly; however, the constant overcrowding and overwork soon changed these conditions. The food was supplied by the Polte factory and is described by the prisoners as insufficient and without any nutritional value.

The Duderstadt subcamp Lagerführer from November 1944 to February 1945 was SS-Scharführer Arno Reisser. Shortly before the end of the war, he was replaced by SS-Oberscharführer (probably Eduard) Jansen. The doctor responsible for the camp was SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. August Otto, who was assisted by a female prisoner doctor (probably Ryfka Baposhnikov) and a prisoner nurse. The prisoners were guarded by 13 or 14 guards as well as 18 female overseers from Duderstadt and the surrounding area. They had been chosen by the Northeim Labor Office and the Polte company management. The women underwent short training courses in October and November 1944 in Ravensbrück to prepare them for their duties and were in charge of supervising the women on the factory grounds. Like the male guards, they were accommodated in the camp's main building. According to prisoner statements, the female overseers mistreated and threatened the camp inmates.

The work the women did was difficult and damaged their health. The women worked in 12-hour shifts; a few were engaged in the camp kitchen. At least four or five women died during the camp's existence and were buried in the former cemetery of the Jewish community of Duderstadt. A Hungarian prisoner was returned to Bergen-Belsen in January 1945 after giving birth. At the same time five new prisoners were transferred from Bergen-Belsen to replace the lost labor.

Production in the camp became ever more difficult from February 1945 due to difficulty in obtaining supplies of materials. As Allied troops approached, the prisoners were evacuated at the beginning of April 1945 by bus, by truck, and finally by rail via Magdeburg, Dessau, and Wolfen in the direction of Theresienstadt. A low-flying aerial attack on the transport resulted in several dead and injured. On April 26, 1945, after more than three weeks, the women arrived at Theresienstadt.

Investigations began after the war into Hans Nathusius, one of the co-owners of Polte OHG Magdeburg and the deputy works manager in Duderstadt. The Staatsanwaltschaft (Public Prosecutor's Office) Göttingen also conducted investigations into the subcamp. No convictions resulted from the investigations.

SOURCES Frank Baranowski has written a detailed analysis on the Duderstadt subcamp, *Der Duderstädter Rüstungsbetrieb Polte von 1938 bis 1945* (Göttingen: Cuvillier-Verlag, 1993). Other publications by Baranowski on the subcamp are *Rüstungsprojekte in Südniedersachsen und Thüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 1995), including "Der Duderstädter Rüstungsbetrieb Polte," pp. 111–176; as well as "Fremdarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Häftlinge im Rüstungsbetrieb Polte in Duderstadt," in *Rüstungsindustrie in Südniedersachsen während der NS-Zeit*, ed. Arbeitsgemeinschaft südniedersächsischer Heimatfreunde (Mannheim, 1993), pp. 248–316; and "Arbeitskräftebeschaffung," pp. 25–37, in the same publication. In Renate Ragwitz's "Frauenaussenkommandos des KZ Buchenwald," BuH 15 (1982), a short description of the Duderstadt camp is on p. 21. The *EfHh* contain several essays on the Duderstadt subcamp including Rolf Barthel, "Zur Geschichte der Aussenkommandos des faschistischen Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Niederorschel, Mühlhausen und Duderstadt," 24 (1984): 23–41; Hans Demme, "Der Weg des Atalnó Mosonyi, Häftling im KZ-Aussenkommando Duderstadt," 2 (1985): 171; and Rolf Barthel, "Neue Forschungsergebnisse zu den verbrechen des deutschen Faschismus auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen (1)," 1 (1987): 24–30. Rolf Barthel has recently published on the Duderstadt subcamp in *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen. Thüringer Forum für Bildung und* Wissenschaft (Jena, 2004). Other descriptions of the camp are by Götz Hütt, "Das Aussenlager Duderstadt des KZ Buchenwald," HdGw 1 (1988); Gudrun Pischke, "Von Auschwitz nach Duderstadt—Zwangsarbeit bei den Polte-Werken," in *Duderstadt 1929–1949*, ed. Hans-Heinrich Ebeling and Hans-Reinhard Fricke (Duderstadt, 1992), 2: 281–292. Gudrun Pischke has written the article on the Duderstadt subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 422–424. This camp is listed in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:38, where it is incorrectly described as part of the Mittelbau concentration camp, a claim that is no longer accepted by the most recent research. Duderstadt is also listed in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1800.

There are many sources on the Duderstadt subcamp. In the ASt-Dud are the following collections: SM1 Nr. 35 (Protocols

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with statements of the former Duderstadt prisoners Paula and Bella Samuel, Babetta Fuchs, Ella Löwensohn, Lucia Szepesi, Gabriella and Rosza Farkas, as well as Erszebet and Jolan Reich, made in Budapest 1945); Dud2/12557 (Kanal- und Abwassergebühren der Firma Polte, mit monatlichen Angaben über die Belegschaftsstärke 1941–1945); Dud2/12558 (Bau einer Anschlussstrasse zum Polte-Werk); SMI Nr. 4 (Wartime Photographs of Duderstadt, 1939–1945). The Amtsgericht Magdeburg holds various company register extracts on the Polte factory and its business affairs. In the collections of the BA are details on the Duderstadt subcamp confirming its existence. The Beschäftigungsmeldung des Polte-Werks dated December 31, 1944, is held in the BA-K, Best. RGI, BA E 12 I/102. The BA-MA holds the following collections on the Duderstadt camp: RL 3/337 (Generalluftzeugmeister: Produktionsablaufpläne für Polte-Werk Duderstadt), RL 3/695 (Generalluftzeugmeister: Maschinenbestellungen für Werk Duderstadt), and RL 3/1189 (Generalluftzeugmeister: Lagepläne des Duderstädter Zweigwerkes). Further information is found in the collections of the BA-K in Ns 4 Bu/189 (Statistiken über den Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen, Dezember 1944 bis März 1945), and Ns 4/229 (Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen in verschiedenen Aussenkommandos, 1943 bis 1945). The BA-P holds under File No. StVE K 237 B, A.1, the criminal investigation files on Hans Nathusius, the deputy manager of the Duderstadt Polte factory. The Polte investigation files of the Sta. Göttingen, File No. 5 Js 20/63, includes a number of eyewitness statements on the subcamp. The BA-DH, Best. ZM 1458, A. 2, holds a list of female concentration camp overseers trained in Ravensbrück, including the names of the Duderstadt women who were deployed at the subcamp. The AG-B holds the Duderstadt subcamp Bestandsliste, Best. BA 46–1-14, which provides an overview of the number of women and their work details. Other relevant documents in AG-BB deal with admissions and transfers to and from the Duderstadt camp.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. For more detailed information, see Baranowski, *Der Duderstädter Rüstungsbetrieb Polte von 1938 bis 1945* (Göttingen: Cuvillier-Verlag, 1993), p. 35.

2. Interne Beschäftigungsmeldung des Polte-Werkes an die Stadt Duderstadt vom 31.12.1944, BA-K, Best. RGI, A E 12 I/102.

DÜSSELDORF (*DEUTSCHE ERD- UND STEINWERKE*)

From March 1944 to March 1945, a subcamp of Buchenwald in Düsseldorf was operated by the German Earth and Stone Works, Ltd. (DESt), which produced building materials for the city of Düsseldorf. In 1938, the SS-owned DESt had been established through an agreement between Adolf Hitler, Heinrich Himmler, and Albert Speer in order to produce building materials for the planned Führer cities (*Führerstädte*). To this end, cooperative projects had already been set up between DESt enterprises of the Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, Neuengamme, and Flossenbürg concentration camps and larger cities, such as Berlin, Hamburg, or Nürnberg.

The DESt camp in Düsseldorf and another one established at the same time in Essen were created at the initiative of the city administrations. Particularly in the destroyed cities of the Rhineland and Westphalia, the removal or processing of huge amounts of rubble, as well as the lack of appropriate building material, posed enormous problems for the municipal planning departments. According to the Minden Report (*Mindener Bericht*), an account of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) written by three defendants at the Nuremberg Trials, the city administrations of Essen and Düsseldorf had negotiated with managers of DESt about this problem. Oswald Pohl then instructed DESt to "take on a major role in the removal of rubble caused by the aerial attacks and to thereby obtain urgently needed building materials."[1] Accordingly, DESt constructed recycling plants that sold the building materials reclaimed from rubble at the local market price, either directly to the cities or to purchasers authorized by the planning offices.

In accordance with the agreements between the Amt W I of the WVHA and the mayors of Düsseldorf and Essen, DESt had to provide "regulation secured lodging" and the guard forces. Food and clothing and the transport of the prisoners were to be supplied by Buchenwald, while the cities or the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) West had to provide medical care for the prisoners.[2]

The camp was initially set up as a subcamp to the SS-Construction Brigade III (Baubrigade III) of Buchenwald, situated in Cologne, where first preparations for it began in mid-December 1943.[3] A school at 74–80 Kirchfeldstrasse, where the bomb squad known as Kalkum was already lodged, provided accommodations. The building was badly damaged and still in a "state of reconstruction" in July 1944.[4] The first 50 prisoners arrived in Düsseldorf on March 18, 1944.[5] By late April, 150 prisoners were accommodated in the camp, and in early June 1944, the highest occupancy was reached with 159 inmates.[6] After the withdrawal of the Construction Brigade from Cologne in May 1944, the DESt detachment became an independent subcamp of Buchenwald.

The DESt camp commandant was SS-Unterscharführer Sablonski, about whom nothing else is known.[7] However, the commandant of the Düsseldorf subcamp "Berta," Walter Knauf, also appears to have had a coordinating role for DESt as well as for the other Düsseldorf subcamps and the DESt camp in Essen. Knauf reported in turn to Buchenwald.[8] During their work, the prisoners were watched over by one guard duty officer and 14 municipal policemen (*Schutzpolizisten*). Following the orders of Himmler, Polizeioberstleutnant Martin, commander of the Wachbataillone (guard battalions) in Wehrkreis (military district) VI, carried out a security audit of the camp in July 1944. As a result, it was ordered that the windows in the quarters be fitted with bars, a guard be posted on the opposite side of the street during the night, and the guards be increased by one or two officers.[9]

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The manager of the Schuttverwertung Düsseldorf-Essen (Düsseldorf-Essen Recycling Works), SS-Oberscharführer Goergens, was responsible for the deployment of labor. Among his duties was to ensure that prisoners were used as ordered. Stricter supervision had become necessary after the prisoners from the DESt units were recruited for clearing and repair work in the cities as well. In May 1944, however, the Higher-SS and Police Leader West explicitly prohibited this use of the prisoners. At the same time, he reserved the right to summon prisoners of the DESt camp for special work assignments.[10] It seems that he repeatedly made use of this right. In September 1944, he ordered 50 prisoners to Cologne for a bomb squad, "until further notice."[11]

An area at the Fürstenwall served DESt as a workshop, where the concentration camp prisoners cleaned old bricks and produced concrete blocks from the rubble. According to the Minden Report, the DESt plants in Düsseldorf and Essen grew to "considerable size."[12] By August 1944, DESt in Düsseldorf had sold 2.2 million cleaned bricks to the city. Production of new concrete blocks commenced only in October 1944, however, and by the end of the war, no more than 70,000 had been made.[13]

The municipal prisoner-of-war (POW) kitchen (*Kriegsgefangenenküche*) in Himmelgeisterstrasse delivered the food daily for the prisoners, to both the Düsseldorf and the Essen DESt camps, and invoiced SS-Oberscharführer Goergens for the service.[14] On several occasions, camp commanders complained about the food they had received, including SS-Unterscharführer Sablonski, who wrote on May 24, 1944, to the kitchen: "The 210 KZ [concentration camp] prisoners in this camp (DESt camp and "Kalkum") are fed by the Ostarbeiterküche, Himmelgeisterstr., and get the warm food delivered in vats by truck. These transport vats are in such a damaged state that upon arrival, about 20 liters of food has been spilt from each vat, to the detriment of the recipients of the food. I ask you most kindly to redress this grievance, and to ensure that the amount of food allotted to the camp is actually distributed."[15]

Little is known about the prisoners and their living conditions. From June 1944 to the end of the war, 15 men escaped, and 6 were registered as "deceased." As late as February 1945, 10 prisoners were sent from Buchenwald to Düsseldorf. On March 13, 1945, in the face of the approaching liberators, 150 prisoners were sent back to Buchenwald.[16]

A few days after the seizure of Düsseldorf by American troops, someone proposed to restart the DESt plant. However, the municipal construction administration decided to refrain from this plan: "I cannot agree with the proposal that the military authority should confiscate the whole plant for the city, because there is no way to get it running again. In addition to the fact that the driving belts have been stolen from the machines, there is a shortage of labor. Problems could perhaps arise for the city, because KZ prisoners had been used for these works, and assumptions could be made that work can get done here, which are not tenable."[17]

SOURCES Researchers have not focused on the DESt camp. In general surveys on the Düsseldorf camps, it is mentioned only with a few details: Andreas Kussmann, "KZ-Aussenkommandos und Gefangenenlager in Düsseldorf während des Zweiten Weltkriegs: Ein Forschungsbericht," DüJb 61 (1988): 188–189; and *Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: "Ausländereinsatz" während des Zweiten Weltkriegs in einer rheinischen Grossstadt*, ed. Clemens von Looz-Corswarem in collaboration with Rafael R. Leissa and Joachim Schröder (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2002), p. 562. An unpublished manuscript on the history of a few Düsseldorf brickworks includes a mere two pages: Frank Troschitz, "Zur Geschichte der Ziegeleien der Fa. Niermann während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Einsatzes ausländischer Arbeitskräfte in Düsseldorf" (unpub. MSS, Düsseldorf, 1996).

Records are sparse, but documents that could be considered as a starting point for more detailed research can be found in various archives: at the THStA-W (collections "KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten" and "NS 4 Buchenwald"); the ASt-Dü (departments IV and VII); the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1174–1190, Court Rept. 118/2334–2336); and the ZdL (BA-L) (IV 406 AR 85/67, IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, IV 429 AR-Z 126/74).

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NOTES

1. "Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen," NARA, RG 238, NO-1573, cited from Walter Naasner, *SS-Wirtschaft und SS-Verwaltung: Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen und weitere Dokumente* (Düsseldorf: Droste-Verlag, 1998), p. 136.
2. WVHA, Amt D, April 26, 1944; THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald No. 10, p. 291.
3. SS-Construction Brigade III Duisburg, December 13, 1943, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1177.
4. Sipo Ratingen, July 11, 1944, ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, 43.
5. Work Deployment Statistics, March 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald No. 230, p. 25.
6. Ibid., pp. 28, 62.
7. Buchenwald Concentration Camp, register of addresses, November 6, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1183; and Sablonski, May 24, 1944, ASt-Dü, VII 1483.
8. SS-Oberscharführer Knauf, strength report, December 12, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald No. 229.
9. Sipo Ratingen, July 11, 1944, ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, p. 43.
10. HSSPF West, May 11, 1944, NWHStA-(D), RW 37/2, p. 27.
11. Arbeitseinsatzführer (leader of the labor detail) Schwarz, September 29, 1944, ZdL (BA-L) IV 406 AR 85/67, p. 27.
12. Cited from Naasner, *SS-Wirtschaft*, p. 136.
13. Proceedings ASt-Dü, IV 1099 and IV 1112.
14. File "Verpflegung der in den Deutschen Erd- und Steinwerken eingesetzten KZ-Häftlinge, 1944–1945," ASt-Dü, IV 892.

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15. Sablonski, May 25, 1944, ASt-Dü, VII 1483.
16. THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nos. 136a and b.
17. Amt 58 BE, May 17, 1945, ASt-Dü, IV 1099.

DÜSSELDORF (KIRCHFELDSTRASSE)

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in the Freidrichstadt district of Düsseldorf in a former school at Kirchfeldstrasse 74–80. One of several subcamps of Buchenwald in Düsseldorf, and one of two camps created on Kirchfeldstrasse, the Düsseldorf Kirchfeldstrasse subcamp opened on or around May 28, 1943, to supply concentration camp labor to the German Earth and Stone Works (DESt) factory in Düsseldorf, an economic enterprise managed by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The camps at Kirchfeldstrasse were established as part of the SS-Construction Brigade III (Baubrigade III), stationed outside of Colonge in Deutz (see Düsseldorf-Kalkum). The Construction Brigade was formed under Office Group D of the WVHA to remove and detonate unexploded bombs and for use as cheap auxiliary labor in construction efforts. Private firms, such as DESt, "rented" camp labor (including concentration camp inmates) from the WVHA at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled worker per day and 4 RM per unskilled worker per day. DESt-Düsseldorf "employed" 180 skilled workers and 2,553 auxiliary unskilled workers.[1] According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) lists of camps, the Kirchfeldstrasse-DESt became an independent subcamp administered by the Buchenwald main camp on June 25, 1944.

All of the inmates in the Kirchfeldstrasse subcamp were men, and according to a list of 151 inmates in the camp dated July 7, 1944, most of the inmates were Russian and Polish, with smaller numbers of Czech, Yugoslavian, French, Belgian, and Dutch inmates.[2] On February 22, 1945, 10 inmates were transferred from Buchenwald to Kirchfeldstrasse.[3] Reports listing the number of prisoners incarcerated in the Kirchfeldstrasse-DESt camp did not fluctuate markedly during its several-months-long operation: on June 23, 1944, 155 inmates were reported; on August 13–14, 1944, 143; on January 1, 1945, 143; and on March 6, 1945, 150 inmates.[4]

No information could be found about living conditions within the Kirchfeldstrasse camp or about the exact kind of work the inmates performed for the company. DESt was founded in Berlin on April 29, 1938, to mine stone quarries and manage construction and armaments work, exploiting inmate labor from prisoners in Mauthausen, Gusen, Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, and other camps. Presumably the inmates at the Düsseldorf-DESt camp were involved in construction or other kinds of work associated with rearmament at the Düsseldorf branch of the firm.

Likewise, there is little information known about the guards of the Kirchfeldstrasse-DESt subcamp. The camp was most likely guarded by members of the SS. According to a report submitted by garrison doctor (Standortarzt) Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, the SS doctor in charge of medical care in the camp was named Wallraff, and the medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad SDG) was named Schmidt (the same SDG as in the "Berta" and Borsig subcamps in Düsseldorf).[5] Some correspondence exchanged between the Kirchfeldstrasse 74–80 camp and the Headquarters of the Düsseldorf Higher-SS and Police Leader, located in Lohausen, shows the leader of the Kommando (Kommandoführer) as an SS-Unterscharführer Sablonski.[6]

One hundred and fifty inmates were evacuated to Buchenwald from the Düsseldorf Kirchfeldstrasse camp sometime in early March 1945.

SOURCES The Buchenwald subcamp Düsseldorf Kirchfeldstrasse appears only rarely in secondary literature. For general information on subcamps and other detention centers in Düsseldorf, including slave labor camps, see the volume edited by Clemens von Looz-Corswarem, *Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: "Ausländereinsatz" während des Zweiten Weltkrieges in einer rheinischen Grossstadt* (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2002), especially the chapter titled "Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: Struktur, Organisation und Alltag im Arbeitseinsatz von Ausländern im nationalsozialistischen Düsseldorf," by Rafael R. Leissa and Joachim Schröder (pp. 19–362). See also Andreas Kussman, "KZ Aussenkommandos und Gefangenenlager in Düsseldorf während des Zweiten Weltkriegs," DüJb 61 (1988): 175–193. For brief information on the Kirchfeldstrasse camp, such as opening and closing dates and kind of work performed, see Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). For overviews of the Buchenwald camp system, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

Several archives contain pieces of information about the camp. Transport lists of prisoners to and from the camp and other administrative records are located in the archives of the USHMM (Acc. 1998.A.0045), in a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS (see especially, BU 45, BU 69, and BU 5/3). See also files copied from the BA (NS 4: Buchenwald camp records) in USHMM, RG 14.023M, Band 253. Investigations into violent crimes committed by the SS-Construction Brigade III in Buchenwald subcamps in Düsseldorf can be found in the ZdL (BA-L): IV 429 AR Z 16/74, IV 429 AR126–174. See also the NWHStA-(D) for Gerichte Rep. 118/1174–1190, 1338–1349, Court Rep. 118/2334–2336, and the Sicherheitsüberprüfung der Stapoleitstelle Düsseldorf (July 13, 1944).

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NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald concentration camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, in *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunal under Control Council Law No. 10* (Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.
2. "Verzeichnis der in hiesigen Lager einsitzenden Häftlinge," Düsseldorf, July 7, 1944, USHMM, Acc. 1998. A.0045 (BU 45), Reel 16.
3. "Transport Düsseldorf," February 22, 1945, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (BU 45), Reel 16.

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4. "Aufstellung der Br. III, Kdo. Düsseldorf," June 23, 1944 (BU 8/18); "Etats d'effectifs par Kommando," August 13–14, 1944 (BU 5/3); "Stand vom 6. März 1945, Stand vom 1. January 1945" (BU 8/18); USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

5. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1960), p. 251.

6. Various memos, BA (NS 4): Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, USHMM, RG 14.023M, Band 253, Fiche 1.

DÜSSELDORF-DERENDORF ("BERTA") (WITH "BORSIG")

Between November 1943 and March 1945 the company Rheinmetall-Borsig AG had in its Düsseldorf factory, "Hohenzollern," a Buchenwald subcamp. The camp was camouflaged with the code name "Berta." Until the summer of 1944, when it came under Buchenwald administration, the camp was attached to SS-Construction Brigade III (Baubrigade III), stationed in Cologne-Deutz. On November 1, 1943, the brigade dispatched 135 prisoners from Cologne to Düsseldorf. The brigade was transferred to the Harz in May 1944, and "Berta" became a stand-alone Buchenwald subcamp.

The SS commander in "Berta" was initially Josef Sieghardt, who was born on July 13, 1896, in Grottkau (Upper Silesia). SS-Hauptscharführer Sieghardt joined the Nazi Party and SS in 1931. From 1939 he was an instructor at the Buchenwald concentration camp.[1] A former prisoner, Toni Fleischhauer, had the following to say about the camp commander: "Sieghardt was accustomed to saying that no prisoner would leave this camp alive."[2] When Sieghardt was transferred as commander to a Magdeburg subcamp, he was replaced in April 1944 by SS-Oberscharführer Walther Knauf, a barber, who was born on August 16, 1914, in Gross Karben near Frankfurt am Main. From the middle of 1943, he was a member of the SS guard at Buchenwald. From November 1943, he had served as an SS man in the detonation squad of the SS-Construction Brigade III.[3] In addition to the SS, the guards consisted of 60 policemen, mostly elderly reservists. They were replaced in September 1944 by men mostly from the Sicherheits- und Hilfsdienst (Auxiliary Air Raid Wardens, SHD).[4]

The address of the subcamp was the office of the Rheinmetall-Borsig AG at 54 Gneisenaustrasse in Düsseldorf's Derendorf district. The prisoners were accommodated in a hall of the so-called Hohenzollern factory on the corner of Dinnendahlstrasse and Schlüterstrasse (Schlüterstrasse later became Neumannstrasse) in Düsseldorf-Flingern. In 1939 Rheinmetall-Borsig AG took over Leichtmetall-Presswerk (Light Metal Sheet Metal Works). During the war the factory produced oxygen bottles, aircraft engine parts, propellers, antimagnetic mine heads, and hollow rocket heads. The prisoners' work was characterized as "important classified war production," as parts were produced for the V-weapons.[5] After the initial construction on the camp was complete, a second transport of 300 prisoners and 21 SS guards left Buchenwald for "Berta" on December 8, 1943.[6] On October 25, 1944, there were 661 prisoners in the camp. This was the highest number.[7] The prisoners were mostly citizens of the Soviet Union and Poles. In addition, there were French, Dutch, Belgian, Czech, Italian, and a few German prisoners (the Germans being the prisoner-functionaries).

An inspection of the Hohenzollern factory and the subsequent security report on the Düsseldorf subcamp in July 1944 reveal that the camp and the prisoners' work sites were closely guarded. At this time, the 360-strong prisoner detachment was guarded by 38 security policemen armed with rifles and machine pistols. The entrances and egresses of the work halls were guarded by the police and factory porters. One policeman patrolled the factory hall; 2 guarded the rear of the accommodation, which bordered on the factory buildings. The SS camp leadership, security police, and the factory's security liaison officer (the factory's connection to the Gestapo) worked closely together in maintaining prisoner discipline. Camp commander Knauf also recruited prisoners to spy on the other prisoners.[8] Punishment was meted out in a specially erected bunker.

Despite the increased security, the number of escape attempts from "Berta" was extraordinarily high. On June 1, 1944, 31 of 385 prisoners were reported as being on the run.[9] At least 4 prisoners were "shot while escaping."[10] Notwithstanding that escape in Düsseldorf was risky, many prisoners, for various reasons, tried to escape. Above all, the political, anti-Fascist prisoners had little interest in constructing V-weapons "to help them win the war."[11] And from the summer of 1944, there was the fear that the political prisoners would be murdered following the invasion by the Allies. For these reasons, the Communist prisoner Fleischhauer and 3 other German prisoners escaped in April 1944.

The willingness to escape was promoted also by the oppressive conditions in the camp. After the war, Sieghardt was accused of refusing medical treatment to several prisoners who had eaten poisonous mushrooms. Fleischhauer reported as follows: "A group of about 5 or 6 prisoners found a wagon full of mushrooms, which they thought were edible. They ate them and within a short period of time developed symptoms indicating that they had been poisoned. They could not be helped in the sick bay. Sieghardt refused to have them transported to a hospital or to call a doctor. . . . As a result, the prisoners died after an agonizing 3 to 4 hours. We later learned that they had eaten poisonous swamp Schierling mushrooms. I am convinced that if they had received prompt medical care they would have survived."[12]

While Sieghardt was camp commander, 11 prisoners died, including 3 prisoners who died from the poisoning mentioned above. From the date Knauf took control until the evacuation of the camp in March 1945, there were a further 16 recorded deaths.[13] According to statements by survivors, Knauf was well known for his brutal behavior: he beat prisoners at random during roll call with a broom handle or a stick, beat them with his fists, and kicked them or mistreated them while they

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were at work. Prisoners were punished while they were at roll call—their naked behinds were beaten with rubber hoses. A particular dramatic episode is said to have taken place either in August or September of 1944. Knauf tried to drive 2 weakened prisoners mad by forcing them to sit in a heated container. When 1 of the prisoners, a Russian suffering from tuberculosis, climbed out of the container totally exhausted, he was mistreated by Knauf and forced to continue his work. The prisoner died shortly thereafter as a result of this mistreatment. Knauf personally shot a prisoner who escaped from a work detail and had been recaptured and held in one of the halls of the Hohenzollern factory.

On September 1, 1944, another Buchenwald subcamp was erected for Rheinmetall-Borsig AG on its factory grounds at 31–37 Rather Strasse in Düsseldorf-Derendorf; Buchenwald records show an initial transport of 300 prisoners.[14] Although this subcamp is recorded in the Buchenwald statistics under the name "Borsig" and operated as an independent camp, Knauf was also the camp commander.[15] The "Borsig" camp should therefore be seen as a subcamp of "Berta."

Little more is known about the history of "Borsig." Other than a transport in September 1944, there were no further transports from Buchenwald. In October 1944, there were 294 prisoners in the camp; at the end of December 1944, there were 260.[16] At the beginning of March 1945, 249 prisoners were still registered at the camp.[17] What happened to the 51 prisoners is not known, as there are no reports of transports back to Buchenwald or reports of deaths. Only 3 prisoners are reported to have escaped from "Borsig." The escapes appear to have occurred from an evacuation transport.

The 1950 judgment on Knauf gives a few further details. He was accused of shooting a prisoner in the "Berta" camp. Two other events were detailed where Knauf mistreated prisoners at the "Borsig" camp. In one instance, Knauf had 4 prisoners beaten because a prisoner had fled from a work detachment. The judgment states the following about the second instance: "At the beginning of January 1945, a prisoner, when the gates of the camp were being opened, dropped cutlery in front of a Kapo. The angry Kapo told the accused who soon turned up with four other Kapos in the Derendorf camp. The accused had the 50–60 prisoners line up and ordered the Kapos to beat each prisoner 50 times with a rubber hose. For an hour the prisoners, including a 15 year old Polish boy, were beaten alternatively by 4 Kapos in the dormitory of the Derendorf camp. The accused supervised the punishment, gave directions and smoked cigarettes."[18]

On March 3, 1945, the prisoners from "Borsig," together with the prisoners from "Berta," were marched in several columns through the district of Berg, loaded onto wagons in Wuppertal, Wermelskirchen, and Essen, and transported to Buchenwald. Some 852 prisoners, 603 from "Berta" and 249 from "Borsig," were registered there on March 10, 1945.[19]

Sieghardt avoided conviction for crimes committed in "Berta" because investigations began well after the war. At the beginning of the 1970s a court medical report stated the following about Sieghardt: "An examination of the patient was relatively difficult. He has delayed memory, difficulty in concentrating, which in part results in a clear attempt to avoid issues and he expresses himself with stereotype expressions: 'I don't really know that, I can't remember that, I don't know how I got involved in the whole thing.'" The expert came to the conclusion that although Sieghardt had clear "memory islands," given his general medical history, it was scarcely likely that Sieghardt would be able to take part in any future examinations.[20] When in 1973 the accusation that Sieghardt refused the poisoned prisoners medical assistance was to be considered, an expert confirmed that he would never be fit for trial.[21] Knauf, on the other hand, had already been sentenced in 1950 to 10 years of jail by the state court in Düsseldorf for shooting the escaped prisoner.[22]

SOURCES The subcamp "Berta" was first dealt with in a research report in 1988 by Andreas Kussmann, "KZ-Aussenkommandos und Gefangenenlager in Düsseldorf während des Zweiten Weltkriegs: Ein Forschungsbericht," DüJb 61 (1988): 187. Later publications include a few further sources: Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln: Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996), pp. 106–107; Christian Leitzbach, "Der Einsatz ausländischer Arbeiterinnen und Arbeiter bei Rheinmetall-Borsig während des Zweiten Weltkriegs," in *Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: "Ausländereinsatz" während des Zweiten Weltkriegs in einer rheinischen Grossstadt*, ed. Clemens von Looz-Corswarem in collaboration with Rafael R. Leissa and Joachim Schröder (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2002), pp. 413–414; and Rafael Radoslaw Leissa, "Das Aussenkommando 'Berta' des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Düsseldorf" (MSS, Düsseldorf Memorial Sites, September 1999). Hanna Eggerath collected in 1998 and 1999 witnesses' statements about the evacuation march through the villages of Erkrath and Hochdahl: "Auf dem Weg nach Buchenwald: Der Marsch der KZ-Häftlinge durch Erkrath und Hochdahl," in *Journal 19: Jahrbuch des Kreises Mettmann 1999/2000* (Neustadt a.d. Aisch: Ph. C.W. Schmidt, 2000), pp. 123–130. These relatively good reports provide more detail on the "Berta" camp. The preliminary investigation files of the ZdL (now BA-L) (IV 406 AR 85/67; IV 429 AR-Z 16/74; IV 429 AR-Z 126/74) should be mentioned here as well as the investigation and trial files held in the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/64–65; 118/1874–1875; 118/2026–2027; 118/2334–2336; 372/205–209). In the NWHStA-(D) are almost complete copies of the prisoner lists (Court Rept. 118/1176–1178, 2334–2335). In the THStA-W are found further contemporary documents on the camp, although they are spread through the collections NS 4 Buchenwald and KZ Buchenwald.

Transport lists of prisoners to and from the camp and other administrative records are located in the archives of the USHMM, (Acc. 1998.A.0045), in a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS (see especially BU 45, BU 69, and BU 5/3). See also files copied from the BA (NS 4: Buchenwald camp records) in USHMM, RG 14.023M, Band 249.

"Borsig" is first mentioned in the Kussmann report. There are scarcely any other sources. In addition to a complete list of

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names of those in the transport of September 1, 1944, which is held in the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1178, Part 3), there are the judicial files on "Berta," but these contain only a few statements or references on this camp.

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NOTES

1. On Sieghardt, see the trial files in NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/64–65 and Court Rept. 118/2026–2027.
2. Toni Fleischhauer, undated (November 1967), ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR 1304/67, p. 34.
3. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Urteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1966*, (Amsterdam: University Press, 1971), No. 214, 6: 573.
4. Ibid., p. 574; Rafael Radoslaw Leissa, "Das Aussenkommando 'Berta' des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Düsseldorf" (MSS, Düsseldorf Memorial Sites, September 1999), p. 7.
5. Stapoleitstelle Düsseldorf, July 11, 1944, ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, p. 42.
6. Transportbefehl, August 12, 1943, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 133.
7. Häftlingsverzeichnis [Prisoner Catalogue], October 25, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/2335.
8. Stapoleitstelle Düsseldorf, July 11, 1944, ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, pp. 42–43.
9. Stärkemeldung, June 1, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 250.
10. SS-Baubrigade III, May 21, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 9, 241R.
11. Toni Fleischhauer, March 20, 1980, AVVN-K, Recording protocol Fleischhauer, p. 8.
12. Toni Fleischhauer, undated (November 1967), ZdL (BA-L), IV 429 AR 1304/67, pp. 34–35.
13. Zahlen nach HAStK [Numbers from the HAStK], Best. 753/25: Einäscherungsbuch SS-Baubrigade III, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a; ibid., KZ Buchenwald Nr. 5, Bd. 13.
14. Überstellungen von und zu Aussenkommandos, September 1, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald 136a.
15. Knauf, December 13, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 229; "Aussenkommandos Männer," October 1944, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 210.
16. "Aussenkommandos Männer," November 30 and December 31, 1944, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 210.
17. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem* (CCP), ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 415.
18. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, No. 214, p. 576.
19. ITS, Arolsen, June 29, 1950, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/2334.
20. Institut für gerichtliche und soziale Medizin der Stadt Duisburg, February 24, 1971, ITS, Arolsen, Court Rept. 118/64, pp. 127–130.
21. Investigation Proceedings, ITS, Arolsen, Court Rept. 118/2026–2027.
22. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, p. 573.

DÜSSELDORF-GRAFENBERG ("BA") [AKA BORSIG]

A subcamp of Buchenwald was established in September 1944 at Ulmenstrasse 112 in the Grafenberg district of Düsseldorf. (The International Tracing Service [ITS] lists of camps note the opening of the camp as October 23, 1944; however, a transport list from the main camp at Buchenwald to Borsig survives from September 1944.) One of several satellites of Buchenwald in Düsseldorf, the Düsseldorf-Grafenberg subcamp was created to supply concentration camp inmate labor to the Rheinmetall-Borsig AG factory in Düsseldorf. Inmates were "rented" by Rheinmetall-Borsig from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled laborer per day and 6 RM per skilled laborer per day.[1] Alternative names for this subcamp include "Borsig" and code name "BA."

According to a postwar report filed by the chief of the Mission Belge de Recherches, the camp was composed of one stone building and was situated on the grounds of the Grafenberg Rheinmetall-Borsig factory. The camp was surrounded by watchtowers and surveillance posts, and prisoners—all men—wore blue-and-white-striped camp uniforms.[2] On September 1, 1944, at least 300 inmates were transferred from the Buchenwald main camp to Düsseldorf-Grafenberg.[3] Although there is no breakdown by nationality or age provided on the transport list, most of the inmates appear to be Russian, Polish, and French. The population of the camp seems to have remained relatively the same throughout its period of operation. According to a report cited in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, there were 270 inmates in Grafenberg on October 23, 1944.[4] A report filed by the garrison doctor (Standortarzt) of the Waffen-SS Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, lists the number of inmates in the Borsig subcamp at 259 in mid-January 1945.[5]

There is little information about the exact kind of work the inmates performed or about living and working conditions within the camp. Presumably the inmates were employed in some kind of metalworking in the Borsig factory, which manufactured parts for aircraft and other industries important for the Reich's war economy.

There is little information about the guards who supervised the subcamp at Düsseldorf-Grafenberg. Like other Buchenwald subcamps in Düsseldorf, Grafenberg was most likely guarded by a combination of SS men, members of the Düsseldorf municipal police, as well as the Auxiliary Police (Schutzhilfdienst, SHD), which consisted of Düsseldorf residents. Civilian employees of the Rheinmetall-Borsig may have supervised the work of the inmates at the factory. The SS medic (SDG) was named Schmidt; he was the same SDG appointed to oversee medical care in the Berta and Kirchfeldstrasse camps.[6]

No information could be located about the evacuation or closing of the camp at Düsseldorf-Grafenberg, on the fate of the inmates, or on any postwar trials.

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SOURCES The Buchenwald subcamp Düsseldorf-Grafenberg appears infrequently in secondary literature. For general information on subcamps and other detention centers in Düsseldorf, see the volume edited by Clemens von Looz-Corswarem, *Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: "Ausländereinsatz" während des Zweiten Weltkrieges in einer rheinischen Grossstadt* (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2002), especially the chapter titled "Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: Struktur, Organisation und Alltag im Arbeitseinsatz von Ausländern im nationalsozialistischen Düsseldorf," by Rafael R. Leissa and Joachim Schröder (pp. 19–362). See also Andreas Kussman, "KZ Aussenkommandos und Gefangenenlager in Düsseldorf während des Zweiten Weltkriegs," DüJb 61 (1988): 175–193. For brief information on the Düsseldorf-Grafenberg camp, such as opening and closing dates and kind of work, see Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt: Zweitausendeins, 1990). For overviews of the Buchenwald camp system, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt: Röderburg, 1983).

Several archives contain scant information about the Düsseldorf-Grafenberg camp. Transport lists of prisoners to and from the camp and other administrative records are located in the archives of the USHMM (Acc. 1998.A.0045), in a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS (see especially BU 45, BU 69, and BU 5/3). Investigations into violent crimes committed by the SS-Baubrigade III in Buchenwald subcamps in Düsseldorf can be found in the ZdL (BA-L): IV 429 AR Z 16/74, IV 429 AR126–74. See also the NWHStA-(D) for Gerichte Rep. 118/1174–1190, 1338–1349, Court Rept. 118/2334–2336, and the Sicherheitsüberprüfung der Stapoleitstelle Düsseldorf (July 13, 1944). The ZAR-D may also yield additional information on the Düsseldorf-Grafenberg camp.

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NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald concentration camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, in *TWC* (Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.
2. Memo to MACVG from Monsieur C. Pesilier, Chef de Mission, French Liaison, ITS HQ, March 1, 1949, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (BU 69), Reel 17.
3. "Transport Borsig," September 1, 1944, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (BU 45), Reel 16.
4. Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistiche Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt: Zweitausendeins, 1990).
5. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald*, *Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, *Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt: Röderberg, 1960), p. 251.
6. Ibid.

DÜSSELDORF-KALKUM (SS-BB III)

From May 1943 to March 1945, an average of 50 prisoners from the Buchenwald main camp were deployed as bomb finders (*Bombensucher*) at a Luftwaffe bomb squad in Düsseldorf. The establishment of this camp can be traced to instructions from Heinrich Himmler, who on November 3, 1942, emphatically cited an October 1940 decree by Adolf Hitler to the Higher-SS and Police Leaders, the chiefs of police, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), the Reich minister of the air force, and the Reich minister of the interior. According to this decree, in order to avoid losses among the German firefighters and auxiliary workers of the Air Raid Police, prisoners from penitentiaries or concentration camps should increasingly be requested for the dangerous task of retrieving unexploded bombs. To the extent that no camps were in the area of the air defense regions, Himmler ordered that groups of prisoners be detached, each accompanied by an SS private as leader of the Kommando. The inspectors (commanders) of the Order Police were responsible for their accommodation, food, and further supervision.[1]

A few days later, the Amtsgruppe D instructed the camp commandants (Lagerkommandanten) of the concentration camps to hold appropriate prisoner squads in readiness. In concentration camps where construction units (Baubrigaden) had been set up, prisoners were to be chosen from those units.[2] In Rhineland and Westphalia, beginning in the early summer of 1943, the Royal Air Force had increasingly used bombs with delayed fuses, the defusing of which was considered particularly dangerous. On May 28, 1943, the Cologne-based SS-Construction Brigade III (Baubrigade III), acting on the orders of the Higher-SS and Police Leader West, dispatched 50 prisoners to Düsseldorf,[3] where they were lodged in a former school building, located at Kirchfeldstrasse 74–80 in the Friedrichstadt section of town.

From there, the prisoners went every day to the headquarters of the bomb squad in the Kalkum section of north Düsseldorf. The "Sprengkommando Kalkum" at Arnheimer Strasse 115 was one of several bomb squads of the Luftwaffe in the Luftgau VI (region). Since 1942, specially trained explosives experts worked there under the command of Hauptmann Heinz Schweizer, who was decorated in July 1943 with the Knight's Cross (*Ritterkreuz*) for his work defusing unexploded bombs. The first auxiliary workers assigned to the bomb squad were criminals from the Remscheid-Lüttringhausen jail.

According to a contemporary account, eight municipal policemen (Schutzpolizisten) guarded the concentration camp prisoners in Kirchfeldstrasse and accompanied them on their daily trip to Kalkum.[4] Only two SS privates had been detached from Buchenwald, one of whom was a certain SS-Unterscharführer Pfingsten, who was head of the camp until the end of the war.[5]

The job of the criminals and other prisoners was to dig out the unexploded bombs. According to instructions from the Luftwaffe, only explosives experts were allowed to disarm bombs. However, survivors report that concentration camp prisoners often also did this work. As even the trained explosives experts had hardly any information about the detonation mechanisms of the bombs, which were constantly changing in the course of the war, the disarming of them by untrained prisoners was all that much more dangerous. There are

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numerous indications that particularly for the most dangerous jobs of the Kalkum bomb squad, prisoners were often deliberately called in. Former political prisoner Kurt Selbiger relates, for example: "When it is claimed that so many died, the prisoners are meant. They were the ones who were immediately dragged in there and sent to work on the 'hot' problems. The majority of the delayed fuses exploded in the first few hours—and this happened often. It was Russians, Russians in KZ clothing, who were repeatedly assigned temporarily to the bomb squad, but they did not really belong to our unit."[6]

Some of the conventional prisoners who were part of the Kalkum bomb squad, among whom were many Communists, attempted to improve the lot of the concentration camp prisoners assigned to the squad. For example, they successfully pleaded with the camp leadership (Lagerleitung), consisting of explosives experts, for the withdrawal of the SS guards after they had brought the prisoners to the camp in the morning. Self-interest definitely played a part in this request, as the SS presence worsened the atmosphere for the conventional prisoners as well. In the same way, these inmates were able to influence the allocation of the prisoners to the labor details so that some of the prisoners did not have to go into the city but could remain in the camp during the day. Supplying them with food took precedence, but besides that, the prisoners were provided with clothing and reading materials and took part in political discussions. Since there was a strong resistance organization (*Widerstandsorganisation*) in Kalkum, which had succeeded in establishing numerous contacts in the city, the provisions were much better than in the camp in Kirchfeldstrasse, to which the concentration camp prisoners had to return in the evening. These "sharp practices between the camp and the outside world" soon attracted the attention of the Gestapo, which at the end of January 1944 raided the camp and arrested several prisoners for attempted high treason.[7]

The number of prisoners who died in the bomb squad was high but hitherto could not be determined precisely. Until May 10, 1944, the Kalkum detachment was managed as a subcamp of the SS-Construction Brigade III, and for this reason, it is not always clear from the death reports to Buchenwald before that date if prisoners from the Kalkum camp were among the deceased. After the SS-Construction Brigade III was withdrawn from Cologne, Kalkum became an independent subcamp of Buchenwald and still had at the time 32 prisoners.[8] On July 3 and September 1, 1944, altogether 35 prisoners were transferred from Buchenwald to Kalkum.[9] When the camp was dissolved on March 13, 1945, only 34 prisoners remained to be brought back to Buchenwald.[10]

After 1945, the prisoners were quickly stricken from the memories of the explosives experts who had supervised them in disarming the bombs. Walter Merz, in a book motivated by his autobiographical intentions, mentions the conventional and concentration camp prisoners only in passing with the words "they were quite happy here."[11] A former explosives expert from this group, who was interviewed in the 1980s, indeed mentions the conventional prisoners but refers to the concentration camp prisoners merely as "other prisoners" who he says sometimes accompanied them.[12]

SOURCES As early as 1977, Norbert Krüger published findings on the Kalkum camp in an essay on concentration camp (KZ) prisoners in bomb squads: " 'Wenn Sie nicht ins KZ wollen . . .': Häftlinge in Bombenräumkommandos," APuZ 16 (1977): 25–37. Andreas Kussmann, who in the mid-1980s undertook research for the city of Düsseldorf on local KZ subcamps, published his results in 1988. See Andreas Kussmann, "KZ-Aussenkommandos und Gefangenenlager in Düsseldorf während des Zweiten Weltkriegs: Ein Forschungsbericht," DüJb 61 (1988): 175–192. The authors of a more recent publication, *Zwangsarbeit in Düsseldorf: "Ausländereinsatz" während des Zweiten Weltkriegs in einer rheinischen Grossstadt*, ed. Clemens von Looz-Corswarem in collaboration with Rafael R. Leissa and Joachim Schröder (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2002), based their work predominantly on this essay.

There are numerous sources on the Kalkum camp that could facilitate more intensive study. The collection Andreas Kussmann assembled in the course of his research contains extensive documentary material on the Kalkum camp (ASt-Dü, Sammlung Kussmann, Nos. 33–43). Besides photocopies of documents from many different archives, there are noteworthy photographs and interviews with former explosives experts and prisoners from Remscheid-Lüttringhausen. In addition, accounts by political prisoners from the penitentiary are held at the AVVN-D (Collection 3690, Johann Jürgens) and at the archives of the Frankfurt SKDW (AN, 1442, Otto Hertel). At the THStA-W, in the collections "NS 4 Buchenwald" and "KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten," further sources on Kalkum can be found again and again. Finally, trial files regarding investigations of homicides at the SS-Construction Brigade III and the Buchenwald subcamps in Düsseldorf are informative. They are preserved at the BA-L (IV 429 AR Z 16/74, IV 429 AR 126/74) and at the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1174–1190, 1338–1349; Court Rept. 118/2334–2336).

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NOTES

1. Reichsführer-SS, November 3, 1942, StAN, NG-1002.
2. WVHA, Amtsgruppe D, November 9, 1942, IfZ, MA, 414, 6380, cited from ASt-Dü, Kussmann Collection No. 34.
3. Buchenwald concentration camp, May 28, 1943, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1176.
4. Sipo Ratingen, July 11, 1944, BA-L, IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, pp. 42–44.
5. Buchenwald concentration camp, September 5, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald No. 229, p. 67; and Buchenwald concentration camp, November 6, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118, No. 1183.
6. Interview with Kurt Selbiger, February 23, 1988, ASt-Dü, Kussmann Collection No. 40.
7. Gestapo Düsseldorf, January 27, 1944, NWHStA-(D), RW 36/13, p. 105.
8. Buchenwald concentration camp, June 23, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1176.

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9. See entries in the daily transfer reports from Buchenwald, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nos. 136a and b.

10. Ibid., entry March 13, 1945.

11. Walter Merz, *Feuerwerker: Namenlose Helden der Bombennächte: Ein Tatsachenbericht* (Rastatt: Erich Pabel Verlag, 1970), pp. 14–15.

12. Heinrich Z., March 9, 1988, ASt-Dü, Kussmann Collection, Folders 33–36.

EISENACH ("EMMA," "EM")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Eisenach (Thüringen) in March 1944 to provide prisoner labor to the Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) plant. The arrangement stemmed from an agreement between the firm and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which hired out the inmates to BMW at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.[1] The Eisenach BMW camp was code-named "Emma" or "Em."

The average number of inmates in the Eisenach subcamp during its nearly one-year operation was 500 inmates, although the prisoner strength of the camp did fluctuate. In August 1944, for example, the camp is listed as having 669 inmates in strength reports. By August 4, the number of inmates in the camp had fallen to 590, and by August 5, to 564 inmates.[2] Surviving transport lists show that some inmates from the Eisenach subcamp were sent to the Abteroda men's subcamp (code-named "Anton") on July 31, 1944, and other inmates continued to be transferred to the Abteroda camp from Eisenach on several instances in the following months.[3] Reports dated after August 1944 also indicate the Eisenach and Abteroda camps together ("Emma+Anton") but break down the numbers of prisoners in each, which further suggests that the Abteroda men's camp consisted largely of Eisenach inmates, at least for a certain period of time.[4]

Inmates in the Eisenach camp were assigned to the BMW plant in Eisenach Duererhof, where they worked in the production of aircraft engine parts. Although there is no breakdown by nationality on the transport lists, the inmates appear to have been German, Italian, Russian, French, and Polish. According to a detailed listing of the types of prisoner labor assigned to various subcamps from Block 17 in Buchenwald, in September and October 1944, the Eisenach subcamp received skilled workers who performed labor as electricians, machinists, mechanics, shoemakers, locksmiths, and carpenters.[5]

Likewise, there is little information about living conditions within the camp, the circumstances or motives for killing the inmates, the survival rate, or resistance and escape attempts. The prisoners were most likely housed in one of the work halls of the factory or in a brickfield. Undated photos taken during the days after Eisenach camp's liberation by D.A. Weckwerth depict prisoner barracks, a watchtower, and a gallows where prisoners were likely punished by hanging.[6]

There is scarce surviving information about the commandant or guards of the Eisenach camp. According to a report filed by SS garrison doctor SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, the Eisenach camp had an SS doctor in charge of the infirmary named König, an SS medic named Carl, and 50 guards. The camp population was 386, according to this report.[7]

The camp was closed on February 17, 1945, and the prisoners were transferred back to Buchenwald.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Eisenach subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Eisenach in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS).

Surviving primary documentation on the Eisenach subcamp is also limited. For sparse administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210, Band 55. See also a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Eisenach camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 44. The D.A. Weckwerth papers (USHMMA, Acc. 2000.54) contain brief information about the Eisenach camp and three photos of the grounds at the time of liberation.

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NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. Prisoner strength in Aussenkommandos, various, August 1, August 4, August 5, 1944, BA, NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210 (*Diverses über den Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen, 1941–1945*).

3. ". . . von Aussenkommando Eisenach nach dem Aussenkommando Anton überstellt," July 31, 1944 (79 inmates); September 17, 1944 (2 inmates); October 20, 1944 (4 inmates) (BU 44), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. Prisoner strength in Aussenkommandos, see, for example, lists from November and December 1944. BA, NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210 (*Diverses über den Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen, 1941–1945*), Reel 5.

5. Verlegungen vom Block 17, Rücktransporter vom Aussenkommandos, BA, NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 55, Fiche 1.

6. D.A. Weckwerth papers, USHMMA, Acc. 2000.54.

7. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt: Röderburg, 1960), p. 253.

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ELSNIG

Elsnig is located about eight kilometers (five miles) to the north of Torgau on the Elbe. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony.

The subcamp was established for female Buchenwald concentration camp prisoners who were to work for the Westfälisch-Anhaltinische Sprengstoff AG (WASAG) and its chemical plant in Elsnig. The camp was located close to the factory grounds on the Reichsstrasse that connected Torgau and Wittenberg. The camp, with 7,500 square meters (8,970 square yards), was relatively small and consisted of several wooden barracks, a wash barracks, kitchen, and infirmary. The buildings were surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire fence.

Although the International Tracing Service (ITS) records the first mention of the camp as October 10, 1944, the first transport of prisoners most likely arrived at Elsnig on October 16. The prisoners were 750 Polish Jewish women from Bergen-Belsen. Previously they had been in ghettos in Poland and in Auschwitz. One of the women was Eva Rosencwajig Stock, who—together with her mother, aunt, and sister—was taken to Elsnig. Eva's sister, aged 13, worked with five other children in the camp kitchen, while the adult women worked in the armaments factory. They worked in two 12-hour shifts, producing and filling shells with TNT and naval explosives.

The subcamp was commanded by SS-Oberscharführer Kurt Völker. Survivors described him as brutal. He frequently mistreated the already weak women and terrorized them with countless roll calls. He repeatedly threatened to kill them. According to some witness reports, Völker forced some women to dig their own graves, but he did not follow through with the executions. The guards were 12 SS men, mostly ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche), and 26 female overseers. At their head was Elfriede Schmeisser, described by surviving prisoners as being just as brutal. Schmeisser was in charge of selections inside the camp. The victims were the young, those who could no longer work, and pregnant women. Selected women were transported to Auschwitz and from January 1945 were sent back to Bergen-Belsen. Rozencwajig reported that her sister and the other young girls were excluded from the selections at her request and that a German foreman had also intervened to protect the girls.[1] The relationships with the German labor force and the German supervisors and foremen is described by Rozencwajig as ambivalent: as the SS had announced that the prisoners were prostitutes and criminals, the Germans kept their distance or were openly hostile. Only over time, some changed their attitude and chatted with the prisoners and occasionally offered assistance.

The women worked on health-damaging tasks in the chemical factory, where they were exposed to poisonous and acidic substances and provided with almost no protection like clothing, gloves, or goggles. Many women suffered from infections to breathing passages, and two women died in November and December 1944 from tuberculosis.

The evacuation of the camp began on April 13, 1945 (the ITS date of April 20 is most likely too late). The women were either taken in goods wagons, according to historian Irmgard Seidel, or passenger trains, according to a statement by Rosencwajig, in the direction of Ravensbrück. On April 20, 1945, the train was caught up in an Allied air raid on Potsdam: many women were killed and a few, including Rosencwajig, her mother, and aunt, were able to escape. After hiding for a few days in empty houses and in a forest, Rosencwajig and her relatives found refuge in a camp for Italian foreign laborers.

Völker was extradited on February 25, 1947, to Poland, where a court sentenced him to six years' imprisonment for his crimes. Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in the 1960s were inconclusive.

SOURCES A detailed description on the Elsnig subcamp is by Irmgard Seidel in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 435–436. Also see ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 40; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1801.

The THStA-W and the BA-K, Best. NS 4 Bu 221, are of relevance for the camp. The Standesamt Weimar holds a list of new prisoner numbers for Elsnig, November 1944, which can also be found in the AAC-C. The DIZ-T holds further details on the Elsnig subcamp under der Signatur BB 55194. Investigations by the ZdL (now at BA-L) are kept under File AR-Z 117/1970. The USHMMA holds statements by two former prisoners at the camp: Celia Rothstein Elbaum (1997.A.0185) and Eva Rosenczajig Stock (RG-50.030*0225).

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NOTE

1. USHMMA, RG-50.030*022, Oral history interview with Eva Rozencwajig Stock, July 26, 1989, transcript, p. 10.

ESCHERSHAUSEN ("STEIN") AND HOLZEN ("HECHT") [AKA HECHT-OT BAULEITUNG, DEUTSCHE ASPHALT AG-GRUBE HAARMANN] ("H," "HT," "OT")

In 1944 to 1945, several forced labor camps were located in the hilly Hils area of the Weserbergland in central Germany. As in the nearby Harz Mountains, armaments factories were established in underground caves and tunnels, as well as in provisional buildings in the forests. Two Buchenwald subcamps, "Hecht" and "Stein," were established in Holzen and Eschershausen. These were concentration camps under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). Other forced labor camps in the area included one for German Jews, "Half-Jews," and non-Jews married to Jews; one for German convicts and deported foreigners from the Hameln penitentiary; and mobile units of the SS-Construction Brigade VI (Baubrigade VI) (Eisenbahnbaubrigade I)—probably identical

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with an unspecified Dora subcamp mentioned in some testimonies—and the SS-Baggerregiment "Speer," both of which utilized hundreds of concentration camp prisoners at the building of railway connections to the mining area where the underground factories were hidden.

The factories were established in five asphalt mines belonging to the Natur-Asphalt Gesellschaft and the Deutsche Asphalt AG (DASAG). According to the plans, over 50,000 square meters (59,800 square yards) of production space—later to be expanded to 300,000 (358,800 square yards)—were to be established underground and shared by several armaments companies. The Volkswagen subsidiary Minette was meant to occupy the major part for the manufacturing of Fi-103 (V-1) cruise missile and fighter airplane body sections, and it was eager to obtain storage space for large sheet metal presses from its main factory in Fallersleben and machinery looted from the Peugeot automobile works in France. C. Lorenz AG (code names "Huta" and "Otech") produced radio equipment for airplanes; the Deutsche Edelstahlwerke AG, Firma Reinhardt, and Marathon Werke produced airplane and submarine engine parts. The refurbishing project was, however, subject to frequent change because of practical difficulties, changing armament priorities, and rivalry between the companies over space and resources. Eventually, additional production space was prepared in primitive concrete buildings that were erected in the forests and narrow valleys of the area.

The Organisation Todt (OT–Einsatzgruppe IV "Kyffhäuser") was in charge of project coordination. Underground refurbishing was in the hands of the Deutsche Asphalt und Tiefbau AG; other construction companies involved were the Siemens Bau-Union (Siemens Construction Union) and the Francke Werke of Bremen. While plans grew ever grander, the actual armaments output of the Hils facilities was never very impressive.

A variety of forced laborers were occupied in construction work and production and accommodated in various improvised camps. The "Hecht" concentration camp was established in August 1944. This camp is also mentioned in Buchenwald records as SS Kdo. Hecht-OT-Bauleitung, as Deutsche Asphalt AG-Grube Haarmann, and as "H," "Ht," and "OT." Hecht prisoners performed heavy earthmoving, logging, construction, and underground refurbishing work. Supplying slave labor was its sole purpose, as was the case of the second Buchenwald subcamp, Stein, the prisoners of which installed machinery in the production areas and worked in Volkswagen manufacturing. Hecht was the code name for the entire construction project; Stein, for the Volkswagen production facilities. The two camps were under joint administration and command of SS-Scharführer Gemeinhard but occupied separate areas in Holzen ("Hecht") and Eschershausen ("Stein").

Hecht prisoners were first accommodated in small tents that were erected by the Hitler-Jugend (Hitler Youth) on August 3, 1944. The first prisoners probably arrived shortly thereafter. A transport of 263 prisoners arriving from Buchenwald on September 14 included Kapos and a prisoner physician but also 3 replacements for prisoners who had already died in the camp. Eventually four barracks were erected for prisoners' accommodation, surrounded by watchtowers and a high-voltage barbed-wire fence; three additional barracks served as the guards' quarters.

Living conditions in the camp were devastating. Morbidity and mortality were high due to grave undernourishment, poor hygiene, work accidents, and extreme guard and Kapo brutality. Frequent transports—the first of which was as early as October 1—brought replacements for the deceased and those who were returned to Buchenwald in order to be exterminated as "unfit for work." A transport of 253 prisoners from Buchenwald on November 21 included 35 replacements. The prisoner strength of 494, reported by mid-December 1944, remained stable until March 1945, but at least 143 new prisoners had to be brought in as replacements during the six months between September and March in order to maintain it. "There was dying like on an assembly line," one survivor recorded.[1] Volkswagen payments to the SS represented the full-time labor of approximately 320 prisoners in November 1944 and 510 in January 1945.

Construction remained the main activity, but from December on, concentration camp prisoners were also employed in Volkswagen armaments production (the "Stein" project). Stein prisoners were accommodated in huts in the larger community camp (*Gemeinschaftslager*) "Schwarzes Land" in Eschershausen. By the end of 1944, this mixed camp provided accommodations for 1,200 forced laborers, 65 convicts, and 300 concentration camp prisoners. This arrangement placed the prisoners under a double reign of terror exercised by the SS guards and by the cruel SD *Abwehrbeauftragter* (factory defense commissioner) of the area, SS-Obersturmbannführer Alfred Willi Busch, who used his revolver, whip, and fierce dogs against camp inmates on several occasions.

On February 17 and 18, 1945, 600 skilled metalworkers were selected in Buchenwald for Stein. They arrived in Eschershausen on March 4, together with 43 replacements, augmenting the total number of prisoners in the Hecht and Stein camps to 1,103. Another 415 prisoners who were selected for Stein on March 11 never reached Eschershausen. On March 31, 700 prisoners were transported back to the main camp in open railway cars; other evacuees ended up—by way of the Salzgitter Hermann-Göring-Werke—in Celle, where many fell victim to an Allied air raid and a massacre perpetrated by locals. Some 200 prisoners, most of whom were emaciated, ill, and barely alive, were liberated in Eschershausen by U.S. troops on April 7, 1945.

Existing Buchenwald transport lists are incomplete, so the total number of Hecht and Stein prisoners may have been higher than the above figures, but survivors' estimates of 1,500 to 2,000 and speculative figures of 5,000 to 7,000 in some literature must be judged too high. Most Hecht and Stein prisoners were Polish, Soviet, and French (among whom was a nephew of Charles de Gaulle, the Marquis de Vichy, who was tormented to death in the camp). A large proportion were Jewish. In each of the prisoner groups, clandestine resistance organizations were organized, which engaged in protecting weaker compatriots and preparing for a mass

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escape or an uprising for which weapons and explosives were acquired. The sudden evacuation thwarted these plans. A radio receiver was built, and news circulated illegally.

According to survivors' testimony, Gemeinhard was an alcoholic who inspired guard and Kapo violence. Ways of tormenting the prisoners were mock executions, which actually cost the lives of 2 prisoners, and the burying alive under rocks and debris of weak prisoners who were unable to stand. At least 10 prisoners are reported to have been executed for attempting to escape, but some prisoners actually managed to escape. The guards—30 by October 1944, later substantially more—were half SS and half elderly army and navy soldiers. A navy officer replaced Gemeinhard, probably in January 1945, and tried to bar the beating and mutilation of prisoners, thereby easing the prisoners' plight somewhat. Prisoner-functionaries participated actively in the brutalities. The first camp elder (Lagerältester), Becker, was replaced by Zenon Rozansky, an antisemitic Pole, in mid-November, as a number of privileged posts passed from German criminals into the hands of Polish political prisoners, which only worsened the situation of Jews in the camp.

Survivors' testimonies report several examples of compassion and courageous help from local inhabitants of the traditionally Socialist mining environment, whereas many functionaries who were brought in by the armaments companies displayed ruthless, fanatical Nazi attitudes.

SOURCES This description of the Eschershausen/Holzen camps is based on research by Therkel Straede and Manfred Grieger for Hans Mommsen et al., *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf, 1996), p. 830; and articles by Grieger in *JWg* (1993) and in Hermann Kaienburg, ed., *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–45* (Opladen, 1996). Further information, some of which is contradictory and erroneous, may be found in Detlef Creydt and August Meyer, *Zwangsarbeit für die "Wunderwaffen" in Südniedersachsen 1943–1945*, vol.1, and *Zwangsarbeit für die Rüstung im südniedersächsischen Bergland*, vol. 2 (Braunschweig, 1993–1994). Preliminary data are in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). A chapter on the camps is included in the author's forthcoming book *The Volkswagen Jews.*

Material on the Eschershausen/Holzen concentration camps is scattered, but Buchenwald records allow for the reconstruction of transports in and out of the camp. The VWA and ASt-WOB hold company records and copies of documents from AG-B, YVA, Beit Lohamei Haghetaot near Acco/Israel, NARA (USSBS), BA-B, BA-MA, and ZdL (now BA-L). Survivors' accounts of the Eschershausen/Holzen concentration camps are scarce.

Therkel Straede

NOTE

1. Walter Altmann in, Detlef Creydt and August Meyer, *Zwangsarbeit für die "Wunderwaffen" in Südniedersachsen 1943–1945* (Braunschweig, 1993), p.182.

ESSEN (*DEUTSCHE ERD- UND STEINWERKE*) ("SCHWARZE POTH 13")

The German Earth and Stone Works (Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke, DESt) operated a Buchenwald subcamp from February 1944 to March 1945 in Essen. At the camp, building material was recycled from rubble for the city of Essen. The SS-owned DESt had been established in 1938 following an agreement between Adolf Hitler, Heinrich Himmler, and Albert Speer. Its task was to acquire building materials for the planned Führer Cities (*Führerstädte*). With this aim in mind, several projects had been set up between DESt firms from the Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, Neuengamme, and Flossenbürg concentration camps with larger cities such as Berlin, Hamburg, and Nürnberg.

In both Essen and Düsseldorf the initiative to have DESt camps erected in the cities came from the city councils themselves. The heavily bombed Rhineland and Westphalia experienced great difficulties in removing and recycling the rubble as well as in producing new building material. According to the Minden Report (*Mindener Bericht*), both the Essen und Düsseldorf city councils negotiated with the managers of DESt about this problem. The Minden Report, a study on the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), was prepared by one of three accused at the Nuremberg Trials. According to the report, Oswald Pohl instructed DESt to "involve itself on a large scale with the removal of rubble caused by the bombing and to obtain building material from the rubble as quickly as possible."[1] This led to the construction of a rubble recycling plant through which DESt sold the recycled building material at market prices either directly to the cities or to a third party authorized by the building administrations (Bauverwaltungen).

The prisoners of the Essen camp were, at least until May 1944, exclusively Buchenwald concentration camp prisoners taken from the Duisburg subcamp of the SS-Construction Brigade III (Baubrigade III), which was stationed in Cologne. Twenty-five prisoners were selected as early as December 13, 1943. Presumably they formed an advance detachment sent to construct the camp in Essen.[2] The camp first appears in the statistics of the Buchenwald concentration camp on February 1, 1944, with a reference to 20 prisoners. One day later there were already 100 prisoners in the camp. The highest number of prisoners, 150, was recorded on April 8, 1944.[3] About 90 of them were Soviet prisoners, and 40 were Polish; in addition to 3 Germans, there were also French, Dutch, Belgians, Danes, and Luxemburgers. After the SS-Construction Brigade withdrew from Cologne in May 1944, the DESt detachment became an independent Buchenwald subcamp.

According to an agreement between Office W I of the WVHA and the lord mayors of Düsseldorf and Essen, the DESt had to provide both "accommodation in accordance with city regulations" and guards. Supplies, clothing, and transport of the prisoners were the responsibility of the Buchenwald concentration camp. The cities and the Higher-SS

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and Police Leader (HSSPF) West were responsible for the medical care of the prisoners.[4]

The first prisoners lived in barracks in the vicinity of the police headquarters until the camp was set up in the rooms of the badly damaged Hotel Grinzing, located on Adolf-Hitler Strasse (later Viehofer Strasse). Königstrasse 35, which ran parallel to Adolf-Hitler Strasse, backed onto the rear of the hotel and was also part of the camp. The camp, situated in the middle of the city, was code-named "Schwarze Poth 13," named after the SS administration's quarters.

The house at "Schwarze Poth 13," owned by a married couple called Fendel, was requisitioned in March 1944 by officials from the Building Supervisory Office (Bauaufsichtsamt). The officials are reported to have stated: "Things are going to be completely different around here! Concentration camp inmates are being brought here. We are requisitioning this property."[5] The area around "Schwarze Poth," Königstrasse, Kirchstrasse, and Postallee was closed off by a fence in July 1944 following an inspection by the Essen Gestapo. It was here that the SS administration, prisoner accommodations, and machines to grind the rubble were located.

The camp commander was SS-Unterscharführer Reinhard Sichelschmidt.[6] Walter Knauf, who was in charge of the Düsseldorf subcamp "Berta," appears to have played a coordinating role between Buchenwald and the DESt camp.[7] An inspection report by the Essen State Police Office on July 13, 1944, provides information on security:

> They have 1 Police Master and 19 sergeants to guard the camp. Nine men secure the camp during the day doing sentry duty for 11 straight hours, mostly in the neighboring streets. Another three guard external details. The prisoners' accommodation is secured at night by three men who alternately stand guard. . . . The guards are mostly police reservists and there is the risk that after 11 hours sentry duty their attention will wane because of tiredness. The only weapons the guards have are pistols, which is inadequate considering the size of the area to be secured. It is essential that the guards be armed with rifles.[8]

The head of the Schuttverwertung Düsseldorf-Essen (Düsseldorf-Essen Recycling Plant), SS-Oberscharführer Goergens, was in charge of the work. One of his duties was to ensure that the prisoners worked in accordance with requirements. This was partly in order to prevent prisoners from the DESt detachments being used for cleaning and repair work in the cities. In May 1944, the Higher-SS and Police Leader West had prohibited the use of prisoners for such work. At the same time, he reserved the right to use prisoners for special work assignments.[9] And, in fact, prisoners were later used to recover unexploded bombs that were then deactivated by the Düsseldorf bomb squad known as Kalkum.

During the above-mentioned inspection by the Essen Gestapo, the prisoners' work tempo was deemed unsatisfactory. The report states as follows: "Regretfully the pace of work is slow. For example, a detachment was pulling bricks from piles of rubble. The prisoners, who had to carry the bricks about 15 meters [49 feet] to the street, moved slowly and each prisoner carried no more than two or three bricks. The foreman stated that the orders required them to carry five bricks. They did not do this because there were no measures, such as arrest or shortening of rations, to force them to work more quickly."[10] The camp was in the middle of the city and open to public view. In these circumstances it was not possible to apply the usual concentration camp terror as the writer of the report, obviously annoyed, stated: "In this situation the question arises whether such concentration camp detachments are not pointless as they require a large number of guards and more rigorous disciplinary measures cannot be applied to achieve better results because they are in public view."[11]

It is impossible to gauge to what extent the prisoners' circumstances were improved because the camp was more exposed to the public. A former prisoner, Werner Betzold, the camp elder, reported the noteworthy intervention of a policeman who apparently saved his life. Betzold stated at the beginning of the 1980s that he asked the camp commander Sichelschmidt for a doctor for the prisoners several times. Sichelschmidt constantly refused the request. One morning at roll call he informed Sichelschmidt that he no longer wanted to be camp elder. Sichelschmidt pulled his pistol in anger. A police officer intervened, shouting, "You will not shoot him!" and summoned more police by blowing his whistle. Sichelschmidt let Betzold go but punished him by transferring him to the DESt camp.[12]

At least 5 prisoners died in the Essen camp—3 during the period when the camp was part of the SS-Construction Brigade and 2 in June 1944. At least 5 prisoners were able to escape, and at least 8 were classified "incapable of work" and sent back to the main camp.[13] The remaining 129 prisoners in the camp were sent back to Buchenwald on March 21, 1945, in the face of the advancing Allies.[14]

Investigations by state prosecutors after 1945 did not reveal any punishable offenses. The former camp commander Sichelschmidt lived at least until 1988 untroubled by his former workplace.

SOURCES It is thanks to Ernst Schmidt from Essen that the camp became the subject of attention in the 1980s. He collected reports from eyewitnesses, survivors, and participants as well as documents that he published in a chapter in the second volume of his book *Lichter in der Finsternis: Widerstand und Verfolgung in Essen 1938–1945; Erlebnisse—Berichte—Forschungen—Gespräche* (Essen, 1988). Included in the book are a photograph of the house at "Schwarze Poth 13" and a group photo of the guards (pp. 187, 198). The material he collected is held by the Ruhrlandmuseum Essen (Archive Ernst Schmidt, Collection 19/370).

Other sources can be found in the THStA-W (Collections

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"KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten," "NS 4 Buchenwald"), NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1174–1190, Court Rept. 118/2334–2336), and in the BA-L (IV 406 AR 85/67, IV 429 AR-Z 16/74, IV 429 AR-Z 126/74).

Karola Fings
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. "Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen," NARA, RG 238, NO-1573, as cited by Walter Naasner, *SS-Wirtschaft und SS-Verwaltung: Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen und weitere Dokumente* (Düsseldorf: Droste-Verlag, 1998), p. 136.

2. SS-Construction Brigade III Duisburg, December 13, 1943, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1177.

3. Work Deployment Statistics, February, March, and April 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 230, pp. 5, 25, 50.

4. WVHA, Amt D, April 26, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 10, p. 291.

5. Cited by Ernst Schmidt, *Lichter in der Finsternis: Widerstand und Verfolgung in Essen 1938–1945*; *Erlebnisse—Berichte—Forschungen—Gespräche* (Essen, 1988), 2: 194.

6. Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Directory, November 6, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1183.

7. SS-Oberscharführer Knauf, Strength Report December 12, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 229.

8. Cited by Schmidt, *Lichter in der Finsternis*, p. 189.

9. HSSPF West, May 11, 1944, NWHStA-(D), RW 37/2, p. 27.

10. Cited by Schmidt, *Lichter in der Finsternis*, p. 189.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid., pp. 196–198.

13. Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln: Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne, 1996), p. 235; THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a.

14. ITS, Arolsen, June 29, 1950, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/2334.

ESSEN (HUMBOLDTSTRASSE)

The subcamp of Essen (Humboldtstrasse), an external work detail (Kommando) of the Buchenwald concentration camp, existed from August 1944 until March 1945. The subcamp held 520 Hungarian Jewish women, who were forced to work in the Friedrich Krupp Inc. cast steel factory.

The Humboldtstrasse camp was established in 1943. It initially housed French civilian workers, followed later by female forced laborers from the Soviet Union and Italian military internees. They all worked in the Essen factories of the Krupp firm. In 1944 German staff members of the Krupp cast steel factory were conscripted into military service; the foreign civilian workers or prisoners of war (POWs), who could initially replace them, were barely obtainable in the face of German defeats on all fronts. Therefore, in the early summer of 1944, the company increased its efforts regarding the allocation of camp prisoners. After the acting personnel manager personally applied to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in Oranienburg, a written request for prisoners was addressed to the commanders of the Buchenwald camp. It was granted in June 1944.[1] However, while the company had wanted 2,000 male craftsmen, the WVHA allocated to Krupp Inc. female prisoners from the group of Hungarian Jewish women who in early 1944 had been deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau and not gassed.

Corporate management thereupon sent a representative to the neighboring city of Gelsenkirchen, where on the grounds of Gelsenberg Benzin AG approximately 2,000 female Jewish camp prisoners were housed in tent camps and primarily employed to clear debris. The camp was administered by the Buchenwald concentration camp. Because the Krupp factory held open workstations for no more than 300 women, and the SS prisoners were only portioned in groups of 500, a contingent of 500 women plus 20 female prisoner-functionaries was agreed upon. These 520 prisoners, most of whom were women around 20 years old, were transferred to the Humboldstrasse camp at the end of August 1944.[2]

There, five barracks in the western section of the camp complex had been separated for the female inmates and enclosed with barbed wire. On the other side of the fence, Eastern female workers from the USSR were housed. In front of the enclosed section was a barrack for the guard squad. The camp for the Jewish inmates lay on a open field, had no leveled paths, and had four sleeping barracks and a kitchen with a cafeteria. In the sleeping barracks the women found roughly 65 bunk-bed frames with straw sacks. The rooms, which had until then housed Italian military internees, were incredibly filthy. The camp leader (Lagerführer) was 30-year-old SS-Oberscharführer Albert Rieck, and his deputies were the two SS-Unterscharführer Willi Kerkhoff and Otto Maier. In addition to the SS guard Kommandos, the Krupp firm had recruited women from its own workforce to act as guards. They were sent to a 10-day crash course for concentration camp overseers in the Ravensbrück female concentration camp, and there they were inducted into SS service. Initially the guard squad was composed of 44 women and 15 men. However, half of these guards soon received other tasks.[3]

The prisoners were awakened at 4:00 A.M. and ordered to roll call in front of the barracks. Following breakfast, which at first consisted of bread and margarine, they were taken by streetcar to the Krupp cast steel factory, where work began at 6:00. The majority of the Hungarian female inmates worked in Steel Mill II; instructed by German workers, they were charged with stoking the oven, performing the welding, and carrying out various chores. Most of the women were employed in a two-shift system consisting of 12 hours each. The work on the night shift was easier, since the women were often only responsible for overseeing the meters. How the Jewish women in Steel Mill II fared depended largely upon the benevolence of the German workers and above all on the demeanor of the factory manager, boss, and assistant foreman.

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The scale of different behaviors ranged from clandestine solidarity, which was personally risky (since it was forbidden), to open brutality. It appears that indifference predominated at Humboldtstrasse. During aerial bombings, people were preoccupied with their own problems; the misery of the foreigners was both obvious and irrevocable. Individual relations with the prisoners varied considerably among the guard squad as well. The female prisoners were especially fearful of the frequently abusive camp leader Rieck and Emmi Theissen, the leader of the SS women's Kommando.

When Essen was subjected to a heavy Allied air raid on the night of October 23–24, 1944, the camp prisoners took refuge in ditches that were only 1 meter (3.3 feet) deep and therefore provided little protection. The guards found refuge in a bunker that neither the prisoners nor the neighboring Eastern workers were allowed to enter. The camp area received one direct hit; 58 Russian women were killed. Since the quarters of the prisoners were also completely destroyed, the women temporarily repaired the less-damaged kitchen barrack and set up in its dining hall a large, continuous communal bed, for which there was only some straw and an insufficient number of blankets. Because the streetcar stopped operating after the strike, following breakfast (which was rationed considerably smaller and later wholly omitted), the women had to march 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) through Essen to work under the watch of abusive SS men. Since they received no footwear, they walked with old wooden clogs, rags bundled around their feet, or barefoot, even in winter. In the factory, as part of reparation work, they had to drag bricks, transport metal plates, and perform other heavy labor. In the evening after 6:00 P.M., they lined up for the return march, received their evening meal in the camp, now mostly cauliflower soup and bread, and then crowded themselves together to sleep in the increasing cold. During this time one woman died of tuberculosis, another as a result of severe frostbite. When it was discovered that one of the women was pregnant, she was sent back to Birkenau.

Yet another Allied air strike on December 12, 1944, destroyed the kitchen barrack of the Humboldtstrasse camp. The women were put up in the cellar rooms of a nearby, burned-out barrack. For the next quarter year, most of them had to sleep on a damp cement floor with a blanket or on a little straw. The management committee of the Krupp firm knew of the women's circumstances. However, nothing was done, especially because since January 1945 the situation in Essen tended toward chaos. In February 1945 camp director Rieck announced his orders that under no circumstances should he let the camp prisoners fall alive into the hands of the Allied troops. The board of directors of the Krupp firm decided that the prisoners should immediately leave Essen. On March 17, 1945, under the direction of a Krupp administrator and several SS guards, the women marched to the neighboring town of Bochum, where they boarded a special train to Buchenwald, along with Jewish male camp prisoners from Hungary. The journey to Buchenwald, in third-class passenger cars and freight cars, took three days as a result of the war situation.[4] From Buchenwald the women were immediately led to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, which took another three days. Arriving in Bergen-Belsen on March 22, 1945, the women experienced a typhus epidemic, terrible hunger, and the imminent threat of SS firing squads. It is unclear how many of the original 520 women survived through the capture of Bergen-Belsen by British troops on April 15, 1945. Directly after liberation of the camp, the majority of survivors were taken to Sweden by the Red Cross.

A few days after the evacuation of the Hungarian Jewish women from Essen, six of them—Rosa Katz, Gizella Israel, Erna and Elizabeth Roth, Agnes and Renée Königsberg—used an Allied air strike to escape while on their way to work. They hid himselves in the cellar of the demolished mortuary of the Essen Jewish Cemetery. They stayed there a couple of days, without water or food. Eventually Rosa Katz called on a married couple, Erna and Gerhard Marquardt, who lived close by. The couple provided for the escapees and brought them to a hideout that was less dangerous. In the aftermath, several others (in addition to the Marquardts) participated in the rescue of the six women, above all Karl Schneider, who, like Gerhard Marquardt, worked in the Krupp steel mill, Schneider's neighbor Erna Lippold, the grocerer Fritz Niermann, and his employees Gertrud Hahnen and Adolf Gatzweiler.[5]

After 1945, and during the successive trial against Krupp, the leaders of the Humboldtstrasse subcamp were included among the authorities charged with expressly following inhumane labor policies and the cooperation of Ruhr Basin industry in National Socialist crimes. No member of the guard personnel was legally prosecuted after 1945. Preliminary proceedings were only opened against Lagerführer Rieck following his death.

SOURCES The basic overview about the history of the Humboldtstrasse subcamp is derived from Ulrich Herbert, "Von Auschwitz nach Essen. Die Geschichte des KZ-Aussenlagers Humboldtstrasse," *DaHe* 2 (1986): 13–34. On the basis of personal interviews with Krupp workers, Herbert also reconstructed the relations between the German corporate employees vis-à-vis the foreign laborers—not just Jewish—who were coercively appointed, in his "Apartheid nebenan: Erinnerungen an die Fremdarbeiter im Ruhrgebiet," in *"Die Jahre weiss man nicht, wo man die heute hinsetzen soll": Faschismuserfahrungen im Ruhrgebiet*, ed. Lutz Niethammer (Berlin, 1983), pp. 67–69. The Essen local historian, Ernst Schmidt, told the history of the subcamp based on conversations and correspondence with several Hungarian Jewish prisoners who were able to flee from the subcamp in early 1945, as well as those Esseners who assisted them. See his "Essener Aussenläger des KZ Buchenwald," in *Lichter in der Finsternis. Widerstand und Verfolgung in Essen 1933–1945* (Essen, 1988), 2: 187–220; and "Das Schicksal der ungarischen Jüdin Rose Szego und ihrer Familie," in *Jüdisches Leben in Essen 1800–1933*, ed. Alte Synagogue Essen (Essen, 1993), pp. 193–197.

Primary sources for this camp start with StA N, Nürnberg Subsequent Proceedings, Case X (*USA v. Alfried Krupp et al.*), Prosecution Document Books (especially B 42, 48, 49, 50, 53, 57) and Defense Document Books (in particular M 3 and 4), as well as trial protocols, ZdL (now BA-L), Bestand IV 429 AR-A 51/71 (D), Bände 1–5. This includes evidence: for

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example, the recollections of 36 former prisoners, 22 former members of the guard squad, virtually all at the time officers in the Krupp property management, and German workers who were employed at Krupp.

Michael Zimmermann
trans. Hilary Menges

NOTES

1. Aktenvermerk Walter Hölkeskamp, September 15, 1947, Dok. NIK 11679, Nürnberger Nachfolgeprozesse Fall X, B 42; Aussage Ihn, 1.10.1945, Dok. D 274, Case X, B 59; Sitzung der Sonder-Arbeitseinsatz-Ingenieure Krupp, 21.6.1944, Dok. NIK 9804, Case X, B 58.

2. See v.a. Affidavit Dolhaine, September 18, 1947, Dok. NIK 11675, Case X, B 48.

3. For guard personnel, see v.a. Aktenvermerk Krupp, Wirtschaftsbüro, July 29, 1944, Dok. D 238, Fall X, B 48; Affidavit Schwarz vom 27.8.1947, Dok. NIK 11313; Affidavit Geulen, August 9, 1947, Dok. NIK 11731; Affidavit Hermanns, Dok. NIK 11930; Affidavit Dominik, Dok. NIK 11729; Affidavit Trockel, Dok. NIK 11676; alle: Fall X, B 48; ZdL (now BA-L), OSta Köln, 24 Js 14/71 (Z).

4. For the dissolution of the Humboldtstrasse camp as well as the transport to Buchenwald and Bergen-Belsen, see Aussage Dolhaine, May 21, 1948, Fall X, Protokoll S. 8942; Ihn an Lehmann, Doc. D, Dok. 274; Affidavit Rosa Katz, Doc. D 277, Fall X, B 48; SS-Arbeitskommando Krupp an Oberlagerführung Krupp, 9. und 14.3.1945, Dok. NIK 7014; Korrespondenz mit der Reichsbahndirektion, Dok. NIK 13001; Affidavit Grossmann, Dok. 12604—alle Fall X, B 48; Affidavit Kerkmann, November 25, 1947, Dok. NIK 12877, Fall X, B 49; Affidavit Sommerer, March 11, 1948, Dok. Lehmann 165, Fall X, M 3; Affidavit Stender, 11.3.1948, Dok. Lehmann 166, Case X, M 3.

5. As reconstructed from oral history interviews in Ernst Schmidt, "Essener Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald," in *Lichter in der Finsternis. Widerstand und Verfolgung in Essen 1933–1945* (Essen, 1988).

FLÖSSBERG

The Buchenwald Flössberg subcamp was one of seven camps established by the company Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) during the last year of the war in Germany. The camp was located close to the village of Flössberg, 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) south of Leipzig. There was a maximum of 1,200 Jewish men in the camp who had to do construction work for a new armaments factory.[1] The camp received its first transport of prisoners on December 28, 1944, and closed on April 13, 1945, when the prisoners were transported away.[2]

From 1934, the Leipzig lamp manufacturer HASAG produced increasing quantities of munitions, primarily grenades and, toward the end of the war, the *Panzerfaust*, an important antitank weapon. In 1939, the company took over as trustee for the Wehrmacht in Poland several factories that manufactured munitions. From 1942 on, in six forced labor camps including camps in Kielce, Częstochowa, and Skarżysko-Kamienna, the company manufactured munitions, using thousands of forced Jewish laborers. Camps were established in each of the company's factories. As the front got closer and closer to the Polish factories and the HASAG subcamps, the company began in the summer of 1944 to relocate its existing production sites to Sachsen and Thüringen. It also established new sites in those states. Flössberg was probably chosen as the last of the seven HASAG subcamps because of its good rail connections and its forest location, which allowed the production facilities to be camouflaged. Flössberg was not far from the main factory in Leipzig and not far from Colditz, where there had been an earlier subcamp. The company established the subcamp on a field close to the village of Flössberg on the edge of a forest at the end of November 1944. The company's employees and "foreign laborers" built barracks and fences for the prison camp before the arrival of the first transport of 150 men from Buchenwald on December 28, 1944.

The Buchenwald camp statistics record the camp as a "Jewish Work Detachment." The men had been chosen in Buchenwald or were from one of the six other HASAG camps and sent for forced labor in Flössberg. At first the prisoners were kept busy with the construction of the camp and production facilities close to the camp. They had to carry rails and lay the bed for the railway tracks as well as lay a company railway line. Survivors have talked about leveling the ground and transporting building materials for the construction of factory buildings and barracks in the forest. "The work was done in boggy ground, on the run," according to former prisoner Szmul Lustiger.[3] A few prisoners were required to unload and assemble the machines, which probably originated from the HASAG factories in Poland and were to be used to manufacture the Panzerfäuste. It is not known whether the machines actually produced these weapons during the four months of the camp's existence. In addition to construction work, the HASAG prisoners, especially in March 1945, were used outside the camp after Allied bombing raids on the factory facilities in the forest. They were used to clean up and disarm unexploded bombs in the nearby manor of Beucha.

The Jewish prisoners in Flössberg came from different countries, but there were many Hungarians and Poles. Some had already worked in the Polish HASAG factories. On the Flössberg transport lists are men of all age groups, but most were between 25 and 35 years of age. Non-Jewish males were sent to Flössberg as prisoner-functionaries. Michael Eichler reported on a German barrack elder (Barackenältester) who had been arrested because he was a homosexual. The number of prisoners in Flössberg climbed steadily to the beginning of March 1945 and soon passed the number of villagers. According to the transport lists there were in January 300 to 450 internees, and on February 2, 1945, 769. After that, there was a prisoner exchange. On February 17, 1945, and on March 2, 1945, 230 prisoners were taken to Buchenwald. During the same period of time, 990 Buchenwald prisoners and inmates from the HASAG camps at Schlieben and Leipzig were taken to Flössberg, with the result that by the end of February the camp reached its highest capacity of 1,450. This was to last only for a short time. After that the numbers declined continually in large part due to the many deaths. The final strength report

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dated April 7, 1945, records 1,144 prisoners. At least 166 prisoners had died in the camp by April 7, 1945, 94 alone in the last month of the camp's operation.[4] Some 1,904 prisoners went through the camp. This means that in the four months at least 9 percent of the prisoners had died. Of the 586 prisoners (31 percent) who were returned from Flössberg back to the main camp, the majority were so exhausted that Buchenwald SS-Standortarzt Gerhard Schiedlausky made the following notation in his weekly reports: "Condition very poor."[5] In Flössberg there was a minimum of medical care provided by a camp prisoner doctor. He had to treat the sick, wounded, and exhausted without beds and with almost no medicine. Especially in February, SS and company personnel selected prisoners in Flössberg on several occasions for "physical weakness" but also including those who had an accident, suffered from frostbite, eczema, skin, and digestion problems, had tuberculosis, and so on. Those selected were transferred back to Buchenwald. Many would have died there or in the evacuation of the camp in April. This situation leads one to conclude that Flössberg was one of the toughest detachments in the last phase of the war.

The main reasons for the deaths of so many prisoners were the extreme prison conditions and the debilitating forced labor. The prisoners were accommodated in wooden barracks and slept on straw mattresses or on bare stretchers. There were no sanitary conditions in the camp. The prisoners got some of their water from puddles in the boggy area. There was no possibility to wash clothes in the camp or to change clothes. The prisoners were fed daily with soup. This was inadequate for many prisoners who had to survive the difficult 12-hour shifts.

The prisoners suffered from the long roll calls and the treatment of their guards. SS-Obersturmführer Wolfgang Plaul, in command of the Leipzig subcamps and responsible for the HASAG camp, had to answer to the Buchenwald camp commander, Hermann Pister, in February 1945, for his mistreatment of prisoners. SS-Untersturmführer Scheller, commander of an SS Pioneereinheit (Field Engineer Unit), who was also noticed for his mistreatment of the prisoners in the camp, was threatened by Plaul with severe punishment. The leader of the Flössberg camp, SS-Oberscharführer Strese, was relieved of his command at the same time. He was succeeded by SS-Oberscharführer Lütscher.

The prisoners were guarded by SS units. According to former prisoner reports, many of the guards were wounded or invalided men. Other SS men were said to be very young. During their forced labor, the prisoners were supervised by German civilians who were mostly skilled HASAG or construction tradesmen. They allocated the prisoners to work and guarded them. The prisoners, outside the camp site, came into contact with the local population, for example, when constructing the railway facilities. The HASAG factory was an object of curiosity in Flössberg, as former priest Erich Senff recorded in his diary on February 6, 1945: "The Hasag factory is now a place for excursions for Flössberg."[6]

On March 5, 1945, the Flössberg HASAG factory facilities and probably the guards' accommodation barracks were destroyed during an Allied air raid. The prisoners' camp was spared from the air attack. However, until the camp was evacuated, the prisoners had to reconstruct the destroyed facilities under the most severe conditions. The prisoners were driven from the camp on April 13, 1945, and deported by rail in the direction of Mauthausen.[7] Around 100 prisoners were squeezed into each wagon, which had been used to transport explosives. When the journey commenced, the prisoners were given a loaf of bread for their journey, which was to last several days. Once a day they were allowed out of the wagons to go to the toilet. When this happened the countless dead were taken from the wagons. According to prisoners' reports, some of the prisoners, after a few days, were driven on to Mauthausen by foot. When they arrived, the survivors noticed that the guards had gone.

SOURCES The Flössberg camp is discussed in an essay on the HASAG camps: Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271.

Documents on the Flössberg subcamp are scattered among many archives. Fragmentary SS-HASAG correspondence on this camp has survived. In AG-B and THStA-W, there are a few relevant documents especially relating to the work done by the Buchenwald SS-Standortarzt (NS4Bu, KZuHaftaBu). There are several survivors' reports in different languages or records of interview at YV (Collections M.1.E, M49.E, and O.3). The priest at Flössberg, Hans-Ulrich Dietze, has collected information on the camp since the 1970s.

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NOTES

1. NARA, Washington—RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015767–808.
2. Diary Erich Senff, copy in the ownership of the writer, April 13, 1945. Report Szmul Lustiger (translation from the Polish by Agnieszka Lasota), YVA, M.49/784.
3. Rept. Szmul Lustiger.
4. THStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 1–166.
5. THStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 15 und Bl. 18.
6. Diary Erich Senff, a.a.O.
7. Interview with Emil Bergmann, YVA, O.3/9185. Also Rept. of Szmul Lustiger.

GANDERSHEIM [AKA BAD GANDERSHEIM]

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Bad Gandersheim (Lower Saxony province) in October 1944 to provide labor to a branch of the Heinkel-Werke (Heinkel Works) located at the Bruns Apparatebau GmbH in Brunshausen near Gandersheim. Like other armaments firms that exploited prisoner labor, the Bruns Apparatebau hired out inmates from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 9 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day, payable to the SS by the firm.

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The first transport of 206 inmates was selected and left Buchenwald's so-called small camp (*kleines Lager*) on October 2, 1944. The group consisted of skilled laborers who were chosen for work in the factory as well as those selected for their relative physical strength who were to construct the camp itself. The inmates were transferred to Gandersheim in cattle cars and, until the camp barracks were constructed, were housed in an empty church. Prior to its use as a temporary subcamp, the church was used as quarters for prisoners of war (POWs) as well as for pregnant Russian and Polish slave laborers who were forced to give birth there and to abandon their newborn children. One half of the church was covered in straw on which the Gandersheim inmates slept, and a makeshift infirmary (*Revier*) was partitioned off near the entrance of the church.

Following the arrival of the inmates, civilian foremen and supervisors from the Bruns Apparatebau factory came to the church to select prisoners for work. Those not selected formed the fence commando (Zaunkommando), which was assigned to construct the barracks for the new camp. Inmates sent to work in the factory were marched to the Bruns Apparatebau, located in nearby Brunshausen. The Heinkel firm had leased the Brunshausen factory to continue production of He 219 radio navigation equipment and fuselages. German personnel who had worked originally for the Vereinigte Ostwerke GmbH (United Eastern Works, Ltd., another subsidiary of Heinkel) in Mielec, Poland, were transferred to Brunshausen after the Ostwerke was dissolved in the summer of 1944.

Although the prisoners generally preferred work in the factory to the unprotected outdoor conditions of heavy labor in the Zaunkommando, conditions in the factory were also difficult. Constant pneumatic drilling made the work extremely noisy. German civilian foremen who supervised the work beat the inmates who were suspected of sabotage or who did not work efficiently enough.[1] The prisoners were underfed, especially for the physical conditions they were expected to endure; most testimony and prisoner memoirs comment on the persistent lack of food, constant hunger, and futile attempts to search or barter for extra food. In a few instances, civilian workers in the Bruns Apparatebau offered extra food, but these cases of assistance were rare. The pursuit of tobacco was another common obsession of the inmates. The latrine shared by all inmates in the camp was a crude hole with wooden benches surrounding it.

All of the inmates in the Gandersheim subcamp were men, with the largest groups of prisoners coming from France, Italy, Russia, and Poland. There were also smaller numbers of German, Belgian, Czech, Spanish, Croatian, Dutch, Serbian, and Slovenian inmates. Additional demographic information, such as the average age and professions of the inmates, can be gleaned from further research and statistical analysis of transport lists and other administrative records.[2] After the initial October transport from Buchenwald, 333 inmates were transported to Gandersheim from Dachau.[3] On December 18, 1944, another 50 inmates were transferred from the Sachsenhausen main camp to Gandersheim.[4] After the construction of the camp was completed, inmates were divided into three barrack blocks. The average strength of the Gandersheim camp throughout its seven-month period of operation was about 500 inmates. By April 1945, there were 519 inmates.

As in other camps, the hierarchy of camp supervision incorporated prisoner-functionaries as well as members of the SS who guarded and administered the camp. Therefore, in addition to work assignments in the factory or in construction, several inmates, mainly German professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*), were selected as work overseers (Kapos), block elders (Blockältester), and camp elders (Lagerältester). A report published in the study by Paul le Goupil, Gigi Texier, and Pierre Texier identifies the Lagerältester as prisoner Paul Knopf. The Blockältester for the three blocks were Edmund Grudowski, L. Wischnewsky, and B. Rullan. There were six inmates appointed to orderly duty (*Stubendienst*), three to the laundry, as well as eight Kapos, and other assignments to the infirmary, storage, and SS quarters.[5]

The names of many of the SS guards stationed in Gandersheim are also known. Hauptscharführer Willy Dillenburger was the commandant of the camp. Other guards in service in Gandersheim included: Unterscharführer Urban; the Dutch-born Unterscharführer Anton Przybliski; Unterscharführer Albert Janke, who was in charge of inmate work assignments in the camp and the evacuation march; Truppführer Albert Jokussies; Schütze Emil Kraaz; Unterscharführer Paselt; Truppführer Stephan Müller; Truppführer Georg Muller; Oberscharführer Ignaz Grescher, who headed the infirmary section; Rottenführer Helmut Vogt; Schütze Antoine Otto, in charge of the kitchen; Hans Herman; Schütze Eggers; Oberscharführer Sepp Schralm; and August Köhler.

Some of the guards and Kapos were known especially for their cruelty and propensity to punish and beat the inmates at every chance. At various intervals, some inmates were transferred back to the infirmary at the Buchenwald main camp if they were no longer able to work.[6] Surviving transfer/strength reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*) also show that deaths were reported to the Buchenwald administration intermittently from Gandersheim.[7] Those who died in the camp were taken to the nearby Clus forest and buried. The largest execution of prisoners took place just prior to the evacuation of the camp in April 1945, when 40 inmates were shot in the forest and buried. They had stepped out of the columns upon the request of the SS for those too weak to march in the evacuation. Their bodies were later recovered by American troops, identified and researched, and reburied in the cemetery of Salzburg.

Despite the working and living conditions, there were a few cases of sabotage in the Brunshausen factory, as well as some escape attempts, especially during the evacuation marches. Sabotage in the factory was difficult, however, because civilian foremen and Kapos monitored each stage of the production process carefully.[8] Movements to dissolve the camp began on April 4, 1945, when the 40 weak inmates were executed. About 460 inmates were rounded up and evacuated on foot. The original destination was to return to Buchenwald; however,

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the Allies had already advanced toward Nordhausen and Erfurt. Instead, the march continued east, in the direction of the Harz Mountains, passing through Ackershausen, Dannhausen, Kirchberg, Bad Grund, and Clausthal-Zellerfeld. By April 13, after considerable division of the Gandersheim march and combining with several other evacuation marches from camps (including Langenstein, Wansleben, and others), a part of the Gandersheim march reached Bitterfeld and was transferred by train to Dachau.[9] The 9th U.S. Army liberated Gandersheim on April 10. Of those Gandersheim inmates who reached Dachau, about 150 survived.

None of the civilian employees of the Heinkel firm in Brunshausen were brought to trial after the war, although the director Kleinemeyer was said to have encouraged the punishment of inmates. His subordinate, referred to as "F.F" by le Goupil, Texier, and Texier, and who conducted labor negotiations with the SS, was also not prosecuted and went on to various governmental and mayoral positions in Wolfenbüttel and Lower Saxony after the war. Truppführer Albert Jokussies and Kapo Friedrich Sohl were tried in Hannover in 1948 for the execution before the march as well as shooting other prisoners during the march. They were sentenced to four years in prison.[10]

SOURCES Two major secondary sources upon which this entry builds cover much of the history of the Buchenwald subcamp at Bad Gandersheim. See Paul le Goupil, Gigi Texier, and Pierre Texier, *Bad Gandersheim: Autopsie d'un Kommando de Buchenwald* (Le Pecq: G. et P. Texier, 2003), for a comprehensive history of the camp, including several photographs, diagrams and layouts of the grounds, research reports, reproduction of primary documents, and many survivor testimonies. Their study also includes extensive statistical analyses, especially of the demographics of French former inmates, as well as a nearly comprehensive list of Gandersheim inmates with their professions, ages, and so on (pp. 91–126). Robert Antelme's *The Human Race/L'espèce humaine*, trans. J. Haight and A. Mahler (Evanston, IL: Marlboro Press/ Northwestern University Press, 1998) is a detailed and moving memoir about living and working conditions in the Gandersheim camp, the treatment by specific Kapos and guards, and the treacherous evacuation marches from the camp at the end of the war. For brief information on the Gandersheim camp, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, see *Das nationalsozialistische 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).

Several private collections and archives contain primary documentation on the Bad Gandersheim subcamp, and the text by le Goupil, Texier, and Texier makes special note of them. See, for example, AG-B and AG-MD for relevant transport lists and other administrative records associated with the camp, as well as AAC-C and AN. Copies of some of these administrative records are located in USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, in a collection of documents copied from AN-MACVG and originating from ITS (see especially BU 45, BU 69 and BU 5/3). For the Jokussies and Sohl proceedings, see C.F. Rüter and D.W. de Mildt, eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: APA-Holland University Press, 1998), vol. 4.

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NOTES

1. See, for example, Robert Antelme, *The Human Race/ L'espèce humaine*, trans. J. Haight and A. Mahler (Evanston, IL: Marlbora Press/Northwestern University Press, 1998), pp. 140–145.
2. See the "KL Buchenwald, KDO Gandersheim ('Gh')" collection of documents (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998. A.0045, Reel 16.
3. "Transport Gandersheim," November 17, 1944 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16.
4. "Transport Gandersheim," December 18, 1944 (BU 7/14), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 6.
5. See le Goupil, Texier, and Texier, *The Human Race*, p. 129, for SS report listing camp prisoner staff.
6. See transport report dated November 18, 1944, from Gandersheim to Buchenwald (7 inmates), as well as report dated January 10, 1945 (10 inmates) (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16.
7. Veränderungsmeldungen, January 28, 1945 (2 deaths) (BU 36/4); January 31, 1945 (1 death due to bronchial pneumonia) (BU 36/4); February 6, 1945 (1 death due to rickets) (36/3); February 13, 1945 (2 deaths due to lung inflammation) (BU 36/4)—all in USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16.
8. See testimony of Roger Perret, in le Goupil, Texier, and Texier, *The Human Race*, p. 11.
9. See evacuation diagrams in ibid., pp. 133–143.
10. See *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 4.

GELSENKIRCHEN-HORST

One of the Buchenwald forced labor detachments was established in the Gelsenkirchen suburb of Horst in the Ruhr. It was located at the Gelsenberg Benzin AG hydrogenation factory. The factory was heavily damaged on June 13, 1944, during an air raid, and production came to a standstill. However, the importance to the war effort of hydrogenation and the manufacture of aircraft kerosene meant that orders were given for the immediate removal of the damage. The labor shortage meant that the dangerous work was to be done by forced laborers. As a result 2,000 Hungarian Jewish women were "selected" in Auschwitz for work in Gelsenkirchen. These women were from Transylvania, Sighet, and its surrounding areas. They had been in Auschwitz for six weeks. The Buchenwald subcamp in Gelsenkirchen-Horst was established with the arrival of the Hungarian women on July 4, 1944.[1] The extent of the damage to the hydrogenation factory meant that the deployment was practically meaningless.

The camp was established on an empty field to the east of the Gelsenberg Benzin factory. It consisted of three large army tents. The camp was fenced in with barbed wire. The prisoners remember it as being electrified. It was flanked by watchtowers with guards armed with machine guns.[2] The SS guards, men and women, but a majority of women in uniform,

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were at first accommodated some distance away in the hotel "Zur Post" in the Gelsenkirchen city district of Buer until the real camp in a stone building was established outside the camp. In this building was located the camp administration. The camp commander was SS-Obersturmführer Eugen Dietrich. Most of the wardresses were conscripted for the task. Before they arrived via the Buchenwald main camp at Gelsenkirchen (they were later to go to other camps), they had undergone a training course with another 100 future wardresses at the Ravensbrück concentration camp.[3]

The heads of the Hungarian women were shaved. They were dressed in a sacklike dress of coarse linen and wore primitive shoes with wooden soles. The women had to work 12 hours a day. The work was heavy physical labor in the Gelsenberg Benzin factory and for the Oberbauleitung (Project Management) of the Organisation Todt (OT) in Essen-Kupferdreh. Their primary task was to clean up the factory. They also had to unload ships in the canal's port. The work demanded from the overtaxed women was brutally driven. They were mistreated. However, a few witnesses have stated that the supervisors showed some compassion. Others recall that a few pregnant women were deported to Auschwitz. Yet others say that a child was born in the Gelsenkirchen camp and either strangled by a supervisor or killed with an injection.[4] There is evidence that two women died in the Gelsenkirchen subcamp on August 26 and 29, 1944. They probably died as a result of the typhus epidemic raging in the camp.[5]

As the cleanup work at the Gelsenberg Benzin plant was obviously a failure and there could be no thought of resuming the production of synthetic fuel, consideration was soon given to dissolving the subcamp. The Krupp Walzwerke (rolling mill) made a request to use the women, and on August 24, 1944, 520 of the Hungarian women selected by Krupp representatives were transferred to the Essen camp in Humboldtstrasse.[6] [See Buchenwald/Essen (Humboldtstrasse).]

The women who remained in the Gelsenkirchen-Horst subcamp were the victims of a new air raid on the hydrogenation factory on September 11, 1944, at 5:42 P.M. The Allied attack hit the camp and the women who were not permitted to go into the bunkers or air trenches. The number of dead inmates is not certain: according to the Gelsenberg Benzin AG, 151 women were killed. SS-Obersturmführer Eugen Dietrich, commander of the guard, gave the number of dead women as 138. The surviving women had to commence preparations the day after the raid for the cremation of the corpses. The remains were cremated and interred in three mass graves. The Gelsenkirchen Cemetery Office (Friedhofsamt) determined in 1949 that additional women had died in the hospitals as a result of severe injuries incurred during the raid. Three women died in the Bottrop Marien Hospital and were buried in the Jewish section of the Bottrop Westfriedhof. According to the Friedhofsamt, other women who died in the hospitals were hurriedly buried in mass graves.[7]

As the Gelsenberg factory had been irreparably damaged by the attack, the Buchenwald Gelsenkirchen-Horst subcamp was dissolved on September 14–15, 1944. The camp commander SS-Obersturmführer Eugen Dietrich reported on September 16 that 1,215 women had been transferred to Sömmerda in Thüringen for forced labor at the Rheinmetall-Borsig AG factory located there and that 520 had been taken to Essen, where a new Buchenwald subcamp had been established in Humboldtstrasse. There were 138 women "killed by enemy action," 94 were wounded, 23 were in hospitals, and 8 pregnant women had been sent to Auschwitz. Two had died from typhus. Another report from the camp at Sömmerda on December 18 referred to a woman who had died and a camp strength of 1,271 prisoners. At the end of November or the beginning of December, a transport of around 50 women, who had been injured and had been left behind at Gelsenkirchen, left for Sömmerda. Above all, it was the women from the hospital in Gelsenkirchen-Horst, which in the meantime had been destroyed, who were deported to Sömmerda. A survivor reported that after she was injured in the bombing raid that she and other women, after a stay in a hospital in Gelsenkirchen, were deported to Sömmerda on December 2, 1944.[8]

The injured women were delivered to hospitals in the surrounding area, 31 alone to the Catholic Gelsenkirchen-Horst St-Josefs-Hospital. The chief doctor in the surgery department, Dr. Rudolf Bertram, admitted the women. Dr. Bertram was also the chief doctor in the Catholic Marienhospital in Gelsenkirchen-Rotthausen, which took in other wounded women. The Catholic sisters (Franciscans in the St-Josefs-Hospital and sisters of the order Arme Dienstmägde Jesu Christi in the Marien Hospital) cared for the wounded. Many of the women, despite the help of the hospital personnel, were not able to escape the National Socialists. Most of the women were deported on January 16, 1945, to Sömmerda in Thüringen. Only 17 women experienced liberation in Gelsenkirchen. Dr. Bertram was honored in 1980 as one of the Righteous Amongst the Nations at Yad Vasham in Israel for his work in saving Jews.[9]

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg only began investigations long after the liberation from National Socialism. It questioned 64 former prisoners and six former SS members. The majority of the Buchenwald Gelsenkirchen-Horst subcamp personnel, some of whom had gone to Sömmerda, could not be determined.[10] The camp commander, Obersturmführer Eugen Dietrich, born in 1889 in Ludwigshafen, was generally regarded as humane. He had first commanded a camp in Mühlhausen, then the Gelsenkirchen subcamp, and finally the Sömmerda subcamp. He died in 1966 without a trial. Dietrich was a soldier and officer in World War I; during the Weimar Republic he worked as a finance officer at the Handwerkskammer (trade corporation) in Kaiserslautern, a middle-class profession. During World War II he was called up. He tried for front-line service and ended up in the SS, where he reached the rank of Obersturmführer. Dietrich, who had been a member of the Buchenwald SS-Totenkopfsturmbann (Death's Head Battalion) since October 1942, graduated to commanding subcamps. After the liberation from National Socialism, Dietrich was interned by the Americans. They transferred him to the

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French, who released him from internment in 1949. His final release took place in 1959. During denazification proceedings, Dietrich, against expectations, was not classified as an activist.[11]

Due to the contradictory statements by survivors of the Gelsenkirchen-Horst subcamp and the failure to identify the perpetrators, male and female, the ZdL in Ludwigsburg suggested that the Essen state prosecutor take up the investigations. The senior state prosecutor halted the investigations into the subcamp on August 16, 1971, "as there were no prospects of any success."[12]

SOURCES The following works contain information on Gelsenkirchen-Horst: Heike Herholz and Sabine Wiebringhaus, "KZ Aussenlager Buchenwald in Gelsenkirchen-Horst, Eine Dokumentation," BeStG 11 (1983): 121–142; Myrna Grant, *Reise im Gegenwind: Die Lebensgeschichte der Rose Warmer* (Marburg: Francke-Buchhandlung, 2004); Alte Synagoge, ed., *Eine Dokumentation zu KZ-Aussenlagern in Essen* (Essen, 1985); Stefan Kraus, *NS-Unrechtsstätten in Nordrhein-Westfalen, Ein Forschungsbeitrag zum System der Gewaltherrschaft 1933–1945: Lager und Deportationsstätten* (Essen: Klartext, 1999); Martina Bergmann and Hartmut Stratmann, eds., *Meine lieben 17 ungarischen Kinder . . . , Von der Rettung jüdischer Frauen in Gelsenkirchener Krankenhäusern* (Gelsenkirchen, 1996); Stefan Goch, "Das Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald in Gelsenkirchen-Horst," in *Konzentrationslager in Rheinland und in Westfalen 1933–1945: Zentrale Steuerung und regionale Initiative*, ed. Jan Erik Schulte (Paderborn, 2004), pp. 271–278; Goch, "Gelsenkirchen-Horst," in *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), pp. 445–448; Goch, *Jüdisches Leben—Verfolgung—Mord—Überleben, Ehemalige jüdische Bürgerinnen und Bürger Gelsenkirchens erinnern sich* (Essen: Klartext, 2004), pp. 219–233; Marlies Mrotzek, *Das KZ-Aussenlager der Gelsenberg Benzin AG* (Fernwald: Germinal, 2002).

The following archival collections are important for this subcamp: The state prosecutor's investigations into crimes at the Buchenwald Gelsenkirchen-Horst subcamp: BA-L (formerly ZdL): the camp in Gelsenkirchen-Horst, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B); the camp at Sömmerda with regard to the transport of the prisoners from Gelsenkirchen-Horst to Sömmerda, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66). For the location and description of the camp from the perspective of a young flak assistant: Heribert Haffert, "Die Bombenoffensive der Luftwaffen Grossbritanniens und der USA gegen das Ruhrgebiet während des Zweiten Weltkrieges 1939–1945," assembled by Stadt Gelsenkirchen (Gelsenkirchen, typewritten eyewitness report, 2000), at Institut für Stadtgeschichte/ASt-Ge, HB 3338.

Stefan Goch
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Schlussvermerk der ZdL vom June 23, 1971, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (darin enthalten 429 AR 1950/66), B. 469–497, Bes. Bl. 487.
2. Ibid., Bes. Bl. 487; Vgl. Haffert, "Bombenoffensive," S. 41, available at ASt-Ge, HB 3338.
3. Witness statement of a former wardress on November 11, 1969, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B), Bl. 739; also in BA, Aussenstelle Ludwigsburg 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 114; Schlussvermerk der Zentralen Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen vom June 23, 1971, ibid., Bl. 469–497, Bes. Bl. 487.
4. Witness statements in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66); Schlussvermerk der ZdL vom June 23, 1971, ibid., Bl. 469–497, Bes. Bl. 494.
5. BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 1; Letter of the Friedhofsamt der Stadt Gelsenkirchen May 20, 1949, ibid., Bl. 11; Letter of the SS-Arbeitskommando des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald Gelsenberg Benzin AG September 16, 1944, ibid., Bl. 22. Haffert, "Bombenoffensive," S. 42. Witness Statements in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B), Bes. Bl. 534, 620, 1486; Witness Report by Myrna Grant, *Reise im Gegenwind: Die Lebensgeschichte der Rose Warmer* (Marburg: Francke-Buchhandlung, 2004), pp. 117–120.
6. BA, Aussenstelle Ludwigsburg 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 13.
7. Haffert, "Bombenoffensive," S. 42; Schlussvermerk der ZdL, June 23, 1971, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 469–497, Bes. Bl. 487; Letter of the Friedhofsamt der Stadt Gelsenkirchen May 20, 1949, ibid., Bl. 11. Witness Statements in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B), Bl. 537, 603.
8. Letter of the SS-Arbeitskommando des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald Gelsenberg Benzin AG September 16, 1944, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 22; Schlussvermerk der ZdL vom June 23, 1971, ibid., Bes. Bl. 487. Zur Verlegung nach Sömmerda, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B) with many witness statements.
9. For reference, see Martina Bergmann and Hartmut Stratmann, eds., *Meine lieben 17 ungarischen Kinder . . . , Von der Rettung jüdischer Frauen in Gelsenkirchener Krankenhäusern* (Gelsenkirchen,1996).
10. Investigations in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B) und 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66).
11. Investigations of the ZdL April 5, 1971, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 130/70 (B), Bl. 2349; Investigations, in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), Bl. 346 ff.; Assessment of the Spruchkammer files on Eugen Dietrich, ibid., Bl. 392.
12. Schlussvermerk der ZdL June 23, 1971, and Abschrift der Einstellungsverfügung der Staatsanwaltschaft Essen (29 a Js 357/71) vom August 16, 1971, in BA, Aussenstelle Ludwigsburg 429 AR-Z 50/71 (B) (which includes 429 AR 1950/66), B. 469–497, Bes. Bl. 487 und 530.

GIESSEN

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Giessen in late March 1944. On March 22, 1944, 50 inmates from the main Buchenwald camp were transferred to Giessen to supply labor to the SS-Infirmary (Sanitäts- Ersatz und Ausbildungsabteilung) located at 106 Licherstrasse.

The Giessen subcamp was in operation at the SS-Infirmary from late March 1944 to March 26, 1945. There is no information about the exact size of the Giessen camp or its prox-

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imity to the hospital. During its yearlong operation, there were between 75 and 100 inmates incarcerated in the Giessen subcamp. The first-known transport into the camp left Buchenwald on March 22, 1944, with 50 prisoners. Another relatively large transport of 30 prisoners arrived from Buchenwald in Giessen on May 11, 1944, with additional transports to Giessen on April 5 (6 inmates); June 5 (2); June 10 (3); August 10 (6); October 7 (3); October 30 (3), and November 10 (1 inmate).[1] According to a listing of subcamps and their prisoner "strength reports" submitted to the Waffen-SS garrison doctor (Standortarzt) in Buchenwald, there were 77 inmates in Giessen in January 1945.[2] A similar report from March 6, 1945, confirms the number of inmates in Giessen at 77.[3] From these known transport lists and strength reports, we can conclude that the number of inmates did not fluctuate greatly from the original number deported to the camp in March through May 1944. However, some transport lists were undoubtedly lost, and therefore these can provide only a partial picture of the number of prisoners in the Giessen camp.

A general overview of the demographics of the Giessen camp population can also be gleaned from these transport lists. All of the prisoners were men, and most of the prisoners transported to Giessen were Russian political prisoners. There was also a large group of political prisoners from Czechoslovakia, in addition to political prisoners from Germany and Austria, Poles, French, and Italian prisoners. One political prisoner, Kurt Oskar Dimler (inmate number 2426) was returned to Buchenwald on the November 10, 1944, transport; however, he appears on six of the above transport lists and therefore may have had a functionary prisoner role (such as Kapo) to accompany transports to and from the main camp.[4] As in most of the satellite camps, prisoners who were too weak to work were often transferred back to the infirmaries of the main camps in "exchange" for healthier inmates.

The identity of the commandant of the Giessen camp and the number of guards in Giessen are unknown. The camp was evacuated on March 26, 1945, to Buchenwald and the prisoners registered there on April 3, 1945. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog entry for Giessen, a group of prisoners evacuated from Giessen were freed en route to Buchenwald.

SOURCES Little information about the Giessen subcamp at the SS-Infirmary on Licherstrasse is found in either secondary or primary sources. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Giessen in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolson: Der Suchdienst, 1979). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

Primary documentation on the Giessen subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See in particular a collection of transport lists to the Giessen camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from the ITS), USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially Reel 16. See also the archives of the German BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, especially volumes 176–185, 191–196, 200, 211, 213–230. These volumes contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp populations. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as "strength reports" for various subcamps, can be found in the archives of the USHMM, 1996. A.0342 (originally copied from NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180, (especially 171). Further analysis of these reports may yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the satellite camps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that provide information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242.

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NOTES

1. "Transport Giessen," 22 March 1944; "Veränderungsmeldung," 5 April 1944; "Transport Giessen," 11 May 1944; "Transport Giessen," 5 June 1944; "Transport Giessen," 10 June 1944; "Transport Giessen," 10 August 1944; "Transport Giessen,"/"Veränderungsmeldung," 7 October 1944 (BU 4/26); "Transport Gissen" [*sic*], 30 October 1944; "Transport Giessen," 10 November 1944—(all BU 46, except Veränderungsmeldung from 7 October) AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants et victimes de guerre as reproduced in the USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.

2. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 January 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 251.

3. "Aussenkommandos, Stand vom 6 March 1945" (BU 39), AN as copied in USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. See transports from 22 March 1944, 5 April 1944, 5 June 1944, 10 June 1944, 7 October 1944, 30 October 1944, and 10 November 1944, AN as copied in USHMM, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

GOSLAR

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Goslar (Hannover province) in November 1940 to provide labor to the Goslar air base (*Fliegerhorst*) for the Waffen-SS-Neubauleitung. The Goslar air-base headquarters paid 3 Reichsmark (RM) per day per inmate for labor to the Main Office for Budgets and Building, Office I/5, which was subordinated to the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) from September 1941. The inmates were not compensated for their labor. A subcamp of

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Neuengamme was also created in Goslar, but this camp was established in 1944.

Memoranda exchanged between Office I/5 and Goslar describe various aspects of the inmates' assigned work and the administrative organization of the camp. The inmates slated for work at the Goslar air base were unskilled laborers who performed manual labor, such as clearing rubble; stacking, loading, and unloading wood; and various other construction-related tasks. The inmates were assigned, for example, to construct barracks for a camp for Russian prisoners and also to build barracks at the Goslar air base. A memo dated March 19, 1941, notes that the Buchenwald inmates lived in a Luftwaffe barracks on the air base, and food supplies were provided by the Buchenwald concentration camp.[1] According to the same document, the guard staff consisted of both SS men and low-ranking Luftwaffe officers. Inmates may have also performed construction work for a Firma Maibaum and worked in mines north of the village of Hahndorf, through which they marched on their way to the assignment. They worked Mondays through Saturdays, up to nine hours per day.

The average prisoner population of the Goslar subcamp was 80 inmates, but this number fluctuated over the camp's two-year operation. According to a list of inmates in the camp compiled on June 27, 1941, the 140 inmates in the camp were mainly Poles, Russian political prisoners, Jehovah's Witnesses, so-called professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*), and "asocial" inmates from the Reich.[2]

In addition to information about the formation of the guard staff provided by various administrative correspondence, few other specific details about the guards or living conditions in the Goslar camp can be found. The commander of the Goslar air base was Major Grawert, who assigned some Luftwaffe officers to guard the camp.[3] According to former prisoner K. Deterok, the Kommandoführer was an SS-Hauptscharführer Höber. This same former prisoner described the compassion of one of the SS guards who allowed him to sneak a handful of horse feed when no one was looking. While Deterok attempted to consume the feed in a quiet corner, Höber discovered and punished him: "With a strange power he fell upon me, hitting me, beating me down with his fists. When I fell to the ground, he worked on me with his feet."[4] At least two inmates, Walter Krämer and Karl Peix, were shot on November 6, 1941, for "attempting to escape."

The camp was dissolved in December 1942, and the inmates presumably were evacuated to Buchenwald. A memorial plaque was erected in the cemetery of Hahndorf in 1990 to commemorate the death of an inmate in the Neuengamme subcamp in Goslar, as well as the earlier deaths of two inmates in the Buchenwald subcamp.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Goslar subcamp are limited. This entry builds upon information in Peter Schyga et al., *"Gebt uns unsere Würde wieder": Kriegsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Goslar 1939–1945* (Goslar: Verein Spurensuche Goslar e.V., 1999). For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Goslar in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Weimar-Buchenwald, unpub. MSS). Information about and a photo of the memorial plaque in Goslar are found in Hans-Joachim Höhler, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des KZ Neuengamme und seiner Aussenlager* (Hamburg: Arbeitsgemeinschaft Neuengamme, 2000).

Surviving primary documentation on the Goslar subcamp is also limited. For sparse administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 37. See also prisoner lists in the Goslar camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 46.

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NOTES

1. "An das Hauptamt Haushalt und Bauten, Hauptabteilung I/5, Berlin-Lichterfelde West," March 19, 1941, BA NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 37.

2. "Namentliche Liste des Kommandos Goslar," K.L. Buchenwald, June 27, 1941 (BU 46), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. "An die Fliegerhorstkommandantur Goslar," May 21, 1941, BA NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG. 14.023M, BA Band 205, Fiche 1.

4. K. Deterok, as quoted in Peter Schyga et al., *"Gebt uns unsere Würde wieder": Kriegsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Goslar 1939–1945* (Goslar: Verein Spurensuche Goslar e.V., 1999), n.p.

GÖTTINGEN

In Göttingen (Lower Saxony), a relatively small subcamp of Buchenwald was created in February 1945. The camp was established to provide laborers to the Göttingen SS cavalry school (*Kavallerieschule*) in Weende. The cavalry school was created in September 1944 by order of the SS-Führungshauptamt, and by October 1944, the school enrolled around 200 students and used 70 horses for instruction. Inmates transferred from the Buchenwald main camp were used as laborers in construction work at the school, working for the Waffen-SS and Police Construction Management (Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei). There is no further information, however, about the exact work the prisoners performed, and it is unclear which building of the school was used as living quarters for the inmates.

On February 2, 1945, 30 male prisoners were transferred from the Buchenwald main camp to Göttingen.[1] Although the Commando was small, the group of prisoners transported to

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Göttingen represented diverse nationalities. According to Cordula Tollmien's study of slave labor in Göttingen during World War II, at the camp's height there were 3 German inmates, 13 Poles, 2 Lithuanians, 6 Russians and Ukrainians, 2 Slovenians, 1 Czech, 1 Dutch, 2 French, and 2 Italian inmates. The oldest prisoner was 54 years old, while the youngest was 19. Most were political prisoners; at least one was a prisoner of war. Nearly all of the inmates had been imprisoned in various camps prior to their arrival in Buchenwald and its satellite in Göttingen.

There were few transfers or changes in the number of inmates imprisoned in the Göttingen camp during its three-month existence. On March 5, 1945, 1 Polish inmate was transferred back to Buchenwald due to ill health, as well as an Italian inmate who was declared "unsuitable" on the report to the Rapportführer in Buchenwald.[2] The Kapo Walter P. (a German political prisoner) accompanied this transfer, and 2 inmates (a carpenter and a bricklayer) were substituted for the 2 Göttingen prisoners. Two additional prisoners were deported from Buchenwald to Göttingen on March 10, 1945, making the highest total number of prisoners in Göttingen 32.[3]

There is no information about the commandant or guards of the Göttingen camp. Signatures on transport lists are illegible, and no other specific names of guards are mentioned in the camp documentation.

The camp was most likely evacuated at the time the cavalry school was closed at the end of March 1945. The school was dismantled in three train transports in the direction of Prague, and the horses were distributed to farmers in the Göttingen area. American troops entered Göttingen on April 7 and 8, 1945. On April 11, 1945, the Buchenwald main camp was liberated, and lists of survivors were drawn up. Seventeen inmates survived the Göttingen Commando in total; some escaped the camp between the evacuation of the cavalry school and the entry of American troops. Other surviving inmates were taken to an infirmary in Göttingen, where they stayed until July 1945.

SOURCES The Göttingen subcamp of Buchenwald appears infrequently in secondary literature. Some information for this entry comes from a study of slave labor in Göttingen during World War II by Cordula Tollmien (www.cordula-tollmien.de). For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Göttingen in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolson: Der Suchdienst, 1979). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Bericht* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

Primary documentation on the Göttingen subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. For general correspondence, monthly and daily statistical reports, which list the number of prisoners working at Göttingen, as well as "occupancy" lists of the Göttingen subcamp and other subcamps, see the German BA group NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, in particular, volumes 31, 54, 55, 176–185, 196. These and other volumes from this collection contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp population. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Also stored at the USHMM archives is a transport list of inmates to the Göttingen camp, copied from the AN-MACVG, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reel 16. (This is duplicated at the YVA, ITS Arolsen, BD-3.) Additional duplicates of transport lists, as well as "strength reports," can be found in the archives of the USHMM, 1996.A.0342, Reels 146–180, originally copied from NARA, A3355. Further research on these reports would yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the satellite camps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that yield detailed information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242.

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NOTES

1. Häftlingschreibstube KL Buchenwald: Transport Göttingen, 2 February 1945, BU 43, AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants as reproduced in the archives of the USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).
2. Arbeitskommando Göttingen, An den Rapportführer des Schutzhaftlagers KL Buchenwald: Transportliste, 5 March 1945, BU 43, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).
3. Häftlingschreibstube KL Buchenwald: Transport Göttingen, 10 March 1945, BU 43, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

HADMERSLEBEN ("HS")

Two miles south of Klein-Oschersleben and about 161 kilometers (100 miles) northwest of Leipzig, a subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Hadmersleben (Saxony-Anhalt) in March 1944. The camp was created to exploit prisoner labor for the construction of aircraft factories and the production of parts for the Messerschmitt 262 (Me 262) jet fighter in the area of Hadmersleben and Oschersleben. Like other subcamps created in the later months of the war, concentration camp inmates were hired out to industrial armaments firms from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The creation of the Hadmersleben camp, which deployed two work details (Kommandos) code-named "Hans" and "Ago," came under the jurisdiction of the SS-Leadership Staff (Führungsstab) A4 of Office Group C of the WVHA. Led by Hans Kammler, Office Group C was in charge of construction projects, and it was broken down into Special Inspections and local Construction Directorates (or Leadership Staffs). The WVHA hired out inmates to the Kommandos at a rate of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM

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per unskilled laborer per day.[1] In Buchenwald entry registers, the Hadmersleben subcamp was also code-named "HS."

Both Hans and Ago worked under the auspices of Leadership Staff A4 and were presumably contained within one camp at Hadmersleben. The prisoners at Hadmersleben worked at two different armaments sites, as well as in the construction of the camp and in the production of wings for the Me 262. The Hans Kommando was employed by the Schlempp engineering office for the construction of the Siebenberg GmbH plant, which began production in January 1945. The Ago Kommando worked for "AGO" Flugzeugwerke Hadmersleben bei Oscherlseben, beginning in October 1944.

The Hadmersleben camp had an average of 1,000 inmates, and by the end of its operation in April 1945, more than 1,400 prisoners were incarcerated there. At first, prisoners were housed on the grounds of a former sugar factory. From September 1944, the inmates were divided into 10 barracks, each (12×30 meters) (13×33 yards), on the so-called *Schutzenplatz*.

Inmates were transported to Hadmersleben from Buchenwald and other camps beginning in March 1944 and were transferred back to the main camp at various intervals due to illnesses such as tuberculosis, general physical deterioration, and other conditions that marked them as "unsuitable for work." These prisoners were generally exchanged for healthier inmates to continue slave labor in the Hadmersleben Kommandos. Records of transport lists from Buchenwald to the Hans Kommando date from March 13, 1944; 100 inmates were transferred to Hans on this date.[2] Four days later, an additional 120 inmates arrived at the Hans Kommando. These were all male, predominantly Russian and Polish, with a smaller number of Serbian and Lithuanian inmates.[3] Other large transports from Buchenwald to the Hans Kommando took place on April 3 (205 inmates); May 23 (150 inmates); September 5 (200 inmates); and on November 19, 1944, nearly 200 inmates were transferred from Sachsenhausen to Hans.[4]

Transports to and from the Ago Kommando at Hadmersleben were also carried out throughout 1944 and early 1945. Larger transports arrived for the Hadmersleben Ago Kommando on July 5, 1944 (100 inmates); September 5, 1944 (200 inmates); December 12 (125 inmates); and January 10, 1945 (200 inmates).[5] On July 5, 1944, it was noted in Buchenwald transfer list records that 4 inmates were transferred to the subcamp Leipzig-Thekla.[6] Inmates working in the Ago Kommando were all men and included Russians, Belgians, Poles, Czechs, Serbs, and Yugoslavs. There were also French and German inmates in both Kommandos.

There are few descriptions of living and working conditions in the Hadmersleben camp. The most extensive account is provided by former prisoner Lajzer Finkielsztejn, who was born in Łódź, Poland, and who emigrated to Brussels, where he joined an armed resistance group. He was arrested by the Gestapo, sent to Breendonck and then Buchenwald, from where he was transported to the Hans Kommando with 149 other inmates on May 22, 1944.[7] Finkielsztejn described the work area as a "former salt mine transformed into an underground factory" for manufacturing airplane parts. His dossier noted that he was a "dangerous element," and he was interrogated by the Security Police in the region of Magdeburg. Finkielsztejn had to wear a white band across the back of his uniform, which read "Brussels Gestapo."[8]

Finkielsztejn reported about an instance of escape and resistance within the Hadmersleben camp. He witnessed the hanging of a Czech prisoner who had escaped and was later caught and brought back to the camp to be executed. According to Finkielsztejn, the gallows were outfitted with a rope and a stool, and once the prisoner was marched to the stool and the command given, the stool was kicked out from underneath by the executor. The Czech prisoner, who was led to the gallows in front of the assembled camp as an example and who was, according to Finkielsztejn, "hardly recognizable due to the beatings he had received," gained control over the execution. When the order was given, he spat in the face of the executioner and kicked the stool himself, angering the guards and causing excitement within the camp. According to Finkielsztejn, "This courage, this heroism galvanized us, gave us courage, and made us believe in the defeat of the Germans, something I will never forget."[9]

There is little information about the guard staff of the Hadmersleben camp and Kommandos. A memo describing the transfer of one inmate to Buchenwald from the Hans Kommando due to illness on March 24, 1945, was undersigned by Kommandoführer SS-Obersturmführer Schoeb. No additional information about his dates of service could be found. According to a report filed by the SS-Standortarzt Siedlausky, in charge of overseeing medical conditions in Buchenwald and its subcamps, the "strength" of the guard troops in A4 on January 31, 1945, was 122. The SS doctor in charge of the infirmary and medical care in Hadmersleben was named Weinrich, and the SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad, SDG) was Naumann. The report also notes that there were 1,443 inmates in the Hadmersleben camp at this time.[10]

The Hadmersleben camp was evacuated in late April or early May 1945, in anticipation of the advance of Allied troops. According to Finkielsztejn, the inmates were marched in columns, most likely toward Theresienstadt, as the inmates were liberated somewhere in the Sudetenland.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources that describe conditions and circumstances at the Hadmersleben subcamp of Buchenwald. For brief information on Hadmersleben, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, see *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

Likewise, primary documents generated on the Hadmersleben subcamp are scarce. For transport lists and other administrative records, see USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, for a collection of documents copied from AN-MACVG, originating

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from ITS (see especially BU 44, BU 7/14). Additional records on the subcamps of Buchenwald, including the Hadmersleben camp, may be found at AG-B and AG-MD. For the testimony of Lajzer Finkielsztejn, see the archives of the Wiener Library (London), *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series One, Doc. No. P.III.h. No. 1044 (Reel 56).

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NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, *TWC*, 6: 759–767.
2. "Transport Hans," March 13, 1944 (BU 44), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
3. "Transport A4," March 17, 1944 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
4. Transport lists, dated April 3, May 23, September 5, and November 19, 1944 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
5. Transport lists, dated July 5, September 5, and December 12, 1944, transport list dated January 10, 1945 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
6. Handwritten notation, July 5, 1944 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
7. Lajzer Finkielsztejn, "From Breendonck to Hadmersleben," in *Testaments of the Holocaust*, Series 1 (Wiener Library, London), 7 pp. See also "Transport 'Hans,'" May 23, 1944 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).
8. Finkielsztejn, "From Breendonck," pp. 3–4.
9. Ibid., p. 4.
10. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 January 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Bericht* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1960), p. 253.

HALBERSTADT-LANGENSTEIN-ZWIEBERGE/HECKLINGEN

A complex of subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp was constructed near the village of Langenstein. They were located about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the town of Halberstadt, in an isolated valley at the foothills of the Thekenbergen and Hoppelbergen in the Harz Mountains, an area also called Zwieberge. East of Halberstadt, a separate camp was established in Hecklingen near Stassfurt on October 12, 1944. For other camps attached to Buchenwald in this area, see entries for Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge: Junkerswerke, Magdeburg, "Malachit," and Wernigerode.

The creation of the Hecklingen subcamp fell under the SS program to transfer armaments and aircraft production to underground locations. See Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/"Malachit." The Hecklingen subcamp was closed on November 10, 1944. There is no information about the fate of inmates imprisoned there.

SOURCES For the sources on this camp, see the entry for Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/("Malachit").

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HALBERSTADT-LANGENSTEIN-ZWIEBERGE/JUNKERSWERKE ("JUHA")

A complex of subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp was constructed near the village of Langenstein. They were located about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the town of Halberstadt (Sachsen-Anhalt), in an isolated valley at the foothills of the Thekenbergen and Hoppelbergen, which are in the Harz Mountains, an area called Zwieberge. The Junkerswerke camp ("JUHA"), which was located near the larger "Malachit"/"BII" camp, was created in July or August 1944, according to International Tracing Service (ITS) lists. For other camps attached to Buchenwald in this area, see entries for Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge: Hecklingen, Magdeburg, "Malachit," and Wernigerode.

Increased Allied bombing raids over German territories in 1943 and 1944 necessitated the relocation of armaments and aircraft production factories underground, and several governmental offices coordinated these efforts. The subcamps in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge were established in order to advance the German war effort in the midst of waning German military successes against the Allies. In March 1944, Hermann Göring ordered all German aircraft production factories to relocate to one central, independent office: the Fighter Staff (Jägerstab). The Fighter Staff would boost production by protecting aircraft manufacturers from bombs. It brought together various sectors of the war economy as well as the Air Ministry, Armaments Ministry, SS, and the Labor Ministry, and it monitored the aircraft design and production output of those facilities. In the context of this military, economic, and administrative framework, the Fighter Staff coordinated newly created camps in Halberstadt and their underground labor projects (e.g., "Maifisch," a tunnel complex for Krupp), specifically the special staff of Dr. Hans Kammler (Sonderstab-Kammler). SS-Obergruppenführer Kammler had also been the chief of Office C for Bau, the construction sector of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). Office C was divided into SS Special Inspections and Leadership Staffs (Führungsstäbe), which directed local construction initiatives. The construction of the Halberstadt camp complex thus fell under Leadership Staff BII, which was headed by SS-Obersturmführer Wilhelm Lübeck. (For additional information, see Karin Orth's essay "The Genesis and Structure of the National Socialist Concentration Camps," this volume.)

Surviving camp records show two large transports of 250 prisoners each from Buchenwald's main camp to JUHA on September 12 and December 12, 1944.[1] A total of between 800 and 900 prisoners were deported from Buchenwald

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throughout the fall of 1944 and early 1945. All of the prisoners were men, and they were French, German, Austrian, Polish, and Russian, among other nationalities. Due to either illness or incapacity to work, some of JUHA's inmates were often transferred out of the subcamp back to Buchenwald's main infirmary at various intervals.[2]

Inmates incarcerated in the Junkerswerke camp were employed at the Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc. (JFM) facility, which was established in 1934 and originally located at Klusstrasse 38 in Halberstadt. Much of their labor was aimed at transferring the JFM production facilities to caves located south of Halberstadt in the Klusberg Mountains. Subcamp inmates as well as workers from the Ostarbeiter barracks, two distinct camps located on the factory grounds, were used for this work. The two newly planned facilities were code-named "Makrele I" (in the Felsenkeller) and "Makrele II" (on Sternwarte), and the plants manufactured wing parts for the Ju 88 and Ju 162 fighter jets. Junkerswerke "rented" inmates from the WVHA at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled worker per day and 4 RM per unskilled worker per day, and they were used for the construction, metalworking, and assemblage of airplane parts.[3]

There is little information on the working and living conditions within the Junkerswerke camp. As noted above, prisoners were constantly transferred out of the camp to the main infirmary in Buchenwald, presumably due to illness or other incapacities. Judging from the records of the Halberstadt/("Malachit"/"BII") complex (see subcamp entry), the environment in the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp and work at the Junkers factory were harsh. Prisoners were underfed, and debilitating diseases were rampant. They worked under horrible circumstances, lacking proper equipment and protection in tunnel excavation. They also suffered severe maltreatment from the guards. However, prisoners employed in factories such as Junkerswerke generally fared better than those forced to excavate the tunnels, as they were in Malachit.

The Lagerkommandant of the Halberstadt camp complex was SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Hoffmann, and the camps were guarded by members of the SS. There is no specific information about the identity of the Lagerführer of the Junkerswerke camp. Other guards who appear in the administrative records involved in the camp include Sturmscharführer Skischus, Oberscharführer Thinius, Rottenführer Karl Preis, Scharführer Max Uhlig, Sturmmann Oskar Siebert, Scharführer Karl Zerchlowitz, Rottenführer Kurt Müller, Unterscharführer Rudolf Swejtkowski, Unterscharführer Hans Wiemer, Sturmmann Walther Müller, and Rottenführer Joseph Figiel.[4]

The camp was evacuated on April 8, 1945, and the prisoners were most likely sent to Malachit. See Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/"Malachit," for further information on the evacuation of that camp.

SOURCES The camp complex in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge figures prominently in several secondary sources. For several studies focused on the complex and the ensuing postwar memorialization of the site, see Ellen Fauser, *Die Kraft im Unglück—Erinnerungen an Langenstein-Zwieberge* (Halberstadt, o.J., 1994); Fauser, "Geschichte des KZ Langenstein-Zwieberge," in *Verfolgung, Terror und Widerstand in Sachsen-Anhalt 1933–1945: Ein Wegweiser für Gedenkstättenbesuche*, ed. Verena Walter et al. (Berlin: Metropol, 2001); Fauser, "Zur Geschichte des Aussenlagers Langenstein-Zwieberge," in *Zwangsarbeit und die unterirdische Verlagerung von Rüstungsindustrie*, ed. Torsten Hess, (Berlin: Westkreuz, 1994); G.E. Schafft and Gerhard Zeidler, *Die KZ-Mahn-und Gedenkstätten in Deutschland* (Dietz Verlag Berlin, 1996); Paul le Goupil, *De la fin des camps à la reconstruction, Les Normands 1945–1947* (Caen: Conseil Général du Calvados: Direction des Archives départementales, 2001); and Denise Wesenberg, "Gedenkstätte Langenstein-Zwieberge," *GeRu*, 107: 6(2002). There are also several memoirs written by former inmates from the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp complex, including Alberto Berti, *Viaggo nel Pianeta Nazista: Trieste—Buchenwald Langenstein* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2000); Georges Petit, *Retour à Langenstein: Une experience de la deportation* (Éditions Belin, 2001); Roger Leroyer, *Clamavi Ad Te* (Jena-Quedlinburg: Verlag Dr. Bussert & Stadeler, 2003); and Bernard Klieger, *Der Weg, den Wir Gingen: Reportage einer höllischen Reise* (Bruxelles-Ixelles: Codac Juifs, 1960). For a history of the Junkerswerke Halberstadt, see Werner Hartmann, *Halberstadt Luftfahrtgeschichte* (Flugzeug Publikations GmbH—GeraMond, 2000).

Primary sources on the Halberstadt complex are in various archives and repositories and provide a partial picture of the number of inmates imprisoned in the camps, as well as living and working conditions within the camps and work Commandos. The archives of the USHMM contain several kinds of documentation and resources on the camp complex in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge. Transport lists and other administrative records are located in Acc. 1998 A.0045, a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS; see especially BU 46, Reel 16, and BU 115, Reel 18. The USHMMA also has relevant copies of SS records related to Buchenwald reproduced from the BA (NS 4) in RG 14.023M. Testimony of liberators of the Halberstadt camps can be found in RG-09.005*40 and RG-0.005*26 (1981 International Liberators Conference collection of liberator testimonies). The USHMM Survivors Registry lists 34 survivors from the camp; 7 of them have recorded oral histories accessible at the USHMM (under "Halberstadt" or "Langenstein"). For example, former inmate Eddie Willner has several interviews stored at the USHMM; see RG-50.549.02*0065, RG-50.030*0252, and RG-50.163*0093. The USHMM also has an extensive photographic record of the liberation of the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp; see Photo Archives Worksheets 10103, 10104, 10108, 10109, 10111, 10112, 10113, 10114, 10115, 23061, 28191, 69223, 78840, 78841, 78842, N01240.08, 10110, 08560, 10098, 10099, 10100, and 10101. Testimony from former inmates can also be found in other archives and repositories; for example, the HJMA contains thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by the relief agency National Committee for Attending Deportees (DEGOB). Several protocols describe conditions in the Halberstadt camp complex; see especially protocols 696, 952, 2133, 3440, 1633,

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and 3172. The IWMA (London) contains intelligence reports on underground factories in Germany; see Combined Intelligence Objectives Sub-Committee, Underground Factories in Germany, File No. 32–17, 38. Finally, additional information, including documents on, photographs of, and testimonies about the Halberstadt camps, can be found at the AG-LZ/M.

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NOTES

1. "Transport Halberstadt (Junkers)," September 12, 1944, and December 12, 1944, Weimar-Buchenwald (BU 41/2), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants as reproduced in the USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

2. See memos dated September 26, 1944 (6 inmates); October 13, 1944 (2 inmates); October 14, 1944 (2 inmates); and several other transfers throughout November, December, January 1945, February and March, (BU 41/2), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

3. Report of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, concerning assignment of concentration camp inmates to armament production, January 6, 1945, NI-4185, *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals* (Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.

4. See "K.L. Buchenwald; Kdo. Halberstadt—Junkers Werke" (BU 41/2), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0042.

HALBERSTADT-LANGENSTEIN-ZWIEBERGE/MAGDEBURG

A complex of subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp was constructed near the village of Langenstein. They were located about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the town of Halberstadt, in an isolated valley at the foothills of the Thekenbergen and Hoppelbergen in the Harz Mountains, an area also called Zwieberge. Northeast of Halberstadt, a camp was created in Magdeburg on March 19, 1945. For other camps attached to Buchenwald in this area, see entries for Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge: Hecklingen, Junkerswerke, "Malachit," and Wernigerode.

The creation of the Magdeburg subcamp fell under the SS program to transfer armaments and aircraft production to underground locations. For further information on this program, see the Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/"Malachit," entry. There is little information about the camp located at Magdeburg, most likely because it operated only for about one month. However, it is known that the prisoners were forced to clear rubble in the vicinity of Magdeburg.

The camp at Magdeburg was closed on April 10, 1945, the same day that the main subcamp at Malachit BII was evacuated.

SOURCES For the sources on this camp, see the entry for Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/("Malachit").

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HALBERSTADT-LANGENSTEIN-ZWIEBERGE ("MALACHIT," "BII," "LANDHAUS")

A complex of subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp was constructed near the village of Langenstein. They were located about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the town of Halberstadt, in an isolated valley at the foothills of the Thekenbergen and Hoppelbergen in the Harz Mountains, an area also called Zwieberge. The largest subcamp in this area was code-named "Landhaus," "BII" (by the SS), or "Malachit" (by the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production [Reichsministerium für Rüstungs- und Kriegsproduktion, RMfRK]), beginning in July 1944). It was created on April 21, 1944, with an initial transport of 18 prisoners from Buchenwald.[1] For other camps attached to Buchenwald in this area, see the entries for Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge: Hecklingen, Junkerswerke, Magdeburg, and Wernigerode.

The camps in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge were created in order to advance the German war effort in the midst of waning German military successes against the Allies. Increased Allied bombing raids over German territories in 1943 and 1944 necessitated the relocation of armaments and aircraft production factories underground, an effort coordinated by several governmental offices. In March 1944, Hermann Göring placed the direction of all aircraft production factories to one central, independent office: the Fighter Staff (Jägerstab). The Fighter Staff would boost production by protecting aircraft manufacturers from bombs. It brought together various sectors of the war economy as well as the Air Ministry, Armaments Ministry, SS, and the Labor Ministry, and it monitored the aircraft design and production output of those facilities. In the context of this military, economic, and administrative framework, the Fighter Staff coordinated newly created camps in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge and their underground labor projects (e.g., "Maifisch," a tunnel complex for Krupp), specifically the special staff of Dr. Hans Kammler, the Sonderstab-Kammler. SS-Obergruppenführer Kammler had also been the chief of Office C for Bau, the construction sector of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). Office C was divided into Special Inspections and SS-Leadership Staffs (Führungsstäbe), which directed local construction initiatives. The construction of the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp complex thus fell under Leadership Staff BII, which was headed by SS-Obersturmführer Wilhelm Lübeck. (For additional information, see Karin Orth's essay "The Genesis and Structure of the National Socialist Concentration Camps," this volume.)

Because the first convoy of prisoners to the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge complex was relatively small and the camp had not yet been built, these inmates and arriving transports were housed in a former guesthouse called Landhaus am Gläsernen Mönch, on the outskirts of Langenstein. "Landhaus" became the headquarters for the SS central office for local construction efforts. Surrounded by barbed wire, Landhaus's

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garden served as a roll-call area (*Appellplatz*), and SS and other guards from the nearby Halberstadt airfield supervised the camp. From late April to May 1944, as the number of prisoners increased to about 800, they were shifted to a barn, where living conditions were primitive and overcrowded.[2] Prisoners slept on four- and five-level bunks, using straw sacks as mattresses. The first group of inmates to arrive was responsible for building the prisoner camp in a well-hidden forest near the work camp, and they also built barracks for the SS men. Additionally, these initial prisoners began the excavation of tunnels for the eventual relocation of underground factories. Construction of the Malachit camp was declared "complete" in June or July 1944 with the installation of electricity, 7 prisoner blocks, an infirmary, kitchen, watchtowers, and barbed-wire fencing. However, unlike the fully constructed SS barracks that lay outside the camp, some prisoner barracks were just shells with neither windows nor doors. By the end of February 1945, there were 18 prisoner blocks in the camp. Although it was planned for 2,000 inmates, Malachit would eventually hold more than 5,000. Several work camps, such as the one established at Langestrasse Ost II, opened near Halberstadt to provide labor to the tunneling projects and underground factories.[3]

Accurate estimates of the total number of prisoners incarcerated in the Malachit camp complex vary and are especially complicated to deduce, due in part to the number of subcommandos that were billeted in the same camp. For this reason, secondary literature and contemporary documentation are often unclear and do not always specify the number of inmates assigned to commandos in the Malachit complex or whether their numbers are included in total estimates. However, it is certain that the number of inmates in Malachit steadily increased throughout the summer and fall of 1944, climbing to around 4,500. The camp most likely reached its highest capacity in February 1945, with almost 7,000 inmates—not necessarily including those in the smaller commandos. The number may have grown even higher in April 1945, when smaller camps were absorbed by the Malachit camp.[4] Historians have estimated that the total number of inmates incarcerated in the camp during its yearlong operation (including its subcommandos) exceeded 10,000 with most of its prisoners coming from France, the Soviet Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Other large groups of inmates were deported from Italy, Belgium, Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, and Hungary—especially with evacuations from Auschwitz II–Birkenau and Gross-Rosen in January and February 1945, respectively. In smaller numbers, people from Luxembourg, Romania, Albania, Spain, Portugal, Estonia, and the United States also comprised the camp population. Most inmates were deported to the camp directly from Buchenwald but also from other concentration camps, such as Neuengamme, as well as subcamps, such as Junkerswerke and Aschersleben. Prisoners included Jews, political prisoners, professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*), so-called asocials, and others.

Some of the Malachit prisoners were assigned to commandos at Maifisch, managed by the office of Organisation Todt (OT) beginning in October 1944, and some to Malachit AG from January 1945. Beginning in November 1944, prisoner labor from the Maifisch commando was assigned to construction initiatives of the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production (RMfRK). Like other projects of this kind, private industrial firms also used prisoner labor. The Krupp-Gruson Factory (Krupp-Gruson-Werke) in Magdeburg "employed" the prisoners of the Maifisch commando, which maintained about 200 inmates during its three-month operation, after which the inmates were absorbed into the Malachit camp.[5] Inmates in the Maifisch commando were forced to work on tunnel excavation in the Hoppelberg Mountains to make space for the Krupp plant. Some 800 prisoners were assigned to the Malachit AG commando to work on tunnel excavation and road and railway construction. The firm Bode, Grün & Bilfinger AG (Mannheim) managed the transport of materials from the tunnels to a dump, as well as plans for construction. Erzbergbau Salzgitter GmbH, a sister company of the Hermann-Göring Werke, was responsible for breaking ground in the tunnels. Other firms included Firma Peter Bauwens und Julius Schmidt (Magdeburg), Konzerne AEG, Siemens, and Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways) Halberstadt.

The main goal of prisoner labor was to provide underground space for the manufacturing capabilities of the Junkers factory to protect it from air raids and to further production of aircraft and weapons parts, such as fighter jets and V-2 rockets. From the first days of their arrival, the prisoners were forced to dig tunnels in 8-hour shifts through the Thekenbergen to make room for these underground factories. Other commandos were assigned to haul away material excavated from the tunnels in 12-hour shifts. Within 9 months, the inmates had broken and transported more than 750,000 cubic meters (980,963 cubic yards) of sandstone with primitive equipment in inhumane working conditions, and after 10 months, they had created nearly 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) of tunnels.

Laboring inmates had to cope with improper protection and insufficient equipment; they were subjected to beatings and maltreatment meted out by the Kapos and guards; and they suffered from malnutrition, starvation, and rampant, debilitating diseases. Prior to their work assignments, prisoners endured brutal and long roll calls in extreme conditions.[6] Those assigned to work in the tunnels could hardly breathe, and many accidents, some fatal, occurred during the workday. One former inmate reported after the war: "The work itself was . . . brutally hard. . . . From a high rampart we carried fifty-kilogram (110-pound) cement sacks into deep underground for twelve hours. How many times young, thin adolescents collapsed under the heavy sacks! The guards stood next to us with rubber truncheons and loaded revolvers. Their nice warning was: 'If the sack is *kaput*, you'll be *kaput*, too.' "[7] Those who fell ill or were injured in the tunnels were transported on planks or ladders to the overflowing camp infirmary, where imprisoned doctors and nurses could not help the fallen inmates, due to their lack of supplies and medication.[8]

On average, a prisoner working in the tunnels died within about six weeks. According to one prisoner doctor, nearly 30

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to 40 inmates died per day. [9] Over its entire operation, between 50 and 70 percent of the 8,000 to 10,000 inmates in the Malachit camp died, including those killed on death marches during the evacuation. Another several hundred inmates died at the camp's liberation due to illness, starvation, and disease. Bodies from the camp were first incinerated in the Quedlinburg crematorium, and toward the end of the camp's operation, they were buried in mass graves. One former prisoner reported that weak inmates were often gathered up with the dead and buried alive.[10]

A report submitted by the garrison doctor (Standortarzt) of the Waffen-SS, Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky, in January 1945 notes that there were 287 guards in the Malachit camp.[11] Waffen-SS as well as Luftwaffe soldiers (at first) guarded the camp. The Lagerkommandant of the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp was SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Hoffmann, and the Lagerführer of Malachit was SS-Oberscharführer Paul Tscheu. SS-Obersturmführer and Regierungsinspektor Wilhelm Lübeck led the building of the new armaments factory in the Malachit tunnels. Inside the tunnels, about 150 civilian employees who served as foremen drove prisoner labor with the utmost cruelty.

Tscheu was notorious for his brutality and punished the inmates for various infractions. For poor work performance, theft, and other smaller crimes, he deprived them of food. On the camp grounds, there were two types of punishment cells: a prison bunker and death cells (*Todeszellen*) in which inmates were locked until they died. Another form of maltreatment was the punishment commando (Strafkommando), in which prisoners were assigned to especially heavy labor, such as the construction of railway lines. Those caught trying to escape were beaten, tortured, and executed by fellow inmates chosen for this task.[12] As one former prisoner reported after the war, beatings and lengthy torture sessions were common in Malachit. He recalled, "I remember occasions when I was beaten for five hours continuously. When I lost my consciousness, water was poured on me."[13]

Prisoners did attempt to escape the camp, and some were able to flee the death marches after its evacuation.[14] Prisoners expressed solidarity according to nationality, as well as through an informal prisoner organization, which was formed by "functionary" inmates, who controlled work statistics and counted the prisoners.

Because they considered the camp's function and operation "top secret," prior to the evacuation of the camp, the SS ordered 22 inmates to burn files and documents pertaining to the operation of the camp in the nearby Quedlinburg crematorium. The entire group of 22 was then summarily shot. Before the advance of Allied troops, on the evening of April 9, 1945, some 3,000 surviving inmates of Malachit were rounded up and marched, in six columns of 500 each, onto the road leading out of the camp. Surrounded by SS guards, they were forced to march for at least 12 days and covered over 300 kilometers (186.4 miles), some reaching Wittenberg near the Elbe, Leipzig, and southwest to Giessen. As one Hungarian Jewish inmate testified at the end of the war, "Those who were unable to walk or [who] were caught stealing something, or whose feet simply slipped, were immediately shot."[15] One column was completely annihilated, and another arrived near Berlin on April 28 with only 18 survivors. Only about 500 of the 3,000 inmates survived the marches. One inmate who survived to be liberated en route by American troops at the end of April recalled, "It was an infernal, unbearable thought that liberation was this close and still it was unapproachable, probably hopeless."[16]

A few days after the SS marched the group of prisoners out of the camp, troops from the 399th Battalion of the 8th Armored Division and 83rd Infantry of the U.S. Army entered Malachit on April 11, 1945. They encountered between 1,400 and 1,600 weak and dying inmates who had remained in the camp.[17] Several days later, military ambulances brought many of the ill to a field hospital in Halberstadt. Two citizens of Langenstein, a parish priest named Hager and a nurse, Frau Abel, also entered the camp to offer their assistance. The Allies ordered civilians from Langenstein to bury the dead in mass graves.[18] Although the Allied medical staff attempted to revive the prisoners to the best of their ability, another 144 inmates died at the field hospital from diseases such as tuberculosis, tubercular meningitis, and failed blood transfusions.[19] They were buried in a mass grave in a cemetery in Halberstadt.

There is no information about postwar trials conducted against Hoffmann, Tscheu, Lübeck, or the guards of the Malachit camp. However, death certificates of prisoners in Malachit and other related records were entered as evidence in War Crimes Case 000–50–09 brought by the United States Army Europe (USAREUR) against several guards from Buchenwald and other camps.[20] Klaus Ferdinand Huels, a sergeant in the Wehrmacht who had a supervisory role over guards in Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge, was tried in Case 000-Buchenwald 36 from October 31 to November 4, 1947, and acquitted.[21]

SOURCES The camp complex in Halberstadt figures prominently in several secondary sources. For several studies focused on the Halberstadt camp complex and the ensuing postwar memorialization of the site, see Ellen Fauser, *Die Kraft im Unglück—Erinnerungen an Langenstein-Zwieberge* (Halberstadt, o.J., 1994); Fauser, "Geschichte des KZ Langenstein-Zwieberge," in *Verfolgung, Terror und Widerstand in Sachsen-Anhalt 1933–1945: Ein Wegweiser für Gedenkstättenbesuche*, by Verena Walter et al., (Berlin: Metropol, 2001); Fauser, "Zur Geschichte des Aussenlagers Langenstein-Zwieberge," in *Zwangsarbeit und die unterirdische Verlagerung von Rüstungsindustrie*, ed. Torsten Hess (Berlin: Westkreuz, 1994); G.E. Schafft and Gerhard Zeidler, *Die KZ-Mahn- und Gedenkstätten in Deutschland* (Dietz Verlag Berlin, 1996); Paul le Goupil, *De la fin des camps à la reconstruction: Les Normands 1945–1947* (Caen: Conseil Général du Calvados: Direction des Archives départementales, 2001); and Denise Wesenberg, "Gedenkstätte Langenstein-Zwieberge," *GeRu* No. 107, 6(2002). There are also several memoirs written by former inmates in the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp complex, including Alberto Berti, *Viaggo nel Pianeta Nazista:*

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Trieste—Buchenwald Langenstein (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2000); Georges Petit, *Retour à Langenstein: Une experience de la deportation* (Éditions Belin, 2001); Roger Leroyer, *Clamavi Ad Te* (Jena-Quedlinburg: Verlag Dr. Bussert & Stadeler, 2003); and Bernard Klieger, *Der Weg, den Wir Gingen: Reportage einer höllischen Reise* (Bruxelles-Ixelles: Codac Juifs, 1960).

Primary sources on the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge complex are found in various archives and repositories and provide a partial picture, for example, of the number of inmates imprisoned in the camps, as well as living and working conditions within the camps and work commandos. The archives of the USHMM contain several kinds of documentation and resources on the camp complex. Transport lists and other administrative records are located in Acc. 1998 A.0045, a collection of documents copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS; see especially BU 46, Reel 16, and BU 115, Reel 18. USHMMA also has relevant copies of SS records related to Buchenwald reproduced from the BA (NS 4) in RG 14.023M. Testimony of liberators of the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camps can be found in RG-09.005*40 and RG-0.005*26 (1981 International Liberators Conference collection of liberator testimonies). The USHMM also holds copies of death certificates and related records from 1944 to April 1945 from the Malachit camp in Acc. 1998.A.0074 (related to U.S. Army Europe War Crimes Case 000–50–9). The USHMM Survivors Registry lists 34 survivors (under Halberstadt or Langenstein), and 7 of these survivors have recorded oral histories accessible at the USHMM. For example, former inmate Eddie Willner has several interviews stored at the USHMM; see RG-50.549.02*0065, RG-50.030*0252, and RG-50.163*0093. The USHMM also has an extensive photographic record of the liberation of the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp; see Photo Archives Worksheets 10103, 10104, 10108, 10109, 10111, 10112, 10113, 10114, 10115, 23061, 28191, 69223, 78840, 78841, 78842, N01240.08, 10110, 08560, 10098, 10099, 10100, and 10101. Testimony from former inmates can also be found in other archives and repositories; for example, the HJMA contain thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by the relief agency DEGOB. Several protocols describe conditions in the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camp complex; see especially protocols 696, 952, 2133, 3440, 1633, and 3172. The IWMA (London) contains intelligence reports on underground factories in Germany; see Combined Intelligence Objectives Sub-Committee, Underground Factories in Germany, File No. 33–17, 38. Finally, additional information, including documents, photographs, and testimonies, about the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge camps can be found at the AG-LZ/M.

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1. “Transport B II,” April 21, 1944, Buchenwald (BU 46), AN, Secretariat D’État aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in the USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).
2. See transport lists from Weimar-Buchenwald to Malachit, dated April 21 (18); April 26 (200); ca. May 8 (300); and May 23, 1944 (300) (BU 46), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16). [DEGOB translations provided by Gábor Kádár.]
3. “Halberstadt Langenstein, Rapport provisoire sur les camps de Halberstadt et de Langenstein,” Ministère des anciens combattants et victimes de guerre (BU 78), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 17).
4. See transport lists from Weimar-Buchenwald to “Malachyt” for February 9 and 10, 1945 (BU 46), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).
5. “Transport Maifisch,” October 7, 1944, and “Transport Maifisch,” October 23, 1944, Weimar-Buchenwald (BU 46), USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).
6. For example, see the HJMA, DEGOB Protocol, No. 952, V.R.
7. DEGOB Protocol, No. 952, V.R.
8. Report of Dr. Kaisne, undated (BU 115), Acc. 1998. A.0045, Reel 18.
9. Ibid., p. 1.
10. Testimony of Eddie Willner, May 25, 1989, USHMM, RG.030*0252.
11. “K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt,” January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung. Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1960), p. 251.
12. Josef Vik, “Zustände im KZ Langenstein-Zwieberge; Aussage des ehemaligen Lagerschreibers am 26. April 1945,” in *Verfolgung, Terror und Widerstand in Sachsen-Anhalt 1933–1945: Ein Wegweiser für Gedenkstättenbesuches*, by Verena Walter et al. (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), pp. 139–144.
13. DEGOB Protocol, No. 952, V.R.
14. Vik, “Zustände,” p. 142.
15. DEGOB Protocol, No. 913, T.S.
16. DEGOB Protocol, No. 952, V.R.
17. For one testimony of first encounter with newly opened camp, see USHMM, RG-09.005*26, U.S. Army Nurse, Maeceille B. (Pless) Beem; and USHMM, RG-09.004*40, Testimony of Joseph Zalinski, U.S. Army.
18. Depicted in USHMM, Photo Archives WS 10109.
19. USHMM, RG-09.004*40, Testimony of J.R. LaVietes, Laboratory technician of the 78th Field Hospital, 3rd Armored Division, U.S. Army. See also DEGOB Protocol, No. 3440, I.F.
20. Zwieberge/Malachit death certificates and related records, 1944–1945, USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0074, as copied from NARA, RG 338.
21. Further information about this and other trials related to Buchenwald can be found in NARA, RG 338, War Crimes Case Files. It is possible that other guards who served in Malachit were tried but in connection to their service in other camps.

HALBERSTADT-LANGENSTEIN-ZWIEBERGE/WERNIGERODE

A complex of subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp was constructed near the village of Langenstein. They were located about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the town of Halberstadt (Sachsen-Anhalt), in an isolated valley at the foothills of the Thekenbergen and Hoppelbergen, which are in the Harz Mountains, an area called Zwieberge. On March 19, 1945, 20

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kilometers (12.4 miles) southwest of Halberstadt, a camp was created in Wernigerode. For other camps attached to Buchenwald in this area, see Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge: Hecklingen, Junkerswerke, Magdeburg, and "Malachit."

The creation of the Wernigerode subcamp fell under the SS program to shift armaments and aircraft production to underground locations. [For further information on this program, see Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/("Malachit")]. There is little information about the camp located at Wernigerode, most likely because it was in operation for a relatively short period of time. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), there were 20 inmates in the Wernigerode camp.

The camp at Wernigerode closed on April 5, 1945, just prior to the evacuation of the largest Halberstadt camp, known as Malachit.

SOURCES For the sources on this camp, see the entry for Buchenwald/Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge/("Malachit").

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HALLE [AKA BIRKHAHN-MÖTZLICH]

A satellite camp of Buchenwald was created in Halle an der Saale in Saxony to provide labor to the Siebel Aircraft Factory, Ltd. (Siebel-Flugzeugwerke) in July 1944. (According to the Halle entry in the International Tracing Service [ITS] catalog, inmates were also sent to the "Bauleitung Professor Doktor Ingenieur Rimpl, Kostenstell B-XII," but no other information about this commando could be found.) Like other subcamps administered by the Buchenwald main camp, the supply of prisoner labor to the firm followed from an agreement between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the administration of the Siebel Aircraft Factory. Prisoners were "employed" at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day, payable by the employing firm to the WVHA. However, prisoners were not compensated for their work.

The Siebel factory was established in 1934 when the original founder of the firm, Hanns Klemm, sold his shares to Friedrich Wilhelm Siebel. At this time, the company's production output transitioned from its original manufacture of sport planes and their parts to producing military aircraft for the German Luftwaffe. A camp for male inmates was created at the factory in late July or early August 1944 to increase output with the least amount of cost. The prisoners were used for labor in the metalworking department, constructing parts for airplane wings. According to a report filed in January 1945 by the chief of labor allocation (Arbeitseinsatzführer) for the Buchenwald camp, laborers worked a total of 166,364 hours in December 1944. Siebel employed 10,159 skilled workers and 4,965 auxiliary workers in December.[1] Most likely not all of these laborers were Buchenwald inmates, and not all were imprisoned in the Halle subcamp (likewise, not all of the inmates in the subcamp were used for labor at Siebel). The workday at the factory was 10.5 hours long.[2]

There is no information about the actual construction, size, or layout of the camp in Halle. There were at least five blocks and one block for SS guards, and the camp was located at Boelkestrasse 70. Various correspondences concerning the Halle subcamp refer to it as "Lager Birkhahn-Mötzlich." Mötzlich was a small village near Halle where an airfield was created in 1917, and presumably the camp was located near this airfield.

Several transport lists showing the movement of prisoners from Buchenwald to Halle have survived; however, the exact destination of each list is not always clear (most indicate that prisoners were transferred to Halle, others more specifically state "Lager Birkhahn-Mötzlich," and others denote "Halle Siebel" or some variation of this). The total number of inmates suggested by the Halle lists added together far exceed the numbers shown on SS monthly reports for Siebel from the same period. Therefore, it is difficult to discern the number of inmates in the Halle subcamp because the collection of transport lists may not be complete, some of the existing lists may be duplicates, and not all of the prisoners transferred to Halle were incarcerated in this particular camp or employed by Siebel.

In late July 1944, 525 inmates were transported from Buchenwald to Halle, with an additional 515 inmates following on July 31.[3] Although these lists provide no breakdown by nationality, most of the inmates appear to have been Russian, Polish, and perhaps Czech. Prisoner transports continued to arrive in Halle throughout the following months, and the number of inmates imprisoned in the subcamp both increased and decreased at various intervals during its eight-month existence. In general, the pattern of incoming transports increased throughout the fall of 1944, and by January 1945, some inmates were shifted from Halle to other subcamps. Seven inmates were deported from Buchenwald to Halle on August 10, 1944, mostly French political prisoners.[4] Additional transports from Buchenwald arrived throughout August and September, and the number of prisoners transferred to Halle exceeded 2,000.[5]

However, these numbers differ from monthly reports from Halle filed by the SS administration of the camp. According to a monthly report dated August 13–14, 1944, the Halle-Siebel camp had 525 inmates.[6] From September 1 to 20, 1944, 1,000 inmates were transferred to Halle-Siebel from Buchenwald (500 on September 2, 500 on September 12). On September 27, an additional transport of 20 inmates was sent to Halle. Beginning in January 1945, inmates were transferred from Halle to the Buchenwald subcamp in Annaburg. Ninety-seven inmates were transferred to Annaburg in December 1944.[7] Between January 1 and 31, 1945, there appears to have been no transports to Halle from Buchenwald, and on February 2, 7 inmates were transferred to Halle, with an additional 5 on March 23.[8] Another report from March 25, 1945, shows that on January 1, 1945, Halle-Siebel had 633 inmates, and on March 6, 1945, it had 528 inmates.[9]

In addition to work performed at the Siebel airplane factory, some inmates were employed in various functions within the camp. In November 1944, there was at least 1 inmate appointed as block elder (Blockältester), 10 inmates worked in

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the kitchen barracks, 1 inmate assigned to barracks orderly duty (*Stubendienst*) for each of the five blocks and 1 for the SS barracks, as well as 2 barbers and a cobbler.[10] The inmates were divided into several commandos that included clearing rubble from air raids, as well as other construction and repair work.[11]

The commander of the camp was SS-Hauptscharführer F. Noll. At least 20 SS guards were transferred from Halle to an unknown assignment in January 1945, but no additional information in camp reports or correspondence on the number or the ranks of guards in Halle can be found.[12]

There is little exact information about prisoner deaths and punishment or the methods, motives, and circumstances of the murder of inmates. As in most other concentration camps, inmates were probably subject to arbitrary abuse or maltreatment meted out by the guards. Punishment and rewards were connected to the inmates' work performance. According to several communications with Noll regarding the behavior of individual prisoners, transgressions at the workplace, such as neglecting equipment or stepping away from a running machine, were punishable by denying the offending prisoner his midday meal as well as his allotment of cigarettes.[13] In at least one instance, a telegram from the Halle factory to Noll dated October 18, 1944, recommended that the cigarette rations of several prisoners be raised due to their excellent performance.[14] There is no information confirming that Noll permitted this allocation.

Some SS monthly reports also indicate the average number of inmates who received care, both inpatient and outpatient, in the Halle infirmary. Both in January and February 1945, about 50 inmates received ambulatory care, and 30 were admitted to the infirmary. The monthly report from February 1945 also indicated 1 prisoner death and that food supplies were "sufficient." However, there is no way to confirm that the SS reports reflect accurate numbers of ill inmates or living conditions within the camp.[15]

The subcamp in Halle was last noted in German records on March 31, 1945.

SOURCES The Halle subcamp of Buchenwald appears rarely in secondary literature. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Halle in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). For further information on the history of the Siebel-Flugzeugwerke, see H-J. Ebert, Udo Mahn, and H.-D. Tack, *Dokumentation der 90-jährigen Geschichte der Luftfahrt und des Luftsportes in der Region Halle* (*Saale*), Heft 3, and *Die Siebel-Flugzeugwerke Halle (1934–1946)*, Heft 9 (IG Luftfahrtgeschichte im Luftsportverband Sachsen-Anhalt e.V, n.d.).

Primary documentation on the Halle subcamp is located in several archives. For general correspondence, monthly and daily statistical reports, which list the number of prisoners working at Siebel and the kinds of work performed, as well as "occupancy" lists of the Halle subcamp and other subcamps, see the German BA group NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, in particular volumes 8, 31, 54, 55, 176–185, and 196. Other volumes from this collection contain relevant information pertaining to the Halle subcamp; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp population. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the archives of the USHMM, RG-14.023M. Also contained at the USHMM archives is a collection of transport lists to and from the Halle camp, copied from the AN-MACVG, Acc. 1998.A.0045, especially Reels 7 and 16. Additional transport lists or duplicates of the collection, as well as "strength reports," from the AN can be found in the archives of the USHMM, 1996.A.0342, Reels 146–180, originally copied from NARA, A3355. Further research on these reports would yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the subcamp at Halle and other satellite camps of Buchenwald.

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NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, in *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunal under Control Council Law No. 10* (Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.

2. Monatsbericht für Januar 1945, February 1, 1945, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), as reproduced in USHMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 54.

3. "Transport Halle," ca. July 2, 1944, Weimar-Buchenwald (BU 8/18), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in the USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 8). See also "Transport Halle," July 31, 1944, Buchenwald (BU 44, Reel 16, and BU 5/5, Reel 6), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

4. "Transport Halle," August 10, 1944 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

5. Additional transfers arrived on August 13, August 17, September 2, September 12, and September 27, 1944. The total number of prisoners on these transports exceeded 1,500. See BU 44, BU 8/19, and BU 5/5, USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

6. Buchenwald: Etats d'effectifs par Kommando, August 13 and 14, 1944 (BU 5/3), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 6).

7. Memorandum from Arbeitseinsatz-Ing., SS-Kommandoführers [Söderberg ?], December 28, 1944, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), as reproduced at USHMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 258.

8. Buchenwald: Mouvements internés, September 1, 1944–March 31, 1945, USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 6).

9. "Aussenkommandos, Stand vom 6.3.45 and Stand vom 1.1.45," BU 39, USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

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10. List of prisoner functions in Lager Birkhahn, Hall a/S., November 18, 1944, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 258.

11. "Arbeitseinsatz der Häftl. Halle 16 am 21 August 1944," submitted to Siebel Flugzeugwerke on August 21, 1944, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 260.

12. "Monatsbericht für Januar 1945," BA NS4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 54.

13. Correspondence from SS-Hauptscharführer Noll, October 15, 1944, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 258.

14. Memo from Werke der Stadt Halle, Aktiengesellschaft to Lagerführer Hauptscharführer Noll, October 18, 1944, BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 258.

15. "Monatsbericht für Januar 1945" and "Monatsbericht und Stärkemeldung, 20 Februar 1945," BA NS 4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG-14.023M, Band 54.

HARDEHAUSEN

Due to Germany's military situation, the Institute of National Political Education (Napola) Bensberg was transferred to Hardehausen, following a final order issued by Heinrich Himmler on November 2, 1944. The old Cistercian monastery located in Hardehausen was confiscated, and extensive rebuilding and expansion of the structures used as hospitals for the Luftwaffe, and later as a women's technical college, were begun.

The first preparations for the move had already been made by September 1944. It is known for certain that SA-Gruppenführer Paul Holthoff brought 10 prisoners along with him to Hardehausen.

These 10 were a detail from Buchenwald that had been ordered over from that camp to Bensberg in March 1944 to do restoration and extention work in the old castle of Bensberg, then the home of Napola. Holthoff was the leader of this elite school. He was responsible for transport, shelter, and supplies for the camp, as he held administrative power concerning the prisoners. Disciplinary power and power of command were always held by the SS, in the person of a noncommissioned SS officer in Bensberg whose name remains unknown. The move to Hardehausen, however, must have already been finalized by the end of December 1944.

The work detail (Kommando) still went by its old name at this point;[1] shortly thereafter, its designation was changed to "Napola Hardehausen." So the prisoners' camp was named after its place of deployment (Einsatzort), as was very often the case with Buchenwald details ordered out to do forced labor somewhere.

According to a statement made by a witness at that time, the prisoners were said to be housed in the top level of the monastery's old grain barn, built out of massive, unfinished stone.[2] Napola fed the prisoners.

In court, the witness Peter Georg, who was a prisoner in Hardehausen from February 1945, accused Josef Schramm of tyrannically reducing the prisoners' rations from day to day and also often threatening prisoners with beating.[3]

The concentration camp prisoners worked behind a two-meter-high (6.6-foot-high) stone wall that surrounded the entire property of the monastery. A main gate on the southern side and a side door on the northern side of the monastery grounds were, according to the information of the contemporary witness, guarded or locked yet occasionally passable for residents.[4]

In 1945, about six families lived on-site. Among them was also a man named Pahl, who held a lease from the Prussian state province of Hardehausen. The State Attorney's Office of Paderborn used information from a statement he provided for its 1966–1967 investigation of the Hardehausen camp.[5] Pahl admitted that about 30 to 40 concentration camp prisoners from Buchenwald were present shortly before Easter, but he said he was unable to remember any details. Nothing was revealed concerning cruelty or murder within the scope of this legal investigation. A trial was not instituted.

Reports on the strength of the prisoner population from Bensberg and then Hardehausen show that it varied from 10 at first to 40 in late February and 12 at the camp's closure.

The monastery building, with all of its functioning rooms, had to be rebuilt completely. Gardens were to be planted to promote self-sufficiency, an area for riding was to be prepared, and the complete installation of electric service was to be carried out. Napola was to have its own swimming pool next to the monastery building, on which the prisoners had worked. (An extended pond remains in its place as evidence.)[6]

In addition, the house of the institution's leader, north of the monastery boundary, needed to be readied for occupation. Supposedly, the prisoners were to build a connecting road with a solid foundation, from the former monastery, the Napola's refuge at that time, to Scherfede (later a district of Warburg).

In January 1945, the prisoners worked 12 hours on each of the month's 31 days.

Only a few *Jungmannen* (pupils) of the institution were already in Hardehausen. Hardly any classes were held because the majority of the school's materials (*Schulausstattung*) remained unpacked in the cloister,[7] and construction work on the building that was actually to serve as the institution was well under way.

The transport of 30 prisoners from Buchenwald was arranged in a memorandum dated January 29, 1945:

Buchenwald Concentration Camp—Labor Detail—
Re: New Kommando "Napola" Hardehausen.

> For this Kommando, to which the 10 prisoners of Napola Bensberg come, 30 prisoners will be assigned.[8]

The job affiliation of the transferred inmates can also be found here; one Kapo and one foreman, "who are knowledgeable of road construction," belonged to the group of 30 concentration camp prisoners. Nationalities were not recorded.

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However, as Peter Georg explained during his eyewitness testimony in the trial against the Kommando leader in Hardehausen, one of the "Buchenwald trials" held in Dachau in 1947, there were "various nationalities," among them Russians and Poles. Contrary to the two lists, he remembered that only 36 total prisoners were in Hardehausen.[9] Holthoff, according to the document, was responsible for the transport. Ten policemen were assigned as the guard detail. Related documents are still missing. A succinct order for clothes for work outdoors was in force for the prisoners.

The Kommando leader was SS-Unterscharführer Josef Schramm. He went to Hardehausen on March 1, 1945. According to his statement, one SS-Unteroffizier Heinrich, also from Buchenwald, was actually designated for the task in Hardehausen but was then posted to the subcamp in Göttingen.

It can be assumed that Schramm arrived one week after the prisoners had marched from Buchenwald in the direction of Hardehausen.

While still at Buchenwald, Schramm had received his first SS rank when he had gone to Weimar for cleanup work that was necessary following the February 26, 1945, air-raid attack on Weimar.[10] Schramm therefore first arrived at Hardehausen on April 1, 1945. It remains unclear who brought the group of prisoners to Hardehausen and who functioned as Kommando leader until Schramm's arrival as commander of the camp at Napola.

On November 19, 1947, a denazification court at the Dachau "Buchenwald trials" sentenced Schramm to life imprisonment for murder. The crime attributed to Schramm was, however, not committed in Bensberg or Hardehausen but rather in the vicinity of Weimar itself.[11] Witnesses described him, when he was leader of Blocks 17 and 39, as "brutal up until the very end" and as "probably the most dangerous block leader" in Buchenwald.[12] Schramm was released from prison on May 25, 1948.[13]

In the last days of March 1945, Holthoff fled with the remaining pupils; the prisoners were no longer of any interest to him.

On April 3, 1945, American troops occupied Hardehausen.

The Hardehausen subcamp was a small, independent camp with 10 prisoners, except for about six weeks when 40 prisoners were there. The work demanded of the prisoners did not profit either the economy or armaments production. Nevertheless, it held local significance in the creation of an infrastructure for the field of education and for the ideological strengthening of the National Socialist dictatorship.

The subcamp was not founded in the interests of politics on a grand scale; rather, it was the result of a personal initiative from the periphery of National Socialist rule. To realize his plans, Holthoff first tried to use good relations in this area. Many officials did this, as Karola Fings writes, in reference to the assembly of workforces for Construction Brigade III. When this strategy could no longer be continued due to the war, Holthoff utilized the authority and resources of his superiors, whose long-term interests demanded that the successful work of Napola continue undisturbed for as long as possible because the up-and-coming leadership of the SS, among other things, was supposed to arrive there. The prisoners placed at Napola were workmen who were intensively sought after and desperately needed; moreover, only limited numbers were available, and they were not easy to replace. Therefore, life-threatening arbitrariness from the Kommando leader and guard staff could not necessarily be expected in this subcamp. Nevertheless, the prisoners understood from experience that they were at the mercy of a system and its representatives who could at any time, and for no reason whatsoever, demonstrate an inhuman side. Lack of nourishment, beating, and degrading treatment were at the very least part of daily life in the Hardehausen subcamp, along with the loss of freedom and awareness that as foreigners they were on a daily basis at the mercy of an enemy state.

SOURCES The Napola-Bensberg subcamp of the Buchenwald concentration camp was housed in the Bensberg castle (municipality of Bensberg, Rheinisch-Bergisch area, later belonging to the city of Bergisch Gladbach) until approximately December 1944. This first phase is reconstructed well in literature. The work of Klaus Schmitz would be one example here: "Das Aussenlager Bensberg des KZ-Buchenwald," *Rheinisch-Bergischer Kalender* Rh-Bkal 59 (1989): 209–215. This work expands upon two previously written student papers from 1983: Michael Aulerich et al., "Die Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalt Bensberg," and Siegfried Balkow et al., "Kriegsgefangene-Fremdarbeiter und KZ-Häftlinge im Raum Bensberg." These papers were submissions to the competition for the Bundespräsident prize (student essays on historical themes), organized by the Körber Foundation in Hamburg. They can be viewed there. They are also available, as with the work by Schmitz, in ASt-BG. For proof of the subcamp in Bensberg and Hardehausen, the work of *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), pp 152, 366, and 565 (formerly: *Catalogue of Camps and Prisons—CCP*). In her book *Messelager Köln*, vol. 3 (Cologne: Emons Verlag, 1996), Karola Fings provides reliable details on the time period of the Construction Brigade III in Cologne and the independence of the Bensberg subcamp. Information regarding the leader of the Napola-Bensberg is offered by Joachim Lilla, Martin Döring, and Andreas Schulz, *Statisten in Uniform: Die Mitglieder des Reichstages 1933–1945. Ein biographisches Handbuch: Unter Einbeziehung der völkischen und nationalsozialistischen Reichstagsabgeordneten ab Mai 1924* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2004).

In addition to Weinmann, the time of the Napola in Hardehausen (later a district of the city of Warburg in Ostwestfalen) is documented in the file records in the LA-NRW-SPDet. Estates can be found here under the call numbers M1 IIIc Nos. 3333 and 3402, as well as D 100 Warburg. All the student papers refer back to unpublished source material of the ASt-BG, which is available under shelf numbers F2/1080 and

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V160 (more recently: J 16/3). The IfZ also has additional related material available under the call number NI-4181, as well as BA in collection NS4, Bu/vol. 253. BA-L manages the results of enquiries made by the Paderborn State Attorney's Office on the subcamp Napola-Hardehausen (formerly subcamp Bensberg as of January 1945) under the reference of the State Attorney's Office Paderborn: 2 AR 50/66. Among other things, the statements of a contemporary eyewitness of the prison camp can also be found there.

In the so-called Buchenwald trials, an individual trial was carried out against Kommando leader of the Hardehausen subcamp, Josef Schramm. His statements regarding his stay and occupation in Hardehausen, accompanying witness testimonies, and the verdict are all located in the NARA, 1376, RG 153, Record of the Office of the Judge Advocate General (Army), *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Waldeck*, War Crimes Case No. 12–390, B2833, THStA-W. The *Stärkemeldungen* of the subcamp Napola or Napola-Bensberg also come from THStA-W. They belong to the collection: KZ und Haftanstalt Buchenwald, NS4 Bu 1366; KZ und Haftanstalt Buchenwald, Box 27, No. 9. The accompanying lists of prisoner names come from one document: StAGL, HS 313, unpaginated, under the heading: "Aufteilung der Baubrigade III (Köln)"; and prisoner lists from: NARA, RG 242, Film 25, No. 0015355, No. 0015356, No. 0015357, and No. 0015358. Lastly, the death report of Jan Kubat is located under prisoner number 21943 in the AG-B's card index of prisoner numbers.

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trans. Lynn Wolff

NOTES

1. "Häftlingseinsatz für Rüstungszwecke im Monat Januar 1945 unter Angabe der geleisteten Arbeitsstunden, Absatz: Kriegswichtige Zwecke, Napola Hardehausen," AG-B, author's copy without shelf mark.
2. Cf. documents from BA-L, file mark of the Paderborn state attorney's office, 2 AR 50/66, not paginated.
3. *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Waldeck et al.*, "Buchenwald trial," No. 12–390, NARA, Az.: TKI-mp-*Schramm*—11/14–7, witness statement of Peter Georg.
4. Verbal statement of Mr. Struck, resident, August 1994.
5. This and in the following: BA-L, file mark of the Paderborn state attorney's office, 2 AR 50–66, n.p.
6. Verbal statement, contemporary witness Mr. Struck, 1994.
7. StABGL, collection Vermandel, letters from pupils.
8. From ZdL (now BA-L), file mark of the Paderborn state attorney's office, 2 AR 50/66, n.p.
9. *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Waldeck et al.*, "Buchenwald trial," No. 12–390, NARA, Az.: TKI-mp-*Schramm*—11/14–7, witness statement of Peter Georg.
10. *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Waldeck et al.* . . . trial of Schramm, p. 97.
11. *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Waldeck et al.* . . . Az.: TK1-mp-*Schramm*—11/14–7, indictment, p.1; cf. witness statement of Peter Georg, l.c.
12. Witness Apitz, *USA v. Prinz zu Waldeck et al.* . . . l.c., p. 109.
13. AG-B; and *USA v. Josias Prinz zu Lippe* . . . , l.c.

HESSISCH LICHTENAU

The subcamp Hessisch Lichtenau, with a population of 1,000 female prisoners, was first mentioned on August 1, 1944. The inmates brought from Auschwitz to Hessisch Lichtenau were Jews, predominantly Hungarian, and others including Romanian (1), Slovakian (3), Polish (1), and Yugoslavian (3). One can gather from the list of new arrivals to this subcamp from the Auschwitz concentration camp that the women and girls were between the ages of 15 and 49 years old. Mothers were often brought to the camp with their daughters or other relatives. On September 19, 1944, as was common practice, they were registered and given serial numbers by the political section of the Buchenwald concentration camp, under whose administrative authority they were kept. The women who were brought to Hessisch Lichtenau received the prisoner numbers from 20,001 to 21,003.

The prisoners were put to work in an explosives factory in Hessisch Lichtenau. Shells, bombs, mines, and cartridges were filled there with the explosives TNT, picric acid, and nitropenta. The contractor was the Fabrik Hessisch Lichtenau GmbH zur Verwertung chemischer Erzeugnisse (Hessisch Lichtenau factory, a limited liability company for the exploitation of chemical products), a sister company of the Dynamit-AG (DAG), formerly the Alfred Nobel and Co.

The female inmates lived under miserable conditions in a barracks camp, the "camp clubhouse" (*Lager Vereinshaus*), on the edge of the city, closely watched by a staff of SS guards. They marched daily for an hour and a half to an armaments factory located in a dense mixed wood/meadow area. The normal working time for the Jewish forced laborers was 10.5 hours per day. A majority of the women worked in a three-shift rotation, which also had them working on Saturdays and Sundays. In addition to their shifts, the women and girls often had to carry out different tasks on the factory grounds for between 2 and 4 hours; and besides that, there was the march to the factory and back to the camp. The inmates who worked the night shift often had to work in the camp during the day, so that 4 hours of sleep was an exception for those on the night shift.

The Jewish prisoners had to perform not only dangerous but physically difficult work. They were utilized where uncomfortable tasks had to be done: the making of explosives, cleanup work on the factory site, work in the forest, the loading and unloading of train cars, loading work in the factory, excavation work, such as the digging of ditches and wells, and the shifting of a water pipe. They also did various physically demanding tasks for a building contractor that performed tasks for the explosives factory.

These prisoners were stationed mainly in the most dangerous positions in the filling station and press building. In the press building, many came in direct contact with picric acid. The picric acid, which had to be filled by hand, contained very poisonous yellow crystals, whose vapors penetrated the body through breathing or through the skin. In the same way as contact with the explosive TNT in the filling

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stations, picric acid caused a great deal of permanent damage to the forced laborers' health, such as lung and liver damage as well as allergies.

The former forced laborer Blanka Pudler describes her work in the factory as follows:

> I had to carefully stir the explosive material in the shells with brass sticks so that they would cool evenly, allowing no air bubbles to develop in the explosives. A hard, iron-like skin developed on the surface. One had to break this open with sticks. I had to breathe in the bitter tasting, unhealthy vapors that made me numb, and I often regained consciousness only when the hot explosives spattered my face, leaving my face full of burns. Sometimes I had to grab assembled shells, weighing nearly 30 kilograms, at the end of a conveyor belt. I often hurt my hands severely while doing this work. I always hid my infected wounds. I didn't want to be sick, because I knew that being sick was equal to being dead.[1]

These forced laborers also suffered under the cruelty of the German foremen. The absolutely lawless situation, in which these women and girls found themselves, was used to maltreat and torture them. Based on their status, they had no chance of defending themselves. Civilians, who showed no consideration for the prisoners' terrible physical condition, also repeatedly pushed them on during their work.

In addition, there was the daily terror of the SS on the way to work and in the camp. After a deployment on March 20, 1945, the SS guard staff was made up of 25 SS members, often older men not fit for the front, and 32 female guards. The camp leader was SS-Sturmscharführer Willi Schäfer, born in 1906. He came from Stettin, was married, and had children. Concentration camp survivors describe his behavior as "fair" in view of the overall situation in which they found themselves. His deputy was the SS-Oberscharführer Ernst Zorbach, who came from the Buchenwald concentration camp shortly after the establishment of this camp and who, due to his sadism toward the prisoners, made efforts to intensify the conditions in the camp. Zorbach was two years older than Schäfer and had already joined the Nazi Party in 1931.

An indication of how quickly the inmates' capacity for work was used up under the conditions of the camp and in the factory is made clear by the fact that already at the end of October 1944—not even three months after the arrival of the forced laborers in Hessisch Lichtenau—206 prisoners were sent back to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Since the factory was only interested in those fit to work and those who possessed a healthy capacity for labor, these women were sent to the extermination camp. Prisoners who were pregnant, sick, and unable to work were selected. On October 24, 1944, the camp commandant reported the death of 5 female forced laborers, among them a 16- and a 17-year-old girl, to the Buchenwald concentration camp. There is no information on the cause of death. Again on January 4, 1945, 2 women were singled out as unfit to work and were brought to Bergen-Belsen, one because she was pregnant and the other because of "mental illness."

According to statements made by former prisoners, hidden resistance and sabotage operations occurred in the camp and in the factory. A former prisoner reports the following on this: "A couple of us organized a sabotage group . . . one or the other explosive would be forgotten in the mixing room, and if that was not possible, then the shells were marked and it was my job to destroy almost invisible parts during unloading, to be sure that the shells would be harmless."[2]

At the end of March 1945, the exhausted inmates of the subcamp were evacuated in the face of advancing U.S. forces. First the women were transported to Leipzig by train under the watch of the SS guard staff. The trip lasted five days. A week later they were sent on a two-week-long march, which was called a "death march" by those who survived. The SS shot many prisoners who could not march any further. The death march ended in Wurzen, just east of Leipzig, where the Jewish women who survived the march were liberated by U.S. troops on April 25, 1945.

From 1967 to 1976, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL), located in Ludwigsburg, and the State Attorney's Office in Kassel carried out investigations against the camp leader, his deputy, and the other members of the SS for the killing of prisoners in the Hessisch Lichtenau subcamp and during the evacuation march. The trial was called off on March 10, 1976, because it was impossible to determine the whereabouts of the camp leader Schäfer and his deputy Zorbach.

SOURCES The basis for this entry on the Hessisch Lichtenau subcamp comes from two books by Dieter Vaupel: *Das Aussenlager Hessisch Lichtenau des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald 1944/1945: Eine Dokumentation*, 3rd ed. (Kassel: Verlag Gesamthochschulbibliothek Kassel, 1984) and *Spuren die nicht vergehen: Eine Studie über Zwangsarbeit und Entschädigung*, 2nd ed. (Kassel: Verlag Gesamthochschulbibliothek Kassel, 2001). The former title has also been published in English in the collection by Randolph L. Braham, *Studies on the Holocaust in Hungary* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990). Gregor Espelage dedicates an extensive chapter to the Lichtenau subcamp in his book *"Friedland" bei Hessisch Lichtenau: Geschichte einer Stadt und Sprengstofffabrik in der Zeit des Dritten Reiches in Zwei Bänden* (Hessisch Lichtenau: Stadt Hessisch Lichtenau, 1994).

There are many scattered records on the subcamp Hessisch Lichtenau. The correspondence of the SS including prisoner and transport lists and lists of those kept back and temporarily not deported are located at APMO, in BA-K, and YV. A collection of files in BA-L is of particular significance in that it deals with the investigative trial concerning prisoner deaths in the Hessisch Lichtenau camp. Two former concentration camp prisoners published autobiographical works on their experiences in the camp and in the explosives factory: Trude Levi, *A Cat Called Adolf* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 1994); and Judith Magyar Isaac-

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son, *Seed of Sarah* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991). Both books have also been published in German translation.

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trans. Lynn Wolff

NOTES

1. Blanka Pudler, quoted in Dieter Vaupel, *Spuren, die nicht vergehen: Eine Studie über Zwangsarbeit und Entschädigung*, 2nd ed. (Kassel: Verlag Gesamthochschulbibliothek Kassel, 2001), p. 337.

2. Gertrud Deak, quoted in ibid., p. 114.

JENA

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Jena (Thüringen) in late September or early October 1944. The inmates were transferred from the nearby main camp to Jena to work for the Reichsbahnausbesserungswerke (Reich Railways Repair Works, RAW), located on Loebstädter Strasse 50. Like other subcamps created in the later months of the war, concentration camp prisoners were hired out by private industrial firms, such as RAW, which paid the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) for the use of prisoner labor. RAW-Jena paid the WVHA 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.[1]

Inmates brought to the Jena subcamp were used by the RAW to repair the railway and perform other kinds of work in the factory. Because the camp was located only about 24 kilometers (15 miles) from the main Buchenwald camp in Jena, groups of prisoners were often sent to the camp from Buchenwald on special tasks as requested by the Jena mayoral office.

From transport lists and transfer reports (*Veränderungsmeldungen*) generated about the movement of inmates to and from Jena, a general picture emerges of the number of inmates in the Jena subcamp at various intervals during its five-month-long operation, information about the demographics of the camp population, as well as frequency of deaths, illnesses, and departures from the camp. The first transport of 400 male inmates left Buchenwald and arrived in the Jena subcamp on October 4, 1944. The prisoners appear to be Polish, Russian, Czech, French, Belgian, and German, but nationality, age, and profession of the inmates are not provided in the report.[2] By the end of October, there were at least 573 inmates imprisoned in the Jena subcamp. At the end of November 1944, the number had reached around 800, with another large transport of 300 prisoners arriving in Jena on November 4, 1944.[3] On January 23, 1945, the last large transport of 133 inmates arrived in Jena.[4] Throughout the following months, smaller transports shifted prisoners between Buchenwald and Jena.[5] According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog, the average strength of the Jena subcamp was 800 inmates, but the camp most likely reached its peak in January 1945, with 942 inmates.[6]

Although no witness reports from former inmates of the Jena subcamp could be found to attest to the conditions within the camp, some of the transport lists and other transfer memos show that on certain dates inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp in exchange for stronger, healthier inmates. These inmates, deemed completely unsuitable (*völlig ungeignet*) for work at RAW, exhibited various illnesses, including tuberculosis, dysentery, diphtheria, angina, and other conditions. Other inmates were transferred from Jena to Buchenwald to be punished; in one instance, three inmates were returned for plundering a supply train.[7] Some reports show the "departure" of inmates from the camp; many of these departures actually meant that the inmates had died. For example, a transfer report dated February 13, 1945, lists one Pole, a professional criminal (*Berufsverbrechener*) named Jan Filipowicz, as having departed the Jena camp.[8] A list of deaths in the Buchenwald subcamps undersigned by the SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad, SDG), an unnamed SS-Rottenführer, in the prisoner infirmary shows that on the same date one death was recorded for Jena: Jan Filipowicz, who died on "February 6, 1945 at 5:30 p.m., due to pneumonia."[9]

The Kommandoführer of the Jena subcamp was SS-Oberscharführer Zenker. The Arbeitseinsatzführer was SS-Hauptsturmführer Schwarz.[10] According to a report filed by the SS-Standortarzt on January 31, 1945, the SS doctor assigned to oversee medical operations in the Jena subcamp was named Götze, and the SDG was named Wilhelm. The same report lists the strength of the guard troops at 66 and the camp as having 942 inmates on this date.[11]

The Jena subcamp was last mentioned in administrative records on April 11, 1945, with 519 inmates.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources that describe conditions and circumstances at the Jena subcamp of Buchenwald. For brief information on the Jena camp, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, see *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

Likewise, primary documents generated on the Jena subcamp are scarce. For transport lists and other administrative records, see USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, a collection of documents copied from AN-MACVG and originating from ITS (see especially BU 43, BU 8/20). Additional records on the subcamps of Buchenwald, including the Jena camp, may be found at AG-B and AG-MD.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, *TWC*, 6: 759–767.

2. "Transport Jena," October 4, 1944 (BU 43), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

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3. "Transport Jena," November 4, 1944 (BU 43), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

4. "Transport Jena," January 23, 1945 (BU 8/21), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 7).

5. See "K.L. Buchenwald, Kdo. Jena ('Je')" collection in BU 43, USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 16).

6. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 Januar 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, *Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1960), p. 253.

7. "An das Konz. Lager Weimar Buchenwald, Schutzhaftlagerführer," November 23, 1944 (BU 43), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

8. "Veränderungsmeldung," KL Buchenwald, February 13, 1945 (BU 4/35), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045 (Reel 6).

9. Death report, February 13, 1945 (BU 36/4), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, p. 4.

10. See memos regarding exchange of inmates to Buchenwald, on which the names "Zenker" and "Schwartz" are legible, dated November 8, 1944, and January 11, 1945 (BU 43), USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045.

11. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 Januar 1945, as published in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, p. 253.

KASSEL

There were actually two Buchenwald subcamps in Kassel at different times. The first subcamp utilized seven carpenters from the carpentry repair workshop of the main camp who went to Kassel with the subcamp leader SS-Hauptscharführer Arno Weber without an additional guard staff for a week from January 20 to 25, 1941.

The second subcamp included 12 prisoners—5 skilled workers and 7 unskilled laborers—who worked for the construction firm Itten Bros. in Kassel-Nordhausen (HWL) from November 12, 1942, through December 8, 1942 (in total, 180 workdays, as there was no official work on Sundays). The firm received a proof of debt issued by the "Waffen-SS Buchenwald concentration camp (administration)" and had to transfer "to the account of the Buchenwald concentration camp administration at the Reichsbank branch in Weimar No. 76/144" the amount of 6 Reichsmark (RM) for the day's work of a skilled worker and 4 RM for that of an unskilled laborer.

SOURCES Literature specifically on the two subcamps was not available. In AG-B there are lists of prisoners (call numbers NS 4 Bu 16, Bu 155, Bu 138), in which the subcamp is cited. These lists reveal that the assumption in the "Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)" (Arolsen, unpub. MSS, 1979), p. 47, published by ITS is incorrect, as there were actually two different subcamps (not just one) in the city of Kassel. The proofs of debt for the deployment of prisoners with regard to the second subcamp are in AG-B (call number NS 4 Bu 222). In ITS (call number: Buchenwald 14), a short reference is made to the jobs. The Itter firm was listed in the Kassel register of master craftspeople until 1962.

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KASSEL-DRUSELTAL

The work detachment Kassel-Druseltal—based to the west of Kassel on the road to Habichtswald-Ehlen—was established in July 1943 as an outside detachment of the Buchenwald concentration camp in a private residential building rented by the SS. The building, an old timber house, had originally been an inn. The house had previously been used as a camp for French prisoners of war, so barbed wire, trip wires, and bars were in place.

The camp was a detachment of the SS-Building Administration Main Office (WVHA). The first recorded transport of prisoners from Buchenwald took place on July 24, 1943. From October 1943 to the middle of July 1944, there were between 122 and 148 prisoners in the camp; from the middle of July to January 1945, there were between 162 and 188 prisoners; and at the end of March 1945, when the camp was dissolved, there were 139 prisoners. In all, 288 prisoners were registered: around one-third were Poles, another third were Russians (from the Soviet Union), 39 were Germans, 26 were Czech, 13 were French, 6 were Italians, 6 were Belgians, and 4 were Dutch.

The majority of the prisoners were classified as "political"; a few others were classified as "Bibelforscher" (Jehovah's Witnesses) or as "antisocials."

The prisoners worked at construction (building two barracks for the SS administration on Panoramaweg and garages and rooms on the Strasse Unter den Eichen and performing excavation work for the construction of warehouses) for the Höherer-SS and Polizeiführer (Higher-SS and Police Leader) Josias Prince zu Waldeck and Pyrmont. Waldeck was often present at the construction area. By establishing this work detachment, he had also created the need for his own building administration in Kassel (independent of the Buchenwald concentration camp), which was founded in January 1944. Two Polish architects (Kasimir Ciszewski and Severin Samulski), two Czech building engineers (Vaclav Jilek and Josef Pytlik), a Dutch archivist (Apolonius Hess), and a Dutch clerk (Alfred F. Groeneveld) made up the members of the skilled workers in the building administration office. The Gestapo buildings in the Wilhelmshöher Allee in Kassel had been destroyed by air raids, and so, in Waldeck's mind, there was an urgent need for new accommodations to be erected.

The prisoners in their striped clothing were clearly visible on their way to work and while working in the city. A photograph shows five prisoners and a guard at a construction site on Strasse Unter den Eichen in Kassel. The prisoner-functionaries used the city tram to go shopping. "The tram passengers neither attempted to make contact with us nor did

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they have the courage to try. They mostly looked past us as if we were not there. Only once did an SS man demand that we leave the vehicle because he did not want to sit with criminals in the same tram. The Oberwachtmeister shrugged his shoulders and said 'By Order of Obergruppenführer Waldeck'—and with that the matter was at an end."[1]

SS-Oberscharführer Heinrich Best was commander of the camp; his deputies were SS-Unterscharführer Franz Hronizek and SS-Unterscharführer Gerhard Heinrich. From October 1944, SS-Oberscharführer Rudolph signed documents as camp commander. SS-Unterscharführer Karl Weyrauch was in charge of the building administration. The prisoners were mostly guarded by older members of the municipal police.

Supervisory positions were allotted to the Germans, while the majority of the Poles, Russians, Italians, French, Belgians, ands Czechs were mainly involved in excavation work and construction. The block elder was Joseph Schuhbauer; the Kapos in the building detachment were exclusively German prisoners.

The Kassel work detachment was regarded as being a comparatively bearable camp. This was due to the fact that the guards were policemen and because of the skilled work undertaken (in the detachment were carpenters, electricians, bricklayers, roof tilers, and other workers in the building trades). In several reports of former prisoners, reference is made to the maltreatment of the prisoner Franz Nemeth from Vienna by the SS, which resulted in severe injuries. It is not known what happened to him after the war.

Seven (and possibly an additional five or six) prisoners were able to escape in October 1944 (or possibly a little later).

On March 29, 1945, a few days before American troops marched into Kassel, the camp was dissolved. The 139 prisoners were "withdrawn to Buchenwald because of the approaching enemy." Several prisoners managed to escape during this transport.

SOURCES There is a comprehensive report by a former Dutch prisoner: Alfred F. Groeneveld, *Im Aussenkommando Kassel des KZ Buchenwald* (Kassel: Nationalsozialismus in Nordhessen—Schriften zur regionalen Zeitgeschichte, Band 13, 1991). The appendix contains the prisoners' names and arrest dates.

The archives of the ITS, Bad Arolsen (Collections: Buchenwald 2; 5; 6; 11; 14; 15; 19, 20; 25; 26; 33; 36; 44, 19; 45; 47; 49; 52, 80) has numerous files (e.g., an "Inspection Report on Accommodations and Work Places in Kassel" by an SS-Obersturmführer Work Leader, dated July 1943; the persecution of a "Bibelforscher").

The AG-B holds autobiographical reports on the Kassel subcamp by Hermann Fischer, Richard Krauthause, Kurt Leonhardt, Josef Peschke, Richard Thiede, and Josef Schuhbauer.

See also the BA-B: SS Records 11678; BDC O-5254; SL 16–28; NSDAP Files.

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NOTE

1. Alfred F. Groeneveld, *Im Aussenkommando Kassel des KZ Buchenwald*, (Kassel: Nationalsozialismus in Nordhessen—Schriften zur regionalen Zeitgeschichte, Band 13, 1991), S. 81.

KÖLN-DEUTZ (*WESTWAGGON*)

On September 25, 1944, 200 inmates, guarded by 21 SS men, left the Buchenwald camp, in the direction of Cologne.[1] After a journey lasting two days, the transport reached its destination: the United West German Railway Wagon Factories Inc. (Vereinigte Westdeutsche Waggonfabriken AG) in Köln-Deutz. The factory grounds, later to be taken over by Klöckner-Humboldt-Deutz Motoren AG and used as an armaments factory, were already the site of several forced labor camps and a "work education camp" (*Arbeitserziehungslager*).[2] The factory, known as "Westwaggon," produced railway cars and buses and, during the war, essential parts for tanks and submarines.

The commander of the subcamp was SS-Hauptscharführer Menne Saathoff, who was born on May 12, 1914, in Akelsbarg (East Friesia). Saathoff, who after finishing school worked in the family business, entered service with the SS in 1934, joined the Wehrmacht in 1936, and in July 1939 joined the commandant's staff of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.[3] In his 1946 report, survivor Jean-Paul Garin described Saathoff as follows: "He was impulsive, nervous, and without strength of character, which allowed him to resort to bestial tendencies. He was brutal and sensual."[4]

The prisoners were first quartered in a stone building on the factory grounds at 131 Deutz-Mülheime Strasse.[5] The prisoners included French, Dutch, a few Germans and Poles, and the largest group, Soviets. The prisoners' doctor, Charles Cliquet, and his orderly, Jean-Paul Garin, both French, could move relatively freely around the factory and make contact with civilian workers and foreign forced laborers.

The SS took the prisoners to work in the factory buildings from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. They also worked on Sundays. A few prisoners from Westwaggon were made available for the bomb disposal squads. The soldiers picked them up in trucks in the morning. They worked mostly in Köln-Mülheim. They were also used to expand the military airport at Köln-Ostheim. The police president of Cologne also made use of the Deutz subcamp. For example, in February 1945, 41 prisoners came under the control of the Cologne police.[6]

Hygiene, medical care, food supplies, and accommodation in the last days of the war in the subcamp can only be described as catastrophic. The bombing raids on Cologne, on the right bank of the Rhine, from the middle of October 1944 resulted in no water and electricity. The prisoners could not wash and were not given replacement clean clothes.[7] An air raid on October 28, 1944, burned down the stone building, and one prisoner died in the flames. From that date, the detachment had to live in an air-raid shelter beneath a factory building.[8]

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The shelter had no natural light and was narrow and stuffy. There was no furniture. The prisoners had to sleep on the floor, on straw. Each morning and evening, the camp commander, Saathoff, held roll call in front of the shelter. He walked between the rows of prisoners, carrying a stick. After work, a Soviet prisoner distributed soup and bread to the prisoners, which they took with them into the shelter. The prisoners were then locked in until the morning. A bucket served as a toilet. It was emptied in the morning.

A bombing raid on October 28 destroyed all medicines and medical instruments. Illness spread, and there were several cases of scabies. By the end of the year, Saathoff had transferred 15 sick prisoners back to Buchenwald. The result of imprisonment in the camp is shown in the illnesses: they suffered from tuberculosis, asthma, rheumatism, and inflammation of the joints; one prisoner's face was paralyzed. Several had injuries to ligaments and to their backs, which can be attributed to poor nutrition and the heavy work.

Saathoff had all prisoners who could not work transported to Buchenwald. In a transfer report from November 1944, the following is written: "These 6 prisoners are sick and are being returned to Buchenwald. The age of these prisoners and their illnesses mean that they are a burden and risk for the detachment during air raid alarms and attacks. They are not able to maintain the pace during the alarms."[9] At the same time, Saathoff was concerned to prevent contact between the prisoners and others. Two prisoners were returned to Buchenwald with the words: "These two prisoners are constantly talking to civilian workers, they are lazy and cheeky and given the closeness to the front are a security danger."[10]

It was in December that the prisoners for the first time in weeks received fresh clothes. In January 1945, two prisoners were put on laundry detail so that the prisoners' clothes could be changed weekly. This was possible after a well was dug in front of their quarters. The prisoners suffered as the quality of the food deteriorated. A report in December 1944 stated the following: "The supply of bread sometimes does not occur because there is a scarcity of motor vehicles. This has a noticeable effect. Nevertheless bread is supplied whenever possible."[11] In January, the supplies had "fallen somewhat when compared with the previous month."[12]

However, in the last weeks of the war this subcamp gave the prisoners an opportunity to escape. One-third of the prisoners—at least 65 of them—were able to successfully escape the SS grip.[13] In bombed-out Cologne, there were many possibilities to live illegally in the ruins, to join escaped forced laborers or prisoners, or to work in one of the more than 200 forced labor camps under an assumed name. Sergej Stepanov stated that thorough preparations were required to escape.[14] While working with the detachment at the airport, he made contact with forced laborers from a camp at Köln-Ostheim, who advised him to flee. While searching for bombs, he found civilian clothing, which he hid for his escape. He and Viktor Sokolov escaped on November 22, 1944. With the help of other forced laborers, they hid first in the ruins, then for two weeks in the camp hospital at Köln-Gremberg, so that their hair could grow. Finally, they reported as civilian laborers to a forced labor camp, which had returned from preparing tank ditches in Aachen. Thus Sergej Stepanov and Viktor Sokolov were liberated in Cologne.

Pawel Potozkij was less successful. With the help of Soviet forced laborers, he escaped on October 27, 1944, from the Westwaggon camp.[15] He was picked up by an SA patrol in February 1945 and locked in the Gestapo prison. Despite brutal interrogation, the Gestapo failed to identify Potozkij. He was released to a forced labor camp in Deutz, where he was recognized by an SS man from the Westwaggon subcamp and sent back to Buchenwald on February 26, 1945. Friends hid him among those suffering from typhus and said he was dead. He was released from the infirmary at the beginning of April, using a pseudonym, and was liberated on April 11, 1945.

The Westwaggon subcamp was still in the city even after American troops had occupied the left bank of the Rhine on March 6, 1945. On March 10, 1945, 92 prisoners, with another 26 on March 15, 1945, returned to Buchenwald.[16] Of the original 200 prisoners, there remained just over half. There are no recorded deaths among the prisoners other than one who died during a bombing raid.[17] Just before the prisoners were returned to Buchenwald, a large group escaped in Cologne. As with Garin, they were of the opinion that on no account did they want to go back to Buchenwald: "We felt that the end of the war was arriving. Moreover, we proposed that we should not remain in their hands during these last days."[18]

In 1966, the Cologne state prosecutor investigated the Buchenwald subcamps in the Cologne city area, including the "Kommando Köln-Westwaggon."[19] The state prosecutor found no evidence of any homicides. The fate of Saathoff after 1945 is not known.

SOURCES Subcamp Westwaggon was first investigated in a study on the SS-Construction Brigade by Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln: Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996), pp. 155–158. Sources on the camp are relatively few. As well as transport lists, held in the HStA-D, there are the monthly reports. See THStA-W Court Rept. 118/1179 and Monthly Reports NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54, 69–78). In addition, there is the 1946 book by survivor Jean-Paul Garin, *La vie dure* (Lyon: Audin, 1946), pp. 147–161, as well as several interviews with former prisoners on living conditions in the subcamp. The latter can be found at the NS Document Center, City of Cologne (Interview Marian Gazinski NS-Dok, Z 10.584, Interview Sergej Stepanow NS-Dok, Z 10.551, and Interview NS-Dok Pawel Potockij Z 10.517).

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NOTES

1. "Transport Köln-Deutz," Weimar-Buchenwald, September 25, 1944, HStA-D, Court Rept. 118/1179; and Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Administration, September 23, 1944, Prisoner Transfers to Köln/Deutz-Tief, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald Nr. 9, p. 240a.

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2. 19. Police District Cologne to the Aliens Office, June 20, 1949, HAStK, Acc. 606/2, p. 72. See also Gebhard Aders, "Die Firma Klöckner-Humboldt-Deutz AG im zweiten Welt-krieg," Parts 1 and 2, in RrhK 14 (1988): 89–143 and 15 (1989): 129–176; and Adolf Störiko, "Geschichte der 'Vereinigte Westdeutsche Waggonfabriken AG' Köln-Deutz ('Westwag-gon')," JfEbG 7 (1973): 26–66.

3. See the signatures of Saathoff, THStA-W, NS 4 Bu-chenwald Nr. 54, p. 69; and BA-B, BDC/RS.

4. Jean-Paul Garin, *La vie dure* (Lyon: Audin, 1946), p. 148.

5. Enquetes sur les prisons et les camps douteux, Rapport 94976, AMSPE, Administration des Victimes de la Guerre, Brüssel, Anlagen zu Bericht Nr. 451.

6. Movements Book, Receipt-Nr. 90, lfd. Nr. 28/2, March 1, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136, p. 10.

7. Subcamp Westwaggon, Monthly Report, October 20, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54, p. 78.

8. Subcamp Westwaggon, Monthly Report, November 20, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54, p. 77.

9. SS-Hauptscharführer Saathoff, November 20, 1944, HStA-D, Court Rept. 118/1179.

10. Ibid.

11. Subcamp Westwaggon, Monthly Report, December 25, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54, p. 79.

12. Subcamp Westwaggon, Monthly Report, February 27, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 54, pp. 69–70; and Monthly Report, January 30, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchen-wald Nr. 52, p. 65.

13. Based on the Movement Reports, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a and 136b.

14. Interview Sergej Stepanov, NS-Dok, Z 10.551.

15. Interview and materials from Pawel Potockij, NS-Dok, Z 10.517.

16. Movement reports, March 10, 1945, and March 15, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136b.

17. See the "Köln-Deutz" movement reports from Septem-ber 25, 1944, to March 25, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchen-wald Nr. 136a and 136b.

18. Garin, *La vie dure*, p. 154.

19. HStA-D, Court Rept. 118/1174–1190 and 118/1338–1349.

KÖLN-NIEHL (KÖLN-"*FORD*")

The Ford Factory (Ford-Werke AG), located since 1931 at 1 Henry Ford Strasse, Köln-Niehl, was the German headquar-ters of the American Ford Motor Company. During the Nazi era, it was one of the most important truck suppliers for the Wehrmacht. The subcamp was constructed in Cologne after Albert Speer at the beginning of July 1944 discussed with Adolf Hitler and Heinrich Himmler an increase in the pro-duction of trucks. Himmler promised 12,000 workers. "For this purpose," according to Speer, "one or more truck facto-ries must be quickly converted into concentration camp op-erations."[1]

On August 12, 1944, 50 prisoners were transferred from the Buchenwald concentration camp to Ford. This number remained relatively static. The 35 Soviet citizens, 10 Czechs, 2 Germans, 2 Poles, and 1 stateless person were guarded by 16 SS men.[2] From time to time, the prisoners were supplemented with inmates from other subcamps in Cologne. Even before the camp was constructed, Ford had made contact with the SS. Repeatedly, prisoners of the SS-Construction Brigade III (Baubrigade III) had to work at Ford in, for example, con-structing trenches for protection against shrapnel or loading and unloading.[3] Kazimierz Tarnawski part of a group that daily made its way from the subcamp in the Cologne Trade Fair Center to Ford—sometimes, when transport was not available, the journey was made by foot. The group loaded ships on the Rhine with boxes destined for a subsidiary in Bucharest. Another work detachment built bunkers in the northern part of the factory.[4]

According to the then-24-year-old Marian Gazinski, the barracks, which served as accommodations for the subcamp, were about 70 to 100 meters (77 to 109 yards) from the factory, painted green, very clean, and fenced in. In the middle of the barracks were the commander's offices, a kitchen, guardroom, and a toilet and washroom. On either side, to the left and the right, were dormitories for 20 persons. The dormitories had three-level bunk beds and a separate dining room.

The prisoners were led to work by the SS men, who guarded them. They worked daily for 12 hours. The prisoners were separated from other workers while they worked. Gazin-ski allocated the prisoners' work according to need, for ex-ample, working as turners, working on engines, or working on regulating engine ignition. The prisoners also had to work as bricklayers and carpenters.[5]

SS-Oberscharführer Josef Gergel, born on January 22, 1917, in Bucharest, was the camp commander.[6] During World War I, he and his mother moved to the Sudetenland, which later became part of Czechoslovakia. He was a locksmith in Brno. When German troops occupied the Sudetenland in 1938, he joined the Waffen-SS. He took part in the western campaign, after which he was transferred to the 4th SS-Totenkopfsturmbann (Death's Head Battallion) in Weimar-Buchenwald. Gazinski describes Gergel as educated and as not a brutal person. The SS did not mistreat the prisoners and were, as Gazinski described them, "very correct but firm." As an experienced concentration camp prisoner, who had a lot of experience with the SS, he said: "We were always behaved because we were disciplined. We knew that you could lose your life for the smallest trifle and for that reason we main-tained order."

Gazinski remembers the food at Ford as being particularly poor. He said that it was even worse than at Buchenwald. In the morning, there was coffee and 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread; in the evening, spinach and three potatoes or soup from the leaves of white beets. The best food that he could recall was lentil soup. During the 15-minute break at lunch-time, the prisoners were not fed, and there were no extra rations for particular occasions.

Four prisoners were able to escape from the Ford camp.[7] Nine new prisoners from Buchenwald and 2 from the Cologne city camp were transferred so that, for a period, there were 60

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prisoners at work. One of them died for reasons unknown, and 5, again for unknown reasons, were taken to Buchenwald.[8] On February 27, 1945, when production ceased at Ford, the detachment was dissolved, and 48 prisoners were returned to Buchenwald.[9] Three prisoners remained at Ford. On March 6, 1945, when American troops entered, they left. The remaining 2 were taken to the subcamp at the Westwaggon factory on the eastern side of the Rhine.[10]

The existence of the small subcamp was quickly forgotten after the war. A survey by Cologne in October 1949 resulted in vague references to Ford factory, such as: "There are no documents available for the time in question and one has to rely on the employees. Supposedly for three months between forty ands fifty people worked on the factory grounds and it is suspected that they were concentration camp prisoners from Buchenwald."[11] Investigations by the Cologne state prosecutors in 1966 did not result in evidence that justified prosecutions.[12]

SOURCES Hanns-Peter Rosellen published a history of the factory for the years 1903 to 1945: *"Und trotzdem vorwärts": Die dramatische Entwicklung von Ford in Deutschland 1903 bis 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Zyklam, 1986). The concentration camp prisoners are not mentioned, and the forced laborers, both male and female, are only mentioned and then in a favorable light (pp. 32–35). It was only on the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II that a study on the American military government in Cologne revealed for the first time the role of the Cologne Ford factory during the war. See Reinhold Billstein and Eberhard Illner, *You Are Now in Köln*, *Compliments: Köln 1945 in den Augen der Sieger; Hundert Tage unter amerikanischer Kontrolle* (Cologne: Emons, 1995), pp. 181–188. The first mention of the subcamp was made in a documentary report titled "Forced Labor at Ford," in *Zwangsarbeit bei Ford*, ed. Projektgruppe Messelager (Cologne: Betrieb Rode-Stankowski, 1996), pp. 32–35. Simultaneously, further results were published in a study on the SS-Construction Brigade III: Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln: Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons, 1996), pp. 152–154. The book *Working for the Enemy: Ford*, *General Motors and Forced Labor in Germany during the Second World War*, ed. Reinhold Billstein, Karola Fings, Anita Kugler, and Nicholas Levis (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000) did not reveal any new insights on the concentration camp but did on the company's policies.

The sources are scarce. According to the Ford factory, it does not maintain its own archive. There is no reference to the subcamp in the reports, which describe the Ford factory under administration from 1942 by the Reich Trustee for Alien Property ("Reichstreuhänder für die Behandlung feindlichen Vermögens") and which are held in the BA (R 87/6205, 6206). There is merely a transport list and few other documents in the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1179) and in the THStA-W (NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a, 136b). Survivors' reports cannot fill the gaps, as they are not directly related to the subcamp but to other subcamps in Cologne from which workers were allocated to Ford or by forced laborers who had seen the prisoners at Ford. A few of these reports are held by the NS-Dok (Z 10.530, Interview Wladimir Lebedew; Z 10.662, Interview Mareno Mannucci; Z 10.584, Interview Marian Gazinski; Collection Project Group Trade Fair Center, Report by Michel van Ausloos).

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NOTES

1. Cited by Willi A. Boelke, *Deutschlands Rüstung im Zweiten Weltkrieg: Hitlers Konferenzen mit Speer 1942–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Akademische Verlagsanstalt, 1969), p. 396.
2. "Transport Köln (Ford)," August 12, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1179.
3. Report by Michel van Ausloos, NS-Dok, Slg. Project Group Trade Fair Center, and Interview Wladimir Lebedew, NS-Dok, Z 10.530.
4. Interview Mareno Mannucci, NS-Dok, Z 10.662, and Interview Kazimierz Tarnawski, NS-Dok, Z 10.614.
5. Report on the work by the detachments at Köln-Ford, August 20, 1944, ZSL-L (BA-L), IV 406 AR 85/67, p. 18.
6. BA-B, BDC, RS.
7. Movement reports, September 14, 1944, November 14, 1944, November 28, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a.
8. Numbers, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a, pp. 117–146; and NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136b, pp. 2–42.
9. Movement Reports, March 6, 1945, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136b, p. 42.
10. Ibid., p. 45; and Interview Marian Gazinski, in NS-Dok, Z 10.584.
11. Cologne City Office to the Arolsen City Office, October 26, 1949, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1179.
12. NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1174–1190 and 118/1338–1349.

KÖLN-STADT

On August 15, 1944, the Buchenwald concentration camp sent 300 male, mostly Soviet, prisoners to the Rhine metropolis as "Kommando Köln-Stadt." They were accompanied by 17 SS men as guards.[1] The detachment was to fill the labor gap that occurred after the SS-Construction Brigade III had been withdrawn in May 1944. It was urgently needed to remove rubble from the heavily damaged city. The idea to use prisoners originated with Cologne Gauleiter Josef Grohé, who had personally intervened with Heinrich Himmler and requested the further use of prisoners.[2]

Grohé's action was supported by the Cologne city administration, especially by Robert Brandes who as the lord mayor had plenipotentiary powers at this time. The building administration, which reported to him, negotiated with the work allocation leader Schwartz at the Buchenwald concentration camp in August 1944 on the conditions for the use of the prisoners. One of the difficult negotiating points was the deployment of guards, which in part were to come from the city. While the city wanted to use factory security guards or other auxiliary police, the concentration camp administration insisted that the

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guards be Waffen-SS, police, Wehrmacht, or Luftwaffe members.[3] According to a survivor's statement, members of the Wlassow Army were supposed to supplement the SS guards.[4]

The subcamp was on the grounds of the Cologne Trade Fair Center, where—from the beginning of the war—there had been a number of different camps. The two subbarracks, which comprised the subcamp, stood directly on the Rhine, scarcely 100 meters (109 yards) from the Cologne Cathedral, on the other side of the river.[5] The camp was fenced, but the prisoners could make contact through the windows with the eastern workers (*Ostarbeiter*), who were in the western buildings of the Trade Fair Center.[6]

Several prisoner work detachments were assigned by the Cologne city administration to remove rubble from the city. The majority of the prisoners were divided into two groups. In 12-hour shifts a large group of prisoners worked day and night on a military airport, which could have been the "Butzweiler Hof" in Köln-Longerich. The prisoners were taken to the airport by truck. Some had to load aircraft with bombs, and others had to repair the bomb damage on the runways.[7] Another group was allocated by the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) West to Luftwaffe bomb disposal squads. The bomb disposal squads had the life-threatening job of retrieving unexploded bombs.[8] The detachment was reinforced with 50 prisoners from the Düsseldorf camp at the German Earth and Stone Works (DESt).[9]

Within a few weeks the camp had around 260 prisoners. There are no recorded deaths in the camp. The decimation of the prisoner numbers is due in large part to the high number of escapes. By the beginning of October 1944, 37 prisoners had escaped; 2 were transferred to Buchenwald because they were sick; while another 3 were returned to the main camp for punishment.[10] One of them was Iwan Kutuzow. He was handed over to the political department of the camp on September 2, 1944, accused of "mutinous talk."[11] Kutuzow was held for one month under arrest in a cell. On October 5, 1944, he stated while being questioned that during work at the "Kommando Flughafen" he answered a police officer's question. He was believed, and on the same day, the political department transferred him to the prison camp.

That October, the city of Cologne was beginning to fragment under pressure from the bombing raids and the Allies approaching from the West. Several air raids had destroyed a large part of the still-intact transport routes, apartment blocks, and industry and resulted in a mass flight of the population from the city.[12] The prisoners used the opportunities given by the attacks and the piles of rubble to escape. Finally the barracks camp was destroyed in the middle of October 1944 during a bombing raid on that part of Cologne on the right side of the Rhine. It would seem that none of the prisoners were killed. As there was no longer any suitable accommodation, the subcamp was dissolved. In the relevant monthly report, the Waffen-SS base doctor stated, "The subcamp Köln-Stadt was dissolved and on 25.10.1944, 224 men returned to the Buchenwald concentration camp."[13]

A group of 34 prisoners of the subcamp Köln-Stadt remained in Cologne, as they were recorded in the "strength reports" of the subcamp Köln-Ford on November 20, 1944.[14] Almost all of these prisoners managed to escape, with the result that on November 23 the remaining prisoners were officially transferred to the Ford camp.[15]

The subcamp Köln-Stadt existed for just two months. With the withdrawal of the camp, the importance of prisoner labor for the city became apparent. The police president, who as Air Defense leader coordinated the recovery of unexploded bombs, wrote on October 31, 1944, to the Cologne government president: "Now that the concentration camp prisoners who removed unexploded ordinance have been withdrawn to the main camps the removal of unexploded ordinance has almost completely stopped."[16]

An investigation by the Cologne state prosecutors in 1966 on the conditions in the Buchenwald camps in the city of Cologne uncovered little about the "Detachment Köln-Stadt."[17] It was also not possible to locate the responsible commander, and there were no indications of homicides committed in the camp.

SOURCES The subcamp Köln-Stadt has until now only been considered in connection with the SS-Construction Brigade III. See Karola Fings, *Messelager Köln: Ein KZ-Aussenlager im Zentrum der Stadt* (Cologne: Emons 1996), pp. 149–151. There are a few original documents scattered in a number of archives: THStA-W (Collection NS 4 Buchenwald; KZ Buchenwald and Haftanstalten [Prisones]) and in the court reports of the NWHStA-(D) (Court Rept. 118/1174–1190 and 118/1338–1349). There are only a few memoirs: an interview with Franciszek Wójcikowski, in NS-Dok, Z 10.559; and a letter from Edward Zdun, in NS-Dok Collection, Project Group Trade Fair Center.

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NOTES

1. Transport Lists, August 15, 1944, NWHStA-(D), Court Rept. 118/1179; and Statement, undated, on Doctors and Carers in subcamps, AG-B, 51-9-13/2.
2. Telegram from Grohé to Himmler, dated May 2, 1944, BA, NS 19/14, p. 46.
3. Telegram from Schwartz to the Lord Mayor Cologne, Office 89, dated August 28, 1944, THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 210.
4. Statement by Edmund K., BA-L, IV 429 AR 1304/67, pp. 82–83.
5. Letter from Edward Zdun, NS-Dok Collection Project Group Trade Fair.
6. Interview with Franciszek Wójcikowski, NS-Dok, Z 10.559.
7. Ibid; and letter by Edward Zdun, NS-Dok Collection Project Group Trade Fair.
8. BA-L, IV 429 AR 1304/67, Bl. 82.
9. Telegram from the Work Leader Schw. to Amtsgruppe D Oranienburg, dated September 29, 1944, AG-B, 56-3-10.

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10. Prisoner Numbers, September 30, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten Nr. 10, p. 145. Other numbers in THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a, pp. 107–123.

11. Record of interview of the Political Department Buchenwald, dated October 5, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten Nr. 15, p. 81.

12. See Review of attacks in October 1944, in Peter Simon, "Köln im Luftkrieg 1939–1945," SMSK 9, Heft 2 (1954): 106–110.

13. Garrison Doctor Waffen-SS Weimar, Monthly Report on the Medical Service in Buchenwald Concentration Camp, October 31, 1944, THStA-W, KZ Buchenwald und Haftanstalten Nr. 10, p. 116.

14. See the strength reports, AG-B, 61-0-14-2.

15. THStA-W, NS 4 Buchenwald Nr. 136a, p. 142.

16. Police President Cologne to the Cologne Government President, dated October 31, 1944, HStA-D, BR 1131/119.

17. HStA-D, Court Rept. 118/1174–1190 and 118/1338–1349.

KRANICHFELD

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Kranichfeld (Thüringen) near Weimar in late 1941 to restore one of two castles in the town, the Oberschloss Kranichfeld. Kranichfeld was named a Nazi model city (*Mustergemeinde*) in 1940 when the SS took over the castle. At least 50 inmates were deported to the area from Buchenwald and were deployed to work at the castle and in other kinds of manual labor in possibly two distinct subcamps in the city.

Restoration of the Oberschloss Kranichfeld fell under the auspices of the Society for the Promotion and Care of German Cultural Monuments (Gesellschaft zur Förderung und Pflege deutscher Kulturdenkmäler). The Society came under Oswald Pohl's Office Group W8 of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which was focused on Special Tasks (*Sonderaufgaben)* and charitable organizations. Although the Society was allegedly a nonprofit organization focused on restoring German cultural heritage in architectural form, such as the Wewelsburg castle, according to historian Michael Thad Allen, much of the capital generated for the Society was funneled into questionable SS business ventures.

Discrepancy surrounds the exact dates of the work details (Kommando[s]) sent to Kranichfeld. Correspondence between the administration of the Buchenwald camp and the Office for Special Tasks shows an early exchange (May 1941) regarding the condition of the Kranichfeld castle as well as a recommendation for sending 50 inmates to work there. The letter details 4 skilled workers (including a carpenter, bricklayer, and a metalworker), as well as 46 unskilled workers, to be hired out at a cost of 0.30 Reichsmark (RM) per day per prisoner for prisoners who worked over four hours and 0.15 RM per day per prisoner for prisoners who worked under four hours.[1] The head of Aussenstelle I/5 in Buchenwald authorized inmates to Kranichfeld as of May 24, 1941. They were to be housed in a large storeroom. The food was to be provided by the Buchenwald camp and prepared in an existing kitchen. The Buchenwald camp would provide the guard staff (members of the SS), who were to be housed in a large building near the castle. The Kommando was to be inspected weekly, and its administration was to have weekly consultations with the head of construction, believed to be a Mr. Wohlgast. The camp's duration was "indefinite," although the memo notes that the operation would last "probably until fall."[2]

According to another memo dated June 19, 1942, to the SS-Bauleitung Oberschloss Kranichfeld (Construction Office of the Kranichfeld castle) from the mayor of Kranichfeld, a request made by phone to shift the inmate Kommando used for the city of Kranichfeld until June 15, 1942, to the construction of the Oberschloss Kranichfeld, starting June 16, 1942, could not be granted. Two SS men are mentioned in the heading of the memo, including SS-Untersturmführer Bangert and SS-Oberscharführer Gutsell.[3] Instead, the date of the shift was June 18, 1942. This suggests that if there was a second Kommando set up in Kranichfeld, it was first used for clearing rubble and other kinds of labor for the city of Kranichfeld and was then shifted to construction activity at the castle.

Other materials from the administration of Buchenwald include claim certificates for "inmate labor for the Kranichfeld city administration." One claim, dated May 1942, notes that there were 20 unskilled laborers allotted to Kranichfeld for May 1 and 2 and then 40 unskilled laborers from May 4 to May 30, 1942 (total of 2,880 RM). A claim for April 1942 was submitted for 30 days of work for a total of 20 unskilled workers (total of 60 RM). Another claim for inmate labor was submitted in June 1942, for 17 days of work by 40 unskilled workers (total 1,800 RM). These claim certificates suggest that either the initial Kommando of 50 inmates deployed in May 1941 remained in Kranichfeld for over a year or there was a second Kommando created there in April 1942.[4] (The International Tracing Service [ITS] catalog, as noted in Martin Weinmann, dates the camp in 1943 for a period of eight months, although there is no supporting evidence in the Bundesarchiv files or ITS transfer lists.)

There is little surviving information about the Kommando(s) set up at the Kranichfeld castle. A surviving (undated, but most likely from 1941) transfer list notes 51 inmates who were transferred from Buchenwald to Kranichfeld.[5] The inmates appear to represent various nationalities, especially Poles and Germans.

SOURCES There are no secondary and few primary sources on the Kranichfeld subcamp of Buchenwald. This entry derives from the outline of basic information (opening and closing dates, location, etc.) provided in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). For brief information on the Gesellschaft zur Förderung und Pflege deutscher Kulturdenkmäler, see Michael Thad Allen, *The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor, and the Concentration Camps* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

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Primary documentation on the Kranichfeld subcamp is scanty. For the undated list of prisoners in the camp, see USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, which constitutes a collection copied from AN-MACVG and originating from ITS. Likewise, the BA (NS 4, Band 205), reproduced at the USHMMA in RG-14.023M, contains relevant administrative data on the camp.

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NOTES

1. "Der Reichsführer-SS, Amt für Sonderaufgaben, Berlin-Lichterfeld-West, Geranienstr. 5," May 24, 1941, BA (NS-4), Band 205, as reproduced in USHMMA, RG-14.023M.

2. Ibid.

3. "Verrechnung Häftl-Kds. der Stadt Kranichfeld u. Bauleitung Oberschloss, Kranichfeld," June 19, 1945, BA (NS-4), Band 205, USHMMA, RG-14.023M.

4. "Forderungsnachweise," April 1942, May 1942, June 1942.

5. "Kommando Kranichfeld" (n.d.) (BU43), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 16).

LANGENSALZA ("LANGENWERKE AG")

Langensalza (from 1956, Bad Langensalza) lies in the Thüringian District of Unstrut-Hainich, about 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the northwest of Erfurt. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony.

At the end of 1943, the city was to be used as a transfer destination for parts of the Dessau Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke's production facilities. The buildings of the Kammgarnwerke Eupen AG and, from March 1944, buildings of the Buntweberei Gräsers Witwe und Sohn were emptied and handed over to Junkers.

As with the Niederorschel subcamp, which was connected organizationally to the Langensalza subcamp, the Langensalza subcamp had the code name "Langenwerke AG." In both camps, wings were assembled for the Junkers (Ju) 88 and later in particular the (Fw) 190. The prisoners were accommodated in two different sites: around 200 prisoners were quartered on the factory grounds and the others in a barracks camp, which was erected opposite the production site.

Prisoners of war were initially allocated to the "Langenwerke AG," but from the late summer of 1944, the use of concentration camp prisoners was envisaged. The first contingent of 100 prisoners arrived in Langensalza on October 21, 1944. However, according to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp is first referred to on October 20. A second transport followed on October 26 with 50 people, and on October 29, a third transport with 182 prisoners arrived. From November 1944, the subcamp was given a special task: it became the central punishment camp for prisoners who had escaped from concentration camps and had been recaptured. These prisoners' clothing was marked with a red dot (the so-called *Fluchtpunkt* or Escape Dot) on the front and back, a sort of target for the guards, should the prisoners try to escape again. Langensalza took prisoners from at least nine concentration camps throughout the whole of the Reich. The first transport of 40 Fluchtpunkt prisoners arrived from Sachsenhausen on November 9, 1944. Another transport followed within a few days. Altogether there were in Langensalza 48 Fluchtpunkt prisoners from Sachsenhausen, 33 from Flossenbürg, 218 from Neuengamme, 88 from Natzweiler, 181 from Dachau, 93 from Mauthausen, 22 from Gross-Rosen, 18 from Auschwitz, and 27 (males) from Ravensbrück.

On January 2, 1945, there were 1,458 inmates in the camp, the maximum number that was probably reached. Although two transports of 200 prisoners each were sent on to Dora-Mittelbau in January and February, it is likely that the number of prisoners did not fall below 1,200. This was also partly the result of the low death rate: it would appear that even though Langensalza was a punishment camp for prisoners who had committed a crime, the skills that they had acquired in armaments production increased their chances of survival. Two prisoners died in December 1944; in January 1945, 16; and in February and March 1945, again 2 in each month. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that prisoners no longer capable of working at the Langensalza subcamp were repeatedly transferred back to Buchenwald—from mid-November to mid-December alone, 11 prisoners were sent back.

The relocation of the prisoners back to Buchenwald was planned at the end of March following the cessation of production and the approach of Allied troops. The transfer of 1,240 prisoners back to Buchenwald began on April 3, 1945 (according to ITS: April 10–11). The few camp inmates who remained in Langensalza, 59 according to a strength report dated April 11, 1945, were probably liberated at Langensalza by Allied troops.

SOURCES The earliest work on the Langensalza subcamp was by the ILKB in May 1945. For a reproduction of the report, see *Bericht des Internationalen Lagerkomitees des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald* (Offenbach: Verlag Olga Benario und Herbert Baum, 1997), esp. p. 105. A detailed description of the camp by Frank Baranowski is in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 484–486. Baranowski is the author of two other works pertaining to the subcamp: *Geheime Rüstungsprojekte in Südniedersachsen und Thüringen während der NS-Zeit* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 1995); and *Rüstungsproduktion in Mitteldeutschland* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2006). The camp is also mentioned in Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992); Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, ed., *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald*, *Ausstellungskatalog* (West Berlin, 1990), p. 104; Emil Carlebach, Eilly Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald: Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 2000), p. 139; ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:48; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1819.

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There are numerous sources, both published and unpublished, on the history of the Langensalza subcamp. In addition to documents in the AG-B, the following collections are of interest: LASA-DO, Bestand Junkers-Werke, numbers 1063 and 1072, as well as an interim report on the Langenwerke AG, which refers to the planned use of concentration camp prisoners; in the Zeitgeschichtliche Sammlung of the ASt-BL, Best. Sa 3/105-1 (for the cremation of prisoners of the Langensalza subcamp and of Ostarbeiter, 1944–1945), Sa 3/105-3 (on the prisoners employed and deceased in the Langensalza subcamp), Sa 3/105-7 (on the erection of a memorial for the prisoners' death march, 1984), and Sa 3/105–8 (on a special exhibit in the Langensalza Heimatmuseum [local museum] in 1995 on the subcamp in the Kammgarnwerke Eupen AG). NARA, RG 242, Film 25, p. 15975, contains the Langensalza subcamp Veränderungsmeldungen.

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LAUENBURG IN POMMERN

The Lauenburg subcamp attached to Buchenwald was established on November 11, 1941, in Lauenburg, Pomerania. Inmates deported from the Buchenwald main camp to Lauenburg were assigned to work in construction and repair work in an SS-Unterführerschule (Officers' School) in the town. There is no information about the original number of prisoners transported to the Lauenburg satellite camp in November 1941.

A general overview of the demographics of the camp population can be gleaned from a transport list of inmates who left Buchenwald for Lauenburg on March 23, 1942.[1] All of the inmates in Lauenburg, including those deported to the camp on this transport, were men. Most of the inmates on the March 23 transport were Poles (40); followed by "asocials" from the German Reich, both Germany and Austria (33); political prisoners (22); "professional criminals" (*Berufsverbrecher*) (16); and inmates declared "unworthy" of Wehrmacht service, "Wehrunw." or "W.U." (2). (One inmate, number 2939, had an unknown classification of "W.A.") The ages of these 114 prisoners ranged from 18 to 54 years.

The camp was in operation from November 1941 until February or March 1945. However, in April 1942, the administration of the Lauenburg camp shifted from Buchenwald to Stutthof. An order issued by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) on March 28, 1942, noted that, effective April 1, the Lauenburg camp would be transferred to and administered as a satellite camp of Stutthof. The Stutthof subcamp was established with the prisoners of the March 23 transport, and the inmates performed similar kinds of labor at the SS-Unterführerschule. (See Stutthof/Lauenburg [aka SS-Unterführerschule Lauenburg].)

SOURCES Little information about the Lauenburg subcamp of Buchenwald can be found in either secondary or primary sources. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, employer, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Lauenburg in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussen-kommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten*, vol. 1 (Arolsen: Der Suchdienst, 1979). For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung; Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983).

Primary documentation on the Lauenburg subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See in particular a collection of transport lists to the Lauenburg camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from the ITS), USHMM, 1998.A.0045, especially Reels 5 and 7. See also the BA, NS 4, Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, especially volumes 176–185, 191–196, 200, 211, 213–230. These volumes contain relevant information pertaining to the subcamps; however, thorough research and statistical analysis are needed to gain extensive information about the demographics, increases and decreases, and death rate of the camp population. The BA NS 4 series on Buchenwald is copied at the USHMMA, RG-14.023M. Duplicates of transport lists, as well as "strength reports" for various satellites, can be found in the USHMM, 1996.A.0342 (originally copied from the NARA, A3355), Reels 146–180 (especially 171). Further analysis of these reports may yield additional detailed information about the exact daily arrivals to and departures from the satellite camps of Buchenwald. Registration cards and prisoner questionnaires that provide information about individual inmates can be found in NARA, RG 242. Finally, see Stutthof/Lauenburg for additional primary and secondary sources on the camp during its operation as a subcamp of Stutthof. Additional resources include the AMS and the AK-IPN Gd.

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NOTE

1. "Nummerliste des Kommandos Lauenburg," March 23, 1942 (BU 4/16 and BU 8/5), AN (ITS Arolsen), as reproduced in USHMM, Acc. 1998.A.0045, Reels 5 and 7, respectively.

LEIPZIG-SCHÖNAU (ATG)

Schönau is located in Saxony, about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) to the west of the city of Leipzig. A Buchenwald subcamp was established in Schönau at the end of August 1944. While it is likely that the camp already existed on August 20, 1944, the first transport only arrived on August 22. There were around 500 Hungarian Jewish women, who had been brought from Stutthof for work at the Allgemeine Transportanlagen GmbH (ATG) Maschinenbau. The headquarters of the company was located at Leipzig-Schönau W 32, Schönauer Strasse 32.

The subcamp was situated close to the "Werk 1," the ATG's main factory, at Schönauer Strasse 101, between Lindenallee and Schönauer Strasse, to the north of what later was Robert-Koch-Klinik. The barracks and infirmary were surrounded with barbed wire. There were two guard towers. The guards were SS men under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Rudolf Eisenacher. At the end of 1944, there were 24 SS men and 28 female overseers.

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Many of the imprisoned women were young—the average age was 20. Many women had been through an odyssey since their initial internment in Hungary—they had been through a number of concentration camps including Auschwitz, Stutthof, and Riga. The women at the Leipzig-Schönau ATG subcamp were employed in aircraft production. The ATG was one of the most important German bomber manufacturers, producing above all the Ju 52 and the Ju 88 as well as Junkers aircraft engines. Its main factory, or *Stammwerk*, assembled the two half shells of the fuselage that had been manufactured elsewhere. The women worked in this production process. They worked two shifts each of 10.5 hours broken by a 30-minute break. In August 1944 the prisoners worked 49,500 hours, and in September 1944, 138,504 hours. Work in the armaments industry was difficult, which is confirmed by the transports of women returned to Buchenwald who could no longer work. Pregnant women or women who had given birth in the camp were also removed from the camp. On November 17, 1944, two women who could no longer work were transferred, and on January 27, 1945, it was four women. In this last transport, there were two women who had given birth shortly before the transport. They were transported with their babies, one of whom died on the way to Bergen-Belsen. The second infant died with its mother in the Bergen-Belsen camp. A girl, born stillborn in the camp on January 11, 1945, was cremated a few days later in the Leipzig Südfriedhof (Southern Cemetery) crematorium.

Camp survivors unanimously describe the work as difficult, but the living conditions were more bearable than what they had previously experienced. This is largely due to the relatively humane treatment of the prisoners and the adequate food supply. There was a bonus system for prisoners who excelled at work, which offered rewards in the form of small items from the prisoners' canteen (which often were unusable by the women in their situation).

There were on average 500 women in the camp until the middle of February 1945. On February 19, 180 women were transferred to the Plömnitz ("Leopard") subcamp, where a women's camp had been established adjacent to the men's camp.

The women who remained in Leipzig-Schönau continued to work until March 31, 1945. There were 315 women in the camp on this date. A few days later conditions in the camp worsened considerably with the arrival of a transport of women evacuated from Hessisch-Lichtenau. Two days later these women were taken to Leipzig-Thekla, leaving the women of Leipzig-Schönau still in the subcamp.

The subcamp was dissolved on April 13, 1945. There are different versions on the evacuation. Klaus Hesse states that about 200 women were taken in the direction of Bernburg/Ballberge, with the remainder being taken eastward to an unknown destination. The International Tracing Service (ITS) simply states that the prisoners were liberated in April 1945 in Wurzen/Sachsen. This statement agrees with what is stated in an article by historian Irmgard Seidel, where the women were driven by foot via Wurzen, Oschatz, and Strehla in the direction of the Elbe. Women who were too weak to continue the march were shot by the SS. According to this source, the prisoners were liberated by the U.S. Army on April 25, 1945, at Strehla, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) to the northeast of Oschatz.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) investigated crimes at Buchenwald's three Leipzig subcamps between 1966 and 1971. The investigations ceased at the beginning of the 1970s without result.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel wrote about the subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 493–495. Background information on the ATG and its subcamps can be obtained from the following publications: Klaus Hesse, *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*, pp. 96–102; Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene uns KZ-Aussenlager, über gesühnte und ungesühnte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 111–112. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:48; and in the "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil I, p. 1820.

Documents on the ATG Maschienbau GmbH and its subcamp at Leipzig-Schönau are held in the ASt-L, in Bestand GesA [Gesundheitsamt] Nr. 893, which includes information on the transfer of the concentration camp prisoners from the east to Leipzig. For a detailed review of the ATG files and its subcamp in the Leipzig archives, see Thomas Fickenwirt, Birgit Horn, Christian Kurzweg, *Fremd- und Zwangsarbeit im Raum Leipzig: Archivalisches Spezialinventar* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsbuchhandlung, 2004). The cremation of the stillborn girl on January 11, 1945, is recorded in the Leipzig City Einäscherungsbuch (Register of Cremations). Further archival documents are held in the Best. NS 4 BU (BA-K, THStA-W, including 189, 221) in the AG-B (at BwA 46-1-14). The investigations by the ZdL (now BA-L) are recorded under file number IV 429 AR-Z 22/74. Judith Magyar Isaacson has written about the conditions in the subcamp after the arrival of the evacuee transport from Hessisch-Lichtenau in *Befreiung in Leipzig: Erinnerungen einer ungarischen Jüdin* (Witzenhausen: Ekopan-Verlag, 1990), pp. 154–162.

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LEIPZIG-SCHÖNEFELD (*HASAG*) (MEN)

Schönefeld is a suburb of Leipzig in Saxony. A subcamp for women was established at the Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) factory, Leipzig-Schönefeld O29, Hugo-Schneider-Strasse, in the autumn of 1944. A subcamp for men was opened at the same location at the end of November 1944. Some 130 prisoners were planned for the men's camp and were carefully chosen in Buchenwald according to their professional and trade

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skills. This applied especially to precision mechanics, carpenters, transport workers, watchmakers, plumbers, and roofers. At the same time, in Buchenwald prisoners were chosen for administrative functions. All the men of the transport were Hungarian and Polish Jews and either spoke fluent or broken German. A second transport arrived on November 24, 1944, with 150 prisoners. Another transport arrived on December 2, 1944, with 400 men. In the last transports there were mostly Italian and French prisoners, but there were also prisoners from other countries. The 680 inmates of the camp for men were accommodated either in part of the HASAG camp for women, which had been cut off from the rest of that camp, according to historian Wolfgang Knospe, or, according to other sources, such as Klaus Hesse, in their own camp between Bautzen and Torgau Strassen.

As with the women in the Leipzig-Schönefeld HASAG subcamp, the men were mostly used in the production of *Panzerfäuste* (antitank weapons). The HASAG, described after the war by the chief of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Obergruppenführer Pohl, as one of the largest employers of concentration camp labor, employed at the end of 1944 and the beginning of 1945 more than 10,000 prisoners in its camps at Leipzig-Schönefeld, Altenburg, Colditz, Flössberg, Herzberg, Meuselwitz, Schlieben, and Taucha. In December 1944, it was probably more than 16,000. Already long before 1933, HASAG managing director (and SS-Sturmführer) Paul Budin had developed close connections with the SS and the Nazi Party. During the war, he negotiated personally on a number of occasions with Pohl on the use of prisoners in the HASAG factories in the General Government and the German Reich. As special commissioner (Sonderbeauftragter) for the Speer Ministry for the Production of Panzerfäuste, Budin had all means at his disposal to brutally exploit the concentration camp prisoners so as to produce the new miracle weapon: 6,800 units were produced in August 1943 for the first time. By December 1944, the production rate of Panzerfäuste had increased to 1,296,000. Budin, together with the commandant of Buchenwald, Hermann Pister, and the Buchenwald Standortarzt, Gerhard Schiedlausky, had inspected the site of the Leipzig camp in June 1944 as part of their plan to ensure seamless cooperation and production. In October 1944, when the HASAG subcamp was in the process of being built, Budin thanked the WVHA for the use of more than 10,000 prisoners in HASAG enterprises in Germany. In November 1944, Budin supplied the SS with more than 300,000 Panzerfäuste as a gesture of gratitude to the supplier of cheap labor that could be ruthlessly exploited.

That the male prisoners in the subcamp were massively exploited is confirmed by the fact that prisoners who could not work were selected and replaced by prisoners from the main camp (on December 15, 1944, four prisoners and on December 16, 1944, five prisoners were transferred back to Buchenwald).

On February 24, 1945, the SS transferred 100 prisoners from Leipzig-Schönfeld HASAG to Flössberg, about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) to the south of Leipzig. Within a few weeks, construction on a new Buchenwald subcamp was begun, which would be the last HASAG subcamp. The numbers in the camp at Leipzig-Schönefeld sank: on January 31, 1945, there were 221 men in the camp; on March 26, 1945, only 83. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp was liberated on April 18–19, 1945.

SOURCES Wolfgang Knospe contributed the article on the Leipzig-Schönefeld (men) subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 501–502. For further information on the role of HASAG in the development and production of the Panzerfaust, see the essay by Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271; and Klaus Hesse, *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe*, *ihre militärische Bedeutung*, *über Gewinne*, *Gewinner und Verlierer*, esp. pp. 29–63, and Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete*, *über Zwangsarbeiter*, *Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Aussenlager*, *über gesühnte und ungesühnte Verbrechen*, *Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–108. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 49.

For a detailed review of the HASAG files including those of its Leipzig-Schönefeld subcamp in the Leipzig archives, see Thomas Fickenwirt, Birgit Horn, and Christian Kurzweg, *Fremd- und Zwangsarbeit im Raum Leipzig: Archivalisches Spezialinventar* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsbuchhandlung, 2004). Other archival sources on the Leipzig-Schönefeld (men) subcamp are held in the AG-B, Best. NS 4 Bu of the BA-K and the THStA-W, as well as ITS Buchenwald-Best.

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LEIPZIG-SCHÖNEFELD (*HASAG*) (WOMEN)

The subcamp at Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) in Leipzig-Schönefeld was established in June 1944 under the administrative control of the Ravensbrück concentration camp. Its labor allocation was controlled by the Buchenwald camp, which assumed administrative control of the subcamp on September 1, 1944. Eight hundred women from Majdanek arrived at the camp on June 9, 1944, of whom 566 were Poles; 109 were of other nationalities; and 39 were Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) who had refused to work in armaments production.

On June 26, 1944, 151 women arrived from Ravensbrück. Initially, there were temporary accommodations in a nearby field. This was replaced by a camp on Bautzen Strasse about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the factory. The camp was surrounded by an electrified fence and guard towers. The women were accommodated in a former factory building that was divided with separation walls into "blocks." Several hundred women were assigned to each block. The blocks were equipped with multitiered wooden bunk beds, tables, and benches. In the

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cellar of the central main building there were two large washrooms with hot and cold showers and, according to survivor Pauline Buchenholz, flushing toilets but without doors or toilet paper. On the ground floor was the kitchen, canteen, and office. The infirmary was on the first floor. In the final phase of the camp, additional accommodation barracks were made available.

Buchenholz stated that initially the prisoners' food was adequate: "[T]he bread and the soup were delicious. For one week we got a different soup every day, then the procedure was repeated."[1] During the first month the HASAG provided rations for armaments workers, but after that, the prisoners' diet consisted of poor-quality SS food.

According to a survivor, Felicja Karay, the HASAG, based on experiences in Poland, made sure that there was good hygiene in the camp and made allowances for what the female prisoners regarded as the most important conditions: there was conspicuous cleanliness; most of the prisoners were given new clothing (a prison dress, striped jacket, and underwear), and often they were allowed to keep their own clothing. However, the HASAG policy must be seen pragmatically: the camp lay in the city, infectious diseases would easily have spread to the German civilian population and the HASAG clearly wanted to keep its skilled workforce which would be hard to replace. The prisoners were kept clean and given medical care, while at the same time the HASAG worked them to death and let them starve.

On July 12, 1944, another transport from Ravensbrück arrived with about 2,000 prisoners. With this transport, Leipzig-Schönefeld became the largest Buchenwald female subcamp. Soviet citizens (1,208) and Poles (1,089) formed the largest prisoner groups. In addition, there were 361 French women, 110 Belgians, 60 Greeks, 25 Czechs, 24 Yugoslavs, 13 Italians, as well as a few Spanish, Serbian, Dutch, Estonian, Romanian, Croatian, Portuguese, Swiss, Argentinean, British, Lithuanian, Luxemburger, and stateless citizens. On August 4, a transport of 1,273 Jewish women arrived from the former HASAG camp in Skarzysko-Kamienna. By the end of August, 24 children from this transport, aged between 4 and 17, were sent to Auschwitz with their mothers to be gassed. The mother and sister of Stefan Jerzy Zweig, the "Buchenwald Child," were included in the transport to Auschwitz. Selections took place in the camp until its final days, and more than 99 women were sent to Bergen-Belsen.

On July 22, 1944, 2,100 women arrived at the camp including Czechoslovakians, Ukrainians, Germans, Hungarians, and Sinti and Roma (Gypsies). Another 250 women arrived at the camp at the beginning of September 1944–700 Poles, victims of the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising. A final transport of around 500 women arrived on December 3, 1944, that included both Jewish and non-Jewish women. At the end of January 1945, Leipzig-Schönefeld held 5,067 women.

The camp commandant was Untersturmführer Wolfgang Plaul, previously Schutzhaftlagerführer in Buchenwald and in the Dora subcamp. Plaul, who was in command of all other HASAG camps for women, seldom appeared inside the camp but was often present at the roll calls and at the camp gate. A few survivors have described him as a "beneficent commandant," but others say that he repeatedly had referred to the prisoners as a "pack of swine." Plaul put the prisoner administration exclusively in the hands of Polish non-Jews, which resulted in the planned tensions between the female groups. Pole Joanna Szumańska was the camp elder, a name synonymous with brutality. Her deputy was another Pole, Zinaida Braginska (Zina), who was liked by everybody because of her friendly personality. Poles held positions of block elders and room elders and controlled the camp office, food stores, canteen, infirmary, and camp security.[2] Non-Poles worked in the kitchen, including the 39 Soviet POWs.

Records show that there were 41 female SS on September 23, 1944, and 59 on March 1945. The female overseer (Oberaufseherin) until the beginning of 1945 was Käthe Heber. She was most likely succeeded by First Wardress Else Noatzsch. Compared to other camps, Leipzig-Schönefeld was not so horrendous a camp: the women's hair was only shorn when there were lice in their hair, and within the camp they could move about relatively freely. Unsuccessful escape attempts were not punished with death. Eight women died in the camp. Nevertheless, there was an extensive system of roll calls and beatings (the women were sent to Buchenwald for the infamous 25 blows), and the SS used dogs to intimidate the prisoners.

The women began to work on July 12, 1944. They worked mostly in the Nordwerk and in Factory Building F, where they assembled grenade parts, stamped the production dates on the shell casings, inserted detonators, and monitored the screwing-on of shell tips for a range of different bombs. Many of the workplaces were hot, filled with metal dust, and lacked fresh air, which resulted in health problems.

Survivors have described an ambivalent relationship with the German labor force. The SS had described the women as whores, criminals, and thieves with the result that many Germans at first kept their distance or were openly hostile. Karay stated that the relationship slowly improved: German foremen helped when the prisoners were sick or had accidents; they brought bread, underwear, or stockings for the prisoners. Several survivors have attested to the fact that German foremen looked after pregnant women, giving them double rations or assigning them to light work. There were several children born in the camp, but only two survived, as they were born when the camp was being evacuated. On the other hand, there are other witness testimonies that stated that there was no assistance and support from the Germans.

The cultural activities in the camp are an interesting part of its history. Many women learned foreign languages and wrote and recited poetry. There was cultural competitiveness between the different nationalities. For example, the French in the autumn of 1944 put on a "Hat Parade," a collection of head wear made out of rags and rubbish. The "Bunkerkommando," a cultural group of up to 70 Poles, celebrated Polish Independence Day in November 1944 with a concert of folk songs and dances. The New Years' Eve concert put on by the Jewish women was lavish—there were jazz, waltzes, chansons, and a drama titled "Die Abenteuer des Sokrates im Konzentrationslager" ("The Adventures of Socrates in a

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Concentration Camp"). Plaul and the SS women were invited to the festivities and took part.

Work in the camp came gradually to a halt from the middle of February 1945. Prisoners died during an air raid in the middle of March. At the beginning of April, around 1,000 Jews of different nationalities as well as Soviet women and Poles arrived from Ravensbrück. A staged evacuation of the camp began on April 13, 1945. Beginning with the Jewish women, around 4,000 inmates were sent on a death march on April 13, and another with 800 prisoners being evacuated on April 14. The ill, the Soviet POWs, and a 200-strong "Clean-Up Kommando" (Reinigungskommando) were left behind. They followed the other women on April 15. The deputy camp elder, Braginska, took over supervision of the women left behind. A few days later, U.S. troops reached the camp and with a large media presence rescued the only American prisoner in the camp (the wife of a general on Charles de Gaulle's staff) before the other women were sent to various hospitals.

The women who were evacuated marched via Wurzen and Riesa along the Elbe. There were executions during the march. Plaul ordered that the women be divided into groups of 200 to 300 people. According to Karay, up to a third of the women died in many of these groups. Close to Strehla on the Elbe the survivors were liberated by the Red Army. What happened to Plaul is unknown: historian Irmgard Seidel states that he fled, whereas Karay believes that he fell into the hands of the Soviet Army and was subsequently released after some women interceded on his behalf.

Budin blew up the HASAG administrative buildings at the end of the war. In 1945, former guard Elfriede Kaltofen was tried in Poland. Arrest warrants were issued against other SS women: their outcome is unknown. Szumańska was arrested in Poland after Jewish prisoners denounced her and was later tried. She was acquitted for lack of evidence and then resettled in France, where she was again arrested and released without conviction. Later, she immigrated to the United States. Former guard Ingeburg Schulz was sentenced by a French military court in Reutlingen to five years in prison, which she served.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) into the events at the Leipzig-Schönefeld camp ceased in 1976 without conclusive results.

SOURCES The most important source on the Leipzig-Schönefeld subcamp is Felicja Karay's monograph *Wir lebten zwischen Granaten und Gedichten: Das Frauenlager der Rüstungsfabrik HASAG im Dritten Reich*, trans. from the Hebrew by Susanne Plietzsch (Cologne: Böhlau, 2001) and published in English as *Hasag-Leipzig Slave Labour Camp for Women: The Struggle for Survival, Told by Women and Their Poetry*, trans. Sara Kitao (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2002). Irmgard Seidel described the camp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 495–500. Background information on HASAG and its subcamps has been taken from the following publications: Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271; Klaus Hesse, *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*, pp. 29–64, Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstver pflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene uns KZ-Aussenlager, über gesühnte und ungesühnte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–109. Extensive information on the Leipzig-Schönefeld subcamp is to be found in Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), with a description of the camp (pp. 28–32), biographies of Paul Budin (p. 49) and Wolfgang Plaul (p. 51) as well as of former prisoners Lise London (p. 63), Suzanne Orts (pp. 66–68), Danuta Brzosko-Medryk (pp. 69–71), Sybilla Jęczen (pp. 77–78), Matylda Woliniewska, a member of the "Bunkierkommando" (pp. 79–81), Felicja Karay (pp. 106–108), and Helena and Sylvia Zweig (Stefan Jerzy Zweig's mother and sister, pp. 121–123); ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 49; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1848.

The USHMMA holds statements by several survivors of the camp: Edith Pick Lowy (RG 10.333); Pauline Buchenholz, "As I remember: Memoirs from the war and concentration camps" (RG-02.107); and Sara Getzler, "The story of two sisters" (RG-02.168). In the Wanda Rotbart collection (Acc. 2002.78.1) there is a poem written by a former prisoner during the camp's existence on the rear side of a HASAG form. Luna Kaufman, a survivor, took part in 1983 in an oral history interview (RG-50.002*0010). Other archives hold numerous sources on the subcamp including the BA-B (Best. NS 4 Bu); AG-B; YVA, which holds statements by more than 80 former prisoners; IPN; and AŻIH. Investigations by the ZdL in the 1970s are held under reference IV 429 AT-Z 22/74 at the BA-L. Some of the camp survivors from Leipzig-Schönefeld have written their autobiographies: *Asher sakharnu lessaper* (Tel Aviv, 1988); Rut Kornblum-Rosenberg, *Nedder: Sikhronot* (Tel Aviv, 1986); Halina Nelken, *Pamietnik z getta w Krakowie* (Toronto, 1987); and Towa Zilberberg, *Ima, bakashatekh nitkabla* (Bnei Brak, 1994).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Pauline Buchenholz, "As I remember: Memoirs from the war and concentration camps" (unpub. MSS), USHMMA, RG-02.107, p. 48.

2. Ibid., p. 50. According to Buchenholz, the Lagerschutz was infamous for its brutality. Buchenholz also describes the Lagerälteste: "As soon as [the manager] appeared in the hall, she started to beat the women about their faces" (p. 40).

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LEIPZIG-THEKLA ("EMIL," "E," "ENGELSDORF")

In the spring of 1943, a subcamp of Buchenwald was created 1.6 kilometers (1.0 mile) northeast of Leipzig in the suburb of Thekla to provide labor to the aircraft manufacturer Erla-Werke on Theklär Engelsdorferstrasse. The work detail (Kommando) was code-named "Emil" or "E" in Buchenwald administrative records, and beginning in July 1944, the name "Engelsdorf" was also associated with the camp. Like other firms that exploited prisoner labor to meet increasing armaments needs, Erla-Werke hired out inmates from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day. As of December 1944, Erla employed 2,445 skilled workers and 21,246 unskilled workers.[1] However, the subcamp inmates were not compensated for their labor.

Beginning in March and April 1943, inmates were transported to the Leipzig camp from the Buchenwald main camp.[2] As noted in telegrams dated March 12, 1943, 65 prisoners were put to work constructing the barracks for the subcamp in Thekla. Sixteen members of the SS were also sent to guard the camp. By May 1943, the strength of the Thekla camp rose to 213 prisoners and 34 guards. Some 174 of the prisoners were deployed to the Erla-Werke, while the rest were used in the construction of the camp.[3]

Most of the inmates arriving on these initial transports into Leipzig-Thekla were political prisoners, all male, and predominantly Russian and Polish. By June 1943, smaller numbers of "asocial" prisoners were also transferred to the camp. Other national and prisoner classification groups represented in the prisoner population throughout the camp's nearly two-year operation included Czech, Lithuanian, French, Italian, Belgian, Greek, and Yugoslavian political prisoners, so-called work-shy (*Arbeitscheu*) inmates, and beginning in May 1944, "asocial Gypsies" (*ASR Zigeuner*). In addition to transports from Buchenwald, transfers of prisoners arrived in Thekla from Gross-Rosen (September 10, 1943; this convoy was originally destined for the subcamp "Laura" in Saalfeld but was directed to Leipzig-Thekla instead) and Sachsenhausen (July 7, 1944).[4] By August 8, 1944, the number of inmates recorded in the Leipzig camp was 1,456.[5] The average strength of the camp was 1,050 inmates, and by the time of the camp's dissolution in April 1945, there were at least 1,400 inmates imprisoned in Leipzig-Thekla.

Little information about working and living conditions in the camp has survived. The inmates in the Emil Kommando at Erla-Werke were most likely employed in factory work, assembling parts for engines. Work assignments in the factory were generally harsh and driven by prisoner-functionaries called Kapos. At various intervals, inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp due to illness and incapacity for work and exchanged for relatively healthier inmates. In Buchenwald, they were sent to the infirmary where they generally perished. The frequent exchange of prisoners, beginning in the fall of 1943, testifies to the presumably difficult conditions within the camp and its work site.[6]

Inmates were also transferred from the Leipzig-Thekla camp to other work sites. For example, on November 30, 1943, at least 100 prisoners were deported from Leipzig to the Flossenbürg work Kommando Johanngeorgenstadt.[7] Beginning in January 1944, they were also transferred to the Flossenbürg subcamps in Mülsen St. Micheln (where another branch of Erla-Werke was located) and Flöha.[8]

There is little information available about the guard staff of the camp. According to a report filed by the SS-Standortarzt Schiedlausky, who oversaw medical treatment in the Buchenwald camps and who assisted in selecting prisoners for work assignments, 134 guards were assigned to the

U.S. troops accompany local German civilians inside the liberated Leipzig-Thekla subcamp of Buchenwald, April 19–22, 1945.
USHMM WS # 12070, COURTESY OF MAX ESPER

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camp as of January 31, 1945.[9] The same report notes that the SS doctor for the Leipzig-Thekla camp was named Luz, and the SS medic (Sanitätsdienstgrad, SDG) was Hanschel. A police report dated April 29, 1945, and attached to the War Crimes Investigations Unit 6822 collection lists some of the more prominent guards as of April 18, 1945: SS-Hauptscharführer Goetze, SS-Unterscharführer Hans Badstuebner, SS-Unterscharführer Taenzer, and SS-Sturmmann Baumbach.[10] Telegrams sent to the commandant's office in Buchenwald in the early months of the camp's operation were signed by various SS-officers, including SS-Obersturmbannführer Borell, SS-Hauptscharführer Kenn, SS-Oberscharführer Knauf, and SS-Unterscharführer Jacob. These latter may have been Lagerführer or officers in charge.

Upon learning of the advance of American troops, the commandant of the Leipzig-Thekla camp received orders to evacuate. The evacuation of the camp began on April 15, 1945, when more than 1,200 inmates were rounded up and taken to an unknown destination in several trucks. Those who were too ill or weak to be transported remained behind in the camp. The following day, the approximately 300 remaining inmates were herded into barracks number five, where they were provided food rations.[11] After having locked the doors and sealing the windows, the SS set fire to the barracks. Some inmates burst out of the barracks but were immediately shot by the SS. Others were impaled by or gunned down near the electrical wire fencing. Some escaped to an adjacent field, where they were caught by a Hitler Youth squad and executed. The U.S. War Crimes Investigating Team 6822 estimated that at least 90 prisoners, including several Russian, Polish, French, and Czech inmates, died in the fire or were shot. One surviving French inmate made contact with Lieutenant Daniel Camous, a French officer attached to the U.S. First Army, and reported the atrocities.

The 69th Infantry Division of the U.S. Army arrived at Leipzig-Thekla on April 19, 1945. Days later, the U.S. Army Signal Corps documented and photographed the remains of the massacre. According to a report by a U.S. Army Protestant chaplain filed on April 28, 1945, a similar operation planned for a nearby camp with over 250 women prisoners was averted by the advance of the 69th Division. On April 24, the U.S. Army arranged a multifaith funeral and buried the bodies in the southern cemetery (*Sudfriedhof*) in Leipzig; prominent members of the Leipzig community were also present.[12]

At least one of the guards of the Leipzig-Thekla camp, Walter Karl Heinrich, was sentenced to five years in prison for the murder of a French inmate during the evacuation march from Leipzig-Thekla.[13]

SOURCES Much of the secondary literature on the Leipzig-Thekla subcamp derives from reports on the ruins of the atrocities found at the liberation of the camp. See especially Robert Abzug, *Inside the Vicious Heart: Americans and the Liberation of Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). The film produced by the U.S. War Department at the end of the war, *Death Mills (Die Todesmühlen)* (produced in 1945 by the Signal Corps, Army Air Forces, and U.S. Navy, and released by International Historic Films, Chicago, 1997), documents the opening of several camps, including the remains of the massacre at Thekla. For a brief description of the Leipzig-Thekla camp, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, see *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). Peter Kohl and Peter Bessel's *Auto Union und Junkers: Geschichte der Mitteldeutschen Motorenwerke GmbH Taucha 1935–1945* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2003) chronicles the history of the Junkers factories in the Leipzig-Taucha region, with brief references to Erla-Werke. An unpublished manuscript by Holger Dieckhoff, "Die Entwicklung der Erla-Werke GmbH" (Diplomarbeit, Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig, 1989), stored at the StA-Lg, describes the history of Erla-Werke. Trial information is available on the *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* Web site at www1.jur.uva.nl/junsv, including information on the trial of Walter Karl Heinrich, which will be published in a forthcoming volume.

Several archives contain relevant primary resources on the Leipzig-Thekla camp, but most focus on the last days and liberation of the camp and derive from immediate postwar investigation processes. A series of photographs taken at the liberation of the camp and documenting the investigation of atrocities committed during the evacuation can be found in USHMMA, series designation 13.925 (Collections: 1991.170.002). Testimony about the liberation of the camp is also found in the USHMMA, J. Milner Roberts interview, RG-50.030*0191. See also AG-B and AG-MD for relevant transport lists and other administrative records associated with the camp, as well as AAC-C and AN. Copies of some of these administrative records are located in USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, in a collection copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from ITS (see especially BU 108, BU 48, and BU 50). Within this collection, there are also lists of French and Belgian prisoners drawn up from infirmary (*Revier*) lists in the Leipzig subcamp. Copies of transport lists and documentation of arrivals to and from Buchenwald are also found in NARA, A3355 Buchenwald Daily Strength Reports (USHMMA, RG 1996 A0342, Reels 146–180). For those pertaining to Leipzig, see especially Reel 171. These reports may be useful for a more thorough statistical analysis of the demographics of and increases and decreases in the camp population. The BA NS 4: Buchenwald Camp Records (reproduced in USHMMA, RG-14.023M) also contains relevant administrative files on the camp. Other documentation may be found in the StA-Lg.

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NOTES

1. Extracts of report for December 1944 of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, dated 6 January 1945, Document NI-4185, *TWC*, 6: 759–767.

2. "Transport Leipzig," March [illegible date] (55 inmates); April 11, 1943 (100 inmates) (BU 48), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.

3. "An den Lagerkommandanten des KL Buchenwald," various dates, March–July 1943, BA NS 4 Buchenwald, Band 150, Fiche 1: Correspondence Conc. Buchenwald Sub-camps, as reproduced in USHMMA, RG.14023M.

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4. "Transport Laura," September 10, 1943; "Nachweisung, vom KL Sachsenhausen nach Leipzig uberstellten Häftlinge," July 10, 1944 (BU 48), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 18.

5. "Buchenwald, États d'effectifs par Kommando," August 14, 1944 (BU 5/3), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 6.

6. See, for example, transfer lists dated December 30, 1943 (10 inmates); January 28, 1944 (5 inmates); February 29, 1944 (21 inmates); and so on (BU 48), collection USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 18.

7. "Transportliste für Johanngeorgestadt [*sic*]," November 30, 1943 (BU 48), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 18.

8. "Anlage 1 zum Schreiben der Verwaltung des Konz.-Lagers Buchenwald . . . ," January 27, 1944 (BU 8/2), USHMMA, Acc. A.0045 (Reel 6).

9. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 Januar 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 253.

10. "War Crimes Investigating Team Number 6822, Subject: Murder of Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War at Camp Thekla, near Leipzig, Germany," May 1, 1945 (BU 108), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 18. Original Repts. located in NARA, RG 338, Records of ETOUSA, USFET, JAG.

11. "War Crimes Investigating Team Number 6822, Subject: Murder of Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War at Camp Thekla, near Leipzig, Germany," May 1, 1945 (BU 108), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 18.

12. J. Milnor Roberts, oral history interview, USHMMA, RG-50.030*0191.

13. Fritz Bauer, ed., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: University Press of Amsterdam) vol. 34 (2005), Lfd. Nr. 862.

LEOPOLDSHALL ("JU," "LH")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Leopoldshall (in the Kreis Bernburg district), about 80 kilometers (50 miles) northwest of Leipzig, in December 1944. Code-named "Ju" or "Lh," the subcamp was created to supply prisoner labor to the Junkers Aircraft and Engine Co. (Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke AG, Zweigwerk Schönebeck). As was the case in other satellite camps created later in the war, inmates were "rented" from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) by private firms, such as the Junkers firm, which paid 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled worker per day and 4 RM per unskilled worker per day.[1]

Production at the Leopoldshall Junkers factory began in 1934, manufacturing engine parts and tails for the Junkers aircraft models Ju 52, Ju 86, Ju 87, Ju 88, and Ju 188. The Junkers factory was located on Industrie Strasse in Leopoldshall, although there is no information about how close the subcamp was to the firm.

Inmates were transferred from the main Buchenwald camp to Leopoldshall beginning December 28, 1944. One hundred prisoners were transferred on the initial transport.[2] Although there is no breakdown by nationality on the transport list, the inmates appear to have been French, Polish, and Russian. Another transport list has survived, dated February 13, 1945, that details the transfer of 158 inmates to Leopoldshall from Buchenwald, including Russian and French inmates.[3] On March 8, 1945, 8 inmates—3 French political prisoners and 5 Russian political prisoners—were transferred from the Buchenwald subcamp Schönebeck, where another branch of the Junkers factory was located.[4] A report filed by the garrison doctor of the Buchenwald camps, SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky, in January 1945, lists Leopoldshall as a Jewish outlying commando (Jüdische Aussenkommando); however, the existing transfer lists do not indicate the type of inmates who were imprisoned in Leopoldshall or whether or not they were Jews.[5]

There is little evidence about living conditions in the Leopoldshall camp or working conditions at the Junkers factory. On March 12, 1945, three inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald infirmary, presumably to be exchanged for healthier inmates.[6] The reason for their return is noted as "Tbc" or tuberculosis; therefore, conditions in the camp were most likely difficult and unsanitary. Moreover, there may have been additional transfers and exchanges of prisoners to the Buchenwald main camp, and information about them may not have survived.

There is little information about the commandant or guard staff of the Leopoldshall subcamp. Memos regarding transfers of inmates and exchanges of ill inmates are undersigned by the head of the Leopoldshall commando, SS-Obersturmführer "Sorell" or "Forell."[7] The January report filed by garrison doctor Schiedlausky does not include any additional information about the number of guards or medical staff in the Leopoldshall subcamp.[8]

The camp was evacuated on or around April 10, 1945, due to the advancement of Allied troops. At least one inmate, French prisoner Pierre Freudenreich, died in the town of Gross Pankow during or shortly after the evacuation.[9]

SOURCES The Leopoldshall subcamp is scarcely noted in secondary or primary sources. For a brief description of the camp, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, see Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). Both David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), provide overviews of and documents pertaining to the Buchenwald camp system.

Likewise, there are few primary sources on the Leopoldshall subcamp. See the archives of the AG-B und AG-MD for relevant transport lists and other administrative records associated with the camp, as well as the AAC-C and the AN (Paris). Copies of some of these administrative records are located in USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, in a collection copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS; see especially BU 41/2 and BU 8/13. Copies of transport lists and documentation of arrivals to and from Buchenwald are also found in the NARA, A3355 Buchenwald Daily Strength Reports (USHMMA, RG 1996 A0342, Reels 146–180). These

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reports may be useful for a more thorough statistical analysis of the demographics of and increases and decreases in the camp population. The BA NS 4: Buchenwald Camp Records (reproduced in USHMMA, RG-14.023M) also contains relevant administrative files on the satellite camps; an analysis of demographics and "strength" of prisoners in the subcamps may be derived from more thorough research of this collection.

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NOTES

1. Extracts of a report for December 1944 of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, dated 6 January 1945, Document NI-4185; *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law no. 10* (New York: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.
2. "Transport Leopoldshall," December 28, 1944 (BU 41/2), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in the USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.
3. "Uberführung von Häftlingen nach Kdo Leopoldshall," February 13, 1945 (BU 41/2), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.
4. "Uberführung von Häftlingen nach Kdo Leopoldshall," March 8, 1945 (BU 8/13), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 7.
5. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, 31 January 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 253.
6. "Uberführung von kranken Häftlingen," March 12, 1943 (BU 41/2), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.
7. See transfer lists, BU 41/2 and BU 8/13, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.
8. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sing insgesamt," in Bartel, *Buchenwald*, p. 253.
9. "Buchenwald—Kdo 'LH'—Leopoldshall," list of French and Belgian prisoners compiled presumably by ITS (BU 40), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 16.

LICHTENBURG

A subcamp of Buchenwald was established in Lichtenburg in September 1940 for a temporary two-week duration. Due to the camp's short operation period, there is extremely little information about this subcamp, for example, about its location, inmates, or commander. The camp was opened on either September 11 or 12, 1940. According to documentation on daily work statistics in records kept by the Buchenwald main camp administration, there were 35 inmates stationed at the Lichtenburg subcamp.[1] The camp also had two guards posted as watch troops. However, unlike other satellite camps created at this time (such as Tonndorf, Berlstedt, and so on), there is no sentry commander (Postentruppführer) listed for Lichtenburg.

The Lichtenburg subcamp is documented in the Buchenwald records as an external commando (Aussenkommando), as opposed to a work commando deployed from Buchenwald, and therefore prisoners were transported from Buchenwald to the work site at Lichtenburg, where they stayed for two weeks. However, the exact location of the Lichtenburg subcamp and work site is indeterminable. A series of camps (including pre-1937 early camps, a subcamp of Ravensbrück, and a subcamp of Sachsenhausen) were established at the fourteenth-century Lichtenburg castle in Prettin (Saxony-Anhalt). [See Sachsenhausen/Prettin (Lichtenburg).] However, various secondary sources on the Lichtenburg camps make no mention of a Buchenwald subcamp established there. It is also possible that the Buchenwald Lichtenburg camp was created in a town called Lichtenburg (Saxony), although the exact location is unknown.

The Buchenwald Lichtenburg subcamp is last mentioned in the work statistics for September 28, 1940.[2] The number of prisoners and guards in the camp did not fluctuate during its period of operation.

SOURCES There is virtually no mention of the Lichtenburg subcamp in secondary literature. Both David A. Hackett's *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO, 1995) and Walter Bartel's *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main, 1983) provide overviews of the Buchenwald camp system but no information on Lichtenburg. Similarly, the Lichtenburg camp appears only rarely in primary documentation. It does not appear in transport lists collected by the ITS, copies of which are located in the USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, in a collection copied from the AN-MACVG. The BA Buchenwald collection (NS 4) has brief information about the dates of operation and number of prisoners in the camp but nothing further (see BA, Band 156, Fiche 1–4). The AG-B and AG-MD may have other information.

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NOTES

1. "Arbeitsstatistik, Aufstellung der Täglichen Arbeitskommandos, 1940," September 11–27, 1940, pp. 79–93, BA, NS 4 (Buchenwald), Band 156, as copied at USHMMA, RG 14.0423M.
2. Ibid., p. 79.

LIPPSTADT (*LIPPSTÄDTER EISEN- UND METALLWERKE*) [AKA LEM, SS-KOMMANDO LIPPSTADT I]

Lippstadt was part of the Prussian province of Westfalen until 1945. It is about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) to the south of Gütersloh. According to Buchenwald files, a subcamp for female prisoners was established in Lippstadt on July 31, 1944, when 530 Hungarian Jewish women from Auschwitz arrived. The average age of the women was 27. On September 1, another 2 women from Auschwitz arrived, and on November 23, another 300 women including 139 from Slovakia, 92 from Poland, 41 from Hungary, 10 from France, 9 from Germany, 4 from Holland, 4 from Italy, and 1 Czech. These women were also aged mostly between 20 and 30, with the youngest aged 15. The women from this transport were given Buchenwald prisoner numbers between 25001 and 27000.

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The camp was on the site of the Lippstadt Eisen- und Metallwerke (LEM), Cappeler Landstrasse 32. LEM was an armaments enterprise founded in 1935 that produced various kinds of ammunition, among others, hand grenades and aircraft parts. The prisoners were accommodated on the northeastern edge of the site (to the south of the Graf-Adolf and Walldorf Strasse intersection). There were several preexisting barracks that were cordoned off. The guards consisted of 10 to 12 SS men, according to Burkhard Beyers, or 27 men, according to *Die Kindergräber von Gütersloh*. They were under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Alfred Bieneck. There were also about 15 female overseers, former employees of various armaments firms who had undergone a three-week training course in Ravensbrück and were deployed for service in the subcamp.

The camp, with an area of around 10,000 square meters (12,000 square yards), consisted of five barracks. Four had dimensions of about 15 × 50 meters (50 × 164 feet) and were chosen to house the prisoners. These barracks were divided along a central corridor into rooms, each holding 30 to 40 women who slept in multitiered bunk beds. Each woman had her own bed and blanket. At the end of the corridor were the toilet block and the washroom. The barracks were heated. The fifth barrack, which was 28 × 50 meters (92 × 164 feet), functioned as the prisoners' infirmary. According to survivors' statements, two female prisoner doctors were active, Elsa Oblat-Pick, a Jew who probably held a doctoral degree in medicine, and a Polish doctor, Kristina Klemanska-Estreicher. They probably answered to a German nurse. The prisoners had primitive protection from air raids in a slit trench. It took about 5 to 10 minutes to walk from the camp to work.

The food was extremely limited and as a rule consisted of a drink in the morning, a little soup for lunch, and bread for dinner. Prisoners who worked the night shift received neither food nor drink during their shift. Despite this, many of the women in the Lippstadt camp, most of whom had spent a short time in Auschwitz, found the conditions less rigid than in Auschwitz. However, prisoners reported frequent persecution by the female SS—for example, if a prisoner was suspected of theft, she was usually forced to strip naked, and the usual punishment for less serious disciplinary breaches was to kneel in the snow with bare legs. There are reports of the women being subjected to beatings. Numerous survivor statements refer to a special humiliation: the women on their arrival in the camp were given new civilian clothes. So that these clothes could be recognized as prisoners' clothes, the sleeves were removed from the shirts and replaced with sleeves made of a different color and material. There are repeated survivors' reports that they felt like "clowns" dressed in these clothes, that they felt offended in their dignity and self-esteem. Nevertheless, the women attempted to maintain their dignity: at Christmas 1944, for example, they decorated a Christmas tree and exchanged small gifts that they had cobbled together from waste metal and smuggled out of the factory under the threat of death.

For their employment in the factory, LEM supplied winter coats to the women, which were marked in the back with a bright cross of yellow oil paint. LEM also provided work overalls for the women. The regulations required the women to work in separate areas under the supervision of German foremen and skilled tradesmen. The women worked in two shifts, each of 12 hours (with two breaks totaling 45 minutes). Weekly they alternated between day and night shifts.

Only a few women, working in specially chosen areas with other laborers, worked in three shifts each of eight hours. Survivors report physically demanding work such as carrying heavy parts to the machines and putting the heavy and unwieldy parts into the machines. Magda Müller, a survivor, stated that each day she had to insert screw threads into 1,000 hand grenades.[1] There are reports that the German foremen and tradesmen insulted and emotionally mistreated the women. But there are also reports that they were sometimes given food by them.

The work and living conditions in the camp must be described as very poor. Medical care was completely inadequate, particularly after the outbreak of a typhoid epidemic in December, and worsened as the end of the war got closer. In March 1945, the SS-Kommando Lippstadt reported to the Standortarzt in Buchenwald that 30 prisoners were bedridden in the infirmary and 85 were being treated as outpatients. One woman was suffering from tuberculosis, 4 from diphtheria, and in the course of the last month there had been 20 work injuries. There are seven recorded deaths at the Lippstadt subcamp. The women, together with one deceased baby that had been born in the camp, were buried at the nearby Jewish cemetery. All the women died from cholera and dysentery as a result of the exhausting work and living conditions and not as an immediate result of physical violence.

Most probably more women in the Lippstadt subcamp died in the camp than appear in the statistics, as those too weak or ill to work were selected and sent to Auschwitz or Bergen-Belsen. There are at least three such recorded transports: a transport that included all the pregnant women left for Auschwitz on August 1, 1944 (this was probably the result of a birth in the camp), and there was a transport of 3 pregnant women to Bergen-Belsen on January 8, 1945. Both transports were accompanied by the Jewish doctor—as the SS, until the last minute, tried to maintain the illusion that she would look after the prisoners in her care. A final transport departed Lippstadt on February 9, 1945. It included 3 women and their babies as well as 69 women who were either sick or no longer capable of working. According to a former prisoner, quoted in the publication *Die Kindergräber von Gütersloh*, on this transport one baby was trodden to death by an SS man. Whether this was intentional remains unclear, but according to the witness, there was no apology. It is likely that shortly before the camp's dissolution there was one further transport of 25 sick prisoners to Bergen-Belsen: while on February 25, there were still 750 women in the camp, there were only 725 when the camp ceased to exist: the difference could be explained by one further transport of women no longer capable of working.

From the beginning of 1945, work in the LEM was constantly interrupted by supply problems and raw material shortages. Statements as to when the camp was evacuated differ between March 29 and 31, 1945. Accompanied by the SS

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and, according to survivors, also Wehrmacht soldiers, the women moved in a northeasterly direction toward Bergen-Belsen. The SS only allowed night marches, fearing low-flying Allied air attacks. When the Allied troops got closer, Commandant Bieneck threatened to shoot the women. On the morning of April 1, 1945, Easter Sunday, the guards abandoned the women close to the village of Kaunitz, about 14 kilometers (9 miles) to the northeast of Lippstadt. A few hours later the women were liberated by soldiers of the U.S. Army. The dates stated by the International Tracing Service (ITS) for the evacuation (April 2, 1945) and liberation (ca. April 4, 1945) are clearly too late.

In the 1970s, the Bielefeld state prosecutor investigated events in the subcamp and collected statements from 97 women who had been in the subcamp. The investigations ceased in 1974 with the conclusion that mistreatment was not an everyday occurrence in the Lippstadt LEM subcamp. However, many survivors suffered for the rest of their lives from the physical and psychological effects of the camp.

SOURCES The camp is described by Burkhard Beyer in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 507–511. The same author has written *Zum Arbeitseinsatz nach Lippstadt: Die jüdischen Frauen in den KZ-Aussenkommandos Lippstadt 1944 und 1945* (Lippstadt: Heimatbund Lippstadt e.V., 1993); and the essay "Die Buchenwald-Aussenlager in Lippstadt," in *Konzentrationslager im Rheinland und in Westfalen 1933–1945: Zentrale Steuerung und regionale Initiative*, ed. Jan Erik Schulte (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schoeningh GmbH, 2004). Another description of the subcamp is by Karin Epkenhans, *Lippstadt, 1933–1945: Darstellung und Dokumentation zur Geschichte der Stadt Lippstadt im Nationalsozialismus* (Lippstadt: Archiv und Museumsamt, Stadt Lippstadt, 1995), esp. pp. 181–189. Extensive details on the subcamp are to be found in Anne-Frank-Schule, ed., *Die Kindergräber von Gütersloh* (Gütersloh: Stadt Gütersloh, 1993), which is based on statements by 13 former prisoners—Ruchla Krengiel Kuperszmidt, Sarah Barr, Halina Zauder, Fryda Duczyminer, Edith Vodny, Ibolya Welisch Friedmann and Eszter Eilon Friedmann, Dr. Aniko Manfeld Oppenheim, J. Warech, Miriam Navon, Alice Cimber, Magda Müller, Gisela Freiberg, and Elena Levy. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 50; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1822.

Archival details on the Lippstadt LEM subcamp are found in the Buchenwald collections of the BA-K, NS 4 Bu, in the ASt-Lip, which include aerial photographs of the LEM factory site and the camp in March 1945, in the AG-B, and ITS. The USHMMA holds the statement by survivor Irene Hass Shapiro (Acc.1996.A.0179). Survivors have also written about the camp, such as Rudnoy Tewrez's autobiographical work *Szabadulo Asszonyok* (The path to freedom) (N.p., 1947); and Olga Szekulesz in "Alomhajon [Upon the ship of dreams]," Htv (August 1964), which describes her attempts to maintain the prisoners' hopes for freedom by telling them stories about her prewar life.

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NOTE

1. Statement by Magda Müller in Anne-Frank-Schule, ed., *Die Kindergräber von Gütersloh* (Gütersloh: Stadt Gütersloh, 1993), p. 57.

LIPPSTADT (*WESTFÄLISCHE METALLINDUSTRIE*) [AKA WMI, SS-KOMMANDO LIPPSTADT II]

Lippstadt, which until 1945 was part of the Prussian province of Westfalen, is about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) south of Gütersloh. At the end of July 1944, a subcamp was opened at the Lippstadt Eisen- und Metallwerke (LEM). On November 20, 1944, another Buchenwald subcamp was opened at a branch of the Westfälische Metallindustrie (WMI) in Hospitalstrasse 46. Two hundred and fifty Hungarian Jewish women from Ravensbrück arrived at the camp on November 20, and on December 23, 65 women from Bergen-Belsen followed. The women from this transport were from Hungary and other Eastern European countries. The last transport arrived on February 15, 1945, with 20 mostly Hungarian Jews, again from Bergen-Belsen.

The subcamp was located in the center of the city, situated between apartment blocks and secured with fences and walls. The women's accommodation as well as their job site was located inside the camp, so they never left the camp. The camp was guarded by six SS men under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Hermann Fügmann. He was assisted by a few SS women who had been recruited from local industries and had gone through a short training course at Ravensbrück.

During the war, WMI specialized in supplying the armaments industry. Prisoners from the subcamp manufactured parts for the aircraft industry including altimeters. As in many camps, the prisoners worked in two shifts, each of 12 hours, with one break of 45 minutes. Their task required precision and concentration and was less physically strenuous than the work in many other subcamps. This possibly explains why there are no recorded deaths in the Lippstadt WMI subcamp. According to the records, there was only one transfer from this camp, which sent four pregnant or breast-feeding mothers to Bergen-Belsen. It is also possible that the camp's location, in the middle of a residential area, caused the SS to provide at least a minimum of hygienic standards so as to prevent an outbreak of disease spreading to the surrounding area. Nevertheless, the prisoners' medical care, delivered by a few prisoner nurses, as well as the food supply remained woefully inadequate.

Most likely the women from this subcamp were evacuated on March 31, 1945, in an easterly direction following the heaviest air raid on Lippstadt during the war on March 10, 1945. As a result of the air raid, work inside the subcamp had almost completely stopped. On April 1, 1945, the U.S. Army

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closed the so-called Ruhr Pocket (Ruhrkessel). By this time the women were already at Kreiensen. From there, they were evacuated by rail to Leipzig. Here, they were initially held in the Leipzig-Schönefeld (HASAG) subcamp. A few days later, they set off on a march with the women of this camp. Most of the prisoners from this evacuation march were liberated by Soviet troops near Pirna on the Elbe.

SOURCES Burkhard Beyer describes the Lippstadt (WMI) subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 507–511. Beyer has also published *Zum Arbeitseinsatz nach Lippstadt: Die jüdischen Frauen in den KZ-Aussenkommandos Lippstadt 1944 und 1945* (Lippstadt: Heimatbund Lippstadt e.V., 1993); and the essay "Die Buchenwald-Aussenlager in Lippstadt," in *Konzentrationslager im Rheinland und in Westfalen 1933–1945: Zentrale Steuerung und regionale Initiative*, ed. Jan Erik Schulte (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schoeningh GmbH, 2004). Another description of the subcamp is by Karin Epkenhans, *Lippstadt*, *1933–1945: Darstellung und Dokumentation zur Geschichte der Stadt Lippstadt im Nationalsozialismus* (Lippstadt: Archiv und Museumsamt, Stadt Lippstadt, 1995), esp. pp. 181–189. The Lippstadt WMI subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 50; "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1822.

Archival references to the Lippstadt WMI subcamp are held in the Buchenwald collections of the BA-K (NS 4 Bu), the ASt-Lip, AG-B, and ITS. The USHMMA holds a statement by camp survivor Irene Hass Shapiro (Acc.1996.A.0179).

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LÜTZKENDORF ("LD")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Lützkendorf (in the Querfurt district), about one mile north of the village of Krumpa bei Merseburg and two miles northwest of Braunsbedra, in July 1944. Code-named "Ld," the camp was established near the synthetic oil refinery Wintershall Oil Company (Wintershall AG Mineralölwerk, Lützkendorf), later renamed Mineralöl GmbH Addinol, to supply concentration camp inmates for reconstruction work after destructive Allied bombing of the refinery in July 1944. The Wintershall factory "rented" concentration camp inmates from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a rate of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled worker per day.[1]

There is no information about the exact location of the Lützkendorf subcamp, nor are there descriptions of its size. The Wintershall Oil Company also used slave laborers to work in its factory; presumably, a forced labor camp (*Zwangsarbeiterlager*) was also constructed on or near the factory grounds. Nine hundred inmates were transported from Buchenwald to Lützkendorf on July 14, 1944.[2] Although there is no demographic breakdown on this transport list in particular (even in its duplicated forms), the inmates appear to have been Polish, Russian, and Czech, with smaller numbers of French and German prisoners. Smaller transports of inmates from Buchenwald to Lützkendorf arrived over the following months: 9 French inmates were transferred on August 15; 3 inmates on August 16; 3 on September 5; 80 on September 9, 1944;[3] 4 on September 14; and 3 on September 19. Some of the inmates were civilian workers (*Zivilarbeiter*) or so-called professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*).[4]

There is no information about living or working conditions in the Lützkendorf camp. As in other satellite camps, presumably prisoners who were too ill to work were "exchanged" for healthier inmates from the main Buchenwald camp at various intervals. On November 5, 1944, 100 inmates were sent to Block 59 in Buchenwald.[5] There may have been at least one woman on this transport, Marian Klysz. At least one "change of status" report (*Veränderungsmeldung*) dated November 25, 1944, notes that 13 inmates in the Lützkendorf subcamp "departed" or presumably died, although no date of "departure" is given with their names.[6] The inmates on this report were predominantly Russian civilian conscript laborers and political prisoners, as well as 1 Polish prisoner.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp was closed on January 18, 1945, with 370 inmates remaining. There is no information about the guards or commandant of the Lützkendorf camp. Moreover, the camp does not appear on a surviving report from garrison doctor SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky dated January 31, 1945, because the camp was closed by this time. On January 23, 1945, about 357 inmates were transferred from Lützkendorf to Mittelbau.[7]

SOURCES The Lützkendorf subcamp is scarcely noted in secondary or primary sources. For a brief description of the Lützkendorf camp, including information from ITS, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, see Martin Weinmann, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990). Both David A. Hackett's *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995) and Walter Bartel's *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, *Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983) provide overviews of the Buchenwald camp system, including pertinent documents.

There are also few primary sources on the Lützkendorf subcamp. See the AG-B and AG-MD for relevant transport lists and other administrative records associated with the camp, as well as the AAC-C and the AN (Paris). Copies of some of these administrative records are located in the USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, in a collection copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS (see especially BU 5/5, BU 8/18, BU 4/32, BU 8/11, and BU 48). Copies of transport lists and documentation of arrivals to and departures from Buchenwald are also found in the NARA, A3355 Buchenwald Daily Strength Reports (USHMMA, RG 1996 A0342, Reels 146–180). These reports may be useful for a more thorough statistical analysis of the demographics of and increases and decreases in the camp population. The BA NS 4: Buchenwald Camp Records (reproduced in USHMMA,

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RG-14.023M) also contains relevant administrative files on the satellite camps; an analysis of demographics and numbers of prisoners in the subcamps may be derived from a more thorough research of this collection.

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NOTES

1. Extracts of report for December 1944 of the Chief of Labor Allocation, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, dated January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185; *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law no. 10* (New York: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1997), 6: 759–767.

2. "Transport Lützgendorf [*sic*]," July 14, 1944 (BU 48), AN, Secretariat D'État aux Anciens Combattants, as reproduced in the USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.

3. "Transport Lützkendorf," September 9, 1944 (BU 8/19), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 7.

4. "Veränderungsmeldungen," dated August 16, August 17, September 6, September 15, and September 29, 1944 (BU 5/5), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 6.

5. "Von Kommando Lützkendorf nach Block 59," Arbeitsstatistik KL Buchenwald, November 5, 1944 (BU 8/12), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 7.

6. "Veränderungsmeldung," November 25, 1944 (BU 5/5), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 6.

7. "Von Kommando Lützkendorf nach KL Mittelbau überstellt," January 23, 1945 (BU 4/34), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 5. Another transport list dated January 3, 1945, also survives, in which 373 inmates were transferred either to Lützkendorf or, as is more likely, to Buchenwald. The title of the transport is illegible, however. See "Transportliste [?]," January 3, 1945 (BU 48), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.

MAGDEBURG (*POLTE OHG*) (MEN)

Magdeburg is located on the Elbe River and until 1945 was part of the Prussian province of Saxony. In 1885, Eugen Polte founded the Polte company, which during World War II operated as Polte OHG (General Business Partnership) Magdeburg. During the war, the company became an important manufacturer of munitions. In June 1944, a subcamp for women was opened at Polte. On November 3, 1944, a transport of 500 men from the Stutthof concentration camp arrived at the Polte main factory in Magdeburg at 65–91 Poltestrasse; 300 women were also in this transport.

The men had been selected in Stutthof because of their professional qualifications. When they arrived in Magdeburg, they were held in quarantine for 10 days because a typhus epidemic had broken out in Stutthof after their departure. After the 10 days, they were divided among different production areas, replacing Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The prisoners were held in the empty Soviet POW camp, in Poltestrasse (later Karl Liebknecht Strasse) directly opposite the factory and next to the women's camp. The 500 men were held in two barracks; in addition, there was an infirmary and a roll-call square. The camp was fenced in with a high barbed-wire fence. The guards were 59 SS men who were based outside the camp and commanded by Kommandoführer Hoffmann. Prior to this position, Hoffmann had been a member of the command staff at the Kaiserwald concentration camp near Riga, where he had already supervised some of the prisoners who had been sent from Stutthof to Magdeburg.

The majority of the prisoners in the first transport were Jews from Latvia. There were also Jews from Poland, Lithuania, and Germany in the transport. A second transport arrived on December 2, 1944, from Bergen-Belsen. As with the first transport, there was a group of 300 women on the transport who were sent to the women's subcamp. The prisoners in this transport were mostly Hungarian and Polish Jews. The average number of prisoners in the men's subcamp was somewhere between 500 and 600.

The camp inmates worked at the Polte firm in alternating 12-hour shifts. Sundays were rest days, either in whole or in part. The Polte firm ensured that because of their skilled status the prisoners had living conditions rarely seen in concentration camps: the barracks were heated, and in the washrooms there was running warm and cold water. Each prisoner had his own bed (on a two-tiered bunk bed) and a blanket. Each barracks had sleeping and eating quarters. Boris Kacel, a survivor, stated that when the prisoners arrived, the barracks were clean and neat. However, there was no kitchen in the camp, and the prisoners' food had to be brought from the outside.

There were two Jewish doctors in the infirmary. Beside work injuries, the cases they dealt with were primarily exhaustion, colds, and hunger edemas, an indication of the poor nutrition, clothing, and general working and living conditions of the prisoners. These conditions were made worse by the rigid SS and prisoner administration punishment system, which in part was in the hands of violent, criminal prisoners. Kacel stated that the camp elder was David Kagand, and the barrack elders were Harry Kussman and Max Finkelstein. Among the prisoners, the so-called Inner Service (*Innendienst*) under an inmate named Nachke was notorious for its brutality. The number of prisoners who died in the men's Polte subcamp can only be estimated. It is thought that a few dozen prisoners died in the camp or, because they were no longer capable of working, were selected and sent back to the main camp. At this late stage of the war, selection and return to the main Buchenwald camp meant certain death for a prisoner, because the prisoners were sent to the Kleine Lager in Buchenwald, where there was scarcely any chance of survival.

A third transport of 130 prisoners reached the camp on March 19, 1945. It originated in the Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge subcamp. The transport consisted mostly of prisoners of Polish and Hungarian nationality. By this time production in the Polte factories had mostly come to a stop because of supply difficulties, so that the prisoners were not used in armaments production but in cleaning up Magdeburg after bombing raids. Kacel stated that in the final stage of the camp around 30 prisoners were used in cleanup work, while the other prisoners were used to construct defense fortifica-

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tions in and around Magdeburg. While doing this work the prisoners were at times shot at by Allied aircraft or troops.

On April 11, 1945, three weeks after the arrival of the last transport, the SS guards fled the approaching U.S. troops. Fearing possible outrages by the prisoners who were left to their own devices as well as being held responsible by the Allied troops for the conditions in the camp, Volkssturm (German home guard) men were put in charge. They drove the prisoners, both male and female, who had not managed to escape in the previous two days to the other side of the Elbe on April 13, 1945. While resting at the Neue Welt sports stadium the completely exhausted prisoners came under U.S. artillery fire. While trying to escape the fire and seeking cover, they were shot at by the Volkssturm and SS troops. Many were killed or injured. Under SS guard, the prisoners were then sent on a death march to Sachsenhausen, with countless other prisoners falling victim along the way.

In 1951, three members of the Volkssturm were sentenced in a trial in Magdeburg to long periods of imprisonment for their roles in the massacre at the Neue Welt sports stadium. The following years the sentence was quashed, as it could not be conclusively proved that the three were involved in the massacre. Since then there have been no further investigations into the men's camp or the evacuation march. Investigations in the 1970s by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) on the men's Polte subcamp ceased without any result.

SOURCES Pascal Bergrich contributed the article on the men's Polte subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 518–520. Pascal Bergrich is also the author of "Die Polte OHG und das Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald Polte-Magdeburg" (unpub. Magisterarbeit, Magdeburg, 2003). Information on the Polte OHG is in Frank Baranowski, *Der Duderstädter Rüstungsbetrieb Polte von 1938 bis 1945* (Göttingen: Cuvillier-Verlag, 1993). The subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:51; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1823.

The USHMMA holds the memoirs of Joseph Kiman, "A Witness to History" (RG-02.176) as well as oral history interviews with another survivor, Henry Bermanis (RG-50.030*0341). Under WS# 83415 to 83421, the USHMMPA holds photographs of the Polte-Werke immediately after its liberation, among others, a portrait of a former prisoner and the reconstruction of an event where a Jewish prisoner is thought to have been shot by a German foreman on April 11, 1945. Other archival material on the subcamp can be found in collection NS 4 Bu (THStA-W, BA-K), as well as ITS. A list of the skilled workers at the subcamp is in the YVA, call number Bu 44. The files on the preliminary investigations by the Magdeburg state prosecutor into the members of the Volkssturm in 1951–1952 are held in: BStU, Aussenstelle Magdeburg, BV Magdeburg, Allg. S 2/81, vol. 12, and S4/81, vol. 2. Boris Kacel, a camp survivor, has published his memoirs in *From Hell to Redemption* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1998). Axel Deutsch, who arrived at Magdeburg (Polte) in March 1945, published his memoirs as "Ich habe Auschwitz überlebt"; see http://www.lpm.uni-sb.de/lpb/DeutschAlex/auschwit.htm.

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MAGDEBURG (*POLTE OHG*) (WOMEN)

Until 1945, Magdeburg was part of the Prussian province of Saxony and the site of heavy industry. A concentration camp for women was established on June 14, 1944, in the Polte OHG (General Business Partnership) factory at 65–91 Poltestrasse. It was administered by the Ravensbrück concentration camp, although it answered to the Buchenwald concentration camp on labor matters.

The camp was fenced in with barbed wire and was located directly opposite the factory in Poltestrasse. The prisoners lived in primitive wooden barracks. There was no glass in the windows, and the barracks were not heated. The barracks were ridden with vermin and held at least 100 women in each. The living conditions in the women's camp were markedly different from those in the male camp, which opened a few months later. The difference in the living conditions can be explained—the men were chosen because of their professional qualifications and were regarded as "valuable" skilled workers, whereas the women were seen as cheap auxiliary labor.

On September 1, 1944, the camp came under the complete control of the Buchenwald concentration camp. At that time, there were 1,815 women in the camp. Around 60 percent of them were Soviet civilian laborers, who had been sent by the Gestapo to the Ravensbrück concentration camp when their attempts to escape had failed. From there they were sent on to the Polte-Werke. There was no doubt that these women had been concentrated in the Magdeburg camp on purpose—a practice that was followed in a few other subcamps. That the women did not give up their desire for freedom is shown by the large number of escape attempts: 19 were registered in the subcamp by the end of 1944, 18 of which were by Soviet women. Also in the camp were political prisoners from Poland, mostly victims of the suppression of the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising—6 Italians, 5 French women, a Czechoslovak, 3 Yugoslavs, a Lithuanian, a German, and 1 stateless woman.

On November 1, 1944, there were 2,427 women in the camp. At the end of December 1944, two further transports with 300 Hungarian Jews from Stutthof and 300 Polish Jews from Bergen-Belsen arrived at the camp. The women worked under difficult conditions: in two 12-hours shifts, broken only with an hour's break, working with highly dangerous chemicals without any protection at all. The women worked in different sections of the factory, in the pickling area (*Beizerei*), drilling area (*Bohrerei*), and the lacquer area (*Lackerei*), cleaning munitions and pressing the shell casings. The difficult work conditions for the inexperienced and malnourished women resulted in many work accidents, some of which resulted in death. In addition to the difficult work conditions the women had a completely inadequate supply of

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clothing: as a rule they were not given either underwear or shoes. Many women suffered from colds, breathing difficulties, tuberculosis, and skin diseases, which were caused by the chemicals, general exhaustion, and malnutrition. Until the camp was dissolved in April 1945, there were 18 recorded deaths of prisoners. Many more women were transferred back to the main camp because they were too weak to work or they were pregnant: 24 women in January and 58 at the end of March 1945. In March 1945, a child was born in the camp, which at this time was the second largest Buchenwald subcamp.

The camp was guarded by 87 SS men and 42 female guards. SS-Hauptsturmführer Kramer was in charge of the camp until November 1944. He was then replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Andreas Hochwarth. Both camp commanders were strict, subjecting the women to punishment including penal labor, special roll calls, food deprivation, and bunker confinement. Especially feared was a punishment known as the *Prügelstrafe*, where the women received 25 blows with a stick. It is likely that in the spring of 1945 a woman was executed because of suspected sabotage (according to survivor Boris Kacel: a Ukrainian; according to historian Irmgard Seidel, a Soviet citizen). The hanging was undertaken by an execution squad from Buchenwald that traveled to the camp with a portable gallows. Kacel stated that the women, who at this time were held in the men's camp, were given a day off work so that they could witness the hanging. As a means of deterring further sabotage attempts, the body remained hanging from the gallows for 24 hours. The increasing intensity of the bombing raids on Madgeburg resulted, no later than March 1945, in increasing disruption and suspension of production in the Polte-Werke. As Kacel describes for the men's camp, most likely also the inmates of the women's camp were increasingly used to construct fortifications and dig ditches. The SS attempted to evacuate the camp forcibly on April 11, 1945, but were unsuccessful when the women panicked. Instead of evacuating the camp, the guards fled. Two days later, the inmates of the men's and women's camps, who had been left to themselves, were driven across to the eastern bank of the Elbe by Volkssturm (German homeguard) units, where they came under fire from U.S. artillery. The SS and the Volksturm began shooting the prisoners in the Neue Welt stadium who were trying to take cover. There were a large number of dead and wounded. The surviving women were forced to march via Oranienburg and Brandenburg to Ravensbrück, where it is suspected they arrived six days later, on April 19, 1945.

In 1951, three members of the Volkssturm were sentenced in a trial in Magdeburg to long periods of imprisonment for their roles in the massacre at the Neue Welt sports stadium. The following year the sentence was quashed, as it could not be conclusively proved that the three were involved in the massacre. Since then there have been no further investigations into the women's camp or the evacuation march. Investigations in the 1970s by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) on the women's subcamp ceased without any conclusive results.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel contributed the article on the women's subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 515–517. Frank Baranowski's *Der Duderstädter Rüstungsbetrieb Polte von 1938 bis 1945* (Göttingen: Cuvillier-Verlag, 1993) contains information on the Polte OHG. The subcamp is described in Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 42–47. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:51; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1823.

Documents on the subcamp are held in the collections of the USHMMA, including a tape of an interview with a survivor of the camp, Bella Mischkinsky (RG-50.549.020017), as well as two oral history interviews with survivors (Bella Mischkinsky, RG-50.030*0340, and Sonja Gottlieb Ludsin, RG-50.030*0262). The ZdL investigations are documented under File 4 429 AR-Z 45/75 at BA-L. Boris Karcel in his autobiography *From Hell to Redemption* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1998) refers a number of times to the women's camp. The execution of the Ukrainian woman is described at p. 203.

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MAGDEBURG-ROTHENSEE (*BRABAG*) [AKA MAGDA]

Fritz Kranefuss, spokesman for the board of directors of the company Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brown Coal-Gasoline, or Brabag), had tried unsuccessfully since 1943 to obtain concentration camp prisoners to work at his fuel production company. In May 1944, when Allied squadrons bombed and damaged the Brabag factories, and the SS was simultaneously deporting Hungarian Jews, the situation changed. Kranefuss, who had excellent connections within Heinrich Himmler's Personal Staff and was the executive officer of the Friends of Himmler (Freudeskreis Himmler), was able to secure concentration camp prisoners to remove rubble and to construct air-raid bunkers. In quick succession, Brabag established subcamps at its factories in Tröglitz/Rehmsdorf, near Zeitz, in Magdeburg-Rothensee, in Schwarzheide, and in Böhlen near Leipzig, as well at its underground storage sites in Königstein near Dresden, and Berga/Elster. In 1944–1945, Brabag used more than 13,100 concentration camp prisoners specifically for construction work.

On June 17 and July 23, 1944, a total of 2,127 mostly Hungarian Jews were transferred from Buchenwald to Magdeburg-Rothensee.[1] The boys and the men had been selected in Buchenwald and Auschwitz. They were between 14 and 65 years old, and because the entire Jewish population of whole townships had been deported, they included students, teachers, fathers, and sons. Not all were of Hungarian origin. Many were Ukrainians or Serbs. In addition, 45 non-Jewish prisoners, mostly of German, Czech, Polish, French, and Belgian

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origin, were deported to Magdeburg-Rothensee and were the prisoner-functionaries.

The subcamp, named "Magda" by the SS, was located on the edge of a housing settlement and an industrial area. The citizens of Rothensee could observe what was happening in the camp through the barbed wire. They had daily contact with the prisoners, for example, on the street as the prisoners marched by or at the construction sites. The emaciated and mistreated prisoners were part of everyday life for the civilian population and the Brabag workforce.

The prisoners were used as an auxiliary construction force at the destroyed Brabag factory and for the building of the bunkers.[2] They laid a system of pipes and cables, repaired rail tracks and roads, cleaned bricks, dug pits, and transported gravel. The work was marked by severe time constraints; by a systematic underutilization of technology; and by constant physical burdens placed on the prisoners, who did not receive adequate food, clothing, or medical attention. The conditions wore down the prisoners, who quickly lost their physical health and died. During the cold times of the year the death rate quickly soared: 130 died in October 1944 and 140 died in November.

Violent abuse became more and more prevalent. Some of the prisoners were killed by one of the SS guard dogs and torn to pieces. The daily violence included mistreatment and humiliation at the construction sites and the camp. The brutality of several guards and Kapos remains in the memories of many survivors and many Magdeburg civilians.

The SS guard detachment numbered 142 men, 112 of whom are known by name. Of these men 82 percent were Wehrmacht soldiers who in 1944 had either volunteered to leave their army and Luftwaffe units and join the SS or who were forcibly transferred to the SS. Theofried Alter, one of the SS camp leaders, had been a noncommissioned officer in the Luftwaffe. At times, an additional 35 policemen were requisitioned as guards. Many soldiers had suffered war injuries, and two-thirds were over 35. A significant percentage of the men did not match the image of a typical SS man, either due to their age, physical condition, or dress. They had not gone through the SS drill at the "Dachau School," although some had experience in guarding Russian prisoners of war (POWs). They either adapted to or tolerated SS violence in the Magda subcamp.[3]

Engineers and foremen from the Brabag factory, the Organisation Todt (OT), and several other construction companies organized the work and directed the prisoners. Brabag was part of the Geilenberg Program, which had been established by Hitler and Albert Speer on May 30, 1944, to secure the production of fuel. Under this program, the Reich reimbursed Brabag for all of the costs incurred in the feeding of the prisoners and in the paying of fees for the prisoners levied by the SS. Edmund Geilenberg, founder of the program and its head, gave his local factory delegates, most of whom were senior engineers at the factories, extensive powers to undertake the construction program and coordinate the use of the prisoners. The engineers in turn were subject to directives from the SS. The plant representative of Brabag Magdeburg, the factory management, and the local OT Construction Unit determined the working conditions and the places where the prisoners worked. Thus, the group of people who presided over the life and death of the prisoners was not limited to the SS guards; it also included civilian industrial representatives.[4]

Sick prisoners were transported back to Buchenwald. On September 27, 1944, alone, 525 prisoners were sent back. Of these, the SS selected 388 prisoners and transported them on October 3, 1944, to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, where they were murdered. On December 29, 1944, following a decision by the plant representative, 401 prisoners were sent to Bergen-Belsen, where it is likely that almost all of them died. The Magda subcamp was dissolved on February 9, 1945, and the remaining 465 prisoners reached Buchenwald on February 16.[5]

At least 550 prisoners (30.4 percent) died in Magdeburg-Rothensee. Two-thirds of those who died were aged between 40 and 65. The fate of 100 prisoners remains unclear, but most likely they died or were killed in Magdeburg. The SS cremated the corpses in the city crematorium of the Magdeburg West Cemetery. Before cremation, the Brabag company doctor issued death certificates that were checked by the Magdeburg district medical officer. The death certificates were written so that the cause of death corresponded with the condition of the corpse. The notes of the Magdeburg district medical officer have survived and are an important source for the camp's history.[6] Another 789 Jews died due to appalling living conditions and the selections that took place in Magdeburg. If one counts these people, the death rate in the Magda subcamp was 66.7 percent.

Among the more unusual events in the history of the camp was the care that prisoners injured during a bombing raid received in a Magdeburg public hospital. Also, the camp elder (Lagerältester), Walter Duda, escaped in November 1944. The guards had given him a key to the camp gate so that he could go to the SS barracks and play cards.

State investigations of the guards after 1945, as well as attempts by former prisoners to receive compensation from Brabag in the courts, remained unsuccessful.[7] Only SS-Private Otto Krause was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment by a U.S. military court in Dachau in 1947. Those Brabag employees responsible for the use of prisoners, such as the factory director Dr. Erich Würzner, who continued to head the factory until into the 1970s, were not called to account.

SOURCES The basis for this essay is Franka Bindernagel and Tobias Bütow's book *Ein KZ in der Nachbarschaft: Das Magdeburger Aussenlager der Brabag und der "Freundeskreis Himmler"* (Cologne, 2004). Benjamin B. Ferencz has documented the statements of survivors in proceedings against Brabag for compensation in *Less Than Slaves. Jewish Forced Labor and the Quest for Compensation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002). The records of the trial were destroyed by the West Berlin judicial authorities. Additional information on Brabag camps may be found in Rainer Fröbe, "Arbeit für die Mineralölindustrie: Das Konzentrationslager Misburg," in *Konzentrationslager in Hannover*, by Rainer Fröbe et al. (Hildesheim, 1985), 1:131–275; and Dietrich Eichholtz et al., *Geschichte der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1996). On Wehrmacht guards in the camps, see Bertrand Perz, "Wehrmacht

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und KZ-Bewachung (Wehrmacht and Concentration Camp Security)," *Mittelweg* 4:36 (1995): 69–82.

Files and other material on the camp history are to be found in the appropriate archives such as AG-B and YV, ZdL (now BA-L), BA, as well as the Deutsche Dienststelle (German Services Office) in Berlin (the former Wehrmachtsauskunftsstelle, WASt). A few documents are kept in the archives of the Magdeburg Jewish community as well as Brabag-K, from which the most important collection on the Magdeburg factory has disappeared. The former prisoner Ivan Ivanji wrote his memoirs in the form of a novel, *Schattenspringen* (Wien, 1993). John Weiner, also a prisoner, published an extract from his memoirs in an article titled "Todesmarsch," *DaHe* 17 (2001): 162–170.

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NOTES

1. Transport lists, YVA, Microfilm, Bu 16, Bu 44, Bu 45.
2. Various survivor repts., YVA, AG-B, AG-D, Magdeburg Jewish Community Private Archives.
3. Statements by former guards, BA-L, 429 AR-Z 45/75, Bd. 1 u. 2, passim; WASt; Bertrand Perz, "Wehrmacht und KZ-Bewachung (Wehrmacht and Concentration Camp Security)," *Mittelweg* 4:36 (1995): 69–82.
4. LHSA-Me: Bunawerk-Schkopau, Nr. 745; Dietrich Eichholtz et al., *Geschichte der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945* (Berlin, 1996), 3:32; Rainer Fröbe, "Arbeit für die Mineralölindustrie: Das Konzentrationslager Misburg," in *Konzentrationslager in Hannover*, by Rainer Fröbe et al. (Hildesheim, 1985), 1:141.
5. Transport lists, YVA: Microfilm, BB1, Bu 8, Bu 19, Bu 44; BA, R 50I/Film 80089, 349:125.
6. Death reports July/August 1944, Westfriedhof (Western Cemetery) Magdeburg, Jewish Community Archive Magdeburg, Crematorium Magdeburg, YVA: 0.51.
7. BA-L, 429 AR-Z 45/75, vol. 1 u. 2, passim; LA-B: Rep. 39, Nr. 27/1, 2, 3; Benjamin B. Ferencz: *Less Than Slaves. Jewish Forced Labor and the Quest for Compensation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002).

MARKKLEEBERG

Markkleeberg lies on the southern edge of Leipzig. An engine factory was located here, which from the end of 1943 was used by the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company, JFM) as a branch factory for the production of small aircraft parts for its aircraft. The head office was located at 1 Stöhrstrasse Markkleeberg. According to the Leipzig building files, the unused factory buildings of the cotton mill Kammgarnspinnerei Stöhr in Marleeberg-West had been leased to Junkers in 1940. In December 1943, a new production facility was established on that site. There is no doubt that the establishment of Junkers facilities in Markkleeberg was connected with the damage caused by Allied bombing raids in which the traditional Junkers production facilities concentrated around the Mockau airport fell victim.

Drafted German workers and foreign forced laborers worked in the new factory. A barracks camp with seven wooden barracks was constructed at Equipagenweg for them. According to Klaus Hesse, in 1943 projections were planned for a barracks to hold 768 men—the building plans, the original of which are held by the Markkleeberg archive, even contemplated a camp for 1,248 men. The camp was largely destroyed during an air raid in February 1944 and replaced with new brick barracks. Surrounded by a barbed-wire fence and guard towers, it was now planned to hold concentration camp prisoners.

The first transport of female prisoners, 500 Hungarian Jews from Auschwitz, arrived on August 31, 1944. With this arrival, the camp had officially opened. Included among the prisoners were two 14-year-old sisters, Erzsebet and Katalin Szasz, who survived the selection by giving false ages.

Another 200 Hungarian Jewish women arrived on October 10, 1944, from Auschwitz II-Birkenau. On October 23 and December 6, 1944, 300 Hungarian Jews arrived on each date from Bergen-Belsen. With these transports the camp consisted of 1,300 female inmates, all of whom were Jewish.

The camp commander was Alois Knittel. He was in command of 18 SS men who secured the outside of the camp and 25 female guards responsible for internal camp supervision. Knittel was feared by the prisoners for his brutality. He meted out beatings as punishment as well as dark cell confinement (*Dunkelarrest*) and once commanded the women to spend the night kneeling in the snow as punishment for suspected sabotage. During this punishment three women died. His subordinates were just as brutal: survivors stated that the SS men entered the camp to watch the women, humiliate them, and persecute them and that the female overseers beat the women with their hands, cudgels, and whips.

The women were primarily used to produce parts for the construction of aircraft engines, a physically demanding work. There were cases of understanding between the German foremen and the skilled workers, on one hand, and the prisoners, on the other. A German foreman, for example, assigned one of the 14-year-old sisters to an easier workstation as it was impossible for her to operate the heavy machines. With that he saved her from a transport back and almost certain death.

In February 1945, two transports each with 125 female French political prisoners arrived from the Buchenwald Abteroda subcamp. The women were sent to Markkleeberg as punishment for suspected sabotage, and Knittel punished them by assigning them to the most physically demanding work in a construction detachment. The French women, who were isolated from the other prisoners in their own barracks, were forced to clear forests, construct roads, and do loading work without any tools.

Survivors describe the camp living conditions as harsh. The barracks were overcrowded. Toward the end of the camp's existence, in March 1945, the number of prisoners rose above 1,500, with the women sleeping in shifts. There were insufficient washing facilities. The prisoners' light clothing, completely inadequate for winter, helped in causing many illnesses. As in other camps, women who could no longer work were selected and taken to Bergen-Belsen. The same fate awaited pregnant women. Nevertheless, there are survivor reports of

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children being born in the camp. The fate of one child is known: he died three days after his birth and was cremated and buried at the Leipzig Südfriedhof (Southern Cemetery).

The camp was evacuated on April 13, 1945. The goal was Theresienstadt. About 40 women were able to hide during the evacuation and escape the death march. They remained in the camp, which was liberated by U.S. troops on April 17–18, 1945. Some 1,539 women were forced to march via Wurzen, Oschatz, Meissen, Niederau, and Pirna in the direction of Königstein. The sick and those who could no longer march were put on hand carts, which were pulled by the other women. Women who collapsed during the death march were shot by the SS. Many women were able to escape in the area around Königstein and during the last days of the march when they were close to Theresienstadt; escape was made easier by the close proximity of the Red Army.

The convoy of women, which had broken up into many small groups, reached Theresienstadt between April 30 and May 4, 1945; 703 women from Markkleeberg arrived at Theresienstadt. More than half the women had either successfully escaped or died on the death march. Many women were so affected by the march that they remained for several weeks under medical care.

In the mid-1960s, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) commenced preliminary investigations that were later continued by the Hof Landgericht (regional court). The investigations ceased in 1971 as former Lagerführer Knittel had died and other perpetrators could not be found.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel contributed the article on the Markkleeberg subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 520–523. In Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oublicées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 118–120, the stories of the two 14-year-old Hungarian sisters who survived the camp are given: Zahava Stessel (Katalin Szasz) and Cheva Ginsburg (Erszebet Szasz). The camp is described at pp. 38–42. Background information on the camp can be found in the following materials: Klaus Hesse, *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe*, *ihre militärische Bedeutung*, *über Gewinne*, *Gewinner und Verlierer*, pp. 102–105, and Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete*, *über Zwangsarbeiter*, *Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Aussenlager*, *über gesühnte und ungesühnte Verbrechen*, *Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 109–111. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:51; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977) Teil 1, p. 1823.

The USHMMA holds a handwritten poem (Acc. 1993.97) written by a prisoner and handed to the survivor Elizabeth Mermel. The poem is accompanied by a pencil drawing showing 12 prisoners. Other archival documents on the camp are held in collection NS 4 Bu (THStA-W, BA-K); the ASt-L, Einäscherungsbuch (on the baby that died in the spring of 1945 and who was cremated); and the AG-B. The ASt-L, Signatur Nr. 3413, holds details on events leading to the lease of the land owned by the cotton mill Kammgarnspinnerei Stöhr & Co. in 1940. Other archival documents are held in the ASt-Mkg, including building details dated July 15, 1943, relating to the construction of the barrack camps originally planned for Epiphanienweg. Investigations by the ZdL are held under File 4 AR-Z 89/1971 und 2 Js 669/71 at BA-L. Miriam Powat, a camp survivor, has published her memoirs under the title *Le-lo shiḥrur: Zikhronotai mi-teḳufat ha-Shoah* (Tel Aviv: Eḳed kelali, 1982).

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MEUSELWITZ

In October 1944, the company Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) established one of its seven concentration subcamps in Germany in the small Thüringen town of Meuselwitz. There were at peak times in this subcamp, which lay 30 kilometers (19 miles) to the south of the HASAG Leipzig main factory, 334 Jewish men and 1,500 mostly non-Jewish women. They were forced laborers in an armaments factory. The women's camp was established on October 5, 1944, and the men's camp on November 3, 1944.[1] The SS dissolved both camps in the middle of April 1945 when it removed the prisoners by rail.

The Leipzig light company, HASAG, in order to profit from the National Socialist armaments program, had converted its factory to the manufacture of munitions and grenades. The Meuselwitz factory had come into the company's possession as part of this expansion process in 1936. The conversion of the Meuselwitz porcelain factory into an armaments factory was initially financed by the company's own bank. In the first year of the war, the Army High Command (OKH) supported this process with the injection of large amounts of capital. In the summer of 1944, as a result of German losses in the war, HASAG relocated machines and labor from Polish factories it obtained during the war to a number of places including Meuselwitz. At the same time, the company increased its production of the *Panzerfaust*, an important antitank weapon. In September 1944 the director of the company, Paul Budin, received, in return, a special power of attorney (*Sondervollmacht*) from the Reich Ministry for Armaments and Production. In February 1944, the Meuselwitz factory employed 3,270 people including at least 2,000 civilian "foreign workers" (*Fremdarbeiter*).

Meuselwitz was opened on October 5, 1944, as the fifth and last of the HASAG camps for women. It held 1,500 women. On November 3, 1944, the company opened a camp for men parallel to the existing camp, just as it had done in Schlieben and Taucha. Both barracks camps lay on both sides of a street in the northwest of an industrial area. The camps were separated from the surrounding area by a simple barbed-wire

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fence. It was not electrified. The concentration camp prisoners were used in armaments production in Meuselwitz. In a number of different factory buildings the prisoners had to work on lathes or on production lines and worked mostly with sheet metal and other metals, producing munitions, shells, and Panzerfäuste. The prisoners worked on weeklong shifts rotating between day and night. Each shift was of 12 hours with breaks. During their spare time the men were often forced to do additional work, for example, unloading railway wagons or being forced by the SS to do cleaning-up work. On Sundays during their free time the prisoners were forced by the SS to clean their barracks. Former prisoner Fred Schwarz states that his civilian HASAG foreman was furious with the camp administration when the prisoners were disturbed while working because then they could not reach their quotas: "Today there's another stink. A Wehrmacht officer comes up to the foreman. He needs two big and two small [prisoners], but the foreman says that this is not possible. But a few minutes later we are under [the officer] nevertheless [on a bomb-disposal detail]."[2] As in other factories, there was tension between the interests of the company and the camp security.

The Buchenwald Camp Statistics records the Meuselwitz camp for men as a "Jewish Detachment." Leaving aside the prisoner-functionaries, the male Meuselwitz prisoners were Jews from Poland, Hungary, Holland, and Czechoslovakia. In the middle of December 1944, the camp reached a strength of 300 prisoners with three transports from Buchenwald and Auschwitz.[3] According to the Buchenwald weekly medical reports, seven male prisoners in toto died in the camp.[4] On January 6, 1945, eight prisoners were transported back to Buchenwald. Three prisoners managed to escape. One of those was captured and beaten to death in front of his fellow prisoners by the camp commander, Bergmaier.

The Meuselwitz camp for women, unlike the camp for men, is recorded in the statistics as a "mixed detachment," even though there were only 18 Jewish women in the mix. The majority of the 1,500 women were Poles.[5] Many of them were female civilians who had been arrested following the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising, registered in the concentration camps as political prisoners, and transported to Meuselwitz via Auschwitz and Ravensbrück. Until their evacuation, numbers in the camp for women remained constant at around 1,350 prisoners. Sick women were transferred from Meuselwitz back to Ravensbrück. According to the Buchenwald medical reports, 8 women died in the camp. This total does not include women killed in Allied bombing raids.[6]

There were two large air raids on the HASAG factory in Meuselwitz. The first, on November 30, 1944, destroyed large parts of the women's camp. Thirty-eight prisoners and an SS warden died. Sixty-six women were seriously injured. On a second air raid on the old factory, the Allied reconnaissance aircraft dropped red flares on the prisoners' camp, protecting it from the bombardment. The production facilities in the camp were partly destroyed.

Compared to other HASAG subcamps, prisoner conditions were comparatively good. The prisoners had their own beds in the barracks. Each bed had a straw mattress filled with old paper, a blanket, and a towel. At the windows there were tables and chairs. In a shed there was coal with which the stoves in the rooms were heated. On Sundays, the prisoners in the men's camp organized lectures on a variety of subjects. The prisoners' food consisted of coffee, a slice of bread, and a little cheese or sausage before work. After work there was soup. The main building, which included a kitchen, was located in the camp for women. For this reason the male prisoner orderlies had to collect their food in the morning and evening at the fence. The camp had a heated washroom with toilet. There was no toilet paper, so the prisoners used old company forms. There were no showers in the camp for men. The prisoners, however, were allowed every second day after the end of their shifts to shower in the factory washroom, located next to the air-raid shelter. They showered under supervision. Instead of soap, the prisoners filled a piece of paper with a "white greasy liquid" from the machine room. As a result, many prisoners suffered from skin complaints. The prisoners had hardly any medicine.

The camp leader was the 31-year-old dairy manager and SS-Oberscharführer Heinz Blume. In the middle of December, SS-Untersturmführer Bergmaier took over Blume's post. Under him the prisoner regime became much harder. He encouraged his subordinates to mistreat the prisoners. During their work the prisoners were guarded in the factory buildings not only by SS men and Wehrmacht soldiers but also by men from the German Home Guard (Volkssturm).

In addition to the guards, there was a layer of non-Jewish prisoner-functionaries from Buchenwald. Fred Schwarz reported on an event that highlights their role. Meuselwitz citizens often saw the following events through the fence: "Yesterday we were standing at roll call. One of us could not stand straight and one of the fence visitors yelled: 'Hey, you are standing in the wrong direction!' Whereupon Lody, in the front row, yelled back 'Not us, you are going in the wrong direction.'"[7] Schwarz commented on the cheek of the prisoner-functionary Lody as follows: "The medical orderly cannot permit this. We are going to get a terrible beating."

According to reports on the day between April 12 and April 14, 1945, all prisoners from the Meuselwitz camp were deported by train via Chemnitz to Graslitz.[8] Before their departure, the prisoners had to empty the open flat rail wagons of coal. In Altenburg the female prisoners from that HASAG subcamp joined them. In Graslitz a number of prisoners were able to escape as a Wehrmacht train, coming from the opposite direction, was attacked from the air.

The highest-ranking SS man from a HASAG camp brought to justice after the war was the first Meuselwitz camp commandant, Heinz Blume. In a successor trial to the U.S. Army's Buchenwald trial in Dachau, Blume was sentenced to death by hanging on October 24, 1946. In 1946–1947 there were two independent but inconclusive investigations in Ludwigsburg and Prague into the role of two SS wardresses.

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After liberation, the HASAG group attempted to keep control of its property as shown by reports on looting in Meuselwitz, Altenburg, and Leipzig.

SOURCES The HASAG subcamp for men is referred to in Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271. The Meuselwitz subcamp for women is mentioned in Irmgard Seidel, "Weibliche Häftlinge des KZ Buchenwald in der deutschen Rüstungsindustrie (1 & 2)," ISKDW 25:54 (2001): 16–23; 27:55 (2002): 23–29.

Material on the Meuselwitz subcamp is held in a number of archives. SS HASAG documents have not survived. In YV there are a few reports by surviving prisoners (Collections M.21.1, M.68 and O.3). In AG-R there is an unpublished report by the survivor Maria Kosk. The trial files on the Meuselwitz camp commander Heinz Blume are located in the NARA, RG 153, Records of the Army Judge Advocate General, *U.S. v. Josias Prince zu Waldeck et al*. The HASAG building plans and a plan of the Meuselwitz site are held in the ASt-Me. There are two published reports by survivors: Miloš Pick: *Verstehen und nicht vergessen: Durch Theresienstadt, Auschwitz und Buchenwald-Meuselwitz. Jüdische Schicksale in Böhmen 1938–1945* (Heimsheim, 2000); and especially extensive is Fred Schwarz, *Züge auf falschem Gleis* (Wien, 1996). Schwarz prepared a sketch plan of the camp for his memoirs (p. 263).

Martin Schellenberg
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. AG-B, HKW, Film 15; NARA, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015739.
2. Fred Schwarz, *Züge auf falschem Gleis* (Wien, 1996), p. 291.
3. NARA, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015739–45.
4. THStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 1–105.
5. AG-B, HKW, Film 15.
6. THStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 1–105.
7. Schwarz, *Züge auf falschem Gleis*, p. 287.
8. NARA, RG 153, *U.S. v. Josias Prince zu Waldeck et al*; Schwarz, *Züge auf falschem Gleis*, p. 299.

MÜHLHAUSEN (*GERÄTEBAU GMBH*) ("MARTHA II") [AKA SS-KOMMANDO GERÄTEBAU]

The Mühlhausen Gerätebau subcamp was located in the Prussian province of Saxony, present-day Thuringia, north of the Thüringer Wald on the River Unstrut. The prisoners worked for Gerätebau GmbH, a subsidiary of the clockmaker Thiel, Ruhla, which manufactured timers and precision instruments. The Thiel company, which also supplied the Reichswehr in the Weimar Republic, had acquired the site in Mühlhausen in 1934 and commenced production in 1937 under the name Gerätebau GmbH. The production buildings were, in part, camouflaged by planted concrete roofs and were fenced in with a 2-meter-high (6.5-feet-high) concrete steel wall.

From the beginning of the war, there were difficulties in supplying the company with an adequate labor supply, with the result that as early as 1940, at the instigation of the local labor office, consideration was given to the use of Jews from concentration camps.[1] But instead Polish workers were recruited as forced laborers first. They were accommodated in the so-called B Camp, which was about 2.5 kilometers (1.6 miles) away from the factory, on the edge of the Mühlhausen city forest.

The supply of foreign labor became inadequate in time. Therefore, following a private discussion between a representative of Gerätebau, Oberingenieur Braun, and the commandant of the Buchenwald concentration camp, SS-Oberführer Hermann Pister, the establishment of a subcamp for 500 female inmates was agreed upon. Gerätebau undertook all the necessary preparations, including the selection of 23 women from the company's staff for training as guards at the Ravensbrück concentration camp in August and September 1944. The camp's opening was accordingly delayed. An advance detachment of guards from Buchenwald under the command of SS-Sturmführer Otto Baus arrived in Mühlhausen on August 15, the administrative personnel on August 27, and 12 guards on August 30, recruited from the SS and Wehrmacht. The first mention of the Mühlhausen Gerätebau subcamp is on September 2, 1944. On September 3,300 Hungarian Jews from the Litzmannstadt (Łódź) ghetto arrived in Mühlhausen. The first 8 female guards followed on September 6, with the remainder arriving from Ravensbrück on September 16.[2] The female overseer (Oberaufseherin) was the transport leader, Bässler. On October 30, 200 (some sources say 144) Hungarian and Polish, mostly very young, Jewish women, who had been sent to Auschwitz from different ghettos, arrived at the Mühlhausen Gerätebau camp. With these women, the camp had reached its planned prisoner strength.[3] At the end of November, the women were given Buchenwald prisoner numbers between 48001 and 48463. There were minor variations in prisoners held here as women no longer capable of working or pregnant were sent back: for example, in the autumn of 1944, 4 pregnant women were sent to Auschwitz, and at the end of January 1945, 2 were sent to Bergen-Belsen. From Bergen-Belsen, 6 Jewish women were sent to the subcamp as replacement laborers.

The women walked each day from their barracks in the so-called B camp to the place where they worked. They worked in three shifts: from 5:15 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., from 7:15 A.M. to 6:00 P.M., and from 5:00 P.M. to 5:00 A.M. In addition to their long hours of work, the prisoners had to withstand the daily walk, catastrophic hygiene conditions in the camp, and the elements (with completely inadequate clothing). Even the camp leader, Baus, complained to Buchenwald that the women in winter could not work efficiently without shoes and underwear. There were 40 seriously ill women in the infirmary on November 14, 1944, where they were cared for by an SS medical orderly who was also responsible for the Mühlhausen male camp. [See Buchenwald (*Mühlenwerke AG/Junkers*) ("Julius M," "Martha I").] He was assisted by three female prisoner nurses. At least 3 women died in the

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subcamp—according to the official death notices, 1 died of pneumonia and 2 died of tuberculosis. They were cremated and their remains buried at the Mühlhausen cemetery.

Just about all the women worked in the Gerätebau factory buildings for the munitions manufacturer Thiel, Ruhla, and the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke AG (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company, Inc., JFM), which operated the Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke AG/Junkers camp (also known as "Julius M" and "Martha I"). They produced detonators and precision instruments that were primarily used in aircraft. Only a few women worked in the camp: the camp elder, Sara Feldman, and 2 women who were in charge of the food, another 1 in the storeroom, 3 in the SS kitchen, 2 in the office, 11 in the prisoners' kitchen, and 8 women in each barracks as *Stubendienste* (room leaders) who were in charge of cleaning the barracks. In addition, there were the three nurses who, as already mentioned, worked in the infirmary.

The camp was most probably dissolved because of the difficulties in maintaining supplies. There are different dates given for its dissolution: Frank Baranowski puts the date at the end of February 1945; Carsten Liesenberg, as March 1; the International Tracing Service (ITS), as March 3; while others cite the closing date as March 8, 1945. The women were evacuated by train to Celle. From there they walked the 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) to Bergen-Belsen. This camp, where all order had broken down and which no longer received supplies, was to be the death place for many of the women evacuated from Mühlhausen. Orna Birnbaum, one of the women who worked at Gerätebau, stated that by the time Bergen-Belsen was liberated on April 15, 1945, 80 percent of the 698 women who had been evacuated from Mühlhausen were dead.[4]

SOURCES There are a number of detailed descriptions of the subcamp including Frank Baranowski, *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2000), pp. 81; Rolf Barthel, *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), pp. 87–96; and Carsten Liesenberg, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Mühlhausen und Nordthüringen* (Mühlhausen: Mühlhauser Museen, 1998), pp. 97–99. Franziska Jahn describes the subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), p. 530. An early description of the Mühlhausen Gerätebau camp is by Renate Ragwitz, "Frauenaussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald," BuH 15 (1982). In this essay, Ragwitz examines the Buchenwald subcamps and women with a specific analysis of the Mühlhausen camp on p. 27. Rolf Barthel has contributed a two-part description of the subcamp in the *EfHb* 1 (1984): 32–35; and 2 (1984): 127–131. The subcamp is mentioned in Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn, 1999), p. 854; Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992); as well as Günther Gotta, "Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Auswertung städtischer Quellen zur Faschismusforschung—Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des KZ Buchenwald und seiner Aussenlager," AuGF-MHL (1985): 6–12. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:52.

There are numerous primary sources on the Mühlhausen Gerätebau camp. Detailed information is to be found in the THStA-W, especially the collections 269/X, Buchenwald, and survivors' reports, as well Uhrenwerke Ruhla, especially references 197, 449, 450, 453, 456, 520, and 1010. Most relevant are the collections of AG-B, the microfilm collections of IPN, as well as the documents on the subcamp including a list from November 20, 1944 (eight pages, unsigned) and Best. Bu63–27–1, which includes the planned use of concentration camp prisoners in 1940. The ASt-Mühlh under reference 86/253 has information on the subcamp; the Friedhofsverwaltung Mühlhausen has a collection titled "Jüdische KZ-Häftlinge." Also relevant are the BA-K collections 41356 and the Allg. Proz. ZNI, No. 4 171–4270 (Forderungsnachweise der SS für Häftlingsarbeit).

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NOTES

1. THStA-W, Uhrenwerke Ruhla, Signatur 450.
2. According to Rolf Barthel in *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), p. 94, another four female guards from the Gerätebau GmbH were trained at the end of January 1945.
3. For detailed information on the age and professional qualifications of the prisoners, see ibid., p. 89.
4. Ibid., p. 95.

MÜHLHAUSEN (*MÜHLENWERKE AG/ JUNKERS*) ("JULIUS M," "MARTHA I")

The Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke subcamp was located in the Thüringian city of Mühlhausen in the former Prussian province of Saxony. The city lies to the north of the Thüringen Wald on the River Unstrut, northwest of Erfurt and to the southeast of Göttingen. Initially the official name of the camp was Mühlenwerke AG, Betrieb Mühlhausen/Thüringen, Mackensenstrasse 90, later Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM), Zweigwerk Schönebeck, Einsatz Mühlhausen. The "Mühlenwerke AG" was used as a code name as were the two names "Julius M" and later "Martha I."[1] As indicated by the name, the subcamp arose from the decentralization of aircraft production by the Junkers-Werke, which was caused by the increasing Allied air raids on Germany. The decision to create new production facilities for Junkers, which were to cover 15,000 square meters (161,459 square feet), and the decision to establish a new subcamp called Martha II were made almost simultaneously, on April 20, 1944.

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The camp was located on the grounds of the Thuringia-Spinnerei on the Wendenwehr at Mackensenstrasse 90 (later Friedrich-Naumann-Strasse). The Thuringia-Spinnerei, which manufactured worsted yarn, had ceased production during the war and leased its production facilities to Junkers. The prisoners' work areas were located in the northern section of the mill. They slept in wooden bunk beds in a factory building, which was separated from a storage area by partitions.

There were not only concentration camp prisoners working on the site but also forced laborers and foreign laborers. The prisoners of the subcamp manufactured aircraft and engine parts for Ju 188, Ju 288, and Ju 200 aircraft. The Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke was 1 of 13 Buchenwald subcamps where prisoners worked for Junkers. Junkers had relocated various production areas from Schönebeck to Mühlhausen. They built an oven facility with three toploader kilns and a muffle kiln.[2] The prisoners worked in two shifts each of 12 hours. In February and March 1945, when production came to a standstill, the camp inmates were sent to Mühlhausen to clean up after bombing raids. Prisoners who were no longer capable of working were sent back from Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke to Buchenwald. In addition, there was an ongoing exchange of small detachments with other subcamps.

The number of prisoners was between 570 and 800. The first time the camp is mentioned, there were 69 prisoners registered in the camp. In July 1944, the numbers increased to over 400, and in November, there were almost 700 prisoners in the camp. Later, the camp strength was around 550. The International Tracing Service (ITS) records show that the number peaked at 800. The prisoners came mostly from the Soviet Union and Poland, with some from France and Czechoslovakia. There were a few Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) among the prisoners as well as a few Jews—for example, the German Jew Jochanan Zeewi (Karl Paul Wolff) whose Jewish identity was not known in the camp where he was considered a "Dutch political." Several prisoners had arrived at Mühlhausen via Auschwitz, and at least 1 was a foreign worker who had been involved in an illegal relationship with an underage German girl, for which he was sent to the concentration camp.[3] The camp elder was named Müller.

The camp commandant was an SS-Obersturmführer named Dietrich, in charge of 24 Luftwaffe members who were no longer capable of active service. Historian Rolf Barthel stated that the guards consisted of a few SS men and 4 *Wachschutz* (uniformed factory guards).

Toward the end of the war, probably around April 3 or 4, 1945, the prisoners were evacuated to Buchenwald in front of the approaching enemy forces. They were driven on foot to Buchenwald, spending two days in the nearby Gustloff factory before they were sent to the main camp. The travails of some of the Mühlhausen prisoners were not at an end: they were forced in the following days to join other prisoners who were driven on death marches out of Buchenwald.

SOURCES Frank Baranowski has described the camp in *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2000), p. 113; Rolf Barthel, *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), pp. 83–87; Carsten Liesenberg, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Mühlhausen und Nordthüringen* (Mühlhausen, 1998), pp. 96–97; and Franziska Jahn's article in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 531–532. Earlier descriptions of the camp are by Rolf Barthel, "Faschistische Verbrechen in Niederorschel und Mühlhausen," *EfHh* 4 (1986): 117–122, esp. p. 117; Barthel, "Der Schwur von Buchenwald wurde bei uns verwirklicht," *EfHh* 4 (1986): 291–294, esp. 291; and Barthel's two-part article "Neue Forschungsergebnisse zu den Verbrechen des deutschen Faschismus auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen," *EfHh* 1 (1987): 24–30, and 3 (1987): 217–223, esp. p. 218; and Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992). The fate of the Mühlhausen prisoner Marian Gawronski is described in Bettina Klingel et al., *Fremdarbeiter und Deutsche: Der Schicksal der Erna Brehm aus Calw* (Bad Liebenzell, 1984). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 52; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1825.

Unpublished documents on the Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke AG subcamp are held in the collections of the THStA-W (collections 269/X, Buchenwald, and survivors' reports from Buchenwald), and in BA-K, NS 4/ Bu 219 (Übersichten über Anzahl und Einsatz der Häftlinge, 1943–1944). In the collections of the LASA-DO, there is information on the Mühlhausen Mühlenwerke camp, in the collection on the Junkers-Werke, reference numbers 165, 299, 407, 626, 913, 1375, and 1646, as well as number 1-1369 (407). Information can also be obtained in the following collections: AG-B (among others, No. 3781, Häftlingsverzeichnis Lfd. Nr. 3781–3810). The microfilm collections of IPN, BA-BL, R 4603/112 (Übersicht über Fertigungs- und Verlagerungsstätten der deutschen Rüstungsindustrie, Stand Januar/Februar 1945), and YVA, reference numbers 03/5 292, 015E/E 281, and 017/16, also hold information.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Frank Baranowski, *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2000), p. 113.
2. Rolf Barthel, *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), p. 84.
3. For the fate of this prisoner, Marian Gawronski, see Barthel, *Wider das Vergessen*, p. 85; and Bettina Klingel et al., *Fremdarbeiter und Deutsche: Der Schicksal der Erna Brehm aus Calw* (Bad Liebenzell, 1984).

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NEUSTADT BEI COBURG [AKA KALAG]

Siemens-Schuckert Werke AG (Siemens Schuckert Works, Inc., SSW) wanted new production facilities with a low-cost labor force and as a result established the Cable and Wire Works, Inc. (Kabel- und Leitungswerke AG, KALAG). By this means, it could negate the effects of labor shortages caused by competition in the armaments industry.

By the turn of the year 1943–1944, the labor situation was so desolate—because of the war—that management's hoped-for increase in production proved impossible to achieve. To counter this situation, a two-pronged strategy was proposed in the middle of March 1944: first, the pressure on the workers was increased by increased cooperation with such National Socialist organizations as the Gestapo. This resulted in the exemplary punishment of two employees and the threatened withdrawal of special ration cards. Second, Hans Joachim Schulz, head of the Neustadt cable factory, informed his superiors from Berlin that it was possible to take on "500 people, of whom 200 would be Germans." After the war, Schulz suggested that the initiative to use prisoners came from the head office in Berlin.[1] In considerations of those responsible, the numerous instances in which Siemens had already used prisoners successfully must have played a role. The best known of these was the model project "Fertigungsstelle Ravensbrück," which began in 1942.[2] It was probably in August 1944 that female employees of KALAG were sent to the Ravensbrück concentration camp for training as "supervisors."[3] They returned on September 7, 1944, with 398 mostly Hungarian Jewish women but also some from Yugoslavia, Poland, and France and a few Germans. They were sent to the "barracks camp," which was on or next to the KALAG grounds. One can assume that the prisoners had been selected in the Ravensbrück concentration camp by company representatives according to suitability and knowledge of German or because they were relatively healthy: the women were mostly young, aged 16 to 45; more than half were under the age of 30.[4]

The prisoners began working in the Cable and Wire Factory as early as September 10.[5] "[Four hundred] concentration camp prisoners (Hungarian Jewesses) . . . are employed in quality control, preparation of conduit wire and repair of field telephone cables. They are currently being trained by staff employees." The company prepared itself for the eventuality that "training would cause a temporary reduction in the output of marine, field telephone, and long distance military cables."[6] The work was described after the war as heavy work, actually men's work. The prisoners worked under the supervision and command of KALAG employees. They were separated from the other workers and worked in day and night shifts from 6.30 A.M. to 6.30 P.M. and from 6.30 P.M. to 6.30 A.M. Each shift had a 40-minute break. The prisoners constituted about 20 percent of the employees. Noteworthy, 46 women were categorized as "prisoner apprentices." Probably, they were women who on the basis of their experience were not as productive as others and for whom KALAG had to pay less than the 4 Reichsmark (RM) per day fee for "prisoner workers."

The commander of the subcamp was SS-Oberscharführer Maronowski. He was in charge of 13 SS men and initially 22, but later 24, female SS wardens. They guarded the prisoners while they worked. After the war, survivors accused Maronowski, a few female SS, and a tradesman named Stein—in stark contrast to the statements by the SS and firm employees—of mistreating prisoners for trivial reasons and of reserving food for the guards and only allowing the smallest portion to reach the prisoners. For supposedly unsatisfactory performance at work, prisoners stated that they had to stand for hours-long punishment roll calls in the cold.

In contrast, the SS female wardens and the KALAG employees stated that they treated the prisoners "humanely" and secretly gave them food. A newspaper article from 1966 refers to an unnamed Israeli couple who attempted to visit and thank the former foreman, Renz, for his help and assistance.[7] If there is at least some evidence that supports those reports, it comes in the form of existing statements of former SS personnel and also of KALAG supervisor Schulz, which they made in the course of postwar hearings and investigations and in which they were speaking as the accused. There is little meaning in those statements; the attempts at self-exculpation are too obvious. When considering the conditions, one must keep in mind that before the overwhelmingly Jewish female forced laborers arrived in Neustadt, they had gone through a number of selections and so could have perceived the absence of an Auschwitz-like immediate threat to life as an improvement, if only in relative terms. Correspondingly, the investigation could not prove any deaths or killings for the Neustadt subcamp. The health and nutrition of the prisoners who arrived in Neustadt are unanimously described as poor; the prisoners had to be first clothed and "fattened up." Food was cooked for the prisoners in a camp kitchen, which was supervised by one of the SS female wardens.

The level of sickness in the camp offers information about the actual supply situation and the effects of prisoner treatment. In this connection, a particular event should be mentioned: probably on November 5, 1944, an outbreak of smallpox was spotted among the prisoners of the subcamp. As a result, the SS female wardens and the factory personnel who came in contact with the prisoners and also the prisoners themselves were inoculated against smallpox! The background to this strange event—the inoculation and treatment of the prisoners—was surely the result of the extraordinary danger represented by the highly infectious viral disease. An effective inoculation had been in existence for some time. The firm's internal reports state that the prisoners lost only one and one-half days of work because of disinfections and inoculations. They reveal that there were on average 20 sick prisoners (the highest number was 36) up until November 1944.[8] Occasionally, the night or day shift could not work, and sometimes fewer than half of the female prisoners turned up to work. The sick did not have to work. They were treated in the infirmary by Polish doctor Maria Pruszyńska, who was transferred to Neustadt, with two other prisoners, at the end of September; further, the KALAG doctor, Dr. Alfred Karcher, is supposed to have treated prisoners.[9]

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Without having details about the sick rate for the following months, one can still assume that the transfer of 5 prisoners to Bergen-Belsen on February 28, 1945, was connected with their health and ability to work, because at this time Bergen-Belsen already operated as a reception and death camp for prisoners who could no longer work. Moreover, in March, 5 prisoners were transferred from Bergen-Belsen to Neustadt as replacements. In an undated statement, a female SS warden noted the transfer of a prisoner with tuberculosis back to Buchenwald. There were still 32 sick on March 23, 1945, and 4 prisoners were "spared" by being allowed to work in the offices. The supply situation and the living and work conditions in the subcamp at KALAG were probably not much better than those in other factories: priority was given to production; terror that was not aimed at increasing production and that endangered the investment of training had no place. If any prisoner's production declined, they were transferred back into the SS camp system, which supplied replacements.

With the approach of the end of the war and the increasing difficulties in supplying raw material and energy, the firm's management sought to get rid of the subcamp, which would appear quite compromising when the Allied troops arrived. KALAG's management pressed the local National Socialist leadership and the armaments inspectorate to take back the responsibility for the prisoners. They were even prepared to supply food for the return and vehicles for prisoners who were no longer capable of walking. Finally, the head of the works, Schulz, gave the camp commander Maronowski his "marching orders." The camp was dissolved on April 6, and the prisoners marched with the SS men via Kronach, Münchberg, and Paulusbrunn to Eger, which is presently in the Czech Republic. The prisoners were freed in Domažlice.

On the basis of a now-missing statement by a former French prisoner, Anne-Marie de la Marlais, the American occupation authorities as well as the Hungarian government launched investigations against the camp personnel. As a result, the Hungarians reserved the right to seek the extradition of former guards for crimes committed in the camp, should any of the guards be apprehended.[10] It obviously did not come to that; instead, the former female SS wardens of the subcamp at Neustadt bei Coburg were the subject of denazification proceedings in 1947. These proceedings are found today mostly in the BA-K.[11]

In 1966 the state prosecutor at the Coburg State Court (Landgericht Coburg) commenced a murder investigation.[12] There were no prosecutions. The proceedings ceased in 1967. In 1966 the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) commenced an investigation that included the statements and results of the investigation undertaken by the Coburg state prosecutor and the denazification proceedings.[13]

SOURCES In addition to the already mentioned sources, the most important collection on the subcamp at Neustadt is the AS-M. Regrettably, the most useful sources cannot be accessed by independent historians as they form part of the uncataloged documents in Siemens' "Temporary Archive" (Zwischenarchiv). Two sources, which are connected with the use of the prisoners in the cable factory at Neustadt, have recently been released and have been quoted in this article. Collection NS4 in THStA-W is of importance and includes microfiche from the BA and AG-B. It is possible that there are survivors' reports in the YVA.

The author is not aware of any publications on the subcamp KALAG at Neustadt bei Coburg. In the local history sources, the camp is either seldom mentioned or is presented in a favorable light. This is also the case with unpublished sources. In addition to the press articles from 1947 and 1966 (sources mentioned above), there is an article titled "Kleiner Lichtblick in dunkelster Zeit—Von 1944 bis 1945 befand sich in Neustadt ein Aussenkommando des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald mit 400 Häftlingen," *NPC*, December 5, 1995, that contains blatant errors, painting a rosy picture of conditions in the subcamp.

Rolf Schmolling
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. See StA-C, Akten der Spruchkammer Amtsgericht Neustadt/Cbg. T18, p. 18; letter by Hans Joachim Schulz (Werks- und kaufmännischer Leiter), dated June 11, 1947. I am grateful to Mr. Rainer Axmann, Weitramsdorf, for this reference.
2. See the entry Ravensbrück/Siemenslager Ravensbrück, this volume.
3. See the statement by [SS-Warden] Martha S., born. L., dated November 15, 1976, in Bergen-Enkheim, BA-L, IV410AR-Z60/67, Bl. 1571.
4. See Politische Abteilung Buchenwald, October 22, 1944, AG-B, NS 4 Bu 268 MF 0007744.
5. See Wochenbericht der auswärtigen SKG-Werke (Schumann) for the weekly wage week 51, 10.-6.9.1944 (n.d.), SKG Wochenberichte, SAA 4947, n.p.
6. See Helmut Scheurich, *Geschichte der Stadt Neustadt bei Coburg im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*, vol. 2 (Neustadt bei Coburg, 1993), p. 305.
7. See "Hilfsbereitschaft sollte anerkannt werden—Missverständnisse vereiteln leider einen Besuch bei Meister Renz," *NT*, August 12, 1966.
8. See Wochenbericht der auswärtigen SKG-Werke (Schumann) for wage week 7.5.-11.11.44 (n.d.), SAA 4947; KL Neustadt b. Coburg, Arbeitseinsatz, [SS-OSchaF Maronowski] Kabel- u. Leitungswerke v. 5.11.1944 bis 14.11.1944 in Neustadt b. Coburg, THStA-W, NS 4 BU268, n.p.
9. See Politische Abteilung Buchenwald, v. 12.10.1944, AG-B (THStA-W, NS 4 Bu 268 fol. 0007743); and StA LG-Co an Generalstaatsanwalt Oberlandesgericht Bamberg betr: NL Neustadt bei Coburg KL Buchenwald, v. 3.4.1967, BA-L a.a.O.
10. See verbal note of Hungarian Foreign Ministry to the Legacy of the United States of America [War Crimes in C.C. Neustadt Coburg] v. 25.8.1947, in Budapest with 7 "Records of Testimonies" of former prisoners of the subcamp, NARA, Cases not tried, RG 549–000–50–30 Neustadt C.C. Box 529 o.Pag.
11. StA-C, Akten der Spruchkammer Amtsgericht Neustadt/Cbg. Einzelfallakten T 18.
12. StA-C, Staatsanwaltschaft Coburg, 5Js 802/66.
13. BA-L, 4 429AR1928/66.

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NIEDERORSCHEL ("LANGENWERKE AG")

The Niederorschel subcamp was located in the Prussian province of Saxony in Obereichsfeld, not far from the city of Worbis in the northwest of Thuringia. The use of the code name "Langenwerke AG" indicates the close organizational connection with the subcamp in Langensalza about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) away, which also was named "Langenwerke AG."

Files from the Buchenwald concentration camp mention the Niederorschel subcamp for the first time on September 4, 1944. A transport of 100 prisoners was sent from the main camp, arriving at Niederorschel on September 6, 1944. Two hundred Jewish prisoners arrived from Buchenwald on October 8 and another 282 prisoners from Auschwitz on October 30, 1944, who had been directly selected in Auschwitz by leading employees of the "Langenwerke." One prisoner was shot on the journey from Auschwitz via Görlitz, Dresden, Leipzig, Halle, Sangerhausen, and Nordhausen.[1] Another 150 Jewish prisoners arrived from Buchenwald in Niderorschel on December 14; the camp now had 693 inmates, its highest number. Historian Wolfgang Grosse states that altogether 734 prisoners from 15 countries were held in Niederorschel, most of them from Slovakia, Hungary, the Netherlands, France, and Germany.

The Junkers-Werke, for whom the prisoners worked, had already begun to relocate parts of its production process to Niederorschel as part of the "Fighter Staff Program" (Jägerstab-Programm) and with the permission of the Reich Air Ministry (RLM). In Niederorschel the Junkers-Werke had acquired the confiscated plywood factory (*Sperrholzwerk*) of Hermann Becher, which until then had used forced laborers from Poland, Italy, and the Soviet Union to produce plywood boxes to hold grenades. Under the auspices of the Junkers-Werke, parts for the wings and undercarriage for the Focke-Wulf 190 were produced on the site. In order to take over the production site, Junkers, according to historian Frank Baranowski, who has conducted detailed research of the camp, had to pay monthly rent to the RLM. Niederorschel was 1 of 13 Buchenwald subcamps in which prisoners worked for the Junkers-Werke.

The Niederorschel subcamp, with an area of 502,000 square meters (about 600,000 square yards), was relatively small. The prisoners were accommodated in the rooms of the former mechanical spinning mill Vereinigte Textilfabrik AG and slept in three-tiered wooden bunk beds. There was a kitchen and an infirmary that was under the control of the French prison doctor Charles Odic.[2] The accommodations and the roll-call square were surrounded by a barbed-wire fence with three guard towers. Barbed-wire fences formed a corridor through which the prisoners were led to the plywood factory about 200 meters (656 feet) away. The two factory buildings in which the prisoners worked were also fenced in with barbed wire.

Oberingenieur Scheunemann was the operations manager of the Langenwerke AG.[3] The camp was commanded by SS-Oberscharführer Hans Masorsky, who, like his deputy SS-Oberscharführer Adam, had previously been posted in Majdanek. The camp was guarded by up to 40 SS men.

The prisoners cut duralumin surfaces for the wings, riveted them, put in cables in the wings for takeoff and landing mechanisms, and installed the undercarriages. Former Jewish prisoner Somcha Bunem Unsdorfer, who in the autumn of 1944 was brought from Auschwitz to Niederorschel, gave a moving description of the work and living conditions in the camp in his memoirs *The Yellow Star*. The difficult work conditions were marked by 12-hour shifts, working with heavy work tools and machines, the constant noise of presses, riveting, and drilling, but also the metal dust, which was damaging to the health. Unsdorfer details the completely inadequate food as well as the poor hygienic conditions in the camp and mentions an incident in which six prisoners were punished because of supposed sabotage.[4]

Nevertheless, Niederorschel is described by many prisoners as a bearable camp, especially when compared to Auschwitz. The SS only entered the camp for roll call, and the civilian labor force that supervised the work was regarded as bearable. Grosse stated that between October 19, 1944, and February 19, 1945, there were only 19 deaths in the Niederorschel camp, all from typhus, diphtheria, and dysentery. These prisoners were taken to the Buchenwald Mühlhausen subcamp that was administratively connected to Niederorschel and cremated in the city crematorium at Mühlhausen. Grosse gives several reasons for the relatively low death rate: Communist Lagerkapo Otto Herrmann repeatedly intervened with the camp command for decent treatment of the prisoners who were a specialized labor force; in addition, the civilian population helped the prisoners on numerous occasions. For example, the owner of the plywood factory, Herrmann Becher, repeatedly gave buckets of a cold glue made from potatoes that was intended for armaments productions and instead was used to improve the prisoners' nutrition. Civilian laborers and the village population also repeatedly supplied the prisoners with food. The local master locksmith, Johannes Drössler, took 11 (according to other sources, 12) prisoners who had escaped from the camp and hid them for two months in a barn until the end of the war. Altogether around 30 prisoners were hidden and cared for by the Niederorschel villagers after their escape.

From the spring of 1945, there were increasing production and supply difficulties in the camp. The wings produced by the prisoners were no longer taken away; the prisoners were increasingly used for other labor in Niederorschel and its surroundings, as, for example, clearing forests. On February 18, 1945, a group of 16 prisoners (according to other sources, 135 prisoners, most no longer capable of working) were taken to Halberstadt-Langenstein-Zwieberge, to work on the construction of a subterranean production facility with the code name "Malachit."

The evacuation of the camp occurred on the night of April 1–2, 1945: 527 prisoners were sent to the main camp by foot via Berlstedt, where they spent three nights. Probably at least 10 prisoners died on the evacuation march, and about 100 were able to escape. Some 425 prisoners reached the Buchenwald concentration camp on April 10, 1945, which was liberated on April 11.

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The camp commander, Masorsky, was tried in 1947 and sentenced to eight years in prison. Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) brought no results and were stopped in 1971.

SOURCES Frank Baranowski prepared an exhaustive first sketch of the Niederorschel subcamp in *Rüstungsprojekte in der Region Nordhausen, Worbis und Heiligenstadt während der NS-Zeit: Der Grosseinsatz von Fremdarbeitern, Kriegsgefangenen und KZ-Häftlingen in der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft unter Berücksichtigung der Untertageverlagerung in der Endphase des NS-Regimes* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 1998), pp. 74–76. This sketch was expanded in *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2000), pp. 117–122. Rolf Barthel describes the camp in *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), pp. 77–81. Wolfgang Grosse presents the most recent research on this subcamp in his essay in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 534–536. An early but error-filled description of the subcamp, based upon witness and local newspaper reports from the 1960s, is by Hubert Hoppmann, "Die Geschichte des Nebenlagers Niederorschel des KZ Buchenwald 1944–1945," *EfHh*, (1. Teil) 2 (1973): 155–161; and (2. Teil) 3 (1973): 223–226. Also in the *EfHh* 24 (1984): 23–41, is an essay by Rolf Barthel, "Zur Geschichte der Aussenkommandos des faschistischen Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald in Niederorschel, Mühlhausen, Duderstadt." Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke mention the camp in their "Aktuellen Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992).

Documents on the Niederorschel subcamp are held in the LASA-DO, in the Junkers-Werke collection reference numbers 269 and 626. The AG-Nie's collection "Aussenkommando Niederorschel" gives an insight into detailed issues on the camp. In the THStA-W in the collection Weimar, Amt zum Schutze des Volkseigentums (LK 241), there are documents on the camp collected mostly after World War II. The BA documents on Niederorschel are in BA-K collections NS 4/Bu vorl. 136a (Arbeitseinsatz, Überstellungen und Rücküberstellungen von und zu Aussenkommandos, 30.5.1951 bis 5.12.1944); and NS 4/Bu 229 (Arbeitseinsatz von Häftlingen in verschiedenen Aussenkommandos, 1943–1945); and in BA-BL, All. Pro. 2, NIE-4185 (Abrechnung des Stundenlohns der Häftlinge bei der SS). The transport of prisoners from Auschwitz to Niederorschel is listed in APMO, Zu- und Abgangslisten von Häftlingen. The StFvMHL holds a file called "Jüdische KZ-Häftlinge," which probably dates from April 27, 1964, and lists the Niederorschel prisoners cremated in Mühlhausen. Also see the investigations by the ZdL kept under file IV 429 AR-Z 142/1971 at BA-L; the BA-L, reference number 24 Js 24/71 (Z), also holds files relative to the investigation. Two former prisoners from the Niederorschel subcamp have written about it in their memoirs: Somcha Bunem Unsdorfer, *The Yellow Star* (1961; repr., New York: Feldheim Publishers, 1983); and former camp doctor Charles Odic published *Demain Buchenwald* (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1972). Isaac Leo Kram, another prisoner from Niederorschel, was cited in "Liberation in Buchenwald," in *Muted Voices*, ed. Gertrude Schneider (New York: Philosophical Library, 1987), pp. 238–253. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:53; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1829.

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NOTES

1. Statement of former prisoner Dr. Leopold Fiala (Fischer) in Frank Baranowski, *Die verdrängte Vergangenheit: Rüstungsproduktion und Zwangsarbeit in Nordthüringen* (Duderstadt: Mecke-Verlag, 2000), p. 119.
2. Unsdorfer, a prisoner in Niederorschel, mentions in his memoirs *The Yellow Star* (1961, repr., New York: Feldheim Publishers, 1983) that there was a Hungarian doctor in the prisoners' infirmary.
3. Rolf Barthel, *Wider das Vergessen: Faschistische Verbrechen auf dem Eichsfeld und in Mühlhausen* (Jena: Thüringer Forum für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2004), p. 81.
4. Unsdorfer, *The Yellow Star*, p. 161.

NORDHAUSEN

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Nordhausen in late August 1943 to provide labor to an immense project that aimed to convert tunnels in the Harz Mountains to sites for V-2 production. Code-named "Dora," the camp was redesignated the Mittelbau main camp on October 28, 1944. See the entry Mittelbau Main Camp [aka Dora].

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

OBERNDORF ("MUNA," "MS," "MU")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Oberndorf at the Luftmunitionsanstalt 5/IV (Aerial Munitions Institute 5/IV), Post Hermsdorf (Thüringen), in November 1944. Inmates were hired out to the military station at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day, payable to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA).[1] The prisoner strength of the Oberndorf camp was between 100 and 200 inmates. It was code-named "Muna," "Ms," or "Mu" in related documentation.

One of the first transports of inmates left Buchenwald to Oberndorf on November 16, 1944, and included 100 inmates.[2] Although there is no breakdown by nationality on the transport lists, the inmates appear to have been Russian, Polish, German, and French. Additional smaller transports of 5 to 10 inmates each arrived in Oberndorf throughout the following months, and another relatively large transport left Buchenwald for Oberndorf on December 19, 1944.[3]

The inmates were brought to the Hermsdorf Luftwaffe post to perform various kinds of labor at the Luftmunitionsanstalt

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5/IV, including transferring, transporting, and stacking bombs.

There is little information about the commandant or guards of the Oberndorf subcamp. According to a report filed by the SS garrison doctor SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, the Oberndorf camp had an SS doctor in charge of the infirmary named Schreiter, and 43 guards were stationed in the camp. The camp population was 195 at this time, according to this report.[4]

The Oberndorf subcamp last appears in related documentation in February or early March 1945 with about 100 inmates.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Oberndorf subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Oberndorf in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). For a broader history of German Luftwaffe artillery, see Horst-Adalbert Koch, *Flak. Die Geschichte der deutschen Flakartillerie und der Einsatz der Luftwaffenhelfer* (Bad Nauheim: Podzun, 1965).

Surviving primary documentation on the Oberndorf subcamp is also limited. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Oberndorf camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 48.

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NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. "Transport Muna," November 16, 1944 (BU 48), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. "Transport Muna," December 19, 1944 (BU 48), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung*: Dokumente und Berichte (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1960) p. 251.

OHRDRUF ("SIII")

A Buchenwald subcamp was opened in northern Ohrdruf, south of Gotha and about 48 kilometers (30 miles) from Buchenwald, in November 1944. The camp was established to provide labor to a planned construction project for an immense communications center inside the basement of the Mühlberg castle in Ohrdruf, near a military training facility. The prisoners were assigned to work to connect the castle to the main railroad line and to dig tunnels in the nearby mountains, which would be used as emergency shelter for the train that contained the *Führerhauptquartier* (Hitler's headquarters). The center was to serve as a shelter for members of the highest command in the event of a retreat from Berlin. Codenamed "SIII," the camp population grew rapidly: by the end of November it reached 2,500; in December 1944, it was 4,500; and by March 29, 1945, it climbed to 11,700.

The camp population, mostly prisoners transferred from Buchenwald but also from Sachsenhausen, Flossenbürg, Stutthof, Plaszow, Dachau, and Auschwitz II-Birkenau (including many Hungarian Jews), represented many nationalities. There were French, Belgian, German, Hungarian, Czech, Latvian, Italian, Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, and Yugoslavian prisoners. There were political prisoners, so-called asocials, *Berufsverbrecher* (professional criminals), common-law prisoners, homosexuals, and Jews. According to the postwar testimony of Buchenwald labor allocation chief SS-Hauptsturmführer Albert Schwartz, Office Group D of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) issued an order that Russian prisoners of war (POWs) would be appropriated to Ohrdruf in late 1944.[1]

Prisoners in Ohrdruf were assigned primarily to dig large caverns inside the mountains to house the communications center. The caverns also later served as one of the secret storage areas for looted art and other valuable objects from across Nazi-occupied Europe. Beginning the day at 5:00 A.M., and following a roll call and distribution of meager rations, prisoners deemed healthy enough were sent to the caverns from the camp to assist in the blasting process; local civilians performed the dynamiting, and prisoners followed close behind to dig, pick up rocks, and other related tasks. They had no protective equipment with which to work; thus they suffered serious accidents, injuries, mutilation, and often death. Former prisoner Rolf Baumann recalled that "the pace of the work was tremendous. Prisoners were often beaten by the supervisory personnel, the SS, Tenos [*Technische Nothilfe*, technical emergency helpers], as well as civilian personnel."[2]

A view of the barracks, fence, and watchtower at the Ohrdruf subcamp of Buchenwald, April 6, 1945.
USHMM WS # 85351, COURTESY OF NANCY AND MICHAEL KRZYZANOWSKI

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Survivor accounts describe instances of sabotage or of deliberately slowed working, when possible.

The inmates were also assigned to various kinds of work within the camp itself, such as in the kitchen barracks, in storage areas to sort prisoner clothing and other belongings, as well as among the prisoner staff of the camp (such as camp elder, Kapos, and so on). Another former Ohrdruf prisoner, Jerôme Scorin, was assigned with another prisoner to pull carts full of corpses from the work sites and camp to mass graves. "Every time that I lifted one of the [bodies], it was like I was manipulating a frozen puppet," Scorin remembered. "Often the wide-open eyes which fixated on me and the unarticulated skeletal bodies made me want to turn my head. I wanted to avoid the glance of Death."[3]

Those who were too ill to work or who were injured were transported back to the Buchenwald main camp's *Revier* (infirmary), after languishing in the Ohrdruf "hospital" barracks. Abram Korn, a survivor of Ohrdruf, recalled the deplorable conditions upon his arrival in the camp. Because of his swollen, injured foot that was wrapped only in rags, he was sent immediately to the so-called infirmary, which had no facilities to treat the dying and wounded. The barracks were converted horse stables, with "no windows and no beds. We didn't even have shelves to sleep on as we had at Buchenwald. We slept on dirty straw on the floor, with only one blanket per person. . . . The other prisoners with me did not even have the strength or the desire to communicate with each other. They were simply waiting to die. . . . Whenever one of the prisoners died, someone else would take his blanket and any food that he might have."[4]

According to a listing of 100 prisoners who had died, dated February 28, 1945, and submitted to the political department in Buchenwald, the various reasons for death include (but are not limited to) colitis, bronchial influenza, tuberculosis, pneumonia, and typhus.[5] A memo from SS garrison doctor Schiedlausky to the commandant of Buchenwald described an overview of the health status of the inmates as of March 31, 1945.[6] Out of the reported 10,249 inmates in the camp (including Crawinkel and the tent camp), some 1,993 inmates were recorded as ill in the north camp's infirmary. A further 187 inmates were reported as invalids.

Prisoners were housed in former POW camps located on the grounds of the troop training facility in Ohrdruf: the north and south camps. On December 24, 1944, the north camp held some 4,800 prisoners, the south camp just over 5,700. One estimate claims the camp reached over 13,000 inmates by the end of March 1945.[7] The camps were surrounded by electrified fencing and barbed wire and flanked by watchtowers.

The camp administration in Ohrdruf consisted of SS officers, and the guards included Volksdeutsche, or ethnic Germans, from Ukraine and the Baltic states. There were also older German Wehrmacht veterans assigned to guard the camp, who were unfit for the front and who were said to have treated the prisoners relatively better than their SS counterparts. Baumann reported that "Deputy Commandant Stiwitz and SS Sergeant Müller behaved especially brutally, handing out punishments of twenty-five or more lashes with a cane for the slightest reasons."[8] Other prisoners recount the torture of inmates who were hung on hooks and left to suffocate, were beaten to death, or hung from gallows.

Despite the continual transfer of prisoners to Ohrdruf, the completion of the railroad connection to the communication center was never accomplished due to the rapid approach of the Allies in late March and April 1945. Between 8,000 and 9,000 prisoners were evacuated on foot and in lorries to Buchenwald and toward Regensburg in early April 1945. Prior to their departure, hundreds of inmates who were too feeble or sick to walk were executed by the SS: some were shot, while others, according to some witness testimony, were locked in the kitchen barracks, which was then dynamited.[9]

Ohrdruf and the inmates who survived in the camp were liberated by members of the U.S. 602nd Tank Destroyers' Battalion, along with Combat Command B of the 4th Armored Division and the 89th Infantry Division on April 4 or 6 of 1945. The first occupied concentration camp that American soldiers came across in the European Theater, the encounter represented an immense break with the common rules of warfare under which the soldiers had previously operated. Because of this horrific encounter, due to visits to the camp days later by Generals Dwight D. Eisenhower and George S. Patton, as well as the numerous photographic accounts and film footage taken of the Ohrdruf liberation, the opening of the camp and days immediately following liberation are well documented. The troops encountered the decomposing remains of hundreds of executed inmates, some covered in lime, others half burned on pyres, and wandering, starving prisoners. Liberator testimony of the encounter is plentiful and graphically describes the horrors found in the abandoned camp: Major Donald Luby, in a letter given to Army Nurse Selma Faver on April

U.S. generals Dwight D. Eisenhower (*center*), Omar Bradley (*to Eisenhower's left, arms akimbo*), and George S. Patton (*behind Eisenhower's right*) lead an entourage inspecting the Ohrdruf subcamp of Buchenwald shortly after liberation, April 12, 1945. In front of Patton, with his head bent taking notes, is *Stars and Stripes* correspondent Jules Grad.
USHMM WS # 21700, COURTESY OF NARA

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18, 1945, wrote that a Russian prisoner led him and other troops to a barracks where nude bodies were stacked halfway to the roof: "From where I stood," he wrote, "I could see the bruises on the skin of some of the bodies, and the blood still clotted around the holes crushed in skulls. These bodies too were emaciated, the thighs of the dead being no larger than the wrist of an average sized man."[10] Local residents were forced to view the camp, a practice that was later copied in other liberated camps.

SOURCES There are numerous secondary source publications on the Buchenwald subcamp of Ohrdruf; however, most focus on the liberation of the camp. To cite some few examples, see Robert Abzug, *Inside the Vicious Heart* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Bernard Weinstein, "The Liberation of Ohrdruf: A Paradigm of Liberator Testimony," in *What Have We Learned? Telling the Story and Teaching the Lessons of the Holocaust: Papers of the 20th Anniversary Scholars' Conference*, ed. Franklin H. Littell et al. (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1993); Captain Kenneth Koyen, *The Fourth Armored Division: From the Beach to Bavaria* (Munich: Herder Druck, 1946); Charles B. MacDonald, *The Last Offensive* (Washington, DC: Office of Chief of Military History, U.S. Army, 1973); Eugen Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell* (New York: Berkley Books, 1980); and Barbie Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory through the Camera's Eye* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). See also Dieter Zeigert's *Hitlers letztes Refugium? Das Projekt eines Führerhauptquartiers in Thüringen 1944/45* (Munich: Utz, 2003) for analysis of the planned project to shelter Hitler's command center near Ohrdruf. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entries for Buchenwald/Ohrdruf in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). See also Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, ed., *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald 1937–1945: Begleitband zur ständigen historischen Ausstellung* (Göttingen, 1999).

There are also many primary sources related to the Ohrdruf subcamp, mostly consisting of testimony of both survivors of the camp and liberators of the camp. The USHMMA is a repository for both kinds of testimony. See, for example, the testimony of former inmate Bernard Pasternak, USHMMA, RG-50.030*0177, as well as that of Abram Korn, USHMMA, RG-02.191. See also Rolf Baumann's piece in David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report* (Boulder, CO.: Westview, 1995), and other published survivor testimonies such as Schraga Golani, *Brennendes Leben: Von Pabiance und Piotrków in Polen durch die Lager Skarzysko Kamiena*, *Blizyn*, *Auschwitz-Birkenau*, *Ohrdruf biz zur Befreiung in Buchenwald* (Konstanz: Erhard Roy Wiehn, Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 2004); Jerôme Scorin, *L'itinéraire d'un adolescent juif de 1939 à 1945* (Paris: Imprimerie Christmann, 1994); and Marcel Lanoiselée, *Ohrdruf, le camp oublié de Buchenwald: Un survivant témoigne* (Paris: Picollec, 2005). Liberator accounts, including photos, letters written to families in the States about what they witnessed, memoirs, and so on, also abound in the USHMMA. Too numerous to list here, they include Andy Murray Coffey's collection (staff sergeant in the 89th Infantry Division), RG-09.040; Gideon Kantor, Acc. 1997.A.0360; Al Sommer Jr.'s letters to his family, Acc. 1995. A.034; Fred Diamond's letters to family, RG-04.055; and Irving Levin's photos, Acc. 1989.194. Testimony from former inmates can also be found in numerous other archives and repositories; one such important resource is the MZML, which contains thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by the relief agency DEGOB; see especially protocols 1232, 1313, 1436, 1686, 1782, and 2492, among dozens of others. There are numerous photos regarding the liberation of Ohrdruf; a significant collection is stored at the USHMMA; see, for example, Acc. 1998.A.0154, Acc. 1996. A.0293, Acc. 1995.A.515, Acc. 1995.A.127, and Acc. 1995.A.417, in addition to many photographic records in the USHMMPA. Films of the liberation are also stored at the USHMMA and NARA. Transport lists to and from the Ohrdruf camp are also found at the USHMM and would yield a more accurate statistical analysis of the demographics of the camp population and prisoner strength at different times of the camp's operation: they are copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), Acc. 1998 A.0045, BU 95, Reel 18 (SIII transport lists); see also 36/4, BU 39. Administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp can be found in the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, especially BA Band 133, 209.

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NOTES

1. Deposition of Albert Schwartz, Trial IV, Doc. NO-2125, reprinted in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*: Dokumente und Berichte (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1960), pp. 285–286.
2. Rolf Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," in David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report* (Boulder, CO.: Westview, 1995), p. 192.
3. Jerôme Scorin, *L'itinéraire d'un adolescent juif de 1939 à 1945* (Paris: Imprimerie Christmann, 1994), p. 156.
4. Abram Korn, "Fate: One Man's Journey through the Holocaust," USHMMA, RG-02.191, pp. 129–130.
5. "Verstorbene Häftlinge im Aussenkommando SIII," Buchenwald, February 28, 1945, AN-MACVG, reproduced in the archives of the USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 36/4).
6. "Gesundheitszustand der Häftlinge in S III," Schiedlausky, March 31, 1945, published in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung* , p. 280.
7. See Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).
8. Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," p. 192. Indeed, photographic coverage of the liberation of the camp documents newly freed prisoners demonstrating the whipping blocks in Ohdruf to American troops, including Eisenhower and Patton; see, for example, USHMMPA, 10281 and 63511 (courtesy National Archives).

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9. Scorin, *L'itinéraire d'un adolescent juif*, p. 160.
10. Donald Luby, "Apr. 18, 1945, Report and Photographs Relating to Post-Liberation Buchenwald, 1945," USHMMA, RG-04.039*01.

OHRDRUF/CRAWINKEL

A satellite camp attached to the Ohrdruf subcamp of Buchenwald was opened in Crawinkel (Thüringen) in 1944; it was first mentioned in related documentation in December 1944. An average of 3,000 inmates from Ohrdruf were sent to the Crawinkel camp, which provided labor to quarry excavation and tunnel construction for railroad tracks, a project that fell under the administration of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), Office Group C (Building).

The camp seemed to have been set up separately from the Ohrdruf subcamp to bring prisoners closer to the work sites. Postwar testimony of a former inmate in the Ohrdruf and Crawinkel camps, Rolf Baumann, noted that

> gun emplacements and tunnels were later built adjacent to the troop training area, an area that had been set aside as a Führer headquarters. . . . But the work sites were too far from the camp at Ohrdruf (at first we rode the 8 miles [13 kilometers] there every day in buses). Because of the shortage of gasoline, two new branch camps were created at Crawinkel and at the so-called tent camp. There the general conditions were still more unfavorable [than at the Ohrdruf main camp]. Food was scarce and the men starved because of the heavy work demanded of them. Many of the sick were transferred to the hospital in Ohrdruf, which was a hell. The hospital lacked doctors, as well as medication, heating fuel, and more. From time to time prisoners went from this hospital to Belsen on the so-called invalid transports.[1]

Inmates were sent to the work sites from the camp. One former inmate remembered that they reported to the work sites on foot, walking in snow so deep that even vehicles could not pass.[2] Another, who had been imprisoned in Auschwitz, Oranienburg, Sachsenhausen, Ohrdruf, Buchenwald, and Flossenbürg, noted, "Crawinkel was perhaps the most terrible place during the entire deportation. We lived underground and had to work very hard."[3]

The majority of the inmates sent to the Crawinkel subcamp of Ohrdruf were Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and Jews, including many Hungarian Jews who had been deported from Auschwitz II-Birkenau to Buchenwald. The inmates were housed in a tent camp and in the unheated bunkers of a munitions factory. The prisoners not only endured the hardships of intense physical labor, subsisting on meager rations, but also the cruelty and maltreatment of the guards. Some inmates attempted to escape and were immediately punished if caught. Baumann recalled that "in Crawinkel there was a special cellblock, Cellblock 2, that the Security Service used for recaptured escapee prisoners. There, only a half ration of food was given out every three days. Light and air were nonexistent. I remember an incident where one evening five comrades were hanged because of escape attempts. Among them was a fifteen-year-old Polish comrade who cried in despair, 'Mother, Mother, I am still so young, I don't want to die yet!' "[4] Another inmate reported the constant abuse they suffered from the guards: " 'You swine, dogs, accursed Jews, you Bolsheviks!' were the usual nicknames."[5]

Due to the closing in of the front, the camp was evacuated at the end of March 1945 or early April 1945. Baumann reported that the inmates "walked the 42 miles [68 kilometers] to Buchenwald by a circuitous route. The last 1,000 prisoners received no more food. We were under way for three full days and arrived worn out and depressed. The ill and the weak who could no longer keep up on the way were liquidated with a shot in the base of the skull. It is worth mentioning that on the way some members of the SS already took off their insignias in order to pass themselves off as Wehrmacht members."[6]

SOURCES There are few resources on the Crawinkel subcamp of Buchenwald/Ohrdruf. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Ohrdruf/Crawinkel in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

Likewise, there are few primary sources on the Crawinkel subcamp. For additional testimony from a former prisoner in the camp, see the interview with Allen Moskowitz stored in USHMMA, RG-50.002*0020. Testimony from former inmates can also be found in numerous other archives and repositories; one such important resource is the MZML, which contains thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by DEGOB; see especially protocols 387, 1232, 2077, 2100, 2241, 2319, 2760, 3237, and 3510. Transports to and from the Ohrdruf camp are also found at USHMMA and could yield a more detailed statistical analysis of the demographics of the camp population and prisoner strength at different times of the camp's operation, as well as transports to and from the Crawinkel subcamp: see those files copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), Acc. 1998 A.0045, BU 95, Reel 18 (SIII transport lists); see also 36/4, BU 39. Additional administrative documentation regarding Ohrdruf is found in the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), the BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, especially BA Band 133, 209.

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NOTES

1. Rolf Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," in *The Buchenwald Report*, ed. David A. Hackett (Boulder, CO.: Westview, 1995) p. 192.
2. MZML, DEGOB Protocol 1232 (B.F.).
3. DEGOB Protocol, 3510 (A.L.).
4. Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," p. 192.
5. DEGOB Protocol 1232 (B.F.).
6. Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," p. 193.

OHRDRUF/ESPENFELD

A subcamp of the Ohrdruf subcamp of Buchenwald was created closer to the work sites near Ohrdruf in August 1944. Espenfeld, a tent camp, was one of two camps set up to house prisoners closer to the quarries and construction tunnels. Inmates in the tent camp of Espenfeld were transported from Ohrdruf. As former inmate Rolf Baumann has noted, "Because of the shortage of gasoline, two new branch camps were created at Crawinkel and at the so-called tent camp (Espenfeld). There, the general conditions were still more unfavorable (than at Ohrdruf main camp). Food was scarce and the men starved because of the heavy work demanded of them. Many of the sick were transferred to the hospital in Ohrdruf, which was a hell. The hospital lacked doctors, as well as medication, heating fuel, and more. From time to time prisoners went from this hospital to Belsen on the so-called invalid transports."[1]

The Espenfeld camp may have held up to 7,000 Ohrdruf prisoners, mostly Russian, Polish, and Czech. They were employed in tunnel construction in Jonastal. Espenfeld was evacuated at the end of March 1945 as the front got closer. According to Baumann, the inmates were evacuated on foot to Buchenwald, which was some 64 kilometers (40 miles) away. Those who were unable to walk were shot and left behind by the SS.

SOURCES There are few resources on the Espenfeld subcamp of Buchenwald/Ohrdruf. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Ohrdruf/Espenfeld in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald), which is the source of much of the information for this entry.

Likewise, there are few primary sources on the Espenfeld subcamp. Transports to and from the Ohrdruf camp are also found at the USHMMA and may yield a more accurate statistical analysis of the demographics of the camp population and prisoner strength at different times of the camp's operation, as well as transports to and from the Espenfeld satellite: see those files copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), Acc. 1998 A.0045, BU 95, Reel 18 (SIII transport lists); see also 36/4, BU 39. Additional administrative documentation regarding Ohrdruf is found in the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), the BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, especially BA Band 133, 209.

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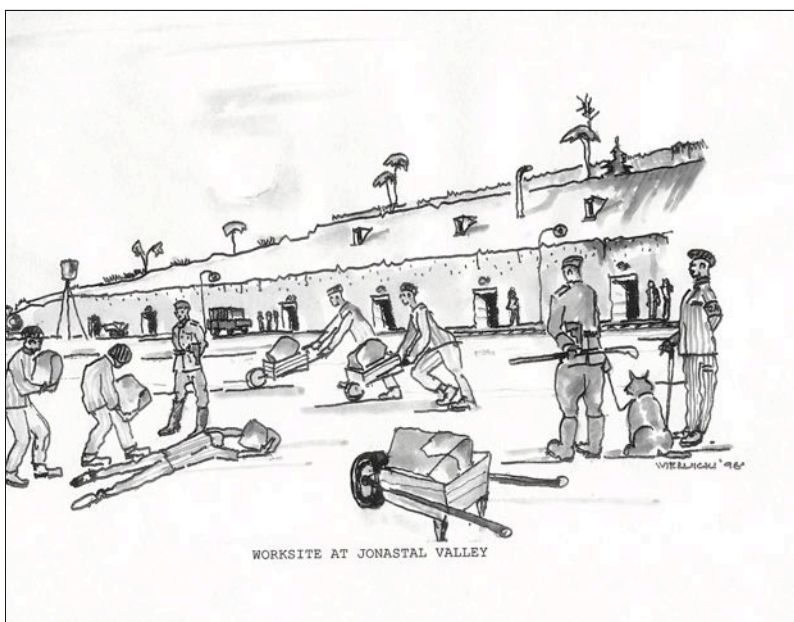
NOTE

1. Rolf Baumann, "The Hell of Ohrdruf," in *The Buchenwald Report*, ed. David A. Hackett (Boulder, CO.: Westview, 1995) p. 192.



A postwar drawing by Holocaust survivor John Wiernicki, "Worksite at Jonastal Valley."
USHMM WS # 33671, COURTESY OF JOHN WIERNICKI

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PENIG

Penig is located in Saxony near Rochlitz, about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) to the northwest of Chemnitz. In January 1945, a Buchenwald subcamp was established for females in the local Max-Gehrt-Werke, a supplier to the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerken AG (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM). On January 10, 1945, 700 Hungarian Jews arrived at a barracks camp established in an unused gravel pit on the road between Penig and Langenleuba-Oberhain. They came from Ravensbrück where they had been most likely selected by employees from the Gehrt firm. The prisoners at the Penig subcamp were mainly Jews who had fallen into German hands only during the last phase of the war. They were forced to march for several weeks to Germany from Budapest, where they had been held in very cramped quarters. When they arrived on December 7, 1944, in Ravensbrück, the camp had already been overcrowded with evacuation transports from the east. For these women, in the middle of winter, there were no other quarters than primitive, emergency tents as shelter without heating or toilet facilities.

Conditions were not that much better at their new destination, the Penig subcamp. It is true that the women were housed in barracks now, but the only medical care provided was a female dentist and thus completely inadequate. Only at the end of the war, in March, a prisoner doctor began to practice there. Washing facilities for the hundreds of women were not completed for a long time. There was no chance for the women to change or wash their clothes. They were not given shoes. The camp, which appeared to be built in a hurry, had no kitchen; the women did not receive food inside the camp but only at the beginning and end of each shift. Survivors speak of the poor-quality food, of which there was too little, and in any case, it was completely inadequate to nourish the women working in difficult conditions in winter. The Max-Gehrt-Werke had fenced in the camp with barbed wire so that escape was just about impossible. The guards, 26 SS men and 18 SS women, were under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Josef Ebenhöh, who had previously been stationed at the Langensalza subcamp.

According to Buchenwald files, the subcamp opened on January 15, 1945. The women worked without breaks and on Sundays in three shifts of eight hours each. Evidence for the ruthless exploitation of the women and the inhuman conditions in the camp is the massive increase in the number of inmates reporting sick. During January, an average of 36 women reported sick each day. In February, the number was 59, and in March, 96. The women suffered from illnesses caused by the work conditions and living conditions—typhus, tuberculosis, lung inflammations, gangrene, and furunculosis. As a result, a "cripples barracks" (*Krüppelbaracke*) was added on the edge of the camp where those hopelessly ill were put—an indication that selections and transfers of sick prisoners back to Buchenwald or Bergen-Belsen had now become impossible. At least 10 women died in the three months that the Penig subcamp existed. At the end of March 1945, 15 to 20 percent of the women were so weak that they could neither work nor be part of the evacuation march.

At the beginning of April the camp, in which frightful conditions already prevailed, had to take in a transport of 100 women evacuated from the Abteroda subcamp. The camp's evacuation most likely occurred on April 13, 1945, with the goal of heading to Theresienstadt. The women were taken in the direction of Mittweida and Chemnitz and from there in the direction of Leitmeritz (after World War II in the Czech Republic). On this part of the march the majority of the guards disappeared. Most of the women from the disintegrating group were liberated by the U.S. Army, but 34 completely exhausted women arrived on April 20, 1945, in Theresienstadt.

The 70 to 80 women who could not march remained in the camp. The women suffered from life-endangering malnutrition, typhus, diphtheria, and tuberculosis and were squeezed into the cripples barracks. Two days after the evacuation of the camp, they were liberated by the U.S. 6th Armored Division on April 15, 1945. Their situation, medical treatment, and evacuation were recorded in a series of photographs by David E. Scherman and Sam Gilbert of the U.S. Army Signal Corps. The women who died in the camp were buried in the local cemetery in 1945.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) that took place between 1966 and 1973 were stopped without result as neither the camp leader, Ebenhöh, nor the guards could be located.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel has described the camp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 544–546. The fate of Rosa Deutsch, a survivor, is described in Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oublicées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 103–105. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:54; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1832.

The series of photographs on the camp's survivors is held in the AG-B and USHMMPA (WS # 09775, 129730975, and 39850–893). Other archival sources on the subcamp are the collection NS 4 Bu (BA-K, THStA-W), also listed in the AG-B. Investigations by the ZdL were recorded under file IV 429 AR-Z 109/1971 at BA-L.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

PLÖMNITZ ("LEOPARD") [AKA LEAU] (MEN)

Plömnitz is in Sachsen-Anhalt between Bernburg and Köthen. The Buchenwald subcamp established here in the summer of 1944 was connected to the Jägerstab (Fighter Staff), which had been founded in March 1944 and whose aim was to increase the production of fighter aircraft. To achieve this goal,

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armaments production was to be relocated underground. The prisoners of the Plömnitz subcamp were used in the unused mine shafts of the Solvay-Werke, Salzvertriebs-GmbH Bernburg, shafts Plömnitz I and II as well as Peissen. Under the command of the Organisation Todt Bauleitung Bernburg (OT Building Administration Bernburg), the construction management section through the Schlemm engineering firm, and the supervision of the Allgemeine Transportanlagen GmbH (ATG), Maschinenbau, the prisoners were distributed to several large construction companies such as the Berlin firm Heinrich Butzer and the Bautzen firm Walter Jakob.

Seven large halls were to be established in the mine shafts for use as production sites. The prisoners worked in 12-hour shifts. Initially, they only had the most primitive tools, using in part their bare hands to remove the salt from the shafts, loading it on to tip carts, and pushing them to the unloading shaft. After completing this task, concrete could be laid, a preliminary step to the use of the shafts for armaments production.

Although the International Tracing Service (ITS) gives August 22, 1944, as the date that the subcamp was established, it is likely that prisoners had been working in the shaft already since March 1944. At this time, around 500 prisoners arrived by rail at the "Antoinette" mine in Plömnitz, where they were accommodated in a tent in a gravel pit to the west of the shaft. By August 1944, around another 1,000 prisoners had arrived at Plömnitz. A barracks camp in nearby Leau was prepared to hold them. Until it was ready, the prisoners were held underground. With the completion of the barracks camp, as confirmed in ITS, the camp was also mentioned under the alternative name Leau from October 29, 1944, on.

There were mostly Polish and French prisoners in Plömnitz, as well as smaller groups from other countries. According to former prisoner Willi Fuhrmann, prisoners from 16 countries worked in the shafts. At the end of October 1944, there were 1,486 prisoners working underground. Furthermore, there were smaller contingents of other prisoners (48 French prisoners of war, 10 Belgian civilian workers, and 16 prisoners from penitentiaries) as well as 50 miners, 150 company employees, 100 OT members, and 58 guards.

The camp consisted of six barracks, a kitchen, and a wash block that was erected at the beginning of 1945. The camp leader in Plömnitz was SS-Oberscharführer Hans Schmidt. The work conditions for the prisoners were extraordinarily tough: the walk to work and back again took an hour each way. In addition, the prisoners had to cover another two kilometers (1.2 miles) underground. The high salt concentration in the air caused many skin and breathing problems. There was a lack of ventilation in the shafts, made worse by the use of a diesel locomotive moving in and out of the shaft. The difficult work and the poor nutrition resulted in the high death rate of almost 40 percent of the camp inmates. According to Fuhrmann, there were up to 600 dead in Plömnitz. Fuhrmann also stated that prisoners who could not work were not selected and taken back to the main camp but were beaten to death by the SS in the shafts. He claims that on one occasion 200 prisoners were killed in this manner. The dead were hastily buried by a "burial detachment" in an abandoned open coal mine in Preusslitz. After the end of the war, when the area was under American occupation, these 600 corpses were exhumed and buried in the Leau cemetery. In 1947, the Soviet military administration exhumed them again and reinterred them in the Soviet memorial in Bernburg.

Exhumed bodies in a mass grave at the Plömnitz ("Leau") subcamp of Buchenwald, 1945.
USHMM WS # 01973, COURTESY OF NARA

Around 700 prisoners were evacuated on April 11, 1945, in a three-day death march via Bernburg, Köthen, Dessau, and Wulfen. On the March, 300 prisoners were shot by the SS, and the survivors were liberated by Allied troops on April 14, 1945. Around 100 prisoners who were kept in the camp by the camp command for vital war work were liberated by the U.S. Army on April 11, 1945.

SOURCES Christian Wussow describes the Plömnitz subcamp (without distinguishing between the male and female camps) in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 546–549. The results of the research done by Willi Fuhrmann can be read in his "Nazi-Verbrechen in Leau: Aus den Nachforschungen des Parteiveteranen Willi Fuhrmann," *F*, September 2, 1989. An older reference to the camp is to be found in "Ermittlungen in Leau und Neu-Stassfurt," *DVZ*, February 18, 1966. The Plömnitz subcamp is also described by Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:54; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1833.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

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PLÖMNITZ ("LEOPARD") [AKA LEAU] (WOMEN)

Plömnitz lies in Sachsen-Anhalt between the cities of Bernburg and Köthen. A Buchenwald subcamp for male prisoners had been established here in March 1944. Around 1,500 men were used to prepare underground facilities for armaments production in the caverns near Plömnitz. During the summer of 1944, close to the village of Leau, accommodation barracks were erected for the prisoners.

The female transport that arrived on February 21, 1945, in Plömnitz consisted of 180 Hungarian Jews from the Leipzig-Schönau (ATG) subcamp. They were held in a separate area of the male camp in barracks surrounded by barbed wire and were guarded by female guards. It is likely that the prisoners had a support role in the male camp such as working in the kitchens, washing, and the like.

The women's camp was dissolved at the end of March 1945, two weeks before the male camp. The International Tracing Service (ITS) shows the last date the camp was mentioned as March 28, 1945.

SOURCES Christian Wussow describes the camp at Plömnitz (without distinguishing between the male and female camps) in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 546–549. Two articles that deal with the history of the camp are "Ermittlungen in Leau und Neu-Stassfurt," *DVZ*, February 18, 1966; and Willi Fuhrmann, "Nazi-Verbrechen in Leau: Aus den Nachforschungen des Parteiveteranen Willi Fuhrmann," *F*, September 2, 1989.

The Plömnitz subcamp is also described in Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:54.

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QUEDLINBURG

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Quedlinburg (Saxony), north of the Harz Mountains, on April 20, 1942, with 60 inmates transferred from Buchenwald. The camp was created to provide labor to the Fliegerhorst Quedlinburg (Quedlinburg air base) and is last mentioned in Buchenwald-related records on January 6, 1943, with 45 inmates.

According to work statistics reports compiled by the labor allocation office in Buchenwald, there were 60 inmates in the Quedlinburg subcamp in April and June 1942; 5 were considered laborers (gardeners), while the remaining 55 were unskilled workers.[1] Another subcamp was created in Quedlinburg in September 1944, but this was attached to Mittelbau (see Mittelbau/Quedlinburg).

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Quedlinburg subcamp of Buchenwald are lacking. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records.

Primary documentation on the Quedlinburg subcamp is also scarce. For administrative documentation mentioning the Quedlinburg subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), the BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206, Fiche 1. Other documentation may be found in AG-B.

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NOTE

1. "Einsatz der Berufe im Lager Buchenwald," Stand am 30 April 1942, June 29, 1942, BA NS-4, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206, Fiche 1.

RAGUHN

Raguhn is located in Anhalt, about 13 kilometers (8 miles) to the southwest of Wittenberg and about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) to the northwest of the city of Wolfen, not far from the Mulde River. The local Heerbrandt-Werke (Heerbrandt factory) was a supplier to the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerken (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM). Toward the end of the war, it was dragged into the increasingly desperate attempts of the Third Reich to manufacture aircraft. As part of the process, one of the last Buchenwald subcamps for women was established. The camp consisted of a compound, separated from a previously existing camp for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), which consisted of three barracks.

On February 7, 1945, a transport of women and girls arrived in Raguhn. They were to be the camp's inmates. With the arrival of these prisoners, the camp officially appeared in the documents. The numbers of women in the camp vary between 500 (according to historian Irmgard Seidel and the Web site Deutschland—ein Denkmal) and a maximum of 700.

From the age and social structure of the women, one can conclude that those brought to this camp were the "last reserves" of female prisoners who could work: there were many older women and women with a long history in camps. For example, Seidel mentions Gertrud Adler who at the age of 18 was arrested in Libyan Benghazi and spent time in a number of Italian POW camps before she was sent to Auschwitz and later to Bergen-Belsen. Adler is typical of the widespread geographical origins of the women who were French, Dutch, Italian, Polish, Hungarian, and German, as well as women from the Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. There was also a Turk and an American. While some women had been sent from Auschwitz to Bergen-Belsen, others had been interned in Theresienstadt and taken from there to Auschwitz.

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Just about all the women, except for an Italian resistance fighter and a Hungarian "political," were Jewish. The large number of married women suggests that women had long been able to avoid arrest because they were married to "Aryans"; 29 women in the camp were classified as "Jewish Mischlinge First Degree."

The women started work on February 12, 1945, at the Heerbandt factory. In the factory building II they assembled parts for aircraft production. However, their work was not efficient—the war was coming to an end, and there were constant delays in the delivery of supplies. The camp existed for only eight weeks. The high rate of illness—around 10 percent of the women were ill or incapable of working—is evidence of the harsh work and living conditions, lack of food, and poor hygiene, as well as the damage the women had suffered in earlier camps. Nine women died in the camp. The causes of death are given as pneumonia, weakness of the heart, intestinal illnesses, brain embolisms, and brain fever.

On March 1, 1945, there were 25 SS men and 20 SS women providing security in the camp. The camp leaders were SS-Oberscharführer Dieckmann and SS-Obersturmführer Hermann Grossmann.

The evacuation of the camp probably began on April 9, 1945, as the enemy was close. The women were loaded into cattle cars and shipped to Theresienstadt. More than 60 women died along the way (probably more than 10 percent of the transport) from hunger, cold, and exhaustion. Some 429 of the prisoners arrived on April 20, 1945 (according to the International Tracing Service [ITS], April 22, 1945) in Theresienstadt, with another 15 dying in the following days from the trials of the journey.

In 1948, the camp leader Grossmann was sentenced to death by a U.S. court in Bavaria. He was executed in 1948 in Landsberg am Lech. Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) on events in the camp and the camp evacuation were commenced in 1966 but ceased in the 1970s without any results.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel describes Raguhn in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 551–552. As early as 1946, the survivor Suzanne Birnbaum published her experiences as a concentration camp prisoner. Her memoirs were reissued in 2003 as *Une française juive est revenue: Auschwitz*, *Belsen*, *Raguhn* (1946; repr. Paris: Amicale des déportés d'Auschwitz et des camps de Haute-Silésie, 2003). Earlier versions were published under the same title in 1946 by Editions du Livre Français (Paris) and in 1989 by Hérault-Editions (Maulévrier). Pages 117–128 of her book are dedicated to her time as a prisoner in Raguhn. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 55; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1834.

Under reference RG-50.002*0059 at the USHMMA, there is an oral history interview by another survivor, Gitla Grynwald, about the camp and the transport to Theresienstadt. Other archival documents on the Raguhn subcamp are in the AG-B, collection NS 4 Bu at THStA-W, BA-K, and in AG-T. The latter holds a list of the prisoners who arrived at Raguhn. Investigations by ZdL are kept under file IV 429 AR-Z 1921/66 at BA-L.

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ROTHENBURG

About 97 kilometers (60 miles) southwest of Nürnberg, a subcamp of Buchenwald was created in the medieval, walled city of Rothenburg in October 1944 to provide labor to Christian Mansfeld GmbH. Like other satellite camps that were established in the later years of the war, the camp inmates were hired out to the Mansfeld firm and other armaments industries from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled laborer per day (payable to the SS). In December 1944, the Rothenburg Mansfeld firm was scheduled to pay the SS 8,760 RM for 2,190 worker days.[1]

On October 24, 1944, 80 inmates were transferred from the main Buchenwald camp to Rothenburg. Most of the inmates on this list appear to be Russian and Polish; all were male.[2] Smaller numbers of French and German inmates may have arrived later. The population of the Rothenburg camp does not appear to have fluctuated greatly during its nearly six-month period of operation. At various intervals, inmates were transferred out of the camp due to illnesses, such as tuberculosis, and replaced with other inmates. For example, on November 15, 1944, 2 inmates were transferred to Buchenwald due to illness and joint problems; a request was made for substitutes.[3] Another inmate was transferred to Buchenwald on January 2, 1945, and Standortarzt der Waffen-SS Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky ordered the return of the inmate nurse from Rothenburg to Buchenwald on March 15, 1945. No reason was given.[4] Smaller transports of 2 to 5 relatively healthier prisoners arrived in Rothenburg to replace the inmates.

There is little information about the kind of work the inmates performed for the Christian Mansfeld company or about the living and working conditions within the camp. The prisoners may have been employed in mechanical work as well as in the construction of a sluice on the Saale River.

Scant information about the guards of the Rothenburg subcamp could be found. According to a report filed by SS-Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, the strength of the guard troops was 13. There was one inmate nurse and 79 inmates listed in the camp at this time.[5] Names of SS guards appear on the transfer memos, although not all are legible, and their terms of service are unknown. According to the transfer memo dated November 11, 1944, the Kommandoführer on duty at this time was SS-Hauptscharführer Wieland.[6] Another memo dated March 15, 1945, lists the Kommandoführer as SS-Hauptscharführer Krüsken.[7]

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The Rothenburg camp was evacuated on April 5, 1945, with 76 inmates.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources that describe conditions and circumstances at the Rothenburg subcamp of Buchenwald. For brief information on Rothenburg, such as opening and closing dates, kind of work, and so on, see *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

Likewise, primary documents generated on the Rothenburg subcamp are scarce. For transport lists and other administrative records, see USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, for a collection of documents copied from AN-MACVG and originating from ITS (see especially BU 49). Additional records on the subcamps of Buchenwald may be found at AG-B and AG-MD.

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NOTES

1. Labor allocation report, Buchenwald concentration camp, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 142, *TWC*, 6: 759–767.
2. "Transport Rothenburg," October 24, 1944 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.
3. "Überstellung," November 15, 1944 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.
4. "An K.L. Bu. Arbeitseinsatzführer Buchenwald," January 2, 1945 (BU 49); "An des K.L . . ." March 15, 1945 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.
5. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*: *Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1960), p. 253.
6. "Überstellung," November 15, 1944 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.
7. "An des K.L . . ." March 15, 1945 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, Reel 17.

SAALFELD ("LAURA") [AKA SS-ARBEITSLAGER SAALFELD, LA]

The Saalfeld or "Laura" subcamp of Buchenwald was established in the vicinity of Schmiedebach and Lehesten (Thuringia) on September 21, 1943. Connected to the Buchenwald and Mittelbau-Dora camps by rail, it was created to provide inmate labor for the manufacture of parts for the V-2 rocket. Code-named "Laura" and in administrative correspondence frequently referred to as "SS-Arbeitslager Saalfeld" or simply "La," the camp supplied laborers to Vorwerk Mitte and Firma Oertel to manufacture and test rocket engines. Facilities were located near a slate mine, the underground tunnels of which were used to mask production from Allied air raids. Increased Allied bombing raids over German territories in 1943 and 1944 necessitated the relocation of armaments and aircraft production factories underground. Thus similar to the circumstances surrounding the creation of the Dora camp, the Laura subcamp was established in the context of the decentralization and subterranean mass transfer of armaments production facilities.

The first transport of 100 inmates to the Saalfeld camp left Buchenwald on September 20, 1943.[1] Two days later, another transport took place with 100 prisoners.[2] At first the inmates were housed in a former miners' hut, which was typically unheated and had few sanitary facilities and windows without glass panes. After the number of inmates increased, they were moved to the camp proper, a complex of buildings that had already stood near the mine and that had been evacuated. The main housing unit for the inmates was Block 1, a 1929-constructed barn, and a smaller, older barn was used as the inmates' kitchen. Block 2 was the prisoner canteen and kitchen and also housed smaller, specialized work details (Kommandos), such as electricians and joiners. Block 3 was delegated for Italian military internees as well as a punishment block, from October 1943. Across from Block 1 stood the roll-call area and another newly constructed wooden barracks, Block 4. A triple-layer fence and barbed wire surrounded the camp, which was flanked by six watchtowers. The SS living quarters were located just outside the perimeter.

Over 10 nationalities were represented by the inmates in the Laura subcamp: Germans, Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, French, Belgians, Dutch, Italians, Czechs, and Yugoslavs; a small number of Lithuanians, Luxemburgers, and Spaniards; and one American inmate of Italian descent. German prisoners were classified as so-called professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*) or "asocial." There were also political prisoners, Jews, as well as Italian military internees, but this latter group was recorded separately in camp statistics and wore different uniforms.

The camp reached its highest number in mid-December 1943, with just over 1,200 inmates. In March 1944, prisoners who were no longer able to work were deported to Bergen-Belsen, and additional contingents of inmates from Buchenwald arrived.[3] Other transports of inmates were sent from Laura to Dora in May 1944; additional ill inmates were transported to Bergen-Belsen.[4]

Inmates in the Laura camp were used in various capacities to support rocket production and were split into several work Kommandos. Most were used in the construction of underground factory installations and the proving grounds for the V-2 engines. The largest and most dreaded Kommando was the pit Kommando (Grubenkommando), in which inmates had to dig in the tunnels with primitive tools (or sometimes none at all) in terrible conditions: with smothering dust, little air or water, no breaks, and a grueling work pace. Accidental deaths due to lack of proper equipment or protective clothing were frequent; inmates were often crushed under falling rock or got infected cuts on their hands due to the sharp slate and lack of hygiene. Other large Kommandos had difficult tasks such as constructing railway lines. Thus smaller Kommandos were coveted—for example, those that involved short-term work such as painting or electrical work.

Living conditions within the camp were overcrowded and dreadful. Rations were small; invariably, former inmates reported

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a persistent hunger in the camp. At the end of 1943, certain national groups of prisoners (French, Poles, Belgians, and Czechs) were permitted to receive mail and packages, the contents of which were used to barter for additional rations. From the summer of 1944, rations improved slightly, and a canteen was created where goods could be bought. Hygienic conditions were terrible, and medical care at the camp's infirmary was hardly effective in treating the increasing illnesses and injuries, especially as the inmates' physical deterioration worsened as the months of grueling work wore on. In November 1943, 40 deaths were recorded; in December, over 125. With few exceptions, inmates' corpses were transported back to Buchenwald to be cremated; others were taken to the corpse cellar within the Laura camp's infirmary. The most deaths were reported in April and May 1944, when increasing numbers of prisoners were forced to assist in the testing of the engines.

In addition to the generally abysmal circumstances in the camp and work Kommandos, the inmates regularly faced the cruelty of the guards and overseers. The first commandant of the Laura camp was SS-Obersturmführer Wolfgang Plaul, who served in Laura until the fall of 1944 when he was transferred to the women's subcamp of Leipzig-Schönefeld (HASAG). He had been a deputy commandant in Buchenwald prior to commanding the Laura subcamp. The camp leader (Lagerführer) in the Laura subcamp, SS-Oberscharführer Karl Schmidt, was notoriously cruel and sought arbitrary reasons for punishment, which generally began with 25 lashes with a whip or rubber truncheon. From November 1943 to May 1944, there were about 150 SS guards who patrolled the camp, including many young ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche): Romanians, Yugoslavians, and Hungarians. In addition to the Lagerführer and the guard staff, about 15 other SS-Unterführer who directed other elements of the camp's administration (e.g., Rapportführer, Arbeitseinsatzführer, Blockführer, and Kommandoführer) were also stationed in the camp.

Supplementing the camp administration provided by the SS were several inmates selected to serve as prisoner-functionaries. These included the professional criminal Alfons "Ali" Kunikowski, who was appointed camp elder (Lagerältester), and other block elders and Kapos. These prisoners generally received some privileges and were treated marginally better than other inmates. In the summer of 1944, there was a transition in the camp guard staff, in which Lagerältester Kunikowski was sent to punishment in a pit Kommando. Plaul was replaced by SS-Sturmscharführer Leible as commandant, and many of the guards were replaced by convalescing Luftwaffe soldiers.

Despite the horrendous conditions in the camp, some inmates found means to cope, and a few even managed to escape. Those who were caught were executed. Other inmates devised ways of slightly lessening their workload when Kapos or guards were not looking, and still others forged communal bonds with prisoners who spoke the same language.

The Laura camp was hastily evacuated on April 13, 1945, two days after the Buchenwald main camp was liberated and on the same day that American troops reached nearby Schmiedebach. Between 600 and 650 inmates were evacuated from the camp in a forced march toward Wurzbach. Those who could not keep up or who attempted to escape were shot by SS guards who drove the march, although some did flee successfully. In Wurzbach, the prisoners were loaded onto a freight train headed for the Allach subcamp of Dachau, a trip that lasted six days. It is unknown how many Laura inmates reached Allach, which was overflowing with prisoners in catastrophic conditions. Allach was liberated by U.S. troops on April 30, 1945.

Postwar investigations and trials were conducted against few of the guards of the Laura camp. Wolfgang Plaul's whereabouts after the war were unknown; however, he was accused in absentia for the deaths of many inmates, predominantly in the forced death march of women from the Leipzig-Schönefeld (HASAG) camp, where he was the commandant from the fall of 1944. The proceedings against him were dropped in 1972. The Köln Zentralstelle (Cologne Central Office) attempted to bring charges against Schmidt, based on numerous witness testimonies of his cruelty in Laura. However, due to the commonness of his surname and the fact that he, too, was missing after the war, the process ceased in 1962. Former camp guard SS-Rottenführer Ewald Pöckelmann was arrested at the end of 1947 and accused and brought to trial in 1948 by Oberstaatsanwaltschaft Rudolstadt. However, he was released from custody, went missing, and was accused in absentia in 1951. He was sentenced to a 15-year prison term; however, his whereabouts remained unknown, and he did not serve the sentence.

Two trials related to the Laura subcamp ended with the implementation of the sentence reached: the Buchenwald trials against SS dog handler August Giese and against Kunikowski. In March 1948, Giese was sentenced to a four-year prison term, having been found guilty of the murder of a Polish inmate and the brutal maltreatment of other inmates. His prison term began on May 10, 1945, when he was incarcerated in the Dachau camp by American troops. Kunikowski was deemed guilty of the murder of a French inmate and the maltreatment of other inmates. Sentenced to seven years of imprisonment, his term was lessened to five years due to his incarceration on December 9, 1946.

SOURCES This entry builds upon the thorough analysis of and research on the Laura subcamp by Dorit Gropp in *Aussenkommando Laura und Vorwerk Mitte Lehesten—Testbetrieb für V2-Triebwerke* (Berlin: Westkreuz-Verlag, 1999). In addition to a systematic use of many archival collections, Gropp incorporated two detailed memoirs of former inmates of the Laura camp, which also serve as an important resource on the camp: Ryszard Kessler, *Die Hölle im Schieferberg: Erinnerungen an Laura* (Saalfeld, 1998), and Aimé Bonifas "Verichtungskommando Laura," in *Stimmen aus Buchenwald: Ein Lesebuch*, eds. Holm Kirsten and Wolf Kirsten (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2002). For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald-Laura-Saalfeld in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and

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Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records.

Primary documentation on the Laura subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See in particular a collection of transport lists to and from the Laura camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 49, Reel 17. As Gropp's book has noted, trial documentation can be found in several archives, including the ZdL (now BA-L) and BA-DH (formerly BDC), ZM 1345 and ZA 7743; these latter are also copied in the archives of the USHMMA, RG-14.050M. See Gropp's text for photographs, an extensive list of archival resources, and a bibliography pertaining to the Laura subcamp and its postwar history.

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NOTES

1. "Transport Laura," September 20, 1943, Buchenwald (BU 49), AN-MACVG as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17).
2. "Transport Laura," September 22, 1943 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.
3. "Transport Laura von 25. Mars 1944," Weimar-Buchenwald (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.
4. "Aufstellung der 200 Häftlinge, von Kdo- Laura nach kdo-Dora überstellt sind," May 30, 1944, Weimar-Buchenwald (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

SCHLIEBEN

The company Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) established one of its seven German subcamps in the small Brandenburg city of Schlieben in July 1944. It would last until the end of the war. Initially opened as a camp for women 80 kilometers (50 miles) to the northwest of the main HASAG factory in Leipzig, it developed into one of the largest Buchenwald subcamps for men, with more than 2,000 male Jewish prisoners. The camp, which initially held 998 women, was reduced in size within a month of the establishment of the camp for men.

Since 1934, HASAG, a Leipzig lamp manufacturer, had been primarily involved in armaments manufactures. In the summer of 1944, following German war losses, it relocated its Polish factories to existing and new production facilities in Saxony and Thüringen. The company decided during this period to expand its facilities in Schlieben. It acquired those facilities in 1940 and in 1943 had production barracks installed in an expanded shooting range in a forest. Buchenwald camp commandant Hermann Pister, together with Standortarzt Gerhard Schiedlausky and Verwaltungsleiter Otto Barnewald, inspected the Schlieben site on June 21, 1944, to consider the deployment of concentration camp prisoners for use by HASAG. It was initially planned to deploy 1,000 women in Schlieben in the middle of July 1944 and in the long term to increase that number to 2,000. Schlieben, together with Leipzig and Altenburg, was one of the first three HASAG camps for women. On August 31, 1944, the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) transferred administration of the Schlieben camp from Ravensbrück to Buchenwald.

The subcamp commenced operations on July 19, 1944, with the arrival of a transport of 998 women, many of whom were Sintezza [that is, female Sinti (Gypsies)].[1] The number of women in Schlieben was reduced to 147 when, on August 14, 1944, a camp for men with 1,387 Buchenwald prisoners was established.[2] Most of the women who first arrived in the camp were deported to the HASAG camps in Altenburg and Taucha. Later, another 100 women arrived at the camp, and almost all of them were to remain until the camp was evacuated. Buchenwald camp statistics describe the camp for men as a "Jewish work detachment." It was the first of seven HASAG camps for men and was by any means the largest. Other than the non-Jewish prisoner-functionaries, most of the prisoners came from Poland or Hungary. In the first two months of the camp's existence, the number of prisoners increased to 2,020. In December, it temporarily increased to 2,515.[3] Later, the number of prisoners in the camp declined. Between the beginning of January and the middle of February 1945, there were three large transfers of mostly sick and weakened prisoners back to Buchenwald. In addition, in February, there were several prisoner deportations from Schlieben to the HASAG subcamp at Flössberg—the largest on February 17, 1945, with 540 prisoners being transferred. The number of prisoners in Schlieben dropped for the first time to under 1,500 and remained, as shown by the last documented strength report (*Bestandsmeldung*) on April 7, 1945, at a similar level.

The prisoners were used as forced labor in all areas of the company. The area to the north of Schlieben was divided into a fenced-in prisoner camp with factory facilities and weapons' testing areas. When the camp was established, there was already in the prisoner area a few brick barracks, sanitary facilities, a laundry, and a kitchen. This was because HASAG employees, members of the Wehrmacht, and prisoners of war (POWs) had lived in succession on the site. Later, wooden barracks were to be erected on the site of a large cleared area on the edge of the forest. The area was bordered by an electrified fence, and the camp was visible from the road. The factory buildings in the forest produced chemicals for shells and antitank weapons (*Panzerfäuste*) and assembled metal tubes, filled with explosives, delivered to the site. They formed the basis for the Panzerfäuste. The prisoners worked in the factory buildings under the supervision of HASAG's German foremen. As in the HASAG Factory "C" Skarżysko-Kamienna, which supplied many Polish prisoners for Schlieben, the rest of the camp avoided the prisoners in this area because their bodies and clothes were marked by poisons, and they smelled of chemicals. Women were forced to work in the foundries. Maria Peter stated the following: "I stood with two women at a large drum in which a liquid was boiling. It burnt our eyes and we looked as if we had jaundice. The burning eyes and the feeling of wanting to vomit made the work hell. We were given no protective clothing and were helplessly exposed to the liquid."[4] The prisoners had to assemble the Panzerfäuste in the larger production departments. They had to stand at tables and work

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benches. As former prisoners stated, they had to work in 12-hour shifts, day and night. The work demanded concentration to make sure that the production line did not stop. Menasze Hollender stated: "The German foremen and the Kapos ran back and forth screaming at and beating the prisoners. The workers often collapsed because of exhaustion, hunger, and the torture."[5] The foremen were given bonuses for achieving increased production, which caused them to drive the prisoners on mercilessly. On the HASAG weapons testing area in Schlieben, Panzerfäuste were developed and tested, as were munitions. Work in the construction and maintenance area of the Schlieben factory was seen as more bearable by the prisoners, compared to conditions in the production facilities.

There was a large explosion in the factory on October 12, 1944, which killed 96 male prisoners. The factory was totally destroyed. On October 14, 1944, Buchenwald sent 226 skilled construction workers to construct a temporary building. Just about all were sent back on November 6, 1944. Paul Budin, the HASAG managing director, immediately thanked the Reichsführer-SS for the "special assistance."[6]

In addition to the 96 victims of the explosion, at least another 99 prisoners died in the camp.[7] Altogether 195 prisoners died during the seven and a half months of the camp's existence to the beginning of April 1945.[8] Some 738 prisoners were transferred back to Buchenwald during the camp's existence, most to the sick bay.

SS-Untersturmführer Kempe was the camp commander in Schlieben. He remains in the memories of the prisoners as being particularly brutal. SS, Wehrmacht soldiers, and Ukrainian guards guarded the camp.

The prisoners, in an attempt to get around the inadequate food supply, traded with the Italian forced laborers who worked in the camp. They lived in the local area and had the opportunity, according to Hollender, to bring food into the factory. In return, they were given industrial products, which the prisoners had secretly manufactured, such as rings, tin boxes, lamps, and cutlery. Prisoners who worked on the railway facilities outside the camp smuggled food into the camp. It is also known that a few prisoners in the camp celebrated Jewish festivals so far as conditions allowed. Elyahu Winkler stated: "On Channuka we lit the Channuka candles in the window. . . . They weren't really candles. Someone used cooking oil from the kitchen."[9] With the help of the oil, they put together lights. The prisoners put their "candles" in the windows even though they had been ordered to turn off all lights due to the repeated Allied bombing raids.

There are different statements regarding the evacuation of the camp. What is certain is that the SS, shortly before the occupation of Schlieben by the Soviet Army, evacuated the camp. Hollender stated that the camp was evacuated in stages.[10] The first stage was on April 14, 1945, when a transport of 700 "prisoners who could not work" were taken out of the camp. Other statements refer to April 20, 1945, as the evacuation day and April 21, 1945, as the day that the Red Army occupied the town.

Panzerfäuste were produced for the Red Army from what was left of the supplies in the camp for six weeks after the liberation of Schlieben. In 1947 a mass grave of 107 corpses was found near the camp. They were reinterred in a Schlieben cemetery. A square stone has rested on the communal grave since 1952. As part of the so-called Tschenstochau (Częstochowa) trial in Leipzig in 1948–1949, Wehrmacht officer Richard Müller was sentenced to six months' prison; former auxiliary laborer and factory security guard Gustav Erich Graichen was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment; and former shift foreman in the foundry Viktor Lamkewitz received life imprisonment.

SOURCES The Schlieben subcamp for men is referred to in an essay about the HASAG camps: Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271. The Schlieben subcamp for women is mentioned in Irmgard Seidel, "Weibliche Häftlinge des KZ Buchenwald in der deutschen Rüstungsindustrie (1 & 2)," ISKDW 25:54 (2001): 16–23; 27:55 (2002): 23–29. A local publication has 15 pages of source material on Schlieben, but the commentary is incorrect: *NS-Lager in Finsterwalde und Orte in der Region Südbrandenburg 1939–1945* (Finsterwalde, 2001).

Archival documents on the Schlieben subcamp are scattered in several archives, some in the THStA-W, Bestände KZu-HaftaBu and NS4Bu; in AG-B, Bestände 62–63–2, NS4Bu; and in ASt-Slb. In YV, there are many accounts by surviving prisoners in Yiddish, Hebrew, Polish, and Hungarian, some of which have been used here (for example, from the collections M.21.3, M.49, and O.3). BA-DH holds the Leipzig state prosecutor's trial files from 1948–1949, which related to investigations into individual perpetrators from HASAG.

Martin Schellenberg
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. THStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 13a.
2. NARA, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015701.
3. NARA, RG 242, Film 25, Bl. 0015656–723.
4. Rept. Maria Peter, cited in Irmgard Seidel, "Weibliche Häftlinge des KZ Buchenwald in der deutschen Rüstungsindustrie," *ISKDW* 27:55 (2002): 27.
5. Rept. Menasze Hollender (translation from the Polish), YVA, O.3/1012.
6. BA-DH, SSO, Budin, Paul, 4.12.92.
7. THStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 116–7.
8. THStA-W, KZuHaftaBu 10, Bl. 1–166.
9. Interview with Elyahu Winkler (in Hebrew), YVA, O.3/10707.
10. Rept. Menasze Hollender, p. 44.

SCHÖNEBECK (*JUNKERS-FLUGZEUG- UND MOTORENWERKE AG*) ("J," "SCH," "JULIUS") (WITH "SIEGFRIED")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Schönebeck in March 1943 to provide labor to the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke AG (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM), Zweigwerk Schönebeck. The use of concentration camp prisoner labor at the Junkers Schönebeck stemmed from

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an agreement between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the firm, which "rented" inmates from the SS at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.[1] Located on what was later named Barbyer Strasse in Schönebeck, the Junkers Zweigwerk had opened in 1936 to operate a metal shop for press works for Ju 88 production. The Schönebeck subcamp was referred to in corresponding documentation as "J" and "Sch." The camp itself, located in the immediate vicinity of the Junkers firm, was called "Julius." A second Kommando, code-named "Siegfried," was also created at the Schönebeck camp in March 1945 to provide labor to the Nationale Radiatoren AG (NARAG).

The first transport of 100 inmates from Buchenwald arrived in Schönebeck on March 19, 1943.[2] According to French former inmate Marcel Lorin, an engineer from Junkers came to Buchenwald to select those inmates who could be considered skilled laborers. A "professions list" (possibly dated May 1943) shows that many inmates were noted as locksmiths, drill operators, mechanics, milling cutters, and so on.[3] Inmates in Schönebeck represented several different nations, including Russia, Poland, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Czechoslovakia. Smaller numbers of prisoners came from Yugoslavia, Spain, Hungary, Croatia, Italy, and the German Reich; these latter were often appointed members of the prisoner administration such as Lagerältester (camp elder) and medics. Imprisoned in the camp were political prisoners, so-called asocials, *Arbeitscheu* (work-shy), Gypsies, *Berufsverbrecher* (professional criminals) and Jews.

Transports to and from the Schönebeck camp were frequent. The average strength of the camp population was about 1,200 inmates, although at the time of the evacuation in April 1945, there were just over 1,500 inmates in the camp. Most of the larger transports of prisoners (between 100 and 150) arrived in Schönebeck from Buchenwald, but there were also transfers from Dachau (August 1944) and possibly Sachsenhausen. In addition to transfers of prisoners back to Buchenwald due to illness (see below), there were also transfers to other camps that exploited prisoner labor for rearmaments efforts, such as Mühlhausen ("Martha"), beginning in the spring of 1944; Aschersleben in August 1944; Westeregeln ("Maulwurf") in November 1944; Mittelbau in December 1944; and Leopoldshall in February 1945.[4]

The Julius camp in Schönebeck consisted of nine unheated wooden barracks for the prisoners' living quarters, a kitchen, a small infirmary, an administrative barracks, and a roll-call area. Prisoners slept on trilevel bunks, which were shared by the inmates and exchanged between shifts. In some instances, two or three prisoners slept on one bunk, sharing the allotted one soiled coverlet per person to gain warmth. The camp was surrounded by 3-meter-high (9.8-feet-high) fencing and another layer of barbed-wire mesh fencing and flanked by two watchtowers.

A typical day in the Schönebeck camp began at 4:30 in the morning. The inmates endured long roll calls several times a day. Standing outside in terrible weather conditions with thin clothing exacerbated the frail inmates' illnesses, such as pleurisy, angina, bronchial pneumonia, and tuberculosis. Inmates who were deemed "unfit for work" were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp infirmary. Corpses of those who died in the camp were either buried or, as noted in a memo by SS physician Dr. Waldemar Hoven, transferred to Dr. Imfried Eberl in Bernburg, where they were cremated with no recorded death certificates.[5] Food rations were sparse, and Lorin recalled that even with the occasional "organizing" of extra food, the inmates were starving.

The inmates worked in 12-hour shifts in the Junkers firm, finishing parts for the Ju 88 aircraft; by the end of 1944, work shifts had been reduced to 9 hours. The inmates were divided into work in four production halls: a finishing hall for supports for wing cross struts and fuselage; a press works where paneling for the fuselage, cockpit, and wings was finished; a foundry; and lastly, a thermal treatment workshop. The halls where camp inmates worked were separated from the rest of the plant by barbed-wire fencing, and interaction between the camp inmates and other workers was prohibited. From March 3, 1945, another large work Kommando was created at the Schönebeck camp to provide labor to NARAG. (However, a transport list of 15 inmates to "Siegfried," dated September 10, 1943, suggests that this Kommando may have been created earlier than 1945.)[6] Some 400 inmates were used in the manufacture of electrical parts for the V-2 rocket. Inmates were also assigned to various work Kommandos around the camp (such as in the kitchen or infirmary) as well as clearing rubble after air raids in Magdeburg and digging trenches along the Elbe.

In addition to suffering from malnutrition, exhaustion, and maltreatment meted out by the Kapos and guards, the inmates often faced dangerous work conditions in the factory. Lorin reported that those assigned to the foundry had no protective equipment and were exposed to combustible gas. Evidence of work-related accidents abounds in the administrative documentation generated with the transfer of ill or wounded inmates to the Buchenwald infirmary. For example, two inmates were transferred to Buchenwald from Schönebeck on February 3, 1945; the reason for their transfer is cited as "Unfall—Amputation" (Accident—Amputation).[7] This kind of report was issued frequently over the camp's two-year operation.

SS-Obersturmführer Gustav Borell was the commandant of the camp. Prior to leading the Schönebeck subcamp, he served in Sonderlager Hinzert from 1940 to 1942; in Ravensbrück in 1942; and Majdanek from 1942 to 1943. Until June 1944, the SS who served as guards in the camp consisted mainly of Volksdeutsche, or ethnic Germans. After June 1944, there were also members of the Luftwaffe assigned to guard the camp. German civilian foremen and supervisors watched over the inmates' work in the Junkers factory and reported any suspected acts of sabotage or prisoners deemed unfit for their assigned tasks to the SS or to the Kapos. Inmates were often punished by being forced to stand along the low wall that surrounded the SS garbage pit, with arms raised or hands behind their heads for several hours.

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Despite the inmates' general poor physical condition and the guards' strict supervision, some inmates did manage to escape. Lorin recalled that one prisoner managed to obtain false documentation that registered him as a civilian foreign worker, thus enabling him to return to France. Other inmates attempted to scale the barbed-wire fencing, especially during air-raid alerts or other moments of disorder. Acts of sabotage were also frequently organized by a group of prisoners in the factory. Lorin also noted that solidarity was forged along national and linguistic lines; for example, those who spoke French gathered and shared songs, poems, and memories of life at home. When food packages were distributed among some groups of more privileged political prisoners (such as the French; Russian inmates could not receive any packages), some inmates pooled the contents of their packages and redistributed them to weaker inmates.

The camp was dissolved on April 11, 1945, as American troops were 60 kilometers (37 miles) from Schönebeck. The inmates were evacuated on foot in several groups. Some inmates remained behind, hidden in the camp, while others evaded the march. About 400 inmates marched for 23 days in columns until they were liberated by American troops near Friedrichmoor.[8]

SOURCES There are several useful secondary sources on the Schönebeck camp. This entry builds upon the extensive memoir of daily life in the Schönebeck camp by Marcel Lorin, *Schönebeck, un kommando de Buchenwald: Du sabotage des avions Nazis à l'ouvante d'une marche de la mort* (Glangeaud: Amicale des anciens déportés de Schönebeck, Mühlhausen, Buchenwald, 1993). Another piece detailing current research efforts and former prisoner experiences in Schönebeck is an article by Katharina Strass, "Dunkles Kapitel während des Zweiten Weltkrieges in Schönebeck: Fünftgrösstes KZ-Aussenlager Buchenwald mit etwa 1800 Häftlingen is heute fast vergessen," *V*, February 12, 2005. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entries for Buchenwald/Schönebeck in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

There is also relatively abundant primary documentation on the Schönebeck subcamp. Administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp is found in the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, especially BA Band 133, 210, 213, 55. See also a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Schönebeck camp and various other reports, including Veränderungsmeldungen, copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 5/2, 5/4, 5/5, 8/10, 40, and 41/3. Testimony from former inmates can be found in the MZML, which contain thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by the relief agency DEGOB; see especially protocols 2475, 2920, and 3158. NARA Microfilm Publication A 3343, Records of SS Officers from the BDC, SSO-091, has personnel information about Gustav Borell.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, *TWC*, vol. 6.
2. "Transport Schönebeck," K.L. Buchenwald, March 19, 1943, AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 41/3).
3. "Berufs-Liste für Transport Schönebeck," K.L. Buchenwald, date illegible, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 41/3).
4. Numerous transport lists to and from the Schönebeck camp can be found in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 41/3 and BU 8/10).
5. "Aus einem Bericht des SS-Arztes Dr. Waldemar Hoven über eine Dienstreise in das Aussenkommando Schönebeck vom 19. März 1943," reprinted in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald, Mahnung und Verpflichtung*: *Dokumente und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1960), p. 279.
6. "Transport Siegfried," Buchenwald, September 10, 1943, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 41/3).
7. "Überführung von kranken Häftlingen nach K.L. Bu," Schönebeck, February 3, 1945, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 41/3).
8. A detailed description of the complex evacuation, including diagrams, can be found in Marcel Lorin, *Schönebeck, un kommando de Buchenwald: Du sabotage des avions Nazis à l'ouvante d'une marche de la mort* (Glangeaud: Amicale des anciens déportés de Schönebeck, Mühlhausen, Buchenwald, 1993).

SCHÖNEBECK (*NATIONALE RADIATOREN*)

The subcamp Schönebeck (Nationale Radiatoren) was part of a complex of three concentration camps that existed from March 10, 1943, to April 11, 1945, in Schönebeck an der Elbe. It was located on the Elbe River outside of Magdeburg, an industrial strongpoint in central Germany. The camps were subcamps of Buchenwald under the authority of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). They provided slave labor for the aircraft industry; for the Schönebeck branch of the Dessau-based Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke (Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company Inc., JFM); and Nationale Radiatoren AG (NARAG), a subsidiary of Volkswagen industries.

Although the Schönebeck camps existed for more than two years and had a total prisoner population of 1,563 prisoners (on April 11, 1945), information on the camp is scarce. It is not clear if they were separate, autonomous camps or subentities of one administrative unit and, if they had separate camp compounds.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) *Haftstättenverzeichnis* (1979), the Nationale Radiatoren camp

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was established on March 3, 1945, but the accuracy of the information is questionable. An earlier date seems more likely.

Nationale Radiatoren was taken over in early 1944 by Volkswagen, at that time in charge of the series production of the Fi-103 (V-1) cruise missile. The excess capacities of the low-priority radiator factory were intended to replace facilities at the Volkswagen main factory, which was to be decentralized in order to diminish the risk of air-raid damage. Volkswagen kept the Nationale Radiatoren name for camouflage reasons while converting the production facilities to the manufacturing of V-1 parts. The production area was expanded as spacious cellar vaults below the nearby Kaiserbrauerei Allendorff beer brewery were rented. Even after Volkswagen lost its role as coordinator of V-1 production to the SS-owned Mittelwerke in October 1944, the Schönebeck facility—eventually incorporated into another Volkswagen subsidiary, the Minette GmbH, as an SS takeover attempt was fended off in January 1945—continued to produce V-1 parts that were delivered to the Mittelwerke and also engaged in the manufacturing of airplane parts for Junkers and Messerschmitt.

Production continued until a few days before the area was liberated by U.S. troops on April 12, 1945. A decision by Volkswagen personnel manager Georg Tyrolt (a nephew of Ferdinand Porsche, the inventor of the "people's car," who was the leading chief executive officer [CEO]) on March 21 to transfer 200 prisoners from the Nationale Radiatoren camp to "Stein" in Eschershausen, another Buchenwald subcamp providing manpower to Volkswagen, was thwarted by the Allied advance. Instead, 400 Nationale Radiatoren prisoners were evacuated on April 11 to occupied Czechoslovakia where Volkswagen possessed additional production facilities. The company decision had provided for prisoners suffering from tuberculosis to be transferred to the Volkswagen main factory in what was later named Wolfsburg, but the ill prisoners never arrived there.

In November 1944, SS-Hauptscharführer Arthur Schmiele, an engineer who had been in charge of the selection of prisoners in Auschwitz for Volkswagen, and the CEO of a Minette factory in Dernau that was run by means of concentration camp prisoners, was appointed CEO of the Schönebeck facility. The exploitation of prisoners at the Nationale Radiatoren may have started shortly afterward by prisoners from the Schönebeck Junkers camps being assigned to the Nationale Radiatoren. Since that company's total employment never expanded beyond 1,000, most of whom were foreign forced laborers from the Soviet territories and Italy, it seems likely that the number of concentration camp prisoners never exceeded the 200 to 400 registered in March 1945.

According to one Buchenwald strength list, by September 5, 1944, SS personnel in the Schönebeck camps counted one officer who probably served as the camp commandant, two noncommissioned officers (NCOs), and one enlisted man, whereas guards seem to have been ordinary army soldiers.

SOURCES This description of the Schönebeck (Nationale Radiatoren) camp is based on research by Therkel Straede and Manfred Grieger for Hans Mommsen et al., *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf, 1996). Preliminary data may be found in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

Archival material on the Nationale Radiatoren camp in Schönebeck is scarce. The VWA holds the note of March 21, 1945, and other documents, as well as copies of documents from the AG-B, YVA, Beit Lohamei Haghetaot near Acco, Israel, and BA-B. Brief details on the Nationale Radiatoren factory have been published by Cesare Pilesi, an Italian military internee (IMI), in ANEI, ed., *Resistenza senz'armi* (Firenze, 1984) p. 270.

Therkel Straede

SCHWERTE-OST

By the middle of the 1930s, the Reich Railways Repair Works (Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk, RAW) in Schwerte-Ost, which had opened in 1922, had over 2,000 employees and had risen to become the most modern and efficient locomotive repair shop in the German Reich. It was located about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) east of the center of Schwerte in the direction of Schwerte-Geisecke. A 2-meter-high (6.6-feet-high) stone wall still borders the former factory premises. Beginning in 1944, a small part of this wall was used to delimit the grounds of the subcamp.[1] The task of the RAW was to repair locomotives damaged in the war in order to preserve this war-critical method of transportation. During World War II, the RAW was thus a "war-critical" operation that, with the increasing duration of the war, could no longer meet its labor requirements, as many male employees were called to the front. The National Socialists attempted to compensate for this deficit with prisoners of war (POWs) and slave laborers, which ultimately led to a subcamp of the Buchenwald concentration camp being set up on the factory premises.

From April 6, 1944, until January 29, 1945, up to 710 concentration camp prisoners were kept at Schwerte-Ost in wooden barracks.[2] Although lists of transfers to and from the outside detail at Schwerte-Ost exist in the Buchenwald archive in Weimar, it is not possible to determine exact numbers. Various preserved documents make clear that primarily potential concentration camp victims were transferred back from Schwerte-Ost to Buchenwald. These were usually people who violated rules or who undertook escape attempts. There exists, among others, a list "Transport Schwerte, Weimar-Buchenwald" from June 23, 1944, that contains 150 names with prisoner numbers.[3] It is certain that the first 100 prisoners were sent to the camp on April 6, 1944. On August 7, 1944, the number of forced laborers was 425, all of whom were designated "auxiliary laborers." Documents from the Buchenwald archive show that on September 8, 1944, a transport with 265 prisoners with the numbers 84271 to 84535 came to Schwerte-Ost from Sachsenhausen.[4] The biggest verifiable

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number, with the above-mentioned 710 prisoners, is entered for September 29, 1944.[5]

The strength of the SS guard personnel amounted to 40 men on April 15, 1944. The prisoners' work assignments were identical with those of the German regular workforce. The entire camp originally consisted of at least 12 barracks in which not only prisoners from Buchenwald were housed but also POWs and slave laborers. The Buchenwald prisoners were, however, rigidly separated from the other prisoners. How awful the fate of the concentration camp prisoners must have been is documented by the fact that every month a fifth of the population either died or was returned to the main camp for extermination, due to their inability to work. According to contemporary witness reports, it can be stated that the factory management at Schwerte-Ost was not organized for human extermination like the Nazi camp leadership was at Buchenwald. Evidence of the shooting of prisoners, described with the remark "shot while trying to flee," has survived, however.[6]

On the other hand, the Reichsbahn was known for its business sense and, for example, was paid by the SS the third-class fare for transporting Jews in cattle cars. The income, though, that the SS took in from hiring out prisoners was enormous and amounted to over 6 million Reichsmark (RM) for the male prisoners at Buchenwald in January 1945 alone.[7] According to a report from former Schwerter and political prisoner Joseph Arturjanz (Buchenwald number 84275; Sachsenhausen number 22917), he arrived at Schwerte-Ost in October 1944.[8] Of the 500 prisoners that he registered, which included French and Belgians, in addition to Soviet Russians, 250 men worked per shift on damaged locomotives. Female prisoners were not among these workers. Provisions were reportedly worse than at Buchenwald so that in June 1944 it was arranged for the kitchen operation to be newly organized.

In December 1944, as Allied troops continued their march toward the Ruhr area, the prisoner detail was called back to the main camp. Contemporary witnesses also attributed the relatively early closing of the camp to the high number of escapes. According to Joseph Arturjanz, four cattle cars made available for approximately 500 prisoners arrived at the Buchenwald main camp. A document from the Buchenwald archive dated January 25, 1945, shows that at least 10 prisoners, all of them from the Soviet Union, managed to escape on the way back to Buchenwald. A few days later the prisoners were again loaded on to a transport and arrived at Dorndorf on December 24, 1944. On the other side, it was reported that a last prisoner transport from Schwerte-Ost arrived at Buchenwald around January 15, 1945.

SOURCES Marita Riese's publication "*Und es soll kein Gras darüber wachsen*"*: Die Geschichte des Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald im Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk Schwerte-Ost* (Schwerte: Denkmalbehörde/Kulturamt der Stadt Schwerte, 1989) formed the basis for this entry. Unfortunately, this work is hard to find and now out of print. Additional information may be found in H. Körner and P. Gurris, *Das Leben der Eisenbahner in Schwerte-Ost 1923–2000* (Münster, 2000). Walter Bartel's *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983) also provides more information on Buchenwald subcamps.

On the history of the Buchenwald external detail at the RAW in Schwerte-Ost, transport lists of prisoners as well as documents on the "working detail Schwerte" are accounted for in AG-B.

Günther Högl
trans. Eric Schroeder

NOTES

1. Marita Riese, "*Und es soll kein Gras darüber wachsen*"*: Die Geschichte des Aussenkommandos des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald im Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk Schwerte-Ost* (Schwerte: Denkmalbehörde/Kulturamt der Stadt Schwerte, 1989), p. 25.
2. H. Körner and P. Gurris, *Das Leben der Eisenbahner in Schwerte-Ost 1923–2000* (Münster, 2000), pp. 73–74.
3. Riese, "*Und es soll kein Gras darüber wachsen*," p. 33.
4. Ibid., p. 50.
5. Ibid., p. 48.
6. Ibid., p. 65. For May 31, 1944, 8:45 AM, the "political" Russian Sewastjan Pantschenko (born 1898) is mentioned.
7. Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 240.
8. Joseph Arturjanz quoted in Riese, "*Und es soll kein Gras darüber wachsen*," pp. 55–59.

SENNELAGER

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created on November 26, 1944, in Augustdorf near Paderborn to provide inmate labor to the SS-Panzer-Ausbildungs und Ersatz-Regiment (tank training and replacement regiment) in the Sennelager training complex. Code-named "Sennelager," there were 10 inmates stationed at the camp for the first month of its five-month operation, until January 1945, when 37 additional inmates were transferred there from Auschwitz II-Birkenau. They were housed in the north camp (*Nordlager*) of the Sennelager complex. Inmates were hired out at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per laborer per day, payable to the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA).[1]

The first transport of 10 inmates to Sennelager left Buchenwald on November 26, 1944.[2] Four inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald due to illness on December 15, 1944, and were replaced by 4 different inmates on December 20, 1944.[3] Three inmates were sent back to Buchenwald on January 3, 1945, presumably also due to illness or "incapacity for work." On January 17, 1945, 37 inmates from Birkenau were transferred to Sennelager. Most of the inmates were Polish political prisoners or Polish Jews, with a smaller number of Slovak political prisoners and Slovak Jews. There was one Polish "work-shy" inmate.[4] There is no information available about the exact kind of work the smaller contingent of prison-

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ers performed, but the transport document lists some of the duties of the inmates. Most were designated as bricklayers, with smaller numbers of concrete workers, 2 civil engineers, and a painter. Two inmates from this transport were transferred to Buchenwald on January 25, 1945, due to illness.[5]

The camp was evacuated to Buchenwald, and the prisoners arrived there on April 5, 1945.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Sennelager subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Sennelager in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records.

Surviving primary documentation on the Sennelager subcamp is also limited. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Sennelager camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 49. Additional documentation may be found in AG-B.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.
2. "Transport Sennelager," KL Buchenwald, November 26, 1944 (BU 49) AN-MACVG as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.
3. "An die Kommandatur K.L.—Bu. Abt. III," Augustdorf, December 15, 1944; "Transport Sennelager," Buchenwald, December 20, 1944, (BU 49), USHMMA Acc. 1998 A.0045.
4. "Neuzugänge vom 17. Januar 1945," Weimar-Buchenwald, January 17, 1945 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.
5. To K.L. Buchenwald, Senne, January 25, 1945 (BU 49), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

SÖMMERDA

Sömmerda is located to the north of Erfurt in the district known today as Weissensee. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony. A Buchenwald subcamp was established there in the autumn of 1944 where the prisoners worked at the Rheinmetall-Borsig AG, Werk Sömmerda, on Dreyse-Platz. Already months before, the Rheinmetall-Borsig AG had requisitioned 1,100 female laborers: 650 were to work in the detonation factory and 450 in the test factory (*Laborierwerk*).

The camp was located 20 minutes away by foot in the Pestalozzistrasse close to the Erfurt-Nordhausen railway line. It was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence with guard towers and consisted of six barracks. The guards' accommodation was outside the camp. The camp was under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Eugen Dietrich, who was in charge of 16 SS men and 22 female guards. The wardresses were staff from Rheinmetall-Borsig who had been trained in Ravensbrück. Originally, the company had even offered larger numbers of women to the Buchenwald concentration camp to be trained as guards.

On September 19, 1944, 1,216 Hungarian Jewish women arrived at Sömmerda and began working the next day. They were severely traumatized. They had lived through a bombing raid in their former camp at Gelsenkirchen-Horst. As a result the Gelsenkirchen-Horst camp was dissolved with 84 injured women remaining in hospitals in Gelsenkirchen and its surrounding area. They were sent in separate transports to Sömmerda up until the beginning of April 1945. On March 1, 1945, the Sömmerda camp had 1,293 women, reaching its maximum capacity.

Under the control of German skilled tradesmen and foremen, the women manufactured ammunition, working on a large number of machines such as drills, milling machines, and precision revolving lathes. Although not many details of the work and living conditions are known, the high rate of illness at around 10 percent is indicative of the difficult work and living conditions. Many women suffered from illnesses arising from the cold including bronchitis, lung diseases, and stomach and bowel problems, as well as general weakness and malnutrition. According to official records, nine women died in the Sömmerda subcamp. The statistics do not record the number of babies born in the prisoners' infirmary. According to a survivor, there were several births in the camp. The newborns were removed from their mothers and killed.

Sömmerda is one of the few subcamps where there are records of the women's cultural activities. There was a camp paper, and the women wrote and performed new lyrics to popular couplets and chansons in which they described their fate as prisoners. It was possible for religious Jews, albeit secretly, to maintain their prayers and fasting.

The factory was closed in the middle of March due to production difficulties. On April 4, 1945, the women were taken from the camp by foot in an easterly direction. The women incapable of marching were taken by rail to Altenburg. The women marched via Mühlhausen, Bad Kösen, Naumburg, and Zeitz. On April 10, 1945, they were split into two groups: one group moved via Zitzendorf to Meuselwitz, where they continued their death march with the prisoners of that camp. The second group, after a two-day stop in Albenburg, was driven to Glauchau. Here some of the women, thanks to an American tank attack, were able to escape and were rescued. The remainder of the women marched in a southeasterly direction; most likely they were to be taken to Theresienstadt, but before they arrived there, they were liberated by Soviet troops on May 9, 1945, in the vicinity of Cheb (Eger).

The camp commander, Eugen Dietrich, was interned by U.S. troops for a short time but was not tried. He died in 1955.

Between 1966 and 1971 the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) investigated the Sömmerda subcamp. The investigations ceased in 1971 without any results.

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SOURCES Irmgard Seidel contributed the article on the Sömmerda subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3; *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 575–577. The fate of two Sömmerda survivors, Romanian Jew Judith Rosenthal and Hungarian Jew Sarah Udi, is described in Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oublicées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 112–127. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:58; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1841.

The USHMMA has the following archival material on the Sömmerda subcamp: Lilly Isaacs papers, Acc. 1995.88, consisting of two diaries written by Isaacs while she was a prisoner in Sömmerda; and an oral history interview with Rose Lazarus about her experiences as a prisoner in Gelsenkirchen and Sömmerda, RG-50.002*0083. Other sources on the Sömmerda subcamp are located in the collections of the AG-B and collection NS 4 Bu (for example, reference 221), at BA-K. Investigations by the ZdL in the late 1960s and the early 1970s are in file 429 AR-Z 1927/66 and 130/1970, which is held at BA-L.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SONNEBERG-WEST ("SONNEBERG," "SG")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Sonneberg-West (Thüringen) in September 1944 to provide labor to the Firma G.E. Reinhardt Zahnradfabrik (gear factory). Its code name in related documentation was "Sonneberg" or "Sg." Like other armaments manufacturing firms that exploited prisoner labor during the war, the G.E. Reinhardt firm hired out inmates from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled laborer per day.[1] The average strength of the prisoner population was about 400 inmates during its six-month operation.

The first transport to Sonneberg-West left Buchenwald on September 14, 1944, with 260 inmates.[2] However, evidence of a possible earlier transport is suggested in a surviving telegram from the SS (presumably the Labor Allocation Office) to the G.E. Reinhardt firm, dated August 27, 1944.[3] The telegram states that the transport from Częstochowa (Tschenstochau) arrived (to what exact location is unclear) and that the SS officer who sent it should be informed by the firm when the accommodations and security apparatuses are ready for the incoming inmates. According to the telegram, this group of prisoners was scheduled to be transferred to the G.E. Reinhardt firm in Sonneberg-West, located at Hallestrasse 39, on September 1 or 2.

Inmates were brought to a camp, the barracks of which were most likely located on the grounds of the firm itself. They may have also been accommodated in sand pits in the immediate vicinity of the Reinhardt firm. The inmates were used for labor in the manufacture of aircraft parts for Ju 52 transport planes, as well as other gear mechanisms for tanks and other weapons.

The inmates were transported to the Sonneberg camp from the main Buchenwald camp and possibly from elsewhere (such as Częstochowa and Gross-Rosen). After the transport of 260 prisoners on September 14, additional transports arrived in Sonneberg (among other possible dates) on October 5 (4 inmates), October 12 (20), November 14 (1), November 17 (150), and February 15 (50). The inmates were Jewish males, and many were from Poland and Hungary. One Hungarian Jewish former inmate reported that the food and treatment in the Sonneberg camp were better than what he had received in Buchenwald. However, he recalled that "it did not take long; the SS sergeants came and they spoiled it. The German workers behaved quite normally, they did not beat us too much, but the SS did . . . it was terrible."[4] Another former inmate recalled nothing else but being provided little to no food or drink and receiving constant beatings.[5]

In several instances, inmates were transferred back to the Buchenwald main camp due to illness or incapacity for work. At least one inmate was returned due to a knee injury; therefore, it can be deduced that working conditions in the camp were difficult and even dangerous.[6] One trace of a recorded death survives: a Polish Jew named Friedman Eliass, transported to Sonneberg on November 4, 1944, died February 6, 1945, due to pleuropneumonia.[7]

Scarce details remain about the guards or commandant of the Sonneberg camp. In a report by the garrison doctor of the Waffen-SS, dated January 31, 1945, the camp is listed under "Jewish external details" (Jüdische Aussenkommandos) with the SS medic as Eger and 33 guards assigned.[8] At this time, the camp held 423 prisoners.

The Sonneberg camp was evacuated at the end of March or early April 1945, and the prisoners were marched toward Lehesten. However, some sources note that the prisoners were brought back to the camp, where they stayed one night before they were evacuated again to the Sudetenland (see Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke). According to one survivor, the camp was evacuated on April 3, and the prisoners were marched on foot. "After a week we returned to Sonneberg, [and] then we spent a day there and then we were taken again, this time to the opposite direction. We kept on marching until the eighth of May. For the whole trip we got two kilograms [4.4 pounds] of bread, ten decagrams [3.5 ounces] of margarine, and two spoonfuls of sour cream. . . . The mortality rate was twenty-five percent. Twenty-one were shot. Those unable to walk were shot."[9] They were liberated in the vicinity of Luditz on May 7 or 8, 1945, by American troops.

Two postwar proceedings were conducted against former guards in the Sonneberg camp. The accused, Ottomar Böh. and Josef Brü. (full surnames classified), were brought to trial in Marburg for the killing of prisoners during the evacuation of Sonneberg and the subsequent march into the Sudetenland. Proceedings against them were suspended, and they were both acquitted in December 1970.[10]

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SOURCES Secondary sources on the Sonneberg subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Sonneberg in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

Surviving primary documentation on the Sonneberg subcamp is also limited. For administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), the BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210. See also a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Sonneberg camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 50, Reel 17. Testimony from former inmates can also be found in other archives and repositories; for example, MZML contains thousands of reports from surviving Hungarian Jewish deportees taken in 1945 and 1946 by the relief agency DEGOB; see especially protocols 636 and 744.

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NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. "Transport Sonneberg," Weimar-Buchenwald, September 14, 1944 (BU 50), AN-MACVG as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. "Diensttelegramm: G.E. Reinhardt," August 27, 1944, BA NS-4 (Buchenwald), USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210.

4. MZML, DEGOB, Protocol, no. 636, P.S. [translation by Gábor Kádár].

5. MZML, DEGOB, Protocol, no. 1782, M.K. According to this transcript, M.K. arrived at Sonneberg from the Gross-Rosen camp.

6. "Transport Buchenwald" from Sonneberg, November 8, 1944 (two inmates); "Transport Buchenwald" from Sonneberg," November 12, 1944 (two to three inmates); "Transport Buchenwald" from Sonneberg, November 29, 1944 (one inmate, knee injury); "Transport Buchenwald" from Sonneberg, January 18, 1945 (BU 50), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

7. Reports on deaths in the Aussenkommandos, Weimar-Buchenwald, February 13, 1945 (BU 36/4), Document 213, p. 3, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

8. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwad: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 253.

9. MZML, DEGOB, Protocol, no. 636, P.S.

10. Case Nr. 744, NS Crimes in Detainment Centers, Final Phase Crimes in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* ed. Fritz Bauer (Amsterdam: Univ. Press Amsterdam, 1968) vol. 34.

STASSFURT ("REH") [AKA NEU-STASSFURT, STASSFURT I]

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in September 1944 in Stassfurt (Saxony province) to provide labor for underground construction in the armaments industry. The use of concentration camp labor stemmed from an agreement between the Ingenieurbüro Schlempp (Schlempp Engineering Office) and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which hired out inmates to the firm at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.[1] The Stassfurt subcamp, also indicated on reports as the "Neu-Stassfurt" or "Stassfurt I" camp, was code-named "Reh," and its average prisoner strength was about 450 inmates. A second subcamp, known as Stassfurt (Wälzer & Co.), was established nearby with prisoners from the Stassfurt I subcamp in January 1945.

The first transport of inmates to Stassfurt left the Buchenwald main camp on September 13, 1944. This initial transport consisted of 500 inmates, all male and predominantly French political prisoners.[2] The inmates were initially employed to work in subterranean construction projects for the Schlempp engineering firm in two salt mines: shaft four and shaft six. Schlempp was leading the effort to construct underground installations for the Siemens-Schuckert Werke AG (Siemens-Schuckert Works, SSW) and Kabel- und Leitungswerke AG (Cable and Wire Works, Inc., KALAG). Construction continued until January 1945, when production at the KALAG firm began, also employing prisoner labor. At this time, about 200 prisoners were siphoned to the Georg Wälzer & Co. firm, also in Stassfurt. On November 13, 1944, 20 skilled inmates were assigned to work as electricians at Siemens-Schuckert in shaft six.[3]

The Stassfurt camp was said to have been located between Löderburg-Lust and Atzendorf and consisted of four wooden barracks surrounded by a double tier of barbed-wire fencing. Outside the fencing there were two barracks for the SS guard staff. The camp had been newly constructed by Italian military internees who had also been incarcerated in Stassfurt prior to the French camp inmates' arrival. The camp population remained relatively constant (between 450 and 500 inmates) until January 1945, when additional transports of inmates (including Russians and Polish Jews) were transported to Stassfurt for work in the KALAG firm and for Wälzer.[4]

The working conditions for inmates in the Stassfurt camp were terrible. For those on the day shifts in the mines, the day began at 4:30 A.M., when the inmates received small rations of ersatz coffee and bread. By 6:00 A.M., the prisoners departed for work in the mines, which lasted up until 7:00 P.M., with a half-hour break at midday. At the end of the day, the prisoners endured the nightly roll call, after having been distributed soup rations. Former inmates recall a constant hunger and obsession with finding food, as well as the brutal

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maltreatment from the guards and Kapos, or prisoner work overseers. Memoranda exchanged between the Stassfurt camp administration and the Buchenwald main camp detail some of the illnesses that befell the inmates in Stassfurt, such as influenza, typhus, and conditions that made them otherwise incapable of work (*arbeitsunfähig*).[5]

Little is known about the guard staff of the Stassfurt camp. The commandant was SS-Sturmscharführer Wagner, and the camp elder (Lagerältester) was Bernard Baur, a German prisoner. The prisoners generally referred to the guards and Kapos by first or nicknames; therefore, little information about their identities can be discerned. According to a report filed by the SS garrison doctor for Buchenwald, Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky, on January 31, 1945, there were 49 guards in the Stassfurt camp at this time and 494 inmates (not including those used for work at the Wälzer & Co.). The SS doctor in charge of the infirmary in the Stassfurt camp was named Reins, and the SS medic, Grosser.[6]

The Stassfurt camp complex was evacuated on or around April 10, 1945, in face of the approaching front. The inmates were driven on a deadly march toward Czechoslovakia, during which hundreds more perished. Those who survived the foot march were liberated in the region of Annaburg.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Stassfurt subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Stassfurt in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). Additional information can be found through the Amicale des Anciens Déportés de Neu-Stassfurt, which has created a Web site and published brochures and testimony of former inmates (see excerpts at www.pierre-henin.com).

Surviving primary documentation on the Stassfurt subcamp is also limited. For administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, including a collection of prisoner lists to and from the camp, as well as other documentation related to postwar reconstruction of the fate of French inmates, see the files copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 48, BU 107, and BU 100.

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NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

2. "Transport Reh," Buchenwald, September 13, 1944 (BU 48), AN-MACVG as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

3. "Folgende 20 Häftlinge . . . ," November 13, 1944 (BU 48), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

4. See transport lists, and a reconstruction of the movement of prisoners to Reh, in BU 48, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

5. "An die Rapportführer KL BU," SS AbKdo, Reh, Schacht VI, September 27, 1944 (BU 48), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

6. "K.L. Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," January 31, 1945, Weimar-Buchenwald, published in Walter Bartel: *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 251.

STASSFURT (*WÄLZER & CO.*) [AKA STASSFURT II]

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in January 1945 in Stassfurt (Saxony province) to provide camp inmate labor to the Wälzer & Co. firm. The use of concentration camp labor in Stassfurt stemmed originally from an agreement forged in the late summer of 1944 between the Ingenieurbüro Schlempp (Schlempp Engineering Office) and the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which hired out inmates to the firm at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer per day and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.[1] The Stassfurt subcamp, also indicated in reports as "Stassfurt II," was established with inmates that had been transported to the Stassfurt I subcamp and who were deployed in January 1945 to work for Wälzer & Co.

The Wälzer camp population remained relatively constant at about 200 prisoners. Like the Stassfurt I camp, the Stassfurt II camp was last mentioned on April 10, 1945, when the inmates were sent on a death march in the direction of Annaburg. There is no concrete information about whether this work detail (Kommando) had living quarters separate from the Stassfurt I camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Stassfurt subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Stassfurt in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). Additional information can be found through the Amicale des Anciens Déportés de Neu-Stassfurt, which has created a Web site and published brochures and testimony of former inmates (see excerpts on www.pierre-henin.com).

Surviving primary documentation on the Stassfurt subcamp is also limited. For administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, including a collection of prisoner lists

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to and from the camp, as well as other documentation related to postwar reconstruction of the fate of French inmates, see the files copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 48, BU 107, and BU 100.

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NOTE

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.

SUHL

In July 1943, a subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Suhl (Thüringen) about 80 kilometers (50 miles) southwest of Weimar, attached to the munitions factory Gustloff-Werke. Before it was appropriated by Gauleiter of Thüringen and engineer Fritz Sauckel in 1935, the Gustloff-Werke firm was originally known as the Suhler Waffen- und Fahrzeugwerk (Suhler Weapons and Vehicle Works), founded by Jewish brothers Löb and Moses Simson in 1856. The Simsons' firm had been the only Jewish-owned firm to receive contracts from the German army after the Treaty of Versailles. After having the firm's owners arrested by 1935, the firm was "aryanized." Sauckel renamed the company after Wilhelm Gustloff, a Swiss Nazi who was shot in Bern in February 1936 by a Jewish student named David Frankfurter.

The Suhl subcamp existed for a relatively brief period, from July 15, 1943, to October 2, 1943, when the between 80 and 100 inmates were deported to Mittelbau. The inmates were used for the construction of barracks for a slave labor camp. Only two transport records could be located, the first of which shows the transfer of 1 prisoner, a Russian political prisoner, from Buchenwald to Suhl in July 1943.[1] Another report, dated either September or October 1943, shows the transfer of a Polish prisoner to Suhl.[2]

SOURCES There are few resources, either secondary or primary, on the Buchenwald subcamp in Suhl. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Suhl in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. For an overview of the Buchenwald camp system, including its subcamps, see David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); and Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983). See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

Surviving primary documentation on the Suhl subcamp is also scarce. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Buchenwald subcamps copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, BU 50 and BU 8/17.

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NOTES

1. "Transportliste Suhl," Buchenwald, ca. July 19, 1943, AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 50).

2. "Nach Aussenkommandos gingen," [Buchenwald], dates illegible, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 8/17).

TANNENWALD

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in the vicinity of Usingen (Hessen-Nassau province, Prussia), most likely in Dornholzhausen, on December 7, 1944, to supply labor for special projects attached to the "Adlerhorst" and "Tannenwald" SS center of operations. Adlerhorst was set up in the Kransberg castle after it had been confiscated by the Nazis in September 1939. From 1941, together with the Ziegenberg castle, parts of the castle served as a military convalescent home and as a Luftwaffe main headquarters for Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring. The castle was renovated to accommodate its expanding role. At the beginning of 1944, the seat of the Nazi Party Province Administration (Gauleitung) Hessen-Nassau was located there. In 1944 and 1945, Kransberg also served as Himmler's and Göring's "Tannenwald" headquarters (Feldpost No. 14.441).

In order to increase structural security around the location, an effort that was led by the Bauinspektion "Rhein-West" Waffen-SS und Polizei (Construction Inspectorate "Rhine-West" Waffen-SS and Police) of Wiesbaden and planned by the Organisation Todt (OT), a prisoner construction work detail (Kommando) was ordered from Buchenwald to work on the construction of an underground tunnel and bunker system. Originally, the camp was planned to receive inmates from Natzweiler but was changed to the administrative responsibility of Buchenwald.[1] On December 7, 1944, 10 inmates were transported from the Buchenwald main camp to the Kransberg castle.[2] Their first assignment was to construct the Tannenwald subcamp itself, which was most likely located between the old castle walls and the cemetery. After the construction of the barracks, which were built to hold up to 100 inmates, as well as an administrative and supplies structure, the prisoners were assigned to work on the proposed tunneling project. The main goal of their labor was to construct an escape tunnel underground from the SS bunker in the castle to the street.

The inmates were forced to build a tunnel into the mountainside. Because the prisoners lacked equipment for the terribly difficult work, as well as proper protective clothing in the harsh winter, working conditions in the Tannenwald camp were miserable. The broken stones, which were excavated by hand, were carted in trucks away from the construction area

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and dumped elsewhere. Constantly hungry and exhausted, the prisoners also endured maltreatment from the guards and work overseers. According to a report by the chief of labor allocation in Buchenwald dated January 6, 1945, unskilled workers who were apportioned to Tannenwald were hired out from the SS at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per laborer per day.[3]

The prisoners in the Tannenwald camp were all men, and at most, the camp held between 42 and 44 prisoners during its nearly four-month existence (although on average it only held about 30). According to a Buchenwald work statistical report, it was supposed to be allotted up to 100 inmates.[4] Most of the inmates were from the Soviet Union and Poland, with smaller numbers of German, Czech, Italian, and French prisoners making up the camp population. The number of inmates remained relatively constant. Periodically, inmates were transferred back to Buchenwald due to their being deemed incapable of work (*arbeitsunfähig*). For example, on January 5, 1945, the commandant of the Tannenwald camp signed a memo to the Rapportführer in Buchenwald, stating that prisoner Nikolay Spuskaw was to be transferred back to Buchenwald in exchange for another inmate due to his incapacity for work.[5] On an itemized list of inmates in the camp, dated March 23, 1945, 12 inmates are listed along with their "professions": 1 shoemaker, 2 blacksmiths, 2 bricklayers, 2 locksmiths, an electrician, and so forth.[6]

Transport lists signed by the commandant are illegible, though his rank can be determined as SS-Unterscharführer.[7]

Likewise, there is no further information about living conditions, escape attempts, or resistance within the camp. According to the research of local historian Bernd Vorlaeufer-Germer, some local youths were able to sneak extra food to some of the prisoners on occasion, thereby somewhat easing the inmates' situation.

Due to the fast-changing front, the prisoners were unable to finish the efforts begun on the underground tunneling. At the end of March 1945, they were evacuated back to the Buchenwald main camp and received there on March 31, 1945. The first leg of their trip back to Buchenwald was by forced march on foot, before they were loaded onto a train in the area of Weimar and taken to the camp. The Kransberg castle and surrounding areas were liberated by American troops in June 1945.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources on the Tannenwald subcamp of Buchenwald. An article by Bernd Vorlaeufer-Germer, "Häftlinge bauten einen Tunnel für Himmler," *FR*, April 12, 2005, provides a short overview of the camp, and much of this entry builds upon this information. Another article by Torsten Weigelt, "Tunnelbau für Himmler and Göring," *FR*, May 11, 2004, also briefly mentions the Tannenwald subcamp as well as the ongoing research efforts of Vorlaeufer-Germer and the Arbeitsgemeinschaft für politische Bildung im Hochtaunuskreis (www.arbeit-und-leben-hochtaunus.de). For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Tannenwald in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. For similar information, see also the Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand, ed., *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945, Hessen I, Regierungsbezirk Darmstadt* (Frankfurt-Bockenheim, 1995).

Primary documentation on the Tannenwald subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections including AG-B. See in particular a collection of transport lists to and from the Tannenwald camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 50, Reel 17. For administrative documentation mentioning the Tannenwald subcamp (a report on prisoner number 769, a skilled worker allocated to Tannenwald but working for the DAW, and work statistic information dated December 1944), see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 210, Fiche 1, and BA Band 8: "Einsatz von Häftlingen zu kriegswichtigen Arbeiten und in kriegswichtigen Betrieben, 1944–945."

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NOTES

1. "Kommando Tannenwald, An die Abteilung I, II, III, IV, V . . . ," Arbeitseinsatz, KZ Buchenwald, December 10, 1944, BA NS-4, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 8, p. 13.
2. "Transport Tannenwald," December 7, 1944, Buchenwald (BU 50) AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17).
3. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.
4. "Kommando Tannenwald, An die Abteilung I, II, III, IV, V . . . ," Arbeitseinsatz, KZ Buchenwald, December 10, 1944, BA NS-4, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 8, p. 13.
5. An den I. Rapportführer des K.L. Buchenwald, January 5, 1945 (BU 50), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17).
6. "Personalaufstellung der zum Konzentrationslager Buchenwald überstellten Häftlinge vom Arb. Kdo., Feldp. Nr. 14441," March 23, 1945 (BU 50), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17).
7. An den I. Rapportführer des K.L. Buchenwald, January 5, 1945 (BU 50), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17). The document is signed by "SS-Uscha. U. Kdo. Führer," but the signature is largely illegible.

TANNRODA

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Tannroda (Thüringen) in 1942 to provide labor to the Mitteldeutsche Papierwerke company in Tannroda. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp was first mentioned in Buchenwald-related records on June 12, 1942, and last mentioned on November 4, 1942. However, a report on the use of labor in Buchenwald dated October 25, 1941, notes that there were 15 unskilled laborers in Tannroda; therefore, the camp

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(or an outlying work detail from Buchenwald) may have existed already in 1941.[1]

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Tannroda subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Tannroda in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

Surviving primary documentation on the Tannroda subcamp is also scarce. For administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), the BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206. The AG-B and AG-MD may contain other relevant documentation.

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NOTE

1. "Einsatz der Berufe im Lager Buchenwald," October 25, 1941, BA NS-4, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206, Fiche 4.

TAUCHA (MEN)

Taucha lies about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) to the east of Leipzig. In the autumn of 1944, the Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) established a male subcamp in Factory II, Freiherr-vom-Stein-Strasse 3a, a few days after a subcamp for women had been opened.

The camp is mentioned for the first time on October, 10, 1944, when around 100 prisoners from Auschwitz II-Birkenau arrived in Taucha. Most of the prisoners in this transport came from Theresienstadt, with a few from Hungary. The men arrived at the same time as a transport of Jewish women. They were held in the camp complex on Wurzner Strasse 33, which was separated from the women's camp with barbed wire. Both the male and female subcamps were about a 30-minute walk from the HASAG factories, where the prisoners worked. The detachment leader of the male camp was SS-Scharführer Schmidt; the Arbeitseinsatzführer was SS-Hauptscharführer Martin. SS-Unterscharführer Langner was also involved in the camp's administration.

Later around 100 prisoners of other nationalities were brought to the camp, including French, Italians, Yugoslavs, Latvians, Poles, Germans, Russians, Swedes, and Slovaks. At the end of October or the beginning of November 1944, the camp reached 700 inmates (the highest number that would be reached) after 500 Danish policemen arrived at the camp. The policemen were used for a short time to construct a railway embankment close to the HASAG, and at the beginning of November, they were returned to the main Buchenwald camp. The loss of labor was compensated for in mid-November with the admission of new prisoners so that the camp strength reached at this time around 400 prisoners. This number would remain largely unchanged until the end of the camp—on March 29, 1945, there were 460 prisoners in the subcamp.

The prisoners worked in Factory III at HASAG where, among other things, they assembled antitank weapons (*Panzerfäuste*) and grenades. The working and living conditions were difficult, a fact supported by the number of illnesses the prisoners suffered, many of which resulted in death. They included tuberculosis, diphtheria, pneumonia, and heart attacks. The subcamp had an infirmary with SS medical orderlies and prisoner doctors and nurses. In the event of serious accidents, HASAG used the factory doctor and a doctor under contract. This suggests that HASAG and the SS, at least to a certain extent, wanted to maintain the valuable, trained workforce but were not interested in a basic, humane use of the prisoners' labor and an improvement in their work and living conditions.

Although contact was not envisaged between the male and female camps, it was tolerated by the camp command. Inmates from both camps could rehearse a New Year's performance and perform several times before the inmates of both camps.

The evacuation of the camp began on April 6, 1945. The prisoners were driven by foot in the direction of Teplitz-Schönau. According to survivors, their treatment along the way by the SS, under the command of SS-Scharführer Trautman, was brutal.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) commenced in 1966 to investigate events in the camp and on the death march. In 1974, the investigations were transferred to the Cologne Central Office, which ceased investigating in 1975 due to a lack of evidence.

SOURCES Charles-Claude Biedermann contributed the article on the Taucha subcamp (male) in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 585–586. Martin Schellenberg in "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271, provides basic information on the role of HASAG in the development and production of the Panzerfaust and on selected HASAG subcamps in the Leipzig region. Klaus Hesse investigated the Third Reich's armaments program during World War II in *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe, ihre militärische Bedeutung, über Gewinne, Gewinner und Verlierer*, pp. 29–63, and Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete, über Zwangsarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene uns KZ-Aussenlager, über gesühnte und ungesühnte Verbrechen, Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–108. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:59; and in "Verzeichnis der

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Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1844.

Archival documents on the Taucha subcamp are to be found in the AG-B, Bestand NS 4 Bu of the BA-K, as well as in the ITS Buchenwald-Bestand. The ZdL investigated the camp under file IV 429 AR-Z 13/74 at BA-L.

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TAUCHA (WOMEN)

Since 1939 the Hugo-Schneider AG (HASAG) had had a factory in Taucha, about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) to the east of Leipzig. In 1939, the company had acquired in Taucha 33 storage buildings in Wurzner Strasse and converted the buildings into a factory for the production of cartridge shells and grenades. Production began in 1940. In the following years German and foreign forced laborers worked in Taucha, as in many other HASAG factories. Klaus Hesse, who has analyzed the armaments industry in the Leipzig region between 1933 and 1945, has connected the imposing increase in the number of HASAG "workforce members" (*Gefolgschaftsmitglieder*) with the increase in armaments production in the Third Reich: during "normal times" the HASAG had 2,000 Gefolgschaftsmitgliedern (according to the chairman of the HASAG supervisory board in a letter from 1943 to the Reich Trustee for Labor for the Saxon Business Region, or Reichstreuhänder für Arbeit für das Wirtschaftsgebiet Sachsen). By the end of 1939 the HASAG had 29,056; by the end of 1941, 43,468; in June 1943, 53,740; and in March 1944, around 64,000. Sixty percent of these workers were foreigners, and many of the forced laborers who slaved for the HASAG—at the end of 1944 it was more than 10,000—were not included in the statistics.

The forced laborers were accommodated mostly in barracks camps. At the beginning of September 1944, another barracks camp was established in the Freiherr-vom-Stein-Strasse in Taucha, which was fenced in with barbed wire and had guard towers. It was planned to hold more than 1,000 female concentration camp prisoners who were to work for the HASAG. After Leipzig-Schönefeld, Schlieben, and Altenburg, Taucha became the fourth female HASAG subcamp. The camp is mentioned for the first time in the Buchenwald files on September 7, 1944, when 500 Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) arrived in the camp. They had originally come from Auschwitz and had ended up in Taucha after traveling via Ravensbrück and the HASAG camps in Schlieben and Altenburg. More female Sinti and Roma were concentrated in Taucha than in any other Buchenwald subcamp. Many of the women worked with poisonous substances, as evidenced by the burns and discolorations on their skin and hair.

At the beginning of September 1944, the new camp leader, SS-Scharführer Schmidt from Buchenwald, arrived in Taucha. Schmidt, whom the women soon began to fear because of his brutality, was in command of 50 SS men and 14 female guards.

Other transports arrived on September 16 and October 6, each with 300 women from Ravensbrück. Just about all of the women were political prisoners from many nations: Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia, Croatia, Lithuania, Poland, Serbia, Bohemia, Moravia, and the United States. On October 10, 400 Jewish women arrived from Auschwitz. They were accompanied by a transport of 100 men, for whose quarters one of the barracks in the women's camp was fenced off with barbed wire.

On October 13, 1944, the commander of the subcamp reported that the camp held 1,371 female and male prisoners including 335 female Gypsies, 400 female Jews, and 536 female "Aryans."

Jews and Sinti and Roma had to work in the most dangerous areas, where they quickly succumbed to the appalling work conditions. Within a month of the camp being founded, 168 women who could no longer work were sent back to Auschwitz, including 149 Sinti and Roma and 19 Jews. There the women were given new prisoner numbers and transferred back to Ravensbrück.

The women in the subcamp had inadequate clothing, and there was an almost complete lack of hygiene. For example, until the end of 1944 there was no washing facility for the women; it was only from December that the women were able to wash themselves and sometimes take a warm shower. It was only in November 1944 that the female prisoner doctor in the camp took up her practice. In these three months, 3 prisoners died and many of them suffered from typhus, diphtheria, tuberculosis, and other illnesses caused by consumption, exhaustion, and malnutrition. In the autumn of 1944, on average 4.5 women were ill each day and confined to quarters, with 177 receiving outpatient treatment. The numbers of women confined to quarters from illness on January 20, 1945, had increased to 177.

In January 1945, the subcamp was placed under new command: SS-Unterscharführer Martin Wagner replaced the camp leader, SS-Scharführer Schmidt. Supported by SS-Untersturmführer Wolfgang Plaul, who was in command of all HASAG subcamps, Wagner demanded that Buchenwald SS-Standortarzt Gerhard Schiedlausky immediately improve the women's medical care. In the following period, there was in fact a small improvement, but the SS was incapable of fundamentally improving the conditions of the women in the last few months of the war due to the general conditions in Germany and the general disinterest of the SS in the prisoners' situation. Toward the end of the camp's existence, 70 women who could no longer work were taken back to Ravensbrück. They were replaced by internal transfers from the HASAG complex of subcamps. Some 100 women arrived in Taucha from Leipzig-Schönefeld on February 28, 1945. A final transport of severely ill women left Taucha a few days before the subcamp was evacuated. 150 women were taken to Bergen-Belsen including 67 Sinti and Roma.

On April 6, 1945, according to the International Tracing Service (ITS), or April 14, 1945, according to historian Irmgard Seidel, the evacuation of the approximately 1,200 women in the camp began. As with prisoners generally in the Leipzig region, the women from Taucha were led in an easterly direction until they reached the Elbe River near Riesa. From there

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they marched south in the direction of Teplice. Many women were able to escape along the way, and many were shot by the SS when they could no longer march. The women were finally liberated by Soviet and U.S. troops when the troops entered the Sudetenland.

Eighty seriously ill women and a few nursing staff remained in the Taucha subcamp. After the SS left the camp, they were guarded by the German Home Guard (Volkssturm) men. The prisoners were liberated a few days later by the U.S. Army.

In 1966 the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) investigated the subcamp and the death march. In 1974, the preliminary results of the investigation were sent to the Central Office in Cologne. Investigations ceased in 1975 due to a lack of evidence.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel contributed the article on the Taucha subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 582–585. Information on the HASAG and its use of prisoners can be found in Martin Schellenberg, "Die 'Schnellaktion Panzerfaust': Häftlinge in den Aussenlagern des KZ Buchenwald bei der Leipziger Rüstungsfirma HASAG," *DaHe* 21 (2005): 237–271; as well as in Klaus Hesse, *1933–1945: Rüstungsindustrie in Leipzig* 2 vols. (Leipzig: Self-published, 2000, 2001), Teil 1, *Eine Dokumentation über die kriegswirtschaftliche Funktion Leipziger Rüstungsbetriebe*, *ihre militärische Bedeutung*, *über Gewinne*, *Gewinner und Verlierer*, pp. 29–64; Teil 2, *Eine Dokumentation über "Arbeitsbeschaffung" durch Rüstung und Dienstverpflichtete*, *über Zwangsarbeiter*, *Kriegsgefangene uns KZ-Aussenlager*, *über gesühnte und ungesühnte Verbrechen*, *Opfer und andere vergessene Erinnerungen*, pp. 99–109.

There are several witness accounts of the Taucha subcamp. Ruth Elias, a survivor who with her future husband, one of the prisoners at the male camp who rehearsed and performed at the New Years' event, published her memoirs under the title *Die Hoffnung hielt mich am Leben* (Munich: VERLAG, 1988). The fate of survivor Nina Schalagina is described in Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oubliées de Buchenwald: 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 85–87. Jeanne Levy-Rosenberg, another survivor, describes her evacuation in the spring of 1945 to Taucha and her one-week stay in the camp before the death march continued in *Durch die Hölle. Von Hoannd durch Auschwitz-Birkenau*, *Ravensbrück*, *Malchow*, *Taucha*, *zurück und nach Israel. Jüdische Schicksale 1944–1949*, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre-Verlag, 2000), p. 116. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:59; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," BGBl. (1977), Teil 1, p. 1844.

The collections of the USHMMA hold several witness documents including oral history interviews with the survivors Ruth Elias [Eliaz] (RG 50–120*0036) and Erna Elerat (RG-50.120*0035). Other archival documents on the subcamp can be seen in the AG-B, collection NS 4 Bu (BA-K), as well as IPN, sygn. 4. Investigations by the ZdL were conducted under reference file IV 429 AR-Z 13/74 and are held at BA-L.

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TONNDORF ("T")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Tonndorf with an initial 6 inmates, possibly as early as August 1941. Sources on the exact opening dates of the camp vary, while some surviving documentation indicates that the camp (or even an outlying work detail [Kommando] from Buchenwald with the same name) existed already in 1938. The Tonndorf camp's code name in related documentation is "T," and the average strength of the subcamp's prisoner population in the years 1944–1945 was about 45 inmates. Located about 5.5 kilometers (3.4 miles) from Bad Berka, the Tonndorf subcamp was created to supply laborers to the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS (Waffen-SS Construction Directorate) B II.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) records, the camp opened either on August 30, 1941, with 5 Buchenwald inmates, or September 27, 1943, with 6 Buchenwald inmates. Correspondence from the SS-Obersturmführer and chief of Bauleitung II to the Buchenwald "protective custody" camp chief (Schutzhaftlagerführer), dated October 3, 1945, details instructions for bringing in food for the "six inmates of the Tonndorf Kommando."[1] By January 13, 1945, there were at least 44 inmates in the camp, and by March 29, 1945, 112, according to ITS. One transport of 40 inmates may have arrived in Berka in mid-March 1945 from the Buchenwald subcamp Abteroda (Thüringen).[2]

The discrepancy in dates may be related to the kind of work the prisoners were assigned to do upon their arrival in Tonndorf. The earlier Kommando (1941) was said to have worked for the Steinbruch Merkel (Merkel quarry), while later work assignments (Kommando numbers 121 and 91) were divided between the Bad Berka-Martynwerke and the Blankenhain Sandgruben (sand pits). The inmates were all male and appear to have been Polish, German, Russian, Czech, and French and/or Belgian.

Some information can be gathered about the earlier Kommando (or possibly subcamp) that was created in 1938, but it is difficult to ascertain whether this group of prisoners was the same as that assigned to the Bauleitung II in 1943. According to work statistics reports on expected labor assignments submitted in September and December 1938, and designated as "outlying work gangs" (*Kolonnen ausserhalb der Postenkette*), a Kommando was sent to Tonndorf to construct a camp in the vicinity of Tonndorf, near Bad Berka, as well as to perform excavation for future irrigation.[3] It is possible that this labor was begun by movable or temporary work Kommandos from Buchenwald and later continued, in part, by the inmates in the more permanent Tonndorf subcamp.

Moreover, according to ITS records, there was a subcamp or Kommando of Tonndorf called Bad Berka. It is noted

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briefly in March 1945 that there were two transports from Buchenwald to Berka, the second of which also saw inmates transferred to Blankenhain (and one of which may have originated from the subcamp in Abteroda).[4]

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Tonndorf subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Tonndorf in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records.

Surviving primary documentation on the Tonndorf subcamp is also limited. For administrative documentation mentioning the Tonndorf subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4), BA, as copied in the USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 170, 209. See also a collection of prisoner lists in the Tonndorf camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 50, Reel 17. Other documentation may be found in the AG-B.

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NOTES

1. "Verpflegung für Häftlinge Kommando Tonndorf," Weimar-Buchenwald, October 3, 1943, BA NS-4, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 209.
2. "Transport Berka," Buchenwald, March 17, 1945 (BU 44), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.
3. "Bericht der Arbeitsstatistik uber: Voraussichtliche Arbeitsplatze der beweglichen Kolonnen am 3. September 1938" and "Bericht der Arbeitsstatistik uber: Voraussichtliche Arbeitsplatze der beweglichen Kolonnen am 9. September 1938," Buchenwald, BA NS-4, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 170.
4. "Transport Berka," KL Buchenwald, March 17, 1945 (40 inmates) (BU 50), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17). See also "Transport Tonndorf," KL Buchenwald, ca. March 2, 1945 (25 inmates to Bad Berka) (BU 50), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (Reel 17).

TORGAU

The city of Torgau is on the Elbe River to the northeast of Leipzig. Until 1945, it was part of the Prussian province of Saxony. A Buchenwald subcamp was established in Torgau with the arrival of a transport of 500 prisoners from Ravensbrück on September 4, 1944. The women were mostly French political prisoners—according to a survivor, two-thirds of them were members of the French resistance. There were also in the transport 3 Americans, 3 Britons, 3 Swiss, 2 Italians, 2 stateless persons, a Belgian, a Dane, a Pole, and a Russian, all of whom had been arrested in France. Most of the women wore their civilian clothes, which had been marked with a large cross sewn on in a conspicuous color so as to clearly identify the women as prisoners.

The prisoners worked in the army ammunitions facility or Heeresmunitionsanstalt (Heeresmuna) Torgau, which reported to the Heeresfeldzeugkommando Kassel. This structure might explain why the camp leader, Karl Weinhold, Stabsfeldwebel of the Wehrmacht, was transferred to Torgau where he became an SS-Oberscharführer. As part of his new assignment, Weinhold became a member of the Waffen-SS; prior to this, he had been a member of neither the SS nor the Nazi Party. Prisoners describe Weinhold as a "humane" camp leader. Under his command, the prisoners were not beaten, and there were no draconian punishments. Survivor Rachel Kaufmann, on the other hand, has described how after an escape attempt by a female inmate all the prisoners had their rations temporarily reduced to one-third as punishment. In light of the weakened condition of the prisoners, this must be seen as a draconian punishment. Twenty-five female overseers arrived with the prisoners. They had worked in local industries and had been sent to Ravensbrück for a short training course.

The camp was surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire fence. It consisted of a brick building and several wooden barracks in which the prisoners were accommodated as well as an infirmary, kitchen barracks, tailor, and a wash building, which only had cold water. The camp was connected to the Heeresmunitionsanstalt by a path through a field.

The women worked in two shifts. They produced bombs and grenades as well and cleaned unexploded ordnance. The last of these activities was extremely dangerous: the prisoners had to scratch residue from the inside of the ordnance and then clean it in an acidic bath. While the women were given rubber aprons, their hands and faces were not protected, with the result that the chemicals damaged their skin and lungs. Already in September 1944, two prisoners died and several fell ill from tuberculosis. The camp was dissolved after one month, with one-half of the women being transported to the Abteroda subcamp on October 2, 1944, and the other half being returned on October 5, 1944, to Ravensbrück. Only eight French women remained in the camp and were given the Buchenwald prisoner numbers 37668 to 37675.

The second phase of the camp's history began on November 18, 1944, with the arrival of 250 Hungarian Jews. Most of these women came from Carpatho-Ukraine and Siebenbürgen and had been living in ghettos and camps from May–June 1944. They were taken finally to Germany via Auschwitz. Many of the women were related. Kaufmann, who was taken to Torgau with a transport from Bergen-Belsen, described in her memoirs that she and her fellow prisoners could not work for two weeks: they were so undernourished that they first had to be fed before they could work. They received daily bread, margarine, jam, sometimes sausage, and twice daily soup. According to Kaufmann, the prisoners were surprised by the clean accommodations (each block had its own canteen and dormitory), by their being allowed to sing and organize cultural events, and by the friendly and cooperative approach of the block elders.

Other prisoners have described the working and living conditions as more debilitating: the barracks swarmed with lice and other bugs; there was only warm water once a week;

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and as soon as the women began to work, the food diminished in quantity: the women were given soup only while they worked and bread once a week. The women wore dark green overalls (other sources say dark blue) and wooden clogs while working in the munitions factory. They worked in day and night shifts and, according to Kaufmann, were assigned tasks on the basis of their hand sizes: women with large hands transported munitions by pulling and pushing wagons between the individual factory buildings; women with smaller hands assembled munitions and did precision work with a variety of munitions that were produced in Torgau. Relations with the German workers can only be described as complex: officially there was a ban on contact, and it seems that many workers did in fact ignore the prisoners. Kaufmann, however, relates cases of contact and support but also of shift foremen who screamed at the prisoners and beat them.

From March 1945, as a result of the lack of supplies and the approach of the Allied troops, work ceased in individual departments. Some women were now used to drag boxes of dynamite into underground bunkers in the forests around Torgau. Food became even more scarce.

There are two accounts of the end of the Torgau subcamp: historian Irmgard Seidel states that at the beginning of April the guards and female overseers disappeared, and the commander left the women to themselves. While the women remained at night in the camp, during the day they searched for food in the vicinity of the camp and thus were discovered by U.S. troops. This probably happened after April 10, 1945 (ITS puts the date for the camp's liberation as April 26, 1945). The camp leader Weinhold was arrested. The women then set off for Leipzig, where U.S. medical units cared for them, while others made their way home.

Kaufmann, on the other hand, states that the women were evacuated at the beginning of April in goods wagons. The women were given bread but no water. Along the way, the train was attacked by Allied bombers, killing prisoners. Kaufmann and five other female prisoners were able to get through to Berlin but cannot recall when and how the accompanying soldiers disappeared.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) commenced the investigation into acts of violence in the camp in 1966. No brutal acts could be proven, and as the former camp leader, Weinhold, had died in 1966, the investigations ceased.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel contributed the entry on the Torgau subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 590–592. Statements by the survivor Rachel Kaufmann are to be found in Gerda and Manfred Struck and Christina Mulolli, eds., *Rachels Erinnerungen: Ghetto Lodz—Auschwitz—Bergen-Belsen—Torgau* (Bonn: Gegen Vergessen—Für Demokratie e.V., 2002). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:60; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1845.

Investigations by the ZdL are filed under file IV 429 AR-Z 1941/66 at BA-L.

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TRÖGLITZ [ALSO REHMSDORF, GLEINA] [AKA WILLE]

The Allies bombed the Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brabag) oil refineries on May 12 and 28, 1944, including the refinery at Tröglitz near Zeitz, where petroleum was derived from brown coal. The removal of the damage was slow, with the result that the Brabag commenced negotiations with the SS to use prisoners for this work. On June 4, the Buchenwald concentration camp transported the first prisoners to Tröglitz—an advanced detachment of 200 Dutch prisoners. They were accommodated in an inn at Gleina.

Until the dissolution of the camp at the beginning of April 1945, the prisoners were accommodated in three locations within the village district so that the camp is known under different names.[1] At the beginning, the prisoners lived in the village of Gleina; later, in a tent camp in Tröglitz near the Brabag factory; and from January 1, 1945, in a brick barracks camp in Rehmsdorf. The improvised camps at Gleina and Tröglitz existed simultaneously until the Gleina camp was dissolved in November 1944. All three locations were to the east of the small city of Zeitz, which later was in Sachsen-Anhalt, and to the south of Halle-an-der-Salle. The camps were initially constructed by Brabag and later by the Organisation Todt (OT), but with such haste that they remained incomplete so that the prisoners suffered from an acute shortage of space. There was a lack of toilets, washing facilities had not been properly thought through or were lacking, and there was no drainage system. Buchenwald SS-Standortarzt Gerhard Schiedlausky determined that there was a high risk of infection in the camp at Tröglitz and demanded that Brabag improve the prisoners' living conditions. The demand was prompted by economic considerations alone. The prisoners were sent to a public hospital in Zeitz for delousing before some of them, on their own initiative at the beginning of 1945, began the construction of a disinfection facility.

The SS named the camp after the cooperative Brabag factory manager, "Wille." It was the first Buchenwald subcamp that held Jewish prisoners. In comparison with other Buchenwald subcamps, it also held the largest number of Jewish prisoners. Characteristic of the camp was the murderous construction work that the prisoners had to perform, the high death rate, and the large fluctuation in prisoner numbers. Between Buchenwald and Tröglitz there developed a regular commuter traffic: sick and dying prisoners were exchanged for new prisoners; individual prisoner-functionaries traveled regularly back and forth to the main camp.

Between June 11 and September 8, 1944, the SS transported another 5,197 prisoners to the camp, mostly Hungarian Jews. There were also a few Czechs, Poles, Ukrainians,

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Rumanians, Belgians, French, Latvians, and Germans in the camp. The Jews, who included the writer Imre Kertész, had been deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau in May 1944 and then had been chosen for forced labor within Germany. From here they were transferred to Germany. The Brabag, which owned three other factories in Böhlen near Leipzig, Magdeburg/Rothensee, and Schwarzheide, used the prisoners exclusively for building and clearing work. The prisoners had to unload building materials, repair roads and railways, dig out damaged pipe and cable networks, and disarm unexploded ordnance. In so doing, German technicians could quickly rebuild the complicated chemical factory. The heavy building work and a mixture of violence and killings caused the prisoners to be completely exhausted within a few weeks. If a prisoner died on the Brabag site, they were often disposed of with the building rubble.[2]

The German war machine was heavily reliant on its own production of petroleum. Albert Speer, the minister for armaments, secured the production of petroleum as a result of the Allied bombardment. With Hitler's permission he instigated on May 30, 1944, the Geilenberg Program. Edmund Geilenberg, one of his most capable staff members, was put in charge of the program. Brabag was classified as an extremely important war industry and from no later than July 1944 worked closely with the Geilenberg staff. As a result, Brabag gained easier access to prisoners. The Armaments Ministry financed the reconstruction costs and the costs of the prisoners. Geilenberg and leading Brabag managers ruthlessly drove the construction work and with great urgency so that the prisoners' situation deteriorated.

In the summer of 1944, weakened and injured prisoners were transported several times from the subcamp to Buchenwald; on September 23 there was a transport of 996 prisoners. The majority were selected in Buchenwald and on October 3, 1944, transported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, where they were murdered. On November 23, 1,000 prisoners were transported to Buchenwald, 2 of whom died on the way. Five hundred prisoners were transported on November 27 to the Berga-Elster subcamp (code name "Schwalbe V"), where they had to excavate caverns for the proposed subterranean relocation of the Tröglitz factory. Fifty prisoners were immediately selected by the SS command in Berga and transported on to Buchenwald, because they were no longer capable of working. On February 6, 1945, the SS filled the gap and deported 1,175 prisoners from Buchenwald to the subcamp, which in the meantime had been relocated to Rehmsdorf. The prisoners were mostly Poles, who probably had been sent from Auschwitz to Buchenwald between January 20 and 23. On the same day, the Rehmsdorf camp SS selected 618 exhausted prisoners and transported them back to the main camp. The prisoners were killed in the following days in Block 59 by injections. On March 9, 1945, another 554 exhausted prisoners were selected in Rehmsdorf and sent to the Bergen-Belsen camp.

According to available information, there were a total of 6,641 prisoners in Tröglitz/Rehmsdorf who were forced to work.[3] Some 3,974 were selected and transported to other camps, of whom 2,000 were sent to death camps. According to SS administration files, at least 733 prisoners died in the subcamp. Of these, the SS had 658 cremated in the city crematoria in Gera, Altenburg, and Weissenfels. Indications that the Rehmsdorf prisoners were buried in mass graves at nearby Mumsdorf remain unconfirmed. Another 788 prisoners died on various transports or shortly after their arrival in Buchenwald in Block 59. The death march, which the remaining prisoners were driven on in April 1945, resulted in at least 934 deaths. In Reitzenhain on the German/Czech border, there was a massacre when low-flying Allied fighters attacked the prisoners' train. The survivors fled into a nearby forest where they were hunted and seized by SS units, members of the local Nazi Party, SA, Hitler Youth, and local Reitzenhain citizens. There was a bloodbath as the armed hunters killed 388 prisoners. The survivors reached Theresienstadt on April 21, 1945. Less than a quarter of the Rehmsdorf prisoners survived the Holocaust in Rehmsdorf and the other murder sites.

Rudolf Kenn, a long-serving member of the Buchenwald camp SS, was in charge of the SS guards at the subcamp. Seventy-seven percent of the guards were Wehrmacht soldiers who had been transferred in 1944 from the army and the Luftwaffe to the SS.[4] None of them were called to account after the war for crimes committed in the Wille subcamp. Only a prisoner, the camp elder Hans Wolf, was sentenced to death in 1946 in the U.S. Army's Dachau trial for his brutality.

Contact between the prisoners and the local population was ambivalent. To be sure the local Nazi Party advised the villagers of the establishment of the camp and prohibited any contact with the prisoners. Nevertheless, there were many areas of contact. Prisoners worked on the construction sites with German tradesmen and Brabag employees. Prisoners also repaired private houses in the surrounding villages that had been damaged by air raids. Sick and wounded prisoners were taken to the Brabag clinic and treated by a doctor from Zeitz. The prisoners' corpses were examined by a local doctor. In addition, the state authorities were also occupied with the camp: the Merseburg Regierungspräsident was informed about all construction activity, and the registry office and the Gera cemetery argued with the SS about the correct method to register and cremate dead prisoners.

The Brabag engineers who were in charge of the construction work were put in charge by the camp SS and were extremely well informed. Even a member of the board, Heinrich Bütefisch, inspected the prisoners' work. After the end of the war, Brabag denied any responsibility for the prisoners and rejected all claims for compensation by former prisoners.[5] After Bütefisch had been convicted in the IG Farben trial, he was awarded the Federal German Service Cross (Bundesverdienstkreuz) in 1964 by Federal President Heinrich Lübke. After public protests, Lübke had to recall the award.

SOURCES This article is based on Franka Bindernagel and Tobias Bütow's book *Ein KZ in der Nachbarschaft: Das Magdeburger Aussenlager der Brabag und der "Freundeskreis Himmler,"* 2nd ed. (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004). The camp was researched

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for the first time by the East Berlin Colloquium under Professor Walter Bartel. The resulting article, which was never published, is to be found at YV. Also important is the work by Lothar Czossek, *Vernichtung, Auftrag und Vollendung. Dokumentation über das Aussenlager Rehmsdorf des KZ Buchenwald* (Rehmsdorf: Heimatverein, 1997).

Primary documentation for this camp can be found in AG-B, YVA, and the Nuremberg Trials. Additional information on the camp staff may be found in BA-L, 429 AR-Z 156/ 71. On Brabag's compensation cases, see LA-B, Rep. 39/ Nr. 27/1–3. Imre Kertész published his memoirs in *Roman eines Schicksallosen*, 6th ed. (Berlin: Rowohlt, 2002); as did survivor Michael Rozenek in "*Wie wird es einmal enden?* (Weimar: Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, 1990). Other survivors' reports are to be found in the local museum at Rehmsdorf, Lothar Czossek, as well as in YV. For details on the Geilenberg Program, see the Franka Bindernagel and Tobias Bütow essay "Ingenieure als Täter, Die 'Geilenberg-Lager' und die Delegation von Macht," in *Lagersystem und Repräsentation: Interdiziplinäre Studien zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager*, ed. Ralph Gabriel et al., (Tübingen: Edition Diskord, 2004).

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. There are various accounts on the date the camp was dissolved: Lothar Czossek puts the date as April 6 and 7, Walter Bartel, April 12 and 13. The SS Buchenwald documents cease from April 1 and do not mention the dissolution of the camp.
2. Report by Kurt Lenzner, 1979, AG-B, 62–54–1, AL Brabag/Zeitz.
3. All the dates on the prisoner transport and the number of dead have been gathered from the AG-B and YVA. The numbers that Lothar Czossek derived from prisoner reports have not all been confirmed. AG-B, NS 4 Bu/ 136b und 230; 4–46–1-18/ Stärkemeldungen; NS 4/136a; Filme Nr. 18a und 26; Häftlingsnummernkartei.
4. BA-L (formerly ZdL), 429 AR-Z 156/ 71.
5. LA-B, Rep. 39/ Nr. 27/1–3.

UNNA

A subcamp of Buchenwald was created in Unna (Westfalen province) in July 1943 to provide inmate labor to the 5th SS-Korps-Nachrichten-Abteilung, which was stationed in Unna. They were assigned to work for the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei (Construction Directorate of the Waffen-SS and Police).

The camp's population did not fluctuate greatly during its seven-month operation. The first transport of 50 inmates was deported to Unna on July 24 or 26, 1943.[1] Most of the inmates on this transport were Poles, with a smaller number of "asocial" prisoners. All of the inmates were men. Additional transports from Buchenwald were sent to the Unna subcamp in the following months: on August 9, 8 inmates; September 22, 5 inmates; October 13, 5 inmates; and December 2, 2 or 3 inmates.[2] The inmates were most likely housed in an old brick factory near the SS barracks on Iserlohner Strasse.

The Unna subcamp was last noted in related records on February 29, 1944, with 50 prisoners. The camp may have been closed and evacuated on March 3, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Unna subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald / Unna in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (Unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). See also K.-G. Klietmann's *Die Waffen-SS: Eine Dokumentation* (Osnabrück: Verlag "Der Freiwillige" GmbH, [1965]) for brief description and breakdowns of the structure and locations of SS units. [Note that this Order of Battle was published by the Waffen-SS veterans organization.]

Surviving primary documentation on the Unna subcamp is also limited. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the Unna camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 50, Reel 17.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

NOTES

1. "Transport Unna," K.L. Buchenwald, July 24/26, 1943 [exact date illegible] (BU 50), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.
2. See transport lists to Unna, K.L. Buchenwald, August 9, 1943; September 22, 1943; October 13, 1943; and December 2, 1943; (BU 50), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.

WANSLEBEN ("MF," "WILHELM," "BIBER II") [AKA MANSFELD]

During the course of the war, the production facilities in the Third Reich were increasingly affected by growing Allied air superiority. The ability to preserve the manufacturing capabilities for important war products became increasingly difficult. Allied air raids became more and more precise and were directed at the most important industrial facilities, such as aircraft manufacturers, which could scarcely sustain any more damage. At the beginning of 1944, Hitler decided that the most important factories should go underground. Disused mines with their kilometer-long (0.6-mile-long) tunnels were ideal for this purpose. However, there were not as many mines as were needed. In order to meet the demands of the Führer, additional bomb-safe facilities had to be created. They either had to be located in underground facilities, which had not been used before, or in above-ground buildings, which had to be built. These building and production plans demanded an enormous labor supply.

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The subcamp Wansleben, which opened in January 1944, was a small part in this ambitious, urgent plan. It was located not far from Buchenwald.[1] The SS chose this location for male prisoners using the requisite guidelines. It was an unused potassium mine, Einsatz Kalliwerk Georgi in Wansleben am See, for which an underground Junkers factory was planned. The underground facilities were code-named "Wilhelm" and "Biber II." Other names associated with the camp included "MF" and Mansfeld. Documents held by the International Tracing Service (ITS) mention the camp for the first time on March 13, 1944, in a transport document from Buchenwald, which lists a transport of 50 male inmates from Buchenwald to Wilhelm.[2] These inmates were predominantly political Polish and Russian inmates. A handwritten notation "A VI" indicates with the letter *A* the planning proposal and with the number *VI* the order in which the project would be realized. It signifies that this operation fell under the program of the SS-Leadership Staff (Führungsstaab) A6. The SS command, responsible for the use of prisoners in the subcamp in the development of the mine, was known as "A VI." From the beginning of April, the detachment was known by several names. On March 15, 1944, the first reference to the use of 300 prisoners appears.[3] Until February 1945, there is documentary evidence to support the use of labor by this subcamp. The highest number of prisoners, 844, is recorded in December 1944.

There are other names that appear in the documents and refer to the use of prisoners in the production process. On July 26 1944, the company Christian Mansfeld GmbH ("Georgi-Mine") is mentioned with 50 prisoners. Prisoners transferred from here on August 24, 1944, and November 13, 1944, are recorded as working for the "Arbeitsgemeinschaft Biber II." Other firms to use this name were:

- The Kali-Werk Georgi (only for the duration of the war); the firm Christian Mansfeld GmbH Leipzig was the sole shareholder. Prisoners were used until March 1945. On January 15, 1945, there were 1,140 prisoners. This was the highest number.
- The company M. Wagner, which from November 1, 1944, used 281 prisoners. A further reference to the use of labor from March 1945 is still available. On November 27, 1944, there were 306 prisoners, the highest number for this company.

A letter dated June 11, 1944, from the work detachment "A 6 Wansleben am See" to the labor head at the main camp with reference to the exchange of prisoners shows the importance of the use of prisoner labor. The use of every prisoner was vital. For this reason, there had to be an exchange of sick for healthy prisoners. In certain cases, prisoners were put in the infirmary.[4] There were even measures taken against flies and fleas so as to preserve hygiene.

Former inmate Pierre Bourlier has recorded some details about the living and working conditions within the Wansleben subcamp.[5] Deported to the camp in October 1944, he reported that the inmates experienced constant hunger. "The work was nothing, the beatings nothing major, the lack of sleep nothing, the discomfort nothing, the vermin an accident, but the hunger never failed to remind us of our condition." Hunger reached obsessive proportions, and with the arrival of more and more prisoners at Wansleben, rations diminished increasingly.

According to Bourlier, the workday began at 4:00 A.M. for the inmates, who were wakened brutally by the block leader (Blockführer). Prior to being sent to work, roll calls lasted for hours, and according to Bourlier, the commandant himself delivered blows to the assembled inmates. Work in the underground factory was harsh due to the high temperatures, artificial blinding light, and thick dust. Shifts left for the underground factory every 12 hours, and inmates were used to transport and install machinery. Once these were installed, they were assigned to more "skilled" labor in production. Bourlier has noted that there were attempts by the controllers to pass through defective parts to production; however, this was difficult as the assembly process was monitored closely. One chemical engineer, a Hungarian prisoner, was beaten and humiliated in front of the Kommando for accepting 200 unusable pieces. According to Bourlier, these kinds of punishments were not rare.[6]

From the transport and admission lists, it is possible to determine the nationalities of the prisoners. There were Albanians, Belgians, Danes, Germans, French, Greeks, Italians, Yugoslavians, Croats, Latvians, Lithuanians, Dutch, Poles, Portuguese, Russians, Serbs, Spaniards, Czechs, Hungarians, and stateless prisoners. It is also possible to ascertain their last places of detention before Wansleben. They were Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Flossenbürg, Gross-Rosen, Neuengamme, and Sachsenhausen.

SS-Obersturmführer Kurt Mathesius was the first commander of the camp; he was followed by SS-Sturmscharführer (Christian name, Hermann?) Helbig. Public executions took place in Wansleben in a factory hall, which was next to the salt factory. The prisoners, under the threat of being beaten, were forced to watch the executions.[7] On April 6, 1945, a few days before the camp was evacuated, SS-Untersturmführer Göbecke, commander of the SS-Staff A VI, sent a courier to Buchenwald to ascertain what was to be done when the enemy appeared.

The Wansleben detachment was evacuated on April 11–12, 1945.[8] On April 14, 1945, the American army occupied the village of Hinsdorf and freed the detachment. Soon after liberation, the Hinsdorf villagers reported details of the evacuation transport. The evacuation transport is said to have gone through Angersdorf, Zöberitz, Nienberg, Weissandt-Gölzau, Arensdorf, Köthen, and Quellendorf. According to contemporary statements, the victims of the evacuation are buried with respect in the cemetery in Köthen. The number is not known.

SOURCES Documents from the time of the subcamp were most useful. The documents are prisoner lists, employer requests, strength reports of the detachments, and documents

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that enable the chronology of the detachment to be determined. These documents also form a record group in the USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0045, a collection copied from the AN-MACVG and originating from the ITS (see especially BU 50 for files pertaining to Wansleben).

The article is also based on information in secondary sources. See, for example, Thomas Fickenwirth et al., *Fremd- und Zwangsarbeit im Raum Leipzig 1939–1945: Archivalisches Spezialinventar* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2004). Both David A. Hackett's *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995) and Walter Bartel's *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983) provide overviews of the Buchenwald camp system.

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NOTES

1. Stefanie Endlich et al., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999), p. 595.
2. ITS, Bad Arolsen (Collection: Buchenwald 318 [4–9]).
3. ITS, Bad Arolsen (Collection: Buchenwald 52 [382 R]).
4. ITS, Bad Arolsen (Collection: Buchenwald 338 [4]).
5. Pierre Bourlier, "Buchenwald Matricule 76888," unpub. paper, available at http://eisenbei.club.fr/buchenwald_matricule_76888.html.
6. Ibid.
7. "Transcripts 22. Januar 1946–4. Februar 1946," in *Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof, Nürnberg 14. November 1945–1. Oktober 1946*, (Munich: Dephin Verlag, 1984) 6: 278.
8. Bourlier also describes extensively one account of the evacuation march and liberation en route by American troops.

WEFERLINGEN ("GAZELLE")

The Weferlingen subcamp (code name "Gazelle"), located in today's Gardelegen district not far from Helmstedt, is first mentioned in the files of the Buchenwald concentration camp on August 22, 1944. At this time, 505 male prisoners were sent in the direction of Weferlingen, located in the Prussian province of Saxony, to prepare underground caverns for the relocation of armaments facilities. In the "Gerhard" mine near Walsbeck, whose site office was located in Weferlingen, Brüssing Nutzkraftwagen AG and its suppliers had already begun to relocate their production facilities by early 1944. At first the prisoners were housed in tents near the mine, on the Buchberg. Later, some of them were accommodated in barracks in Gralsleben (other sources say in nearby Walsbeck near Helmstedt). The remainder of the subcamp prisoners worked underground and were accommodated there: the prisoners slept in bunk beds that were located in the mine's tunnels.

The prisoners were used to extend the caverns, to prepare them for the installation of the machines, and to transport the machines. The construction project company Gerhard, Weferlingen, the infrastructure development company Dallmann (Westfalen), Büssing AG, and Niedersächsische Motorenwerke are named by the International Tracing Service (ITS) as employers of the prisoners. The prisoners have described the working conditions as extraordinarily difficult. Almost weekly the sick, exhausted, and those incapable of working were returned to Buchenwald to be replaced by healthier Buchenwald prisoners. In this way the total number of prisoners in the subcamp remained constant, between 440 and 460; a strength report (*Stärkemeldung*) dated October 28, 1944, lists 472 laborers for the Weferlingen subcamp, and one dated April 11, 1945, puts the number at 449. As Frank Baranowski in his essay on the Weferlingen subcamp states, the subcamp prisoners comprised around two-thirds of the approximately 650 laborers working at the construction site.

Despite the harsh exploitation of the camp inmates' labor, the construction did not proceed as quickly as planned. It was only at the end of January 1945 that the first production sites commenced operation. Most likely, concentration camp inmates were used here for the production of engines for submarines, aircraft, and high-speed boats.

Werferlingen was one of the Buchenwald subcamps that was not evacuated. Baranowski thinks that this probably had something to do with a decision of the camp's commandant who refused to obey an order from the Buchenwald main camp to evacuate the camp. According to Baranowski, the camp was liberated by Allied troops on April 12, 1945. On the other hand, the ITS gives April 14, 1945, as the date the camp was liberated. This date is based on a statement given by a prisoner.

SOURCES A detailed description of the Weferlingen subcamp by Frank Baranowski is in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 599–602. References to the Weferlingen subcamp are to be found in the exhibition catalog Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, ed., *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald* (Berlin [West], 1990), p. 104; in Emil Carlebach, Willy Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald: Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 2000), p. 139; as well as in Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald, 1992). This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:61; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1848.

References to the Weferlingen subcamp are to be found in a variety of original documents. Transport and transfer lists of the Gazelle camp are to be found in NARA, RG 242, Film 26, pp. 16848–16855, 16860. The subcamp's Bestandsliste and Stärkemeldungen are located in the AG-B, collections 46–1-18 and 46–1-20. SS Forderungsnachweise for prisoners in Weferlingen are held in the BA-B, Bestand All. Proz. 2/Nie

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4185 (n.p.). Documents relating to the underground work are held in AOCZ, Bestand VS85-III (n.p.).

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WEIMAR (*GUSTLOFF WERKE I AND II*)

Although numerous outlying prisoner and forced labor work Commandos hired out for SS and private firms dotted the landscape of Weimar and its vicinity during World War II, the firm that exploited the most inmate labor was the Gustloff-Werke I (the so-called Fritz-Sauckel-Werk, or FSW, also known as Gustloff Weimar), for which a work Kommando was established on February 16, 1942, to produce carbines. The exact location of the Kommando or subcamp for Gustloff I could not be determined; it may have been a separate camp in or around Suhl, or production may have been issued from a barracks within Buchenwald itself prior to the construction of Gustloff II.

After lengthy negotiations between the SS and Gustloff, a second Gustloff factory (Gustloff-Werke II or Gustloff II Buchenwald) was established in the eastern part of the Buchenwald camp in March 1943, after about a year and a half of construction, which also used inmate labor from Buchenwald. Construction on Gustloff II was slated to begin on July 13, 1942, by Hans Kammler's SS-Building Brigades, according to correspondence between Oswald Pohl and Heinrich Himmler in the spring of that year.[1] Technical planning for Gustloff II was left to the responsibility of the Gustloff firm, including design of the factory space. The Gustloff firm owned the machinery and supervised its installation. Production in Gustloff II soon lagged behind the envisioned target goal of 75,000 carbine pieces due to construction delays and labor allocation errors. In time, the Gustloff firm in Buchenwald would be transformed to produce machine guns and other automatic assault weapons, a technical shift that slowed production even further and caused Himmler great dissatisfaction.

Before it was appropriated by Gauleiter of Thüringen and engineer Fritz Sauckel in 1935, the Gustloff-Werke firm was originally known as the Suhler Waffen- und Fahrzeugwerk (Suhler Weapons and Vehicle Works), founded by Jewish brothers Löb and Moses Simson in 1856. The Simson's firm had been the only Jewish-owned firm to receive contracts from the German army after the Treaty of Versailles. After having the firm's owners arrested by 1935, the firm was "aryanized." Sauckel renamed the company after Wilhelm Gustloff, a Swiss Nazi who was shot in Bern in February 1936 by a Jewish student named David Frankfurter. The director of Gustloff was Fritz Walther.

One of the Armaments Ministry's pilot projects to incorporate industry into the concentration camps, the use of concentration camp inmate labor from Buchenwald in Gustloff I stemmed from an agreement between the SS and the directorship of Gustloff. Inmates were "rented" at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per day per skilled laborer and 4 RM per day per unskilled laborer.[2] Likewise, the cost of inmate labor in Gustloff II was the same.[3] The inmates were to be used in the production of infantry vehicles, gun barrels, carbines, tools, and other munitions. According to transport lists to and from the Gustloff Weimar camp, there were several national groups represented by the prisoners: Russians, Poles, Czechs, French, Dutch, and Germans. The camp held political prisoners, so-called asocials, *Berufsverbrecher* (professional criminals), and Jews—all were male.[4]

In July 1942, construction on Gustloff II began, and the complex would consist of 13 plant halls in the immediate vicinity of the camp. Eleven halls were to be used for armaments production for Gustloff, and 2 halls would be assigned to "Mittelbau," which would produce control modules for V-2 (vengeance) weaponry. The SS described the construction efforts as Project X, and in a Kommando of the same name, inmates were assigned to build the halls. Until construction was completed, carbine production for Gustloff already set up in barracks (the exact location of which is unknown—it may have been within the Buchenwald camp itself) was continued. In the spring of 1943, after the completion of the first 8 work halls, Gustloff II began to absorb some production capability. In addition to carbines, automatic assault weapons and parts were to be manufactured; accordingly, the number of inmates assigned increased. In March 1942, 163 inmates worked in the Gustloff I barracks, and in June 1943, the number amounted to 1,088 in Gustloff II.[5] By July 1944 the number of people assigned to Gustloff I and II climbed to 4,824 inmates, plus 2,268 foreign slave laborers and 1,074 German workers and staff.

Work in Gustloff I and II was very difficult for the inmates. Shifts lasted between 10 and 12 hours and were divided between day and night. Work was performed from Monday to Saturday. Inmates faced strict disciplinary measures and supervision. According to guidelines issued by the commandant of Buchenwald, Hermann Pister, in November 1943, and enforced by the directors of the factory, each prisoner was to be judged according to his efficiency in terms of his output as a worker. Anyone who did

Prisoners work at the Gustloff-Werke munitions plant near Buchenwald concentration camp, 1943.
USHMM WS # 85867, COURTESY OF AG-B

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not reach his assigned quota by the end of the week was to be punished or suffer from a withdrawal of rations. Conversation at the work area was not allowed, and anyone found not working according to the described guidelines was to be severely punished.[6] Mieczysław Makowski, who was assigned to work at Gustloff-Werke, recalled his days in Gustloff and working in the Kommandos: "A blur of mud and dirt, oil flowing from the broken machinery in the bombed plant which we were supposed to clean up, incessant shouts of the *Kapos* and the enraged SS, the swooshing sounds of the whips, and sporadic pistol shots or machine gun burst from the watch towers remind me that the end could be near indeed, and perhaps not in the way I would like."[7]

Contact between the prisoners and the German and other workers within the factory was strictly prohibited, although there were interactions. Generally the civilian workers were ambivalent toward the inmates; however, there were some examples of individual assistance provided to the inmates. For example, one worker named Karl Werner intervened on behalf of four inmates who were slated to be transferred to Dora. Other workers went out of their way to report inmates of suspected sabotage or idleness, which resulted in their immediate punishment. Inmates also recall being beaten by the German masters and foremen. Former prisoner Heinz Gross reported that acts of sabotage, either through organized poor construction in certain stages of the manufacture process, using the wrong material to produce certain tools, or through sheer underproduction, were frequent at Gustloff-Werke. According to Gross, sabotage was possible due to the lack of technical knowledge of the civilian masters, engineers, and other supervisory personnel in the factory.[8]

Transports of inmates to the Gustloff subcamp from Buchenwald were frequent. Inmates who were too ill or physically exhausted to work were sent to the infirmary (*Revier*) of Buchenwald, where they generally perished. The frequency and number of inmates transferred to the Buchenwald infirmary over the camp's three-year operation are evidence of the terrible living and working conditions within the camp.[9]

The commandant of the Gustloff camp was SS-Oberscharführer Peter Merker. From a report dated January 31, 1945, by the SS garrison doctor Schiedlausky, there were 2,350 inmates in Gustloff I. The SS medic assigned to the camp was named Wilhelm, and there were 49 guard troops in the camp, according to the report.[10] Prisoner reports on the brutal treatment and arbitrary murder by the SS are plentiful. Max Pabst reported that he observed SS Sergeant Schmidt's sadistic treatment of prisoners: shooting prisoners at point-blank range due to his irritation with them, drowning another inmate in a water-filled container, and torturing a young Russian prisoner who he caught eating tree bark out of desperate hunger.[11]

On August 24, 1944, the installations at Gustloff II were almost completely destroyed during an intense Allied bombing.[12] Inmates were forced to remain at their assigned workplaces during the 15-minute bombardment. At least 315 inmates died, 525 were severely wounded, and at least 900 others injured less severely. Armaments production in Gustloff II was handicapped considerably. Gustloff I was also bombed on February 9, 1945, also hindering production. In this attack, 91

Prisoners clearing damage at the Gustloff-Werke II munitions plant near Buchenwald, following the August 24, 1944, U.S. bombing raid.
USHMM WS # 85869, COURTESY OF AG-B

German workers and 93 slave laborers and Ostarbeiter (Eastern European workers) were killed, as well as 300 inmates, with at least as many wounded.

Most likely inmates working for the Gustloff complex were absorbed into the Buchenwald main camp by April 1945 and were either evacuated earlier or liberated on April 11, 1945.

One guard from the Weimar subcamp, Bernhard Rakers, was tried in Osnabrück in connection with his maltreatment of prisoners in Gustloff and elsewhere. He received a life sentence plus 15 years.[13]

SOURCES Several secondary sources provide information about the Weimar subcamp of Buchenwald. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Weimar in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. A useful study of camps in Weimar, and which forms the basis of this entry, was written by Jens Schley, *Nachbar Buchenwald: Die Stadt Weimar und ihr Konzentrationslager, 1937–1945* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1999). See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald). Discussion of the administrative conflicts surrounding the creation of the Gustloff satellite can be found in Michael Thad Allen, *The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor, and the Concentration Camps* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), pp. 190–198.

Surviving primary documentation on the Weimar subcamp can be found in various archives. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the camp copied from the AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 112/2. For administrative documentation mentioning the subcamp, see the Records of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp (NS 4),

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BA, as copied in USHMMA, RG 14.023M, especially BA Band 205, 206, 133, and 119. Testimony from former Weimar inmate Alexander Agafonow is published in *Stimmen aus Buchenwald: Ein Lesebuch*, ed. Holm Kirsten and Wulf Kirsten (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2002). See also USHMMA, RG-02.075*01, for the testimony of Mieczysław Makowski, another former inmate of the camp. The official SHAEF report on Buchenwald (1945) also contains pertinent information; see USHMMA, RG-04.015*01. See also the USHMMPA for aerial shots of the destruction of the Gustloff II factory as well as of prisoners working on the assembly line in Gustloff II (WS 85867). For the Rakers case, see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 10 (Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam, 1973).

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NOTES

1. "Behelfsmässigen Bau einer Gewehrfabrik in Weimar-Buchenwald in Verbindung mit den Gustloff-Werken," published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 238.
2. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, 6:765.
3. Ibid., p. 765.
4. See Weimar/Buchenwald transport lists collection, AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 112/2).
5. See "Einsatz der Berufe im Lager Buchenwald (various, 1942)," BA NS-4 Buchenwald, USHMMA, RG 14.023M, BA Band 206, Fiche 1. Gustloff lists are broken down by "Gustloff-W. Tag" (day shift), "Nacht" (night shift), "Lager" (camp area), and "Barackenbau" (barracks construction) as well as by skilled and unskilled labor.
6. Published in David A. Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report: Report on the Buchenwald Camp Near Weimar* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), p. 303.
7. Mieczysław Makowski, "A digest of memoirs of a Polish Holocaust survivor, 1992," USHMMA, RG-02.075*01.
8. Heinz Gross, "Sabotage in the Buchenwald Gustloff Works," in Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report*, pp. 311–312.
9. See the USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045 (BU 112/2), for further detailed information.
10. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt" Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung*, p. 251.
11. Max Pabst, "Murders in Building the Gustloff Works," in Hackett, *The Buchenwald Report*, p. 303.
12. See USHMMPA, WS 04756, 04757, 04758, 04759, 85885 (courtesy of NARA and USAFHRA) for aerial photographs of the targeted areas and subsequent destruction.
13. Case 340 in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 10 (Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam, 1973).

WERNIGERODE ("RICHARD")

The Wernigerode subcamp was located in the Prussian province of Saxony on the northern edge of the Harz Mountains. It was attached to the Rautal-Werke GmbH, which in the 1930s manufactured cylinders and engine housings for a range of aircraft, cars, and speed boats. Even before the outbreak of World War II, the factory had been converted, at the instigation of the Reich Air Ministry, into the most modern of German light metal foundries. It was prepared for war production and was to supply the Junkers factory in Dessau and the Volkswagen factory in Wolfsburg.

During the war, the Rautal factory was constantly plagued by workforce shortages. As early as 1941, around 300 forced and foreign laborers from France and Belgium were used in the factory, being accommodated in a camp on Veckenstedter Weg on the edge of the camp. From 1942, male prisoners from the Buchenwald concentration camp were also used in the Rautal factories. At the end of their daily shifts, they returned to the main camp, which was about 80 kilometers (50 miles) away. In 1943, the decision was made to accommodate the concentration camp prisoners where they worked, most likely because of the long route they had to travel. The forced labor camp on Veckenstedter Weg, probably because of its isolated but close location to the factory, was chosen to accommodate the prisoners from Buchenwald.

The camp is mentioned for the first time on March 25, 1943. An advance detachment of 95 prisoners arrived at the camp, which now had the code name "Richard." There were already three wooden barracks there. To these four were added: five of the barracks were for prisoner accommodations, one for the Kapos, and one functioned as a kitchen and washroom. The camp was fenced in with a double, 3.5-meter-high (11.5-feet-high) barbed-wire fence with three guard towers. The inner fence was electrified. Barracks for the SS and a bunker were located outside the camp.

The camp was under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Grossmann. Under his command, 56 SS men guarded the prisoners who mostly came from Poland, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia. There were only a few prisoners from Germany or other European countries. The number of prisoners in 1944 was around 800; a strength report (*Stärkemeldung*), dated October 28, 1944, puts the number of prisoners in Richard at 789; a Stärkemeldung of April 11, 1945, lists 802 prisoners. Kurt Wabbel was the camp elder and Kapo.

The prisoners not only expanded the camp; they worked in the Rautal factories processing metal, in the foundry, in the coring section, in the fettling shop, and in departments dealing with quality control and dispatch. The prisoners also worked at nearby Galgenberg hill, where under the code name "Mergel" they prepared underground production sites. None of them were ready by the end of the war. Other prisoners laid railway tracks, especially as part of the relocation of the Richard camp in November 1944 to Hasserode at a site at Steinerne Renne. Around 500 prisoners had been transferred to this camp by

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December 1944. The remaining prisoners were taken to the Schönebeck and Westeregeln subcamps, and the camp at Veckenstedten Weg was dissolved. As with the old camp, the new Hasserode camp was surrounded by a double electrified fence enclosing four accommodation barracks, two large factory buildings, a kitchen, and three barracks for the SS. There was a rail connection that led directly to the production buildings. There were 49 SS guards who were substituted with Luftwaffe members and uniformed Romanians, Hungarians, and Croatians. In the new camp, the prisoners continued to work in armament production, producing parts for the V-2.

Within a short period of time, the prisoners were either sick or incapable of working. The reasons for this were the exhausting work conditions, the inadequate nutrition, and the lack of cleanliness in the camp. During the camp's existence, there were at least 50 transfers of groups of invalid and exhausted prisoners back to the Buchenwald main camp. At least 11 prisoners are known to have died in the camp. Estimates put the number of deaths in the camp at 18 at least.[1] An indication of the difficult work conditions in the Wernigerode camp was the high number of escapes: at least 7 prisoners whose escape attempts did not succeed were executed in the subcamp, 6 of them Poles.

The Wernigerode subcamp evacuation march began on April 10, 1945. Around 500 prisoners left the camp, but only 57 arrived 16 days later at Leitmeritz (present-day Litomerice in the Czech Republic).

In 1947, the detachment leader of the camp, SS-Obersturmführer Grossmann, was sentenced to death and executed.

SOURCES There are several descriptions of the Wernigerode subcamp. A comprehensive description of the camp, written by Franziska Jahn, is to be found in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2006), pp. 606–609. Today there is a memorial on the camp site on Veckenstedten Weg that can also be seen on the Internet: www.wernigerode.de/WRPortal/Landkreis/Kultur_und_Kunst/Mahn–+und+Gedenkst%C3%A4tte/. Another description of the Wernigerode camp is to be found in the brochure Landkreis Wernigerode, ed., *Arbeitslager und Aussenkommandos der KZ in Wernigerode* (Wernigerode, n.d.). The subcamp is also referred to in *Niemals Vergessen! Gedenkort für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus und Stätten der Unmenschlichkeit des NS-Regimes* (Magdeburg: Verein zur Förderung von Kultur, Wissenschaft und politischer Bildung in Sachsen-Anhalt e.V., 2005); and the documents in Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Berlin*, *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen* (Bonn, 1999). The camp is also mentioned in Emil Carlebach, Willy Schmidt, and Ulrich Schneider, *Buchenwald: Ein Konzentrationslager* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein-Verlag, 2000), p. 139, where the Stärkemeldung of April 11, 1945, is mentioned. The English exhibition catalog Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, ed., *Buchenwald Concentration Camp, 1937–1945: A Guide to the Permanent Historical Exhibition* (Frankfurt am Main: Wallstein-Verlag, 2004), p. 177, shows the Wernigerode camp in a map of Buchenwald subcamps. This subcamp is also listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:62; and in "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1849.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTE

1. See Landkreis Wernigerode, *Arbeitslager und Aussenkommandos der KZ in Wernigerode* (Wernigerode, n.d.), p. 24.

WESTEREGELN ("MAULWURF," "TARTHUN," "MW")

A subcamp of Buchenwald was established in Westeregeln (Saxony) in October 1944. Inmates were deported to the Westeregeln subcamp, code-named "Maulwurf," "Tarthun," or "Mw," to provide labor for construction projects that would enable fighter jet production to go underground to shelter it from Allied bombardments, which had increased since 1943. The Westeregeln inmates were assigned to construct an underground facility for the Junkers Aircraft and Engine Company (Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke, JFM), Zweigwerke Schönebeck. Like other armaments manufacturing firms that exploited prisoner labor during the war, the JFM hired out inmates from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) at a cost of 4 Reichsmark (RM) per unskilled laborer per day.[1]

Contradictory information provides only elusive indication about the exact location of the Westeregeln subcamp itself. Secondary sources state that the inmates were housed initially in the Hadmersleben subcamp, where Buchenwald prisoners were used for work on construction and the manufacture of aircraft parts in two different work details (Kommandos): "Hans" and "Ago." The inmates were then brought to work in the Westeregeln mines. At some point during the camp's nearly five-month operation, the inmates were moved to barracks near shaft III of the Kaliwerke mines (also known as the Salzwerk Westeregeln GmbH, Werk 7), northwest of Westeregeln. There may have also been a subcamp located near shaft IV/VI in Tarthun, but it is unclear if this is the same as that which housed the Westeregeln inmates or is a separate barracks within the same camp complex. Marcel Lorin, a former inmate of Schönebeck, noted that the Westeregeln subcamp was located in the western part of the village of Egeln, about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) south of Schönebeck.

The first transport of inmates to the Westeregeln subcamp left Buchenwald on October 31, 1944, and was composed of 50 inmates.[2] A transport from Buchenwald left on January 29, 1945, and included 238 inmates.[3] Inmates were also transferred from the Schönebeck subcamp of Buchenwald in several

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instances: November 28, 1944 (50 inmates); December 26 (148 inmates); January 31, 1945 (1 inmate); February 2 (12 inmates); February 6, 1945 (8 inmates); February 9 and 19 (12 inmates each); and March 10, 1945 (1 inmate).[4]

The inmates were all male and appear to be mainly Polish, Russian, and French. According to a report on the conditions of medical attention in the Buchenwald subcamps, submitted by SS garrison doctor Hauptsturmführer Schiedlausky on January 31, 1945, the SS medic in charge in Westeregeln was Naumann. At this time, there were 27 guards assigned to the camp, which held 564 prisoners.[5]

A Belgian former inmate who was transferred from Schönebeck to Westeregeln in December 1944, Léon Humblet, recalled that the camp consisted of a few wooden barracks 500 meters (547 yards) from the salt mine. The inmates worked in the assembly and finishing of parts for the He (Heinkel) 162. In March 1945, the rate of production was doubly accelerated. Working underground, the inmates suffered in terrible heat but emerged to below-zero temperatures above ground. Hygienic conditions in Westeregeln were also dismal, and water was not provided to the camp until three weeks before the evacuation.

The camp was last mentioned in Buchenwald records on April 4, 1945, and it was most likely evacuated on April 11. The inmates were assembled and evacuated on foot in groups of 100. After about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles), the SS abandoned the columns, and the inmates dispersed in the region of Magdeburg the following day.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Westeregeln subcamp of Buchenwald are scarce. For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates (though not always consistent), gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald/Westeregeln in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records. See also Gisela Schröter and Jens Trombke, "Aktuelle Dokumentation über die ehemaligen Aussenlager des KZ-Buchenwald (Jahresbericht)" (unpub. MSS, Weimar-Buchenwald).

Surviving primary documentation on the Westeregeln subcamp is also limited. See a collection of prisoner lists to and from the camp copied from AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 11/2. Copies of transport lists and documentation of arrivals to and from Buchenwald are also found in the NARA, A3355 Buchenwald Daily Strength Reports (USHMMA, RG 1996 A0342, Reels 146–180). These reports may be useful for a more thorough statistical analysis of the demographics of and increases and decreases in the camp population. Other documents may be found at AG-B. A former inmate of the Schönebeck subcamp of Buchenwald, Marcel Lorin, has written a brief passage on Westeregeln based on survivor testimony in his book *Schönebeck, un kommando de Buchenwald: Du sabotage des avions Nazis à l'ouvante d'une marche de la mort* (Glangeaud: Amicale des anciens déportés de Schönebeck, Mühlhausen, Buchenwald, 1993).

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NOTES

1. Extracts from the report for December 1944 of the chief of labor allocation, Buchenwald concentration camp, January 6, 1945, Document NI-4185, Prosecution Exhibit 143, published in *TWC*, vol. 6.
2. "Transport Maulwurf," October 31, 1944 (BU 11/2), AN-MACVG, as reproduced in USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.
3. "Transport Maulwurf," K.L. Buchenwald, January 29, 1945 (BU 11/2), USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045.
4. See transport lists collected in BU 11/2, USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045. See also additional transport lists to Schönebeck collected in BU 8/12 and BU 41/3.
5. "KL Buchenwald, Im Stamm- und Arbeitslagern sind insgesamt," Weimar-Buchenwald, January 31, 1945, as published in Walter Bartel, *Buchenwald: Mahnung und Verpflichtung, Dokumente und Berichte* (1960; Frankfurt am Main: Röderburg, 1983), p. 253.

WITTEN-ANNEN ("AGW")

The Buchenwald subcamp in Witten-Annen was created in September 1944 to supply prisoner labor to the Ruhrstahl Annener Gussstahlwerk (code-named "AGW") in support of increased German rearmament efforts in the last year of the war. Like other subcamps attached to the Buchenwald main camp and within the camp system more generally, the supply of prisoner labor to the AGW, a steel factory, followed from an agreement between the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the administration of the factory. Inmates were hired out from the WVHA by the firm at a cost of 6 Reichsmark (RM) per skilled laborer and 4 RM per unskilled laborer per day.

AGW was founded in 1865. One of the leading producers of steel casting, it boasted a long tradition of armaments production. In 1930, the AGW firm combined with other steel manufacturers in Hattingen and Witten to form the Ruhrstahl AG. During World War II, foreign workers, especially Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and other slave laborers, filled the gaps in Ruhrstahl's labor supply. The workers, which came to include Italian military internees as well, were housed in provisional accommodations near the factory, and living conditions were primitive. But by late summer 1944, due to increased production goals and waning successes in the German war effort, additional workers were still needed. In August 1944, the administrative leaders of the Ruhr iron and steel industrial complexes announced that concentration camp inmates would be used as workers in the factories.

On September 16, 1944, 700 inmates were rounded up in the Buchenwald main camp and were slated for deportation to the Witten-Annen subcamp. Among the first transport to the new subcamp were over 200 declared skilled workers, including locksmiths, metalworkers, electricians, and engineers. Not all inmates deported there were considered skilled laborers, however. The inmates were crowded onto closed freight cars, and the transport to Witten-Annen lasted several days. Upon arrival at the local train station, the accompanying Kommando from Buchenwald took leave of the inmates, who were handed

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over to a contingent of SS guards. The prisoners were marched to the camp, in full view of the local population.

The inmates arrived to a newly constructed, nearly completed, camp complex. The subcamp consisted of four barracks within the inmate section of the camp, which housed 150 prisoners each, a roll-call area (*Appellplatz*), a makeshift infirmary (*Revier*), and other functional buildings, as well as living quarters for the SS guard staff. The inner inmate camp was surrounded by a double row of barbed-wire fencing, and the camp was flanked by watchtowers. From the beginning of 1945, SS troops patrolled outside the fenced-in area with guard dogs. The camp was located near the Dortmund-Witten train line.

Because the camp was relatively new, the inmates initially perceived the living conditions in Witten as an improvement to those they had experienced in Buchenwald. Some of the typical problems associated with camp life were missing, at least initially. No vermin infested the newly built barracks, and each prisoner had his own bunk with two woolen coverlets. Some inmates reported that the barracks were heated, at least until the end of 1944.

The original transport included only male inmates. They were predominantly French and Russian, with smaller numbers of Italian, Czech, Polish, Belgian, and German prisoners. Some of the French prisoners had been deported to Buchenwald via Toulouse in August 1944; others, from Paris or Compiègne. Most of the inmates had spent at least a short time in Buchenwald prior to their arrival in Witten-Annen. The prisoners were predominantly political prisoners, and some were imprisoned for resistance or sabotage activities or flight from previous captivity. A small number (five) were classified as "asocial," two were homosexual, and five men were categorized as mixed bloods (*Mischlinge*). Many of the German inmates were so-called professional criminals (*Berufsverbrecher*)—these were often appointed as prisoner-functionaries. The average age of the prisoners was under 30; one-fifth were under 20. The youngest prisoner was 16 years old, and the oldest, a Polish engineer, was 63 years old.

The inmate population remained at 700 at least until the end of September 1944, when a series of escape attempts reduced the number to 685. Prisoners who were caught were summarily executed. By November, the number of inmates was reduced to 670 due to deaths from various illnesses and other escapes. On December 11, 1944, 58 ill prisoners were transported back to Buchenwald, where they were placed in the infirmary. Although there were additional transports to Witten-Annen after January 1945, the camp population at the time of liberation was about 600.

The inmates were marched daily to the steel factory, located 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) away, to work 12-hour shifts in Hall A7. The day and night shifts were exchanged weekly. While at work, the inmates were closely monitored at all times by the camp elder (Lagerältester), Kapos, and German civilian foremen and supervisors. Poor work performance or mistakes (perceived as sabotage) were punished frequently, and some prisoners witnessed near-death beatings of fellow inmates. The inmates were not allowed to leave their workstations and endured long roll calls before and after work.

Living conditions within the camp itself were also terrible. Survivors of the camp recall most frequently the constant hunger they experienced daily. Food rations were small. According to one French former inmate, Robert Maréchal, the inmates were provided first with 300 grams (10.6 ounces), then 450 grams (15.9 ounces), and by December 1944, 500 grams (17.6 ounces) of bread, with small amounts of margarine. The inmates were also given cabbage soup. Food supplies gradually decreased from January 1945. In addition to persistent hunger, the inmates were perpetually cold, as they had no proper clothing to withstand the particularly harsh winter of 1944–1945. Some inmates attempted to create extra warmth by stuffing their clothing with newspaper, straw, or cardboard; if discovered, they faced severe punishment. The camp infirmary had little capability of handling the many illnesses that resulted from the poor nutrition, inclement weather conditions, and strenuous work experienced by the inmates. The severely ill or wounded were transported back to the main Buchenwald camp.

The Witten-Annen inmates also suffered from the ill treatment of the guards. Approximately 30 SS troops guarded this subcamp. A system of supervision was also instituted in which "functionary inmates," such as the camp elder and Kapos, held authority over their fellow prisoners. Lagerältester Alfred Spillner was remembered for his particular cruelty toward the inmates, as were the Kapos, whom many inmates remembered as being more brutal than the SS. The first commandant of the camp was SS-Oberscharführer Ernst Zorbach, a member of the Nazi Party since 1931, who was said to be brutal and sadistic. Due to the frequent escape attempts made by the prisoners, he was relieved of his post in November 1944 and replaced by SS-Hauptscharführer Hermann Schleef, who had been a guard in the Papenburg and Sachsenhausen camps. Schleef was also the commander of a subcamp attached to the Kaunas camp prior to his post in Witten-Annen.

On March 27, 1945, the SS made an announcement that the camp would be evacuated in face of the advancing Allied troops. The following night, the 613 inmates were marched in columns in a northeastern direction. Several inmates attempted to escape the march, and many succumbed to exhaustion en route. By March 31, the inmates had reached Lippstadt. The SS guards abandoned the prisoners, who were liberated by American troops. On April 11, 1945, the U.S. Army occupied Witten.

SOURCES Most of the information for this entry builds upon the thorough analysis and research of the Witten-Annen subcamp by Manfred Grieger and Klaus Völkel, *Das Aussenlager "Annener Gussstahlwerk" (AGW) des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald, September 1944–April 1945* (Essen: Klartext, 1997). For a brief outline of basic information about the camp, such as opening and closing dates, gender of inmates, private firms that exploited camp labor, and so on, see the entry for Buchenwald / Witten-Annen in *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)*, ed. Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, prepared originally by ITS (1949–1951; repr., with new intro. matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), which derives from ITS records.

Primary documentation on the Witten-Annen subcamp and other satellites of Buchenwald can be found in several archival collections. See in particular a collection of transport lists to and from the Witten-Annen camp copied from

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AN-MACVG (originally from ITS), stored at the USHMMA, Acc. 1998 A.0045, especially BU 40 and BU 51, Reel 17. Many of these documents and others, including work statistics reports, administrative documentation from the Annener Gussstahlwerk, and transport lists from the ASt-Wi, BA, and THStA-W, are published in Grieger and Völkel. See this text for photographs, an extensive list of archival resources, and bibliography pertaining to the Witten-Annen camp and its postwar history.

Christine Schmidt van der Zanden

WOLFEN

The city of Wolfen in Sachsen-Anhalt is located to the south of Dessau on the Elbe River. From May 1943, there was a subcamp for women at the IG Farbenindustrie AG Filmfabrik Wolfen. Prior to this, the factory had used foreign forced laborers, among others, in the production of synthetic fibers. From the beginning of 1943, consideration was given to the use of concentration camp prisoners to increase production, to supply the demand of the German population and, above all, the Wehrmacht.

In April 1943, the subcamp was established on Thalheim Strasse close to the factory. The so-called Russian camp (*Russenlager*) and a camp for female eastern laborers (*Ostarbeiterinnen*) who were also working in the Filmfabrik Wolfen were already located there. Aleksandra Lawrik, a survivor, described the camp positively in comparison with her previous experiences: the barracks were relatively clean and heated, each woman had her own bed and cupboard, and there were even showers with hot water.

SS-Obersturmführer Bräuning was the camp leader. He arrived at the camp in the middle of May 1943, four days before the arrival of the first transport from Ravensbrück. On May 17, 1943, 250 young women and girls were brought from Ravensbrück to Wolfen. All the women came from the Soviet Union and Poland and were accompanied by female overseers who had been supplied from Ravensbrück, as there were not enough women in Wolfen who had applied to be trained as guards.

In the factory, the women worked in the rayon, Vistra, and artificial silk departments. The work in producing synthetic fabric was extraordinarily damaging to the prisoners' health as often corrosive chemicals were used in the process. Many women suffered burns to the skin and to their air passages, which also resulted in illnesses such as tuberculosis. Two women died in the camp; others who had become too ill to work any more were returned to the main camp.

The company management was excited about the cheap labor force and within a few weeks of the camp's opening was requesting additional prisoners, while at the same time demanding that the female overseers exercise greater discipline and increase the prisoners' production. But it was not until December 1, 1943, that additional prisoners were sent from Ravensbrück. The transport included 125 women. As before, most of them were Soviet citizens: Ukrainians who had been arrested for resisting the occupation forces or Ostarbeiterinnen who had been sent to concentration camps by the Gestapo for leaving the places of work assigned to them. Probably at the beginning of 1944, another 50 women arrived in Wolfen from Ravensbrück.

Starting in June 1944, the camp's administration was gradually transferred from Ravensbrück to Buchenwald, so that by September 1, 1944, Buchenwald finally took over the camp. The new camp leader was SS-Oberscharführer Grämlich, a Wehrmacht invalid. The prisoners have described the camp leader as patient and many of the female overseers as strict, brutal, and affronting. A list of prisoners at the subcamp prepared at this time lists 425 female inmates, including 316 Russian civilian workers and 109 political prisoners: 100 Poles, a Czech, 7 Yugoslavs, and a German from Breslau. The camp was guarded by five SS men. There were 17 female wardens. In September 1944, a female French prisoner doctor was brought to Wolfen and took over the medical care of the women.

At the beginning of 1945, the lack of raw materials and supply difficulties resulted in the first cessation of production. The camp administration planned to relocate 250 women in the direction of the Sudetenland, but nothing came of this due to the lack of transport at the end of the war. The 250 women were therefore evacuated to Bergen-Belsen on February 18, 1945.

On April 17, 1945, the Wolfen subcamp was evacuated in a southerly direction, with the probable goal being Theresienstadt. The women were at first taken in goods wagons with a group of other women who most likely a few days before had arrived from the Duderstadt (Polte) subcamp, in the direction of Dresden-Pirna. On the march in the direction of Teplitz (present-day Teplice, Czech Republic), a few women were able to flee, and the guards, including the camp leader Grämlich, also disappeared. The remaining women were liberated by Soviet troops.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) began preliminary investigation in 1956, and the results were handed to the general federal prosecutor in Karlsruhe in 1971. Shortly thereafter the investigations ceased due to a lack of evidence.

SOURCES Irmgard Seidel has written the contribution on the Wolfen subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, ed., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 3, *Sachsenhausen*, *Buchenwald* (Munich: Beck, 2006), pp. 618–621. Another description of the subcamp is to be found in Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris, Musée Jean Moulin (Ville de Paris), ed., *Les femmes oublicées de Buchenwald. 22 avril–30 octobre 2005* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2005), pp. 89–91, where the experiences of a survivor, Aleksandra Pawlowna Lawrik, are recounted. This subcamp is listed in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:63; and "Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG," *BGBl.* (1977), Teil 1, p. 1850.

Information on the Wolfen subcamp is to be found in the AG-B and BA-K, Bestand NS 4 Bu (Signatur 221). The investigations by ZdL, held at BA-L, were done under files IV 429 AR-Z 121/1971 and 1965/66 (B).

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