

Lotte Noam -- Her Lives and Times

Eli Noam

Edition 3.0

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This project came together during a narrow window of time in which several elements overlapped:

- The survival of witnesses to the old days spanning much of the 20th century, with their (sometimes reluctant) memories, photographs, and other documents.
- The emergence of search engines for text and visual images, such as Google Image.
- Access to the best library in the world on German-Jewish history, the Leo Baeck Institute in New York.

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In preparing this document, I received help by numerous people, and like to recognize them.

8

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9

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This chronicle, extensive as it is, is not a closed document, but should hopefully be enriched by additions, corrections, modifications and recollections of all those who read it, or who know Lotte and her relatives.

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Introduction

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This volume started as a photo album for my mother, Lotte Noam. It soon grew into a chronicle of her times, good and bad.

Lotte's family can be traced back in Germany to at least the year 1590. None live there today. But the complex relation of a family and a country endures.

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I have come to cherish this exploration into my family's history. It became a compelling obligation to preserve the family's past, just as others preserve its future.

This past should not vanish even if today is different.

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Eli with German Federal President,
Roman Herzog, in Berlin



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Eli receiving honorary doctorate, University of Munich, 2004

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“The last words by Frau Dr. were:
‘If we shall not leave Russia again,
tell my sister everything.’”

German Soldier Max Luchner,
who had befriended Hedwig

18

“Reverend Madam! Into your hands I
put my life’s story.”

Lotte’s Aunt Hedwig Danielewicz,
1941, to Gertrud von le Fort.

Le Fort never saw the three
notebooks sent to her for safekeeping.
They were delivered 35 years after
being written.

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“If I were an author I could write
books with details...but
unfortunately I am too much of a
dilettante, and so therefore my
terrible experiences will be
forgotten after a short time.”

Max Kaufmann, Lotte’s Uncle,
1945²⁰

Settings By Arno Roland

There are the unremembered faces of the playmates of
childhood

Never to mingle with my life.

Faded, the faces of the comrades of youth

The faces of family long gone

Of relatives scattered, dispersed,

Unrecognized, the fleeting faces met in war

Dissolved to mist

And vanished behind that horizon,

The faces unmet, unseen,

Hovering over

Vacant benches

Idle sofas

Bare tree stumps. "Three Generations Speak," p. 69

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Chapter 1: Family Origins

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Lotte's Parents and Grandparents

Father: Richard Dahn (Danielewicz)

-Grandfather: Michaelis Danielewicz

-Grandmother: Henriette Nehab

Mother: Flora Kaufmann

-Grandfather: Mendel Kaufmann

-Grandmother: Adelheid Mannheimer

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Chapter 1.1: The Kaufmann Family

The Kaufmann Family lived in the town of Melsungen in Germany since at least 1665.

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Kaufmanns lived in Melsungen until 1941, when the last ones were deported and perished. Lotte's Grandfather Mendel Kaufmann had moved to the nearby city of Kassel, about 20 kilometers away. Lotte was born in Kassel in 1920.

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Melsungen in Germany



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Melsungen 2005

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11 Generations of Kaufmanns

Moses zu (of) Röhrenfurth (part of Melsungen) c. 1665-1728

|

Mendel zu (of) Melsungen, c. 1721-1799

| m. Dina, daughter of Samuel

Joseph Kaufmann, 1765-1844 in Melsungen

m. Tilsa Apt

Levie Kaufmann 1799-1861

| m. Zerline Spangenthal d. 1860

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11 Generations of Kaufmanns (cont.)

Joseph Kaufmann, 1831-1894

|

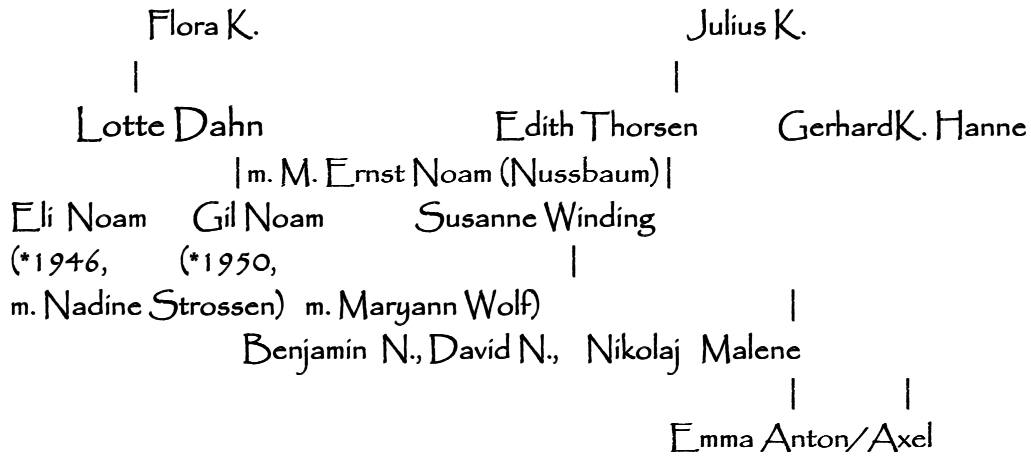
Mendel Kaufmann, 1860-1933

| m. Adelheid Mannheimer

Flora Kaufmann 1895-1972 Julius 1896-1978

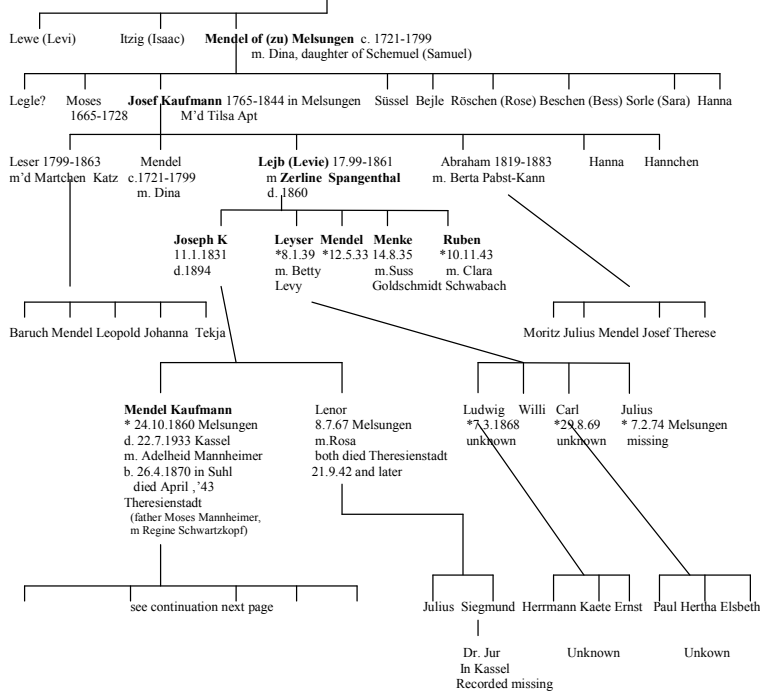
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11 Generations of Kaufmanns (cont.)

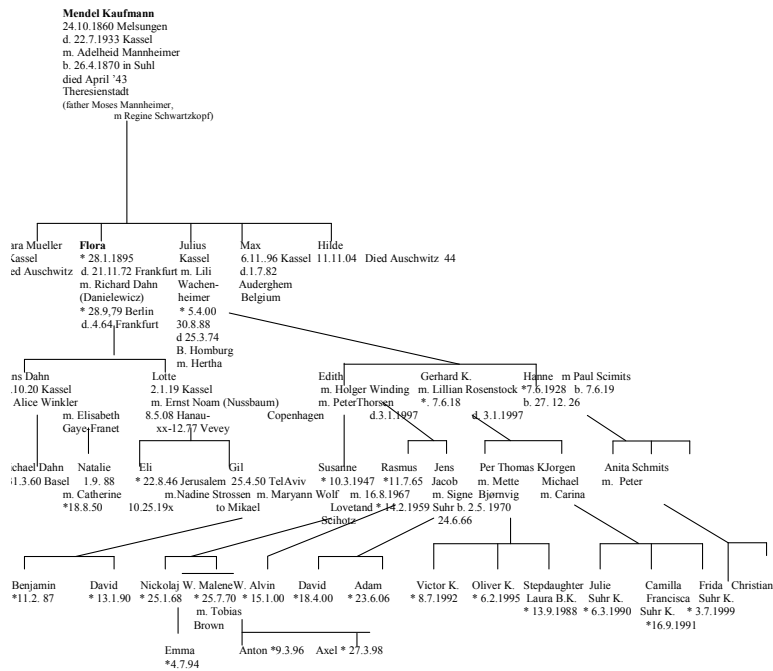


Family Tree—Kaufmann

Prepared by Eli Noam April 27, 2007
Moses of (zu) Röhrenfurth c. 1665-1728



Family Tree – Kaufmann (Cont.)
Prepared by Eli Noam, April 27, 2007



One can add another 3 generations through the maternal Spangenthal line in Spangenberg and 4 generations through Plaut line, to 1590 in Vacha (Thuringia)

Spengenthal-Plaut Family Tree
Prepared by Eli Noam, April 27, 2007

Hona(Hanoch) Ha-Levi
 b. c. 1660 in Spangenberg
 d. c. 1715 in Spangenberg

Elchanan Ruben Ha-Levi
 * 1691 in Spangenberg

Ruben Ha-Levi
 m. Sarah
 * c. 1730 in Frankenhausen, d. 28.10. 1813 in Spangenberg

Joseph Levi-Spengenthal
 * c. 1755 in Spangenberg
 m. Sarah Plaut (Schloss)⁺ b. c. 1768
 d. 17.7.1829 in Spangenberg

Zerline (Zerle Terline) Spangenthal
 d. c. 1715 in Spangenberg
 m. **Lejb Kaufmann**
 d. 8.11.1859

Joseph Plaut
 * c. 1590 in Vacha (Fulda)

Joseph Plaut
 *c. 1622 in Soden
 d.c. 1688 in Neubrunslar
 m. Theia? b. c. 1630 in Geisa, d. c. 1689 in Soden

Jacob Plaut (Farmer and Brandy distiller)
 * 1667 in Oberstoppel
 d. 3. 1731 in Oberstoppel

Juda Plaut
 * 1695 in Felsberg
 d. 1771 in Felsberg
 m. 3. 1730

Jacob Plaut
 * c. 1730 in Felsberg
 m. Besse

⁺There are several women by the name Sara Plaut

Spangenberg, 16th century



Spangenberg



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Spangenberg, 1800



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Vacha



Stadtansicht von Melsungen nach dem Kupferstich von M. Merian d. Ä.
(1646 und 1655)

Melsungen at time of earliest recorded
Kaufmann presence

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Vacha was situated on the old East German border. Note the guard tower

44

Vacha



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But the main part of the
Kaufmann family lived in
Melsungen

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Synagogues in Melsungen



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Special Thanks to Dieter Hoppe:

- Vice Chairman of Melsungen Historical Society
- Author of “Das Ensemble des Kasseler Klassizismus in Melsungen”
- “Die Stadthalle und die ehemalige Synagoge in der Rotenburger Straße”

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Dieter Hoppe,
Melsungen
Historian

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Former
Synagogue in
Röhrenfurth,
home town of
Moses, after c.
1665. Today
part of
Melsungen

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Synagogue of Melsungen (Today a store, **note the windows*)



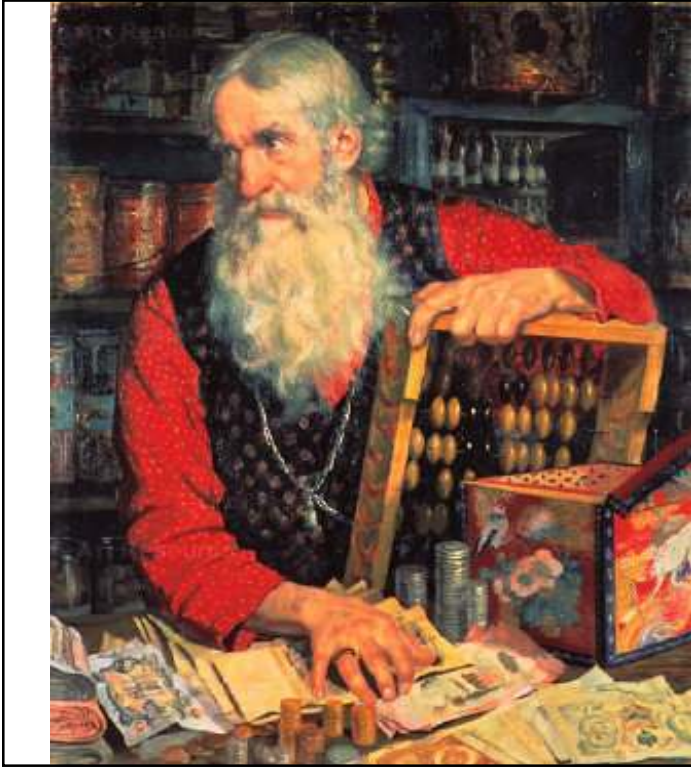
Tora scrolls from Melsungen, today in New Hyde Park,
Jewish Centre, Long Island New York

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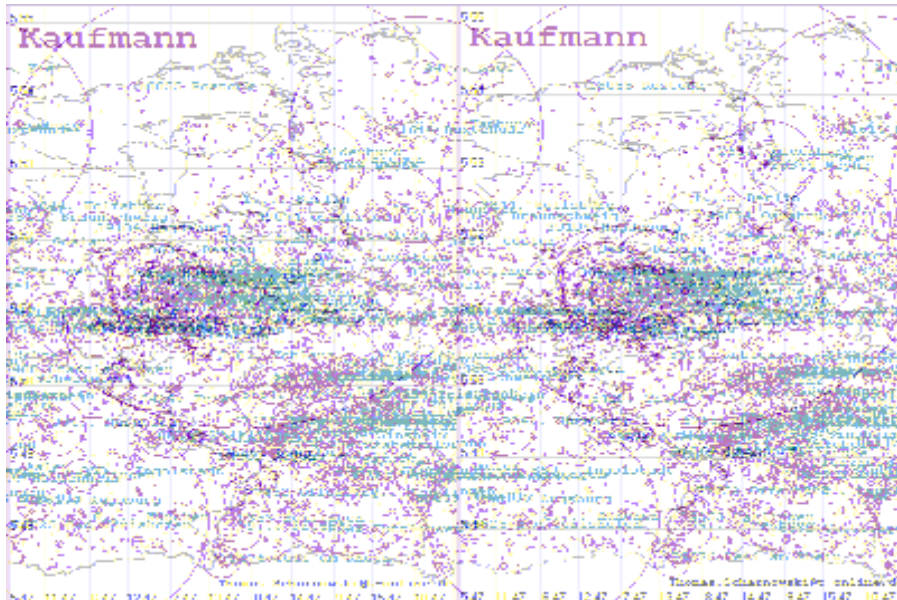
Melsungen 1920s

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Kaufmann=
Merchant

55



Kaufmanns in Germany, by location 2005
(The name "Merchant" is frequent)

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Kaufmanns in Kassel region, 2005

For the preparation of family name distributions by phonebook listing and postal codes, thanks to Thomas Scharnowsky. (Fellbach, Germany)



הוזה ב' יוסטא קויפמאן
 אך סיון תרל"ה ל'
 Levie Kaufmann
 79.1100 - 156.1165



Grandfather of Lotte's Great-Grandfather Levie (Lejb, Löw) Kaufmann, 1800-1865

This was the first Jewish grave in Melsungen which included a German inscription, indicating early legal and cultural emancipation



Zerline Kaufmann, Levie's wife, buried at the Binstoerth cemetery. "Gravestone Nr. 193 is prominent due to its size. It is, similarly, of elaborate design." (Hoppe)⁶⁰

Zerline Spangenthal's family can be traced back on her father's side, to c. 1660 Hanoch Ha-Levi (Ha-Levi means: the Levite) in Spangenberg.

On Zerline's mother's side (Sarah Plaut) the family can be traced back to Joseph Plaut, c. 1590, in Vacha near Fulda

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Spangenberg Today



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Vacha



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Inscription:
Zerline (Zerle),
Daughter of
Joseph ha-Levi
Spangenthal,
Wife of Löw
Kaufmann of
Melsungen,
died. 8.11.1859



Gravestone shows legal and cultural emancipation; 2nd
oldest stone with a German inscription (D. Hoppe)

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Eli' eser Ben Jossefa Kofmann
 1 Neumond Elul 5621
Löser Kaufmann
 1799 - 1861

Levie's Brother Löser {Eliesser} Kaufmann 1799-1861

זת רכא ל יע
 אליסור ב' ספא קופמאן
 א רר"ח אלול תר"א ק"י
Löser Kaufmann
 1799 - 1861

Hoppe: "These gravestones can inform us not only about the deceased but also about conditions in Melsungen. The use of red sandstone prevalent in the region. Other material would have been too expensive. The style and type of the stone indicate a certain wealth. The inscriptions are only in Hebrew, following a more segregated position. The tombstone of Mendel Kaufmann (died 1883) is much more special. It consists of hard limestone which was not indigenous to the region. In the front there is a large textual plate in marble which is inscribed in Hebrew."

אברהם בן יוספא
ראש ופרנס הגליל
ה אדרא תרמ"ג ק"ן
Abraham Kaufmann
13.12.1819 - 12.2.1883

Awraham Ben Jossefa,
der fromme/weise Mann
Oberhaupt und Gemeinde-
(Synagogen) – Vorsteher des
Bezirks
5 Adar I 5640



*Hier ruht in Gott
unser guter Vater
Abraham Kaufmann
geb. am 2. März 1819
gest. am 12. Febr. 1883*

Levie's brother, Abraham
Kaufmann, head of the
congregation
First gravestone of this size, and the first
with marble

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מנחם בן יוספא
יג סיון תרל"ג ק"ן
Mendel Kaufmann
23.12.1807 - 18.6.1883

Menachem Ben Jossefa
Der weise/fromme Mann
13 Siwan 5643

Mendel Kaufmann
23.12.1807 - 18.6.1883

*Hier ruht
unser lieber Gatte
und Onkel
Mendel Kaufmann
Geb. 23. Dez. 1807
Gest. 18. Juni 1883*

Levie's Brother Mendel K. 1807-1863



For many centuries, Jews in Germany had only limited civil rights.

Typically, they lived under the protection of a local nobleman, to whom they had to pay high and regular protection money.

They were legally precluded from almost all occupations – agriculture, the crafts, membership in guilds, law, and medicine, military and civil service – and left to trade and small

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Full legal rights (“emancipation”) were briefly extended in 1807 under the French regime of Napoleon’s brother Jérôme. But they were rescinded with the restoration of the Ancien régime in 1813.

Equal civil rights were not extended to Jews until 1869 and the Annexation of that part of Hesse by Prussia. This was several years after the American Emancipation Proclamation and the 14th Amendment.

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(Nr. 319.) Gesetz, betreffend die Gleichberechtigung der Konfessionen in bürgerlicher und staatsbürgerlicher Beziehung. Vom 3. Juli 1869.

Wir Wilhelm, von Gottes Gnaden König von Preußen etc. verordnen im Namen des Norddeutschen Bundes, nach erfolgter Zustimmung des Bundesrathes und des Reichstages, was folgt:

Einziger Artikel.

Alle noch bestehenden, aus der Verschiedenheit des religiösen Bekenntnisses hergeleiteten Beschränkungen der bürgerlichen und staatsbürgerlichen Rechte werden hierdurch aufgehoben. Insbesondere soll die Befähigung zur Theilnahme an der Gemeinde- und Landesvertretung und zur Bekleidung öffentlicher Aemter vom religiösen Bekenntniß unabhängig sein.

Urkundlich unter Unserer Höchsteigenhändigen Unterschrift und beigedrucktem Bundes-Insigel.

1869 law Gegeben Schloß Babelsberg, den 3. Juli 1869.

extending equal
civil liberties to
Jews

(L. S.) Wilhelm.

Gr. v. Bismarck-Schönhausen.

1869 law opening
all trades and
occupations

Bundes-Gesetzblatt
des
Norddeutschen Bundes.

Nr. 26.

(Nr. 312.) Gesetzgebung für den Norddeutschen Bund. Vom 21. Juni 1869.

Wir Wilhelm, von Gottes Gnaden König von Preußen etc. verordnen im Namen des Norddeutschen Bundes, nach erfolgter Zustimmung des Bundesrathes und des Reichstages, was folgt:

Titel I.

Allgemeine Bestimmungen.

§. 1.

Der Betrieb eines Gewerbes ist Jedermann gestattet, soweit nicht durch dieses Gesetz Beschränkungen vorgeschrieben oder zugelassen sind. Wer gegenwärtig zum Betriebe eines Gewerbes berechtigt ist, kann von demselben nicht deshalb ausgeschlossen werden, weil er den Erwerbseinstimm dieses Gesetzes nicht genügt.

§. 2.

Die Unterscheidung zwischen Stadt und Land in Bezug auf den Gewerbebetrieb und die Ausübung desselben hört auf.

§. 3.

Der gleichzeitige Betrieb verschiedener Gewerbe, sowie desselben Gewerbes in mehreren Theilen oder Verkaufsstellen ist gestattet. Eine Beschränkung des Zahlrechts auf den Verkauf bei selbstverfertigten Waaren findet nicht statt.

§. 4.

Der Staat und landwirthschaftlichen Korporationen steht ein Recht, Subven von dem Betriebe eines Gewerbes auszusprechen, nicht zu.

§. 5.

In den Bestimmungen des Betriebes einzelner Gewerbe, welche auf den 21. Juni 1869.

Wahrgenommen zu Berlin den 1. Juli 1869.

Hoppe: “After 1866, the customs union and rail transport made national distribution by mail possible. The firm of Leiser (Löser) & Mendel Kaufmann, producers and distributors of fabric, expanded into its trade other parts of Germany.”



Sample of Kaufmann national business correspondence ⁷³

D. Hoppe writes: “The Kaufmann firm was active in the fabric trade and ran a mail order business to customers in all of Germany. The firm was represented at the made fairs of Leipzig, Brunswick, Kassel, and Frankfurt with its own address... It apparently conducted an intensive mail order business. Mail order is thus not an invention subsequent to the second World War. In Melsungen, were conducted such innovation already in the 19th century.”



Invoice from 1867



Representation of Kaufmann firm in Saxony, 1872

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Several 19th Century Melsungen Public Records with mentioning Kaufmanns, including in 1865 the creation of charitable foundation for the poor.

Akten Nummern Bestand 180 Melsungen	Akten Inhalt
2040	Beschwerde des Handelsmannes Leiser Kaufmann zu Melsungen wider den Gemeindeältesten Nathan Stern wegen angeblicher Eigenmächtigkeiten; 1842-1843
1768 und 1638	Namensänderung des Lohgerbermeisters Leib Kaufmann, Melsungen in Levi Kaufmann, 1858
1800	Reklamation des Leib Kaufmann zu Melsungen wegen seines Klassensteueransatzes, 1855
1842	Gesuch des Handelsmannes Leib Kaufmann zu Melsungen um Dispension für seinen Sohn Ruben vom Besuch der israel. Schule zu Melsungen, 1853-1854
836	Errichtung eines Stiftes zu Gunsten der israelitischen Armen in Melsungen durch die Eheleute Leib Kaufmann, 1865-1868

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Lotte's Grandfather
Mendel Kaufmann, moved
from Melsungen to the
nearby larger city of
Kassel.



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Grandfather
Mendel Kaufmann
in front of his store

80

Grandfather Mendel Kaufmann



81

“In the late 18th century Hesse-Kassel became infamous for selling mercenaries (Hessians) to the British crown to help suppress the American Revolution and to finance the construction of palaces and the landgrave's opulent lifestyle.”

[Wikipedia]

82



Kassel Wilhelmshöhe Castle

83



Kassel

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“Having sided with Austria in the Austro-Prussian War for supremacy in Germany, the principality was annexed by Prussia in 1866.Kassel ceased to be a princely residence, but soon developed into a major industrial centre as well as a major railway junction.

[Wikipedia]

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Lotte's cousin Edith: “Kassel was a much smaller city than Frankfurt and it had a completely different smell. Like soot in a basement. I loved the ‘Kassel-smell’, it reminded me of the way that my grandmother and grandfather smelled. Grandfather and grandmother lived in a large apartment on Sedan Street. It was a very large but dark apartment, and it had lots of cozy nooks along with much heavy furniture.”

Edith's name is from the manuscript of Youth Biography, unpublished manuscript, Copenhagen 2007, translated by Eli Noam, Lana Herrera, and Rasmus Kleis Nielsen

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Lotte: “My grandfather, Mendel Kaufmann, was the owner of a little textile shop in Rosenstrasse in Kassel. Next door was a kosher butcher shop where you could buy delicious hot sausages with mustard, the juice of which flowed over your hands to be licked away. It is a wonderful memory, the taste still lingers on my tongue. [He] surely didn’t overwork. I almost never saw customers in his shop, but those who came talked for a long while and left with a smile.”

Lotte Noam, *Stop! What Memories!* 2006

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Edith: “Grandfather had a small store in a cozy sidestreet with other small shops. He dealt in clothing and materials. It was a wholesale store. ...Even though the business looked small it was quite large. There were large rolls of material of all colors on the shelves. There was wool, silk, and batiste, which was the finest material you could get besides silk.”

Edith Thorsen, *Out of Frankfurt*, Manuscript of Youth Biography, unpublished manuscript, Copenhagen 2007⁸⁸
translated by Eli Noam, and Rasmus Kleis Nielsen

Edith: “There was a wonderful smell from all the materials in grandfather’s shop. It was very exciting to see, touch and smell all the materials. Grandfather was very indulgent with me. I got permission to do all sorts of things, which I would otherwise not be allowed to do.”

Edith Thorsen, *Out of Frankfurt*, Manuscript of Youth Biography, unpublished manuscript, Copenhagen 2007, translated by Eli Noam, and Rasmus Kleis Nielsen 89

Edith: “Across the street there was a small synagogue. There were men dressed in black suits with black hats and full beards with curls next to their ears. It was usually Friday evening when they went there. When one would walk by the synagogue and listened at the large gate, one could hear a lot of mumbling from inside.”

Edith Thorsen, *Out of Frankfurt*, Manuscript of Youth Biography, unpublished manuscript, Copenhagen 2007, translated by Eli Noam, and Rasmus Kleis Nielsen 90

Lotte: “[Grandfather Mendel] was no great provider but a laid-back and good-natured epicure. He liked to tell jokes in company, accompanied by good food. Everybody laughed and felt good except for his sourpuss spouse who whispered to her neighbor: ‘I would laugh too if the schlemiel (fool) weren’t mine.’ That shows the nature of the marriage, but it was obviously good enough to produce five children.”

Lotte Noam, Supplemental Memoire Letter, 2006

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Grandfather
Mendel in
Frankfurt,
1928
(with cousin
Edith)

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Lotte: "My grandparents' house in Kassel was still kosher. Trinchen, the ever-patient maid, ran it in the traditional spirit. But otherwise there was, as far as I could see, not much of Jewish tradition. My grandfather was a very caring and kind man. He went to prayers on Friday nights. We all assembled in Kassel for Seder night. The Haggada was read and sung, and after that there was a good and heavy meal."

Lotte Noam, Memoir *Letters to Birte*, Book

93

1928 Grandfather Mendel with
cousins Gerhard & Hannah



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Chapter 1.2
Grandmother
Mannheimer's
Family

Lotte: My grandmother, Adelheid [Mannheimer], in contrast, wore a black hat on her inelegant hairdo, a long black robe rounded off the impression of a very old woman although she could not have been more than 60.”

Lotte Noam, supplemental Memoir Letter, 2006

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Adelheid Kaufmann, 1918



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Adelheid
Kaufmann,
née
Mannheimer

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“And thus she set off for the stock broker or the bank with a lot of know-how and strength of character and laid the foundation to a fortune that was later taken away from her by the Nazis. My mother inherited from her an interest in financial matters and the instinct for it.”

100

Judging from the name, Grandmother Adelheid's family originated in the city of Mannheim near Heidelberg.

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Mannheim



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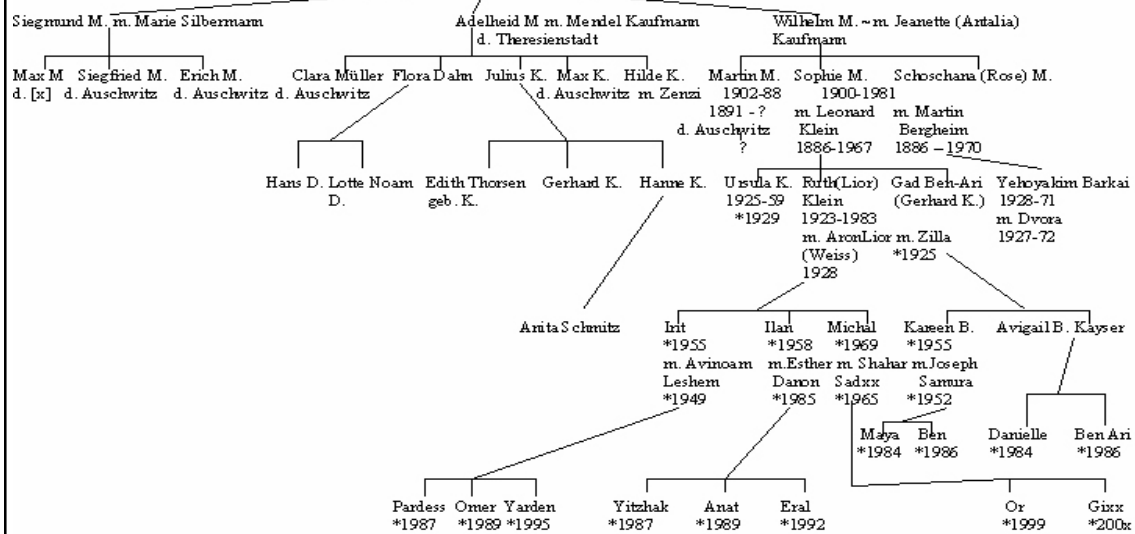
City of Mannheim, 18th Century
Germany's only city with a grid street design.

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Family Tree – Mannheim

(in work) Prepared by Eli Noam 2/5/06

Moses Mannheim ~ Regine Schwarzkopf



Several members of the Mannheimer Family lived in Suhl, Thuringia- nearby but across the later border to the later East Germany.



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Siegfried and Erich Mannheimer, Cousins from Suhl



Lotte on on Erich's shoulders¹⁰⁶



Suhl (One of the new hotels was built on the Mannheimers' expropriated land)

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Chapter 1.3

The Dahn Family

The Paternal Side of Lotte's Family

The family name was originally
Danielewicz

Danielewicz=Daniel's son

There are variations of
"Danielson" in many countries
and languages

111

Issur Danielovitch
(original name of Kirk Douglas)



112



Story of Daniel- Traditional Version

113



Story of Daniel- Reform Version

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Story of Daniel – Reconstructionist Version



The Family's Hometown was Pleschen

Pleschen was a city in the province of Posen,
Western Prussia

Posen's population was mixed in 1870

Polish (1 mil)

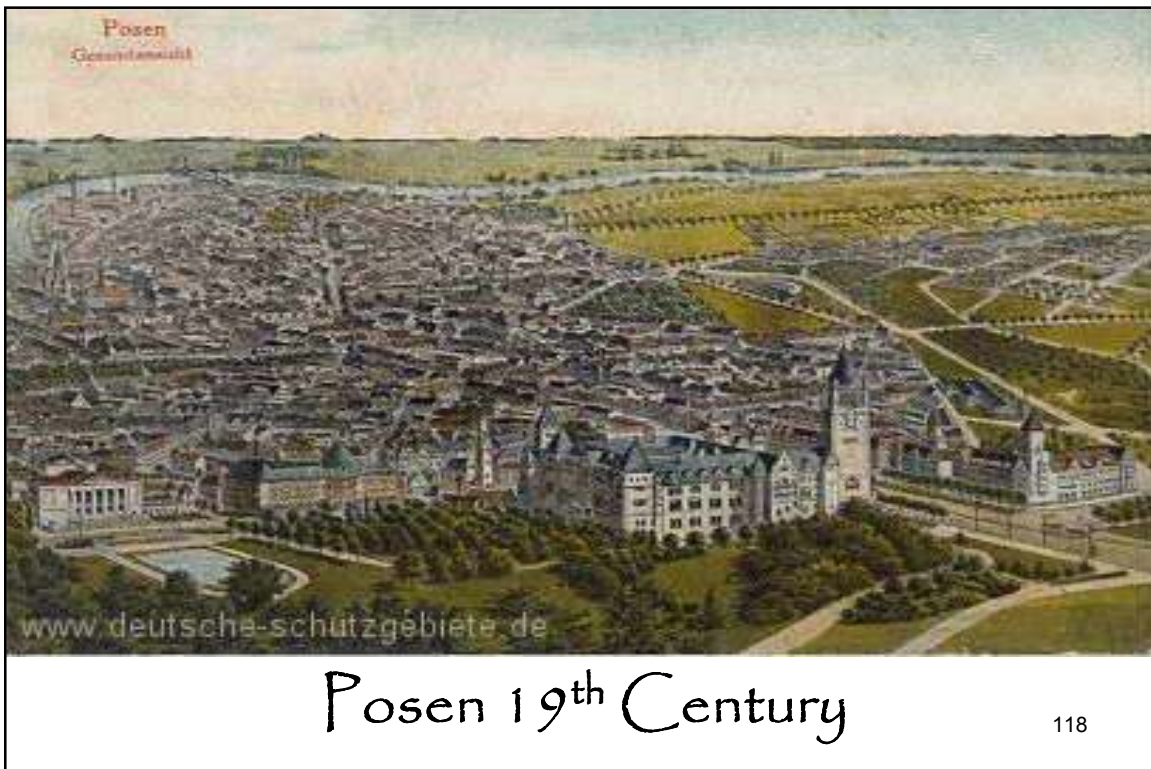
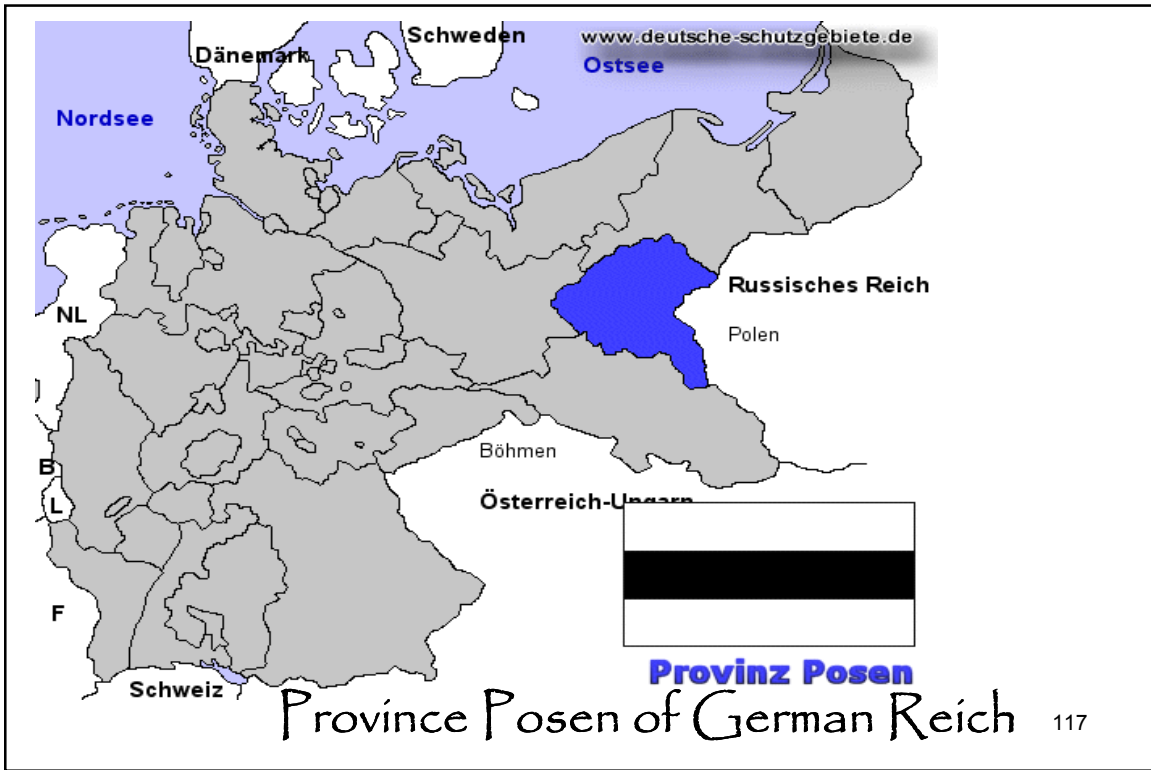
German (.5 mil)

Jewish (61,000)

Most Jews perished in World War II

Most Germans were expelled to the West
after World War II

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Posen 19th Century

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Posen 19th Century

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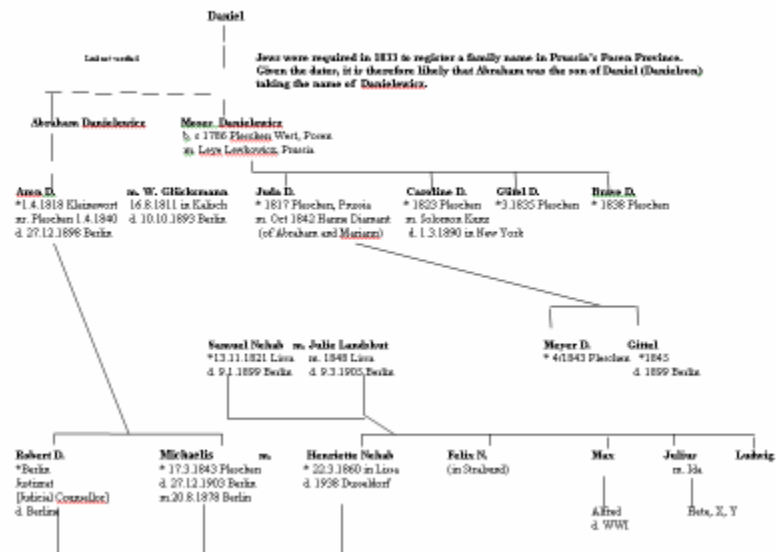
Pleszew 2000



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Family Tree—Danielewicz

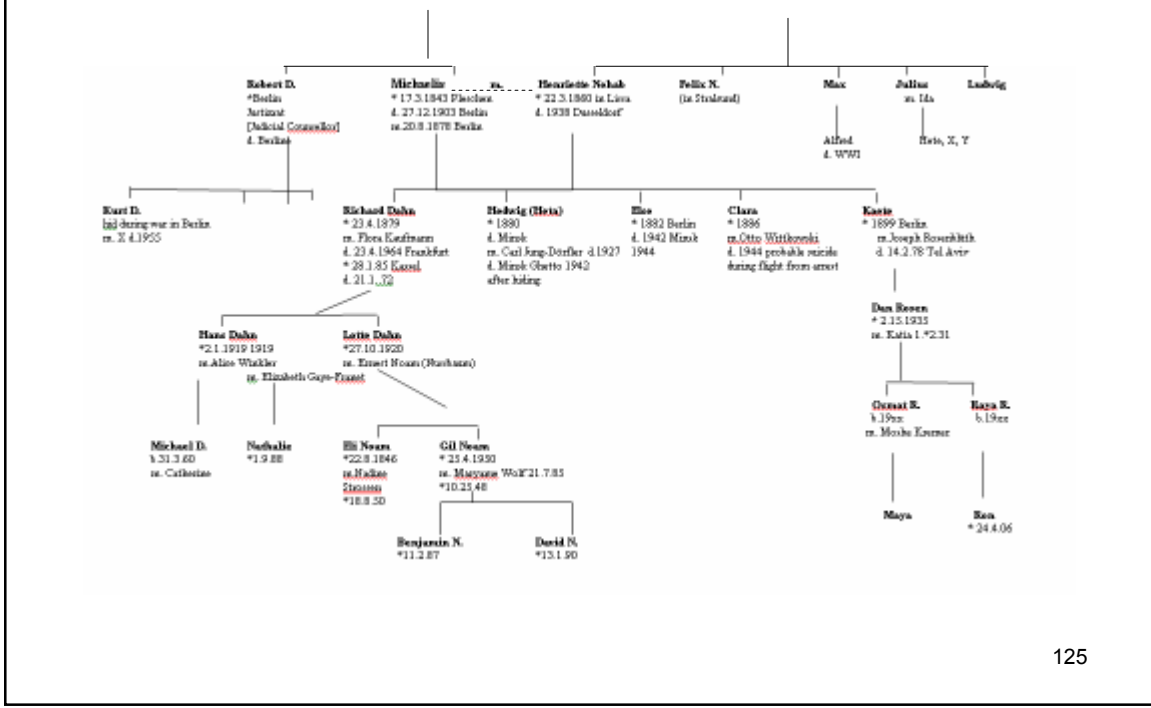
Prepared by ER Noan, April 23, 2007



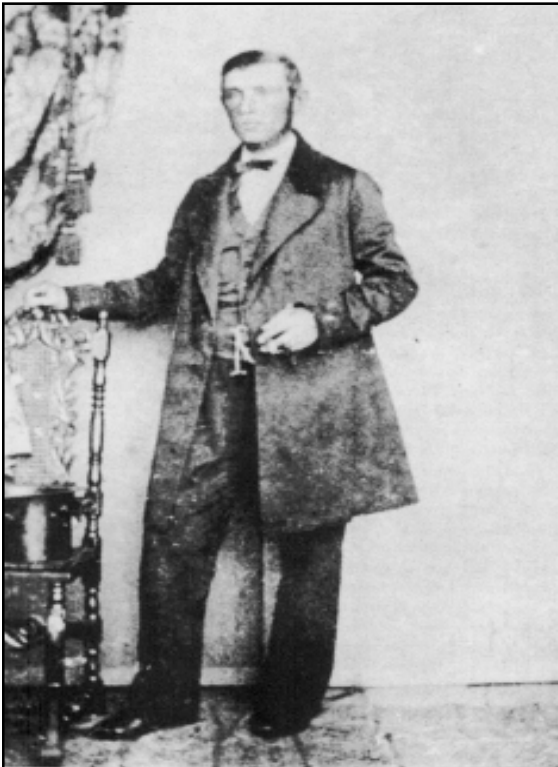
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Family Tree—Danielewicz (Cont.)

Prepared by Eli Noam, April 23, 2007



125



Aron Danielewicz,
Lotte's Great-
Grandfather from
Pleschen

126



Aron's Wife, neé
Glücksman
from Lissa

127



Emancipation
Document of
Aron
Danielewicz

1839

128

Lotte's Great-Grandfather
Aron left for Berlin
Great-grand aunt probably left
for America

129

Kaete: "Both my father's and my
mother's family moved shortly
before the wedding of my parents
to the big city of Berlin."

Kaete Dan, *Mein Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E.
Noam.

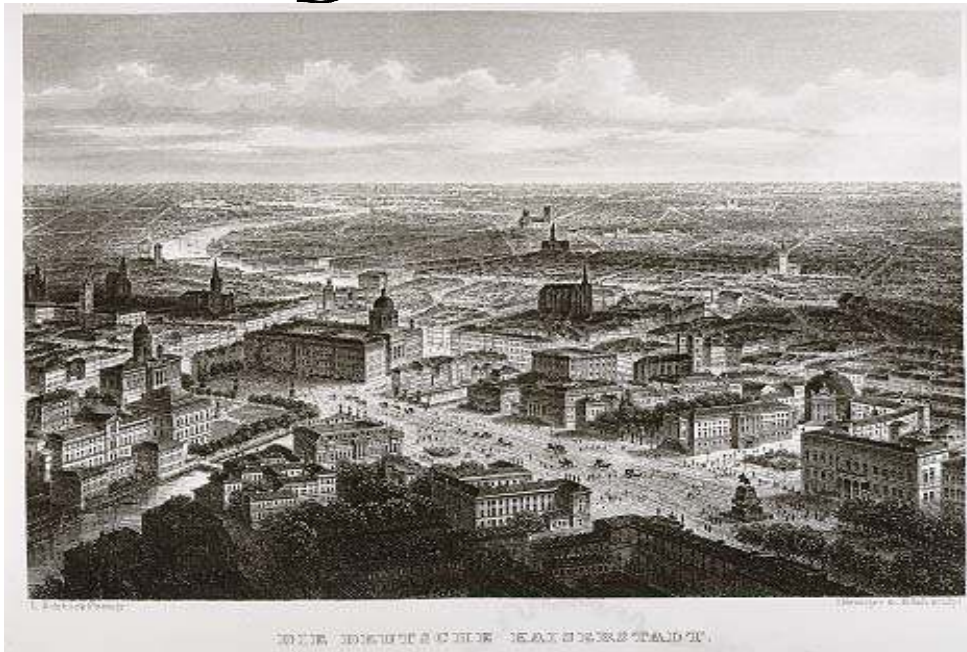
130



Berlin in the 1880s

131

Berlin 1880s



2



Berlin in the 1880s

133



134



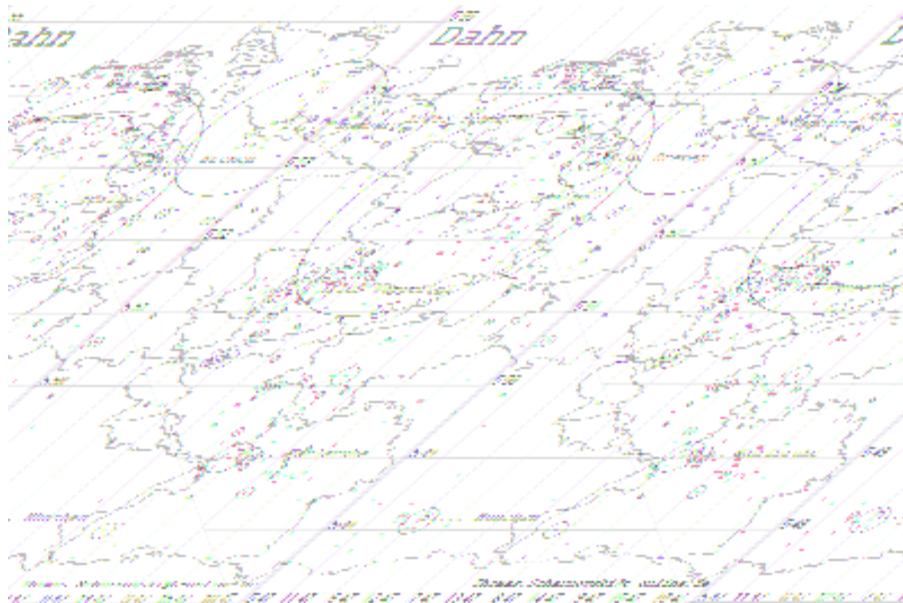
Kaiser Wilhelm II

135



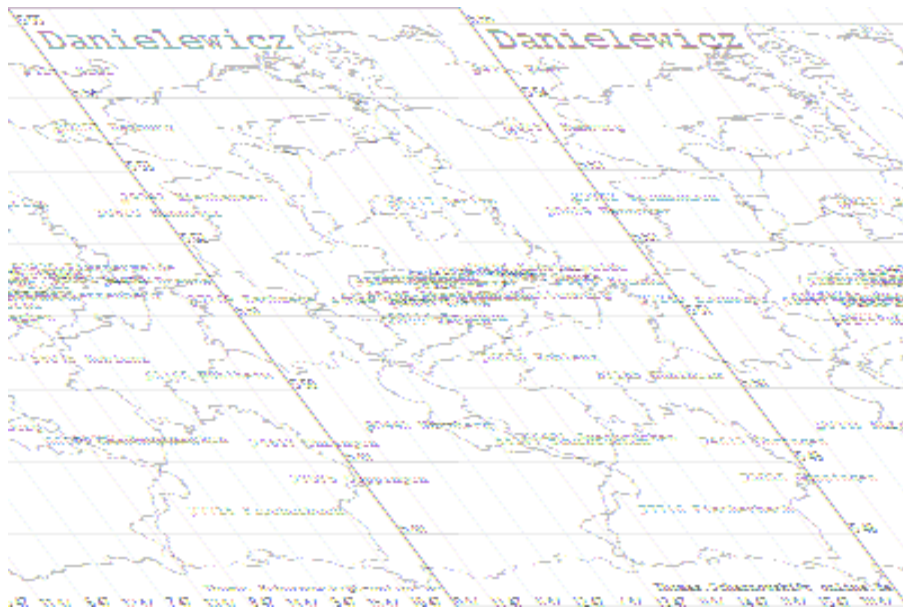
Chancellor Bismarck

136



Dahns in Germany, 2005

137



Danielewicz's in Germany, 2005

138

Aron's sons were
Michaelis and Robert

139



Michaelis
Danielewicz,
Lotte's
Grandfather

140

Aunt Hedwig: “The single demand, which my father put to us children was to always say unconditionally only the truth. At home there was a factual, closed tone, and each of the children went their own way... it was discouraged to show feelings.”

Hedwig Danielewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1934, transcribed by Paul Unschuld. Translated by Eli Noam.

Aunt Hedwig:

“...He looked at the priests of science, the “learned ones” with a same deep reverence, which any believer showed to the ordained priest of his religion.”

“... In my parents’ home, belief was never mentioned, but to me the belief in God was something natural, even though I lacked almost any instruction.”

Hedwig Danielewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1934, transcribed by Paul Unschuld. Translated by Eli Noam.

Paul Unschuld: “[Michaelis] had originally operated as a grain dealer, with a business of small but steady profit. The boom years after 1870 enticed him to become a real-estate broker and in the general prosperity his income was high over several years.”

143

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam

Hedwig: “At about six years age we moved from central Berlin into the chic West, probably because of the business affairs for my father as a real estate broker permitted it... after one year we moved into the eastern part of Berlin into a building which was owned by my uncle, a Judicial Counsellor... In this apartment in the Holzmarktstrasse, my father died from a coronary ailment when I was thirteen years old.”

Hedwig Dabelow, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1934, transcribed by Paul Unschuld. Translated by Eli Noam.

Residential Locations of the Danielewicz Family in Berlin:

1880, Markus Street in Eastern Berlin

1883, Lichtenberger Strasse, North-Eastern Berlin

1887, Lothringer Strasse, Business Address, Northern Berlin

1893, Alte Schoenhauser Strasse, Central Berlin

1899, Uhland Strasse, Berlin-Wilmersdorf

1902, Holzmarkt Strasse, 50D

145

Paul Unschuld, *Die Arztbrüder der Maler*, Fritsch Verlag, 1991, translated by Eli Noam



Danielewicz Family 1890. (Richard [Lotte's father], Hedwig, Henriette with Kaete, Michaelis, Clara, Else

146



147

Henriette (middle)



148

Hedwig: “For years, the income of my father [Michaelis] was large enough that he could support not only his family but also his parents, and additionally the expenses of the legal studies for his younger brother Robert. Papa did not hold back with money, and Uncle Robert was a high-living student who enjoyed life.”

Hedwig Danielewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript 1934, transcribed by P. Unschuld, translated by E. Noam

149

“After Robert had completed his studies, my father’s income declined rapidly. He could not provide enough for his own family, let alone for his parents, or for the considerable needs of the young lawyer.”

Hedwig Danielewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript 1934, transcribed by P. Unschuld, translated by E. Noam

150

Hedwig: “A rich marriage could save us all from need, but Uncle Robert had close relations with a widow, who, it was said, had a child by him, and whom he would have liked to marry. With a heavy heart he decided, for the sake of his family, to enter into a rich marriage. But for many years he was said to visit his former lover and the child every Christmas Eve. His marriage, however, became very happy.”

151

Hedwig: “[Uncle Robert, with his wife’s mother] owned a house in a villa suburb, Neu-Babelsberg, with a garden and a boathouse on the water [Lake Gribnitz], where the family spent its summer months. He bought two apartment buildings [in Berlin], and a country estate in eastern Pommernia...”

[The Country estate Neugasthof is located in the county of Kolberg].

Hedwig Danielewicz, A Convert's Life, handwritten manuscript 1934, transcribed by P. Unschild, translated by E. Noam

152

Hedwig: “Uncle Robert returned the favor to my father by helping him keep above water. I am especially grateful, because he totally supported the cost of my studies.”

Robert also financed the university studies of Richard, Lotte’s father.

Hedwig Danielewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript 1934,
transcribed by P. Unschuld, translated by E. Noam

153

[But Robert’s last years were not happy ones. He lost much of his money in the inflation of 1923, had to sell the villa and the country estate, and his children were not successful.]
Hedwig: “The hope that the children would reach comfortable circumstances through rich marriages did not fulfill itself. Kurt married a poor accountant and had to live with his family in his parents’ home since his income was not high enough for his own apartment.”

Hedwig Danielewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript 1934,
transcribed by P. Unschuld, translated by E. Noam

154

“Liesel married an unemployed movie actor and was in the greatest of poverty. The youngest daughter became an accountant.

The last years were sad for Uncle Robert. Finally he realized that the hopes he had put into his children had been futile. He died poor, bitter, and disappointed in his 71st year [1928]...”

Hedwig Danielewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript 1934, transcribed by P. Unschuld, translated by E. Noam

155



Hedwig, Richard, Hans, Carl, Kaete, 1927 156



Hedwig,
Mother
Henrietta, and
siblings Kaete,
Richard, Clara,
Else in
Düsseldorf
1934

157

158

Chapter 1.4

The Nehab Family

159



Nehab
(unidentified
ancestor from
Nehab family
web site)

160



Lissa, Province Posen

161

From Lissa: Haym Salomon



Haym Salomon, financial treasurer of the
13 American Colonies during the Revolutionary War
against England

162

From Lissa: Leo Baeck



Famous rabbi and last leader of the German Jewish Community during its destruction

163

Lissa, 19th Century



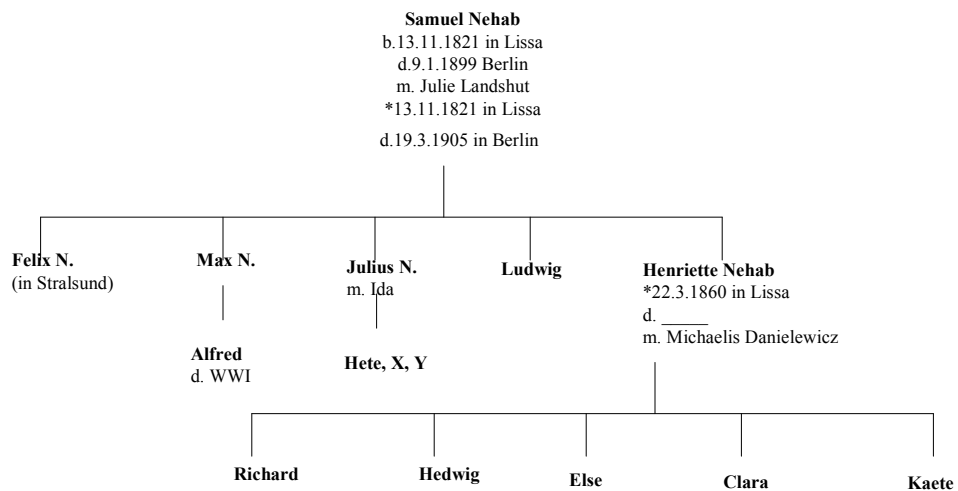
164

Lissa/Leszno Today



165

Family Tree -- Nehab Prepared by Eli Noam, April 27, 2007



166



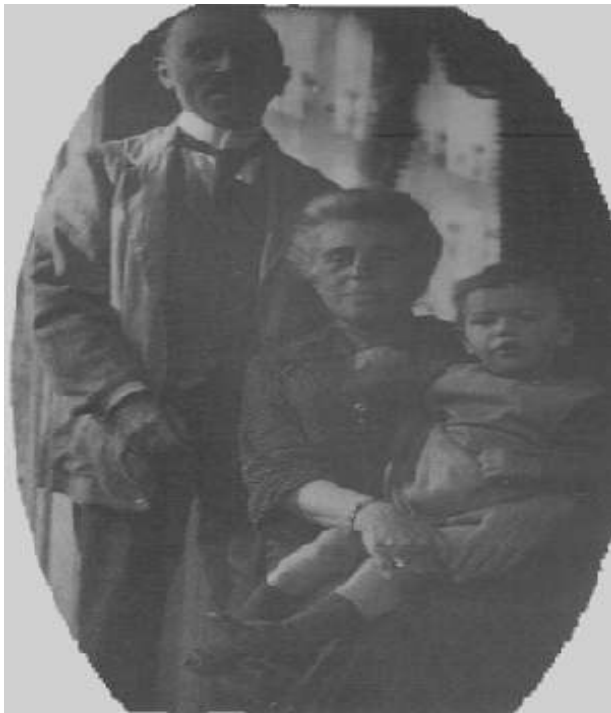
Grandmother
Henrietta neé
Nehab

167



Grandmother
Henriette with
Kaete

168



107 Richard Dahn, Henriette Danilewicz
und Hans Dahn, Aufnahme 23. Juli
1920

169



Henriette
1915, by
Carl Jung-
Dörfler

170

Hedwig: “My mother [Henriette Nehab] was born in Lissa and went to school in Prenzlau. I assume that the marriage of my parents was arranged, as was then customary. My mother, at 19 years, must have been very pretty, judging from pictures and stories. She had three older brothers and a younger one.”

Hedwig Danielewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1934, transcribed by 71 Paul Unschuld. Translated by Eli Noam.

Hedwig: “My grandparents on my mother's [Nehab] side still lived distinctly Jewish, in contrast to the rest of my family.”

Hedwig Danielewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1934, transcribed by 72 Paul Unschuld. Translated by Eli Noam.

Hedwig [My Mother]: Henriette's
oldest brother Felix [Nehab] lived in
Stralsund



173



174

Stralsund Island, in the Baltic Sea



175

Hedwig: “The second brother was Uncle Max, a much more energetic business type, who lost his only son Alfred in World War One”

Hedwig Danielewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript 1934,
transcribed by P. Unschuld, translated by E. Noam

176

Hedwig: "Uncle Julius, the third brother, was the genius of the family, but only in his thoughts, ideas, plans, and designs, but never in deeds..."

He studied philology...he received his doctorate in Berlin but did not take the qualifying state exam, perhaps he had lost courage, or thought it useless, since as a Jew he could not receive a position in the civil service."

Hedwig Danielewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript 1934,
transcribed by P. Unschuld, translated by E. Noam

177

"Instead, he went as a private teacher to Paris, later to America, and then returned home. In Paris he actively studied the works of painters and obtained a great knowledge in this area...He had also much love and understanding and good judgment of literature."

Hedwig Danielewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript 1934,
transcribed by P. Unschuld, translated by E. Noam

178

Hedwig: “But what was granted to me, his niece, the flutter of the wing of mercy that carried me across the portal of holiness into the holiest, did not happen to him, unfortunately.”

Hedwig Danielewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript 1934,
transcribed by P. Unschuld, translated by E. Noam

179

Hedwig: “The youngest uncle, Ludwig, had separated himself early from the rest of the family.”

Hedwig Danielewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript 1934,
transcribed by P. Unschuld, translated by E. Noam

180



Meyer Nehab, 1846-1907

181



Distant Nehabs

1857-1940 Rosa
Nehab

182



Posen

Kibbutz
Hazorea



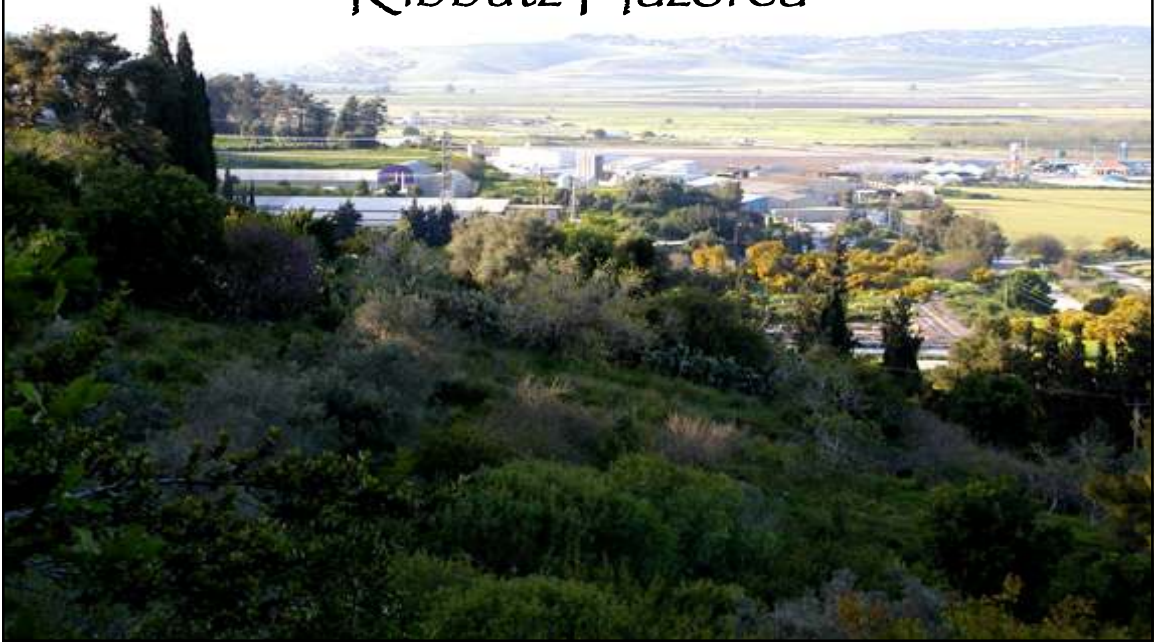
Gertrud Nehab, 1888 Posen -
1980 Kibbutz Hazorea



Kibbutz Hazorea, refuge in 1938

184

Kibbutz Hazorea



Chapter 1.5: Father Richard Dahn, 1879 - 1964

187



Richard 1890

188

Hedwig: "My brother [Richard] and I were taken along to [uncle Ludwig's] wedding. My brother, at the end of the table, was surrounded by a group of young guys without female companionship who enjoyed themselves by pouring wine for the child, so that he soon was quite out of his senses. Both of us had rehearsed a little play. Since I knew both roles by heart, I could play his, too, since he completely forgot his lines...My father was deeply unhappy and in despair: in his mind he saw his only son on the lowest step of the bourgeois hierarchy, an alcoholic in the gutter! This fear was somewhat excessive; my brother remained for the rest of his life the most sober of people."

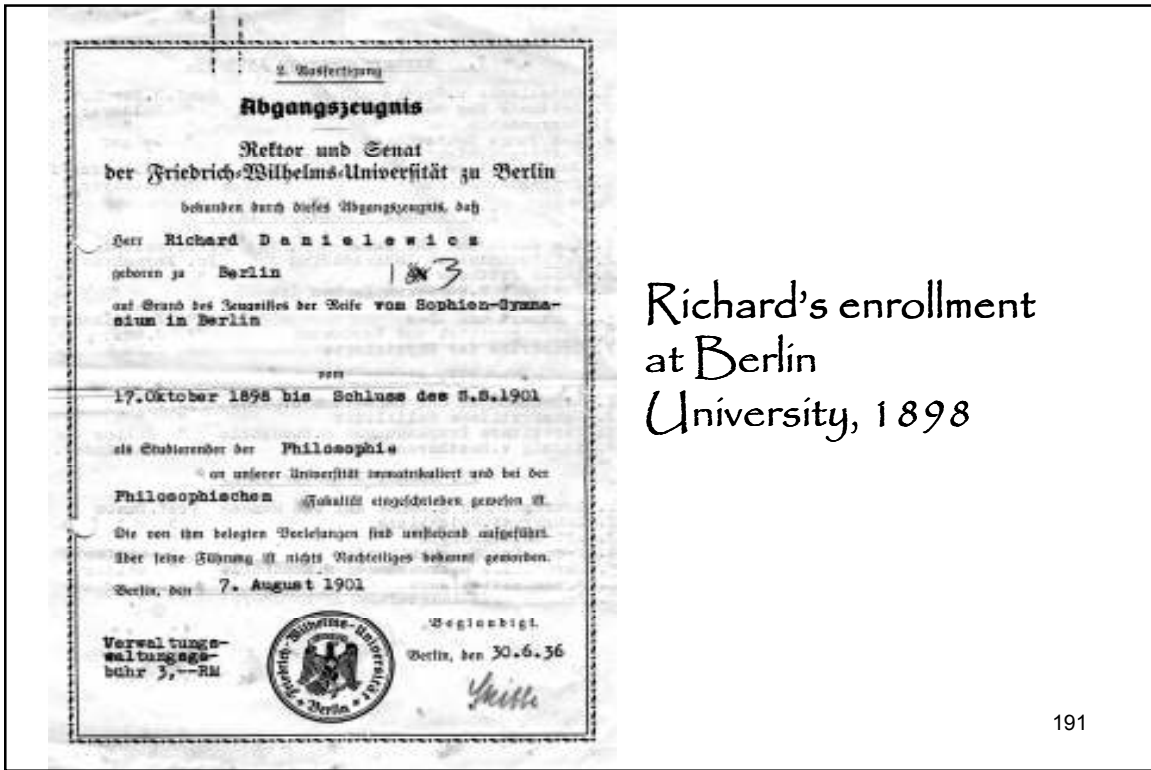
Hedwig Demilewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript 1934, transcribed by P. Unschuld, translated by E. Noam

189

Richard wanted to study medicine, but was denied admission under the prevailing numerus clausus quotas on Jewish students.

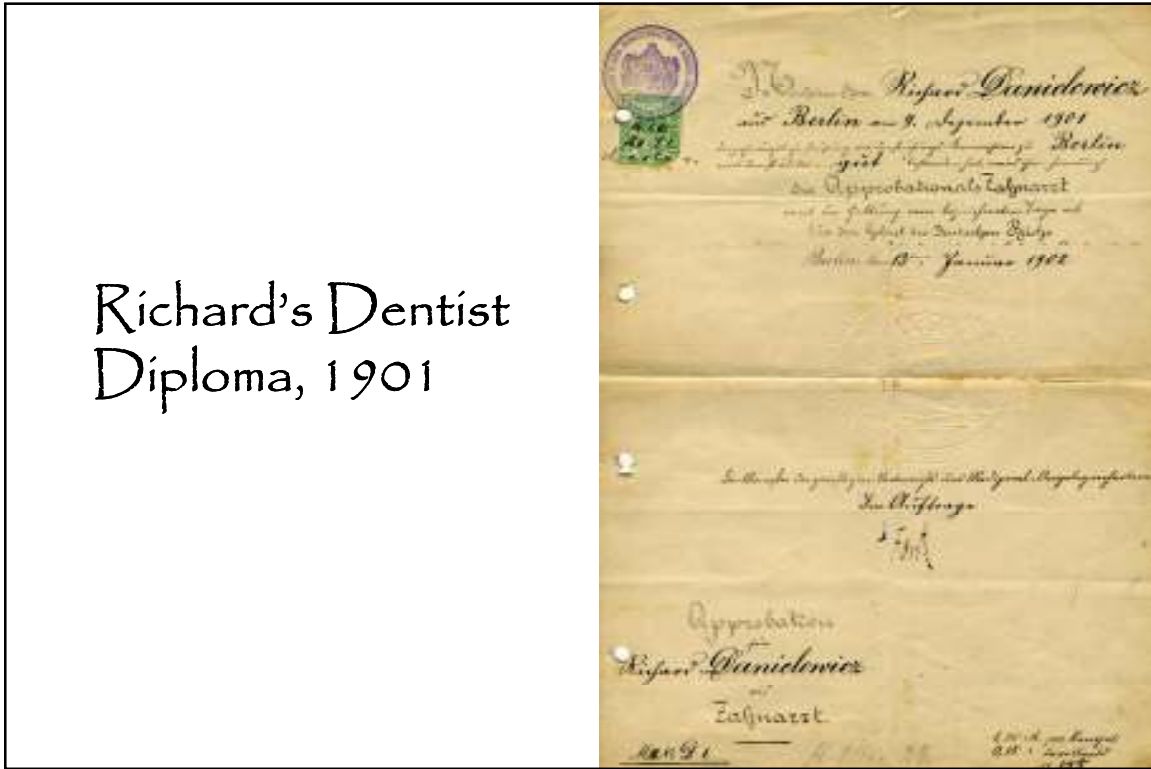
He then studied dentistry instead.

190



Richard's enrollment at Berlin University, 1898

191



Richard's Dentist Diploma, 1901

Richard also added in 1920 a
doctorate from Hamburg
University.

193



194



“My father served as a dentist in World War I (1914-1918), with the rank of a non-commissioned officer and felt very German.”

195
Lotte Memoir Letters to Birte, 19xx, 19xx

Richard married Flora Kaufmann in 1918, before the end of the war

196

<p> Königl. Standesamt <u>Cassel</u> Nr. der Heiratsurkunde <u>28.1918</u> </p> <p style="text-align: center;">Bescheinigung der Eheschließung.</p> <p> Zwischen dem <u>Geführten, zur Zeit</u> <u>Alexander Kaufmann, geb. am</u> <u>25. September 1879 in Berlin</u> und dem <u>Fräulein</u> <u>Anna Stern Kaufmann,</u> geb. am <u>19. April 1887</u> in <u>Wien</u> </p>	<p> zwischen Religion, geboren am <u>28. Januar</u> <u>1895 in Cassel</u> wohnhaft in <u>Cassel</u> Tochter des <u>Kaufmanns Maximal</u> <u>Kaufmann und seiner</u> <u>Gefährtin Adelheid, geb. Stern,</u> <u>Heimer,</u> </p> <p> ist vor dem Standesamt <u>Cassel</u> am <u>18. Januar 1918</u> die Ehe geschlossen worden. <u>Cassel, am 18. Januar 1918.</u> </p> <p style="text-align: right;">Der Standesbeamte:</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>[Signature]</i></p> <p> <small>Die Eheschließung ist öffentlich vorgenommen worden, wenn die Ehegatten die gesetzlichen Voraussetzungen der Eheschließung erfüllt haben, die Ehegatten die gesetzlichen Voraussetzungen der Eheschließung erfüllt haben, die Ehegatten die gesetzlichen Voraussetzungen der Eheschließung erfüllt haben.</small> </p> <p style="text-align: right;"> <u>17. 10. Bernhorn</u> <small>Die Eheschließung ist öffentlich vorgenommen worden, wenn die Ehegatten die gesetzlichen Voraussetzungen der Eheschließung erfüllt haben, die Ehegatten die gesetzlichen Voraussetzungen der Eheschließung erfüllt haben, die Ehegatten die gesetzlichen Voraussetzungen der Eheschließung erfüllt haben.</small> </p>
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~ 1927/8



Psychodrama
by
Lotte Noam, 1983

Today I sat on your knees, father,
And wanted to tell you how much...
Wanted to tell you, wanted to cling,
Wanted to stroke your head.
I did all that and cried and cried.
It felt so good and you did come back
And called me those tender names.

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

200

Psychodrama, by Lotte Noam
[cont]

Do I have to grow up, daddy?
Gather me tight in your folds.
I do not want to let go this time,
You came back to tell me you love me still
And don't want me to stand in the dark.
Do you remember that childhood corner
Right at the end of our street?
You picked me up and carried me home,
I was a three-year-old bundles of squeals
And you hugged me and put me to bed.

Lotte Noam, Great Enemy Cancer, 1983

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Psychodrama, by Lotte Noam
[cont]

You promised me then and there, daddy,
That you would never let go.
That's why you came back and I sat on your knees
And I felt your warmth and stroked your head
And called you those tender names.

Can you forgive that I let you down?
You never left, but I did.
I am back, here I am,
Keep me close, hold me tight
And stay with me through the night.

Lotte Noam, Great Enemy Cancer, 1983

202



“Family Book”; 1913

203

Wedding certificate;
January 18, 1918:
Richard and Flora
 (“presently non-
commissioned officer”)



204

Name change to Dahn; 1927



205

206

Chapter 1.6
Mother Flora Dahn,
née Kaufmann
1895 - 1972

207

Flora Dahn, née
Kaufmann,
1895 - 1972



208

Lotte On Her Mother

“She was sensitive and easily hurt, and on the other hand very aggressive. Ernst invented the term ‘aggressive mimosa flower’ for her and a few similar friends, and he claimed that these were two sides of the same coin.”

Lotte Noam, supplemental Memoir Letter, 2006

209

Lotte: “She had a very difficult youth – a mother who knew no tenderness, and quarrelsome younger siblings for whose upbringing she was in part responsible and whom she had to teach and help with their homework. Older siblings who talked her out of her pocket money or pinched it in order to sneak out and have a good time. In short, she was exploited by everybody except her good-natured father.”

Lotte Noam, supplemental Memoir Letter, 2006

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Clara (8), Julius (4), Flora (5) in 1900



211

Flora, Adelheid, Clara,
Hilde (sitting), in 1918



212

Lotte: “My mother was a beautiful woman. Her Greek profile, the big grey eyes – I was proud to see her in the circle of other women and to think that she looks prettier than all of them. That is, from the waist up. Further down she had the voluptuous forms of the Mannheimer family that was impervious to any diet.”

Lotte Noam, Supplemental Memoir Letter, 2006

213

Lotte: “Flora received the education of a Froebel-Kindergarten teacher [a direction] and evidently succeeded in it with her seriousness and commitment. As a parting celebration before her marriage the children sang a little song for her which she quoted to me:

Tante Flora hielt uns stramm,
Doch sie unsre Liebs gewann
(Aunt Flora was strict, but won our
love)”

Lotte Noam, Supplemental Memoir Letter, 2006

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215



216

Chapter 2: Childhood

217

Chapter 2.1: Lotte's Childhood

218

Kassel,
October 27th,
1920

219



220

Birth
Certificate;
Hedwig Ruth
Liselotte:
October 27,
1920



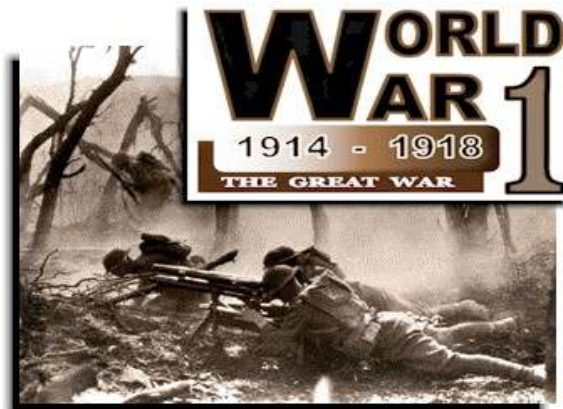
221

1921, Hedwig
Ruth
Lieselotte
Dahn



222

Post-War Baby Boomer



223

Kassel, 17th Century



Kassel, City
Hall



Kassel, Koenigsplatz



226



“My family moved to Bremen when I was 1-year old.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

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Reittiluettelo



228



Die Freie Hansestadt Bremen – Luftaufnahme

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Marktplatz – Rathaus, St. Petri Dom, Bürgerschaft

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230



Schiffe an der Weserpromenade Schlachte

© BTZ / 2006

231

Roland the
Giant,
Landmark of
Bremen



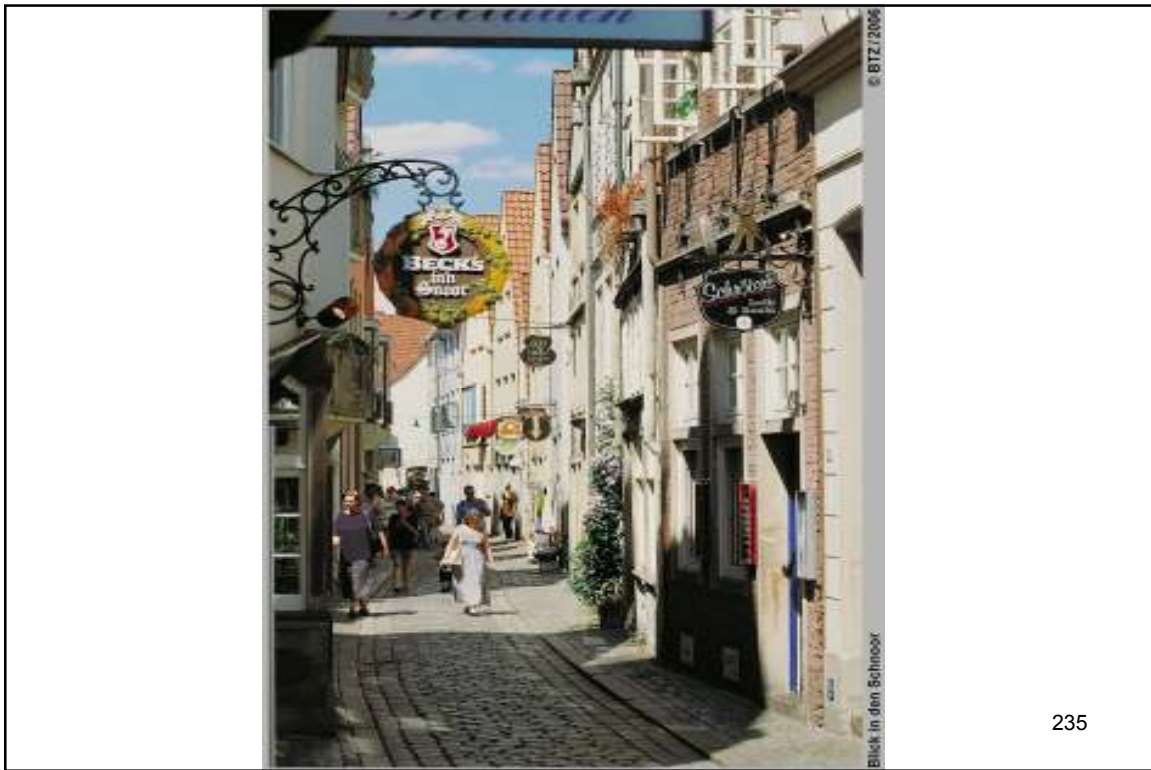


Market Place, Bremen, 1920s ²³³



Bremer Stadtmusikanten vor weihnachtlicher Kulisse

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Z34



235

Lotte: "My father was a dentist and opened his practice in the Neustadt which was a part of the city on the other side of the Weser, a not very posh workingclass neighborhood."

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

236



Bremen- Neustadt

237



Typical Dental Office, 1930

238

“We then moved [From Wieland Street] to Kleine Allee, later called Langemarkstrasse, which caused me real grief and trauma. But my father had his practice in that street and did not want to travel too far for his lunch and his family.

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

239

“With many tears I took leave of the little house which is still standing today, of the garden with the big pear tree, the sandbox, and a flowering tree in front.”

240

“I think that I
had a
guardian
angel all my
life.”



241

“He must have appeared first when we moved. The neighborhood around Wielandstrasse was a typical petit bourgeois neighborhood in which the Nazi poison could freely develop and where everyone knew everybody. It would have been very difficult to live there after 1933, while there was more in an apartment house with its anonymity. Also, my father was very well regarded and liked as a dentist in the neighborhood and this rubbed off on his children.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir *Letters to Birte*

242



Kleiue Allee (Langemarck Street) today.

243

Lotte: “[My father] was the school dentist in our school at the corner, and I was very proud when my dad came to the school at regular intervals and looked into the mouths of my classmates. He had a lot of Berlin-style humor, and there was always a lot of laughter while he checked our teeth.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

244

Center of
Attention,
1922



1923, Family ~
2 1/2 years





Mermaid, 4yrs.

247



248



1923

249



Mother's
Whistler
1930

250

1930



251

Das
Doppelte
Lottchen
1931



252

“My father did not have the slightest notion of Jewish traditions, while my mother, who was from a traditional Jewish family, quickly got rid of the little bit of Jewishness that she had been brought up with. That was the way of most assimilated Jews in Germany.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

253

Lotte: “My family was totally assimilated. We celebrated Christmas under a Christmas tree and my father played Christmas songs on the piano. The rest of us sang devoutly “Stille Nacht, Heilige Nacht (Silent Night, Holy Night), led by the voice of the maid Erna. It was very festive and beautiful, while the candles were burning. It smelled of wax, fir needles and apples.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

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1923

255

“The presents, mostly made by my father's own hands, were marvelous. There was a doll house with electrical light and flowing water, a castle that was being stormed by handcast lead soldiers, a giant swing in which little dolls were sitting, puzzles, miniature highways filled with cars, and much more.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir *Letters to Birte*

256



1927

257



1927 Note
the puppet
theater,
Lotte's
lifelong
hobby

258

Lotte: “[My mother] was also strict with us [children], but not exaggeratedly so. The business of education was in her hands, while my father took care of the cheerful and relaxed part of family life.”

Lotte Noam, supplemental Memoir Letter, 2006

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“She raised us in accordance with the ‘green book’, as my brother mockingly called it and which was in reality very good, as I found out later on. It was Eduard Spranger’s *Psychology of Adolescence*, in which progressive ideas were laid out.”

Lotte Noam, supplemental Memoir Letter, 2006

260



AUS DEM VERMÄCHTNIS EDUARD SPRANGERS
AN DIE UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK TÜBINGEN
1963

“Spranger was one of the leaders of the ‘humanistic psychology’ in Germany”

(Wikipedia)

261

Lotte: “But this book was meant only for early puberty, not for raising small children. There, psychology must have abandoned them. My brother read his diary, which our parents kept for each of us from birth, that he was locked into the pitch dark cellar at the tender age of two years.”

Lotte Noam, supplemental Memoir Letter, 2006

262

“We were both flabbergasted. ‘What can such a tiny child have done wrong to deserve this punishment?’ we asked ourselves and shook our heads in disbelief. He also had to taste the cane now and then, as he remembers clearly.”

263

“I don’t find anything like that in my diary, only love and pride. The first entry of my mother, next to the photo of the newly born, is: ‘A girl. I am very happy and will give her all the love which I did not receive as a child’. That’s exactly what she did. I was hugged and kissed a lot and cuddled on her lap.”

Lotte Noam, supplemental Memoir Letter, 2006

264

“Of course I had to obey, but that was no problem it was a matter of course at the time. I don’t know how my parents got the respect they demanded, but certainly not through shouting or striking me. It just didn’t occur to you to be naughty or to give insolent answers.”

Lotte Noam, supplemental Memoir Letter, 2006

265

Lotte: “Before emigration we were a well-functioning family. The roles were distributed according to tradition. My father had his profession and was the breadwinner, and on the side was very busy with his sports, his boat, his children and handicraft. He also was a good musician, played piano and flute like King Fredrick of Prussia, we used to say, while my mother was in charge of the household, children and distributing the money, which she did in a very efficient way.”

Lotte Noam, supplemental Memoir Letter, 2006

266

Lotte: “Concerning the sexual enlightening of us children, [my mother] was absolutely useless. My questions from a very early age and later she answered in an embarrassed way or avoided them.”

Lotte Noam, supplemental Memoir Letter, 2006

267

Lotte: “One could not turn to my father, either. He was a very chaste, private man. I never saw him in the nude, never heard him talk about feelings or had him kiss or cuddle me.”

Lotte Noam, supplemental Memoir Letter, 2006

268

Lotte: “But every morning I came into his bed and was told the ever continuing story of Onkel Rampumpel, a bald dentist and his little daughter and all the animals of Noah’s Ark who came to his practice. I still remember the story of the elephant who was suffering from a terrible toothache and there was not enough plaster in the house to fill the huge hole in the ebony tooth.

Lotte Noam, supplemental Memoir Letter, 2006

269

“And the story about the tiger who had to have a wooden contraption built into his mouth so that he could not shut it and bite off the doctor’s hand.”

270



Lotte and brother Hans

271

“My earliest memories are bicycle excursions with my father and my brother. I was sitting in a little basket in front of my dad, his knees going up and down beside me, and my brother riding on his little bicycle on the side. We went through green meadows, along canals, and it was a great delight.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

272

Bicycle 1930s



273

Canals Near Bremen



Torfkahnfahrt

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2/4

Lotte: "But the real love of my father was for boats and ships. When I was eight years old my father bought a canoe on the Torfkanal (peat canal), and every Sunday we went by bicycle or streetcar to our boat Zickebeen (named after her father's endearment for Lotte) on the brown water.

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

275

"My father and Hans paddled, my mother and the picnic basket were sitting in the middle on big cushions. We went through scenic locks of the rivers Wümme or Hamme until we found a suitable place to tie up."

276



Gastronomie an der Wümme

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Wümme

277



278

Zickebeen No.2 had an outboard engine which kept stalling and entangling.

279

Flora in Zickebeen 2



280

Lotte: “Zickebeen No. 3 was introduced into our lives. And this time it was a real grown-up motorboat on the river Weser. Good times began. We drove en famille to Lesum and other destinations, and Zickebeen 3 never disappointed us. The picnic baskets grew bigger and my father was a proud skipper with a captain's cap.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

281



Richard, Lotte, Flora, and Others, in Zickebeen 3

282

Lesum



283

“Every winter the little rivers around Bremen rose and inundated the flat land. The water froze and wonderful winter joys started. We tied Dutch skates to our boots and raced alone or in chains over the wide frozen expanse.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir *Letters to Birte*

284

Skating on Bremen Canals



285

“It was wonderful, even better than skiing, we were young and happy. But the glorious days were brief until it started to thaw. Even today, when I see pictures of cross-country skating, I am gripped by nostalgia.”

286



287



288

Lotte: "My parents gave me as a present a little black and white rabbit, that was called Schnune by my father, short for 'Schnuppernäschen', snoopy nose. He built a stable for it, more like a comfortable little house with a red roof, green windows and an archway."



Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

289

1927



290



1927 Kellenhusen on the Baltic Sea ²⁹¹



Kellenhusen Beach, 1927 ²⁹²

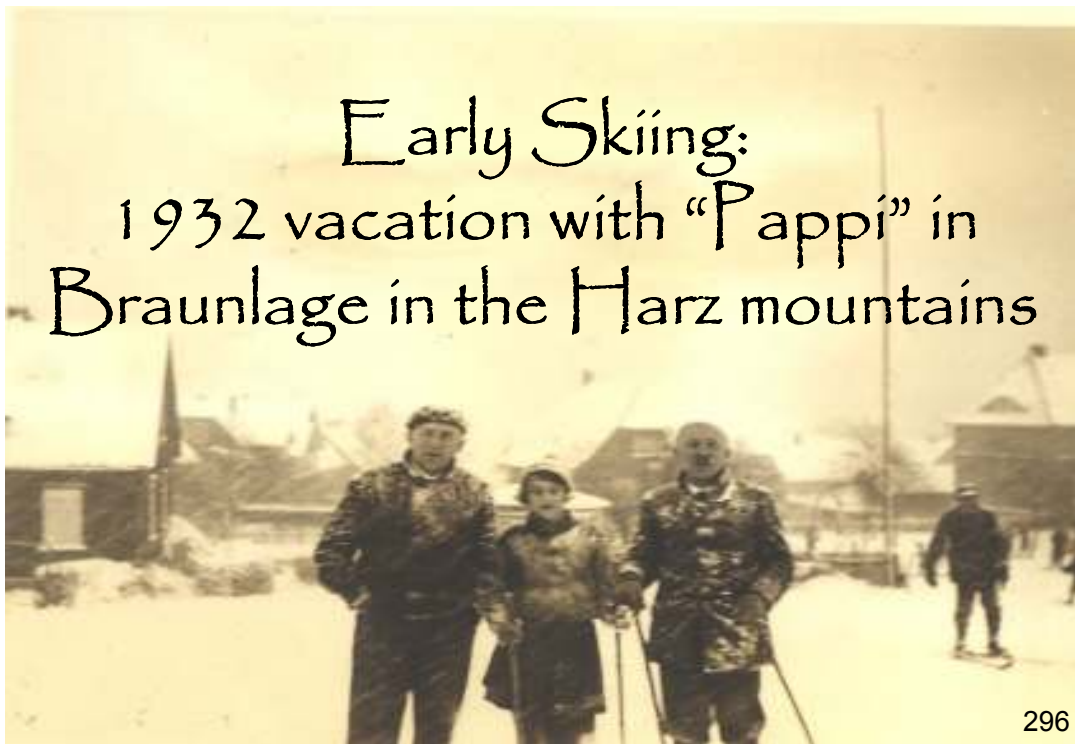


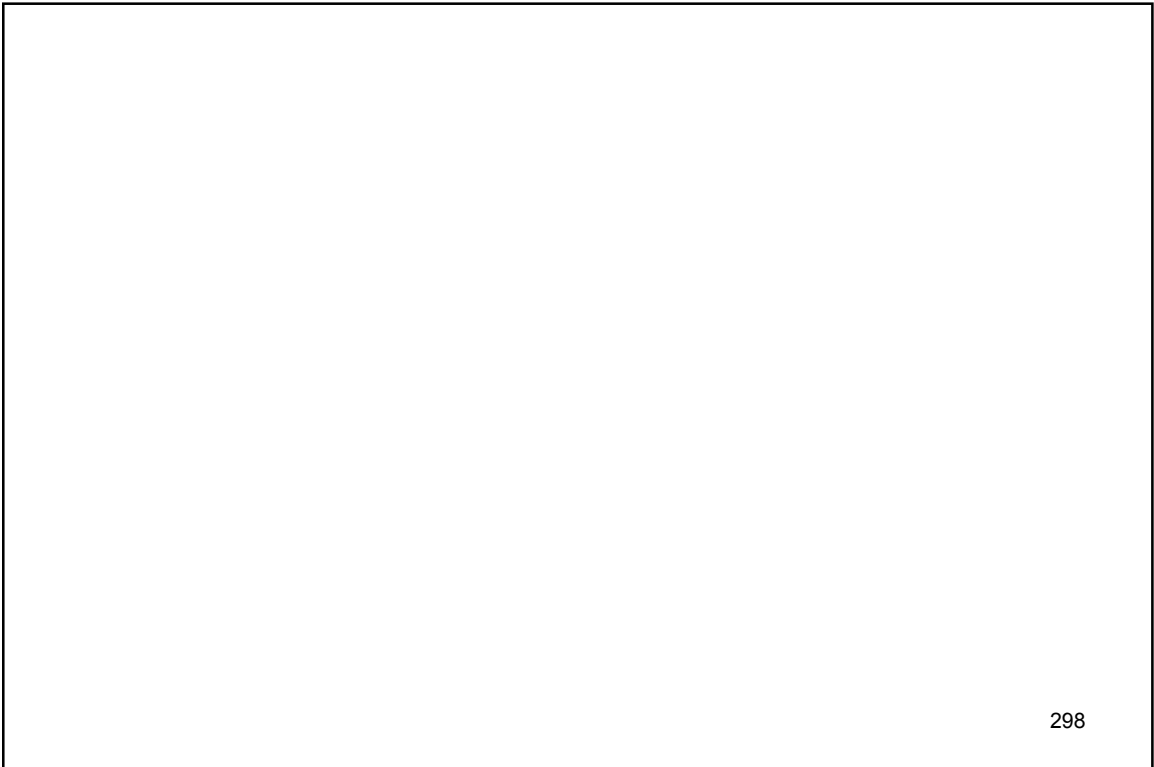
Family Beach,
Kellenhusen

Christmas in
Bremen, 1928
In new cape,
proudly worn



Early Skiing:
1932 vacation with "Pappi" in
Braunlage in the Harz mountains





Chapter 2.2

Brother

Hans Dahn

299

Birth
Certificate;
Hans Richard
Michaelis D.;
January 2,
1919

1. Kind.
Hans Richard Michaelis
geboren am *2. Januar 1919* *Cassel*
Eintragung in das Geburtsregister unter Nr. *1* 19 *19*
Cassel am *6. Januar 1919*
Der Standesbeamte:
J. H. Gahrmeister
Getauft: _____
(Ort der
Wohnstätte) _____
Gestorben am _____
zu _____ Sterberegister Nr. _____ 19 _____
, am _____ 19 _____
(Ort) _____ Der Standesbeamte: _____

300



Hans,
1919

301

Hans
1920:
Early
Smile

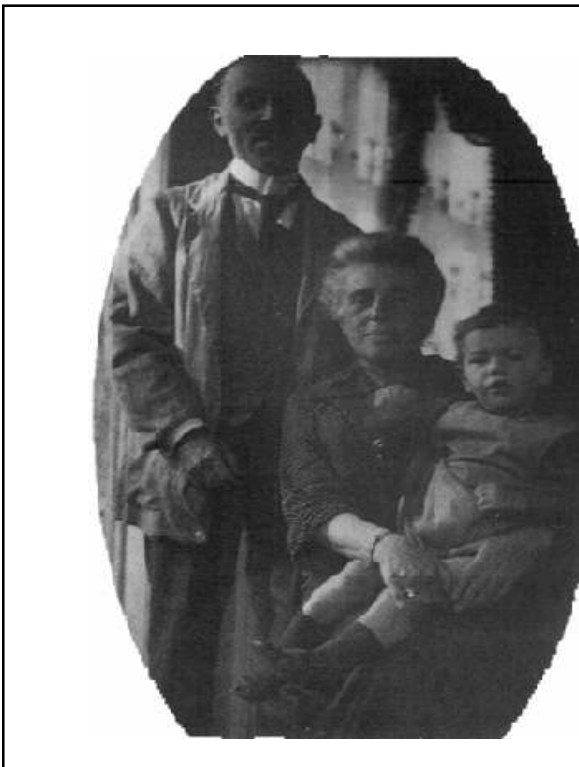


302



Hans
1920

303



Hans with father
and Grandmother
Henriette, 1920

(Unschuld)

304

Hans & Lotte, 1922,
inseparable



First house in
Bremen, Wieland
Strasse

306



1923

307



Hans and Lotte

308

Lotte: "I was four years old. My brother was almost six when he was being caught by a group of older boys and beaten up. At that time we lived in Wielandstreet, and these little hooligans who seemed to me very big, marched with flags, keeping step and singing a Nazi chant. They kept me on the other side of the street so that that I could not call for help."

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte, 19xx

309

Richard & Hans
~ 1928
Herr Doktor,
Herr Professor



310



Hans, 1931

311



On Target
1931

312





Hans 1937

315



Denmark 1937

316

Chapter 3

Adolescence in Bremen, Germany

Chapter 3.1

Growing Up

319

School Class in Bremen:

Lotte in between her two best friends: Lisa (with accordion), and Annemarie behind Lotte



320

Swimming Diploma



321



Bremen, major
shopping place
Böttcher
Street

322



The
Future
Pacifist,
1931

323
323

Braunlage, Harz:
Rebel 1932



324

Lotte: “My primary class teacher was Miss Sophie Felter who befriended my parents and saw to it that little hungry girls were taken care of. She and her lesbian friend, Miss Ahrhus, had very low membership numbers in the Nazi party, which meant that they had joined the party quite early.

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

325

“[Miss Sophie] admired Hitler, but nevertheless I was her special darling and was allowed to sit on her lap and was being sent almost daily on little errands.”

326

Lotte: “When our apartment was being destroyed on ‘Kristallnacht’ [“The Crystal Night” pogrom in 1938], there she was, standing in the door, surveying the damage and offering my mother and aunt Hilde, who were both trembling and frightened from what had just happened, to come and stay at her home.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

327

Lotte: “I am very grateful to my mother for giving me a lot of freedom from the age of thirteen on. That has to do with the famous Youth Movement [Jugend-bewegung] and with my brother who had received his own freedom without fighting for it.

Lotte Noam, supplemental Memoir Letter, 2006

328

“([Hans]) was a boy and everybody was glad that at last he abandoned his books and research papers and went out into nature with a group of friends.”

329



Lotte: “Consequently, I, too, was allowed to hike with a group of my girl scouts, go to summer camps and sing-outs, sleep in tents around camp fires and abandon myself to this entirely wonderful world of the Youth Movement which in time filled my life and my thoughts and feelings.”

Lotte Noam, supplemental Memoir Letter, 2006

331

Lotte: “The hiking soon mutated into hitch hiking and that, too, was tolerated by my parents, for which I am grateful and admiring to this very day.

It is no small thing for bourgeois parents to know that their daughter of 15 or 16 years is alone or with another girl on the road with strangers in their car. Nothing bad ever happened, but it could have, I concede today.”

Lotte Noam, supplemental Memoir Letter, 2006

332

Budget Traveler



333

“For me it was, at the time, a big adventure. The excitement of how it would work out, how long it would take until a car stopped, what type of man and conversation we would encounter. Being unconscious of danger, I loved hitchhiking more than later driving my own car.

Lotte Noam, supplemental Memoir Letter, 2006

334

“Sometimes we lied to our parents in a very transparent way, such as: ‘Mathilde’s uncle is taking us south in his car,’ or something like that.”

Lotte Noam, supplemental Memoir Letter, 2006

335

“In reality, we stood at the last stop of the train, at the road side, arm raised, counting impatiently how many jerks passed us without stopping. It never took long. We had many funny and interesting adventures.”

336

Chapter 3.2
Nazi Years in
Bremen,
1933 - 1938



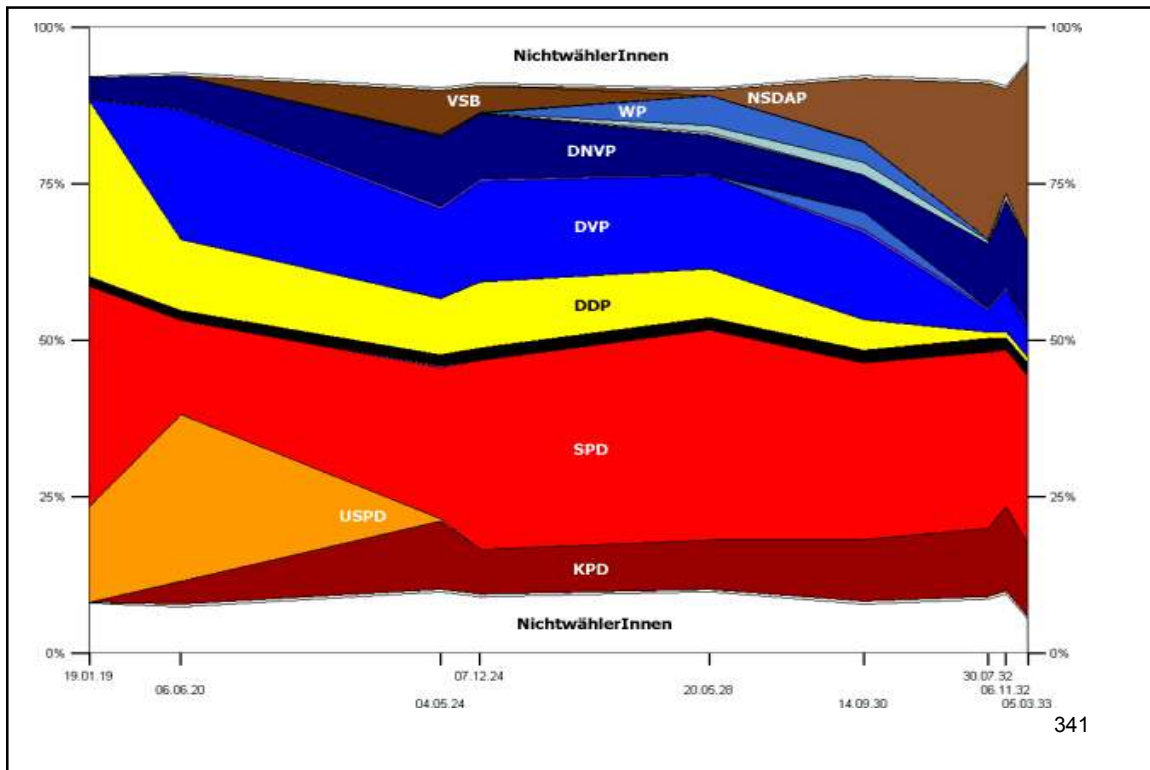
Last time
siblings together:
Heta, Henrietta
(mother), Kaete,
Richard, Clara,
Else in
Düsseldorf
1934

339

Lotte: "My guardian angel was active in the choice of a town in which Hitler was not very popular. He never came to Bremen, because the city was traditionally red/socialist, and as a harbor open in the direction of England."

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte, 19xx

340



341

Lotte is a bit sanguine here. Nazi voting in Bremen indeed grew to “only” 28%, one of Germany’s lowest, but the allied German Nationalist Party had another 10%+, for a right-wing total of almost 40%.

342

Partei	Melsungen 1933
KPD	415
SPD	432
Zentrum	
Wirtschafts-partei	
Staatspartei	
DDP	
DVP	
Bayerische Volkspartei	
Christl. Soz. Volksdienst	
DNVP	
Kampffront Schwarz-Weiß-Rot	396
NSDAP	1539 = 51,92 %
Summe der abgegebenen Stimmen	2964

In Melsungen, the Nazi party alone received in 1933 52%, 8% above the national average. 13% went to another right wing party.

343

Lotte: "The only event that showed me that I was different from my classmates took place in the second year of my schooling. I had invited the whole class to a restaurant near our apartment and little Margot came to me to tell me that she was not allowed to come, because her parents were Nazis."

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte, 19xx

344

“I went home and asked my mother: what are Nazis? My mother, just stooped over the oven, straightened herself, looked at my brother, who was also in the kitchen, and the two exchanged glances. Then she explained that Nazis are people who don't like us Jews. That was all for the moment.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte, 19xx

345



After Adolf Hitler was voted into power, discriminating laws and officially supported boycotts against Jews became prevalent.

346

Lotte: “I must say that I had a happy childhood in spite of the growing Nazi terror, and I feel as though I have drawn strength from it all my life.”

347

Regina Bruss, “Die Bremer Juden unter dem Nationalsozialismus”, (“Jews in Bremen under the National Socialists;” Marburg: Hitzroth, 1992)

“To be a child in hard times is never as bitter as being an adult. Children live in the present, are happy about small things, are content if their immediate needs are filled. And adults will do anything to shield them from a depressing reality.....”

348

Bruss: “For Jewish children it was certainly easier than for Jewish adults. But there were the occasions which blindsided them in their lack of suspicion, which hurt them and made them insecure. And they came to recognize soon that they were undesirable. And the place where this happened in particular was the public school”

349

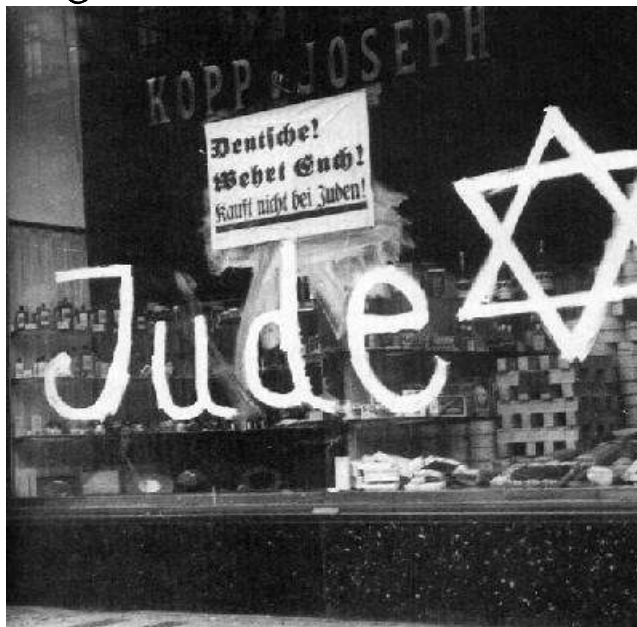
It must have been difficult to avoid the barrage.

350

1933 Leaflet to boycott Bremen Jewish Doctors and Lawyers.
"Germans, go to German doctors and lawyers"
Richard Dahn would have been on the preceding page of this alphabetic list.



Boycott of Jewish Stores



352

Lotte: “[My father’s] position [as the school’s dentist] was immediately lost at the beginning of Nazi times.”

353



Die Sögestraße, Frühjahrs 1933. Blick Richtung Herdensteinweg. Die Beflaggung erfolgte aus Anlass der Ausstellung »Rechten – Schläusen zur Welt«. Rechts unten im Bild ist das Ladengeschäft der Firma WMF zu erkennen, gegenüber das Café Krüger.

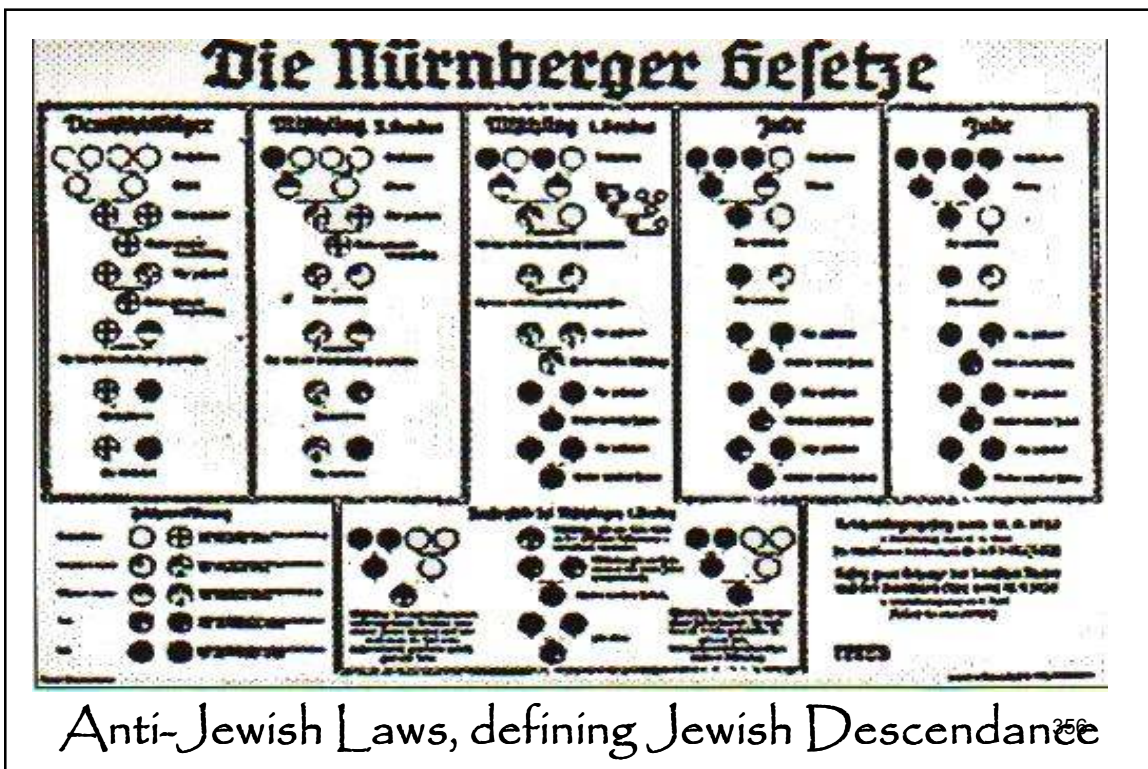
Bremen,
Böttcher
Street,
flying
Nazi
banners

354



Demonizing
propaganda in
Bremen 1937

355



Anti-Jewish Laws, defining Jewish Descendants

Lotte: “After 1936 Jews were not allowed to have maids younger than 45 years old, so we had to dismiss Emma and never hired another one. It would have to be a person older than fifty so that Jewish male employers could not abuse or seduce her – which they always did, according to Nazi propaganda.”

Lotte Noam, supplemental Memoir Letter, 2006

357

Lotte: “[My parents] had close non-Jewish friends who had joined us for excursions and vacations but who disappeared as Nazi times came. The Jewish friends, however, multiplied as Jews drew closer together, huddled together in the growing danger and segregation.”

Lotte Noam, supplemental Memoir Letter, 2006

358

“We had Jewish friends, the Olivers, whose son Heinerle was one of the leaders of my youth group ‘Kameraden’.

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

359

Dieter Fricke, “Anti-Semitismus in Bremen”, 1919 bis 1933.

[*full cite]

“The Jewish family Oliver...was threatened and beaten [in 1929] in their apartment by a young carpenter, Wilfried Nothdurft, who lived across the street...

The then 13-year old son of the Olivers, Heinrich...was beaten up by Nothdurft without any provocation. The Olivers called the police.

After the police left Nothdurft forcibly entered the Oliver’s home, shouted wild insults, pushed the wife, threw a flowerpot at a guest, and finally was pushed out of the home.

360

Lotte: “[Oliver] was immediately [in 1933] fetched from home, seventeen years old, and he never returned from the concentration camps.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

361

Lotte: “My guardian angel was also present in the choice of a school, where under the directorship of Fräulein Plate only the most unavoidable of party activity, official hurras and fanaticism were exhibited. We Jewish students were under her gentle quiet protection.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

362



Lyceum Kleine Helle

363

Lotte: "In all those years of my schooling I never encountered personal anti-Semitism. Never heard the word Jew as a curse-word, neither from teachers nor pupils. With the exception of Mister Reuss, our class teacher, who appeared immediately after the election of March 1933 in SA Uniform, I don't remember any of our teachers being enthusiastic or engaged for the party."

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

364

“Our homeroom teacher, Dr. Middenhoff, was clearly an anti-Nazi.”

365

Lotte: “One memorable event of my school time took place in my last year in Bremen. It was 1937, and the two class-speakers were to be elected. Lisa Meier, a little older than the rest of us, because she had repeated a class in spite of being the smartest, as well as a blonde beauty, made an election speech.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

366

“She said: ‘We should elect the most cheeky one and the best student, namely Dorle and Lotte. This would be a good combination.’ No counter suggestions being made, the fatuous electorate said yes, and thus Dorle and me were put into office under [Teacher] Middi’s amused approval.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

367

“A few weeks later, Middi appeared in class with a letter in his hand. ‘Lotte and Sophie (my Jewish classmate), leave the classroom and wait outside.’ We did not go far but listened at the door.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

368

“He read a letter that had come from the Nazi Teachers Union: ‘We have been informed that a Jewish student of your class has been elected class speaker’.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

369

“We are writing the year 1937. Have you still not caught on to the spirit of the new Germany? Or don’t you want to understand? Reverse the decision of the class immediately, and if something like that should happen again, you will suffer the consequences’.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

370

“We listened at the door. Inside an uproar was heard, again led by the inimitable Lisa: ‘They are not supposed to interfere.’ ‘We can elect whom we want!’ And then Middi’s deep voice, suddenly very energetically: ‘Quiet. You all listen now. In Germany we don’t have a democracy anymore. Elections are abolished. We have the principle of leadership. I am the leader and I order you and you – pointing to two girls – to be class-speakers. That’s it. Lotte and Sophie, you can come back in.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

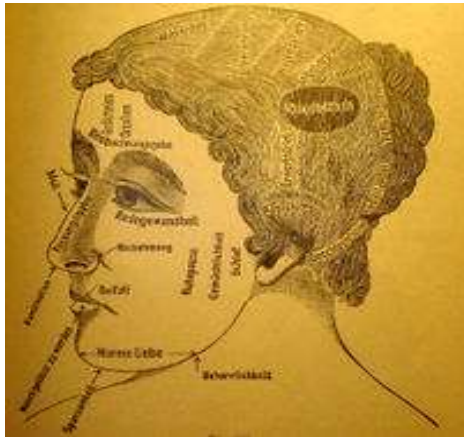
371

“Another funny episode happened in the same year. A new fangled subject was being taught in German schools, called “Rassenkunde” (racial science), where we learned about the different superior and inferior races, the German or Nordic race being at the top, and the Jews at the bottom.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

372

Race Theory Skull Measurement



373

“Sketches were being made of different shapes of head, body, nose and eyebrows. A young teacher taught us this subject, and one day an adviser showed up. He told us to measure our heads in every direction and write down the results. Then he pronounced: ‘The most pure nordic head is of this pupil’, holding up my sketch.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

374

“A general giggle arose in the class, and the young teacher’s head went beet red. She whispered something to the instructor, who looked angrily at her. ‘It is not permitted’, he said abruptly, ‘to admit Jewish students to this lesson’, turned and went out.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir *Letters to Birte*

375

Although Lotte does not remember it, she was being excluded from many school activities

376

Bruss: "All Jewish students while attending public schools, were formally excluded from all school ceremonies, extracurricular activities, trips, athletic events, and school hostels."

This was based on the decree of the Reichs Minister for Education of July 2, 1937, which ordered the exclusion of Jewish students from communal activities outside the classroom.

Bruss, Regina, "Jews in Bremen under the National Socialists," Marburg: Hitzroth,³⁷³92

Recollections by another Lottie, at the same school: Bettina Decke, "*Du Musst Raus Hier!*": Lottie Abraham-Levy: Eine Jugend in Bremen

"The first time I was truly hurt was in the Kleine Helle School, 1936 or in the spring 1937. I had packed up my gear for the class trip to a youth hostel and my mother took me to the train station. A teacher explained to us with tears in her eyes: 'Lottie, you can not come along. Jews are unwelcome in the youth hostel.' My ³⁷⁸

“This was the first time that I clearly felt they are trying to finish us off. At such age it is particularly bitter to be excluded.”

[By Lottie Abraham-Levy]

Bettina Decke, “Du Musst Raus Hier!": Lottie Abraham- Levy: Eine Jugend in Bremen

379

“Did Lottie [Abraham-Levy] receive visits from former fellow students after she left the Kleine Helle? Did teachers ask about her? Most students had joined the BDM [Nazi girls organization]. They were expected not to interact with Jews. When I would meet them on the street they would look away or kind of said only in passing briefly “How’s it going” or “Bye”, that was all. Teachers never contacted

m Bettina Decke, “Du Musst Raus Hier!": Lottie Abraham- Levy: Eine Jugend in Bremen

380

After the Crystal Night in 1938, 3 weeks after Lotte's emigration, Jewish students could not attend public schools anymore. Jews could not be outside their homes after dark. They could not drive cars. They were not allowed to own radios.

381

Eventually, schools and park benches were segregated



382

Lotte: "I liked my schools very much. I never encountered personal anti-Semitism. But it was clear that I did not have three years time to finish, and I had to learn something practical, to be a laboratory assistant in a clinic. Schools were written to, and negative responses were received. Thus my aunt's proposal to come for a year to Düsseldorf to the Gudrun School and to study home economics for a year, was accepted."

383

What Lotte does not say here is that though she was the best student in her class, she had to abandon hope for higher education.

384



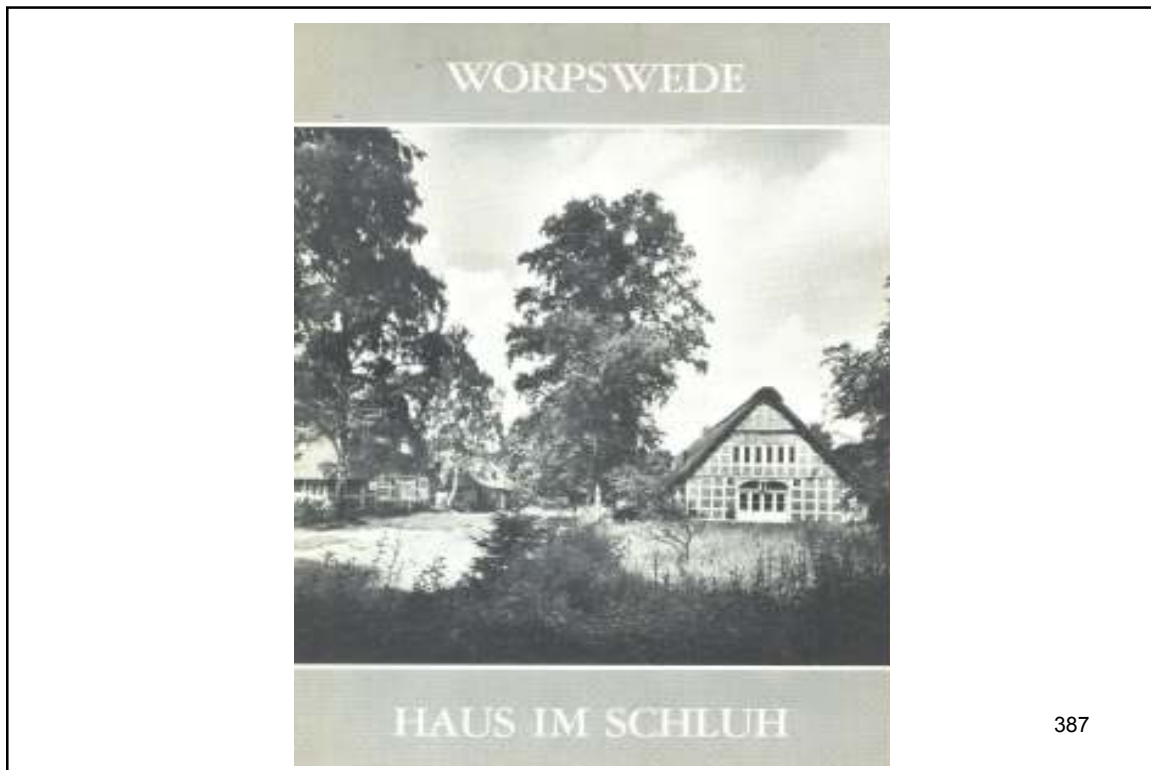
Gudrun School, Düsseldorf Class 1937:
In front, friend Thealies, Lotte

385

Lotte: "In Düsseldorf, my last school year 1937/8, I had a circle of congenial classmates, who, through their Catholic upbringing and their families, were not ready to join the Hitler youth groups. They were in illegal Catholic youth groups under the leadership of a young chaplain. With these girls I was soon connected in a close relationship. We went on excursions and trips with backpacks and guitars."

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

386



“I fell in love with the Worpswede landscape [near Bremen] with the fanatic enthusiasm of a sixteen year old. When I walked from the little train station or took walks through the landscape, I was in seventh heaven, seeing the brown canals with heavy boats under black sails, the birch trees and the heather right and left.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir *Letters to Birte*

388



Artist Colony Worpswede

389



Peat Canals

390

Lotte: “During vacations, I stumbled on the ‘Haus im Schluh’, owned by Martha Vogeler. I liked it so much that I wished to learn hand weaving, which was Martha’s craft.

I went several times to live in one of the old farmhouses and became friends with the whole family.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

391



Haus im Schluh

392



Worpswede
1938
Haus in Schluh

393

“In daytime we were a cheerful little group of women sitting at the big weaving looms, and in the evenings we were assembled in a small room upstairs to secretly listen to the strictly forbidden Radio Moskau. The announcer of the German news in Radio Moskau was ‘Papa’, namely Heinrich Vogeler, the divorced husband of Martha. He had gone to Russia as a communist and died during the war in Siberia .”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

394

Back in
Worpswede, 1990
Haus in Schluh



396

Emigration

397

Lotte: "In 1938 the following happened: Every Sunday the door of the dental office practice of my father was dirtied with human excrement. Every Sunday evening for many weeks in succession we were cleaning with soap, water and brushes to the shit out of window cracks and keyholes. It stank horribly. We were consumed with anger, but there was nobody to complain to."

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

398

“Now we were getting serious about emigration. My aunt Kaete, who had lived in Palestine since 1922, sent us a “capitalist-certificate” and we had to hurry to get there because I was not 18 yet and could therefore still come with my parents on the same certificate.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

399

What Lotte does not refer to, or did not know, is that her father also lost his dentist-medical license, along with all other Jewish doctors. The economic foundation of the family, which must have already declined steadily since 1933, was now entirely destroyed.

400

In 1988, the City of Bremen published a booklet about Jewish doctors in the Nazi period

401

steintor: Charlotte Niermann / Stephan Leibfried



DIE VERFOLGUNG
JÜDISCHER UND SOZIALISTISCHER ÄRZTE
IN BREMEN IN DER »NS«-ZEIT

402

The Jewish population in Bremen in 1933 was 0.4%. This was only about half of the average for Germany, and much smaller than in virtually all of the German larger cities.

There were 19 Jewish doctors, including dentists, of whom 10 were part of the state medical insurance. This share was 4%

Charlotte Niemann & Stephan Leibfred, Die Verfolgung Jüdischer Und Sozialistischer Ärzte In Bremen In Der "NS" - Zeit. Bremen, Verlagsgesellschaft Steintor, 1988

403

After 1933, the Jewish doctors were, as in the rest of the country, subject to successive restrictions.

On April 1, 1933, almost immediately after the rise to power of the National Socialists an organized boycott of Jewish doctors was initiated through state proclamations, posters, and newspaper ads. The names of Jewish doctors were circulated on leaflets to discourage their use by patients.

Charlotte Niemann & Stephan Leibfred, Die Verfolgung Jüdischer Und Sozialistischer Ärzte In Bremen In Der "NS" - Zeit. Bremen, Verlagsgesellschaft Steintor, 1988

404

Next, a law required the elimination of Jews, including doctors, from state employment such as hospitals.

Visits to Jewish doctors could not be reimbursed from the state medical insurance, and this prevented many patients from consulting them.

Charlotte Niemann & Stephan Leibfried, Die Verfolgung Jüdischer Und Sozialistischer Ärzte In Bremen In Der "NS" - Zeit. Bremen, Verlagsgesellschaft Steintor, 1988

405

Also in 1933, the Bremen medical association required that Jews and non-Jews could not substitute for each other, such as on weekends and vacations, that Jewish doctors could not make or accept referrals for non-Jewish doctors, and that non-Jewish doctors could not consult with Jewish

doctors on any medical case.
Charlotte Niemann & Stephan Leibfried, Die Verfolgung Jüdischer Und Sozialistischer Ärzte In Bremen In Der "NS" - Zeit. Bremen, Verlagsgesellschaft Steintor, 1988

406

In 1935, a second wave of boycotts was launched publicly, this time targeting also non-Jewish doctors who were married to Jews [presumably to pressure them to divorce their partners].

Charlotte Niemann & Stephan Leibfred, Die Verfolgung Jüdischer Und Sozialistischer Ärzte In Bremen In Der "NS" - Zeit. Bremen, Verlagsgesellschaft Steintor, 1988

407

In 1936, another requirement prevented Jewish doctors from certifying temporary disabilities, which meant that patients had to go to a non-Jewish doctor if they wanted to take sick days from work. Also, state employees could not be reimbursed for expenses incurred at Jewish doctors and dentists.

Charlotte Niemann & Stephan Leibfred, Die Verfolgung Jüdischer Und Sozialistischer Ärzte In Bremen In Der "NS" - Zeit. Bremen, Verlagsgesellschaft Steintor, 1988

408

In July 1938, all Jewish doctors lost their recognition and professional titles. They could only treat other Jews under the title of “Jewish sick treaters”.

All this affected Dr. Richard Dahn in Bremen as a medical professional, as well as a provider for his family.

Similar rules affected also his sister Hedwig, a medical doctor in Düsseldorf, one of Germany's first women doctors, who is discussed in the next chapter.

409

Lotte: “I have met them everywhere, the secret and open opponents of the regime, in my private surroundings and in public. But it was not enough.”

Lotte: "You cannot forget the cruelties and suffering that were done to human beings. But I don't forget the real friends- whose proofs of sympathy and faith have enriched my life before and after the war."

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

411



• Jew paraded with sign "I will never again complain to the police"

412

“I am not a typical witness of those terrible times because I had more good luck than good sense. My father and I were able to leave Germany at the last minute, just before the infamous ‘Crystal Night’.

Lotte Noam, Memoir *Letters to Birte*

413

“I have not lived through the times, when in Bremen, too, Jews were not allowed to sit on park benches, swim in public pools, sit down in streetcars and had to wear the ‘Judenstern,’ and when deportations began.”

414

“Later on I have often dreamt that I jumped out of a deportation train and rolled down the bank or that I swam across Lake Constance to my brother – a swim to safety. But my worst nightmares have never reached the concentration camps.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir *Letters to Birte*

415



Swimming across Lake Constance? Good luck!

416

“And yet it could easily have happened. If the war had started in the summer of 1938, when Chamberlain went to Berchtesgaden to meet Hitler and to negotiate with him ‘peace for our times’, the trap would have snapped closed for me and my parents.”

417

British PM Chamberlain with Hitler in Berchtesgaden, 1938, on way to Munich Conference in Czechoslovakia



418

Lotte: “At that moment I was with my three friends from Düsseldorf on an extensive hitchhiking tour through Germany and Austria.”

“We were just in Berchtesgaden and actually saw the row of cars with Chamberlain pass by.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

419

“And it was here, in Berchtesgaden, that a letter from my mother reached me, saying I should come back immediately, we would emigrate to Palestine in October.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

420

Berchtesgaden



421

There were 1,314 Jews in Bremen in 1933, 0.407 % of the population, less than one half of one percent. This was a lower percentage than in 1890, when it had been 0.587%

422

Destination Countries of Emigration of Bremen Jews 1933-1939

USA	272
Netherlands	143
England	99
Palestine	61
Argentina	30
South Africa	25
Austria	24
Paraguay	24
Ecuador	21
Uruguay	21

423

China	19
Chile	15
Colombia	15
France	14
Cuba	14
Panama	13
Mexico	10
Peru	7
Switzerland	7
Venezuela	5
Western Africa	4
Philippines	1

Bruss, Regina, "Jews in Bremen under the National Socialists," Marburg: Hitzroth, 1992, 424

The list shows the desperation of Bremen Jews to go to almost any place that would take them.

Switzerland accepted 7 Jews, less than the Netherlands (143), England, Palestine, Argentina, South Africa, Austria, Paraguay, Ecuador, Uruguay, China, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Panama, or Mexico.

Brother Hans was one of those 7. He went on to study chemistry in Basel.

425

Lotte: “I remember another incident. I was almost eighteen, a few weeks before emigration. We had planned to go to town to shop for emigration. My mother was in a hurry, waiting for me while I dreamily dawdled in front of the mirror, combing my hair and flirting with my reflection.”

Lotte Noam, supplemental Memoir Letter, 2006

426

Lotte: “I remember this moment clearly. My mother came tearing into the small bathroom room, nerves raw from the terrible agitation of those last months, and hit me across the face with all her force. That was disgraceful, humiliating. I was grown-up and being treated like a naughty child.

Lotte Noam, supplemental Memoir Letter, 2006

427

“We went into town without a single word. I was deeply insulted, she ashamed and depressed. Then she took my hand as a way of saying: Sorry. It was a nervous reaction due to the terrible stress she was under and of which I was hardly aware.”

428

Lotte: “My father and I were being ordered to come to the Gestapo headquarters at the Contrescarpe [Road]. The official was a Mr. Parchmann,”

429

“We were dismissed with the final warning [by Parchmann] not to spread anything bad about Germany, as our mother was still here, and revenge would be taken on her.”

430

Sidebar On Wilhelm Parchmann

From a newspaper account:

“Wilhelm Parchmann, The head of the Bremen-Jewish Department, went from accused to pardoned. Wilhelm Parchmann, a member of the SS, became head of the Bremen Jewish Department of the Gestapo. He was also active after 1933 in the persecution of Social Democrats and Communists...”

431

“Reportedly he used to break into [Jewish] wedding ceremonies and disrupt them. He interrogated prisoners... On Crystal Night of November 10, 1938, he supervised from his car the column of 160 prisoners during their forced march of several hours to the prison Oslebshausen.”

432



Eine weitere Aufnahme vom Marsch der jüdischen Männer nach Oslebshausen

March of Jewish men to prison

433

“He did so, he declared in court in 1948, in order to protect the prisoners. It was known that the popular feelings were inflamed”. The next morning Parchmann transported the prisoners, after they spent a painful night, in a special prison train to [concentration camp] Oranienburg near Berlin...”

434

“From Oranienburg, Parchmann commanded their forced march to the concentration camp Sachsenhausen...”

“In 1941, Parchmann compiled the list for the deportation to Minsk.”

435

Virtually no one survived Minsk.

Details on the deportation of the Jews from Bremen to Minsk and their fate there is provided further below.

Parchmann also organized the later deportation to Theresienstadt. This transport took Lotte's grandmother Adelheid and her Aunt Else to their death.

436

Newspaper Account:

“On November 27, 1948, Wilhelm Parchmann was...classified among the ‘major culprits’ of Nazi crimes in Bremen; he was sentenced to four years in a labor camp...”

437

One witness, the architect Friedrich Neumark, testified about him:

“Among the many Gestapo goons I had to deal with, Parchmann was certainly the meanest. His cynicism and sadism were more hurtful and demeaning than the cruelty of the other hoodlums of that organization.”

438

[But] “On February 28, 1949 Parchmann’s conviction was overturned on appeal...Parchmann was down-graded as only an “accused” [a lesser category]”. There were no new facts whatsoever, only a different judgment of the deeds of the accused. His punishment was shortened to 2 ½ years in a labor camp which had already been served by his interment. In other words, he was freed.”

439

“In August 1950 the Bremen Senate by pardon eliminated Parchmann’s professional restrictions. In October 1951 he was pardoned again and further down-graded to a fellow traveler [the lowest of Nazi classifications]”

440

“His defense lawyer claimed that Parchmann had tried to prevent the worst, thereby endangering his own position as a civil servant; and because of the dangerous position into which he put himself by aiding the persecuted people, he had even suffered ‘mental suffering and damage’.”

441

“In June 1954 he was pardoned for a third time; by the decision of the [Bremen] Senate president, as approved by the Federal Minister of Finance and by the Office of Political Liberation, Parchmann’s full civil servant pension was restored.”
He lived on, supported by the taxpayers of Bremen.

442

**Crystal Night in
Bremen
November 10, 1938**

Lotte: "My mother stayed in Bremen in order to pack. She was the practical and energetic member of the family. She needed half a year for liquidation, packing and parting from her mother and her siblings, and then she followed us in April 1939, while we left in October 1938. Thus it happened that she lived through "Crystal Night", where everything was destroyed in our apartment."

Lotte Noam, Memoir *Letters to Birte*

445



Pogrom am 10. November 1938: Das Herrenbekleidungsgeschäft Adler in Bremen wird verwüstet

Destruction of Shops

446

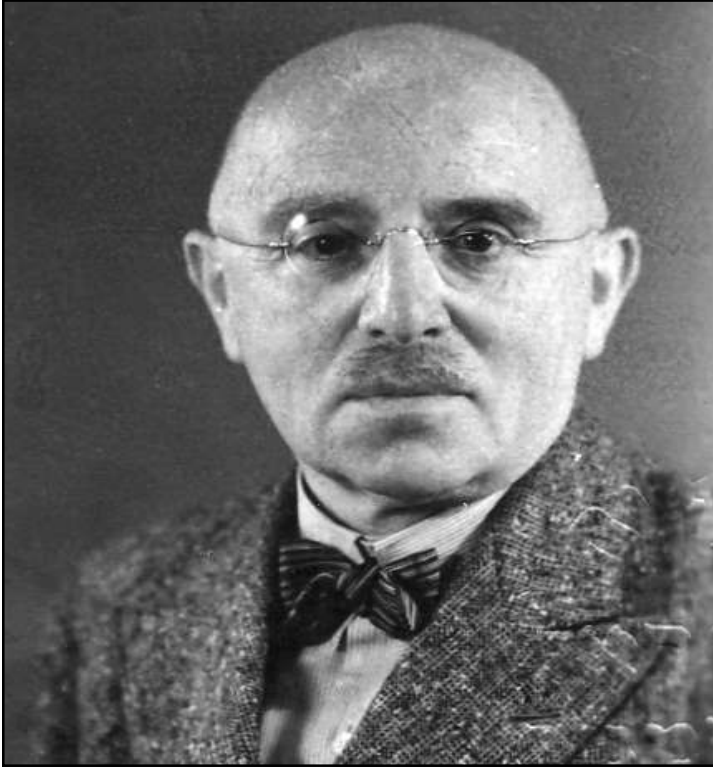
“She was alone with her younger sister Hilde in the apartment when three SA-men knocked at the door at four in the morning, entered into the apartment, carried out their thorough work of destruction for ten minutes and then disappeared.

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

447

“After that she had to buy everything new: Crockery, glass, upholstery furniture and so on, and she had to account for everything she bought to the Nazi authorities, and pay the same sum to the government as tax for leaving the country.”

448



Richard 1938

449

If he had not left 3 weeks earlier,
Richard would have experienced
the following:

450



10. November 1938: Am Morgen werden die jüdischen Männer verhaftet und müssen mit Gepäck nach Oslebshausen zum Appell im Gefängnis marschieren

Bremen's Jewish men were arrested and marched through the city streets to the prison in nearby Oslebshansen

451



452



10. November 1938: Appell der jüdischen Bremer im Hof des Zuchthauses Oslebshausen

In the prison courtyard

453



Pogrom am 9./10. November 1938 in Bremen – Vor einem Gebäude des Zuchthauses Oslebshausen. Über dem weißen Kreuz (oben) ist der Kopf von Max Abraham zu sehen.

454

“Crystal Night” in Bremen

“The Night of the Long Knives” had arrived. After the synagogue was already in ashes, and the stores had been destroyed, the storm troopers swarmed out “for a Jew hunt” in the dark November night. They pounded against doors, broke windows, rudely demanded the inhabitants get out. Only partly dressed did the surprised people follow them and were subjected to verbal abuse and mistreatment. 455

Bruss, Regina. “Jews in Bremen under the National Socialists.” Marburg: Hitzroth, 1992.



The Synagogue on Fire

456



Vor der ausgebrannten Bremer Synagoge (ganz rechts) und dem verwüsteten Rosemuk-Haus, 10. November 1938

457

Murdered Jews in Bremen, Crystal Night
Pogrom. Lotte had left Bremen 2 weeks
earlier, 1933

UNSERE JÜDISCHEN MITTBÜRGER
MARTHA GOLDBERG
DR. ADOLF GOLDBERG
HEINRICH ROSENBLUM
LEOPOLD SINASOHN
SELMA SWINITZKI
WURDEN IN DIESER STADT IN DER
NACHT VOM 9. ZUM 10./11. 1938 ERMORDET

458

The Murder of Dr. Goldberg and his Wife

Dr. Adolf Goldberg was 78 years old when he was shot and killed in the Crystal Night. His wife was 65 years old. They were popular, and lived secluded and retired. Dr. Goldberg did not practice anymore, but frequently people came by in emergencies, accidents, child births. He never refused to treat them, usually without a charge.”

Charlotte Niermann & Stephan Leibfred, *Die Verfolgung Jüdischer Und Sozialistischer Ärzte In Bremen In Der "NS"-Zeit*, Bremen, Verlagsgesellschaft Steintor, 1988 459

“The witness testified in 1947: ‘in the morning hours of November 10, 1938, around 5:00, the doorbell rang loudly...I saw many people outside...One person pointed his hand towards me and held an item which was covered by a sock or something like it into my chest and asked: Are you a Jew? When I answered in the negative and gave my name, he said “Show us the bedroom of the Jew”...I initially thought there had been an accident for which Dr. Goldberg was being asked to help...Soon there after there were several shots and at the same time continuous loud cries of pain by Dr. Goldberg.”

Bruss, Regina, “Jews in Bremen under the National Socialists,” Marburg: Hitzroth, 1992

“ a 53 year old ship engineer, without further words shot the doctor, but only grazed his leg.”

“The old man then pointed to his heart, and asked the assailant to shoot. And he did that and Dr. Goldberg fell dead to the ground. Mrs. Goldberg then said ‘If you are shooting, shoot straight’ before she was killed by the same hand as her husband.”

Bruss, Regina, “Jews in Bremen under the National Socialists,” Marburg: Hitzroth, 1969, 2

In 1964, the accused F., who had killed the Goldberg couple, testified as follows: “The commander J, who was very impatient, yelled at me: Now or never. Then Mrs. Goldberg addressed me with the words: Sir, shoot well! ...Since the woman herself said shoot and I believed that it was after all a deliverance for her, I pulled the trigger and aimed two shots at Mrs. Goldberg.”

462

The Murder of Leopold Sinasohn

[The mechanic Leopold:] Sinasohn, 67 years old, was hit in his bedroom by three deadly bullets. His assailants took his body into a field and buried it hurriedly, revealing their bad conscience.

Bruss, Regina, "Jews in Bremen under the National Socialists," Marburg: Hitzroth, 1992

The Murder of Heinrich Rosenblum

"In the Bremen Neustadt [Lotte's Neighborhood] two Storm Troopers, brothers and both bakers, were ordered to kill the Jew Heinrich Rosenblum. Rosenblum, a non-commissioned officer in the First World War, lived with his wife and children as a "simple man of the people...a modest honorable life".

Bruss, Regina, "Jews in Bremen under the National Socialists," Marburg: Hitzroth, 1992

“The two knocked at the bedroom window of the Rosenblum house. Heinrich Rosenblum opened the door and was asked for identification. He took his identification card and showed it to them. When he turned around to put it back, one of the men shot the unsuspecting victim from close by into the back of his head. He was immediately dead. Before the family—wife and four children—realized what had happened, the assailants had run

off.” Regina, “Jews in Bremen under the National Socialists,” Marburg: Hitzroth, 1992 ⁴⁶⁵

The Murder of Selma Zwienicki

In the older part of the Neustadt [Lotte’s neighborhood] Selma Zwienicki, the wife of a bicycle dealer was murdered that night by a storm trooper...

Charlotte Niermann & Stephan Leibfred, *Die Verfolgung Jüdischer Und Sozialistischer Ärzte In Bremen In Der “NS”-Zeit*. Bremen, Verlagsgesellschaft Steintor, 1988

466

Lotte: "They wanted to take her son Bruno (his sister Liesel was my classmate) and she tried to prevent them with arms spread in front of him. They shot her, and while she fell, Bruno jumped out of the window and escaped."

467

From the Bremen Prison Oslebshausen:

"Many of the Jewish men of Bremen were brought [by train] after the Crystal Night to the concentration camp Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg [near Berlin]. One Bremen witness wrote: 'When we jumped in the darkness from the rail cars we were received by SS soldiers with fists, kicks, and hits by rifle butts. We were addressed by the commander of the camp:... 'You are here not in a sanatorium, but in a crematorium.'"

Charlotte Niemann & Stephan Leibfried, *Die Verfolgung Jüdischer Und Sozialistischer Ärzte* 1468 Bremen In Der "NS"-Zeit. Bremen, Verlagsgesellschaft Steintor, 1988



469

“We were finally moved into a barrack made for 75 people but crowded by 300 people. We had to sleep on the floor so close to each other that we could only lie sideways. In the first three weeks about 25% of our block died. Frequently, one’s neighbor was in death throes at night. One could not help him, and the next morning one woke up next to a corpse...” It was a severe winter and we had cold -20° celsius. The freezing of extremities was common. Most died of pneumonia.”

Charlotte Niermann & Stephan Leibfred, *Die Verfolgung Jüdischer Und Sozialistischer Ärzte In Bremen In Der "NS"-Zeit*, Bremen, Verlagsgesellschaft Steintor, 1988

470

“For the smallest matter cruel penalties were imposed. The most common was the ‘goal keeping.’ One had to stand for half an hour completely naked with raised arms in front of the gate in the snow. Whoever dropped his arms or fell, was beaten so long until he got up or perished. But whoever came through had at least frozen limbs and a deadly pneumonia.”

Charlotte Niermann & Stephan Leibfried, *Die Verfolgung Jüdischer Und Sozialistischer Ärzte In Bremen In Der "NS"-Zeit*. Bremen, Verlagsgesellschaft Steintor, 1988

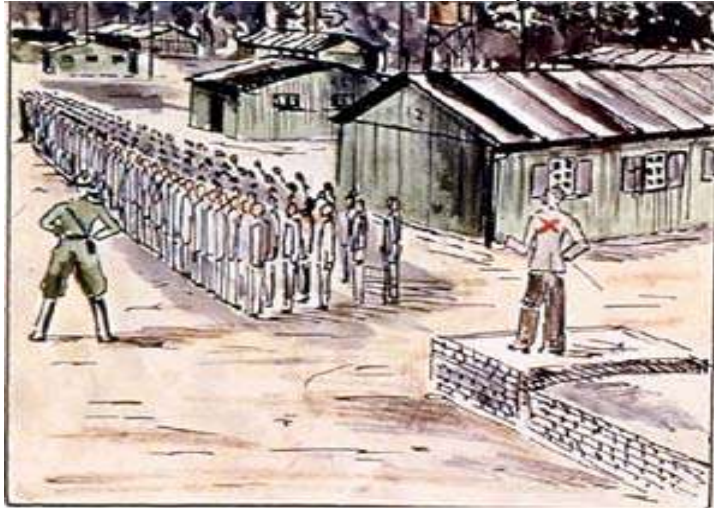
471

Concentration Camp Oranienburg- Sachsenhausen



472

Concentration Camp
Sachsenhausen, water color by,
Alfred Kantor, former prisoner



473



474

“One of the Jewish physicians in Bremen was a Dr. Oskar Nussbaum, born in the same region of the family of Ernst [Lotte’s husband] and probably a very distant relative. On Crystal Night, Dr. Nussbaum and his family were arrested. The women were let go, but Dr. Nussbaum was marched with others, past the burnt out synagogue to the Bremen prison in Oslebshausen.

They were then moved to the concentration camp Oranienburg “A forced march took place to the concentration camp Sachsenhausen.”

Charlotte Niermann & Stephan Leibfred, *Die Verfolgung Jüdischer Und Sozialistischer Ärzte In Bremen In Der “NS”-Zeit*. Bremen, Verlagsgesellschaft Steintor, 1988

Two fellow prisoners of Dr. Nussbaum remember: “We had to stand the entire night and the next day into the evening hours in an open space...after around midnight two storm troopers began their callous games. Dr. Nussbaum, who stood next to me, became their victim. After they identified him as a doctor they accused him of performing abortions. He denied this emphatically. There upon they hit him with their fists, struck out his teeth, and kicked him with their heavy boots so that he fell to the ground covered with blood.”

Charlotte Niermann & Stephan Leibfred, *Die Verfolgung Jüdischer Und Sozialistischer Ärzte In Bremen In Der “NS”-Zeit*. Bremen, Verlagsgesellschaft Steintor, 1988

476

Another prisoner reported: "On the first day in the camp, Dr. Nussbaum, as a member of a respected profession, was particularly maltreated. They hit his teeth out of his mouth and broke his eyeglasses. I personally tried to get the glass splinters out of his eyes and face, since there was no medical attention.

At times he was taken out naked for the amusement of the guards and subjected to the icy cold of winter. For hours he had to stand outside undressed, and this repeated itself almost every

night." Charlotte Niermann & Stephan Leibfred, *Die Verfolgung Jüdischer Und Sozialistischer Ärzte In Bremen In Der "NS"-Zeit*, Bremen, Verlagsgesellschaft Steintor, 1988

477

"He was released a few weeks later and returned to Bremen. Much of his property was in securities and deposited in a bank. From all of this he was left with only 30,000 Marks, for transfer to the United States, but in the end only 1,200 Marks were actually transferred.

Dr. Oskar Nussbaum arrived in America in poverty, most of his money had been expropriated, and in bad physical condition after being maltreated at the concentration camp."

Charlotte Niermann & Stephan Leibfred, *Die Verfolgung Jüdischer Und Sozialistischer Ärzte In Bremen In Der "NS"-Zeit*, Bremen, Verlagsgesellschaft Steintor, 1988

478

“His German medical exam was not recognized. To resume working as a doctor he had to study again for three years[at age 60], while Mrs. Nussbaum worked sewing gloves. Dr. Nussbaum received his diploma in 1943 from Columbia University and was admitted as a physician. He started to practice immediately. His patients were mostly impecunious neighbors.”

Charlotte Niermann & Stephan Leibfred, *Die Verfolgung Jüdischer Und Sozialistischer Ärzte In Bremen In Der "NS"-Zeit*, Bremen, Verlagsgesellschaft Steintor, 1988

479

“He had various ailments as a result of his maltreatment in the concentration camp... His income as a doctor was always below the taxable limit, it varied between \$16 and \$100 a month.”

Charlotte Niermann & Stephan Leibfred, *Die Verfolgung Jüdischer Und Sozialistischer Ärzte In Bremen In Der "NS"-Zeit*, Bremen, Verlagsgesellschaft Steintor, 1988

480

After the war: "In October 1950 Dr. Nussbaum, after several years of applications, was recognized as deserving compensation by the state office for compensation in Bremen, and in September 1953 he was recognized as a victim of the Nazi regime. Such recognition required several years of correspondence, search for documents and witnesses, and proof... On November 1, 1953 he received a monthly pension of 250 DM [about \$60] which [was increased eventually] to DM 750 [about \$180]. This was paid in several payments

Charlotte Niemann & Stephan Leibfried, *Die Verfolgung Jüdischer Und Sozialistischer Ärzte In Bremen In Der "NS" - Zeit*, Bremen, Verlagsgesellschaft Steintor, 1988

481

Justice

482

“After the war, the murderers of the Goldberg couple and of Leopold Sinason were tried. The SA officer and state councilor Fritz Köster was convicted to 15 years in prison for complicity and incitement to murder and breach of the peace.”

Taz Bremen, November 2, 2006, p. 28

483

From a Bremen Newspaper: “In 1952, all remaining accused Nazis in Bremen were pardoned. In support It was argued that the denazification was a reason for the revival of the right wing. One city councilor argued that denazification reminded him of “medieval inquisition and witch trials”. In the same session, the city Senate also approved giving civil service pensions to former members of Gestapo. Soon thereafter, the Justice senator Spitta received permission to pardon all other cases without further review.”

Taz Bremen, November 2, 2006, p. 28

484

The only exceptions were cases where convictions had already taken place, but Köster was soon pardoned anyway.

“This was the end of denazification in the state of Bremen.”

Taz Bremen, November 2, 2006, p. 28

485

Köster's was released and put on probation. This must have followed interventions from highly placed circles, as indicated by the following thank-you note by no less than her Highness Princess Stephan of Schaumburg-Lippe, Dutchess of Oldenburg, who wrote to the Bremen Senator for Justice and Constitution Dr. Spitta:

486

The Princess Writes:

December 14, 1953

“Dear Dr. Spitta!
By letting me know that Köster would be released
for Christmas, you have given me a great holiday
joy.”

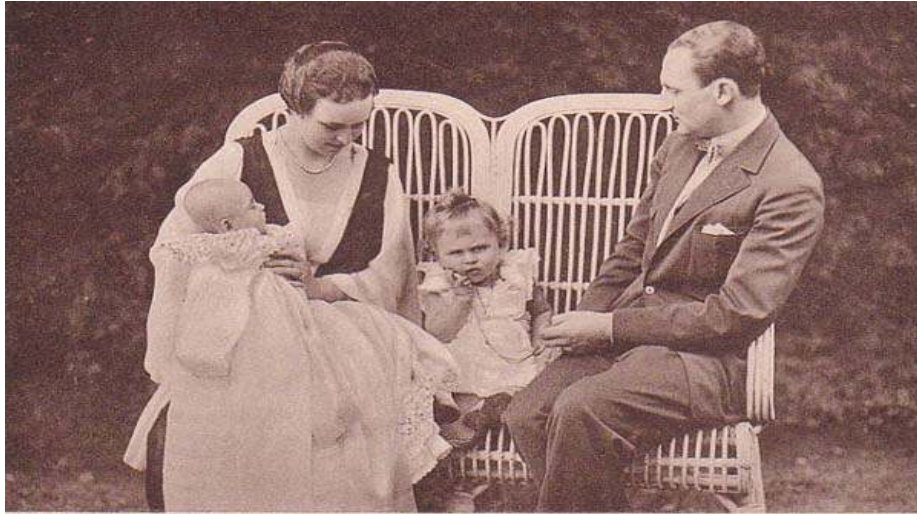
In “Archival Collection,” materials for Schools on the victims of the Program
of 1938, Bremen, p DD 238 W 57, 1991

487

“I thank you, in particular, to have
taken the time to write me directly.
How comforting is such a knightly
gesture in these otherwise so
culture-less times”

488

The Princess (with Prince Stephan von Schaumburg-Lippe), protector of convicted Bremen Nazi murderer, and upholder of standards



Prinz und Prinzessin Stephan zu Schaumburg-Lippe mit Prinzessin Marie-Alix und Prinz Georg-Moritz

489

Chapter 4

British Palestine and Israel

© Eli M. Noam 2007

490

Lotte: "There was not much time for sadness and goodbyes. My beloved aunt Clara stood next to my mother and my friend Emmy at the train station when I left. Aunt Clara cried bitter tears, repeating over and over: 'The poor child has to go live amongst Moslems.' She had to pay very dearly for not coming with us to the Moslems. She hid in Berlin with her best friend, was betrayed, arrested and deported to Auschwitz."

Lotte Memoir Letters to Birte

491



Friend Emmy and Aunt Clara



492

Aug 17, 1938 - Nazis require Jewish women to add Sarah and men to add Israel to their names on all legal documents including passports.

Oct 5, 1938 - Law requires Jewish passports to be stamped with a large red "J."

493



A few weeks later, German passports of Jews were being stamped with a big, red "J"

494



A Flying Boat took Lotte from Rhodes
(Greece) to Haifa, October 1938 ⁴⁹⁵

Arriving in the next peaceful corner of
the world...



496

Israel and the region



ברוכים הבאים
לתל - אביב

Welcome
to
Tel-Aviv



498



Founding of Tel Aviv, 1907 ⁴⁹⁹



Dizengoff Square, Tel Aviv, 1938 ⁵⁰⁸

Lotte: “I arrived full of anxiety and resistance in Tel Aviv and yet... I thought, from the first moment on, that it was wonderful. One big adventure. The sea was blue and warm, the boardwalk was crowded with people and all were loud, cheerful, and young.”

Lotte Memoir Letters to Birte

501

Lotte: “And suddenly I became conscious of a huge burden that had been lifted off my heart. A burden which I had scarcely felt, because I had grown up with it: the burden of not belonging.. Suddenly the confession: ‘I am Jewish’, uttered blushing and stutteringly, was not obnoxious and degrading like the confession of a crime. As if you had murdered your own grandmother in her sleep. It was simple and natural to be what I was.”

Lotte Memoir Letters to Birte

502

“At first I suffered a bit from homesickness. Sand and stones could not replace heather and forest- Only the sea was a comfort.”

Lotte Memoir Letters to Birte

503

“Then the war broke out and I knew that I had chosen the much better part, namely to be **HERE**. Thanks, guardian angel.”

Lotte Memoir Letters to Birte

504

Lotte: “[In Bremen] school and the Youth Movement were totally segregated [by gender] as I grew up, and male and female had no meeting points.

I myself would never dance or smoke or drink or have anything to do with boys except dreaming about them and having crushes from very early on. All these activities were against the credo of the Youth Movement.”

505

Lotte: “When I arrived in Tel Aviv I regretted this bitterly. There was dancing in the bar of my aunt’s hotel every night with my uncle being disc jockey and the biggest jazz expert in town and me standing there, gaping, not knowing the first steps.”

506

Lotte: "Thus it happened that my sexual education was very incomplete when I arrived in Palestine at the age of almost eighteen. I gathered my knowledge by trial and error from various boyfriends at a very slow pace and was sometimes the laughing stock of men who believed in innocence but not in ignorance."

507



Center of Attention, 1939⁹⁸⁸

Tel Aviv,
1939



509

1939 with
Rico Blass
on excursion



510



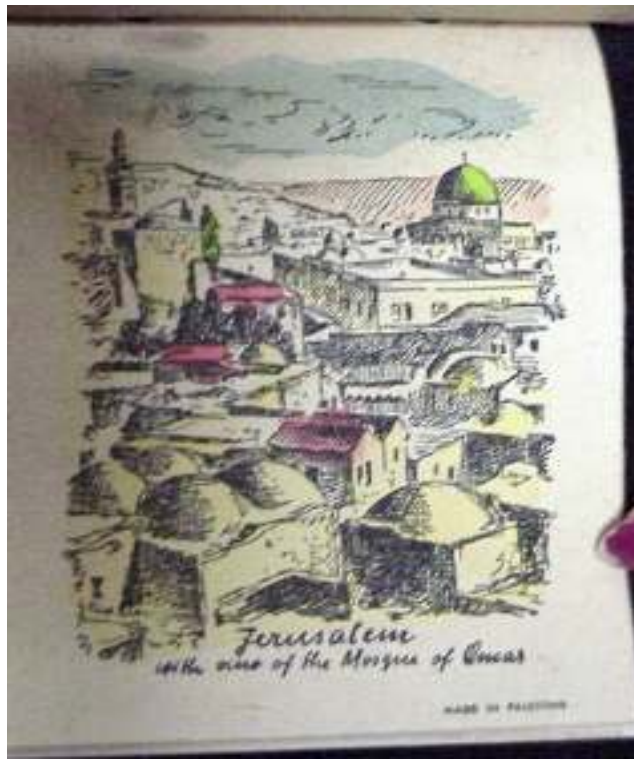
Rico Blass, Artist

511



Same
Excursion
1939
(Rico)

512



Rico
Blass

513

Rico Blass,
1940



Rico Blass
exhibition, 1987

Kronberger Kulturkreis 46



Lake Galilee

516

Lolo Matalon,
first friend in
Israel, 1940



1940



Job at the American Colony Hostel,
Jerusalem, 1941



519



1942

520



Gerti Gottesmann, Tel Aviv, 1942 521

But Things Were Difficult

Lotte: "After emigration, our family life didn't work well anymore. The children were out of the house, the parents were on their own in a country unloved by both, and their roles were interchanged. My mother, like most women in the new circumstances, adjusted quickly, worked in hotel kitchens and rented every inch of our big apartment to English officers on vacation in Tel Aviv from duty in the desert. Australians, Indians, Canadians populated the premises."

522

Lotte: “Meanwhile, my father was being taken advantage of by the few patients who blundered into his dental clinic. Now she was the bread winner and became stronger and with feelings of resentment against her weakening husband, which she let him feel. I felt sorry for my poor Dad, felt estranged from her.”



523



Richard
with
sister
Kaete

524

PARTICULARS RELATING TO APPLICANT.
 أوصاف المالك أو الطالبة
 (In Hebrew) 1111 1111

 Place and date of birth.....	Berlin, Germany..... 20th September, 1879.....	 مكان ولادة المالك أو الطالبة (In Hebrew) 1111 1111
Nationality.....	German.....	الجنسية (In Hebrew) 1111 1111
Trade or occupation.....	Dental Surgeon.....	الهيئة أو المهنة (In Hebrew) 1111 1111
Unmarried, married, widowed or divorced.....	Married.....	غير متزوج أو غير متزوجة - متزوج أو متزوجة - مطلق أو مطلقة (In Hebrew) 1111 1111
Name of wife.....	Herta Minna, maiden name SAUBMAN.....	اسم الزوجة (In Hebrew) 1111 1111

Sworn as affirmed and subscribed this Twenty Fourth day of July, 1904
 (Signature).....
 Inspector of Migration
 TEL AVIV IMMIGRATION OFFICE

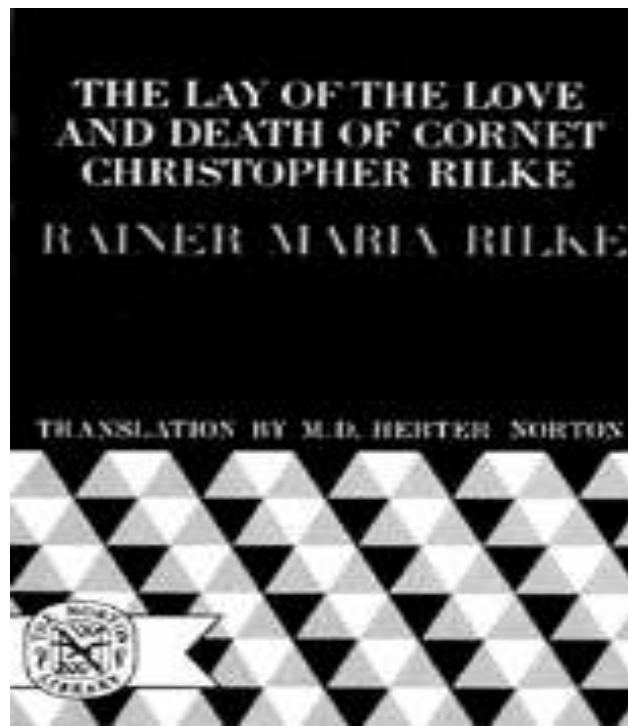
Signature of holder Richard Dahn

Naturalization of Richard Dahn

525

Lotte: “But at the bottom there was still a closeness that was not to be severed. [My mother] was for me the rock of Gibraltar, come what may. I loved her more than I ever showed her or even knew. I sometimes think of Rilkes Cornet, who wants to return home only for a moment, for as long as it takes to say these words: Forgive me for always having been like that...”

526



527

Lotte gets a job: Lotte as Cousin Dani's care giver from 1938-1941 (Photo: 1939)



528



Lotte authors a children's book. "The Castle", Illustrations by Rico Blass. Translated into Hebrew by Yehuda Yaari both admirers of Lotte

529





531





533



534



535



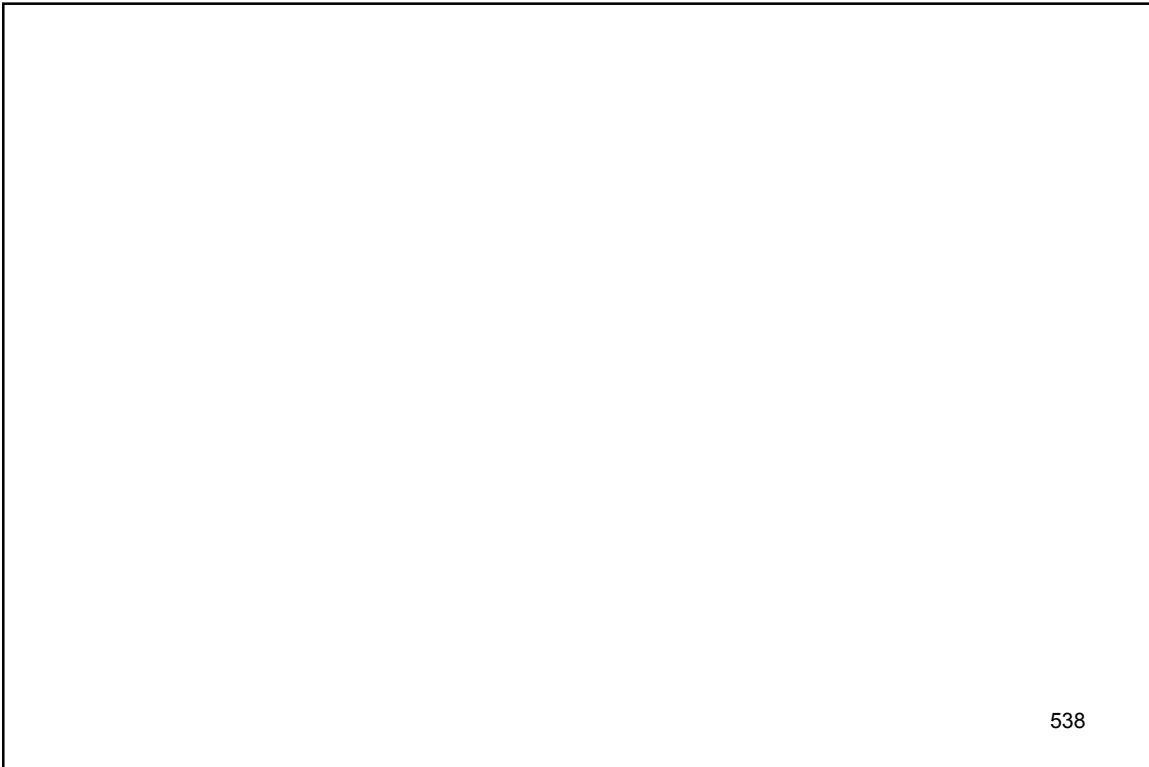
1944

536



Tiberías

537
937



538

Chapter 5

World War III: Family Fates

The war came closer to Lotte
as the German Army
advanced into Egypt.

541

General Erwin Rommel at El Alamein



542

Lotte believes in her guardian angel,
but perhaps more credit should go to
the allied soldiers.

543

British General Bernard
Montgomery stopped Rommel



544

El Alamein



546

El Alamein



547

Lotte worked for the US Army in Palestine as a civilian

548

Lotte's Boss, Lt. Lawless, US
Corps of Engineers, Tel Aviv, 1943



Much of the rest of the family
met a harsh fate.

551

Now follow the Tale of the Two
Aunts, and the Tale of the Two
Uncles

552

The Tale of the Two Aunts

© Eli M. Noam 2007

553

554

Chapter 5.1

Hedwig: The Saintly Sister

555





Dr. med. Hedwig Jung-Danielewicz in ihrer Praxis in Düsseldorf, Aufnahme etwa 1917

This is the story of Hedwig Danielewicz,
one of Germany's first women doctors

557

Hedwig started as a medical
pioneer, one of Germany's first
woman doctors. She became a
most devout Catholic.

She ended as a slave, until she
was killed.

558

Sander L. Gilman

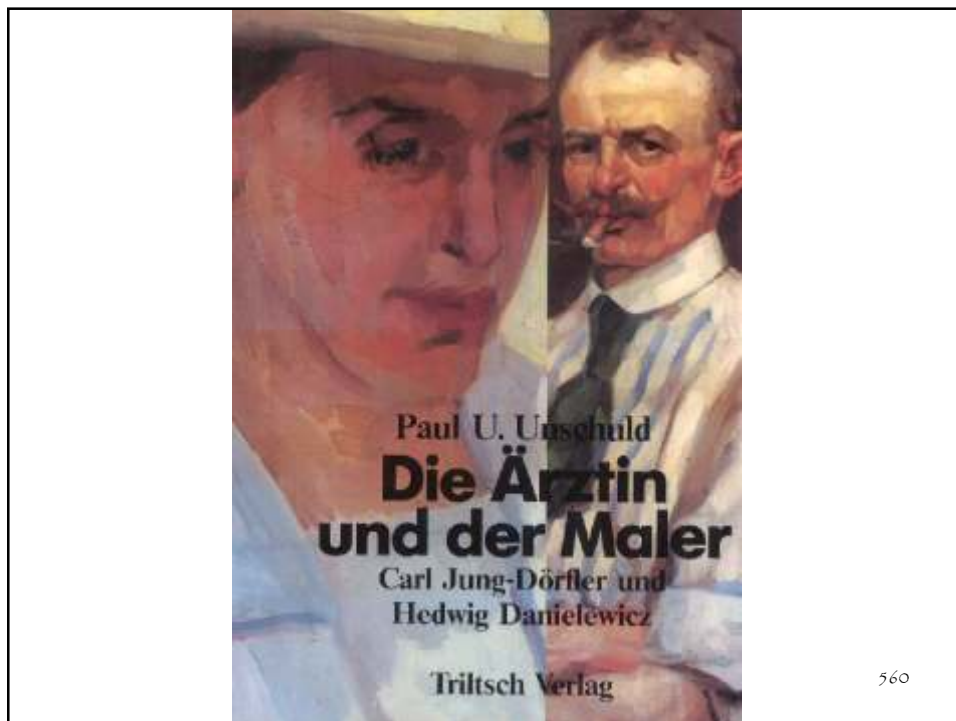
University of Chicago

Book Review, *Bull. Hist. Med.*, 1995, 69

Review of Unschuld's book:

"Rarely has a biographical study of the history of German medicine been as deeply moving and as indicative of the star-crossed path of the relationship between Germans and Jews as the double biography of the physician Hedwig Danielewicz and the artist Carl Jung-Dörfler. Told by Paul Unschuld, the professor of the history of medicine at Munich and a respected historian of Chinese medicine, this is a story that will have a permanent place in the social and cultural history of German medicine."

559



560



PAUL U. UNSCHILD, geb. 1943, ist Vorstand des Instituts für Geschichte der Medizin der Universität München. Den Schwerpunkt seiner Forschungen und Veröffentlichungen bilden überkulturelle Vergleiche menschlichen Verhaltens angesichts von Kranksein und frühem Tod in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart.

561



Paul and Ulrike Unschild

562

NEWS Kunst
Lebenskrisen

The Artist and the Maker – zwei Lebenswege im Duetto

Aneinander scheitern und an der Zeit



Illustration von Hedwig Gellert (1894) und Carl Jung (1911), aus dem Buch 'Die Kunst des Malers' von Carl Jung (1911), S. 118 und 119.

Zwei Künstlerinnen auf der Suche nach Leben und Zukunft in der Zwischenkriegszeit – die Lebensgeschichten der Künstlerin Hedwig Gellert (1894–1941) und des Malers Carl Jung (1897–1971) sind die Hauptthemen dieses Buches. Die Autorin erzählt die Geschichte der Künstlerinnen Hedwig Gellert (1894–1941) und des Malers Carl Jung (1897–1971) in zwei Bänden. Der erste Band ist die Geschichte der Künstlerinnen Hedwig Gellert (1894–1941) und des Malers Carl Jung (1897–1971). Der zweite Band ist die Geschichte der Künstlerinnen Hedwig Gellert (1894–1941) und des Malers Carl Jung (1897–1971).

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Review
 article

Gilman: “In 1941, in spite of her Catholicism and her devotion to Church and conservative art, Hedwig—the daughter of a Posen-born Jew—was shipped east. She spent the end of her life ministering to the sick and dying. Murdered in the ghetto at Minsk, her life ended as did that of millions of Jews—being of the middle class, a physician, converted, and a devotee of *völkisch* art made little difference.”

Hedwig dealt with being different by seeking to be a good person, with devout faith, and full of good deeds to her fellow man. And yet she senses doom.

565

From Hedwig's handwritten memoirs of 1934:
"It is a hard fate to be born as a Jew. In this ancient people every child is born old into this world, burdened by the intolerable burden of the past and without the healthy resistance of a young people against its attackers..."

Hedwig Danielewicz, A Convert's Life, handwritten manuscript, 1934 transcribed by P. Umschuld, translated by E. Noam

566

“Through the mercy of the baptism, I have become a living member of the Church of Christ, my body born has been transfigured from dust, linked through the deepest connection with that which is great and beautiful and above human understanding. Only this gives me the strength to talk about my youth...”

Hedwig Danielewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1934 transcribed by P. Umschuld, translated by E. Noam

567

Yet, Hedwig's distance to her family persisted even in the face of cruel adversity. In her memoirs, written in 1934, she never writes out the actual names of her father, mother, or sisters. Brother Richard's name is mentioned just twice. Lotte, whose first name is Hedwig to perpetuate her childless aunt's name, is barely mentioned, and not by name. Hans is unmentioned.

568

Hedwig's elementary school years were traumatic.

“Like a songbird, a canary, that has flown from the garden, I was attacked as a yellow stranger by wild birds and hacked to death, this was my experience in that school.”

She never said a word to her parents

Hedwig Danielewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1934 transcribed by P. Unschuld, translated by E. Noam

569

Eventually she attended a middle school where she was left alone, and then, at seventeen she embarked upon a pioneering education, a high school (gymnasium) for women. The school was founded and run by the educational pioneer Helene Lange, to prepare girls in four years to take the diploma (abitur), which would entitle them to study at a university.

570

Helene Lange



Today,
Many
German
cities have
schools
named in
her honor.

571

Hedwig: "When I started to take these courses, they had existed only for four years, and the first pupils had just been graduated and had passed their exams before an outside examining commission... Helene Lange, a major leader of the middle class women's movement, was then about fifty years old, a woman of substance who was very impressive.

Hedwig Danielewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1934 transcribed by P. Umschuld, translated by E. Noam

572

This was a time when women were largely excluded from universities, the sciences, and professions. Instrumental in that choice, but given no credit, must have been her father, Lotte's grandfather.

573

Daughter Hedwig:

"...He looked at the priests of science, the "learned ones" with a same deep reverence, which any believer showed to the ordained priest of his religion."

However:

"... In my parents' home, belief was never mentioned, but to me the belief in God was something natural, even though I lacked almost any instruction."

Hedwig Danielewicz, A Convert's Life, handwritten manuscript, 1934 transcribed by P. Umschuld, translated by E. Noam

574

Hedwig: “My father was at the bottom of his heart throughout his life a large, happy child, but unfortunately a child which had wandered into the wrong direction, had run away from the home of the Heavenly Father, and has said to the Father ‘Now we are big, we don’t need you anymore’.”

Hedwig Danielewicz, A Convert's Life, handwritten manuscript, 1954 transcribed by P. Umschuld, translated by E. Noam

575

Hedwig had few friends. She poured her love into nature.

“I discovered the great love of my youth, eastern Pommerania! I am not a painter, otherwise I would have painted thousands of paintings. I am not a poet, otherwise I would have sung it in a thousand poems. But I have drunk its beauty in respectful amazement, was made happy to the deepest of my heart.”

Hedwig Danielewicz, A Convert's Life, handwritten manuscript, 1954 transcribed by P. Umschuld, translated by E. Noam

576

Pommeranía



577



578

Unschuld: “In Germany, women could attend universities only after 1900, first at Freiburg in the state of Badensia. That year, Hedwig graduated from academic high school (gymnasium) among the earliest cohorts of women student who were thus qualified for university studies.”

579

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam

Hedwig began her medical studies in Berlin in 1901-2, but could be only an auditor rather than a regular student. For regular studies, she had to transfer to the state of Badensia, where she enrolled in Heidelberg in 1902 [in the second cohort of German women medical students]. The university records listed her as “Son” of Michaelis. She then transferred to Freiburg University in 1904.”

580

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam

Unschuld: “Hedwig studied in Heidelberg, Freiburg, Bonn, and Berlin. She took her qualifying exams in medicine in Berlin and her doctoral exams in Bonn.

She was a medical intern in a hospital in Aachen, where she was endlessly tormented by her fellow medical assistants.”

581

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam

Hedwig: “A leading doctor was Dr. Friedrich. As a doctor effective and thorough, though often too much devoted to drink, he was an enemy of women students and of Jews, and with his double antipathies he [influenced] his colleagues so much, that there was a general witch-hunt against me, to which I gave not the slightest justification.”

Hedwig Danielewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1934, transcribed by Paul Unschuld. 582
Translated by Eli Noam.

Hedwig: “Dr. Friedrich otherwise was not a bad person; ...he always approached the adolescent boys in gymnastics and sports with great warmth and friendliness. But towards me, every nastiness was justified to him...”

Hedwig Danielewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1934, transcribed by Paul Unschuld. 583
Translated by Eli Noam.

Hedwig: “Their behavior against me was such, that I lost my high esteem for the medical profession which had been implanted in me from earliest youth. That they forced me to stay away from the dining room of the medical assistants, and to take my meals alone in my room I could forgive, since there are men who are uncomfortable in the company of women. I was myself more comfortable dining alone than being surrounded by a hateful silence.”

Hedwig Danielewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1934, transcribed by Paul Unschuld. 584
Translated by Eli Noam.

Hedwig: “[But] It was worse that they passed me without greeting and acknowledgement, both within the hospital and on the street. What upset me most was when they returned home late at night, drunk and noisy, and threw their boots against my door or against the walls or even waited until I passed their door, in order to throw out their boots in my direction. I would have never thought such behavior by physicians possible, and to endure such atmosphere of hatred for a year was hell.”

Hedwig Dancilewicz, *A Convalescent's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1934, transcribed by Paul Unschuld.
Translated by Eli Noam.

585

Unschuld: “After her clinical internship, she moved to Bonn and completed her doctoral dissertation. She received her MD diploma in 1908. Three months later, Prussia finally permitted women to enroll in universities.”

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam

586

Hedwig as a student



587

An dem Klassenhaus der Friedrich-Wilhelm-Stiftung
in Bonn.

Klinische Beiträge zur Pyrocyanasebehandlung.

Inaugural-Dissertation

zur

Erlangung der Doktorwürde
der hohen medizinischen Fakultät
der

Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn,

vorgelegt am 25. Mai 1908

von

Hedwig Danielewicz,
approb. Aerzlin aus Berlin.



Bonn:

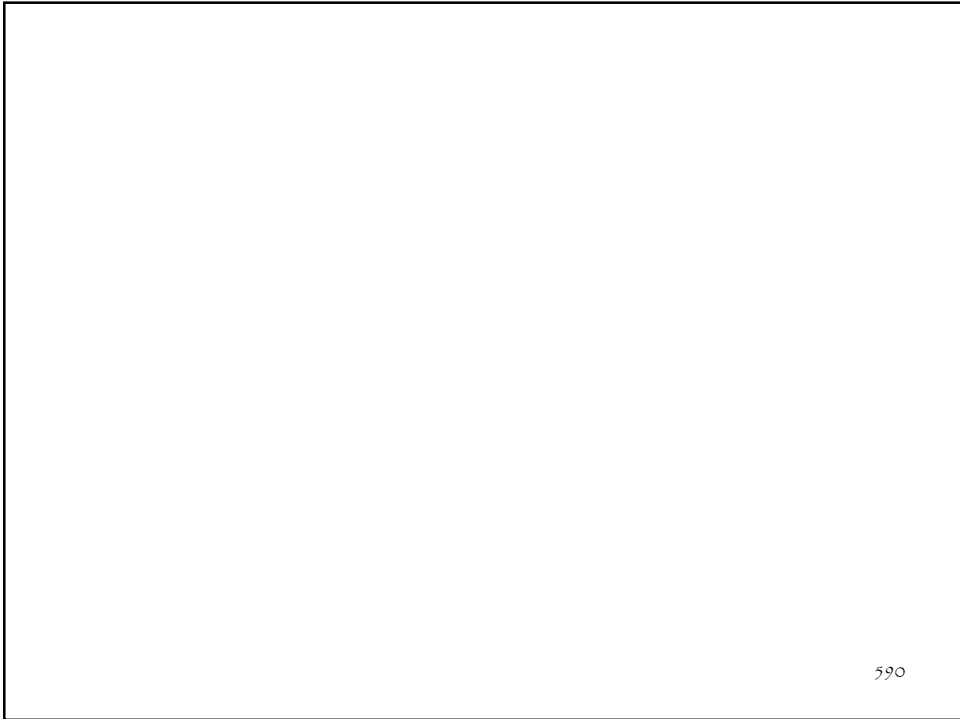
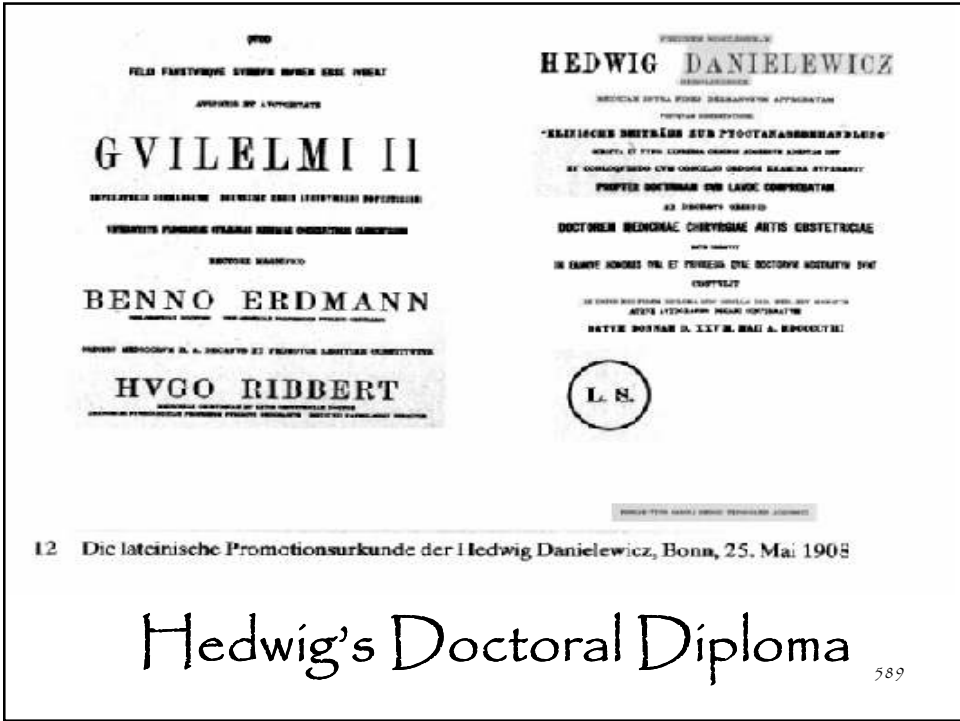
Carl Ebel, Buchverleger 4

1908.

11. Titelblatt der Dissertation der Hedwig Danielewicz

Hedwig's
Doctoral
Thesis

588



Chapter 5.1.1

Hedwig in Düsseldorf

591

“In 1911, Hedwig moved to Düsseldorf, and opened a private practice as a physician for women and children.”

592

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam



Dr. med. Hedwig Jung-Danielewicz in ihrer Praxis in Düsseldorf, Aufnahme etwa 1917

593

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam

Düsseldorf



594

1911 Düsseldorf, 5 Main Boulevard,
Königsallee



277

German Jewish Poet Heinrich
Heine, of Düsseldorf, Author of
"Loreley"



*Ich hatte einst ein schönes Vaterland
Der Eichenbaum
Wuchs dort so hoch, die Veilchen nickten sanft.
Es war ein Traum.
Das küßte mich auf deutsch und sprach auf deutsch
(Man glaubt es kaum
Wie gut es klang) das Wort: 'Ich liebe Dich'
Es war ein Traum.*

596

“Her main hobby was painting
and she thus met the painter
Carl Jung-Dörfler at the
Academy of Düsseldorf.”

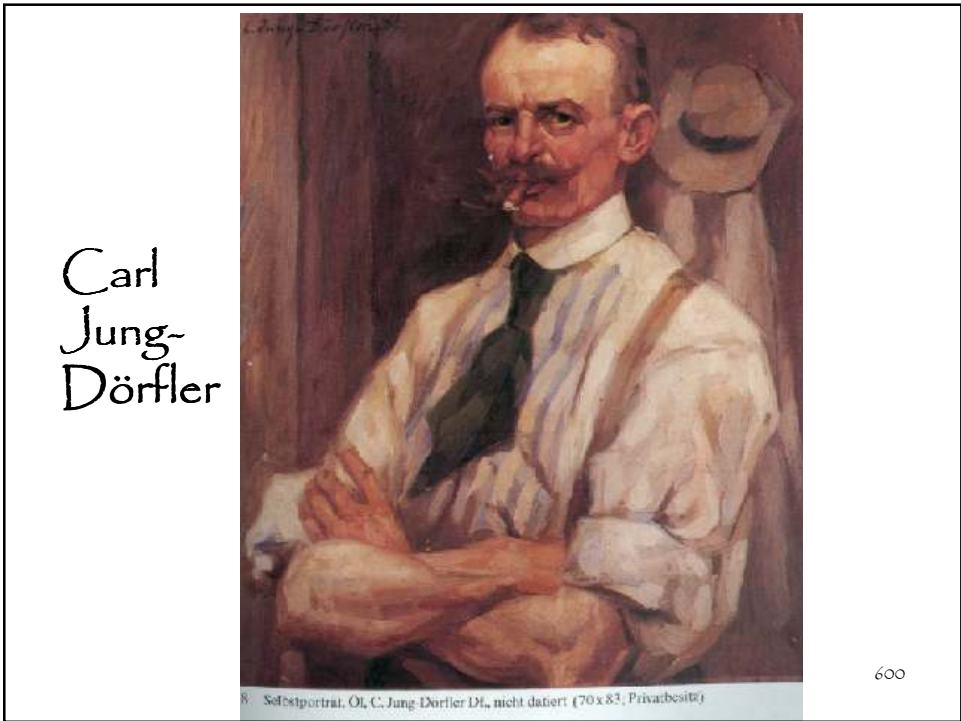
597

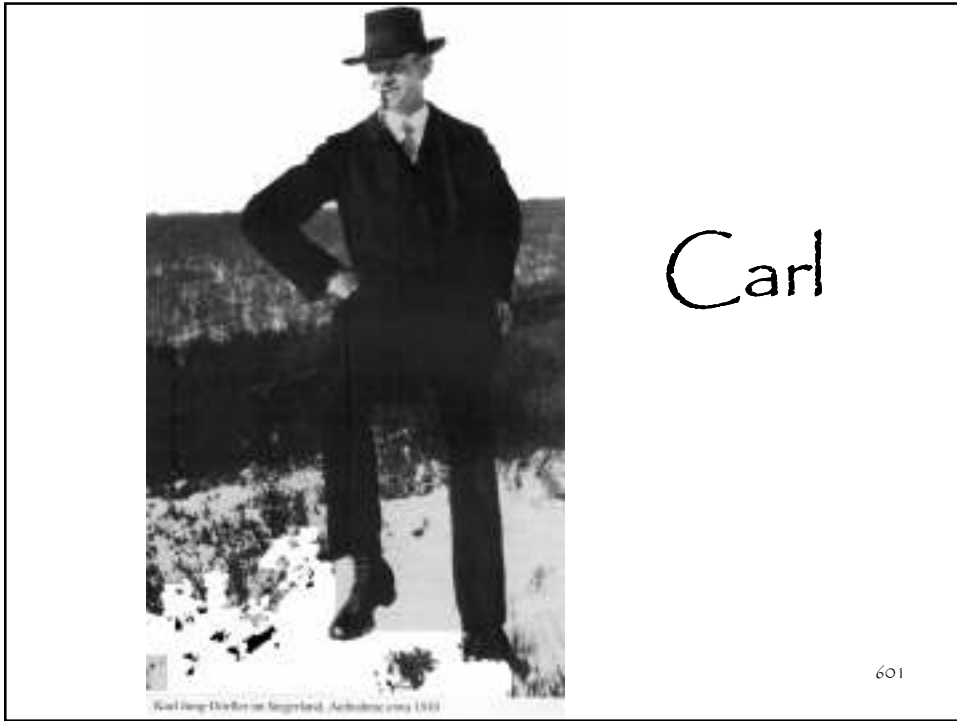
Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam



Carl meets Hedwig,
the amateur painter

598





Carl Jung-Dörfler grew up in the tiny mining town of Obersdorf, near Siegen. His father was a miner, as was Carl when an adolescent. Carl taught himself to paint and moved to Düsseldorf.

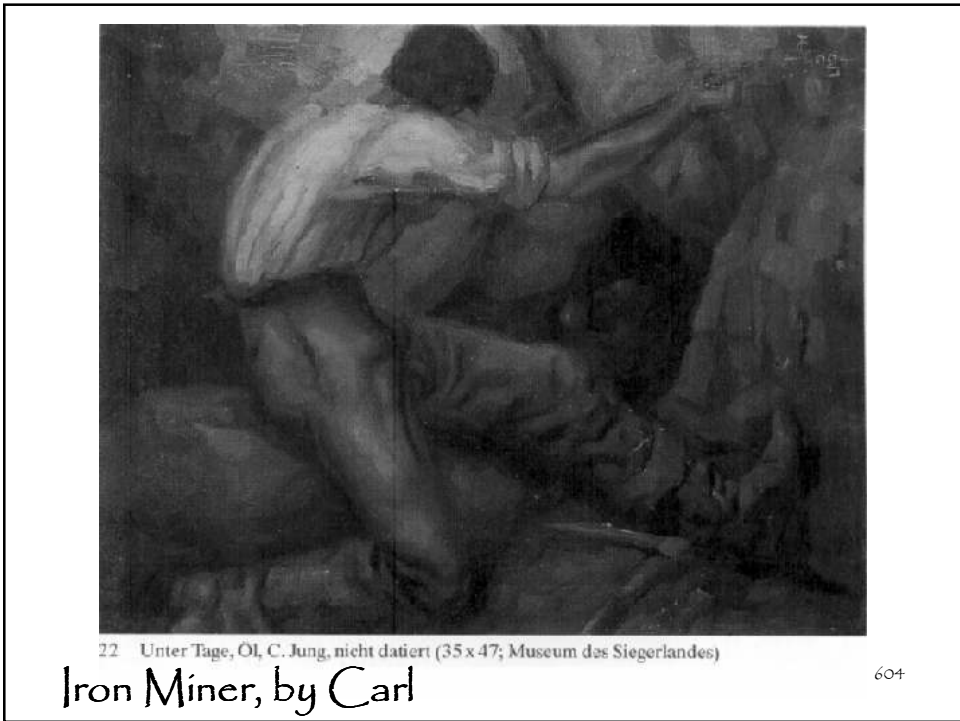
602



Mining by
Carl

18 Im Stollen, Bleistiftzeichnung, K. Jung, 28. Januar 1911 (13 x 14; Privatbesitz)

603



22 Unter Tage, Öl, C. Jung, nicht datiert (35 x 47; Museum des Siegerlandes)
Iron Miner, by Carl

604

Gilman: “[Carl] was a regional realist. His portraits and genre scenes were precisely of the type that the conservatives of his time thought “really German,” even though they must have looked with some suspicion at his marginally neo-impressionistic style. His work was within the accepted tradition of conservative German art associated with much regional art at the turn of the century.”

605

Hedwig about her husband:
“The home of Carl Jung Dörfler in Obersdorf in which he spent his childhood and adolescence was a genuine farmstead from a German fairy tale. A straw roof covered it, the dark and white half timber structure and its windows reminded one of the tale of Snow White.”

Hedwig Danielewicz, typed *remincenses about her husband*, c. 1927

606



Commemoration of Carl in his native village, 1930. Hedwig 2nd woman from right.

607

Lotte: “[Today] In the hometown of Carl Jung-Dörfler, a museum is in the making with his beautiful pictures and a documentation of the fate of his wife.”

608



Carl and Hedwig, World War I

Karl Jung-Dörfler als Soldat und Hedwig Danilewicz, Tusche- / Bleistiftzeichnung, C. Jung-Dörfler, 1916 (18,5 x 20; Privatbesitz)

609

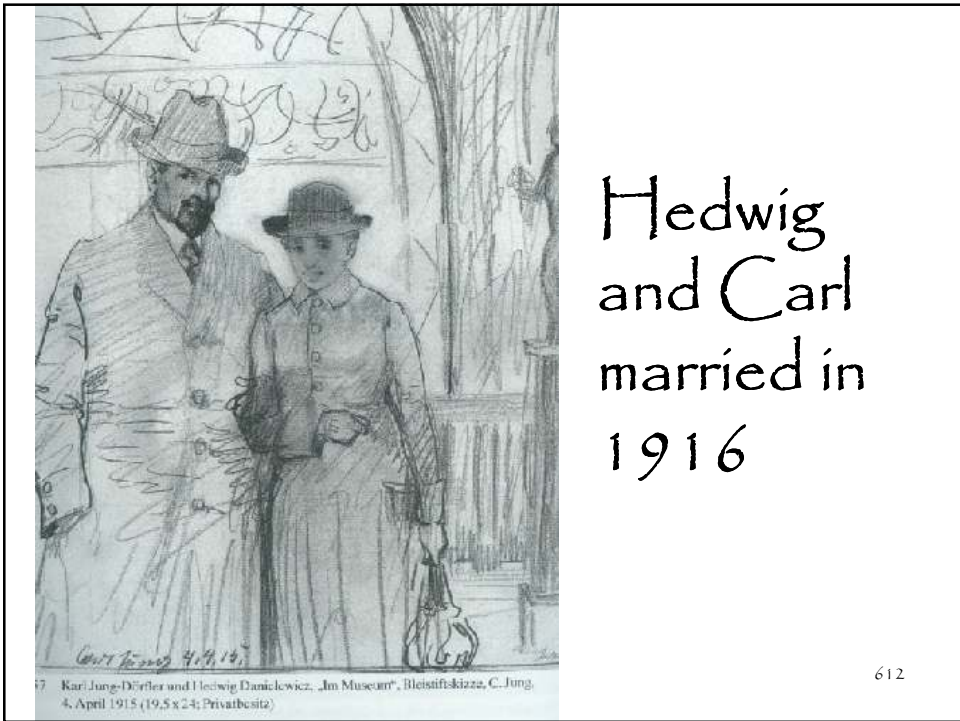


Soldaten auf dem Marsch. L.v.l. C. Jung-Dörfler, Öl, C. Jung-Dörfler, nicht datiert (63 x 55; Privatbesitz)

610



© Nikolai Ivan. Hauptmann Dr. C. Jung-Dürfler, skizze von 1915 (22x41, Privatbesitz)



17 Karl Jung-Dürfler und Hedwig Danilewicz, „Im Museum“, Bleistiftskizze, C. Jung, 4. April 1915 (19,5 x 24; Privatbesitz)



H. Dr. med. Hedwig Jung-Danilewicz in ihrer Praxis in Düsseldorf, Bleistiftzeichnung.
C. Jung-Dürfen, nicht datiert (35 x 47; Privatbesitz)

613



614

Hedwig also converted to Catholicism, at first to please Carl's family, but soon she adopted the faith with increasing fervor.

Tellingly, her memoirs are entitled "*A Convert's Life*".

615

Hedwig: "On December 22, 1916 I was baptized by Pastor Bayer, and right afterwards our marriage received his church's blessing...

"I felt, that I had taken upon me a heavy burden; the crown of thorns of Christ. But He has helped me to carry it, the harder the suffering, that came to me, the deeper and more faithful stood He at my side, and He will not leave me in the future, and even the unbearable I accept willingly in His

name Hedwig Danielewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1934, transcribed by Paul Unschul⁶¹⁶
Translated by Eli Noam.

“To thank Him [Christ], to honor Him, is everything I have written here, whatever the death fated to me. I am satisfied because I know that He will receive my soul and will bring me into the eternal home, where I will find him again, who on earth was my dearest companion...” Her dearest companion was her husband Carl, who died in 1927.

Hedwig Danielewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1934, transcribed by Paul Unschuld. 617
Translated by Eli Noam.



Karl Fmg. Döcker und Hedwig Jung-Danielowicz im Besuch bei Richard Danielowicz mit Tochter Lotte auf dem Arrog. (s. rechts) Hilke Kaufmann, Hofhaus des Reichs. Danzig, ANHANG WERKSCHAU 1924

Lotte with father
Richard and Carl
In Bremen
Wielandstrasse,
1924

in front: Hedwig
and Flora (right)

618



Hedwig with
Hans and her
namesake
Hedwig Ruth
Liselotte (Lotte)
In Bremen,
Wielandstrasse,
1924

619



Aunt Clara
with [verify]
mother
Henriette
1935

620



Hedwig,
1925

621



Hedwig,
by Carl

622

Lotte: “Devoted to the Church, she never missed the 6:00 a.m. mass and was attached to a monastery, in which she wanted to live out the last years of her life.”

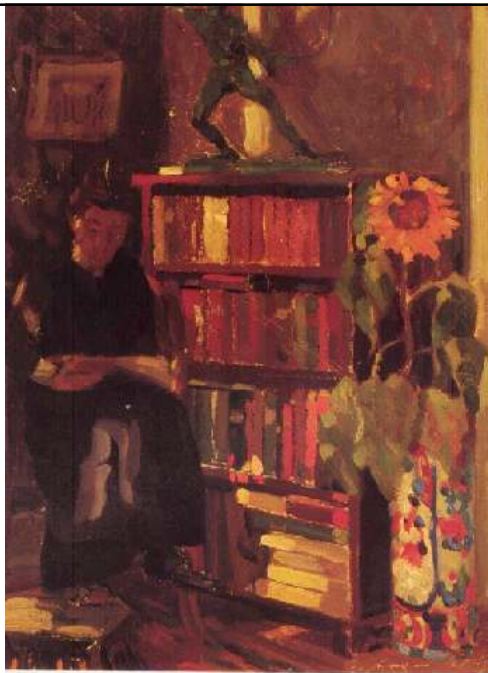
623

Lotte: “Carl Jung died at a very early age [in 1927] of cancer, a real tragedy for his wife, who now devoted herself entirely to her profession and her religion.

624

Lotte: “When Hitler came to power, the patients stayed away. She was closely connected to a monastery, in which she wanted to remain until the end of her life. But when my grandmother died, shortly after our emigration, she felt responsible for her sister Else.”

625



Hedwig in
her
domesticity,
by Carl

Hedwig Jung-Danilewicz in der Wohnung, Düsseldorf, Uhländstr. 23, Öl,
C. Jung Dörfler, nicht datiert (27 x 34; Privatbesitz)

626

627

Chapter 5.1.2

Hedwig in Minsk

628

Hedwig: "No, not all are enemies! A small band stood with me, true and upright, when all others expelled me as of 'an alien race', as 'a parasite' as not belonging to the community of the nation."

Unschuld: "With these words started in 1934 the Catholic woman doctor of Jewish birth, Hedwig Danielewicz, a hand-written memoir, not suspecting that the wounds which the first year of the Nazi regime has already inflicted, were only a mild pain in comparison to the sufferings, which were still ahead of her."

629

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam

Unschuld: "In early 1934 Hedwig contracted breast cancer. A difficult operation ensued. She subsequently traveled to the Holy Land, Palestine." (page 173)

630

Given her religious fervor, one would expect this trip to have been mentioned by her as a memorable event, yet she is entirely silent.

There is no record that she considered staying in the country and with her sister. It would have saved her life. To live out her life in Jerusalem as a Christian and doctor would have been in accordance to her beliefs.

631

But she would have had to give up her attachment to her native country in Germany, and her belief that she could earn acceptance and exception by her humanitarian service as a doctor.

632

Staying in the relative safety of the Holy Land would have been an admission that her life's basic strategy had been wrong, and that her sister Kaete, the Zionist in the family, had been right.

Their meeting could not have been an easy one. Neither of the sisters mentions it in her memoirs.

633

Adolf Hitler visits Düsseldorf



634

Hedwig believed that her new faith would protect her legally, but also that it would bring her salvation and comfort.

As the noose kept tightening, her trust in her savior rose to heights of Job-like faith.

635

“You, German people, whose heavenly flight to God in your medieval cathedrals has won such a touching and visible expression, in the works of your highest, medieval artists, a Dürer, a Grünwald, you, whose land was my land from the moment I opened my eyes to life, which has given me the man, the husband,

Hedwig Danielewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1934, transcribed by Paul Unschuld. Translated by Eli Noam.

“— and through him the faith, how could I cease to love you, to thank you, even if you, in the feverish delirium of your wild thrashing around, hurt me deeply in my heart!

And even if work occupies the mind during the day, at night the tears flow and the fearful question comes: ‘My God, My Lord, Why?’ ”

Hedwig Danielewicz, A Convert's Life, handwritten manuscript, 1934 transcribed by P. Umschuld, translated by E. Noam

637

“It has taken six years for the answer to come. All those six years I had mourned, and have wished him here and back, but then came the sad, sad day in which I said: “Lord, My God, I thank you, that you have taken him to you, and that he has not to live through that, which would have been insufferable to his sensitive artist's soul, that his own people would expel his wife as not belonging”...

Hedwig Danielewicz, A Convert's Life, handwritten manuscript, 1934 transcribed by P. Umschuld, translated by E. Noam

638

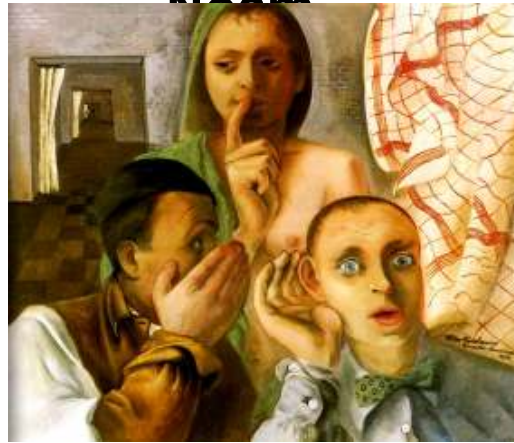
Lotte remembers: "When I moved to Düsseldorf [in 1937] I lived at my aunt's [Hedwig's] in Uhland Street in a dark apartment on the ground floor, and life was dark too. The patient's waiting room of my aunt was mostly empty, she must have always had a medical practice for poor folks but now the poor whom she treated for free had left her, or only visited her furtively at night. She had become impoverished, we lived primarily on potatoes and scrambled eggs..."

639

Similarly, her sister Kaete, visiting from Tel Aviv for a few days, recalled: "In Düsseldorf where my family lived horrible conditions prevailed. One could only speak in whisper from fear that somebody would listen; Jews could not sit in cafes, and one avoided the major streets in order not to be forced to give the Hitler salute."

640

Furtive communication under the Nazis, as depicted by Felix Nussbaum, painter of the holocaust, and relative of Ernst Neumann



641

In 1939, Hedwig's radio receiver was confiscated, as were those of all Jews. She was not even permitted to donate it to Carl's family.

Jews could not own bicycles or engage in sports.

642

Life in Düsseldorf became harsh the doctors. Hedwig wrote in 1941 to Hans in Switzerland, apparently not her first on the subject: “My dear...coffee, tea and cocoa are luxuries which a healthy person could do easily without. But to a gravely ill person like Grandma [Henriette] it would be something nice to have.”

[Undated Letter, 1941]

643

“But I know well that Aunt Kaete and that you, too dear Hans, do not have the possibility to send her something like that...”

[Undated Letter, 1941]

644

The impecunious student, Hans,
replies to his parents: “I often sent
Grandma butter, coffee and similar
things. I cannot send anymore.

[Undated Letter, 1941]

645

Hans: “My expenses for it, inclusive
of those of my landlady— who I have
to compensate somehow, at least in
the form of a Christmas present —
amounted up to eight francs and
ten, the butter in particular is fairly
expensive. Aunt Kaete can repay
you or send it to me on some
occasion.”

[Undated Letter, 1941]

646

Hedwig, a champion of women's opportunities to the bitter end, adds in her next-to-last letter to her nephew Hans in 1941:

"I think that Lotte's present occupation with child education is only a temporary activity. Madame Curie also started that way!"

[undated letter, 1941]

647

Hedwig's sister Else received a deportation order in October 1941, and Hedwig probably, too.

Hedwig then, for the first time, tried to emigrate.

She asked Hans for a visa to be arranged for her. But there were only a few days left before deportation and nothing could be accomplished.

648

She wrote to Hans, in her last surviving letter:

“Dear Hans, all the best, I have courage and trust in God, and keep my head calm, but Aunt Else is very depressed.”

649

1938 - 1944
Depot, 3-29-41

Lieber Hans!

Spüre mich in die neue bew. Kampfe für den
Vaterland und ich müssen in der nächsten Woche
nach Polen (Kriegsgefangene) abreisen. Sollte
es Vaterland möglic sein, mit einer Gross-
sendung nach Amerika oder so. einen an-
deren Land zu besuch, so bitte so bald wie
möglich. Lieber Hans, lach alle frohlich nach,
es gab. Mit uns Gottesdiensten in falls
den Kopf der Vaterland ist sehr erwidert.
Hilf frohlich Grüße
Vaterland.

Letter to
Hans
before
Depor-
tation

650

HAINZ VAN HOVELITH.

D'ES. 17. 200. 1979

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN U.S.A.

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN U.S.A.

MY DEAR MARY,

Milwaukee, Nov 29, 3. 41.

Lieber Papa, heute muss ich Dir eine traurige Nachricht schicken. Deine Mamma und das kleine Baby sind nach Polen (Wien westlich) ausgewandert. ...

Deine Mamma
Deine Mamma

Milwaukee, Nov 3. 41.

Lieber Mann, in diesem Monat wird das kleine St. Nikolaus die ...

Kommst Du, das habe ich die ...

Deine Mamma

Kommst Du bitte bald wieder.

A few days before being deported to Minsk, Hedwig sent her handwritten memoirs to the Catholic author Gertrude von le Fort, who she had not met but admired greatly.

653

Gertrud von le Fort German Postage Stamp Series “Distinguished Women”



654

Letter by Hedwig Jung-Danielwicz,
October 28, 1941.

“Revered Madam! Into your hands I put my life’s story, which I have written down seven years ago in deep turmoil about my hardships at the beginning of the rule of the National Socialism period...On October 1, 1938 my profession as a doctor was taken from me.”

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam 655

“Now, November 1, 1941 is taking me out of the German world away into the Polish banishment, robbed of all property, a bundle in my hand, into the inhospitableness of eastern winter, where hunger, cold and dirt are staring at me...”

656

Hedwig's letter: "All suffering I could endure so far in the fellowship of Christ, who put his hand into mine in all of my difficulties, and I know that he will stand with me also in that which expects me."

657

Hedwig: "The New Testament is the only book that I will take with me. If I could take more it would be the 'Last at the Gallows'" [by le Fort, 1931] and the two books by Bernanos, as well as perhaps poems by Mörike.

658



Georges Bernanos was an intensely Catholic French author

659

Mörike



Eduard Mörike, 19th century German poet and priest

660

Hedwig: “But a small book of the fairy tales of [the Brothers] Grimm will come along, I want to read it to the children who must go into the strange place with me.



<http://art.vox.com/6a00cfff8ed779406400d09e456bccbe2b-500pi>

Hedwig: “That you, Lagerlöf and Undset are contemporaries, fills me with the greatest of joy.

To you and everything golden in the German soul, my farewell greetings.”

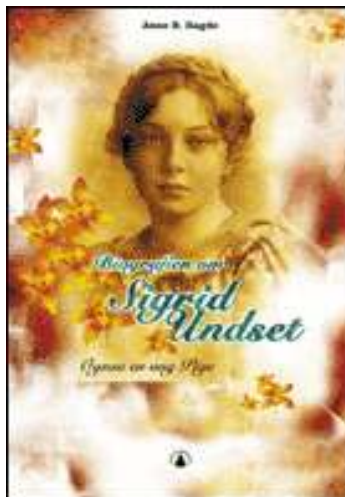
Selma Lagerlöf



Swedish romanticist, 1st woman
Nobel Prize winner in literature

663

Sigrid Undset



Norwegian author, Protestant convert to
Catholicism

664

Gertrud von le Fort never got to see Hedwig's memoirs that were entrusted to her by a stranger.

They were apparently withheld from her by her secretary in order to spare her "additional excitement" (Unschuld). She was hiding a Jewish acquaintance and feared a police search.

665

In the 60s, twenty-five years later, a subsequent assistant, Eleonore von La Chevallerie, found the three notebooks among old papers, and sent them in 1969, 35 years after the writing itself, to Hedwig's sister Kaete, who was mentioned in the memoirs (Unschuld, p. 52)

666

667



The last photo
“They were deported
on November 9, 1941
from Düsseldorf.
Hedwig was 61 years
old. She told her
Christian niece,
Angela Jung, through
the bars of the fence,
“Now I can show my
humility”.

668

Paul Inschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Triltsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by F. li Noam

The deportation of Jews from Düsseldorf started on October 27, 1941. Hedwig was on the second transport, on November 11, 1941. Each person could take twenty kilograms (about 40 pounds) of belongings, and fifty marks.

All other family property was confiscated, and had to be formally given up. One backpack was permitted

[cite]

669

Declaration of Property and Acceptance of its Confiscation

Bitte in verbleibender Ruhezeit ausfüllen, bis zum 1. August 1941. Die Besondere Anweisung vom 1. August 1941 ist im Anhang beigefügt. Die Besondere Anweisung vom 1. August 1941 ist im Anhang beigefügt. Die Besondere Anweisung vom 1. August 1941 ist im Anhang beigefügt. Die Besondere Anweisung vom 1. August 1941 ist im Anhang beigefügt.

Vermögensechtlörung

Demnach (Nennen ausdrücklich alle Items der Deutschen Reichsangehörigen):

Name: _____
Der Reichsbürger (Name, Vor-, Nach-): _____

Geburtsdatum, Geburtsort, Geburtsort (Nennen, wo geboren): _____

Wohnort: _____
Geburtsort: _____
Geburtsdatum: _____
Geburtsort: _____
Geburtsdatum: _____
Geburtsort: _____

Name und (Geburtsdatum bei im gemeinsamen Haushalt lebenden Eltern) (Nennen, wo geboren): _____

Name, wo geboren bei gemeinsamen Haushalten (Nennen, wo geboren): _____

Name, wo geboren bei gemeinsamen Haushalten (Nennen, wo geboren): _____

Name, wo geboren bei gemeinsamen Haushalten (Nennen, wo geboren): _____

670

“The following text had to be signed: ‘I the undersigned Jew, confirm hereby to be an enemy of the German state, and as such have no rights to the property left behind, furniture, valuables, accounts or cash. My German citizenship is hereby rescinded, and I am stateless starting September 17, 1941.’”

(Albertz & Wedemeier, translated by E. Noam)

671

Police Report on the Duesseldorf Transport in November 1941

“On the way to the Schlachthof [the municipal slaughterhouse that served as the point of assembly] and the loading ramp a male Jew attempted suicide by trying to jump under a moving street car. But he was caught by the safety mechanism of the street car and was injured. He initially pretended to be near death, but soon got perky again when he recognized that he could not escape his fate of deportation.”

672

March to Train in Another City



673



Hedwig and Else were put onto a cramped train at the municipal slaughterhouse [Schlachthof] ramp at the rail yard).

674



675

[Carl's sister] Anna Jung wrote to
Hedwig's sister Clara:

“Heta [Hedwig] and Else are now
not with us anymore. It is an
unspeakable tragedy. If they were
dead, they would be better off. I
have no news from them...”

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam

676

“I see them in my thoughts in trains for days on end, I see them starving and freezing, and both are not young anymore and not in great health... you should have seen the transport! The death of my mother was nothing in comparison.”

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam 677

“Evacuated” on that day were 1,007 young and old people. The unheated transport wagons took four days. On the third day, minus 12 degrees Celsius were measured.” [10 degrees F]

(Source: Düsseldorf)

678

A Deportation Train Leaving Hamburg



679

The following transports of Jews arrived in Minsk:

Origin	Departure Date	Number of Jews
Hamburg	8-11-1941	990
Düsseldorf	10-11-1941	993
Frankfurt	11-11-1941	1,042
Berlin	14-11-1941	1,030
Brünn	16-11-1941	999
Hamburg & Bremen	18-11-1941	908
[*cite] Vienna	28-11-1941	1,001

680

Arrivals in Minsk



681



Minsk, in today's Belarus, was the eastern-most concentration camp

682

Jews of Düsseldorf

“The ghetto of Minsk was created in July 1941, shortly after the beginning of the Russian invasion by Germany. Before the transports arrived from Germany, almost twenty-thousand mostly Russian Jews were shot by the troops of the security police, in order to create space. Living conditions in the ghetto were catastrophic... only few have survived...”

683

SS Chief Himmler inspecting Minsk



684

Minsk Ghetto



685

Minsk Ghetto



686

Minsk Work Detail



687



688

More on Minsk is shown in the
later chapter, "*Lotte: An
Alternative Biography*"

689

690

“The first words of greetings by the SS commandant in Minsk were: ‘I have made room for you by knocking off 35,000 Russians’.”

Lothar Dziomba, Das Schicksal der Berman Juden im Dritten Reich

691

“Upon arrival, the German Jews were forced from the freight cars to make way across to the ghetto on the other end of the city. The destroyed city appeared empty of people. In the ghetto itself they saw hundreds of corpses. On the stove and on the table there was food still standing. In order to make room for the German Jews... in the period of November 7-11, many thousands of Russian Jews had been shot. On November 20, shortly before the arrival of the Bremen Jews, another 7,000 Russian Jews were murdered.”

(Albertz & Wedemeier, translated by E. Noam)

692

“Each inhabitant was allotted 1.4 m² (about 15 square feet).

The terrible cold forced people to lie pressed together for mutual warmth. When there was water supply these either frozen or destroyed. As long as snow lay on the ground people helped each other to clear it.”

Wilhelm Mosel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www.uni-hamburg.de/rz3ao35//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06 693

“There were two wash coppers available for 7,300 people. At noon each individual received 300g water in which 5g buckwheat was cooked. There was no fat and no salt for months. There were 150g bread daily baked from buckwheat flour and which tasted “terrible”. It was no wonder that within a few weeks 700 people died from enfeeblement and diarrhea, the so-called camp illness.”

Wilhelm Mosel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www.uni-hamburg.de/rz3ao35//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06 694

The [Minsk-based] Einsatzgruppe
[Deployment Group, a euphemism for the
SS death squads] reported in January
1942:

“The crowding of the Jews of the ghetto
into even the smallest space causes
naturally of disease, which is counteracted
through the use of Jewish doctors [Aunt
Hedwig was one of them].

In some cases sick Jews were told they
were being moved to an old age home or a
hospital, and were executed instead.”

(Albertz & Wedemeier, translated by E. Noam)

695

“There were only five doctors
available for the treatment of the
approximately 7,300 people in the
German ghetto, which was totally
inadequate.

A provisional hospital was
established in the white building.”
[This is probably where Dr. Hedwig
Jung-Danielwicz worked.]

Wilhelm Mosel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www.uni-hamburg.de/rz3ao35//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06

696

“Around 300 were employed in the military hospital, others worked in the barracks, in the Luftwaffe materials store (approximately 150 women)”

[this is where Corporal Luchner worked, the man who temporarily saved Hedwig, as told below]

Wilhelm Mosel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www.uni-hamburg.de/rz3ao35//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06 697

“The year 1941 ended badly: hunger, cold, lice, bugs. Illness and death were everywhere.

The year 1942 began even worse: on the New Years evening drunken SS men appeared and indiscriminately shot around 500 people.

In January cold weather really set in... The temperature fell below 40 degrees Celsius. The death rate rose.”

Wilhelm Mosel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www.uni-hamburg.de/rz3ao35//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06

“They were shot in a number mass executions spread over two or three weeks until around 500 remained. The “actions” took place in such a way: clearing commandos herded the people together. They were then driven in batches by lorry to the place of execution in the proximity of the Trostinez estate. Here the victims had to completely undress before, in accordance with earlier mass shooting, they were executed with a pistol shot in the back of the neck. Around 500 people were killed at each execution.”

699

“Through “Enigma” intercepts of German police messages, knowledge of the killings in the East of both Jews and Russian POWs had become known in England as early as 18 July 1941.”

(Wikipedia)

700

In a report, Regional SS Commander Wilhelm Kube, wrote on July 31, 1942: "In Minsk City on July 28 and 29, 1942 about 10,000 Jews were liquidated, of whom were 6,500 Russian Jews - primarily old women, and children. The rest were Jews unable to work, primarily from Vienna, Bruenn, Bremen, and Berlin, who were sent here in November at the order of the Fuhrer."

701

702

Unschuld: “In many thousands of cases the individual fates of deported persons are lost after being transported from their places of residence into places of darkness from where there could be no return. Hedwig and Else Danielewicz are among the few exceptions.”

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam 703

The source was the German Corporal Max Luchner who served in the Ghetto of Minsk.



111 Max Luchner, Aufnahme etwa 1941

704



110 Max Luchner in Minsk, Aufnahme etwa 1941–1942

705

Unschuld: “Luchner smuggled letters by Hedwig to her sister Clara [in Düsseldorf], and got some food and medicine, which he smuggled back into the ghetto. He also took some medical supplies from his Luftwaffe unit to help Hedwig in her medical care of the inmates.”

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam

706

Unschuld: "During Luchner's tour of duty in Minsk, the sick [sister] Else Danielewicz was killed. Luchner was able to save Hedwig Jung-Danielewicz's life for a while; the doctor was put to death only later after Luchner was transferred to another unit.

707

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam

"Luchner survived the war unhurt and explained this good fortune by the pious wishes and prayers of the doctor."

708

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam

In 1947, Luchner wrote Kaete in Tel Aviv. :

“I heard from other inmates of the ghetto that Frau Doktor Jung, in her readiness of sacrifice, gave out medicine for free to help her fellow sufferers. It was for me a great joy to do anything to [help her] continue.

709

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam (Luchner Letter)

“I took my furlough on Sundays to meet with Herta [Levy] at the southern edge of the ghetto. This went on for about half a year without problems until one day I was caught and betrayed by a dirty pig from the S.D [security service]...”

710

Luchner's letter continues:
“...Right after the
assassination of Heydrich in
Prague they had to find a
scapegoat. Retribution
followed.”

711

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam



Reinhard Heydrich, Himmler's right hand man,
chaired the Wannsee Conference in Berlin, with
Adolph Eichmann as secretary. This conference
set the details of the “Final Solution,” i.e., of the
extermination of all Jews of Europe.

712

Heydrich was also governor of Bohemia. His assassination in Prague was a British Intelligence operation.



13

Luchner's letter: "Many thousands of Jews had to be the victims. I learned on Sunday noon from a Latvian guard that seven thousand Jews were to be killed and I could not imagine something [horrible] like that. Why and for what? I was so overcome at first from this news that I almost went crazy and lost my composure..."

714

Luchner: "But on the way home I thought it through, that something had to be done, and I decided therefore to tell everything to a senior engineer who was well disposed towards me and who had full control over the Luftwaffe base."

715

Luchner: "Because our Jews in the Luftwaffe base were all treated very humanely (only the German Jews) and were, depending on job qualifications, used in offices and material depots and were therefore indispensable, the commandant had a great interest to keep his Jews, and quietly let it be known that the Jews would stay that night [in the base] and could not return, because they were urgently needed for work..."

Paul Anschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Triltsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam

716

Luchner: "But Frau Dr. Jung had never been there [at the base] and neither had her sister who was mostly sick in the sick station where Frau Dr practiced; I then got the idea, through X, to make an urgent request for Frau Dr, and to go to the ghetto in the evening which was seven kilometers away to get her.

Unfortunately I had to leave the sick sister behind, but I did what was humanly possible."

717
Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam (Luchner Letter)



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718

Luchner's letter: "The next day was the worst ever that I experienced in my life. The hunt on humans started; first came the men, a large group had to march to the ghetto cemetery and [had to dig] three big ditches about eighty meters long and ten meters wide. After completion, they were immediately killed on the spot with sub-machine guns.

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam 719



I notes possibly from another location

720



721

Luchner's letter: "In the meantime, the remaining men were put like sardines into a big truck, the doors were closed and gas was opened and at the arrival at the ghetto cemetery they stood still upright but dead, nobody could fall because they were too closely packed to each other."

722

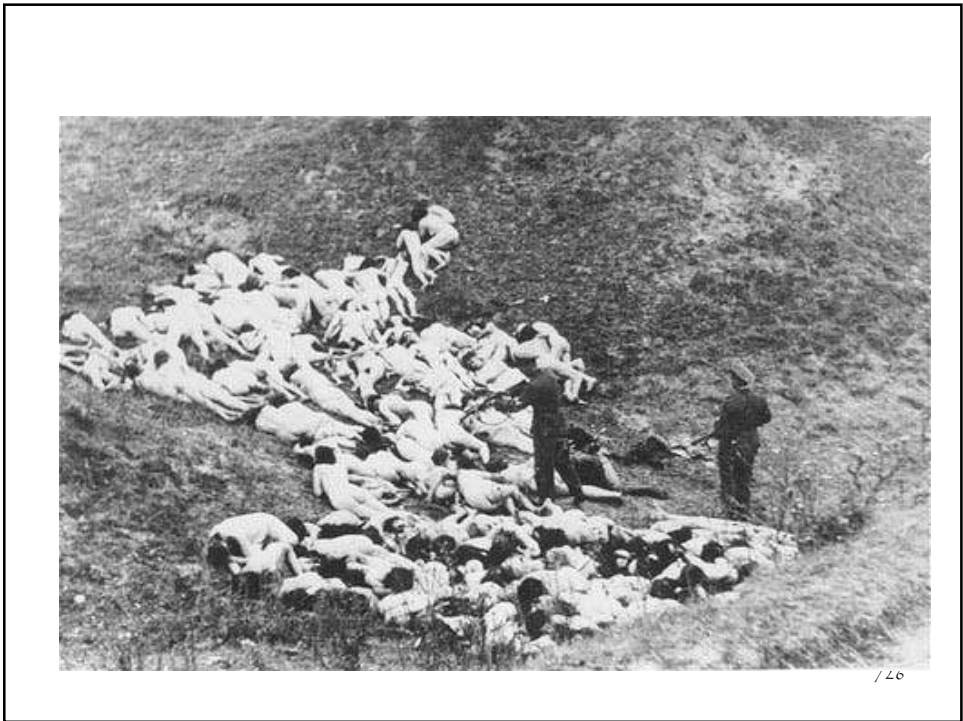


Gas Van

Luchner's letter: "In the third act, the women and children were pushed together and led to the place of execution. I call it that because that's what it was; first they were robbed of their belongings, they stood naked at the ditch and were then shot..."

724

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam (Luchner Letter)



“...and when this made too much work and took too long because the subsequent victims had to throw them into the ditch, it was made more efficient and the subsequent people had to lie down in the grave itself.”

727

Luchner's letter: “Then several machine gun salvos rained over it and whoever died was gone, but the wounded died a pitiful death; one case that tore my heart was a young woman who asked for mercy, whereupon someone blew her up. Her child fell to the ground, and a monster man took the child, grabbing it by its leg and threw it alive into the mass grave.”

728

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam

Luchner's letter: "Then calcium chloride was strewn over and it was the turn for the next layer. Then it was back to the ghetto and what was still found [there alive] was simply killed with iron bars. A few were left alive in order to move the victims on a two wheeled cart to the mass grave.

729

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Triltsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam

All this was written by a German soldier serving at Minsk

730

Luchner: “I was sent home on leave and on the evening before departure I visited my dear ones, and received from Frau Dr. Jung a small drawing for her sister Frau Wittkowsky, with a plea to bring back some money when I returned ... Before I left Russia forever I visited again my ‘problem children’, and they all sensed that it was a goodbye forever...”

731

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam

Luchner: “I said goodbye and gave Hertna and Frau Dr. Jung my entire military ration.

[she said] ‘I will always pray for you, that you will return home from this war to your loved ones.’”

732

Luchner: “The last goodbye by Hertna and Frau Dr was a tearful eye and a kiss, and the last words by Frau Dr were: ‘If we shall not leave Russia again, tell my sister everything.’”

733

In 1956, the estate of Hedwig received from the German State as restitution the sum of DM 21,809 [in dollars \$5,192] for lost property, and income, and for pain and suffering.

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam

734

The German Physicians' Insurance Company refused to honor Hedwig's life insurance, whose beneficiary was Carl's sister Anna. After a Kafka-esque 5 years, in which Ann was shuttled from one organization to another, she was refused payment since Hedwig had ended her insurance in November 1938, when she lost her medical license by legal decree. For the correspondence see Unschuld, p. 210 ff

735

736

Chapter 5.2

Kaete, The Pioneer Sister

Lotte: “My father had four sisters, only one of whom survived: Kaete Dan, the youngest, who had emigrated to Palestine in 1922 as a Zionist. She founded a hotel which is well known to this day.

Lotte Memoir Letters to Birte

739



Kaete by
Carl Jung-
Dörfler, her
brother-in-
law.

740

Lotte: Kaete saved us in 1938 by sending us the required certificate [needed to emigrate to Palestine.]

741





Kaete
and
Lotte

1926

743

Hedwig sought to be accepted
by assimilation, service, and
faith.

In contrast, her sister Kaete
sought a new beginning.

744

Tellingly, both Kaete and Hedwig use similar images in the title of their memoirs: Hedwig's "Conversion" for her turn to Catholicism, and Kaete's "Rebirth". For both it had been a radical turn from their childhood and family, and the central event of their lives.

745

Whereas Hedwig wrote despairingly: "It is a hard fate to be born as a Jew. In this ancient people every child is born old into this world, burdened by the intolerable burden of the past and without the healthy resistance of a young people against its attackers..."

Her sister Kaete, in contrast, was full of energy.

746

Kaete: "As compensation to my ungainless, as it appeared to me, I have always exhibited a great energy to special accomplishments in different areas and have always dreamed of special accomplishments."

747

"For example, I once responded to a newspaper ad in which [the French barnstorm pilot] Peugeot sought young women willing to share his daring flights over Berlin."

[Kate may be mixing up the plane's manufacturer with the pilot]

748

Her friend and architect Lotte Cohn wrote much later:
“[Kaete’s] success was based on the intensity of her whole-being. Already in her youth she radiated a special assuredness and strength. It was her part in every friendship and youthful activity.”

749
Lotte Cohn, Kaete Dan – In Memoriam, MB (Mitteilungsblatt), March 3, 1978, p. 4

“With a leadership personality even in her more mature years, this woman, who was not pretty, radiated a great attractiveness, because of her temperament, connected with a special sense of humor...”

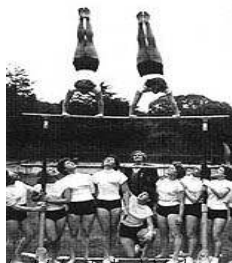
750
Lotte Cohn, Kaete Dan – In Memoriam, MB (Mitteilungsblatt), March 3, 1978, p. 4

Kaete recalls her childhood: “The way to the square [piano] teacher went through a working class neighborhood and was, for me a subject of fear for the entire week, which I of course, as all other feelings, I kept to myself. I had two wonderful long pigtails, and all children on the street pulled my pigtails yelling “Jew”, without me being able to protect myself against their multitude.”

751

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam

Kaete: “The only subject in school which filled me with enthusiasm was gymnastics, and I became an early and active member of the German gymnastics movement (Turnerschaft).”



752

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam

“One day an acquaintance took me to the founding meetings of a Zionist gymnastics club. I was quickly devoted to it with heart and soul and thereby to Zionism, which entirely filled my life after graduation from school, aside from my job.”

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärztin und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam

753

Dan Rosen typed Kaete's memoirs, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.

An abbreviated version appears in MB (Mitteilungs-blatt, 30.4. 1965, 7.5. 1965, 14.5. 1965, 21.5.1965, 28.5.1965, 4.6.1965, 11.6. 1965), translated by E. Noam.

754

“I was sent to Vienna in 1913 to the 13th Zionist Congress where I led with pride and excitement a sports squad demonstration, in front of a festively decorated Presidential box of Professor Warburg. I performed several exercises on the parallel bars, and also fenced with a group of girls in black silk sports outfits with masks and sabers.”

Kaete Dan, Meine Wiedergeburt, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁷⁵⁵

Otto Warburg, Nobel Prize Winner in Medicine, and President of the Zionist Congress



756



757

Zionist Congress in Vienna, 1913



758



Kaete
c. 1913

759

Kaete (right)



760



Kaete, mother
Henriette,
sister Clara (on
right) and her
husband Otto
and their boat
in Düsseldorf,
Rhein River,
1922

761

Kaete: “Because three of my older siblings were at that time in the midst of their university studies, I had to earn money as an office clerk.

[actually, only two of her four siblings studied at university. But this flawed recollection may reflect the resentment of being denied a higher education.]

762

“Only after ten years office work did I have the financial means to follow my inclinations to prepare myself to a sports teacher exam and to train in Swedish and Orthopedic gymnastics. I ran for several years a gymnastics institute in Berlin with my friend Grete Ascher; it was in every respect a great success.”

763



764

Kaete: “But I wanted to reach my goal as soon as possible, to join in the building of the land in Palestine. I therefore decided to get a home economics teacher's qualification exam, to increase the chances of finding a useful role in Palestine. That's how far I got at the end of World War 1 [1918]. But how could I get to Palestine?”

Kaete Dan, Meine Wiedergeburt, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁷⁶⁵

Kaete: “To get an immigration certificate there were two avenues: either to possess 1000 English Pounds and be classified as “Capitalist“, or one had to show a firm job offer for at least two years.

Kaete Dan, Meine Wiedergeburt, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁷⁶⁶

“After one failed attempt, the head of the Herzl High School in Tel Aviv asked for me as a gymnastics teacher but this, too, did not receive approval [A third attempt] resulted in a response by the English consulate in Berlin that my “diversity of professions” raised suspicions.”

Kaete Dan, Meine Wiedergeburt, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁷⁶⁷

“Then Meir Dizengoff, the mayor of Tel Aviv, came to Berlin and was ready to take me back as his domestic help”

[But this did not work out either].

Kaete Dan, Meine Wiedergeburt, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁷⁶⁸

“Thus, I stayed for 1 1/2 years with a huge packed crate in our single living room in Berlin until I finally succeeded in getting a certificate. With borrowed funds I could finally embark on the travel that I had so longed for.”

Kaete Dan, Meine Wiedergeburt, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁷⁶⁹

Meir Dizengoff, First Mayor of Tel Aviv



770

“It was a beautiful sunny autumn day, in which my departure from Berlin took place on Sept. 20, 1922. It was clouded only by the separation from my mother, who lay sick in bed from agitation over my departure, even though she firmly believed in the bottom of her heart that this farewell was not for long.”

Kaete Dan, Meine Wiedergeburt, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁷⁷¹

Kaete: “One of my three older sisters helped me to haul my hand luggage on a borrowed handcart to the train which I took together with a girlfriend to Hamburg, in order to ship out on a freighter of the Deutschen Levante-Linie to Palestine.”

[It would have been Clara]

Kaete Dan, Meine Wiedergeburt, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁷⁷²

“We were five and a half weeks on board ship. Shortly before Jaffa our captain informed us, that he received information that there had been several cases of Plague in Tel Aviv and therefore he advised us to continue with him to Beirut since, as he expressed, it would not be a big difference whether we went to Tel Aviv or Beirut.”

Kaete Dan, Meine Wiedergeburt, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁷⁷³

“After a journey of five and a half weeks onboard ship, we finally arrived, on November 6, 1922. In the harbor of Jaffa we were met by Jehoschua Gordon, an official of the Jewish agency. It was a heavy day of desert heat (Chamsin).”

Kaete Dan, Meine Wiedergeburt, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁷⁷⁴

Mediterranean Sea



Tel Aviv 1922



By Reuven Rubin, later Israel's ambassador to Mexico

776

“In Tel Aviv there existed the beginnings of Herzl street up to the Herzl High School and a few houses in the Jehuda Halevy street. Everything else was sand dunes to the sea. We found accommodations in a small hut, ... in a room into which we put two borrowed mattresses, a table and a chair. We would have been happy and content with this, but my girlfriend became immediately sick [of paratyphus], and we ran out of money.”

777

Construction of Allenby Street



778

Tel Aviv, Allenby Street, 1922



779

Before I could start to worry, I got a letter by the "Joint" [A Jewish social service organization] offering me a position to run in Safed a small home economics school for ten orphans, associated with a small hostel of four rooms. I accepted gladly and started on December 1, 1922 on my new job, with some trepidation.

Kaete Dan, Meine Wiedergeburt, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁷⁸⁰

781

Chapter 5.2.1

Kaete

in Safed

782



783

Safed was by no means one of the Zionist settlements with their socialists and pioneering style. It was an ancient town of Orthodox Jewish Kabbalists who had produced famous rabbis since the 15th Century. There were large and separate Jewish and Moslem quarters.

784

Safed

After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, many prominent rabbis found their way to Safed, which became the key center for Jewish mysticism, known as Kabbalah. Among the prominent kabbalists who made their home in Safed were Isaac Luria (Arizal) and Moshe Kordovero. Besides the kabbalists, Safed also attracted numerous other Jewish scholars and spiritualists, including Joseph Caro, the author of the Shulchan Aruch and Shlomo Halevi Alkabetz, composer of the Sabbath hymn Lecha Dodi.

Wikipedia

785

The influx of Sephardi Jews made Safed a global center for Jewish learning and a regional center for trade throughout 15th and 16th centuries. A Hebrew printing press is established in Safed in 1577. It's the first press in Palestine and the first in Western Asia. The 8,000 or 10,000 Jews in Safed in 1555 grew to 20,000 or 30,000 by the end of the century.

Wikipedia

786

Safed 1920s



787



Safed 1920s

788



Safed 1920s

789

Kaete: “My ten orphans came out of the most primitive circumstances, and most had disabilities. On my part I wanted to learn Hebrew from the children, which they could all speak well, but I only a little. Of course I included in my curriculum for the children also a gymnastics lesson. But this resulted in strong resistance of the population of Safed when the children showed up in shorts, with a protest meeting that resulted in my being strictly forbidden to let the children exhibit themselves in such immoral outfits.”

Kaete Dan, Meine Wiedergeburt, undated memoirs, c. 1963, 790
translated by E. Noam.

“I had a greater success with the small hotel. I transformed the three guest rooms... into clean as well as comfortable accommodations... after the first year, the work in Safed, despite all of its difficulties and primitive conditions, had become so close to me that I did not want to leave... in consequence I decided, after the work for the “Joint Organization” ended, to make myself independent here. I rented a house on the main street with six rooms and began furnishing it...”

Kaete Dan, Meine Wiedergeburt, undated manuscript, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.

“I had to buy the beds in Jerusalem. [And got them to Safed only with major adventures and personal danger]”



792

“Everything looked inviting, clean, and tidy, and the guests, especially the tourists who came to the country... did not miss the lack of running water, electric light, or of a WC, and stayed happily longer than they had planned, and included Safed as a vacation spot after exhausting travels around the country.”

Kaete Dan, Meine Wiedergeburt, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁷⁹³



Kaete and
her Safed
pension,
1928

794



Kaete's contribution is described in the book: *Heimkehr ins Unbekannte* ["Return to the Unknown"] by Gerda Luft. The book has an introduction by Willy Brandt, chancellor of Germany in 70s

Brandt at the Warsaw Ghetto memorial.

Gerda Luft writes in her book: "It was the idea of an immigrant from Germany, that an accommodation need not be merely functional but could also be comfortable. Käthe Dan opened in Safed a pension residence. There were woven mats on the floor and colorful drapes at the windows. Tablecloths on the tables and pleasing silverware at the meals.

796

Gerda Luft: “One found here for an affordable price a comfort level otherwise only available in the luxury hotels which belonged in a chain of Egyptian luxury hotels operated by Swiss, where waiters wore white garments and wide red Sudanese sashes.

Gerda Luft, *Heimkehr ins Unbekannte*, With a forward by Willy Brandt. Peter Hammer Publishers, 1977, Wuppertal, p.66

797

“These few rooms in Safed with their view on the Lake of Tiberias can be considered the beginning of the Jewish hotel industry in Israel.”

Gerda Luft, *Heimkehr ins Unbekannte*, With a forward by Willy Brandt. Peter Hammer Publishers, 1977, Wuppertal, p.66

798

Kaete: “I had the nicest experiences with my guests... the architect Bärwald designed a beautiful poster for my house.”



Alexander
Bärwald

799

Bärwald designed the
Technion University in Haifa



800

“I gave the painter Kokoschka as a memento for the beautiful days a giara of Safed, which he kept for many years in an honored place in his apartment in Berlin, where I saw it.”

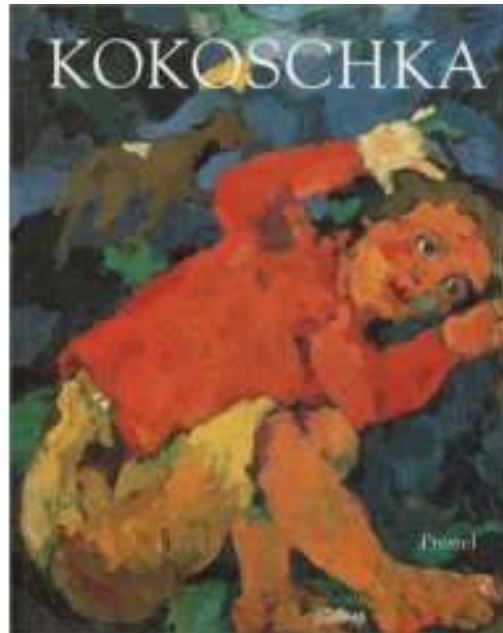


801



Self Portrait by
Oskar
Kokoschka,
noted German
expressionistic
artist

802

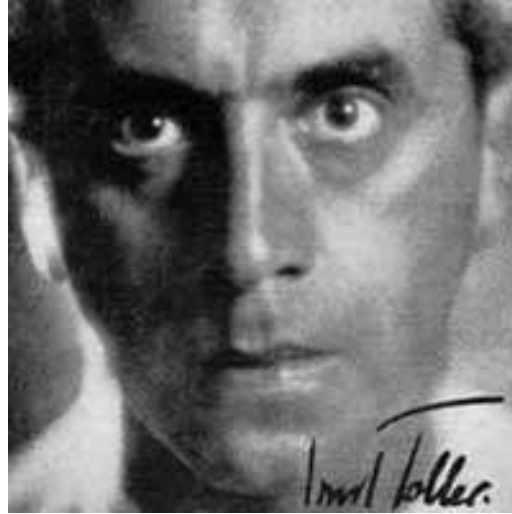


803

Kaete: "In my guest book some guests memorialized themselves with beautiful drawings, such as Ernst Toller, Hermann Struck, and Rubin Manè Katz."

804

Ernst Toller, playwright



805

Goebbels On Toller:

Nazi propaganda chief Joseph Goebbels told his audience that

“Two million German soldiers rise from the graves of Flanders and Holland to indict the Jew Toller for having written: ‘the ideal of heroism is the stupidest ideal of all’.”

Ernst Toller committed suicide in his hotel room in New York on 22nd May, 1939.

(source wikipedia)

806

Herman Struck



807

Sigmund Freud, by Struck



808

Manè-Katz



809

Kaete: "One of my steady summer guests was the poet N. Bialik and his wife, who dedicated several personal poems to me."

810

Bialik is Israel's national poet



811



Bialik with
Aloni and
daughter in
Safed, 1928

812



Zionist socialist leader Borocho, Bialik, Katz [?],⁸¹³
1928

Kaete: "The sociologist Franz Oppenheimer, a gallant and charming old gentleman, wrote a poem for me."

Franz Oppenheimer



815

“There were some negative incidents, too, for example when the novelist Ludwig Strauss fell in the dark into a cesspool and had to be pulled out in a horrible condition.”

816

Ludwig Strauss



817

Kaete: "A nice circle of young people found each other in Safed, teachers, civil servants, doctors, nurses, and we made our life also in the winter comfortable and cheerful. There were lectures and masked balls as well as regular dancing parties until the spring arrived and we made the most wonderful trips into the beautiful environs..."

818

Lotte: “Kaete had a great love in Safed – the Dr. Krieger. It did not last but she never forgot him.”

819

Kaete’s architect and friend Lotte Cohn left Berlin a few months before Kaete, and she wrote about the early years: “If you ask me, what the special, the most characteristic feature of this small world of Jews in the land of Israel was, I would answer: it was a world of only young people, there were no adults, there were no old folks. It was the youthful life brought into reality. Who has not lived it can hardly imagine what charm existed in that confined world. Parents? My parents’ generation? It did not exist for us.”

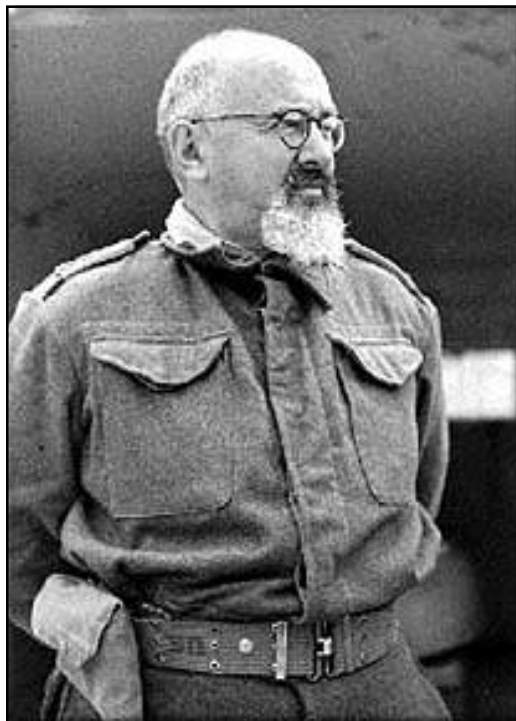
Cohn, Lotte, *Die Zwanziger Jahre in Erez Israel*, privately published, undated⁸²⁰



Kaete with
Itzchak Sadeh
and Zehara at
Tabcha (Lake of
Galilee) 1926

*Sadeh text by Kaete

821



Itzchak Sadeh,
First Chief of
Staff
(commander) of
preinde-
pendence
underground
force
Haganah.

822



Kaete with
Itzchak Sadeh
and Zehara at
Tabcha (Lake
of Galilee)
1926

823

Lotte Cohn: “There were no friction between the old and young generations, no one interfered, we never heard a ‘when I was young’... But we felt our own responsibility even more we were the beginning. Here we were, a small group of young people, brought here by enthusiasm and also love of adventure, that too. And in our hands rested the mission: the creation of the country.”

Cohn, Lotte, *Die Zwanziger Jahre in Erez Israel*, privately published, undated⁸²⁴

Kinneret Settlement, 1920s



825

Lotte Cohn: “...when I pass today through the big valley and see the happy fields, the green gardens of the settlements, joy and satisfaction rise in me: pioneer, this is your labor, your work.”

Cohn, Lotte, *Die Zwanziger Jahre in Erez Israel*, privately published, undated⁸²⁶



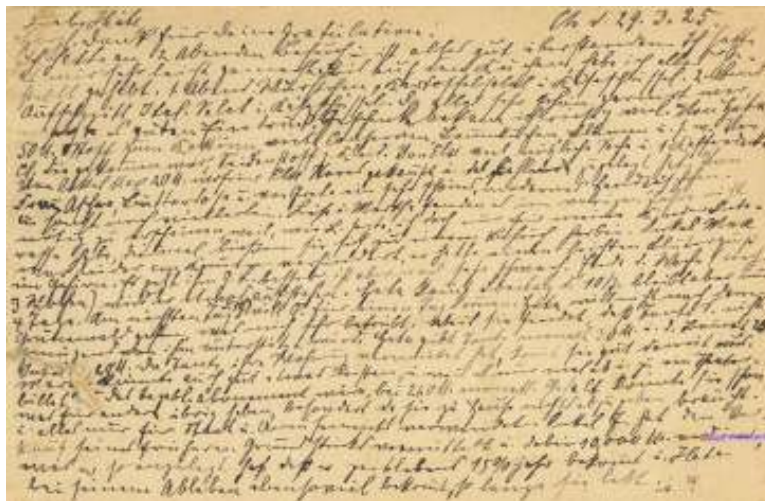
827



Anxious letters and post cards from mother Henriette kept arriving through the 1920s. Note the scant address, which was evidently adequate for mail from Germany to Safed.⁸²⁸



829



830

Kaete: “I was then an enthusiastic horse woman... I decided one morning to ride out to Rosch Pinah to visit my friend Jaruslawsky, and since I had no companions to come along, I went alone with my horse, and on a shortcut across the mountains. It was a beautiful day and I enjoyed the landscape and being alone.”

831



Kaete, on
horseback

832

“But I noticed suddenly an Arab following me on horseback. When he reached me he stopped my horse and gestured to me to ride on his horse together. When I declined energetically, he pulled out of his pocket a gold coin which he wanted to give me if I joined him on his horse. In my peril only violence could save me. I kicked him into his belly with all of my force with the heel of my shoe, and galloped as fast as possible down to Rosh Pina.”

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by .

833

Rosh Pina 1920



834

Rosh Pina, 1920s



835

“In 1927 I had myself substituted in Safed by my girlfriend Lisa Arlosoroff in order to refresh my gymnastics training in a course on Lake Geneva.”

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.

836



“At that opportunity
I saw my family in
Germany again.”

[Kaete, looking
youthful and
energetic, with a
dowdy Hedwig, the
very proper Richard
and Carl, and a
bored Hans]

837



The last picture of
the family together

(Top): Hedwig,
mother Henriette
(seated), Kaete,
Richard

(Bottom): Clara with
husband Otto, Else

838



Clara, Otto, Hedwig, Kaete

859



Kaete, Clara
1929

(Picture on wall by
brother-in-law Carl
Jung-Dörfler

840



Kaete, Otto
1929

841



Kaethe
with her
brother
Richard,
Lotte's
father

842

Lotte: “During this visit my mother [Flora] was afraid to leave us children alone with Kaete because she might transmit Zionist ideas into our heads, especially into that of Hans.”

[It should be noted that Flora was highly successful]

843

Kaete: “Upon return, I expanded the hotel in Safed. I rented a house from an Arab, which was located in the scenically most beautiful spot high on the mountain, across from the government office, with a beautiful view on the lake of Gallilee. [after major renovations, many of which I had to do myself] despite everything it I managed to make out of this house a ‘fairy tale castle’ as Theodor Zlocisti called it.

[Zlocisti was a Jewish Zionist-Socialist intellectual and leader]

844

“For the very first time in Safed, a house had a WC, whose system was about as complicated to prepare as today a flight to the moon, and a similar miracle to many”

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam. 845



Kaete with Greta Asher, 1928

846

[the great success of the little hotel led to negotiations over acquiring it from the owner, but this was not to be.]

“Terrible disturbances broke out in Safed in 1929, when my hotel was completely filled.”

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.

847

The 1929 Riots

“When the first news arrived of Arab attacks in the rest of the country, all guests wanted to leave immediately, but the British authorities created problems, claiming that the road was unsafe and that they could take no responsibility. The drivers then became fearful and refused to drive. The authorities declared they could not provide police protection and stopped all traffic.

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁸⁴⁸

- In September 1928, Jews at their Yom Kippur prayers at the Western Wall placed chairs as customary screens between the men and women present. Haj Amin al Husseini, the Mufti of Jerusalem, distributed leaflets to Arabs in Palestine and throughout the Arab world which claimed that the Jews were planning to take over the Al Aqsa mosque.

(Wikipedia)

849

- “In 1929, major Arab riots were instigated against the Jews of Palestine. They began when al-Husseini falsely accused Jews of defiling and endangering local mosques, including al-Aqsa. The call went out to the Arab masses: “Izbah Al-Yahud!” — “Slaughter the Jews!”

<http://bsimmons.wordpress.com/2006/>

10/08/who-was-the-grand-mufti-haj-muhammed-amin-al-husseini/

850

Kaete: “We asked the police chief to augment the local police, which consisted almost entirely of Arabs, by several English policemen, but his response was that this was not necessary. Instead he ordered all Jewish inhabitants to stay strictly in their homes...”

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁸⁵¹

“They then prohibited telephone long-distance service, and we were cut off from the rest of the country. My guests became desperate. Things heated up. We could see from my house into the Arab part of town. Riders came and went. The drumbeat would not let up. The tension became hard to bear. The [British] civil governor paced in his office and kept wringing his hands.”

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁸⁵²

1929 Attack on Safed



853

Kaete: “Now the Arabs extended their processions into the Jewish quarter. Day by day they came and the noisy demonstrations came closer, more fanatical, and less controlled. It became life-threatening to leave my hotel for the city even to buy food...”

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁸⁵⁴

“We put our house into a defensive condition. Only one of my guests, the Architect Syrtin, had a weapon. We collected rocks, barricaded windows and doors, and set up [*a sentry system].”

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁸⁵⁵

“After four days it became clear that we were lost. We were cut off from the entire world, prey to a passing mob that became more aggressive, and left in the hands of the authorities that were incompetent or powerless to protect the inhabitants...”

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁸⁵⁶

“We heard the cries from the Jewish quarter... from my window we could see the burning of Safed and hear the shouts of the Arabs who invaded the Jewish quarter from all sides, as well as the horrible cries of the victims, and the detonation of exploding fuel drums.”

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁸⁵⁷

“Finally we heard some shots being fired. Later we learned that the police chief had intervened a little by having his policemen fire into the air. The killings ended but not the looting...”

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁸⁵⁸

In the same night the entire Jewish population of Safed was brought into the courtyard of the government compound, due to the rumor that Arabs from the adjoining villages were marching on Safed...”

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁸⁵⁹

“The refugees arrived at night, only lit by a few torches, from the small lanes, from all corners of our mountain city, 3000 people, almost exclusively old folks and small children... the Jewish quarter burned for one day and two nights, it was left to the Arabs for three days of looting.

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁸⁶⁰

“The worst of it was that we had to watch it all without being able to take action...”

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁸⁶¹

Destruction of the Jewish Quarter, Safed 1929



862

Destruction of the Jewish Quarter,
Safed 1929



863

Destruction of the Jewish Quarter,
Safed 1929



864

- “The 1929 Safed massacre took place on 29 August during the 1929 Palestine riots. Eighteen Jews were killed (some sources say twenty) and eighty wounded. The main Jewish street was looted and burned.”

(Wikipedia)

865

“I lay on the ground, in the darkness and waited for the end. Then around four AM it started. A wild shooting of rifles and machine guns, the window panes shattered, the bullets hit the rooms. Now the end is near! I had only one thought, to get out of the room into the open... the bullets whistle through the room ... I crawl to the door and outside. I notice moisture around me, I lie in the midst of the foul trickle which runs from the outhouse...”

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁸⁶⁶

“I could never enter my [hostel] again. After running four weeks an emergency kitchen and clothing dispensary to help the displaced and homeless, I left with deep sorrow. Safed, had become the city of my rebirth. Here I could for the first time live my own life, without the stifling of parents and acquaintances of a more traditional surrounding.”

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁸⁶⁷

“Here I have spent the happiest part of my life, and not the least because it was Safed where I experienced my first great love [Lotte: Dr.Krieger], in comparison to which all subsequent matters of the heart ...and there were several...were small.”

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁸⁶⁸

“With my expulsion due to the riots, the happy idealistic part of my life came to an abrupt end. With my transfer to Tel Aviv began the realistic part.”

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁸⁶⁹

Chapter 5.2.2

Kaete

Tel Aviv Years

871

Ines Sonder, "Pension Kaethe Dan" in
Millerlungsblatt MB, March 2006.

"Every child in Israel knows today the
prestigious hotel chain "Dan" with its twelve
imposing buildings in the country including
two on the beach in Tel Aviv, but who can
remember the former "Pension Kaete
Dan"...?"

872

“With the tearing down of the Pension Kaete and its famed terrace, a landmark of the Tel Aviv cityscape disappeared, whose European or rather “yecke” [German Jewish] charm was due to its farsighted owner and the international flair of her guests. The house hosted not only celebrities like Hubermann, Toscanini, Werfel, and Zweig but it was also a window to the political events of the Jewish settlement of Israel.”

Ines Sonder, “Pension Kaethe Dan” in *Millerlungsblatt MB*, March 2006.⁸⁷³

Kaete: “Soon after my arrival in Tel Aviv I rented a small house directly on the beach with two guest rooms and a big hall, which I set up as a dining room, and a wonderful large terrace to the sea, which was the nicest feature of the entire house. This small hotel was provisional for a two year period in which I prepared for the construction of my own house.”

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁸⁷⁴

Her best friend and architect, Lotte Cohn, wrote, “how many evenings and nights did we sit together to spin out the dream and transform it into reality...it was going to be naturally the best hotel in the city.”

Lotte Cohn, Kaete Dan – In Memoriam, MB (Mitteilungsblatt), March 3, 1978, p. 4 ⁸⁷⁵

Lotte Cohn, 1920s



876

Lotte Cohn, the first woman architect of Israel, is subject of a research project at the University of Potsdam

Lotte Cohn [1893-1983] and the Beginnings of German-Jewish Architecture and Settlement Concepts in Palestine [Israel] Dr. Ines Sonder

877

Sonder: "She arrived in as one of the first German immigrants of the "3rd Aliya" (1919-1923).

She searched for a "Jewish homeland style, fusing Bauhaus elements into an architecture for the "New Hebrews."

878

Cohn assisted the architect, Richard Kauffmann, in his celebrated design of the agricultural village Nahalal



879

Kaete: “When the ‘palace’ was finished in 1933, a large crowd came to the opening reception...even my mother in Berlin proudly wrote to me that she had seen my new hotel in a newsreel at the movies, with all details, the large café-terrace and the wonderful balconies of all rooms facing the ocean.”

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁸⁸⁰



Dan Hotel (Pension) 1933

881



“In 1934 we find advertisements for the ‘Pension Dan’ in Tel Aviv which recommends itself with its cool terraces and central heating, an unheard luxury. The Pension Dan finally became the Hotel Dan in Tel Aviv.”

Heimkehr ins Unbekannte by Gerda Luft With a forward by Willy Brandt.
Peter Hammer Publishers, 1977, Wuppertal, p.66

882

“At the same time, coinciding with the completion of the building, the large immigration of 1933 began and filled the building from the first day so that I was able to meet my enormous financial obligations within a single year already.”

Heimkehr ins Unbekannte by Gerda Luft With a forward by Willy Brandt.
Peter Hammer Publishers, 1977, Wuppertal, p.66

883

Poster of
Kaete Dan
Hotel





“Consequently we could add a third floor already in the second year. On all Sabbath evenings the restaurant and the terrace developed into a dance floor to which people came from afar. It expanded to such an extent that the Yarkon Street was choked with cars, some of them from as far as Jerusalem.”

Heimkehr ins Unbekannte by Gerda Luft With a forward by Willy Brandt.
Peter Hammer Publishers, 1977, Wuppertal, p.66

887



תל אביב
PENSION
KATS DAN

הצילום נלקח מ-1938
THE VIEW OF THE HOUSE FROM THE BEACH
1938 UND WESTFRONT MIT DEN 3 TERRASSEN

1938

זאת תרומת האדריכלות של בית-הסלון ארץ-ישראלית
האדריכל (למה כותן) בנה את הבית תחילה לכל קומה על גבעת אשכול
שעל שפת הים החדשה של ארצנו עם החשיבה המחודשת כמה לדור
יום הקיימת-

כל חדר מבודד מחונק עם כל הנוחות האפשריות עם סמל מחפזת
לקיחה רוח עם האוויר הטוב פועלים את היום שבחוריהם כל באי
הסלון קפה דן מרובים את כנעתם במום באוהב יום בו חלקה חרומה-

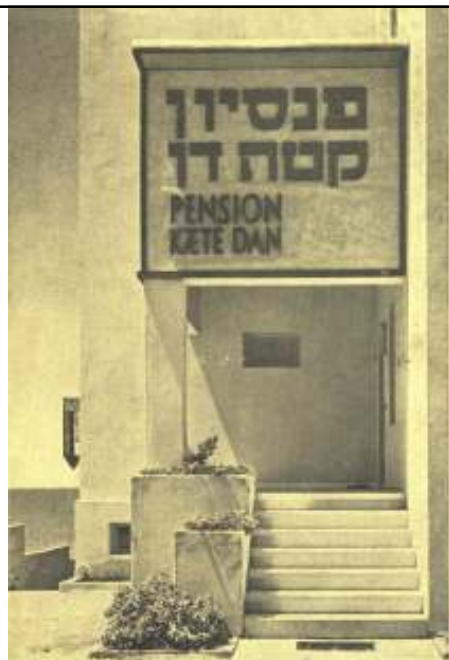
השנה אסבת הסטיל את המודרניזם ביושר באופן משפחתי
בפעילות המובנות בסובסידים לשי דרישות האקוליים
הרעיונות ביום של בית-הסלון הקצר עם החדר על ידי התחבובות
המפוזרות לשפוף מקצועיות אצל קפה בן לשי חומת מקצועיות
סגור תחילה מוגבל-

888



1935

889



1938

890



התצפית מהתורבות האמצעית: נזר הים, יפו, הנומך
VIEW FROM THE CENTRE TERRACE: THE BEACH, JAFFA, THE PORT
DER BLICK VON DER MITTEL-TERRASSE: BADESTRAND, JAFFA, HAFEN

דפוס יא. בן-הדפוס - דפוסים 'אלפי-בית', תל-אביב

1938

891

“The lower floor was completely reconstructed and an elegant bar with music and dance was opened, which turned out especially popular during the war with its presence of English and Australian troops.”

Heimkehr ins Unbekannte by Gerda Luft With a forward by Willy Brandt.
Peter Hammer Publishers, 1977, Wuppertal, p.66

892

Australians on Leave



893

“With the founding of the Palestine Orchestra by Bronislaw Huberman in 1936, the hotel flowered greatly.”

[The concerts were the center of cultural life of the Jewish population.]

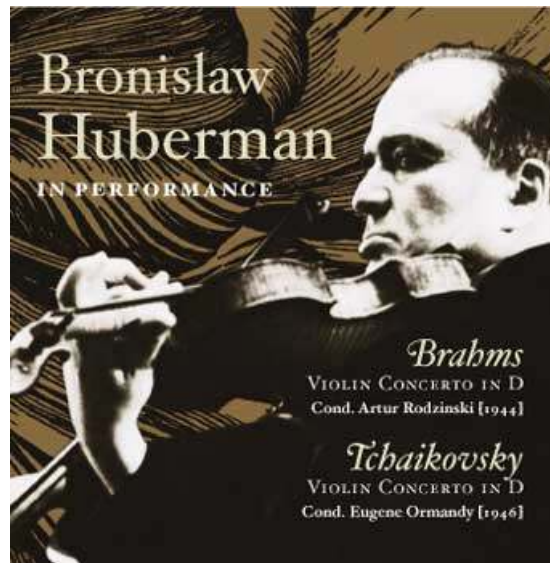
Heimkehr ins Unbekannte by Gerda Luft With a forward by Willy Brandt.
Peter Hammer Publishers, 1977, Wuppertal, p.66

894

“Hubermann was a difficult guest, and our entire attention had to be turned to him during his visit...”

895

Bronislaw Huberman



896

Kaete: “When the artist arrived after a plane crash, with an injured arm, we had to carry many buckets of water to enable him to take baths with heated sea water.”

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.

897

Huberman's Indonesia Crash



898

“In contrast, Toscanini and Weingartner were a pure joy for the house.”

899

 **Great Conductors • Weingartner**  8.110861



BEETHOVEN
Symphony No. 5
Symphony No. 6,
'Pastoral'
Eleven Viennese Dances

British Symphony Orchestra
Royal Philharmonic Orchestra
London Philharmonic Orchestra

Felix Weingartner
(Historical Recordings
1927, 1932 and 1938)

900

Palestine Symphony Orchestra
Inaugural Performance
Arturo Toscanini



901

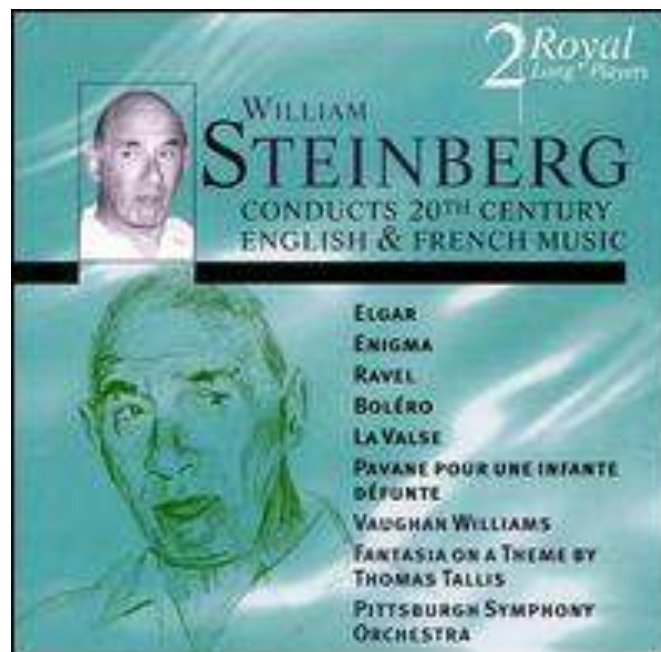
Tel Aviv Beach (probably in front of
Dan Hotel), 1938
Toscanini & Huberman



902

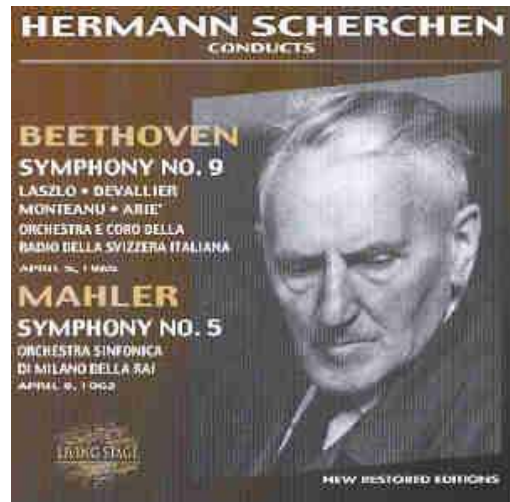
Kaete: "After every concert with Steinberg, Scherchen, Busch, Moisewitsch and other artists, the musical elite assembled to festive companionship and transformed my house with that brilliance. Issai Dobrowen was particularly likeable and attentive..."

903



904

Hermann Scherchen



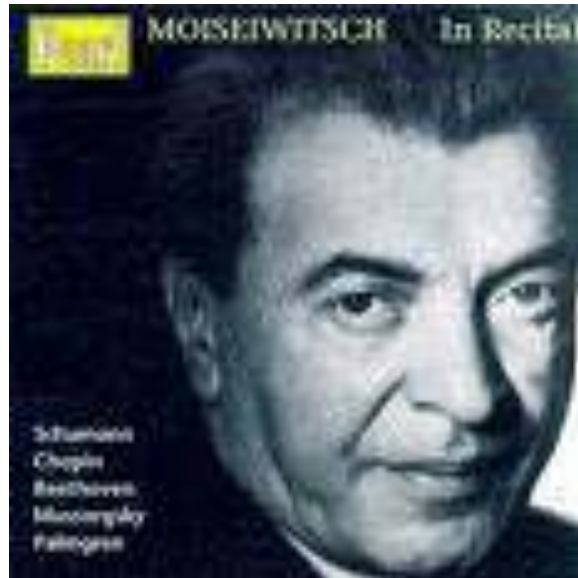
905

Fritz Busch



906

Benno Moiseiwitsch



907

Issay Dobrowen



908

The house hosted not only celebrities like Hubermann, Toscanini, Werfel, and Zweig but it was also a window to the political events of the Jewish settlement of Israel.

909

Franz Werfel and Alban Berg



910

Kaete: “Soon after the opening of my house a horrible misfortune happened. Chayim Arlosoff, with whose family I was closely connected, [Lisa had run the Safed hotel in Kaete’s absence.] arrived on June 16, 1933 with his wife for dinner at the restaurant, shortly after he had returned from a foreign visit.”

911

Haim Arlosoroff was the “foreign minister” of the Jewish community



with Weizmann and King Abdullah
(4th from right, seated)

912

Kaete: “After dinner both descended the direct stairs from the terrace to the ocean, in order to take an evening stroll. Ten minutes later his wife returned, crying for help: “Come, somebody shot Chayim!” We ran down with water, but found that Arlosoff had already been taken by passersby to the Hadassah hospital. There was no remedy for him...”

913

Sidebar on the Arlosoroff Murder

Until Yitshak Rabin’s assassination in 1995, Arlosoroff’s had been the only political murder in Israel. It has never been explained, and its motives remained a mystery.

914

Colin Shindler, Review of *Anja Klavunde: Magda Goebbels* (Little Brown, 378pp \$20), in the Jerusalem Post

“FOR YEARS, conventional explanations suggested that the assassins were either Arabs or members of the far Right group, Brit Ha'Biryonim.”

915
Colin Shindler, Review of *Anja Klavunde: Magda Goebbels* (Little Brown, 378pp \$20), in the Jerusalem Post

“In the mid-1970s, the late Haviv Kanaan suggested a new theory that Nazi Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels had sent two agents, Theo Korth and Heinz Geronda, to murder Arlosoroff.”

916
Colin Shindler, Review of *Anja Klavunde: Magda Goebbels* (Little Brown, 378pp \$20), in the Jerusalem Post

“First Lady of the Third Reich”

Anja Klabunde: *Magda Goebbels* (Little Brown, 378pp \$20), Review BY COLIN SHINDLER
Jerusalem Post

The reason, according to the book, is that Arlosoroff had been a past lover of Goebbel's wife Magda (who had been raised Jewish by her stepfather), and a serious embarrassment to the Nazi leader

917
Colin Shindler, Review of *Anja Klabunde: Magda Goebbels* (Little Brown, 378pp \$20), in the Jerusalem Post

Joseph & Magda Goebbels (all died with Hitler in his Berlin bunker)



918

Klabunde: “[a] message from Magda [in 1933] warned Arlosoroff of the extreme danger of any meeting, and that he should leave Germany immediately. He then conveyed this news to his sister [Lisa], commenting that he had made the greatest mistake of his life.”

“A couple of weeks later, Arlosoroff was gunned down by unknown assailants on the Tel Aviv beach.”

919
Colin Shindler, Review of *Anja Klabunde: Magda Goebbels* (Little Brown, 378pp \$20), in the Jerusalem Post

920

Running the best hotel in Tel Aviv also got Kaete close to many English officers and officials. This proved to be life-saving when Kaete managed to get for her brother's family (including Lotte) one of the scarce entry visas. Entry had become highly restricted under Arab pressure the British issued a "White Paper" severely limiting Jewish immigration.

921

Kaete: "With the outbreak of the Second World War the character of our house changed completely. After the entry into the war by Italy the neighboring house got hit in a bombing raid. The shrapnel of the bomb destroyed the glass roof which covered the hall and the staircase of our hotel.

922

“My niece [Lotte], who took care of my four year old son, saved him and his playmates through her quick presence of mind, by pulling the children quickly from the room, which had glass windows on all sides”

923



Pinchas Ruthenberg, who stayed as a guest [at the hotel], then took my son to Jerusalem. Ruthenberg was the country's pre-eminent industrialist, having founded the national electricity system.

924

Kaete: “Domestic business for the hotel was entirely disrupted; instead, the house filled with English and then with Australian soldiers. The Australians, in particular, were a pure joy for all children. Slightly tipsy and good-natured, they led a jolly life.”

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.

Kaete: “Just when [my health] was somewhat restored, in the midst of the work at the completely booked hotel, we received in 1943 the order from London to evacuate the house. Within a few days it was to be totally vacated and turned over to the Royal Air Force.”

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.⁹²⁶

Kaete: “No efforts, even from the highest levels, could change this decision, and thus there was a sudden sad destruction of all the preceding hard work, just as I had experienced it once before through the riots in Safed.”

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.



Kaete: ...“Later, illegal immigrant ships arrived near my house, mostly at night. Because the immigrants had to reach the shore partly by swimming, we tried to rush to them with clothing and help them not to be caught by the English”

928

Kaete Dan, *Meine Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam.



Ines Sonder: “[later], on June 22, 1948, in front of the shocked hotel guests, the ship “Altalena” went up in flames, recorded by photography from the terrace of the hotel.”

Ines Sonder, “Pension Kaethe Dan” in Mitteilungsblatt (MB), March 2006 930



931

Lotte Cohn: "The hotel was requisitioned in 1943 by the Royal Airforce. It took years for Kaete to get it back, and by then it was in poor shape. Kate sold it under unfavorable conditions. Her husband died less than a year later.

Lotte Cohn, Kaete Dan – In Memoriam, MB (Mitteilungsblatt), March 3, 1978, p. 4 ⁹³²

Kaete: "For years I attempted in vain to have the house restored to me, while watching the building and garden being destroyed. I then gave up and decided to sell the house, at the unfavorable conditions of the time."

933

934

5.2.3

Kaete's Legacy

935

“In 1934 I married Josef Rosenblueth...my desire to conduct a family life, which I had never known in 44 years, brought me to that decision.”

936

Joseph
Rosenblueth,
1915, German
Airforce in
World War I



937

Joseph's brother was one of
Israel's early political leaders



Pinhas Rosen (Felix Rosenbluth) became
Israel's first Minister of Justice, and a signer of
Israel's Declaration of Independence

938



Jewish Students in KW fraternity bloody swordfight: Felix Rosenbluth, right front, as referee/second; Robert Nussbaum (Ernst Noam's uncle) with sword on left⁹³⁹

B2 L+

PINHAS ROSEN DIES; EX-ISRAELI MINISTER


Former Justice Chief Was 91—
Helped Set Up Court System
Respected for Independence

Special to The New York Times

TEL AVIV, May 2—Pinhas Rosen, 91, died in a hospital here today, two days after his 91st birthday.

His main accomplishment was the creation of a judicial system, respected for independence and integrity. This was particularly remarkable in view of the partisan passions during the country's pioneering days.

A grim, serious, self-spoken man, Mr. Rosen was regarded as a model of fortitude and was renowned by Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion with a few personal good offices although he represented a small faction in Parliament.



Pinhas Rosen

New York Times

Broke With Ben-Gurion in 1961

He broke with Mr. Ben-Gurion in 1961 over the "Lavon affair." As chairman of a secret inquiry, Mr. Rosen acted against the Prime Minister's wishes and cleared Pinhas Lavon, a former Defense Minister, of responsibility in 1954 for unspecified acts of sabotage in Egypt that were apparently exposed by the Egyptians.

Mr. Rosen's original name was Felix Rosenbluth and he was born in Berlin. He was an active Zionist as a law student in the universities of Freiburg and Berlin. In 1920, he was elected president of the Zionist Organizations of Germany and three years later he put his ideals into practice by moving to Palestine. He served in the World Zionist Executive and established a successful law practice here.

When German Jews moved to Palestine after Hitler's rise to power in 1933, he gained a growing constituency. He formed a party called New Immigrants and, on its behalf, was invited by Mr. Ben-Gurion to join the Government when Israel proclaimed its independence.

The party later merged with others to form the Progressives, a left-of-center group. Mr. Rosen was the undisputed leader of the party until he retired. After leaving the Government in 1961, he served seven years as a Deputy in Parli-

Pinhas Rosen, postage stamp



“One year later a son arrived; we named him Dan so that my name would be preserved. When my brother and my eighteen-year-old niece Lotte arrived in 1938, I transferred to her almost the entire care of the child, whose first love she became...”



1940

943

Dani's step-brother Jochanan



Jochanan Rosenbluth was Kaete's step-son. He grew up in difficult circumstances, and became one of Isreal's best known Jazz-pianists.

944



Dan's Bar Mitzvah 1948. Joseph 1st from left, Lotte 2nd from left, Dan, Kate, Richard (on right)



Dan, Kate, Joseph, Pinhas
Rosen, 1948

946

Poem written by Lotte Dahn (Noam) for the wedding anniversary of Kaete and Josef.

The refrain of this charming poem is:
"Always there is one shelter,
Always is there one goal;
Everyman ~ to Kaete Dan.
Every man to Kaete Dan."

947

Joseph died early. Condolence Letter from Prime Minister David Ben Gurion to Pinchas Rosen, his colleague in the cabinet, at Joseph's Death in 1953



948



Dan married Katia in 1955, at 20.
(Kaete, center)

949



Dani-
Katia
Wedding
1955

950

Dan studied at Israel's Technion University,
Haifa



951

He became a naval officer and research
leader in missiles and R&D

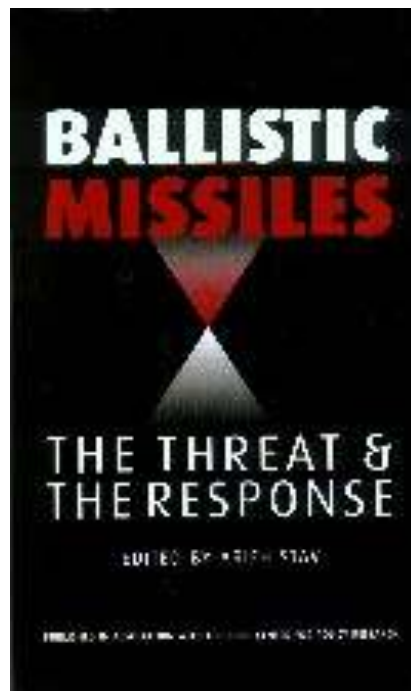


952

Ballistic Missiles - Their Threat and Their Response

Aryeh Stav, editor; Yedioth Ahronoth, Sifrei Hemed, 321 pages. By Amnon Barzilai in Ha'aretz, 7/23/99, book review

953



954



Barzilai review: "The extensive program to build an attack weapon system that would deter the enemy from launching ballistic missiles against Israel is detailed in two important articles, one by Prof. Moshe Gelman of the Technion, and the other by Dan Rosen, the head of Rafael's Moav project."

956

Barzilai: “Both write about a concept they came up with during their cooperative effort at Rafael (the Weapons Development Authority). Moav is the missile with which its developers plan to arm a remote-piloted vehicle (RPV). It has the power to destroy ballistic missiles at the boost phase intercept (BPI) stage.”

957

“According to this concept, an RPV manufactured by the Israel Aeronautical Industry (IAI) will carry missiles made by Rafael, hover above missile launch sites and intercept them at the boost phase.”

958



Israeli remote-piloted vehicle

959

“This provides an enormous deterrent advantage because of its ability to destroy missiles while still above enemy territory. The deterrence will be even more significant if the missiles involved are carrying nonconventional warheads. The possibility that the chemical, biological or nuclear warheads could explode above the launch site greatly undermines the desire of the aggressor to use this type of weapon.”

960

Dan (center) and his missile team



961



Dan's missile team

962

The importance of anti-missile defenses became clear in the first Iraq War (1992), in which all of Israel's population had to sit tightly in air raid shelters.

It became even clearer in 2006, when thousands of Hezbollah missiles fired from Lebanon hit Israel

963



964

HEZBOLLAH ROCKETS HIT HAIFA



965

Thursday, September 14, 2006

Hezbollah targeted attacks on civilians violated international law: Amnesty
Holly Manges Jones at 7:17 AM ET



[[JURIST](#)] Amnesty International [[advocacy website](#)] Thursday released a report [[text](#)] accusing Hezbollah of violating international law by deliberately and indiscriminately killing Israeli civilians through its firing of rockets into Israel during the 34-day Middle East conflict [[JURIST news archive](#)]. The rights group said Hezbollah militants committed war crimes when they failed to distinguish between civilian and military areas when launching thousands of rockets filled with metal ball bearings to increase their potential harmful impact. Hezbollah denies that it aimed for civilians, but almost 4,000 rockets were shot into Israel resulting in the deaths of approximately 40 civilians.

966

A rocket hit the
street in which Dani
and Katia as well as
their daughters,
Osnat and Maya live.

967



Dani & Katia, 1990

968

Dani's
daughter,
Osnat
Rosen-
Kremer, in
the military



969



Osnat receiving award for town planning

970

Prize Presentation 2005



971

Maya, Osnat's Daughter





Raya,
Colonel in
the
National
Police

973



Raya and Ron



Kaete: “After the English left, my house moved into the hands of the Federmann company and was greatly expanded into the Dan Hotel. As recognition for my work and its continuation of my name, Federmann held a ceremony when my house was being demolished, and praised me as the pioneer of the modern hotel industry in the country.

The location and the name with its reputation were kept.”

977



Hotel Dan in
Tel Aviv, in
2005.

978

Dan Hotel Eilat, 2005



979

Dan Carnival, Haifa



980

Dan Panorama, Tel Aviv



Dan Panorama Tel Aviv

981

Dan Jerusalem



982

Hotel King David in Jerusalem, now
part of Dan Hotel chain.



983

Lotte Cohn about Kaete: “At the height of her success the world broke up her work. The tragic news about the end of her relatives in Germany left their marks on her health, she got sick with serious symptoms, which led to a misdiagnosis. She recovered, but the old strength did not return...”

984

“The death of (her husband Josef) was another blow...which attacked her nerves and health. In old age, her creativity rose again in a different way; she began to paint, [but] those were not great works of art.”

985

Kaete's Artwork



986



Lotte,
Kaete with
Eli Noam
1948

987

Kaete (right) with Eli and Lotte
Noam (1959)



988

Kaete with Gil Noam



Switzerland 1959

989

Kaete Dan, 1971



Kate died
February 14,
1978 in
Tel Aviv."

990

She saved our
lives

991

A Tale of Two Brothers

© Eli M. Noam 2007

992

Chapter 5.3 Uncle Max: Survivor

993

If Aunt Hedwig was the Saintly
Sister

and Aunt Kaete was the Pioneer
Woman,

Uncle Max was the Gutsy Survivor

994

He was the only prisoner
ever to escape from the
Nazi concentration camp
Breendonk in Belgium.

995



Max
Kaufmann

996

Lotte's cousin Edith: "Periodically Uncle Max came and helped Grandfather with the bookkeeping. From time to time uncle Max drove far out into the countryside to businesses that needed a lot of materials. They were in small villages far away from Kassel. I often was permitted to go with him. They had an old car, and in those days the roads were full of rocks and had huge potholes after a rainstorm. We had to drive very carefully.

997

Edith Thorsen, *Lid fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by F. Noam Rasmus Nielsen



Max (with dog), Hans (in crib),
Hilde (sitting), Grandmother Adelheid,
and young mother Flora (on right)

998

Lotte: "He had blue eyes and played football for one of the well known Kassel football clubs. Opposed to any kind of intellectual activity, he was the 'goy' of the family and quite logically he was engaged to a Christian woman. When they did not want to let go of each other [after the Nazis came to power], he was pursued for miscegenation (Rassens-chande), fled to Belgium, was caught there, and put in a concentration camp."

999

Lotte Noam Memoir Letters to Birte

Max has no known
descendants, and his story
is reconstructed from a few
old letters and newspaper
clips.

1000

Max's wrote his sister Flora
after his liberation, while
World War War II was in its
final months.

Letter transcribed by Lotte and translated
by Eli Noam and Arno Roland from
German Gothic script.

1001

Max: "Since yesterday, February 10, 1945, the Post Office has been open to send letters to England and America, and on the same day your post card to Mrs. Eliza arrived, dear Flora... On September 4, 1944, Brussels was liberated and my hiding place was liberated on September 14, 1944..."

1002

Max: "How often have I thought in these hard days of you, dear Flora, of my dear brother, dear Richard, and of dear Lottchen, certainly now a beautiful Lotte."

1003

“How often have I shed tears for our dear good mother, for dear Hilde and for dear Klara who were snatched and deported by the Nazis.”

1004

“If they have gone through only part of what I had to suffer through for merely fifty days, when I was imprisoned by the Gestapo, then I would be glad if death had released them and then they would not have had to go through the worst of the worst.”

1005

Max's sisters Clara and
Hilde



1006

Max: "Your letting me know about the death
of our beloved mother makes me very sad...
To go through an experience such as mine
under the Germans and the SS and to
survive, one needs nerves of steel and a mind
that can block off everything."

1007

“Our dear mother must have suffered greatly.”

“Did our dear mother who had been so considerate and supportive of us – did she deserve such a fate? No, no, and no again.”

1008

“I can still see her before me in Bremen, already ill, pointing to the sea, pointing the way to America and holding my hand, pressing my hand, touching me and saying, ‘Flee! Flee!’”



“And so I took farewell from her, my beloved mother, whom I shall never see again in this earthly life.”

1010

Max was first imprisoned by the Germans in St. Cyprien, then moved to Zuerb.



1011

“On Christmas Eve of 1940 I escaped from concentration camp, Zuerb with two other poor prisoners, for whom I paid the entire cost, and favored by much luck we arrived in Brussels on the second day of Christmas.”

[This wording suggests that some money changed hands to enable the escape.]

1012

“Of course I had to make myself invisible here, [in Brussels] We were searched for by the Germans. Until the end of 1941 I succeeded in hiding, but in the middle of November I was betrayed to the Gendarmerie by a dentist from Vienna, and was thrown into prison.”

1013

“But after several days I could get out.

[My entire property] had been
confiscated in the meantime.

1014

[But soon, due to a conflict with a woman, he
was denounced again to the Gestapo]” “[
had much trouble with her and she persisted
in her efforts to to turn me over to the
Germans. She had me locked in a store,
where three policemen came and took me.”

[Max was let go briefly, but was betrayed
again by the same woman]

1015

“I was taken to the concentration camp Breendonk, between Brussels and Antwerp. The SS made in those fifty days a human wreck out of me. A few more weeks, perhaps only days, would have been enough to kill me...”

1016

“I almost desired, I did not dare to take anybody with me, to push death away, for the escape out of this hell, which was guarded by numerous soldiers.”

1017

“I spent only 50 days in the German concentration camp “Breendonk” which is located in the north-west of the province of Antwerp, on the way from Brussels to Mechellen, 14 km from that town, 23 km from Antwerp, and 20 km from Brussels. It is a small town of about 3,000 inhabitants, who live primarily from agriculture, a peaceful village.”

1018



The camp was a large citadel from World War I surrounded by water.

1019

“Without help, and alone, I was the only one who escaped among thousands and thousands of prisoners ...”

1020

“You can see the picture on the left which is taken one day after my escape. The picture on the right was taken three months earlier.”

1021



The passport pictures must have
been taken for use in forged
identification papers for Max.
Clearly, the old one wouldn't make
do anymore.

1023

Felix Nussbaum painting: identity papers



1024

The Concentration Camp Breendonk

1025

Max: “If I were an author I could write books with details of the names of those who were tortured, killed, etc. But unfortunately I am too much of a dilettante, and so therefore my terrible experiences will be forgotten after a short time, but I will give you some descriptions at some point if you would like me to.”

1026



1027

Fort Breendonk

“Situated some twelve miles south of Antwerp, the fort was part of a six mile long belt of defense fortifications protecting Belgian's largest port. Built before the outbreak of World War I it became a notorious Gestapo prison and torture chamber when taken over by the Germans after they invaded the Netherlands in May, 1940. Prisoners included Resistance fighters, civilian criminals, Jews and anti-Fascists as well as hostages. For every German soldier killed, ten prisoners were executed, tied to posts embedded before a mound of earth. The old powder magazine in the cellar was transformed into a torture chamber where interrogations took place in the cruelest way.”

[Wikipedia]

1028



1029

The camp was commanded by [SS] Sturmbannführer Philip Johann-Adolf Schmitt, who remained at this post nearly throughout the whole war.

(Wikipedia)

1030

Philip Schmitt



1031

Max: "Dear Flora, ... I make many spelling errors, don't I? Kiss."

"My escape from the terrible concentration camp."

1034

Max: "I spent only 50 days in the German-run concentration camp "Breendonk" which is located in the north-west of the province of Antwerp, on the way from Brussels to Mechellen, 14 km from that town, 23 km from Antwerp, and 20 km from Brussels. It is a small town of about 3,000 inhabitants, who live primarily from agriculture, a peaceful village. In this village lies the earlier fortification from the Great War of 1914/18.

1035

“Brendonk is surrounded by a wide moat.”

1036



1037

Max: "Brendonk is surrounded by a wide moat, fed by the canal of Willebroek. For us prisoners the village did not exist, we had no contact to the world outside, we did not even know where the corpses were taken of the people who died in the camp or were killed there."

1038

"The thousands of prisoners who passed into this camp were consumed by a sense of foreboding to which they could not divine themselves, since they were swept from the world, lost in this numbness, from which they often awoke, but then sank back only deeper."

1039



1040

“They were caught so often in this madness, laden with doubt. Some developed a hatred beyond that of humans. This hatred grew not only against the Germans, against the SS, but also against some prisoners who were traitors to the SS.”

1041



1042

Max: “Jews who benefited from their position, received an extra bowl of soup, more bread, and often were paid by the Lieutenant for their treason thorough pieces of bread etc. Thus arose a terrible mistrust which increased the tortures and physical suffering still further.”

1043

Max: "One can call Breendonk—

The 'concentration camp of the creeping death'.

People were shot and killed without their guilt being shown; 10 to 20 people were done away daily. The SS men De Bodt and Weiss tormented those unfortunates before their slaughter."

1044

"The cells where we were locked away after the horrible work were tiny, cold, and unventilated; stinking water ran down the walls. Everything was taken from us prisoners, we were not permitted to read or write."

1045

“Smoking was strictly prohibited, woe to the unfortunate soul who tried to pick up a tossed cigarette butt and tried to smoke it in secret, he needed not come to work the next day.”

1046

“There were daily beatings with canes, with fists into the face, heavy kicks with heavy boots, not only by the SS, but also by the Lieutenant and the major, and especially platoon leaders.”

1047

“How often they dug a grave and buried the unfortunate victims up to their necks and then threw one shovel-full of dirt after another in their faces. Then, the unfortunates were taken away by their fellow prisoners. We still hoped that the victims of the torture would survive, but the hope was misplaced.”

1048



1049

Max: “When the SS men, truly scum of the earth, saw that their victims regained consciousness, they were thrown into the freezing water. It would have been better to have them shot dead. After these deadly attacks they were brought to the cells, where they died a few hours later.”

1050



1051

“It was more than enough for the SS men if a poor starved prisoner, who did not possess enough strength, could not keep up with the required speed at work, in order to take his life, and how many Jews had to give their lives that way!”

1052



1053

“The victim was usually selected carefully, had to take off his trousers on the hill, and the lashes of the whip rained on him without pity. After the victim fell down, the beatings continued until his body was a bloody mess. It was horrible, the terrible cries, the crazed pleadings, and then the last sounds of death. In this hell I found myself for several days.”

1054

“My face was hit so hard that it was so bloated that I could not see anything anymore. I was permitted to spend several days in the sick station...and my arms were so maltreated, that both had to be put in a stiff bandage.”

1055

“Whether at work or even in my sleep my thoughts turned only towards how to escape from this slavery, since death already stared me in the eyes.”

1056

Max: “My thoughts were so focused on escape that I would ceaselessly consider all possibilities. In sleepless nights I thought about how to escape.

1057

Some of the Belgian
concentration camp scenes have
been painted by
Painter of the Holocaust
Felix Nussbaum, a Relative of
Ernst, Lotte's husband

1058



Commemorative German Postage
Stamp for Felix Nussbaum, 2005

1059

Felix Nussbaum was a German-Jewish painter. When Belgium was occupied by Germany in 1940, Nussbaum was arrested by the Nazis and deported to the Saint Cyprien detention camp in France. He managed to escape and returned to Brussels in 1942, where he went into hiding with his wife, where he painted from his recollection.

[Lotte's Uncle Max, too, was betrayed in Brussels a year earlier, and also was held first in St. Cyprien.

Wikipedia

1060

“The Nussbaums were betrayed and arrested on June 20, 1944. They were deported to the Auschwitz concentration camp, where they perished. They were among the last people to be deported from Belgium, which was liberated on September 6, 1944.”

Wikipedia

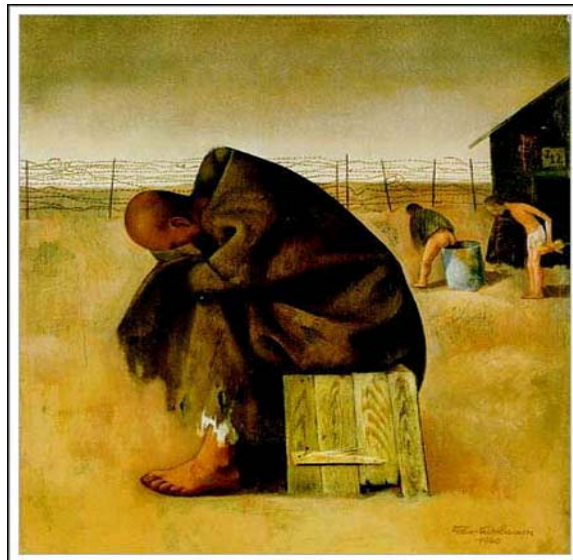
1061

“Felix Nussbaum ranks among one of the most interesting painters of the 20th century, even though he was first discovered by the art world late in his life. In the meantime, millions of Euros are paid for his paintings, especially for his later works.”

(Wikipedia)

1062

Concentration Camp in Belgium, by Felix Nussbaum

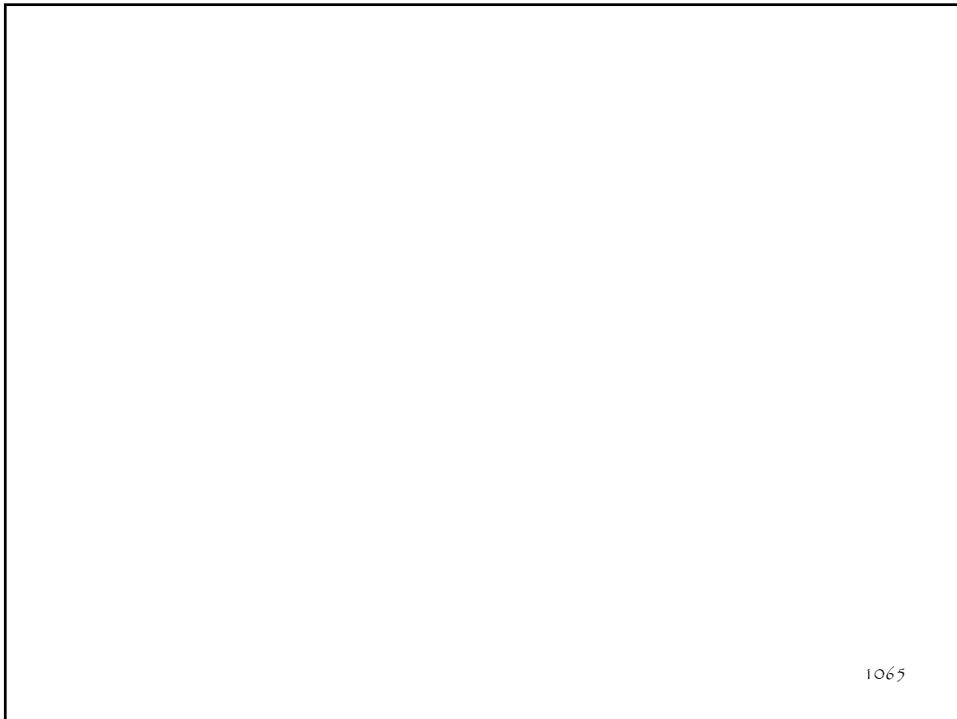


1063



Felix
Nussbaum

1064



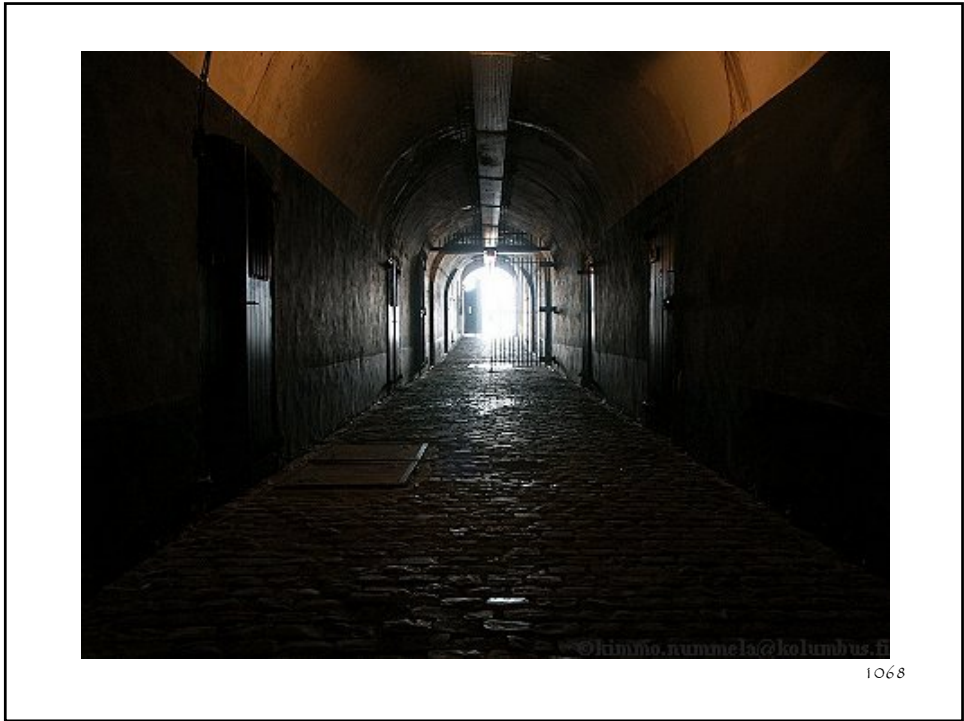
1065

The Great Escape

1066

Max: “I had gotten myself rubber boots...I also took some empty cans, as an excuse for moving about. Loaded with a can I stealthily moved as cautiously as a cat along the long corridor, where there was a soldier and a policeman with weapons were on guard duty, but were occupied.”

1067



“The hall is about fifty meters long and in the middle there are two doors which were secured with long heavy iron bars. The bolts from the left were already open and were some of the right. They must have not observed this or me, because they could not hear me.”

1069



1070

“Quiet as a tiger I tried the two doors which by a good fortune were unlocked and with a key in them.”

1071



1072



1073

“I quickly disposed of the cans,
and passed a few dangerous
spots with much luck, surveyed the
surrounding, and the guards.”

1074



1075



“I had already gone so far that I had to bring my plan to its conclusion, since I would have to pay with my life at that point anyway. Somehow I got through the courtyard, trying as well as possible to escape from the view of the soldiers on guard.”

1077

“Crouching, sliding, I unburdened myself of the heavy boots and clothing and stood at the wide water moat which surrounds the fort.”

1078



1079



1080

“When I reached the embankment which was partly enclosed by barbed wire, I came to an open area where the other guards would pass.”

1081



1082

“Thank God they did not see me. Fortunately I had a sweater with me which I could easily put over my [prisoner] uniform, because I had lost so much weight.”

1083

“I then ran to a forest, a few kilometers from the fort, and tried to dry my clothes. The weather was not favorable for this, and since my naked body was tormented by insects, I put back the wet clothes.”

1084

“My hunger was so painful that I ate raw beets and potatoes [in the fields] and looked in the field for stalks. [to eat]”

1085

“The camp had by then been alarmed, but despite all of the many guards, soldiers, SS men, and dogs, they did not succeed to find me.”

1086



1087

“I spent the night in a kind of straw shelter which I built for myself from corn sheaves which I set against each other and covered the ground with straw. The night was cold, and the constant rain forced me to get up and be on my way.”

1088

“I took a basket and rustled up at a farm a pitchfork, so that I resembled a farm worker, and kept myself busy when people or cars passed.”

1089

“Thus I was moving along for hours,
but unfortunately in the wrong
direction, until a road marker said
“Breendonk, 5 kilometers”. What a
great scare this was!”

1090



1091

“There was no return. I had to take the main road to Brussels by foot. I arrived there with some luck, and friends gave me clothes, food, and money. But they were happy when I left their homes, since the help they extended could have cost them dearly.”

1092

“I had to change my abode almost 25 times. 9 times did I escape the searches by the Gestapo. The forests and my false identity papers helped me.”

1093

“The time until the liberation was a long one for me, because I was searched for by police, Gestapo, Gendarmerie, with a reward offered.”

1094

“The only satisfaction that I have, perhaps to avenge our mother, that the Germans had much trouble looking for me which perhaps [helped others from being found in the meantime].”

1095

“Shortly before liberation I was hiding in a small village. The Gestapo arrived to conduct a big dragnet. The whole village was surrounded, and many lost their lives, while I saved mine by jumping right into a cesspool.”

1096

“I stayed there for the whole day, with my head barely sticking out.

Then came liberation.”

1097

“...The chase by police, gendarmerie, Gestapo, SS, and others has ended—I have a good bed and need not sleep in the woods anymore.”

1098

Lotte: “He hid out in a farmhouse. There a farmer woman lived with her five children. Her husband had been deported to Germany for forced labor and the woman must have seen immediately that under the stinking crust a real man was hidden. She scrubbed and fed him, he took over the farm, as well as the fatherly and other duties and stayed.”

1099

Max's exploits got much attention.

The American Despatch, dated March 20, 1945 shows pictures under the Headline "Nazi Torturers Made Him Old in Fifty Days" with before and after photographs.

1100



1101



1102

The same pictures were also published in a German language newspaper, unidentified, describing him after his escape from the concentration camp Breendonk in Belgium.

A Flemish newspaper also showed these pictures. They also showed another photograph of Max, enormously aged.

1103

After the war, SS Sturmbannführer Schmitt was brought to Belgium for trial.



1104



1105

Max was a witness in the trial



[Picture C caption:] witness Kaufmann, of Opglabbeek, the only prisoner who escaped from Breendonk, photographed after his escape.

translation: Joost van Dreunen

1106

Newspaper story, undated Schmitt Decided Arbitrarily Over the Life of His Prisoners Court Martial in Antwerp Afternoon Session

The first witness during the afternoon session is Max Kaufmann, 45 years old, from Opglabbeek. He was arrested on account of forged documents [i.e., he forged identity papers to disguise that he was a refugee from Germany, and a Jew] and stayed in the camp for several months.

translation: Joost van Dreunen

1107

The Only Successful Escape

The witness was able to escape in the early morning of August 5, 1942. Unnoticed he reached the gate of the encampment. After that, he swam across the moat without the guards noticing.

He hid and the Germans were unable to catch him. During his stay in Breendonk Kaufmann regularly received his share of punishment, once he was beaten by Schmitt himself who was well aware of everything that went on in the camp....

Never did Schmitt hinder the mistreatment of the prisoners, the witness added.

translation: Joost van Dreunen

1108



1109

Second newspaper article
The Butchers of Breendonk
In and around the Court Room

“Mr. Max Kaufmann came to testify several days ago in the trial against the butchers of Breendonk. The picture on the left was taken before his arrest and transport to the camp. The picture of the right, two days after his escape from hell, where he stayed merely for 50 days. The pictures speak for themselves.”

translation: Joost van Dreunen

1110



Commandant
Schmitt and
his dog

1111

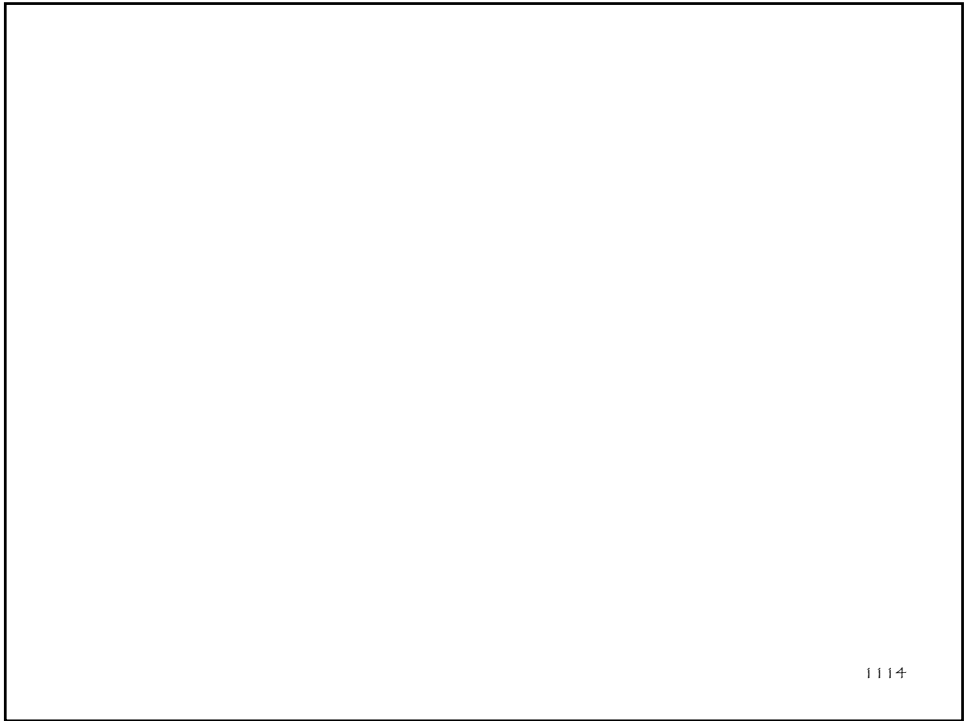
“Schmitt was found guilty, and on 9th of August 1950 in Antwerp, he was tied to a pole, his back facing towards his executioners and shot.”

He was the only German executed in Belgium after the war.

1112

In subsequent years, Max gradually lost contact with his family. He lived in Belgium, with no known children, and died in 1982 in Auderghem, Belgium.

1113



**A Tale of Two
Brothers
(Cont.)**

1116

**Chapter 5.4
Uncle Julius
Kaufmann and
His Family:
Double Escape**

1117



Cousin Siegfried Mannheimer, Sister Hilde; Julius on right, 118

Lotte: “Flora, my mother, was often the butt of [her sister] Clara’s pranks. She had to give her pocket money to Clara, who disappeared secretly in the evenings, accompanied by her younger brother Julius who was a young good-for-nothing just as she was.”

1119



Julius with his brother Max (Right) 1120



Julius in front, then Aunt Clara, Cousin Erich and Uncle Heinz

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam Rasmus Nielsen 1121

Edith: “My father volunteered [for World War I] when he was 17 years old, in 1914. He didn’t tell us much about that war. He told of swamps, howling wolves in Russia, the mud in Flanders, Verdun, and some people he met where he was. He also served in Poland.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹²²



Julius
In World
War I

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹²³

Edith: “He was at the cavalry for a short time. His horse was named Adelheid, like his mother. It was shot in the war.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹²⁴



Julius with his horse Adelheid in World War I

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹²⁵

“He also told of a badly wounded Turkish soldier whose only wish was a cigarette. My father gave him one, and a short time after the Turk died with my father on his side.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹²⁶

“It was freezing in Russia. In Flanders they were up to their necks in mud, and they lived in the trenches.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹²⁷



At the Front

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹²⁸

“He was awarded the Iron Cross by Kaiser Wilhelm. It lay in a fine box with pink cotton wool. The cross was ugly and black. My father’s uniform, with its spiked helmet and long boots, was kept at the bottom of a cupboard in the corridor. Occasionally, when nobody was watching, we played with it all, helmet and scary gas mask included.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹²⁹



Julius receives the Iron Cross
in World War I.

1130



1131



After the war, Julius met Lilly, 1919

Edith Thorsen, *Lilly fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹³²



Julius and Lilly's engagement

Edith Thorsen, *Lilly fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹³³



1134
Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen

Grandfather
Isaak Epstein



1135



Father and Mother's family together

From Left: Clara Kaufmann, (Müller), Mendel Kaufmann, Isaac Wachenheimer, Lilly, Julius Kaufmann, Johanna, Siegfried Mannheimer, Flora Kaufmann (Dahn), Heinz Müller

Edith Thorsen, *Ed fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹³⁶

Edith: "My mother loved to go to see theatre and operas. In Frankfurt there were many theatres and opera houses. My father wasn't particularly interested in those; he'd rather go into the casinos. "

Edith Thorsen, *Ed fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹³⁷



Julius (center) at 1920s Café ¹¹³⁸

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen

Julius became a successful stock broker and market specialist at the Frankfurt stock exchange.

1139



Edith: “My father and some other men stood in front of some desks. I couldn’t understand what ‘the stock exchange’ was. Was it a place where they were glued to desks and conversed in a large hall? I asked my father what the exchange was and he told me it was a place where one dealt in papers.

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁴¹

Edith: “But what is your work called?” I inquired. “It is called stockbroker, and the papers one deals in are called shares and bonds.” I couldn’t understand how this could be a real job. It was neither a factory like my maternal grandfather’s or a materials business like my paternal grandfather’s, but you could still make a lot of money. I remember thinking it was a strange way to work.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁴²

Edith: “My great-grandfather worked on the exchange too, but he never stood in the great hall at a desk, so I never saw him. He was the President of the Frankfurt Exchange and probably had a large private office.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁴³



Great Grandfather Salomon Epstein

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen

Edith: “My father loved all kinds of sports, especially football and boxing. He also once participated in a car race in the vicinity of Frankfurt, called the Feldbergrennen? Feldberg is the highest mountain in Taunus Mountains. It always snowed there in the winter. During that race my father had a fever, yet he won a prize.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁴⁵



Julius 1923

1146



1147



1148



Julius, Lilly, and Aunt Clara 192X with 2-year old Edith

Edith Thorsen, *Lid fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated
E. Bjørn-Nielsen, *Kærlig fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007.

1149

Edith: "My father was a magician. He was very good at it, he could pull rabbits out of a high hat, make handkerchiefs disappear and reappear, make canaries fly out of a hat, and swallow an egg and then pull it out of his ear."

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*; Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁵⁰

Julius' wife Lilly with daughter Edith
in 1925



1151



The twins Gerhard and Johanna followed.

1152

“It was good that one of the twins was a boy because my mother wished with all her heart for one. When I was born she had hoped it would be a little boy. The little twin boy Gerhard became her everything for his whole life. He was her life’s light.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen

1153

Edith on her neighbors in Frankfurt: “We stood talking to the catholic children through the fence, suddenly the boy asked me if I would take off my clothes so he could see me naked. In return he would give me a large piece of chocolate, which he showed me through the fence. I certainly did not want to do that, but I would like to have the chocolate.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁵⁴



¹¹⁵⁵

Edith: “I was almost 5 ½ years old at the time, and I explained to him that at that advanced age, one did not undress oneself for strangers. If he were to see someone naked, I suggested that I could undress the twins. They were only 2 ½ and then he could see one of each gender. But would he give me the chocolate anyhow? He agreed, and I quickly pulled off the twins’ clothes.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ed fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁵⁶

Summer
1923,
Family in
Frankfurt



Edith Thorsen, *Ed fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁵⁷



Edith 1st Day of School

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁵⁸



Frankfurt a. Main, Durchblick zum Römer

Frankfurt

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1933 Last
carefree
moments in
Frankfurt



Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁶⁰

1161

Edith: “When we were young, we grew up in safety surrounded and loved by a large family; in our wildest imagination we could not think that the happiness would suddenly end.”

Edith Thorsen, *Edith fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁶²

Edith: “One day at the beginning of the summer of 1933, my father just stood there, leaning against the kitchen door. He was as pale as a white sheet. Suddenly, he told us “now you have an unemployed father, because I have been chased away from the stock exchange.”

Edith Thorsen, *Edith fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁶³

Edith: “My father said that everybody must leave Germany, there was nothing we could do about it, and I knew it was very bad for us.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁶⁴

Edith: “My father had to leave quickly because the Gestapo, the secret state police, was searching for him. It didn't help that he once fought for Germany or that he felt he was an ordinary German who had been awarded the Iron Cross by the Emperor.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁶⁵

Lotte: “Julius was chased by the Gestapo early on, hid and escaped to Palestine where in the beginning he led a very poor life as a night receptionist in the hotel of my aunt. But he was efficient and hard working and earned himself a modest living.”

Lotte Memoir Letters to Birte

1166

Edith: “He wasn’t a proper German anymore after Hitler came to power, he was just a Jew. When he was sent away from the stock exchange they simply said that they didn’t want him anymore and that no Jews were wanted in Germany.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam Rasmus Nielsen

1167

Edith: “My father came into the bedroom in order to say farewell. Hannele and Gerhard gave him a goodbye kiss, but I didn’t. He stood still in the doorway to our bedroom and I was quiet on my bed. He said that he might not ever see us again.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁶⁸

Edith: “He closed the door carefully and I pulled the cover over my head and sobbed. Later that night I woke and he was at my mother’s bedside saying goodbye to her. The next morning he was gone.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁶⁹

Edith: “He left a small poem with a beautiful butterfly pinned to it. I thought that if I kept the poem for a long time I might be able to see my father again. I would tell him then why I didn’t say goodbye to him that evening he left. It was because I was so unhappy that he told us we might never see him again. I couldn’t make a sound without crying and I did not want him to see that.”

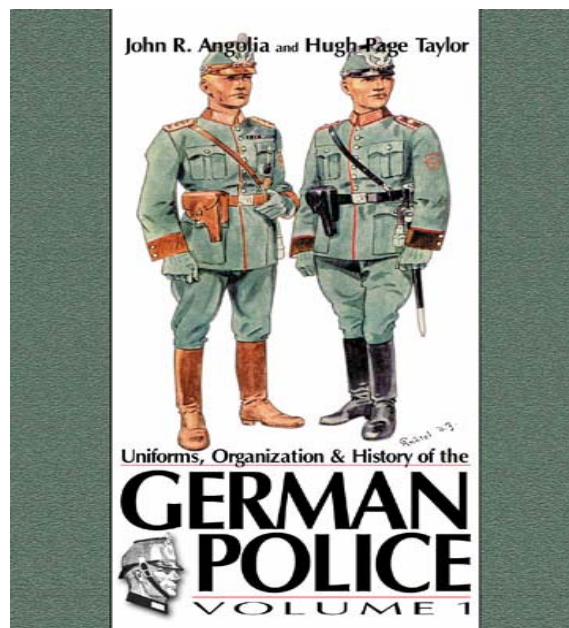
Edith Thorsen, *Edith Thorsen's Mantel of Childhood Biography* (Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam Rasmus Nielsen) 1170

Edith: “In the afternoon after the family crowd had left, the doorbell rang suddenly. My mother went to open it. Outside were two official looking men who pushed themselves into the front hall. They rummaged through everything and turned it upside down. They could just do these things and not worry about it. If anyone opposed them it would be his undoing.”

Edith Thorsen, *Edith Thorsen's Mantel of Childhood Biography* (Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam Rasmus Nielsen) 1171

Edith: “They carried large hand guns, which they pointed at my mother. They were very scary with their uniforms with a cross belt and revolvers. They had black caps, high leather boots, and swastikas around their arm. On their caps, they also had a large badge with the German eagle holding a swastika in its claws. They shouted at my mother: ‘Where is your husband? You must know that he is wanted, you must know where he is!’”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁷²



1173

Edith: “My mother said that she had no idea where he was; so they went into the kitchen and brought out the maid Rosel, who didn’t know either, she didn’t even know that my father had left in the middle of the night. I suddenly became very afraid and I stared at the men in black with their revolvers. I wondered if they were going to shoot us because none of us knew where my father had gone to.”

1174

Edith: “They said that if we all (children included) did not stay right there we would be put down at once.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen

1175

Edith: “My mother was quieter than usual. She was very pale ... She told us to pack our things and that we must leave before dark.”

Edith Thorsen, *Edith fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁷⁶

Edith: “We had to travel to a country called Denmark, my mother told us. This was where my maternal grandfather lived. We had heard of Denmark, but only through H.C Andersen’s fairytales. We heard that it was icy cold in the winter.”

Edith Thorsen, *Edith fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁷⁷

Edith: “My maternal grandfather was very wise and must have been able to see into the future. It is because of him that I am able to be alive today and tell my history. He apparently foresaw that something bad would happen to us. Already in 1932, he moved to Denmark.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁷⁸

Grandfather
Isaak Epstein



1179

Edith: “It was very difficult for him to start over from the beginning since he was already 63 years old. He was not allowed to work in Denmark. Nobody could understand his action. But doing what he did he was able to save his entire family from the Nazis.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁸⁰

Edith: “We heard that it was so cold in Denmark that polar bears roamed the street. This didn’t sound particularly nice.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁸¹



1182

Edith: “My mother was very brave to make a run after being threatened with guns. Today, when I think of it, I do not know how she dared to do such a thing but I am very grateful for her bravery. We sneaked out of the apartment into a taxi with our few possessions.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁸⁵



1184

Edith: “It was very cold at the railway station, the locomotive was already hissing white clouds of steam into the air...I had a lump in my throat, the train started with a jerk and a shrill whistle; we were on our way to a foreign country.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁸⁵



1186



1187

Edith: "That was goodbye to Frankfurt, to my home, my friends. I had a feeling we would never come back. I leaned out the window of the train bawling for my great-grandfather. I did not know why I continued to wail and scream. All this wailing bothered my mother, who told me to be quiet, but I cried almost the whole way to Kassel. The twins were quiet, although I do not think they fully understood what had happened and how serious the situation was."

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁸⁸

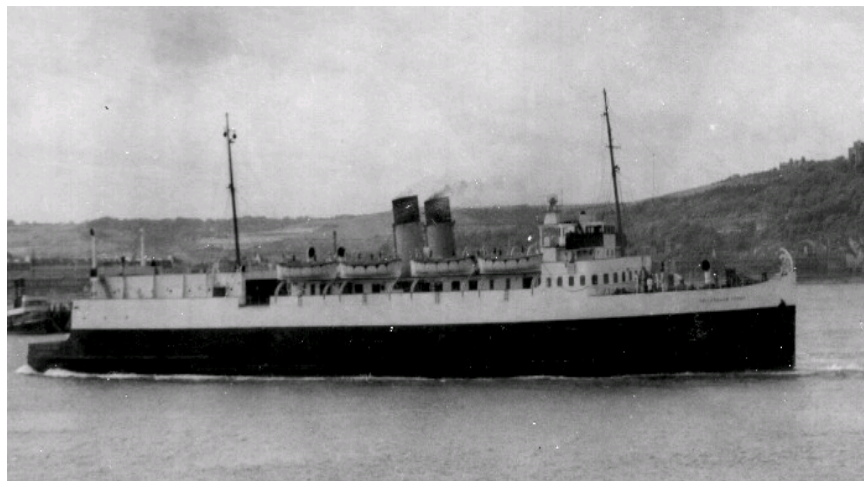


Frankfurt 1932.

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁸⁹

Edith: “The journey took forever. Finally, the train boarded the large ferry. Two men entered the train, their uniforms resembling those of tram inspectors. One had a swastika around his arm. My mother said that one was German and the other was Danish. They questioned my mother about all sorts of things, how much money she had, how long we were to stay in Denmark.

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen 1190



1191

“My mother told them that she had a few hundred marks, exactly enough to make a trip out of the country to be on holiday with my grandfather for 3 weeks. I knew that she had hidden a huge brilliant brooch in the lining of her elegant Persian lamb fur. She would sell this brooch if necessary. The inspectors gave my mother our passport and papers back, clicked their heels, and touched their peaked caps, and saluted her with “Heil Hitler” and “Gute Reise.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁹²

*New
hometown,
Copenhagen*



Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁹³

“After we had run away from Germany my mother became increasingly afraid and nervous. She took to scolding and shouting. She would also unfortunately beat us with a broomstick or a coat hanger if she was upset over something. Previously, she had many friends and girlfriends, but now they were far away and she was all alone.”

Edith Thorsen, *Edith fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁹⁴

Edith: “It was embarrassing to be a German and in addition a Jew. I deprived myself of my Jewish birth and said that we were Gypsies, not Jews. It was also embarrassing to have black hair with curls and be dark skinned as I was. Everyone gaped at me as if they had seen a rhinoceros in the street. My sister was much lighter than I was. She had the kind of hair colour that the Danes call ‘common color’ and had gray/green eyes. My little brother also had black hair but he was not as dark as I was, he only had a somewhat large nose.”

Edith Thorsen, *Edith fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁹⁵



1196

Edith: “I had no idea whether the classmates liked me at all. I was never invited to anyone’s home or for birthdays. I only was invited when the whole class was, and even then not always. I always felt a stranger on those occasions.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ed fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁹⁷

Edith: [in school] “Everyone asked where my father lived and why he wasn’t with us. I could not tell them the truth for very good reason. I told the children all sorts of fascinating stories. That he was a police officer in Alaska, that sounded a little dangerous. [In reality he was] now a penniless unskilled worker who had no food and could not afford to buy nice clothes. He lived in a miserable rented room and had only one set of clothing.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁹⁸



Julius 1937, Tel Aviv

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹¹⁹⁹

“[Later] My brother [Gerhard] began as an apprentice at Hellerup Bank on Strandvejen. He wasn't asked if he wanted to, it was just something that my mother said he had to do. I think my mother was sweetheart to the bank manager, otherwise, it would not have been possible. My brother would rather play the violin, to be a violinist. He had played since he was a very young boy in Frankfurt. He was always playing and very good, able to do anything he wanted with music.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹²⁰⁰

“He attended lessons given by the violinist Wilhelm Bartholdy, who absolutely wanted him to go to the royal music conservatory. My mother was dismissive, she was more concerned that he earned a living. As far as she was concerned, he could play in his spare time. His music teacher in Oregard had arranged a scholarship at the Academy of Music, important in a time without the present state stipend. Instead, as a bank apprentice he earned a little money, of which he then had to deliver half to our mother. The rest he had to save.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹²⁰¹

Gerhard could not have been older than 14-years when he started to work as a bank apprentice.

1202

Soon, Denmark did not seem safe, either.
Edith: "In 1938 my maternal grandfather suddenly wanted us to immigrate to a new country. It would be either to the United States or to South America. None of us had the energy to think about it. We were just gradually getting along better in Denmark and it was unsettling to think about moving to a new country again. It might not be any better. In September of 1939 World War II broke out."

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam Rasmus Nielsen ¹²⁰³

Grandfather was right again, unfortunately
Edith: “April 9, 1940. At 5am
we were awakened by a deafening
noise. It was the sound of a vast
number of airplanes flying over
Denmark for hours. My sister
calmly said that it was just an
exercise, but then my brother
came rushing in and told us that
they were German war planes.

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated
by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹²⁰⁴

“They flew so low that he could
see the German military markings.
He trembled with fear and we all
were frightened. People emerged
from windows in pajamas to look.
Our neighbor told us that the
Germans had occupied
Denmark.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated
by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹²⁰⁵

Edith: “What my mother had been afraid of was now happening. She had often pondered about Hitler coming to Denmark and talked about it a lot.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹²⁰⁶

With the German soldiers came German anti-Jewish laws

Edith: “We got new passports, called foreign passports because we were no longer German citizens. We also were assigned additional names; my mother, sister and I got the middle name of Sara. I thought it was very ugly, and came to hate it. My brother was to be called Israel. We got residence permits every 3 months; we would have to go to the nasty foreign police to apply for new 3-month residences. It was an unpleasant task.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹²⁰⁷

Edith: “On the passport there was a large Star of David and a large J so that everyone knew we were Jews.”



Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹²⁰⁸

Edith: “It was a very scary time for us. We had to carry a pass from the authorities or from the Germans in order to go anywhere. You had to show it if you were stopped on the street. Luckily, this never happened to me.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹²⁰⁹

1210

The Second Escape

1211

Edith: "At the beginning of October 1943 we received messages from people at the school and the bank where my brother did his apprenticeship - the message was that we better leave Denmark as quickly as possible."

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ^{12,12}

Edith: "It was the last chance for all Jews in Denmark. Many Danish Jews had already escaped to Sweden..."

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ^{12,13}

“The German occupation force had planned for a night-time deportation for all Jews. There were three large transport ships in Frihavnen, which were to “deport” all Jews that were found in Denmark.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen

Edith: “Again we had to flee without luggage. We now left home for the second time. We went “underground”. This is what it was called when one suddenly disappeared from one’s home.

1215

We took the train to Roskilde where we were picked up at the station, in order to drive by carriage to Himmelev. We stayed a couple of days with the parents of a friend from Laessoegade. They had a small farm.”

Edith Thorsen, *Edith fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ^{12,16}

Edith: “After that we took the train to Maribo where I had another friend, also from Laessoegade, who had arranged hiding places. A lady that I knew picked us up. Everyone was whispering. The lady picked us up in Maribo. Engestofte was not a safe place. Here, weapons were parachuted down each night to the Resistance. There were many of them on Lolland.”

Edith Thorsen, *Edith fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ^{12,17}



Maribo

1218

“My mother and I were hidden at a run-down manor called Engestofte, which happened to be very beautiful. All was beautiful that autumn. Only our futures looked dark.”

1219

Engestofte



Bildquelle:

http://www.geocities.com/christian_19222000/billeder/ENGEST.jpg

The twins were housed at a mental institution in Sakskobing. There was a sweet couple that took the twins. They had connections to Engestofte and to Reverend Markussen. He would make sure we could cross to Sweden as quickly as possible.”

E_dith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated¹²²¹ by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen



“We received completely different names and passports again, we were called Knudsen instead of Kaufmann. It was difficult to remember. If someone should question us we had to say that our grandparents had come from Poland and had worked as a beet worker in Lolland. We just had to remember the name and that were descendents of Polish beet workers.

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen

1223

“My poor mother had to pretend to be a cook with a white starched apron and white cloak. She had to make food on a giant stove in a large kitchen. She was utterly helpless, and usually just stood and stared at the large stove and cried.”

1224

“The lady of the manor was English and the family had to have their afternoon tea, just as in England. She was a sweet and beautiful lady. She more or less ran the Resistance in the county from her bedroom. You could enter it via a winding staircase, which was hidden by a dark red velvet curtain.”

E_dith Thorsen, *Lid fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹²²⁵

Edith: “Someone had revealed the twins’ real identities. They therefore had to be moved and live with caretakers from the mental institution, far in the back country. Here, nobody could reveal their hiding place. When we finally got word that we could leave, my mother was worried how to get ahold of the twins. Without them she would not leave. But the lady of the manor, Monica Wichfeld, and Reverend Markussen and his wife took care of it all.”

Edith Thorsen, *Lid fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen

“Monica de Wichfeld organized the resistance in her region...”

1227

“As a child [in Ireland, née Massy-Beresford,] she participated in parades and target practices, and later she smuggled weapons from England, hidden in her skirts. She grew up in the old Great Britain's most distinguished social layer, where time passed with gatherings, journeys, sport and hunt. The intelligent and self-willed girl learned languages and a cultured appearance.

Dansk Biografisk leksikon. Christian Fortzen 1228

[Wichfeld married into] an aristocratic provincial milieu on the island of Lolland, south Denmark, [and was] closely involved in the struggle against the occupying German forces.

The Times (London) January 9, 2003

1229

Engestofte



Bildquelle: http://www.geocities.com/christian_19222000/enges.html

1230

“Since Monica was not much connected sexually with her husband, she began a relationship with one of her neighbours, Kurt Haugwitz- Reventlow.”

1231

“While her [husband], Jørgen Wichfeld, assumed a more or less neutral stance against the Nazi invaders, [his] Anglo-Irish aristocrat [wife], Monica Wichfeld (née Massy-Beresford), worked closely with Free Denmark and Britain’s Special Operations Executive (SOE) in sabotage activities before being arrested by the Germans in 1944 and sentenced to death for refusing to leak information about her involvement in the Resistance and her contacts. “

1232
The Times (London) January 9, 2003

“She often rows at night with air dropped materiel.. her hands are full of calluses, which she explains to her clueless husband as due to a war-conditioned absence of hand cream. For she does not confide her activities with her sensitive and naïve husband who loves his garden and the hunt... However, her daughter Varinka becomes a resistance fighter...”

1233

“Monica hides also Jews, which was actually forbidden to the resistance, because it endangered the entire network.... “

1234

“Monica helped with transporting and keep weapons and explosives, while her daughter became [resistance leader] Muus’ assistant [and soon wife]. In January 1944 15-20 German soldiers and civilian-clad Gestapo-people entered Engestofte and arrested her, her husband and youngest son. The two the latter were quickly released. ...”

Dansk Biografisk leksikon. Christian Tortzen

1235

“Monica and her group were betrayed at the beginning of 1944... Her co-conspirators were condemned to death, and she was offered a [commutation to a life sentence] since no woman had been executed in Denmark since a witch burning in the 17th Century. Monica wanted to accept the pardon only if the three men were also spared.”

1236

“She was persuaded by her family to write a petition to commute her death sentence. It was written in English, and, to scorn the Gestapo, on toilet paper. She argued that the Germans had no legal right to judge her....”

Dansk Biografisk leksikon. Christian Tortzen

1237

“Finally she was persuaded by friends to accept the pardon. But she then died a slow death - exhausted and ill from incarceration in numerous German prisons, at the end of of February 1945. “

<http://www.ceiberweiber.at/ownpages/history/herstoryw.htm>,
info from (Info.: “Monica - a woman in the resistance against the German crew”
of Christine Sutherland, Schöffling and CO.)

1238

Honor Guard



Bildquelle:

http://www.sitecenter.dk/bentole/nss-folder/scrapbag/si_Uew400_1P5040020.JPG

1239

John Cunningham & Vicky Herbert
*From Ballyjamesduff to Ballyshannon; A
Guide to the River Erne, and other sources*

*[http://www.ceiberweiber.at/ownpages
/history/herstoryw.htm,](http://www.ceiberweiber.at/ownpages/history/herstoryw.htm)*

info from

*(Info.: "Monica - a woman in the resistance
against the German crew"
of Christine Sutherland,
Schöffling and Co.)*

1240

1241

Edith: "One clear October night a car came with the twins to Engestofte to pick all of us up. My mother got a pill from the driver, which she swallowed. I wondered what kind of pill it was. We were very glad to see each other. First, we had to go to a Bishop's manor, where a lot of people who were leaving for Sweden had been gathered. We got coffee, tea and buns and a large lunch for the voyage. My mother handed over her food stamps."

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹²⁴²

Edith: "The Bishop who had taken care of our transport was very nice. He was called Bishop Plum. There were three fishing vessels at the beach. We scrambled onboard in the darkness. There were policemen, saboteurs, and freedom fighters, all from the Resistance, and a lot of Jews. It took 13 hours to sail to Sweden. We reached the town of Trelleborg which accepted us. We were all tired but happy to be able to have escaped the Nazi's yet again. We all wanted it to be the last time we had to escape from them."

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹²⁴³

Another source confirms: [The] Lutheran bishop at Nykøbing, on the Island of Falster. Bishop Plum and his wife, within a few days, took care of about one hundred and fifty refugees, providing them with shelter and food.”

A Conspiracy of Decency: the Rescue of the Danish Jews During World War II by Emmy Werner 1244



1245

Edith: “The same evening after we had left, a huge [German Military] truck arrived [in Denmark] to take us. When we were not there they grabbed the caretaker and demanded the keys to the apartment. When he could not give it to them, they entered with a ladder, looked into the apartment, and found that we were gone.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹²⁴⁶



1247

LETTER FROM BY LILLY
KAUFMAN, FROM STOCKHOLM,
AUGUST 20, 1944, to her sister-in-law
Flora.

To Flora and other dear relatives.

“we could of course take nothing with us. Some
[clothes] were sent after us by the [church]
congregation. In the camp, in which we stayed for
fourteen days, we found friends.”

1248

Lilly: “We are most grateful, that we
have it so good in peaceful Sweden,
which hopefully will be passed by the
war.”

1249



1250



Julius and Hertha's grave in Bad Homburg

1251

Edith: “We never came back to Frankfurt, there was nothing to come back to. All the people we had known, families and friends, were gone. Really, everything was gone, but memories stand out. I often remember the happy days of my childhood in the beautiful city with my parents, brothers, and sisters.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹²⁵²



Edith & 2nd husband Peter Thorsen
1973

1253

3 Generations: Son Gerhard, Julius,
at grand-son Jörge'n's Bar Mitzva in
Copenhagen



1254

Edith: "It is awful to be a fugitive,
and anyone who hasn't
experienced it cannot know how
bad it is."

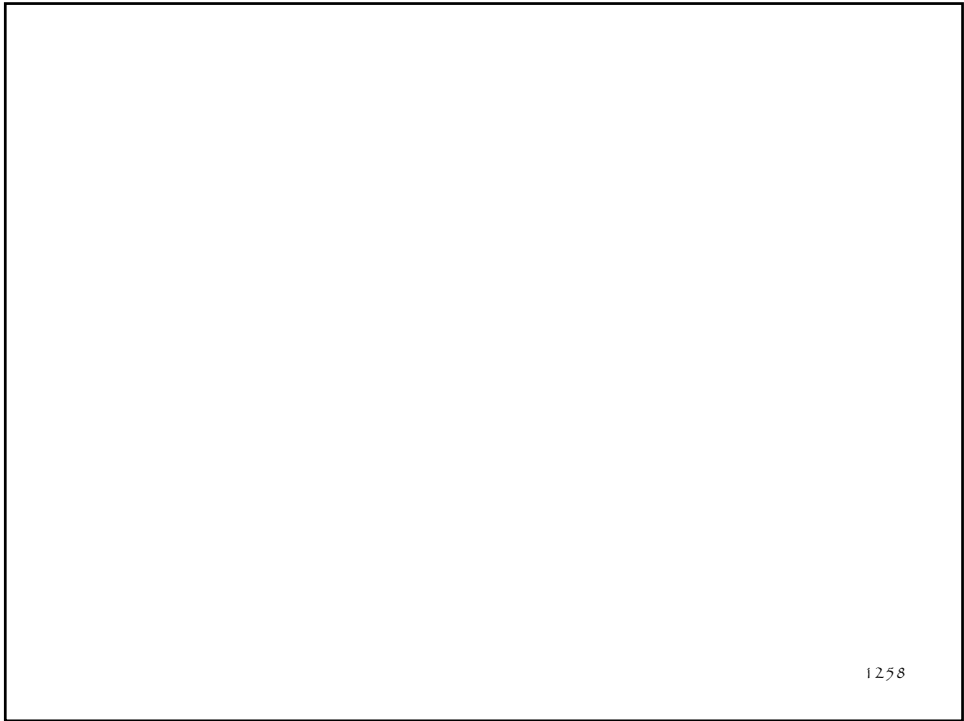
Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated
by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹²⁵⁵

“We survived the Holocaust. We had to live for the ones who died. Hitler did not succeed in wiping us out.”

1256



Julius and Lilly's descendants and spouses, 2006



1258



1259

Chapter 5.5

Other Relatives

1260

Chapter 5.5.1

Grandmother Adelheid Kaufman

1261

Adelheid Kaufmann, 1918



1262



Adelheid Kaufmann

1263

Lotte's Grandmother Adelheid Kaufmann (nee Mannheimer) moved from Kassel to Bremen to be near her daughter Flora (Lotte's mother), and be cared by her in her old age. Hilde joined her later, when Flora prepared for immigration she herself had no arrangements for immigration.

1264

Lotte: "She was sick and disturbed by the terrible events she had witnessed, three of her children being hunted or imprisoned. In 1942, she was deported to Theresienstadt."

1265

The stress wore out old grandmother Adelheid, then in her 70s. Her daughter Clara was arrested and held for espionage, until she was released since the charges were baseless. And two of her sons had only narrowly escaped from Germany. Adelheid had a nervous breakdown. She came to Bremen, was hospitalized, then stayed in the Jewish old Age home in Bremen again after 1938. She was deported from there in 1942 to Theresienstadt.

1266

The main deportation of the Bremen Jews took place in November 1941 to Minsk. For details, see also Hedwig's story, told earlier, as well as the chapter "Alternative Bio", below.

1267

“The remaining [mostly elderly] Jews of Bremen suffered and starved under poor conditions in Bremen from November 1941 to August 1942. They had to move into several specially designated houses, so-called “Jew houses”. They could only own a few things, and whoever had a bank account could withdraw only a small amount monthly ...
In the Jew houses they lived 1-3 persons per room. They had to be home by 8:00 p.m. They could work only in road construction or in street cleaning.”

(Albertz & Wedemeier, translated by E. Noam)

1268

The goal was to humiliate these old people as much as possible by putting their misery on public display.

1269

“In the summer of 1942, the time had come for the last of the Jews of Bremen. The primarily older people believed their transport would be to a kind of “large old age home” in Theresienstadt. The Bremen old age home was evacuated on July 23, 1942. This transport arrived in Bohemia around the time when the fellow Bremen sufferers were sent to their death in Minsk.”

(Albertz & Wedemeier, translated by E. Noam)

1270



1271



1272



Grandmother Adelheid was
one of those deported to
Theresienstadt, at the age of
74.

1274

“On July 23, 1942 the further deportation of
160 Jews [from Bremen] occurred, almost all
of whom were murdered in Theresienstadt and
in Auschwitz. On February 14, 1945 the last
transport of 90 Jews from Bremen went to
Theresienstadt, of whom most survived.”

[This was just weeks before the end of the
war; the Bremen Gestapo seemed to have
wanted to finish the job before the allies
arrived]

1275

“Only a few returned in 1945 from Theresienstadt. For three years the camp command was totally brutal against the inmates, the food was entirely inadequate, day by day about 150 people died through starvation and illnesses...[That transport from Bremen consisted of] elderly Jews, of whom 83 died in Theresienstadt, and 31 were sent into the death camp of Auschwitz into their certain death.” 1276

Grandmother Adelheid was one of those who died in Theresienstadt. Aunt Hilde was one of those sent to Auschwitz.

1277

Bilder aus
Theresienstadt/
Terezín



Wilstein

1278



Himmler's SS
Guards in
Theresienstadt

1279



Theresienstadt

“NAZI DECEPTION

Theresienstadt served an important propaganda function for the Germans. The publicly stated purpose for the deportation of the Jews from Germany was their "resettlement to the east," where they would be compelled to perform forced labor. Since it seemed implausible that elderly Jews could be used for forced labor, the Nazis used the Theresienstadt ghetto to hide the nature of the deportations.

[Wikipedia]

1281

In Nazi propaganda, Theresienstadt was cynically described as a 'spa town' where elderly German Jews could 'retire' in safety. The deportations to Theresienstadt were, however, part of the Nazi strategy of deception. The ghetto was in reality a collection center for deportations to ghettos and extermination camps in Nazi-occupied eastern Europe.

[Wikipedia]

1282

The conditions in Theresienstadt were extremely difficult. In a space previously inhabited by 7,000 Czechs, now over 50,000 Jews were gathered. Food was scarce and in 1942 almost 16,000 people died, including two siblings of American politician John Kerry's grandmother.

[Wikipedia]

1283

Democratic Presidential Candidate
John Kerry debating George Bush,
2004



1284

“On June 23, 1944, the Nazis permitted the visit by the Red Cross in order to dispel rumours about the exterminations camps. To minimize the appearance of overcrowding in Theresienstadt, the Nazis deported many Jews to Auschwitz. They also erected fake shops and cafés to imply that the Jews lived in relative comfort. The Danes whom the Red Cross visited lived in freshly painted rooms, not more than three in a room.”

[Wikipedia]

1285

“The hoax against the Red Cross was so successful for the Nazis that they went on to make a propaganda film at Theresienstadt. Shooting of the film began on February 26, 1944. Directed by Jewish prisoner Kurt Gerron (a director, cabaret performer, and actor who appeared with Marlene Dietrich in *The Blue Angel*), it was meant to show how well the Jews lived under the “benevolent” protection of the Third Reich. After shooting most of the cast, and even the filmmaker himself, were deported to Auschwitz. Gerron and his wife were executed in the gas chambers on October 28, 1944.”

[Wikipedia]

1286

“Of the approximately 140,000 Jews transferred to Theresienstadt, nearly 90,000 were deported to points further east and almost certain death. Roughly 33,000 died in Theresienstadt itself.”

[Wikipedia]

1287

Theresienstadt



1288

Postcard from Elsa Toeplitz to Flora,
Dahn, Lotte's mother, dated September
24, 1945. Elsa identified herself as a
former prisoner in the Theresienstadt
concentration camp, and writes to Flora,
partly to comfort her:

1289

“Dear Mrs. Dahn, getting to the main point: your mother endured it in exemplary fashion and Hilde supported her with everything that she could and neither spared means or ways. Your mother endured longer than many others of our old age home. She was sick in bed for a short time and then fell asleep quietly.”

1290

“Hilde was very sensible. She told herself nightly: for her to be better in Theresienstadt under Hilde’s care than be further deported as so many others. I do not know when your mother died, either at the beginning of ’44 or at the end of ’43.”

1291

LETTER FROM BY LILLY KAUFMAN,
FROM STOCKHOLM, AUGUST 20, 1944,
to her sister-in-law Flora.

Lilly: "Now I have a sad duty to fulfill from your words, dear Flora, it appears, that you do not know, that your dear mother is not alive anymore."

1292

"I had repeatedly news from Theresienstadt from mother and Hilde, and in May 1943 I received a postcard from Hilde, in which she told me that Mother had died in April, after several days of illness. I thought, that you had received that news. I had no address

1293

of yours and for years also nothing
from Julius [her ex-husband],
otherwise I would have sent you a letter
via the Red Cross”

1294

Lily: “We want to let poor Mother have
her peace. It is too sad that she had to
experience in her old age such terrible
things. From Hilde, I have not heard
anything for a long time.”

1295

1296

5.5.2

Hilde Kaufman

1297

Hilde Kaufmann



1298

Edith: "Aunt Hilde, whose full name was Hildegard, was my father's younger sister. She had this peculiar limp when she walked. I used to try to limp like her and it wasn't so difficult. Luckily I didn't need to do it, as it was still more troublesome than to walk normally. I liked Tante Hilde, except that she would constantly clean my nails, and that hurt."

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam Rasmus Nielsen ¹²⁹⁹

LETTER FROM HILDE TO
LOTTE PROBABLY IN 1939..." What
are you doing, my beloved Little Lotti-Mouse
[Lottimäuschen]? You don't seem to have much
time to write to your grandmother and your
aunt."

1300

Lotte: "The youngest sister, Hilde, joined my
grandmother in the Jewish Old Age Home in
Bremen, after she survived the "Crystal
Night" and the destruction of our flat,
together with my mother. My mother followed
us to Palestine but Hilde stayed behind,
because there was no chance of a visa for her.
The entire Old Age Home was deported to
Theresienstadt in 1942, where my
grandmother died of exhaustion and hunger."

1301

Lotte Memoir Letters to Birte

“Hilde was a cheerful and lovable woman, but she had had little luck in life. She had a stiff leg through a childhood disease and limped. Only in Theresienstadt did she find a late and unfortunately very short happiness. She met a man, they fell in love, and got engaged. When he was being deported to Auschwitz, she went with him, of her own free will. There they were both murdered, easy and unsuspecting victims, like all the others.”

Lotte Memoir Letters to Birte

1302

Postcard from Elsa Toeplitz to Flora, dated September 24, 1945. Elsa identified herself as a former prisoner in the Theresienstadt concentration camp, and writes to Flora:

1303

Toeplitz: "A short time later [after her mother's death in the Theresienstadt camp], Hilde got engaged to Mr. Fleischhacker who had become a widower there. He was from Hanover and was in Theresienstadt as a caregiver to the sick. I believe that the two were well-suited for each other."

1304

Toeplitz: "Hilde was always very diligent, she did her chores without ever to complaining about her fate. She managed to get her life back. We never received a sign of life from Mrs. Clara Müller [Hilde's sister, also deported], but Hilde received large packages from Sweden [from Lilly Kaufmann, presumably] with clothing which she mostly sold, and food items... I do not believe that you can do anything now, but she will hopefully get in touch!"

1305

Postcard from Mrs. Else Toeplitz to

Hans Dahn, dated July 15, 1945

“I was a caregiver in the Bremen Jewish old age home and knew Hilde and her mother very well. We arrived together in Theresienstadt where Madame Adelheid K. died after about one year despite devoted care by Hilde.”

1306

“Hilde then got engaged there and when she was assigned one day to a deportation transport, her fiancé, whom I knew well, went voluntarily with her. After that I know nothing more about her I believe that was in the beginning of 1944.

1307

POSTCARD by Mrs. Nussbaum,
sent from the Hotel Victoria in
Corbeyeuer sur Aigle, Switzerland

“Dear Dr. Dahn:
Miss Hilde Kaufmann, whom I know from
Kassel, our common hometown, was taken
from Theresienstadt to Poland, I believe
at the end of 1943. This was sad for all
of us, because she had been very helpful
to everybody.”

1308

1309



1310



Auschwitz train arrival

1311



Auschwitz

1312

HILDE KAUFMANN

wurde am 5.8.1906 in Kassel geboren und wohnte dort seit: 5.8.1906 Sedanstr. 4, 18.7.1916 Schloßteichstr. 1, 29.12.1917 Sedanstr. 4 – 5.2.1924 Frankfurt a.M. – 23.3.1925 Sedanstr. 4; 1.6.1938 nach Bremen.

Hilde Kaufmann wurde von Bremen aus in das Konzentrationslager Auschwitz deportiert und gilt als verschollen.

1313

1314

5.5.3

Aunt Clara Müller
[Neé Kaufmann]

1315

Clara Kaufmann, 1918



1316

Lotte: “My mother Flora’s elder sister, Clara, was not as good natured and helpless [as Flora]. She was intelligent, full of temperament, elegant and charming. In her younger years she had been wild and reckless, and her virtuous, dreamy sister Flora, my mother, was often the butt of her pranks. She had to give her pocket money to Clara, who disappeared secretly in the evenings, accompanied by her younger brother Julius who was a young good-for nothing just as she was.”

1317

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

Lotte: “She grew up and married the non-Jewish Heinz Müller, a nice and good looking man whom I liked very much as a child because he was cheerful and strong.”

Lotte Noam, *Memoir Letters to Birte*

1318

Edith: “I knew best my father’s oldest sister. She was a good lady, beautiful but heavysset. She was very nice and sweet. She was married to uncle Heinz who was not a Jew. This was the first time in our family that anyone was married to a ‘gentile’”

Edith Thorsen, *Edith fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen

1319



Julius in front, then Aunt Clara, Cousin Erich and Uncle Heinz

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated¹³²⁰
by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen



Aunt Clara Kaufmann (Müller)

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated¹³²¹
by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen



Aunt Clara Kaufmann (Müller)

1322

Edith: “She was also a very stern lady and occasionally said the harshest things, however she was a very sweet aunt to me. My father told me that she had wanted to become an actress. For a short time, she had been employed at the Kassel Municipal Theater.” [* This may be from Lotte]

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹³²³

Edith: “Aunt Clara and Uncle Heinz had no children, which was something they were unhappy about. This might have been a reason why they spoiled me. My parents thought it was too much.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹³²⁴

Edith: “When Uncle Heinz was 36 years old he died very suddenly. It was a great sorrow and shock to us when we found out that he had dropped dead at the Frankfurt main train station.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹³²⁵

Lotte: “[Heinz] died very early and left a heartbroken widow. He was not there anymore when he could have protected her through a mixed marriage. In 1937 she was involved in a case of alleged espionage, spent a year in prison without being tried, and when the case came up before the judges, it turned out that she had nothing to do with it. She came out of jail, entirely calm and relaxed.”

Lotte Noam, *Memoir Letters to Birte*

1326

Edith: “She had worked in the department store called Woolworth where she was a chief buyer. At that time it was rare that women had a job and that one would be in upper management. I think that the Nazis put her in prison but nobody knew where and why.

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen

1327

“Later she was probably put on a cramped train going east. Nobody knew where they took her, or ever heard from her again. Tante Clara was the first in our family who disappeared without a trace. Later there were unfortunately many more.”

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen 1328

Lotte: “I have a specially vivid memory of her. She herself had no children and adored me with such stormy passion that I sometimes had to fend it off. But when I was in Kassel and stayed with her, I liked being spoilt and taken out to beautiful restaurants. It is almost impossible to imagine this elegant and self assured woman hungry and in rags.”

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

1329

In '39 and '40, increasingly desperate letters were sent from Clara to others in her family in which she tried hard to gather documents for emigration from Germany, whether to America, Bolivia, Argentina, or other destinations. But she never got her life saving visa.

1330

Letter from Clara Flora's sister in Kassel, to Lotte's brother, Hans Dahn, January 1940. Hans was a student in neutral Switzerland and through him, the family could be reached by mail.

1331

“Until now I have not received the required new papers, and documents, also nothing from Anny Beg. I have written to her immediately by airmail and am waiting daily for a response.”

1332

“The new papers are necessary because the ones we have here are already over one year old and I must have new ones. Mr. K. has the permit to go to Bolivia, and I would also go there, if it would be possible,”

1333

“(he tries hard for me too and I have written to his sister who lives there) in case the United States for some reason will not work out or take too long.

There are always a thousand new difficulties.”

1334

Letter from Clara in Kassel:

“To Hans and all other dear ones...I was especially happy that you, dear Lottchen, enjoy your youth and have much joy. I always expected this from a Sunday child. Despite repeated airmail letters I have not received new papers/documents and I am therefore very unhappy, because everything takes so long.”

1335

“Because Mr. K, through his sister, has an entry permit to Bolivia, now one of his relatives there tried to get this also for KL., perhaps to be his wife on his papers... There is hope that this will succeed soon.”

[KL, presumably, refers to Clara (Klara) herself i.e., for the writer]

1336

“But it would be necessary for KL. to have \$250 to \$300, provided by relatives who live abroad. \$100 would be for expenses there, and the remaining dollars would have to be deposited at the National Bank at La Paz, which would be given to the immigrant upon their arrival.”

1337

“Certainly, if this precondition would have been met I would have already met the requirements the of the consulate, probably. Could you perhaps write again to Anna at the consulate at B? [Bolivia? Or Berlin]”

1338

Lotte: “She did not succeed in leaving the country and when deportation threatened, she hid with a friend in Berlin, was betrayed and arrested in her bathtub.”

1339

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

Edith: “One morning the Gestapo dragged aunt Clara out of her bathtub in her apartment in Berlin. They dragged her to a car waiting outside her apartment. They stole all her possessions.

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen 1340

Clara never made it out of Germany except in a deportation train to the East. Nothing is known of her fate. She disappeared without a trace.

1341

Letter by Gertrude Remmel,
November 30, 1947, to Flora

“Dear Mrs. Dahn!

I thank you heartily for your dear efforts to send me a package with sugar which arrived well here and has helped me greatly...if I had only been firmer towards Clara I would have not let her go [*clarify]...”

1342

“Germany will never get back [on her feet], I believe the outside world does not know how difficult things are economically in our country and how everything is being taken away. I see only a dark future.”

1343

1344

5.5.4

Great-Uncle Lenor Kaufmann

1345

Lenor Kaufmann, Lotte's grandfather's only brother, born in Melsungen in 1867, was deported in 1942 from Kassel to Theresienstadt.

He was 75 years old. He died 2 weeks later.

1346



Arrival in Theresienstadt¹⁴⁷



Theresienstadt

1348

Bahnhof	Faraun	am	5.9.1942	ab	17,50 Uhr
Bahnhof	Gersfeld	am	5.9.1942	ab	11,20 Uhr
Bahnhof	Tarn	am	5.9.1942	ab	9,20 Uhr
→ Bahnhof	Eiterfeld	am	5.9.1942	ab	10,41 Uhr
→ Bahnhof	Hünfeld	am	5.9.1942	ab	15,50 Uhr
Bahnhof	Burghaun	am	5.9.1942	ab	15,56 Uhr
Bahnhof	Wargentaft-Mansbach	am	5.9.1942	ab	10,18 Uhr
Bahnhof	Geisa	am	5.9.1942	ab	8,23 Uhr
Bahnhof	Neukirchen, Krs. Hünfeld	am	5.9.1942	ab	16,06 Uhr
Bahnhof	Niederaula	am	5.9.1942	ab	15,25 Uhr
Bahnhof	Reichensachsen	am	6.9.1942	ab	7,11 Uhr
Bahnhof	Eschwege	am	6.9.1942	ab	5,23 Uhr
Bahnhof	Herleshäusen	am	6.9.1942	ab	8,05 Uhr
Bahnhof	Frankenberg/Eder	am	6.9.1942	ab	7,27 Uhr
Bahnhof	Gemünden/Wohra	am	6.9.1942	ab	9,53 Uhr
Bahnhof	Holzhausen/Eder	am	6.9.1942	ab	8,42 Uhr
Bahnhof	Tetter	am	6.9.1942	ab	6,35 Uhr
Bahnhof	Marburg/Lahn	am	6.9.1942	ab	10,16 Uhr
Bahnhof	Kirchhain	am	6.9.1942	ab	10,39 Uhr
Bahnhof	Lohra	am	6.9.1942	ab	8,15 Uhr
Bahnhof	Neustadt, Kr. Marburg/L.	am	6.9.1942	ab	11,00 Uhr
Bahnhof	Niederwalgern	am	6.9.1942	ab	8,56 Uhr
Bahnhof	Wetter	am	6.9.1942	ab	8,07 Uhr
Bahnhof	Bebra	am	6.9.1942	ab	6,43 Uhr
Bahnhof	Baumbach	am	6.9.1942	ab	6,59 Uhr
Bahnhof	Rotenburg a.d. Fulda	am	3.9.1942	ab	6,53 Uhr
→ Bahnhof	Sontra	am	6.9.1942	ab	9,21 Uhr
→ Bahnhof	Melsungen	am	6.9.1942	ab	9,26 Uhr

Deportation was scheduled for moving Jews from the surrounding towns to Kassel; from there they were transported to Theresienstadt, Riga and other camps. The schedule for deportation from Melsungen was Sept. 6, 1942, at 9:26 AM, as well as from Burghaun and Eiterfeld (Nussbaum family region)

Wolfgang Prinz has researched the persecution of Jews in Kassel and the three major deportations. The first left Kassel on December 9, 1941 to Riga in Latvia. The second in June 1, 1942 to Concentration Camp Majdanek. And the third on September 7, 1942 to Theresienstadt.

1350

LENOR KAUFMANN

Kaufmann, wurde am 8. 7.1867 in Melsungen geboren. Er war verheiratet mit Rosa Kaufmann und wohnte in Kassel seit: 1.4.1909 Akazienweg 11, 18.7.1930 Große Rosenstr. 18, 10.10.1941 Schillerstr. 7.

Lenor Kaufmann wurde am 7.9.1942 von Kassel aus zusammen mit seiner Ehefrau in das Konzentrationslager Theresienstadt deportiert und verstarb dort am 21.9.1942.

1351

Great-aunt Rosa Kaufmann, nee Nussbaum, was sent first to Theresienstadt, then to Minsk, where she died at age of 66 or 67.

Minsk story, see sections on aunt Hedwig, and on Lotte's hypothetical biography.

1352

ROSA KAUFMANN

geb. Nußbaum, wurde am 26.1.1876 in Burghaun geboren. Sie war verheiratet mit Lenor Kaufmann und wohnte in Kassel seit: 1.4.1909 Akazienweg 11, 18.7.1930 Große Rosenstr. 18, 10.10.1941 Schillerstr. 7.

Rosa Kaufmann wurde am 9.7.1942 von Kassel aus zusammen mit ihrem Ehemann in das Konzentrationslager Theresienstadt deportiert, von dort nach Minsk verschleppt und für tot erklärt.

.....

1354

Chapter 5.5.5

Aunt Clara

Wittkowsky

1355

Lotte: “Klärchen [Clara neé Danielewicz, not to be confused with Aunt Clara of Kassel, her mother’s sister.] her brother’s sister, was the next sister of my father’s; good-looking and cheerful, married to Otto Wittkowský, a German airplane engineer.”

Lotte Memoir Letters to Birte

1356



Kaete and
Otto 1929

1357



Kaete and
Clara
1929

1358



Clara and
Otto

1359

Clara's sister Kaete writes: "The family in Düsseldorf thought often about emigration but could never decide to do so and lived continuously in the hope for better times. In addition, my mother did not feel capable of emigration and could not be left alone by my siblings. One of my married sisters could not bear leaving her house and especially her beloved garden."

[This refers to Clara, but things were more complicated]

1360

Lotte: "Klärchen was the third sister of my father. Theirs is a fate which is especially sad. He was dismissed from his airplane company because he would not divorce his Jewish wife. But they were not allowed to emigrate because he knew too much about the German airplane industry. Their home in Düsseldorf was permanently watched and spied upon by the tenants in the apartment above them, and life was made impossible for them."¹³⁶¹

Lotte: "When the Jewish partners of mixed marriages were being deported, these two people, who were so very devoted to each other, decided to hide out in the country. They transferred their possessions by power of attorney to a "friend" who had chosen the hiding place. When they were gone, this good friend sold everything, collected jewelry and fur coats with his power of attorney and betrayed the hiding place to the Gestapo. Uncle Otto and Aunt Klärchen took poison and died together."

1362

Lotte: "When my brother Hans, after the war had ended, went to Düsseldorf from Basel where he was studying in order to search after the whereabouts of our relatives, the friend-turned-traitor had committed suicide. Hans only met the widow, and hanging on a hook in the kitchen were towels with the monogram of the Wittkowskys."

1363

Letter from Major M.W.
Mackie of the British military
occupation in Germany, dated
January 8, 1945 to Kaete's
husband, in British Palestine.

1364

“Dear Mr. Rosenbluth:

Your letter duly received, in which
you ask me to make inquiries
concerning the fate of your wife's
relatives in Düsseldorf.

Information I have received is to effect
that Mr. Otto Wittkowski and Mrs.
Clara Wittowski continued to reside in
their house at 65 Wedescheimerstr
until the Spring of 1944.”

1365

“They then appear to have received some friendly warning that they were about to be arrested, as a result of which they fled in a hurry. It is understood that their destination was to be Bingen am Rhein, which is now in the French Zone of Occupation.”

1366

“I am unable to make further inquiries there, as a result, but I think you may take it for granted that they are no longer there, otherwise they would almost certainly have found means of returning to Düsseldorf, which is not so far away. At the time of their departure, Mr. Wittowski appears to have given a power of attorney to a friend, and the latter is still looking after his interests.”

1367

And Major Mackie continues,
with English understatement:

“Events in Palestine seem to be
rather unruly, don’t they? It must
be a nuisance for you?”

1368

Other
Kaufmann
Relatives

1369

Fate Unknown, Kaufmann Family

Children of Lenor & Rosa Kaufmann:

- Julius Kaufmann (recorded missing)
- Sigmund Kaufmann

Cousins of Grandfather Mendel:

- Ludwig Kaufmann
- Willi Kaufmann
- Carl Kaufmann
- Julius Kaufmann, lawyer in Kassel

1370

Also perished in Auschwitz

Cousin Martin Mannheimer (of
Suhl),

Cousin Siegfried Mannheimer
(of Suhl), in Auschwitz

Cousin Erich Mannheimer, (of
Suhl), in Auschwitz

Cousin Max Mannheimer (of
Suhl) in Auschwitz

1371



Julius in front, then Aunt Clara, Cousin Erich and Uncle Heinz

Edith Thorsen, *Ud fra Frankfurt*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Rasmus Nielsen ¹³⁷²

Lotte & Erich Mannheimer in Suhl



1373



Cousin Siegfried Mannheimer

1374



Cousin Siegfried Mannheimer

1375

Fate Unknown, Kaufmann Family

2nd Cousins of Flora:

- Herrmann Kaufmann
- Kaete Kaufmann
- Ernst Kaufmann
- Paul Kaufmann
- Hertha Kaufmann
- Elsbeth Kaufmann

1376

Melsungen Kaufmanns Who Perished

Name	Geburtsort	Geburtsdatum	Todesdatum	Deportationsziel
Kaufmann, Julius	Melsungen	7.2.1874	verschollen	Unbekannt
Kaufmann, Lenor	Melsungen	8.7.1867	21.9.1942	Theresienstadt
Kaufmann, Leo	Melsungen	6.6.1877	verschollen	Reval
Kaufmann, Rosa	Burghaun	26.1.1876		Theresienstadt ¹³⁷⁷

Melsungen Kaufmanns Who Perished

Familienname	Vorname	Geburtsname	Geburtsort	Geb. Dat.	Todesdatum	Deportationsziel
Dalberg	Agneas	Kaufmann	Melsungen	26.5.1873	6.9.1942	Theresienstadt
Ehrlich	Paula	Kaufmann	Melsungen	16.8.1868	Als tot erklärt	Auschwitz
Sondheimer	Emma	Kaufmann	Melsungen	21.3.1872	17.9.1942	Theresienstadt
Wolff	Franziska	Kaufmann	Melsungen	11.12.1874	3.9.1942	Theresienstadt

Röschen Kahn, geb. Kaufmann * 28.02. 1856 in Melsungen, sent to Sobibor at age 86 .

1378

Other Kaufmanns from Kassel who perished

1379

EMMA KAUFMANN

geb. Stein, wurde am 22.12.1896 in Reichensachsen bei Eschwege geboren. Sie war verheiratet mit Harry Kaufmann und wohnte in Kassel seit: 26.3.1921 Moltkestr. 1, 26.9.1941 Entengasse 22. Emma Kaufmann wurde zusammen mit ihrer Tochter Ilse am 9.12.1941 von Kassel aus in das Getto Riga deportiert und gilt als verschollen.

HEDWIG KAUFMANN

geb. Katz, wurde am 2.2.1872 in Kassel geboren und wohnte dort seit: N.N. Parkstr. 8, 3.4.1916 Karthäuserstr. 5, 1.4.1925 Querallee 1. – 16.12.1930 nach Frankfurt a.M. – 30.6.1931 Weinbergstr. 16, 10.7.1934 Am Fürstengarten 1, 1.12.1938 Jordanstr. 11, 18.9.1939 Kölnische Str. 51, 10.6.1940 Mombachstr. 17. Hedwig Kaufmann wurde am 7.9.1942 von Kassel aus in das Konzentrationslager Theresienstadt deportiert und verstarb dort am 2.3.1943.

HELGA KAUFMANN

wurde am 21.3.1938 in Kassel geboren und wohnte dort seit: 21.3.1938 Wörthstr. 23, 15.4.1939 Zentgrafenstr. 5 ½, 20.5.1940 Lager Wartekuppe, 15.10.1940 Tränkepforte 1. Helga Kaufmann wurde am 9.12.1941 von Kassel aus zusammen mit ihren Eltern in das Getto Riga deportiert und gilt als verschollen.

ILSE BETTY KAUFMANN

wurde am 16.1.1929 in Kassel geboren und wohnte dort seit: 16.1.1929 Moltkestr. 1 – 15.9.1938 nach Dortmund – 20.1.1939 Moltkestr. 1, 26. 9.1941 Entengasse 22.

Ilse Kaufmann wurde zusammen mit ihrer Mutter am 9.12.1941 von Kassel aus in das Getto Riga deportiert und gilt als verschollen.

JULIUS KAUFMANN

wurde am 30.11.1925 in Kassel geboren und wohnte dort seit: 30.11.1925 Albrechtstr. 39, 1.9.1931 Obere Königsstr. 4, 6.6.1933 Wilhelmshöher Allee 67; 10.10.1937 nach Berlin.

Julius Kaufmann wurde von Berlin aus in das Konzentrationslager Auschwitz deportiert und gilt als verschollen.

MAX KAUFMANN

Elektrotechniker, wurde am 4.2.1891 in Thishaschnikep/Riga geboren. Er war verheiratet mit Else Kaufmann und wohnte in Kassel seit: 5.5.1919 Frankfurter Str. 30, 19.3.1920 Nahlstr. 4, 22.9.1924 Henkelstr. 5, 2.7.1926 Frankfurter Str. 58, 6.12.1929 Albrechtstr. 29, 1.9.1931 Obere Königsstr. 4, 6.6.1933 Wilhelmshöher Allee 67; 10.10.1937 nach Berlin.

Max Kaufmann wurde zusammen mit seiner Ehefrau und seiner Tochter Ursula von Berlin aus in das Konzentrationslager Auschwitz deportiert und gilt als verschollen.

URSULA KAUFMANN

Hausangestellte, wurde am 9.5.1922 in Kassel geboren und wohnte dort seit: 9.5.1922 Königsplatz 54, 22.10.1924 Henkelstr. 5, 2.7.1926 Frankfurter Str. 58, 6.12.1929 Albrechtstr. 29, 1.9.1931 Obere Königsstr. 4, 6.6.1933 Wilhelmshöher Allee 67; 10.10.1937 nach Berlin.

Ursula Kaufmann wurde zusammen mit ihren Eltern von Berlin aus in das Konzentrationslager Auschwitz deportiert und gilt als verschollen.

1384



Last family
gathering:
Heta,
Henriette
(mother),
Kaete, Richard,
Clara, Else in
Düsseldorf
1934. Only two
survived

1385

BBC NEWS
 Last Updated: Wednesday, 14 December 2005, 13:50 GMT

Iranian leader denies Holocaust

Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has courted further controversy by explicitly calling the Nazi Holocaust of European Jewry a "myth".



"They have created a myth today that they call the massacre of Jews and they consider it a principle above God, religions and the prophets," he said.

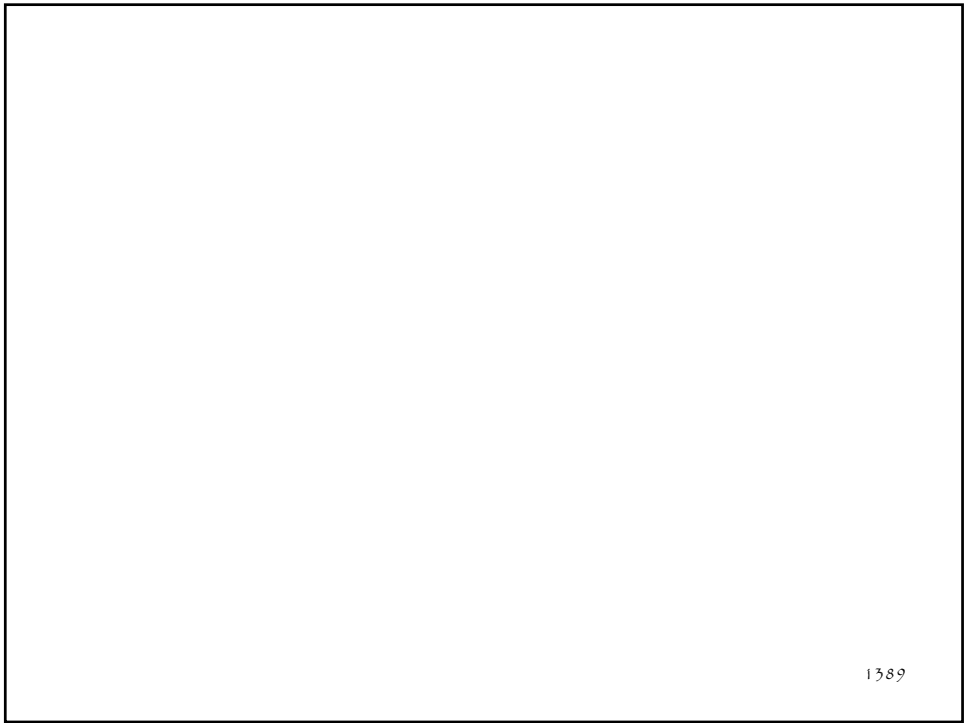
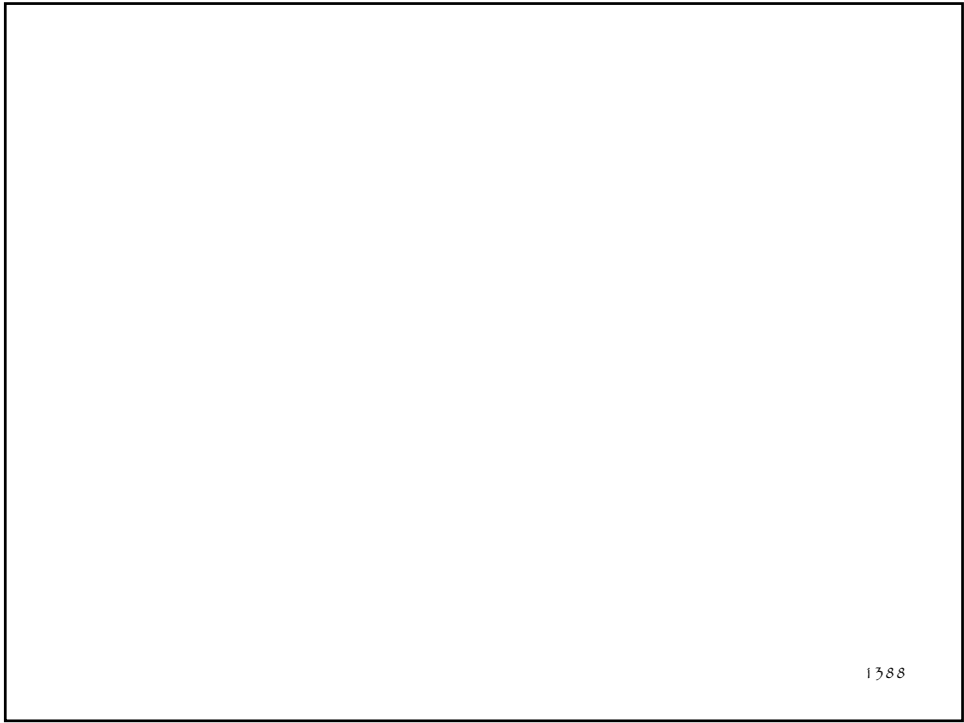
Ahmadinejad's remarks echo other recent statements

The president sparked international outrage in October when he said Israel should be "wiped off the map".

Talks between Tehran and three European Union nations - Germany, France and the UK - have been deadlocked over Iran's renewed efforts to produce nuclear fuel.

2006: Iran's President: The Holocaust Didn't Happen; Israel will be destroyed.
 Iran president says Israel's days are numbered
 By Paul Hughes Tue Dec 12, 12:32 PM ET
 TEHRAN (Reuters) - Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad on Tuesday told delegates at an international conference questioning the Holocaust that Israel's days were numbered.
 Ahmadinejad, who has sparked international outcry by referring to the killing of six million Jews in World War Two as a "myth" and calling for Israel to be "wiped off the map," launched another verbal attack on the Jewish state.
 "Thanks to people's wishes and God's will the trend for the existence of the Zionist regime is downwards and this is what God has promised and what all nations want," he said

1387



Chapter 5.6

Lotte:

What if? An Alternative Biography

1390

Lotte: “Later on I have often dreamt that I jumped out of a deportation train and rolled down the bank, or that I swam across Lake Constance to my brother – a swim to safety. But my worst nightmares have never reached the concentration camps.”

1391

Lotte Memoir Letters to Birte



1392

Had Lotte stayed in Bremen (or
Düsseldorf), this would have been her
fate.

1393

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1394

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1395

Heinrich Albertz

Heinrich Albertz
**Blumen für
Stukenbrock**
Biographisches



Im **RADIUS-Verlag**

The author of the history of Bremen Jews in World War II, Heinrich Albertz, was a pastor of the Confessional Church in the Nazi period, and rose in Berlin politics to become the successor of Willy Brandt as Lord Mayor.

1396

“Of the 1,314 Jews who lived in Bremen in 1933, over half were murdered. On November 18, 1941, 570 [Bremen] Jews were deported to Minsk and murdered there...”

(Albertz & Wedemeier, translated by E. Noam)

1397

The Evolution of the Minsk Ghetto (1941-1943)

On 19.7.1941 the army commander for Minsk ordered that a residential area “exclusively” for Jews be establish in Minsk.

1398

August 1941 SS Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler inspected Minsk preparations, in advance of the deportations from Germany.



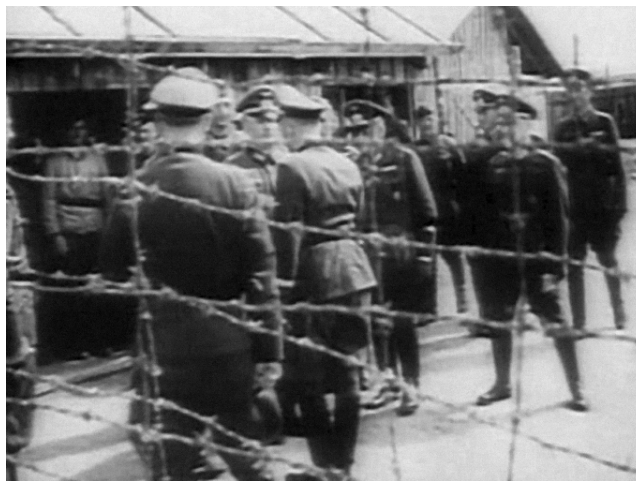
1399

August 1941 in Minsk: Himmler and
SS General Wolff



1400

August 1941 in Minsk: Himmler,
Bach



1401

Heinrich Himmler himself visited Minsk and asked to witness the shooting of 100 Jews, a sight that nauseated him. Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski, the "Higher SS- and Police Leader Russia Centre", who was present, pointed out to Himmler that he had watched the execution of "only" 100. Daily, the men of the *Einsatzgruppe* were shooting thousands. The strain was too great. A more "humane" method must be found - not for the benefit of the victims, but for that of the perpetrators. "

1402

August 1941 in Minsk: Himmler & Wolff



1403

“The order for deportation arrived October 24, 1941 from Berlin. About 50,000 Jews should be evacuated to Minsk and Riga in the USSR in the context of the cleaning out of Germany from the west to east.” The Bremen Jews were selected for transport to Minsk. The head of the “Department for Jews” (Judenreferat), for the Gestapo Wilhelm Pachmann sent lists of names who were to be “evacuated” to Minsk.”

(Alberty & Wedemeier, translated by E. Noam)

1404

“The Jews were required to report at the appointed time at the train station, and they were also ordered to] “turn off electricity and gas and to return the apartment keys to the superintendent. Everything should be in good order.” The night before suitcases were packed, and conversations revealed that nobody had an inkling where the trip should go and how long it would take.”

(Alberty & Wedemeier, translated by E. Noam)

1405

March to Train in Another City



The general population of Bremen, however, was not as hostile

“A report of the Gestapo of November 11, 1941 reveals: ‘Whereas the politically trained part of the population generally welcomes the anticipated evacuation of the Jews, there are those within religious or commercial circles, and especially those who have no understanding, who still believe to engage themselves for the Jews.’”

(Albertz & Wedemeier, translated by E. Noam)

1407

The Gestapo report continues : “Thus in the Catholic and evangelical circles of the Confessional Front the (Bekennende Kirche, led by Martin Niemoller and Dietrich Bonhoeffer) Jews were strongly pitied”. In one of the Confessional congregations, which mostly consists of so called bourgeois intellectual circles, numerous members of the congregation supported Jews through material contributions.” ...

(Albertz & Wedemeier, translated by E. Noam)

1408

“On November 18, 1941, 570 [Bremen] Jews were transported to Minsk.

The Jews assigned to Minsk were loaded onto railroad cars on November 18. The trip took three days and three nights. The trains were not heated. There was a brief stop every eight hours, during which the SS guards surrounded the train...”

(Albertz & Wedemeier, translated by E. Noam)

1409

[The Hamburg resident] Heinz Rosenberg the only member of his family to survive and one of the few Germans Jews worldwide to have survived Minsk relates the following regarding the day they received the evacuation order:

"My parents immediately telephoned my sister and me at our places of work. We immediately returned home, (...) We were all alarmed. My mother wept, my aunt Meta arrived and wept, but could do nothing to help. Our neighbors visited us, but the majority of people were indifferent."

Wilhelm Mosel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www1.uni-hamburg.de/rz3ao35/Minsk.htm, 6.12.06

Heinz Rosenberg describes the day of departure:

"At five o'clock (...) large police vans arrived and we were loaded on under police guard and driven to the freight train depot. There awaited a train with 20 passenger carriages and five goods wagons. The carriages were old but had windows and doors which, however, could not be opened from the inside. Each carriage accommodated 50 people, every place having to be occupied. The procedure took many hours.

Wilhelm Mosel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www1.uni-hamburg.de/rz3ao35/Minsk.htm, 6.12.06

In his correspondence from 15.11.1941
 [Hamburg Gestapo Jewish Department Chief]
 Göttsche gave the following information:
 “These 420 [Hamburg] Jews are to be added
 to a transport of 580 Jews from Bremen. The
 train departs Bremen at 8.40 a.m. on
 18.11.1941 and will arrive in Hamburg at 11.32
 a.m.

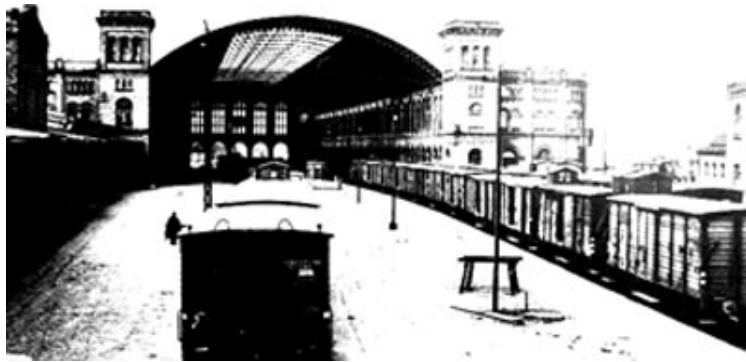
Wilhelm Mosel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www.uni-hamburg.de/rz3ao35//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06 1412

The following transports of Jews arrived in Minsk:

Origin	Departure Date	Number of Jews
Hamburg	8-11-1941	990
Düsseldorf	10-11-1941	993
Frankfurt	11-11-1941	1,042
Berlin	14-11-1941	1,030
Brünn	16-11-1941	999
Hamburg & Bremen	18-11-1941	908
[*cite] Vienna	28-11-1941	1,001

1413

A Deportation Train Leaving Hamburg



1414

Lotte's Aunts Hedwig and
Else had been deported from
Düsseldorf on November 10,
1941, one week earlier.

1415

Heinz Rosenberg, a survivor reports:
“The train traveled to Berlin, through Poland to the Russian border and from there to Minsk. They journeyed three days and two nights. Arriving late in the evening the SS decided not to detrain them until the next morning. This meant spending yet another night in the cold carriages where in the meantime food and water had become scarce.”

Wilhelm Mosel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www.uni-hamburg.de/rz3ao33//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06 1416

Heinz Rosenberg reports:
“Around 5 a.m. they were allowed to detrain in Minsk. Suddenly the SS officer called for the Jewish transport leader. Dr. Frank stepped forward, came to attention and reported the men, women and children from Hamburg. Whereupon he was insulted with “dirty Jew”. When he wanted to talk to an officer or with any other German he had to remove his hat and wait until he was addressed. With these words he took his leather whip and struck Dr. Frank in the face so that he fell to the ground and had to be helped up.”

Wilhelm Mosel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www.uni-hamburg.de/rz3ao33//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06 1417

Minsk



1418



A Bremen Jew,
Hermann
Goldberg in a
chance German
Magazine photo
of the Minsk
Ghetto

Das letzte Bild von Hermann Grünberg aus dem Minsker Ghetto. Er wurde dort, wie viele andere aus seiner Familie, ermordet. Das Bild erschien 1943 in der Zeitschrift »Die Woche« im Rahmen einer Fotoreportage unter der Überschrift »Polizeiliche Großaktion in Minsk«

1419

“In December 1941 more and more people died of the cold, and the Jews were unable to bury their dead. The ground was frozen too deeply. An old barrack at the edge of the ghetto was used to store the corpses. When it was full, the bodies were stacked in front of the barrack. Finally the SS ordered a hole to be dynamited into the ground, and a large number of the dead were interred, but there was not enough earth to cover the graves. When the snow melted, the remainders were visible again. The Jews had to bury their dead again, some found their relatives in that fashion.”

(Albertz & Wedemeier, translated by E. Noam)

1420

“On the morning of 2 March 1942 the ghetto commandant appeared and gave instruction that no Russian was to enter the German camp, neither for water nor for the use of the latrines... Directly after the commandant had left the “battue” began on the Russians. They were only separated by a narrow road from this part of the German camp.

In the evening, “according to the SS”, 25,000 people, “who had done nobody any harm” were murdered.

Wilhelm Mosel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk,
ww1.uni_hamburg.de/rz3a035//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06¹⁴²¹

Loewenstein continues:

“The columns of people marched by us, packed together, with tiny shuffling steps to be murdered because there was not enough room for us all in the camp. This death march was horrifying, so horrifying that we wished ourselves a quick death.”

Wilhelm Mosel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www1.uni-hamburg.de/rz3ao35//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06 1422



1423

A few months later, most of the
German Jews were killed, too.

1424

SS Reichsführer Himmler wrote to Gottlob
Berger, chief of the SS Main Office on 28
July 1942, "The Occupied Eastern
Territories are to become free of Jews." On
that same day, a major *Aktion* commenced in
Minsk.

<http://www.deathcamps.org/occupation/minsk%20ghetto.html>

1425

The Jews of Bremen were killed on July 28, 1942, similarly as it happened before with the Russians. [One witness] Mr. Spanier...from Verden who came with a transport from Bremen to Minsk was away for that day on an outside work assignment. When he returned after several days he found the camp of the Bremen people completely vandalized and looted. Richard Frank was probably the only Bremen person surviving this action because as a butcher he was needed elsewhere during the mass murder.”

(Albertz & Wedemeier, translated by E. Noam)

1426

In a report, Regional SS Commander Wilhelm Kube, wrote on July 31, 1942: “In Minsk City on July 28 and 29, 1942 about 10,000 Jews were liquidated, of whom were 6,500 Russian Jews – primarily old, women, and children. The rest were Jews unable to work, primarily from Vienna, Bruenn, Bremen, and Berlin, who were sent here in November at the order of the Fuhrer.”

1427

Mosel: “Then evacuation commandos searched the ghetto and drove people from their houses. They were herded to the ghetto exit where they had to assemble. They were then driven in batches to the execution area near the Trostinez estate, southeast from Minsk. As KdS vehicles were insufficient, lorries from the railway and other agencies were also employed.”

Wilhelm Mosel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www.uni-hamburg.de/rz3ao35//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06 1428

“KdS gas vans and gas vans from other units from outside Minsk were also employed to take people to the mass graves. It is not known whether or to what these gas vans were used to gas individuals. The majority of victims were killed by hand by means of a pistol shot to the back of the neck.”

Wilhelm Mosel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www.uni-hamburg.de/rz3ao35//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06 1429

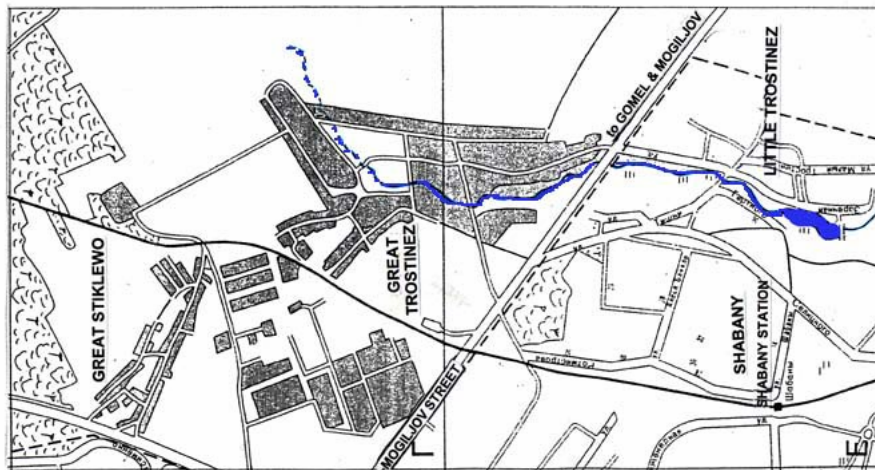
“As early as in the spring of 1942 Dr. Strauch had made extensive organizational preparations in order to execute a large number of people trouble-free and in a short period of time.

He sought out a wooded area with medium-high pine trees as execution area. Such a wooded area lay roughly 3 to 5 km from the Trostinez estate.”

1430

Great (Bolschoi) Trostinez on the road to Gomel and Mogilev.

Little (Maly) Trostinez, with lake, south of the highway.





1432



1433

“They were shot in a number mass executions spread over two or three weeks until around 500 remained. The “actions” took place in such a way: clearing commandos herded the people together. They were then driven in batches by lorry to the place of execution in the proximity of the Trostínez estate. Here the victims had to completely undress before, in accordance with earlier mass shooting, they were executed with a pistol shot in the back of the neck. Around 500 people were killed at each execution.”

1434

“When they were not killed immediately at the end of the execution action hand grenades were thrown into the pits. Then earth was shoveled over the top and the surface flattened by tanks.”

1435

Heinz Rosenberg: "All the people, approximately 10,000, in these parts had been killed in three days.

What we saw in the ghetto over the following days is barely recountable. Even the strongest men broke down, women and children screamed and wept. The cadaverous smell throughout the camp made things still worse. The SS Special Commando had conducted the slaughter but Wehrmacht soldiers stood guard over the ghetto and watched and ensured nobody could escape their death."

Wilhelm Mosel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www.uni-hamburg.de/rz3a9356//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06

In the same month, A report by the SS notes, concerning the Minsk and Belarusk areas: "Considering the large distances, the difficult road conditions, the lack of vehicles, and the limited number of security police personnel and of the SD, the shootings in the country were only possible with use of all efforts. Nevertheless, so far 41,000 Jews have been shot..."

[cite]

1437



1438

The Use of Gas in Minsk

“At the end of October 1943, the Byelorussian gas vans were concentrated in Minsk for the liquidation of the ghetto there. The operation lasted ten days. Thousands of Jews were killed. The driver, Gnewuch, confirmed that “a ghetto operation took place in the autumn of 1943. I was put into action only once with the gas van. I made three trips with it to the execution site.”

<http://www.einsatzgruppenarchives.com/documents/et.html>

1439

Gnewuch testified: "I gassed about 150 to 180 people. Adolf Rübe and someone called Göbel also drove gas vans. We had been assigned to this operation with three vehicles. Whenever I was gassing Jews, Göbel and Rübe were gassing Jews, too."

(26) The platoon from the Second Police Battalion of the SD was detailed to this killing operation. Its leader, a Russian named Ramasan Sabitovitch Tchugunov, stated during his interrogation: "We shoved them into the gas vans. These vans were packed full of people from the ghetto, the doors were hermetically sealed, and they left the ghetto..."

<http://www.einsatzgruppenarchives.com/documents/et.html>

1440



Gnewuch testified: "I was detailed with the gas van to about twelve convoys of arriving Jews. It was in 1942. There were about a thousand Jews in each convoy. With each arrival I made five or six trips with my van. Some of the Jews were shot. I myself never shot a single Jew; I only gassed them."

<http://www.einsatzgruppenarchive.com/documents/et.html>

"He said that both vehicles made seven to nine trips that day. Dittrich estimated the number of victims gassed [that day, July 31, 1942] at between five hundred and seven hundred. Both vans were crammed full, so that when the doors were opened the bodies fell out. "

<http://www.einsatzgruppenarchives.com/documents/et.html>

1443

“We transported men, women, old people, and children. They were not allowed to bring anything at all with them. There were about 50 people in each van....About a thousand people were transported that day.”

<http://www.einsatzgruppenarchives.com/documents/et.html>

1444

1445

“The Jews of Minsk had formed a resistance movement as early as August 1941, before there was an underground movement outside of the ghetto itself. The primary aims of the Jewish resistance were aiding escapes to the surrounding forests to fight with the partisan groups yet to be formed and the dissemination of news from the front.

<http://www.deathcamps.org/occupation/minsk%20ghetto.html>

1446

There were nearly 450 members of the underground, organized into cells, of whom about one third were young people. “Eventually, partisan units, both Jewish and non-Jewish, became active throughout White Ruthenia.”

Deathcamps.org

1447

“A ‘large-scale action’ in the ghetto revealed that the German Jewish Order Police was determined to carry out an armed resistance. ‘To avoid the spilling of German blood’ the Jewish Order Police was assembled and informed that a fire had broken out in the city and that it was their task to extinguish it. The Jews were then loaded onto lorries and murdered.”

Wilhelm Mosel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www.uni-hamburg.de/rz3ao35//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06 1448

Bielski Brothers



1449

The Bielski family were prominent among Jewish partisans during the Holocaust. The three Bielski brothers—Tuvia, Zus and Asael—took enormous risks on behalf of Jews, confronting German military units as well as hostile Russian partisan groups. The Bielski's saved 1200 Jews through their efforts.

(Wikipedia)

1450

Peter Duffy, *The Bielski Brothers: The True Story of Three Men Who Defied the Nazis, Built a Village in the Forest, and Saved 1,200 Jews*, Harper Perennial, 2004 (to be made into a Hollywood movie)

1451

1452

“In 1943, the tide of war turned against the German Army. The German and the Russian ghetto were dissolved in September 1943 except for 70 laborers. All inmates of the camp were gassed. The remaining workers were stripped away, Frank and Spanier [surviving witnesses] included. By October 1943, the ghetto in Minsk ceased to exist.”

(Albertz & Wedemeier, translated by E. Noam)

1453

“Between November 1941 and October 1942, a total of 35,442 Jews from the *Reich* and the “Protectorate” were deported to Minsk. Only 10 *Reich* Jews were still alive in Minsk when the city was liberated. Of the 999 Austrian Jews deported to Minsk ghetto, 3 are known to have survived.”

<http://www.deathcamps.org/occupation/minsk%20ghetto.html>

1454

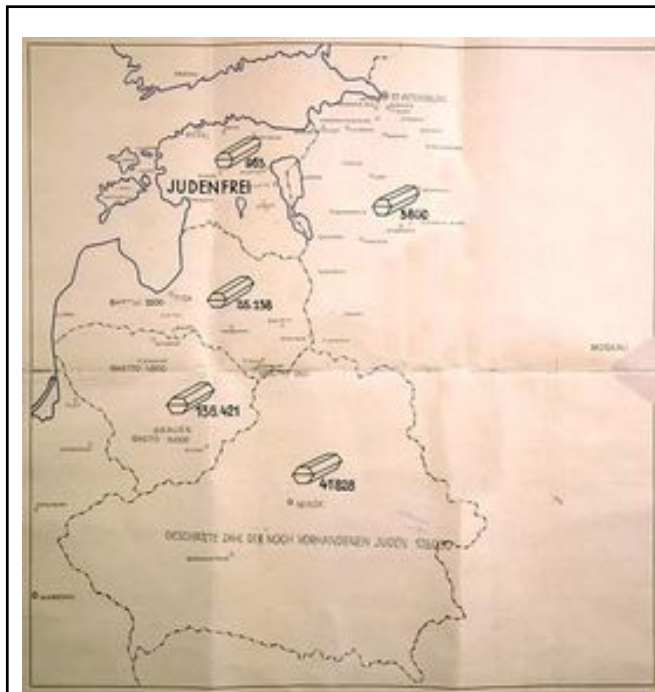
“According to Nazi statistics, between the occupation of the city and 1 February 1943, 86,632 Jews had been murdered in Minsk.”

1455

“Through “Enigma” intercepts of German police messages, knowledge of the killings in the East of both Jews and Russian POWs had become known in England as early as 18 July 1941.”

(Wikipedia)

1456



Map by the German SS Showing its Jewish Executions

(wikipedia)

1457

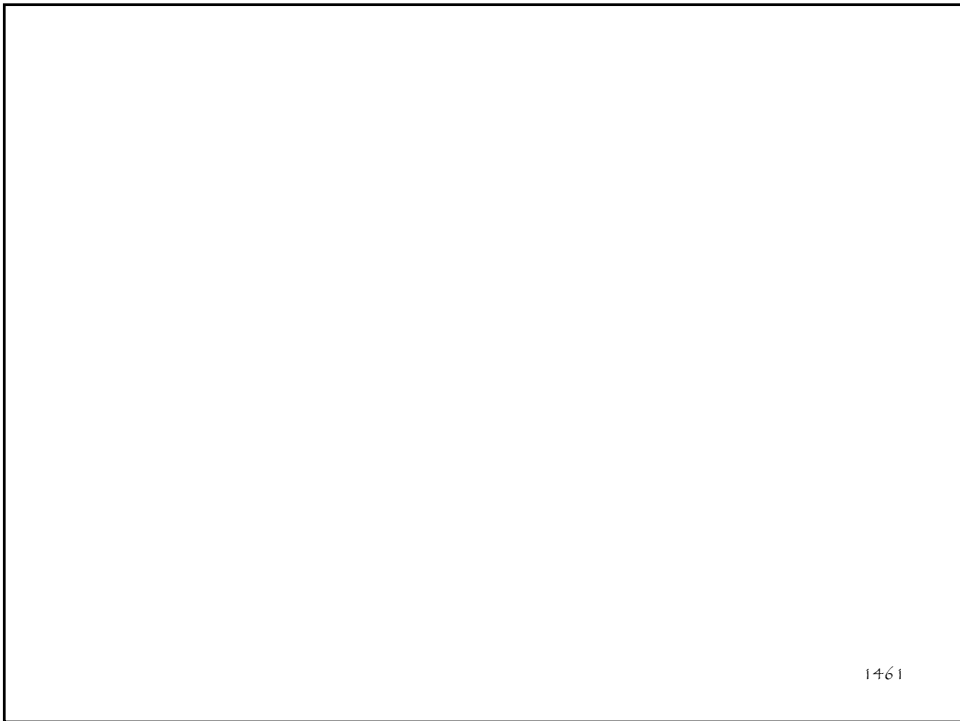
The map titled "Jewish Executions Carried Out by Einsatzgruppe A," the December 1941 Jager Report by the commander of a Nazi death squad. Marked "Secret Reich Matter," the map shows the number of Jews shot in Ostland, and reads at the bottom: *"the estimated number of Jews still on hand is 128,000"*. Estonia is marked as *judenfrei (free of Jews)*. (Wikipedia)

1458

In the same month, A report by the SS notes, concerning the Minsk and Belarusk areas: "Considering the large distances, the difficult road conditions, the lack of vehicles, and the limited number of security police personnel and of the SD, the shootings in the country were only possible with use of all efforts. Nevertheless, so far 41,000 Jews have been shot..."

[cite]

1459



1461

Conclusion of the Alternative Bio for Lotte

1462

If Lotte had stayed in Bremen (or Düsseldorf) for a short time longer she (and her parents) would have been almost certainly:

- deported from Bremen on November 8, 1941, departing 8:10am
- Arrived in Minsk, Belarus on November 21, 1941
- Killed on July 28, 1942 at Trostinez estate
- Disinterred in late 1943 from mass grave by Sonder-Kommando 1005 and burned.

1463

1464

5.7 The Minsk Gang

1465

Wilhelm Kube

1466

Wilhelm Kube



1467

Generalkommissar Wilhelm Kube was the head of *Generalbezirk Weißruthenien* (White Ruthenia), the area within which Minsk fell and from where the *Generalbezirk* was administered.

1468

August 31, 1941: Kube (left) assumes command of the newly created Administration of White Russia, in Minsk



1469

On 16 December 1941, Kube wrote to Hinrich Lohse, his superior. Whilst unconcerned about the fate of the Polish and Byelorussian Jews, Kube stated that the *Reich* Jews included war veterans, holders of the Iron Cross, those wounded in war, half-Aryans, and even three-quarter Aryans.

<http://www.deathcamps.org/occupation/minsk%20ghetto.html>

1470

Although Kube claimed that he did not lack hardness and was ready to contribute to the solution of the Jewish problem, but people who come from the same cultural circles as Lohse and himself were different from the brutish local hordes. Kube's letter had no effect.

<http://www.deathcamps.org/occupation/minsk%20ghetto.html>

1471

Kube: "The Jews themselves will probably die or freeze to death of starvation in the next weeks ... I am certainly tough and ready to help solve the Jewish question... I ask you, in consideration of the reputation of our Reich and our party, to give clear instructions, which would enable to do the neediest in a humane form."

1472

"Kube, famed as the "Jew-Butcher of Minsk", had at least a little pity for the German Jews. Soon, he was charged by the SS as a 'tool of the Jews'".

1473

On 31 July 1942, Kube wrote to Lohse again. This time he boasted of having murdered 55,000 Jews in Byelorussia in the preceding 10 weeks - including several thousand of the *Reich* Jews he had been so anxious to save a few months earlier. He went on to express his hope that the Jews of Byelorussia would be completely liquidated as soon as the German *Wehrmacht* no longer required their labour.

<http://www.deathcamps.org/occupation/minsk%20ghetto.html>

1474

On 22 September 1943 Kube was killed by a bomb planted under his bed by his maid, a Soviet partisan.

1475

1476

Eduard Strauch



1477

An indignant Strauch [Kube's subordinate] submitted a long report to [SS General] Bach-Zalewski, enumerating Kube's many failings: he had shaken hands with a Jew who had rescued his car from a burning garage; he had confessed to appreciating the music of Mendelssohn and Offenbach, adding that "beyond a doubt there were artists among the Jews;" he had promised safety to 5,000 German Jews deported to Minsk.

<http://www.deathcamps.org/occupation/minsk%20ghetto.html>

1478

Strauch, who was technically a subordinate of Kube, recommended the dismissal of the *Generalkommissar* on the grounds that "deep down Kube is opposed to our actions against the Jews."

<http://www.deathcamps.org/occupation/minsk%20ghetto.html>

1479

1480

Arthur Nebe



1481

In 1941 SS chief Himmler went to Minsk. He asked Commander Nebe of the Einsatzgruppe B, to execute 100 people by shooting, in order so that he could observe how such “liquidation” looked in practical terms.

[cite]

1482

Nebe and Himmler



After the shooting Himmler told Nebe to think about whether there were better methods for killing than by shooting.

1483

Himmler visits Minsk



“A few days after an experiment with dynamite, Nebe and Albert Widmann of the *Kriminaltechnisches Institut* (Criminal Police Technical Institute) tried out another killing method in Mogilev.”

<http://www.einsatzgruppenarchives.com/documents/et.html>

1485

“Nebe came up with the idea of combining the two processes, thus creating the self-sufficient gassing van, in which the exhaust fumes of the van’s engine were re-directed into the sealed rear compartment of the vehicle. He discussed the technical aspects with Walter Hess of the *Kriminaltechnisches Institut*. The idea was placed before Reinhardt Heydrich, who accepted it.”

<http://www.einsatzgruppenarchives.com/documents/et.html>

1486

“Based on this request, gas lorries were built...With the exhaust gases moved with a pipe into the inside of the lorry. In early 1942, each Einsatzgruppe received 2 or 3 of such vehicles. Each vehicle could contain 60 to 70 crowded victims.

In Minsk, starting January 1942, 2 gas lorries were used daily four to five times.”

<http://einsatzgruppendarchives.com/documents/et.html>

1487

“In 1941, he was a commander of one of the SS task forces (Einsatzgruppen) operating in Russian territory. The job of these units was to 'liquidate' influential civilians likely to oppose the Reich – in truth a euphemism for prominent Jews and Communists. Nebe himself claimed his own task force was responsible for more than 45,000 killings.”

[Wikipedia]

1488

“He was believed to have been involved in various plots including the July 20, 1944, bomb plot against Adolf Hitler and, after the failure of the assassination attempt, went into hiding on an island in the Wannsee but was later arrested after a rejected mistress betrayed him. He was sentenced to death at the Volksgerichtshof. “

[Wikipedia]

1489

Nebe is therefore often counted as one of the “good guys,” and his role in Minsk is excused by some as trying to demonstrate his loyalty.

1490

1491

Hinrich Lohse



Civilian Governor of the Ostland Region

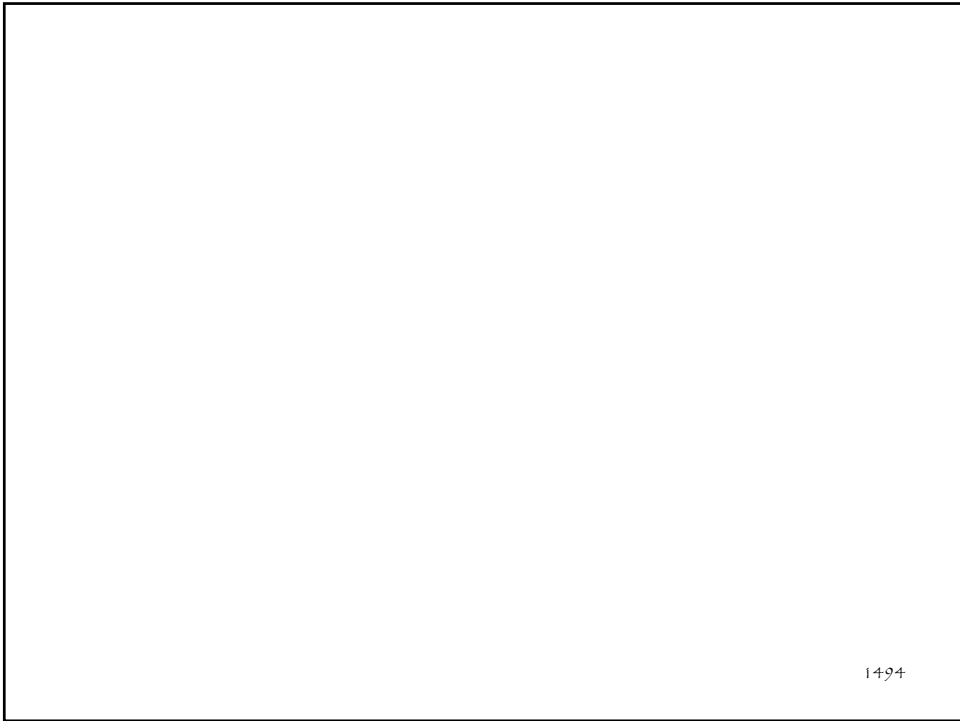
1492

Hinrich Lohse, Kube's boss, had been Nazi
Gan leader in Hamburg and Halstein.

At war's end, he controlled Holstein and was
briefly one of Germany's most powerful men.

He was convicted of war crimes but soon
released in 1951 for "ill health." He lived on
for another 13 years.

1493



1494

Curt von Gottberg



1495

After Kube was assassinated in 1943, he was succeeded by Curt von Gottberg.

1496

“Gottberg had a shady past, with convictions for drunk driving and financial irregularities. Gottberg conducted dubious transactions, “donations”, loans to private parties, resulted in losses of millions. It led to a big scandal within this SS-authority. His boss in the [SS] forced Gottberg’s resignation. He even threatened Gottberg with imprisonment in a concentration camp.”

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Curt_von_Gottberg

1497

“A long disciplinary trial at the principal SS court concluded that he had made ...’material errors’...and ‘inappropriate arrangements,’ but credited him with ‘remarkable energy,’ as ‘committed readiness” and with ‘personal devotion.’”

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Curt_von_Gottberg

1498

“In the evacuated area,” Gottberg instructed his subordinates “humans are free game.” After his first operation he boasted (5 December 1942): “Enemy-dead: 799 bandits, over 300 suspicious and over 1800 Jews. [...] Own Casualties: 2 dead and 10 wounded. How lucky can one be!”

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Curt_von_Gottberg

1499

1500

Erich von dem
Bach,
Regional SS
Commander

1501

Erich von dem Bach



The SS leader for Russia-Centre was initially SS-Obergruppenführer and general of the police, Erich von dem Bach.

1502

“Erich von dem Bach [was] born Erich von Zelewski. He gained rapid promotion and by the end of 1933 had reached the rank of *SS-Brigadeführer*. At this point he began using his mother’s maiden name (Bach), in order to sound more Germanic. A source of considerable annoyance for him was that three of his sisters married Jewish men. This along with his partly Slavic ancestry may have driven him to ever excesses in order to ‘prove himself’ as a Nazi.”

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Erich_von_dem_Bach_Zelewski

1503

‘In July 1943, he became commander of the so-called *‘Bandenkampfverbände*’ (“gang fighting units”), responsible for, among other deeds, the mass murder of 35,000 civilians in Riga and killing more than 200,000 people in Belarus and Eastern Poland. “

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Erich_von_dem_Bach-Zelewski

1504

August 1941 in Minsk: Bach, Himmler



1505

“In exchange for his testimony against former superiors at the Nuremberg Trials, von dem Bach (now returning to the use of his name Zelewski) never faced trials for any war crimes [though he did stand trial for the murder of political figures]. Similarly, he never faced extradition to Poland or to the USSR.”

1506

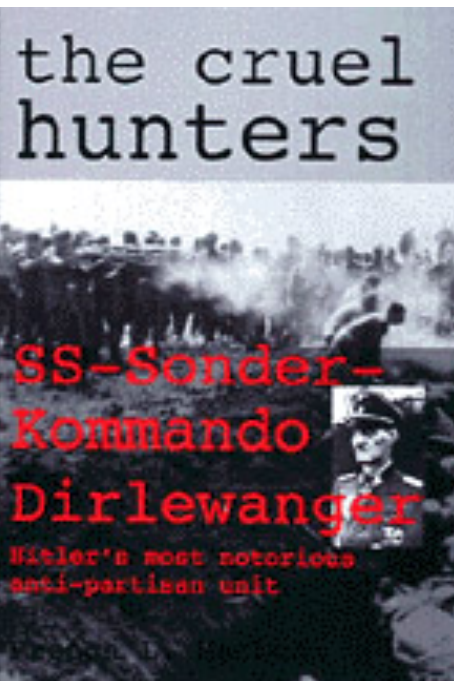
1507

Oskar Dirlewanger

SS Military Commander in Belarus



1508



Dirlewanger

1509

Oskar Dirlewanger

“A convicted rapist, himself interned at a concentration camp before the SS believed it necessary to form a brigade solely of ex-convicts for use on the Eastern Front, he was for his experience selected by Heinrich Himmler to lead it. His unit were employed in the fight against Partisans in the occupied Soviet Union, where they earned a reputation for savagery. Later the same unit was used in the suppression of the Warsaw uprising, where they committed even worse atrocities.”

[wikipedia]

1510

“([In his civilian life] his departure from the banking business was inevitable due to various transgressions, and he was also caught at the Jewish firm Kornicker embezzling several thousand marks. Dirlewanger transferred salaries of other employees to his private account...”

[Wikipedia, German Edition]

1511

“In 1934 he was convicted of, among other offenses, for statutory rape of a 13-year old Nazi Youth (BDM) girl. He lost his job, his doctoral title, and all military decorations.”

[Wikipedia, German Edition]

1512

“His deputy was Kurt Weisse, who was notorious in the courts of law for child molestation, was his equal in sadistic violence, rapes, and murders”

[Wikipedia, German Edition]

1513

“Dirlewanger himself indulged his various vices: alcohol, and sadism. His vices exceeded even the SS acceptable limits, and led to an investigation for the SS high command in August 1942. Charges were dropped at the order of [SS Leader] Himmler who described Dirlewanger as an ‘original character.’”

[wikipedia]

1514

Dirlewanger (left) and Troops



1515

1516

Erich Ehrlinger



1517

When the Minsk ghetto was dissolved on 1.9.1943 there were still at least 6,500 Jews in the ghetto of whom around 2,500 were German Jews.

Thereafter there still remained 4,500 Jews (Russian and German) within the city area.

At the beginning of October 1943 Dr. Erich Ehlringer, BdS Russia-Centre and White Russia ordered the extermination of these remaining 4,500 Jews.

1518

‘Ehlringer, a lawyer, lived later under an assumed name and became head of the VW dealership in Karlsruhe. He was tried and convicted in 1961, but after appeals the case was dropped.’

(Wikipedia)

1519

1520

Adolf Rube

1521

“One of the most feared SS men was the Master Sergeant Rube. He shot many people and was therefore called the “Shooter”. When the “Shooter” was around, there was great danger for life and limb. He shot Jews because they did not wear the star of David. He shot a child for picking flowers, after killing his parents.

(Albertz & Wedemeier, translated by E. Noam)

1522

“As the ‘scourge’ of Minsk Rube had unrestricted powers, and was considered the actual commandant (the official commandant was the SS officer Müller), Rube, for example, had all the sick from the hospital who could walk gassed, and shot the remaining sick in their beds and had them thrown out of the windows.”

(Albertz & Wedemeier, translated by E. Noam)

1523

“It is documented that he shot the Bremen citizen Ernst Seligmann and Erich Alexander in the cemetery of Minsk. Mrs. Seligmann was also picked up by Rube and never returned.”

(Albertz & Wedemeier, translated by E. Noam)

1524

Rosenberg, a survivor, describes the last ghetto commander SS Hauptscharführer Rube so:

“(…) He was a medium sized bugger, violent, his remarkably large hand constantly fidgeting with a whip or pistol. His specialty was to saunter through the ghetto with two Latvian SS men and summon one to ten Jews, usually women, old people and children, and to take them to the nearby cemetery and shoot them there. Rube came to the ghetto daily and always found victims.”

Wilhelm Mosel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www1.uni-hamburg.de/rz3a6337//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06

“One day he went to the hospital and found around 30 pregnant women there. He left the ghetto but only in order to call for more SS men. Then the women had to leave the hospital, were stood up against the rear wall of the building and shot by Rube and his men. It was a horrific task for the men to take these corpses to the cemetery.

Wilhelm Mosel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www1.uni-hamburg.de/rz3ao33//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06 1526

“Such barbarisms occurred nearly every day. One day Rube saw a beautifully painted sign. When he learned that Marion Baruch from Hamburg had painted it he summoned her to him. When Marion arrived he spoke briefly to her, then led her to the cemetery and shot her without any explanatory reason.”

Wilhelm Mosel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www1.uni-hamburg.de/rz3ao33//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06 1527

“There were also children who had become orphans.

Mrs. Bieber from Hamburg gathered them together and, with a friend, took them to a room in the large building.

One day Rube visited the building and discovered the children. Next day the “special truck” arrived. The children were herded into the lorry. Mrs. Bieber, who had three children of her own among them, begged him to spare the children, at least the youngest. In vain. “

Wilhelm Mosel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www.uni-hamburg.de/rz3ao33//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06 1528

“After October 1943, the ghetto in Minsk did not exist anymore. Rube had taken all the money of all inmates and had it transported away in five briefcases.

Rube was convicted in 1949 by a court in Karlsruhe to lifelong prison.”

No picture could be located.

(Albertz & Wedemeier, translated by E. Noam) 1529

The Minsk Gang



Arthur Nebe



Erich von dem Bach



Erich Ehrlinger



Curt von Gottberg

Adolph Rube



Oskar Dirlewanger



Hinrich Lohse

Eduard Strauch



Wilhelm Kube
1930

Collaborators: Amin al-Husseini, Grand Mufti of Jerusalem

1532

Amin played a leading role in the 1929 riots that almost killed Aunt Kaete in Safed

Husayni aided the Axis cause in the Middle East by issuing a fatwa for a holy war (jihad) against Britain in May 1941.”

1533

Arab Grand-Mufti of Jerusalem visits
Heinrich Himmler, Chief of German SS.
Photo inscribed by Himmler.



Seiner Eminenz dem Großmufti
4. VII. 1943. zur Erinnerung
H. Himmler.

1534



1535

Mufti Reviewing Moslem Troops He Recruited



1536

Himmler Telegram to Mufti 1943



1537

“In November 2, 1943 Himmler sent this telegram to Mufti: “To the Grand Mufti: ([of Jerusalem who spent the war years in Berlin] The National Socialist movement of Greater Germany has, since its inception, inscribed upon its flag the fight against the world Jewry. It has therefore followed with particular sympathy the struggle of freedom-loving Arabs, especially in Palestine, against Jewish interlopers.”

1538

“In the recognition of this enemy and of the common struggle against it lies the firm foundation of the natural alliance that exists between the National Socialist Greater Germany and the freedom-loving Muslims of the whole world.

In this spirit I am sending you on the anniversary of the infamous Balfour declaration my hearty greetings and wishes for the successful pursuit of your struggle until the final victory.

Reichsführer S.S. Heinrich Himmler 1539

“Testimony presented at the Nuremberg [war crimes] trials, accused the Mufti of not only ‘having knowledge about the holocaust but of also actively encouraging the initiation of extermination programs against European Jews.’”

(Wikipedia)

1540

“When the Red Cross offered to mediate with Adolf Eichmann in a trade prisoner-of-war exchange involving the freeing of German citizens in exchange for 5,000 Jewish children being sent from Poland to the Theresienstadt concentration camp, Hussein directly intervened with Himmler and the exchange was cancelled. The letters sent on June 28, 1943 to Hungarian and Romanian governments, allied to Nazi Germany at the time, urging them to refuse to save Jewish refugees.”

(Wikipedia)

1541

Rome

June 28, 1943

His Excellency

The Minister of Foreign Affairs for Hungary

Your Excellency:

... To authorize these Jews to leave your country under the above circumstances and in this way, would by no means solve the Jewish problem and would certainly not protect your country against their evil influence - far from it! - for this escape would make it possible for them to communicate and combine freely with their racial brethren in enemy countries in order to strengthen their position and to exert a more dangerous influence on the outcome of the war... (Wikipedia)

1542

1543

1544

Chapter 5.8

The War in Germany

1545

Germany at its peak expansion

1546



Civilians in Germany,
too, suffered greatly, as
a murderous air war
destroyed its cities.

1548



Unfortunately for Bremen, an aircraft
factory was located in the middle of the city

1549

This made Bremen a particularly important target

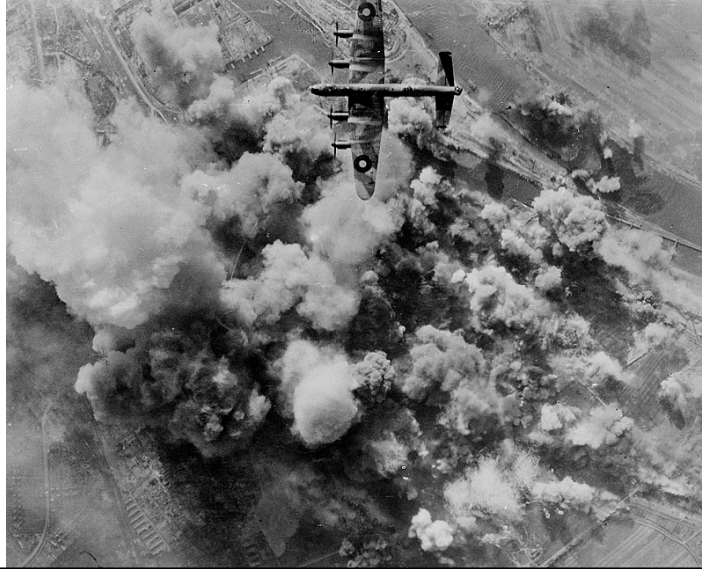


Raid on Bremen, 100th US Air Force
(painting of actual raid)

1550



Bombing of Bremen, city seen underneath



1552



Bremen air Raid

1553



Bremen, 1944

1554



Bremen 1945

1555

Kassel: Eder Dam, Europe's largest, breached in famous "Dam buster" Raid, May 17, 1943



Kassel flooded downstream:
About 2000
people died
from the flood

1557

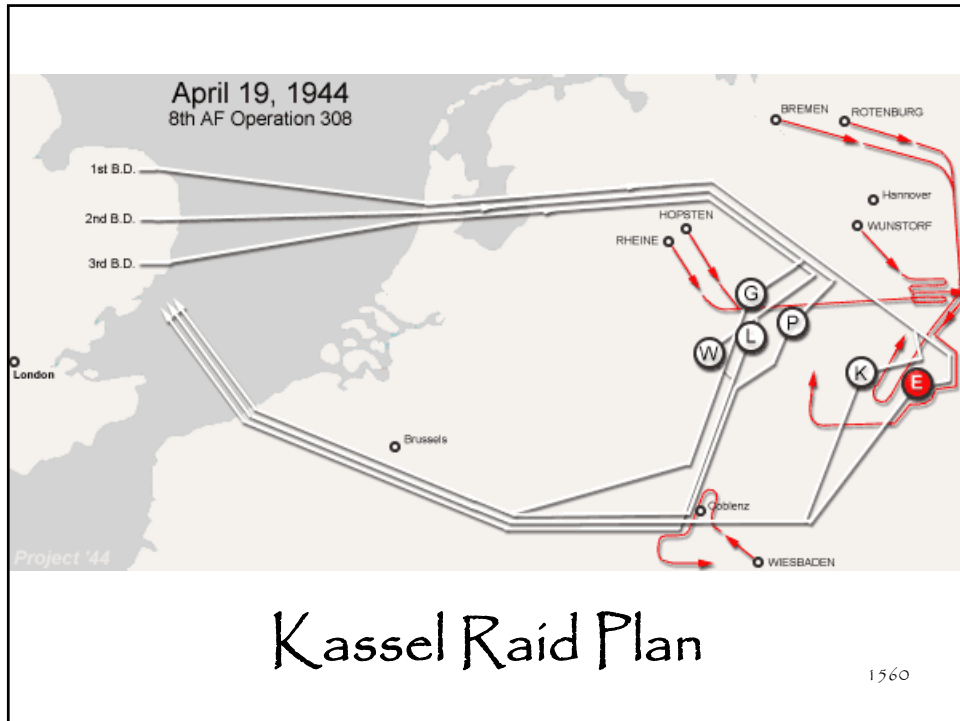
King George VI congratulates pilots of Eder Dam Raid



53 of 133 members of aircrew were killed, 3 POWs.
A popular movie (which country) was made in 1954

Raid on Kassel, RAF, 1944





1562

Chapter 5.9

Melungen

Again

1563



Stadtzentrum
Melsungen

Melsungen

1564

Melsungen in the Nazi Period

20 Jahre Ortsgruppe Melsungen der NSDAP.

Das Jahr 1928 brachte die von der Organisation durchgeführte Veränderung der SA. Die starke Verbundenheit erlebte man in Arbeitstagen. Abgeschlossen wurden gedruckte Zeitungen verteilt. Die SA-Paragruppen zu denen, gab die Ortsgruppe an Geburtstagen einen Flasche Wein, wofür 2,- RM ausgeworfen wurden. Die Kasse schloß mit 28,- RM Einnahme und 214,04 RM Ausgabe.

Der Ortsgruppe gehörten zu der Zeit 24 Mitglieder an: Frick, Witsch, Dr. Baurbach, Hoppert, Schneider, Fuchs, Wess, Schürumpf, Karl Dell, Gipper, G. Schmidt, Genssack, Gudel, K. Eise, H. Dell, Gipper, Martz, G. Schulze, Welling, Eberbach, Frick, Dr. B. Braun, Zimmermann, F. Braun, Hiltz (Malsfeld), Dr. Flensch (Gumbingen), J. J. F. Braun, Hiltz (Gumbingen), Herr, Schäfer, Herwig, J. Braun, Baumann, Katzung, Müller, Hildebrandt, E. Kruger.

Besondere Interesse erregte die Veranstaltung in Melsungen am 17. März, die trotz des schönen Wetters gut besucht war. Fr. Schulze leitete die Politik der Partei an. Die SPD hatte zu dieser Veranstaltung besondere Diskussionsreihen gedreht, wobei ihnen, auch das Mitglied des Reichsausschusses Quast, das dann sich in der Aussprache das Wort ergriffen. Das Reichsausschuss war mit seinen 24 Mitgliedern erschienen. Da der Hammer aber meistens die Oberhand behielt und für Sozialisten Hiltz nicht den Wünschen der Gegner entsprechend. Recht allgemein ging es hinaus in Melsungen an. Die Ortsgruppe sollte zu diesen Veranstaltungen jedesmal einen Teil ihrer Mitglieder und übernahm den Saalbau. Für die Veranstaltungen in Melsungen, Eberbach, Kiele, Betsdorf und Malsfeld wurden rund 120,- RM an Eintrittsgeld vereinbart und 100 RM vereinbart. Zum 17. März hatte man zur Verstärkung des Saalbau in den zahlreichen Veranstaltungen 15 SA-Männer aus Kassel herangezogen. Am 12. April fand eine stark besuchte Veranstaltung in Melsungen von Fr. Gens und am 17. April eine solche in Dageberrhausen (Franken) statt.

dem Regierungspräsidenten eingeleitet worden. Es erfolgte darauf nachfolgendes Dankeschreiben:

Kassel, den 14. August 1929.
Für die Aufmerksamkeit, die Sie mir durch die Uebersendung des „Illustrierten Beobachters“ vom 10. August d. J. erwiesen, spreche ich meinen verbindlichsten Dank aus.



20. Geburtstagsfeier der Ortsgruppe Melsungen am 26. 8. 43. Gruppenleiterführer Dr. Cassi-Berlin spricht zu den Versammelten des Kreises in Kassel in Melsungen



20. Geburtstagsfeier der Ortsgruppe Melsungen am 26. 8. 43. Kreisleiter Dr. Reichardt mit Reichstagsabgeordneter Dr. Cassi und Ortsgruppenleiter Neuberger

Local Study “Were Melsungen Jews Murdered in Auschwitz?”

The study identified the following
Melsungen Jews killed during the war

1566

Fanny Abt, nee Spangenthal and family.
Deported 9/7/1942 with her husband
Siegfried Abt and mother Emma
Spangenthal to Theresienstadt.
Siegfried and Emma died there. Fanny
was deported to Auschwitz 10/9/1944
Their daughter Senta Heerdt survived as
the only Jew of Melsungen. She died in
1989 in Melsungen. Her son Günter
Heerdt lives there.

1567

Berta Bloch, nee Goldschmidt, deported from Holland to Auschwitz, and murdered there 06.09.1944.

Paula Helene Ehrlich, nee Kaufmann, deported from Amsterdam, to Auschwitz, died 13.11.1942.

Hermann and Johanna Levy, deported 7.09.1942 to Theresienstadt; Hermann, 28.10.1944, to Auschwitz, missing.

1568

Leopold and Paula Levy, deported to Theresienstadt, Leopold died 12/30/1942. Paula sent to Auschwitz, declared dead.

Rosalie Meyer, nee Siegel, and her husband Meinhard Meyer. Both deported from Paris via Drancy to Auschwitz. Meinhard on Transport Nr. 46 on 2/9/1943, Rosalie on Transport 49 on 3/2/1943. Both declared dead.

1569

Hugo and Berta Rothschild, nee Levy, deported from Brussel/Belgien to Auschwitz, and died 1942

Clara Saevici, nee Meyer, deported from Paris, 28.10.1942, Transport Nr. 88 to Auschwitz, and missing.

Leo Speier, deported from Amsterdam with his wife and 9 year old son Isaac to Westerbork and on 08.02.1944 to Auschwitz, and killed there.

1570

Flora Speier, deported from Amsterdam to Westerbork, and on 18.05.1943 to Sobibor where she was killed on 9/7/1942.

Hanny Stern, nee, Abt, deported from Holland to Auschwitz, murdered 9/7/1942

Lina Weisslitz, nee, Goldschmidt, Transport XV/1 on 9/7/1942 from Kassel to Teresienstadt, on 18.12.1943 to Auschwitz, and missing.

1571

Thus ended almost 400 years of
Jewish history in Melsungen.

1572



Melsungen

1573

Chapter 6

Lotte and

Ernst

© Eii M. Noam 2007

1569

Chapter 6.1:

Israel's War of

Independence,

1947 - 1949

1570

In accordance with the vote of the United Nations to partition the country, the Jewish Palestinians declared the State of Israel.

1571

If you can't come to town, please telephone 46 07

Lighting, Heating, Cooking, Refrigeration

CARL MARX
2 PRINCIPAL MARY AVE, JERUSALEM

THE PALESTINE POST

JERUSALEM
SUNDAY, MAY 16, 1948

PRICE 15 MILLS
VOL. XXIII, No. 674

THE PALESTINE POST
THE SUBSCRIPTION DEPARTMENT
has returned to The Palestine Post
office, Hamath Street,
JERUSALEM, TEL. 4223.

STATE OF ISRAEL IS BORN

The first independent Jewish State in 19 centuries was born in Tel Aviv as the British Mandate over Palestine came to an end at midnight on Friday, and it was immediately subject to the test of fire. As "Medinat Yisrael" (State of Israel) was proclaimed, the battle for Jerusalem raged, with most of the city falling to the Jews. At the same time, President Truman announced that the United States would accord recognition to the new State. A few hours later, Palestine was invaded by Moslem armies from the south, east and north, and Tel Aviv was raided from the air. On Friday the United Nations Special Assembly adjourned after adopting a resolution to appoint a mediator but without taking any action on the Partition Resolution of November 29.

Yesterday the battle for the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv road was still under way, and two Arab villages were taken. In the north, Acre town was captured, and the Jewish Army consolidated its positions in Western Galilee.

U.S. RECOGNIZES JEWISH STATE

WASHINGTON, Sunday.—Ten minutes after the termination of the British Mandate on Friday, the White House released a formal statement by President Truman that the U.S. Government intended to recognize the Provisional Jewish Government as the de facto authority representing the Jewish State.

The U.S. is also considering lifting the same embargo but it is not known whether in Palestine only or the entire Middle East, and the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Jewish Provisional Government.

The White House press secretary, Mr. Charles Ross, said our correspondents today that reaction so far to the recognition had been overwhelmingly favorable. He said this may have been discussed with Mr. Marshall and Mr. Lovett before action was taken, and it had their complete support.

Mr. Ross said that the President had decided several days ago to discuss the American response to the creation of "Medinat Yisrael," the State of Israel, was proclaimed at midnight on Friday by Mr. David Ben Gurion, until then Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive and now head of the State's Provisional Council of Government.

The first act of the Council of Government, as announced by its head, was to abolish all legislation of the 1948 White Paper of the inter-allied-dominion Powers, particularly the Ordinance and Orders relating to citizenship and land tenure.

In the declaration of independence, Mr. Ben Gurion called them full civic rights and full representation in all governmental organs of the State.

Mr. Ben Gurion justified the declaration with a review of the historic connection of the Jewish people with the Land of Israel and their efforts to return, which never ceased throughout the generations of their dispersal, until the final holocaust proved the urgency of the need for a Jewish State.

The Balfour Declaration of 1917, confirmed by the League of Nations, had given explicit international recognition to the Jewish people.

Most Crowded Hours in Palestine's History

Between Thursday night and this morning Palestine went through what by all standards must be among the most crowded hours in its history.

For the Jewish population there was the anguish over the fate of the few hundred Hagdush men and women in the Kfar Etzion bloc of settlements near Hebron. Their surrender to a fully equipped superior foreign force desperately in need of a victory was a foregone conclusion. What could not be known, with no communications since Thursday morning, was whether and to what extent the Red Cross and the Truce Committee would secure civilized conditions for prisoners and wounded, and proper respect for the dead. Doubts on some of these anxious questions have now been resolved.

On Friday afternoon, from Tel Aviv, came the expected announcement of the Jewish State, and its official naming as such, "Medinat Yisrael"—State of Israel, with the seating in of the Provisional Council of Government. The proclamation of the State was made at midnight, coinciding with the ending from Haifa of Britain's last High Commissioner. Within the hour, President Truman announced in Washington that the Government of the United States had decided to give de facto recognition to the Jewish State, and

Jews Take Over Security Zones

The battle for Jerusalem, which began when the British forces withdrew on Friday morning, continued all day Friday and yesterday. The crackle of small-arms fire and explosions of mortar shells were still being heard in the early hours of this morning as the battle entered its third day.

Repeated efforts on Friday evening and again on Saturday by the U.N. Truce Commission to bring about a "cease fire" were brought to naught when the Arab representatives failed to agree within the specified time limit.

On Friday morning, Jewish forces entered the Jewish Quarter and took control of the Temple Mount and the Old City. This operation was almost bloodless but beyond the western edge of Ben C. Arava engaged the French in Battle Road. The Arabs were forced back and the territory there was taken.

In other parts of the city fighting raged up. Some over one meter another the streets evacuated by the British. In last night, the quarters and

Egyptian Air Force Spitfires Bomb Tel Aviv; One Shot Down

Kel Israel, the Tel Aviv broadcasting station, reported that Tel Aviv had been bombed three times in the previous evening and morning and that one plane had been shot down and the Egyptian pilot taken prisoner.

In the first raid, four planes attacked from a height of 300 feet. Two dropped bombs, while the others strafed the city. Little damage was mentioned to being about a "cease fire" were brought to naught when the Arab representatives failed to agree within the specified time limit.

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2 Columns Cross Southern Border

By WALTER COLLINS
P. Correspondent
CAIRO, Saturday.—A com-

Ezion Settlers Taken P.O.W.

Fighting in the Kfar Etzion bloc continued throughout Friday, after Kfar Etzion in

Proclamation by Head of Government

The creation of "Medinat Yisrael," the State of Israel, was proclaimed at midnight on Friday by Mr. David Ben Gurion, until then Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive and now head of the State's Provisional Council of Government.

The first act of the Council of Government, as announced by its head, was to abolish all legislation of the 1948 White Paper of the inter-allied-dominion Powers, particularly the Ordinance and Orders relating to citizenship and land tenure.

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The Balfour Declaration of 1917, confirmed by the League of Nations, had given explicit international recognition to the Jewish people.

Special Assembly Adjourns

PLEASING MEADOWS, Saturday.—The Special U.N. Assembly, called four weeks ago to discuss the U.S. propo-

The long-standing leader of the Arab Palestinians was Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al-Husyni. He was the (Bosnian Moslem) president of the Palestinian Supreme Muslim Council, and of the World Islamic Congress.

1573



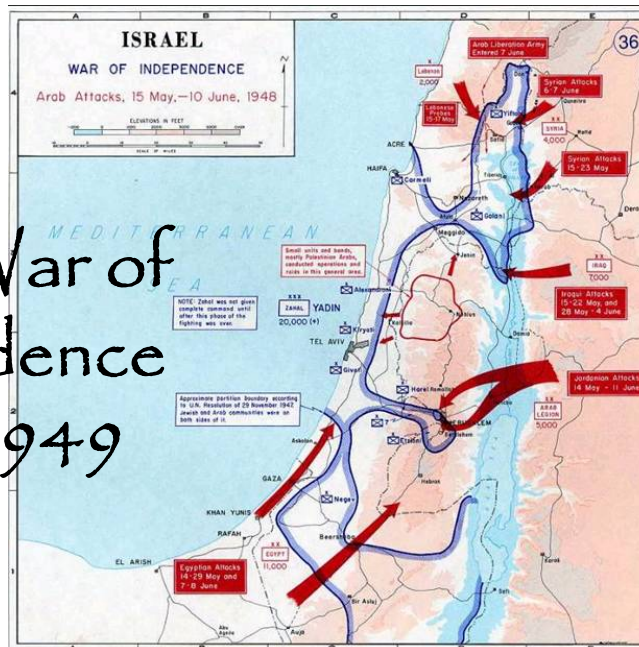
Proclamation of State 1574

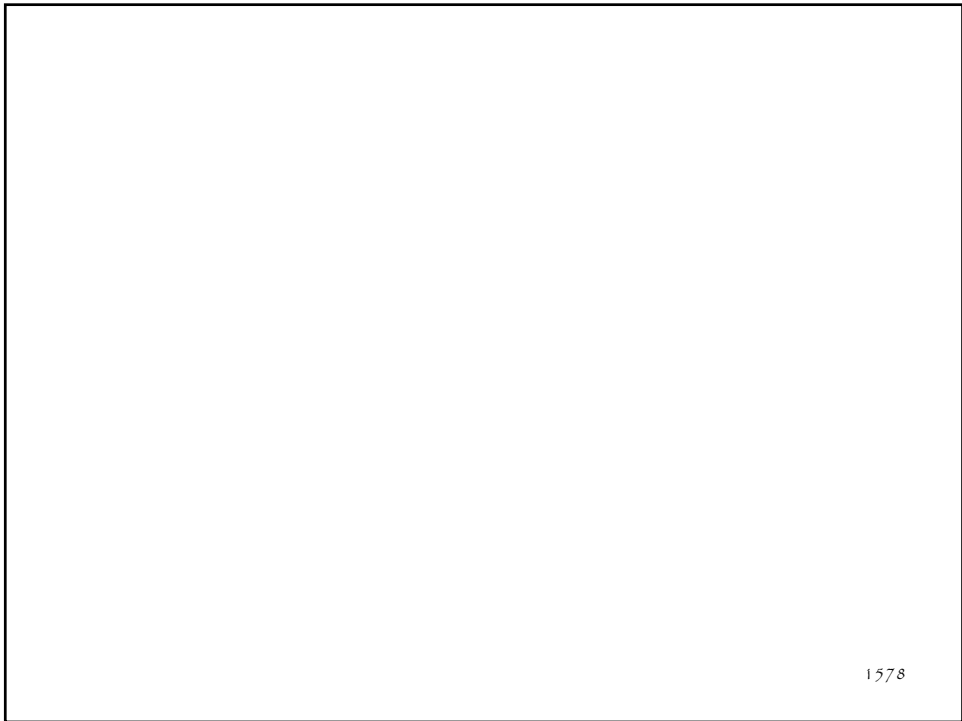


Pinchas Rosen,
Käte Dan's
brother-in-law,
signs the
Declaration of
Independence

1575

Israel's War of
Independence
1947-1949





1578

6.2 Lotte Meets Ernst

1579

Cyprus
1945,
engaged





From left: Robert Nussbaum, the
Kahns, Lotte, Moritz Nussbaum,
Ernst, Joseph Nussbaum

1581

1945

Was Du in diesen 37 Jahren
Gelebt, geliebt, gelitten und
erfahren,
Sei in den Zeiten, die nun
kommen
Allein zu unser beider Nutz
und Frommen.

1582

“What in those 37 years
You have lived, loved,
suffered, and experienced

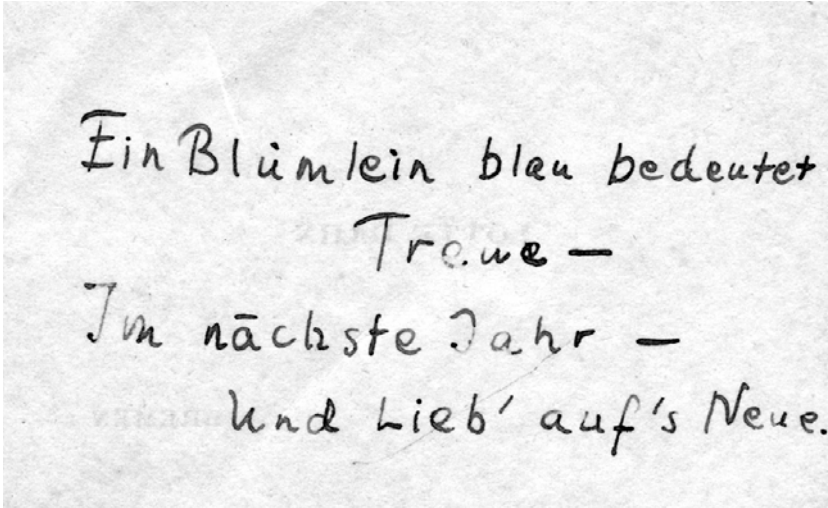
—

Will in times which now
arrive

Be for our joint benefit and
blessing”

1583

1945



Ein Blümlein blau bedeutet
Treu —
Im nächste Jahr —
und Lieb' auf's Neue.

1584

A flower blue means fidelity
For a coming year,
And love anew.

1585

Young Bride, 1945
Wedding Day
December 13th



1586

Wedding
December 13, 1945
On rooftop of parent's house



1946,
Married and
Pregnant



Scholar
1946 (Eli
inside)



1590

Chapter 7

Family

1591

1946
Eli



1592

Flora and Eli, 1946



1595

House in Tel Aviv,
expanded,
in 2007





1947 in
garden of
Jabotinsky
Street
house

¹⁵⁹⁵
1395



Switzerland in
1950

¹⁵⁹⁶
1396



Fanny Nussbaum
Mother-in-law

1597



Opa
Dahn
with Gil
and Eli

1598



Young family
in the garden
of
Jabotinsky
Street,
1946

1599



1950,
Eli, Lotte,
Ernst,
Rayah, Gil

1600



Backyard at Jabotinsky Street 1951



Backyard

1602



Taunus 1959

1603



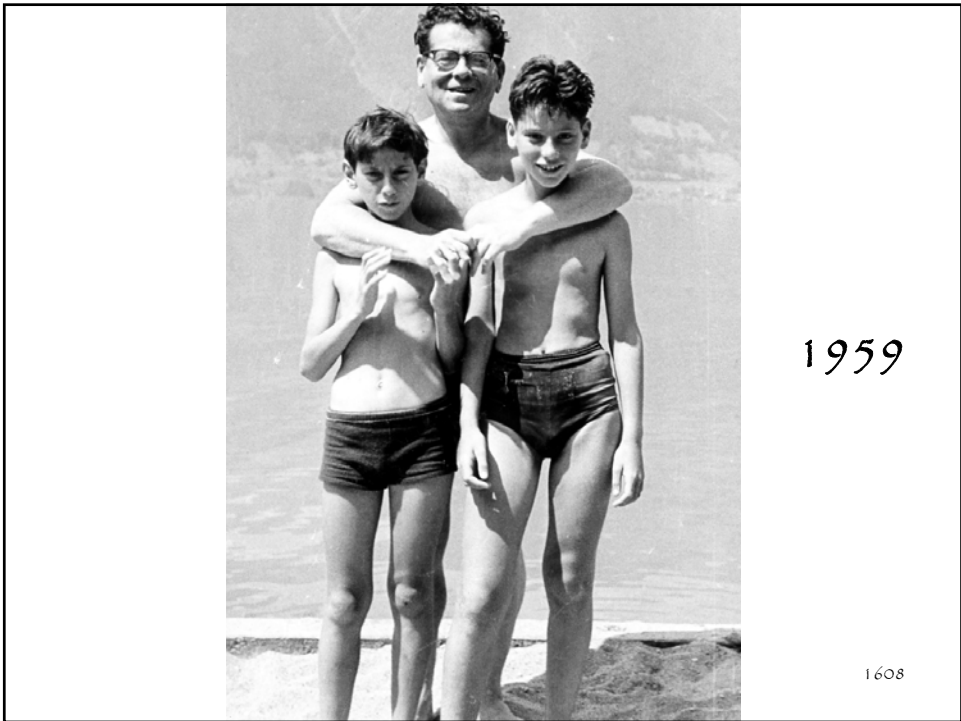
1604



1605



1606



1958



1609



1958

1610



.611



1612



Ernst with Louise Klibansky, Gil, and Mother Fanny

1613



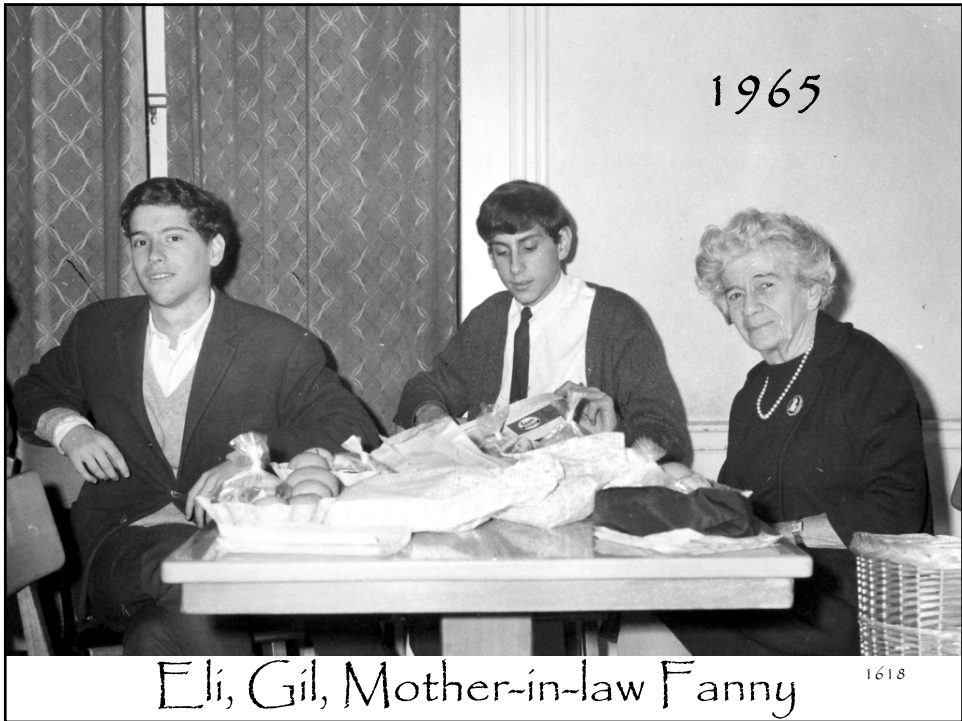
1960

1614





1617



Eli, Gil, Mother-in-law Fanny

1618



1969



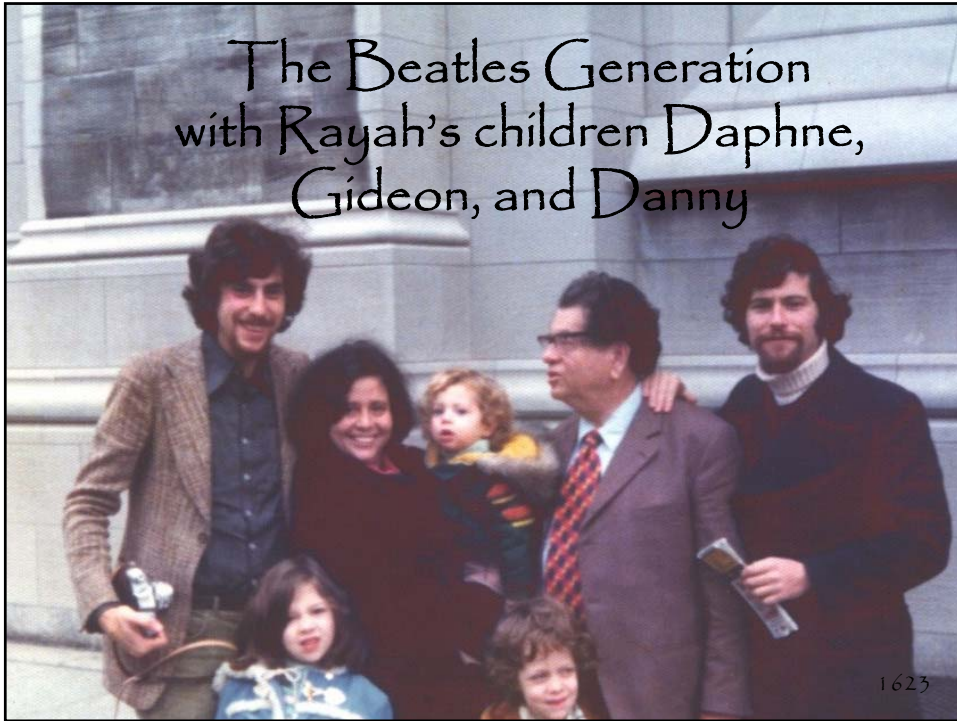
1621

1969



1622

The Beatles Generation
with Rayah's children Daphne,
Gideon, and Danny







2000 Florida

1627



2000

1628

Lotte, for her sons:



1629

1630

Chapter 7.1

Son Eli

*8/22/1946

1631



Shaarei Zedek, Jerusalem's Orthodox
Hospital, 1946

1632

King David Hotel,
Jerusalem,
Bombed 1946 by
Irgun.
Today part of
Dan Hotel chain,
started by Käte
Dan

Lotte had to be taken through fenced off area when she went
into labor 1633

Back to Jerusalem, 2002



1634



Flora with
Eli, 1946

1635



Eli 1947

1636

1947



1950





Ernst Director
of
Frankfurt Jewish
Community

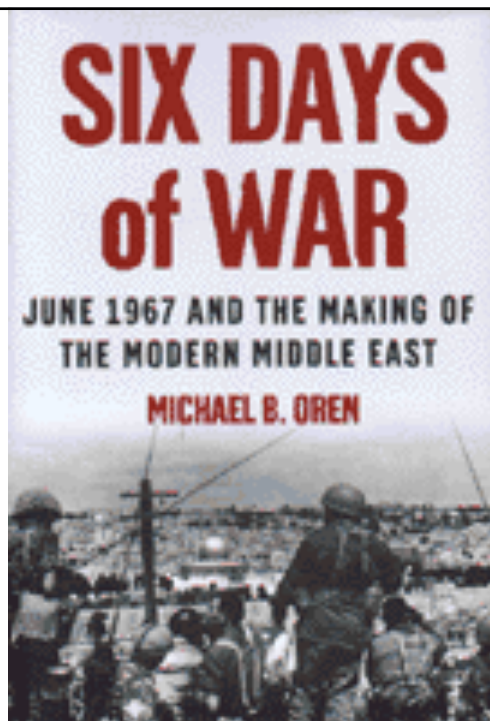
1640



OSO Boarding School

1641

Eli served in
the Israel Air
force 1966-
1968, and
1973





1643



"Never before has the Israeli experience in the Yom Kippur War been so sensitively and intricately documented . . . A seamless, riveting narrative [that is] both compelling and intelligent."
— MICHAEL B. OREN, *The Washington Post Book World*

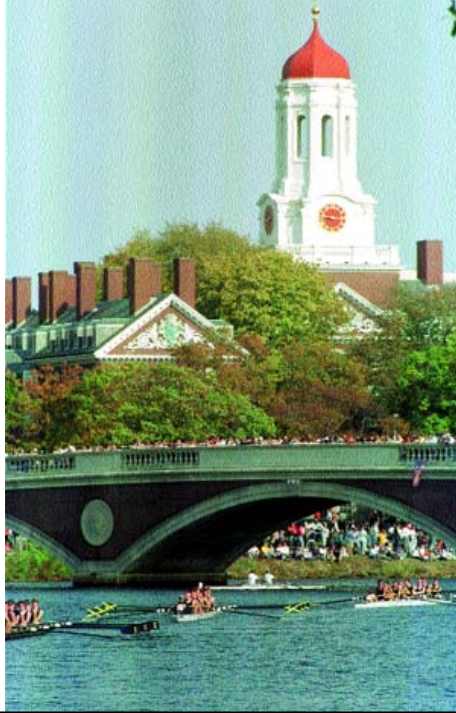
THE YOM KIPPUR WAR

THE EPIC ENCOUNTER THAT TRANSFORMED THE MIDDLE EAST



ABRAHAM RABINOVICH

1644



Harvard
College '70,
economics
Ph.d, law

1645



Harvard Economics
Department

1646



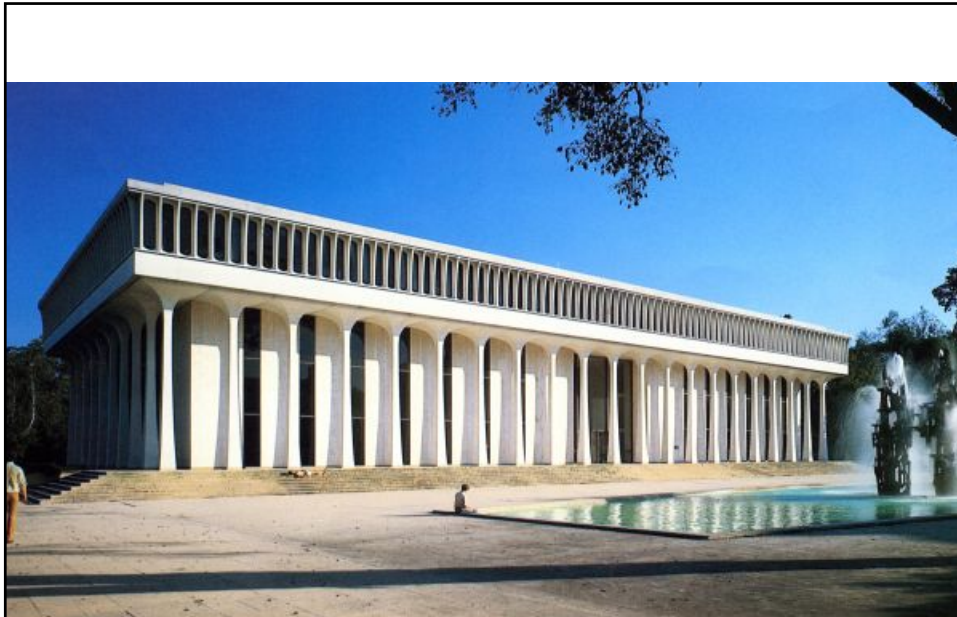
Harvard Law School

1647

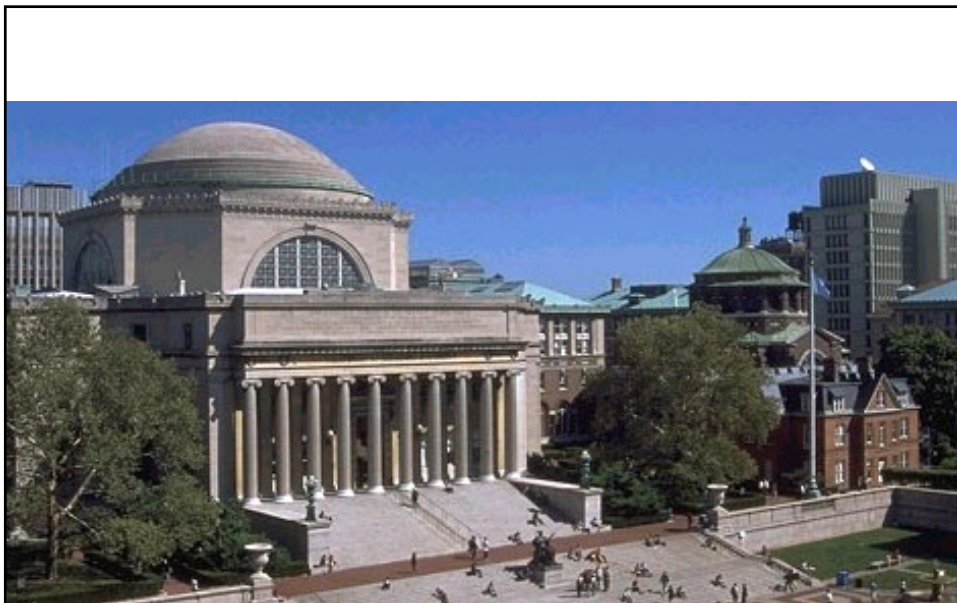


Yom Kippur War, 1973

1648



Princeton, Woodrow Wilson School



Professor, Columbia University



Tenure 1983

1651

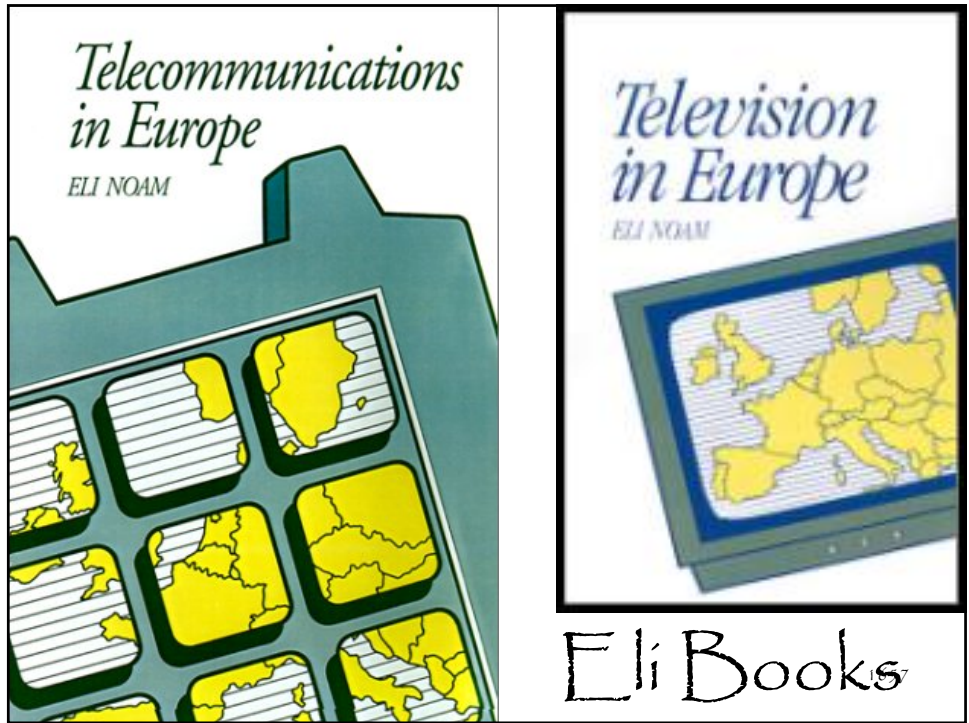


Columbia Institute for Tele-
Information

1652









1983

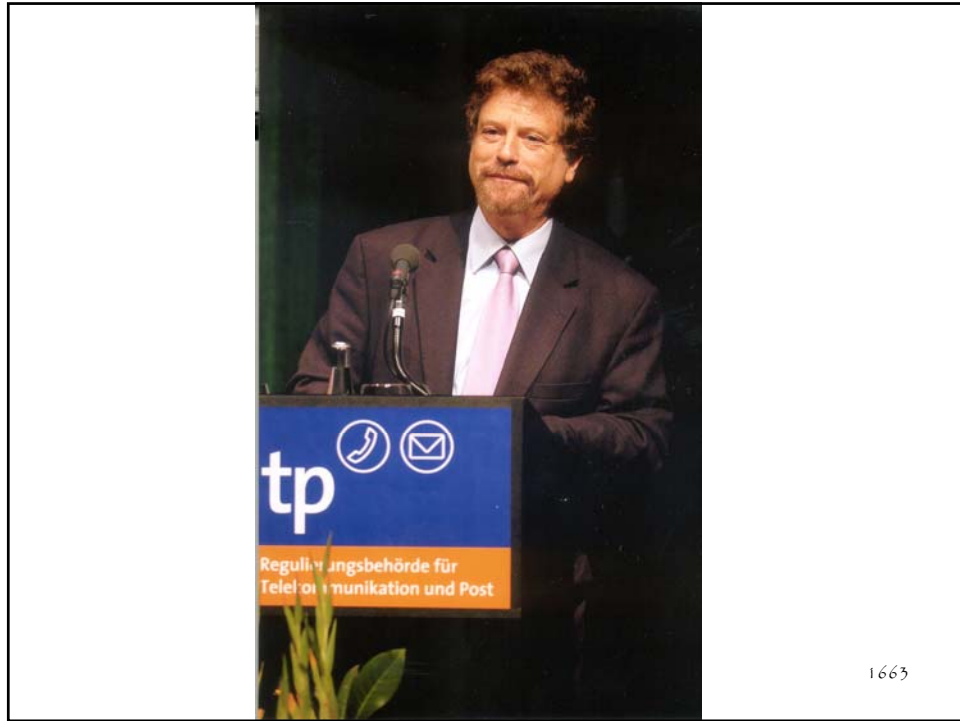
1659

Geneva Telecom Exposition



1660





1663

Pont de Nant, Switzerland 1998



664



1665



66





1669



1670



1671



1672



1673





Sinai: Eli with Jacqueline Cousteau⁶⁷⁵



Puerto Rico,
2005

1676



1677

Eli with Navigator



1678

2006 Switzerland



1679

Jorge Reina Schement and Terry Curtis,
in their book *Tendencies and Tensions of
the Information Age*, Transaction
Publishers, January 1995

“Eli Noam, the widely respected director of the
Institute for Tele-Information at Columbia
University’s Business School, tells of his
mother chiding him as mothers often do – but

1680

with an information age twist. 'Eli, you never write, you never call, you never FAX!' Mrs. Noam understands the basic reality of micro interconnectedness; at the level of personal interaction, we all experience the information

1681

age as a variety of new communication media by which we maintain contact with an ever-growing number of social relationships.”

Oh. So that's what she means!

1682

1683

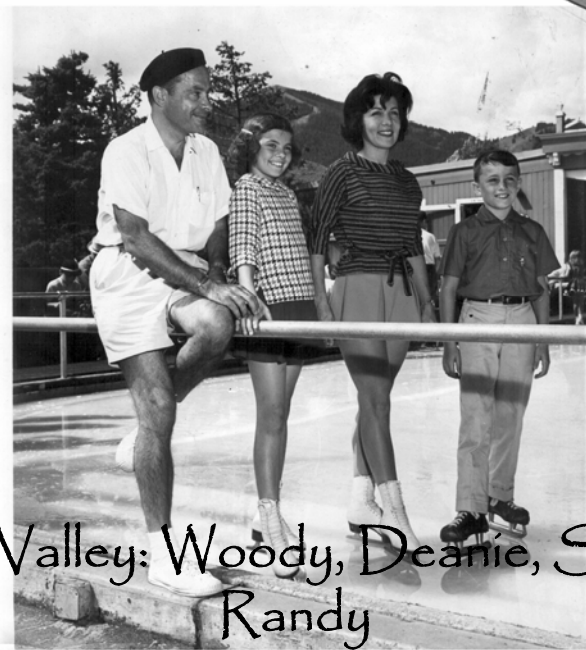
Chapter 7.2
Daughter-in-Law
Nadine Strossen
(*8/18/1950)

1684

5 Generations: Nadine, the baby, surrounded by mother, grandmother, great-grandmother, and great-great grandmother

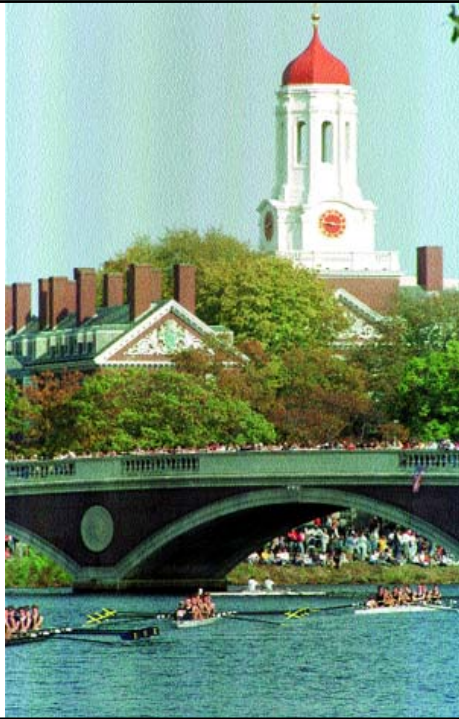


1685



Sun Valley: Woody, Deanie, Sylvia,
Randy

1686



Harvard
College '72

1687



Together

1688

Wedding 1980

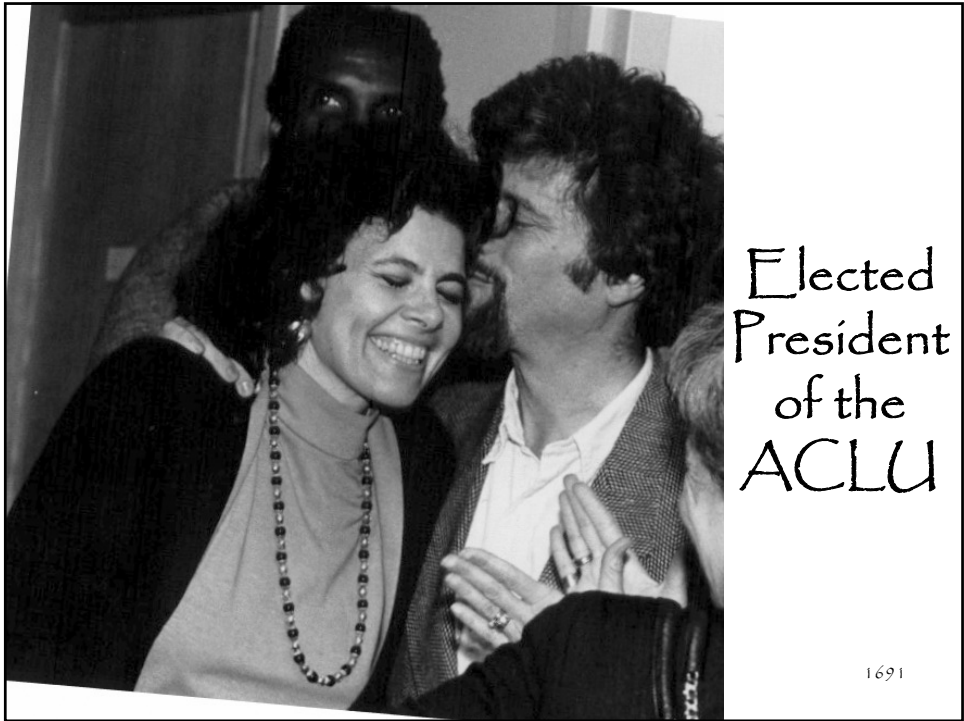


689



Lotte's speech
at Eli &
Nadine's
wedding, 1980

1690



Elected
President
of the
ACLU

1691



Prof. of Constitutional Law

1692





Dancer

1695



Colorado New Year's 2002 ¹⁶⁹⁶



China Pond

1697



1698





1701



City Island



St.
Legier

1703



Nadine's Book
"Defending
Pornography"

1704



1705



1986

1706



1986

1707



1984

1708



China Pond skinny dipping

1709



1710

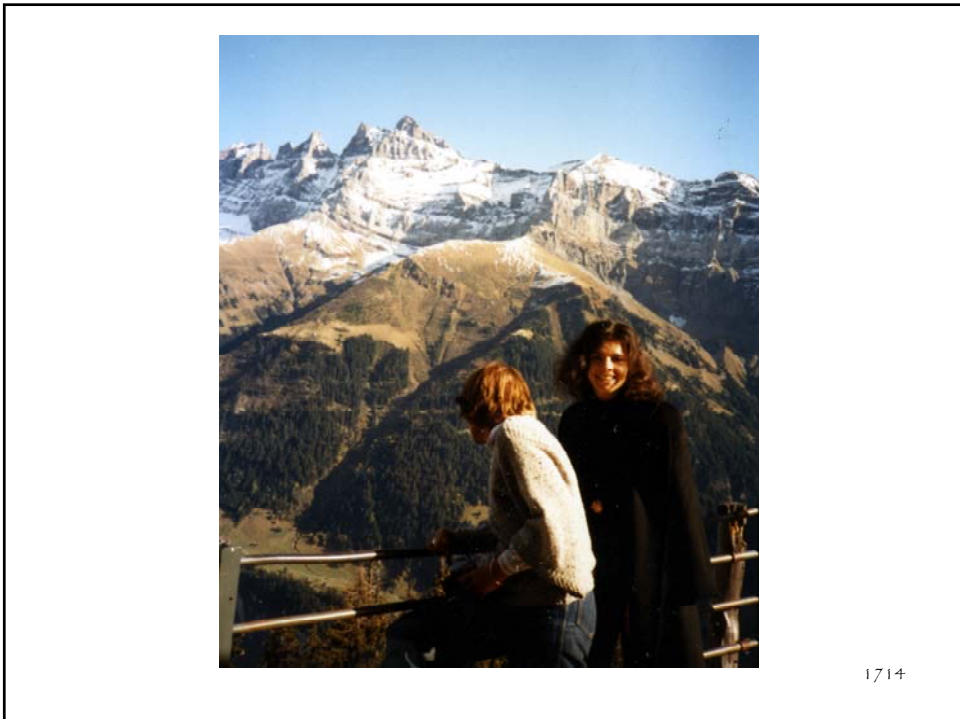
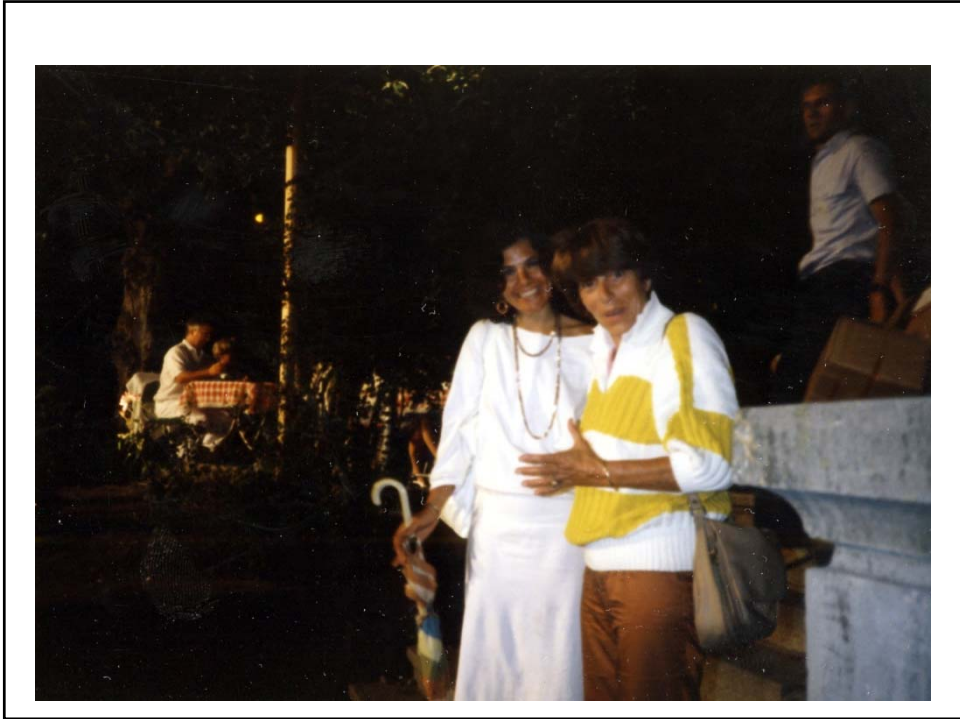


At home in St. Legier



2000

1712





1715



1716



1717



Rafting on Aare River, Switzerland, 2005

1718

1719

Chapter 7.3: New York & Carmel

1720



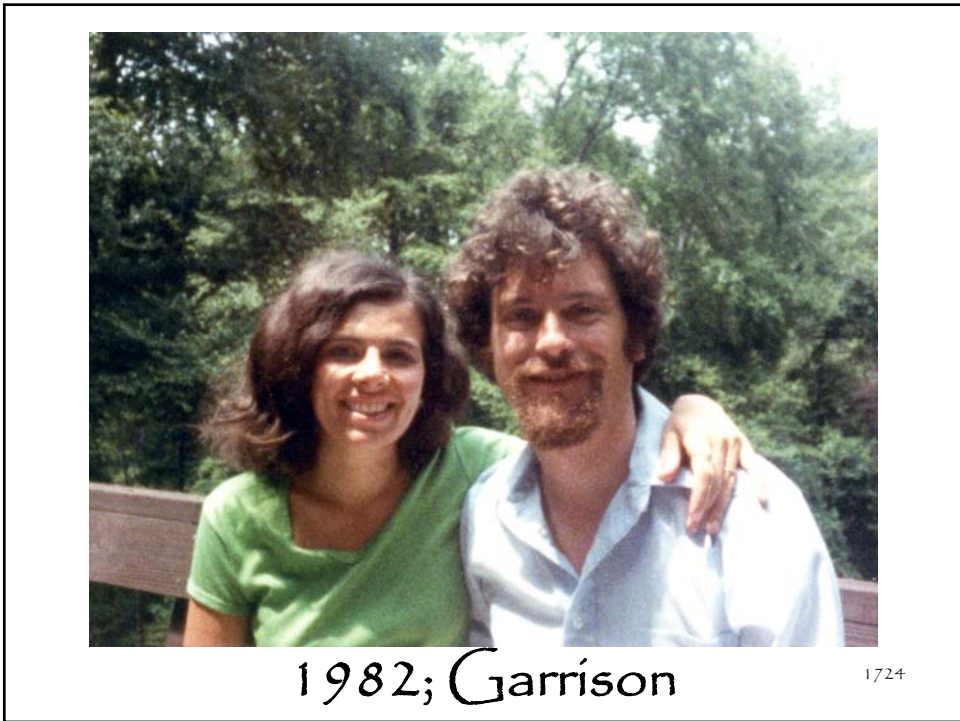
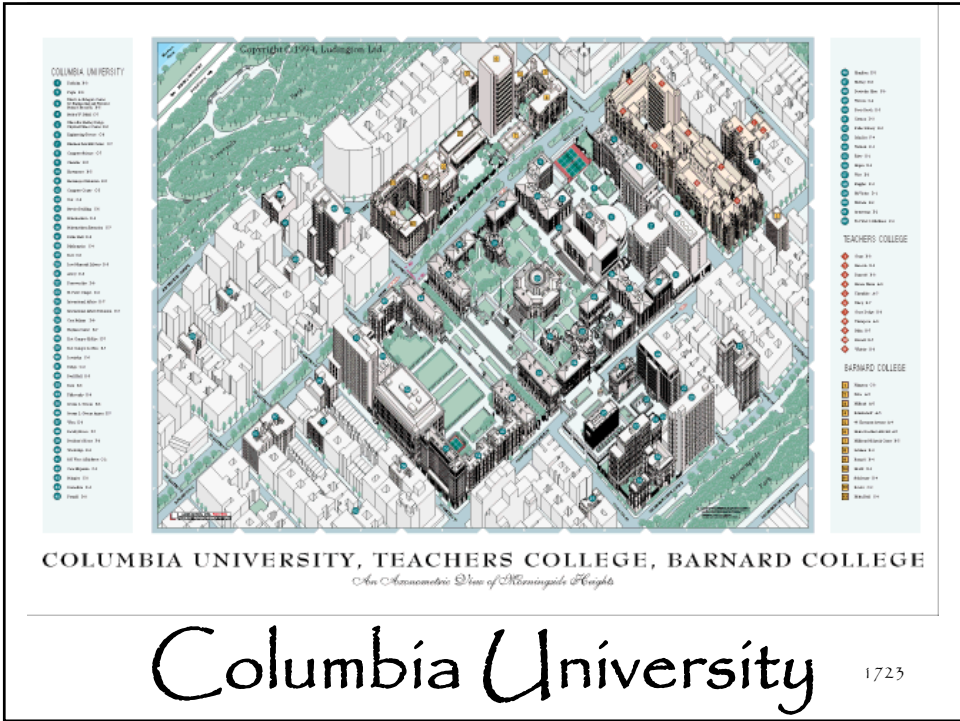
Manhattan

1721



Riverside Drive

1722





1982; Garrison

1725



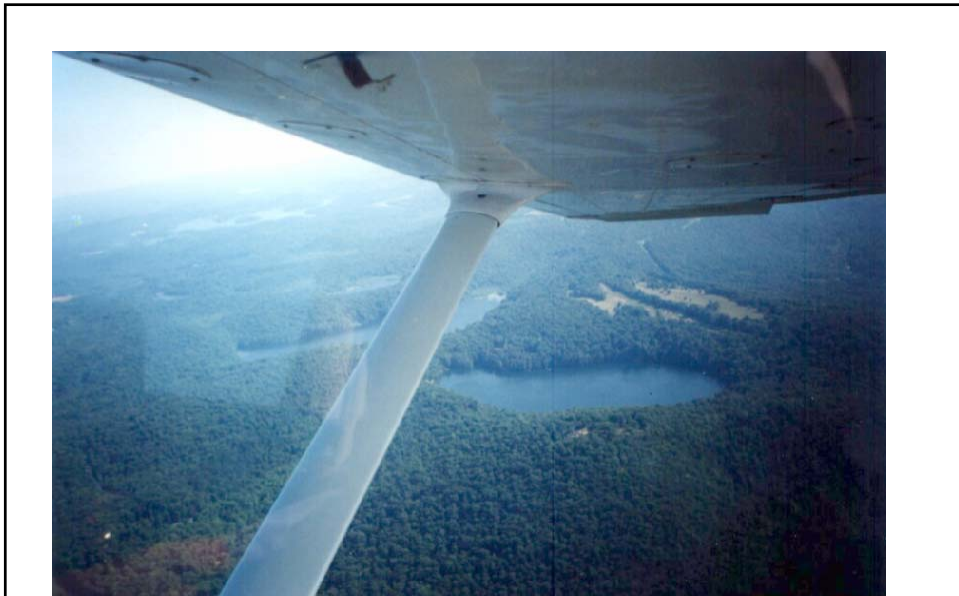
1982; Cold Spring

1726



China Pond

1727



China Pond

1728



China Pond House, Carmel

1729

Breaking the ice: Season's First Swimmer in China Pond, April.



1730



September 11, 2001

1731



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS
With one tower of the World Trade Center already burning, a third plane hit both where a second jetliner slammed into it. Within 90 minutes, both 110-story towers would collapse and rain smoke, dust and debris below.

September 11, 2001

1732

Piermont 2006



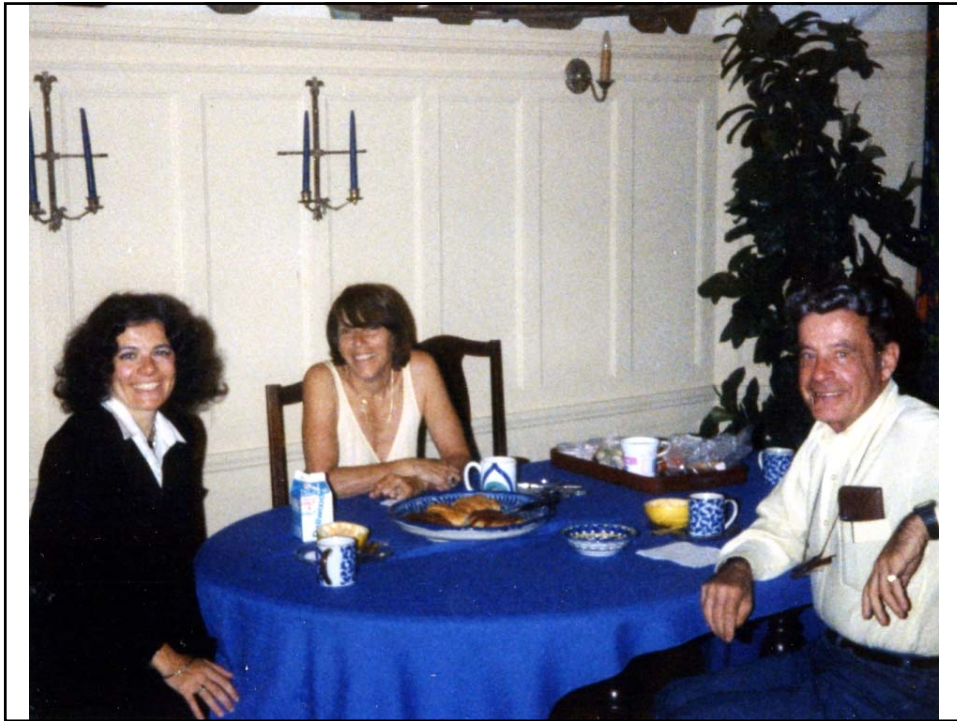
1734

Chapter 7.4: Woodrow Strossen 1922-1999

1735







San Diego, 1984

1740

1741

Chapter 8 Son Gil and Family

1742

1743

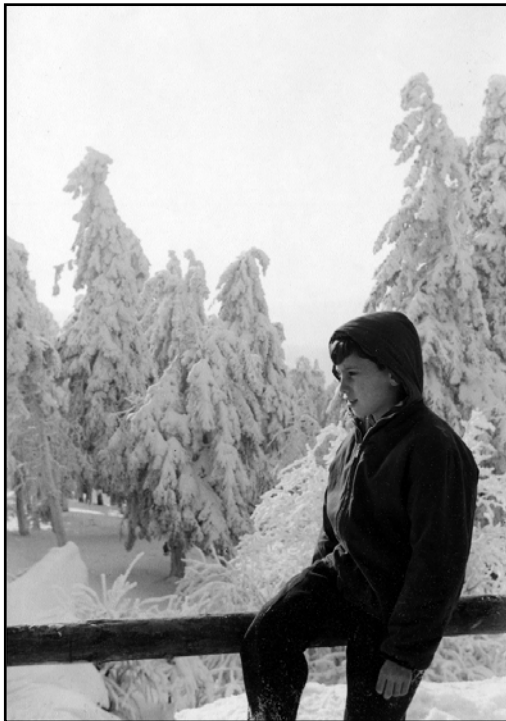
Chapter 8.1
Son Gil
(*4/25/1950)

1744



Gil's first day of
school, 1956

1745



1957 Taunus

1746



Gil Purim 1957

1747



1748

Ernst, Lotte,
Gil, 1963

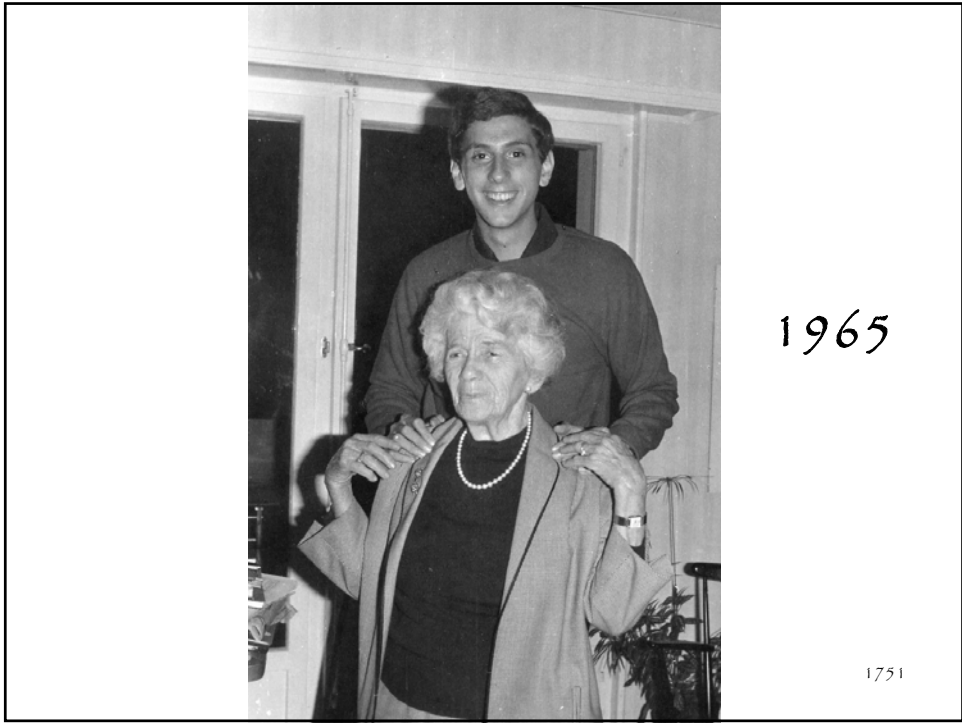


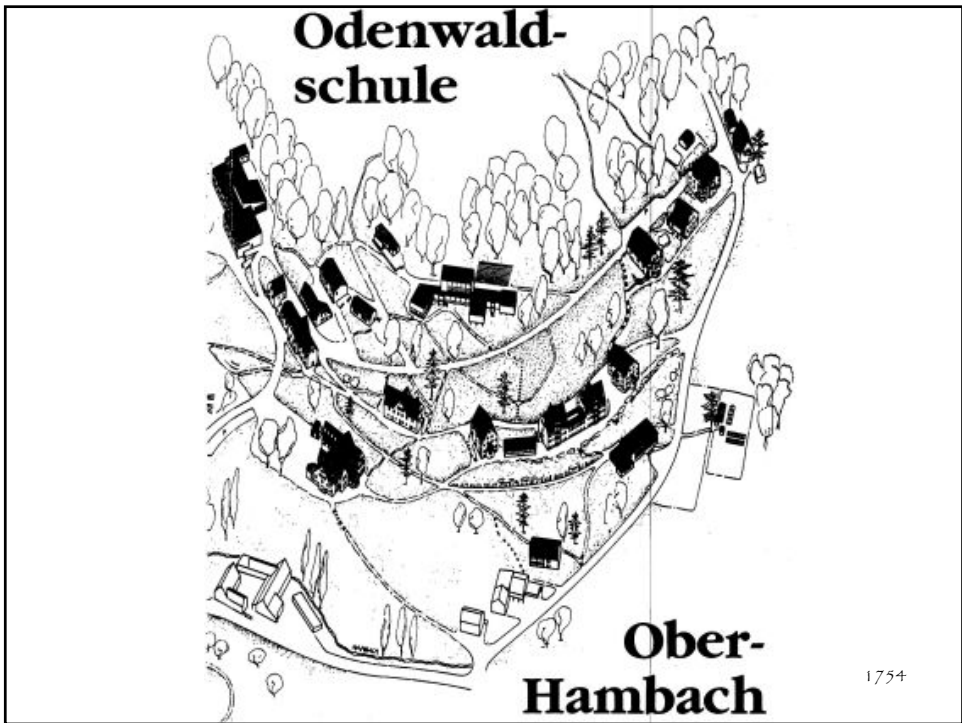
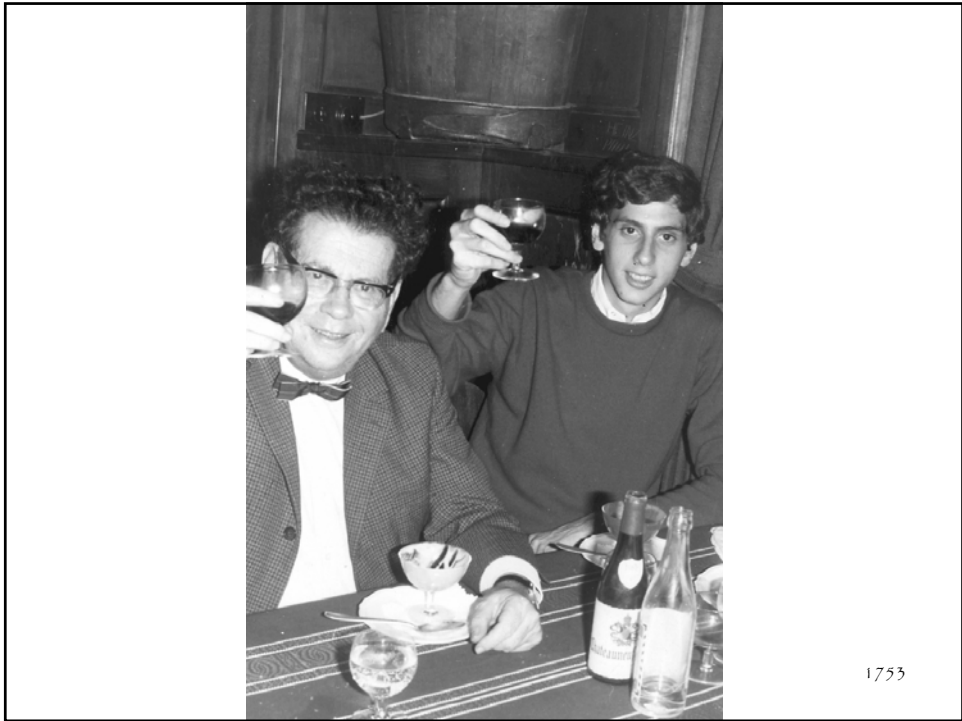
1749

'63 Gil Bar Mitzva

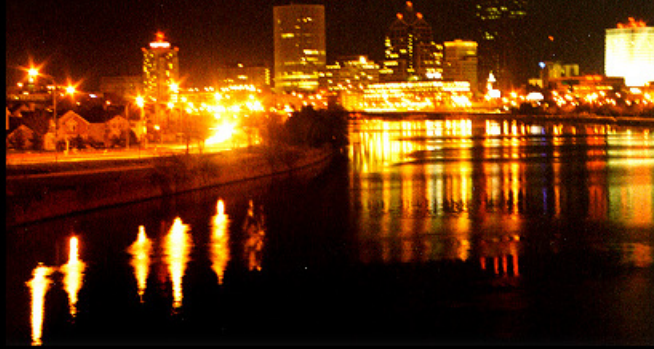


1750





Rochester's Best



Rochester, NY, Senior Year Exchange Student

1755

Norway 1969



1970



1970





1970

1759



1760

Berlin, 1972



1973 22 August

1762



Nantucket
Wolfgang and Monika
Edelstein, 1982

1763



1985

1764





Harvard Graduate School of
Education

1767



Graduation

1768



1769



1770



Berlin Wissenschafts-Kolleg¹⁷⁷¹



1772

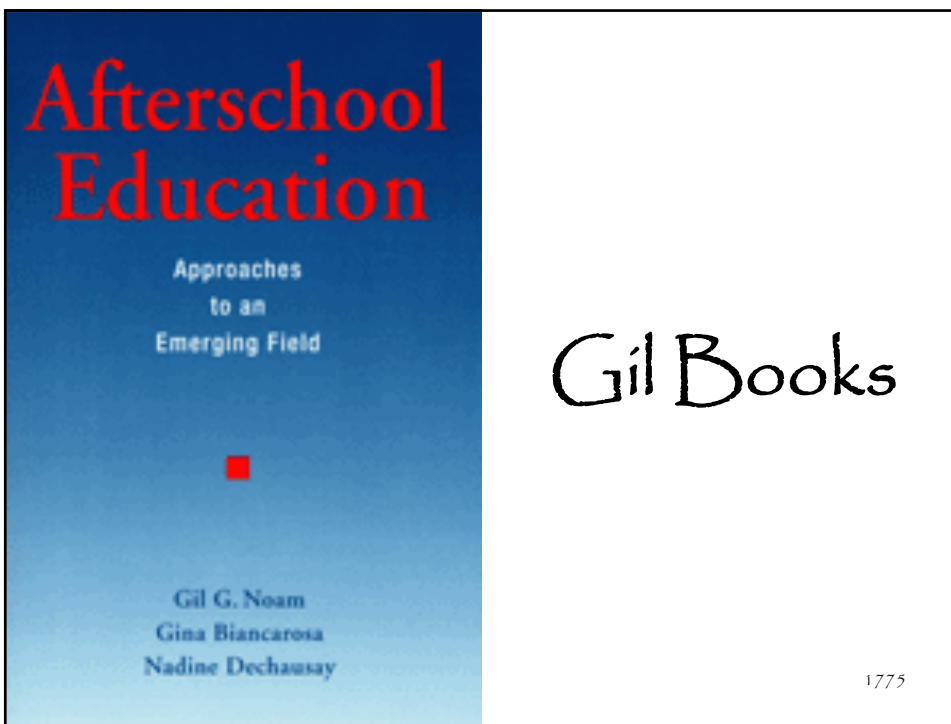


1981 at Lotte's birthday dinner¹⁷⁷³



Gil Books

1774



1777

Chapter 8.2
Daughter - In - Law
Maryanne Wolf
(10/25/1948)

1778

Eldorado, Illinois



1779



1980

1780

Wedding
1985



1985



Unidentified Distant Relative on Right



Gil, Maryanne, and the building team at Lancaster Street

1784

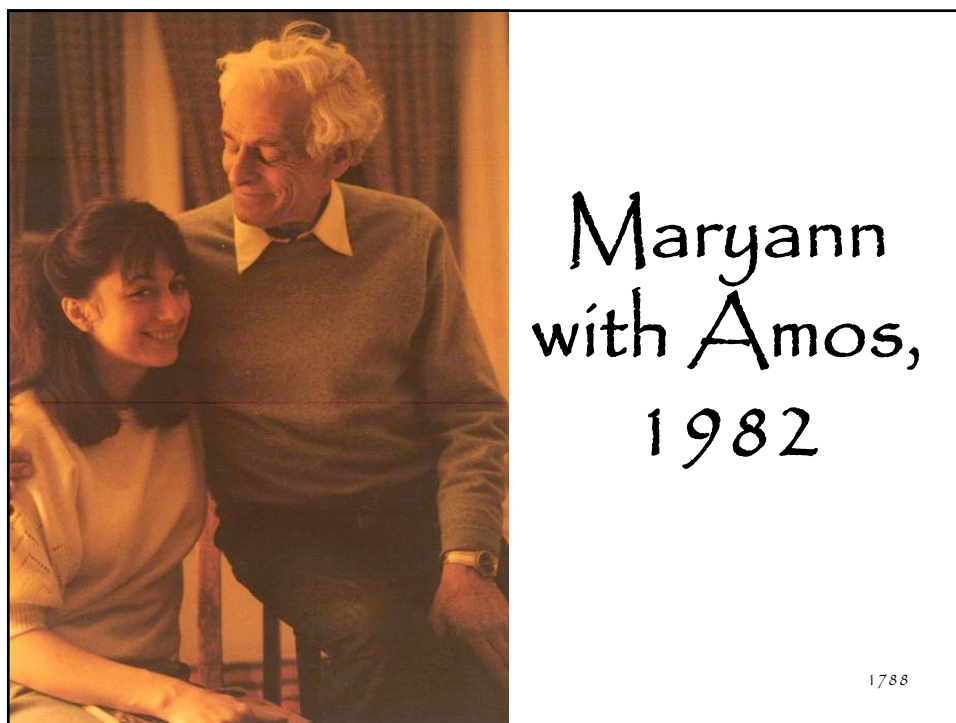
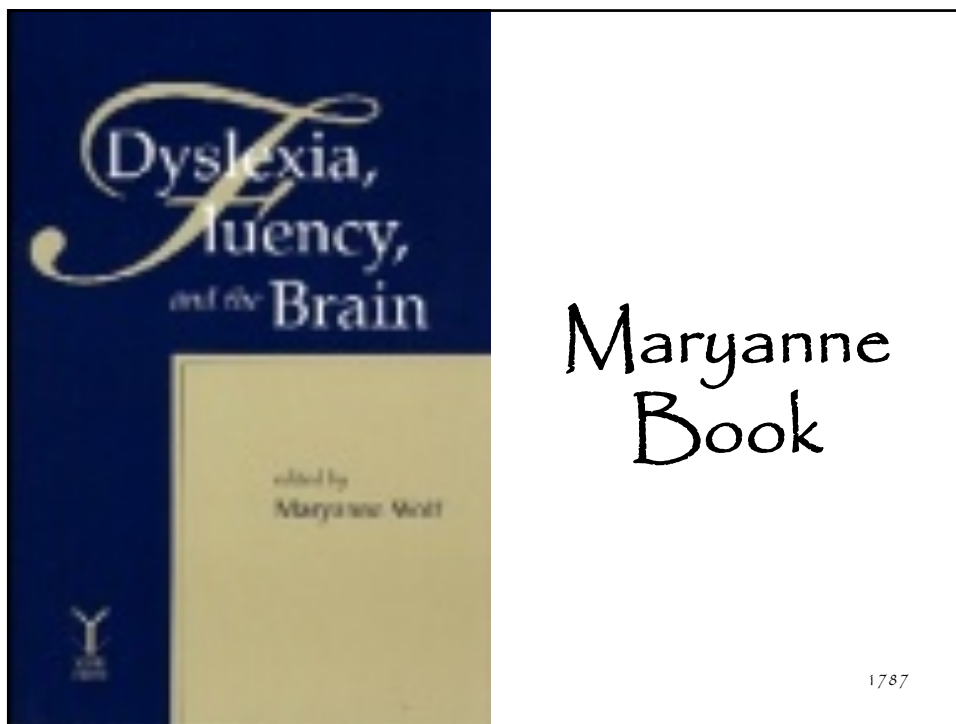


Maryanne teaching

1785



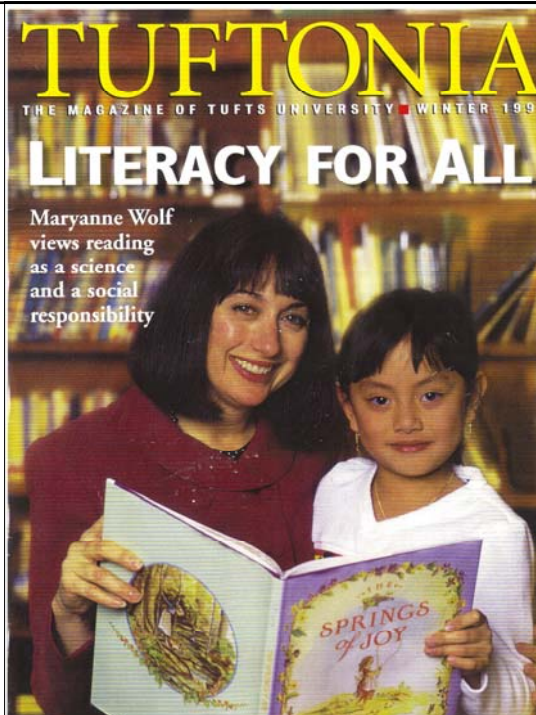
1786





Daughters-in-law

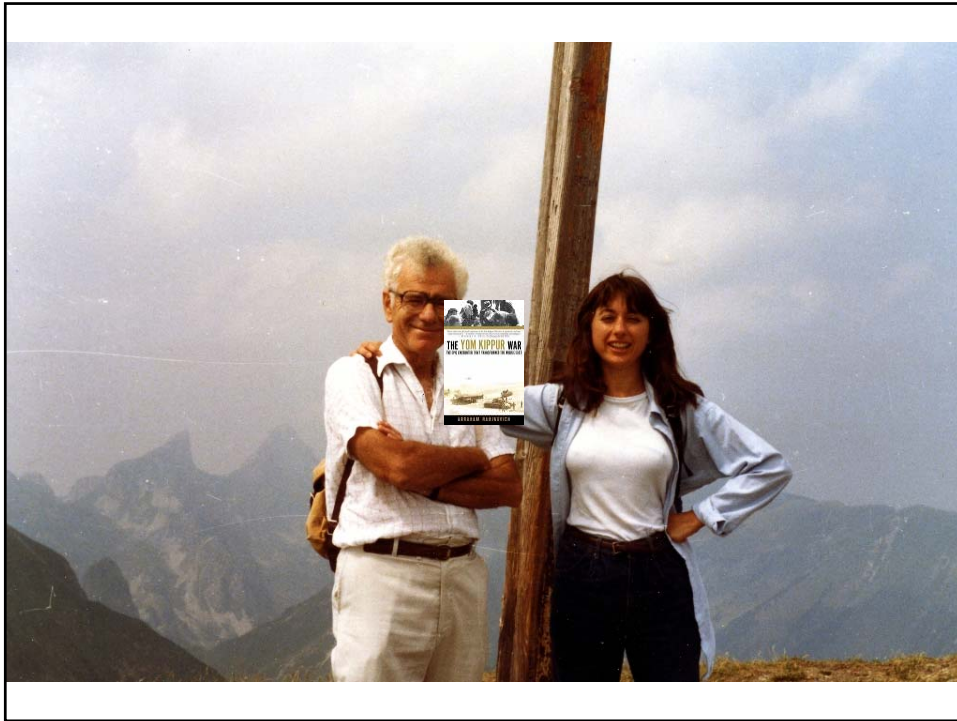
1789



1790



1792



1982; Cambridge

1794



1981

1795



1981 at Lotte's birthday dinner¹⁷⁹⁶



1982

1797



1798

1799

Chapter 8.3
Grandchildren
Ben(*2.11.1987) &
David(*1.13.1990)

1800

Grandma at last, 1987



1801



First Grandson
Benjamin 1987

1802



Lotte with
Ben 1987

1803



1804

1989 with
Ben



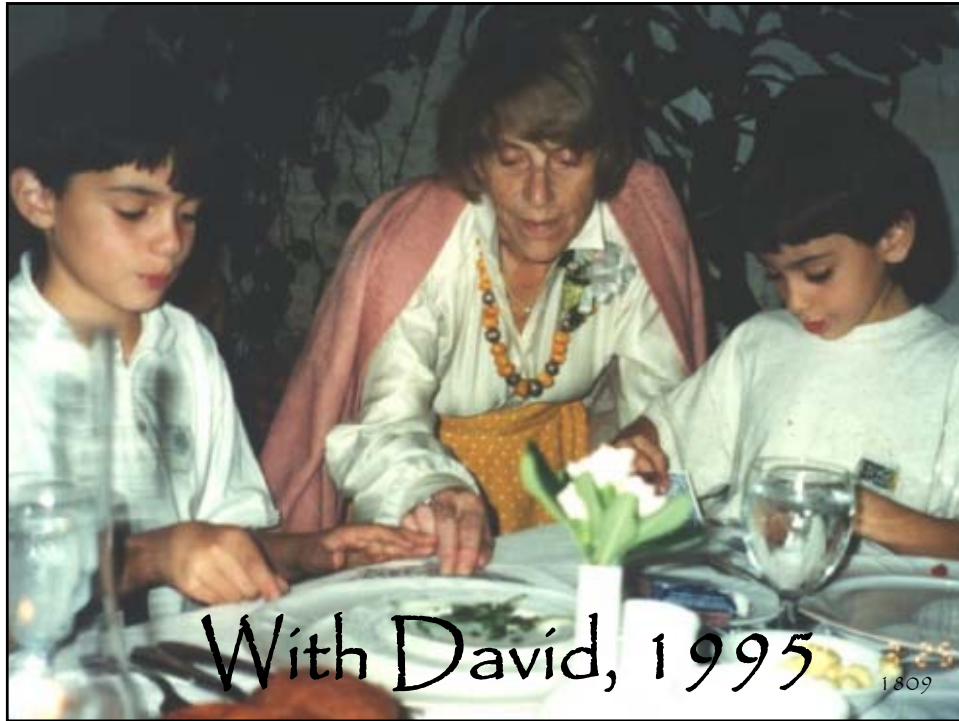
1805



1991
Arrival
of
David

1806



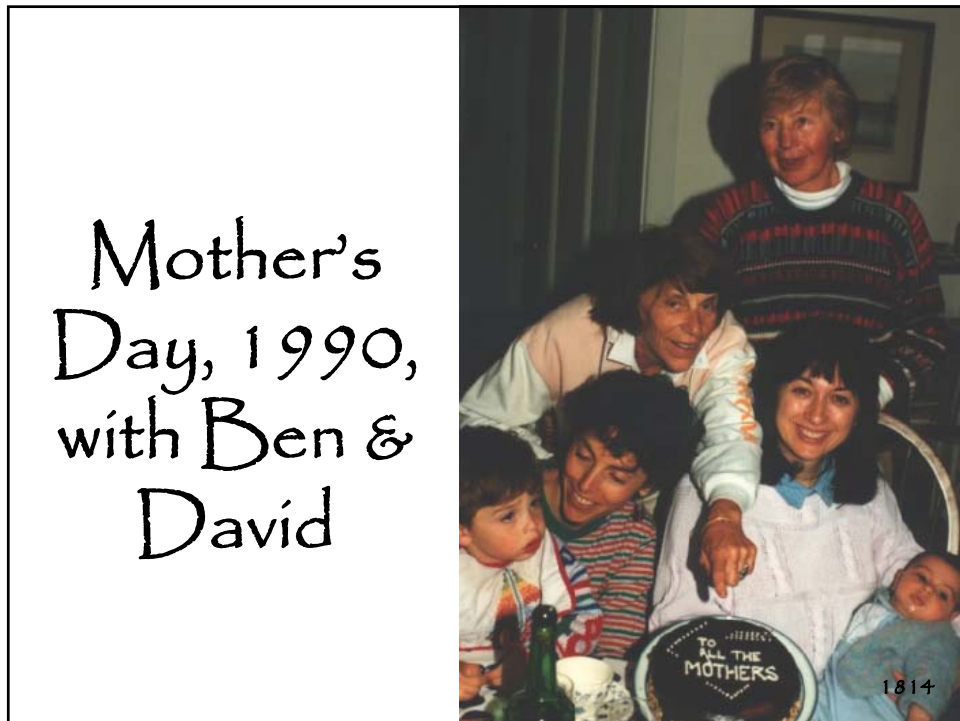


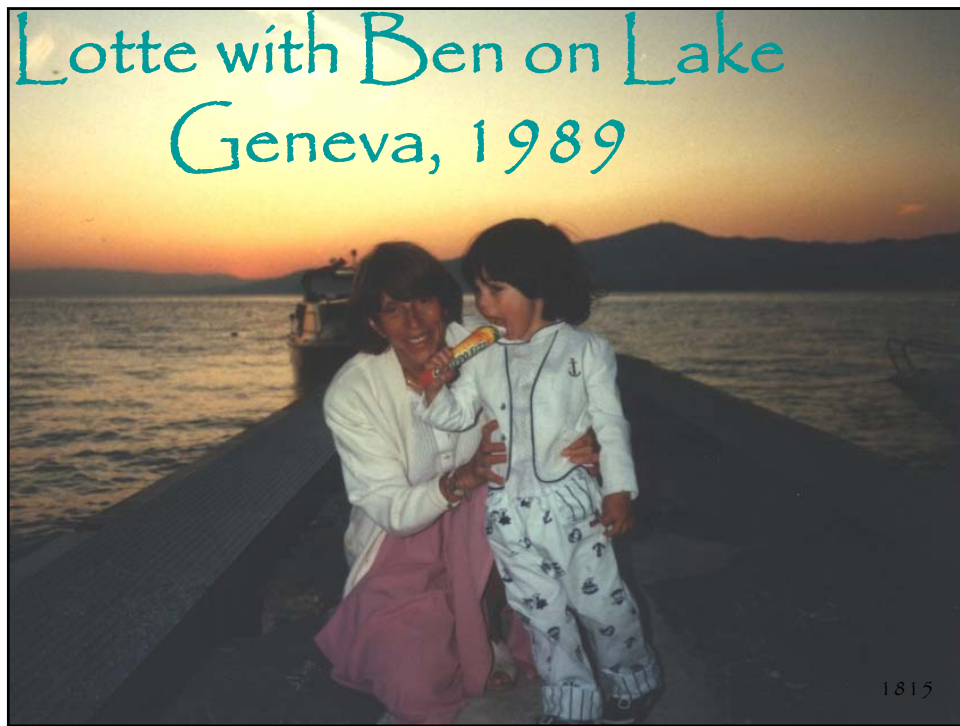
Squeaky and Ben

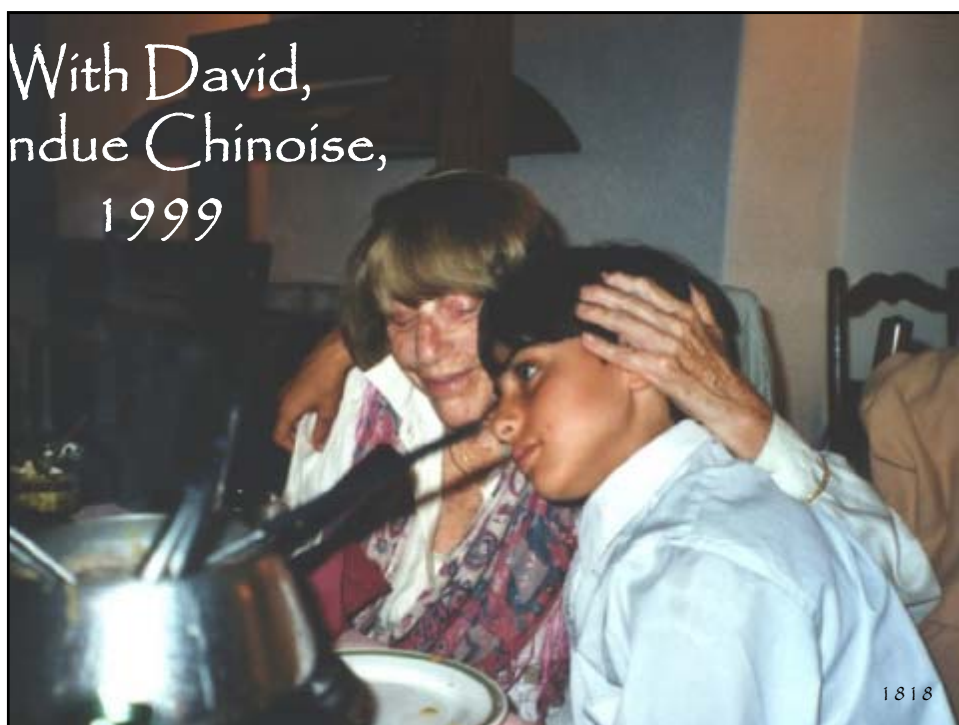




Cambridge 1989 with Ben









1819



Lotte and Ben
Switzerland
2003

1820



David, Gil, Maryann, Ben--- 2005¹⁸²¹



1822



Ben

1823



1824

Chapter 9 Stepdaughter Kayah (*5/2/1940), and family

1825

Weitzmann Institute of Science



1826



West Bank Settlers

1827



The happy couple

1828





1831



Rayah, 1984

1832



Rayah & Maryanne, 2000: Lotte's 80th birthday party in Florida 1835



Robert & Rayah, Eli & Nadine³⁺



Robert Blumenthal, Rayah, Lotte,
2000

1835



Robert Blumenthal at National
Institute of Health

1836



National Institute of Health, Rayah
& Robert's work place

1837



Florida, 2000

1838



Daphne's & Pete's Wedding¹⁸³⁹





Rayah
with
Jona &
Teddy

1841



Florida, 2000

1842



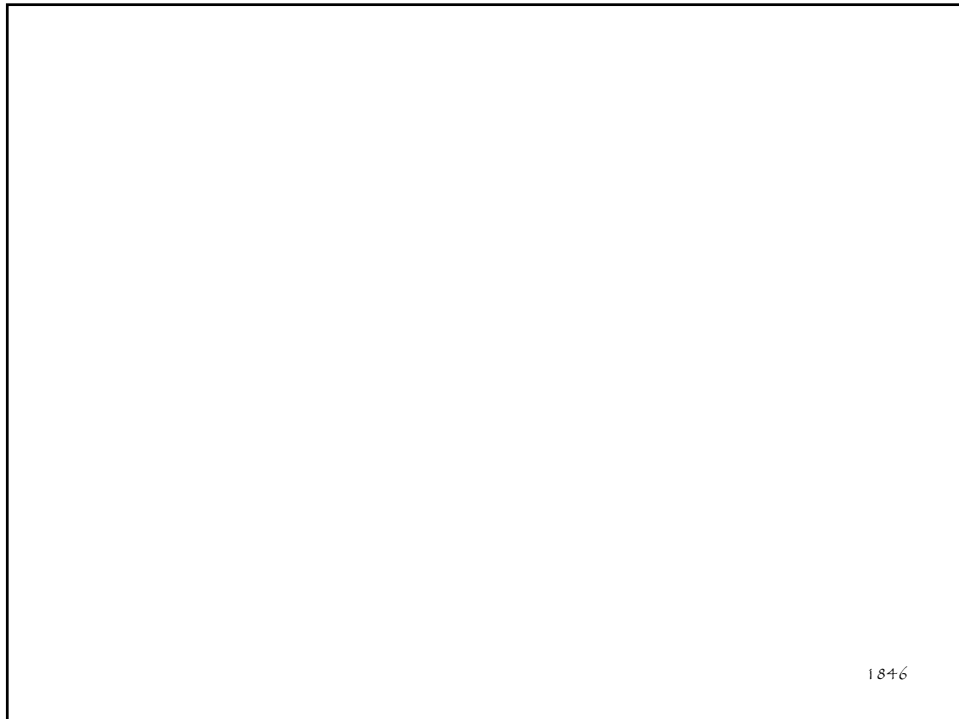
1843





With Lotte, 2000

1845



1846

Chapter 10

Moving On

© Eli M. Noam 2007

1847

Chapter 10.1

Frankfurt

1848



Ernst Director
of
Frankfurt Jewish
Community

Studien zur
Frankfurter Geschichte

47



Jakob Nussbaum
(1873–1936)

Ein Frankfurter Maler
im Spannungsfeld der Sichten

Von Claudia C. Miller

Painter of
Frankfurt: Jakob
Nussbaum, distant
relative of Ernst

1851



Jewish Cemetery, Frankfurt ¹⁸⁵²

Ernst 50th
Birthday



1853

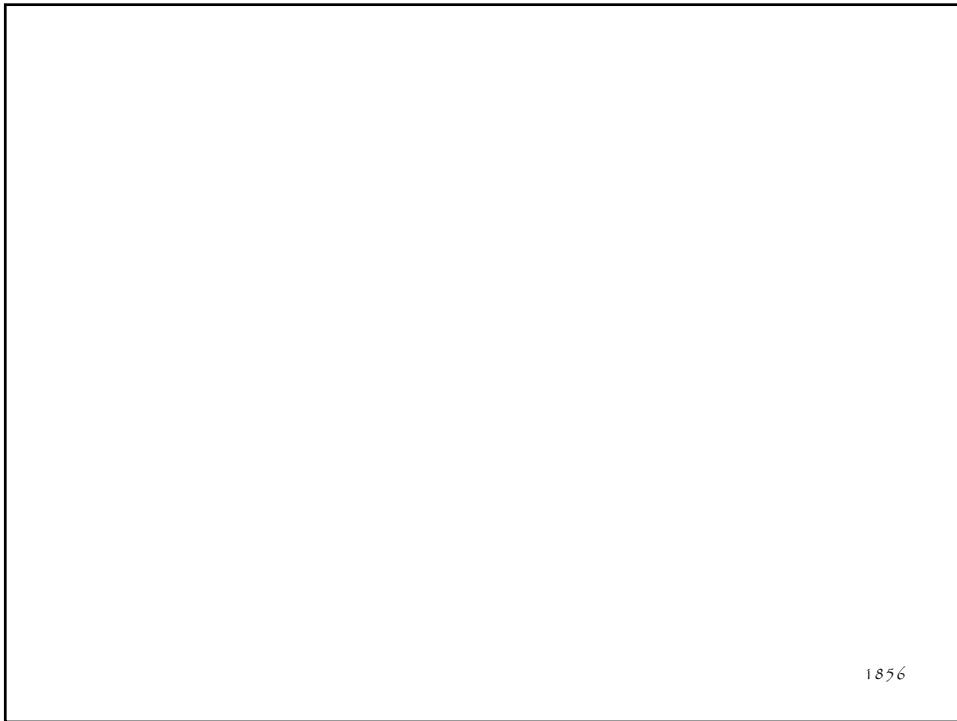
Eli's Bar Mitzvah (on left, Hermi
Guttmann, Alice Dahn;
on right, Schermanns, Fränkels, Flora
and Eli)



Hermi Guttmann, Alice Dahn, Dr Stephen Frankel, Mira
Scherman, Harry Maet, Flora, Eli, Morris Scherman.

1854

Friends: Dr. Walter and Margarete Rosenberg, 1958, Frankfurt



Chapter 10.2

Higher Education and Teaching

1857



Goethe University

1858

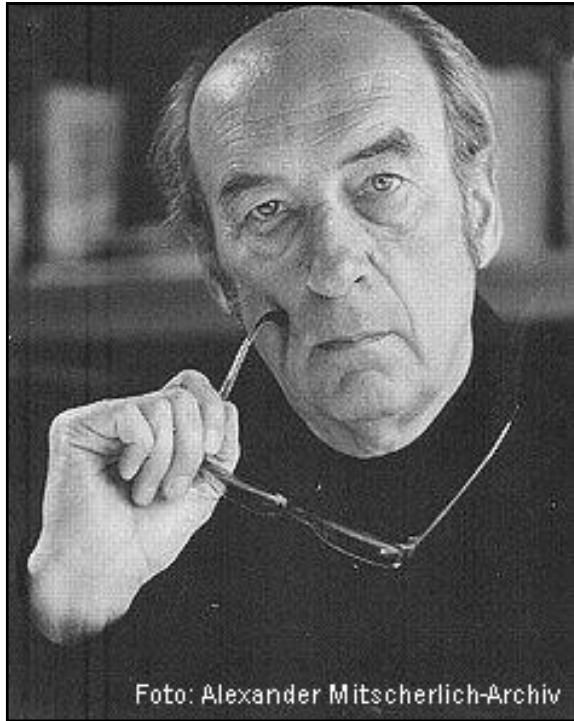


Foto: Alexander Mitscherlich-Archiv

Prof.
Alexander
Mitscherlich

1859

Prof. Heinz
Heydorn
died young in
midst of Lotte's
doctoral
dissertation.



Foto: Archivzentrum

WISSENSCHAFTLICHES PRÜFUNGSAMT
FÜR DAS LEHRAMT AN VOLKS- UND REALSCHULEN
IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

ZEUGNIS

über die Erste Staatsprüfung
für das Lehramt an Volks- und Realschulen

Lotte H o m geb. Dahn

geboren am 27.10.1920

in Klasse:

studierte vom SS 1961 bis SS 1963 an der

HOCHSCHULE FÜR ERZIEHUNG
AN DER JOHANN-WOLFGANG-GOETHE-UNIVERSITÄT
IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

1 Semester des Studiums an der Philosophischen Fakultät

wurde angerechnet.

Sie hat die Erste Staatsprüfung nach der Verordnung über die Erste Staatsprüfung
für das Lehramt an Volks- und Realschulen vom 2. November 1962 (GVBl. I, S. 507)
am 25. Oktober 1963

1861

g u t b e s t a n d e n .



Teaching at Monte Rosa College,
Montreux-Territet

1862



Lotte front middle

MONTE ROSA 1966

Photo J. Schlemmer
Montrose



American College of Switzerland,
Leysin teaching

1864



Lesley College, Cambridge,
USA, Masters Degree¹⁸⁶⁵



Lesley College, 1982

1866

Great Enemy Cancer
Masters' Thesis
-Lotte Noam
1983

1867

The Graduate School
The Arts Institute

LESLEY
COLLEGE

September 16, 1983

Lotte Noam
Ch de L'orolietta St.
Legier
CH-1806, Switzerland

Dear Lotte:

I have read your Master's Thesis and I am so impressed by its literary, spiritual and psychological quality that I have chosen to give you "The Dean's Award for Excellence in Thesis Writing." This letter is your confirmation of the award.

The idea for the award came in response to your thesis. We have other thesis awards but the brilliance of your work makes me realize that the Dean should have a discretionary award to give at moments like this. So you are the first recipient of what will hopefully be a distinguished tradition of awards.

Award-Winning
Masters Thesis

Love to you,



Shaun McNiff
Professor & Dean

1868

Award Citation by the Dean

"I have read your Master's Thesis and I am so impressed by its literary, spiritual and psychological quality that I have chosen to give you 'The Dean's Award for Excellence in Thesis Writing.'"

"We have other thesis awards but the brilliance of your work makes me realize that the Dean should have a discretionary award to give at moments like this."

1869



Adult Education: First Computer Lesson

1870

1871

Chapter 11

Family

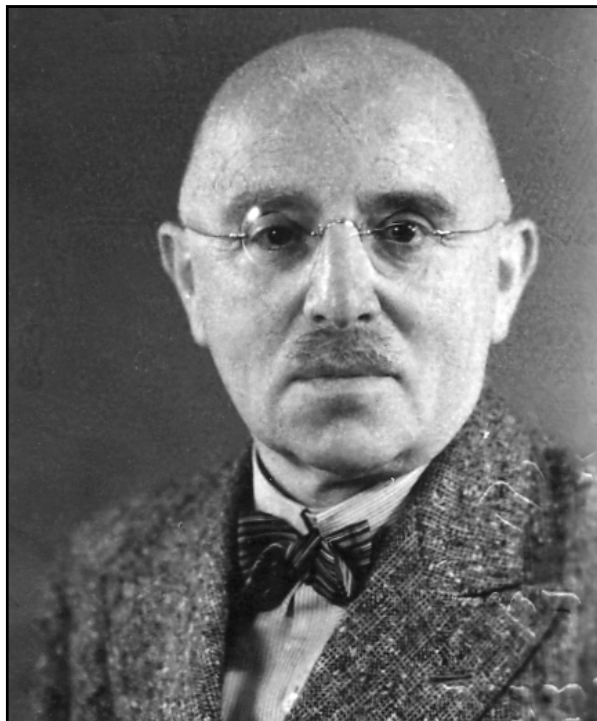
Again

1872

Chapter 11.1

Loss of Parents

1873



Richard 1938

1874

“Cancer has played a decisive role in my life. This is the personal account of the struggle against it and the futile search for a remedy.”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1875

“The first time I lost someone beloved and close to me was in 1964. I remember the birthday party in the posh French restaurant in Frankfurt, Germany. My father rose when the Cordon Bleu was cleared from the table and read a poem he had written for this occasion- a witty little concoction of fun and serious thoughts which incidentally rhymed.

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1876

“We were amused and touched. Good old dad. Always eager to entertain a party even when it was his own birthday and others ought to be taking care of that. It was his eighty-fourth year he was entering that night, but nobody could have guessed that.”

1877

“The celebration came to an end and we walked home. I walked at my father’s side through the late September crispness and asked him whether the hoarseness which had been bothering him for quite a while was better now. He hesitated for a moment, looked at me and said quietly: ‘No. The results of the examination came today. It is cancer of the larynx.’”

1878

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

“Half a year later he died of an overdose of sleeping pills because he was unable to see the torture through to the bitter end. It was a tremendous ordeal.”

Lotte Noam, Great Enemy Cancer, 1983

1879

Die kirchliche Beerdigung ist am 20/1 1978
zu ... vollzogen worden.
am 20/1 1978
Der Pfarrer:
(Siegel) ...
(für den Ehemann)
Mutter in Frankfurt a. M. Nr. 2672 verstarb zu ...
am 23. April 1964
Doktor der Zahnheilkunde Richard ...
Frankfurt am Main am 23. April 1964
Der Standesbeamte:
(für die Ehefrau)
Kant. Sterberegister Nr. ... verstarb zu
am
am 19
Der Standesbeamte:
(Siegel)

Richard died April 23; 1964

1880



Grandma Flora, Frankfurt Cemetery

1881



1882

Lotte's Poem:

Psychodrama - [for Peter*?]

Today I sat on your knees, father,
And I wanted to tell you how much...
Wanted to tell you, wanted to cling,
Wanted to stroke your head.
I did all that and cried and cried.
It felt so good and you did come back
And called me those tender names.

Do I have to grow up, daddy?
Gather me tight in your folds.

1883

1884

“My mother had cancer of the intestines 25 years earlier. A huge growth had been removed from her bowels and it took her a year in and out of the hospital, temporary colostomy and radiation, until she was discharged for good. She never believed that she had a new lease on life. “

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1885

“When she returned to Israel from her operations in Switzerland, she started giving away her possessions and writing her will. She did not think it would last but it did, to our delight and surprise, and the one more surprised than anybody else was she herself. She enjoyed life, and the older she became the more consciously she enjoyed it. “Did you think I would reach my seventies?””

1886



With Lotte in
Frankfurt
1970

1887



Gil, Flora,
Michael
Dahn

1888

Eli & Flora
1964



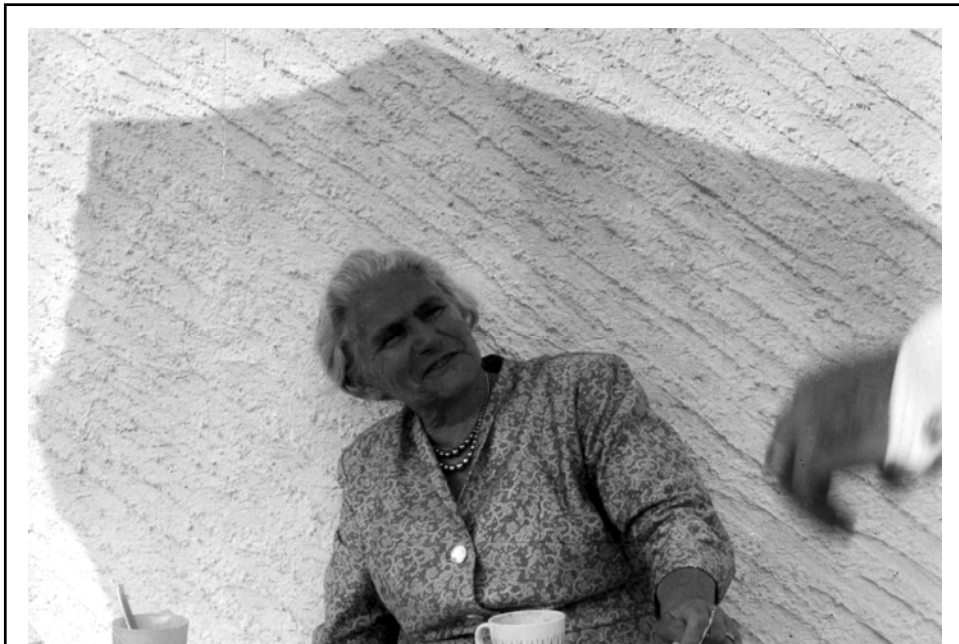
Flora

1890



Hans and Flora

1891



1892

“My mother had a big brain tumor above her forehead. She regained consciousness for a short time in the night before she died, one week later. Then she suddenly woke up, her eyes clear, her smile mellow, looked around at her family, talked for a few minutes, closed her eyes again with a contented sigh as if too tired to keep them open, and died. At least she had not suffered, not consciously, and she had lived her life to its natural end, it cancer can be called a natural end.”

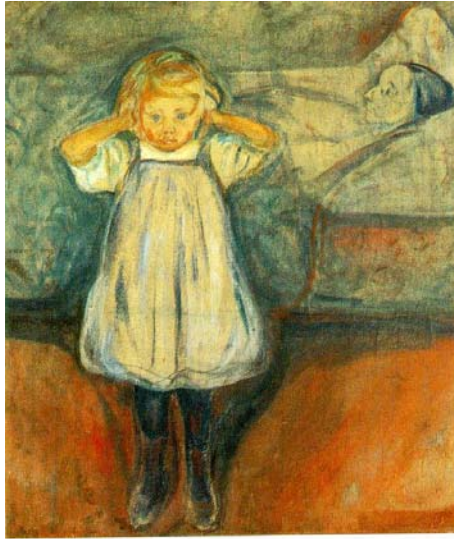
Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1893

“Much later, [Emmy] took me to the Bremen Art museum and there to a picture by [Edvard] Munch entitled: *The Dead Mother*. A little blond girl with big blue eyes and horror in them was looking at us and in the background the corpse of a woman on a stretcher. We stood a long time in front of it without a single word.”

1894

Edvard Munch ~ The Dead Mother



1895



1897

Chapter 11.2

Loss of Husband

1898



Lotte: “Three years later my husband died. He had to undergo surgery of the prostate and when I asked the surgeon a few days later whether it was malignant or not he tried at first to evade the question, dodging and putting me off.”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1901

But then he answered in the affirmative. When he saw my scared face he hastened to add that this was the least dangerous of the cancer varieties. Treatment today was effective as it had never been before and the patient would probably live to be eighty and die of something different.

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1902

“Don’t worry,” he said. “But don’t tell your husband. There are people who can’t take the truth, who let themselves fall into a depression and don’t fight. Let him live a normal life without the knowledge.” Which I did and everybody around us joined in the game.”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1903

“The children did not feel quite happy with the hide-and-seek, especially as a well-known oncologist in Washington could not be consulted as a result, and extreme measures were out of the question. But the standard treatment of that period, administering injections of estrogen, the female hormone, were being carried out.”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1904

He lived a normal life for another year and a half, traveled a lot for the completion of two books and a number of articles; we built a home in the Swiss countryside which he partly supervised; he lost no weight, no control, suffered no pains but got gradually a little weaker.

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1905

“Then I went to the United States for a visit of a few weeks, and during that time he saw another doctor who mentioned the word “cancer”.”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1906

“If you don’t continue that treatment, your disease may become cancerous.’ Ernst got very upset and wrote an alarmed letter. ‘Do you know anything I don’t? If you do, I demand an immediate explanation.’”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1907

“We were shocked and scared that he should have learned something in my absence. I consulted all three of his children, two of whom are mine. Opinion was divided but I was firmly resolved to let him know now.”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1908

“I was very much afraid of how to break the news, though. He was a lawyer and gerontologist, writing books and leading research on the rights of the elderly, about their dignity and integrity which should be taken very seriously into account. How would he take how his wife, his sons and his friends had treated him for a whole year and a half?”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1909

“We were barely at home from the airport when he popped the question. I started to cry when I told him the truth – I felt so sorry for him. He was flabbergasted. ‘You kept this knowledge from me of all people? Treating me like an imbecile or an irresponsible child? It was me, my life, my health which were at stake and I was not made a party? This is incredible.’”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1910

“He was very angry and at the same time utterly disbelieving. And we had thought he had been guessing, had known the truth more or less but did not want to know.”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1911

“You didn’t ask’, I told him. ‘You never once asked me what it really was and I assumed you did not want to know. The evening before the operation you studied a handbook on medicine and told me that there was a possibility of it being cancer. But after the operation you never asked! I did ask the doctor immediately, why didn’t you?’”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1912

“I didn't have to,' he moaned putting his head into both hands. 'When I woke up the doctor was there and explained that it was an infection, nothing serious, and I believed him. That's why I never asked. I believed his lies.'”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1913

“Ernst got bloated and puffed up with it, and then, suddenly one morning, he could not get up from his bed. From then on he slept in his armchair until the pains got worse and he could not sit up any more. I brought him to an examination with a great specialist in Berne and there they kept him hospitalized for a month. He was not able to leave the hospital anymore.”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

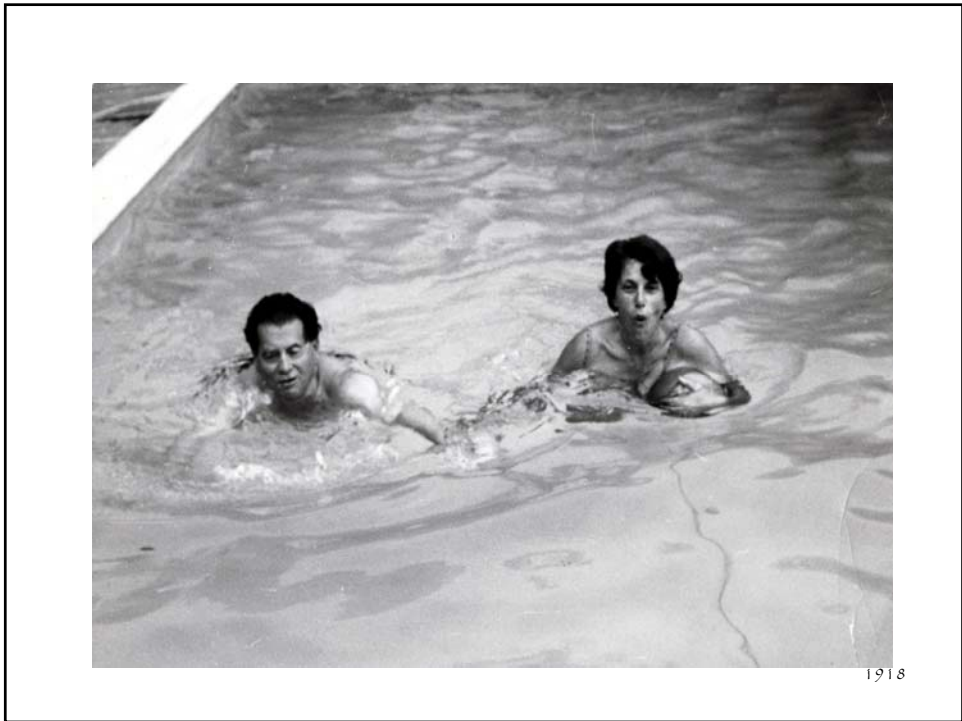
1914

“The cancer had spread to the spine and during the last week of his life he lost lucidity and did not know exactly where he was. It may be that the cancer spread to the brain at the very end. He did not feel much pain and was never in need of a painkiller. While in hospital, a month prior to his death, he was able to finish a long article which was to be published posthumously.”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1915

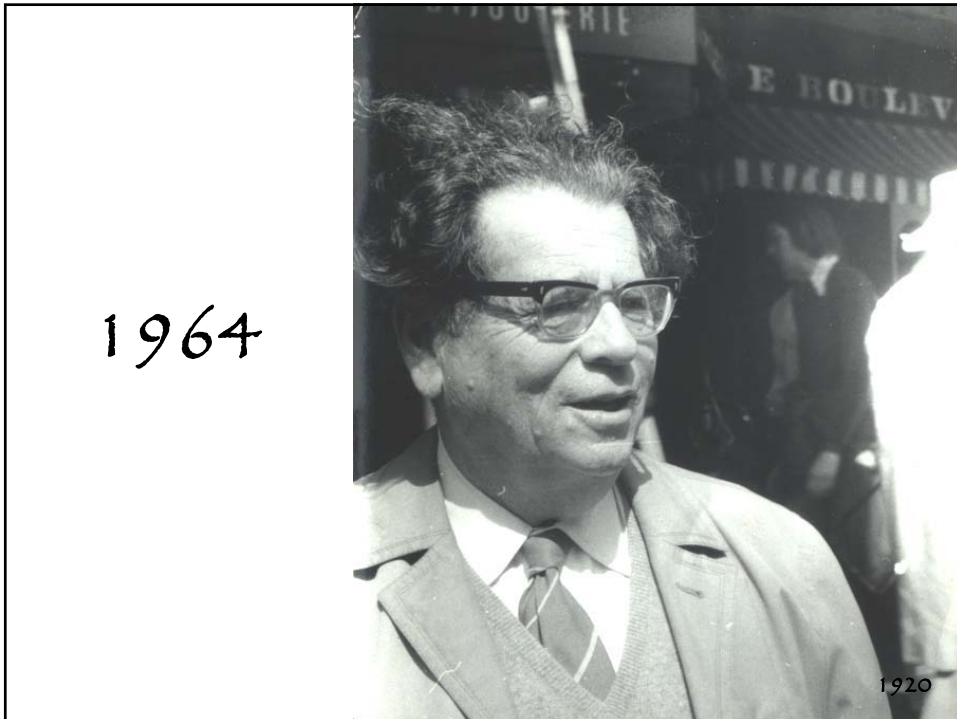
1916





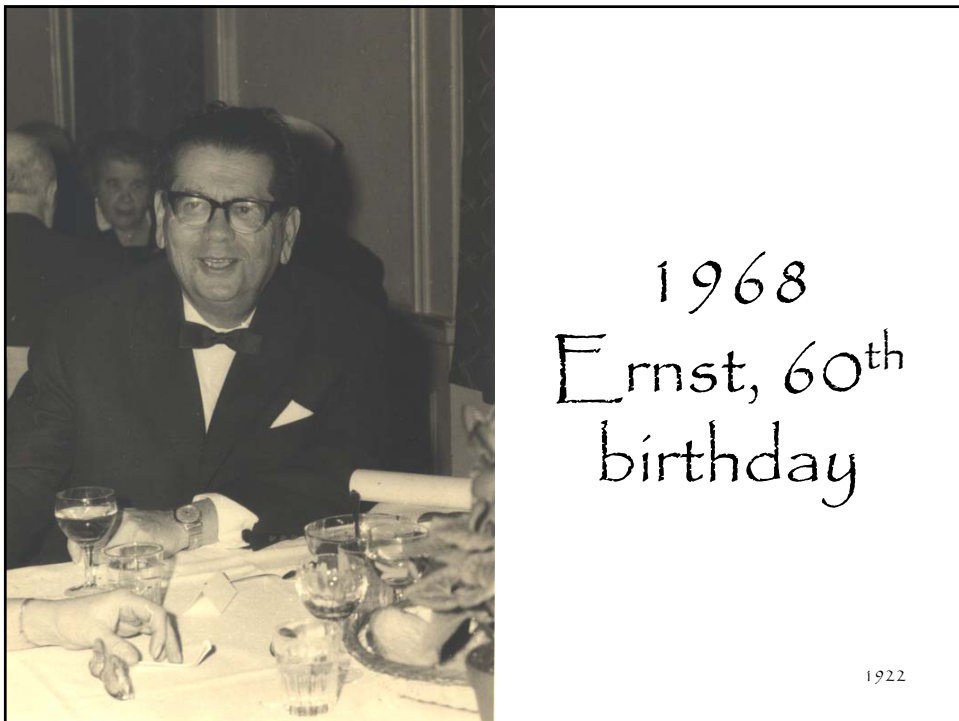
1960
Gruyere

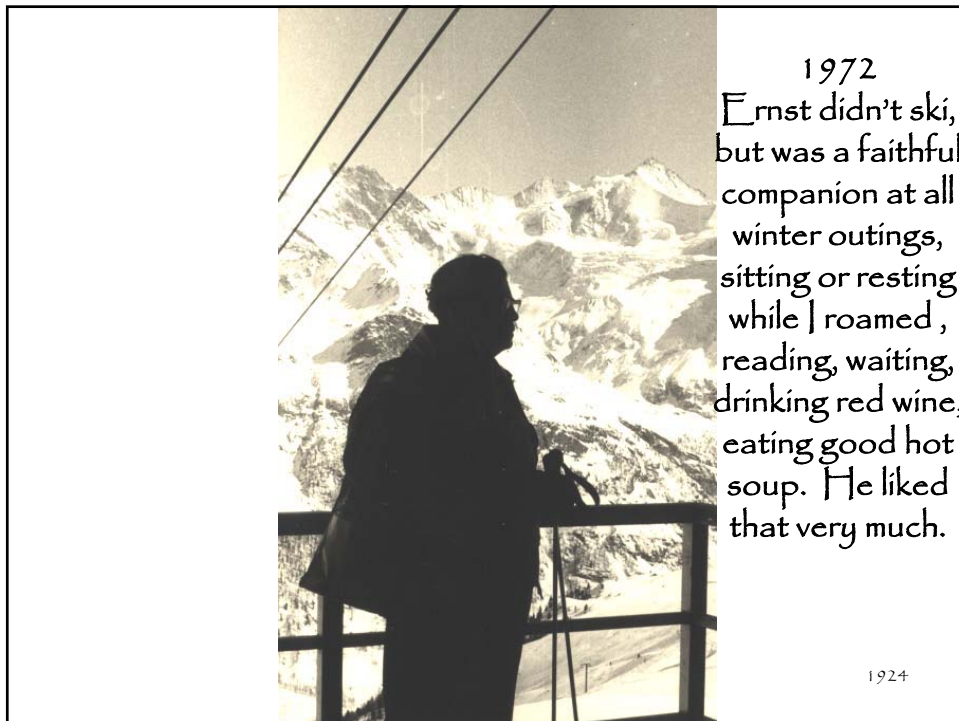
1919



1964

1920





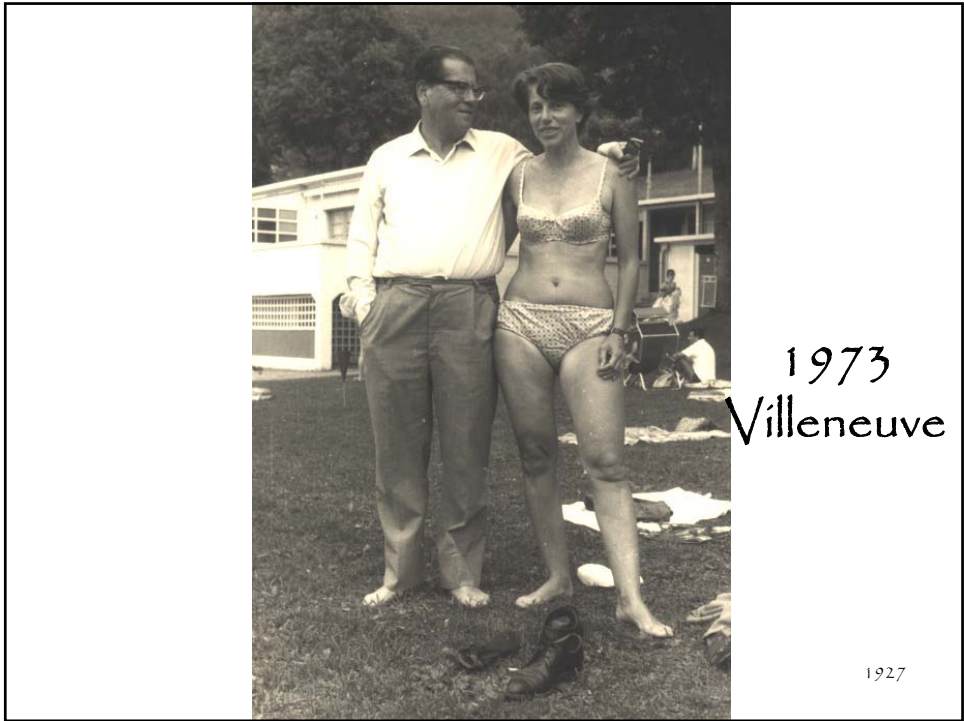


1925

1972 with Claire Wack (Renate's mother) and beloved Kelly

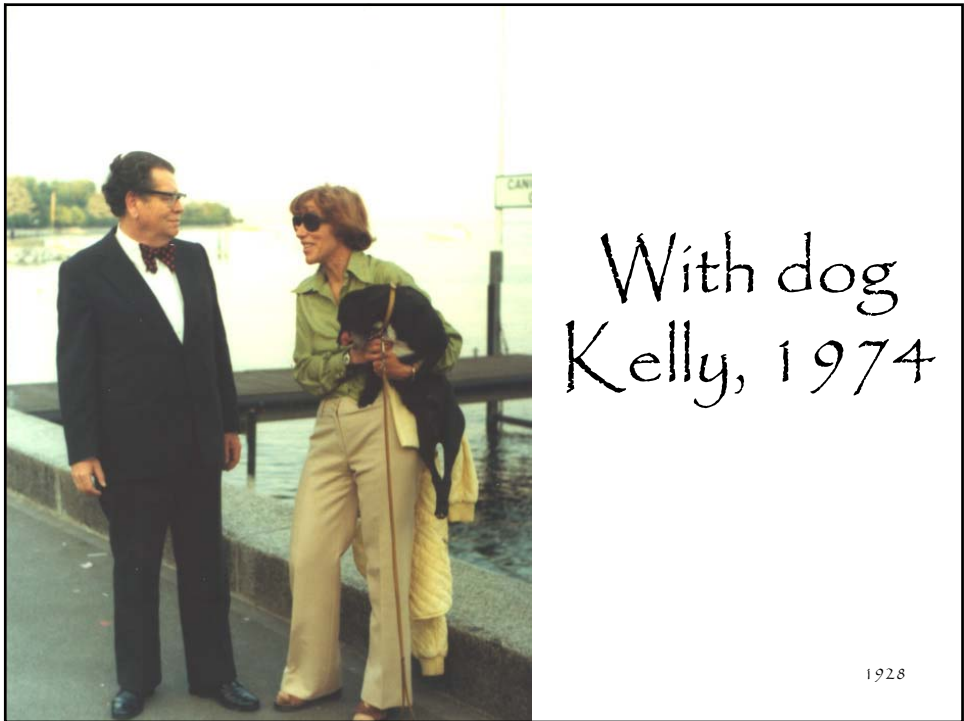


1926



1973
Villeneuve

1927



With dog
Kelly, 1974

1928







1933



1934



1977 A Farewell Toast to Ernst



Ernst grave in Vevey

1936

1937

**Chapter 11.3
Children and
Grandchildren
Again**

1938





1941



1942



Cambridge

1943

New
York



1944



Rayah, Lore, and Family







1950



Cambridge



Cambridge





Rayah, Lore, and Family

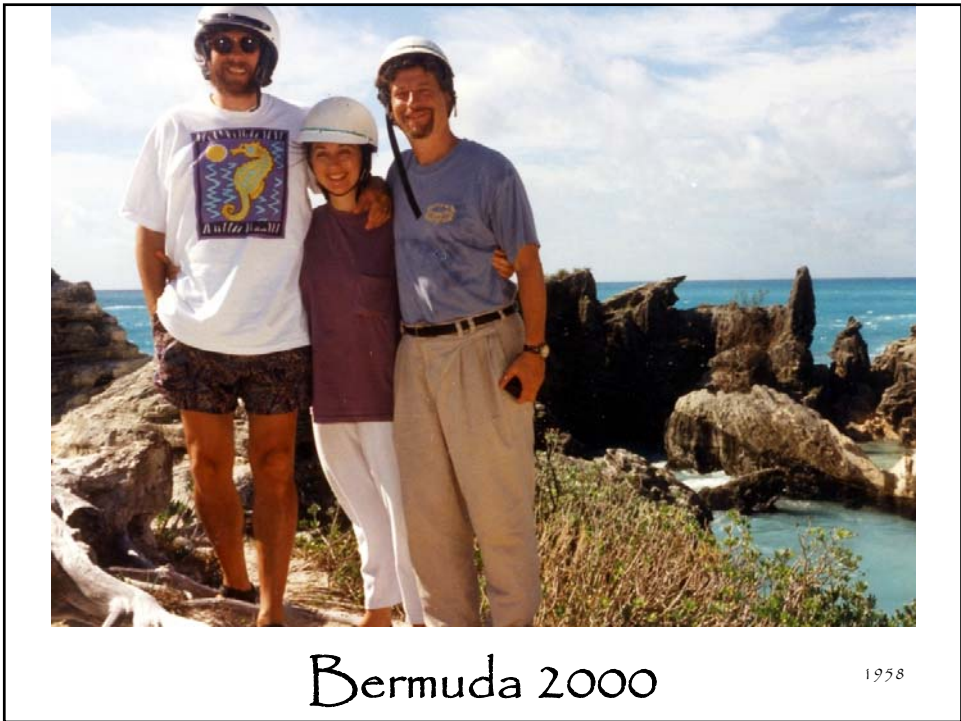
1955



1956



1957



Bermuda 2000

1958



1960

1961

Chapter 12

Friends and Hobbies

1962

Chapter 12.1

Best Friend

Emmy

1963



Emmy Uhl

1964

Lotte: "Emmy was my childhood friend, the closest I ever had. We had grown up together in Bremen, Germany, and never lost contact throughout the years although she emigrated to the United States and I to Israel almost at the same time. We both married after the war and had our first sons in the same year.

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1965

"From 1962 on we started visiting each other regularly, meeting in Germany, Norway, Switzerland and New York. The letters going back and forth never ceased, full of news, fun and kidding. She was the most fun loving creature I ever knew, and a gifted sculptor into the bargain."

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1966

“We met at a Channukah play at the Bnai Brith Lodge, where my father was a member and director of the entertainment committee. He had written the play, as he often did, which even rhymed. Emmy and I were both moon calves and I had to cry out: “I can’t answer this question, you should ask Liese.”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1967

“Mr. Brandt, Emmy’s father, was the proprietor of the best known and very elegant fashion house in Bremen into which he had married when he came to Bremen, good looking but poor, from one of the Eastern Provinces of Germany. They lived in a posh villa in the best quarter of town and in the social hierarchy of the Jewish community were placed a few ranks higher than my parents. So I was dolled up by my mother for my initial visit to the Brandt home.”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1968

“Emmy was a very pretty girl, though at the time we didn’t pay much attention to those things. Black hair, lively brown eyes, high forehead and a beautiful carriage. And she was far ahead of me. But she was very self assured, had a critical mind and intelligence and a big mouth which she opened in every situation with no respect for traditional values or the people who represented them.”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1969

“I was a dreamer and loved and admired everyone around me. She tried to get rid of this softie attitude in me through mockery, derision and irony to which I sometimes reacted with shock and horror, but there was nothing I could hold against it and in the end we laughed together.”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1970

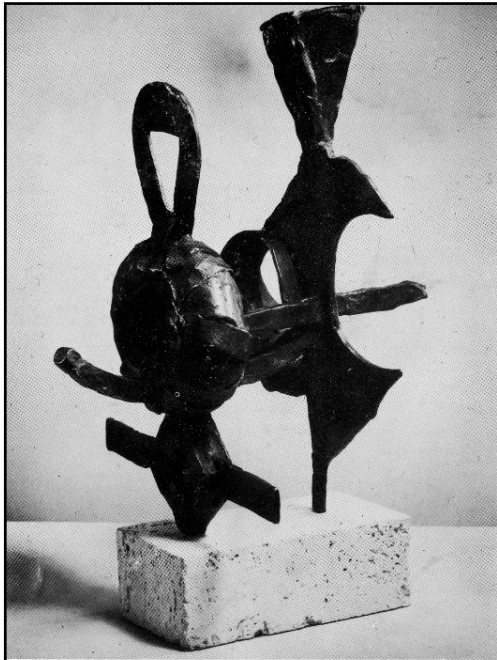
“I admired her house and her style of living, her rooms, the library, the plentiful toys, books, bicycles. But it turned out that she, too, had envied me because of my warm functioning home, my jolly father always ready for jokes and game and marionette performances, my mother who was always around and had time for us and sat and sewed dolls’ dresses with us.”

1971

“We were trying to solve the riddle of sex, without much success. That was the time when she resorted to one of her servant maids who was the closest relation she had in her house, and she came back with scraps of information which she shared with me.”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1972



COUPLE BRONZE ON TRAVERTINE 15" H

EMMY UHL

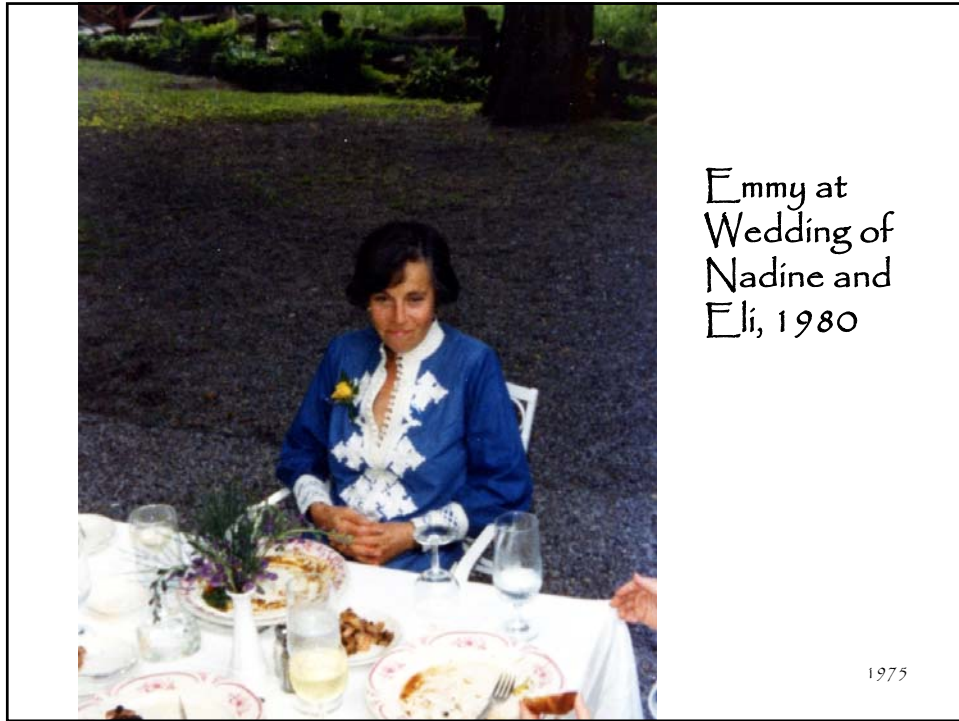
private view
May 19, 4-7
through June 6, 1970

RUTH
WHITE
GALLERY
42 E 57 NYC

Emmy in Guggenheim Museum 1970



1974



Emmy at
Wedding of
Nadine and
Eli, 1980

1975

“She spent the summer of 1981 in
Switzerland with me but was not quite as
well as usual.”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1976

“‘Getting on in years, that’s what I am,’ she quipped. ‘Being hypochondriac.’

But on our way to the airport in Geneva we talked about death, old age, decline and parting. We embraced as never before, tears in our eyes, though we did not know that this was our last farewell.”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1977

In her last letter she said: “All our lives you were my alter ego – it was like looking into a mirror.” And that was how I felt later on: having lost one half of my being, my childhood friend and sister who knew me so well and had shared everything with me. And another very uncanny and irrational feeling came up: Why she and not me? It could have been me –”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1978

“it should have been me, she was so much stronger, more vital, more talented. She died instead of me, so I could live.”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

1979

1980

Chapter 12.2

Relatives

1981

1981; Talma Amilianer,
Amos's daughter,
at La Tour de Peilez
beach





Hanna Benzwie, Ernst's cousin 1982²⁸⁵

Hannele Bickel, Ernst's cousin 1967



1984

Chawa Dukas, nee Nussbaum



1985



Theo Epstein and Gretel, nee
Nussbaum, at 93 and 97, married 70
years

1986

Gretel & Theo Epstein, with granddaughter Nurwit,
1980



1987



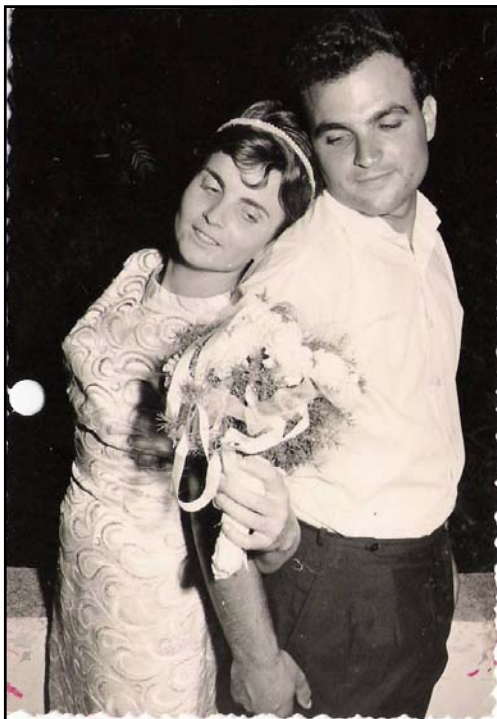
Gil with Sophie Klein, Flora's cousin
1967

1988



Squeaky

1989



Hagai &
Bracha Palti,
Wedding

1990

51

.doc.doc

Hagai Palti 1995



1991



Hagai and Daphne Palti

1992



Hagai's son Tair, 2006, with daughter



Gad Klein with sister Ursula and wife

1994

Elsa Sternberg, age 100, in
1999



With Ulli and
Doris
Stroschein,
1996



1997

Chapter 12.3

Friends

1998

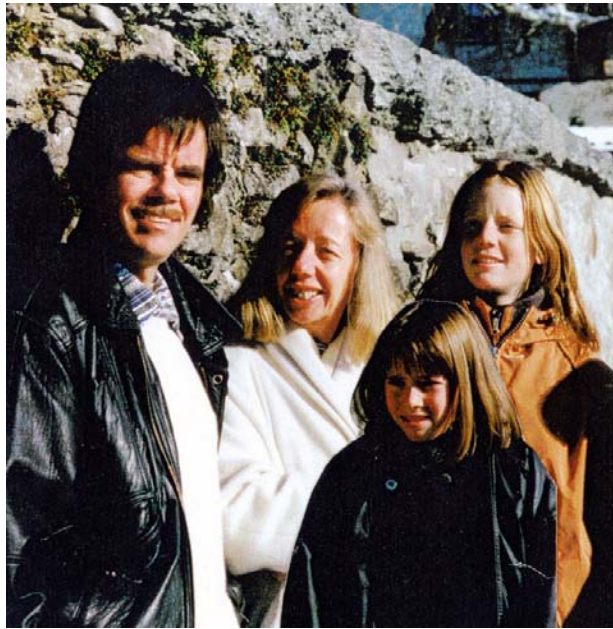
Adrienne Ackerman & Oma Duck



Ines de Hueck & Adrie
Ackerman

2000

Thomas, Laura, Salome, and Heidi Bally



2001

Heidi and Thomas Bally 1997



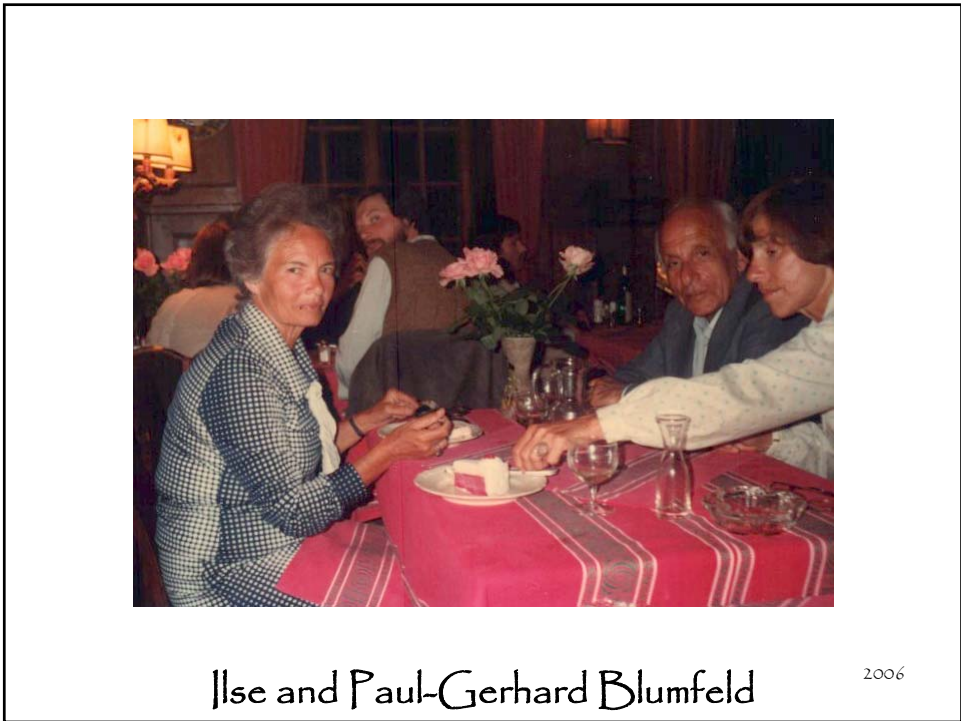
Rico Blass and Paul Suta at Art Expo in Basel,
1985



2003



Ernst & Rico & Ina Blass 1968 2004



Rudi and
Lore
Bock,
1982



Rudi and Lore Bock 1995



Norma Canner, Lesley College,
2002



Rose Choron



Mme
Dalla-Palma,
Housekeeper,
St. Legier



Jerry Feldstein, 1984

2012

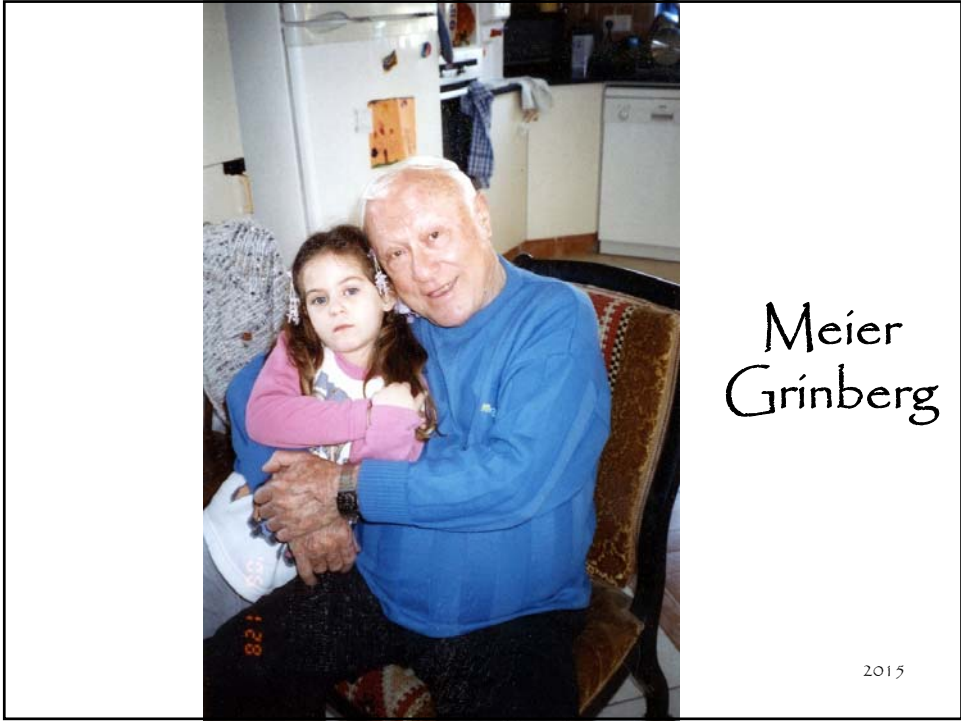


Hans and Lucie Findler

2013

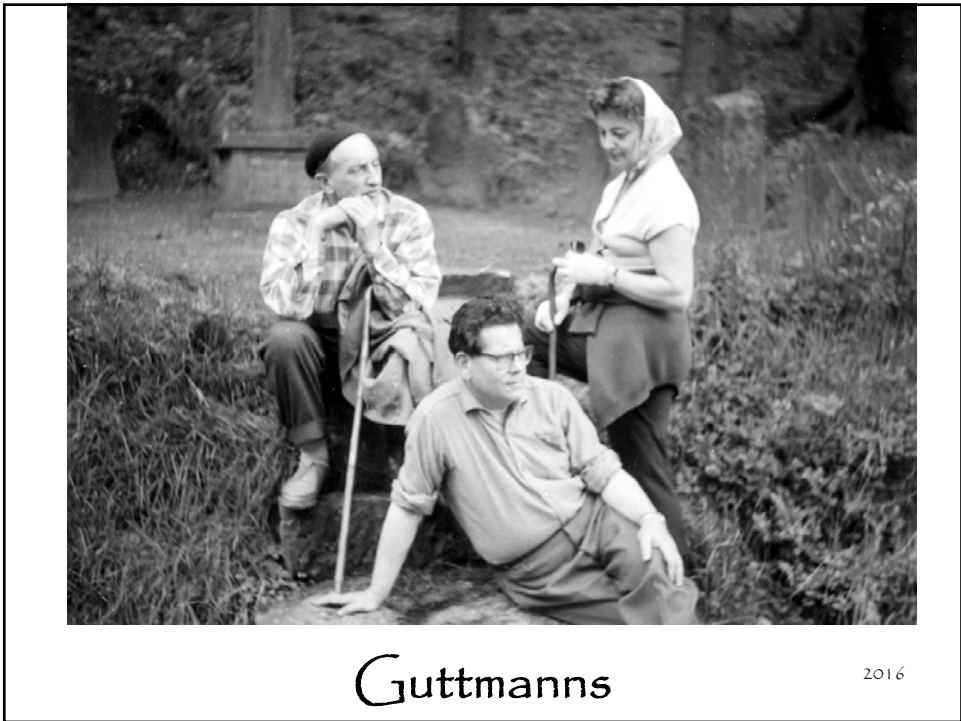
Gisela Geyer, of
Hanau





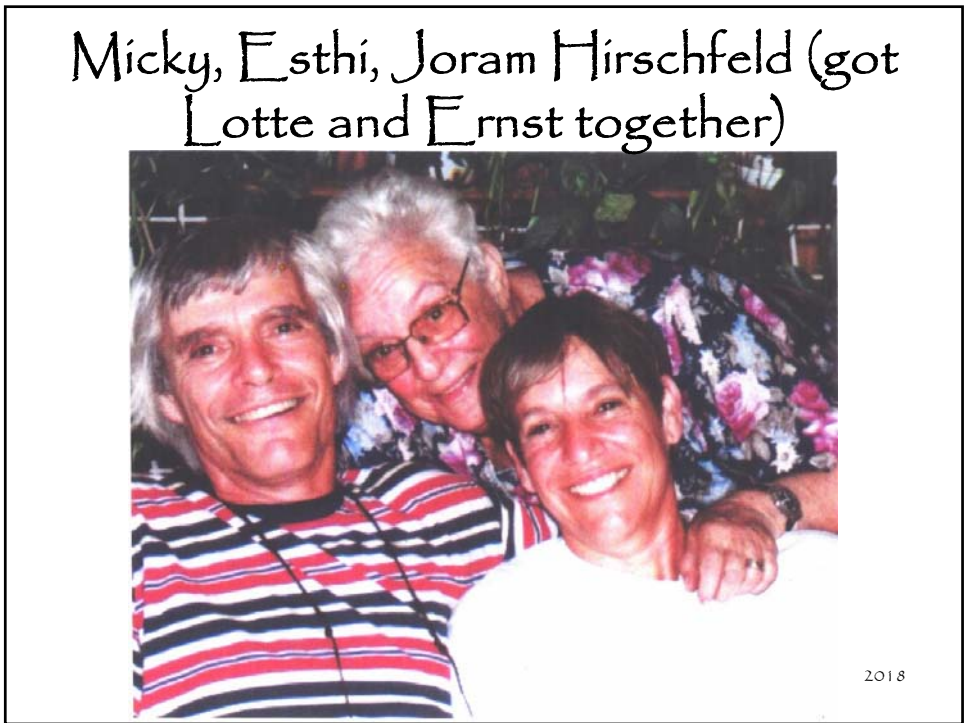
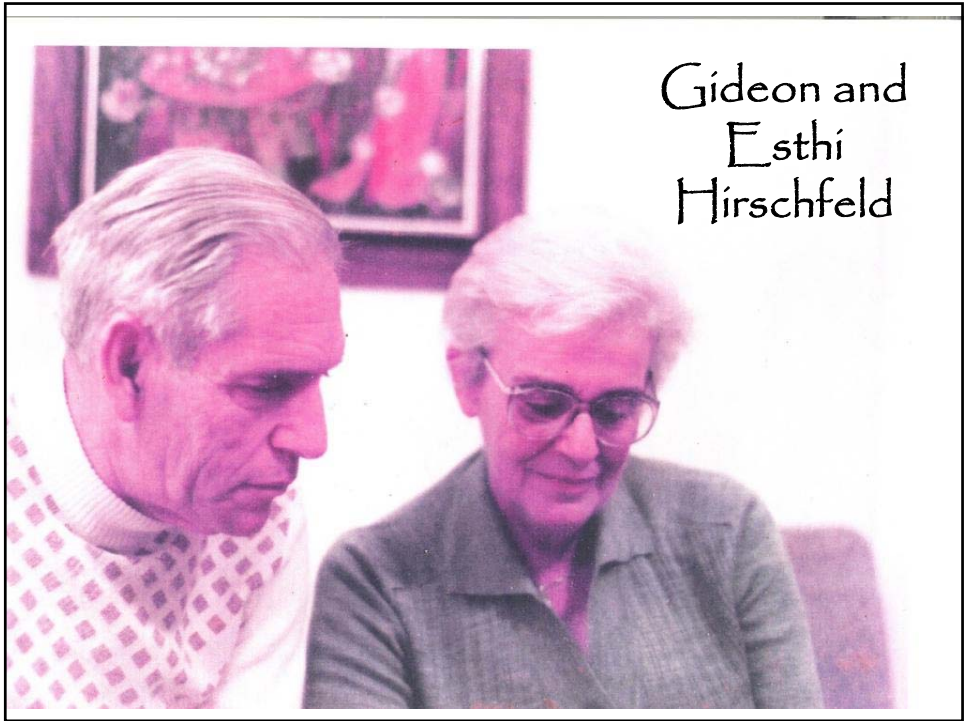
Meier
Grinberg

2015



Guttmanns

2016

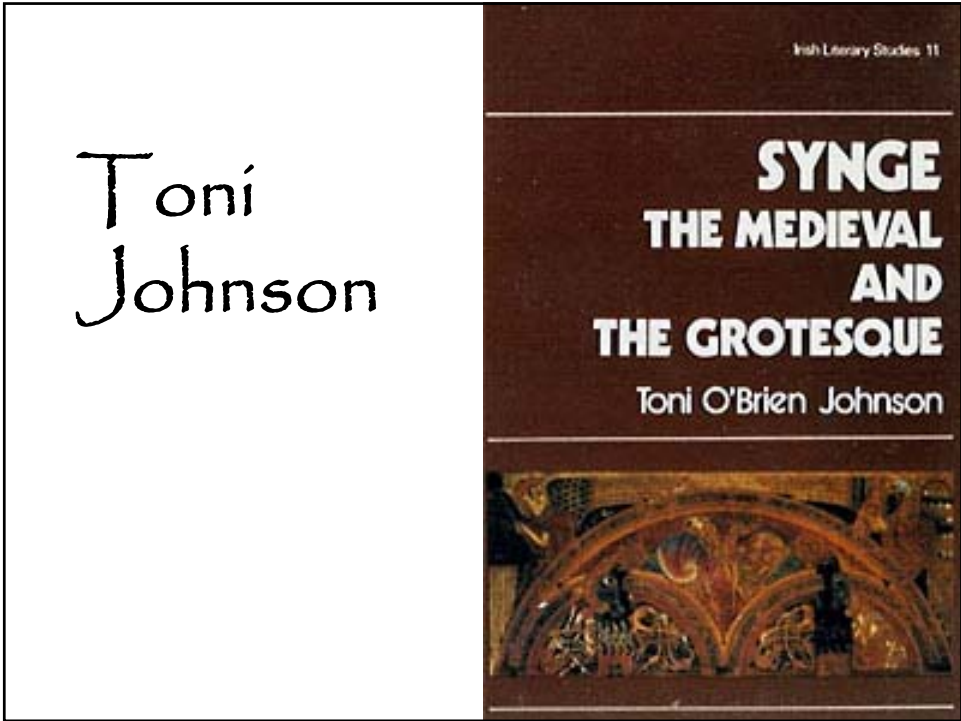




Esthi, Jori and Micky Hirschfeld²⁰¹⁹

Mia
Jaeger,
1980





Toni
Johnson



Toni and Richard Johnson in Camogli,
Italy



Lotte and Toni in Camogli





Toni Johnson

2025



Toni Johnson

2026

Toni Johnson on Lotte:

“But there’s one particular memory that encapsulates my sense of her: She’s in my apartment at dusk. I go to the kitchen to put something on for dinner, leaving her with a few of my books for company. When I call out ‘Would you like some light on?’, she replies ‘No. There’s light enough to read poetry.’ I have enjoyed Lotte’s great wit for 33 years, as well as her invaluable support (both moral and material) through difficult times.”

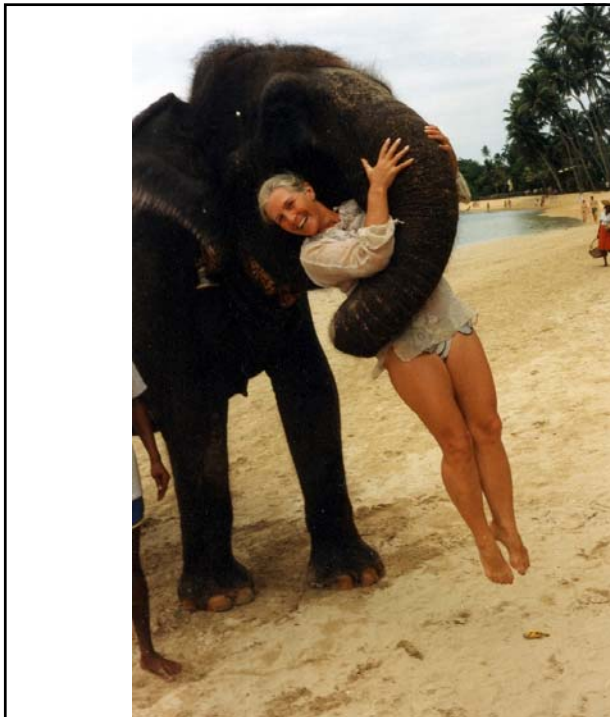
2027

Lotte’s German friend Cornelia Kuehn-Leitz with Knut, receiving ADL award from ADL President Abe Foxman





Margot and Horst Kueken 2029



Karin
Mitterhauser
in Nepal 1990

2030

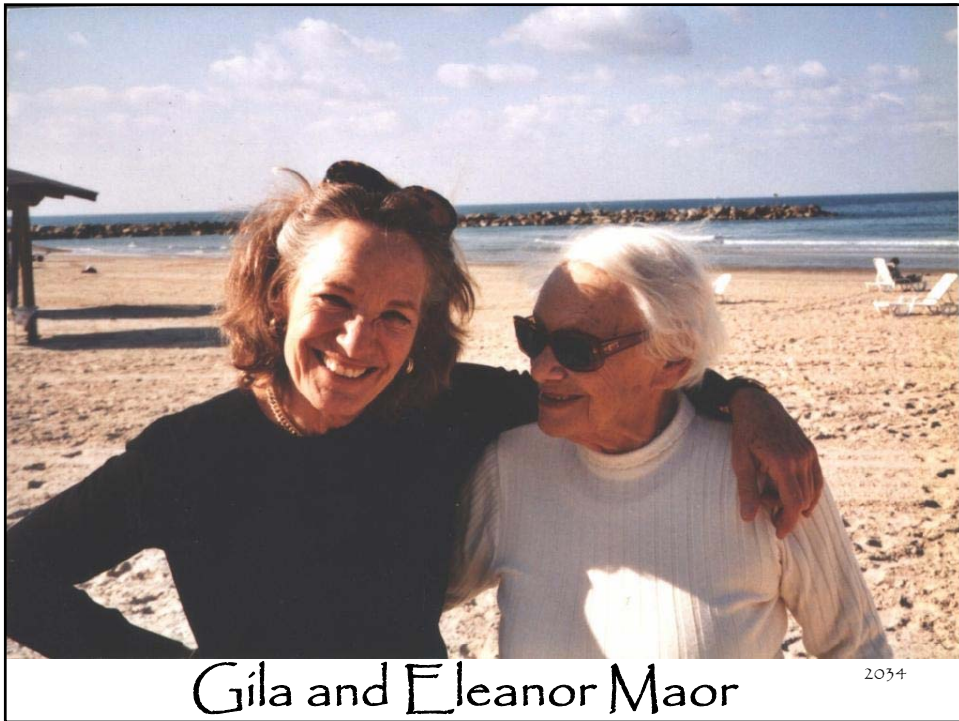


Keren Lewin

2031

Ruth Liepmann,
friend of Ernst
and Literary
Agent in Zurich,
before her death







Maimon and Gila Maor, 2005
neighbors and friends

2035



Gila and Harry Maor
Neighbors in Tel Aviv

2036



Wolfgang Meyberg and Henrietta
Oppenheimer; Lesley College

2037

Wolfgang Meyberg in
Lesley College, required
course in alternative
therapies, 1982



2038

Meyerbergs, 1994



Hella Montavon, 1995

2040

Eleanor
Michael
with grand-
daughter
Chawa



2041



Sharon Milstein and Danny Newman,
at Lesley College, 1982

2042

Hella Montavon



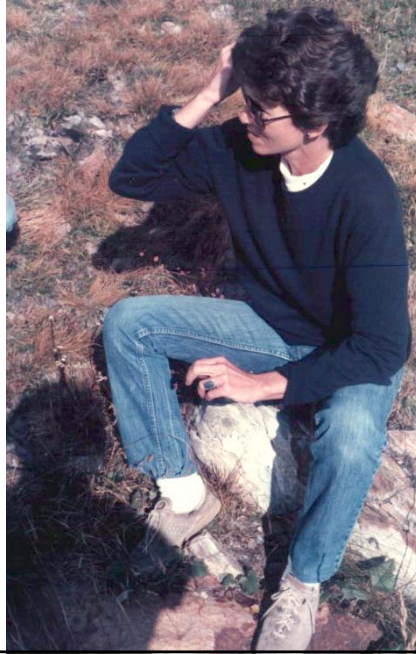
Hella Montavon



1923-
2000

2014

Linda Morse, 1990

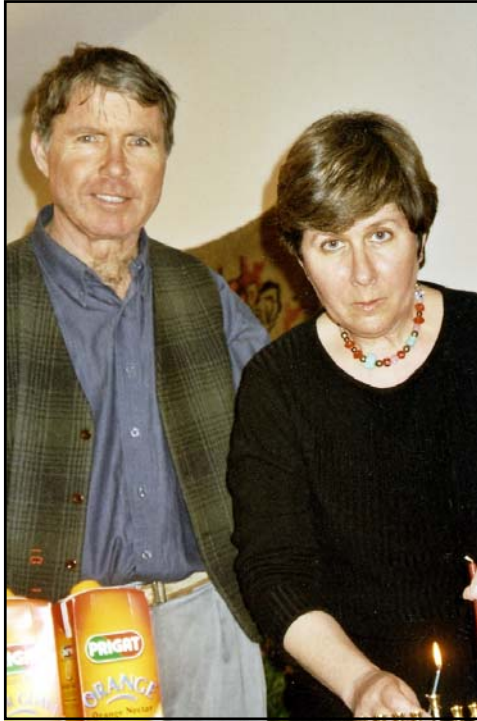


2045

Linda in Venice
1986



2046



Dani and Netta
Newman 2005

2047



Netta and Dani Newman; 1982²⁰⁴⁸



Romy Niedermann and Patrick²⁰⁴⁹



Rolf and Hilde
Pabst, 1976

2050

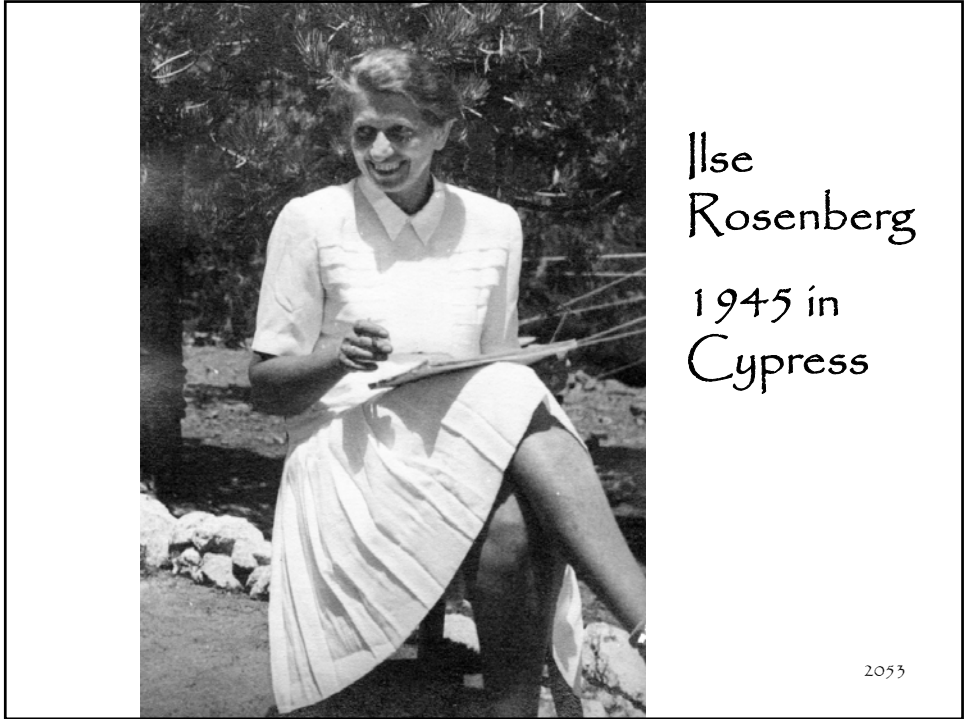


Family Quetz
in Worpswede

2051



Hildegard and Ulrich Quetz 1980⁰⁵²



Ilse
Rosenberg
1945 in
Cypress

2053



Fred & Jessica Schmitz

2054



Gerda and
Hans von
Seidlitz, 1968

2055

Trude and
Bertel
Simonsohns



Rosetta Stettler

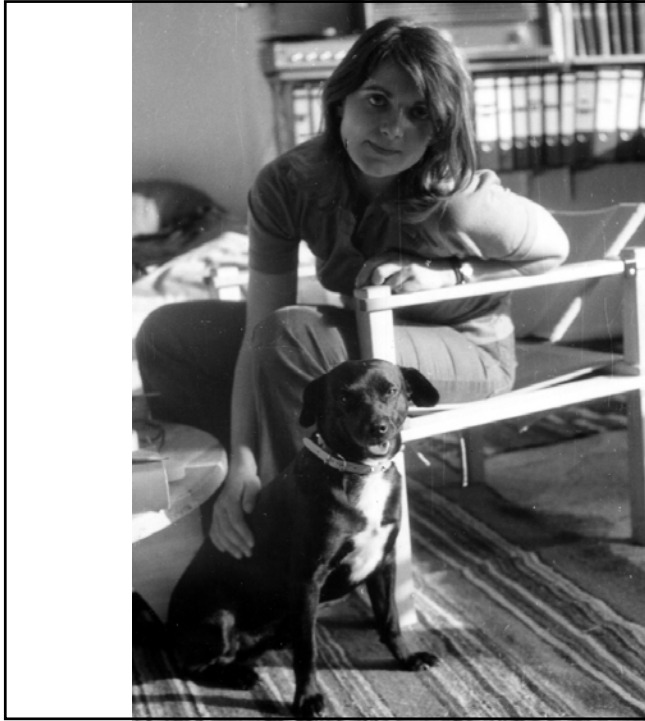


057



Charlotte Ungvari

2058



Renate
Wack,
1976

2059

Gail Wiggin, 1970



2060



Gale
Wiggin,
Co-mom

2061



With Amos, Gaye Marcus-Wolson and Mort Wolson,
1982

Mort Wolson and Gaye Marcus-
Wolson 1990



2063



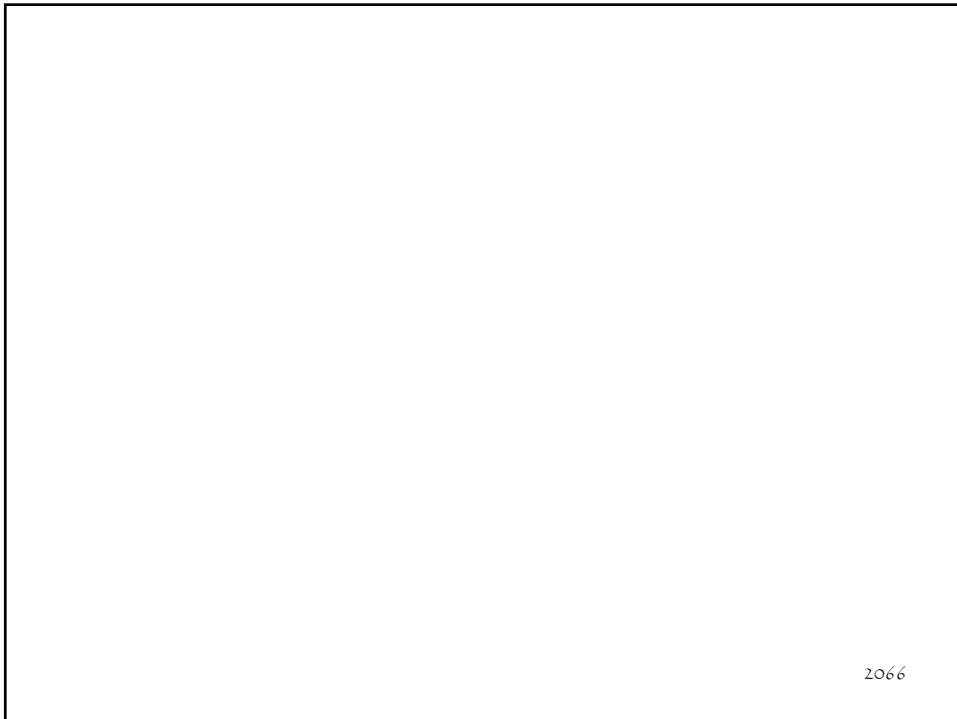
Arthur and Ruth von
Zabern, 1982

2064

Dr. Johannes and Marianne Zilken



65



2066

Chapter 12.4

Other Pleasures

2067

Literature and Art

2068

Lotte: “Emmy and I read the young girl novels that were fashionable in our age group – my mother called them Kitsch.”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

2069

“Then I read books by Karl May about Red Indian adventures and stories that took place in the Arabian Desert. They were really wonderful and the large fan club of Karl May (who never traveled outside Germany) is to be found to this day amongst the older generation that remembers with gratitude Old Shatterhand and his Red Indian friend Winnetou.”

2070

Karl May

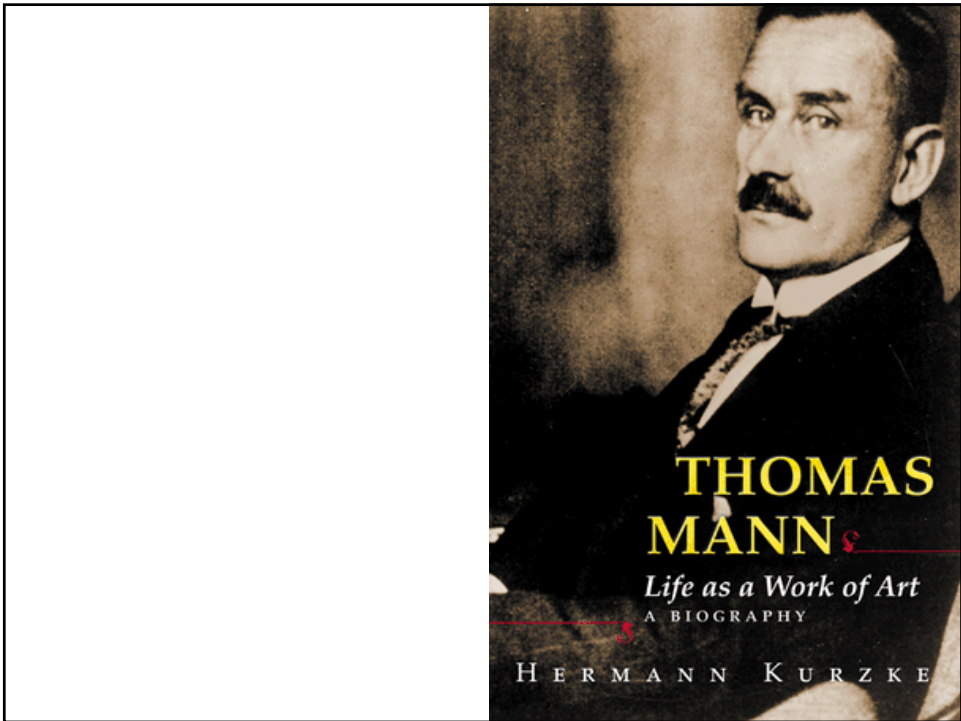


2071

“Then, at the age of fifteen, we found the same common ground again reading adult stuff and good literature like Thomas Mann, Stephan Zweig, Franz Werfel and Jakob Wasserman.

The last book I borrowed from her was *Gone with the Wind*, newly translated into German. I was not able to finish it. When I was half through it, my time with Emmy and Germany was up, I was bundled away to Palestine in a whirlwind action, and there I read the second half of the book in English.

2072



Stefan Zweig



2075

HKK Projekt 6. Mai 2000 **Schädliches und unerwünschtes Schrifttum**

Jakob Wassermann

Brandstifter
Schriftstifter

Kermann-Kesten-Kolleg
Hummerly

Produktion
von
Vodins &

A complex graphic design featuring a central black and white portrait of Jakob Wassermann. The portrait is framed by a dark border. Overlaid on the portrait in large, bold, red letters is the name "Jakob Wassermann". Below the portrait, a horizontal band of stylized orange and yellow flames separates the portrait from the text "Brandstifter" and "Schriftstifter" below it. The text "Brandstifter" is in a serif font, and "Schriftstifter" is in a similar font with a red flourish under the "f". On the left side, there is a vertical brown bar with the text "Kermann-Kesten-Kolleg" and "Hummerly" in white. At the top, a red bar contains the text "HKK Projekt 6. Mai 2000" and "Schädliches und unerwünschtes Schrifttum" in white. On the right side, there is a vertical brown bar with the text "Produktion von Vodins &" in white.

Franz Werfel and Alban Berg



2077

Manfred Engel (Hrsg.)



RILKE
Handbuch

Leben-Werk-Wirkung

JB.METZLER

Lotte's favorite
poet, Rilke

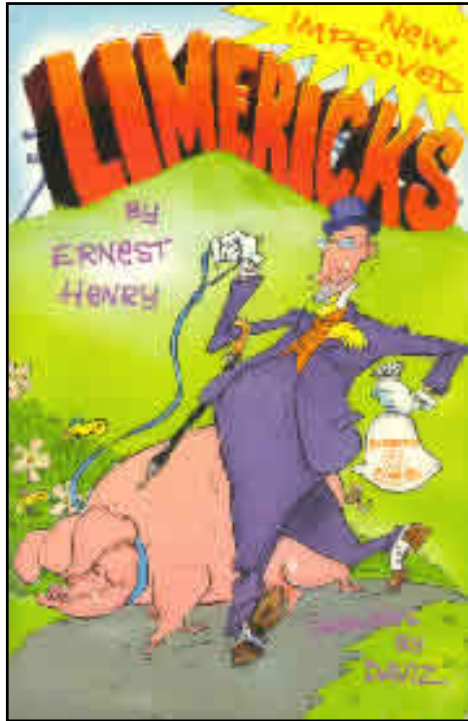
Lotte has
attended most
annual meetings
of the Rilke
Society all
around Europe

2078

Rilke, painting
by Paula
Modersohn,
Sculpture by
Clara
Westhoff, in
Weimar



Rilke Society meeting (Lotte left, foreground)^{jos}



Lotte's favorite
rhymes

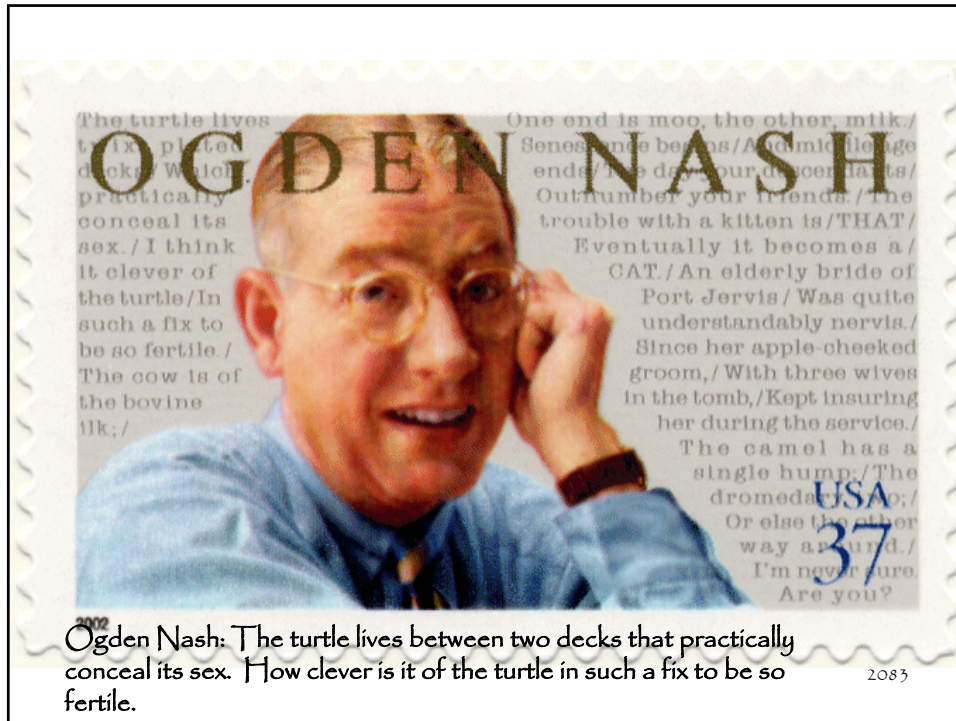
2081

Said a man of his Mini Minor
For petting it couldn't be finer
But for love's consummation
A wagon called station
Would offer a playground diviner

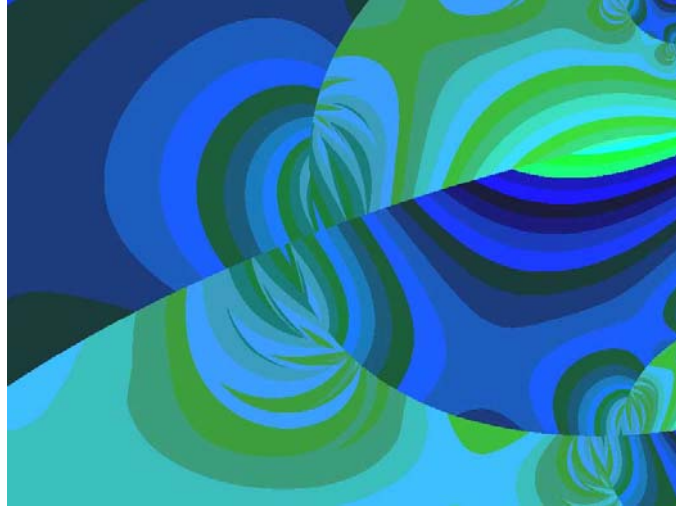
Lotte's Translation:

Sagt ein Mann: Von des Volkes Wagen
Zum Knutschen ist's zu ertragen
Doch für stärkere Triebe
Beim Spiele der Liebe
Reicht's nicht für die besseren Lagen

2082



Art Lover and Collector



2085

Documenta Art Show in Kassel- Return to the Birthplace



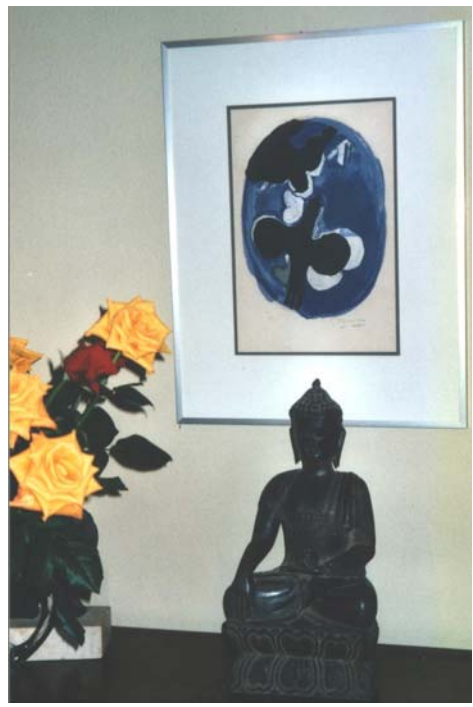
2086

Living Room St.
Legier, Painting
by Christa
Lutter



By Samuel Balc and Mario Doretti (good friend)

By Braque



St. Irene, 17th
Century Wood
Carving, in St.
Legier living
Room

2090

Bongo Drummer



2091

2092

Other Activities

2093

Contract Bridge



with Michael Furstner

94



Bridge Club 1987

2095



Bridge Club in Taba, Sinai, 1988

2096

Swimming Pools



2097

Gordon St. Swimming Pool, Tel Aviv





Stomach Ache, a constant theme and
pain

2099

Naps



2100

Naps



2101

2102

Chapter 13

Switzerland

© Eli M. Noam 2007

2103



ve
vey
ville d'imagination?

2104



Vevey

2105



Vevey

2106



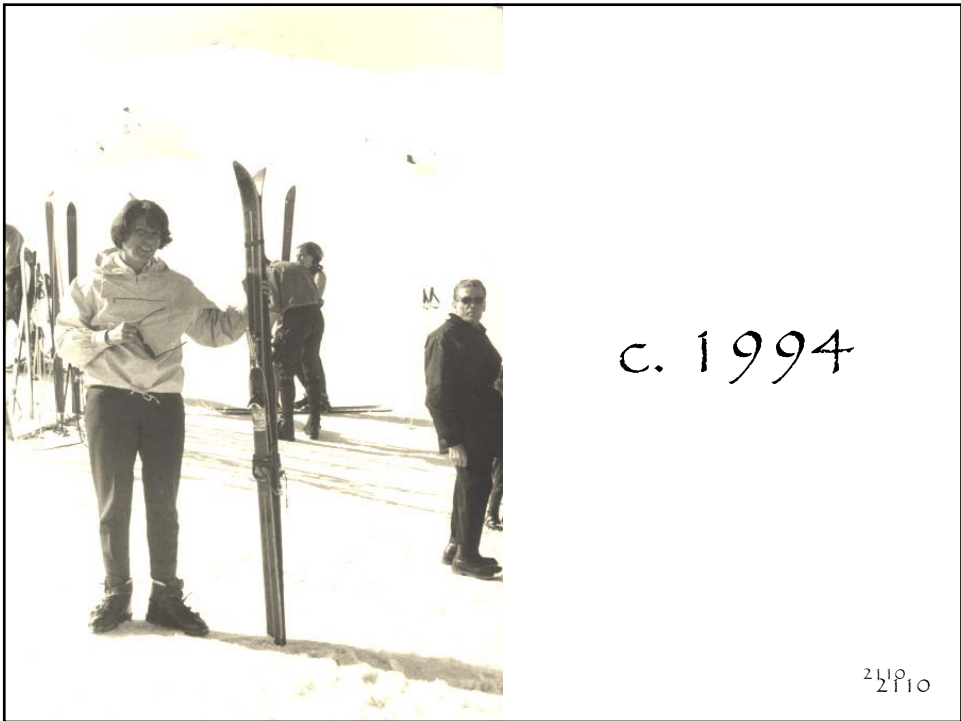
Vevey

2107



St. L gier

2108





2011



1970

2012

NORD VAUDOIS Premier dénouement dans l'affaire du mur fantôme	LA CÔTE Les vieilles bécanes pétaradent à Bière	ANNONCES CLASSÉES A saisir 26-27 Emploi 28 Immobilier 29-32	SERVICES Télévision 31 Cinéma 33 Météo 34
---	---	---	---

24 heures
Lundi
2 août 1999

Vaud - Régions 19

VEVEY ■ 1^{er} AOÛT DANS L'ARÈNE

Feux d'artifice dans le ciel de la Fête

La grand-messe veveysanne a célébré la fête nationale. Extraits de la manifestation et spectacle pyrotechnique.

SURTE DE LA PAGE UNE

La célébration de la fête nationale a tout d'abord démarré par une parade. Avec à l'ère de cortège la Landwehr et l'Harmonie de Fribourg, suivies de près par le Banda des Tschammis et des Cent-Suisses. Sans oublier les Cavaliers d'Honneur et leurs musiciens, entre que les cavaliers Colombine. Cette cérémonie sera ordonnée via les feux d'artifice.

Une cérémonie qui s'est également vue traditionnelle. Le drapeau à trois bandes bleu, les gradins de l'arène se sont alors transformés en bancs d'école. Le temps d'une brève leçon d'histoire durant laquelle les 16 000 spectateurs ont été dirigés à la lecture du Poète de 1291. Puis, ce fut l'heure de la récréation. Jean-Luc Sommer, le « Messager heureux », a présenté des extraits de la Fête des Vignerons, année 1999. Les



INTERVIEW EXPRESS d'Arlevis, roi de la Fête.

— **Votre Majesté, le 1^{er} Août à la Fête des Vignerons, que cela vous inspire-t-il?**
— En bien, je dirais que le 1^{er} Août a beaucoup de chance de tomber sur la Fête des Vignerons!

— **En avez-vous profité pour faire deux fois plus la fête? Quel était votre programme, hier soir?**
— Faire deux fois plus la fête? Oh non, au mieux X fois plus. Vous savez, il n'y a pas de tonnes à la Fête des Vignerons, ça ne se mesure pas. Quant à mon programme, je me suis laissé aller à la découverte de l'histoire, au gré des rencontres et du hasard. C'est le meilleur moyen de s'immerger à la Fête.

— **Arlevis, quel souvenir d'enfance gardez-vous de la fête nationale?**
— Arlevis, quel souvenir d'enfance gardez-vous de la fête nationale?

Quelle image aimeriez-vous conserver de ce 1^{er} Août 1999?
— Que l'esprit de la Fête, c'est-à-dire l'esprit de rencontre, d'amitié et d'ouverture sur le monde, se diffuse dans toutes les âmes valaisannes.

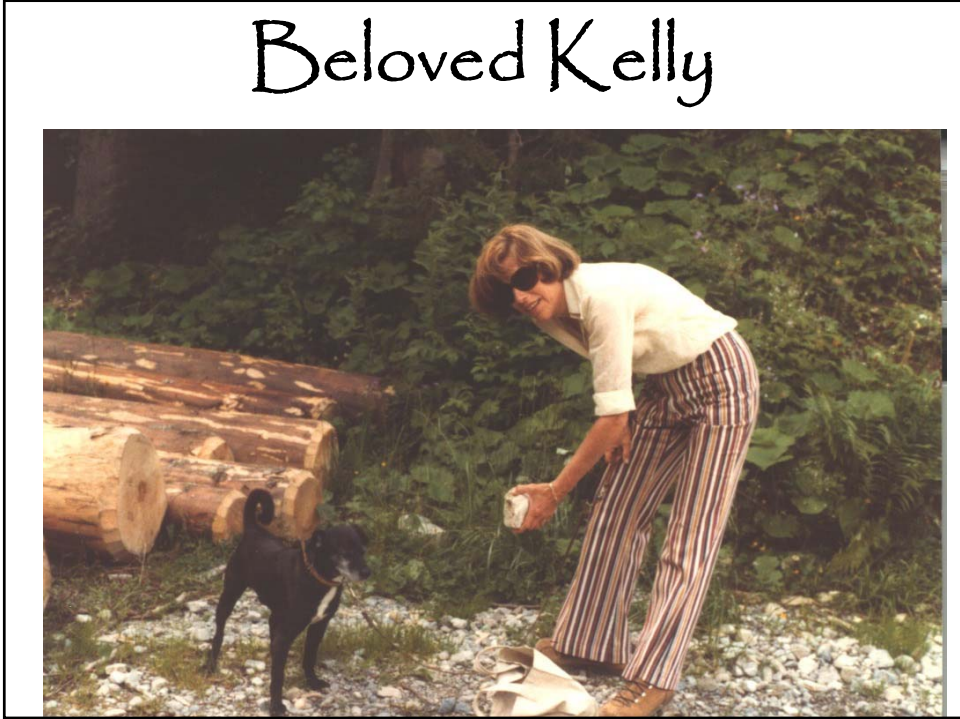
Quelle Majesté, qu'attendez-vous de cette fête nationale?
— Que les Suisses s'attachent à la Fête des Vignerons.

Quelle image aimeriez-vous conserver de ce 1^{er} Août 1999?
— Que l'esprit de la Fête, c'est-à-dire l'esprit de rencontre, d'amitié et d'ouverture sur le monde, se diffuse dans toutes les âmes valaisannes.

Quelle Majesté, qu'attendez-vous de cette fête nationale?
— Que les Suisses s'attachent à la Fête des Vignerons.

Fête des Vignerons, 1999

2113



Kelly, 1975



Lotte on Eli's sail boat Lilo on Lake Geneva 1965

2116



1979, Gstaad

2117

With Patrick
Niedermann,
neighbors' child,
the "vice-
grandma"



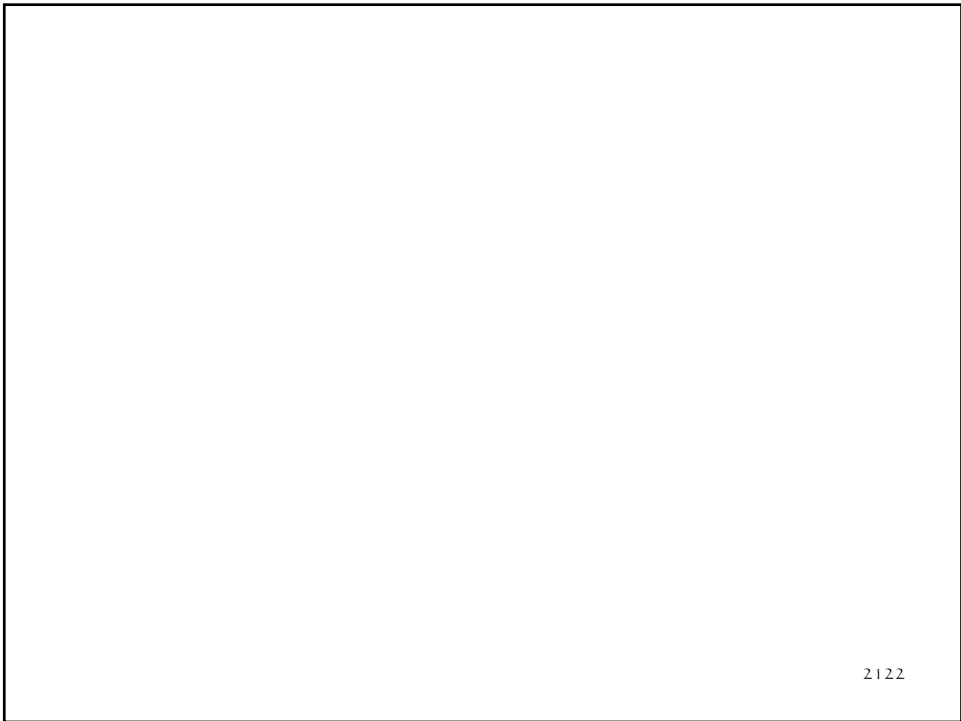
2118

St. Legier,
Winterscape



Living Room, St Legier





Chapter 13.1

Brother Hans

2123



Switzerland

2124

Student in Basel



2125

315 - Basel: Deutschritorgarten mit Rheinpfalz.
Bâle: Rive de grand Bâle avec le cathédrale.



www.schweizer-eidgenossenschaft.com

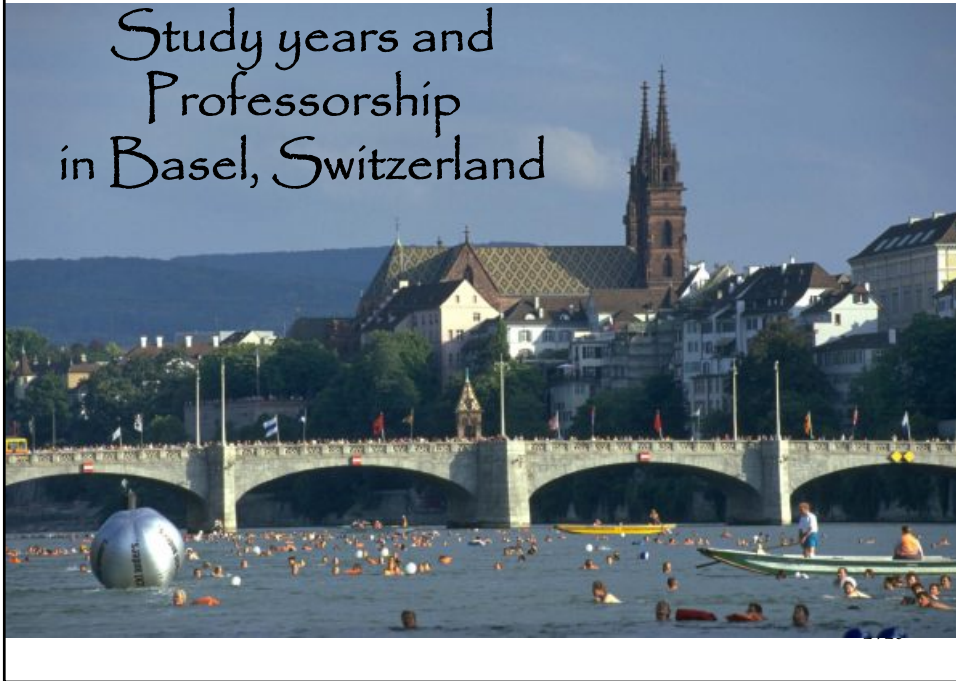
Basel

2126



2127

Study years and Professorship in Basel, Switzerland



Laudatio for Hans: “Of Basel origin, Hans Dahn studied chemistry at the University of Basel, and received his doctorate in 1944. Passionate about archeology, he also undertook a parallel study of classical archeology at the Faculty of Arts in Basel.”

2129

Laudatio: “He was assistant and collaborator of Professor Reichstein, winner of the Nobel prize, and a grand figure of chemistry in Basel.”



“Tadeusz Reichstein (1897 ~1996) was a Polish-born Swiss Nobel Prize-winning chemist. He was born into a Jewish family at Włocławek, Poland.

In 1933, working in Zürich, Switzerland, Reichstein succeeded in synthesizing vitamin C (ascorbic acid).

Together with E. C. Kendall and P. S. Hench, he was awarded the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine in 1950 for their work which culminated in the isolation of cortisone.”

(Wikipedia)

2131

1946





“He was appointed as a lecturer in 1950, Senior Lecturer in 1951, and Associate Professor in 1954.

He assumed important responsibilities in teaching and research.”

2134

1958 Mountaineer



2135

Hans, 1960



2136



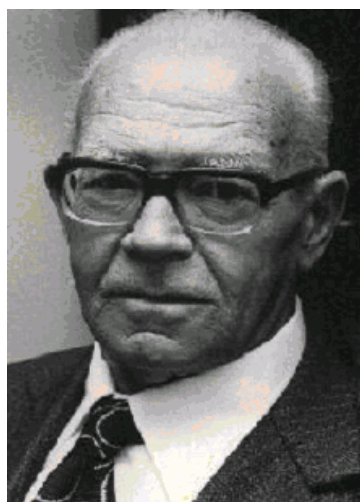
Dolomites

2137

Laudatio: “He took two research leaves abroad with respected research groups: in 1953 with Professor Wittig in Tuebingen and in 1957 with Professor Ingold in London.”

2138

Georg Wittig



German chemist whose studies of organic phosphorus compounds won him a share (with Herbert C. Brown) of the Nobel Prize for Chemistry in 1979.

2139



The authors of the Cahn, Ingold, Prelog priority rules

2148

“In 1960, Hans Dahn was appointed by the State Council of the Canton of Vaud to succeed Professor Henri Goldstein. He assumed this position in the spring of 1961 at the rank of Associate Professor and then in the same year as the full Professor and Chairman.”

2141



2142

“He reorganized the instruction of organic chemistry with the help of young collaborators, some of whom had followed him from Basel.”

2143

“His scientific research followed two directions: reaction mechanisms; and the nuclear magnetic resonance (NMR). “

2144

“He rendered great services to the scientific community of Lausanne by representing it on the Board of the National Science Foundation in Berne from 1970 to 1981, and by participating in the creation of the office of coordination of the teaching of natural sciences for medical students.”

2145

Laudatio: “Under his initiative, the research in organic chemistry at the Faculty of Science has been remarkable. Hans Dahn has furthermore been President of the Swiss Chemistry Society in 1968-69 and served for over a decade on the Board of the Swiss National Science Foundation.”

2146

“Since then, with energy and tenacity, Hans Dahn devoted himself to the development of the Institute of Organic Chemistry, a task which he conducted with remarkable efficiency. From 1965 to 1985 he proposed and achieved the creation of three professorial chairs and one associate professor position, each group under his direction of research.”

2147

“He created new work environments for teaching and research, at the School of Chemistry at Couvaloup, at the Rue de la Barre, and the College Propedeutique at Dorigny.”

2148

“He took on multiple assignments:
the course in organic chemistry for first
year students in biology and in medicine;
a course on the reaction mechanisms for
second year chemistry students; and for
students of chemical engineering and
pharmacy – an elective course in biology.”

2149

“He was President of the Swiss
Chemistry Association from 1968 to
1969.

Professor Dahn leaves us a great
Institute where more than 70
collaborators pursue leading-edge
research in multiple directions of
chemistry.”

2150

He has contributed since then to the instruction of organic chemistry of close to 30 cohorts of students in biology, chemistry, medicine and pharmacy.”

2151

“He has educated close to thirty cohorts of students in academic departments and school at Lausanne in the subject of organic chemistry. “

2152

Gregory V. Nikiforovich¹

Manfred Mutter²

Christian Lehmann²

*Center for Molecular Design,
Washington University,
Box 8036,
St. Louis, MO 63110, USA*

*² University of Lausanne,
BCH-Dorigny,
CH-1015 Lausanne,
Switzerland*

Molecular Modeling and Design of Regioselectively Addressable Functionalized Templates with Rigidified Three-Dimensional Structures

2153

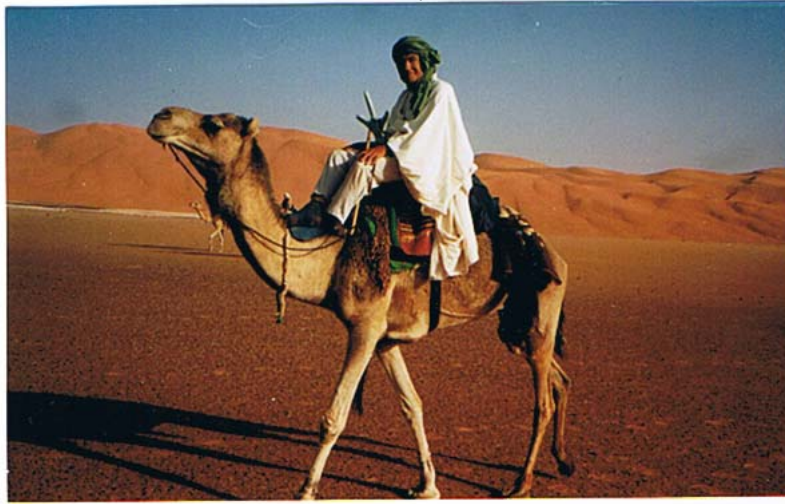
This paper is dedicated to Professor Hans Dahn on the occasion of his 80th birthday.

Correspondence to: G. V. Nikiforovich or Christian Lehmann

Contract grant sponsor: NIH and Swiss National Science Foundation

2154

Hans of Arabia. In one of his trips to
Libya.



2155



Hans and Alice's wedding

2156



Hans and
Alice's
wedding
1958 (?)

2157

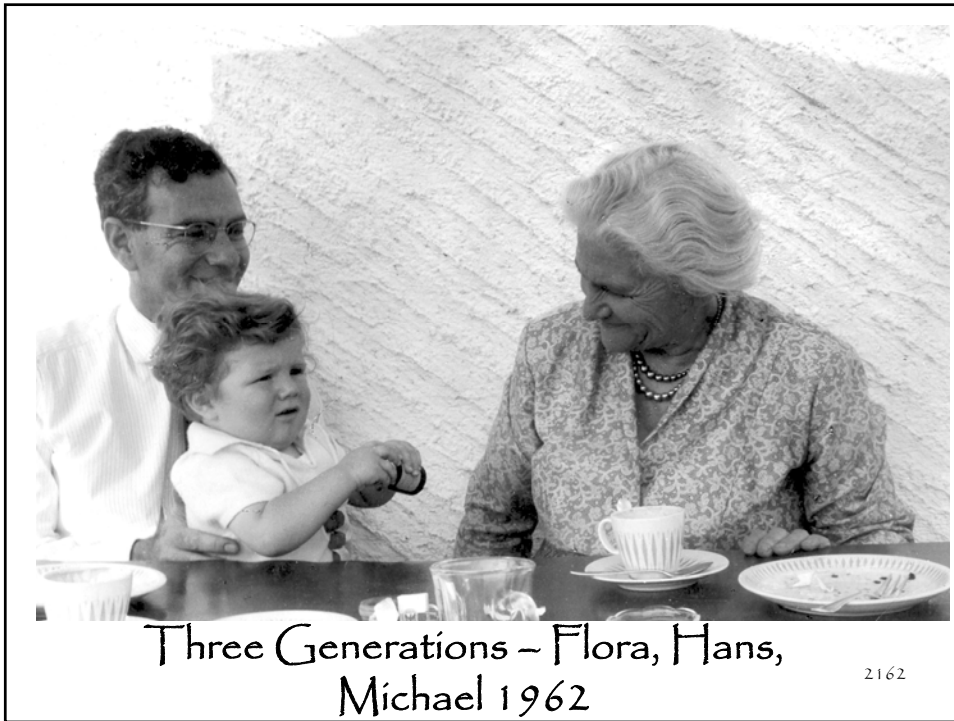


2158





2161



Three Generations - Flora, Hans,
Michael 1962

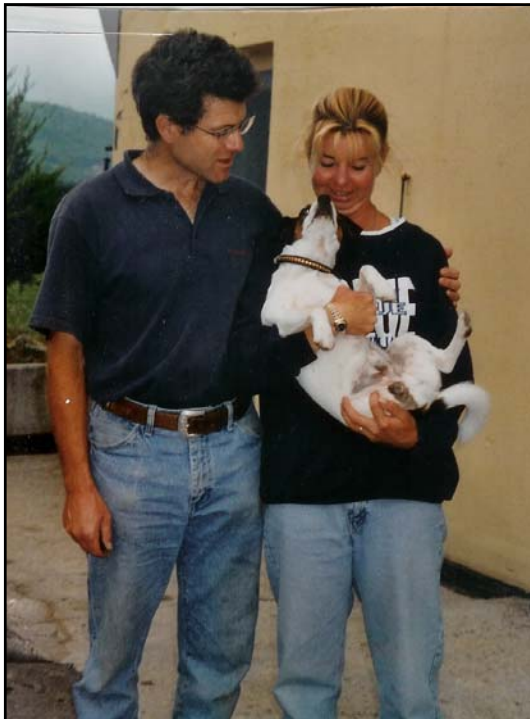
2162

'72



Mountaineer Michael

2163



Michel and
Catherine
with Corky
2001

2164



Dr. Michel & Catherine Dahn
Equestrians

2165



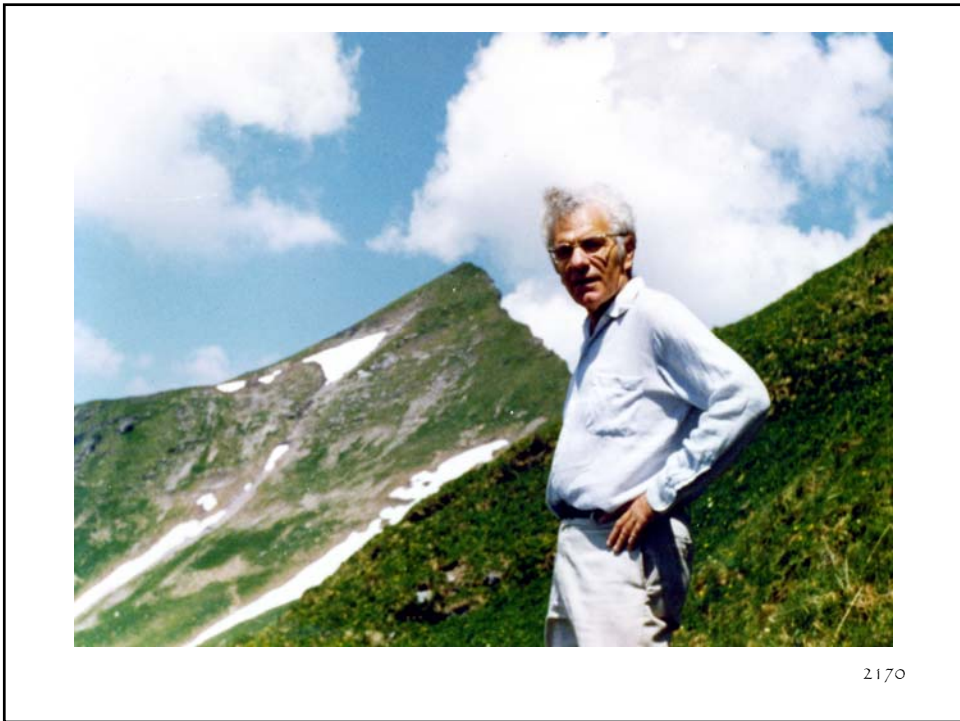
Elisabeth
Gaye-
Franet

2166

Fatherhood at 70, Nathalie, 1988



Nathalie
2000



2170



Sister and brother

2171

Hans and Toni Johnson 2001
In Chexbres





Hans, Lotte and Eli, 2000 2173



2174

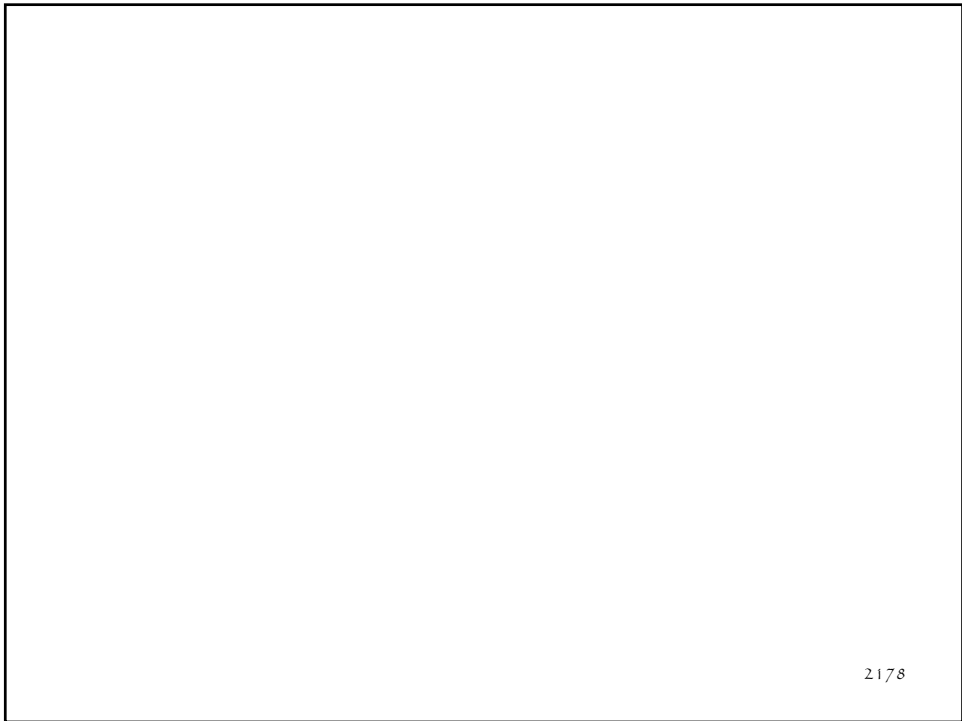
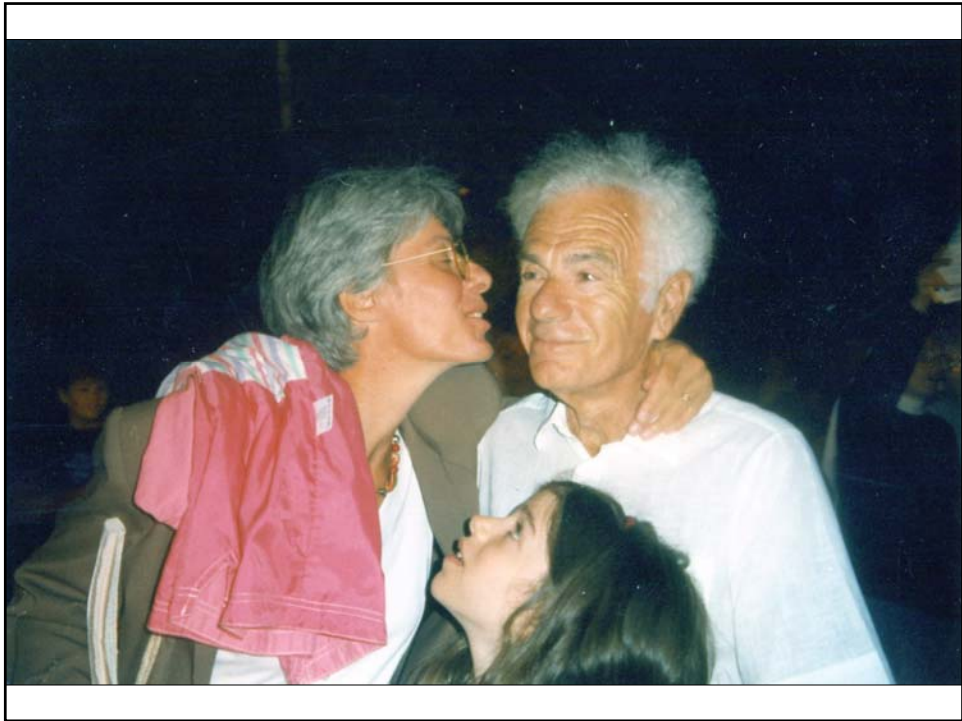


Hans, Natalie, and Eli in Le Mont 2004



Nathalie

2176



2178

Chapter 13.2

The Globe Trotter

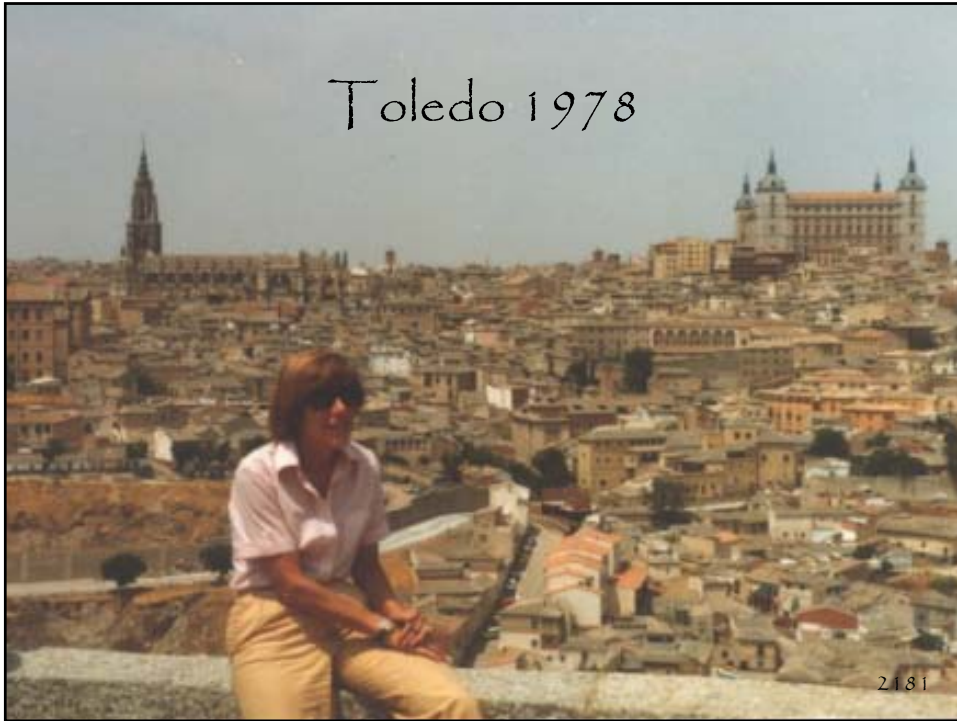
2179



Jerusalem

2180

Toledo 1978



Kapernaum Sea of Galilee

1995



1987,
Campilia,
Italy



Nepal 1994





1968

2185



Cyprus

2186

Switzerland
1964



2188



2189



Loire, 1983

2190

Patan, Nepal, 1999



Nepal, 1999, Mount Everest



2193

Chapter 14

Israel

2194

Chapter 14.1

Tel Aviv Life

2195

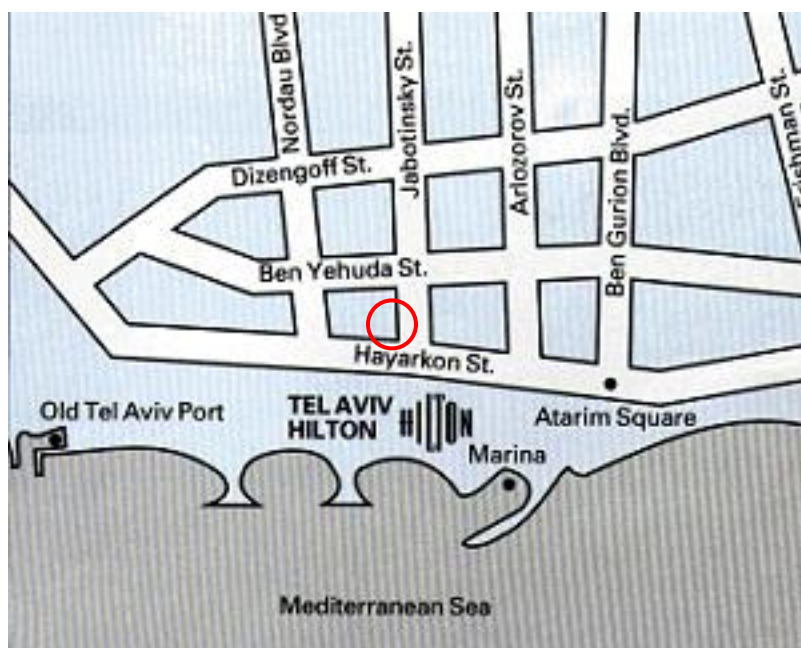
House in Tel
Aviv



Across the street from Lotte's house,
the Tel Aviv Hilton



2197



5



Tel Aviv Apartment, painting by Mario
Doretti

2199



View from Living Room on Park and
Mediterranean

2200

Tel Aviv, Dining Room



Tel Aviv, Living Room



2202

In Vet Clinic in
Lotte's House,
Tel Aviv, 2006



Yitzhak Rabin, General &
Prime Minister, assassinated
1995

2204



Sinai

2205

A Bedouin in Nueba,
Sinai, offered two
camels for Lotte...(offer
was rejected as too low,
at least three camels
required, see family
section)



2206

2207

Chapter 14.2
Companion
Amos Palti
(1918-1983)

2208



2209

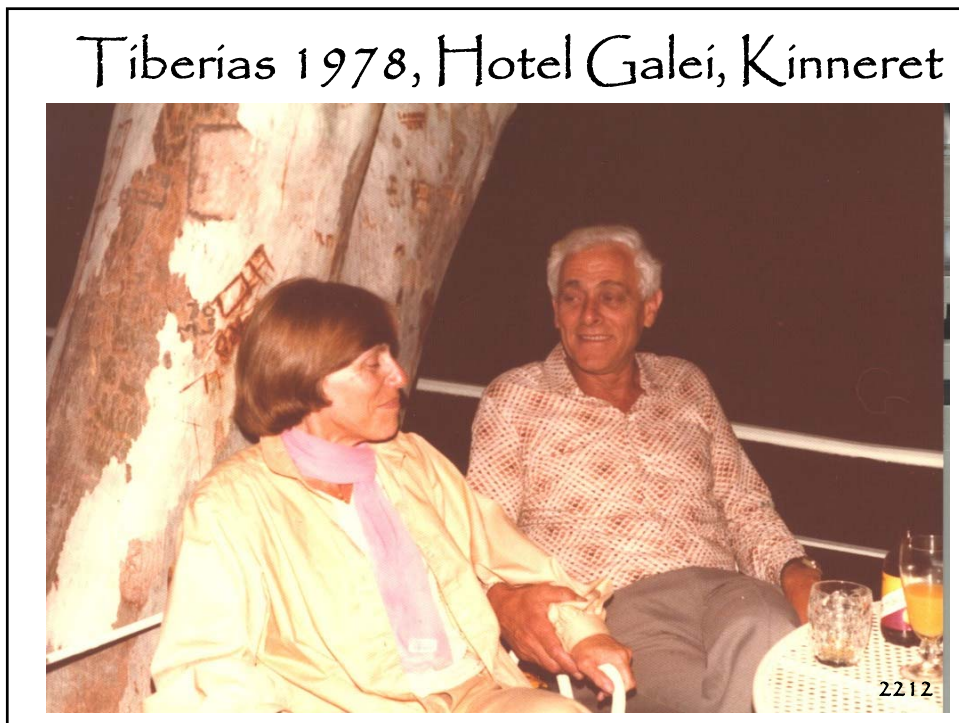


Son Ilan Palti, commissioned officer, 19xx
From Hagai Palti

2210



Tiberias 1978, Hotel Galei, Kinneret





Villairs, 1978

2213

St. L gier, 1980

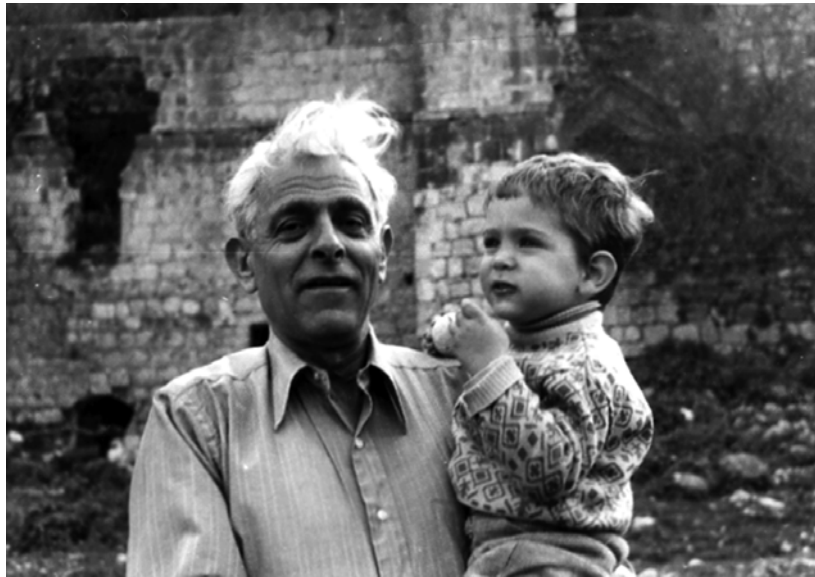


2214



Harvard Square

2215



Amos with grandson

2216

1983



2217



1981 at Lotte and Maryanne's
common birthday dinner, Boston²²¹⁸



1981

2219



1981 at Lotte's birthday dinner₂₂₂₀



1981 at Lotte's birthday dinner. E221



1982

2222



Amos and Hannah; 1982

2223



Amos and Adrienne, Maine 1982



1982; Garrison

2225



1982; Amos and his two nieces in Cincinnati²²²⁶



Amos and Talma; 1982

2227



1982

2228

Galei Hotel, Kíneret, Tiberías, 1979



2230



2231



College kids: Spring break at
Lesley College

2232

Lotte: “[Amos’] cheerfulness was on the surface, mainly for my benefit. He wrote in his diary: Two days ago I was told I have cancer. And not only that – but that it was also a rare kind and very difficult to operate on. How does one swallow this? What is there to be done?”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

2233

Amos: “I am in a foreign country, in a rented flat with Lotte who already lost one husband from cancer. To bury a spouse is not so terrible. What’s terrible is the suffering before it.”

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

2234

Lotte: Two days later the phone rang early in the morning. I answered it. It was Hedberg telling me he wanted to speak to Amos. 'I have very bad news for him, unfortunately,' he said. 'Let me talk to him.' I almost let the receiver fall, it burned my hands. I called out for Amos. He took the devastating news quietly."

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

2235

Amos' diary of this day reads:
17.11.82. "Today at 8:30 Dr. Hedberg called and told us that the cancer had spread to the liver. He said that the planned operation was out of the question now."

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

2236

Amos: "Will I have the strength to finish myself off before those last stages? Why not do it now and spare Lotte a lot of unhappiness at seeing my pain and misery? I could find a high building or a bridge over a highway. But what a mess! That's not my way of leaving the world."

Lotte Noam, *Great Enemy Cancer*, 1983

2237

Amos'
Physician

■■■
COMBINED MODALITY
CANCER THERAPY
*Radiation and
Infusional Chemotherapy*
■■■

Jacob J. Lokich, M.D.
and
John E. Byfield, M.D., Ph.D.

2238

Deaconess Hospital Boston



2239



Amos' farewells in Lesley College

Last walk on the beach, 1982



2241



Walden Pond

2242

Lotte: "He has a glass in front of him with a white powder dissolved in water and a jug beside it. I pour cognac and we raise our glasses."

"To you health," he says, emptying it. "To life."

"To you," I say, "you have made me very happy."

"Thank you for everything."

2243

"All of a sudden he seizes the glass with the white liquid and downs it in one big gulp. He pours water and drinks again. Then he sinks back into bed, smiling contentedly. 'You see,' he says calmly, 'it's not difficult at all. Now I can say in all truth that I love you to my last breath.'"

2244

“I am very calm, too, only my heart is beating like a drum. I slip into bed beside him, holding him in my arms, touching from head to foot like we used to all those nights in the past.

He counts till thirteen, then there is nothing, only his quiet breathing. He is fast asleep.”

2245

“I haven’t moved for many hours, perhaps I, too, fell asleep for a few minutes. But mostly I was awake, watching him sleep, holding him tight, thinking about him and our life together. What a man, what a hero! His life and death made out of one piece.”

2246

Lotte's Poem

My lover flies to the moon.
His face is stern
And his gaze is remote
And he tells me I cannot come.
He tells me I have to stay
In the purple darkness of fear.
I am afraid of the black bulk of ice
And the sun that crumbles and falls.

My lover has wings
That carry him off

2247

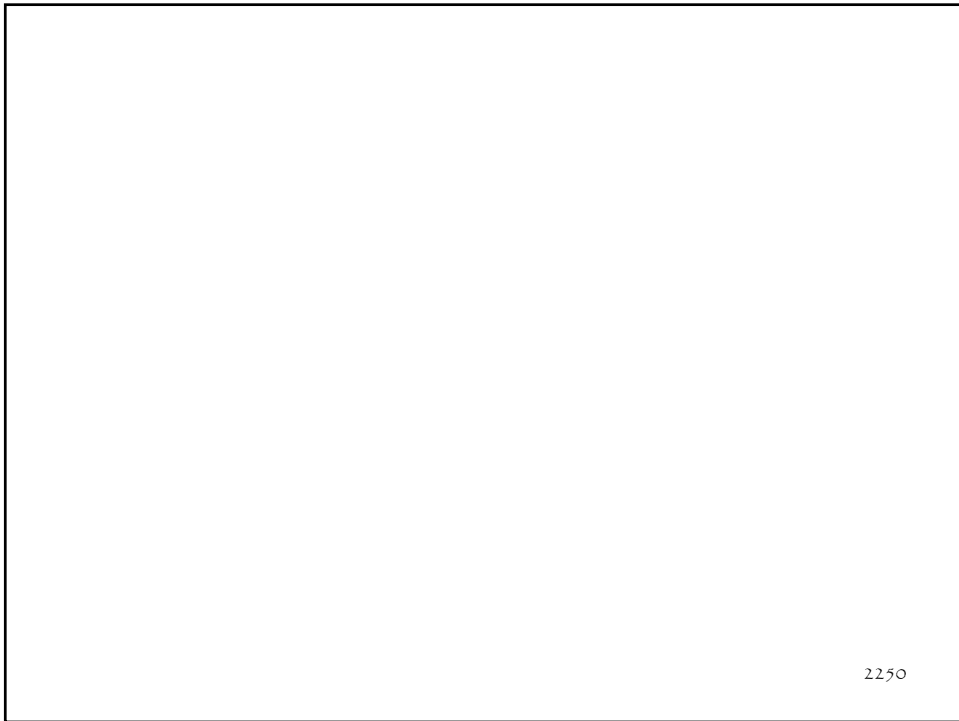
And I look at the empty sky.
He leaves me behind
And doesn't look back
And tells me to be afraid

I am, yes I am
Afraid of the night,
Of the moon that lurks through the clouds,
Of the stone in my way
Of the rock at my feet
Of the fireplace empty and cold

2248



2249



2250

Chapter 15

Companion

Arno Roland

2251



Ernst
Arnold
Rosenfeld
alias Roland
14/4/1923

2252

Berlin, 1930



2253



In Berlin with
brother Ulli:
died in
Auschwitz
1942

2254

Sent to Holland. Cabinet maker
apprentice, 1939



Dutch biker,
1940

2256

Arno spent 2 years hiding in an attic in Eindhoven



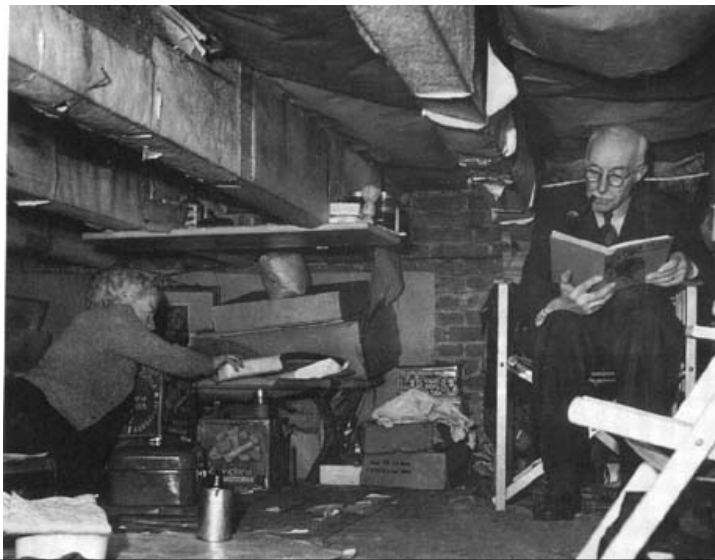
2258

Arno: “Two years alone in a cold attic, staying in bed during winters to keep warm, itching with frostbite and fleas, I created pictures from veneer, played chess games, read English texts and Tolstoy’s “War and Peace” a dozen or so times to keep my sanity.” writes Arno Roland. “I had never confronted this part of my life in any detail, much less written about it. The workshop opened my mind to a past I had never revealed to myself, let alone to others.”

["Three Generations Speak," pp.67-69]

2259

Similarly hiding couple



2260

Evening, Dawn, Dusk

By Arno Roland

“One night in the autumn of 1944, I peered through the small attic window at the black patch of sky that had been my horizon for endless time, when I saw the air lit white and a sea of huge balloons floating toward the ground.

[“Three Generations Speak,” pp.67-69]

2261

Then, in seconds, the dark took over again until the next round of chasing light beams rolled across the sky and caught the drifting parachutes. And it began to sink in that hour of liberation had reached this town at last.”

[“Three Generations Speak,” pp.67-69]

2262

“The next morning, my first moments out in the street, I breathed the tingling air after hiding for almost two years in the attic of a row house on a long street of row houses on a long in a small town in Holland. The two courageous old people who had hidden me for these years had also come outside to celebrate our liberation, but I explored the streets alone.”

[“Three Generations Speak,” pp.67-69]

2263

Liberation of Eindhoven, 1944



2264

"I ran toward a soldier who sat on the curb at the street corner, his rifle resting across his knees. He was Black, the first Black man I had ever seen. He was smiling and I stared at the whiteness of his teeth. He sat calmly chewing gum, a picture of carefree serenity. A truck with German soldiers came around the corner at the far end of the street.

["Three Generations Speak," pp.67-69]

2265

The soldiers stood up slowly, moved slowly to the middle of the street, chewing, smiling. Slowly he lifted his rifle, aimed, and fired. The truck burst into flames, and bodies tumbled out, spilling into the street. The soldier kept chewing and smiling, walked slowly back to the curb, and sat down again. He savored a sense of satisfaction. So did I."

["Three Generations Speak," pp.67-69]

2266

Liberation of Eindhoven, 1944



2267

“As the hours passed, the whole town celebrated. The streets were filled with happy people milling about, sauntering, dancing, shouting, and laughing. Flags flew in the air that felt light and giddy.

[“Three Generations Speak,” pp.67-69]

2268

In a surge of adventurousness I stopped a British officer, high-ranking, to judge by the size of his moustache, swagger stick, and authoritative bearing, and announced that I wanted to join his unit.”

[“Three Generations Speak,” pp.67-69]

2269

“A lone plane appeared high overhead, circling lazily; finally, as though disapproving of too much fun, it dropped a single bomb near the outskirts of town, silently, without a sound.”

[“Three Generations Speak,” pp.67-69]

2270

“I had taught myself English while in hiding, and hoped he would be impressed. But my bedraggled appearance puzzled more than impressed him, and he directed me to the town hall as the proper procedure to follow.”

[“Three Generations Speak,” pp.67-69]

2271

“It had been a full day, this first one after the many of confinement; the light fading, I made my way back home. My street looked almost the same as it had when I left in the morning, except that the house in which I had hidden for two years was gone.

[“Three Generations Speak,” pp.67-69]

2272

“The bomb had crashed through the attic to the ground, reducing my home, the home of the two people who had sheltered me, to rubble.

The enemy had destroyed my shelter – as he had our world beyond.”

[“Three Generations Speak,” pp.67-69]

2273

Arno Roland: “Coming home from the liveliness of Moriah, of the children singing and learning, of the writing group, this was my response. It was written in a moment of utter environmental quiet, I wondered: what happened to everybody I ever and never knew?”

[“Three Generations Speak,” pp.67-69]

2274

Settings By Arno Roland

There are the unremembered faces of the playmates
of childhood

Never to mingle with my life.

Faded, the faces of the comrades of youth

The faces of family long gone

Of relatives scattered, dispersed,

Unrecognized, the fleeting faces met in war

Dissolved to mist

And vanished behind that horizon,

The faces unmet, unseen,

Hovering over

Vacant benches

Idle sofas

Bare tree stumps. ["Three Generations Speak," pp.67-69]

2275

Dutch Army, Indonesia 1948



2276

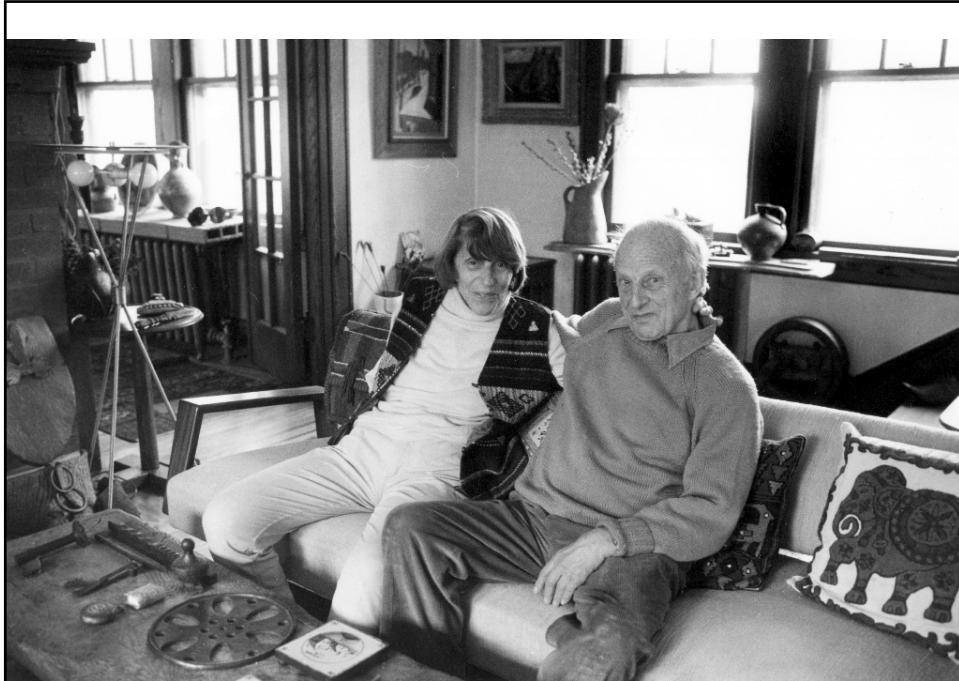
Life in New York, 1976



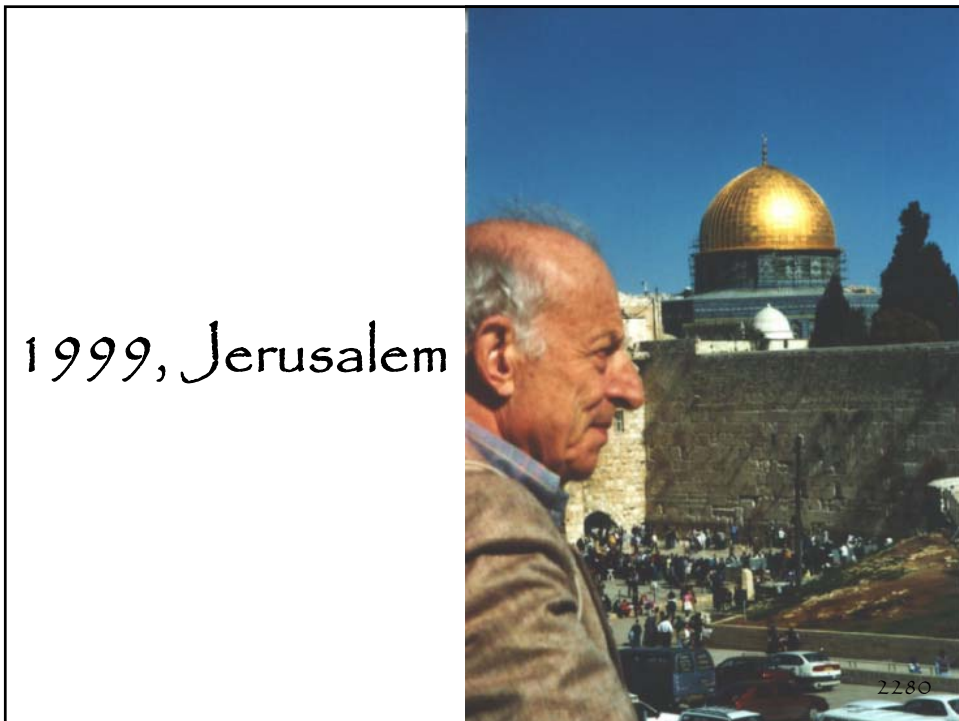
2277

St Legier 1998





Pic taken by Barbara Klemm 1998



1999, Jerusalem

2280

Akko, 2002



2000





Florida, 2000 at Lotte's 80th Birthday



Florida,
2000

2284



Amos 80th Birthday April 2003

2285



New York, 2003

2286



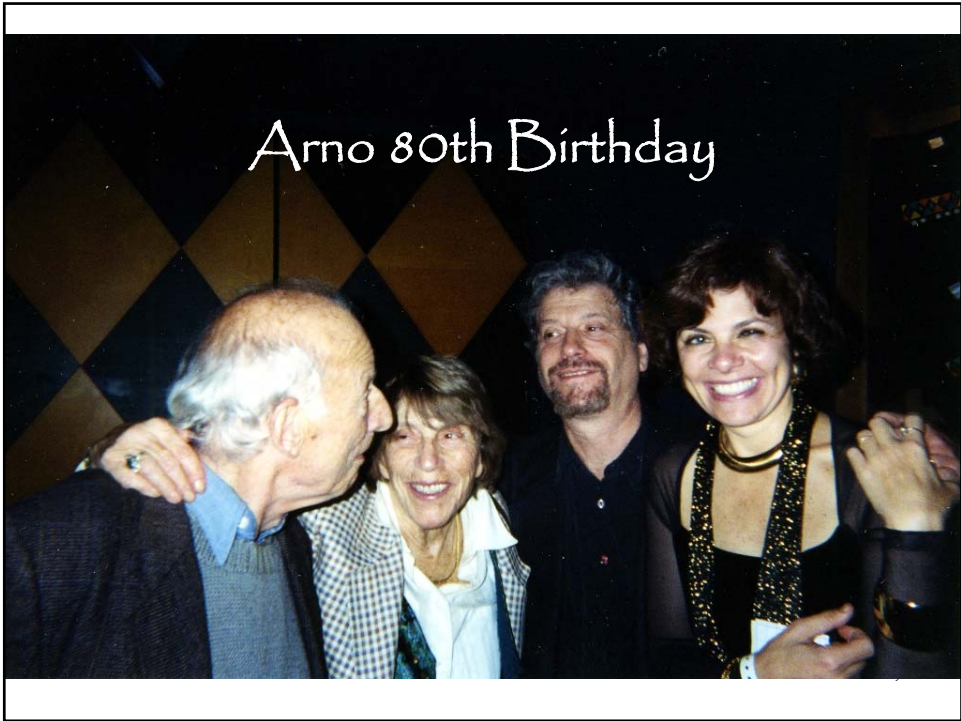
New York, 2003

2287



New York 2003

2288





2291

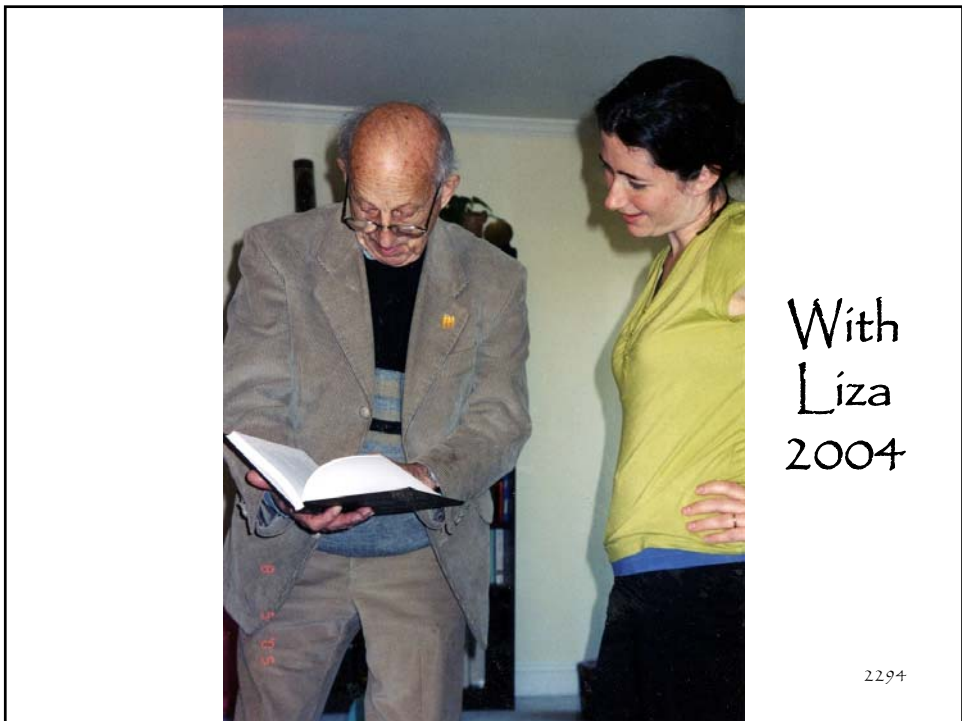


80th Birthday Blowing out the candles

2292



2293



With
Liza
2004

2294



Arno's Russian Friends Gofman



Singapore, 1999

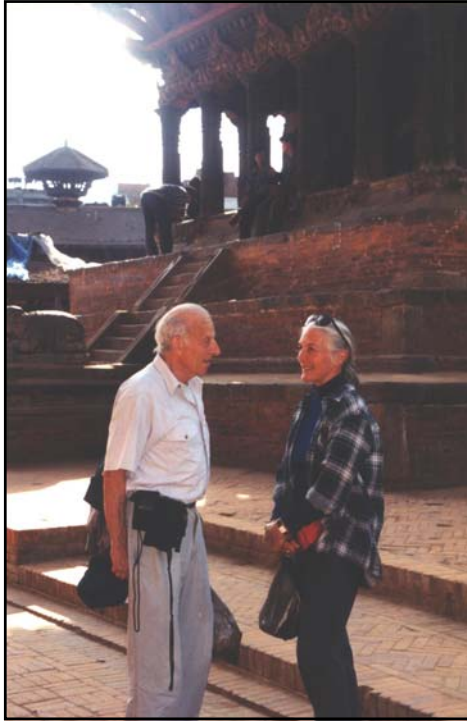


Nepal, 1999



Arno in Nepal, 1999





Arno and
Karin
Mitterhauser,
Nepal Patan,
1999

2301

Kathmandu, Nepal, 1999



2302

Katmandu



2303



Arno with Eli

2304



At Arno's house in Leonia, NJ

2305



Berlin 2006

2306



Pierremount, 2006

2307

Ephesus, 2006



2006



Da dich das geflügelte Entzücken
über manchen frühen Abgrund trug,
baue jetzt der unerhörten Brücken
kühn berechenbaren Bug.

Wunder ist nicht nur im unerklärten
Überstehen der Gefahr;
erst in einer klaren reingewährten
Leistung wird das Wunder wunderbar.

Mitzuwirken ist nicht Überhebung
an dem unbeschreiblichen Bezug,
immer inniger wird die Verwebung,
nur Getragensein ist nicht genug.

Deine ausgeübten Kräfte spanne,
bis sie reichen, zwischen zweien
Widersprüchen . . . Denn im Manne
will der Gott beraten sein.

Rainer Maria Rilke

2310

Met dank aan
Mijn lief schatje
voor de beste
Jaren van mijn
Leven,

Huw.

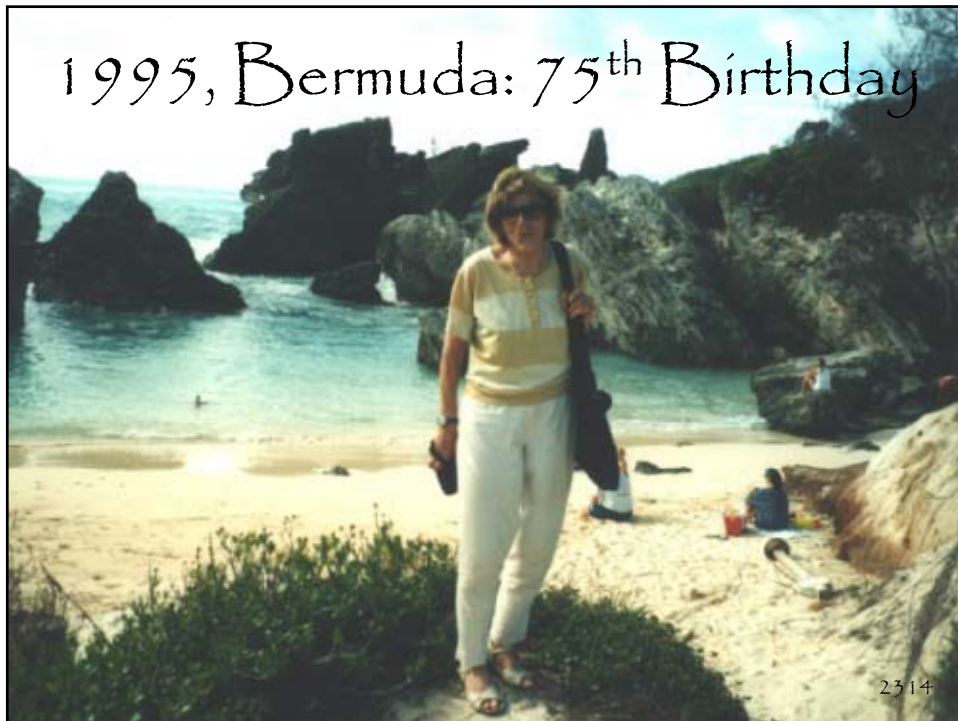
2311

2312

Chapter 16 Celebrations

2313

1995, Bermuda: 75th Birthday



2314



80th Birthday, Florida 2000



2000

2316



2000

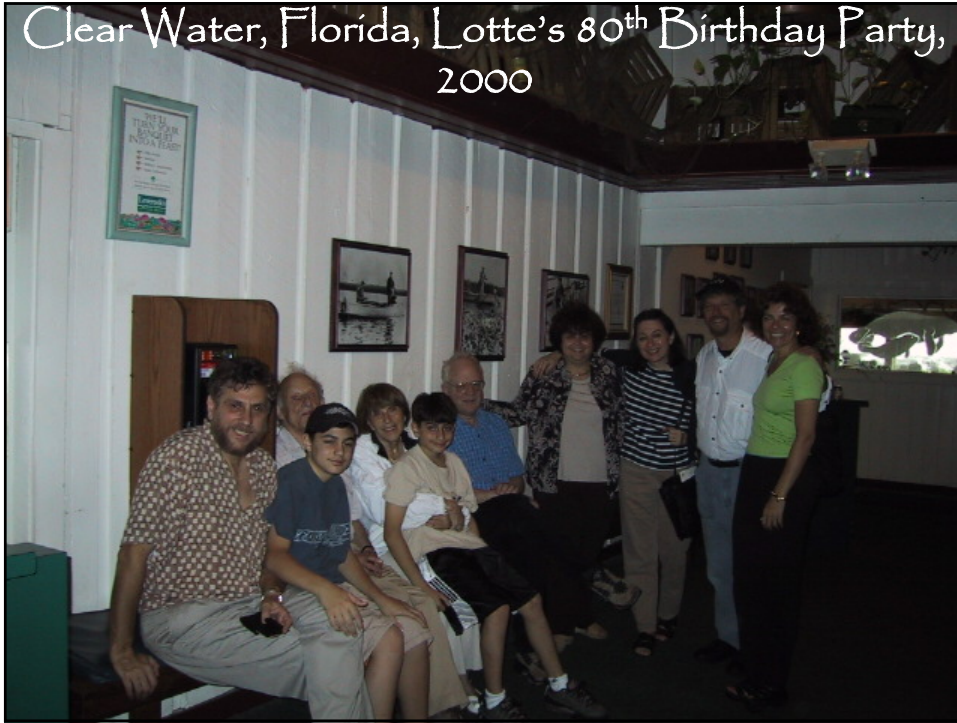
2517



80th Birthday

2518

Clear Water, Florida, Lotte's 80th Birthday Party,
2000



2005, Puerto Rico

2320



Bermuda, 75th Birthday

2321



Bermuda mountaineer

2322





Bermuda, 75th

2326



2327



2328

Puerto Rico 2005



2329



2000 Florida

2330

Puerto Rico 2005



2331



2332



2333

2006



34

