

Book II

Family Histories, Family Fates

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1

Part A: Family Origins
Chapter 1.1 Kaufmann Family
Chapter 1.2 Dahn Family

2

Part B: Family Fates

Chapter 1: Hedwig, the Saintly Sister
Chapter 2: Kaete, the Pioneer Sister
Chapter 3: The Two Cousins who Died in Each
Other's Arms
Chapter 4: Uncle Max: Survivor
Chapter 5: Uncle Julius & Family: Double
Escape

3

Chapter 6: Other Family Members
Chapter 7: The War in Germany

Part C: Lotte: What if? An Alternative Biography

Appendix: The Minsk Gang

4

This book tells several remarkable stories. The first is about Lotte's aunt Hedwig, who was one of the very first women doctors in Germany, and possibly the first Jewish one. She became a devout Catholic. She went to mass almost every day. Even so, she was deported to Minsk, in Belarus, and then killed. Her remarkable story was told by Prof. Paul Unschuld.

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A tragic story. Contrast this with her sister, Lotte's Aunt Kaete. She went to Palestine as soon as she could following World War I. After almost getting killed in Arab-Jewish fighting, she started a hotel.

7

The third story is about two sisters, who tried to cross the border into Switzerland and died in each other's arms.

8

This is followed by the story of Uncle Max, the only person who escaped from a German concentration camp in Belgium. And by another uncle, Julius, whose family escaped twice, once to Denmark, and then to Sweden.

Chapter 6 tells the stories of other family members, and Chapter 7 shows the horror of air bombings on Germany.

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Part A: Family Origins

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Part of these origins were told in Book I, but with less detail

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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 The Kaufmann Family

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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.

17

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Melsungen in Germany



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Melsungen 2005

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Eleven Generations of Kaufmanns

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

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

Joseph Kaufmann, 1765-1844 in Melsungen
m. Tilsa Apt

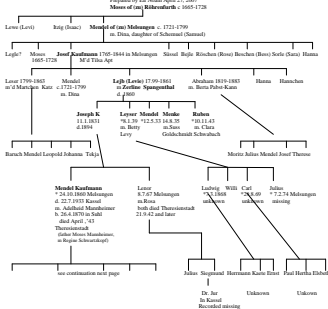
Levie Kaufmann 1799-1861

m. Zerline Spangenthal d. 1860

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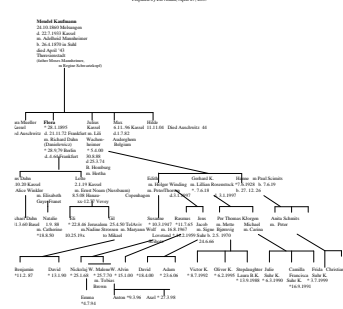
Family Tree—Kaufmann



21

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Family Tree—Kaufmann (cont.)



22

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Eleven Generations of Kaufmanns (cont.)

Joseph Kaufmann, 1831-1894

Mendel Kaufmann, 1860-1933

m. Adelheid Mannheimer

Flora Kaufmann 1895-1972 Julius 1896-1978

23

23

Eleven Generations of Kaufmanns (cont.)

Flora K. (1895-1972)

Julius K. (1896-1978)

Lotte Dahn Hans Dahn Edith Thorsen Gerhard K. Hanne
m. M. Ernst m. Alice/
Noam m. Elizabeth | Susanne Winding
(Nussbaum)

Eli Noam Gil Noam Michael D. |
m. Nadine m. Maryann Nathalic D. Nikolaj Malene Axel
Strossen Wolf | Emma
Benjamin N., Anton
David N.,

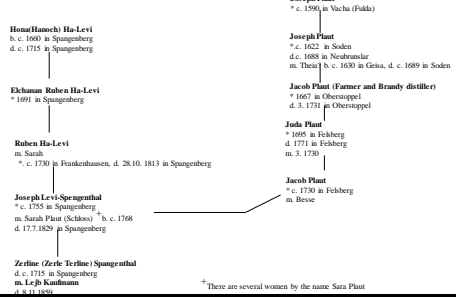
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24

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

25

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



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Vacha



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Vacha



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

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Vacha



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But the main part of the Kaufmann family lived in Melsungen

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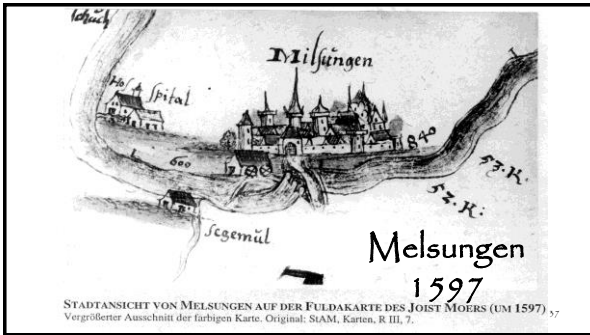


Stadtsicht von Melsungen nach dem Kupferstich von M. Merian d. Ä. (1646 und 1655)

Melsungen at time of earliest recorded Kaufmann presence

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Special Thanks to Dieter Hoppe:

- Vice Chairman of Melsungen Historical Society
- Author of Die Stadthalle und die ehemalige Synagoge in der Rotenburger Straße



39

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

40

Synagogue of Melsungen (Today a grocery store, but note the traditional windows)

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

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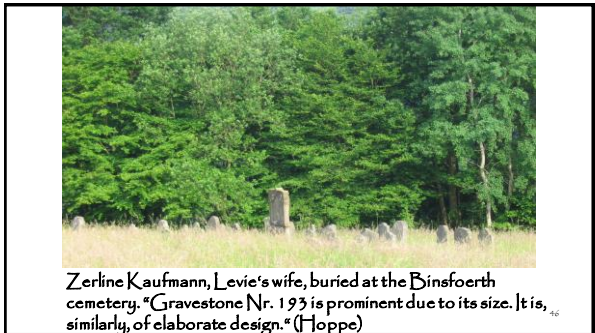
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Grandfather of Lotte's Great-Grandfather Levie (Lejb, Löw) Kaufmann, 1800-1865

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

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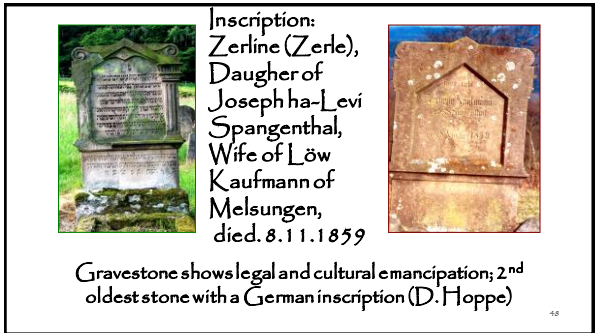


Zerline Kaufmann, Levie's wife, buried at the Binsfoerth cemetery. "Gravestone Nr. 193 is prominent due to its size. It is, similarly, of elaborate design." (Hoppe)

46

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

47



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)

48

Eli' eser Ben Jossefa Kolmann
1 Neumond Etlul 5621
Löser Kaufmann
1799 - 1861

**Levie's Brother Löser
{Eli eser}
Kaufmann 1799-1861**

זת רחל אשת
אליעזר בן יוסף קופמאן
אדמו"ר אלהי אמת
לוי קאופמאן
1799 - 1861

49

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."

50

אברהם בן יוסף קופמאן
ראש הוועד הוועלע
זאדע אדמו"ר אמת
Abraham Kaufmann
23.12.1807 - 12.2.1883

Abraham Ben Jossela,
der fromme/wise Mann
Oberhaupt und Gemeinle-
(Synagogal) - Vorsicher des
Bezirks
5 Adar 15640

**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**

51

מנחם בן יוסף קופמאן
זאדע אדמו"ר אמת
Mendel Kaufmann
23.12.1807 - 18.6.1883

Menachem Ben Jossela
Der weise/fromme Mann
13 Siwan 5643

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

Levie's Brother Mendel K. 1807-1883

52



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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 time finance.

54

Full legal rights (“emancipation”) were briefly extended in 1807-1813 under the French regime of Napoleon’s brother Jérôme, King of Westphalia. During his reign, his capital city Kassel experienced a huge cultural and economic upturn. Jérôme court spent as much as his brother’s Napoleon’s in Paris. But the civil rights of Jews 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 13th Amendment freeing black slaves establishing their civil rights.

— 292 —

(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 u. verordnen im Namen des Norddeutschen Bundes, nach erfolgter Zustimmung des Bundesrathes und des Reichstages, was folgt:

Einzigster Artikel.

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

Urfundlich unter Unserer Höchsteigenhändigen Unterschrift und beigedrucktem Bundes-Insiegel.

Gegeben Schloß Wabersberg, den 3. Juli 1869.

Wilhelm.
 (L. S.)
 Gr. v. Bismarck • Schönausen.

Only then did Jews in Melsungen obtain equal legal rights.

1869 law opening all trades and occupations to Jews

— 293 —

Bundes-Gesetzblatt
 des
 Norddeutschen Bundes.
 Nr. 26.

(Nr. 319.) Gesetzgebung des Norddeutschen Bundes. Vom 3. Juli 1869.

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

Titel I.
 Allgemeine Bestimmungen.

§. 1.
 Der Reich und Oberkeit ist Oberhaupten gelistet, sonst nicht hoch wird durch Bundesrat oder Reichstagen ausgeübt oder gestiftet sein. Die oberste Gewalt zum Reich und Oberkeit, sowie die oberste Gewalt zum Reich und Oberkeit, sind in den Reichsgesetzen und Reichsgesetzen festgesetzt.

§. 2.
 Die Unterthänigkeit zwischen Reich und Staat in Bezug auf den Oberkeit und die Reichsgesetze besteht nicht.


§. 3.
 Die öffentliche Gewalt vertheilt sich Oberkeit, sonst besteht Oberkeit in keinem Staat, aber Reichsgesetze ist gesetzlich. Eine Unterthänigkeit zum Reich und Oberkeit ist bei Reichsgesetzen Oberkeit nicht mehr sein.

§. 4.
 Ein Staat, der Reichsgesetze nicht anerkennt, ist ein Staat, dessen von dem Reich und Oberkeit ausgeübte Gewalt nicht ist.

§. 5.
 Die von Reichsgesetzen bei Reichsgesetzen ausgeübte Gewalt, welche sich bei Reichsgesetzen nicht ist.

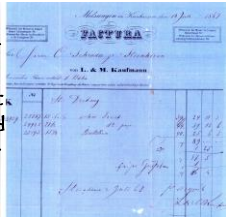
Wabersberg im Druck den 1. Juli 1869.

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



Sample of Kaufmann national business correspondence

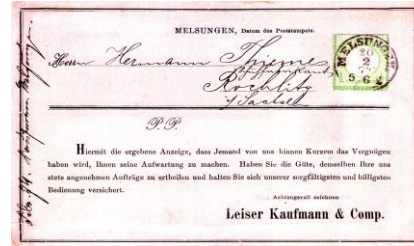
D. Hoppe writes: "The Kaufmann firm was active in the fabric trade and ran a mail order business to customers in all of Germany. The firm was represented at the trade fairs of Leipzig, Brunswick, Kassel, and Frankfurt with its own address... It apparently conducted an intensive mail order business. Mail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



Invoice from 1867

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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 Gemeindefiskus Nathan Stern wegen angeblicher Eigenmächtigkeiten, 1842-1843
1768 und 1638	Namensänderung des Lohgerbermeisters Leib Kaufmann, Melsungen in Levi Kaufmann, 1838
1800	Reklamation des Leib Kaufmann zu Melsungen wegen seines Klasseuereinsatzes, 1855
1842	Gesuch des Handelsmannes Leib Kaufmann zu Melsungen um Dispensation für seinen Sohn Ruben vom Besuch der israel. Schule zu Melsungen, 1853-1854
856	Errichtung eines Stiftes zu Gunsten der israelitischen Armen in Melsungen durch die Eheleute Leib Kaufmann, 1865-1866

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

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Lotte's Grandfather Mendel Kaufmann

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Grandfather Mendel Kaufmann



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“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]

68

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Kassel Wilhelmshöhe Castle

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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 Thorsen, *Out of Frankfurt*. Manuscript of Youth Biography, unpublished manuscript, Copenhagen 2007, translated by Eli Nisan, Lana Herrera, and Rasmus Klein Nielsen

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Lotte: “My grandfather, Mendel Kaufmann, was the owner of a little textile shop in Rosenstrasse on Kassel. Next door was a kosher butcher's shop where you could buy delicious hot sausage 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. My grandfather 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.”

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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. He sold all sorts of things: bathrobes, sleeping quilts, quilt covers, sheets, towels, tablecloths, etc. There were also dresses, coats, underwear, etc. 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 2007, translated by Eli Noam, and Rasmus Kleis Nielsen

73

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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

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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

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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."

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Grandfather Mendel in Frankfurt, 1928 (with Lotte's 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

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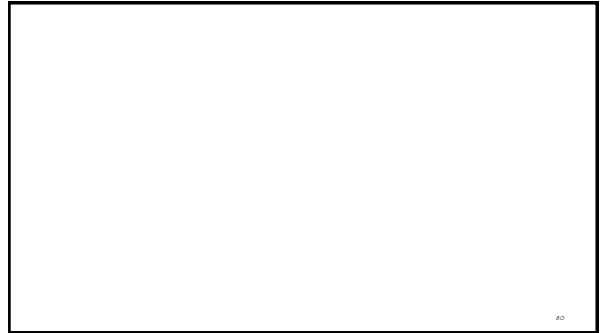
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1928 Grandfather Mendel with
Lotte's cousins Gerhard & Hannah



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1.1 Grandmother Mannheimer's Family

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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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Lotte: "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."

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

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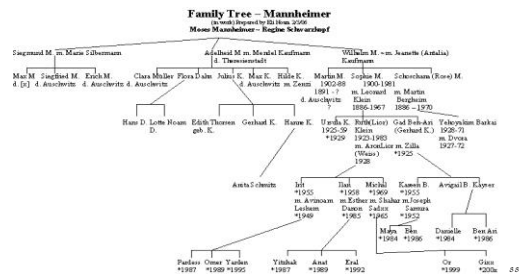
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City of Mannheim, 18th Century
Germany's only city with a grid street design.

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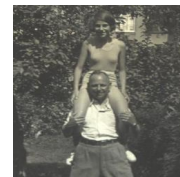
Several members of the Mannheimer Family lived in Suhl, Thuringia—nearby but across the later border to the later East Germany.



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Siegfried and Erich Mannheimer, Cousins from Suhl



Erich with Lotte

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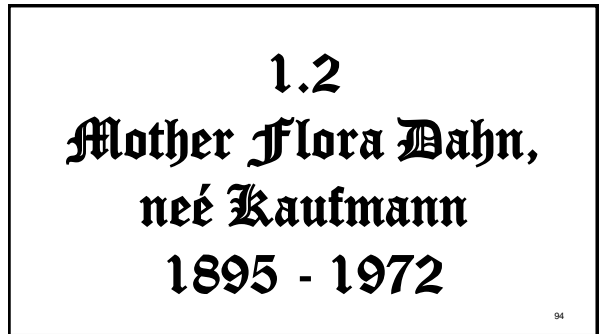
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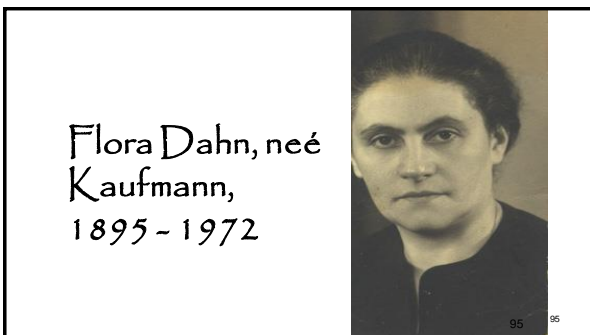
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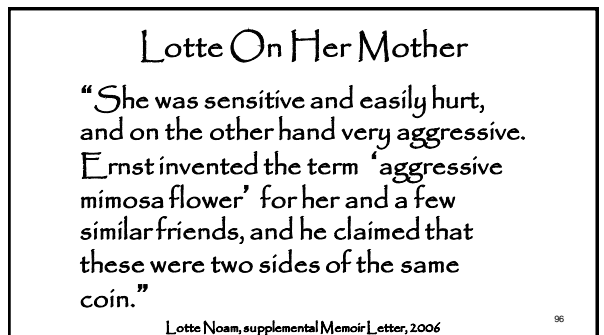
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Lotte: "She had a very difficult youth – a mother who knew no tenderness, and quarrelsome younger siblings for whose upbringing she was in part responsible. She had to teach and help with their homework, older siblings who talked her out of her pocket 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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I often spent vacations in Kassel and went by train alone, at an early age, having to change trains and being met by my aunt Clara who adored and spoiled me. She had lost her husband Heinz very early and was thus unprotected in Nazi times. A friend hid her, but she was betrayed, informed again to the police and arrested while in the bathtub.

98

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My mother's childhood was not a happy one. Her two older siblings were adventurous and fun loving, the two younger ones quarreling and a pain in the neck, and my mother in the middle – serious, intelligent, and being taken advantage of. That's why she wrote into my diary which my parents conducted for both Hans and me, "A daughter. I shall give her all the love I never received." Which she did.

99

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



100

100

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



101

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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

102

102

Lotte: "Flora received the education of a Froebel-Kindergarten teacher 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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Chapter 2: The Dahn Family

The Paternal Side of Lotte's Family

106

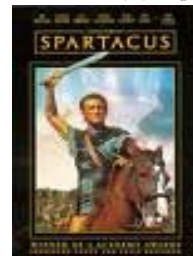
The family name was Danielewicz
Danielewicz=Daniel's son
There are variations of "Danielson" in many countries and languages.

- ~Danielsson
- ~Danielsen
- ~Denilson
- ~Denison
- ~Danson

107

107

Danielovitch
(original name of Kirk Douglas)



108

108



Story of Daniel- Traditional Version

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109



Story of Daniel- Reform Version

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110

Story of Daniel – Reconstructionist Version



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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)

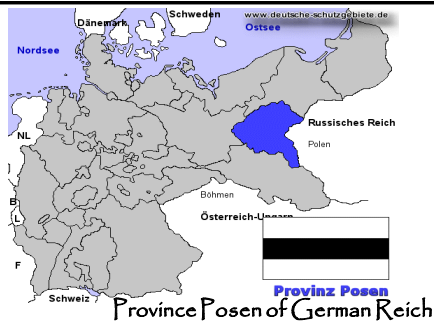
Jewish (61,000)

Most Jews perished in World War II

Most Germans were expelled to the West
after World War II

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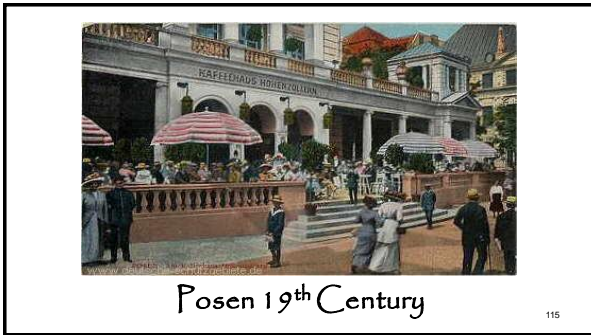
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Posen 19th Century

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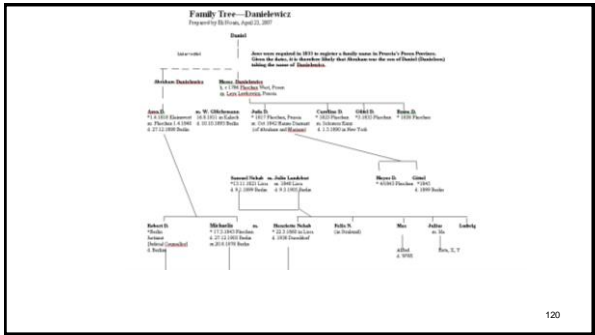
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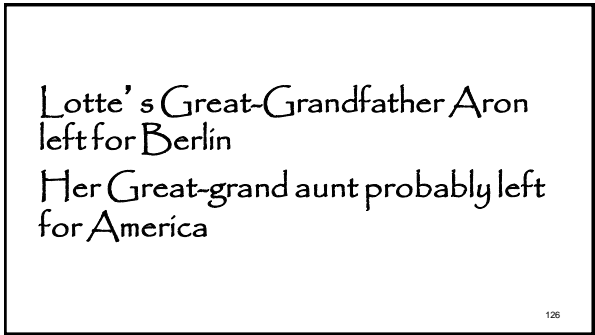
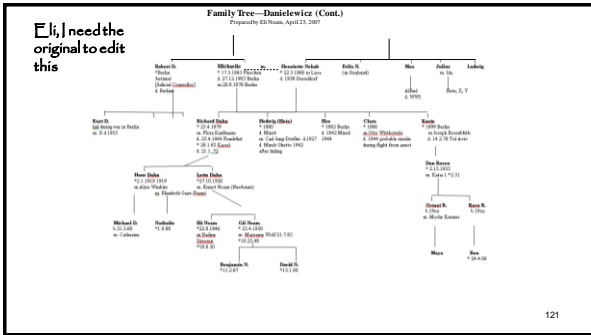
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Kaete: "Both my father's and my mother's family moved shortly before the wedding of my parents to the big city of Berlin."

Kaete Dan, *Mein Wiedergeburt*, undated memoirs, c. 1965, translated by E. Noam.

127

127



Berlin in the 1880s

128

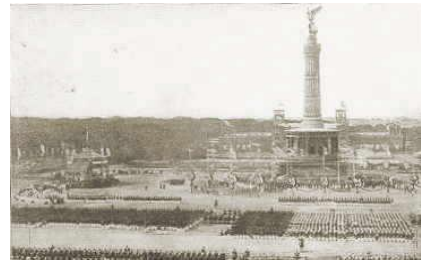
128

Berlin 1880s



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129



Berlin in the 1880s

130

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Kaiser Wilhelm II

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Chancellor Bismarck

132

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Aron's sons were
Michaelis and Robert

133

133



Great-Uncle Robert
Danielewicz, Justizrat
Berlin

134

134



Justizrat & Robert
Danielewicz,
Berlin
(great-uncle)

135

135



Grandfather Michaelis
Danielewicz

136

136



Michaelis
Danielewicz,
Lotte's
Grandfather

137

137

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 (Inschuld) T. translated by F. Li. Noam.

138

138

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, faith 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 Unschild, Translated by Eli Noam.

139

139

Paul Unschild: "[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 in a row."

Paul Unschild, *Die Ämten und der Maler Tisch*, Verlag, 1999, Translated by Eli Noam.

140

140

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

141

141

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

Paul Unschild, *Die Ämten und der Maler Tisch*, Verlag, 1999, Translated by Eli Noam.

142

142



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

143

143

The three older girls, Hedwig, Clara, and Else, were all killed in a concentration camp. The baby, aunt Käete, grew up and became an early pioneer in Israel.

She made it possible for her brother Richard to get a visa to come, at the last moment. So the baby in the picture, she saved us all.

144

144



The Four Sisters, Clara, Else, Hedwig, Käete c. 1902

145



Sisters of Kurt Danielewicz, Richard's cousins (Liesel on right)

146



Lotte's Grandmother
Henriette Danielewicz
née Nehab

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 F. Unschild, translated by E. Noam

149

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 F. Unschild, translated by E. Noam

150

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

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 Pommerania..."

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

Hedwig Danilewicz, A Convent's Life, handwritten manuscript 1934, transcribed by F. Unschuld, translated by E. Noam

152

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 Danilewicz, A Convent's Life, handwritten manuscript 1934, transcribed by F. Unschuld, translated by E. Noam

153

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 Danilewicz, A Convent's Life, handwritten manuscript 1934, transcribed by F. Unschuld, translated by E. Noam

154

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 Danilewicz, A Convent's Life, handwritten manuscript 1934, transcribed by F. Unschuld, translated by E. Noam

155

155



Hedwig, Richard, Hans, Carl, Kaete, 1927

156

156



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

157

157

This was the last picture of the family together. Hitler is now in power. Kaete is in the "I told you so" pose.

158

158

Five of these would be killed within 8 years.

159

159

160

2.1 The Nehab Family

161

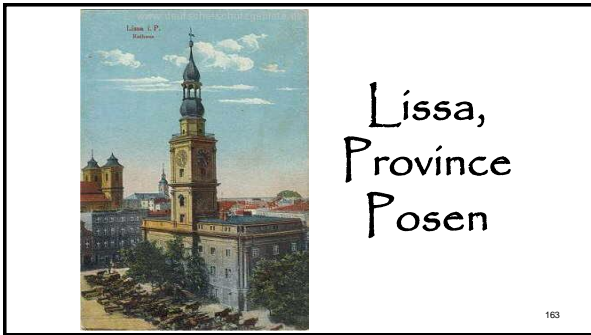
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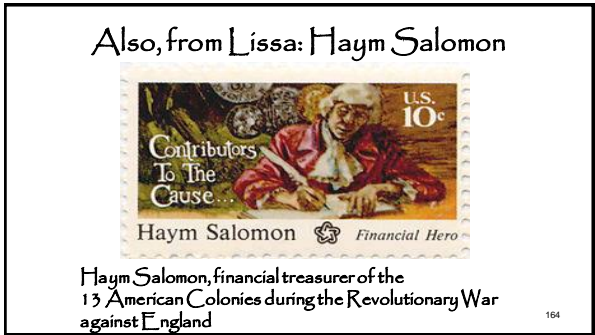
Nehab
(unidentified
ancestor from
Nehab family
web site)

162

162



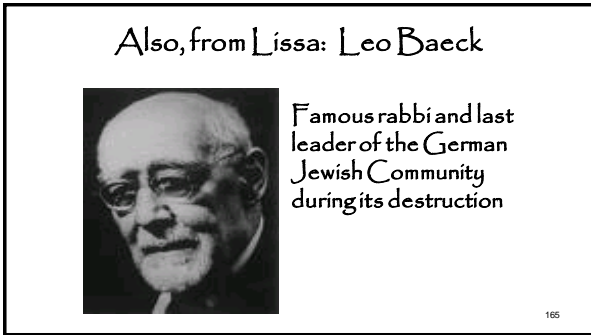
163



Also, from Lissa: Haym Salomon

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

164



Also, from Lissa: Leo Baeck

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

165



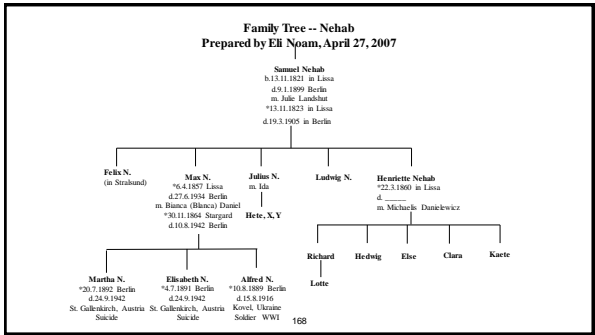
Lissa, 19th Century

166



Lissa/Leszno Today

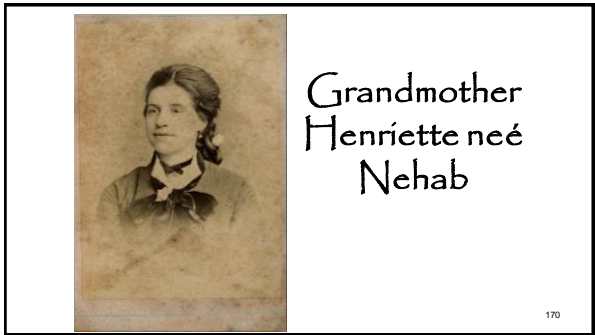
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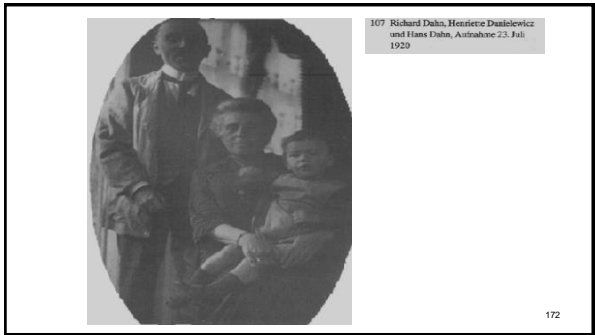
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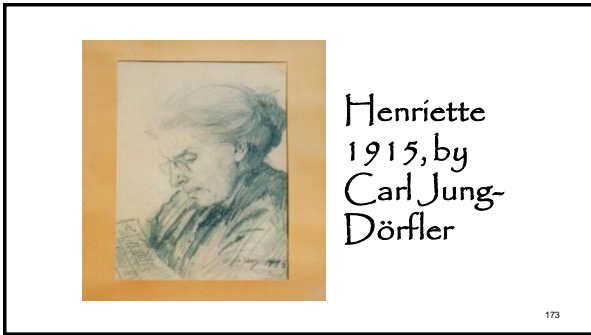
170



171



172



173

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, 1954, transcribed by Paul (Inschuld) T translated by F. Li. Noam.

174

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 Paul Umschild, translated by Eli Noam. 175

175

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



176

176

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 Paul Umschild, translated by Eli Noam. 177

177

There were also two sisters Elisabeth and Martha, who committed suicide in 1942 also trying to cross the boarder into Switzerland. This is described later in this chapter.

178

178

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 Paul Umschild, translated by Eli Noam. 179

179

"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 Paul Umschild, translated by Eli Noam. 180

180

180

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 F. Utschuld, translated by E. Noam

181

181

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 F. Utschuld, translated by E. Noam

182

182



Distant Nehabs
1857-1940 Rosa
Nehab

183

183



Meyer Nehab, 1846-1907

184

184



Posen

Kibbutz
Hazorea

Gertrud Nehab, 1888 Posen-
1980 Kibbutz Hazorea

185

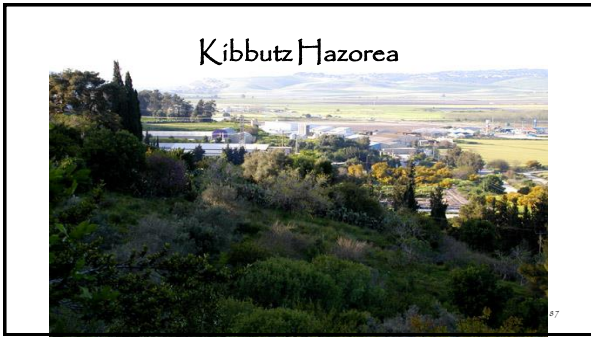
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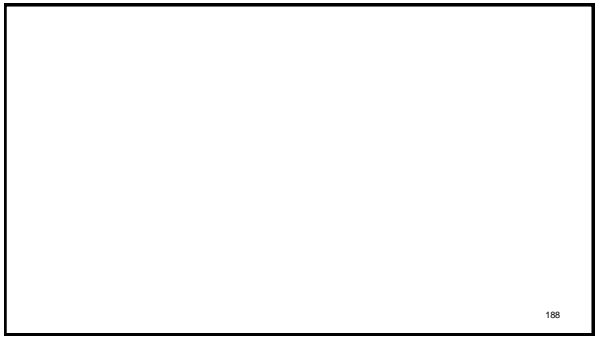
Kibbutz Hazorea, refuge in 1938

186

186



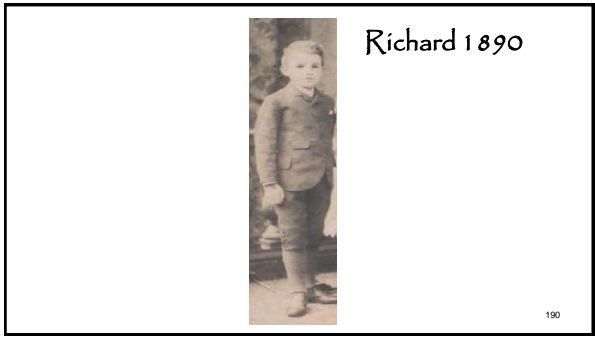
187



188

2.2
Father
Richard Dahn
1879 - 1964

189



190

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 into 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 the family..."

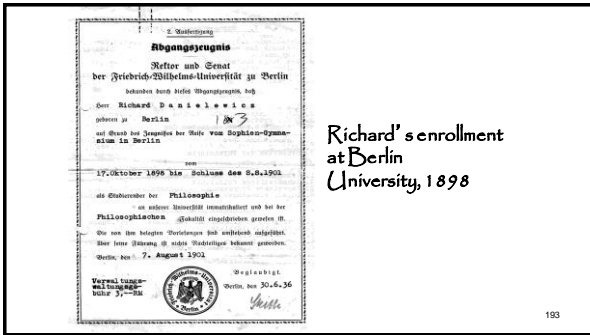
Hedwig Danilewicz, A Convert's Life, handwritten manuscript 1934, transcribed by P. Umschuld, translated by E. Noam

191

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

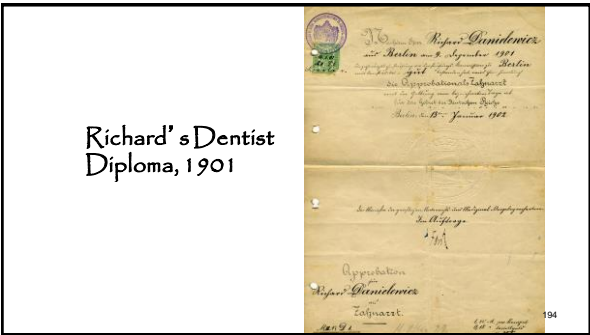
He then studied dentistry instead.

192



Richard's enrollment at Berlin University, 1898

193



Richard's Dentist Diploma, 1901

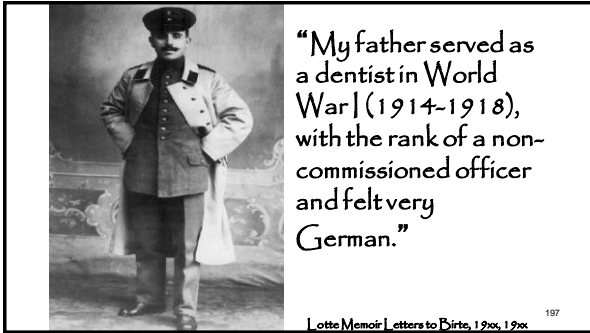
194

Richard also added in 1920 a doctorate from Hamburg University.

195



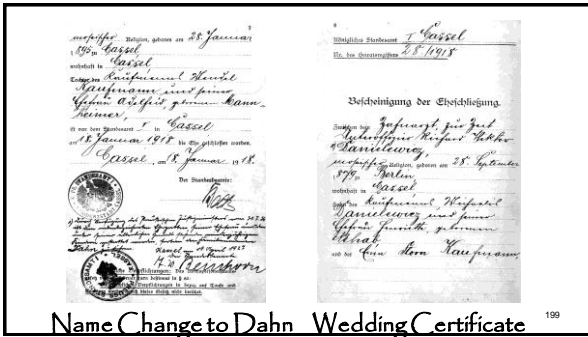
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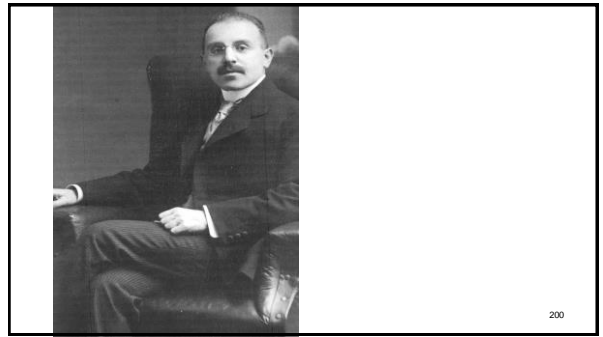
197

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

198



199



200



201

Psychodrama at Lesley College
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

202

202

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

203

203

Psychodrama, by Lotte Noam
[cont]

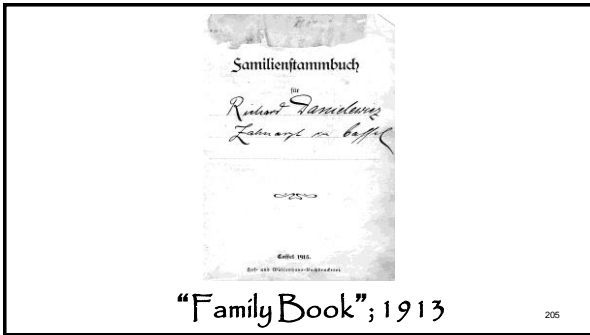
You promised me then and there, daddy,
That you would never let go.
That's why you came back and I sat on your knees
And I felt your warmth and stroked your head
And called you those tender names.

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

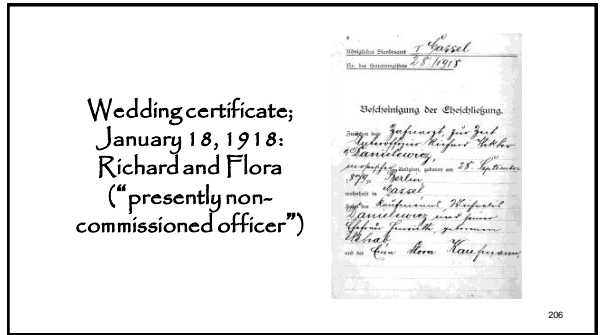
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204



"Family Book"; 1913

205

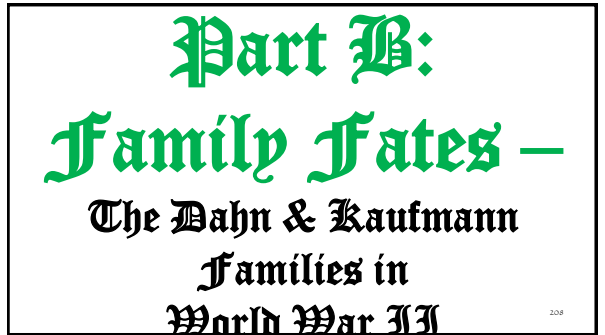


Wedding certificate;
January 18, 1918:
Richard and Flora
("presently non-
commissioned officer")

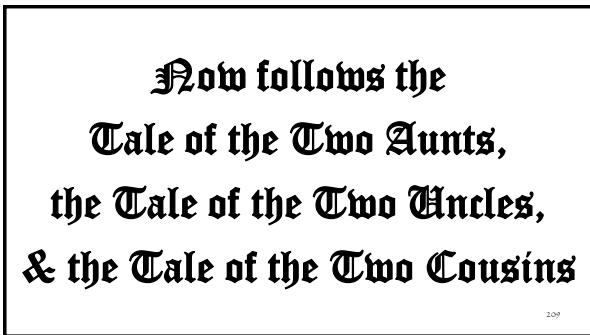
206



207



208



209



210

Hedwig became a catholic. A true believer. She went to mass almost every day. She married a catholic painter. But after he died, she had no protection, and even though she was a true Christian, she was deported to Minsk in Belarus, and then killed.

211

211

A tragic story. Contrast this with her sister, Lotte's Aunt Käete. She went to Palestine as soon after she could, after World War 1.

212

212

Chapter 1: Hedwig: The Saintly Sister

213

213

"Reverend Madam! Into your hands I put my life's story."

Lotte's Aunt Hedwig, 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.

214

214



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

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

215

215

Hedwig started as a medical pioneer, one of Germany's first woman doctors. And the first woman doctor in Germany who was Jewish. She overcame a double discrimination.

216

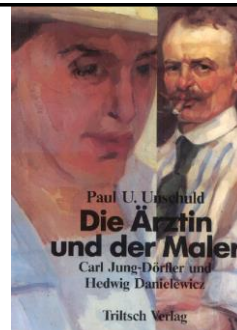
216

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."

217

217



218

218



PAUL U. UNSCHULD, 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 Krankheit und frühem Tod in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart.

219

219



Paul and Ulrike Unschuld

220

220

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 no difference at all."

221

221

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.

222

222

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 Convent's Life, handwritten manuscript, 1934 transcribed by P. Umschall, translated by E. Neam

223

223

"Through the mercy of the baptism, I have become a living member of the Church of Christ, my body 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 Convent's Life, handwritten manuscript, 1934 transcribed by P. Umschall, translated by E. Neam

224

224

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.

225

225

Aunt Heta Jung-Danielewicz



226

226

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 Convent's Life, handwritten manuscript, 1934 transcribed by P. Umschall, translated by E. Neam

227

227



Lotte's Father's Four sisters: Clara, Else, Hedwig and Kaete

228

228

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.

229

Helene Lange



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

230

229

230

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 Danilewicz, A Concerto's Life, handwritten manuscript, 1934 transcribed by P. Umschold, translated by E. Neum.

231

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.

232

231

232

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 Danilewicz, A Concerto's Life, handwritten manuscript, 1934 transcribed by P. Umschold, translated by E. Neum.

233

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 Danilewicz, A Concerto's Life, handwritten manuscript, 1934 transcribed by P. Umschold, translated by E. Neum.

234

233

234

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."

235

Pommerania



236

235

236



237

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."

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärzte und der Maler*, Tübingen Verlag, 1994. Translated by E.H. Nease

238

237

238

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."

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärzte und der Maler*, Tübingen Verlag, 1994. Translated by E.H. Nease

239

While she studied, a medical text by Dr. P. J. Möbius still came to the following conclusion: "Physically, the woman is, besides the sexual organs, something inbetween a child and a man, and she is it also mentally."

240

239

240

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."

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärzte und der Maler*, Tübingen Verlag, 1999. Translated by E.J. Neum.

241

241

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 there was not the slightest justification."

Hedwig Danilewicz, *A Convent's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1936, transcribed by Paul Unschuld. Translated by E.J. Neum.

242

242

Hedwig: "Dr. Friedrich 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 Danilewicz, *A Convent's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1936, transcribed by Paul Unschuld. Translated by E.J. Neum.

243

243

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 Danilewicz, *A Convent's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1936, transcribed by Paul Unschuld. Translated by E.J. Neum.

244

244

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 Danilewicz, *A Convent's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1936, transcribed by Paul Unschuld. Translated by E.J. Neum.

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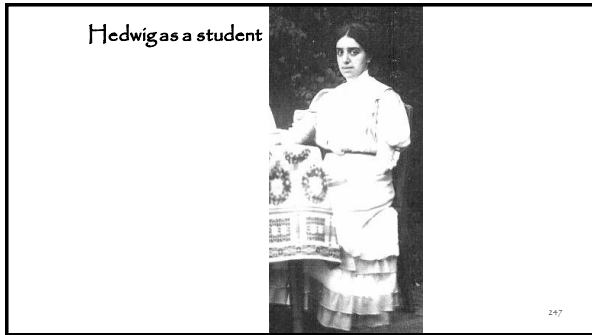
245

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 Ärzte und der Maler*, Tübingen Verlag, 1999. Translated by E.J. Neum.

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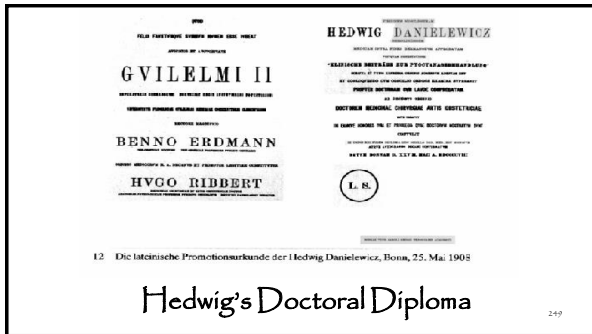
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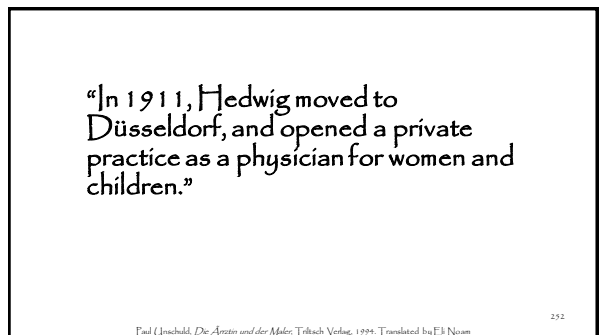
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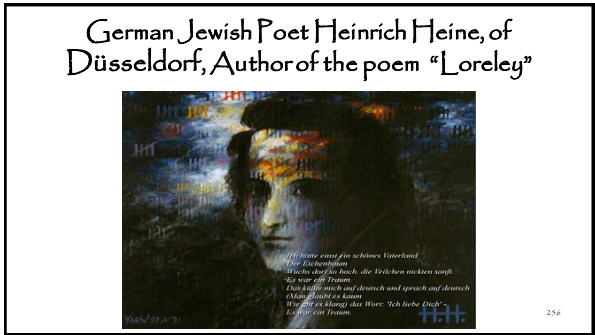
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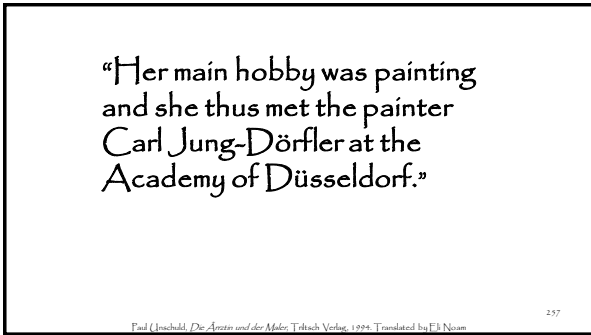
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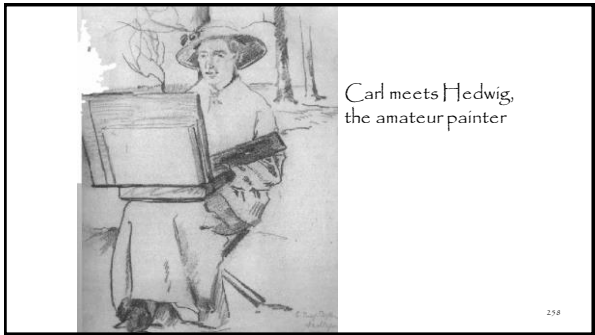
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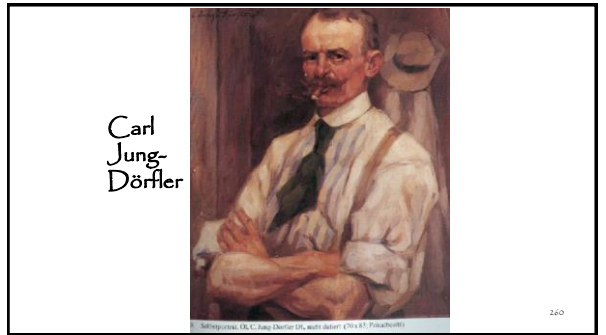


Hedwig

(Drawing of E.H. Numan)

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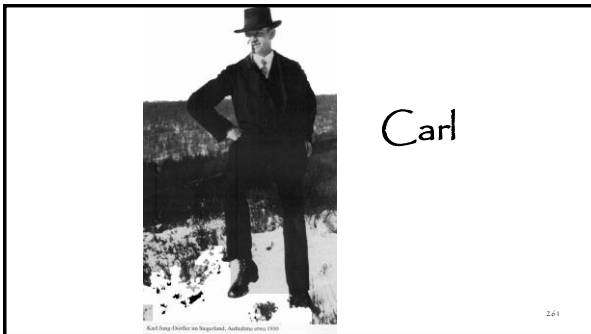


Carl Jung-Dörfler

Milchmann, Öl, C. Jung-Dörfler (H. von der Hart), 1890-91, Privatsammlung

260

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Carl

Carl Jung-Dörfler im Winterland, Aufnahme um 1900

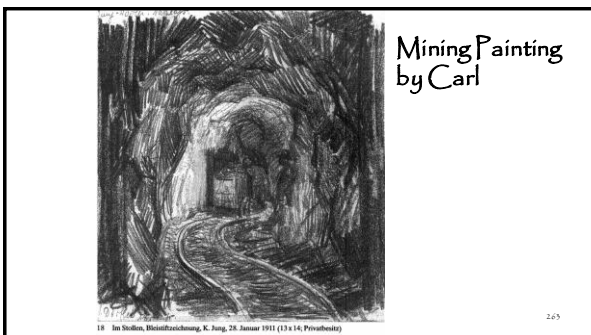
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Carl Jung-Dörfler grew up in the tiny mining town of Obersdorf, near Siegen. His father was a miner, as was Carl when an adolescent. Carl taught himself to paint and moved to Düsseldorf.

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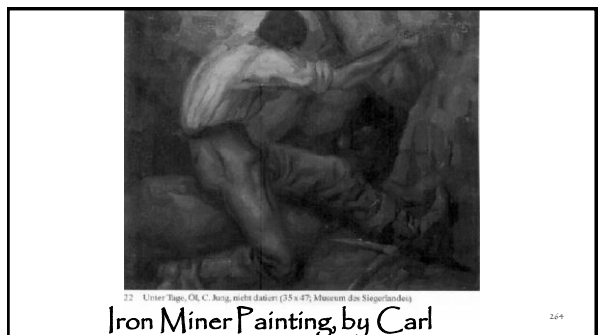


Mining Painting by Carl

18 Im Stollen, Bleistiftzeichnung, K. Jung, 28. Januar 1911 (13 x 16, Privatbesitz)

263

263



Iron Miner Painting, by Carl

22 Unter Tage, Öl, C. Jung, nicht datiert (35 x 47, Museum des Siegerlandes)

264

264

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.”

265

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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 Dandewitz, typed remembrance about her husband, c. 1927

266

266



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

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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.”

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In 2015, a street in that town of Obersdorf was named after Hedwig.

269

269



Carl and Hedwig World War I

Carl Jung Dörfler als Soldat und Hedwig Dandewitz, Tusch-Blaustrichzeichnung, C. Jung-Dörfler, 1916 (18,5 x 26, Privatbesitz)

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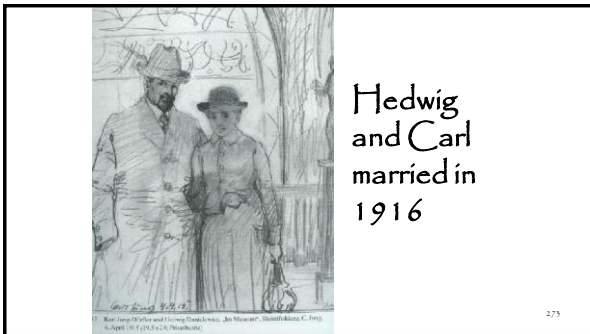
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Hedwig also converted to Catholicism, at first to please Carl's family, but soon she adopted the faith with increasing fervor. Tellingly, her memoirs are entitled "*A Convert's Life*".

276

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 Danneberg, *A Convent's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1934, transcribed by Paul Unschild. Translated by E.B. Nimmo.

277

"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 Danneberg, *A Convent's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1934, transcribed by Paul Unschild. Translated by E.B. Nimmo.

278



Lotte (top left) with father Richard and Carl
in front: Hedwig and Flora (right)

Karl Fajng Dittlerer and Hedwig Fajng Danneberg in Bernau bei Richard Preußneritz 1918
Richard Lemmer dem Fajng in Berlin. Bild: Kaufmann, Christian, im Richard Danneberg, *Amalinen* Verlag, 1924

279

279



Hedwig with Hans and her namesake Hedwig Ruth Liselotte (Lotte)

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Hedwig, 1925

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Hedwig

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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."

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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."

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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."

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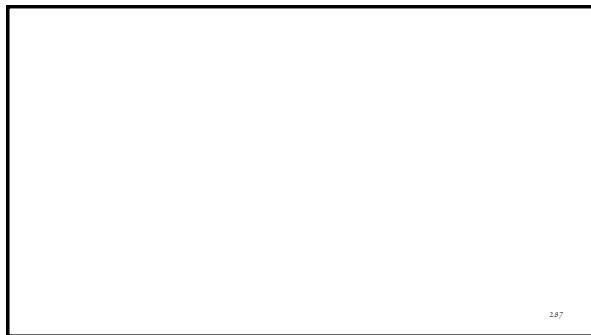


Hedwig
in her
home

Hedwig, from Dresden, in the Weimarer Republik, Dresden, 1918-19
©. Bildarchiv der Universität zu Köln

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1.2 Hedwig in Minsk

288

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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."

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärzte und die Juden*, Tübingen Verlag, 1999. Translated by El Niem

289

289

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."

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

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

Had she just stayed in the country 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 with her beliefs.

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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.

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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 their memoirs.

294

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Adolf Hitler visits Düsseldorf



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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.

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“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 Grünewald, you, whose land was my land from the moment I opened my eyes to life, which has given me the man, the husband,

Hedwig Danilewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1934, transcribed by Paul Umschuld. Translated by E. B. Noam

297

297

“—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 Danilewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1934, transcribed by Paul Umschuld, translated by E. Noam

298

298

“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 Danilewicz, *A Convert's Life*, handwritten manuscript, 1934, transcribed by Paul Umschuld, translated by E. Noam

299

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Lotte remembers: “When I moved to Düsseldorf [in 1937] I lived at my aunt’s apartment on Umland Street in a dark place 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...”

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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 for 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."

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Furtive Communication under the Nazi's, as depicted by Felix Nussbaum, painter of the holocaust, and relative of Ernst Noam



302

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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, (including converts or those with one Jewish grandparent) could not own bicycles or engage in sports.

303

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Life in Düsseldorf became harsh for 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]]

304

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"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]]

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The impecunious student, Hans, replies to his parents request to send her some food items: "I often sent Grandma butter, coffee and similar things. I cannot send more."

[[Undated Letter, 1941]]

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Hans a scientist, good with numbers: “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)

307

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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)

308

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A few months later, 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.

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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.”

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A few days before being deported to Minsk, Hedwig sent her handwritten memoirs to the Catholic author Gertrude von le Fort, whom she had never met but admired greatly.

311

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



312

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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 Umschuld, *Die Ärzte und die Juden*, Tilsack Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Nisan

313

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“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...”

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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.”

315

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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.”

316

316



Georges Bernanos was an intensely Catholic French author

317

317

Mörike



Eduard Mörike, 19th century German poet and priest

318

318

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.



319

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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."

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Selma Lagerlöf

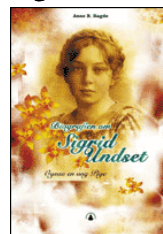


Swedish romanticist, 1st woman Nobel Prize winner in literature

321

321

Sigrid Undset



Norwegian author, Protestant convert to Catholicism

322

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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.

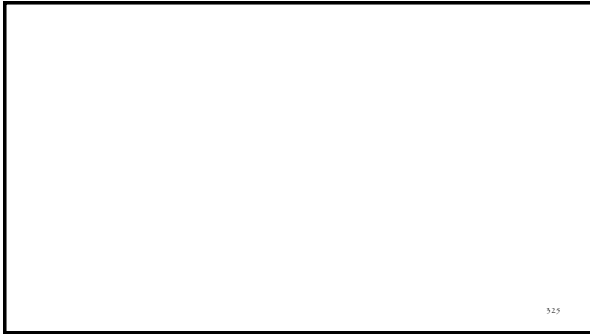
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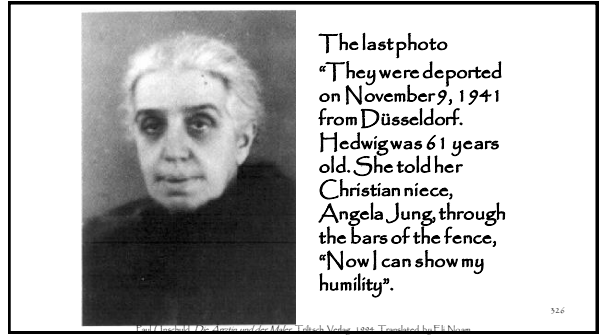
In the 1960s, twenty-five years later, a subsequent assistant, Eleonore von La Chevallerie, found the three notebooks among old papers, and sent them in 1969, 35 years after the writing itself, to Hedwig's sister Kaete, who was mentioned in the memoirs (Unschuld, p. 52)

324

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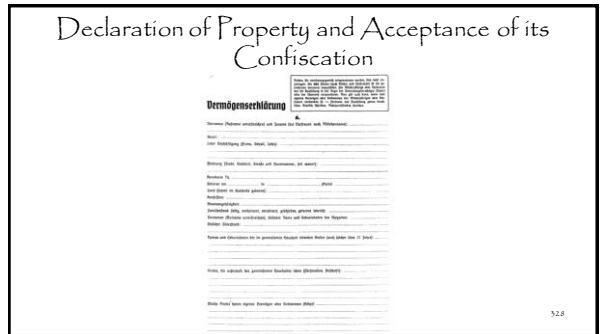
The last photo
“They were deported on November 9, 1941 from Düsseldorf.
Hedwig was 61 years old. She told her Christian niece, Angela Jung, through the bars of the fence, “Now I can show my humility”.

326

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.

327



328

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.

329

Police Report on the Duesseldorf T ransport 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.”

330



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

331

331

March to Train in Another City



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[Carl's sister] Anna Jung wrote to Hedwig's sister, Clara (Clärchen):

"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 Unschild, *Die Anzeten und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1999. Translated by Eli Noss

334

334

"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 Unschild, *Die Anzeten und der Maler*, Tritsch Verlag, 1999. Translated by Eli Noss

335

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"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: Dittusdorf Website)

336

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A Deportation Train Leaving Hamburg



337

337

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
Vienna	28-11-1941	1,001
Total		

338

338

Arrivals in Minsk



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

340

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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...”

341

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SS Chief Himmler inspecting Minsk



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Minsk Ghetto



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Minsk Ghetto



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Minsk Work Detail



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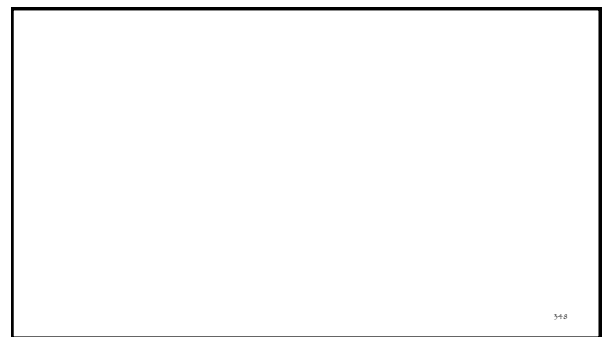
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More on Minsk is shown in the later chapter, "*Lotte: An Alternative Biography*"

347

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"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 Dörmann, Das Schicksal der German Juden im Dritten Reich

349

349

"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."

(Albert G. Wodanis, translated by E. Neum)

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350

"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 it was 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, ww1.uni_hamburg.de/r23ao55
//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06

351

351

"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, ww1.uni_hamburg.de/r23ao55
//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06

352

352

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."

(Albert G. Wodanis, translated by E. Neum)

353

353

Doctors, in fact, were in the way of this relentless death machine.

354

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“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, ww1.uni_hamburg.de/r23ao33
//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06

355

355

“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, ww1.uni_hamburg.de/r23ao33
//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06

356

356

“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 +0 degrees Celsius. The death rate rose.”

Wilhelm Mosel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, ww1.uni_hamburg.de/r23ao33
//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06

357

357

“They were shot in 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.”

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“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)

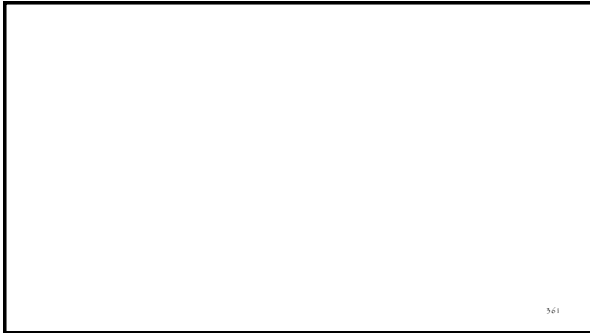
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In a report, Regional SS Commander Wilhelm Kube, wrote on July 31, 1942: “In Minsk City on July 28 and 29, 1942 about 10,000 Jews were liquidated, of whom were 6,500 Russian Jews – primarily old women, and children. The rest were Jews unable to work,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

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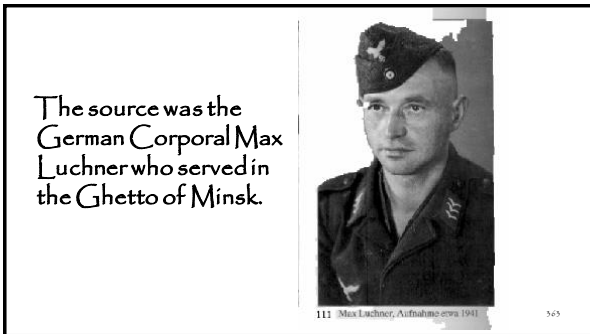


361

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 Elise Danielewicz are among the few exceptions."

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärzte und der Mord*, Tübingen Verlag, 1999. Translated by Eli Neam

362



363

Max served in the Luftwaffe construction unit 8.XIII at the Minsk airbase.

364



365

Luchner smuggled letters to and from Clara Wittkowsky, sister of Hedwig, through the military post. Even more important, he smuggled packages from Clara, including food stuff and medicines vital to the ailing Hedwig, which she apparently also shared with others. He also provided her with medicines he took from the military dispensary. For all of these actions he could have been court-martialed for misconduct and treason.

366

“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.

Paul Luschki, *Die Ärzte und die Mole*; Tiltach Verlag, 1999. Translated by Eli Noam

367

367

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

Paul Luschki, *Die Ärzte und die Mole*; Tiltach Verlag, 1999. Translated by Eli Noam

368

368

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.

Paul Luschki, *Die Ärzte und die Mole*; Tiltach Verlag, 1999. Translated by Eli Noam [Luchner Letter]

369

369

“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]...”

370

370

Later he wrote to Kaete, with numerous spelling mistakes: “I received much trust from the Jews and risked my life repeatedly, since the smallest suspicion to help Jews was enough to be put against the wall [and shot].”

“Since I learned from other Ghetto prisoners that Dr. Jung, in a spirit of sacrifice, provided these medicines to fellow sufferers without a charge in order to help, it became a great joy for me to continue this with all energy. ... This continued for about half a year without problems, until I was caught one day and betrayed to the SD [Security Service].”

371

371

Max talked his way out of it, due to a good relationship with the relevant SD officer. He then worked on establishing good relationships with the Gestapo SD and a Latvian guard, which enabled him to enter the ghetto, even visiting Hedwig in her accommodation. “It was always a celebration of joy when I could visit.”

372

372

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

Paul Unschuld, *Die Anstalten und der Mord*, Tritsch Verlag, 1996. Translated by EJ Nisum

373



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.

374

373

374

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



375

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..."

376

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376

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."

377

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 Unschuld, *Die Anstalten und der Mord*, Tritsch Verlag, 1996. Translated by EJ Nisum

378

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378

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."

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärzte und der Mord*, Tübingen Verlag, 1999. Translated by Eli Nossin [Luchner Letter]

379

379



Lotte's
Aunt Else
was never
seen again

380

380

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 Ärzte und der Mord*, Tübingen Verlag, 1999. Translated by Eli Nossin

381

381



Photos possibly from another
location

382

382



383

383

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."

384

384



Gas Van

385

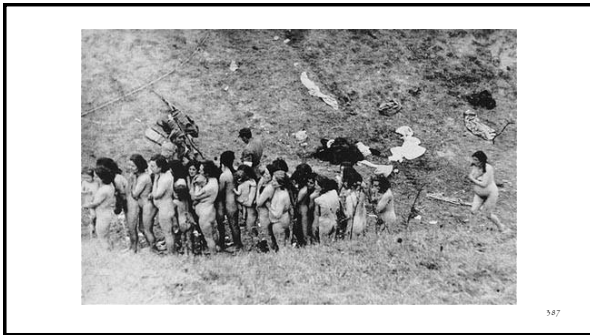
385

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..."

Paul Luchner, *Die Anzeigen und der Mord*. Tübingen: Verlag, 1976. Translated by FJ Niemi [Luchner Letter]

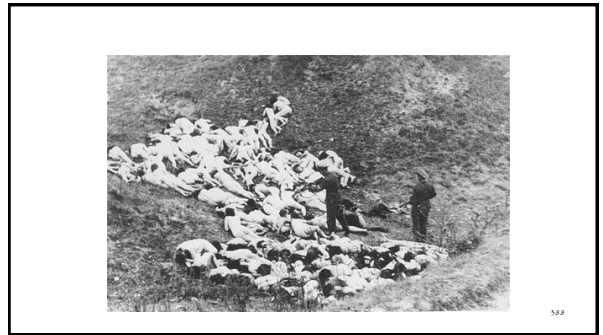
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"...and when this caused too much work and took too long because the subsequent victims had to throw them into the ditch, it was done more efficient and the subsequent people had to lie down in the grave itself."

389

389

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."

Paul Luchner, *Die Anzeigen und der Mord*. Tübingen: Verlag, 1976. Translated by FJ Niemi

390

390

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.

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärzte und der Mord*, Tübingen Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Nisim

391

391

All this was written by a German soldier serving at Minsk

392

392

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..."

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärzte und der Mord*, Tübingen Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Nisim

393

393

Luchner: "I said goodbye and gave Hertha 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.'"

394

394

Luchner: "The last goodbye by Hertha 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.'"

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In 1956, the estate of Hedwig received from the German State as restitution the sum of DM 21,809 [in 2020 dollars \$50,000] for lost property and income, and for pain and suffering.

Paul Unschuld, *Die Ärzte und die Juden*, Tübingen Verlag, 1994. Translated by Eli Noam

397

397

The German Physicians' Insurance Company refused to honor Hedwig's life insurance whose beneficiary was Carl's sister Anna. After a Kafkaesque 5 years, in which Anna 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. 210ff

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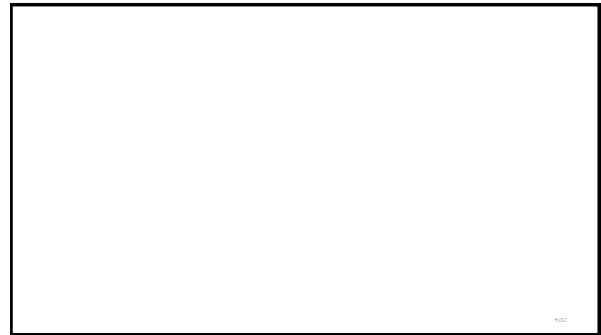
In 2015, Hedwig was commemorated by the naming of a street after her.

Erinnerung an Hedwig Jung-Danielewicz

Die Erinnerung an Hedwig Jung-Danielewicz ist ein wichtiger Bestandteil der Geschichte der Judenärztinnen in Deutschland. Hedwig Jung-Danielewicz war eine der ersten jüdischen Frauen, die in Deutschland als Ärztin tätig war. Sie wurde am 1. März 1900 in Warschau geboren und zog mit ihrer Familie nach Berlin. Hedwig Jung-Danielewicz studierte Medizin an der Universität Berlin und wurde 1924 als erste jüdische Frau in Deutschland promoviert. Sie arbeitete als Ärztin in verschiedenen Krankenhäusern und war Mitglied der jüdischen Gemeinde in Berlin. Hedwig Jung-Danielewicz wurde am 1. März 1942 in Warschau ermordet. Die Erinnerung an Hedwig Jung-Danielewicz ist ein wichtiger Bestandteil der Geschichte der Judenärztinnen in Deutschland. Hedwig Jung-Danielewicz war eine der ersten jüdischen Frauen, die in Deutschland als Ärztin tätig war. Sie wurde am 1. März 1900 in Warschau geboren und zog mit ihrer Familie nach Berlin. Hedwig Jung-Danielewicz studierte Medizin an der Universität Berlin und wurde 1924 als erste jüdische Frau in Deutschland promoviert. Sie arbeitete als Ärztin in verschiedenen Krankenhäusern und war Mitglied der jüdischen Gemeinde in Berlin. Hedwig Jung-Danielewicz wurde am 1. März 1942 in Warschau ermordet.

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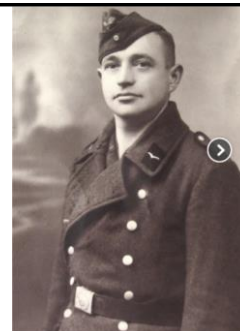


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1.3 A Righteous Man, Max Luchner

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Max Luchner was the German soldier who stood by Hedwig.

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Max was born in 1904. He grew up in the city of Karlsruhe. His father was a cooper for a brewery.

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His father was sent by the brewing company to France, and Max lived there for five years as a child, and spoke French well.

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Luchner had 5 formative years in school in Paris. The family returned to Germany once World War I started.

Young Max had friendly contacts with Jewish children.

He became a carpenter, played the flute well, and also repaired musical instruments. Later, he was known for his knowledge of history.

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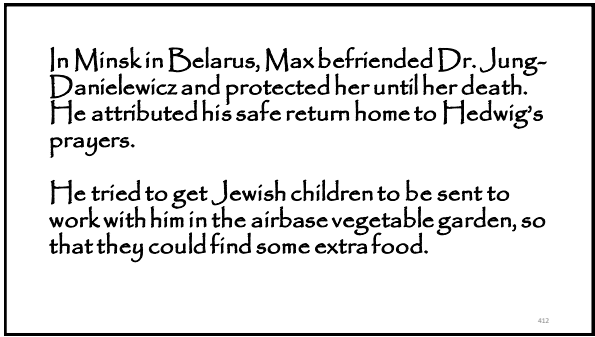
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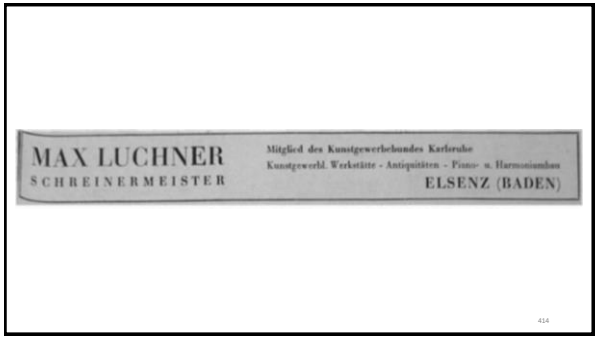
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He had to work hard to support his family, including 5 children, in a small town where there were already 4 other carpentry shops and he was a newcomer.

Besides making furniture and caskets, he rented his rowboat on the local lake, gave rides on his donkey, did wood carvings, sold novelty items, repaired instruments, and did whatever was needed.

415

415

Luchner (rt) at his local lake where he rented out his boat



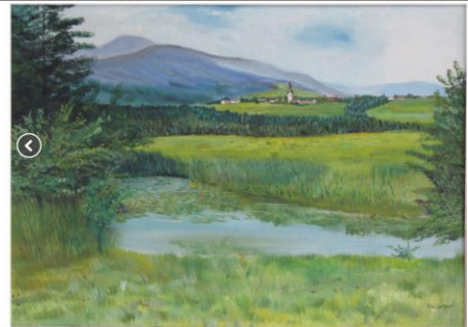
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He was also a painter and the designer of the sets for the local popular theater.

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Max Luchner and his wife Monika

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He was a modest man, but beloved in his community. Many years after he had died, a commemoration was arranged in the Local & Tobacco Museum, “Everyone knew him and liked him!” said a newspaper heading. And in the process, some of Max’s humanitarian past “Exhibition about a popular citizen of Elsenz”.

423

Viele haben Max Luchner so nicht gekannt
Die Elsenzleute hat mit einer Sonderausstellung Leben und Werk des einstigen Elsenzer Klassen- und Klassenvereinsgründers

“Many have not known that Max Luchner”

424

30 *in Elsenz* **KRAICHGAU**

Ausstellung über einen beliebtesten Elsenzer
Hilfsleistungen engagiert sich weltweit für Elsenz

... von Heide Thiele

... (The rest of the text in the clipping is too small to transcribe accurately.)

425

- Max had 5 children.
 - Herman emigrated to San Diego
 - Max Luchner Jr. stayed in Elsenz. His daughters are Beate, Rita, and Gabriele Lee, who married an Australian.
 - Pia lives in Elsenz
 - Rolf emigrated to Canada
 - Kurt
- None of them knew about his war-time experiences
- However, for years every Christmas a crate of Jaffa oranges arrived from Israel, sent by Hedwig's sister Kaete's family.

426



427

Why did Max Luchner take the risk of protecting Hedwig, when so many others did not?

- First of all, Max was a decent human being, as his subsequent commitment to help create and volunteer for the local Red Cross shows. He was respected by his neighbors for this decency and good-citizenship. This can be seen by his being the subject of a local memorial exhibition more than 30 years after his death, for a life that included also regional paintings but no fame or fortune.

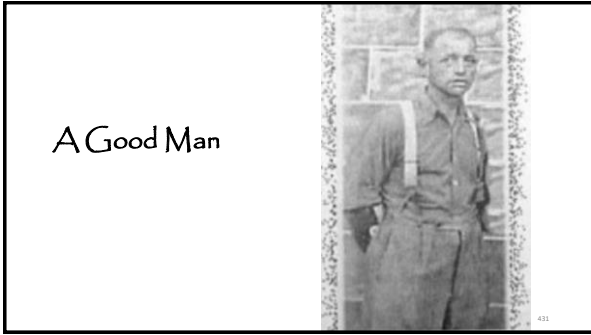
428

- Second, Max could empathize with the stranger. As a young boy, he, his mother, and his siblings had to flee Paris when World War I broke out, and get back to Germany by way of Switzerland. His father had preceded them, enlisting in the German army. Even so, the family was looked upon their neighbors in the town of Weingarten with suspicion as being “half-French” and potentially disloyal.

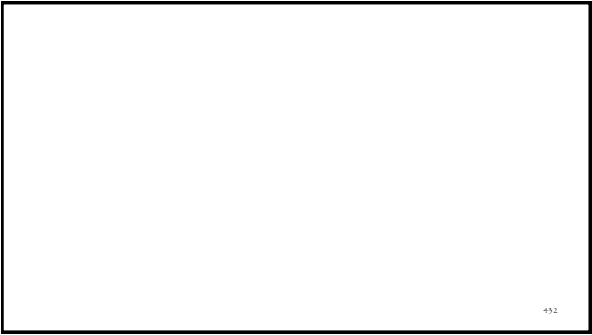
429

- Third, he had personal familiarity with Jews. When the family was made to feel unwelcome back in Germany, it was Jewish neighbors who accepted them, invited them to their homes, and made them feel welcome. Their children played with the Luchner children.
- Fourth, his horizon was wide. He grew up, for several years, in Paris, spoke French, was influenced by art, painted, and was knowledgeable of history.
- Was it his politics? His father Herman was a devoted follower of Kaiser Wilhelm II, to the point of even sporting a similar beard, and volunteering to the military when the Great War broke out. Max himself had a photo of Hitler on the wall, but so had many others. After the war, he was a supporter of the Social-Democratic Party, the SPD, a moderate party of the left.

430



431



432

Chapter 2: Kaete, The Pioneer Sister

433

433

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

434

434



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

435

435

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

436

436



Four sisters: Clara, Else, Hedwig, Kaete
• Lotte's 4 aunts on her father's side

437

437



438

Kaete Dan, as an older woman



439

439



Kaete
and
Lotte
1926

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

In contrast, her sister Kaete sought a new beginning.

442

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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 was the central event of their lives.

443

443

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.

444

444

Kaete: "As compensation to my ugliness, 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."

445

445

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

446

446

French pilot Pégoud, first one to fly a loop



447

447

- Pégoud was the first pilot to
 - parachute from an airplane
 - Fly a loop
 - Fly inverted

He was shot down in World War I by a German pilot, a former student of his.

Seeking to fly with such a daredevil was courageous.

448

448

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."

449

449

Lotte Cohn, Kaete Dan - In Memoriam, MBS (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..."

450

450

Lotte Cohn, Kaete Dan - In Memoriam, MBS (Mitteilungsblatt), March 3, 1978, p. 4

Kaete recollects 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."

451

451

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)."



452

452

"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."

453

453

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

An abbreviated version appears in MB (Mitteilungsblatt, 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.

454

454

"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.

455

455

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



456

456



http://www.streetsportsworld.com/eng/fencing/1909_CN10724.jpg

457

457



Zionist Congress in Vienna, 1913

458

458



Kaete
c. 1913

459

459



Kaete (right)

460

460



Kaete with
mother
Henriette in
Düsseldorf
1922

461

461

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 the university. But this flawed recollection may reflect the resentment of being denied a higher education.]"

462

462

"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."

463

463



464

464

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 I [1918]. But how could I get to Palestine?"

Kaete Dan, Meine Wiedergeburt, undated memoirs, c. 1963, translated by E. Noam. 465

465

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. 466

466

"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. 467

467

"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. 468

468



"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

470

"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

471

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

472

"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. There 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

473

"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

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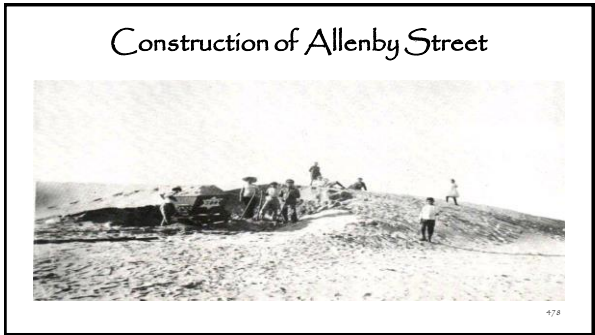
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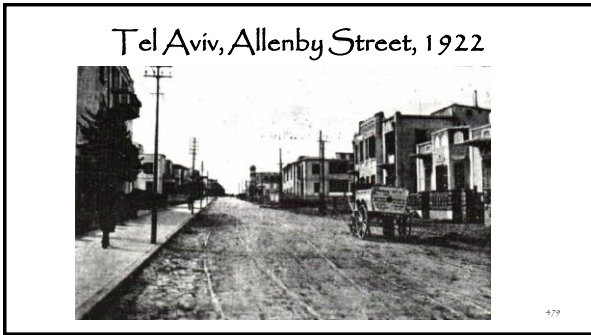
476

"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."

477



478



479

"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. 1965, translated by E. Noam

480

2.1 Kaete in Safed

481



482

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.

483

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

484

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.

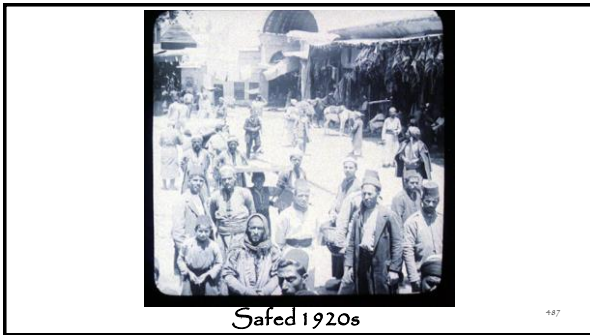
Wikipedia

485

Safed 1920s



486



Safed 1920s

487

487



Safed 1920s

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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, translated by E. Noam.

489

489

"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 6 rooms and began furnishing it..."

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

490

490

"I had to buy the beds in Jerusalem and got them to Safed only with major adventures and personal danger"



491

491

"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.

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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 the '70s

Brandt at the Warsaw Ghetto memorial. 499

499

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.

500

500

Gerda Luft: "One found here for an affordable price a comfort level otherwise only available in the luxury hotels which belonged to 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

501

501

"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

502

502

Visit to Germany 1926, with mother



503

503

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

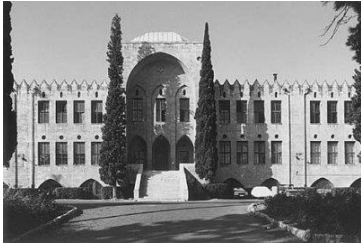


Alexander Bärwald

504

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Bärwald designed the
Technion University in Haifa



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"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."



506

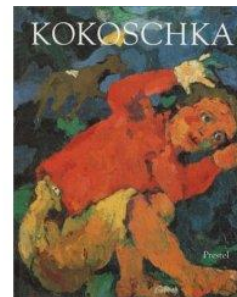
506



Self Portrait by
Oskar
Kokoschka,
noted German
expressionistic
artist

507

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

509

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Ernst Toller, playwright



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510

Goebbels On Toller:

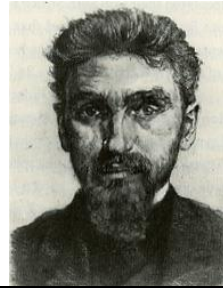
Nazi propaganda chief Joseph Goebbels told his audience that "Two million German soldiers rise from the graves of Flanders and Holland to indict the Jew Toller for having written: 'the ideal of heroism is the stupidest ideal of all!'"

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

(source wikipedia)

511

Herman Struck



512

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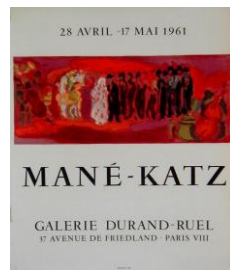
512

Sigmund Freud, by Struck



513

Manè-Katz



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

515

Bialik is Israel's national poet



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Bialik with Aloni and daughter in Safed, 1928

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Zionist socialist leader Borochor, Bialik, Katz [?], 1928

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

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Franz Oppenheimer



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"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."

521

521

Ludwig Strauss



522

522

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..."

523

523

Lotte: "Kaete had a great love in Safed - Dr. Krieger. It did not last but she never forgot him."

524

524

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, undated

525

525

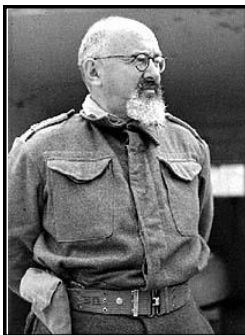


Kaete with Itzhak Sadeh and Zehara at Tabcha (Lake of Galilee) 1926

*Sadeh text by Kaete

526

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Itzhak Sadeh famed First Chief of Staff (commander) of the pre-independence underground force Haganah, the forerunner of the Israel Defense Force.

527

527



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

528

528

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 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, undated 529

529

Kinneret Settlement, 1920s



530

530

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, undated 531

531



532

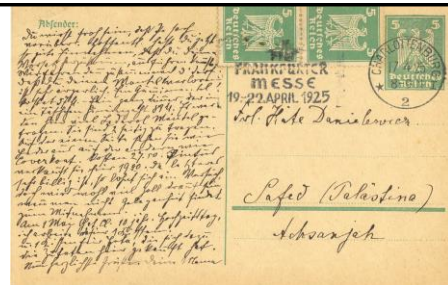
532



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.

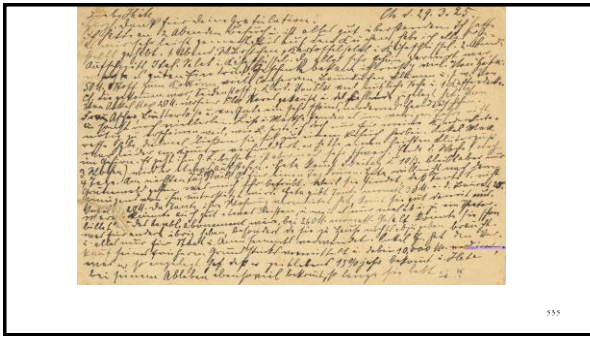
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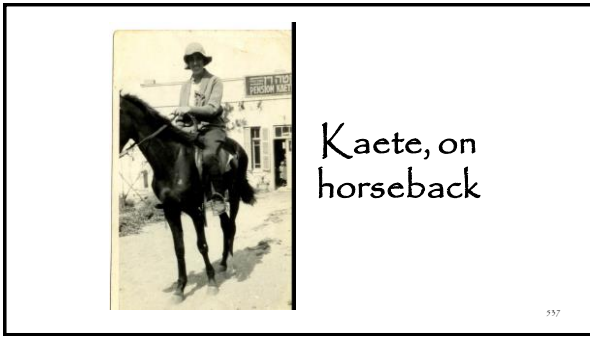
534



535

Kaete: "I was then an enthusiastic horse woman... I decided one morning to ride out to Rosh 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."

536

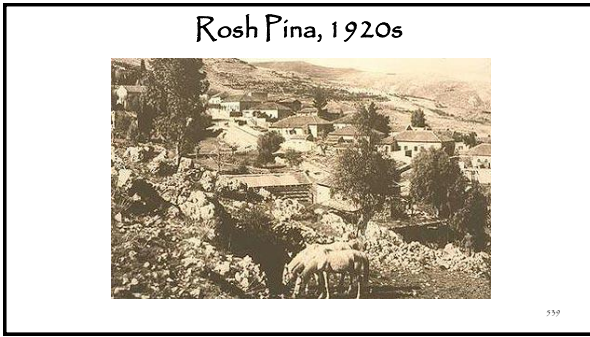


537

"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 with him 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 danger only violence could save me. I kicked him into his belly with all 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 E. Noam.

538



539

"In 1927 I replaced myself in Safed by my friend 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.

540

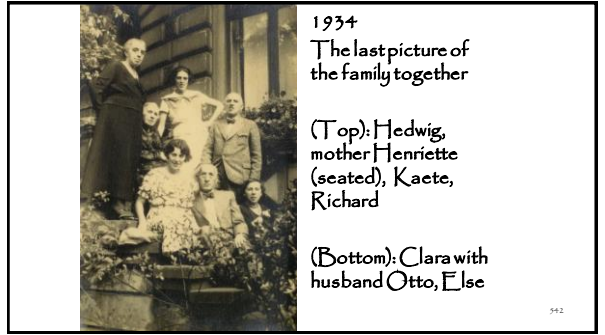


“At that opportunity I saw my family in Germany again.”

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

541

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1934
The last picture of the family together

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

(Bottom): Clara with husband Otto, Else

542

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Clara, Otto, Hedwig, Kaete

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Kaete, Clärchen
1929

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

544

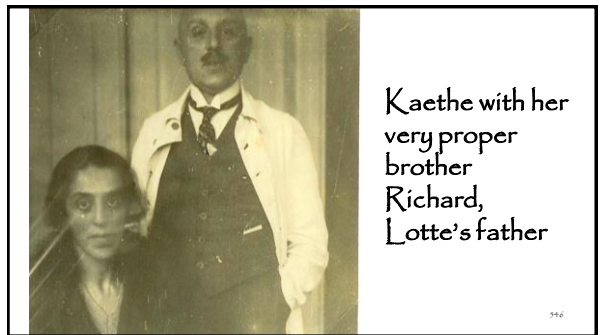
544



Kaete, Otto
1929

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Kaete with her very proper brother Richard, Lotte's father

546

546

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 in that mission.]

547

547

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 Galilee. [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]

548

548

"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

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Kaete with Greta Asher, 1928

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[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 booked."

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

551

551

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

552

552

In September 1928, Jews at their Yom Kippur prayers at the Western Wall placed chairs as customary dividers 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)

553

553

"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/>

554

554

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

555

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"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

556

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1929 Attack on Safed



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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

558

558

"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

559

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"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

560

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"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

561

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• "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)

562

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"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

563

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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

564

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"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.

565

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"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.

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Destruction of the Jewish Quarter, Safed 1929



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Destruction of the Jewish Quarter, Safed 1929



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Destruction of the Jewish Quarter, Safed 1929



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"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.

570

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"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

571

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"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

572

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"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

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The man who incited the violence and killings was Amin al-Husseini, Grand Mufti of Jerusalem

575

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Amin played a leading role in the 1929 riots that almost killed Aunt Kaete in Safed
Husseini aided the Germany cause in the Middle East by issuing a fatwa for a holy war (jihad) against Britain in May 1941."

576

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Arab Grand-Mufti of Jerusalem visits Heinrich Himmler, Chief of German SS. Photo inscribed by Himmler.



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Mufti Reviewing Moslem Troops He Recruited for Germany



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Himmler Telegram to Mufti 1943



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"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."

581

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Himmler: "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"

582

582

"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)

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2.2 Kaete Tel Aviv Bears

585

585

Ines Sonder, "Pension Kaete 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"...?"

586

586

"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 Kaete Dan" in Millerlungsblatt MB, March 2006.

587

587

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.

588

588

Her best friend the 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 - Ji Memoriam, MfS (Mittlungsblatt), March 5, 1978, p. 4

589

Lotte Cohn, 1920s



590

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] by Dr. Ines Sonder

591

Sonder: "She arrived 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."

592

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



593

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.

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"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 Dan Hotel in Tel Aviv."

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

596

"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."

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

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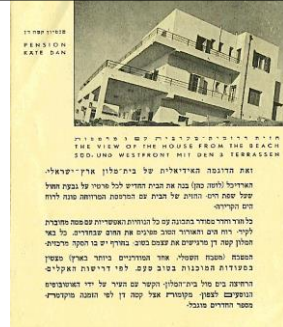
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“Consequently we could add a third floor already in the second year. On all Sabbath evenings the restaurant and the terrace developed into a dance floor to which people came from afar. It expanded to such an extent that the Yarkon Street was choked with cars, some of them from as far as Jerusalem.”

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

401

601



PENSION KATE DAN

הצגת תוכנית המבנה של בית קטן ארץ-ישראלי.
המבנה (לחצו בתוך) נבנה את הבית החדש לילי לויסר על גבעת הים
של יבנה. הוא הוקם על גבעת הים החדשה מול הים
התיכון.
לואי ווייסר בילדו המבנה עם כל הנוחות האפשריות עם טבלת מסוימת
לקיר. רוח טוב והחומר הטוב שמיצב את הים שבמחיר. כל בני
הבית קמו על מרחקים את נכסם בלבן. בחוריהם ירו בו הקנה מריטום
המבנה 'מבנה' המבנה. הוא המורשים ביהודי הארץ. מבנה
במסגרות המבנות בטרם פעם. לפי דרישות הארץ.
המבנה עם כל הנוחות הקנה עם הים של ירו והמורשים
הנושבים לארץ. מקומות אל קנה דן לואי ווייסר בילדו
מבנה החדש מול.

402

602



1935
KATE DAN, TEL-AVIV

403

603



1938
TEL-AVIV • 97, HAYARKON STREET

404

604



1938
VIEW FROM THE CENTRE TERRASSE: THE BEACH, JAFFA, THE PORT
DER BLICK VON DER MITTEL-TERRASSE: BADESTRAND, JAFFA, HAFEN

405

605

“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 Hamner Publishers, 1977, Wuppertal, p.66

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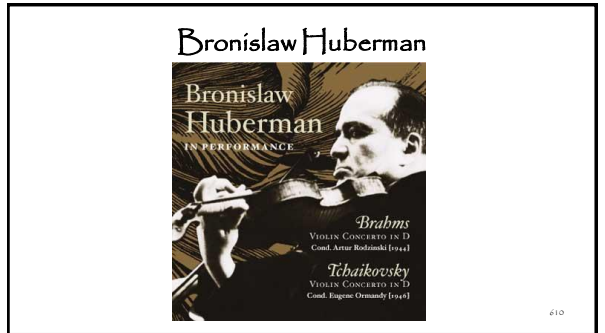
608

“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 Hamner Publishers, 1977, Wuppertal, p.66

609

609



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“Hubermann was a difficult guest, and our entire attention had to be turned to him during his visit...”

611

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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. 1965, translated by E. Noam.

612

612

Huberman's Indonesia Crash



613

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"In contrast, Toscanini and Weingartner were a pure joy for the house."

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Palestine Symphony Orchestra Inaugural Performance Arturo Toscanini



616

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Tel Aviv Beach (probably in front of Dan Hotel), 1938 Toscanini & Huberman



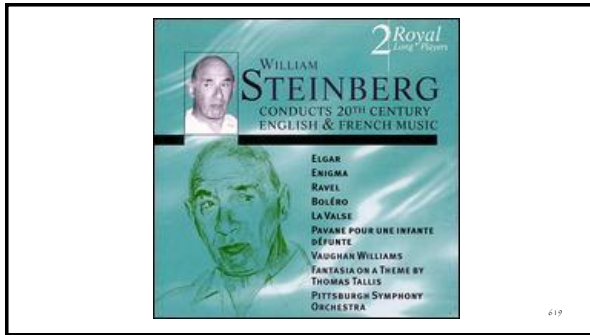
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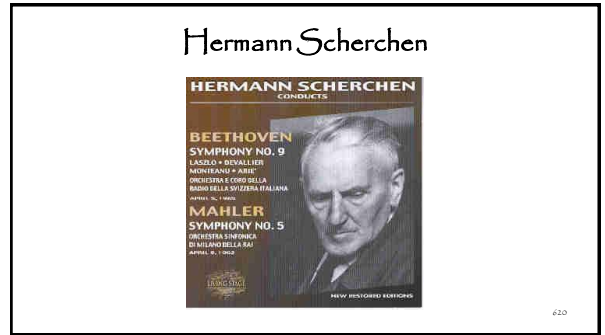
Kaete: "After every concert with Steinberg, Scherchen, Busch, Moisewitsch and other artists, the musical elite assembled to festive companionship and transformed my house with that brilliance. Issai Dobrowen was particularly likeable and attentive..."

618

618



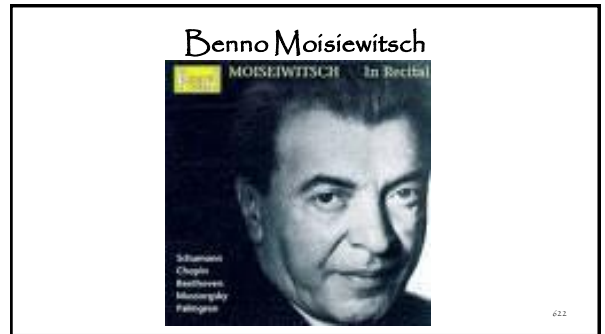
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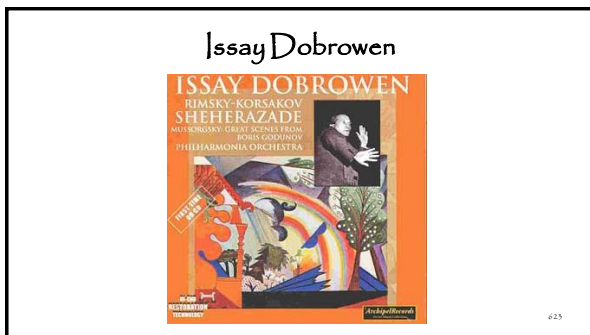
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The house hosted not only celebrities like Hubermann, Toscanini, Werfel, and Arnold Zweig but it was also a window to the political events of the Jewish settlement of Israel.

624

Franz Werfel and Alban Berg



625

625

Kaete: "Soon after the opening of my house a horrible misfortune happened. Chayim Arlosoroff, with whose family I was closely connected, [his sister 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."

626

626

Haim Arlosoroff was the "foreign minister" of the Jewish community



with Weizmann and King Abdullah
(4th from right, seated)

627

627

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 Arlosoroff had already been taken by passersby to the Hadassah hospital. There was no remedy for him..."

628

628

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.

Colin Sturtevant, Review of *Arja Klavando: Angela Gaechebel* [title Brown, 379pp, \$20] in the Jerusalem Post

629

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"FOR YEARS, conventional explanations suggested that the assassins were either Arabs or members of the far Right group, Brit Ha'Biryonim."

Colin Sturtevant, Review of *Arja Klavando: Angela Gaechebel* [title Brown, 379pp, \$20] in the Jerusalem Post

630

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"In the mid-1970s, the late Haviiv Kanaan suggested a new theory that Nazi Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels had sent two agents, Theo Korth and Heinz Geronda, to murder Arlosoroff."

Colin Shindler, Review of Anja Klabunde: Magda Goebbels (Little Brown, 378pp \$20) in the Jerusalem Post

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"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 Goebbels's wife Magda (who had been raised Jewish by her step-father), and a serious embarrassment to the Nazi leader

Colin Shindler, Review of Anja Klabunde: Magda Goebbels (Little Brown, 378pp \$20) in the Jerusalem Post

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Joseph & Magda Goebbels
(all died with Hitler in his Berlin bunker)



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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."

Colin Shindler, Review of Anja Klabunde: Magda Goebbels (Little Brown, 378pp \$20) in the Jerusalem Post

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See also mini-series screenplay by Eli Noam
"The 1st Lady of the 3rd Reich and her 6 Lovers" (2020).

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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.

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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.

638

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"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"

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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.

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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

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Australians on Leave



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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.

643

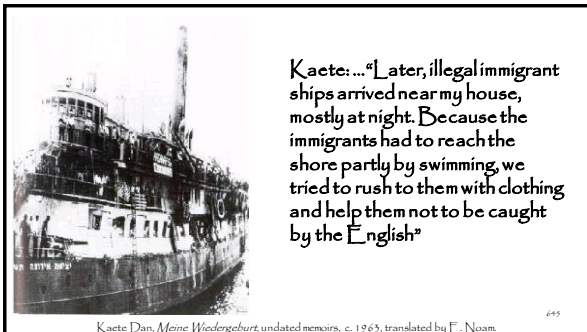
643

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.

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

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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, "Fension Kaethe Dan" in *Mitteilungsblatt (ME)* March 2006

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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, MIS (Mitteilungsblatt), March 5, 1978, p. 4

649

649

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."

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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."

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Hotel Dan in
Tel Aviv, in
2005.

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Dan Hotel Eilat, 2005



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Dan Carnival, Haifa



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Dan Jerusalem



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Hotel King David in Jerusalem, now part of Dan Hotel chain.



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2.3 Kaete's Legacy

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"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."

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Joseph
Rosenblueth,
1915, German
Airforce in
World War I



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Joseph's brother was one of
Israel's early political leaders



Pinchas Rosen (Felix Rosenbluth) became
Israel's first Minister of Justice, and a signer of
Israel's Declaration of Independence

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Jewish Students in KW fraternity bloody swordfight: Felix
Rosenbluth, right front, as referee/second; Robert
Nussbaum (Ernst Noam's uncle) with sword on left

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Pinchas Rosen (Felix Rosenbluth)

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Pinchas Rosen, on postage stamp



665

"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..."

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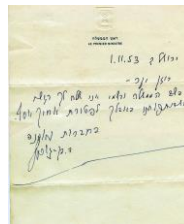
Poem written by Lotte Dahn (Noam) for the wedding anniversary of Kaete and Josef.

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."

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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



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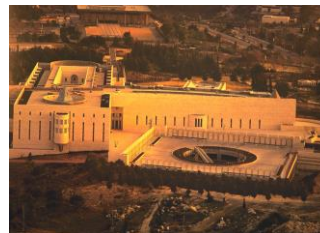


Dan married Katia in 1955, at 20.
(Kaete, center)

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Dan studied at Israel's Technion University, Haifa



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He became a naval officer and research leader in missiles and R&D



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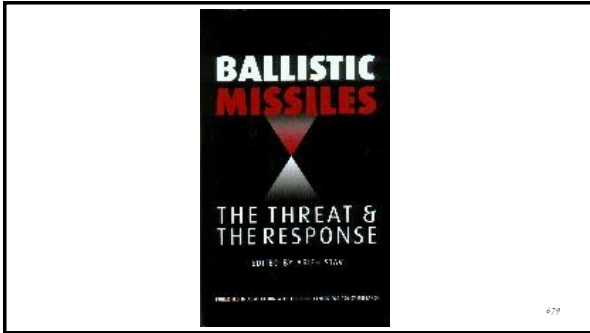
677

Ballistic Missiles - Their Threat and Their Response

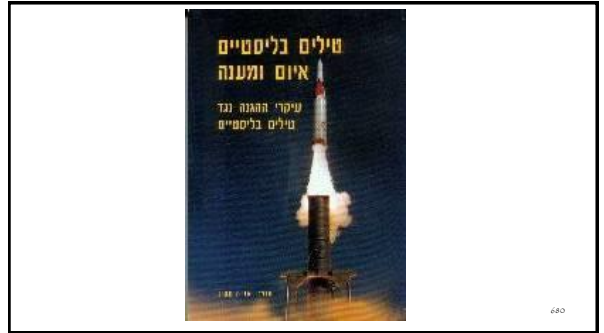
Arveh Stav, editor; Yedioth Ahronoth, Sifrei Hemed, 321 pages. By Amnon Barzilai in Ha'aretz, 7/23/99, book review

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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.”

681

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.”

682

“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.”

683



684

"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."

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Dan (center) and his missile team



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Dan's missile team

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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

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HEZBOLLAH ROCKETS HIT HAIFA



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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.

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A rocket hit the street in which Dani and Katia as well as their daughters, Osnat and Maya live.

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Dani & Katia, 1990

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Katia & Dani Rosen & Else Sternberg, Dani's aunt



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Dani's daughter, Osnat Rosen-Kremer, in the military



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Osnat receiving award for town planning

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Prize Presentation 2005



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Maya, Osnat's Daughter



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Raya,
Colonel in the
National Police,
Dani's second
daughter



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Raya and Ron



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Raya Rosen & Ron



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Rosen Family

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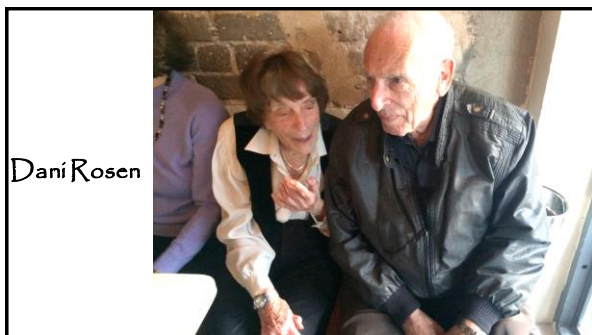


Osnat Rosen wedding

705



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Dani Rosen

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Lotte,
Kaete with
Eli Noam
1948

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Kaete (right) with Eli and Lotte Noam (1959)



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Kaete with Gil Noam

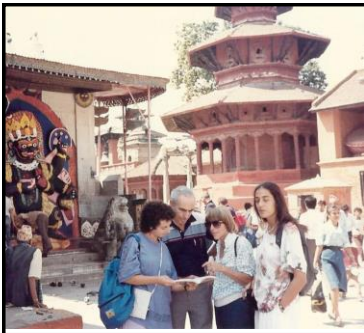


Switzerland 1959

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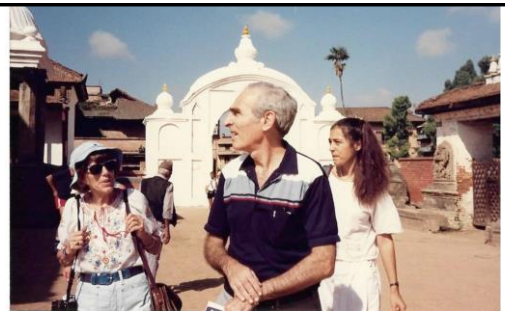
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Lotte With Dani Ros & family in Nepal



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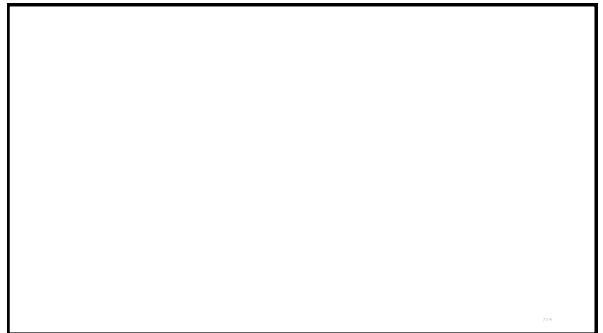
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Lotte Cohn about Kaete: "At the height of her success the world broke up her work. The tragic news about the end of her relatives in Germany left their marks on her health, she got sick with serious symptoms, which led to a misdiagnosis. She recovered, but the old strength did not return..."

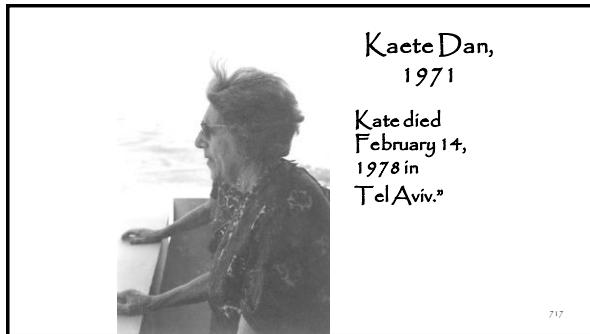
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"The death of her husband Josef was another blow...which attacked her nerves and health. In old age, her creativity rose again in a different way; she began to paint, but those were not great works of art."

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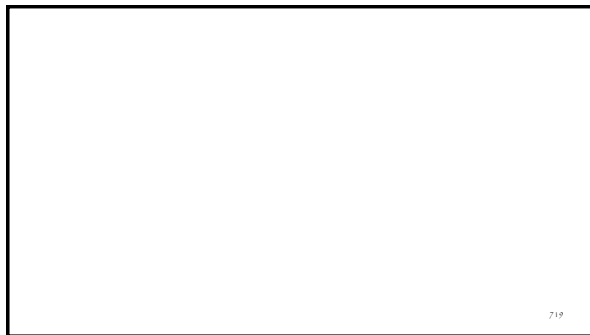
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She saved our
lives

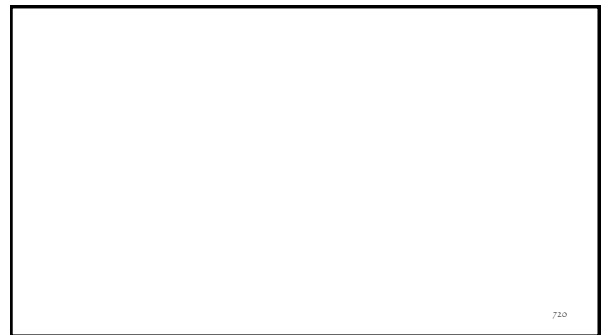
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Chapter 3: The Tale of the Two Cousins

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Lotte's Father's Cousins Tried to Escape Across the Swiss Border and Died

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The story of the two sisters was known in the region but their identity was not known.

An annual outdoor theater production commemorates them.

In a book published in 2008, Edith Hessenberger wrote about them as one of three examples of failed escapes in the area.

But nobody knew their name and who they are.

723

Edith Hessenberger
Gescheiterte Grenzüberschreitungen
Geschichten die man nicht vergisst

Die Grenze zwischen der Schweiz und dem Deutschen Reich war in den Jahren 1938 bis 1945 Schlingel für unzählige Emigranten, Flüchtlinge und Fluchtlinge, darunter von einem kleinen, unbekanntem, westlichen Unternehmen und später Zwangsarbeiterinnen waren die Möglichkeiten, legal in die Schweiz auszuwandern und einen geringeren, die Flucht über die Grenze über zu versuchen. Durch die großen Verluste an Flüchtlingen, die durch die Zwangsarbeiter Fluchtlinge und Schicksale über die Grenze über zu haben können, entstand in dieser Region jedoch ein neues Unternehmen (Wien, Salzburg). Die „Juden-Schlingel“ war ein von einem Unternehmen unter der Leitung von... (Text continues with details about the company and its operations).

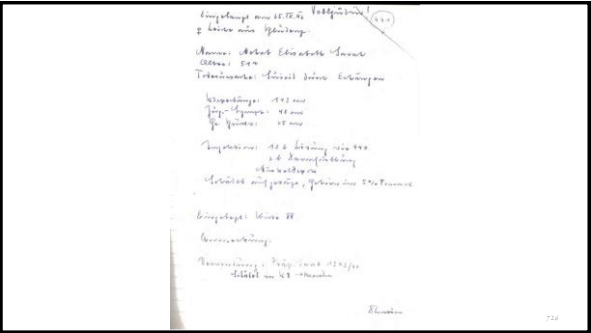
Über weitere Schritte von Fluchtlingen kann man in Gesprächen mit... (Text continues with more details about the company and its operations).

Die Bank für die Rücküberweisungen der Emigranten sind, wie auch im... (Text continues with more details about the company and its operations).

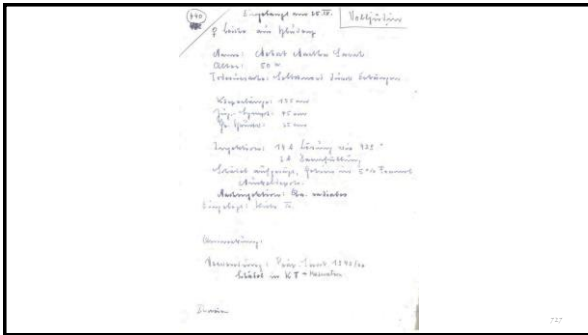
724

In 2020, a researcher in Innsbruck, Niko Hofinger,, learned about two entries in the death book of the anatomy department of the Innsbruck University hospital, entries mentioning Elisabeth and Martha (M)ehab and the cause of their deaths as suicides.

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That a medical history project in Innsbruck revealed the register of death and surgeries. Hanno Loewy and his collaborators made the connection and identified the names of the two sisters.

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By remarkable coincidence, Hanno's brother was married to Gisela Geier whose grandparents and Lotte's husbands parents grandparents and my grandparents were close friends in Hanau, Germany, almost a hundred years ago.

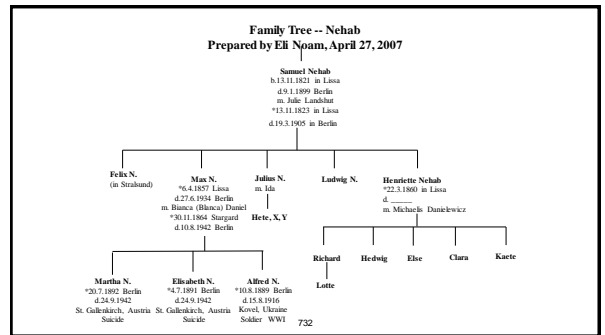
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The story of the Nehab sisters

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Lotte's grandmother was Henriette Nehab. Her brother Max had two daughters and a son.

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The son, Alfred Nehab died in World War 1 as a German soldier, in the battle of Kovel.

Almost nobody today knows about Kovel. Yet it was a battle similar in ferocity and human losses as the battle of Verdun on the Somme on the Western Front.

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"The Brusilov Offensive, also known as the "June Advance", of June to September 1916 was the Russian Empire's greatest feat of arms during World War I, and among the most lethal offensives in world history.

Wikipedia

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The historian Graydon Tunstall called the Brusilov Offensive the worst crisis of World War I for Austria-Hungary and the Triple Entente's greatest victory, but it came at a tremendous loss of life.

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Brusilov amassed four armies totaling 40 infantry divisions and 15 cavalry divisions. He faced 39 Austrian infantry divisions and 10 cavalry divisions formed in a row of three defensive lines, although later German reinforcements were brought up.

Alfred Nehab served in one of these reinforcement divisions

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Alfred Nehab, a Jew, died as a soldier in the German army for the German fatherland.

26 years later, in World War II, Germans murdered 18,000 Jews at the same place in Kovel.

About 8,000 Jews were murdered in a forest on August 19, 1942. Jewish victims were driven by train from Kovel to Bakhiv where pits were dug close to the railroads.

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Alfred also had two sisters, Elisabeth and Martha, born in 1891 and 1892.

They died escaping from the country which their brother died for.

They were Lotte's father's cousins, and Lotte's first cousins, once removed.

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They were both gymnastics teachers.

Elisabeth finished in 1913 her training as a teacher for Jewish religious education.

The two sisters were close to each other. Both did not marry, and they lived together.

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Their father had died in 1934, and the widowed mother was living on her own. Apparently, they stayed to take care of her and lived with her.

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In 1938 they applied for an immigration visa at the British embassy in Berlin, requesting a work permit as gymnastic teachers in Great Britain.

They did not receive such a visa.

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In 1942, when the deportations of Jews from Berlin and Germany was at its height, their mother Bianca Nehab (nee Daniel), died. This death was most likely by her own hand, in order to avoid her deportation, since such deportations had been going on for over a year. There had been many such suicides.

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This must have been a family decision. By killing herself, Bianca freed her daughters to seek an escape which they immediately did.

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In September 1942 they must have held a family council and decided together that they must flee rather than be deported like their friends. Later that month, the mother died.

One week later, the two sisters took off their yellow Jewish star and left for the Swiss border, to the little village of Gargellen im Voralberg.

746

Within days they travelled to the Alps, booked a room in a small Hotel in Gargellen (a mountain village close to the Swiss border) and tried to pass into Switzerland over the Sarotla-Joch (2400 meter), after having made a few excursions in the surroundings in order to identify the best route, pretending to be regular tourists, picking berries.

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Being gymnastic teachers they were probably physically well prepared for the hike.

(Hanno Loewy)

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Sarotla Joch



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Some locals, in interviews later, refer to the possibility that the two had been betrayed.

“To supply the great demand by the mostly inexperienced fugitives, for escape helpers for the back paths across the border, within a few years there emerged an entire “economic sector” of smugglers of people.

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Some of the villagers were active as smugglers for generations and took pride in helping Jews over the border during these years.

Others betrayed refugees to the border police.

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“These “Jew smugglers” as they were called by the locals, knew how to hide themselves and their activities, and thus there are hardly any written or oral sources about the details.

Local stories abound, however. “There are the legendary stories about the ‘Jewish women who hung themselves’ and the ‘betrayed refugee.’

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Süddeutsche Zeitung

In the vote on the Anschluss of Austria, “all 62 Gargellers who were entitled to vote voted for Hitler”. [100%]

A young German deserter was first betrayed by a mountain guide and then shot from behind by local policemen up near Lake Ganda and buried late in the evening at the village cemetery.

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"Meinrad, his grandfather told him, always had goat bells in his pocket. "If a fugitive kicked a few stones that tumbled down, he rang the bell to make the customs officers think it was a goat."

Attempts at escape were at night or in bad weather.

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The whole subject became a matter of conflict between families in these villages for generations since. The tragic death of the two sisters was recounted in many versions, but nobody knew who they were. The story became part of publications, an exhibition in the local museum more than ten years ago.

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It even became part of a theatre project that every summer invites visitors to follow the escape routes of various refugees through the Alps over Gargellen.

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On September 24 the two sisters attempted to cross into Switzerland by reaching the pass. But almost at the last stretch they were arrested by a German border guard, on a mountain pasture.

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“ The hopelessness of their situation, the certainty, to be now moved directly to concentration camp, and the demeaning experience of the constant attacks on the Jewish population, and the fear of it, all these elements apparently did not leave to the two women any other way out but to hang themselves.

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They were held in a local jail overnight, to be transported the next day.
But when the guards opened the cell the next day, they found that the two sisters had hanged themselves, and had died in each others arms.

767

The tragic death of the two sisters was recounted in many versions, but nobody knew who they were.
The story became part of publications, an exhibition in the local museum more than ten years ago, and even part of a theatre project that every summer invites visitors to follow the escape routes of various refugees through the Alps over Gargellen.

768

Their story has been re-enacted by theater performances every year.

It's a remarkable genre, an eco-theater. The audience walks through the mountains following the route of the two sisters, and the actors perform what happened at that place.

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Some local witnesses reported that they had hired a guide, but he betrayed them to the border guards. Others remembered that they did not have enough money and wanted to cross on their own.

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The actors perform in the idyllic alpine landscape, on one of the escape routes towards Sarotlajoch.

It is organized by Friedrich Juen. He leads the 45 theater guests on the trail, from scene to scene.

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A few hundred meters before the Swiss border the two sisters were stopped by the German border patrol.

They were almost certainly, to my mind, betrayed by the local mountain guide who had told them the route, for money.

That happened often.

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"The 'teatro caprile' looks back at the fates of those whom escaped during the National Socialist period by means of theatrical and dancing highlights."

775

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"On the route towards Sarotlajoch, a dark chapter of history is explored which still has relevance today. "The hiking trail has not been selected at random. It is a place where such fateful scenes really unfolded," says actor Katharina Grabher."

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Together with her fellow actors, the actress seldom performs closer to the audience than she does in the middle of the mountain backdrop of the Rätikon. This means that the reactions are often very emotional. Probably also because the audience itself is frequently a part of the action and changes perspective between the victims and perpetrators."

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The audience and actors hike 500 meters in vertical altitude. Scenes take place in the forest, on alpine pastures, in alpine huts, and in a cattle shed.

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A thoughtful audience response

Höge die Dummheit der Menschen endlich am Ende finden.
Dieses Erlebnis in Gargellen war unbeschreiblich.
Die Natur mit diesem schweren Thema zu besetzen, weil es
ja hier geschehen ist, erfordert höchste schauspielerische
Genialität.
Höge allen Kehlen die hier dem Leib erkältet sind,
Lied, Liebe und Halt beschicken sein.
Danke Friedrich Juen

Engelke + Alfred Nahr, Vogt

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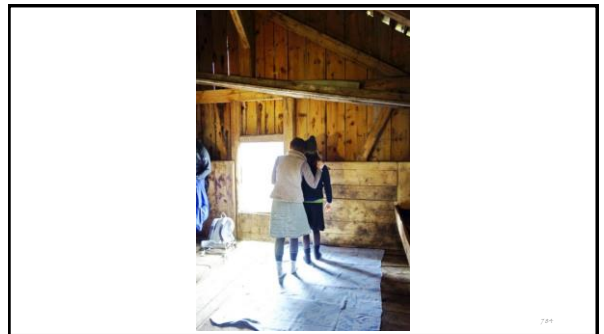
781

Elisabeth and Martha were brought to the jail in the next bigger village of St. Gallenkirch and had to wait there over night, to be transported to the police in Bludenz.

782

But the sisters did not wait for that to happen. They knew what their fate would be. They took their lives during the night. They hanged themselves, and were found dead the next morning, next to each other.

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Interview with a witness
“We came down from the mountain with the milk, butter, and cheese. And there was a cart with timber, a tractor, ... and the border guard marched back and forth and kept laughing to himself....and then we saw them, two ... women who were lashed to each other so that they could not escape.... we talked to each other as we were passing ‘the mother and the brother we have in these gas chambers... and this will happen to them, too....”

786

They had wanted to cross the border. In Gargellen they checked into a pension, and for a few days they explored the situation. And then they went up ... with a bucket, with the excuse to gather berries. They did this for a while.

787

"Until they almost reached the border, and that's where the border guard appeared. Stop! .. And then the border guard told us, "I could be a rich man", he said, "if he had let them through. They had money and jewelry. And they begged and cried, 'let us cross the border!' They were just short of the border."

"But they brought them down to the local jail. And the next day, they hung themselves. Two Jew bitches."

788

"At first some in the village said: "Leave the war time alone." But with the success of the play, the conviction emerged "that it is better to deal openly with this part of your own story".

789



Der Tourguide Friedrich Iuen vor einer Almhütte (Heiner Kiesel)

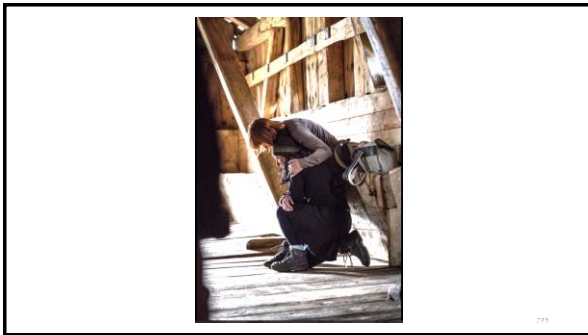
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"The Montafon theatre hike in Gargellen is dedicated to gripping tales of escape. Out and about on picturesque hiking trails and yet somehow at the theatre. What sounds surreal at first becomes reality in the Montafon.

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Another witness reported:
 “The scene we witnessed has been on my mind for a long time and followed me.
 I saw the two young women, who strangled themselves with a thin string at the window cross. They were facing each other kneeling on the floor, their heads were facing the floor, and they held each other’s hand. This attitude was to me both shocking and unexpected...”

794

A local recalls a similar attempted escape that was betrayed: —
 “ And there was that Jewboy who wanted to cross the mountain pass. Yup. And they told him, they told him: go to that guy, he will bring you across. Yup. And they settled: ‘on this day and at that time I will bring you there.’ And then he went to the border guard: ‘tomorrow at this time, etc., I will come with someone.’

795

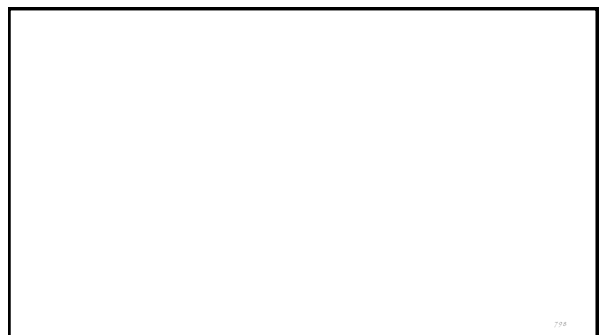
“This phony guide, who was supposed to help him, and cashed in on the deal, he betrayed him. He sent the border guards on him, yup...”
 “It was talked about! People mentioned the name, who it was, yup. I know it, too, but I won’ t tell. It doesn’t get you nothing. Yes.”

796

A plaque commemorating the fate of the two at the cemetery chapel in St. Gallenkirch, installed during the 1990s by the priest.



797



798

So this did not end well.
But another escape story, by
another uncle, worked much better.

799

799



800

800

Book III: Family Histories (cont.)

801

801

The Tale of the Two Brothers

802

802

Chapter 4: Uncle Max: Survivor

803

803

"[f] 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,
1945

804

804

If Aunt Hedwig was the Saintly Sister
and Aunt Kaete was the Pioneer Woman,
And cousins Martha and Elisabeth were the
Betrayed Victims,
Uncle Max was the Gutys Survivor

805

805

He was the only prisoner
ever to escape from the
Nazi concentration camp
Breendonk in Belgium.

806

806

Max has no known descendents,
and his story is reconstructed from
a few old letters and newspaper
clips.

807

807



Max
Kaufmann

808

808

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 supply 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.

809

809

Edith Thoman, *Edith's Frankfurt Manuscript* (Unpublished Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated
for the Manuscript Project)



Uncle Max (with dog), brother Hans (in crib),
Aunt Hilde (sitting), Grandmother Adelheid,
and young mother Flora (on right)

810

810

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 (Rassen-schande), fled to Belgium, was caught there, and put in a concentration camp."

Lotte Noam Memoir Letters to Birte

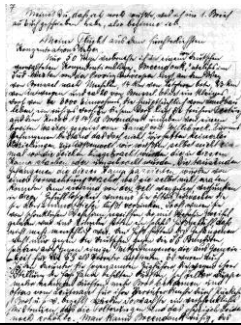
811

811

Max's wrote his sister Flora after his liberation, while World War War II was in its final months.

812

812

A photograph of a handwritten letter in German cursive script. The text is dense and fills most of the page. It appears to be a personal letter, possibly from Max to Flora as mentioned in the adjacent text block.

813

813

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..."

814

814

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."

815

815

"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."

816

816

"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."

817

817

Max's sisters Clara and Hilde



818

818

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."

819

819

"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."

820

820

"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!'"



821

821

"And so I took farewell from her, my beloved mother, whom I shall never see again in this earthly life."

822

822

Max fled from Germany to Belgium. When Belgium was invaded by Germany in 1940, he was interred.

823

823

Max was first imprisoned by the Germans in St. Cyprien, then moved to Zuerb.



824

824

“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.]

825

825

“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.”

826

826

“But after several days I could get out. [My entire property] had been confiscated in the meantime.

827

827

[But soon, due to a conflict with a woman, he was denounced again to the Gestapo] “I 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. It must have been a stormy relationship]

828

828

"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..."

829

829

"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."

830

830

"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."

831

831



The camp was a large citadel from World War I surrounded by water.

832

832

"Without help, and alone, I was the only one who escaped among thousands and thousands of prisoners ..."

833

833

"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."

834

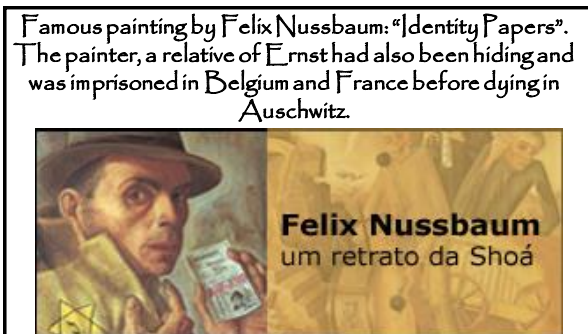
834



835

The passport pictures must have been taken for use in forged identification papers for Max. Clearly, the old one wouldn't make do anymore.

836



837

4.1 The Concentration Camp Breendonk

838



839

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]

840

840

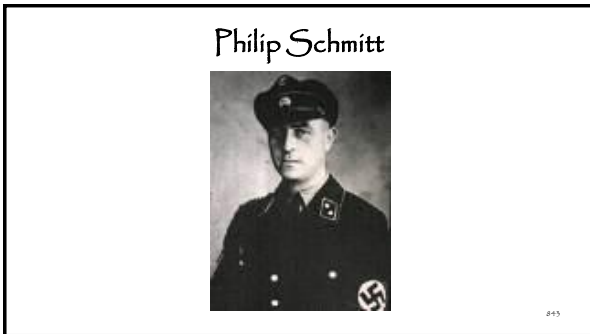


841

The camp was commanded by [SS] Sturmbannführer Philip Johann-Adolf Schmitt, who remained at this post nearly throughout the whole war.

(Wikipedia)

842



843

Upon liberation, Max wrote a long letter to his sister

844

Max: "Dear Flora, ... I make many spelling errors, don't I? Kiss."

"My escape from the terrible concentration camp."

845

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."

846

Max: "Breendonk is surrounded by a wide moat."

847

847



848

848

Max: "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."

849

849

Max: "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."

850

850



Breendonk

851

851

"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."

852

852



Breendonk

853

853

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 through pieces of bread etc. Thus arose a terrible mistrust which increased the tortures and physical suffering still further."

854

854

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."

855

855

"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."

856

856

"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."

857

857

"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."

858

858

“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.”

859

859



Breendonk

860

860

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.”

861

861



Breendonk

862

862

Max: “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!”

863

863



Breendonk

864

864

"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."

865

865

"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."

866

866

"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."

867

867

Max: "My thoughts were so focused on escape that I would ceaselessly consider all possibilities. In sleepless nights I thought about how to escape."

868

868

Some of the Belgian concentration camp scenes have been painted by Painter of the Holocaust Felix Nussbaum, as mentioned, a relative of Ernst, Lotte's husband

869

869



Commemorative German Postage Stamp for Felix Nussbaum, 2005

870

870

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

871

871

"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

872

872

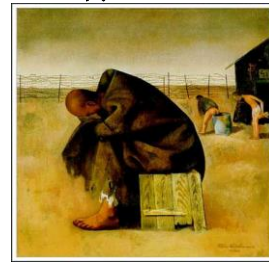
"Felix Nussbaum ranks among one of the most interesting painters of the 20th century, even though he was first discovered by the art world late in his life. In the meantime, millions of Euros are paid for his paintings, especially for his later works."

(Wikipedia)

873

873

Concentration Camp in Belgium, by Felix Nussbaum



874

874



Felix Nussbaum

875

875

4.2 The Great Escape

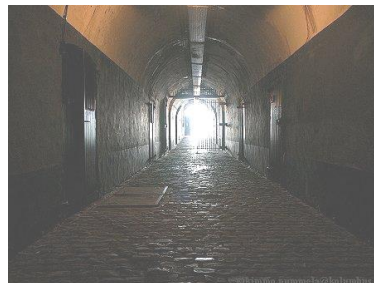
876

876

Max: “[I had gotten myself rubber boots...] 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.”

877

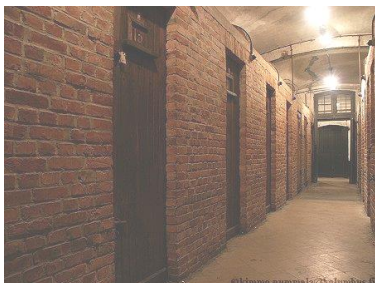
877



Breendonk

878

878



Breendonk

879

879

“The hall is about fifty meters long and agt the center there are two doors which were secured with long heavy iron bars. The bolts from the left were already open andso were some of the right. They must have not observed this or me, because they could not hear me.”

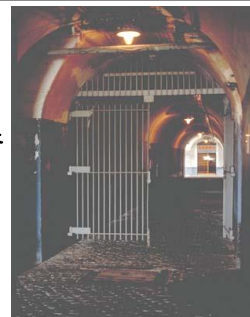
880

880

Max: “Quiet as a tiger I tried the two doors which by a good fortune were unlocked and with a key in them.”

881

881



Breendonk

882

882



Max: “[I quickly disposed of the cans, and passed a few dangerous spots with much luck, surveyed the surrounding, and the guards.]”

884



“[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.]”

887

“Crouching, sliding, I unburdened myself of the heavy boots and clothing and stood at the wide water moat which surrounds the fort.”

888



889



890

“When I reached the embankment which was partly enclosed by barbed wire, I came to an open area where the other guards would pass.”

891



892

“Thank God they did not see me. Fortunately I had a sweater with me which I could easily put over my [prisoner’s] uniform, because I had lost so much weight.”

893

“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 back on.”

894

"My hunger was so painful that I ate raw beets and potatoes [in the fields] and looked in the field for stalks [to eat]."

895

895

"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."

896

896



Breendonk guards, dog

897

897

"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."

898

898

"I took a basket and at a farm rustled up a pitchfork, so that I resembled a farm worker, and kept myself busy when people or cars passed."

899

899

"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!"

900

900



901

"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."

902

"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."

903

"The time until the liberation was a long one for me, because I was searched for by police, Gestapo, Gendarmerie, with a reward offered."

904

"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."

905

"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."

906

"I stayed there for the whole day, with my head barely sticking out. Then came liberation."

907

907

"...The chase by police, gendarmerie, Gestapo, SS, and others has ended—I have a good bed and need not sleep in the woods anymore."

908

908

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."

909

909

The village is called Opgelabbeek. He found shelter with a woman, Catherine Moes, who he knew from before as a lodger. She was the grandmother of Eli's friend Stefaan Verhulst's wife. One of that woman's daughters, 5 years old then, became Stefaan's mother-in-law. They hid Max in the attic when there was a raid. Once he hid in the bedroom closet (which suggests a close relationship).

910

910

Max's exploits got much attention. *The American Dispatch*, dated March 20, 1945 shows pictures under the Headline "Nazi Torturers Made Him Old in Fifty Days" with before and after photographs.

911

911



912

912



913

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.

914



915



916



917

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_JoostvanDrouwen

918

The Only Successful Escape

The witness was able to escape in the early morning of August 3, 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 Jooat van Dronen

919

919



920

920

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 30 days. The pictures speak for themselves."

translation Jooat van Dronen

921

921

"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.

922

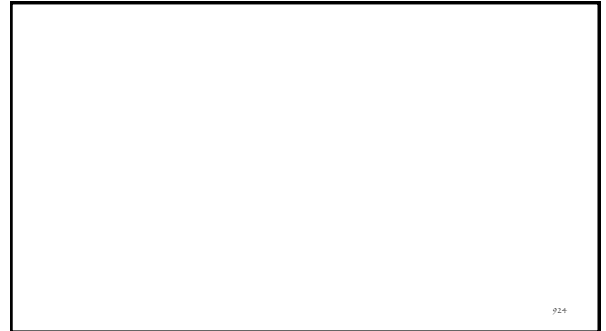
922



Commandant
Schmitt and
his dog

923

923



924

924

Max Kaufmann stayed in Belgium with his new family.



925

925



926

Max Kaufmann in Belgium, 1945
family wedding
Chris, Max, Muna in back, center



927

There was some trouble with his new family when he, incorrigible, moved on to another woman

928

928

In subsequent years, Max gradually lost contact with his birth family. He lived in Belgium, with no known children, and died in 1982 in Auderghem, Belgium.

929

929

930

930

Chapter 5: Uncle Julius and Family: Double Escape

931

Julius on right with cousin Siegfried Mannheimer & Sister Hilde



932

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."

933

933



Julius with his brother Max (Right)

934

934



Julius in front, then Aunt Clara, Cousin Erich and Uncle Heinz

Edith Therman, *Lotte's Flanders Manuscript* is an unglorified memoir. Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Neven-Kristina Nielsen.

935

935

Lotte's cousin Edith, daughter of Julius: "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 Therman, *Lotte's Flanders Manuscript* is an unglorified memoir. Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Neven-Kristina Nielsen.

936

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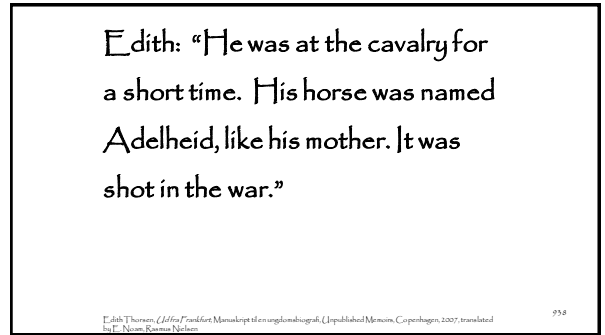


Julius
[in World War]

Edith Thomsen, *Edith Frøeders* Manuscript til en anglo-nordisk, Uopubbilert Memsin, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Niemi-Rasmussen Nielsen

937

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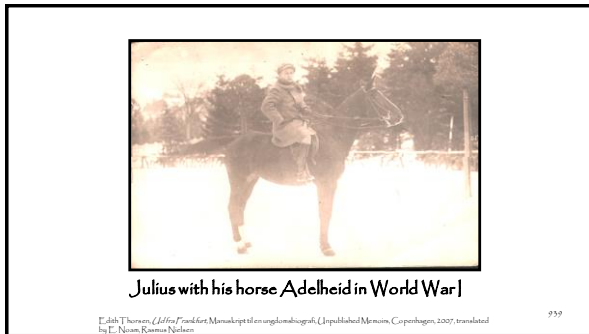


Edith: "He was at the cavalry for a short time. His horse was named Adelheid, like his mother. It was shot in the war."

Edith Thomsen, *Edith Frøeders* Manuscript til en anglo-nordisk, Uopubbilert Memsin, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Niemi-Rasmussen Nielsen

938

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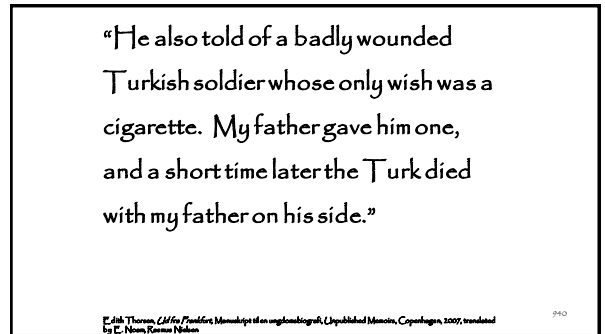


Julius with his horse Adelheid in World War]

Edith Thomsen, *Edith Frøeders* Manuscript til en anglo-nordisk, Uopubbilert Memsin, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Niemi-Rasmussen Nielsen

939

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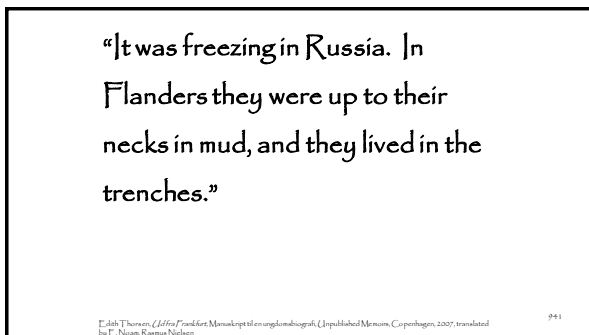


"He also told of a badly wounded Turkish soldier whose only wish was a cigarette. My father gave him one, and a short time later the Turk died with my father on his side."

Edith Thomsen, *Edith Frøeders* Manuscript til en anglo-nordisk, Uopubbilert Memsin, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Niemi-Rasmussen Nielsen

940

940



"It was freezing in Russia. In Flanders they were up to their necks in mud, and they lived in the trenches."

Edith Thomsen, *Edith Frøeders* Manuscript til en anglo-nordisk, Uopubbilert Memsin, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Niemi-Rasmussen Nielsen

941

941



At the Front

Edith Thomsen, *Edith Frøeders* Manuscript til en anglo-nordisk, Uopubbilert Memsin, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Niemi-Rasmussen Nielsen

942

942

“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.”

Lilith Thomas, *Lilith Frankfurt* Manuscript til en engelsksprog, Ujpublikt Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Nieman-Rasmussen Nielsen 943

943



944



945



946




947



948

Lilly's family was wealthy
Grandfather
Isaak Epstein



949



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

950

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."

951



Julius (center) at 1920s Café

952

Julius became a successful stock broker and market specialist at the Frankfurt stock exchange.

953



954

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 Thomsen, *Edith's Frankfurt* Manuscript of an unglorified life, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Niemi-Rasmussen Nielsen

955

955

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 Thomsen, *Edith's Frankfurt* Manuscript of an unglorified life, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Niemi-Rasmussen Nielsen

956

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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 Stock Exchange and probably had a large private office."

Edith Thomsen, *Edith's Frankfurt* Manuscript of an unglorified life, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Niemi-Rasmussen Nielsen

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Edith's Great Grandfather Salomon Epstein

Edith Thomsen, *Edith's Frankfurt* Manuscript of an unglorified life, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Niemi-Rasmussen Nielsen

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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 Thomsen, *Edith's Frankfurt* Manuscript of an unglorified life, Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Niemi-Rasmussen Nielsen

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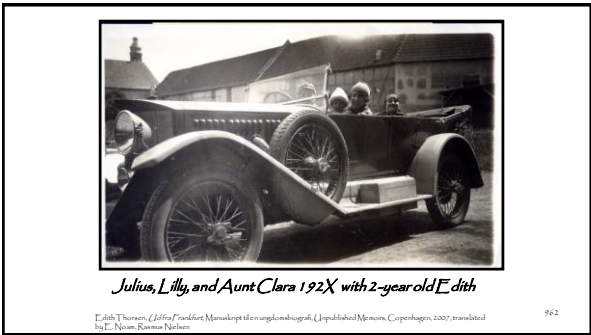
Julius 1923

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961



Julius, Lilly, and Aunt Clara 192X with 2-year old Edith

Edith Thomas, *Edith Frankfort* Manuscript til en angloamerikansk Udgivelses-Memorie, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Niemann-Rasmussen-Nielsen

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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 Thomas, *Edith Frankfort* Manuscript til en angloamerikansk Udgivelses-Memorie, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Niemann-Rasmussen-Nielsen

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Julius' wife Lilly with daughter Edith in 1925



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The twins Gerhard and Johanna followed.

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"[I]t 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 Thomas, *Edith Frankfort* Manuscript til en angloamerikansk Udgivelses-Memorie, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Niemann-Rasmussen-Nielsen

966

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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 have liked to have the chocolate."

Edith Thorman, *Edith Frankfurt* Manuscript til en angloombrografi, Uopubliseret Manuskript, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by F. Nicom Rasmussen Nielsen

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Edith: "I was almost 5 1/2 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 1/2 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 Thorman, *Edith Frankfurt* Manuscript til en angloombrografi, Uopubliseret Manuskript, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by F. Nicom Rasmussen Nielsen

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Summer 1923, Family in Frankfurt
Lotte & Edith in front



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Edith 1st Day of School

Edith Thorman, *Edith Frankfurt* Manuscript til en angloombrografi, Uopubliseret Manuskript, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by F. Nicom Rasmussen Nielsen

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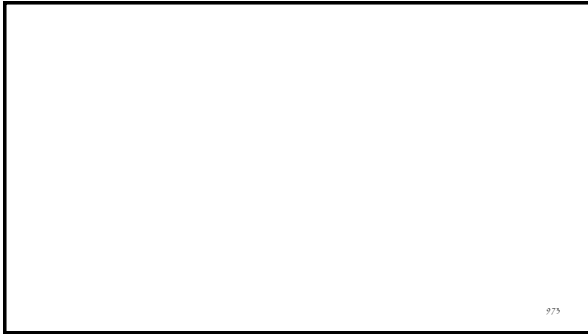
971



Frankfurt

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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 Thomsen, *Edith Frankfort* Manuscript til en angloombog, Uopbladet Menneske, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by T. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen

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Edith Thomsen, *Edith Frankfort* Manuscript til en angloombog, Uopbladet Menneske, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by T. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen

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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 Thomsen, *Edith Frankfort* Manuscript til en angloombog, Uopbladet Menneske, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by T. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen

976

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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 Thomsen, *Edith Frankfort* Manuscript til en angloombog, Uopbladet Menneske, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by T. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen

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Edith: "My father had to leave quickly because the Gestapo, the secret state police, was searching for him. It didn't help him that he once fought for Germany or that he saw himself as a regular German or that he had been awarded the Iron Cross by the Emperor."

Edith Thomsen, *Edith Frankfort* Manuscript til en angloombog, Uopbladet Menneske, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by T. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen

978

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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, *Edith Frøstfort*, Manuscript of an unglomsbiografi, (Unpublished Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Nieman-Rasmussen Nielsen)

979

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Edith: "My father came at night 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, *Edith Frøstfort*, Manuscript of an unglomsbiografi, (Unpublished Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Nieman-Rasmussen Nielsen)

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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, *Edith Frøstfort*, Manuscript of an unglomsbiografi, (Unpublished Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Nieman-Rasmussen Nielsen)

981

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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 Frøstfort*, Manuscript of an unglomsbiografi, (Unpublished Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Nieman-Rasmussen Nielsen)

982

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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 Frøstfort*, Manuscript of an unglomsbiografi, (Unpublished Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Nieman-Rasmussen Nielsen)

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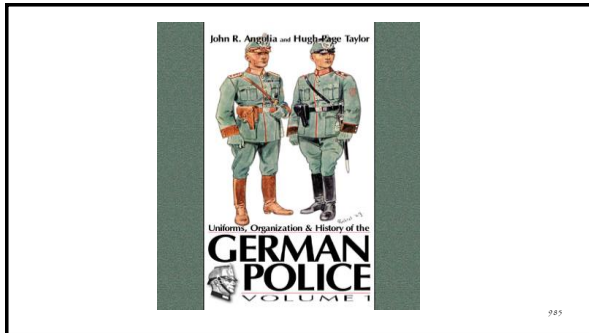
983

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 you husband? You must know that he is wanted, you must know where he is!'"

Edith Thorsen, *Edith Frøstfort*, Manuscript of an unglomsbiografi, (Unpublished Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Nieman-Rasmussen Nielsen)

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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."

986

Edith: "They said that if we all (children included) did not remain right there we would be put down at once."

Edith Thomas, *Edith Frankfort* Manuscript til en angloombrografi (Uopubliseret Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by F. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen.

987

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 Thomas, *Edith Frankfort* Manuscript til en angloombrografi (Uopubliseret Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by F. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen.

988

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 Thomas, *Edith Frankfort* Manuscript til en angloombrografi (Uopubliseret Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by F. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen.

989

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 Thomas, *Edith Frankfort* Manuscript til en angloombrografi (Uopubliseret Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by F. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen.

990

Grandfather
Isaak Epstein



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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 Thomsen, *Edith's Frankfurt* Manuscript til en ungdomsbog (Unpublished Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by T. Niemi-Rasmussen Nielsen)

992

992

Edith: "We heard that it was so cold in Denmark that polar bears roamed the street. This didn't sound particularly nice."

Edith Thomsen, *Edith's Frankfurt* Manuscript til en ungdomsbog (Unpublished Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by T. Niemi-Rasmussen Nielsen)

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Edith: "My mother was very brave to make a run after being threatened at gun point. 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 a few possessions."

Edith Thomsen, *Edith's Frankfurt* Manuscript til en ungdomsbog (Unpublished Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by T. Niemi-Rasmussen Nielsen)

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Frankfurt Train Station

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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 Thomsen, *Edith's Frankfurt* Manuscript til en anglo-nordisk, Uopubbiliseret Manuskript, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by F. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen

997

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Frankfurt Train Station

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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 Thomsen, *Edith's Frankfurt* Manuscript til en anglo-nordisk, Uopubbiliseret Manuskript, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by F. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen

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Frankfurt 1932

Edith Thomsen, *Edith's Frankfurt* Manuscript til en anglo-nordisk, Uopubbiliseret Manuskript, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by F. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen

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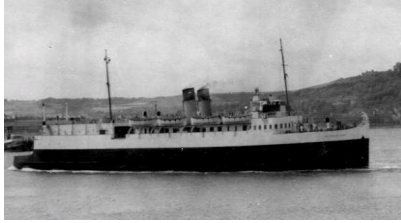
1001

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 Thomsen, *Edith's Frankfurt* Manuscript til en anglo-nordisk, Uopubbiliseret Manuskript, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by F. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen

1002

1002



Ferry to Denmark

1003

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"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 Thomsen, *Edith Frankfort* Manuscript til en ungdomsbog, (Uopubbilket Memento, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by T. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen

1004

1004

New
hometown,
Copenhagen



Edith Thomsen, *Edith Frankfort* Manuscript til en ungdomsbog, (Uopubbilket Memento, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by T. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen

1005

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"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 Thomsen, *Edith Frankfort* Manuscript til en ungdomsbog, (Uopubbilket Memento, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by T. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen

1006

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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.

Edith Thomsen, *Edith Frankfort* Manuscript til en ungdomsbog, (Uopubbilket Memento, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by T. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen

1007

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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."

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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 Thomsen, *Edith Frankfort* Manuscript til en ungdomsbog (Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007; translated by T. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen)

1010

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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 Thomsen, *Edith Frankfort* Manuscript til en ungdomsbog (Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007; translated by T. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen)

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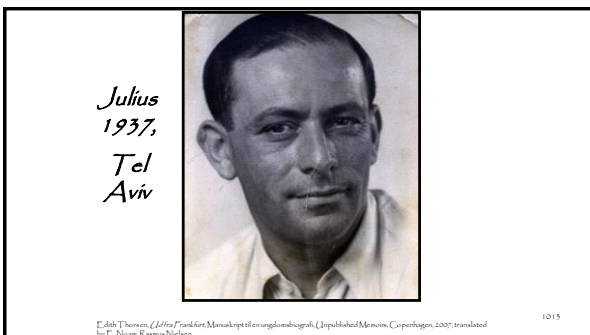
1011

Lotte: "Julius was chased by the Gestapo early on, hid and escaped to Palestine where in the beginning he led a life of great poverty 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

1012

1012



Edith Thomsen, *Edith Frankfort* Manuscript til en ungdomsbog (Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007; translated by T. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen)

1013

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"[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 Thomsen, *Edith Frankfort* Manuscript til en ungdomsbog (Unpublished Memoirs, Copenhagen, 2007; translated by T. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen)

1014

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"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 Thomsen, *Edith Frøedfort*. Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi. (Uopblåst Manuskript, København, 2007, translated by E. Nicom-Rasmussen-Nielsen

1015

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Gerhard could not have been older than 14-years when he started to work as a bank apprentice.

1016

1016

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. Which might not be any better.

Edith Thomsen, *Edith Frøedfort*. Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi. (Uopblåst Manuskript, København, 2007, translated by E. Nicom-Rasmussen-Nielsen

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In September of 1939 World War II broke out. Grandfather was right again, unfortunately. Within half a year the war reached Denmark, sooner than anywhere except Poland.

1018

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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 Thomsen, *Edith Frøedfort*. Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi. (Uopblåst Manuskript, København, 2007, translated by E. Nicom-Rasmussen-Nielsen

1019

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"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 Thomsen, *Edith Frøedfort*. Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi. (Uopblåst Manuskript, København, 2007, translated by E. Nicom-Rasmussen-Nielsen

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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 Thomsen, *Edith Frankfort*, Manuscript til en anglo-nordisk, Uopubliseret Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by F. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen

1021

1021

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 Thomsen, *Edith Frankfort*, Manuscript til en anglo-nordisk, Uopubliseret Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by F. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen

1022

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Edith: "On the passport there was a large Star of David and a large J so that everyone knew we were Jews."



Edith Thomsen, *Edith Frankfort*, Manuscript til en anglo-nordisk, Uopubliseret Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by F. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen

1023

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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 Thomsen, *Edith Frankfort*, Manuscript til en anglo-nordisk, Uopubliseret Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by F. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen

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5.1

The Second Escape

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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 Thomsen, *Edith Frankfort*. Manuskript til en ungdomsbog. (Uoplyst Menneske, Copenhagen, 2007; translated by E. Nixon, Rasmus Nielsen)

1027

1027

Edith: "It was the last chance for all Jews in Denmark. Many Danish Jews had already escaped to Sweden..."

Edith Thomsen, *Edith Frankfort*. Manuskript til en ungdomsbog. (Uoplyst Menneske, Copenhagen, 2007; translated by E. Nixon, Rasmus Nielsen)

1028

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"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 Thomsen, *Edith Frankfort*. Manuskript til en ungdomsbog. (Uoplyst Menneske, Copenhagen, 2007; translated by E. Nixon, Rasmus Nielsen)

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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."

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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 Thomsen, *Edith Frankfort*. Manuskript til en ungdomsbog. (Uoplyst Menneske, Copenhagen, 2007; translated by E. Nixon, Rasmus Nielsen)

1031

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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."

Edith Thomsen, *Edith Frankfort*. Manuskript til en ungdomsbog. (Uoplyst Menneske, Copenhagen, 2007; translated by E. Nixon, Rasmus Nielsen)

1032

1032



Maribo

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“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.”

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1034

Engestofte



Bildquelle:
http://www.geocities.com/christian_19222000/billeder/ENGEST.jpg

1035

1035

“Engestofte was not a safe place. Here, weapons were parachuted down each night to the Resistance. There were many of them on Lolland.”

1036

1036

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.”

Uddet Thomsen: *Lilla Frøfart* Manuskript til en ungdomsbog (Unpublished Manuscript, Copenhagen, 2007; translated by Leanne Rasmussen Nelson)

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1037



Sakskobing

1038

1038

“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 descendants of Polish beet workers.

Edith Thomsen, *Edith Frøelert*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, (Uopubliceret Mønium, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Nicom-Rasmussen-Nielsen

1039

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“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.”

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“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.”

Edith Thomsen, *Edith Frøelert*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, (Uopubliceret Mønium, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Nicom-Rasmussen-Nielsen

1041

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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 Thomsen, *Edith Frøelert*, Manuskript til en ungdomsbiografi, (Uopubliceret Mønium, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Nicom-Rasmussen-Nielsen

1042

1042

Monica Wichfeld organized the resistance in her region



Monica Wichfeld, portrait in National Museum of Denmark

“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 Tørtzen

1044

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[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, 2005

1045

Engestofte



Bildquelle: http://www.geocities.com/christian_19222000/enges.html

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“Since Monica was not much connected sexually with her husband, she began a relationship with one of her neighbours, Kurt Haugwitz-Reventlow.”

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“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.”

The Times (London) January 9, 2005

1048

1048

“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 naive husband who loves his garden and the hunt... However, her daughter Varinka becomes a resistance fighter...”

1049

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“Monica hides also Jews, which was actually forbidden to the resistance, because it endangered the entire network....”
“She also challenged the Danish resistance, who was reticent to facilitate safe passage for Jewish families, and personally began to harbor a Jewish family being sought by the Gestapo.”

Wikipedia

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"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 Tørtzen

1051

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"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."

1052

1052

"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 Tørtzen

1053

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"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)

1054

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Honor Guard



Bildquelle:
http://www.sitecenter.dk/bentole/nss-falder/scrapbog/si_UEW400_1P5040020.JPG

1055

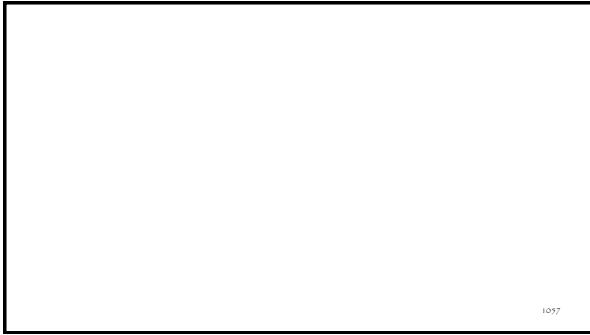
1055

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>,
info from
(Info: "Monica - a woman in the resistance against the German crew" of Christine Sutherland, Schöffling and Co.)

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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 Thomsen, *Edith's Farefare* Manuscript til en angloombog, (Upubliceret Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007; translated by T. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen

1058

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."

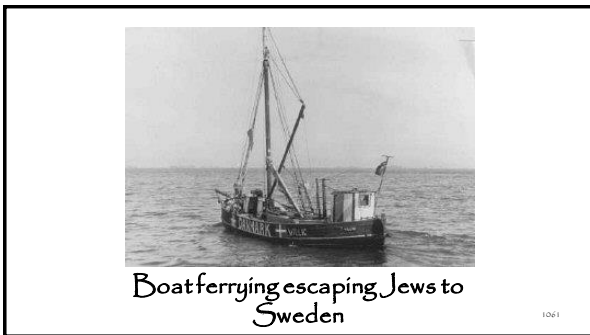
Edith Thomsen, *Edith's Farefare* Manuscript til en angloombog, (Upubliceret Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007; translated by T. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen

1059

Another source confirms: [The] Lutheran bishop at Nykoebing, 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 Wiener

1060



1061

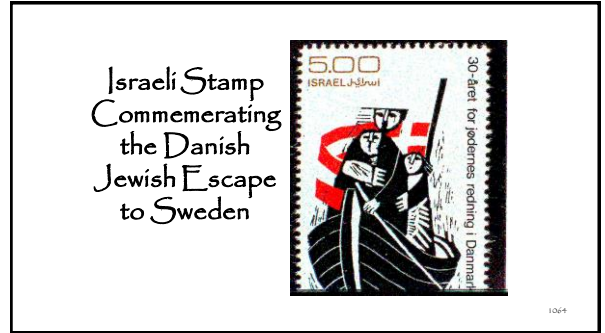
Edith: "The same evening after we had left, a huge (German military) truck arrived [at our home in Denmark] to take us. When we were not there they grabbed the caretaker and demanded the keys to the apartment. When he could not give it to them, they entered with a ladder, looked into the apartment, and found that we were gone."

Edith Thomsen, *Edith's Farefare* Manuscript til en angloombog, (Upubliceret Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007; translated by T. Nieman-Rasmussen-Nielsen

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1064

Letter from Edith's mother Lilly, 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."

1065

Lilly: "We are most grateful, that we have it so good in peaceful Sweden, which hopefully will be passed by the war."

1066

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."

1067

The family after the war.
Julius returned to Frankfurt and received back his seat on the stock exchange. He remarried.

1068



Julius and Hertha's grave in Bad Homburg. They died, hours apart, in the same hospital, of different illnesses¹⁰⁶⁹

1069

Center: Susanne Winding, daughter of Edith, with Nadine



1070

3 Generations: Julius, Julius' son Gerhard, Gerhard other son Per, Julius, and grandson Jørgen's at Jørgen's Bar Mitzva in Copenhagen



1071

Edith had three children.
Susanne is a midwife and family counselor.
Rasmus is a film maker.
Jens-Jakob is a cinemetagrapher.

1072



1073



Edith & 2nd husband Peter Thorsen
1973

1074

Rasmus Thorsen, son of Edith
Film producer in Copenhagen

Rasmus Thorsen was born on July 11, 1965 in Denmark. He is a producer and writer, known for Greyzone (2018), Midsommer (2003) and Park Road (2009).

Nominations: Robert Award for Best Short Television Series,
Awards: Robert Award for Best Documentary Short



1075

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Jens Jakob Thorsen,
son of Edith
Cinematographer in Copenhagen

2020 *Body Armor* (Short)
2019 *Lukas Graham: Lie* (Video short)
2016 *Uden Returbillet* (Short)

2013-2016 *Louisiana Music: interviews and making of* (TV Mini-Series) (2 episodes)
- *Precipitato* Interview with Stéphan Aubé (2016) ... (musical clip extract)
- *Denis Kozhukhin* Interview (2013)
- *Without You* (Short)

Louisiana Music: Musical Clips (TV Series) (1 episode)
- *Precipitato* (2013)



1077

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Jørgen Kaufmann, grandson of Julius, son of Gerhard
CEO of Software company in Copenhagen, at center



1078

1078

Edith: "It is awful to be a fugitive, and anyone who hasn't experienced it cannot know how bad it is."

Edith Thorsen, *Edith Thorsen: Manuskript til en ungdomsbog*, (Unpublished Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by Niels Boman Nielsen)

1079

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"We survived the Holocaust. We had to live for the ones who died. Hitler did not succeed in wiping us out."

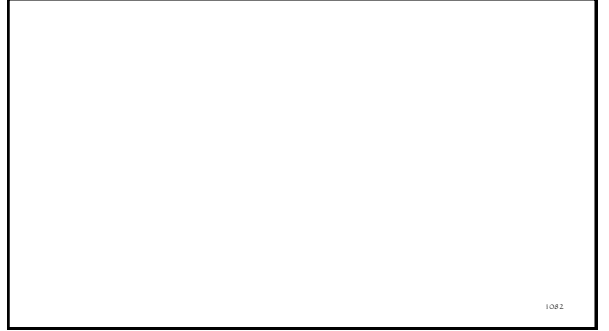
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1080



Julius and Lilly's descendants and spouses, 2006

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Chapter 6: Other Relatives

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Chapter: 6.1 Grandmother Adelheid Kaufman

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Adelheid Kaufmann, 1918



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Adelheid Kaufmann

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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.

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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."

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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. She was deported from there in 1942 to Theresienstadt.

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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.

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"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."

(Albert & Wladimir, translated by E. Nisam)

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The goal was to humiliate these old people as much as possible by putting their misery on public display.

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"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 & Wedemeyer, translated by E. Noam)

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Theresienstadt

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Theresienstadt

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Grandmother Adelheid was one of those deported to Theresienstadt, at the age of 74.

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"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, 1943 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 badly wanted to finish the job before the allies arrived]

1098

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"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."

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Grandmother Adelheid died in Theresienstadt. Aunt Hilde was sent to Auschwitz.

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Himmler's SS
Guards in
Theresienstadt

1102

1102

"NAZIDECEPTION 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]

1103

1103

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]

1104

1104

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]

1105

1105

Democratic Presidential Candidate
John Kerry debating George Bush,
2004



1106

1106

"On June 23, 1944, the Nazis permitted the visit by the Red Cross in order to dispel rumors about the extermination 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]

1107

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"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]

1108

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"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]

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Theresienstadt



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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.

1111

1111

"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."

1112

1112

"Your mother 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."

1113

1113

LETTER FROM LILLY KAUFMAN, FROM STOCKHOLM, AUGUST 20, 1944, to her sister-in-law Flora.

Lilly: "Now I have a sad duty to fulfil. From your words, dear Flora, it appears, that you do not know, that your dear mother is not alive anymore."

1114

1114

"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.

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"I had no address of yours and for years also nothing from Julius (her ex-husband), otherwise I would have sent you a letter via the Red Cross"

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1116

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 nothing for a long time."

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6.2

Hilde Kaufman

1119

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Hilde Kaufmann



1120

1120

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 Thomsen, *Lilja's Frankfurt Manuscript* in an unglamorous (Published Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by Dr. Klaus Boman Nielsen)

1121

1121

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."

1122

1122

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."

Lotte Memoir Letters to Birte

1123

1123

"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

1124

1124

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:

1125

1125

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."

1126

1126

Toeplitz: "Hilde was always very diligent, she did her chores without ever 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!"

1127

1127

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."

1128

1128

"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.

1129

1129

POSTCARD by Mrs. Nussbaum, sent from the Hotel Victoria in Corbeyueur 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."

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Auschwitz train arrival

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1132



Auschwitz

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1133

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.

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6.3 Aunt Clara Müller [née Kaufmann]

1136



Clara Kaufmann,
sister of Lotte's mother Flora
1918

1137



Lotte's Aunt Clara
(Kaufmann) in costume

1138



Aunt Clara Müller (née
Kaufmann) (sister of
Flora) 1910

1139

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."

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

1140

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

1141

1141

Edith: "I knew best my father's oldest sister. She was a good lady, beautiful but heavyset. 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 Thoresen, *Edith's Frankfurt* Manuscript til en ungdomsbog (Unpublished Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007; translated by T. Noam-Rasmus Nielsen)

1142

1142



Julius in front, then Aunt Clara, Cousin Erich and Uncle Heinz

Edith Thoresen, *Edith's Frankfurt* Manuscript til en ungdomsbog (Unpublished Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007; translated by T. Noam-Rasmus Nielsen)

1143

1143



Aunt Clara Kaufmann (Müller)

Edith Thoresen, *Edith's Frankfurt* Manuscript til en ungdomsbog (Unpublished Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007; translated by T. Noam-Rasmus Nielsen)

1144

1144



Aunt Clara Kaufmann (Müller)

1145

1145

"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."

Edith Thoresen, *Edith's Frankfurt* Manuscript til en ungdomsbog (Unpublished Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007; translated by T. Noam-Rasmus Nielsen)

1146

1146

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 Thoman, *Edith Frankfurt*, Manuscript til en anglojombografi, (Uopubliceret Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Ramona Nielsen

1147

1147

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 Thoman, *Edith Frankfurt*, Manuscript til en anglojombografi, (Uopubliceret Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Ramona Nielsen

1148

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Lotte: "[Heinz] died very early and left a heartbroken widow. He was not there anymore when he could have protected her from deportation 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*

1149

1149

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. The Nazis put her in prison but nobody knew why."

Edith Thoman, *Edith Frankfurt*, Manuscript til en anglojombografi, (Uopubliceret Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Ramona Nielsen

1150

1150

"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 Thoman, *Edith Frankfurt*, Manuscript til en anglojombografi, (Uopubliceret Memoir, Copenhagen, 2007, translated by E. Noam, Ramona Nielsen

1151

1151

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*

1152

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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 a life saving visa.

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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.

1154

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Clara writes: "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."

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"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."

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"(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."

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1157

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."

1158

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"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]

1159

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"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."

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"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]"

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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."

Lotte Noam, Memoir Letters to Birte

1162

1162

Edith: "One morning the Gestapo dragged aunt Clara out of her friend's bathtub in the apartment in Berlin. They dragged her to a car waiting outside and stole all her possessions."

Edith Thomson, *Edith's Frankfurt Manuscript* (unpublished memoir, Copenhagen, 2007; translated by Lotte Noam-Nelson)

1163

1163

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.

1164

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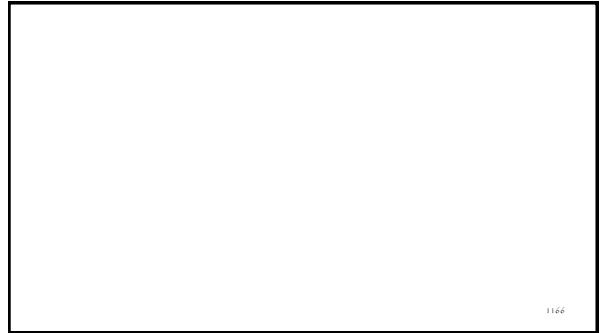
Letter by Gertrude Remmel, November 30,
1947, to Flora

"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 not have let her go."

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6.4 Great-Uncle Lenor Kaufmann

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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.

1168

1168



Arrival in Theresienstadt

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Theresienstadt

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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.

1172

1172

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.

1173

1173

Lenor's wife, Lotte's Great-aunt Rosa Kaufmann, nee Nussbaum, was sent first to Theresienstadt, then to Minsk, where she died at age of 66 or 67.

1174

1174

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.

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1175

Lenor and Rosa's children disappeared forever.
Julius Kaufmann (recorded missing)
Sigmund Kaufmann

1176

1176

For the Minsk story, see sections on aunt Hedwig, and on Lotte's hypothetical biography.

1177

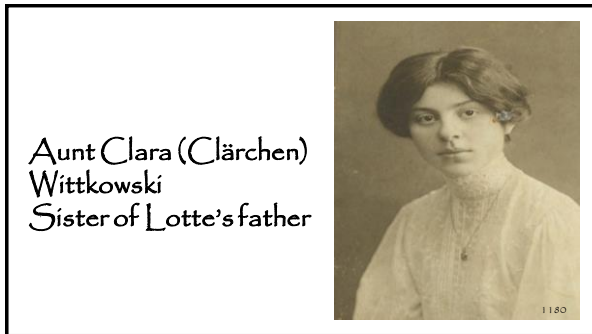
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1178

6.5 Aunt Clara Wittkowsky

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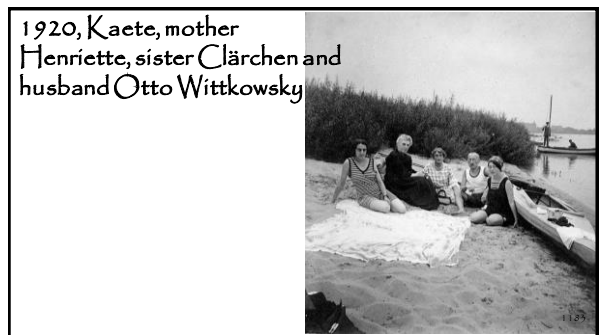
Lotte: "Klärchen [Clara neé Danielewicz, not to be confused with Aunt Clara of Kassel, her mother's sister, was the next sister of my father's; good-looking and cheerful, married to Otto Wittkowský, a German airplane engineer.]"

Lotte Memoir Letters to Birte

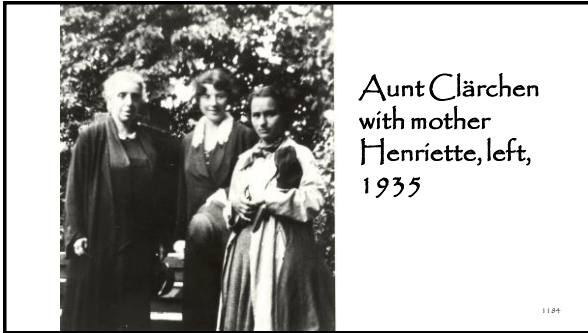
1181



1182



1183



Aunt Clärchen
with mother
Henriette, left,
1935

1184

1184



Kaete and
Otto 1929

1185

1185



Kaete and
Clara
1929

1186

1186



Clara and Otto

1187

1187

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]

1188

1188

Lotte: "Clärchen 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 constantly watched and spied upon by the tenants in the apartment above them, and life was made impossible for them."

1189

1189

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."

1190

1190

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 Wittkowskis."

1191

1191

Letter from Major M.W. Mackie of the British military occupation in Germany, dated January 8, 1945 to Kaete's husband, in British Palestine.

1192

1192

"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."

1193

1193

"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."

1194

1194

"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."

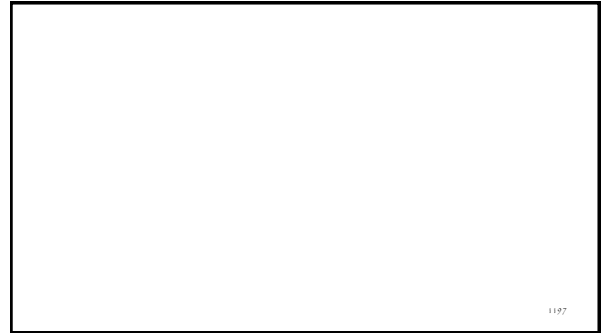
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And Major Mackie continues,
with English understatement:
“Events in Palestine seem to be
rather unruly, don't they? It must
be a nuisance for you?”

1196

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6.6 Other Kaufmann Relatives

1198

1198

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

1199

1199

Mannheimer Family (Lotte's grandmother's
family)

Three cousins of Flora: Max, Siegfried,
and Erich Mannheimer, lived in Suhl,
Thüringen

1200

1200

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

1201

1201



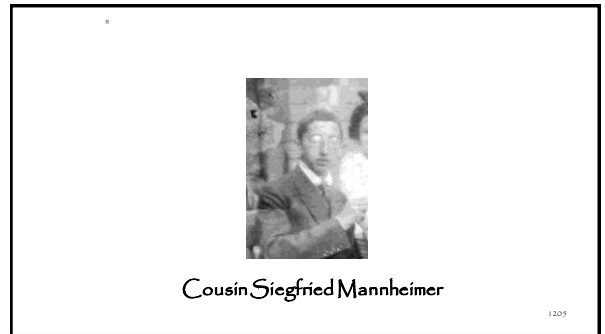
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1205

Fate Unknown, Kaufmann Family

2nd Cousins of Flora:

- Hermann Kaufmann
- Kaete Kaufmann
- Ernst Kaufmann
- Paul Kaufmann
- Hertha Kaufmann
- Elsbeth Kaufmann

1206

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

1207

Melsungen Kaufmanns Who Perished

Familienname	Vorname	Geburtsname	Geburtsort	Geb. Dat.	Todesdatum	Deportationsort
Dalbog	Agnes	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	Franka	Kaufmann	Melsungen	11.12.1879	3.9.1942	Theresienstadt

Röchen Kahn, geb. Kaufmann* 28.02.1856 in Melsungen, sent to Sobibor at age 86.

1208

1208

Other Kaufmanns from Kassel who perished

1209

1209

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 Fünstengarten 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.

1210

1210

HELGA KAUFMANN

wurde am 21.3.1938 in Kassel geboren und wohnte dort seit: 21.3.1938 Würthstr. 23, 15.4.1939 Zentgrafenstr. 5 1/2, 20.5.1940 Lager Wartekuppe, 15.10.1940 Tränkeforde 1. Helga Kaufmann wurde am 9.12.1941 von Kassel aus zusammen mit ihren Eltern in das Getto Riga deportiert und gilt als verschollen.

1211

1211

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.

1212

1212

MAX KAUFMANN

Elektrotechniker, wurde am 4.2.1891 in Thishaschnikep/Riga geboren. Er war verheiratet mit Ilse Kaufmann und wohnte in Kassel seit: 5.5.1919 Frankfurter Str. 30, 19.3.1920 Nahstr. 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.

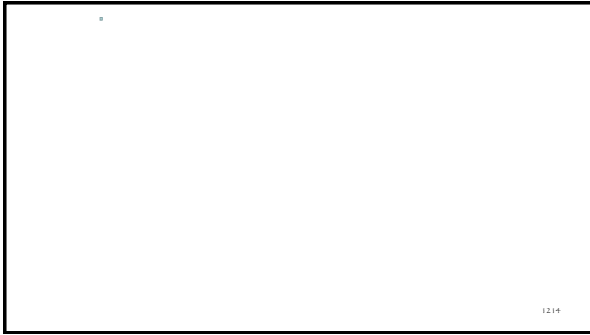
Max Kaufmann wurde zusammen mit seiner Ehefrau und seiner Tochter Ursula von Berlin aus in das Konzentrationslager Auschwitz deportiert und gilt als verschollen.

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.

1213

1213



1214

Only one Jew survived of Melsungen,
due to her marriage to a non-Jew.

1215

Thus ended over 400
years of Jewish history in
Melsungen.

1216



1217

And yet

1218

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.

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.



1219

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

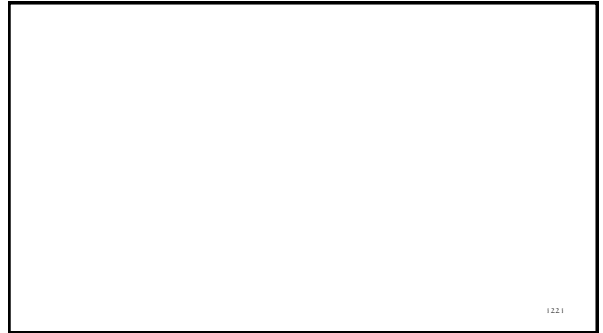
TEHRAN (Reuters) - Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad on Tuesday told delegates at an international conference questioning the Holocaust that Israel's days were numbered.

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

1220

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1221

Chapter: 7 The War in Germany

1222

1222

Civilians in Germany,
too, suffered greatly, as
a murderous air war
destroyed their cities.

1225

1223



Unfortunately for Bremen, an aircraft
factory was located in the middle of the city

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1224

This made Bremen a particularly important
target



Raid on Bremen, 100th US Air Force
(painting of actual raid)

1225

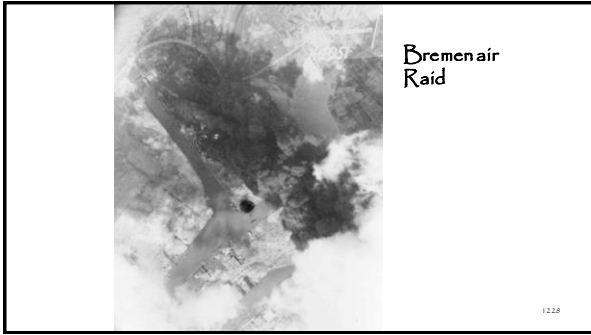
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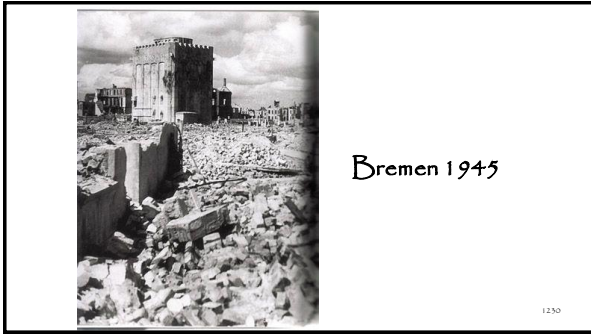
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Bremen was attacked 173 times in 5 years. More than 4,000 citizens died. In the center of the city 65,000 apartments were destroyed, about 62% of the housing stock.

1232

Aerial Attack on Bremen, 1943



1233

British Troops enter Bremen, April 1945



1234

Kassel: Eder Dam, Europe's largest, breached in famous "Dam buster" Raid, May 17, 1943



1235

Kassel flooded downstream: About 2000 people died from the flood



1236

King George VI congratulates pilots of Eder Dam Raid

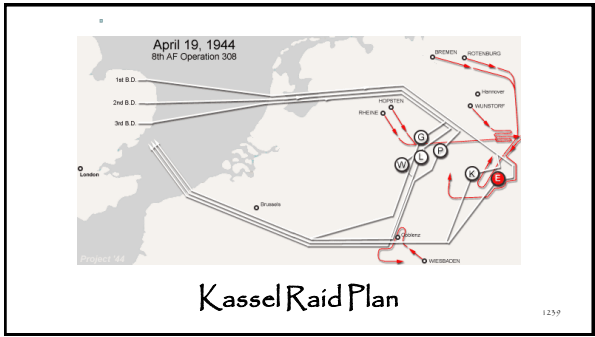


53 of 133 members of aircrew were killed, 3 POWs. A popular movie (which country) was made in 1954

1237



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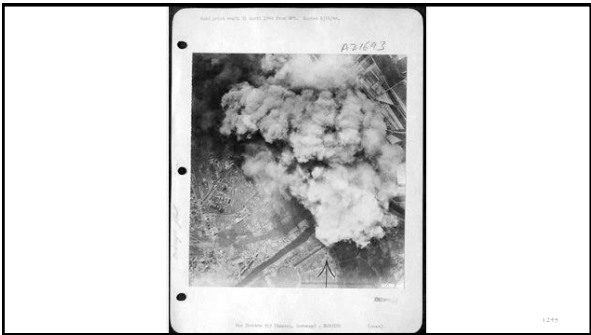
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Part C

Lotte: What if? An Alternative Biography

1251

Had Lotte stayed in Bremen
(or Düsseldorf) for a short
time longer, this would have
been her fate.

1252

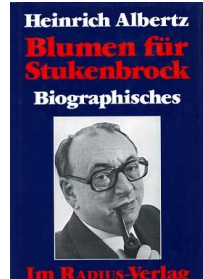
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 - Wilhelm Mosel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www1.uni-hamburg.de/rz3ao35//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06
 - www.deathcamps.org/occupation/riga%20
 - <http://einsatzgruppendarchives.com/documents/et.html>

1253

- Sources
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- Loewenstein, Karl, Minsk, im Lager der deutschen Juden. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Heimatdienst, 1961
- Röpke, Andreas/Ernst, Manfred, Es geht tatsächlich nach Minsk. Texte und Materialien zur Erinnerung an die Deportation von Bremer Juden am 18.11.1941 in das Vernichtungslager Minsk. Bremen: Staatsarchiv Bremen, 1992.
- Rosenberg, Heinz, Jahre des Schreckens.... und ich blieb übrig, dass ich Dir's ansage. Göttingen: Steidl, 1992.

1254

Source: Heinrich Albertz



Theologian, pacifist, politician and noted 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, when Brandt became Foreign Minister and Chancellor of Germany.

1255

Lord Mayor Albertz, of Berlin receives the Shah of Iran

On June 2, 1967 Pahlavi was received in West Berlin, accompanied by violent clashes of protesters with Iranian secret police collaborators and massive police forces, whereby the student Benno Ohnesorg was shot by police officer Karl-Heinz Kurras, an incident that became a turning point in the devolution of the German student movement.



1256

1256

Albert writes, after retiring from politics and moving to Bremen, "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 & Wedemeyer, translated by E. Noam)

1257

1257

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
- If still alive, killed on July 28, 1942 at Trostinez estate
- Disinterred in late 1943 from mass grave by Sonder-Kommando 1005 and burned.

1258

1258

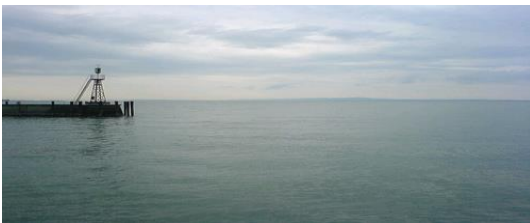
Lotte: "[Later on] I have often dreamt that I jumped out of a deportation train and rolled down the bank, or that I swam across Lake Constance to my brother – a swim to safety. But my worst nightmares have never reached the concentration camps."

Lotte Memoir | letters to Birte

1259

1259

Lake Constance



1260

1260

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.

1261

1261

August 1941 SS Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler inspected Minsk preparations, in advance of the deportations from Germany.



1262

1262

August 1941 in Minsk:
Himmler & SS General Wolff



1263

1263

August 1941 in Minsk: Himmler, Bach



1264

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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."

1265

1265

"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 Fackmann sent lists of names who were to be "evacuated" to Minsk."

(Alberts & Wodameier, translated by E. Noam)

1266

1266

"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."

(Alberts & Wodameier, translated by E. Noam)

1267

1267

March to Train in Another City



1268

1268

The general population of Bremen, however, was not 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 & Wedemeyer, translated by E. Noam)

1269

1269

The Gestapo report continues: “Thus in the Catholic and evangelical circles of the Confessional Front the (Bekennende Kirche, led by Martin Niemöller 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 & Wedemeyer, translated by E. Noam)

1270

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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, w1.uni_hamburg.de/r23ao33
//Minsk.htm, 2.12.2016

1271

1271

“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 & Wedemeyer, translated by E. Noam)

1272

1272

[The Hamburg resident] Heinz Rosenberg, on the same train, 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, w1.uni_hamburg.de/r23ao33
//Minsk.htm, 2.12.2016

1273

1273

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, ww1.uni_hamburg.de/r23ao55 //Minsk.htm, 6.12.06 1274

1274

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
Vienna	28-11-1941	1,001

1275

1275

A Deportation Train, possibly the one leaving Hamburg on Nov. 11, 1941



1276

1276

Lotte's Aunts Hedwig and Else had been deported from Düsseldorf on November 10, 1941, one week earlier.

1277

1277

Heinz Rosenberg, a survivor, was on the train of the Hamburg and Bremen Jews. He reported:

"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 detain 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, ww1.uni_hamburg.de/r23ao55 //Minsk.htm, 6.12.06 1278

1278

Heinz Rosenberg reports:

"Around 5 a.m. they were allowed to detain 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, ww1.uni_hamburg.de/r23ao55 //Minsk.htm, 6.12.06 1279

1279

Minsk



1280

1280



A Bremen Jew,
Hermann
Goldberg in a
chance German
Magazine photo
of the Minsk
Ghetto

Das bremse Bild von Hermann Goldberg aus dem Minsker Ghetto. Er wurde
dort, wo sich damals der erste Judenrat, erweckte. Das Bild erschien 1942 in
der Zeitschrift 'Die Woche' im Rahmen einer Fotoreportage vom Leben
im jüdischen Ghetto in Minsk.

1281

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"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."

(Albierz & Wiedemier, translated by E. Noam)

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"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/r23ao35/Minsk.htm, 6.12.06

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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, ww1.uni_hamburg.de/r23ao35
/Minsk.htm, 6.12.06

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A few months later, most of the German Jews including the Bremen transports were killed, too.

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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.

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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."

(Albierz & Wedemier, translated by E. Noam)

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In a report, Regional SS Commander Wilhelm Kube, wrote on July 31, 1942: "In the city of Minsk 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 Führer."

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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, w1.uni_hamburg.de/r23ao35 //Minsk.htm, 6.12.06

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"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, w1.uni_hamburg.de/r23ao35 //Minsk.htm, 6.12.06

1291

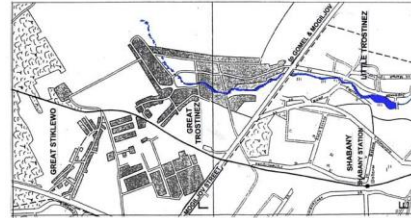
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"As early as in the spring of 1942 Dr. Strauch had made extensive organizational preparations in order to execute a large number of people trouble-free and in a short period of time. He sought out a wooded area with medium-high pine trees as execution area. Such a wooded area lay roughly 3 to 5 km from the Trostinez estate."

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Great (Bolschoi) Trostinez on the road to Gomel and Mogilev.
Little (Maly) Trostinez, with lake, south of the highway.



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"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."

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"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."

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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, w1.uni_hamburg.de/723a033
//Minsk.htm, 4.12.06

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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]

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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."

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Gnewuch testified: "I gassed about 150 to 180 people. Adolf Rube 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 Rube 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..."

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Gas Trucks in Minsk

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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."

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"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."

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"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."

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"The [Belarus] 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."

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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

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Bielski Brothers



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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 1,200 Jews through their efforts.

(Wikipedia)

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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)

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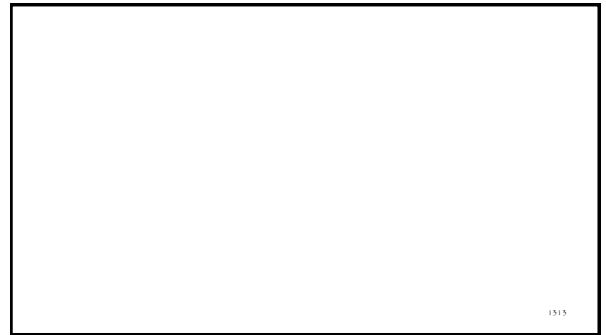
1311

Another attempt at resistance came from the German-Jewish deportees: "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/re3ao33//Minsk.htm, 6.12.06

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"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."

(Albert & Wodencier, translated by E. Noam)

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"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."

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“According to Nazi statistics, between the occupation of the city and 1 February 1943, 86,632 Jews had been murdered in Minsk.”

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“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)

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Map by the German SS Showing its Jewish Executions

(wikipedia)

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The map titled “Jewish Executions Carried Out by Einsatzgruppe A,” the December 1941 Jäger 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)

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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]

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Conclusion of the Alternative Bio for Lotte

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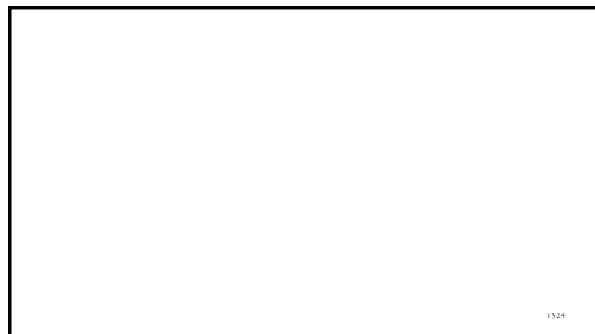
1322

If Lotte had stayed in Bremen (or Düsseldorf) for a short time longer she (and her parents) would have been almost certainly:

- departed from Bremen on November 8, 1941, departing 8:10am
- Arrived in Minsk, Belarus on November 21, 1941
- If still alive, killed on July 28, 1942 at Trostinez estate
- Disinterred in late 1943 from mass grave by Sonder-Kommando 1005 and burned.

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Appendix: The Minsk Gang

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These were the tormentors
and executioners of
Bremen's Jews in Minsk

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The Minsk Gang



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Wilhelm Kube

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Wilhelm Kube



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Generalkommissar Wilhelm Kube was the head of *Generalbezirk Weißruthenien* (White Ruthenia), the area within which Minsk fell and from where the *Generalbezirk* was administered.

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August 31, 1941: Kube (left) assumes command of the newly created Administration of White Russia, in Minsk



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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.

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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.

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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."

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"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'".

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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.

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On 22 September 1943 Kube was killed by a bomb planted under his bed by his maid, a Soviet partisan.

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Eduard Strauch



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An indignant Strauch [Kube's deputy] 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.

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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."

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Arthur Nebe



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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]

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Nebe and Himmler



After the shooting Himmler told Nebe to think about whether there were better methods for killing than by shooting.

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Himmler visits Minsk



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“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.”

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“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.”

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“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:// Einsatzgruppe Nord archive.com/documents/et.html>

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“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]

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“Nebe 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]

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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.
If so, thousands of people paid with their lives for his cover.

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Hinrich Lohse



Civilian Governor of the Ostland Region

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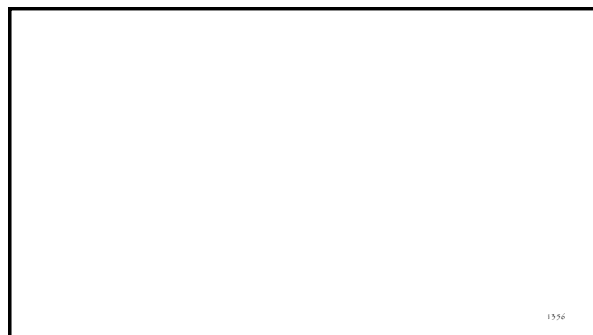
Hinrich Lohse, Kube's boss, had been Nazi Gang leader in Hamburg and Holstein.

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.

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Curt von Gottberg



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After Kube was assassinated in 1943, he was succeeded by Curt von Gottberg.

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"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."

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"Along 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.'"

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"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 get!?"

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Erich von dem
Bach,
Regional SS
Commander

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Erich von dem Bach



The SS leader for Russia-Centre was initially SS-Obergruppenführer and general of the police, Erich von dem Bach.

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"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."

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"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."

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August 1941 in Minsk: Bach, Himmler



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"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."

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Oskar Dirlewanger
SS Military Commander in Belarus



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1370

the cruel
hunters



Dirlewanger

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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)

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"[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)

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"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)

1374

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"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)

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"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]

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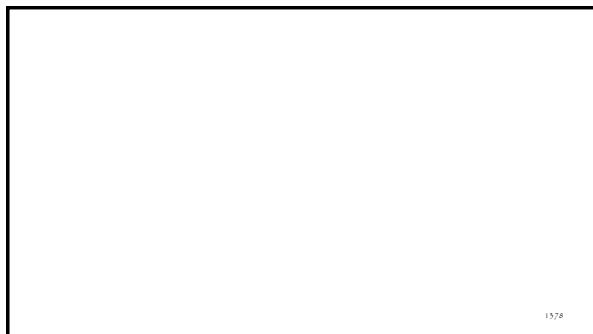
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Dirlewanger (left) and Troops



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Erich Ehrlinger



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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 Ehrlinger, BdS Russia-Centre and White Russia ordered the extermination of these remaining 4,500 Jews.

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"Ehrlinger, 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)

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The case was dropped by court and prosecutors in 1969 due to Ehrlinger's alleged poor health. Ehrlinger lived to 2004, 35 years later.

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Adolf Rube

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"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.

(Alberts & Wedemeyer, translated by E. Noam)

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"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."

(Alberts & Wedemeyer, translated by E. Noam)

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"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."

(Alberts & Wedemeyer, translated by E. Noam)

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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 Moseel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www.uni-hamburg.de/rz3a033/Minsk.htm, 6.12.06

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“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 Moseel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www.uni-hamburg.de/rz3a033/Minsk.htm, 6.12.06

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“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 Moseel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www.uni-hamburg.de/rz3a033/Minsk.htm, 6.12.06

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“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 Moseel, The Hamburg Deportation Transport to Minsk, www.uni-hamburg.de/rz3a033/Minsk.htm, 6.12.06

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“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 & Wedemeyer, translated by E. Neuman)

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Georg Heuser

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Most directly in charge of the Minsk Ghetto was Georg Heuser



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Heuser on trial



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Heuser was the local commander of Minsk. He had studied law. In Minsk he was local commander under regional commanders Ehrlinger and Strauch. He personally participated in several mass killings and was considered, among the German commanders particularly brutal.

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After the war, he joined the criminal police. He lied about his wartime past, and also falsely claimed to have received a law doctorate. In 1958 he was appointed the head of the State Criminal Police of the state of Rhineland Palatine. The top police official of the state.

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Heuser was found out by accident and was tried in one of the first German trials of war criminals. To reduce political embarrassment, the state government initially claimed that there had been no mass shootings in Minsk during Heuser's time. This was contradicted by numerous witnesses. Heuser was sentenced to prison for the directly proven 11,103 murders. This sentence was compressed to 15 years. Six years later he was released for "ill health". He lived on for another 20 years.

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